Negation in Sambalpuri: A Typological Study

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Abstract

The present study attempts to provide a descriptive analysis of negation in Sambalpuri language. Since Sambalpuri is a lesser-known language, the prime purpose of the current investigation is to document and analyse the linguistic properties of negation and its function in different environments. Sambalpuri is an unscheduled Indo-Aryan language with SOV typology. It is spoken in the western part of Indian state of Odisha. It is interesting to note that Sambalpuri has more than one variant of negative markers. However, the variants are used in different parts of western Odisha, but one that is used for non-clausal negation is different from the clausal negation. The position of the negative marker in this language is preverbal. Moreover, the language shows partial loss of some grammatical features as tense marker, person, number and agreement. So, this paper undertakes to illicit the data on negation in different syntactic areas namely, standard negation, negation in imperative, negation and honorific, agreement features, negation in question, and issues of negative polarity items (NPIs), deletion of different categories and scope of negation etc. and later on it provides an exhaustive description.

Keywords: Negation, Sambalpuri language, Odisha, Indo-Aryan language, SOV typology, clausal negation, non-clausal negation, NPIs.

1. Introduction

Negation, as perceived by many linguists, is a universal linguistic feature among the world languages. It can be defined as an aspect to oppose the sense of affirmation. Miestamo (2017) defines negation as "in propositional logic, negation can be defined as an operator changing the truth value of a proposition p to its opposite ¬p. In natural languages, things do not look quite so simple as negation is marked in a multitude of ways and enters into intricate interaction with various other functional domains; this interaction may result in complicated semantic and pragmatic effects that make the analysis of the meaning of negation quite a bit harder than simply noting the difference in truth value." Payne (1997), Drayer et.al (2005) and Miestamo (2013) studied different language samples and established the fact that there are two types of negation found in a language: clausal negation and non-clausal negation. Being a universal property of natural language, it is present in all languages. However, they differ in form and

structure while expressing negation. Some languages have different negative particles for different linguistic environment, but some other have only one to express all types of negation. In Sambalpuri language, there are three negative particles used to negate the sentences: 'ne/nei/nɑi/ni', 'nihe/nuhe', 'bin/binɑ'. The last two negative particles are context sensitive. The negative particle 'nihe/nuhe' is used in the non-verbal clauses whereas 'bin/binɑ' is used only in the context of conjunct participle constructions. The standard negator has four different variants which can be used interchangeably. Further, these are dialectal variations of negative particle in Sambalpuri. Like most Indo-Aryan languages, the negative particle in Sambalpuri is used in preverbal position. Hence, the present research work undertakes to examine the negation in Sambalpuri language.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 1 gives an introduction with language overview, methodology and literature review on the typology of negation. Section 2 discusses clausal negation in Sambalpuri language focusing on standard negation, negation in tense, aspect and mood; negation in non-declaratives: imperatives, questions; negation in non-verbal clauses and non-main clauses. It broadly explains the nature of negation with respect to symmetric and asymmetric dichotomy in all cases as well as negative marker and its position in the sentence whether preverbal or post-verbal. It also examines how a dedicated negative marker is used especially in the negation of non-verbal clauses. Section 3 includes non-clausal negation which discusses negative replies to polar interrogatives, negative indefinite pronouns and quantifiers. It mainly concentrates on how the polar interrogatives are replied in negative whether with a single negative morpheme like English or it uses more than that. Section 4 deals with other aspect of negation like the scope of negation, negative plarity items (NPIs), negation in coordination, negation in conditional clauses, double negation. The main focus of the section is on the scope of negation and negative polarity items.

1.1 Language Overview

Sambalpuri is a mother tongue of people living in the Western part of Odisha in India. Sambalpuri falls under the Indo-Aryan language family (*Ethnolgue*) having SOV typology. It is also known as Koshli[1] or Kosli (Tripathy 1992, Tripathy 1993, Dash 1994, Patel 2000, and Pradhan 2016). The term Kosli and Sambalpuri has been a controversial term among the Sambalpuri speakers especially in political spheres. People in the western part of Odisha uses Sambalpuri language in their social, political, and cultural interaction. It is also used as a mode communication in the field of trade and commerce. The speaking area comprises of 11 districts of western Odisha, viz. Bargarh, Bolangir, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Sambalpur, Jharsuguda, Sundargarh, Deogarh, Boudh, Nuapada; and Athmallik sub-division of Angul district (given in the map). It is noted that Sambalpuri is being used by the people in their home and public domains in the border areas of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand states. However, their official mother tongue is different.
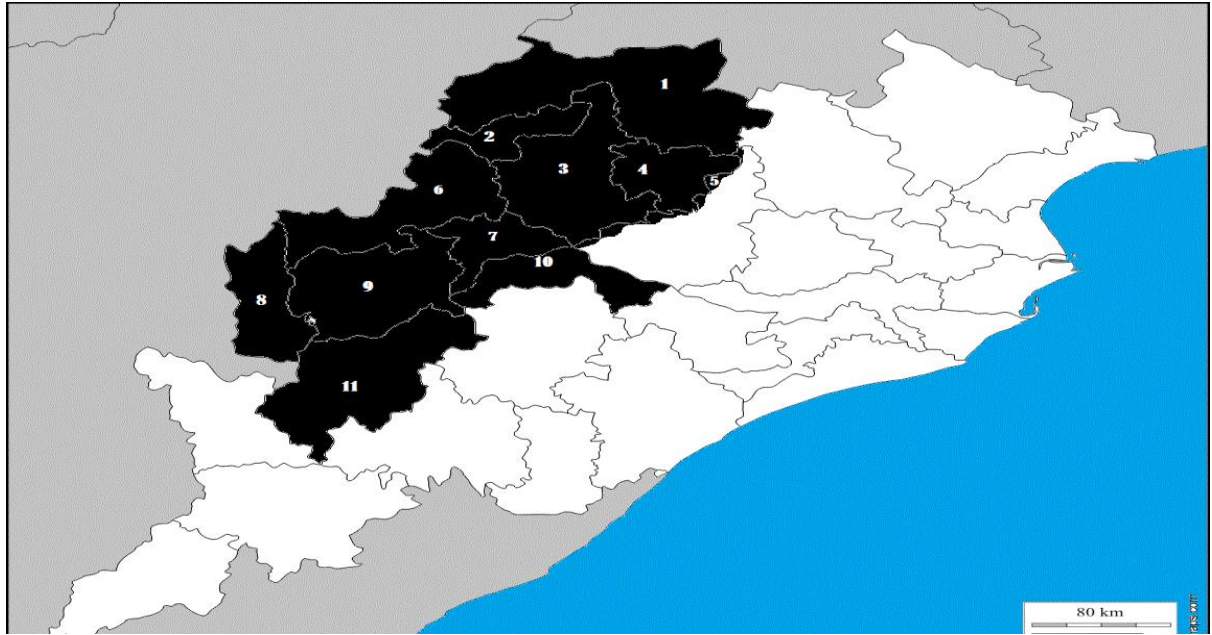
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[1] Kosli owes its origin after the name of the region Koshal, the Eastern Hindi speaking region. (Tripathy 1992, Tripathy 1993, Dash 1994, Patel 2000 and Pradhan 2016)

As it is observed that "the Sambalpuri-speaking people of Western Odisha face a dual linguistic situation because they generally use Sambalpuri for oral communication among themselves and Oriya for formal communication" (Patel 2000). It is worth noting that Sambalpuri language has gained a very poor attention by the linguists, in comparison to its cognate languages. By observing the linguistic features of the language, it can be stated that it shares genetic affinity with Indo-Aryan language family. Sambaluri is often considered to be a dialect of Odia. But this may have been a diachronic status; however, in present such opinion would not hold any merit, especially when languages (i.e., Sambalpuri and Odia) are so different from the point of view of the linguistic features, although there is certain amount of mutual intelligibility (Tripathy 1992, Tripathy 1993, Dash 1994, Patel 2000, Chhuria, 2013 and Pradhan 2016). But when one looks deeper into the language, one would find that the language is different in many linguistic aspects in phonological level, morphological level, syntactic level and semantic level.

The script used by Sambalpuri writers for the literary production is Odia. Currently, Sambalpuri language is used widely for the production of literature and other written materials, films, songs, news, etc. Recently, some writers, singers and producer of Sambalpuri language were awarded Padma Shri, the second highest civilian awards of India to recognise the literary and cultural richness in the language. In the year 2016, Dr. Haldhar Nag, a renowned Sambalpuri poet and writer, was awarded Padma Shri and in the next year, Shree Jitendra Haripal, a legendary Sambalpuri singer and composer, was conferred with Padma Shri. In 2020, Shree Mitrabhanu Gauntia, composer of 'Rangabati' was awarded Padma Shri for his contribution to the music world of Sambalpuri. Dr. Krishna Patel another renowned musician and vocalist has been conferred with Padma Shri Award in 2023.

As the language is widely being spoken by the different districts of Odisha, it has its dialectal variations among the speakers of Sambalpuri, Bargadia (spoken in Bargarh), Bolangiri/a (spoken in Bolangir district), Sundargadi/ia (spoken in Sundargarh), Deogarhia (spoken in Deogarh region) etc. Patel (2000) gives a brief description of this dialectal difference of Sambalpuri language- the negative morpheme 'nɑɪ' 'no' becomes 'nɪ' in Bolangiri and Sandargarhi; same morpheme becomes 'nuhe' and 'nɪhe' in Bargarh and Sambalpur districts. The Sambalpuri adverb 'ɪhaḏe' 'now' becomes 'ɛkʰɛn' and 'ɪgʰəḏɪ' in Sundargarh and Subarnapur districts respectively. Sambalpuri 'ḏəuḏɪba' 'to run' becomes 'bəḏkɪba' in Sundargarhi and 'nərḏɪba' in Bolangiri and Kalahandi variety.

Map: The shaded areas indicate Sambalpuri speaking districts of Western Odisha

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1. Sudargarh, 2- Jharsuguda, 3. Sambalpur, 4. Deogarh, 5. Athmallick subdivision of Angul district, 6. Bargarh, 7. Subarnapur (Sonepur), 8. Nuapada, 9. Bolangir, 10. Boudh, 11. Kalahandi

1.1 Methodology

The aim of current study is to describe the linguistic features of negation formation and its usage in different environments in Sambalpuri language. Since the language itself is comparatively paid less attention and therefore lesser known in terms endangerment index, the negation is definitely an undiscovered area for many linguists. However, some recent scholars have drawn their attention for the documentation and description of different features of the language. So, the present endeavour is to bring out the negation, negative particles and its morphosyntactic operation in the language.

The methodology that I have adopted for the research paper is deductive by nature. While collecting data for the said work, observation, interview, consulting documents etc. as techniques have been kept in mind. As I am the native speaker of the language, I used the observation method to collect the data on the basis of the questionnaire prepared by Miestamo (2016). Besides this I have also referred Bhatia (1993), Masica (1991), Abbi (2001). The interview method is also used for cross checking of data. I chose some fluent native speakers of the language belonging to different districts of the Sambalpur region excluding me for the wider acceptability of the data.The Leipzig glossing rules are used for glossing. Finally, I analysed the collected data according to the descriptive model of linguistic analysis and tried to finalize the findings.

1.2 Literature Review

The typology of negation has drawn the attention of many linguists where they have focused their interest especially on the construction of negative structure out of declarative sentences (Dahl 1979; Huddleston 1984; Payne 1985; Dryer 2013a, b, c; Miestamo 2005, 2013, 2017). In addition, some linguists focused on some specific areas to examine the operation of negation. Such areas are negation in imperatives (van der Auwera & Lejeune 2013), the negation of stative (nonverbal, existential, etc.) predications (Croft 1991; Eriksen 2011; Veselinova 2013), the negation of indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997, 2013; Van Alsenoy 2014), abessives (Stolz et al. 2007), the effects of negation on the marking of NPs (Miestamo 2014), and negative replies to questions (Holmberg 2015).

Dahl (1997) studies negation providing a distinction between morphological and syntactic nature of negation and further he divides the negative markers as prefixal, suffixal, circumfixal, and prosodic and reduplicative negative.

Payne (1985) discussed four different types of negative markers in the languages of the world.
> a) Morphological (affixal) negatives
> b) Negative particles
> c) Negative verbs
> d) Negative nouns

Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005a) develops his typological approach on the paradigmatic contrast between the symmetric and asymmetric negation in languages. Further, he identifies different subtypes of asymmetric negation.

Dryer (2013a [2005]) deals with the geographical distribution of the three main types of negators identified by Dahl and Payne and double negation.

Eriksen (2011) focuses on non-verbal predicates negation and its strategies in languages which are different from standard negation for them.

Dixon's (2012: 89-137) gives a rich typological overview of the domains and subdomains of negation.

On the position of negative markers in a sentence Jespersen (1917), Dahls (1979), Dryer (1992), Horn (2001), play crucial role in theorising its basic nature.

Auwera and Lejeune's 2013(2005) works on the negation of imperative which is instrumental presenting four different types of negative imperatives or prohibitives.
> Type1: The prohibitive uses verbal construction of the second singular and the negative strategy in both declarative and imperative is identical.
> Type2: The prohibitive uses the second singular but the negative strategy is not found in declarative.

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Type 3: The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular positive imperative and a sentential negative strategy found in (indicative) declaratives.

Type 4: The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second singular positive imperative and a sentential negative strategy not found in (indicative) declaratives.

Croft (1991) explored a typological relationship between verbal negators and negative existential forms and presented three types of functions in world's languages.

- The verbal negator negates the existential predicate in some languages.
- Both verbal negator and negative existential predicate are present in some languages.
- In some language, the negator and negative predicate are similar in form.

However, negation is discussed by some linguists dividing it in different ways which is given below:

- Huddleston (1984): Syntactic scope, affirmative and non-affirmative, semantic scope of negation
- Payne (1985) divides negation as sentential negation and non-sentential negation.
- T.E Payne (1997) divides as clausal negation and non-clausal negation.

Kachru (1965) Bhatia (1978), Mohanan (1994), and Dwivedi (1991) describe the negation in Indo-Aryan languages, especially Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi. In Sambalpuri language, Tripathy (1992), and Tripathy (1993) mention about negation in the chapter syntax and Patel (2000) mentions about the dialectal variation of negation.

2. Clausal Negation

In this section, the paper discusses about the constructions of standard negation in TAM categories. Further, it gives a description of the change occurs in the verbal form, in different person and number, after the standard negator is used. It includes the negative construction in standard negation (2.1) non-declarative (2.2) particularly imperatives (2.2.1) and question (2.2.2), negation in non-verbal clauses (2.3) and negation in non-main clauses (2.4).

2.1 Standard Negation

The fact is that all human languages possess the distinction between negation and affirmative. Standard negation, as defined by many linguists, is the basic process of expression of negation in natural languages around the world. Standard negation is used, especially to negate the declarative verbal main clauses. (Miestamo 2005: 42) "A standard negation construction is a construction whose function is to modify a verbal declarative main clause expressing a proposition p in such a way that the modified clause expresses the proposition with the opposite truth value to p, i.e., ~p, or the proposition used as the closest equivalent to

~p in case the clause expressing ~p cannot be formed in the language, and that is (one of) the productive and general means the language has for performing this function."

Languages around the world follow certain processes to express negation. In their study Dahl (1979) and Payne (1985) identify three different types of negative markings in different languages, namely negative affixes, negative particles and negative verbs. At least one of these three forms of negative expression can be seen in human languages. The system of negation in Indo-Aryan language, as Masica (1991) says, is 'neither straightforward nor simple'. However, most of the Indo Aryan languages have different types of analytical morphemes to express the negation. Like many Modern Indo-Aryan languages, Sambalpuri also employs negative particles to express negation which can be illustrated in the following examples of standard negation.

(1a)   tukel-ṭa   nɑc-u-cʰe
        girl.3SG.NOM-CLASS   dance-PROG-AUX.
                                        PRS.3SG
        'The girl is dancing.'

        ṭukel-ṭa   ne/nei/nɑi/ni   nɑc-bɑr
(1b)   girl.3SG.NOM-CLASS   NEG   dance-
                                                                        PRS.PROG

        'The girl is not dancing.'

(2a)   ṭukel-ṭa   nɑc-lɑ
        girl.3SG.NOM-CLASS   dance-3SG.PST
        'The girl danced.'

(2b)   ṭukel-ṭa   ne/nei/ni/ni   nɑci
        girl.3SG.NOM-CLASS   NEG   dance-PST
        'The girl didn't dance.'

It can be observed that the above sentences are examples of clausal negation or standard negation with a highly analytical morpheme 'ne/nei/nai/ni' used as negative marker in Sambalpuri language. It is also interesting to note that there are possibilities of dialectal variants of negative particles as illustrated in (1b) and (2b). Again, we can notice that the position of negative particle is preverbal like most Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Punjabi (Bhatia 1978, Kachru 1965, Masica 1991). As per the symmetric and asymmetric paradigm (Miestamo, 2005a), the structure of the sentences behaves quite differently if we look into the affirmative and negative. The construction (1b) and (2b) are asymmetric as they differ from their corresponding affirmative structures. In Sambalpuri, the negative marker is not simply added to the affirmative structure like English rather, it somehow brings about change in the structure of verb. The verb in standard negative sentence (1b) and (2b) lost some grammatical features— person and number, though it retains the tense and aspect. The same negative marker is used to form standard negation construction all TAM categories and PNG categories except the symmetric and asymmetric distinction which can be seen below.

2.1.1 Negation in Present Tense

This section describes the operation of negation in present tense. The standard negative particle is used in present tense. When negative particle is used to negate the said proposition, some grammatical features disappear in present progressive, present perfect and present perfect progressive. It loses person, number and agreement. But interestingly all the grammatical features remain intact in simple present (3b, 4b, 5b) except the tense marker. The standard negator is always used in preverbal position in all cases.

(3a)   muĩ   bʰɑʈ   kʰaɛsi
            I.1SG   rice   eat.PRS.1SG
            'I eat rice.'

(3b)   muĩ   bʰɑʈ   ne   kʰẽ
            I.1SG   rice   NEG   eat.1SG
            'I do not eat rice.'

(4a)   ɑmẽ   bʰɑʈ   kʰaɛsũ
            we.1PL   rice   eat.PRS.1PL
            'We eat rice.'

(4b)   ɑmẽ   bʰɑʈ   ne   kʰəũ
            we.1PL   rice   NEG   eat.1PL
            'We do not eat rice.'

(5a)   ʈ̪uĩ   bʰɑʈ   kʰaɛsu
            you.2SG   rice   eat.PRS.1SG
            'You eat rice.'

(5b)   ʈ̪uĩ   bʰɑʈ   ne   kʰəu
            you.2SG   rice   NEG   eat.2SG
            'You do not eat rice.'

The examples given above are in simple present tense in affirmative with their corresponding negative. It is clearly noticeable that when the negative structure is constructed from the affirmative sentences, the structure of verb is perceptibly changing (3-5) and in all these cases (3-5) the position of negative marker is preverbal. As a result of such change in verbal structure, the negative sentences show asymmetric negative construction because there is no one to one correspondence between affirmative and negative clauses except the negative marker 'ne' and the morpheme '-ɛs-. The morpheme '-ɛs-' is tense marker and it is lost in the negative sentences. Further, it can be noted that with the change in verb form the behaviour of negative structure becomes asymmetric as in (3-5). But there is no loss of grammatical features particularly person and number. Although the verbal structure in negative sentence alters, still

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it triggers agreement retaining all grammatical features namely, person and number, intact as in the example (3-5). It agrees with person and number in the same way as its affirmative counterparts. But in the next two examples, the story is entirely different (progressive and perfect) as in the following examples.

(6a)   muĩ   bʰaʈ   kʰə-u-cʰe
        I.1SG   rice   eat-PROG-AUX.1SG
        'I am eating rice.'

(6b)   muĩ   bʰaʈ   ne   kʰaɛbɑr
        I.1SG   rice   NEG   eat.PROG
        'I am not eating rice.'

(7a)   se   bʰaʈ   kʰɑ-i-cʰe
        he.3SG   rice   eat-PRF-AUX.3SG
        'He has eaten rice.'

(7b)   se   bʰaʈ   ne   kʰei
        he.3SG   rice   NEG   eat.PRF
        'He has not eaten rice.'

Verb inflects when the negation is used. The above examples are in present progressive and perfect in both affirmative and negative (6-7). The negative sentences demonstrate the asymmetric nature of negation in the same way as in the present simple, but the verbal structure loses some grammatical features like person and number. It changes into an infinitival form which does not trigger agreement. The predicate in corresponding affirmative sentences agrees with number and person of the subject but their negative counterparts does not agree with the subject. The tables below show the below the asymmetric negative paradigm of verb 'kʰɑ' (to eat) in simple present (Table No. 1), present progressive (Table No.2), present perfect (Table No.3), present perfect progressive (Table No.4).

Table No. 1: Present Simple

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaɛsĩ	ne kʰẽ
	PL	kʰaɛsũ	ne kʰəũ
2nd Person	SG	kʰaɛsu	ne kʰəu
	PL	kʰaɛsə	ne kʰə
3rd Person	SG	kʰaɛsi	ne kʰe
	PL	kʰaɛsən	ne kʰɑ:n

Table No. 2: Present Progressive

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰəucʰẽ	ne kʰaɛbɑr

	PL	kʰəucʰũ	ne kʰaɛbar
2nd Person	SG	kʰəucʰu	ne kʰaɛbar
	PL	kʰəucʰə	ne kʰaɛbar
3rd Person	SG	kʰəucʰe	ne kʰaɛbar
	PL	kʰəucʰən	ne kʰaɛbar

Table No.3: Present Perfect

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaicʰẽ	ne kʰeĩ
	PL	kʰaicʰũ	ne kʰeĩ
2nd Person	SG	kʰaicʰu	ne kʰei
	PL	kʰaicʰə	ne kʰei
3rd Person	SG	kʰaicʰe	ne kʰei
	PL	kʰaicʰən	ne kʰei

Table No.4: Present Perfect Progressive

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaiasucʰe	ne kʰaiasbar
	PL	kʰaiasucʰu	ne kʰaiasbar
2nd Person	SG	kʰaiasucʰu	ne kʰaiasbar
	PL	kʰaiasucʰə	ne kʰaiasbar
3rd Person	SG	kʰaiasucʰe	ne kʰaiasbar
	PL	kʰaiasucʰən	ne kʰaiasbar

2.1.2 Negation in Past Tense

There is a description of negation in the different forms of past tense. In the similar way, negation in the past tense precedes the verb as in the present tense. The verb loses grammatical features like person and number and as a result of such loss the agreement is lost between the subject and verb. It also triggers agreement with person and number. The negator is used in preverbal position. There is no one to one correspondence between the affirmative and negative construction. Let's see the following examples.

(8a)   muĩ   bʰaʈ   kʰa-ɛli
        I.1SG   rice   eat-PST.1SG
        'I ate rice.'

(8b)   muĩ   bʰaʈ   ne   kʰɛi
        I.1SG   rice   NEG   eat-PST.1SG
        'I didn't rice.'

(9a)   ame   bʰaʈ   kʰa-ɛlu

we.1PL rice eat-PST.1PL

'We ate rice.'

(9b) ɑme bʰɑt̯ ne kʰei

we.1PL rice NEG eat-PST.1PL

'We did not eat rice.'

Like the sentences in present tense, the above simple past sentences demonstrate asymmetric negation. As explained earlier, the examples show that the negator precedes verb; and the agreement with number and person is not established like it does in the corresponding affirmative structures. Therefore, the negation is asymmetric since it has not one to one correspondence between negative and affirmative structures. One more thing to observe in these examples is that the tense marker is lost. As result of absence of tense, the verbal form resembles with the present perfect verbal form (7b & Table no.3). But in the past progressive and perfect sentences, the asymmetric negation can be seen as in the following instances.

(10a) se bʰɑt̯ kʰə-u-t̯ʰilɑ

he.3SG rice eat-PROG-AUX.PST.3SG

'He was eating rice.'

(10b) se bʰɑt̯ ne kʰə-u-t̯ʰei

he.3SG rice NEG eat-PROG-PST

'He was not eating rice.'

(11a) se bʰɑt̯ kʰɑ-i-t̯ʰilɑ

he.3SG rice eat-PRF-PST.3SG

'He had eaten rice.'

(11b) se bʰɑt̯ ne kʰe-i-t̯ʰei

he.3SG rice NEG eat-PRF-PST

'He had not eaten rice.'

As it is seen in the above examples of past progressive and perfect, the asymmetric negation with preverbal negative marker is clear (10b and 11b). Further, the agreement phenomenon and loss of grammatical features are observable in the negative counterparts of affirmative structure. The following tables show the asymmetric negative paradigm of 'kʰɑ' (to eat) verb in past tense.

Table No.5: Simple Past

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰɑɛli	ne kʰeĩ
	PL	kʰɑɛlu	ne kʰeĩ

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2nd Person	SG	kʰaɛlu	ne kʰei
	PL	kʰaɛlə	ne kʰei
3rd Person	SG	kʰaɛla	ne kʰei
	PL	kʰaɛle	ne kʰei

Table:6: Past Progressive

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰəut̪ʰili	ne kʰəut̪ʰei
	PL	kʰəut̪ʰilu	ne kʰəut̪ʰei
2nd Person	SG	kʰəut̪ʰilu	ne kʰəut̪ʰei
	PL	kʰəut̪ʰilə	ne kʰəut̪ʰei
3rd Person	SG	kʰəut̪ʰila	ne kʰəut̪ʰei
	PL	kʰəut̪ʰile	ne kʰəut̪ʰei

Table.7: Past Perfect

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰait̪ʰilĩ	ne kʰeit̪ʰei
	PL	kʰait̪ʰilũ	ne kʰeit̪ʰei
2nd Person	SG	kʰait̪ʰilu	ne kʰeit̪ʰei
	PL	kʰait̪ʰilə	ne kʰeit̪ʰei
3rd Person	SG	kʰait̪ʰila	ne kʰeit̪ʰei
	PL	kʰait̪ʰile	ne kʰeit̪ʰei

Table.8: Past Perfect Progressive

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaiasut̪ʰili	ne kʰeiasut̪ʰei
	PL	kʰaiasut̪ʰilũ	ne kʰeiasut̪ʰei
2nd Person	SG	kʰaiasut̪ʰilu	ne kʰeiasut̪ʰei
	PL	kʰaiasut̪ʰilə	ne kʰeiasut̪ʰei
3rd Person	SG	kʰaiasut̪ʰila	ne kʰeiasut̪ʰei
	PL	kʰaiasut̪ʰile	ne kʰeiasut̪ʰei

2.1.3 Negation in Future Tense

Similarly, the structure in future tense uses the negative particle in the preverbal position. The negative paradigm present in this case is uniformly similar with the present and past with identical negative marker. The interesting fact is that there is no loss of grammatical features. It behaves quite similarly as the simple present tense. It shows loss of tense marker in the negative sentence. Consequentially, the verbal forms of simple future and present (3-5) are similar in structure.

(12a)   muĩ   bʰat̪   kʰa-ɛmi
          I.1SG   rice   eat-FUT.1SG

'I shall eat rice.'

(12b)   muĩ   bʰɑṯ   ne   kʰẽ
               I.1SG   rice   NEG   eat.1SG
               'I shall not eat rice.'

(13a)   se   bʰɑṯ   kʰə-u-ṯʰibɑ
               he.3SG   rice   eat-PROG.FUT.3SG
               'He will be eating rice.'

(13b)   se   bʰɑṯ   ne   kʰə-u-ṯʰe
               he.3SG   rice   NEG   eat.PROG-FUT.3SG
               'He will not be eating rice.'

The examples (12b & 13b) given above show the change of verbal structure after the use of negative marker in affirmative structure like the past and present tenses. Hence, the asymmetric negative paradigm can be exemplified in future tense. Like all verbal forms in asymmetric paradigm, here also the form is not identical with affirmative. There is no dissimilarity in the position of negation. It behaves similarly with present and past. Moreover, in the future tense of Sambalpuri an interesting fact is noticeable. Somehow, the agreement and grammatical features that disappear in all forms of present tense except simple present and all forms of past tense, it remains present in future in all examples illustrated in the table below. The asymmetric negative paradigm of the verb 'kʰɑ' (to eat) is given below in the tables.

Table No.9: Future Simple

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaɛmi	ne kʰẽ
	PL	kʰaɛmu	ne kʰəũ
2nd Person	SG	kʰaɛbu	ne kʰəu
	PL	kʰaɛbə	ne kʰə
3rd Person	SG	kʰaɛba	ne kʰe
	PL	kʰaɛbe	ne kʰɑːn

Table No.10: Future Progressive

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰəuṯʰimi	ne kʰəuṯʰẽ
	PL	kʰəuṯʰimu	ne kʰəuṯʰəu
2nd Person	SG	kʰəuṯʰibu	ne kʰəuṯʰəu
	PL	kʰəuṯʰibə	ne kʰəuṯʰə
3rd Person	SG	kʰəuṯʰiba	ne kʰəuṯʰe
	PL	kʰəuṯʰibe	ne kʰəuṯʰɑn

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Table No.11: Future Perfect

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaiṯʰimi	ne kʰeiṯʰẽ
	PL	kʰaiṯʰimu	ne kʰeiṯʰəũ
2nd Person	SG	kʰaiṯʰibu	ne kʰeiṯʰəu
	PL	kʰaiṯʰibə	ne kʰeiṯʰə
3rd Person	SG	kʰaiṯʰiba	ne kʰeiṯʰe
	PL	kʰaiṯʰibe	ne kʰeiṯʰan

Tabe No. 12: Future Perfect Progressive

Person	Number	Affirmative	Negative
1st Person	SG	kʰaiasuṯʰimi	ne kʰeiasuṯʰe
	PL	kʰaiasutʰimu	ne kʰeiasuṯəu
2nd Person	SG	kʰaiasuṯʰibu	ne kʰeiasuṯʰəu
	PL	kʰaiasutʰibə	ne kʰeiasuṯʰə
3rd Person	SG	kʰaiasuṯʰiba	ne kʰeiasuṯʰe
	PL	kʰaiasuṯʰibe	ne kʰeiasuṯʰan

In all tenses, asymmetric paradigm can be seen. But asymmetric paradigm is prevalent in Sambalpuri negative construction. It is very peculiar to mark that the concord between the subject and predicate in Sambalpuri standard negation disappeared in some cases. In present and past, the loss of grammatical features like agreement, number and person is very common. But in future tense, it is an exception. There is no loss of such grammatical features despite change of verbal form. Similarly, the negative marker is placed in preverbal position in all tenses. In Sambalpuri, future perfect progressive in both affirmative and negative is very rare in use.

2.1.4 Negation and Aspect

In this point of discussion of negation, the paper presents a description of negation in different aspects viz. perfective and imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect is described with '-i-', '-ɑ' which indicates the completion of an action or process.

(14a)   suḏeb   gʰər-ke   jɑ-i-cʰe
              sudev.3SG   home-LOC   go-PRF-AUX.PRS.3SG
              'Sudev has been to home.'

(14b)   suḏeb   gʰər-ke   ne   jeĩ
              sudev.3SG   home-LOC   NEG   go.PRS
              'Sudev has not been to home.'

(15a)   suḏeb   gʰər-ke   gəlɑ

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	sudev.3SG	home-LOC	go.PST.3SG

'Sudev went to home.'

(15b) suḏeb gʰər-ke ne jeĩ

	sudev.3SG	home-LOC	NEG	go.PST

'Sudev did not go to home.'

The negation in perfective aspect in the above examples is illustrated with morphemes attached to the verb and the negative marker precedes the verb as usually. With respect to agreement, person and number, the affirmative sentences (14a & 15a) show all three grammatical features but when it is turned into negative with insertion of negative particle, the sentences (14b & 15b) change its verbal structure. Consequently, the agreement between subject and predicate is lost as well as person and number features in verb are lost. But the perfective marker remains intact. Further, the verbal structure in both negative structures looks alike.

The imperfective aspect deals with habitual action and action that is in progression. The former denotes an action being performed as part of daily routine and latter an action or process that is going on at moment speaking at particular given time. And the negation in this aspect behaves quite similarly as the perfective aspect with particular reference to asymmetric paradigm.

(16a) muĩ jogə kərsi

	I.1SG	Yoga	do.PRS.1SG

'I do Yoga.'

(16b) muĩ jogə ne kərẽ

	I.1SG	Yoga	NEG	do.PRS.1SG

'I don't do Yoga.'

(17a) muĩ jogə kər-u-cʰe

	I.1SG	Yoga	do-PROG-AUX.PRS.1SG

'I am doing Yoga.'

(17b) muĩ jogə ne kərbɑr

	I.1SG	Yoga	NEG	do.PROG

I am not doing Yoga.'

As it can be noticed in the above examples that the negative marker is preverbal in the same way like other cases. It has only asymmetric negative structure. But in the example (16b) the agreement, person and number are present whereas in the next example (17b) the features are missing (for more details refer present tense).

2.1.5 Negation and Mood

Mood is a type of grammatical category which functions as marking 'the manner' on verbs. It shows the relationship of an activity, or state, with the reality as determined by the speaker. Mood also expresses negation in the same way as others which can be illustrated in the following examples.

(18a) muĩ səbuḏin kʰɛlsi
    I.1SG everyday play.PRS.1SG
    'I play every day.'.'

(18b) muĩ səbuḏin ne kʰɛlẽ
    I.1SG everyday NEG play.PRS.1SG
    'I do not play every day.'

(19a) bʰəgban ṭəṭe/ṭəke kʰus rəkʰun
    God you.DAT happy keep.HON
    May God keep you happy!

(19b) bʰəgban ṭəṭe/ṭəṭe kʰus ne rəkʰun
    God you.DAT happy NEG keep.HON
    May God not keep you happy!

According to Miestamo (2005), there are different subtypes of asymmetric negation as A/Fin, A/Non-Real, A/Emph and A/Cat. And in Sambalpuri, it is the fourth type of asymmetric negation i.e., A/Cat can be exemplified. In A/Cat asymmetric negation, 'the marking of grammatical categories is affected in other ways.' (Miestamo: 2005). In some languages the negative marker changes the TAM marker which is labelled as A/Cat/TAM and in some other languages, it affects the person and number markers in verb labelled as A/Cat/PNG, where both positive and negative possess different markers. Further, in language like Sambalpuri, asymmetric negation process involves in loss of grammatical categories, especially person and number as the examples given above.

2.2 Negation in Non-Declarative

The section gives a description of negation in imperatives, questions, non-verbal clauses and non-main clauses.

2.2.1 Imperatives

Imperative is a type of sentence structure or forms of verb which is used as request or command. In Sambalpuri the imperative construction uses the root form of verb and generally the 2ⁿᵈ person singular and plural is understood as its subject. And the negative imperative can be explained according to van der Auwera & Lejeune (2013[2005]) who presented 4 different

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types of prohibitive in the world's languages. The first type of prohibitive, in which the negative imperative is expressed in the same way as the positive imperative, is used in Sambalpuri language. This type of negative imperative constructions are used in circumstances like politeness, humbleness, to address the hearer. There are some other cases where it is used to command.

For example,

(20a)   sun
           listen.2SG
           'Listen.'

(20b)   ne   sun
           NEG   listen.2SG
            'Don't listen.'

(20c)   ɑmẽ   ne   sun-u
           we.1PL   NEG   listen-1PL
           'We don't listen.'

In the examples given above, it can be noticed that the examples follow the first type of negative imperative in which all the grammatical features remain intact. It means there is no perceptible difference between the positive and negative imperative structures (20a-b) except the negative marker in (20b). The identical negative marking is used in preverbal position with negative imperative as the declarative in standard negation in (20c). So the structure is symmetric which has one to one correspondence between both positive and negative. In an interesting manner, languages vary while conveying politeness (Aikhenvald 2010) as in Hindi. Let's see how it operates in this language.

(21a)   ne   kʰɑ
           NEG   eat
           'Don't eat.'

(21b)   ne   kʰə
           NEG   eat.HON
           'Don't eat.'

(21c)   ne   kʰəun
           NEG   eat.HON
           'Don't eat.'

In the above examples, we can discuss that the sentence (21a) is a case of informal imperative whereas the sentences (21b) and (21c) are formal and formal with extra politeness respectively. In this regard, the same negator is used in preverbal position as it is used in the declarative. But the only difference in the structure of imperative verb, despite being the same second person subject in all three instances, is the verbal form. The difference in verbal form

is mainly because of various level of honorific otherwise, there is uniformity in the structure between the negative and positive except the negative marking. In all imperative types available in Sambalpuri language, the negator 'ne' is used in all environments. It is not distinct from the standard negation and most importantly, it is symmetric in construction.

2.2.2 Questions

This section discusses about the nature of negation in non-declarative type sentences, especially question—both yes/no questions and wh-word question. The interrogative in Sambalpuri is formed using a question morpheme obligatorily in the finite verb of the affirmative sentence and the same question morpheme is used in the negative sentence which can be illustrated in the following examples.

(22a)   ʈui   αm   kʰαɛsu   kɛ̃
            you.2SG   mango   eat.PRS.2SG   Q
            'Do you eat mango?'

(22b)   ʈui   αm   ne   kʰəu   kɛ̃
            you.2SG   mango   NEG   eat.PRS.2SG   Q
            'Don't you eat mango?'

(23a)   se   αm   kʰαɛsi   kɛ̃
            he.3SG   mango   eat.PRS.3SG   Q
            'Does he eat mango?'

(23b)   se   αm   ne   kʰαɛ/kʰɛ   kɛ̃
            he.3SG   mango   NEG   eat.PRS.3SG   Q
            'Doesn't he eat mango?'

As other non-declarative construction, the interrogative also uses the negator 'ne' in the preverbal location. The examples (22a and 23a) are yes/no type of question which obligatorily take question morpheme 'kɛ̃', particularly at the end of sentence. Similarly, the examples (22b and 23b) are their negative counterparts which have the question and negative marker as interrogative sentences. The negative marker is placed before the finite verb of the sentence. Moreover, these are asymmetric in structure.

The negative construction of wh-questions in this language shows similar structural process like the yes/no type of question—the same negator, same preverbal position for instance (24 & 25). However, the wh-question does not have question morpheme in the finite verb.

(24)   kie   ne   kʰei
           who   NEG   eat.PRS.PRF
           'Who has not eaten?'

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(25) kaɛ̃ ne kʰei
      why NEG eat.PRS.PRF
      'Why haven't you eaten?'

We can mark in the above examples that the negator is used in the preverbal position but without question morpheme. With particular reference to the negative particle and its position, the interrogative shows similar structural behaviour with the standard negation with same negative marker and same position.

2.3 Negation in Non-Verbal Clauses

Miestamo (2017) says non-verbal clause in clausal negation is formed differently from the standard negation in many languages. Non-verbal predicate refers to those verbs which are not lexical in nature.

Non-verbal clauses are divided into different types (Payne 1997) as equation, proper inclusion, attribution, location prediction, existential prediction and possessive prediction. The first three non-verbal clauses behave differently from the last three. They take different negative particles which can be noticed in the following examples.

Equation
(26a) se   mor   mɑ   ɑɛ
       she.3SG   my   mother   is.3SG
       'She is my mother.'

(26b) se   mor   mɑ   nu-he/nuhe-se
       she.3SG   my   mother   NEG-is
       'She is not my mother.'

Proper inclusion
(27a) kukur   pəsu-ʈe   ɑɛ
       dog.3SG   animal-INDF   is.3SG
       'Dog is an animal.'

(27b) kukur   pəsu-ʈe   nuhe/nuhese
       dog.3SG   animal-INDF   NEG-is
       'Dog is not an animal.'

Attribution
(28a) se   kəɳɑ   ɑɛ
       he.3SG   blind is.3SG
       'He is blind.'

(28b)   se   kaɳɑ   nuhe/nuhese
             he.3SG   blind   NEG-is
             'He is not blind.'

Locative predication

(29a)   bilei-ʈa   kʰəʈ   t̪əle   əcʰe
             cat.3SG-DEF   cot   under   is.3SG
             'The cat is under the cot.

(29b)   bilei-ʈa   kʰəʈ   t̪əle   ne   nə
             cat.3SG-DEF   cot   under   NEG is
             'The cat is not under the cot.'

Existential predication

(30a)   jəŋgle   baɡʰ   əcʰe
             forest.LOC   tiger.3SG   is.3SG
             'There is a tiger in the forest.'

(30b)   jəŋgle   baɡʰ   ne   nə
             forest. LOC   tiger.3SG   NEG   is
             'There is no tiger in the forest.'

Possessive predication

(31a)   mɑnəsi-r   kɑr   əcʰe
             manasi-POSS   car-3SG   has.3SG
             'Manasi has a car.

(31b)   mɑnəsi-r   kɑr   ne   nə
             manasi-POSS   car   NEG   is
             'Manasi has no car.'

As discussed above, these are different types of non-verbal clauses found in Sambalpuri which have a dedicated negative construction, although not in all cases. The negation construction in these non-verbal predicates is partially different from standard negation with respect to its form. The examples (26b, 27b & 28b) are marked with a different negative marker which is not similar with standard negation marker, whereas the examples (29b, 30b and 31b) are expressed with the same type negator as the standard negation but with an obligatory morphological feature as the copula of the sentence. The negator used in first three cases is 'nuhe/nuhese' (26b, 27b & 28b) and in last three instances 'ne (29b, 30b & 31b). All these non-verbal constructions show special behaviour which can be labelled as asymmetric in their very nature.

Let's look at the following examples.

(32a)   ṭukel-mɑne   pəḍiɑ-re   əcʰen
                girl-3PL   field-LOC   is.3PL
                'The girls are in the field.'

(32b)   ṭukel-mɑne   pəḍiɑ-re   ne   nə
                girl-3PL   field-LOC   NEG   is
                'The girls are not in the field.'

(33a)   si̱ɑ   tukel-ṭe   ɑɛ
                sita.3SG   girl-INDF   is.3SG
                'Sita is a girl.'

(33b)   si̱ɑ   ṭukel   nuhe/nuhese
                sita.3SG   girl   NEG.is
                'Sita is not a girl.'

As explained above that the non-verbal clauses exhibit special behaviour in negation with respect to standard negation construction. So, we can see it in the examples (32b) and (33b). In the former, although the negator remains same but there is another obligatory element attached to it in which the deletion of that morpheme leaves the sentence totally ungrammatical and unacceptable to the native speakers; and in the latter, the existential is not negated by the standard negator rather it has a different form. Considering the relation between verb and negator, Croft (1991) pointed out three types of negative markers in non-verbal clauses. In Sambalpuri language, we can exemplify only two types: Type A (Standard negator with existential predication marker) and Type B (separate negative existential marker different from standard negator). So, in the first type the standard negative marker is used with the existential predication marker as in (32b) and the next type the negative existential predication marker is distinctly different from the standard negator as in (33b). The negation of possessive and locative predicates is considered to the very common function of such negators.

2.4. Negation in Non-Main Clauses

In some languages, the negative particle that is used to negate the subordinate clause or dependent clause is different from the standard negation. But in Sambalpuri, the same negator which is used for standard negation is used to form negation of subordinate clauses.

(34a)   mor   biswɑs   je   se   ɑsbɑ
                I.1SG.GEN   Belief   that   he.3SG   come.3SG.FUT
                'I believe that he will come.'

(34b)   mor   biswɑs   je   se   ne   ɑse
                I-   belief   that   he.3SG   NEG   come.3SG.FUT
        1.SG.GEN

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'I believe that he will not come.'

The above example (34a) is an instance of finite dependent clause without negation and the next in (34b) is the negative of its corresponding positive finite dependent clause. As we have already discussed in earlier sections that the standard negation takes the negator 'ne' to negate the affirmative structure. So, in this case as in (34b) the similar negator is used to form negation of subordinating structure. In reality, such structures are not used by the native speakers either in spoken or written form. Rather, the preferred structures are (34a & 34b)

Unlike the subordinating marker 'je' in (34a and 34b), there are some constructions in which the subordinator is not mentioned overtly as in the following examples (35a and 35b).

(35a)   muĩ   janicʰe   se   pəɖʰbɑ
         I.1SG   know.1SG.PRS   he.3SG   study.3SG.FUT
         'I know that he will study.'

(35b)   muĩ   janicʰe   se   ne   pəɖʰe
         I.1SG   know.1SG   he.3SG   NEG   study.3SG.FUT
         'I know that he will not study.'

Until now we discussed above in the set of examples (34 and 35) about the negation of finite dependent clauses with and without subordinator. Now it is to explain whether Sambalpuri language allows negation of non-finite dependent clauses or not. The following sentences will exemplify the case.

(36a)   muĩ   ţɑr   aɛbɑr   ɖɛkʰlĩ
         I.1SG   he.3SG.GEN   come.INF   see.1SG-PST
         'I saw him coming.'

*(36b)   muĩ   ţɑr   ne   aɛbɑr   ɖɛkʰlĩ
         I.1SG   he.3SG.GEN   NEG   come.INF   see.1SG-PST
         'I saw him not coming.'

In Sambalpuri, the structure in (36b) may sound pleasant and grammatical but it is confirmed by the native speakers of the language that such sentence is not spoken. Hence, the sentence is ungrammatical and unacceptable because the non-finite clauses cannot be negated in Sambalpuri.

3. Non-Clausal Negation

This section gives a description of negative replies in polar interrogatives, negative indefinites pronouns, and negative quantifiers.

3.1. Negative Replies to Polar Interrogatives

"A polar interrogative (henceforth PI) can be defined as a construction that has the expression of questions eliciting a 'yes' or 'no' answer from the addressee as (one of) its primary function(s)." (Miestamo 2009) Languages with respect to negative replies differ while replying to the polar interrogative—some languages have one-word negative reply while some other repeat the verb or the whole sentence of polar interrogative in order to reply the question (Miestamo:2017). In Sambalpuri language both the one-word negative reply and repetition of verb can be noticed.

(37a) kukur-ṭa   bʰuk-u-cʰ-e   kɛ̃?   (37b)   nei
       dog.3SG-   bark-PROG-PRS-   Q   NEG
       DEF   3SG
         'Is the dog barking?'   'No.'

(37c) nei,   ne   bʰukbɑr
       NEG   NEG   bark.PROG
       No, not barking.

As observed in the above examples, the negative reply in polar interrogative uses both ways described earlier in this section.

3.2 Negative Indefinites Pronoun

Negative indefinite pronouns are defined as nominal or adverbial expressions that directly translate 'nobody', 'nothing', 'nowhere', 'never' etc. in sentences, independently of whether they co-occur with predicate negation.' (Haspelmath 2013). It is an important area among the linguists who discussed the negative indefinites and devised four main syntactic ways to express it (Dahl 1979; Bernini and Ramat 1992:109-10; Kahrel 1996: 36).

But in Sambalpuri like all Indo-Aryan languages, there is no negative indefinite pronouns rather the indefinite pronouns co-occur with clausal negator and further the omission of clausal negator result in ungrammaticality of the construction as in the following examples.

(38)   kihe   ne   ɑsi
         nobody   NEG   come.PST
         'Nobody came.'

(39)   se   kicʰi   ne   neĩ
         he.3SG   something   ne   take.3SG.PST
         'He has taken nothing.'

(40)   se   kɑhɑkũ   ne   bʰɛṭlɑ

        he.3SG   no one   ne   meet.PST

        'He met nobody.'

The examples above (38, 39 and 40) are indefinite pronouns in negation that function as to explain negative indefiniteness of the construction. In the negative structure, the indefinite pronouns [kihe], 'kicʰi' and 'kahakũ' are used side by side with the standard negator in sentences (38), (39) and (40) respectively. It can be noticed that there are indefinite pronouns along with a verbal negation as in the examples (38) and (40) which seem to be inherently 'negative indefinite pronouns' (Haspelmath 1991) but, without additional verbal negation, the structure will become ungrammatical and illogical. Hence, they do not qualify to be negative indefinites pronouns as they cannot convey meaning without verbal negation. It is quite problematic to set this under the criterion (Bernini and Ramat 1992)[2] developed to define negative indefinite pronouns. In case of sentence (39) it is structurally different from other two indefinite pronouns. The indefinite pronoun 'kicʰi' in (39) bears a positive meaning. The same pronoun can be used in both affirmative and negative with similar meaning as in (41) the corresponding affirmative of (39).

(41)   se   kicʰi   neicʰe
            he.3SG   something   take.PRF.1SG.PRS
            'He has taken something.'

The same indefinite pronoun 'kicʰi' is used in both negative (39) and the affirmative structure (41). In Sambalpuri, the following indefinite pronoun in (42a) affirmative sentence changes when the verb is negated (42b).

(42a)   kie   gut-e   gʰərke   ḍʰuk-lɑ
           someone   one-INDF   house   enter-PST
           'Somebody entered the house.'

(42b)   kihe   gʰərke   ne   ḍʰuki
           somebody   house   NEG   enter.3SG.PST
           'Nobody entered the house.'

As observed earlier, the indefinite pronoun in (42a) 'kie' is used with an obligatory quantifier which together fulfil the indefiniteness of construction. And when the verbal negation is used in the second example (42b), the form of indefinite changes with deletion of quantifiers. The indefinite pronoun used in (42b) is only used with negative structure.

Conclusively, as Sambalpuri shares linguistic affinities with other Indo-Aryan languages with respect to negation, it lacks inherent negative form of indefinite pronoun as other Indo-Aryan languages. Rather, it uses indefinite pronoun along with an obligatory clausal negator to express negation of sentences with indefinite pronouns.

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[2] Bernini and Ramat (1992:115) adopts a criterion to distinguish between negative and non-negative pronouns.

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3.3. Negative Quantifiers

Like any other Indo-Aryan languages, Sambalpuri also has no negative quantifier. It is required to add a standard negation to express the function of negative quantifier.

4. Other Aspects of Negation

This section deals with the scope of negation, negative polarity items, negation in coordination and conditional, and double negation.

4.1 The Scope of Negation

In the syntactic and semantic domains, the scope of negation has been studied to a considerable extent (Horn 2001). Negation in this concern is viewed as internal and external negation. The scope of negation can be understood as a feature which pertains to a specific constituent in a clause, and it is indicated differently in different languages. It is related to the negation either a focused constituent in the sentence or the sentence as a whole. 'It is a popular phenomenon in Indian languages to move the scope of negation. (Abbi: 2001)" Let's see how the scope negation in Sambalpuri language operates.

(43)   se   ne   ranḏʰi
           s/he.3SG   NEG   cook.PRFT
           'S/He has not cooked.'

(44)   se   mug ḏaɛl   ne   ranḏʰi
           he/she.3SG   moong dal   NEG   cook.PRFT
           'S/He has not cooked moong dal (but cooked some other variety of dal)

We can notice in the above examples that the whole proposition is negated as in (43) or a specific constituent as in (44). In the example (43) the whole proposition 'ranḏʰi' (to cook) is negated but in the next (44) only the specific constituent 'mug ḏaɛl' (moong dal) is negated.

Let us try to understand the nature of negative particle and its possible interpretation when it is moved to different position in a given sentence with the help of following examples.

(45) mɑnəsi   əu   mɑnəs kəṯʰɑ həuṯʰile   ne   pəḏʰ-u-ṯʰei
         Manasi and Manas talk   be.AUX.PRG.PST.3PL NEG study-PROG-
                                                       PST
         'Manasi and Manas were talking, (but) not studying.'

(46) mɑnəsi əu   mɑnəs ne   kəṯʰɑ hə-u-ṯʰei   pəḏʰ-u-ṯʰile
         Manasi and Manas talk NEG be-PROG-PST study.PRG.PST.PL
           'Manasi and Manas were not talking, (but they were) studying.'

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(47)   mɑnəsi   nei   mui   kət̪ʰɑ   hə-u-t̪ʰili
           Manasi.3SG   NEG   I.1SG   talk   be-PRG-AUX.PST.1SG
           'I was talking, not Manasi (Manasi was studying).'

(48)   nei,   mɑnəsi   əu   mɑnəs   pəɖʰut̪ʰile
           NEG   Manasi   and   Manas   study.PRG.PST.PL
           'No, Manasi and Manas were studying (not talking).'

The negative particle in the above sentences can be moved across the sentence to negate different constituents. It is always used before the constituent it scopes and negates. In the example (45) it is used before 'pəɖʰut̪ei' (studying) and it negates that particular constituent of this sentence. If we move it further left and use it before the verb 'kət̪ʰɑ həut̪ʰilɑ' (talking) as in (46) it negates this particular constituent. Interestingly, when we move the negative particle further left and position it between 'mɑnəsi' and 'muĩ' in (47), it scopes over the preceding constituent rather than the following one (45 and 46) . If we move the negator further left to the beginning of the sentence (48), it can be interpreted as 'No, Manasi and Manas were studying, not talking.'

It is interesting to note that the following instances can be interpreted differently without any movement of negative particle. In such cases the role of intonation and stress is indispensable. If we shift the stress from one constituent to the other, the scope of negation changes, although the negative particle remains in the same position.

(49)   mɑnəsi   əu   mɑnəs   kət̪ʰɑ   ne   hə-u-tʰei
           Manasi   and   Manas   talk   NEG   be-PROG-PST
           'Manasi and Manas were not talking (doing something else).'

(50)   mɑnəsi   əu   mɑnəs   kət̪ʰɑ   Ne   hə-u-tʰei
           Manasi   and   Manas   talk   NEG   be-PROG-PST
           'Manasi and Manas were not talking (some others were talking)'

In the sentence (49), the stress is placed on the constituent 'kət̪ʰɑ' (talk) as a result it negates the stressed constituent. But in the next sentence (50) the stress is shifted and placed on the subject which is negated in turn. Apart from this, one another aspect can be also marked in the above sentences that the negator can be placed within such compound verb.

The scope of negation can be checked in conjunctive participle constructions or converbs of Sambalpuri language.

(51)   muĩ   gurəs   pi   kəri   Ne   sui
           I.1SG   milk   drink   CP   NEG   sleep.PST
           'After drinking milk, I didn't sleep.'

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(52a)	mui	gurəs	ne	pi	kəri	suili
	I.1SG	milk	NEG	drink	CP	sleep.PST.1SG

I slept without drinking milk. / Without drinking milk, I slept.

It is to note that the scope of negation in the sentence (51) is the finite verb whereas in (52) it is the conjunctive particle. But the following construction is more preferable among the native speakers instead of the construction in (52a).

(52b)	muĩ	gurəs	bin/binɑ	pi	kəri	suili
	I.1SG	milk	without	drink	CP	sleep.PST.1SG

'I slept without drinking milk.'

4.2. Negative Polarity Items

Negative polarity item is 'a word, etc. whose sense is possible in negative sentences but not, or not normally, in positive sentences.' (Matthews 2007: 240). As proposed ((Bhatia 1978, Mahajan 1990a, Vasishth 1997 and 1998, Bhandari 1998, and Lahiri 1998) negative polarity items (NPIs) are formed with an indefinite pronoun and a particle 'bi/bʰi:' (even/also). This Typologically NPIs are very common aspects and present in every language (Haspelmath 1997 reports data from forty languages). Like any other Indo-Aryan language, the polarity items exist in Sambalpuri language as in the following examples.

(53)	kihe	bi:	bhuji	kʰɑi	ne	ɑsle
	anybody	even	feast	eat.PRTP	NEG	come.PST

'Nobody came to attend the feast.'

(54)	jənɛ	bi	iskul-ke	Ne	ɑsi
	someone	even	school-LOC	NEG	come.PRS

'Not even one has come to school.'

(55)	se	kɛbʰe	ne	pədʰe
	he.3SG	sometime	NEG	study.PRS

'He never studies.'

As it is noticed that the words 'kihe bi', 'jənɛ bi', 'kɛbʰe' are sensitive to the scope of negation. These words are Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) and used only in this environment. Hence, they are grammatical, with a particular interpretation, only within the scope of negation.

4.3. Negation in Coordination

Languages in the world possess special negative coordinators, like English 'neither....nor' which is negative by itself or special coordinators which are not negative by itself to express coodinating constructions. The special coordinating negator negates the proposition without

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negative morpheme of standard negation whereas the special coordinators obligtorily require negative morpheme to express negation in coordination as in the following examples.

(56)   əjiṯ   əu   bikɑs   iskul-ke   ne   jei

Ajit   and   Bikas   school-LOC   NEG   go.PRS.PRF

'Ajit and Bikash have not been to school.'

(57)   muĩ   ne   pəḍʰẽ   əu   iskul-ke   ne   jẽ

I.1SG   NEG   study.1SG.FUT   and   school-LOC   NEG   go.1SG.FUT

'I will not study and will not go to school either.'

(58)   mɑnəsi   sikar   ne   kʰae   əu   ṯar   bʰɑi   jʰuri   ne   kʰɑe

Manasi.3SG   meat   NEG   eat.PRS   and   he   brother   fish   NEG   eat.PRS

'Manasi does not eat meat and his brother does not eat fish.'

As it is given in the above examples that the negative particle in coordinating structure in Sambalpuri language always occurs preverbally whether two subjects joined by a coordinator with common predicate as in (56) or the same subject with two predicates joined by coordinators (57) or two diffrent simple sentences joined by coordinator (58). There is no special negative coordinator like English. The same negator used in standard negation is used in this construction to express negation.

4.4. Negation in Conditional Clause

In Sambalpuri the conditional clause is expressed using an overt conditional marker as correlative and particiapial. The negative morpheme in both cases is used preverbally as in the following examples.

(59)   se   ne   ḍak-le   mui   ne   jẽ

he.3SG   NEG   call-if   I   NEG   go

'If he does not invite, I will not go.'

(60)   jəḍi   mɑnəsi   ne   kʰɑɛ   muĩ   bi   ne   kʰẽ̃

if   Manasi   NEG   eat.PRS   I   also   NEG   eat.PRS

'If Manasi does not eat, I will also not eat.'

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In the negative of conditional sentences in Sambalpuri, the same negative morpheme is used as in the standard negation and it is placed preverbally in both if-caluse and matrix clause. Although the sentence in (60) is grammatically possible and used in some rare cases, still the preferred and widely used structure is the example (59).

4.5. Double Negation

Double negation like English is allowed in Sambalpuri, it only allows single negative in one clause as in the following examples.

61.   muĩ   kicʰi   ne   ḍɛkʰi
        I   something   NEG   see.PST
        'I saw nothing.'

62.   *muĩ   ne   kicʰi   ne   ḍɛkʰi
        I.1SG   NEG   something   NEG   see.PST
        I didn't see nothing.'

In the above examples it is clear that double negative construction in Sambalpuri is not possible.

5. Conclusion

Conclusively, it can be summed up that the negation is a very important linguistic phenomenon present universally in all natural languages of the world. However, there may be difference in the negative markers while expressing the notion of negation, either using a negative affix or negative particles or negative verb. Bu it is to note that there is typological variations in the position of negative markers in a particular given environment in the world's languages. In some languages, the negative marker precedes the verb and in some others it succeeds.

In Sambalpuri language the position of negative marker is preverbal to negate any positive structure. As it is observed in the very first section of this paper on standard negation, there is a set of four negative markers which are identically phonological variants of same negative marker. And it can be interchangeably used without affecting the semantic of the construction. The only perceptible difference in such varieties of negative markers among the speakers of Sambalpuri is their regional variations. The variants are used in different parts of western Odisha. Most importantly, as the preverbal use of negative marker is found in Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Gujrati, and Assamese, so it is also found in Sambalpuri language. With regard to symmetric and asymmetric dichotomy of negation, it is very often seen in different instances of clausal and non-clausal negation that both symmetric and asymmetric systems can be exemplified. But symmetric negation is rarely found in the structure. The non-verbal clauses use a different type of negative marker which is usually not identical with standard negator. Lastly, this typological survey of negation can be considered as a preliminary analysis which may serve linguists to explore more in this field.

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