

Negation in Dravidian languages

A descriptive typological study on verbal and non-verbal negation in simple declarative sentences

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Abstract

Over the years the typology of negation has been much described and discussed. However, focus has mainly been on standard negation. Studies on non-verbal negation in general and comparative studies covering the complete domain of non-verbal negation in particular are less common. The strategies to express non-verbal negation vary among languages. In some languages the negation strategy employed in standard negation is also used in non-verbal negation. Several researchers have argued that languages express negation of non-verbal predications using special constructions. This study examines and describes negation strategies in simple declarative sentences in 18 Dravidian languages. The results suggest that the majority of the Dravidian languages included in this study express standard negation by the use of a negative suffix while non-verbal negation is expressed by a negative verb. Further distinctions are made in the negation of non-verbal predications in that different negation markers are used for attributive and existential/possessive predications respectively.

Keywords

Typology, non-verbal negation, Dravidian languages

Sammanfattning

Negationens typologi har under de gångna åren varit föremål för en omfattande beskrivning och debatt. Trots detta har fokus huvudsakligen varit på standardnegation. Studier av icke-verbal negation i allmänhet och komparativa studier av domänen icke-verbal negation i synnerhet hör till ovanligheterna. Strategierna för att uttrycka icke-verbal negation varierar mellan språk. Vissa språk använder sig av en och samma strategi för att uttrycka standardnegation som för att uttrycka icke-verbal negation. Ett flertal forskare har gjort gällande att språk uttrycker negation av icke-verbala predikationer med hjälp av speciella konstruktioner. Denna studie undersöker och beskriver negationsstrategier i enkla deklarativa meningar i 18 Dravidiska språk. Resultaten tyder på att

majoriteten av de Dravidiska språken inkluderade i denna studie uttrycker standardnegation med hjälp av negativa suffix medan icke-verbal negation uttrycks med negativa verb. Ytterligare distinktioner görs i negationen av icke-verbala predikationer i det att olika negationsmarkörer används för attributiv negation å ena sidan och för existentiella/possessiva predikationer å den andra.

Nyckelord

Typologi, icke-verbal negation, dravidiska språk

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjective
ART	article
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
N-	non- (e.g. NPST non-past)
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PST	past
SG	singular

1. Introduction

Over the years the typology of negation has been much described and discussed. However, focus has mainly been on standard negation. Studies on non-verbal negation or negation in specific functional domains such as attribution, existence and possession are not very common. (The concept is further discussed in section 2.2.) In some languages the negation strategy employed in standard negation is also used to express non-verbal negation. In other languages different strategies are employed in standard negation and non-verbal negation. The strategies may also vary depending on type of non-verbal predication, i.e. attribution, existence and possession. Several researchers, e.g. Dahl (2010) and Veselinova (2013), have argued that negation of non-verbal predications tend to be expressed using special constructions. A typological description of the negation strategies used in a larger number of genealogically related languages, such as the Dravidian language family, could provide additional information on how negation strategies of non-verbal predications may vary.

2. Background

2.1 Standard negation

The typology and diachrony of negation has been much described and discussed in recent years, by e.g. Dahl (1979), Payne (1985), Miestamo (2005, 2011), van der Auwera (2009, 2010), and Dryer (2013a, b). Focus has mainly been on verbal negation or *standard negation*; a term introduced by Payne (1985), described as “that type of negation which has as one function the negation of the most minimal and basic sentences”. The term is commonly used. However, its definition varies over time. Miestamo (2005) defines standard negation as “the basic way (or ways) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses”. In Miestamo (2011) the term is redefined as “the negation of declarative main clauses with a verbal predicate”. Dahl (2010) discusses the term standard negation and argues that it is not a completely satisfactory choice. According to Dahl (2010:11) the term “standard negation” implies that negation of anything but simple indicative sentences should be considered “non-standard negation”.

An often mentioned work on the typology of negation is Dahl’s (1979) *Typology of sentence negation*. Dahl describes the typology of sentence negation in a 240 language sample, proposing a distinction between morphological and syntactic negation. In the former the negation marker is bound to its form and commonly is an affix. In the latter the negation marker is a free form, e.g. an uninflected particle or an auxiliary. Another well-known work is Miestamo (2005), in which the typology of standard negation in verbal main clauses is examined based on a 297 language sample. Miestamo proposes a symmetric versus asymmetric distinction, concluding that symmetric negation implies that the structural difference between the affirmative and the negative is restricted to the presence of a negative marker. In asymmetric negation the differences between the affirmative and the negative are characterized by several structural differences.

The distinction between various types of negation markers is examined and described by Dryer (2013a) who concludes that negative particles followed by negative affixes are the most common

negation markers among the languages included in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS). In addition, Dryer (2013b) makes a distinction between preverbal and postverbal position of the negation marker.

As discussed, cross-linguistic studies of negation are commonly descriptions of verbal negation. In cases where non-verbal negation (see section 2.2 for a definition) is described it is commonly only a side topic. In addition, standard and non-standard negation are often discussed as separate phenomena and commonly the time aspect is not covered at all. van der Auwera (2010) describes the diachrony and cyclicity of negation and argues that the two types are related and what is relevant for the diachrony of the former is also relevant for the diachrony of the latter. Hence there is need for studies covering both standard and non-standard negation.

2.2 Non-verbal negation

Non-verbal negation can be defined as negation of a simple declarative sentence (further discussed in section 2.3) in which the predicate is not a lexical verb. The predicate in a non-verbal predication may be e.g. a noun phrase (1a), an adjective (1b), or a locative construction (1c) (Dahl 2010:27). The notion of *construction* follows Croft's definition (2001:18), i.e. constructions are symbolic units consisting of form and (conventional) meaning linked together by symbolic correspondence.

- | (1) Argument | Copula | Predicate | |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Tom | is | a teacher. | |
| b. Tom | is | ill. | |
| c. Tom | is | here. | (constructed example) |

The non-verbal predication may, or may not, be expressed by the use of a copula construction. In (2) (3) (4) a copula, a word linking the subject with the predicate, is used. In (5) a copula is lacking. Dahl (2010:27-28) argues that in constructions lacking a copula, negation is often expressed by the use of a special negation marker. In constructions with a copula, a special negative copula occasionally replaces the ordinary copula.

- (2) Brahui (Dravidian, North)
- | | | |
|----------|------------------|------------|
| <i>Ī</i> | <i>brā'ūīase</i> | <i>uṭ</i> |
| 1SG | Brahui.SG | be.PRS.1SG |
- 'I am a Brahui.' (Andronov 1980:92)

- (3) Telugu (Dravidian, South-Central)
- | | |
|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Alasatagā</i> | <i>unḍi</i> |
| tired | be.PRS.3SG |
- 'She is tired.' (Lisker 1963:64)

- (4) Malayalam (Dravidian, South)

Avan' iviṭe unṭù
3SG here be.INF
'He is here.' (George 1971:44)

- (5) Pengo (Dravidian, South-Central)

Avan pant-an
3SG tall-3SG
'He is tall.' (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:48)

The strategies to express non-verbal negation vary among languages. Some languages employ the same negation strategy in non-verbal predications as in standard negation while others use different strategies. In some languages the strategies vary depending on type of non-verbal predication. For instance, in French standard negation (6) as well as non-verbal negation (7) is expressed by the discontinuous negation marker *ne... pas*. In Indonesian standard negation and non-verbal negation are expressed using different strategies. Standard negation is expressed by the negation marker *tidak* (8) while non-verbal negation is expressed by *bukan* (9). An example of a language in which the strategies vary depending on predication is Parji. Standard negation is expressed by the negative suffix *-a* (10), negation of attribution by the negative verbal stem *er-* 'to be not' (11) and negation of existence by the negative particle *cila* (12).

- (6) French (Romance, Oïl)

Je ne mange pas
1SG NEG eat.PRS.1SG NEG
'I do not eat.' (constructed example)

- (7) French (Romance, Oïl)

Je ne suis pas fatigué
1SG NEG be.PRS.1SG NEG tired
'I am not tired.' (constructed example)

- (8) Indonesian (Malayo-Polynesian, Malay)

Mereka tidak menolong kami
3PL NEG help 1PL.EXCL
'They didn't help us.' (Sneddon 1996, cited in Eriksen 2011:276)

- (9) Indonesian (Malayo-Polynesian, Malay)

Dia bukan guru
3SG NEG teacher.SG
'She is not a teacher.' (Sneddon 1996, cited in Eriksen 2011:276)

- (10) Parji (Dravidian, Central)
Cūra-n-a
 see.NPST-1SG-NEG
 ‘I do/will not see.’ (Burrow 1953:64)
- (11) Parji (Dravidian, Central)
Ōd viled erad
 3SG white be.not.3SG
 ‘He is not white.’ (Burrow 1953:67)
- (12) Parji (Dravidian, Central)
Nīr cila
 water NEG.be
 ‘There is no water.’ (Burrow 1953:67)

Non-verbal negation and negation in predications of existence often exhibit similarities. The existential verb is often identical to the copula. Moreover, the negation marker used in standard negation may be identical to the negative existential. Parallels are also visible as regards the negative constructions, e.g. are suppletive negative verbs commonly used. In addition, (Dahl 2010:28).

Comparative studies covering the complete domain of negation in non-verbal predications are few and none of them cover the aspects of this study. Kahrel and van den Berg (eds. 1994) present descriptions of all aspects of negation in 16 unrelated languages. Eriksen (2011) cover non-verbal negation in nominal and attributive predications. Based on cross-linguistic data, Veselinova (forthcoming a) investigates standard negation and non-verbal negation and tests the Negative existential cycle in Slavonic and Polynesian languages. Veselinova (forthcoming b) presents an overview of non-verbal negation across the complete domain of non-verbal negation in Uralic languages, while Veselinova (2013) examines negative existentials.

Eriksen (2011:277) suggests that non-verbal negation can be explained in terms of *Direct Negation Avoidance*. Direct Negation Avoidance could be described as a strategy divergent from the one used to express standard negation, with the purpose to avoid that the non-verbal predicate becomes focus of the negation (Eriksen 2011:275). Several different strategies are associated with Direct Negation Avoidance. One is the *Negated existence strategy* in which the state described by the predicate is negated, not the predicate itself (Eriksen 2011:281). An auxiliary, a particle or a bound morpheme, is positioned between the standard negator and the non-verbal predicate with the purpose to act as a mediator (Eriksen 2011:292). Eriksen puts forth the hypothesis that all copulas may act as mediators. In addition, Eriksen (2011:293) suggests that copulas may be in complementary distribution with e.g. special negators as regards the different Direct Negation Avoidance strategies. Eriksen concludes that sentences with non-verbal or existential predicates tend to employ special negative constructions different from the constructions used to express standard negation (Eriksen 2011:275-276). These negators are collectively referred to as *special negators*, a definition first used by Veselinova (forthcoming a).

Veselinova (forthcoming a) investigates standard negation as well as non-verbal negation in 13 Slavonic and 22 Polynesian languages. The study yields different results for the two language families.

In the Slavonic languages 8 out of 13 languages express negation of existence using a special negator, different from the one used to express standard negation. In a majority of the languages the use of the special negator is restricted to one tense, the present. Of the Polynesian languages, all except one employ a special negator to express negation of existence. Three of the languages employ the existential negator to express certain aspects of standard negation.

Veselinova (forthcoming b) presents an overview of non-verbal negation across the complete domain of non-verbal negation in Uralic languages. According to Veselinova the negative existentials in the Uralic language family exhibit a number of characteristics: (i) they have a tendency to behave as defective verbs, i.e. they lack a complete paradigm and only exist in a limited number of forms, (ii) they act as replacement for the affirmative existential, and (iii) they have a tendency to appear in certain types of constructions (Veselinova forthcoming b).

In a cross-linguistic study Veselinova (2013) examines the strategies employed to negate existential predications from a macro and a micro perspective respectively. The samples used consist of data from 95 unrelated languages as well as data from the three language families, Polynesian, Slavic and Uralic. Negative existentials are commonly described as special negators since they employ constructions different from the ones used to express standard negation (Veselinova forthcoming a). Veselinova (2013) puts forth a number of semantic and structural properties characteristic for the negative existentials. In light of the findings Veselinova discusses whether negative existentials should be described as special negators or if they constitute a separate functional domain, a “domain of absence” (Veselinova 2013:139).

2.3 Simple declarative sentences

A simple declarative sentence consists of a single main, or *independent*, clause in which a subject precedes a verb. It is typically used to make statements (Chalker and Weiner 1998).

Simple declarative sentences can be constructed with a lexical verb (13) and (14). Sentences (15) and (16) display a construction with a copula verb and predicate identity. Sentence (17) is constructed with a nominal predicate. In sentence (18) and (19) the predicate is an adjective. While (17) predicates inclusion in a certain class, (18) predicates a constant property and (19) a temporary property. In (20) the construction has a definite subject and a locative predicate. In (21) and (22) the locative-presentative construction predicates not only existence but also location. Sentences (23) and (24) are grammaticalized existential constructions with a dummy subject, i.e. *is*, and an indefinite non-referential subject. Sentence (25) also expresses existence but is an intransitive sentence lacking the dummy subject which is present in (23) and (24). Sentence (26) expresses negation of predicative possession.

(13) Mary does not smoke.

(14) Mary does not drink coffee.

(15) This is my friend Abbott.

(16) This is not Abbott, it's Costello.

(17) Mary is a nurse.

(18) Mary is tall.

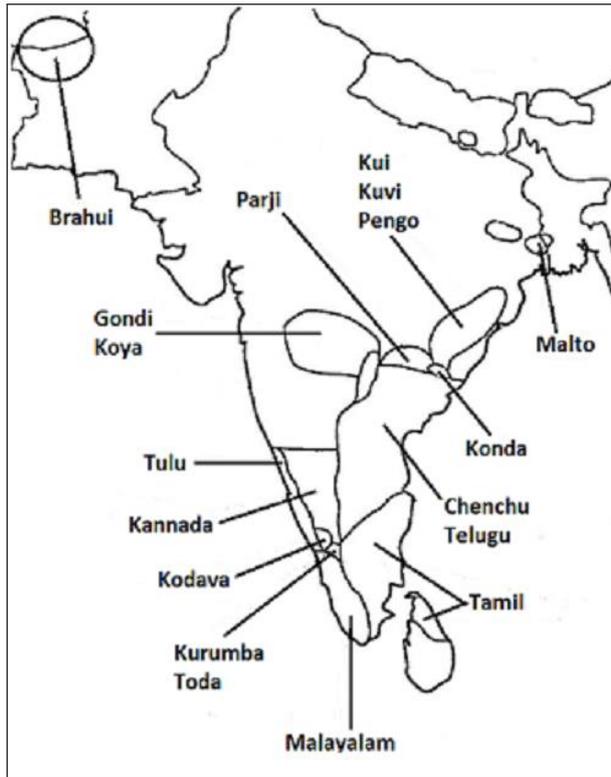
- (19) Mary is happy.
- (20) Mary is not here.
- (21) There is some coffee in the coffee pot.
- (22) There is no coffee in the coffee pot.
- (23) There is no coffee.
- (24) There is no God.
- (25) God exists.
- (26) Mary does not have a coffee maker.

2.4 Dravidian languages

For this study 18 Dravidian languages have been selected: Brahui, Chenchu (a dialect of Telugu), the Adilabad dialect of Gondi, Kannada, Kodava (Kodagu), Konda, Koya, Kui, Kurumba (Kurumba Kannada), Kuvi, Malayalam, Malto, Parji, Pengo, Tamil, Telugu, Toda and Tulu. The selection of the languages has been governed by two criteria. The first criterion is the languages genealogical and areal relatedness. The second is the fact that a majority of the Dravidian languages lack a written tradition (Steever 1998:4) Hence the selection has been governed by the availability of grammars.

The Dravidian language family is traditionally divided into four subgroups: North Dravidian, Central Dravidian, South-Central Dravidian and South Dravidian respectively (Steever 1998). The classification in the Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons and Fennig eds. 2013) has been adopted. Matters of classification lie outside the scope of this study.

Brahui and Malto are commonly classified as North Dravidian languages. Brahui is mainly spoken in Pakistan. Malto is spoken in East India. Parji is a Central Dravidian language and is, as the name suggests, spoken in the central parts of India. Chenchu, Gondi, Konda, Koya, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo and Telugu belong to the South-Central group and are spoken in the Central, South-central and South-eastern parts of India. Kannada, Kodava, Kurumba, Malayalam, Tamil Toda and Tulu are South Dravidian languages, spoken mainly in South India (Lewis, Simons and Fennig eds. 2013) (Map 1).



Map 1. A linguistic map of the languages under study.
(Steever 1998:10)

2.4.1 Negation in Dravidian languages

In the Dravidian languages the prevailing word order is subject-object-verb (SOV). The morphology is traditionally defined as agglutinating, which means that words are formed by affixing one or several morphemes to a stem. As a consequence, Dravidian verbs consist of a verbal stem to which suffixes expressing grammatical categories are attached (Andronov 2003:181). This is visible in e.g. Toda (27) where the verbal stem *pōr-* ‘to come’ is followed by the negative suffix *-o-*, the first person singular suffix *-en-* and the past tense suffix *-i*. Another example is Konda (28) where the verbal stem *koṛk-* ‘to bite’ in infinitive is followed by the negative suffix *-ʔ-* and the third person singular suffix *-en*.

- (27) Toda (Dravidian, South)
Pōr-o-en-i
 come.INF-NEG-1SG-PST
 ‘I did not come.’ (Sakthivel 1977:115)

- (28) Konda (Dravidian, South-Central)
Koṛk-ʔ-en
 bite.INF-NEG-3SG
 ‘He does not bite.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:209)

A common feature in the Dravidian languages is the distinction positive and negative forms. All the languages exhibit this distinction which has been verified in finite as well as non-finite forms (Andronov 2003:184). However, according to Andronov none of the Dravidian languages exhibits a complete parallelism between positive and negative paradigms, i.e. there is an asymmetry between the affirmative and the negative paradigm. In Table 1 the affirmative and negative paradigm respectively for the verb *máḍu* ‘to do’ in Kannada can be seen. In the affirmative a distinction between past, present and future tense is visible, in the negative there is no such distinction.

Table 1. The Kannada verb *máḍu* ‘to do’ in the affirmative and negative paradigm respectively (Hodson 1979:28-29).

		Affirmative			Negative
		Past	Present	Future	
Singular	1st	máḍidenu	máḍutténe	máduvenu	máḍenu
	2nd	máḍidi/-e	máḍutti/máḍuttíyé	máduvei/-e	máḍe
	3rd masc	máḍidanu	máḍuttáne	máduvanu	máḍanu
	3rd fem	máḍidaḷu	máḍuttále	máduvaḷu	máḍaḷu
	3rd neut	máḍitu	máḍuttade	máduvadu	máḍadu
Plural	1st	máḍidevu	máḍuttéve	máduvevu	máḍevu
	2nd	máḍidiri	máḍuttiri	máduviri	máḍari
	3rd masc	máḍidaru	máḍuttáre	máduvaru	máḍaru
	3rd fem	máḍidaru	máḍuttáre	máduvaru	máḍaru
	3rd neut	máḍidavu	máḍuttave	máduvaru	máḍavu

According to Master (1946:140) negation in Dravidian languages comprises four different types: (i) the Neutralizer, (ii) the suffix *-ā*, and the infix *-ā-*, (iii) the negative particle, and (iv) the Zero negative.

Master argues that the two impersonal forms *alla* and *illa*, neuter forms of the verbs *all-* ‘to be not, to become not’ and *ill-* ‘to be not, to exist not’, are the results of the first type, the Neutralizer. Through neutralization, grammatical distinctions present in the affirmative, e.g. tense and personal suffixes, are lost in the negative (Miestamo 2010:172). Forms such as *alla* and *illa* expand their domain of use to express negation in different contexts and become neutralized Sankoff (1998:153) concludes that neutralization is “the fundamental discursive mechanism of (nonphonological) variation and change”.

Master (1946:141) describes suffix *-ā* in the second type as an emphatic suffix, previously used to express notional negative, now used in e.g. Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu to express interrogation. In Malayalam this suffix has developed to a negative infix, *-ā-*.

The third type, the negative particle, is according to Master (1946:145) found in Malayalam and Tamil but not in the rest of the Dravidian languages.

The *Dravidian zero negative* (Master 1946), is described by Miestamo (2010:169) as negation lacking an overt negation marker. The only thing distinguishing the negative from its corresponding affirmative is the absence of a tense marker. An example of this is Old Kannada which displays a distinction between past (29) and future (30) tense in an affirmative sentence. The corresponding

negative sentence (31) lacks an overt marker. Instead the negation is expressed by the absence of the tense marker (Miestamo 2010:169-170).

- (29) Old Kannada (Dravidian, South-Central)
No:d-id-em
see-PST-1SG
'I saw.' (Pilot-Raichoor 2010:268)
- (30) Old Kannada (Dravidian, South-Central)
No:d-uv-em
see-FUT-1SG
'I will see.' (Pilot-Raichoor 2010:268)
- (31) Old Kannada (Dravidian, South-Central)
No:d-em
see-1SG
'I do/did/will not see.' (Pilot-Raichoor 2010:268)

Miestamo (2010:170) argues that the difference between the negative and the corresponding affirmative construction is not limited to the absence of a tense marker and therefore suggests the alternative term *Subtracting Zero Negative Construction*.

Miestamo (2005) examines standard negation in a sample of 297 languages of which three are Dravidian languages: Brahui, Kannada and Malayalam, but none of these languages exhibit a zero negative. However, Pilot-Raichoor (2010:271) argues that the zero negative still exists in several South and South-Central Dravidian languages, e.g. Kota, Toda and Gondi, but also in Brahui, which is a North Dravidian language.

Not only has the zero negative been much debated, the mere existence of a zero negative has been disputed by e.g. Krishnamurti (2003) who dismisses the Dravidian zero negative with the following words:

The negative allomorphs occurring in inflected verbs have abnormal phonology and are, therefore, of uncertain origin. The notion of a zero negative in Dravidian is a myth (Krishnamurti 2003:348)

Nevertheless, Pilot-Raichoor (2010) concludes, with reference to Miestamo (2010), that the zero negative is in fact a negation strategy which "does not require the presence of a true negator" (Pilot-Raichoor 2010:299).

Negation of attributive and existential predications in Dravidian languages is sparsely discussed in the literature. Murugaiyan (1997) examines existential utterances and the negation of existence in 15 Dravidian languages representing all the four sub-groups. Murugaiyan divides equational predications into two types: those which express a constant quality, in which the use of a copula is optional, and those expressing an inconstant quality, which requires a copula. In addition, Murugaiyan concludes that the use of copulas in equational predications is a consequence of the spread of existential copulas.

2.5 Aim of the study

This thesis is a descriptive typological study on verbal as well as non-verbal negation in 18 Dravidian languages, with the purpose to obtain a better overview of negation strategies in verbal as well as non-verbal declarative predications. This is done by examining and providing a comparison on the negation markers and the negation strategies used to express verbal and non-verbal negation in the selected languages. Motivation for the study is the lack of a good comparative study of negation in simple declarative sentences in Dravidian languages.

3. Method

To obtain the relevant information from the descriptive grammars the *Negation-Questionnaire* (Appendix I), constructed by Ljuba Veselinova at the University of Stockholm, has been used. The questionnaire consists of 24 questions covering affirmative as well as negative verbal and non-verbal predications. In the first step the negator(s) used to express standard negation were identified for each language. In the second step the negators used to negate the three types of predications, i.e. being, existence and possession, were identified for the same languages. The following types of non-verbal predications have been examined: equational, descriptive, locative, existential, and possessive.

Equational predication refers to a sentence used to state the identity of an object (32). Descriptive predications, also referred to as *nominal* predications (Stassen 2013b), can be further divided into class inclusion and property attribution. Class inclusion is used to include an object into a certain class while property attribution is used to provide an object with a certain attribute (33) or the ascription of properties, which in turn can be constant (34) or inconstant (35). Locative predication refers to a sentence with a locative predicate (36). In addition to locative predications there are locative-presentative predications (37): while the former has a definite subject, the latter have an indefinite, more general, subject. Existential predication refers to a sentence used to state the mere existence of an object (38). Existence is expressed in absolute general terms and the introduced by the speaker is unfamiliar to the listener. Regarding predicative possession, a distinction is made between alienable and inalienable possession respectively. Alienable possession (39), used to express ownership of tangible objects which can exist independent of the possessor, is considered to be the ‘prototypical’ case of possession since the “possessive relation between the possessor and the possessee is not seen as ‘inherent’ or ‘indissoluble’ (Stassen 2009:15). Inalienable possession express ownership of objects which existence are dependent of the possessor, e.g. body parts or relatives (Stassen 2013a). Possession can be encoded in different ways and using e.g. locative or existential constructions. The definitions of the different types of predications follow Hengeveld (1992). In addition, lexicalizations of negation were identified.

(32) *This is not Tom, it's Jake*
DEM be.PRS.3SG NEG Tom 3SG be.PRS.3SG Jake

(33) *Tom is not a teacher, he is a doctor*
Tom be.PRS.3SG NEG ART teacher.SG 3SG be.PRS.3SG ART doctor.SG

- (34) *This is not tall*
 DEM be.PRS.3SG NEG tall
- (35) *This is not happy*
 DEM be.PRS.3SG NEG happy
- (36) *Tom is not here*
 Tom be.PRS.3SG NEG here
- (37) *There are some wild cats in the garden*
 DEM be.PRS.3PL DET wild cat.PL in DET garden.SG
- (38) *Wild cats do not exist*
 wild cat.PL do.PRS.3PL NEG exist.INF
- (39) *Tom does not have a car*
 Tom do.PRS.3SG NEG have.INF ART car.SG

In the third step, patterns, similarities and differences were identified by comparing the verbal negator(s) and the non-verbal negators. Verbal negators and negators of being, existence and possession exhibit both syntactical and morphological differences. The differences were defined according to the following criteria: (i) complete formal and constructional difference (40) and (41), and (ii) difference in morphological form (42) and (43) (Veselinova 2013). In Konda the negative suffix *-ɔ-* is used to express SN (40). Negation of existence is expressed by the negative verbal stem *sil-* ‘to be not’ (41). Tamil exhibits difference in morphological form. The two forms *-illai* and *illai* differ only in that *-illai* (42) is a bound form, while *illai* (43) is a free form.

- (40) Konda (Dravidian, South-Central)
Aɬk-ɔ-en
 burn-NEG-3SG
 ‘He doesn’t burn (wood).’ (Krishnamurti 1969:209)
- (41) Konda (Dravidian, South-Central)
‘Uŋa’ iɣiŋa anam sil-ed
 eat.INF if food.SG be.not-NPST-3SG
 ‘There is no food for me to eat.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:323)
- (42) Tamil (Dravidian, South)
Naan viɻav-ill-ai
 1SG leave.INF-be.not-3PL
 ‘I did not leave.’ (Lehmann 1993:70)

- (43) Tamil (Dravidian, South)
Peey *ill-ai*
ghost.PL be.not-3PL
‘Ghosts do not exist.’ (Lehmann 1993:230)

The majority of the sources used in this study do not include glossed examples. In the few sources where glossed examples are available the glossings do not follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which is the non-official glossing standard. Consequently, to provide correctly glossed examples and to avoid inconsistencies related to the glossing all examples have been glossed following Leipzig Glossing Rules. In addition, to avoid inconsistencies the examples have been adapted to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

3.1 Data

To collect data on negation strategies in Dravidian languages the sources presented in Table 2 have been used. All the sources are descriptive grammars but they vary in scope and extensiveness. Some provide vocabularies as a complement to the language descriptions, e.g. *The Pengo language* by Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970). Others provide not only descriptions of the language itself but also descriptions of the culture and the social life, e.g. *Linguistic study of the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh* by Trivedi (1978). Some are very extensive while others are merely sketchy overviews or shallow descriptions of certain aspects of the language. In addition, a majority of the sources lack glossed examples.

The selection of the grammars has to a large extent been governed by availability; consequently the study has been based on data drawn from a limited number of sources. In addition, due to the limitations in sources not all data is contemporary, e.g. *Introduction to the Malto language* by Droese was published already in 1884 while *A grammar of Malayalam* by Nair was published as recently as 2012 (Table 2).

Table 2. Author and year of publication for each source.

Language	Author and year of publication
Brahui	Andronov 1980, Bray 1986
Chenchu	Trivedi 1978
Gondi	Lincoln 1969, Subrahmanyam 1968, Trench 1919
Kannada	Hodson 1979, Schiffmann 1983
Kodava	Balakrishnan 1977, Ebert 1996
Konda	Krishnamurti 1969
Koya	Subrahmanyam 1968, Tyler 1969
Kui	Winfield 1928
Kurumba	Kapp 1982
Kuvi	Israel 1979, Reddy 1979
Malayalam	George 1971, Nair 2012

Malto	Das 1973, Droese 1884
Parji	Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953
Pengo	Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970
Tamil	Lehmann 1983, Steever 2008
Telugu	Krishnamurti and Sarma 1968, Lisker 1963
Toda	Sakthivel 1977
Tulu	Bhat 1967

4. Results

This section presents the negation strategies used in the languages included in the study. The initial section (4.1) contains a summary of the results.

4.1 Summary of results

Two of the languages, Gondi and Malto, employ one negation strategy, negative verbs, for all the non-verbal predications under study. In Gondi the verb is *sil-* and in Malto *mal-* (Table 3).

In nine languages a clear distinction as regards the negation in different predications can be made: Chenchu, Kodava, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurumba, Parji, Pengo and Telugu. In these languages one strategy is used to negate attributive predications while negation in existential predications is expressed by a special strategy. Chenchu and Telugu employ the negative verbal stem *kā-* to negate attributive predications and *lē-* to negate existential predications. In Kodava and Kurumba attributive predications are negated by the negative particle *alla* and existential predications by *ille*. Konda and Kui both employ the negative particle *-ʔ-* to negate attribution. To negate existential predications Konda employs the negative verb *sil-* and Kui the negative verb *sid-*. In Kuvi negation of attributive predications is expressed by the negative particle *āʔ(e)* while negation in existential predications is expressed by the negative verb *hil-* in combination with the negative suffixes used to express SN, i.e. *-ʔa-* in past tense and *-ʔo-* or its allomorphs *-ʔ-/ʔō-* in non-past tense. Parji and Pengo both employ negative verbs to negate attributive and existential predications. In Parji the negative verb *er-* expresses negation in attributive predications while the negative verb *cila-* negates existential predications. In Parji existence may also be negated by the negative particle *cila*. Pengo negates attributive predications by the negative verb *a-* or by the negative particle *akay*. To negate existence the negative verb *hil-* is used (Table 3).

Five of the languages employ one negation marker to express standard negation regardless of tense. In Kannada and Malayalam standard negation is expressed by the negative suffix *-illa*. Konda employs the negative suffix *-ʔ-*. In Pengo standard negation is expressed by either of the negative suffixes *-v-* or *-u-*. Toda expresses standard negation by the use of the negative suffix *-o-*.

Twelve languages distinguish between past and present-future tense when employing negation marker to express standard negation, i.e. they employ one negation marker to express standard

negation in past tense and another to express standard negation in present-future tense. In Brahui standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-t(a)-*. To express standard negation in present-future tense Brahui employ the negative suffix *-f(a)-* or its allomorph *-p(a)-*. Malto expresses standard negation in past tense by the negative suffix *-l(ē)-* while standard negation in present-future tense by the negative suffix *-mal-* or its allomorph *-mala*. Standard negation in present-future tense may also be expressed by the negative particle *mala*. In Parji standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-a* or its allomorph *-i*. To express standard negation in present-future tense Parji employs the negative suffix *-a-*. Chenchu employs either the negative suffix *-lēdu* or the negative particle *lēdu* to express standard negation in past tense. To express standard negation in present-future tense Chenchu employs the negative suffix *-a-*. In Telugu standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-lēdu*. Standard negation in present-future tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-a-*. In Gondi standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-makī(-)*. Standard negation in present-future tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-ō-* or its allomorph *-v-*. In Koya standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative verb *ill-*. Standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-o-* or any of its allomorphs *-ō-*, *-ū-*, *-v-*, *-vō-*, *-vū-* or *-φ-*. Kui expresses standard negation in past tense by the negative suffix *-za-* while standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-z-*. Standard negation in non-past tense may also be expressed by the negative particle *mala*. In Kuvi standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-za-*. To express standard negation in non-past tense Kuvi employs the negative suffix *-zo-* or its allomorphs *-z-* or *-zō-*. In Kodava standard negation in past tense is expressed by either of the negative suffixes *-le* or *-ille*. Standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-le*. Kurumba employs either of the negative suffixes *-la* to express standard negation in past tense. Standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-mātta-*. Tamil employs either of the negative suffixes *-ā-* or *-ill-* to express standard negation in past tense. SN in present-future tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-ā-* (Table 3).

Only one language employs three different negation markers to express standard negation in past, present and future tense: Tulu. Standard negation in past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-ir-*, standard negation in present tense by the negative suffix *-ur-*, and standard negation in future tense by the negative suffix *-ay-* (Table 3).

As regards negation in attributive predications, seven languages employ one strategy to negate all three types of predications under study, i.e. identity, class inclusion and property attribution. In Chenchu and Telugu the attributive predication is negated by the negative verbal stem *kā-*, in Kodava and Kurumba by the negative particle *alla*, in Kui by the negative suffix *-z-*, in Kuvi by the negative particle *āz(e)* and in Parji by the negative verbal stem *er-*. The same negation marker is used regardless of tense. Three languages employ two different strategies to express negation in attributive predications. In Kannada and Malayalam negation in predications of identity is expressed using one strategy, while negation in predications of class inclusion and property attribution is expressed by the use of a second strategy. Kannada employs the negative suffix *-alla* to negate predications of identity and the negative particle *alla* to negate predications of class inclusion and property attribution. Malayalam expresses negation in predications of identity either by the negative suffix *-alla* or by the negative particle *alla*. Negation in predications of class inclusion and property attribution is expressed by the negative particle *alla*. In Pengo, attributive predications are negated either by the negative verbal stem *a-* or by the negative particle *akay*. In Tamil, either of two negative verbs *all-* and *ill-* may be used to negate predications of identity and class inclusion. Negation of property attribution is expressed by the use of a third strategy, the negative suffix *-ā-*. In four languages, Konda, Koya, Toda

and Tulu, the data is incomplete as regards negation of attributive predications; hence no generalizations can be made (Table 3).

Negation in existential predications is expressed by a special strategy in nine languages. Chenchu and Telugu employ the negative verb *lē-* to negate existential predications. In Kodava and Kurumba existential predications are negated by the negative particle *ille*. Konda and Kui employ the negative verbs *sil-* and *sid-* respectively to negate existential predications. In Kuvi negation in existential predications is expressed by the negative verb *hil-* in combination with the negative suffixes used to express SN, i.e. *-ṛa-* in past tense and *-ṛo-* or its allomorphs *-ṛ-/-ṛō-* in non-past tense. Parji and Pengo both employ negative verbs to negate existential predications. In Parji the negative verb *cila-* or the negative particle *cila* are used to negate existential predications. Pengo negates predications of existence by the negative verb *hil-*. Two languages, Kuvi and Parji, employ two different strategies to negate existential predications. In Kuvi the negative verb *hil-* is used in combination with the negative suffixes used to express standard negation, i.e. *-ṛa-* in past tense and *-ṛo-* or its allomorphs *-ṛ-/-ṛō-* in non-past tense. In Parji the negative verb *cila-* is used in parallel with a negative particle *cila* (Table 3).

Two languages, Chenchu and Kannada, employ one strategy to negate three types of existential predications while the fourth is negated using a second strategy. Chenchu employs the negative verb *lē-* while Kannada employs the negative particle *illa*. In Chenchu the second strategy, the negative particle *lē*, is used to negate predications of existence, in Kannada the negative suffix *-illa* is used to negate predications of possession. Tamil also employs one strategy to negate three of the existential predication types but unlike Chenchu and Kannada two different strategies are used to negate predications of existence: the negative particle *-ā-* or the negative verb *ill-*. One language, Malayalam, employs three different strategies to negate existential predications. Location is negated using either of the two negative particles *alla* and *illa*. Negation in predications of location is expressed by the negative suffix *-illa*. Predications of existence are negated either by the negative suffix *-illa* or by the negative particle *illa*. To negate predications of possession the negative particle *illa* is employed. In one language, Koya, the data is incomplete as regards negation in existential predications; hence no generalizations can be made (Table 3).

For the presentation of the results the following abbreviations are used: SN = standard negation, Id = identification, Desc = Descriptive, I = Class inclusion, Attr = Property attribution, Loc = Location, Pres = Locative-presentative, Ex = Existence, Poss = Possession. A dash indicates that no information has been obtained.

Table 3. Comparative data on negator(s) per language, language group, SN and type of predication.

Subgroup	Language name	ISO code	SN		Id	Desc		Loc	Pres	Ex	Poss
			Tense	Negator		I	Attr				
North	Brahui	brh	pst prs-fut	-t(a)- -f(a)-/-p(a)-	-a- -f(a)-			-	-	-a- -f(a)-	
	Malto	mjt	pst prs-fut	-l(e)- -mal-/(-)mala				mal-			
Central	Parji	pci	pst prs-fut	-a/-i -a-	er-			cila/cila-			
South-Central	Chenchu	cde	pst prs-fut	(-)lēdu -a-/∅	kā-			lē-		lē/lē-	lē-
	Gondi	ggo	pst prs-fut	-makī(-) -ō-, -v-,				sil-			
	Konda	kfc	pst, prs-fut	-ʔ-	-	-	-ʔ-	sil-			
	Koya	kff	pst prs-fut	ill- -o-/ -ō-/ -ū-/ -v-/ -vō-/ -vū-/ -∅-	-	-	ill-	-	-	ill-	-
	Kui	kxu	pst prs-fut	-ʔa- -ʔ-	-ʔ-			sid-			-
	Kuvi	kxv	pst prs-fut	-ʔa- -ʔo-/ -ʔ-/ -ʔō-	āʔ(e)			hil- + -ʔa- hil + -ʔo-/ -ʔ-/ -ʔō-			
	Pengo	peg	pst, prs, fut	-v-/ -u-	a-/akay			hil-			
	Telugu	tel	pst	-lēdu	kā-			lē-			

			prs-fut	-a-						
South	Kannada	kan	pst, prs-fut	-illa	-alla	alla	illa	-illa		
	Kodava	kfa	pst prs-fut	-le/-ille -le	alla		ille			
	Kurumba	kfi	pst prs-fut	-la -mātta	alla	-	alla	ille		
	Malayalam	mal	pst, prs, fut	-illa	-alla/alla	alla	alla/illa	-illa	-illa/illa	illa
	Tamil	tam	pst-prs fut	-ill-, -ā- -ā-	all-/ill-	-ā-	ill-	-ā-, ill-	ill-	
	Toda	tcx	pst, prs-fut	-o-	-	-	-	ōṛø-	-	ōṛø-
	Tulu	tcy	pst prs fut	-īr- -ur- -ay-	-	-	-	-	-(i)ddi	

4.2 Results per language

The following subsections present the negation strategies used in individual languages. Glossed example sentences drawn from the sources are provided together with translations to illustrate the findings. The constructions and predications under study are presented in section 2.3 and 3 but are included in this section as well.

Simple declarative sentences can be constructed with a lexical verb (44) and (45). Sentences (46) and (47) display a construction with a copula verb and predicate identity. Sentence (48) is constructed with a nominal predicate. In sentence (49) and (50) the predicate is an adjective. While (48) predicates inclusion in a certain class, (49) predicates a constant property and (50) a temporary property. In (51) the construction has a definite subject and a locative predicate. In (52) and (53) the locative-presentative construction predicates not only existence but also location. The constructions in (53) and (54) both have a non-referential subject and predicate existence. Sentence (55) expresses negation of predicative possession.

- (44) Mary does not smoke.
- (45) Mary does not drink coffee.
- (46) This is not my friend Abbott.
- (47) This is not Abbott, it's Costello.
- (48) Mary is not a nurse.
- (49) Mary is not tall.
- (50) Mary is not happy.
- (51) Mary is not here.
- (52) There is no coffee in the coffee pot.
- (53) There is no coffee.
- (54) There is no God.
- (55) Mary does not have a coffee maker.

4.2.1 Brahui

In Brahui standard negation is expressed by means of the negative suffixes *-t(a)-* in past tense, and *-f(a)-/p(a)-* in present-future tense (56) (Andronov 1980:70). To express negation in predications of identity, class inclusion (57), attribution (58), existence (59) and possession in present tense the negative suffix *-f(a)-* is attached to the verbal stem *a-* from the verb *anning* 'to be'. In (56) and (58) the negative verbal stem *ama-* 'to be not' together with the negative suffix *-f(a)-* is employed to express negation. In (57) and (58) the positive verbal stem *af-* 'to be' together with the negative suffix *-f(a)* is employed. The negative verbal stem *ama-* 'to be not' has no separate present form in indicative, merely a present-future form (Andronov 1980:88). Negation of non-verbal sentences in past tense is

expressed by attaching the negative suffix *-a-* to the suppletive stem *all-* of the verb *anning* (Andronov 1980:79).

- (56) *Naneat̄ narring ama-f-ak*
 1PL.INS flee.INF be.not.NPST-NEG-3SG
 ‘We cannot flee.’ (Andronov 1980:72)
- (57) *Ī brā’ūias af-f-aṭ*
 1SG Brahui.SG be.PRS-NEG-1SG
 ‘I am not a Brahui.’ (Andronov 1980:79)
- (58) *Nanā sardār laghōr af-f-∅*
 our sirdar.SG cowardly be.PRS-NEG-3SG
 ‘Our sirdar is not cowardly.’ (Andronov 1980:43)
- (59) *Bey macciṭān ḷllīnā guzrān ama-f-ak*
 grass little horse.SG bundle.SG be.not.NPST-NEG-3SG
 ‘A horse cannot exist on a wisp of hay.’ (Andronov 1980:55)

4.2.2 Chenchu

Chenchu expresses standard negation in past tense by adding the negative uninflected particle *lēdu* to the infinitive stem (60) or by the use of the negative suffix *-lēdu*. The negative particle *lēdu* is employed regardless of gender, number and person (Trivedi 1978:73). In present-future tense standard negation is expressed by the negative suffix *-a-* (61) which in some cases is reduced to \emptyset . Negation in predications of identification (62) and class inclusion (63) as well as attribution (64) is expressed by the use of the negative verb *kā-* ‘to not become’ (Trivedi 1978:80). Chenchu employs the negative verb *lē-* ‘to not be’, to express negation in predications of location, locative-presentative (65), existence (66) and possession (67). Negation in predications of existence may also be expressed by the use of the independent particle *lē* (66). In (57) possession is encoded by an existential construction.

- (60) *Sārāyi kayipu tagga lēdu*
 arrack intoxication reduce.INF NEG.be
 ‘Arrack intoxication did not reduce.’ (Trivedi 1978:74)
- (61) *Ādoll ēṭ āḍ-a-ru*
 woman.PL do.INF hunt.PRS-NEG-3PL
 ‘Women do not hunt.’ (Trivedi 1978:56)
- (62) *Nā kālu kā-du*
 my leg.SG be.not-1SG
 ‘My leg it is not.’ (Trivedi 1978:81)

- (63) *Paḍigal ettaku nāgu pagarā-li-ni kā-nu*
 hood.SG raise.INF cobra.SG enemy-NMLZ-1SG be.not-1SG
 ‘Hood don’t raise cobra enemy I am not.’ (Trivedi 1978:44)
- (64) *Guḍlu purumaku nāgu goḍra li-ni kā-nu*
 eye.PL stare.INF cobra.SG barren NMLZ-1SG be.not-1SG
 ‘Eyes don’t stare cobra barren I am not.’ (Trivedi 1978:44)
- (65) *Ceuwu-lō nīl lē-wu*
 tank.SG-LOC water.PL be.not-3PL
 ‘In the tank water there is not.’ (Trivedi 1978:26)
- (66) *Ēm pan lē, bongulu narku-t-unnām*
 3PL work.PL NEG.be bamboo.PL cut-PROG-be.3PL
 ‘There is no work, bamboos we are cutting.’ (Trivedi 1978:57)
- (67) *Āḍi daggara ḍabbu lē-du*
 3SG near money be.not-3SG
 ‘Near him there is no money (he does not have money).’ (Trivedi 1978:36)

4.2.3 Gondi

Gondi employs the negative suffix *-makī(-)* to express standard negation in past tense (68) and *-ō-* (69) or its allomorph *-v-* to express standard negation in present-future tense. Negation in predications of identity (70), class inclusion, attribution (71), location (72), locative-presentative (73), existence and possession (74), is expressed by the negative verb *sil-* ‘to be not’. According to Lincoln (1969) the verbal stem is *sil-* while Subramanyam (1968) refers to it as *sill-*. In (74) possession is encoded by an existential construction.

- (68) *Veh-makī(n)*
 tell.INF-NEG
 ‘[Subject] did not tell.’ (Lincoln 1968:69)
- (69) *Sūd-ō-ŋ*
 see.PRS-NEG-3PL
 ‘They do not see.’ (Lincoln 1969:112)
- (70) *Av cokōṭ piṭēn sil-ēn*
 3PL good bird.PL be.not-3PL
 ‘They are not good birds.’ (Lincoln 1969:170)

- (71) *Māvā sondvāl cokōṭ sil-ē*
 our going good be.not.3SG
 ‘Our going is not good.’ (Lincoln 1969:165)
- (72) *Vōr rōn sill-ōr*
 3SG house.LOC be.not.3SG
 ‘He is not in the house.’ (Subrahmanyam 1968:80)
- (73) *Kuhīt aggā ēr sill-ē*
 well.SG in water be.not-3SG
 ‘(There) is no water in the well.’ (Subrahmanyam 1968:80)
- (74) *Vōn aggā paysāñ sill-ēn*
 3SG near money be.not.3PL
 ‘(There) is no money near him (he does not have money).’ (Subrahmanyam 1968:80)

4.2.4 Kannada

Kannada expresses standard negation in past tense by attaching the negative suffix *-illa* to the infinitive stem. In present-future tense standard negation is expressed by attaching the negative suffix *-illa* to the verbal noun (75) (Schiffmann 1983:114). Non-verbal negation in predications of identification (76) is expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-alla*. Negation in predications of class inclusion (77) and attribution (78) is expressed by the use of the negative particle *alla*. Location (79), locative-presentative (80) and existence (81) are negated by the negative particle *illa*, while possession (82) is negated by the negative suffix *-illa*.

- (75) *Hasu māmsa tinnōd-illa*
 COW.PL meat.SG eat.PRS-NEG.be
 ‘Cows don’t eat meat.’ Schiffman 1983:115)
- (76) *Adu paṭṇav-alla chikka úru*
 DEM city.SG-NEG small be.PRS.3SG
 ‘This is not a city, but a small town.’ Hodson 1979:85)
- (77) *Avr mēṣṭr alla*
 3SG teacher.SG NEG.be
 ‘He is not a teacher.’ (Schiffmann 1983:113)
- (78) *Id hosd alla*
 DEM new NEG.be
 ‘This is not (a) new (one).’ (Schiffmann 1983:113)

- (79) *Avanu maney-alli illa*
 3SG.M house.SG-LOC NEG.be
 ‘He is not at home.’ (Hodson 1979:84)
- (80) *Á tótad-alli bálé maragaļu illa*
 DEM garden.SG-LOC grow.INF tree.PL NEG.be
 ‘There are no plantain trees in that garden.’ (Hodson 1979:84)
- (81) *Kudure-ya kombu illa*
 horse-GEN horn.SG NEG.be
 ‘There is no such thing as a horse’s horn.’ (Hodson 1979:84)
- (82) *Avan-ige haṇav-illa*
 3SG-DAT money-NEG.be
 ‘He has no money.’ (Hodson 1979:84)

4.2.5 Kodava

In Kodava standard negation in past tense can be expressed by two different constructions: either by adding the negative suffix *-le* to the simple past stem or by adding the negative suffix *-ille* to the perfect stem (83) (Ebert 1996:22). Standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-le*. The negative particle *alla* is used to negate identity (84), class inclusion (85) and attribution. Negation in predications of location (86), locative-presentative (87), existence (88) and possession (89) is expressed by the negative particle *ille*.

- (83) *Ava kēēt-it-ille*
 3SG ask.PST-CVB-NEG.be
 ‘She didn’t ask.’ (Ebert 1996:22)
- (84) *Idi nāni eḷidin-adi alla*
 DEM 1SG write.2SG-NMLZ NEG.be
 ‘This is not what I have written.’ (Ebert 1996:41)
- (85) *Avē mīni-kārē alla*
 3SG fish.SG-man.SG NEG.be
 ‘He is not a fisherman.’ (Ebert 1996:41)
- (86) *Nāle nāni ofis-li ille*
 tomorrow 1SG office-LOC NEG.be
 ‘Tomorrow I will not be in the office.’ (Ebert 1996:40)
- (87) *Koḍagī-li dār-ū bāri gariba stiti-li ille*
 Coorg-LOC who-even very poor situation.SG-LOC NEG.be
 ‘Nobody is very poor in Coorg.’ (Ebert 1996:40)

(88) *Koḍagī-li nari ille*
 Coorg-LOC tiger.PL NEG.be
 ‘There are no tigers in Coorg.’ (Ebert 1996:40)

(89) *Ava-ḍa-pakka cenna duḍḍi ille*
 3SG-GEN-near some money NEG.be
 ‘She has no money.’ (Ebert 1996:40)

4.2.6 Konda

In Konda standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by adding the negative suffix *-ʔ-* to the verbal stem (90) (Krishnamurti 2003:351). In past tense *-ʔ-* is accompanied by the tense marker *-t-*. Attributive negation is expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-ʔ-* (91). Negation in predications of location (92), locative-presentative (93), existence (94) and possession (95) is expressed by the negative verb *sil-* ‘to be not’.

(90) *Koḥk-ʔ-en*
 bite.INF-NEG-3SG
 ‘He does not bite.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:209)

(91) *Panz-ʔ-ed*
 full-NEG-3SG
 ‘(stomach) is not full.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:210)

(92) *Vāṇṇu inṇo sil-en*
 3SG home be.not-3SG
 ‘He is not home.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:289)

(93) *Kōva rāzu paṭṇam(-i) piṇu sil-ed*
 Kova king.SG city.SG(-LOC) rain be.not-3SG
 ‘There is no rain in the city of the Kova King.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:260)

(94) *‘Uṇa’ iṇiṇa anam sil-ed*
 eat.INF if food be.not-3SG
 ‘There is no food for me to eat.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:323)

(95) *Maṭṭeṇ kālku sil-u, asteṇ kiku sil-u*
 walk.INF leg.PL be_not-NPST.3PL hold.INF hand.PL be.not-3PL
 ‘He has no legs to walk on, and no hand to hold with.’ (Krishnamurti 1969:282)

4.2.7 Koya

Koya employs the negative verb *ill-* ‘to be not’ to express standard negation in past tense (96) (Subrahmanyam 1968:144). Standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-o-* and its allomorphs *-ō-*, *-ū-*, *-v-*, *-vō-*, *-vū-*, *-ø-* (97). Negation in predications of attribution and existence (98) is expressed by the negative verb *ill-* ‘to not be’.

- (96) *Ūḍa* *ill-āna*
see.INF be.not-1SG
‘I did not see.’ (Subrahmanyam 1968:144)

- (97) *Nor-vō-ṇḍu*
wash.INF-NEG-3SG
‘He will not wash.’ (Subrahmanyam 1968:144)

- (98) *Ille-e*
be.not-3SG
‘She is not.’ (Tyler 1969:96)

4.2.8 Kui

Winfield (1928:62-63) argues that Kui does not employ a specific negation marker to express standard negation or non-verbal negation. Instead standard negation (99), regardless of tense, as well as negation in identity, class inclusion (100) and attribution is expressed by a “momentary break in the pronunciation” (Winfield 1928:62), between the verbal stem and the personal ending. To signify the break Winfield (1928) places the sign “̣” over the vowel succeeding the break (99) and (100). According to Krishnamurti (2003:351) Kui employs the same negation marker as Konda and Kuvi, i.e. a glottal stop [ʔ] to express negation.

The negative suffix *-ʔ-* negates predications of identity, class inclusion and attribution, while the negative verb *sid-* ‘to not be’ is used to negate predications of location, locative-presentative and existence.

- (99) *Ānu* *tākātaka*
1SG walk:NEG
‘I did/do/shall not walk.’ (Winfield 1928:97)

- (100) *Ānu prēki gaṭānu āētenu*
1SG theft.PL do.NPST become.NPST:NEG
‘I am not a thief.’ (Winfield 1928:87)

4.2.9 Kurumba

To express standard negation in past tense Kurumba uses the negative suffix *-la*; standard negation in non-past tense is expressed by the use of the suffix *-mātta* (Varma 1978:51). Predications of identification (101) and attribution are negated by the negative particle *alla*. Predications of location (102), locative-presentative, existence (103) and possession (104) are all negated using the negative particle *ille*. In (104) negation of possession is encoded by an existential construction.

(101) *Adu cēḍi alla, adu koḍi*
DEM plant.SG NEG.be DEM creeper.SG
'That is not a plant, it is a creeper.' (Kapp 1982:172)

(102) *Ava illi (i)lle*
3SG here NEG.be
'She is not here.' (Kapp 1982:52)

(103) *Nīru ille*
water NEG.be
'There is no water.' (Kapp 1982:171)

(104) *Avagu makka ille*
3SG child.SG NEG.be
'She had/has no children.' (Kapp 1982:171)

4.2.10 Kuvi

Kuvi employs the negative suffix *-za-* together with the past tense marker *-t-* to express standard negation in past tense. In non-past tense standard negation is expressed by the negative suffix *-zo-* and its allomorphs *-z-* (105) and *-zō-*. Negation in predications of identity, class inclusion and attribution (106) is expressed by the negative particle *āz(e)* 'is not so', consisting of the verbal stem *ā-* 'to become' together with the negative suffix *-za-*. It is used to negate existence of both qualities and things (Israel 1979:168) and consequently negates e.g. attribution (106). Negation in predications of location, locative-presentative, existence and possession is expressed by the negative verb *hil-* 'to be not' together with the negative suffix used to express standard negation, i.e. *-za-* and its allomorphs *-z-* and *-zō-* (107).

(105) *Kaci-z-ayi*
bite.INF-NEG-1PL
'We will not bite.' (Israel 1979:32)

(106) *Ēvasi kaja-si āze*
3SG great-SCL NEG.be
'He is not great.' (Israel 1979:168)

- (107) *Nānu* *hilo-ṛō*
 1SG be.not-NEG
 ‘I am/shall not be.’ (Israel 1979:166)

4.2.11 Malayalam

In Malayalam standard negation is expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-illa* (108) regardless of tense. Non-verbal negation in predications such as identification (109), class inclusion (110) and attribution is expressed by the use of the negative particle *alla*. Negation in predications of identity may also be expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-illa*. According to Krishnamurti (2003:460) predications of class inclusion is negated by the negative particle *alla* and location by the negative particle *illa*. Nair (2012:69) on the other hand argues that negation in predications of location is expressed by *alla* (111). According to George (1971:44) *āṇù* ‘to be, to become’ (112) indicates being while *uṇṭù* ‘there is’ (113) indicates presence or possession. To negate predications of locative-presentative (114) the negative suffix *-illa* is used. Negation in predications of existence (115) is expressed either by the use of the negative suffix *-illa* or by the negative independent particle *illa*. Possession (116) is negated by the negative particle *illa* (George 1971:21-26).

- (108) *Nān’* *pōkunn-illa*
 1SG go.PRS-NEG.be
 ‘I do not go.’ (George 1971:53)

- (109) *Itù* *mūkkù-āṇù* *cevi-alla*
 DEM nose.SG-be.INF ear.SG-NEG.be
 ‘This is nose not ear.’ (George 1971:55)

- (110) *Sīta* *adhyaapika* *alla*
 Sita teacher.SG NEG.be
 ‘Sita is not (a) teacher.’ (Nair 2012:69)

- (111) *Acchaṇ* *ooffis-il* *alla*
 father.SG office.SG-LOC NEG.be
 ‘Father is not in the office.’ (Nair 2012:69)

- (112) *Avan’* *en’té* *sneehitan* *āṇù*
 3SG my friend.SG be.INF
 ‘He is my friend.’ (George 1971:44)

- (113) *Avan’* *ivite* *uṇṭù*
 3SG here be.INF
 ‘He is here.’ (George 1971:44)

(114) *Aviṭe oru mala uṇṭaayirunn-illa*
 DEM one hill.SG be.PST-NEG.be
 'There was not a hill there.' (Nair 2012:50)

(115) *Visēṣam onnum illa*
 news.SG none NEG.be
 'There is no news.' (George 1971:72)

(116) *Enīkku maṣi illa*
 1SG.DAT ink NEG.be
 'I have no ink.' (George 1971:54)

4.2.12 Malto

In Malto standard negation is expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-l(e)-* in past tense (117) and *-mal-/(-)mala* in present-future tense (118). Non-verbal sentences are negated using the negative verb *mal-* 'to be not' (Droese 1884:77). Hence *mal-* negates predications of identity (119), class inclusion, attribution, location, locative-presentative (120), existence and possession.

(117) *Én ád-le-ken*
 1SG select.PST-NEG-1SG
 'I did not select.' (Droese 1884:48)

(118) *Én áden-mala*
 1SG select.FUT-NEG
 'I will not select.' (Droese 1884:48)

(119) *Í chalareth órente mal-ath*
 DEM custom.SG beginning.SG be.not-3SG
 'This custom is not from the beginning.' (Droese 1884:10)

(120) *Qanjpeth man-no mal-ath*
 fruit.SG tree.SG-LOC be.not-3SG
 'Fruit is not on the tree.' (Droese 1884:10)

4.2.13 Parji

In Parji standard negation in past tense is expressed by adding the negative conjugation *-a* or its allomorph *-i* to the verbal stem (Burrow 1953: 64). Standard negation in present-future tense is expressed by the suffix *-a-* (121). Negation in predications of identity, class inclusion and attribution

(122) is expressed by the negative verb *er-*. To negate predications of location, locative-presentative (123), existence (125) and possession (126) the negative verb *cila(-)* ‘do not exist’ is employed. The form *cila(-)* has an uninflected (123) as well as an inflected (124) form.

- (121) *Cūṛa-n-a*
 see.NPST-1SG-NEG
 ‘I do/will not see.’ (Burrow 1953:64)
- (122) *Ōd viled erad*
 3SG white be.not.3SG
 ‘He is not white.’ (Burrow 1953:67)
- (123) *Ī polub-ti tulakul cila*
 DEM village.SG-LOC weaver.PL NEG.be
 ‘There are no weavers in this village.’ (Burrow 1953:67)
- (124) *Ī olek-ti manjakul cila-r*
 DEM house.SG-LOC man.PL exist.not-3PL
 ‘There are no men in this house.’ (Burrow 1953:67)
- (125) *Nīr cila*
 water NEG.be
 ‘There is no water.’ (Burrow 1953:67)
- (126) *An ka gurrol cila*
 1SG near horse.SG NEG.be
 ‘I have no horse.’ (Burrow 1953:40)

4.2.14 Pengo

Pengo employs the negative suffix *-v-* (127) and its allomorph *-u-* to express standard negation in past, present and future tense. In past tense the negative suffix is complemented by the optional past tense marker *-t/-ta-*, in present by the present tense marker *-ba* and in future by the optional tense marker *-de/da/-da-*. Non-verbal predications such as identification (128), class inclusion (129) and attribution (130) are negated by the use of the negative verb *a-* ‘to be not’ or by the use of the negative uninflected particle *akay* (128) (129). Negation in predications of location, locative-presentative (131), existence (132) and possession (133) is expressed by the use of the negative verb *hil-* ‘to be not, to exist not’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:74).

- (127) *Āneṅ rū-v-atanəṅ*
 1SG plough-NEG-PST.1SG
 ‘I have not ploughed.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:73)

- (128) *Ē* *nekuṟ* *nādaṅ* *akay*
 DEM dog.SG mine NEG.be
 ‘That dog is not mine.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:76)
- (129) *Hārdi* *mānay* *akay*
 good man.SG NEG.be
 ‘He is not a good man.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:76)
- (130) *Paṟ* *hvād* *a-ut*
 fruit.SG sweet be.not-NPST.3SG
 ‘The fruit is not sweet.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:75)
- (131) *Mā-po* *maṟiyar* *hil-ur*
 3PL.GEN-in.our.region Maṟias.PL be.not-NPST.3PL
 ‘There are no Maṟias in our district.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:52)
- (132) *Inakar* *hil-atar*
 any:3PL:M be.not-PST.3PL
 ‘There are no men.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:56)
- (133) *Nābe* *ṭakaṅ* *hil-uṅ*
 1SG rupee.PL be.not-NPST.3PL
 ‘I have no rupees.’ (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970:52)

4.2.15 Tamil

In Tamil standard negation in past-present tense is expressed by the use of the negative suffixes *-ill-* (134) and *-ā-* (135). Standard negation in future tense is expressed by the negative suffix *-ā-*. Non-verbal negation is expressed by the use of the negative verb *ill-* ‘to be not’ or by the negative suffix *-ā-* (Lehmann 1993:84). The negative verbs *ill-* and *all-* both ‘to be not, to exist not’ only have one form which is used regardless of tense, person, number and gender: *illai* and *alla* respectively (Lehmann 1993:83).

Krishnamurti (2003:460) argues that either the negative verb *ill-* or *all-* may be used to negate equational sentences. Negation in predications of class inclusion is expressed by the negative verb *ill-* (136) but may also be expressed by the negative verb *all-* (137). To negate predications of attribution and locative-presentative the negative suffix *-ā-* is used. Negation in predications of location (138) and possession (141) is expressed using the negative verb *ill-*. Predication of existence is negated either by the negative finite form *kiṭaiyātu*, of the verb *kiṭai* ‘to be, to exist’ (139) or the negative verb *ill-* (140). The form *kiṭaiyātu* only exists in third person singular (Lehmann 1993:81).

- (134) *Nān viṭav-ill-ai*
 I_{SG} leave.INF-be.not-3_{PL}
 ‘I did/do not leave.’ (Lehmann 1993:70)
- (135) *Kumār-ukkuṭ taṇṇūr vēṇṭ-ā-m*
 Kumār-DAT water want.INF-NEG-3_{SG}
 ‘Kumar does not want water.’ (Lehmann 1993:86)
- (136) *Kumār vakkīl ill-ai*
 Kumār lawyer.SG be.not-3_{PL}
 ‘Kumar is not a lawyer.’ (Lehmann 1993:230)
- (137) *Kumār vakkīl all-a*
 Kumār lawyer.SG be.not-3_{PL}
 ‘Kumar is not a lawyer.’ (Lehmann 1993:230)
- (138) *Kumār vīṭṭ-il ill-ai*
 Kumār house.SG-LOC be.not-3_{PL}
 ‘Kumar is not at home.’ (Lehmann 1993:230)
- (139) *Peey kiṭaiy-ā-tu*
 ghost.PL be-NEG-3_{SG}
 ‘There are no ghosts.’ (Lehmann 1993:81)
- (140) *Peey ill-ai*
 ghost.PL be.not-3_{PL}
 ‘Ghosts do not exist.’ (Lehmann 1993:230)
- (141) *Kumār-ukkuṭ payam ill-ai*
 Kumār.DAT fear be.not-3_{PL}
 ‘Kumar has no fear.’ (Lehmann 1993:188)

4.2.16 Telugu

In Telugu standard negation in past tense is expressed by attaching the negative suffix *-lēdu* (142) to the infinitive (Krishnamurti and Sarma 1968:73). Negation of verbal sentences in present-future tense is expressed by attaching the suffix *-a-* to the verbal stem (Krishnamurti and Sarma 1968:81). Negation in predications of identity, class inclusion (143) and attribution is expressed by the use of the negative verb *kā-* ‘to not become’. To express negation in predications of location (144), locative-presentative (145), existence (146) and possession (147) the negative verb *lē-* ‘to not be’ is used.

- (142) *Pād-a-ḍu*
sing.NPST-NEG-3SG
'She doesn't sing.' (Lisker 1963:201)
- (143) *Āyana cellelu kraysṭawarālu kā-ḍu*
his younger_sister christian.SG be.not-3SG
'His younger sister is not a Christian.' (Lisker 1963:37)
- (144) *Wādu ṭōta-lō lē-du*
3SG garden.SG-LOC be.not-3SG
'He's not in the garden.' (Lisker 1963:93)
- (145) *Ī pranṭāl-lō pan ekkadā lē-wu*
DEM area.SG-LOC work anywhere be.not-3PL
'There isn't any work in this area.' (Lisker 1963:96)
- (146) *Nijam ekkadā lē-du*
truth anywhere be.not-3SG
'There is no truth anywhere.' (Lisker 1963:96)
- (147) *Wādik ēmhī pan lē-ḍu*
3SG anything work be.not-3SG
'He doesn't have any work.' (Lisker 1963:93)

4.2.17 Toda

Toda expresses standard negation by the use of the negative suffix *-o-* in past, present and future tense (148). To express non-verbal negation in predications such as location (149), locative-presentative (150) and possession (151) Toda employs the negative verb *ōṛə-* 'to be not'.

- (148) *Pōr-o-en-i*
come-NEG-1SG-PST
'I did not come.' (Sakthivel 1977:115)
- (149) *Aṭ ay ās ṭōṛə-y*
3SG DEM house.SG be.not-3SG
'He is not in the house.' (Sakthivel 1977:159)
- (150) *Pāfy-ś nīr ṭōṛə-y*
well.SG-LOC water be.not-3SG
'There is no water in the well.' (Sakthivel 1977:221)

- (151) *Akīḍṣ* *poṇm* *ōrø-y*
 3SG.M-with gold be.not-3SG
 ‘He has no money.’ (Sakthivel 1977:44)

4.2.18 Tulu

In Tulu standard negation is expressed by the use of the negative suffix *-ir-* in past tense, *-ur-* in present tense (152) and *-ay-* in future tense. The negative suffix *-(i)ddi* negates predications of locative-presentative, existence (153) and possession (154).

- (152) *Kolp-ur-ya*
 give.PRS-NEG-2SG
 ‘You don’t give.’ (Bhat 1967:35)

- (153) *Illī-ḍi-ddi*
 house.SG-LOC-NEG.be
 ‘Does not exist in the house.’ (Bhat 1967:36)

- (154) *Duḍḍu-ddi*
 money-NEG.be
 ‘Don’t have money.’ (Bhat 1967:37)

5. Discussion

5.1 Negation strategies

The strategies to express non-verbal negation vary among languages. Some languages employ the same strategy to express standard negation as well as non-verbal negation while others employ different strategies. In some languages the strategies vary depending on type of non-verbal predication.

Eriksen (2011:275-276) argues that sentences with non-verbal or existential predicates tend to employ special negative constructions different from the constructions used to express standard negation. This is supported by Veselinova (2013) who concludes that it is very common for languages to negate existential predications using a special strategy. To some extent the use of a special strategy to express negation in predications of existence is supported by the results of this study. Only two of the languages under study express standard negation and negation in predications of existence using the same negation marker. In Koya standard negation in past tense is expressed by the use of the existential negator *ill-* ‘to not be’. In Tamil one of the strategies to express standard negation in future tense is by the use of the existential negator *-ā-*.

Nine languages exhibit a clear distinction as regards the negation in different predications: Chenchu, Kodava, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurumba, Parji, Pengo and Telugu. In these languages negation in predications of existence is expressed by a special strategy. Four of the languages, i.e. Konda, Kui, Pengo and Telugu, employ a negative verb. A negative particle is employed by two languages: Kodava and Kurumba. Two languages, i.e. Parji and Chenchu, employ either a negative verb or a negative particle. One language employs double negation, i.e. a negative verb together with a negative particle: Kuvi.

Dryer (2013a) examines the negative morphemes used to express standard negation. Dryer distinguishes between six different types. In type 1 a negative affix is attached to the verb. In type 2 negation is expressed by the use of a negative particle. In type 3 a negative auxiliary verb is employed to express negation. In type 4 a negative word, unclear if verb or particle, is employed to express negation. In type 5 negation is expressed either by a negative word or a negative affix. In type 6 two negative morphemes are used to express negation. The most commonly used strategy is negative particle employed by 502/1157 languages followed by negative affix employed by 395/1157 languages and double negation employed by 119/1157 languages.

When comparing the standard negation types distinguished by Dryer (2013a) and the types employed by the languages under study to express both standard negation and negation in predications of existence a different pattern emerges. In the languages under study, the most common type to express standard negation is type 1, i.e. a negative affix. 15 out of 18 of the languages employ this strategy. The most common type to express negation in predications of existence is type 3, i.e. a negative auxiliary, followed by type 2, i.e. a negative particle. Moreover, the Dravidian languages employ three additional strategies besides the ones identified by dryer (2013a): type 7 variation between negative affix and particle, type 8 variation between negative affix and auxiliary and type 9 variation between negative particle and auxiliary (Table 4). The variation displayed in the three additional types suggests that there is an ongoing diachronic change as regards the existential negation markers in the Dravidian languages. These results support Eriksen (2011) and Veselinova (2013) in their claim that negation of non-verbal predications tend to be expressed using special constructions.

Table 4. The different standard negation (SN) types identified by Dryer (2013a) in WALS and in the Dravidian languages together with the existential negation types identified in the Dravidian languages.

Type	SN WALS	SN Dravidian	EX Dravidian
1 Negative affix	395/1157	15/18	2/17*
2 Negative particle	502/1157	-	3/17*
3 Negative auxiliary	47/1157	-	7/17*
4 Negative word, unclear if verb or particle	73/1157	-	-
5 Variation between negative word and affix	21/1157	-	-
6 Double negation	119/1157	-	1/17*
7 Variation between negative affix and particle	-	2/18	1/17*
8 Variation between negative affix and auxiliary	-	1/18	1/17*
9 Variation between negative particle and auxiliary			2/17*

*Information has only been obtained for 17 of 18 languages.

5.2 Tense and finiteness

The Dravidian morphology is traditionally defined as agglutinating, which means that words are formed by affixing one or several morphemes to a stem. The morphological structure of an affirmative sentence generally is verbal stem + tense marker + person-number suffix. In negation in non-past tense the negation marker commonly replaces the tense marker, consequently changing the morphological structure to verbal stem + negation marker + person-number suffix (Krishnamurti 2003:348). This lack of an overt tense marker has led to the discussion whether negation in Dravidian languages is tenseless or not. According to Andronov (2003:266) the Dravidian negative indicative is tenseless since it does not differentiate the tense by morphological means. Krishnamurti (2003:355-56) argues that negation in the Dravidian languages is not tenseless. Instead negation with tense is expressed by the structure tensed verbal stem + negation marker.

There is no clear definition of finiteness. The traditional view among descriptive grammarians is that finiteness is a property of the verb; finite verbs may be inflected for e.g. person, number and tense while non-finite verbs may not. In addition finiteness and subordination are closely related; whereas finite verbs may function as the only predicate in an independent clause, non-finite verbs may not (Nikolaeva 2007:1-2).

Four of the Dravidian languages under study, i.e. Kannada, Kodava, Kurumba and Malayalam, employ a negative independent particle to negate all or some of the non-verbal predications included in this study. In finite form the negative particles *alla* and *illa/ille* function as non-verbal negators. However, they do not show inflection and as a consequence the non-verbal predications that they negate are tenseless. This indicates that the tenseless negative indicative suggested by Andronov (2003) might be valid not only for standard negation but also for negation of non-verbal predications using a negative particle.

In the same four languages, non-finite constructions the forms *-illa/-ille* function as an auxiliary. In Kannada the construction nominalized verb + *-illa* is used to express standard negation in past. To express standard negation in present-future tense Kannada uses an infinitive stem + *-illa*. In Kodava standard negation in past is expressed by a past stem + *-ille*. Standard negation in non-past is expressed by the construction non-past stem + *ille*. In Malayalam the construction past participle + *-illa* is used to express standard negation in past tense, while present participle + *-illa* is used to express standard negation in present tense. To express standard negation in future tense the infinitive stem + *-illa* is used (Krishnamurti 2003:355). No information about the non-finite constructions used in Kurumba has been retrieved.

A general feature in the Dravidian languages is the distinction positive and negative verbal stems (Andronov 2003:184). All the Dravidian languages exhibit the distinction which has been verified in finite as well as non-finite forms. In the Dravidian languages non-finite verbal forms are e.g. participles, infinitives and verbal nouns. The base of non-finite verbs is either a past or a non-past verbal stem (Krishnamurti 2003:330). George (1971:53) argues that the negative verb in the Dravidian languages in general is an aorist, i.e. it is not possible to determine its point in time.

Twelve Dravidian languages, i.e. Chenchu, Gondi, Konda, Koya, Kui, Kuvi, Malto, Parji, Pengo, Tamil, Telugu and Toda, employ negative verbs to negate all or some of the non-verbal predications included in this study (Table 5).

Table 5. Negative verbs used per language and negative existential type.
A dash indicates that no information has been obtained.

Subgroup	Language name	Loc	Pres	Ex	Poss
North	Malto	<i>mal-</i>			
Central	Parji	<i>cila-</i>			
South-Central	Chenchu (Telugu)	<i>lē-</i>			
	Gondi	<i>sil-</i>			
	Konda	<i>sil-</i>			
	Koya	-	-	<i>ill-</i>	-
	Kui	<i>sid-</i>			-
	Kuvi	<i>hil- + -ʔa-</i> <i>hil + -ʔo-/-ʔ-/-ʔō-</i>			
	Pengo	<i>hil-</i>			
	Tamil	<i>ill-</i>			
	Telugu	<i>lē-</i>			
	Toda	<i>ōʔə-</i>	-	-	<i>ōʔə-</i>

In both Chenchu and Telugu the finite forms of the negative verbs *kā-* and *lē-* are used to negate being and existence in present and past tense (Trivedi 1978:80). In non-finite construction *lē-* functions as an auxiliary. The construction infinitive + *lēdu* is used to express standard negation in past tense. To express standard negation in present tense the construction action nominal + *lēdu* is used (Krishnamurti 2003:356). In Gondi the negative verbal stem *sil-* is used to express non-verbal negation in both past and present-future tense. To express non-verbal negation in past tense the construction preterite stem + *sil-* in present tense is used. In finite form *sil-* is inflected for both tense and number. In Konda the negative verb *sil-* cannot function as an auxiliary (Krishnamurti 2003:356). Consequently, it only exists in finite form, in which it is inflected for both tense and number. In Koya the negative verb *ill-* functions as both a main verb and an auxiliary. In finite form without tense it is used to negate existence. In Kui the periphrastic construction perfect participle + inflected form of *sid-* is used to express negation in past tense, while present participle + inflected form of *sid-* expresses negation in present tense. In Kuvi the function of the negative verb *hil-* is both main verb and auxiliary. In finite form *hil-* is not inflected for tense or number (Krishnamurti 2003:356). In Malto the negative verb *mal-* functions both as a main verb and as a copula. Inflected in present tense the negative verb *mal-* functions as a copula. Inflected for tense and number in past it is used to negate being (Droese 1884:77). In Parji the negative verb *cila-* only functions as a main verb. It only exists in third person singular and plural and is not inflected for tense (Burrow 1953:67). In Pengo the negative verb *hil-* only exist in finite form (Burrow and Bhattacharya 1953:74-75). In Tamil the negative verbs *il-* and *al-* are both referred to as defective verbs, i.e. they have an incomplete conjugation and can consequently not be used in all tenses. In finite form they are inflected in tense and number. Both *il-* and *al-* have copula functions. In Toda the negative verbal stem *ōʔə-* is an appellative verb, i.e. a verb which cannot be inflected for tense (Sakthivel 1977:157).

5.3 Genealogical and areal relatedness

As presented in section 2.6 the languages included in this study are genealogically related but belong to different branches of the Dravidian language family. In addition to their close genealogical relatedness the majority of the languages under study exhibit a close areal relatedness (Map 1). This section discusses whether the similarities as regards negation in predications of existence are genealogically or areally related.

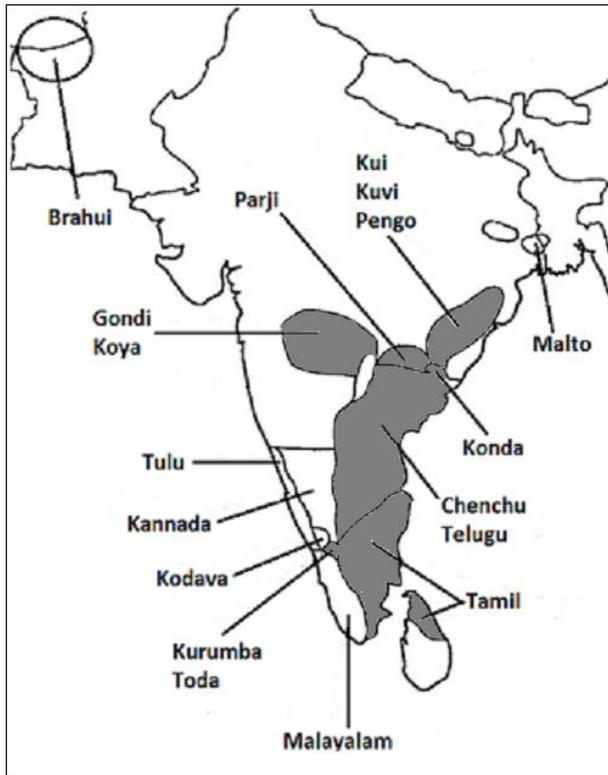
The results show that twelve of the languages under study employ a negative verb to express negation in predications of existence: Malto employs *mal-*, Parji *cila-*, Chenchu and Telugu *lē-*, Gondi and Konda *sil-*, Kui *sid-*, Kuvi and Pengo *hil-*, Koya and Tamil *ill-*, and Toda *il-* (Table 6). In eleven of the languages, Malto excluded, the verbs are cognates and have the same etymological origin.

Table 6. Negative verbs per sub group and language.

Subgroup	Language name	Negative verb
North	Malto	<i>mal-</i>
Central	Parji	<i>cila-</i>
South-Central	Chenchu	<i>lē-</i>
	Telugu	<i>lē-</i>
	Gondi	<i>sil-</i>
	Konda	<i>sil-</i>
	Koya	<i>ill-</i>
	Kui	<i>sid-</i>
	Kuvi	<i>hil-</i>
	Pengo	<i>hil-</i>
South	Tamil	<i>ill-</i>
	Toda	<i>il-</i>

However, the languages belong to different subgroups. Whereas Malto is North Dravidian, Parji belongs to the Central Dravidian group. Chenchu, Telugu, Gondi, Konda, Koya, Kui, Kuvi and Pengo are all South-Central Dravidian languages. Tamil and Toda belong to the South Dravidian group. As can be seen, a majority of the languages are South-Central Dravidian.

Eleven of the languages, Malto excluded, exhibit language contact with one or several of their neighboring languages. The South-Central Dravidian languages Kui, Kuvi and Pengo have contact with Central Dravidian Parji and South-Central Konda. Parji in turn has contact with South-Central Gondi and Koya. Konda has contact with South-Central Dravidian Chenchu and Telugu, which in turn have contact with South Dravidian Tamil and Toda. As can be seen in Map 2 the languages constitute an isogloss stretching from Kui, Kuvi and Pengo in the north to Tamil in the south. The fact that all the languages, despite belonging to different subgroups, express negation in predications of existence using negative cognate verbs suggests that the strategy is areally rather than genealogically related.



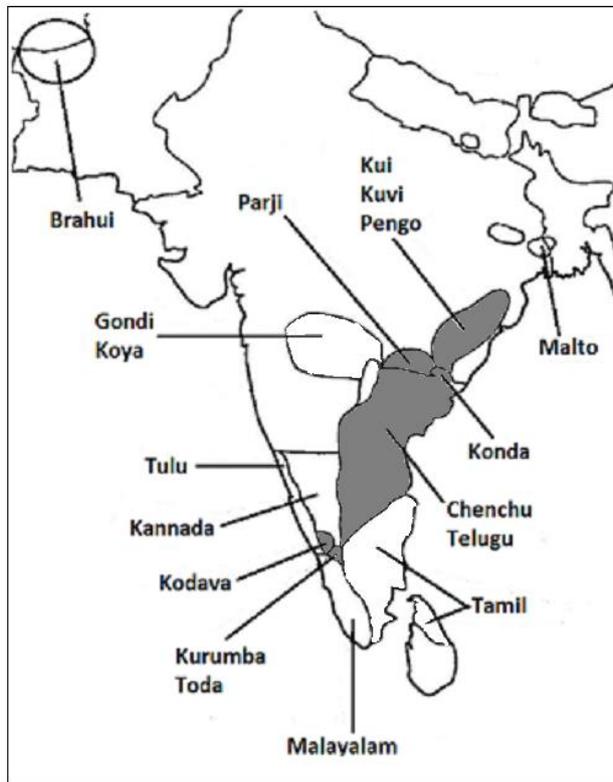
Map 2. The isogloss of existential negation by the use of a negative verb in the languages under study.

The results also show that nine of the languages employ one negation marker to negate attributive predications while negation in existential predications is expressed by a special negation marker: Chenchu, Kodava, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurumba, Parji, Pengo and Telugu.

Chenchu and Telugu employ the negative verbal stem *kā-* to negate attributive predications and *lē-* to negate existential predications. In Kodava and Kurumba attributive predications are negated by the negative particle *alla* and existential predications by *ille*. Konda and Kui both employ the negative particle *-ʔ-* to negate attribution. To negate existential predications Konda employs the negative verb *sil-* and Kui the negative verb *sid-*. In Kuvi negation of attributive predications is expressed by the negative particle *āʔ(e)* while negation in existential predications is expressed by the negative verb *hil-* in combination with the negative suffixes used to express SN, i.e. *-ʔa-* in past tense and *-ʔo-* or its allomorphs *-ʔ/-ʔō-* in non-past tense. Parji and Pengo both employ negative verbs to negate attributive and existential predications. In Parji the negative verb *er-* expresses negation in attributive predications while the negative verb *cila-* negates existential predications. In Parji existence may also be negated by the negative particle *cila*. Pengo negates attributive predications by the negative verb *a-* or by the negative particle *akay*. To negate existence the negative verb *hil-* is used.

As in the previous case these languages belong to different subgroups: Parji is Central Dravidian, Chenchu, Telugu, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Pengo all belong to the South-Central Dravidian group. Kodava and Kurumba are South Dravidian languages. However, the majority of the languages are

South-Central Dravidian. As can be seen in Map 3 all the nine languages exhibit language contact with one or several of their neighboring languages.



Map 3. The isogloss of existential negation by the use of a special negative marker in the languages under study.

The South-Central Dravidian languages Kui, Kuvi and Pengo have contact with Central Dravidian Parji and South-Central Konda. Both Parji and Konda have contact with South-Central Dravidian Chenchu and Telugu. These two languages have contact with South Dravidian Kurumba, which in turn has contact with South Dravidian Kodava. The languages constitute an isogloss stretching from Kui, Kuvi and Pengo in the north to Kurumba in the south (Map 3). This suggests that the strategy to express negation in predications of existence using a special negation marker is areally rather than genealogically related. Since nine of the 18 languages under study employ a special negation marker in negation of existential predications the results also support Veselinova's (2013) conclusion that it is very common for languages to negate existential predications using a special strategy.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has examined and described verbal as well as non-verbal negation in simple declarative sentences in 18 Dravidian languages.

The Dravidian morphology is traditionally defined as agglutinating. In an affirmative sentence the morphological structure generally is verbal stem + tense marker + person-number suffix. In negation in non-past tense the morphological structure changes to verbal stem + negation marker + person-number suffix (Krishnamurti 2003:348). The result is a lack of an overt tense marker in negation in non-past tense, which has led to discussions whether negation in Dravidian languages is tenseless or not. Andronov (2003:266) on the one hand suggests that the Dravidian negative indicative is tenseless since it does not differentiate the tense by morphological means. Krishnamurti (2003:355-56) on the other hand argues that negation in the Dravidian languages is not tenseless since tense is expressed by the structure tensed verbal stem + negation marker.

Four of the Dravidian languages under study, i.e. Kannada, Kodava, Kurumba and Malayalam, employ a negative independent particle to negate all or some of the non-verbal predications included in this study. In finite form the negative particles *alla* and *illa/ille* function as non-verbal negators. However, they do not show inflection and as a consequence the non-verbal predications that they negate are tenseless. This indicates that the tenseless negative indicative suggested by Andronov (2003) might be valid not only for standard negation but also for negation of non-verbal predications using a negative particle.

The languages included in this study are genealogically related but belong to different branches of the Dravidian language family. In addition to their close genealogical relatedness the majority of the languages exhibit a close areal relatedness. The results show that eleven of 18 languages, despite belonging to different subgroups, express negation in predications of existence using negative cognate verbs. Nine of 18 languages employ a special negation marker in negation of existential predications. This suggests that the two strategies are areally rather than genealogically related. The results also support Veselinova's (2013) conclusion that it is very common for languages to negate existential predications using a special strategy.

This study of verbal as well as non-verbal negation in simple declarative sentences in Dravidian languages is by no means exhaustive; there is an abundance of potential future research areas. Since this study has included only 18 languages, a potential research topic is to replicate this study with a larger number of Dravidian languages. Another potential approach is to further investigate the correlation between tense and negation strategy by examining and describing negation strategy for each tense. The distinction finite versus infinite verb in relation to negation strategy would also benefit from further studies.

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Appendix

Questionnaire used for collecting data on negation in verbal as well as non-verbal predications. The questionnaire is constructed by Ljuba Veselinova at the University of Stockholm.

The context descriptions are given in square brackets; further clarifications about the example sentences come in between parentheses. Neither the contexts, nor the clarifications are to be translated. Please translate only the **bold face text**.

Please provide a morpheme to morpheme translation for all of the translated examples below. Should it turn out that the English examples/situations are in any way culturally inappropriate, e.g. take up topics or objects that are tabooed or simply do not exist in your culture/language, feel free to substitute them with sentences that fit better into the reality of your language.

In case you are using a font different from Times New Roman or any other relatively common windows font, please send me that font too or give me a URL where I can download it.

If you can't produce the translations yourself, please provide a pointer to a source(s) where I would find similar constructions.

1. Language info

1.1. Language name

1.2. Genealogical affiliation

1.3. Where is it spoken? Or where did you study it?

This question is especially important for smaller languages; the more specific the info, the better.

If you can give me place names or geographical coordinates, or both, that will be great. If you can't, I will make do with whatever information you can provide.

2. Are you a native speaker? If not, how did you gain knowledge of this language?

3. Verbal sentences

Example

Mary sings

Example

Mary does not sing

Example

Mary likes movies

Example

Mary does not like movies

The answers to 3.1 and sub-questions can be very short or just references to other sources.

3.1. Can you think of any tense-aspect categories where the negator used in 0 through 0 cannot be used?

If 'yes'

3.1.1. Please name these categories. It would be helpful to give examples too if possible (a pointer would be fine too, see above)

3.1.1.1. What negator is used with them? Again, examples or references are welcome.

4. Non-verbal sentences

4.1. Equational predicates

Example

[Introducing a guest to the family]: **This is my friend Tom**

Example

[A family gathering plus a guest]

Your mom [looking at the guest]: Is this Tom?

Speaker B: **This is not Tom, it's Jake.**

4.2. Descriptive (property ascribing) predicates

Example

[Two people who met recently are talking about a common acquaintance]

Speaker A: What does Tom do?

Speaker B: **Tom is a teacher**

Example

[Same context as in 0]

Speaker A: Is Tom a teacher?

Speaker B: **Tom is not a teacher, he is a doctor**

Example

[Talking about the appearance of a somebody I just met]

Tom is tall

Example

[Same context as in 0]

Tom is not tall

Example

[Tom just heard some really good news]

Tom is happy

Example

[Tom is waiting for some news that's long delayed]

Tom is not happy

4.3. Locative and locative-presentative predicates

Example

[Somebody comes to your house, looking for your brother]

(Yes, wait a minute), **Tom/he is here**

Example

[Same context as in 0]

(Sorry), **Tom/he is not here**

Example

[Same context as in 0]

(Sorry), **Tom/he is not here, he is in town**

Example

[Hearing trashing and noise, looking through the window]

There are some wild cats in the garden

Example

[Same context as in 0]

Speaker A: Do you think there are any wild cats in the garden?
Speaker B: **There aren't any wild cats in the garden.**

4.4. Clauses where only existence is predicated

Example

[The teacher, in a zoology/natural sciences class]

There are wild cats (in Africa or somewhere else; there is such a thing as wild cats)

Example

[Same context as in 0]

There are no wild cats (in Africa or anywhere, there is no such thing as wild cats)

Example

[Same context as in 0]

Wild cats exist (The sense is the same as for 4.15; this is basically to check whether the language has an intransitive existential verb as the English *exist*, French *exister*, Modern Greek *ipárho*, Russian *sushtestvovat'*.)

Example

[Same context as in 0]

Wild cats do not exist

4.5. Predicative possession

Example

[Talking about helping somebody to move]

(Tom can help), **Tom/he has a car**

Example

[Same context as in 4.11]

(Tom cannot help), **Tom/he does not have a car**

4.6. Are there any tense-aspect categories where the negators used in for the non-vebal, locative and existential sentences (examples 0 through 0) above cannot be used?

4.6.1. Please name these categories and give examples if possible

4.6.2. What negators are used instead?

5. Are there any lexicalizations of negation other than 'not.be' and 'not.exist'. Frequently occurring negative lexicalizations are senses such as 'not.know', 'not.want', 'not.become', 'cannot', 'be unable', 'need not', 'must not', 'dare not'.

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