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Negative Alternations in Bilingual Speech: The Case of Chipilo, Mexico

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Abstract

In the present study, I investigate the phenomenon of negative doubling (e.g., *no fui no* 'I did not go NEG') in Mexico, in the town of Chipilo, a bilingual Italo-Mexican community, which has preserved Veneto, a minority language for over 100 years. It is predicted that Italo-Mexican bilinguals have transferred a second final *no* from Veneto, a language, which exhibits negative doubling, into Spanish, a language that does not allow a repetition of the same negator prosodically in the sentence final position. This study analysed the data of 117 participants (Chipilenos, mixed groups, and monolingual speakers) classified into two sex groups, two age groups (18-34, 35-70), and four ethnicity groups in order to examine the frequency of negative doubling in Spanish and investigate which social and linguistic factors favour the distribution of the phenomenon. All the participants performed a combination of semi-spontaneous speech, as well as two controlled tasks (a Preference forced choice and a Sentence Repetition Tasks). The results suggest a transfer effect from Veneto into Spanish in the bilingual speech only, specifically in the discourse of males, participants with two Chipileno parents and participants with a Chipileno father. The results from one of the controlled tasks showed that second negative mention, as a linguistic factor had a strong effect on elicitation of negation doubling, specifically among young speakers. Overall, by combining both traditional sociolinguistic interview methods with controlled tasks, I was able to better elicit negation and understand the situation of languages in contact.

Negative Alternations in Bilingual Speech: The Case of Chipilo, Mexico

Olga Tararova

1 Introduction

Chipilo, a town in Mexico, today represents a rare multigenerational case of minority spoken language maintenance. The northern Italian dialect of Veneto was brought by Italian immigrants to Mexico in the 19th century and has been preserved for over 100 years. Chipilo has become a case of a stable diaspora, where Veneto is acquired and spoken in most bilingual homes. Many prosodic, phonetic, pragmatic, and morphosyntactic features have been transferred from Veneto into the Spanish of those bilinguals (Barnes 2009; Barnes and Michnowicz 2015) and are heard in their spoken language in the community. This project analyses the transfer effect of final *no* in declarative sentences using innovative methodology by combining spontaneous speech and controlled tasks. In standard Spanish, the sentential negation is formed preverbally, as in (1):

- (1) *El no habla italiano*
He NEG speak -3SG Italian
'He does not speak Italian'

The use of other negators is considered ungrammatical (e.g., *El no habla italiano no*). In contrast, there are two possible ways of negating the sentence in Veneto. As in Spanish, sentential negation is formed preverbally, as in (1). However, negative doubling (ND) is also possible, as in (2):

- (2) *Io no so no*
I NEG know-1SG NEG
'I do not know'

As seen in (2), there are two negators: one preverbal and the second one, sentence-final. Case (2) is of particular interest as it is predicted that the final *no* has been transferred from Veneto to the speech of Spanish-Veneto bilinguals who reside in Chipilo. It is important to note that the final *no* has a falling contour, a characteristic of ND and not of tag questions, as shown in Figure 2. Tag questions in Spanish are grammatical and are treated as cases of standard negation (SN) in this project.

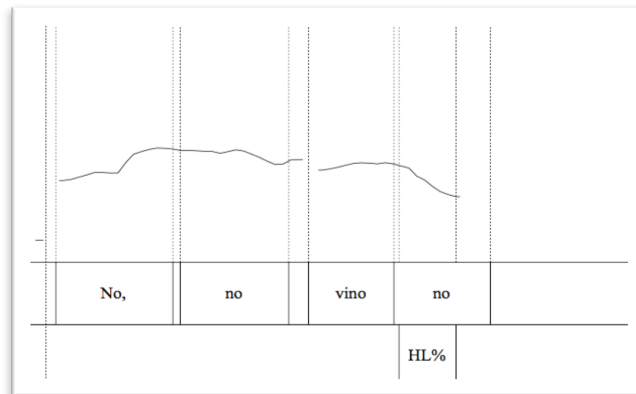


Figure 1: Pitch track of *no, no vino no* 'No, he did not come NEG'.

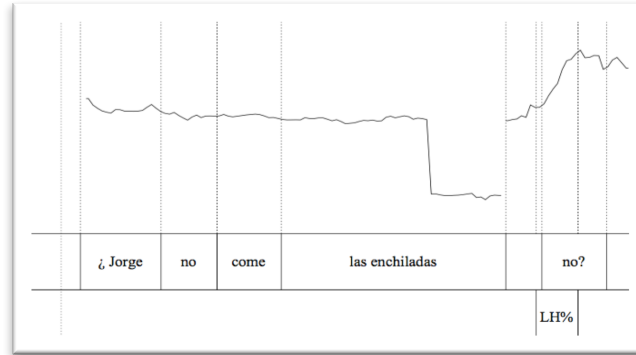


Figure 2: Pitch track *Jorge no come las enchiladas ¿no?* 'Jorge does not eat enchiladas, no?'

This project is guided by the following three research questions:

- 1) What is the distribution of the final *no* in Spanish spoken in Chipilo, in comparison with the standard negation of one single preverbal *no* or tag question (1)?
- 2) Do any linguistic factors have a significant effect on the elicitation of ND in Chipileño Spanish? The linguistic factors considered are: a) previous adjacent element (noun, verb, adverb, pronoun, and/or adjective), b) use of other negative words (their position (subject or object) and type (neither, nobody, no one) and the final *no*), c) type of verb, and d) negative mention in a preceding context.
- 3) How do social factors (sex, age, and parents' ethnicity) affect ND in Chipilo?

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes a literature review of negation in Chipilo and in other Romance varieties. Section 3 discusses the methodology. Section 4 presents the results. Section 5 discusses the results and concludes the paper with possible future studies.

2 Background

2.1 Negation in Chipilo

To my knowledge, negation in Chipilo has not been studied in depth. In the dictionary of Veneto spoken in Chipilo, MacKay (2002) shows three variants of negation in Veneto:

- (3)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| a. | <i>No</i> | <i>l'è</i> | <i>grande</i> |
| b. | <i>No</i> | <i>l'è</i> | <i>grande no</i> |
| c. | <i>No</i> | <i>l'è</i> | <i>mía grande</i> |
- 'It is not big'

(MacKay 2002: 82)

Example (a) is a prototypical preverbal negation; (b) and (c) are examples of ND, where the second negator either occurs sentence finally, as *no*, or postverbally, as *mía*. Even though, Mackay (2002) does not provide any information about the frequency of each of the variants, she mentions that final *no* occurs in Veneto as a reinforcement of sentential negation.

Barnes (2009) also briefly mentions the phenomenon of ND, which she suggests occurs frequently among bilingual speakers in spontaneous speech in any linguistic environment. However, my previous work (Tararova 2014), using data of semi-spontaneous interviews in Spanish from the corpus of Tararova (2012), found very few cases of ND (n=6). All the cases were spoken by bilingual females and older speakers, and favoured in contexts with the verb as a previous constituent, previous negative mention, and absence of other negators.

2.2 Negation in Other Romance languages

From a sociolinguistic perspective, there has not been extensive work done on dialectal variation of negation in Spanish in general. There are, however, three varieties which exhibit ND: Brazilian Portuguese, the Spanish of Argentinian Corrientes, and Minorcan Spanish in contact with Catalan. Brazilian Portuguese (BP) exhibits three ways of expressing sentential negation (e.g., Schwenter 2005; Teixeira de Sousa 2012): preverbal sentential negation (*Eu não saí* ‘I didn’t leave’), ND (*Agora não entra mais não* ‘Nobody else enters anymore’) and a postverbal negation only (*Tenho não* ‘I don’t have’). Yet, from Sousa’s analyzed corpus, Teixeira de Sousa (2012) concluded that preverbal negation was the most frequent (84%), whereas the other two cases of negation were not that common. Furthermore, Schwenter (2005) also studied negation in BP and concluded that sentences with ND were restricted to occurrences with ‘common ground’ and propositional denials to ensure the interlocutor interpreted the sentence. Furthermore, the use of the sentence-final negator *não* “is restricted to denials of activated, salient discourse-old propositions” (Schwenter 2005:13). In this paper, ‘common ground’ and propositional denials will be referred to as previous or second negative mention.

Another case of ND with final focused negation, as in (4), is found in Spanish in contact with Minorcan Catalan (Prada de Pérez 2008).

- (4) *No me dijo nada no*
 NEG me told nothing NEG
 ‘She did not tell me anything’

(Prada de Pérez 2008: 157)

In an experimental study of controlled laboratory speech, Prada de Pérez (2008) measured F0 height of the final *no* to investigate whether the final *no* was clause internal (ND) with L% or clause external (tag questions) with H%. As this construction is attested to only in Minorcan Catalan and not in standard Spanish, she proposed that L1 had an effect on speakers’ production. Her results showed that focused negation only occurred in the speech of L1 Catalan bilingual speakers, which supports the transfer effect from their L1.

Finally, the Argentinian variety of Corrientes (CS) exhibits cases of ND possibly due to contact with Guaraní, an indigenous language where ND is possible. Cuervo and Mazzaro (2013) analyzed the alternative ways of using negation with the presence of negative words. Consider examples (5) and (6):

- (5) *Nadie abrió la puerta* → standard Spanish & CS
 (6) *Nadie no abrió la puerta* → CS
 nobody [NEG] opened the door
 ‘Nobody opened the door’

Cuervo and Mazzaro (2013) found that the specificity value of a negative word, the distance in number of words between the negative word and preverbal *no*, and the type of the negative word all favoured the use of *no*. Social factors, however, had no effect on elicitation of ND. This suggests that the variation in Corrientes is stable and occurs with all social groups.

To sum up, this subsection discussed three cases of languages or dialects which exhibit ND. These cases are crucial for the discussion of this paper because two of these varieties, CS and Minorcan Spanish, have been in contact with other languages, similar to the situation in Chipilo. Also, declarative sentences with ND in BP and Minorcan Spanish have a falling contour on the final *no*, similar to Chipileño Spanish. Therefore, based on previous literature and observations about Chipileño Spanish, the following hypotheses are put forward:

Hypothesis I:

The use of ND across the tasks will be infrequent compared to the default, the standard variant *no*.

Hypothesis II:

ND will be favoured in contexts of previous negative mention, absence of other negators and with verb as a previous adjacent constituent.

Hypothesis III:

I expect a higher rate of ND among bilingual speakers only, females, and older speakers.

3 Methodology

3.1 Participants

A total of 117 subjects participated in the study. Participants were divided into three social categories by sex, parents' ethnicity, and age (18-34 (n=50), 35-70 (n=67)). Given that previous research has not examined speakers according to their ethnic background, this project separated the participants based on the ethnicity of their parents: 42 Chipileños with both Chipileño parents, 21 participants with only a Chipileño mother, 20 participants with only a Chipileño father, and 32 monolingual Spanish speakers.

3.2 Procedure

Prior to completing the questionnaire and recording the tasks, a consent form was given to the participants to sign. I pointed out that, upon completion of all four tasks, they would receive monetary compensation. After signing the form, all participants were asked to complete a background questionnaire, based on which I grouped them according to their answers.

3.3 Tasks

Participants completed three tasks in Spanish in the following order: a semi-spontaneous interview (Task 1), a preference forced-choice task (Task 2), and a sentence repetition task (Task 3). The interviews contained questions to elicit responses. The preference forced-choice task contained 18 pair-answer scenarios; participants heard the scenarios and had to decide on the best appropriate option and repeat it, as in (7):

(7) *Ana cumplió años el lunes pero decidió hacer su fiesta el sábado anterior porque nadie podía venir el lunes.*

'Ana had her birthday on Monday but she decided to have her party on Saturday before her birthday because nobody could make it on Monday'.

¿Hizo Ana su fiesta de cumpleaños el lunes?

did Ana her party of birthday on Monday

Did Ana have her birthday on Monday?'

a) *No, no la hizo el lunes.*
no, NEG it did the Monday

b) *No, no la hizo no.*
no, NEG it did NEG

c) *No, no la hacía el lunes no.*
no, NEG it did the Monday NEG

'No, she did not (NEG)'

In (7), option (a) is a prototypical case of a preverbal negation; option (b) includes ND; and the third option (c) is ungrammatical due to the insertion of the wrong tense. Every pair-answer scenario was randomised and always included three options (SN, ND, and one ungrammatical option). Finally, the sentence repetition task included 41 isolated robot-sounding stimuli, which participants had to repeat using their normal intonation (e.g., *Juan no trabaja* 'Juan does not work', *Juan no trabaja no* 'Juan does not work NEG').

3.3.3 Analysis

Depending on the task, responses were coded for the following linguistic factors: previous adjacent constituent (Task 1 and Task 3), use of other negators (all tasks), and negative mention in the preceding context (Task 1 and Task 2). Target stimuli were extracted from the recordings and analysed using PRAAT to visualize the final contour of the utterance. I characterized each utterance as one of two options for its final element, (1) falling or (2) rising. Only option (1) was interpreted as ND. Utterances were coded in Goldvarb for appearance of ND or SN based on the final contour, and the social and linguistic variables listed in the previous section. Tokens were

coded and analyzed in Goldvarb using distributional and then binominal step-up/step-down analysis procedures to determine the significance of independent factors on elicitation of ND vs. SN. The results are shown in the next section.

4 Results

4.1 Semi-Spontaneous Interview

The first task participants performed was a semi-spontaneous interviews. Table 1 shows the distribution of SN and ND among 79 bilingual speakers only. This accounts for a total of 584 tokens. None of the monolingual speakers produced ND.

Forms of negators	N	%
Negative doubling	4	1
Standard negator	306	53
Exclusions¹	274	46
Total N		584

Table 1: Overall distribution of tokens (in percentage and absolute numbers) of ND and SN.

Table 1 shows that SN was the preferred variant in the community, whereas the ND variant occurred only 1% (n=4) of the time. Similar to previous observations (Tarrarova 2014), all four ND cases (*see* (8) as an example) occurred with the verb as a previous constituent and in contexts with a second negative mention.

(8) CHMFV2: *No creo que se **noten**, bueno... no se **nota no**. A lo mejor si un chipileño llega a Puebla, le dicen que tienes un acento raro.*

‘I do **not** think they **notice**, well... one does not **notice NEG**. Maybe when a Chipileño arrives in Puebla, they say you have a weird accent’.

Chipileño female, whose mother is Chipileño, aged 35-70

It is important to mention, that some of the participants during the interview mentioned the use of ND, as a characteristic of the Chipileño speech.

(9) O: *¿Y cuáles son unas cosas específicas del español de los Chipileños?*

‘And what are some specific things of Chipileño Spanish?’

CHHJ2: *Ah, por ejemplo, cuando decimos ‘no te lo presto **no**’. ... es como afirmar la negación, como que estar seguro de que no es.*

‘Ah, for example, when we say I do not lend it to you NEG. It is like to confirm the negation, like to be sure that it is not’.

Chipileño male, whose parents are both Chipileños, aged 18-34

To sum up, the results from the spontaneous speech suggest that SN is the preferred variant in the community. It is important to point out however, that speakers are aware of the incorporation of final *no* in the bilingual speech. The next sections present the results from the two controlled tasks.

4.2 Preference Forced Choice Task

The second task that the participants completed was a preference forced choice task. 91 people categorically selected and produced a standard variant. All 34 monolingual Spanish speakers categorically produced SN, which suggests that ND is a phenomenon of the bilingual speech only. Table 2 shows the distribution of forms among the 21 speakers showing variability. This accounts for a total of 217 tokens out of 869 cases (11 contexts x 79 bilingual participants) – the other

¹ 274 tokens (46%) were excluded from the analysis because the responses included i) only the single word response *no*, or ii) sentential negation in a main clause followed by a dependent clause.

tokens were produced by bilingual speakers with an invariant pattern. 50 tokens were excluded because participants selected an ungrammatical or illogical option.

Forms of negators	N	%
Negative doubling	76	35
Standard negator	141	65
Total N		217

Table 2: Overall distribution (in percentage and absolute numbers) of ND and SN.

Table 2 shows that SN is used 65% of the time among speakers who alternate, which supports Hypothesis I, the prediction that the standard negator would be predominantly used, particularly in conjunction with the number of people who always used SN and are excluded here.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the ND variable with respect to each variant of the independent variables, as well as the factor weight (FW), which shows the contexts where ND is favoured. Table 3 includes only the data for speakers with variable behavior.

Corrected mean	0.3		
Log likelihood	-132.607		
Total N	217		
	FW	%ND	N/Total
Parents' ethnicity			
Chipileño father (CHP)	.63	50	25/50
Chipileño both parents (CH)	.52	33	42/126
Chipileño mother (CHM)	.29	22	9/41
<i>Range</i>	<i>34</i>		
Sex			
Female	.33	24	17/71
Male	.59	40	59/146
<i>Range</i>	<i>26</i>		
Age			
Age Group I (18-34)	[.49]	37	58/156
Age Group II (35-70)	[.53]	30	18/61
Negative mention			
First	[.45]	31	26/83
Second	[.53]	37	50/134
Type of the verb			
Same	[.49]	36	49/137
Different	[.52]	34	27/80
Presence of negative word			
None	[.46]	32	44/137
Yes	[.57]	40	32/80

Table 3: Step-up/step-down multivariate analysis of the contribution of external and internal factors to the probability of ND.

According to a multivariable analysis, parents' ethnicity, and participant's sex have significant effects, as seen in Table 3. Age group, type of verb, previous negative mention, and presence and type of negative words were also tested in the model, but not found to have a significant effect on the dependent variable.

To examine the results in more detail, I independently analyzed each age group to see whether linguistic factors would emerge as significant. As Table 4 demonstrates, parents' ethnicity and second negative mention were significant factors among young speakers showing variability

in their responses.² As for the older group, male participants whose father is Chipileño showed a favouring effect for ND preference. As in the analysis of all speakers combined, none of the linguistic factors had a significant effect on ND production.

Age I (18-34)				Age II (35-70)			
Corrected mean	0.4			Corrected mean	0.3		
Log likelihood	-96.927			Log likelihood	-34.555		
Total N	155			Total N	61		
	FW	%	N/Total		FW	%	N/Total
Parents' ethnicity				Parents' ethnicity and Participant's sex³			
Chipileño both parents (CH)	.54	40	30/75	Chipileño both parents (CH) female	.44	24	12/51
Chipileño mother (CHM)	.62	48	19/40	Chipileño father (CHP) male	.79	60	6/10
Chipileño father (CHP)	<i>30</i>			<i>Range</i>	<i>35</i>		
Negative mention							
First	.38	27	16/59				
Second	.58	42	42/96				
<i>Range</i>	<i>20</i>						

Table 4: Step-up/step-down multivariate analysis of the contribution of external and internal factors selected as significant to the probability of ND.

In sum, for the Preference Forced Choice Task, SN was the preferred option among bilingual speakers, where ND occurred at a 40% rate (among speakers who varied), as predicted in Hypothesis I. With regard to social factors, parents' ethnicity was significant; participants with two Chipileño parents or a Chipileño father were significantly more likely to select and produce ND. Males showed a higher probability of ND preference than females, against expectations. When I analysed age groups separately, second negative mention was significant, which supports the initial Hypothesis.

4.3 Sentence Repetition Task

The last task that participants performed was the sentence repetition task, where participants heard a robotic voice produce a string of words. 80 people (including all 33 monolingual Mexican speakers) categorically produced a standard variant. 32 bilingual participants produced a mixed set of ND and SN. Table 5 shows the distribution among the 32 speakers showing variability. This accounts for a total of 514 tokens out of 1422 cases (18 contexts x 79 bilingual participants) – the other tokens were produced by speakers with an invariant pattern, i.e. SN only use.

Forms of negators	N	%
Negative doubling	219	43
Standard negator	295	57
Total N		514

Table 5: Overall distribution of tokens (in percentage and absolute numbers) of ND and SN.

² Note the other factors were insignificant. Due to the size limitations, I present only significant results in Table 4.

³ Because none of the participants whose mother is a Chipileño showed variability in responses, I combined the participants' ethnicity and sex categories of these participants who showed variability in their responses. No males whose parents are both Chipileños showed variation in their answers; therefore, they are excluded from the analysis, as well.

Table 5 shows that a standard variant is used 57% of the time, among speakers who alternate, which supports Hypothesis I, i.e., the prediction that the standard negator (either omission of the final *no* or its use as a tag question) would be predominantly used. Yet, the difference between the rate of selection of the two variants is relatively small in this task, compared to the others.

Table 6 shows the distribution of ND and the results of the statistical analysis with respect to each variant of the independent variables. This table includes only the data for speakers with variable behavior.

Corrected mean	.04		
Log likelihood	-342.473		
Total N	514		
	FW	%ND	N/Total
Parents' ethnicity			
Chipileño both parents (CH)	.57	47	127/269
Chipileño mother (CHM)	.53	47	72/202
Chipileño father (CHP)	.41	36	20/43
<i>Range</i>	16		
Sex			
Male	.56	48	142/299
Female	.42	36	77/215
<i>Range</i>	14		
Age			
Age Group I (18-34)	[.54]	46	132/288
Age Group II (35-70)	[.46]	39	87/226
Previous adjacent constituent			
Adverb	[.55]	48	79/166
Verb	[.57]	50	46/92
Noun	[.44]	35	38/109
Pronoun	[.47]	41	25/61
Adjective	[.43]	36	31/86
Presence of other negators			
None	[.51]	48	82/172
<i>Nadie</i> in the subject position	[.51]	47	44/93
<i>Nadie</i> in the object position	[.54]	43	38/88
<i>Ningún</i> in the subject position	[.42]	33	27/82
<i>Ningún</i> in the object position	[.52]	35	28/79

Table 6: Step-up/step-down multivariate analysis of the contribution of external and internal factors selected as significant to the probability of ND.

According to a multivariable analysis, two variables, parents' ethnicity and participant's sex, have a significant effect on ND elicitation, as seen in Table 6. Age groups, previous adjacent constituent, and presence of other negators were also tested in the model but found not to have a significant effect on the dependent variable.

Similar to the previous task, I separated the age groups to see whether any linguistic factors would be significant. Table 7 shows the distribution of ND, according to each independent variable, separated into two age groups. The column labelled Age Group I (18-34) shows the distribution among 18 speakers with a total of 288 tokens. The column labelled Age Group II (35-70) shows the distribution among 14 speakers with a total of 226 tokens.

According to a multivariate analysis, parents' ethnicity and participant's sex have a significant effect on ND use for Age Group I. Participants whose parents are both Chipileños or whose mother is Chipileño showed the highest proportion of ND use, which support the initial hypothesis. Significantly more males than females used ND, against expectations. None of the linguistic factors, however, had a significant effect on ND elicitation. With regard to the results for Age Group II (35-70), parent's ethnicity and presence of negative words have significant effects on ND use. Participants whose parents are either both Chipileños or whose father is Chipileño

showed the highest proportion of ND, which partially supports the initial Hypothesis. Participants whose mother is Chipileño showed a significant favouring effect for Age Group I, but a disfavouring effect for Age Group II. As for presence of other negative words, *nadie* ‘nobody’ in the subject position has a significant effect and favours the elicitation of the ND use

	Age Group I			Age Group II		
Corrected mean	0.5			0.4		
Log likelihood	-184.276			-142.399		
Total N	288			226		
	FW	%	N/Total	FW	%	N/Total
Parents’ ethnicity						
Chipileño both parents (CH)	.56	51	66/134	.58	45	61/135
Chipileño mother (CHM)	.61	55	18/33	.26	20	2/10
Chipileño father (CHP)	.41	40	48/121	.40	30	24/81
Range	20			32		
Sex						
Male	.59	54	100/184	[.51]	37	42/115
Female	.34	33	34/104	[.49]	41	45/111
Range	25					
Presence of negative word						
Nadie as subject	[.44]	47	25/53	.65	53	21/40
None	[.55]	52	49/95	.55	43	33/77
Nadie as object	[.45]	40	20/50	.49	37	14/38
Ningún as subject	[.54]	48	24/50	.30	22	7/32
Ningún as object	[.48]	40	16/40	.42	31	12/39
Range				35		

Table 7: Step-up/step-down multivariate analysis of the contribution of external and internal factors selected as significant to the probability of ND.

In sum, SN is the preferred option in the sentence repetition task; however, the ND variant occurred 43% of the time among speakers who showed variation between SN and ND. Parents’ ethnicity was significant in both age groups. Significantly more males than females favoured ND, specifically in Age Group I. In terms of the linguistic variables, the subject position of a negative word *nadie* ‘nobody’ was significant in Age Group II, whereas other linguistic factors did not have a significant effect on the distribution of ND.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

The paper examined the phenomenon of ND in Chipilo, Mexico. As reported in Section 4, ND is an infrequent phenomenon occurring only in bilingual speech, as predicted in Hypotheses I and III and found in previous research (Tarrarova 2014). Results show that the standard variant (tag or omission of the final *no*) is the predominant variant across the three tasks. It is important to mention, however, that the occurrence of ND was different in three tasks. Specifically, when we compare the tasks, we find that the sentence repetition task elicited a higher number of tokens with ND in comparison to the other controlled task. This difference could be due to the nature of the tasks, as one included a selection of answers, whereas the other one required only the repetition of a given sentence. In other words, the results suggest that participants are more conscious of the presence of ND when selecting from a number of ‘natural’ responses, but less conscious when repeating after a robotic voice.

With regard to the social factors, the results illustrate that parents’ ethnicity and sex were significant in two controlled tasks. As predicted in Hypothesis III, participants whose parents were both Chipileños favoured the ND use. Surprisingly, participants whose father was Chipileño also favoured the use of ND in Task 2. Since, there was a different number of tokens in each task, these results merit further research. As for the sex variable, surprisingly, males produced a higher

number of ND cases in two controlled tasks, which rejected the initial hypothesis. In Tararova (2012), I found a high correlation between Chipileño identity and self-reported Veneto use, which younger males claimed to be a main indicator of their Italian roots. Due to the prestigious status of Veneto today, Chipileño males may incorporate Veneto features into Spanish and use them unconsciously to sound different from the monolingual speakers. Females, on the other hand, prefer to separate the domains of use of Spanish and Veneto, as mentioned during the post-informal interviews. Few females mentioned that in the past, they were mocked or even bullied because of their accent and mixture between the two languages. As a result, they avoided using Veneto outside of Chipilo in order to fit in with the rest of the population. If this argument is true we can assume that females use both languages more consciously and therefore, most probably insert Veneto features in their speech less frequently.

As for the linguistic factors, none of them became significant when the age groups were collapsed. Though Task 1 (interviews) elicited very few tokens of ND, second negative mention and verb as a previous adjacent constituent still had favouring effects on ND distribution. In Task 2, second negative mention was also significant for the younger group. These results collaborate my previous study (Tararova 2014), as well as the results from BP (Schwenter 2005).

In conclusion, this paper departs from previous reports on negation in Chipilo by combining both traditional sociolinguistic interview methods with controlled tasks, so as to better elicit ND and understand the situation of languages in contact. It also opens lines for future research. More specifically, it would be essential to collect data using the same tasks in Chipileño Veneto in order to investigate the frequency of ND and the factors that favour the distribution of the phenomenon. This way, I will be able to compare results with those obtained in this paper. Further research should also investigate other social factors (e.g., education, socio-economic status, language use) to provide additional information on the phenomenon in the community. Finally, individual analysis is anticipated to see whether ND is task-related or individually-based.

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