# Language Data accompanying 'The evolutionary dynamics of negative existentials in Indo-European' by Shirtz, Talamo & Verkerk

## Contents

# 1 Anatolian

## 1.1 Hittite

**1.1.0.1 Hittite** Hittite is identified by Glottocode: `hitt1242`, iso: *hit*.

Quoting Hoffner and Melchert 2008:341, "During the Empire Period, Hittite possessed five negative words: (1) the negative of assertions natta (usually written as an Akkadogram UL or Ú-UL...)".

The negation is usually preverbal, but not always so.

Sentences where the verb 'to be' predicates the existence of the subject may consist merely of the subject and the verb, but the verb may take a complement.

(1) (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:413)

mān NUMUN DUMU.NITA = ma ŪL ēʃzi
IRR ? child = CONJ NEG be.3SG.PRS

'but if there is no male progeny.'

The verb 'to be' may be omitted in the present tense, and we are left with the negation marker alone:

(2) (Hoffner and Melchert 2008:413)

ŪL GUD-uʃ ŪL = ma = wa UDU-uʃ
NEG cattle-ACC.PL NEG = CONJ = PRT sheep-ACC.PL

'there were no cattle, there were no sheep'

Hittite is classified as type C~A, with the caveat that the differences between the two types of negative existential are unclear.

# 2 Indo-Iranian

## 2.1 Iranian

### 2.1.1 Central Iranian PBS

**2.1.1.1 Western Balochi (Sistani)** This variety of Western Balochi (Glottocode: `west2368`, iso: `bgn`) is identified by Glottocode: `sist1234`.

Verbal Negation: The usual Iranian *na* prefix / clitic.

Existential: Our source (Nourzaei 2017) has no dedicated discussion of existential constructions. Affirmative existentials are expressed with a copula plus the figure plus an optional locative expression.

(3) (Nourzaei 2017:462)

ya tʃä́t = ē b-í
one well = INDF become.NPST-3SG

'There was a well'

Negative Existence: according to the examples reported in the source, the negative existential is expressed by the negative copula *nest*, followed by the present tense copula *ẽ*. One example has another negative copula *nɛ́*. We are not sure what the motivation for the latter form is.

(4) (Nourzaei 2017:46,191,687)

a. ma'yār = o    pa ʔāī        nest = ẽ
   honor = FOC for DIST.OBL NEG.EX.NPST = COP.NPST.3SG

   'There was no honor for that one.'

b. púl    pūl    hã̄    ńest = ẽ
   money money ADD NEG.EX.NPST = COP.NPST.3SG

   'There was no money.'

c. oʃtér-ā    tá    wáwaylā ́edā = o    oʃtér = ̄e    degá
   camel-OBL MIR woe      here = FOC camel = INDF you.know
   ńe
   NEG.EX.NPST.3SG

   'The camel, oh my goodness!, there is no camel here any longer.'

Hence, Sistani Balochi is classified as Type B.

**2.1.1.2   Southern Balochi (Modern Standard Balochi)**   The standard variety of Balochi proposed in this grammar is based on Southern Balochi dialects (Jahani 2019:20-24); Glottocode `sout2642`, iso `bcc`). Glosses are ours, as examples in the grammar are not glossed.

Verbal negation: indicative verbs are negated by *na- / nay-* (prefixes / proclitics).

Existential constructions are usually marked by the copulas *hast, bit*.

(5)   (Jahani 2019:45)

   shér hendustáná báza bit
   lion india        very COP.become.PRS

   'There are many lions in India.'

Negative Existential have the special marker *nest-*, a negative copula.

(6)   (Jahani 2019:55)

   é.kerr.o.gwarán ap      nést
   in.this.region    water NEG.EX.3SG

   'There is no water in this region.'

Modern Standard Balochi is classified as type B.

**2.1.1.3  Central (Mukri) Kurdish**   This variety of Central Kurdish (Glottocode `cent1972`, iso: `ckb`) is identified by Glottocode `mukr1239`.

Verbal negation: *nā-* prefix for forms based on the present stem, *ne-* prefix for forms based on the past stem (Öpengin 2016:74-75).

Existential: copula plus noun phrase for the figure plus some optional locative expression.

(7)   (Öpengin 2016:48,140)

   a.  ʒin-ī      āwā=īʃ   he-e
      woman-LNK such=ADD exist-COP.PRS.3SG

     'There also exist such women.'

   b.  xeyāt-ēk=īʃ=ī      lē bū
      tailor-INDF=ADD=3SG in COP.PST.3SG

     'There was also a tailor.'

Negative Existential: Two types.
Type A: with the past stem of the verb, the verbal negation marker is used.

(8)   (Öpengin 2016:142)

   hītʃ kes    lē ne-bū
   no   person in NEG.PST-COP.PST-3SG

   'Nobody was there.'

Type B: with non-past tense copulas, the copula negation marker *nī=* is used.

(9)   (Öpengin 2016:235; our glosses and parsing)

   kes=mān     degeł=dā ʒūrē     dā nī=ye
   someone=1PL with=in   room.OBL in  NEG-COP.3SG

   'There is no one with us in the room.'

Mukri (Central Kurdish) is classified as Type A∼B.

**2.1.1.4  Dimli**   Dimli (or Zazaki) is identified by Glottocode `diml1238`, iso `diq`.

Negation of non-imperatives in Zazaki is expressed, like in most Iranian langauges, by a *nē- / nīy-* prefix / clitic. Negation of imperatives is expressed by *me-*. (Paul 1998:81)

The existential in Zazaki is expressed by the 'Existenzverb' *bīyayiʃ* which is a 'defective' verb which does not conjugate for person, but only tense, gender

and number. It is also used to express predicate location and possession. (Paul 1998:99)

The existence verb is negated in the Indicative Present tense by *tʃínīyo*.SG.M / *-yā*.SG.F / *yē*.PL, and in other tenses and modes by *tʃínē* alone. Rarely, an innovative negative existential verb is built on an amalgamation of *tʃínīy-ben*. (Paul 1998:99)

Dimli is classified as type B.

### 2.1.2 Ormuri-Parachi

**2.1.2.1 Ormuri** The language is identified by Glottocode `ormu1247`, iso: `oru`. All glosses are ours.

Verbal negation: *nak*.

(10)   (Kieffer 2003:171)

tambál ʃɐgérd bu    sabaq nák  awí
lazy    pupil   AUX lesson NEG read.PRS.3SG

'The lazy pupil did not read his lesson.'

Existential: with the particle *da* usually accompanied by a copula:

(11)   (Kieffer 2003:157)

ner   né  gol    da = yé
house LOC flower EX = COP

'There are flowers in the house.'

Negative Existential: with the standard verbal negator *nak*:

(12)   (Kieffer 2003:157)

wólk ʰéc góda nák  da = yé
egg   no  place NEG EX = COP

'There are no eggs nowhere.'

Ormuri is classified as Type A.

### 2.1.3 Pashto

**2.1.3.1 Nuclear Pashto**    Nuclear Pashto is identified by Glottocode `nucl1276`, iso `pus`.

Negation: preverbal *ná*.

(13)   (David Boyle 2014:273)

| ta | wali | zmā | sərə | da:se | xabar-e | ná |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG.STR.DIR | why | 1SG.STR.POSS | with | such | word-PL.F.DIR | NEG |

kaw-e
do.CONT-2SG

'why don't you talk about such things with me?'

Existence: an existential particle *ʃta* (source: old 3sg form of "be"; David Boyle 2014:367).

(14)   (David Boyle 2014:368)

| ham | da:se | ana:sir-ø | ʃta | ... |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| also | such | elements-PL.M.DIR | EXT | ... |

'there are also those parties (who ...)'

Negative existential: *ná ʃta*.

(15)   (David Boyle 2014:367,369,421)

    a.

| də | jang-ø | lə | amal-a | pə | afɣa:nista:n-ø | ke |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of | war-M.OBL | from | cause-M.ABL | in | Afghanistan-M.OBL | in |

| amniat-ø | ná | ʃta |
|---|---|---|
| security-M.DIR | NEG | EXT |

'There is no security in Afghanistan because of the war.'

    b.

| də | fonɖ-uno | də | idia:-ø | lə | pa:r-a | kum-ø |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of | fund-PL.M.OBL | of | claim-F.OBL | from | sake-M.ABL | which-M.DIR |

| drəyəm-ø | fariq-ø | ná | ʃta |
|---|---|---|---|
| third-M.DIR | party-M.DIR | NEG | EXT |

'There's no third party claiming the money.'

    c.

| dzəka | pa | dunya:-ø | ke | tsumra | ʒəb-e | tʃe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| because | in | world-M | in | so.many | language-PL.F.DIR | COMP |

| di | xo | pə | duy | ke | da:ʃe | yaw-a | ham | nə́ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be.CONT.PRS.3PL.F | but | in | 3PL.STR | in | such | one-F.DIR | also | NEG |

| ʃta | tʃe | be | ma:na:-ø | wi |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| EXT | COMP | without | meaning-F.OBL | be.AOR.PRS.3SG.F |

'While there are many languages in the world, there is not one that is without meaning.'

Nuclear Pashto is classified as Type A.
Comment: I could not find examples for past / perfect existential.

### 2.1.4 Shughni-Yazgulami

**2.1.4.1 Sarikoli** Sarikoli is identified by Glottocode `sari1246`, iso `srh`. The verbal negator is the preverbal particle *na*, which is used before the verbal complex; in the perfective aspect, the verb plus preverbs plus agreement clitics.

(16) (Kim 2017:239)

seyfik na wandʒ-it
Seyfik NEG see.PRF-CESS

'Seyfik did not see it.'

Existential: noun phrase plus copula plus optional locative phrase.
The imperfective aspect of the negative existential construction is expressed by a negative copula, *nist*: (Type B)

(17) (Kim 2017:240)

pa wi tɕɛd juts nist
LOC DEM house fire NEG.EX.IPFV

'There is no fire in the house.'

while in other aspects the copula *vuud* is negated by *na*: (Type A)

(18) (Kim 2017:241)

pa varɕidɛ di rang pɯtig na vɛðdʒ
LOC Varshide DEM SEML thread NEG COP.be.PRF

'In Varshide, there is no thread like this one.'

Sarikoli is classified as Type A~B.

### 2.1.5 Southwestern Iranian

#### 2.1.5.1 Fars Dialects (Angālī)  Angālī is identified by Glottocode `sout2645`, iso `fay`.

Verbal negation: *na / nə* prefix or perhaps clitic.

(19)  (Angali 2004:144)

    a.  xarð-om
        eat.PST-1SG
        'I ate.'

    b.  nə́-xarð-om
        NEG-eat.PST-1SG
        'I did not eat.'

Existential: noun phrase plus copula plus optional locative phrase.

(20)  (Angali 2004:144)

    a.  ye  ʃoi  bī
        INDF king be.PST.3SG
        'There was a king.'

    b.  īndʒo həmī ye  dəraxt bīð=o         bas
        here  only  one tree  be.PST.3SG=and enough
        'There was only one tree here and nothing else.'

Negative ExistentialL with *nī*.

(21)  (Angali 2004:128)

    ō       nī
    water NEG.EX

    'there was no water (because the river was dry).'

Angālī is classified as Type B.


#### 2.1.5.2 Kumzari  Kumzari is identified by Glottolog `kumz1235`, iso `zum`.
The verbal negation marker is *na*:

(22)  (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:212)

    a.  bard gid-iʃ     yē  na
        stone do:REAL-3SG 3SG NEG
        'He did not turn him into stone.'

b. dar-ō      twākʃ-um
door-DEF open:IMPF-1SG NEG
'I will not open the door.'

It seems that there is a special presentative construction, used to present main characters of a story; I don't see how this is meaningfully negated:

(23)   (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:236)

raft         ʃēx    wālēyit-ō
go:3SG:REAL sheikh country-DEF

'There was a sheikh of the country.'

There is no 3SG existential copula. This leads to a situation where existence of singular figures is expressed without an (overt?) copula. Van der Wal Anonby sometimes writes the zero copula and sometimes does not.

(24)   (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:184,164)
   a. mār, aqrab   inda yē a   dām          na
      snake scorpion in    3SG SUB know:1SG:IMPF NEG
      'I don't know (whether) there was a snake or scorpion in it.'
   b. knār-ē = ø
      jujube.tree-INDF = EX:3SG
      'There was a jujube tree.'

With plural (3PL) figures, the plural 'existential' copula is used:

(25)   (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:130)

ka pi  yē  si-ta = in           ā   ka pi  yē  bātar
if  from 3SG three-COUNT = EX:3PL SUB if  from 3SG better

'If there were three of them, it would have been better.'

In the 3SG form, the negative existential uses the *na* particle and an unmarked copula; this is signalled by Van der Wal Anonby with a zero morpheme:

(26)   (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:215)

urtut-ē = ø           na
itrace-INDF = EX.3SG NEG

'There was no trace.'

but sometimes not:

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(27)  (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:140)

iʃ   ğēla  na
any  grain  NEG

'There was not any grain.'

There are also innovative existentials with other verbs, such as the motion
verb *amad* 'to come':

(28)  (Van der Wal Anonby 2015:54)

finjan-ē  finjna-ē  amad          na   ba  ʃan  na
cup-INDF  cup-INDF  come:3SG:REAL  NEG  to  3PL  NEG

'There wasn't a cup for each of them.'

Kumzari is classified as type C (for the 3SG form) & type A (for 3PL figure
plus with motion verbs as existential verbs).

**2.1.5.3  Muslim Tat (Absheron Tat)**   Absheron (or Apshéron) Tat is a variety
of Muslim Tat (`musl1236`, iso: `ttt`) and is identified by Glottolog `absh1238`.
The proclitic particle *nə=* is the verbal negation marker:

(29)  (Mammadova 2017:30)

tü   nə=b=tas-dən-i
2SG  NEG=PRS=know-PRS-2

'You don't know.'

Existential: noun phrase plus copula plus optional locative phrase.
There are three constructions for negative existentials.  The first construction
uses a dedicated marker (Type B), which is common in Western Iranian:

(30)  (Mammadova 2017:41)

bə   utaq  hovo  nist
LOC  room  air   NEG.EX.3

'There is no air in the room.'

The second construction employs the *nə* negation marker with scope over
the figure (noun phrase) plus *dər* (have / be.in) or *həsd* (the affirmative copula):
Type B (all examples in Mammadova 2017 are of this neither nor type).

(31)  (Mammadova 2017:56,173)

a. nə dər dər-ü        nə dərʨə
NEG door have.PRS-3 NEG window

'There's no door nor window.'

b. nə   lǝlu hǝsd nə   ayol
NEG crib COP.3 NEG child

'(they looked) there is no crib and no child.'

Finally, the third construction has the verbal negation marker *nə=* (Type A):

(32)  (Mammadova 2017:96)

piʃetə       qaz nə=bi-res
othertimes gas NEG-be-PRF.3

'Other times, there is no gas (people cooked using woodstoves).'

Note that while *nə* and *nə=* are surely related, their different behavior necessitate that we consider them different negation markers.

Absheron Tat is classified as Type A~B.


## 2.2  Indo-Aryan

### 2.2.1  Bihari

**2.2.1.1  Bhojpuri (Bojpuri)**  Bojpuri is a variety of Bhojpuri (Glottocode: `bhoj1244`, iso: `bho`) and is identified by Glottocode `bojp1238`.

Bhojpuri has probably only very recently changed to being a Type A language. There are two main negators, *na* and *naikheN* which can be used both for standard negation and for existential negation (Atul Kr. Ojha: p.c.):

(33)  (Atul Kr. Ojha: p.c.)

a. मैरी   गावेलीन।
Mary gāvelīn
Mary sing.PRS.3SG.F

'Mary sings.'

b. मैरी नइखें   / न   गावेलीन।
Mary naikheN / na   gāvelīn
Mary NEG      / NEG sing.PRS.3SG.F

'Mary does not sing.'

c. जंगली   बिलाई नइखें     हऽ।
   jaNgalī bilāī   naikheN has
   wild     cat.PL NEG        COP

   'There are no wild cats.'

d. कवनो    जंगली   बिलाई नइखें      / न    हऽ।
   kavano jaNgalī bilāī   naikheN / na    has.
   ?            wild     cat.PL NEG       / NEG COP

   'There are no wild cats.'

Consulted grammars (Shukla 1981, Verma 2003) are uninformative regarding negative existentials. Verma 2003:533 writes the following:

> Negation divides the sentences in Bhojpuri into two separate groups. Sentences with the present tense auxiliary/copula */bāṭ-/* or a verb string involving */bāṭ-/* replace it with a form in */naikh-/* in their negative counterparts: */u ihā bā, u ihā naikhe/* 'He is here, He is not here'. In that sense, Bhojpuri also has a negative auxiliary in the present tense, with the stem */naikh-/*, which like other auxiliaries takes on the personal agreement features of the subject (the main verb occurring in a frozen participial form and, uncharacteristically, coming after the auxiliary), as in */ham naikh-ī̃ jāt, tu naikh-a jāt, u naikh-e jāt, uhon naikh-an jāt/*. 'I/you/he/hehon is not going'. Sentences with the same constructions in the past tense, as also others, will take */nā/*, as in */ham nā jāt rahī̃/* 'I was not going'.

Regarding the evolution of *naikheN/naikhe*, cfr. the likely cognate *nʌ|k|h*, *nʌkhe* 'not to be, not to exist' in Sadri. The above-quoted description of Bhojpuri suggests a type B~C language with a tense conditioned split. However, since the contemporary description provided by Atul Kr. Ojha marks both negators as identical - at least along the dimensions that we were able to investigate - we have to conclude that Bhojpuri changed from Type B ~C to Type A, presumably through the path B~C > C > C ~A > A .

**2.2.1.2  Darai**  Darai is identified by Glottocode `dara1250`, iso: `dry`.

The first example is an existential sentence, it states that something exists, and the second example is a negative existential, it states that something does not exist. Negative existentials take a special form *nidzə*; we can classify this as a special negative existential as it is not a negated form of the copula, so we can contrast the affirmative and the negative existential construction:

(34)   (Dhakal 2012:61,137)

   a.  pokhəri dzəsnə dhab     rəhə-i
       pond    like    wet.land COP.PST-3SG

      'There was wet land like a pond.'

   b.  tərə hame-rə səskriti-jə    bãsi  pəhile nidzə
       but  we-GEN culture-LOC flute early   NEG.EX

      'But there was no flute in our culture then.'

Paudyal 2003:13 is very explicit about this: "In Darai, existential negative is formed with the particle *niŋge*. It is used in both past and nonpast sentences. The most interesting phenomenon is that the negative particle replaces the 'be' verb in nonpast, but in the past it can not."

In Darai, the special negative existential is making inroads into non-existential clauses. There are two important negation strategies in Darai, one which involves the prefix *nai/na-*, examplified in (35b), and the second, adding the particle *nidzə* in preverbal position, exemplified in (35d). Their usage is conditioned along tense-aspect dimensions, i.e. *nai* is used in non-past tense, and *nidzə* is used in past tense.

(35)   (Dhakal 2012:134)

   a.  dza-tə-m      ghərə
       go-NPST-1SG house

      'I shall go home.'

   b.  nai-dza-m   ghərə
       NEG-go-1SG house

      'I shall not go home.'

   c.  u    bhothi     mor-lə
       that Bhothi.fish die-PST

      '(that) the Bhothi fish died.'

   d.    u      bhothi nidzə   mor-lə
       that Bhothi.fish NEG    die-PST

      '(that) the Bhothi fish did not die.'

Hence, we can conclude that Darai is Type B∼C.

### 2.2.1.3 Pāli
Pāli is identified by Glottocode `pali1273`, iso: `pli`.

Verbal negation: the particle *na* is mostly - but not exclusively - preverbal and is used for negative adjectives as well (own knowledge).

Existence: fossilized *atthi* is used as a copula, especially in existential, possessive, and predicate location functions. *bhava(ti)* is used generally as a copula.

The negative existential marker is *natthi,* which is analyzed by Oberlies 2012 as a negative copula, rather than a synchronic combination of *na* plus *atthi.*

(36)   (Oberlies 2012:207)

    natthi   khandhādisā      dukkhā
    NEG.EX as.the.skandhas' misery

    'There are no miseries like that of the skandhas.'

Pāli is classified as Type B.


**2.2.1.4   Eastern Tharu (Chitwan Tharu)**   Chitwan Tharu is identified by Glottocode `chit1274`, iso: `the`.
    Standard negation is *nāhi* or *hayne*:

(37)   (Bharai Mahato, Marie-Caroline Pons, p.c.)

    janiyā-ʷaha git   nāhi gaw-ta'u
    woman-DEF song NEG sing-HAB

    'The woman does not sing'

(38)   (Bharai Mahato, Marie-Caroline Pons, p.c.)

    janiyā-ʷaha git   hayne gaw-le
    woman-DEF song NEG   sing-PST

    'The woman did not sing'

Existential constructions consist of the figure and ground constituents, and a copular verb. It is negated by *hayne*.

(39)   (Bharai Mahato, Marie-Caroline Pons, p.c.)

    baɾiyā-mā   bilāɾi  hal-aw
    garden-LOC cat.PL be-PRS

    'There are cats in the garden'

(40)   (Bharai Mahato, Marie-Caroline Pons, p.c.)

    baɾiyā-mā   bilāɾi  hayne hal-aw
    garden-LOC cat.PL NEG   be-PRS

    'There are no cats in the garden'

**2.2.1.5  Rana Tharu**   Rana Tharu is identified by Glottocode `rana1246`, iso: `thr`.

Negation: A clitic *na=* which may be pro- or enclitic, although Dhakal 2015 has it as a suffix. In the texts, there are instances in which *na* is a separate word, mostly clause final, but also more rarely preverbal. It's not the result of the Passive, as there are instances of the Passive with negation attached.

(41)  (Dhakal 2015:34,34,68)

    a.  mʌe na=bʌiʈh-o
       1SG  NEG=sit-PST.1SG

       'I did not sit.'

    b.  mʌe bʌiʈh-o=na
       1SG  sit-PST.1SG=NEG

       'I did not sit.'

    c.  khubʌi dekh-ʌt     tʌ  muɖka dikh-ano  na
       very    examine-SIM TOP toad    look-PASS NEG

       'Even if he looked if it, the frog was not seen.'

Existential: With a copular verb (there are a few).

(42)  (Dhakal 2015:48,62-63)

    a.  dzʌŋgʌl-me kʌhā bʌɖo rukha rʌhʌe
       forest-LOC  very  big   tree   COP.be.PST.3SG.NH

       'There was a very big tree in the forest.'

    b.  pāɖ hʌe              ɖeheri hʌe
       floor COP.be.PRS.3SG.NH balcony COP.be.PRS.3SG.NH

       'There is a floor, there is a balcony.'

Negative Existential:

(43)  (Dhakal 2015:44,56)

    a.  bilʌija sʌŋgi na  hʌe
       cat     friend NEG COP.PRS.3SG.NH

       'He has no cat friend' (but it looked like an existential?)'

    b.  bilʌija tʌ   na  hʌe            hũwa-pe
       cat     TOP NEG be.PRS.3SG.NH there-EMPH

       'There was (sic) no cat there.'

Rana Tharu is classified as Type A.

**2.2.1.6 Sadri (Common Sadri)** Common Sadri is a variety of Sadri (Glottocode `sadr1248`, iso `sck`) and is identified by Glottocode `comm1243`.

Standard negation in Common Sadri is marked through the particle *ni*:

(44)   (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:68)

ke-khõ              ni    dekh-lʌk
INDF.3SG-ACC NEG see-PST

'He did not see anybody.'

There are several ways to construct negative existentials, the first is using the negative verb *nʌkh* 'not to be, not to exist':

(45)   (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:123)

ʌb    moe        itʌminan ahõy        kono phikir  nʌkhe
now 1SG.NOM satisfied  be.PRS.1SG any    sorrow NEG.EX

'Now I feel content and there is no trouble.'

To contrast with an existential/locative predicate, using the verb hek 'to be, to exist':

(46)   (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:138)

khet-ḍʌhʌr-mẽ ek    ṭho              jhũḍ rʌhe
field-way-on    one NUMERATIVE flock be.3.PST

'On the way to the field there was a flock (of sheep?)'

There are several other negative verbs listed by Jordan-Horstmann 1969:94-95 that may be special negative existentials; *nʌkh* 'not to be, not to exist' is definitely the most common one that we find attested in texts. Another verb that is listed is *nʌlag* 'not to be, not to exist'; the only example given is:

(47)   (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:138)

bes    ʌdmi nʌlage
good man  is.not

'He is no good man.'

Yet another verb is *nihĩ* 'is not, is not existent, is not possible, no' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:95), which is given as the negative counterpart of *cahi* 'it is necessary':

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(48) (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:95)

    a. keu     nihĩ  anybody
       anybody is.not

       'Nobody is there.'

    b. se    nihĩ
       DEM is.not

       'This is impossible.'

    c. ghau    kʌr  ginti   nihĩ
       wound.PL do.INF counting is.not

       'It was impossible to count the wounds.'

Given the contexts in which we find *nʌkh*, *nihĩ* is probably not used in negative existential contexts. Neither do we have evidence that *nʌlag* is a negative existential. *nʌkh* is the clearest negative existential construction, and since this strategy contrasts with the standard negator *ni,* we classify Common Sadri as Type B.

### 2.2.2 Dhivehi-Sinhala

**2.2.2.1 Dhivehi** Dhivehi is identified by Glottocode `dhiv1236`, iso: `div`; glosses are ours.

The standard verbal negation has several forms, one of which a preverbal particle *ni*:

(49) (Fritz 2002:246)

ava      ādavegen siṭī     ni  lēmī
1SG.NOM always    letter.PL.OBJ NEG write.PRS.1SG

'Do I not always write letters?'

The existential construction is marked by one of the many (innovative) copulas:

(50) (Fritz 2002:261)

mēze² eba huri
table  ?   COP.be

'There is a table.'

The negative existential is based on the negative copula *net* (< OIA *nā́ sti*); dialectal differences in the similarity of this verb's paradigm to other, prototypical verbs.

(51)  (Fritz 2002:261)

mēze² nei
table  NEG.EX

'There is no table.'

Dhivehi is classified as Type B.

**2.2.2.2  Sinhala**  Sinhala is identified by Glottocode `sinh1246`, iso: `sin`.

Verbal negation: with postverbal particle *næ�æ*. This particle can negate a verb, but also can be used as a clause on its own (i.e., as a "no" answer to a question).

(52)  (Chandralal 2010:13)

Ranjit kaɖee-tə  ya-nn-e  næ�æ
Ranjit shop-DAT go-NPT-FOC NEG

'Ranjit does not go to the shop.'

Existential: locational noun phrase (the ground) plus the figure (usually with an indefinite marker) plus a copular verb.

(53)  (Chandralal 2010:107)

att-e  kurkull-ek in-nəw
branch-LOC bird-INDF be-IND

'There is a bird on the branch.'

The particle *næ̆æ̆* marks the negative existential construction:

(54)  (Chandralal 2010:280,203)
  a.  ehenam kisimə anumaanəy-ak næ̆æ̆
     then  any  doubt-INDF  NEG.EX
     'Then there is no doubt! (you will become king!).'
  b.  kochchərə hambə.kəlat hit-ee  satuʈ-ak  næ̆æ̆
     how.much earn.CONC  mind-LOC happiness-INDF NEG.EX
     'No matter how much we earn, there is no happiness in our minds.'

Sinhala is classified as Type C.

### 2.2.3  Indo-Aryan Central zone

**2.2.3.1  Baltic Romani**  Data comes from the Baltic Romani variety spoken in Lithuania, which belongs to the Northeastern group of Romani dialects (Tenser 2005:1, Glottocode: `lith1252`). The standard negation marker is the *na* particle, which is used with both verbal and non-verbal predicates:

(55)  (Tenser 2005:20,30)

    a.  me la      na    dykhtjom odoj
        I    she.OBL NEG saw.1SG   there
        'I didn't see her there.'

    b.  me njikedy na   khelav     by     pal o      love
        I   never   NEG dance.1SG COND for  ART.PL money
        'I would never dance for money.'

    c.  jei na   da-le     rajonoste
        she NEG this-OBL neighborhood.LOC
        'She is not from this neighborhood.'

Locative and existential constructions use the copular verb *sy* 'to be' with the clitic subject *le*, which is optional and indeclinable, and is used with the third person forms in the present and past tense (Tenser 2005:19):

(56)  (Tenser 2005:42,56)

    a.  odoj  sy=le                  baro nadur  khangirja-te
        there COP.be.3SG.PRS=SBJ.3SG bar   not.far church.LOC
        'There is a bar near the church.'

    b.  pretju   khangiri isy=le              škola
        in.front church   COP.be.3SG.PRS=SBJ.3SG school
        'In front of the church there is the school.'

The standard negation marker is found with negative existential constructions:

(57)  (Tenser 2005:23)

    leste    de muj   na   isys          danda
    him.LOC in  mouth NEG COP.be.3PL.PST teeth

    'In his mouth there were no teeth.'

Accordingly to the data discussed in Tenser 2005, Lithuanian Romani has another negation marker, *nane*, which is used in internal possessive constructions without the copular verb *sy*:

(58)  (Tenser 2005:42)

    a.  la-re     sy            kher
        her-LOC COP.be.3SG.PRS house

        'She has a house.'

    b.  la-te     nane pšal
        her-LOC NEG  brother

        'She does not have a brother. (lit. A brother not to her)'

The same marker is found in existential and locative constructions:

(59)  (Tenser 2005:42, 52)

    a.  paše tumende    nane šteto
        near you.PL.LOC NEG  place

        'There are no seats near you.'

    b.  me podykhtjom so  la      nane khere
        I   see.1SG.PST SR her.OBL NEG  home

        'I saw that she is not home.'

Lithuanian Romani thus belongs to the type A~B.

**2.2.3.2  Domari (Jerusalem)**  The variety of Domari analyzed here is Jerusalem Domari (Glottocode: `nabl1238`), as described by Matras 2012; in this variety, the verbal negation marker has two forms, a double affixation for the present tense and an inherited particle from Arabic for the past tenses and the imperative/subjuctive forms. The double affixation is realized by the prefix *in-* and the glottalised suffix *é'* attached to the inflected verb; the prefix is often omitted and the negation can be marked by the glottalised suffix only:

(60)  (Matras 2012:347-348)

    a.  baʕēn in-kar-ad-é'      mašakl-ē      maʕ
        then   NEG-do-3PL-NEG problem-OBL.F with
        ḥukum-ē-ki
        government-OBL.F-ABL

        'And then they don't cause the government any problems.'

    b.  džawwiz-k-an-e'      minšī-san yaʕni
        marry-VTR-1PL-NEG from-3PL  PART

        'We don't marry them.'

The inherited particle is *na*, which often alternates with the Arabic functional equivalent *ma*:

(61)  (Matras 2012:349)

ma  nig-r-om          'urdunny-a-ka      ama, na  gar-om
NEG enter-PST-1SG Jordan-OBL.F-DAT I      NEG go.PST-1SG
l-hēssaʕ na    gar-om
to-now  NEG go.PST-1SG

'I haven't visited Jordan, I didn't go, so far I didn't go.'

Existential constructions employ the particle *ašti* 'there is', which appears only in uninflected form and is marked for past tense by the Arabic auxiliary *kān*; the particle also covers the functional niches of location and possession:

(62)  (Matras 2012:266-267)
    a. ašti    ḥibb-o-d-i          dža-n        madras-an-ka
       there.is like-VITR-3PL-PRG go-3PL.SBJ school-OBL.PL-DAT
       'There are those who like going to school.'
    b. ašti    ik-ak      portkīliy-ēk          wēs-r-ik            ihi
       there.is one-INDF Jew.woman-PRED.SG sit-PAST-PRED.SG this.F
       balakon-ē-ma
       balcony-OBL.F-LOC
       'There is a Jewish woman sitting on the balcony.'
    c. ʕusmaliy-ēni      yimkin kān      ašti    wāšī-s    xamsīn
       gold.coin-PRED.PL maybe  was.3SG.M there.is with-3SG fifty
       sittīn waḥade
       sixty  one
       '(Ottoman) gold coins, he had maybe fifty or sixty of them. (lit. There were with him maybe fifty or sixty of them)'

The negative existential construction in the present form uses the verb stem *h-* 'to be', plus the double affixation, resulting in the standard negation marker *nheʾ*:

(63)  (Matras 2012:348)

n-h-eʾ        ple    saʕid-k-ar-san
NEG-is-NEG money help-VTR-3SG.SBJ-3PL

'There is no money to help them.'

The marker is also used in negative possessive constructions:

(64)  (Matras 2012:104)

ū     n-h-e'         wāšī-s    wala qirš-ak      aha    aha    kurdī
and NEG-is-NEG with-3SG no     penny-INDF this.M this.M Kurdi

'And this Kurd doesn't have a penny.'

In the past tense, the negative existential uses the sentential negator for past forms i.e., the particle *ašti* 'there is', plus the inherited particle *kān* 'was' with the Arabic negative inflectional morpheme *-iš* and *ma*:

(65)   (Matras 2012:273-273)

w-eme kaškūta-hr-ēn-a    ma kān-iš         ašti       kahraba
and-we small-be-1PL-REM NEG was.3SG.M-NEG there.is electricity

'When we were small there was no electricity.'

Domari is classified as type A~B.

### 2.2.3.3  Gujarati

**2.2.3.3  Gujarati**  Gujarati is identified by Glottocode `guja1252`, iso: `guj`. Verbal negation: preverbal / postverbal *nə'ĭ*:

(66)   (Doctor 2004:60)
  a.  e        nə'ĭ  bole
      3SG.M NEG speak
      'He does not speak.'
  b.  e        bole  nə'ĭ
      3SG.M speak NEG
      'He does not speak.'

The preverbal particle *nəthi* is used in auxiliary constructions:

(67)   (Doctor 2004:61)

e      kam  nəthi karto
3SG.M work NEG  do

'He does not go to work.'

Existential: with one of the copulas, such as *chhe*.

Negative existential: There are no examples in the grammar; the following example is from a Gujarati textbook (Dave 2012).

The particle *nəthi* is historically a combination of *nə*-NEG plus *thi* a verbal copula, which is still used in many Modern Indo-Aryan languages. Unlike the affirmative copula *chhe, nəthi* does not inflect for person / number; *nəhĩ* is the future form (which also does not conjugate).

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(68) (Dave 2012:9)

kuvā=mā̃ pāṇi nəthi
well=LOC water NEG.EX

'There is no water in the well.'

Gujarati is classified as Type B~C.

### 2.2.4 Indo-Aryan Eastern zone

**2.2.4.1 Bengali** Bengali is identified by Glottocode `beng1280`, iso: `ben`.
There are several negative verbal markers: the post verbal *na*, the verbal suffix *-ni* and the participle plus *nei*, which marks an experiential, impersonal construction:

(69) (Thompson 2012:289,289,294)

a. ami bôi-ṭa pôṛ-chi na
1SG book read-PRS.1SG NEG

'I am not reading books.'

b. ami bôi-ṭi pôr-i-ni
1SG book-DEF read-PRF-NEG

'I haven't read the book.'

c. apna-der pôricɔŷ ṭhik jana nei
2PL-GEN acquaintance correct know.VN NEG

'We don't exactly know who you are.'

We are ignoring other negative forms here, like the negative copula *nɔ-* and the prohibitive.
The negative existential has a special negative existential marker, *nei*:

(70) (Thompson 2012:293,293,218)

a. am ache
mango be.PRS.3SG

'There are mangoes.'

b. am nei
mango NEG

'There are no mangoes.'

c. æk jaŷga theke ar æk jaŷga-ke pṛthôk kôre cine
one place from again one place-OBJ different do.PP know.PP
ne-ba-r kono cihnô nei
take-INF-GEN any sign NEG

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'There are no features to distinguish one place from anothe.'

Since *nei* is also used to negate verb forms (cfr.69c), Bengali is classified as type B~C.

**2.2.4.2 Nagamese** Nagamese (also Naga Pidgin or Naga Creole) is identified by Glottocode `naga1394`, iso: `nag`.

Data comes from Sreedhar 1985 and a translation of the Baptist Bible Upadhaya 2011.

Sreedhar transcribes, or writes, the standard negation marker as a separate word, *nəy*, following the verb:

(71)  (Sreedhar 1985)

    a.  Kintu suali-tu  səysthor bal    hoy nəy
        but    girl-DEF health    good be   NEG

       'but the girl's health did not improve.'

    b.  Kintu manu-tu  itu    kotha biswas kor-a      nəy
        but    man-DEF DEM word  belief  do-PTCP NEG

       'but the man did not believe this story.'

In the Bible translation, the negation marker is written as a suffix and appears in the ortographic variant *nae*:

(72)  (Nagamese Baptist Bible: Luke)

    a.  apuni ami-laga  kotha-ke   biswas kor-ia-nae
        2PL    1SG-GEN word-OBJ belief   do-PTCP-NEG

       'you did not believe my words.'

    b.  elizabeth bacha jonom di-bole      paria-nae
        Elizabeth child  birth   birth-PTCP able-NEG

       'Elizabeth could not bear children.'

There is also a preverbal negation. From what I can see, it is mostly used when some sort of modality is involved:

(73)  (Nagamese Baptist Bible: Luke)

    apuni-laga malik isor-ke     porikha na-kor-ibi!
    22PL-GEN king   Lord-OBJ test       NEG-do-FUT

    'you will not test the lord your king!'

The existential construction is often expressed with a motion verb *as* 'come' or a location verb *tha-* 'be at'; both verbs are grammaticalized as a copula in Nagamese:

(74)   (Nagamese Baptist Bible: Luke)

      a.  israel-te    bisi    manu-khan laga chamara-bimar as-ile
          Israel-LOC much man-PL     GEN leper-sickness  COP.come-PST
          'there were many lepers in Israel.'

      b.  titia Jerusalem-te,  simeon koikene ek-ta    manu
          then Jerusalem-LOC Simon  named  one-CLF man
          as-ile
          COP.come-PST
          'at that time, in Jerusalem, there was a man called Simon.'

Negative Existential:

(75)   (Nagamese Baptist Bible: Luke)

      apuni-laga ghor-manu-khan bhitor-te    kun      laga nam-bi
      2PL-GEN   house-man-PL    inside-LOC someone GEN name-TOP
      ineka nae!
      DEM  NEG

      'there's no one in your family with that name!'

The question is whether *nae/nəy* cliticized to verbs and thus is a distinct marker from the *nae/nəy* in negative existential clauses. If it did, then we can not say that the standard negation and the negative existential negation marker are the same, and we deal with a Type B. If it did not, then they are the same and since in negative existential clauses there is no overt existential copule / verb, we deal with Type C.

Note that if we are dealing with type C and the negation marker cliticizes and eventually becomes a verbal suffix, we would have a C > B change.

So, in a conservative manner, I think we should classify Nagamese as Type B∼C.


**2.2.4.3  Western Kamta (Rājbanshi)**  A variety of Western Kamta, Rājbanshi is identified by Glottocode `rajb1243`, iso: `rjs`.

The grammar (Wilde 2008) does not discuss the negation of the copula at all. There are, however, a bunch of examples in the grammar itself, and the negation of the copula does not seem similar to the negation of finite verbs (which makes the lack of discussion even more surprising).

Verbal negation: preverbal *ni* for indicative verbs, other forms for modals (but see below). The example given by Wilde 2008 for *ni* is translated as a modal. The emphatic negation *ne=ie* can also be used preverbally.

(76) (Wilde 2008:309,310)

    a. tʌ gaʌ̃-r      lok-la ni pʌtya-l-ɪ     te
       PRT village-GEN man-Pl NEG believe-PST-3 PRT

       'the men of the village could not believe that...'

    b. bercʰani-ɖʌ   tʌ   bʰatar-ʈa-k       ne=ie      kaʈ-b-ɪ
       woman-NCLS PRT husband-NCLS-DAT NEG=EMPH cut-FUT-3

       'The woman could never have cut her husband.'

Verbal negation can be deployed post-verbally for "emphatic" purposes.

(77) (Wilde 2008:312)

    mui dekʰ-ba ja-m      ni
    1SG see-INF go-FUT.1SG NEG

    'I am not going to see (at any cost).'

Existence: noun phrase plus copula, with an optional locative phrase.

(78) (Wilde 2008:161,557)

    a. ek-ʈa       bagʰ cʰi-l-ɪ
       one-NCLS tiger COP.be-PST-3

       'There was a tiger.'

    b. kati-la-r          pʌr tin-ɖa     kʰama-la cʰ-e
       foundation-PL-GEN on.top three-NCLS pillar-PL COP.be-3.PRS

       'There are three pillars on the foundations.'

Negative Existence: Some examples seem to have the usual verbal negation, so Type A.

(79) (Wilde 2008:130,162)

    a. pʰursʌt ni hʌ-ba-r        karʌn(-ʌt)
       free.time NEG COP.be-INF-GEN reason(-LOC)

       'Because of not having free time.'

    b. kucʰu      ni pʌr-ic-e
       something NEG COP.fall-PRF-3

       'There was nothing there.'

Sometimes in the grammar, the negative existential is expressed by the copula plus EMPH plus post verbal *ni*. It is unclear from the examples and discussion in the grammar whether we are dealing with a form composed of both the emphatic and the negation marker, or two distinct forms which happen to co-occur in the examples.

(80)   (Wilde 2008:96)

    kucʰu daru     cʰ-e＝ie            ni
    some  medicine COP.be-PRS.3＝EMPH NEG

    'There is (absolutely) no medicine.'

This negation construction sometimes negated predicates, not copulas, in non-verbal predication constructions:

(81)   (Wilde 2008:244)

    kenti accʰa＝e     ni   cʰa-ʌ-kʌn
    how   good＝EMPH NEG be-PRS-2PL

    'It's really not good for you.'

Rājbanshi is classified as Type A, with two different constructions.

## 2.2.5   Indo-Aryan Northwestern zone

**2.2.5.1   Dameli**   Dameli is identified by Glottocode `deme1241`, iso `dml`. The standard sentential negator is the preverbal particle *ni*:

(82)   (Perder 2013:181; their ø)

    mããã-ø       putr-oo too    ni   laaki-num
    1SG.POSS-M son-VOC 2SG.OBJ NEG weep-IMPFV.1SG

    'My son, I am not crying for you.'

The existential construction is marked by one of several copulas; we are illustrating here only one.

(83)   (Perder 2013:185)

    tara＝es    tʃoor kom-una thun
    there＝also four  tribe-PL  COP.be.IMPFV.3PL

    'There are four tribes there as well.'

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The negative existential is the preverbal particle *ni*:

(84)  (Perder 2013:176)

daȼ-i ta  kurei ni  th-un       ãã tee yee tukuri por-isan
see-CP TOP who  NEG COP-PFV.3PL and that this basket fill-PSTPTCP
daro gan-i   ooth-ina
is   say-CP stop-IMPFV.3SG.M

'Having see, having thought, "There is no one here, and this basket is full" he stops.'

Dameli is classified as Type A.

### 2.2.5.2  Kashmiri  Kashmiri is identified by Glottocode `kash1277`, iso `kas`.

The standard verbal negator is the *–nɪ* particle, which seems to be treated by Wali and Koul 1997 a suffix.

(85)  (Wali and Koul 1997:113)

su  pari-nɪ      kita:b
3SG read.FUT-NEG book

'He will not read the book.'

Other negation markers include the conditional negation *nay* 'if not', which is either attached to the verb or is in the second position.

The existential construction is marked by the copula *chi*

(86)  (Wali and Koul 1997:70)

yeti      po:sh chi a:sa:n   tati  chi kənḍˑ ti  a:sa:n
wherever flower are aux.PRP there are thorns also are

'Where there are flowers, there are thorns too.'

The negative existential is the *nɪ*, but not suffixed:

(87)  (Wali and Koul 1997:70)

yapə:rˑ    bɪ go:s tapə:rˑ o:s nɪ   z'a:dɪ po:nˑ
which.way 1SG went that.way was NEG much water

'There was not much water in the direction I went.'

The morphosyntactic behavior of nɪ in negative existentials is different from that of nɪ the negation marker: it is a phonologically independent word rather than an affix. This points to a likely Type C~A. Because of the relative paucity of examples, more work is required to ascertain this with more confidence.

**2.2.5.3 Palula** Palula is identified by Glottocode `phal1254`, iso `phl`.
Verbal negation is expressed by the preverbal particle *na*.

(88)  (Liljegren 2016:411)

    phoó na   wháat-u
    boy   NEG come.down.PFV-MSG

    'The boy didn't come back down.'

Existential: noun phrase plus copula plus optional locative phrase.
The negative existential construction is marked by the standard verbal negator: (Type A)

(89)  a.  (Liljegren 2016:243)

      tʃúur reet-í   jheez-íi     fláit na  bhíl-i       hín-i
      four   night-PL airplane-GEN flight NEG become.PFV-F be.PRS-F

      'There have been no flight for for days.'

  b.  (Liljegren and Haider 2015:132)

      yaaní ḍoolái  darák na   bhíl-i
      that.is carriage trace  NEG become.PFV-F

      'There was no news about the carriage.'

but also by a negative verb *náin* (Type B):

(90)  a.  (Liljegren 2016:414)

      kuŋaák náin-u          darák náin-i
      child    NEG.COP.PRS-MSG trace  NEG.EX.PRS-F

      '(the mother woke up and could not see the child or any sign wherever she turned).'

  b.  (Liljegren and Haider 2015:105)

      toobaák náin-i
      rifle     NEG.EX.PRS-F

      '(he came back) the gun was gone.'

  c.  (Liljegren and Haider 2015:202)

      hidʒ  ga      xabaár náin-i
      that.is carriage trace   NEG.EX.PFV-F

      'There's no news at all.'

Palula is classified as Type A~B.

**2.2.5.4 Southeast Pashayi (Darrai Nur)**   Darrai Nur is a variety of Southeast Pashayi (Glottocode `sout2672`, iso `psi`) and is identified by Glottocode `darr1238`.

Standard verbal negation: *nV-* prefix.

(91)   (Lehr 2014:313)

> non   jalālābad-ē     na-pa-es
> today Jalalabad-OBL NEG-go-1PL.EXC

> 'Today we will not go to Jalalabad.'

Existential clauses are composed of a copula, a noun phrase (the figure) and an optional locative phrase:

(92)   (Lehr 2014:190)

> men-a senep-a    bō    keʈāl-ik ā-en
> 1SG-M class-LOC QNT girl-PL   COP.be-3PL

> 'There are many girls in my class.'

The same negation marker is used to negate copulas and in negative existential clauses:

(93)   (Lehr 2014:316)
> a.  ʋāreg ni-ʃ-i
>     water NEG-COP.INAN.PRS-3
>     'There is no water.'
> b.  zomesān-a im     na-ā-i-k
>     winter-LOC snow NEG-COP-PST-M
>     'There is no snow in the winter.'

Darrai Nur is classified as Type A.


## 2.2.6   Indo-Aryan Southern zone

**2.2.6.1   Goan Konkani (Chitpavani)**   Chitpavani is a variety of Goan Konkani (Glottocode `goan1235`, iso `gom`) and is identified by Glottocode `chit1277`.

According to Bhide 1982:187), there are three main ways to negate a predicate:

- "involving finite negative forms of the base *nəs* 'not to be'";

- "involving negative modals, *nakã, nəvẽs, nəvẽ,* and *nãy/naĩ*";

- "involving negative particles *nə*, and *na*".

Examples of the use of the verb *nəs* 'not to be':

(94)  (Bhide 1982:187; our glosses)
    a.  tõ  eṭhã sẽ
        he here to.be.PRS
        'He is here.'
    b.  tõ  eṭhã nəs-cẽ
        he here NEG-to.be.PRS
        'He is not here.'
    c.  tõ  eṭhã səlõ
        he here to.be.PST
        'He was here.'
    d.  tõ  eṭhã nət-lõ
        he here NEG-to.be.PST
        'He was not here.'
    e.  tõ  eṭhã sẽl
        he here to.be.FUT
        'He will be here.'
    f.  tõ  eṭhã nəs-ẽl
        he here NEG-to.be.FUT
        'He will not be here.'

Examples of the use of the negative modal *nãy/naĩ*:

(95)  (Bhide 1982:187; our glosses)
    a.  mẽ yẽcəsã
        I    come.IMPFV
        'I am coming.'
    b.  mẽ yẽt         nay/nãi
        I    come.IMPFV NEG/NEG
        'I am not coming.'
    c.  mẽ nãy  yẽt
        I    NEG come.IMPFV
        'He was here.'

Examples of the use of negative particles *nə*:

(96)  (Bhide 1982:187; our glosses)

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a. mẽ eṭhã rẽhṇã    bərã
   I   here stay.PRS better

   'better I stay here.'

b. mẽ eṭhã nə   rẽhṇã    bərã
   I   here NEG stay.PRS better

   'it is better (if) I do not stay here.'

The negative modal *nãy/naĩ* is used as a special negative existential marker, i.e., it is not used to negate an existential verb:

(97)  (Bhide 1982:201-204; our glosses)

ghẽr naĩ    dãr naĩ    ẽk vẽḷuca bẽṭ  səlã    tyãhã
house NEG.EX door NEG.EX one bamboo thicket be.3N.PST there
hãr-pəḍlõ-se
necklace-down-?

'There was no big house or anything. There was only a thicket of bamboo and the necklace lying on the ground.'

Another special negative existential marker is the verb *nəs* 'not to be':

(98)  (Bhide 1982:201-204; our glosses)

pẽṇ jərənḍĩ    sudhãrṇ-ecã        kaĩ ćinhẽ dis-ẽt nət-lã
but old.woman correct-3NHAB.PST ?   sign  day-? NEG.EX-3N.PST

'(She hoped that the old lady would improve herself on one day or the other,) but there was no sign of improvement with that old lady.'

Chitpavani is classified as type B & C; use of the verb *nəs* 'not to be': type B & free-standing use of the negative modal *nãy/naĩ*: type C.

### 2.2.6.2  Kankon Goan Konkani (Goan Konkani: Goan)    Kankon Goan Konkani is identified by Glottocode `goan1235`, iso `gom`.

According to Ghatage 1968, Goan Konkani has suffixal negation with *-na*, which in the past tense, has merged with the verb root:

(99)  (Ghatage 1968:71-72)

a. vac-na
   read.PRS-NEG.SG

   'do(es) not read.'

b. vac-nay
read.PRS-NEG.PL

'do not read.'

c. vallã
read.PST.NEG

'did not read.'

d. vac-co-na
read-POT-NEG

'he will not read.'

However, the description of negation in this language by Ghatage 1968 is not complete. First of all, we cannot find any negative existential examples using the strategies listed above. Secondly, in the texts and list of sentences, other negation strategies can be found. Often, the 'suffix' *na* is written as a free standing form:

(100)   (Ghatage 1968: 113)

a. kəḷav jalo            to      at(a) ye-vc(o)    na
   late   become.PST.3SG 3SG.M now   come-POT NEG

'It is late he will not come now.'

b. tege          bhav   itl(o) hušar na
   3SG.M.GEN brother much clever NEG

'His brother is not so clever.'

And this is what we find for negative existentials as well:

(101)   (Ghatage 1968:92-94,99-100)

a. soldad-an mhəṇ-lẽ/ vhəḷḷeš kam    na
   soldier-? say-3SG   big.?    labour NEG

'The soldier said: There is no great work.'

b. aṇi hikḍen tikḍen pəḷəy-ar ṭop-yo nay
   ?   here   there see-?    cap-F NEG

'He saw that there was no cap.'

However, another strategy to form negative existentials is to use what looks like the copula (Ghatage 1968:93), prefixed with *na-* and even another prefix, *un-*:

(102)   (Ghatage 1968:92)

tiye    tɔnda haḍəc n-asəlle  mhəṇ-lya jata tiye    toṇḍak kãyc
PRON mouth bone  NEG-be? say-       ?   PRON mouth  nothing
un-na-səllẽ
NEG-NEG-be?

'In past times there were five other inhabited towns.'

This verb actually looks a lot like Chitpavani's *nəs* 'not to be'. As a conclusion, we have a special negative existential construction - a special form of the copula, prefixed with *na-* and perhaps even merged fully with it to create a verb root 'not to be' - so Type B; furthermore, we have Type C in the usage of *na/nay*, as the negative existential form is the same as the ordinary verbal negator.

Goan Konkani is classified as Type B & C.

**2.2.6.3  Goan Konkani (Standard Konkani)**   Standard Konkani is a variety of Goan Konkani (Glottocode `goan1235`, iso `gom`) and is identified by Glottocode `stan1303`; our data comes from the description by Ghatage 1966. There is no sign of *nəs* 'not to be' (as attested in Chitpavani Goan Konkani) in this language. There is a correlate of Chitpavani Goan Konkani's negative modal *nãy/naĩ, nay*, which is used as a standard negator in a post-verbal position. The form *nay* carries person inflection (for the subject):

(103)   (Ghatage 1966:56; our glosses)
  a. bəs-ət   nay
   sit-PRS NEG

   'I do not sit.'
  b. band-ət nay-s
   tie-PRS  NEG-2SG

   'I do not sit.'
  c. pi-t       nay
   drink-PRS NEG

   'He does not drink.'
  d. nij-et      nay-t
   sleep-PRS NEG-3PL

   'They do not sleep.'
  e. nij-le      nay-t
   sleep-PST NEG-3PL

   'They did not sleep.'

As is true for many IA Southern Zone, the negative imperative is formed through the particle *nǝko*; this does not really concern us here.

The form *nay* is used both with (104a) and without (104b)(-104c) a copula/existential verb:

(104)   (Ghatage 1966:72-73,79,92; our glosses)

    a. məg tyala       kay  nigayla vaṭ  nay  jhali
       then 3SG.M.DAT what start?   path NEG COP.be.3SG

       'He then had no way to escape.' (note: jhali does not indicate possession but another way to write hay 'to be', the main copula)

    b. ghəra-mandi bətti     nay     diva nay     kaic       nay
       house-in     oil.lamp NEG.EX lamp NEG.EX anything NEG.EX

       'There was no lamp, no light, in the home, and there was no activity.'

    c. nəntər tya  kəl-ayla kay   margə nay
       after   that know-? what way    NEG.EX

       'And there was no way to know it.' (Context: Then turning round, it entered a big thicket of Petgudi, and it concealed itself in the thicket of Petgudi so as to become invisible. And there was no way to know it. So carefully we hunted it from a distance. But it could not be seen. Then on its belly there was some slight movement of the sunshine.)

The special negative existential *nay*, which we have seen as cognates across Chitpavani Goan Konkani *nãy/naĩ*, potentially Marathi *nahi*, Katkari *nahi*, is starting to be used with an overt existential predicate. Hence we classify Standard Goan Konkani as type C∼A.

**2.2.6.4  Kātkarī (Central Kātkarī)**   A variety of Kātkarī (Glottocode `katk1238`, iso `kfu`), Central Kātkarī is identified by Glottocode `cent1984`.
Standard negation in Central Kātkarī is achieved as follows:

> The affirmative constructions are primary constructions, while negative constructions are transformed constructions and involve an addition of negative particle to the primary verb construction. The negative particles are *nahĩ / nay* and *nǝko*. The particle *nǝko* occurs after the second person forms of future and imperative, and in between the simple verb and the auxiliary verb in obligational, hortative and desiderative moods. The particle *nahĩ / nay* occurs immediately before or after the verb forms in other moods and tenses. (Kulkarni 1969: 339)

(105)  (Kulkarni 1969:340; our glosses)

    a. tyani        čiḍã mar-el nahĩ
       3SG.M.NOM bird kill-?   NEG

       'He had not killed the bird.'

    b. tyani        čiḍã nahĩ mar-el
       3SG.M.NOM bird NEG kill-?

       'He had not killed the bird.'

The particle *nahĩ/nay* has an origin as a negative existential marker, where *nahĩ/nay* replaces the copula:

(106)  (Kulkarni 1969:453,471; our glosses)

    a. tə      mənle   ətə konuj tirait    nahi
       so.then thus.said here who-? stranger NEG.EX

       'But there is no third person present here.'

    b. don bhav    hətat
       two brother be.3PL.M

       'There were two brothers.'

Given the inroads that the negative existential marker has made, we classify Central Kātkarī as a Type C language.

### 2.2.6.5 Maharashtrian Konkani

Maharashtrian Konkani is identified by Glottocode `konk1267`, iso: `knn`.

For this language, we are dealing with two sources which treat (existential) negation differently. It is unclear whether we are dealing with two diverging varieties, or whether the description is similar enough to combine the views. We do not include discussion by Laddu 1961 here; Laddu claims that a verb *na* 'not to be', which inflects for person and number across the paradigm, may be homophonous with the adverb *nai/nay*.

Deshpande 1976:249 writes "There are three negative particles *na, nahi* and *nəko. na* usually comes before the verb while *nahi* comes after it. Yet the position of *nahi* changes according to the style and emphasis. *nahi* behaves like a verb."

(107)  (Deshpande 1976:249-250; our glosses)

    a. mã yetũ
       I   come

       'I come.'

b. mã yet nahi
I come NEG

'I do not come.'

c. to tər kahi-c bolə-na
SG.M then something-? say.HAB-NEG

'He does not say anything.'

Affirmative existentials are coded through the verb ah 'to be':

(108) (Deshpande 1976:160)

jhaḍa-və kərõṭa ahe
tree-LOC nest be.3SG

'There is a nest on the tree.'

The description in Deshpande 1976: 249-252) suggests that usage of *na* and *nahi* are conditioned by tense and mood, *nahi* being used in the present, past, perfect, potential; *na* being used in habitual past, future, optative, future imperative, and conditional. *nəko* is restricted to imperatives. There is only one example of a negative existential, and it uses *nahi*, suggesting (as in other IA Southern Zone languages) that this a new negator that arose through the Negative Existential Cycle.

(109) (Deshpande 1976:281-282)

tulə pani koṭhun dyav? pani nahi
? water from.where give.IMP water NEG.EX

'From where shall I give you the water? There is no water at all.'

Given the use of *nahi* as a standard negator and a stand-alone negative existential, Maharashtrian Konkani is classified as Type C.

**2.2.6.6 Varhadi-Nagpuri** In hindsight, we can split up Varhadi-Nagpuri ((Glottocode `varh1239`, iso: `vah`) into two varieties which are different: Varhadi, described by Bhagwat 1967, and Kosti, described by Jha 1972, 1980. All glossess are ours.

In Varhadi, we have the negative marker nAi which may be placed before or after the verb (similar to Varli), although in the main text, only sentence final examples are given:

(110) (Bhagwat 1967:80,81)

a. to      iwA det  nAi
   3SG.M axe  give NEG

   'He does not give an axe.'

b. anga    rAylA   ta majuri miḷnAr nAi
   behind remain if  wages  get     NEG

   'If you remain behind you will not get wages.'

Affirmative existentials are formed with an inflected form of the verb *ho* 'become, be':

(111)   (Bhagwat 1967:68)

dud  hota          pan kaččA mašica
milk become.3SG.N but  new?  buffalo.M

'There was milk but of a newly delivered buffalo.'

But the negator *nAi* is used without ho in negative existentials:

(112)   a. Bhagwat 1967:96-97, 210 - paragraph 17, Text A
         tyAčA ghari athi  kAic       nAi
         ?     ?     here anything NEG.EX

         'Here there is nothing.'

         b. Bhagwat 1967:127, 239 - paragraph 12, Text G
         kunḍi        phuṭli ta      ghor  nAi
         earthen.pot break  though matter NEG.EX

         'Though the earthen pot is broken there is no harm.' Context: (The persons from her family are very cruel. They say "Though the earthen pot is broken there is no harm. Take this barrel, in which water is heated, and bring it filled with water.)"

Hence, we analyze Varhadi as Type C.

In Kosti, as we will see next, there is an alternative negative existential strategy using the verb *nəse* 'not be', of which there is no sign in Varhadi, as well as a regular negator *nəhi* that is probably cognate with Varhadi *nay* and many other similar sounding negators of the IA Southern Zone.

Instance of usages of *nəse* 'not be':

(113)   (Jha 1972:200-201, Jha 1980:75,82-84)
         a. gadi-le varəs nəse     gediko həgdar sivey raǰǰə     kəsyo cələ?
            throne heir  NEG.EX ?      heir  ?     kingdom ?       ?

            'If there is no heir to the throne, how will the kingdom be ruled over then.'

b. oko nəsib-ma pəyasa-əḍka nəse    nə porya-ko bi sukh
   his luck-?    money-?    NEG.EX and boy-GEN ? pleasure
   nəse
   NEG.EX

   'There is no happiness of money etc. or as child etc. in his luck.'

c. əre tin   divəs bhəya    rama nə parbəti-ko  pətta    nəse
   ? three day   to.be.3PL Rama and Parvati-GEN address? NEG.EX

   'It had been three days and Rama and Parvati's movement did not exist.'

Affirmative existentials are used using the verb *ho* 'to become':

(114)   (Jha 1980:64)

   ghərə jabə-saṭhi            gaḍi ha
   home go.VERBAL.NOUN-for car   become.3.FUT

   'There is a car to go home.'

The verb *nəse* 'not be' is described to have two forms, *nəsun* 'am not' and *nəse* 'is not', the citation form of the root is given as *os* (Jha 1980:53-54). This is a special negative existential, similar to found in other IA Southern Zone languages. However, the standard negator is *nəhi*:

(115)   (Jha 1980:68)

   səndhyakar-vəri ghərə vapəs janu            bhəyo  nəhi
   evening-until    home back  go.VERBAL.NOUN be.PRS NEG

   'He could not go home till evening.'

And it is used for negative existentials without the copula *ho* 'to become':

(116)   (Jha 1980:76-77)

   səndbyakar-bi bhəy  gəyi    təri abəko       kahi     ṭhikan
   evening-?       be.PST PST.PERF ?   go.FUTPTCP some/few sign
   nəhi
   NEG.EX

   'It was already evening but there was no sign of his coming back.'

Kosti is B & C, in the paper we do not distinguish (yet) between Varhadi and Kosti, and hence we classify Varhadi-Nagpuri as Type B & C.

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**2.2.6.7 Varli** Varli is identified by Glottocode `varl1238`, iso: `vav`.

According to G. Abraham and H. Abraham 2012:71, the "negative marker *nahĩː* normally precedes the verb", when "it follows the main verb, negation is emphasized":

(117) (G. Abraham and H. Abraham 2012:71,72)
    a. hamĩː  nahĩː khuɖ-el    hoː-tã
       we.AG  not    pluck-PERF be-3SN.PA

       'We have not plucked (it).'
    b. tumĩː ɟa-ja-cĩː      nahĩː
       ou    go-IRR-INF.SF not

       'You are not about to go.'

Negative existentials also use *nahĩː*, contraste the affirmative existential with the following two negative existentials:

(118) (G. Abraham and H. Abraham 2012:80,72,71)
    a. soːnka-saʈhi: ʈhalĩː-t  ɟeʋən ah-e
       Sonka-for    plate-in food  be-3S.PR

       '(There) is food in the plate for Sonka.'
    b. toː nahĩː ah-e
       he not   be-3S.PR

       'He is not (there).'
    c. koːni:  siːkh-el    nahĩː hoː-ta
       no.one learn-PERF not  be-3SM.PA

       'There is not even one learned/educated person.'

The negative marker *nahĩː* is very likely related to negative existential markers in closely related IA Southern Zone languages: Chitpavani Goan Konkani *nãy/naĩ*, Marathi *nāhi*, Katkari *nahĩ/nay*, etc. Hence, Varli is an example of a language in which the full NEC has been completed; it has reached Type A again.

## 2.3 Nuristani

### 2.3.1 Northern Nuristani

**2.3.1.1 Prasuni** Prasuni is identified by Glottocode `pras1239`, iso *prn*. Buddruss and Degener 2017:125 describe how finite verbs are negated through pre-verbal *na*. However, in case of complex predicates, *na* can also be inserted

between the main verb (infinitive or particple) and the auxiliary. An example of standard negation:

(119)   (Buddruss and Degener 2017:102)

    wer'ī na    pul'ogo
    word NEG speak.PRT.3SG

    'He did not speak a word.'

Buddruss and Degener 2017:142ff deal with the verb 'to be' (suppletive stems: *(ə)s-, sa-, ga-, w-*). The verb to be is used as copula, auxiliary, and to express being present or the essence of something. It is also used as existential verb. The negator *na* and the verb to be may contract, as is shown in the second example:

(120)   a.  Buddruss and Degener 2017:249
      su      pəznīg-lāw,   zəm'a əsk'al sei-ra       büsċü na
      3SG.M go.FUT-IMPF, snow  much be-IMPF.PST end.CP NEG
      pəz'ogso
      went

      'He wanted to go (had to go), but because there was already much snow, he didn't go.'

    b.  Buddruss and Degener 2016:146-147
      yei   žept'ī      žep'oma            kür  n'āso
      father go.valley.up go.valley.up.ADV child NEG.EX.be.PRS.3SG

      'The father went valley-up, and when he arrived valley-up, there is no child there.'

Buddruss and Degener 2017:143) write the following on the topic of contraction: "Die Negation des Verbum substantivum erfolgt durch das Negativum *na*, kontrahiert zu *nāsəm* usw., z. B. *n'āso* 'ist nicht', *nāsn-ɩ* 'seid ihr nicht'?" This contracted form is not unique to denying existence, i.e.:

(121)   (Buddruss and Degener 2017:144)

    unz'ū atig    wərǰəmī səm,        wəst'ī  n'āsəm
    1SG   INDEF man     be.PRS.1SG woman NEG.be.1SG

    'I am a man, not a woman.'

However, contraction doesn't always happen. The following is an example of a negative existential where *na* and the verb to be do not contract:

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(122)   (Buddruss and Degener 2017:473)

> atəs  gandˈa na   rē-s,      ...
> other good   NEG TMA-to.be ...

> 'There is no other advantage, ...'

It seems that Prasuni is on its way to develop a negative copula (which would be a Type B strategy); Prasuni is classified as Type A~B.

### 2.3.2  Southern Nuristani

**2.3.2.1  Ashkun**   Ashkun is identified by Glottocode `ashk1246`, iso `ask`.

The standard negator in Ashkun is *nə, na, ne* 'not' (Morgenstierne 1929:268), which is listed as cognate with Waigali *na* and Sanskrit *na*. The negator is preverbal:

(123)   (Morgenstierne 1929:226)

> Ki   'mŕāk xa'pā bēi          'wotə 'ne gɛ
> that boy    angry having.become inside NEG went

> 'The boy, having become angry, didn't go inside.'

Negative existentials use standard negation, which can be shown by the comparison below, also including a negative locative.

(124)   (Morgenstierne 1929:232,213,213)

> a. 'Zə    sa'wāk weri'čō 'čīm 'damalēi, weri'čō 'nə  sēi
>    winter ?    path  ?   ?        paths  NEG be.3SG
>    'During the winter the snow closes up all the paths, there is no path.'
> b. pi-āla   ta kā      na sēi
>    drink-? to anything NEG be.PRS.3SG
>    'There is nothing in the cup.'
> c. nōkar   mələ sən
>    servant many be.PRS.3PL
>    'There are many servants.'

Ashkun is classified as Type A.

**2.3.2.2 Waigali** Waigali is identified by Glottocode `waig1243`, iso `wbk`.

According to Degener 1998:195, the verbal negative marker is the preverbal negative particle *na*; the negative marker contacts with the verb 'to be':

(125)  (Degener 1998:191)

  a.  äl'i  lap'a  ũa-katy'āw noy,
    this torch 1SG-?        NEG.EX.be.3SG

    'this torch is not (here) for me,'

  b.  äl'i  lap'a  tu-r̥'oy            ta,      uma        z'ora-ba bāṇ'i
    this torch 2SG.OBL-COP.be.2SG so.that 1SG.GEN milk-?   jar
    na    puṭ'ā-laš' ka
    NEG break-?   do.ABS

    'this torch is for you, so that you do n'o break my milk jar.'

According to Degener 1998:115), the verb 'to be' has three stems, *o-*, *or-* and *ti*, which have different usages. The simple copula is *o-*, but there is only a present tense form of that stem; *or-* has a larger tense paradigm and is also the verb used to express existence (Degener 1998:116). Finally, the stem *ti-* is used in a different sense, that of 'to be at a specific location, to stay, to live somewhere, to be'.

The form *noy* in example (125a) is a contraction form of *na-o* 'not to be', inflected for third person singular (Degener 1998:491). In that form, it is used for all kind of typical copula usages, such as that of locatives 'I am in Nisheygram', property predicates 'I am sick' and predicative possession 'He does not have any teeth'. The following examples contains inflected forms of *or-*; example (126a) an existential, example (126b) a negative existential:

(126)  (Degener 1998:116,283)

  a.  Indrakun-iw    uzag  di  Indra-ba dost pā-tey-sta
    Indrakun-LOC? today also Indra-PL? hand up-put.PST-?
    oṛat
    be.PRS.3SG

    'In Indrakun there are still traces of the Indras'

  b.  t'ẽa-kan        šahid    eri noṛoy-le
    somewhere-? witness but NEG.EX.be.3SG-3SG?

    'But there was no witness with them.'

The contraction of negator *na* and existential verb *o-* / *oṛ-* is unique to this construction. The negator *na* does not contract with other verbs, even if they start with vowels. Hence, we analyze this contracted pattern as a special negative existential negator; Waigali is classified as Type B.

# 3 Balto-Slavic

## 3.1 Slavic

### 3.1.1 South Slavic

#### 3.1.1.1 Old Church Slavic

Old Church Slavic (or Slavonic) is identified by Glottocode `chur1257`, iso `chu`. All glosses are ours.

The verbal negation marker in Old Church Slavic is *ne*:

(127)   (Lunt 2001:165,163)

    a.  (Luke 4:2)

        Ne   ěstЪ ničesože
        NEG eat   nothing

        'He did not eat anything.'

    b.  (John 7:5)

        vrěmę moe ne   u   pride
        time   my   NEG yet come

        'My time is not yet come.'

The marker is found as a prefix in the present form of the form of the verb 'to be' (Lunt 2001:138), which can be either a copular or an auxiliary verb:

(128)   (Lunt 2001:163)

    a.  (John 1:27)

        Ně-smЪ               azЪ xristosЪ
        NEG-COP.be.PRS.1SG 1SG Christ

        'I am not the Christ.'

    b.  (Luke 8:52)

        Ně-stЪ               umrЪla   děvica
        NEG-AUX.be.PRS.3SG die.PTCP maiden

        'the maiden has not died.'

while in the other tenses of the verb 'to be', the free form is used:

(129)   (Huntley 1993:174)

    ne   bě               tЪ   světЪ
    NEG COP.be.PST.3SG this light

    'This was not the light.'

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The existential construction is marked by the copular verb plus the figure, which is found in the genitive form (Huntley 1993:173-174, Lunt 2001:164):

(130)   (John 6:10)

bě                        že  trava        mnoga          na městЪ
COP.be.PST.3SG that hay.GEN.PL plenty.GEN.PL in  place

'There was plenty of hay in that place.'

The negative existential constructions uses the sentential marker *ne* for non-present forms:

(131)   (Huntley 1993:174)
    a.  (John 1:27)
        ne    bǫdetЪ            grěšЪnika
        NEG COP.be.FUT.3SG sinner.GEN.PL

        'There will be no sinner.'
    b.  (Luke 2:7)
        ne    bě                ima  města
        NEG COP.be.PST.3SG them place.GEN.PL

        'There was no place for them.'

while for the present form the negative copula is used:

(132)   (Huntley 1993:174 - John 1:27)

něstЪ            istiny          vЪ nemЪ
NEG.EX.PRS truth.GEN.SG in  him

'There is no truth in him.'

Old Church Slavic is classified as Type A~B.

# 4   Graeco-Phrygian

## 4.1   Greek

### 4.1.1   East Greek

**4.1.1.1   Ancient Greek**   Ancient Greek is identified by Glottocode `anci1242`, iso: `grc`.

There are two major negators in Ancient Greek (Emde Boas et al. 2018: 648ff), ου (*u*), which is written ουκ (*uk*) before a vowel and μη (mē). The former is "is the neutral negative, expressing that something is factually not the case", while the latter is "the subjective negative, expressing something about what is desired or hoped.".

(133)   (Emde Boas et al. 2018: 643)

> ου   ποιοιε   αν      ταυτα
> u    poioie   an      tauta
> NEG do.IMPF POT.OPT that

> 'they could/would not do that.'

Quoting Emde Boas et al. 2018:311, "The verb εἰμί (eimí) also occurs with only a subject in the meaning exist. In this 'existential' use, the verb usually stands before its subject. Such cases can be translated with 'there is' ἐστί/ἐστίν (estín), 'there are' (εἰσί/εἰσίν) (eisín)), 'there was' (ἦν (ēn)), 'there were' (ἦσαν (ēsan)). The verb γίγνομαι (gígnomai) also has an existential use, and then means exist or happen":

(134)   ((Emde Boas et al. 2018:311,311)

> a.   ἐστί χωριον  χρηματων πολλων μεστον
>      estí chōrion krēmatōn pollōn  meston
>      there.is place rich many filled.with

> 'There is a place filled with many riches.'

> b.   αγαθον  γεγεηται
>      agathon gegenētai
>      good.thing become.PFV
>      'A good thing has happened.'

The following example shows that existential clauses are negated using the standard negator ου(κ) (uk):

(135)   (Emde Boas et al. 2018:568)

> ουκ αν       ειη         οστις ουκ επ  τοις γεγενημενοις
> uk  an       eiē         ostis uk  epi tois gegenēmenois
> NEG POT.OPT be.OPT.3SG who   NEG ADP DEF become.PTCP
> αγανακτοιη
> aganaktoiē
> angry

'Everyone would be angry (lit. 'there would not be anybody who would not be angry).'

Ancient Greek is classified as Type A.

# 5 Italic

## 5.1 Romance

### 5.1.1 Italo-Western Romance

**5.1.1.1 Friulian (Central-Western)**    Data mostly refers to the variety of Friulian discussed by Benincà and Vanelli 2015, corresponding to Central-Western Friulian (Glottocode: `west2338`); in this variety, the subject clitic is compulsory in verbal clauses (Benincà and Vanelli 2015:404); in negated verbal sentence, the marker *no* appears after the subject clitic: an optional subject pronoun can be found before the negator marker.

(136)   (Benincà and Vanelli 2015:404)

    a.  il  fantàt    al = ven
        the youngster SBJ.3SG.M = come.PRS.3SG
        'The youngster comes.'

    b.  (tu) no   tu = vegnis
        you NEG SBJ.2SG = come.PRS.2SG
        'You do not come.'

Unlike other Romance varieties spoken in Italy, Friulian does not employ a locative clitic akin to Italian *ci/vi* 'there' existential and locative constructions, but uses a simple copula (Benincà and Vanelli 2015:397); depending on the variety and similar to other northern dialects of Italy (Bentley 2015:9-11, Cruschina 2015:54-59), the third person singular subject clitic pronoun, usually inflected for the masculine gender, is used in combination with the copula.

(137)   (Benincà and Vanelli 2015:398)

    a.  and = e = a'                  vonde
        PART = COP.be.PRS.3SG = SBJ.3SG.M enough
        'There is enough.'

    b.  al = e             'po:k 'lat
        SBJ.3SG.M = COP.be.PRS.3SG little  milk
        'There is little milk.'

In order to find a dedicated verb for existential constructions we had to look to the Friulian version of Wikipedia, in which there are some occurences of the verb *esist* 'to exist':

(138)   (Friulian Wikipedia: Verzegnis)

   In antîc        a = esistevin               cinc altris centris abitatîfs
   in past.times SBJ.3PL = exist.PRS.3PL five  other places  inhabited

   'In past times there were five other inhabited towns.'

Both the copula and verb *esist* are negated using the standard marker *no(l)*:

(139)   (Friulian Wikipedia: Carli Magn, Ruvigne)
   a. parcè    che nol  jere               il  dirit di primogjeniture
      because that NEG COP.be.IMPF.3SG the right of primogeniture
      'Because the primogeniture didn't exist.'
   b. Il    paîs  di Ruvigne in realtât no    esist
      the town of Ruvigne in reality NEG exist.PRS.3SG
      'The town of Ruvigne actually does not exist.'

Friulian is then a clear example of type A.


**5.1.1.2  Ladin (Fassan)**   Data discussed here are from the variety of Ladin spoken in Fassa Valley (Evelyn Bortolotti: p.c.); Fassan Ladin (Glottocode: `fass1244`) uses the marker *no* to negate sentences:

(140)   (Ladin: Evelyn Bortolotti: p.c.)

   Tom no    l = à                      n auto
   Tom NEG SBJ.3SG.M = have.PRS.3SG a car

   'Tom does not have a car.'

Similar to other Rhaeto-Romance varieties, locative, locative-presentative and existential constructions are marked by the simple copula, in combination with a fixed form of the subject clitic pronoun, which is compulsory in this variety of Ladin. The simple copula is also used to only predicate existence, as this language seems to lack an intransitive existential verb.

(141)   (Evelyn Bortolotti: p.c.)
   a. Tom l = é
      Tom SBJ.3SG.M = COP.be.PRS.3SG
      'Tom is here.'

b. É                 l            giac   salvèresc te vidor?
   COP.be.PRS.3SG SBJ.3SG.M cat.PL wild      in garden

   'Are there any wild cats in the garden?'
c. L=é                          giac   salvèresc
   SBJ.3SG.M=COP.be.PRS.3SG cat.PL wild

   'There are wild cats.' or 'Wild cats exist.'

Throughout all these cases the standard negation marker *no* is used to negate sentences:

(142)   (Evelyn Bortolotti: p.c.)
   a. Tom no   l=é                          chio,
      Tom NEG SBJ.3SG.M=COP.be.PRS.3SG here
      l=é                          te zità
      SBJ.3SG.M=COP.be.PRS.3SG in town

      'Tom is not here, he is in town.'
   b. No   l=é                          giac   salvèresc te vidor
      NEG SBJ.3SG.M=COP.be.PRS.3SG cat.PL wild.PL   in garden

      'There are no wild cats in the garden.'
   c. No   l=é                          giac   salvèresc
      NEG SBJ.3SG.M=COP.be.PRS.3SG cat.PL wild.PL

      'There are no wild cats.' or 'Wild cats do not exist.'

Accordingly, Ladin is classified as type A.


**5.1.1.3 Neapolitan** Data come from Ledgeway's diachronic grammar of Neapolitan, which is based on a corpus of oral and written texts spanning seven centuries (Ledgeway 2009:16-28). We have referred here to modern texts only and added data from the Neapolitan version of Wikipedia.

In Neapolitan (Glottocode: `napo1241`), the marker used in standard verbal negation is *non* or *nun*:

(143)   (Neapolitan Wikipedia: cucina napolitana)

   'A  carne non s'    ausa          spisso dint' 'a  cucina napolitana
   the meat  NEG PASS use.PRS.3SG often  in    the cuisine neapolitan

   'Meat is not often used in neapolitan cuisine.'

Similar to other Italo-Romance varieties, Neapolitan uses for existential constructions a fixed combination of the clitic *(n)ce* 'there' with the verb *stare* 'to stay', which is one of the standard copular verbs; sometimes, *stare* is found in alternation with the verb *èsse(re)* 'to be', probably a late influx from Italian:

(144)   a.  (Ledgeway 2009:681)

   ce stanno  cierti cose ca s'  avarriano
   there stay.PRS.3PL some things that PASS have.PRS.IRR.3PL
   rentennere
   understand

   'There are some things that should be understood.'

  b.  (Neapolitan Wikipedia: guarracino)

   Nc' è    na canzuncella famusa napulitana ca parla 'e
   there be.PRS.3SG a song  famous neapolitan that speak of
   isso
   him

   'There's a famous neapolitan song about him.'

The same construction is used with locative meaning; a dedicated verb for existential construction is *esistere* 'to exist', but again it is probably a borrowed construction from Italian, as it is not mentioned in Ledgeway's diachronic grammar.

(145)   a.  (Ledgeway 2009:283)

   Fore ce sta    uno   che va truvanno a don
   outside there stay.PRS.3SG someone that AUX search  to don
   Luigino
   Luigino

   'There's someone outside looking for Don Luigino.'

  b.  (Neapolitan Wikipedia: struffule)

   dinte 'a cucina greca, esiste   nu piatte ca è tale e
   in  the cuisine greek exist.PRS.3SG a dish that is same and
   quale
   same

   'In the Greek cuisine there's a very similar dish.'

The marker used for standard verbal negation is found for all the above-mentioned constructions:

(146)   a.  (Ledgeway 2009:294)

   nun ce sta'    pezzentaria senza  rifiette!
   NEG there stay.PRS.3SG misery   without faults

   'There is not misery without faults!'

  b.  (Ledgeway 2009:283)

Io nce      aggio ditto ca   nun ce     sta
I   3SG.DAT AUX   told  that NEG there stay.PRS.3SG

'I have told him that he is not here.'

c. (Neapolitan Wikipedia: Prussia)

ma ogge  nun esiste           cchiù
but today NEG exist.PRS.3SG anymore

'But today it doesn't exist anymore.'

Accordingly, Neapolitan can be classified as type A.

**5.1.1.4  Old Occitan (Old Provençal)**  Old Occitan (Old Provençal) is iden-
tified by Glottocode `oldp1253`, iso *pro*.

In Old Occitan, negation is marked through the negative adverb *no(n)* (Jensen
1994:284).

A construction with the verb aver 'to have' forms existential constructions:

(147)   (Paden 1998:246-247)

ac   dins  una    peireira
have inside INDEF catapult

'Inside there was a catapult.'

This existential construction is negated regularly using the negative adverb
*no(n)*:

(148)   a. (Paden 1998:284)

No y      a     cosselh mas que-s    grata
not to.3SG have council but  to-REFL scratch

'There's no solution but to scratch himself.'

b. (Jensen 1994:197,202)

d'aissi    non a     monge trusqu'en    Velai
therefore not  have monk   from.here.to Velai

'From here to Velay there is not a monk.'

c. deforas no  son avut
outside not are  had

'Outside there were none.'

(A curiosity about Old Occitan syntax; Jensen 1994:202: "On note, cepen-
dant, une curieuse exception ici: il n'est pas rare pour le verbe aver de former ses

temps composes avec esser. Mais cette syntaxe est limitee a l'emploi specifique de aver comme verbe intransitif marquant 1'existence. Dans cette construction, le participe passe avut est 1'equivalent de estat, il s'accorde avec le sujet dans les textes qui observent la declinaison, et esser avut se trouve frequemment construit avec un attribut".)

Old Occitan is classified as Type A.


**5.1.1.5   Piedmontese (Turinese)**   Our informant provided us with data from the variety of Piedmontese spoken in Piedmont's head city, Turin (Emanuele Miola, p.c.: Glottocode: `turi1245`). The postverbal particle *nen* is the standard negation marker:

(149)   (Emanuele Miola, p.c.)

> A  Maria a-j = piasu                          nen  i = film
> to Mary  SBJ-OBL.3SG = like.PRS.3PL NEG the = movies

> 'Mary does not like movies.'

which is used to negate existential constructions. Contrast the following two examples:

(150)   (Emanuele Miola, p.c.)
> a.   a-j = sun/é                          i = gat     sarvaj
>      SBJ-LOC = COP.be.PRS.3PL/3SG the = cats wild

>      'There are wild cats.'
> b.   a-j = sun/é                          nen  i = gat     sarvaj
>      SBJ-LOC = COP.be.PRS.3PL/3SG NEG the = cats wild

>      'There are no wild cats.'

The alternation between the singular and the plural form of the copular verb is also attested in the locative and locative-presentative constructions:

(151)   (Emanuele Miola, p.c.)

> Tom al = é                          sì
> Tom SBJ = COP.be.PRS.3SG here

> 'Tom is here.'

These constructions are negated by the postverbal particle *nen*; according to our informant, the second example, which employs the copular verb plus the locative marker *j,* is more usual:

(152)   (Emanuele Miola, p.c.)

    a.  Tom al＝é                     nen  sì
        Tom SBJ＝COP.be.PRS.3SG NEG here

        'Tom is not here.'

    b.  Tom a-j＝é                    nen
        Tom SBJ-LOC＝COP.be.PRS.3SG NEG

        'Tom is not here.'

Finally, a dedicated verb can be used in existential constructions; this strategy is felt as 'bookish' by our informant, however judging 'more natural' its negative counterpart:

(153)   (Emanuele Miola, p.c.)

    a.  i＝gat     sarvaj a＝esistu
        the＝cats wild   SBJ.3SG＝exist.PRS.3PL

        'Wild cats exist.'

    b.  i＝gat     sarvaj a＝esistu            nen
        the＝cats wild   SBJ.3SG＝exist.PRS.3PL NEG

        'Wild cats do not exist.'

The standard negator marker is used with this strategy as well; accordingly, the language is classified as Type A.

**5.1.1.6  Romansh (Rumantsch Grischun)**  The variety of Romansh discussed here is the standard variety known as *Rumantsch Grischun* (Glottocode: `ruma1247`) and one of the four official languages of Switzerland. The sentential marker negator is the preverbal particle *na*, which is elided in front of vowels as *n'*; the particle is often found together with the postverbal particle *betg*:

(154)   a.  (Caduff, Caprez, and Darms 2006:34)

        El  vegn         da  Cuira.
        he come.PRS.3SG from Cuira

        'He comes from Cuira.'

    b.  (Caduff, Caprez, and Darms 2006:113)

        El  na   vegn         (betg) a  chasa
        he NEG come.PRS.3SG not    to house

        'He does not come home.'

    c.  (Stich 2007:140)

> Mia chombra n'  è            betg venida fatga.
> my room      NEG AUX.PASS.be.3SG NEG come   done
>
> My room has not been prepared.

The particle *betg* is used alone to negate non-finite verbal sentences and/or in pragmatically marked contexts:

(155)  (Caduff, Caprez, and Darms 2006:113-114)

   a. Betg fimar,       per plaschair!
      NEG smoke.IMP.2SG for  please

      'Please do not smoke!'

   b. Jau vi        vin, betg sirup!
      I    want.PRS.3SG wine NEG syrup

      'I want wine, not syrup!'

Locative and existential constructions are marked by the simple copula or the verb *avair* 'to have' together with the third singular neuter form of the subject pronoun *i(gl)* (Haiman and Benincà 1992:164); the constructions are negated using the standard marker negator:

(156)  (Stich 2007:139-140)

   a. Igl       è            un bogn.
      SBJ.3SG.N COP.be.PRS.3SG a   bathroom

      'There is a bathroom.'

   b. I         n'  è            betg aria cundiziunada.
      SBJ.3SG.N NEG COP.be.PRS.3SG NEG air   conditioned

      'There is no air conditioned.'

   c. I         n'  ha        betg aua   chauda
      SBJ.3SG.N NEG have.PRS.3SG NEG water hot

      'There is no hot water.'

Finally, a dedicated verb, *exister* 'to exist', is used to predicate only the existence of something, as in the following examples describing grammatical features of *Rumantsch Grischun*:

(157)  (Caduff, Caprez, and Darms 2006:72,87)

   a. L'  artitgel indefinit   exista       be  en il   singular.
      the article  indefinite exist.PRS.3SG only in the singular.form

      'The indefinite article exists in the singular form only.'

b. La  cumbinaziun engiadinaisa tgenina chasa n'    exista
the combination Engadinese   tgenina chasa NEG exist.PRS.3SG
betg en rumantsch grischun.
NEG in rumantsch grischun

'The Engadinese expression *tgenina chasa* does not exist in *Rumantsch Grischun*.'

Again, the standard marker negator is used: Romansh can thus be classified as type A.

**5.1.1.7  Sicilian (South-Eastern)**  Our data refer to the variety of Sicilian spoken in South-Eastern Sicily (Giulio Scivoletto: p.c., Glottocode: `sout2617`); in this variety, a verbal sentence is negated by means of the marker *nun*:

(158)  (Giulio Scivoletto: p.c.)

a Mary nun ci        piaciunu i       film
to Mary NEG 3SG.DAT like.3PL  the.PL film.PL

'Mary does not like movies.'

A fixed combination between the clitic *ci* 'there' and the verb *essere* 'to be' is used for locative-presentative and existential constructions; in both functional domains, the standard verbal negator is used.

(159)  (Giulio Scivoletto: p.c.)
a. ci    sù          napuoch' i iàtti  nô     giardinu
there be.PRS.3PL some      of cat.PL in-the garden

'There are some cats in the garden.'
b. ci    sù          gghiàtti sevvatici
there be.PRS.3PL cat.PL   wild

'There are wild cats.'
c. nun ci    nn' è          gghiàtti nô     giardinu
non there PTV be.PRS.3PL cat.PL   in-the garden

'There are no cats in the garden.'
d. nun ci    nn' è          gghiàtti sevvatici
NEG there PTV be.PRS.3PL cat.PL   wild

'There are no wild cats.'

The intransitive verb *esistiri* 'to exist' is used to assert the existence of something; this construction is negated by the standard verbal marker *nun*.

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(160)  (Giulio Scivoletto: p.c.)

    a.  i   iatti   sevvatici esistunu
       the cat.PL wild      exist.3PL

       'Wild cats exist.'

    b.  i   iàtti   sevvatici nun' esistunu
       the cat.PL wild      NEG exist.3PL

       'Wild cats do not exist.'

Sicilian can thus be classified as type A.

# 6  Germanic

## 6.1  East Germanic

### 6.1.1  Gothic

**6.1.1.1  Gothic**  In Gothic (Glottocode: `goth1244`, iso: `got`), the standard negation marker is the *ni* particle: (Gothic Bible = Streitberg 1919; a TEI annotated version is available at `http://www.wulfila.be/gothic/browse/`)

(161)  (Gothic Bible, Matthew 7:18)

ni    mag bagms        þiuþeigs akrana      ubila gataujan
NEG can  tree.NOM.SG good     fruit.ACC.PL bad   bring

'A good tree cannot bring bad fruits.'

The standard negator is elided in front of *ist* 'is', which is used as the copular verb:

(162)  (Gothic Bible, Matthew 10:24)

n-ist                 siponeis        ufar laisarja
NEG-COP.be.PRS.3SG student.NOM.SG over teacher.DAT.SG

'The student is not over his teacher.'

Existential, locative and locative-presentative constructions are marked by the simple copula, as in the following examples:

(163)  a.  (Gothic Bible, John 6:64)

akei sind            izwara       sumai, þaiei ni
but  COP.be.PRS.3PL you.GEN.PL some   who  NEG
galaubjand
believe.PRS.3PL

'But there are some of you who do not believe.'

b. (Gothic Bible, John 6:10)

| was-uh | þan | hawi | manag | ana | þamma | stada |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COP.be.PST.3SG-and | then | hay.NOM.SG | much | in | that | place |

'There was plenty of hay in that place.'

Gothic does not have a specific verb translating the Ancient Greek *hyperchein* 'to exist', but again uses the copular verb: (Novum Testamentum Graece = Nestle et al. 1993)

(164)  a. (Novum Testamentum Graece, Luke 8:41)

| kai | utos | archon | tes | synagoges | hyperchen |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| and | he.NOM | ruler.NOM | the.GEN | synagogue.GEN | exist.PST.3SG |

'And he was the ruler of the synagogue.'

b. (Gothic Bible, Luke 8:41)

| sah | fauramaþleis | swnagogais | was |
|---|---|---|---|
| he.NOM | ruler.NOM | synagogue.GEN | COP.be.PST.3SG |

'And he was the ruler of the synagogue.'

All these constructions are negated by means of the standard negator; however, the present form of the negative existential employs the elided form *nist*:

(165)  a. (Gothic Bible, John 6:22)

| skip | anþar | ni | was | jainar | alja |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ship.NOM.SG | other.NOM.SG | NEG | COP.be.PST.3SG | there | except |
| ain | | | | | |
| one | | | | | |

'There was no boat there, except one.'

b. (Gothic Bible, Romans 13:1)

| n-ist | waldufni | alja | fram | guda |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NEG-COP.be.PRS.3SG | power | other | from | God |

'There is no power but of God.'

Gothic can thus be classified as type A~B.

## 6.2 Northwest Germanic

### 6.2.1 West Scandinavian

**6.2.1.1 Faroese** Faroese is identified by Glottocode `faro1244`, iso `fao`.

Existence in Faroese is predicated using a cognate of the 'There is/was X' construction we find throughout Germanic:

(166)   (Petersen and Adams 2009: 84)

 Har vóru hvørki livandi ella deyð
 There were neither live.PTCP or dead

 'There were neither the quick nor the dead.'

Petersen and Adams 2009:226 describes *ikki* as a negative adverb/particle. This is the standard negator of the language:

(167)   (Petersen and Adams 2009: 226)

 Jógvan drap ikki hundin
 Jógvan killed not dog.DEF

 'Jógvan did not kill the dog.'

The negative particle *ikki* can be used in an existential context, if combined with an indefinite pronoun or in a context in which quantification takes place:

(168)   (Petersen and Adams 2009:122,122,3)
 a. Har var ikki nakar inni
  there was not anybody in
  'There was nobody at home.'
 b. Matur var ikki nakar
  food was not any
  'There was no food.'
 c. Ikki nógv øl er bryggjað í Føroyum
  not much beer AUX brewed in Faroe.Islands.DEF
  'There is not much beer brewed in the Faroe Islands.'
 d. (Zakaris Svabo Hansen, p.c.)
  Tað eru ikki nógvar villar kettur í viðarlundini
  there are not much wild cats in plantation.DEF
  'There are not many wild cats in the plantation.'

However, there is another strategy using the negative quantifier *eingin* 'none' (*eingin* inflects for number, gender, and case, such that *einki* is SG.ACC.N and *ongar* is SG.NOM.F, see Petersen and Adams 2009:122):

(169) a. (Petersen and Adams 2009:161)

Hon man fara at gera tað, tað er einki    at ivast  i
she will go  to do  it,  it  is nothing to doubt about

'She will do it. There is no doubt about that.'

 b. (Zakaris Svabo Hansen, p.c.)

Tað  eru ongar villar kettur í  oynni
there are none  wild  cats    in village.DEF

'There are no wild cats in the village.'

Faroese is classified as type A~B.

## 6.3  West Germanic

### 6.3.1  High German

**6.3.1.1  Old High German**  Old High German is identified by Glottocode `oldh1241`, iso `goh`.

Quoting Jäger 2005:227, "Throughout the Old High German period, i.e. between approximately 750 and 1050 AD sentential negation is generally expressed using the negation particle *ni*. This particle was inherited from Protogermanic. It cliticises on the verb.":

(170)  (Jäger 2007:147; our glosses)

Inti ir    mit  einemo fingare íuuueremo ni=ruoret    thia burdin
and you with a/one  finger  yours       NEG=touch the  burden

'and do not touch the burden with a single finger of yours.'

According to Agnes Jäger (p.c. Sept. 2019), negative existentials tend to be formed with bare nouns and verbal negation (clitic negative particle *ni*), as in the following example:

(171)  (Otfrid I. 5, 48f: Agnes Jäger, p.c. - our glosses)

kúning ni=ist in uuórolti, ni    si  imo thíononti noh kéisor    untar
king    NEG.is in world    NEG be him serving    nor emperor among
mánne, ni    imo géba bringe
men     NEG him gifts  bring

'There is no king in the world who would not serve him, nor any emperor who would not give him gifts.'

Axel 2007:120-122 describes existential constructions as verb-first constructions with the copula; *thar* 'there' occurs occasionally and does not seem to be an obligatory part:

(172)   (Axel 2007:88,190)

    a. thar  uuas garto   in    then gieng her in
       there was  garden into this  went  he   in

       'There was a garden into which he entered.'

    b. hier ist ein     kneht
       here is  INDEF boy

       'There is a little boy here.'

The cliticization of *ni* 'NEG' occurs (or does not occur) independent from the verb it negates, i.e. we do observe the creation of a special negative copula; hence we say that Old High Germanic is Type A:

(173)   a. (Otfrid I. 1, 103: Agnes Jäger, p.c. - our glosses)

       Ni   sínt,    thie ímo       ouh derien, in thiu nan fránkon
       NEG be.3PL DEF 3SG.DAT also forsake in this  him Frank.DAT.PL
       uuerien,
       were?

       'They are not forsaken by him, nor by the Franks.'

    b. (Axel 2007:13,210; our glosses)

       eno  ni=birut ir   furiron thanne sie   sín
       ENO NEG=be you more   than    they are

       'Are you not much better than they?'

    c. inti thú capharnaum eno  nú   ni=arheuis=tú    thih  unzan
       and you Capernaum   ENO now NEG=exhalt=you REFL unto
       himil
       heaven

       'And you, Capernaum, will you be exalted to heaven?'

Old High German is classified as Type A.

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