



A New Typology of Indefinite Pronouns, with a Focus on Negative Indefinites

Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van doctor in de taalkunde aan de Universiteit Antwerpen te verdedigen door

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Promotor: Johan van der Auwera

Antwerpen, 2014



Een nieuwe typologie van onbepaalde voornaamwoorden, met een focus op negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden

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Acknowledgments

There are many people I am indebted to for feedback and assistance of various kinds. First of all, I want to thank my supervisor, Johan van der Auwera, for having given me the chance to write this dissertation, for encouraging intellectual freedom and critical spirit, for his inspiring efficiency and for his conference-minded attitude, which brought me to places like Hong Kong and Osaka. I would also like to thank him for all his insightful comments on the drafts and useful advice throughout the entire PhD process.

My gratitude also goes out to the members of the thesis defense committee: Tanja Mortelmans, Walter De Mulder, Pierre Larrivé and Jacqueline Visconti.

This dissertation benefited greatly from the help of native speakers on some languages discussed in this work. I especially want to thank Nada Gbegble, Kalyanamalini Sahoo, Adeline Patard, Kachen Tansiri and April Capili.

For financial support, I am indebted to the Research Foundation Flanders.

During my period as a researcher at the University of Antwerp, I have been very fortunate in being surrounded by fantastic colleagues. It has especially been a great experience to share an office with Daniël, who taught me a lot about the world of linguistics and who I had a lot of fun with. After Daniël's departure, it was mostly Karolien who had to put up with me. Coming to the office never felt like going to work when Karolien was there. I also want to thank Astrid for her optimism, kindness and for making linguistics seem easy. Thanks are also due to other colleagues that have come and gone during the last 5 years, but who have all made life at the University of Antwerp pleasant: Ann, Frens, Denies, Yinchun, Adri, Ine, Ewa, Nada, Deo, Jolanta, Jianwei, Peter, Sarah, Bram, Adeline, Jasper, Lien, Anneleen and many others.

It surprises me that after five years of working on indefinite pronouns and negation, I still have friends to thank: Céline, Emily and Jennifer, thanks for being such a cheerful bunch and for continually distracting me. I especially want to thank Céline for her support and friendship in the last phase of my PhD. I also want to thank Mathias for pretending to listen when I talked about Haspelmath's semantic map (which I did so often that he suggested to abbreviate it to Haspelmap).

Lastly, I want to thank my parents for believing in my capabilities and keeping their cool at times when I lost mine, and my sisters, Karen and Sarah, for their unconditional support and good humor.

Abstract – English

This dissertation aims at providing a new typology of indefinite pronouns, and of negative indefinites in particular, based on a representative 179-language sample and a convenience sample of 20 languages. This work builds on Kahrel (1996) and Haspelmath (1997).

Negative indefinites have been proven difficult to define. In this dissertation, they are defined as indefinites with negation as their most important function. This definition includes negative indefinites with negation as their only function and negative indefinites with non-negative uses that still have negation as their most important function. With respect to the interaction of negative indefinites with clausal negation, two main patterns are distinguished: negative concord, involving the co-occurrence with clausal negation while yielding semantic negation only once, and the negative quantifier strategy, the pattern in which negative indefinites express negation independently. Negative indefinites involved in negative concord are called ‘n-words’ and negative indefinites involved in the negative quantifier strategy are called ‘negative quantifiers’.

In total, 28.5% languages from the large sample have negative indefinites, either n-words or negative quantifiers. The typological study of negative indefinites furthermore reveals that negative concord is not the most frequent pattern cross-linguistically, despite the claims that have been made in the recent literature. It occurs in 19% of the sample languages and shows geographical skewing towards Eurasian languages. In addition, languages are shown to differ considerably with respect to the nature of their negative concord systems. The negative quantifier strategy is predicted to be less frequent than negative concord and the reason is a functional one: clausal negation is predicted to be expressed clausally and not on the constituent. This is borne out by the data. 11.7% of the sample languages exhibit the negative quantifier strategy. There is geographical skewing towards Mesoamerican languages.

Morphologically, two types of negative indefinites are distinguished: morphologically negative ones and morphologically non-negative ones. Morphologically negative n-indefinites are assumed to arise via negative absorption, either of a clausal negator, a negative scalar focus particle, a non-verbal negator or a negative existential verb. Absorption of a clausal negator is by far the most frequent type. Morphologically non-negative n-indefinites arise via the quantifier cycle, which refers to the semantic change that indefinites can undergo from non-negative elements to negative ones. With respect to the interaction between clausal negation and the diachrony of negative indefinites, negative absorption leads to the dispreferred strategy, which is predicted to be restored. Restoration is more often found in languages with indefinites that have absorbed negative scalar focus particles than in languages with indefinites that have absorbed clausal negation. A low

degree of lexicalization can be assumed for the indefinites in those languages in which restoration has not taken place. The other pattern leading to the dispreferred negative quantifier strategy, viz. the Jespersen Cycle, is predicted to be very rare and perhaps even restricted to Europe.

On the basis of similarities between the negative concord and double clausal negation, a relation has been claimed to exist between the two phenomena. Negative concord has been claimed to be a condition for double clausal negation. This claim is refuted. The sample languages show that negative concord and double clausal negation are basically unrelated phenomena, which can in certain cases exhibit an interesting interaction.

The sample languages that do not have negative indefinites use non-negative forms to convey negated indefiniteness. The typology suggested here is based on Kahrel (1996), but adds some finer distinctions. In particular, I added a strategy for languages that use the same forms for universal quantification and negative quantification. This type is found in African languages. I also tried to find out whether a language uses a negative polarity indefinite or a non-specific indefinite, in case it uses a 'special indefinite' in negation (terminology of Kahrel (1996)). If a language uses a polarity-sensitive indefinite, it mostly seems to concern a negative polarity item rather than a non-specific indefinite.

Apart from a typology of indefinites in negation, this dissertation proposes a new map to cover the cross-linguistic variation in the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns. The map remedies some of the problems of the map suggested in Haspelmath (1997). On this new map, I tried to consistently map meanings and contexts to yield functions that correspond to meanings-in-context. It is different in four main respects. Firstly, it takes into account the lexical semantics of indefinites. Widening and non-widening indefinites are distinguished. Widening indefinites are shown to functionally differ from non-widening indefinites when used in identical contexts. Secondly, unlike Haspelmath's map, the map allows one to categorize an indefinite as a negative indefinite, despite possible non-negative uses. Thirdly, it adds a function for universal quantification. Fourthly, it maps indiscriminacy readings of free choice items.

The new map is taken to the test on the basis of a biased convenience sample of 20 languages.

Abstract – Nederlands

Dit proefschrift biedt een nieuwe typologie van onbepaalde voornaamwoorden, en van negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden in het bijzonder. De typologie is gebaseerd op een representatieve steekproef van 179 talen en een *convenience sample* van 20 talen. Dit werk bouwt voort op Kahrel (1996) en Haspelmath (1997).

Negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden laten zich niet gemakkelijk definiëren. In dit proefschrift worden ze gedefinieerd als onbepaalde voornaamwoorden met negatie als belangrijkste functie. Deze definitie behelst negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden met negatie als enige functie en negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden met positieve functies die negatie toch als belangrijkste functie hebben. Twee patronen worden onderscheiden die betrekking hebben op de interactie tussen negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden en zinsnegatie: negatieve concordantie en de negatieve kwantor-strategie. Negatieve concordantie is de term voor het patroon waarin negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden worden gebruikt in combinatie met zinsnegatie terwijl ze slechts één enkele semantische negatie uitdrukken. Talen met de negatieve kwantor-strategie beschikken over negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden die op zichzelf zinsnegatie uitdrukken. Negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden die het negatieve concordantiepatroon vertonen worden hier ‘n-woorden’ (*n-words*) genoemd en negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden die de negatieve kwantor-strategie vertonen worden ‘negatieve kwantoren’ (*negative quantifiers*) genoemd.

De typologische studie toont aan dat 28.5% van de sample talen negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden hebben, hetzij n-woorden of negatieve kwantoren, of beide. Verder wordt vastgesteld dat negatieve concordantie niet het meest frequente patroon is om negatieve onbepaaldheid uit te drukken, in tegenstelling tot wat vaak beweerd wordt in de literatuur. Het komt voor in 19% van de *sample* talen, voornamelijk in Euraziatische talen. Bovendien verschillen de talen beduidend wat betreft de aard van het negatieve concordantiesysteem. Vanuit functioneel oogpunt verwacht men dat de negatieve kwantor-strategie minder vaak voorkomt dan negatieve concordantie omdat zinsnegatie bij voorkeur op het zinsniveau wordt uitgedrukt en niet op de constituent. Dit is inderdaad wat de resultaten tonen: slechts 11.7% van de *sample* talen gebruiken de negatieve kwantor-strategie. Wat areale tendensen betreft, zien we dat deze strategie voornamelijk in Meso-Amerikaanse talen voorkomt.

Twee types negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden worden onderscheiden op basis van hun morfologie: morfologisch negatieve en morfologisch niet-negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden. Morfologisch negatieve *n-indefinites* (negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden) komen tot stand via negatieve absorptie van een zinsnegator, een negatief scalair focus partikel, een negator die geen zinsnegator is, of van een negatief

existentieel werkwoord. Absorptie van een zinsnegator is duidelijk het meest voorkomende type. Morfologisch niet-negatieve *n-indefinites* komen tot stand via de kwantor-cyclus. De kwantor-cyclus verwijst naar de semantische verandering die onbepaalde voornaamwoorden kunnen ondergaan van positieve elementen naar negatieve elementen. Er is een relatie tussen de twee strategieën met zinsnegatie en de diachronie van negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden. Negatieve absorptie leidt tot de typologisch onwenselijke negatieve kwantor-strategie. Talen worden verwacht deze onwenselijke negatieve kwantor-strategie te herstellen. Herstel van het onwenselijke patroon is vaker zichtbaar in talen met onbepaalde voornaamwoorden die een negatief scalair focus partikel hebben geabsorbeerd dan in talen met onbepaalde voornaamwoorden die een zinsnegatie hebben geabsorbeerd. Een lage graad van lexicalisatie van bepaalde negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden kan verklaren waarom bepaalde talen zinsnegatie nog niet heringevoerd hebben. Het andere pad dat tot de onwenselijke negatieve kwantor-strategie leidt, is de Jespersen Cyclus. Deze oorzaak lijkt echter zeer zeldzaam en zou zelfs beperkt kunnen zijn tot Europa.

Op basis van de gelijkenissen tussen de negatieve concordantie en dubbele zinsnegatie werd er geclaimd dat er een relatie bestaat tussen beide fenomenen. Negatieve concordantie zou een voorwaarde zijn voor dubbele zinsnegatie. Deze claim wordt hier gefalsificeerd. De *sample* talen tonen dat negatieve concordantie en dubbele zinsnegatie in de grond ongerelateerde fenomenen zijn, die enkel in sommige gevallen een interessante interactie kunnen vertonen.

De *sample* talen zonder negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden gebruiken positieve vormen om negatieve kwantificatie uit te drukken. De typologie die hier wordt voorgesteld is gebaseerd op die van Kahrel (1996), maar wordt verfijnd. Een strategie wordt toegevoegd voor talen die dezelfde vorm gebruiken voor universele en negatieve kwantificatie. Dit type vindt men in Afrikaanse talen. Verder heb ik getracht uit te zoeken of een taal een negatief polair item gebruikt of een niet-specifiek onbepaald voornaamwoord wanneer een taal een “speciaal” item gebruikt (terminologie van Kahrel (1996)). Wanneer een taal inderdaad een speciaal item ter beschikking heeft, lijkt dit vaker een negatief polair item dan een niet-specifiek item.

Naast een typologie van onbepaalde voornaamwoorden in negatie wordt er in dit proefschrift ook een nieuwe map voorgesteld die de crosslinguïstische variatie in de functionele distributie van onbepaalde voornaamwoorden in kaart kan brengen. De map remedieert sommige van de problemen met de map die werd voorgesteld in Haspelmath (1997). Op deze nieuwe map worden betekenissen en contexten op consistente wijze gecombineerd om tot functies te komen die betekenissen-in-context weergeven. De map verschilt voornamelijk op vier vlakken van Haspelmath's (1997) map. Ten eerste wordt er rekening gehouden met de lexicale semantiek van de onbepaalde voornaamwoorden. Verbredende (*widening*) onbepaalde voornaamwoorden zijn functioneel verschillend van

niet-verbredende (*non-widening*) negatieve onbepaalde voornaamwoorden wanneer ze gebruikt worden in dezelfde context. Ten tweede maakt de map zichtbaar wanneer een onbepaald voornaamwoord kan beschouwd worden als een negatief onbepaald voornaamwoord ondanks mogelijke niet-negatieve functies. Ten derde wordt er een functie toegevoegd voor elementen die universele kwantificatie kunnen uitdrukken. Ten vierde wordt niet-onderscheidbaarheid (*indiscriminacy*) als mogelijke betekenis-in-context voor Vrije Keuze Items (*free choice items*, FCIs) toegevoegd.

De nieuwe map wordt tenslotte getest op basis van het *convenience* sample van 20 talen.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Aims and background

This dissertation aims to do two things. The first goal is to provide an overview of the forms used to convey negative indefiniteness, as exemplified by the English sentences in (1) and (2).

- (1) I did not see anyone.
- (2) Nobody saw me.

The second goal is to propose a map that can grasp the cross-linguistic variation in the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns in general. This means that uses of indefinite pronouns outside negation, such as those in (3), (4) and (5), are also taken into consideration for the development of a functional map.

- (3) Anyone can do it.
- (4) Someone called.
- (5) I want to go somewhere.

Each of these goals has been partly pursued before in two separate works. Kahrel (1996) conducted a typological study aimed at understanding the different strategies used to convey negative indefiniteness and Haspelmath (1997) developed a semantic map for indefinite pronouns. However, the current study will differ from the previous works in several respects.

Kahrel's (1996) results are based on a rather limited representative sample of 40 languages. In contrast, the results of my typological study of negated indefiniteness are based on a large geographically and genetically stratified sample of 179 languages, which can be found in the appendix. The sample is based on the sample that was compiled by Miestamo (2005) according to the sampling method proposed by Rijkhoff et al. (1993) and used by Miestamo (2005) for his typological study on sentential negation. However, in case a grammar of a particular language did not provide sufficient information on indefinites in negation, the language is replaced by a language from the same genus or by a language from a different genus that was not represented within a certain family yet, so as to keep the

sample as representative as possible. In total 61 of 179 languages were replaced.¹ The large sample allows me to more convincingly refute certain Eurocentric claims that were made in the recent literature about the frequency of the different strategies, in particular about negative concord. Apart from using a different sample, this work will differ from Kahrel's (1996) with respect to the types of strategies that will be distinguished. I will propose a typology that will be more refined than Kahrel's (1996). Haspelmath (1997) also reports on the forms used to convey the senses 'no one', 'nothing', etc. However, he only does so for a non-representative sample of 40 languages. Haspelmath (1997) also uses another, larger and representative sample of 100 languages, but this sample is only used to study the formal properties of indefinite pronouns.

Haspelmath's (1997) main thesis is a semantic map for indefinite pronouns. However, there are two problems with the map. The first problem concerns his biased sample. Haspelmath's map is based on a 40-language sample, of which 30 are European, if the Caucasus is included, and 27 if it is excluded (Haspelmath 1997:17). Given the fine-grained character of the functional distribution of indefinites across languages, only the better-described languages can be used to accurately depict the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns. Consequently, the problem of bias could not be remedied in this work. Like Haspelmath (1997), I have used a biased convenience sample. The sample consists of 20 languages, of which 10 were also described in Haspelmath (1997). The sample is given in Table 1. The languages that were treated in Haspelmath (1997) are in bold.

¹ 6 of 29 African languages, 1 of 15 Eurasian languages, 8 of 21 South East Asian and Oceanic languages, 21 of 38 Australian and Papua New Guinean languages, 7 of 36 North American languages and 18 of 39 South American languages were replaced.

Family	Genus	Language
Indo-European	Romance	French
		Romanian
		Italian
		Spanish
	Germanic	Swedish
		Dutch
		German
		English
	Slavic	Czech
	Greek	Greek
Northwest Caucasian	Indic	Oriya
	Northwest Caucasian	Adyghe
	Turkic	Uyghur
	Korean	Korean
	West Chadic	Hausa
	Defoid	Yoruba
	Malayo-Sumbawan	Indonesian
	Barito	Malagasy
	Oceanic	Maori
	Interior Salish	Lillooet

Table 1: 20-language sample

The second problem with Haspelmath (1997) apart from the European bias concerns the architecture of the semantic map. The semantic map faces several theoretical and practical problems. An extensive discussion of the problems will form the background against which the new map has to be interpreted. Like Haspelmath's (1997) map, my map will represent meanings as well as contexts, but unlike Haspelmath's (1997) map, the new map will consistently map 'meanings-in-contexts', a concept that will be discussed in Chapter 5. The new map will be tested against the convenience sample of 20 languages in Chapter 6. It is arguably more suitable to depict the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns.

1.2. Methodology

The data for the typological study mainly come from the relevant grammars, but wherever I could, I supplemented the data from the grammars with data from detailed studies. In addition, I consulted native speakers whenever this was possible. Apart from quantitative claims, based on the 179-language sample, I also included better-described non-sample

languages to discuss certain relevant phenomena involving negative indefinites from a qualitative perspective. The data from the non-sample languages come from grammars and language-specific articles on negative indefinites, negative polarity and negation. The data on which the new meanings-in-context map is based, are mainly from language-specific or comparative articles on indefinite pronouns, often about one particular series of indefinite pronouns. However, depending on the extent to which a certain language and its indefinite system have been described, the data for the new map also come from grammars and native speakers. The glosses used in this work are the glosses from the grammars. Apart from being made uniform with respect to the abbreviations, the glosses from the original works are kept.

1.3. Scope

This dissertation applies a functional and a formal perspective with respect to the forms under consideration. Formally, the forms under consideration are pronouns in the broad sense. This means that I looked for any kind of proform: pronouns (replacing noun phrases), pro-adverbs (replacing adverbial phrases) and proadjectives (e.g. *some kind of*), which will be considered as indefinite determiners. Although they are evidently functionally very similar, I will largely exclude indefinite articles from the discussion. However, in the absence of indefinite pronominal elements, I loosened the formal criterion and included indefinite nominals too, as was also done in Haspelmath (1997). In languages in which there are no pronouns to fulfill the functions that are fulfilled by indefinite pronouns in other languages, I applied a functional perspective. This is especially relevant for the typological study on negated indefiniteness. As will be shown, many languages use non-pronominal means to express the concepts for ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, ‘no’, etc.

Functionally, an element is considered an indefinite element when its function is to establish indefinite reference. An item establishes indefinite reference when the identity of the referent is not known to the addressee. As Haspelmath (1997:12) also points out this is not to say that the indefinite forms at stake cannot have other functions apart from expressing indefiniteness. The form *anything* in *anything will do*, for instance, expresses free choice and indefiniteness. Negative indefinites like *nothing*, on the other hand, are a combination of non-existence and indefiniteness. The different meanings apart from indefiniteness that indefinite pronouns can express, will be treated in Chapter 5.

Haspelmath (1997:11-12) points out that the category of indefinite pronouns has often been treated as a sort of wastebasket category. Haspelmath (1997:11-12) mentions four types of expressions that are often put in the category of “indefinite pronoun” in descriptive grammars. Since I experienced the same and since I will differ from Haspelmath in some respects in the way I treated some of them, I will list them here as well.

(a) mid-scalar quantifiers² like *few*, *many*, *several*.

Haspelmath (1997:11) notes that mid-scalar quantifiers express quantity and have nothing to do with indefiniteness, which is shown by the fact that many of them can freely combine with the definite article (English *the few*, *the many*,...). But on the same page, Haspelmath (1997) adds that some are incompatible with the definite article (English **the some*) and that some are formally very similar to indefinite pronouns (e.g. English *some* [sm] (mid-scalar quantifier) vs. *some* [sɒm] (indefinite determiner)). Despite this, Haspelmath (1997) leaves them out of consideration. The exclusion also seems to be related with the fact that Haspelmath (1997) is implicitly about singular count indefinite pronouns and determiners, as was noted by van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011a). In cases in which the mid-scalar quantifiers and the corresponding indefinite determiner forms are related, the mid-scalar quantifiers just seem to add the notion of plurality to the notion of indefiniteness. Unlike Haspelmath (1997), I included plural indefinite determiners in the study.

(b) generic pronouns like French *on* ‘one’, German *man* ‘one’

Haspelmath (1997:12) points out that formally, generic pronouns are pronouns and functionally, they express indefiniteness. But like in Haspelmath (1997), these forms are not treated here because they exhibit properties that are very different from indefinite pronouns like *something*. For more on indefinite pronouns with generic reference, see Coussé & van der Auwera (2012) and van der Auwera, Gast & Vanderbiesen (2012).

(c) universal quantifiers like *all* and *every*

As Haspelmath (1997:12) notes, universally quantified noun phrases are semantically definite. Apart from that, he points at a connection between free choice indefinites like *any* and universal quantifiers like *every*. The connection will be addressed in section 4.5.

(d) identity pronouns and determiners like *other* and *same*

Haspelmath (1997:12) notes that these pronouns are concerned with identity and non-identity and do not have anything to do with indefiniteness. Although this seems to be true in most cases, some show an interesting relation with indefiniteness. English, for example, has the pronoun *another* which is a univerbation of the indefinite article *an* and a non-

² Haspelmath (1997:11) chose the term because they can be arranged on a Horn scale of quantity, on which they occupy a middle position: all – most – many – several – few – none.

identity adjective *other*. Another interesting case is the complex non-identity pronoun *somebody/something else*. *Else* is not a regular adjective (**an else person*) and the combination could be considered a sort of non-identity indefinite pronoun. Still, like Haspelmath (1997), I have excluded identity pronouns from the discussion, unless they were the main strategy to express negated indefinites, as will be discussed in section 4.9.

In sum, the forms under study are indefinite pronouns whose function is to establish indefinite reference. In case no pronominal elements are available, I included indefinite nominals into the discussion.

1.4. Roadmap

The typology of indefinites in negation will be reported on in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. In Chapter 2, I will report on the formal properties of the indefinites from the 179-language sample. In Chapter 3, I will present the typology of negative indefinites. In Chapter 4, I will discuss non-negative strategies to convey negative indefiniteness. I will propose a taxonomy of different non-negative strategies that consists of 6 different subtypes, which partly overlap with the functional types distinguished by Kahrel (1996). In Chapter 5, I will introduce a new map to cover the functional domain of indefinites in general and in Chapter 6, I will test the new map against the convenience sample of 20 languages.

2. Typology of indefinites in negation: formal properties

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of the formal types of indefinite pronouns that I found in the 179-language sample. This means that I will report on the formal properties of elements like English *someone* and *anyone* in (6), German *jemand* ‘someone’ and *niemand* ‘nobody’ in (7), Swahili *mtu* ‘someone’ in (8) or Albanian *dikë* ‘someone’ and *kush* ‘someone’ in (9).

(6) English

- a. I saw someone.
- b. I didn’t see anyone.

(7) German

- a. Jemand hat mich gesehen.
someone has me seen
‘Someone saw me.’
- b. Niemand hat mich gesehen.
nobody has me seen
‘Nobody saw me.’

(8) Swahili

- a. Mtu a-li-ni-gusa.
man 3SG-PST-me-touch
‘Someone has touched me.’
(Haspelmath 1997:302)
- b. Si-on-i mtu.
1SG.NEG-see-NEG man
‘I didn’t see anyone.’

(9) Albanian

- a. Pasi shkëmbeu nja dy fjäle me dikë.
‘After she exchanged a few words with someone.’
(no gloss, Newmark et al. 1982:283)
- b. Nuk erdhi kush të më takojë.
NEG came.3SG who to me meet.SBJV.3SG
‘Nobody came to meet me.’
(Turano 1998:159)

2.2. Bases and indefiniteness markers

Indefinite pronouns mostly consist of a derivational base and an indefiniteness marker. There are three main types of derivational bases: interrogatives, as in English *no-where*, generic nouns such as ‘man’, as in Dutch *nie-man-d* ‘no one’, or ‘thing’, as in English *no-thing*, and the numeral ‘one’, as in English *no one*.

2.2.1. Indefinite bases

2.2.1.1. Interrogatives

Interrogatives are the most common derivational base for indefinite pronouns. Ultan (1978:230) finds only two languages in a randomly selected but geographically, genetically and typologically stratified sample of 79 languages (Ultan 1978:213) that have indefinites that are not based on or identical to interrogative pronouns and consequently treats it as a near-universal characteristic of natural language. Haspelmath (1997:26) finds the characteristic in 63 of his set of 100 languages. Of the 326 languages for which Haspelmath (2011) provides information, 194 languages have interrogative-based pronouns or 59%.

In my 179-language sample, 97 languages use indefinite pronouns that are derived or identical to interrogative pronouns.³ This means that 54.1% of the languages use interrogatives as derivational base. The languages are represented in Table 2.⁴

³ For the following languages, not enough information on the bases or the indefiniteness markers could be found: Ambai, Nasioi, Huichol, Makah, Rama. For Washo, I did not find any information on the indefiniteness marker. Probably the Washo indefinites are bare interrogative-indefinites.

⁴ The macro-areas will sometimes be abbreviated as ‘Af’ (Africa), ‘EA’ (Eurasia), ‘SEA’ (South East Asia and Oceania), ‘Aus & PNG’ (Australia and Papua New Guinea), ‘NA’ (North America) and ‘SA’ South America.

Africa	Kanuri (1)
Eurasia	Basque, Eastern Armenian, Hindi, Albanian, Icelandic, Finnish, Khalkha, Evenki, Korean, Japanese, Nivkh, Hunzib, Legzian (13)
South East Asia & Oceania	Khasi, Khmu', Vietnamese, Pacoh, Kmher, Cantonese, Tibetan, Burmese, Lai, Meithei, Thai, Seediq, Rukai, Chamorro, Tagalog, Muna, Gayo, Kambera (18)
Australia & Papua New Guinea	Korafe, Abau, Tiwi, Maung, Bininj-Gun Wok, Wardaman, Kayardild, Mara, Jingulu, Garrwa, Gaagudju, Gooniyandi, Bardi (13)
North America	Haida, Wappo, Wiyot, Cheyenne, Lakota, Squamish, Oneida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Takelma, Siuslaw, Klamath, Nez Perce, Miwok, Koasati, Huave, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Chiapas Zoque, Karok, Central Pomo, Washo, Maricopa, Otomí, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chocho, Nevome, Nahuatl, Purépecha (29)
South America	Damana, Teribe, Páez, Waorani, Imbabura Quechua, Jaqaru, Mapuche, Awa Pit, Tehuelche, Hup, Chipaya, Guaraní, Paumarí, Baure, Andoke, Yagua, Wai Wai, Mosestén, Shipibo-Konibo, Araona, Canela-Krahô, Urarina, Kwáza (23)

Table 2: Interrogative-based indefinites

2.2.1.2. *Generic nouns*

42 languages in Haspelmath's (1997) sample have indefinites that are based on or identical to generic nouns like 'person', 'thing', 'place', 'time'. Of the 326 languages for which Haspelmath (2011) provides information, 85 or 26% are generic-noun based. My sample languages with generic-noun based forms used in negation are listed in Table 3. I have found them in 75 of 179 languages or 41.9%, a result remarkably similar to Haspelmath's (1997). It must be noted, however, that the strategy involving generic-noun based indefinites is often a non-grammaticalized strategy; in many cases these languages use regular indefinite noun phrases instead of indefinite pronouns in negative sentences. This will be discussed in section 4.9.1.

Africa	Ju'Hoan, Nama, Diola-Fogny, Ijo, Ewe, Supyire, Gbeya-Bossangoa, Nupe, Yoruba, Degema, Igbo, Koyraboro Senni, Kanuri, Maba, Nubian, Majang, Lango, So, Bagirmi, Kresh, Ma'di, Ngiti, Kunama, Tera, Hausa, Beja, Somali, Iraqw, Egyptian Arabic (29)
Eurasia	/
South East Asia & Oceania	Nicobarese, Cantonese, Burmese, Seediq, Tagalog, Muna, Gayo, Biak, Lewo (9)
Australia & Papua New Guinea	Nabak, Kobon, Menya, Sentani, Daga, Koiari, Amele, Mauwake, Usan, Orokolo, Kilmeri, Malakero, Inanwatan, Abun, Arapesh, Abau, Yimas, Mende, Skou, Lavukaleve, Kayardild, Ngiyambaa (22)
North America	Slave, Bella Coola, Yuchi, Seri, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Mam (6)
South America	Yanomámi, Hup, Tuyuca, Aguaruna, Trumai, Sikuani, Wari', Mosetén (8)
Creoles	Haitian Creole (1)

Table 3: Generic noun-based indefinites

2.2.1.3. *The numeral 'one'*

As noted in Haspelmath (1997:29), some languages have 'one'-based indefinites, mostly used as indefinite for the ontological category PERSON rather than THING. Haspelmath (1997:29) notes that very rare cases in which this is not so can be found and provides the example from Legzian where the indefinites for the category PLACE are 'one'-based. I can add the exceptional case of Nicobarese, where *hat-heang* < *hat* NEG *heang* 'one' means 'nothing' and not 'nobody' (Man 1889:63). The languages with 'one'-based indefinites are listed in Table 4.

'one'	Kresh (probably also generic), Egyptian Arabic, Eastern Armenian, Icelandic, Nicobarese, Cantonese, Chamorro, Lewo, Slave, Otomí, Warao, Tehuelche, Hup, Tuyuca, Chiquitano (15)
-------	--

Table 4: 'One'-based indefinites

The frequencies of the bases as represented in Tables 2, 3 and especially 4 should be treated with caution, for very often grammars say precious little on indefinite pronouns.

2.2.1.4. Generics and interrogatives

As one can see in Table 2 and Table 3, some languages have generic-based indefinites, as well as interrogative-based indefinites. The difference between the two paradigms is often determined by whether the form is used to establish specific reference or not.

This can be illustrated on the basis of Abau and Seediq. In Abau, indefinites in negation are interrogative-based, as illustrated in (10), whereas indefinites for ‘someone’, ‘something’ are generic-based, shown in (11).

- Abau
- (10) Ok lopa, sa po-ay ok k-e
 talk NEG.NLZ then/and Q-what.NH talk 3SG.F-O
 ma-lohruw la korey.
 RPT-talk eat NEG
 ‘Alright, nothing needs to be said anymore.’
 (Lock 2011:250)
- (11) Uwr prueyn hiy-kwe mango yokun lie owr a
 man one 3SG.M-TOP mango theft go.up pick a
 kok ö.
 day.time EMPH.SP.IMPF
 ‘Someone has climbed up in the mango tree and is picking and eating all the fruit right now.’
 (Lock 2011:257)

In Seediq, indefinites in the scope of negation can be generic-based and interrogative-based, as illustrated in (12) and (13).

- Seediq
- (12) Ini qita ani ima seediq.
 NEG see.CONNEG even who person
 ‘Nobody else could look,...’
 (Henningsson & Holmer 2008:35)
- (13) Ini -mu qta-i ani ima.
 NEG -1SG.ERG see-CONNEG even who
 ‘I haven’t seen anybody.’
 (Henningsson & Holmer 2008:36)

To establish specific reference, however, only generic bases can be found, as exemplified in (14).

(14) Seediq

Wada	mu	pmahan	seediq	sino	nii.
PRET	1SG	drink.CAUS	man	wine	this

‘I invited someone to drink this wine.’
(Holmer 1996:140)

Apart from Abau and Seediq, this difference seems to be found in Kanuri, Cantonese, Burmese, Chamorro, Tagalog, Muna, Gayo, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Otomí, Awa Pit, and Mosetén. Note that the feature 46A in *WALS*, which reports on the derivational base of indefinite pronouns, only marks one derivational base. For Seediq, for example, *WALS* notes that it has generic-based indefinites. Another example is Tagalog. Tagalog is marked for the existential construction, which will be discussed in section 4.4. But Tagalog also uses generic noun-based indefinite phrases for specific reference and interrogative-based pronouns for non-specific reference.

2.2.2. Indefiniteness markers

2.2.2.1. Prefixes, particles and suffixes

Apart from a derivational base, indefinite pronouns often contain an indefiniteness marker. The term ‘indefiniteness marker’ describes the element that is added to the derivational base. The term follows Haspelmath (1997:22), who took it from Veyrenc (1964) (*indicateur d’indétermination*). This element may be an affix, both a prefix, e.g. English *no-* in *nothing*, or a suffix, e.g. *-que* in French *quel-que* ‘which-*que*’, or a particle (or more particles), e.g. Dutch *wie dan ook*, lit. ‘who then also’, ‘anyone’. It can also be stem modification, a type that was not found in any sample language. Table 5 shows the three forms of indefiniteness markers that are found on indefinites used in negation in the languages under study.

Prefix	Albanian, Eastern Armenian, Basque, Brahui, Chamorro, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chocho, Huave (< Sp.), Icelandic, Karok, Mam, Mansi, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Nahuatl, Nicobarese, Otomí (< Sp.), Paumarí (< Sp.), Purépecha, Tiwi, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Chiapas Zoque ⁵
Particle	Canela-Krahô, Cantonese, Degema, Hindi, Igbo, Ijo, Iraqw, Páez, Seediq, Tagalog, Tibetan
Suffix	Awa Pit, Burmese, Chipaya, Damana, Epena Pedee, Evenki, Ewe, Finnish, Gayo, Gooniyandi, Guaraní, Hunzib, Icelandic, Japanese, Jaqaru, Kanuri, Kayardild, Khalkha, Khasi, Korean, Lai, Lakhota, Lezgian, Mapuche, Meithei, Nivkh, Imbabura Quechua, Shipibo-Konibo, Somali, Tagalog, Wai Wai, Waorani, Wiyot

Table 5: Languages with prefixes, particles and suffixes on indefinites in negation

2.2.2.2. Reduplication

Indefiniteness can also be marked by means of reduplication, as in Latin *quisquis* ‘anyone’. Reduplication as indefiniteness marker on indefinites in negation is found in the languages in Table 6.

Reduplication	Chamorro, Diola-Fogny, Khasi, Muna, Nupe, Seediq, Yoruba
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Table 6: Languages with reduplication as indefiniteness marker on indefinites in negation

In a study on reduplication, Gil (2005:35) distinguishes meanings such as plurality, large quantity, large number, large size, intensiveness, universal quantification, distributivity, indefiniteness, interactivity, durativity, and reciprocity. Haspelmath (1997:180-181) notes on reduplication that it adds the meaning of ‘increased quantity’, after Moravcsik (1978:317), who distinguishes two subtypes: increased quantity of referents and amount of emphasis, and she subsumes indefinite pronouns under the first category. As Haspelmath (1997:180) notes, it is not immediately clear how indefinite pronouns are linked to plurality. Whereas in some languages, reduplication of either a generic or, more frequently, an interrogative base leads to distributive universal quantifiers ‘every’, e.g. Vietnamese *ai ai* ‘everyone’ (Dinh-Hoà (1997:45), Thai *khay khay* ‘everyone’ (Iwasaka & Ingkaphirom 2005:303), reduplication may also lead to *any*-type indefinites. Therefore, Haspelmath (1997) vaguely concludes that free choice, negative polarity and non-specificity, all of which are notions that describe the meaning of *any*, are also important meaning components of reduplication.

Apart from reduplicated forms in negation, I also came across many other reduplicated forms in all language families. The fact that reduplicated indefinites can be found anywhere

⁵ The abbreviation ‘Sp.’ indicates that the indefiniteness marker is borrowed from Spanish.

is also noted by Haspelmath (1997:179). The languages with reduplicated indefinite pronouns not used in negation from the sample are listed in Table 7.

Warao	<i>isaka isaka</i>	‘someone’	<i>isaka</i> ‘one’	(Romero-Figueroa 1997:69)
Huave	<i>kwej-kwej</i>	‘anything at all’	<i>kwej</i> ‘thing’	(Kim 2008:217)
Nicobarese	<i>hadôh-hadôh</i>	‘something, anything’	<i>hadôh</i> ‘any’	(Man 1888:134)
Inanwatan	<i>árete</i>	‘whatever’	<i>árete</i> ‘what’	(de Vries 2004:69)
Ngiyambaa	<i>ɲa:ndi ɲa:ndi</i>	‘any at all’, ‘just any’, ‘who.PL’	<i>ɲa:ndi</i> ‘who’	(Donaldson 1980:271)
Kambera	<i>ngga-nggamu</i>	‘whoever, anybody’	<i>nggamu</i> ‘who’	(Klamer 1994:38)

Table 7: Reduplicated forms, not used in negation found in sample language

I also came across the following reduplicated forms from non-sample languages. These are listed in table 8.

Malagasy	<i>na iza na iza</i>	‘anyone’	<i>iza</i> ‘who’	(Hanitramalala & Paul 2012:624, also in Haspelmath 1997:180)
Paiwan	<i>ima-ima</i>	‘anyone, everyone’	<i>ima</i> ‘who’	(Egli 2002:73)
Kisi	<i>isǎǎ-ǎ- isǎǎ</i>	‘anything’ (in NEG)		(Childs 1995:303)
Karo Batak	<i>ku ja ku ja</i>	‘anywhere’ (in NEG)	<i>ku ja</i> ‘where’	(Woollams 2005:540)
Tukang Besi	<i>paipaira</i>	‘anything’ (in NEG)	<i>paira</i> ‘what’	(Donohue 1999:369)
Kavalan	<i>tiana-tiana/tia-tiana</i>	‘anyone’	<i>tiana</i> ‘who’	(Chen & Sung 2005:110)
Moskona	<i>mar erg-e(m)-rgem</i>	‘anything of any kind’ (in NEG)	<i>mar</i> ‘thing’, <i>erg</i> ‘one’	(Gravelle 2010:180)
Indonesian	<i>apa apa</i>	‘anything’	<i>apa</i> ‘what’	(Sneddon 1996:173)

Table 8: Reduplicated indefinites found in non-sample languages

2.2.2.3. Indefinite articles

Since I also included non-pronominal forms into the typological study of means to convey negative indefinites, it must be noted that sometimes, the indefiniteness marker is the indefinite article. This is the case in the languages from Table 9.

Africa	Nama, Ijo, Gbeya-Bossangoa, Yoruba, Koyraboro-Senni, Maba, Lango, So, Ma’di, Hausa, Kunama, Beja (12)
Eurasia	Evenki (1)
South East Asia & Oceania	Lewo (1)
Australia & PNG	Nabak, Kobon, Daga, Koiari, Usan, Makalero, Arapesh, Gooniyandi (8)
North America	Seri, Bella coola, Squamish, Siuslaw ⁶ (4)
South America	Yanomámi, Sikuani, Wari’ (3)

Table 9: Indefinite article as indefiniteness marker on indefinites in negation

⁶ In the case of Bella Coola, Squamish and Siuslaw, it involves the use of a non-specific determiner.

2.2.2.4. Zero marking

An indefiniteness marker can also be absent, in which case the numeral ‘one’, a bare generic or the bare form of an interrogative is used as indefinite pronoun. Bare generics are found in the languages in Table 10.

Africa	Ju’Hoan, Supyire, Nupe, Degema, Igbo, Maba, Nubian, Majang, Bagirmi, Ngiti, Tera, Egyptian Arabic (12)
Eurasia	Albanian (1)
South East Asia & Oceania	Seediq, Biak (2)
Australia & PNG	Menya, Sentani, Amele, Mauwake, Mende, Inanwatan, Orokolo, Kilmeri, Abun, Yimas, Skou, Ngiyambaa (12)
North America	Slave (1)
South America	Rama, Hup, Tuyuca, Aguaruna, Trumai, Mosetén (6)
Creoles	Haitian Creole (1)

Table 10: Bare generics in negation

Bare interrogatives used as indefinites are quite common. Of the 100 languages Haspelmath (1997) investigated, 64 have indefinites based on interrogatives and 31 of 64 languages use bare interrogatives, which is 48% of the interrogative-based indefinites and 31% of the entire sample. Gärtner (2009:12) counts 62 out of roughly 150 languages, but his sample is not a representative sample. I have found 45 of 97 languages with interrogative-based indefinites that use bare interrogatives in negation, which is 46.4% of the interrogative-based indefinites and 25.1% of the entire sample. The languages are shown in Table 11.

Eurasia	Albanian (1)
South East Asia & Oceania	Khmu’, Vietnamese, Pacoh, Khmer, Cantonsese, Tibetan, Thai, Rukai, Chamorro (9)
Australia & PNG	Maung, Wardaman, Mara, Jingulu, Gaagudju, Korafe, Abau (7)
North America	Haida, Wappo, Cheyenne, Squamish, Oneida, Tsimshian, Chinook, Takelma, Siuslaw, Klamath, Nez Perce, Miwok, Koasati, Karok, Washo, Maricopa, Nevome (17)
South America	Teribe, Tehuelche, Andoke, Yagua, Mosetén, Wichí, Shipibo-Konibo, Araona, Urarina, Kwáza, Hup (11)

Table 11: Interrogative-indefinites in negation

The relative distribution according to macro-areas can be seen in Table 12.

Macro-area	Lgs in sample	Interr-indef	Percentage
Africa	29	0	0
Eurasia	15	1	6.7
South East Asia & Oceania	21	9	42.9
Australia & PNG	38	7	18.4
North America	36	17	47.2
South America	39	11	28.2
Creole	1	0	0
Total	179	45	25.1

Table 12: Interrogative-indefinites according to macro-areas

I spread across all macro-areas except Africa. Areal influences can therefore not fully account for the interrogative-indefinite identity feature. One can see that it is especially frequent in North America and South East Asia and Oceania. Note that the fact that these languages use bare interrogatives in negation does not mean that they use the forms for all indefinite functions. Haspelmath (1997:172) notes that the bare interrogatives often fulfill non-specific functions rather than specific ones.

On the basis of Table 11, one can conclude that the interrogative-indefinite identity is a common property. This raises questions about why this is so. As Haspelmath points out, interrogatives and indefinites are functionally very similar; they share the fact that ignorance is at play. This can be illustrated on the basis of the sentences in (15) and (16), also used by Haspelmath (1997:175).

(15) Someone stole my bike.

(16) Who stole my bike?

The shared semantics is captured by the term ‘ignorative pronoun’, a term introduced by Karcevski (1969) and used by many (e.g. Wierzbicka 1980, in Haspelmath 1997:175) to refer to forms that are used in information questions as well as with an indefinite meaning. Another term used in the literature to refer to this category of pronouns is ‘epistemes’, after Mushin (1995:3). The term ‘epistemes’ refers to the lack of knowledge that is implied by the use of interrogatives and indefinites. Bhat (2004:227) describes this as “an information gap”: “in the case of an interrogative usage, the gap represents the speaker’s inability to provide the necessary information, whereas in that of an indefinite usage, it represents either his inability or his unwillingness to do so.”

Some claim that there is also support for the development from indefinite to interrogative. Firstly, McGregor (1990) notes that the indefinite reading is in some sense functionally prior to the questioning sense, since the indefinite reading only marks “I don’t have knowledge in this category”, and the interrogative function adds illocutionary force. This view is also represented in Lyons (1977:758). Secondly, what also makes interrogatives more marked than indefinites is the fact that interrogatives are generally more restricted in word order. Mushin (1995:6) notes, for example, that in Mayali, an ignorative is only fronted or topicalized when it functions as an interrogative. Thirdly, though in Mushin’s Australian sample, most languages do not add extra material to mark the questioning function, there is one that does, namely Ngiyambaa, as illustrated in (17) and (18).

(17) ᵐᵃːndi-wa:-buy manabi-y-aga?
 who.ABS-EXCLAM-GROUP OF MANY hunt-CM-IRR
 ‘Who will go hunting in a group of more than two?’
 (Donaldson 1980:265)

(18) ᵐᵃːndi-ga:-buy manabi-y-aga!
 who.ABS-IGNOR-GROUP OF MANY hunt-CM-IRR
 ‘I don’t know who will go hunting in a group of more than two!’
 (Donaldson 1980:265)

36

hypothesis that interrogatives derive from indefinites (INDEF > INT), since these interrogatives are only equally, and not more complex than indefinites.

The main argument against the INDEF > INT hypothesis is that there is no positive evidence, as noted by Haspelmath (1997:176) and for this reason he concludes that the hypothesis INDEF > INT hypothesis must be rejected. One would expect interrogatives with etymological traces of earlier indefiniteness. His general conclusion (Haspelmath 1997:176) is that “interrogative-indefinite pronouns” can neither go back to interrogative pronouns in a well-understood way, nor go back to indefinite pronouns”.

Bhat (2004) suggests that the set of pronouns from which interrogatives and indefinites readings result are underdetermined and vague in the first stage. This can be schematically represented as in (19).

- (19) Stage 1 ignorative (indefinite = interrogative)
 Stage 2 indefinite

The underspecified ignoratives may then be disambiguated by using one or more non-pronominal device (Bhat 2004:231). Bhat (2004:230) provides an example from Lakhota to show that non-pronominal means serve the purpose of disambiguating the interrogative-indefinite forms. In Lakhota, sentences containing the ignoratives in their interrogative sense contain a question particle *he*, as shown in (20) and (21).

- Lakhota
- (20) šúka ki táku yaxtáka he?
 dog the what bite Q
 ‘What did the dog bite?’
- (21) šúka ki táku yaxtáka.
 dog the something bite
 ‘The dog bit something.’
- (Van Valin 1993:98, quoted in Bhat 2004:226)

Apart from using question particles, other non-pronominal means are the use of interrogative intonation, the use of interrogative mood and different word order.

In conclusion, interrogative-indefinite forms seems to be a common typological feature that cannot be accounted for in terms of areal influences. With respect to the availability of indefinite readings of interrogative forms, a claim has been made relating the use of interrogative-indefinites to ‘wh’-in-situ (interrogatives that are not fronted for focus). More specifically, Cole and Hermon (1998) have claimed that languages with ‘wh’-in-situ are predicted to have interrogative-indefinites as well. Bruening (2007:139) refutes this relation

and notes that there is no connection between ‘wh’-in-situ and the presence of interrogative-indefinites. Bruening (2007:140) has found ‘wh’-in-situ languages that do not use interrogative-indefinites. Bruening (2007:157-8) mentions Samoan, Slave, Harar Oromo and Turkish as ‘wh’-in-situ languages that have generic-noun-based indefinites. It is also interesting to note that the reverse implication that if a language has interrogative-indefinites, it has ‘wh’-in-situ is also false. Bruening (2007:158) concludes that the biconditional *wh-in-situ* \leftrightarrow *wh-indefinites* is false.

2.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I looked at the formal properties of indefinite pronouns from the 179-language sample. I distinguished between derivational bases and indefiniteness markers. For the derivational base, I looked at forms for specific reference, corresponding to ‘something’, ‘someone’, etc. and non-specific reference in negation, corresponding to ‘anyone’, ‘no one’, etc. The three derivational bases found in the sample are interrogatives, generics and the numeral ‘one’. The most common derivational base for indefinite pronouns are interrogatives. Haspelmath (1997) found it in 63% of his languages. I found it in 54.1% of the sample languages. Generics are the second most common base. Haspelmath (1997) found it in 42% of the languages and I found it in 41.9% of the languages. A minor third category, for which no numbers are provided in Haspelmath (1997), consists of the ‘one’-based indefinites. I have found this derivational base in 8.3 % of the languages.

For the indefiniteness markers, I looked at the forms used in negation. With respect to indefiniteness markers, 6 different markers have been distinguished: prefixes, particles, suffixes, reduplication, zero marking and the indefinite article. Zero marking can imply that the interrogative bases are used or that a bare generic is used. I have elaborated on the morphological process of reduplication and the use of bare interrogatives as indefinites. Reduplication is a common morphological process that has been suggested by Haspelmath (1997) to be able to yield the meaning of non-specificity. The fact that I found reduplicated indefinites in negation in 7 languages confirms this. Reduplication is also found to yield indefinite pronouns not used in negation, but almost never for indefinites with specific reference. Examples from sample and non-sample languages were provided.

Bare interrogative-indefinites have received some attention in the recent literature. Haspelmath (1997) already showed that bare interrogative-indefinites are a common feature. He found them in 31% of the languages from his sample. I found them in 25.1% of the sample languages. The fact that it is so common supports the fact that the forms are in fact not interrogatives, but ignoratives or forms that mark a lack of information. I will not use the term ‘ignoratives’, but I will use the terms ‘bare interrogatives’ or ‘interrogative-indefinites’.

3. Negative indefinites

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will start with a description of the functional properties of negative indefinites followed by a definition of negative indefinites that is based on, but different from Haspelmath (1997). ‘Negative indefinites’ will be used as a term to describe negative indefinites like Russian *nikto* in (22), which despite their negative meaning require the presence of sentential negation, as well as indefinites like English *nobody* in (23), which can express negation independently.

- (22) Russian
Nikto ne videl nikogo.
nobody NEG saw nobody
‘Nobody saw it.’
(Brown 1999:35)

- (23) English
Nobody saw it.

Words like the Russian *nikto*, which pattern with sentential negation will be called ‘n-words’, as is often done in the literature on negative indefinites since the coinage of the term by Laka (1990). Words like the English *nobody*, which express negation on their own, will be called ‘negative quantifiers’ (NQs). The terms will be used here for descriptive purposes, not because I want to claim that there is a difference in quantificational status; negative indefinites, both n-words as well as negative quantifiers, are used to express negative quantification. The terms are merely used to distinguish two different patterns regarding the presence of sentential negation.

The definition of negative indefinites that will be presented in 3.2 will allow me to address the issue of ‘negative concord’, henceforth sometimes abbreviated as ‘NC’. ‘Negative concord’ is the term that is used to describe the pattern in Russian in which negative indefinites co-occur with sentential negation, seemingly expressing negation twice (or more, in case there are more negative indefinites), though semantically there is only one negation. Negative concord will be discussed in section 3.3 on the interaction of negative indefinites with sentential negation. The discussion of negative concord will include a definition, a description of the different types and an overview of typological claims about its frequency. In section 3.3 another type of interaction with sentential negation will also be discussed, viz.

the negative quantifier strategy. Unlike negative concord, this strategy involves negative indefinites that do not co-occur with sentential negation to convey a negative meaning.

After the definitional issues, I will discuss the claims made in the literature about negative indefinites in section 3.4. More specifically, I will discuss claims made about the frequency of negative concord. In section 3.5, I will then discuss the results of the typological study of a representative 179-language sample both from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. In section 3.6, I will distinguish two formal types of negative indefinites: morphologically negative ones and morphologically non-negative ones. I will discuss these formal types and discuss the diachronic developments that lead to the different types. The diachronic development of former non-negative indefinites will be discussed in a separate section 3.7 on the quantifier cycle. The discussion of the diachrony will be discussed partly on the basis of the sample languages and partly based on supplementary data on languages not included in the sample, mainly taken from the literature on negative indefinites. After having discussed the formal types of negative indefinites, and how they arise, I will discuss the different patterns with respect to the presence or absence of sentential negation that different types of negative indefinites exhibit from a diachronic perspective. This will be done in section 3.8. Lastly, in section 3.9, I will discuss the relation between negative concord and double clausal negation.

Basically, Chapter 3 covers two things. On the one hand, it supplements Haspelmath's (1997) chapter on negative indefinites, since it is based on many more languages. Some of the data will also shed new light on the different types of negative indefinites and their correlation with sentential negation. On the other hand, it aims to settle certain claims made in the literature on negative concord that were not treated by Haspelmath (1997), as a consequence of his definition of negative indefinites.

3.2. Definition

3.2.1. From Bernini & Ramat (1996) to Haspelmath (1997) to the present work

In the most important typological works on negative indefinite pronouns and determiners, two definitions of negative indefinites can be found, yielding two different taxonomies of negative indefinites; one in the work by Kahrel (1996) and Bernini & Ramat (1996), and a radically different one in Haspelmath (1997).

According to Bernini & Ramat's (1996:118) definition, a negative indefinite, or an 'inherently negative quantifier' in their terminology, is an indefinite that can have a negative meaning in elliptical verbless contexts. According to this definition, indefinites that have absorbed morphological negation and express negation independently, e.g. English

nobody, as in sentence (24) as well as indefinites with non-negative morphology that co-occur with sentential negation, like French *personne*, as used in sentence (25), can be negative indefinites.

(24) English

Nobody saw me.

(25) French

Personne	ne	m'a	vu.
nobody	NEG	me-have	seen

'Nobody saw me.'

Even though it is not mentioned explicitly, Kahrel (1996) uses the same definition. Kahrel (1996) uses the term 'zero quantification' to refer to negative indefinites and distinguishes two types of negative indefinites: the ones that co-occur with clausal negation, as in Hungarian (sentence (26)) and the ones that do not, as in Chukchi, shown in sentence (27).

(26) Hungarian

Nem	volt	soha	sehol	senki	se.
NEG	be.PST.3SG	never	nowhere	nobody	NEG

'There was absolutely nobody there.'

(Kahrel 1996:49)

(27) Chukchi

Va'nêvan	ni'-tvi-nên.
nothing	3SG-tell-3SG

'She told him nothing.'

(Kahrel 1996:46)

Kahrel (1996) is criticized on account of what he considers negative indefinites or indefinites expressing 'zero quantification'. In particular, Haspelmath (1997:194) criticizes the ellipsis criterion used to categorize an indefinite as a negative indefinite and points out that, even though it yields clear results in most cases, problematic counterevidence can be found. Haspelmath (1997:194) discusses some 'free standing indefinites', as he calls them, which can yield a negative meaning in elliptical contexts, but can also be found in other non-negative functions. Sentences (28) and (29) show that even though the Catalan indefinite pronoun *res* can have a negative meaning in a context with an ellipted verb, the indefinite can also be found in a conditional context with a non-negative meaning.

Catalan

- (28) Ells ho tenen tot, nosaltres res.
 they it have everything we nothing
 ‘They have everything, we nothing.’

(Haspelmath 1997:196)

- (29) Si dius res, et castigaran.
 if you.say anything you they.will.punish
 ‘If you say anything, they’ll punish you.’

(Haspelmath 1997:196)

Another example comes from French, where *personne* ‘nobody’ can express a negative meaning in a short answer, as shown in (30), but can still be used in a non-negative context like a comparative, as shown in (31).

French

- (30) As-tu vu quelqu’un?
 have-you seen anyone
 ‘Have you seen anyone?’
 Non, personne.
 ‘No, nobody.’
- (31) Elle le fait mieux que personne.
 she it does better than anyone
 ‘She does it better than anyone.’

Other languages for which similar patterns are attested are Italian, Spanish, Persian and Turkish (Haspelmath 1997:196). Haspelmath’s (1997:196) explanation for cases in which a non-negative indefinite, i.e. an indefinite that can be used with a non-negative meaning, can be used with a negative meaning in elliptical contexts is that with those indefinites, the association with negation is strong enough to mentally restore the verb with its negation.

Haspelmath’s (1997) definition of a negative indefinite is therefore not based on the ellipsis-criterion and is radically different from the one by Bernini & Ramat (1996). Haspelmath (1997:199) uses “the term *negative indefinite pronoun* in the deliberately vague sense ‘indefinite pronoun that has “direct negation” as an important function’.” This can only be understood against the background of Haspelmath’s semantic map for indefinite pronouns.

On the basis of a 40-language sample, Haspelmath (1997) designed a semantic map that contains nine cross-linguistically relevant functions of an indefinite pronoun. According to the semantic map approach, different functions on the map are thought of “as existing in

a semantic or functional space” (Haspelmath 1997:62). As Dahl (1999:665) stresses, a central claim is that these nine functions can be ordered on an implicational map; the way the different functions are connected, can be reconstructed on the basis of both diachronic and synchronic material. If a certain item in a certain language fulfills two of more functions, they must be adjacent. A function can be discovered by comparing languages: if a certain language uses one form for two functions, but another one uses separate forms for the two functions, these function have to be distinguished. Diachronically, this means that whenever an indefinite acquires a new function, the new function will be adjacent to the older one. After having conducted a typological study based on his 40-language sample, Haspelmath (1997) ended up with 9 functions, which are listed below.⁷

(32) Haspelmath’s 9 functions

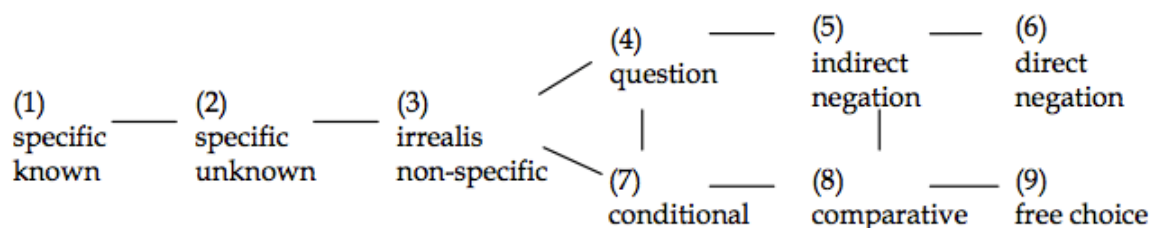
1. Specific known: *Someone called yesterday... Guess who?*
2. Specific unknown: *Somebody called ... I don’t know who it was.*
3. Irrealis non-specific: *Buy me some newspaper.*
4. Question:
 - a. *Did you see anything?*
 - b. *Did you see something?*
5. Indirect negation:
 - a. *I don’t think somebody has seen it.*
 - b. *I don’t think anybody has seen it.*
6. Direct negation:
 - a. *I didn’t see anything.*
 - b. *Nobody saw anything.*
7. Conditional:
 - a. *If you hear anything, let me know.*
 - b. *If you hear something, let me know.*
8. Comparative: *The boy runs faster than anyone in his class.*
9. Free choice: *Anyone can solve the problem.*

Combining them on an implicational map yields the semantic map represented in (524). The semantic map for English indefinites is presented in (525).⁸

⁷ All the examples are taken from Haspelmath (1997).

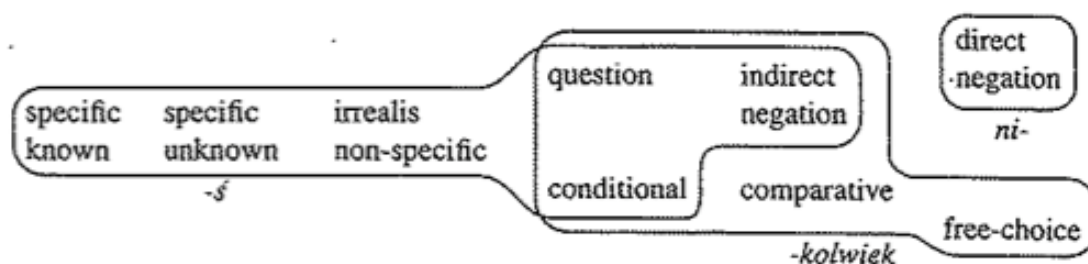
⁸ In Chapter 5, the problems with Haspelmath’s (1997) semantic map will be elaborately discussed. For the purpose of illustrating Haspelmath’s (1997) definition of negative indefinites, the information provided here should be sufficient.

(33) Haspelmath's (1997) semantic map of indefinite pronouns

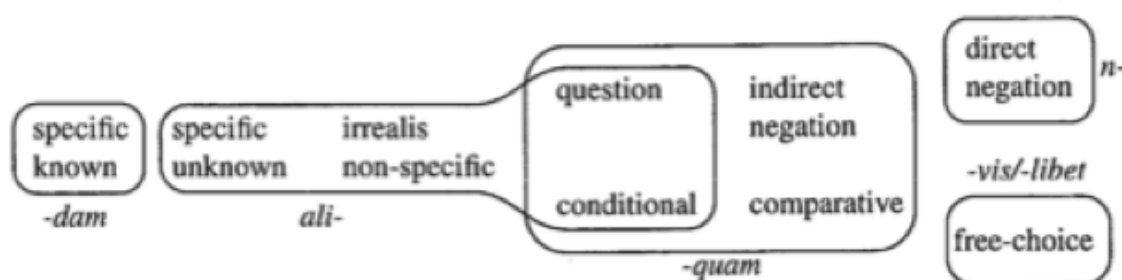


A negative indefinite is thus an indefinite that has function 6., 'direct negation', as an important function. Because of the architecture of the map, Haspelmath (1997) does not have to be more explicit. Polish *nikt* 'nobody' as well as Latin *nemo* 'nobody', for example, are negative indefinites that are exclusively used in the direct-negation function, as is shown on maps (34) and (35).

(34) Semantic map for Polish indefinites (Haspelmath 1997:271)

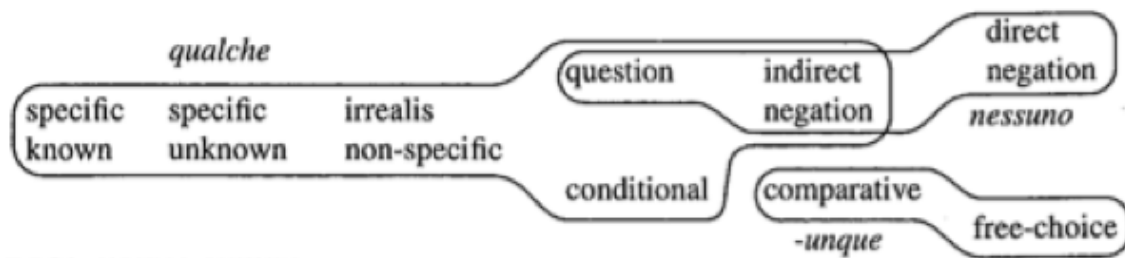


(35) Semantic map for Latin indefinites (Haspelmath 1997:254)



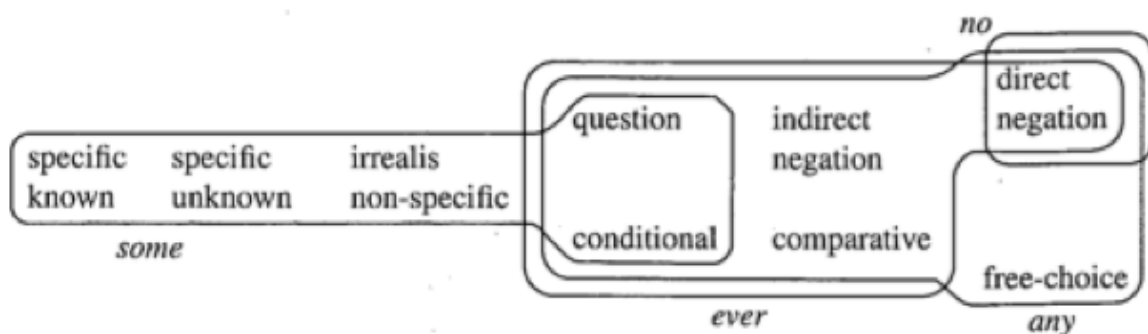
Italian *nessuno* 'nobody', on the other hand, is also considered a negative indefinite, despite the fact that it can also be found in questions and indirect negation, as shown in (36), because it has negation as one of its functions.

(36) Semantic map for Italian indefinites (Haspelmath 1997:262)



English *any*-indefinites are different still: the *any*-series consists of negative indefinites in the sense of Haspelmath (1997) that can also be used in questions, conditionals, indirect negation, comparatives and in the free choice function, as is shown in the map in (37).

(37) Semantic map for English indefinites (Haspelmath 1997:249)



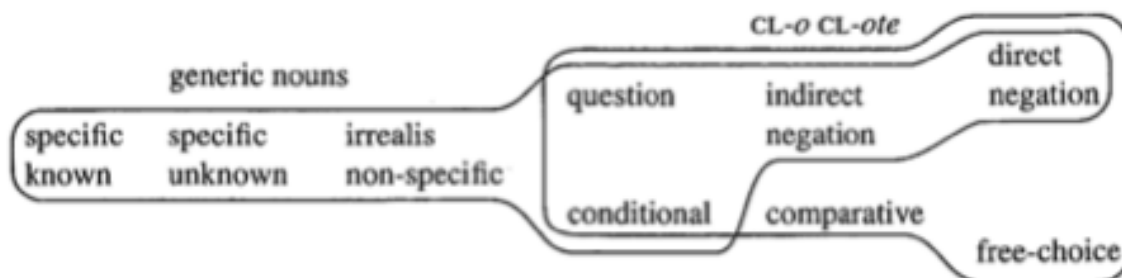
Even the Swahili noun *mtu* 'person' can be considered a negative indefinite, since it has negation as an important function, as is shown in (38). At the same time, the Swahili noun can also have the 'specific-known' function, as shown in (38)b., which is rather counterintuitive if one labels it a negative indefinite.

(38) Swahili

- a. Si-ku-ona mtu.
1SG-NEG.PRF-see person
'I didn't see anybody.'
(Haspelmath 1997:215)
- b. Pana mtu.
there.is man
'There is someone.'

The map for Swahili can be found in (39).

(39) Semantic map for Swahili indefinites



In conclusion, as long as a certain indefinite can be used to express ‘nobody’ or ‘nothing’, either by appearing in the scope of sentential negation, as in the case of Swahili *mtu*, or by virtue of its negative character, as in the case of the English *nobody*, it can be considered a negative indefinite in Haspelmath’s (1997) terms.

Interestingly, however, when it comes to explaining grammaticalization paths of indefinite pronouns, Haspelmath (1997:229) seems to use the term ‘negative indefinite’ in another sense. In the section on indefinites becoming increasingly restricted to the negative function (like the French *rien*, originally ‘thing’, now ‘nothing’), he contrasts ‘non-negative expressions’ to ‘negative indefinites’ (Haspelmath 1997:229). So it seems uncontroversial to say that some indefinites have direct negation as a more important function than other indefinites that can be used to convey the sense ‘nothing’ or ‘nobody’, not just in the case of elements like *nobody*, which have direct negation as their only function, but also in the case of the French *personne*, for which the function ‘direct negation’ seems more important than other functions. My definition is based on this consensus and defines negative indefinites as **indefinites that have direct negation as their most important or their only function**. This type of difference in prominence is not visible on the map and is meaningful in my view. Note that this definition covers what Haspelmath’s (1997) definition wanted to cover with his definition, viz. the fact that some indefinites can express negation in elliptical contexts while at the same time have non-negative meanings in certain non-negative contexts. My definition represents a shift in perspective: whereas the fact that indefinites yielding a negative meaning in elliptical contexts can under certain circumstances convey a non-negative meaning prevents Haspelmath (1997) from using the term ‘negative indefinite’, I chose to use the term ‘negative indefinite’ despite possible non-negative uses. The reason for doing so is that for the majority of negative indefinites found in the sample, the negative status is undisputed and only for very specific negative indefinites, namely those that develop from non-negative items, like the French *personne*, originally ‘person’,

now ‘nobody’, the definition has to be stretched to include special cases. A similar point is also made by Jäger (2008:159), who notes that the distinction between negative polarity indefinites, which will be explained in section 3.2.3, and negative indefinites should not be given up.

The question how one decides that the negative function is the most important one will be addressed in the next paragraph.

3.2.2. Two types of negative indefinites

If one defines negative indefinites as indefinites with negation as their most important or their only function, one has to formulate criteria that allow one to decide when negation is the most important function. I will first discuss negative indefinites with negation as their only function, and after that negative indefinites with negation as their most important function.

3.2.2.1. *Negative indefinites with negation as their only function*

The easy cases are cases of negative indefinites with negation as their only function. Also in this category two different types can be distinguished. The first type consists of negative indefinites with negation as their only function that are nevertheless unable to convey a negative sense independently in elliptical contexts. This is a type that has first been mentioned in the literature by van der Auwera & Gybels (2014:207) in a discussion of the Yiddish proform *keyn(er)* ‘no’, ‘nobody’. *Keyn(er)* does not occur alone in elliptical contexts as shown in (40), despite the fact that it is only used in negation.

(40) Yiddish

Vemens	fatsheyle	iz	es?	Keyners	nit?
whose	shawl	is	it	nobody’s	not

‘Whose shawl is it? Nobody’s?’

(Mark 1978:247, quoted in van der Auwera & Gybels 2014:207)

The Yiddish case provides a counterexample to Haspelmath’s absolute universal that “if an indefinite series that is used in the ‘direct negation’ function is not used in any other function, it may be used elliptically with a negative interpretation” (Haspelmath 1997:197). Another counterexample is found in the Niger-Congo Kwa language Ewe and documented in Van Alsenoy (2012:10-11). Ewe has the indefinite pronouns *ame adeke* ‘nobody’, *naneke*

‘nothing’, which can only be used in negative sentences with the sentential negator, an example of which is given in (41).

- (41) Ewe
 Ame aḍeke me-kpɔ ame aḍeke o.
 person no NEG-saw person no NEG
 ‘Nobody saw anything.’
 (Nada Gbegble, p.c.)

Still, despite its functional restriction, the forms cannot serve as an elliptical answer. Instead a negative existential verb is used in combination with a generic noun, as in (42).

- (42) Ewe
 Me-nye ame.
 NEG-be person
 ‘Nobody.’, lit. ‘There is not a person.’
 (Nada Gbegble, p.c.)

Still another, unrelated example comes from Skolt Saami. Miestamo & Koponen (submitted) point out that negative indefinites containing the negative indefinite marker *ni* are restricted to direct negation, but in elliptical uses they still require the presence of the negative auxiliary, as shown in (43).

- (43) Skolt Saami
 a. ħeässa mä’htt tōn kuåsttâd?
 in.summer how it.ACC reach.INF
 ‘How does one reach it in summer time?’
 b. Ij ni mä’htt.
 NEG.3SG NEG how
 ‘In no way.’
 (Miestamo & Koponen submitted)

Yiddish, Ewe and Skolt Saami show that a restriction to negative functions does not necessarily mean that the forms at stake can convey a negative meaning without the presence of clausal negation.

The second type consists of negative indefinites with negation as their only function that can contribute a negative meaning independently. This type is exemplified by English *nobody*, Dutch *niemand* ‘nobody’ and Russian *nikto* ‘nobody’. Dutch *niemand* is a negative

quantifier, meaning that it occurs without clausal negation, as shown in (44). It is used in negation only and can be used as a short answer, shown in (46).^{9 10}

- Dutch
- (44) Niemand heeft gebeld.
 nobody has called
 ‘No one has called.’
- (45) Heeft er iemand gebeld? Nee, niemand.
 has there someone called no, no one
 ‘Has anybody called? No, no one.’

Another example comes from the negative concord language Russian. The Russian negative indefinites are only used in negative sentences. They are used with clausal negation in non-elliptical sentences, as shown in (46), and can occur alone in elliptical contexts with a negative meaning, as shown in (47).

- Russian
- (46) On nikogo ne znaet.
 he nobody NEG knows
 ‘He knows nobody.’
- (47) Kogo on znaet? Nikogo.
 who he knows nobody
 ‘Who does he know? Nobody.’
 (van der Auwera & Gybels 2014:206-207)

In sum, for these two types of negative indefinites, negation is clearly their only function. The majority of negative indefinites in my sample will be shown to be of this type.

⁹ The Dutch negative quantifiers do occur in questions, as in *Heeft er niemand gebeld?* ‘Has nobody called?’ However, in section 3.2.3, questions will be shown to be able to host expletive negation and therefore they do not constitute a context based on which one can categorize a certain indefinite as negative or non-negative.

¹⁰ In certain Belgian Dutch dialects, negative concord is the rule. Instead of *niemand*, one would use *niemand* ‘nobody’ in combination with the clausal negator *niet*. This has been reported on in van der Auwera et al. (2006) among others.

3.2.2.2. Negative indefinites with negation as their most important function

More difficult cases of negative indefinites are negative indefinites that can sometimes convey a non-negative meaning despite their ability to express negation in elliptical contexts. These forms are always *n*-words, in the sense that they normally co-occur with clausal negation in standard declarative negative sentences. The presence of clausal negation with *n*-words, called ‘negative concord’, will be discussed in section 3.3.1. Some *n*-words have been attested in contexts where they convey a non-negative meaning, which raised questions about how negative some of the *n*-words really are. The languages in which *n*-words with non-negative uses have been attested are the Romance languages Spanish, Catalan, Italian and French but also Irish, Persian, Turkish, Maltese, Japanese and Korean. I will first illustrate the fact that the *n*-words in these languages can indeed convey a negative meaning, after which I will discuss how one could reconcile their negative meaning with non-negative uses.

A notorious *n*-word with non-negative uses, is French *personne*. An example of *personne* in a short answer, which shows that it has a negative meaning despite non-negative uses, has already been given in (30). Other patterns mentioned in the literature (e.g. in Déprez 1997, Déprez & Martineau 2004, Vallduví 1994, Herburger 2001, Penka 2011, de Swart 2010) that reveal the similarities between undisputed negative indefinites like English *nobody* and *n*-words involve double negation readings, modification by ‘almost’ and ‘absolutely’ and the possibility of occurring in subject position.¹¹

When *personne* occurs two times in a sentence, not only the negative concord reading (- & - = -) is possible, but also a double negation reading (- & - = +), as is shown in sentence (48). It shares this property of being able to yield a positive reading with undisputed negative indefinites like *nobody* and *nothing* in English, as shown in (49).

(48) French

Personne n’a vu personne.

nobody NEG-has seen nobody

Negative concord reading: ‘Nobody saw anybody.’

Double negation reading: ‘Nobody saw nobody.’ Or ‘Everybody saw someone.’

¹¹ In fact, the ‘almost’-modification test, going back to Carlson (1980,1981), is often used to test the quantificational force of negative indefinites, more specifically to test whether they are universal or existential quantifiers. Its validity as a diagnosis for universal quantifiers has been questioned and invalidated several times (e.g. on empirical grounds in Błaszczak 2001, Horn 1972, and on the basis of a semantic analysis of the modifier in Penka 2011:229ff.). This does not preclude its validity to show resemblance between *n*-words and undisputed negative indefinites like *nobody*.

(49) English

Nobody knows nothing.

Only double negation reading: 'Everybody knows something.'

Of course, this test reveals resemblance as well as difference, since the negative quantifiers can only yield double negation. Still the double negation reading is what sets *personne* apart from other non-negative indefinites that can also be used in negation like French *qui que ce soit* 'anybody at all' or the English *anybody*.

The difference between non-negative indefinites in negation and n-words like *personne* can also be shown on the basis of another pattern that leads to double negation, namely with the second clausal negator *pas*. First, sentences (50) and (51) show that *personne* can be replaced by *qui ce soit* to yield a similar meaning, the latter being more emphatic. Sentence (52) and (53) then show that whereas the presence of the second negator *pas* yields a double negation in the case of *personne*, it does not in the case of *qui que ce soit*.

French

- (50) Je n'ai vu personne.
I NEG-have seen personne
'I didn't see anybody.'
- (51) Je n'ai vu qui que ce soit.
I NEG-have seen anybody
'I didn't see anybody/anything at all.'
- (52) Je n'ai pas vu personne.
I NEG-have NEG seen personne
'I didn't see nobody.' or 'I did see someone.'
- (53) Je n'ai pas vu qui que ce soit.
I NEG-have NEG seen anybody
'I didn't see anybody at all.'

Another similarity between *personne* and negative quantifiers like *nobody* is that *personne* but not *qui que ce soit* or *anyone* in negation allows modification by *presque* 'almost' and *absolument* 'absolutely'. This is shown by sentences (54) and (55).

French

- (54) Je n'ai vu absolument/presque personne.
I NEG-have seen absolutely/almost personne
'I saw absolutely nobody.'

- (55) *Je n'ai vu absolument/presque qui que ce soit.
 I NEG-have seen absolutely/almost anyone
 *‘I didn’t see absolutely/almost anyone.’
 (Depréz & Martineau 2004:142)

A third difference concerns the possibility of occurring in subject position. As can be seen in (56), *personne* can occur in subject position to yield a negative meaning, whereas *qui que ce soit* cannot, as contrastively shown in (56) and (57).

- French
- (56) Personne ne m’a vu.
 nobody NEG me-have seen
 ‘Nobody saw me.’
- (57) *Qui que ce soit ne m’a vu.
 anybody NEG me-have seen
 *‘Anybody didn’t see me.’

The elliptical contexts, the double negation readings, modification by ‘almost’ and occurrence in subject position all show that the disputed negative indefinite *personne* shares properties with undisputed negative indefinites like *nobody*, which it does not share with other unarguably non-negative indefinites that can occur in a negative context.

Another language with n-words that have non-negative uses is Spanish. Like the French *personne*, Spanish n-words can be used in elliptical contexts, shown in (58), can yield double negation readings, as shown in (59), allow modification by ‘almost’, as shown in (60), and can occur in subject position, as shown in (61).

- Spanish
- (58) Temen que el bebé sea autista. Se pasa el
 fear that the baby is.SBJV autistic CL spends the
 tiempo mirando a nada.
 time looking at nada
 ‘They fear the baby is autistic. He spends his time looking at nothing.’
 (Herburger 2001:303)
- (59) Nadie nunca volvió a Cuba.
 nobody never returned to Cuba
 Negative concord reading: ‘Nobody ever returned to Cuba.’
 Double negation reading: ‘Nobody never returned to Cuba.’
 (Herburger 2001:306)

- (60) casi nada
 almost nothing
 ‘almost nothing’
- (61) Nadie vino.
 nobody came
 ‘Nobody came.’

Other languages mentioned in Haspelmath (1997) that have negative indefinites with non-negative uses are the other Romance languages Catalan and Italian but also Welsh, Persian, Turkish, Maltese, Japanese and Korean. Sentences (62) to (68) are all examples of short responses showing the possibility of a negative meaning for each of the indefinites in the languages just mentioned.

- (62) Spanish
 a. Qué viste?
 what saw.you
 ‘what did you see?’
 b. Nada.
 ‘Nothing.’
- (63) Catalan
 a. Qui has vist?
 who.2SG have seen
 ‘Who did you see?’
 b. Ningú.
 ‘No one.’
 (Vallduví 1994:8)

- (64) Maltese
 a. X’rat?
 what-see.PRF.3F.SG
 ‘What did she see?’
 b. Xejn!
 ‘Nothing!’
 (Lucas 2013:440)

- (65) Welsh
 a. Pa ryw newydd, noble Crwmel?
 what kind news noble Cromwell
 ‘What news, noble Cromwell?’

- b. Dim ond darfod cwrs y rhyfel.
 nothing but finish.INF course the war
 ‘Nothing except (only) that the course of war has ended.’
 (Willis 2011:297)

(66) Turkish

- a. Kim geldi?
 who came?
 b. Hiç kimse.
 ‘Nobody.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:196)

(67) Japanese

- a. Nani-o mita no?
 what-ACC saw Q
 ‘What did you eat?’
 b. Nani-mo.
 ‘Nothing.’
 (Watanabe 2004:564)

(68) Korean

- a. Mwues-ul po-ass-ni?
 what-ACC see-PRF-Q
 ‘What did you see?’
 b. Amwu-kes-to.
 amwu-thing-INDEF
 ‘Nothing.’
 (Lee et al. 2000)

In this section, I have shown that the n-words are clearly negative. The question how they can be negative and at the same time be used in certain non-negative uses will be addressed in the next section.

3.2.3. Negative indefinites in non-negative functions

The non-negative functions of n-words are not just any non-negative functions. The non-negative uses always concern uses in so-called ‘negative polarity contexts’, which will be explained here. Negative polarity contexts host negative polarity items (‘NPIs’) like English *any*. Negative polarity contexts largely coincide with downward entailing contexts or scale-reversing contexts. Downward-entailing contexts are contexts that allow for inferences from sets to subsets, whereas upward-entailing contexts allow for inferences from subsets to sets.

As noted in Haspelmath (1997:114-115), negative polarity contexts, like questions, conditionals, comparatives and negation show an entailment relation that is reversed from the one in episodic veridical contexts. Compare in this respect:

- (69) Johanna ate brussels sprouts for dinner.
=> Johanna ate a green vegetable for dinner.
- (70) Johanna didn't eat Brussels sprouts for dinner.
= / => Johanna didn't eat a green vegetable for dinner.
- (71) If Johanna eats Brussels sprouts for dinner, she will die.
= / => If Johanna eats a green vegetable for dinner, she will die.

As noted by Haspelmath (1997:114), the semantic notion of downward-entailment, which has been treated by many as the explanation for negative polarity phenomena since Ladusaw (1979), is closely related to the pragmatic notion of scale-reversal. Fauconnier (1975:195-6) noted that NPIs occur in scale-reversing contexts. Items that take in an endpoint position on a pragmatic scale may lead to scalar implicatures. Consider sentence (72).

- (72) Even my mom danced at the party.
=> Everyone danced at the party.

As is the case with the entailment relations in sentences (69) to (71), the direction of the scalar implicature is not constant across contexts. For sentence (72) to be informative and trigger the scalar implicature, my mom has to be the least likely person on a pragmatic scale of persons likely to dance. In NPI contexts, the scale is reversed. In sentence (73), my mom has to be the most likely person to dance at the party in order to yield the scalar implicature.

- (73) Even my mom did not dance at the party.
=> Nobody danced at the party.

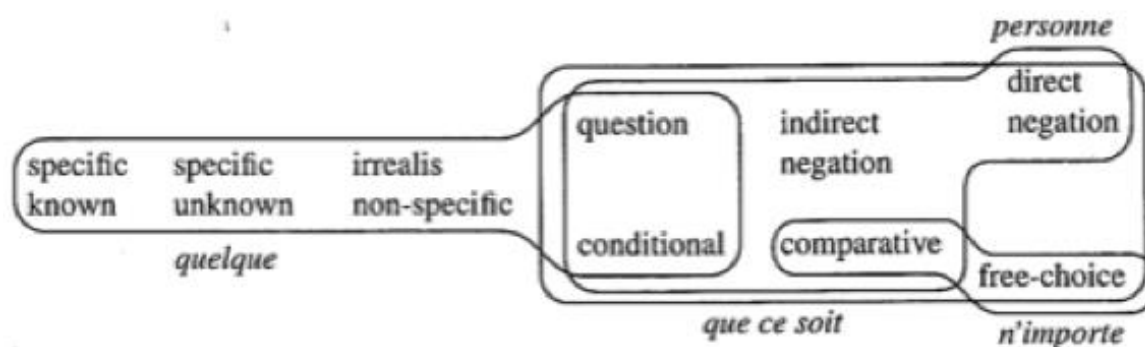
Minimal-unit indefinites may denote endpoints on pragmatic scales, but only on reversed-scales. By virtue of their minimal-unit value, they only yield scalar implicatures in scale-reversing contexts in which they are the most likely item on a pragmatic scale. Being the most likely item on a pragmatic scale of things to eat, sentence (74) is uninformative. In scale-reversing contexts, however, the minimal-unit items yield scalar implicatures.

- (74) I ate a thing.
 (75) If you eat a thing, you will die.
 (76) Nobody saw a thing.

NPIs are treated as items that are sensitive to scale-reversing contexts ('NPI contexts').

NPI contexts other than negation in which n-words can be found include conditionals, questions, comparatives and indirect negation contexts, all of which are visible on Haspelmath's map. As is shown on the semantic map for French in (77), the French *personne*-series, which includes *rien* 'nothing', *aucun* 'no' and *jamais* 'never', is said to cover the 'comparative', 'question', 'conditional' and 'indirect negation' function, as is shown in sentences (78) to (81).

- (77) Semantic map for French



French

- (78) Comparative

Il le fait mieux que personne.
 he it does better than anyone
 'He does it better than anyone.'

- (79) Question

Si l'art n'était vraiment qu'un prolongement de la
 if the.art NEG-was really but-a continuation of the
 vie, valait-il de lui rien sacrifier?
 live would.be.worth-it to him anything sacrifice
 'If art were really only a continuation of life, would it be worth sacrificing anything for it?'

(Haspelmath 1997:260)

(80) Conditional

Je vous rends responsable si rien s'ébruite dans la
I you hold responsible if anything transpires in the
presse.

media

'I will hold you responsible if anything transpires in the media.'

(Haspelmath 1997:261)

(81) Indirect negation

a. subordinate negation: with a negative verb

Je ne pense pas que personne souhaite retarder
I NEG believe NEG that anybody wishes delay
ces travaux.
these works

'I don't believe there is anyone who wants to delay this work.'

b. Subordinate negation: with an adversative predicate

Je doute qu'aucun d'eux réussisse.
I doubt that-anyone of-them succeeds
'I doubt whether anyone of them will succeed.'

c. Negative prepositions

sans personne pour l'annoncer
without anyone to him-announce
'without anyone to announce him'

The Spanish *nada*-series (consisting of *nada* 'nothing', *nadie* 'nobody' and *ningun* 'no') can also occur in questions, conditionals, comparatives and indirect negation, as is shown in sentences (82) to (85).

Spanish

(82) Question

¿Quién ha dicho nada?
who has said anything
'Who has said anything?'

(Gutiérrez-Rexach & Schwenter 2003:128)

(83) Conditional

Si encuentras a nadie igual, cástate con él.
if you.meet anybody similar, marry with him
'If you meet anybody like him, marry him.'

(Bosque 1980:28)

(84) Comparative

Esa niña corre más rápido que nadie.
this girl runs more fast than anyone
'This girl runs faster than anyone.'

(Aranovich 2007:183)

(85) Indirect negation

a. Subordinate negation: negative adversative verb

Dudo que venga ninguno de tus amigos.
I.doubt that comes any of your friends
'I doubt any of your friends will come.'

(Aranovich 2007:183)

b. Negative preposition

López salió sin saludar a nadie.
Lopez left without greeting to anybody
'Lopez left without saying goodbye to anybody.'

c. Negative preposition

Atraparon al ladrón antes de que robara nada.
caught to.the thief before of that he.stole anything
'They caught the thief before he stole anything.'

(Aranovich 2007:194)

The Italian indefinites *niente* 'nothing' and *nessuno* 'nobody' can occur in questions, as is shown in (86) and in indirect negation, as shown in (87).

Italian

(86) Question

a. Ha telefonato nessuno?

has telephoned anybody
'Has anybody called?'

(Zanuttini 1991:141)

b. Ha detto niente di nuovo?

has said anything of new
'Has he said anything new?'

(Haspelmath 1997:81)

(87) Indirect negation

a. Subordinate negation

Dubito che venga nessuno.

I.doubt that comes anybody

‘I doubt that anyone will come.’

(Zanuttini 1991:141)

b. Negative preposition

senza che nessuno

‘without anyone’

The Persian *hič*-series, e.g. *hickas* ‘nobody’, and the Turkish *hiç*-series, which was borrowed from Persian, can also occur in indirect negation and questions. An example in a question context is given in (88).

(88) Persian

Âyâ hič čiz-i mi-šanav-i?

Q any thing-INDEF IMPF-hear-2SG

‘Can you hear anything?’

(Haspelmath 1997:283)

The Maltese, Japanese and Korean negative indefinites are attested in the ‘comparative’ function next to the negative functions, as shown in (89) to (91).

(89) Maltese

Dan huwa l-isbah inkwatru li hadd qatt

this is the-beautiful.CMP picture that anyone ever

pinga.

painted

‘This is the most beautiful picture that anyone ever painted.’

(Haspelmath 1997:297)

(90) Korean

Yeki-ka enu kos pota to te alumtap-ta.

here-TOP which place than indef more beautiful-DECL

‘Here it is more beautiful than anywhere.’

(Haspelmath 1997:315)

- (91) Japanese
 Kono syoonen-wa kono kurasu-no dare-yori-mo hayaku
 this boy-TOP this class-GEN who-from-INDEF fast
 hasir-u.
 run-PRES
 ‘This boy runs faster than anyone in his class.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:312)

Lucas (2013:441) also notes the use of the Maltese *qatt* ‘(n)ever’ in questions and conditionals, as illustrated in sentence (92).

- (92) Maltese
 Jekk qatt tiġi Londra, ejja
 if (n)ever come.IMP.2SG London come.IMP.2SG
 ara-ni.
 see.IMP.2SG-me
 ‘If you ever come to London, come and see me.’
 (Lucas 2013:441)

Remarkably, for each and every one of these contexts or series of indefinites, there is much more to be said. In the next paragraph, I will show that the non-negative uses are marked in two ways. First, the paradigms are often defective in terms of productivity and functional distribution. Second, the contexts in which they occur exhibit the unusual property of possibly hosting expletive negation.

3.2.3.1. Defective paradigms of *n*-words

By looking at the semantic map for the French *personne*-series in (77), and judging on the basis of its non-negative uses, one would think that the *n*-words are negative polarity items. However, although there are attested cases of French *personne* and *rien* in questions and conditionals, as shown in (79) and (80), they can hardly be called productive. The native (non-linguist) speakers of Belgian French I consulted were not even aware of the uses in (79) and (80). The use of *rien* and *personne* in questions and conditionals is clearly confined to archaic contexts and very formal registers. This would also explain why Muller (1991:265) brackets the acceptability of *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* in questions.¹² In the light of these restrictions and this unproductivity, one might ask whether it is a good idea to

¹² Conditionals are not mentioned.

represent the question and conditional as functions of the *personne*-series, considering the fact that other indefinite pronouns in these functions do not share the heavy restrictions at all. The non-negative uses in these contexts could be compared to some rare leftovers of positive uses of the French negator *pas*, as illustrated in (93).

- (93) J'imagine que je désire plus que j'peux pas obtenir.
 I imagine that I desire more than I can X obtain
 'I imagine that I want more than I can obtain.'
 (Larrivée 2004:27)

Whereas Kahrel's (1996) classification of negative indefinites on the basis of the ellipsis criterion does not do justice to the remnant positive uses, Haspelmath's (1997) map does not do justice to these items' negative character that was demonstrated in the previous section.

It must be added, though, that whereas the use of *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* in questions and conditionals does seem to be very marked, the same does not hold for *jamais* 'ever', which is still frequently used in a non-negative sense in questions and conditionals (Muller 1991:265 and Hansen 2012:79). So there appears to be internal variation as to the acceptability and use of elements of the *personne*-series.

The use of the Spanish n-words in questions and conditionals is also defective. Even though the *nada*-series is attested in questions and conditionals, as is shown in sentences (82) and (83), sentences (94) and (95) suggest that this is only the case under limited circumstances.

- Spanish
- (94) *¿Quieres nada?
 want.2SG anything
 'Do you want anything?'
 (Vallduví 1994:12)
- (95) *Si quieres nada, avísame.
 if want.2SG anything let.me.know
 'If you want anything, let me know.'
 (Vallduví 1994:12)

Vallduví (1994:12-13) notes about the uses in (94) and (95), mentioned in Bosque (1980) and Laka (1990), that they were judged ungrammatical by all native speakers he consulted. Vallduví (1994) therefore also answers the question whether the Spanish negative indefinites can also occur in questions and conditionals negatively. Gutiérrez-Rexach & Schwenter (2003:128) note that they are only admitted in rhetorical questions where it is

presupposed that the answer is negative. Again, by letting indefinites like *nada* ‘nothing’ or *nadie* ‘nobody’ share the function of ‘question’ and ‘conditional’ with *alguien* ‘someone, anyone’, *algo* ‘something, someone’, one creates the illusion of their comparability in terms of productivity and even grammaticality. Penka (2011:22) notes about uses of Spanish n-words in conditionals and questions that “since many speakers do not accept them, I think it is best to classify such cases as anachronisms, being remnants of a previous stage of the language when the items that are NI [Negative Indefiniteness] in the present stage of the language were genuine NPIs”. The diachrony of these items will be discussed in section 3.7 on the quantifier cycle.

A restriction on the use of negative indefinites in questions is also relevant for Italian. Haspelmath’s (1997:262) semantic map of Italian shows that Italian indefinites can be used in questions apart from the negative functions. However, though the negative indefinites *niente* ‘nothing’ and *nessuno* ‘nobody’ can occur in polar questions, as was shown in (86), they cannot do so in neutral parametric wh-questions, as is shown in (96) and noted by Haspelmath (1997:81).

- (96) Italian
- | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-------|-------------------|-----------|
| Quando | ha | detto | qualcosa/ *niente | di nuovo? |
| when | has | said | anything/*niente | of new |
- ‘When has he said anything new?’
(Haspelmath 1997:81)

As in Spanish, only a rhetorical parametrical wh-question can contain a negative indefinite, as shown in (97).

- (97) Italian
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|------|-----|-------|----------|----|--------|
| Quando | mai | ha | detto | niente | di | nuovo? |
| when | ever | has | said | anything | of | new |
- ‘When has he ever said anything new?’
(Haspelmath 1997:81)

Again, the n-words exhibit restrictions that the other indefinites in the same function do not exhibit.

In Maltese, the n-word for ‘never’ can still be found in conditionals, as was seen in (92). This, however, does not hold for the other members of the series, nl. *hadd* ‘nothing’, *xejn* ‘nothing’, *imkien* ‘nowhere’ and *ebda* ‘no’.

3.2.3.2. *N-words and expletive negation*

Apart from restrictions and internal variation in the paradigm of non-negative uses of negative indefinites, there is also something remarkable about three of the four contexts where some n-words can have non-negative meanings, notably the question, comparative and indirect negation contexts. These contexts are known to be able to contain expletive negation. ‘Expletive negation’ is a term which refers to a pleonastic, paratactic or redundant use of negation, in the sense that, within a given structure, there is a negative item which does not modify the truth value of the proposition in which it appears (Jespersen 1917, Muller 1991, as cited in Espinal 2007:51). I will first discuss the question context, then the comparative context and will conclude with the indirect negation contexts.

Based on the Italian data in (86) and (96), Haspelmath (1997:81) suggests that the ‘question’ function should perhaps be split up into a ‘parametric question’ function and a ‘regular question’ function, which would then include polar questions as well as rhetorical parametric questions. The ‘regular question’ function would be placed closer to the indirect negation function than the ‘parametric question function’. Data from Dutch, however, show that this cannot be the entire solution. Polar questions also allow for negative indefinites like the Dutch *niemand* and *niets*, as noted in van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c:335), and illustrated in (98) and (99).

- Dutch
- (98) Heb jij niets gezien?
 have you nothing seen
 ‘Did you see anything?’, lit. ‘Did you see nothing?’¹³
- (99) Heeft er niemand gebeld?
 has there nobody called
 ‘Did anybody call?’, lit. ‘Did nobody call?’

Unlike what Haspelmath’s (1997) map predicts, the indefinite pronoun is not allowed in the indirect negation function, as shown in (100).

- (100) Dutch
- | | | | |
|----------|---------|-----------|--------|
| * zonder | niemand | gezien te | hebben |
| without | anybody | seen to | have |
- ‘without having seen anyone’

¹³ Of course, the negative indefinites also allow for a negative reading ‘is it true that you saw nothing?’, but the point here is that *niemand* allows a negatively polar use.

The fact that a negative indefinite like *niemand* ‘nobody’ and *niets* ‘nothing’ can occur in a polar question does not seem to prove the map wrong but suggests that there is something wrong with the validity of the question context as a context to distinguish non-negative indefinites from negative indefinites.

We thus see that even a negative indefinite like *niemand* ‘nobody’, which is normally said not to have any non-negative uses, can be used in a non-negative sense in polar questions. The non-negative sense is shown by the fact that a negative answer to the question in (99) negates ‘somebody called’ and not ‘nobody called’. Not only negative indefinites can fulfil this function, but also clausal negative markers, as can be shown in the Russian example (101).

(101) Russian

Ne	kupil	li	Petr	žurnala?
NEG	bought	Q	Petr	journal.GEN

‘Did(n’t) Petr buy any journal?’
(Abels 2005:44)

This instance of clausal negation in polar questions is an example of expletive negation. From a logical semantic point of view, positive and negative polar questions are equivalent as they have the same answers and the meaning of a polar question may be considered to be its possible answers (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1997). Therefore, negation in a polar question does not contribute a negative meaning, different from what it does in an assertive negative clause. A negative polar question is said to pragmatically differ from a positive one in two respects: the negative polar question conveys information about the background attitude towards the proposition expressed by a positive answer and a negative polar question is ambiguous between what is called an ‘*inside-negation*’ reading and an ‘*outside-negation*’ reading, which can be disambiguated in English by adding polarity items *too* and *either*, as shown in (102) and (103).

English

(102) Didn’t Kim read the report too?

(103) Didn’t Kim read the report either?

For more on the pragmatics of negative polar questions, see Reese (2006).

Whereas the partial coincidence between contexts for n-words and expletive negation has been noted and described several times, e.g. by van der Wouden (1994, 1997), Espinal (1992), the possibility for undisputed negative items such as the Dutch *niemand* and *niets* to

have a non-negative meaning has not been noted before van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c:335).¹⁴

Unlike the Dutch negative indefinites, the Italian ones can also occur in rhetorical parametric questions, as was shown in (86). This is also the case for Spanish negative indefinites. This can also be brought in connection with expletive negation. In Italian, in German and in Dutch, exclamatives in the form of *wh*-questions can contain expletive negation as well, as is shown in (104) to (106).

(104) Italian

Cossa no ghe dise-lo!
 what NEG him say-S.CL
 ‘What things he is telling him!’
 (Portner & Zanuttini 2000:193)

(105) German

Was hat er nicht alles gemacht?
 what has he NEG all done
 ‘The things he has done!’

(106) Dutch

Wat heeft hij niet allemaal gedaan!
 what has he not all done
 ‘The things he has done!’

Remarkably, also the comparative, another non-negative context in which *n*-words are likely to occur, is a context in which expletive negation is often found, e.g. in Old English, Catalan, French and Italian. This is illustrated with French (107) and Italian (108).

(107) French

Marie est plus grande que ne l’est Jean.
 Marie is more tall than not it-is Jean
 ‘Marie is bigger than Jean is’.
 (Donati 2000:56)

¹⁴ Note that I am not claiming that the use of Dutch *niets* in questions is identical to the use of Italian *n*-word *niente* in polar questions. It seems that the use of Dutch *niets* in a question implies that the speaker expects a positive answer whereas the use of *niente* in Italian implies that the speaker expects a negative answer, as negative polarity items do (cfr. the difference between *any* and *some* in questions as discussed by Lakoff 1969). I am merely suggesting that negation in a question can be recycled pragmatically.

(108) Italian

Maria è più alta di quanto non lo sia Giovanni.
Maria is more tall of how.much NEG it is Giovanni
'Maria is taller than Giovanni.'
(Donati 2000:56)

Not unexpectedly, some negative indefinites can also express expletive negation in this context. The Dutch negative determiner *geen ander* 'no' as well as the English *no one else/ no other* can be used in comparatives with non-negative meanings, shown in (109) and (110).

(109) Dutch

U kent immers beter dan geen ander uw eigen visie
you know after.all better than no other your own vision
en wensen.
and wishes
'After all, you know your own vision and wishes better than no other.
(<http://www.schoolcompagnie.nl/concept.html>)

(110) English

The BBC really do adaptations better than no one else.
'The BBC do adaptations better than anyone else.'
(http://bonsoirbeatrix.blogspot.be/2013/03/this-week-watching_17.html)

Instead of analyzing *geen ander* 'no other' or *no one else* as non-negative indefinites, the more appropriate analysis seems to be that *geen* and *no* are primarily negative indefinite determiners that can express expletive negation in comparatives.

Lastly, indirect negation is the third context that can contain expletive negation. Examples are given from Catalan with *abans* 'before', Middle English with a negative predicate *forbid* and German with *bevor* 'before' in sentences (111), (112) and (113).

(111) Catalan

Haurem d'intervenir abans que no arribi el nou gerent.
have.FUT to-take.part before that NEG arrive the new manager
'We will have to take part in the discussion before the new manager arrives.'
(Espinal 1992:333)

(112) Middle English

God defended her that she ne shold loke behynde her.
God forbade her that she NEG should look behind her

‘God forbade her to look behind her.’

(Jespersen 1917:75)

(113) German

Bevor die DDR nicht alle volkswirtschaftlichen Daten offengelegt
before the DDR NEG all economic data made public
habe, könne darüber nicht gesprochen werden.
have could about.that NEG talked become

‘Before East Germany has made accessible all economic data one cannot talk about that.’

(Krifka 2010:216)

Apart from these cases, Italian can also have expletive negation after *prima* ‘before’ (Del Prete 2008).

In conclusion, expletive negation is attested in those environments in which n-words typically have their non-negative uses: comparatives, after *before* and as clausal complements of adversative or negative predicates, polar questions and rhetorical parametrical questions. This allows for an interesting parallel. Whereas nobody proposes to call a clausal negator a non-negative element, scholars shy away from calling n-words negative indefinites. It seems that one needs a semantic map à la Haspelmath (1997) for sentential negation as well, but still one would talk of a sentential negative marker and not a sentential negative polarity marker. In the same vein, I consider n-words like *niente*, etc. to be more like negative quantifiers like the English *nothing* than like negative polarity items like *anything* or *qui que ce soit*.

3.2.3.3. N-words: summary

It was shown that n-words share properties with negative quantifiers like *nobody*, which are listed in (114) as well as with negative polarity items like *anyone*, which are listed in (115). In addition, they have properties that set them apart from NPIs as well as negative quantifiers, as listed in (116).

- (114) Similarities between n-words and negative quantifiers
- They allow double negative readings
 - They allow modification by ‘almost’ and ‘absolutely’
 - They can occur in preverbal position
 - They can express negation independently
- (115) Similarities between n-words and NPIs
- To a differing extent, they have non-negative uses in special contexts like conditionals, questions, comparatives and indirect negation contexts
- (116) Typical behavior of n-words only
- If they have non-negative uses, they tend to be used in contexts where expletive negation is also found
 - If they have non-negative uses, the paradigm is often defective in terms of function as well as productivity

The reason why n-words still exhibit these defective non-negative uses is related to their non-negative origin. Some of the non-negative contexts can therefore be interpreted as remnants or residual NPI contexts in which indefinites can ‘get stuck’ while at the same time clearly developing a negative meaning. Penka (2011:76) notes in this respect that “occurrences of NIs [negative indefinites] in certain non-strictly negative [DE-]environments are due to NIs wearing their NPI heritage on their sleeves, so to speak”. The diachrony of non-negative indefinites will be discussed in detail in section 3.7.

Although the diachrony of n-words with non-negative uses definitely explains why so many originally non-negative n-words still have non-negative uses, it does not explain why some contexts seem to be preserved longer than others. I have suggested that unlike conditional sentences, comparatives, polar as well as rhetorical parametric questions and indirect negative contexts are compatible with expletive negation.

This discussion of n-words aimed to show that despite non-negative uses, n-words can be argued to have negation as their most important function.

3.2.4. Conclusion

From the discussion of the two main types of negative indefinites, it follows that the definition of negative indefinites used here can be split up into two components. Firstly, an indefinite is a negative indefinite when it has negative functions only. Secondly, an indefinite can also be a negative indefinite when it has a negative meaning despite its occurrence in some contexts in which it does not convey a negative meaning, on the condition that the non-negative uses are pragmatically marked negative polarity uses. In

this, I follow not only some theoretical linguists, e.g. Penka (2011) and de Swart (2010), but also the large majority of the descriptive linguists.

Having defined negative indefinites as indefinites with negation as their most important or their only function, I will now address another aspect of negative indefinites, namely their interaction with sentential negation. I will provide a more detailed description of the two types of negative indefinites, i.e. n-words (negative indefinites that co-occur with sentential negation) and negative quantifiers (negative indefinites that are used with a positive verb to yield a negative meaning).

3.3. Interaction with sentential negation

In Haspelmath (1997:193-234), a chapter is devoted to the interaction between negative indefinites and clausal negation. One of the reasons that this is treated separately is because it is not captured by Haspelmath's map. Haspelmath (1997:201) distinguishes three types of patterns concerning the interaction of indefinites with sentential negation, as represented in (117) to (119).

(117) Type NV-NI (Negative Verb – Negative Indefinite)

Polish

- a.

żadne	dziecko	nie	wyjechało	na	wakacje.
no	child	NEG	go-3SG.PST	on	holiday

 'No child went on holiday.'
- b.

Nie	wyjechało	żadne	dziecko	na	wakacje.
NEG	go-3SG.PST	no	child	on	holiday

 'No child went on holiday.'
- (Błaszczak 2001:217)

English

- a. I didn't see anybody.
 b. *Anybody didn't see me.

Swahili

- | | |
|-----------------|--------|
| Si-ku-ona | mtu. |
| 1SG-NEG.PRF-see | person |

 'I didn't see anybody.'
- (Haspelmath 1997:215)

- (118) Type V-NI (Verb – Negative Indefinite)
 English
 a. Nobody saw me.
 b. I saw nobody.
- (119) Type (N)V-NI ((Negative) Verb – Negative Indefinite)
 Spanish
 a. Nadie vino.
 nobody came
 ‘Nobody came.’
 b. No vi a nadie.
 NEG saw nobody
 ‘I saw nobody.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:201)

The first type is characterized by the obligatory presence of sentential negation and exemplified by Polish, English and Swahili. Recall that according to Haspelmath’s (1997:199) definition a negative indefinite is an indefinite that “has direct negation as an important function”, which is why the English use of *anybody* and the Swahili use of *mtu* ‘man’ with a sentential negator also exemplify the NV-NI type. The differences between the Polish, English and Swahili pronouns would then have to be read from the corresponding semantic maps. The second type in (118) is characterized by the absence of sentential negation and is exemplified by English *nobody* and by Chukchi *va’nêvan* ‘nothing’ in (27). The third type in (119) is a type in which the sentential negator is optionally present and is exemplified by Spanish. In Spanish, the negative indefinite can occur without clausal negation when it occurs preverbally, as is shown in sentence (119)a, but it requires the presence of clausal negation when it is used postverbally, as shown in sentence (119)b.

Unlike Haspelmath (1997), I want to explicitly address the patterns in which negative indefinites in my definition are involved, viz. as elements that have negation as their most important or only function. Negative indefinites are involved in all three types: some negative indefinites, such as the Polish *nikt* obligatorily co-occur with sentential negation, others, such as the English *nobody*, cannot co-occur with sentential negation without yielding double negation, as shown in (120), and still others, such as the Spanish *nadie*, have sentential negation depending on whether they occur pre- or postverbally.

- (120) Standard English
 I didn’t see nobody.
 Double Negation: ‘I did see somebody.’

The Polish and Spanish patterns are both called ‘negative concord’ and, as mentioned before, negative indefinites in negative concord constructions are called ‘n-words’. They will be discussed first. After that, I will discuss negative quantifiers, i.e. negative indefinites that contribute negation on their own.

3.3.1. Negative concord

3.3.1.1. Definitions

‘Negative concord’ (NC) is the term used to describe the pattern in which “multiple occurrences of negation and indefinite pronouns that appear to be negative express a single negation” (de Swart 2010:20). In earlier literature, labels like Jespersen’s (1917) ‘double attraction’, Labov’s (1972) ‘negative attraction rule’ and Klima’s (1964) ‘neg-incorporation’ were used, as noted by Giannakidou (2000:457-458). NC is found in many languages, e.g. in Romance, Slavic, Greek, Hungarian, nonstandard English, West Flemish, Afrikaans, Lithuanian, Japanese (see among others Labov 1972, Ladusaw 1992, van der Wouden & Zwarts 1992, Bosque 1980, Laka 1990, Herburger 2001 for Spanish, Zanuttini 1991, Longobardi 1991, Acquaviva 1993, 1995 and Tovenia 1996 for Italian, Vallduví 1994, Espinal 1992, 2000 for Catalan, Puskás 1998, Tóth 1999, Surányi 2002 for Hungarian, Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2000 for Greek, Haegeman 1995 and den Besten 1986 for West Flemish and Afrikaans, Hoeksema 1997 for Middle Dutch, Progovac 1994 for Serbian/Croatian, Brown 1999 for Russian, Przepiórkowski and Kupść 1997, 1998, Błaszczak 2001, Richter and Sailer 1998 for Polish, Watanabe 2004, van der Auwera et al. 2006 for nonstandard Dutch and Brabantian, van der Auwera & Gybels 2014 on Yiddish, Howe 2005 on African American Vernacular, Anderwald 2002, 2005 on British dialects). Examples from African American Vernacular English, substandard Dutch, Hungarian, French and Italian are given in (121) to (126).

(121) African American Vernacular English

I ain’t never been to jail, ... I ain’t never ran, never will, I ain’t never been smacked,
... I ain’t never played myself.

(Jay Z, Justify My Thug, taken from Howe 2005:147)

(122) Substandard Dutch

Ik heb niemand niet gezien.

I have nobody NEG seen

‘I haven’t seen anybody.’

(van der Auwera et al. 2006:307)

- (123) Hungarian
 Senki nem érkezett.
 nobody.NOM NEG arrived
 ‘Nobody arrived.’
 (É. Kiss 2002:143)
- (124) French
 Personne ne m’a vu.
 nobody NEG me-has seen.
 ‘Nobody saw me.’
- (125) Italian
 Gianni non ha visto nessuno.
 Gianni NEG have seen nobody
 ‘Gianni didn’t see anybody.’
 (Acquaviva 1996:1)

Thus, NC describes a particular subtype of Haspelmath’s NV-NI type, namely a type according to which the indefinites are accompanied by the sentential negator despite the fact that they appear to be negative themselves. The term ‘n-words’, after Laka (1990), to refer to elements yielding negative concord can be rather misleading. It can cause one to expect negative indefinites yielding negative concord readings to either start in *n-* or contain a negative marker. Both are possible. The Spanish *nada* ‘nothing’ and *nadie* ‘nobody’ both start in *n-*, but unlike what one would expect, they do not contain a negative marker (Spanish *nada* < *res nata* ‘born thing’, *nadie* < *homo natus* ‘born man’, Jespersen 1917:21, Horn 1989:454). The Polish *nikt* ‘nobody’ and the Dutch *niemand* ‘nobody’ also start in *n-*, and in this case, *n-* is at the same time, or used to be, the negative marker. In contrast, the Somali *-ba* in *waxba*, literally ‘thing-EMPH’, now ‘nothing’, is not originally negative, nor does it contain the letter *n-*. The reason this term was chosen is related to the fact that Laka (1990) introduced it to describe the Spanish data. Since it has become an established term, I will adopt it despite the confusion that it might cause.

Apart from the misleading ‘n-’ in n-words, it is not easy to determine what the term actually refers to either. As was already addressed in the discussion of ellipsis as the criterion to categorize indefinites as negative, some indefinites seem to be able to convey a negative meaning while at the same time still sometimes occurring in non-negative environments with a non-negative meaning. The difficulty “to pin down indefinites as being negative or non-negative” (Haspelmath 1997:233) has led to a definition of n-words as indefinites that “can be associated with negative meaning” (Giannakidou 2000:459). This definition allows for the fairly heterogeneous origin and behavior of the individual items yielding negative concord readings.

The negative concord pattern according to which two or more negative items only contribute one semantic negation to a sentence seems to run counter the logical principle according to which two negatives make an affirmative. Therefore, the pattern seems to defy the principle of compositional semantics. In the last 20 year but even before that, many scholars have tried to describe and explain this pattern in great detail and from different theoretical perspectives. Déprez (1997), Giannakidou (2000), Herburger (2001), Zeijlstra (2004) are just a few of the recent publications on this phenomenon. An early reference and probably the earliest functional explanation can be found in Jespersen (1917:71), who states that

logically one negative suffices, but two or three in the same sentence cannot be termed illogical; they are simply a redundancy, that may be superfluous from a stylistic point of view, just as any repetition in a positive sentence (*every and any, always and on all occasions*, etc.), but is otherwise unobjectionable.

In this quote, Jespersen treats any kind of multiple negation yielding one negation uniformly, meaning that he is also referring to double clausal negation as in French *ne...pas*. The relationship between double clausal negation and negative concord will be addressed in section 3.9.

The more recent theoretical discussions are concerned with the quantificational status of n-words. There are three main theoretical approaches, as presented in (126) to (128).

- (126) n-words are negative polarity items (NPIs) like *any* that are triggered by a subset of the NPI contexts
- (127) n-words are negative quantifiers (NQs) like *nobody*
- (128) the ambiguity hypothesis: n-words are ambiguous between an NPI (*anybody*) and a NQ (*nobody*)

The first hypothesis is defended mainly by Laka (1990), Ladusaw (1992), and Giannakidou (1997, 2000), as noted in Penka & Zeijlstra (2010:780). According to the second hypothesis, n-words are all semantically negative but they express only one negation, via a certain semantic process formalized in terms of polyadic quantification. Polyadic quantification is the process that would also account for the fact that multiple wh-questions are still interpreted as a single question. This hypothesis is defended by Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman (1995) and Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996), de Swart and Sag (2002), de Swart (2010), and also Déprez (1997, 2000), who labels it resumptive quantification. The ambiguity thesis is mainly defended by Herburger (2001).

Without going into details (for an extended discussion, see Herburger 2001 and Penka 2011), the three approaches all capture certain characteristics of n-words. The hypothesis in (126) can be used to account for the non-negative uses that were discussed in the previous section. Like NPIs (e.g. *anyone*), some n-words can be found in questions and comparatives, as clausal complements of adversative predicates, etc. On the other hand, the hypothesis cannot account for the differences between NPIs and n-words, which were discussed in the previous section. Not only can n-words not occur in all environments in which NPIs are known to be licensed, as noted by Penka (2011:22), unlike NPIs, n-words can have a negative meaning, e.g. in elliptical contexts.

The hypothesis in (127) can be applied to explain uses of n-words in elliptical contexts, but runs into difficulties explaining why some of them can still have a non-negative meaning in certain contexts. In addition, as noted by Penka (2011:41-42), even though Spanish n-words can be used without clausal negation in preverbal position in standard declarative negative sentences, they always co-occur with clausal negation in postverbal position. From this perspective, it is rather surprising that they should be considered negative quantifiers like *nobody*. For a more elaborate critical discussion, see Penka (2011:33-42).

The third hypothesis captures the fact that certain n-words can have a non-negative meaning as well as a negative one, but fails to capture which meaning is triggered when. Haspelmath (1997) with its strong descriptive focus can only be associated with the ambiguity hypothesis, even though he does not make any explicit claims. From an empirical perspective, it is difficult not to support the ambiguity hypothesis. A diachronic perspective allows one to capture which meaning is triggered when. Only a diachronic perspective can capture why a Russian n-word does not have any NPI uses whereas French *personne* and Spanish *nada* do. This will be further explained in section 3.8. The problem with any kind of a unifying definition of negative concord is that it neglects the variable status, origin and diachronic change of the n-word. It will be shown that the origin and morphology of the n-word account for different types of n-words, more specifically for non-negative uses of certain n-words, e.g. of French *personne* vs. the lack thereof of other n-words, e.g. Russian *nikto* ‘nobody’.

3.3.1.2. *Types of negative concord*

Four types of negative concord are distinguished in the literature: strict NC, non-strict NC (both after Giannakidou 2000:462), negative spread and negative doubling (both after den Besten 1986).

In strict NC languages, negative indefinites are always accompanied by sentential negation. Strict NC languages that have been mentioned so far are the European languages

Polish, Russian (Slavic), Hungarian (Uralic), but also Japanese is a strict NC language. An example of Japanese is given in (129).

(129) Japanese

Dare-mo	John-o	hihanshi-nak-atta.
who-mo	John-ACC	criticize-NEG-PST

‘Nobody criticized John.’
(de Swart 2010:45)

Non-strict NC languages have negative indefinites that do not require the obligatory presence of clausal negation. In most cases, the presence or absence depends on the position of the n-word with regard to the verb. The Romance languages Spanish (see (119)), European Portuguese and Italian exemplify this type. An Italian example can be found in (130).

(130) Italian

a. Mario	non	ha	parlato	di	niente	con
Mario	NEG	has	talked	about	nothing	with

nessuno.
nobody
‘Mario didn’t talk to anyone about anything.’
(de Swart 2010:45)

b. Nessuno	ha	parlato	con	nessuno.
nobody	has	talked	with	nobody

‘Nobody has talked with anybody.’
(de Swart 2010:45)

In the a. sentence, the n-words are postverbal, requiring a sentential negator *non* to also be present. In the b. sentence, in contrast, the n-word occurs preverbally, in which case there is no sentential negator.

The variety in which the presence of the negator depends on the position with regard to the verb has been functionally accounted for by the Negative First principle (henceforth ‘Neg-First’), as introduced by Jespersen (1917:5), and so dubbed by Horn (1989:293), as also noted by Haspelmath (1997:206):

- (131) There is a natural tendency, also for the sake of clearness, to place the negative first, or at any rate as soon as possible, very often immediately before the particular word to be negated (generally the verb).

This principle has good credentials, as noted by van der Auwera (2011:854). Dryer (1988:102) looked at 327 languages and found preverbal negation in 70 percent of the languages. Analogously, it can also account for the facts described above regarding the position of the negative indefinite. Note, however, that Neg-First does not explain how the pattern came to existence. The emergence of the non-strict NC pattern in which the presence of negation depends on the position of the negative indefinite with respect to the verb will be discussed in section 3.8.

The fact that languages with non-strict NC described in the literature always exemplify the type whereby a preverbal negative indefinite can occur alone and a postverbal negative indefinite requires the presence of a preverbal negator raises questions about whether other types of non-strict NC are also possible. Based on the non-strict NC languages described in the literature, Haspelmath (1997:211) makes the following generalization:

- (132) whenever a negative indefinite may be associated either with the V-NI pattern or with the NV-NI pattern, the V-NI pattern tends to be used when the negative indefinite occurs preverbally, and the NV-NI patterns tends to be used when then negative indefinite occurs postverbally.

He notes one exception, namely Georgian. Other non-sample languages with non-strict NC in which the presence of sentential negation does not depend on the position of the negative indefinite with respect to the verb will be discussed in section 3.5.1.

It is interesting to note that some languages that have been labeled ‘strict NC languages’, like Old High German, also sometimes show the absence of sentential negation when negative indefinites are used, as shown in (133).

- (133) Old High German

inthemo	noh	nu	níoman/	Ingisezzit	uuas
in-which	still	now	nobody	put	was
‘in which nobody had been put yet’					
(Jäger 2008:207)					

However, given the fact that strict NC does seem to be the rule (Jäger 2008:208), and the absence of the sentential negator is not conditioned as it is in Spanish, Old High German

would still be considered a strict NC language and not a non-strict NC language. One could speak of a “very strict” NC language, as van der Auwera & Gybels (2014:210) do.¹⁵

The third type of negative concord is called negative spread (NS). There are two definitions of negative spread circulating. One is found in Giannakidou (2000) and de Swart (2010), another one is found in Zeijlstra (2004). According to de Swart (2010:46), “the phenomenon whereby the negative concord relation is established exclusively between n-words is called negative spread.” This means that one talks of negative spread when multiple n-words yield a single negative meaning without the sentential negator. This is also Giannakidou’s (2000) definition of negative spread. According to this view, many non-strict NC languages allow negative spread, namely when the negative indefinite occurs preverbally and therefore without clausal negation. An example of a non-strict NC language that allows negative spread is Spanish, as shown in (134).

(134) Spanish

Nadie	ha	dicho	nada.
nothing	has	said	nothing

‘Nobody has said anything.’
(de Swart 2010:45)

But a language does not have to be a non-strict NC language to allow negative spread in the sense of de Swart (2010) and Giannakidou (2000). Marginal instances of negative spread are attested in non-NC languages like German, as shown in sentences (135).

(135) German

Hier	hilft	KEINER	KEINEM.
hier	helps	nobody	nobody

‘Nobody helps anyone here.’
(Giannakidou 2000:461)

Another example of a non-NC language is Spoken French. Sentence (136) shows its non-NC status and sentence (137) shows that it does allow negative spread.

Spoken French

(136)	J’ai	mangé	rien.
	I have	eaten	nothing

‘I ate nothing.’

¹⁵ Note that “very strict NC” concerns the presence of clausal negation and not the presence of a negative indefinite. Many NC languages have other non-negative indefinites that can appear in the scope of negation to yield a similar meaning.

- (137)

Personne	a	rien	dit.
nobody	has	nothing	said

‘Nobody said anything.’
(de Swart 2010:46)

And lastly, in this view, strict NC languages do not allow negative spread. This is shown by the Romanian example in (138).

- (138) Romanian

Nimeni	*(nu)	vazu	nimic.
nobody	NEG	saw.3SG	nothing

‘Nobody saw anything.’
(Bernini & Ramat 1996:186)

The absence of negative spread in strict NC languages is to be expected since strict NC implies the obligatory presence of clausal negation and negative spread implies the presence of multiple negative indefinites and the absence of clausal negation.

Zeijlstra (2004) takes in a different position. According to Zeijlstra (2004:63), all NC languages exhibit negative spread. For Zeijlstra, ‘negative spread’ is the term used to refer to sentences where multiple negative indefinites yield a single negative meaning, whether this involves the presence of clausal negation or not. Accordingly, Afrikaans is a language that exhibits negative spread, as is shown in (139).

- (139) Afrikaans

Ek	krijg	geen	hulp	van	niemand	nie.
I	get	no	help	from	nobody	NEG

‘I don’t get any help from anybody.’
(Zeijlstra 2004:63)

According to Giannakidou’s (2000) and de Swart’s (2010) definition, this pattern does not qualify as negative spread since the sentence final clausal negator *nie* is present, which is one of the two negative markers that form the Afrikaans discontinuous clausal negator *nie...nie*. In contrast, Zeijlstra (2004:63) points out: “in all NC languages, multiple n-words can establish NC relations [...]. Languages only differ with respect to whether a negative marker should always accompany n-words.” This optional presence or absence of clausal negation is then marked by the distinction strict versus non-strict. He sees no difference between negative spread of the Afrikaans type and the Spanish type. In his view, the fact that

Spanish exhibits non-strict NC accounts for the pattern in (134), not the fact that Spanish is a negative spread language.

The generalization that every NC language, whether strict or non-strict, allows negative spread, or NC readings with multiple negative indefinites, is borne out by the evidence from European languages on which Zeijlstra's (2004) hypothesis is based. This would allow me to leave out a discussion of negative spread as a separate phenomenon. There are, however, counterexamples from Skolt Saami, Old Low German and Old High German. Skolt Saami is a negative concord language, as shown in (140), but with multiple indefinites, only one negative indefiniteness marker is added, as shown in (141).

- Skolt Saami
- (140) Di logškue'ttem ħee'rij, ij ni ħii
 and read.INCH.PST.1SG book.ACC NEG.3SG NEG who.SG.NOM
 muu mätt'tam.
 1SG.ACC teach.PTCP.PST
 'and I started to read a book, no one taught me.'
- (141) åå'n â'tte i'lla ni mii ko'st.
 now you.see NEG.3SG.be.CONNEG NEG what.SG.NOM where.SG.LOC
 'Now, you see, there isn't anything anywhere.'
- (Miestamo & Koponen submitted)

Another counterexample comes from Old Low German. Breitbarth (2013:214) notes that Old Low German does not have negative spread. She notes that "if more than one indefinite occurs in the scope of negation, at most one of these is n-marked" (Breitbarth 2013:214). An example is given in (142).

- (142) Old Low German
- Nis thes tueho ênig gumono nigiênumu.
 NEG-is the.GEN.SG doubt any men.GEN.PL none.DAT.PL
 'None of the men have any doubt about it.', lit. 'There is not any doubt about it to none of the man.' (Helian, 3190-1)
 (Breitbarth 2013:214)

Breitbarth (2013:221) also notes for Old Dutch that negative spread is possible but not obligatory.

Jäger (2013:172) notes for Old High German, in which negative concord was the most frequent pattern, that "if several indefinites appear in the scope of negation, only one is generally an n-indefinite." An example is given in (143).

(143) Old High German

Got nioman nigisah io in altere.

God nobody NEG.saw ever in ages

‘Nobody has ever seen God.’

(Tatian 45, 21)

(Jäger 2013:172)

In the negative concord language Middle High German, negative spread is only marginally possible (Jäger 2013:177). So it seems that the possibility of NC, either strict or non-strict, does not automatically imply that the language allows negative spread. In addition, some restrictions may apply; it will be shown that the non-strict NC pattern in Egyptian Arabic only allows negative spread with postverbal instances of the n-words.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to check whether all strict NC languages also yield NC readings with multiple negative indefinites for the simple reason that in most cases, no sentences with multiple negative indefinites were found. Still, the data from Old Low German, Old High German and Skolt Saami suggest that Zeijlstra’s (2004) generalization must at least be weakened to a tendency that most NC languages allow negative spread.

A fourth type of negative concord that has been mentioned in the literature is ‘negative doubling’. The term goes back to den Besten (1986) and is elaborated on in van der Wouden & Zwarts (1993) and van der Wouden (1994). In this negative concord pattern “a distinguished negative element shows up in sentences that contain a negative expression” (van der Wouden 1994, as cited in Zeijlstra 2004:61). Or as de Swart (2010:203) describes it: “negative doubling occurs when the negation marker is doubled by some other negative expression (either a negative indefinite or a second negation marker)” (de Swart 2010:203). The term was common before the introduction of the strict and non-strict NC distinction and it was used to describe the French pattern in sentence (144), involving double clausal negation (DCN), as in sentence (144), as well as the pattern in (145), involving a clausal negator and a negative indefinite. Sentence (146) was considered to exemplify a combination of negative spread as well as negative doubling.

French

(144) Je ne dis pas...

I NEG say NEG

‘I do not say...’

(145) Jean ne dit rien.

Jean NEG say nothing

‘Jean doesn’t say anything.’

- (146)

Personne	ne	mange	rien.
nobody	NEG	eats	nothing

 ‘Nobody eats anything.’

In order to test whether there is a principle in natural language according to which the rule is to double the negative exponency, one would have to find a language where negation can maximally be expressed twice. Zeijlstra (2004:62) notes that negative doubling is “not found in natural language.” Afrikaans has been claimed to be a doubling language.

Afrikaans has double clausal negation *nie...nie*, as is shown in (147). When a negative indefinite is present, one element of the double clausal negator is left out, as is shown in (148). When another negative indefinite is added, negation is still only expressed twice: by one negative indefinite and one clausal negative element, as is shown in sentence (148) as well.

- Afrikaans
- (147)

Ek	het	hom	nie	gesien	nie.
I	have	him	NEG	seen	NEG

 ‘I haven’t seen him’
- (148)

Sy	is	nêrens	ooit	tevrede	nie.
she	is	nowhere	ever	satisfied	NEG

 ‘She is never happy anywhere.’
 (de Swart 2010:203)

As predicted by Zeijlstra (2004:63), however, Afrikaans, as a strict NC language, also has NC readings with multiple negative indefinites, as is shown in (149).

- (149) Afrikaans
- | | | | | | | |
|----|-----|------|------|------|---------|------|
| Ek | kry | geen | hulp | van | niemand | nie. |
| I | get | no | help | from | nobody | NEG |

 ‘I don’t get any help from anybody.’
 (Donaldson 1993:413)

Still, in Afrikaans negative doubling does seem to be preferred to negative spread, which is said to be used for emphatic purposes only (Zeijlstra 2004:63). So the data from Afrikaans do suggest that there are negative doubling languages. However, since I have found no additional data in the sample contradicting Zeijlstra’s (2004:63) claim that there is no language with only negative doubling, I will only distinguish three types of negative concord: strict NC, non-strict NC and negative spread in the sense of Zeijlstra (2004).

3.3.2. The negative quantifier strategy

Negative concord languages contrast with languages with negative indefinites but no negative concord, like English or Standard Dutch, in which clausal negation and a negative indefinite cancel each other out or yield double negation readings, as is shown in sentences (150) and (151).

(150) English

Double negation: *I didn't see nobody.* = 'I saw someone.'

(151) Dutch

Ik zag niet niemand.

I saw NEG nobody

Double negation: 'I didn't see nobody.' = 'I saw someone.'

In sentence (150) and (151), the two negations, contributed by *not* and *niet* 'not', on the one hand, and *nobody* and *niemand* 'nobody', on the one hand cancel each other out. Languages in which this happens are referred to as double negation ('DN') languages (as e.g. in de Swart 2010:150 and Penka 2011:16). The negative indefinites used in such cases are often called 'negative quantifiers' ('NQs') as opposed to 'n-words' (e.g. in de Swart 2010:36).

Two remarks on the relation between n-words and negative quantifiers are in order here: first, n-words are negative indefinites that normally, but not always, require the presence of clausal negation. It has already been addressed that they can appear alone in elliptical contexts like a short response or when they have constituent scope, as in the case of the Spanish n-word *nadie*.

(152) Spanish

Me caso contigo o con nadie.

me marry.1SG with-you or with nobody

'I marry you or nobody.'

(Herburger 2001:309)

Secondly, as also mentioned in section 3.3.1, n-words can also have DN readings under special circumstances. Sentence (153) can have a NC reading (the a. sentence) as well as a DN reading (the b. sentence).

(153) Spanish

Nadie nunca volvió a Cuba.
nobody never returned to Cuba

a. NC: ‘Nobody ever returned to Cuba.’

b. DN: ‘Nobody never returned to Cuba.’

(Herburger 2001:295)

Unlike n-words, which mostly but not always require the presence of clausal negation, negative quantifiers are words that never require the presence of sentential negation in order to render a sentence negative. I will not use the term ‘DN language’ to refer to languages where negative indefinites do not require the presence of clausal negation, since for most languages there is no information on double negatives. Instead I will use the term ‘negative quantifier language’ (sometimes abbreviated as ‘NQ language’).

In the next section, I will address issues of frequency and claims made about it in the literature.

3.4. Frequency of negative concord

In recent literature, negative concord has been claimed to be the most widespread pattern of negative indefinites. Penka (2011:14) notes that “in fact, the great majority of the world’s languages have NC (cf. Haspelmath 2005)”. De Swart (2010:21) notes that “negative concord is a widespread phenomenon in natural languages, as Haspelmath (1997) observes.” In her discussion of negative concord in British dialects Anderwald (2005:129) also refers to Haspelmath (1997) and reiterates that negative concord languages are much more frequent than V-NI languages. Israel (2011:43) is even more explicit when he states about negative concord patterns that “while such constructions are often considered illogical, they are not only widespread, but actually appear to be the preferred pattern for negatively quantified sentences cross-linguistically.” Even the online Glottopedia entry (http://www.glottopedia.org/index.php/Negative_concord, accessed on 25-06-2013) on negative concord refers to Haspelmath (1997) to claim that “while linguists familiar only with some of major European languages might find negative concord remarkable, it is actually the non-cooccurrence of sentential negation with negative indefinites that is remarkable (Haspelmath 2005)”.

As one can see, reference is always made to Haspelmath, either Haspelmath (1997) or Haspelmath (2005), which refers to the *WALS* entry on indefinite pronouns. Crucially, however, neither Haspelmath (1997) nor Haspelmath (2005) can be credited for having had this view, as noted by van der Auwera (2011:861). The claim made by Haspelmath (1997:202), as well as Haspelmath (2005), is that the NV-NI type – importantly, in

Haspelmath's terminology – seems to be most widespread cross-linguistically and for Haspelmath (1997), it will be remembered, a negative indefinite is an indefinite with negation as an important function. As was mentioned above, English and Swahili also exemplify this type, as was illustrated in (117). In fact, Haspelmath (1997) does not make any claim as to the frequency of negative concord, since Haspelmath (1997) is not interested in what would qualify as an “inherently negative indefinite”. The claim he does make is that the presence of clausal negation is preferred to the absence of it, regardless of the nature of the indefinite used in direct negation. In his Eurocentric 40-language sample, Haspelmath (1997:202) finds only 7 languages where clausal negation is absent (my NQ type), 3 languages in which it is optionally absent ((N)V-NI or the non-strict NC type) and 32 languages in which it is always present (type NV-NI), again regardless of the type of indefinite involved.¹⁶ Haspelmath (1997:202) suggests that the pattern according to which clausal negation is absent might be a rare pattern areally restricted to Europe. The reason for its rarity is of a functional nature: if negation has clausal scope, expressing it on a participant rather than the verb causes a form-meaning mismatch (Haspelmath 1997:203). For this reason the (N)V-NI pattern, with optional clausal negation, entailing V-NI in at least some contexts, is also expected to be infrequent. The reason why V-NI (or the negative quantifier strategy) occurs despite this form-meaning mismatch is of a diachronic nature, as noted by Haspelmath (1997:203). This will be addressed in section 3.8. Crucially, he makes no claims on the frequency of negative concord. In fact, Haspelmath (1997) does not even use the term.

Apart from false claims about the high frequency of negative concord, the vast literature on negative concord may have stimulated the view that negative concord is a very frequent phenomenon. Despite the fact that scholars have succeeded in showing that the stigma associated with the construction is ill-motivated given its status in languages such as Russian, Polish, Spanish, Japanese, etc., the literature, including a recent so-called typology by de Swart (2010), is extremely biased.

In contrast to the prediction that NC is the most frequent pattern between indefinites and negation across the world, Kahrel (1996) provides a completely different picture. In fact, Kahrel (1996) is the only typological work making predictions about negative concord

¹⁶ When it comes to distinguishing the type of negative indefinites in Haspelmath's (1997) terminology, the semantic map allows for many more types, as also noted in van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011b:332-333). Since Haspelmath's definition of negative indefinites includes any indefinite that has 'direct negation' as an important function, no fewer than 13 different types of negative indefinites can be distinguished. All of them have 'direct negation' as one of their functions plus each time one additional function, e.g. German *niemand* has only the 'direct negation' function, Icelandic *neinn* has the 'direct negation' and 'indirect negation' function, Italian *nessuno* has those functions plus the 'question' function, etc.

based on a fairly balanced sample of 40 languages. The five types from Kahrel's taxonomy are repeated schematically in (154) with (pseudo-)English examples. The frequency of the patterns are added in percentages next to every type.

(154) TYPE I

John not bought something	NEG + neutral indefinite	67.7 %
---------------------------	--------------------------	--------

TYPE II

John not bought anything	NEG + special indefinite	22.5 %
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------

TYPE III

John bought nothing.	Negative quantifier	12.5 %
----------------------	---------------------	--------

TYPE IV

John not bought nothing.	NEG + n-word	12.5 %
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TYPE V

There is not what John bought.	Negative existential	17.5 %
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According to Kahrel's (1996) typology, Type I languages in which neutral indefinites are used with sentential negation – which are considered NV-NI languages in Haspelmath's typology – is the most frequent type. This type is illustrated by the pseudo-English example in which *something* is taken to scope under negation, whereas in Standard English it would normally scope over negation yielding the reading 'there is something that John didn't buy'. Type IV, which is the negative concord pattern, illustrated by another pseudo-English example, only accounts for 12.5 percent of the languages, equaling the Type III pattern or Haspelmath's V-NI pattern, exemplified by Standard Dutch and Standard English with negation only on the indefinite. The second most frequent strategy involves sentential negation with a 'special' indefinite like English *anything*. The third most frequent strategy is the existential strategy, even though only 2 languages in his sample (5%) have this pattern as their only strategy.

Kahrel's (1996) results therefore suggest the opposite from what is claimed in the literature: negative concord is shown to be much less frequent than a pattern in which a non-negative indefinite is used together with sentential negation. Non-negative indefinites are used in 90.2% of the languages, whereas negative concord is found in 12.5% of the languages.

Kahrel's (1996) and Haspelmath's (1997) diverging definitions of negative indefinites and their corresponding typological predictions have caused considerable terminological confusion. I have shown that Haspelmath's (1997) definition of negative indefinites led to a misunderstanding about the frequency of negative concord in the languages of the world. Whereas in the literature, negative concord is assumed to be a very widespread phenomenon, the only typological study based on a representative sample, namely Kahrel

(1996), suggests that this pattern is far from the most frequent one. Haspelmath's (1997) typology does not tell us anything about the frequency of negative concord, since in his view indefinites are very hard to identify as being negative or not and therefore it is not clear what Haspelmath (1997) would consider a case of negative concord. Haspelmath (1997) does predict that languages in which negation is expressed only on the indefinite will be dispreferred and languages in which negation is expressed clausally will be preferred.

Given the fact that my definition of negative indefinites resembles Kahrel's (1996) rather than Haspelmath's (1997), I plan to settle the matter of the frequency of negative concord on the basis of a large sample than the limited one used by Kahrel (1996). I will distinguish between NC languages and NQ languages, as Kahrel (1996) did.

3.5. Negative indefinites from a typological perspective

This section is devoted to the discussion of negative indefinites in the languages of the world. As was discussed in the sections above, negative indefinites are taken to include *n*-words as well as negative quantifiers. The typology of negative indefinites is based on Miestamo's (2005) representative sample of 179-language sample and it will be supplemented by well-described languages from the literature.

3.5.1. Negative concord languages

3.5.1.1. The frequency of negative concord

As has been stated already, negative concord is claimed to be a frequent or even the most widespread pattern with negative indefinites. The results of this typological study refute this claim. Out of 179 languages, 34 languages show some form of negative concord, as listed in Table 13, or 19% of the languages in the sample.

Family	Negative concord languages
Niger-Congo	Ewe, Degema
Nilo-Saharan	Kanuri, Kunama
Afro-Asiatic	Somali, Egyptian Arabic
Indo-European	Eastern Armenian, Albanian, Icelandic
Uralic	Mansi
Korean	Korean
Japanese	Japanese
North Caucasian	Lezgian
Dravidian	Brahui
Austro-Asiatic	Khasi
Sino-Tibetan	Meithei, Burmese, Lai
Austronesian	Chamorro
Australian	Kayardild
East-Papuan	Lavukaleve
Siouan	Lakhota
Huave	Huave
Mixe-Zoque	Chiapas Zoque
Karok	Karok
Chibchan	Damana
Paezan	Páez
Quechuan	Imbabura Quechua
Tupi-Guarani	Guaraní
Choco	Epena Pedee
Mosetetan	Mosetén
Wichi	Wichí
Macro-Ge	Canela-Krahô
Creole	Haitian Creole

Table 13: NC languages

Looking at macro-areas (Table 14), which have been distinguished on the basis of Dryer (1989, 1992, 2000) as in Miestamo (2005:32), negative concord seems to be frequent in Eurasian languages, in which it occurs in more than half of the sample languages (53.3%). The difference in frequency of NC in Eurasian languages and non-Eurasian languages is also significant according to the Fisher Exact Test ($p = 0.0014$). NC is second most frequent in South East Asian languages and third most frequent in African languages, in which it occurs in 20.7% of the sample languages. It is also frequent in South America, where it accounts for

20.5% of the languages. This, however, is mainly due to influence from Spanish. The Australian and Papua New Guinean area show a low frequency of NC as compared to the other areas (5.3%). The difference with non-Australian and non-Papua New Guinean languages is significant (Fisher Exact Test p-value = 0.017). The only Creole in the sample is the French-based Haitian Creole, which, not surprisingly, also exhibits NC.

Macro-area	Lgs in sample	Negative concord	Percentage NC
Africa	29	6	20.7
Eurasia	15	8	53.3
South East Asia & Oceania	21	5	23.8
Australia & Papua New Guinea	38	2	5.3
North America	36	4	11.1
South America	39	8	20.5
Creole	1	1	100
Total	179	34	19

Table 14: NC according to macro-areas

Negative concord thus seems to be a mainly Eurasian characteristic. If we also take into account the fact that many other European languages not included in the sample also display negative concord, we can assume that negative concord is especially a European phenomenon. It becomes even more striking when one considers the fact that of the 26 non-Eurasian languages with NC, 6 have negative concord systems directly influenced by a European NC language, leaving us with 20 non-Eurasian NC languages not influenced by a European NC language. These languages are Haitian Creole, influenced by French, the South American languages Mose'tén and Imbabura Quechua, the Mesoamerican languages Chiapas Zoque and Huave, and the Austronesian language Chamorro, all influenced by Spanish, as will be shown in the next section.

Apart from the imbalance between Eurasian and non-Eurasian NC languages, a second important point to note is that the NC systems in the languages from Table 13 differ considerably with regard to the nature of their NC system. In the following, I will discuss different types of negative concord, but it is already interesting to note that if one excludes languages where NC seems to be an isolated pattern involving just one element, then only 28 languages or 15.6% of the total number of languages from the sample remain, instead of 34 languages or 19%.

I will start by discussing the distinction traditionally made in the literature between strict and non-strict negative concord. Then I will address negative spread. The data on NC patterns that were available suggests that cross-linguistically the strict/non-strict distinction has a minor relevance.

3.5.1.2. *Three types of negative concord*

3.5.1.2.1. Non-strict NC languages

The distinction between strict and non-strict NC made in the literature is mainly based on data from the Romance languages Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan. Sentence (119) and (130), repeated below as (155) and (156), illustrate non-strict NC patterns from Spanish and Italian.

(155) Spanish

- a. Nadie vino.
nobody came
'Nobody came.'
- b. No vi a nadie.
NEG saw nobody
'I didn't see anybody.'
- (Haspelmath 1997:201)

(156) Italian

- a. Mario non ha parlato di niente con nessuno.
Mario NEG has talked about nothing with nobody
'Mario didn't talk to anyone about anything.'
- (de Swart 2010:238)
- b. Nessuno ha parlato con nessuno.
nobody has talked with nobody
'Nobody has talked with anybody.'
- (de Swart 2010:238)

Both languages show that their n-words can occur without sentential negation when occurring preverbally but have to occur with sentential negation when occurring postverbally. As was mentioned in section 3.3.1.2, most non-strict NC languages that have been described in the literature are languages in which the alternation between negative concord and its absence depends on the position with regard to the verb: negative concord when the n-word occurs postverbally and absence of clausal negation when it occurs preverbally.

The sample contains 2 NC languages in which the variation depends on the position of the negative indefinite with respect to the verb: a SVO language, Egyptian Arabic, and a VSO language, namely Chamorro. It is rather unexpected that a VSO language would exemplify non-strict NC with preverbal versus postverbal indefinites. This implies that

negative indefinites can occur in preverbal position. Negative indefinites in preverbal position in VSO languages are related to focus and will be discussed in section 3.5.2. Here, only the optional presence of clausal negation will be discussed. It will be shown that both Egyptian Arabic and Chamorro are special cases. Egyptian Arabic is special since the non-strict NC only involves one element, namely the negative emphatic determiner *wala* ‘not even’, and Chamorro is special since it is heavily influenced by Spanish.

In Egyptian Arabic and Chamorro, a form of non-strict NC can be found in which the presence of clausal negation depends on the position of the negative element with respect to the verb, as is shown in sentences (157) to (160).

Egyptian Arabic

- (157) Miš sāmīf wala kilma.
 NEG hear.PTCP.M.SG not.even word
 ‘I can’t hear a single word.’

- (158) Wala taxi wiʔif.
 not.even taxi stop.PRF.3M.SG
 ‘Not a single taxi stopped.’

(both examples from Woidich 2006:342, taken from Lucas 2009:210,212)

Chamorro

- (159) Ti ma-akka’ yu’ ni háfafa ha’.
 NEG AGR.PASS-bite I NEG anything EMP
 ‘I wasn’t bitten by anything.’

(Cooreman 1983:139, also in Chung 1998:94)

- (160) Ni unu istaba guini gi paingi.
 NEG one AGR.be here LOC last.night
 ‘No one was here last night.’

(Chung 1998:268)

Egyptian Arabic has only one n-word that yields non-strict NC, namely the indefinite determiner *wala* ‘not even’. The n-word *wala* requires the presence of the negator *mā*... -š when it occurs postverbally, either as a postverbal subject or object, as one can see in sentence (157), but it can express negation on its own when used preverbally, see sentence (158) (Lucas 2009:211-212). Importantly, Egyptian Arabic does not exhibit NC with its indefinite pronouns, only with this negative indefinite determiner. The other strategies will be discussed in the section on negative quantifier languages (section 3.5.2.) and other indefinites in negation (Chapter 4). It is interesting to note that Palestinian Arabic exhibits the same pattern with the Palestinian variant *wela* ‘not even’ (Hoyt 2006:49).

Chamorro also exhibits non-strict NC. When the indefinite occurs postverbally, the clausal negator *ti* precedes the verb, see sentence (159). When the negative indefinite precedes the verb, the negative indefinite does not allow the presence of the sentential negator *ti*, as can be seen in sentence (160). Chamorro is special since it has borrowed the negative indefiniteness marker *ni* from Spanish. It is therefore possible that Chamorro also borrowed the non-strict NC pattern, since a language is not expected to develop a non-strict NC pattern, given the low frequency of the pattern cross-linguistically.

As mentioned in the introduction of the different types of negative concord (section 3.3.1.2), the pattern of non-strict NC in which the presence of clausal negation depends on the pre-versus postverbal position of the negative indefinite can be explained on the basis of Neg-First. According to this principle, negation is to be expressed first, or at least as early as possible in the sentence, preferably before the verb. The data from Italian, Spanish, and the sample languages Chamorro and Egyptian Arabic can be accounted for by this principle.

Non-strict NC patterns can be understood from a diachronic perspective. The emergence of negative indefinites can lead to the dispreferred negative quantifier pattern with negation only on the constituent. The details about possible diachronic pathways leading to the negative quantifier strategy will be discussed in section 3.8. The negative quantifier pattern is dispreferred because it causes a form-meaning mismatch: clausal negation is preferably expressed clausally and not on the constituent. The restoration process of the form-meaning mismatch can be governed by Neg-First. Whereas postverbal negative indefinites of the negative quantifier pattern violate the natural pattern according to which clausal negation is expressed clausally as well as Neg-First, preverbal indefinites of the negative quantifier pattern violate only the natural order. For this reason, clausal negation is expected to be introduced sooner with postverbal negative indefinites. This is also described in Haspelmath (1997:211).

Apart from languages in which the alternation concerns preverbal versus postverbal indefinites, there are also languages in which the n-word is optionally accompanied by clausal negation, therefore also exhibiting non-strict NC, but in which the presence does not depend on the position with regard to the verb. Western Armenian, a non-sample language (as opposed to Eastern Armenian), exhibits this pattern. In Western Armenian, sentential negation is optional (Khanjian 2010, 2012:885-6), as is shown in (161).

(161) Western Armenian

Votʃ-intʃ (tʃi)-desa.
no-what (NEG)-see.PST.1SG
‘I didn’t see anything.’
(Khanjian 2010:5)

The optional presence of the clausal negator *tfi-* seems to be a property of colloquial Western Armenian. In the grammar for Eastern Armenian, Dum-Tragut (2009:529) explicitly mentions that negative concord “is a special feature of Eastern Armenian and does not occur in Western Armenian”. Western Armenian might be in the course of restoring the natural order and might therefore be developing into a strict NC language.

Apart from Western Armenian, Haspelmath (1997:211) also notes that Old Church Slavonic exhibited a mixture of the Spanish type and the Western Armenian type. In Old Church Slavonic, postverbal negative indefinites were always accompanied by the clausal negator, which is accounted for by Neg-First, and preverbal negative indefinites were optionally accompanied by the clausal negator, as in Western Armenian. Interestingly, the Old Church Slavonic pattern has also been described for non-West Saxon Old English by Ingham (2006). In non-West Saxon dialects, postverbal negative indefinites were always accompanied by the clausal negator *ne*, whereas in the case of preverbal negative indefinites, the presence of clausal negation was optional. Ingham (2006:248) notes the clausal negator *ne* with preverbal negative indefinites was equally commonly left out as it was realized. Both in Old Church Slavonic as well as in non-West Saxon Old English, this stage of optional presence was followed by a stage of (near-)obligatory presence or strict NC.¹⁷

Interestingly, there is also a language in which preverbal indefinites are optionally accompanied by clausal negation but in which the variation is determined by the position of the preverbal negative indefinite with respect to the verb. In Georgian, a non-sample language, negative indefinites occurring immediately in front of the verb optionally allow the presence of clausal negation, as can be seen in sentence (162).

(162) Georgian

šeni	Cigni	versad	(ver)	vnaxe.
your	book	nowhere	NEG	1.see.3

‘I couldn’t see your book anywhere.’
(King 1996:234)

When negative indefinites do not occur immediately preverbally, the presence of clausal negation is required. Sentence (163) exemplifies the obligatory negative concord pattern with negative indefinites that are not immediately preverbal.

¹⁷ Variation is still found in Middle English, but overall, the percentage of *ne*-drop, or the absence of clausal negation, is much lower than in Old English (Ingham 2006:248,253).

(163) Georgian

Versad šeni Cigni ver vnaxe.
nowhere your book NEG 1.see.3
'I couldn't see your book anywhere.'
(King 1996:234)

This variation points to the variable ways to interpret Neg-First. If one recalls Jespersen's observation in (131), one sees that 'first' is a relative notion, as is also pointed out by van der Auwera (2011:853). Jespersen (1917:5) adds between brackets that 'first' very often means right before the verb and not sentence initially.

At first sight, Neg-First is violated in sentence (162) rather than in sentence (163): in sentence (163), *versad* occurs first, whereas in sentence (162), *versad* follows the object. The Georgian data show that Neg-First can also refer to a principle according to which negation has to be expressed immediately preverbally, not just before the verb, or sentence initially. In Georgian, the principle at work seems to be "express negation immediately preverbally" and not 'first' in the literal sense.

Georgian exemplifies a rare case in which Neg-First is at work with preverbal negative indefinites. But in Georgian, too, the preference to have the natural pattern according to which clausal negation is expressed clausally seems to be stronger than the fact that Neg-First is satisfied in the case of immediately preverbal negative indefinites. This accounts for the fact that clausal negation is optional even with immediately preverbal negative indefinites.

In conclusion, in my sample, non-strict NC is found in Chamorro, Egyptian Arabic. In Egyptian Arabic and Chamorro, the presence of clausal negation depends on the position of the negative element. This variation can be accounted for by Neg-First. Both languages represent special cases of non-strict NC. In Egyptian Arabic, it only concerns one negative determiner. Chamorro is special since it might have borrowed the non-strict NC pattern from Spanish.

The non-sample languages Western Armenian, Old Church Slavonic and non-West Saxon Old English exhibited a stage with optional presence of clausal negation with preverbal negative indefinites before developing into strict NC languages. The optionality then represents an intermediate stage in the restoration of the preferred order according to which clausal negation is expressed clausally.

The non-sample language Georgian showed that non-strict NC with preverbal negative indefinites can be related to Neg-First as well. In this language, Neg-First may imply that negation has to be expressed immediately preverbally and not literally first or sentence initially or just before the verb. But even immediately preverbal negative indefinites in

Georgian optionally allow clausal negation and Georgian might therefore also be turning into a strict NC language.

All in all, non-strict NC seems to be infrequent. On the basis of the sample, one could say that it is a marginal phenomenon. In Egyptian Arabic, it only involves one item, and in Chamorro, it could be a borrowed pattern. The infrequency of non-strict NC is to be expected considering the preference for languages to express clausal negation on the verb. Non-strict NC languages are in fact mixtures of the dispreferred NQ pattern and the preferred pattern with negation on the verb. Therefore, non-strict NC languages are also expected to be dispreferred. Stages of optional presence of clausal negation could be understood as intermediate stages from languages with the NQ pattern to strict NC languages.

3.5.1.2.2. Strict NC languages

As expected given the partial form-meaning mismatch in non-strict NC, strict NC is more frequent than non-strict NC. It was noted that I found 34 languages in which some form of NC was found. It seems that the remaining 32 languages display strict NC, meaning that in these languages, sentential negation always accompanies negative indefinites. Since non-strict NC often depends on the position of the negative indefinite, I tried to search for preverbal and postverbal indefinites to see whether they were always accompanied by negation. In some cases, not enough instances were found with negative indefinites. In such cases, I took the fact that nothing was mentioned in the grammar on peculiarities with NC items to mean that they are strict NC languages.

Albanian, for example, always requires the presence of the negator *nuk* no matter where the n-word is placed. Sentence (164) is an example with a negative preverbal subject and sentence (165) is an example of a postverbal negative object.

- Albanian
- (164) As-kush nuk foli.
 NEG-who NEG spoke
 ‘Nobody spoke.’
 (Turano 1998:153)
- (165) Unë nuk di as-gjë.
 I NEG know NEG-what
 ‘I don’t know anything.’

The SOV language Kanuri also has obligatory negation on the verb. Sentence (166) contains a negative subject and sentence (167) contains a negative object.

Kanuri

- (166) Ndú má lèzê-nyí.
 who-NEG went-NEG
 ‘Nobody went.’
- (167) Àbí-má búkè-nyí.
 what-NEG ate-NEG
 ‘I didn’t eat anything.’
 (Hutchinson 1981:128)

Japanese has already been noted to be a strict NC-language, as (129) showed. An example of a Mesoamerican strict NC language is Huave. Stairs and Hollenbach (1981:310) provide only a postverbal n-word, as given in example (168), but a Huave bible verse, as given in (169), shows that NC is strict. The sentence had to be provided without glossing, but as the form of the n-word *nejinguind* ‘nobody’ (Stairs & Hollenbach 1981:309) as well as the sentential negator *ngo* is known, and the translation from the New King James Bible clearly contains one semantic negation, Huave is assumed to be a strict NC language.

Huave

- (168) Ngo majlüy ni-cuajind.
 NEG have NEG-anything
 ‘I don’t have anything.’
- (169) Nejinguind ngo mandiüm majaw leaw andiüm Teat Dios, nejinguind ngo mayamb nej.
 ‘There is none who understands; there is none who seeks after God.’
 (Romans 3:11, from the New Testament in the Huave of San Mateo del Mar, available online at <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/pater/wolf3-pdf/huave-san-mateo-nt.pdf>, accessed on 13-02-2014)

In the Austronesian language Lavukaleve, the negative determiner *roru* “must appear with a further clausal negator” (Terril 2003:464). The clausal negator can be a regular clausal negator suffix *-la*, as shown in (170) or the negative existential verb *tamu*, as in (171).

Lavukaleve

- (170) Leta mina ro-ru a-na namuri-la.
 but thing one-NEG 3SG.M.O-in shake-NEG
 ‘But nothing shook in it [the boat].’
 (Terril 2003:464)

- (171) Mina ro-ru tamu.
 thing one-NEG NEG.EX
 ‘There is nothing.’
 (Terril 2003:515)

Another example comes from the Austro-Asiatic language Khasi. The preverbal negative indefinite requires the presence of another negative suffix, added to the subject pronoun.

- (172) Khasi
 Ei-ei-ruh-em nga-m lah ong shuh!
 what-what-ever-NEG I-NEG can say EMPH
 ‘I can say nothing at all!’
 (Roberts 1995:174)

A last example comes from the Sino-Tibetan language Meithei. Meithei is an interesting NC language, since it seems to dispose of two different negative indefinite paradigms both yielding negative concord. In Meithei, there is a series of negative indefinites that contain a suffix *-tə*, as in *kəna-mə-tə* ‘who.one-NEG’, ‘nobody’, used in (173), which is also the clausal negator, and a series in *-su*, as shown in (174).

Meithei

- (173) Páw əsi niŋthəwnə tarədónə mí kəna-mə-ta háy-dok-tə.
 news this king having.fallen man who-one-NEG say-OUT-NEG
 ‘On hearing this news, the king disclosed the news to nobody.’
 (Chelliah 1997:396)
- (174) əynə kəna-bu-su tuhətpə pam-de.
 I who-PAT-also torture like-NEG
 ‘I don’t like to torture anyone.’
 (Chelliah 1997:208)

The suffix *-su* corresponds to the additive focus particle ‘also’, as is noted by Bhat & Ningomba (1997:79) and Chelliah (1997:80). Despite the non-negative origin, Chelliah (1997:80) notes the sense ‘nothing’ for *kərisu* ‘nothing’ (but ‘anything’ for *kəna-su*). The suffix *-tə*, interestingly, is analyzed as the clausal negator *-tə* in Chelliah (1997:80) and as the particle ‘only’ in Bhat & Ningomba (1997:79). The fact that *-tə* necessarily combines with *one* and also forms a determiner with it, i.e. *əmə-tə*, glossed ‘one-even’ in Bhat & Ningomba (1997:81) seems to indicate that the indefinites in *-tə* are more emphatic than those in the particle *-su*, which immediately attaches to the interrogative base.

3.5.1.2.3. Negative spread

It was shown in section 3.3.1 that negative spread can refer to a pattern in which multiple negative indefinites lead to a NC reading either with or without clausal negation. Zeijlstra (2004) predicted that all NC languages exhibit negative spread, with or without clausal negation, depending on the strict vs. non-strict distinction. I therefore searched for all co-occurrence patterns of negative concord items, but have not found data for all NC languages. I have noted that there are exceptions to this generalization, viz. Old Low German, Old High German and Skolt Saami. Those sample languages for which I found information on negative spread, on the other hand, confirm Zeijlstra's prediction and all allow NS.

I have found information on negative spread in 11 NC languages out of 34: Ewe, Somali, Palestinian Arabic, Eastern Armenian, Albanian, Icelandic, Korean, Japanese, Lezgian, Chamorro and Haitian Creole. As predicted by Zeijlstra (2004).

Examples of negative spread in strict NC languages are provided in sentences (175) to (178).

(175) Somali

Qofna	waxba	yeydin	ku	orannin.
nobody	nothing	may.NEG	you	say

'May you not say anything to anyone.'

(Zorc & Issa 1990:296)

(176) Albanian

Askush	nuk	bën	asgjë.
nobody	NEG	does	nothing

'Nobody does anything.'

(taken from the internet)

(177) Korean

Amwuto	amwuto-lul	molu-n-ta.
nobody	nobody-ACC	NEG.know-PRES-DECL

'Nobody knows anyone.'

(Hwang 2008:92)

(178) Haitian Creole

Pèsonn	pa	jamn	di	pèsonne	anyen.
nobody	NEG	never	say	no one	nothing

'No one ever says anything to anyone.'

(Déprez 1999:379)

In Icelandic, multiple negative indefinites of the *neinn*-series, which can only occur postverbally, can yield NC readings, as is shown in (179). The negative quantifier series, the *enginn*-series, which does not co-occur with sentential negation, can co-occur with *neinn*-indefinites, therefore also exhibiting negative spread, as is shown in sentence (180).

Icelandic

- (179) Hún sagði ekki neitt við neinn.
 she said NEG nothing to no one
 ‘She didn’t say anything to anyone.’
 (<http://snara.is/s4.aspx?sw=glytta&dbid=Lyklar&action=search>)
- (180) Enginn hefur hafnað neinni hugmynd.
 nobody has rejected no idea
 ‘Nobody has rejected any idea.’
 (Jónsson 2008:3)

The non-strict NC language Chamorro exhibits NS with or without clausal negation, depending on the position of the indefinite. Sentence (181) is an example of NS with a preverbal negative indefinite, and sentence (182) is an example of NS with a postverbal indefinite.

Chamorro

- (181) Ni unu mu-li’i’ si Dolores ni mánunu ha’.
 nobody who.NOM-see Dolores nowhere EMPH
 ‘Nobody saw Dolores anywhere.’
 (Chung 1998:273)
- (182) Si Dolores ti man-li’i’ ni háyiyi ha’ ni manu guätu.
 Dolores NEG AGR.AP-see nobody EMPH nowhere over.there
 ‘Dolores didn’t see anybody anywhere.’
 (Chung 1998:94)

Arabic with its non-strict NC element *wela* also allows negative spread as shown in (183).

- (183) Palestinian Arabic
 Ma-ḵult wela iši wela la-ḥada fi:-hum.
 NEG-said.1SG not.even thing not.even to-one in-them
 ‘I didn’t give anything at all to even one of them.’
 (Hoyt 2006:49)

The preverbal Arabic *wəla*, however, does not seem to allow negative spread (Hoyt 2006:49ff.). This is based on the data from Palestinian Arabic and not Egyptian Arabic, on the assumption that they pattern in the same way.

Negative spread might thus be subject to interesting restrictions: in Arabic, NS is only possible with postverbal elements, and therefore with clausal negation present.

So far, I have discussed the three types of NC: strict NC, non-strict NC and NS. The fact that 34 languages exhibit some form of negative concord does not mean that they always exhibit NC. In the next section I will try to answer the question whether or not a language has NC, either strict or non-strict, as its default strategy to express indefinites in negation. I will try to determine whether NC applies to the entire paradigm of indefinites in negation and in the same way. The next section will therefore discuss another characteristic of NC, which in my view, is often neglected, namely the paradigmatic variety of NC.

3.5.1.3. *Paradigmatic variation in NC languages*

The literature on NC often makes it seem as if languages can easily be categorized as NC languages, either strict or non-strict, and non-NC languages, often forgetting about the internal variation that a language can possess. The internal variation is nicely shown by Lucas (2009). Lucas (2009) describes the Arabic indefinites that are used in negative sentences one by one, because the elements do not allow a uniform categorization. This method is also applied by van der Auwera & Gybels (2014) for the indefinites in Yiddish for the same reason. I will illustrate possible paradigmatic variation on the basis of data from Yiddish from van der Auwera & Gybels (2014).

The negative indefinite *keyn*, which is used as negative indefinite determiner ‘no’ as well as as negative indefinite pronoun for the ontological category PERSON, ‘no one’, always requires the presence of clausal negation. Sentence (184) shows the use of pronominal *keyn* with clausal negator *nit*.

(184) Yiddish

Der bokher [...]	kukt	oyf	keynem	nit.
the guy	look	on	nobody	NEG

‘The guy doesn’t look at anybody.’

(Olsvanger 1947:[39], cited in van der Auwera & Gybels 2014:206)

The negative indefinite pronoun *gornisht* ‘thing’, however, exhibits non-strict NC. Sentence (185) is an instance of the negative indefinite *gornisht* ‘nothing’ without clausal negation. Sentence (186) is an example of the negative indefinite *gornisht* with the clausal negator *nit*.

Therefore, Yiddish can be said to be a strict NC as well as a non-strict NC language, depending on which element from the negative indefinite paradigm is used.

- Yiddish
- (185) Hot Yankev gezogt ‘Zolst mir gornisht gebn’.
 has Yankev said should me nothing give
 ‘Yankev said: ‘You should give me nothing.’’
 (Yehoyesh, Genesis, available online at
<http://yiddish.haifa.ac.il/texts/yehoyesh/rev2004/breyshis.pdf>, accessed on 20-05-2010, cited in van der Auwera & Gybels 2014:211)
- (186) Hot men gegrobn un gegrobn, un hot gornisht
 has one dug and dug and has nothing
 nit gefunen.
 NEG found
 ‘One continued digging and one found nothing.’
 (Olsvanger 1947: [110], cited in van der AUwera & Gybels 2014:211)

This section will address internal differences in languages in which NC occurs. Whereas the previous section was concerned with the presence of clausal negation with negative indefinites that can yield negative concord, this section is concerned with the paradigmatic variability that languages with n-words exhibit. Languages that exhibit paradigmatic variability are Degema, Egyptian Arabic, Epena Pedee, Mosetén, Wichí, Brahui and Kayardild.

In Egyptian Arabic and Degema, the NC item is a negative determiner ‘not even’, which is used to render the sentence emphatic. In Arabic, this element is *wala*, as illustrated in (157) and (158). In Degema, it concerns the use of the negative indefinite determiner *kaa* ‘not even’, as is illustrated in sentence (187).

- (187) Degema
 Owéy káa mǐ-mon.
 person not.even 1SG.NEG-see
 ‘I didn’t see anyone.’
 (Kari 1997:133)

Whenever the emphatic determiner *kaa* is not used, Degema uses the same indefinites that are used in affirmative episodic sentences, namely, the generic nouns *owéy* ‘person’ and *inum* ‘thing’, as is shown in sentence (188).

- (188) Degema
 Inum í-mo.
 thing 3SG.SCL.exist
 ‘There is nothing.’
 (Kari 2004:259)

In Egyptian Arabic, two strategies are found: one with negative quantifiers, as shown in (189), and one with clausal negation and non-negative indefinites, as in (190). The details of the Egyptian Arabic pattern will be discussed in section 3.5.2. Egyptian Arabic is therefore a negative concord language only when it involves the negative scalar focus particle *wala*.

- Egyptian Arabic
- (189) Maḥaddiš aja.
 nobody come.PRF.3M.SG
 ‘No one came.’
 (Lucas 2009:206)
- (190) Ma šaf-nī-š ḥadd.
 NEG see.PRF.3M.SG-me-NEG anyone
 ‘No one saw me.’
 (Lucas 2009:207)

The NC yielding element in Epena Pedee is the form *maarapída* ‘nothing, never’ (Harms 1994:139), as used in (191).

- (191) Epena Pedee
 Maarapída ūri-ʔé pa-hí.
 nothing hear-NEG AUX.PST
 ‘He did not hear anything.’
 (Harms 1994:138)

Harms (1994:139) notes that *maarapída* is “inherently negative” but does not provide information on the form. It is possibly related to the existential verb *paráa* (Harms 1994:137). It also resembles the Spanish *mas rápida*, but no obvious etymological relation can be thought of between ‘faster’ and the meaning ‘nothing’, ‘never’. Apart from this one element, Epena Pedee uses negative quantifiers, consisting of the standard sentential negative marker *-ʔé* and an indefinite *algo* ‘something’ borrowed from Spanish, as shown in (192), or generic nouns interpreted in the scope of negation, as shown in (193).

Epena Pedee

- (192) Algo-ʔé enee-hí.
something-NEG bring-PST

‘He brought almost nothing.’

(Harms 1994:133)

- (193) Ná-ma eperáa-rã wěʔé.
this-LOC person-PL NEG.EX

‘There are no people here.’

(Harms 1994:137)

For Mosetén, I have also found only one NC item, which was borrowed from Spanish. Mosetén borrowed the negative indefinite *nadies* from Spanish, whose use requires the presence of the sentence initial negator *jam*, as in (194).

- (194) Mosetén

Jam nadies parar-yi.
NEG nobody stop-M.S

‘Nobody can stop him.’

(Sakel 2004:337)

Mosetén seems to have borrowed the negative indefinite, but not the Spanish non-strict NC pattern that goes with it. Instead, Mosetén uses the preferred strategy of expressing clausal negation clausally as well, as illustrated in (194). Apart from the borrowed Spanish *nadies*, Mosetén also uses non-negative elements, as is shown in (195).

- (195) Mosetén

Me'-ki jam aj-ra' tyi-tom ban-'.
so-CO NEG yet-IRR person-COM go-F.S

‘Therefore she does not have anybody to go with.’

(Sakel 2004:337)

Wichí also has one NC element, viz. *tuk/tek* ‘nobody’ (Terraza 2009:104), as used in sentence (196).

- (196) Wichí
 N-wen-hit'e tuq Ø-i-hi la-wet.
 1-see-NEG nobody 3-be-LOC 3.POS-house
 'I don't see anybody in the house.'
 (Terraza 2009:104)

There is no counterpart for 'nothing'. Another strategy attested in Tovar (1981:193) is the use of the non-negative difference determiner *el* 'other' in combination with a negative verb to render 'no one'.

In Brahui, there seems to be a difference between the pronoun for the ontological category THING and PERSON. To express 'nobody', one has the n-words *hickas*, *hichas* 'nobody', as in (197), next to the non-negative indefinites *kas* or *kasas*, used in combination with sentential negation, as in (198).

- Brahui
- (197) Kane hichasnā parvā aff.
 me nobody ? be.NEG
 'I care for nobody.'
 (Bray 1909:113)
- (198) Kanto pēn kasas aff.
 with.me other anyone NEG.EX
 'There's no one else with me.'
 (Bray 1909:110)

Bray (1909:113) notes that the negative *hic*- variants, which are borrowed from Persian, are "slightly more emphatic". In Persian, the *hic*-indefinites are "quite normal" in direct negation, but not necessary; the *kas*-indefinites can also be found there.

Interestingly, no non-negative counterpart to *hichirā* or *hichch* 'nothing' is mentioned. It is possible that the Brahui n-word for 'nobody' is the emphatic form whereas the n-word for 'nothing' is the default form. Brahui therefore exhibits a difference between elements of the negative indefinite paradigm, 'nothing' behaving differently from 'nobody' as well as varying strategies for one element: two strategies for 'nobody' could be distinguished.

In Kayardild, the negative indefinite for 'nobody' does not have an equivalent for 'nothing'. The use of the negative indefinite 'nobody' is illustrated in (199).

- (199) Kayardild
 Ngada kurri-n-marri dangka-warri.
 1SG.NOM see-NLZ-PRIV person-PRIV
 ‘I didn’t see anyone.’
 (Evans 1995:376)

For ‘nothing’, a negative existential word *warirra*, which can also be used as a negative determiner ‘no’, is used (Evans 1995:375). The determiner and pronoun is a negative quantifier and does not pattern as negative concord element.

In conclusion, apart from variability regarding the presence of clausal negation with negative indefinites, a property covered under the label of ‘strict’ versus ‘non-strict’ NC, languages with NC often show a considerable amount of paradigmatic variation. In some cases, only one indefinite element yields NC. In Egyptian Arabic and Degema, this is an emphatic negative determiner ‘not even’, in Epena Pedee, a negative indefinite ‘nothing’, ‘never’, in Mosetén, a negative indefinite ‘nobody’ borrowed from Spanish and in Wichí an element *tuk/tek* ‘nobody’. In Kayardild, the word for ‘nobody’ is a negative concord element and the word for ‘nothing’ a negative quantifier. In Brahui, the meaning ‘nothing’ seems to be always rendered by a NC element, whereas the meaning ‘nobody’ can be rendered by a NC item as well as a non-negative indefinite.

3.5.1.4. *Preverbal versus postverbal asymmetries*

In section 3.3.1, non-strict NC languages were discussed. Icelandic is not considered a non-strict NC language, even though at first sight, it seems to exhibit non-strict NC. Sentence (200) shows an example of a postverbal negative indefinite *neitt* ‘nothing’ with the negator *ekki* ‘not’. Sentence (201) on the other hand shows the presence of a negative indefinite *enginn* without any additional negation marker.

- Icelandic
 (200) Ég vissi ekki sjá neitt.
 I did NEG see nothing
 ‘I didn’t see anything.’
 (201) Enginn er eins.
 nobody is alike
 ‘Nobody is alike.’
 (Neijmann 2001:130)

However, sentence (202) shows that the pattern cannot be accounted for by saying that Icelandic exhibits non-strict NC. In sentence (202) a postverbal negative indefinite *ekkert* is used without any additional negation marker.

(202) Icelandic

Ég heyri ekkert.
 I hear nothing
 'I hear nothing.'
 (Neijmann 2001:130)

The explanation of the differing patterns lies in the fact that two different paradigms are used here: the *enginn*-series and the *neinn*-series, as also noted by Haspelmath (1997:252-253). The *enginn*-series, as illustrated with *enginn* 'nobody' in (201), and with *ekkert* 'nothing' in (202), never co-occurs with clausal negation. Icelandic is therefore also a NQ language, which will be discussed in section 3.5.2. The *neinn*-series on the other hand contains n-words: they always occur with another negative marker, either clausal negation, or a negative indefinite of the *enginn*-series, as is shown in (203). The difference with other n-words is that the *neinn*-series cannot occur in preverbal position.

(203) Icelandic

Enginn sá neitt.
 nobody saw anything
 'Nobody saw anything.'

Icelandic thus has two different paradigms of negative indefinites: a series of n-words restricted to postverbal position and a series of negative quantifiers. More on the variation in Icelandic will be said in section 3.8 on the diachrony of negative indefinites.

3.5.1.5. Other strategies of NC languages

Apart from variation with regard to the presence of clausal negation, paradigmatic variation and restrictions with respect to the position of the negative concord item, there is another parameter of variation that can be distinguished for negative concord languages that involves strategies other than negative concord to render the same meanings. I will illustrate this on the basis of the non-sample language Yiddish again.

In Yiddish, the negative indefinite *keyn* can be used as determiner together with clausal negation to yield 'no', as is shown in (204). However, sentence (205) shows that the non-negative indefinite article *a* 'a' can also be used with the same resulting meaning.

Yiddish

- (204) Du bist mir nit keyn fraynd.
you are me not no friend
'You are not a friend of mine.'

(van der Auwera & Gybels 2014:208)

- (205) Du bist mir nit a fraynd.
you are me not a friend
'You are no friend to me.'

(van der Auwera & Gybels 2014:209)

There is, however, a functional difference between the two strategies: the non-negative indefinite is used to render the sentence more emphatic, as noted by van der Auwera & Gybels (2014:208) and NC does seem to be the default strategy. Van der Auwera & Gybels note (2014:209) that "in the Olsvanger materials the vast majority of relevant sentences show negative concord."¹⁸

Evidently, all the languages in which paradigmatic variability and non-strict NC are attested also belong here. In Epena Pedee, Egyptian Arabic, Degema and Mosetén, mainly other strategies are used, since they have only one NC item. Wichí and Kayardild only have an n-word for 'nobody'. In Brahui, at least for 'nobody' a non-negative indefinite can be used. Icelandic belongs here, too. In Icelandic, one series of negative indefinites exhibits the NQ strategy and another one the NC strategy. The non-strict NC languages necessarily also exhibit the negative quantifier strategy with negative indefinites precluding clausal negation.

There are, however, also languages in which the use of other strategies is not related to internal differences in the paradigm, the existence of two negative indefinite paradigms or the existence of a non-strict NC pattern. Other strategies apart from NC are attested in Albanian, Chamorro, Khasi and Imbabura Quechua.

In Albanian, Chamorro, Khasi and Imbabura Quechua, non-negative indefinites can also be used to render 'nothing' and 'nobody'. In Albanian, bare interrogative forms can be used to express negative indefinites, on the condition that they follow the negative verb. An example is given in (206).

¹⁸ Van der Auwera & Gybels (2014:210) describe the Yiddish pattern according to which negative sentences mostly but not always involve negative indefinites as "very strict" negative concord. However, I want to reserve the term 'very strict negative concord' to refer to languages in which negative indefinites are mostly accompanied by clausal negation, and not the occasional use of non-negative indefinites with clausal negation.

(206) Albanian

Nuk erdhi kush të më takojë.
 NEG came.3SG who to me meet.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Nobody came to meet me.’
 (Turano 1998:159)

The use of non-negative indefinites is not known to fulfill other pragmatic purposes.

Chamorro has two non-NC strategies to express indefinites in negation, namely an existential construction with an implicit indefinite participant, as in (207) or a non-negative indefinite, as in (208).

Chamorro

(207) Taya’ t-um-ungo’ sam-papa’ña.
 NEG.EX E.I.-know DIR-below-3SG.POS
 ‘No one knows what lies under there.’
 (Cooreman 1987:45)

(208) Taya’ manu nai ufan-maloffan.
 NEG.EX where COMP AGR.pass
 ‘There was nowhere to go across.’
 (Thompson 1932:64, quoted in Chung 1998:93)

The existential construction will be elaborated on in section 4.4. For the time being it suffices to say that a more more literal rendering of (207) would be ‘there does not exist [who] knows what lies under there’. A similar example could be found to render the non-human indefinite ‘nothing’ (Chung 1998:75). To render the adverbial complement meaning ‘nowhere’ in (208), the interrogative-indefinite *manu* ‘where’ is added. It is likely that the non-negative indefinites, either implicit with negative existential verbs as in (207), or explicit as in (208) used to be the normal way of expressing ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, etc. before the Spanish influenced negative indefinites with indefiniteness marker *ni* came into use. Secondary support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that negative concord is not found in any other Austronesian language from the sample, whereas the existential strategy as in (207) and the use of bare interrogatives, as in (208), are found there.

In Imbabura Quechua, the indefinites in negation do not have to be preceded by the negative scalar focus marker *ni* borrowed from Spanish, as shown in (209).

(209) Imbabura Quechua

Mana pi-pash shamu-nga-chu.

NEG who-INDEF come-3-NEG

‘Nobody will come.’

(Cole 1982:86)

In Khasi, non-negative indefinites can be found to render ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’, as is shown in (210).

(210) Khasi

Nga’m tip ei-ei shaphang kata.

I-NEG know something about matter

‘I know nothing about that matter.’

(Roberts 1995:201)

Although I have no proof, it seems that the non-negative strategy is the default one. The negative indefinites were not mentioned in Nagaraja (1985:103-104), despite an elaborate description of indefinite pronouns, or in Rabel (1961:110-111) who also describes the indefinite pronominal system.

3.5.1.6. Conclusion

Table 15 provides an overview of the variability of the sample languages’ NC systems along the different parameters. 22 languages were found in which NC seems to be the default strategy. It is not unlikely that some of them also have other strategies involving non-negative indefinites, but those were not documented in the grammars. There are 7 languages for which other strategies apart from NC were found to render the same meanings: Chamorro, Imbabura Quechua, Albanian, Brahui, Khasi, Icelandic and Kayardild. Chamorro and Albanian seem to use NC as default construction, but both Chamorro as well as Albanian can also use non-negative indefinites following negated verbs. In addition, existential constructions are also found in Chamorro. The non-negative strategies in Chamorro are argued to predate the Spanish-influenced NC construction, which seems to have prevailed. In Brahui, n-words are used next to non-negative indefinites. Brahui seems to use NC as a default strategy for the equivalent of ‘nothing’ but also exhibits the use of non-negative indefinites in negation at least for ‘nobody, no one’. It is suggested that the negative indefinites in Khasi are slightly more emphatic. In Kayardild, a negative existential word is sometimes used in stead of negative indefinites. In Imbabura Quechua, the

indefinite forms do not have to be preceded by the negative scalar focus particle *ni*. Icelandic has negative quantifiers apart from n-words.

The languages with only one NC element are all similar in the sense that they all have only one element yielding NC and use non-negative indefinites elsewhere. These languages include Mosestén, Degema, Epena Pedee, Egyptian Arabic and Wichí. One language exhibits non-strict NC with its only NC item, namely Arabic. The other languages with only one NC element seem to exhibit strict NC.

	Strict	Non-strict	Total
Default strategy	Ewe, Kanuri, Kunama, Somali, / Eastern Armenian, Mansi, Lezgian, Korean, Japanese, Burmese, Lai, Meithei, Lavukaleve, Lakhota, Huave, Chiapas Zoque, Damana, Páez, Canela-Krahô, Karok, Haitian Creole, Guaraní (22)		22
One of more strategies	Brahui, Khasi, Imbabura Quechua, Icelandic, Kayardild, Albanian (6)	Chamorro (1)	7
Isolated NC	Degema, Mosestén, Epena Pedee, Wichí (4)	Egyptian Arabic (1)	5
Total	32	2	34

Table 15: Types of NC languages

Caution is undoubtedly needed. Given the possibility that one single element can yield NC in an otherwise non-NC language, it is not unlikely that other languages should be added to this table.

3.5.2. Negative quantifier languages

3.5.2.1. *The frequency of negative quantifier languages*

As mentioned in section 3.4, languages in which negation is expressed on the indefinite only are predicted to be rare because they create a form-meaning mismatch. Clausal negation is expected to be expressed clausally, and not on the constituent. Haspelmath (1997:202) found this type in 7 of 40 languages or in 17.5 percent of the languages in his European-

biased 40-language sample. Haspelmath (2005) notes in *WALS* that “negative indefinites precluding predicate negation are concentrated in Western Europe and Mesoamerica”. Kahrel (1996) found it in 5 of 40 languages or in 12.5 percent of the languages in his representative 40-language sample, viz. in Chukchi, Maŋarayi, Dutch, Evenki, and Nama. Kahrel’s (1996) results therefore do not show any geographical skewing; there is one European language, and not one Mesoamerican language (Chukchi and Evenki are spoken in the Eastern part of Russia, Maŋarayi in Australia, and Nama in Africa).

In terms of percentages, my results are similar to Kahrel’s (1996). I found the strategy in 21 languages, or 11.7 percent of the languages, as shown in Table 16. Whereas for NC, the geographical skewing is towards Eurasian languages, the skewing for the NQ strategy is definitely towards North American languages, more specifically towards Mesoamerican languages (Upper Necaxa Totonac, Otomí, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Chocho, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Nevome, Nahuatl, Huichol, Purépecha, Mam), as also mentioned in Haspelmath (2005). 33.3% of the North American sample languages exhibit the strategy. The distribution according to macro-areas can be found in Table 17.

Family	Negative quantifier languages
African	Egyptian Arabic
Indo-European	Icelandic
Austro-Asiatic	Nicobarese
Australian	Tiwi, Kayardild
Yuchi	Yuchi
Chinook	Chinook
Totonacan	Upper Necaxa Totonac
Oto-Manguean	Otomí, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Chocho, Tepetotutla Chinantec
Uto-Aztecan	Nevome, Nahuatl, Huichol
Tarascan	Purépecha
Mayan	Mam
Choco	Epena Pedee
Araucanian	Mapuche
Arauan	Paumarí
Warao	Warao

Table 16: Negative quantifier languages

The percentage of NQ is lower than NC. This can be understood from the perspective that the NQ strategy is the non-iconic strategy.

Macro-area	Lgs in sample	Negative quantifiers	Percentage NQ
Africa	29	1	3.4
Eurasia	15	1	6.7
South East Asia	21	1	4.8
Australia and Papua New Guinea	38	2	5.3
North America	36	12	33.3
South America	39	4	10.2
Creole	1	0	0
Total	179	21	11.7

Table 17: Negative quantifiers according to macro-areas

In parallel to the section on NC, one can also distinguish a strict versus non-strict use of negative quantifiers and one can discern paradigmatic variation in negative quantifier or NQ languages. Before doing this, I would like to address a definitional issue. In the next section, section 3.5.2.2, I will discuss the problems I encountered in categorizing a language as exhibiting the NQ strategy. Then, I will show how I distinguished between strict versus non-strict NQ languages. This will be done in section 3.5.2.3. In the case of NC, the distinction involved the optional presence of clausal negation together with a negative indefinite. In the case of NQ languages, it will be shown to involve the systematic optional presence of clausal negation on the indefinite. It will be shown that NQ languages, like NC languages, show an asymmetry regarding preverbal and postverbal indefinites in negation. Paradigmatic variability within NQ languages will deal with different indefinite elements within the paradigm of negative indefinites taking part in different strategies. This will be treated in section 3.5.2.6. In section 3.5.2.7, I will address preverbal and postverbal asymmetries that cannot be subsumed under strict and non-strict NQ. In section 3.5.2.8, lastly, I will briefly address which languages exhibit other strategies than the NQ strategy.

3.5.2.2. On distinguishing negative quantifiers

I encountered many difficulties in defining an indefinite pronoun as a negative quantifier. The problems are also noted by Haspelmath (2005) in *WALS*. The difficulty sometimes lies in distinguishing the clausal negator from a part of the negative indefinite. Haspelmath (2005) provides the example of Gooniyandi, one of the sample languages. Judging on the basis of sentence (211), one might consider *mangaddi ngoorndoo-ga-ngaddaya* a single negative indefinite. Sentence (212), however, shows that the negator *mangaddi* is the sentential negator, which can also occur in front of referential subjects.

Gooniyandi

- (211) Mangaddi ngoorndoo-ga-ngaddaya wardnginbidda.
 NEG who-ERG-INDEF they.took.me

‘No one gave me a lift.’

(McGregor 1990:479)

- (212) Mangaddi yangbala-ngga goornbu doownga.
 NEG young.man-ERG woman he.got.her

‘Young men didn’t take wives.’

(McGregor 1990:389)

Therefore, Gooniyandi is considered to be a language without negative indefinites. This analysis is also assumed here.

Gooniyandi is not the only difficult Australian case. Maung, Jingulu as well as the non-sample language Mangarrayi, can be used to illustrate the problem involving interrogative-indefinite forms that are only used as interrogative forms and as indefinite forms in negation. I will first illustrate this on the basis of Mangarrayi.

On the basis of the data presented in (213), Haspelmath (2005) classifies Mangarrayi as a NQ language in *WALS*.

- (213) Mangarrayi

ŋiñjag ŋiñja Ø-ŋiña-m.
 NEG who-NOM 3SG-arrive-PST.NEG¹⁹

‘Nobody arrived.’

(Merlan 1982:119)

The exact same example, however, led Kahrel (1996:42) to classify Mangarrayi as a language without negative indefinites. The example in (214) suggests that there are no negative indefinites and that *ŋiñjag* is used as a clausal negator that can be used to negate nominals as well.

¹⁹ Merlan (1982:119) glosses the irrealis marker as a past negative marker. However, Miestamo (2005:317) notes that the form can also occur without negative marking, in which case it has non-negative irrealis meanings.

(214) Mangarrayi

ŋiŋjag ɲa-wumbawa wuɭa-ɲi ɲa-bugbugbug.
 NEG M.NOM-one 3PL-sit M.NOM-old person
 ‘Not one old person was camping.’ (i.e. there were many)
 (Merlan 1982:38)

However, one could argue that there are still two reasons to follow Haspelmath’s (2005) classification and not Kahrel’s (1996). First, Haspelmath (2005) notes that normally referential subjects precede negation, yielding SNEGVO, unlike in Gooniyandi in (212). This, however, is not very convincing, since sentence (214) shows that the negator can also function as a scope-marking negative particle. Another argument that is not mentioned, but which seems more convincing to me, is that the interrogative forms seem to be only used in an indefinite sense together with the negative particle. Merlan (1982:57) notes that the form for ‘who’ can yield the meanings ‘nobody’, ‘anybody’, ‘somebody’ but does not provide any examples of the indefinite usage outside negation. This is also the case in the sample languages Jingulu and Maung. In Jingulu, negated indefinites are formed by means of bare interrogatives used in the scope of negation, as shown in (215).

(215) Jingulu

Angkula waja ambaya-rdi ngarnu, barnki-jija ngindaniki.
 NEG who speak-HAB 3SG.ACC.M friend-PRIV this.M
 ‘(that man is sitting there) with no one to talk to, he’s got no mates.’
 (Pensalfini 1997:104)

The negator *angkula* is usually clause-initial (Pensalfini 1997:101), so the combination looks like the regular negator plus an interrogative-indefinite, like in Gooniyandi. Unlike in Gooniyandi, however, the bare interrogatives cannot occur with an indefinite sense outside a negative context (Robert Pensalfini, p.c.). Pensalfini (1997:104) notes that the words ‘something’ and ‘someone’ are translated in Jingulu by using an interrogative plus the indefinite marker *-nayi*. An example is given in (216).

(216) Jingulu

Aja-nayi nayu-nga maya-nu.
 who-INDEF woman-ERG.F hit-did
 ‘The woman hit someone.’
 (Pensalfini 1997:105)

The fact that certain Australian languages use interrogative forms in an indefinite sense only in negation is mentioned in Dixon (2002:328). Many – but not all (Dixon 2002:328) – Australian languages are known to dispose of so called ‘epistemes’ (Mushin 1995) or words that have an indefinite meaning as well as an interrogative meaning. Dixon (2002:328) mentions Smythe (1948/9:49-1) as the first to mention that Gumbaynggirr uses the same forms to express ‘someone’ as well as ‘who’. Dixon (2002:329) notes that the indefinite sense can be grammatically conditioned: “in some languages, it only manifests itself in a negative clause (e.g. ‘who’ plus ‘not’ = ‘nobody’)”. Based on my definition, one could treat the forms in Jingulu and Maung as negative indefinites, since they only occur – in an indefinite sense – in negation. This would have as a counterintuitive consequence that one would have to treat Jingulu that uses bare interrogatives in their indefinite sense in negation only as a negative concord language. Analyzing them as n-words cannot be the right solution, since unlike other n-words, these indefinites have an interrogative meaning when they are not accompanied by sentential negation. Depending on whether the combination of the negator and the interrogative base forms a unit, one could argue that the combination negator and interrogative together form a negative quantifier. I have no information to what extent the combination is lexicalized. A third option is to represent the Australian languages Mangarrayi, Jingulu and Maung as languages that use a form that has direct negation and interrogation as important functions. This suggests that one could add ‘interrogation’ as a function adjacent to ‘direct negation’ on a semantic map that treats interrogatives and indefinites together.

One last example comes from Navajo, where the discontinuous negator *doo... -da*, whose default position is around the verb, as shown in (217), has its first part obligatorily in front of the negated indefinite, as shown in (218), arguably resulting in negative indefinites.

Navajo

(217) Si-tsilí doo náyáa-da.

my-younger.brother NEG 3.go-NEG

‘My younger brother did not arrive.’

(Hale & Platero 2000:75)

(218) Shi-zhé’é doo ha’át’íída nayiisnii’-da.

my-father NEG anything 3.buy-NEG

‘My father has not bought anything.’

(Hale & Platero 2000:73)

Sentences (219) and (220), however, show that negation can be put in front of a direct object that is in the scope of negation, as well in front of a referential subject, as in Gooniyandi.

Navajo

- (219) Jáan doo chidí yiyíítchọ'da.
John NEG car 3O-3S-PRF-wreck-NEG
'John didn't wreck the car.'
(Perkins 1978:13)

- (220) Doo shi-zhé'é háá-góó-da deeyáa-da.
NEG my-father anywhere 3.go-NEG
'My father is not going anywhere.'
(Hale & Platero 2000:75)

In analogy to the Gooniyandi case, this could be considered sufficient evidence for the absence of negative indefinites. There is one extra difficulty, however. The difference between negation in (219), on the one hand, and negation with indefinites in (220), on the other hand, is that negation optionally precedes referential subjects and objects, whereas negation obligatorily precedes indefinite subjects as well as objects in the scope of negation. In Gooniyandi, there is no such requirement, as sentence (221) shows.

- (221) Gooniyandi
Yaabja-ngga yoowooloo mangaddi jagbinmi -ngaddagi.
some-ERG man NEG they.spoke to.me
'No one spoke to me.'
(McGregor 1990:454)

Since obligatorily preceding the indefinite does not imply immediately preceding the indefinite form, as sentence (220) shows, I classified Navajo as a language without negative indefinites. Nevertheless, the fact that the indefinite bases cannot precede negation even though the default position for clausal negation is around the verb, however, might point to the incipient emergence of negative indefinites. The combination of negation and the indefinite immediately following negation might become increasingly obligatory and lexicalization might follow.

3.5.2.3. *Strict and non-strict NQ languages*

Negative quantifier languages are languages in which negation is expressed on the indefinite only and not clausally. An example mentioned in the introduction is English. In English, the negative indefinite *nobody* can be the single exponent of negation, as is shown in sentence (222).

(222) Nobody listened.

However, in some languages, the NQ strategy does not seem to be obligatory. Whereas in non-strict NC languages, clausal negation can be optional, in NQ languages, it is the negative indefinite that is sometimes optional.

In parallel to NC languages, the optionality of negative indefinites in NQ languages often seems to depend on the position of the negative indefinite with respect to the verb. Again, English serves as an example. Even though the sentence in (223) is grammatical, the strategy with a non-negative indefinite *anyone* in combination with clausal negation *n't*, as shown in (224), is preferred (de Swart 2010:118-9).

(223) I listened to nobody when I was young.

(224) I didn't listen to anybody when I was young.

Whereas in English, the use of non-negative indefinites in postverbal position is a matter of preference, in some languages, postverbal negative indefinites lead to ungrammaticality. Interestingly, the asymmetry can also be accounted for by Neg-First, as can most non-strict NC patterns.

Due to the lack of sufficient data on some languages, the numbers of languages are not trustworthy. This section therefore has qualitative relevance rather than quantificational relevance.

3.5.2.4. *Non-strict NQ languages*

In my sample, there are five languages that could be argued to be non-strict negative quantifier languages: all three Uto-Aztecan languages, viz. Nahuatl, Huichol and Nevome, and also Mapuche and Egyptian Arabic. The use of negative quantifiers in Nahuatl and Egyptian Arabic depends on the position of the indefinite with respect to the verb. Sentence (225) shows that Nahuatl has the negative quantifier *amaka* 'nobody', consisting of a prefixed variety of the sentential negator *amo* and the interrogative-indefinite *aka* 'who', 'somebody'. Sentence (226) shows that *amaka* cannot occur postverbally, obviously as a consequence of Neg-First. The non-contracted form *aka*, however, which is *amaka* minus negation, can express a negative indefinite object too, as is shown in (227).

Nahuatl

- (225) Juan amaka okitak.
 Juan nobody PST-3.S-3O.SG-see
 ‘Juan saw nobody’
 (MacSwan 1997:149)
- (226) *Juan okitak amaka.
 Juan PST-3S-3O.SG-see nobody
 ‘Juan saw nobody’
 (MacSwan 1997:149)
- (227) Juan amo okitak aka.
 Juan NEG PST-3S-3O.SG-see somebody
 ‘Juan didn’t see anybody’
 (MacSwan 1997:150)

Egyptian Arabic also shows non-strict NQ depending on the position of the indefinite, as shown in (228) and (229).

Egyptian Arabic

- (228) Ma šaf-nī-š ḥadd.
 NEG see.PRF.3M.SG-me-NEG anyone
 ‘No one saw me.’
 (Lucas 2009:207)
- (229) Ma-ḥaddi-š aja.
 NEG-INDEF-NEG come.PRF.3M.SG
 ‘No one came.’
 (Lucas 2009:206)

As in Nahuatl, the reason *maḥaddiṣ* cannot occur postverbally is because negation has to occur preverbally.

Huichol and Nevome are languages that could also be treated as non-strict NQ languages. In Huichol and Nevome, the use of a negative quantifier as opposed to the use of a non-negative indefinite does not depend on the position with respect to the verb. Haspelmath (2001:722) mentions the negative quantifier *katixai* ‘nothing’ in Huichol, but example (230) shows that the non-negative forms can also be used.

(230) Huichol

Tixai ne-pi-ka-ti-mate.
 something 1SG.S-ASS-NEG-GNR-know
 ‘I don’t know how to do anything.’
 (Gómez 1999:127)

Clausal negation can apparently be expressed on the verb as well as on the indefinite. Note that in both cases, Neg-First is respected.

In Nevome, the indefinites in negation optionally univerbate with the negative marker *pim*. Nevome optionally marks negation on the indefinite. In sentence (231), the negative indefinite consists of the negator *pim*, which can also negate other non-verbal elements, as shown in (232), and the non-negative indefinite *haitu* ‘something’. In sentence (233), two negative indefinites are used consisting of an indefinite base and a reduced form of the negative particle *pima*.

Nevome

(231) Pima haitu si-matu-ma.
 NEG something s-know-ma
 ‘Nothing is chooseable.’
 (Shaul 1986:41)

(232) Hucaidi doaki pima si-tai masi.
 so mountain NEG s-high appear
 ‘...so the mountain doesn’t seem high.’
 (Shaul 1986:88)

(233) Pim’urhoi si-n’-ohada, an’-upu pim-‘hucudoï s’-ohoda.
 nobody s-me-envy 1SG-also NEG-someone s-envy
 ‘Nobody envies me, just as I envy no one.’
 (Shaul 1986:87)

The last of the five languages is Mapuche. Sentences (234) and (235) show that the marking of negation on the indefinite is optional.

Mapuche

(234) Doy chem rumé nie-ke-la-fu-y-iñ.
 more what -ever have-CF-NEG-IPD-IND-1NS-PL
 ‘We did not have anything more.’
 (Smeets 1989:244)

- (235) Doy chem nu rumé nie-ke-fu-y-iñ.
 more what NEG ever have-CF-NEG-IPD-IND-1NS-PL
 ‘We had nothing more.’
 (Smeets 1989:244)

3.5.2.5. *Strict NQ languages*

The other languages are strict NQ languages in the sense that the marking of negation is obligatorily on the indefinite. In Mam, for example, negative indefinites seem to be always expressed by the negative marker *mix*, which is not used in isolation (Collins 1994:378), and an indefinite base. An example of ‘nothing’ and ‘nobody’ can be found in (236) and (237).

- Mam
- (236) Ti'-n tzaj t-q'o'n te'y? Mix ti'.
 thing-Q DIR.come 3SG.ERG-give you? NEG thing
 ‘What did he give you? Nothing.’
 (Collins 1994:378)
- (237) Mixalx te sul ka'yilteya.
 ‘Nobody came to see him/it.’
 (Alonzo 2011:262)

In Alonzo (2011), there are plenty of instances of *mixalx* ‘nobody’, used as objects as well as subjects.

3.5.2.6. *Isolated NQs*

NQ languages seem to exhibit less paradigmatic variation than NC languages. There are two languages in which I found only one NQ, viz. Warao and Kayardild.

In Warao, it concerns *ekira* ‘nothing’, exemplified in (238).

- (238) Warao
- Ine ekira ha.
 I nothing COP
 ‘I have nothing.’
 (Romero-Figueroa 1997:69)

The form *ekira* is used as indefinite pronoun and determiner (Romero-Figueroa 1997:29-69). There is no mentioning of a corresponding form for ‘nobody’.

In Kayardild, the isolated NQ is *warirra* ‘nothing’, ‘no’, ‘none’. Kayardild is one of many Australian languages that have a negative existential word meaning ‘nothing, empty, no, none’, depending on the context. As a determiner in combination with *dangka* ‘person’, it is used to express ‘nobody’. This is illustrated in (239).

(239) Kayardild

Ngada	kurri-jarra	warirra-na	dangka-walath-ina.
1SG.NOM	see-PST	nothing-M.ABL	person-lots-M.ABL

‘I saw no-one, I saw no group of people.’
(Evans 1995:375)

3.5.2.7. *Preverbal versus postverbal asymmetries*

In section 3.5.2.3, I distinguished non-strict NQ languages, or languages in which clausal negation is optionally expressed on the indefinite. In the case of Egyptian Arabic and Nahuatl this depends on the position of the NQ with respect to the verb: whereas preverbal indefinites are marked for negation, postverbal indefinites are not. The asymmetry is accounted for by Neg-First. In the sample, there are many languages in which Neg-First seems to be at work, in different guises.

In the Austronesian SVO language Tiwi, for example, Neg-First is respected not by optionally marking negation on indefinite constituents, but through the avoidance of postverbal indefinites. Tiwi examples with NQs are found in (240) and (241).

Tiwi

(240) Karə-kuwani jinimatakupauli.

NEG-who he-come back
‘No one will come back.’
(Osborne 1974:69)

(241) ŋia karəkamini.

I nothing
‘I have got nothing.’
(Osborne 1974:57)

Postverbal negative objects are claimed to be avoided (Osborne 1974:68). Instead of avoiding them by using non-negative indefinites, as in Egyptian Arabic or Nahuatl, they are

avoided more literally. Osborne (1974:68) mentions that instead of ‘I saw no one’, the Tiwi would say ‘I looked. No one!’

Otomí also exhibits preverbal versus postverbal asymmetries, interestingly with paradigmatic variation. Hekking & de Jesús (1984:65) note that the negative indefinite *hinte* ‘nothing’ is always found at the beginning of the sentence, as shown in (242).

(242) Otomí

Hinte	bí	dini.
nothing	3	found
‘He found nothing.’		
(Hekking 1995:65)		

Curiously, the negative indefinite *ni’na* ‘nobody’ can occur in postverbal position, as is shown in (243).

(243) Otomí

Bi	handi	ni’na.
PST.3	see	nobody
‘He didn’t see anyone.’		
(Hekking & de Jesús 1984:65)		

The only plausible explanation for the difference between *hinte* and *ni’na* in being able to occur postverbally relates to etymology. Whereas *hinte* consists of the Otomí standard negator *hín* and the interrogative *te* ‘who’, *ni’na* consists of the borrowed Spanish *ni* ‘NEG’ and *na* ‘one’ (Hekking & de Jesús 1984:60). The fact that Spanish negative indefinites do not carry restrictions as to position with regard to the verb – they can occur preverbally as well as postverbally – might explain why *ni’na* can occur postverbally and *hinte* cannot.

Apart from using non-negative indefinites in postverbal position or avoiding negative objects in SVO languages, one can also avoid a violation of Neg-First by realizing negative indefinite preverbally regardless of the dominant word order. In fact, I have not found any negative quantifier in postverbal position, apart from Otomí *ni’na* in (243) and the Icelandic *enginn*-series. Thus verb-initial languages like the Oto-Manguean languages Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Otomí, Chocho, Mayan Mam, Totonacan Upper Necaxa Totonaca, Penutian Chinook and Mon-Khmer Nicobarese always front negative quantifiers. In the South-American SVO languages Paumarí, Purépecha and Mapuche, negative objects seem to be realized in front of the verb. In Nevome, which has various word order patterns (Shaul 1986:124), I only found examples of preverbal negative quantifiers. In the SOV NQ languages Yuchi and Epena Pedee the issue is not relevant. All of these languages have

preverbal clausal negation and can therefore be considered to be languages in which the Neg-First holds. Only fronted indefinites will be able to attract the negative particle. On the basis of the negative quantifier languages from the sample, one can conclude that if a language has the negative quantifier strategy, it avoids negation to be realized postverbally. Note that this leaves unaccounted why indefinite forms are found preverbally in verb-initial languages. More on the fronting of negative indefinites will be said in section 3.6 on different morphological types of negative indefinites.

3.5.2.8. *Other strategies of negative quantifier languages*

Just like NC languages, NQ languages also allow other strategies. Obviously, non-strict NQ languages as well as languages with isolated negative quantifiers exhibit other strategies. Icelandic should be noted here as a language with a strategy other than from NQ. As described in section 3.5.1.4, Icelandic also exhibits NC with postverbal elements of the *neinn*-series. Apart from Icelandic, the variation within the NQ languages' negative indefinite systems is covered by the previous sections.

3.5.2.9. *Conclusion*

Table 18 provides an overview of the variability in the sample languages' NQ systems. In 13 languages NQ is the default option when expressing negated indefinites. In 5 languages, NQs are used together with the corresponding non-negative forms. This pattern has been labeled 'non-strict NQ'. In two of five cases (Nahuatl and Egyptian Arabic), the variation is determined by the position of the indefinite with respect to the verb. In one language, viz. Icelandic, NQ is the pattern associated with one negative indefinite paradigm. In Warao and Kayardild, the NQ pattern concerns one element in the language.

	Strict	Non-strict	Total
Default strategy	Chinook, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Otomí, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chocho, Nahuatl, Nevome (5) Purépecha, Mam, Epena Pedee, Paumarí, Nicobarese, Tiwi, Yuchi (13)	Egyptian Arabic, Huichol, Mapuche, (5)	18
One of more strategies	Icelandic (1)		1
One NQ	Warao, Kayardild (2)		2
Total	16	5	21

Table 18: Types of NQ languages

3.6. Formal types of negative indefinites

This section will be concerned with formal types of negative indefinites, both n-words and negative quantifiers. There are two major formal types of indefinites: morphologically negative, negative indefinites and morphologically non-negative, negative indefinites. I will abbreviate negative indefinite to n-indefinite to avoid repetition in phrases like ‘morphologically negative, negative indefinites’. The sample languages categorized according to formal types are represented in Table 19.

Morphologically non-negative n-indefinites		Brahui, Burmese, Degema, Ewe, Guaraní, Haitian Creole, Icelandic, Japanese, Kanuri, Korean, Lai, Lezgian, Mansi, Meithei, Mosestén, Somali (16)
Morphologically negative n-indefinites	Sentence negation	Egyptian Arabic, Eastern Armenian, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chinook, Epena Pedee, Huichol, Icelandic, Karok, Khasi, Lakhota, Mam, Meithei, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Nahuatl, Nevome, Nicobarese, Otomí, Paumarí, Purépecha, Tiwi, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Yuchi, (22)
	Negative scalar focus particle	Albanian, Egyptian Arabic, Chamorro, Huave, Otomí, Imbabura Quechua, Chiapas Zoque (7)
	Nominal negator	Kayardild, Mapuche (2)
	Negative existential marker	Chocho, Chalcatongo Mixtec (2)
?		Canela-Krahô (<i>néé</i>), Damana (<i>nenengua</i>), Epena Pedee (<i>maarapida</i>), Kunama (<i>ellana</i>), Lavukaleve (<i>roru</i>), Páez (<i>juxpa</i>), Warao (<i>ekira</i>), Wichí (<i>tuk/tek</i>) (8)

Table 19: Formal types of negative indefinites

All negative indefinites arise through what I will call the ‘incorporation’ of negation. In the case of morphologically n-indefinites, the incorporation is semantic as well as morphological. The terminology needs some attention, for there are two ‘competing’ terms, i.e. ‘incorporation’ and ‘absorption’ (and there is also ‘attraction’ – see below). De Swart (2010:118) uses the term ‘negative-incorporation’ or ‘neg-incorporation’ for morphological and semantic incorporation. I will not follow her: in this work ‘incorporation’ will only be used for the semantic process. Haspelmath (1997:205) uses the term ‘negative absorption’, but only for those negative indefinites that have absorbed, and morphologically so, clausal negation. In Haspelmath (1997) negative indefinites with negative scalar focus particles are not treated as cases of negative absorption and negative indefinites with former negative existential verbs are not mentioned. I will treat all morphologically negative n-indefinites as the outcome of negative absorption. I will use the term ‘negative absorption’ to refer to any

kind of morphological and semantic negative incorporation. I will use ‘negative absorption’ instead of ‘morphological and semantic negative incorporation’ for reasons of brevity.

Morphologically non-negative n-indefinites arise through incorporation of semantic negation. As de Swart (2010:118) notes, the incorporation of morphological negation “is not a prerequisite for the construction of indefinite forms that bear negative import”. The French *personne* and *rien*, originally meaning ‘person’ and ‘thing’, are cases in point.

The tendency that leads to both types of negative indefinites, viz. morphologically negative as well as non-negative ones, is called ‘negative attraction’ after Mazzon (2004) and de Swart (2010:118). It reflects the observation made by Jespersen (1917:56) that natural language has a strong tendency “to attract the negative notion to any word that can easily be made negative”, as also quoted in de Swart (2010:118).²⁰ Negative attraction (henceforth ‘Neg-Attract’) should therefore be seen as the tendency that eventually leads to negative incorporation, either morphological-semantic (negative absorption) or semantic incorporation. Note that the tendency does not say anything on why indefinites would attract negation, nor does it say anything on why indefinites incorporate negation. The question why negative indefinites incorporate negation is also briefly addressed in Penka (2011:3). She mentions that the special relation indefinites have with negation is in a way “a re-statement of the puzzle as to why there are lexical items expressing negated existential quantification but none expressing negated universal quantification (see Horn, 2001).” In other words, whereas languages do lexicalize *nothing*, no natural language has a lexicalized *neverybody*.²¹ Like Penka (2011), I have nothing to contribute on this issue (but see van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2013b). Apart from the question why indefinites incorporate negation and lexicalize as negative indefinites, there is also the question why they attract negation. This is related to focus, both in the case of negative absorption as in the case of semantic incorporation.

In the next section, I will discuss negative absorption with reference to the sample languages as well as non-sample languages. After that, I will discuss semantic incorporation, again with reference to sample, as well as non-sample languages.

²⁰ As noted by de Swart (2010:119), Jespersen also used this notion to refer to affixal negation. Here, it will be used to refer to negative indefinites only.

²¹ There is an Old English form *nalles*, which consists of a negative *ne* and the universal quantifier *alles* ‘everything’. Unlike what one would expect, however, *nalles* has a negated existential meaning ‘nothing’ and not a negated universal meaning ‘not all’ (Behaghel 1918:229).

3.6.1. Negative absorption

Morphologically negative n-indefinites arise through absorption of a negative morpheme after this has been attracted to the indefinite. There are four types of negative markers that can be incorporated: sentential negation, non-verbal negation, negative focus particles, and (former) negative existential verbs. I will discuss them in that order. Two principles account for the patterns involving negative indefinites arising via absorption: Neg-Attract and Neg-First. Neg-Attract is related to constituent focus, Neg-First pertains to clausal negation.

3.6.1.1. *Absorption of clausal negation*

The first type of morphologically negative n-indefinites consists of n-indefinites formed through absorption of a sentential negator. This type is discussed by Haspelmath (1997:205-210) under ‘negative absorption’. This absorption is to be taken literally: the indefinite, not yet negative before incorporation, attracts the negator and absorbs it. In Table 20, the languages from the sample with examples of indefinites that have absorbed clausal negation are given.

Eastern Armenian	<i>oč'mek</i> 'nobody'	č- NEG (Dum-Tragut 2009:523) Classical Armenian <i>oč</i> (NEG, Klein 1997:196)
Nicobarese	<i>hat-hēang</i> 'nothing'	<i>hat</i> NEG (Man 1889:63)
Meithei	<i>kəna-mə-tə</i> 'nobody'	<i>-tə</i> NEG (Chelliah 1997:396)
Khasi	<i>ei-ei-ruh-em</i> 'nothing'	<i>-em</i> (Roberts 1995:118)
Karok	<i>pu-ʔakára</i> 'nobody'	<i>pu-...-(h)ara</i> NEG (Bright 1957:140)
Yuchi	<i>nágənt'ε</i> 'nobody'	<i>ná</i> NEG (Benveniste 1950:101)
Upper Necaxa Totonac	<i>xa: ti:</i> 'nobody'	<i>xa:</i> NEG (Beck 2004:95)
Tiwi	<i>karə-kuwani</i> 'nobody'	<i>karə-</i> NEG (Osborne 1974:57)
Otomí	<i>hin-te</i> 'nobody'	<i>hin</i> NEG (Hekking 1995:65)
Chalcatongo Mixtec	<i>tú-kwiti</i> 'nothing'	<i>tú-</i> NEG (Macaulay 1996:124)
Tetepotutla Chinantec	<i>ca^L-ʔe^M</i> 'nothing'	<i>ca^L-</i> NEG (Westley 1991:17)
Nevome	<i>pim-urhoi</i> 'nobody'	<i>pim-</i> NEG (Shaul 1986:87)
Nahuatl	<i>amiɬa</i> 'nothing'	<i>amo</i> NEG (Betancourt 1979:86)
Huichol	<i>katixaí</i> 'nothing'	<i>ka-</i> NEG (Haspelmath et al. 2001:722)
Purépecha	<i>'no-ne'ma</i> 'nobody'	<i>'no-</i> NEG (Chamoreau 2000:88)
Mam	<i>mixalx</i> 'nobody'	<i>mix</i> NEG (Collins 1994:378, 380)
Epena Pedee	<i>algo-ʔé</i> 'nobody'	<i>-ʔé</i> NEG (Harms 1994:133)
Paumarí	<i>ni-nahina</i> 'nothing'	<i>ni</i> NEG (Chapman & Derbyshire 1991:272)
Egyptian Arabic	<i>ma-haddi-š</i> 'nobody'	<i>ma-...-š</i> NEG (Lucas 2009:206)
Chinook	<i>nikct ē'kta</i> 'nothing'	<i>nikct</i> NEG (Boas 1894:75)
Icelandic	<i>neinn</i> 'nobody'	Old Norse <i>ne</i> NEG (Eythórsson 2002:190)
Lakhota	<i>tuweni</i> 'no one'	<i>śni</i> NEG (Ingham 1998:109)

Table 20: N-indefinites from absorption of clausal negation

Examples of negative absorbed n-indefinites from Nahuatl, Egyptian Arabic, Nevome and Tiwi have already been given in (225), (229), (233) and (240). An example from the Arauan language Paumarí is given in (244) and (245). In Paumarí, the clausal negator *ni*, as used in (244), is prefixed onto the indefinite base *nahina* 'thing' to express 'nothing', as shown in (245).

Paumari

(244) Ni-o-joi-joraki-ki.

NEG-1SG-return-quickly-NONTHEME

‘I will not return quickly.’

(Chapman 2013[1985]:17)

(245) Ni-nahina-ra o-nofi-ki.

NEG-thing-O 1SG-want-NONTHEME

‘I don’t want anything.’

(Chapman & Derbyshire 1991:272)

In Karok, the first part of the discontinuous negator, as used on the verb in (246), can be used to form a negative indefinite determiner, as in (247).

Karok

(246) Pa-ʔára:r ʔu:m pu-ʔipí-tih-ara pa-mú-ʔarama mú-θvuy.
the-person he NEG-say-DUR-NEG the-his-child his-be.named.NLZ

‘The person did not say his child’s name [...].’

(Mithun 1999:437)

(247) Pú-yíθθa-xay kán θa-nê-ra.
NEG-one-EMPH lady lay-NEG

‘Not a single lady lay there.’

(Bright 1957:140)

The diachronic process underlying absorption of clausal negation is schematically illustrated by Haspelmath (1997:205) as in (248).

(248) Diachronic negative absorption of clausal negation

a. ‘Nobody came.’

I. person not-came

II. not-person came

b. ‘She saw nothing.’

I. she thing not-saw

II. she not-thing saw

Functionally, absorption of sentential negation is explained by Haspelmath (1997:206) by Neg-First, as given in (131), and repeated here as (249).

- (249) There is a natural tendency, also for the sake of clearness, to place the negative first, or at any rate as soon as possible, very often immediately before the particular word to be negated (generally the verb). (Jespersen 1917:5)

I consider it rather dubious to hold the same principle responsible for the formation of negative indefinites as well as for the realization of clausal negation with postverbal n-indefinites. In other words, Neg-First cannot be at work in the process presented in (248), when the principle is not violated in the first place, as sentences (248)a.I and (248)b.I, in which clausal negation is realized preverbally, show. In addition, the fact that negative indefinites arising through negative absorption of clausal negation are only found in 22 out of 179 languages, whereas Dryer (1988:102) found preverbal negation in 70% of all languages also casts doubt on holding Neg-First accountable for the phenomenon of negative absorption of clausal negation. Here I will argue that it is Neg-Attract and not Neg-First that motivates diachronic negative absorption of clausal negation.

I claim Haspelmath's (1997) Neg-First contains two different principles: realize negation before the finite verb, which is how de Swart (2010:101) reformulated Neg-First, as well as Neg-Attract: realize negation before the negated constituent. Negative attraction is motivated by focus. An indefinite may mark the focus of negation via negative attraction to the indefinite (de Swart 2010:170). The two principles, Neg-Attract and Neg-First, can account for the variation found in languages with n-indefinites through negative absorption of clausal negation, as illustrated by de Swart (2010:119) on the basis of the English examples in (250) and (251). English, for example, has negative indefinites that have absorbed clausal negation at its disposal, e.g. *nobody*, *nothing*, *never*, *no*, but also uses non-negative *any*-indefinites in the scope of negation, but only postverbally, as shown in (250) and (251). The English pattern in (251) shows that "negative attraction may be in conflict with a tendency for the negation to be realized preverbally" (de Swart 2010:119).

(250) Neg-First and Neg-Attract

- a. Nobody laughed.
- b. *Anybody didn't laugh.

(251) Neg-First versus Neg-Attract

- a. We didn't meet anybody.
- b. We met nobody.

(de Swart 2010:119)

The two sentences in (250) show that whereas in both sentences Neg-First is obeyed, Neg-Attract is only obeyed in the first case. The two principles do not conflict in the case of preverbal negative indefinites. The sentences in (251) show that with postverbal indefinites,

Neg-Attract conflicts with Neg-First. The conflict does not lead to the ungrammaticality of one of the indefinites, but Neg-First does seem to have the upper hand in the sense that the construction with non-negative indefinites is the preferred one and the other one qualifies as more literary English or as a more emphatic version, as suggested by Bolinger (1977:64), Mazzon (2004:97) and de Swart (2010:120).

De Swart (2010:122) also discusses the Egyptian Arabic case from this perspective. The pattern in Arabic resembles the one in English, only in Arabic, Neg-First prevents postverbal indefinites from attracting negation. Sentence (252) shows that Neg-Attract leads to negative indefinites in preverbal position. Neg-First is also respected. Sentence (253), in contrast, shows that Neg-Attract is blocked by Neg-First.

- Egyptian Arabic
- (252) Ma-ḥaddi-š aja.
 NEG-INDEF-NEG come.PRF.3M.SG
 ‘No one came.’
 (Lucas 2009:206)
- (253) Ma šaf-nī-š ḥadd.
 NEG see.PRF.3M.SG-me-NEG anyone
 ‘No one saw me.’
 (Lucas 2009:207)

Haspelmath (1997:206-207) only uses Neg-First to account for the pattern in Egyptian Arabic. Note that one needs a complex Neg-First rule for Arabic then. The principle for Arabic would then be ‘express clausal negation preverbally, but in the case of preverbal indefinites, express negation before the indefinite’. In this work, the suggested analysis entails that the principle of Neg-Attract holds as long as it does not violate Neg-First .

Neg-Attract also explains why negative absorption occurs with indefinites in verb-initial languages, unlike what is predicted by Haspelmath (1997:206). Haspelmath (1997:206) notes on the link between Neg-First and negative absorption of clausal negation that the shift in (248), according to which the indefinite absorbs clausal negation, is expected “to occur only where the negative indefinite precedes the verb (and thus also precedes the negator associated with the verb), i.e. we expect it to occur with all indefinites in verb-final languages, only with preverbal indefinites in verb-medial languages and not at all in verb-initial languages”. This is not borne out by the data.

The verb-initial Mesoamerican Oto-Manguean languages Chalcatongo Mixtec, Tepetotutla Chinantec and Upper Necaxa Totonac all have negative indefinites arising via negative absorption of the preverbal sentential negator. As VSO languages, Neg-Attract to postverbal constituents would violate Neg-First. The clash results in a construction in which

Neg-Attract as well as Neg-First are respected. In the verb-initial language Chalcatongo Mixtec, for example, negative indefinites are obligatorily fronted and absorb the negator prefix *tú-*, which is also used as a sentential negative prefix, as is illustrated in (254) and (255).

Chalcatongo Mixtec

- (254) *Tú-kwiti xísiki-Ø.*
 NEG-?²² play-3
 ‘He doesn’t play anything.’
 (Macauley 1996:124)
- (255) *Tu-ni-xíža-ró.*
 NEG-COP-be.located-2
 ‘You weren’t there.’
 (Macauley 1996:120)

In the Oto-Manguean language Tepetotutla Chinantec, the sentential negator *ca^L-*, as used on a verb in (256), is prefixed on the fronted indefinite in (257).

Tepetotutla Chinantec

- (256) *Ca^L-ʔnio^L te^{LH} zó^L ʔi^H kuĩʔ^M.*
 NEG-want Esther go Oaxaca
 ‘Esther doesn’t want to go to Oaxaca.’
 (Westley 1991:17)
- (257) *Ca^L-ʔe^M ka^M-huáʔ^M zi^Mdo^{MH}.*
 NEG-what PST-say Adolfo
 ‘Adolfo didn’t say anything.’
 (Westley 1991:17)

In Otomí, another Oto-Manguean language, which is mainly VOS, the negative prefix *hin-*, as used preceding the verb in (258), is prefixed on a fronted object indefinite in (259).

Otomí

- (258) *Hin-di pädi tengu bí duts’i.*
 NEG-PRES.1 know when 3 take
 ‘I don’t know how much he took.’
 (Hekking 1995:64)

²² The etymology of the element *kwiti* is not known, but it is always used with the meaning ‘nothing’.

- (259) Hinte bí dini.
 nothing 3 find
 ‘He did not find anything.’
 (Hekking 1995:65)

The three other verb-initial languages Chinook, Nicobarese and Mam also front their negative indefinites.

Of the remaining 14 languages with n-indefinites that have absorbed clausal negation, 4 languages are verb-medial (Tiwi, Purépecha, Egyptian Arabic, Khasi).²³ This means that a conflict is predicted to arise between Neg-Attract and Neg-First for negative objects only. The Egyptian Arabic case has already been discussed. In Egyptian Arabic, one finds the non-absorbed indefinite forms in postverbal position. In preverbal position, the indefinite has absorbed the discontinuous negator. Tiwi also shows a peculiar asymmetry with regard to negative objects. Tiwi is said to avoid negative objects (Osborne 1974:68). In Purépecha, negative objects are fronted, as shown in sentence (260).

- (260) Purépecha
 ‘No-ne’ma-ni i-še-š-ka-ni.
 NEG-someone-O see-AOR-ASS.1/2-1
 ‘I didn’t see anyone.’
 (Chamereau 2000:321)

In Khasi, the only example of a negative indefinite is a negative fronted object, as was shown in (172).

In the remaining 10 languages with n-indefinites arising through absorption of sentential negation no conflict arises between Neg-Attract and Neg-First: 5 are verb-final (Nevome, Epena Pedee, Paumarí, Lakhota, Yuchi), three are verb-final/verb-medial (Nahuatl, Meithei, Eastern Armenian) and two have very flexible word order (Huichol, Karok). This results in preverbal negative quantifiers via absorption of the clausal negator.

In conclusion, the absorption of clausal negation is a possible result of Neg-Attract. According to this principle, negation is realized in front of the focus of negation, in this case indefinites. Since negation on negative indefinites has clausal scope as well, the tendency to attract negation might be in conflict with another principle, Neg-First, which requires clausal negation to be expressed preverbally. The conflict arising with negative objects in verb-medial languages and negative subjects and objects in verb-initial languages has been shown to be circumvented in three ways. Verb-medial languages have been shown to either

²³ Icelandic is left out here because it constitutes a special case. Icelandic will be discussed in section 3.8.2.

avoid negative objects, front negative objects or use non-negative indefinite forms. The conflict that negative indefinite subjects and objects cause in VSO languages is solved by putting them in a fronted position.

3.6.1.2. *Absorption of a non-verbal negator*

The second type of morphologically negative n-indefinites consists of indefinites absorbing a non-verbal negator. This type is exemplified by Mapuche and Kayardild.

Mapuche is a negative quantifier language in which a negator is absorbed in the indefinite that is not the sentential negator, as shown in (261) and (262).

- Mapuche
- (261) Doy chem rumé nie-ke-la-fu-y-iñ.
 more what ever have-CP-NEG-IPD-IND-1NS-PL
 ‘We did not have anything more.’
 (Smeets 1989:244)
- (262) Doy chem nu rumé nie-ke-fu-y-iñ.
 more what NEG ever have-CP-IPD-IND-1NS-PL
 ‘We had nothing more.’
 (Smeets 1989:244)

The negator *nu* is used to negate non-verbal predicates, as shown in (263).

- (263) Mapuche
- Fey-ti ruka nu.
 that-the house NEG
 ‘That is not a house.’
 (Smeets 1989:244)

It is the negator *nu* that is used to optionally negate indefinites in negation. I have no information on the functional difference between sentences (261) and (262). A recent poem in Mapuche by Huenún (2003:40) contains the form *iñiey nurume* ‘who not.ever’ three times. Each time, it is translated as the Spanish default negative indefinite *nadie*. The title of the poem *ñiey nurume azkintunuaetew*, translated *para que nadie me mire*, also seems to imply that the negative quantifier might be the main strategy.

In Kayardild, the privative marker, which is a common nominal negator (Evans 1995:373) can derive a negative indefinite from the generic *dangka* ‘person’.

3.6.1.3. Absorption of a negative focus marker

The next type of morphologically negative n-indefinites consists of indefinites arising through incorporation of a negative focus marker. Negative determiners as well as negative pronouns are listed here. There are 7 languages of this type: Egyptian Arabic, Albanian, Chamorro, Huave, Chiapas Zoque, Otomí and Imbabura Quechua. In Chamorro, Huave, Chiapas Zoque, Otomí and Imbabura Quechua, it involves the borrowed Spanish marker *ni*-. I also added Nahuatl to show that in a certain variety, namely the Nahuatl of Mecayapan and Tatahuicapan, one can also use the Spanish *ni* to derive negative indefinites. Examples of negative indefinites from these languages are given in Table 21. Each time, clausal negation is listed too. In Table 22, one finds non-sample languages with n-indefinites arising via absorption of negative focus particles, all of which are from Haspelmath (1997:222-223).

Egyptian Arabic	<i>wala haaga</i> ‘nothing’	<i>wala</i> ‘not even’, <i>la</i> NEG
Albanian	<i>askush</i> ‘nobody’	<i>as</i> ‘not even’, <i>s’</i> NEG
Chamorro	<i>ni hafafa</i> ‘nothing’	<i>ni</i> (< Spanish) ‘not even’, <i>ti</i> NEG
Huave	<i>nicuajind</i> ‘nothing’	<i>ni</i> (< Spanish) ‘not even’, <i>ngo</i> NEG
Otomí	<i>ni’na</i> ‘nobody’	<i>ni</i> (< Spanish) ‘not even’, <i>hin</i> NEG
Chiapas Zoque	<i>nitiyü</i> ‘nothing’	<i>ni</i> (< Spanish) ‘not even’, <i>ja/ji’in</i> NEG (Faarlund:2012:61-99)
Imbabura Quechua	<i>ni pipash</i>	<i>ni</i> (< Spanish) ‘not even’, <i>mana... -chu</i> (Cole 1982:87)
Nahuatl (Isthmus-Mecayapan)	<i>ni agah</i> ‘nobody’	<i>ni</i> (< Spanish) ‘not even’, <i>a-/amo-</i> NEG (Wohlgemuth 2007:84)

Table 21: Negative indefinites from negative scalar focus particles (sample)

Attic Greek	<i>oud-eís</i> ‘nobody’	<i>oudé</i> ‘not even’, <i>ou</i> NEG
Russian	<i>ni-kto</i> ‘nobody’	<i>ni</i> ‘not even’, <i>ne</i> NEG
Hungarian	<i>semmi</i> ‘nothing’	<i>sem</i> ‘not even’, <i>nem</i> NEG
Spanish	<i>ninguno</i> ‘nobody’	* <i>nec</i> ‘not even’, <i>ne</i> NEG
Italian	<i>nessuno</i> ‘nobody’	* <i>nec</i> ‘not even’, <i>ne</i> NEG
Romanian	<i>nimea</i> ‘nobody’	<i>nec</i> ‘not even’

Table 22: Negative indefinites from negative focus particles (not in sample)

In the section on negative absorption of clausal negation, I presented Haspelmath’s (1997:205) schematic representation of the diachronic absorption of clausal negation. One might expect a scenario similar to the one in (248) to apply to this type of indefinites. However, Haspelmath (1997:222) points out that, although the negative indefinites of this type, as represented in Table 21 and Table 22, seem “‘negative’ in some sense”, they should not be taken to be exactly like negative indefinites arising through negative absorption of clausal negation. Haspelmath (1997) does not, however, offer an alternative diachronic explanation for the absorption of scalar focus markers.

Despite the obvious difference that indefinites in Table 21 and Table 22 contain scalar focus elements, whereas the indefinites in Table 20 do not, I argue that they are very similar. Negative scalar focus particles are focus particles that have absorbed negation, after which they can in turn be absorbed by the indefinites as a result of negative attraction. In this sense, they also absorb negation.

They are different in the sense that absorption of negative scalar focus markers is motivated by a tendency to mark the focus of negation, as in the case of absorption of clausal negation, as well as a tendency to emphasize constituents in negation. Another difference is that indefinites resulting from absorption of negative scalar focus particles are mostly NC items in contrast to negative indefinites absorbing clausal negation and in parallel to morphologically non-negative n-indefinites. Haspelmath (1997:224) even notes that the only exception to the generalization that all indefinites of this type are strict NC items is Classical Greek. Because n-indefinites with negative scalar focus particles almost always exhibit NC, whereas n-indefinites arising via absorption of a clausal negator exhibit NQ, Haspelmath (1997:124) concludes that “in these cases, there can be no question of ‘negative attraction and incorporation’.” However, apart from Greek, there are many cases of indefinites arising via absorption of a negative scalar focus particle exhibiting non-strict NC, which is partly the negative quantifier strategy. This raises the question whether one can speak of negative attraction and absorption of negation in the case of these n-indefinites too.

From the sample languages, Chamorro and Egyptian Arabic exhibit non-strict NC and interestingly, all the non-sample languages in Table 22 exhibit, or used to exhibit, non-strict

NC. Since non-strict NC is a mixture of NC and the dispreferred NQ strategy, one is left with the question how a language of this type ends up with the dispreferred NQ strategy.

There are two options for a language to develop the NQ pattern: absorption of clausal negation, as was described in section 3.6.1.1, and as a consequence of the interplay between the Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation and negative indefinites, which will be discussed in 3.8.2. ‘Jespersen Cycle’ (‘JC’), a term due to Dahl (1979), is the term that describes the cyclic development according to which an original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, which in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in the course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. The development is typically illustrated with French. In French, three diachronic stages can be distinguished: a stage, in which negation is expressed by the single negator *ne*, a stage in which negation is expressed by the double negator *ne... pas*, and a stage in which negation is expressed by the single new negator *pas*. Crucially, the Cycle can also affect indefinites, as illustrated in (264).

(264) JC for sentence negation and indefinites

Stage 1	NEG1	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + INDEF
Stage 2	NEG1 + NEG2	<i>ne... pas</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + NEG2.INDEF
Stage 3	NEG2	<i>pas</i>	<i>personne</i>	NEG2.INDEF

A Jespersen Cycle in which indefinite pronouns are involved may result in the dispreferred negative quantifier strategy. In Spoken French, which exemplifies Stage 3 from the development in (264), *personne* ‘nobody’ is a NQ, as illustrated in (265).

(265) Spoken French

J’ai vu personne.
 I-have seen no one
 ‘I have seen no one.’

However, both options that lead to NQ, viz. absorption of clausal negation and as a consequence of a Jespersen Cycle, can be excluded, since none of the indefinite pronouns in Table 21 and Table 22 represent the type of interplay between indefinites and the Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation, as found in French, and none of the languages represent a case of absorption of clausal negation. One has to find another explanation to account for the NQ pattern found in languages with n-indefinites that contain negative scalar focus particles. I would like to suggest a diachronic development for negative scalar focus particles that is similar to diachronic negative absorption that can account for the presence of the dispreferred NQ strategy. It is represented in (266).

(266) Diachronic negative absorption of negative scalar focus particles

- a. ‘Nobody came.’
 - I. person not came
 - II. not.even(-)person came
- b. ‘She saw nothing.’
 - I. she thing not saw
 - II. she not.even(-)thing saw

The only difference with diachronic negative absorption of clausal negation is that a more emphatic element ‘not even’ is used instead of ‘not’ to mark the focus of negation. The hyphen between the negative scalar focus marker and the indefinite noun indicates that ‘not.even’ can also be used as indefinite determiner instead of being incorporated in the indefinite.

Evidence in favor of the suggested development in (266) is found in Hungarian. Old Hungarian used to exhibit non-negative forms, like the non-strict NQ languages that optionally absorb clausal negation, as is shown in (267). This corresponds to the stage preceding negative absorption.

(267) Old Hungarian

de	az	egyebekre	nem	tudok	mytt.
but	the	rest-about	NEG	know-I	what-ACC

‘but about the rest, I don’t know anything.’
(É. Kiss 2011:16)

Apart from non-negative forms, Old Hungarian also had negative indefinites that had absorbed the negative scalar focus particle *sem*, as in (268). The negative scalar focus particle *sem* consists of the scalar focus particle *is* ‘also, even’ and the negator *nem* (Surányi 2006:281). In Old Hungarian, it could be still used in its non-contracted form, as sentence (269) shows.

Old Hungarian

(268)	es	azokes	semmyre	valanak	yok
	and	they-too	nothing-SUBL	were	good-PL

‘and they, too, were good for nothing’
(É. Kiss 2011:13)

(269) isa es nem igg ember mulchotia ez vermut
 surely even NEG one man avoid-can this pit-ACC
 ‘surely, no [not even one] man can avoid this pit’
 (É. Kiss 2011:16)

Sentence (268) shows that after absorption of the negative scalar focus particle, the dispreferred NQ strategy emerged, in analogy to the scenario for absorption of clausal negation. Apart from the NQ strategy, a NC strategy was also possible as sentence (270) shows.

(270) Old Hungarian
 ky kewnuek semmyre yok nem leznek
 which books nothing-SUBL good-PL NEG be-FUT.3PL
 ‘which books will not be good for anything’
 (É. Kiss 2011:14)

É. Kiss (2011:12) suggests that “[t]he negative pattern they have preserved, in which negation is expressed by a *sem*-phrase, without the particle *nem*, is also likely to be a Proto-Hungarian archaism.”

Old Hungarian therefore shows that the absorption of the negative scalar focus marker must have led to the dispreferred NQ strategy. In this respect, negative indefinites of this type are much more like n-indefinites through absorption of clausal negation than Haspelmath (1997:224) suggests.

The dispreferred NQ strategy, which is the side-effect of negative absorption, is also found in Attic Greek, as is shown in (271).

(271) Classical Greek
 kaì oudeìs bálleì oĩnon neon eis askoũs palaioús.
 and nobody puts wine new into bottles old
 ‘and nobody puts new wine in old bottles.’
 (Klein 2011:135)

Attic Greek also exhibited a pre-absorption stage, as shown in (272).

(272) Classical Greek

Ουκ	εἰ	πον	τι.
u:k	e:pon		ti
NEG	say.AOR.IND.1SG		something

‘I didn’t say anything.’
(Chatzopoulou 2012:135)

In Old Romanian, where negative indefinites consist of *nec* ‘not even’ plus an indefinite base, non-NC cases are also found, as shown in (273).

(273) Old Romanian

Nimea	are	a	sedea	de-a	dereapta.
nobody	have.3SG	to	sit	of	right

‘Nobody will sit on the right (side).’
(Fălăuş 2008:126)

The data from Old Hungarian, Classical Greek and Old Romanian suggest that the diachronic development of negative indefinites of this type can be represented as in (266). The scenario in (266) does not provide an answer to the question why most languages of this type seem to exhibit at least some kind of NC. This will be treated in section 3.8. Before I do this, I will briefly address the origin of the negative scalar focus markers.

Negative focus particles are scalar focus particles that have absorbed a negative element. Scalar focus markers are “propositional operators that trigger the pragmatic presupposition that their text proposition is pragmatically stronger than all corresponding context propositions” (Gast & van der Auwera 2011). They add emphasis to the proposition. More on non-negative scalar focus markers will be said in the next section. In most cases, negative scalar focus markers seem to develop from negative conjunctions ‘and/also not’. This is exemplified by Egyptian Arabic, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Greek and Hungarian. In these languages, the negative focus marker consists of a clausal negative element and a focus marker corresponding to ‘also, even’, as is illustrated for Latin, Greek, Hungarian and Spanish in (274).

(274) Etymology of negative scalar focus markers

Latin	<i>ne</i> ‘not’ + <i>-que</i> ‘and’ > <i>neque, nec</i> ‘nor, not even’
Classical Greek	<i>ou</i> ‘not’ + <i>-te</i> ‘and’ > <i>oute</i> ‘not even’
Hungarian	<i>is</i> ‘and, also’ + <i>nem</i> ‘not’ > <i>sem</i> ‘nor, not even’
Spanish	<i>no</i> ‘not’ + <i>i</i> ‘and’ > <i>ni</i>

(mentioned in Haspelmath 1997:222 and Hoyt 2010:108)

The development from ‘and not’ to ‘not even’ can be illustrated on the basis of the Egyptian Arabic *wala*.

The Arabic *wala* is a compound of the conjunction *wa-* ‘and’ with the negation marker *la* ‘no, not’.²⁴ The combination of the negation marker and the conjunction ‘and’ yielded different meanings, as are presented in (275). The list also presents a diachronic pathway from a. to e.

(275) Meanings of Arabic *wala*

- a. Negative conjunction: ‘and not’: This is the etymological source, composed of *wa-* ‘and’ + *la* ‘not’, but is still used productively
 - b. Negative disjunction or additive particle: ‘nor’: *la . . . wala* ‘neither. . . nor’, *wala* ‘nor’
 - c. Disjunction: ‘or’, found mostly in urban registers
 - d. Negative scalar focus particle: ‘not even, not one’
 - e. Denial or ‘attenuating’ *wala*: similar to Spanish *tampoco*, Italian *neppure*, and *either* in colloquial American English (c.f. ‘You ate my ice cream!’, ‘I didn’t either!’)
- (Hoyt 2010:108)

Hoyt (2010:108) notes that *wala* still has the uses in (275). Gast & van der Auwera (2011:24) note that this type of polysemy “involving negative conjunction (‘nor ... ’), contrastive negative coordination (‘neither ... nor’; cf. Haspelmath 2007), and scalar negation (‘not even’)” is characteristic of scalar negators.

The different uses can be found in one sentence. Sentence (276) shows the use of the *wala* in its original sense of a negative conjunction ‘and.not’ as well as the negative scalar *wala* ‘not even’.

(276) Damascene Arabic

Ssama	zraʔʔet	wla:	ʕa:d	fi:	wla:
the-sky	became-blue.3F.SG	and-not	anymore	exist	not.even
ye:me.					
cloud					

‘The sky cleared and there didn’t remain even one cloud.’ (Cowell 1964, 391, cited in Hoyt 2010:109)

²⁴ Hoyt (2010:107-8) notes that in Classical Arabic and early forms of the dialects the *la*-particle was ambiguous between three uses: (i) expressing present tense verbal negation; (ii) expressing existential or categorical negation, as in the Muslim credo *lʔ ʔilaha ʔila ʔallah* ‘there is no god but The God’; and (iii) negative imperatives.

The functions that the different negative scalar focus particles found on negative indefinites fulfill, differ in terms of degree of grammaticalization and lexicalization. The scalar element ‘even’ clearly contributes emphasis or generates pragmatically strong utterances when combined with indefinites. In some languages, the emphatic component is lost, a case of grammaticalization.

In Egyptian Arabic, as well as in the non-sample languages Latin, Greek and Spanish, the negative scalar focus markers function as negative emphatic determiners. They serve as emphatic counterparts to non-emphatic indefinites. Also in the sample language Imbabura Quechua, the negative scalar determiner *ni*, which was borrowed from Spanish, is used to add emphasis. The same is noted by Pineda (in print) on Kichwa. The addition ‘at all’ in the translation of the Quechua sentence in (277) illustrates this.

(277) Imbabura Quechua

Mana ni pi-ta-pash riku-rka-ni-chu.

NEG NEG who-ACC-even see-PST-1-NEG

‘I didn’t see anyone at all.’

(Cole 1982:87)

In other languages, negative scalar focus particles serve as regular, i.e. non-emphatic negative determiners, or are incorporated into indefinite pronouns, yielding negative indefinite pronouns. One such language is Chamorro, in which the scalar focus particle *ni* ‘not even’ is borrowed as negative determiner. Even though a non-negative indefinite is also attested, the negative indefinites with *ni* seem to be the default construction to mark ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, etc. Emphasis is not rendered by the addition of *ni* but by reduplication of the interrogative base, e.g. *ni hayiyi* ‘nobody at all’, in stead of *ni hayi* ‘nobody’ (Topping 1973:334). In the other languages in Table 21, the scalar focus markers are incorporated into the indefinite pronouns and do not seem to serve the purpose of emphasis anymore. This is the case for Huave, Otomí, Chiapas Zoque, Albanian and also the non-sample languages Hungarian, Russian, Italian and Spanish (at least for Sp. *ninguno* ‘nobody’, *ningun* ‘no’ < **nec unus*, It. *nessuno* ‘nobody’, *nessun* ‘no’ < **nec ipse unus*).

3.6.1.4. Negation absorption via negative existential construction

The last type of negative absorption is different from the other cases of negative absorption since the absorption goes in another direction. Negative indefinite pronouns may originate from the absorption of the indefinite pronouns into a negative existential verb after which the negative existential verb can be reanalyzed as a negative indefinite pronoun. This type is

not discussed in Kahrel (1996) or Haspelmath (1997) or in any other work on negative indefinites or negation in general.

N-indefinites from negative existential verbs are found in the sample language Chocho and Chalcatongo Mixtec. In Chocho, the negative indefinites *kʔuāṣèngù* ‘nobody’, *kʔuāʔēré* ‘nothing’, *kʔuāṣénì* ‘nowhere’ consist of a negative existential verb *kʔuā* ‘not have’, ‘not be’ and interrogative bases, of which only *ēré* ‘something, what’ can be identified. This negative existential verb differs from sentential negation in Chocho, which is expressed by means of a suffix *-ʔá*, *-ʔyá*, *-ʔná* (or *-ʔà*, *-ʔyà*, *-ʔnà*, *-ʔí*, *-ʔnì*, depending on the person of the subject) (Veerman-Leichsenring 2000:51). The negative existential verb *kʔuā* is still used as such, as can be seen in (278), but is also used as a part of the negative indefinites, as in (279).

Chocho

- (278) *Éṣā kʔuā ñù dà?*
 why NEG.have tortilla Q
 ‘Why don’t you have tortillas?’
 (Veerman-Leichsenring 2000:72)

- (279) *Kʔuāṣèngù diáxī.*
 nobody enter
 ‘Nobody is coming.’
 (Veerman-Leichsenring 2000:73)

In Chalcatongo Mixtec, there is a form *tú=no-žó* ‘nobody’ (Macaulay 1996:236), which consists of the sentential negator *tú*, an interrogative-indefinite base *no* and the existential verb *žó* ‘exist’. It is said to be a noun.

A necessary condition for this type of absorption to happen is that the language uses negative existential constructions to express the notions ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, etc. In some languages, like the sample languages Tagalog and Pnar, which is a dialect of Khasi, or in the non-sample Oto-Manguean language Zapotec, the use of a negative existential verb to express ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, etc. is obligatory, as is illustrated in (280) to (282).

(280) Tagalog

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|
| Hindi | n-agkaroon | ng | tao | sa | bahay. |
| NEG | ASP-exist.there | GEN | person | LOC | house |
- ‘There was no one in the house.’
 (Sabbagh 2009:689)

(281) Pnar (dialect of Khasi)

im-em	ki-wi-le?	ki-wa-tip-	inno	wa-dro
NEG-be	3PL-one-also	3PL-RP-know	when	RP-draw

ya-ki.
ACC-3PL

‘There is no one who knows exactly when they are painted.’

(Koshy 2009:46)

(282) Laxichio Zapotec (non-sample language)

Nu	leca	xi	tsua	lu	mexa.
y	NEG.EX	INDEF	POT.put	on	table

‘But I had put nothing on the table.’, lit. ‘But there was not anything I put on the table.’

(Persons et al. 2009:22)

The frequent use of a negative existential verb can have two consequences for constructions with indefinites in negation: it can lead to a construction in which the indefinite element is left implicit, as in Tagalog and Pnar, exemplified in (283) and (284), or it can lead to univerbation, as in Pnar and Laxichio Zapotec, as illustrated in (285) and (286). This is also assumed to have happened in Chocho.

(283) Tagalog

Wala-ng	hindi	gusto-ng	m-agkaroon	ng	kapayappan
NEG.EX-LK	NEG	want-LK	ASP-exist.there	GEN	peace

sa pilipinas.
LOC Philippines

‘There is no one who doesn’t want peace in the Philippines.’

(Sabbagh 2009:690)

Pnar

(284) im-em wa yɔʔsuk ya-o.
NEG-be RP like ACC-3M.SG

‘There is no one who likes him.’, lit. ‘There is not who likes him.’

(Koshy 2009:46)

(285) im-em-bru-u-yi-u-yi ha-yuŋ.
NEG-be-person-3M.SG-what-3M.SG-what LOC-home

‘There is nobody at home.’

(Koshy 2009:46)

(286) Laxichio Zapotec

Nu	leca-xi	tsua	lu	bee	arma.
and	NEG.EX-INDEF	POT.put	for	PL	spirits

‘But I didn’t do anything for their spirits.’
(Persons et al. 2009:71)

The univerbation of the negative verb and the indefinite element does not, however, necessarily lead to the reanalysis of the form as a negative indefinite pronoun. Koshy (2009:46) labels the Pnar construction in (285) an indefinite “complex”. It is indeed not clear that the form in (285) is a real indefinite pronoun, since there is no finite verb accompanying the complex. The fact that Pnar also uses non-incorporated non-negative indefinites, however, points to the fact that Pnar, at least for now, lacks real negative indefinite pronouns. In addition, the presence of relative clause morphology (as in Pnar in (284)) could prevent the reanalysis from negative existential verb to negative indefinite pronoun. The reanalysis can be schematically presented as in (287).

(287) Reanalysis from negative existential verb to negative pronoun

1. [NEG.EX INDEF]_{MAIN.CLAUSE} [V]_{SUBCLAUSE}
2. [NEG.EX-INDEF]_{MAIN.CLAUSE} [V]_{SUBCLAUSE}
3. [NEG.INDEF V]_{MAIN.CLAUSE}

In Stage 1, indefinites in negation are expressed by means of a negative existential verb, followed by an indefinite which is then modified by a subclause. An example would be ‘there is not a person [who] saw this’ to yield ‘nobody saw this’. In Stage 2, the indefinite is incorporated into the negative existential verb. A pseudo-English example would be ‘there.is.not.a.person [who] saw this.’ In Stage 3, the existential complex is reanalyzed as a negative indefinite pronoun and the verb from the subclause is reanalyzed as a verb from the main clause. The result would be ‘there.is.not.a.person saw this’. In the examples, I bracketed the relative pronoun, since relative pronouns would prevent the reanalysis of the verb from the subclause as the verb from the main clause.

The lack of subordinate morphology in Laxichio Zapotec allows for such a reinterpretation, and this, indeed, seems to have occurred in the case of Laxichio Zapotec negative indefinite complexes. A convincing piece of evidence comes from the fact that regular sentential negation is optionally reintroduced, as shown in (288).

(288) Laxichio Zapotec
 Leca-ti la ri'i beya'.
 NEG.EX-INDEF NEG POT.DO know
 'Nobody knows.'
 (Persons et al. 2009:71)

The only thing that sets the negative pronouns *lecati* 'nobody' and *lecaxi* 'nothing' apart from other constituents in this VSO language is the fact that they precede the verb (Persons et al. 2009:70), which is due to their diachrony.

The sample language Chocho is also categorized as having true negative indefinite pronouns. This is also done in WALS (2011) and by the grammarian Veerman-Leichsenring (2000:32).

This type of negative indefinites seems to be very infrequent. Conditions for it to develop may be tentatively formulated as follows. Firstly, a language has to have the existential construction as an important strategy to express negative indefiniteness. Secondly, a language has to allow nominal incorporation into verbs. Thirdly, a language probably has to lack relative morphology or have optional relative morphology for the biclausal construction to be reinterpreted as monoclausal.

3.6.2. Morphologically non-negative negative indefinites

In the previous section, I distinguished four types of morphologically negative n-indefinites: indefinites absorbing the negative sentential marker, indefinites absorbing a negative scalar focus suffix, indefinites absorbing a non-clausal negator and indefinites arising via absorption of a negative existential. Another category of negative indefinites, either n-words or NQs, consists of indefinites without any negative morphology, but with a negative meaning. These indefinites attract negation as well, after which they semantically, but not morphologically, incorporate negation.

The languages from the sample with morphologically positive indefinites with a negative meaning are Ewe, Kanuri, Degema, Somali, Icelandic, Korean, Japanese, Lai, Lezgian, Brahui, Burmese, Meithei, Haitian Creole, Mosetén, Guaraní, Nahuatl and Mansi. Examples of negative indefinites in the corresponding languages can be found in Table 23.

Ewe	<i>ame aḍeke</i> ‘nobody’	<i>ame</i> ‘person’, <i>aḍe</i> ‘one’ <i>ké</i> ‘very’ (Ameka 1991:67)
Kanuri	<i>ndúma</i> ‘nobody’	<i>ndú</i> ‘who’, <i>-ma</i> EMPH (Cyffer 2009:86)
Degema	<i>owéy káa</i> ‘nobody’	<i>owéy</i> ‘person’, <i>káa</i> ‘even, not even’ (Kari 2004:33)
Somali	<i>waxba</i> ‘nothing’ <i>cidna</i> ‘nobody’	<i>wax</i> ‘thing’, <i>-ba</i> EMPH (Saeed 1999:186), <i>cid</i> ‘person’, <i>-na</i> ‘and, also’ (Kirk 1905:75)
Icelandic	<i>enginn</i> ‘nobody’	<i>ein</i> ‘one’, <i>-gi</i> ‘even’ (Haspelmath 1997:251)
Korean	<i>amwuto</i> ‘nobody’	<i>amwu</i> ‘who’, <i>to</i> ‘even’ (Lee et al. 2000)
Japanese	<i>daremo</i> ‘nobody’	<i>dare</i> ‘who’, <i>-mo</i> ‘even’ (Shimoyama 2011)
Lai	<i>zeihmanh</i> ‘nothing’	<i>zei</i> ‘what’, <i>-hmanh</i> ‘even’ (Bedell 2007:19)
Burmese	<i>ba-ma</i> ‘nothing’	<i>-hma/-ma</i> (Cornyn and Roop 1968:78)
Lezgian	<i>sádni</i> ‘nobody’	<i>sád</i> ‘one’, <i>-ni</i> ‘even’ (Haspelmath 1993:505)
Brahui	<i>hičkas</i> ‘nobody’	<i>hič</i> originally ‘anybody’ (< Old Persian <i>aiva</i> ‘one’ + <i>čiy</i> EMPH (Haspelmath 1997:283)) + <i>kas</i> ‘someone’ (Andronov 1980:55)
Meithei	<i>kərisu</i> ‘nothing’	<i>-su</i> ‘also’ (Chelliah 1997:80)
Haitian Creole	<i>pèsonn</i> ‘nobody’	< French <i>personne</i> ‘person’ (Degraff 1993:67)
Mosetén	<i>nadies</i> ‘nobody’	< Spanish <i>nadie</i> < (<i>homines</i>) <i>nati</i> ‘born man’ (Corominas and Pascual 1954)
Guaraní	<i>avave</i> ‘nobody’	< <i>ava</i> ‘who’, <i>ave(i)</i> ‘also, too’ (Britton 2005:23)

Mansi	<i>neemxotjut</i> ‘nobody’	<i>neem</i> originally ‘something’ (<Proto-Ugric * <i>n</i> + * <i>m3</i> ‘what, something’, Honti 1997:165), <i>xoŋxa</i> ‘who’ (Keresztes 1998:413,418)
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Table 23: N-indefinites with non-negative morphology

All of the above indefinites have limited their distribution to negative contexts to such an extent that they are considered negative indefinites. There are two main types of morphologically non-negative n-indefinites: former generic nouns and pronouns containing a scalar focus particle ‘even’ or other focus markers. The former generic nouns found in Haitian Creole and Mosetén are borrowed forms from French and Spanish. Scalar focus markers are found in Icelandic, Korean, Japanese, Lai, Burmese, Meithei, Lezgian, Degema and Guaraní and pronouns with other focus markers are found in Ewe, Kanuri, Somali, Mansi and Brahui. Since the semantic incorporation of negation is more complicated than the morphological absorption of negation, I will discuss this in a separate section 3.7 dealing with the ‘quantifier cycle’, which is the term used to describe the development from a former non-negative element to a negative indefinite.

3.6.3. Conclusion

A distinction has been made between morphologically negative, and morphologically non-negative n-indefinites. Morphologically negative n-indefinites arise via negative attraction and negative absorption. Morphologically non-negative n-indefinites arise via negative attraction and semantic incorporation of negation. Four types of morphologically negative n-indefinites were found in my sample: those arising via absorption of clausal negation, via absorption of a negative scalar focus marker, via absorption of a nominal negator and via absorption of a negative existential verb form.

3.7. The quantifier cycle

In the previous section, I discussed indefinites arising via negative absorption. Negative indefinites may also develop from non-negative elements, as those mentioned in section 3.6.2. They incorporate negation semantically, but not morphologically, as a result of the negative attraction tendency. It is not at all obvious how non-negative indefinites attract negation in such a way that they incorporate a negative meaning, which is why a special section is devoted to it.

N-indefinites that exhibit this change from non-negative pronouns or nouns to negative pronouns are amply attested in the literature. Apart from the sample languages in Table 23, other languages with negative indefinites that used to be non-negative mentioned in the literature are given in Table 24.









German	NHG <i>kein</i> ‘no’	< OHG <i>dehain</i> ‘any’ (Jäger 2010, Jäger 2007b:163-165)
Welsh	<i>neb</i> ‘nobody’	< originally ‘person’ (Willis 2011:285-323)
	<i>dim</i> ‘nothing’	< originally ‘thing’ (Willis 2011:285-323)
Spanish	<i>nadie</i> ‘nobody’	< Vulgar Latin (<i>res</i>) <i>nata</i> , ‘born thing’,
	<i>nada</i> ‘nothing’	(<i>homines</i>) <i>nati</i> , ‘born man (Corominas 1954, cited in Laka 1993:316)
French	<i>aucun</i> ‘no’, ‘nobody’	< Latin <i>aliquus</i> + <i>unus</i> (Prévost & Schnedecker 2004, Floricic 2009:39)
	<i>personne</i> ‘nobody’	< Latin <i>persona</i> ‘person’ (Horn 2001:189)
	<i>rien</i> ‘nothing’	< Latin <i>rem</i> ‘thing’ (Hansen & Visconti 2012:473)
Italian	<i>veruno</i> ‘nobody’	< Latin <i>vere unu(m)</i> ‘truly one’ (Ramat 1998:398)
Chechen	<i>addam a</i> ‘nobody’	< <i>addam</i> ‘person’, <i>a</i> ‘even’ (Haspelmath 1997:158)
(Colloquial) Hebrew	<i>af ehad</i> ‘nobody’	< <i>af</i> ‘even’, <i>ehad</i> ‘one’ (Glinert 1982:441)
Maltese	<i>xejn</i> ‘nothing’	< <i>xejn</i> ‘thing’ (Haspelmath & Caruana 1996:217, Lucas 2011, 2013:439-440)

Table 24: Negative indefinites with non-negative morphology (not in sample)

One can distinguish two main types of elements that can turn into negative indefinites: on the one hand, there are minimal-unit expressions like generic nouns, e.g. French *personne* from ‘person’ or Spanish *nadie* from ‘born man’, or the numeral ‘one’, and on the other hand, there are overtly scalar or emphatic elements, e.g. Kanuri *ndúma*, which contains the emphatic marker *ma*. Especially the first type has been the subject of much research, since this type is amply attested in European languages.

The changes from non-negative to negative indefiniteness represent one possible development for indefinite pronouns – see e.g. Jäger (2007a/b), as well as Willis (2011) and van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c). Jäger (2007a:81) presented 4 types of possible changes for indefinite pronouns, as represented in (289).

(289) Possible diachronic developments in indefinite systems

'positive'	'normal' or positive polarity indefinite				
	negative polarity indefinite				
'negative'	negative indefinite				
		Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D

The first two types of developments are relevant for the discussion of former non-negative indefinites developing into negative indefinites. Type A exemplifies a change from 'normal' or positive polarity indefinite to negative polarity indefinite. This means that indefinites without any distributional restrictions or indefinites that occurs in positive polarity contexts only, might develop into NPIs. Type B exemplifies a change from negative polarity indefinite to negative indefinite.

The term 'Negative Polarity Item' ('NPI') is notoriously vague. According to Ladusaw (1979), NPIs are sensitive to the semantic notion of downward-entailment (Ladusaw 1979) that certain contexts exhibit, whereas Giannakidou (1998) treats NPIs as items sensitive to the property of non-veridicality, of which downward-entailing contexts are a subset. In this dissertation, as has been explained in section 3.2.3, NPIs are treated as items restricted to scale-reversing contexts in which indefinites can give rise to scalar quantificational implicatures. As has been noted in section 3.2.3 too, items that take in an extreme position on a pragmatically reconstructed scale can give rise to scalar implicatures. The direction of the implicature is not constant across all contexts. Compare in this respect again sentences (290) and (291).

(290) Even my mother danced at the party.

(291) Not even my mother danced at the party.

The only condition under which both sentences are informative and give rise to scalar quantificational implicatures is that *my mother* is assumed to take in the opposite endpoint position on the scale: in sentence (290), *my mother* has to be the most unlikely woman to dance in order to allow for the strong 'everybody danced at the party', whereas in sentence (291), *my mother* has to be the most likely woman to dance at the party. The negative polarity contexts in (292) behave like the negative sentence in sentence (291). These contexts are called 'NPI' contexts.

(292) Negative polarity contexts (Jäger 2010:790)

- Questions
- Conditionals
- Standard of comparison
- Clauses dependent on negated matrix clauses
- Clauses dependent on adversative matrix predicated such as ‘deny’, ‘forbid’, ‘refuse’ etc.
- Restrictive clauses on universal quantifiers or superlative noun phrases
- Complement clauses of ‘too’
- Context of lexical items meaning ‘hardly’, ‘rarely’, ‘before’, etc.
- Scope of negation

According to the scalar approach to NPI, which treats NPIs in terms of scalar implicatures, items denoting minimal units can incorporate a scalar endpoint meaning and consequently become restricted to scale-reversing contexts, in which they are highly informative. Compare in this respect sentence (293) with sentences (294) and (295).

(293) I ate one thing.

(294) If you eat one thing, you will die.

(295) She did not eat one thing.

The scalar implicature in the non-scale-reversing contexts in (293) is that the speaker ate one thing only, which is uninformative, since one thing is the most likely amount to have eaten. In the scale-reversing contexts on the other hand, an ‘even’-paraphrase is possible, indicating that in these contexts, the indefinite takes in an endpoint on a pragmatically reconstructed scale that renders the sentence as informative as possible. Sentence (294) yields the meaning that even if the most likely amount is eaten, the addressee will die.

3.7.1. From polarity-neutral indefinite to NPI to negative indefinite

When an element incorporates the scalar endpoint meaning, we are dealing with what (289) represents as a Type A change. After incorporating the endpoint meaning, the element can undergo a Type B change, which involves an incorporation of the negative quantificational implicature that arises in negative contexts.

The best-known example of a Type A change comes from French. In older stages of French *personne* ‘nobody’, from Latin *persona*, and *rien* ‘nothing’, from Vulgar Latin *rem*, used to mean ‘person’ and ‘thing’. Sentence (296) is an example of a polarity-neutral use of *rien* in Old French.

(296) Old French (ca. 1170)

Et si vous dirai une rien.
And so you.DAT say-FUT a thing
'And so I'll tell you a thing.'
(Hansen & Visconti 2012:472)

The indefinite nouns then became increasingly restricted to negative polarity contexts like conditionals, negation, and questions, in which they are most informative, being minimal-unit descriptions. A NPI use in a question is exemplified in (297).

(297) Old French (mid 13th c.)

As tu riens fet?
have you anything done
'Have you done anything?'
(Hansen 2013:72)

Before turning into negative indefinites, the French elements thus exhibited an intermediate stage as NPIs with a scalar endpoint meaning corresponding to 'even' + indefinite. As has been mentioned in 3.2 on what constitutes a negative indefinite, the French negative indefinites still have some non-negative uses, reflecting the NPI past.

Apart from French, there are three other languages in Table 24 with n-words that used to be regular generic nouns: Welsh, Spanish and Maltese. In Welsh, it concerns the forms *neb* 'nobody', 'no', originally 'person', and *dim* 'nothing', originally 'thing'. In Middle Welsh, they were already NPI pronouns restricted to NPI contexts, such as conditionals, as in (298), before they became negative indefinites.

(298) Middle Welsh

A weleisti neb o 'r llys yn dyuot
Q see.PST.3SG anyone from the court PROG come.INF
y'm hol i?
after me
'Have you seen anyone from the court coming after me?'
(Willis 2011:296)

Sentence (299) shows that they turned into negative indefinites. Sentence (299) is an elliptical context with the n-word *dim* 'nothing'.

(299) Welsh

Dim ond darfod cwrs y rhyfel.
nothing except finish.INF course the war
'Nothing, except that the course of the war has ended.'

(After 1660 in Willis 2011:297)

The Welsh case is also interesting since it shows that even though the rise of the indefinite article might influence the development of n-words, as has been claimed for the French indefinites by Déprez (2000) and Déprez & Martineau (2004), it is not a necessary condition, since Welsh never had an indefinite article, as pointed out by Willis (2011:299).

The same type of development as in French and Welsh is assumed for the Spanish indefinites *nadie* 'nobody' and *nada* 'nothing'. As mentioned before, the Spanish indefinites originate from (*homines*) *nati* 'born men' and (*res*) *nata* 'born thing' respectively, as pointed out by Laka (1990:108). They have thus never been morphologically negative, despite what the first *n-* might suggest. Martins (2000:193-202) shows that the Spanish indefinites have undergone the same development as the Welsh *neb*-series or the French *personne* and *rien*: from polarity neutral indefinite to NPI, as illustrated in (300), to n-word.

(300) ¿Que sabe nadie de la manera que toca
 what knows anybody of the manner that reveals
 Dios a cada uno?
 God to each one
'What does anybody know about the way that God reveals himself to each one of us?'
(Cf. Keniston 1937:610, cited in Martins 2000:195)

Apart from negative pronouns that used to be generic nouns, there are also negative indefinites that are based on or identical to the numeral 'one'. Unlike the generic-noun-based items that always develop into indefinite pronouns, these 'one'-based indefinites can develop into indefinite pronouns as well as determiners. The reason why the numeral 'one' is also capable to give rise to and incorporate a negative implicature in NPI contexts is because, like generics, it denotes a minimal unit. Because of the shared semantic properties, it also resembles the generics in its pathway in that it develops from a polarity neutral item to a negative indefinite. Examples from the literature are the French determiner *aucun* 'none', 'no' and German *kein* 'no'. The development of the German indefinite determiner/pronoun *kein* resembles the development of the generic nouns describe above most: *kein* comes from Old German *thehein/ dehein*, consisting of a pronominal stem **to* and the numeral *ein* (Fobbe 2004:139). Jäger (2008:189) notes that in Old High German, *dehein(ig)* is an NPI determiner restricted to NPI contexts including negation contexts. In

Middle High German, it was increasingly found in negative contexts and starts to be able to render a negative meaning on its own, as illustrated in (301).

(301) Middle High German

roub	unde	diepheit	daz	mac	kein	amt	gesîn
robbery	and	theft	that	may	any/no	profession	be

‘robbery and theft cannot be a profession’²⁵
(Jäger 2008:266)

The French *aucun* ‘none’, ‘no one’, ‘no’ consists of the Latin form *aliquis* ‘someone’ and *unus* ‘one’ and is another example of a former polarity neutral item that turns into a negative item. *Aucun* used to be a polarity neutral indefinite pronoun and determiner in Old French (Prévost & Schnedecker 2004:41ff. and Vanderheyden 2010), after which it was increasingly found in negative polarity contexts, eventually incorporating the negative meaning.

In conclusion, the change from a polarity neutral indefinite with a minimal unit meaning to a NPI exemplifies a type of semantic change, whereby the minimal unit descriptions incorporate a scalar endpoint meaning. In scale-reversing contexts, the minimal-unit value of the generics or the numerals gave rise to the scalar implicature ‘even one’ or ‘any at all’. The incorporation of a scalar endpoint meaning arising via the scalar implicature in NPI contexts accounts for the increasingly restricted distribution of polarity neutral elements to NPIs occurring in NPI environments that are compatible with the scalar semantics. A NPI can then incorporate a negative meaning, as a consequence of being frequently used in negative contexts.

The development can be schematically represented as in (302).

(302) Diachrony of indefinites turning negative

Stage 1	NEG + INDEF	<i>ne... rien</i>
Stage 2	NEG + NPI.INDEF	<i>ne... rien</i>
Stage 3	NEG1 + NEG.INDEF	<i>ne... rien</i>

In Stage 1, the meaning ‘nothing’ is rendered by clausal negation and a neutral non-negative indefinite, corresponding to PDE *something*. In Stage 2, the meaning ‘nothing’ is rendered by clausal negation and a NPI with a restricted distribution, corresponding to present-day

²⁵ Note that the fact that there is no sentential marker present has to do with the Jespersen Cycle rather than the indefinite acquiring a negative meaning. The relation between JC and NC will be discussed in section 3.8.

anything. In Stage 3, the indefinite loses its negative polarity property and is reanalyzed as a negative indefinite corresponding to present-day *nothing*.

3.7.2. From NPI to negative indefinite

Apart from items expressing minimal units, there are indefinites that are overtly marked for the scalar meaning that they have in NPI contexts, either by means of a scalar focus particle ‘even’, or another type of focus marker. These items have sometimes been labeled ‘even’-NPIs. The scalar focus particle ‘even’ explicitly identifies an element as an endpoint on a pragmatic scale. In this sense, it seems reasonable to assume that such elements start out as NPIs, after which they can undergo a Type B change, as represented in (289).

Interestingly, all of the relevant items from the sample languages listed in Table 23 are of this type (apart from Haitian Creole and Moseetén, which represent cases of borrowing). They are treated together, not because I want to claim that they have undergone exactly identical developments, but because they all have in common that they contain some kind of emphatic morphology, which must have had consequences for their distributional restrictions.

The problem with the morphologically non-negative indefinites in the languages from the sample is the lack of diachronic data, in particular regarding their assumed former polarity sensitive uses. The emphatic morphology, however, suggests that they cannot originally have been polarity neutral elements like generics and the numeral as described above, but must have been used for the purpose of making strong assertions from the beginning. Their emphatic value either adds the notion of scalar endpoint, which is necessary for a reanalysis to negative indefinite, or the notion of arbitrariness, as will be further explained in Chapter 5.

The emphatic element that the negative indefinites in Table 23 contain often corresponds to an additive focus operator ‘even, also’: Icelandic *-gi*, Korean *-to*, Japanese *-mo*, Lai *-hmanh*, Meithei *-su* ‘also’, Burmese *-hmá*, Lezgian *-ni*, Somali *-na* ‘also’ and Guaraní *ave* ‘also’. The other elements can be labeled ‘emphatic’, but no indication that they mean or meant ‘ever’ or ‘even’, ‘also’ is given in the grammar. The Ewe indefinites contain an emphatic marker *ké*, which is called an intensifier with a meaning like ‘very’ (Ameka 1991:67), the Kanuri *-ma* is also called an emphatic element (Cyffer 2009:86), as is the Somali element *-ba* (Saeed 1999:186) and the Persian *-čiy*. Persian *-čiy* is an emphatic particle cognate to Sanskrit *cit*, as noted in Haspelmath (1997:283); the Sanskrit *cit* corresponding to ‘even, ever’ was also used in Sanskrit to derive indefinites from interrogatives. Persian *-čiy* is relevant for Brahui because it has borrowed the Persian indefiniteness marker *hic-* consisting of ‘one’ and the emphatic *-čiy*.

The emphatic elements are found as indefiniteness markers on minimal-unit bases like generics and the numeral ‘one’ in Icelandic, Ewe, Somali, Lezgian, Degema, and Brahui, as well as on interrogative bases, as in Kanuri, Korean, Japanese, Lai, Burmese, Guaraní or both, as in Meithei.

Note that the shift from NPI to negative indefinite does not necessarily mean that they used to occur in conditionals, questions etc. I think it is possible that the emphatic non-negative strategy starts in negative contexts.

In the next section, I will discuss the emphatic elements on former non-negative indefinite. It will be shown that they can have different functions.

3.7.3. The development of the emphatic markers

It is interesting to note that the emphatic morphemes may undergo different developments. The emphatic elements can develop into negative determiners, but they can at the same time retain their original non-negative sense in other contexts, a case of divergence in the sense of Hopper (1991). This can be illustrated on the basis of Modern Hebrew.

Modern Hebrew has a negative indefinite paradigm with the negative determiner *af* and *šum*, both of which used to be non-negative elements (Glinert 1982:441, Lucas 2009:295).²⁶ *Af* but not *šum* exhibits divergence, since it has retained its non-negative uses when used as a scalar focus particle instead of as determiner. Example (303) shows the negative determiner use of *af*.

(303) Modern Hebrew

Af	šoter	lo	acar	ba-ramzor.
no	policeman	NEG	stopped	at.the.light
‘No policemen stopped at the light.’				
(Glinert 1982:439)				

Sentence (304) shows its original use as a focus particle meaning ‘even, also, indeed’, without being restricted to negative contexts.

²⁶ The Modern Hebrew negative determiner *šum*, as in *šum davar* ‘nothing’ < *šum* ‘no’, *davar* ‘thing’ and *be-šum makom* ‘nowhere’ < *b-šum* ‘in no’, *makom* ‘place’, does not derive from a scalar focus particle. The negative determiner *šum* is borrowed from Aramaic *šema* ‘name’ and, as Lucas (2009:295) notes, it must have functioned as a minimizer before being reanalyzed as negative determiner. The name of a given entity must have been viewed as a minimal quantity of that entity (cf. Akkadian *mimma šumsu* ‘anything at all’, lit. ‘anything, it’s name’ (Lucas 2009:295)).

(304) Modern Hebrew

Caaku ve-af kilelu.

‘They shouted and even swore.’

(Glinert 1982:441)

Together with *exad* ‘one’, *af* forms “a compound pronoun” (Glinert 1982:450) meaning ‘no one’. The numeral *exad* is limited in its distribution but it can still occur as an animate pronoun ‘someone’ in subject position. The negative indefinite *af exad* can convey a negative meaning on its own, as shown in (305).

(305) Modern Hebrew

Mi ba? Af ehad.

‘Who came? No one.’

(Tonciulescu 2007:184)

Af is also found as negative determiner in the time adverbial *af paam* ‘never’ < *af* ‘no’, *paam* ‘time’).

Other cases of divergence in which the focus marker has retained its non-negative uses and is used as a negative indefiniteness marker when used to form negative indefinite pronouns are found in Lezgian, Lai, Meithei, Korean, Japanese, Guaraní, Ewe, Somali and Kanuri.

In Lezgian, Lai, Korean and Japanese, one finds polarity neutral scalar focus elements on the negative indefinites. Examples of non-negative uses of the scalar focus particles in Lezgian, Lai and Korean are found in (306), (307) and (308) respectively.

(306) Legzian

či Qabustan = ba.di-kaj sew-er-iz-ni kwaz kič’e-da!

we.GEN Qabustan = ba-SBEL bear-PL-DAT-also even afraid-FUT

‘Even bears are afraid of our Qabustan-ba!’

(Haspelmath 1993:237)

(307) Lai

Thlichia le tilet hmanh nih dahngai a bia an ngaih ko hi.

‘Even the winds and the waves obey him.’

(Bedell 2001:169)

- (308) Korean
 Sacang-to wasse.
 president-also came
 ‘Even the president came/ Also the president came.’
 (Lee 2003:9)
- (309) Meithei
 Má-su nuŋ-taŋ layrík pa-í.
 he-also sun-shelter book read-NHYP
 ‘He also reads books every night.’
 (Chelliah 2009:384)

When used on the indefinite base, which are generics in the case of Lezgian and interrogatives in the case of Lai and Korean, one gets indefinites that are restricted to negative contexts.

This is also the case for Somali, Ewe and Kanuri. In Somali, two different emphatic elements are used, both of which still have non-negative uses: *-ba* in *waxba* ‘thing-FOC’, as shown in (313), and *-na* in *cidna*, *ninna* and *qofna* ‘nobody’, as shown in (314). Sentences (310) to (312) show the emphatic elements from Somali and Kanuri that are used as negative indefiniteness markers on indefinites in non-negative contexts.

- Somali
- (310) adígàà
 adi-ka-baa
 you.SG-the-FOC
 ‘YOU’ (focused)
 (Saeed 1999:68)
- (311) adígana
 adi-ka-na
 you.SG-the-and
 ‘and you’
 (Saeed 1999:68)
- (312) Kanuri
 Bíntu-má íshin.
 Bintu-FOC will.come
 ‘It is Bintu who will come.’
 (Cyffer 2009:86)

I did not find an Ewe example of *ké* in a positive sentence, but Schadeberg (1985:30) and Ameka (1991:67) note the use of *ké* as general intensifier with the meaning ‘very’. In combination with the indefinite phrases *ame ade* ‘person one’ and *nane ade* ‘thing one’, the combination *ade* + emphatic marker is reanalyzed as a negative determiner ‘no’. The negative indefinite for ‘thing’ *nane adeke* even univerbated to *naneke* (Ameka 1991:67).

The elements are shown in their negative indefinite uses in (313) to (316). In Kanuri, Somali and Ewe, the indefinites are probably restricted to negative contexts. No information on possible previous uses in non-negative contexts could be found.

- Somali
- (313) Waxbá má aan síin.
 thing-NEG NEG I gave.NEG
 ‘I didn’t give him etc. anything.’
 (Saeed 1999:186)
- (314) Nin-na ma tegayo.
 ?-NEG NEG going
 ‘Nobody goes.’
 (Carter 1987:39)
- (315) Kanuri
 Ndúmá ráksə lezá-nyi.
 nobody could go-NEG
 ‘Nobody could go.’
 (Cyffer 2009:86)
- (316) Ewe
 Ame aḍeke me-fe le abɔ la me o.
 person NEG.DET NEG-play be.atPRES garden DEF in NEG
 ‘Nobody played in the garden.’
 (Van Alsenoy 2012:10)

To conclude, this section shows that the focus markers that are used to derive indefinites that may turn into negative indefinites often show a lexical split: when used on indefinites in negation, they can be reanalyzed as negative indefinites markers, while they can at the same time still be used as scalar focus markers. For the languages discussed in this section, focus clearly plays an important role for their development into negative indefinites. In the next section, I will briefly address how focus could also play a role for other former non-negative indefinites that do not exhibit any focus morphology.

3.7.4. The role of intonation in the development to negative indefinites

Languages like Somali and Kanuri show that focus markers can turn into negative indefiniteness markers. The fact that in some languages, focus is rendered via intonation rather than particles raises the question whether generics like French *personne* or ‘one’-based negative indefinites like German *kein* turned into negative indefinites via a stage in which the indefinites were stressed in NPI contexts. Although this seems very probable, diachronic material on intonational patterns is very difficult to come by. There is, however, some synchronic evidence from Greek, Basque, Japanese, Korean, and Dutch showing that intonation can play an important role for the development of negative indefinites.

The Greek negative indefinite *kanenas*, for instance, comes from the scalar particle *kan* ‘even, so much as’ < *kaì eàn* ‘even if’ and *enas* ‘one’. Despite its origin, *kanenas* is now a non-emphatic, non-veridical item in the sense of Giannakidou (1998). This means that it is an item that can occur in any context in which non-specific reference can be established. This is the case in NPI contexts plus in those non-veridical contexts that are not scale-reversing, such as habituals, with intensional predicates, modals of necessity, etc. The stressed *kanenan*, however, has incorporated a negative meaning to the extent that it can get a negative interpretation, as in sentence (317).

(317) Modern Greek

Pjon	idhes?	KANENAN. / *Kanenan.
who-ACC	you.saw	nobody/ anybody
‘Who did you see? Nobody.’		
(de Swart 2010:32)		

In the case of Greek then, intonational focus should be considered the negative indefiniteness marker rather than the scalar focus particle *kan*, which has lost its emphatic value when used on the indefinite as a consequence of bleaching.

Basque, like Greek, is a language with a polarity sensitive series consisting of an interrogative base preceded by the indefiniteness marker *i-*. Unlike Greek, the polarity sensitive items are restricted to NPI contexts and not just non-veridical contexts, as is discussed in Haspelmath (1997:315-317). An example of the Basque NPIs in a negative sentence and a non-negative NPI context is provided in (318) and (319).

Basque

- (318) Inori ez dio inork ezer eman.
 anyone.DAT NEG AUX anyone.ERG anything give

‘Nobody gave anything to anyone.’

(Extepare 2003:548)

- (319) Inor etorri al da?
 anyone come Q AUX

‘Did anybody come?’

(Extepare 2003:542)

However, if they are stressed, the NPI series can convey a negative meaning, as illustrated in (320).

- (320) Basque

INORK ez du EZER ere egin.
 anyone.ERG NEG AUX anything at.all done

‘Nobody did nothing.’

(Extepare 2003:548)

In Japanese, intonation plays a role too, but in a different way. Japanese has negative indefinite pronouns in *-mo*, as used in the movie title in (321). The particle *-mo* is used in the sense ‘also, even’, as in (322) and (323).

Japanese

- (321) Dare-mo shiranai.
 who-also not.know

‘Nobody knows.’

- (322) John-wa hon A-(de)mo yom-ana-katta.
 John-TOP book A-even read-NEG-PST

‘John did not even read book A.’

(Nakanishi 2006:142)

- (323) Saru-(de)mo ki-kara otiru.
 monkey-even tree-from falls

‘Even a monkey falls from a tree.’

(Nakanishi 2006:141)

As one can see in sentence (323), the scalar focus particle can be both *-demo* as well as *-mo*. The negative indefinites, however, are formed with *-mo* only. Interestingly, Japanese has

another (defective) series of indefinites that looks exactly as the negative indefinites but carries a different intonation, namely the emphatic *dáre-mo* ‘everyone’, *dóko-mo* ‘everywhere’ (Shimoyama 2011:414).²⁷ In this case, intonational focus marks the lexicalization of a universal positive implicature arising in sentences like (323), whereas the negative indefinites lack it. In Korean, intonation has also been shown to play a role in the development of negative indefinites (Lee 1999 and Yoon 2008).

Another example mentioned in the literature comes from Dutch. It is mentioned for the sake of completeness, and not because I agree with the analysis here. According to Giannakidou (2010) the Dutch NPI *enig* might exemplify an item that is currently developing into an indefinite restricted to negative contexts. The Dutch indefinite determiner *enig* is said to differ in its functional distribution depending on whether it is stressed or not, as is described in Hoeksema (2010b) and Giannakidou (2010). Whereas the non-stressed *enig* is a NPI that occurs in questions, conditionals and comparatives, illustrated in (324) to (326), *enig* in negation is said to be stressed, as is illustrated in (327).

- Dutch
- (324) Enig idee?
‘Any idea?’
- (325) Het werkt beter dan enig andere behandeling.
‘It works better than any other treatment.’
- (326) Als je enig idee hebt, laat het dan weten.
if you any idea have let it then know
‘if you have any idea, let me know.’
- (327) zonder ENIG risico
‘without any risk’

Stress is said to facilitate the scalar-endpoint meaning, which can in turn enable pragmatic strengthening and eventually lead to the reanalysis of the item as a negative item. However, I do not agree that *enig* in negation needs stress. A recent corpus study by van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c:338) does confirm that singular *enig* is increasingly used in negation. However, stress does not seem to play a big role in this development.

²⁷ The negative indefinite for ‘thing’, which would be *nani-mo* ‘everything’, is not productive and only found in fixed expressions (Shimoyama 2011:414).

3.7.5. Remark on grammaticalization

The change from a non-negative indefinite to a negative indefinite has sometimes been described in terms of grammaticalization, as “a type of change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper & Traugott 2003:18), sometimes also in analogy to the developments for French sentential negation. Hansen & Visconti (2012:473), for instance, note that “the French n-words have been subject to an on-going process of grammaticalization, which is particularly evident in the case of those n-words that are of nominal origin.” It is obvious that the change from ‘thing’ to ‘nothing’ instantiates a case of grammaticalization, since these items are originally lexical items or content items that eventually got reanalyzed as grammatical elements with a negative meaning.

Whereas cases like *personne* and *rien* clearly exemplify cases of grammaticalization in the sense that they used be used as nouns, whereas they are now pronouns, other examples from Table 23 and Table 24 were indefinite pronouns from the start, e.g. French *aucun* from Latin *aliquus unus* and Kanuri *ndúma* from ‘who’ + EMPH. In those cases, the outcome of an ongoing process of grammaticalization is not more grammatical in the sense that it exemplifies rightward movement on the grammaticality cline.

What all of the items have in common is a change from a non-negative meaning to a negative meaning. The change from non-negative indefinite to negative indefinite mainly instantiates a specific case of semantic change through pragmatic strengthening, whereby the outcome may but does not have to be more grammatical.

3.7.6. Conclusion

In sum, one can distinguish two sources of former non-negative negative indefinites, as is done in (328).

(328) Morphologically non-negative indefinites: sources

A. minimal-unit expressions

- a. generic nouns
- b. ‘one’

B. emphatic elements

- a. focus particles + generic nouns
- b. focus particles + interrogative bases

Whereas type A. indefinites undergo both stages, viz. from polarity neutral element to NPI and from NPI to n-indefinite, the emphatic indefinites undergo a development from NPI to NEG. The emphatic elements themselves may also undergo different developments, as schematically represented in (329).

(329) Careers of focus particles of originally emphatic, negative indefinites

A. Cases of divergence

- a. Focus particle -> focus particle + negative determiner
- b. Focus particle -> focus particle + negative indefiniteness marker

B. Cases of semantic shift

- a. Focus particle -> negative determiner
- b. Focus particle -> negative indefiniteness marker

The sample languages Kanuri, Lai, Somali, Korean, Lezgian, Japanese, Ewe and the non-sample language Hebrew exemplify the scenario of divergence.

In sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2, I have discussed n-indefinites arising via negative absorption, and former non-negative n-indefinites. Remarkably, all the former non-negative n-indefinites, except the Icelandic *enginn*-series, exhibit NC. This contrasts with n-indefinites that have arisen via negative absorption. Among the morphologically negative n-indefinites, a difference was noted between n-indefinites via absorption of clausal negation, which mostly exhibit the NQ strategy, and n-indefinites via absorption of negative scalar focus particles, which often exhibit non-strict NC, as will be shown in section 3.8.3.²⁸ The relation between the diachrony of the n-indefinites and the strategy with respect to the presence of clausal negation will be discussed in the next section.

3.8. On the emergence of negative quantifiers and negative concord

In this section, I will address the diachrony of the negative quantifier pattern and different negative concord patterns, and how the patterns are related. I will start in section 3.8.1 with two possible diachronic explanations for the dispreferred NQ pattern. Haspelmath (1997) presents two possible pathways leading to NQ: diachronic negative absorption, as discussed in 3.6.1.1, and the Jespersen Cycle, as was briefly mentioned in section 3.6.1.3 and as will be discussed in section 3.8.2. In both cases the dispreferred NQ pattern is expected to be

²⁸ The two other minor types of negative absorption, viz. absorption of a negative existential and a non-clausal negator, will not be included in the discussion on the relation between strategy involving clausal negation and the diachronic type of n-indefinite.

restored by the reintroduction of clausal negation. Apart from negative absorption of clausal negation, and the Jespersen Cycle, I will distinguish a third source for the NQ-pattern, namely the absorption of negative scalar focus markers, which is not treated in detail in Haspelmath (1997). Languages of this type often exhibit non-strict NC. This will be explained in section 3.8.3. Negative indefinites can also emerge as a consequence of the quantifier cycle (QC). Since the resulting pattern in this case is always NC, unless a French style Jespersen Cycle takes place, I will be very brief about this in section 3.8.4.

3.8.1. Absorption of clausal negation and the negative quantifier strategy

The first diachronic pattern leading to NQ presents a very straightforward pathway: the dispreferred pattern with negation expressed on the indefinite always results from the absorption of clausal negation.

From a diachronic point of view, negative absorption is claimed by Haspelmath (1997) to be followed by the restoration of the expected order through the addition of a new clausal negator. The restoration is visible in only 4 of 22 languages with negative indefinites arising via absorption of clausal negation: Eastern Armenian, Lakhota, Khasi and Meithei.²⁹ As was discussed in the section on NC, the restoration can be non-strict or strict, as in Eastern Armenian, Meithei, Lakhota and probably Khasi.

In Eastern Armenian, the indefinites containing the former non-reduced sentential negator *oč* are always accompanied by a negated verb, as shown in (330).³⁰

(330) Eastern Armenian

Ays	k'alak'-um	oč'mek-i-n	č'-em	čanač'-um.
this	town-LOC	nobody-DAT-the	NEG-I am	know-PTCP.PRES

‘In this town, I don’t know anybody.’
(Dum-Tragut 2009:143)

The same is seen in Meithei, where the negative indefinites with the clausal negator suffix *-tə* are accompanied by verbs with the same negative suffix, as shown in (331).

²⁹ In Misanla Totonac, another variety of Totonac than the sample’s variety, restoration is also visible (MacKay 1999:417).

³⁰ The form *oč* was used as standard negative particle in Classical Armenian, after which it phonologically reduced to *č* (Klein 1997).

(331) Meithei

Páw əsi niŋthəwnə tarədəné mí kəna-mə-ta háy-dok-te.
news this king having.fallen man who-one-NEG say-OUT-NEG
'On hearing this news, the king disclosed the news to nobody.'
(Chelliah 1997:396)

One might ask why restoration has not occurred in more languages with negative indefinites through absorption of clausal negation, given the fact that clausal negation is preferably expressed on the verb. The strongly agglutinative character of many of the languages with absorption of clausal negation might be held accountable. It is plausible that in strongly agglutinating languages, negative indefinites have not fully lexicalized and are still transparent so that the negative element is interpreted as sentential negation rather than as a negative indefiniteness marker.

Haspelmath (2005) also addresses this problem on the basis of the Chalcatongo Mixtec case when discussing criteria to distinguish the NQ type. At first sight, Chalcatongo Mixtec seems to exemplify the NQ strategy, as shown in (332).

(332) Chalcatongo Mixtec

Tú-ndéú ní-kii-Ø.
NEG-who CP-come-3
'Nobody came.'
(Macauley 1996:124)

Sentences like (333), however, show that the negative prefix can also precede a focused noun phrase.

(333) Chalcatongo Mixtec

Tú-šū?ū ñabaʔa-rí.
NEG-money have-1SG
'I didn't have any money.'
(Macauley 1996:124)

Haspelmath (2005) notes that Chalcatongo Mixtec does represent a case of a negative quantifier language "because *ndéú* 'who' does not seem to have any other indefinite use and in the corresponding *tú-kwiti* 'nothing', the element *kwiti* is unique." The two indefinites therefore seem to be non-compositional notions, unlike the combination 'not-money' in (333). However, Macauley (1996:124) gives an example in which *kwiti* is separated from the negative prefix *tú-*, as seen in (334).

(334) Chalcatongo Mixtec

či	antes	tu-ká-xini-Ø	kwiti.
because	before	NEG-PL-know-3SG	kwiti

‘because before, they did not know anything.’
(Macauley 1996:124)

At the same time, Macauley (1996:124) notes that speakers do not consciously think of it as bimorphemic. The non-absorbed form in (334) seems to represent a remnant of a stage preceding the absorption. The fact that these forms are still around might suggest that even though the forms have been reanalyzed as negative indefinites instead of bimorphemic forms ‘not-someone/something’, they have not yet reached the stage in which clausal negation is reintroduced.

A similar case in which clausal negation appears on constituents other than indefinite pronouns is found in Tepetotutla Chinantec as shown in (335).

(335) Tepetotutla Chinantec

Ca ^L -ku ^{MH}	kiḁ ^{LM}	hniá ^M .
NEG-money	carry.1SG	1SG

‘I am not carrying any money.’
(Westley 1991:17)

Sentence (336) suggests that this is not obligatory.

(336) Tepetotutla Chinantec

Ca ^L -cia ^M	hmīg ^M .
NEG-exist	water

‘There is no water.’
(Westley 1991:17)

In contrast, indefinite pronouns in negation seem to be always rendered by a negative quantifier followed by a non-negative verb. In addition, the interrogative bases are not used as non-negative indefinites anywhere else, as in Chalcatongo Mixtec.

Apart from the agglutinative character, the fact that 5 languages with the NQ strategy exhibit the pattern that has been identified as the non-strict NQ strategy in 3.5.2.3, also points at a low degree of lexicalization. In section 3.5.2.4, it was shown that Nahuatl, Egyptian Arabic, Huichol, Nevome and Mapuche also use non-contracted forms in negation. In the case of Nahuatl and Egyptian Arabic, this variation is determined by the position of the indefinite with respect to the verb. In Huichol, Nevome and Mapuche, negative

absorption seems to be optional. The fact that the non-univerbated forms are still in use might again point to an earlier stage before incorporation, which makes it plausible that negative indefinites are not lexicalized to such a degree that clausal negation is reintroduced.

In conclusion, the fact that negative indefinites differ with respect to the level of lexicalization seems to account for the fairly low number of languages with negative indefinites through incorporation of the sentential negator reintroducing clausal negation.

3.8.2. Negative quantifiers and the Jespersen Cycle

Apart from negative absorption, the Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation may also affect indefinites in such a way that they eventually end up as the sole contributors of negation. The non-sample language Spoken French is probably the best-known example of a language representing the type of language in which the peculiar interplay between clausal negation and indefinites eventually led to the dispreferred NQ strategy with morphologically non-negative n-indefinites.

As already mentioned in section 3.6.1.3, the term ‘Jespersen Cycle’ was coined by Dahl (1979), and it refers to a cyclic development witnessed for sentential negation. The term refers to Jespersen (1917:4) who described a development according to which

. . . the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in the course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen 1917:4)

This view has been challenged and according to the main alternative view, which has already been argued for by Meillet (1912:394), a language may dispose of a neutral and an emphatic negative construction, which may lose its emphatic flavor, and become a competitor to the erstwhile negation and eventually replace it (van der Auwera 2009). For more on different views and proponents of the corresponding views, see van der Auwera (2009). Typically a Jespersen Cycle is represented as having three stages but more can be distinguished, see again van der Auwera (2009:38). I will distinguish five stages, as has been done by van der Auwera and Neuckermans (2004:458), Zeijlstra (2004) and Willis (2005). This will allow me to clearly mark the distinction between the Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation and the development for indefinite pronouns. The different stages with the corresponding French forms can be found in (337).

(337) Jespersen Cycle for sentence negation

Stage 1	NEG1		<i>ne</i>
Stage 2	NEG1	+ EMPH	<i>ne... pas</i>
Stage 3	NEG1	+ NEG2	<i>ne... pas</i>
Stage 4	(NEG1)	+ NEG2	<i>(ne)...pas</i>
Stage 5	NEG2		<i>pas</i>

In the first stage, negation is expressed by one negative element *ne*. In the second stage, the negative element *ne* is often reinforced by *pas* ‘step’ (and other minimizers, such as *mie* ‘crumb’). In the third stage, emphatic *pas* loses its emphatic force and is reanalyzed as part of clausal negation, rendering the discontinuous negator *ne... pas*. In the fourth stage, the original negator *ne* becomes optional and in the fifth stage lastly, *ne* disappears and *pas* is the only clausal negator left.

The development of *personne* can be represented in a similar way.

(338) JC for sentence negation and indefinites

Stage 1	NEG1		<i>ne</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + INDEF
Stage 2	NEG1	+ EMPH	<i>ne... pas/mie/...</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + EMPH.INDEF
Stage 3	NEG1	+ NEG2	<i>ne... pas</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + NEG2.INDEF
Stage 4	(NEG1)	+ NEG 2	<i>(ne)...pas</i>	<i>(ne)...personne</i>	(NEG1)+NEG2.INDEF
Stage 5	NEG2		<i>pas</i>	<i>personne</i>	NEG2.INDEF

In the first stage, the meaning ‘nobody’ is rendered by *ne* ‘not’ and the non-negative noun *personne* ‘person’. In regular negative sentences without indefinite participants, the preverbal non-emphatic negator *ne* is used. In the second stage, *personne* can be used as emphatic indefinite in combination with the preverbal negator *ne* with the meaning ‘nobody at all’. This stage corresponds to the stage in which *pas* is also used for emphatic negation, together with other elements like *mie* ‘crumb’. In the third stage, *personne* is reanalyzed as ‘nobody’. This is the stage that corresponds to the present-day stage of Formal French in which sentential negation is expressed by *ne...pas*. In the fourth stage then, the original negator becomes optional in most contexts and *personne* ‘nobody’ can be used as a single exponent of negation. This is also the case for the second negator *pas*. The second negator *pas* can only be used alone in contexts in which there is no other negative indefinite. In the fifth stage, *pas* and *personne* are used as the sole exponents of negation.

The development from non-negative indefinite pronoun to negative indefinite has been labeled the ‘Jespersen argument cycle’ in Ladusaw (1993:437-8):

The development of negation-expressing argument phrases from regular indefinite arguments has the following stages: first the argument is a regular indefinite argument, then it becomes a co-occurring supporter of the clausal negation, and finally it becomes an independent expressor of negation. We could call these the ‘one thing’, ‘anything’, ‘nothing’ stages of the Jespersen argument cycle.

The term as well as the schematic representation, however, are misleading. Whereas JC for clausal negation exists independently of the argument cycle, the argument cycle as described by Ladusaw (1993:437-8) cannot occur without the Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation.³¹ Haspelmath (1997:228) notes something similar in a footnote: “there is no direct connection between Jespersen’s Cycle and the change from ‘person’ to ‘nobody’, despite the fact that similar mechanisms of language change might be in play.” More precisely, whereas the development from Stage 1 to Stage 3 is attested for all originally non-negative n-indefinites – a development which has been labeled the ‘quantifier cycle’ and discussed in section 3.7 –, the step from Stage 3 to Stage 4 and from Stage 4 to Stage 5 only happens in those particular cases in which the second negator that takes part in a Jespersen Cycle is originally an indefinite element, like the French *pas*, originally ‘step’. This is crucial, since a language can also go through a Jespersen Cycle without the indefinite constituents in negative sentences being affected at all, as will be discussed in the section 3.9 on the relation between negative concord and the Jespersen Cycle. It is also crucial in the sense that indefinite pronouns can turn negative without ever obtaining the negative quantifier strategy. This means that a schematic representation of Ladusaw’s quote, as found in Jäger (2007b:165) for the German negative indefinite *kein* (originally meaning ‘any’) and repeated here as (339), is not wrong in the sense that an indefinite in a particular language can indeed go through these stages, but it is misleading in the sense that the indefinite will not exhibit this development without Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation.

³¹ There are a couple of exceptions to be noted. Horn (2001:185) notes a class of NPIs consisting of *(jack)shit*, *crap*, *brans*, *diddley(shit)*, *dick*, *fuck all*, *bugger all* which can all have an emphatic meaning ‘anything at all’ in negation, as well as a negative meaning ‘nothing’ and occurring on their own to express a negative meaning, i.e. occurring as a negative quantifier. However, these examples involve strong taboo terms and not indefinite pronouns. In addition, one could argue that the reason these elements can undergo the development from neutral element to negative quantifier is because the NQ strategy is already available in English, as a consequence of JC.

(339) Development of *dehein/kein*

Weak NPI: in various [+aff] contexts

Strong NPI: mostly or entirely restricted to [+non-aff, +neg] contexts

N-word: suffices to identify a context as [+non-aff, +neg]³²

Thus there seem to be requirements for indefinites to undergo the development in (338), ending up with the NQ strategy. Indefinite elements like *pas*, *personne*, *rien*, etc. must have been in complementary distribution at Stage 2 already as emphatic complements of certain verbs. A complementary distribution between n-indefinites and the second negator also holds for Middle High German (Jäger 2013:177), Middle Low German (Breitbarth 2013:215), the beginning of Middle Dutch (Breitbarth 2013:220-2) and English. As noted by Haspelmath (1997:204), the indefinite pronouns like *personne* and *rien* did not need to be reinforced by *pas*, since they can express emphatic negation just like *pas*. Compare in this respect the sentences (340) and (341).

(340) I didn't move a step.

(341) I didn't see a person.

This complementary distribution is still found in present-day French, since the new negator *pas* cannot occur with negative indefinites like *personne* without yielding a positive meaning instead of a NC reading.

Apart from the fact that the interplay is in a way coincidental, the development as pictured in (338) also presents an idealized picture. Even though modern spoken French can be considered to be a Stage 4 language, *ne* is known to be dropped more often with *pas* than with negative indefinites and some quantifiers seem to favour *ne*-drop to others (Ashby 1981:678, Coveney 1996:76, Hansen & Malderez 2004:23, cited in Hansen & Visconti 2012:473). This is not unexpected, since the negative quantifier strategy constitutes a form-function mismatch, whereas both *ne* as well as *pas* are clausal negators and one can be considered redundant.

Another reason why the representation in (338) is misleading is because an indefinite affected by the JC does not have to go through non-negative stages. The English, Dutch and German indefinites *nothing*, *nobody*, *niemand* 'nobody', *niets* 'nothing', *niemand* 'nobody' and *nichts* 'nothing' have always been negative and still ended up as NQ as a consequence of JC. Haspelmath (1997:209) notes on the English *no*-indefinites that they strongly resemble negative quantifiers that result from negative absorption, but then notes: "recall that English

³² Note that Jäger (2007b:165) uses the term 'n-word' in a sense that is different from mine. The examples in Jäger (2007b:164) show that she uses n-word in the sense of negative quantifier. Note also that Jäger (2007b) uses the term 'affective contexts' instead of 'negative polarity contexts'.

has long been an SVO language, so negative absorption [which only happens with preverbal indefinites] could not account for English sentences like ‘She saw nothing’. Furthermore, in earlier English, the old negative particle *ne* co-occurred with the *no*-indefinites, contrary to what we would expect if it had been absorbed by them. English is adequately accounted for by JC, and we should not yield to the temptation of overextending the application of negative absorption.” In contrast, I claim that the English, as well as German, Dutch and Low German negative indefinites have arisen via negative absorption of clausal negation, but that the present-day negative quantifier strategy is indeed the result of JC, as will be shown here.

Haspelmath (1997) notes that the old negative particle *ne* co-occurred with indefinites in earlier English, but the old negative particle *ne* did not always co-occur with *no*-indefinites, as the Old English sentence in (342) shows.

(342) Old English

ure	nænig	wiste	hwær	hiora	æni	cwom
of.us	none	knew	where	of.them	any	come

‘none of us knew where any of them knew’
(OE3, COALEX, Helsinki Corpus)

The stage preceding negative absorption can also be exemplified, as in (343).

(343) Old English

and	riht	is	þæt	ænig	christen	man	blod	ne	þycge
and	law	is	that	any	Christian	man	blood	not	drink

‘and it is a law that no Christian man should drink blood’
(Wulfstan’s Canons of Edgar)

Ingham (2006, 2013) investigated the NC patterns in Old English and points out that there must have been variation with respect to the strict application of NC. Haspelmath’s (1997) argument that since Old English was a NC, negative absorption cannot account for the English pattern is therefore not valid. Negative absorption cannot account for the present-day NQ pattern, but crucially, it does account for the negative morphology on the indefinites.

In Old Low German, the situation is less clear, since in Old Low German, unlike in Old English, the *n*-indefinites always co-occurred with the negative particle *ni*, and it is therefore a strict NC language (Breitbarth 2013:213). Breitbarth (2013:230) formulates the hypothesis that “we can reconstruct the emergence of *n*-marked indefinites [in my terminology morphologically negative *n*-indefinites] in Old Low German by univerbation [in my

terminology, absorption] of this preverbal negation marker with indefinites of the NPI-series (for instance *ni + ioman* > *nioman* ‘no one’).” The stage preceding the reintroduction of the negative particle *ni* is not attested. Despite this, the fact remains that JC only comes into the picture after the indefinites have absorbed clausal negation and the negative particle *ni* has been reintroduced. The rise of the morphologically negative adverbial negator *nicht*, which was incompatible with other negative indefinite arguments, as the French *pas* was incompatible with *personne* and *rien*, could cause the present-day NQ pattern. JC does not account for the negative form of the negative indefinites and NC, which preceded JC. I claim the same development to be relevant for Dutch. After the absorption of clausal negation and the reintroduction of the clausal negator, JC involving a former indefinite argument affected the NC pattern and led to NQ with morphologically negative n-indefinites.

The interplay between a Jespersen Cycle for clausal negation and negative indefinites has led to the typologically dispreferred NQ pattern in the Romance language French, and also in the West Germanic languages English, German (Jäger 2007b), Low German (Breitbarth 2013) and Dutch (Breitbarth 2013), as well as in the North Germanic languages, like the sample language Icelandic.

Icelandic has the originally non-negative indefinites *enginn* < *ein + *gi*, *ekkert* < *eit + *gi* [?], etc (Haspelmath 1997:251), which now exhibit the dispreferred negative quantifier strategy. Icelandic, like French, has gone through a Jespersen Cycle, as demonstrated in (344), in which the second element was originally an indefinite noun (*ekki* < *eigi* < *ei* ‘one’ + *gi* ‘even’, see De Vries 1977:s.v. *eigi*, as cited in Anderwald 2005:132).

(344) Jespersen Cycle for Old Norse

ne V > *ne*-V *ekki* > V *ekki*

(Christensen 2003:23)

Whereas the original indefinite *ekki* ‘one.even’ got reanalyzed as negative particle, the other indefinites like *enginn*, *ekkert*, which are formally very similar, retained their indefinite status, like the French *personne* and *rien*. As a consequence of the disappearance of the first negative element *ne*, however, they eventually ended up being negative quantifiers. Icelandic therefore also exhibits the unintended and typologically dispreferred side-effect of a JC where an indefinite, which shared semantic and syntactic features with other indefinites, served as the reinforcer of negation.

Dutch, German and English, on the one hand, and Icelandic and French, on the other hand, show that there are two types of n-indefinites that can be affected by JC: morphologically non-negative ones and morphologically negative ones. The semantic process that leads to morphologically non-negative n-indefinites is the quantifier cycle (QC) after Willis et al. (2013:36) and is not crucial for the interaction between JC and NQ, since

the interaction can occur with morphologically negative as well as morphologically non-negative indefinites. An element undergoes a QC when it changes its meaning from ‘person’ to ‘nobody’, regardless of the pattern with respect to sentential negation. A quantifier cycle is then “a contraction in the range of environments available for an item, so that it is ultimately only available under direct negation” (Willis et al. 2013:36). Indefinites that have developed from non-negative indefinites are predicted to yield a strict NC pattern by default. The only exception that should be noted is Spanish, where the indefinites *nada* ‘nothing’, lit. ‘born thing’ from Vulgar Latin (*res*) *nata*, and *nadie* ‘nobody’, lit. ‘born men’ from Vulgar Latin (*homine*) *natu* (Penny 2002:147) can yield the dispreferred NQ strategy when they are in preverbal position. Incorporation of a negative marker or JC cannot be held accountable since neither has happened with the Spanish negative indefinites *nada* and *nadie*. The explanation of the partially dispreferred strategy might lie in the fact that apart from morphologically non-negative indefinites, Spanish also has older, morphologically negative n-indefinites, such as *ninguno* ‘no one’, *ningun* ‘no’ from Latin *nec* + *unus*, a combination of a negative scalar focus particle and an indefinite base. The absorption of negative scalar focus markers and the question of how this interacts with clausal negation patterns will be discussed in the next section. It is plausible that the morphologically non-negative indefinites could have been used as non-strict NC items in analogy to the morphologically negative indefinites consisting of a negative scalar focus marker.³³

Whether the affected indefinites are morphologically negative or non-negative, restoration of the natural order is expected to occur, as in the case of the NQ pattern as a result of negative absorption of clausal negation. The new negator is reintroduced to restore the natural order already in Late Middle Dutch (Breitbarth 2013:222). Van der Auwera and Neuckermans (2004:462) note that the reintroduced *niet* with n-indefinites is in fact the most frequent strategy for dialect speakers of Flemish Dutch. An example of Dutch negative

³³ Note that this hypothesis can only apply on the assumption that Old Spanish was a non-strict NC language. Haspelmath (1997:212-3) notes, however, that it is commonly assumed that Old Spanish was a strict NC language. This would then mean that Spanish developed from a strict NC to a non-strict NC language, which is a development predicted not to occur, since it would constitute a change from the preferred strategy with clausal negation on the verb to a partially dispreferred strategy. Instead of abandoning the hypothesis of unidirectionality towards a strategy with clausal negation expressed on the verb, Haspelmath (1997:212-3) suggests that the hypothesis that Old Spanish was a strict NC language should be given up. Jäger (2007b), on the other hand, abandons the unidirectionality hypothesis. In view of the lack of examples other than Spanish exhibiting the unexpected development, I follow Haspelmath (1997) and I assume that Old Spanish was a non-strict NC language. In this respect it is also interesting to note that Vulgar or Late Latin might also have been a non-strict NC language. Bertocchi et al. (2010:72-78) provide examples of postverbal negative indefinites with clausal negation *non*, e.g. *quod non miseret neminis* ‘who doesn’t pity anyone’, but no examples of preverbal indefinites and *non*.

concord with the newer negator *niet* is shown in (345). Examples from the restoration in the French variety Quebec French and the French-based Creole Haitian Creole are given in (346) and (347) respectively.

(345) Flemish Dutch

'K ben niemand ni tegengekomen.
I am nobody NEG met
'I haven't met anybody.'

(van der Auwera and Neuckermans 2004:462)

(346) Quebec French

Le samedi soir au mois de juillet, il y a pas
the Saturday evening in.the month of july there.is NEG
personne en ville à Quebec.
no one in city in Quebec

'On Saturday evening in the month of July, there is no one in the city of Quebec.'

(Haspelmath 1997:205)

(347) Haitian Creole

Mwen pa wè pèsonn.
I.have NEG seen nobody

(Déprez & Martineau 2004:139)

I have now discussed the two ways to account for the dispreferred NQ strategy: absorption and the Jespersen Cycle. If one looks at the NQ-sample languages in Table 25, one can see that absorption is a much more frequent cause for the negative quantifier strategy than the Jespersen Cycle. It shows that Icelandic is the only language in which JC can be held accountable. The phenomenon might even be restricted to Europe. Note that I marked absorption of clausal negation 'ABS' in the table, absorption of a negative existential 'NEG.EX' and absorption of a non-verbal negator 'ABS of non-verbal NEG'.

Language	Diachrony	Language	Diachrony
Egyptian Arabic	ABS	Chocho	NEG.EX
Icelandic	JC	Chinantec	ABS
Nicobarese	ABS	Warao	?
Tiwi	ABS	Nevome	ABS
Kayardild	NEG.EX	Nahuatl	ABS
Yuchi	ABS	Huichol	ABS
Upper Necaxa Totonac	ABS	Purépecha	ABS
Otomí	ABS	Mam	ABS
Chalcatongo Mixtec	ABS/ NEG.EX	Epena Pedee	ABS
Chinook	ABS	Mapuche	ABS of non-verbal NEG
Paumari	ABS		

Table 25: NQ languages and the diachronic source of NQ

In the next section, I will discuss the relation that n-indefinites arising via absorption of negative scalar focus particles exhibit with the clausal negation pattern.

3.8.3. Negative scalar focus markers and (non-strict) NC

Although the absorption of negative scalar focus markers also involves the incorporation of morphological negation, negative indefinites of this type often differ from negative indefinites that have absorbed clausal negation in regard to the type of strategy. Haspelmath (1997:223-224) notes that most languages with negative indefinites that incorporated negative scalar focus markers exhibit strict NC. The sample languages of this type partly confirm this. Strict NC is found in Albanian, Huave, Chiapas Zoque and Imbabura Quechua, but in Chamorro and Egyptian Arabic, the elements exhibit non-strict NC. In section 3.6.1.3, I also mentioned that the non-sample languages Russian, Hungarian, Spanish, Romanian and Greek all once exhibited or still exhibit non-strict NC, which is actually a mix of NC and NQ. Based on the presence of the dispreferred NQ strategy, I proposed a schematic representation of diachronic absorption of negative scalar focus particles very similar to the one for diachronic absorption of clausal negation in (266) in section 3.6.1.3. As noted before, this does not explain why most languages of this type express NC, either strict or non-strict, whereas languages of the absorption of clausal negation type mostly exhibit NQ. In view of the fact that most languages with negative indefinites arising via the absorption of a negative scalar focus particle documented in the literature at a certain point exhibit non-strict NC, a question about the correlation between morphology and strategy for this

type seems to equal a question about non-strict NC: why would languages that absorb negative scalar focus particles exhibit non-strict NC? After all, if such indefinites were like former non-negative indefinites, they would be expected to exhibit NC, and if they were like n-indefinites arising via absorption of clausal negation, they would exhibit NQ.

Lucas (2013:434) proposes a diachronic scenario that shows how a negative scalar focus marker may directly take part in a non-strict NC pattern. It is schematically represented in (348).

(348) Diachronic absorption of negative scalar focus markers

I can't hear ~~anything~~, not even a word.
Nobody spoke to me, not even one person [spoke to me].

This hypothesis is suggested by Lucas (2009, 2013) to account for the non-strict NC pattern of the negative scalar determiner *wala* in Egyptian Arabic. The scenario shows the biclausal origin of the NC construction with postverbal *wala*. The scenario also shows why the preverbal *wala* would not require the presence of clausal negation. This scenario is plausible since it explains why many negative scalar focus particles exhibit non-strict NC. The negative scalar particles in the unrelated languages Egyptian Arabic (*wala*), Spanish (*ni*), Modern Greek (*oute*), and Hungarian (*sem*) all exhibit non-strict NC, as shown in (349) to (351).

(349) Modern Greek

- a. Oute o Janis (dhen) irthe.
not.even the John NEG arrived
'Not even John arrived.'
(de Swart 2010:198)
- b. O pritanis *(dhen) proskalese oute ti Maria.
the dean NEG invited.3SG even the Maria
'The dean didn't invite even Maria.'
(de Swart 2010:198)

(350) Spanish

- a. Gómez no lastimaría ni a su peor enemigo.
Gómez NEG hurt ni to his worst enemy
'Gómez wouldn't even hurt his worst enemy.'
(Aranovich 2007:183)

- b. Ni Gómez asistió a la reunión.
 ni Gómez attended to the meeting
 ‘Not even Gómez attended the meeting.’

(Aranovich 2007:183)

(351) Hungarian

- a. Egy diák sem jött el.
 one student even came PREF
 ‘No student came.’

(É. Kiss 2002:141)

- b. Nem jött el egy diák sem.
 NEG came PREF a student even
 ‘Not even one student came.’

(É. Kiss 2002:140)

Another hypothesis is that negative scalar focus markers arise via negative absorption, which always happens preverbally, of a non-negative scalar focus particle and clausal negation. The result is a negative scalar focus particle that can occur preverbally as the single exponent of negation. After the absorption of the clausal negator into the non-negative scalar focus marker, the negative scalar focus particle in its function as modifier might then be used in postverbal position, which then leads to a violation of Neg-First and triggers the reintroduction of clausal negation. Assuming that the introduction of clausal negation does not happen abruptly, the problem with this hypothesis is that the stage in which the negative scalar focus particle occurs postverbally as a single exponent of negation does not seem to be attested. This second hypothesis can be schematically presented in (352).

(352) Non-strict NQ pattern

- a. Preverbal negation + scalar focus particle
 not even one guy told me
 b. Negative absorption
 not.even one guy told me
 c. Reintroduction of clausal negation when negative scalar focus particle is used
 postverbally
 I not told not.even one guy

A third scenario that could explain why indefinites that contain negative scalar focus particles exhibit a type of NC rather than NQ is that they might cause clausal negation to be

reintroduced more easily because of their morphological dissimilarity with clausal negation. Hungarian can be used to illustrate this.

Hungarian has indefinites that have absorbed the negative scalar focus particle *sem*, which in its turn is a focus particle *is* ‘also, even’ that has absorbed the negator *nem*, to form the negative scalar focus determiner *sem* ‘not even’. The scalar focus marker, unlike the indefinites that have absorbed it, still exhibits non-strict NC today, as was shown in (351). In Old Hungarian, negative indefinites could only occur preverbally and were already optionally accompanied by the clausal negator *nem*, as was shown in (267) and (270). É. Kiss (2011:15-18) suggests that the presence of the clausal negator *nem* depended on the morphological transparency of negative indefinites. This could account for the fact that the morphologically more opaque negative indefinites *senki* ‘nobody’ and *soha* ‘never’ were always accompanied by *nem* and the more transparent “*semmi* ‘nothing’, *semegyben* ‘in nothing’, *semegyképpen* ‘in no way’, *semegyik* ‘none’, as well as lexical noun phrases modified by *sem-egy* ‘not one [no]’, could occur either without *nem* [...] or with *nem* [...]” É. Kiss (2011:20) notes that in the 15th century, in the Middle Hungarian period, the reintroduction of clausal negation was complete and no instances of the dispreferred NQ pattern were attested anymore, and the natural order was thus restored. When from the 15th century onwards, negative indefinites were also allowed in postverbal position, they were always accompanied by clausal negation.

Interestingly, the Hungarian *sem*-indefinites can be accompanied by the non-strict NC particle *sem*, as shown in sentence (353) and (354). In this sense, present-day Hungarian still exhibits a kind of non-strict NC with one of two series of negative indefinites.

- Hungarian
- (353) Nem érkezett senki sem.
 NEG arrive.PST.3SG nobody.NOM not.even
 ‘There hasn’t arrived anybody.’
- (354) Senki sem jött el sehova.
 nobody not.even come.PST.3SG PREF nowhere.to
 ‘Nobody came along anywhere.’
 (de Swart 2010:237)

The case of Hungarian shows that the reintroduction of clausal negation might be related to morphological transparency. From this perspective, the fact that negative indefinites absorbing clausal negation do not reintroduce clausal negation as easily as languages with negative indefinites absorbing negative scalar focus markers makes sense.

To conclude, I suggested that there might be three explanations why negative indefinites arising from absorption of negative scalar focus markers exhibit NC rather than

NQ, like indefinite arising from absorption of clausal negator. The first explanation is based on the fact that many negative scalar focus markers exhibit non-strict NC. This seems to point to a biclausal origin that accounts for a non-strict NC pattern. The second explanation is that negative scalar focus markers arise via non-negative scalar focus particles that absorb clausal negation, and once reanalyzed as negative scalar focus markers can occur postverbally too, which triggers the reintroduction of the preverbal clausal negator. The third explanation concerns morphological transparency. The morphological difference between the negative indefiniteness marker and the clausal negator might enhance the violation of the natural order. This is interesting since it also explains why negative indefinites of the previous type exhibit the NQ strategy rather than the NC strategy.

3.8.4. Negative concord and the quantifier cycle

Apart from restoration after absorption of clausal negation, absorption of negative scalar focus markers or a Jespersen Cycle, negative concord may also emerge as the result of a quantifier cycle. Table 26 shows the NC languages from the sample and shows that QC is the most frequent pathway leading to NC. Negative absorption of a scalar focus marker is abbreviated ‘ABS.SCAL’.

Language	Diachrony	Language	Diachrony
Meithei	ABS	Degema	QC
Icelandic	ABS	Kanuri	QC
Eastern Armenian	ABS	Ewe	QC
Khasi	ABS	Somali	QC
Lakhota	ABS	Mansi	QC
Egyptian Arabic	ABS.SCAL	Korean	QC
Albanian	ABS.SCAL	Japanese	QC
Chamorro	ABS.SCAL (< Sp.)	Lai	QC
Huave	ABS.SCAL (< Sp.)	Brahui	QC (< Persian)
Chiapas Zoque	ABS.SCAL (< Sp.)	Meithei	QC
Imbabura Quechua	ABS.SCAL (< Sp.)	Mosetén	QC (< Sp.)
Kayardild	ABS of non-verbal NEG	Haitian Creole	QC (< Fr.)
Kunama	?	Guaraní	QC
Lavukaleve	?	Lezgian	QC
Damana	?	Canêla-Kraho	special
Páez	?	Karok	special
Epena Pedee	?		
Wichí	?		

Table 26: NC languages and sources of n-words

In the case of the QC, the negative indefinites are originally non-negative forms that gradually acquired a negative meaning. The table shows two languages in which the diachrony is labeled ‘special’. Canêla-Kraho and Karok are languages in which the NC pattern is the consequence of a particular type of interplay between double clausal negation (‘DCN’) and NC that is of a different type than the type of interplay one finds in Dutch, German, English, Icelandic or French, as discussed in section 3.8.2. The interplay between DCN and NC will be discussed in section 3.9.

3.8.5. Conclusion

This section was devoted to the diachronic development of the different patterns with respect to clausal negation.

It was shown that the negative quantifier strategy may arise as a consequence of negative absorption and the Jespersen Cycle, as also noted in Haspelmath (1997:203-2010), but also as a consequence of the absorption of negative scalar focus particles. The negative

quantifier pattern as a consequence of the Jespersen Cycle is the result of a rather coincidental interaction whereby the new clausal negator shows semantic and syntactic similarities with indefinite pronouns. On the basis of the sample, the Jespersen Cycle is predicted to be a rare factor leading to the dispreferred negative quantifier strategy. From a typological point of view, negative absorption is the most frequent diachronic source for the negative quantifier strategy.

After the negative quantifier strategy arises, the natural order is expected to be restored, which then leads to negative concord. 4 of 22 with n-indefinites as a consequence of absorption of clausal negation show restoration. It was suggested that the low degree of restoration might be related to morphological transparency and differing degrees of lexicalization.

Apart from JC and absorption of clausal negation, the absorption of negative scalar focus particles may also lead to the negative quantifier strategy, at least partially. Languages of this type were shown to often exhibit non-strict NC. Three hypotheses were suggested. Firstly, the non-strict NC pattern could be accounted for by a biclausal origin in the case of postverbal instances and a monoclausal origin in the case of preverbal instances. Secondly, indefinites with negative scalar focus particle may inherit the non-strict NC pattern from the focus particles, which arise via negative absorption of a clausal negator themselves. Thirdly, data from Hungarian suggest that the reintroduction of clausal negation is linked to the morphological transparency of negative indefinites.

Negative concord can be the result of a restoration process as well as the result of a quantifier cycle, or the process according to which a morphologically non-negative indefinite becomes restricted to negative contexts. The sample shows that the latter scenario is the most frequent one for negative concord languages. Since negative concord does not violate the natural order of expressing negation on the verb, this pattern is predicted to remain stable.

Now that I have treated the functional and formal properties of the n-indefinites from the sample, I can go into another aspect of negative indefinite pronouns, namely the relation between negative concord and double clausal negation. As I have noted several times before, there is no direct connection between indefinites turning negative and the Jespersen Cycle. Nevertheless, the similarities between negative concord patterns and double clausal negation, which will be illustrated in the following section, have led to certain typological claims about the relation between the two phenomena. In the following section, I will refute these claims but I will illustrate other ways in which the two phenomena can interact and be related.

3.9. The relation between negative concord and double clausal negation

Negative concord and double clausal negation (henceforth sometimes ‘DCN’) have been brought in connection to each other several times in the literature. This is partly due to the similarities between the two phenomena. In what follows I will present the similarities and show in which ways they can, but do not have to be related. This section is partially based on Van Alsenoy & van der Auwera (in print).

3.9.1. Similarities between NC and DCN

Negative concord involves the multiple expression of negation whereas semantically only one negation is contributed. At least one *n*-indefinite is involved in NC, which excludes cases of multiple negation like the standard French negator *ne...pas*, which do not qualify as NC, but qualify as double clausal negation. DCN has been indirectly touched upon by mentioning the Jespersen Cycle in section 3.8.2. DCN refers to the fact that languages express clausal negation twice in a sentence, even though semantically negation is only contributed once. It should not be mistaken for double negation (DN), in which case two negations, expressed either clausally or on the constituent, cancel each other out and render a sentence positive, as in *Nobody saw nothing*. The best known example of DCN comes from French, as has already been mentioned. Contrary to what one might think judging from the examples in the literature, DCN is not by any means restricted to European languages. Sentence (355) provides an example from the Bantu language Luba.

(355) Luba

Kà-kùpííl-éè-pó mwáàná.
NEG.1-hit-FIN-NEG 3.child
‘Father has not hit the child (at all).’
(Kabanga Mukala, p.c.)

Double clausal negation typically arises from the JC, as defined in section 3.8.2. Highly simplified, it is the cyclic development involving three stages as represented in (356).

(356) NEG1 = > NEG 1 + NEG2 = > NEG 2

It is the middle stage of a JC that exhibits a double exponency or double clausal negation. This middle stage resembles NC, since NC can also involve two negative items that express semantic negation only once. An example from French is given in (357).

(357) French

Je n' ai rien vu.
I NEG have nothing seen
'I didn't see anything.'

Another parallel between NC and DCN is that despite the fact that they both need two exponents of negation, it does not immediately follow that they are both 'negative'. As discussed in section 3.7, the French indefinite *personne* is still found today in non-negative contexts, such as a comparative, as shown in (358).

(358) French

Elle le fait mieux que personne.
she it does better than anyone
'She does it better than anyone else.'

The first element of the discontinuous negation *ne* is also found in sentences in which it doesn't have a negative meaning, as in (359).

(359) French

Aide-moi avant que je ne parte.
help-me before that I NEG leave
'Help me before I leave.'

Even the second element *pas* was still found with a non-negative meaning at a time when *ne...pas* had already been firmly established, as shown in (360).

(360) French

C'est la plus jolie fille qu' y a pas dans le
this.is the more pretty girl that there has ?? in the
canton.
canton
'This is the prettiest girl there is in the canton.'
(18th century *pas*, Muller 1991:25)

Another similarity involves the fact that although one mostly speaks of doubling, the multiplying of negative exponents is not restricted, neither in the case of NC, as seen in the

non-standard English example in (361), nor in the case of DCN, as illustrated in example (362) from Lewo, which has three negators.³⁴

(361) African American Vernacular

I didn't say nothing to nobody.

'I didn't say anything to anybody.'

(362) Lewo

Naga pe Ø-pa re poli.

3SG R.NEG 3SG.S-R.go NEG NEG

'He hasn't gone.'

(Early 1994a:411)

A last similarity, which holds at least for French, is that DCN can develop from a kind of NC. As has been addressed in section 3.7 on morphologically non-negative n-indefinites, the French indefinites *rien* and *personne* have undergone a development very similar to the French negator *pas*: all items developed to negative indefinites from indefinites meaning 'thing', 'person' and 'step', respectively, via a negative polarity stage. What also connects the negative indefinites to the sentential negator is the fact that in stage three of the JC, the former indefinite elements can be the sole contributors of negation, *pas* as a clausal negator, as in (363), the indefinites as negative quantifiers, as in (364).

Informal French

(363) Je sais pas.

(364) J'ai vu personne.

This resembles the developments in West Germanic, in which the second negator in the JC was also an indefinite like *pas*, though in the West Germanic cases, a morphologically negative one, and in which other negative indefinites also became negative quantifiers as a side-effect of the disappearance of the first negator.

³⁴ Although multiplying in the case of NC is less restricted than in the case of DCN. For more information on multiple sentential negative constructions, see Vossen & van der Auwera (2013), Devos & van der Auwera (2013) and van der Auwera et al. (2013).

3.9.2. Claims about the relation between NC and DCN

On the basis of these shared characteristics, some linguists have tried to disclose connections and correlations between the two phenomena. In particular, two claims have been made about a typological relation between the two phenomena: one by de Swart (2010) and one by Zeijlstra (2004). De Swart (2010) sees a direct connection between NC and DCN:

In fact, the analysis developed here suggests that a crucial condition for the development of a discontinuous negation along the lines of French is for the language to [...] display strict negative concord. It would be worth exploring this issue in more detail, but currently I do not have all the cross-linguistic data needed to substantiate this claim, so the connection is left for future work.
(de Swart 2010:184)

To some extent, this quote is open for interpretation. I take “a crucial condition” to be a ‘necessary condition’ and not a sufficient one. Second, “discontinuous negation” is taken to mean any kind of discontinuous negation. Third, “along the lines of French” is very vague. Here the question arises just how similar the DCN of a language have to be to qualify as DCN “along the lines of French”. Since de Swart (2010) considers DCN to always consist of two elements embracing the verb, DCN “along the lines of French” seems to mean only the kind of DCN where the first negator is preverbal and the second one postverbal, excluding cases in which the two negators are on the same side with regard to the verb. Because “along the lines of French” is so vague, I include the phrase into the reformulation of the typological claim in (365) and for the time being take any kind of DCN to be a DCN “along the lines of French”.

(365) Strict NC is a necessary condition for DCN

This claim also has implications for the frequency of the two phenomena: it implies that DCN will be less frequent than NC. The statements made by de Swart (2010) about the frequency of DCN and NC are supportive of such a prediction. As mentioned in the section 3.4 on the frequency NC, de Swart considers NC to be a very widespread phenomenon (de Swart 2010:21), whereas she considers DCN to be rare (de Swart 2010:10). Section 3.5.1 has shown that NC seems to be widespread in Europe, whereas it is not frequent at all in the rest of the world. However, since the frequency of DCN has not been addressed so far, the claim could still hold.

The other claim about a correlation between DCN and NC is made by Zeijlstra (2004:266). Zeijlstra establishes a connection between the syntactic status of the sentential

negator and the availability of NC. Zeijlstra primarily sees a relation between NC and preverbal negation ('PreVN') and by implication also DCN. On the basis of a very biased sample, he comes to the conclusion that every variety with a preverbal negative marker, optional or obligatory, in order to express sentential negation, is a NC variety. The claim reminds one of the observation made by Jespersen (1917:71-72) that "repeated negation seems to become a habitual phenomenon only in those languages in which the ordinary negative element is comparatively small in regard to phonetic bulk", repeated negation meaning 'negative concord' here. Zeijlstra's claim can be rephrased as in (366).

(366) NC is a necessary condition for PreVN

In Zeijlstra's claim, NC can be strict or non-strict. If (366) holds, the following types of languages are predicted to exist:

(367) Types of PreVN languages predicted to exist by Zeijlstra (2004)

- languages with PreVN and NC
- languages without PreVN but with NC
- languages without PreVN and without NC.

One language type is predicted not to exist, namely a language with PreVN and without NC.

In the following, I will check the two claims against the sample. This has in part been done in Van Alsenoy & van der Auwera (in print) at a time that the typological study had not been completed. The results presented here include the entire sample.

3.9.3. Claims from a typological perspective

First, I will check de Swart's claim against my typological data. The languages claimed to be impossible are languages that exhibit DCN but no NC. Table 27 shows NC languages with and without DCN and DCN languages with and without NC.³⁵

³⁵ From the NC languages discussed in the previous sections, Wichí, Degema, Epena Pedee and Mosestén with their isolated NC items, and the non-strict NC languages Egyptian Arabic and Chamorro were excluded.

		DCN	Strict NC
Possible	Albanian, Eastern Armenian, Brahui, Damana, Haitian Creole, Huave, Icelandic, Japanese, Kanuri, Kayardild, Khasi, Korean, Kunama, Lai, Lakhota, Lavukaleve, Lezgian, Mansi, Meithei, Páez, Somali, Chiapas Zoque (22)	-	+
Possible	Burmese, Canela-Krahô, Ewe, Guaraní, Karok, Imbabura Quechua (6)	+	+
Impossible	Abun, Amele, Egyptian Arabic, Araona, Awa Pit, Chayahuita, Degema, Evenki, Gbeya-Bossangoa, Haida, Hausa, Kresh, Inanwatan, Lewo, Maba, Maricopa, Mian, Nivkh, Oneida, Siuslaw, Supyire, Tera, Tsimshian, Wiyot (24)	+	-
Possible	Abau, Aguaruna, Ambai, Andoke, Arapesh, Bagirmi, Bardi, Basque, Baure, Beja, Bella Coola, Biak, Canamari, Cantonese, Chamorro, Cheyenne, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chinook, Chipaya, Chiquitano, Chocho, Daga, Diola-Fogny, Epena Pedee, Finnish, Gaagudju, Garrwa, Gayo, Gooniyandi, Hindi, Huichol, Hunzib, Igbo, Ijo, Iraqw, Jaqaru, Jingulu, Ju'Hoan, Kambara, Khalkha, Khmer, Khmu', Kilmeri, Klamath, Koasati, Kobon, Koiari, Korafe, Koyraboro Senni, Kuna, Kunimaipa, Kwazá, Lango, Ma'di, Majang, Makah, Makalero, Mam, Mapuche, Mara, Maung, Mauwake, Mende, Menya, Miwok, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Mosetén, Muna, Murriny Patha, Nabak, Nahuatl, Nama, Nasioi, Nevome, Nez Perce, Ngiti, Ngiyambaa, Nicobarese, Nubian, Nupe, Orokolo, Otomí, Pacoh, Paumarí, Pilagá, Pirahã, Central Pomo, Puinave, Purépecha, Rama, Rukai, Seediq, Sentani, Seri, Shipibo-Konibo, Sikuani, Skou, Slave, So, Squamish, Tagalog, Takelma, Tehuelche, Teribe, Thai, Tibetan, Tiwi, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Trumai, Tuyuca, Urarina, Usan, Vietnamese, Wai Wai, Waorani, Wappo, Warao, Wardaman, Wari', Washo, Wichí, Yagua, Yanomámi, Yimas, Yoruba, Yuchi (127)	-	-

Table 27: Languages with and without DCN and NC

For DCN *WALS* (Dryer & Haspelmath 2011) was consulted. In contrast to *WALS*, however, Imbabura Quechua was classified as a double clausal negation language (for Quechua, see Cole 1982:86). I included both obligatory and optional DCN, since no restrictions regarding this were added in two claims above.

Three things are important: firstly, the large majority of languages do not have NC and neither do they have DCN. Secondly, DCN is slightly more frequent than NC, which immediately casts doubt on de Swart's claim. The difference, however, is not significant (p-value = 0.56). Thirdly, 24 languages of the impossible type, namely with DCN but without NC could be found.

In order to test Zeijlstra's claim that NC is a necessary condition for preverbal negation, Table 28 documents the presence of preverbal negation and negative concord. In this case, strict as well as non-strict NC is included, but I took NC to mean NC involving indefinite pronouns, therefore excluding Egyptian Arabic and Degema, for example, with their single NC determiners. I also excluded languages with an isolated negative element yielding NC (Epena Pedee *maarapída*, Mosetén *nadies*, Wichí *tuk/tek*).

		PreV N	NC
Possible	Albanian, Eastern Armenian, Burmese, Canela-Krahô, Chamorro, Ewe, Guaraní, Huave, Icelandic, Karok, Khasi, Korean, Mansi, Imbabura Quechua, Somali, Chiapas Zoque (16)	+	+
	Brahui, Haitian Creole, Damana, Japanese, Kanuri, Kayardild, Kunama, Lai, Lakhota, Lavukaleve, Lezgian, Meithei, Páez (13)	–	+
	Abau, Aguaruna, Arapesh, Bagirmi, Biak, Bororo, Canamari, Chiquitano, Chocho, Diola-Fogny, Epena Pedee, Hunzib, Igbo, Ijo, Iraqw, Khalkha, Koasati, Kobon, Kuna, Kwazá, Lewo, Mapuche, Maba, Ma'di, Mende, Nama, Nasioi, Nivkh, Nubian, Nupe, Orokolo, Pirahã, Shipibo-Konibo, Skou, Slave, Teribe, Tiriyo, Trumai, Tuyuca, Waorani, Wappo, Warao, Warembori, Washo, Yanomámi (46)	–	–
Impossible	Abun, Amele, Andoke, Egyptian Arabic, Araona, Awa Pit, Bardi, Basque, Baure, Beja, Bella Coola, Cantonese, Chayahuita, Cheyenne, Tepetotutla Chinantec, Chinook, Chipaya, Daga, Degema, Evenki, Finnish, Gaagudju, Gayo, Garrwa, Gbeya-Bossangoa, Gooniyandi, Haida, Hausa, Hindi, Huichol, Inanwatan, Jaqaru, Jingulu, Ju'Hoan, Kambera, Khmer, Khmu', Kilmeri, Klamath, Koiari, Korafe, Koyraboro Senni, Kresh, Kunimaipa, Lango, Majang, Makah, Makalero, Mam, Mara, Maranungku, Maricopa, Maung, Mauwake, Menya, Mian, Miwok, Chalcatongo Mixtec, Mosetén, Muna, Nabak, Nahuatl, Nevome, Nez Perce, Ngiti, Ngiyambaa, Nicobarese, Oneida, Otomí, Pacoh, Paumarí, Pilagá, Central Pomo, Puinave, Purépecha, Rama, Rukai, Sediq, Sentani, Seri, Sikuani, Siuslaw, So, Squamish, Supyire, Tagalog, Takelma, Tehuelche, Tera, Thai, Tibetan, Tiwi, Upper Necaxa Totonac, Tsimshian, Usan, Vietnamese, Wardaman, Wari', Wichí, Wiyot, Yagua, Yimas, Yoruba, Yuchi (104)	+	–

Table 28: Languages with and without preverbal negation and NC

The overwhelming amount of languages with preverbal negation lack NC. Therefore, one can only consider Zeijlstra's universal wrong.

Note that Table 28 shows that preverbal negation is more common than postverbal negation (120 vs. 59) languages. This relates to the 'Neg(ative) First' principle by Horn (1989:292), associated with Jespersen (1917:5), which was explained in section 3.3.1.2.

The claims by de Swart (2010) and Zeijlstra (2004) raised questions about whether there is any connection between the position of the sentential negative marker and the presence of DCN on the one hand, and the presence of negative concord on the other. One might expect NC to occur more often in DCN languages in which the multiple expression of negation semantically expresses only one negation. Table 29, however, shows that there is no significant difference in frequency between NC languages with DCN and without DCN and no significant difference between DCN languages with NC and without NC (p-value = 0.58), suggesting that DCN has no predicative value for answering whether the language has NC and NC has no predicative value for answering whether the language has DCN.

Properties	+ DCN	-DCN	Total
+ NC	6	22	28
- NC	24	127	151

Table 29: Correlation between the presence of NC and DCN

In the line of Zeijlstra, one might perhaps also see a connection between the position of the sentential negator and the presence of NC. The results from the sample in Table 28 have already shown that languages with preverbal negation do not necessarily have NC. Table 30 furthermore shows that there is no significant frequency difference between languages with PreVN and with NC and languages with PreVN and without NC nor is there a significant frequency difference between NC languages with PreVN and NC languages without PreVN. NC is not a predictor for PreVN and neither is PreVN a predictor for NC (p-value = 0.1964). This is also interesting because not only does this refute Zeijlstra's attenuated prediction that languages with PreVN would have a bigger change at exhibiting NC, it also refutes the opposite expectation that NC could be more frequent with postverbal negation, as a consequence of Neg-First.

Properties	+ NC	-NC	Total
+ PreVN	16	104	120
- PreVN	13	47	60

Table 30: Correlation between the presence of NC and preverbal negation

At the typological level therefore, one must conclude that NC, on the one hand, and DCN and PreVN, on the other hand, are independent phenomena. That still does not imply that there cannot be an interesting relation on the language-particular level. To some extent the relation between DCN and NC has already been addressed in section 3.8.2. For this reason, I will be brief on the first type of interaction between DCN and NC, which can be considered a semantic relation. I will briefly discuss the French case again, and I will also discuss another type of semantic relation that is found in Canela Krâho. After that, I will focus on the languages from the sample that exhibits a morphological relation between NC and DCN, namely Karok, after which I will discuss four languages in which both NC as well as DCN can be found but in which a relation between two phenomena seems lacking, namely Burmese, Ewe, Imbabura Quechua and Guaraní.

3.9.4. Semantic relation between NC and DCN

It has already been noted that there can be an interesting interplay between negative concord and double clausal negation in section 3.8.2 on the Jespersen Cycle as a possible source of negative quantifiers. In that section, it was noted that the development of indefinite pronouns from non-negative to negative indefinites can run parallel to the Jespersen Cycle for sentential negation. This has been schematically represented in (338), repeated here as (368).

(368) JC for sentence negation and indefinites

Stage 1	NEG1		<i>ne</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + INDEF
Stage 2	NEG1	+ EMPH	<i>ne... pas/mie/...</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + EMPH.INDEF
Stage 3	NEG1	+ NEG2	<i>ne... pas</i>	<i>ne... personne</i>	NEG1 + NEG2.INDEF
Stage 4	(NEG1)	+ NEG 2	<i>(ne)...pas</i>	<i>(ne)...personne</i>	(NEG1)+NEG2.INDEF
Stage 5	NEG2		<i>pas</i>	<i>personne</i>	NEG2.INDEF

I will focus on the third stage here, since this is the stage at which one can speak of DCN and NC. The crucial point that causes the interesting interplay is the fact that *pas*, which served as a reinforcer of negation in Stage 2, is not used in combination with *personne*. This has mainly a semantic reason and a related syntactic reason. *Personne* and *rien*, denoting a minimal unit just like *pas*, could express emphasis on their own and did not require the presence of the reinforcer *pas* for a strong negative sentence, as is represented in Stage 2. In addition, the *pas* that was reanalyzed as a negative adverb also shared the syntactic position of indirect object with the indefinite pronouns. As *pas* then became associated with negation, the other indefinites incorporated the negative meaning as well, as a result of the quantifier cycle. All languages known from the literature in which the postverbal negator is incompatible with negative indefinites are assumed to exhibit this particular interplay. This

particular interplay is predicted to occur in languages in which indefinite elements are recruited as reinforcers, even though this is not a sufficient condition.

Canela-Krahô exemplifies another type of semantic relation between NC and DCN. In Canela-Krahô, there is an optional second negator that is placed after the subject to negate the verb, namely *nee*, as used in (369). It is said to carry the meaning ‘not even’.

(369) Canela-Krahô

Quê	wa	nee	curi	i-tēm	nare.
no	I	NEG	there	1SG-go	NEG

‘No, I didn’t go there.’
(Popjes & Popjes 1986:162)

Apart from functioning as a reinforcer to clausal negation, it is also used as negative indefiniteness marker together with indefinite bases to form negative indefinite pronouns, as illustrated in (370).

(370) Canela-Krahô

Nee	jũm	te	po	curan	nare.
NEG	someone	PST	deer	kill	NEG

‘No one killed a deer.’
(Popjes & Popjes 1986:177)

The negative reinforcer seems to have lost its reinforcing function in combination with indefinite pronouns, too, and has now become obligatory for the expression of negative indefinites.

3.9.5. The morphological relation between NC and DCN

Apart from a semantic crossover between NC and DCN, the two phenomena can also be morphologically related. This is seen in one of the six languages from the sample with DCN as well as NC, namely Karok. Karok is a DCN language with as the main negative strategy a combination of a prefix *pu-* and a suffix *-(h)ara* (Bright 1957:137), which is absent under certain morphological conditions.³⁶ It is also absent when the verb contains the emphatic

³⁶ Although doubling is the main strategy, the postverbal element is absent under certain morpho-syntactic circumstances (whenever the verb contains either a personal morpheme containing *-ap* or a so-called ‘fourth-order class’ suffix).

marker *-xay*.³⁷ The prefixal negator *pu-* can have different hosts: it freely attaches to ‘any word which stands before the predicate in a predication’ (Bright 1957:138). It can thus also attach to the indefinites *fât* ‘what, something’, *ʔakáray* or *yíθθa* ‘one’, yielding negative indefinite pronouns or determiners, like *pu-ffa-t* ‘nothing’, *pu-ʔakára* ‘nobody’. When one of the negative incorporated forms co-occurs with the second exponent of DCN, NC results, as shown in (371).

(371) Karok

Pú-yíθθa-xay	ká·n	θa·nê-ra.
NEG-one-EMPH	lady	lay-NEG

‘Not a single lady lay there.’
(Bright 1957:140)

In a way the situation resembles the one in Egyptian Arabic. Egyptian Arabic also has double clausal negation, which can be realized on the indefinite, as well as on the verb. However, in Egyptian Arabic, both exponents of DCN appear on the indefinite, which results in the NQ strategy instead of NC, as was shown in (189), whereas in Karok, the first part of the discontinuous negator is found on preverbal indefinites, therefore yielding NC.

3.9.6. No relation between NC and DCN

The four other languages from the sample that have DCN as well as NC are Burmese, Ewe, Guaraní and Imbabura Quechua. All four languages represent cases in which DCN and NC can be considered to be separate and unrelated phenomena.

Ewe marks clausal negation with a preverbal prefix *me-* and a sentence final particle *o*, as can be seen in sentence (372). Ewe has the negative indefinites *ame aɖeke* ‘nobody’ and *naɖeke* ‘nothing’, which together with the double clausal negator yield NC. Unlike in French, however, the second exponent of negation can co-occur with the negative indefinites, as shown in (372). This pattern according to which a negative indefinite is

³⁷ Remarkably, this emphatic element *-xay* can replace the second negator, as in (a).

(a) Karok (Bright 1957:138)

Pú-xay	vúra-xay	ʔamkú·f-xay.
NEG-EMPH	just-EMPH	was-EMPH

‘There was no smoke at all.’

This suggests that the *-xay* marker competes or may have competed with the postverbal *-(h)ara* because they might have shared or still share, at least in some contexts, their emphatic meaning.

accompanied by a double clausal negator is also found in certain Southern Dutch dialects, as described by van der Auwera et al. (2006:308) and illustrated in (373).

(372) Ewe

Ame	aɖeke	me-fe	le	abɔ	la	me
person	NEG.DET	NEG-play	be.atPRES	garden	DEF	in

o.
NEG
'Nobody played in the garden.'
(Nada Gbegble, p.c.)

(373) Non-standard Dutch

Ik	en	heb	niemand	niet	gezien.
I	NEG	have	nobody	NEG	seen

'I haven't seen anybody.'
(van der Auwera et al. 2006:308)

Although I have no information on the exact origin of the sentence final particle *o* in Ewe, it can be safely assumed that the origin is not nominal.

The other language is Burmese. Burmese has the discontinuous negator *ma-...-bû*, as is shown in (374). It also has negative indefinites in *-ma* (or *-hma*) that all together yield one semantic negation, as is seen in sentence (374).

(374) Burmese

Ba-ma	ma-thau'hpu.
nothing	NEG-drink-NEG

'I won't have anything to drink.'
(Cornyn & Roop 1968:78)

Interestingly in both Ewe and Burmese, the negative indefinites cannot be used in elliptical contexts without a negative verb (Nada Ggbegble, p.c. and Hnin Tun 2001:38).

Guaraní also exhibits NC and DCN. In Guaraní, clausal negation is expressed by *na...i* (Gregores & Suarez 1967:144). As in Burmese and Ewe, the Guaraní indefinites have undergone a quantifier cycle and consist of an indefinite base and a focus particle. They seem to have undergone the quantifier cycle independently from the Jespersen Cycle for double clausal negation.

Imbabura Quechua is similar to the other three languages in the sense that it has double clausal negation *mana... chu* and negative indefinites, but it is also different in the

sense that the negative indefinites have not undergone a QC, but contain the negative marker *ni*, which was borrowed from Spanish.

Since only six languages in the sample exhibit NC as well as DCN, not many predictions can be made, apart from the fact that they are independent developments that can, but do not have to be related, which is shown by the fact that most languages that exhibit NC do not exhibit DCN and vice versa.

3.10. Conclusion

Chapter 3 reports on the negative indefinites found in a representative 179-language sample. In section 3.2, I provided a definition of negative indefinites as indefinites that have negation as their only or most important function. In section 3.2.2, I distinguished two main types of negative indefinites: indefinites that have negation as their only function and negative indefinites that have negation as their most important function. Negative indefinites that have negation as their most important function have certain non-negative uses that can be analyzed as cases of expletive negation, as is done in section 3.2.3.

In section 3.3, I distinguished two main types of negative indefinites with regard to the interaction they exhibit with sentential negation: n-words and negative quantifiers. N-words are negative indefinites that co-occur with sentential negation while still expressing negation only once, whereas negative quantifiers express clausal negation independently. The former pattern involving n-words is labeled ‘negative concord’, whereas the latter pattern is labeled the ‘negative quantifier’ strategy. My definition of negative indefinites allowed me to respond to certain claims made in the literature about the frequency of negative concord, which are discussed in section 3.4. In particular, it was claimed that NC is very frequent. In section 3.5, I reported on the findings from the typological research. It was shown that NC is not frequent outside of Europe. As was expected given the form-meaning mismatch, the NQ strategy is less frequent than NC.

In section 3.6, I discussed the formal types of negative indefinites and distinguished two main types: morphologically negative ones and morphologically non-negative ones. Four types of morphologically negative n-indefinites were discussed, all of which were claimed to arise via negative absorption, which is the result of two principles, viz. Neg-Attract and Neg-First. The morphologically non-negative ones arise via a process labeled the ‘quantifier cycle’, which was discussed in section 3.7. It involves a process of semantic incorporation of negation, which is said to constitute a case of pragmatic strengthening.

In section 3.8, I focus on the emergence of the two patterns regarding the interaction with sentential negation. The dispreferred NQ strategy is claimed to arise as the result of either the absorption of clausal negation, the absorption of a negative scalar focus particle, or as a consequence of the interplay between the Jespersen Cycle and indefinites in negation.

The latter interplay is only found in Europe and is predicted to be very rare. NC is the pattern that arises when former non-negative indefinites undergo a quantifier cycle.

In section 3.9, the relation between double clausal negation and negative concord is addressed. Two claims from the literature are refuted in that section. Firstly, it is shown that there is no significant correlation between languages exhibiting double clausal negation and negative concord. Secondly, it is shown that there is no significant correlation between the position of the negator and negative concord. Still there can be an interesting relation between double clausal negation and negative concord. There can be a semantic relation in the sense that the Jespersen Cycle, which leads to double clausal negation, can involve an indefinite, which may influence an entire indefinite paradigm and not only the indefinite that turns into the newer negator. There can also be a morphological relation: the development of new negator in combination with negative absorption may lead to negative concord.

In the next section, I will discuss languages that use non-negative forms in combination with sentential negation to convey negative indefiniteness.

4. Non-negative indefinites in negation

In Chapter 3, I have shown that there were 51 languages or 28.5% of the sample languages with at least one negative indefinite. All the other languages, but also many of the languages with negative indefinites, use other strategies to convey negative indefiniteness. In this chapter, I will report on the types of indefinites used in negative contexts in the other languages. The original goal was to develop a semantic map in the style of Haspelmath for each language. Haspelmath (1997) distinguished 9 possible types of indefinites in negation, as represented in (375).

(375) Possible types of indefinites in negation

- a. Direct negation
- b. Direct negation, Indirect negation
- c. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative
- d. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative, Free Choice
- e. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative, Free Choice, Conditional
- f. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative, Free Choice, Conditional, Question
- g. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative, Free Choice, Conditional, Question, Irrealis non-specific
- h. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative, Free Choice, Conditional, Question, Irrealis non-specific, Specific unknown
- i. Direct negation, Indirect negation, Comparative, Free Choice, Conditional, Question, Irrealis non-specific, Specific unknown, Specific known

As a consequence of the lack of data regarding the different environments, the taxonomy of the remaining indefinite forms in negation from the 179-language sample will not be as detailed as Haspelmath's. The categorization applied here will be similar to the one in Kahrel (1996). Apart from n-words and negative quantifiers, Kahrel (1996) distinguishes the existential construction, which was briefly addressed in section 3.6.1.4, special indefinites and neutral indefinites. In the following sections, I will briefly discuss the strategies distinguished by Kahrel (1996), and add some modifications in sections 4.1 to 4.7. Like Kahrel (1996), I will distinguish neutral indefinites and the existential strategy. These patterns will be described in sections 4.1 and 4.4. Unlike Kahrel (1996), I will include epistemic indefinites in the taxonomy, as will be explained in section 4.2. Then, in section 4.3, I will introduce a distinction that divides Kahrel's (1996) category of special indefinites into NPIs and/or free choice items ('FCIs'), on the one hand, and non-specific indefinites, on

the other hand. In section 4.5, I will introduce an entirely new strategy, which has not been sufficiently addressed and explained in the literature to my knowledge, involving the use of a universal quantifier to convey negative indefiniteness. I will introduce a minor wastebasket category to cover one special case from the sample in section 4.6 and lastly, in section 4.7, I will briefly discuss another new category involving zero indefinites. In section 4.8, I will summarize the taxonomy of indefinite forms used in negation to convey negative indefiniteness. Like Kahrel (1996), I will look for the counterparts for ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, also if this involves a non-pronominal strategy like a generic noun. In section 4.9, I will report on each of the strategies from the new taxonomy from a quantitative and qualitative perspective.

4.1. Neutral indefinites

The first strategy involves a pattern according to which negative indefiniteness is expressed by means of an indefinite phrase that does not have any distributional restrictions. More specifically, it concerns the use of an indefinite phrase that can be used in the scope of sentential negation, as well as in a veridical sentence. Kahrel (1996:39) illustrates the pattern on the basis of the Papuan language Nasioi in (376), which is also part of my sample.

(376) Nasioi

- a. Nanin nánu-i.
 someone go-R.PST
 ‘Someone went.’
- b. Nanin nánu-arui.
 someone go-NEG-R.PST
 ‘No-one went.’

(Rausch 1912:134, also in Kahrel 1996:39)

4.2. Epistemic indefinites

The second strategy is not included in Kahrel’s (1996) typology. Epistemic indefinites have received much attention in the literature recently. They are sometimes called ‘free choice items with an ignorance or indifference meaning’, but mostly they are called ‘epistemic indefinites’, since they contain information about the epistemic state of the speaker. They mark the fact that the referent is unknown by the speaker. Thus, an epistemic indefinite is an indefinite that is at least used in Haspelmath’s function ‘specific unknown’. Some

examples of epistemic indefinites that have recently been described in the literature are found in (377).

(377) Epistemic indefinites

German *irgendein* (Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002, Aloni & Port 2011)
 Spanish *algún* (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2003, 2008, 2010)
 French *quelque, un N quelconque* (Jayez & Tovenà 2006, 2010, 2011, 2013)
 Italian *(un) qualche* (Zamparelli 2008, Aloni & Port 2011)
 Russian the *-to* series in Russian (Yanovich 2005, Kagan 2007)
 Hebrew *eyze* (Kagan & Spector 2008)
 Finnish *-kin* series in Finnish (Kagan 2007)
 Japanese *wh-ka* indefinites (Sudo 2010, Kaneko 2011, Alonso-Ovalle & Shimoyama 2012).

An illustration of the Italian epistemic indefinite determiner *un qualche* in an affirmative episodic sentence is found in (378).

(378) Epistemic indefinite

Maria	ha	appena	sposato	una	qualche	ragazza.
Maria	has	just	married	a	some	girl

‘Maria just married some girl.’ (that I don’t know)
 (Zamparelli 2008:311)

Some of these indefinites, namely German *irgendein*, Spanish *algún*, French singular *quelque*, and Italian *un qualche*, will also be discussed in Chapter 6. There it will also be shown that it seems that epistemic indefinites are not likely to occur in the scope of negation. The effect of an epistemic indefinite used in negation is often that the variable introduced by the indefinite escapes the scope of negation and yields a specific-unknown meaning in a negative context. This can be illustrated on the basis of French singular *quelque* in (379).

(379)	Yolande	n’a	pas	dû	trouver	quelque	fichier.
	Yolande	NEG-has	NEG	must	find	some	file

‘Yolande must have not found some file.’
 (Jayez & Tovenà 2013:191)

This also explains why I only found one language that uses an indefinite in negation that can also have a specific-unknown meaning in a veridical context.

4.3. Special indefinites

Kahrel (1996) provides little theoretical background for the label ‘special indefinite’, which also provided food for criticism in Haspelmath (1997). The strategy is illustrated by means of the indefinite *anything* in the pseudo-English example in (380).

- (380) John not bought anything.
(Kahrel 1996:36)

Anything is special in the sense that it cannot occur in veridical sentences like the one in (381).

- (381) *John bought anything.

However, Haspelmath (1997) has shown that there are many different types of special indefinites or indefinites barred from contexts like the one in (381). As mentioned in the introduction, I have not been able to find instances of the indefinites in all the relevant functions in (375), but unlike Kahrel (1996), I would like to make a distinction between two types of special indefinites: non-specific indefinites and negative polarity items or free choice items, as explained below.

In some languages, indefinites are restricted to contexts in which a non-specific reading is assured. As Haspelmath (1997:37) notes, “the concept of specificity is a key concept in the semantics of reference and has been discussed extensively in the literature” and he refers to Fodor (1970), Jackendoff (1972), Ioup (1977), Croft (1983), Fauconnier (1985), Enç (1991), amongst others. The example provided by Haspelmath (1997:37) to distinguish specificity from non-specificity is given in (382).

- (382) Nobuku wants to marry some speaker of Ainu....
a. ... She fell in love with him during field work sessions.
b. ... because she is Ainu herself.
(Haspelmath 1997:37)

Sentence (382) is ambiguous between a specific reading, which is the one compatible with the a. continuation as well as a non-specific reading, compatible with the b. continuation. Haspelmath (1997:38) preliminarily concludes that “an expression is specific if the speaker presupposes the existence and unique identifiability of its referent”. Accordingly, an expression is non-specific if it does not presuppose the existence and unique identifiability of its referent. Giannakidou (1998) formalized the distinction illustrated in (382) in terms of

veridicality. She makes a distinction between veridical operators and non-veridical operators. Non-veridical operators do not preserve the truth of the proposition they embed, whereas veridical operators entail the truth of their complement. Non-specific elements are only grammatical in the scope of non-veridical operators, like habituais, future markers, modal adverbs, modal verbs, volitional verbs, etc.

Some languages have grammaticalized this semantic distinction in the indefinite pronoun-paradigm and dispose of indefinite pronouns that are only grammatical in non-veridical contexts. One of those languages with indefinites sensitive to veridicality is Greek. The Greek indefinites *kanenas* and *típota* cannot occur in veridical contexts, as is shown in (383), but are fine in contexts with non-veridical operators, like future markers, habituais, distributive markers and modal expressions. Other non-veridical operators are intentional verbs, adversative predicates, conditionals, negation, etc. An example of a habitual context is given in (384).

- Greek
- (383) *Idhe típota/kanenas o Janis.
 saw something/someone the John
 ‘John saw anything/anyone.’
- (384) I Eleni dhiavaze sinithos kanena periodhiko otan
 the Ellen read.IMPF.3SG usually some magazin when
 variotane.
 bored
 ‘Ellen used to read some magazine or other when she was bored.’
 (Giannakidou 2011:1673)

Non-specific indefinites are thus indefinites restricted to non-veridical contexts. As Giannakidou (2011) notes, such indefinites are sometimes said to have “low” referentiality (Partee 2008), and are labeled ‘extremely non-specific’ (Farkas 2002a), or ‘referentially vague’ (Giannakidou & Quer 2013). In addition, they are sometimes labeled ‘non-scalar NPIs’, but I will reserve the term ‘NPI’ for indefinites that occur in scale-reversing contexts.

The second type of special indefinites are not only restricted to non-veridical contexts, but are also restricted to contexts in which they can convey an emphatic ‘any at all’ reading. This can be the case in NPI contexts, but also in FCI contexts, as will be explained immediately. The English indefinite *any*, for example, is not only ungrammatical in veridical contexts, it cannot occur in a future contexts with a non-specific reading either, as is shown in (385).

(385) English

*Tomorrow, we will go anywhere.

This type of indefinite is typically compatible with NPI contexts like conditionals, questions, negation and comparatives, as have been discussed in section 3.7, but can also sometimes appear in a non-scale reversing, non-veridical context with a universal implicature, as shown in (386) to (388).

English

(386) Anybody can do it.

(387) Any car must have security belts.

(388) Any owl hunts.

These contexts, which may involve modal verbs, as in (386) and (387), or a generic operator, as in (388), are labeled ‘FCI’ contexts and the elements occurring in them are labeled ‘free choice items’ (FCIs). FCIs denote arbitrary selection and their meaning corresponds to ‘no matter who, what’. NPIs denote scalar-endpoints and correspond to ‘even one person, ‘even one thing’, etc. The notions of arbitrariness and scalarity, and the consequences for the distribution of these items, are covered by the notion of widening-strengthening introduced by Kadmon and Landman (1993). According to this approach, NPIs as well as FCIs widen the domain of reference along a certain contextual dimension and strengthen the entire proposition (i.e. the proposition with the FCI/NPI must entail the weaker statement with just the indefinite ‘a’). This will be further explained in section 5.3.

In conclusion, wherever possible, I will distinguish between ‘non-specific indefinites’ and NPIs/FCIs. Wherever possible, I will also distinguish between NPIs that have FCI uses as in (386) to (388) and NPIs that do not.

It is interesting to note that Kahrel (1996) classifies some languages as languages with a neutral strategy, whereas I would classify them as languages with a special indefinite. An example comes from Mandarin.

Mandarin

(389) *Ta kandao shenme.

SG see INDEF

‘He saw something.’

(390) Ta kandao shenme le.

SG see INDEF PART

‘He saw something.’

- (391) Ta yiwei wo xihuan shenme.
 SG think I see INDEF
 ‘He thinks I saw something.’
 (Li 1992:125, 133, also cited in Kahrel 1996:41)

Kahrel (1996:41) notes that based on the ungrammaticality of sentence (389), one could classify Mandarin as a language with special indefinites, but he decides to classify it as a language with a neutral strategy, “because such an analysis would be untenable on formal grounds”. The problem is basically that he considers special indefinites to carry a generic operator, and this is not the case for the Mandarin indefinites, as sentence (390) shows. In this work, non-specific indefinites are expected to occur in non-veridical contexts or contexts that do not entail the existence of the referent. In Mandarin, these non-veridical contexts include contexts with so-called ‘circumstantial’ *le*. As Li (1992:133) notes, “the use of *le* [...] makes it possible for the speaker to state something based on circumstantial rather than direct evidence. Statements based on circumstantial evidence are more tentative and uncertain than statements based on direct evidence. An indefinite *Wh* can thus occur.” Therefore, Mandarin would be considered a language with special indefinites, more specifically non-specific indefinites.

4.4. Existential constructions

As has been mentioned in section 3.6.1.4 on absorption via the negative existential constructions, some languages use a negative existential verb corresponding to ‘there is not’ to express the meanings ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, etc. The example mentioned there and also mentioned in Haspelmath (1997:54-55) comes from Tagalog. In Tagalog, the positive existential verb is used where other languages use specific indefinite pronouns like ‘someone’, ‘something’ and the negative existential verb is used to render the meaning ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, as is shown in (392).

- (392) Tagalog
 Wala-ng dumating kahapon.
 NEG.EX-LK come.AGR yesterday
 ‘No one came yesterday.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:54)

Kahrel (1996) illustrates the strategy with examples from Nadëb and Hixkaryana, as in (393) and (394).

(393) Nadëb

Dooh ha-wuh péh.

NEG RS-eat.IND NON.REF

‘No one is eating.’, lit. ‘One who is eating (non-referential) is something non-existent.’

(Weir 1994:301)

(394) Hixkaryana

Ehxera natxhe itoxemo komo.

NEG-being they.are ones.that.went COLL

‘No one went/None of them went.’, lit. ‘The ones who went are not.’

(Derbyshire 1979:105)

Kahrel (1996:52) found 7 of 40 languages with an existential construction, but only Nadëb and Hixkaryana have the existential strategy as their only strategy. The other 5 languages (Fula, Krongo, Mandarin, Tamazight and Turkana) use it as one of more strategies. This is also the case for Tagalog, as noted in Haspelmath (1997:54). When two indefinites have to be expressed, Tagalog uses the existential construction as well as an indefinite pronoun of the *-man* series, as shown in (395).

(395) Tagalog

Wala sila-ng sinabi kaninu-man.

NEG.EX they-TOP-LK say who-INDEF

‘They did not say anything to anybody.’

(1997:55)

WALS (2005) has data on 12 languages with the negative existential construction. Unlike Kahrel (1996), WALS (2005) seems to classify a language as having a negative existential construction only when this is the only option. This explains why Kahrel’s languages Tagalog, Mandarin, and Tamzight (for the other languages WALS has no data on the feature negative indefinites) are not marked as languages with a negative existential strategy, but as languages in which predicate negation accompanies the indefinites.

Haspelmath (2005) provides an example from Nêlêmwa to illustrate languages with a negative existential strategy.

(396) Nêlêmwa

Kia agu i uya.

NEG.EX person 3SG arrive

‘Nobody came.’, lit. ‘There is not a person who came.’

(Bril 1999:84)

As one can see, there is a difference between the strategy in Nêlêmwa in (396) and the strategy in Tagalog in (392): whereas in Nêlêmwa there is an indefinite antecedent which, together with the negative existential verb, renders the meaning ‘nobody’, there is no such antecedent in Tagalog. In this dissertation, the following two types of languages will be considered to have the existential construction: languages in which the presence of a negative existential verb is obligatory to render the meanings ‘nothing’, ‘nobody’, etc. and languages like Tagalog, in which, even though indefinite pronouns can also be used, the negative existential verb can be used with a headless relative clause. The criterion of the headless relative clause will allow us to distinguish Tagalog from English where negative existential sentences can also be used for reasons of focus.

(397) English

There is nothing left to lose.

Not only is this construction not obligatory, it represents a case in which an existential verb is combined with a negative indefinite pronoun. I wish to distinguish sentences like this from the Tagalog case on the basis of the presence of the indefinite pronominal antecedent. English would only be considered to exhibit the negative existential strategy if one could express negative indefiniteness without the designated negative pronoun, as in **There is not that is left to lose*.

There is a number of words used to express negative quantification that possibly also belong to the category of the existential construction, but which have not been discussed as such. Many Australian languages have negative words that are often glossed ‘no’, ‘nothing’, ‘none’, ‘there is none’ e.g. Kayardild *warirra* ‘nothing’, ‘empty’, ‘no’, which is said to function as a one word negative existential clause ‘there is nothing’ (Evans 1995:375), Bardi *arrajin(a)* ‘no one’, ‘nothing’ (Bowern 2012:320, 615), which is used for existential negation (Bowern 2012:616), Djapu *bäyŋu* ‘nothing’, ‘no one’, ‘never’, which is labeled as ‘an existential negative quantifier’ (Morphy 1983:144), Jingulu *kiwirra*, *kuwarrku* ‘there is nothing’ (Pensalfini 1997:103), Guugu Yimidhirr *guya* (Haviland 1979:144). Then there are also negative words that are used as interjection ‘no’ and nominal ‘nothing’, for which no origin is mentioned, e.g. Wardaman *ngawun* ‘none’, ‘no’, ‘nothing’ (Merlan 1994:325), Mangarayi *dayi* ‘no’, ‘not’, ‘nothing’ (Merlan 1982:37), Nyawaygi *biyayngul* ‘nothing’, ‘no’

(Dixon 1983:458). These words are sometimes used as negative indefinite determiners, as in Kayardild, in which I also analyzed it as negative indefinite, but are often negative existential predicates rather than negative pronouns. The fact that negative existentials often have as one of their functions to express the negative indefinite ‘none’, or have the sense ‘nothing’ is also mentioned in Veselinova (in print). She looked at a representative sample of 95 languages and finds 13 languages in which a negative existential can also have the sense ‘none’ and 8 languages in which it has the sense ‘nothing’. I did not distinguish between ‘none’ and ‘nothing’, but the study shows that negative existentials can have the expression of negative quantification as one of their functions. In this sense, the Australian negative words also belong here.

4.5. Universal indefinites

The strategy that I would like to add involves the use of universal quantifiers corresponding to English *every* in a negative sentence to convey negative indefiniteness. The strategy was brought to my attention by a native speaker of Akan who glossed the indefinite *biribiara* in sentence (398) as ‘everything’.

(398) Akan

Minhuu	biribiara.
mi-n-hu-u	biribiara
1SG-NEG-see-PRF	everything

‘I didn’t see anything.’

(Joana Portia Antwi-Danso, p.c.)

Sentence (399) shows that *biribiara* indeed also functions as a universal pronoun.

(399) Akan

Mahu	biribiara.
m-a-hu	biribiara
1SG-PRF-see	everything.

‘I saw everything.’

(Joana Portia Antwi-Danso, p.c.)

This type is not discussed by Kahrel (1996) and is not depicted on Haspelmath’s (1997) map, since the map only includes existential indefinite quantification. Haspelmath (1997) does address the issue when he discusses the distribution of the German indefinite determiner

jeder. The German *jeder* can be used to render a negative meaning, as is shown in (400) to (402).

- German
- (400) ohne jede Hilfe
‘without any help’
- (401) Sie leugnete jede Schuld³⁸
she denied any guilt
‘She denied any guilt.’
(Haspelmath 1997:155)
- (402) Ganz alleine, ohne jeden Mensch in der Nähe!
all alone, without any person in the proximity
‘All alone, without anyone around!’

The German *jeder* is also said to be used in the free choice function, as is shown in (403).

- (403) German
- Jeder kann das.
anyone can it
‘Anyone can do it.’

But note that in sentence (403), *jeder* can be translated by ‘everyone’, as well as ‘anyone’. One could argue that *jeder* in sentence (403), in fact corresponds to ‘every’ instead of ‘any’, especially given the fact that, unlike *any*, *jeder* can also occur in veridical contexts in which *any* is ruled out. Sentence (404) provides an example of the German *jeder* ‘every’ in a context in which a polarity sensitive FCI is not allowed.

- (404) German
- Der Vater gab jedem Kind einen Apfel.
the father gave every child an apple
‘The father gave every child an apple.’
(Haspelmath 1997:155)

³⁸ The examples from Haspelmath (1997:155), namely *ohne jede Hilfe* and *Sie leugnete jede Schuld*, are in fact bad examples to show that *jeder* can be used as an indefinite in indirect negation, since *jeder* can in both cases also be translated by a universal quantifier, as in *without all help* and *She denied everyone the right to talk to her*. For this reason, I added the sentence in (402), in which *jeden* cannot be replaced by a universal quantifier with the same meaning.

In sentence (404), one has to use the universal determiner *every* instead of *any* in the translation.

The fact that a universal quantifier can also be used in negation can be accounted for from a neo-Aristotelian perspective. According to the laws of logical opposition, the combination of negation and universal quantification can yield both the sense $\neg\forall$ ‘not all’, corresponding to $\exists\neg$ or ‘some not’, as well as $\forall\neg$ ‘all not’, corresponding to $\neg\exists$ ‘not some’, ‘not any’ or ‘no’. This scope ambiguity can be illustrated with universal quantifiers from German (*jeder*), English (*every*) and Korean (*motun*). The German sentences in (400) to (402) showed that *jeder* can have an $\forall\neg$ or $\neg\exists$ interpretation, depending on how one wants to analyze *jeder*. Sentence (405) shows that it can also have a $\neg\forall$ interpretation. The same holds for English *everyone*, as is shown in (406), and Korean *motun*, as shown in (407).

(405) German

Kann	man	bei	FB	Einladungen	schicken	ohne	jeden
can	one	on	FC	invitations	send	without	every

anzuklicken?
to.click

‘Can one send invitations on Facebook without clicking on everyone’s name.’ ($\neg\forall$)

(406) English

Everyone didn’t understand.

$\forall\neg$ = Nobody understood.

$\neg\forall$ = Not everyone understood.

(407) Korean

John-i	motun	chayk-ul	ilk-ci	ani	hayssta.
John-NOM	every	book-ACC	read-ci	NEG	did

a. $\forall\neg$ = John read no book.

b. $\neg\forall$ = John didn't read every book.

(Hagstrom 2000:9)

These sentences show that universal quantifiers can have the negation function on the condition that they allow a $\forall\neg$ reading. However, this reading seems much more difficult to attain in the case of postverbal universal quantifiers, which normally yield isomorphic $\neg\forall$ readings. Even for preverbal universal quantifiers, though $\forall\neg$ readings are theoretically possible, Jespersen (1917:86ff.) notes that there is a tendency for an apparent universal negation ‘every not’ to be read as a negated universal ‘not every’, as noted in Horn (1989:226). Zimmermann (2008), who describes a similar phenomenon in Hausa, agrees but notes that Hausa would constitute an exception to the generalization that universal quantifiers must not covertly raise across negation. In fact, in Hausa, the universal quantifier

must be assumed to always outscope negation since it cannot yield a negative meaning in subject position, which is in fact the unproblematic isomorphic $\forall \neg$ reading. However, instead of positing that Hausa forms an exception, another, more plausible hypothesis is put forward in Haspelmath (1997:155) and also mentioned in Haspelmath (1995). Haspelmath (1997) notes that free choice indefinites can develop into universal quantifiers. He suggests that uses in negation reflect the origin of those items as free choice indefinites. The fact that the Hausa forms used for universal and negative quantification can only express negative quantification postverbally is probably due to their indefinite origin, according to which they express the isomorphic $\neg \exists$ reading.

The universal use that the elements in negation can develop, concerns the distributive universal use corresponding to English *every*, or the ‘distributive-key quantifier use’, a term coined by Gil (1991). Several diachronic sources have been identified for distributive universal quantifiers. Gil (1991) has shown that the distributive-key quantifier is often derived from a simple universal quantifier, e.g. Slovenian *vès*, *vsà*, *vsè* ‘all’, *vsâk* ‘every’ (Putzu & Ramat 2001:102). Haspelmath (1995:369) observes that distributive quantifiers can also develop from distributive prepositions and free choice items.

Haspelmath (1997) notes that there is an obvious similarity between *every* and FCI *any*, especially when used in modal contexts like (403). The difference between ‘any’ and ‘every’ is that the indefinite ‘any’ is polarity sensitive and can only yield a universal meaning by implicature. The development to a universal quantifier follows from the incorporation of the implicature of universal quantification, which is accompanied by a loss of polarity sensitivity. The similarity is such that purely based on the use in comparatives and modal contexts, one cannot distinguish a universal quantifier from a free choice indefinite, since universal quantifiers can fulfill these functions too. In order to know whether a certain element that is used in modal contexts and comparatives as well as in a veridical context was originally a free choice indefinite, Haspelmath (1997:155) relies on two things: the element’s diachrony and possible indefinite uses in negation where a paraphrase by ‘every’ is not possible.

Haspelmath (1995:370-371, 1997:155-156) provides many examples of universal quantifiers that etymologically resemble typical FCIs. Haspelmath (1995) mentions Hausa, where the universal quantifier contains a scalar particle *kóo* ‘even’, illustrated in (408), which is often found on polarity sensitive indefinites, Korean, where a disjunctive element *-na* ‘or’ is used, illustrated in (409), and Latin, where a scalar focus suffix ‘also, even’ is used to derive the universal quantifier from an interrogative, illustrated in (410).

- (408) Hausa
 Kóo-wàné mùtum yá nàà nì.
 PART-which person 3SG.M PROG do
 ‘Every person is doing it.’
 (Haspelmath 1995:370)
- (409) Korean
 nwukwu-na ‘everyone’
 nwukwu ‘who’ -na ‘or’
- (410) Latin
 quisque ‘everyone’
 quis ‘who’ -que ‘and, also’

As for elements that develop a universal meaning while at the same time also having the direct negation function, Haspelmath only discusses the German *jeder*, which can occur in indirect negative contexts as well.

Based on the data in (408) to (410) and the German data, Haspelmath (1997:155) makes the tentative suggestion to expand the map and include a universal function which would be placed right next to the FC function and would suggest a diachronic path from the FC function to the universal function. This will be done in Chapter 5.

Haspelmath (1997) further suggests that the development from free choice pronoun in modal contexts to universal pronoun is unidirectional. Polarity sensitive ‘any’ is predicted to be able to develop into non-polarity sensitive ‘every’, whereas non-polarity sensitive ‘every’ is predicted not to be able to turn into polarity-sensitive ‘any’. Haspelmath (1997) does note the existence of two exceptions. The counterexamples are found in Turkish and Hebrew. The Turkish *herhangi* ‘any’, is derived from *her* ‘every’. The Hebrew *kol* is related to the Proto-Semitic word ‘totality’ and developed into ‘all’, ‘every’ and ‘any’ respectively. The Hebrew case will be discussed in section 4.9.4. Apart from these two exceptions, one more is noted in the literature concerning the German *jeder*.

Haspelmath’s (1997) hypothesis, according to which *jeder* in negation reflects its free choice indefinite origin, is not the only one. According to Kolb’s (1983) hypothesis, defended by Fobbe (2004:183-184), *jeder* ‘every’ developed from a distributive preposition *je der* ‘each who’. The reason why ‘every’ developed indefinite uses could have been caused by analogy with the free choice indefinite *jediglich*. Fobbe (2004:184) suggests that the unexpected development from *jeder* ‘every’ to ‘any’ should not be seen as a counterexample to the unidirectional development from ‘any’ to ‘every’ but as the result of “persisting language contact between Middle High German linguistic landscapes” [translated from German]. The counterdirectional development from ‘every’ to ‘any’ is predicted by Haspelmath (1997) to be very rare.

Apart from the question how and whether universal quantifiers develop from negative polarity indefinites or vice versa, one is left to wonder why all quantifiers that have indefinite functions as well as universal functions (apart from Hebrew *kol*, which is a special case, as will be discussed in section 4.9.4) have negation as their only indefinite function. I would suggest that the logical explanation that $\forall \neg$ is equal to $\neg \exists$ might have something to do with it.

In conclusion, I included this strategy for languages in which quantifiers that are used to convey universal quantification are used in negation to convey zero quantification but not in any other indefinite function.

4.6. Other

This “wastebasket” category is introduced to treat the Gooniyandi case. In Gooniyandi indefinites may be used in negation that can also be used with specific reference. In this sense, Gooniyandi exemplifies the neutral strategy. However, the forms are pragmatically marked and their use “counters an expectation or presumption contrary to the statement of the clause itself” (McGregor 1990:479). For this reason, they are treated separately.

4.7. Silent indefinite pronouns

There is one more strategy that is not mentioned in Haspelmath (1997) and Kahrel (1996). The strategy involves implicit indefinite pronouns. The strategy is noted for the South-American languages Tuyuca (Barnes 1994:339), Trumai (Guirardello 1999:248), Baure (Danielsen 2007:203), Kwáza (van der Voort 2004:298), and for Muna (van den Berg 1989:124).³⁹ Examples are found in (411) to (415).

(411) Baure

Nka ni-pa-pi nka nitro-wo.

NEG 1SG-give-2SG NEG 1SG-COP

‘I don’t give you (anything), I don’t have (anything).’

(Danielsen 2007:203)

³⁹ Bower (2012:319) also mentioned zero marking of indefinite participants in Bardi. However, this does not seem to be the strategy used for negative indefinites. Instead, the negative existential *arrajin* is used, as discussed in section 4.9.3.

- (412) Tuyuca
 Heá-ri-a-wǎ.
 arrive-NEG-RECENT-EVID
 ‘No one arrived.’ (In answer to ‘Who arrived?’)
 (Barnes 1994:339)
- (413) Trumai
 Hai-tl de kiṭi tak iyi ine yi-k.
 1-DAT already give NEG iyi 3 yi-ERG
 ‘He didn’t give me (anything).’
 (Guirardello 1999:248)
- (414) Kwazá
 a. Warja-‘ra kui-‘dy-a-hỹ.
 take-IMP drink-CAUS-1PL-NLZ
 ‘Take something to drink to him.’
 (van der Voort 2004:472)
- b. ñãsi-‘he-da-re.
 hear-NEG-1SG-INT
 ‘I can’t hear anything.’
 (van der Voort 2004:298)
- (415) Muna
 Miina ta-ko-ni-wora.
 NEG 1SG.IRR-have-PASS.PTCP-see
 ‘We (ex) have not seen anything.’
 (van den Berg 1989:124)

This strategy is arguably also present in English in sentences with transitive verbs like ‘eat’ in (417).

- (416) I didn’t eat today.

Since this strategy is not systematically reported on, I did not include it in the taxonomy. It seems to be the case that this strategy always co-exists with other strategies. Trumai, for example, also has the interrogative-indefinite *tsifan* ‘thing’ in negation and the generic *yaw* ‘people’ (Guirardello 1999:248).

4.8. Taxonomy of non-negative indefinites in negation

The taxonomy used to categorize the non-negative types of indefinites used in negation to convey negative indefiniteness is presented in (417). As one can see, the taxonomy still includes the strategy ‘special indefinite’. This label will be used for those languages for which I could find information on the restricted distribution but no information on whether this entailed a restriction to non-veridical contexts in general or a restriction to NPI/FCI contexts.

(417) Taxonomy of indefinites in negation

TYPE I	NV-I	negative verb + neutral indefinite
TYPE II	NV-EI	negative verb + epistemic indefinite
TYPE III	NV-SI	negative verb + special indefinite
TYPE IIIa	NV-NON-SPEC	negative verb + non-specific indefinite
TYPE IIIb	NV-NPI/FCI	negative verb + NPI/FCI
TYPE IV	NEG.EX	negative existential construction
TYPE V	NV-UI	negative verb + universal indefinite
TYPE VI		other

When a language exhibits more than one strategy, the language will have been counted more than once.

4.9. Non-negative indefinites from a typological view

4.9.1. Type I: Negative verb + neutral indefinite

In this section, I will discuss the sample languages that use an indefinite pronoun or phrase to convey negative indefiniteness that can also be used to express ‘someone’, ‘something’ in veridical sentences. There are 89 languages or 49.7 % that use neutral items in negation, as listed in Table 31. This percentage is considerably lower than Kahrel’s (1996). Kahrel (1996) found this type in 67.5 percent of the cases. It means that a tight majority of languages has another strategy at their disposal to yield negated indefinites. The percentages of languages with neutral indefinites according to macro-area are presented in Table 32.

Af	Ju'Hoan, Nama, Diola-Fogny, Ijo, Igbo, Koyraboro Senni, Iraqw, Supyire, Gbeya-Bossangoa, Nupe, Maba, Nubian, Majang, So, Bagirmi, Ma'di, Ngiti, Tera, Beja, Yoruba, Degema, Hausa (22)
EA	Evenki, Brahui, Hindi (3)
Au	Khmu', Seediq, Lewo (3)
Aus & PNG	Gooniyandi, Ngiyambaa, Wardaman, Mara, Garrwa, Jingulu, Nasioi, Skou, Warembori, Mende, Yimas, Nabak, Kobon, Menya, Sentani, Kunimaipa, Korafe, Daga, Koiari, Amele, Usan, Orokolo, Arapesh, Makalero, Inanwatan, Abun, Mauwake (27)
NA	Siuslaw, Maricopa, Cheyenne, Washo, Seri, Koasati, Miwok, Klamath, Takelma, Chinook, Tsimshian, Oneida, Wappo, Slave, Haida, Huichol, Nahuatl, Karok, Central Pomo (19)
SA	Wichí, Kwazá, Araona, Yagua, Trumai, Canichana, Chayahuita, Pirahã, Yanomámi, Rama, Imbabura Quechua ⁴⁰ , Mosestén, Sikuani, Hup, Tuyuca (15)

Table 31: Type I languages

Macro-area	Lgs in sample	Neutral indefinites	Percentage
Africa	29	22	75.9
Eurasia	15	3	20
South East Asia	21	3	14.3
Australia and Papua New Guinea	38	27	71
North America	36	19	52.8
South America	39	15	41.6
Creole	1	0	0
Total	179	89	49.7

Table 32: Type I languages according to macro-areas

Table 32 shows that this type is mainly found in Africa and in Australia and Papua New Guinea, where it accounts for 75.9% and 71% of the sample languages. It is remarkable that in those macro-areas, but also in others, the polarity neutral strategy involves elements with a low degree of grammaticalization. Very often the strategy does not involve indefinite pronouns, but indefinite noun phrases, either with or without determiner. These languages, which use regular indefinite noun phrases instead of pronominal forms, are listed in Table 33.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, the same elements in Southern Quechua have a restricted distribution (Sánchez 2010:197). In Southern Quechua, the *-pas* ('even')-indefinites are FCIs that are used in NPI contexts, and modal contexts with a universal implicature (Sánchez 2010:196).

Af	Ju'Hoan, Nama, Diola-Fogny, Ijo, Igbo, Koyraboro Senni, Iraqw, Supyire, Gbeya-Bossangoa, Nupe, Maba, Nubian, Majang, So, Bagirmi, Ma'di, Ngiti, Tera, Beja, Yoruba, Degema, Hausa (22)
SEA	Khmu', Seediq, Lewo (3)
Aus	Gooniyandi, Ngiyambaa
&	Skou, Yimas, Nabak, Kobon, Menya, Sentani, Daga, Koiari, Amele, Usan, Arapesh,
PNG	Makalero, Inanwatan, Abun, Mauwake (17)
NA	Seri, Slave, Cheyenne (3)
SA	Wichí, Trumai, Mosetén, Tuyuca (4)

Table 33: Languages with non-pronominal NPs used in the scope of negation

This is especially the case for African languages, Australian and Papua New Guinean (PNG) languages. All 22 African languages use polarity-neutral noun phrases to express negated indefinites. Examples from Bagirmi and Gbeya-Bossangoa are given in (418) and (419).

(418) Bagirmi

- a. Deb 'de.
 person has.come
 'Someone has come.'
 (Stevenson 1969:43)
- b. Deb ak-um cli.
 person saw-me NEG
 'Nobody saw me.'
 (Stevenson 1969:43)

(419) Gbeya-Bossangoa

- ɲma mɔ ké ré wen-de wenáa gan bó ná.
 some thing of us to-do about it is not
 'There is nothing we can do about it.'
 (Samarin 1966:84)

In at least 17 out of 27 Australian and PNG languages, non-grammatical means are used to express negated indefiniteness. In those 17 languages, negative indefiniteness is expressed by noun phrases involving generic nouns used in negative sentences. An example from Ngiyambaa is given in (420) and from Kobon is given in (421).

(420) Ngiyambaa

Waja:y	mayi	wi:y-aga	ɲiyamba:
NEG	person.ABS	sit-CM-IRR	Ngiyambaa.ABS

ɲiya-ɾa-ba.

speak-PRES-SUB

‘Nobody will be left who can speak Ngiyambaa.’

(Donaldson 1980:240)

(421) Kobon

Bi ap ar-ag-öp.

man INDEF go-NEG-PRF.3SG

‘No one went.’

(Davies 1981:209)

The example from Ngiyambaa might be surprising. Australian languages are known to use interrogative forms in an indefinite sense (Dixon 2002:80, Mushin 1995). They are referred to as ‘interrogative-indefinites’ in the literature of Australian languages (Mushin 1995:1). As Dixon (2002:329) notes, however, the indefinite sense can be grammatically conditioned and notes that it can “only manifest in a negative clause (e.g. ‘who’ plus ‘not’ = ‘nobody’), in others only in a conditional (‘if who does it’ = “if anyone does it”).” In Ngiyambaa, interrogative-indefinites can fulfill other indefinite functions if they carry one of the ‘knowledge clitics’ (Donaldson 1980:148), as shown in (422). They do not seem to be able to occur in the scope of negation.

(422) Ngiyambaa

Wanhhdha-gu-ga:na yana-nhi.

which-DAT-IGN-3ABS go-PST

‘He went somewhere, I don’t know where.’

(Donaldson 1980:268)

In 2 out of 2 Austronesian languages, noun phrases involving generic nouns are also used. An example from Seediq is given in (423).

(423) Seediq

a.	Wada	mu	pmahan	seediq	sino	nii.
	PRET	1SG	drink.CAUS	man	wine	this

‘I invited someone to drink this wine.’

(Holmer 1996:140)

- b. Uka seediq sapah-su.
 NEG.EX man home-2SG.GEN
 ‘There is no one in your house.’
 (Chang 1997:35, taken from Zeitoun et al. 1999:9)

In Seediq, however, one can also use special pronouns in negative sentences. This is not the case in Lewo, where indefinite noun phrases in the scope of negation seem the only way to express negated indefinites, as exemplified in (424).

(424) Lewo

- Pe sur so-van-en re si poli.
 NEG thing be.at-under-NLZ NEG again NEG
 ‘There wasn’t anything that one could live in any more (after the hurricane).’
 (Early 1994a:415)

In 3 of 18 North American languages (Slave, Seri and Cheyenne), the neutral strategy also involves indefinite noun phrases. An example from Seri is given in (425).

(425) Seri de Sonora

- Ziix z imitáaicol iha.
 thing a it.does.not.compare.with.it DECL
 ‘Nothing compares with it.’
 (Marlett 2005:69)

This is also the case in the South American languages Wichí, Mosetén, Tuyuca and Trumai. The example from Trumai is given in (426).

(426) Trumai

- a. Midoxos tak ka_in hai-ts yaw chĩ.
 call NEG FOC/TENS 1-ERG people COP
 ‘I didn’t call anybody.’
 (Guirardello 1999:248)
- b. Ha hu’tsa yaw yi-ki, hi adifle nikik.
 1SG see people yi-DAT 2SG sister NEG
 ‘I saw somebody, but it was not your sister.’
 (Guirardello 1999:238)

Haspelmath (1997:53) also notes the use of generic nouns instead of indefinite pronouns, either negative or non-negative, and notes that “it does seem that there is a substantial number of languages that replaces indefinite pronouns in this way”. In my sample in total, there are at least 49 languages – which means more than half of the 89 languages with the neutral strategy – that have polarity neutral, non-pronominal means to yield the negative indefinite meanings. This could imply that, if a language has indefinite pronouns, the language is very likely to at least make a distinction between specific indefinite forms and non-specific indefinite pronouns.

The fact that the neutral strategy often involves non-pronominal means, viz. regular indefinite noun phrases actually raises the question whether these should be included in this study at all. Including them could oblige one to include languages like English where one can replace *nobody* or *anybody* with *one person* in a sentence like *I didn’t see one person*. However, I decided to reserve this strategy for languages in which it either seems to be the only or the main strategy. In this respect, Seediq is a dubious case. Despite the use of the generic *seediq* ‘man’ in (423), it also has a strategy with negative polarity indefinites, as in (427).

(427) Seediq

Ini	-mu	qta-i	ani	ima.
NEG	-1SG.ERG	see-CONN	even	who

‘I haven’t seen anybody.’
(Henningsson & Holmer 2008:36)

Languages may, however, also use more grammaticalized forms in negative as well as positive contexts. Many North American languages use bare interrogatives to yield *some-* as well as *no-*pronouns. An example from Haida is given in (428).

(428) Haida

- a. Gam nang qats’a-.ang-gan.
 NEG INDEF come.in-NEG-PST
 ‘No one came in.’
 (Enrico 2003:455)
- b. O nang q’u daarangad-aa-gan.
 3 INDEF INSTR get.spoiled-EVID-PST
 ‘Someone spoiled it by chewing on it.’
 (Enrico 2003:453)

An example from Austro-Asiatic is given in (429).

(429) Khmu'

- a. ʔòʔméc kə: làw mǎh jòʔ kó:n.
 I hear him say what to child
 'I heard him say something to his child.'
 (Premsrirat 1987:75)
- b. Lɛʔ ʔam daʔ ʔah mǎh.
 PART NEG not.yet have what
 '(It) did not yet have anything.'
 (Osborne 2009:23)

Apart from indefinite pronouns or indefinite noun phrases, languages may also have other grammatical means. Five of the South American languages (Pirahã, Kwazá, Yanomámi, Tuyuca, Sikuani) use the adjective 'other' to convey the sense of negative indefinites. An example from Sikuani is given in (430). The indefinite pronouns *itsakuene* consists of *itsa* 'other' and *kuene* 'thing'. Sentence (431) contains an example from Yanomámi.

(430) Sikuani

Xanü raha itsakuene ta-Ø-to-itsi-hawa
 I ASS something 1POSS-3ACC-APPL-do-N
 apohitsipaenü.
 I.do.not.want.it
 'As for me, I don't intend to do anything to them.'
 (Queixalos 2011:176)

(431) Yanomámi

Ai tẽ-warö-ia-no-mi.
 other INDEF-man-eat-ACC-NEG
 'Nobody has eaten.'
 (Ramírez 1994:222)

A minor note on paradigmatic variability in Kwazá has to be added. In Kwazá, the bare interrogative can be used to convey the sense 'someone' as well as 'no one' in negative sentences, as illustrated in (432) (Van der Voort 2004:532). No comparable use of 'what' is mentioned.

- (432) Kwazá
 Di'le one-'he-tse.
 who arrive-NEG-DECL
 'No one came.'
 (Van der Voort 2004:532)

4.9.1. Type II: Negative verb + epistemic indefinite

Epistemic indefinites marking unknownness are only found in Biak (Austronesian). In this language the combination of a generic noun and a special determiner *-no* in combination with sentential negation yields negated indefinites. Sentence (433) provides an example with the indefinite *roino*, which consists of *roi* 'thing' and *-yo*, which is glossed as non-specific article.

- (433) Biak

Kosmai	roino	fa	kán	va.
1PL.INC-get	thing.NSP.NSG	CONS	1PL.INC-eat	NEG

 'We do not have anything to eat.'
 (van den Heuvel 2006:210)

The term 'non-specific article' is probably used for lack of a better term, since van den Heuvel (2006:212) clearly notes that it involves an indefinite that can have specific reference as well: "The choice for specific *ya* or nonspecific *o* [...] has nothing to do with the supposed state of knowledge the addressee, but only with the state of knowledge of the speaker." Van den Heuvel (2006:211) also notes that "'specificity' should be understood in a language specific sense, not only as referring to an entity that the speaker has in mind, but also as an entity that the speaker can identify, both qualitatively and quantitatively." It can therefore be safely concluded that the "non-specific article" marks unknownness by the speaker rather than non-specificity.

4.9.2. Type III: Negative verb + special indefinite

There are 46 languages or 25.7% that use a special indefinite or an indefinite that cannot occur in episodic contexts with specific reference. As was mentioned in section 4.3, one could make a distinction between NPIs/FCIs and non-specific indefinites. Since it was not always possible to make this distinction, I distinguished this category of 'special indefinite', despite the fact that this term is theoretically as well as descriptively inadequate.

The languages with special indefinites, including those for which extra information on NPI/FCI uses were found, are listed in Table 34 and percentages according to macro-areas are given in Table 35.

Af	Igbo, Yoruba, Kresh, Iraqw, Egyptian Arabic (5)
EA	Basque, Eastern Armenian, Hindi, Albanian, Finnish, Khalkha, Nivkh, Hunzib (8)
SEA	Khasi, Vietnamese, Pacoh, Khmer, Cantonese, Tibetan, Thai, Seediq, Rukai, Chamorro, Tagalog, Muna, Gayo (13)
Aus & PNG	Abau, Mauwake (2)
NA	Central Pomo, Wiyot, Bella Coola, Squamish, Tsimshian, Siuslaw, Nez Perce (7)
SA	Teribe, Waorani, Jaqaru, Tuyuca, Mapuche, Awa Pit, Chipaya, Wai Wai, Shipibo-Konibo, Urarina, Hup (11)

Table 34: Type III languages

Macro-area	Lgs in sample	Special indefinite	Percentage
Africa	29	5	17.2
Eurasia	15	8	53.3
South East Asia & Oceania	21	13	61.9
Australia & PNG	38	2	5.3
North America	36	7	19.4
South America	39	11	28.2
Creole	1	0	0
Total	179	46	25.7

Table 35: Type III languages according to macro-areas

The languages that could be further characterized as languages with non-specific indefinites (type IIIa) or NPIs/FCIs (type IIIb) will not be discussed here. The languages for which I could only conclude that they have indefinites with a restricted distribution are the North American languages Wiyot, Central Pomo, Siuslaw and the South American languages Urarina, Tuyuca, Hup and Teribe. In some cases, evidence is circumstantial rather than direct.

Teeter (1964:98) notes the existence of three series of indefinites in Wiyot based on the interrogatives: with *-to*, *-ho* and *-ko*. He labels them ‘definite’, ‘indefinite’ and ‘emphatic’, and glosses them as *some-*, *any-* and *-ever* indefinites. I did not find an example in negation,

but given the threefold distinction in the Wiyot indefinite system, it is very likely that the indefinite used in negation is not the form used for specific reference.

In Siuslaw, the indefinites used in negation are derived from the interrogatives by means of suffixation of *-ĩtc*, which is said to be a modal suffix (Frachtenberg 1922:554) and said to contribute the sense ‘like’, ‘some kind of’. The inanimate indefinite in negation, for example, is *nĩtcĩ’tc* ‘anything’, which derives from *nĩ’tc̥ca* ‘what’, ‘something’. I do not have information on the exact distribution of these *-ĩtc* indefinites, but they do seem to differ from the bare interrogative-indefinites (see Frachtenberg 1922:614). There is also the possibility that the indefinites are epistemic indefinites rather than a type of non-specific ones.

Olawsky (2006:827-828) notes the use of the bare interrogative in negation in Urarina and also provides an example of a conditional context. These forms do not seem to be used with specific reference.

In Tuyuca, there is a suffix *-nõ* on the numeral ‘one’ or the pronoun ‘he’, which is glossed ‘unspecified’ (Barnes 1994:33). Together, they can yield the meaning ‘no one’, as shown in (434).

(434) Tuyuca

Kĩĩ-nõ-hã	kẽmĩ-ñã	mãñĩ-kí.
he-unspecified-EMPH	catch.up-IMPS	not.be-EVID
‘No one can catch up with one of his kind.’		
(Barnes 1994:338)		

Barnes (1994:342) notes on the ‘unspecified’ marker *nõ* that it refers to any referent that might fit the context. She also mentions that it can occur in positive sentences as well and notes that sentence (434) without negation would mean ‘one can catch up with one of his kind’. This suggests the unspecified marker stands for non-specificity.

In Teribe, the form for ‘someone’ is *ebo* and the concept of ‘no one’ is attained via a combination of the negator *llëme* and the interrogative *ëye* ‘who’ (Quesada 2000:47).

Epps (2008:308) notes on the Hup bare interrogatives that they are used in non-specific contexts.

4.9.1. Type IIIa: Negative verb + non-specific indefinite

The languages with non-specific indefinites are Kresh (Nilo-Saharan), Albanian (Indo-European), Rukai (Austronesian), Mauwake (Trans-New-Guinean), Thai (Tai-Kadai), Vietnamese (Austro-Asiatic) and the North American languages Bella Coola (Salish), Squamish (Salish), Tsimshian, and Nez Perce (Penutian). It involves 10 out of 46 Type III

languages. I will briefly describe each of the languages here. Vietnamese will be shown to be a special case.

Kresh exemplifies a language that makes a distinction between non-specific and specific reference in its determiner system (Brown 1994:185). Brown (1994:185) notes that the negation of a non-specific instance leads to the negative indefinite reading. It is exemplified in (435). Sentence (436) shows a specific element used in a negative sentence.

Kresh

- (435) Mókö bälä méshë áyă ïgi 'đĩ.
 I.see one I.from LOC them NEG
 'I didn't see any of them.'

(Brown 1994:186)

- (436) Mókö bédé ë méshë áyă ïgi 'đĩ.
 I.see certain a I.from LOC them NEG
 'I didn't see a certain one of them.'

(Brown 1994:186)

Another example comes from Albanian. Next to its negative indefinites, consisting of interrogative bases and the negative prefix *as-*, Albanian can also use bare interrogatives in negation as long as they follow negation, as was shown in (206) and in another sentence in (437).

(437) Albanian

- Nuk takova kush.
 NEG met.1SG anyone
 'I didn't meet anyone.'

(Turano 1998:157)

Turano (1998:157) describes *kush* as a negative polarity item, and notes that it can occur in questions, conditionals and negative sentences. Apart from the downward-entailing NPI contexts, however, Turano (1998:157) also adds that "Albanian modal verbs and modal particles are also licensors for the polarity item *kush*". This is shown in sentence (438).

(438) Albanian

- Mund/duhet të jetë kush në shtëpi.
 can/must ? be.s.3SG who in house
 'Someone can/must be at home.'

(Turano 1998:158)

Turano (1998:159) remarks that Albanian interrogative-indefinites resembles the well-described Greek non-specific indefinites. Albanian is therefore considered to have non-specific indefinites.

Rukai has non-specific indefinites. Accordingly, the interrogative-indefinite can occur in negation, as shown in (439), as well as with non-veridical operators like *taliya* ‘probably’, as shown in (440).

- Rukai
- (439) Kay *ngi-a-buale* *ku* *manemane* *ikay* *ki* *angatungatuane*.
 NEG REFL-NF-appear NOM what exist OBL forest
 ‘Nothing appears in the forest.’
 (Chen & Sung 2005:99)
- (440) Taliya *ngi-a-buale* *ku* *manemane* *ikay* *ki*
 probably REFL-NF-appear NOM what exist OBL
 angtungtuane.
 forest
 ‘Probably something appears in the forest.’
 (Chen & Sung 2005:99)

Mauwake uses neutral indefinites and non-specific indefinites. Sentence (441) has two interpretations, but ‘nobody’ is not one of them. Instead, one has to use the marker *-ko*, which commonly occurs in irrealis-type clauses, i.e. questions, commands, negated clauses or those with future tense, and is therefore labeled ‘an irrealis marker’.⁴¹

- Mauwake
- (441) Mua *kuisow* *me* *ekap-o-k*.
 man one NEG come-PST-3SG
 ‘One man did not come.’
 Continuation 1: ... many more came.
 Continuation 2: ...he was not able to come.
 (Berghäll 2010:256)

⁴¹ Berghäll (2010) notes that the irrealis focus clitic is also used in a few realis-type clauses and that the term should therefore not be taken literally. Given the contrast in (441) and (442), however, Mauwake is taken to use non-specific forms to express negated indefinites.

- (442) Mua kuisow-ko me ekap-o-k.
 man one-IRR NEG come-PST-3SG
 ‘Not even one man came.’
 (Berghäll 2010:257)⁴²

In Thai, the bare interrogative-indefinite can occur in negation, conditionals, as well as intensional contexts, but not with specific reference (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005:299-303 & Kachen Tansiri, p.c.).

Vietnamese is a special case and it requires some clarification. At first sight, Vietnamese has non-specific indefinite pronouns that can occur in non-veridical contexts. Accordingly, the bare interrogative-indefinites can occur in questions, as in (443), in negation, as in (444), and in contexts with a modal adverb, as in (445), but not in veridical sentences, in which the demonstrative marker is also used, as illustrated in (446).

- Vietnamese
- (443) Cô ấy có gặp ai không?
 she Q have meet who NEG
 ‘Did she meet anyone?’
 (Tran & Bruening 2013:217)
- (444) Tân không gặp ai.
 Tan NEG meet who
 ‘Tan does/did not meet anyone.’
 (Tran & Bruening 2013:230)
- (445) Chắc ai mới bắt nạt anh ta.
 probably who just bully him
 ‘Probably someone just bullied him.’
 (Tran & Bruening 2013:220)
- (446) Tân vừa gặp ai đó.
 Tan just meet who DEM
 ‘Tan just met someone.’
 (Tran & Bruening 2013:218)

Sentence (447), however, poses a problem.

⁴² Berghäll (2010) notes that the irrealis marker *-ko* can also be used on other constituents between the quantifier and the verb, pointing to a low degree of grammaticalization of the irrealis determiner in (442).

(447) Vietnamese

Có ai gặp Tân.

have who meet Tan

‘Someone met/meets Tan.’

(Tran & Bruening 2013:220)

Obviously a sentence like (447) entails the existence of the referent, because it asserts it. Tran & Bruening (2013) suggests an analysis according to which some elements may be lexically specified to carry the feature ‘non-entailment of existence’. Though the existence is entailed in existential sentences, the existential presupposition is not provided by the indefinite, but the context. Thus, there seems to be another type with special indefinites that are similar to other non-specific indefinites in that they can occur with a non-specific meaning, and always have narrow scope, but are also different from them in that they can occur in an existential sentence with a specific interpretation. The difference with specific indefinites is that they lack existential force, or are non-presuppositional and can occur in opaque contexts as well as with existential predicates. The referentiality of the pronoun is not contributed by the pronoun itself but by the verb. The existential constructions have been claimed to create opaque contexts comparable to verbs like *seek* and accordingly license non-specific or non-referential elements (see Bende-Farkas 2002). It can be considered as a kind of opacity creating context in the sense that in existential sentences an attributive reading is attained rather than a referential reading, as also noted in Bende-Farkas & Kamp (2001:105). Bende-Farkas (2002) shows that existential constructions resemble other opaque contexts, but also differ from them in certain respects. On a meanings-in-context map, one could place the existential construction between functions for specific reference in veridical contexts and functions for non-specific reference in non-veridical contexts. Since Vietnamese is the only language that exhibits these distributional restrictions, I treated it as a language with a certain type of non-specific indefinites.

Bella Coola has a proclitic *ka*, which functions as an irrealis marker on verbs as well as on nouns, as shown in (448) and (449) (Nater 1984:123-124). Levinson (2006:19) notes that its meaning in combination with verbs is future or possibility, as shown in (449), and that its meaning with nouns is future or non-specific indefiniteness. It can be used to convey the meaning of negative indefinites as well, as shown in (450).

Bella Coola

(448) ?anayk-ts ?ala-ka-qla.

want-1SG DET-IRR-water

‘I want some water.’

(Levinson 2006:19)

- (449) Ka-tl'ap-ts.
 IRR-go-1SG.POSS
 'I will go.'
 (Levinson 2006:20)
- (450) ʔaḵ^w ʔaḵx-iḥ ti-ka-λ'msta.
 NEG see-we.him -unrealized person
 'We didn't see anyone/we saw no one.'
 (Davis & Saunders 1992:119)

Non-specific articles are a typical feature of many Salish languages (Kroeber 1999:187), e.g. *kwu* in Lillooet (Davis 2005:20), *kw-* in Tillamook (Davis 2005:40), *k-* in Thompson and Shushwap (Davis 2005:4). The Central or Interior Salish language from the sample, Squamish, has a similar non-specific article. The article occurs with future marking, modals, imperative and intensional predicates. Matthewson (1999:88) provides clear examples from the non-sample language Lillooet (St'át'imcets Salish), which are shown in (451) to (453).

- Lillooet
- (451) Cw7aoz kw-s áts'x-en-as ku sqaycw.
 NEG DET-NOM see-TR-3ERG DET man
 'S/he didn't see any men.'
 (Matthewson 1999:88)
- (452) Ats'x-en-ás k'a ku sqaycw.
 see-TR-3ERG INFER DET man
 'S/he must have seen a man.'
 (Matthewson 1999:88)
- (453) * áts'x-en-as ku sqaycw.
 see-TR-3ERG DET man
 'S/he saw a man.'
 (Matthewson 1999:88)

Sentences (451) and (452) show that *ku* is grammatical in negation and with modals with a non-specific reading, and sentence (453) shows that it cannot be used in a veridical context.

The indefinites used in negation in the Penutian languages Tsimshian, Siuslaw and Nez Perce are also marked for non-specificity. Deal (2010, 2011) describes the indefinites in negation in Nez Perce as NPIs, but the instance in (454) makes one suspect that they are non-specific indefinites rather than NPIs. An example of the bare interrogative in negation is given in (455).

Nez Perce

- (454) 'iinax^ 'isii-nm hi-pay-noo-s-Ø hiwewciwet-x
 I.wish who-ERG 3S-come-APPL.GOAL-ASP-PRES cut.up-to
 'isiwe-px 'isiwe-px.
 butcher-to butcher-to
 'I wish someone will come to cut it up, to butcher, to butcher!'
 (Aoki and Walker 1989:472, cited in Deal 2010:41-42)
- (455) 'e-nees-siw'e-ce 'isii-ne.
 3O-O.PL-not.recognize-IMPF who-O
 'I don't recognize anyone.'
 (Deal 2010:39)

For Tsimshian, the hypothesis that it uses non-specific indefinites in negation is based on the sentences in (456) and (457) and on the fact that *ligi* means 'maybe', 'or' (online Tsimshian dictionary, s.v. *ligi*) and that *ligi naa* 'ligi + who' is glossed 'anyone', and the entry for 'someone' is *k'yinaa*, and 'something' is *goo*. It seems therefore that *ligi goo* and *ligi naa* are non-specific forms.

Tsimshian

- (456) K'oomgoodu dm dit k'yilam ligi goo da k'oy.
 'I hope that he gives me something.'
- (457) Gyiloo dza haw-n a ligi goo a dzüla
 don't DEF say-2SG PREP INDEF thing PREP when
 'Don't say anything when...'
 (Mulder 1994:202)

4.9.2. Type IIIb: Negative verb + NPI/FCI

The following type involves special indefinites that are either found in FCI contexts, in NPI contexts, or in FCI contexts as well as NPI contexts. In Table 36, the languages with FCI and/or NPI indefinites in negation are listed. It involves 29 of 46 languages with special indefinites, hence the majority. I added between brackets the NPI use and/or FCI uses that I have found that led to this categorization. Note that a FCI use does not exclude the possibility of the indefinite also occurring in NPI contexts other than negation and vice versa: the fact that I found NPI uses does not exclude the possibility of FCI uses.

Af	Igbo (NPI/FCI), Yoruba (NPI/FCI), Iraqw (NPI), Egyptian Arabic (NPI) (4)
EA	Basque (NPI, no FCI), Eastern Armenian (NPI, FCI), Hindi (NPI, FCI), Finnish (NPI, no FCI), Khalkha (NPI), Nivkh (NPI), Hunzib (NPI) (7)
SEA	Khasi (NPI), Khmer (NPI), Cantonese (NPI/FCI), Tibetan (FCI), Seediq (NPI), Chamorro (NPI), Tagalog (NPI/FCI), Pacoh (NPI/FCI), Muna (NPI/FCI), Gayo (NPI/FCI) (10)
Aus & PNG	Abau (NPI/FCI) (1)
SA	Wai Wai (NPI/FCI), Waorani (NPI/FCI), Jaqaru (FCI), Mapuche (NPI/FCI), Awa Pit (NPI), Chipaya (NPI/FCI), Shipibo-Konibo (NPI/FCI) (7)

Table 36: Type IIb languages

The languages for which I found FCI uses or uses as a free relative pronoun corresponding to ‘whatever’, ‘whoever’ apart from the use in negation are Igbo, Yoruba, Eastern Armenian, Hindi, Cantonese, Tibetan, Tagalog, Pacoh, Muna, Gayo, Abau, Wai Wai, Waorani, Jaqaru, Mapuche, Chipaya and Shipibo-Konibo (17/29 languages). I will briefly discuss some of these languages below.

In Yoruba noun reduplication with *kí* infixation leads to indefinites that can be used in generic contexts with a universal-like meaning as well as indefinites in negation with a resulting negative meaning ‘any N’. Example (458) illustrates its use in an indirect negation contexts and example (459) illustrates the replicated indefinite in a generic context.

Yoruba

- (458) Kò dájú pé enikéni wà níbi.
NEG certain that person-kí-person be in.here

‘I am not certain that anyone is here.’

(Koch 2005:220)

- (459) Enikeni tí a fe lojú ijo ìran ni o wo loo.
‘Any partner met at a dance party is a bird that can fly away any time.’
(Balogun 2010:33, no gloss)

In Igbo, negative indefiniteness can be expressed with the means of bare generics in combination with sentential negation or by means of the bare generics combined with a determiner *òbunà*, as in (460) which is also a FCI, as shown in (461).

Igbo

(460) Di ya si kwa na ya ama nkwa ife obuna.

‘Her husband also said that he will say nothing.’

(taken from the internet, no gloss, available online at

http://archive.phonetics.ucla.edu/Language/IBO/ibo_conversation_1981_01.html,

accessed on 22-02-2014)

(461) Nye m ife òbunà!

give thing any

‘Give anything!’

(Williamson 2006:117)

Eastern Armenian has a NPI/FCI pronoun *orewē*, whose distribution strongly resembles English *any*. They are only used in non-assertive contexts (Kozintseva 1995:15). Dum-Tragut (2009:140-141) notes the use of *orewē* in non-assertive contexts, like negation and conditionals, as in (462) and (463) as well as its free choice meaning, exemplified in (464).

Eastern Armenian

(462) Hayastan-i nerkayac’uc’ič’-n asac’ or da oč’ ir
 Armenia-DAT representative.NOM-the say-AOR.3.SG CONJ that CONJ his
 iravasut’y-an oč’ ēl k’nnark-v-oł t’ema-yi het
 competence-DAT CONJ also discuss-PASS-PTCP issue-DAT post
 orewē kap č’-uni.
 any relation.NOM NEG-have-PRES.3.SG

‘Armenia’s representative said that this had not any relation either with his competence or with the issue being discussed.’

(Dum-Tragut 2009:430)

(463) Et’e orewē mek-ē zangahar-i inj as-a!
 CONJ-if anybody.NOM-the call-SBJV.FUT.3.SG I.DAT tell-IMP.2.SG

‘If anyone calls, tell me!’

(Dum-Tragut 2009:141)

(464) Ays xndir-ē kar-oł ē orēwe mek-ē
 this problem.NOM-the can-PTCP.PRES it is anyone.NOM-the
 luc-el.
 solve-INF

‘Anyone can solve this problem.’

(Dum-Tragut 2009:142)

Eastern Armenian has been shown to be a language with negative indefinites as well. The choice between the negative indefinite and *orewē* in negation is probably determined by emphasis.

The Hindi indefinites in negation are well described. They consist of a numeral of an interrogative plus the focus particle *bhii* ‘even’. They can be used in conditionals, in the restriction of universal quantifiers, with adversative predicates, in ‘before’-clauses, in questions, and lastly also in FCI contexts with a universal implicature (Lahiri 1998:60-78). An example of a negative sentence and a sentence with a possibility modal and a FCI reading are given in (465) and (466).

- Hindi
- (465) Koi bhii nahiiN aayaa.
 anyone NEG came
 ‘No one came.’
 (Lahiri 1998:60)
- (466) Koi bhii aadmii is mez-ko uThaa saktaa hai.
 any man this table lift can
 ‘Anyone can lift this table.’
 (Lahiri 1998:99)

In Tagalog, one also finds NPI/FCI elements in negation. Apart from an existential construction, Tagalog has two indefinite pronoun series that are used in negation, viz. the *-man* series and the *kahit na*-series. Haspelmath (1997:54) notes the existence of the *-man* series and notes that it is used under very specific circumstances, viz. in a sentence with two indefinites, as in (467).

- (467) Tagalog
- Wala silang sinabi kaninu-man.
 NEG.EX they-TOP-LK say who-INDEF
 ‘They did not say anything to anybody.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:55)

Sentence (468), however, shows that indefinite pronouns can also be found in a sentence with only one indefinite argument and in which, therefore, an existential construction would have sufficed.

(468) Tagalog

Wala	roo-ng	anuman	na	katanggap-tanggap	sa
NEG.EX	there-LK	anything	LK	received	OBL
inyo,	‘di	ba?			
2SG(OBL)	not	Q			

‘I didn’t receive anything (lit. ‘There wasn’t anything received’) from you, was there?’

(Sabbagh 2009:690)

Next to the *-man* series, there is the *kahit*-series. *Kahit* is a scalar suffix ‘even’, which can combine with interrogative bases (Schachter & Otnes 1983:531), which can in turn also occur in combination with generics, as shown in (469).

(469) Tagalog

Hindi	ko	in-isip	na	mayroo-ng	kahit
NEG	1SG(NS)	AGR.ASP.think	comp	exist.there-LK	even
sino-ng	tao	doon.			
who-LK	person	there			

‘I didn’t think that there was anyone there.’

(Sabbagh 2009:680)

Both the *-man* series and the *kahit*-series can be used as free choice pronouns (Schachter & Otnes 1983:531-539), as illustrated in (470).

(470) Tagalog

Kahit	(na)	sinumang	piyanista	ay	makakatugtog ng	ganyang
						piyesa.

‘Any pianist can play a piece like that.’

(Schachter & Otnes 1983:533)

The series is also used in NPI contexts like conditionals, questions, comparatives, as exemplified in (471).

(471) Tagalog

May nakita ka ba kahit sino man/sinuman?

‘Have you seen anyone?’

(April Capili, p.c.)

In Jaqaru, the indefinites used in negation, which are derived from interrogatives by means of adding the suffix *-ps*, can also be found with a free choice meaning, as shown in (472) and (473).

- Jaqaru
- (472) Kaw-ps irp-utma.
 where-even take-you > me
 ‘Take me anywhere!’
 (Hardman 2000:35)
- (473) Isha-w ma-k-i-tx kaw-psa.
 ‘He is not going anywhere.’
 (Hardman 2000:35)

Other languages in which the elements used in negation seem to have NPI/FCI uses are Cantonese, Tibetan and Chipaya. The NPI/FCI distribution of the Cantonese emphatic indefinites consisting of an interrogative plus the particle *dou* can be found in Matthews & Yip (1994:269). In Tibetan, indefinites also seem to be used as FCIs, as well as in negation. It concerns pronouns derived from an interrogative by means of the concessive particle *yang*, see Bell (1939:88) and Denwood (1999:296). It is found in a NPI context apart from negation as well, viz. a question context in Sandberg ([1894]1999:172). In Chipaya, the indefinites used in negation consist of the interrogative forms and an additive particle. They are glossed as *quienquiera*, from which I deduce that they have FCI uses.

The following 8 languages have indefinites used in negation and in concessive-conditional clauses, but are not found in the grammars as pronouns anywhere else. Since concessive-conditional clauses are sources for free choice pronouns (Haspelmath 1997:135-139), and the glosses always involve emphatic forms (‘whoever’, ‘whatever’), I categorized them as having NPI/FCI pronouns in negation. The languages are Pacoh, Muna, Gayo, Abau, Wai Wai, Waorani, Mapuche and Shipibo-Konibo.

In Pacoh, the bare interrogative forms used in negation are said to be “general indefinite pronouns” and are glossed as *-ever* pronouns (Alves 2006:46). The same holds for Muna. In Muna, the combination of *miina* ‘not’ and *o hae hae* ‘anything’ can yield the meaning ‘nothing’, as shown in (474). Sentence (475) shows that *o hae hae* can also be used as a free choice pronoun. I did not find any NPI contexts other than negation, and the fact that the form is also sometimes glossed ‘every’ seems to indicate that it is only used as FCI pronoun and in negation.

Muna

- (474) Miina nae-wora o haehae.
NEG 3SG.IRR-see ART anything

‘She did not see anything.’

(van den Berg 1989:123)

- (475) O haehae n[um]aando-no welo lambu do-waa-ane.
ART anything be-A.PTCP in house 3PL.R-give-him

‘They gave him anything that was in the house.’

(van den Berg 1989:159)

This is also the case for Gayo. Sentence (476) provides a negated indefinite and sentence (477) provides an example of a concessive conditional clause.

Gayo

- (476) Gëre ara sah pè i umah.
NEG exist who also/even LOC house

‘There’s nobody in the house.’

(Eades 2005:86)

- (477) Sanah pè buet i onè i-buet-n-è.
what also work LOC there UO-work-CAUS-3NS

‘Whatever work was there, he did it.’

(Eades 2005:85)

In Abau, the concept of ‘no one’, ‘nothing’, etc. is expressed by means of an interrogative plus a negative verb (Lock 2011:250). Lock (2011:379) notes that the optionally reduplicated interrogative forms can also express indefinites like ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’ and provides examples of concessive conditional clauses. Hawkins (1998:10) glosses the Wai Wai indefinite in negation ‘anything’ and provides examples of the same form in concessive relative clauses. Peeke (1994:277) notes on Waorani that the concept of ‘no one’ is realized by means of the negative verb and an indefinite relative pronoun, glossed ‘whoever’, from which I tentatively concluded that the indefinite form is not the form used to convey ‘someone’ or ‘something’.

In Mapuche, the forms at stake, namely *iney rumé*, *chem rumé* and *chew rumé*, are glossed ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’ and ‘wherever’ respectively, and the suffix which derived the indefinite from interrogatives is a suffix corresponding to ‘ever’ (Smeets 1989:106). The pronouns are often used with the meaning ‘any x whatsoever’ together with a negative verb and they can also absorb negation, e.g. *iney nu rumé* ‘nobody whatsoever’. This emphatic value of the particle points to a FCI/NPI status. This seems to be confirmed in sentence

(478). However, I must add that I also found an instance in which one of the emphatic pronouns seems to convey a specific unknown function. The presence of *ka* ‘other’, however, may influence this reading. The difference pronoun *ka* ‘other’ is often used in an indefinite sense in Mapuche (see e.g. Smeets 1989:484,453).

Mapuche

- (478) üyaqtu-ke-fu-y chem che rumé ñl illku-tu-nie-fiel.
 pick.a.quarrel-CF-IPD-IND-3 what person ever POSS.3 get.angry-TR-PRPS-TVN
 ‘[at whatever feast, whenever he had become drunk], he picked a quarrel with
 whomever he was angry with.’

(Smeets 1989:401)

- (479) ka chem ngünen rumé fey-pi-nge-ke-fu-y-ng-ün.
 other what lie ever that-say-PASS-CF-IPD-IND-3.NSG-PL
 ‘[after they had given what they had to give,] they were told some other lie.’

(Smeets 1989:396)

Shipibo-Konibo has indefinites in negation that consist of the interrogative plus emphatic *-bi* (Valenzuela 2003:370). In bible passages I also found the combination interrogative and *-bi* in concessive relative clauses, but I did not find it as NPIs or FCIs. Still, the Shipibo Konibo *-bi* indefinites have a restricted distribution, since indefinites with specific reference are rendered by the interrogatives and *-bira* which has “inferential, probabilitive and approximative functions” (Valenzuela 2003:369).

For the remaining languages, I have found NPI contexts other than negation, but no FCI contexts. The languages are Iraqw, Khalkha, Finnish, Basque, Nivkh, Hunzib, Egyptian Arabic, Khmer, Seediq, Chamorro and Awa Pit.

Iraqw uses the indefinite element *umú* together with generic nouns to convey negative indefiniteness, as shown in (480).

- (480) Iraqw
 Umú gá-ra da -dáv tam ar niiná
 any thing.CON-F HAB.be.PRES even INDEP.CON-F little s.3
 káhh.
 be.absent.3SG.F
 ‘There isn’t anything, not even a little.’
 (Mous 1992:209)

The element *umú* can be used with a universal quantifying meaning ‘every’, but only when there is a background suffix present. Without background suffix, it is found in negation but also in a question context, as shown in (481).

(481) Iraqw

Umú	furunay	i	dayâ-’a	ala?
any	meat	s.3	be.present.3PL-INF.INT	but

‘Is there any meat?’ (Implying no)

(Mous 1993:209)

Khalkha also has indefinites in negation derived from interrogatives by means of a particle *č*, which means ‘even’, ‘also’, ‘too’. The indefinites are glossed ‘whoever’, ‘whatever’, ‘anyone’, ‘anything’ in Sárközi (2004:30) as well as in Janhunen (2012:132-3) and Poppe (1970:77). I have found a NPI instance in a conditional in Sárközi (2004:30). Janhunen (2012:132) notes that the interrogative forms can be used in an indefinite sense, as in *yuu/n* ‘what’, ‘something’.

The Egyptian Arabic element *ḥadd* ‘anyone’ is an NPI, as in Modern Standard Arabic (Lucas 2013:434). It also has the emphatic free choice and NPI determiner *ʔavy* ‘any’ (Lucas 2013:434), again as in Modern Standard Arabic. Note that Egyptian Arabic also has the non-strict NC determiner *wala*, as was discussed in 3.5.1.

Two languages with NPIs without FCI uses are Basque and Chamorro. Basque is discussed in Haspelmath (1997:315-317), who shows that the Basque indefinites in negation are elements restricted to NPI contexts.⁴³ More on NPIs in Basque is found in Extepare (2003:540ff.) and Extebarria (2012:141-143). Extepare (2003:542-3) also provides NPI contexts that are not represented on Haspelmath’s map, e.g. the use in the restriction of a universal quantifier.

In Chamorro, “the negative concord items [with Spanish particle *ni*, as discussed in section 3.5.1] coexist with negative polarity items, which have a wider range of distribution”, as noted by Chung (1998:385). I could not find any examples, but I take this to mean that Chamorro’s interrogative-indefinites *hayi* ‘anyone’, *manu* ‘anywhere’, *taimānu* ‘in any way’ belong in this section.

Nivkh also seems to have NPIs consisting of an interrogative base and the scalar suffix *-hagin* ‘even, although’ (Gruzdeva 1998:28). Gruzdeva (1988:28) does not provide an example of a negative sentence, but Matissen (2003:15), who refers to Krejnovič (1979:307)

⁴³ Extepare (2003:543) notes that some speakers also allow the NPIs in irrealis contexts with a non-specific meaning. They provide examples with the epistemic modal *behar* ‘must’ and the modal adverb *agian* ‘perhaps’. In addition, one of the elements from the series, namely *inoiz* ‘ever’ can also be used in veridical contexts with specific reference, meaning ‘sometime’.

and Panfilov (1962:256-258), clearly notes the use of the *-hagin* indefinites in negation: *anhagin* “anyone at all” + NEG “nobody”.⁴⁴ The pronouns corresponding to ‘some’-indefinites are derived from the interrogatives by *-lu*, *-lak* (Gruzdeva 1998:28).

In Hunzib, the situation is similar to Nivkh. In Hunzib, interrogative pronouns can be suffixed with a scalar additive focus marker *-n(o)* ‘even, also’, which yield negative polarity pronouns. Examples of a question context and a negative context are given in (482) and (483).

- Hunzib
- (482) Suk’u-n ãq’e-r-i?
 who-ADD 1.come-PRET-INT
 ‘Did anyone come?’
 (van den Berg 1995:63)
- (483) Suk’u-n ãq’-ís.
 who-ADD 1.come-PRETN
 ‘No one came.’
 (van den Berg 1995:63)

In positive contexts, the indefinite particle *di* is added to the interrogative pronouns, as shown in (484).

- (484) Hunzib
- Suk’u di ãq’e-r.
 who INDEF 1.come-PRET
 ‘Someone came.’
 (van den Berg 1995:63)

In Seediq, the interrogatives in negation are accompanied by the scalar particle *ani* ‘even’. The indefinites consisting of interrogative bases and the scalar focus particle *ani* are used in questions, as illustrated in (485), as well as negation, as in (486). Sentence (487) shows that another item is used for specific reference.

⁴⁴ Though Gruzdeva (1998:28) notes the sense ‘any’, ‘every’, ‘each’ for indefinites derived from interrogatives with *-hagin*, I have not found any instances exemplifying the universal distributive sense in a factive context. For this reason I classified Nivkh as a language with special indefinites and not with universal indefinites in negation.

- Seediq
- (485) Yee ani ima m-un-eyah hini?
 whether any who AV-PRF-come here
 ‘Does anyone come here?’
 (Tsai 2003:9)
- (486) Ini-mu qta-i ani ima.
 NEG-1SG.ERG see-CONNeg even who
 ‘I haven’t seen anybody.’
 (Henningsson & Holmer 2008:36)
- (487) Wada mu pmahan seediq sino nii.
 PRET 1SG drink.CAUS man wine this
 ‘I invited someone to drink this wine.’
 (Holmer 1996:140)

In Awa Pit, the indefinite forms are mostly accompanied by the scalar focus suffix *-kas* (Curnow 1997:374). There is a possibility that the pronouns in *-kas* are restricted to negative contexts. I do not have sufficient information, and neither does Timothy Curnow (p.c.).

4.9.3. Type IV: Negative existential construction

This strategy is found in 20 languages or 11.1% percent, which is considerably less than Kahrel’s 17.9 percent, which corresponds to 7 languages of 40. The languages are listed in Table 37.

Af	Lango (1)
SEA	Khmu’, Cantonese, Khasi, Chamorro, Tagalog, Kambera (6)
Aus	
&	Mian, Kilmeri, Murriny Patha, Gaagudju, Garrwa, Bardi, Muna (7)
PNG	
NA	Tsimshian (1)
SA	Kuna, Puinave, Sikuani, Baure, Pilagá (5)

Table 37: Type IV languages

Kahrel (1996) notes that there are only two languages in which the existential strategy is the only one: Nadëb and Hixkaryana, two Amerindian languages from South America. Table 37 suggests that this strategy is relatively frequent in Australia and Papua New Guinea, in South East Asia and in South America. It is not found in Europe. In my sample, it

seems to be the main or only strategy in Kuna (discussed below), Puinave (Girón Higueta 2008:304), Pilagá (Vidal 2001:342-3), Kilmeri (Gerstner-Link 2004), Murriny Patha (Blythe 2009), Gaagudju (Harvey 2002:331-332), Garrwa (Mushin 2012:283, *mikuyaji* ‘nothing’, negative existential, no example for ‘no one’), Bardi (Bower 2012:32, *arrajina* ‘nothing, no one’, also used as negative existential), Kambera (Klamer 1994), Lango (Noonan 1992:242) and Mian, discussed below.

In Kuna, the negative existential verb *sate* is used to express negative indefinites. Forster (2011:174, 278) notes that the word *sate* corresponds to ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, ‘none’.

(488) Kuna

¿Immal takcha?

‘Did you see the animals?’

¿Piawa? ¡Sate!

‘Where (on earth) (had they all gone)? Not a thing!’

(Forster 2011:211)

Sentence (489) shows that *sate* is in fact a negative existential verb.

(489) Kuna

Tule sate pe pentagal.

person NEG.EX go to.help

‘There is nobody to help you.’

(Forster 2011:278)

The negative existential verb *nikchul* can also be used instead of *sate*, as shown in (490).

(490) Kuna

Tule kwen nikchul pe pentagal.

Kuna one have.not go to.help

‘There is not a single person to help you.’

(Forster 2011:278)

It seems that in Kuna, this is the only strategy.

Another example of a language in which it seems to be the only strategy is Mian. Sentences (491) and (492) represent examples of how the concepts ‘nobody’, and ‘nothing’ would be rendered in Mian.

Mian

- (491) Nē (= mo) (naka = i) ya-têm'-im bl-im = o = be.
 1SG (NEG) (man = AN.PL) AN.PL.O-see.PRF-NEG exist = PRD = DECL
 'I didn't see anybody.'
 (Lit. 'I didn't see them/(the) men.')
- (492) Nē (= mo) wa-têm'-im bl-im = o = be.
 1SG (NEG) N2.O-see.PRF-NEG exist-NEG = PRD = DECL
 'I didn't see anything.'
 (Lit. 'I didn't see them [thing(s) of N2 gender].')
 (Sebastian Fedden, p.c.)

Sebastian Fedden (p.c) notes that the same sentence without the negative existential yields a different meaning, as shown in sentence (493); in that case, the pronominal form *ya* yields a referential plural reading. The negative indefinite reading is at least odd, as marked by the question marks. I concluded that the negative existential is necessary for a negative indefinite reading.

- (493) Mian
 Nē (= mo) ya-têm'-Ø-i = ba = be.
 1SG (NEG) AN.PL.O-see.PRF-R-1SG.S = NEG = DECL
 'I didn't see them.'
 ??'I didn't see anybody.'

In Cantonese, Khmu', Khasi (at least in Pnar), Chamorro, Tagalog, Sikuani, Baure, Muna and Tsimshian, it is one of more strategies. One of the factors determining the use of strategy can be whether the indefinite is subject or not. If one looks at the examples from Tagalog in (494), Pnar, in (495), in Cantonese, in (496), and Chamorro, in (497), one sees that the existential construction is each time used to express a negative indefinite subject.

- (494) Tagalog
 Wala-ng hindi gusto-ng m-agkaroon ng kapayappan
 NEG-LK NEG want-LK APS-exist.there GEN peace
 sa Pilipinas.
 LOC Philippines
 'There is no one who doesn't want peace in the Philippines.'
 (Sabbagh 2009:690)

- (495) Pnar
 im-em wa yɔʔsuk ya-o.
 NEG-be RP like ACC-3M.SG
 ‘There is no one who likes him.’, lit. ‘There is not who likes him.’
 (Koshy 2009:46)
- (496) Cantonese
 Móuh yàhn bōng-ngóh-sáu.
 NEG.EX person help-me-hand
 ‘No one is helping me.’
 (Matthews & Yip 1994:261)
- (497) Chamorro
 Taya’ t-um-ungo’ sam-papa’ña.
 NEG.EX E.I.-know DIR-below-3SG.POSS
 ‘No one knows what lies under there.’
 (Cooreman 1987:45)

This is also the case in Khmu’ (Premsrirat 1987:87). This restriction might be linked to the fact that subjects are typically topics and topics are typically definite. The phenomenon whereby either a definite or an indefinite expression is preferred or required is called a definiteness effect. In some languages subjects are obligatorily definite (including generic), e.g. in Japanese and Korean. Givón (1979:27) notes that this also concerns Swahili, Bemba, Rwanda, Chinese, Tagalog, Sherpa, Bikol, Ute and Krio. In other languages, the avoidance of an indefinite subject is also a tendency. The use of a negative existential verb may be considered as a strategy to avoid indefinite subjects in some languages.

In Muna, the existential strategy can be used for subjects, as shown in (498). Apart from that, Muna also uses indefinite pronouns, e.g. *o hae-hae* ‘anything’ and the silent strategy, as in (499).

- Muna
- (498) Miina bhe mai-no.
 NEG be come-ACT.PTCP
 ‘There were not (people) who came.’
 ‘Nobody came.’
 (van den Berg 1989:123)
- (499) Miina ta-ko-ni-wora.
 NEG 1SG.IRR-have-PASS.PTCP-see
 ‘We have not seen anything.’
 (van den Berg 1989:124)

4.9.4. Type V: Negative verb + universal indefinite

In the sample I have found four languages with indefinites in negation that are also used as universal quantifiers, three of which (Hausa, Nupe, Diola-Fogny) seem to confirm Haspelmath's hypothesis that they developed the universal meaning via a polarity sensitive stage. The other language, Koyra Chiini, has borrowed a universal marker from Arabic. Arabic has the same universal quantifier as in Hebrew. The Hebrew quantifier *kol* is said by Haspelmath (1997:156) to constitute an exception to the generalization that a universal 'every' cannot develop into 'any'. Before I discuss the originally Arabic universal form in Koyra Chiini, I will discuss the three languages that do seem to represent the expected development from a polarity-sensitive element to a distributive universal quantifier.

In Nupe, the form *ńdónńdò* can be used in combination with the generic nouns *ezà* 'person' and *(e)yan* 'thing' together with sentential negation to render the meanings 'nobody', 'nothing', as is shown in sentence (500).

(500) Nupe

U	de	enya	ndondò	nà	mi	leyé	à	nà	à.
he	has	thing	any	I	I	seen	NEG	I	NEG

'He has nothing that I have not seen.'

(Banfield & Macintyre 1915:63)

This determiner *ńdónńdò* is also used as non-polarity sensitive distributive universal determiner, as is shown in (501).

(501) Nupe

Ezà	ńdónńdò	bé.
person	every	came

'Everyone came.'

(Madugu 1984:32)

Apart from *ńdónńdò*, there is the simple universal quantifier which cannot be used as in (500), but can replace *ńdónńdò* in (501), as is shown in (502).

(502) Nupe

Ezà	kpáátá	bé.
person	all	came

'All the people came.'

(Madugu 1984:32)

The Nupe form *ńdónńdò* is a reduplicated form of the indefinite form *ńdó* which serves as base for the indefinite determiners *ndondò* glossed ‘every’ as well as ‘any’, *ndorò* ‘every’, ‘any’ and *ndoci* ‘some’. Reduplication is known to convey a sense of plurality and distributivity (see e.g. Gil 2005). The use of *ńdónńdò* in (500) shows that apart from universal quantification as in (501), the form can also convey a sense of free choice or what one could call ‘generic distributivity’ corresponding to ‘any whatsoever’.

The form *ńdónńdò* is clearly not derived from the simple universal quantifier *kpáátá*. It is a reduplication of a form that serves as base in the formation of other existential determiners, like *ndoci* as used in (503). The affinity with other indefinite determiner makes Haspelmath’s hypothesis plausible that *ndondò* acquired its universal meaning via a free choice meaning.

(503) Nupe

Ezà ńdoci uu gábá lèé.
 person some killed lion in.the.past
 ‘Someone once killed a lion.’
 (Madugu 1984:32)

More support for the hypothesis that the universal use developed from a polarity sensitive free choice use can be found in the fact that *ndondò* is used with interrogatives to form parametric concessive conditional clause, one of the source constructions of free choice pronouns, as is shown in sentence (504).

(504) Nupe

Zai ndodo abe ñgà sa un mi.
 who +/- ever comes, I salute him for me
 ‘Whoever comes, I will salute him.’
 (Crowther 1864:127)

A similar construction with generic nouns is also found.

(505) Nupe

Enyan ndodo un edžin, be aziki yio.
 thing every he does with prosper is
 ‘Everything he does is with prosperity.’
 (Crowther 1864:102)

Note that *ndodo* in (505) can be replaced by ‘anything’. In contrast, I have found no instances of the universal quantifier *kpáátá* in which it could be glossed by *anything*, suggesting that *kpáátá* is the simple universal quantifier corresponding to ‘all’.

It is plausible therefore that *ndodo/ńdónńdò* developed from a free choice marker with the meaning ‘no matter which/what/who’, which could occur in negation to yield the stronger ‘not x, no matter which x you chose’ and in modal and generic contexts to a universal marker with the meaning ‘every’ in veridical clauses.

Less information is available on Diola-Fogny, which also has items that are used in negation as well as in veridical sentences with a universal meaning, as is shown by sentences (506) and (507).

- Diola-Fogny
 (506) Ibajut wafɔwaf.
 ‘I have nothing.’
 (Sapir 1965:70)
 (507) Nababaj wafɔwaf.
 ‘He has everything.’
 (Sapir 1965:70)

These nominals have similar formal properties to those in Nupe: they are reduplicated forms. In the case of Diola-Fogny, however, it concerns the reduplication of generic nouns (*waf* ‘thing’). Apart from conveying the sense of plurality and distributivity, reduplication of generic nouns can also indicate a free choice meaning, as noted in Haspelmath (1997:182) and discussed in section 2.2. This is found in Yoruba, where the reduplication of nouns yields FCIs that are allowed in negative contexts and FCI contexts. This resembles the situation in Diola-Fogny, only unlike in Yoruba, the reduplicated nouns in Diola-Fogny have a universal meaning in veridical sentences.

As in Nupe, Diola-Fogny also has a construction involving an interrogative pronoun, as can be seen in sentence (508).

- (508) Diola-Fogny
 Wanɔwan nutɔkɔɲ.
 ‘No matter what, you eat (it).’, i.e. ‘You’ll eat anything.’
 (Sapir 1965:82)

Sentence (508) shows that reduplication can also occur with interrogatives to indicate a free choice meaning ‘no matter wh-’. This form seems to function as an indefinite FCI only, and not a universal quantifier. It is plausible that the reduplicated interrogatives still convey free

choice whereas the reduplicated generic nouns can indicate free choice as well as distributivity. A last similarity with Nupe is the fact that Diola-Fogny also has another universal quantifier, *burəm*, glossed ‘all’, which again shows no formal affinity with the distributive universal quantifier, nor with the indefinite pronouns.

The third language that uses forms for negative and universal quantification is Hausa. The Hausa *koo*-forms have already been described by Haspelmath (1997) to exemplify the change from free choice items to universal quantifiers.

The fourth language, Koyra Chiini, is a special case in two respects: first, the language borrowed the relevant form from Arabic and second, it constitutes an exception to the generalization made by Haspelmath (1997) that simple universal quantifiers do not turn into free choice items. The Songhay language Koyra Chiini has borrowed the universal quantifier *kul* ‘all’, which is used in negation as well as as universal quantifier, as shown in sentences (509) and (510).

- Koyra Chiini
- (509) Yer na hin_ ka guna boro kul.
 1PL.S NEG can INF see person all
 ‘We couldn’t see anyone.’
 (Heath 1999:256)
- (510) Ganda foo kul nda ŋgu kani di.
 country one every and 3REFL.SG custom DEF
 ‘Every country has its own (unique) custom.’
 (Heath 1999:127)

In sentence (510), it is used in combination with the quantifier *foo* ‘one’ to render “a more emphatically distributive meaning” (Heath 1999:90). Unlike the universal forms in Nupe, Diola-Fogny and also German, *kul* can also be used as non-distributive universal quantifier ‘all’, as shown in sentence (511).

- (511) Koyra Chiini
- Boro di yo kul dam ŋgi-yo čaaku di yo beene.
 person DEF PL all put 3REFL.PL sack DEF PL above
 ‘All the people put their sacks above.’
 (Heath 1999:90)

Apart from that, *kul* is also used in typical sources for free choice pronouns, viz. in a free relative clause, as in (512).

(512) Koyra Chiini

Non_u kul kama baana kar, yo-o duma hayni.
place all REL rain strike 3PL.S-IMPF sow millet
'Whenever it rains, they sow millet.'
(Heath 1999:413)

The form is borrowed from Arabic, which has the same universal quantifier *kull* 'all'. In Arabic, the form *kull* 'all' can have a distributive as well as non-distributive meaning, as in Koyra Chiini. Unlike in Koyra Chiini, the Arabic quantifier *kull* is not used as existential indefinite with indefinite noun phrases to yield negative quantification.

Haspelmath (1997:156) discusses this form *kull* in a footnote that says that the Hebrew marker *kol* is an exception to the generalization that universal quantifiers cannot turn into polarity sensitive free choice items. The form *kull* does not come from a polarity sensitive indefinite but from the word 'totality' (Proto-Semitic * *kull*), which turned into a universal quantifier *all*, a distributive quantifier 'every' and eventually to 'any', at least in Hebrew. The Hebrew cognate *kol* can also occur in negation with the meaning 'any', as is shown in (513).

(513) Hebrew

Lo raʔi-ti kol student.
NEG saw-1SG kol student
'I didn't see any student.'

The question is whether *kul* in Koyra Chiini has developed into a polarity sensitive indefinite or whether it uses a universal quantifier that obligatorily outscopes negation. As I already noted, the use of a universal quantifier in negation does not necessarily mean that it turned into a free choice item 'any'. Just as the examples from German, English and Korean, the universal *kul* in Koyra Chiini can yield both 'all not' as well as 'not all'.

(514) Koyra Chiini

Hāyši hinja di bun, a-foo čindi, saa di i-kul na bun.
dog three DEF die ABS-one remaintime DEF ABS-PL NEG die
'Three dogs died, the other remained; so, they did not all die.'
(Heath 1999:257)

However, unlike in English for example, the default interpretation of the *kul*-indefinites is 'all not' or 'not any', regardless of the syntactic position of the quantified noun phrase, nl. before or after the negated verb (Heath 1999:257). In English, the 'not all' reading is always

preferred. With preverbal universal quantifiers, the ‘all not’ reading is still possible, but with postverbal universal quantifiers, the isomorphic reading is the default one. In fact, the other possibility, nl. of a postverbal universal quantifier with inverse wide-scope over negation, seems to be very difficult to obtain and is “usually not possible” (Błaszczak 2001:230-231). In Koyra Chiini, the inverse wide-scope interpretation would have to be the standard interpretation, which seems even more unlikely. Therefore, the hypothesis that *kul* did turn into the non-specific free choice indefinite ‘any’ is to be preferred over the hypothesis that *kul* is a universal quantifier with obligatory wide scope. Koyra Chiini therefore also constitutes an exception to the generalization that universal quantifiers cannot turn into free choice indefinites. Thus Koyra Chiini *kul* resembles Hebrew *kol*, which has also acquired a free choice meaning and is also used as an existential in the scope of negation both in preverbal as well as in postverbal position, rather than Arabic *kull*, which is a universal quantifier which can, under certain conditions, convey the reading ‘all not’. One possible difference between Hebrew and Koyra Chiini is the fact that the Hebrew *kol* can occur in another negative polarity context, namely a conditional, as is shown in (515).

(515) Hebrew

Ha'im	hoxixu	kol	gemišut.
did.they	show	any	flexibility

‘Did they show any flexibility?’
(Glinert 1982:446)

Interestingly, this use is only possible with mass nouns. It concerns another fine distinction that influences the functional distribution of indefinite determiners, viz. nominal aspect. I will not elaborate on this.

If Koyra Chiini, seemingly independently of Hebrew, has developed the ‘any’-sense in negation from the Arabic universal quantifier, then we may already have four counterexamples to the unidirectionality hypothesis *any* > *every* (German, Turkish, Hebrew and Koyra Chiini). Language contact may have played a role for Koyra Chiini. There seem to be quite a few African languages (4 in my sample) in which the element in negation can also express universal quantification.

Once a former polarity sensitive indefinite has developed a universal meaning, one might ask how it can retain its indefinite meaning in contexts in which it cannot be replaced by a universal quantifier, as in negation. Though the logical possibility of an ‘all not’ reading with postverbal universal quantifiers might not diachronically account for elements like the ones in Hausa, Nupe and Diola-Fogny, since an ‘all not’ reading seems extremely difficult to attain for postverbal universal quantifiers, the logical possibility might have something to do with the fact that an element with a universal meaning as well as an indefinite meaning

never has indefinite functions other than in negation. None of the elements discussed here have non-negative negative polarity uses. The only exception is Hebrew *kol*, but as mentioned, Hebrew *kol* can only do this with mass nouns. Hausa, Nupe, Diola-Fogny, Akan and German only use their universal quantifier as indefinite in negative functions. In a question function, the Hausa *koo*-quantifier can only have a universal reading, as shown in (516).

(516) Hausa

koo-waa	yaa	zoo?
DISJ-who	3SG.PRF	come

‘Did everyone come?’

(Cowan and Schuh 1976:278, in Zimmermann 2008:446)

Whereas I do consider it preferable to opt for the hypothesis according to which the Hausa forms in negation are reminiscent of their FCI origin rather than positing that they form exceptions, especially given the fact that both the Hausa as well as the Akan forms contain typical FCI morphology, the fact that universal quantification is not logically incompatible with negation might explain why the indefinite usage persists in negation and no ambiguity arises.

There are also languages in which an element with a free choice origin has developed an existential use in negation as well as a universal use, but in which the difference is marked on the element. In Japanese the form *daremo* can mean ‘nobody’ in a negative sentence as well as ‘everybody’ in a veridical sentence, as shown in (517) and (518).

Japanese

(517) Dare-mo paatii-ni ko-nakat-ta.
 who-INDEF party-DAT come-NEG-PST
 ‘Nobody came to the party.’

(Yabushita 2012:437)

(518) Dáre-mo-ga paatii-ni ki-ta.
 who-INDEF -NOM party-DAT come-PST
 ‘Everybody came to the party.’

(Yabushita 2012:437)

Unlike in the other languages discussed so far, the two items are phonologically distinct. Whereas *daremo* in (517) is the unaccented word, *dáremo* in (518) carries accent on the interrogative. Whereas *daremo* in (517) can only occur in negative sentence, the use of the universal *dáremo* is not restricted. This has lead scholars to analyze the former as a NC item

(e.g. Kato 1985, Kishimoto 2008, de Swart 2010). But, like for Akan and Hausa, some scholars try to analyze the negative *daremo* in (517) as a universal quantifier always outscoping negation (e.g. Yabushita 2012, Shimoyama 2011). The hypothesis defended here is that the unaccented *daremo* is indeed a n-word, as it can occur in a short response with a negative meaning, indicating that it has negation as its most important function. The element is hypothesized to have been a free choice item, as the presence of the non-negative focus particle *-mo* ‘even, also’ suggests, which has developed into a universal quantifier as well as a negative indefinite. The incorporation of the universal implicature is assumed to be lexically marked by obligatory accent.

In conclusion, I have found four languages with universal quantifiers meaning ‘every’ that can also be used in negation with the meaning ‘any’. Diola-Fogny, Nupe and Hausa have forms in which the reduplication of indefinite forms seems to have led to free choice pronouns, used in negation as well as in free choice contexts. In addition, these forms are hypothesized to have expanded their function to include distributive universal meanings. The borrowed universal quantifier *kol* in Koyra Chiini on the other hand represents the opposite development: from universal quantifier to free choice indefinite that can be used in negation. Language contact could have been a factor.

4.9.5. Type VI: Other

In Gooniyandi, there is a strategy other than the neutral strategy, which is illustrated in (519). In Gooniyandi, one can also use the indefinite pronoun *ngoorndoo* with an enclitic *ngaddaya*, which means ‘at least, also, too’. This use is illustrated in (520).

- Gooniyandi
- (519) Yaabja -ngga yoowooloo mangaddi jagbinmi-ngaddagi.
 some-ERG man NEG they.spoke-to.me
 ‘No one spoke to be.’
 (McGregor 1990:454)
- (520) Mangaddi ngoorndoo-ga-ngaddaya wardnginbidba.
 NEG someone-ERG-too they.took.me
 ‘Nobody gave me a lift.’
 (McGregor 1990:479)

The enclitic is only used “to assert, against an implicit expectation to the contrary, that at least one entity of the indefinite set (referred to by the lexeme) is involved in the situation” (McGregor 1990:479). This means that the clitic can occur in contexts with specific reference, as well as non-specific reference, and is in this sense also a neutral strategy, but it

“counters an expectation or presumption contrary to the statement of the clause itself” (McGregor 1990:479).

Haspelmath (1997:158-159) also notes the use of a scalar focus particle ‘at least’ to form indefinite pronouns in several languages, e.g. in Russian, Greek, Finnish, Yakut and Kannada. In Gooniyandi, it concerns a pragmatically marked form, which is only used under the circumstances defined by McGregor (1990) and noted above. When the conditions do not apply, “an indefinite determiner (or NP) will cover the meaning of ‘some’ and ‘any’” (McGregor 1990:479).

4.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I distinguished 6 types of indefinites, based on Kahrel (1996): a strategy involving neutral indefinites, discussed in section 4.1, epistemic indefinites, discussed in section 4.2, special indefinites, discussed in section 4.3, a strategy involving the existential construction, discussed in section 4.4, universal indefinites, discussed in section 4.5, and a wastebin type, discussed in 4.6. The type of special indefinites has been divided into two subtypes: a type involving non-specific indefinites and a type involving NPIs and/or FCIs. The results in percentages are presented in (521). The negative concord and negative quantifiers types are added at the end. I also added Kahrel’s percentages for comparison.

(521) Taxonomy of indefinites in negation

TYPE		My sample	Kahrel (1996)
TYPE I	NV-I	49.7 %	67.5 %
TYPE II	NV-EI	0.5 %	
TYPE III	NV-SI	25.7 %	22.5 %
TYPE IIIa	NV-NON-SPEC	5.6 %	
TYPE IIIb	NV-NPI/FCI	16.2 %	
TYPE IV	NEG.EX	11.1 %	17.5 %
TYPE V	NV-UI	2.2 %	
TYPE VI	other	0.5 %	
N-words		19 %	12.5 %
Negative quantifiers		11.7 %	12.5 %

In contrast to Kahrel (1996), this study suggests that the neutral or Type I strategy is not the most frequent one. In addition, although the strategy still accounts for almost half of the languages, the majority of forms involved in the neutral strategy are non-pronominal NPs that can be interpreted in the scope of negation. This leads to the tentative claim that if a

language has pronominal means to express negated indefiniteness, it is expected to at least make a distinction between specific and non-specific indefinite pronouns.

The results with regard to special indefinites resemble Kahrel's results. Of the special indefinites or Type III languages, the majority consists of NPIs/FCIs. The existential construction is found in fewer languages than in Kahrel's sample. This might be related to the stricter criteria that were applied to decide whether a language exhibits this strategy. In at least 9 of 20 languages, the strategy is not the only one. The avoidance of indefinites subjects might be the main factor determining the use of this strategy.

The types that were added to the taxonomy turn out to be minor types. I only found one Type II language or one language in which epistemic indefinites are used in negation. The use of what one could call 'universal indefinites' or Type V languages are found in African languages. The explanation that unites the universal properties to the indefinite properties in negation has a diachronic dimension and a synchronic one. From a diachronic point of view, the universal indefinites are assumed to have been FCIs found in FCI contexts and negation, which lost their polarity sensitivity and developed into universal quantifiers compatible with veridical and non-veridical contexts. Their use in negation reflects the indefinite FCI origin. From a synchronic view, the remnant FCI uses in negation can be accounted for from a Neo-Aristotelian perspective, according to which universal quantifiers in negation can yield 'all not' readings, which equal 'not some' readings.

5. Constructing a new indefiniteness map

In this chapter, I will propose a new semantic map for indefinite pronouns, which will actually be a meanings-in-context map, rather than a semantic map. The map will be based on the one proposed by Haspelmath (1997). In section 5.1, I will discuss Haspelmath's map and explain why this map needs improvement. In sections 5.2 to 5.9, I will stepwise propose the new semantic map. The different areas on the map will be treated separately. Each time at the end of the discussion of the separate areas, I will present the part of the map corresponding to the area. The different areas are the negative polarity area (section 5.3), the negative area (section 5.4), the free choice area (section 5.5), the universal area (section 5.6), the specific area (section 5.7), and lastly the irrealis non-specific area (section 5.8). In section 5.9, I will then introduce the new map in its entirety. The new map will consist of 22 functions. Each function on the map will be marked for context as well as meaning, yielding functions that correspond to meanings-in-context. Note that the notion of context will be used in a very restricted sense. The contextual parameters that will be taken into account to map the cross-linguistic variation found in the functional distribution of indefinites in the languages under study can be found in (522).

(522) Contextual parameters

- [+/- veridical]
- [+/- negative polarity context]
- [+/- indirect negative context]
- [+/- direct negative context]
- [+/- negative question]
- [+/- conditional]
- [+/- question]
- [+/- scale-reversing]
- [+/- comparative]
- [+/- free choice comparative]
- [+/- elliptical context]

The semantic features that underlie the meanings-in-context map will then be discussed in section 5.10. The semantic features relevant for the distribution of indefinites are scalarity (section 5.10.1), arbitrariness (section 5.10.2), indiscriminacy (section 5.10.3), unknownness by the speaker (section 5.10.4), knownness by the speaker (section 5.10.5), non-specificity (section 5.10.6), negation (section 5.10.7) and universal quantification (section 5.10.8). These semantic features can also be mapped, as is done at the end of

section 5.10. The semantic map cannot account for the cross-linguistic variation, since indefinites may exhibit contextual restrictions that cannot be accounted for on the basis of lexical semantics.

In Chapter 6, I will take the map to the test based on 20 languages, 10 of which have already been mapped by Haspelmath (1997). The fine-grained character of the subject did not allow mapping of the indefinites from a typologically balanced sample.

5.1. The Haspelmath (1997) map: background and problems⁴⁵

5.1.1. Approach

On the basis of a non-representative 40-language sample, Haspelmath (1997) designed a semantic map that contains nine cross-linguistically relevant functions of indefinite pronouns. According to the semantic map approach, different functions on the map are thought of “as existing in a semantic or functional space” (Haspelmath 1997:62). As Dahl (1999:665) stresses, a central claim is that these nine functions can be ordered in an implicational map; the way the different functions are connected can be reconstructed on the basis of both diachronic and synchronic material. If a certain item in a certain language fulfills two of more functions, they must be adjacent. A function can be discovered by comparing languages: if a certain language uses one form for two functions, but another language uses separate forms for the two functions, these functions have to be distinguished. Diachronically, this means that whenever a certain indefinite acquires a new function, the function will be adjacent to the function that it already fulfills. After having conducted a typological study based on the 40-language sample, Haspelmath (1997) ended up with 9 functions, which are listed below.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ This discussion is partly based van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011a, 2012)

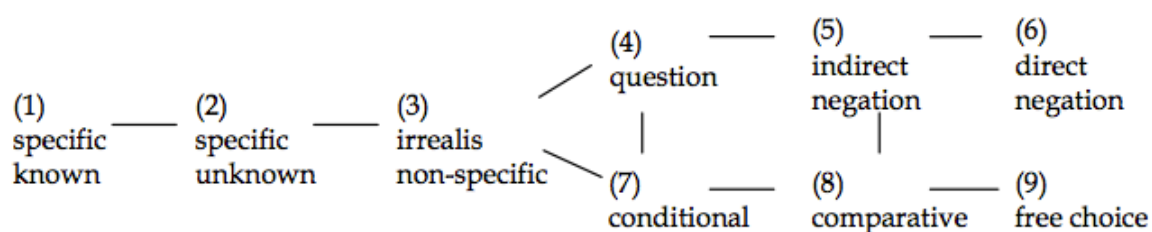
⁴⁶ All the examples are taken from Haspelmath (1997).

(523) Haspelmath's 9 functions

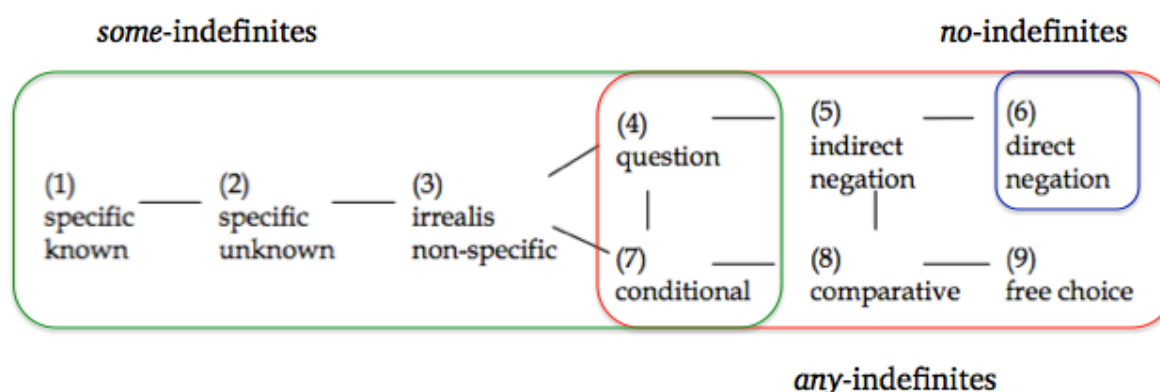
1. Specific known: *Someone called yesterday... Guess who?*
2. Specific unknown: *Somebody called ... I don't know who it was.*
3. Irrealis non-specific: *Buy me some newspaper.*
4. Question:
 - a. *Did you see anything?*
 - b. *Did you see something?*
5. Indirect negation:
 - a. *I don't think somebody has seen it.*
 - b. *I don't think anybody has seen it.*
6. Direct negation:
 - a. *I didn't see anything.*
 - b. *Nobody saw anything.*
7. Conditional:
 - a. *If you hear anything, let me know.*
 - b. *If you hear something, let me know.*
8. Comparative: *The boy runs faster than anyone in his class.*
9. Free choice: *Anyone can solve the problem.*

Combining them on an implicational map yields the semantic map represented in (524). The semantic map for English indefinites is presented in (525).

(524) Haspelmath's (1997) semantic map of indefinite pronouns



(525) Haspelmath's (1997) semantic map for English



The English examples in (523) show that English has three series of indefinite pronouns: a *some*-series, an *any*-series and a *no*-series. The *some*-series can fulfill all functions except ‘comparative’, ‘free choice’, ‘indirect negation’ and ‘direct negation’. The *any*-series is allowed in the contexts to the right of the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function. As in many languages, there is a major overlap in the distribution of these indefinite items. Only the *no*-series can fulfill no more than one function. Both the *any*-series as well as the *some*-series cover a substantial area on the map. This “massive polyfunctionality”, as Haspelmath calls it (1997:58), raises questions about the semantic nature of indefinite pronouns. ‘Polyfunctionality’ is a neutral term that avoids an answer to the question whether these indefinites are actually polysemous or have one *Gesamtbedeutung* that happens to correspond to several more specific meanings in other languages (Haspelmath 1997:59). This neutrality is one of the benefits of a semantic map. In the case of Haspelmath’s (1997) semantic map of indefinite pronouns, however, one is left with other questions regarding the status of the different points on the map: can functions like ‘conditional’, ‘question’, ‘comparative’ be considered part of the meaning of an indefinite? Relatedly, one might ask questions about the major overlap that different indefinite elements exhibit. Why would a language have three elements at its disposal to fulfill the exact same function? One would expect a language to minimize functional overlap. These problems will be shown to be related to the way semantics and contexts are mixed on Haspelmath’s map.

5.1.2. Problems

5.1.2.1. Status of the points and predictability of meaning-in-context

Although a semantic map allows one to remain agnostic about the issue of polysemy versus *Gesamtbedeutung*, the question is not very relevant in the case of Haspelmath’s (1997) semantic map, since the different functions “often seem to be just different contexts rather

than different meanings” (Haspelmath 1997:59). Therefore, if one asks the question whether the *any*-indefinites are polysemous, one is asking whether ‘conditional’ or ‘question’ is part of the meaning of an *any*-indefinite. The functions on the map seem to variably correspond to meanings, meanings-in-context and contexts. Consider the ‘conditional’ function in (526).

(526) Conditional: *If you see anyone, let me know.*

In sentence (526), it is not the indefinite that is ‘conditional’ but the context. The meaning-in-context, on the other hand, is probably the same as in a question, which is a separate function, and exemplified in (527).

(527) Question: *Have you seen anyone lately?*

If one moves to the specific area on the left of the map, one needs to take into account other criteria to identify the function. Consider sentence (528), an example of the ‘specific known’ function.

(528) Specific known: *Someone called yesterday.... [guess who].*

‘Specific known’ cannot refer to the context. The context could be labeled ‘episodic, affirmative’ or ‘veridical’, as has been done here, which is the same context in the case of the ‘specific unknown’ function. The past tense in sentence (528) fixes the referent of the indefinite pronoun, which renders it *specific* and the fact that the referent is known by the speaker makes it *known*. Hence ‘specific known’ could be considered a meaning-in-context. Naming the function after a context would be impossible; although specific indefinites prototypically occur in veridical sentences, e.g. in the perfective past or an ongoing present, they can also occur in a negative affirmative context, as shown in sentence (529).

(529) I didn’t see someone.

≈ There is someone, whom I know and whom I didn’t see.

The indefinite *someone* thus gets a specific known meaning-in-a-negative-context. Could one then conclude on the basis of the fact that *someone* has a specific meaning regardless of the context it appears in? If one looks at *someone* in a conditional context as in (530), the answer is negative.

(530) If you see someone, let me know.

The resulting meaning-in-context is non-specific. On the basis of sentence (529), however, one is inclined to say yes. In a negative context, *someone* is not interpreted in its scope and *someone* has specific reference. A conditional context, on the other hand, normally renders *someone* non-specific.

Sentence (529) also points at the problems of the rightmost function on the map, viz. ‘direct negation’. In (529), the context is clearly negative, as indicated by sentential negation on the verb. The non-negative indefinite *someone*, however, escapes the scope of the negation and as a result, the meaning-in-context of the indefinite is specific. The meaning of the indefinite seems to overrule the impact of the context. However, another non-negative indefinite, *anyone*, can yield a negative meaning-in-context when combined with negation. In (531), the indefinite scopes under negation resulting in negative quantification. Note that a sentence need not be syntactically negative to yield negative quantification. Sentence (532) looks like a positive sentence, be it, of course, that it contains the negative indefinite determiner *no*.

(531) I didn’t see anyone.

(532) I saw no birds.

In sum, a negative context with a non-negative indefinite can yield a specific reading as well as a negative reading. A positive context with an indefinite with a negative meaning, e.g. *no*, can yield a negative reading as well.

To make things even more complicated, the non-negative indefinite *anyone*, which can yield negative quantification in (531), can also occur in a negative context with a completely different meaning-in-context, as shown by sentence (533).

(533) I don’t sleep with just anyone.

≈ I don’t sleep with everyone.

The non-negative indefinite *anyone* can therefore not only contribute negative quantification, as in (531), it can also contribute universal-like quantification in the exact same syntactic context. What is meant in (533), is that the speaker does not sleep with everyone, and not that he or she sleeps with no one.⁴⁷ The context of direct negation can thus yield three different meanings-in-context: ‘specific known’, ‘negative quantification’ and ‘universal quantification’.

⁴⁷ Although this meaning is not excluded, in contrast to the sentence *I don’t sleep with everyone*.

The problem that identical contexts can yield different meanings-in-context can also be illustrated on the basis of examples in a conditional context. Compare the two sentences in (534) and (535).

(534) If you see anyone, let me know.

≈ If someone can do it, so can I.

(535) If anyone can do it, so can I.

≈ If everyone can do it, so can I.

Although both sentences would have to be assumed to belong to the ‘conditional’ function and therefore yield the same meaning-in-context, they mean the opposite: in (534), *anyone* indefinite can be replaced by *someone*, in (535), this is not possible. *Anyone* in (535) would have to be replaced by the universal quantifier *every* to maintain its meaning. The indefinite *anyone* (535) belongs to the ‘free choice’ function, whereas *anyone* in (534) belongs to the ‘conditional’ function.

One might at this point be inclined to conclude that whenever the resulting meaning-in-context of *anyone* is one with universal quantificational import, it belongs to ‘free choice’, but universal quantificational import is not conclusive for the functional distribution, as is shown by an instance of *any* in (536).

(536) - Bring me a chair.

- Which one?

- Bring me *any* chair.

In Haspelmath (1997), the imperative is presented as one of the contexts in which only the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function can be realized, a function from which *any* is predicted to be barred, as can be seen in (525). Sentence (536), however, contains free choice item *any*. Haspelmath’s explanation is that “although the sentence is structurally an imperative sentence, its communicative force is not that of a command” and because it “is functionally equivalent to ‘You can bring me any chair’” (Haspelmath 1997:49-50). The modal of possibility *can* then points at the fact that it is the ‘free choice’ function and not the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function that is realized, hence accounting for the grammaticality of *any*, since *any* fulfills the ‘free choice’ function. The covert possibility modal therefore explains why *any* in (536) has the FC function and not the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function. Thus, the ‘free choice’ function is also defined in terms of contexts. Haspelmath (1997:49) notes that FCI indefinites are non-specific, implying that they occur in irrealis contexts (my ‘non-veridical’ contexts) like indefinites with the function ‘irrealis non-specific’, but in a subset of the irrealis contexts in which elements with the function ‘irrealis non-specific’ can occur. He

notes that the most typical environment for FCIs are sentences expressing possibility, be it objective possibility or permission. He further notes that they are unacceptable with modals of necessity. However, sentences (537) and (538) show that a characterization of the ‘free choice’ function in terms of contexts is untenable.

(537) If you can see anything, let me know.

(538) Any car must have security belts.

(Aloni 2007:83)

Sentence (537) shows that a possibility modal does not necessarily mean that the indefinite has the FC function, and sentence (538) shows that in some modal contexts of necessity FCI *any* is perfectly acceptable.

This then leaves us with a vague characterization of indefinites in the FC function as non-specific indefinites that occur in a subset of the contexts in which indefinites with the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function occur. Unfortunately, even this can be contested. Vlachou (2007:69) shows on the basis of the use of *anything* in sentence (539) that some FCIs are not even restricted to non-veridical contexts.

(539) So I said just anything to fill the silence.

(Vlachou 2007:69)

In sentence (539), the meaning-in-context is specific known, but still *anything*, which is considered a FCI in this use, is used, whereas it is not predicted to be acceptable: the ‘specific known’ function and the ‘free choice’ function are in fact even as far removed from each other as possible on the semantic map, on which proximity implies similarity.

To summarize, the main problem with Haspelmath’s semantic map is that he supplies contexts like episodic affirmative, negative, conditional, future, possibility in order to grasp the functional distribution of indefinites, but the relationship between the functional distribution of indefinites and the contexts is not a one-to-one correspondence: identical contexts lead to different meanings-in-contexts, depending on the type of indefinite used. Haspelmath’s functions relate to one element of the context, but combining an indefinite marker with these contexts does not always lead to a unique meaning-in-context. The study of indefiniteness poses “complicated problems about the relation between meanings of the indefinite markers themselves, the types of contexts that they combine with, and the resulting meanings-in context” and crucially, the map is not always insightful when it comes to the interaction between meaning and context (van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2011b:7-8). The functions ‘conditional’, ‘indirect negation’, ‘question’ and ‘comparative’ correspond to contexts only, the function ‘direct negation’ corresponds variably to meaning and

meaning-in-context, whereas ‘specific, unknown’ corresponds to a meaning-in-context and ‘free choice’ mainly corresponds to a meaning.

5.1.2.2. *The meaning of the indefinites*

Whereas the different points on the map variably correspond to meanings, meanings-in-context and contexts, Haspelmath (1997:119-122) explains the topography of the implicational map in terms that seem to correspond to actual meanings of the type one would expect on a semantic map. Five binary features, as listed in (540), are said to “characterize” all nine functions on the map.

(540) Binary features for indefinite pronouns

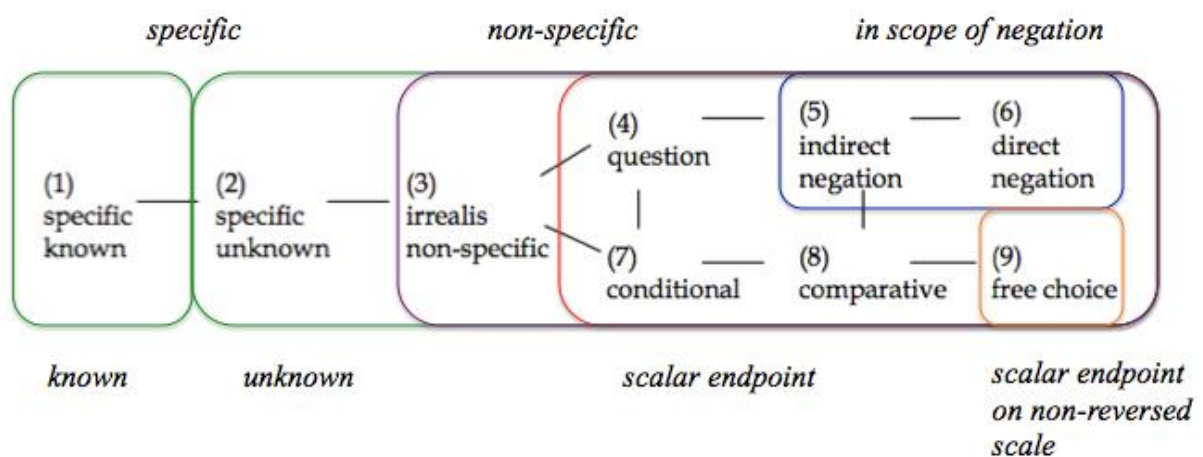
- a. known to speaker – not known to the speaker
- b. specific – non-specific
- c. no scalar endpoint – scalar endpoint
- d. in scope of negation – not in scope of negation
- e. scalar endpoint on a reversed scale – scalar endpoint on a non-reversed scale

(Haspelmath 1997:119)

Although “characterize” is a neutral term, three of the characterizing features, namely a. b. and c., are strongly connected to the actual meaning of the indefinites, as will be shown.

The way these binary features underly Haspelmath’s semantic map is presented in (541), as is done in Haspelmath (1997:119-122).

(541) Binary features of Haspelmath’s semantic map



The binary features ‘specific’ vs. ‘non-specific’, ‘known’ vs. ‘unknown’ and ‘scalar endpoint on a reversed scale’ vs. ‘non-scalar endpoint on a non-reversed scale’ each time set apart one function from the others. The functions covered by the feature ‘scalar endpoint on a reversed scale’, on the other hand, are not all separated on the basis of another feature. The functions ‘indirect negation’ and ‘direct negation’ are separated from the functions covered by ‘scalar endpoint on a reversed scale’ by ‘in the scope of negation’, but the functions ‘question’, ‘conditional’ and ‘comparative’, precisely those functions that correspond to contexts rather than meanings, are characterized by the same semantic notion, namely ‘scalar endpoint on a reversed scale’. I will now discuss each of the features.

The feature ‘known to speaker’ vs. ‘unknown to the speaker’ involves the identifiability of the referent. It may or may not be incorporated in the meaning of the indefinite. Compare the English and German examples in (542) and (543).

(542) English

- a. Someone called for you. He didn’t say his name.
- b. Someone called for you. Guess who?

(543) German

- a. Irgendjemand hat angerufen. Er hat seinen Namen nicht
 someone has called he has his name not
 gesagt.
 said
 ‘Somebody called. He didn’t say his name.’
- b. Irgendjemand hat angerufen. * Rate mal wer es war?
 someone has called guess once who it was
 ‘Somebody called. Guess who?’

In English, *someone* is not marked for this feature, whereas in German, *irgend-* indefinites cannot fulfill the ‘specific known’ function.

The ‘specific’ vs. ‘non specific’ distinction also concerns the identifiability of the referent but in this case the unique identifiability of the referent. Consider sentence (544) with its two possible continuations.

(544) Nobuku wants to marry some speaker of Ainu....

- a. ... She fell in love with him during field work sessions.
- b. ... because she is Ainu herself.

(Haspelmath 1997:37)

Again in English, the distinction is not relevant and *some*-indefinites can also fulfill this ‘irrealis non-specific’ function. In a language like Russian, on the other hand, the distinction is grammatically codified. The Russian *-nibud’*-series can only be used with non-specific reference, as illustrated in sentence (545).

- Russian
 (545) Kupi mne kakuju-nibud’ gazetu.
 buy me which-INDEF newspaper
 ‘Buy me some (non-specific) newspaper.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:42)

The feature ‘scalarity’ vs. ‘non-scalarity’ is an important semantic notion that covers the functions ‘conditional’, ‘question’, ‘indirect negation’, ‘comparative’, ‘negation’, which can be referred to as the negative polarity contexts (‘NPI contexts’), as well as the function ‘free choice’. The fact that Haspelmath (1997) characterizes these functions as ‘scalar’ functions reveals a scalar approach to polarity sensitivity, as advocated by Fauconnier (1975, 2003), Lee and Horn (1994), Lahiri (1998), Krifka (1995), Chierchia (2006), van Rooy (2003) and Israel (1996, 2011). According to the scalar approach to negative polarity and free choice, which I will adhere to only for NPIs, as will be discussed in section 5.3, indefinites can be restricted to NPI and FCI contexts due to their scalar meaning. NPI and FCI indefinites are assumed to have a scalar endpoint meaning corresponding to ‘*even* + indefinite’. The *even* component, which can be silent or overtly present on an indefinite base, presupposes a pragmatic scale associated with the sentence in which it occurs so that a phrase of the form [any N] is equivalent to [even a CN], where *even* has focus over the indefinite *a* itself. Depending on the environment, the pragmatic scale can be a quantitative scale or a qualitative scale. A case in point is English stressed *any*. It can occur in sentences that allow a ‘*even* + indefinite’ paraphrase, as illustrated in (546) to (551).

- (546) *I bought ANYthing/ I bought even one thing.
 (547) If you see ANY guy/even one guy, let me know.
 (548) Have you heard ANY sound/ even one sound?
 (549) I don’t think I heard ANY sound/even one sound.
 (550) I didn’t eat ANY fries/ even one frie.
 (551) ANYone can do it/ even a dumb guy can do it.

As one can see, FCI *any* in sentence (551) expresses an endpoint on a qualitative scale, instead of quantitative scale.

The feature ‘scalar endpoint’ thus relates to a semantic component of the indefinites in the functions corresponding to it. Items that denote scalar endpoints can thus be expected to appear in the contexts with which they are lexically compatible. There are two problems with this. Firstly, what then is the motivation to separate ‘question’ from ‘conditional’ and ‘comparative’, where the only difference concerns the context and not the meaning-in-context? And secondly, many elements with the functions ‘question’ and ‘conditional’ do not evoke a pragmatic scale on which they take in an extreme position. Only stressed *any* does this, whereas non-stressed *any* does not. A question like (552) does not correspond to (553).

(552) Did you SEE anyone?

(553) Did you see even one person?

So the meaning feature ‘scalar endpoint’, which underlies the area of NPI contexts and FC, does not always characterize indefinites with the functions in these areas.

The fifth value also pertains to scalarity but involves the contexts rather than the meaning. The value ‘scalar endpoint on a reversed scale’ and ‘scalar endpoint on a non-reversed scale’ separates indefinites licensed in comparatives, questions, conditionals from indefinites in the ‘free choice’ function. Unlike features a., b. and c. in (541), this feature directly relates to a contextual element.

Items that express an extreme point on a pragmatic scale can give rise to scalar implicatures, as was also explained in section 3.2.3. The direction of these scalar implicatures is not constant across contexts. In some contexts, the direction of the scalar implicature is reversed. I will use Haspelmath’s (1997:112) example to illustrate this again. If one takes an extreme value on a pragmatic scale of cow weakness, namely the weakest cow, this extreme value will lead to scalar implicatures in some contexts, but not in others. Compare in this respect sentence (554) with (555).

(554) The weakest cow can swim through this river.

(555) The weakest cow cannot swim through this river.

Sentence (554) leads to the scalar implicature that every cow can swim through the river, whereas the implicature does not arise in the scale-reversed negative polarity context in (555). In order to have a scalar implicature in negation, one needs the other scalar endpoint, viz. the strongest cow, as illustrated in (556).

(556) The strongest cow cannot swim through this river.

In negation and other NPI contexts, in contrast to FCI contexts, pragmatic scales are reversed. This contextual property sets the NPI functions apart from the FC function. The endpoint meaning of elements in the FC function is crucial, whereas it is not crucial for NPI contexts, as was just illustrated on the basis of non-scalar unstressed *any* in (553).

The feature ‘in scope of negation’ vs. ‘not in scope of negation’ also concerns contexts. It separates the functions *indirect negation* and *direct negation* from all the others. The feature does not indicate whether the negative quantificational meaning is incorporated into an indefinite. The English *anyone* is not marked for this feature, but the English *no*-series is.

What is remarkable about the features that underlie the architecture of the map is the fact that three of five features are made directly visible on the map: the feature ‘specific known – unknown’ is represented by two different functions on the map, the ‘non-specific’ feature is represented by the function ‘non-specific irrealis’, ‘non-specific’ referring to the meaning and ‘irrealis’ referring to the contexts in which they can occur and the feature ‘in the scope of negation’ is represented by ‘direct negation’ and ‘indirect negation’, ‘indirect’ and ‘direct’ referring to the context and ‘negation’ referring to either the meaning of the indefinite or the resulting meaning-in-context. The remaining two features, however, do not seem to be immediately connected to the functions on the map. There is no function distinguishing ‘scalar endpoint’ versus ‘non-scalar endpoint’, but instead ‘scalar endpoint’ covers six functions (question, conditional, comparative, indirect negation, direct negation, free choice) and ‘scalar endpoint on a reversed scale’ covers five (question, conditional, comparative, indirect negation, direct negation). The value ‘scalar endpoint on a non-reversed scale’ covers only one function, namely ‘free choice’.

In conclusion, although some meaning-distinctions are made in (540), one is left with the question how the meaning of an indefinite can affect the distribution across different contexts. How the meaning of the indefinites, e.g. scalar versus non-scalar, interacts with distributional restrictions is not straightforward at all.

5.1.2.3. *More functions to be distinguished*

Apart from problems regarding the status of the map points, there are problems concerning its completeness. Haspelmath (1997) distinguishes 9 contexts, which are said to be cross-linguistically relevant. Not only from the literature, but also from Haspelmath’s work itself, however, it follows that many more contexts can be identified as being cross-linguistically relevant.

Haspelmath (1997:80) notes that German indefinite determiner *jeder* can occur in an argument of an implicitly negative adposition, as shown in sentence a., but is not used in the same meaning with superordinate negation as shown by sentence b., even though both contexts are considered to be part of the ‘indirect negation’ function.

(557) Indirect negation: implicitly negative adposition vs. superordinate negation

- a. ohne jede Warnung
- b. *Es ist nicht nötig, dass jeder kommt.

Therefore, there could be an additional distinction between superordinate negation and implicit negation.

Another function that should be split up to form two functions based on the behavior of the Italian indefinites *niente* and *qualcosa*, is the question function. Whereas *niente* is grammatical in polar questions, as shown in (558)a., it is not licensed in parametric questions, as shown in (558)b.

(558) Question: polar vs. parametric questions

- a. Ha detto niente di nuovo?
has said anything of new
'Has he said anything new?'
(Haspelmath 1997:81)
- b. Quando ha detto qualcosa/*niente di nuovo?
when has said anything of new
'When has he said anything new?'
(Haspelmath 1997:81)

A further function split addressed by Haspelmath (1997:79-80) involves the comparative function. In Serbian and Dutch, certain indefinites are allowed in clausal comparatives but not in nominal comparatives. The difference is illustrated with the Serbian indefinites in (559). Sentence a. is an example of a clausal comparative marked by *nego* 'than' in which the *i*-indefinites are allowed. The b. sentence shows that the same series is not allowed with a nominal comparative, introduced by *od* 'from, than'.

(559) Comparative: clausal vs. nominal comparatives

- a. Marija je viša nego i-ko u razredu.
Marija is taller than anyone in class
'Marija is taller than anyone in the class.'
(Progovac 1994:71 in Haspelmath 1997:80)
- b. Marija je viša od *i-koga/bilo koga u razredu.
Marija is taller from anyone in class
'Marija is taller than anyone in the class.'
(Progovac 1994:71 in Haspelmath 1997:80)

In the discussion of the language-specific maps, Haspelmath (1997:294-295) also notes an additional distinction only found relevant for Finnish namely the distinction between an equative comparison and a comparison of inequality.

Apart from splitting up existing functions, there are two other problems: the fact that it is sometimes unclear which context belongs to which function, which might also lead to new functions, and the fact that entirely new functions would have to be introduced. The first problem can be illustrated by means of Table 38, which provides an overview of which contexts belong to which function. This is based on Haspelmath (1997:31-52).

Functions	Contexts
Specific known	Typically in affirmative declarative sentences in the past, ongoing present
Specific unknown	Typically in affirmative declarative sentences in the past, ongoing present
Irrealis non-specific	Future Distributive context Imperative Habitual After intensional predicates like ‘want’
Question	Question
Conditional	In the protasis of a conditional clause
Comparative	Comparative
Indirect negation	Superordinate negation Complements of implicitly negative verbs, e.g. <i>doubt</i> Arguments of implicitly negative adverbs like <i>without</i> With negative quantifiers like <i>nobody</i> or <i>nothing</i>
Direct negation	In main clause with sentential negation In positive clause with negative meaning on its own In main clause with negative adverbs like <i>never</i>

Table 38: Contexts and functions in Haspelmath (1997)

The context for the function ‘direct negation’ can be one with clausal negation and without clausal negation. Sentence (560) illustrates *anything* in its ‘direct negation’ function together with a negative verb. Sentence (561) illustrates *nobody* in its ‘direct negation’ function without clausal negation on the verb. Both *nobody* as well as *anything* can be considered therefore to fulfill the ‘direct negation’ function, as was also addressed in section 3.2.1. In the case of *nobody*, this is due to the fact that *nobody* expresses clausal scope

negation. Should one therefore consider the *anything* in (561) to fulfill the ‘direct negation’ function as well or is this a case of indirect negation? Haspelmath seems to treat indefinites in the scope of negative quantifiers such as *nobody* as indefinites in the ‘indirect negation’ function, based on the fact that German *etwas* ‘something’ in (562) is said not to fulfill the ‘direct negation’ function in German.

(560) I didn’t see anything.

(561) Nobody saw anything.

(562) German

Ich habe niemandem etwas gesagt.

I have no one something said

‘I didn’t say anything to anyone.’, lit. ‘I have said nobody anything.’

(Haspelmath 1997:246)

Another problem involves the functions corresponding to non-negative NPI contexts, viz. the functions ‘comparative’, ‘conditional’ and ‘question’. These contexts are typical NPI contexts. A famous NPI is English *any*, which indeed occurs in conditionals, questions, comparatives and negation, but not in a veridical context, as shown in sentences (563) to (566).

(563) If you see anything, let me know.

(564) Have you heard anything from him?

(565) She does it better than anyone else.

(566) I didn’t see anything.

(567) *I saw anything.

However, many more contexts can be distinguished in which *any* is grammatical: NPI *any* can be licensed by the quantifier *few*, as in (568), it can occur as the purposive complement of an excessive comparative, as in (569), after the restrictive focus particle, as in (570) and in relative clauses headed by a universal quantifier, as in (571).

(568) Few people show any interest in global issues.

(569) Ayşe is too occupied to invite anyone else.

(570) Only Luozhu has anything substantial to report.

(571) Everyone who likes any kind of seafood will like our new seafood sticks.

(all taken from Haspelmath 1997:34-35)

It is not clear where these instances would have to be placed on the map. Haspelmath (1997:36) notes that “the most important subtypes of negative polarity contexts are questions, conditionals, the standard of comparison, indirect negation and direct negation”, which is clearly why they all take in a position on the map. Why these are the most important subtypes, however, is left implicit. One would think that this is because of Haspelmath’s approach to distinguish ‘functions’ or ‘uses’ whenever “two roughly comparative categories in two languages turn out to differ in one type of environment or meaning” (Haspelmath 1997:61). At least for the use in (570), however, an additional function would have to be added, since the Greek indefinite pronoun *típota* is not allowed in this context, as shown in (572), even though it is fine in the other negative polarity contexts on the map.

(572) Restrictive focus particle ‘only’

*Mono i Maria ipe típota.
 only the Maria said anything
 ‘Only Maria said anything.’
 (Giannakidou 2011:1686)

Even if one accepts that the functions ‘comparative’, ‘question’, ‘conditional’ and the negative functions are the most important negative polarity contexts, one would like to know where the others would have to be placed on the map.

The fact that subtypes of existing functions but also new functions would have to be added to the map, provided one follows Haspelmath’s functional approach according to which the identification of a ‘use’ or a ‘function’ follows whenever “two roughly comparative categories in two languages turn out to differ in one type of environment or meaning” (Haspelmath 1997:61), reminds one of the risk of an endless proliferation of functions connected to a onomasiological or top-down approach. An onomasiological approach departs from setting up an exhaustive list of all imaginable functional distinctions in a domain, which is assumed by Haspelmath (1997:61) to be an impossible task, since “it appears that human cognitive resources are in principle sufficiently rich to allow the creation of an indefinite number of (complex) subtle contextual distinctions”. Haspelmath (1997:61) does warn us that his own intermediate approach could lead to the same kind of proliferation of functional distinctions as a top-down or onomasiological approach of distinguishing all imaginable functional distinctions. He adds, however, that languages do not differ from each other in unlimited ways: “while the human mind can conceive of an indefinitely large number of ideas, only a small recurring subset of possible concepts are conventionalized in grammatical categories” (Haspelmath 1997:61). The examples above, however, show that more functional distinctions should be drawn according to the cross-

linguistic comparative method. Therefore, one could ask the question whether different languages are capable of conventionalizing the same indefinite number of complex subtle contextual distinctions that the human cognition is capable of creating. Haspelmath's intermediate approach of drawing boundaries between functions based on cross-linguistic differences could turn out to be an onomasiological approach in disguise.

5.1.2.4. *Singular – mass – plural*

Another problem with Haspelmath's (1997) treatment of indefinites is that it is implicitly about singular indefinite pronouns and singular count determiners. In the discussion of the English pronominal paradigm, for instance, Haspelmath (1997:248) distinguishes between the indefinite determiner *some* [sʌm], and the indefinite article *some* [sm] used with plural and mass nouns. Haspelmath (1997:12) treats the latter *some* as a mid-scalar quantifier that should not be lumped together with the indefinite determiner. Unlike Haspelmath (1997), I would argue not to exclude these forms because they express quantification. After all, like the mid-scalar quantifiers, the singular indefinite *some* [sʌm] is also treated in terms of quantification. In addition, as also noted by Haspelmath (1997:12), the mid-scalar quantifiers are often formally very similar to indefinite pronouns, and often they are diachronically derived from them.

One might think that the distinction is not relevant to map the functional distribution of the forms. More specifically, one might think that the plural/mass forms exhibit the same functional distribution as the singular count forms from which they are diachronically derived. This is not the case, as suggested by data from English, Spanish, French, Dutch and Hebrew.

In English, the singular determiner *some* is an epistemic indefinite and accordingly has the 'specific unknown' function, but not the 'specific known' function. The non-singular indefinite determiner *some* has the same functional distribution as the *some*-pronouns. They are found in both the specific functions. The same pattern can be witnessed in the case of the Spanish *algún* and the French *quelque*. Whereas the singular *algún* is an epistemic determiner, the plural *algunos* does not exhibit this restriction to the specific unknown function, as illustrated in (573) and (574).

- (573) María se casó con algún médico, # en concreto con el
 María married with some doctor namely with the
 doctor Smith.
 doctor Smith
 'María married some doctor or other, namely Dr. Smith.'
 (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011b:212)

- (574) María vive con algunos estudiantes, en concreto con Pedro y
 María lives with some students namely with Pedro and
 Juan.
 Juan
 ‘María lives with some students, namely Pedro and Juan.’
 (Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011b:212)

The same holds for French *quelque*. The singular determiner *quelque* is an epistemic indefinite, whereas the plural determiner *quelques* can also occur in the specific known function.

Another example comes from North Germanic, more specifically the Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian and Danish determiners *nakar*, *nokkur*, *noen* and *nogen*. Lindstad (2010) describes the North Germanic determiners and shows that they are NPIs when used with singular nouns but non-polarity sensitive when used with plurals and mass nouns. This can be illustrated on the basis of Norwegian. Sentence (575) shows that the Norwegian *noen* in combination with the singular noun *bil* ‘car’ cannot occur in a veridical context with the meaning ‘some’, but has to be in the company of the negator *ikke* in order to be grammatical. Sentence (576) shows that Norwegian *noen* does not exhibit the same polarity sensitivity when it combines with a plural noun *biler* ‘cars’.

- Norwegian
- (575) Han har * (ikke) noen bil.
 he has (not) any car
 ‘He doesn’t have any car(s).’
 (Lindstad 2010:227)
- (576) Han har (ikke) sett noen biler.
 he has (not) seen any/some cars
 ‘He has (not) seen (any)/some cars.’
 (Lindstad 2010:227)

The same restrictions hold for the Danish, Icelandic and Faroese cognates. Interestingly the Swedish cognate *någon* does not exhibit this pattern, as illustrated in (577). In combination with the singular noun *bil* ‘car’, the Swedish determiner can occur regardless of whether the negator *inte* is present.

(577) Swedish

Han	har	inte	någon	bil.	/	Han	har	någon	bil.
he	has	not	any	car	/	he	has	some	car

‘He doesn’t have any car(s).’ / ‘He has some (kind of) car.’

Another example of differing distributional restrictions depending on whether the indefinite element occurs with singulars or not is found in Hebrew. In formal Hebrew, the determiner *kol* occurs in negation only when it is combined with singular count nouns. In combination with abstract mass nouns, it is found in NPI contexts like conditionals and questions too (Glinert 1982).

The last example involves the Dutch determiner *enig*, the Dutch cognate to English *any*. As noted in Hoeksema & Klein (1995), Hoeksema (2010b) and van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c:338), there are two *enig*’s: the NPI singular determiner *enig* and the non-polarity sensitive abstract mass and plural determiner *enige*, as illustrated in (578).⁴⁸ The a. and the b. sentences represent NPI contexts. Both the singular NPI and the polarity neutral plural *enige* are grammatical. The c. sentence is an example of a veridical context, in which only the polarity neutral *enige* can occur, whereas the singular *enig* is ungrammatical.

(578) NPI *enig*

- a. Heb jij enig idee/ enige ideeën?
 have you any idea any ideas
 ‘Do you have any idea/any ideas?’
- b. Hij heeft nooit enig idee/ enige ideeën gehad.
 he has never any idea any ideas had
 ‘He has never had any idea/ideas.’
- c. Hij heeft *enig idee/ enige ideeën.
 he has some idea some ideas
 ‘He has some idea/some ideas.’

The data from English, Spanish, French, Hebrew, North Germanic and Dutch show that the singular-non-singular dimension has to be taken into account when mapping the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns in the wide sense, as will be done in Chapter 6, in which the new map will be tested.

⁴⁸ Van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2010:339-40) note that they also found instances of singular *enig* in non-NPI context in the Corpus of Spoken Dutch. Since these are infrequent, singular *enig* is still considered to be a NPI.

5.1.2.5. *Diachronic predictions*

The implicational map makes the diachronic prediction that whenever an indefinite acquires a new function, it acquires an adjacent function. This, however, should not be taken to mean that an indefinite has to undergo a step-wise extension via functions like ‘conditional’, ‘question’, ‘indirect negation’ and ‘comparative’ etc.

The development of *enig* in Dutch, for example, as described in Hoeksema (2010b) and also discussed in van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c), exemplifies a move from non-specific contexts to negative polarity contexts in general, but not from irrealis non-specific to questions or conditionals and from there to indirect negation and lastly direct negation.

Another example comes from the Dutch polarity sensitive item *wie dan ook* ‘lit. who then also’, ‘anybody at all’, whose diachronic development has been described by De Vos (2010). De Vos (2010) shows that it does not exemplify a development from the function ‘free choice’, to ‘comparative’ and from there, to other negative polarity contexts. This contrasts with what is suggested in Haspelmath (1997:154), in which the comparative is suggested to constitute a sort of bridging contexts between NPIs and FCIs or between the negative polarity functions ‘indirect negation’, ‘conditional’ and ‘free choice’. However, there is no proof that an item undergoes reanalysis from a free choice indefinite to a negative polarity indefinite via the comparative function. The development of the Dutch *wie dan ook* shows that once an item has grammaticalized from a free relative clause meaning ‘whoever it may be’ to an indefinite ‘anyone at all’, it is found in FCI contexts, as well as NPI contexts like ‘indirect negation’.

Instead of gradually being able to occur in questions, conditionals, comparatives, etc., indefinite elements can be found to lose or acquire a semantic feature, e.g. [+/- specific], [+/- speaker knowledge], [+/- scalar], [+/- arbitrariness], [+/- negative], which then has consequences for their distribution across contexts. The distribution across contexts must be seen as a consequence of the change in the semantic features of an indefinite.

The diachronic developments will be treated as changes in the semantics of the indefinites as a consequence of bleaching or weakening and/or pragmatic strengthening. The changes with respect to contextual distribution will be argued to constitute side-effects of their semantic change. It will be argued that diachronic developments can be better accounted for by a map that does not take into account contexts. For the purpose of visualising the diachronic developments, I will introduce a semantic map, which will be different from the meanings-in-context map that has to be used for cross-linguistic comparison.

5.1.2.6. *Problems with samples*

As has been noted in the introduction in section 1.1, Haspelmath's (1997) 40-language sample on which the map is based is a heavily biased sample. Of the 40 languages, 22 are Indo-European and 30 are European, if the Caucasus is included, and 27 if it is excluded (Haspelmath 1997:17). Practical considerations that can only be confirmed by my own research led to this biased sample: some languages are very badly documented and even if there are documented, the chances that indefinite pronouns are covered in sufficient detail are small. To justify the bias, Haspelmath (1997:16) appeals to the diachronic instability of indefinites: "Highly unstable items [like indefinite pronouns] are much less likely to be common retentions from the parent language, and hence the problem of genetic bias is less severe when one studies grammatical features with low diachronic stability". For this reason, the smaller sample is considered to be able to show sufficient variation in order to make predictions about possible languages. For the same reasons, I have also worked with two samples: a convenience sample, which is unfortunately heavily biased, and for the chapter on indefinites in negation, I have used the larger representative sample.

The smaller convenience sample will still be interesting, since in the last 16 years, many interesting language-specific studies on the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns have been published.

5.1.3. **Conclusion**

In this section, I have shown that Haspelmath's (1997) approach is not unproblematic. Firstly, I have shown that the functions on Haspelmath's map variably correspond to meanings, contexts and meanings-in-contexts, with problematic consequences for the predictability of the meanings-in-contexts. Secondly, I have shown that certain semantic features underlie Haspelmath's map, but that it is not clear how they affect the distribution of indefinites across contexts. Thirdly, I have shown that on the basis of Haspelmath's comparative method, many more contexts would have to be represented on the map. Fourthly, I have shown that Haspelmath's map is implicitly about singular count pronouns. Fifthly, I have discussed that although the adjacency principle holds, it is not clear whether the functions that are distinguished on the map have diachronic relevance.

The difficulty of designing a new map will be to distinguish meanings-in-context and not contexts, since too many contexts would have to be distinguished without clear differences in meaning, casting doubt on whether distinctions purely based on contexts are relevant ones or just represent idiosyncratic properties of indefinites in a certain language.

5.2. A new map

There are (at least) three ways to develop a new map: either one reduces Haspelmath's map and one represents meanings only. This will be done in section 5.10 for the purpose of representing diachronic developments. The problem with eliminating the contextual dimension is that indefinites do not always occur in those contexts with which they are semantically compatible. An important factor is blocking from other items. Hoeksema (2010a:190) notes in this respect that "the item with the more limited distribution and the more specialized use will oust the item with the wider, less specialized distribution from its sphere of influence".

The other approach would entail including any context in which semantically similar indefinites from two different languages have been shown to differ. This would be especially relevant for NPIs, which sometimes exhibit an unpredictable distribution across contexts. Giannakidou (2011:1706), referring to Hoeksema (2010a), notes on this that the "distributions of the same NPI classes are synchronically rarely completely identical across languages". Mapping the functional distribution of an indefinite on the basis of a list of all possible contexts could provide an accurate description, but then one neglects the fact that semantically similar indefinites may also exhibit a strikingly similar distribution across contexts.

Like Haspelmath, I will opt for a third, intermediate approach, and take into account meanings as well as contexts, but unlike Haspelmath, I will take into account these two dimensions systematically for every function on the map.

In the following section, I will discuss each domain on Haspelmath's map with its problems separately. At the end of each section, the corresponding area from the new semantic map will be presented.

I will start with the domain of negative polarity (section 5.3), followed by the negative area (section 5.4), the free choice domain (section 5.5), the universal domain (section 5.6), the specific domain (section 5.7) and the non-specific domain (section 5.8).

In section 5.9, I will introduce the new map in its entirety. The new map will be a meanings-in-context map. Afterwards, in section 5.10, I will address the semantic features that underlie its architecture and show how these features are relevant for the functional distribution of indefinites. In this section, I will also suggest how the semantic features can be connected on a traditional semantic map.

5.3. Negative polarity

The area corresponding to the negative polarity area on Haspelmath's map consists of 5 functions: 'question', 'conditional', 'comparative', 'indirect negation' and 'direct negation'. This area has two problems: firstly, some negative polarity contexts, such as the restriction of a universal quantifier or superlative, are not depicted on the map and, secondly, the functions correspond to contexts rather than meanings-in-context and in this sense the map provides a context-oriented perspective to negative polarity that neglects the lexical semantics of different types of indefinites. The two types of indefinite pronouns that will be distinguished will largely correspond to emphatic and non-emphatic pronouns. Instead of emphatic versus non-emphatic, I will use the term 'widening' in the sense of Kadmon & Landman (1993), since this is the term especially used to refer to the emphatic force of certain indefinites in non-veridical contexts. Until I have discussed the widening-strengthening approach, however, I will use emphatic versus non-emphatic.

In section 5.3.1, I will discuss why the lexical semantics has to be taken into account to accurately map the functional distribution of indefinites. In section 5.3.2, I will discuss what the distinction implies for the contexts that will be depicted on the map. It will be shown that distinctions like 'question', 'comparative' and 'conditional' are not relevant for non-emphatic indefinites, whereas they are relevant for emphatic indefinites.

5.3.1. Meaning

Apart from the fact that the functions in the negative polarity area only correspond to certain contexts, and not to others, the map does not accurately represent the difference in meaning between two types of indefinites in the same context. One could also see a parallel in the theoretical literature on negative polarity. Whereas in the beginning, "the central theoretical task in most theories of polarity in the past 30 years has been to delimit the set of potential NPI-licensors", as Giannakidou notes (2011:1666), the focus shifted to the question why elements were sensitive to these scale-reversing contexts. The focus shifted from answering the Licensor Question as formulated by Ladusaw (1996:326), quoted in (579), to the Licensee Question, quoted in (580).

(579) The Licensor Question

How can the class of licensors for a polarity item be delimited? Is the class of licensors for a particular polarity item subject to arbitrary variation or is the class of licensors determined by the explanation of the item's status as a polarity item?

(580) The Licensee Question

What makes polarity items sensitive to polarity? Are there features which all polarity items share and which might explain their sensitivities?

Haspelmath's map does not transparently show the contribution of the lexical semantics of different types of indefinites. Consider the difference between the sentences in (581).

(581) Emphatic *qui que ce soit* versus non-emphatic *quelqu'un* in a conditional

- a. Si quelqu'un vient, réveille-moi.
if someone comes wake-me
'If anyone comes, wake me up.'
- b. Si qui que ce soit vient, réveille-moi.
if anyone that it be comes wake-me
'If ANYONE comes, wake me up.'

(Haspelmath 1997:125-126)

Both sentences exemplify the conditional function, but one can argue that there is a difference between the two. The example, in fact, comes from Haspelmath (1997:125-126), who notes that many languages use two different indefinites to mark the difference. Haspelmath (1997:126) provides more examples from Hindi, Polish (in (582)), and Chinese (in (583)).

(582) Polish

- a. Jeżeli co-ś zobaczysz, od razu mnie obudź.
if what-INDEF see.2SG immediately me wake.IMPF
'If you see anything, wake me immediately.'
- b. Jeżeli ko-kolwiek zobaczysz, od razu mnie obudź.
if what-INDEF see.2SG immediately me wake.IMPF
'If you see ANYTHING AT ALL, wake me immediately.'

(Haspelmath 1997:126)

(583) Chinese

- a. Wǒ bù xiāngxin shénme rén lái le.
I NEG think what man come PRF
'I don't think anyone came.'
- b. Wǒ bù xiāngxin rènhé rén lái le.
I NEG think any man come PRF
'I don't think that ANYONE came.'

(Haspelmath 1997:126)

In English, the difference is marked by means of prosody. Haspelmath (1997:125) notes that perhaps two functions should be distinguished: ‘question/conditional without scalar endpoint’ and ‘question/conditional with scalar endpoint’. An emphatic indefinite is said to denote a scalar endpoint, and this happens in the above b. sentences, whereas no scale is invoked in the a. sentences. The b. sentences express that even the most likely item on a scale of things likely to see, in the case of (582), or persons likely to come, in the case of (583), can be the value of the indefinite variable. The emphatic indefinites yield a non-specific interpretation plus the additional scalar endpoint effect, whereas the non-emphatic indefinites only yield a non-specific interpretation.

The notion of scalar endpoint is crucial in the scalar approach to negative polarity, as also briefly explained in section 5.1.2.2. The theory is centered around the notion of pragmatic scales and scalar implicatures. Expressions that denote an endpoint on a pragmatically constructed scale can evoke scalar implicatures, as has been illustrated in 5.1.2.2. A typical way to mark a noun as an endpoint on a pragmatic scale is by means of the scalar focus particle *even*, which has been shown to play an important role for negative polarity indefinites, and negative indefinites in particular in section 3.7. As was shown in section 5.1.2.2, the direction of scalar implicatures is not constant. On the basis of scalar implicatures, two types of contexts could be distinguished: non-scale reversing, and scale-reversing contexts, which have been labeled ‘NPI contexts’.

Indefinites can be used as scalar endpoints and lead to scalar implicatures, but by virtue of their semantics as minimal units, they can only do this in contexts in which the direction of scalar implicature is reversed from the one in episodic veridical contexts. Compare in this respect sentence in (584) and (585). The indefinite ‘one thing’ is the most likely element on a pragmatic scale of things to eat. In a non-scale reversed context, as in (584), this leads to a weakly informative statement. In scale-reversing or NPI contexts, as in (585), this leads to pragmatically stronger statements.

(584) Non-scale reversing contexts

I ate (even) one thing.

(585) Scale-reversing contexts

I didn’t eat (even) one thing.

If you see (even) one thing, let me know.

Have you heard (even) one thing?

Everyone who sees (even) one thing, has to let me know.

As Haspelmath (1997:125) suggested, I will add a distinction between non-emphatic and emphatic indefinites. The consequences for the map will be discussed in the next

section, in which the relevance of context is discussed. Unlike Haspelmath, I will refer to emphatic indefinites as ‘widening’ indefinites instead of ‘scalar endpoint’ indefinites.

The term ‘widening’ comes from one of the approaches to negative polarity that explains the use of *any* in NPI contexts, as well as in FCI contexts, as in (586).

(586) Anyone can do it.

Kadmon & Landman (1993) argue that “any CN (common noun)” is basically an indefinite like “a CN” with some additional characteristics (Kadmon & Landman 1993:357). *Any*, unlike *a*, has two additional properties in all contexts: it widens the domain of reference of the noun (along a certain contextual dimension) and strengthens the entire proposition, i.e. it must entail the weaker statement with just the indefinite. They illustrate the difference on the basis of the examples in (587) and (588).

(587) I don’t have potatoes.

(588) I don’t have ANY potatoes.⁴⁹

What *any* contributes in the sentence (588) is the fact that also contextually marginal instances of potatoes, like rotten ones, are included in the domain of reference, whereas they were excluded in sentence (587), in which only a cooking-non-cooking dimension was considered. *Any* is said to “indicate a reduced tolerance of exceptions” (Kadmon & Landman 1993:356). The widening is said only to happen when it creates a stronger statement. This should account for the oddity of sentence (589).

(589) Yesterday, I called anyone.

Assuming *any* widens the domain of reference along a contextual dimension, all possible referents are considered. On the level of the proposition, however, the episodic past context requires the referent to be one specific referent. The widened interpretation does not entail the narrow one in this case. There is a clash between all possible, including contextually marginal, referents and the referent-fixing of the episodic past.

In another non-NPI context, namely a generic context, one of the contexts for FCI *any*, strengthening does occur. This is shown contrastively by sentence (590) and (591).

(590) An owl hunts mice.

⁴⁹ The capitals mark prosodic stress. This way, it is made clear that only stressed *any* has the widening-strengthening reading, as also pointed out in Krifka (1995).

(591) Any owl hunts mice.

Since *any* secures that also the least likely owls on a scale of likelihood to hunt are considered, as a consequence of the widening property, i.e. the introduction of all possible alternatives that satisfy the description of the noun, the proposition *any owl hunt mice* is stronger than *an owl hunts mice*.

Haspelmath (1997:118) notes that the widening-strengthening account is not better than Fauconnier's scalar approach, which appeals to existing pragmatic notions like scales and implicatures, which have been shown to be relevant for other domains of grammar as well. The reason why I want to use the term 'widening' instead of 'scalar endpoint' like Haspelmath (1997) is because not all emphatic polarity sensitive items denote scalar endpoints. Apart from scalar NPIs, some NPIs are said to denote arbitrariness, instead of scalar endpoints. Arbitrariness concerns the irrelevance for the truth of a given proposition of individual variants. Some FCIs and NPIs seem to apply "arbitrariness to individuals, which become "arbitrary objects" in Fine's (1985) sense of having their individuality treated as irrelevant in favor of some generic property which they satisfy wholly and exclusively" (Duffley & Larrivée 2010:8).

The difference between scalar NPIs and non-scalar, i.e. arbitrary, NPIs can be illustrated on the basis of Dutch data from Rullmann (1996). Rullmann (1996) compares the Dutch *dan ook* indefinites with the *ook maar* indefinites and shows that the *ook maar*-indefinites are scalar in the sense that they denote an endpoint on a pragmatically relevant scale, whereas the *dan ook*-indefinites do not evoke a scale, but rather convey the sense of arbitrary reference.

The fact that *ook maar iemand* 'anybody' is a NPI is illustrated in the NPI contexts in sentences (592), (593) and in the episodic context in (594).

(592) Hij verdient meer dan ook maar IEMAND gedacht had.
he earns more than also but someone thought had
'He earns more than anyone would have thought.'

(593) Nooit heeft ook maar iemand mij daarover iets
never have also but someone me about.it something
verteld.
told
'Never did anyone tell me anything about it.'

(594) *Ik heb ook maar iets gegeten.
I have also but something eaten
*'I have eaten anything.'

The other Dutch NPI series is formed by adding the particle combination *dan ook* ‘then also’ to an interrogative pronoun. Like the *ook maar*-NPIs, labeled the ‘*even*-NPIs’, *wh*-indefinites are felicitous in NPI-contexts, like negation, in (595), or a comparative clause, in (596), but infelicitous in episodic contexts, as illustrated in (597).

- (595) Niemand heeft met welke student dan ook gesproken.
 nobody has with which student then also spoken
 ‘Nobody spoke to any student whatsoever.’
- (596) Hij verdient meer dan wie dan ook.
 he earns more than who then also
 ‘He earns more than anybody.’
- (597) *Ik ben getrouwd met wie dan ook.
 I am married with who then also
 *‘I am married to anyone.’

The difference between the two NPIs, however, is that the *wh*-NPIs can be used in modal contexts with a FCI meaning, whereas the scalar *even*-NPIs cannot, as is shown by sentences (598) and (599).

- (598) Je mag trouwen met wie dan ook.
 you may marry with who then also
 ‘You may marry anyone.’
 (Rullmann 1996:339)
- (599) *Je mag trouwen met ook maar IEMAND.
 you may marry with also but someone
 ‘You may marry anyone.’
 (Rullmann 1996:339)

Rullmann (1996) shows that the two elements differ in certain respects, which all point to the scalar nature of *even*-NPIs and the non-scalar and arbitrary nature of *wh*-NPIs. For example, although they can often be used interchangeably, using the numeral ‘two’ instead of ‘one’ reveals that *even*-NPIs carry scalar implicatures, whereas *wh*-NPIs are about arbitrary referents. This is illustrated by sentences (600) and (601).

(600) Als ook maar TWEE studenten dit probleem uitkiezen, ben
 if also but two students this problem choose, am
 ik tevreden.

I satisfied

‘If even (only) TWO students choose this problem, I’m satisfied.’

(Rullmann 1996:341)

(601) Als welke twee studenten dan ook dit probleem uitkiezen,
 if which two students then also this problem pick
 ben ik tevreden.

am I satisfied

‘If any (group of) two students choose this problem, I’m satisfied.’

(Rullmann 1996:341)

Another difference involves measure nouns like *a minute*, *a second* and minimizers or minimal quantities which are the symbolic lowest point of some scale, like the English *a red cent* and which can combine with *ook maar* ‘also but’ but not with *dan ook* ‘then also’. This is illustrated in sentences (602) to (605).

(602) Ik denk niet dat dit ook maar een minuut zal
 I think not that this also but a minute will
 duren.

last

‘I don’t think this will even last a minute.’

(603) *Ik denk niet dat dit welke minuut dan ook zal
 I think not that this which minute then also will
 duren.

last

(604) Niemand heeft ook maar een rode cent verdiend.
 no one has also but a red cent earned

‘No one has earned even a red cent.’

(605) *Niemand heeft welke rode cent dan ook verdiend.
 no one has which read cent then also earned

(all sentences from Rullmann 1996:342)

Rullmann’s conclusion is that the non-scalar widening-strengthening approach of Kadman & Landman (1993) accounts for these non-scalar instances of NPIs, since it does not make use of pragmatic scales. So the term ‘widening’ covers indefinites that convey emphasis in NPI

as well as FCI contexts, like modal contexts, either because of their semantic property of denoting arbitrariness or due to their function as scalar endpoints.

The notion of arbitrariness also accounts for FCI instances in subtriggering contexts, as illustrated in (606), and in imperatives, as in (607) and (608), better than scalarity. Subtriggering contexts, after LeGrand (1975:54-69), are contexts in which FCIs are triggered by a modifying subordinate clause or other postnominal modification. When subtriggered, FCIs can occur in veridical contexts, as illustrated by sentence (606).

(606) Mary read any book on the reading list.

(607) Pick any of these five cards.

(608) Consider any arbitrary number.

(Giannakidou 2011:1691)

Any in sentences (606) to (608) does not immediately allow for a scalar reading. Sentence (607) does not correspond to ‘Pick the most unlikely card of these five cards’, just like sentence (608) does not correspond to ‘Consider the most unlikely number’. The subtriggering sentence in (606) does not convey ‘Mary read the even the most unlikely book on the reading list’, even though this might be implied, as also noted in Tovená & Jayez (1999:42). Tovená & Jayez (1999:42) note that scalarity and arbitrariness are obviously related. Sentence (606) “can be interpreted as saying that Mary read even the books that she was *not* expected to read, because they are dull, too difficult, partly irrelevant, etc.” According to Tovená & Jayez (1999:42) “this is the scalar flavor of *any* advocated in various works”. However, this flavor is said to be the result of the fact that Mary picked out her books arbitrarily. Because Mary selected books on the basis of their property of being on the list instead of other properties that are more relevant along some contextual dimension (for example relevance), she might have selected referents that are endpoints on the scale of relevance.

It is worth noting that *any*’s development and etymology seems to suggest a change from scalar NPI to item conveying either scalarity or arbitrariness. Present-day English *any* consists of the numeral ‘one’ and an adjectival ending *-ig*. The numeral ‘one’ is a typical minimal-unit expression that is suited to convey emphasis in scale-reversing contexts. Not surprisingly, this is what OE *ænig* mostly did; in Old English *ænig* was almost exclusively found in scale-reversing NPI contexts. In the Helsinki corpus of Old English texts, free choice *any* is only attested twice, as compared to 293 attestations of the non-specific negation use and 108 attestations of negative polarity uses (Hofer 2005:27). This contrasts with present-day English *any*. A random selection of 200 written attestations in the written part of the British National Corpus shows that roughly one third are free choice uses (van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2013a:33).

Throughout the dissertation, I will use the term ‘widening’ to refer to the semantic-pragmatic widening-strengthening effect that elements denoting scalarity and/or arbitrariness may have in NPI contexts, as well as FCI contexts. Items that are only used in NPI contexts are scalar NPIs, whereas items denoting arbitrariness and occur at least in FCI contexts, and possibly also in NPI contexts are free choice items.

In conclusion, I will distinguish between two different semantic types of indefinites: widening and non-widening indefinites. The actual consequences for the map will be discussed in the next section, in which the importance of context will be discussed.

5.3.2. Contexts

Ideally, one would want to eliminate contexts on a semantic map, but unfortunately indefinites and NPIs in particular exhibit a peculiar relation with the contexts that they are allowed in, which is also reflected on Haspelmath’s map.

As mentioned already, Haspelmath (1997:126) suggests that a distinction could be made between ‘emphatic conditional’ and ‘non-emphatic conditional’ and ‘emphatic question’ and ‘non-emphatic question’, which would correspond to ‘conditional, widening’ and ‘conditional, non-specific’ and ‘question, widening’ and ‘question, non-specific’ in my terminology. The data from Dutch and French in (609) and (610) suggest that the distinction is also relevant for negative contexts.

(609) Indirect negation

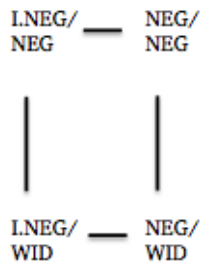
- a. Ik denk niet dat hij ook maar iets begrepen heeft.
 I think not that he anything at all understood has
 ‘I don’t think he understood anything at all.’
- b. Ik denk niet dat hij iets heeft gezien.
 I think not that he something has seen
 ‘I don’t think he saw something.’

(610) Direct negation

- a. Je n’ai rien vu.
 I NEG-have nothing seen
 ‘I didn’t see anything.’
- b. Je n’ai pas vu quoi que ce soit.
 I NEG-have NEG seen anything at all
 ‘I didn’t see anything at all.’

Therefore, one can also distinguish an ‘indirect negation, negation’ function and a ‘direct negation, widening’ function, and ‘direct negation, negation’ and ‘direct negation, widening’ as in (611).

(611) Widening and non-widening in negation



For the comparative function, the distinction between widening and non-widening indefinites is not relevant, since only indefinites that express widening can lead to the universal implicature needed for the comparative function. This can be illustrated on the basis of the Dutch sentences, in (612) and (613).

- (612) Hij doet het beter dan iemand.
 he does it better than someone
 ‘He does it better than someone.’
- (613) Hij doet het beter dan wie dan ook.
 he does it better than anyone
 ‘He does it better than anyone.’

The non-widening indefinite in (612) only introduces a variable and its occurrence in a comparative leads to a specific existential interpretation that there is someone specific that does it better. The widening indefinite *wie dan ook*, lit. ‘who then also’, on the other hand, triggers a universal implicature. Another example comes from French. Whereas the non-widening French indefinite *quelqu’un* ‘someone’ can occur in NPI contexts like conditionals and questions with a non-specific interpretation, it cannot have the comparative function, whereas the widening *qui que ce soit* ‘anybody’ can.

As it is now, the doubling of Haspelmath’s ‘conditional’, ‘question’, ‘indirect negation’ and ‘negation’ functions would lead to 8 ‘meanings-in-contexts’. However, by distinguishing between widening and non-widening non-specific indefinites, some of the contextual distinctions are redundant for non-widening indefinites, which yield a non-specific meaning-in-context. One does not need to distinguish a ‘conditional, non-specific’ and a ‘question non-specific’. Instead, one can replace these functions by ‘NPI contexts, non-specific’, since non-widening indefinites that occur in conditionals are expected to also be able to occur in

questions, as well as in the restriction of other scale-reversing triggers like a universal quantifier, a superlative and *few*, contexts which are not represented on Haspelmath's map. Hence, a function is introduced that comprises all non-negative NPI contexts. This function is NPI/N-SPEC, referring to an indefinite with a non-specific meaning in any kind of NPI context that is not negative. This function is added next to the function of non-widening indefinites in indirect negative contexts.

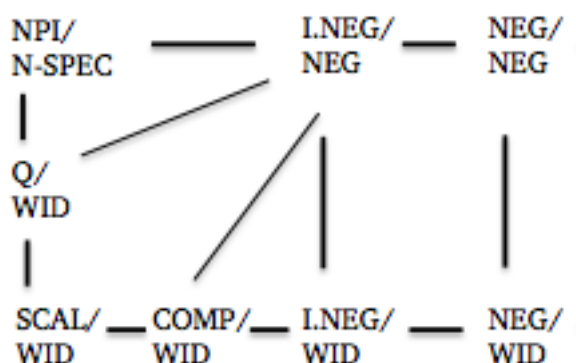
The meaning dimension that distinguishes widening from non-widening indefinites is thus a predictor for the distribution of a certain item across contexts. One may wonder why the NPI contexts have to be distinguished for non-widening indefinites, given the fact that I just mentioned that indefinites are sensitive to NPI contexts because of their lexical semantics of widening. If an indefinite does not have the lexical property of widening the domain of reference, why would it be still be restricted to NPI contexts, instead of being sensitive to non-veridical contexts in general in which non-specific reference can be established? The history of English *any* shows that this item used to be a widening indefinite, after which it grammaticalized as non-specific article restricted to NPI contexts. Former widening indefinites in NPI contexts can thus lose the widening property – a case of bleaching or loss of expressive force – but still be syntactically restricted to NPI contexts.

For the widening indefinites, the contextual distinctions that are made on Haspelmath's map are all relevant, and more have to be added. The question, indirect negative and negative contexts are retained. In combination with the lexical property of widening, this yield the functions 'question, widening', 'indirect negation, widening', 'negation, widening'. The conditional context is replaced by 'scale-reversing' context, yielding the 'scale-reversing, widening' meaning-in-context. This includes other scale-reversing contexts that are not represented on the map.

The comparative context now corresponds to two different comparative contexts: one NPI comparative context, corresponding to 'comparative, widening' and the other one a free choice comparative, which will be discussed in section 5.5.

The part of the semantic map that corresponds to the negative polarity area is presented in (614).

(614) Negative polarity area on the new map



The way the functions are connected is based on the cross-linguistic variation found in the 40 languages reported on in Haspelmath (1997), 10 of which recur in my sample.

It now contains information on the lexical semantics of the indefinite, as well as on the context in which the indefinite occurs. For non-widening indefinites, the contexts ‘NPI’, ‘indirect negation’ and ‘direct negation’ are relevant. This yields the functions NPI/N-SPEC, referring to any type of NPI context that is not negative and a non-specific meaning in context, I.NEG/NEG, referring to an indirect negative context and a negative resulting meaning-in-context and NEG/NEG, referring to a direct negative context and a negative meaning-in-context. For the widening indefinites, the contexts comparative and question are relevant next to indirect negative and direct negative contexts. Then a function for the widening indefinites in all remaining scale-reversing contexts is added. This yields the functions Q/WID, COMP/WID, SCAL/WID, I.NEG/WID and NEG/WID, the former element referring to the contextual element, the latter to the lexical input of the indefinite.

The different functions are illustrated on the basis of the Dutch examples in (615) to (622).

(615) SCAL/WID

Telkens je ook maar iets ziet, moet je me .
 each time you anything at all see, have.to you me
 bellen.
 call

‘Each time you see anything at all, you have to call me.’

(616) NPI/N-SPEC

Telkens je iets ziet, moet je me bellen.
 each time you something see have.to you me call

‘Each time you see something, you have to call me.’

(617) COMP/WID

Hij doet het beter dan ook maar iemand het ooit gedaan
he does it better than also but someone it ever done
heeft.

has

‘He does it better than anyone has ever done it.’

(618) Q/WID

Heb je ook maar iets gehoord?

have you anything at all heard

‘Have you heard anything at all?’

(619) I.NEG/WID

Ik denk niet dat hij ook maar iets begrepen heeft.

I think not that he anything at all understood has

‘I don’t think he understood anything at all.’

(620) I.NEG/NEG

Ik denk niet dat hij iets heeft gezien.

I think not that he something has seen

‘I don’t think he saw something.’

(621) NEG/WID

Hij heeft niet enig idee.

he has not any clue

‘He doesn’t have ANY clue.’

(622) Special

Hij heeft geen idee.

he has no idea

‘He doesn’t have any idea.’

The reason why sentence (622) is labeled ‘special’ has to do with the lack of clausal negator. A new function will be introduced to represent this parameter of variation for negative indefinites in the next section.

5.4. Negation

The negative polarity area partly overlaps with the negative area. The negative area on Haspelmath's map corresponds to two functions: 'indirect negation' and 'direct negation'. In the previous section, the semantic notion of widening was added, which led to four negative functions. However, these four negative functions do not suffice to accurately map negative indefinites, as should also be clear from Chapter 3.

In Chapter 3, a negative indefinite was defined as an indefinite that has direct negation as its only or most important function. Two types of indefinites have direct negation as their only function. There are indefinites that are contextually restricted to direct negation that are not able to occur in elliptical contexts with a negative meaning. This was exemplified by Yiddish, Ewe and Skolt Saami. Ewe has indefinite forms *naneke* and *adeke*, which are only used in negative sentences to convey the meanings 'nothing' and 'nobody'. At the same time, they cannot convey a negative meaning independently, e.g. in a short answer. Instead, one has to use the negative existential verb or either part of the negator (*me adake* 'nobody' or *naneke o* 'nothing').

The second type of negative indefinites with direct negation as their only function consists of indefinites that can occur with a negative meaning in an elliptical context. They can be n-words, e.g. in Polish, or negative quantifiers, e.g. in English. These indefinites are the most unproblematic negative indefinites. They can express negation independently in elliptical contexts and have no other function than direct negation (for a moment leaving aside the use of negative quantifiers in expletive questions). To represent whether an indefinite is able to convey a negative meaning in an elliptical context, a function ELL/NEG can be added, which stands for 'negative meaning in an elliptical context'.

Negative indefinites were shown to differ with respect to the way they pattern with clausal negation: either the presence of clausal negation yields a single semantic negation, in which case there is NC, or the presence of clausal negation yields double negation and hence a positive statement, in which case I labeled it 'NQ'. Whether a negative indefinite expresses negation independently or in combination with a negative verb, can be made visible on a semantic map, by introducing two functions that mark the negative versus non-negative contexts that negative indefinites can occur in. This is made visible in (623).

(623) 'Negative context, negative meaning' (NEG/NEG) versus 'non-negative context, negative meaning' (N-NEG/NEG)

NEG/ — N-NEG/
NEG NEG

The two functions allow one to map NC languages, like Romanian in (624), and contrast them with NQ languages, like Dutch in (625).

(624) Negative context, negative meaning

Romanian:

Niciun	student	nu	a	venit.
no	student	NEG	has	come

‘No student came.’

(Iordăchioaia and Richter 2009:152)

(625) Non-negative context, negative meaning

Dutch

Hij	heeft	geen	idee.
he	has	no	idea

‘He doesn’t have any idea.’

Negative as well as non-negative indefinites that can yield a negative meaning-in-context in combination with a negative verb have the function NEG/NEG, referring to a negative context and a negative meaning-in-context. Indefinites that convey a negative meaning in a non-negative context have the function N-NEG/NEG, referring to the non-negative context and the negative resulting meaning-in-context.

The other type of negative indefinite is a type of indefinites that has direct negation as its most important function. This type may involve negative indefinites that occur in indirect negation and direct negation (e.g. the Portuguese negative indefinite series), but they can also sometimes have certain non-negative uses, mostly in questions and comparatives, and in the rare Catalan case also in conditionals.⁵⁰ The fact that they are still negative, despite the non-negative uses, is especially shown in elliptical contexts. In Chapter 3, it was argued

⁵⁰ Note that some Catalan n-words are “less negative” than the French n-words, for example, in the sense that even though some Catalan n-words can occur with a negative sense in an elliptical context, they can equally well occur with sentential negation, as noted by Vallduví (1994:21). This is illustrated on the basis of the example in (1) with *res* ‘anything, nothing’.

(1) Què	vols?	(No)	res.
what	2SG-want	no	nothing

‘What do you want? Nothing.’

The members of the n-word paradigm differ with respect to this property. *Cap* ‘nothing’, for instance, would not co-occur in an elliptical context with the negator (Vallduví 1994:21-22).

that the way Haspelmath (1997) presented their functional distribution does not do credit to the items' negative character or ability to convey a negative meaning. The introduction of the function ELL/NEG for indefinites that can convey a negative meaning in elliptical contexts allows one to do credit to the negative meaning of these former non-negative indefinites and to identify elements with certain non-negative functions as negative indefinites.

In the previous section, it was argued that some indefinites induce widening, whereas others do not. This dimension has been shown to be relevant in direct negative contexts on the basis of the example in (626).

(626) Direct negation

- a. Je n'ai rien vu.
 I NEG-have nothing seen
 'I didn't see anything.'
- b. Je n'ai pas vu quoi que ce soit.
 I NEG-have NEG seen anything at all
 'I didn't see anything at all.'

The indefinite *quoi que ce soit* is clearly the more emphatic of the two indefinites in (626). It is reasonable to assume that any negative indefinite can also induce widening, on the condition that it carries stress. I have not been able to sufficiently investigate the role of intonation for the functional distribution of negative indefinites. In Chapter 6, I have included the negative widening functions into the functional domain for those negative indefinites that are still used in functions in which widening is required, e.g. the comparative.

Two other functions could be argued to be added that map different patterns of negative indefinites when more than one negative indefinite is present. In sentence (627), the pattern according to which two or more indefinites yield one semantic negation, known as negative spread, is illustrated. In sentence (628), the NQ pattern is illustrated, according to which two negative indefinites yield a positive meaning.

(627) Negative spread

- Nem volt soha sehol senki se.
 NEG be.PST.3SG never nowhere nobody NEG
 'There was absolutely nobody there.'
- (Kahrel 1996:49)

(628) Double negation

Ik zag niet niemand.
I saw NEG nobody
'I didn't see nobody.' = 'I saw someone'

However, as shown in Chapter 3, almost all negative indefinites that co-occur with sentential negation allow NS, and almost all negative indefinites that do not co-occur with sentential negation lead to double negation when two of them co-occur. For this reason, I did not add them to the map. The uses will, however, be mentioned in the description of the indefinite systems in Chapter 6 in case information was available.

Then there are the non-negative uses of negative indefinites that have to be mapped as well. The best-known example of negative indefinites with non-negative uses is presented by the French indefinites *personne* 'nobody' and *rien* 'nothing'. In section 3.2.3, I argued that the non-negative uses of negative indefinites cannot be compared to the use of non-emphatic indefinites. This is now made visible by adding the widening dimension, which reflects their non-negative past as NPIs denoting scalar endpoints. By adding the widening dimension, as well as a means to identify indefinites as negative indefinites, namely 'ELL/NEG', one can explain why the Italian negative indefinites are only used in very specific questions. On Haspelmath's map, the negative indefinites have the negative functions and the question function. However, unlike non-widening indefinites with the 'NPI context, non-specific function' (NPI/N-SPEC), the Italian negative indefinites are only used in questions with a negative expectation.

(629) Question, widening (Q/WID)

Quando mai ha detto niente di nuovo?
when ever has said anything of new
'When has he ever said anything new?'
(Haspelmath 1997:81)

I think this can be generalized. Former scalar endpoint indefinites that turn negative, and hence exhibit the function ELL/NEG, can sometimes still be used in the Q/WID function with a negative bias of 'probably no one/nothing'. The distribution of negative indefinites as found in Italian is also found in Persian and Turkish (Haspelmath 1997:283, 286).

Former non-negative indefinites can sometimes also occur in the comparative function. Like sentential negation, negative indefinites can be used expletively in comparatives with a widening meaning and a negative implicature, as in (630).

(630) French comparative

Elle le fait mieux que personne.

she it does better than anybody

‘She does it better than anyone.’

Implicature: No one does it better.

The fact that the resulting reading amounts to a universal quantificational implicature is indicated by ‘widening’ in the function COMP/WID. The fact that a negative implicature arises is due to the fact that the indefinites are negative indefinites. Negative indefinites with a remnant use in comparatives are found in French, Maltese, Japanese and Korean (see Haspelmath 1997:206, 297, 312, 314).

One more function can be distinguished, which is relevant for negative quantifiers only, or negative indefinites that have the N-NEG/NEG function, namely expletive question with a non-specific meaning, labeled ‘NEG Q/N-SPEC’. This was also illustrated in section 3.2.3 on the basis of the Dutch *niemand*. The Dutch negative quantifier can occur in a question with a positive bias, as illustrated in (631).

(631) Negative question, non-specific meaning (NEG Q/N-SPEC)

Heeft er niemand gebeld?

has there nobody called

‘Hasn’t anybody called?’

I have little information about the use of negative quantifiers in questions, but based on the information from Dutch, the function can be added to the right of the negative quantifier function.

In conclusion, the negative area from Haspelmath (1997), which consists of 2 functions, now correspond to 9 functions, illustrated in (632) to (638).

(632) Negative verb, negative meaning (NEG/NEG)

Russian

Nikto ne videl nikogo.

nobody NEG saw no one

‘Nobody saw anyone.’

- (633) Positive verb, negative meaning (N-NEG/NEG)

Chukchi

Va'nêvan ni'-tvi-nên.

nothing SG-tell-SG

'She told him nothing.'

(Kahrel 1996:46)

- (634) Indirect negative context, negative meaning (I.NEG/NEG)

Spanish

Dudo que venga ninguno de tus amigos.

I.doubt that comes any of your friends

'I doubt any of your friends will come.'

(Aranovich 2007:183)

- (635) Elliptical context, negative meaning (ELL/NEG)

French

Qui as-tu vu? Personne.

who have-you seen no one

'Who did you see? No one.'

- (636) Negative question, non-specific meaning, positive expectation ('NEG Q/N-SPEC)

Dutch

Heeft er niemand gebeld?

has there nobody called

'Hasn't anybody called?'

- (637) Question, negative expectation (Q/WID)

Italian

Quando mai ha detto niente di nuovo?

when ever has said anything of new

'When has he ever said anything new?'

- (638) Comparative context, positive meaning, negative implicature (COMP/WID)

French

Elle le fait mieux que personne.

she it does better than anyone

'She does it better than anyone.'

(639) Conditional context, positive meaning, negative implicature (SCAL/WID)

Catalan

Si hi hagués ningú de Barcelona, li podríem
if there existed anyone from Barcelona him we.could
demanar.

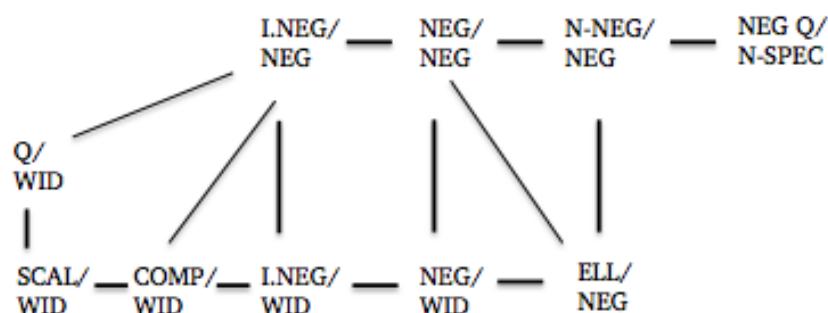
ask

‘If there were anyone from Barcelona, we could ask him.’

(Haspelmath 1997:259)

The functions can be connected as suggested in (640).

(640) Negative area on the new map



As on Haspelmath's map, the question and comparative functions are connected to the indirect negation functions. The scale-reversing function entailing a conditional context is connected to the functions in question and comparative contexts, as on Haspelmath's map. Indirect negation is connected to direct negation. This is the case for widening and non-widening indefinites. The reason why the widening functions are connected to the non-widening functions is mainly of a theoretical nature: the loss of the widening feature, which constitutes a case of bleaching, may in principle happen in any context. The reason why ELL/NEG is connected to NEG/WID, NEG/NEG and N-NEG/NEG can be illustrated on the basis of English, French and Greek.

The French *personne* has the function NEG/NEG, as illustrated in (641), as well as the function ELL/NEG, as illustrated in (642).

French

(641) NEG/NEG

Je n'ai vu personne.
I NEG-have seen nobody

(642) ELL/NEG

Qui as-tu vu? Personne.
who have-you seen nobody
'Who did you see? No one.'

The English *no one* has the function N-NEG/NEG and ELL/NEG, shown in (643) and (644).

English

(643) N-NEG/NEG

No one saw me.

(644) ELL/NEG

Did anyone see you? No, no one.

As was also mentioned in 3.7.4 on the importance of stress in the development of negative indefinites, the Greek stressed *kanenas* can occur in an elliptical context and in NEG/WID. This is illustrated in (645) and (646).

Greek

(645) KANENAS dhen ipe TIPOTA.

nobody NEG said nothing

'Nobody said anything.'

(Giannakidou 1998:188)

(646) Pjon idhes? KANENAN / *kanenan.

who saw.you nobody/ anybody

'Who did you see? Nobody.'

(Giannakidou 1998:66)

Now that I have covered the negative polarity area and the negative area, I will discuss the connected free choice area.

5.5. Free choice

5.5.1. Widening versus non-widening in non-veridical contexts

The fact that widening indefinites are distinguished from non-widening indefinites allows for a more transparent characterization of the 'irrealis non-specific' and 'free choice

function’. The difference between them cannot be explained by referring to contexts, but by referring to the different lexical semantics of items fulfilling those functions: both indefinites with the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function and indefinites with the FC function occur in non-veridical contexts with non-specific meanings-in-context. The difference is that indefinites with the FC function induce widening, whereas indefinites with the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function do not.

To clearly mark the fact that it is the lexical semantics and not the context that makes the difference between ‘irrealis non-specific’ and ‘free choice’, the context is marked for non-veridicality (abbreviated ‘N-VER’) for both functions, whereas the meaning is marked by ‘N-SPEC’ and ‘WID’, respectively. Non-veridicality characterizes the meaning of functions that do not require commitment of an individual to the truth of a proposition: negation, disjunction, volitional verbs (*want, suggest, insist*), modal verbs and adverbials, imperatives, questions, habituais, and the subjunctive are all non-veridical. On the map, there is of course a relation of inclusion between the contexts: NPI contexts are also non-veridical. On the map, non-veridical refers to those non-veridical contexts that are not NPI contexts.

The distinction between ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ and ‘non-veridical, widening’ illustrates how it is that an imperative context can be associated with Haspelmath’s free choice function as well as with the irrealis non-specific function. Compare in this respect the Greek use of *kanenas* in (647) to (649) and the use of FCI *any* in the translation.

(647) Imperative

Patise	kanena	pliktro.
press.IMP	any	key

‘Press any key.’

(648) Modal contexts with ‘may’

O	Janis	bori	na	milisi	me	kanenan.
the	John	may	SBJV	talk.3SG	with	anybody

‘John may talk to anybody.’

(649) Modal contexts with ‘will’

O	Janis	ine	prothimos	na	milisi	me	kanenan.
the	John	is	willing	SBJV	talk.3SG	with	anybody

‘John is willing to talk to anybody.’

On the basis of these examples, one could be inclined to say that the Greek *kanenas* has the FC function. However, sentences (650) to (652) show that there is a difference between Greek *kanenas* and English *any*.

(650) Habitual contexts

I Eleni dhiavaze sinithos kanena periodhiko.
the Ellen read.IMP.3SG usually some magazine
(otan variotane).
when bored
'Ellen used to read some magazine or other when she was bored.'

(651) Disjunction

I bike mesa kanenas i afisame to fos anameno.
either entered.3SG someone or left.1PL the light on
'??/#Either anybody came in OR we left the light on.'

(652) In the subjunctive complement of a directive propositional attitude verb like 'ask', 'want', 'suggest':

I Ariadhni epemine na afiso kanenan na
the Ariadne insisted.3SG SBJV let.1SG someone SBJV
perasi mesa.
come.3SG in
'Ariadne insisted that I allow someone in.'
(all from Giannakidou 2011)

In habitual contexts, with disjunction and in the subjunctive complement of a directive propositional attitude verb, the Greek polarity sensitive item has to be translated by *some* instead of FCI *any*. By replacing *someone* in (652) by *anyone*, one gets a different reading. The widening *anyone* is compatible with a universal implicature that everyone was allowed in. In (647) to (649), *kanenas* in fact corresponds to non-specific *some*, instead of *any*. The difference lies in the lexical semantics: whereas FCI *any* induces widening in non-veridical contexts, Greek *kanenas* does not.

The actual Greek counterpart to FCI *any* in sentences (647) to (649), is the widening - *dhípote*-series, as illustrated in (653).

(653) Pare opjodhípote milo.
take.2SG any apple
'Take any apple.'
(Giannakidou 1998:76)

This item can occur in those non-veridical environments in which widening leads to a strengthened reading: imperatives, with modal verbs of permission, with certain modal verbs of necessity, in subtriggering contexts and in generic contexts.

So on the map the former ‘irrealis non-specific’ function now corresponds to a ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ function or N-VER/N-SPEC on the map and the ‘free choice’ function now corresponds to a ‘non-veridical, widening’ function or N-VER/WID.

5.5.2. Existential free choice indefinites

In modal contexts of possibility, FCIs can freely occur. An example is given in (654).

(654) FCIs with modal of possibility

- a. A cat may have any toy.
- b. ‘a cat may have toy x’, ‘a cat may have toy y’, ‘a cat may have toy z’, ...

The explanation that *any* can occur in this context is because *any* widens the interpretation of the noun *toy* along a contextual dimension and consequently strengthens the proposition: sentence a. entails all propositions containing the different referential alternatives, as illustrated in the b. sentence.

This contrasts with certain modal contexts of necessity, in which the use of FCI is ruled out, as is shown in (655).

(655) FCI with modal of necessity

- a. *A cat must have any toy.
- b. ‘a cat must have toy x’, ‘a cat must have toy y’, ‘a cat must have toy z’, ...

In this context a strengthened reading is ruled out: sentence a. does not entail b., which is why *any* cannot occur in it.

In some languages, however, there is a special FCI that can be used in modal contexts of possibility, as shown in (656), but also in all modal contexts of necessity, as shown in (657), and in other non-veridical contexts in which English *any* is ruled out.

(656) Tu peux prendre une carte quelconque.
 you may take a card any
 ‘You may take a card, any card is an option.’

(657) Un chat doit avoir un jouet quelconque.
 a cat has.to have a toy some.or.other
 ‘A cat must have some sort of toy’
 ‘*A cat must have any toy.’
 (Jayez & Tovenia 2002:165)

Sentence (656) illustrates the use of *un N qualunque* as a FCI. In this sentence *un qualunque* yields the widening-strengthening reading that any card is an option, like other FCIs like English *any*. Sentence (657), which corresponds to a ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ function rather than free choice, on the other hand, shows that these items also differ from other FCIs like *any*.

Items like the French *un N qualunque*, Italian *un N qualsiasi/qualunque* and German stressed *irgend*-indefinites have been labeled ‘existential free choice items’ in e.g. in Menéndez-Benito (2010) and Chierchia (2013:245) referring to the existential quantificational force that the items have in non-veridical contexts. This contrasts with the universal quantificational force of FCIs like English *any*, which are by analogy labeled ‘universal free choice items’. Chierchia (2013:246) illustrates the difference in quantificational effect through the examples of subtriggered FCIs in (658) and (659), which involve the Italian universal FCI *qualsiasi* and the existential FCI *un NP qualsiasi*.

- Italian
- (658) Ieri e’ stato interrogato qualsiasi studente che lo
yesterday was interrogated any student who it
desiderava.
wanted
‘Yesterday any student who wanted it was interrogated.’
(Chierchia 2013:246)
- (659) Ieri e’ stato interrogato uno studente qualsiasi che
yesterday was interrogated a student any who
lo desiderava.
it wanted
‘Yesterday a random student who wanted it was interrogated.’ (no more than one)
(Chierchia 2013:246)

Sentence (658) with the universal FCI conveys that every student who wanted it was interrogated, whereas sentence (659) with the existential FCI conveys that one arbitrary student who wanted it was interrogated, but no more than one. Existential FCIs are said to carry a scalar implicature ‘exactly one’. Accordingly, sentence (659) yields the reading ‘it could have been any student, but no more than one.’

Another example of subtriggering that illustrates the quantificational difference, this time with a modal of necessity, is given in (660) and (661).

(660) Devi leggere un libro qualsiasi dalla lista di
 you.must read a book any of.the list of
 letture.
 literature

‘You must read a book from the reading list, any book.’

(Chierchia 2013:247)

(661) You must read any book from the reading list.

Sentence (660) with the existential FCI *un N qualsiasi* states an obligation to read some or other book from a reading list. In contrast, sentence (661) imposes an obligation to read all books from a reading list (Chierchia 2013:247).

Apart from the French *un N quelconque* and Italian *un N qualsiasi/qualunque*, where the existential force is in a way marked by the presence of the indefinite article, the German stressed *irgend*-series also fulfills the non-veridical existential widening function. Sentence (662) shows the FCI use in a modal context of possibility. Note that it concerns a stressed use of the German indefinite *irgend*-series.

(662) Dieses problem kann IRGENDjemand lösen.
 this problem can anybody solve
 ‘Anybody can solve this problem.’

In contrast to the universal FCI *any*, *irgend*- cannot occur in subtriggering contexts with a universal quantificational reading, as shown in (663), or in generic contexts, as shown in (664).

(663) Subtriggering

*John küsste IRGENDeine Frau mit roten Haaren.
 John kissed any woman with red hair
 Intended: ‘John kissed any woman with red hair.’

(664) Generic context

*IRGENDein Hund hat vier Beine.
 any dog has four legs
 Intended: ‘Any dog has four legs.’

In order to map the existential FCIs that carry different distributional restrictions across non-veridical contexts than universal FCIs, I have made a distinction between the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function (N-VER/WID) for the FCIs that can occur in all non-veridical contexts in which widening leads to strengthening, and a ‘non-veridical, existential

widening' function labeled 'N-VER/E.WID', for existential FCIs, which can have a universal implicature in modal contexts of possibility, but cannot occur in generic contexts or in subtriggered contexts with a universal implicature.

The two functions are not directly connected. The 'non-veridical, existential widening' function is connected to the 'non-veridical, non-specific function' (N-VER/N-SPEC), which covers the fact that they can sometimes also occur in non-veridical contexts without a widening reading, such as modals of necessity or habituais, in which FCI *any* does not occur. An example of the 'non-veridical, existential widening' function of the Romanian *un N oarecare* is given in (665) and an example of the 'non-veridical, non-specific' function of the Romanian *un N oarecare* is given in (666).

(665) N-VER/E.WID

Maria	poate	să	rezolve	o	problemă	oarecare.
Mary	can	SĂ	solve	a	problem	whatever

'Mary can solve any problem'.
(Fălăuş 2009:111)

(666) N-VER/N-SPEC

Maria	invită	de obicei	un	bărbat	oarecare	la	petrecerile	ei.
Mary	invites	usually	a	man	whatever	at	parties	her

'Mary usually invites a man to her party, and any man could be a possible choice for Mary.
(Ciucivara 2007:6)

As on Haspelmath's map, the 'non-veridical, non-specific' function is connected to the 'specific unknown' function, which will be labeled 'veridical, specific unknown' (VER/S-U). French *un N quelconque* as well as Romanian *un N oarecare* exhibit this use, as illustrated in (667) and (668).

(667) VER/S-U

Susanne	a	épousé	un	copain	de	fac
Susanne	has	married	a	friend	of	university

quelconque	que	je	ne	connais	pas.
some.or.other	that	I	NEG	know	NEG

'Susan married some university friend, whom I don't know.'
(Jaye & Toven 2002:165)

(668) VER/S-U

- a. Cine a bătut la poartă?
 who has knocked at door
 ‘Who knocked at the door?’
- b. Era un student oarecare, care – l căuta pe
 was a student some.or.other who him was.looking for
 tata.
 daddy
 ‘It was some student or other who was looking for daddy.’
 (Ciucivara 2007:5)

The ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function is also connected to an indiscriminacy function, as will be discussed below.

5.5.3. The free choice comparative

The function corresponding to Haspelmath’s (1997) ‘free choice’, namely the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function is connected to a comparative function, but on the new map a distinction will be made between a free choice comparative, labeled ‘FC COMP/WID’, which is different from the NPI comparative, labeled ‘COMP/WID’.

It might seem a counterintuitive move to distinguish two types of comparatives, but there is cross-linguistic evidence from Dutch, Serbian and Lithuanian that a FC comparative and a NPI comparative could be distinguished.

The Dutch evidence involves the FCI and NPI *-dan ook*-series and the NPI-only *ook maar*-series. The Dutch scalar *ook maar*-series can only occur in clausal comparatives and not in phrasal comparatives, as shown in (669) and (670), suggesting that the phrasal comparative does not host scalar NPIs.

(669) Clausal comparative

Hij doet het beter dan wie dan ook/ook maar iemand gedacht
 he does it better than anyone thought
 had.
 had
 ‘He does it better than anyone would have thought.’

(670) Phrasal comparative

Hij doet het beter dan *ook maar iemand/wie dan ook.
 he does it better than anyone
 Intended: ‘He does it better than anyone.’

The NPI *ook maar*-series can be said to only fulfill the NPI comparative function, whereas the *dan ook*-series can occur in any comparative with a widening meaning-in-context.

The Serbian data, which have been described in section 5.1.1, can now be more adequately covered on the map. In Serbian, the NPI *iko* ‘anyone’ can only occur in a clausal comparative, like the Dutch NPI *ook maar iemand*, as illustrated in (671). *Bilo koga*, on the other hand, is a widening indefinite and can occur in all contexts that allow widening-strengthening, i.e. NPI as well as FCI contexts.

(671) Comparative: clausal vs. nominal comparatives

- a. Marija je viša nego i-ko u razredu.
 Marija is taller than anyone in class
 ‘Marija is taller than anyone in the class.’
- b. Marija je viša od *i-koga/bilo koga u razredu.
 Marija is taller from anyone in class
 ‘Marija is taller than anyone in the class.’
- (Progovac 1994:71 in Haspelmath 1997:80)

Data from Lithuanian also support the separation of a FC comparative function and a NPI comparative function. Haspelmath (1997) depicts the comparative function as a function that can be fulfilled by the FCI *bet*-series and the NPI *nors*-series. However, Kozhanov (2010:103) shows that, whereas the FCI *bet*-series can occur in clausal and nominal comparatives, the NPI *nors*-series can only occur in clausal comparatives, as illustrated in (672) to (674).

(672) Nominal comparative in Lithuanian

- Arbalet-as ir šiandien teb-éra pranaš-esn-is
 arbalest-NOM.SG and today CNT.be-3.PRES superior-CMP-M.NOM.SG
 už bet kur-į/ (*kok-į nors) šaun-a-m-ąjį
 than INDEF what-ACC.SG what-ACC.SG INDEF shoot-PRES-PASS.PTCP-DEF.M.ACC.SG
 ginkl-ą.
 gun-ACC.SG
 ‘Today the arbalest is still superior to any shotgun.’
 (Kozhanov 2010:103)

(673) Clausal comparative in Lithuanian with FCI *bet*-series

Santyk-iai	su	NATO	yra	blog-esn-i	negu	bet
relation-NOM.PL	with	NATO	be.3.PRES	bad-CMP-M.NOM.PL	than	INDEF

kada.

when

‘Relations with NATO are worse than any other time.’

(Kozhanov 2010:102-103)

(674) Clausal comparative in Lithuanian with NPI *nors*-series

Ši-uo	met-u	muziej-ai	jud-a	daugiau	negu
this-INS.SG	time-INS.SG	museum-NOM.PL	move-3.PRES	more	than

kada nors savo istorij-oje.

when INDEF own history-LOC.SG

‘Nowadays museums move more than at any other time in their history.’

(Kozhanov 2010:103)

Apart from a separation of the phrasal FC comparative and the clausal NPI comparative, Finnish exemplifies a language in which the FCI series can occur in conditionals and in comparatives, but only in comparatives of equality (Haspelmath 1997:293). This Finnish FCI *hyvänsa*-series in its use in a comparative of equality is shown in (675).

(675) Täällä on yhtä mukavaa kuin missä tahansa muualla.
 here is as pleasant as where any else

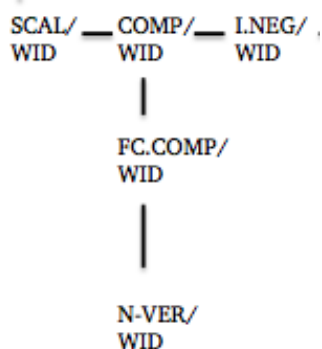
‘Here it is as pleasant as anywhere else.’

(Haspelmath 1997:294)

In a comparison of inequality, the NPI *-kaan* series is used. This suggests that there is another free choice comparative, viz. the FC comparative of equality, which is fulfilled by the FCI *hyvänsa*-series, but not the NPI *-kaan*-series. However, like Haspelmath’s map, this map does not accommodate for what seems to be a rare type of distributional restriction.

The way the comparative functions are connected is depicted in (676).

(676) Comparatives on new map



On Haspelmath's map, the comparative is connected to 'indirect negation' and 'conditional'. This is also the case on this map, but here, the NPI comparative is connected to the function for elements with a widening meaning in indirect negative contexts and scale-reversing contexts that are not negative contexts or question contexts. The FC comparative is connected to the function for widening elements in non-veridical contexts that are not NPI contexts. This function used to correspond to Haspelmath's 'free choice' function. In addition, the FC comparative is connected to the NPI comparative.

5.5.4. Indiscriminacy readings

Apart from the FC comparative, the 'non-veridical widening' function and the 'non-veridical, existential widening' function, two other functions associated with FCIs will be distinguished on the map, which were not present on Haspelmath's map. They are both related to the 'indiscriminacy' reading. A similar term for items with this reading, viz. 'indiscriminatives', was coined by Horn (2000). The indiscriminacy reading is illustrated in (677).

(677) I don't want to sleep with just anyone. I have to be attracted to them sexually.

Sentence (678) clearly contrasts with an NPI use of *any* in negation in (679).

(678) I don't want to sleep with anyone. I want to stay a virgin.

What the speaker states in sentence (677) is that he/she does not want to sleep with people arbitrarily, which is of course not the same as saying that he/she does not want to sleep with anyone at all.

This use or function is known as the indiscriminacy function. Though *anyone* or *just anyone* in the indiscriminacy function is often associated with negation, it is not restricted to negative contexts, as was shown in Vlachou (2007), and illustrated in (679).

- (679) If you eat any meat, you are not a kosher Jew.
(i.e. if you eat meat arbitrarily, you are not a kosher Jew)

Again one can paraphrase by using ‘arbitrarily’. Sentence (679) states that if you eat meat in an arbitrary fashion, then you are not a kosher Jew.

Sentence (680) from Vlachou (2007:4) shows that this type of FCI *any* is not even restricted to non-veridical contexts. Sentence (680) is an example of *any* in a veridical context. The relevant sentence in bold can be paraphrased as ‘I said something arbitrarily’. The sentence shows that a FCI can also have specific reference.

- (680) I found myself at a private viewing in a blanco Hoxton artspace, standing still among the crowd while conversations formed around me, typically: “Richard, I just wanted to say your work reaches out to a beautifully sad place in all of us” followed by a soft gaze to see if I said anything. So **I said just anything** to fill the silence. And pretty soon they were all going: “Yes oh yes, mmm, and you’re so brave”.
(Vlachou 2007:4)

Still, it seems to be the case that *any* in its indiscriminacy use mostly occurs in negation. Duffley & Larrivé (2012:33) suggest that this is the case because one does not want to display indiscriminative behaviour, which is normally felt to be objectionable, and that the avoidance of indiscriminacy is often associated with refinement and good taste.

To refer to this indiscriminacy meaning-in-context of certain FCIs, I will also use the term ‘indiscriminacy’, and abbreviate it as ‘IND’ on the map. It is interesting to note that this term also comprises two other readings that have been distinguished for FCIs by Vlachou (2007), namely low-level and indistinguishability, as exemplified in (681) and (682).

- (681) Low-level

Did you hear the news? John found something in the street. It is not just anything.
He found an extremely expensive golden ring.
(Vlachou 2007:138)

- (682) Indistinguishability

- a. Her illness is not just any illness. Mary suffers from HIV.
(Vlachou 2007:132)
- b. John got married to just any woman. She is neither smart, nor nice. She is an ordinary woman.
(Vlachou 2007:137)

Although these readings might be relevant on a language-particular level, I did not come across languages that have lexicalized indefinites that can express only one of these readings. What the readings have in common is the fact that these elements focus on the arbitrariness that is denoted by the elements and in this sense they have qualitative adjective-like meaning. The qualitative nature of some of the readings that certain indefinites can yield can be nicely illustrated by the fact that they can often be replaced by adjectives meaning ‘random’, ‘arbitrary’. The focus on the arbitrariness denoted by the indefinite elements can be used for different pragmatic purposes. Depending on the context, the focus on arbitrariness or random selection can be used to refer to the element that is being picked out of a set of possible candidates that takes in an extreme position on a scale, which may lead to the low-level reading. One can also emphasize arbitrary choice to refer to an element that takes in a mediocre place on the scale, which leads to the indistinguishability reading, or one can emphasize arbitrary choice to emphasize the presence or absence of discriminative selection criteria, which is the indiscriminacy reading in the stricter sense. I will use the term ‘indiscriminacy’ to cover these three possible readings.

Even for indefinites with the indiscriminacy reading, the contextual restrictions have to be taken into account. Based on the data from the sample languages, only a distinction between veridical contexts and non-veridical contexts – this time including NPI contexts – seems necessary. The distinction can be illustrated on the basis of the French elements *n’importe qui* and *quiconque*. The French *n’importe quoi* can be used in veridical, as in (683), as well as in non-veridical contexts.

- (683) Il fallait dire quelque chose. J’ai dit n’importe quoi.
 it had say something I.have said anything
 ‘I had to say something. I said just anything.’
 (Vlachou 2007:52)

The FCI indefinite *quiconque*, on the other hand, can express indiscriminacy in non-veridical contexts, two examples of which are given in (684) and (685), but not in veridical contexts, as illustrated in (686).

- (684) ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’ (negation)
 Je ne polémique pas avec quiconque.
 I NEG argue NEG with anyone
 ‘I don’t argue with just anyone.’

(685) ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’ (conditional)

Si tu le demandes à quiconque, je peux m’imaginer
 if you it asks to anyone I can me-imagine
 que tu ne sais rien encore.
 that you NEG know nothing yet

‘If you ask just anyone, I can image that you don’t know anything yet.’

(686) ‘veridical, indiscriminacy’

*J’ai couché avec quiconque.
 I-have slept with just anybody
 Intended: ‘I have slept with just anybody.’

The function on the map corresponding to indiscriminacy readings in non-veridical contexts is labeled ‘N-VER/IND’, and the function corresponding to indiscriminacy readings in veridical contexts is labeled ‘VER/IND’. They are connected to the ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function as well as the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function. Examples of indefinites with the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function, and the indiscriminacy function have already been given, e.g. English *any*, French *quiconque*. An example of an element that has the ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function and an indiscriminacy function is given in (687).

(687) N-VER/E.WID

Alege o rochie oarecare!
 choose a dress whatever
 ‘Choose any dress!’
 ‘Choose a plain dress!’
 (Ciucivara 2007:6)

The translation indicates that the sentence is ambiguous between an existential widening interpretation, and a qualitative indiscriminacy reading.

A last remark about FCIs with indiscriminacy readings is that, if they can be used in a widening sense in NPI contexts, they often seem degraded in question contexts in their widening sense. This can be illustrated with French in (688) and (689).

(688) Si vous avez besoin de n’importe quoi, je suis là.
 if you have need of anything I am there
 ‘If you need anything at all, I am here for you.’

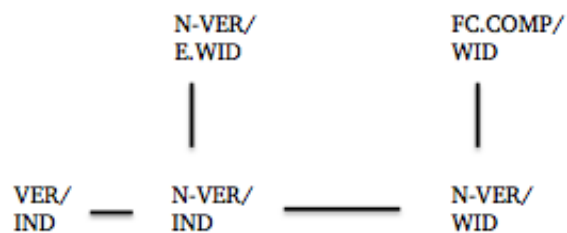
(689) As-tu mangé n’importe quoi?
 have-you eaten anything?
 ‘Have you eaten just anything?’

Whereas the widening use in a conditional is unproblematic, the indiscriminacy reading often prevails in questions and the widening use is hard to attain. This seems to be a recurring pattern. I have no good explanation for this.

5.5.5. Conclusion for free choice area

In (690), the new free choice domain is depicted.

(690) Map for free choice



The new area now comprises 5 functions. The first part of the functions refers to the contexts in which certain FCI can occur: non-veridical, comparative and veridical contexts. The second part refers to the meaning that the indefinites have in those contexts. ‘WID’ refers to the emphatic property of widening the domain of reference along some contextual dimension and consequently creating a stronger proposition. This is the case in FC.COMP/WID and N-VER/WID, which are illustrated in (691) and (692).

(691) FC.COMP/WID

Marija je viša od *i-koga/bilo koga u razredu.
 Marija is taller from anyone in class
 ‘Marija is taller than anyone in the class.’
 (Progovac 1994:71 in Haspelmath 1997:80)

(692) N-VER/WID

Bilo ko može istući malo dete.
 anyone can beat small child
 ‘Anyone can beat a small child.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:270)

Then there is a function for widening elements with existential implicatures, which is labeled ‘N-VER/E.WID’, as in (693).

(693) N-VER/E.WID

Un	homme	quiconque	peut	le	faire.
a	man	any	can	it	do

‘Anyone can do it.’

The fact that these elements have a different lexical semantics than the widening indefinites that lack the existential implicature has consequences for their distribution across non-veridical contexts: they cannot yield universal implicatures in subtriggering contexts or in a generic context.

The other meaning that FCIs can have is indiscriminacy. This is labeled ‘IND’. Languages differ with respect to whether the FCIs are allowed in all contexts or only in non-veridical contexts. For this reason, VER/IND and N-VER/IND are distinguished. These uses are illustrated in (694) and (695).

(694) N-VER/IND

I don’t sleep with anyone. I have to be attracted to them sexually.

(695) VER/IND

I said just anything to fill the silence.

The ‘non-veridical, widening’ function is connected to the FC comparative, to the indiscriminacy readings in non-veridical contexts and to a universal area, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.6. Universal function

In the discussion of the German *jeder* ‘every, any’, Haspelmath (1997:155-156) raises the issue and possibility of adding a universal function right next to the free choice function. Haspelmath (1997:156) notes that this change involves the loss of scalarity, or, as argued in section 5.3.1, arbitrariness, as well as the loss of non-specificity. The change is supposedly attested for German *jeder*, which can now occur in contexts in which FCI *any* cannot, as shown in (696).

(696) German

Der	Vater	gab	jedem	Kind	einen	Apfel.
the	father	gave	every	child	an	apple

‘The father gave every child an apple.’
(Haspelmath 1997:155)

Apart from a universal function, *jeder* can also still occur in indirect negative contexts without a universal meaning, but with an NPI meaning, as shown in (697).

(697) German

ohne jede Hilfe
without every help
'without any help'
(Haspelmath 1997:155)

Though I am not convinced that German *jeder* still has the indirect negation function, as will be discussed in 6.4, the introduction of the universal function can more accurately cover the functional distribution of some indefinite-universal elements, e.g. in Hausa. Haspelmath (1997) notes the functions 'direct negation', 'indirect negation', 'comparative' and 'free choice' for the Hausa *koo*-indefinites. Sentence (698) shows the use of the *koo*-forms in negation and sentence (699) shows that they can also express universal quantification in contexts in which FCIs cannot normally occur.

Hausa

(698) Bà-n ga koo-waa ba.
NEG-1SG.S see DISJ-who NEG
'I didn't see anyone.'
(Zimmermann 2013:53)

(699) Koo-waa yaa ci jaĩr̃àbâawaa.
everyone 3SG.PRF eat exam
'Everyone passed the exam.'
(Newman 2000:623)

As discussed in 4.9.4, there seem to be more African languages (e.g. Nupe and Diola-Fogny) in which the same elements are used for universal quantification and negative quantification. Therefore, as suggested by Haspelmath (1997), and as also done in Fobbe (2004:216), I added a universal function, as in (700).⁵¹ The function ALL/UNI stands for a universal meaning in all contexts.

⁵¹ There is one language in which a certain form is used with a universal meaning, but not in negative contexts, namely Uyghur. The Uyghur data suggest that one should make a distinction between 'universal meaning in non-negative contexts' and a 'universal meaning in negative contexts'. I have not done so, since I do not have sufficient information on this matter. However, it is highly likely that free choice items are reanalyzed as universal quantifiers in non-negative contexts first, and can only after a while express universal quantification in negative contexts too. This is especially likely in light

(700) Universal function

N-VER/
WID

|

ALL/
UNI

In the next section, I will discuss the area that covers indefinites with specific reference. The main issue is the way the dimension of scope should be represented on the new map.

5.7. Specificity

On Haspelmath's map, the specific area corresponds to two functions: 'specific known' and 'specific unknown'. This distinction on Haspelmath's map corresponds to what is also called 'epistemic specificity'. Apart from epistemic specificity, another type of specificity is also relevant for the map, namely scopal specificity. A third type of specificity distinguished by Farkas (1994:8), namely partitive specificity is not included on the new map. I will briefly address the three types and their relevance for the map. It will be shown that epistemic specificity is adequately represented on Haspelmath's map, but scopal specificity is not.

5.7.1. Epistemic specificity

Epistemic specificity distinguishes Haspelmath's 'specific known' function from the 'unknown' function. It sets apart the indefinite in (701) with the a) continuation from the indefinite in sentence (701) with the b) continuation.

(701) Someone in Syntax 1 cheated on the exam.

a) His name is John.

b) We are all trying to figure out who it was.

of the fact that these universal indefinites sometimes also retain their NPI uses in negation, as was discussed in section 4.5.

Pronouns with this function are also sometimes called ‘epistemic indefinites’, as has been discussed in section 4.2. Epistemic indefinites are lexically marked for lack of knowledge about the identity from the speaker. Lexically, epistemic indefinites introduce a variable *x* plus epistemic alternatives, as defined in Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito (2003), Chierchia (2006), Fălăuș (2010b, 2011) and Giannakidou & Quer (2013). According to this view, epistemic indefinites convey that the individual satisfying the existential claim is not the same in all of the speaker’s epistemic alternatives.

An indefinite pronoun may thus contain information about the epistemic state of the speaker. In the a) sentence, the referent is known, in the b) sentence, the speaker lacks that information. The resulting reading has sometimes been labeled the ‘ignorance’ reading to refer to the ignorance of the speaker by Vlachou (2007).

Epistemic indefinites have recently received much attention in the semantics literature, as was also noted in section 4.2. I already noted examples of epistemic indefinites in English (singular *some*, see Becker 1999, Farkas 2002b), German (*irgendein*, see Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002, Aloni & Port 2011), Spanish (*algún*, see Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2003, 2008, 2010, forthcoming), French (*quelque* and *un* NP *quelconque*, see among others Jayez & Tovenca 2006), Italian ((*un*) *qualche*, see Zamparelli 2008, Aloni & Port 2011), Russian (-*to* series, see Haspelmath (1997:273), Yanovich 2005, Kagan 2007), Hebrew (*eyze*, see Kagan & Spector 2008), Finnish (the -*kin* series, see Kagan 2007) and Japanese (*wh-ka* indeterminates, see Sudo 2010, Kaneko 2011, Alonso-Ovalle & Shimoyama 2012).

In some languages, the ignorance effect can arise as a conversational implicature. This is the case for the English *some*-pronouns. In other languages, the implicature can be lexicalized, as in German, where the *irgend*-pronouns can only have a specific unknown and not a specific known function. The German *irgend*-indefinite is illustrated in (702).

- (702) Mary musste irgendeinen Mann heiraten.
 Mary had.to.3SG irgend-one man marry
 ‘There was some man Mary had to marry, the speaker does not know who it was.’

The ignorance reading can also be directly related to the origin of the indefinite. This is the case for pronouns that have as their source a clause with the meaning ‘I don’t know’, e.g. Old Norse *nekkver* (Haspelmath 1997:130-131). In English, the difference is not marked in the case of the pronouns, but, as mentioned in Haspelmath (1997:47), the singular indefinite determiner *some* has lexicalized the implicature. It is clear that the distinction must be maintained on a semantic map.

It is interesting to note that epistemic indefinites can also give rise to an indifference reading, instead of an unknown reading. The indifference implicature arises when an

epistemic indefinite is used with a specific interpretation in a context in which the referent is known. An example is given in (703).

(703) Marc wrote some paper (or other) on indefinites and now he considers himself a specialist.

(Farkas 2002b:69)

This is called the ‘derogatory flavor’ (Farkas 2002b) that epistemic indefinites can have in contexts in which the referent is known by the speaker, but an epistemic indefinite is used nevertheless.

Apart from specific indefinites that introduce epistemic alternatives, there are also indefinites that are lexically marked for knownness. Interestingly, they have not been discussed as elaborately in the literature as epistemic indefinites have. In his 40 language-sample, Haspelmath (1997) notes the existence of 5 languages with indefinites with only the specific known function: Lithuanian, Finnish, Basque, Latin and Russian.

Indefinites with the meaning ‘specific known’ will be marked ‘S-K’ on the new map. Epistemic indefinites used with specific unknown reference will be marked ‘S-U’. However, since I have not always found sufficient information on the known versus unknown distinction, I will sometimes only mark a certain indefinite for specificity (SPEC), as is also done in Haspelmath (1997) for certain languages, e.g. for Quechua (Haspelmath 1997:310).

In the next section, it will be shown that not all indefinites that can establish specific reference in veridical contexts can do so in non-veridical contexts.

5.7.2. Scopal specificity

On Haspelmath’s map, it is not clear how indefinites with the functions ‘specific known’ and ‘specific unknown’ behave in contexts that are associated with the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function. Sentence (704) shows that German *irgendein*, which has the function ‘specific unknown’ and ‘irrealis non-specific’, can also have a ‘specific unknown’ meaning in a non-veridical context.

(704) Maria muss irgendeinen Arzt heiraten.

Maria has.to some doctor marry

a) There is a doctor, whom I don’t know, that Maria has to marry.

b) Maria has to marry a doctor, any doctor is an option.

(Aloni & Port 2011:3)

The ambiguity pertains to the availability of wide-scope specific readings. If *irgendein Arzt* in (704) escapes the scope of the non-veridical operator, in this case a modal verb of necessity, it is specific, if it is interpreted in the scope of the non-veridical operator, it is non-specific. On Haspelmath's map scopal ambiguity is not marked, but is implied by the fact that an indefinite has a 'specific unknown' function next to the 'irrealis non-specific' function. The function of the indefinite with the a) reading from (704), however, corresponds to what one could call the 'irrealis, specific' function in analogy to the 'irrealis, non-specific' function, indicating that the indefinite can not only have a specific interpretation in veridical clauses, but also in other non-veridical contexts, like modal contexts, exemplified by (704), and NPI contexts, among which also negative contexts. In this respect, the question rises whether an indefinite that can have a specific meaning in veridical contexts can always have a specific meaning in non-veridical contexts. Data from Hausa, Passamaquoddy and Maori show that this is not necessarily the case.

In Hausa, bare indefinite nouns can be used with a specific meaning in a veridical context, as is shown in (705).

(705) Specific known in a veridical context

Wannàn	tàatsuuniyaa-r	yaarinyàà	cee.	Suuna-n-ta	Hàwwa.
this	story-of	girl	COP	name-of-her	Hawwa

'This is a story about a girl. Her name is Hawwa.'

(Zimmermann & Grubic 2010:6)

The bare indefinite, however, cannot be used in a non-veridical context with a specific meaning, as shown in (706). Instead the indefinite determiner *wani* has to be used (Zimmermann & Grubic 2010:7).

(706) Specific known in a non-veridical context

Audù	yanàà	sô	yà	aùri	yaarinyàà	'yar	Dàuraa.
Audu	3SG.M.PROG	want	3SG.M	marry	girl	daughter-of	Dauraa

*'There is some girl from Daura that Audu wants to marry.'

(Zimmermann & Grubic 2010:7)

Another example comes from Passamaquoddy. In Passamaquoddy, bare interrogatives can be used in an indefinite, specific sense, as shown in (707).

(707) Specific in a veridical context

Kesq yaq pemacqim-a-htit otuhj-ol, on keq (‘)-nutom-oni-ya.
 while QUOT drag-3S-3PL.CNJ deer-OBV then what 3-hear-IN.O-3PL
 ‘While they were dragging the deer, they heard something.’
 (Bruening 2007:150)

However, the bare interrogatives cannot be specific in conditionals, or negation, as exemplified in (708).

(708) Specific in a non-veridical context

Ma-te wen ‘-kisi-tomh-a-wiy-il Piyel-ol.
 NEG-EMPH who 3-PRF-beat-DV-NEG-OBV Piyel-OBV
 ‘No one beat Piyel.’
 Not: ‘Someone did not beat Piyel.’
 (Bruening 2007:161)

In Maori, the indefinite article *tehahi*, but not the indefinite article *he* can have a specific meaning in a negative context, despite the fact that they can both establish specific reference (Chung & Ladusaw 2004:40-1).

Based on the data from Hausa, Passamaquoddy and Maori, I distinguished between ‘specific in a veridical context’ (VER/SPEC) and ‘specific in a non-veridical context’ (N-VER/SPEC), or in case information about knownness was available, between ‘specific known in a veridical context’ (VER/S-K), ‘specific known in a non-veridical context’ (N-VER/S-K), ‘specific unknown in a veridical context’ (VER/S-U) and ‘specific unknown in a non-veridical context’ (N-VER/S-U).

Despite the counterexamples, the majority of indefinites that can have specific reference in veridical contexts can also have specific reference in non-veridical contexts. It must also be added that all the epistemic indefinites described in the literature can have specific reference in veridical and non-veridical contexts.

It is interesting to note that there are many indefinites with specific reference that necessarily have specific reference in negative contexts. These items, which have been labeled ‘positive polarity items’ (PPIs), cannot yield a non-specific meaning in a negative context, but can still yield a grammatical result in negation by taking wide scope with respect to negation. The *some*-indefinites, as illustrated in (709), have been analyzed as PPIs, e.g. by Szabolcsi (2004) and Giannakidou (2011:1698).

- (709) PPI *some*-pronouns
- a. I see something.
 - b. I don't see something.
- (Szabolcsi 2004:409)

PPIs are items that are said to obligatorily scope above negation. Accordingly, sentence (709)a. is fine on the condition that it is interpreted as 'there is something that I didn't see'. Apart from the English example, examples of PPIs that always escape the scope of negation are found in Hungarian (Szabolcsi 2002), exemplified in (710), in Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1994), Dutch (Van der Wouden 1994), and Greek (Giannakidou 1998).

- (710) Hungarian
- | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Nem | akar-ok | fel-hívni | valaki-t. |
| NEG | want-1SG | up-call-INF | someone-ACC |
- 'There is someone I do not want to call.'
- (Szabolcsi 2002:227)

In conclusion, four specific functions will be distinguished, which are marked for contexts and meaning: VER/S-K (specific known in a veridical context), VER/S-U (specific unknown in a veridical context), N-VER/S-K (specific known in a non-veridical context), N-VER/S-U (specific unknown in a non-veridical context). As mentioned in the previous section, I have not always found sufficient information on the known-unknown distinction. For this reason, the four specific functions are sometimes reduced to two functions: VER/SPEC and N-VER/SPEC.

5.7.3. Partitive specificity

Partitive specificity has been linked to specificity since Enç (1991). It separates *some* used in sentence (711), from *some* in sentence (712).

- (711) There are some ghosts in this town.
- (712) Some ghosts live in the pantry, some in the kitchen.

Partitive specificity can be considered a type of specificity since it affects the range of possible referents. As Farkas (1994:8) notes, partitive specificity is independent of scopal and epistemic specificity, since partitive phrases can be scopally specific and non-specific and epistemically specific and non-specific. This is shown in (713) and (714).

(713) John wants to marry one of Steve's sisters.

(714) One of the students cheated on the exam.

The partitive indefinite in sentence (713) can be interpreted in the scope and out of the scope of the intensional verb 'want'. When it is interpreted out of the scope of the non-veridical operator, it can receive a known as well as an unknown reading. Hence it can be epistemically specific and non-specific. In a veridical episodic context as in (714), the indefinite can be epistemically specific and non-specific.

Partive specificity will not be visualized on the map since it cuts across epistemic and scopal specificity, which are cross-linguistically relevant for the distribution of indefinites. Generally, this is not the case for partitive sentences, although it is not impossible. Miestamo (2005:232) reports on partitive case marked noun phrases restricted to NPI contexts. In Finnish, objects can be marked for accusative as well as genitive. As Levinson (2006:6) notes, there are three rules that determine the distribution. "The first concerns aspectual boundedness: if the eventuality denoted by the verb is atelic, the partitive is used; the accusative can only be used with a telic eventuality. Secondly, the partitive is used if an NP denotes an indeterminate quantity. Finally, the partitive is obligatory with negation" (Levinson 2006:6). This would imply that one does not expect partitive case marking with telic verbs like *notice*. However, sentences (715) and (716) show that partitive case marking is fine, as long as it is a NPI context. Levinson (2006:7) also provides an example with *before* and *few*.

(715) Pekka huomasi miehen / *miestä.
Pekka-NOM noticed man-ACC/ *man-PRT
'Pekka noticed a/the man.'
(Levinson 2006:6)

(716) Huomasi-ko Pekka miehen/miestä?
noticed-Q Pekka-NOM man-ACC/man-PRT
'Did Pekka notice a/the man?'
(Levinson 2006:6)

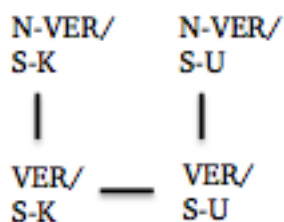
Another example of a negative polarity partitive marker comes from Basque. In Basque, the partitive *-(r)ik* occurs in conditionals, questions, negative contexts, etc. (Etxepare 2003, Etxeberria 2012).

Partitive marking may therefore also be a negative polarity phenomenon involving indefinites. I will not elaborate on this here.

5.7.4. Specific area

Haspelmath's functions 'specific known' and 'specific unknown' now correspond to 4 different functions: VER/S-K, VER/S-U, N-VER/S-K, N-VER/S-U as represented in (717).

(717) Map with specific functions



Whenever there was no information on the known versus unknown distinction, the functions VER/SPEC and N-VER/SPEC.

The different functions are exemplified in (718) to (719).

(718) VER/S-K

I bought something for you.

(719) VER/S-U

Susan rented some movie yesterday. # It was the Maltese Falcon.

(720) N-VER/S-K

I don't want to talk about something.

= > there something specific that I don't want to talk about. .

(721) N-VER/S-U

He doesn't want to talk about some guy.

= > There is a guy that he does not want to talk about, I don't know who it is.

5.8. Irrealis non-specific

As was mentioned in the section on free choice, the 'irrealis non-specific' function now corresponds to a 'non-veridical, non-specific' function or N-VER/N-SPEC. This function is the non-emphatic counterpart of the 'non-veridical, widening' function.

This function can host neutral indefinites like English *someone* as well as so-called 'referentially deficient' items (Giannakidou 2011:1679), also sometimes called 'weak NPIs' (Giannakidou 2011), 'extremely non-specific' indefinites (Farkas 2002a), 'referentially vague' indefinites (Giannakidou 2011:1679) and 'modal indefinites' (Alonso-Ovalle &

Menéndez-Benito 2010). These items are also polarity-sensitive in the sense that they cannot occur in veridical sentences with a specific meaning. However, they are not emphatic; they do not lead to widening-strengthening as NPIs or FCIs do. I will use the term ‘non-specific indefinite’ to refer to an item that can only establish non-specific reference.

In section 5.5.1, I already mentioned the Greek *kanenas/típota* as non-specific items. Non-specific indefinites have also been found in Romanian (*vreun*, Farkas 2002a, Fălăuş 2009, 2010b, 2011), Salish (*ku*, Matthewson 1999), Navajo (*h...da*, Fernald & Perkins 2007), Korean (*nwuku*-(ila)to, Yoon 2008), Mavëa (*te N aite*, Guérin 2007) and Unua (*bi*, Pearce 2010). Examples of the Romanian non-specific indefinite *vreun* are found in (722) and (723). Sentence (722) shows that *vreun* cannot be used with specific reference, and sentence (723) shows that it is fine in the scope of a non-veridical operator, in this case a habitual.

(722) VER/SPEC

*Ana a važut vreun prieten.

Ana have.3SG seen some friend

Intended: ‘Ana has seen some friend.’

(Fălăuş 2010b:407)

(723) N-VER/N-SPEC

Din când în când trenul se oprea în vreo

From when in when trein REFL stopped in some

haltă şi câte un navetist deschidea ... un ochi.

station and a a commuter opened an eye

‘From time to time the train would stop in some station and a commuter would open an eye.’

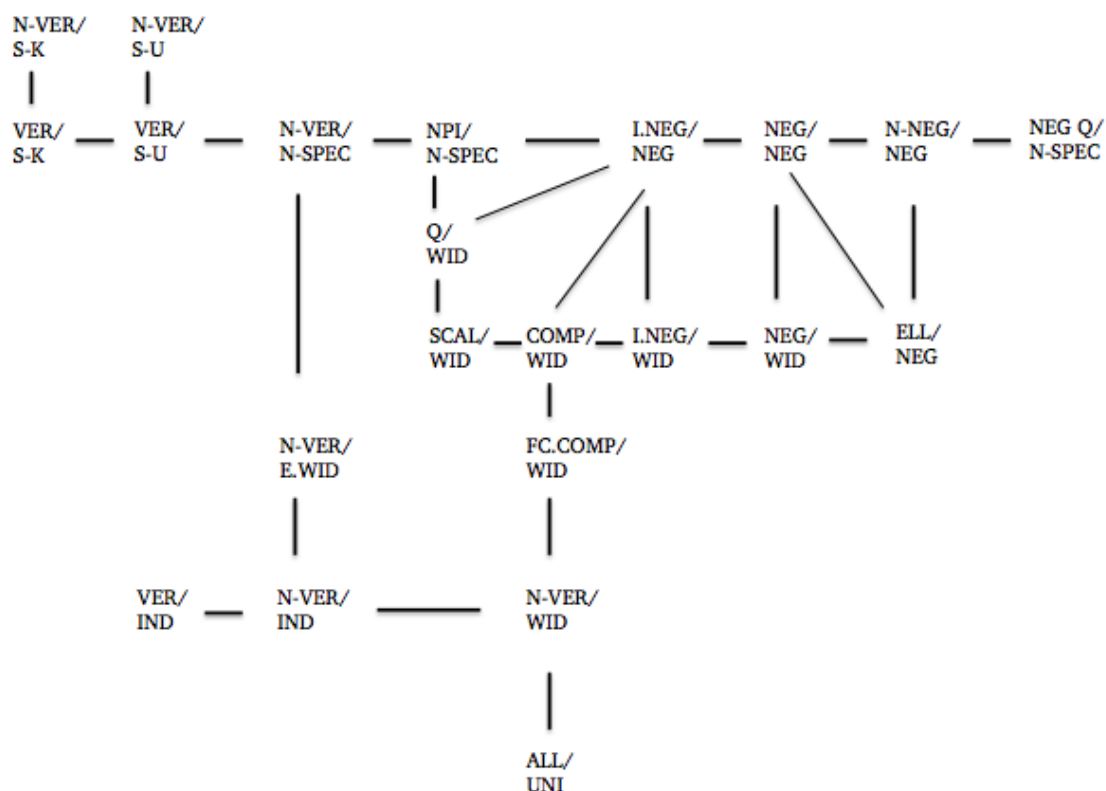
(Farkas 2002a:137)

As on Haspelmath’s map, the ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ function is connected to the ‘veridical, specific unknown’ function. In addition, it is linked to the function ‘NPI, non-specific’ function.

5.9. The new map

Based on the data from Haspelmath (1997), the data on indefinites from the literature and data I came across while doing the typological work on negative indefinites, I have derived a new semantic map, which takes into account three dimensions relevant for the distribution of indefinites: a meaning dimension, a context dimension and a scope dimension, together yielding a meanings-in-context map. In (724), the entire new map is presented.

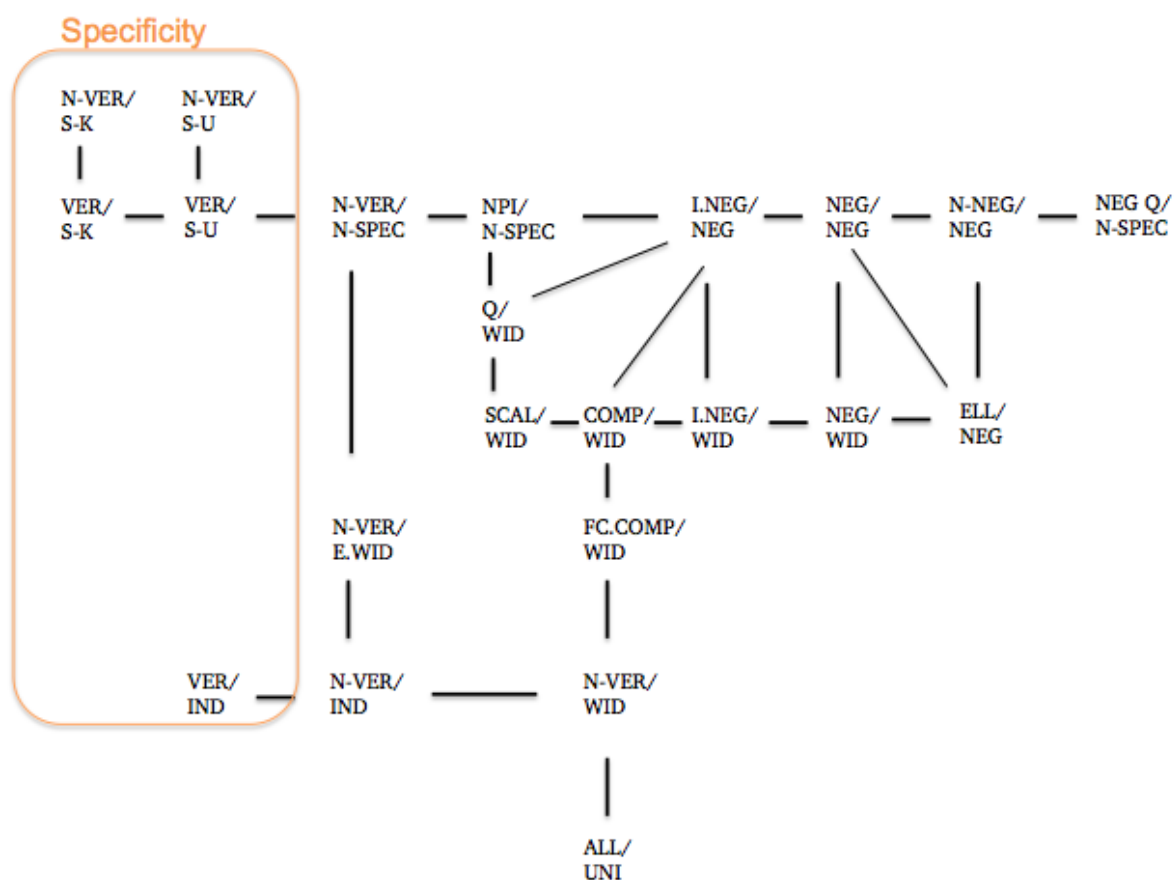
(724) New meanings-in-context map



Each function on the map is specified for context as well as meaning. Two functions are added that pertain to scope.

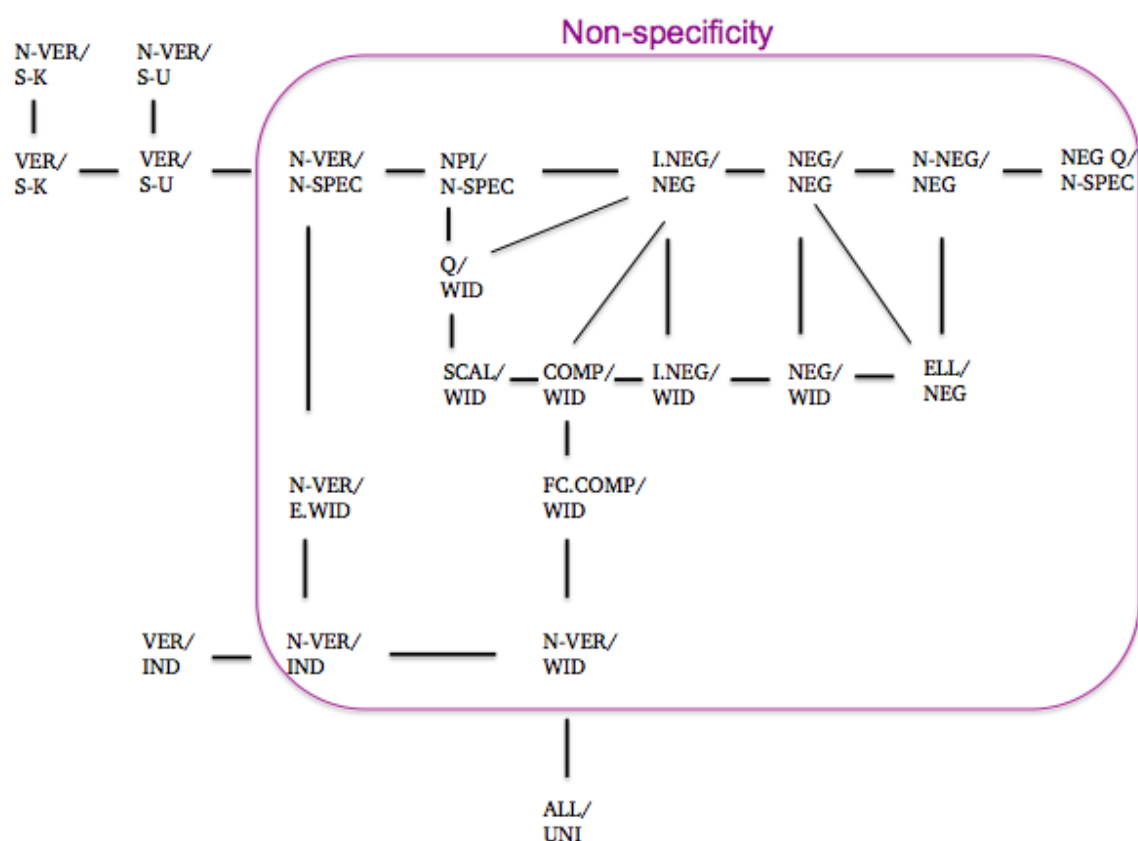
Haspelmath's specific area has largely been kept intact. A distinction is made between specific known (S-K) and specific unknown (S-U), only now a contextual parameter is added, namely veridical (VER). For indefinites with specific reference in non-veridical contexts, the function 'non-veridical, specific' (N-VER/SPEC) is added, referring to specific reference in a non-veridical context. Since FCIs with indiscriminacy readings are not limited to non-veridical contexts, they can also be used with specific reference. Hence the function 'veridical, indiscriminacy' also belongs to the specific domain. The specific domain is presented in (725).

(725) Specific domain on the new functional map



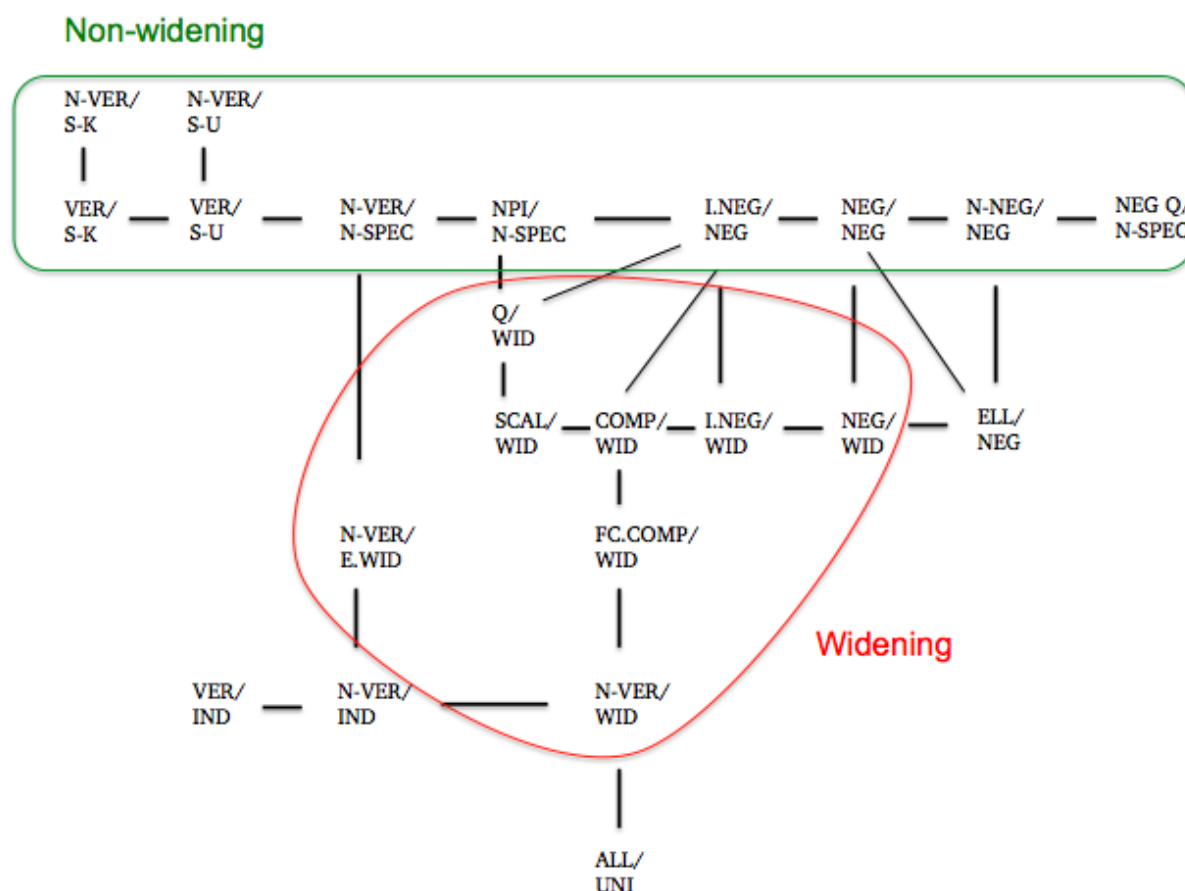
Non-specific reference can be established in any non-veridical context. The non-specific domain is represented as in (726).

(726) Non-specific domain on the new functional map



The map has a non-emphatic and an emphatic dimension: the non-emphatic dimension is the non-widening layer, the emphatic dimension is the widening layer, as in (727).

(727) Non-widening and widening on the new functional map



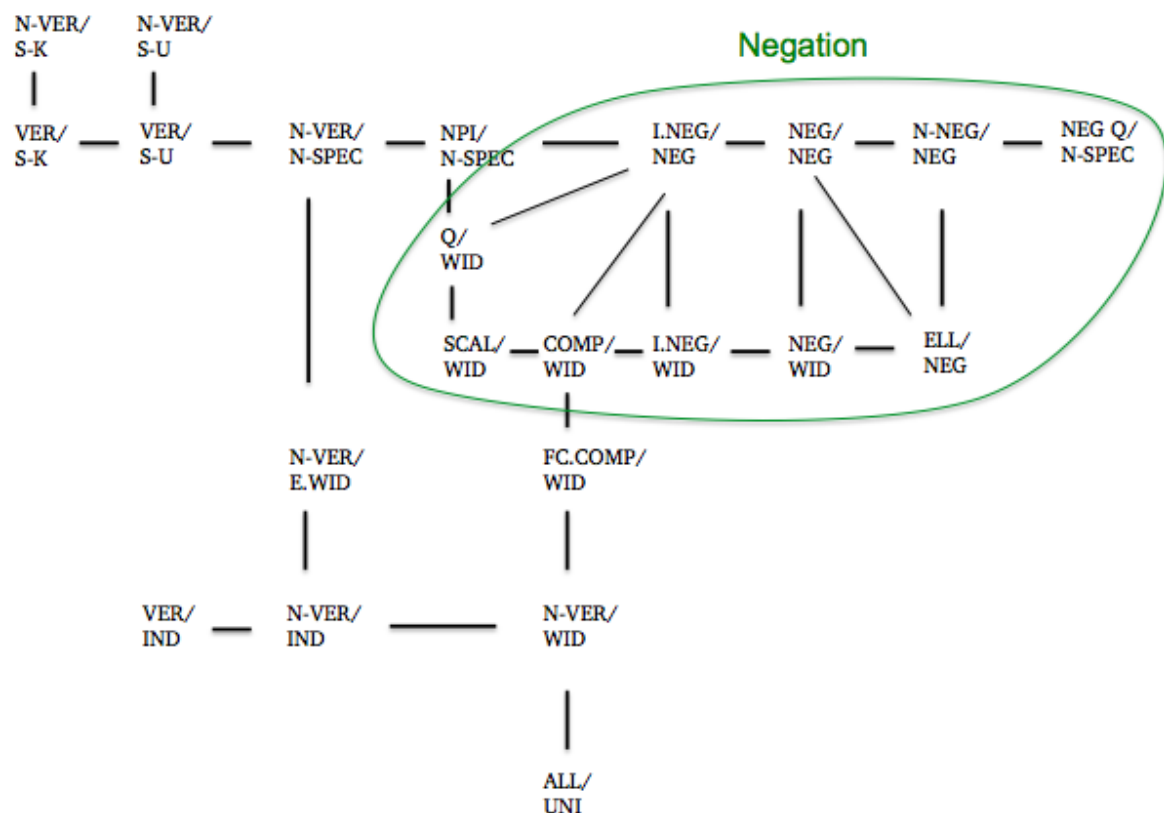
This non-widening dimension consists of functions for specific (SPEC, S-K and S-U), non-specific (N-SPEC) or negative (NEG) reference. The widening dimension consists of widening functions (WID): both in NPI contexts (SCAL/WID, Q/WID, COMP/WID, I.NEG/WID, NEG/WID), as well as in non-NPI contexts (FC COMP/WID, N-VER/WID). The notion of widening covers the fact that both NPIs denoting scalar endpoints as well as FCIs denoting arbitrariness can be used for emphatic purposes in NPI contexts.

With respect to the contextual distinctions for the NPI area, I have kept the distinction ‘indirect negation’ (I.NEG), ‘direct negation’ (NEG), ‘question’ (Q) and ‘comparative’ (COMP), but I have replaced ‘conditional’ (COND) by ‘scale-reversing’ (SCAL) to include other NPI contexts that were not on Haspelmath’s map. This consequently also includes scale-reversing contexts like the restriction of a universal quantifier.

The negative area has been extended to map the variety among negative indefinites. The parameter of presence of a sentential negator is added to the map. This leads to the distinction ‘negative context, negative meaning’ (NEG/NEG) and ‘non-negative context, negative meaning’ (N-NEG/NEG). In addition, a function was added to show whether an indefinite can convey a negative meaning in an elliptical context (ELL/NEG). This allows

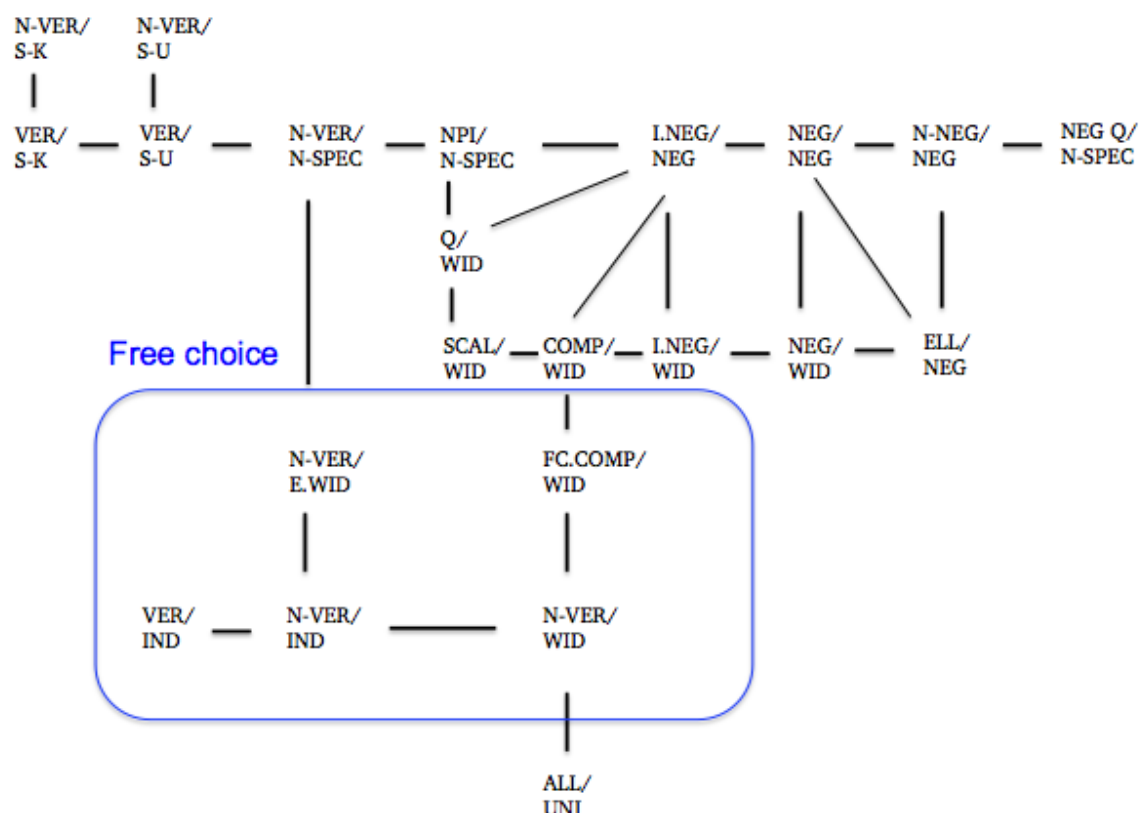
one to see if an indefinite with certain non-negative uses can still be considered a negative indefinite. A last function NEG Q/N-SPEC is added to show whether a negative indefinite can be used in a negative question with a non-specific meaning. The negative area is depicted in (728).

(728) Negative area on the new functional map



The former ‘free choice’ function now corresponds to a ‘non-veridical, widening’ function (N-VER/WID), a ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function (N-VER/E.WID), a ‘free choice comparative widening’ function (FC COMP/WID), a ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’ function (N-VER/IN’) and a ‘veridical, indiscriminacy’ function (VER/IND). The two latter functions map the qualitative meanings that FCIs can have. The ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function differs from the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function in the sense that the elements in the former function convey an existential implicature. These existential FCIs consequently have a universal quantificational implicature in fewer contexts than universal FCIs. The free choice area is presented in (729).

(729) Free choice area on the new functional map



Lastly, a universal function is added to map the fact that certain elements may lose the feature of non-specificity and may acquire a universal meaning.

In a sense this map, like Haspelmath's (1997), is a 'classical' semantic map (van der Auwera 2008), which has also been called a 'traditional' (Malchukov 2009), 'first-generation' (Sansò 2009) or 'implicational' (Wälchli 2009) semantic map, in contrast to a 'second-generation' (Sansò 2009), 'statistical' or 'probabilistic' (Wälchli 2009) or 'similarity' maps (Malchukov 2009:176), the crucial difference being that between connectivity and proximity. In the case of the proximity approach, semantic similarity is marked by proximity, whereas in the case of the traditional map, semantic similarity is marked by connected functions. For a defense of classical semantic maps, see van der Auwera (2008) and van der Auwera (2013).

However, and again like Haspelmath's map, this map for indefinites is not really a classical map in the sense that the functions on this map correspond to meanings-in-context. Other classical semantic maps are different. Regardless of whether one takes in a monosemist position or a polysemist position, the functions that are distinguished on most semantic maps are different in the sense that the uses differ with regard to more than just a contextual property. There is no semantic difference between stressed *any* used in an indirect negative context, stressed *any* in a conditional or stressed *any* in a non-veridical

context of possibility, just as there is no difference between English *some* in a non-veridical context with a non-specific meaning and English *some* in a NPI context with a non-specific meaning. Still, the dimension of context is indispensable to grasp cross-linguistic variation, at least from a synchronic point of view.

The connecting lines have synchronic implications: an element with more than one function is expected to have them adjacent to one another. However, the fact that the different functions do not correspond to distinct senses makes the map less apt to represent diachronic developments. The lines do not represent diachronic pathways. An item is, for example, not predicted to exhibit a development from the NPI/N-SPEC function to the I.NEG/NEG function. Rather it is expected to generalize its use from contexts in which it has specific reference to contexts in which it can have either specific or non-specific reference.

In order to map diachronic pathways, a different semantic map could be used, which underlies the synchronic meanings-in-context map in (724). The semantic features underlying the map will be discussed in the next section. In this section, the possible diachronic pathways will be discussed in terms of loss or acquisition of certain semantic features and the consequence for an items distribution across contexts.

5.10. Semantic features

Haspelmath (1997) distinguishes 5 binary features that characterize the map, as was discussed in section 5.1.2.2. I distinguish 7 binary semantic features relevant for the distribution of indefinite pronouns, as listed in (730).

(730) Binary semantic features of indefinite pronouns

- [+/- speaker knowledge]
- [+/- specificity]
- [+/- negation]
- [+/- scalarity]
- [+/- arbitrariness]
- [+/- indiscriminacy]
- [+/- universality]

I will now discuss each of the features. In each section, I will do two things: I will discuss how elements acquire the semantic features from (730) and I will discuss how the meanings are related on the basis of diachronic data. At the end of this section, in section 5.10.10, I will connect the semantic features on a new diachronic semantic map.

5.10.1. Scalarity

Indefinites with a scalar endpoint meaning are lexically compatible with all scale-reversing contexts. Scalar indefinites correspond to ‘even a thing’, ‘even a person’, etc. and are used in scale-reversing contexts for the purpose of emphasis. Scalar NPIs have also sometimes been called ‘even’-NPIs. This reflects the fact that many scalar NPIs consist of a derivational base and the scalar focus particle ‘even’, e.g. Lezgian (*sa*) *kas-ni* ‘nobody’, literally ‘(one) person even’, Hebrew *af exad* ‘even one’, ‘nobody’.

Haspelmath (1997) points out that the presence of ‘even, also’ on an indefinite base can indicate two possible sources, as illustrated in (731).

(731) Different sources for ‘even’ as indefiniteness marker

- a. Focus particle => indefiniteness marker
- b. Focus particle => marker of a non-specific concessive conditional clause => indefiniteness marker

The first pathway represents a pathway according to which the focus particle is directly combined with the indefinite base. According to the second pathway, the focus particle is a part of a concessive conditional clause, which can be reanalyzed as indefinite pronoun, as schematically represented in (732).

(732) You can take something, what ever it may be.

=> you can take whatever.it.may.be.

Since indefinites derived from non-specific concessive conditional clauses are interrogative-based, pathway a. must be assumed for generic-noun-based and numeral-based ‘even’-indefinites. But note that this does not mean that all interrogative-based ‘even’-indefinites arise via the b. pathway.

Crucially, there is also a difference in meaning between the ‘even’-indefinites arising via the a. pathway and via the b. pathway. The indefinites arising via the direct combination of an indefinite and the focus particle ‘even’ acquire a scalar reading, which in combination with indefinites denoting minimal units is only informative in NPI contexts. The ‘even’-indefinites arising via reanalysis of a parametric concessive clause have the meaning of arbitrariness, which is semantically compatible with NPI contexts as well as with FCI contexts. The difference between scalar and arbitrary polarity sensitive items was also addressed in section 5.3.1.

Apart from indefinites that contain an overt scalar element, there are also minimal unit expressions that inherently denote a scalar endpoint, like Dutch singular *enig*, derived

from ‘one’, or French *personne*, originally ‘person’. As noted by Haspelmath (1997:227), these expressions give rise to scalar implicatures in scale-reversing contexts. So ‘even’-NPIs and minimal-unit expressions can denote scalar-endpoints, in which case they are lexically compatible with all scale-reversing contexts (NPI contexts).

Indeed, one sees that some scalar NPIs, either ‘even’-NPIs or minimal units, appear across most scale-reversing contexts, as predicted by their lexical semantics. However, they sometimes unexpectedly do not appear in other NPI contexts. This is known as the Bagel Problem, after Pereltsvaig (1998, 2004) for indefinites. The Bagel problem, which is modeled after the Elsewhere Principle by Kiparsky (1973) in phonology, is most often illustrated on the basis of the Polish *kolwiek*-indefinites, which occur in FCI contexts too, and therefore have the meaning of arbitrariness, and not scalarity. They are grammatical in all contexts in which they can express widening-strengthening, except in negation, despite the fact that they are lexically compatible with it. The phenomenon is the same for scalar NPIs: some scalar NPIs are grammatical in all NPI contexts, except negation, where more specific forms are used. The Serbian/Croatian *i*-series, for example, occurs in all NPI contexts except negation, where the more specific negative *ni*-series is used.

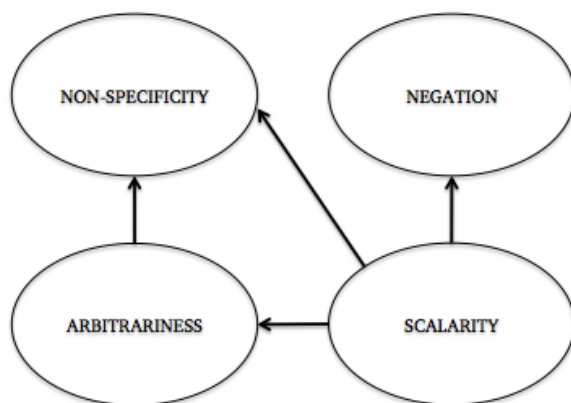
Even though the Bagel problem in the literature always concerns the use of more specific forms in negation, I do not see why it could not also affect other contexts, like for example, the comparative context. Thus in Hebrew, for example, *iš* ‘person’ is grammatical in all scale-reversing contexts, except the comparative, where the universal *kol* ‘every’ is used (see Haspelmath 1997:298).

Apart from Bagel style blocking, there is another type of paradigmatic complementarity that could also partly explain why some indefinites do not occur in those contexts in which one would expect them to occur. Apart from indefinites denoting scalarity, indefinites denoting arbitrariness, for example, are not necessarily more specific forms as in the case of negative indefinites, but like scalar NPIs, they are also lexically compatible with NPI contexts and can also lead to widening-strengthening, as was illustrated on the basis of the Dutch *dan ook*-indefinites. Hence there may be competition between two widening paradigms.

In conclusion, an indefinite may acquire an endpoint reading, either by virtue of denoting a minimal-unit expression, or through the incorporation of an additive focus particle. The meaning of scalar-endpoint has consequences for the distribution of an item across contexts, but cannot fully account for it. An important factor is the presence of more specific forms, known as the Bagel Problem. Another factor might be paradigmatic complementarity.

With respect to the connections that have to be made on the diachronic semantic map, scalarity must be connected to non-specificity, to arbitrariness and to negation, as in (733).

(733) Semantic map mapping ‘scalarity’



A scalar NPI can lose its scalar property and become a regular, i.e. non-emphatic, indefinite. This can have two consequences for its distribution across contexts: either it stays restricted to NPI contexts, as the unstressed *any*, or it extends its use to include all non-veridical contexts and becomes a non-specific indefinite. An example comes from Dutch. The Dutch *enig* used to be found in non-veridical contexts with a non-specific meaning, before it got increasingly restricted to NPI contexts (see Hoeksema 2010b).

The other line shows that a scalar NPI can also turn negative. This type of change is widely discussed in the literature and has been discussed in 3.7. Some examples are found in (734).

(734) From scalar NPI to negative indefinite

German	<i>kein</i> ‘no’
Spanish	<i>nada</i> ‘nothing’, <i>nadie</i> ‘nobody’
French	<i>personne</i> ‘nobody’, <i>rien</i> ‘thing’, <i>aucun</i> ‘no’
Latin	<i>veruno</i> ‘no one’ (Ramat 1998:398)
Icelandic	<i>enginn</i> ‘no one’
Faroese	<i>eingin</i> ‘no one’
Chechen	<i>addam a</i> ‘nobody’
Hebrew	<i>af ehad</i> ‘nobody’
Italian	<i>alcuno</i> ‘no one’ < Latin <i>alicunum</i> ‘someone, anyone’ (Parry 2013:107, Stark 2002:325)
Welsh	<i>neb</i> ‘nobody’ (Willis 2013:257)

The semantic map in (766) also shows a link between scalarity and arbitrariness, as will be discussed in the next section.

5.10.2. Arbitrariness

Apart from scalar NPIs, there are polarity sensitive indefinites that are not restricted to NPI contexts, but also lead to widening-strengthening when they occur in NPI contexts. These indefinites have the meaning of arbitrary selection and are lexically compatible with all non-veridical contexts, as long as they lead to widening-strengthening. They are labeled ‘FCIs’, which does not necessarily mean that they are restricted to FCI contexts. It does mean that they can occur at least in the FCI contexts with a widening meaning.

There are three possible origins for FCIs, one of which has already been addressed in the previous section: parametric concessive clauses, as illustrated in (735), a ‘want/please’-type free relative clause or a non-specific free relative clause, as illustrated in (736) and a ‘no matter’-type clause, illustrated in (737).

(735) You can take something, whatever it may be.

= > You can take whatever.it.may.be.

(736) You may take what you want [to take]/ what it pleases (you) [to take].

= > You may take what.you.want.

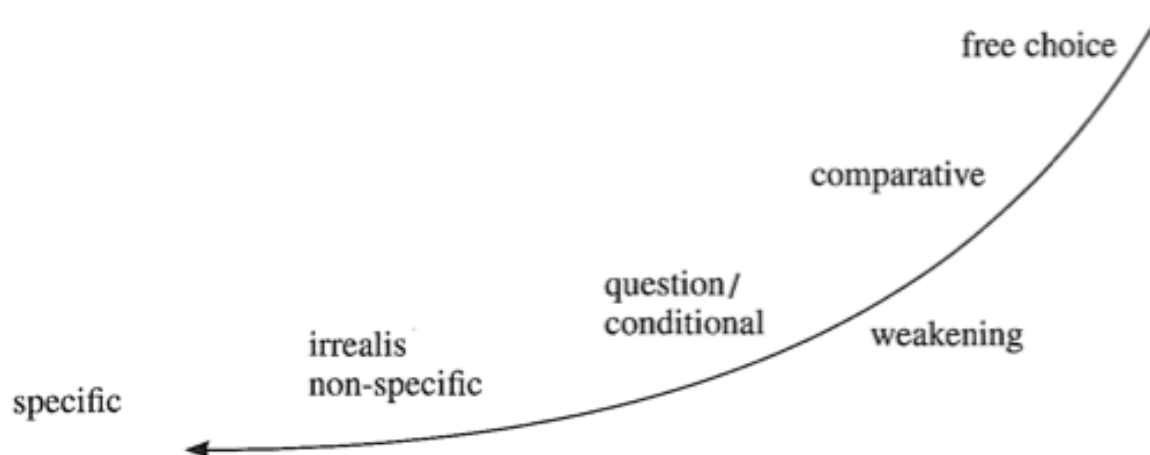
(737) You may something. It does not matter what.

= > You may take no matter what.

(Haspelmath 1997:134-140)

The clauses are hypothesized by Haspelmath (1997) to be reanalyzed as pronouns in the function ‘free choice’ first, which corresponds to my ‘non-veridical, widening’ function. According to Haspelmath’s (1997) hypothesis, the indefinite pronouns can then acquire new adjacent functions. This is schematically presented in (738).

(738) Diachronic extension of indefinite functions from ‘free choice’: Haspelmath’s (1997) ‘through’ model



Indefinites with Haspelmath's free choice function are assumed to acquire the 'comparative' function first, then the 'question/conditional' function, then the 'irrealis non-specific' function, and possibly eventually a specific function. The semantic process responsible for the shifts in functions is weakening. The acquisition of the irrealis non-specific function can be made possible by the loss of scalarity (Haspelmath 1997:51), or widening, in my terminology, whereas the acquisition of the specific functions is accompanied by the loss of non-specificity. Haspelmath (1997) does not provide an explanation for the shift from free choice to comparative. Haspelmath (1997:152) notes: "unfortunately, the semantics of the comparative is not clear to me. However, it has been remarked several times in the literature that the 'comparative' function is intermediate between free choice and negative polarity; if that is correct, then whatever explains the shift from free choice to negative polarity will also explain the shift from the 'free choice' function to the 'comparative' function, and from the 'comparative' to the 'question/conditional' function."

Even though there are not many diachronic investigations of FCIs, two studies on the Dutch *wie dan ook* 'anybody' and the French *n'importe* suggest that the pathway is somewhat different from the one suggested by the figure in (738). I will first discuss the Dutch *wie dan ook* and then the French *n'importe*. A third case study on Spanish *cualquiera*, in contrast, seems to be a better candidate to exemplify the scenario proposed by Haspelmath (1997).

De Vos (2010) conducted a diachronic and synchronic corpus study of *wie dan ook* and a synchronic corpus study of other *wh-dan ook* indefinites. She concluded for *wie dan ook* that there "seems to be no real evidence for either the FC-function or the negative area to have been the original function where it all started". She notes that all functions in which widening-strengthening can occur occur more or less around the same period.

De Vos (2010) distinguishes 4 structural stages in the development of *wie dan ook* to indefinite: a stage as unconditional or parametric concessive clause, a stage as apposition, a stage as free relative, in which it still has a clausal nature, and a stage in which it occurs as indefinite pronoun, in which it loses its clausal nature. The stages are illustrated in sentences (739) to (742).

(739) Wh-clause + main clause

Wie dan ook	naar	het	feest	komt;	ik	zal	blij	zijn.
whoever	to	the	party	comes	I	will	happy	be

'Whoever comes to the party, I will be happy.'

(740) Apposition

Als er iemand, wie dan ook, naar het feest komt, zal ik
if there someone, whoever, to the party comes will I
blij zijn.

happy be

‘If someone, anyone, comes to the party, I will be happy.’

(741) Wh-clause + predicate

Wie dan ook naar het feest komt zal blij zijn.

whoever to the party comes will happy be

‘Whoever comes to the party will be happy.’

(742) Indefinite pronoun

Je mag wie dan ook uitnodigen voor het feest.

you may anyone invite for the party

‘You may invite anyone to the party.’

Crucially, once the construction is reanalyzed as an indefinite pronoun, in Stage 4, with the meaning of arbitrary reference, it seems to have been possible in all those contexts compatible with widening-strengthening, viz. the scale-reversing contexts as well as those non-veridical contexts allowing for a widening-strengthening reading.

Thus it seems that Haspelmath’s representation in (738) is an idealization. The Dutch *wie dan ook* suggests that a FCI does not have to start out in the typical FCI contexts, but can sometimes be able to express widening-strengthening in NPI contexts from the start. Therefore, the development of *wie dan ook* is from parametric clause to free relative to emphatic indefinite in contexts compatible with widening-strengthening, not from FC to conditional/question via the comparative.

Pescarini (2010) studies the development of *n’importe* from a transitive verbal construction with the verb *importer* to the indefinite determiner *n’importe quel* and the pronouns *n’importe qui* ‘no matter who’, *n’importe quoi* ‘no matter what’. Pescarini (2010:116ff.) notes that the determiner and pronouns start to be used in the beginning of the 19th century. Pescarini (2010) provides examples from 1836 and 1838 respectively, which correspond to Haspelmath’s ‘question’ function and the ‘comparative’ function, as in (743) and (744).

- (743) (commandé aussi des boutons d'acier fin ciselé pour un gilet de velours noir, sublime invention).. qui doit me faire plus d'honneur que n'importe
 which has.to me do more of.honor than no.matter
 quelle découverte scientifique.
 which discovery scientific
 '...which should make me more honorable than any scientific discovery.'
 (Barbey d'Aurevilly, Memorandum (Premier), 1838, cited in Pescarini 2010:119).
- (744) Mais quel besoin aurais-je eu de m'inquiéter de la
 but which need have.IMPFI had of me-worry of the
 lenteur de n'importe quel travail?
 slowness of no.matter which work
 'But why should I have worried about the slowness of any work?'
 (Borel, Vie et aventures de Robinson Crusoé, 1836, cited in Pescarini 2010:125)

This again suggests that once the clause was reanalyzed as indefinite with the meaning of arbitrariness, it could occur in all contexts in which it could lead to widening-strengthening. As in the case of *wie dan ook*, there is no indication that the FCI would occur in modal contexts of possibility and generic contexts first, after which it extended its use to comparatives and other NPI contexts.

The Spanish *cualquiera*, on the other hand, on which a diachronic corpus analysis has been conducted as well, seems to have been used overwhelmingly in epistemic modal contexts from the beginning. The Spanish *cualquiera* exemplifies a FCI that developed from a free relative clause, as illustrated in (745), to a phrasal compound, see (746), to an indefinite pronoun, see (747).

(745) Free relative clause

Haga en el cual castigo quiera.
 do on him which punishment want.3.PRES.SBJV

(746) Phrasal compound

Haga en el cual quiera castigo.
 do on him which want.3.PRES.SBJV punishment

(747) Indefinite pronoun

Haga en el cualquier(a) castigo.
 do on him whichever punishment

Unlike *wie dan ook*, *cualquiera* seems to have started out in “typical” FCI contexts like the imperative or with possibility modals and to have gradually spread to other contexts with

universal implicatures. Still, despite the majority of the occurrences in the “typical” free choice contexts, the other contexts are attested from the beginning as well.

The three elements, viz. *wie dan ook*, *n’importe* and *cualquiera*, therefore exhibit a different diachronic development: the former two occurring in all contexts that allow widening-strengthening, the latter one mainly in the typical FCI contexts. One possible explanation seems to lie in the source construction. One does not have to assume that the different sources exemplify identical pathways. One may assume that indefinites from the source ‘whatever you like/want’ is most often used in or most compatible with contexts in which permission is granted or in imperatives, whereas this is not necessarily the case for indefinites deriving from ‘it is not important who/what’ or ‘who- and whatever it may be’.

In any case, the three FCIs show that the spread need not be the stepwise progression represented in (738). Indefinite pronouns that grammaticalize from the clauses in (748) to (750) exhibit a change from clause to indefinite pronoun denoting arbitrary reference. Instead of the ‘through’ model, therefore, the development suggested by the cases discussed so far can be depicted as in (748) to (750).

(748) ‘it may be’-type => indefinite denoting arbitrary reference

(749) ‘no matter’-type => indefinite denoting arbitrary reference

(750) ‘what you want’ => indefinite denoting arbitrary reference

Note that this does not exclude the possibility that an indefinite denoting arbitrary reference occurs in typical FCI contexts first. Though I have no proof, a closer look at Haspelmath’s 40-language sample seems to suggest that there is a connection between the source of the FCI pronoun and the distribution across contexts, as shown in Table 39. Whereas the ‘want’-type FCIs mainly occur in the non-NPI contexts, namely in Haspelmath’s ‘free choice’ function (marked ‘FC’ in the table) and ‘comparative’ function (marked ‘COMP’ in the table), the indefinites from parametric concessive clauses are often found in any context with a widening reading, NPI and FCI contexts (marked ‘WID’ in the table).

< ‘want’-type			< parametric concessive clause		
Language	Form	Function	Language	Form	Function
Romanian	<i>ori-</i>	FC/COMP	Italian	<i>qualunque</i>	WID
Latin	<i>-libet/-vis</i>	FC	Greek	<i>o- dhípote</i>	WID
Swedish	<i>som helst</i>	FC/COMP	Bulgarian	<i>toidae</i>	WID
Portuguese	<i>qualquer</i>	all but SPEC KNOWN	Serbian/ Croatian	<i>koli</i>	WID
Catalan	<i>qualsevol</i>	FC/COMP	Polish	<i>kolwiek</i>	WID
Russian	<i>ljuboj/ugodno</i>	FC	Hungarian	<i>bar</i>	WID
Yakut	<i>bayarar</i>	FC	Japanese	<i>-demo</i>	UNIV
Hungarian	<i>akar</i>	WID	Korean	<i>-na</i>	UNIV
Finnish	<i>hyvänsä</i>	WID	Dutch	<i>wh- dan ook</i>	WID
Basque	<i>nahi</i>	FC/COMP	Turkish	<i>herhangi</i>	WID (and non- specific)

Table 39: Functions of FCIs and their sources

In conclusion, FCIs that denote arbitrariness are lexically compatible with all non-veridical contexts in which they lead to widening-strengthening. This means that they are not lexically restricted to non-NPI contexts like imperatives and modal contexts of possibility. One factor that may influence whether or not a FCI is found in NPI contexts that allow the widening-strengthening reading or not, might be their origin: whereas FCIs from parametric concessive clauses are more easily reanalyzed as indefinites denoting arbitrariness and correspondingly occurring in contexts compatible with this meaning, ‘want’-type indefinites often seem to exhibit a low degree of grammaticalization and seem to occur in those contexts compatible with the meaning of the source construction rather than with the meaning of arbitrary reference.

Another factor is again Bagel-style blocking, as also mentioned in the previous section. This can be illustrated on the basis of the Polish *-kolwiek*-indefinites. The Polish *-kolwiek*-indefinites are FCIs, like English stressed *any*. Unlike stressed *any*, however, they cannot occur in negation, as shown in (751), despite the fact that negation, as a NPI context, is a context that can accommodate a widening reading. Instead one has to use the negative *ni*-series, as in (752).

Polish

(751) *Ewa nie spotkała kogokolwiek.

Eve NEG met anyone

‘Eva didn’t meet anyone.’

(752) Ewa nie spotkała nikogo.

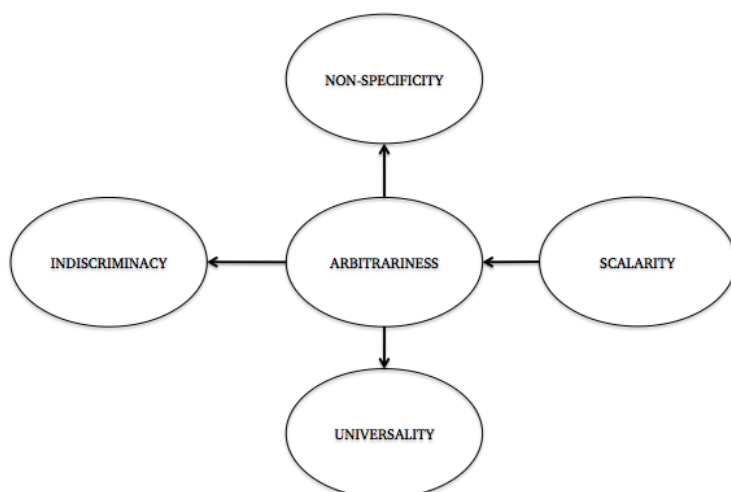
Eve NEG met no one

‘Eve did not meet anyone.’

Whereas the semantics predicts the occurrence of indefinites of the *-kolwiek*-series in negation, the occurrence is blocked by the presence of a more specific pronoun-series.

On the diachronic semantic map, arbitrariness is connected to scalarity, a universal meaning, non-specificity, and indiscriminacy, as shown in (753).

(753) Semantic map of arbitrariness



The shift from scalarity to arbitrariness is exemplified by English *any*, as was also mentioned in section 5.3.1. This had consequences for *any*’s distribution: from NPI contexts, to non-veridical contexts in general with a widening-strengthening meaning. However, English *any* might in fact be a rare case, since there is no other example of a former scalar NPI item extending its use to FCI contexts. The most common pathways of changes for scalar NPIs involve the loss of the scalar endpoint meaning, or the incorporation of a negative meaning as a consequence of pragmatic strengthening, as was discussed in section 3.7.

One type of meaning shift that items denoting arbitrariness may exhibit, involves the loss of the arbitrariness feature, after which former FCIs can be reanalyzed as non-specific items. The shift from arbitrariness to non-specificity is exemplified by the Greek *kanenas* and *típota*, historically deriving from *ti* ‘something/anything’ and *poté* ‘ever’, “a formation often

found with free-choice items”, as noted by Willis et al. (2013:39). The shift is also assumed to have happened for the Russian *-nibud’* and *-libo* indefinites.

Indefinites denoting arbitrariness can also incorporate a universal implicature that arises in non-scale-reversing contexts. This change is exemplified by German *jeder*, Korean *-na* indefinites and Japanese *-demo*-indefinites, as shown in Table 39. The development of former FCI into universal quantifiers has been described in section 4.5 on universal quantifiers used in negative contexts to convey negative indefiniteness.

Apart from universal quantification, arbitrariness is also linked to the meaning of indiscriminacy. This meaning will be discussed next.

5.10.3. Indiscriminacy

The meaning of indiscriminacy, as exemplified by *any* in sentence (754), involves a shift from a referential notion of arbitrary selection to the qualitative notion of arbitrary selection.

(754) I don’t sleep with ANYONE. They have to be attractive.

When an indefinite pronoun is used in this meaning, the focus is on the way a certain choice is made, with possible evaluative connotations. This meaning, which is qualitative rather than referential, is not expected to be polarity sensitive, as shown in (755).

(755) I said just anything to fill the silence.

Still, items with this meaning might be restricted to non-veridical contexts, a property they might inherit from their FCI uses.

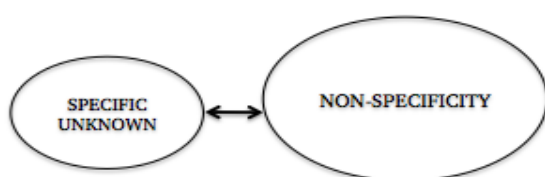
It is interesting to note that this reading might be present from the beginning. The diachronic study of the French *n’importe*-series by Pescarini (2010:125) shows that the indiscriminacy reading occurred from the start. An example is given in (756).

(756) Duvernet a demandé à jouer n’importe quel rôle,
 Duvernet has asked to play no.matter which role
 (et il entre en scène au 3^{me} acte, en disant: les lampes sont-elles à l’heure?)
 ‘Duvernet asked to play just any role...’
 (George Sand, *Correspondance: 1851*, 1851, cited in Pescarini 2010:125)

5.10.4. Specific unknown

The meaning of ‘specific, unknown’ has already been addressed and explained by Haspelmath (1997). It concerns speaker identifiability, as also explained in 5.1.2. Haspelmath’s (1997) map shows that non-specific indefinites may lose the non-specificity feature, but may still retain the speaker unknownness feature. Haspelmath (1997:151) provides the example of Portuguese *qualquer*, which first lost its property of arbitrariness, and then non-specificity, but kept the feature of unknownness.⁵² This means that specific unknownness is connected to non-specificity, as in (757).

(757) Semantic extension from non-specific to specific unknownness and vice versa



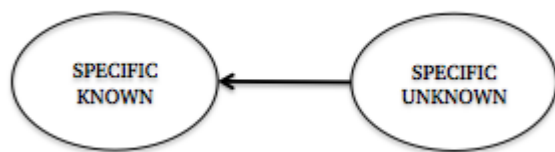
As one can see, an item with the specific unknown meaning can also lose its specificity feature and extend its use to non-specific reference. This is assumed to have happened with Lithuanian *kaž*-indefinites (Haspelmath 1997:153). Lithuanian *kaž*-indefinites derive from *kas žino* ‘who knows’ and used to explicitly mark lack of knowledge by the speaker before they extended their use to include non-specific uses.

5.10.5. Specific known

Haspelmath (1997:151) provides the example of Romanian *-va* indefinites to exemplify the loss of the specific unknown feature and the extension to the ‘specific known’ function, as in (758).

⁵² Haspelmath (1997) also provides *quelque* as a former ‘it may be’-type FCI that has lost the property of scalarity and focus, in my terminology ‘arbitrariness’, as well as the property of non-specificity. However, Jayez & Tovenia (2010:117) suggest that *quelque* has entered the indefinite system at the end of the 12th century as a non-specific determiner that was compatible with e.g. habituals, future contexts, etc., and not a widening item that gave rise to universal implicatures in modal contexts. To acquire a widening reading, *quelque N que* was used. This would mean that *quelque* does not qualify as an indefinite exemplifying a change from arbitrariness to non-specificity and then to specificity, but rather as an indefinite exemplifying an extension from non-specificity to specificity.

(758) Semantic extension from ‘specific unknown’ to ‘specific known’



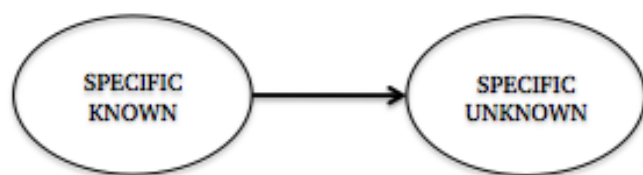
Based on the fact that the Romanian *-va* indefinites can have the ‘specific known’ function, Haspelmath (1997:151) assumes that the development from ‘specific unknown’ to ‘specific known’ must have taken place. Though this might be the case, I do not think there is evidence for such a development. The Romanian *-va* indefinites originally derive from a ‘want’-clause, as was discussed in 5.10.2 and therefore, they expressed arbitrariness first. Since the Romanian *-va* indefinites do not have any widening functions any more, they are assumed to have lost their widening property, as a consequence of bleaching, and to have acquired the feature of non-specificity. The fact that they can have the specific functions today does not necessarily mean that they have undergone a shift from non-specificity to ‘specific known’ via ‘specific unknown’. Another hypothesis is that the series lost its non-specificity feature and extended its use to specific reference in general. This hypothesis can be represented as in (759).

(759) Semantic extension from non-specificity to specificity



Another shift that is exemplified by English *some* is from ‘specific known’ to ‘specific unknown’. Old English *sum* used to be a presentative marker (Hopper & Martin 1987:298). Its function used to be to single out a referent that is highly important (Breban 2012:286). “It is typically the protagonist or the setting for an entire new paragraph or episode” (Breban 2012:286). Assuming that the protagonist is typically known by the speaker, English singular *sum* used to have the function ‘specific known’, whereas today it is considered an epistemic indefinite. Breban (2012:286) notes that from Middle English to Early Modern English, singular *sum* ceased to function as a presentative marker. Instead, it starts to mark specific unidentifiable referents (Breban 2012:286), corresponding to the ‘specific unknown’ function. The shift can be represented as in (760).

(760) Semantic extension from specific known to specific unknown



In Late Modern English, then, *some* is also found with non-specific reference (Brehan 2012:287), exemplifying semantic extension from specific reference to non-specific reference.

It is interesting to note that a singular indefinite specific determiner often takes on the function of marking specific unknownness. It can be seen in Spanish, French and English. The reason seems to be that one wants to minimize the functional overlap with the indefinite article, which is unmarked for this feature.

The semantic extension from specific knownness to specificity in general and from specificity to non-specificity is exemplified by many indefinite articles, e.g. Russian *odin*, described in Heine (1997) and Spanish *un*, described in Pozas Loyo (2010). The development of indefinite articles is represented on Givón's (1981) referentiality scale in (761), and more recently by Heine (1997), as in (762). (761) and (762) illustrate the different stages that unitary cardinals undergo on their way to become indefinite articles.

(761) Givón's (1981) referentiality scale

Quantification > referentiality/ denotation > genericity/connotation

(762) Grammaticalization of indefinite articles in different languages

Numeral > presentative marker > specific reference > non-specific reference > generalized article

The development from specificity to non-specificity is represented as in (763).

(763) Semantic extension from specificity to non-specificity



5.10.6. Non-specificity

As just mentioned in the previous section, specific items may extend their use to include non-specific uses. This development is exemplified by the English indefinite determiner *some*. As shown in (761) and (762), the development is also typical in the development of indefinite articles. Another example, apart from the Russian *odin* and Spanish *un*, comes from Italian. The Italian indefinite article *uno* is assumed to have gradually spread from contexts in which specific reference was established to non-specific contexts from the 14th century to contemporary Standard Italian (Stark 2002:330).

A development in the other direction is attested too. Non-specific items can also lose the property of non-specific reference and extend their use to contexts in which specific reference is established. Haspelmath (1997:151) notes that this shift must have taken place in Portuguese for *qualquer*.

5.10.7. Negation

The change from scalarity to negation has been discussed in section 3.7.

Haspelmath (1997:232) notes that the change from non-negative indefinite to negative indefinite is unidirectional. Accordingly, the change from negation to scalarity is predicted to be impossible. However, some counterexamples are found in Romance languages, in which negative indefinites that arise via negative absorption, shown in (764), used to be found in non-negative NPI contexts, seemingly representing a counterdirectional change.

(764) From negation to scalarity

Italian *nessuno* ‘nobody’ > ‘anybody’

Spanish *ningun* ‘nobody’ > ‘anybody’

French *nul* ‘no’ > ‘any’

Catalan *ningú* ‘no’ > ‘any’

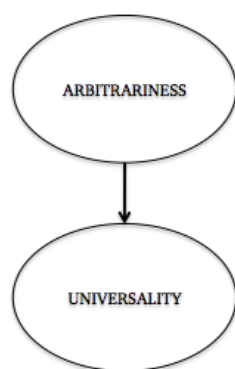
However, as pointed out by Haspelmath (1997) and Willis et al. (2013:37), these languages underwent a merger of two indefinite paradigms: a series of indefinites with a non-negative origin, and a series of morphologically negative indefinites. In French, for example, the former NPIs *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* developed into negative indefinites but kept former non-negative uses. In the process of paradigmaticization, the former non-negative items *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* must have influenced the originally negative *nul*. The same is assumed to have happened in Spanish, where *ningun* must have been influenced by the former non-negative negative indefinites *nada* and *nadie*.

The non-negative uses of morphologically negative indefinites in older stages of the Romance languages are therefore probably due to analogical pressure rather than any kind of reanalysis (Haspelmath 1997:233). Willis (2011:318) notes that when the development from negative to non-negative is available at all, it is under very special circumstances.

5.10.8. Universal meaning

Items that lose the property of non-specificity and incorporate the universal implicature that arises in non-veridical, non-scale reversing contexts can acquire a universal meaning. This has been discussed in section 4.5. The change is represented as in (765).

(765) From arbitrariness to universality



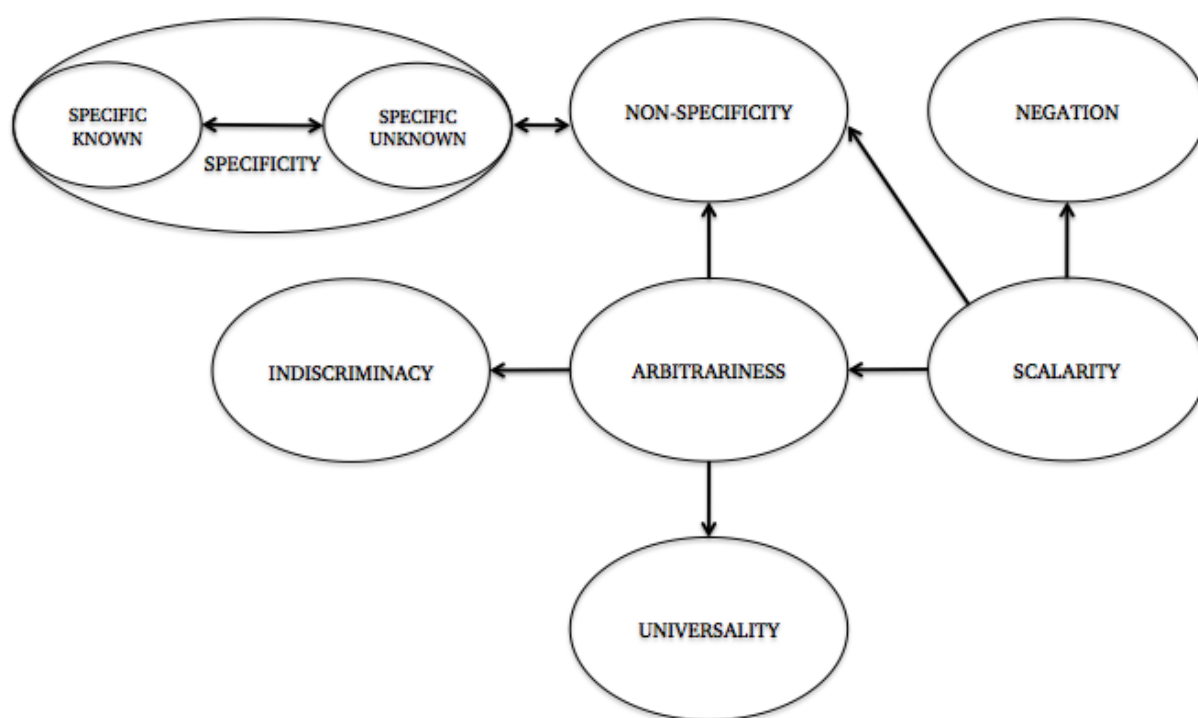
5.10.9. Note on existential free choice pronouns

Very little has been written about the diachrony of existential free choice items like French *un quelconque*, as also noted by Tovená & Jayez (2010:4). For this reason, they are not included in the discussion on the diachrony.

5.10.10. Conclusion

The diachronic semantic map is presented in (766).

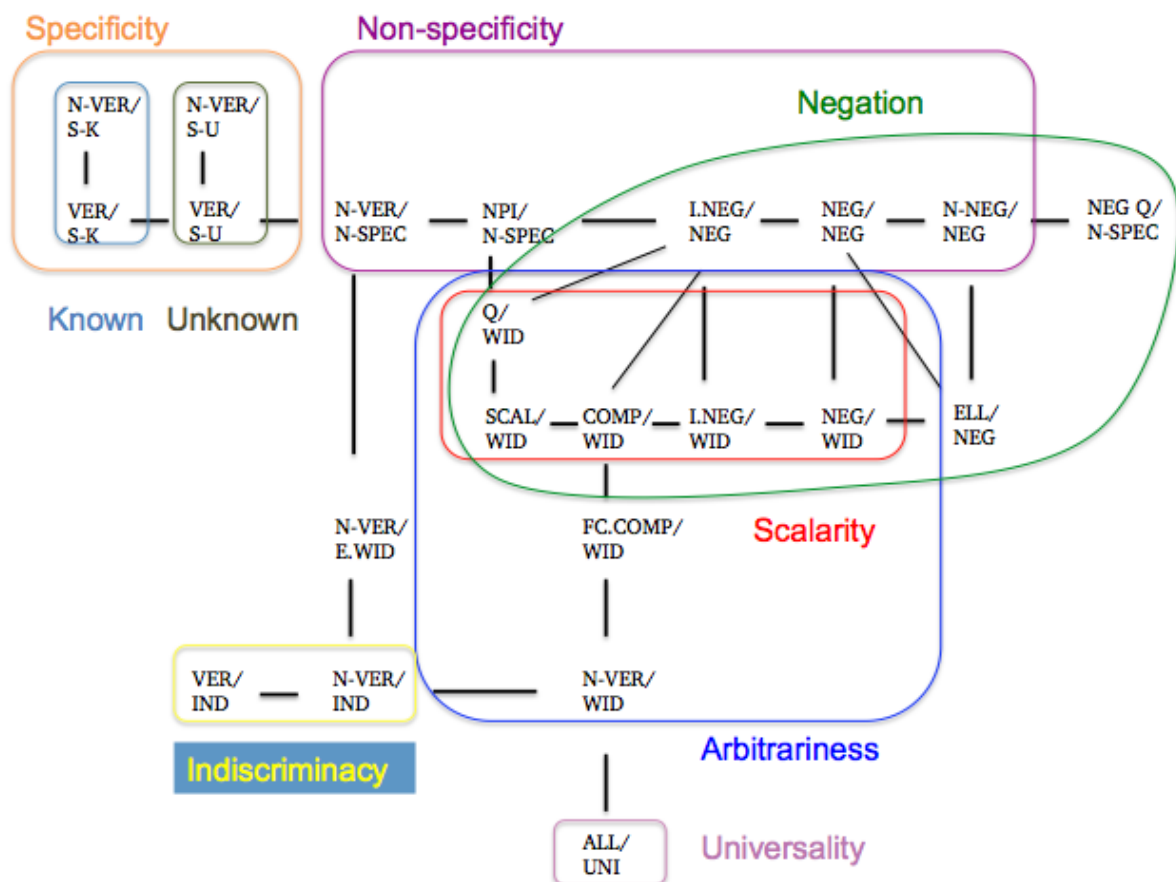
(766) A diachronic semantic map for indefinites



Note that this semantic map is not very useful for cross-linguistic comparison, since indefinites exhibit a sometimes unpredictable interaction with contexts.

The semantic map in (766) can be considered to be the semantic map underlying the meanings-in-context map, as can be depicted in (767).

(767) Semantic features and meanings-in-context map



Ideally, a semantic map would accurately cover the functional distribution of indefinites across contexts, since one assumes that the source of context-dependency and polarity sensitivity is semantic and resides in the lexical-semantic properties of indefinites, as also noted for PSI only in Giannakidou (1998:259). However, the meanings from the map are sometimes not more than predictors that certain elements will occur in certain contexts. For this reason, a semantic map as in (766) is insufficient and contextual factors have to be taken into account, as is done on Haspelmath's map and my new meanings-in-context map, which will be tested in the next chapter.

6. Testing the new map

I will illustrate the new meanings-in-context map on the basis of 20 languages, 10 of which have also been studied by Haspelmath (1997). There are two main reasons for the overlap: first of all, because of the semantic and contextual granularity of some of the issues at stake, some better-described languages were necessarily included. Apart from the more practical reason, the new meanings-in-context map allows one to more accurately depict the functional distribution of indefinites in the languages that have already been described by Haspelmath (1997).

The languages used to illustrate a new semantic map are listed in Table 40. The languages that have been treated by Haspelmath (1997) too are in bold.

Family	Genus	Language
Indo-European	Romance	French
		Romanian
		Italian
		Spanish
	Germanic	Swedish
		Dutch
		German
		English
	Slavic	Czech
	Greek	Greek
	Indic	Oriya
Northwest Caucasian	Northwest Caucasian	Adyghe
Altaic	Turkic	Uyghur
Korean	Korean	Korean
Afro-Asiatic	West Chadic	Hausa
Niger-Congo	Defoid	Yoruba
Austronesian	Malayo-Sumbawan	Indonesian
Austronesian	Barito	Malagasy
Austronesian	Oceanic	Maori
Salish	Interior Salish	Lilooet

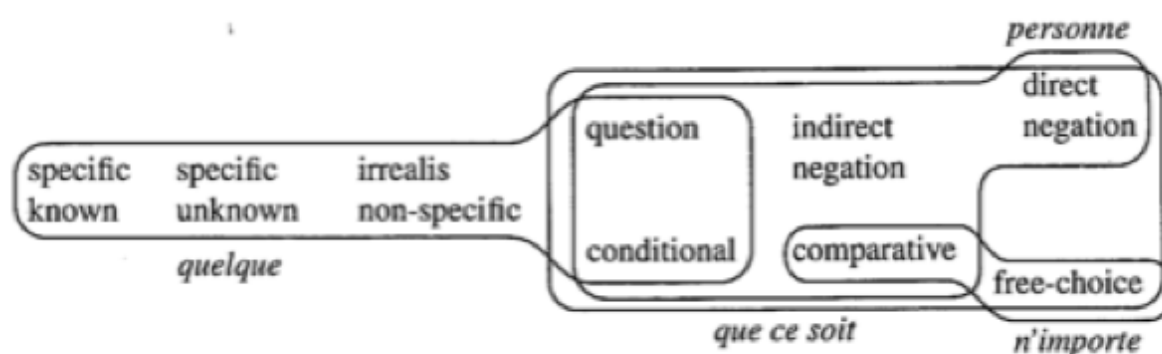
Table 40: 20-language sample

I will start by discussing the languages that have been discussed by Haspelmath (1997) too. For these languages, I included Haspelmath's map too for the purpose of comparing this map with mine.

6.1. French

In (768), Haspelmath's semantic map for French is presented.

(768) Haspelmath's (1997:260) map for French



Haspelmath (1997:259-260) distinguishes five series, four of which are depicted on the map in (768): the *personne*-series, the *-que ce soit*-series, two emphatic series, namely the *n'importe*-series and the *-conque*-series, and lastly a *quelque*-series. I will start with a discussion of the negative *personne*-series, followed by the *-que ce soit*-series, the *n'importe*-series, the *quelque*-series and lastly the *-conque*-series.

6.1.1. The *personne*-series

The *personne*-series consists of *rien*, *personne*, *aucun*, *jamais* and *nulle part* in Haspelmath (1997). However, following Muller (1991), I will treat *jamais* separately.

As noted by Haspelmath (1997:260), *personne* and *rien* go back to earlier generic nouns for 'thing' (< Latin *rem* 'thing.ACC') and 'person' (< Latin *persona* 'person'). The negative determiner *aucun* 'no' comes from the Late Latin *aliquis* + *unus* 'someone' (Hansen 2013:68). On Haspelmath's map, the *personne*-series is presented as a regular NPI-series restricted to scale-reversing NPI contexts. In the first part, I have shown that this is at least

misleading. Despite some remnant non-negative uses, the *personne*-series is mainly used in negation. This also explains why the pronouns can convey a negative meaning independently, e.g. in a short response, as shown in (769).

- (769) a. Qu'est-ce qu'il y a?
 'What's wrong?'
 b. Rien.
 'Nothing.'

It was argued in Chapter 3 that the uses of *personne* and *rien* in conditionals and questions should be seen as remnants of their NPI past instead of actual functions.

According to Muller (1991:265), *rien*, *aucun* and *personne* are grammatical with direct negation, subordinate negation, with the indirect negative *sans*, *plus que*, *trop pour*, *avant que*, but not with the scale-reversing *peu* 'few', conditionals and (indirect) questions. This means that they are compatible with indirect negation and direct negation.

Muller (1991) describes the use of *rien*, *aucun* and *personne* uniformly, and treats *jamais* separately, as is also done here, but not in Haspelmath (1997:259). This is because although the use of *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* in questions seems to be very marked, the same does not hold for *jamais* 'ever', which is still frequently used in a non-negative sense in questions and conditionals (Muller 1991:265 and Hansen 2012:79), as illustrated in (770).

- (770) Si jamais tu changes d'avis, tu peux venir me
 if ever you change of opinion you can come me
 voir.
 see
 'If you ever change your mind, you can come to see me.'
 (Hansen 2013:73)⁵³

So there appears to be internal variation as to the acceptability and use of the former French non-negative negative indefinite elements, as also addressed in Hansen & Visconti (2012:469,472) and Hansen (2012).

Despite the fact that *rien*, *aucun* and *personne* are treated together, paradigmatic variation is also relevant for the comparative contexts. As illustrated in (771), *personne* is still productive but *rien* does not allow a non-negative reading, as is shown in (772).

⁵³ However, Hansen (2013:73) notes that the use of *jamais* in non-negative NPI contexts is also subjected to certain restrictions and positive interpretations are in some cases limited to frozen expressions.

(771) COMP/WID

Il le fait mieux que personne.
he it does better than anyone
'He does it better than anyone.'

(772) COMP/WID

C'est mieux que rien.
it-is better than nothing
'It is better than nothing.'

Hansen (2013:73), however, notes that *rien* also has the function of the comparative in certain frozen constructions.

As discussed in section 3.3, a negative indefinite with the 'negative context, negative meaning' function (NEG/NEG), and not the 'non-negative context, negative meaning' function, mostly also has negative spread, if the sentence contains more than one negative indefinite. This is shown in (648).

(773) NS

Je n'ai rien dit à personne.
I NEG-have nothing said to nobody
'I didn't say anything to anybody.'
(Hansen & Visconti 2012:467)

However, Corblin et al. (2004:435) also report on the double negation readings of the French indefinites, as shown in (774).

(774) DN

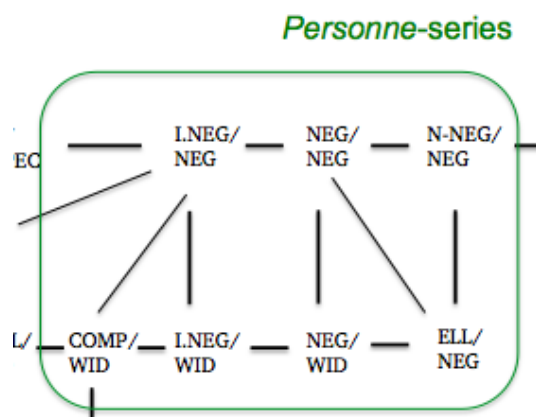
Personne ne dit rien à PERSONNE.
nobody NEG says nothing to nobody
'Nobody says nothing to nobody.'
(Corblin et al. 2004:435)

Corblin et al. (2004:435) note that "[t]he probability of the double negation reading is greatly enhanced by an intonation contour which results in the processing of the sentence being "split in two parts". Negative spread and double negation readings are not presented on the map.

The present-day distribution for *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* can be represented as in (775). It is used in indirect negation functions and direct negation functions. In addition, the

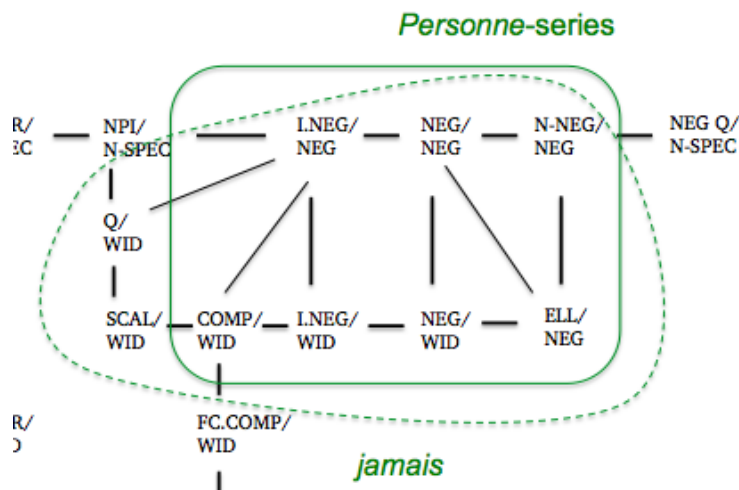
series can have the ‘comparative, widening’ function and the ‘elliptical context, negative meaning’ function.

(775) Map for *personne*, *rien* and *aucun* in French



Since *jamais* behaves differently from the *personne*-series, the item has to be placed separately on the map, as is done in (776).

(776) Map for *jamais*



The next series involves the widening indefinite series; the *-que ce soit*-series.

6.1.2. The *que ce soit*-series

The *que ce soit*-series consists of an interrogative base and the complex indefiniteness marker *que ce soit*, which derives from a parametric concessive conditional clause ‘what-/whoever it

may be'. As noted by Haspelmath (1997:260), the particle literally means 'that it be'. Parametric concessive clauses are one of two main sources for indefinites with (at least) the 'non-veridical, widening' function. This source has been discussed in 5.10.2. It leads to indefinites with the meaning of arbitrariness. The FCI is described in Vlachou (2007) and Corblin (2010a).

Haspelmath's map in (768) shows that the *que ce soit*-series has the same distribution as *any*. Like English *any* with *some*, the series also exhibits overlap in the question and conditional functions with *quelque*. Unlike *any*, however, *que ce soit* is always emphatic, as shown in (777).

(777) Emphatic *qui que ce soit* versus non-emphatic *quelqu'un* in a conditional

- a. Si quelqu'un vient, réveille-moi.
if someone comes wake-me
'If anyone comes, wake me up.'
- b. Si qui que ce soit vient, réveille-moi.
if anyone that it be comes wake-me
'If ANYONE comes, wake me up.'

The meaning difference between widening pronouns in questions and conditionals is also discussed by Haspelmath (1997:125), as noted in section 5.3. Haspelmath (1997) notes that in the b. sentences a scale of alternative values is present of which the chosen value is the endpoint. No such scales are present in the a. sentences. The presence of the endpoint meaning accounts for the fact why the forms should be used in questions that are oriented towards a negative response, as shown by Muller (2006:14).

The widening *-que ce soit*-series can also be used in negation, as shown in (778).

(778) Emphatic *que ce soit* in negation

- On ne renonce pas petit à petit à quoi que ce soit.
one NEG renounce not little by little to anything
'One does not stop anything little by little.'
(Vlachou 2007:174)

The reason why sentence (778) is emphatic is because *quoi que ce soit* widens the reference set. The widening sense of the *que ce soit*-series is used in contexts compatible with widening: scale-reversing contexts ('SCAL') contexts, including negation as well as non-veridical contexts, in which a universal implicature arises. An example of a non-veridical context is given in (779).

(779) N-VER/WID

Tu peux inviter qui que ce soit.
you can invite whoever
'You can invite anyone.'
(Corblin 2010a:19)

As pointed out by Muller (2006:10), *que ce soit*, unlike *any*, cannot be used in the imperative context from sentence (781).

(780) N-VER/WID

Take any apple.

(781) N-VER/WID

*Prends quelque pomme que ce soit.
(Muller 2006:10)

The series *can*, however, be used in an imperative, but only when there is a universal implicature, as shown in (782).

(782) N-VER/WID

Fouillez qui que ce soit.
'Search anyone!'
(Corblin 2010a)

A possible explanation for the impossibility of *-que ce soit* in (781) is the fact that there is another element that is more suited to express 'Pick any card', namely *n'importe* plus interrogative, as shown in (783).

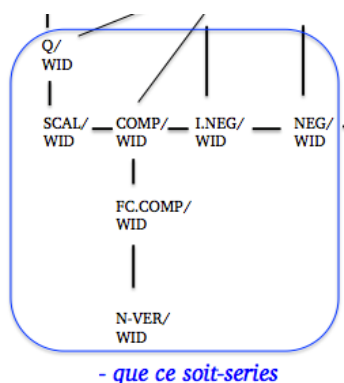
(783) Prends n'importe quelle carte.
take no.matter which card
'Take any card.'

As on Haspelmath's map, this difference is not accommodated on my map. Both sentences exemplify 'non-veridical, widening'. The reason why *n'importe* is more appropriate in (783) than *que ce soit* might be related to the etymology of the forms. The subjunctive 'whatever card it may be' seems less appropriate to convey the reading 'you must pick a card and any card is an option' than an item that literally means that it is not important. In this covert permission, *n'importe* might be preferred because it still seems to convey 'I, as a speaker,

don't find it important which card you pick', which in certain imperative contexts is more appropriate than an item *que ce soit* that expresses 'whatever card it may be'.

The semantic map for *que ce soit*-indefinites is presented in (784).

(784) Map for *que ce soit*-indefinites



From the distribution of the series it follows that the *que ce soit*-series can occur in all contexts compatible with widening.

The second series of widening indefinites is the *n'importe*-series.

6.1.3. The *n'importe*-series

The French determiner *n'importe* literally means 'it doesn't matter'. The FCI has recently been described in Larrivée (2006), Muller (2006, 2010), Vlachou (2007), and Pescarini (2010). On Haspelmath's map, it is shown to have the 'free choice' function and the 'comparative' function. These uses are shown in sentences (785) and (786).

(785) N-VER/WID

N'importe qui peut entrer.
no.matter who can enter
'Anybody may enter.'

(786) FC COMP/WID

Il est plus fort que n'importe qui.
he is more strong than no.matter who
'He is stronger than anybody.'

The two uses in (785) and (786) now correspond to the uses 'free choice comparative, widening' and 'non-veridical, widening'.

In contrast to what is claimed on Haspelmath's map in (787), the indefinites also occur with other meanings-in-contexts. Vlachou (2007) shows that *n'importe qui* can occur in the scope of negation, as shown in (787).

- (787) La porte du Temple doit rester fermée! ergotait
the door of.the Temple has.to stay closed quibbled
la Gazette. On n'ouvre pas à n'importe qui!
the Gazette. one NEG-open NEG to no.matter.who
'The door of the Temple must stay closed! quibbled the Gazette. We should not open to anybody!'
(Vlachou 2007:178)

This sentence in (787) with the prepositional phrase should perhaps be considered a case of indirect negation, rather than direct negation on the basis of unavailability of the widening reading in sentence (788).

- (788) *Je n'ai pas vu n'importe qui.
I NEG-have NEG seen no.matter who
Intended: 'I have not seen anyone at all.'

Muller (2006:24,25) also provides an example of widening *n'importe qui* in an indirect negative context, as in (789), and in the antecedent of a conditional, as in (790).

- (789) I.NEG/WID
Aucun succès dans n'importe quel autre domaine ne
no success in no.matter which other domain NEG
pourra compenser cette faiblesse fondamentale.
could compensate this weakness fundamental
'No success in any domain whatsoever could compensate for this fundamental weakness.'
(Muller 2006:24)

- (790) SCAL/WID
Si n'importe quoi vous dérange, dites-le moi.
if no.matter what you disturbs tell-it me
'If anything whatsoever bothers you, tell me.'
(Muller 2006:25)

Consequently, in contrast to what Haspelmath's map predicts *n'importe* can be found in NPI contexts compatible with widening-strengthening. The question context is a little tricky. Unlike what Vlachou (2007) concludes, I think that *n'importe* can also be found in questions, even though this seems more difficult. Still, sentence (791) was judged grammatical by native speakers of French.

(791) Q/WID

As-tu	jamais acheté	n'importe	quelle peinture?
have-you	ever bought	no.matter	which painting

'Have you ever bought any painting whatsoever?'

The reason this is more difficult seems to be the fact that it also has the indiscriminacy reading, which becomes very salient in a question. The reason might be that in a question, as with the indiscriminacy reading, the choice of the addressee is more salient than the speaker's indifference about the referent, which is always present in the case of a widening reading.

An example of the Hornian indiscriminacy reading in negation is given in (792). In this reading, the randomness of the choice is the focus of negation.

(792) Non-veridical, indiscriminacy (N-VER/IND)

C'est	difficile	d'avoir	une place?	Oui,	c'est	difficile.
it.is	difficult	to-have	a place	yes	it.it	difficult
D'abord	il faut	une autorisation.	On ne donne pas			
firstly	he has.to	a authorization	one NEG gives			NEG

ça à n'importe qui.
that to no.matter who

'Is is difficult to get a place? Yes, it is difficult. First, one has to have an authorization. They don't give it to just anyone.'

This reading also occurs in other NPI contexts like a comparative, a *before* and *without* context, with *too...to*, as shown in Vlachou (2007:179-181). All these contexts are included in the 'non-veridical, indiscriminacy' function.

Vlachou (2007) convincingly shows that the FCI *n'importe qu-* can also be grammatical in veridical contexts, provided of course, the context is compatible with the indiscriminacy meaning. Sentences (793) and (794) provide examples of *n'importe*-indefinites in veridical contexts.

(793) Veridical, indiscriminacy (VER/IND)

Oh tante Berthe, je suis un monstre, pardonnez-moi...
oh aunt Berthe I am a monster, forgive-me
j'ai perdu la tête, j'ai dit n'importe quoi.
I-have lost the head, I-have said no.matter what
'Oh aunt Berthe, I am a monster, forgive me. I have lost my head. I said just
anything.'

(Vlachou 2007:152)

(794) Veridical, indiscriminacy (VER/IND)

N'importe qui pouvait gratter. N'importe qui a
no.matter who could scratch no.matter who has
gagné.
won

'Anybody could participate by scratching. A poor guy has won.'

(Vlachou 2007:198)

In sentences (793) and (794), the quantificational implicature is an existential one: in both sentences there is only one referent. One cannot replace the indefinite pronoun by a universal quantifier in these cases; one cannot replace the indefinite in (793) and (794) and by 'everything' and 'everyone' respectively. However, depending on the contexts, *n'importe qu-* in its indiscriminacy reading can trigger a universal quantificational implicature as well, as is shown in (795) and (796).

(795) VER/IND

Sur internet, il y a n'importe quoi, il faut filtrer.
on internet there.is no.matter what it has.to filter
'There is just any old thing on the internet. One has to be selective.'

(Vlachou 2007:202)

(796) VER/IND

Tu as laissé entrer n'importe qui.
you have let enter no.matter who
'You have let anyone enter.'

(Muller 2010:105)

In this use the implicature is universal and not existential. It comes close to a regular universal use corresponding to 'every'. The difference is that in the case of the FCI *n'importe*, the universal reading results from the indiscriminacy meaning. Depending on the aspectual

information marked on the verb, universal FCIs can get universal as well as existential readings.

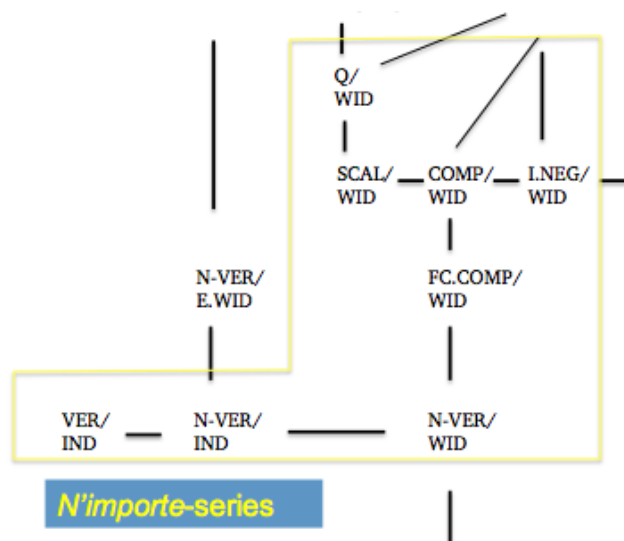
Whereas the *-que ce soit*-series as well as the *n'importe*-series are both represented on Haspelmath's map as having the 'non-veridical, widening' function, *n'importe*, but not *que ce soit*, is possible in an imperative context, as was also illustrated in (783). It is also interesting to note that sentence (797), which exemplifies the FCI in an imperative context, is actually ambiguous between a 'non-veridical, widening' and a 'non-veridical, indiscriminacy' reading.

- (797) Dessinez n'importe quel triangle et tracez ses hauteurs.
draw no.matter which triangle and trace its heights
'Draw just any triangle and trace its heights.'
(Vlachou 2007:214)

The sentence can have a widening reading which can be paraphrased as 'you must draw a triangle and any triangle is an option'. This is the 'non-veridical, widening' reading. The sentence can also mean that the teacher orders his students to draw an ordinary triangle or that the choice of referent, in this case a triangle, has to be done arbitrarily. Since the different qualitative readings for FCIs in their non-widening uses do not seem to be cross-linguistically relevant, I subsumed the non-widening readings distinguished by Vlachou (2007) (namely low-level, indistinguishability, indiscriminacy) under one indiscriminacy function.

In sum, *n'importe qu*- indefinites express widening-strengthening and indiscriminacy in all contexts compatible with this meaning, apart from direct negation. The map for *n'importe*-indefinites can be presented as in (798).

(798) Map for *n'importe*-indefinites



6.1.4. The *quelque*-series

The indefinite pronoun *quelque* consists of the interrogative form *quel* and the general subordinator *-que*. It has been the subject of many studies, e.g. Culioli (1982), Van de Velde (2000), Jayez & Tovenia (2002, 2006, 2008, 2011), Corblin (2004), Larrivée (2005), Paillard (2006) and Muller (2007b). In these articles, a distinction is often made between the pronouns *quelqu'un* 'someone', *quelque chose* 'something' and the plural *quelques* 'some' on the one hand, and 'quelque + singular N' and 'quelque + abstract mass N' on the other hand. The fact that they behave differently is also noted by Haspelmath (1997:260), referring to Culioli (1982). One should therefore distinguish between at least two types of *quelque*-series. I will start with the distribution of the first *quelque*-series consisting of the pronouns *quelqu'un*, *quelque chose* and the plural determiner *quelques*.

In his semantic map for French, Haspelmath (1997:260) provides examples of *quelqu'un* and *quelque chose* in the 'specific known', 'specific unknown', 'irrealis non-specific', 'conditional' and 'question' function. The function 'irrealis non-specific' is now 'non-veridical, non-specific' and the 'conditional' function is either part of the 'NPI, non-specific' function or the 'scale-reversing, widening' function. Since one is dealing with a non-widening indefinite, the 'conditional' function of the *quelque* pronouns now corresponds to 'NPI, non-specific'. Examples are given in (799) and (800).

(799) N-VER/N-SPEC (former ‘irrealis non-specific’)

Elle	veut	épouser	quelqu’un	aux	cheveux	noirs.
she	wants	marry	someone	with	hair	black

‘She wants to marry someone with black hair.’

(Haspelmath 1997:260)

(800) NPI/N-SPEC (former ‘conditional’)

Si	vous	invitez	quelqu’un,	vous	devrez	l’héberger.
if	you	invite	someone	you	have.to	him-put.up

‘If you invite someone, you have to put him up.’

(Corblin 2009)

Note that Haspelmath (1997:260) provides an example of *quelqu’un* in a volitional context to illustrate the irrealis non-specific use. He also adds between brackets that this use can also be exemplified in an imperative context. Sentence (801), however, shows that the indefinite is also compatible with possibility modals, a context that is associated with the FC function in Haspelmath (1997).

(801) N-VER/N-SPEC

Quelqu’un	peut	être	difficile	à	convaincre.
someone	can	be	difficult	to	convince

‘Someone can be difficult to convince.’

(Corblin 2010b:74)

The new map arguably provides a better picture of how contexts relate to meanings and vice versa. It shows that indefinites that do not induce domain widening can occur in non-veridical contexts with a non-specific meaning (N-VER/N-SPEC), as long as they can be interpreted within the scope of the operator, in this case a possibility modal. It shows that indefinites that induce widening, like *qui que ce soit*, can occur in non-veridical contexts too, as long as these are not incompatible with the items’ lexical semantics, yielding the N-VER/WID meaning-in-context, but not the N-VER/N-SPEC meaning-in-context. Consequently, the possibility modal allows the widening indefinite *qui que ce soit* as well as the non-widening indefinite *quelqu’un*, both with a non-specific meaning-in-context, whereas a volitional context only allows the indefinite that introduces a dependent variable, and not the widening indefinite, since the variable introduced by *n’importe qui* cannot be replaced by all the referential alternatives evoked by it. This is illustrated in (802) and (803).

(802) N-VER/N-SPEC

a. Modal of possibility

Quelqu'un peut être difficile à convaincre.
someone can be difficult to convince
'Someone can be difficult to convince.'

b. Volitional context

Je veux manger quelque chose.
I want eat something
'I want to eat something.'

(803) N-VER/WID

a. Modal of possibility

Qui que ce soit peut être difficile à convaincre.
anyone can be difficult to convince
'Anyone can be difficult to convince.'

b. Volitional context

*Je veux manger quoi que ce soit.
I want eat anything
'I want to eat anything.'

On Haspelmath's map, *quelque* and the corresponding pronominal forms are predicted by the map to be impossible in indirect negation. Corblin (2011:144), however, shows that *quelqu'un* and *quelque chose* can be interpreted in indirect negation. An example of the indefinite pronoun with superordinate negation is found in (804).

(804) I.NEG/NEG

Je ne pense pas que quelqu'un puisse accepter cela.
I NEG think NEG that anybody would accept that
'I don't think anybody would accept that.'
(Corblin 2011:144)

The *quelque*-pronouns can also have a specific meaning in non-veridical contexts. An example of a non-veridical context with a *quelque*-pronoun with a specific interpretation is given in (805).

(805) N-VER/SPEC

Ce singe est plus intelligent que quelqu'un.
this monkey is more intelligent than someone
'This monkey is more intelligent than someone.'
(Corblin 2011:144)

Confusion with the FC comparative or the NPI comparative is excluded, since this distribution can be accounted for by referring to the lexical semantics of the *quelque*-pronouns. Since *quelque*-pronouns are non-widening pronouns and only introduce a variable *x*, they are expected not to occur in a comparative context with a non-specific meaning, since in order to allow a widening reading 'anybody at all', an indefinite has to widen the domain of referents. When the indefinite does not induce widening, the variable introduced by the indefinite necessarily escapes the scope of the comparative operator, provided the item can establish specific reference. For this reason, the sentence in (805) always means that there is a specific person who serves as a reference point of comparison with the monkey. Note, however, that a sentence like the one in (805), in which a specific indefinite outscopes the comparative, is probably very uncommon.

Another non-veridical context with a specific reading for *quelque* is provided in (681) (Corblin 2010b:74). As the translations show, the sentence is ambiguous between a 'non-veridical, non-specific' and a 'NPI, non-specific' use.

(806) N-VER/SPEC or NPI/N-SPEC

Est-ce que vous avez vu quelqu'un?
Q you have seen someone
'Have you seen someone?'
N-VER/SPEC: 'There is a specific person about whom I am asking whether you have seen him/her.'
NPI/N-SPEC: 'Have you seen anyone?'

The plural determiner *quelques* exhibits the functional distribution of the pronouns (Corblin 2004:99).⁵⁴ As was noted in the beginning of this section, *quelque* as a singular determiner behaves differently from the indefinite pronouns *quelque chose*, *quelqu'un* and from the plural *quelques*. The singular *quelque* can combine with singular count nouns and abstract mass nouns. With regard to contextual restrictions, *quelque* is known for its affinity with non-veridical and epistemic contexts (Corblin 2004:99). This *quelque* is considered an epistemic indefinite. Epistemic indefinites contain information on the epistemic state of the

⁵⁴ I did not find any reliable data with respect to wide-scope readings in non-negative NPI contexts.

speaker. Epistemic indefinites are indefinites with the function ‘specific unknown in a veridical context’ but without the function ‘specific known in a veridical context’. An example of an epistemic use of *quelque* in a veridical context is found in (807).

(807) ‘Veridical, specific unknown’ (VER/S-U)

Le	verrou	ne	coulisse	pas;	quelque	idiot	a	fermé	la
the	bolt	NEG	slide	NEG;	some	idiot	has	closed	the
porte	avec	un	cadenas.						
door	with	a	padlock						

‘The bolt does not slide. Some idiot has locked the door with a padlock.’

(Jayez & Tovenà 2010:106)

Corblin (2004:100) notes that the lack of knowledge about the precise identity of the referent expressed by *quelque* is often underlined by the use of a disjunction, as one can see in sentence (808).

(808) VER/S-U

Il	avait	rencontré	quelque	voisin	ou	parent	dans
he	has	met	some	neighbour	or	parent	in
ce	train.						
the	train						

‘He had met some neighbor or relative on this train.’

(Corblin 2004:100)

Other contexts in which *quelque* is used with a non-specific meaning-in-context this time are non-veridical contexts, interrogative and conditional contexts, as shown in (809) and (811).

(809) N-VER/N-SPEC

Yolande	a	peut-être	rencontré	quelque	ami.
Yolande	has	maybe	met	some	friend

‘Yolande might have met some friend.’

(Jayez & Tovenà 2010:107)

(810) NPI/N-SPEC

Avez-vous	rencontré	quelque	coquille,	ou	quelque	faute
have-you	found	some	typo	or	some	error
d'orthographe	dans	ce	devoir?			
of-spelling	in	this	homework			

'Have you found any type or spelling error in this homework?'

(Corblin 2004:100)

(811) NPI/N-SPEC

Si	quelque	lièvre	ou	chevreuil	traversait	la	route,
if	some	deer	or	hare	crossed	the	road
il	fallait	s'arrêter.					
it	has.to	REFL-stop					

'If some deer or some hare crossed the road, you would have to stop.'

(Corblin 2004:100)

Like *quelqu'un* and *quelque chose*, *quelque* is acceptable in a direct negative context, on the condition that it is interpreted out of its scope and has the same ignorance/indifference reading that it has in veridical contexts. This is marked by the function N-VER/S-U, referring to a non-veridical context with a specific unknown meaning.

(812) N-VER/S-U

Yolande	n'a	pas	dû	trouver	quelque	fichier.
Yolande	NEG-has	NEG	must	find	some	file

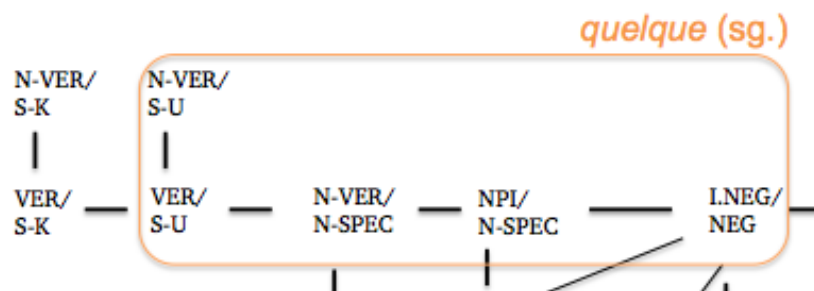
'Yolande must not have found some file.'

(Jayez & Tovenia 2013:191)

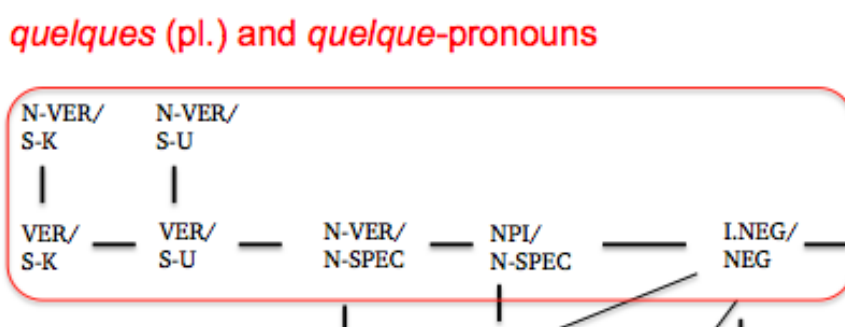
Sentence (812) is only acceptable provided one interprets it with a specific reading for *fichier* 'file'. In conclusion, *quelque* + singular N can occur in all contexts in which non-specific reference can be established except in direct negation, and in veridical and non-veridical contexts with a specific unknown meaning.

The functional distribution of singular *quelque* + N is found in (813) and the functional distribution of the *quelque*-pronouns and plural *quelques* is found in (814).

(813) Semantic map for singular *quelque*



(814) Map for *quelque*-pronouns and plural *quelques*.



6.1.5. The *-conque*-series: *un(e) N quelconque* and *quiconque*

Another series of indefinite pronouns/determiners consists of an interrogative base and the indefiniteness marker *-conque* (< *qu'onques* 'that ever', Haspelmath 1997:260). In the case of the determiner, it involves a complex determiner consisting of the indefinite article *un* followed by a noun and an indefiniteness marker *quelconque* or the indefinite article *un* followed by *quelconque* and a noun. The pronoun – there is only one – consists of the interrogative pronoun *qui* 'who' and *-conque*, yielding the form *quiconque*. Interestingly, there is no **quoiconque*. As in the case of forms containing *quelque*, the distribution of the determiner differs from the distribution of the pronoun, something that is not mentioned in Haspelmath (1997). I will start with the pronominal form and then treat the complex determiner *un N quelconque/ un quelconque N*. The distribution and semantics of *conque*-indefinites is discussed in Jayez & Tovenà (2002), Jayez & Tovenà (2006) and Vlachou (2007).

The pronoun *quiconque* is mentioned in Haspelmath (1997:261) as part of the *-conque* series, but it is not represented on his map. This could be due to the fact that it is said to behave similarly to the *que ce soit*-series. Haspelmath (1997:261) provides examples of *quiconque* in the functions of 'free choice', 'indirect negation', 'comparative' and 'conditional', as in (815) to (818).

(815) ‘non-veridical, widening’ (N-VER/WID)

Demandez à quiconque des assistants!
ask to anyone of.the assistants
‘Ask any of the assistants.’

(816) ‘FC comparative, widening’ (FC COMP/WID)

Je le sais mieux que quiconque.
I it know better than anyone
‘I know it better than anyone.’

(817) ‘indirect negation, widening’ (I.NEG/WID)

Il n’est pas permis de parler de ceci à quiconque.
it NEG-is NEG allowed to talk of this to anyone
‘It is not allowed to talk about this to anyone.’

(818) ‘scale-reversing, widening’ (SCAL/WID)

Si quiconque insiste pour me parler, dites qu’on m’écrive.
if anyone insists to me talk tell that-one me-write
‘If anyone insists on talking to me, tell them to write me.’

Note that the function corresponding to the use in (815) can be interpreted as ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’ as well as ‘non-veridical, widening’. A clear example of ‘non-veridical, widening’ with a possibility modal is given in (819).

(819) N-VER/WID

Quiconque peut assister à la conférence.
anyone can assist at the conference
‘Anyone can assist at the conference.’

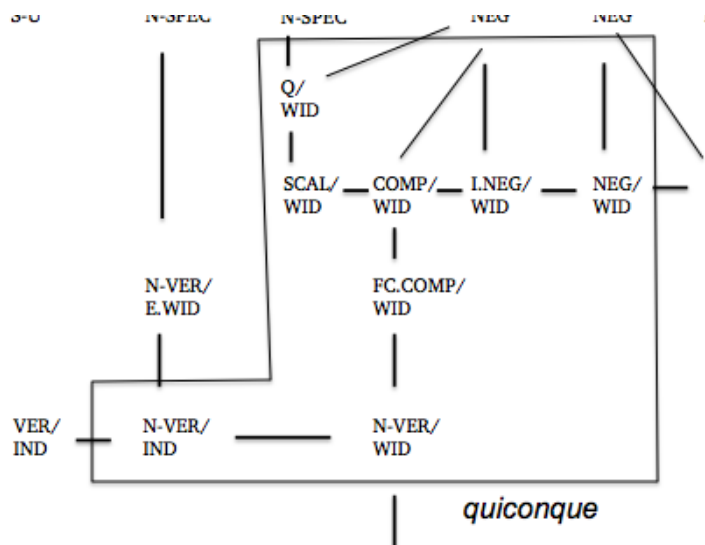
In most cases, the indefinite pronoun can be replaced by *qui que ce soit* without any difference in meaning. *Quiconque* therefore has all the non-specific widening meanings-in-contexts, apart from in direct negation. In addition, and unlike *qui que ce soit*, *quiconque* can also have an indiscriminacy reading in negation and in other non-veridical contexts, as illustrated in (820).

(820) ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’ (negation)

Je ne polémique pas avec quiconque.
I NEG argue NEG with anyone
‘I don’t argue with just anyone.’

Consequently, the distribution of the indefinite pronoun *quiconque* resembles that of *qui que ce soit*, but more so that of *n'importe qui*. In particular also because *n'importe qui* and *quiconque*, in contrast to *qui que ce soit*, are hardly found in interrogative contexts with a widening meaning (Vlachou 2007:288), probably again due to their indiscriminacy readings. However, unlike *n'importe*-indefinites, and like *que ce soit*-indefinites, *quiconque* cannot occur in veridical contexts. The map for *quiconque* is presented in (821).

(821) Semantic map for *quiconque*



As for the sequence *un N quelconque* or *un quelconque N*, it must first be noted that it is not clear that it involves an indefinite determiner. Larousse online (s.v. *quelconque*) makes a distinction between *quelconque* as a qualitative adjective with the meaning ‘mediocre’, ‘vulgar’, etc. and an indefinite adjective meaning ‘n’importe qui’. Jayez & Tovenat (2006:219) have shown that these two meanings are very close and separating the two is very difficult. They seem to crosscut the category of adjective and determiner with respect to meaning but also with respect to syntactic properties. *Quelconque* can be put in front of the noun, whereas normally, adjectives are placed after the noun, as shown in (822) and (823).

(822) un quelconque homme

 a quelconque man

(823) un homme amusant

 a man amusing

Based on the difference in position illustrated in (822) and (823), one might think that *un quelconque N* corresponds to the indefinite adjectival use, whereas *un N quelconque*

corresponds to the qualitative adjectival use, but Jayez & Tovenà (2006:219) note that “no clear and stable semantic difference between the two has appeared so far”. Muller (2007a:91) also notes that the position does not seem to be pertinent. Jayez & Tovenà (2002:164) noted that *un quelconque* N is stronger than *un* N *quelconque*, but only focus on the latter. The fact that *un quelconque* N is stronger than *un* N *quelconque* seems to correspond to the widening and non-widening readings of the complex determiner respectively, although the widening effect can also be created by means of adding stress. Since I have no reliable data, I will not make a distinction between the two.

Sentence (824) shows *un quelconque* in a ‘veridical, specific unknown function’.

(824) VER/S-U

Susanne	a	épousé	un	copain	de	fac
Susan	have	married	a	friend	of	university
quelconque	que	je	ne	connais	pas.	
some.or.other	that	I	NEG	know	NEG	

‘Susan married some university friend whom I don’t know.’
(Jayez & Tovenà 2002:165)

Un N *quelconque* in this function can be compared to the singular determiner *quelque*, because they both introduce epistemic alternatives.

An example in the ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ function is found in (825).

(825) N-VER/N-SPEC

Marie	doit	louer	une	voiture	quelconque.
Marie	has.to	rent	a	car	some.or.other

‘Marie has to rent some sort of car.’
(Jayez & Tovenà 2002:165)

It can have a non-specific meaning in all contexts except direct negation, where the more specialized *personne*-series is used.

Un N *quelconque* can also have the existential widening meaning-in-context. This is shown in (826).

(826) N-VER/E.WID

Un	homme	quelconque	peut	le	faire.
a	man	quelconque	can	it	do

‘Any man can do it.’

The reason the reading in (827) is ‘non-veridical, existential widening’, instead of ‘non-veridical, widening’ can be illustrated on the basis of the sentences in (827). In a subtriggering contexts, existential FCIs cannot yield the universal reading illustrated by the English *any* in the a. sentence or the French *qui que ce soit* in the c. sentence.

(827) Subtriggering context

a. N-VER/WID

I challenge anyone to contradict me.

b. *un N quelconque* in N-VER/WID

*	Je	défie	une	personne	quelconque	de	me
	I	challenge	a	person	any	to	me
	prouver	que	j’ai	tort.			
	prove	that	I-have	not.right			

Intended: ‘I challenge anyone to contradict me.’

(Muller 2007a:91)

c. *qui que ce soit* in N-VER/WID

Je	défie	qui que ce soit	de	me	contredire.
I	challenge	anyone	to	me	contradict

‘I challenge anyone to contradict me.’

(Muller 2007a:86)

Normally, a FCI with the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function can occur with a universal implicature in a subtriggering context. *Un N quelconque*, on the other hand, cannot.

An example of *un quelconque* N with a widening meaning in a negative context and a question is given in (828).

(828) NEG/WID

Marie	n’a	pas	lu	un	quelconque	de	ces	trois
Marie	NEG-has	NEG	read	a	any	of	these	three

livres.
books

‘Mary did not read any of these three books whatsoever.’

(Jayez & Tovenà 2006:236)

(829) Q/WID

Est-ce que	Marie	a	lu	un	livre	quelconque?
Q	Marie	has	read	a	book	whatever

‘Did Mary read any book whatsoever?’

(Jayez & Tovenà 2006:220)

According to Jayez & Tovenà (2006), the indefinites in sentences (828) and (829) correspond to the emphatic ‘no whatsoever’, ‘any whatsoever’. *Un N quelconque* can also have this widening reading in scale-reversing contexts, but it cannot occur in the comparative with a widening reading. This is blocked by the fact that this FCI item conveys an existential implicature.

A note of caution has to be added, though. Vlachou (2007) in fact does not report on this widening use of *un N quelconque*. In addition, *un N quelconque* in its widening use does not seem part of the active vocabulary of the native speaker of French I consulted. The use of postposed *quelconque* as a qualitative adjective seems to be more frequent. This use is not discussed by Jayez & Tovenà (2006). The qualitative use is illustrated in sentence (830).

(830) N-VER/IND

Il	n'est	pas	un	homme	quelconque.
he	NEG-is	NEG	a	man	just.any

‘He is not a mediocre man.’/ ‘He is not just anyone.’

This use obviously resembles *just anyone* in its indiscriminacy use, as is shown in the translation. I therefore consider the use in (830) to be the ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’ function. This use is not restricted to certain contexts. It is found in NPI contexts, as noted in Vlachou (2007:189), in non-veridical contexts (Vlachou 2007:219) and in veridical contexts. An example in a veridical context taken from the internet is given in (831).

(831) VER/IND

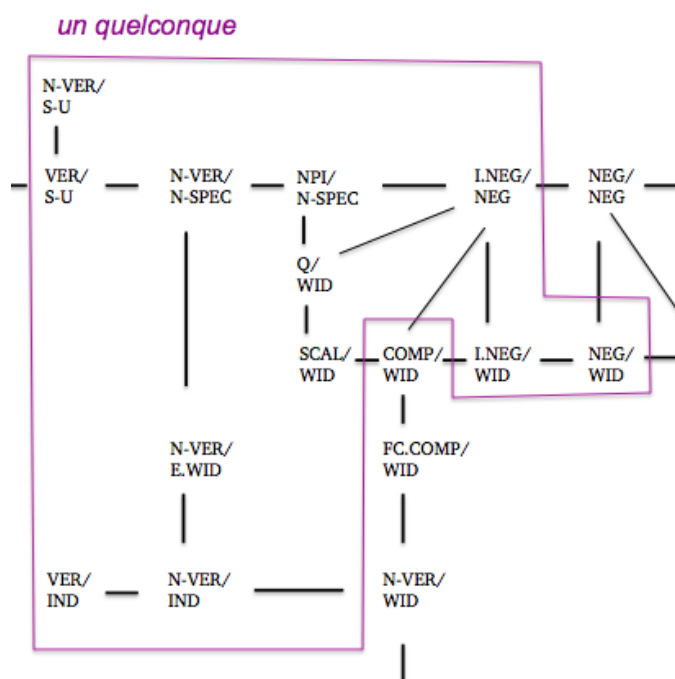
Je	trouve	que	c'est	un	livre	quelconque.
I	think	that	it-is	a	book	mediocre

‘I think it is a mediocre book.’

In conclusion, *quelconque* can be used as a descriptive adjective and express the pejorative values associated with the indiscriminacy functions. As a qualitative adjective, it is not polarity sensitive. The adjective also has a meaning that is related to identification rather than qualification. In a veridical context, it conveys speaker ignorance. It can also have this reading in non-veridical contexts, on the condition that the variable introduced by the indefinite *un* is interpreted outside the scope of the non-veridical operator. This corresponds to the ‘non-veridical, specific’ function. In addition, it can scope under all non-veridical operators with a non-specific meaning. In NPI contexts, it can also express widening, as long as it is compatible with the existential implicature.

The map for *un N quelconque* is presented in (832).

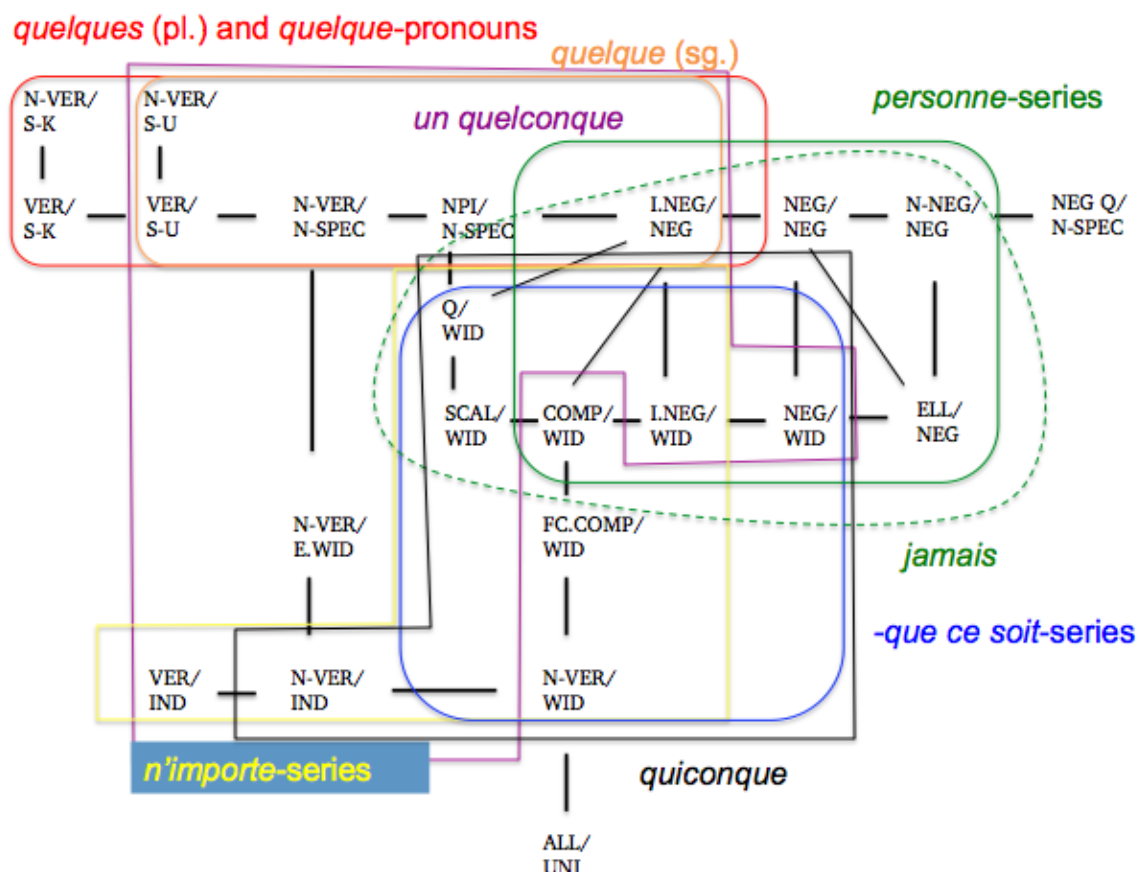
(832) Map for *un quelconque*



6.1.6. Conclusion for French indefinites

In conclusion, the semantic map for indefinites in French is presented in (833).

(833) Meanings-in-context map for French indefinites



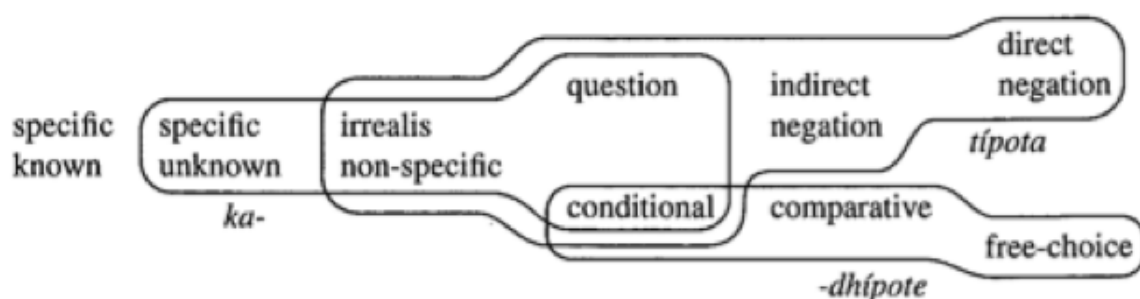
Clearly, this map is not exactly more user-friendly than Haspelmath's. Still, it is arguably more complete. Firstly, it maps the fact that the negative series involving *jamais* and the *personne*-series can be considered negative: they can express negation in elliptical contexts. Secondly, a distinction is made between *personne*, *rien* and *aucun*, on the one hand, and *jamais*, on the other hand. Whereas *jamais* is still often found in all NPI contexts, this is not the case for the other items. Thirdly, the map shows that there is a difference between *quiconque*, *qui que ce soit* or *n'importe qui* in a NPI context and a *quelque*-pronoun in a NPI context. Whereas the latter is non-widening and can get a neutral non-specific interpretation in the scope of the non-veridical operator, the other elements induce widening and hence make the sentence more emphatic. Fourthly, the map shows that the elements that can have specific reference can also do so in non-veridical contexts. Fifthly, a distinction is made between singular and plural indefinite determiners. Singular *quelque* is an epistemic indefinite, whereas the plural *quelque* is not. Sixthly, the inclusion of the indiscriminacy functions maps the fact that the FCI *quiconque* and *n'importe qui* have qualitative readings apart from conveying arbitrary reference and that the indefinites in these uses may also be polarity-sensitive. Seventhly, the existential FCI *un N quelconque* is included.

6.2. Greek

The second language under consideration is Greek. The system of Greek indefinite pronouns has been extensively studied, mainly thanks to the many works on negative polarity and non-veridicality by Giannakidou (1997, 1998, 1999a,b) and the work by Vlachou (2007). This allows me to treat Greek as a suitable language to illustrate the semantic map. Like French, Greek has also been discussed by Haspelmath (1997) and like in the case of French, new data have been brought to light.

In (834), one can find the semantic map for Greek as it is found in Haspelmath (1997:266).

(834) Haspelmath's (1997:266) map for Greek



6.2.1. The *-dhípote*-series

This series consists of an interrogative base and *-dhípote*, which derives from the emphatic particle *-dē* and *-poté* 'ever'. According to Haspelmath (1997), *-dhípote*-indefinites have the 'conditional', 'comparative' and 'free choice' function. As was discussed above, for an indefinite to have the 'comparative' function, it must be a widening indefinite. An example of a comparative context is found in (835).

(835) Comparative

To aghóri borí na tréksi ghrighorótera apó opjon-dhípote sto
 the boy can SBJV he.run faster from anyone in.the
 sxolíu tu.
 school his

'The boy can run faster than anyone in his school.'

(Haspelmath 1997:267)

The *-dhípote* indefinites widen the domain of possible referents, meaning that the referential value introduced by the noun phrase can be replaced by any value, in this case any boy in

the school, without changing the truth value of the proposition. This creates the widening-strengthening reading: the boy can run faster than everyone. This is also the reading that is attained in the non-veridical contexts corresponding to the FC function on Haspelmath's map. Example of widening-strengthening *-dhípote* in a deontic possibility modal context and a generic context are given in (836) and (837).

(836) N-VER/WID (generic)

Opjadhípote ghata exi ura.

any cat has tail

'Any cat has a tail.'

(Vlachou 2007:279)

(837) N-VER/WID (possibility modal)

Boris na pas opudhípote.

may.2SG SBJV go.2SG anywhere

'You can go anywhere.'

(Vlachou 2007:267)

According to the map *-dhípote* can occur in a conditional context but not in a question context. Vlachou (2007:279), however, shows that *-dhípote* is also grammatical in questions.

(838) Q/WID

Kata ti simerini sinandisi tu Prothipurghu me

during the today's meeting the Prime Minister with

ton Proedhro tis Dimokratias, ipirkse opjadhípote

the President the Democracy there was.3SG any

niksi ja to thema ton ekloghon?

allusion for the subject the elections

'Was there any allusion to the subject of elections during today's meeting between the Prime Minister and the President?'

In addition, on Haspelmath's map *-dhípote* is predicted not to occur in the scope of negation in negative contexts. Again Vlachou (2007:240) shows that it is not the case, see sentence (839).

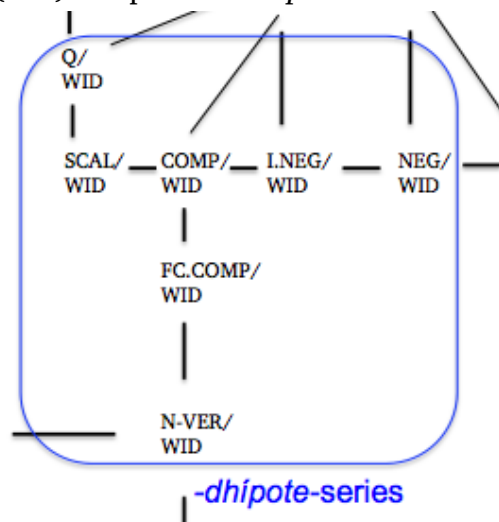
(839) NEG/WID

Dhen sizitithike otidhípote alo.
 NEG was.discussed.3SG anything else
 ‘Nothing else was discussed.’
 (Vlachou 2007:240)

Vlachou (2007) also provides examples of *-dhípote* in indirect negative and other NPI contexts, viz. in a *too...to* context, a context with a negative verb ‘refuse’, a ‘without’ context, a ‘before’ context, a ‘few’ context, and a conditional. In sum, as long as the context allows for the widening-strengthening reading, *-dhípote* can occur in it.

In conclusion, the map for the *-dhípote*-series is presented in (840). The *dhípote*-series is a widening series that is grammatical in all widening functions.

(840) Map for the *dhípote*-series



6.2.2. The *típota*-series

The *típota*-series consist of *típota* for the category ‘thing’ (< *poté* ‘ever’) and *kanenas* for the category ‘person’ (< *kan* ‘at least, even’ plus *enas* ‘one’, Haspelmath 1997:266). These indefinites are grammatical in direct negation, as shown in (841), with superordinate negation, as shown in (842), in a question, as in (843), a conditional, and in non-veridical contexts.

(841) NEG/NEG

Dhen idha kanenan.
 NEG saw.1SG anybody
 ‘I didn’t see anybody.’
 (Giannakidou 1998:234)

(842) I.NEG/NEG

Dhen prodose mistika pu eksethesan kanenan.
NEG betrayed.1SG secrets that exposed.3PL anybody
'I didn't reveal secrets that exposed anybody.'

(Giannakidou 1999b:119)

(843) NPI/N-SPEC

Idhes típota?
saw.2SG anything
'Did you see anything.'

(Giannakidou 2011:1661)

Examples of non-veridical contexts that allow *típota* and *kanenas* are disjunctive sentences, like sentence (844), or habitual contexts, as in (845).

(844) N-VER/N-SPEC

I bike mesa kanenas i afisame to fos anameno.
either entered.3SG someone or left.1PL the light on
'Either someone entered or they left the light on.'

(Giannakidou 2011:1673)

(845) N-VER/N-SPEC

I Eleni dhiavaze sinithos kanena periodhiko
the Ellen read.IMP.3SG usually some magazine
(otan variotane).

'Ellen used to read some magazine or other magazine (when she was bored).'

(Giannakidou 2011:1673)

In contrast to Haspelmath's map, my map indicates that contexts that are associated with the FC function on Haspelmath's map are non-veridical contexts. Accordingly, possibility modal contexts, normally associated with free choice, can also host the non-widening indefinites *kanenas* and *típota*, as is shown in (846).

(846) N-VER/N-SPEC

O Janis bori na milisi me kanenan.
the John may SBJV talk.3SG with somebody
'John may talk to somebody (non-specific).'

(Giannakidou 2011:1672)

The difference then between the *típota*-series and the FCI interrogative-*dhípote*, discussed in the previous section, is represented on the map by distinguishing between ‘non-specific’ and ‘on-specific, widening’. The FCI emphasizes that anyone is a possible person for John to talk to, whereas *kanenan* introduces a variable that is interpreted under a non-veridical operator and therefore acquires a non-specific reading. In a similar way, the fact that both the FCI *-dhípote* indefinites as well as *kanenas/típota* are grammatical in an imperative context, as shown in (847), can be represented on the map by taking into account the lexical semantics of the two items.

(847) N-VER/N-SPEC and N-VER/WID

- | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-------------|----------|--------------|
| a. | Patise | kanena | pliktro. | N-VER/N-SPEC |
| | press | some | key | |
| | ‘Press some key.’ | | | |
| | (Giannakidou 2011:1672) | | | |
| b. | Patise | opjodhípote | pliktro. | N-VER/WID |
| | press | any | key | |
| | ‘Press any key.’ | | | |
| | (Giannakidou 2011:1672) | | | |

This context represented a problem for Haspelmath (1997) since the imperative was considered to be one of the contexts belonging to the ‘irrealis non-specific’ function while at the same time it could host FCIs like *any*, as is seen in the translation of sentence (847). The difference concerns the fact that within the same type of contexts, namely non-veridical contexts, as indicated by the first value of the function, the FCI item is used in the N-VER/WID function and the non-FCI is used in the N-VER/N-SPEC function.

The fact that the lexical semantics are taken into account also captures the fact that even though *kanenas* and *típota* are allowed in NPI contexts, they cannot occur in a comparative context with the universal implicature, since this is reserved for indefinites that can have widening meanings-in-context. Unlike the French *quelqu’un* for example, the Greek non-widening indefinites cannot acquire a specific reading in a comparative, since they do not have specific functions. *Kanenas* and *típota* are special in the sense that they are referentially deficient, as is also shown on Haspelmath’s map. They cannot occur in veridical contexts with a specific meaning. The fact that they cannot have a specific meaning-in-context is represented on the map by the fact that their functional distribution does not include any of the specific functions.

It has been pointed out since Veloudis (1982), as noted in Giannakidou (1998:56), that the indefinites *kanenas* and *típota* can also be stressed, in which case they are only used

together with clausal negation *dhen*. The stressed series will be treated as a separate series. Sentence (848) shows that the stressed forms do not occur in indirect negative contexts.

(848) I.NEG/WID

Dhen prodhosa mistika pu eksethesan kanenan/*KANENAN.
 NEG betrayed.1SG secrets that exposed.3PL anybody/nobody
 ‘I didn’t reveal secrets that exposed anybody.’
 (Giannakidou 1999b:119)

Stress in (848) is considered to be lexical stress and to contribute a negative meaning. The fact that it renders the indefinite negative is suggested by the elliptical contexts in which the stressed items can contribute a negative meaning independently, as illustrated in (849).

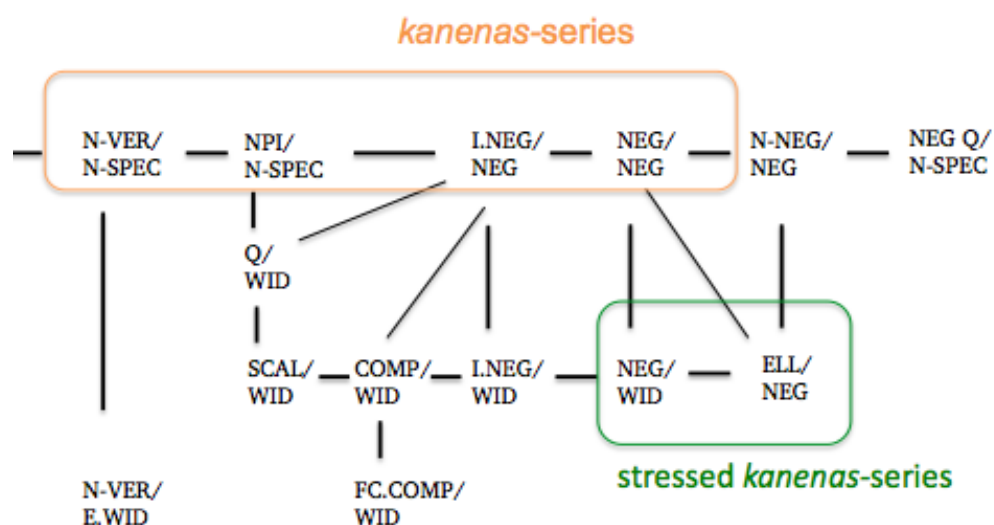
(849) ELL/NEG

Thelo na pandrefto ton Petro i KANENAN (alo).
 want.1SG SBJV marry.1SG the Peter or nobody (else).
 ‘I want to marry either Peter or nobody (else).’
 (Giannakidou 1998:199)

The data suggest that stressed *kanenas/típota* are negative indefinites. A separate map can be made for the negative series, as with the French indefinites.

In conclusion, the distribution of the *kanenas*-series can be depicted as in (850).

(850) Map for *kanenas/típota*



6.2.3. The *ka*-series

The third Greek indefinite series is the *ka*- series (*ka*- < *kan* ‘at least, even’). *Ka*-indefinites can be used in veridical contexts with a specific unknown meaning, as shown in (851).

(851) VER/S-U

I	Maria	vgeni	me	kapjon,	ala	pjos	kseri	ti
the	Maria	dating	me	some	but	who	knows	what
tha	ine	ki	aftos.					

FUT is also he.NOM

‘Mary is dating some guy, but who knows what he is.’

(Ettxeberria & Giannakidou 2009:38)

Sentence (851) shows that *kapjon* introduces epistemic alternatives. Therefore, it cannot be used for the ‘veridical, specific known’ function. *Ka*-indefinites can also have a non-specific reading in NPI contexts, as shown in (852).

(852) NPI/N-SPEC

Idhes	kapjo	fititi?
saw.2SG	some	student

‘Did you see some student?’

(Tsimpli & Roussou 1993:146)

Haspelmath (1997:266) also provides a modal context with a non-specific meaning and a conditional. Even though I could not find any examples, I strongly suspect that *ka*-indefinites can also have a non-specific reading in indirect negative contexts.

Haspelmath (1997:266) notes that *kanenas* and *típota* are preferred in irrealis, question and conditional contexts. This preference could be taken to follow from the fact that *kanenas* and *típota* are the more specialized non-specific elements as compared to the *ka*-indefinites, which also have specific readings.

Ka-indefinites can have a wide-scope reading with respect to non-veridical operators as shown in (853).

(853) N-VER/S-U

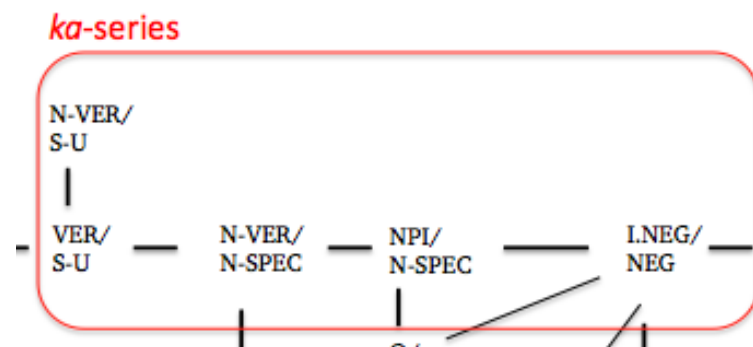
Dhen	idha	kapjon	fititi.
NEG	saw.1SG	some	student

‘There is some student that I didn’t see.’

(Giannakidou 1998:95)

The distribution of the epistemic indefinite series is presented in (854).

(854) Map for the *ka*-series



6.2.4. The reduplicated interrogative-series

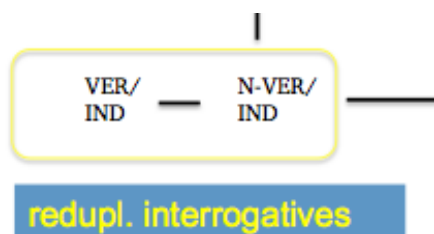
This series consists of reduplicated bare interrogative forms, optionally coordinated with *-ki-* ‘and’ (Vlachou 2007:95). It is only used with indiscriminacy readings. The series can have this reading in all contexts (Vlachou 2007). An example in negation is found in (855).

(855) N-VER/IND

Dhiaole, afti dhen ine opja ki opja.
 damn.it she NEG is who and who
 ‘She is not just anyone.’
 (Vlachou 2007:162)

The distribution of the reduplicated bare interrogative-series is found in (856).

(856) Map for the reduplicated bare interrogative-series



6.2.5. *Enas/mia/ena* N interrogative-*dhípote*

The series consists of the indefinite *enas/mia/ena* ‘a’, a bare interrogative form plus *-dhípote* and a noun. Vlachou (2007:167) argues that this series expresses indiscriminacy and

indistinguishability, which are both subsumed under the indiscriminacy meaning. The series is not restricted to certain contexts. An example of the indiscriminacy reading in negation is found in (857).

(857) N-VER/IND

O Nicholas den ine enas opjosdhípote fititis. Ine o
the Nicholas NEG is a any student is the
kaliteros stin taksi!
best in.the class
‘Nicholas is not just any student. He is the best in class!’
(Giannakidou & Quer 2013:135)

Unlike predicted in Vlachou (2007), I would argue that the series can also express widening with an existential implicature, like the French *un N quelconque*, as shown in (858) and (859).

(858) N-VER/E.WID

Pekse mia opjadhípote nota.
play.IMP.2SG a any note
‘Play any note.’
(Lazaridou-Chatzigoga 2007:404)

(859) N-VER/E.WID

Ta dora afta mbori na tixun se ena
the presents these can.3SG SBJV happen.3PL to a
opjodhípote zevgari.
any couple
‘Any couple may win these presents.’
(Lazaridou-Chatzigoga 2007:410)

The fact that this indefinite has the ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function and not the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function explains why it cannot have a widening meaning in generic contexts and in subtriggering contexts, as shown in (860) and (861).

(860) N-VER/WID (generic)

*Enas opjosdhípote ixos ine musiki.
a any sound is music
Intended: ‘Any sound is music.’
(Lazaridou-Chatzigoga 2007:410)

(861) N-VER/WID (subtriggering)

*Xtes efaga ena opjodhípote gliko ipirxe sto
 yesterday ate.1SG a any sweet existed.3SG in.the
 psigio.
 fridge

Intended: ‘Yesterday I ate any sweet there was in the fridge.’

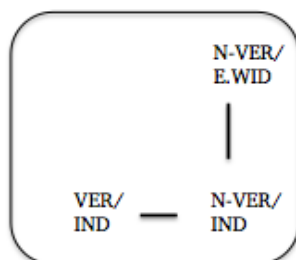
(Lazaridou-Chatzigoga 2007:412)

In sum, the complex indefinite determiner *enas/mia/ena* ‘interrogative’-*dhípote* has the ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function and the indiscriminacy readings in all contexts.

The distribution is presented in (862).

(862) Map for *enas/mia/ena* N interrogative-*dhípote*

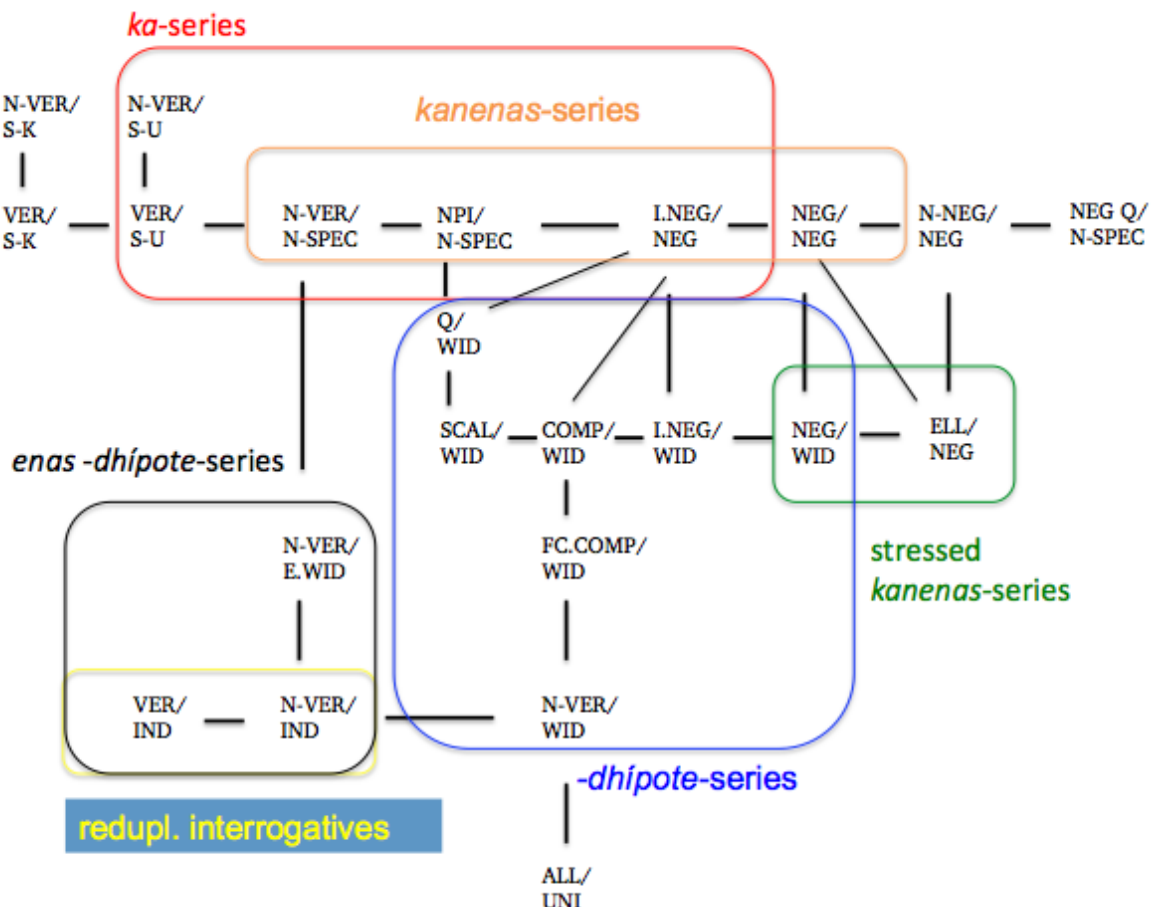
enas-dhípote-series



6.2.6. Conclusion for Greek indefinites

The map for Greek is represented in (863).

(863) Meanings-in-context map for Greek indefinites



The functions that have not been discussed for Greek are the ‘veridical, specific known’ function and the ‘non-veridical, specific known’ function. Haspelmath’s ‘specific known’ function is also not covered on his the map. The reason is that this function would be fulfilled by the indefinite article *ena*, as shown in (864).

(864) VER/SPEC

Thelo	na	miliso me	enan	glosologo.	Ine	aftos	o
want.1SG	SBJV	meet me	a	linguist	is	he.NOM	that

kirios eki.
guy there
‘I want to meet a linguist. It’s that guy over there.’
(Giannakidou & Quer 2013:141)

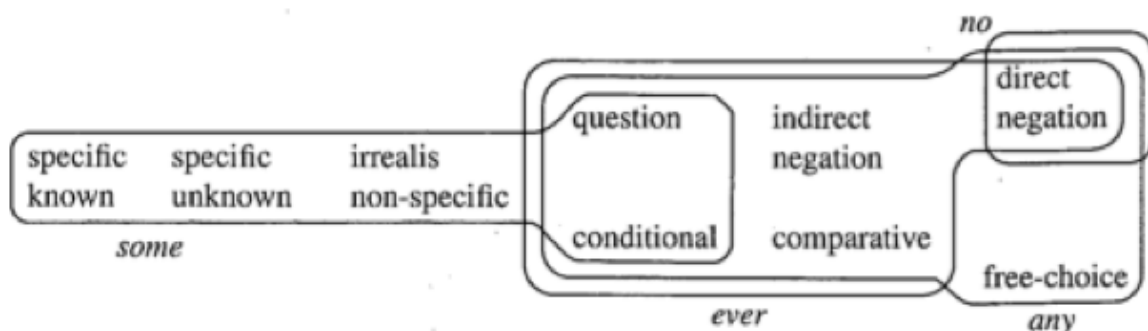
Giannakidou & Quer (2013:141) note that the *enas*-marked indefinite is free in its scope, which I take to mean that it can occur with wide scope as well as with narrow scope with non-veridical operators. It is also not marked for knowledge of the speaker. I excluded the indefinite article, as I did for other languages that had indefinite pronouns at their disposal. Obviously, the indefinite article could be added on the map.

The map for Greek shows aspects of the Greek indefinite system that are not represented on Haspelmath's map. Firstly, it shows that *ka*-indefinites can have wide-scope specific readings. Secondly, it shows that the stressed *kanenas*-series is different from the unstressed series. The stressed *kanenas*-series is shown to be a negative indefinite series. Thirdly, it shows that the *-dhípote*-series can occur in all NPI contexts. Fourthly, the map shows the distribution of the existential FCI *enas* - *dhípote*-series and the indiscriminacy use of reduplicated interrogatives.

6.3. English

The map for English as developed by Haspelmath (1997) is presented in (865).

(865) Haspelmath's (1997:249) map for English



Three series have been distinguished by Haspelmath, yet five will be distinguished here: two types of *some*-series, the unstressed *any*-series, the stressed *any*-series, and the *no*-series. Now that I have illustrated the functions on the basis of French and Greek, I will provide less explanation for English and sometimes merely illustrate the functions on the basis of examples. From now on, I will only present the full map for all indefinites at the end of the section.

I will first discuss two types of *some*-series, then the two *any*-series, and then lastly the *no*-series.

6.3.1. The *some*-series: pronouns and plural/mass determiner *some*

As for the *some*-series, one has to make a distinction between the singular determiner, the plural determiner and the indefinite pronouns containing *some*-, as I have done for French *quelque*. The distribution of labor also resembles the French *quelque*. I will start with the indefinite pronouns.

The resulting meaning-in-contexts of the *some*-indefinite pronouns can be specific in veridical contexts, as shown in (866), non-specific in non-veridical contexts, as shown by (867) and non-specific in NPI contexts, as shown in (868), (868) and (869). Sentences (868) and (869) are examples of contexts that were categorized by Haspelmath (1997) as contexts belonging to the indirect negation function, namely with superordinate negation and a negative adverb *without*. The sentences show that, unlike what is predicted on Haspelmath's map, *some* is grammatical in such contexts.

(866) I'm in love with someone.	VER/S-K
(867) Buy me some newspaper!	N-VER/N-SPEC
(868) If someone calls, let me know.	NPI/N-SPEC
(869) I don't think somebody saw it.	I.NEG/NEG
(870) He did it without somebody seeing it.	I.NEG/NEG

With direct negation, *some*-pronouns normally acquire a specific meaning-in-context (N-VER/SPEC). This is also the case in comparative contexts. In a comparative context, *some*-indefinites have a specific meaning-in-context, since they do not induce widening and can establish specific reference.

(871) He does it better than someone.	N-VER/SPEC
---------------------------------------	------------

Sentence (872) is an example of *something* in a non-veridical context, in which the indefinite is ambiguous between a specific, wide scope interpretation and a non-specific, narrow scope interpretation.

(872) N-VER/SPEC or N-VER/N-SPEC
I want to buy something.

As noted by Farkas (2002b:72), plural *some* and mass *some* are not epistemic indefinites, like singular *some*. The plural *some* has the same functional distribution as the *some*-pronouns.

6.3.2. The *some*-series: singular determiner

Farkas (2002b:66) mentions some examples of non-veridical contexts in which the singular determiner *some* can occur with narrow scope, e.g. with intensional predicates, as in (873), and conditionals, as in (874). Singular *some* can thus have the N-VER/N-SPEC and NPI/N-SPEC reading.

(873) N-VER/N-SPEC

I hate imagining you lying there alone, in some godforsaken hospital.

(874) NPI/N-SPEC

If Ben solves some problem from this list, Mr. Koens will praise him.

Sentences (875) and (876) show that it can also have an ‘indirect negation, negative’ meaning-in-context.

(875) I.NEG/NEG

I prefer working alone, without some colleague bothering me.

(876) I.NEG/NEG

Mary doesn’t think that Sue read some recent article on this problem.

(Ladusaw 1979, cited in Farkas 2002b:67)

Like the *some*-indefinite pronouns, the singular determiner cannot occur in the immediate scope of negation. It always has specific reference with direct negation, as sentence (877) illustrates.

(877) N-VER/S-U

Mary didn’t buy some apartment in San Francisco when she could have afforded it and now it’s too late.

(Farkas 2002b:67)

Farkas (2002b:67-8) notes that there are marked circumstances in which *some* can occur in the immediate scope of negation: either denial, as shown in (882), or in contexts with more than one NPI-trigger, as illustrated in (878) to (881).

(878) If we don’t call some neighbor to help, we are doomed.

(879) Every boy who didn’t call some friend to help was in trouble.

(880) Few boys didn’t call some friend when they saw the difficulty they were in.

(881) Few boys thought that John didn’t call some friend.

- (882) A: He found some mistake.
 B: Wrong! He DIDn't/DID NOT find some mistake.
 (all from Farkas 2002b:68)

The map only indirectly accommodates for some of these uses. The instances of *some* in sentence (878) to (881) have to be interpreted as cases of NPI/N-SPEC, and the metalinguistic instance in (882) is not visible on the map.

Unlike the *some*-pronouns, the singular determiner *some* introduces epistemic alternatives in veridical contexts, as illustrated in (883).

- (883) VER/S-U
 Mary was depressed for some reason, I don't know which.

When the referent is known, the pragmatic effect is one of indifference. Sentence (884) from Farkas (2002b:70) shows that *some* is used when the speaker does not care about the identity for some reason or other.

- (884) Who is that? Oh some guy I met yesterday.

6.3.3. The unstressed *any*-series

There is a consensus in the literature that unstressed *any* does not express widening. Unstressed *any* is restricted to NPI contexts, as shown in (885) to (887).

- | | |
|--|------------|
| (885) If you hear anything, let me know. | NPI/N-SPEC |
| (886) I don't think he heard anything. | I.NEG/NEG |
| (887) I didn't see anyone. | NEG/NEG |

A grammaticalization process is assumed for *any* according to which *any* first induced domain widening after which it lost its emphatic force – a case of bleaching – and became the non-specific equivalent to the indefinite article in the case of its determiner use and a non-specific equivalent to *some*-pronouns with an additional contextual restriction to scale-reversing contexts.

6.3.4. The stressed *any*-series

In contrast to unstressed *any*, stressed *any* is compatible with widening readings. This is shown in (888) to (894).

(888)	Have you seen ANYTHING?	Q/WID
(889)	Few people saw ANYTHING.	SCAL/WID
(890)	He does it better than ANYONE.	COMP/WID
(891)	I don't think he knows ANYTHING.	I.NEG/WID
(892)	I don't like ANYBODY.	NEG/WID
(893)	ANYBODY can do that.	N-VER/WID
(894)	Pick ANY card.	N-VER/WID

Stressed *any* can also have indiscriminacy readings in all contexts, as shown in (895) to (897). In all these functions, *any* can be accompanied by the focus particle *just*.

- (895) N-VER/IND (negation)
I don't sleep with ANYBODY/just anybody. Just rich guys.
- (896) N-VER/IND (conditional)
If you like ANYTHING/just anything, then you aren't very picky.
- (897) N-VER/IND
I felt obliged to give him some sort of information. So I said ANYTHING/just anything.

I wish to exclude *just any* as a series of indefinites. The reason is that *just* can also add the indiscriminacy reading to regular indefinites like *some*-indefinites. Something similar is also noted on the combination of regular (non-widening) indefinites with the German focus particle *einfach* by Lauer (2010:9). I only considered the indiscriminacy uses relevant if the indefinites can the indiscriminacy readings on their own.

6.3.5. The *no*-series

The English negative indefinites have the 'non-negative context, negative meaning' function and the 'negative ellipsis' function, as shown in (898) and (899).

- (898) N-NEG/NEG
Nobody saw me.

(899) ELL/NEG

What's wrong?

Nothing.

As expected from negative quantifiers, the double occurrence of *no*-indefinites leads to a positive reading, as in (900).

(900) DN

Nobody saw nothing.

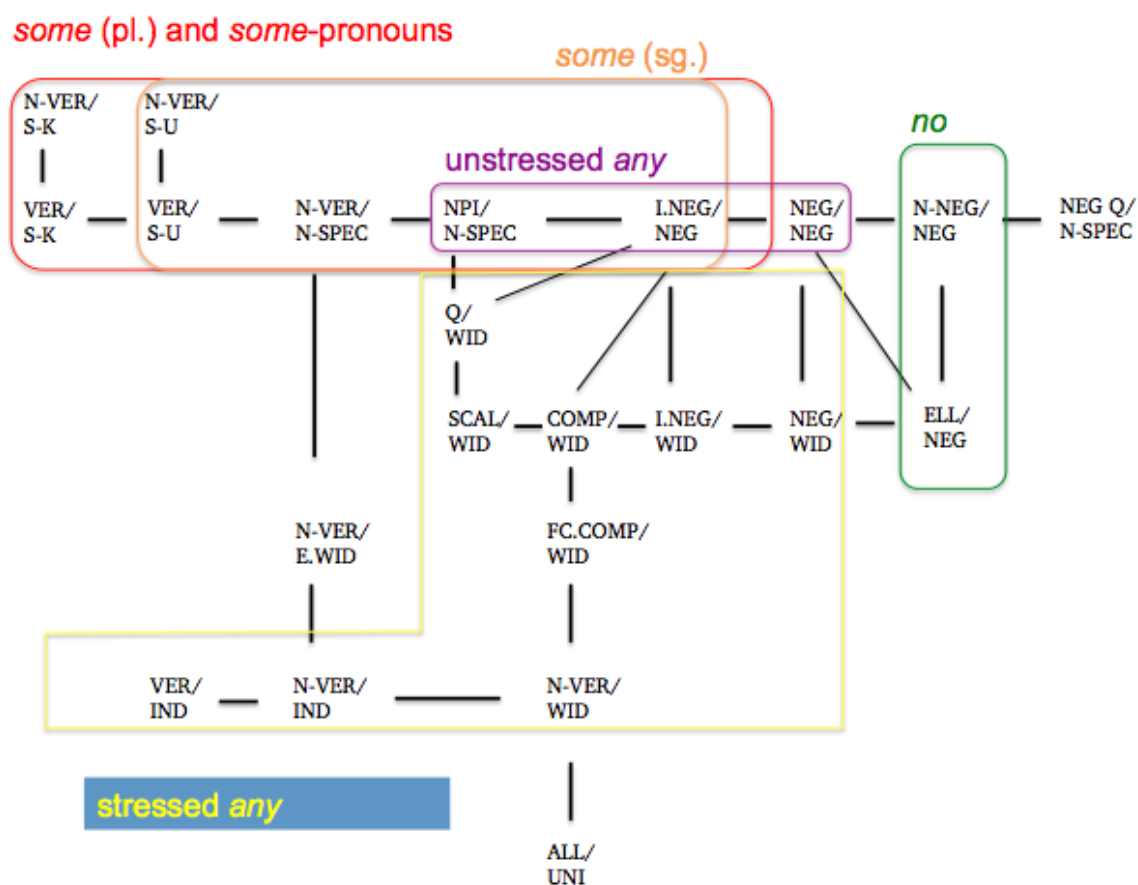
= Everyone saw something.

This reading is not on the map.

6.3.6. Conclusion for English indefinites

The map for English is presented in (901).

(901) Meanings-in-context map for English indefinites

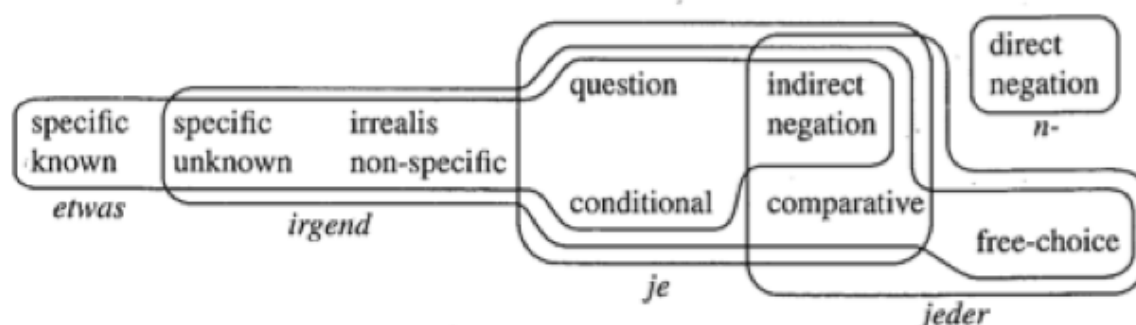


In contrast to Haspelmath's map, this map shows that singular members of a certain series do not always behave like their plural counterparts. For this reason singular *some* is distinguished from plural *some*, which behaves like the *some*-pronouns. This is remarkably similar to the French *quelque*-series. The reason that the singular determiner specializes for unknown specific reference might be to minimize functional overlap with the indefinite article, which is not specified for knownness. In addition, the map shows that stressed *any* widens the domain of reference, whereas this is not the case for unstressed *any*, which is functionally equivalent to the indefinite article, only it is restricted to NPI contexts. Stressed *any*, unlike non-stressed *any* can express widening in all contexts. In addition, it can also have the indiscriminacy readings in any type of context. These indiscriminacy readings were not represented on Haspelmath's map. Furthermore, the function that marks whether sentential negation is present to render negative meanings now shows that the English *no*-series is a series of negative quantifiers.

6.4. German

Haspelmath's map for German is represented in (902).

(902) Haspelmath's (1997:245) map for German



Haspelmath (1997:244-245) distinguishes 3 main series: the *etwas*-series, consisting of *etwas* and *jemand*, the *irgend*-series, which combines with interrogative forms and the *etwas*-series and a negative *n*-series. Haspelmath (1997:245) also adds *jeder* 'any, every' and the indefinite adverb *je* 'ever'.

As is done for English *any*, I will add a distinction between an unstressed *irgend*-series and a stressed *irgend*-series. I will also focus on *jeder*, since this item is the first that shows the relevance of the universal functions on the map and add a brief discussion of the non-singular determiner *einig*.

I will first discuss the unstressed *irgend*-series, followed by the stressed *irgend*-series, the *etwas*-series, *jeder* and *einig*. I will say nothing about the indefinite adverb *je*, which has a typical NPI distribution that is kept on the new map.

6.4.1. The unstressed *irgend*-series

The German *irgend*-indefinites (*irgend* < *ie* ‘ever’ *hwar-gin* ‘where-PART’) have recently been described and discussed by Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002), Lauer (2010), Aloni & van Rooij (2007), Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010, 2011, 2012) and Aloni (2012). Like English *any*, the *irgend*-series could also be split into two series: a stressed and unstressed *irgend*-series. The unstressed series corresponds to the distribution of the other epistemic indefinites that have been discussed so far, viz. English singular *some* and French singular *quelque*. It can have a specific unknown meaning in veridical contexts as well as in non-veridical contexts, shown in sentences (903) and (904).

(903) VER/S-U

Hans: Irgendjemand hat angerufen.
 someone has called.
 ‘Somebody or other called.’
 Maria: *Wer war es?
 who was it?’
 *‘Who was it?’

(904) N-VER/S-U

Mary musste irgendeinen Mann heiraten.
 Mary had-to some man marry.
 ‘There was some man Mary had to marry, the speaker doesn’t know or care who it was.’
 (both from Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002:10)

Irgend-indefinites cannot occur with direct negation, as illustrated in (905), unless it is interpreted as a case of metalinguistic negation.

(905) NEG/NEG

*Ich hab’ nicht irgendwas gelesen.
 I have NEG anything read
 ‘I didn’t read anything.’
 (Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002:24)

If the unstressed *irgend*-indefinite is interpreted with narrow scope, it gets a non-specific interpretation, as shown in (906) and (907).

(906) N-VER/N-SPEC

- a. Hans: Wen soll ich einladen?
 who shall I invite
 ‘Who shall I invite?’
- b. Maria: Irgendjemand
 ‘Somebody or other.’

(907) I.NEG/NEG

Niemand musste irgendjemand einladen.
 nobody had.to anyone invite
 ‘Nobody had to invite anybody.’
 (both Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002:25)

6.4.2. The stressed *irgend*-series

The stressed *irgend*-series corresponds to stressed *any* in questions, as in (908), in scale-reversing contexts, as in (908), and in indirect negative contexts, as in (910).

(908) Q/WID

Hast du IRGENDwelche Fragen?
 have you ANY questions
 ‘Do you have any questions whatsoever?’

(909) SCAL/WID

Wenn du IRGENDwelche Fragen hast, ...
 when you ANY questions have
 ‘If you have any questions at all...’

(910) I.NEG/WID

Niemand hat IRGENDEINE Frage beantwortet.
 nobody has ANY question answered
 ‘Nobody answered any question.’
 (Aloni 2012:7)

Apart from the widening functions, it can also have an existential free choice reading, as shown in (911).

(911) N-VER/E.WID

Dieses Problem kann IRGEND JEMAND lösen.
this problem can ANYONE solve
'This problem can be solved by anyone.'
(Haspelmath 1997:245)

Despite this, Haspelmath (1997:245) does not mark 'free choice' as one of *irgend*-'s functions, because, as Haspelmath notes, *irgend*- would have to be stressed then. The use in (911) is described as the free choice use or effect of *irgend* (e.g. in Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002, Aloni & van Rooij 2007), referring to the universal quantificational implicature that arises in sentence (911).

As to the question whether stressed *irgend*- indeed has the 'non-veridical, widening' typical for FCIs, the answer suggested here is negative. Sentences (912) and (913) suggest that the stressed *irgend*-series does not have the 'non-veridical, widening' function.

(912) N-VER/WID (subtriggering)

*John küsste IRGENDeine Frau mit roten Haaren.
John kissed any woman with red hair
Intended: 'John kissed any woman with red hair.'

(913) N-VER/WID (generic)

*IRGENDein Hund hat vier Beine.
any dog has four legs
Intended: 'Any dog has four legs.'

The incompatibility with subtriggering and generic contexts, but the availability of a universal implicature in possibility contexts point to the fact that stressed *irgend*- has the 'non-veridical, existential widening' function.

Apart from widening readings, stressed *irgend*- can also have indiscriminacy readings. The use in sentence (914) exemplifies *irgend*- in an indiscriminacy reading. Another example of this reading is found in (915).

(914) N-VER/IND (negation)

Du bist nicht IRGENDjemand, du bist besonders.
you are not anyone you are special
'You are not just anyone, you're special.'

(915) VER/IND

Daher	habe	ich	IRGENDetwas	gesagt, um	meine Ruhe	zu				
hence	have	I	anything	said to	my rest	to				
haben.		Die	Wahrheit	ist, dass	ich nicht	bei der	Tour			
have		the	truth	is that	I NEG	with the	tour			
France		war	und Herrn	Totschnig	nichts	gebracht	habe.			
France		was	and mister	Totschnig	nothing	brought	have			

‘Hence, I have said just anything to have peace. The truth is that I was not at the Tour de France and that I did not bring anything to Totschnig.’
(<http://tirol.orf.at/m/news/stories/2542610/>)

In conclusion, stressed *irgend-* can be distinguished from unstressed *irgend-*indefinites in its meaning and distribution. Whereas the unstressed series is an epistemic indefinite series that can have specific as well as non-specific meanings-in-context, the stressed series has a widening and indiscriminacy meaning. The difference between the two also explains the difference between the ‘non-veridical, specific’ and ‘comparative, widening’ reading in (916).

(916) N-VER/SPEC or COMP/WID

Hans	ist	größer	als	irgendein/IRGENDein	Mitschüler	in
Hans	is	bigger	than	some/ANY	classmate	in
seiner Klasse.						
his class						

(Aloni 2012:8)

N-VER/SPEC: ‘Hans is bigger than some classmate in his class.’

COMP/WID: ‘Hans is bigger than any of his classmates.’

6.4.3. *Jeder*

For the pronoun *jeder*, Haspelmath (1997:245) marks the functions ‘comparative’, ‘indirect negation’ and ‘free choice’. The three uses are illustrated in sentences (917) to (921).

(917) Haspelmath’s comparative

besser	als	jede	andere
‘better than	any	other’	

(918) Haspelmath’s indirect negation

ohne	jede	Spur
‘without	any	trace’

(919) Haspelmath's indirect negation
 Sie stritt jede Schuld ab.
 she denies every guilt off
 'She denies all guilt.'

(920) Haspelmath's indirect negation
 Ihm fehlt jede Erinnerung.
 him lacks every memory
 'He doesn't remember anything.'

(921) Haspelmath's free choice
 Jeder kann das.
 anyone can it
 'Anyone can do it.'

In addition, as also mentioned by Haspelmath (1997:154-156), but not visible on his map, *jeder* can be used as a universal pronoun in veridical sentences, as shown in (922). It can also have a universal meaning in non-veridical contexts in which FCI *any* cannot occur, such as a modal context of necessity, as in (923), in NPI contexts, as in (924), and in indirect negation contexts, as in (925).

(922) ALL/UNI (veridical)
 Ich habe jeden Tag Kopfschmerzen.
 I have every day headache
 'Every day, I have a headache.'

(923) ALL/UNI (necessity modal)
 Er muss jeden Tag üben!
 he has.to every day practice
 'He has to practice every day.'

(924) ALL/UNI (question)
 Hast du jeden Tag Kopfschmerzen?
 have you every day headache
 'Do you have a headache every day?'

(925) ALL/UNI (indirect negation)
 Ich glaube nicht, dass er jeden Tag Kopfschmerzen hat.
 I believe NEG that he every day headache has
 'I don't believe he has a headache every day.'

It seems then that *jeder* can have a universal as well as an existential widening meaning-in-context in an indirect negative context, as shown in (918) to (920) and (925). The question then rises how one can unite these seemingly contradictory properties.

First of all, a function is distinguished for a universal use. Haspelmath (1997:155) also mentions the possibility of introducing a universal function, which would come next to the ‘free choice’ function. Diachronically, a pathway can be established for indefinite pronouns with a widening reading in non-veridical contexts to universal pronouns, as has been discussed in section 5.6.

Apart from introducing a universal function, one would have to explain why it is that the universal meaning, as well as the existential one can arise in the indirect negation context. I would argue that *jeder* cannot freely occur in indirect negative contexts with an indefinite meaning. Although *jeder* can occur with the negative preposition *ohne*, it cannot have an indefinite meaning with the negative indefinites *niemand*, as shown in (926), or with superordinate negation, as illustrated in (927).

(926) *Niemand fand jede Spur.
 nobody found any trace
 Intended: ‘Nobody found any trace.’

(927) *Ich glaube nicht, dass er jede Spur gefunden hat.
 I believe not that he any trace found have
 Intended: ‘I don’t believe he has found any trace.’

Eckardt (2012:315) describes the use of *jeder* with *ohne* ‘without’ as a “fossilized use”.

In addition, the uses in (919) and (920), which involves the verb *deny* and *lack*, do not prove that *jeder* has more NPI uses than in combination with *ohne*. The two verbs can also occur with universal quantifiers that are unrelated to FCI indefinites, such as English *all*, or with the distributive universal quantifier *every*, as shown in (928).

(928) She denies all guilt/ everything.

(929) He lacks every ingredient essential to being an effective leader.

Instead of representing *jeder* as a FCI that can also occur in indirect negation and the comparative, I would opt to ascribe to *jeder* the universal function with a remark of caution that it has a remnant NPI use with *ohne*.

6.4.4. The *etwas*-series

This series consists of *etwas* ‘something’ (< *ete* and *was* ‘what’, origin of *ete* is unknown, Haspelmath 1997:244) and *jemand* ‘someone’ (< *je* ‘ever’ and *man* ‘man’, Haspelmath 1997:244). *Etwas* and *jemand* can establish specific reference in veridical and non-veridical contexts and non-specific reference in all contexts except in direct negation, where the more specific *n*-series is used. This is illustrated in (930) to (934).

(930) VER/S-K

Ich habe heute etwas gegessen.
I have today something eaten
‘I have eaten something today.’

(931) N-VER/N-SPEC

Ich will etwas essen.
I want something eat
‘I want to eat something.’

(932) NPI/N-SPEC

Hast du heute schon etwas gegessen?
have you today already something eaten
‘Have you eaten something yet today?’

(933) I.NEG/NEG

Ich glaube nicht, dass du etwas gegessen hast.
I believe not that you something eaten have
‘I don’t think you have eaten something.’

(934) NEG/SPEC

Er hat etwas nicht gesagt.
he has something not said
‘He did not say something.’⁵⁵

6.4.5. The *n*-series

Like the other West Germanic languages, German has negative indefinites that express negation in positive contexts, as shown in (935).

⁵⁵ Note that the negative particle *nicht* obligatorily follows the indefinite, whereas it normally occurs immediately postverbally.

(935) N-NEG/NEG

Ich habe niemanden gesehen.
I have nobody seen
'I haven't seen anybody.'

Sentence (935) shows that the negative indefinites express negation independently. German is therefore a NQ language. NQ languages typically have DN in sentences with two negative indefinites. This is illustrated in (936).

(936) DN

Niemand sagte nichts.
nobody said nothing
'Everyone said something.'

They also have the 'negative ellipsis' function, as shown in (937).

(937) ELL/NEG

a. Was sagsts du?
 what says you
 'What do you say?'
b. Nichts.
 'Nothing.'

6.4.6. *Einig*

The German *einige* is like the Dutch non-singular *enige* and is a non-polarity sensitive indefinite determiner that combines with non-singular nouns, as illustrated in (938) and (939).

(938) VER/S-K

Ich have einige Bücher mitgebracht Lucky Jim, Requiem
I have some books brought.along Lucky Jim, Requiem
und L'Étranger.
and L'Étranger
'I have brought along some books, Lucky Jim, Requiem and L'Étranger.'
(van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2013a:25)

(939) NPI/N-SPEC

Hast du auch einige schöne Zitate oder ein
have you also some beautiful quotations or a
Lebensmotto?
life motto

‘Do you also have some beautiful quotations or a life motto?’

(cp. <http://de.toluna.com/opinions/897448/Hast-auch-einige-schone-Zitate-oder-Lebensmotto.htm>, June 28 2011)

German *einig* can also be used pronominally, as in (940).

(940) VER/S-K

Er hat Einig-es gelernt.
he has some-N learned
‘He has learned some things.’

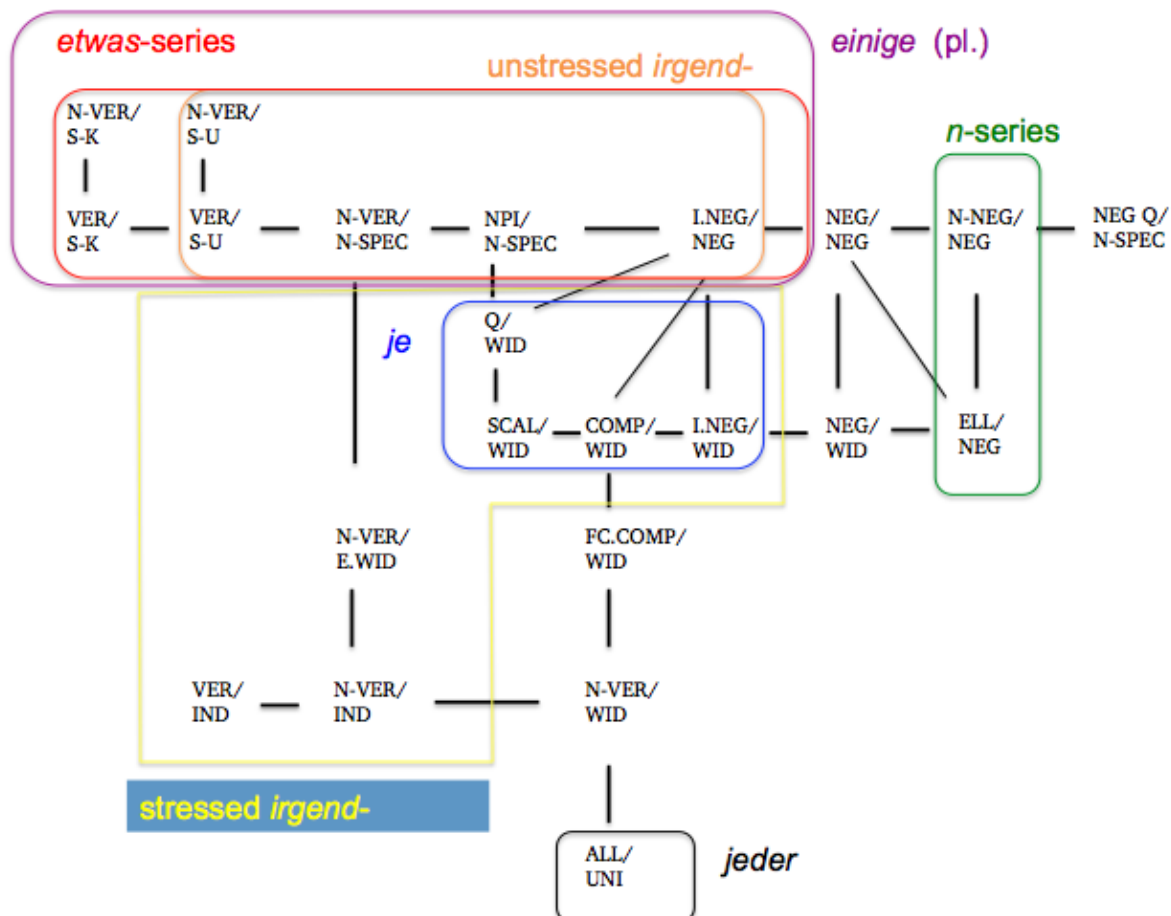
In direct negation, the non-singular determiner *einig* is not found, due to the existence of more specific negative forms.

It is interesting to note that like English and Dutch, German used to have a NPI singular *einig* in Old High German (Fobbe 2004:143). NPI uses of singular *einig* are found until the Early New High German period (Fobbe 2004:202), but later on in the Early New High German period, it is only the polarity neutral non-singular *einig* that is found anymore, leaving aside some remnant uses (e.g. in Goethe, see Fobbe 2004:260).

6.4.7. Conclusion for German indefinites

The semantic map for German indefinites is shown in (941).

(941) Meanings-in-context map for German indefinites



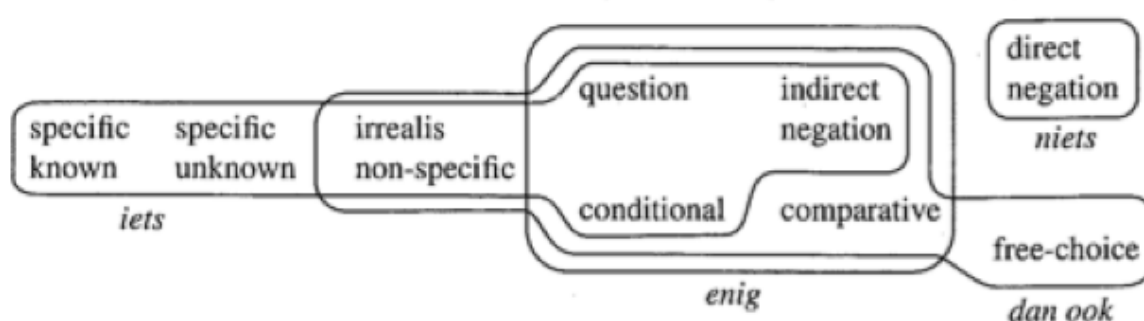
Again the map is argued to be more accurate than Haspelmath's. Firstly, this map, unlike Haspelmath's, shows that there is a difference in functional distribution between the stressed *irgend*-series and unstressed *irgend*-series. Secondly, it argues that *jeder* has developed into a universal quantifier instead of still being a NPI restricted to indirect negation. The use with *ohne* 'without' is argued to be a remnant NPI use. Thirdly, it explicitly shows that the elements that can have specific reference can also do so in non-veridical contexts. Fourthly, it maps the element *einige*, which is not included on Haspelmath's map because it is considered a mid-scalar quantifier. Given the fact that the element is etymologically related to the English *any* and the Dutch *enig* and used to be found as a singular NPI determiner, it is included on this map. Fifthly, it identifies German as a negative quantifier language. Sixthly, it maps indiscriminacy readings.

6.5. Dutch

Dutch is a language that has also been studied by Haspelmath (1997:247). Some additions will be made, both in terms of data as well as in terms of distributional details as a consequence of the new map. Data are from Rullmann (1996), Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010, 2011, 2012), De Vos (2010), Hoeksema (2010b, 2013) and van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c, 2013a).

Haspelmath's (1997) map in (942) shows the distribution of 4 series: the *iets*-series, the *niets*-series, *enig* and the *dan ook*-series.

(942) Haspelmath's map for Dutch



Haspelmath (1997:246) also mentions the presence of the *ook maar*-series, which is said to have an identical distribution to the *dan ook*-series. This is not the case, as has been shown by Hoeksema (2013). The distributional difference will be discussed below. I will also add a minor series consisting of bare interrogatives.

6.5.1. The *iets*-series

The first series consists of *iets* 'something', *iemand* 'someone', *ergens* 'somewhere' and *ooit* 'ever'. Haspelmath (1997:246) notes that they all consist of the Proto-Germanic **ajw* 'ever' plus a derivational base: *iets* < *wiht* 'thing', *iemand* < *man*, *ergens* < **hwar-gin* 'where-PART', *ooit* < *jet* 'still'.

The series occurs in all non-widening functions, except negation, where it is possible in the case of metalinguistic negation, as illustrated in (947). In the default case, the negative indefinites *niemand/niets/nergens/nooit* are used. The *iemand*-series can be considered to be blocked by the more specific negative series, another illustration of the Bagel problem, as described in section 5.10.

- (943) VER/S-K Ik heb iemand ontmoet.
 I have someone met
 ‘I met someone.’
- (944) N-VER/N-SPEC Ga iets leuks doen!
 go something fun do!
 ‘Go and do something fun!’
- (945) NPI/N-SPEC Als er iemand belt, ...
 if there someone calls
 ‘If someone calls,’
- (946) I.NEG/NEG Voor er iemand klaagt, ...
 before there someone complains
 ‘Before someone starts complaining,...’
- (947) NEG/NEG Hij heeft helemaal niet iemand ontmoet.
 he has at all not someone meet
 ‘He didn’t meet anyone at all.’

The *iemand*-series can also be used in non-veridical contexts with a specific meaning, illustrated in (948) and (949).

- (948) N-VER/SPEC (modal of necessity)
 Ik moet iets zeggen.
 I have.to something say
 ‘I have to say something.’
- (949) N-VER/SPEC
 Hij heeft iets niet gezien.
 he has something not saw.
 ‘He didn’t see something’, i.e. ‘There is something that he didn’t see.’

6.5.2. The *-dan ook*-series

The *dan ook*-series consists of the interrogative plus the two modal particles *dan* ‘than’ and *ook* ‘also’. As Hoeksema (2013:91) points out, the modal particle *dan* is optional. The series has been discussed in Rullmann (1996), Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010, 2011, 2012), De Vos (2010), and Hoeksema (2013).

The series is polarity sensitive, as shown in (950).

(950) VER/SPEC

*Ik heb wie dan ook uitgenodigd.
I have who then also invited
'I invited anyone.'

The *dan ook*-series is grammatical in NPI contexts, in which they express the notion of arbitrariness and consequently induce widening. An example from an indirect negative context is given in (951).

(951) I.NEG/WID

Niemand heeft welke stripboek dan ook gelezen.
nobody has which comic then also read
'Nobody has read any comic book whatsoever.'
(Rullman 1996:341)

They can also occur in the function 'non-veridical, widening', as shown in (952), and in the function 'non-veridical, indiscriminacy', as shown in (953).

(952) N-VER/WID

Je mag trouwen met wie dan ook.
you may marry with who then also
'You may marry anyone.'
(Rullman 1996:339)

(953) N-VER/IND

Het cadeau mag niet wat dan ook zijn.
the present may NEG what than also be
'The present cannot be just anything.'

The *dan ook*-pronouns are blocked from direct negation in the 'direct negation, widening' function, as shown in (954).

(954) NEG/WID

*Ik heb niet welk boek dan ook gelezen.
I have NEG which book than also read
Intended: 'I have not read any book whatsoever.'

The Dutch *dan ook*-series has all the widening functions plus the indiscriminacy reading in non-veridical contexts. It does not occur with the indiscriminacy reading in veridical contexts.

Hoeksema's (2013) corpus analysis provides information on the division of labor across the different contexts that allow a widening reading. It shows that there is a difference with respect to the distribution across contexts between the *wh-ook*-series and the *wh-dan ook*-series. *Wie ook* and *wat ook* are most frequent in the comparative context (79% and 56 %), whereas *wie dan ook* and *wat dan ook* are most frequent in indirect negation (57% and 61%).⁵⁶ Hoeksema (2013:96) suggests that this might be stylistically motivated: since comparative clauses also contain the modal particle *dan* 'than', the particle might be left out in the indefinite construction to avoid repetition.

In the next section, I will discuss the *ook maar*-indefinites, which have been identified as scalar by Rullmann (1996), as discussed in section 5.3. The scalar nature of this series has repercussions for its distribution, as will be shown.

6.5.3. The *ook maar*-series

Haspelmath (1997) did not add this series, since he claims that it has a distribution identical to *-dan ook* (Haspelmath 1997:246). Rullmann (1996) has shown that this is not the case. Apart from the difference that the *ook maar*-series is based on the *iemand*-series, whereas the *dan ook*-series is interrogative-based, there is an important distributional difference, namely that the *ook maar*-series, in contrast to the *dan ook*-series, does not have the 'non-veridical, widening' function and neither can it be used with an indiscriminacy reading, shown in sentence (955) and (956). The *ook maar*-series cannot express the notion of arbitrariness needed to occur in non-scale reversing contexts with a widening or indiscriminacy reading.

(955) N-VER/WID

*Ook maar iemand kan dat doen.
 also but someone can that do
 Intended: 'Anyone can do that.'

(956) N-VER/IND

*Zeg ook maar iets.
 say also but something
 Intended: 'Say anything.'

⁵⁶ Indirect negation corresponds to Hoeksema's 'negatie', 'complement neg. predikaat', and 'zonder'.

The *ook maar*-series is an example of a NPI series without FCI uses because it expresses only scalarity and no arbitrariness.

Although the *ook maar*-series can occur in scale-reversing contexts, it was shown to exhibit an interesting restriction with respect to its use in a comparative, as was also noted in Haspelmath (1997:79-80). The *ook maar*-indefinites are grammatical in clausal comparatives, but not in phrasal comparatives, as shown in (957) and (958).

- (957) *Hij doet het beter dan ook maar iemand.
 he does it better than also but someone
 Intended: 'He does it better than anyone.'

- (958) Hij doet het beter dan ook maar iemand het ooit gedaan
 he does it better than also but someone it ever done
 heeft.
 has
 'He does it better than anyone has ever done it.'

This observation goes back to Hoeksema (1983:406-7), who compares the *ook maar*-series to the *dan ook*-indefinites, which are grammatical in phrasal comparatives, as shown in (959) as well as in clausal comparatives.

- (959) Hij doet het beter dan wie dan ook.
 he does it better than who then also
 'He does it better than anyone.'

A similar contrast was found in Serbian and Lithuanian, as was discussed in section 5.5.3.

On this map, as discussed in section 5.5.3, I consider the clausal comparative function to be part of the 'comparative, widening' function. The FC comparative function comprises phrasal comparatives and comparatives of equality.

In a comparative of equality, the *-dan ook* indefinites are grammatical, as shown in (960), whereas the scalar *ook maar*-NPIs are not, as illustrated in (961).

- (960) De alcoholist weet dit net zo goed als wie dan ook.
 the alcoholic knows this PART as good as who then also
 'The alcoholic knows this as well as anyone.'

- (961) *Hij doet het zo goed als ook maar iemand.
 he does it as well as also but someone
 'He does it as well as anyone.'

In Dutch, the peculiar distribution is related to the fact that the *ook maar*-indefinites are only scalar and cannot denote arbitrariness, which is a necessary condition for an indefinite to be able to be used in a FC comparative.

6.5.4. The *eender/gelijk/om het even*-series

Hoeksema (2013:103ff.) notes the existence of variants of the *-dan ook* indefinites, all of which are interrogative-based as well: the *eender/gelijk/om het even* wh-series, for convenience' sake labeled '*eender*-series' here. Hoeksema (2013:103), referring to van der Horst (2008:1695), notes that these series are mainly Belgian Dutch. It can be used in all the widening functions, except direct negation. Illustrations are given in (962) to (964).

(962) N-VER/WID

Eender wie kan mij helpen.
no.matter who can me help
'Anybody can help me.'

(963) Q/WID

Heb je ooit eender welke drugs verkocht of iemand
have you ever no.matter which drugs sold or someone
geholpen bij het verkopen ervan?
helped with the selling thereof
'Have you ever sold any drugs whatsoever to anyone or helped anyone sell any?'
(http://www.youprev.eu/pdf/YouPrev_Instrument_SchoolSurvey_BE_NL.pdf)

(964) I.NEG/WID

Hij voelde zich niet in staat voor zijn geloof of voor
he felt himself not capable for his belief or for
eender welke menselijke waarheid te sterven.
no.matter which human truth to die
'He did not feel prepared to die for his belief or any human truth whatsoever.'

The *eender*-series can also fulfill the function 'non-veridical, indiscriminacy' function, as shown in (965) and (966). I have included a conditional, a question, a negative, a modal of necessity and a veridical context to show that the indiscriminacy reading occurs in all these contexts.

(965) N-VER/IND

a) Conditional

Als je eender wat leest, zal je wel al eens
if you no.matter what read will you PART PART once
teleurgesteld zijn.
against be
'If you read just anything, there's always a change you get disappointed.'

b) Question

Heb jij eender wat gegeten?
have you no.matter what eaten
'Have you eaten just anything?'

c) Negation

De meeste consumenten kopen niet eender wat; ze laten
the most consumers buy NEG no.matter what they let
zich eerst goed informeren.
themselves first well inform
'Most consumers don't buy just anything; first, they make sure they are well informed.'

d) Modal of necessity

Je moet eender wie aanwijzen, zonder nadenken.
you must no.matter who point.at without thinking
'You must pick just anyone, without thinking.'

(966) VER/IND

Ik heb eender wie gevraagd voor mijn feestje.
I have no.matter who asked for my party
'I have invited just anyone to my party.'

In conclusion, the distribution of the *eender*-series is almost identical to the *-dan ook* series, with the exception of the indiscriminacy readings in veridical contexts.

6.5.5. *Enig*

The *enig*-series only consists of one element, namely the indefinite determiner *enig*, the etymological counterpart to English *any*, consisting of the numeral 'one' and an adjectival ending *-ig*. The synchrony and diachrony of *enig* have been described by Hoeksema (2010b) and van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c, 2013a). This item is interesting, since it shows that Haspelmath's map is implicitly about singular indefinite pronouns, as was discussed in section 5.1.2.4. Dutch has two *enig*'s: a singular one, which is a NPI, and a plural one, which

is a polarity neutral determiner, as has been pointed out by Hoeksema & Klein (1995:167). Haspelmath (1997) only shows the distribution of the singular one, which is indeed only grammatical in NPI contexts and is hence a scalar NPI. Unlike what the map predicts, however, *enig* can also be found in direct negation, as shown in (967).

(967) NEG/WID

De aanwezigheid van Messi had niet enig verschil gemaakt.
 the presence of Messi had NEG any difference made
 'Messi's presence would not have made any difference.'

Since this use is rare I did not include it on the map. Singular *enig* therefore has the following functions: Q/WID, COMP/WID, SCAL/WID and I.NEG/WID.

The non-singular *enig* means 'some'; it does not induce widening and is non-polarity sensitive. It very nearly but not quite only combines with plural count nouns or singular mass nouns (Hoeksema & Klein 1995:167; van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2011c:339-340).

Sentences (968) and (969) illustrate the VER/SPEC and N-VER/N-SPEC use, in which singular *enig* is not grammatical, as illustrated in (970).

(968) VER/S-K

Ik heb enige boeken meegebracht.
 I have some books brought.along
 'I have brought some books.'

(969) N-VER/N-SPEC

Geef me enige boeken.
 give me some books
 'Give me some books.'

(970) N-VER/N-SPEC for singular *enig*

*Geef me enig boek.
 give me some book
 'Give me some book.'

Like English *some*, non-polarity sensitive *enige* 'some' also occurs in NPI contexts, and indirect negation. Examples are given in (971) and (972).

(971) NPI/N-SPEC

a) Question

Heeft hij enige boeken meegebracht?
has he some books brought.along
'Has he brought some books?'

b) Conditional

Als hij enige vragen heeft, kan hij die later stellen.
if he some questions has kan he those later ask
'If he has some questions, he can ask them later.'

(972) I.NEG/NEG

Ik denk niet dat hij enige vragen heeft.
I think NEG that he some questions has
'I don't think that he has any questions.'

This *enig*, which means 'some', can of course be argued to be a different *enig*. And this is in fact Haspelmath's position. Haspelmath (1997:11-12) would consider it a quantifier, more precisely a 'mid-scalar quantifier', instead of an indefinite determiner or pronoun. He knows that the two uses are related and also that other linguists would not consider the uses to be that different. Perhaps even most linguists would study the 'some' and 'any' uses together, for in the standard approach all 'some' and 'any' uses are treated in quantificational terms.

The non-singular determiner *enige* can also have a specific meaning in non-veridical contexts.

6.5.6. The bare interrogative-series

As noted in Haspelmath (1997:246), Dutch also has a colloquial variant for the indefinite pronoun *iets*, namely the bare interrogative *wat*. Haspelmath (1997:246) does not report on the exact distribution, probably because the bare interrogative almost has the same distribution as the indefinite *iets*, as shown in sentences (973) to (977). Note that the use in direct negation involves a metalinguistic negation, as in the case of *iets*.

(973) VER/S-K Ik heb iets/wat gezegd.
I have something/what said.
'I have said something.'

(974) N-VER/N-SPEC Zeg dan wat!
say then what
'Say something!'

- (975) NPI/N-SPEC Als er iets/wat gebeurt, ...
 if there something/what happens
 ‘If something happens,’
- (976) I.NEG/NEG voor er iets/wat gebeurt
 before there something/what happens
 ‘before something happens’
- (977) NEG/NEG Hij heeft helemaal niet iets/wat.
 he has at all NEG something/what
 gezegd.
 said
 ‘He didn’t say anything at all.’

I am not sure whether the bare interrogative *wat* can also get a specific interpretation in a non-veridical context, but most native speakers have the impression that this is not possible, as illustrated in (978).

- (978) N-VER/SPEC
 ?/*Hij heeft wat niet gezien.
 he has what not seen
 Intended: ‘There is something specific that he didn’t see.’

Unlike mentioned in Haspelmath (1997:246), the interrogative *wie* is also shown by Hoeksema (2013:105) to have an indefinite usage. Remarkably, whereas *wat* has a non-widening use, the indefinite *wie* can have a widening use, as shown in (979).

- (979) In den grond [...] is de heer Hijmans een echt politisch
 in essence is the mister Hijmans a real political
 redenaar, een die de techniek der kunst beter dan wie
 orator one who the technique of the art better than who
 kent.
 knows
 ‘Essentially, mister Hijmans is a real political orator, one who knows the art’s
 technique better than anyone.’
 (Hoeksema 2013:105)

Hoeksema (2013:105) points out that this use is very infrequent. It occurs only 2 times in his sample of 1935 interrogative-based FCIs. Unlike *wie*, the bare interrogative determiner

welk is found more frequently in this use (14 times). Two examples, one illustrating I.NEG/WID and one COMP/WID, are provided in sentences (980) and (981).

(980) I.NEG/WID

Het is niet te vergelijken met welke andere plaats in de
it is NEG to compare with which other place in the
melkweg.

galaxy

‘It is uncomparable to any other place in the galaxy.’

(Hoeksema 2013:105)

(981) COMP/WID

Het klapperen van de vlag in de stilte, en van het
the rattling of the flag in the silence and of the
touw tegen de mast, was treuriger dan welke muziek.
rope against the mast was more.sad than which music

‘The rattling of the flag in the silence and of the robe against the mast was more said
than any music.’

(Hoeksema 2013:105)

However, the presence of the difference adjective ‘other’ might play an important role. The adjective *anders* ‘other’ in combination with the pronoun *iemand* ‘someone’ can also make the interpretation shift from a specific to a non-specific interpretation. This is illustrated in (982) and (983).

(982) N-VER/SPEC

Hij doet het beter dan iemand.

he does it better than someone

‘He does it better than someone.’

(983) N-VER/N-SPEC or N-VER/SPEC

Hij doet het beter dan iemand anders.

he does it better than someone else

‘He does it better than someone else.’ (anyone else)

‘He does it better than someone else.’ (a specific other person)

Sentence (981) shows that the presence of ‘other’ is not necessary, but it might be the case that the instances without it are as rare as in the case of *wie* in the comparative. A google search of *beter dan wie anders* suggests that *wie anders*, in contrast to *wie*, is productively

used as widening indefinite. Since I did not consistently search for combinations of pronouns with the difference pronoun ‘other’, I did not include it on the map.

6.5.7. The *n*-series

The negative series consists of the negative pronouns *niemand* ‘nobody’, *niets* ‘nothing’, *nooit* ‘never’ and the negative determiner *geen* ‘no’. Haspelmath (1997:247) shows that this series has direct negation as its only function. Two minor remarks are in order here. Firstly, the negative indefinite determiner, at least in combination with *anders* ‘other’ also has a widening use in a comparative context, as shown in (984).

(984) COMP/WID

Beter	dan	geen	ander	kunnen	zij	vertellen	hoe	hun	kind
better	than	no	other	can	they	tell	how	their	child
thuis		reageert.							
at.home		reacts							

‘Better than no other can they tell how their child reacts at home.’

However, since it mainly involves *geen ander* ‘no other’, I did not include ‘comparative, widening’ as a function of the *n*-series.

Secondly, the negative pronouns *niets* ‘nothing’, *niemand* ‘nobody’ and *nooit* ‘never’ can occur in a question context, as shown in (985).

(985) NEG Q/N-SPEC

Heeft	er	niemand	gebeld?
has	there	nobody	called

‘Has anybody called?’

This has also been noted in van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy (2011c:335).

The Dutch *n*-series is a series of negative quantifiers, meaning that they occur in non-negative contexts with a negative meaning. Being a typical NQ language, two negative indefinites cancel each other out. In addition, the *n*-series can occur in elliptical contexts. These properties are shown in (986), (987) and (988).⁵⁷

⁵⁷ The description of the Dutch negative indefinites involves a description of the use of negative indefinites in Standard Dutch. Van der Auwera and Neuckermans (2004) and van der Auwera et al. (2006) have shown that substandard Dutch is a negative concord language. It is also interesting to note that the Dutch Jespersen Cycle brought about at least three different patterns involving negative

(986) N-NEG/NEG

Niemand heeft het gezien.
nobody has it seen.
'Nobody saw it.'

(987) DN

Niemand heeft niets gezegd.
niemand has nothing said
'Nobody said nothing.'
i.e. 'Everyone said something.'

(988) ELL/NEG

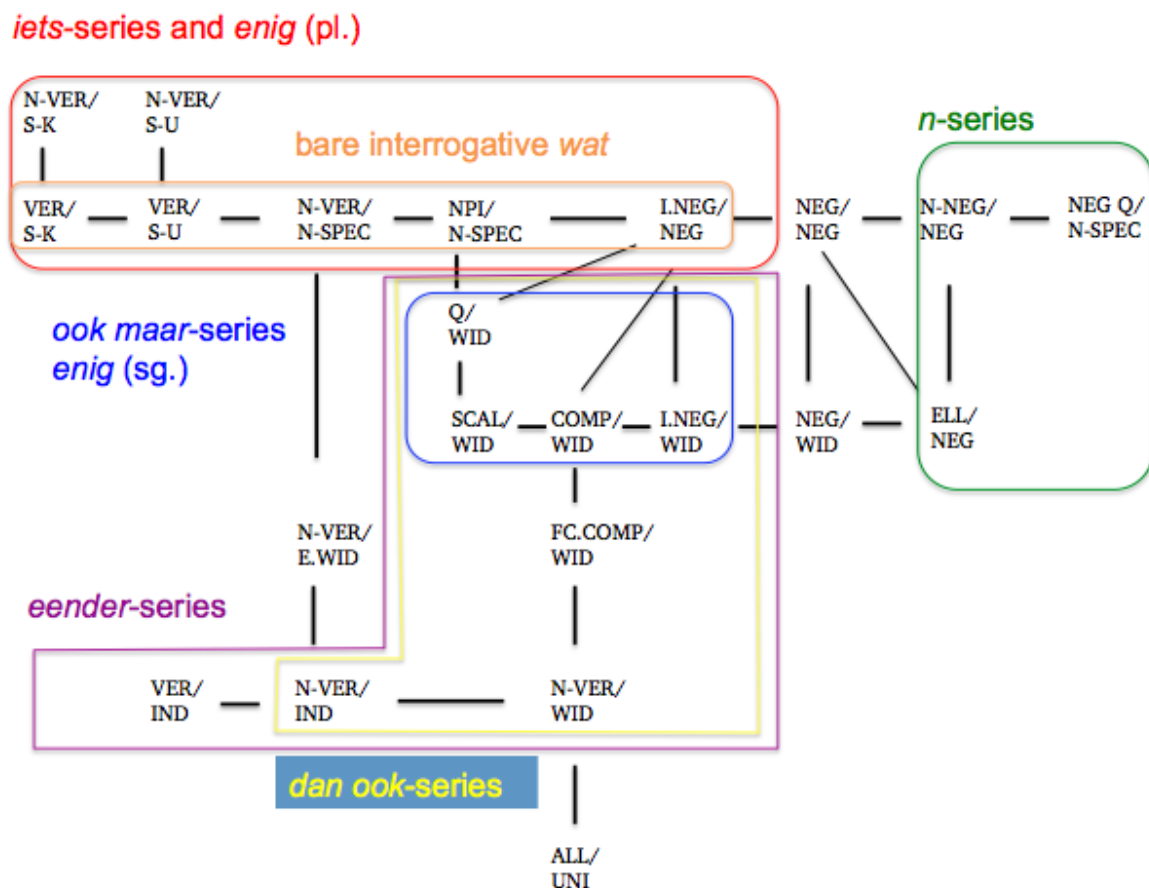
- a. Wat is er?
what is there
'What's wrong?'
- b. Niets.
'Nothing.'

indefinites: one with the older preverbal negator *ne*, e.g. *ik en heb niemand gezien*, lit. 'I not have nobody seen', one with the discontinuous negator *en...niet*, e.g. *ik en heb niemand nie gezien*, lit. 'I not have nobody not seen', and one with the newer postverbal negator *niet*, e.g. *ik heb niemand nie gezien*, lit. 'I have nobody not seen'.

6.5.8. Conclusion for Dutch indefinites

In (989), the semantic map for Dutch indefinites is presented.

(989) Meanings-in-context map for Dutch indefinites



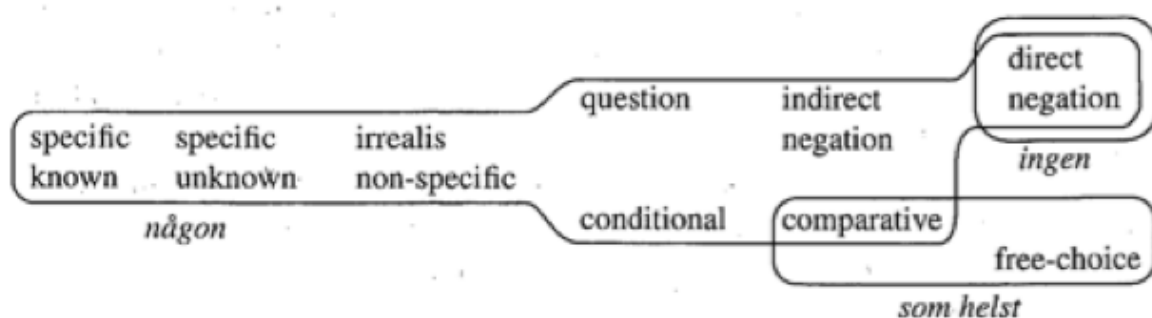
This map is arguably better than Haspelmath's (1997) in six respects. Firstly, it shows that the *dan ook-series* does not have the same distribution as the *ook maar-series*. The former is a FCI series with the meaning of arbitrariness and is compatible with all contexts in which widening leads to strengthening. In addition, it can have an indiscriminacy reading in non-veridical contexts. The latter is a NPI series restricted to NPI contexts and barred from direct negation, in which more specific forms are used. Secondly, it shows that certain elements might occur in a subset of comparative contexts. In Dutch, *ook maar* can lead to widening-strengthening in clausal comparatives, but not in phrasal comparatives. The *dan ook-series* does not exhibit the same restrictions. Thirdly, it shows that singular *enig*, but not plural *enig*, is a NPI. The plural has the same distribution as the German *einige*. Fourthly, the map shows that negative quantifiers may be used expletively in questions. Fifthly, it suggests that

the bare interrogative *wat* might not have the same distribution as *iets* ‘something’: whereas the latter freely allows wide-scope specific readings, this seems to be difficult for the bare interrogative *wat*. Sixthly, the map also shows the functional distribution of a new series consisting of *eender/gelijk/om het even* and an interrogative base.

6.6. Swedish

Haspelmath’s (1997) semantic map of Swedish is presented in (990).

(990) Haspelmath’s map for Swedish



6.6.1. The *någon*-series

Haspelmath (1997) represents *någon* as a non-emphatic indefinite that is fine in all contexts except FCI contexts. There are two problems with this: one regarding Haspelmath’s map and one regarding my own map. I will first address the problem with Haspelmath’s map. Haspelmath’s map wrongly represents ‘specific known’ as one of *någon*’s functions. Nivre (2002a:14) shows that *någon* is in fact an epistemic indefinite. When it is used with specific reference, it contains information on the epistemic state of the speaker. This is illustrated by the question marks in a sentence with *någon*, in which the referent is identified by name.

- (991) ??Jag talade med någon medicinsk expert, nämligen
 I spoke with some medical expert, namely
 doktor Frisk.
 doctor Frisk
 ‘I spoke to some medical expert, namely Doctor Frisk.’
 (Nivre 2002a:14)

Nivre (2002a:14) notes that *någon* marks ‘lack of information’ and notes that in a sentence like (991), the indefinite article *en* would be used. *Någon* can also get a specific unknown

reading in a non-veridical context, when it is interpreted out of the scope of the non-veridical operator, as shown in (992).

(992) N-VER/SPEC or N-VER/N-SPEC

De vill att jag ska gå någon kurs.
they want that I shall go some course
'They want me to take some course.'
(Nivre 2002a:14)

Nivre (2002a:14-15) notes on sentence (992) that “if *någon kurs* is given a specific interpretation then the effect of using the existential determiner *någon* is the same as in the examples discussed earlier, that is, the speaker indicates that he cannot or will not say which particular course it is. If, on the other hand, we interpret *någon kurs* as non-specific, then the implication is that the persons referred to by *they* do not know or do not care which course it is.” In conclusion, *någon* can have the specific unknown reading in all contexts as well as a non-specific reading in any context.

The other problem, which is a problem for my map, and not for Haspelmath's, involves the use of *någon* in a comparative context with a universal implicature. This is a problem for my hypothesis that only widening indefinites can be used with a universal implicature in comparative contexts.

The fact that *någon* is the default choice in NPI contexts, as noted by Nivre (2002a:10-11) points to the fact that it does not express widening. Nivre (2002a:11) notes that NPI contexts are usually considered the unmarked context for the existential determiner *någon* in Swedish, referring to Teleman et al. (1999:411). There are two explanations: either *någon* can still express widening in NPI contexts or the use in the comparative must be seen as a remnant of a stage in which *någon* was a widening element in negative polarity contexts. A comparative perspective with other Scandinavian languages indeed suggests that *någon* used to be an NPI with a scalar endpoint meaning. As Nivre (2002a:10-11) also notes, the Scandinavian cognates of the Swedish existential determiner *någon*, namely Danish *nogen* and Norwegian *noen* are not used at all outside negative polarity contexts.⁵⁸ Lindstad (2010) adds to this list the Faroese *nakar* and Icelandic *nokkur*. Danish *nogen* has an even more restricted NPI distribution than Norwegian *noen* and Faroese *nakar*. Danish *nogen* would be considered a negative indefinite in my terminology, since it is restricted to negative contexts. Icelandic *nokkur*, Faroese *nakar* and Norwegian *noen* are all compatible with the comparative context with a widening reading.

⁵⁸ This is at least the case for the singular determiners. Lindstad (2010:226) notes that the plural determiners in Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese are not polarity sensitive. This has also been discussed in section 5.1.2.4.

Supportive of the claim that Swedish *någon* used to have a scalar endpoint or a widening meaning, which it lost again as a consequence of bleaching, is the fact that there is doubt on whether *någon* is OK in a comparative with a widening meaning-in-context or not. A native speaker reports that she would use the FCI *som helst* rather than *någon* in a comparative. The use of *som helst* in a comparative also avoids the ambiguity that arises in a sentence like (993).

- (993) Peter kan springa fortare än någon klasskamrat.
 Peter can run faster than some/any class mate
 ‘Peter can run faster than any of his class mates/some class mate.’
 (Nivre 2002b:31)

Nivre (2002b:31) notes that this sentence is ambiguous between a NPI reading and a specific unknown reading in a non-veridical context (N-VER/SPEC).

6.6.2. The *som helst*-series

Haspelmath’s map shows that the *-som helst*-series can occur in ‘free choice’ and in the ‘comparative’. The ‘non-veridical, widening’ function is given in (994).

- (994) N-VER/WID
 Naturligtvis går det att spela Bach på vilka instrument som
 naturally works it to play Bach on which instruments INDEF
 helst.
 INDEF
 ‘Of course, Bach can be played on any instrument.’
 (Sæbø 2004:204)

As a FCI with the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function, it can also occur in subtriggering contexts, as illustrated in (995).

- (995) N-VER/WID (subtriggering)
 Josva var en modig mann som utførte hva som
 Joshua was a brave man that outcarried what INDEF
 helst som Herren påla ham.
 INDEF that Lord-the onlay him
 Joshua was a brave man who did anything the Lord told him to.’
 (Sæbø 2004:215)

The series can also have an indiscriminacy reading in a non-veridical context, as illustrated in (996) and (997).

(996) N-VER/IND (negation)

Du kan ikke legge julegavene under en hvilken som
 you can not lay Christmaspresents under a which INDEF
 helst gran.
 INDEF fir
 ‘You cannot put your Christmas gifts under just any fir tree.’
 (Sæbø 2001:742)

(997) N-VER/IND (future)

Det er bare ett sted hvor jentene ligger med hvem som
 it is only one place where girls lie with who INDEF
 helst: Ibiza!
 INDEF: Ibiza
 ‘There is only one place where the girls will sleep with just anybody: Ibiza!’
 (Sæbø 2004:214)

Sentence (998) suggests that it can also have the indiscriminacy reading in veridical contexts.

(998) VER/IND

Vi ser på dem som en hvilken som helst motstander.
 we see on them as a which as rathest opponent
 ‘We regard them as just any opponent.’
 (Sæbø 2001:743)

6.6.3. The *ingen*-series

As indicated on Haspelmath’s map, *ingen* fulfills only direct negation. It is a NQ, viz. it occurs as the single conveyor of negation, shown in (999).

(999) NQ

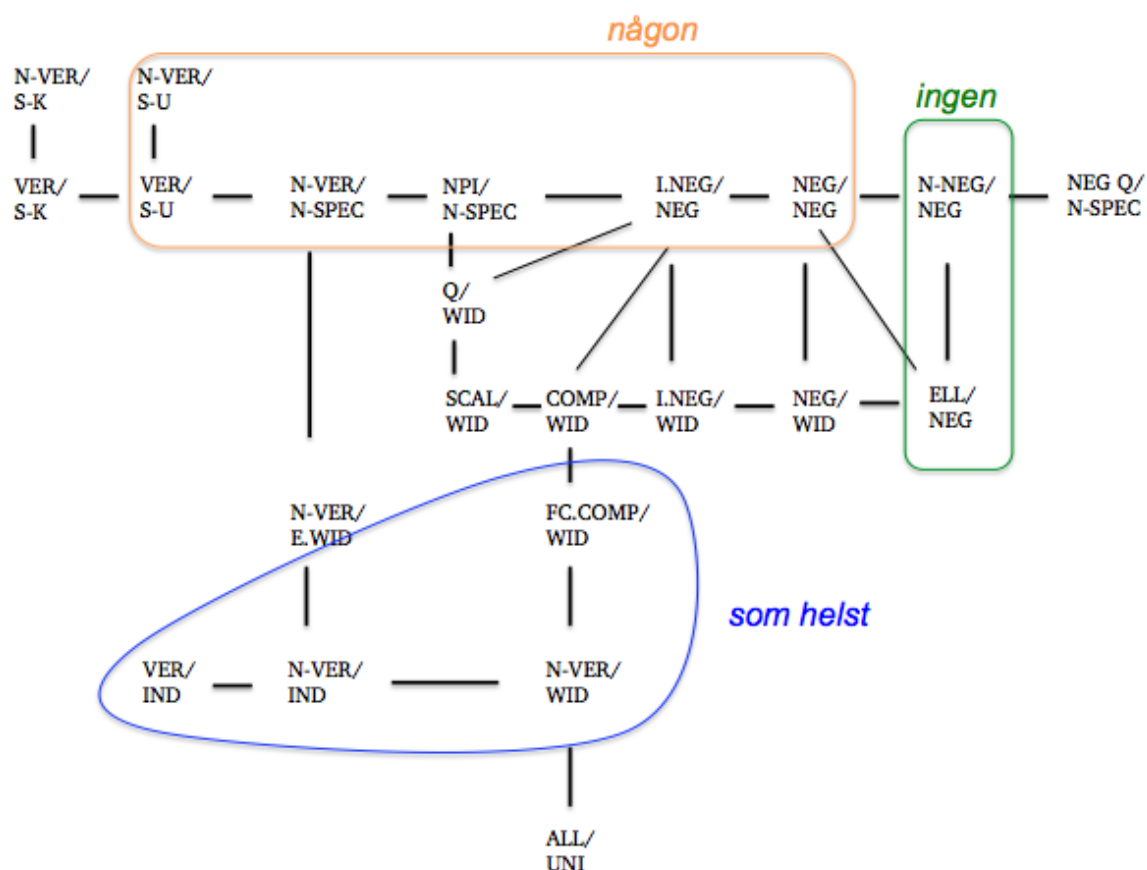
Ingen hat sett mig.
 nobody has seen me
 ‘Nobody saw me.’
 (Haspelmath 1997:250)

It can also express negation in elliptical contexts.

6.6.4. Conclusion for Swedish indefinites

In (1000), the semantic map for Swedish indefinites is presented.

(1000) Meanings-in-context map for Swedish indefinites

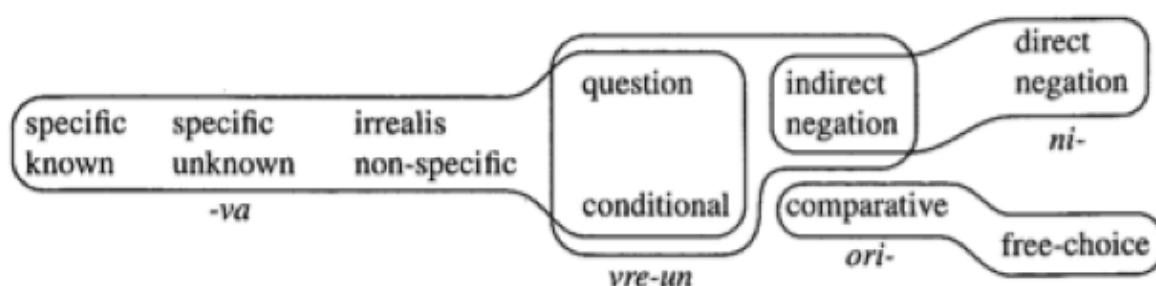


This map is better from Haspelmath's (1997) in three ways: it maps the indiscriminacy readings of *som helst*, it maps the fact that *någon* is an epistemic indefinite, and it maps the fact that *ingen* is a negative quantifier with a negative meaning in elliptical contexts. However, unlike Haspelmath's map, it does not map the use of *någon* in a comparative context.

6.7. Romanian

Romanian has been discussed by Haspelmath (1997). New data by Fălăuș (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a,b, 2011) and Farkas (2002a, 2006) allow the map to be modified. Haspelmath's (1997) map is presented in (1001).

(1001) Haspelmath's (1997:264) map for Romanian



The four series depicted on Haspelmath's map in (1001) are: the non-widening *-va* series, the negative *ni*-series, the FCI *ori*-series and the indefinite determiner *vre-un*, whose distribution will be shown to differ from the distribution on Haspelmath's map. Haspelmath (1997) also notes the existence of the *un oare*-series, whose distribution is not depicted on the map or described. I will describe and map the series distinguished by Haspelmath (1997) and add the *un oarecare*-series.

6.7.1. The *vreun*-series

Fălăuș (2011:288) notes that *vreun* consists of the indefinite article *un* 'a' (masc.)/ *o* 'a' (fem.) and the morpheme *vre-* (< Latin *volere* > **vere* 'want'). It occurs with singular count nouns only (Fălăuș 2011:288). In Haspelmath (1997), it is depicted as a NPI that is barred from the comparative and negative contexts. Farkas (2002b:136-137) has shown that *vreun*'s distribution differs from the distribution presented in (1001). The determiner can indeed not be used with specific reference, as illustrated in (1002), and can therefore be considered a polarity-sensitive item.

(1002) VER/SPEC

*Ana a văzut vreun prieten.

Ana have.3SG seen some friend

Intended: 'Ana has seen some friend.'

(Fălăuș 2010b:407)

However, unlike what the map predicts, *vreun* is grammatical in non-veridical contexts with a non-specific meaning, as shown in (1003) and (1004).

(1003) N-VER/N-SPEC

Din	cînd	în	cînd	trenul	se	oprea	în	vreo
from	when	in	when	train	REFL	stopped	in	some
haltă	și	cîte	un	navetist	deschidea	...	un	ochi.
station and	a	a	a	commuter	opened		an	eye

‘From time to time the train would stop in some station and a commuter would open an eye.’

(Farkas 2002a:137)

(1004) N-VER/N-SPEC

Vreau	sa	cumpar	vreo	carte	sau	vreun	album	despre	Picasso.
want.1	to	buy	some	book	or	some	album	about	Picasso

‘I want to buy some book or some album about Picasso.’

(Fălăuș 2010a:1)

The determiner *vreun* is therefore not a NPI restricted to NPI contexts, but a non-specific indefinite restricted to non-veridical contexts. This also explains why it cannot occur in comparative contexts, in which only widening or emphatic indefinites can yield the reading wanted.

6.7.2. The *ori*-series

As shown on the map by Haspelmath (1997), *ori*-indefinites can occur with a widening meaning in non-veridical contexts, as shown in (1005) and (1006).

(1005) N-VER/WID

Orice	bufniță	vînează	șoareci.
any	owl	hunts	mice

‘Any owl hunts mice.’

(Farkas 2006:87)

(1006) N-VER/WID

Oricare	student	poate	pleca.
any	student	can	leave

‘Any student can leave.’

(Farkas 2006:85)

They are also fine in comparatives, but not in any other NPI context. The next series is the *un* N *oare*-series, which is mentioned but not discussed in Haspelmath (1997).

6.7.3. The *un* NP *oarecare*-series

This series is discussed in Ciucivara (2007) and Fălăuș (2009, 2011). As noted in Fălăuș (2009:110), it consists of the indefinite article *un* (masculine)/ *o* (feminine) plus a bare noun plus the complex determiner *oarecare*, made up from the interrogative *care* ‘which’ and the (interrogative) particle *oare*. Farkas (2006:74) mentions the indiscriminacy reading of *un* NP *oarecare*, as illustrated in (1007).

(1007) N-VER/IND

Nu	sînt	un	bătrîn	oarecare;	sînt	domnul	țării.
NEG	am	an	old.man	any	am	king-DEF	country.POS

‘I am not just any old man; I am the king of the country.’
(Farkas 2006:74)

It can also be used in non-veridical contexts with an existential widening reading, as shown in (1008), (1009) and (1010). Note that sentence (1010) is ambiguous between a widening and an indiscriminacy reading.

(1008) N-VER/E.WID

Maria	poate	să	rezolve	o	problemă	oarecare.
Mary	can	SBJV	solve	a	problem	whatever

‘Mary can solve any problem.’
(Fălăuș 2009:111)

(1009) N-VER/E.WID

Alege	o	carte	oarecare!
pick	a	card	any

‘Pick any card!’
(Fălăuș 2011:289)

(1010) N-VER/E.WID or N-VER/IND

Alege	o	rochie	oarecare!
choose	a	dress	whatever

N-VER/E.WID: ‘Choose any dress!’
N-VER/IND: ‘Choose a plain dress!’
(Ciucivara 2007:6)

In addition, like the French *un N quelconque*, it can yield specific unknown readings in non-veridical and veridical contexts. An example of a non-veridical context that is ambiguous between a non-specific and a specific unknown reading is given in (1011).

(1011) N-VER/S-U or N-VER/N-SPEC

Maria trebuie să citească o carte oarecare.

Maria must SBJV read.3SG a book whatever

N-VER/S-U:

‘Maria must read a certain book, the speaker doesn’t know/care which book.’

N-VER/N-SPEC:

‘Maria must read a book, any book is a possible option.’

(Fălăuș 2010b:408)

An example of the specific unknown reading in a veridical context is given in (1012).

(1012) VER/S-U

a. Cu cine vorbeai la telefon?

with who talk.PST.2SG the phone

‘Who were you talking to on the phone?’

b. O femeie oarecare, gresise numarul.

a woman whatsoever mistake.PST.3SG number

‘Some woman, she had the wrong number.’

(Fălăuș 2009:111)

Apart from the ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ function, *un N oarecare* can also have a non-specific meaning in NPI contexts (e.g. conditionals, after *few*, in the restriction of a universal) and indirect negative contexts (with verbs like ‘doubt’, negative factives and superordinate negation), as illustrated in (1013) and (1014).

(1013) NPI/N-SPEC

Daça pui o carte oarecare pe raft se va

if put.2SG a book whatever on shelf, REFL will

prăbuși imediat.

collapse immediately

‘If you put some book on the shelf, it will collapse immediately.’

(Ciucivara 2007:14)

(1014) I.NEG/NEG

Nu pretind că Maria a rezolvat o problemă
NEG claim that Mary has solved a problem
oarecare din manual.
any from textbook
'I don't claim that Mary solved a problem from the textbook'.
(Ciucivara 2007:14)

In direct negation and after *fără* 'without', however, *un* NP *oarecare* can only occur with an indiscriminacy reading (Ciucivara 2007:13). What seems to distinguish the non-specific functions from the indiscriminacy readings is the use of stress (Ciucivara 2007:13).

Although I did not find an example, I strongly suspect there is a VER/IND reading available as well, since the item is not polarity sensitive.

6.7.4. The *ni*-series

Romanian is a strict NC language, meaning that the sentential negator *ni*- always co-occurs with the negative *ni*-indefinites. An example is provided in (1015).

(1015) NEG/NEG

Niciun student nu a citit *Approaching UG from below*.
no student NEG has read *Approaching UG from below*
'No student has read *Approaching UG from below*.'
(Fălăuș 2008:122)

Apart from a direct sentential negator, the negative preposition *fără* 'without' also licenses a *ni*- element, as illustrated in (1016).

(1016) I.NEG/NEG

A plecat fără să ne dea nici o scuză.
has left without SBJV us give any an excuse
'He/she left without giving us any excuse.'
(Farkas 2006:76)

Haspelmath (1997:265) also provides the example in a non-finite subordinate clause, as in (1017).

(1017) I.NEG/NEG

Nu mai îndrăzneau să-l întrebe nimic.
NEG more they.dared SBJV-him ask nothing
'They did not dare to ask him anything anymore.'
(Haspelmath 1997:265)

However, the set of indirect negative contexts in which the Romanian *n*-words can occur is more restricted than for the French *n*-words, for instance, as illustrated in (1018) and (1019).

(1018) I.NEG/NEG

*Cosmin refuza să faca niciun compromis.
Cosmin refuse.3SG SBJV make.3SG no compromise
'Cosmin refuses to make any compromise.'
(Fălăuş 2008:55)

(1019) French

Je refuse de faire aucune exception.
I refuse to make any exception
'I refuse to make even one exception.'

This map, like Haspelmath's, does not represent the difference.

Sentence (1020) shows that the Romanian *n*-words can occur in elliptical contexts with a negative meaning.

(1020) ELL/NEG

(What did he buy?)
Nimic.
'Nothing.'
(Fălăuş 2008:128).

Sentence (1021) shows that two instances of the Romanian *n*-words can yield NS as well as DN.

(1021) NS and DN

Niciun	student	nu	a	citit	niciun	articol	de	Chomsky.
no	student	NEG	has	read	no	paper	by	Chomsky

NS: 'No student read any paper by Chomsky'.

DN: 'Every student read (at least) one paper by Chomsky.'

(Fălăuș 2008:122-123)

6.7.5. The *-va*-series

According to Haspelmath's map in (1001), the *-va*-series is grammatical in contexts with specific reference, in non-veridical contexts with non-specific reference, in questions and conditionals. However, sentence (1022) with superordinate negation and (1023) with a lexically negative verb show that the *-va*-series can also occur in indirect negative contexts with a non-specific meaning.

(1022) I.NEG/NEG

Nu	pretind	că	Maria	a	rezolvat	ceva	din
NEG	claim.I	that	Mary	has	solved	something	from

manual.
textbook

'I don't claim that Mary has solved something from the textbook'.

(Ciucivara 2007:14)

(1023) I.NEG/NEG

Mă	îndoiesc	că	Maria	poate	să	resolve	ceva.
I	doubt	that	Mary	can	SBJV	solve	something

'I doubt that Mary can solve something.'

(Ciucivara 2007:14)

The *-va*-series is thus the non-widening series in all functions, except in direct negation, where the more specific *ni*-forms are used. Examples in a veridical context, a conditional, a question and a non-veridical context with 'want' are found in Haspelmath (1997:264). This map also shows that it is also grammatical in the scope of *few*, which is one of the NPI contexts, illustrated in (1024).

(1024) NPI/N-SPEC

Puțini copii au rezolvat ceva din manual.
few kids have solved something from textbook
'Few kids have solved something from the textbook.'
(Ciucivara 2007:14)

The *-va*-indefinites can also have specific readings in non-veridical contexts, illustrated in (1025).

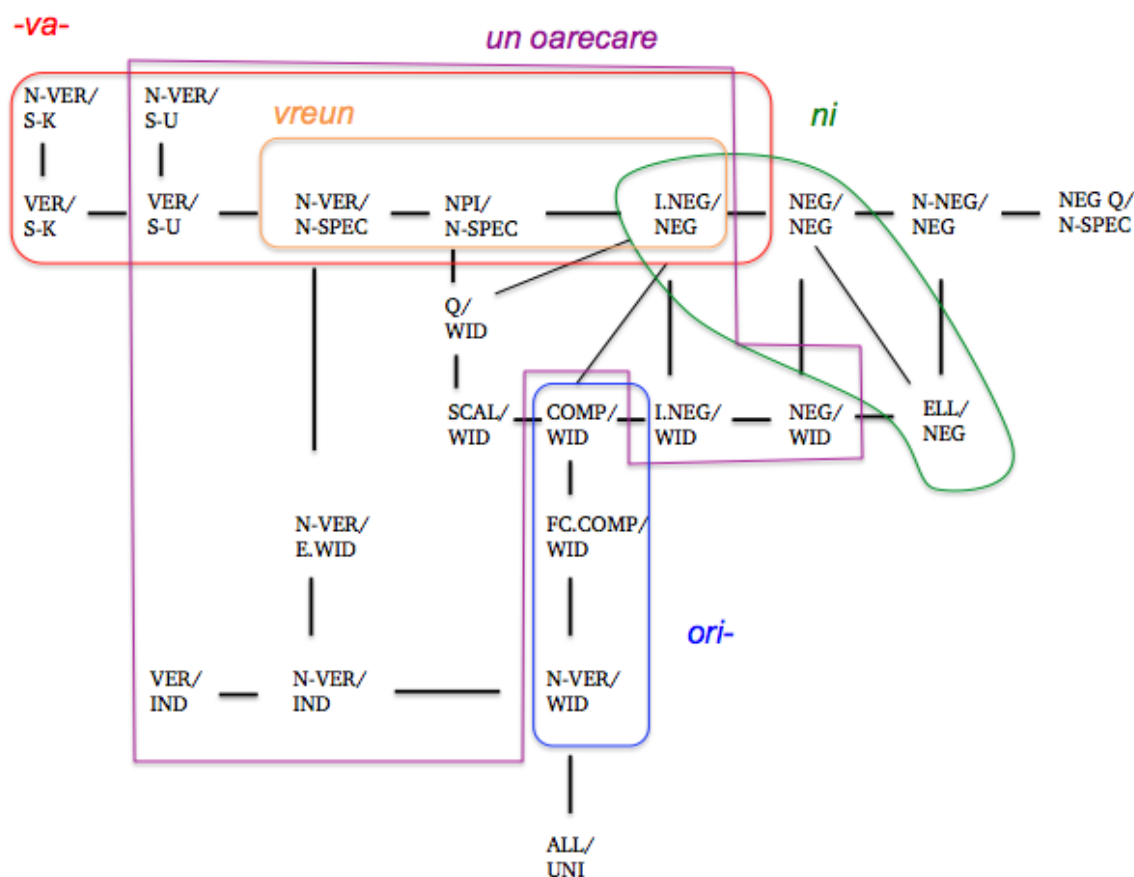
(1025) N-VER/SPEC (indirect negation)

Maria nu a zis ca a văzut pe cineva.
Maria NEG has said that has seen DO anybody
'There is somebody who Maria didn't mention to have seen.'
(Iordăchioaia 2010:74)

6.7.6. Conclusion for Romanian indefinites

The semantic map for Romanian indefinites is presented in (1026)

(1026) Meanings-in-context map for Romanian indefinites

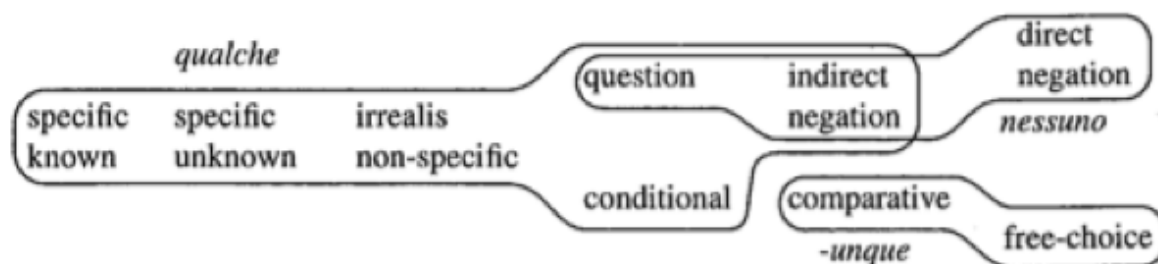


The map in (1026) improves Haspelmath's map in 4 respects. Firstly, the functional distribution of the *-va-* indefinites and *vreun* is now more accurate. The map now shows that *vreun* can have non-specific reference in non-veridical contexts, unlike what is claimed on Haspelmath's map. It also shows that *-va-* indefinites can occur with narrow scope in indirect negative contexts, again unlike predicted on Haspelmath's map. Secondly, the function NPI/N-SPEC, referring to non-specific reference in a NPI context, has as a beneficial consequence that it maps the fact that *-va-* indefinites can also occur in the scope of the NPI operator *few*, for instance. Thirdly, the map shows that Romanian *ni* indefinites are n-words that can occur in elliptical contexts with a negative meaning. Fourthly, *un N oarecare* is now mapped. This item is an existential FCI, as the function N-VER/E.WID indicates. Like French *un N quelconque*, the Romanian *un N oarecare* has epistemic uses, apart from existential widening uses, non-specific uses and indiscriminacy uses.

6.8. Italian

In (1027) Haspelmath's semantic map of Italian is given.

(1027) Haspelmath's (1997:262) map of Italian



There are 3 series on the map. I will discuss 5 series: the *un* N *qualsiasi*-series, the *-unique/-siasi*-series, the *qualche*-series, *un qualche* and the negative series.

6.8.1. The *qualche*-series

As shown on Haspelmath's map, *qualche*- is predicted to occur in all functions in which widening is not required. The determiner *qualche* and the pronouns do not impose any distributional restrictions. They are fine in all functions, except with narrow-scope in direct negation. In direct negation, they acquire a specific interpretation, as shown in (1028).

(1028) N-SPEC/SPEC

Non leggo qualche libro.

NEG read.I some book

'I don't read some books (e.g. those printed too small).'

(Zamparelli 2008:313)

What is interesting about the determiner *qualche* is that it is syntactically singular, but often, or at least under certain circumstances, semantically plural (Zamparelli 2008:299). Hence the only interpretation of a sentence like (1029) is that the speaker is polygamous.

(1029) VER/S-K

Ho appena sposato qualche ragazza.
I.have just married some girl
'I just married some/ a few girls.'
(Zamparelli 2008:299)

Qualcuno, like *qualche*, can acquire a singular interpretation as well as a plural interpretation. In most cases it is conversationally implied whether *qualcuno* receives a singular or a plural interpretation.

Qualche + singular noun is said by Zamparelli (2008:303) to convey the sense of “an indeterminate small number of”, i.e. to have a paucal meaning. This meaning is said to be the result of an effort to minimize the meaning overlap between existing forms. According to Zamparelli (2008:304ff.), *qualche* + singular noun has the meaning ‘at least one’, like *a/one*, without the implicature ‘no more than one’. This implicature must be blocked in the case of *qualche* to avoid these forms ending up as synonymous to the indefinite article or numeral, as argued by Zamparelli (2008).

6.8.2. The *un qualche*-series

According to Zamparelli (2008:303), *un qualche* conveys “indeterminacy of the identity of the object referred to”, as illustrated in (1030). It has the distribution of the English singular *some*, French singular *quelque*, and German unstressed *irgend-*. It is therefore an epistemic indefinite.

(1030) VER/S-U

Maria ha appena sposato una qualche ragazza.
Maria has just married a some girl
'Maria just married some girl.' (that I don't know)
(Zamparelli 2008:311)

Sentence (1031) shows that *un qualche* can also have a wide-scope specific unknown reading in non-veridical contexts.

(1031) N-VER/S-U

Maria deve aver sposato un qualche professore.
Maria must have married a qualche professor
'Maria must have married some professor, I don't know who.'
(Aloni & Port 2011:3)

In non-veridical and NPI contexts, a non-specific meaning is possible as well, as shown in (1032) and (1033).

(1032) N-VER/N-SPEC

Juan deve essere in una qualche stanza della casa.
 Juan must be in a some room of-the house
 ‘Juan must be in some room of the house.’
 (Aloni & Port 2011:3)

(1033) NPI/N-SPEC

Se incontri un qualche avvocato alla festa, fatti
 if you.meet a some lawyer at.the party, ask
 aiutare.
 help
 ‘If you meet any lawyer at the party, ask for help.’
 (Zamparelli 2008:303)

In negation, it is blocked probably because of the existence of more specific forms.

(1034) NEG/NEG

??Non ho risposto a una qualche domanda.
 NEG I-have answered to a some question
 *‘I didn’t answer any question.’
 (Zamparelli 2008:313-314)

6.8.3. *Qualunque*

According to Haspelmath (1997:262), the Italian indefinite *qualunque* only has the ‘free choice’ and the ‘comparative’ function, corresponding to my ‘non-veridical, widening’ and ‘FC comparative, widening’ function. Two examples of the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function are given in (1035) and (1036).

(1035) N-VER/WID

Qualunque donna può cadere.
 any woman may fall
 ‘Any woman may fall’
 (Aloni 2007:16)

(1036) N-VER/WID

Prendi qualunque dolce.
take any sweet
'Take any sweet.'
(Chierchia 2006:541)

Haspelmath (1997) claims that the *-unque* indefinites have no NPI uses. Chierchia (2006:536) also notes that "FCIs like *qualunque* in Italian [...] disallow negative polarity uses", but notes "exceptions to this pattern": in the restriction of *every* and in conditionals. The corpus analysis by Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010:12) confirms the occurrence in conditionals and indirect negative contexts. An example in an indirect negative context is found in (1037).

(1037) I.NEG/WID

Irraggiungibile da qualunque tenerezza. Troppo crudele
unreachable by any tenderness. too cruel
per essere amato.
to be loved
'Unreachable by any tenderness. Too cruel to be loved.'
(Aguilar-Guevara et al. 2012:18)

So it seems that *qualunque* does have NPI uses. Like other FCIs with indiscriminacy readings, I think *qualunque* can also sometimes occur in questions. The indiscriminacy reading in non-veridical contexts is illustrated in (1038).

(1038) N-VER/IND

No, non legge qualunque libro. Per esempio odia la
no NEG reads any book for example hates the
saggistica politica.
essays political
'He doesn't read just any book; for example, he hates political essays.'
(Chierchia 2013:341)

Like French *quiconque*, Italian *qualunque* is not grammatical in veridical contexts.

6.8.4. *Qualsiasi*

Haspelmath (1997:262) notes the existence of the determiner *qualsiasi*, but does not represent its distribution. Chierchia (2013:341) notes that the determiner *qualsiasi* has the same distribution as *qualunque*. An example of the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function is given in (1039).

(1039) N-VER/WID

Qualsiasi	donna	può	cadere.
any	woman	may	fall

‘Any woman can fall.’
(Aloni 2007:16)

An example in a scale-reversing context is given in (1040).

(1040) SCAL/WID

Se	parli	con	qualsiasi	studente,	avrai	conferma
if	you.talk	with	any	student,	receive.fut	confirmation
di	quello che	ti	ho	detto.		
of	that	which	he	has	told	

‘If you talk with any student, you will receive confirmation of what I have told you.’
(Chierchia 2013:342)

6.8.5. *Un N qualsiasi/qualunque/ un qualunque/qualsiasi N*

The complex determiner in *un N qualsiasi/qualunque* and *un qualunque/qualsiasi N* has an existential widening meaning and an indiscriminacy meaning. Chierchia (2013:262) notes that there is a difference between *un N qualsiasi/qualunque* and *un qualunque/qualsiasi N*. However, as with French *un N quelconque* and *un quelconque N*, there seems to be no clear difference in terms of distribution between the two. The only difference seems to be that the latter is more emphatic than the former and is in this sense more often used for the widening readings. I did not find sufficient data on the differences between the two series to treat them separately.

Chierchia (2013:261-2) notes that *un N qualunque* is only used with the indiscriminacy reading in NPI contexts. *Un N qualunque* can indeed have the indiscriminacy reading in all contexts. An example in a veridical context is given in (1041). An example in a non-veridical context is given in (1042).

(1041) VER/IND

Gianni è entrato in classe e si è rivolto
Gianni is entered in class and him is addressed
ad un ragazzo qualunque.
to a boy any

‘Gianni walked into the classroom and addressed a random/just any boy.’

(Chierchia 2013:264)

(1042) N-VER/IND

Gianni crede che Paolo abbia parlato con uno studente
Gianni believes that Paolo has talked with a student
qualsiasi.
any

‘Gianni believes that Paolo has talked with an arbitrary student/just any.’

(Chierchia 2013:264)

However, as strangely enough also noted by Chierchia (2013:261), *un* N *qualunque* does occur in certain NPI contexts without the indiscriminacy reading, viz. in the restriction of *every*, in conditionals and in indirect negative contexts, as shown in (1043), (1044) and (1045).

(1043) SCAL/WID or N-SPEC

Ogni persona che vada ad una mostra qualunque
every person that goes to a exhibition any
si sente un critico d’arte.
him feels an critic of-art

‘Every person that goes to any exhibition thinks he is an art critic.’

(Chierchia 2013:261)

(1044) I.NEG/WID or NEG

Nessuno in classe ha letto un qualunque mio libro.
nobody in class has read a any of.me books

‘Nobody in class read any book of mine.’

(Chierchia 2013:262)

(1045) I.NEG/WID or NEG

Gianni ha agito senza un qualunque scrupolo.
Gianni has acted without a any scruple

‘Gianni acted without any scruples.’

(Chierchia 2013:262)

Note that in sentences (1043) to (1045), the readings seem to be able to correspond to widening as well as non-widening readings, depending on how much emphasis is put on *qualunque*.

In direct negation, the more specialized negative indefinites *nessun* or *alcun* are used (Chierchia 2006:263). Chierchia (2006:263) illustrates this on the basis of the following two sentences.

(1046) NEG/NEG or WID

*?Gianni non ha letto un qualunque mio libro.
 Gianni NEG has read a any of.my books
 ‘Gianni hasn’t read any book of mine.’
 (Chierchia 2006:263)

(1047) NEG/NEG or WID

Gianni non ha letto nessun mio libro.
 Gianni NEG has read no of.my book
 ‘Gianni hasn’t read any book of mine.’
 (Chierchia 2006:263)

The determiner does not have the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function, since it does not induce widening in subtriggering contexts, and cannot have a generic reading. It does have the ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function, as shown in (1048).

(1048) N-VER/E.WID

Gianni può aprire una porta qualsiasi.
 Gianni may/can open a door whatever
 ‘Gianni may open any door.’
 (Aloni & Van Rooij 2007:10)

The separation of the functions N-VER/E.WID and N-VER/WID also explains why sentence (1049) allows for a ‘possibly all doors’ reading, whereas this is not the case in sentence (1048). In sentence (1049), the universal FCI *qualsiasi* is used, whereas in sentence (1048), the existential FCI *una qualsiasi* carries the implicature ‘exactly one’.

(1049) N-VER/WID

Gianni può aprire qualsiasi porta.
 Gianni may/can open any door
 ‘Gianni may/can open any door.’
 (Aloni & Van Rooij 2007:10)

Unlike the French *un N quelconque*, Italian *un N qualunque* does not function as an epistemic indefinite. However, like the French *un N quelconque*, the Italian *uno N qualunque* can also occur in non-veridical contexts in which widening is not obligatory, as illustrated in (1050).

(1050) N-VER/N-SPEC

Avrei dovuto discuterne con un qualunque filosofo.
 I.have should discussed.of-it with a philosopher whatever
 'I should have discussed it with some or other philosopher.'
 (Chierchia 2006:569)

In conclusion, *un N qualunque/qualsiasi* and *un qualunque N* can express indiscriminacy in all contexts, can express widening and non-specificity in scale-reversing and indirect negative contexts, and can have an existential widening meaning in non-veridical contexts.

6.8.6. The *n*-series

Italian negative indefinites can occur with and without sentential negation depending on their position with respect to the verb, as illustrated in (1051) and (1052).

(1051) NEG/NEG

Non ha visto nessuno.
 NEG have seen nobody
 'I did not see anybody.'

(1052) N-NEG/NEG

Nessuno è venuto.
 nobody has come
 'Nobody came.'
 (Haspelmath 1997:263)

In addition, they can occur in indirect negative contexts, as illustrated in (1053).

(1053) I.NEG/NEG

Gianni non ha scritto questo libro per nessun
 Gianni NEG has written this book for any
 motivo particolare.
 reason particular
 'Gianni didn't write this book for a particular reason.'
 (Acquaviva 1997:40)

They can also occur in specific questions with a widening reading, as in (1054).

(1054) Q/WID

C' è nessuno?
here is anybody/nobody
'Can you see anything?'
(Hansen & Visconti 2012:468)

Hansen & Visconti (2012:468) note that the negative indefinites (with the exception of *mai* 'ever') are only acceptable in postverbal position in yes/no-questions.

As with most NC items, the Italian negative indefinites exhibit negative spread, shown in (1055).

(1055) NS

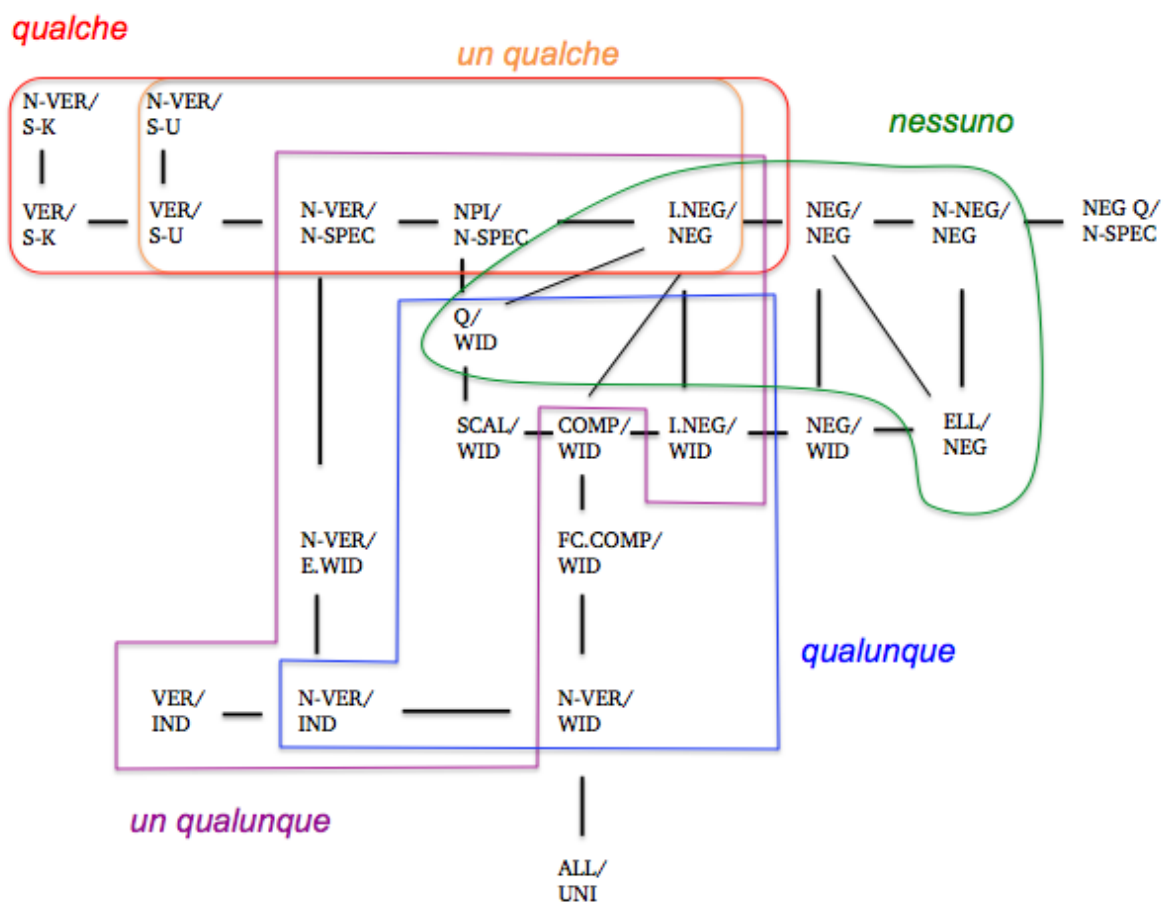
Nessun professore ha mai scritto nessun libro.
no professor has ever written no book
'No professor has ever written any book.'
(Haspelmath 1997:263)

The Italian indefinites can also occur with a negative meaning in elliptical contexts. Hence they also have the function ELL/NEG.

6.8.7. Conclusion for Italian indefinites

In sum, the distribution of the Italian indefinites is represented on the map in (1056).

(1056) Meanings-in-context map for Italian indefinites

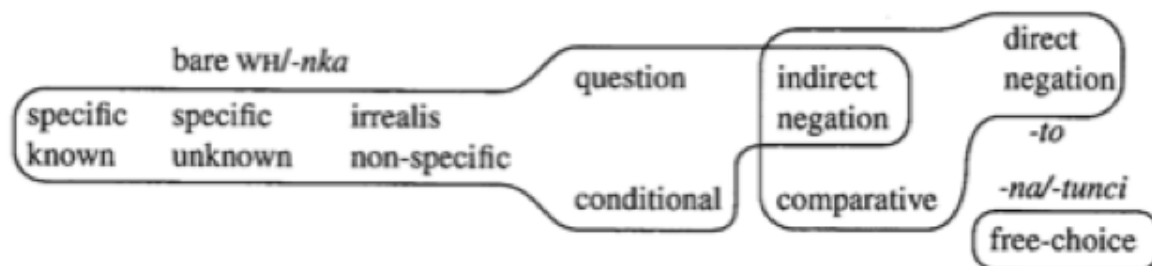


This map, unlike Haspelmath's map, allows one to identify Italian as a non-strict NC language due to the presence of NEG/NEG and N-NEG/NEG. It further shows that a negative indefinite in a question should not be represented as functionally equivalent to the use of an indefinite like *qualche* in a question. It represents the indiscriminacy reading of the FCI *qualunque*. In addition, two elements are added, viz. the epistemic indefinite *un qualche* and the existential FCI *un qualunque*.

6.9. Korean

Korean is the first non-European language that will be discussed. Haspelmath's map for Korean is presented in (1057).

(1057) Haspelmath's (1997:314) map for Korean



Haspelmath (1997:314) distinguishes 7 series of indefinite pronouns in Korean: the general -*nka* series, the bare interrogative series, the *to*-series, the interrogative-*tunci*-series, the *amwu* (N)-*tunci*-series, the interrogative-*na* series and the *amwu* (N)-*na*-series. I will add two -*lato*-series: the interrogative-*lato* series and the *amwu* (N)-*lato*-series.

I will start with the *amwu* (N)-*lato*- and interrogative-*lato*-series, which are not visible on Haspelmath's map. Since they exhibit a slightly different distribution, they are treated separately.

6.9.1. The *amwu* (N)-*lato*-series

The *amwu* (N)-*lato*-series has been discussed and described in Lee (1999), Lee et al. (2000), Choi (2007) and Park (2009). Sentence (1058) shows that the *amwu* (N)-*lato* indefinites can occur in non-veridical contexts with a widening-strengthening meaning. Sentence (1059) also exemplifies this use, this time in a generic context.

(1058) N-VER/WID (modal of possibility)

Amwu-rato ku il-ul ha-ul.swu.iss-ta.
 anyone that work-ACC do-can-DECL
 'Anyone can do that.'
 (Lee et al. 2000:416)

(1059) N-VER/WID (generic)

Amwu-say-lato na-n-ta.
 any-bird-ADD fly-GEN-DECL
 (Choi 2007:275)

Lee et al. (2000) provide an overview of the contexts in which *amwu* (N)-*lato* indefinites are allowed apart from non-veridical contexts. These contexts include NPI contexts like conditionals, comparatives, questions, after implicitly negative predicates and the restriction of a universal quantifier. An example of *amwu* (N)-*lato* in a conditional is given in (1060).

(1060) SCAL/WID

Amwu-rato	o-myen	na-eykey	cenhwaha-e.
anyone-ADD	come-if	I-DAT	call-IMP

‘If anyone comes, give me a call.’
(Lee et al. 2000:416)

In conclusion, *amwu* (N)-*lato* has the functions N-VER/WID, SCAL/WID, Q/WID, COMP/WID, I.NEG/WID, but not NEG/WID, where its occurrence is blocked by the presence of a more specific form in *-to*.

6.9.2. The interrogative-*lato*-series

Unlike the *amwu* (N)-*lato*-series, the interrogative-*lato*-series can be used with a specific unknown meaning in veridical and non-veridical contexts. Sentence (1061) is an example of a non-veridical context with a modal of necessity. The indefinite *nwukwu-lato* (‘who-*lato*’) can escape the scope of the non-veridical operator and establish specific unknown reference, or it can be interpreted within its scope, in which case it establishes non-specific reference (N-VER/N-SPEC), shown in (1061).

(1061) VER/S-U or N-VER/N-SPEC

Jane-un	nwukwu-hako-lato	kyelhonha-yahan-ta.
Jane-TOP	who-with-ADD	marry-must-DECL

‘There is somebody Jane has to marry, the speaker doesn’t care/ know who it is.’
‘Jane has to marry a man, whose identity does not matter.’
(Choi 2005:92)

The interrogative-*lato*-series can also occur with narrow scope in other non-veridical contexts, such as possibility contexts, as well as in NPI contexts, such as in the restriction of a universal or in conditionals (NPI/N-SPEC), and with negative predicates (I.NEG/NEG), but the interrogative-*lato* series does not combine with direct negation (Choi & Romero 2008:80).

The fact that the *amwu* (N)-*lato*, but not interrogative-*lato* expresses widening accounts for the fact that *amwu* (N)-*lato* can be used in a rhetorical question, as in (1062), but not interrogative-*lato*, as illustrated in (1063).

(1062) Q/WID

John-i amwu towum-ilato cwu-ess-kessni?
 John-NOM any help-ADD give-PST-Q
 ‘Did John give any help to Mary?’ (John must have done nothing to help Mary.)

(1063) NPI/N-SPEC

*John-i etten towum-ilato cwu-ess-kessni?
 John-NOM what help-ADD give-PST-Q
 (Choi 2005:91)

6.9.3. The -to-series

Haspelmath (1997:313) does not distinguish between the interrogative-based -to series and the *amwu* (N)-to series. For the interrogative-to indefinite *nwukwuto*, Haspelmath (1997) only provides a gloss ‘nothing’. There is, however, a difference between the two, as will be shown. The series has been discussed by Giannakidou & Yoon (2010), Lee (2003), Lee et al. (2000).

According to Haspelmath’s map in (1057), the two series can be used in the negative functions, as in (1064), and (1065), as well as in a comparative.⁵⁹

(1064) NEG/NEG

Amu-to amu-to sarang-ha-ci an-h-nun-ta.
 amu-ADD amu-ADD love-do-CL NEG-do-PRES-DECL
 ‘No one loves anyone.’
 (Lee 2003:35)

(1065) NEG/NEG

Nwukwu-to o-ci.anh-ass-ta.
 who-ADD come-NEG-PAST-DECL
 ‘No one came.’

⁵⁹ Haspelmath’s (1997) example of a -to indefinite in a comparative clause contains an interrogative form and the -to particle. In this example, the particle -to is outside the comparative clause. Like Giannakiou & Yoon (2010), Lee et. al. (2000) note that the *amwu* (N)-to indefinites are not grammatical in comparatives.

Lee et al. (2000) note that the *-to*-series is grammatical in negative sentences with clausal negation (NEG/NEG), in ‘before’-clauses and with negative predicates (I.NEG/NEG). Even though the *amwu* (N)-*to* series and the *nwukwu-to* series can both be used in negation, only *amwu* (N)-*to*, but not interrogative-*to* can have a negative meaning in an elliptical context, as shown in (1066).

(1066) ELL/NEG

- a. Mwues-ul po-ass-ni?
 what-ACC see-PERF-Q
 ‘What did you see?’
- b. *Etten/amwu-kes-to.
 etten/amwu-thing-ADD
 ‘Nothing.’
 (Kang & Tieu 2013:2)

This suggests that *amwu* (N)-*to*, but not the interrogative-*to*-series, is a negative indefinite series. This is also confirmed by the fact that *amwu* (N)-*to* can be modified by *keuy* ‘almost’ with a negative meaning, whereas this is not possible for a member of the interrogative *to*-series, as illustrated by (1067).

- (1067) John-un keuy *etten/amwu-kes-to mek-ci anh-ass-ta.
 John-TOP almost wh/ amwu-thing-ADD eat-CL NEG-PRF-DECL
 ‘John ate almost nothing.’
 (Tieu & Kang 2013:2)

Choi (2007) and Gil & Tsoulas (2013) claim that the interrogative-*to*-series is not a negative series. Sentences (1068) and (1069) show that the interrogative-*to*-series can also have the N-VER/WID function.

(1068) N-VER/WID

- Etten-say-to na-n-ta.
 what-bird-ADD fly-GEN-DECL
 ‘Any bird flies.’
 (Lee 1999:17)

(1069) N-VER/WID

Chelswu-nun nwukwu-to caki sayngil-pati-ey choday halswuiss-ta.
 Chelswu-TOP who-ADD self birthday-party-to invite can-DECL
 ‘Chelswu can invite anyone to his birthday party.’
 (Gil & Tsoulas 2013:159)

This function cannot be fulfilled by the *amwu* (N)-*to*-series.

I do not know what determines the choice between the *amwu* (N)-*to*-series and the interrogative-*to*-series in negative contexts.

6.9.4. The -*na*-series

Haspelmath’s map shows that -*na*-indefinites are used in non-veridical contexts with a widening meaning. This holds for the *amwu* (N)-*na*-series, as well as the interrogative-*na*-series, as shown in (1070).

(1070) N-VER/WID

Nwukwu-na/ amwu-na ku mwuncey-lul pwul-swu.iss-ta.
 who-or/ anyone-or that problem-ACC solve-can-DECL
 ‘Everyone/anyone can solve that problem.’
 (Park 2008)

However, the data on subtriggering suggest that *amwu* (N)-*na* is an existential FCI (N-VER/E.WID) and interrogative-*na* is a universal item. Sentence (1071) provides a subtriggering context in which *amwu* (N)-*na* is not grammatical. It is grammatical in a modal context of necessity, shown in (1072).

(1071) N-VER/WID

*John-un ke-ipkwu-lo tuleo-nun amwu-hako-na
 J.-TOP the-entrance-by enter-REL anyone-with-or
 macuchi-ess-ta.
 encountered-PST-DECL
 ‘John ran into anyone who entered via the entrance.’
 (Choi & Romero 2008:78)

(1072) N-VER/E.WID

John-un amwu-hako-na kyelhonha-yaha-n-ta.
John-TOP anyone-with-or marry-must-PRES-DECL
'John must marry a person, every person is a possible marriage option for John.'
(Choi 2007:144)

The two series also differ when it comes to their use in veridical sentences, which can be represented on the new map. Both of them can be used in veridical sentences, as shown in (1073) and (1075), but whereas the interrogative-*na*-series can have a universal meaning in a veridical context, as shown in (1073), the *amwu* (N)-*na*-series conveys indiscriminacy.

(1073) ALL/UNI

wuri-ban haksayng-tul nwukwu-na paper-lul ceychwulha-yess-ta.
our-class student-PL who-or paper-ACC submit-PST-DECL
'Every (i.e., each) student in my class submitted a paper.'
(Park 2008)

Nwukwu-na can also yield a universal meaning in negation (Choi 2007:53). This casts doubt on the analysis as FCI in (1070), in which *nwukwu-na* might also be analyzed as a universal quantifier, which is the analysis pursued here. The fact that *nwukwu-na* is a universal quantifier also covers the fact that it can be used in comparatives with a universal function too, as shown in (1074), something which is not represented on Haspelmath's map.

(1074) ALL/UNI

Mary-nun nwukwuna ttwinkes-pota calttwiess-ta.
Mary-TOP anyone-or ran-than fast ran-DECL
'Mary ran faster than anybody.'
(Giannakidou & Yoon 2010:12)

The *amwu* (N)-*na*-series has indiscriminacy functions in veridical sentences, as shown in (1075).

(1075) VER/IND

John-un amwu-hako-na ca-ass-e.
John-TOP anybody sleep-PST-DECL
'John slept with just ANYbody by acting indifferently.'
(Choi 2005:90)

Choi (2007:69) also provides an example of *amwu* (N)-*na* in negation, corresponding to Horn's indiscriminative use. An example of the indiscriminacy reading in an imperative context can be found in (1076).

(1076) N-VER/IND

Kunyang	amwu-na	mn- <i>napwa</i> -la.
just	anyone-or	meet-try-IMP

'Go and meet just ANYbody.' (not caring about who to meet)
(Choi 2005:90)

In conclusion, one has to distinguish between the interrogative-*na* and the *amwu* (N)-*na*-series: the former has the universal function, and the latter has the 'non-veridical, existential widening' function and the indiscriminacy functions.

6.9.5. Bare interrogative-series

As also shown on Haspelmath's map, the bare interrogative-series is used with specific reference and with non-specific reference in non-veridical contexts (N-VER/N-SPEC), NPI contexts (NPI/N-SPEC) and indirect negative contexts (I.NEG/NEG). An example of a specific function is given in (1077).

(1077) VER/SPEC

Nwukwu-ka	o-ass-e.
someone.NOM	come-PST-DECL

'Somebody came.'
(Choi 2007:45)

In negation, it escapes the focus of negation and gets a specific interpretation, as shown in (1078).

(1078) N-VER/SPEC

Nwukwu-ka	o-ci.anh-ass-ta.
who-NOM	come-NEG-PST-DECL

'Some specific person didn't come.'
(Choi 2007:30)

This implies that the interrogative-series can also escape the scope of other non-veridical operators. This is confirmed by sentence (1079), which allows a non-specific as well as a specific reading.

(1079) N-VER/SPEC or NPI/N-SPEC

etten-salam-i o-myen, John- nun panki- n-ta.
 what-person-NOM come-if John-TOP welcome-GEN-DEC

a) 'If a person comes, John welcomes him.'

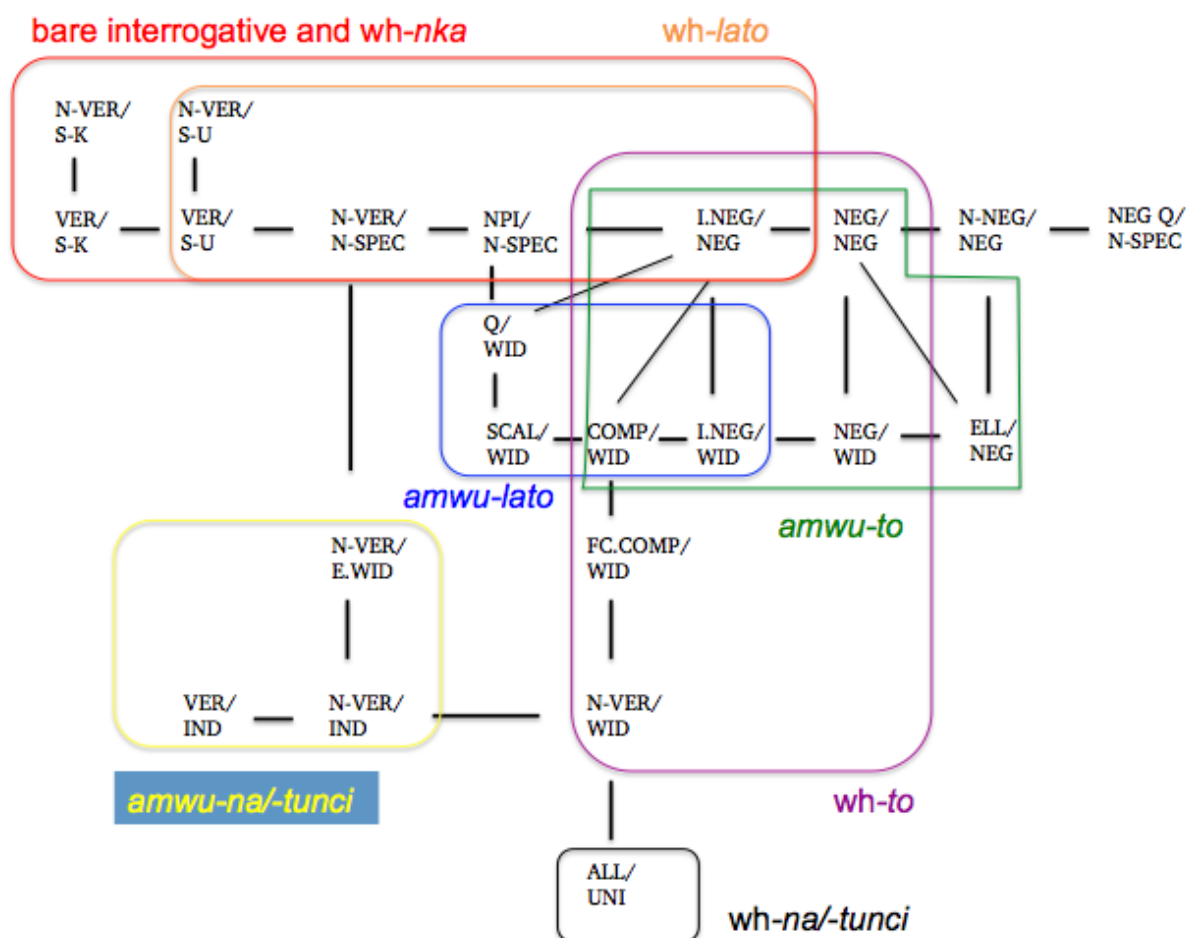
b) 'If a specific person comes, John welcomes him.'

(Choi 2007:47)

6.9.6. Conclusion for Korean indefinites

The map for Korean indefinites is given in (1080).

(1080) Meanings-in-context map for Korean indefinites

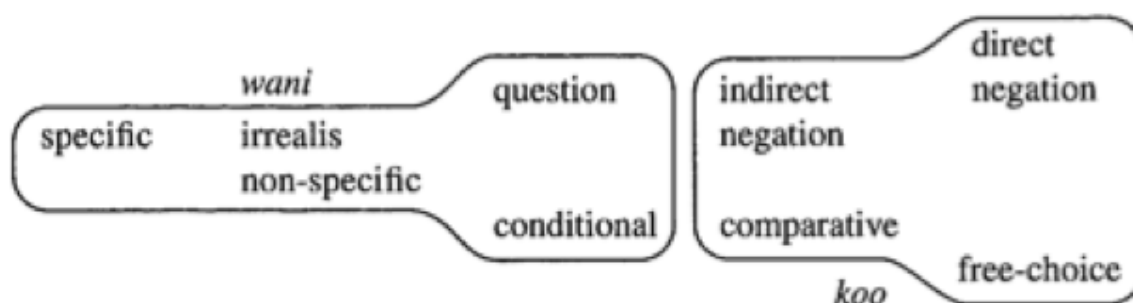


The map in (1080) is fairly different from Haspelmath's. Two *-lato*-series were added. The interrogative-*lato*-series is a non-widening series of epistemic indefinites. The *amwu* (N)-*lato*-series is a widening NPI-series that is barred from direct negation, in which the *to*-series is used. For the *-to*-series and the *-na/-tunci*-series, a distinction was also made between an *amwu*- and an interrogative-series. The *amwu* (N)-*na/-tunci* is an existential FCI series with indiscriminacy readings, whereas the interrogative-*na/tunci*-series is a series of universal quantifiers. The *amwu* (N)-*to*-series is negative, whereas the interrogative-*to*-series is not. The former only occurs in negative functions plus the comparative. Unlike interrogative-*to*, *amwu* (N)-*to* can have a negative meaning in an elliptical context. The interrogative-*to*-series can occur in the negative functions and in the comparative function, but also with a universal-like meaning in non-veridical contexts.

6.10. Hausa

The last language that has also been described by Haspelmath (1997) is Hausa. New data have been provided by Zimmermann (2008, 2009) and Zimmermann & Grubic (2010:12). Haspelmath's map is presented in (1081).

(1081) Haspelmath's (1997:300) map for Hausa



Two series are distinguished by Haspelmath (1997:300). I will add a zero-marked series, because it is one of the main strategies to express notions like 'someone', 'anyone' and 'no one'.

6.10.1. The *wani*-series

Haspelmath's (1997:300) map represents the *wani*-series, which consists of the indefinite determiner *wani* combined with generic nouns, as a non-widening series that is grammatical in the 'specific', 'irrealis non-specific', 'question' and 'conditional' function. However, Zimmermann (2009:23) shows that *wani*-indefinites are grammatical in all non-emphatic

functions, direct negation and indirect negation included. An example of a *wani*-indefinite in the scope of negation is shown in (1082).

(1082) NEG/NEG

Muusaa	bà-i	kira	wani	àbookii	lìyaafaa	ba.
Musa	NEG-3SG	invite	some	friend	ceremony	NEG

‘Musa did not invite any friends.’
(Zimmermann 2009:23-24)

What is also not represented on Haspelmath’s map is the fact that the *wani*-indefinites can have a specific meaning in negation, as pointed out by Zimmermann (2009:23) and Zimmermann & Grubic (2010:7). Hence the sentence in (1082) can also have the meaning ‘There is some friend that Musa didn’t invite (but he invited others)’. It can also have a wide scope existential meaning in non-veridical contexts other than negation, as shown in (1083).

(1083) N-VER/SPEC

Audù	yanàà	sô	yà	aùri	wata	yaarinyàà	‘yar-Dàuraa.
Audu	3SG.M-PROG	want	3SG.M	marry	some	girl	daughter-of D

‘There is some girl from Daura that Audu wants to marry.’
(Zimmermann & Grubic 2010:7)

6.10.2. The *koo*-series

The *koo*-series occurs in non-veridical contexts with a widening meaning, illustrated in (1084). The series only has a widening meaning in comparative and in negative contexts, discussed below.

(1084) N-VER/WID

Anàa	saamùn-sà	koo-ìinaa.
one.PRES	get-3SG	INDEF-where

‘You can get it anywhere.’
(Haspelmath 1997:301)

The *koo*-expressions can also express a universal meaning in all contexts, illustrated in (1085) and in (1086).

(1085) ALL/UNI (veridical)

Koo-waa yaa ci jaĩřřàbâawaa.
DISJ-who 3SG.PRF eat exam

‘Everyone passed the exam.’

(Newman 2000:623)

(1086) ALL/UNI (non-veridical)

Bàa koo-waa ba nèe Audu ya kiraa t.
NEG DISJ-who NEG PART Audu 3SG.PRF.REL call

‘It is not EVERYONE that Audu called.’

(Newman 2000:624)

The universal uses suggest that the *koo*-expression in (1084) is a universal quantifier rather than a free choice indefinite. The use in negation, as in (1087), however, points to the indefinite nature of the element, as in (1132).

(1087) NEG/NEG

Bà-n ga koo-waa ba.
NEG-1SG see DISJ-who NEG

‘I didn’t see anyone.’ or ‘I saw no one.’

NOT: ‘I did not see everybody.’

(Newman 2000:624)

Haspelmath (1997:301) also mentions that he found indefinite uses of the *koo*-series in questions in Abraham (1946), but he notes that there is a tonal difference between the form used in the question context and the one used as universal quantifier. However, a native speaker of Hausa I consulted informed me that *wani* would be used to express ‘someone/anyone’ in a question and not a *koo*-element.

6.10.3. The zero-marked series

If one includes the *wani*-forms, one might also argue that the bare NPs should also be discussed, since these can also be used as important equivalents to ‘some’- and ‘any’-pronouns. Like the *wani*-indefinites, the bare NPs can be used in those functions in which no widening is required. Unlike the *wani*-indefinites, however, they cannot have wide scope in non-veridical contexts.

Sentence (1088) shows that bare NPs can only be used with negative reference in a negative context, and not with specific reference, which would correspond to N-VER/SPEC.

(1088) NEG/NEG

Mutàanee bà sù tàfi kàasuwaa ba.
 people NEG 3PL go market NEG

‘No people went to the market.’

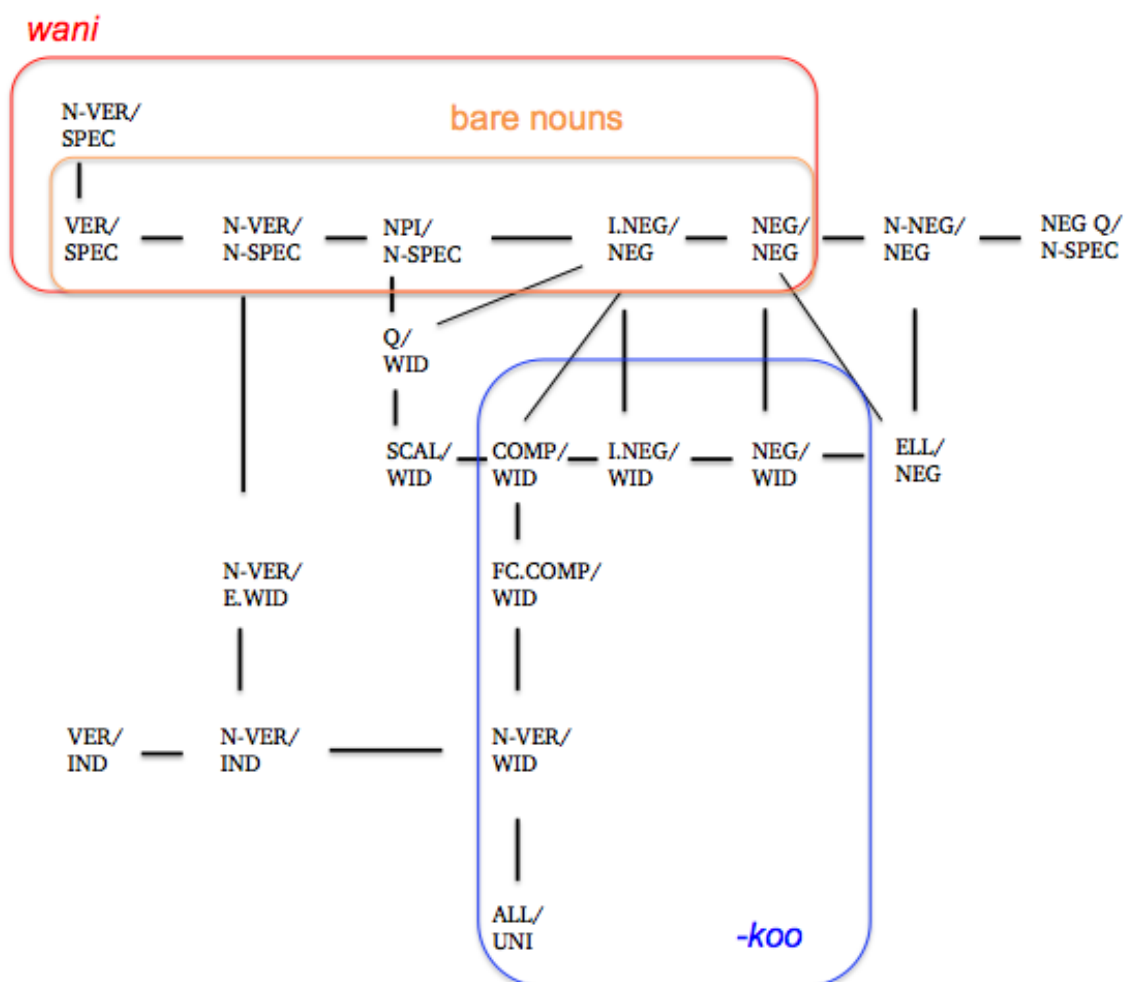
*‘Some people didn’t go to the market.’

(Zimmermann & Grubic 2010:12)

6.10.4. Conclusion for Hausa indefinites

The map for Hausa indefinites is presented in (1089).

(1089) Meanings-in-context map for Hausa indefinites



This map differs in three main respects. Firstly, a series was added that consists of bare nouns. This series is functionally similar to the *wani*-series, but differs from it with respect to wide-scope readings: only *wani*-indefinites can occur with a specific meaning in non-veridical contexts. Secondly, this map shows that the *wani*-series is also used for the purpose

of negative reference in indirect and direct negative contexts. Thirdly, it shows that the *koo*-series can be used with a universal meaning in all contexts.

6.11. Spanish

Spanish is the first language that will be discussed that was not mapped by Haspelmath (1997). There are 4 series in Spanish: the widening *cualquiera*-series, the epistemic *algún*-series, the existential FCI series *un N cualquiera*-series, and the negative indefinite series. I will discuss them in that order.

6.11.1. The *cualquiera*-series

This FCI element has been described in Arregui (2006), Menéndez-Benito (2010) and Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010, 2011, 2012) and has been mentioned in several other works on FCIs (e.g. Giannakidou 2001, Giannakidou & Quer 2013). It has all widening functions, except in direct negation, as illustrated in sentences (1090) to (1093).

(1090) I.NEG/WID

Nokia	no	es	responsable	de	las	prácticas	de	privacidad
Nokia	NEG	is	responsible	for	the	practices	of	privacy
o	de	los	contenidos	de	cualquiera	de	tales	servicios.
or	of	the	contents	of	any	of	such	services

‘Nokia is not responsible for the privacy practices or contents of any such services.’

(1091) N-VER/WID (possibility)

Puedes	traer	cualquier	libro.
can.2SG	bring	any	book

‘You can bring me any book.’

(Aguilar-Guevara et al. 2011:2)

(1092) N-VER/WID (generic)

Cualquier	lechuza	caza	ratones.
any	owl	hunts	mice

‘Any owl hunts mice.’

(Arregui 2006:3)

(1093) SCAL/WID

Si escucha cualquier ruido, llamará a la policía.
if hears any noise, will.call to the police
'If he hears any noise, he will call the police.'
(Arregui 2006:4)

In direct negation, it has the indiscriminacy reading, as shown in (1094).

(1094) N-VER/IND (negation)

No compró cualquier libro.
NEG bought any book
'She didn't buy just any book.'
(Arregui 2006:14)

It cannot occur with the indiscriminacy reading in veridical contexts, as illustrated in (1095).

(1095) N-VER/IND

*Ayer, Juan cogió cualquier carta.
yesterday Juan took any card
(Menéndez-Benito 2005:2)

The 'veridical, indiscriminacy' function is fulfilled by an indefinite noun phrase consisting of the indefinite article *un* and a qualitative adjective *cualquiera*.

6.11.2. The *un* N *cualquiera*-series

This complex determiner described in Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito (2011a) can express indiscriminacy, regardless of the contexts, as shown in (1096) and (1097).

(1096) VER/IND

Juan cogió un libro cualquiera.
Juan grabbed a book any
'Juan took a random book.'
(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011a:333)

(1097) N-VER/IND

Juan no cogió un libro cualquiera.

Juan NEG took a book any

‘Juan did not take a random book.’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011a:342)

In addition, *un N cualquiera* has the ‘non-veridical, existential widening’ function, as shown in (1098).

(1098) N-VER/E.WID

¡Coge un libro cualquiera!

take a book any

‘Take any book!’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011a:349)

(1099) N-VER/E.WID

Un hombre cualquiera puede vestirse como un policía.

a man any can dress.him like a police officer

‘Any man can dress like a police officer.’

In NPI contexts, *un N cualquiera* would also have an indiscriminacy reading, as illustrated in (1100).

(1100) N-VER/IND

Dudo que Juan haya cogido un libro cualquiera.

doubt that Juan has taken a book any

‘I doubt that Juan has taken a random book.’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011a:342)

6.11.3. The *alguno*-series

The Spanish *alguno*-series has been described by Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito (2010, 2011a, 2011b). In parallel to English *some*, the singular *algún/alguna* is an epistemic indefinite. The form yields a specific unknown reading in veridical contexts, as illustrated in (1101) and (1102).

(1101) VER/S-U

Juan cogió algún libro.

Juan took some book

‘Juan took some book, I don’t know which one.’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2011a:333)

(1102) VER/S-U

*Maria se casó con algún estudiante del

maria se married with some student of.the

departamento de lingüística: en concreto con Pedro.

department of linguistics: namely with Pedro

‘María married a linguistics student, namely Pedro.’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2010:2)

It can also have a non-specific reading in NPI contexts and indirect negative contexts, illustrated in (1103) and (1104).

(1103) I.NEG/ NEG (subordinate negation)

No es verdad que Juan salga con alguna chica

NEG is true that Juan date.3SG with ALGUNA girl

del departamento de lingüística.

from.the department of Linguistics

‘Juan is not dating any girl in the Linguistics department.’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2010:12)

(1104) I.NEG/NEG (implicit negation)

Pedro duda que Juan salga con alguna chica del

Pedro doubts that Juan date.3SG with ALGUNA girl from.the

departamento de lingüística.

department of Linguistics

‘Pedro doubts that Juan is dating any girl in the Linguistics department.’

(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2010:14)

The plural *algunos/algunas* does not exhibit this restriction to unknown specific readings, as shown in (1105).

(1105) VER/S-K

Juan	compró	algunos	libros.	En concreto	tres.
Juan	bought	some	books.	to.be.concrete	three

‘Juan bought some books. Three, to be exact.’
(Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2013)

The distribution of the plural *algunos/algunas* is like English plural *some* and French *quelques*. They can have non-specific as well as specific readings, depending on their scope. In direct negation, the more specialized negative indefinite-series is used.

The pronouns belonging to this series, viz. *alguien* ‘someone’ and *algo* ‘something’ have the distribution of the plural *algunos/algunas*.

6.11.4. The *n*-series

This series involves the negative indefinites *nada* ‘nothing’, *nadie* ‘nobody’ and *ninguno* ‘no’. They have been discussed in Chapter 3 on negative indefinites as well. Spanish negative indefinites are special in the sense that they have the NEG/NEG, as well as the N-NEG/NEG function, depending on the position of the negative indefinite, as shown in (1106) and (1107).

(1106) NEG/NEG

No	vino	nadie.
NEG	came	nobody

‘Nobody came.’

(1107) N-NEG/NEG

Nadie	vino.
nobody	came

‘Nobody came.’

(both from Herburger 2001:289)

In addition, as in other Romance languages, e.g. Galician and Italian, Spanish indefinites are also used in indirect negative contexts, as shown in (1108), and can sometimes be used in questions, as in (1109), and comparatives, as in (1110).

(1108) I.NEG/NEG

El comandante prohibió que saliera nadie del
the commander prohibited that would.leave anyone from.the
cuartel.

barracks

‘The commander prohibited anybody from leaving the barracks.’

(Martins 2000:200)

(1109) Q/WID

¿Ha dicho alguien nada?
has said anybody anything

‘Has anybody said anything?’

(Gutiérrez Rexach 1998:146)

(1110) COMP/WID

Prefiero quedarme aquí que ir a ningún sitio.
I-prefer to-stay-myself here than go to no place

‘I would rather stay here than go anywhere.’

(Martins 2000:218)

The functions are also represented on Haspelmath’s map. But the new map can also capture the negative uses, as in (1111).

(1111) ELL/NEG

Me caso contigo o con nadie.
me marry with-you or with nobody

‘I marry you or nobody.’

(Herburger 2001:301)

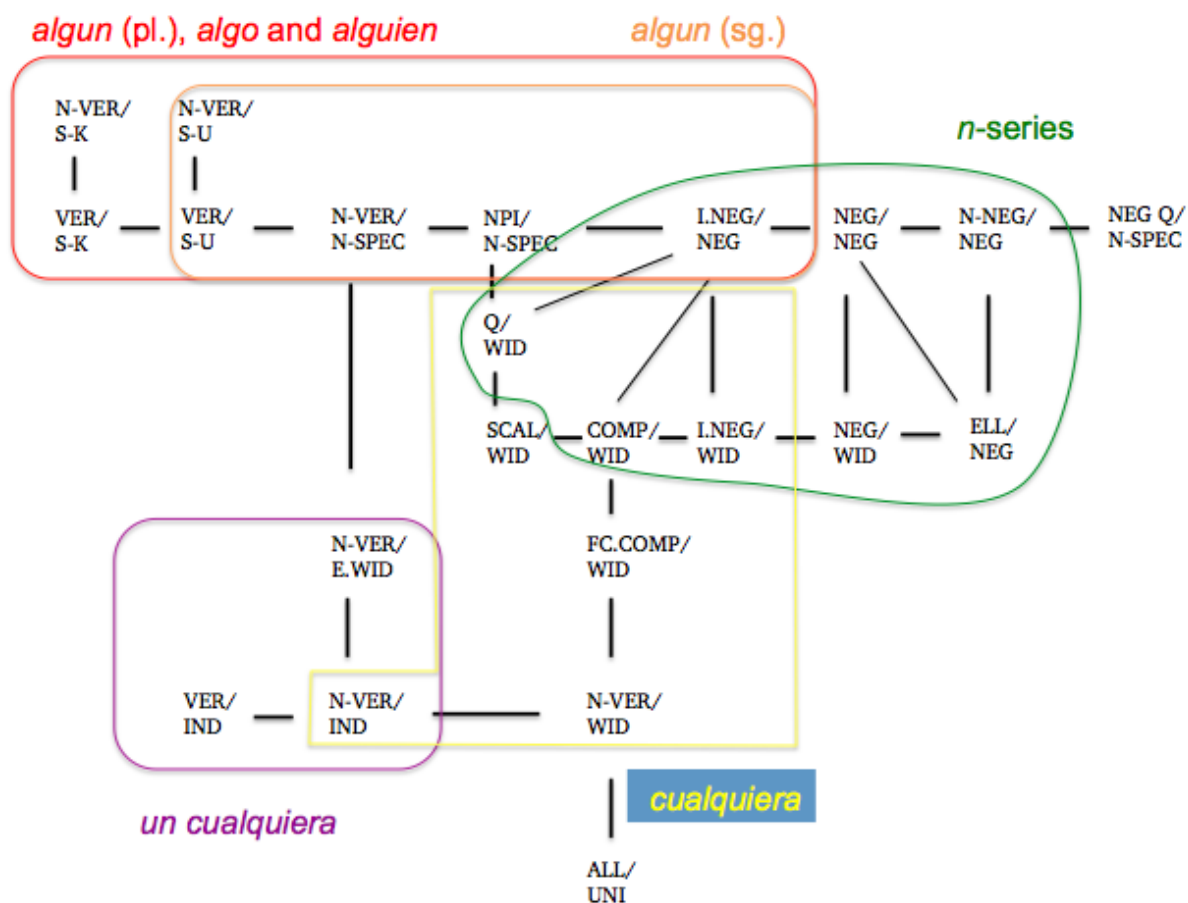
The fact that the map makes it visible that these indefinites are negative indefinites and not just polarity indefinites allows one to capture the negative character of the items better than on Haspelmath’s map.

In addition, Haspelmath’s map does not make a distinction between a non-specific indefinite in a question and a negative indefinite. Although sentence (1109) shows that the n-words may sometimes be used in questions, there are particular contextual restraints. The question in (1109) can only be used rhetorically. The marked use of the indefinites in questions is marked by the fact that they are negative indefinites. Vallduví (1994:12-13) also notes that Spanish speakers disagree as to whether the Spanish n-words can be used with a non-negative sense in questions at all.

6.11.5. Conclusion for Spanish indefinites

In (1112) a meanings-in-contexts map for Spanish indefinites is suggested.

(1112) Meanings-in-context map for Spanish indefinites



The map unites the negative with the non-negative character of the Spanish *n*-words: it shows that the elements can be used in questions and in comparatives, but it also shows that they can be used in a negative sense in elliptical contexts. In addition, the map shows that Spanish can be considered a non-strict NC language: the *n*-series has the ‘non-negative context, negative meaning’ function and the ‘negative context, negative meaning’ function. With respect to the specific forms, the map shows that the plural forms behave differently from the singular forms. With respect to the FCI *cualquiera*, the map not only maps the widening uses in NPI and FCI contexts, it also maps the indiscriminacy functions. The existential FCI *un cualquiera* was also included, as was done for French *un quelconque*, Italian *uno qualunque* and Romanian *un oarecare*.

6.12. Czech

Czech is not included in Haspelmath's sample. Data for Czech are from Šimík (2008a,b) Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010:9) and Willis (2013). Šimík (2008a,b) distinguishes 5 series of indefinites in Czech: the *ně-*, *-si*, *ni-*, *-koli* and *leda-* series.

6.12.1. The *-koli*-series

The *koli*-series (*koli* 'ever' < interrogative-indefinite pronominal adverb *koli* 'when, ever' Haspelmath 1997:271) is a widening series. Aguilar-Guevara et al. (2010:9 and 2012:13) note the use of the *-koli*-series in non-veridical contexts (N-VER/WID), questions (Q/WID), conditionals (SCAL/WID), comparatives (COMP/WID), with superordinate negation, implicit negation (both I.NEG/WID) and in direct negation (NEG/WID). Examples of a modal context of possibility and an indirect negative context are given in (1113) and (1114).

(1113) N-VER/WID

Podle	dosavadního	šetření	mohl	vraždu	spáchat
according.to	so.far	investigation	could	murder	commit

kdokoli.
anyone

'According to the investigation done so far, anyone could have committed the murder.'

(Šimík 2008a:3)

(1114) I.NEG/WID

Petr	popřel že	by	se	s	kýmkoliv	vyspal.
Petr	denied that	AUX	REFL	with	anyone	sleep

'Petr denied that he slept with anybody.'

(Šimík 2008b:9)

Šimík (2008b) also provides an example of an indiscriminacy use in an indirect negative context from his corpus, as shown in (1115).

(1115) N-VER/IND

Petr	popřel že	by	se	vyspal s	kýmkoliv.
Petr	denied that	AUX	REFL	sleep with	anyone

'Petr denied that he slept with just anybody'

(Šimík 2008b:8)

Šimík (2008b:8) notes that “in some DE-contexts [i.e. scale-reversing contexts] the Czech FCI displays a peculiar word-order sensitivity. If it is preverbal, it behaves as an indefinite and falls in the scope of the scale-reversing operator, if it is in a postverbal (focus) position, it seems to behave as a universal quantifier and triggers the ‘just any’ interpretation.” In addition, Šimík (2008b:8) notes that the form in its ‘just any’ interpretation is not polarity sensitive and can be used in veridical contexts as well, as shown in (1116).

(1116) VER/IND

Petr tvrdil že se vyspal s kýmkoliv.
 Petr claimed that REFL slept with anyone
 ‘Petr claimed that he slept with just anybody.’
 (Šimík 2008b:9)

6.12.2. The *leda*-series

Šimík (2008) tentatively categorizes the *leda*-series, of which the origin is unknown, as a series specializing in an indiscriminacy use in negation. Since I have not found elements that can only have the indiscriminacy reading in negative contexts, I categorize this use as ‘non-veridical, indiscriminacy’.

(1117) N-VER/IND

My nejsme jen tak ledakdo, my na to máme.
 we not.are only so who we on it have
 ‘We are not just anyone, we can make it.’
 (Šimík 2008a:8)

6.12.3. The *-si*-series

The *-si*-series, which probably goes back to **sit* ‘it may be’ (Haspelmath 1997:271), is an epistemic indefinite. The suffix *-si* attaches to an interrogative base. An example is given in (1118).

(1118) VER/S-U

Kdosi volal.
 ‘Someone called.’ (I don’t know who)
 (Aguilar-Guevara et al. 2010:2)

Šimík (2008a:2) notes that the distributional restrictions are so far unknown. Willis (2013:389) notes that the Czech *-si*-series is parallel to the Polish *ś*-series, which can occur in all non-widening functions apart from direct negation. This is supported by the fact that a recent corpus analysis of the related Slovak *-si*-series shows the use of *-si* in all non-widening functions apart from negation (Richtarcikova 2013:24).

Since I have not found a single epistemic indefinite that cannot occur with a specific reading in non-veridical contexts, it is highly likely that N-VER/SPEC is also a function.

6.12.4. The *ně*-series

The Czech *ně*-series is a non-widening series. Willis (2013:381) notes on its origin that it probably derives from a common Slavonic sequence parallel to Old Church Slavonic *ne vě kŭto* ‘I don’t know who’. It can occur in all non-widening existential functions except direct negation, where the more specific *ni*-series is used. I have no information on wide-scope readings.

6.12.5. The *ni*-series

This series is used in direct negation only. Sentence (1119) shows that Czech is a NC language, i.e. a language in which negative indefinites are accompanied by a verb that is also marked for negation. Sentence (1119) also shows that Czech has negative spread.

(1119) NEG/NEG (& NS)

Nemohu nic dělat.

NEG.can.it nothing do.INF

‘I can’t do anything.’

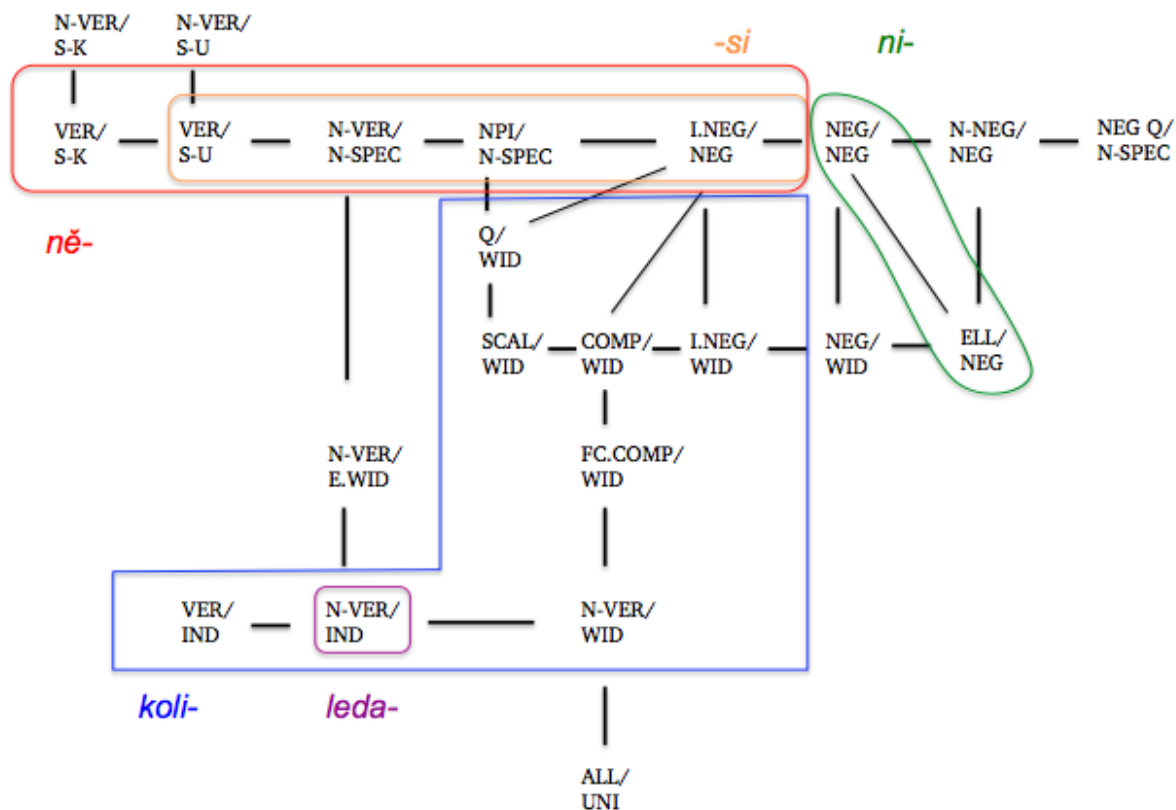
(Křížková 1968:38, cited in Willis 2013:385)

Willis (2013:385-386) also notes a new form *žádný* ‘no’, which is assumed to have developed from a free choice determiner, which is in turn said to be linked to the verb *žádati* ‘want’, into a negative determiner.

6.12.6. Conclusion for Czech indefinites

In (1120) the functional distribution of Czech indefinites is presented.

(1120) Meanings-in-context map for Czech indefinites



6.13. Adyghe

In Adyghe, a Northwest Caucasian language spoken in Russia, there are three series: a series consisting of *gwar* ‘someone, something, anyone, anything’ and preceded by *zə* ‘one’, and two series ending in *-jə* ‘also’: one with the interrogative forms and one with a generic noun preceded by *zə* ‘one’.⁶⁰ The data are from Kapitonov (2009, 2010) and Nikolaeva (2012).

⁶⁰ The interrogative forms are *səd* ‘what’, *sədjəb* ‘when’, *sədewš* ‘how’, *xet* ‘who’ (no word for ‘why’) (Nikolaeva 2012:51).

6.13.1. The interrogative-*jə*-series

The combination of an interrogative form and the focus particle *-jə* ‘also’, ‘even’ yields FCIs that can yield a widening-strengthening meaning in non-NPI contexts, as illustrated in (1121) and (1122).

(1121) N-VER/WID

Xet-*jə* qə-g_wərəʔ-_we-š't.
 who-even DRT-understand-IRR
 ‘Anyone would understand it.’
 (Kapitonov 2009:1)

(1122) N-VER/WID

Səd-*jə* qə-se-t.
 what-even DRT-1SG-IO-give.IMP
 ‘Give me anything!’
 (Nikolaeva 2012:51)

These forms are not used in conditionals and questions (Ivan Kapitonov, p.c.), but are used in indirect negation, as shown in (1123).

(1123) I.NEG/WID

Asʕan	deʕəha- _{we} -m	səd- <i>jə</i>	ə-šxə-n-ew	faj-ep.
lion	capture-PST-ERG	what-ADD	3SG.AG-eat-POT-ADV	want-NEG

‘A caught lion doesn’t want to eat anything.’
 (Kapitonov 2009:1)

The context in (1123), in which the indefinite does not occur in the immediate scope of negation, is treated as indirect negation. The pronoun that always occurs within the immediate scope of negation is a different one. Kapitonov (2010) notes that in “sentences where the pronoun is in the embedded clause and negation is in the matrix clause, the negative pronoun is ruled out and another item must be employed to construct the desired meaning.” Apart from a widening reading in an indirect negative context, the pronoun can also have the indiscriminacy reading in a non-veridical context. An example of a negative sentence is given in (1124).

(1124) N-VER/IND (negation)

Xet-jə qə-g_wərəʔ_we-š't-ep.
 who-ADD DIR-understand-IRR-NEG
 'Not just anyone will understand it.'
 (Kapitonov 2009:1)

It is interesting to note that the scalar particle *-jə* can derive a universal pronominal adverbial 'always' from the interrogative for time (Nikolaeva 2012:49-50). This is not the case for the other members of the interrogative-*jə*-series. This points at paradigmatic variation within the interrogative-*jə*-series.

6.13.2. The generic/'one'-*jə*-series

In direct negation, another series is used that consists of the same focus particle *-jə*, but with a different base, namely a generic noun for 'person' or 'thing' and/or the numeral *zə* 'one', as exemplified in (1125).

(1125) NEG/NEG or WID

Wəne-m z-jə⁶¹ / zə-par-jə / parjə jə-s-ep.
 house-OBL one-even one-person-even person-even LOC-sit-NEG
 'There isn't anyone in the house.'
 (Nikolaeva 2012:30)

These indefinite pronouns are confined to direct negative contexts, despite their non-negative morphology (see Kapitonov 2009). I am not sure about the Adyghe 'one' or generic-based scalar indefinites, but the etymological counterparts from the closely related Kabardian language are fine in elliptical contexts (Colarusso 1992:206) and are explicitly defined as negative indefinites (Colarusso 1992:71). There is also a corresponding negative determiner *zə N-jə* that can be used to render a noun phrase in negation more emphatic. It is considered a negative determiner since it can only occur in the scope of negation.⁶²

⁶¹ The numeral 'one' can serve as the base for the negative indefinite for 'person' as well as for 'thing' (Kapitonov 2010).

⁶² Nikolaeva (2012:30) also notes that the interrogative *-jə*-series and the polarity neutral *zəg_wər* 'some' with the scalar focus particle *-jə* are accepted by younger speakers in the scope of direct negation.

The two Adyghe *-jə*-series are interesting, since they remind one of Rullmann's (1996) distinction of *wh*-NPIs and *even*-NPIs, which I characterized as a distinction between arbitrary and scalar NPIs respectively. The 'one'- and generic-based indefinites are confined to the scale-reversing context of direct negation. They have apparently incorporated the negative universal implicature that arose from the scalar reading resulting from the combination of a minimal-unit expression and a reversed scale. The interrogative-based series is not restricted to NPI contexts. It conveys the notion of arbitrariness rather than scalarity and can correspondingly express a widening reading in NPI as well as non-NPI contexts.

The distribution of the two series strongly resembles the distribution of interrogative- and 'one'-based indefinites in Lezgian, as described in Haspelmath (1997:295-296). As in Adyghe, the Lezgian *sa -ni* series (*sa* 'one' and *-ni* 'also', 'even') is restricted to negative contexts. Unlike in Adyghe, Lezgian *sa -ni*-indefinites are also grammatical in indirect negation contexts. The interrogative-based *ǰajit'ani*-series is used in the 'free choice' and the 'comparative' functions.

6.13.3. *Zəgwere* 'someone'

The non-widening element for 'someone' consists of the indefinite base *g^were* 'some' and the numeral *zə* 'one'. It can yield a specific meaning in veridical contexts (VER/SPEC), as in (1126), as well as in non-veridical contexts, as in (1127). Sentence (1127) also shows that the Adyghe indefinite pronoun *zəg^were* can also get a narrow-scope, non-specific interpretation in a NPI context.

(1126) VER/SPEC

Wəne-m	zəgwere	jə-s.
house-OBL	someone	LOC-sit

'There is someone in the house.'

(Nikolaeva 2012:30)

(1127) N-VER/SPEC or NPI/N-SPEC

Zə-gWərə	qa-KWe-me,	pləle-r	gWəšWe-S't.
one-INDEF	DIR-come-COND,	girl-ABS	glad-FUT

'If somebody comes, the girl will be glad.'

N-VER/SPEC: 'There is someone specific, such that the girl will be glad if that person comes.'

NPI/N-SPEC: 'If there is anyone who will come, the girl will be glad.'
(Kapitonov 2010)

Another example of a non-specific reading in a NPI context is given in (1128).

(1128) NPI/N-SPEC

Wəne-m	zəgwere	jə-s-a?
house-OBL	someone	LOC-sit-Q

‘Is there anyone in the house?’

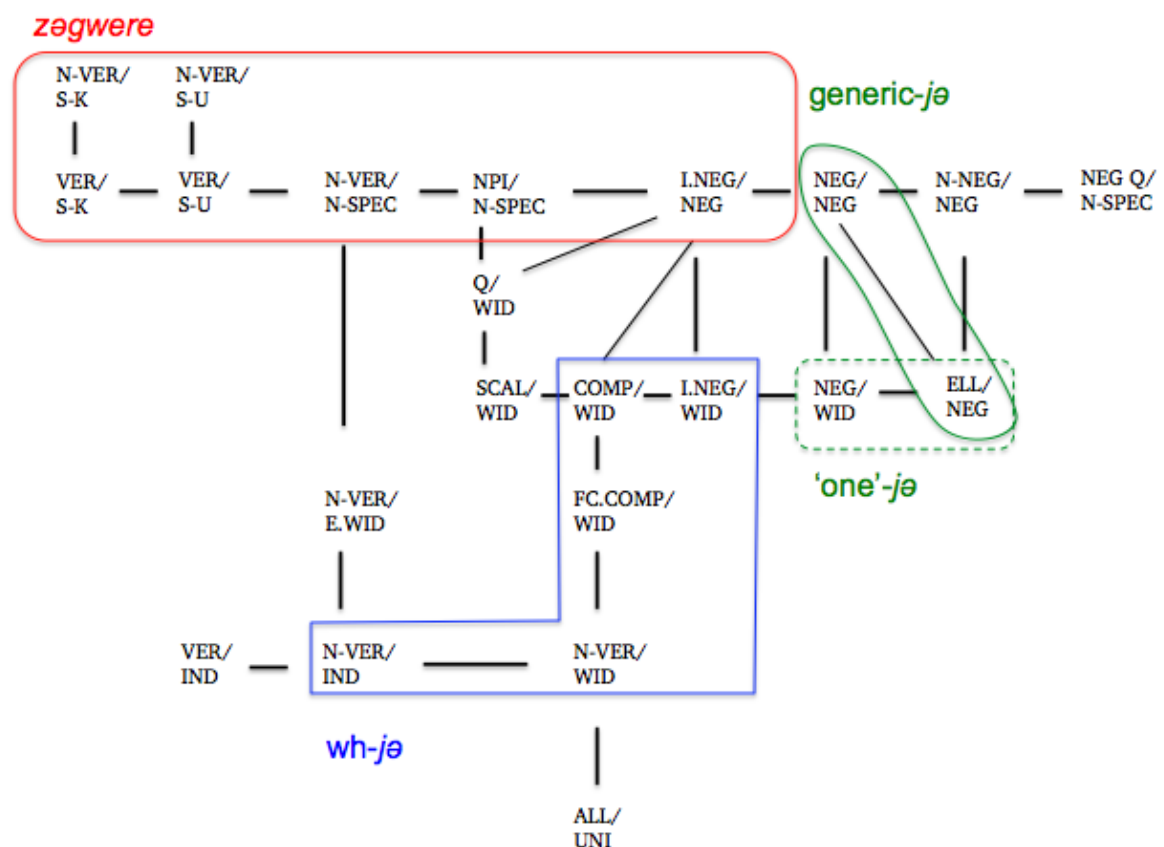
(Nikolaeva 2012:30)

I have no evidence, but I suspect this indefinite is also grammatical in indirect negative contexts with a non-specific interpretation, since there is no blocking from a more specific element.

6.13.4. Conclusion for Adyghe indefinites

The meaning-in-context map for Adyghe is presented in (1129). It depicts four series: a non-widening element that is used in all contexts with a non-specific and specific meaning, two negative series and a FCI series. The first negative series consists of a generic base and the scalar focus particle *-jə*. It occurs in direct negation with sentential negation, as indicated by NEG/NEG and is hypothesized to be able to occur in elliptical contexts. The negative widening function is fulfilled by the determiner consisting of *zə* ‘one’ and *-jə*. It is said to be used for emphatic purposes, which is reflected in the widening dimension in NEG/WID. It is again hypothesized to be able to occur in elliptical contexts too. The FCI-series also contains the scalar focus particle *-jə*, but is based on interrogatives. It expresses widening in indirect negation, comparatives, non-veridical contexts and indiscriminacy in non-veridical contexts.

(1129) Meanings-in-context map for Adyghe pronouns

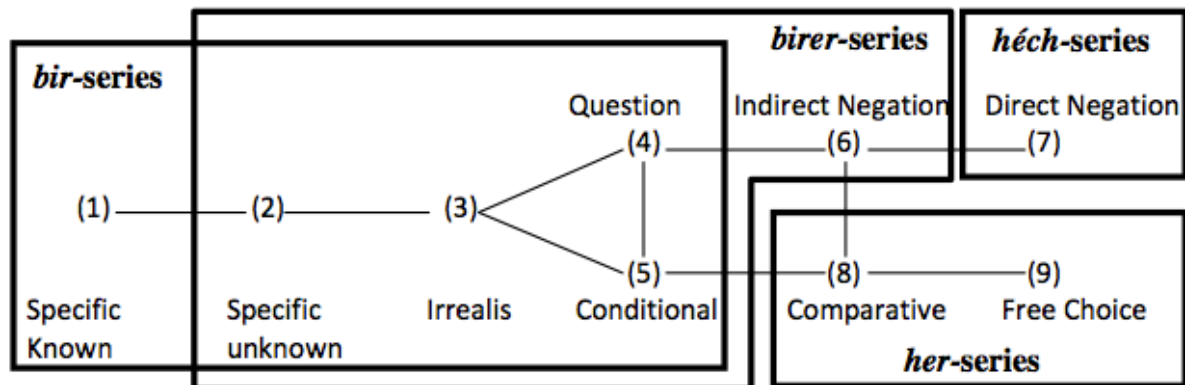


6.14. Uyghur

Uyghur is an Eastern Turkic language spoken in the Xinjiang province of Western China. It has four series of indefinite pronouns: the *her*-series, the negative indefinite or *héch*-series, the *bir*-series and the *birer*-series. All except the *birer*-series, which can only occur with generic nouns, can occur with generic nouns as well as interrogative bases (Coffee 2013:31).

The distribution of the Uyghur indefinites has been described in Coffee (2013). Coffee (2013:61) depicts the distribution of the Uyghur indefinites on Haspelmath's map as in (1130).

(1130) Map for Uyghur indefinites



I will start with an illustration of the *bir*-series, followed by the *birer*-series, followed by the *héch*-series and lastly the *her*-series. The data come from Coffee (2013).

6.14.1. The *bir*-series

The functions of the *bir*-series are illustrated in (1131) to (1134).

(1131) VER/SPEC

Men-ø	bir-nerse(-ni)	al-d-im.
1SG-NOM	one-thing(-ACC)	buy-PST-1SG

‘I bought something.’
(Coffee 2013:49)

(1132) NEG/SPEC, no NEG/NEG

Men-ø	bir-nerse(-ni)	al-mi-d-im.
1SG-NOM	one-thing(-ACC)	buy-NEG-PST-1SG

‘I did not buy something.’
*‘I did not buy anything.’
(Coffee 2013:49)

(1133) N-VER/SPEC

Yekshenbe	kuni	u-lar	bir-yer-ge	bar-i-du.
saturday	day	3-PL	some-place-DAT	go-NON.PST-3SG

‘On Saturday, they will go someplace (specific).’
(Coffee 2013:56)

(1134) NPI/N-SPEC

Eger siz bir nerse-ni angli-singiz, man-g telefon
if 2SG some thing-ACC hear-2SG.COND 1SG-DAT phone
qil-ing.
do-2SG.IMP
'If you hear something, call me.'
(Coffee 2013:48)

(1135) I.NEG/NEG

Men bir-kim nan-ni yé-d-I dep oyli-ma-y-men.
1SG some-who nan-ACC eat-PST-3SG ? think-NEG-NON.PST-1SG
'I don't think someone ate the nan.'
(Coffee 2013:48)

Note that sentence (1135) shows that the *bir*-series can also have the I.NEG/NEG function, unlike what it presented in (1130).

6.14.2. The *birer*-series

The *birer*-series is an epistemic series. The distribution is illustrated in (1136) to (1139).

(1136) VER/S-U

Birer ademi kel-d-i lekin u bil-me-y-men.
some man come-PST-3SG but 3SG know-NEG-PRES-1SG
'Someone (specific) came, but I don't know who.'
(Coffee 2013:55)

(1137) N-VER/S-U

U birer nerse(-ni) isde-wat-i-du.
3SG some thing-ACC search-PROG-PRES-3SG
'He is looking for something.'
(Coffee 2013:1)

(1138) NPI/N-SPEC

Eger siz birer nerse-ni angli-singiz, man-g telefon
if 2SG some thing-ACC hear-2SG.COND 1SG-DAT phone
qil-ing.
do-2SG.IMP
'If you hear anything, call me.'
(Coffee 2013:58)

(1139) I.NEG/NEG

Men birer adem kel-d-i dep oyli-may-men.
1SG some man come-PST-3SG COMP think-NEG-1SG
'I don't think anyone came.'
(Coffee 2013:59)

6.14.3. The *her*-series

Coffee (2013) notes that the pronoun used in Haspelmath's 'free choice' and 'comparative' function, exemplified in (1140) and (1142), is a universal pronoun rather than an indefinite pronoun, suggested by its use in (1140). Why the function is not labeled 'ALL/UNI' will be made clear immediately.

(1140) Universal meaning in veridical context

Siz her kim-ni chiqir-d-ingiz.
2SG every who-ACC call-PST-2SG
'You called everyone.'
(Coffee 2013:60)

It is therefore impossible to decide whether the uses in (1141) and (1142) exemplify 'non-veridical, widening' and 'free choice comparative, widening' or a universal function.

(1141) N-VER/WID or UNI

Her yer-ge bar-al-ay-men.
every place-DAT go-ABIL-NON.PST-1SG
'I could go anywhere.'
(Coffee 2013:60)

(1142) FC COMP/WID or UNI

U bashqa her-kim-din eqqiliq.
3SG else every-who-ABL smart
'(S)he's smarter than anybody else.'
(Coffee 2013:60)

There are some indications that *her* used to be a FCI marker. The determiner *her* can occur with the generic nouns for 'thing' and 'person' and the interrogatives 'who' and 'what', whereas the universal *hemme* cannot occur with interrogative bases, as shown in (1143), which are typical derivational bases for indefinite pronouns, as was shown in Chapter 2.

(1143) Universal meaning

*Men hemme néme-ni yé-d-im.
1SG all what-ACC eat-PST-1SG
Intended: 'I ate everything.'
(Coffee 2013:33)

Unlike *hemme* 'all', the universal pronoun in *her-* is not grammatical in negation, as shown in (1144).

(1144) Universal in negation

*Men her neme(-ni) yé-me-d-im.
1SG every what(-ACC) eat-NEG-PST-1SG
Intended: 'I didn't eat everything.'
(Coffee 2013:35)

These restrictions, together with the fact that in Turkish, the indefinite *herhangi* is a polarity sensitive indefinite, as illustrated in (1145), point to the indefinite origin of the universal *her*-series.

(1145) Turkish

Ali her-hangi bir kitab-i oku-ma-di.
Ali each-which one book-ACC read-NEG-PST
'Ali did not read any book.'

Sentence (1144) shows that two functions might have to be distinguished for universal quantifiers deriving from FCIs: universal quantifiers in non-negative contexts and universal quantifiers in negative contexts. The first function next to the N-VER/WID function would be the 'non-negative context, universal meaning' function, fulfilled by the Uyghur *her*-series. The function next to it would be 'negative context, universal meaning' and is not a function of the Uyghur *her*-series. However, since I only found one language of this type, I did not add the function on the map.

6.14.4. The *héch*-series

The negative *héch*-series co-occurs with verbal negation, shown in (1146).

(1146) NEG/NEG

Héch-kim nan-ni yé-me-d-i.
no-who nan-ACC eat-NEG-PST-3SG
'No one ate the nan.'
(Coffee 2013:1)

Sentence (1147) shows that the series can have a negative meaning in an elliptical context.

(1147) ELL/NEG

- a. Kim öy-ingiz-gha kel-d-i?
who house-2SG.POSS-DAT come-PST-3
'Who came to your house?'
- b. Héch-kim.
no-who
'No one.'
(Coffee 2013:40-41)

This allows one to identify Uyghur as a negative concord language.

Unlike in Turkish (Haspelmath 1997:286), the negative indefinites do not occur in indirect negation or questions.

I have no information on the possibility of negative spread, but a negative concord language is expected to have it. Only very few counterexamples to this generalization could be found, as was discussed in section 3.3.1. Sentence (1148) shows that the related Turkish negative indefinites have the NS function.

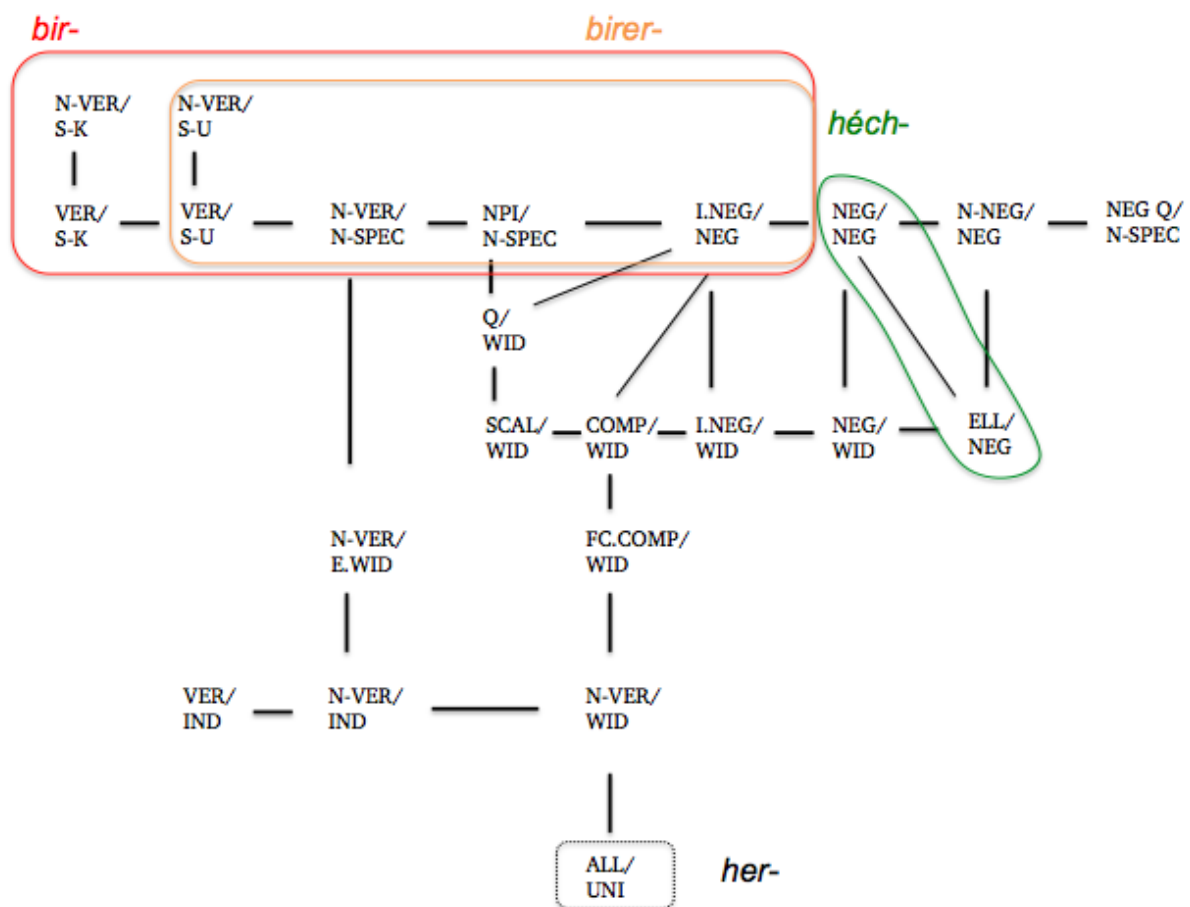
(1148) NS

Hiçbir çocuk hiçbir kitab-ı oku-ma-dı.
no child-NOM no book-ACC read-NEG-PST
'No child read any book.'

6.14.5. Conclusion for Uyghur indefinites

In (1149), a tentative meanings-in-context map for Uyghur indefinites is presented. There are four series. In contrast to Coffee (2013), I analyzed the *her*-forms as universal quantifiers that cannot occur in negation. This restriction is indicated by the dotted line. The map also shows the negative meaning in elliptical contexts of the *héch*-series. For the non-widening elements, the specific wide scope readings are marked, unlike on Haspelmath's map.

(1149) Meanings-in-context map for Uyghur indefinites



6.15. Malagasy

Malagasy is an Austronesian language spoken in Madagascar. There are three series in Malagasy: a series consisting of the generic nouns *òlona* 'person', *zavatra* 'thing', a series consisting of *na*-interrogative-*na* (*na* 'or'), and a one-based determiner consisting of 'one' and *na* 'or'. I will first discuss the generic nouns and then the *na*-wh-*na*-series. Data are from Paul (2005), Rabearana et. al. (1863:201) and Hanitramalala & Paul (2012:624).

6.15.1. *Zavatra* ‘thing’ and *olona* ‘person’

The generic nouns for ‘thing’ and ‘person’ are used in veridical contexts with specific meanings-in-contexts, as shown in sentence (1150) and with non-specific meanings in non-veridical, NPI and direct negative contexts, illustrated in (1151), (1152) and (1153).

(1150) VER/SPEC

Manome	zavatra	izy.
gives	thing	he

‘He gives something.’
(Rabearana et. al. 1863:201)

(1151) N-VER/N-SPEC

Homana	zavatra.
eat	thing

‘Eat something!’
(Rabearana et. al. 1863:132)

(1152) NPI/N-SPEC

Nahita	zavatra	ve	ianao?
see	thing	Q	2SG(NOM)

‘Did you see something?’
(Dez 1990: (1207), (1251), as cited in Paul (2005:361))

(1153) NEG/NEG

Tsy	nìsy	òlona	nihelingèlina.
NEG	exist	person	PST-A-RDP-pass.by

‘Nobody passed by.’
(Rasoloson & Rubino 2005:478)

Whether the indefinites can also be interpreted specifically in the scope of the non-veridical operators, I do not know. I also lack information on knownness by the speaker.

6.15.2. The reduplicated *na*-series

Apart from the generics, which introduce a variable and which can acquire a specific as well as a non-specific meaning, there is a widening series that consists of a reduplicated sequence *na* ‘or’ and the interrogative form corresponding to the relevant ontological category, e.g. *na*

inona na inona, lit. ‘or what or what’, ‘anything’.⁶³ This form is found with a widening meaning in NPI contexts, including negation, as well as non-veridical contexts. An example of a direct negative context is given in (1154), of an indirect negative contexts is given in (1155), and two examples of non-veridical contexts, one with an epistemic possibility modal *can*, and one in a generic context, are given in (1156) and (1157).

(1154) NEG/WID

Tsy matahotra na inona na inona izy.
 NEG fear or what or what 3NOM
 ‘He fears nothing’
 (Paul 2005:359)

(1155) I.NEG/WID

Nanda aho fa mahatakatra izany na iza na iza.
 deny 1SG.NOM COMP CAUS.reach that or who or who
 ‘I denied that anyone can afford that.’
 (Paul 2005:364)

(1156) N-VER/WID

Na inona na inona mahatahotra azy.
 or what or what CAUSE.fear 3.ACC
 ‘Anything can frighten him.’
 (Paul 2005:359)

(1157) N-VER/WID

Na saka inona na saka inona dia mihaza voalavo.
 or cat what or cat what TOP hunt rat
 ‘Any cat hunts rats.’
 (Hanitramalala & Paul 2012:624)

The resulting meaning-in-context is non-specific and widened; the meaning-in-context is that the value introduced by the indefinite pronoun or noun phrase can be replaced by any other value with the same denotation without the truth value being affected. The result is a universal-like quantification in non-veridical contexts and a more emphatic reading in negative sentences.

The widening indefinites are not grammatical in a comparative context, as is shown in (1158).

⁶³ The interrogative forms are *inona* ‘what’, *iza* ‘who’, *firy* ‘how.many’, *aiza* ‘where’. *Na N inona na N inona* can also function as determiner, as in *na saka inona na saka inona* ‘any cat’.

(1158) FC COMP/WID

*Lehibe kokoa Rabe noho na iza na iza mpianatra.
big more Rabe than or who or who student
'Rabe is bigger than any student.'
(Paul 2005:363)

This is unexpected and I do not have a satisfying explanation for this. The only explanation that I can think of is that its use is blocked by a universal quantifier *ny rehetra* 'all'. Note that the Malagasy reduplicated pronouns would constitute a problem for Haspelmath (1997) as well, since an indefinite that is allowed in negation and free choice is expected to occur in comparatives as well.

I am not aware of any indiscriminacy functions.

6.15.3. The *na*-‘one’-series

Apart from the reduplicated *na*-interrogative-series, there seems to be a ‘one’-based series involving *na* ‘or’ as well, as the example in (1159) suggests.

(1159) NPI/N-SPEC or Q/WID

Mba misy olono (na dia iray) ve ao an-trano?
PART EX person or TOP one Q there ACC-house
'Is there anyone in the house?'
(Hanitramalala & Paul 2012:616)

The optionality of *na dia iray* in (1160) shows the widening versus non-widening reading. Sentence (1160) shows that it also has the ‘negative context, widening’ function.

(1160) NEG/WID

Tsy misy olona na dia iray ao an-trano.
NEG EX person or TOP one there ACC-house
'There is no one whatsoever in the house.'
(Hanitramalala & Paul 2012:616)

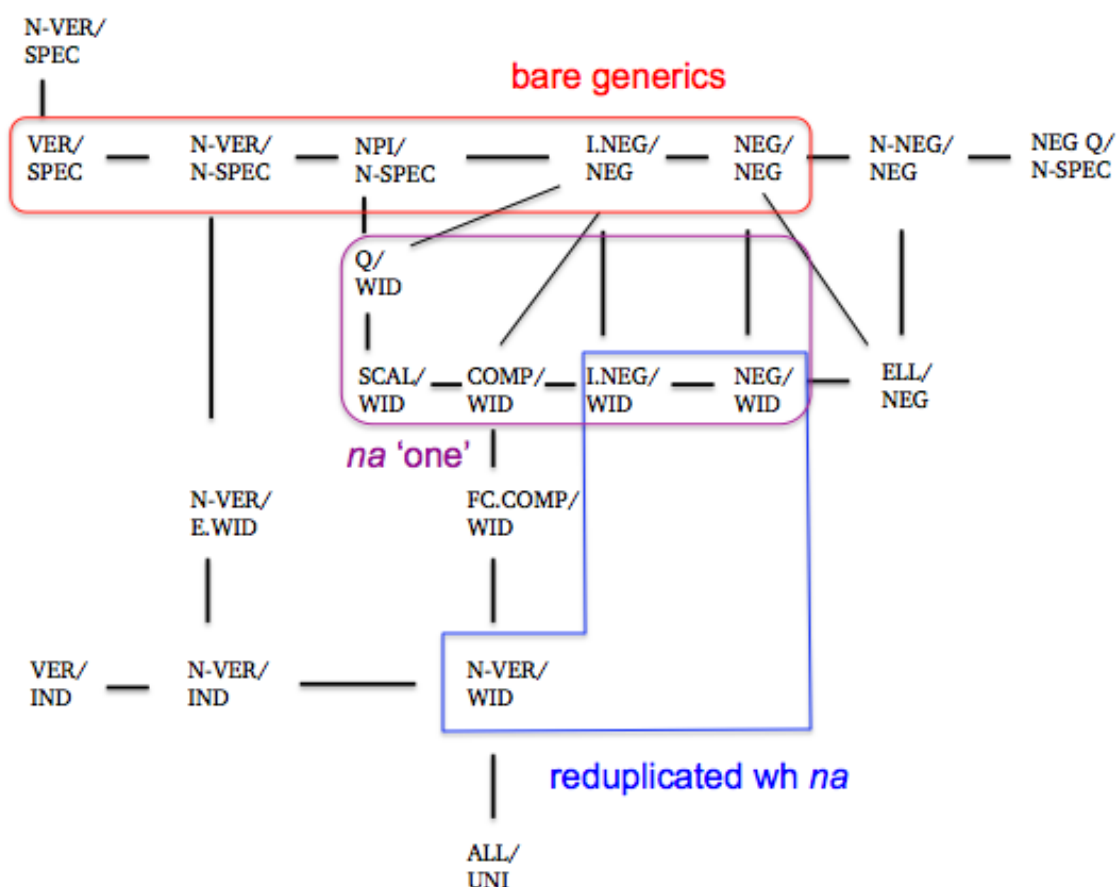
The ‘one’-based series seems to be confined to scale-reversing contexts, which would make it a NPI. This would not be surprising in light of its ‘one’-based etymology.

6.15.4. Conclusion for Malagasy indefinites

Malagasy seems to have three series of indefinite pronouns: a non-widening series and two widening series. The non-widening series can occur in all contexts in which widening is not required. The interrogative-based widening series is restricted to negative and FCI contexts. Contrary to expectations, they cannot occur in comparative contexts, which the map cannot account for. The ‘one’-based widening series seems to be a NPI series.

The distribution of the Malagasy pronouns is shown in (1161).

(1161) Meanings-in-context map for Malagasy indefinites



6.16. Maori

In Maori, an Austronesian language spoken in New Zealand, there are three non-emphatic series: a *tehahi*-series, a *he*-series and an interrogative-*rā*-series. The data are from Bauer (1997). Maori is mainly included to illustrate the fact that some items with specific reference cannot occur with wide-scope readings. Not enough information could be found to map the entire Maori indefinite system.

6.16.1. *Tehahi* and *he*

The first series involves the determiners *tehahi* and *te*. When combined with the generic nouns *mea* ‘thing’, and *tangata* ‘person’, they can form what comes close to indefinite pronouns. *He* and *(t)etahi* can both have specific readings in veridical contexts as well as non-specific meanings in all contexts.

An example of VER/SPEC is given in (1162) and an example of NEG/NEG is given in (1163).

(1162) VER/SPEC

Nā Pita i hoatu he mea ki a Hera.
belong Peter TAM give a thing to ART Hera
‘Peter gave Hera something.’
(Bauer 1997:267)

(1163) NEG/NEG

Kaore ano tetahi tangata kia taha i te ara.
NEG yet a person TAM pass on the path
‘No one had yet passed along the track.’ (H.M. Ngata 1994:304; observation)
(Chung & Ladusaw 2004:28)

Only *tehahi*, however, can yield a wide-scope specific interpretation. An example is given in (1164) and (1165).

(1164) N-VER/SPEC or NEG/NEG

Kāore tētahi tangata i waiata mai.
NEG a person TAM sing to.here
NEG/SPEC: ‘A (particular) person did not sing’
NEG/NEG: ‘No-one sang.’
(Chung & Ladusaw 2004:40-41)

(1165) NEG/NEG, no N-VER/SPEC

Kaore he tangata i waiata mai.
 NEG a person TAM sing to.here

NEG/NEG: 'No one at all sang.'

NEG/SPEC: *'A (particular) person didn't sing.'

(Chung & Ladusaw 2004:40-41)

6.16.2. The *-raanei*-series

The *raanei*-series consists of an interrogative base and *raanei* 'or'. I have no conclusive proof, but judging on the basis of the examples from Bauer (1997:267), it seems that this is a series of epistemic indefinites.

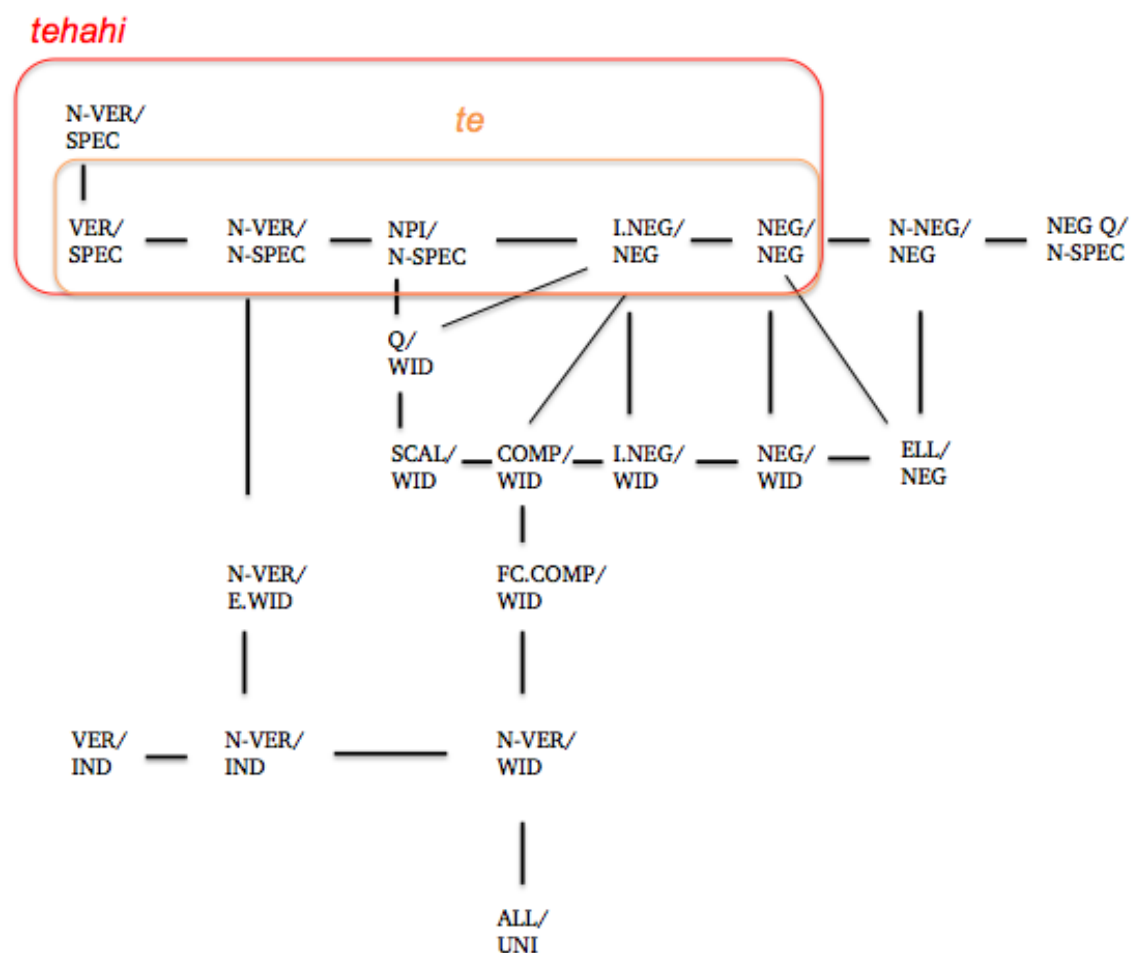
Haspelmath (2005) categorizes Maori as a language with 'mixed' indefinite pronouns. This mixed character relates to the etymology of series of indefinite pronouns. Haspelmath (1997) notes that a language may use indefinites with different etymology to express the indefinite pronoun for the category 'thing' and 'person' and seems to consider Maori one. Haspelmath (2005) notes: "the 'somebody' word may be generic-noun-based while the 'something' word is interrogative-based, as in Semelai (Mon-Khmer; Malay Peninsula): *sma?* 'person, someone', *mandemɔh* 'what, something' (Kruspe 1999: §6.2), or it may be the other way round, as in Maori: *wai raanei* 'somebody', *wai* 'who', *mea* 'thing, something' (Bauer 1997:372)." However, Bauer (1997:267) provides an equivalent to sentence (1008) with the pronoun *aha raanei* 'something' and only notes that *he mea* is more frequent to convey 'something'. The sentences above show that *he tangata* can also be used to express the indefinite for 'person'.

6.16.3. Conclusion Maori indefinites

There is no mentioning of any kind of FCI. Probably the universal *katoa* ‘all, every’ (Bauer 1997:290ff.) is used instead.

The distribution of the first two series is represented in (1166).

(1166) Meanings-in-context map for Maori *te* and *tehahi* indefinites



6.17. Indonesian

Indonesian is an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. There are 4 series: an interrogative-*pun*-series, which seems to be functionally equivalent to the interrogative-*saja*-series, a reduplicated interrogative-series and the non-widening *seseorang*-series. The data are from Atmosumarto (2004), Echols and Shadily (1975), Kaswanti Purwo (1984) and Sneddon (1996).

6.17.1. The *-pun*-series

The interrogative forms *siapa* ‘who’, *apa* ‘what’ and *mana* ‘where’, in combination with the focus particle *-pun* ‘also, even’ can be used to express widening in non-veridical contexts, comparative contexts and negative contexts, illustrated in (1167) to (1171).

(1167) N-VER/WID

Kamu boleh pergi kapanpun, tinggal di manapun dan mengerjakan apapun.

‘You can go anytime, stay anywhere, and do anything you like.’ (no gloss)

(Atmosumarto 2004:437)

(1168) N-VER/WID

Siapapun dpt melakukan.

‘Anyone can do it.’ (no gloss)

(Echols & Shadily 1975:32)

(1169) I.NEG/WID

Penghasilannya baik tanpa berbuat apapun.

‘He earns a good living without doing anything.’ (no gloss)

(Echols & Shadily 1975:32)

(1170) NEG/WID

Dia tidak tahu apa pun.

‘He does not know anything.’ (no gloss)

(Kaswanti Purwo 1984:70)

(1171) FC COMP/WID

Tulisan Subagio tidak kalah blak-blakan dengan tulisan orang Australia yang mana pun.

‘Subagio’s writing is no less frank than than of any Australian.’

(Sneddon 1996:180)

6.17.2. The *-saja*-series

The *wh-saja*-series has the same distribution as the interrogative-*pun*-series. Examples of the ‘non-veridical widening’ function are given in (1172) and (1173).

(1172) N-VER/WID

Siapa saja yg ingin boléh datang ke rapat itu.

‘Anybody who wishes may come to the meeting.’

(Echols & Shadily 1975:32)

(1173) N-VER/WID

Kau boléh ambil apa saja yg ada di méja ini.

‘You may have anything on this table.’

(Echols & Shadily 1975:32)

An example of ‘negative, widening’ is given in (1174).

(1174) NEG/WID

Kami tidak berkunjung ke desa mana saja.

‘We didn’t visit any village at all.’

(Sneddon 1996:172)

6.17.3. The reduplicated *wh*-series

Sneddon (1996:177) notes the reduplicated use of the interrogative forms *apa* ‘what’, *siapa* ‘who’ and *mana* ‘where’ after negative predicates. An example is given in (1175).

(1175) NEG/NEG

Dia tidak tahu apa-apa.

‘He doesn’t know anything.’

(Sneddon 1996:177)

Though Sneddon (1996:172-173) only mentions the use of reduplicated *apa* and *siapa* in negation (reduplicated *mana* ‘where’ has acquired a universal function as well), I also found examples in scale-reversing and indirect negative contexts. Kaswanti Purwo (1984:71) mentions the use of *apa-apa* in a conditional with a negative bias, given in (1176).

(1176) SCAL/WID

Kalau ada apa-apa lekas telepon saya.
'If anything happens, call me immediately.'
[assumption: 'Nothing is likely to happen.']

An example of an indirect negative context is found in (1177).

(1177) I.NEG/WID

Dia kecapean tak bisa apa-apa.
'She's too tired to do anything.'
(Atmosumarto 2004:83)

Echols & Shadily (1975:646) also note the use of *siapa-siapa* in a nominal relative clause, shown in (1178).

(1178) Nominal relative clause

Siapa-siapa yg tdk berpihak pd kita, adalah lawan.
'Who is not for us, is against us.' (no gloss)

Another instance of 'non-veridical, widening' comes from Jakarta Indonesian, which is different from, but similar to Standard Indonesian. It is found in (1179).

(1179) N-VER/WID

Dia boleh kawin ama siapa-siapa; gua nggak peduli.
3 can marry with RDP-who 1SG NEG care
'He can marry anyone, I don't care.'
(Cole et al. 2000:4)

The reduplicated forms in Jakarta Indonesian seem to functionally resemble the Standard Indonesian forms. Cole et al. (2000) mention the use of the reduplicated interrogatives in negation, conditionals, yes/no questions and non-veridical contexts in Jakarta Indonesian.

6.17.4. The *seorang-/satu-pun*-series

This series seems to only fulfill the direct negation function. I did not find any occurrences of *seorangpun* (< *orang* 'person', *se* 'one', 'a(n)') + *pun* 'also') and *satupun* (< *satu* 'one, single, only' + *pun* 'also') outside of negative contexts. An example is found in (1180).

(1180) NEG/NEG

Tidak seorangpun mengenal saya di sini.

‘No one knows me here.’

(Sneddon 1996:178)

The variation with the reduplicated interrogatives seems to be determined by emphasis and by syntactic position. *Seorangpun* and *satupun* are used as negative subjects with the negator preceding the forms. The reduplicated forms have to follow the predicate and can accordingly not function as negative subjects. *Seorangpun* and *satupun* also seem to contribute emphasis. This is underlined by the fact that when they are used to precede a noun, the sense is ‘not a single’. An example is shown in (1181).

(1181) NEG/WID

Belum ada satu pun desainer Indonesia yang mampu
merancang padang golf bertaraf internasional.

‘There is not a single Indonesian designer who can design an international class golf course.’ (no gloss)

(Sneddon 1996:179)

The difference between *seorangpun* and *satupun* and the reduplicated interrogatives reminds of the difference between ‘no(one)’ and ‘not...any(one)’ in English, as also noted by Sneddon (1996:178). This is illustrated on the basis of the two sentences in (1182) and (1183).

(1182) NEG/NEG (postverbal indefinite)

Saya tidak mengenal siapa-siapa di sini.

‘I don’t know anyone here.’

(Sneddon 1996:178)

(1183) NEG/NEG (preverbal indefinite)

Tidak seorang pun mengenal saya di sini.

‘No one knows me here.’

(Sneddon 1996:178)

6.17.5. *Seseorang* ‘someone’ / *sesuatu* ‘something’ / *suatu tempat* ‘somewhere’

This neutral series is found in all non-widening functions. Examples of a specific reading in a veridical context and a non-specific reading in a non-veridical, NPI and negative context are given in (1184) to (1187).

(1184) VER/SPEC

Dia melihat seseorang.

he saw someone

‘He saw someone.’

(Sneddon 1996:263)

(1185) N-VER/N-SPEC

Dia perlu seseorang yang mengasihinya.

she needs someone who to.love.her

‘She needs someone to love her.’

(Atmosumarto 2004:514)

(1186) NPI/N-SPEC

Adakah seseorang yg mau pergi dgn sukaréla?

‘Will anybody volunteer to go?’

(Echols & Shadily 1975:32)

(1187) NEG/NEG

Saya tidak mengambil idé itu dari salah satu lembaga atau dari seseorang.

‘I did not get that idea from any institution or from any person.’

(Wolff 1986:152)

I have no information on wide-scope readings.

6.17.6. *Sembarang*

It is interesting to note that the indiscriminacy functions are fulfilled by the adjective *sembarang* ‘random’ in combination with the noun *orang* ‘person’. An example in negation is found in (1188).

(1188) N-VER/IND

Tdk sembarang orang dpt dipakai.

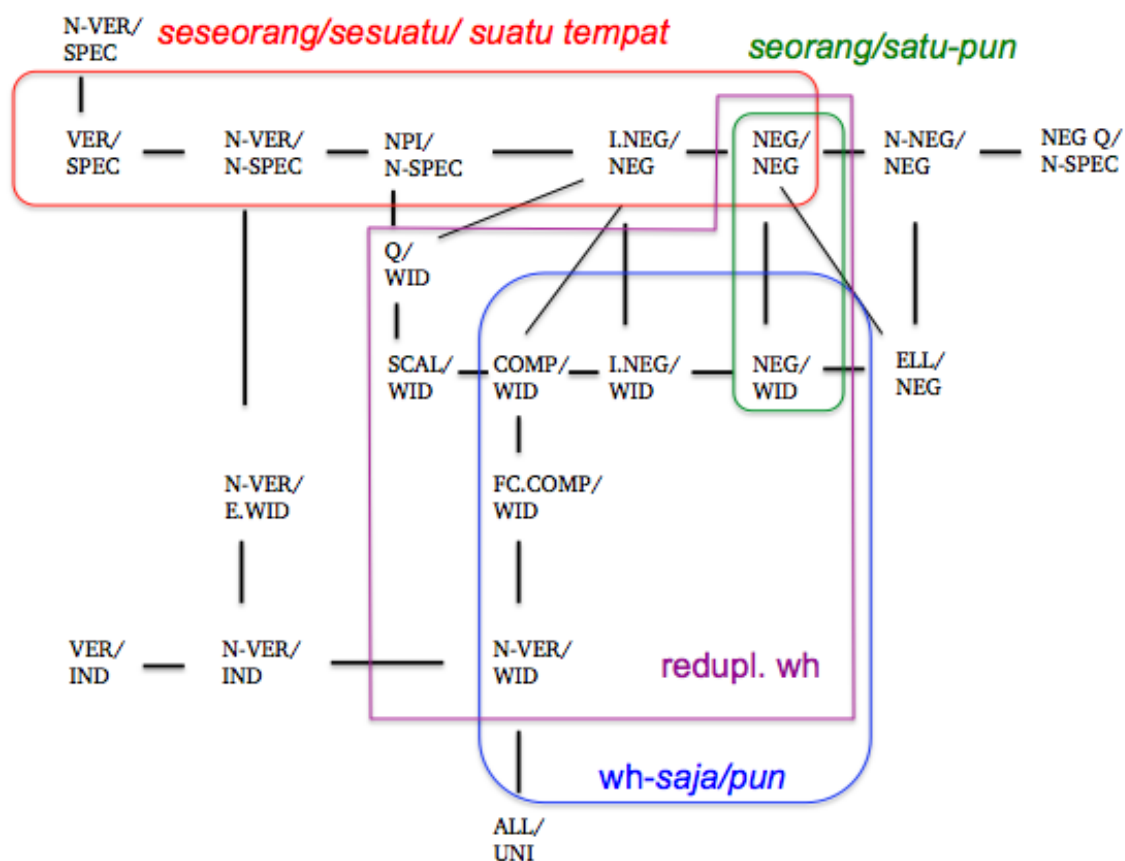
‘Not just anybody will do.’

(Echols & Shadily 1975:32)

6.17.7. Conclusion for Indonesian indefinites

The distribution of the Standard Indonesian indefinites is presented in (1189).

(1189) Meanings-in-context map for Indonesian indefinites



Indonesian seems to have 4 series. The first one consists of *seseorang* ‘someone, anyone’, *sesuatu* ‘something, anything’ and *suatu tempat* ‘somewhere, anywhere’. This non-widening series is compatible with all contexts. I did not find information on specific readings in non-veridical contexts. The *seorang/satu-pun* series is only found in negation. It does not seem to occur with a negative sense in an elliptical context. The two FCI series seem to differ with respect to their use in NPI contexts. Whereas the reduplicated forms can be used in all NPI contexts, the interrogative-*saja/pun*-series seems to be only found in negative, comparative and non-veridical contexts with a widening meaning. Another difference concerns the use in negation. The reduplicated forms seem to be the common strategy when the indefinite is expressed postverbally. In the case of a preverbal indefinite, a member of the *seorang/satu-pun* is used preceded by a sentential negator.

6.18. Yoruba

Yoruba is a Niger-Congo language spoken in Benin and Nigeria. It has three series of indefinites: a series consisting of a reduplicated noun connected by a distributive particle *kí* and two generic-noun-based series. One generic-noun-based series consist of the generic noun and the determiner *-kan*, and the other generic-noun-based series consists of the determiner *-kan* plus a distributive particle *ko*. Data are from Crowther (1852), Koch (2006) and Sachnine (1997).

6.18.1. The N-*kí*-N-series

The reduplicated N-*kí*-N pattern is found in the ‘non-veridical, widening’, and ‘negative, widening’ function, shown in (1190) and (1191).

(1190) N-VER/WID

Ajákájá lè bu omodé je.
dog.DIST.dog can take.a.piece.out.of young child eat
‘Any dog can bite kids.’

(Koch 2006:218)

(1191) NEG/WID

Omokómo kò wá sí patí mi.
child.DIST.child NEG come LOC party me
‘No child attended my party.’

(Koch 2006:220)

Koch (2006:220-221) also provides examples of the reduplicated forms in indirect negative contexts. These may involve a predicate with a lexically negative meaning, presented in (1192) and negation in the superordinate clause, presented in (1193).

(1192) I.NEG/WID

Kò dájú pé enikéni wà níbi.
NEG certain that anyone be in.here
‘I am not certain that anyone is here.’

(1193) I.NEG/WID

Mo kò láti pón ajákajá lénu lá.
1SG NEG to lick dog.dog at.mouth lick
‘I refused to lick any dog.’

(Koch 2006:220)

In addition, the reduplicated forms can have the qualitative indiscriminacy reading. An example with negation is given in (1194).

(1194) N-VER/IND

Ejakéja kó ni ó lè fò.
 fish.DIST.fish NEG FOC 3SG can fly
 ‘Not just any fish can fly.’
 (Koch 2006:220)

The reduplicated form with ‘thing’ is *ohunkóhun*. An example in the ‘non-veridical, widening’ function is given in (1195).

(1195) N-VER/WID

Fún mí ní ohunkóhun.
 ‘Give me anything.’
 (Sachnine 1997:203)

I have also found an example of *enikéni* in a comparative construction with *ju* ‘exceed’. This is illustrated in (1196).

(1196) Ó sáré ju enikéni.
 he runs.fast than anyone
 ‘He runs faster than anyone.’
 (Duckworth 1982:75)

6.18.2. *eníkọkan* / *ohùnkọkan* (*nunkọkan*)

The second series consists of *eníkọkan* and *ohùnkọkan*. The element *eníkọkan* consists of *eni* ‘person’, *ọkan* ‘one, a’ and the distributive element *kọ* and *ohùnkọkan* consists of the *ohùn* ‘thing’, *ọkan* ‘one, certain’ and the distributive element *kọ*. The *kọ*-elements can be used in negation with a negative meaning, as shown in (1197) as well as with a universal meaning, as shown in (1198).

(1197) NEG/WID

eníkọkan kò ẹ é.
 no.person NEG do it
 ‘No one did it.’
 (Joseph Atoyebi, p.c.)

(1198) ALL /UNI

ẹnìkòḍòkan gba ọ̀nà tirẹ̀ lọ.

‘Everybody left from his side.’

(Sachnine 1997:110)

A synonym of *ẹnìkòḍòkan* is *ẹnìkankan*. It can also be used in NEG/WID and ALL/UNI. The counterpart for ‘thing’ is *ǹ̀kankan*. Sachnine (1997:199) only report on its use as ‘rien’ in negative sentences. This is also the case for the determiner *kankan*, for which Sachnine (1997:199) only notes the sense ‘aucun’, but Schleicher (2008:268) supplies the sense ‘any’ for the entry *kankan*.

6.18.3. *Enìkan/ǹ̀kan*

This series contains the elements *ẹnìkan* (< *ẹ̀ni* ‘person’, *òkan* ‘one’) and *ǹ̀kan* (< *ohun* ‘thing’ and *òkan* ‘one’) and is a non-widening series. It can be used in VER/SPEC, shown in (1199) as well as in NEG/NEG, shown in (1200).

(1199) VER/SPEC

ẹnìkan wá rí yín lánàá.

‘Someone came to see you yesterday.’

(Sachnine 1997:110)

(1200) NEG/NEG

on kò bẹ̀ru ẹnìkan.

I NEG fear someone

‘I don’t fear anyone.’

(Crowther 1852:165)

An example with *ǹ̀kan* in a NPI context is given in (1201).

(1201) NPI/N-SPEC

şé ẹ́ mú ǹ̀kan bọ?

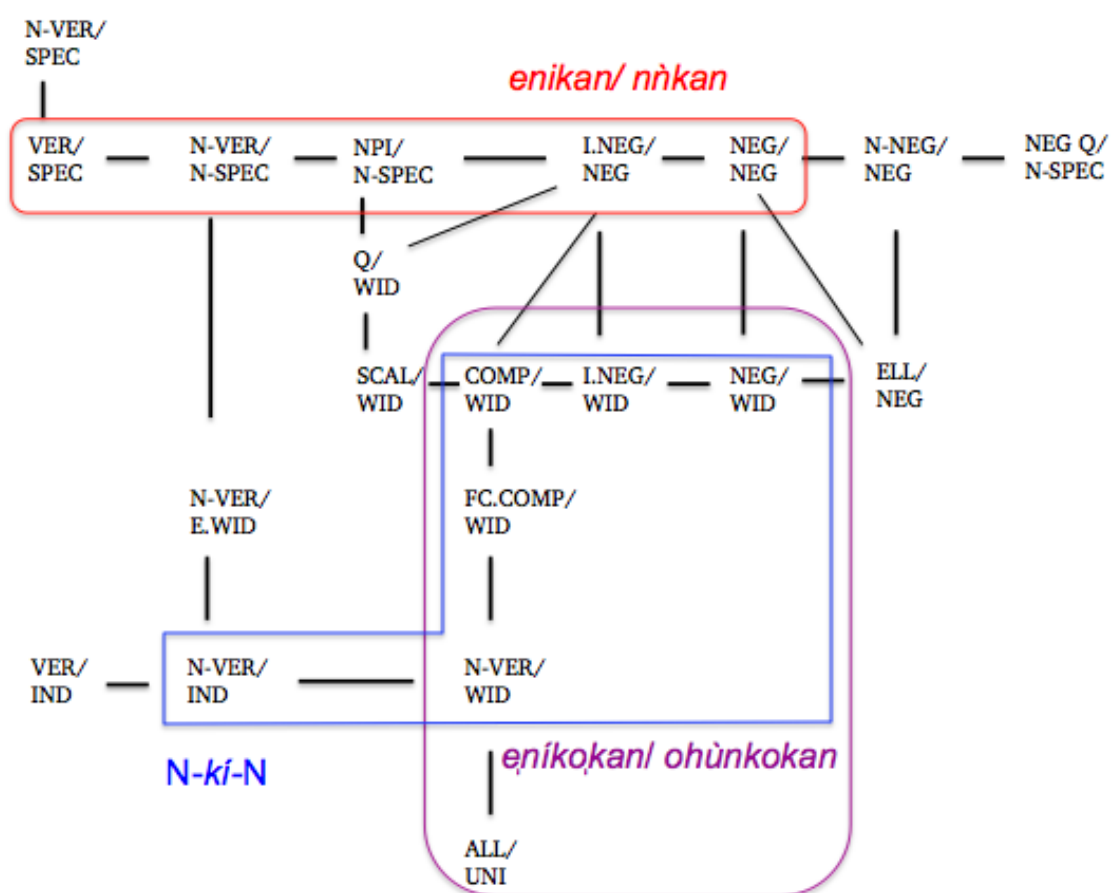
‘Did you bring anything?’

(Sachnine 1997:199)

6.18.4. Conclusion for Yoruba indefinites

In (1202), the map for Yoruba can be found. It seems that Yoruba has a non-widening series that can be found in all contexts. In negation, two series can be found. One series that has extended its use to include universal quantification, namely the series involving *enìkọkan* and *ohùnkọkan*, and a FCI series N-*kí*-N that can express widening in negative, comparative and non-veridical contexts, and indiscriminacy, at least in non-veridical contexts.

(1202) Meanings-in-context map for Yoruba indefinites



6.19. Lillooet

Lillooet is a Salish language spoken in Canada. There are at least two series: one involving the determiner *ku* and one involving the determiner *ti*. The data are from Matthewson (1999).

6.19.1. The *ku*-series

Lillooet has a non-specific, non-widening indefinite determiner. Matthewson (1999:88) notes that the determiner *-ku* cannot establish specific reference, as illustrated in (1203), but is used in negation, as shown in (1204) and in non-veridical contexts, as shown in (1205).

(1203) VER/SPEC

*áts'x-en-as ku sqaycw.
see-TR-3ERG DET man
'S/he saw a man.'

(1204) NEG/NEG

Cw7aoz kw-s áts' x-en-as ku sqaycw.
NEG DET-NOM see-TR-3ERG DET man
'S/he didn't see any men.'

(1205) N-VER/N-SPEC

Ats' x-en-ás k' a ku sqaycw.
see-TR-3ERG INFER DET man
'S/he must have seen a man.'

The determiner *ku* therefore has all non-widening functions. A similar irrealis determiner is also found in the other Salishan languages Bella Coola and Halkomelem (Davis 2005).

6.19.2. The *ti*-series

To establish specific reference, one uses the specific determiner *ti*. This determiner gets an obligatory wide-scope interpretation in non-veridical contexts, as illustrated in (1206) and (1207).

(1206) N-VER/SPEC

Cw7aoz	kw-s	áz'-en-as	ti	sts'úqwaz'-a	kw-s
NEG	DET-NOM	buy-TR-3ERG	DET	fish-DET	DET-NOM

Sophie.

Sophie

'Sophie didn't buy a fish.' (= 'There is a fish which Sophie didn't buy.')

(Matthewson 1999:91)

(1207) N-VER/SPEC

Cuz'	tsa7cw	kw-s	Mary	lh-t' íq-as
going.to	happy	DET-NOM	Mary	HYP-arrive-3CONJ
ti	qelhmémen'-a.			
DET	old.person-DET			

'Mary will be happy if a specific elder comes.'

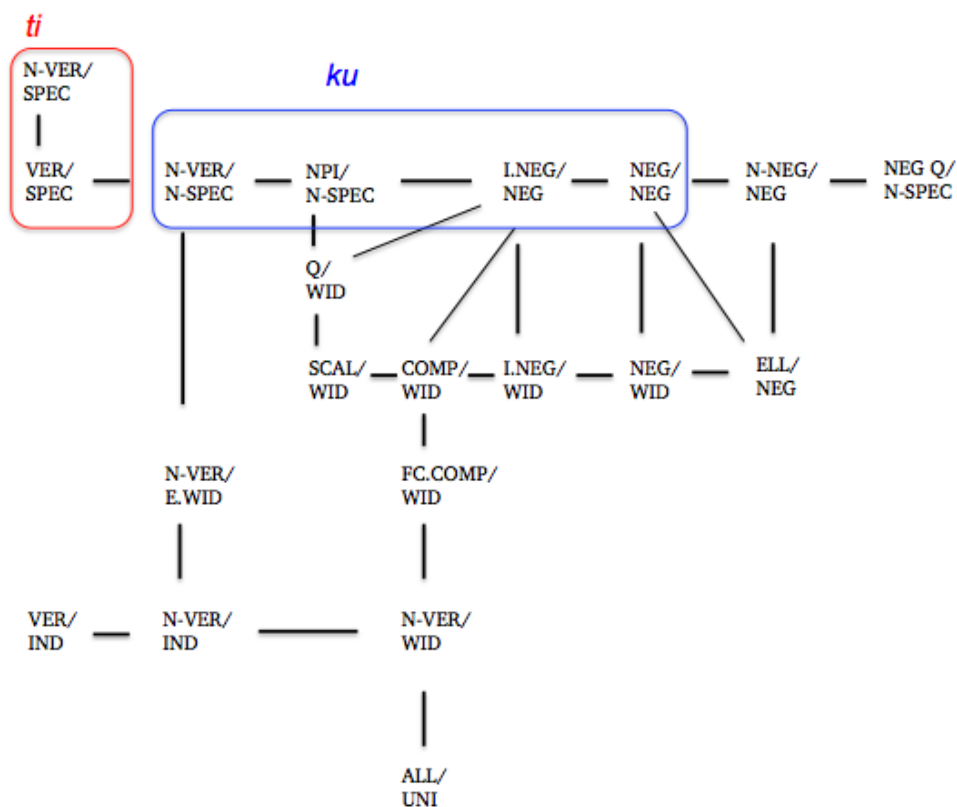
(Matthewson 1999:90)

Matthewson (1999, 2001) does not report on emphatic forms either in non-veridical or in NPI contexts. Matthewson (2001:150) mentions the existence of the universal *tákem* 'all' and the distributive universal quantifier *zí7zeg* 'each'. These might be used to fulfill the functions in which universal implicatures arise.

6.19.3. Conclusion for Lillooet indefinites

The meaning-in-context map for Lillooet is presented in (1208). As one can see, there is not much information on indefinites in Lillooet. Still, the language is interesting, since it shows that a language (other than Greek) may have different means for specific and non-specific reference.

(1208) Meanings-in-context map for Lillooet indefinites



6.20. Oriya

The distribution of Oriya indefinites is to a certain extent similar to the distribution of Hindi indefinites, discussed in Haspelmath (1997:285). There are three series. There is a widening *-bi*-series, a non-widening series that consists of *kicchi* ‘something’, (*kie* ‘who’) *jaNe* ‘one’ ‘someone’ and *kuade/kouThi* ‘somewhere, anywhere’, and a NPI *kehi* ‘anybody’. The data are from Kalyanamalini Sahoo.

6.20.1. *Kicchi, (kie) jaNe, kuade/kouThi*

The series consists of (*kie* ‘who’) *jaNe* ‘someone’, *kicchi* ‘something, anything’ and *kuade/kouThi* ‘somewhere, anywhere’. For the category PERSON, Oriya has the form *jaNe*, which consists of the classifier for humans *jaNa* plus the indefinite article *e*, which is optionally accompanied by the interrogative *kie* ‘who’. In this respect, Oriya differs from Hindi. In Hindi, the bare interrogative form *koii* is used in the specific function (Haspelmath 1997:284). Another interesting fact to note about *jaNe* is that it is found in the specific functions, as in (1209), and in the N-VER/N-SPEC function, as in (1210), but not in NPI/N-SPEC, where the non-widening NPI *kehi* is used, as shown in (1211).

(1209) VER/SPEC

Mun jaNa-ku dekh-il-i.
I someone-ACC see-PST-1SG
‘I saw someone.’

(1210) N-VER/N-SPEC

Tume belgium-ru jaNa-ku baahaahebaa darakaara.
you Belgium-from someone-ACC marry-INF necessary
‘You must marry someone from Belgium.’

(1211) NPI/N-SPEC

Tume kaahaaku dekhicha ki?
you anybody-ACC seen Q
‘Have you seen anybody?’

The same restrictions do not hold for the other items from this series. *Kicchi* can be found in negation, as well as in veridical contexts with the meaning ‘something’.

6.20.2. *Kehi*

The element *kehi* ‘anyone’ is a non-widening NPI, implying that it is restricted to NPI contexts. It occurs in the function NPI/N-SPEC, as was shown in (1211), as well as in I.NEG/NEG and NEG/NEG, as shown in (1212) and (1213).

(1212) I.NEG/NEG

Mun bhaabu-ni je mun kaahaaku dekhili.
 I think-neg that I anyone saw
 ‘I don't think I saw someone.’

(1213) NEG/NEG

Mun aamba-Taa nei baaDipaTa-ku jaai mote kehi
 I mango-DEF take backyard-PP go me anyone
 na-dekhi-paaruthibaa jaagaa-re basi khaa-il-i.
 NEG-see-can place-in sit eat-PST-1SG
 ‘Having taken the mango, I went to the backyard, sat in a place where nobody could see me and ate the mango there.’
 (Sahoo 2006:219)

6.20.3. The *bi*-series

Like Hindi, Oriya has a widening series that consists of an interrogative base and the scalar focus particle *bi*. It is found in N-VER/WID, as well as in the NPI contexts with a widening meaning. Examples of N-VER/WID and Q/WID are found in (1214) to (1215).

(1214) N-VER/WID

EiTaa kie bi karipaariba.
 this one anyone even do-can-FUT-3SG
 ‘Anyone can do it.’

(1215) Q/WID

Tume kaahaaku bi dekhicha ki?
 you anybody-ACC even seen Q
 ‘Have you seen anybody at all?’

It is interesting to note that in negation the *bi*-series seems to have bleached somewhat. Kalyanamalini Sahoo (p.c.) does not ascribe a widened ‘at all’ interpretation to the sentence in (1216).

(1216) NEG/WID or NEG/NEG

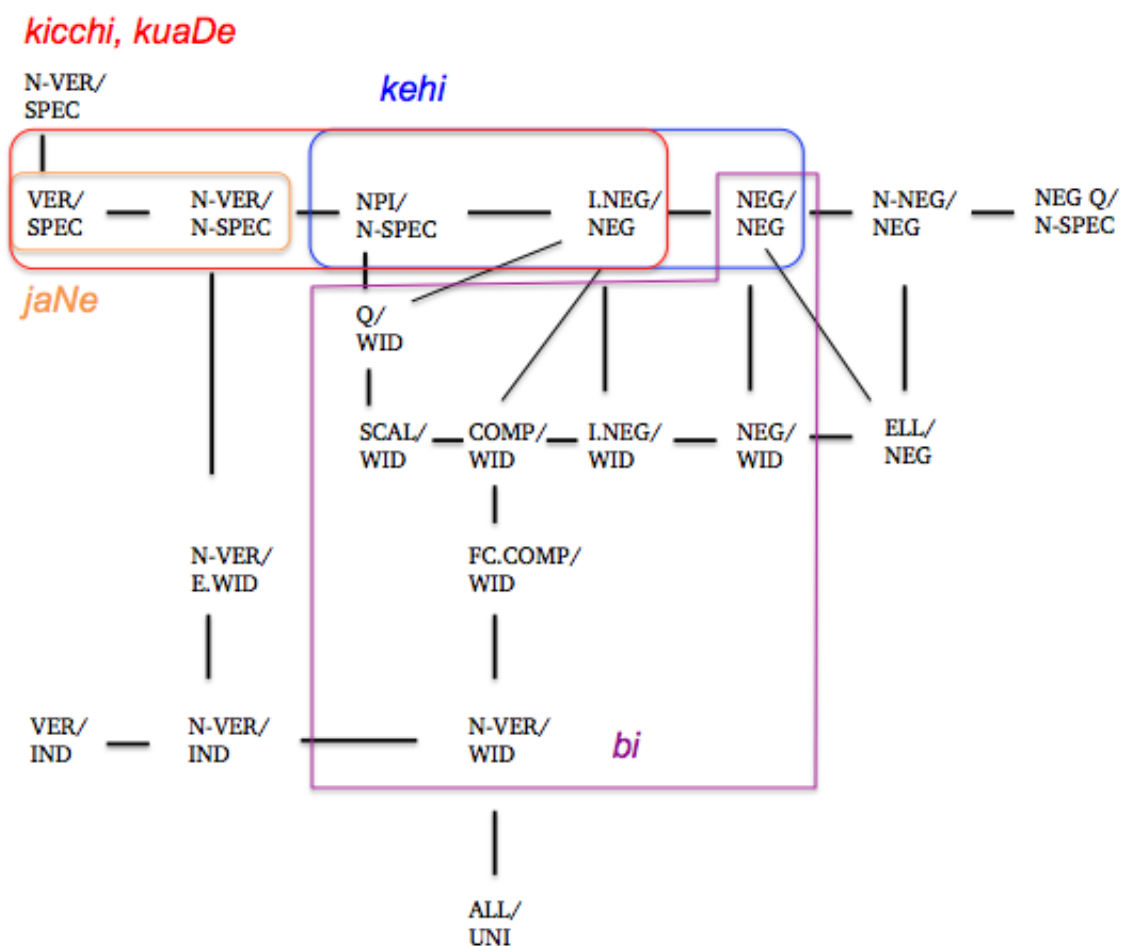
Mun kaahaaku bi dekhilini.
I anybody even see-PST-1SG-NEG
'I did not see anybody.'

However, sentence (1213) also indicates that the *bi*-indefinites are not (yet) obligatory in negation.

6.20.4. Conclusion for the Oriya indefinites

In (1217), the meaning-in-context map for Oriya indefinites is suggested. It shows that *kehi* ‘anyone’ is a NPI restricted to NPI contexts. It further shows that *jaNe* ‘someone’ is blocked from the NPI contexts by the presence of the NPI form *kehi*. The same distribution is not found for the non-widening indefinite forms for PLACE and THING, which can occur in all contexts in which widening is not required. The widened readings are attained through the addition of the scalar focus particle *bi*. In addition, it seems that *bi* is very frequent in direct negative contexts and does not immediately add emphasis. For this reason, the NEG/NEG function is marked for the *bi*-series.

(1217) Meanings-in-context map for Oriya indefinites



7. Conclusion

This study has looked at the cross-linguistic variation that the world's languages exhibit with respect to the system of indefinite pronouns from several perspectives. Based on a 179-language sample, I studied the different strategies that languages exhibit to convey negative indefiniteness. After discussing the formal properties of indefinite pronouns in general based on the large representative sample in Chapter 2, I focused on negative indefinites, which were treated in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4, I proposed a taxonomy for non-negative strategies. The development of a new functional map that remedies some of the problems with Haspelmath's map was covered in Chapter 5. The new map was then tested against a convenience sample of 20 languages in Chapter 6.

This chapter will summarize the main findings from the previous chapters. In Chapter 2, I provided an overview of the formal properties of the indefinite pronouns from the 179-language sample. As was done in Haspelmath (1997), I distinguished between a derivational base and an indefiniteness marker. The types of derivational bases from Haspelmath (1997) and this study are listed in (1218). (1218) also lists the percentages of the bases found in Haspelmath's 100-language sample and my 179-language sample.

(1218) Derivational bases	Haspelmath (1997)	the present study
• generic nouns	42 %	41.9 %
• the numeral 'one'	/	8.3 %
• ignorative pronouns	63 %	54.1 %

Some extra attention was devoted to the function of reduplication and the common occurrence of bare interrogatives as indefinites. This study confirmed the fact that reduplication can express indefiniteness, something which was also suggested by Haspelmath (1997). The fact that the reduplicated forms are not found in specific uses points at the fact that reduplication is not just a marker of indefiniteness, but mostly of free choice. As should be clear after having read Chapter 5, Free Choice Items (FCIs) are also often used in negation, which explains why I found reduplicated forms for the purpose of expressing negated indefinites.

Bare interrogatives have been given some attention in the recent literature. This study confirmed that bare interrogatives are commonly used as indefinites. The fact that it is so common suggests that one is dealing with a form that is neutral between an interrogative and an indefinite sense. This form was labeled 'ignorative', marking the lack of knowledge – a property shared by interrogatives and indefinites. The use of interrogative-indefinites was shown to be property typical for North American languages.

In Chapter 3, a functional distinction was introduced between negative indefinites and non-negative indefinites. Chapter 3 was devoted to the cross-linguistic variation of negative indefinites. It was first pointed out that different definitions of negative indefinites are circulating. In Bernini & Ramat (1996), a negative indefinite is an indefinite that can have a negative meaning in elliptical contexts. This criterion was criticized by Haspelmath (1997), who pointed out that this definition cannot capture the fact that many elements that would be considered negative indefinites according to the ellipsis-criterion still have non-negative uses. The textbook example to illustrate this is French *personne*. French *personne* can have a negative meaning in an elliptical context, as shown in (1219), but at the same time, it can be used in a comparative context with the meaning ‘anyone at all’, as shown in (1220).

- French
- (1219) As-tu vu quelqu’un?
 have-you seen someone
 ‘Have you seen someone?’
 Non, *personne*.
 ‘No, nobody.’
- (1220) Elle le fait mieux que *personne*.
 she it does better than anyone
 ‘She does it better than anyone.’

For this reason, Haspelmath (1997) used a definition that was radically different from most definitions in the literature. In Haspelmath (1997:199), a negative indefinite was deliberately defined in a vague sense as an indefinite pronoun that has negation as an important function. I argued that this definition is too vague and neglects the fact that although indefinites like French *personne* still have non-negative uses, they are more negative than the Swahili bare noun *mtu*, which can be used to establish specific as well as negative reference. In addition, I argued that apart from cases like French, where the indefinites have undergone a development from non-negative to negative indefinite, there are many negative indefinites whose negativity is uncontested, e.g. German *nichts*. In this work, negative indefinites were defined as indefinites that have direct negation as their most important or only function. This definition included two types of negative indefinites, listed in (1221).

(1221) Functional types of negative indefinites

- Indefinites with direct negation as their only function
 - that cannot be used in elliptical contexts (e.g. Yiddish, Ewe, Skolt Saami)
 - that can be used in elliptical contexts (e.g. German, English, Russian)
- Indefinites with direct negation as their most important function (e.g. French, Spanish, Japanese)

The criterion applied here to decide whether direct negation is the most important function of the second type is the ellipsis-criterion. Apart from this property, other properties, such as those listed in (1222), were discussed that set apart negative indefinites of the second type, which are always n-words, from negative polarity items (NPIs) and show the similarities between n-words and negative quantifiers, which are undisputedly negative.

(1222) Shared properties of n-words and negative quantifiers

- They allow double negative readings
- They allow modification by ‘almost’ and ‘absolutely’
- They can occur in preverbal position

The property that negative indefinites with negation as their most important function share with NPIs, namely the possibility to occur in certain NPI contexts with a non-negative meaning, was shown to be special in two ways. Firstly, it was shown that, if negative indefinites have non-negative uses, the paradigm is often defective in terms of function as well as productivity. Secondly, it was shown that whenever negative indefinites exhibit uses outside of direct negation, this mostly concerns contexts that can host expletive sentential negation, namely polar and rhetorical questions, comparatives, *before*-constructions and clausal complements of adversative or negative predicates.

Having defined negative indefinites in section 3.2, I provided an overview of the variation that negative indefinites exhibit with respect to the interaction with sentential negation in section 3.3. The notion of negative concord (NC) was introduced to refer to the pattern according to which multiple occurrences of negation and indefinite pronouns that appear to be negative express a single negation. Negative indefinites involved in NC patterns were labeled ‘n-words’. Four types of negative concord were discussed, three of which were taken into account when discussing the sample. The four types are listed in (1223).

(1223) Types of negative concord

- Strict NC
- Non-strict NC
- Negative spread
- Negative doubling

Strict NC languages were defined as languages in which negative indefinites are always accompanied by sentential negation. Non-strict NC languages were defined as languages in which negative indefinites are not always accompanied by sentential negation. In most cases discussed in the literature, the variation is determined by the position of the negative indefinite with respect to the verb: when the indefinite is expressed preverbally, sentential negation is not expressed and when the indefinite is expressed postverbally, sentential negation is present. This type of variation is accounted for by the Negative First Principle (Neg-First) according to which negation is preferably expressed first. Negative spread (NS) was shown to have been defined in two ways. De Swart (2010:46) defined it as “the phenomenon whereby the negative concord relation is established exclusively between n-words”. Zeijlstra (2004), on the other hand, used the term to refer to sentences in which multiple negative indefinites yield a single negative meaning, regardless of whether sentential negation is expressed. I followed Zeijlstra (2004). Zeijlstra (2004) put forward the claim that every NC language exhibits NS. Some counterexamples have been noted in the literature, namely Old Low German, Old High German and Skolt Saami. In these NC languages, negation is marked on one of the negative indefinites only. Based on these non-sample languages, Zeijlstra’s (2004) generalization that all NC languages exhibit NS was toned down to the claim most NC languages seem to exhibit NS. With respect to the fourth type of NC, viz. negative doubling, it was noted that this seems to be a very rare pattern, if it really exists at all. Afrikaans was shown to have been described as a negative doubling language. However, Zeijlstra (2004) showed that NS also occurs in Afrikaans. Since I did not find any instances of negative doubling in the languages from the sample, I excluded it from the discussion.

The second strategy with respect to the interaction between negative indefinites and sentential negation was labeled the ‘negative quantifier strategy’. According to this strategy, negative indefinites express sentential negation independently. Unlike n-words, negative quantifiers yield double negation when two of them co-occur. This means that the negative senses cancel each other out.

As a transition to the results of the typological section, I devoted section 3.4 to the claims that have been made in the literature about NC and NQ. It has been claimed that NC is the default strategy. Reference is mistakenly made to Haspelmath (1997), who does not make any claims about NC. Haspelmath (1997) could not have made any claims about NC,

since his definition of negative indefinites as indefinites with direct negation as an important strategy does not allow a definition of NC, which crucially involves negative indefinites in my sense. Haspelmath (1997) only made claims about the NQ strategy, which he predicts to be rare because of the functional mismatch that this type exhibits: clausal negation should be expressed clausally and not on the constituent. Despite this hypothesis, NC has been claimed to be a “widespread” phenomenon. In this section, I referred to Kahrel (1996), who showed on the basis of his 40-language sample that that, firstly, NC is rare in comparison to the use of neutral indefinites in negation and, secondly, that NC is in fact equally rare as NQ.

Section 3.5. presented the results of the typological study. In section 3.5.1, I discussed the negative concord languages from the sample. It was shown that I found some form of NC in 19% of the languages. This is considerably more than the 11.7% of languages that exhibit NQ. From a functional perspective, NC was predicted to be more frequent than NQ, since the natural preference to express clausal negation clausally is not violated in the case of NC. NC is mostly found in the Eurasian languages from the sample. This fact in combination with the fact that most NC languages discussed in the literature are European leads to the claim that NC is mainly a Eurasian phenomenon. This was supported by the fact that of 26 non-Eurasian languages with NC, 6 have NC systems directly influenced by a European NC language.

In section 3.5.1, I also discussed the NC languages in terms of strict NC and non-strict NC and I also devoted a section on NS. The distinction between strict NC and non-strict NC was shown to have a minor relevance from a quantitative, cross-linguistic point of view. Two languages were found in the sample that exhibit non-strict NC, viz. Chamorro and Egyptian Arabic. In both cases, the presence of clausal negation depends on the position of the negative indefinite. In Chamorro, the pattern is arguably inherited from Spanish, something which is supported by the fact Chamorro uses the Spanish negative indefiniteness marker *ni*. In Egyptian Arabic, non-strict NC involves the negative determiner *wala* ‘not even’. For completeness’ sake, I discussed two non-sample languages, in which the optional presence of clausal negation in combination with negative indefinites is not related to the preverbal versus postverbal position of the negative indefinite, namely Western Armenian and Georgian. The pattern in Western Armenian could be accounted for from a diachronic perspective: when a language exhibits the dispreferred NQ pattern, this unnatural pattern can be predicted to be restored via the reintroduction of clausal negation, which can be done stepwise, from optional presence to obligatory presence. In Georgian, the presence of clausal negation was shown to be related to the position with respect to the verb, but in a sense different from the well-known pattern from Spanish and Italian. In Georgian, negative indefinites that immediately precede the verb are optionally accompanied by sentential negation, whereas preverbal negative indefinites that do not occur immediately preverbal

are always accompanied by sentential negation. This pattern was shown to exemplify another way in which Neg-First can be at work. For Georgian, one can suppose a principle according to which negation has to be expressed immediately preverbally. This principle then competes with another principle according to which clausal negation has to be expressed on the verb. This second principle accounts for the fact that negative indefinites that immediately precede the verb can be accompanied by clausal negation.

The majority of the NC languages from the sample were shown to exhibit strict NC. This is the case for 32 out of 34 NC languages. Zeijlstra (2004) formulated the claim that all NC languages exhibit NS. This claim was reformulated as the claim that most NC languages exhibit NS. I did not find information on NS for all the NC languages, but I did not find any counterexamples to Zeijlstra's claim in the sample.

Having discussed three types of NC, I addressed the paradigmatic variation that NC languages exhibit in section 3.5.1.3. In this section, I discussed languages that exhibit NC for one element of the indefinite paradigm, but not for another. This was relevant for 7 NC languages from the sample. In Egyptian Arabic and Degema, the NC element is a negative scalar determiner corresponding to 'not even'. In Epena Pedee and Wichí, this concerns one morphologically non-transparent item. Mosetén borrowed one negative indefinite from Spanish, which exhibits NC. In Brahui and Kayardild, there seemed to be a difference between the pronoun for the category THING and the pronoun for the category PERSON. Whereas 'nobody' in Kayardild seemed to be always expressed by a NC item, this was not the case for 'nothing', which is a negative quantifier. In Brahui, 'nothing' seemed to be always expressed by a NC item, whereas this was not the case for 'nobody'.

Two other aspects of NC languages were treated in section 3.5.1: preverbal versus postverbal asymmetries and the availability of other strategies apart from NC. In the section on asymmetries, I discussed the case of Icelandic, in which two different paradigms are used and in which the NC series can only be used postverbally. The section on other strategies discussed languages in which strategies other than NC are used as important strategies to convey negated indefiniteness.

Section 3.5.2 on NQ languages started with a quantitative overview, in which it was shown that NQ occurs in 21 or 11.7 % of the sample languages. It was mostly found in Mesoamerican languages, as also noted in *WALS*. After discussing difficulties encountered in defining certain forms as negative quantifiers, I introduced a distinction between strict and non-strict NQ languages. Strict NQ quantifiers were defined as languages in which the use of a negative indefinite is obligatory, whereas non-strict NQ languages were defined as languages in which the use of negative quantifiers is optional and often depends on the position of the indefinite with respect to the verb. 5 languages were identified as non-strict NQ languages, i.e. Nahuatl, Egyptian Arabic, Huichol, Nevome and Mapuche. In Nahuatl and Egyptian Arabic the use of negative quantifiers depends on the position with respect to

the verb. In these languages, postverbal NQs lead to ungrammaticality – something that can be accounted for by Neg-First. In Huichol, Nevome and Mapuche, the indefinite optionally absorbs the negator and in this sense they also exhibit non-strict NQ.

As far as I could see, the other languages could be considered strict NQ languages. I also looked at the parameters of variation that were distinguished for NC languages, namely paradigmatic variation, preverbal versus postverbal asymmetries and other strategies. NQ languages were shown to exhibit less paradigmatic variation than NC languages. There were two languages, viz. Warao and Kayardild, in which I only found one isolated NQ. The section on preverbal and postverbal asymmetries was more interesting. It was shown that I hardly found any postverbal negative quantifier. This was again accounted for by Neg-First.

In section 3.6, I looked at formal types of negative indefinites and distinguished two main formal types: morphologically negative and morphologically non-negative negative indefinites. Four different types of morphologically negative n-indefinites could be distinguished, as represented in (1224). The number of languages exhibiting the formal type of n-indefinite is added between brackets.

(1224) Formal types of negative indefinites

- Morphologically negative n-indefinites
 - Sentential negation (22)
 - Non-verbal negator (2)
 - Negative scalar focus particle (7)
 - Negative existential (2)
- Morphologically non-negative n-indefinites (16)

Negative indefinites arise via incorporation of negation. A distinction was made between negative incorporation and negative absorption. Morphologically negative n-indefinites arise via negative absorption, which entails morphological and semantic negative incorporation. Morphologically non-negative n-indefinites arise via semantic incorporation of negation. The tendency that leads to negative incorporation was called ‘negative attraction’.

In section 3.6, each of the types in (1224) were discussed separately, starting with morphologically negative n-indefinites, which are those arising via negative absorption. Indefinites arising via absorption of clausal negation were described by Haspelmath (1997) as well. The pathway was represented as in (1225).

(1225) Diachronic negative absorption of clausal negation

- a. ‘Nobody came.’
 - I. person not-came
 - II. not-person came

- b. 'She saw nothing.'
- I. she thing not-saw
- II. she not-thing saw

In contrast to Haspelmath (1997), however, I did not consider Neg-First as the driving force behind negative absorption of clausal negation. Based on the data from verb-initial languages, in which negative absorption of clausal negation is predicted not to occur if one takes Neg-First to be the driving force, I showed that Neg-Attract accounts for it. The second type, viz. morphologically negative n-indefinites arising via absorption of a non-verbal negator, was illustrated on the basis of two languages. It was predicted to be a rare type of absorption. Absorption of a negative scalar focus marker was found more often in the sample, namely in 7 languages. However, in most cases it involved borrowing from Spanish. This type of negative indefinite was not treated as arising via negative absorption in Haspelmath (1997). In parallel to diachronic absorption of clausal negation in (1225), I suggested a similar pattern representing diachronic absorption of a negative scalar focus particle, as in (1226).

(1226) Diachronic negative absorption of negative scalar focus particles

- a. 'Nobody came.'
- I. person not came
- II. not.even(-)person came
- b. 'She saw nothing.'
- I. she thing not saw
- II. she not.even(-)thing saw

It was argued that one can only account for the non-strict NC pattern – which is a partial NQ pattern – that many languages with indefinites of this type at least at a certain point exhibited or still exhibit by assuming that this type arises via absorption as in (1226).

The last type of morphologically negative n-indefinites arises via absorption of a negative existential. This type was exemplified by Chocho and Chalcatongo Mixtec. This type had not been discussed before. I tentatively proposed the following conditions for the indefinites of this type to develop: the frequent use of the existential strategy to express negative indefiniteness, the possibility of nominal incorporation and the absence of relative pronouns.

The morphologically non-negative n-indefinites from the sample were listed in section 3.6. This type of negative indefinites also attracts negation, but does not morphologically absorb it. The development in which a non-negative indefinite attracts negation and semantically absorbs it, was called the 'quantifier cycle', after Willis (2011). The quantifier

cycle, which has been extensively discussed in the literature mainly based on European indefinites from non-sample languages, was discussed in section 3.7. Based on a schematic representation of pathways of change for indefinites offered by Jäger (2007a), I distinguished two cross-linguistically relevant stages in the development of former non-negative elements: from polarity neutral element to NPI and from NPI to negative indefinite. The first stage was characterized by the incorporation of a scalar endpoint meaning, which leads to a restriction in terms of distribution to NPI contexts, which are scale-reversing contexts. There were no sample languages that could be used to exemplify this first stage. This might indicate that the development seen in French from polarity neutral element ‘person’ to negative ‘nobody’ is mainly a European phenomenon. The second stage represented the change from a polarity sensitive element, either as NPI or as FCI, to negative indefinite. All the indefinites from the sample seemed only to exemplify this stage, as was concluded on the basis of emphatic morphology on the indefinites. With respect to the emphatic morphology on the former non-negative elements, I noted that the emphatic markers exhibit divergence in the sense that they can grammaticalize as negative indefiniteness markers and at the same time retain their use as emphatic marker.

Section 3.8 was devoted to how the NC and NQ strategies arise. Haspelmath (1997) noted that two pathways lead to NQ: absorption of clausal negation and the Jespersen Cycle. I argued that there are more ways. I argued that any type of negative absorption can lead to NQ, viz. absorption involving clausal negation, negative scalar focus particles, non-verbal negation and negative existentials. Since the latter two types were very rare, I did not include them in the discussion in this section. The first type involving clausal negation is uncontested and it is the most frequent pattern. Haspelmath (1997) noted about this type that the natural pattern is expected to be restored for these languages after the clausal negation has been absorbed. However, the restoration was visible in only 4 of 22 languages from the sample with negative indefinites arising via absorption of clausal negation. With respect to why this is so, I suggested that the indefinites from those languages in which the natural pattern has not been restored exhibit a low degree of lexicalization.

The other pattern mentioned in Haspelmath (1997) that may lead to NQ involves the Jespersen Cycle. I suggested that that particular interaction that certain European negative indefinites exhibited with a new sentential negator and which leads to the dispreferred NQ strategy is restricted to Europe. By comparing all NQ languages from the sample with respect to the pathway leading up to the dispreferred NQ strategy, negative absorption is by far the more common source. The last type that was discussed in section 3.8 involved languages with negative indefinites arising via absorption of a negative scalar focus particle. Haspelmath (1997) did not discuss this type in any detail, but noted that they resemble those negative indefinites containing non-negative focus particles, since indefinites of this type, like former non-negative negative indefinites, mostly exhibit NC. Though this is

certainly true, I showed that in many cases this type of negative indefinites involves non-strict NC, which is a mix of NC and NQ. The NQ pattern was accounted for by assuming an absorption process similar to the one assumed for negative indefinites arising via absorption of clausal negation. With respect to the question why languages with indefinites of this type also exhibit NC apart from NQ, I proposed three hypotheses. According to the first hypothesis, the non-strict NC pattern derives from a biclausal nature. According to the second hypothesis, the negative absorption of the scalar focus particle happens preverbally, after which it can be used as a negative indefiniteness marker in combination with postverbal indefinites as well, but on the condition that preverbal negation is reintroduced. This hypothesis assumes that the introduction of clausal negation with postverbal indefinites is abrupt. According to the third hypothesis, a language with negative indefinites that absorb negative scalar focus markers is assumed to reintroduce clausal negation more easily than languages with negative indefinites arising via absorption of clausal negation because of their morphological dissimilarity with clausal negation.

Former non-negative n-indefinites elements that undergo a quantifier cycle were shown to be predictable when it comes to the interaction with sentential negation. On the condition that they do not interact with a Jespersen Cycle as in the case of French *personne*, *rien* and *aucun*, they are predicted to exhibit NC. The quantifier cycle was shown to be the most frequent source for NC patterns.

In section 3.9, I discussed the relation between negative concord and double clausal negation (DCN). In this section, I refuted a claim made in the literature about NC and DCN and a related claim between the presence of NC and the position of the negator. De Swart (2010:184) put forward the hypothesis that a crucial condition for a language to develop double clausal negation is for it to display negative concord. Zeijlstra (2004) put forward the claim that NC is a necessary condition for preverbal negation. On the basis of the 179-language, both hypotheses were rejected. There was no significant difference in frequency between NC languages with DCN and without DCN and no significant difference between DCN languages with NC and without NC. Hence, DCN was concluded not to have a predictive value for answering whether a language has NC and NC was concluded not to have any predictive value for answering whether the language has DCN. With regard to Zeijlstra's claim, it was shown that there is no significant frequency difference between languages with preverbal negation and with NC and languages with preverbal negation and without NC nor was there a significant frequency difference between NC languages with preverbal negation and NC languages without preverbal negation. In the remainder of the section, three types of relations were discussed that can exist between NC and DCN: a morphological relation, as exemplified by Karok, a semantic relation, exemplified by the non-sample language French and the sample language Canela-Krahô, and the absence of any relation, as exemplified by Ewe, Guaraní, Quechua and Burmese.

Chapter 4 reported on the non-negative strategies used to convey negative indefiniteness. The taxonomy was more refined than Kahrel's (1996). I distinguished between 6 types and distinguished two subtypes for the type of special indefinite, as represented in (417).

(1227) Taxonomy of indefinites in negation

TYPE I	NV-I	negative verb + neutral indefinite
TYPE II	NV-EI	negative verb + epistemic indefinite
TYPE III	NV-SI	negative verb + special indefinite
TYPE IIIa	NV-NON-SPEC	negative verb + non-specific indefinite
TYPE IIIb	NV-NPI/FCI	negative verb + NPI/FCI
TYPE IV	NEG.EX	negative existential construction
TYPE V	NV-UI	negative verb + universal indefinite
TYPE VI		other

The main difference with Kahrel (1996) is the fact that a tight majority of languages from my sample at least make a distinction between special indefinites and indefinites used for specific reference. The fact that the neutral strategy in most cases involves non-pronominal NPs that can be interpreted in the scope of negation led to the tentative claim that if a language has pronominal means to express negated indefiniteness, it is expected to at least make a distinction between specific and non-specific indefinite pronouns. The percentage of languages with special indefinites was remarkably similar to Kahrel's percentage. This typology further suggests that in most cases, the special strategy involves NPIs or FCIs and not non-specific indefinites. From an areal perspective, Type I languages were mainly found in the sample's African languages and in the languages from Papua New Guinea. The types that were added were shown to be minor types. I only found an epistemic indefinite in negation in one language. The use of the same elements for negative indefinite quantification and universal quantification was only found in African languages. A diachronic pathway was assumed from indefinites to universal quantifiers. From a synchronic point of view, the use in negation and as universal quantifiers was accounted for from a Neo-Aristotelian perspective. Special indefinites were mainly found in South East Asia, followed by Eurasia. The existential strategy was mainly found in South America, Australia and Papua New Guinea and South East Asia. Functionally this strategy was shown to be often used to avoid indefinite subjects. At the end of the chapter, I provided the entire taxonomy for indefinites used to convey negative indefiniteness, including negative indefinites.

In Chapter 5, the focus shifted from the forms used in negation to indefinite pronouns in general. In this chapter a new map was proposed that arguably depicts the cross-linguistic variety in the functional distribution of indefinite pronouns better than Haspelmath's (1997) map. First, the problems with Haspelmath's map were discussed in section 5.1. It was shown that the functions on Haspelmath's map variably correspond to meanings, contexts and meanings-in-contexts, with problematic consequences for the predictability of the meanings-in-context. It was furthermore shown that the semantic features that underlie Haspelmath's map play an unclear role for the distribution of indefinite pronouns across contexts. I also discussed that Haspelmath's map is implicitly about singular count pronouns and that the lines connecting the functions do not represent relevant diachronic pathways. For the construction of a new map, I tried to consistently take into account the meanings of the indefinite pronouns and the contexts leading to certain meanings-in-context.

In section 5.3, I showed that one has to distinguish between two types of indefinites found in NPI contexts: widening and non-widening indefinites. Whereas non-widening indefinites in NPI contexts only introduce a variable that can be interpreted within the scope of the non-veridical operator, widening indefinites have the additional property of widening the domain of reference along a contextual dimension and consequently strengthen the proposition. Accordingly, the widening *any* in sentence (1228) has the property of including all possible referents satisfying the description of 'pilot', whereas this is not done in the sentence with the non-widening indefinite *a* in (1229).

(1228) Any pilot could be flying this plane.

(1229) A pilot could be flying this plane.

(Israel 2011:186)

As noted by Israel (2011:186), both sentences entail that there is at least one instance of the type 'pilot' for which the asserted possibility holds true, while the use of *any* conveys that the possibility actually holds for every relevant instance, which exemplifies 'widening'.

The notion of 'widening' in the sense of Kadmon and Landman (1993) was used in order to capture the fact that both FCIs and NPIs can have this effect. A widening indefinite used in a NPI context was argued not to yield the same meaning-in-context as a non-widening indefinite in a NPI context. It was furthermore shown that depending on the lexical semantics of the indefinite, different contexts have to be taken into account. For non-widening indefinites, I distinguished between veridical, non-veridical, NPI, indirect negative and direct negative contexts. For widening indefinites, I distinguished between questions, scale-reversing contexts, two types of comparative contexts, indirect negative contexts, direct negative contexts and non-veridical contexts. The separation of the two comparative contexts was based on evidence from three languages, namely Lithuanian, Serbian and

Dutch. The combination of the contexts with the meanings of indefinites yielded 8 functions for the negative polarity domain.

In section 5.4, I treated the negative domain. In order to adequately map the functional distribution of negative indefinites, a function was added for indefinites that can have a negative meaning in an elliptical context. This way, one can reconcile the negative quantifier properties and the NPI properties of n-words and depict the fact that some items can be considered negative indefinites despite their non-negative uses. In addition, the direct negation function was split up into a function for n-words and one for negative quantifiers. For those negative quantifiers that can also express expletive negation in questions, an extra function was added.

The domain of free choice was extended to 5 uses in section 5.5. On the new map, Haspelmath's free choice function corresponds to the function for widening indefinites in non-veridical contexts. Widening refers to the lexical contribution of the indefinite to the context, which has to be compatible with widening. This explains why items with this function occur in a subset of those non-veridical environments in which non-widening indefinites can be found. The second FC function is the FC comparative function. Then I added a third FC function for the so-called 'existential free choice items'. These items can yield a universal implicature in a subset of the non-veridical contexts in which so-called 'universal free choice items' can. The existential implicature that they carry has the effect that they cannot occur in subtriggering contexts with a universal quantificational effect or in generic contexts. The fourth and fifth FC functions are different in the sense that they are not for FCIs in their widening uses, but for FCIs expressing indiscriminacy. This reading does not involve arbitrary reference as such but involves the qualitative denotations that arbitrarily chosen referents can have. Two functions for indiscriminacy in veridical contexts and indiscriminacy in non-veridical contexts were introduced to cover the fact that items with this meaning may be restricted to non-veridical contexts.

Next to the function for widening indefinites in non-veridical contexts, a function was introduced in section 5.6 for indefinites that develop into universal quantifiers, as was also suggested in Haspelmath (1997) and Fobbe (2004). The data from one language, namely Uyghur, suggests that a functional distinction between a universal meaning in a non-negative context and a universal meaning in a negative context might have to be introduced. For the purpose of not complicating the map, the distinction was not made on the map.

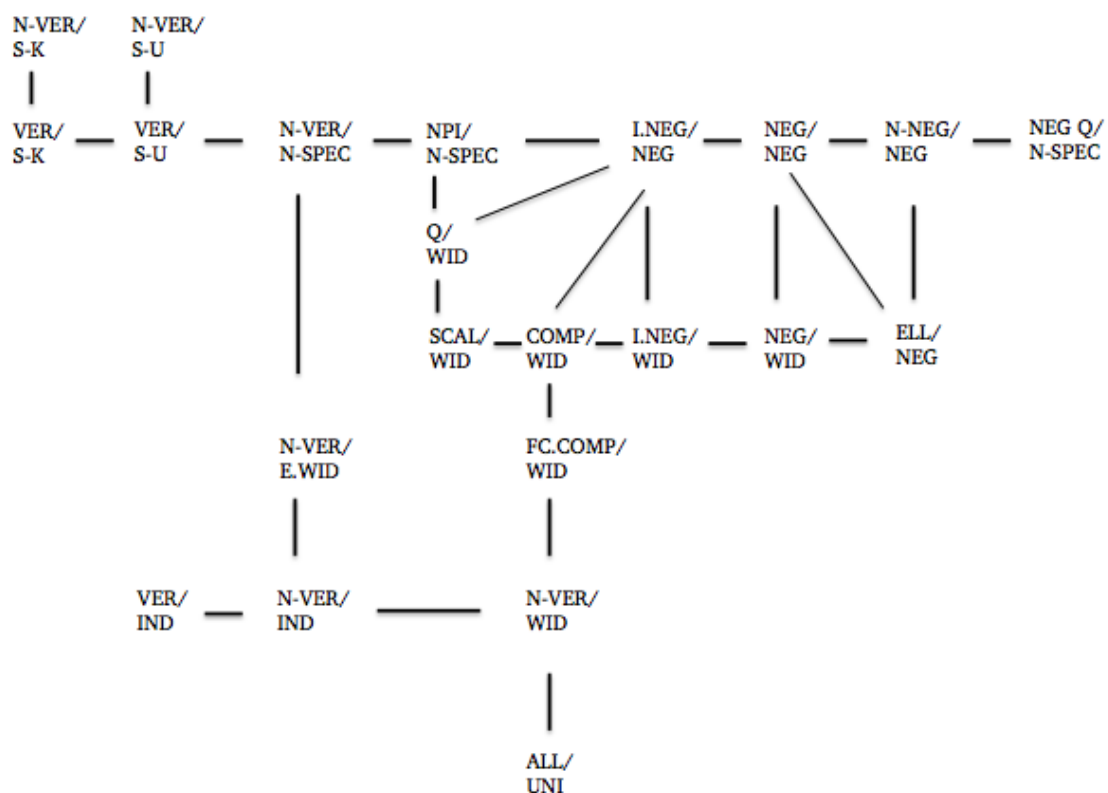
The changes that were made to the specific domain in section 5.7 pertained to differing scope properties that indefinites that can establish specific reference in a veridical context can exhibit. Data from Passamaquoddy, Maori and Hausa suggest that the specific domain could be split up into functions for indefinites that can establish specific reference in veridical and non-veridical contexts. The separation between 'specific known' and 'specific

unknown’ was maintained, but as a consequence of the scope dimension being taken into account, the two specific functions turned into four specific functions.

The ‘irrealis non-specific’ function was also maintained, but was labeled ‘non-veridical, non-specific’ to show that the difference in distributional restrictions between FCIs and non-specific indefinites is due to a difference in lexical semantics between FCIs and non-specific indefinites: only FCIs induce widening. This was done in section 5.8.

In section 5.9, I presented the meanings-in-context map, as in (1230), which resulted from the discussion of the different areas on the map.

(1230) The new meanings-in-context map



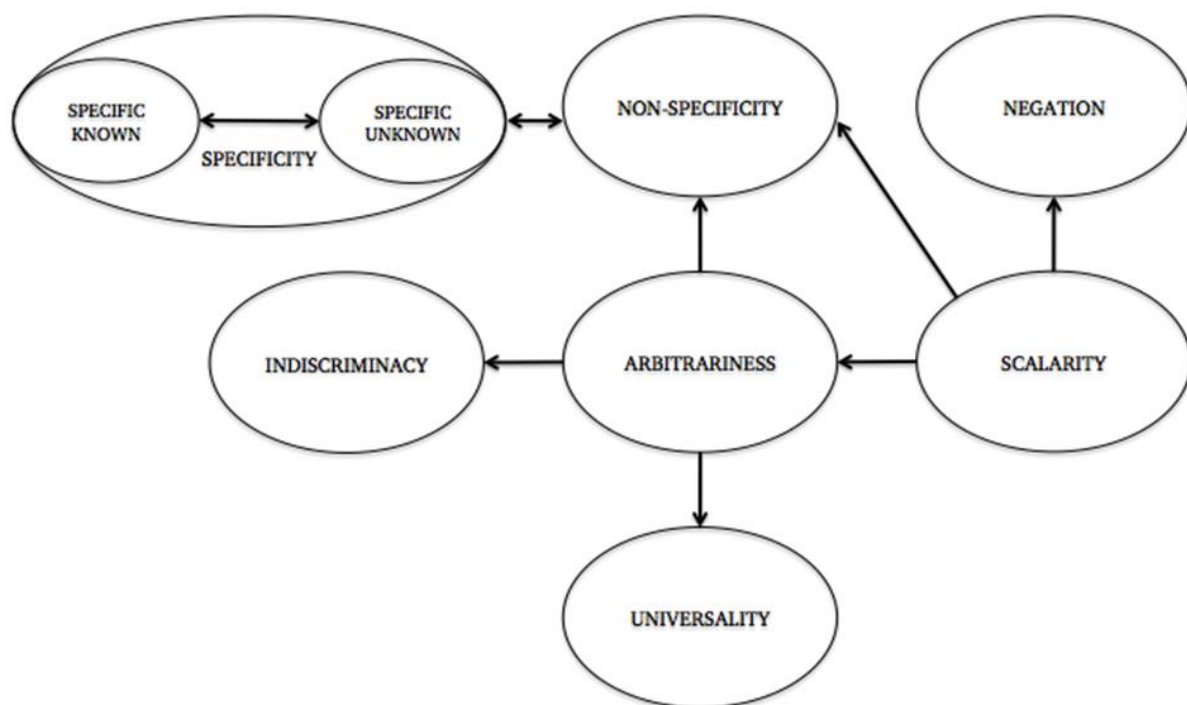
Like Haspelmath (1997), I also identified semantic features that underlie the meaning-in-context map. This was done in section 5.10. Whereas Haspelmath (1997) identified 5 binary features that underlie the map, I distinguished 7 semantic features, as listed in (1231).

(1231) Binary semantic features

- +/- speaker knowledge
- +/- specificity
- +/- negation
- +/- scalarity
- +/- arbitrariness
- +/- indiscriminacy
- +/- universality

I discussed each of these features and argued that they could also be placed on the diachronic map in (1232).

(1232) A diachronic semantic map for indefinites



Connecting the features based on examples from the literature yielded a semantic map that is more adequate to represent diachronic pathways, but is not suited to depict the cross-linguistic variation. The reason why the semantic map cannot be used for the purpose of synchronically comparing indefinite systems is that indefinite pronouns exhibit unpredictable behavior in the sense that they do not always occur in all contexts with which they are semantically compatible.

In Chapter 6, I tested the map against a convenience sample of 20 languages, half of which were also discussed in Haspelmath (1997). The new map is more complicated, but has the following benefits compared to Haspelmath's (1997) map:

- it shows when an indefinite can be considered a negative indefinite despite possible non-negative uses
- it shows when a negative indefinite is a negative quantifier and an n-word
- it shows when a language is a non-strict NC language
- it shows that emphasis in the form of widening plays an important role in the functional distribution of indefinites
- it shows that it is widening that actually sets apart FCIs from non-specific items in non-veridical contexts
- it shows that a distinction between NPI contexts is not relevant for indefinites that do not express widening
- the distinction of the scale-reversing contexts (SCAL) for widening indefinites and NPI contexts for non-widening indefinites comprises contexts that were not represented on Haspelmath's map
- the map covers the fact that NPIs might be restricted to a certain type of comparative
- it shows that indefinites may develop into universal quantifiers
- it shows that FCIs can get qualitative readings or convey indiscriminacy and that this reading can also be context-sensitive
- it maps existential free choice items that can have a universal quantificational effect in modal contexts of possibility but not in generic contexts and in subtriggering contexts because of the existential implicature they carry
- the map depicts the possibility of wide-scope specific readings

Despite the advantages, this map is also faced with new problems. First of all, as on Haspelmath's map, the data from Finnish, as discussed in section 5.5.3, can still not be accounted for. In Finnish, the FCI series can be found in conditionals and in non-veridical contexts with a widening meaning, but only in a comparative of equality. The adjacency principle requires that an element that is used in non-veridical contexts with a widening meaning and in conditionals is also used in comparatives of inequality. Another problem with the comparative was found in Malagasy. In this language, the reduplicated interrogative-series is found in negation and in non-veridical contexts with a widening meaning. Despite this, it cannot be used in a comparative context, again a problem for the adjacency principle. A third problem with regard to distributional restrictions across contexts was found in Romanian. The Romanian n-words can occur with subordinate negation and after the negative preposition *fără* 'without', but they cannot combine with

lexically negative verbs like ‘refuse’. In order to map all these distributional restrictions, one will need a more fine-grained approach that distinguishes still more contexts than is done on the new map.

A different problem involves the role of intonation for the functional distribution of indefinites. It is clear that stress is related to the widening readings on the map. In those cases in which the literature made a distinction between a stressed and an unstressed series, I included it in the discussion. However, intonation is very likely to be more relevant for the distribution across contexts than is suggested here. The precise role of intonation is left to further research.

The discussion and the development of the new functional meanings-in-context map has shown that one can propose a taxonomy that is much more refined than the one suggested in Chapter 4 and even more refined than the one suggested by Haspelmath’s map. Despite the fact that I have included 9 non-Indo-European languages in the convenience sample, there is the possibility that the architecture of the map is biased. By comparing the maps for the indefinites from well-described languages to the maps for the indefinites from languages for which data on indefinites is sparse, one can see that there is a clear correlation between the amount of data and the amount of detail on the map. Future research will reveal to what extent the map can cover the functional distribution of indefinites in less-described languages.

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Appendix 1: Abbreviations

1	first person	CONS	consecutive
2	second person	COP	copula
3	third person	CP	completive
A	active	DAT	dative
ABIL	abilitative	DECL	declarative
ABL	ablative	DEF	definite
ABS	absolutive	DEM	demonstrative
ACC	accusative	DET	determiner
ADD	additive	DIR	directional
ADV	adverbial	DISJ	disjunction
AG	agent	DIST	distributive
AGR	agreement marker	DO	direct object
AN	animate	DRT	directive
AOR	aorist	DUR	durative
APPL	applicative	DV	direct voice
ART	article	E.I.	ergative infix
ASP	aspectual marker	EMPH	emphatic
ASS	assertive	ERG	ergative
AUX	auxiliary	EVID	evidential
AV	actor voice	EX	existential
CAUS	causative	EXCLAM	exclamative
CF	constant feature	F	feminine
CM	conjugation marker	FIN	finite
CL	clitic	FOC	focus marker
CMP	comparative	FUT	future
CNJ	conjunct inflection	GEN	genitive
CNT	continuative	GOAL	goal
CO	contrastive	HAB	habitual
COLL	collective	HYP	hypothetical
COM	comitative	IN	inanimate
COMP	complementizer	IGN	ignorative
CON	construct case	IMP	imperative
COND	conditional	IMPS	impersonal
CONJ	conjunction	IMPF	imperfective
CONNeg	connegative	INC	inclusive

INCH	inchoative	POT	potentialis
IND	indicative	PP	postposition
INDEF	indefinite	PREF	prefix
INDEP	independent	PREP	preposition
INF	infinitive	PRD	predicator
INFER	inferential	PRET	preterite
INS	instrumental	PRETN	negative preterite
INT	interrogative	PRES	present
IO	indirect object	PRF	perfective
IPD	impeditive	PRIV	privative
IRR	irrealis	PROG	progressive
LK	linker	PRPS	progressive persistent
LOC	locative	PRT	partitive
M	masculine	PST	past
NEG	negative marker	PTCP	participle
NEG.EX	negative existential	Q	question particle
N	neuter	QUOT	quotative particle
NF	nonfuture	R	realis
NH	non-human	REFL	reflexive pronoun
NHYP	nonhypothetical	REL	relative
NLZ	nominalization	RDP	reduplication
NOM	nominative	RP	relativizing particle
NON.PST	non-past	RPT	repetitive
NON.REF	nonreferential	RS	relativized subject
NONTHEME	nontheme marker	R.PST	recent past
NPI	negative polarity item	S	subject
NS	non-subject	SBEL	subrelative
NSG	non-singular	SBJV	subjunctive
NSP	non-specific	SCL	subject clitic
O	object	SG	singular
OBL	oblique	SUB	subordinator
OBV	obviative 3 person	SUBL	sublative
OUT	verb outward	TAM	tense/aspect/mood marker
PART	particle	TENS	tense
PAT	patient	TOP	topic
PASS	passive	TR	transitive
PL	plural	TVN	transitive verbal noun
POSS	possessive	UO	undergoe

Appendix 2: List of (semi-)abbreviations used in the text

DCN	Double clausal negation: multiple occurrences of clausal negation, which together express negation only once
DN	Double negation: the pattern in which two instances of negation cancel each other out and yield a positive meaning
FCI	Free choice item: an item that can express universal-like quantification in certain contexts, e.g. English <i>anyone</i> in <i>Anyone can do it</i> .
JC	Jespersen Cycle, referring to a cyclic process of renewal of clausal negation in which clausal negation is at a certain point (at least) doubled. Typically, three stages can be identified: a stage with single negation (e.g. French <i>ne</i>), a stage with double negation (e.g. French <i>ne... pas</i>), and a stage with single negation again, in which the older negation has disappeared (e.g. Spoken French <i>pas</i>).
NC	Negative concord: the pattern in which multiple occurrences of negation and negative indefinites express a single negation
Neg-Attract	Negative attraction: the tendency to realize negation before the negated constituent
Neg-First	The Negative First principle: the tendency to realize negation before the finite verb
n-indefinite	Negative indefinite
non-strict NC	The negative concord pattern in which n-words do not always co-occur with clausal negation. In most cases, the variation depends on the position of the n-word with respect to the verb.
NPI	Negative polarity item: an item occurring in negative polarity contexts (scale-reversing contexts), like conditionals, negative contexts, questions, in the restriction of a universal quantifier, etc.
NQ	Negative quantifier strategy: the pattern in which negative indefinites express negation independently
NQs	Negative quantifiers: negative indefinites expressing negation independently

NS	Negative spread: the pattern in which multiple negative indefinites, with or without clausal negation, yield one semantic negation
n-word	Negative indefinite occurring in negative concord patterns; a negative indefinite that requires the presence of clausal negation
QC	The quantifier cycle: the process that renders a morphologically non-negative indefinite negative
strict NC	The negative concord pattern in which a negative indefinite always co-occurs with clausal negation

Appendix 3: List of abbreviations on the map

For contexts

ALL	all contexts
COMP	comparative
ELL	elliptical
FC.COMP	free choice comparative
I.NEG	indirect negation
NEG	direct negation
NEG Q	negative question
N-NEG	non-negative
NPI	negative polarity
N-VER	non-veridical
Q	question
SCAL	scale-reversing
VER	veridical

For meaning

E.WID	widening with existential implicature
IND	indiscriminacy
NEG	negative
N-SPEC	non-specific
S-K	specific-known
S-U	specific-unknown
WID	widening

Appendix 4: The sample

FAMILY	GENUS	LANGUAGE	COUNTRY	SOURCES
Africa				
Khoisan	Northern Khoisan	Ju'Hoan	Tanzania	Snyman 1970
Khoisan	Central Khoisan	Nama	Namibia	Hagman 1977, Böhm 1985
Niger-Congo	Northern Atlantic	Diola-Fogny	Gambia, Senegal	Sapir 1965
Niger-Congo	Ijoid	Ijo	Nigeria	Williamson 1965
Niger-Congo	Kwa	Ewe	Ghana	Ameka 1991, Schadeberg 1985
Niger-Congo	Gur	Supyire	Mali	Carlson 1994
Niger-Congo	Ubangi	Gbeya-Bossangoa	Central African Republic	Samarin 1966
Niger-Congo	Nupoid	Nupe	Nigeria	Crowther 1864, Banfield & Macintyre 1915
Niger-Congo	Defoid	Yoruba	Benin, Nigeria	Crowther 1952, Koch 2005
Niger-Congo	Edoid	Degema	Nigeria	Kari 1997, 2004
Niger-Congo	Igboid	Igbo	Nigeria	Onumajuru 1985
Nilo-Saharan	Songhay	Koyraboro Senni	Mali, Niger	Heath 1999
Nilo-Saharan	Western-Saharan	Kanuri	Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Sudan	Cyffer 1998, Hutchison 1976, 1981
Nilo-Saharan	Maban	Maba	Chad	Trenga 1947
Nilo-Saharan	Nubian	Nubian	Sudan	von Massenbach 1963
Nilo-Saharan	Surmic	Majang	Ethiopia	Joswig 2011
Nilo-Saharan	Nilotic	Lango	Uganda	Noonan 1992
Nilo-Saharan	Kuliak	So	Uganda	Carlin 1993
Nilo-Saharan	Bongo-Bagirmi	Bagirmi	Chad	Stevenson 1969
Nilo-Saharan	Kresh	Kresh	Sudan	Brown 1994

Nilo-Saharan	Moru-Ma'di	Ma'di	Sudan, Uganda	Blackings & Fabb 2003
Nilo-Saharan	Lendu	Ngiti	Congo	Kutsch Lojenga 1994
Nilo-Saharan	Kunama	Kunama	Eritrea, Ethiopia	Bender 1996
Afro-Asiatic	Biu-Mandara	Tera	Nigeria	Newman 1970
Afro-Asiatic	West-Chadic	Hausa	Niger, Nigeria	Zimmermann 2008, 2010, Cowan & Shuh 1967, Jaggar 2001, Newman 2000
Afro-Asiatic	Beja	Beja	Eritrea, Sudan	Almkvist 1881
Afro-Asiatic	Eastern Cushitic	Somali	Somalia	Carter 1987, Kirk 1905, Saeed 1999, Tosco 2002, Zorc & Issa 1990
Afro-Asiatic	Southern Cushitic	Iraqw	Tanzania	Mous 1992, 1993
Afro-Asiatic	Semitic	Arabic	Egyptian	Lucas 2009, 2013, Cowell 1964, Hoyt 2006, 2010,
Eurasia				
Basque	Basque	Basque	Spain	Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003, Etxeberria 2012
Indo-European	Armenian	Armenian (Western and Eastern)	Armenia	Khanjian 2010, 2012, Klein 1997, 2011, Dum- Tragut 2009
Indo-European	Indic	Hindi	India	Lahiri 1998
Indo-European	Albanian	Albanian	Albania, Serbia, Montenegro	Turano 1998
Indo-European	Germanic	Icelandic	Iceland	Jónsson 2008, Neijmann 2001
Uralic	Ugric	Mansi	Russia	Keresztes 1998
Uralic	Finnic	Finnish	Finland	
Mongolian	Mongolic	Khalkha	Mongolia	Poppe 1970, Sárközi 2004, Janhunen 2012
Tungus	Tungusic	Evenki	Russia	Nedjalkov 1997

Korean	Korean	Korean	Korea	Yoon 2008, Choi 2005, 2007, Gil 2004, Hagstrom 2000, Kang Tieu 2013, Lee 1996, 1999, 2003, Lee et al. 2000, Park 2008, 2009
Japanese	Japanese	Japanese	Japan	Gill 2004, Kaneko 2011, Kato 1985, Kawashima 1994, Kishimoto 2008, Lee 2003, Nakanishi 2006, Shimoyama 2011, Sudo 2010, Yabushita 2012, Yoon 2008, Alonso-Ovalle & Shimoyama 2012
Nivkh	Nivkh	Nivkh	Russia	Gruzdeva 1998, Matissen 2003
Nakh-Dagestanian	Avar-Andic-Tsezic	Hunzib	Russia	van den Berg 1995
Nakh-Dagestanian	Lezgic	Lezgian	Azerbaijan, Russia	Haspelmath 1993
Dravidian	Northern Dravidian	Brahui	Pakistan	Andronov 1980, Bray 1909
South East Asia and Oceania				
Austro-Asiatic	Khasian	Khasi	India	Nagaraja 1985, Rabel 1961, Roberts 1995, Koshy 2009
Austro-Asiatic	Palaung-Khmuic	Khmu'	Laos	Premssirat 1987, Osborne 2009
Austro-Asiatic	Viet-Muong	Vietnamese	Vietnam	Tran & Bruening 2013, Dinh-Hoà 1997
Austro-Asiatic	Katuic	Pacoh	Vietnam	Alves 2006
Austro-Asiatic	Mon-Khmer	Khmer	Cambodia	Gorgoniyev 1966, Huffman 1970, Haiman 2011
Austro-Asiatic	Nicobarese	Nicobarese	India	Das 1977, Man 1889
Sino-Tibetan	Chinese	Cantonese	China	Matthews & Yip 1994
Sino-Tibetan	Bodic	Tibetan	Tibet	Denwood 1999,

				Sandberg [1894] 1999
Sino-Tibetan	Burmese-Lolo	Burmese	Myanmar	Cornyn & Roop 1968
Sino-Tibetan	Kuki-Chin	Lai	Bangladesh, Myanmar, India	Bedell 2001, 2007
Sino-Tibetan	Meithei	Meithei	India	Chelliah 1997, 2000
Tai-Kadai	Kam-Tai	Thai	Thailand	Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005
Austronesian	Atayalic	Seediq	Taiwan	Asai 1953, Henningsson & Holmer 2008
Austronesian	Tsouic	Rukai	Taiwan	Chen & Sung 2005
Austronesian	Chamorro	Chamorro	Guam	Coorman 1983, 1987, Safford 1903, Topping 1973, Topping et al. 1975, Chung 1998
Austronesian	Meso-Philippine	Tagalog	Philippines	Sabbagh 2009, Schachter & Otañes 1983
Austronesian	Sulawesi	Muna	Indonesia	van den Berg 1989
Austronesian	Gayo	Gayo	Indonesia	Eades 2005
Austronesian	Central Malayo-Polynesian	Kambera	Indonesia	Klamer 1994
Austronesian	South-Halmahera-West New Guinea	Biak	Indonesia	van den Heuvel 2006
Austronesian	Oceanic	Lewo	Vanuatu	Early 1994a,b
Papua New Guinea and Australia				
Trans-New-Guinea	Finisterre-Huon	Nabak	PNG	Fabian et al. 1998
Trans-New-Guinea	East New Guinea	Kobon	PNG	Davis 1981
Trans-New-Guinea	Angan	Menya	PNG	Whitehead 2005
Trans-New-Guinea	Sentani	Sentani	PNG	Hartzler 1994
Trans-New-Guinea	Goilalan	Kunimaipa	PNG	Geary 1977

Trans-New-Guinea	Binanderean	Korafe	PNG	Farr & Farr 2008
Trans-New-Guinea	Daga	Daga	PNG	Murane 1974
Trans-New-Guinea	Koiarian	Koiari	PNG	Duton 2003
Trans-New-Guinea	Madang	Amele	PNG	Roberts 1987
Trans-New-Guinea	Madang	Mauwake	PNG	Berghäll 2010
Trans-New-Guinea	Adelbert Range	Usan	PNG	Reesink 1987
Trans-New-Guinea	Eleman	Orokolo	PNG	Franklin 1973
Trans-New-Guinea	Ok	Mian	PNG	Fedden 2007
Trans-New-Guinea	Northern Trans-New-Guinea	Kilmeri	PNG	Gerstner-Link 2004
Timor-Alor-Pantar	Makasae-Fataluku-Oirata	Makalero	Timor	Huber 2011
Trans-New-Guinea	South Bird's Head	Inanwatan	Indonesia	de Vries 2004
Trans-New-Guinea	North Central Bird's Head	Abun	Indonesia	Berry & Berry 1999
Torricelli	Kombio-Arapesh	Arapesh	PNG	Fortune 1942
Sepik-Ramu	Upper Sepik	Abau	PNG	Lock 2011
Sepik-Ramu	Nor-Pondo-Ramu	Yimas	PNG	Foley 1991
Sepik-Ramu	Middle Sepik	Mende	PNG	Hoel et al. 1994
Lower Mamberamo	Lower Mamberamo	Ambai	PNG	Silzer 1983
Skou	Western Skou	Skou	PNG	Donohue 2005
Solomons East Papuan	Lavukaleve	Lavukaleve	Solomons Islands	Terrill 2003
East	East	Nasioi	PNG	Rausch 1912

Bougainville	Bougainville			
Australian	Tiwian	Tiwi	Australia	Osborne 1974
Australian	Iwaidjan	Maung	Australia	Capell & Hinch 1970
Australian	Gunwinyguan	Bininj-Gun Wok	Australia	Evans 2004
Australian	Gunwinyguan	Wardaman	Australia	Merlan 1994
Australian	Tangkic	Kayardild	Australia	Evans 1995
Australian	Maran	Mara	Australia	Heath 1981
Australian	West Barkly	Jingulu	Australia	Pensalfini 1997
Australian	Garawan	Garrwa	Australia	Mushin 2012
Australian	Gaagudju	Gaagudju	Australia	Harvey 2002
Australian	Western Daly	Murriny Patha	Australia	Blythe 2009
Australian	Bunuban	Gooniyandi	Australia	McGregor 1990
Australian	Nyulnyulan	Bardi	Australia	Bowern 2012
Australian	Pama-Nyungan	Ngiyambaa	Australia	Donaldson 1980
North America				
Na-Dene	Haida	Haida	USA, Canada	Enrico 2003
Na-Dene	Athapaskan	Slave	Canada	Rice 1989
Wappo-Yukian	Wappo	Wappo	USA	Radin 1929
Algic	Wiyot	Wiyot	USA	Teeter 1964
Algic	Algonquian	Cheyenne	USA	Murray 2011
Siouan	Siouan	Lakhota	USA	Riggs 1893, Boas & Deloria 1941, Ingham 1998
Wakashan	Southern Wakashan	Makah	USA	Davidson 2002
Salishan	Bella Coola	Bella Coola	USA	Nater 1984, Davis & Saunders 1992
Salishan	Central Salish	Squamish	USA	Kuipers 1967
Yuchi	Yuchi	Yuchi	USA	Benveniste 1950
Iroquoian	Northern Iroquoian	Oneida	USA	Abbott 2000
Penutian	Tsimshianic	Tsimshian	USA	Mulder 1994
Penutian	Chinookan	Chinook	USA	Boas 1894
Penutian	Takelman	Takelma	USA	Sapir 1922
Penutian	Siuslawan	Siuslaw	USA	Frachtenberg 1922
Penutian	Klamath-	Klamath	USA	Rude 1988, Barker 1964

	Modoc			
Penutian	Sahaptian	Nez Perce	USA	Aoki 1973, Aoki & Walker 1989, Deal 2010
Penutian	Miwokan	Miwok (Northern Sierra)	USA	Callaghan 19787
Muskogean	Muskogean	Koasati	USA	Kimball 1991
Huave	Huave	Huave	Mexico	Stairs & Hollenbach 1981
Totonacan	Totonacan	Upper Necaxa Totonac	Mexico	MacKay 1999
Mixe-Zoque	Mixe-Zoque	Chiapas Zoque	Mexico	Faarlund 2012
Hokan	Karok	Karok	USA	Bright 1957
Hokan	Seri	Seri	Mexico	Moser & Marlett 1996, Marlett 2005
Hokan	Pomoan	Central Pomo	USA	Mithun 1998
Hokan	Washo	Washo	USA	Jacobsen 1964, Kroeber 1907
Hokan	Yuman	Maricopa	USA	Gordon 1986
Oto-Manguean	Otomian	Otomí	Mexico	Hekking & Andrés de Jesús 1984, Hekking 1995
Oto-Manguean	Mixtecan	Chalcatongo Mixtec	Mexico	Macaulay 1996
Oto-Manguean	Chinantecan	Tetepotutla Chinantec	Mexico	Westley 1991
Oto-Manguean	Popolocan	Chocho	Mexico	Veerman-Leichsenring 2000
Uto-Aztecan	Tepiman	Nevome	Mexico	Shaul 1986
Uto-Aztecan	Aztecan	Nahuatl (Mecayapan)	Mexico	Wohlgemuth 2007, MacSwan 1997
Uto-Aztecan	Corachol	Huichol	Mexico	Grimes 1964, Gómez 1999
Tarascan	Tarascan	Purépecha	Mexico	Chamereau 2000
Mayan	Mayan	Mam	Guatemala	Collins 1994
South America				
Chibchan	Rama	Rama	Nicaragua	Grinevald 1988
Chibchan	Aruak	Damana	Colombia	Trillos Amaya 1999

Chibchan	Kuna	Kuna (Border)	Colombia, Panama	Forster 2011
Chibchan	Talamanca	Teribe	Costa Rica, Panama	Quesada 2000
Yanoman	Yanoman	Yanomámi	Brazil	Ramírez 1994
Warao	Warao	Warao	Venezuela	Romero-Figeroa 1997
Mura	Mura	Pirahã	Brazil	Everett 1986
Choco	Choco	Epena Pedee	Colombia	Harms 1994
Paezan	Paezan	Páez	Colombia	Jung 2008
Waorani	Waorani	Waorani	Equador	Peeke 1994
Cahuapanan	Cahuapanan	Chayahuita	Peru	Hart 1988
Quechuan	Quechuan	Imbabura Quechua	Equador	Cole 1982
Aymaran	Aymaran	Jaqaru	Peru	Hardman 2000
Araucanian	Araucanian	Mapuche	Chile	Smeets 1989
Barbacoan	Barbacoan	Awa Pit	Colombia, Equador	Curnow 1997
Chon	Chon Proper	Tehuelche	Argentina	Fernandez Garay 1993
Nadahup	Nadahup	Hup	Brazil, Colombia	Epps 2008
Tucanoan	Tucanoan	Tuyuca	Brazil, Colombia	Barnes 1994
Jivaroan	Jivaroan	Aguaruna	Peru	Overall 2007
Trumai	Trumai	Trumai	Brazil	Guirardello 1999
Puinave	Puinave	Puinave	Colombia, Venezuela	Giron 2008
Uru-Chipaya	Uru-Chipaya	Chipaya	Bolivia	Cerrón-Palomino 2006
Tupi-Guarani	Tupian	Guaraní	Brazil	Gregores & Suárez 1967
Guahiban	Guahiban	Sikuani	Colombia	Queixalós 2000
Arauan	Arauan	Paumarí	Brazil	Chapman & Derbyshire 1991
Chapacura- Wanham	Chapacura- Wanham	Wari'	Brazil	Everett & Kern 1997
Arawakan	Arawakan	Baure	Bolivia	Danielsen 2007
Andoke	Andoke	Andoke	Colombia	Landaburu 1979
Pebe-Yaguan	Pebe-Yaguan	Yagua	Peru	Payne & Payne 1990
Cariban	Cariban	Wai Wai	Brazil, Suriname	Hawkins 1998

Mosetenan	Mosetenan	Mosetén	Bolivia	Sakel 2004
Guaicuruan	Guaicuruan	Pilagá	Argentina	Vidal 2001
Matacoan	Matacoan	Wichí	Argentina, Bolivia	Tovar 1981, Terraza 2009
Panoan	Panoan	Shipibo- Konibo	Peru	Valenzuela 2003
Tacanan	Tacanan	Araona	Bolivia	Pitman 1980
Macro-Ge	Chiquitano	Chiquitano	Bolivia	Adam & Henry 1880
Macro-Ge	Ge-Kaingang	Canela-Krahô	Brazil	Popjes & Popjes 1986
Urarina	Urarina	Urarina	Peru	Olawsky 2006
Kwaza	Kwaza	Kwazá	Brazil	van der Voort 2004
Creoles				
Other	Creoles Pidgins	and Haitian Creole	Haiti	DeGraff 1993