

NEGATION IN KANNADA

by

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ABSTRACT

NEGATION IN KANNADA

In this thesis, an examination of the syntax and semantics of negation (and related aspects) in Kannada, a Dravidian language spoken mainly in Karnataka, India, is undertaken. The theoretical framework is provided by the theory of Transformational-Generative grammar as expounded by Chomsky in Syntactic Structures (1957) and Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965), with subsequent modifications and elaborations (Chomsky 1970, 1971, 1975; Emonds 1976; Jackendoff 1972). The model, therefore, incorporates a generative syntactic component and an interpretive semantic component.

Chapter I introduces the variety of forms which are felt to be 'intuitively negative' in Kannada, and briefly reviews work on Kannada negation to date. In Chapter II, a test for neg is proposed, where neg is defined as a semantic feature to be recognised by the syntactic and semantic consequences of its presence in the sentence. The 'intuitively negative' forms are thus redefined in terms of whether or not they carry the feature neg, and the scope of inquiry is consequently delimited. The peculiarities of distribution of the forms which have been defined as neg are noted: Kannada is shown to have different forms of negation depending on whether the negation occurs in copulative, verbless sentences, tensed sentences, non-tensed sentences, and sentences with modals, in contrast to negation in English, where not appears in all the above types of sentences.

Chapters III and IV examine the syntax of the various neg forms, and Chapter V proposes rules of semantic interpretation for these forms.

It is hoped that this thesis will serve as a stimulus for research into the syntax and semantics of Kannada, since very few descriptions of aspects of Kannada within the theoretical framework assumed here are available. On a different level, by attempting to describe a Dravidian language with the tools evolved mainly through a systematic exploration of Indo-European languages, it is hoped to question or validate the model itself. This is, therefore, an initial contribution towards the search for linguistic universals and an explanatory model of linguistics.

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PREFACE

Kannada (also known as Kanarese) is a major Dravidian language spoken mainly in Karnataka, India. Varieties of Kannada exist along the regional, social and literary-colloquial clines, the major regional dialectal difference being between the 'northern' varieties (centering around Dharwar) and the 'southern' varieties (centering around Bangalore).

In this thesis, we undertake an examination of negation and related aspects of the standard educated speech of the Brahmin dialect in Bangalore. The syntax of this variety of Kannada shows no major deviations from that of the (southern) literary language; however, our data may be said to be speech-based, insofar as archaic forms which may be preserved in some styles of the literary language (e.g., the conjugation of verbs in the 'negative' mood) are not taken into consideration here.

The system of transcription adopted here, however, does not follow the spoken forms in the language, which show characteristic elisions, assimilations and so on, as such a phonetic or near-phonetic transcription would tend to obscure morphological boundaries and relationships. Our choice of morphological clarity in transcription, rather than phonetic faithfulness, has been determined by the main concerns of this thesis, which are syntactic and semantic rather than phonological or phonetic. The transcription closely follows, therefore, the

orthographic representation in the literary language. Where clarity of exposition demands a deviation from even the orthography, such a deviation is enclosed within parentheses; and morpheme boundaries not indicated in the orthography are indicated, where necessary, with a (-). Thus the form for 'did not come', pronounced [barlilla] and written baralilla, is transcribed as baral(u) -illa, as the fact that this form is composed of the infinitive baralu of the verb bar-, 'to come', plus the negative morpheme illa, is crucial to the analysis.

A phoneme chart for Kannada is provided below, in Table I. The series of retroflex consonants is transcribed with capital letters, in the examples; elsewhere, if these consonants occur in names or terms for which a standard, accepted English spelling is available, this standard spelling is used. Thus the name Kannada is transcribed as kannaDa (with a retroflex [D]) in the examples, but cited as Kannada elsewhere. Phonetically predictable word-initial glides are omitted from the transcription, insofar as the orthography also omits them; thus 'good' (attributive), pronounced [voLLe] and written oLLeya, is transcribed oLLeya. Long vowels are indicated by doubling a letter, e.g., beere [be:re], 'different'; so also geminate consonants: e.g., illi 'here', ili 'mouse'. The accusative case ending is often dropped in spoken, and some written, varieties of Kannada; we enclose this ending within parentheses, e.g. kelasa(vannu), 'work (acc.)'.

The model of analysis we follow is the Transformational-Generative model as introduced by Chomsky in Syntactic Structures (1957), and Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (1965), with its subsequent modifications and elaborations (Chomsky 1970, 1971, 1975; Emonds 1976). We therefore accept an interpretivist view of semantics and our discussion of the semantics of negation in Kannada will follow the model of Jackendoff (1972), the standard exposition of semantic interpretation within this framework. While we do not assume that a description of Kannada should be possible as a matter of course, with the descriptive apparatus provided by this model - a model validated, notwithstanding its goals and its claims of universality, primarily by a systematic exploration of non-Dravidian (and largely Indo-European) languages - we do recognise the necessity of working within a paradigm and a model that has been powerfully argued for and is now generally accepted within linguistics, if only to systematically refute or modify its details.

Very little work on Kannada syntax is available within the Transformational-Generative framework, a notable exception being Nadkarni (1970). Although the publication of the International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics has served as a useful stimulus to research in this area since 1972, the problem of various researchers accepting various theories and models, thus making meaningful dialogue between them impossible, remains acute. Negation in Kannada serves as a case in point:

there exist 'traditional' descriptions (Andronov, 1969; Spencer, 1914), taxonomic descriptions (Gowda, 1970), and generative-semantic descriptions (Rangan, 1972) of this area.

One aim of this thesis, therefore, is to provide a detailed though preliminary description of negation in Kannada within a standard theoretical framework, in the hope of stimulating argument and further research within this model, into the Kannada language. It goes without saying that much that appears ad hoc or insolvable here, may be better dealt with in a deeper or wider analysis. On a different level, by analysing aspects of a language whose data have not been available to linguists in the course of model construction, we hope to validate or question the model itself. This is therefore a small contribution towards the search for linguistic universals and an explanatory model of linguistics.

TABLE I - Kannada Phonemes

		Consonants						
		bilabial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palato- alveolar	velar	glottal
stops and affricates		p b	t d		T D	c j	k g	
nasals		m	n		N			
fricatives				s z	S	ʃ ʒ		h
liquids and semi vowels		w		l r	L	y		
		Vowels						

i i: e e: a a: o o: u u:

Diphthongs

ai au

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Traditional Grammarians have often classed as 'negative' a variety of words in the language which were intuitively felt to have some negative meaning. Thus pre-Transformational Generative grammars of English have included hardly and never with not as 'adverbs of modality expressing negation', characterised few as 'distinctly negative', and none as the 'negative form of one'; and stated that 'negation is also implied in expressions with too ('she is too poor to give us anything, i.e. she cannot')'. Many of these 'negative' expressions have been said to be 'incompletely' or 'specially' or 'inherently' negative.¹

The task that Klima undertook in the first systematic examination of negation within a Transformational Generative framework (Klima:1964) was to examine whether there was "any reason to consider the intuited shared negativeness a single feature from a formal point of view" (op.cit.,p.250). It is not enough for a grammar to provide a list of expressions which are 'intuitively

negative'; one of the goals of transformational grammar is to provide a systematic formalisation of the facts of the language which form the basis for the native speaker's intuition of relationships between linguistic forms. Given the native speaker's intuitive knowledge, however, there is no way of intuiting how exactly this knowledge should be expressed in a grammar; this is an empirical matter. Grammatical analyses have to be motivated, and they are subject to the constraints and evaluation measures of the linguistic theory which has provided a model for the analyses. The concept of the simplicity of a grammar (largely equated with economy in the use of symbols) has, since the inception of Transformational Generative grammar, served as a crucial evaluation measure; and the possibility of simplifying the syntax by showing that affirmative and negative sentences regularly differ in a single feature, and therefore do not require separate and unrelated rules for their generation, is thus an attractive one. The question Klima asks is, ". . . in the structural description of the sentences of the language as provided by the grammar rules that generate them, is it the case that a single symbol accounts for certain linguistic facts at the very places where negativeness is intuited?" (op.cit., p.250.)

Klima therefore sought to characterise neg in grammatical terms, an approach which entailed transformations changing the shape of lexical items (e.g., Neg-incorporation into Indefinites.) Later modifications in the theory, - a set of constraints known as the Extended Lexical Hypothesis, - proposed to exclude such processes from the power of transformations. Moreover, some problems of semantic interpretation, involving the scope of negation and quantifiers, remained. Jackendoff (1972) therefore preferred to characterise neg semantically, as a modal operator. The words which had been shown to behave as neg by Klima and required Neg-incorporation

(e.g.	neg + any -->	no	(obligatory)	
	neg + ever -->	never	(obligatory))

would be generated by the grammar like other lexical items, syntactically belonging to various classes: "The only syntactic factor in the distribution of these lexical items will be lexical category; the other aspects of distribution observed by Klima will be accounted for by semantic rule." (Jackendoff, op.cit., p.348.) This approach

ensures that negatives will not be separately treated by the syntax, thereby avoiding complication in the syntax and, as negatives are required to share a semantic marker, the modal operator neg, the grammar will formalise, in the semantic component, the native speaker's intuitions concerning negativity.

In formally capturing the notion of negativity in a different component than Klima, however, Jackendoff does not relinquish the formal characterisation of neg suggested by Klima; noting that words with the modal operator neg behave differently from 'inherently negative' words like 'doubt' or 'dislike', which do not pass Klima's tests for sentence negation, he cautions against adopting the idea of the semantic marker "too glibly" (op.cit.,p.342)². The need to formally characterise neg thus remains, whether neg is to be treated as a grammatical feature or as a modal operator.

1.1 In Kannada, a number of lexical items behave as neg (where neg is a formal object to be defined below), but any attempt to treat neg as a grammatical feature which is to be incorporated into these lexical items by a transformation becomes very problematic. We will therefore adopt Jackendoff's stance in treating neg as a modal operator, while proposing a formal test for neg on the lines of Klima's analysis. Such a characterisation of neg will serve to delimit the range of data that must be taken into account in an examination of negation in Kannada.

Before we proceed with this delimitation, we may cite the variety of phrases and sentences which have been noted by grammarians as having a 'negative' meaning. In the list of such phrases and sentences below, the elements contributing to 'negativity' have been underlined:

1. avanu oLleyavanu alla.
he good man not

He is not a good man.

2. avanu illi illa.
he here is not

He is not here.

- 3a. avanu baruvud(u)-illa.
he come(participial) not

He does not come/ will not come.

- 3b. avanu baral(u)-illa.
he come(infinitive) not

He did not come.

- 3c. avanu barutt(a)-illa.
he coming not

He is not coming.

- 3d. avanu barutt(a)- iral(u)-illa.
he coming be(infinitive) not

He was not coming / He did not use to come.

- 3e. avanu band(u)-illa.
he having come not

He has not come.

- 3f. avanu band(u)- iral(u)-illa.³
he having come be(infinitive) not

He had not come.

4. avanu kelasa(vannu) maaD-adee bandanu.
he work (acc.) doing without came

He came without doing the work.

5. avanu maaD-ada kelasa
he done not work

The work that he did not/ does not do

- 6a. kelasa(vannu) maaD-ad(a)-avanu
work (acc.) done not he

He who did not/ does not do the work

- 6b. kelasa(vannu) maaD-ad(a)-avaLu
work (acc.) done not she

She who did not/ does not do the work

- 7a. ii kelasa(vannu) maaDa - kuuDadu.
this work (acc.) do should not/ must not

(You) must not/ should not do this work.

- 7b. ii kelasa(vannu) maaDa - baaradu.
this work (acc.) do should not/ must not

(You) must not/ should not do this work.

- 7c. ii kelasa(vannu) maaDa - beeDa.
this work (acc.) do do not

Do not do this work.

8. ii kelasa a - sambhava / an - nyaaya.
this work impossible unjust

This work is impossible / unjust.

- 9a. avanu haaDidan(u)-ee horatu kuNiyal(u)-illa.
he sang conjunctive part. dance(infinitive) not

He sang, but did not dance.

- 9b. avanu haaDidanu, ashTee horatu avanu kuNiyal(u)-illa.
he sang conjunctive part. he dance(inf.)not

He sang, but he did not dance.

Most traditional, and some recent, analyses of negation in Kannada mention the forms in (1-9), (e.g., Spencer (1914), Andronov (1969), and Gowda (1970)) and some (Spencer and Andronov, op.cit.) mention forms not cited in

(1-9). Although Andronov and Gowda attempt further analysis of these forms, the nature of this analysis is primarily taxonomic, thus leading into precisely the situation that Schiffman (1974:9), discussing negative forms in non-Brahmin Tamil, warns against: "What is not needed . . . is a proliferation of paradigms, à la classical grammar, listing all the kinds of negatives that are possible. Paradigms do not explain anything . . ." From the point of view of the levels of adequacy of a grammar, paradigms merely reach the level of observational adequacy.

1.2 However, observational adequacy is a pre-requisite for a descriptively adequate account. A failure to consider the full range of data, and an incorrect interpretation of the body of data that is taken into account, results in a worse situation than a mere list of negatives: a confusion about which sentences are to be related as affirmative-negative 'pairs'. Thus a recent article (Rangan:1972), though only indirectly concerned with Kannada, cites only sentences (3a,b) in our list above; (3b) is mistakenly translated as 'he did/ does not come' and, in a footnote towards the end of the discussion, (3e) is mentioned,

again tentatively translated as 'he did not come'. It is this kind of error which makes relevant Schiffman's call for "an evaluation procedure to help ascertain when two sentences are equivalent except for one being positive, the other negative" (op.cit.,p.9).

Schiffman goes on to suggest that the ability to relate two sentences in this way is "perhaps an artifact of Western education and perhaps Aristotelian logic." To say that linguists and their native-speaker consultants have so far been unable to make regular correspondences between affirmative and negative sentences in Dravidian languages is not, however, to deny that such correspondences exist in the language.⁴ It must be remembered that the kind of intuitive knowledge that a transformational grammar aims to capture, is that of the ideal native speaker. The linguist, therefore, must abstract from errors of performance, logic, or even translation, considering that much recent work in Dravidian linguistics, being written in English, requires the translation of examples. One way to avoid the last kind of error is to systematically analyse the constituents of the sentence into abstract symbols and look for correspondences and regularities in terms of these symbols rather than in terms of English translations, which can at best be approximations to the forms of the language in question.

We hope to show in the course of our analysis that the situation in Kannada, at least in the dialect under consideration, is not unresolvable, and that affirmative and negative sentences can be regularly related in the syntax. We claim that, apart from errors of data and translation, a failure to characterise neg explicitly and a confusion of paraphrase relationships with syntactic relationships, has led to an apparently unresolvable situation. In Chapter III we discuss the four sentences (10-13) below:

10. avanu manuSHyanu.
he man

He is a man.

11. avanu manuSHyanu alla.
he man not

He is not a man.

12. avanu manuSHyan(u) - aagi iddaane.
he man pred.N/ adv. marker be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is a man.

13. avanu manuSHyan(u) - aagi illa.
he man pred.N/ adv. marker not

He is not a man.

We show that while the semantic relationship between (10,12) and (11,13) has led to some confusion about how sentences (10-13) are to be related, the attempt to

formulate explicit rules for the generation of sentences reveals that only the pairs (10,11) and (12,13) are to be related syntactically, and that no syntactic relationship holds between the pairs (10,13) and (11,12), although such a relationship may be inferred from previous analyses.

We will also show that the distribution of the lexical items we will define as neg is conditioned by the syntactic structure of the sentence in which the neg occurs. Thus the form alla appears in copulative sentences which are obligatorily verbless, illa appears in the Verb Phrase when TENSE is present, and a form such as in (4) maad-adee appears in adverbials and in tenseless (infinitival and gerundial) sentences. Before we enter into this analysis, however, a brief review of what Kannada grammars have said about the forms in (1-9) will serve to provide the necessary background for our analysis.

1.3 Traditional native grammarians of Kannada have classed illa and alla (cf. (1-3) above) as kriyaatmaka-avyaya⁵, or 'verb-like indeclinables'; no mention is made of their negativity. In a brief but fairly comprehensive grammar of Kannada, Andronov (1969) devotes a chapter to 'Negative Forms', which he subclasses into 'analytic forms' and 'synthetic forms'. As an example of an analytical negative, he discusses illa but does not mention alla. Spencer (1914) and Gowda (1970) mention both alla and illa, and Spencer devotes a section to a discussion of their distribution. We have mentioned above that the appearance of different negatives is conditioned by the syntactic structure of the sentence. In Chapter III, we will consider the explanations of Spencer and Gowda for the behaviour of illa and alla in some detail.

Andronov mentions the forms in (4-6) above as 'synthetic' negatives. He does not discuss them, merely stating that they "are used in the same way as affirmative participles" (op.cit., p.62). Spencer and traditional native grammarians of Kannada have also noted these forms, and used similar nomenclatures for them. Thus maad-adee in (4) is called a 'negative verbal participle' by Andronov and Spencer. Native grammatical tradition has characterised

these forms as kriyaanyuuna, but made no distinction between affirmative and negative kriyaanyuuna. The form maaD-ada in (5) is a 'negative participle' according to Andronov, a 'negative relative participle' according to Spencer; again, native grammatical tradition makes no distinction between affirmative and negative kridvaachi (i.e. relative participles).

The forms in (6) -- maaD-ad(a)-avanu, etc. -- have been called krinaama, or participial nouns. In his article, Gowda does not mention these forms apart from those in (5); quite justifiably, it seems, since the only difference between the forms in (5) and (6) (maaD-ada kelasa, maaD-ad(a) avanu) 'the not-done work', 'the not-done he', is the occurrence of a pronoun avanu 'he' in (6), as against the noun kelasa 'work' in (5)⁶. Thus, Spencer notes that negative participial nouns are formed from negative relative participles.

The forms in (7) are not mentioned by Andronov; we will call them 'negative modals', for ease of reference. Gowda mentions these as 'free' negative elements, but does not discuss them, except to state that they are used with the infinitives of verbs, and that "kuuDadu is more emphatic than baaradu" (op.cit., p.2). Concerning beeDa, he notes that

while "illa and alla may be said to negate indicative sentences, beeDa negates imperative sentences. beeDa is the exact opposite of beeku , want . . . (it) can also be used with infinitives to prohibit any action" (loc.cit.).

Although none of the three grammarians we are discussing mention the words in (8) above as 'negative', we provide them here because (a) they are intuitively negative (b) we have as yet no criteria for what is 'negative', which will enable us to exclude these words. Thus the morpheme a(n) - may be said to be a bound negative form, in Gowda's framework.

The conjunction horatu and the conjunctive phrase ashTe horatu often translate as 'except, unless', and Spencer states that "Munshis (i.e. native scholars, RA) appear to regard horatu as a negative word. . ." (op.cit., p.141). Though Spencer does not call this word or the corresponding phrase 'negative', he does make their presence dependent on the presence of a negative in the sentence: "horatu must always be followed by a negative principal verb, or an interrogative which is equivalent in meaning to a negative" (p.142); "if 'in addition to' or 'besides' (i.e. horatu, RA) is connected with a positive verb, horatu must not be employed:

alladee must be used. . ." (p.119); "alladee means 'besides, in addition to', and is followed by an affirmative verb. . ." (p.155). We will, however, show that such is not the case, and that horatu is a conjunction which works like the English 'but', this being logically equivalent to 'and', its use being determined solely by pragmatics.

The quote from Spencer concerning horatu, however, brings up another issue. We now have a new term 'negative principal verb'. Spencer also equivalently uses the term 'principal verb in a negative form'. From the examples he provides, it is evident that he is referring here to forms such as in (3a-f) above, where non-finite forms of a verb are followed by illa. These forms have to be differentiated from verbs in the 'negative mood' (Spencer, op.cit.) or the 'negative finite forms of the verb' (Andronov, op.cit.). Interestingly enough, the latter are the only forms which native grammatical tradition has recognised as negative: the conjugation is called niSheedha-ruupa (negative form)⁷. These forms of the verb are rarely to be found in the current language, and are therefore not mentioned in our list above. Writing in 1914, Spencer notes that "the negative mood, except in some special cases, is comparatively rarely used" (op.cit., p.42). Gowda's article, written in 1970,

does not mention these forms, confining itself to "the most commonly used (negative) expressions in written Kannada" (op.cit.,p.3). Since these forms are rarely met with outside the older grammars of Kannada, and since they are not within the scope of my 'competence', we will not discuss them here.

It is not at all clear, however, in what sense a non-finite verb plus illa is a 'negative principal verb'; more so as the status of illa has been left unclear. Thus Spencer states that illa itself (and so also alla) is a form of the negative mood of an obsolete verb: "illa is an abbreviated form of the negative mood, third person singular, of a verb il, meaning 'to exist', which has passed out of use except in a few negative forms . . . alla is an abbreviated form of the negative mood, third person singular, of an obsolete verb al, meaning 'to be fit, proper,' etc. . . ." (op.cit., pp.153-54). We have noted that the conjugation of verbs in the negative mood is no longer a feature of the language. What then is the synchronic status of illa and alla, and how must we account for their distribution?

1.4 In the absence of clear theoretical criteria, whether syntactic or semantic, defining what is 'negative', it becomes difficult to go into such questions in any depth. We will, in Chapter II, examine the generative grammarians' approach to negativity, and define neg in Kannada in terms of the syntactic and semantic consequences of its presence in the sentence. The syntactic consequence we will discuss is illustrated by the following sentences, and concerns the interaction of neg with a Noun Phrase containing an indefinite quantifier, and qualified by -uu , an emphatic morpheme which translates as 'even, too':

14. naanu avanu heeLida ondu maat-annu keeLal(u)-illa.
 I he said one word acc. hear(infinitive) not

I did not hear one of the words that he spoke.

15. naanu avanu heeLida ondu maat-ann(u)-uu keeLal(u)-illa.
 I he said one word acc. even hear(inf.) not

I did not hear even a (single) word that he spoke.

16. *naanu avanu heeLida ondu maat-ann(u)-uu keeLide.
 I he said one word acc. even heard

*I heard even a single word that he spoke.

The presence of an indefinite quantifier in the NP qualified by -uu is ungrammatical if there is no negative in the sentence. Thus (16) above is grammatical if ondu 'one' is interpreted as a definite article, e.g., in a situation where only one word was spoken, and that one word was heard, as in (17) below:

17. naanu avanu heeLida (ondee) ondu maat-ann(u)-uu keeLide.
 I he said one-only one word acc. even heard

I heard even the only word that he spoke.

Example (15) above is from Spencer, who states:

"the termination uu adds emphasis to the word to which it is attached, or to some word nearly connected with it. It is frequently employed to give emphasis to a numeral . . ."

(op.cit.,p.51). What Spencer does not mention is that the "emphatic affix uu" and an indefinite quantifier in an NP cannot co-occur unless there is a negative in the sentence.

We will therefore make use of such examples to propose a test for neg in Kannada. By this test, while illa , alla , the 'negative verbal participle' ending in -adee , and the 'negative modals' qualify as neg , the 'negative participle' and the 'negative word' (-ada and a(n)-) do not. We will then propose the rules for the generation of neg in Kannada, and for its semantic interpretation.

Notes

1. For the identification of sources and further discussion, see Klima (1964:250).
2. For a detailed discussion, see Jackendoff (1972:336-52).
3. The citation of forms with illa in the compound tenses here is not complete; a full table appears in Chapter IV, pp.90-91.
4. We do not rule out the possibility that some dialects of Dravidian languages do in fact display an extremely 'skewed' system: e.g., the dialect of non-Brahmin Tamil that Schiffman considers. (The facts are different for my dialect of Tamil.) We are only making a plea against the invalid extrapolation of analyses across dialects.
5. Cf. Kesiraja's Shabdamanidarpanam , sutra 316:

solloL kriyaatmakaavyaya
villavembudu . . .

'illa is a verb-like indeclinable in the sentence . . .'

cf. also Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, Namma Nudi (1960:76):

"linga vachana vibhakti pratyayagaLannu paDeyada
shabdagaLannu vyaakaraNa avyayagaLendu kareyuttade.
ivugaLalli halavu riiti ive. alla illa muntaadavu
kriyayante vartisuttave."

'Those words which do not take gender, number and case affixes are called indeclinables by the grammar. There are different kinds of indeclinables. Alla, illa etc. behave as verbs.'

6. Although maaDada kelasa translates as 'the work which was not done' and maaDad(a)avanu as 'he who did not do the work', this is to be attributed to the ambiguity of this construction in Kannada, coupled with selectional restrictions, rather than to their being different constructions. Thus while

ooduva pustaka 'reading book'

is understood as 'a book to be read' (# 'a book which reads'),

ocduva huDugi 'reading girl'

is understood as 'the girl who reads' (# 'a girl to be read').

7. The conjugation is as follows:

verb maaD-, to do

	sg.		pl.
1st pers.	maaDenu	I don't do, etc.	maaDevu
2nd pers.	maaDe		maaDari
3rd pers.			
masc.	maaDanu		} maaDaru }
fem.	maaDaLu		}
neut.	maaDadu		maaDavu

CHAPTER II

NEG IN KANNADA

2.0 The attempt to define neg formally, whether it occurs as a syntactic or a semantic feature whose presence has certain consequences for the sentence, stems from a different theoretical approach to negation than that of traditional grammar. We have seen that grammarians have so far provided lists of 'negatives', quoting each 'negative' form in the appropriate paradigm (as a 'participle', or a 'participial noun', and so on) without attempting to define 'negative'. We will see when we discuss the treatment of alla and illa by Spencer (1914) and Gowda (1970), that those who do attempt a definition of neg merely provide paraphrases of the 'negative' words, or of their semantic role (e.g., illa is said to negate existence, and alla, equivalence) and that this approach leads to inconsistencies.

Generative grammarians have worked with the notion of neg as a grammatical feature (Klima, 1964) or as a modal operator (Jackendoff, 1972). For Klima, neg is a grammatical feature, the presence of which has certain syntactic consequences for the sentence. Aside from these syntactic consequences, there is no way of knowing, in his framework,

if a sentence is negative.¹ The syntactic consequences of the presence of neg that Klima notes for English, and which thus function as tests for neg, are the occurrence of (i) the either-clause, (ii) the negative appositive tag, and (iii) the question tag without not. In addition, neither-conjoining provides a test for 'strong' sentence negation. We will briefly elaborate on each of these tests, as formulated by Klima.

"Either-conjoining . . . occurs only when the sentence to be appended in and . . . either contains not or one of the negative pre-verbal adverbs . . ."
e.g., (quotations and examples from Klima, op.cit., pp.261-65),

18a. Publishers will {usually} reject suggestions,
 {always }
 { not }

and writers will { not } accept them, either.
 {scarcely}
 { hardly }
 { never }
 { seldom }
 { rarely }

18b. *Publishers will {usually} reject suggestions,
 {always }
 { not }

and writers will {usually} accept them, either.
 {always }

Sentence (18b) shows that the presence of either is incompatible with pre-verbal adverbs which do not have the grammatical feature neg. With such adverbs, too occurs:

18c. Publishers will {usually} reject suggestions,
 {always }
 { not }

and writers will {usually} accept them, too.

The presence of the negative appositive tag,
not even, depends on the presence of neg in the main sentence:

19a. Writers will not accept suggestions, { not even }
 { *even }
 reasonable ones.

19b. Writers will accept suggestions, { even }
 {*not even}
 reasonable ones.

Klima's third criterion for the presence of neg is
 illustrated in (20a-b):

20a. Writers will not accept suggestions,
 { will they }
 { *won't they } ? (except with intonation marking
 { *will they not} incredulousness or sarcasm)

The question tag without not occurs only if the main sentence
 contains neg. Thus (20b) is ungrammatical:

20b. *Writers will accept suggestions, will they? (except
 with intonation marking incredulousness or sarcasm)

For neither-conjoining to occur, "the base sentence, rather than just the appended sentence as in either-conjoining, must contain a negative pre-verb":

21a. Writers won't be accepting suggestions, and neither will publishers.

21b. *Writers will be accepting suggestions, and neither will publishers.

We are not concerned here with the acceptability of Klima's analysis within the Extended Lexical Hypothesis. We merely quote him to demonstrate that this approach to negation differs from the traditional one, and might be worth adopting for a preliminary analysis of negation in Kannada. Thus Klima's tests for the presence of neg show up a grammatical difference between not and the negative pre-verbal adverbs on the one hand, and the adverbs with so-called 'negative' prefixes, such as unfortunately, unintentionally, etc., on the other. For, ". . . the occurrence of unintentionally, unfortunately or unfaithful does not result in structures that are instances of sentence negation. The following, for example, are not grammatical sentences:

22. *Publishers will unintentionally reject suggestions, and writers will unintentionally reject them, either.

23. *Writers are unreceptive to suggestions, not even good ones.

And as a simple tag-question, without incredulous or sarcastic overtone, the following does not occur:

24. *Writers unfortunately reject suggestions, do they?"
(op.cit.,pp.270-71)

2.1 Jackendoff's definition of sentence negation (1972) is constructed within the context of a semantic theory. He proposes the following as a "rough intuitive test for sentence negation" (op.cit.,p.321):

" A sentence $[X \text{ -- } \underset{S}{\text{neg}} \text{ -- } Y]$ is an instance of sentence negation if there exists a paraphrase (disregarding presuppositions) It is not so that $[X \text{ -- } \underset{S}{Y}]$. "

According to a later statement (op.cit.,p.352),

" Intuitively, a sentence is an instance of sentence negation if everything that it is possible to deny is in fact denied."

It is important to note that Jackendoff's definition of sentence negation is not co-extensive with Klima's. Thus the sentence

25a. Maxwell did not kill the judge with a silver hammer;
neither did he do so with a brass one; he killed him
with a wooden hammer.

is not an instance of sentence negation for Jackendoff, being
an instance of focussed negation, but it is an instance of
strong sentence negation for Klima, as evidenced by the
occurrence of the neither-conjunction.

Jackendoff's definition of sentence negation is to be
interpreted within his theory of modal structure : neg is a
modal operator which imposes conditions on the identifiability
of referents and the realisability of events. For a sentence
S1 to be sentence negation, it must paraphrase It is not so
that S2 ; its modal structure must contain a negation on
which all indeterminates in S1, and S1 itself, are dependent.
Sentence negation in Jackendoff's terms contrasts with
focussed negation : "Often negation does not seem to apply
to an entire sentence, but only to part of it" (op.cit.,p.254).
Thus the sentence

25b. Maxwell did not kill the judge with a silver hammer.

is ambiguous between sentence negation and focussed negation
(for instance, on the instrument), "possibly differentiated
by degree of emphasis on 'hammer' " (Jackendoff, op.cit.,p.254).

That is, the sentence may be paraphrased either by

- (a) It's not the case that Maxwell killed the judge with a silver hammer (sentence negation)

or by

- (b) It was not with a silver hammer that Maxwell killed the judge (focussed negation)

In (b), we are not denying that Maxwell killed the judge, but what he killed the judge with. Thus "everything that it is possible to deny" is in fact not denied, and (b) is not an instance of sentence negation.

The notion of focussed negation will prove useful in dealing with our topic. Hence, as indicated in footnote (1), we will use the terms 'sentence negation' and 'focussed negation' in the sense in which Jackendoff uses them.

2.2 However, in view of the variety of 'negative' expressions in Kannada, a test for neg on the lines of Klima's analysis may serve to delimit the field of inquiry. We have briefly mentioned in Chapter I, the possibility of using an NP which contains an indefinite quantifier as such a test, by examining whether or not its qualification with an -uu morpheme (an emphatic which often translates as 'even, too') leads to ungrammaticality.

We cited there the sentences:

15. naanu avanu heeLida ondu maat-ann(u)-uu keeLal(u)-illa.
 I he said one word acc. even hear(inf.) not

I did not hear even a single word that he spoke.

16. *naanu avanu heeLida ondu maat-ann(u)-uu keeLide.
 I he said one word acc. even heard

*I heard even a single word that he spoke.

We noted that the presence of a 'negative' in (15) renders it grammatical, as against (16).

We see from (15) above that the presence of -uu, an indefinite quantifier, and a negative brings about an interesting semantic change as well: the quantifier is now included within the scope of negation. The semantics of such structures is comparable, in English, to the effect of Neg-incorporation into indefinites (cf. Klima, op.cit.) or to the well-known interaction between quantifiers and neg, when neg is to the left of the quantifier in surface structure and therefore includes the quantifier within its scope (cf. Jackendoff, op.cit.). This is the difference between

26a. Not many arrows hit the target
 and

26b. Many arrows didn't hit the target.

In (26a), the quantifier many is included in the scope of the negation, whereas in (26b), it is not. Thus (27a), but not (27b), is a contradiction:

27a. Not many arrows hit the target, but many did.

27b. Many arrows didn't hit the target, but many did.

The interaction of quantifiers and negation, and the question as to whether this interaction is to be captured transformationally (as in Klima's analysis) or by an interpretive semantic rule (as in Jackendoff's analysis) is a separate issue. The interesting facts for us are (i) the non-occurrence of -uu following indefinitely quantified NP's in non-negative sentences and (ii) the change in the semantic interpretation of negation when -uu is present. We may cite these two facts as a test for negation in Kannada, which we will call the -uu test, for convenience.²

We have seen in (15-16) above the interaction of illa and the indefinite quantifier ondu 'one'. Consider now sentences (28a-d). The subject NP in these sentences is an indefinitely quantified pronoun which happens to be a lexical item: obbanu 'one-man' or 'a (single) man'. In

sentences (28c-d), this NP is followed by -uu ; and sentences (28b-c) contain illa :

28a. obbanu bandanu.
one-man came

A man came.

28b. obbanu baral(u)-illa.
one-man come(inf.) not

A man did not come.

28c. obban(u)-uu baral(u)-illa.
one-man even come(inf.) not

Not a single man came.

28d. *obban(u)-uu bandanu.
one-man even came

*Even a (single) man came.

Sentence (28c) illustrates the case where the quantifier is interpreted as being within the scope of the negation, and (28d), containing -uu and an indefinite quantifier but no negative element, is ungrammatical, as predicted. Sentences (29a-d) below illustrate the interaction of -uu and neg with the indefinite pronoun yaar-oo , 'someone'³:

29a. avanu yaar -ig -oo haNa-vannu koTTanu.
he who dat. one money acc. gave.

He gave someone the money.

29b. avanu yaar -ig -oo haNa-vannu koDal(u)-illa.
he who dat. one money acc. give(inf.) not

He did not give someone the money.

29c. avanu yaar -ig -uu haNa-vannu koDal(u)-illa.
 he who dat.even money acc. give(inf.) not

He did not give anyone the money.

29d. *avanu yaar -ig -uu haNa-vannu koTTanu.
 he who dat.even money acc. gave

*He gave anyone the money.

2.3 We have thus examined the interaction of illa with -uu and the indefinites ondu 'one', obba 'one-man' and yaar-oo 'someone'. In every case, the presence of illa has led to grammaticality, and an interpretation of negation with the quantifier included within its scope. The absence of illa has led to ungrammaticality, thus showing that illa carries the feature neg, by our definition.

If we now examine the behaviour of alla, we find that it yields similar paradigms with ondu 'one' (30a-d), obba 'one-man' (31a-d) and yaar-oo 'someone' (32a-d):

30a. idaralli ondu kaagadavu nammadu.
 in this one letter ours

One letter among these is ours.

30b. idaralli ondu kaagadavu nammadu alla.
 in this one letter ours not

One letter among these is not ours.

30c. idaralli ondu kaagadav(u) - uu nammadu alla.
in this one letter even ours not

Not even one letter among these is ours.

30d. *idaralli ondu kaagadav(u) - uu nammadu.
in this one letter even ours

*Even a single letter among these is ours.

31a. obbanu oLleyavanu.
one-man good man

One man is good.

31b. obbanu oLleyavanu alla.
one-man good man not

One man is not good.

31c. obban(u) - uu oLleyavanu alla.
one-man even good man not

Not even one man is good / Not a single man is good.

31d. *obban(u) - uu oLleyavanu.
one-man even good man

*Even a single man is good.

32a. yaar-oo oLleyavaru.
who one good people

Someone is good.

32b. yaar-oo oLleyavaru alla.
who one good people not

Someone is not good.

32c. yaar-uu oLleyavaru alla.
who even good people not

No one is good.

32d. *yaar-uu oLleyavaru.
who even good people

*Even someone is good.

We therefore define a_{ll} as neg.

A third form, variously called a 'negative verbal participle' or a 'bound negative', also qualifies as neg ; cf. the sentences (33a-d), (34a-d) and (35a-d):

33a. avanu ondu oLLeYa kaarya (vannu) maaDi sattuhoodanu.
 he one good deed (acc.) having done died

He died after doing a good deed.

33b. avanu ondu oLLeYa kaarya(vannu) maaD-adee sattuhoodanu.
he one good deed (acc.) doing without died

He died without doing a good deed.

33c. avanu ondu oLLeYa kaarya (vann(u)) -uu maad-adee
sattuhoodanu.
he one good deed (acc.) even doing without died

He died without doing even a single good deed.

33d. *avanu ondu oLleya kaarya(vann(u))-uu maaDi
he one good deed(acc.) even having done died

*He died, having done even a single good deed.

34a. avanu obba-(a)nnu noodi bandanu.
he one-man acc. having seen came

He met someone and came.

34b. avanu obba-(a)nnu nooD-adee bandanu.
he one-man acc. seeing without came

He came without meeting someone.

- 34c. avanu obba-(a)nn(u)-uu nooD-adee bandanu.
 he one-man acc. even seeing without came.

He came without meeting even a single man.

- 34d. *avanu obba-(a)nn(u)-uu nooDi bandanu.
 he one-man acc. even having seen came

*He met even a single man and came.

- 35a. avanu yaar-ig-oo haNa-vannu koTTu bandanu.
 he who dat.one money acc. having given came.

He gave someone the money and came.

- 35b. avanu yaar-ig-oo haNa-vannu koD-adee bandanu.
 he who dat.one money acc. giving without came

He came without giving someone the money.

- 35c. avanu yaar-ig-uu haNa-vannu koD-adee bandanu.
 he who dat.even money acc. giving without came

He came without giving anyone the money.

- 35d. *avanu yaar-ig-uu haNa-vannu koTTu bandanu.
 he who dat.even money acc. having given came

*He gave anyone the money and came.

The 'negative modals' baaradu 'must/should not',
kuuDadu 'must/should not' and beeDa 'do not', also undergo
 the -uu test successfully. Thus we have the sentences
 (36a-c) and (37a-c) below, where NP's containing the
 indefinite quantifiers ondu 'one' and yaava 'which(ever)',
 are qualified by -uu, 'even, too':

36a. niinu ondu kelasa-vann(u)-uu maaDa- baaradu.
 you one work acc. even do must/should not

You must not do even a single job.

36b. niinu ondu kelasa-vann(u)-uu maaDa- kuuDadu.
 you one work acc. even do must/should not

You must not do even a single job.

36c. niinu ondu kelasa-vann(u)-uu maaDa- beeDa.
 you one work acc. even do do not

Do not do even a single job.

37a. niinu yaava kelasa-vann(u)-uu maaDa- baaradu.
 you which work acc. even do must/should not

You must not do any work.

37b. niinu yaava kelasa-vann(u)-uu maaDa- kuuDadu.
 you which work acc. even do must/should not

You must not do any work.

37c. niinu yaava kelasa-vann(u)-uu maaDa- beeDa.
 you which work acc. even do do not

Do not do any work.

We therefore define these negative modals baaradu , kuuDadu ,
 and beeDa as neg.

2.4 By this -uu test, however, the word-negative prefix a(n)- and the 'bound' negative ada- (occurring in 'negative relative participles') do not qualify as neg. Sentences (38a-d) illustrate the paradigm of the negative prefix with the indefinite quantifier ondu 'one':

38a. avanu heeLida ondu tiirpu nyaaya.
he said one judgement just

One of the judgements that he gave is just.

38b. avanu heeLida ondu tiirpu an-nyaaya.
he said one judgement unjust

One of the judgements that he gave is unjust.

38c. *avanu heeLida ondu tiirp(u)-uu an-nyaaya.
he said one judgement even unjust

*Even one of the judgements that he gave is unjust.

38d. *avanu heeLida ondu tiirp(u)-uu nyaaya.
he said one judgement even just.

*Even one of the judgements that he gave is just.

Sentence (38c) shows that -uu cannot qualify an indefinitely quantified NP even if there is a 'negative' prefix a(n)- in the sentence. The condition for -uu to occur in such an environment is the presence of alla:

39. avanu heeLida ondu tiirp(u)-uu nyaaya alla.
he said one judgement even just not

Not even one of the judgements that he gave is just.

If we contrast (38c) with (39), we find that the crucial difference is between the presence of a(n)- in the former and alla in the latter (compare un- and not in the English glosses of these sentences). Expressed in our formalism, this is the difference between the presence of the semantic marker neg in alla, and its absence in a(n)-. Similar paradigms obtain with the quantified NPs yaar-oo 'someone' and obba 'one-man'. The crucial examples are sentences (40c) and (41c), which we would expect to be grammatical if there was a neg present in the sentence:

- 40a. yaar-oo brahmaNaru.
 who-one Brahmin

Someone is a Brahmin.

- 40b. yaar-oo a-brahmaNaru.
 who-one non-Brahmin

Someone is a non-Brahmin.

- 40c. *yaar-uu a-brahmaNaru.
 who-even non-Brahmin

*Even someone is a non-Brahmin.

- 40d. *yaar-uu brahmaNaru.
 who-even Brahmin

*Even someone is a Brahmin.

- 41a. obbanu gnyaani.
one-man knowledgeable

One man is knowledgeable.
- 41b. obbanu a-gnyaani.
one-man non-knowledgeable

One man is ignorant.
- 41c. *obban(u)-uu a-gnyaani.
one-man even non-knowledgeable

*Even a single man is ignorant.
- 41d. *obban(u)-uu gnyaani.
one-man even knowledgeable

*Even a single man is knowledgeable.

We may contrast sentences (40c) and (41c) with (42-43),
as before:

42. yaar-uu brahmaNaru alla.
who-even Brahmin not

No one is a Brahmin.
43. obban(u)-uu gnyaani alla.
one-man even knowledgeable not

Not even a single man is knowledgeable.

In applying the -uu test to the 'negative relative participles', the clearest cases are those occurring with the indefinite quantifier yaavud-oo 'some', since the most favourable interpretation of ondu 'one' in such contexts is as a definite quantifier. We will therefore first examine the

cases with yaavud-oo 'some'. The negative relative participle is contrasted with the corresponding affirmative participle:

- 44a. avanu heeLida yaava uttarav-oo sariaagi ide.
he said which answer -one correct is

Some answer that he gave is correct.

- 44b. avanu heeL-ada yaava uttarav-co sariaagi ide.
he said-not which answer -one correct is

Some answer that he did not give is correct.

- 44c. *avanu heeL-ada yaava uttarav-uu sariaagi ide.
he said-not which answer even correct is

*Even any answer that he did not give is correct.

- 44d. *avanu heeLida yaava uttarav-uu sariaagi ide.
he said-not which answer even correct is

*Even any answer that he gave is correct.

We may compare sentences (44c-d) with sentences (45a-b), where the negative illa occurs:

- 45a. avanu heeL-ada yaava uttarav-uu sariaagi illa.
he said-not which answer even correct not

None of the answers that he did not give is correct.

- 45b. avanu heeLida yaava uttarav-uu sariaagi illa.
he said which answer even correct not

None of the answers that he gave is correct.

Compare sentences with ondu 'one', interpreted as indefinite:

- 46a. avanu tanda ondu saamaanu hosadu.
 he brought one thing new

One of the things that he brought is new.

- 46b. avanu tar-ada ondu saamaanu hosadu.
 he brought-not one thing new

One of the things that he did not bring is new.

- 46c. *avanu tar-ada ondu saamaan(u)-uu hosadu.
 he brought-not one thing even new

*Even one of the things that he did not bring is new.

- 46d. *avanu tanda ondu saamaan(u)-uu hosadu.
 he brought one thing even new

*Even one of the things that he brought is new.

While (46c-d) are ungrammatical, (47a-b) are grammatical:

- 47a. avanu tar-ada ondu saamaan(u)-uu hosadu alla.
 he brought-not one thing even new not

Not even one of the things that he didn't bring is new.

- 47b. avanu tanda ondu saamaan(u)-uu hosadu alla.
 he brought one thing even new not

Not even one of the things that he brought is new.

The 'negative relative participle' or the 'bound' negative -ada is therefore not a neg within our framework.

2.5 We have now defined as 'neg' a variety of forms in Kannada: illa, alla, the 'negative verbal participle' ending in -adee , and the 'negative modals' baaradu, kuuDadu and beeDa. We have excluded two of the forms that we quoted in Chapter I as being 'intuitively negative': the prefix a(n)- and the 'negative relative participle' ending in -ada. The status of horatu will be clarified when we enter into a fuller discussion of the semantics of negation.

The existence of a variety of forms defined as neg is not a matter for surprise; thus in English, Jackendoff would define neither, no, never, seldom, few, and little (among others) as neg. The interesting fact is that an analysis positing Neg-incorporation, in the manner of Klima (op.cit.), would lead to an extensive complication of the grammar. Such an analysis would depend crucially on the availability of affirmative-negative 'pairs', such as ever-never , either-neither , any-no in English, however drastic the spelling changes resulting from Neg-incorporation might be. The only instance of "uncombined negation" (Jackendoff, op.cit., p.343) in English is not; in Kannada, however, at least three lexical items would have to be treated as 'uncombined negatives', i.e., alla, illa, and one instance of beeDa:

48a. avanu oLleyavanu.
 he good man

He is a good man.

48b. avanu oLleyavanu alla.
 he good man not

He is not a good man.

49a. avanu ba - nd - anu.
 he come past 3rd p.m.sg.

He came.

49b. avanu baral(u)-illa.
 he come(infinitive) not

He did not come.

50a. id-anna maaDu.
 this acc. do

Do this.

50b. id-anna maaDa- beeDa.
 this acc. do do not

Do not do this.

In sentences (48-50) there is no lexical item in the (a) sentences to which the negatives in the (b) sentences can be related. For the negatives which can be thus related, we would need rules like the following:

(i) neg + beeku ('must') = { baaradu } 'must not'
 i { kuuDadu }

51a. id -anna maaDa -beeku.
 this acc. do must

This must be done.

51b. id -anna maaDa -baaradu}.
 kuuDadu}
 this acc. do must not
 This must not be done.

(ii) neg + beeku ('want') = beeDa 'don't want'
 ii ii

52a. nanage idu beeku.
 to me this want

I want this.

52b. nanage idu beeDa.
 to me this don't want

I don't want this.

(iii) neg + verbal participle = verb root + adee

53a. avanu haad -utta bandanu.
 he sing ing came

He came singing.

53b. avanu haad -i bandanu.
 he sing present participle came

Having sung, he came/ He sang and came.

53c. avanu haad -adee bandanu.
 he sing neg.participle came

He came without singing.

Rule (i) is forced to posit two negative lexical items for a single affirmative. From rule (ii) we note that while the full verb beeDa 'don't want' is a result of Neg-incorporation into the full verb beeku 'want', the modal beeDa 'do not' is an

uncombined negative, and the modal beeku 'must' yields different lexical items than beeDa after Neg-incorporation (by rule (i)). Such irregularities are typical of the lexicon rather than of the transformational component, and pinpoint the lack of generality in such statements as "beeDa is the exact opposite of beeku, 'want' . . ." (Gowda, 1970:2). Moreover, we have yet to capture the fact that the various neg forms in Kannada show rigid patterns of distribution. Thus, while the English not appears in copulative, tensed, and non-tensed (infinitival and gerundial) sentences, in Kannada, alla appears in copulative sentences which are without a verb, illa appears in copulative sentences with the verb 'to be' and in tensed sentences, and the 'negative verbal participle' ending in -adee appears in non-tensed sentences. See, for example, sentences (54-61) below, where the (a) sentences are those of English, and the (b) sentences are their Kannada counterparts:

54a. This is big.

54b. idu doDDa-(a)du.
this big - it

This is big.

55a. This is not big.

55b. idu doDDa-(a)du alla. (*illa)
this big - it not

This is not big.

56a. This is big.

56b. idu doDDa-(a)d(u)- aagi ide.⁵
 this big -it -AAGI be 3rd p.neut.sg.

57a. This is not big.

57b. idu doDDa-(a)d(u)- aagi illa. (*alla).
 this big -it -AAGI is not

 This is not big.

58a. He came.

58b. avanu ba - nd - anu.
 he come past 3rd p.m.sg.

 He came.

59a. He did not come.

59b. avanu baral(u)-illa. (*alla)
 he come(infinitive) not

 He did not come.

60a. He told Mary to come.

60b. avanu Mary- ge;_i [Ø; baralu] heeLidanu.
 he Mary dat. to come told

 He told Mary to come.

61a. He told Mary not to come.

61b. avanu Mary- ge;_i [Ø; bar-adee iralu] heeLidanu.
 he Mary dat. come neg. part. be(inf.) told

 He told Mary not to come (to remain without coming).

61c. *avanu Mary- ge;_i [Ø; bara- beeDa -lu] heeLidanu.
 l- illa -lu
 he Mary dat. come not inf. told

 He told Mary not to come.

These patterns of distribution can be captured by treating the various neg forms as individual lexical items, and generating them at various places in the syntax, in the manner of Jackendoff. We therefore take neg to be a semantic marker rather than a syntactic feature, and in the following chapters undertake a resolution of the patterns of distribution of neg in Kannada.

Notes

1. Klima defines sentence negation (as opposed to word negation) in terms of the presence of neg in the sentence. However, we prefer to reserve the term 'sentence negation' to contrast with 'focussed negation', in the sense of Jackendoff. As the two definitions of sentence negation (Klima's, and Jackendoff's) are not co-extensive, we will speak of the 'presence of neg in a sentence', rather than of 'sentence negation', in relation to Klima, except in direct quotation.
2. Our test, then, is similar to Klima's 'negative appositive tag' test, the difference being that we are using the obligatory co-occurrence of -uu and neg in the main sentence as a test.
3. The English glosses for the NP's qualified by -uu in these examples are irregular, due to the lexical peculiarities of English.
4. Once again, it is crucial that the quantifier be interpreted as indefinite. Thus the sentence is acceptable in the sense 'he even did a good deed (i.e. a particular good deed) before he died.'
5. The syntax of the marker -aagi which has appeared after the predicate noun here is puzzling. The marker is not easily translated; we will gloss it as -AAGI. This suffix has been widely considered to be an adverbialiser (cf. Tamil -aa, Telugu -gaa), on the basis of examples such as:

avanu chenn-aagi haadida
 he nice (ly?) sang
 'He sang well'

however chenna seems to be a noun rather than an adjective. That -aagi is not invariably (if ever) an adverbialiser, may be seen from:

idu chenn-aagi ide
 this nice ? is
 'This is nice.' (*nicely)

We have seen that -aagi appears after predicative nouns when there is a verb in the sentence. It may also occur

after an intensifier:

avaLige baHiLa-vaagi dukkha aagal(u)-illa
 to her much ? sorrow happen(inf.) not
 'She did not feel much sorrow'.

The suffix -aagi also appears as a COMP, e.g.,

avaLu bengaloorige hooguvud(u)-aagi nishchayisidaLu.
 she Bangalore dat. going ? decided
 'She decided to go to Bangalore'

peeTer john-anna oLleyavan(u)-aagi tiLididdaane.
 Peter John acc. good man ? thinks
 'Peter thinks John to be a good man.'

We will not enter into details of the syntax of -aagi here. Its relevance for negation is that whenever it appears in a copulative sentence, that sentence is not verbless, but has a verb 'to be' on the surface; and the neg which appears is never alla, but illa.

CHAPTER III
THE SYNTAX OF ALLA

3.0 We have noted that the neg alla appears in copulative sentences which do not have a verb on the surface. Gowda (1970:1) makes a similar observation: "alla is used to negate non-verbal sentences." However, almost immediately preceding this observation is the statement that "alla negates the equation of two things and illa negates existence. Using the Sanskrit terms one may say that alla is tadbhinnaarthaka¹ and illa is abhaavaarthaka²." Gowda thus tries to define the semantic roles of alla and illa.

It is difficult to accept that "alla negates the equation of two things and illa negates existence." We have seen from sentences (55b) and (57b) in Chapter II, that both alla and illa may appear in the negatives of copulative sentences.³ To cite more examples,

62a. idu sulabha⁴
this ease

This is easy.

62b. idu sulabha-vaagi ide.
this ease -AAGI be 3rd.p.neut.sg.

This is easy.

- 63a. idu sulabha alla. (*illa)
 this ease not

This is not easy.

- 63b. idu sulabha-vaagi illa. (*alla)
 this ease -AAGI is not

This is not easy.

- 64a. idu chikka-(a)du.
 this small it

This is small.

- 64b. idu chikka-(a)d(u)-aagi ide.
 this small it -AAGI be 3rd p.neut.sg.

This is small.

- 65a. idu chikka-(a)du alla. (*illa)
 this small it not

This is not small.

- 65b. idu chikka-(a)d(u)-aagi illa. (*alla)
 this small it -AAGI is not

This is not small.

We noted in footnote (5), Chapter II, that an affirmative copulative sentence which has an -AAGI marker in the predicate always has a verb iru 'to be' present in the surface structure, and that the neg alla can never appear in such a sentence. In Gowda's terms, sentences (63a,b) and (65a,b) all negate the equation of two things; yet alla appears in the (a) sentences, and illa in the (b) sentences. The distribution of alla and illa therefore cannot be explained with reference to their semantic role; the syntactic structure of the sentence has to be taken into account.

In saying that illa negates existence, Gowda is taking into consideration the limited range of data exemplified by (66) below:

66. illi amrta illa.
 here nectar is not

There isn't any nectar here.

In (66), illa denies the existence of amrta 'nectar', at a particular place. However, it is not possible to claim that illa negates the existence of something, e.g., 'the killing of the tiger', in (67a-c):

- 67a. avanu huli-annu kond(u)-illa.
 he tiger acc. kill(past participle) not

He has not killed the tiger.

- 67b. avanu huli-annu kollal(u)-illa.
 he tiger acc. kill(inf.) not

He did not kill the tiger.

- 67c. avanu huli-annu kolluvud(u)-illa.
 he tiger acc. kill participial not

He will not kill the tiger.

3.1 Spencer (1914:153) recognises the importance of the problem of the distribution of illa and alla, and devotes a brief section to its discussion. To understand the distinction he makes between illa and alla, it is necessary to consider his analysis of the marker -AAGI.

This marker is homonymous with the past participle of the verb aagu 'to happen, to become'; Spencer takes -AAGI to be identical to the past participle of this verb. In a section on the 'combination of aagu and iru' (op.cit., pp.150-52) he states:

"The verb aagu like all other verbs adds the various forms of the verb iru to its own past participle in order to form its perfect tenses . . . arising out of this is a second and very common meaning of these compound forms, viz. that in which they are equivalent to the English verb to be followed by a complement."

Thus in the sentence

68. avanu manushyan(u)-aagi idd-aane.
he man -AAGI be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is a man.

Spencer takes -aagi idd-aane to be a unit:⁵ the 'compound verb' aagiru (which he also refers to as the idiomatic use of aagu). He then makes a distinction between the 'compound verb' aagiru and the existential verb iru 'to be':

"In English the verb 'to be' has two uses: (i) it indicates existence without attributing qualities; as, there is a tree, a tree is (exists); (ii) it attributes qualities; as, that is a tree; the tree is large. In translating into Kanarese, in the first case the simple verb iru must be used; in the second case the compound verb aagiru is required . . . So, obba manushyaniddaane, there is a man; manushyanaagiddaane, he is a man (not a god, or any other kind of being) . . ."

(op.cit., p.151)

That is, for Spencer, iru is an existential verb, and aagiru is a copula. It is precisely this distinction between the

statement of existence and the statement of an equative relationship, that he makes between illa and alla

(op.cit., p.153):

"A distinction similar to that between iruvudu and aagiruvudu is to be observed between the negatives illa and alla. Illa negatives (sic) iruvudu, and denies existence; alla negatives (sic) aagiruvudu, and denies the possession of some quality . . . In brief, illa = iruvudilla; alla = aagiruvudilla. These distinctions are of the utmost importance. The Kannada language allows of no deviation from them."

This is equivalent to saying that while illa negates existence, alla negates equivalence. However, Spencer seems to be not merely setting up semantic roles, but syntactic relationships, by suggesting that alla = aagiruvudilla. We must note that Spencer does not mention at all, the Kannada copulative construction that has no verb on the surface. That is, of the two possible copulative constructions

- (a) [NP NP]
S
(b) [NP NP -AAGI V]
S

he takes only the second into account, and claims that alla appears as the negative in a construction like (b) above.

The statement that illa denies existence has already been encountered in section 3.0, and we have there pointed out its lack of generality. The equation illa = iruvudilla can by no means be taken literally,⁶ and it would

be an injustice to Spencer to do so. However, Spencer's explanation concerning alla , and his equation alla = aagiruvudilla (where aagiru in aagiruvudilla is clearly to be taken as the 'compound verb' rather than as the perfective of the verb aagu, 'to happen, to become'), raises serious issues concerning the syntax of the copulative sentence in (b) above, and the regularity of formation of the negative. Consider sentences (69a-d). Spencer does not mention (69a) and (69d); according to his analysis, (69b) is the negative of (69c), which has a 'compound verb' aagiru.⁷

69a. avanu manuSHyanu.
he man

He is a man.

69b. avanu manuSHyanu alla.
he man not

He is not a man.

69c. avanu manuSHyan(u)-aagi idd-aane.
he man -AAGI be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is a man.

69d. avanu manuSHyan(u)-aagi illa.
he man -AAGI is not

He is not a man.

If we compare sentences (69c-d) with (70a-b) below, we may see that the affirmative sentences (69c), (70a), have a form of the verb iru 'to be', and the negative

sentences (69d), (70b), have the neg illa, which has 'replaced' the verb:

70a. avanu illi idd-aane.
he here be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is here.

70b. avanu illi illa. (*alla)
he here is not

He is not here.

That is, sentences with the verb iru 'to be' have formed their negatives with illa, whether or not iru is an existential verb. If we now try to relate (69c) and (69b), as Spencer does, our grammar will have to explain how a sentence with a copulative verb iru 'to be' forms its negative with alla, while a sentence with an existential verb iru 'to be' does not (cf. (70b) above). We may consider the alternative that the verb in (69c) is not a form of iru as we have suggested, but a compound form aagiru, as Spencer suggests. We will still have to mention the negation of aagiru with alla as an irregularity, in the lexicon; for the form aagiru which is the perfective of the verb aagu 'to happen, to become', takes illa in the negative:

71a. saaru chenn-aagi aag(i)-ide.
soup nice -AAGI happen pst.part. be 3rd p.neut.sg.

The soup has turned out well.

- 71b. saaru chenn-aagi aag(i)-illa.
 soup nice -AAGI happen pst.part. is not

The soup has not turned out well.

Moreover, we still have to account for (69d); we may have to allow (69c) to have two negatives, (69b) and (69d). This leaves open the question of a negative sentence which can be syntactically related to (69a).

We suggest that (69b) is the negative of (69a), and (69d) the negative of (69c). The syntactic regularity in the formation of the negative is now evident.

There is independent evidence that -AAGI in (69a-d) is not a constituent of the following verb (i.e., that there is no compound verb aagiru), but of the preceding word, which may be a noun or an adverb. Thus if we examine the positions of adverbs we find that, while they may precede or follow the N/Adv. + AAGI sequence, they cannot interrupt this sequence without destroying the copulative structure of the sentence:

- 72a. avanu manuSHyan(u)-aagi yaavattuu idd(u)-illa.
 he man -AAGI never be pst.part. is not

He has never been a man.

- 72b. avanu yaavattuu manuSHyan(u)-aagi idd(u)-illa.
 he never man -AAGI be pst.part. is not

He has never been a man.

72c. avanu manuSHyanu yaavattuu aag(i)-idd(u)-illa.
 he man never become pst.part. Aspect is not

*He has never been a man.
He has never become a man.

Sentence (72c) shows that when the Noun + AAGI sequence is interrupted by an adverb, an interpretation of the sentence as a copulative, with a noun complement, is no longer possible. The interpretation of aagiru as a 'compound verb' crucially depends on its being a constituent of the preceding word.

Moreover, a Noun + AAGI sequence like manuSHyan(u)-aagi in (72a,b) can be followed by other verbs than iru 'to be', among them the verb aagu 'to happen, to become' itself. If we were to maintain that -AAGI formed a 'unit' with the following verb, rather than the preceding noun, we should have to recognise a multiplicity of 'compound verbs', probably an open set:

73. kuDiyuvudu biTTu, iiga avanu ondu manuSHyan(u)-aagi
aagiddaane.
drinking having given up, now he a man-AAGI has become.
Having given up drinking, now (at last) he has
become a man.

74. naaTaka-dalli avanu ondu huli-aagi bandanu.
play locative he one tiger-AAGI came

In the play, he came as a tiger.
*In the play, he became a tiger.

75. naanu kanaDa-ge student-aagi hoode.
 I Canada-dat. student-AAGI went

I went to Canada as a student.

Examples can be multiplied; unless we are prepared to posit an open set of compound verbs 'aagi + Verb', we must recognise that -AAGI forms a 'unit' with the preceding word. This will also account for the regularity of meaning. Note that 'aagi aagiddaane', 'aagi bandanu' and 'aagi hoode' are not separate idioms, although the verb varies.

We therefore maintain that the word boundaries in sentence (69c) are as we have indicated, and not as Spencer suggests. Spencer's distinction between illa and alla thus rests on a spurious distinction between aagiru and iru, and leads to complications in a statement of the formation of the negative.

The claim of (i), that alla is a constituent of the N/NP, can be substantiated by quoting a variety of examples, in addition to (76-78) above. Thus we have sentences like (79-81) below, where (without going into details of their structure) alla follows nouns in the accusative, dative and ablative cases:

79. avan(u)-anna alla naanu nooDiddu.
 he acc. not I the seeing it

It was not him that I saw.

80. avan-ige alla naanu haNa-vannu koTTaddu.
 he dat. not I money acc. the giving it

It was not to him that I gave the money.

81. avan-inda alla naanu haNa-vannu iiskoNDiddu.
 he abl. not I money acc. the taking it

It was not from him that I took the money.

If we therefore accept (i) as the correct representation, we may posit that (a) a neg can be a constituent of the N/NP in Kannada, (b) the phonological form of such a neg is alla, and (c) this accounts for the occurrence of alla and not illa in verbless ([NP NP]) sentences.

S

However, alla cannot be generated within the N or NP, because it cannot appear with NP's in non-copulative sentences with verbs. It is thus a neg that appears in verbless copulative sentences, rather than with N's or NP's. Our examples (79-81)

above, which translate as cleft sentences, are all verbless copulative sentences.⁸ If we take the affirmative of sentence (80) above, its structure is

82.[avanige] [naanu haNavannu koTTaddu]
 NP NP
 to him I the money the giving it
 It was to him that I gave the money.

The form kOTTaddu in (80) and (82) is not a finite verb, but a nominal.⁹ It is impossible to place focus on an NP and negate it with alla in sentences which do not have a nominalised verb, i.e. the copular structure of [NP NP]. Compare (79-81) with (83-85) below, where the verb has remained finite:

83. *avan-anna alla naanu nooDide.
he acc. not I saw 1st p.sq.

*It was not him that I saw.

84. *avan-ige alla naanu haNa-vannu koTTe.
he dat. not I money acc. gave 1st p.sg.

*It was not to him that I gave the money.

85. *avan-inda alla naanu haNa-vannu iiskONDe.
he abl. not I money acc. took 1st p.sg.

*It was not from him that I took the money.

It is apparent, then, that alla cannot be a constituent of the N or NP, and we must reject (i) as a representation of sentence (76).

We therefore turn to a consideration of (ii) (repeated here) as a representation of (76).

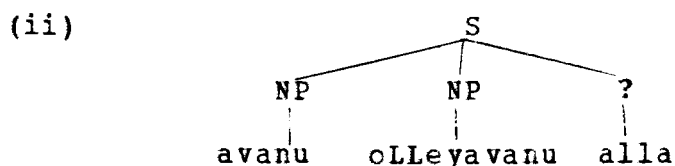


Figure (ii), i.e. the phrase structure rule

$S \rightarrow NP \ NP \ ?$,

claims that there is a third, optional, node branching from S in sentences which have the surface structure [NP NP].

In trying to identify this node and find other motivation for claiming its existence, we must consider the following sentences:

77a. avanu oLleyavanu ira- beeku.
 he good man be must

He must be a good man.

77b. avanu oLleyavanu ira- bahudu.
 he good man be may

He may be a good man.

78a. avanu oLleyavanu idd(u)- ira- beeku.
 he good man be past part. be must

He must have been a good man.

78b. avanu oLleyavanu idd(u)- ira- bahudu.
 he good man be past part. be may

He may have been a good man.

In sentences (77-78) there occurs a verb iru 'to be', followed by a modal, and optionally followed by aspect. The modal cannot occur by itself in these sentences, nor can the verb iru 'to be', by itself:¹⁰

79a. *avanu oLleyavanu beeku.
*He must a good man.

79b. *avanu oLleyavanu bahudu.
*He may a good man.

80. *avanu oLleyavanu iddaane.
he good man be 3rd p.m.sg.
*He is a good man.

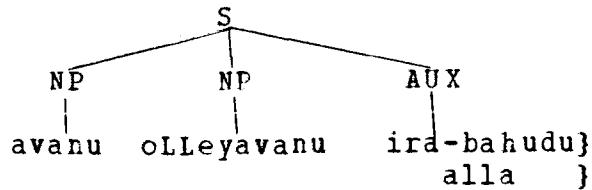
(cf. the -AAGI construction: avanu oLleyavan(u)-aagi iddaane.)¹¹

3.3 It is evident that the structure of verbless copulative sentences cannot be merely [NP NP]. Questions arise as to the status of the verb iru 'to be' which has emerged in these structures, and the identity of the node under which the verbal sequence is to be generated. For example, whether this node contains anything else besides the verbal sequence, i.e. whether or not there is a Predicate Phrase node dominating the second NP and the verbal sequence.

For the sake of exposition, let us call the node containing the verbal sequence and alla, AUX. We postulate a

structure as in (iii) for sentences (77-78), and will justify this structure as we proceed.

(iii)



AUX will be optional, and contain (Aspect) Modal and alla . Unlike the English not which appears in such sequences as Modal-not, neither alla nor illa can appear with a modal, to negate it.

To ascertain whether the second NP and AUX form a constituent Pred P, we must draw on evidence from the positioning of adverbs. The copulative sentences we are concerned with do not permit time and locational adverbs; only adverbs expressing speaker attitude may occur in such sentences. Consider now sentences (81a-d), in which the sentential adverbs nijavaagalu 'truly' and khaNDita 'certainly' occur in various positions. We include the topic-marker antu optionally, for the sake of naturalness:

81a. John (antu) {nijavaagalu} olLeyavanu alla.
 { khaNDita }
 John TOP { truly } good man not
 { certainly }

(As for John), he truly/certainly is not a good man.

81b. John {nijavaagalu} oLleyavanu (antu) alla.
 { khaNDita }
 John { truly } good man TOP not
 { certainly }

(As for being a good man), John truly/certainly is not one.

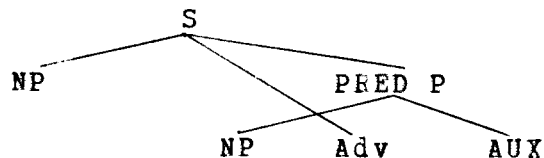
81c. John oLleyavanu (antu) {nijavaagalu} alla.
 { khaNDita }
 John good man TOP { truly } not
 { certainly }

(As for being a good man), John truly/certainly is not one.

81d. John nijavaagalu oLleyavanu (antu) khaNDita alla.
 John truly good man TOP certainly not

Truly, John is certainly not a good man.

The sentences in (81) show that sentential adverbs may occur between the second NP and AUX ; this would not be possible if there were a node Pred P dominating that NP and AUX :



It remains to justify our denomination of the third node in these structures as AUX, rather than, for example, a VP dominating the V iru 'to be' and the (Aspect) Modal or alla configuration.

There is a restriction in English against AUX appearing in non-tensed (infinitival and gerundial) sentences;¹² thus (82), containing a modal, is ungrammatical (recall that modals represent the configuration AUX, -TENSE in Emonds' framework):

82. *John persuaded Mary to { may } go to the police.
 { must }

There appears to be a similar restriction in Kannada, against the appearance of modals in tenseless sentences. Turning to the consideration of non-copulative sentences with verbs for a moment, if we state the rules for the expansion of the VP in Kannada (as a first approximation) as follows,¹³

- ```
(iv) VP --> V AUX
(v) AUX --> (Aspect) { Tense person-number-gender }
 { Modal }
```

we may state that AUX does not appear in non-tensed sentences. That such a statement is necessary may be seen from (83-85): sentences (85a,b) are the result of embedding sentences (83a) and (83b) in (84); the subject in (83a,b) has undergone Equi-NP deletion. The verb in the embedded sentence has emerged as an infinitive:

83a. Mary poolis hatra hoo - d - aLu.  
Mary police near go past 3rd p.f.sq.

Mary went to the police.



- 83b. Mary poolis hatra hooga - bahudu.  
 Mary police near go may

Mary may go to the police.

84. John Mary - anna opp - isi - d - anu.  
 John Mary acc. agree cause past 3rd p.m.sg.

John made Mary agree (John persuaded Mary).

- 85a. John Mary-anna; [Ø; poolis hatra hoogalu] opp-isi-d-anu.  
 John Mary acc. police near to go caused to agree

John made Mary agree to go to the police.

- 85b. \*John Mary-anna; [Ø; poolis hatra hoog-bahudalu]  
 oppisidanu.  
 John Mary acc. police near to go may  
 caused to agree.

\*John made Mary agree to may go to the police.

Sentence (85b) is ungrammatical because it contains the modal bahudu 'may'. From (85a) it may be seen that neither TENSE nor person-number-gender agreement have appeared in the infinitival sentence; the verb, however, has appeared as an infinitive. Referring to our rules (iv-v) above, we see that in (85a) AUX is lacking.<sup>14</sup>

If the verb iru 'to be' which has appeared in sentences (77-78)

- (77a. avanu oLleyavanu ira-beeku. )  
 (78a. avanu oLleyavanu idd(u)-ira-beeku.)

were a bonafide verb occurring outside of AUX, we would expect

sentences (86a,b) below to undergo Equi-NP deletion when embedded in (87); the resulting sentences (88a,b), however, are ungrammatical, even without the modal:

86a. John oLleyavanu ira-beeku.  
John good man be must

John must be a good man.

86b. John oLleyavanu ira-bahudu.  
John good man be may

John may be a good man.

87. John-ge idu iSHTa ide.  
John dat. this liking is

John likes this.

88a. \*John-ge;[Ø; oLleyavanu ira-beekalu] iSHTa ide.  
John dat. good man be must inf. liking is

\*John likes to must be a good man.

88b. \*John-ge;[Ø; oLleyavanu iralu] iSHTa ide.  
John dat. good man to be liking is

\*John likes to be a good man.

In these sentences, then, iru never emerges unless accompanied by a modal; it does not appear as a V and exhibit Tense and person-number-gender agreement, and it cannot appear in infinitival sentences. Compare sentences (86-88) with (89-91) below, where (89) is the copulative structure carrying the -AAGI marker and a verb iru exhibiting person-number-gender agreement. Sentence (89) lends itself to embedding under (90), and the verb iru emerges as an infinitive, as expected:

89. John oLleyavan(u)-aagi idd-aane.  
 John good man -AAGI be 3rd p.m.sg.

John is a good man.

90. John-ge idu isHTa ide.  
 John dat. this liking is

John likes this.

91. John-ge; [ $\emptyset$ ; oLleyavan(u)-aagi iralu] isHTa ide.  
 John dat. good man -AAGI to be liking is

John likes to be a good man.

The form iru 'to be' in what we have been calling [ NP NP ]<sup>S</sup> structures cannot therefore be a full verb, but must be a constituent of AUX, since it is prohibited from appearing in infinitivals. The absence of a V in these structures would be consistent with their failing to undergo Equi, since the structural description would not be met. We hypothesise that iru appears as the result of a rule somewhat like Do-support, although we cannot go into the details of such a rule here.

In such sentences, alla is subject to the same restrictions; it never appears in infinitivals. We therefore take alla to be a constituent of AUX. Thus while [ NP NP ]<sup>S</sup> sentences allow Raising to Subject or to Object when AUX is lacking,<sup>15</sup> Raising is not possible when AUX is present, in the shape of a modal or alla. The -AAGI marker appears (as mentioned in Chapter II, footnote(5)) as some kind of a COMP:

- 92a. [ John oLleyavanu anta ] kaan -utt- e.  
 John good man COMP seem pres 3rd p.neut.sg.

It seems that John is a good man.

- 92b. John oLleyavan(u)-aagi kaan -utt- aane.  
 John good man -AAGI seem pres 3rd p.m.sg.

John seems to be a good man.

The evidence for Subject-Raising in (92b) is that the verb kaan- 'seem' now agrees with 'John', its subject, rather than being in the impersonal neuter form, as in (92a).

Subject-Raising is not possible if alla or a modal occurs:

- 93a. \*John oLleyavanu alla- vaagi kaan -utt- aane.  
 John good man not -AAGI seem pres 3rd p.m.sg.

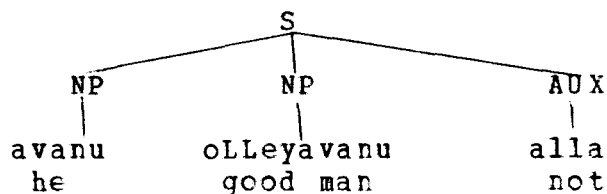
\*John seems to not be a good man.

- 93b. \*John oLleyavanu ira-bahud(u)-aagi kaan -utt- aane.  
 John good man be may -AAGI seem pres 3rd p.m.sg.

\*John seems to may be a good man.

Similar examples may be given for Raising-to-Object.

The structure of (76) avanu oLleyavanu alla 'he is not a good man' is thus:



The neg alla will have to be subcategorised to appear only in the context [ NP - ]<sup>16</sup>. Similarly, Tense PNG will have to be restricted to sentences with a Verb. These subcategorisation rules and the base rule

S --> NP NP AUX

will generate verbless copulative sentences and their negatives,  
in Kannada.<sup>17</sup>

## Notes

1. tadbhinnaarthaka : signifying that there is a difference between two things.
2. abhaavaarthaka : signifying that something is missing or lacking.
3. There is often a semantic shift in a copulative sentence with -AAGI and the verb iru ; thus

avanu dakTaru  
he doctor  
'he is a doctor'

is a plain factual statement, whereas

avanu dakTar-aagi iddaane  
he doctor-AAGI is  
'he is a doctor'

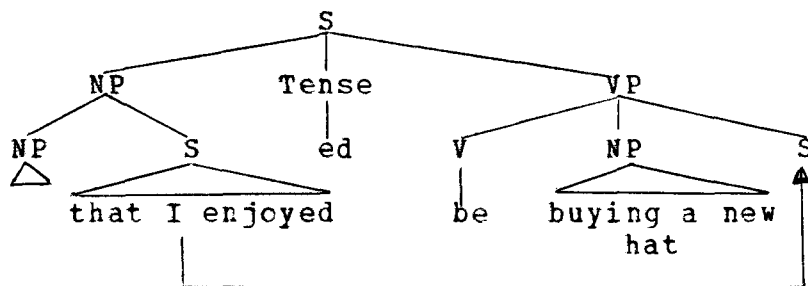
may imply a temporary state, or a state recently reached. There is thus a possibility of inserting time and place adverbials into the -AAGI sentences:

avanu iiga bengaloorinalli dakTar-aagi iddaane.  
he now Bangalore in doctor-AAGI is  
'He now lives in Bangalore as a doctor'

It is however possible to find sentences in which no such semantic shift occurs, e.g., our (62b). Nadkarni (1970: 188-189) gives other examples of pairs of sentences that he claims to be "perfect paraphrases of each other". In his dialect such pairs even seem to be syntactically related (cf. footnote 7 below.) In any case, our main concern here is not the semantics of the -AAGI copulatives, but the formation of the negative in such structures.

4. Although the predicate word in these sentences translates into English sometimes as a noun and sometimes as an adjective, in Kannada only nouns may appear in this position. There is thus no way of saying 'he/ she/ it is good', apart from saying 'he is a good-he, she is a good-she, it is a good-it'.

5. Such a segmentation is made possible because the orthographic unit in Kannada is not invariably the word, but may be a phrase; in Spencer's example, manushyanaagiddaane is one orthographic unit.
6. The tense specifications of illa and iruvudilla are different; thus, while illa translates as 'is not', iruvudilla translates as 'will not be'.
7. Although the dialect that Spencer describes (i.e. the literary dialect) is identical with mine in most respects, it seems that there may be a dialect difference involved here. Thus Nadkarni (1970:218), in a brief discussion of illa and alla, takes up a position essentially that of Spencer's. Alla is cited as the negative in copulative sentences: "alla is the negative of the stative verb aagu" (i.e., our -AAGI). The interesting fact is that in Nadkarni's dialect, unlike in the literary dialect, copulative sentences without -AAGI are only optionally verbless, and Nadkarni in fact derives non-AAGI copulatives from -AAGI copulatives by -AAGI deletion. The problem is that neither Spencer nor Nadkarni provides clear paradigms (as our (69a-d)), so that we are unable to determine how far the differences in the analysis of negation are due to differences of dialect. It is not clear how alla can be considered the negative of 'the stative verb aagu', as it does not appear if -AAGI is followed by any other verb than iru. Again, neither Spencer nor Nadkarni provides data on the behaviour of -AAGI and non-AAGI sentences under embedding, an area in which we show these structures to behave very differently (cf. Equi, and Raising). The structures are also different with respect to the adverbs they permit (cf. footnote (3) above).
8. Compare the structure of the cleft sentence in English:



( Cleft sentence extraposition )

It was buying a new hat that I enjoyed.

This is the analysis of cleft sentences suggested by Akmajian (1970), and accepted, with a slight modification, by Emonds (1976).

9. As in English, the non-focussed part of the cleft sentence (the 'extraposed S' in Akmajian's analysis) has some of the characteristics of a relative clause: koTTaddu is arguably koTTa + adu, i.e. a relative participle plus the pronoun 'it' ('the having-given-it'). No systematic study of this construction in Kannada is available.
10. The facts are similar for my dialect of Tamil, a sister Dravidian language, where a copula emerges only in construction with modals:

avan nallavan irakku - laam/ maTTaan  
 he good man be may probably not  
 'He may be / is probably not a good man'

In my dialect, these sentences have the negative anni, whose behaviour is parallel to that of alla; e.g., avan nallavan anni, 'he is not a good man'. The negative ille occurs in sentences with verbs (cf. illa). In other dialects there seems to be no such distinction between anni and ille; in these dialects, iru has been considered as appearing in copulative sentences as well: cf. Schiffman's (1969) observation: "Tamil iru 'be' only appears in certain negative constructions which parallel certain positive constructions where it is phonetically not present . . . " ". . . many sentences with no copula in the affirmative have iru in the negative, or something which has to be considered as related to it, namely, the negative /ille/." (op.cit., pp.183-84)

11. These facts concerning iru are true of the literary language, and the standard Southern dialect. There may be dialects where the copula is never absent, e.g., the dialect described in Nadkarni (1970). We have not taken these dialects into consideration.
12. Cf. Emonds (1976:207,211): ". . . any rules we add to the grammar to account for finite clauses should depend crucially on the presence of AUX (or TENSE) in these clauses." Cf. also Jackendoff (1972:76-77).
13. In view of the necessity of the notion of 'subject' for such processes as Equi-NP deletion, Reflexivisation, and (if these are transformations) Causativisation and Coreferential Subject deletion, we assume a VP in Kannada. For a more detailed discussion of subjecthood, with reference to the dative subject, see Sridhar (1976).



14. Some rule like Verb-Raising will have to be added to the grammar to raise Aspect into the VP and allow it to appear in infinitivals and gerundials; we have given its base position as a constituent of AUX due to its behaviour in verbless copulative sentences.
15. Only verbless copulative sentences allow Raising in Kannada. We have no explanation for this at the moment.
16. Throughout this thesis, we refer only to the neg alla, and not to the question tag alla , which may appear in the following contexts:

[ NP NP AUX --- ]  
[ NP VP --- ]

17. We have assumed that the AUX which appears as an optional node in [ NP NP (AUX) ] is the same AUX which appears in the rule VP --> . . . V AUX . Such an assumption captures the generalisation that infinitivals do not contain modals, whether they arise from Equi-NP deletion (recall that Equi cannot apply to  $s[ \text{NP NP} ]$  structures in Kannada) or from Raising (recall that Raising is possible only out of  $s[ \text{NP NP} ]$  structures in Kannada), by excluding AUX from infinitivals. Being a non-phrasal category, AUX does not fall within the scope of Emonds' Base Restriction I :

"A head-of-phrase category of a language L appears on the right side of at most one base rule of L. "

(op.cit.,p.14)

Emonds does, however, tentatively propose a restriction which our rules do violate: ". . . any non-phrasal category can appear but once in the base rules, except that it may COOCCUR as an optional syntactic feature on some other category without breaking the restriction."

(op.cit.,p.14; cf.also p.218)

With a few refinements, our rules for Kannada could probably be stated in compliance with this tentative restriction; it would lead us too far afield to go into details here. A more serious problem is that it is not at all clear how to state the restrictions on the occurrence of AUX, for  $s[ \text{NP NP (AUX)} ]$  sentences. We cannot speak in terms of 'non-tensed' or 'infinitival', because tense and infinitives never appear in such sentences; these categories seem entirely irrelevant. Once again the syntax of -AAGI, which appears in the 'infinitives' of such sentences, as a COMP, seems to be a crucial subject for investigation.

## CHAPTER IV

## ILLA AND THE NEGATIVE VERBAL PARTICIPLE

4.0. All finite verbs in Kannada except the verb iru 'to be' appear in three tenses: non-past (or present), realised as -utt- ; past, realised as -(i)d- ; and future, realised as -uv- . Thus we have the following paradigms:<sup>1</sup>

|                   |                                                                       |               |                                                               |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| bari , 'to write' |                                                                       | iru , 'to be' |                                                               |
| (i)               | bari-utt-eene<br>write non-pst 1st p.sg.<br><br>I write/ will write   |               | ir(u)-utt-eene<br>be non-pst 1st p.sg.<br><br>I will be       |
| (ii)              | bar(i)-id-e<br>write pst 1st p.sg.<br><br>I wrote                     |               | i(ru)-dd-e<br>be pst 1st p.sg.<br><br>I was                   |
| (iii)             | bari-uv-e<br>write fut 1st p.sg.<br><br>I will write/ I used to write |               | ir(u)-uv-e<br>be fut 1st p.sg.<br><br>I will be/ I used to be |
| (iv)              | -----                                                                 |               | idd-eene<br>be 1st p.sg.<br><br>I am                          |

The morphemic structure of idd-eene is uncertain; the other forms (idd-iiya 'you are', idd-aane 'he is', etc.) are also interpreted as pure existentials. We will speak of these forms as the 'tenseless' forms, for convenience. There does not seem to be a standard term available for them; thus Andronov (1969: 43) calls the form of iru in (i) 'present', and the form in (iv) a "parallel 'irregular'" form.

The relevance of these tenseless forms of iru 'to be' for negation is that the formation of the negative is correspondingly irregular. In the negation of sentences with a finite verb, illa usually appears attached to a non-finite form of the main verb (or the aspectual verb iru 'to be', if aspect is present in the VP). The non-finite form of the main or aspectual verb varies according to the tense negated. When the tense negated is PAST, the infinitive (ending in -alu) emerges; when the tense negated is NON-PAST, a participial or 'verbal noun' emerges.<sup>2</sup> These patterns hold for the copulative as well as the existential and the aspectual iru (the negative forms do not exhibit person-number-gender (PNG) agreement):

|      |                                      |                                |                                                                    |
|------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (v)  | bareyal(u)-illa<br>write inf. not    | iral(u)-illa<br>be inf. not    | bared(u)-iral(u)-illa<br>write be inf. not<br>past part. ASPECT    |
|      | did not write                        | was not                        | had not written                                                    |
| (vi) | bareyuvud(u)-illa<br>write part. not | iruvud(u)-illa<br>be part. not | bared(u)-iruvud(u)-illa<br>write be part. not<br>past part. ASPECT |
|      | will not write }<br>does not write } | will not be                    | will not have written                                              |

When iru occurs in the tenseless form, however, it is 'replaced' by illa in the negative, i.e. no form of iru emerges on the surface. This again is true of the copulative, the existential and the aspectual iru. We have already come across some examples of this phenomenon:

- 94a. avanu olLeyavan(u)-aagi idd-aane.  
       he       good man       -AAGI be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is a good man.

- 94b. avanu olLeyavan(u)-aagi illa.  
       he       good man       -AAGI is not

He is not a good man.

- 95a. avanu illi idd-aane.  
       he       here be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is here.

- 95b. avanu illi illa.  
       he       here is not

He is not here.

- 96a. avanu band(u)-idd-aane.  
       he       come pst part. be ASPECT 3rd p.m.sg.

He has come.

- 96b. avanu band(u)-illa.  
       he       come pst part. is not

He has not come.

On the surface, the paradigm is regular, and it appears that the non-appearance of iru in the negative of the tenseless forms can be handled by a simple extension of the rules which derive the other negative forms, by specifying that when TENSE is missing, iru --> Ø . However, there are some additional facts to be taken into account.

4.1 We have seen in Chapter II that -uu is an emphatic morpheme which may be positioned after NP's. It may also appear in the VP. In affirmative sentences, -uu appears attached to a past-participle copy of the main verb, preceding the main verb. There is another emphatic -ee which behaves in this way (in translation, stress is indicated by (')):

97a. avanu band(u) -uu bar-utt-aane.  
he come pst.part EMP come non-pst 3rd p.m.sg.

He 'will come, too.

97b. avanu band(u) -ee bar-utt-aane.  
he come pst.part EMP come non-pst 3rd p.m.sg.

He will certainly come.

98a. avanu band(u) -uu band(u)-idd-aane.  
he come pst.part EMP come pst.part be ASPECT 3rd p.m.sg.

He 'has come, too.

98b. avanu band(u) -ee band(u)-idd-aane.  
he come pst.part EMP come pst.part be ASPECT 3rd p.m.sg.

He has certainly come.

It may be seen from (98a,b) that EMP does not attach to a verb in the original verbal sequence, even if a past participle is already present in that sequence. In negative sentences, however, EMP attaches to whatever non-finite forms are present in the original verbal sequence. If the verbal sequence contains a non-finite aspectual verb, EMP may attach to either the main or the aspectual verb:

99a. avanu baruvud(u) -uu illa.  
 he come part. EMP not

He doesn't even come/ he won't even come.

99b. avanu band(u) -uu iruvud(u) illa.  
 he come part. EMP be part. not

He won't even have come.

99c. avanu band(u) iruvud(u) -uu illa.  
 he come part. be part. EMP not

He won't even have come.

99d. avanu band(u) -uu illa.  
 he come part. EMP not

He hasn't even come.

Sentence (99d) illustrates the case where the iru has been 'replaced' by illa. In this sentence EMP can only attach to a form of the verb 'to come'; it cannot copy illa and attach to it:

99e. \*avanu band(u) -illa -vuu illa.  
 he come pst.part not EMP not

He hasn't even come.

But now consider sentences (100-101 a-c):

100a. avanu illi idd-aane.  
 he here be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is here.

100b. avanu illi illa.  
 he here is not

He is not here.

100c. avanu illi illa-vuu illa.  
 he here not EMP is not

He isn't even here.

101a. meeju agala-vaagi id-e.  
 table width -AAGI be 3rd p.neut.sg.

The table is wide.

101b. meeju agala-vaagi illa.  
 table width -AAGI is not

The table is not wide.

101c. meeju agala-vaagi illa-vee illa.  
 table width -AAGI not EMP is not

The table is not wide at all.

In these sentences, EMP has attached to a copy of the neg illa. This process is similar to that of EMP attachment to alla:

102. avanu oLleyavanu alla-vee alla.  
 he good man not EMP not

He is certainly not a good man.

We have seen that in (102), alla is the only element in the AUX. It seems, therefore, that in (100b, 101b) illa is the only element in the VP coming from the base, and that there is no process of illa-attachment to iru and iru-deletion. For iru-deletion would be either a morphophonemic rule, or a deletion rule; in either case, this rule would apply after the transformational component. EMP-attachment, being a copying

rule, seems typically a transformational rule. There is thus no reason not to expect iru to surface for EMP to attach to, if such sentences had iru coming from lexical insertion.

There is other evidence for generating illa as a negative existential verb or AUX, independently of iru. Firstly, illa appears in sentences where iru cannot appear. In the corresponding affirmatives uNTu, a defective existential verb, appears instead:

- 103a. [ <sub>NP</sub> avanu id-anna heeLiddu ] uNTu. ( \*ide)  
           he       this acc. the having-said-it exists  
           (It is a fact that) he has said this.
- 103b. [ <sub>NP</sub> avanu id-anna heeLiddu ] illa.  
           he       this acc. the having-said-it is not  
           (It is not a fact that) he has said this.

In (103b) illa cannot come from attachment to iru, for the source is ungrammatical.

Secondly, illa occurs in contexts where no affirmative existential verb may occur:

- 104a. [ id-anna maaDal(u)-ikke ] illa.<sup>3</sup>  
           <sub>NP</sub> this acc. do inf. dat. is not  
           One cannot do this (this is prohibited).



- 104b. \*[ id-anna maaDal(u)-ikke ] ide/uNTu.  
           NP  
           this acc. do inf. dat.       is/exists  
       \*One can do this (this is allowed).

4.2           A detailed analysis of the status of illa would require a detailed analysis of the VP in Kannada. Here we can only give a few tentative suggestions towards a solution for the syntax of illa.

First, it is not likely that illa in (100-101) is generated as a main verb, even though it is the sole verbal element in the sentence.<sup>4</sup> It is more likely that illa is an AUX, and that a Kannada VP is allowed to consist of merely AUX under certain conditions, probably specified in strict subcategorisation. We have seen that the EMP rule may copy an AUX if no main verb is available (cf. (102)). Since in (99d) a main verb is available, (99e) is ungrammatical. We suggest below that the copying of illa in (99e) is blocked because there is already a non-finite verb present in the position into which the EMP rule copies a verb.

There are two arguments against illa being a main verb. It cannot occur in infinitival sentences, and it cannot take the conditional suffix -are. These are typically restrictions on AUX. Sentence (105a) has been embedded in (105b), and Equi has applied. The result, (105c), is ungrammatical:

105a. avanu illi illa.  
he here is not

He is not here.

105b. avanige idu iSHTa illa.  
he dat. this liking is not

He does not like this.

105c. \*avanige;[ Ø; illi illalu ] iSHTa illa.  
he dat. here to not-be liking is not

He doesn't wish not to be here.

For such a sentence to be grammatical, a construction with the 'negative verbal participle' is required. We will briefly examine the syntax of such constructions below. Compare (105c) with (106c), which is a result of embedding (106a) into (106b):

106a. avanu illi ill-adee idd-aane.  
he here be neg.part. be 3rd p.m.sg.

He is not here.

106b. avanige idu iSHTa illa.  
he dat. this liking is not

He does not like this.

- 106c. avanige; [ Ø; illi ill-adee iralu ] isHTa illa.  
 he dat. here he neg.part. to be liking is not

He doesn't wish not to be here.

Similar results obtain when illa is not the sole verbal element in the sentence, but occurs with a main verb.

- 107a. Mary poolis hatra hoogal(u)-illa.  
 Mary police near go inf. not

Mary did not go to the police.

- 107b. John Mary-anna opp-isi-d-anu.  
 John Mary acc. agree cause pst. 3rd p.m.sg.

John persuaded Mary.

- 107c. \*John Mary-anna; [ Ø; poolis hatra hoogalillalu ]  
 oppisidanu.  
 John Mary acc. police near go-not-inf. persuaded

John persuaded Mary not to go to the police.

Compare (107c) with (108c):

- 108a. Mary poolis hatra hoog-adee iddaLu.  
 Mary police near go neg. part. be pst.3rd p.f.sg.

Mary did not go to the police.

- 108b. John Mary-anna opp-isi-d-anu.  
 John Mary acc. agree cause pst. 3rd p.m.sg.

John persuaded Mary.

- 108c. John Mary-anna; [ Ø; poolis hatra hoog-adee iralu ]  
 oppisidanu.  
 John Mary acc. police near go neg.part. be inf. persuaded.

John persuaded Mary not to go to the police.

The conditional suffix -are is in complementary distribution with TENSE PNG and illa, i.e., with AUX:

- 109a. avanu band(u) - idd- are naanu hoog-utt-eene.  
 he come pst part. be COND I go non-pst 1st p.sg.

If he has come, I will go.

- 109b. avanu band(u) - idd- are naanu hoogutta- idde.  
 he come pst part. be COND I go pres.part be ASPECT

If he had come, I would have gone.

- 109c. \*avanu band(u) -illa-dare naanu hoogutteene.  
 he come pst.part not COND I will go

\*If he has not come, I will go.

Notice that in (109a,b), the form of the verb in the conditional clause does not carry tense; it is interpreted as 'past' or 'present' depending on the tense in the main clause. PNG suffixes are obviously lacking, and the presence of illa in (109c) renders the sentence ungrammatical. Compare (109d):

- 109d. avanu bar-adee idd-are naanu hoogutteene.  
 he come neg.part be COND I will go

If he doesn't come, I will go.

Once again the only possible negative is the 'negative verbal participle'. Illa cannot take the conditional suffix even if there is no main verb in the sentence:

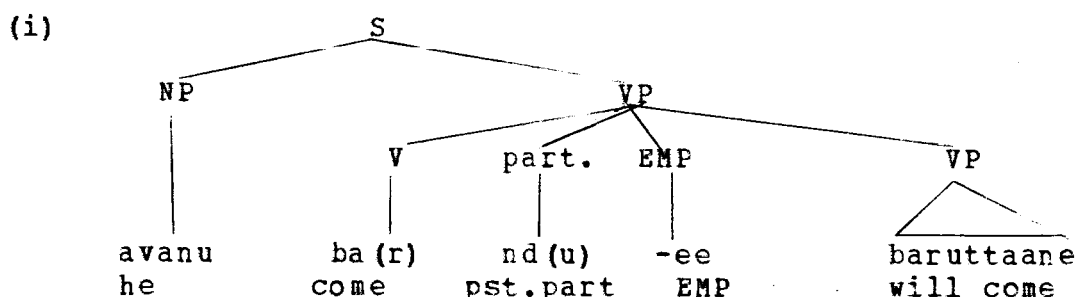
- 110a. \*illi akki illa-are alli nooDu.  
 here rice not COND there look

If there is no rice here, look (for it) there.

110b. illi akki      ill-adee      idd-are      alli nooDu.  
          here rice    not neg.part   be COND    there look

If there is no rice here, look (for it) there.

We conclude this section with a brief note on the status of the non-finite forms of the verb in a VP in which illa occurs. These non-finite forms are different from the non-finite (past participle) forms in affirmative sentences with aspect; while EMP attachment always results in a copy of the latter forms, it never results in a copy of the former forms. From EMP-attachment in affirmative sentences, we have seen that there must be a position for a non-finite verb, to the left of the first verb in the verbal sequence:



He will certainly come.

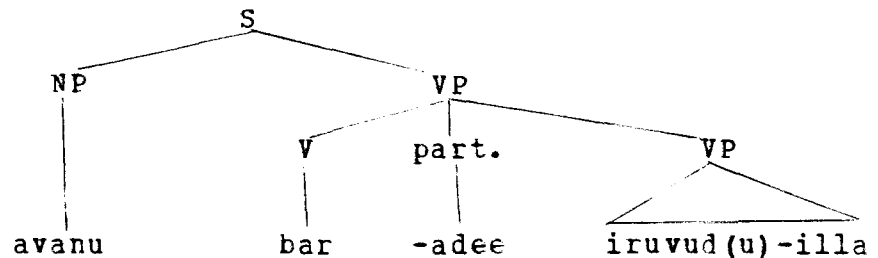
If our analysis of illa is such that the main and, optionally the aspectual verbs move into the non-finite verb position, the statement of EMP-attachment will be enormously simplified. In negative sentences, this verb position will already be filled, and EMP will attach to the verb in this position.<sup>5</sup>

4.3 The non-finite verb position in (i) above is utilised for the 'negative verbal participle'. Thus sentence (111) would have the following structure:

111a. avanu bar-adee iruvud(u)-illa.  
 he come neg.part. be part. not

He won't not come. (he won't remain without coming)

(ii)



We hypothesise that bar-adee in (111) is in the non-finite position, because EMP can attach to it and cannot make a copy of it:

111b. avanu bar-adee -nuu iruvud(u)-illa.  
 he come neg.part. EMP be part. not

He doesn't even refrain from coming.

111c. \*avanu band(u)-uu bar-adee iruvud(u)-illa.

There are two positions for neg in the VP. The first position, that of the non-finite verb, may be occupied by the 'negative verbal participle'. The second is the AUX position that the neg

illa occupies. In our examples (111a-b) above, both these neg positions have been filled, but it is possible for only the first position to be filled, as in (108a) above. We have seen that the non-finite verb position is the only neg position which can occur in infinitival and conditional clauses.

TABLE II  
Negative Forms with illa

| Simple Tenses |                             | verb <u>bari</u> , 'to write' |               | verb <u>iru</u> , 'to be' |                |
|---------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1.            | bari - uvud(u) - illa       | write                         | participle    | ir - uvud(u) - illa       | participle not |
|               | does not write              |                               |               |                           |                |
| 2.            | bari - yal(u) - illa        | write                         | infinitive    | ir - al(u) - illa         | infinitive not |
|               | did not write               |                               |               |                           |                |
| 3.            |                             |                               |               | was not                   |                |
|               |                             |                               |               |                           |                |
| 4.            | bared(u) - illa             | write past participle         | not           | illa                      |                |
|               | has not written             |                               |               |                           |                |
| 5.            | bared(u) - iruvud(u) - illa | write pst.part.               | be participle |                           | not            |
|               | will not have written       |                               |               |                           |                |
| 6.            | bared(u) - iral(u) - illa   | write pst.part.               | be inf.       |                           | not            |
|               | had not written             |                               |               |                           |                |

#### Compound Tenses

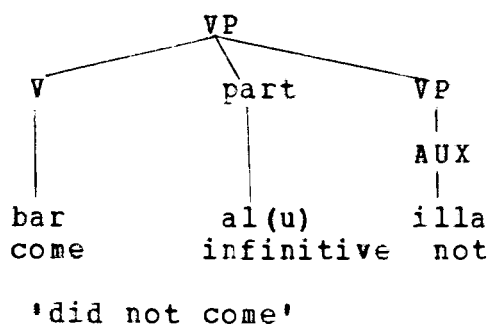


TABLE II cont'd.

7. bariyutt(a) - illa  
write present participle not  
is not writing
8. bariyutt(a) - iruvud(u) - illa  
write pres. part. be participle not  
will not be writing
9. bariyutt(a) - iral(u) - illa  
write pres. part. be inf. not  
was not writing

## Notes

1. The forms quoted below do not represent the spoken language. Cf. the preface for an elucidation of the system of transcription adopted in this work.
2. There is no negative form which can be related to a verb in the future tense. In usage, the negative of the non-past tense occurs when the negation refers to future time (the non-past affirmative verb may also refer to future time). The negative of the past progressive verb form occurs when the negation refers to a habitual action (again, the past progressive affirmative verb may refer to habitual action.) The non-occurrence of a negative verb form which can be related to the future tense constitutes a 'gap' in the paradigm such as Schiffman (1974) mentions for Tamil.
3. maadalu-ikke (maadokke in my dialect) in (105) is an infinitive which takes a dative suffix. In an earlier stage of the language, non-finite forms of the verb were declinable as nouns. Only a few of such declined forms have survived in the case of some non-finite verbal forms.
4. Rangan (1972) suggests that the "negative morpheme" is a main verb. However, in his analysis neg seems to be a syntactic category that includes illai, maatti and aatu. Further, he does not give clear syntactic arguments to support his claim.
5. It is not clear whether we need a transformational rule to achieve this; at present there seems to be no objection to an analysis positing that the non-finite main verb is in its base position here, when EMP-attachment applies. We hypothesise surface structures such as the following for the VP in negative sentences:



The relevant tense can be recovered from the non-finite verbal form by an interpretive semantic rule.

## CHAPTER V

## ON THE SEMANTICS OF NEGATION IN KANNADA

5.0 If we compare sentences (112a) and (112b) below, intuitively, while (112a) is an instance of sentence negation, (112b) is an instance of focussed negation:

112a. avanu oLleyavanu alla.  
       he       good man not

He is not a good man.

112b. avanu alla oLleyavanu.  
       he       not good man

It's not he who is a good man.

In (112b) the NP avanu is understood as being focussed, and the negation applies only to this NP. Focus cannot now be placed on an NP to the right of alla :

112c. #avanu alla oLleyavan(u)-uu.  
       he       not good man even

#It's not he who is even a good man.

It is evident that (112c) is deviant because focus cannot occur twice in a sentence, since focus represents new, 'remarkable' information. However, the grammar needs to explain why the first NP is invariably understood as focussed when alla is in this position, and why focus cannot be placed on an NP to the right of alla. To do so, we will make use of the rule Association with Focus.

Association with Focus is a rule of semantic interpretation proposed by Jackendoff (1972) for 'even', 'only', 'just' and neg, in English<sup>1</sup>. This rule operates under particular structural conditions to associate the reading of certain lexical items with focus. Thus, "the association of 'even' with a constituent implies that there is something special, unusual or unexpected about the connection of that constituent with the event" (Jackendoff, op.cit., p.249). To specify the structural conditions under which this rule operates, Jackendoff utilises the notion of range. "Certain lexical items, among them even, will define a range, that is, a set of nodes in the surface structure bearing a particular structural relationship to the lexical item, where the relationship is defined by the lexical item itself" (op.cit., p.249). For the English not, for example, Jackendoff defines a range identical to that of even, association with focus being optional for negation: "If even is directly dominated by a node X, X and all the nodes dominated by X are in the range of even." (loc.cit.) In the statement of the range of a lexical item, it is possible to make a directional specification. Thus Jackendoff's specification of the range of only and just incorporates the stipulation that only the nodes to the right of these lexical items are within its range. It is also possible to make the rule of Association with Focus either optional or obligatory.

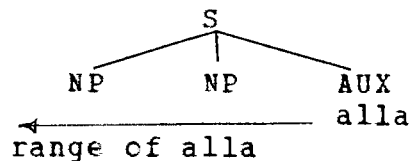
If the rule is obligatory for a particular lexical item, and the focus in a sentence has been placed outside the range defined for that item, the rule will not be able to apply, and the failure to apply of an obligatory rule will generate an unacceptable reading.<sup>2</sup>

Let us state the range of alla as follows, and let us also make association with focus obligatory for alla :

Range of alla.

If the node under which alla is generated is directly dominated by a node X, X and all the nodes dominated by X to the left of alla are in the range of alla.

This will enable us to filter out the semantically deviant sentences. When alla occurs as the rightmost element in the sentence, the whole sentence, or any NP within the sentence, can have focus placed on it, and thus the EMP -uu (for which association with focus is obligatory) can occur freely:



112d. avan(u)-uu oLleyavanu alla.  
       he even good man not

Even he is not a good man.

112e. avanu oLleyavan(u)-uu alla.  
       he       good man       even not

He is not even a good man.

When alla occurs between the two NP's, only the NP to its left is within its range, and focus cannot be placed on an NP to its right without inducing a deviant reading. Hence the unacceptability of (112c).

A few observations need to be made about cleft sentences. Cleft sentences in Kannada have the structure

113a. [naanu haNa-vannu tekkoNDaddu] [avan-inda]  
                                                           NP                                                           NP  
       I     money acc. the taking-it       he     from  
       It was from him that I took the money.

Since word order in Kannada is fairly free, we may also have

113b. [avan-inda] [naanu haNa-vannu tekkoNDaddu]  
                                                           NP                                                           NP

In cleft sentences, since focus has been placed on a particular constituent, this constituent has always to be within the range of alla, to give a semantically acceptable reading. Thus

113c. #[naanu haNa-vannu tekkoNDaddu] [alla] [avan-inda]  
                                                           NP                                                           AUX                                                           NP

is deviant. On the surface, alla always appears in juxtaposition with the focussed NP to its immediate right, however

'scrambled' the word order may be:

113d. naanu avan-inda alla haNa-vannu tekkoNDaddu.

113e. naanu haNa-vannu avan-inda alla tekkoNDaddu.

Since semantic interpretation takes place at the surface structure and the 'scrambling' rules operate later, the neg alla in sentences (113d,e) is correctly interpreted as applying to the focussed constituent avan-inda.

5.1 It has been noted (e.g., Spencer, 1914:69-70) that in the negation of a Kannada sentence which is interpreted as involving conjunction, and which has a structure with only one finite verb (the other verbs being participles), the negation may apply to either 'conjunct', or to both the 'conjuncts'. Thus in

114. avanu uuTa maadi school-ige hoogal(u)-illa.  
he meals do pst.part school dat. go inf. not

He didn't go to school after eating.

the negation may apply to the first event, meaning 'he went to school without eating', or it may apply to the second event, meaning 'he ate, but didn't go to school', or it may apply to the whole sentence, yielding an interpretation like 'It is not the case that he went to school after eating'. Which of these interpretations is natural belongs to the domain of pragmatics.

Thus the third interpretation is clearly favoured in:

115. (avanu baDavanu allade ondu soomaari;)  
 he poor man also a lazy man

avanu kelasa maaDi haNa-vannu sampaadisuvud(u)-illa.  
 he work do pst.part money acc. earn not

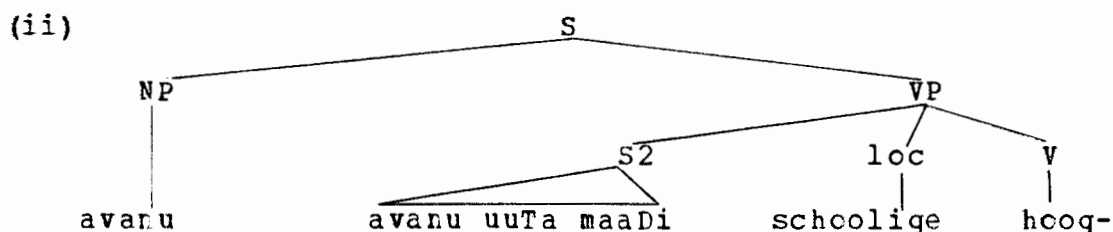
(He is not only poor but lazy;) he doesn't work and earn money.

Here the negation applies to the whole sentence:

neg [ he works and earns money ]

As far as semantic interpretation is concerned, we need to be able to state that the negation can apply to either the participial clause or the main clause, or to both; i.e., that the whole sentence is within the range of illa, which may then associate with any focussed constituent, and the negation will apply only to that constituent. In this way a verb which appears to be 'negative' may be interpreted as an affirmative, if illa has been associated with some other focussed constituent.

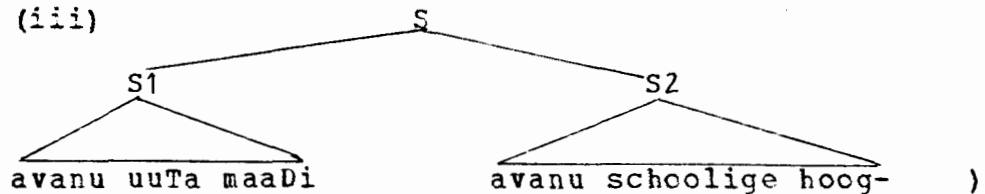
Nadkarni (1970:220) proposes a structure as follows for these sentences:





We will not go into the question of whether this analysis is acceptable in its details, but it seems to us that its essential insight, that these sentences have a subordinate rather than a co-ordinate structure,

(e.g., (iii))



is correct. It is apparent that any rule which brings S2 in (ii) above within the range of illa will be easier to state than a rule which attempts to do so for S1 in figure (iii), as the latter involves an additional 'higher' node which must be brought within the range of illa: a node which is outside the S (entence) in which illa occurs. We may now state the range of illa as follows:

#### Range of illa.

If the VP dominating illa is dominated by a node S1 and dominates a node S2, S1 and S2 are in the range of illa.

When the verbal participle in such sentences is negative, a similar ambiguity results. Thus in (116),

116. avanu uuTa maad-adee school-ige hoogal(u)-illa  
       he      meals do neg.part. school dat. go inf. not

He did not go to school without eating.

the negation of illa can apply only to the participial clause, yielding an affirmative reading of the negative participle, as it is again negated: 'It was not without eating that he went to school'. A clear instance of this kind of association of illa with a focussed participial clause is the favoured construction

117. avanu uuTa maad-adee school-ige hooguvud(u)-illa.  
       he      meals do neg.part. school dat. go part. not

He does not go to school without eating.

Sentence (117) paraphrases as 'It is always his practice to have lunch before he goes to school', i.e. the negation applies only to the participial clause, and denies that he ever goes to school without having lunch first.

If the negation in illa applies only to the main clause, the reading of (116) above would be 'he didn't eat, and he didn't go to school'. Again, this reading appears natural if there is an implied or overt causal relationship between the two events. For example:

118. avanu ood-adee paas aagal(u)-illa.  
       he      read neg.part. pass happen inf. not

He did not pass (the examination), due to not studying.

The negation in illa can also apply to the whole sentence, giving the reading 'It is not the case that he went to school without eating'. Note that on this reading only the whole proposition is negated, and the negative participle is not interpreted as an affirmative participle. This contrasts with the case where the negation is associated with focus on the participial clause and the negative participle is negated again. While the circumstances in which 'two negatives make a positive' are not being investigated here, it seems that it is not enough for a neg to be within the range of a second negation, to yield an affirmative reading.<sup>3</sup>

5.2            We will now examine the case which has led the conjunction horatu to be regarded as 'negative', in some sense. It translates as 'except, unless', or 'but for'.<sup>4</sup> Spencer (1914:141) gives the examples

119a. niivu banda horatu nanage santooSHaviruvudilla.  
you come part. but-for to me happiness be neg

I shall not be happy unless you come.

119b. niivu baarada horatu nanage santooSHaviruvudilla.  
you not-coming but-for to me happiness be neg.

I shall not be happy unless you come.

The problem he notes is that, although (119a) and (119b) are paraphrases, the (a) sentence contains an affirmative participle and the (b) sentence a negative participle. He comments (op.cit.,p.141)

"It is difficult satisfactorily to explain a construction in which a negative participle gives the same sense as the corresponding affirmative participle. Munshis (native scholars, RA) appear to regard horatu as a negative word, and say that the addition of the negative participle gives emphasis to its negative force, and does not counteract it. But as a rule in Kanarese the principle holds that two negatives are equivalent to an affirmative. The sentence may be regarded as meaning 'beyond the fact of your not having come there is not the fact that I have joy'."

Although a construction like (119b) is very rare in the language today, (119a) being much more common, the process of association with focus that illa undergoes is able to explain the former construction. Let us for the moment regard horatu as a conjunction semantically unspecified for negativity or non-negativity. We will justify this stand below. Now if in (119b) the clause with the negative participle is focussed and illa is associated with it, the participle is again negated by illa and is therefore interpreted as affirmative; and the verbal 'be happy' is also interpreted as affirmative, as the negation of illa no longer applies to it.

For instance, the sentence

120. niivu bar-adee nanage santooSHaviruvudilla.  
you come neg.part. to me happiness be not

Without your coming, I shall not be happy.

may be interpreted as 'If it is not the case that you do not come, I shall be happy'. Similarly, while (119a) is interpreted as 'But for your coming, I shall not be happy', (119b) is interpreted as 'But for its not being the case that you do not come, I shall be happy'.

Let us now examine in what sense horatu has the same status as 'but', in English. Spencer (op.cit.,p.142) states,

"In addition to the above use of horatu (i.e. the use in (119a,b), RA). . . , a second must be noticed: namely, its use following a fully conjugated verb or a neuter participial noun, either of which must have the emphatic affix ee. The meaning of horatu . . . in this construction is 'in addition to, besides', and it is always followed by a negative principal verb, or an interrogative which is equivalent in meaning to a negative."

Earlier (op.cit.,p.119) he states:

". . . if 'in addition to' or 'besides' is connected with a positive verb, horatu must not be employed; alladee must be used."

Spencer has carefully made the caveat that horatu may be followed by a 'negative principal verb', or by an 'interrogative which is equivalent in meaning to a negative'. This leads one to suspect that the appearance of a negative verb with horatu is not a syntactic phenomenon.

On a superficial examination, it appears that horatu always appears when two sentences that differ with respect to negativity are conjoined, that is, the following combinations



It is obvious that this sentence has an affirmative and a negative sentence conjoined. However, instead of the expected horatu, alladee appears. The occurrence of these conjunctions seems to be conditioned purely by pragmatic presuppositions; thus in (125) the presupposition is that the acts of beating and withholding the money are both bad. Horatu therefore behaves just like 'but' in English, which is not logically different from 'and'. Its use is determined by pragmatic presuppositions, and its only claim to negativity is that it occurs when a presupposition is upset.

## Notes.

1. Cf. Jackendoff (1972:250).
2. This is the device by which acceptable placement of even in surface structure is achieved, without syntactically restricting its occurrences in the sentence (cf. Jackendoff, op.cit., pp.248-50).
3. Labov (1972:130-196), in an examination of the black English vernacular (BEV), discusses the phenomenon of 'Negative Concord'. This rule is an extension of Klima's rule of Neg-Incorporation ('Neg-Attraction', in Labov's terms) into indefinites: for some dialects of English, "instead of saying that the negative is attracted to the first indeterminate, we might say . . . that the negative is attracted to indeterminates generally" (op.cit., p.145). Labov cites examples like (1-3) below, where the (a) and (b) sentences represent the standard dialect, and the (c) sentences are their non-standard equivalents:

- 1a. I didn't find a proof of the theorem in any of  
these texts.
- 1b. I found a proof of the theorem in none of  
these texts.
- 1c. I didn't find a proof of the theorem in none of  
these texts.
- 2a. That isn't anything new.
- 2b. That's nothing new.
- 2c. That ain't nothing new.
- 3a. I didn't tell John to paint any of these.
- 3b. I told John to paint none of these.
- 3c. I didn't tell John to paint none of these.

He comments, "Teachers and other opponents of non-standard dialects may argue that these sentences (i.e. the (c) examples, RA) reverse the meaning . . . (of the (a) and (b) examples, RA). But this is mere rhetoric; for any speaker of English, no matter how refined, is familiar with the existence of negative concord and realises that (the (c) sentences) intend the same meaning as (the (a) and (b) sentences). When an underlying double negative is intended, speakers of non-standard English use the same device as speakers of standard English: heavy stress on both negatives" (op.cit., p.146). That is, multiple negation does not imply that the negatives 'cancel' each other out: the cancelling occurs under specific conditions of focus.



4. Cf. Spencer (1914:118): "Horatu is a neuter noun derived from hora, the outside. It means 'that which is outside', and hence 'that which is additional' or 'that which is excepted'."
5. Thus even on a superficial examination, it is not true that horatu is followed by a negative principal verb or an interrogative that is equivalent in meaning to a negative.

## CHAPTER VI

## CONCLUSION

6.0 We have attempted in this thesis to give a formal characterisation of neg in Kannada, and have noted the peculiarities of distribution of the various negatives. We have shown that neither alla nor illa can appear in non-tensed sentences. We sought to formalise these facts by treating these items as constituents of AUX, as there exists a restriction on the appearance of AUX in non-tensed sentences. We have also commented on the need for a position for a non-finite verb in the VP. It is this position that is filled by the negative verbal participle which occurs both in tensed and non-tensed sentences, and by the non-finite forms of the main verb that occur when illa is present in the sentence. We therefore proposed the following rules for the base:

S --> { NP NP AUX }  
           { NP VP        }

VP --> V part. VP  
       i                    ii

VP --> V AUX  
       ii

AUX --> (Aspect) { Tense PNG }  
                   { Modal     }  
                   { alla     }  
                   { illa     }

We pointed out that alla would have to be subcategorised to appear in the context [NP -], and Tense PNG restricted to the context [V -]. The neg illa will have to be subcategorised to appear in the contexts [V -] and [Loc -]. We also hypothesised that a rule of Verb-Raising would move Aspect and attach it as a daughter to VP, and that a rule of Iru-Support applies in the [NP NP AUX] sentences. To account for the semantics of negation, we made use of the rule of semantic interpretation Association with Focus, and stated the ranges of alla and illa as follows:

Range of alla.

If the node under which alla is generated is directly dominated by a node X, X and all the nodes dominated by X to the left of alla are in the range of alla.

Range of illa.

If the VP dominating illa is dominated by a node S1 and dominates a node S2, S1 and S2 are in the range of illa.

In the absence of systematic exploration of larger areas of Kannada syntax, much of what has been said in this thesis has been tentative and exploratory. The study

of the syntax of the negative forms of a language cannot be isolated from the larger issues of the syntax of the Verb Phrase and the Sentence. It seems to us that the distribution of the negatives alla and illa is symptomatic of a larger distinction between two basic types of sentences in Kannada: verbless copulative sentences, and sentences with verbs. We have shown that these two kinds of sentences behave very differently with respect to transformations like Equi-NP deletion and Raising, and to the kinds of adverbs they permit. These facts must be kept in mind when studying other dialects of Kannada in which the verbless copulative sentences seem to be only optionally verbless. The status of the verb which appears in these constructions in such dialects needs to be investigated in depth. We have seen that in the dialect under consideration, the verb which does surface when there is a modal in the sentence, appears to be a dummy.

A prerequisite for the resolution of a variety of problems is a resolution of the syntax of the marker -AAGI. Nadkarni (1970) has attempted a resolution of -AAGI; however, his analysis is ad hoc, and deficient in some respects. By deriving non-AAGI copulatives from the -AAGI copulatives with an otherwise unmotivated rule of -AAGI deletion, he fails to

take into account the larger differences in the syntactic behaviour of the -AAGI and the non-AAGI (verbless) copulatives. Further, he does not consider sentences in which -AAGI may be followed by verbs other than iru 'to be'. His analysis of alla is consequently of very limited value: by postulating that alla is the negative of the 'stative verb' aagu, he is left with the problem of explaining why alla cannot appear when -AAGI is followed by any verb other than iru. His analysis cannot be accepted, unless sentences in his dialect of Kannada (we must keep in mind that Nadkarni is a bilingual in Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language which does not allow verbless sentences) are shown to be radically different in their syntactic behaviour from sentences in the dialect of Kannada under consideration here. This probability seems remote, as even the other Dravidian (literary) languages show patterns of syntactic behaviour similar to that of Kannada. Malayalam, for example, where a copula does appear on the surface, allows Raising only out of copulative sentences, and alla is the negative which appears in such sentences. The appearance of the -AAGI marker seems to be a unified phenomenon in South Dravidian literary languages, as the markers -gaa (in Telugu) and -aa (in Tamil) occur in the same contexts. In every case, the marker is homonymous with the past participle of a verb meaning 'to happen, to become'. It is unlikely that a dialect of Kannada should differ more radically in 'deep' syntax than do

other languages of the same genetic, and very likely typological family; however, this is an empirical matter. We have earlier pointed out that a study of -AAGI may also provide a clue as to the relevance of the notions 'tensed' and 'non-tensed', for Kannada.

5.1           The syntax of the Verb Phrase in Kannada needs to be investigated in detail. The VP is characterised by a prolixity of non-finite forms; Nadkarni (1970) is of the opinion that most of these non-finite forms have a source in an embedded sentence. It needs to be determined, however, to what extent an analysis with multiple embeddings can be motivated in a description of the current language. We have seen that there are structures with a non-finite main verb, notably, a construction with a negative verbal participle and a limited class of 'auxiliary', tense-carrying verbs. In our examples, iru 'to be' appears as one such 'auxiliary' verb. Another verb which can appear in such contexts is hoogu 'to go'; the verb 'to go' here is semantically empty, much like the same verb in the English constructions 'He went without food for several days', or 'it goes without saying . . . ' In Dravidian languages the verb 'to go'

appears in such contexts much more regularly, in combination with a variety of non-finite main verbs, e.g.,

|                                         |                  |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------|
| bar-adee hooda<br>come neg.part. go     | 'did not come'   |
| ill-adee hooyitu<br>be neg.part. go     | 'was not'        |
| aag-adee hooyitu<br>happen neg.part. go | 'did not happen' |

The syntax of these constructions is intimately connected with that of the 'aspectual' co-verbs that are a regular and puzzling feature not only of Dravidian languages, but of Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, as well. The selectional restrictions on these 'aspectual' co-verbs seem to differ according to whether the main (non-finite) verbs are affirmative or negative:

|                                             |                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| maaDi-haakda<br>do pst.part put             | #maaD-adee haakda<br>do neg.part put               |
| 'he finished that<br>boring work'           | #'he didn't finish that<br>boring work'            |
| maaDi-mugisida<br>do pst.part. finished     | #maaD-adee mugisida<br>do neg.part. finished       |
| 'he finished doing<br>the work'             | #'he didn't finish doing<br>the work'              |
| #maaDi-idda<br>do pst.part was              | maaD-adee idda<br>do neg.part. was                 |
| #'he did'<br>cf. maaDidda,<br>'he had done' | 'he remained without doing,<br>he neglected to do' |

#maaDi-iddu-biTta  
do pst.part.be pst.part  
left

maaD-adee iddu-biTta  
do neg.part.be pst.part  
left

#'he did'

'he remained without doing,  
he neglected to do'

In determining the selectional restrictions for these co-verbs, pragmatic aspects of language use must carefully be separated from syntactic phenomena. Thus, while the co-verb biDu 'to leave' appears to be unacceptable in a negative sentence, it does occur in sentences like

126. naanu paaTha oodalilla anta niinu meeshTrige  
I lesson didn't read COMP you to teacher

heeL(i) -biDal(u) -illa -valla?  
say pst.part. leave inf. not neg.tag

I hope you didn't foolishly and hastily tell the  
teacher that I had not read my lesson!

The restrictions on the aspectual co-verbs may thus turn out to be pragmatic, syntactic or semantic, depending on particular verbs.

We have raised more questions in this thesis than we have answered, or even attempted to answer. We hope, however, that in this preliminary examination of negation in Kannada, we



have noted some phenomena that any study of negation in this language - and more so, a study of the structure of negation in South Dravidian literary languages - must take into account. It is imperative that work in individual languages towards a satisfactory resolution of the kinds of issues we have raised be undertaken, before any generalisations pertaining to Dravidian languages as a whole, can be made.

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