

# Negation in languages

Macro and microtypological approaches

Matti Miestamo, University of Helsinki  
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# Outline

- Large-scale typological studies of negation:
  - Standard negation
  - Negative imperatives
  - Negation of stative predications
  - Indefinite pronouns under negation
  - Negation and case marking
- Zooming in
  - from macro to micro
  - from typology to language description (and back)

# The domain of negation

- Clausal negation
  - standard negation
  - negation in non-declaratives
  - negation of stative predications
  - negation in dependent clauses.
- Non-clausal negation
  - negative replies
  - negation of indefinite pronouns
  - negative case, derivation and adpositions
- Further aspects of negation
  - scope of negation
  - negative polarity
  - negation and case marking
  - reinforcing negation
  - negation and complex sentences.

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  - **standard negation**
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  - negation and complex sentences.

# Standard negation

# Standard negation

- Informally: The basic means a language has for negating declarative main clauses with a verbal predicate..
- Definition (comparative concept):

“A standard negation construction is a construction whose function is to modify a verbal declarative main clause expressing a proposition  $p$  in such a way that the modified clause expresses the proposition with the opposite truth value to  $p$ , i.e.  $\sim p$ , or the proposition used as the closest equivalent to  $\sim p$  in case the clause expressing  $\sim p$  cannot be formed in the language, and that is (one of) the productive and general means the language has for performing this function.” (Miestamo 2005: 42)

# Standard negation

- *King Arthur was barking on the balcony.*
- *King Arthur was not barking on the balcony.*



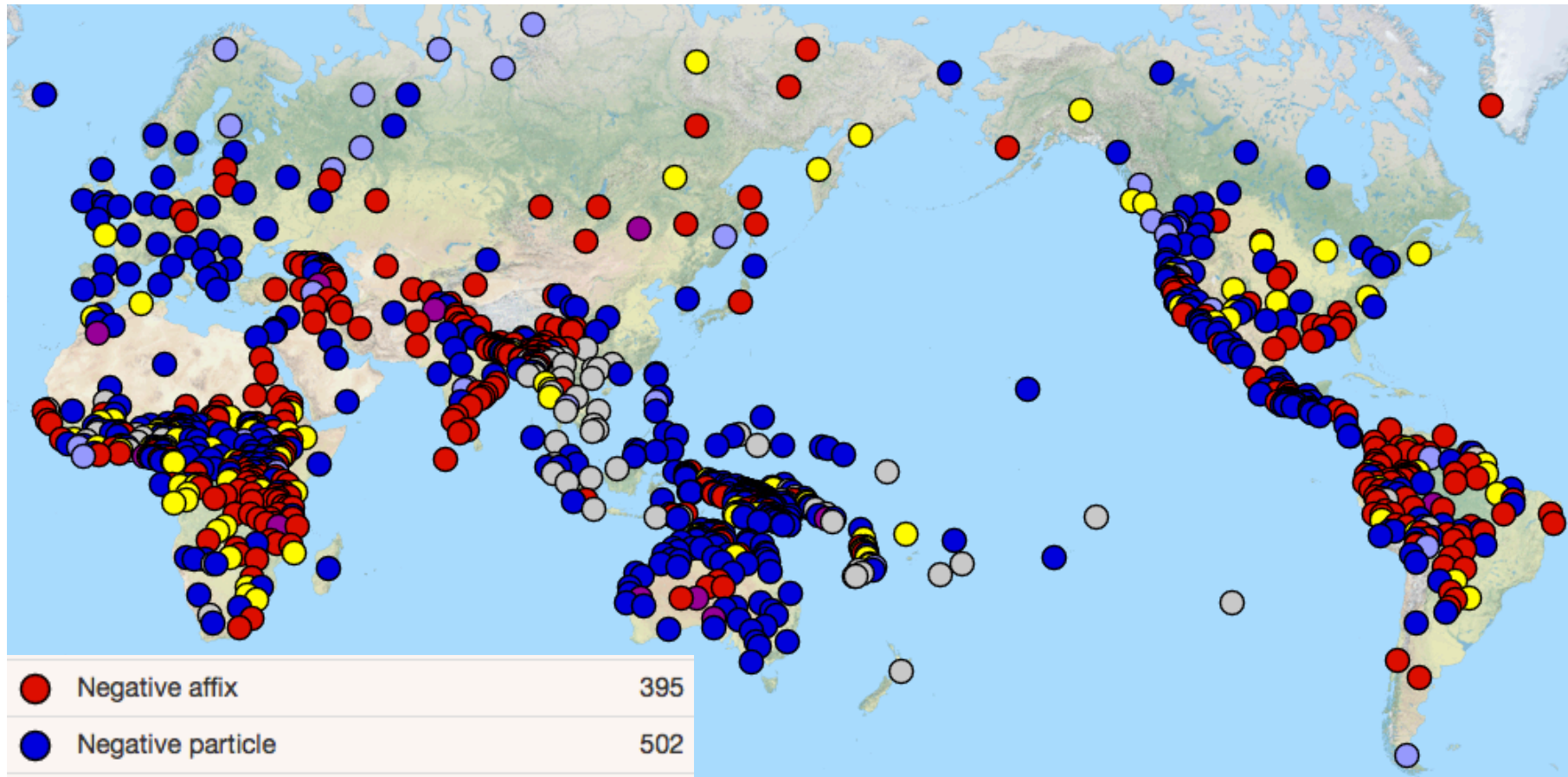
# Standard negation: typological studies

- Type of negative marker (Dahl 1979; Payne 1985; Dryer 2013a[2005]): particle, affix, verb, (noun, tone).  
<http://wals.info/chapter/112>
- Position of negative marker (Dahl 1979; Dryer 2013bc[2011])  
<http://wals.info/chapter/143>; <http://wals.info/chapter/144>
- The relationship of the structure of negative to the structure of the affirmative (Forest 1993; Honda 1996; Miestamo 2001, 2003, 2005a, 2013a[2005], 2013b[2005]; Miestamo & van der Auwera 2011)  
<http://wals.info/chapter/113>; <http://wals.info/chapter/114>



# Type of negative marker

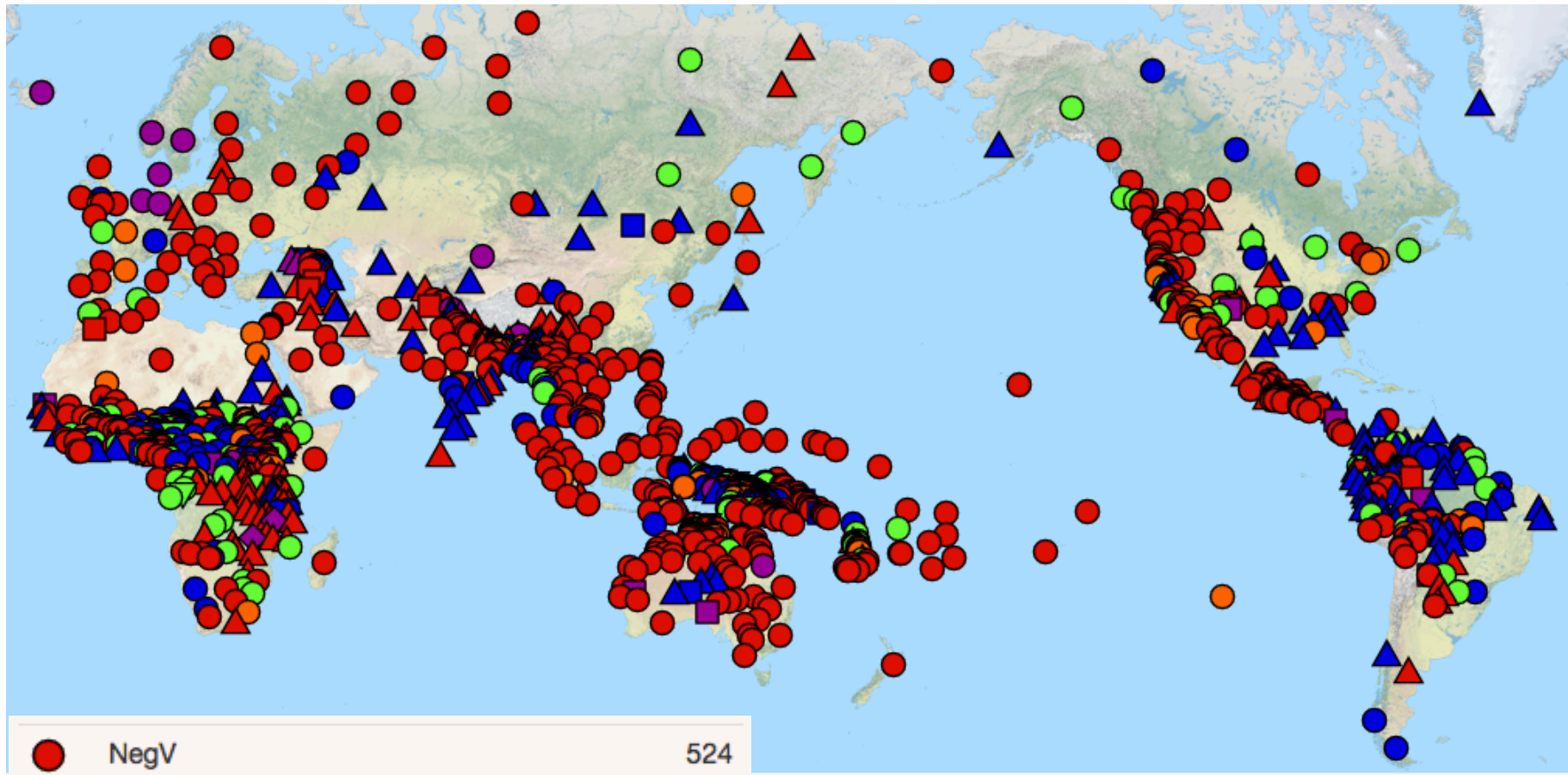
(Dryer 2013a)



● Negative affix	395
● Negative particle	502
● Negative auxiliary verb	47
● Negative word, unclear if verb or particle	73
● Variation between negative word and affix	21
● Double negation	119

# Position of negative marker

(Dryer 2013b)



# Negative affixes

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 245)

- a. *xürünwi-jri*      *ada-waj*    *meslät-ar*    *q̃aču-zwa-č*  
villager-PL(ERG) he-ADEL advice-PLtake-IMPF-NEG  
‘The villagers do not take advice from him.’

Latvian (Lazdiņa 1966: 22)

- a. *es ne-ticu*  
I NEG-believe  
‘I don’t believe.’

Chukchi (Kämpfe and Volodin 1995: 68)

- a. *a-nto-ka*              (*itə-rkən*)  
NEG-go.out-NEG be-DUR  
‘(S)he does not go out.’

# Negative particles

Indonesian (Sneddon 1996: 195; David Gil, p.c.)

- a. *mereka tidak menolong kami*  
they NEG help us.EXCL  
'They didn't help us.'

Sawu (Walker 1982: 13)

- a. *wie d'o Ø roo Ø ŋa'a ri noo*  
give NEG ABS 3PL ABS food ERG 3SG  
'He did not give them food.'

French (constructed examples)

- a. *je ne chante pas*  
1SG NEG sing.PRES.1SG NEG  
'I do not sing.'

# Negative verbs

Evenki (Nedjalkov 1994: 2)

- a. *nun̄an min-du purta-va e-che-n b̄u-re*  
he 1SG-DAT knife-ACC NEG-PST-3SG give-PTCP  
'He did not give me the knife.'

Selknam (Najlis 1973: 58)

- a. *xe-j sò-we-nn*  
come-SURP NEG-GND-CERT.M  
'He is not coming.'

Tongan (Churchward 1953: 56)

- a. *na'e 'ikai ke 'alu 'a siale*  
PST NEG SBJN go ABS Siale  
'Siale did not go.'

# Differences between affirmatives and negative

Symmetric and asymmetric negation (Miestamo 2005)

- In symmetric negation, negatives do not differ structurally from affirmatives except for the presence of the negative marker(s).
- In asymmetric negation, there are structural differences, i.e. asymmetry, between affirmatives and negatives in addition to the presence of the negative marker(s).
- Symmetry and asymmetry can be observed in constructions and paradigms.
- Asymmetric negation can be further divided into subtypes.

# Symmetric constructions

Negatives differ from their corresponding affirmative by the mere presence of negative markers.

Taba (Bowden 1997: 388)

a. *n-han ak-la*

3SG-go ALL-sea

‘She’s going seawards.’

b. *n-han ak-la te*

3SG-go ALL-sea NEG

‘She’s not going seawards.’

Washo (Jacobsen 1964: 603, 604–605)

a. *l<sup>e</sup>-íme?-hu-i*

1-drink-PL.INCL-IMPF

‘We are drinking.’

b. *l<sup>e</sup>-íme?-é’s-hu-i*

1-drink-NEG-PL.INCL-IMPF

‘We are not drinking.’

# Symmetric paradigms

The correspondences between the members of the paradigms used in affirmatives and negatives are one-to-one.

Romanian (Indo-European, Romance)

a. (a) *cânta* 'to sing' PRS

AFF                  NEG

1SG	<i>cânt</i>	<i>nu cânt</i>
2SG	<i>cânți</i>	<i>nu cânți</i>
3SG	<i>cântă</i>	<i>nu cântă</i>
1PL	<i>cântăm</i>	<i>nu cântăm</i>
2PL	<i>cântați</i>	<i>nu cântați</i>
3PL	<i>cântă</i>	<i>nu cântă</i>

(constructed examples)

b. (a) *cânta* 'to sing' IMPF

AFF                  NEG

<i>cântam</i>	<i>nu cântam</i>
<i>cântai</i>	<i>nu cântai</i>
<i>cânta</i>	<i>nu cânta</i>
<i>cântam</i>	<i>nu cântam</i>
<i>cântați</i>	<i>nu cântați</i>
<i>cântau</i>	<i>nu cântau</i>



# Asymmetric constructions

Negatives differ from their corresponding affirmatives by something else than the mere presence of negative marker(s).

Diola Fogy (Sapir 1965: 33)

a. *pan-i-maŋ*

FUT-1SG-want

‘I will want.’

b. *ɫet-i-maŋ*

FUT.NEG-1SG-want

‘I won't want.’

Makah (Matthew Davidson, p.c.)

a. *weʔič-(b)u-<sup>o</sup>i*

sleeping-PST-IND.3SG

‘The man was sleeping’

*ɫaʔxuk-<sup>o</sup>iq*

man-ART

b. *wiki'-(b)u-<sup>o</sup>i*     *weʔič*     *ɫaʔxuk-<sup>o</sup>iq*

NEG-PST-IND.3SG sleeping man-ART

‘The man was not sleeping.’

# Asymmetric paradigms

Burmese (Sino-Tibetan, Burmese-Lolo)

a. *θwâ-dé*

GO-ACL

'goes, went'

b. *θwâ-mé*

GO-POT

'will go'

c. *θwâ-bí*

GO-PRF

'has gone'

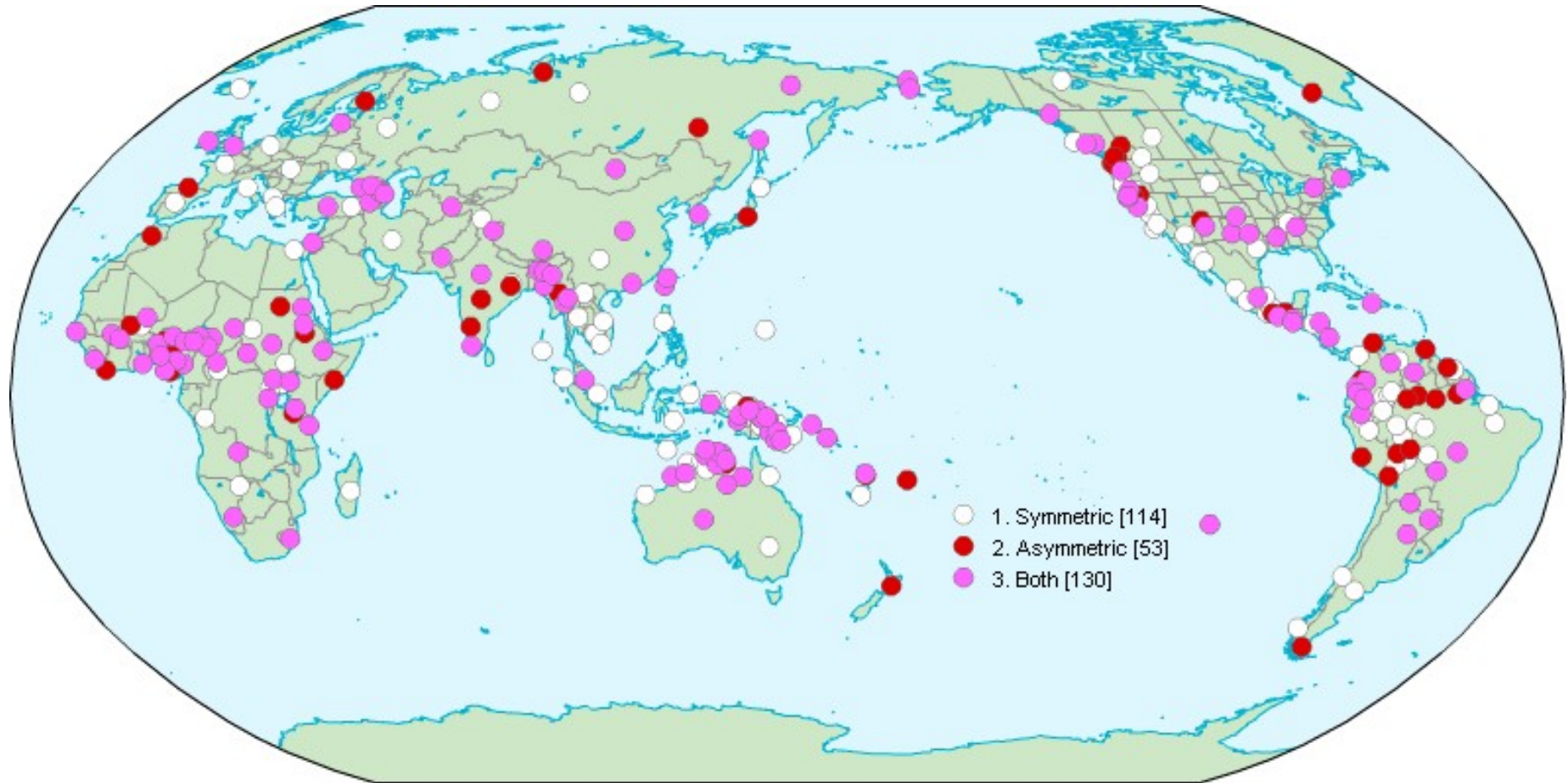
d. *ma-θwâ-bû*

NEG-go-NEG

'does/did/will not go, has not gone' (Cornyn 1944: 12–13)

The correspondences between the members of the paradigms used in affirmatives and negatives are not one-to-one.

# Symmetric and asymmetric standard negation



# Types of asymmetry

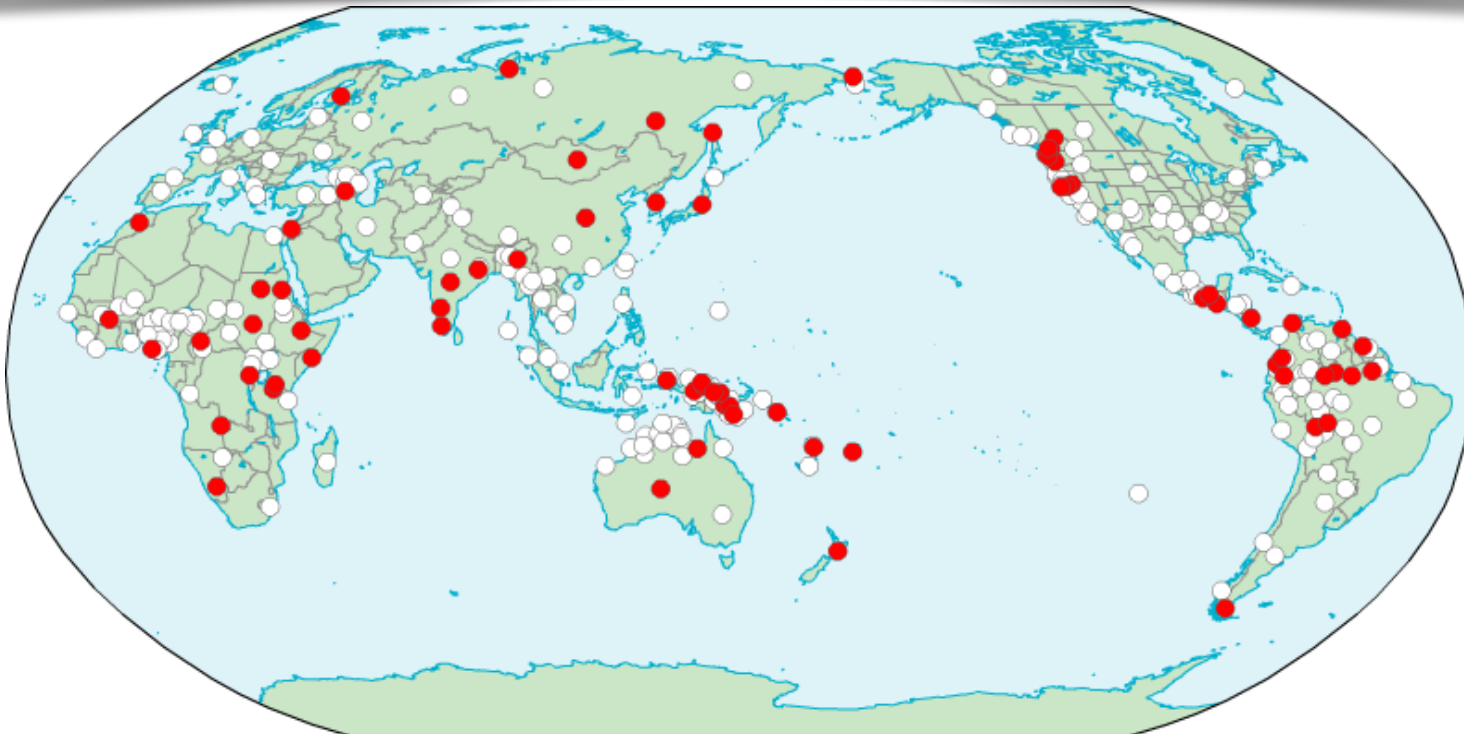
- A/Fin: the lexical verb loses its finiteness and often a new finite element ([auxiliary] verb) is added.
- A/NonReal: negatives exhibit marking that refers to non-realized states of affairs.
- A/Emph: negatives exhibit emphatic marking.
- A/Cat: the marking of grammatical categories differs between affirmatives and negatives in other ways
  - often TAM- ja PNG-categories marked less explicitly in negatives; distinctions are lost.

# Type A/Fin

Negatives differ from affirmatives in that the finiteness of the lexical verb (LV) is lost or reduced in one or more of the following ways:

- it becomes syntactically dependent on a finite element (FE) added in the negative,
- it is in a form primarily used as a syntactically dependent verb in the language,
- it has nominal characteristics.

Usually a new FE is added in the negative.



# Subtype A/Fin/Neg-LV

The lexical verb loses its finiteness and the negative marker attaches to the lexical verb.

## Apalaí (Cariban)

- a. *isapokara*            [Ø]-ene-no  
jakuruaru.lizard [1>3]-see-IMPST  
'I saw a jakuruaru lizard.' (Koehn & Koehn 1986:64)
- b. *isapokara*            on-ene-pyra a-ken  
jakuruaru.lizard 3-see-NEG 1-be.IMPST  
'I did not see a jakuruaru lizard.' (Koehn & Koehn 1986:64)

# Subtype A/Fin/Neg-LV

Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan) (Kämpfe & Volodin 1995: 68, 69)

a. *čejwə-rkən*

go-DUR

‘(S)he goes.’

b. *a-nto-ka (itə-rkən)*

NEG-go.out-NEG be-DUR

‘(S)he does not go out.’

Sentani (Hartzler 1994: 52–53)

a. *neyæ u-eu-ne*

he say-3SG.SUBJ.R-3SG.OBJ

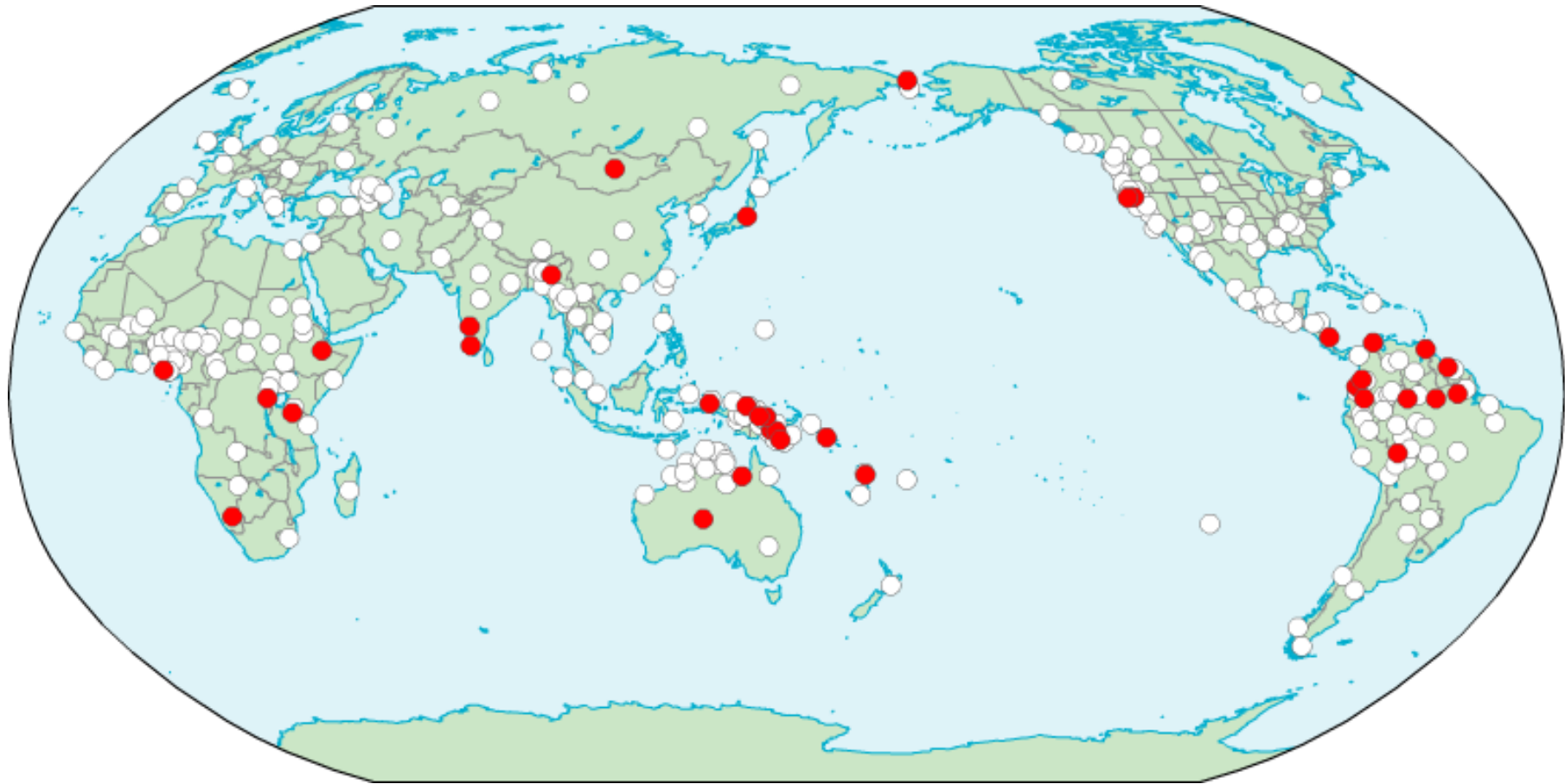
‘He is saying to him.’

b. *o-boro-i*

NEG-hear-NTMP

‘I/you/he/she/we/you/they  
didn’t/do(es)n’t/won’t hear.’

# Subtype A/Fin/Neg-LV



- 1. [262] Not-A/Fin/Neg-LV
- 2. [35] A/Fin/Neg-LV



# Subtype A/Fin/Neg-FE

The lexical verb loses its finiteness and the negative marker attaches to the added finite element.

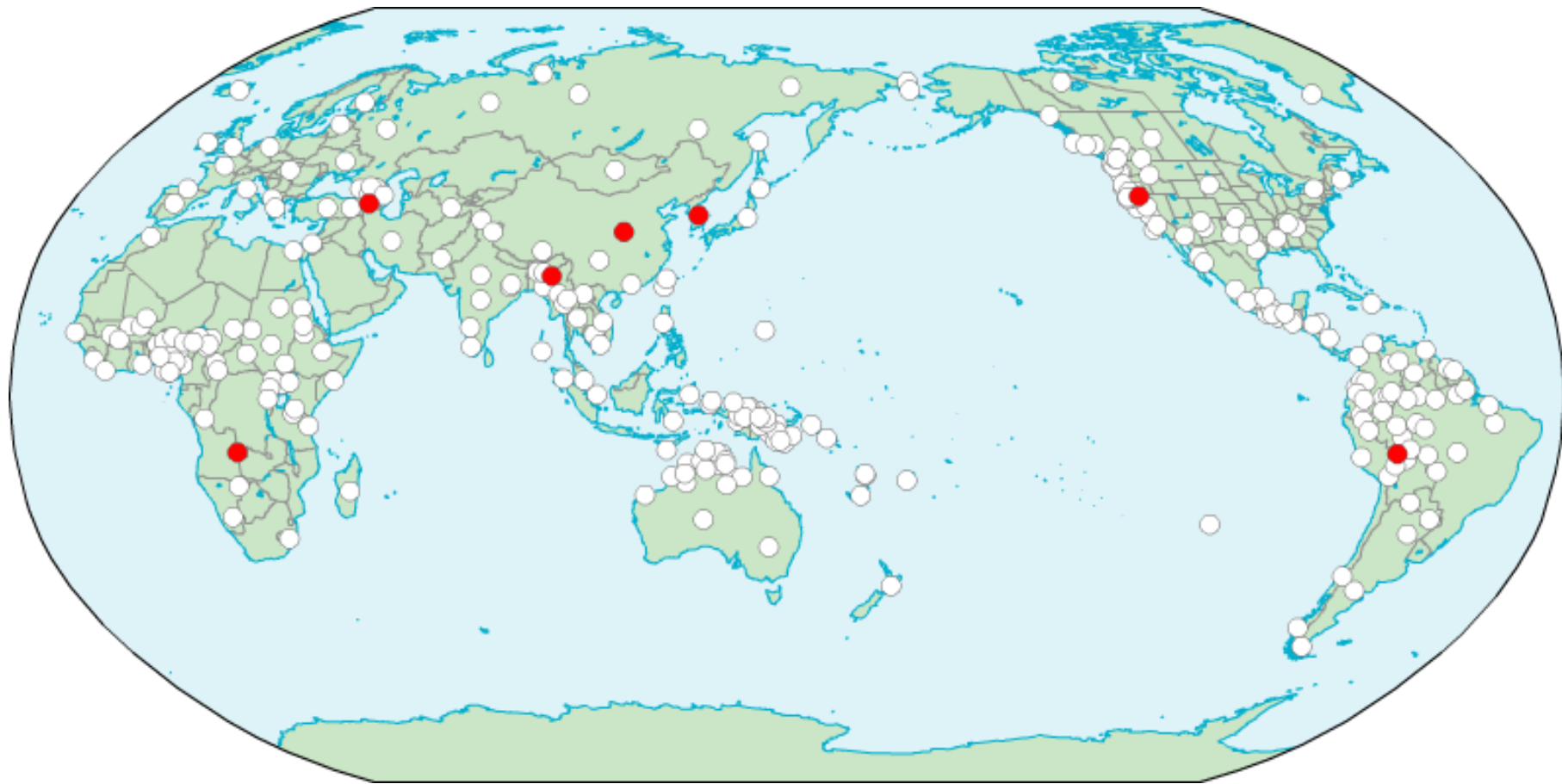
Achumawi (de Angulo and Freeland 1931: 97, 112)

- a. *s-ǎm-á*                      b. *tsé-s-ùw-í*              *d-ámm-ì*  
1SG-eat-FV                      NEG-1SG-be-FV NMLZ-eat-FV  
'I eat.'                              'I do not eat.'

Korean (Ramstedt 1997 [1939]: 104, 184)

- a. *kan-da*                              b. *ka-ži*              *ani*              *han-da*  
go-DECL                              go-CVB      NEG      AUX-DECL  
'I go.'                                      'I do not go.'

# Subtype A/Fin/Neg-FE



- 1. [290] Not-A/Fin/Neg-FE
- 2. [7] A/Fin/Neg-FE

# Subtype A/Fin/NegVerb

The lexical verb loses its finiteness and the negative marker is the finite element of the negative clause.

## Evenki (Tungus)

a. *nunan min-du purta-va bū-che-n*  
he 1SG-DAT knife-ACC give-PST-3SG  
'He gave me the knife.' (Nedyalkov 1994:2)

b. *nunan min-du purta-va e-che-n bū-re*  
he 1SG-DAT knife-ACC NEG-PST-3SG give-PTCP  
'He did not give me the knife.' (Nedyalkov 1994:2)

# Subtype A/Fin/NegVerb

Tongan (Austronesian, Oceanic)

a. *na'e 'alu 'a siale*

PST go ABS Siale

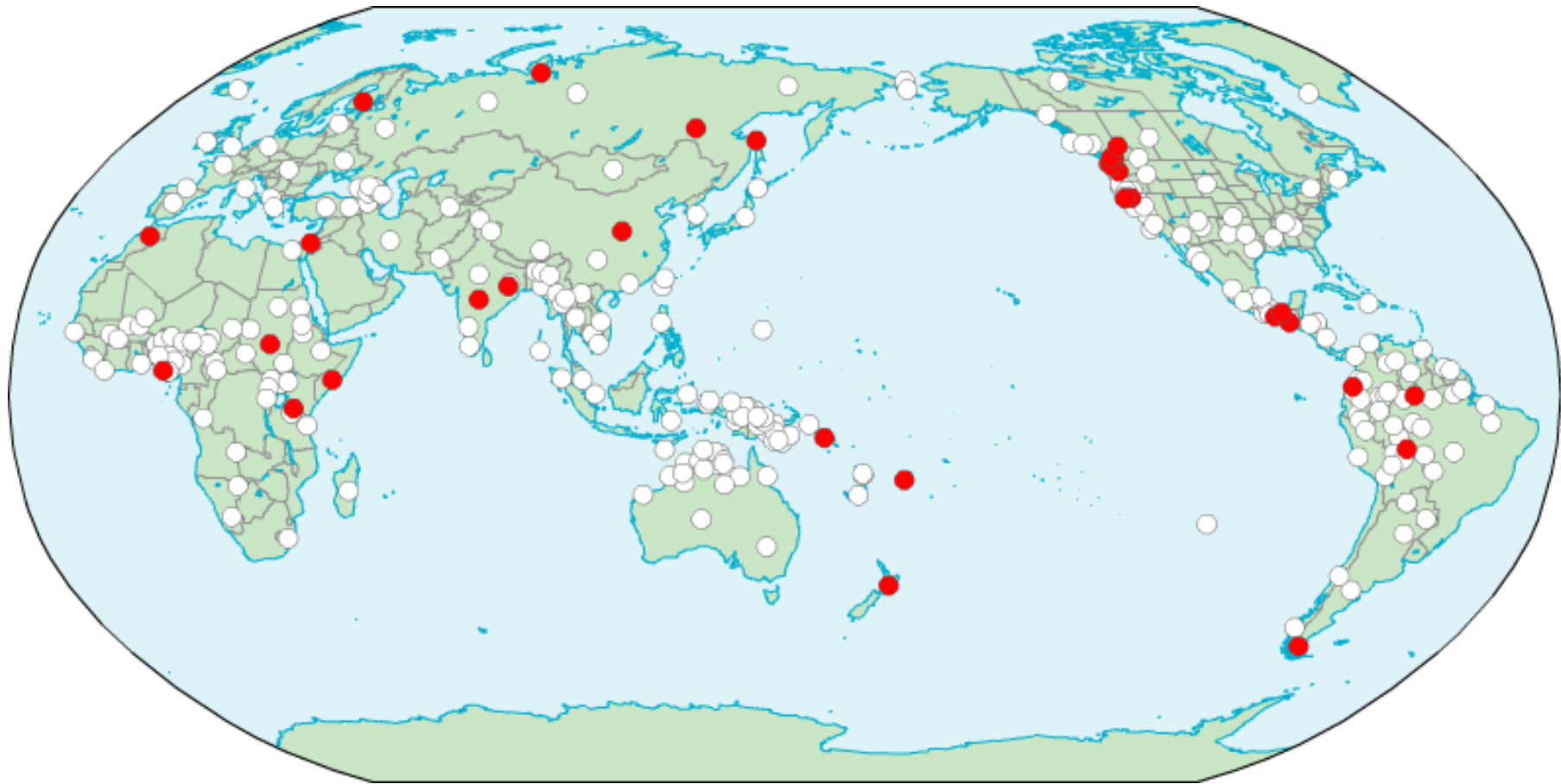
'Siale went.'

b. *na'e 'ikai ke 'alu 'a siale*

PST NEG SUBJ go ABS Siale

'Siale did not go.' (Churchward 1953:56)

# Subtype A/Fin/NegVerb



- 1. [266] Not-A/Fin/NegVerb
- 2. [31] A/Fin/NegVerb



# Type A/NonReal

The negative differs from the corresponding affirmative in that it is marked for a category that denotes non-realized states of affairs.

Maung (Capell and Hinch 1970: 67)

a. *ni-udba*

1SG > 3-put

‘I put.’

b. *ni-udba-ji*

1SG > 3-put-IRR.NPST

‘I can put.’

c. *marig ni-udba-ji*

NEG 1SG > 3-put-IRR.NPST

‘I do not [/cannot] put.’

# Type A/NonReal

Jaqaru (Hardman 2000: 102, 106)

a. *ill-w-ima-wa*  
see-PST-1 > 2-PK  
'I saw you.'

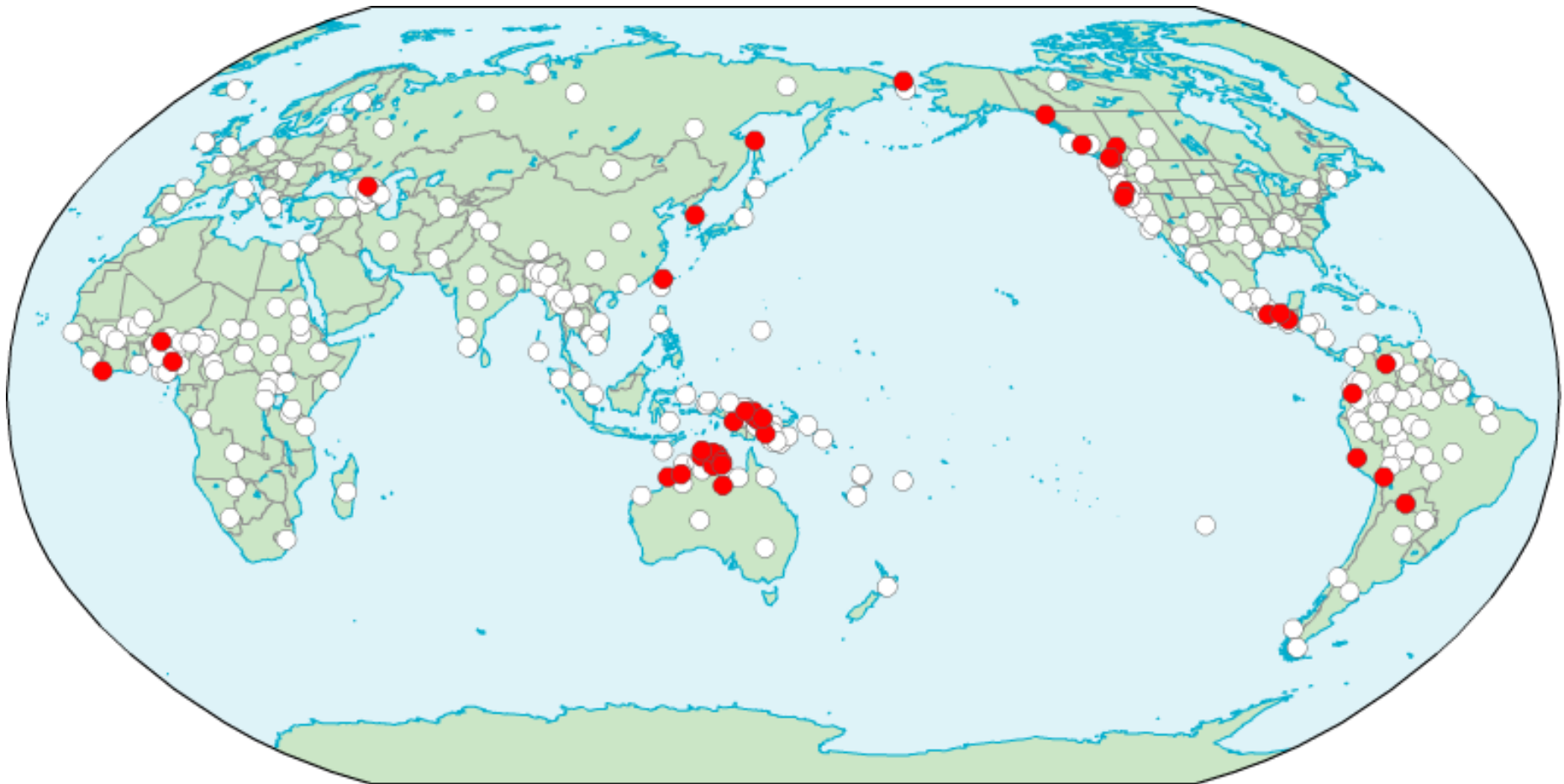
b. *isha-w ill-w-ima-txi*  
NEG-PK see-PST-1 > 2-NEG/Q  
'I didn't see you.'

c. *ill-w-ima-txi*  
see-PST-1 > 2-NEG/Q  
'Did I see you?'

d. *isha-txi ill-w-ima*  
NEG-NEG/Q see-PST-1 > 2  
'Did I not see you?'



# Type A/NonReal



# Type A/Emph

The negative differs from the corresponding affirmative in that it is marked for a category that expresses emphasis in non-negatives.

Meithei (Chelliah 1997: 133, 228)

a. *təw-í*

do-NHYP

‘(She) does.’

b. *təw-e*

do-ASS

‘(Yes, she) has.’

c. *əy fotostat təw-tə-e*

I photostat do-NEG-ASS

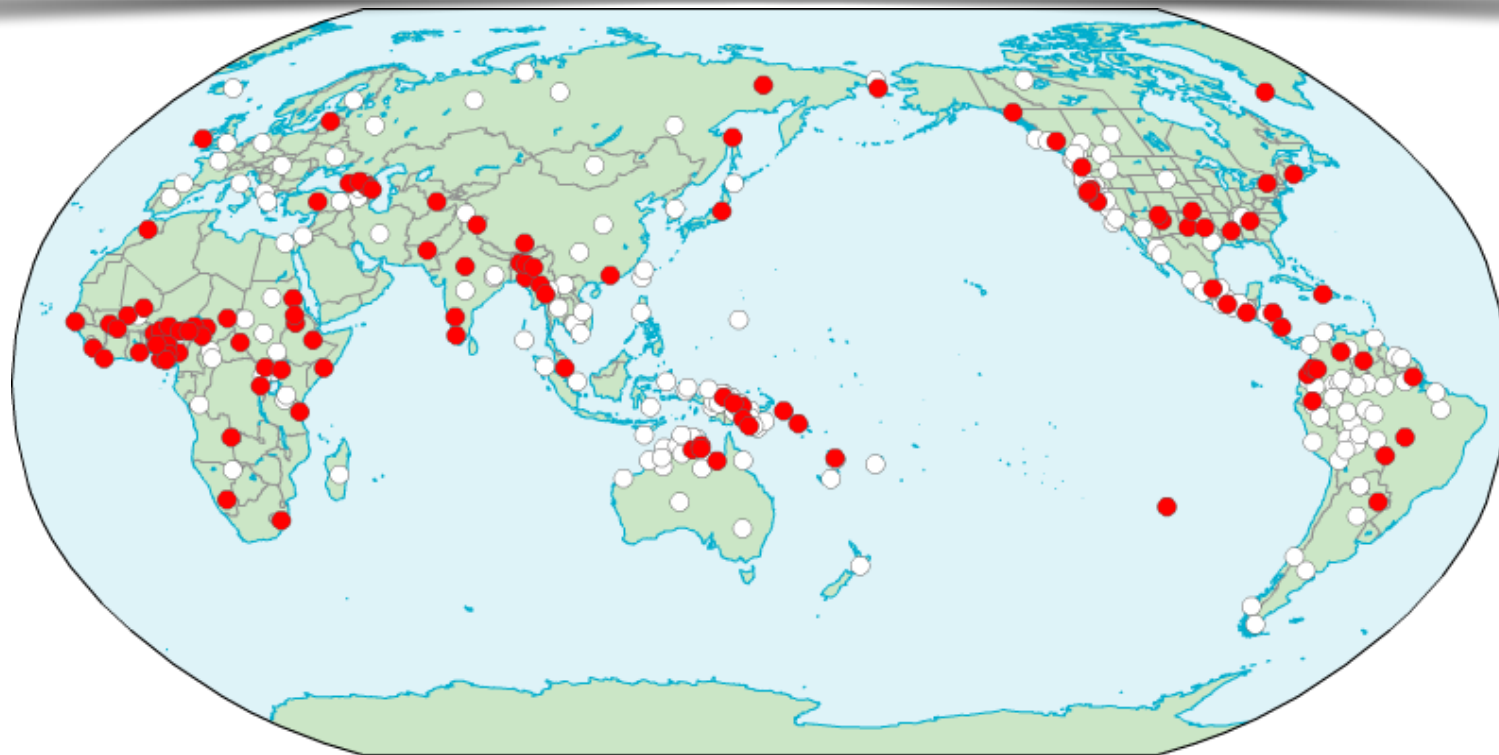
‘I haven't made copies.’

# Type A/Emph



# Type A/Cat

Negatives differ from affirmatives in how grammatical categories are marked, but no generalizations can be made about how the categories are affected (as is done in the other three subtypes). Grammatical distinctions made in the affirmative are often lost in the negative.



- 1. [186] Not-A/Cat
- 2. [111] A/Cat

# Type A/Cat/TAM

A/Cat asymmetry affecting the marking of tense-aspect-mood.

Central Siberian Yupik (Jacobson 1990: 24, 68)

- |    |                            |    |                                       |
|----|----------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>qavagh-aqe-q</i>        | b. | <i>qavagh-igate-q</i>                 |
|    | sleep-CONT-3SG             |    | sleep-NEG.CONT-3SG                    |
|    | ‘He is sleeping / sleeps.’ |    | ‘He is not sleeping / doesn't sleep.’ |

Bagirmi (Stevenson 1969: 83, 91, 130)

- |    |                    |    |                    |
|----|--------------------|----|--------------------|
| a. | <i>ma m-'de</i>    | b. | <i>ma m-'de ga</i> |
|    | 1SG 1SG-come       |    | 1SG 1SG-come CMPL  |
|    | ‘I came.’          |    | ‘I have come.’     |
| c. | <i>ma m-'de li</i> |    |                    |
|    | 1SG 1SG-come NEG   |    |                    |
|    | ‘I did not come.’  |    |                    |

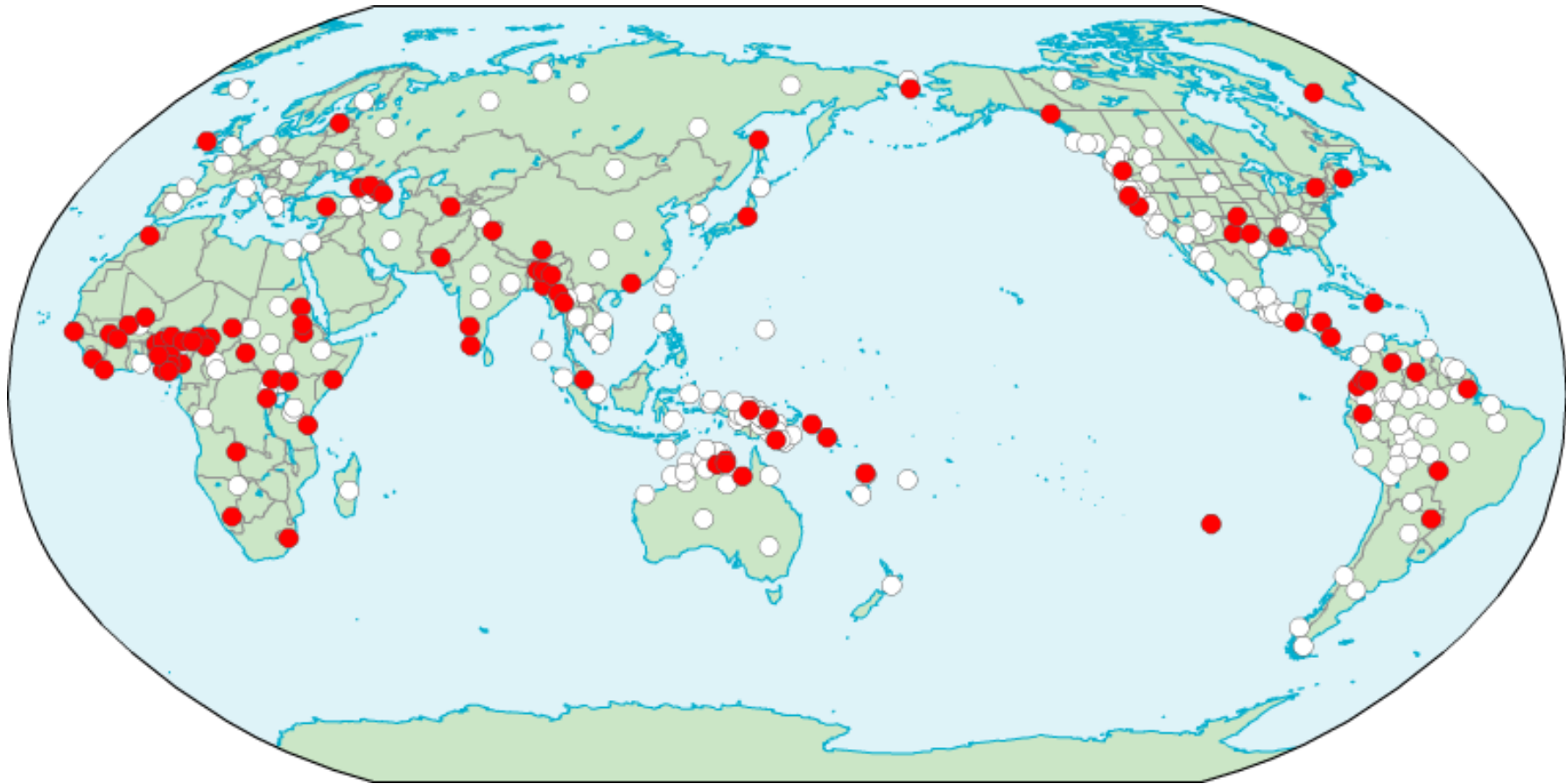
# Subtype A/Cat/TAM

Amele (Roberts 1987: 224–225)

a. f-ec ‘to see’

	TDPST	YDPST	RMPST	NEG.PST
1SG	<i>fi-g-a</i>	<i>fi-g-an</i>	<i>fe-em</i>	<i>qee + fe-l-em</i>
2SG	<i>fa-g-a</i>	<i>fa-g-an</i>	<i>fe-em</i>	<i>fe-l-em</i>
3SG	<i>fe-i-a</i>	<i>fe-i-an</i>	<i>fe-n</i>	<i>fe-l</i>
1DU	<i>fo-w-a</i>	<i>fo-w-an</i>	<i>fo-h</i>	<i>fo-lo-h</i>
2/3DU	<i>fe-si-a</i>	<i>fe-si-an</i>	<i>fe-sin</i>	<i>fe-le-sin</i>
1PL	<i>fo-q-a</i>	<i>fo-q-an</i>	<i>fo-m</i>	<i>fo-lo-m</i>
2/3PL	<i>fe-ig-a</i>	<i>fe-ig-an</i>	<i>fe-in</i>	<i>fe-l-ein</i>

# Subtype A/Cat/TAM



- 1. [201] Not-A/Cat/TAM
- 2. [96] A/Cat/TAM

# Subtype A/Cat/PNG

A/Cat asymmetry affecting the marking of person-number-gender.

Karok (Bright 1957: 67, 138)

a. *kun-iykár-at*

3PL/3SG-kill-PST

‘They killed [him/her].’

b. *pu-ʔiykar-áp-at*

NEG-kill-3PL/3SG-PST

‘They did not kill [him/her].’

c. *ʔu-ʔu'm*

3SG/3SG-arrive

‘He arrives.’

d. *pu-[Ø]-ʔu'm-ára*

NEG-[3SG/3SG]-arrive-NEG

‘He doesn't arrive.’



# Subtype A/Cat/PNG

Harar Oromo (Owens 1985: 66)

a. 'go', PST.AFF

1SG *deem-e*

2SG *deem-t-e*

3SG.M *deem-e*

3SG.F *deem-t-e*

1PL *deem-n-e*

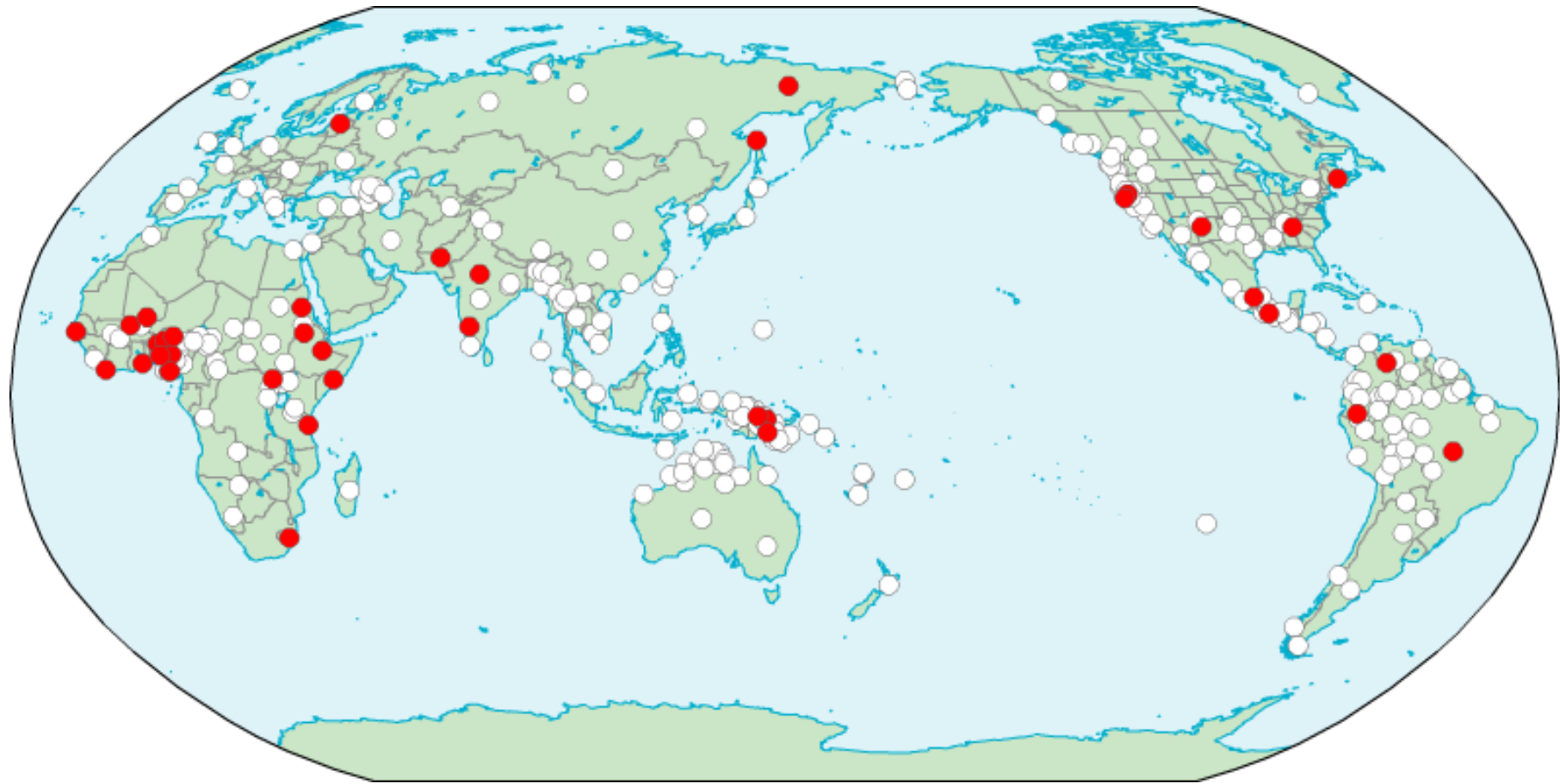
2PL *deem-t-ani*

3PL *deem-ani*

b. 'go', PST.NEG

ALL PERSONS *hin-déem-n-e*

# Subtype A/Cat/PNG



- 1. [259] Not-A/Cat/PNG
- 2. [38] A/Cat/PNG

Functional motivations for  
symmetric vs.  
asymmetric negation

# Asymmetry between affirmation and negation

- Reality vs. non-reality
  - semantically, negation belongs to the realm of the non-realized whereas affirmation belongs to the realized.
- Stativity vs. dynamicity
  - the situations reported by negative statements are stative (b,d), but affirmatives can describe both stative (a) and dynamic (c) situations.

English (constructed examples)

- chris knows the song*
- chris does not know the song*
- chris drank the coffee*
- chris did not drink the coffee*

# Asymmetry between affirmation and negation

- Discourse context
  - negatives typically occur in contexts where the corresponding affirmative is supposed or at least somehow present.

English (Givón 1978: 80)

*Oh, my wife is not pregnant.*

# Language-internal and language-external analogy

- Symmetric negation is based on language-internal analogy: the structure of the negative copies the structure of the affirmative. It is motivated by pressure for cohesion in the system.
- Asymmetric negation is based on language-external analogy: the structure of the negative copies (grammaticalizes) (aspects of) the asymmetry found on the functional level.
  - The different subtypes of asymmetric negation are motivated by different aspects of the functional asymmetry.
- Cf. Itkonen (2001: 136)

# Motivations for the subtypes

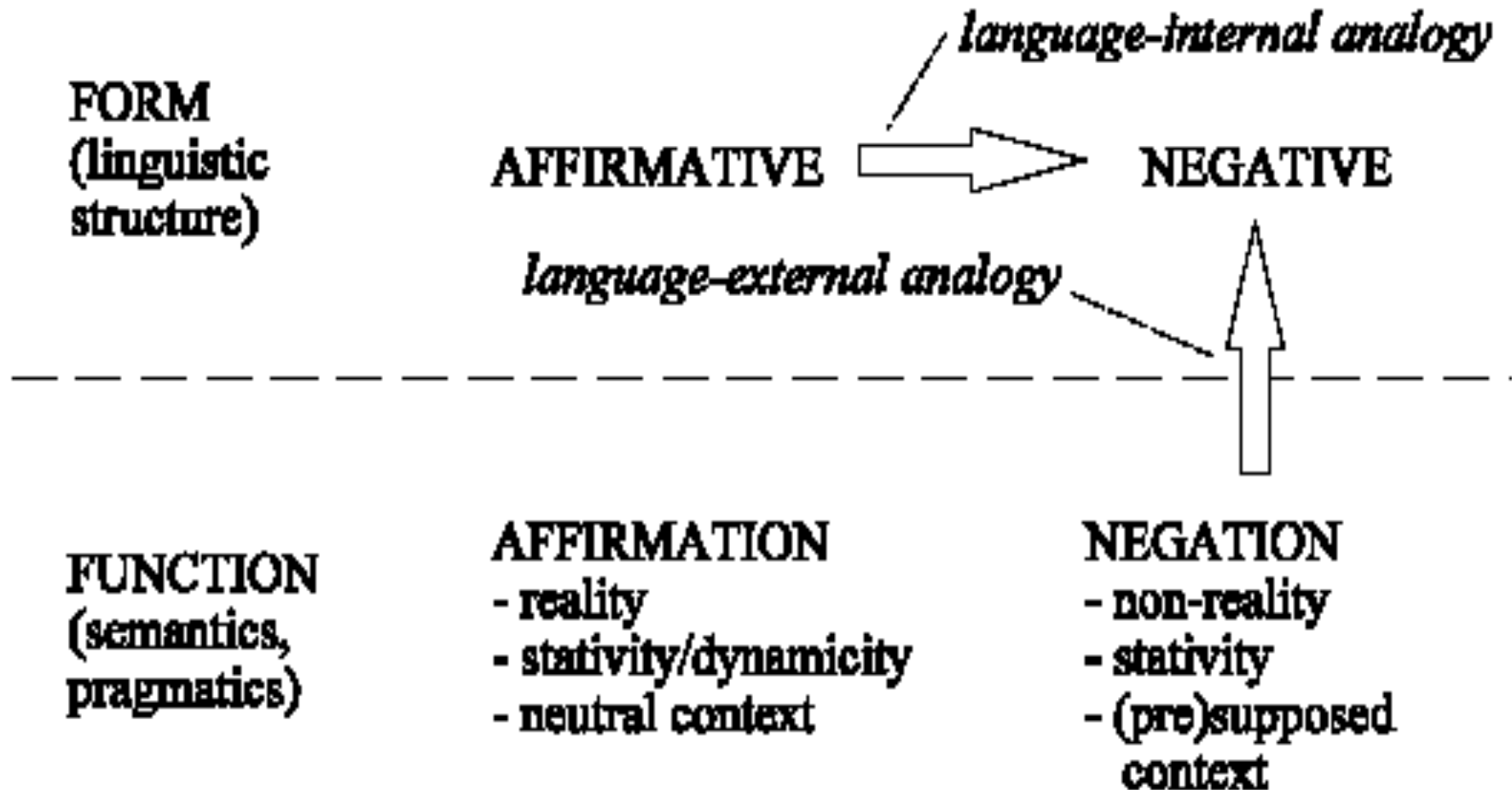
- A/Fin – stativity of negation
  - Negatives typically code stative situations, which is reflected in the following properties of type A/Fin:
    - Non-finiteness of the LV; on the time-stability scale (Givón 1984: 51) nouns code more stative concepts and verbs typically more dynamic ones.
    - Presence of a stative auxiliary (copula) is common in A/Fin/Neg-LV and A/Fin/Neg-FE and can also be shown to have been present in earlier stages of many A/Fin/NegVerb constructions.
    - I.e., negative are constructed as stative predicates in many languages
- A/NonReal – non-real semantics of negation
  - The semantic connection between negation and other conceptualizations of the non-realized shows in languages where negatives contain non-realized marking
  - The semantic maps of the non-realized categories in question extend to declarative negation.

# Motivations for the subtypes

- A/Emph – discourse context of negatives
  - In its typical discourse-context, negation (denial) is often an abrupt speech act and therefore often needs reinforcement.
  - This functional property of negation does not very commonly grammaticalize as asymmetry in standard negation (A/Emph is a marginal type), but cf. Jespersen's Cycle.
- A/Cat/Neutr – discourse context of negatives
  - With the corresponding affirmative present in the context, all aspects of the negated situation/event need not be as specifically marked.
  - In many languages, this has grammaticalized as neutralization of grammatical distinctions in negatives.
  - NB! Some cases of constructional A/Cat asymmetry are simply due to morphologization of phonological changes.



# Language-internal and language-external analogy



Note!

# Variation in the marking of negation

- Certain grammatical environments are more likely than others to have negative constructions different from standard negation.
- In Kahrel's (1996: 70–71) 40-language sample, the most common environments for nonstandard negative constructions were:
  - imperatives, in 17 languages,
  - existentials, in nine languages
  - nonverbal clauses, in eight languages.

# Negative imperatives

# Typological studies

- Van der Auwera & Lejeune (2005); van der Auwera 2006
  - four types based on relationship to positive imperative and negative declarative.
- Miestamo & van der Auwera (2007)
- Aikhenvald (2010)
- van der Auwera & Devos (2012)

# Negative imperatives: Type I

(van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005)

Bagirmi (Nilo-Saharan, Bongo-Bagirmi)

a. *ab 'be*

go home

'Go home!'

b. *ab eli*

go NEG

'Don't go!'

c. *je j-ab eli*

we 1PL-go NEG

'We did not go.' (Stevenson 1969:91, 93, 95)

"The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives."

# Negative imperatives: Type II

(van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005)

Purépecha (Tarascan)

a. *'no, 'xua-ø-rini 'sani*  
NEG bring-IMP-2>1 little  
'No, bring me little!'

b. *'aši 'xua-ø-rini 'sani*  
NEG bring-IMP-2>1 little  
'Don't bring me little!'

c. *'no pi'ri-šiN-ti*  
NEG sing-HAB-ASS.3  
'He does not sing.' (Chamoreau 2000: 112, 242)

“The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second singular imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives.”

# Negative imperatives: Type III

(van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005)

Italian (Indo-European, Romance)

a. *canta*

sing.IMP.2SG

'Sing!'

b. *non cantare*

NEG sing.INF

'Don't sing!'

c. *non canti*

NEG sing.PRS.2SG

'You don't sing.' (constructed examples)

"The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular positive imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives."



# Negative imperatives: Type IV

(van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005)

Koasati (Muskogean)

a. *íp*

eat

‘Eat!’

b. *is-p-án*

2SG-eat-NEG.IMP

‘Don’t eat!’

c. *cík-m-ǫ*

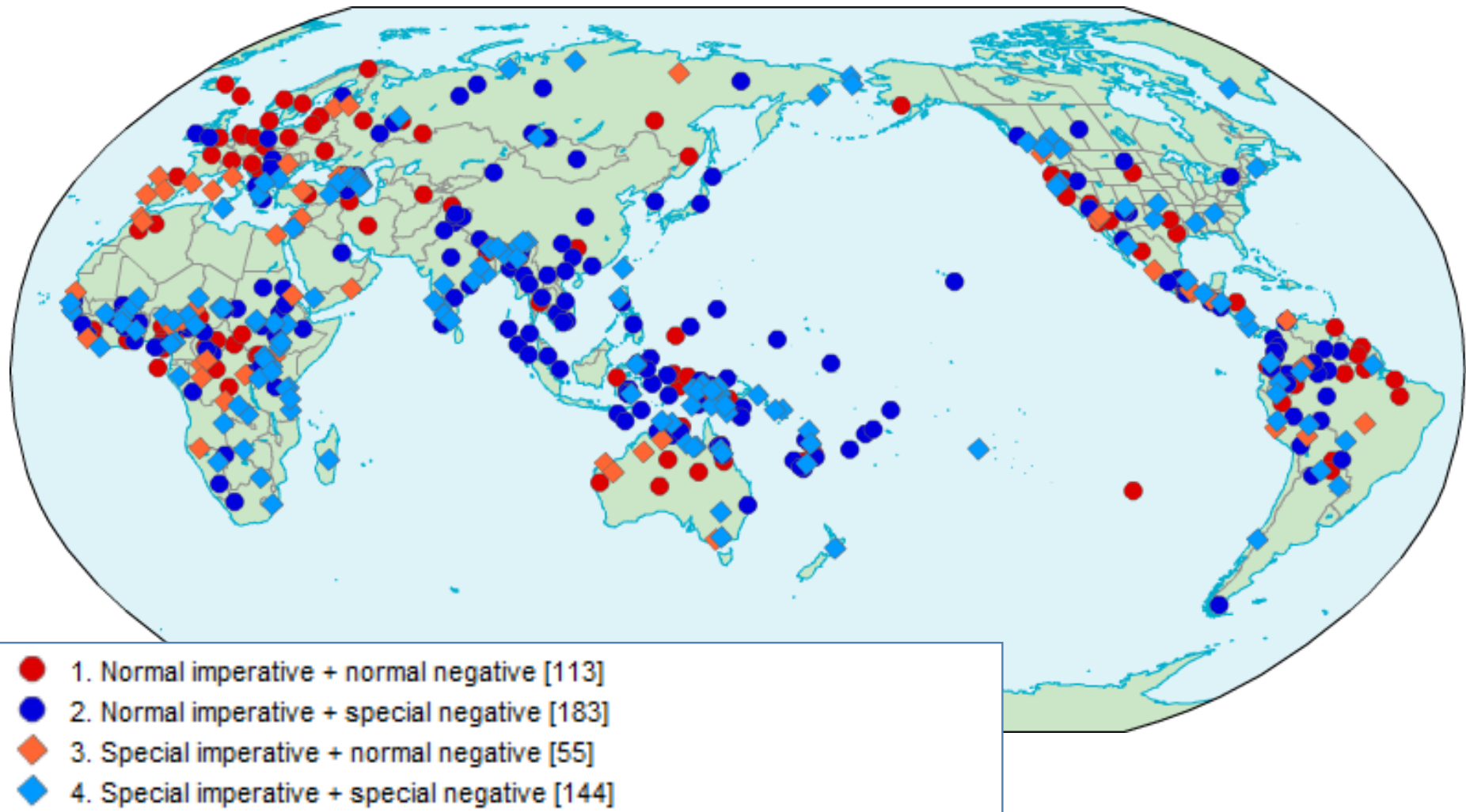
2SG.NEG-gather-NEG

‘You don’t gather.’ (Kimball 1991:58, 270)

“The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular positive imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives.”

# Negative imperatives

(van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005)



# Negation of stative predications

# Stative predication types

- identity: X is my mother
- proper inclusion: X is a man
- attribution: X is tall
- existence: X exists
- possession: X has a dog
- location: X is in the room.

# Negation of stative predications

Typological work:

- Croft 1991: The negative existential Cycle
- Eriksen (2011): The DNA principle.
- Veselinova (2013, 2015): focus on how the negation of the different stative predication types differ from SN and from each other.
  - special negators: existential, ascriptive, locative and general stative

# Negative indefinites

# Negative indefinites: Typological work

- Kahrel 1996: 5 types
- Haspelmath 1997:
  - Semantic map of indefinites
  - cooccurrence with verbal negation.
- Van Alsenoy and van der Auwera 2015, Van Alsenoy 2014
  - Three types of indefinites under negation:
    - –neutral indefinites
    - –negative polarity indefinites
    - –negative indefinites
  - cooccurrence with verbal negation.

# Negative indefinites Type I

(Kahrel 1996)

Standard negation is found with ordinary (positive) indefinites.

Evenki (Nedyalkov 1994: 25)

a. *ekun-da*      *ō-ra-n*

something-CLT become-NFUT-3SG

‘Something happened.’

b. *ekun-da*      *e-che*      *ō-ra*

something-CLT NEG-PST become-PTCP

‘Nothing happened.’



# Negative indefinites Type II

(Kahrel 1996)

Standard negation appears with a special indefinite different from the one used in corresponding positives.

English (constructed examples)

a. *I see something*

b. *I don't see anything*

# Negative indefinites Type III

(Kahrel 1996)

There is an inherently negative indefinite pronoun without standard negation.

Swedish (constructed examples)

a. *jag ser någonting*

1SG see.PRES something

‘I see something.’

b. *jag ser ingenting*

1SG see.PRES nothing

‘I don’t see anything.’

# Negative indefinites Type IV

(Kahrel 1996)

Middle Atlas Berber (Penchoen 1973: 87)

- a. *ħm(a)ḍ ur as ttəgga ṭfiyra walu*  
in.order NEG to.him do.3SG.F snake nothing  
'so that the snake wouldn't do anything to him.'

Italian (constructed examples)

- a. *è successo qualcosa*  
be.3SG happen.PTCP.PST something  
'Something happened.'
- b. *non è successo niente*  
NEG be.3SG happen.PTCP.PST nothing  
'Nothing happened.'
- c. *niente è successo*  
nothing be.3SG happen.PTCP.PST  
'Nothing happened.'

An inherently negative indefinite pronoun is accompanied by standard negation.

# Negative indefinites Type V

(Kahrel 1996)

There is no indefinite pronoun at all, and the equivalent function is expressed with an existential construction.

Nadëb (Weir 1994: 301)

a. *dooh ha-wʰh péh*

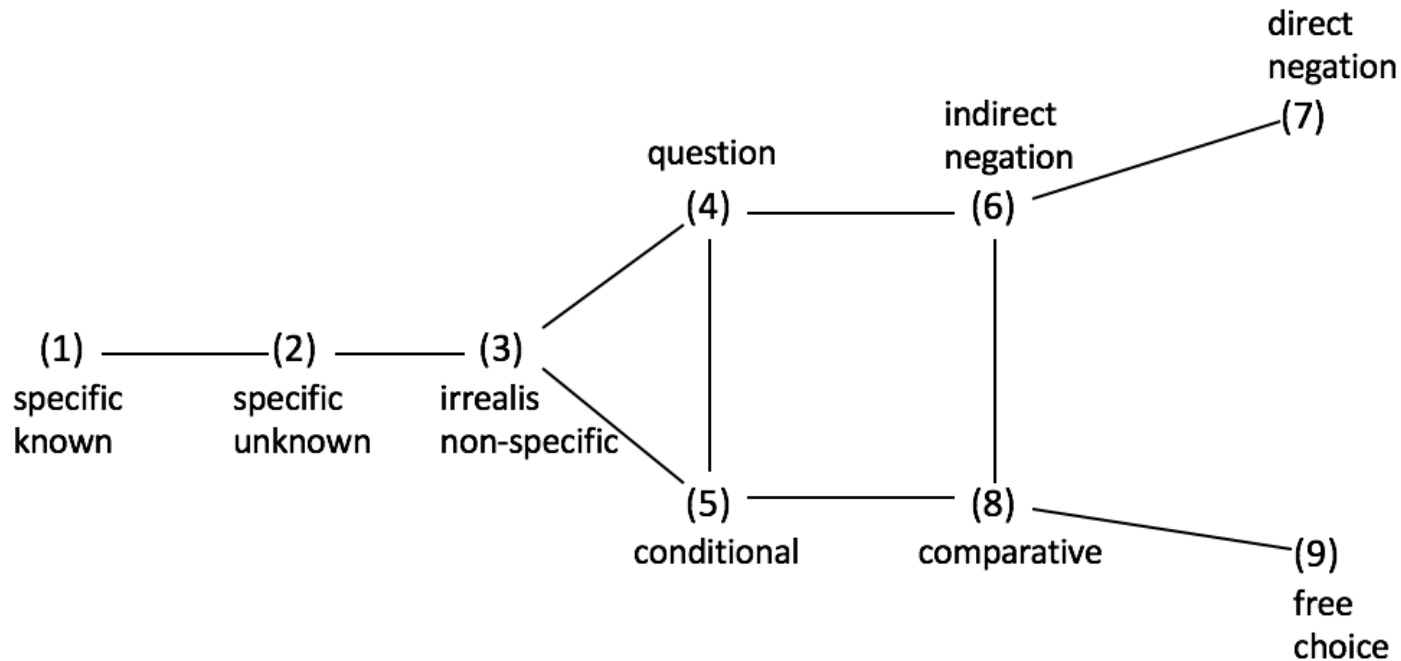
NEG RS-eat.IND NREF

‘No-one is eating’

(lit. ‘One who is eating is something non-existent.’)

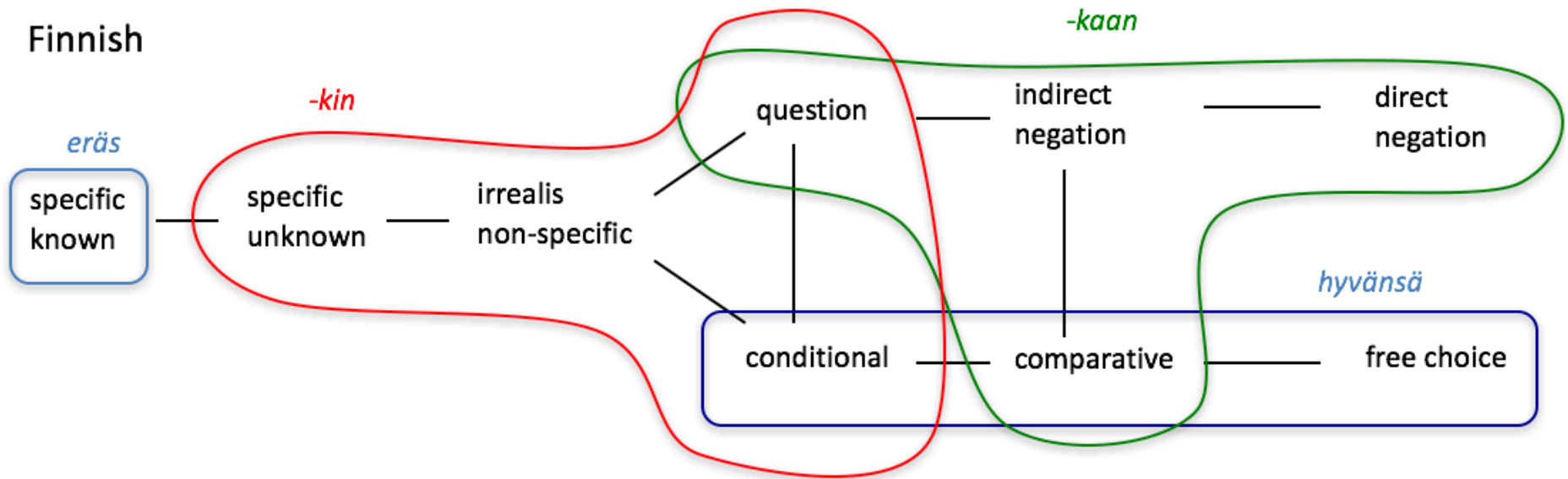
# Haspelmath 1997

- Semantic map of the functions of indefinites

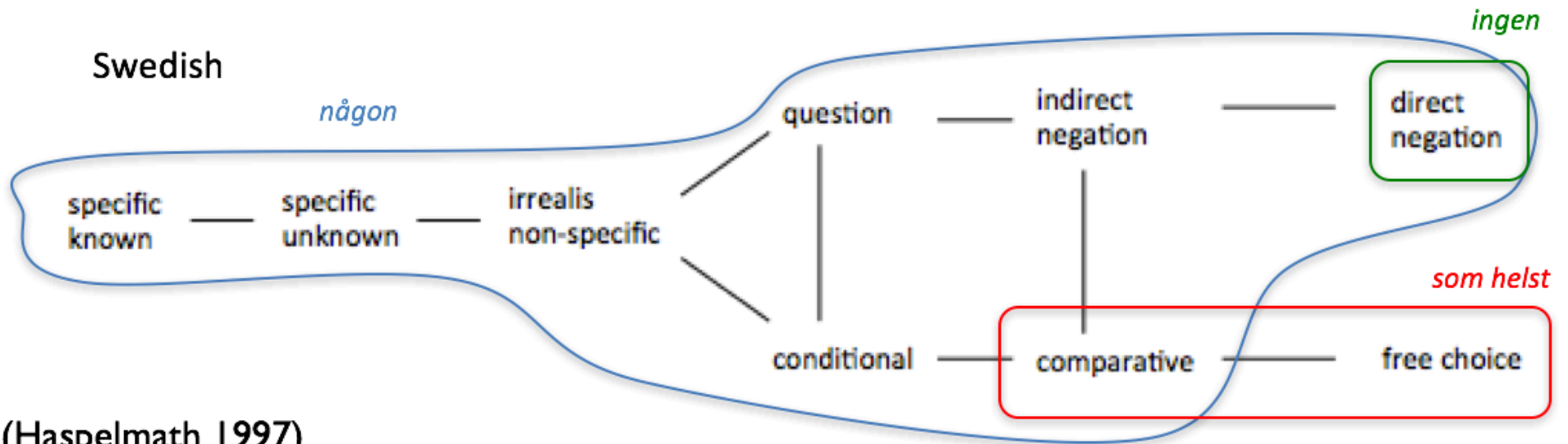


- In addition, attention is paid to cooccurrence with verbal negation.

# Finnish



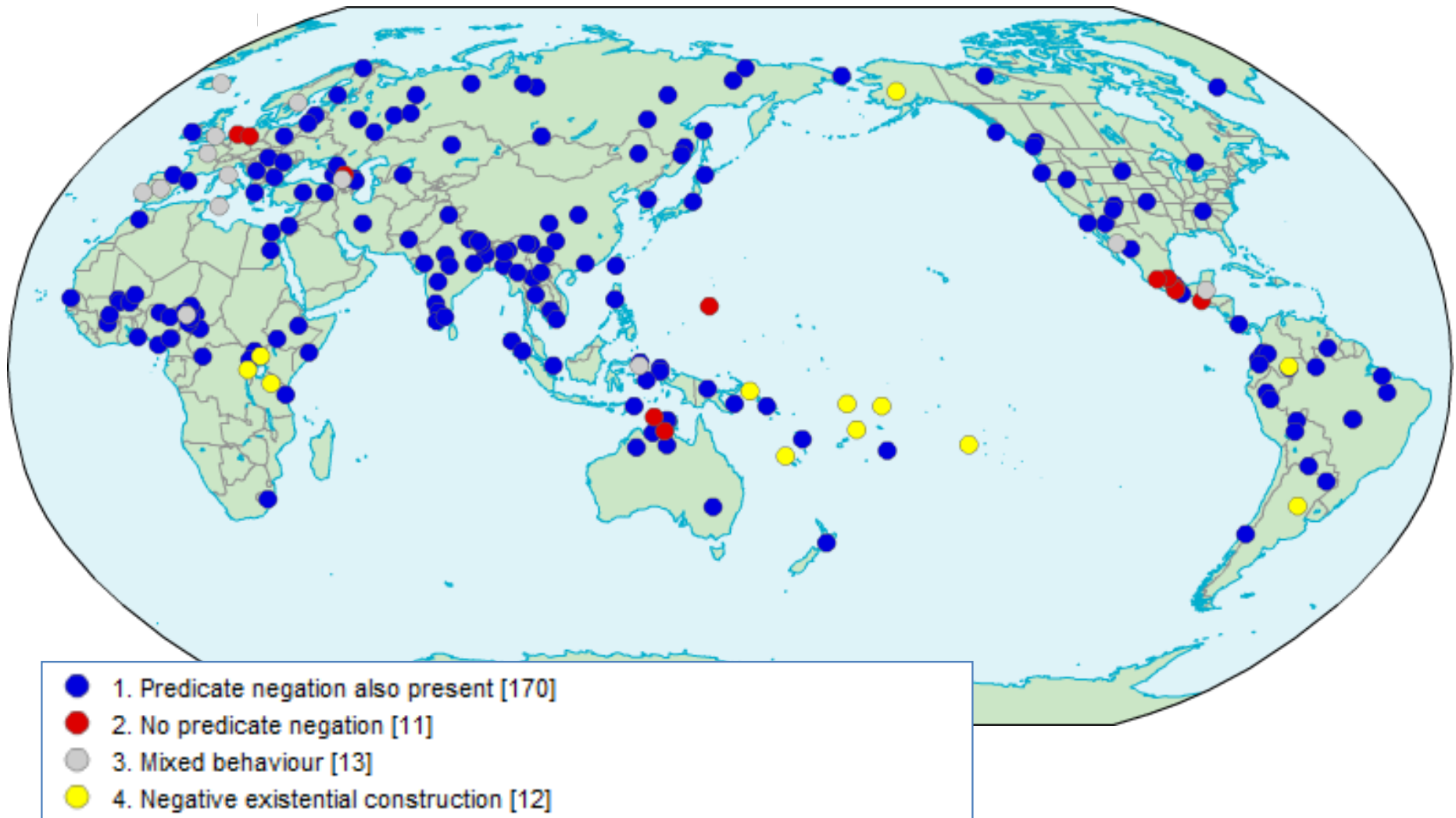
# Swedish



(Haspelmath 1997)

# Negative indefinite pronouns and predicate negation

(Haspelmath 2005)



# Marking of NPs under negation



# Marking of NPs under negation

- Partitive/genitive of negation
  - Finnic: Finnish, Estonian...
  - Baltic: Lithuanian, (Latvian)
  - Slavic: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish
  - Basque
  - Also in older stages of IE languages, e.g., Slavic, Germanic.
- Typological work
  - survey of the effects of negation on NPs in the scope of negation (Miestamo 2014)
    - focus on partitives and referentiality
    - sample 240 lgs.

# NPs under negation

Finnish (constructed examples)

a. *söin banaani-n*  
eat.PST.1SG banana-GEN  
'I ate {a/the} banana.'

b. *söin banaani-t*  
eat.PST.1SG banana-PL.NOM  
'I ate the bananas.'

c. *söin banaani-a*  
eat.PST.1SG banana-PART  
'I {ate some / was eating  
{a/the}} banana.'

d. *söin banaane-j-a*  
eat.PST.1SG banana-PL-PART  
'I {ate (some) / was eating  
{(some)/the}} bananas.'

Finnish (constructed examples)

a. *en syönyt banaani-a*  
NEG.1SG eat.PST.PTCP banana-PART  
'I {didn't eat / wasn't eating} {a/the} banana.'

b. *en syönyt banaane-j-a*  
NEG.1SG eat.PST.PTCP banana-PL-PART  
'I {didn't eat / wasn't eating} (the) bananas.'

# NPs under negation

French (constructed examples)

a. *je vois un chien*

I see.1SG INDEF dog

‘I see a dog.’

b. *je ne vois pas de chien*

I NEG see.1SG NEG PART dog

‘I do not see a dog.’

c. *il y a un livre sur la table*

EXIST INDEF book on DEF table

‘There is a book on the table.’

d. *il n’y a pas de livre sur la table*

EXIST.NEG PART book on DEF table

‘There is not a book on the table.’

# NPs under negation

Araki (Alex François, p.c.)

- a. *nam les-i-a jau lo lepä*  
1SG.R see-OBJ.REF-3SG coconut.crab LOC ground  
'I've seen the/a coconut crab on the ground.'
- b. *nam les-i-a jau mo-hese lo lepä*  
1SG.R see-OBJ.REF-3SG coconut.crab 3.R-one LOC ground  
'I've seen a coconut crab on the ground.'
- c. *nam je les re jau lo lepä*  
1SG.R NEG see PART coconut.crab LOC ground  
'I haven't seen any coconut crab on the ground.'
- d. *nam je les-i-a jau lo lepä*  
1SG.R NEG see-OBJ.REF-3SG coconut.crab LOC ground  
'I haven't seen the coconut crab on the ground.'  
[but not \*'I haven't seen a coconut crab.']

# NPs under negation

Araki (Alex François, p.c.)

- a. *\*nam je les-i-a jau mo-hese lo lepä*  
1SG.R NEG see-OBJ.REF-3SG c.crab 3.R-one LOC ground  
\*‘I haven't seen a coconut crab on the ground.’
- b. *\*nam les re jau lo lepä*  
1SG.R see PART coconut.crab LOC ground  
\*‘I have seen any coconut crab on the ground.’
- c. *na pa han re jau*  
1SG.IRR FUT eat PART coconut.crab  
‘I will eat a/some coconut crab.’
- d. *na pa han-i-a jau*  
1SG.IRR FUT eat-OBJ.REF-3SG coconut.crab  
‘I will eat the coconut crab.’

# NPs under negation

Xhosa (Taraldsen 2010: 1526)

a. *ndi-bon-a aba-fundi*

1SG-see-FV 2-student

'I see the/some students'

b. *a-ndi-bon-i ba-fundi*

NEG-1SG-see-FV 2-student

'I don't see any students'

c. *a-ndi-ba-bon-i aba-fundi*

NEG-1SG-2-see-FV 2-student

'I don't see the students'

'There are some student I don't see.'

# NPs under negation

Nambikuára (Kroeker 2001: 34)

a. *hu<sup>3</sup>kx-a<sup>2</sup> yũ<sup>3</sup>n-a<sup>1</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup>*

bow-DEF own-1SG-IPFV

‘I have a bow.’

b. *hu<sup>3</sup>ki<sup>3</sup>-la<sup>2</sup> yũn<sup>2</sup>-nxa<sup>3</sup>-wa<sup>2</sup>*

bow-NEG own-1SG.NEG-IPFV

‘I don’t have a bow.’

1	first person
DEF	definite
IPFV	imperfective
NEG	negative
SG	singular

# NPs under negation

Aghem (Hyman 2010)

- a. *ò m̀ zì kíbé ʔné*  
SM TPST eat fufu today  
'He ate fufu today.'
- b. *ò m̀ zì né ʔbé ʔkó*  
SM TPST eat today fufu DET  
'He ate fufu today.'
- c. *ò m̀ bé ʔkí zí né*  
SM TPST fufu DET eat today  
'He ate fufu today.'
- d. *ò kà m̀ zí bé ʔkó*  
SM NEG TPST eat fufu DET  
'He didn't eat fufu.'

DET	determiner
NEG	negative
SM	subject marker
TPST	today past



# NPs under negation

Kayapó (Silva 2001: 25, 63)

a. *ga*    *ŋo*    *kam re*  
2.NOM river LOC swim  
'You swim in the river.'

b. *ga*    *ŋo*    *kam a-rere*                      *ket*  
2.NOM river LOC 2.ABS-swim.NONFIN NEG  
'You don't swim in the river.'

c. *ba*    *i-kra*            *mɣ*  
1.NOM 1.POSS-son hold  
'I held my son.'

d. *ije*    *i-kra*            *mɣj*                      *ket*  
1.ERG 1.POSS-son hold.NONFIN NEG  
'I didn't hold my son.'

1	first person
2	second person
ABS	absolute
ERG	ergative
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NONFIN	nonfinite
POSS	possessive

# NPs under negation

## Changes in marking, Miestamo 2014:

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Partitive/genitive case used	Finnic: Finnish, Estonian, Votic, Liv, etc.; Baltic: Lithuanian, Latvian; Slavic: Russian, Ukrainian, Polish; Basque
Non-specific (partitive) determiner used	Araki, Maŵea, Samoan and various other Polynesian languages; French
Omission / restrictions on use of article	Albanian; Hungarian; Nambikuára
Absence of default determiner possible	Kita Maninka; Bantu: Xhosa, Zulu, Bemba, Bobangi, Kinyarwanda, Luganda
Class marker obligatory	Nunggubuyu
Absence of referentiality marker on verb	Hdi
Partitive marker on verb	Paamese
Effects on focus marking	Aghem; Kanuri; Lavukaleve
Effects on alignment	Northern Ge: Kayapó, Canela, Apinayé; Yimas

---

# NPs under negation

- In many of the cases seen, indefinite NPs are marked as non-referential under negation – why?
- The discourse context of negation.

Negation and referentiality (Givón 1978)

*John met a girl yesterday John didn't meet a girl yesterday*

*... and Fred met one too ... and Fred didn't meet one either*

*...and Fred met her too \*... and Fred didn't meet her either*

- Negative sentences are not used to introduce new referents to the discourse. Referential objects are first introduced in affirmatives and appear as definite in negatives.
- Some languages have grammaticalized this functional factor in their grammars.

# The domain of negation

- Clausal negation
  - standard negation
  - negation in non-declaratives
  - negation of stative predications
  - negation in dependent clauses.
- Non-clausal negation
  - negative replies
  - negation of indefinite pronouns
  - negative case, derivation and adpositions
- Further aspects of negation
  - scope of negation
  - negative polarity
  - negation and case marking
  - reinforcing negation
  - negation and complex sentences.

Zooming in...

# From macro to micro

- Macro vs. micro: areal focus:
  - global vs. area/family/language-specific
  - micro-perspectives allow for the examination of contact phenomena and other diachronic developments
- The studies seen above had global scope (macro perspective), and focused on a specific aspect of negation.
- More narrow areal scope (micro):
  - Surveys of a specific topic in specific areas/families: Veselinova 2015, Van Alsenoy & van der Auwera 2015, Devos & van der Auwera 2013, Vossen & van der Auwera 2014, etc... Even dialectal variation within a language: Miestamo 2011.
  - Surveys of the whole domain of negation in a specific area/family: Miestamo & al. 2015, Amazonicas VI, etc...
    - cf. Cyffer et al. (2009), Eurotyp (Bernini & Ramat 2001)

*Typological Studies in Language* 108

# Negation in Uralic Languages

*edited by Matti Miestamo, Anne Tamm  
and Beáta Wagner-Nagy*

*John Benjamins Publishing Company*

- 17 Uralic languages described following a unified questionnaire.
- 5 further chapters focusing on selected aspects of negation in Uralic languages.
- Key perspective: Typology and language documentation.

# The questionnaire

- Clausal negation
  - standard negation
  - negation in non-declaratives
  - negation of stative predications
  - negation in dependent clauses.
- Non-clausal negation
  - negative replies
  - negation of indefinite pronouns
  - negative case, derivation and adpositions
- Further aspects of negation
  - scope of negation
  - negative polarity
  - negation and case marking
  - reinforcing negation
  - negation and complex sentences.



- The questionnaire is freely available for work on new areas/families/languages (see <http://tulquest.huma-num.fr>, or academia.edu, ResearchGate)

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# Abbreviations

[Some items mentioned on the slides list may be missing; please ask me for any missing abbreviations you are interested in.]

1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, ABS absolute, ACC accusative, ACT actual, ADEL adrelative, ADJ adjective, AFF affirmative, ALL allative, ART article, ASS assertive, AUX auxiliary, CERT certitive, CLT clitic, CMPL completive, CNG connegative, CONT continuative, COP copula, CVB converb, DAT dative, DECL declarative, DEF definite, DUR durative, EL relative, ERG ergative, EX existential, EXCL exclusive, F feminine, FOC focus, FUT future, GER gerund, GND gender, HAB habitual, HYP hypothetical, IMP imperative, IMPF imperfective, IMPST immediate past, INCL inclusive, IND indicative, INDEF indefinite, INF infinitive, IRR irrealis, LOC locative, M masculine, N neuter, N~ non~ (e.g. NPST = nonpast), NEG negation/negative, PART partitive, PERF perfect, PFV perfective, PL plural, POT potential, PRES present, PST past, PTCL particle, PTCP participle, R realis, RS relativized subject, SBJN subjunctive, SG singular, SUBJ subject, SURP surprise mood, T theme, V verb.



Thanks for your  
attention!