Clausal Negation in Pahari-Pothwari

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the syntactic mechanisms of negation in Pahari-Pothwari within the framework of generative grammar. Pahari-Pothwari refers to a group of language varieties spoken predominantly in village areas of Jammu and the north-western Punjab, in present-day Azad Jammu and Kashmir, northern Pakistan, and India. Although there has been some research on negation in related languages and varieties, such as Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, Hindko, and Saraiki, sentential negation in Pahari-Pothwari has hitherto not been addressed in any significant detail. This study primarily uses data from the Chakswari dialect, referring to the variety spoken in the town of Chakswari and its environs, as well as by its migrant community.

The thesis begins by providing an overview of the relevant theoretical background, including a summarised typology of forms of negation in languages around the world as well as mentions of negation in the existing literature on Pahari-Pothwari and related Indo-Aryan languages. Secondly, it examines the tense and aspect systems of affirmative sentences in Pahari-Pothwari, so as to provide the necessary groundwork for understanding the syntax of negation. It then describes the different types of negative markers in Pahari-Pothwari in terms of their distribution, position in the sentence, and interaction with other clausal components. There are at least three types of markers: *na*, *ni*, and *koi ni*, the latter potentially being a compound of *koi* and *ni*. The fourth chapter explores the functional structure of clauses in Pahari-Pothwari and examine the syntactic position of negation, before concluding with suggestions for further research.

Overall, this thesis aims to outline how negation works in the Chakswari dialect of Pahari-Pothwari so as to contribute to broader theoretical and empirical questions raised by negation in human language through a case-study of an understudied language variety.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

"*Nafi asbāt da pāni milya,*
Har ragey, har jāi, hū!"

'The water of Negation and Affirmation was given,
To each and every vein. Hū!'

Hazrat Sultan Bahu *rehmatullah alaih* (c. 1630 - 1691)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Although negation may seem a straightforward concept in human communication, it is in fact much more nuanced. As such, it remains a much-discussed topic in logic, philosophy, and linguistics, among many other disciplines. Negative constructions are ostensibly the opposite of an affirmative or positive construction; the reversal of truth values of a proposition can be symbolised using the semantic operator ¬. Therefore, one might assume that negative and affirmative clauses ought to be somewhat structurally symmetrical, with the only difference being one clear, overtly marked exponent of negation. However, by comparing the world's languages, we realise that this is not the case; negation is expressed in a variety of ways across languages and is much more complex, both in its meanings and its manifestations. There are various types of negative markers which can occur in different and multiple places in a clause, and they can convey a broad range of meanings, including rejection, denial, prohibition, absence, and opposition. The following examples from the Indo-Aryan language variety Pahari-Pothwari show that (a) negation disrupts the prototypical word order of sentences and (b) there are different markers of negation which presumably have clausal constraints or have differences in structure or meaning:

(1) a. Maryam seb kha-ni ɛ
Maryam apple eat-IMPF.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'Maryam is eating an apple.'

b. Maryam seb ni kha-ni
Maryam apple NEG eat-IMPF.F.SG
'Maryam is not eating an apple.'

c. Maryam seb koi ni kha-ni
Maryam apple some NEG eat-IMPF.F.SG
'Maryam is not eating an apple.'

In (1a) we observe the default word order SOV in Pahari-Pothwari; the subject *Maryam* occurs at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the object *seb* 'apple', with lastly the verb phrase, consisting of the lexical verb *kha* 'eat' in imperfective participle form *khani* (inflecting for number and gender) with the auxiliary verb ɛ sentence-finally. In (1b) and (1c) the introduction of the negative morphemes *ni* and *koi ni* results in the affirmative auxiliary ɛ (here in the present tense) seemingly disappearing. This implies that the negative markers and the affirmative auxiliary are in complementary distribution, or that negation in some way results in the deletion of the affirmative auxiliary. We also observe a change in word order, in that the negative sentences have the imperfective verb participle *khani* in the sentence-final position, which is usually occupied by the auxiliary. Another curious insight can be noticed from the future tense in Pahari-Pothwari:

(2) a. Maryam seb kha-si
Maryam apple eat-FUT.3SG
'Maryam will eat an apple.'
b. *Maryam seb ni kha-si
Maryam apple NEG eat-FUT.3SG
'Maryam will not eat an apple.'
c. dʒe Maryam seb na kha-si fir kun kha-si
if Maryam apple NEG eat-FUT-3SG then who eat-FUT.3SG
'If Maryam will not eat an apple, then who will?'

The verb in the future tense *kha-si* 'will eat' in sentence (2a) cannot be negated in the same way as how the imperfective verb phrase can be negated in (1); this is indicated by the ungrammaticality of (2b). Instead, the negative counterpart of (2a) is actually (1b), where the same verb in present imperfective form is negated to express that an event will not happen in the future. The future can be negated using a different marker *na*, as demonstrated in (2c) within a conditional clause. This suggests a fundamental difference in the nature of the negative markers *n-* and *na* in terms of their function and distribution, as well as suggesting a structural difference between the imperfective (used to express present tense meanings) and the future tense.

This thesis aims to disambiguate and explore the syntactic mechanisms of negation in Pahari-Pothwari within the framework of generative grammar and the minimalist program. Pahari-Pothwari refers to a group of language varieties spoken predominantly in village areas of Jammu and the north-western Punjab, in present-day Azad Jammu and Kashmir, northern Pakistan, and India. It is potentially the second-most common mother tongue in the UK (Hussain, 2015) given that it is spoken by the Mirpuri community, a significant diaspora in Britain originating from the Mirpur region of Azad Kashmir (Hussain & Rehman, 2020). Although there has been some research on negation in related languages, such as Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, Hindko, and Saraiki, sentential negation in Pahari-Pothwari has hitherto not been addressed in any significant detail. This study primarily uses data from the Chakswari dialect, referring to the variety spoken in the town of Chakswari and its environs, as well as by its migrant community. In terms of methodology, the researcher is a native speaker and a member of the Pahari-Pothwari community who speaks the Chakswari dialect, and will use syntactic tests to assess data and draw conclusions.

This thesis will begin by providing an overview of the relevant theoretical background, including a summarised typology of forms of negation in languages around the world as well as mentions of negation in the existing literature on Pahari-Pothwari and related Indo-Aryan languages. Secondly, it will examine the tense and aspect systems of affirmative sentences in Pahari-Pothwari, so as to provide the necessary groundwork for understanding the syntax of negation. It will then describe the different types of negative markers in Pahari-Pothwari in terms of their distribution, position in the sentence, and interaction with other clausal components. We have seen that there are at least three types of markers: *na*, *ni*, and *koi ni*, the latter potentially being a compound of *koi* and *ni*. The fourth chapter will explore the functional structure of clauses in Pahari-Pothwari and examine the syntactic position of negation, before concluding with suggestions for further research.

Overall, this thesis aims to outline how negation works in the Chakswari dialect of Pahari-Pothwari so as to contribute to broader theoretical and empirical questions raised by negation in human language through a case-study of an understudied

language variety.

Chapter 2

Background on Negation

2.1 A Brief Typology of Negation

Negation may be viewed as a linguistic universal in that every natural language has some grammaticalised form, some negative morpheme, which is used to reverse the truth values of affirmative constructions and make them negative. It is curious that every language variety has this phenomenon, rather than simply expressing negation through altering word order or prosody or stress (Miestamo, 2017), which is the case for many other syntactic structures, such as forming questions or emphatic sentences. This section addresses typological and syntactic studies on negative structures by outlining categories which have been introduced to classify negative constructions and measure their distribution around the world.

Many typologists begin by distinguishing 'standard' from 'non-standard' negation. Standard negation refers to how languages prototypically negate the main lexical verb in a main clause in declarative sentences. In contrast, non-standard negation is an umbrella term for all other miscellaneous kinds of negative constructions in various contexts, such as in other clause types (subordinate clauses), with other verb types (imperatives), or to negate particular constituents.

Based on a sample of 1157 languages, Dryer (2013a) found three main types of negative morphemes are used to mark standard negation: negatives affixes (accounting for 34.1% of the sample), negative particles (43.4%) and negative auxiliary verbs (only 4.1%). A negative verb is defined as a negative word which inflects in the same way as a verb (bearing tense, aspect, or mood-related features, or bearing agreement morphology with the subject for example) and usually accompanies another verb and hence has some auxiliary function. Seventy three languages (6.3%) were found to have a negative word which was ambiguous, in that it was unclear whether it was a negative particle or a verb, given that inflectional verb morphology in certain languages can be little or non-existent leading to uncertainty in constituency. Only twenty one languages (1.8%) had variation between a negative word and an affix. 10.3% of languages involved double negation, with two negative morphemes occurring simultaneously. However, the types of negative morphemes in these cases were not distinguished. It is also important to note the possibility that certain languages may have different morphemes in different contexts (such as based on tense or aspect) but this does not seem to have been taken into account in this analysis.

In terms of word order, it had been suggested that the negative marker often appears as soon as possible within the clause (Jespersen, 1917). This is dependent on the type of marker, given that negative auxiliaries or negative verbs are subject to syntactic constraints on the position of Tense or on language-specific properties of verb movement, but negative morphemes are in general more likely to appear earlier in the clause. In a typological study analysing the position of the negative

morpheme of standard clausal negation in relation to the lexical finite verb, Dryer (2013b) found, based on a sample of 1325 languages, that the majority had a negative morpheme which preceded the verb, either immediately preceding it or else earlier in the clause, such as in sentence-initial position. 39.6% of the languages in the sample demonstrated this NegV ordering, while only 12.9% observed VNeg. The other types of order found between the negative morpheme and the verb involved the position of negative affixes (as a prefix or a suffix), and mixed types which involved multiple orders. Even when considering the mixed types, a pattern was found that there is a preference for most languages to have a preverbal negative word rather than it being postverbal.

Another method of classifying negation-related constructions is in terms of symmetry. Standard negation can be symmetric, meaning that both negative and affirmative sentences have identical sentence structure, with the only difference being the inclusion of a negative morpheme, or asymmetric, where negative and affirmative sentences have different syntax, the addition of a negative morpheme disrupting the usual affirmative sentence structure. In a sample of 297 languages, Miestamo (2013) found that 130 languages were always symmetric, while the remainder showed some asymmetry; in 53 languages, sentences with standard negation were always found to be asymmetric with their affirmative counterparts, while 130 had mixed systems, with symmetric and asymmetric negation found in different contexts or paradigms.

There are different ways in which asymmetric negation manifests and Miestamo (2003) identifies different types of asymmetric negation: A/Fin, A/NonReal, A/Emph, and A/Cat. In A/Cat languages, negative and affirmative sentences differ in the way that they mark grammatical categories, which can be related to Tense, Aspect, or Mood, or phi-features such as person, number or gender. In A/Fin languages, negative sentences differ in that the negative element affects the finiteness of the lexical verb and so a new finite element such as a verb is often added. The A/NonReal type involves non-realised eventualities being negated, while the A/Emph languages vary in terms of emphatic marking.

In an analysis surrounding negation and the ordering of constituents, Pearce (2020) examines the different types of atypical word orders in negative sentences in different languages. In cases where there is atypical word ordering induced by negation, she also questions if other constructions in the language result in similar word ordering. In languages with similar strategies or qualities concerning negation and constituent ordering, she looks for whether or not these languages are similar in other respects regarding syntactic constraints. She proposed that non-canonical word ordering in negative sentences was more frequent in languages where the negative morpheme was in the sentence-initial position. Most of these languages typically had VSO word order, which became NEG-SVO under negation.

It is also common to find a different negative morpheme to negate imperatives than those used in standard negation. Focusing on the negation of second-person singular (addressing a single person) imperatives, termed 'prohibitives', van der Auwera et al. (2013) found four main categories by examining 496 languages. The first type identified those languages where the negative morpheme used in standard negation is used alongside the verbal construction used for the imperative. The second type grouped languages which had a different negative morpheme with imperatives than that used in standard negation. The third category comprised of languages which had a form of second singular imperative, but the prohibitive used a different verbal construction with the same negative morpheme as that used in standard negation. In the fourth type of prohibitive, both the negative morpheme is

different from that used in standard negation and the verbal construction is different to the imperative. However, a number of complications were recognised. The negative strategy used in standard negation and in prohibitives may only be partially similar and so it can be difficult to conclude whether or not they are identical due to their similarity. In addition, a language may have various ways to signify the second singular imperative. Likewise, a language may have various ways to signify prohibitives or have multiple negative markers for the prohibitive. In spite of these complications, it was discovered that 22.8% belonged to the first type, 36.7% to the second type, 11.1% (the least) to the third type, and 29.4% to the fourth type of prohibitives.

Overall, as Miestamo (2017) also concludes, there is still much need of an extensive crosslinguistic analysis of the miscellaneous negative constructions in the world's language in a comprehensive and systematic manner.

2.2 Negation in South-Asian Languages

Linguistic studies on language varieties in the Indian subcontinent often cite that South Asia is a linguistic area. Previous mentions, descriptions, and analyses of negative constructions in Indo-Aryan languages, notably Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi, Hindko, and Saraiki, will help establish a contextual background to negation-related phenomena in Pahari-Pothwari.

In his description of the syntax and semantics of negation in South-Asian languages, Bhatia (1978) focuses on six languages: Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Nepali, Kannada, and Kashmiri. He states that affirmative sentences in Hindi are negated using one of three particles depending on the construction type: *nəhĩ*, *na*, and *mət*. The negative particle *mət* is restricted in usage in that it is only used with non-honorific imperatives, while the negative morpheme *na* is also used in imperative constructions as well as in subjunctive and conditional (past subjunctive) constructions and in participial and gerundive phrases. The negative morpheme *nəhĩ* is the most frequently occurring negative particle and is used in most other contexts. The following examples demonstrate how these negative particles work:

(1) a. tu mət dʒa
2SG NEG go.IMP
'Do not go.'

b. wo kjũ na dʒae
3SG why NEG go.SBJV.3SG
'Why should he not go?'

c. us-ka na dʒana behtər hɛ
3SG-GEN.M.SG NEG go.INF better be.PRS.3SG
'It is better for him not to go.'

d. wo nəhĩ gja
3SG NEG go.PST.M.3SG
'He did not go.'

The above sentences exemplify how the negative morphemes consistently occur in the preverbal position. Punjabi has the same negative particles as Hindi/Urdu with the exception of *mət*. In his cognitive-descriptive grammar of the Majhi variety of

Punjabi, the standard variety spoken in Lahore and Amritsar, Bhatia (1978) states that there are two negative particles which are used to convey sentential negation. Firstly, *na* is used in imperative phrases, in conditional clauses, in 'neither...nor' constructions, in infinitive phrases, and phrases in the subjunctive or conditional mood. On the other hand, nəhĩ is used in all other contexts.

Bhatia (1978) makes an important observation that the negative markers *nəhĩ* in Hindi and *nɛĩ* in Punjabi trigger a number of significant deletion processes such as deletion of the aux/copula. He states that the distinction must be made between deletion as a syntactic/semantic phenomenon and deletion for pragmatic reasons (presumably post-syntactic). He provides the following rules which outline the processes relating to aux/copula deletion. The aux/copula is only optional in negative clauses and thus can be deleted. This may be explained by the etymology of the negative markers, with *nəhĩ* and *nɛĩ* potentially deriving from Sanskrit *n-* (NEG) and *ahi* ('be'), the latter in Punjabi having the intervocalic *h* elided. Secondly, the aux/copula is not optional but obligatory in affirmative clauses; deleting the aux/copula in positive sentences renders them ungrammatical. Thirdly, the deletion process is post-cyclic which means that when the negative marker is raised, the aux/copula cannot be deleted and is obligatorily retained. In the constructions including compound verbs, the operator or supporting verb is also deleted:

(2) a. wo a: gja
3SG come go.PFV.M.SG
'He has come.'

b. wo nəhĩ aja
3SG come NEG come.PFV.M.SG
'He hasn't come.'

Here, the verb *gja* 'gone' does not have any lexical input and is including to modify the semantics of the eventuality, indicating that it has undergone a process of grammaticalisation. This operator *gja* in the compound verb construction *a: gja* is deleted under negation. However, it has been argued that this is a pragmatic or semantic consideration and that such operators are somewhat optional and restricted to affirmative sentences, given that they provide more detail and are not necessarily needed or relevant in negative sentences, hence why they are deleted or why they are incompatible with negation. It may be expected that these deletion processes result in ambiguity or non-specification. However, Bhatia (1978) identifies a number of strategies or constraints on deletion processes used in South-Asian languages which illustrate why ambiguity does not occur. Firstly, the auxiliary/copula is never deleted in the past tense. This means that there is no ambiguity in terms of tense, as aux/copula deletion only occurs in the present tense. He narrows the deletion rule so that it only applies to deletion of the present copula.

In their comparative description of the grammars of Punjabi (as spoken in Lahore), Hindko (variety of Abottabad), and Saraiki (as spoken in Multan), Bashir and Conners (2019) provide an overview of sentential negation. They state that all three language varieties form negative sentences using two negative particles: *na*, which is called a basic particle, and *nɛĩ* or *ni:* which is an extended marker. The use of each marker depends on the clause type; *na* is used for imperatives, subjunctives, in non-finite verb phrases, and in contexts where there are irrealis meanings. In contrast, the Punjabi *naĩ*, Hindko *naĩ*, and Saraiki *ni* occur in all other tense-aspect constructions. It is suggested that this marker historically derives from the former marker

na together with the present tense forms of the auxiliary 'be' (Bhatia, 1978; Bashir, 2006) although it has also been said that it has some emphatic component and instead originates as an amalgam of the negative marker *na* and the emphatic particle *hi* (Turner, 1966). Both views are recognised as valid etymologies for Hindi-Urdu *nɛ̃* (Masica, 1991).

The canonical word order in all three varieties of Punjabi, Hindko, and Saraiki is SOV. Based on examples from their corpus, Bashir and Conners (2019) show that the negative particles typically occupy the position directly before the verb:

(3) a. o kəm naĩ kər-da (Punjabi)
3SG work NEG do-PRS.M.3SG
'He does not work.'

b. Peshawar naĩ vəndʒsək-da (Saraiki)
Peshawar NEG go-MOD-PRS.M.3SG
'He cannot go to Peshawar.'

c. Razia tʃup naĩ rɛ-sək-di (Hindko)
Razia quiet NEG stay-MOD-PRS.F.3SG
'Razia cannot stay quiet.'

Bashir and Conners (2019) suggest that in Hindko, the marker *na* is used more frequently. However, it is unclear if the instantiations of the marker *ni* in their corpus is an inflected form of *ni* or if they are indeed *na* used in typologically atypical contexts:

(4) a. mẽ kisi tʃi:zã kolũ na dar-da
1SG any things from NEG fear-ipfv.ptcp.m.sg
'I'm not afraid of anything.'

b. is aste mẽ tud-ã mil-n-e-ã na a:
3SG.OBL for 1SG 2SG.OBL-ACC meet-INF-OBL-DAT NEG come
həkja
be.able.PTCP.M.SG
'This is why I was not able to come to see you.'

Bashir and Conners (2019) provide these examples in their suggestion that the negative morpheme *na* is perhaps used more in Hindko when compared to its usage in Saraiki and Punjabi. However, it is unclear whether or not the morphemes present in these example sentence are indeed functionally the same as the negative morpheme *na* used in irrealis contexts, given that it is also possible that it is an inflected form of *ni*. Both of these sentences include verbal constructions in the first person, and it is possible that the negative morpheme *ni* inflects to become *na* with verbs inflecting for the first person, which would make it a different negative morpheme syntactically to the marker *na* which is used in other constructions, with the phonological similarity causing uncertainty. Bashir and Conners (2019) also state that Saraiki has another marker of sentential negation in which there is an additional marker *koi*, the use of which is termed emphatic negation. It is unclear exactly how this marker differs from the usual marker of negation.

Negation is briefly mentioned in a grammar and dictionary of Western Panjabi of the Shahpur District compiled by J. Wilson during his time as Deputy Commissioner and Settlement Officer in the late 19th Century. Wilson (1898) calls the variety a

dialect of Hindi, being the language of the land as opposed to Persian (Shackle, 1979) and states that features of the dialect can be found in the Rawalpindi District, in Attock, as well as in the Jhelum District, covering the area of the Pothohar plateau connecting the Salt Range with the Himalayan foothills. He states that negation is expressed using negative verbs which are derived from the negative morpheme *na* combining with the auxiliary verb. He gives the following paradigm:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	*ni:mũ* or *nisũ*	*nise:*
2nd	*ni:hũ* or *nũ*	*nihe:*
3rd	*nisu:* or *naĩ*	*ninne*

TABLE 2.1: Paradigm for the present negative auxiliary in Wilson (1898)

He describes that in the past tense, there is a different paradigm, with the negative morpheme *na* combining with the past tense auxiliary verb as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	*nahu:s*	*na:hse:*
2nd	*na:hẽ*	*na:he:*
3rd	*na:ha:*	*na:hin*

TABLE 2.2: Paradigm for the past tense auxiliary in Wilson (1898)

He also states that rather than being in sentence-final position in the same way as affirmative auxiliary verbs, the negative verbs occur in preverbal position, directly preceding the verb they modify. Thus, Wilson (1898) proposes that there is a past and present negative auxiliary verb and that it usually occupies the preverbal position in the clause.

2.3 Previous Proposals

It has been shown that it seems the negative markers in South-Asian languages are directly related to mood, tense, and aspect. Before I describe the properties and niceties of types of negation in Pahari-Pothwari, this section provides a contextual outline by introducing existing descriptions of the workings of tense and aspect, as well as what little has been said of negation, providing an overview of previous proposals as discussed in Grierson (1919), Khalique (2018), and Nazir (2015).

This study focuses on the language variety spoken in the Chakswari area, spoken within the town of Chakswari and neighbouring villages, as well as by its diaspora community. This variety is part of a dialect continuum stretching through the Shahpur tract, the Pothohar plateau, across the Jhelum and Mirpur districts, into Rajouri and Jammu, and potentially even further into Himachal. Due to complex dialect variation as well as political reasons, there is no consensus as to the exact name of this variety or language. According to the Census of India, 1941, the majority of inhabitants of the Mirpur District spoke 'Punjabi'. However, in maps from the Linguistic Survey of India, Grierson (1919) includes Chakswari and District Mirpur under the Chibhali-speaking area, Chibhali being a demonym derived from the Chibhal state of the Chibs of Bhimber. In contemporary literature, it is more often called Pahari or Pothwari or Pahari-Pothwari. In this thesis, I will refer to the variety in question as Pahari-Pothwari, although by it I only refer to the dialect spoken

in Chakswari and its environs rather than all of the varieties which can be grouped under Pahari-Pothwari.

Grierson (1919) dedicates Part One of his eighth volume of the Linguistic Survey to what he labels the North-western group of the Indo-Aryan family of languages, comprising of Sindhi and 'Lahnda'. He refers to 'Lahnda' in the absence of an adequate alternative label (Grierson, 1930) and states that it has long been acknowledged as a separate language given that it has been historically recognised under many names: Jatki, Multani, Hindki or Hindko, and Western Punjabi. Within 'Lahnda', he organises the varieties into a north-eastern group comprising of Awankari, Ghebi, Pothwari, Punchi, Chibhali, and Pahari. While the dialects of Chakswari or Mirpur itself are not exclusively addressed, the map provided in the Survey depicts the Mirpur district within the boundaries of the 'Chibhali'-speaking area, and a number of neighbouring related dialects are also mentioned such as 'Pothwari' spoken in the Pothohar plateau and 'Punchi' spoken in Poonch. Therefore, this north-eastern group includes specimens and information about dialects related to the variety spoken in the Chakswari area and so the first descriptive account of the grammar of the dialect in question can be obtained from the Linguistic Survey of India in the sections pertaining to Pothohari, Chibhali, and Poonchi.

Grierson (1919) states that there are four radical tenses meaning that they are purely conjugational (formed synthetically from the verbal root with a suffix). These are as follows: (i) the present subjunctive; (ii) the imperative; (iii) the future; and (iv) the past conditional or (past subjunctive). He concludes that all other expressions of tense and aspect, such as the present and past tenses, are combinations of lexical verbs in participial form (in imperfective or perfective form) followed by the verb substantive which is the auxiliary *ona* 'be'.

While not explicitly mentioning negation in the aforementioned dialects, Grierson (1919) does introduce that there is a negative auxiliary verb in the variety spoken in District Shahpur, which is addressed as a standard of the 'Lahnda' dialects. He provides the same paradigm as Wilson (1898). He also states that there is a negative past auxiliary, although he does not make mention of or provide any examples of the interaction between negation and the future.

In her corpus-based study of the dialect spoken in Poonch, Khalique (2018) furthers Grierson's initial reflections of Pahari-Pothwari grammar, also positing that tense and aspect are largely expressed periphrastically. Although there are significant differences between the dialects spoken in Poonch and Chakswari, they are mutually intelligible. For the most part, the deductions found in Grierson (1919) and Khalique (2018) are similar; although precursory to any formal study using syntactic diagnostics, they precisely capture that most verb constructions in Pahari involve a lexical verb participle and an auxiliary *ona* ('be'). Rather than a negative auxiliary in Grierson, 1919, Khalique (2018) refers to a negative particle as a bound morpheme which combines with conjugated forms of the auxiliary *ona*.

In her study of light-verb constructions, Nazir (2015) does not explicitly discuss negation but presents further ideas on the nature of tense and aspect in Pahari-Pothwari. This is the first time the dialect in question (that spoken in Chakswari) has been directly addressed rather than a neighboring dialect as in the previous two grammars. Nazir (2015) expresses the possibility of a number of different auxiliaries in Pahari-Pothwari. According to her introduction of the tense system, the future tense and the past tense are both formed using the same auxiliary *si* (third-person singular form of *ona*) which she terms a 'non-present' auxiliary. She shows that in the past tense, the auxiliary agrees with the object rather than the subject; this is

in line with the phenomenon of split-ergativity across numerous Indo-Aryan languages (Masica, 1991). However, she states that in the future tense, the same auxiliary *si* is realised differently, instead as a suffix. This conflicts with the definition of an auxiliary, where it is by definition a free morpheme. The notion of an auxiliary being an inflectional suffix nullifies its identity as an auxiliary; through the continuum of grammaticalisation, the suffix may have originated as an auxiliary, but a diachronic account as such is extraneous to this synchronic investigation of syntactic tense-aspect. Nazir (2015) also refers to an imperfective auxiliary *ni/na* which is used to form the present tense.

Both of these suggestions concerning a 'non-present' (grouping the past and the future) and an imperfective auxiliary differ from the proposals in Grierson (1919) and Khalique (2018) where (a) the future is treated as a tense rather than an auxiliary-participle construction or being similar to the past tense and (b) the imperfective is identified as an inflectional suffix to form the imperfective participle rather than an auxiliary. Nazir (2015) identifies the future tense *si* with the past tense *si* based on their phonological equivalence and association with tense to conclude that there is a 'non-present' auxiliary. Overall, existing descriptions of tense and aspect in Pahari-Pothwari are varied and even at times contradictory in their identification of auxiliaries and their treatment of auxiliary verb structures. The nature of the negative marker(s) in Pahari-Pothwari has also not been adequately addressed in previous works and there is a difference of opinion as to whether it is a negative auxiliary verb (as in Grierson (1919) and Wilson (1898)) or a prefix (as in Khalique (2018)).

Chapter 3

A Descripton of Negation in Pahari-Pothwari

In Pahari-Pothwari, there are two primary exponents of sentential negation: the inflectional marker *n-* which is used to express standard negation by negating lexical verbs of main clauses, and the marker *na* which signifies 'no' generally and is used to negate most other constructions, notably in imperative and subjunctive constructions and verbs in the future tense. This chapter provides an outline of how these negative markers are used to create negative constructions in Pahari-Pothwari.

The first section of this chapter sets the background for exploring negative structures by describing how affirmative sentences are formed in Pahari-Pothwari and addressing the discrepancies in existing literature regarding the realisation of tense, aspect, and mood. The second section will describe how the inflectional marker *n-* is used, assessing whether or not it is a prefix or an auxiliary, and describing the process of standard negation. The third section will discuss the interaction between the future tense and negation, given that there are peculiarities which have been noticed in Khalique (2018) though the subject has not received much further attention. The fourth section will describe the usage of the negative morpheme *na* while the final section will describe the interaction between *n-* and quantifiers such as *koi*, alongside a number of other negation-related constructions in Pahari-Pothwari.

3.1 Affirmative Clauses

Before describing how sentential negation is expressed, it is important to understand the general characteristics of affirmative clauses in Pahari-Pothwari. The realisation of tense, aspect and mood within languages can largely be arranged in accordance to two patterns: synthesis and periphrasis (Comrie, 1985). Synthetic constructions consist of a single form with morphological properties that carry the tense-aspect-mood features. These properties are typically inflectional, meaning that they are associated with a bound morpheme combining as a suffix to a verbal root. For example, in English, the regular third-person form in the simple present tense is formed by adding the suffix *-s*, while the regular simple past tense is formed with the suffix *-ed*. In contrast, periphrastic constructions involve multiple free components which interact in the syntax to convey the intended tense, aspect, or mood. This often occurs with the lexical verb as a participle being supported by an auxiliary which provides further grammatical information. An example of a periphrastic construction is the perfect in English which is formed with the auxiliary *have* preceding a lexical verb in past participle form. Both the auxiliary and the participle interact to express the perfect. The crucial distinction between the two systems is that periphrasis involves two or more

free constituents (an auxiliary and participle) whereas synthesis involves a single constituent which is marked morphologically with a bound morpheme.

In what follows, I will consider instances of the miscellaneous verbal paradigms alongside example clauses to formulate a unified proposal of clause structure concerning tense and aspect in Pahari-Pothwari. The first step is to diagnose which verb forms are periphrastic (auxiliary-participle constructions) and which are synthetic (entirely conjugational). These constructions can be distinguished based on certain structural criteria. The composition of verb phrases only becomes clear when considering the whole paradigm, rather than an example in solitude. When comparing various verb-forms, a pattern emerges.

To begin with, let us inspect the verb *ona* 'be' which has been called a copula and an auxiliary. This verb clearly inflects for three tenses (past, present, and future) as follows:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	sã	sã
2nd	sẽ	so
3rd	si	sən

TABLE 3.1: Paradigm of *ona* 'be' in the past tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	ã	ã
2nd	ẽ	o
3rd	ɛ	ən

TABLE 3.2: Paradigm of *ona* 'be' in the present tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	osã	osã
2nd	osẽ	oso
3rd	osi	osən

TABLE 3.3: Paradigm of *ona* 'be' in the future tense

This verb only inflects for person and number, though we shall see that in other dialects (such as that spoken in the Anderhal region or Tehsil Dadyal adjacent to Chakswari) *ona* also inflects for gender in the past tense. Grierson (1919) states *ona* is the only verb which inflects entirely synthetically (meaning that it conjugates without the need of another verb) for all three tenses (past, present, and future) whereas no lexical verb conjugates in the same way for the three tenses; lexical verbs instead inflect to form participles used alongside *ona* which acts as an auxiliary.

In the absence of a verb participle, *ona* is used as a copula. The copula usually occupies the clause-final position (as in (a), (d), and (e)) but it may also occur clause-medially (such as between the subject and a predicative adjective) although this has an impact on focus interpretation:

(1) a. Mary huʃ ɛ
Mary happy be-PRS.3SG
'Mary is happy.'

b. Mary ɛ huʃ
Mary be-PRS.3SG happy
'Mary is happy.'

c. *ɛ Mary huʃ
be-PRS.3SG Mary happy
'Mary is happy.'

d. Mary huʃ si
Mary happy be-PST.3SG
'Mary was happy.'

e. Mary huʃ osi
Mary happy be-FUT.3SG
'Mary will be happy.'

The copula cannot occur clause-initially, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (c). The past and present forms are prosodically weak (unstressed in the clause). There is an additional emphatic form of *ona* in both the past and present tenses which is formed by prefixing the vowel ɛ to it:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	ɛ:sã	ɛ:sã
2nd	ɛ:sẽ	ɛ:so
3rd	ɛ:si	ɛ:sən

TABLE 3.4: Paradigm of *ona* 'be' in the emphatic past tense

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	ɛ:ã	ɛ:ã
2nd	ɛ:ẽ	ɛ:o
3rd	ɛ:a	ɛ:n

TABLE 3.5: Paradigm of *ona* 'be' in the emphatic present tense

These emphatic forms are used to emphasise or stress certain facts:

(2) Mary huʃ ɛ:a
Mary happy be.PRS.3SG
'Mary is indeed happy.'

A curious observation is that when answering polar questions, the past and present forms cannot be used in isolation, and their emphatic forms are required to do so:

(3) a. Mary huʃ ɛ
Mary happy be.PRS.3SG
'Is Mary happy?'

b. ahã huʃ ɛ
yes happy be.PRS.3SG

'Yes, she is happy.'

c. *ahã ɛ
yes be-PRS.3SG
'Yes, she is happy.'

d. ahã ɛ:a
yes be.PRS.3SG
'Yes, she is indeed happy.'

On the other hand, the future form of *ona* is sufficient to answer a polar question:

(4) a. Mary huʃ o-si?
Mary happy be-FUT.3SG
'Will Mary be happy?'

b. ahã o-si
yes be-FUT.3SG
'Yes, she will be happy.'

This hints that there is some fundamental semantic and syntactic difference between the past/present and the future; the past and present copula forms are unstressed and cannot be bare (though their emphatic counterparts can) while the future does is not, it does not have an emphatic form, and it can appear independently. Given that *o* is the verbal root, it is apparent that the future tense endings are identical to the past tense forms. This phonological similarity is the reason why Nazir (2015) suggests that they are the same 'non-present' structure. However, usage of the future tense forms differ from that of past tense forms in a number of structural ways and as a result, I suggest that the future and the past are only phonologically similar (perhaps for diachronic reasons) but are inherently different as shown by synchronic data of lexical verb constructions.

Following on from Grierson (1919), Khalique (2018), and Nazir (2015), it is agreed upon that verbs have a basic root which is the same as that used to express the imperative, usually monosyllabic. Verbs can be conjugated into the subjunctive and conditional (sometimes referred to as the past subjunctive) by affixing the appropriate verb endings. All other verb constructions are formed by the lexical verb bearing the perfective or imperfective aspect followed by *ona*, or in the future tense, which is arguably also a synthetic tense. There are a number of reasons which suggest that the future belongs to a separate paradigm and is unrelated to the past contra the 'non-present' hypothesis: (a) there are emphatic forms of the past and present which the future does not have; (b) the future tense verb endings cannot be separated from the verbal root; (c) other neighbouring dialects further inflect the past for gender whereas the future does not in the same way; (d) the future cannot be negated in the same way as the past and present are. The following table outlines the future tense forms for the verb *kha* 'eat':

	Singular	Plural
1st	kha-sã 'I will eat'	kha-sã 'We will eat'
2nd	kha-sẽ 'You will eat'	kha-so 'You will eat'
3rd	kha-si 'He/she/it will eat'	kha-sən 'They will eat'

TABLE 3.6: Paradigm of the verb *kha* 'eat' in the future tense

This paradigm will now be compared with the majority of other lexical verb constructions which involve a perfective or imperfective distinction. There are a number of facts which suggest that most lexical verb constructions are in fact auxiliary-participle constructions: (a) the lexical verb has participial qualities; (b) *ona* has auxiliary qualities; (c) there is a tripartite pattern with each participle being able to co-occur with *ona* in any of three tenses; (d) the constituents are separable in that they can be separated by question words and pronouns, which hints that they are free morphemes.

We can observe that the imperfective and perfective forms have properties of participles, while the future tense forms do not, implying that the former are periphrastically formed. Lowe (2015) defines participles as deverbal adjectives; they are non-finite forms bearing both adjectival and verbal qualities. Akin to verbs, participles carry inflectional morphology on the verbal stem, and they involve some event interpretation as they convey an action or eventuality and its aspect. On the other hand, participles often inflect in the same way as adjectives and count nouns.

Most verbal constructions in Pahari-Pothwari involve the lexical verb bearing aspectual information, either of two aspects: perfective (denoting completed actions) or imperfective (denoting continuous or ongoing actions). The only difference between perfective and imperfective constructions, apart from the participial inflection and aspectual semantics, is that the perfective participle agrees with the object with transitive verbs in terms of number and gender, while in the imperfective, there is consistent subject-agreement. The aspectual distinctions are expressed on the lexical verb by inflection, with endings being suffixed to the verb root:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	-ja	-i
Feminine	-e	-ijã

TABLE 3.7: Paradigm of participles in the Perfective Aspect

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	-na	-ni
Feminine	-ne	-nijã

TABLE 3.8: Paradigm of participles in the Imperfective Aspect

The verb endings tabulated above are very similar with the nasal consonant /n/ being the distinguishing property differentiating the imperfective from the perfective. The inflectional endings given above compare with the paradigms of declension for adjectives, such as *kala* ('black') provided as follows:

	Masculine	**Feminine**
Singular	kala	kali
Plural	kale	kalijã

TABLE 3.9: Declensional paradigm for the adjective *kala* 'black'

Lexical verbs exhibit participial qualities because they bear similar endings to adjectival endings. From the paradigms, it is clear that the participles inflects for number and gender in the same way as the adjectives; they inflect with the same vowel endings. These adjectival characteristics provide strong evidence for the main lexical verb being inflected into a participle.

This clarifies that there seems to be a lexical verb participle, yet the question arises of its interaction with the auxiliary. The following table demonstrates how the verb with root *kha* 'eat' is expressed in the masculine present imperfective in that it denotes continuous actions occurring in the present. The constructions are comprised of the *kha* in imperfective participle form followed by present tense forms of *ona*:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	kha-na (j)ã 'I am eating' or 'I eat'	kha-ne ã 'We are eating' or 'We eat'
2nd	kha-na ẽ 'You are eating' or 'You eat'	kha-ne o 'You are eating' or 'You eat'
3rd	kha-na ɛ 'He/she/it is eating' or 'He/she/it eats'	kha-ne ən 'They are eating' or 'They eat'

TABLE 3.10: Paradigm of the verb *kha* 'eat' in the present imperfective (masculine forms)

The above data provides substantial evidence that the verb stem synthetically forms a participle and becomes part of an auxiliary construction so that it is followed by the auxiliary *ona*. I argue that there are two main aspects, the imperfective and the perfective, which are expressed by a participle which co-occurs with an auxiliary. The auxiliary *ona* conjugates for tense to denote different temporal meanings, as well as person and number, while the participle inflects to designate aspectual relations as well as gender and number. The verb *ona* ('be') typically occurs in clause-final position, following the lexical verb. The following data includes instantiations of the intransitive verb with root *se* ('sleep') as well as how they interact with the verb *ona* to express variations of tense-aspect. In these examples, the conjugated forms of *ona* follow the participles:

(5) a. o se-na si
3PL sleep-IMPF.M.SG be.PST.3SG
'He/she/it slept/was asleep/had slept'

b. mɛ̃ se-na (j)ã
1SG sleep-IMPF.M.SG be.PRS.1SG
'I sleep/am sleeping'

c. mɛ̃ se-n-ã
1SG sleep-IMPF.M.SG-be.PRS.1SG

'I sleep/am sleeping'

In the present imperfective verb construction in (b) he sentence-final *ona* can be cliticised as illustrated in (c) which is another indication that it is an auxiliary, given that auxiliaries are often cliticised. The usage of *ona* in Pahari-Pothwari as an auxiliary is in line with the typological notion where numerous unrelated language use the copula 'be' as an auxiliary (Dik, 1987). This auxiliariation of the copula can be held to be because it did not hold much independent meaning initially, so desemanticisation was overcome, and that both the copula and its auxiliary verb counterpart are supportive verbs, included in clauses to fulfil grammatical constraints, potentially filling a void.

In the following sentences, the first includes *ona* in the past tense, the second, in the present tense, and the third, in the future tense. These three forms can interact with any lexical verb, such as the verb *se* ('sleep') in the following examples:

(6) a. mɛ̃ se-ni sã
1SG sleep-IMPF.F.SG be.PST.1SG
'I (feminine) was sleeping'

b. mɛ̃ se-ni ã
1SG sleep-IMPF.F.SG be.PRS.1SG
'I (feminine) am sleeping'

c. mɛ̃ se-ni o-sã
1SG sleep-IMPF.F.SG be-FUT.1SG
'I (feminine) will sleeping'

d. tũ se-ni ẽ
2SG sleep-IMPF.F.SG be.PRS.2SG
'You (feminine) are sleeping'

e. o se-ne o-sən
3PL sleep-IMPF.M.PL be.FUT.3PL
'They (masculine) will be sleeping'

I have employed examples including the feminine form *se-ni* given that the phonological properties of the masculine form mean that it is often cliticised which makes the pattern less apparent. The only difference between thefirst three sentences above is the tense of *ona*; the participial verb form *se-ni* is identical in each instance. The last two sentences demonstrate how when the person, number, and gender of the agent changes, the verb form changes, and the accompanying auxiliary *ona* matches it in person and number. The only difference between the examples is the tense of the auxiliary; the participle is identical throughout. Previous studies do not acknowledge this three-way branching and as such have analysed the tense-aspect structure in an unsatisfactory manner, overlooking the tripartite paradigm. Both kinds of participle, the perfective and the imperfective, occur with the auxiliary verb *ona*. This is pattern is further exemplified in the verb tables of Appendix A.

The number of free constituents in a clause can also be determined on the grounds of separability. We would expect a synthetic construction, with the nature of inflection being bound to the root, to be inseparable. Therefore, if certain constituents can

be separated by other words, they can be recognised as separate free morphemes or periphrastic rather than bound morphemes or inflectional. In Pahari-Pothwari, while interrogative sentences can be formed from the declarative through intonation, they can also be formed by inserting 'k-words' (analogous to English 'wh-' words): *kun* 'who'; *kɛ* 'what'; *kelɛ* 'when'; *kijã* 'why'; and *kistra* 'how'. These question words are relatively flexible within the clause; in the below example, it is shown that a question word can even occur between the lexical verb form and the conjugated form of *ona*, which suggests that it is an auxiliary; if it were inflectional, this would be impossible as the morpheme would be bound and inseparable with the addition of a question word. Changing the position of the question word affects the nuances of the focus of the interrogative sentence. In the first example the question word *kijã* 'why' can occur in any of three positions: sentence-initially exemplified by the first sentence; between the lexical verb *se-na* ('sleep' in imperfective participle form) and *si* (a past tense form of *ona*) demonstrated in the second sentence; and sentence-finally, as in the third sentence:

(7) a. kijã se-na si
why sleep-IMPF.M.SG be.PST.3SG
b. se-na kijã si
sleep-IMPF.M.SG why be.PST.3SG
c. se-na si kijã
sleep-IMPF.M.SG why be.PST.3SG why
'Why was he asleep?/why did he sleep?/why had he slept?'

Therefore, it is clear that the lexical verb form, here *se-na*, and the verb *ona* are separable, which suggests that both are free morphemes but interact as part of a participle-auxiliary structure. On the contrary, the ending *-na* is inseparable from the verbal root *se-*; a question word or in fact any constituent cannot separate the two, such that a hypothetical construction **se-kijã-na* is ungrammatical. There are no environments in which the root *se-* or the root of any lexical verb can be separated from the imperfective ending *-na*, or any of the imperfective and perfective endings. This suggests that they are bound morphemes and thus cannot be auxiliaries. The crucial distinction between periphrasis and synthesis is that the former involves free morphemes whereas the latter involves a bound morpheme. None of the constituents in the following sentences can be separated further in the way that the previous forms can be separated by inserting question words:

(8) a. kijã se-so
why sleep-FUT.2PL
b. se-so kijã
sleep-FUT.2PL why
c. *se-kijã-so
sleep-why-FUT.2PL
'Why will you sleep?'

A question word can only occur on either side of the future verb structure; it cannot separate the form: in fact, nothing can separate the future tense endings from *se* or any verbal root. This indicates that the endings are bound morphemes, meaning that they cannot be auxiliaries which are free by definition. This test of separability and inseparability gives compelling evidence that there are two free components (a

participle and auxiliary) within the verb complex.

Another significant difference between future constructions and present or past perfective and imperfective constructions is that they do not inflect for gender. The imperfective and perfective constructions differ with respect to tense (the tripartite split demonstrated before), gender, person, and number. However, the future only exists in a single paradigm inflecting for person and number only, not gender, with the same future tense throughout. Moreover, the future has no three-way pattern in the same way as the imperfective and perfective does. The perfective and imperfective participles are exponents of aspect, gender and number; each form involves a different participle. On the other hand, the future forms above do not seem to involve a participle with adjectival properties and instead involve the same verbal root, adhering to no such distinction.

Another argument for the difference between the auxiliary verb constructions and the future tense can be obtained from observing microvariation between the variety spoken in Chakswari and the variety spoken in neighbouring Dadyal. Both dialects are extremely similar, only varying in terms of some vocabulary and few grammatical constructions. One notable point of variation is the inflection of the verb *ona* ('be') in the past tense. The following provides the conjugational past-tense forms of *ona* in the dialect of Dadyal:

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	sã		sejã	sijã
2nd	sẽ		seo	
3rd	sa	si	se	sijã

TABLE 3.11: Paradigm of the past tense of *ona* in the dialect of Dadyal

These past tense forms inflect for gender in the third person (singular and plural) and in the first person plural, while. In contrast, the future tense endings for lexical verbs remain the same for both dialects. Thus, although the phonological realisations of past *ona* and the future tense endings converge in certain dialects (such as in villages of Chakswari, where it has caused a discrepancy in their being treated syntactically the same under a 'non-present') other dialects maintain a clearly observable difference which makes the judgment of their functional difference even more transparent.

Overall, there is an accumulation of strong evidence which shows the future tense is formed synthetically: (a) the same root is used throughout the future paradigm and it does not resemble a participle; (b) the root is inseparable from the ending, whereas auxiliaries in the other constructions can be separated; (c) other dialects show that the future ending may only incidentally resemble the past forms of auxiliary *ona*. The future tense suffixes' resemblance to the past tense paradigm of the verb *ona* is likely a result of diachronic grammaticalisation, but for the purpose of this synchronic syntactic study, it is not relevant, and the future is shown to function differently. Therefore, the data shows that while the perfective and imperfective are formed with the auxiliary *ona* ('be') the future is formed purely inflectionally, that is, without an auxiliary.

3.2 Standard Negation

In Pahari-Pothwari, standard negation is expressed using the negative morpheme *n-* which inflects for person, number, and tense. This has previously been analysed as either a prefix which attaches to the auxiliary verb (similar to descriptions in Khalique (2018) for the Poonchi dialect and Bashir (2006) for Hindko and Saraiki) or as a free morpheme which inflects and is itself actually a negative auxiliary verb, as suggested in the grammatical descriptions of the Shahpuri dialect in Grierson (1919) and Wilson (1898). The following table provides the paradigm for this negative morpheme:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	nã	nã
2nd	nẽ	no
3rd	ni	ni

TABLE 3.12: Paradigm of the negative marker *n-* in the present tense

This negative morpheme can occur clause-initially, clause-medially, and clause-finally, although there is strictly no double or multiple negation and only one negative morpheme can be used per clause. It would seem that the negative morpheme is in fact a negative auxiliary verb rather than simply a bound morpheme attaching to an auxiliary because, in the third person form of the paradigm, the negative marker is *ni* for both singular and plural constructions. However, the third person form of the copular auxiliary is ɛ in the singular and ən in the plural. If the negative marker were simply a bound morpheme *n-* which attaches to the copular auxiliary, we would hypothetically expect the negative forms to be **nɛ* or **nən* yet these forms do not exist and instead a phonologically distinct form *ni* for the third person negative morpheme is attested. This suggests that it is not a bound morpheme but rather, as the negative marker inflects for person, number, and bears tense information (present tense) in the same way as an auxiliary, it conforms to the definition of a negative auxiliary.

The following examples show that the present tense copula and the negative morphemes appear to be in complementary distribution:

(9) a. Mary ɛ huʃ
Mary be-PRS.3SG happy
'Mary is happy.'

b. Mary huʃ ni
Mary happy NEG
'Mary is not happy.'

c. Mary ni huʃ
Mary NEG happy
'Mary is not happy.'

d. *Mary huʃ ni ɛ
Mary NEG happy NEG be-PRS.3SG
'Mary is not happy.'

What is clear is that negation and the affirmative copula of the present tense cannot co-occur. While this could be seen as a deletion process as described in Bhatia (1978), in such a case, the copula would be optional, which is not true here. The affirmative copula is required but cannot be in the same clause as the negative morpheme, which further provides evidence that it is a negative auxiliary.

While the positive auxiliary verbs cannot appear clause-initially and usually only appear clause-finally, the negative auxiliary is in comparison much more flexible within the clause:

(10) a. Mary kha-ni ɛ
Mary eat-IMPF.F.SG be-PRS.3SG
'Mary is eating.' or 'Mary eats'

b. Mary ni kha-ni
Mary NEG eat-IMPF.F.SG
'Mary is not eating.' or 'Mary does not eat'

c. Mary kha-ni ni
Mary eat-IMPF.F.SG NEG
'Mary is not eating.' or 'Mary does not eat'

d. ni Mary kha-ni
NEG Mary eat-IMPF.F.SG
'Mary is not eating.' or 'Mary does not eat'

It is most commonly found immediately preceding the verb participle as in (b) which is consistent with the typology of negation in Indo-Aryan languages in general, though it can also appear clause-finally as in (c) and clause-initially (d). There is also a form of the negative auxiliary verb in the past tense (tabulated below) which syntactically behaves in the same way as the present tense forms, the difference in meaning being that they situate an event within the past:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	nãsã	nãsã
2nd	nẽsẽ	noso
3rd	nisi	nisən

TABLE 3.13: Paradigm of the negative auxiliary in the past tense

Another interesting consideration is that the negative morpheme is post-cyclic in the sense of Bhatia (1978) in that it only interacts with the verb construction within the same main clause:

(11) a. mi-ki ləg-na ja ke kha-ni ɛ
1SG-ACC seem-IPFV.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COMP eat-IPFV.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'I think that she is eating'

b. mi-ki ləg-na ja ke ni
1SG-ACC seem-IPFV.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COMP NEG.AUX.3SG
kha-ni
eat-IPFV.F.SG
'I think that she isn't eating'

c. mi-ki ni ləg-na ke kha-ni
1SG-ACC NEG.AUX.3SG seem-IPFV.M.SG COMP eat-IPFV.F.SG
ɛ
be.PRS.3SG
'I don't think that she's eating'

The first sentence includes an affirmative auxiliary as a point of comparison. In the second sentence, the lexical verb *kha-ni* is under the scope of the negative marker *ni* and there is no affirmative auxiliary as indicated by the absence of ɛ which is obligatory in the first sentence. The negative morpheme has no impact on the preceding verb *ləg-na* given that it is part of a separate main clause, separated by the complementizer *ke* 'that'. In the same way, only the verb *ləg-na* is under the scope of negation in the third sentence, as the auxiliary-participle construction *kha-ni* ɛ remains unaffected. Therefore, the impact of negation of the marker is restricted to the clause it appears in or at least is disrupted by complementisers such as *ke* 'that' which can be used to combine main clauses.

3.3 Negation and The Future

A curious observation is that lexical verbs in the future tense cannot be negated using the inflectional negative morpheme *n-* which is used with lexical verbs in the past and present tenses. Khalique (2018) is the first to recognise this. It had been noted that there is a likeness between the future and the past given that there are similar inflections, starting with /s/, and this has led to the grouping of both as part of a 'non-present' (Nazir, 2015). Section 3.1 addressed a difference of opinion in the literature surrounding the composition of the future, whether it is a synthetic tense formed through affixation, as suggested by Grierson (1919) and Khalique (2018), or an auxiliary verb construction, formed periphrastically, or at least syntactically related to the past tense inflectional endings in a 'non-present' category, as implied by Nazir (2015). It has been concluded that the future is indeed a synthetic tense and also that the inflectional negative morpheme is a negative auxiliary. As the future tense does not require an auxiliary, it follows that this is the reason as to why the combination of the future tense and the negative auxiliary is ungrammatical.

If they do not require an auxiliary and thus cannot be negated using the inflectional negative morpheme *n-*, the question then arises as to how constructions in the future tense can be negated. Contrary to Khalique (2018)'s suggestion that the future can seemingly not be negated at all, verbs in the future tense form can be negated using the negative morpheme *na*. However, this negation is often used in contexts of a hypothetical event, meaning an event which has not occurred and is rather a possibility or a thought:

(12) a. ʤe Maryam kəl na ʤa-si fir kɛ o-si
if Maryam tomorrow NEG go-FUT.3SG then what go-FUT.3SG
'If Mary doesn't go tomorrow what will happen?'

b. o na @tʃ-si tɛ betər ɛ
3SG NEG come-FUT.3SG and better be.PRS.3SG
'It's better if he does not come.'

Both of these examples can be expressed in English using the present tense, in that they do not necessarily refer to a precise or definitive future event, but rather a vaguer prospect, idea, or wish. The examples show that the negative marker *na* can be used to modify verbs in the future tense but here they indicate a hypothetical situation rather than a negative future event.

The concept of a negative future can be expressed in a number of other ways by paraphrasing various indicative forms in the present tense. The simplest of these is sentential negation of the present imperfective form:

(13) a. Ali se-si
Ali sleep-FUT.3SG
'Ali will sleep.'

b. *Ali ni se-si
Ali NEG sleep-FUT.3SG
'Ali will not sleep.'

c. Ali ni se-na
Ali NEG sleep-IPFV.PTCP.M.3SG
'Ali is not sleeping.' or 'Ali does not sleep' or 'Ali won't sleep.'

d. Ali na se-si
Ali NEG sleep-FUT.3SG
'Ali won't sleep.' or 'Ali may not sleep.'

The first sentence provides an example of the future tense in an affirmative clause, while the second sentence shows how this cannot be negated as expected, using the inflectional negator *n-* which is used to negate the past and present. The third sentence depicts how sentential negation of a present imperfective construction is often used to produce the meaning of a negative future. The fourth sentence shows that the future can in fact be negated using the morpheme *na* but the meaning here is slightly more ambiguous and is not typically used to express a non-event in the future, but rather signifies something similar to a modal expression, a hypothetical situation or a possibility. There are a number of other verbal forms which can equally used to construct the meaning of a negative future:

(14) a. o kərən-gi ɛ
3SG do-go.PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'She's going to do it.'

b. o ni kərən-gi
3SG NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG do-go.PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'She's not going to do it.'

c. o kərən-ləgi ɛ
3SG do-hurt.PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'She's doing it.' or 'She's going to do it.'

d. o ni kərən-;əgi
3SG NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG do-hurt.PFV.PTCP.F.SG
'She's not doing it.' or 'She's not going to do it.'

The sentences above demonstrate how compound verb constructions, with the combination of the lexical verb (in this case *kər* 'do') and an additional grammaticalised verb (here *ləg* 'hurt' and *gi* 'go') can result in future tense meanings. These forms can be negated as per standard sentential negation using a negative auxiliary to construct a negative future meaning.

The future in general in Pahari-Pothwari is comparable to a mood in that it can be used for hopes, wishes, and other meanings typically associated with modal expressions:

(15) a. Ali ume:d kər-na ja ke Maryam dʒi:ti
Ali hope do-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG be.PRS.3SG COMP Maryam win
dʒa:-si
go-FUT.3SG
'Ali hopes that Maryam wins.'

b. ume:d kər-ni ã ke thi:k o-so
hope do-IPFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.1SG COMP be-FUT.2PL
'I hope that you are well.'

These examples demonstrate how usage of the future tense can be triggered by certain phrases which in other languages result in the present tense or the subjunctive mood.

3.4 The Negator *na*

The negator *na* is a free morpheme that exists independently to mean 'no' and it is used to negate 'irrealis' verb constructions. It occurs in most contexts where the inflectional negative auxiliary *n-* cannot be used to negate. *Na* is used in a similar way to *na* in Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi in that it is employed to negate verbs in the imperative, subjunctive, and conditional. In these instances, *na* typically appears in the immediately preverbal position. However, word order is relatively flexible meaning that it can occur in various positions, even post-verbally. The crucial difference between this morpheme and the other negative marker of sentential negation *n-* is that it remains the same form throughout constructions (unlike the other which inflects) nor does it seem to carry any tense information or any phi-features associated with person or number. While there is a high possibility that both markers are diachronically related (both beginning with the same initial nasal consonant) and it is possible that inflectional *n-* evolved from a combination of *na* and the copula auxiliary, both negative morphemes are synchronically different in that they behave differently and as such, can be analysed as distinct morphemes.

There are many types of imperative construction which have not been well described in existing grammatical descriptions of this variety. The basic imperative is equivalent in form to the verbal root. For example, the verb with root *se* 'sleep' has an imperative form *se* 'sleep!' which signifies a direct command. However, the usage of this imperative is somewhat restricted to informal contexts, notably ony used with familiar or younger speakers. The following examples demonstrate how *na* is used to construct prohibitives by negating these imperative forms:

(16) a. na se
NEG go.IMP

'Don't sleep yet!'

b. udər na dʒa
there NEG GO.IMP
'Don't go there!'

In these examples, *na* occupies the position immediately preceding the verb. There is another kind of imperative construction where inflection is used to distinguish between singular and plural, the former being similarly used in informal contexts while the latter is used in formal contexts or with older speakers. These are formed using the following suffixes:

	Singular	**Plural**
Imperative	-jã	-jo or -je:

TABLE 3.14: Paradigm of the Imperative

This kind of imperative construction is formed by combining the above bound morphemes as a suffix the verbal root. There is a distinction of politeness in that the singular forms can be perceived as familiar or impolite while the plural forms are polite:

(17) a. tũ udər dʒaijã na
2SG there go.IMP NEG
'Don't go there!'

b. tusã sa:re na tʃa:vəl khɛijo
2PL all NEG rice eat-IMP
'Don't you all have rice.'

These examples demonstrate that the marker *na* is not restricted to the immediate preverbal position; in the first sentence, it occurs clause-finally, following the imperative verb construction, while in the second sentence, *na* occurs between the subject *tusã sa:re* ('you all') and the object *tʃa:vəl* ('rice'). However, it should be clarified that even though the negative morpheme *na* may not always precede the verb, it is still in fact clausal negation and so it seems these alternative word orders arise as a result of scrambling which can be explained by movement processes.

The marker *na* is also used to negate the subjunctive and the conditional. Both the subjunctive and the conditional are formed synthetically with the verb conjugating, inflecting for number and person. Both paradigms are very similar, with the crucial difference being the addition of the suffix *-ar* (sometimes pronounced *-al*) in the conditional. The paradigms for these forms are given below:

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	ã	ã
2nd	ĩ:	o
3rd	ɛ	a:n or i:n

TABLE 3.15: Paradigm of the (present) subjunctive

The subjunctive and conditional are used to express events which are not exactly factual but hypothetical. The present subjunctive is loosely linked to potential events

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	ãar	ãar
2nd	ẽ:ar	oar
3rd	ɛar	a:nar or i:nar

TABLE 3.16: Paradigm of the conditional (or past subjunctive)

in the present, while the conditional refers to potential past events, though these constructions do not conform to a stringent temporal category and express possibility, wishes, desires, hopes, and other speculative or theoretical events. The following examples illustrate how these the subjunctive and the conditional are negated using *na*:

(18) a. mẽ kəde na dʒãər
1SG ever NEG go.COND.1SG
'I would never have gone.'

b. mar-i mərzi ɛ Maryam na dʒɛ
1SG.GEN-F.SG choice be.3SG Maryam NEG go.SBJV.3SG
'I want Maryam not to go.'

In the first example, the conditional is used given that the event of having not gone in the past is theoretical. In the second example, the subjunctive is used to express a wish or desire; this is negated with *na* which can only scope over the subjunctive verb *dʒɛ* rather than the copula ɛ.

The second person forms of the present subjunctive can also be used as imperatives as they can express direct commands or direct address. The following sentences show that these second person subjunctive forms can behave much like imperatives and when negated, are prohibitives:

(19) a. tusã idər na ətʃ-o
2PL here NEG come-SBJV.2PL
'Don't come here.'

b. tũ idər na ətʃ-ĩ
2SG here NEG come-SBJV.2SG
'Don't come here!'

The difference between the two clauses is the degree of politeness expressed through the singular-plural distinction of the subjunctive verb inflectional marking.

An additional form of the imperative is in compound verbs which comprise of a non-finite form of the lexical verb with another verbal element *-ʃor* or *-ʃoro* (sometimes pronounced with the initial consonant elided as *-or* or *-oro*. The lexical verb has to be transitive as intransitive verbs in this construction are ungrammatical. It seems that the ending *-ʃor* is actually a grammaticalised form of the verb with root *tʃor* 'leave' and that *-ʃor* is derived from the basic imperative form whereas *-ʃoro* is from the second person subjunctive form. This type of imperative construction is exemplified as follows:

(20) a. tusã tʃa:wəl khɛi-ʃor-o
2PL rice eat-LEAVE-SBJV.2PL
'(You) eat the rice.'

b. tũ pa:ni pi:-ʃor
2SG water drink-LEAVE.SBJV.2PL
'(You) drink the water.'

It is curious that these imperative forms cannot be negated. Even though they are imperative constructions, the inclusion of the negative morpheme NA in any position makes the clause ungrammatical. This is probably because *ʃor* is included to emphasise or draw attention to the action requested and so the ungrammaticality occurs for semantic or pragmatic reasons.

Na is also used in constructions similar to neither/nor in English. However, it can only be used to combine two clauses and cannot negate single constituents such as a noun phrase:

(21) a. na tusã a:x-ja ke dʒɛi-sək-ni ɛ tɛ na tusã
NEG 2PL say-PFV.M.SG COMP go-MOD-IPFV.F.SG be.3SG and NEG 2PL
a:x-ja ke ni dʒɛi-sək-ni
say-PFV.M.SG COMP NEG.AUX.3SG go-MOD-IPFV.F.SG
'Neither did you say that she can go, nor did you say that can't go.'

b. ?mẽ na York na Leeds gjã
1SG NEG York NEG Leeds go.PFV.PTCP.M.SG
'I went to neither York nor Leeds.'

The first sentence demonstrates how *na* can be used to combine two clauses together in a way comparable with conjunction, quite similar to neither/nor consructions in English. The grammaticality of the second sentence is somewhat questionable and seems to rely on intonation. More data would be required to make a conclusive judgement about the usage of *na* in such constructions where the phrases being combined do not contain finite verbs. In these sentences, while it does negate the truth value of the clause, it does not seem to have any intricate impact on the clause other than combining them in a similar way to how a conjunction might. As such, it is possible that this use of *na* in neither/nor constructions has a different functional structure to that of *na* in sentential negation which is used specifically to negate irrealis constructions.

Overall, with the exception of neither/nor consructions, there is a pattern in that that the morpheme *na* is consistently used to negate non-indicative or irrealis verbal constructions, which are also all synthetic forms.

3.5 Quantifiers and Negation

It has been widely recognised that quantifiers under the scope of negation results in a change in their semantics. This section illustrates the pecularities in Pahari-Pothwari surrounding the interaction between quantifiers and negative morphemes. Firstly, it will introduce the different types of quantifiers and how they behave under the scope of negation. I will also explain how negative indefinites in Pahari-Pothwari work as they are formed through sentential negation. In addition, the quantifier *koi* 'some' or 'someone' will be looked at more closely because it seems to have been

grammaticalised into a modifier or emphatic element when used alongside the negative morphemes. Finally, the use of *thora* 'little' to induce negation will also be demonstrated.

Bhatia (1978) describes that there are four main types of quantifiers found in South-Asian languages: (a) simple quantifiers which are free and monomorphemic; (b) compound quantifiers which comprise of two different simple quantifiers used together; (c) reduplicated quantifiers which refer to repetition of the simple quantifier; and (d) quantifiers with negative particles. The last type includes quantifiers such as *koi-na-koi* 'someone or other' where simple quantifiers are joined with what seems to be the negative particle *na*, though the semantic denotation of the negative morpheme here remains unclear as it has likely been grammaticalised or perhaps some other phonologically similar construction (such as genitive *na*). This section will focus on the interaction between negation and the first type, the simple quantifiers.

The following figure is adapted from Bhatia (1978)'s model of quantifiers in Hindi and Punjabi, and it depicts a scale of the quantifiers found in Pahari-Pothwari, from the universal quantifier *sa:ra* 'all' through to *koi* which can denote 'some' or 'someone':

sa:ra	*zɛdɛtər*	*boũ*	*kɛ̃ĩ*	*ədda*	*kudʒ*	*thora*	*koi*
'all'	'most'	'many'	'several'	'half'	'some'	'few'	'some'/'someone'

FIGURE 3.1: Quantifier Scale in Pahari-Pothwari

Bhatia (1978) notes that there can be variation in the denotation of certain quantifiers on the scale. For instance, *kɛ̃ĩ* can sometimes vary in signification from 'many' or 'several' depending on the context, so that the meaning of a quantifier can occupy a slightly different position on the scale based on variation in dialects. In the same way, the quantifiers are not necessarily exact; *ədda* may not mean precisely 'half' but could in some contexts mean 'nearly half' or 'approximately half'. When the universal quantifier *sa:ra* 'all' or the median quantifier *adda* 'half' are negated, there are a number of interpretations available because the construction can refer to any quantifier lower in position on the scale.:

(22) a. sa:re bənde nisən a:e, bər-a:l kudʒ bənde
all people NEG.AUX.PST.3PL come.PRF.PTCP.3PL but some people
a:e sən
come.PRF.PTCP.3PL be.PST.3PL
'All the people didn't come, but some did.'

b. Ali ədi ta:p nisi kha-di
Ali half chapati NEG.AUX.PST.3SG be.PST.3PL eat-PRF.PTCP.3SG
'Ali didn't eat half a chapati.'

In the first sentence, the phrase *sa:re bənde* 'all people' is negated through sentential negation. It has the potential for lack of clarity given that it can mean that nobody came but it can also mean that any number of people less than the quantifier *sa:ra* 'all'. Therefore, a concessive clause is included to clarify the intended meaning. The second sentence is also ambiguous because there are multiple interpretations available. The quantifier *ədi* being negated with the clause gives rise to two possibilities:

(a) that Ali ate more than half the chapati, perhaps even all of it; (b); that Ali ate less than half of the chapati, including perhaps not having eaten it at all. This ambiguity would be resolved through the context of the utterance or more information would be added to clarify.

This discussion has shown that the interaction of quantifiers and negation can result in ambiguity or at least a change in the meaning of the quantify which is not always directly a reversal of truth values which might be expected. The next sections explore how two particular quantifiers *koi* 'some' or 'someone' and *thora* 'little' are used in negative constructions or to modify or induce a negative meaning.

3.5.1 The Negator *koi*

Bashir and Conners (2019) describe a number of negative constructions in Hindko and Saraiki which are termed emphatic negation. This refers to a construction where the quantifier *koi* becomes an emphatic negative element and co-occurs with the inflectional negative auxiliary of standard negation *n-*. The quantifier *koi* is similar in meaning to the quantifier *kudʒ* as both express a vague or indefinite quantity, in the same way as 'some' in English. However, there are a number of differences in terms of their usage. *Koi* can generally be used to quantify any noun phrase to imply a degree of indefiniteness, so that it can refer to 'any' unknown or indefinite quantity or number. The phrase *koi bənda* 'some person' can refer to any person. It can be used to modify animate noun phrases, such as *koi kuri* 'some girl' or 'any girl', as well as inanimate noun phrases, such as *koi pa:ni* 'some water' or 'any water'. In contrast, *kudʒ* is generally only used with plural noun phrases, as in *kudʒ bənde* 'some people', or mass nouns, such as *kudʒ pa:ni* 'some water' or *kudʒ a:ta* 'some wheat' meaning that the use of *kudʒ* modifying a singular count noun is typically ungrammatical, exemplified by the ungrammaticality of *kudʒ bənda*. The following example shows the use of *koi* as a determiner, modifying a noun:

(23) a. koi kuri seb kha-ni ɛ
some girl apple eat-IMPF.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'Some girl is eating an apple.' or 'Some girl eats apples'

Here, *koi* modifies the noun phrase *kuri* 'girl' and it is ambiguous whether it refers to a specific girl (which could be the case depending on the context of the utterance) or some unspecified girl.

The quantifier *koi* is often used in negative sentences, with either negative marker (inflectional *n-* or *na*. When it immediately precedes the negative morpheme, it seems that its function as a quantifier no longer applies and it has been somewhat grammaticalised in that it assists sentential negation or induces some kind an emphatic meaning. The idea that it is grammaticalised is supported by the fact that *koi* is sometimes pronounced together, phonologically merged, with the negative morpheme, so that it becomes *koin-* or even *kon-*. The following examples show how *koi* is used in negative sentences:

(24) a. koi kuri seb ni kha-ni
some girl apple NEG.AUX.3SG eat-IPFV.PTCP.F.SG
'No girl is eating an apple.'
b. kuri seb koi ni kha-ni
person apple some NEG.AUX.3SG eat-IPFV.PTCP.F.SG
'The girl is not eating an apple.' or 'The girl does not eat apples.'

Koi is used as a quantifier in the first sentence, modifying the noun phrase *kuri* 'girl' and so the sentential negation applies to this quantified noun phrase and the meaning of less than this quantity, i.e. no girl, is induced. In contrast, in the second sentence, *koi* appears in the position immediately before the negative auxiliary *ni* and does not appear to modify anything quantificationally. While it functions as a determiner or quantifier in the first sentence, its function in the second sentence is different and the clause denotes the same as it would without the presence of *koi* although perhaps it adds some emphasis. Thus, the grammaticalisation of *koi* in sentential negation becomes apparent when observing sentences in which it does not seem to add any quantificational information. This becomes more clear with its usage in the absence of a noun phrase within its scope which it cannot quantify, such as a pronoun:

(25) a. o koi ni thi:k
3SG some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG well
'He isn't well.'

b. o koi ni ətʃ-ni
3SG some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG come-IPFV.PTCP.F.SG
'She doesn't come.'

In both instances, the distal demonstrative *o* is used as a pronoun and cannot be quantifier by *koi*. It appears that *koi* modifies the negative marker. It is unclear what this quantifier adds to the semantic meaning.

It is important to notice that the inclusion of the quantifier *koi* can sometimes affect the interpretation of sentences in more ways than simply adding emphasis:

(26) a. Mary ni dʒa-ni
Mary NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG go-IMPF.F.SG
'Mary does not go.' or 'Mary is not going', 'Mary will not go'

b. Mary koi ni dʒa-ni
Mary some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG go-IMPF.F.SG
'Mary does not go.'

The addition of *koi* in the second sentence seems to remove the reading available in the first sentence of a negative future. While the second sentence can mean the same as the first, the available reading of the future, is not accessible from this sentence. A paraphrasing of the negative future can only be done through standard negation in the first sentence, in the absence of this quantifier *koi* which seems to modify the negator. The addition of *koi* also seems to have a subtle impact in the meaning of the negative construction in terms of the telicity of the action or some aspectual property:

(27) a. Maryam koi ni kha-ni
Maryam some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG eat-IMPF.F.SG
'Maryam is not eating.' or 'Maryam does not eat.'

b. Maryam ni kha-ni
Maryam NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG eat-IMPF.F.SG
'Maryam is not eating.' or 'Mary does not eat.'

Here, the second sentence has the implicature that Maryam did not eat to begin with, while the first seems to have more relevance to a continuous action in the present,

although the activity may have begun in the past. It is also interesting to examine the position of the quantifier *koi* in that even though it can also be a subject and a determiner, it is only in the position immediately preceding the negative morpheme that it induces the emphatic meaning or modifies the negation.

Another related construction is that the word *vi* (related to Hindi-Urdu *bhi*) meaning 'too' is often used together with the quantifier *koi* as *koi vi* and this has a denotation similar to English 'any':

(28) a. koi vi ni dʒa:-na
some too NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG go-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG
'Nobody is going.'
b. koi ni dʒa:-na
some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG go-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG
'He is not going.'
c. koi bənda ni dʒa:-na
some person NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG go-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG
'Nobody is going.'

This combination of *koi* and *vi* is also a negative polarity item and will be exemplified in a later section.

Overall, the examples given suggest that *koi* has undergone a process of grammaticalisation such that it has now become an additional emphatic marker when it is adjacent to the negative morphemes.

3.5.2 *Thora* as Negation

The quantifier *thora* means 'little' or 'less' and in some instances, it can be used to express a negative meaning, though it is not a standard form of negation and connotes sarcasm:

(29) mẽ thora kha:-sã
1SG little eat-FUT.1SG
'I will eat little.' or 'I won't eat!'

The above sentence is syntactically affirmative as there is no negative morpheme. However the semantics of the *thora* alongside the prosody and stress in which the utterance is pronounced can induce a negative interpretation, that the person will not eat. This construction is found in all tenses. As it is not a true negator, I will not attempt to analyse the structural characteristics of these constructions but only mention it here as it is one way in which non-standard negation can be expressed in Pahari-Pothwari.

3.6 Negative polarity items

A negative polarity item can be defined as a lexical item which is licensed by the negative environment of a clause and cannot occur in affirmative clauses. While this thesis does not attempt to explore the syntax and semantics of negative polarity items in Pahari-Pothwari, due to it being among the first outlines of negative constructions in this variety, it is of interest to identify some negative polarity items and observe how they can be licensed or anti-licensed in certain sentences.

There are no negative quantifiers in Pahari-Pothwari, such as 'nobody', 'none', 'no-one', 'nowhere', 'nothing', or 'never' which are found in English. Instead, such concepts are expressed using sentential negation, often with the morpheme *vi* 'too'. This usage is demonstrated in the following examples:

(30) a. koi bənda vi ni gja
some person too NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG go-PFV.PTCP.M.SG
'Nobody went.'

b. Maryam kundʒijã lor-ni si pər kuthɛ vi
Maryam keys find-IPFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PST.3SG but where too
nisən ləbb-e
NEG.AUX.PST.3PL find-PFV.M.PL
'Maryam was looking for the keys but found them nowhere.'

c. Maryam kədɛ vi England ni ɛ-i
Maryam ever too England NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG come-PFV.PTCP.F.SG
'Maryam has never been to England.'

d. mẽ kudʒ vi nã kin-na
1SG something too NEG.AUX.PRS.1SG take-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG
'I don't want anything'

In the first sentence, the noun phrase *koi bənda* 'some person' occurs with sentential negation which brings about the meaning of 'nobody' or 'no-one'. In the same manner, *kuthɛ vi* 'anywhere' is used with sentential negation and so the second sentence results in the meaning of 'nowhere', the same process applying to *kədɛ vi* 'ever' in the third clause, and *kudʒ vi* 'anything' in the fourth example. All of these constructions are also negative polarity items as they cannot be used in affirmative sentences, such that the affirmative counterparts of the above sentences are ungrammatical:

(31) a. *koi bənda vi gja
some person too go-PFV.PTCP.M.SG
'*Anybody went.'

b. *Maryam kundʒijã lor-ni si pər kuthɛ vi
Maryam keys find-IPFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PST.3SG but where too
ləbb-e sən
find-PFV.M.PL be.PST.3PL
'*Maryam was looking for the keys but found them anywhere.'

c. *Maryam kədɛ vi England ɛ-i
Maryam ever too England come-PFV.PTCP.F.SG
'*Maryam has ever been to England.'

d. *mẽ kudʒ vi kin-n-ã
1SG something too take-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG-be.PRS.1SG
'*I want anything.'

Therefore, the combination of *vi* 'too' and these noun phrases results in a range of negative polarity items.

Another potential negative polarity item found in Pahari-Pothwari is *mulũ* which

can also sometimes be pronounced *milũ* or *mələ̃*. *Mulũ* approximately corresponds in meaning to 'at all' or 'completely' or 'exactly' in English. Its status as a negative polarity item is indicated by the fact that it can occur in clauses with sentential negation but not in equivalent affirmative clauses:

(32) a. mi-ki mulũ koi ni pəsənd
1SG-ACC completely some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG like
'I don't like it at all.'

b. *mi-ki mulũ pəsənd ɛ
1SG-ACC completely like be.PRS.3SG
'*I like it at all.'

c. is-ki mulũ əkəl koi ni
3SG-ACC completely intellect some NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG
'He doesn't have any common sense.'

d. *is-ki mulũ əkəl ɛa
3SG-ACC completely intellect some be.PRS.3SG
'*He has any common sense.'

e. mi-ki mulũ kudʒ ni
1SG-ACC completely something NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG
ətʃ-na
come-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG
'I don't know anything at all.'

f. *mi-ki mulũ kudʒ ətʃ-na ja
1SG-ACC completely something come-IPFV.PTCP.M.SG be.PRS.3SG
'*I know anything at all.'

These examples illustrate how it appears that *mulũ* is somewhat restricted to clauses in which there are negative environments brought about by sentential negation. However, it seems that *mulũ* can actually appear in certain affirmative clauses, contrary to what the above data suggest:

(33) a. mẽ mulũ tu-ki ma:ri-de-sã
1SG completely 2SG-ACC hit-give-FUT.1SG
'I'll go all out when I hit you.'

b. unnã mi-ki mulũ pa:gəl kəri-ʃor-ja
3PL 1SG-ACC completely crazy do-leave-PFV.PTCP.M.SG
'They've made me go mad.'

c. mulũ sa:ri-ge-n
completely burn-go.IPFV.PTCP.M.PL-be.PRS.3PL
'They've burned completely.'

These examples all involve affirmative clauses as there is not sentential negation. As a result, it is unusual that in the previous examples, it seemed they were conditioned or licensed by negative environments, yet these affirmative environments are

grammatical. This suggests that *mulũ* may not always be licensed by negative environments, and a further exploration of its usage would be needed to discern where and how it can be used.

Chapter 4

The Syntax of Negation in Pahari-Pothwari

In Pahari-Pothwari, we have observed that there are two primary markers of clausal negation:

- (a) The inflectional morpheme *n-* which is a negative auxiliary and can only be used with indicative forms; and
- (b) The uninflectional morpheme *na* which is used to negate constructions involving the future, subjunctive, conditional, and imperative.

It would seem that the presence of these negative morphemes is conditioned by mood, realis and irrealis respectively. The present chapter aims to explore the syntax of sentential negation in terms of the structural position of Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Negation in Pahari-Pothwari. These language-specific patterns will then be situated within the greater context of variation in the expression of negation across the world's languages (as summarised in Chapter 2.1) by drawing on theories of parameter hierarchies in accordance with Roberts (2019).

4.1 Affirmative Clause Structure

To begin with, the syntactic structure of affirmative clauses in Pahari-Pothwari will be outlined before examining the potential position of negation and the overall structure of negative constructions. In Chapter 3, a number of matters concerning constituency were discussed; it was shown that in indicative contexts, lexical verbs occur in the form of a participle carrying aspectual information (either perfective or imperfective) and they are immediately followed by *ona* which acts as an auxiliary carrying tense information. The copular auxiliary *ona* is the only verb which conjugates entirely synthetically for the past, present, and future. The hierarchical structure of these constituents will now be discerned by inspecting the position of each constituent within the clause.

While word order is relatively free in Pahari-Pothwari and constituents can be arranged in miscellaneous orders through scrambling, this section will focus on the basic or intrinsic word order. Word order is typically Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) with the verb phrase usually being clause-final, in the order participle-auxiliary. As an SOV language, Pahari-Pothwari is typologically consistent in that it has other features associated with head finality, such as the position of attributive adjectives being before the noun, having postpositions instead of prepositions, and having auxiliary verbs follow the lexical verb. For ditransitive verbs, the indirect object occurs before the direct object and is marked with the accusative marker *ki*:

(1) a. Ali Maryam-ki pɛse ditte sən
Ali Mary-ACC money give.PFV.PTCP.M.PL be.PST.3PL
'Ali gave the money to Maryam.'

In this example, the subject *Ali* occurs clause-initially, followed by the indirect object *Maryam* marked with *ki*, followed by the direct object *pɛse* ('money') with the verb construction occurring at the end of the clause. Participles (here, *ditte* inflect for aspect (imperfective or perfective) and for gender and number. Pahari-Pothwari has a system of split-ergativity whereby in the perfective, subjects of transitive verbs take ergative case and the lexical verb agrees with the direct object for gender and number, while in the imperfective and all other instances, the subject takes nominative case and the verb agrees with the subject. In the above example, the lexical verb with root *de* ('give') is in perfective participle form and agrees with the direct object *pɛse* in that it is plural, rather than agreeing with the subject *Ali* which is singular. Formal features of clauses, such as the verb phrase, Aspect, Tense, Mood, and Negation can be represented as functional projections, yet the verb somehow needs to gain morphology, either combining with conjugational marking (as in most irrealis constructions) or participial marking (in most periphrastic constructions).

Roberts (2019) proposes the TP-Denotation hypothesis which states that the denotation of events (in the sense of Davidsonian event semantics) relies on the Tense feature. It is obligatory that the event variable *e* in the vP be bound and there are a number of ways it can be bound through processes in the narrow syntax: (a) the verb can move into the domain of Tense, Aspect, or Mood; (b) there may be Agree relations between constituents; (c) the previous two approaches (verb movement and Agree) can both take place; (d) auxiliary verbs or morphemes (usually closed-class morphemes) can be included in Tense, Aspect, or Mood; or (e) the vP may be fronted. We shall now turn to how a number of these syntactic mechanisms manifest in Pahari-Pothwari.

The sentence-final auxiliary *ona* inflects for tense (past, present, or future) and bears agreement information for number, person, as well as gender in certain dialects. Because *ona* as an auxiliary is the only element in the clause which truly carries tense and is the only constituent which is truly finite, it can be assumed that it is inserted at T. The participial morphology involving the perfective or imperfective can be assumed to exist under the Asp head, representing Aspect, while the inflectional material for irrealis constructions (the subjunctive, conditional, and imperatives) can be represented as being included in the Mood head. The question arises as to how the lexical verb combines with Asp and Mood, as there are two possibilities; Asp or Mood could potentially lower to combine with the verb within the vP, or the verb could raise to a higher Aspect or Mood field and combine with the respective morphology.

The inclusion of adverbs or adverbial phrases is often used as a diagnostic to explore how the vP combines with Aspect, Tense, or Mood. Adverbs can occur in a number of positions within a clause but typically occur between the subject and object, which indicates that adverbial phrases are adjuncts to the verb phrase. The adverb test can be exemplified using the classical illustration of the distinction between movement in English and in French:

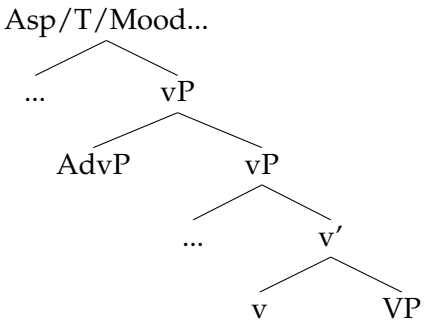
(2) a. I often eat apples.

b. Je mange souvent des pommes.
NOM.1SG eat ADV of.the apples

'I often eat apples.'

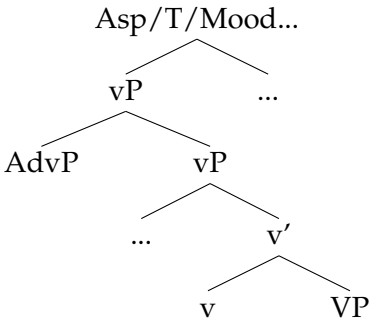
In these example sentences from Iatridou (1990) the English sentence demonstrates the adverb *often* occurs before the finite verb *eat* while in the sentence in French, the adverb *souvent* occurs after the finite verb *mange*. This has difference in the surface order of constituents has been used to argue that in English, T lowers to move and combine with the verb, whereas in French, the verb raises to merge with T. Thus, this adverb test can diagnose head movement and suggests that French has T-to-v movement while English (for the most part) has v-to-T movement. However, both English and French have SVO word order and can both be considered head-initial languages. This allows for the adverbial to act as a sufficient test to decipher the direction of movement given that both English and French generally adhere to the following structure:

(3)



The position of the finite verb in relation to the adjunct AdvP may be a clear test for languages which follow such a structure. A problem emerges when attempting this test with OV or head-final languages given that the location of the adverbial phrase is between the subject and the verb phrase, given that the verb is clause-final:

(4)



Regardless of the position of the adverbial, the verb will generally always be clause-final, with the finite verb at the end of the sentence. Therefore, the inclusion of adverbs as a test is not sufficient to identify the position of the verb within the syntactic structure of head final languages. In order to resolve the lack of uncertainty for a stringent diagnosis of head movement in head-final languages, Manetta (2019) puts forward verb phrase ellipsis as a test for verb movement in Hindi-Urdu, which is genetically related to Pahari-Pothwari. X-stranding ellipsis, and specifically verb stranding vp ellipsis, has long been associated with head movement (Goldberg, 2005); here, the vP is not completely elided but somehow escapes ellipsis, and this is usually attributed to the idea that it has moved to some higher structural field. However, Manetta (2019) recognises the complexity of identifying true verb phrase ellipsis in Hindi-Urdu given that there are other processes, notably null object pronominals and argument ellipsis. Consequently, an alternative set of tests are

necessary to be able to determine whether or not true verb phrase ellipsis is present.

Manetta (2019) proposes three tests to conclude that there is verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis (VVPE) in Hindi-Urdu, and these tests can equally be applied to Pahari-Pothwari. Firstly, she adopts Gribanova (2013b)'s diagnostic for identifying ellipsis in Russian in that conjoined correlates (correlates including conjunction or disjunction) provide evidence for the ellipsis of the greater verb phrase being VVPE because it cannot be attributed to null pronominals or argument ellipsis. An example of a conjoined correlate in Pahari-Pothwari is given below:

(5) a. kɛ Ali Maryam-ki ma:lta ja Aisha-ki seb ditta
what Ali Maryam-DAT orange or Aisha-DAT apple give.PFV.PTCP.M.SG
si
be.PST.3SG
'Did Ali given an orange to Maryam or an apple to Aisha?'

b. a:hã ditta si
yes give.PFV.PTCP.M.SG be.PST.3SG
'Yes, he gave (Maryam an orange or Aisha an apple).'

In the interrogative sentence, the disjunctive operator *ja* 'or' joins the two lesser VPs. The fact that the intuition of the disjunction being elided too exists, with a reading of either Ali having given an orange to Maryam or an apple to Aisha being available, suggests that this is true VVPE. This is because ellipsis of the disjunctive operator *ja* cannot be explained by argument ellipsis which only accounts for DPs and PPs.

The second test proposed in Manetta (2019) adapts Simpson et al. (2013)'s test of inspecting ellipsis of adverbial phrases or adjuncts to the VP. Simpson et al. (2013) demonstrate that adverbial phrases relating to time or manner seem to be involved in the site of ellipsis. Given that there is no other adequate explanation to explain adverbials eliding in these contexts, it can be used as evidence to suggest that the construction is actually a VVPE. This test is applied to Pahari-Pothwari as follows:

(6) a. Ali do va:ri kitab pər-i ɛ
Ali two times book read-PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'Ali read the book twice.'
b. Maryam vi pər-i ɛ
Maryam too read-PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'Maryam also read (the book twice).'

In this example, the adverbial *do va:ri* 'twice' or literally 'two times' is an adjunct to the VP and has been elided (the verb phrase) which suggests that it was also present in the site of ellipsis and that this is a true VVPE construction.

The third test proposed by Manetta (2019) draws on Gribanova (2013a)'s test for Russian in that VVPEs can apply to islands but require a preceding linguistic expression or reference, which cannot be simply pragmatic (in order for it to be truly ellipsis). The following interaction illustrates how this occurs in Pahari-Pothwari:

(7) a. Ali nəvi gəddi kin-di ɛ
Ali new car get-PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'Ali bought a new car.'

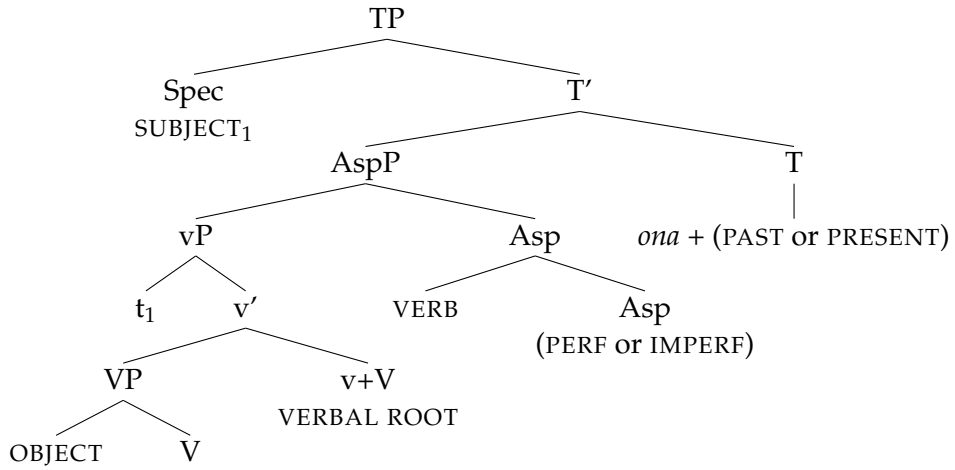
b. kɛ tusã dʒa:-ne o ke Maryam vi
what 2PL know-IPFV.PTCP.M.PL be.PRS.2PL COMP Maryam too
kin-di ɛ
get-PFV.PTCP.F.SG be.PRS.3SG
'Did you know that Maryam also got (a new car)?'

In this conversation, the first utterance introduces the event that Ali has bought a new car. If this was only demonstrated pragmatically, for instance, if Ali appears in a new car and the second sentence is spoken, it would be infelicitous. The first utterance is necessary for the second utterance to be grammatical. The existence of the island shows that the construction cannot be a null pronominal, while the fact that there is a linguistic antecedent suggests that it is simply argument ellipsis. The only remaining reasonable explanation is that it is a true VVPE.

Overall, Manetta (2019)'s three tests, examining (a) conjoined correlates, (b) adverbials or adjuncts in the site of ellipsis, and (c) ellipsis in islands, can be used to diagnose true VVPEs. Having applied these three tests, it would seem that Pahari-Pothwari indeed has true VVPEs. This in turn provides evidence that verb movement in some way exists which allows the further postulation that verb movement can exist to combine with functional categories in order for Tense, Aspect, and Mood to be realised.

Drawing on previous assumptions and arguments about clause structure by Kumar (2006) and Manetta (2019) for Hindi-Urdu and Hanan et al. (2021) for Punjabi, and based on the similarity between Pahari-Pothwari and these languages, as well as the arguments provided about diagnosing movement out of vP, the following general structure for an affirmative clause in Pahari-Pothwari can be proposed:

(8)



In this outline of general affirmative clause structure in Pahari-Pothwari, it can be seen that the subject begins in Specv' and is raised to SpecTP, while the object (for transitive verbs) is generated under VP as the complement of V. The verb is generated in V and raises to v, but requires morphological marking associated with Aspect. It is raised to Asp where it can merge with the necessary inflectional marking, either imperfective or perfective, to form a participle. The auxiliary *ona* is generated in T and can bear the past or the present tense. In this tree, it is the rightmost branch which corresponds to it being in clause-final position.

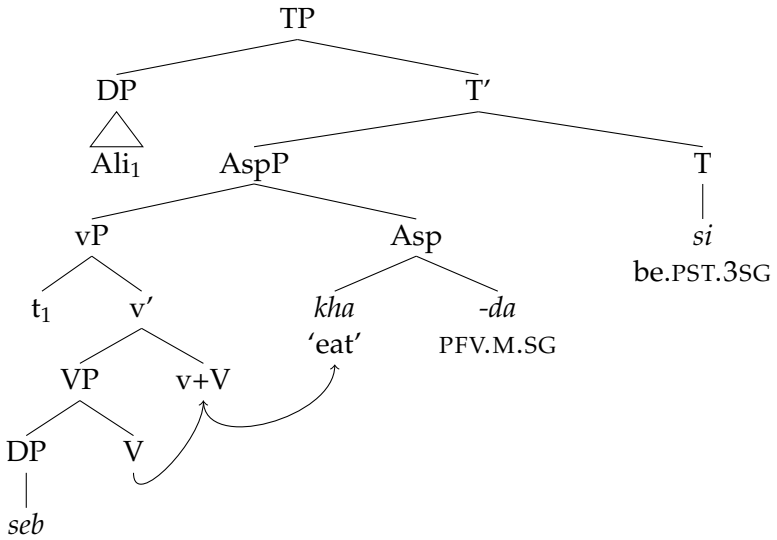
This structure can be applied to simple indicative sentences as follows:

(9) a. Ali seb kha-da si
Ali apple eat-PFV.M.SG be-PST.3SG

'Ali ate an apple.'

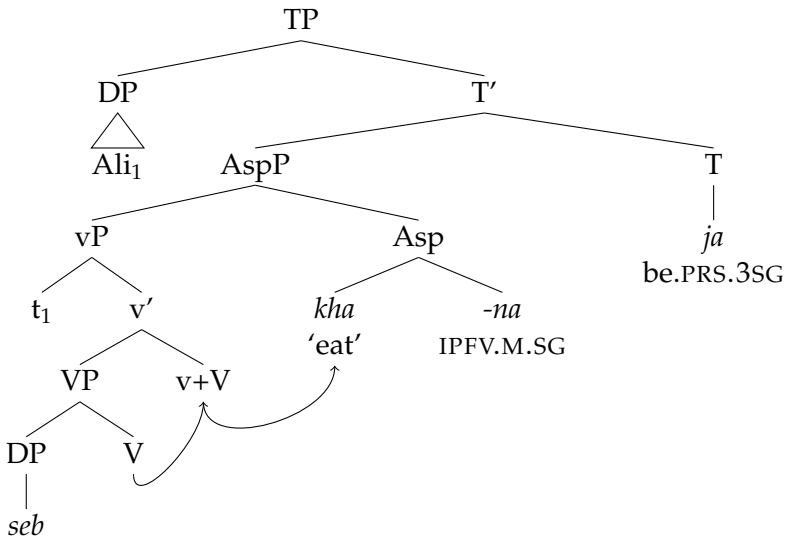
b. Ali seb kha-na ja
Ali apple eat-IMPF.M.SG be-PRS.3SG
'Ali is eating an apple.' or 'Ali eats apples.'

(10)



The above tree corresponds to the first sentence which exhibits the usage of the past perfective (past in the sense that the auxiliary *ona* occurs in past tense form and perfective in the sense that the verb has perfective aspectual marking which indicates a completed action). The verb *kha* moves so as to gain inflectional morphology under Asp and this can be explained as triggered by feature valuation. The verb *kha* can be perceived as having unvalued or uninterpretable features [*u*Infl:]. As interpretable features [Asp:Imperfective] and [Asp:Perfective] are contained in Asp, this triggers movement and allows for the features to be checked. The tree below corresponds to the second sentence which is syntactically similar but demonstrates the usage of the present imperfective:

(11)



Here, the verb raises to Asp and is instead valued with imperfective marking which is related to the meaning of a progressive or continuous event. These occurrences of verb movement can be analysed in terms of defective goals in the sense of Roberts (2010). A goal or site may be deemed defective if its formal features are encompassed by those of its probe. The verbal root is a defective goal relating to

Asp given that its formal features are a subset of those within Asp. Consequently, there is a process of incorporation whereby the verb combines with Asp to construct a participle.

Having addressed the structure of prototypical indicative sentences in Pahari-Pothwari, the composition and structure of the future as well as irrealis constructions remains unclear. This is because, apart from the future perfective and future imperfective, these constructions do not involve aspect or Asp and are purely conjugational rather than periphrastic. The structure of these constructions will be explored in the next section.

4.2 The Structure of the Future

The crucial difference between the two negative morphemes in Pahari-Pothwari is that *na* is a negative marker only and negates irrealis constructions, whereas the other marker carries tense information and is an auxiliary. We know that inflectional *n-* is a negative auxiliary as (a) it inflects for tense (past and present), (b) it is in complementary distribution with the affirmative copular auxiliary, and (c) because it cannot be a bound morpheme. Therefore, in finite negative constructions, *n-* must carry Tense or merge with Tense. It has been demonstrated that negative auxiliary *n-* is incompatible with the future, which can only be negated with *na*. This prompts the question as to why and how the future functions more like the subjunctive and conditional in Pahari-Pothwari rather than the past and present tenses, and the question of the structure of the future more generally.

Dahl and Velupillai (2013) compared the realisation of the future tense in various languages; some languages have specific morphology to distinguish between future and non-future forms (such as in Hindi and Punjabi) while others employ the same inflectional marker for the future and other tenses, such as in Finnish, where the present tense can also be used to express the future. Based on a sample of 222 languages in which there existed some overt marker of inflectional morphology which can denote the future, it was shown that 110 (49.5%) languages had a clear distinction between inflection for future and non-future forms, while 112 languages (50.5%) did not have inflectional marking solely associated with the future.

Grierson (1919) mentions that the future is a distinguishing feature between varieties of 'Lahnda' ('Western Punjabi') and 'Eastern Punjabi' (which includes Majhi or modern standard Punjabi). Even though his linguistic classification of languages has been heavily criticised (Shackle, 1979) the observation that the future is marked differently in numerous varieties is an important difference and it is curious to examine how these forms of the future, often used in adjacent villages, differ syntactically, especially in relation to negation. The 'Western Punjabi' or 'Lahnda' variant is marked with the *-s* phoneme and is viewed in Grierson (1919) as a defining characteristic. On the contrary, the 'Eastern Punjabi' variant is marked with the *-g-* phoneme. This form is negated in the same way as the past and present. In Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, there is a parallel distinction between a negative morpheme *na* for irrealis constructions and *nɛ̃ĩ* or *nəhĩ* for indicative constructions. Both the inclusion of *nɛ̃ĩ* or *nəhĩ* result in deletion processes of the auxiliary, which has led to some suggesting that it merges with T. However, it is curious that *nɛ̃ĩ* and *nəhĩ* are compatible with the future in Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, while the equivalent tense-bearing negative morpheme in Pahari-Pothwari *n-* is not.

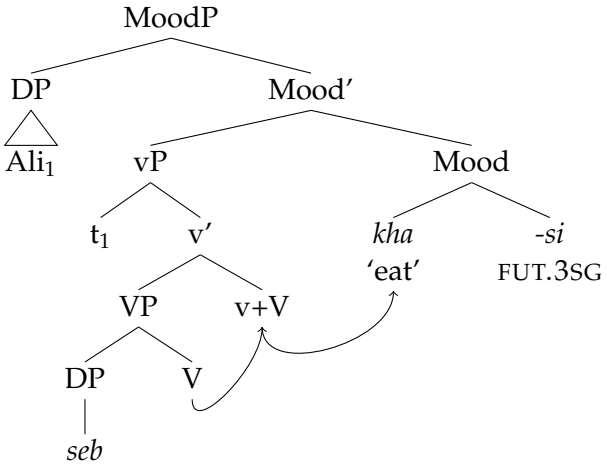
Therefore, we observe two different constructions of the future in neighbouring and related varieties which require different negative morphemes in order to be

negated. The future in Pahari-Pothwari functions like a mood in that it conjugates and is negated in the same way as irrealis verbs, while the future in Majhi Punjabi behaves like a tense in that it is negated in the same way as the past and present. This distinction in terms of how the expression of the future and its kinship to tense constructions and mood constructions, with the specific question as to how it is negated, has potential for exploration as a parameter in a number of different languages. Bybee et al. (1994) conclude that constructions of the future cross-linguistically seem to express 'epistemic modality' rather than the future being simply a tense related to time. However, it is to an extent difficult to parametrise irrealis constructions comparatively across languages due to much variation in their manifestation.

For the purposes of this thesis, I will assume that the future in Pahari-Pothwari functions like a mood and that inflectional morphology related to the future, subjunctive, conditional, and imperative are generated under Mood as follows:

(12) a. Ali seb kha-si
Ali apple eat-FUT.3SG
'Ali will eat an apple.'

(13)



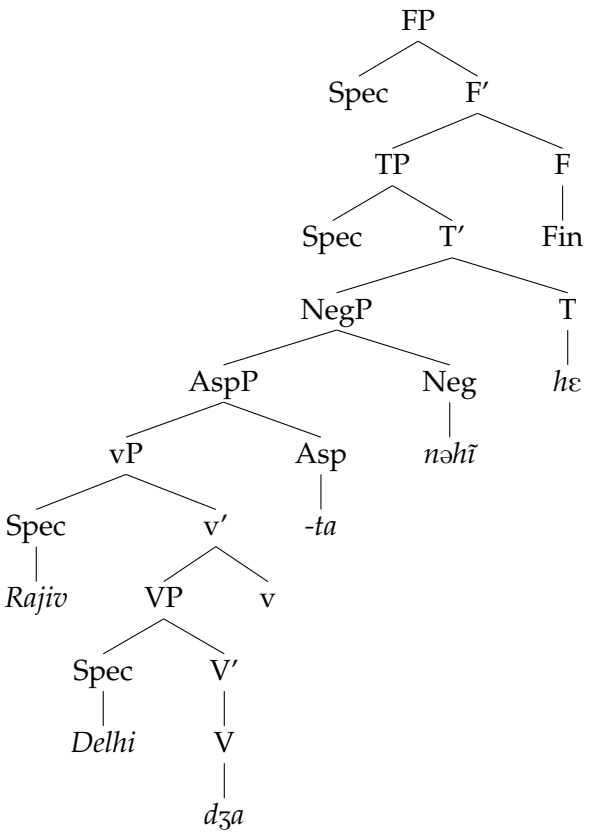
Here, the verbal root *kha* 'eat' raises to incorporate future tense marking, given that the root is required to gain inflectional marking. T is arguably not as relevant within such structures because they are not finite in the sense of eventualities with a precise time-frame (such as past or present events).

4.3 Negative Clause Structure

Having developed a structure for affirmative clauses, the potential structural position of sentential negation in negative clauses in Pahari-Pothwari remains unresolved. In terms of surface structure post spell-out, negative markers typically occupy the position immediately preceding the lexical verb, but a number of other positions for the negative morpheme are also available. A number of matters which need to be resolved, such as how formal features and morphology combine with the relevant constituents and how can this can be diagnosed without making assumptions, as well as how the multiple potential positions of negation (to the left of the vP but also to its right) can be explained. It is curious that finite auxiliaries in T obligatorily occur to the right of the vP while finite negative auxiliaries typically occur to the left of vP. There are several valid arguments regarding the potential position of NegP (assuming that the negative morpheme projects as NegP) which will now be addressed.

Based on the surface structure that Neg usually immediately precedes the lexical verb, it could be inferred that NegP is an adjunct to the vP or AspP (lower than TP) which would account for the word order obtained in spell out. However, the negative morpheme in indicative clauses must somehow combine with T, which could be explained by movement of T to Neg or Neg to T. According to Dwivedi (1991) and Mahajan (1990) considering negation in Hindi, NegP exists below TP. This is based on the adjacency requirement, that the verb and the marker of sentential negation must be adjacent. Kumar (2006) follows on from this idea and provides the following structure to theorise the functional position of clausal negation in Hindi:

(14)



He explains that V is raised to v, before moving higher to Asp to gain aspectual morphology (as [v + Asp]) and become a participle. This combination of [v + Asp] then moves to the right of Neg where it becomes [Neg + verb] and this then raises to T for the auxiliary to be incorporated. Kumar (2006) proposes this structure for a number of reasons. Firstly, he suggests that the location of NegP must be below TP but above AspP because the morpheme of sentential negation can occur between the lexical verb and a verb which is used to mark the progressive aspect, citing the following example sentences:

(15) a. Rajiv Delhi nəhĩ dʒa-ta hɛ
Rajiv Delhi NEG go-HAB be.3SG
'Rajiv does not go to Delhi.'

b. Rajiv Delhi dʒa nəhĩ rəha hɛ
Rajiv Delhi go NEG PROG be.3SG
'Rajiv is not going to Delhi.'

In the first sentence, the negative morpheme *nəhĩ* occurs before the lexical verb, but in the second sentence, it interrupts the verb construction and occurs between the

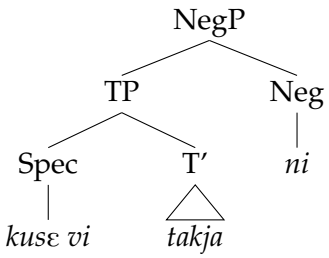
lexical verb and the marker of the progressive aspect (which is actually a grammaticalised form of the verb *rena* 'stay'). This indicates that Neg is higher than Asp but lower than T. In addition, Kumar (2006) states that no constituent can occur between the negative morpheme and the lexical verb, such as adverbs. This is used as evidence to propose the above syntactic structure for clausal negation in Hindi.

Another potential proposal is that actually Neg exists in a higher field rather than lower than TP. This is based on the fact that negative polarity items can occupy the subject position SpecTP, which occurs in both Hindi-Urdu and Pahari-Pothwari. This is an indication that negation exists in a higher level so that the specifier of TP can be licensed within a negative environment. Otherwise, within an affirmative environment, negative polarity items are ungrammatical. The following example illustrates the position of the negative polarity item *kusɛ vi* 'whoever':

(16) a. kusɛ vi ni tək-ja
someone too NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG see-PFV.M.SG
'Nobody saw it.'
b. *kusɛ vi tək-ja
someone too see-PFV.M.SG
Intended to mean 'Somebody saw it.' or 'Anybody saw it.'

These sentences show that *kusɛ vi* must occur within a negative environment and this has to be induced by Neg in a higher position in which it can asymmetrically c-command the specifier of TP, depicted structurally as follows:

(17)



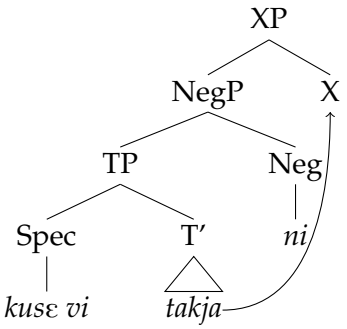
If Neg indeed exists in a higher domain as illustrated above, there must be a way for the verb phrase to incorporate or recombine in order to obtain the prototypical word order, given that the verb phrase exists lower in the structure and the negative morpheme typically precedes it. There are a few possible ways as to how this occurs: (a) sentential negation exists at a higher level and lowers to its position near the verb phrase; (b) sentential negation exists lower and raises to a higher level to c-command and thus license the negative polarity item in subject position; (c) sentential negation exists higher but there is successive movement of the verb phrase to raise above Neg to achieve the required word order. The combination of T and Neg would also have to be resolved by means of movement though this is only triggered in indicative (present and past) sentences.

A possible solution to this is discussed in Manetta (2019), adding to Kumar (2006)'s proposal for Hindi-Urdu, in which there is a Polarity Phrase or PolP which governs the polarity of the clause (affirmative or negative). PolP is in a higher field which accounts for the licensing of negative polarity items in subject position, and it generates a NegP which accounts for the word order perceived. In spite of this, there are a number of different word orders available such that Neg can appear before the lexical verb, as it typically does, but it can also after it, as shown by the above example. The PolP solution does not seem to address why the Neg is incorporated in a specific position in the structure, given that in relation to vP, it could equally adjoin

after it. The mechanism of incorporating NegP into the structure from a higher PolP seems somewhat arbitrary.

The order of constituents in the sentence of the above tree (17) is actually grammatical, with the negative auxiliary in post-verbal, clause-final position being grammatical. Alternative word orders, with the negative auxiliary preceding the verb phrase, could be attained through its movement to a higher position X above NegP, which is demonstrated thus:

(18)

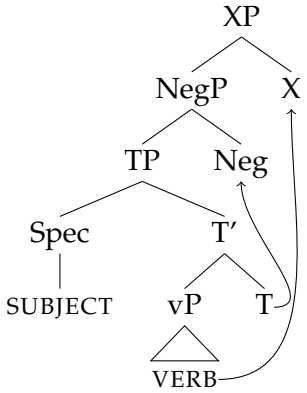


This establishes a potential solution to the variablity in the position of negative morphemes being a reflex of movement, so we shall now turn to the functional nature of negative auxiliaries in particular. The difference between indicative and non-indicative sentences in terms of negation is that indicative forms necessitate finiteness of the eventuality and thus require T be occupied, thus involving T and Neg to combine with T-to-Neg movement. However, in irrealis constructions, T is not necessarily occupied and Neg remains in situ and is not required to move to Tense. One could argue that what has been termed as inflectional negation or a negative auxiliary in this thesis and in Grierson (1919) and Wilson (1898) is in fact a combination of *na* raising to Tense. While this might be true from a diachronic perspective, in the same way that *nɛ̃ĩ* in Punjabi and *nəhĩ* in Hindi-Urdu are etymologically combinations of the negative morpheme and the auxiliary, it seems that the morpheme has been grammaticalised to such an extent that it has developed its own paradigmatic instantiation to distinguish it from a normal auxiliary, notably the third person form *ni* which bares little resemblance to the copular auxiliary forms.

A possible analysis of negative auxiliaries in Pahari-Pothwari is that they are a form of negative contraction, and in that respect, similar to clitics. There are a number of analyses for negative contraction (Roberts, 2010) notably (a) that the negative marker *n't* cliticises to the auxiliary; (b) that the auxiliary actually cliticises to *n't*; or even (c) that negative auxiliaries form a distinct category to affirmative auxiliaries. This compares the negative auxiliaries in Pahari-Pothwari to *n't* in English which also combines with auxiliaries or closed-class categories, such as the future *will*. The combination of *will* and *n't* results in a phonologically distinct construction *won't* which compares to the phonological differences between the affirmative copular auxiliaries in Pahari-Pothwari and their negative counterparts. This implies that *n't* is in fact an independent inflectional category involved in a merge process with the auxiliary.

I propose the possibility that Neg exists in a position higher than Asp and T, and, given movement out of vP has been shown to exist due to verb-stranding VP ellipsis, that the verbal complex can raise higher in various ways so that a number of different potential word orders can be obtained, which can account for the flexibility in word order we see in Pahari-Pothwari:

(19)



This tree illustrates how Neg in a higher position is able to asymmetrically c-command the subject position, thus licensing potential negative polarity items in the SpecTP. In the case of negative auxiliaries, the tense information contained in T can raise to Neg, which can be analysed in terms of defective goals (Roberts, 2019). In negative indicative contexts, T has to somehow combine with Neg; Neg contains a subset of negative features which allow for the expression of clausal negation, yet it lacks Tense and phi-features (person and number) which are necessary for the sentence. These features are contained in the T head and so Neg is a defective goal for the probe T, with Neg undergoing movement to merge with T and thus resulting in the negative auxiliary. The verb phrase can raise to a higher position in order to obtain the usual word order of the negative auxiliary preceding the verb. Alternatively, the negative morpheme may equally appear clause-finally and so in these instances, it may be that the verb phrase does not raise further than necessary, remaining in Asp in participle form, with the negative morpheme occurring sentence-finally.

4.3.1 Parameter Hierarchies

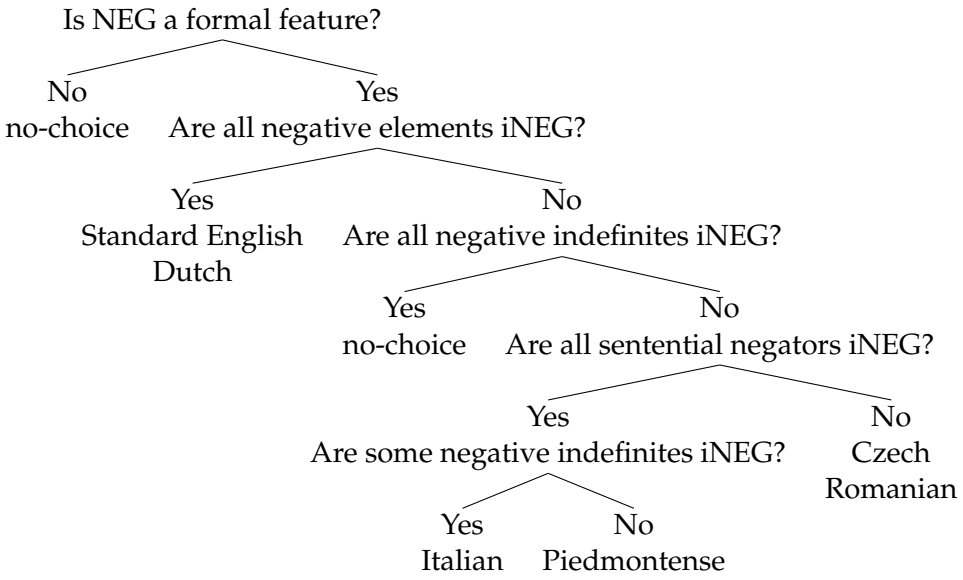
Having observed that there exists much variation within the same language as well as across different languages, numerous questions arise in terms of why this variation exists and if it can be systematically explained in some way. The Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (Baker, 2008) is an attempt to formalise the crosslinguistic variation by restricting it to a set of Formal Features. Formal Features are defined as features of functional heads which conduce to the semantic or morpho-phonological interfaces. While there remains an open question as to the exact number and nature of features, it is widely accepted that there are features relating to morphosyntactic categories (such as N and V); Person, Number, and Gender (phi-features); Case; Tense, Aspect, and Mood; types of clause (Interrogative, Realis or Irrealis, Imperative); *Wh* and Neg; as well as features triggering movement (EPP features).

Languages can be categorised on the basis of whether or not they adhere to a certain property, in terms of binary parameters which classify languages according to the structure of their Formal Features. Roberts (2019) puts forward four main types of parameter; (a) macroparameters, affecting all maximal projections or heads in a given variety and are reasonably stable in terms of language change (meaning that they could be set to the same value across a particular language family); (b) mesoparameters, which are intermediary parameters targeting heads specific to certain types of construction; (c) microparameters, which condition heads of defined functional categories (which usually can be named, for example, negative indefinites); and (d) nanoparameters, which can target particular lexemes.

Roberts (2019) develops a taxonomy of such parameters which can be used to measure, arrange, and organise morphosyntactic variation across languages and language varieties from a level of macrocosm (such as between language families or larger language groups) down to a precise degree of microcosmic detail (such as microvariation in dialects). He crafts a number of parameter hierarchies relating to several foundational syntactic operations and phenomena, such as word order, null subjects, verb movement, *wh-* interrogatives, and negation.

Roberts (2019) proposes that syntactic variation in clausal negation, specifically in terms of the position of the negative morpheme, may be a direct result of verbal parameters. The position of the negative marker interacts with movement of the vP and so he predicts that it is necessary for sentential negation to either (a) asymmetrically c-command the finite head (containing Tense), or (b) that it somehow combines or merges with the finite head (through a morphological process). His parameter hierarchy is reproduced as follows:

(20)



He begins the parameter hierarchy of clausal negation with assessing NEG as a formal feature, which it is in all languages, hence the no-choice option at the start of the tree. This is followed by a macroparameter which analyses NEG in terms of a feature which has the potential to be interpretable (iNEG) or uninterpretable (uNEG) in different languages. In this context, negative concord or multiple negation is evaluated as Agree between constituents which carry [iNEG] and [uNEG] features. Pahari-Pothwari strictly has no negative concord and so the option of negative elements being uNEG is not viable, meaning that all negative elements in Pahari-Pothwari are iNEG. Therefore, Pahari-Pothwari can be grouped alongside English and Standard Dutch, as well as Standard German and Latin, in which all negative elements are also iNEG and thus there is no negative concord. This methodology of formulating a parameter hierarchy has the potential to measure microvariation in great depth, and Roberts (2019) expands the right periphery of the clausal negation hierarchy to further examine the characteristics of negative concord.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis has provided a general overview of how sentential negation is expressed in the variety of Pahari-Pothwari spoken in Chakswari. Chapter 2 introduced the contextual background of variation in the manifestation of negation across the world's languages, drawing on data from typological studies. Amidst much variation in terms of the number of negative markers, the types of marker, the position of the marker, and the contexts in which the marker is used, it was still found that there are certain patterns, such that sentential negation seems to interact closely with the finite verb in syntax. In Chapter 2, the context of negation in South Asian languages was also discussed, outlining what has been mentioned about clausal negation in Punjabi, Hindi-Urdu, Saraiki, and Hindko, before addressing literature directly mentioning the language variety in question.

The third chapter offered a description of types of clausal negation in Pahari-Pothwari. Firstly, the general characteristics of regular clauses were introduced by exploring the manifestion of tense, aspect, and mood and using diagnostics to clarify the composition of the future, providing evidence that it is a conjugational paradigm rather than a periphrastic auxiliary-participle construction. It was then identified that there are two main kinds of sentential negation: *na* and inflectional *n-*. The negative morpheme *na* is used in irrealis constructions, as well as the future (and the future can also be viewed to an extent as a non-indicative or irrealis construction) and in neither/nor constructions, while *n-* is a negative auxiliary verb (inflecting for tense, number, and person) and is used to negate in periphrastic constructions. The interaction between negators and quantifiers, particularly *koi*, was also exemplified, and it was show how *koi* seems to have undergone grammaticalisation and interacts with negation as an emphatic marker.

The third chapter analysed the functional representation of clause structure and negative sentences in Pahari-Pothwari, diagnosing verb movement using tests of verb-stranding verb phrase ellipsis, and inspecting previous proposals of the clause structure of negation in Hindi-Urdu. It was indicated that negation seems to hold a high structural position given that negative polarity items can be licensed in subject position, though this also raises questions as to how negation can combine with tense and how the various word orders can be obtained. One potential solution is that negation occupies a higher functional position, so that negative polarity items can be c-commanded and licensed, that Tense raises to combine with negation, and that processes of verb movement occur to allow for variation in word order.

Ultimately, a number of questions remain unanswered, given that negation is such a broad phenomenon, interacting with numerous constituents under its scope. It would be curious to explore the interaction of negative markers with each constituent or category in detail, particularly pronominal clitics as they can also attach to the negative morpheme, as well as other verbal constructions, such as light verb

constructions, compound verbs, and complex predicates. Although an initial potential proposal for negative structures has been given, further tests and diagnostics would be needed to refine and craft a structure which can explain a wider range of negative word orders. With the acquisition of more data of speech of this variety, more instances of usage can be investigated. More varieties and dialects would need to be documented and examined to determine if sentential negation is expressed in the same way throughout the region, or if there is microvariation, especially in terms of its interaction with the future, or in terms of the construction of the future itself. It would seem that even the realisation of tense, aspect, and mood in neighbouring varieties involves some form of microvariation, as illustrated by the examples of the divergent past tense forms inflecting for gender in the dialect of Anderhal and differences in conjugations in the dialect of Poonch.

In this thesis alone we have positioned one variety within the context of the greater linguistic landscape, raising greater questions about the future as a mood, diagnosing synthesis and periphrasis, diagnosing head movement in SOV or head-final languages, discerning the position of negation, and inspecting the interaction of negation in a wider range of contexts. In essence, while the linguistic phenomena and structural features of varieties in this part of the world remain very understudied, it has been shown that they can shed light on numerous topics of interest in the greater sphere of studies of syntactic structures.

Appendix A

Verb Conjugations

This appendix contains a number of verb tables in order to depict the various paradigms and verb conjugations in Pahari-Pothwari in a clear manner. The first section includes verb tables for the transitive verb *ax* 'say' while the second section provides verb tables for the intransitive verb *se* 'sleep'. The majority of constructions have been included with the exception of compound verb forms and modal verb forms, because an exhaustive list would be impractical given that lexical verbs can combine with numerous operator verbs in verbal constructions which each have their own paradigms. The tables below represent the major verb forms in order to gain an understanding of patterns in tense, aspect, and mood in Pahari-Pothwari.

A.1 Verb Tables for the verb with root *ax 'say'*

TABLE A.1: Paradigm of *ax* in the past imperfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	ax-na sã	ax-ni sã	ax-ne sã	ax-ni(j)ã sã
2nd	ax-na sẽ	ax-ni sẽ	ax-ne so	ax-ni(j)ã so
3rd	ax-na si	ax-ni si	ax-ne sən	ax-ni(j)ã sən

TABLE A.2: Paradigm of *ax* in the present imperfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	ax-na (j)ã or ax-nã	ax-ni (j)ã	ax-ne ã	ax-ni(j)ã (j)ã
2nd	ax-na ẽ	ax-ni ẽ	ax-ne o	ax-ni(j)ã (j)o
3rd	ax-na ɛ or ax-na (j)a	ax-ni ɛ	ax-ne ən or ax-ne-n	ax-ni(j)ã ən or ax-ni(j)a:n

TABLE A.3: Paradigm of *ax* in the future imperfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	ax-na osã	ax-ni osã	ax-ne osã	ax-ni(j)ã osã
2nd	ax-na osẽ	ax-ni osẽ	ax-ne oso	ax-ni(j)ã oso
3rd	ax-na osi	ax-ni osi	ax-ne osən	ax-ni(j)ã osən

TABLE A.4: Paradigm of *ax* in the past perfective

	Singular	**Plural**
Masculine	ax-ja si	ax-e sən
Feminine	ax-i si	ax-ijã sən

TABLE A.5: Paradigm of *ax* in the present perfective

	Singular	**Plural**
Masculine	ax-ja ɛ	ax-en
Feminine	ax-i ɛ	ax-ija:n

TABLE A.6: Paradigm of *ax* in the future perfective

	Singular	**Plural**
Masculine	ax-ja osi	axe osən
Feminine	ax-i osi	ax-ijã osən

TABLE A.7: Paradigm of *ax* in the future

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	axsã	axsã
2nd	axsẽ	axso
3rd	axsi	axsən

TABLE A.8: Paradigm of *ax* in the subjunctive

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	axã	axã
2nd	axẽ	axo
3rd	axɛ	axən

TABLE A.9: Paradigm of *ax* in the conditional

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	axã ər	axã ar
2nd	axẽ ar	axo ar
3rd	axɛ ar	axən ar

A.2 Verb Tables for the verb with root *se* 'sleep'

TABLE A.10: Paradigm of *se* in the past imperfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	se-na sã	se-ni sã	se-ne sã	se-ni(j)ã sã
2nd	se-na sẽ	se-ni sẽ	se-ne so	se-ni(j)ã so
3rd	se-na si	se-ni si	se-ne sən	se-ni(j)ã sən

TABLE A.11: Paradigm of *se* in the present imperfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	se-na (j)ã or se-nã	se-ni ã	se-ne ã	se-ni(j)ã (j)ã
2nd	se-na ẽ	se-ni ẽ	se-ne o	se-ni(j)ã (j)o
3rd	se-na ɛ or se-na (j)a	se-ni ɛ	se-ne ən or se-ne-n	se-ni(j)ã ən or se-ni(j)a:n

TABLE A.12: Paradigm of *se* in the future imperfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	se-na osã	se-ni osã	se-ne osã	se-ni(j)ã osã
2nd	se-na osẽ	se-ni osẽ	se-ne oso	se-ni(j)ã oso
3rd	se-na osi	se-ni osi	se-ne osən	se-ni(j)ã osən

TABLE A.13: Paradigm of *se* in the past perfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	sutta sã	sutti sã	sutte sã	sutti(j)ã sã
2nd	sutta sẽ	sutti sẽ	sutte so	sutti(j)ã so
3rd	sutta si	sutti si	sutte sən	sutti(j)ã sən

TABLE A.14: Paradigm of *se* in the present perfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	sutta (j)ã or suttã	sutti ã	sutte ã	sutti(j)ã (j)ã
2nd	sutta ẽ	sutti ẽ	sutte o	sutti(j)ã o
3rd	sutta ɛ	sutti ɛ	sutte ən or sutte-n	sutti(j)ã ən or sutti(j)a:n

TABLE A.15: Paradigm of *se* in the future perfective

	Singular		**Plural**	
	Masculine	**Feminine**	**Masculine**	**Feminine**
1st	sutta osã	sutti osã	sutte osã	sutti(j)ã osã
2nd	sutta osẽ	sutti osẽ	sutte oso	sutti(j)ã oso
3rd	sutta osi	sutti osi	sutte osən	sutti(j)ã osən

TABLE A.16: Paradigm of *se* in the future

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	sesã	sesã
2nd	sesẽ	seso
3rd	sesi	sesən

TABLE A.17: Paradigm of *se* in the subjunctive

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	sjã	sjã
2nd	sẽ	so
3rd	sɛ	sen

TABLE A.18: Paradigm of *se* in the conditional

	Singular	**Plural**
1st	sjã ər	sjã ar
2nd	sẽ ar	so ar
3rd	sɛ ar	sen ar

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