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Negative concord in the Old and New World: Evidence from Scotland

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I conduct a quantitative analysis of negative concord in Buckie, a relic dialect from the northeast of Scotland, and compare these findings with transported varieties of English in North America. Two major results arise from the analysis. First, Buckie has high rates of use of negative concord to indeterminates within the same clause, as do all the dialects included in the study. Second, negative concord in other environments is found in certain varieties in the New World that have no counterparts in the Old World. I suggest that the quantitative similarities can be explained in terms of the primitive status of negative concord in vernacular varieties of English, in combination with a shared linguistic heritage during the colonial period. The qualitative differences demonstrate that contexts of linguistic heterogeneity in North America during the early colonization period led to an extension and restructuring of the original rules.

A key issue in variationist sociolinguistics over the past few decades has been the provenance and subsequent development of certain varieties of English, particularly those that have been transplanted to North America (Clarke, 1997; Montgomery, 1989, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1989, 1991; Tagliamonte & Smith, 2000). At the forefront of this research are studies that provide accountable cross-variety comparisons in which specific linguistic features are targeted in order to establish similarities and/or differences between dialects.

However, the validity of such comparisons rests on the selection of a feature that is robust in every variety considered and frequent enough for quantitative analysis (Montgomery, 1997; Tagliamonte & Smith, 2000). Negative concord[1] (Labov, 1972b) in sentential negation, as in (1), is a good candidate.

(1) I *don't* like *nothing*.

Despite being one of the great shibboleths of Modern English, its occurrence in non-standard dialects is widespread; in fact, according to Chambers (1995:242), it "recurs ubiquitously all over the world." Not surprisingly, there are numerous contemporary reports on its use, particularly in Britain (Beal, 1993; Cheshire, 1982;

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Coupland, 1988; Edwards, 1993; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979; Macaulay, 1991) and North America (Feagin, 1979; Howe, 1995, 1997; Howe & Walker, 2000; Labov, 1972a; Schneider, 1989; Weldon, 1995; Wolfram & Christian, 1976). How does the use of negative concord compare in Old and New World varieties of English, and what information can these similarities and/or differences provide on the origins and subsequent development of transported varieties of English? Tagliamonte and Smith (2000) highlighted the crucial importance of putative source dialects in this endeavor, but pointed out that extensive comparison with source dialects has generally been piecemeal. This is due, in part, to the paucity of in-depth structural analyses in the synchronic literature and a "reliance on relatively superficial observations . . . that are not fully informative" (Tagliamonte & Smith, 2000:142). Therefore, a comprehensive analysis of this feature in a source dialect can provide a missing baseline from which to undertake cross-variety comparisons.

Buckie, a dialect from a small town on the northeast coast of Scotland, may provide a good model for historical, social, and linguistic reasons. First, a substantial majority of migrants to North America during the colonial period were from Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the north of England (see, Fischer, 1989), which resulted in their having "a major impact on the demographics, culture and language" (Winford, 1997:315). Second, because of its peripheral geographic location and isolated social circumstances, Buckie is one of those relic areas that in historical linguistics is widely accepted as preserving features typical of earlier stages in the history of a language (e.g., Anttila, 1989:294; Hock, 1986:442). Since a key issue in the debate over the origins and development of certain transplanted varieties is to determine the nature of their grammar(s) at earlier points in time (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991), this makes Buckie a good source for comparison. Moreover, Buckie is far removed from standard English, as was the English spoken by the migrants from Britain during the colonial period (Bailey & Ross, 1988; Chaudenson, 1979; Mufwene, 1996; Winford, 1997). This is another essential prerequisite for purposes of comparison. Third, negative concord, as illustrated in the examples in (2), is robust in this dialect.[2]

(2) a. 'Nae her,' she says 'she *wouldna* ging wi' *naebody* else.' (95.31:3)[3]
'Not her,' she said 'she wouldn't go with anybody else.'
b. She *didna* tak *nae* money fae us. (178.23:r)
She didn't take any money from us.
c. They've *nae* got *nae* choice. (134.18:c)
They've not got any choice.
d. She *disna* bide in Buckie *nae* mare. (495.8:v)
She doesn't live in Buckie any more.
e. We've *nae* got a shower or *nothin'* like 'at. (371.51:1)
We've not got a shower or anything like that.
f. I *never* gied away and left them *naewye.* (713.47:e)
I never went away and left them anywhere.
g. Ye *winna* hae *nothin'* to open the morn. (653.5:w)
You won't have anything to open tomorrow.
h. I *didna* hae *nae* tools or *nothing*. (829.25:j)
I didn't have any tools or anything.

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TABLE 1. *Forms of negation used for Old English to Early Modern English*

Old English	Early Middle English	Middle English	Early Modern English
ne V	*ne* V	*ne* V *not*	V *not*
	ne V *not*	V *not*	*do not* V

Migration patterns during the colonial period suggest that dialects in North America would have much in common with a Scottish dialect. Over the last few centuries, however, varieties in Britain and North America have developed in very different sociohistorical contexts. To what extent has this affected the use of negative concord? Are the same structures employed? What can the similarities and/or differences tell us about the evolution of particular varieties and the underlying mechanisms involved in the diffusion of English across time and space? This article seeks to answer these questions through a quantitative analysis of the use of negative concord in an Old World dialect, Buckie, and a comparison with other varieties in Britain and North America. I first turn to the historical record.

HISTORICAL PRECURSORS

A brief history of negation

The realization of negation has changed since the Old English (OE) period. In OE, the negative particle *ne* was placed before the finite verb and was frequently strengthened by *naht* (also *na, nat, nought, not,* etc.) postverbally (see Fischer, 1992:280; Jespersen, 1917:9; Mitchell, 1985:661). The *ne . . . naht* construction continued to be used in the Middle English (ME) period (Mustanoja, 1960:339). However, as *ne* was a weak phonological element (Jespersen, 1917:11), the original negative particle completely disappeared (Jespersen's Negative Cycle), leaving only *naht* and its variants (Mustanoja, 1960:340). This construction was the main one used by the end of the ME period; it was replaced by periphrastic *do* and preverbal *not* around the 17th century (Ellegård, 1953:162). These developments are summarized in Table 1.

Negative concord in the history of English

The historical record reveals that negative concord was "frequent, indeed the norm from earliest times" (Traugott, 1972:170). "Repetition [of the negative] was the regular idiom in OE" (Jespersen, 1940:451) and was "perfectly normal" (Quirk & Wrenn, 1960:91). In the ME period, around 50% of negative clauses contained more than one negative (Iyeiri, 1999:138).

However, negative concord is "a blanket term, usually employed rather loosely" (Austin, 1984:138), encompassing a large number of different types. The two

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main types were verb phrase negation, as in (3a), and negative concord to indeterminates,[4] as in (3b).

(3) a. Of paradise, *ne* can I *not* speak properly. (Mandeville, *Travels*, c. 1500)
b. I will *noghte* wonde for *no werre* to wende where me likes. (*The Alliterative Morte Arthure*, c. 1300).

Verb phrase negation (3a) was a result of the Negative Cycle. During the change from preverbal *ne* to postverbal *naht*, "frequently both forms of the negative particle were included [resulting in] double negation of the verb phrase itself" (Austin, 1984:139). Negative concord to indeterminates (3b), "where *never*, *no*, *nowhere* etc. are repeated or occur with the adverb *not*" (Iyeiri, 1999:126), was also common. According to Jack (1978a:67), the "forms *any* and *ever*, for instance, are generally avoided in negative clauses in ME, with the corresponding negative forms *no(n)* and *never* used instead." However, there was an increase in use of the nonassertive forms *any*, *ever*, etc. in late ME (Barber, 1976:283; Fischer, 1992:284; Iyeiri, 1999:137; Jack, 1978a:70), as in (4).

(4) . . . howbeit, he is *not* wurthy to have *any* good wyne . . . (Thomas More, 1534)

This increase in the 16th century was led by "the ranks of the educated and upwardly mobile professionals and well-to-do merchants engaged in foreign trade" (Nevalainen, 1998:277). However, despite becoming obsolete in the written word, this structure "existed all the time among the relatively uneducated strata of society" (Austin, 1984:143), and "the lowest social ranks . . . would presumably have retained features like multiple negation" to indeterminates in their speech (Nevalainen, 1998:265).

In sum, two main types of negative concord in the historical record existed from the Old, Middle, and Early Modern English periods.[5] Verb phrase negation was by far the most common type, and it is the "rise and fall of [this type that] directly affects the rise and fall of multiple negation" in the historical record (Iyeiri, 1999:127). Its use drastically declined by the late ME period and became obsolete by Early Modern English. Negative concord to indeterminates began to decrease in the 16th century, and examples from writing of this type of negative concord are difficult to find from the beginning of the 17th to the end of the 18th century. However, there is evidence that it continued to be used in the spoken language by the lower classes throughout this period (Austin, 1984; Jespersen, 1917; Nevalainen, 1998). I now turn to an analysis of the use of negative concord in Buckie.

DATA AND METHOD

The community

Buckie is a small fishing town situated on the coast 60 miles north of Aberdeen, as shown in Figure 1. The "relative isolation and geographic semi-independence from the rest of Scots has assured a strong linguistic identity" (Johnston, 1997:433) in this northeast corner. This area "has traditionally been associated with rural

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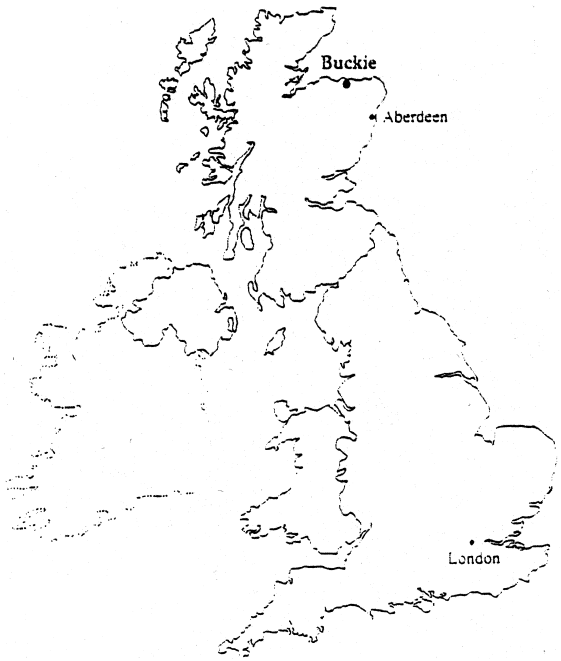


FIGURE 1. Map showing the location of Buckie.

lifestyles, which usually correlates with cultural and linguistic conservatism" (Johnston, 1997:445). Hence, many relic forms are found in this dialect. For example, in the strong verb system there are forms still in use that have long disappeared from the standard, such as the retention of *-en* participle forms (e.g., *putten* for *put*, *letten* for *let*, and *haen* for *had*). Many relic phonetic forms are also evident, such as the velar fricative in *night* and *fight* (Smith, 1996, 2000). These features have disappeared from more urban varieties of Scots, being mostly confined to rural, insular areas.

The data

The data were collected using standard sociolinguistic methodology (Labov, 1984). The goal of obtaining a representative sample of the vernacular of Buckie was greatly facilitated by my in-group status, as I am a member of one of the oldest families in the community. The data, which amounts to approximately 40 hours of tape-recorded conversations, range from discussions about the fishing industry to narratives of personal experience and even local gossip. The corpus, which has been fully transcribed, consists of approximately 300,000 words.

The informant sample was chosen specifically on the basis of (1) native speaker status, (2) homogeneous socioeconomic characteristics, and (3) dense networks. The speakers in the sample were born and raised in the community, were working class, and exhibited networks that were generally confined to the community in

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TABLE 2. *Speaker sample*

Age	Male	Female
22–31	8	8
50–60	7	7
80+	4	5

question.[6] These speakers were focused on as they represented the vernacular norms of the majority of the community.[7] The speaker sample is shown in Table 2 (for details, see Smith, 2000).

Negative concord in Buckie

An initial overview revealed that negative concord is restricted to one linguistic environment in this dialect: what Labov (1972b:786) referred to as "transfer of negatives to indeterminates" following the verb. The term "indeterminate" here applies to items such as *nothing* and *no more*, as in (5a), and also to NPs preceded by *any* or *no*, such as *nae fish*/*any fish* and *nae pay*/*any pay* in (5b). In this article, these are referred to as pronominal indeterminates and NP indeterminates, respectively. Negative concord can spread to two or more indeterminates, as in (5c). Or it can be used in the second element of a conjoined NP or adjective, as in (5d) and (5e).

(5) a. And that's why I says I *couldna* hae *nae* mare. (469.57:s)
And that's why I said I couldn't have any more.
b. If ye *dinna* catch *nae* fish, ye *dinna* get *nae* pay.
If you don't catch any fish, you don't get any pay.
c. There wis *never nae* money for *naebody*. (385.4:q)
There was never any money for anybody.
d. There wis *nae* pubs or *nothin'* in Uigg. (247.31:c)
There were no pubs or anything in Uigg.
e. Linda *wisna* even dressed or *nothin'* yet. (578.11:t)
Linda wasn't even dressed or anything yet.

However, negative concord is variable in Buckie, as shown in the examples in (6). Each pair is taken from the same speaker in the same stretch of discourse.

(6) a. I *na* ken *nane* of that, *nor* I *na* ken *nane* of that. (1520.9:a)
I don't know any of those (people), nor do I know any of those.
b. Now, ee *dinna* ken *ony* o' that. (2131.17:a)
Now, you don't know any of those (people).
c. It *wisna* really gan *naewye*. (175.21:t)
It wasn't really going anywhere.

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TABLE 3. *Overall distribution of negative concord*

	Negative Concord	Standard Form	Total
N	231	106	337
Percentage	69	31	

d. We *didna* get *onywye*. (408.4:t)
We didn't get anywhere.
e. I *wisna* sick *or nothin'*, ye ken. (376.50:1)
I wasn't sick or anything, you know.
f. *Never* heard of a woman director or *onythin'*. (128.18:1)
I'd never heard of a woman director or anything.

I extracted from the data all possible contexts in which negative concord could occur (i.e., every sentence containing one negative element with at least one indeterminate to its right). Singular countable indeterminates were not included, as this context was not variable.[8] This amounted to 337 tokens.

RESULTS

Table 3 shows that the overall frequency of negative concord in Buckie is 69%, a robust feature of the dialect.[9] However, Buckie is not unique with respect to its frequency of negative concord, as a number of other varieties exhibit equally high rates. I concentrate here on the findings from North America and Britain, drawing on Cheshire's (1982) study of adolescents in Reading, England, Feagin's (1979) study of working-class speakers in Alabama,[10] Wolfram and Christian's (1976) study of Appalachian speech, Labov's (1972b) study of African American (inner-city) and white (Inwood) speakers in New York, Wolfram's (1969) Black Detroit speech,[11] Howe's (1995) study of transported varieties of Early African American English (EAAE), including Ex-Slave Recordings (ESR), Samaná English (SE), and African Nova Scotian English (ANSE), and Schneider's (1989) study of Ex-Slave Narratives (ESN). Figure 2 compares the overall frequencies of negative concord across these varieties. Cheshire found 76% use in Reading English, and Labov found 81% use for the Inwood speakers. In Alabama, negative concord was used around 80% of the time by older speakers, in Appalachia 60%,[12] and in Samaná English 66%. In Detroit, lower working-class AAVE speakers used negative concord 78% of the time. For the variety of AAVE reported by Labov (1972b), the inner-city speakers had near-categorical use of negative concord (98%). I return to this point later.

However, overall frequencies reveal little about how the variability is distributed, both extralinguistically and language-internally. For example, do all age groups have the same rate and patterning of negative concord? Do any internal

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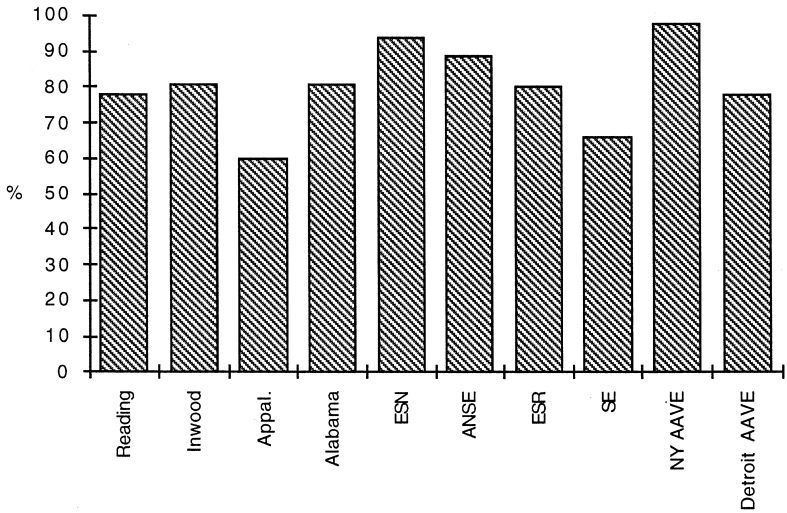


FIGURE 2. Percentage of negative concord across several varieties of English.

factors have an effect on its use? To answer these and other questions regarding the conditioning of negative concord in the Buckie data, I coded the data for a series of internal and extralinguistic factors drawn from the variationist and theoretical literature.

Coding

The extralinguistic effects of age and sex were included in the analysis, as were two internal factors, type of negative element and type of indeterminate.

Type of negative element. The neg-element is the feature that actually negates the sentence (Martin, 1992). I separated these into *not*, as in (7), or *never*, as in (8). These neg-elements have different syntactic distributions and hence may affect the use of negative concord.[13]

(7) a. You *dinna* dee nothin' at seine net. (374.8:1)
You don't do anything at seine net.
b. But the guy *hadna* taen ony national insurance numbers. (741.67:j)
But the guy hadn't taken any national insurance numbers.
c. I'm *nae* gan to preach to you about nothin'. (564,32:j)
I'm not going to preach to you about anything.
d. There *werena* nae buses. (547.9:3)
There weren't any buses.

(8) a. He's *never* came across nothin' like that. (166.39:j)
He's never come across anything like that.
b. He *never* had ony bather. (425.10:j)
He never had any bother.

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Type of indeterminate. Howe (1995) demonstrated that, in EAAE, whether the indeterminate to the right of the verb is a full NP indeterminate or a pronominal indeterminate has an effect on the use of negative concord. His results showed higher rates of negative concord with pronominal indeterminates. Accordingly, I categorized the data as to whether they contained a full NP, as in (9a) and (9b), or a pronominal indeterminate, as in (9c) and (9d).[14] Conjoined NPs or adjectives, as in (9e), (9f), and (9g), were also included in this category.[15]

(9) a. They've nae got *nae choice*. (134.18:w)
They've not got any choice.
b. I na think you'd *ony pals*, had ye? (678.53:!)
I don't think you'd any pals, had you?
c. She hadna heard *naebody*. (823.38:a)
She hadn't heard anybody.
d. 'No,' I says 'I canna spell *onybody's name*.' (363.24:n)
'No,' I said 'I can't spell anybody's name.'
e. I have na even seen photos of her or *nothing*. (261.0:v)
I haven't even seen photos of her or anything.
f. He never lost the head or *onythin',* ken. (832.0:t)
He never got angry or anything, you know.
g. I'm nae being personal or *nothin' else.* (146.23:a)
I'm not being personal or anything else.

There were no examples of the clause modifier *either* in the data (Labov, 1972b:806).

Multivariate analysis

In order to assess the effect of each individual factor, I conducted a multivariate analysis of the contribution of each factor to negative concord in the Buckie data, using GOLDVARB (Rand & Sankoff, 1990). The results are shown in Table 4. Three groups are selected as significant: age, sex, and type of indeterminate. Type of neg-element is not significant.

Extralinguistic constraints

While speaker sex is significant, the strongest constraint by far is age, with a range of 61. Older speakers highly favor negative concord, middle-aged speakers disfavor it, and younger speakers are positioned in between. Can this result reveal anything about the direction and/or rate of change over time in the use of this feature?

Wolfram and Christian (1975:161) suggested that negative concord is increasing in nonstandard dialects: their apparent time study demonstrated that younger speakers used the form more than older speakers. Moreover, Howe and Walker (2000:135) suggested that the near-categorical use of negative concord to indeterminates in AAVE is a "recent and spectacular development." Here, however, we see that older speakers in Buckie have the highest rates of negative concord, in line with the findings in Alabama for the urban working-class sample (Feagin, 1979). These results call into question the assumption that negative concord is increasing in some varieties.

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TABLE 4. *Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of negative concord in Buckie Scots*

	%	Factor Weight	*N*
Corrected mean .728			
Type of indeterminate following verb			
Negative polarity item	75	.57	246
Full NP	53	.31	91
Range		26	
Neg-element			
not	70	[.53][a]	271
never	62	[.39]	66
Age			
Old	90	.80	87
Middle	39	.19	72
Young	71	.47	178
Range		61	
Sex			
Male	72	.57	163
Female	66	.44	174
Range		13	
Total *N*			337

[a]Brackets indicate statistical nonsignificance.

Moreover, ethnicity has been cited to explain the categorical use of negative concord in AAVE (Winford, 1992:350). However, if rates of use partitioned according to ethnic heritage, then the AAVE speakers in Detroit (Wolfram, 1969:163) would have categorical use, which is not the case. Indeed, in terms of frequency of use, the older speakers from Buckie are closest to Labov's inner-city speakers and the ESN informants (Schneider, 1989). These results suggest that negative concord is not unusual in its frequency in AAVE.

What alternative explanation can be offered for the different rates of use, both between dialects and within Buckie itself? I believe that what we witness with this particular variable is not change over time in one direction or another, but a reflection of the differential influence of prescriptive norms imposed from above on different varieties. In fact, Labov (1972b:810) observed that the standard form with *any* is primarily an importation from an outside system, at least for AAVE speakers. However, I suggest that this is true for all nonstandard varieties of English. In other words, negative concord is a classic case of a primitive or vernacular feature (Chambers, 1995). Thus, it follows that the further from mainstream norms a particular community is, the higher the frequencies of negative concord will be. As for the communities considered in Figure 2, all of them resist standardization, whether on geographical, social, or political grounds. I propose that the high frequencies of negative concord are a reflection of that. This would explain the near-categorical use of negative concord in the inner-city AAVE speakers, as they are the group that is probably the most isolated socially, culturally,

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and politically from mainstream society (see, e.g., Labov's [1972c] discussion of the Jets and Cobras).

Moreover, different groups of people within a particular community may exhibit different frequencies of use, depending on factors such as age (Wolfram, 1969), group membership (Fought, 1999; Labov, 1972b), network affiliation (Milroy, 1980), and influence from the "linguistic marketplace" (Sankoff & Laberge, 1978). I submit that these multifaceted and interrelated pressures reflect the speakers' position vis-à-vis mainstream norms and hence their greater or lesser use of negative concord. That different pressures are exerted on groups of individuals or on individuals themselves is clearly seen from the widely diverging frequencies of use within the different age groups in the Buckie community. This is particularly highlighted by the drop in frequency of use of the nonstandard form in the middle-aged group. Analysis of negative concord by individual speaker revealed that five have no negative concord use and five have categorical use.[16] It is noteworthy that the categorically standard speakers all come from the middle-aged group, while the categorically nonstandard speakers are from the older generation. In addition, of the middle-aged speakers who are categorically standard, four are female. These individual patterns reveal that negative concord is stigmatized in the middle-aged female group, as demonstrated by the self-correction in (10) by a 55-year-old female.

(10) I didna take *nae- any* notice. (279.15:%)

That women are more status-conscious than men is a consistent finding in sociolinguistic studies (Labov, 1990; Trudgill, 1974). The fact that this does not hold for all women in this community may be indicative of the different cultural pressures that they were faced with when acquiring and developing their sociolect. According to Dubois and Horvath (1999:311), "the effects of gender are strongly conditioned by generation, and the generations are strongly conditioned by the sociohistorical contexts." I suggest that, for the middle-aged female group (all between 55 and 60 years old), the context in which they grew up (i.e., an era of postwar conservatism in which a woman's place was in the home) affected their language behavior; this may be surmised from their lower rates of use of a highly stigmatized variable.

Language-internal constraints

The results for internal constraints demonstrate that negative concord is used more with pronominal indeterminates than with NP indeterminates. However, a closer examination of this context reveals that this constraint is not applicable to all age groups, as shown in Table 5. With older speakers, there is no distinction between pronominal indeterminates and full NP indeterminates, yet a more to less hierarchy holds among the middle-aged and young speakers. How can this patterning be explained?

Pronominal indeterminates such as *nothing* and *no one* are more common than NP indeterminates in the data set; Table 4 shows that these are twice as common as full NP indeterminates ($N = 246$ vs. $N = 91$). According to Tottie (1996),

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TABLE 5. *Distribution of negative concord by following indeterminate and age*

	Older		Middle-aged		Younger	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Pronominal	50	90	40	45	138	76
Full NP	29	90	27	22	35	46

frequency contributes to the preservation of older forms, and the historical record shows that *any* forms were much rarer in negatives than *no* forms until the 16th century. I suggest that, due to their frequency of use, pronominal indeterminates are more likely to resist standardization and hence *any* forms. This change from above in more recent generations manifests itself in the constraint hierarchy of pronominal indeterminate > full NP indeterminate. There is no information in the historical literature on how nonassertive forms entered the grammar of English, but what we see in the Buckie data is the development of a constraint that may characterize the pathway of change with this feature.

However, I hypothesize that if frequency were a motivating factor in the resistance of *any* forms, then all dialects would follow the same path, as this may be part of a broader process of psycholinguistic processing common to all dialects. Only two other studies have considered internal constraints on negative concord: Cheshire's (1982) study of Reading English in Britain and Howe's (1995) study of EAAE, including ANSE, Samaná English, and Ex-Slave Recordings. In Howe's study, the most significant conditioning effect across all communities is the type of indeterminate following the verb, with the same constraint hierarchy as the middle-aged and younger Buckie speakers. However, in contrast to Buckie, varieties of EAAE have negative concord to singular count nouns. These types as well as generics were included in Howe's analysis; hence, the samples are not entirely comparable. Specifically, it is unclear whether Howe's results would still reveal a pronominal indeterminate > full NP indeterminate distinction if generics and singulars were removed, since the lower rates of negative concord with full NPs could be due to the inclusion of these contexts. Singular count nouns or generics were not included in Cheshire's (1982) study; hence, the variable context is the same as Buckie. Nevertheless, she found no effect of following indeterminate. Rather, full NP indeterminates were used just as much, and in some cases even more, with negative concord than were pronominal indeterminates. This may be the result of statistical fluctuation. In total, the Reading data has 141 tokens spread over 18 cells. No information is provided on how many tokens there are per cell, but these may be too small to reach any decisive conclusions on the internal patterning in Reading. What is needed, therefore, is more information on internal constraints on negative concord in order to assess whether the patterns found in Buckie are community-specific or the reflection of a broader psycholinguistic processing effect common to all dialects.

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Qualitative comparison

I have demonstrated that high rates of use of negative concord to indeterminates are common to all the nonstandard dialects discussed here. However, a quantitative analysis of these forms does not provide the full story. An overview of the literature reveals that there are other environments in which negative concord is used. These fall into six main types.

The first type is the one used in Buckie. In Type 1, negated indeterminates follow the verb, as in (11).

(11) a. I *ain't* got *no* money. (ESR. Howe & Walker, 2000:110)
b. We *never* had *nothing*, so it didn't bother us too much. (Alabama. Feagin, 1979:229)

Feagin (1979:227) described this type as "the most common form" of negative concord, and indeed it is consistently reported to have the highest rates of use across all varieties.

Labov (1972b:806) described the second type as "negative transfer to verbs." In Type 2, the negative element appears on both the subject indeterminate and the verb, as in (12).

(12) a. *No* stranger *ain't* got to come. (Samaná English. Howe & Walker, 2000:124)
b. *Nobody couldn't* handle him. (Appalachian English. Wolfram & Christian, 1976:112)

Type 3 involves those cases in which negative concord extends to the verb in a lower clause, as shown in (13).

(13) a. But *don't* you think [that I'm *not* gon' take it]. (Samaná English. Howe, 1995:96)
b. We *ain't* never really had *no* tornadoes in this area here [that I *don't* remember]. (Alabama. Feagin, 1979:229)

In Type 4, negative concord extends to an indeterminate in a lower clause, as in (14)

(14) a. I *don'* 'spect [I ever kin reckomember much *no more*]. (ESN. Schneider, 1989:195)
b. I *don't* think [that takes off *no* weight]. (ANSE. Howe 1995:67)
c. I *wouldn't* let him [touch me *nowhere*]. (Reading. Cheshire, 1982:63)

In Types 3 and 4, the negative is copied across clause boundaries (wide scope negation; Ukaji, 1999) rather than restricted to the same clause.

Type 5 is known as negative inversion (Labov, 1972b:811) and is shown in (15). Some structures that fall into this category may be the result of deletion of the verb *be* after the expletives *it* or *there* (Feagin, 1979:237), as in (15c) and (15d).

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(15) a. *Won't nobody* catch us. (New York AAVE. Labov, 1972b:811)
b. *Warn't nobody* embalmed dem days. (ESN. Schneider, 1989:195)
c. I don't bother nobody and *ain't nobody* gon come to my door here and bother me. (Alabama. Feagin, 1979:240)
d. She told me that *wasn't nobody* gon run her out tonight. (Alabama. Feagin, 1979:240)

In Type 6, the indeterminate *ever* is involved in negative concord in some dialects, as in (16).[17]

(16) a. He *wouldn't never* have been president, I don't think. (Alabama. Feagin, 1979:230)
b. *Nobody never* took an airplane, none of us took a bus neither. (New York AAVE. Labov, 1972b:811)

Therefore, a wide range of other structures give rise to negative concord. An important question, then, is which structures are used where and by whom. Taking a cross-section of the communities in which negative concord has been studied, I now compare the use of these types across varieties. The communities included in the comparison may be differentiated according to two major criteria: (1) geographic location and (2) ethnic background of their speakers. The first category has become well established in traditional dialectology (see, e.g., Chambers & Trudgill, 1980); the second has often been invoked to account for differences in varieties of English (DeBose, 1994; Rickford, 1977, 1995; Winford, 1992).

Table 6 summarizes the qualitative comparison of dialects from the various communities. A tick signals that the structure is attested in the grammar; a cross indicates that it is not. A question mark signals that there is not enough information in the available literature to establish use or otherwise of a particular structure. Going from left to right along the table, we can see that every variety employs Type 1. However, this is the only pan-community pattern used. Reading from top to bottom of the table, we can see a qualitative split in the use of negative concord. Whereas the first three varieties employ only Type 1, the remaining varieties have much broader usage. It might be proposed that the split is due to geography (i.e., a difference between British and North American varieties of English). But that would not account for the patterning seen with the Inwood speakers in New York (Labov, 1972b). Similarly, the split might be attributed to different ethnic heritage. However, the speakers from Appalachia and Alabama are largely British in origin, in contrast to those of EAAE and AAVE. Nevertheless, in qualitative terms they behave the same. If neither geography nor ethnic heritage can account for these qualitative differences, what are they due to? Development from different roots? Retention of relic forms? Extension of original patterns? Moreover, what can account for the use of negative concord to indeterminates across all varieties?

The similarities between British and African American varieties with robust Type 1 negative concord are surprising, given that ethnicity has figured prominently in accounting for linguistic differences between the varieties (DeBose,

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TABLE 6. *Qualitative differences between dialects with negative concord structures*

	British		Mainly British?			African American			
	Buckie	Reading	Inwood	Appalachia	Alabama	ESN	AAE	AAVE	Detroit
Type 1 (postverbal indeterminate)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Type 2 (to verbs)	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Type 3 (clause-external, to verb)	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Type 4 (clause-external, to indeterminate)	?	?	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?
Type 5 (inversion)	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Type 6 (*ever*)	x	x	?	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	?

1994; Rickford, 1977, 1995; Winford, 1992). Indeed, Winford (1992:350) claimed that negation is "one of the chief areas in which [Black English Vernacular] shows traces of its creole origins." However, consideration of the sociohistorical pattern in which these varieties arose might go some way toward explaining these shared patterns of use.

Migration patterns from Britain to North America in the 18th century (the time of the greatest transatlantic migration) reveal that the destination of the majority of British migrants was to the "backcountry" (Fischer, 1989): southwestern Pennsylvania, western parts of Maryland and Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and the Appalachian mountains (Bailyn & DeWolfe, 1986; Crozier, 1984; Fischer, 1989; Leyburn, 1962). These were also the areas in which there were the highest proportion of African slaves (Mufwene, 1996, 2000; Winford, 1997; Wood, 1989, 1991). While the contact situation in this time period was undoubtedly varied (McDavid, 1985; Mufwene, 2000; Rickford, 1997, 1998; Winford, 1997),[18] these settlement patterns suggest that there was sustained contact between the African- and British-origin speakers in the southern states of the United States.

According to Mufwene's (1996) Founder Principle, during this period the contact phenomena that arose due to the influx of both British- and African-origin speakers gave rise to a competition and selection approach to language contact, where one of the factors influencing the linguistic features to emerge in a contact vernacular is the frequency and nature of structural features of the varieties spoken by the dominant population groups (Mufwene, 1996:122–123). That is, "the elements that are central to the systems are most likely to have come from the founder populations" who were "indentured servants and other low class employees of colonial companies." In the southern states, the vast majority of these were the British migrants. "Elements central to the system" in the varieties studied here are demonstrated in the use of Type 1 negative concord, which is used robustly by all communities (see Figure 2 and Table 6).

Winford (1998:104) suggested that negative concord is attributed to "common superstrate mix," which "may have involved reinforcement from creole influence"; negative concord to indeterminates is a prototypical feature of negation that is, in fact, obligatory in many creoles (Bickerton, 1981:65). But the evidence presented here from the historical record and a present-day putative source dialect suggests that negative concord is just as likely to be the result of relatively successful acquisition of settler English (Mufwene, 1994; Schneider, 1989), regardless of creole influence.[19] Indeed, "the conditions in much of the South in the 17th and 18th centuries were favourable for many, if not most Africans to acquire close approximations to the settler dialects" (Winford, 1997:309). In other words, negative concord to indeterminates could have been one of those features that was "simply adopted without much change … from the settler dialects" (Winford, 1998:100). The high rates of use of negative concord to indeterminates in the Buckie older speakers support this view.

On the other hand, this analysis has revealed specific (minority) differences as well. How can these be explained? Following from the ongoing debate over the

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last ten years as to the origins of present-day AAVE (Hannah, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1989, 1991; Rickford, 1997; Singler, 1991; Tagliamonte & Smith, 2000; Winford, 1992, 1997, 1998), Types 2 to 6 may have creole roots. These structures may have then spread to other varieties in contact with these creole-based languages: that is, varieties such as Alabaman and Appalachian English in the southern states. This would account for the synchronic qualitative split between those dialects with little or no exposure to creole influences and those with sustained contact. However, at least two types of negative concord are not found in English-based creoles: clause-external negative concord to verbs (Type 2) and negative inversion (Type 5) (Bickerton, 1975; Holm, 1988). Therefore, creole roots cannot explain the presence of Types 2 or 5.

Another possible explanation is that the structures in Table 6 have been retained from earlier English by some varieties but not others. However, the historical record shows that in the 18th century, when migration into North America was the greatest, only negative concord to indeterminates existed in English. Negative concord to verbs had disappeared by the early ME period, and negative inversion is attested only until the early ME period (Jespersen, 1917). Wide scope negative concord, where the negative is copied over a clause boundary, began to decrease at the turn of the 16th century and had disappeared by the first half of the 17th century (Ukaji, 1999:274). Therefore, it is unlikely that Types 2, 3, or 5 would have been part of the available linguistic model for the speakers in the New World, as these had become obsolete, at least in the written record, before the majority of immigrants from Britain went to North America.

If the structures in Table 6 are not remnants from earlier stages of English or attributable to creole influences, then what can explain the qualitative split we see in Table 6? Labov (1972b:774) observed that, "as far as the rules of negative concord … are concerned, we are looking at the further development of traditional, well-established English rules." These rules became well established in North America with the influx of British during the 17th and 18th centuries. This would explain the presence of negative concord to indeterminates in all varieties. However, I suggest that some North American varieties have since extended these rules to other environments. Hence, Type 1 is an older form extant during the colonial period, and the remaining types have arisen subsequently.[20] In fact, the quantitative differences in use between negative concord to indeterminates on the one hand and the remaining types on the other lend weight to this claim. While the former is robust in every dialect studied, Types 2 and 4 are less common (Feagin, 1979:229; Howe & Walker, 2000:128; Labov 1972b:788, 806, 808), and Types 3 and 5 are very rare indeed, with only a handful of cases reported for each study (Howe, 1995:95; Labov, 1972b:774). These majority versus minority use of structures suggest older versus newer patterns.

Therefore, I propose that the major split seen in Table 6 is due to the innovation of features in the North American context. But a crucial question remains: why have the extended negative concord forms not been adopted by all the varieties? A closer look at the different histories of these communities may shed light on the different linguistic patterns evidenced here. Instead of dividing the communities

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by geography or ethnicity, a more revealing picture emerges if we think of them in terms of the sociohistorical context in which they arose (see also Tagliamonte & Smith, 2000). As detailed earlier, migration patterns from the 18th century demonstrate sustained contact between African- and British-origin speakers in many areas of the southern states. From 1717 to 1775 in particular, plantations flourished with the arrival of the Scots-Irish, with the result that blacks and whites were in close contact (Mufwene, 1996; Winford, 1997; Wood, 1989). In the northern areas, in sharp contrast, there were far fewer African Americans until relatively recently. Indeed, it is estimated that 90% of the African American population in the 1890s were in the South (Bailey & Maynor, 1987:466), and that the northward movement of large numbers of African Americans only took place around the time of World War I (Bailey & Maynor, 1989; Mufwene, 2000; Winford, 1997).

These very different sociohistorical contexts are reflected in the different patterns of use of negative concord. In the case of the South, the context of ethnic heterogeneity from the 18th century onwards is an ideal situation for contact-induced change, as Mufwene (1996) and Winford (1997, 1998) discussed in detail. This includes not only the spread of existing linguistic models, but also restructuring due to the competing influences on the emerging vernacular(s). In other words, there are "instances of natural adaptations of languages qua populations to changing ecological conditions" (Mufwene, 1996:85). These natural adaptations come about through ethnographic factors such as demographic proportions, attitudes of speakers to one another, and their social status. In this scenario, the "forms may have syntactic distributions and semantic functions which are sometimes not identical with those of their etyma" (Mufwene, 1996:117). This appears to be the case with the forms in Table 6. I suggest that what we see here are innovations extended from strategies already available in the grammar of the speakers: in other words, the adaptation of an earlier system through restructuring and extension to other environments, such as the use of scope of negative concord across clause boundaries (Types 3 and 4).

Negative concord across clause boundaries and the case of ever

Two types of negative concord need additional explanation: clause-external negation to indeterminates (Type 4) and the use of *ever* in negative concord (Type 6). Note the question-mark status of Type 4 in Reading and Buckie in Table 6. It is not clear from the available literature on Reading English or the Buckie data whether negative concord to indeterminates across clause boundaries can occur freely. In the Buckie data, only four examples of the context for negative concord occur, which are given in (17):

(17) a. *Dinna* think she's doin' *ony* mare courses. (13.33:£)
Don't think she's doing any more courses.
b. I *dinna* think she would tak *onythin'*. (104.3:£)
I don't think she would take anything.
c. She jist said, 'Well, I *didna* think I'd get *ony-wye*.' (101.27:v)
She just said, 'Well, I didn't think I would get anywhere.'

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d. I swore that I would *never* let *onybody* bide with me again (640.19:v)
I swore that I would never let anybody live with me again.

None of these occur with negative concord, but my own native-speaker judgments suggest that, while it is unlikely to occur with (17a), (17b), and (17c), negative concord can be used with (17d).[21] These examples are syntactically different, however: (17a), (17b), and (17c) have a finite following clause, but (17d) has a nonfinite one. This suggests that negative concord is allowed across clauses when the subordinate clause is nonfinite.[22] Given the paucity of available contexts in the data, this hypothesis must remain very tentative.[23]

The only available example of negative concord across clause boundaries in Cheshire's data is nonfinite, as in (14c), repeated here in (18):

(18) I *wouldn't* let him touch me *nowhere*. (Cheshire, 1982:63)

Given that Cheshire does not directly address the question of negative concord across clause boundaries, it is not possible to establish whether the constraint hypothesized for the Buckie data applies in the Reading case. From the available literature, this constraint does not seem to apply to other varieties of English compared here, and it may reveal another area in which the use of negative concord has extended into other environments.

Ever is not involved in negative concord in Buckie, despite being documented in the historical record (Iyeiri, 1999; Jack, 1978b), as in (19).

(19) I dare sey ferther that *no more never* entended you neyther. (Thomas More, 1534)

Why is it not used anymore? A closer look at the use of *never* in Buckie may shed light on this. In standard English, *never* is used to mean "not on any occasion," and it is used in the same way in Buckie, as illustrated in (20).

(20) a. She *never* seems to cairry onythin' through. (971.1:j)
b. Since they come up here he's *never* been back. (76.3:$)

But in Buckie, *never* can also be used as a negative preterit: that is, with the semantics of "not on one specific occasion," as in (21).

(21) a. I *never* had that the last time. (126.0:x)
b. First day I broke even. I *never* went the second day. (41.47:l)

This means that sentences such as (22) are functional variants.

(22) a. I *didn't* have that the last time.
b. First day I broke even. I *didn't* go the second day.

What is the correlation between this and the fact that *ever* is not involved in negative concord? According to Cheshire (1999:35), "*never* should be seen as a

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negative item in its own right" rather than as an equivalent to *not ever*. In other words, it is an independent marker of negation. In the Buckie dialect, sentences such as (23) are not semantically equivalent, as (23a) is associated with a positive reading.

(23) a. He *wouldn't never* have been president, I don't think. (Feagin, 1979:230)
b. He *wouldn't ever* have been president, I don't think.

Thus, it may be the case that, in varieties where *never* is used as a pure negative marker, there is complementary distribution between the negative marker *never* and the indeterminate *ever*. This "accounts for the fact that it does not enter into negative concord" (Cheshire, 1982:66).

Use of *never* in at least two other varieties support this hypothesis: Reading English (Cheshire, 1982) and Ex-Slave Narratives (Schneider, 1989). In Cheshire's data, *ever* is not involved in negative concord, but *never* can be used in place of *didn't*. Schneider (1989:195–196) did not document negative concord to *ever*, presumably because it did not occur in the data, but did mention *never* used in place of *didn't*. However, until there is clear evidence that *never* is not used as a pure negative marker in varieties in which *ever* is involved in negative concord, this hypothesis remains highly speculative.

DISCUSSION

At the beginning of this article, I suggested that negative concord is a good candidate for cross-variety comparison, given its robust use in many nonstandard dialects of English, both in Britain and in North America, and that an in-depth analysis of this feature in a putative source dialect would shed light on its origins and development over the past few centuries in differing sociohistorical settings.

The study demonstrated that negative concord to indeterminates is used robustly in Buckie, and comparison with a variety of nonstandard dialects, both in the United Kingdom and North America, revealed equally high frequencies of use. These high rates of use raised two substantive issues: the question of innovation versus retention of this feature across varieties and the origins of present-day varieties of English. The near-categorical use of negative concord in the teenage AAVE speakers from New York (Labov, 1972b) has led to claims that the high rate of negative concord to indeterminates in this variety is a recent innovation (Howe & Walker, 2000:135). Apparent-time results from Appalachia (Wolfram & Christian, 1976) have led to the suggestion that it is increasing in other nonstandard dialects also.

However, results from the Buckie data contradict this hypothesis: it is the older speakers rather than the younger speakers in this community who use the feature most frequently. In this community at least, there is no evidence to suggest change across time towards higher rates of negative concord. I suggested that the near-categorical use of negative concord seen in the variety of AAVE in New York cannot be accounted for solely in ethnic terms. I argued that the results for

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the frequencies of use of negative concord are a product of the specific sociohistorical ecology in which it occurs. The different rates of use are much more likely to be the result of a speaker's or community's position vis-à-vis mainstream norms. What the older speakers in Buckie have in common with the inner-city teenagers in New York is relative immunity, or indeed indifference, to pressures from above (Labov, 1972b).

A closer look at the conditioning of negative concord in Buckie revealed that it is more likely to appear with pronominal indeterminates than NP indeterminates. I suggested that this was due to a frequency effect. The older speakers showed no differentiation in use, but the imposition of standard norms on the more recent generations manifested itself in the constraint hierarchy of pronominal indeterminates > full NP indeterminate. There is no data in the literature on how nonassertive forms entered the grammar of English, but what we see here, at least in the Buckie data, is an innovation in use. The fact that the EAAE speakers (Howe, 1995) also showed the same constraints in use may be the product of the different variable contexts or simply an independent development due to the frequency effect. Additional research in these and other varieties is needed to establish whether the internal constraints found in Buckie are community-specific or the reflection of a broader psycholinguistic processing effect common to all dialects.

To provide a comprehensive account of the use of negative concord in both the Old and New World, a qualitative cross-variety comparison was necessary, as "it remains unclear whether the other types of negation [other than negative concord to indeterminates] had sources in the superstrate models or were independent developments" (Winford, 1998:109). I suggested that it is the latter. Again, neither geography (North American vs. British) or ethnicity (British vs. African American) could account for the qualitative split observed in Table 6. Instead, following Tagliamonte and Smith (2000:163), I posited that the qualitative differences in the use of negative concord are explicable in terms of "the sociodemographic conditions under which [the communities] evolved." In the case at hand, the features of the dialects of British English would have been favored in the southern colonies, resulting in high rates of use of Type 1 negative concord in all varieties. Moreover, in the contexts where there was intensive language contact (i.e., in what came to be the southern states), these existing patterns were restructured via extension to additional environments.

CONCLUSION

The recurrent use of negative concord in many nonstandard dialects has proved to be an informative tool for cross-variety comparison and, in particular, for testing the theories of language contact put forward by Mufwene (1996) and Winford (1997, 1998), among others. The results of this research suggest that the most important influence on the use of negative concord is adoption and adaptation. What is adopted and what is adapted is inextricably linked to the historical, cul-

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tural, and demographic nature of the communities during their history, as Mufwene (1996) argued. Using as a starting point a putative source dialect for transplanted varieties of English and comparing it with transatlantic varieties can give us a broader picture of the differing pressures on variation in different ecological settings.

Perhaps the most remarkable finding of this cross-variety comparison is that varieties of AAVE look much like nonstandard varieties from Britain. This is particularly striking as AAVE has traditionally been thought to be so different from other English dialects (Rickford, 1977; Winford, 1992). The findings demonstrated in this study highlight the importance of what is compared when assessing the provenance of transplanted varieties. Following Chaudenson (1979) and Mufwene (1996), Winford (1997:308) remarked that "Southern White Vernacular English, and not Standard English, is the proper point of comparison with AAVE." This study demonstrates that nonstandard peripheral dialects of the British Isles such as Buckie have much to offer the debate on the origins and subsequent development of varieties of English across time and space.

NOTES

1. I define negative concord as the use of two negatives where standard English requires only one. In standard English, the negative is generally confined to one element. In nonstandard varieties, "the negative feature is spread, so to speak, over all elements in the sentence" (Van der Wouden, 1994:93).

2. In this dialect, the noncliticized, stressed form is *nae* [ne] and the unstressed enclitic is *na* [nʌ]. These equate to standard English *not* and *n't*.

3. The numbers, letters, and symbols in parentheses refer to the location of the examples in the corpus and the speaker code.

4. The label "indeterminate" was first applied by Klima (1964) to distinguish *any*, *ever*, and *either* from other items such as *some*, primarily on the basis of their co-occurrence with negative and question features.

5. These types were not always mutually exclusive. For example, it is possible to get negative concord with the adverb *ne* as well as the conjunction *ne*. However, this state of affairs is rare, with two negatives rather than three or more dominant at least in the ME period (Iyeiri, 1999:126).

6. The term "working class" needs to be viewed from within the cultural setting of the community under study. Many of the speakers are highly regarded within the community and are involved in civic duties of varied descriptions. Therefore "unequal access to power and advantage" (Milroy, 1987:29) as an important indicator of class is inappropriate in this context.

7. Johnston (1997:431) characterizes the sociolinguistic situation in the coastal towns as one in which the majority of the population use Scots. Scottish Standard English is marginal to the tight networks within the community. This applies to Buckie.

8. According to Labov (1972b:806), the underlying form in negative concord constructions is NEG + *any*, not NEG + *a*. This is supported by Cheshire's (1982:65) findings for Reading English, where "*a* remains unchanged in negative sentences"; therefore "negative concord . . . cannot occur in this environment." In the Buckie data, in contexts of morphologically singular countable NPs (N = 136), only three were used with *no*.

(i) a. You'll have to get on a new apron.
I'm *nae* getting *nae* new apron. (1602.28:a)
b. They're *nae* gan in *nae* cattle-boat. (323.39:b)
c. I *never* got *nae* letter in about that camera. (273.18:n)

Labov's explanation for such constructions lies in discourse features. He asserts that, because negative concord within the clause is categorical in AAVE, it cannot be used for emphasis, and that therefore another device is needed. The speaker "strengthens his first negation with the insertion of

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the underlying quantifier *any* which automatically attracts the negative" (Labov, 1972b:811); that is, the universal quantifier *any* is substituted for the existential determiner *a*. In this way, a contrast is reinforced. Therefore, *any*, not *a*, is the underlying form in these cases (but see Howe, 1995, for an alternative analysis).

9. Analysis by individual speaker revealed that 5 of the 37 speakers were categorically standard and 5 were categorically nonstandard. When separate analyses were run without these speakers, both rates and constraints remained the same. For this reason, I have included these speakers in all subsequent analyses.

10. Feagin's sample also included upper class speakers, but for comparative purposes, these are not considered here.

11. This is an average of all age groups.

12. The percentage for Appalachia is an average of all age groups considered. The actual percentages range from 52% to 72%.

13. These were further subdivided into co-occurrence with auxiliary verbs, copula *be*, and modals. All of these verbs patterned in the same way and were therefore treated together.

14. Only two adjectives that can undergo negative concord (*good* and *better*) were found in the data. These were eliminated due to their low frequency.

15. Labov (1972b:806) classified examples with *or anything/nothing* as clause modifiers; he suggested that they do not operate under the same rule as other indeterminates in AAVE, as they "are not considered within the same clause." However, when these structures were run separately in the Buckie data, they showed identical patterning to ordinary pronominal indeterminates, lending weight to the claim that they should be analyzed as conjoined elements.

16. As noted in note 9, when these speakers were removed from the analysis, the constraints in Table 4 remained the same.

17. Like *any*, *ever* is considered to be an indeterminate, based on its co-occurrence with negative and question features (Klima, 1964).

18. The migration patterns in terms of ratio of Europeans to African Americans differ in coastal Carolina and Georgia, where African Americans far outnumbered whites (Mufwene, 1996; Wood, 1989). This led Turner (1949) to suggest that two different linguistic situations emerged in the southern colonies: a creole continuum in the coastal areas of Georgia and Carolina, but a second-language continuum in Virginia and upcountry Carolina and Georgia.

19. It might be argued that negative concord to indeterminates is a product of substratum transfer, one of the key components in AAVE development, as proposed by Winford (1997, 1998), Rickford (1998), and Singler (1989, 1991), among others. Again, however, the specific pattern of negative concord to indeterminates is not a predominant pattern in most African languages (Mufwene, personal communication, June 2000).

20. Note that the historical record makes clear that some of these forms have occurred at one time or another in the history of English. Crucial for our purposes here, however, is the time period in which these structures were used.

21. These examples were taken from speakers who exhibited variable use of negative concord.

22. Attestations from the historical record indicate that "there seems to be hardly any syntactic constraint on the type of subordinate clause to which negative concord can be extended" (Ukaji, 1999:286).

23. Note, too, that these examples also divide in terms of the negative elements: cliticized *na* versus *never*. In (17d), replacement of *never* with *na* is still acceptable. This accords with Cheshire's example (18).

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