Negation, Imperatives, and Agreement in Coorgi

KSENIA BOGOMOLETS, *University of Auckland*
SAUROV SYED, *University of Auckland* [1]

ABSTRACT

This paper presents novel data from a severely understudied Dravidian language Coorgi showing that one of the negation morphemes in the language (*-le* negation) cannot occur with imperatives or with agreement. We show that another form of negation, *-at*, on the other hand, can occur with both. The paper explores possible reasons behind this pattern, and we propose that this distributional difference between *-le* and *-at* stems from a difference in their syntactic position. Namely, we argue that *-le* is head-negation (head of NegP), while *-at* is adjunct negation occupying an adjunct position (SpecVP). We show that this syntactic difference between the two types of negation in Coorgi places the observed patterns within a robust cross-linguistic generalization: negation is banned in imperative contexts in (some) languages where negation morphemes are syntactically heads, while negation is allowed in imperative contexts in languages where the negation morphemes are adjuncts (Zeijlstra 2004, Bošković 2004, 2012). We thus argue that the patterns of the distribution of negation in Coorgi is due to a cross-linguistically attested pattern of head Neg blocking Affix-Hopping. The proposed analysis provides an insight into another pattern of the distribution of negation in the language – namely, its cooccurrence or the lack thereof with agreement morphology.

1 Introduction

Coorgi is a Dravidian language spoken in the Coorg/Kodagu district in the state of Karnataka, India. The people of the region are known as Kodava, and the language is also known as Kodava takk (i.e. 'speech of the Kodavas'), or Kodava takka. The native speaker that we consulted prefers to call her language Coorgi or Kodava takk, and for the purpose of this paper we will refer to the language as Coorgi. Coorgi is considered to be an endangered/threatened language (Rajyashree 2001), and the language is severely understudied, with only three existing grammars available (Cole 1867, Garman 1973, and Ebert 1996).

This paper investigates the restrictions on co-occurrence of negation with a number of morpho-syntactic categories in Coorgi. The main focus of our investigation is the following puzzle. There are two negation morphemes in the language: *-le* and *-at*. While *-le* can never co-occur with imperatives, *-at* can. The paper explores the question why this is the case, and proposes that this distributional difference between *-le* and *-at* stems from a difference in their syntactic position, namely we argue that *-le* is head-negation (head of NegP), while *-at* is adjunct negation occupying adjunct positions (e.g., SpecVP). This syntactic difference between the two types of negation in Coorgi ties the puzzle with a robust cross-linguistic generalization: negation is banned in imperative contexts in (some) languages where negation morphemes are syntactically heads (e.g., Spanish, Greek; Zeijlstra 2004, Bošković 2012) while negation is allowed in imperative contexts in languages where the negation morphemes are adjuncts (e.g., Icelandic; Zeijlstra 2004, Bošković 2012). We argue that Coorgi provides typologically interesting data in that there are both head-negation and adjunct-negation in a single language, and while the head-negation is banned in imperatives, the adjunct negation can co-occur with imperatives – both in line with cross-linguistic patterns. Such cross-linguistic patterns have previously been analyzed in terms of (a ban on) Affix-Hopping (on Affix-Hopping, see Chomsky 1957, Bobaljik 1994, 2002, Lasnik 1995, Bošković 2004, 2012 among many others), where a Neg head can intervene and block the necessary relation between an Imperative head and the verb; adjunct negation, on the other hand, cannot cause such interventions by virtue of not being a head, and thus can occur in imperative contexts. We adopt such an Affix-Hopping analysis for Coorgi, and argue that this analysis can straightforwardly account for the attested patterns in the language, and in addition tie the patterns to robust cross-linguistic generalizations.

Finally, the proposed analysis provides an insight into another pattern of the distribution of negation in the language – namely, its cooccurrence with agreement morphology. We show that the predictions of the Affix-Hopping analysis are borne out, and explain the ban on cooccurrence of head negation (*-le*) and agreement in Coorgi. Agreement morphemes are, like the Imperative head, heads of a functional projection higher than the NegP, and it is thus predicted

[1] The contribution of the authors is equal; names are listed alphabetically.

that head-negation will block agreement, while adjunct negation will not. This is shown to be true in Coorgi, where *-le* can never occur with agreement morphemes, whereas *-at* can, thus providing additional support for our analysis.

The paper is structured as follows. In the rest of this section, we present Coorgi data showing the distribution of the two types of negation in declarative and imperative contexts. We compare these patterns to the cross-linguistically attested patterns of cooccurrence of negation and imperatives in Section 2. We then discuss our analysis in Section 3, and we show how an account in terms of Affix-Hopping can straightforwardly explain the distribution of *-le* and *-at* in the imperative contexts. Section 4 provides further support for the analysis by discussing how predictions made by the analysis are borne out in agreement paradigms. We also discuss how an alternative analysis for the agreement paradigms cannot be maintained, and how the analysis proposed in the paper is a superior account. Section 5 concludes the paper.

All data used in the current research have been collected by the authors in a series of interviews and guided elicitation tasks in 2020-2021 with a native speaker of Coorgi, who is also fluent in English. Elicitations took place at the University of Auckland, New Zealand.

1.1 Coorgi data: Negation and Imperatives

Negation in Coorgi is expressed by the use of one of two suffixes which are in complementary distribution: *-le* and *-at.* The basic pattern of sentential negation is shown in (1) below: to negate a basic affirmative sentence (1a) *-le* is used across the board (1b); the negation marker is bold-faced in (1b):

(1a)	ninga	Rahim-na	poyy-u-vira	(1b)	ninga	Rahim-na	poyy-u-**le**
	you.PL	Rahim-ACC	hit.PRS-EP-2PL		you.PL	Rahim-ACC	hit.PRS-EP-**NEG**
	'You (pl.) hit Rahim.'				'You (pl.) don't hit Rahim'[2].		

The main focus of this paper is the pattern shown in (2) below. The basic sentential negation *-le* is ungrammatical in an imperative context:

(2a) poyy-i
hit.PRS-2PL
'Hit (2Pl) s.o./s.t.!'

(2b)	*poyy-i-le/	*poyy-u-le/	*poyy-u-le-ri
	hit.PRS-2PL-NEG/	hit.PRS-EP-NEG/	hit.PRS-EP-NEG-2PL
	Intd.: 'Don't hit (2Pl) s.o./s.t.!'		

An affirmative imperative form of the verb *poyy-* 'hit' is given in (2a). Coorgi, however, disallows adding the negative suffix *-le* to the form in (2a) in order to form a negative imperative as in (2b). Instead, in order to express the negative imperative semantics, the *-at* negation must be used. Consider (3) below. The negation morpheme is bold-faced.

(3a)	poyy-**at**-e	(3b)	poyy-**at**-i
	hit.PRS-**NEG**-2SG		hit.PRS-**NEG**-2PL
	'Don't hit (2Sg) s.t./s.o.'.		'Don't hit (2Pl) s.t./s.o.'.

In what follows, we argue that the pattern exemplified in (2)-(3) is not Coorgi-specific, but in fact fits a broad cross-linguistic generalization: it has been previously demonstrated for multiple languages that particular verbal forms cannot cooccur with negation. In the next section, we address the cross-linguistic restriction on occurrence of negation specifically with imperatives.

[2] Note that Coorgi, like other Dravidian languages, distinguishes between past tense and non-past tense forms, so what we gloss as present tense (e.g. hit.PRS) for ease of exposition would more accurately be glossed as non-past tense.

2 Negation and Imperatives: Crosslinguistic patterns

It has been noted on multiple occasions that languages cross-linguistically differ with respect to the availability of true negative imperatives (Zanuttini 1998, 2001, Tomic 2001, Bošković 2004, 2012, Zeijlstra 2004). Thus, while languages like Modern Dutch, Polish or Icelandic allow for negative imperatives, many languages such as Spanish, Italian or Greek do not. Consider examples from Modern Dutch, where true negative imperatives are allowed, in (4) below:

(4a)	lees	het	(4b)	lees	het	niet	
	read.IMP	it		read.IMP	it	NEG	
	'Read it!'			'Don't read it!'			(Paula Fenger, p.c.)

As is shown in (4), in Modern Dutch, negative imperatives are formed via the addition of a negative morpheme to the affirmative imperative. Contrast the Modern Dutch examples in (4) with the examples from Spanish in (5) where true negative imperatives are banned:

(5a)	¡Lee!	(5b) *¡No	lee!
	read.2SG.IMP	NEG	read.2SG.IMP
	'Read!'	Intd.: 'Don't read!'	

Examples in (5) demonstrate that it is not possible in Spanish to simply add a negation morpheme to the affirmative imperative form in order to produce a negative imperative. Instead, Spanish uses a subjunctive form in negative imperatives, i.e. a "surrogate" imperative (a term used in Bošković 2004, Zeijlstra 2004), as in (6):

(6)	¡No	leas!
	NEG	read.2SG.SUBJ
	'Don't read!'	

The split between languages which allow true negative imperatives (like Modern Dutch, (4)) and languages which do not (like Spanish, (5)-(6)) has been argued to stem from a parametric difference in the type of negation in these languages (Miyoshi 2002, Bošković 2004, 2012 Zeijlstra 2004 a.o.). While some languages, s.a. Italian, Greek, Russian, Spanish, have head negation, i.e. a negative marker X^0 heads a NegP, other languages, s.a. Icelandic or Modern Dutch, have adjunct negation whereby an (adverbial) negative marker is adjoined to an independent phrase (e.g., VP). Zeijlstra (2004: 165) establishes the following generalization correlating the difference in the syntactic nature of the negative marker to the difference in the treatment of negative imperatives:

(7) **Negative imperatives generalization**
Only languages with **head Neg** have a ban on neg imperatives.
Only a subset of languages with a negative marker X^0 bans negative imperatives.

According to the generalization in (7), a subset of the set of languages with a negative marker X^0 bans true negative imperatives. Consequently, if a language has a ban on negative imperatives, the negation can be assumed to be head negation. Based on this previous cross-linguistic work, we put forward the following hypothesis regarding the Coorgi patterns presented in 1.1 above:

(8) **Coorgi negation hypothesis**
The split between two negators stems from their different syntactic status:
-le is head-negation, and
-at is adjunct negation.

That is, we propose that Coorgi presents a third typological option: a language with both head and adjunct negation. In the following section we present an analysis of the difference in the distributional behavior between *-le* and *-at* explicitly tying that difference to the hypothesis in (8).

3 Analysis of the Coorgi patterns

We have put forward the hypothesis that *-le* is head-negation and *-at* is adverbial negation. In this section, we show how such a distinction can capture the Coorgi facts if we adopt an Affix-Hopping analysis for the ban on negative imperatives. Let us start by making the structural side of our account more explicit. The negative morpheme *-le* cannot co-occur with Imperatives, and is thus assumed to be head-negation by (7). That is, *-le* is the head of NegP. The negative morpheme *-at*, on the other hand, can co-occur with Imperatives, and is hypothesized to be an adjunct negation in our proposal. More specifically, we suggest that *-at* is adjoined to VP. Furthermore, we assume, following Miyoshi (2002), that an Imperative structure comes with a phonologically null affix (-∅) in the Imperative C head.[3] Given our proposal and assumptions, the structure of a negative imperative sentence with *-at* in Coorgi is schematized in (9). Note that Coorgi is head-final, which is reflected in the structure in (9):

(9) $[CP_{Imp}\ [TP\ [VP\ [VP\ V]\ \textbf{-at}]]\ \text{-}\emptyset]$

The hypothetical Imperative construction that is banned, i.e, the negative imperative with *-le*, is schematized below in (10):

(10) * $[CP_{imp}\ [TP\ [NegP\ [VP\ V]\ \textbf{-le}\ ]]\ \text{-}\emptyset]$

We argue that structures like (9) and (10) above can straightforwardly account for the Coorgi facts if we adopt an Affix-Hopping analysis.

The core of an Affix-Hopping analysis consists of two proposals: (i) imperatives come with a phonologically null morpheme in the C head (Miyoshi 2002), and (ii) the phonologically null imperative head has a +affix property. The imperative affix needs to merge with V in PF under adjacency, and failure of this merge will result in the violation of the Stranded Affix Filter (Lasnik 1981, 1985). That is, Affix-Hopping is a morphophonological operation that involves merger between an affix and its host in PF under adjacency. Such merger/Affix-Hopping is blocked when the PF adjacency requirement is violated, i.e. if there is any intervening phonologically pronounced head. However, the adjacency is not violated by intervening phonologically pronounced adjuncts or intervening phonologically null trace/pro (see Bobaljik 2002 for details). This is illustrated in (11) below. In a non-negative imperative, the affix in the imperative head (-∅) must merge with the V at PF under adjacency. This merger goes through in (11a) as there is no intervention effects. On the other hand, if there is an intervening phonologically pronounced Neg-head present between the imperative and the V, the PF-merger between the phonologically null imperative head and the V will be blocked, violating the Stranded Affix Filter. This is why negative imperatives are banned with head-negation, as illustrated in (11b).

(11a) $[CP_{imp}\ \emptyset\ [TP\ \ [VP\ V]]]$ ✓ Non-Neg imperative

(11b) $[CP_{imp}\ \emptyset\ [TP\ [NegP\ Neg^0\ [VP\ V]]]$ ✗ Neg-imperatives

Given such mechanism of intervention effects, we discuss below how we can straightforwardly capture that *-le* cannot co-occur with imperatives in Coorgi, while *-at* can.

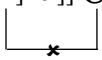
3.1 Affix hopping and ban on -le in Imperatives

Recall the hypothetical structure if *-le* were allowed to co-occur with imperatives, as was illustrated in (10), repeated in (12) below. Coorgi is a head-final language, where the Neg-head *-le* intervenes between the null Imperative head

[3] The exact label/position of this null morpheme does not matter for the proposed analysis, as long as it's in a head of a projection higher than TP.

-∅ and the V, thus blocking the merger between the two under PF-adjacency leading to a violation of the Stranded Affix Filter. We argue, this is the reason why *-le* cannot co-occur with imperatives in Coorgi.

(12) [CP_{imp} [TP [NegP [VP V] **le**]] ∅]



The account of the ban on negative imperatives with *-le* in Coorgi in terms of Affix-Hopping proposed here is following the line of analysis proposed in Miyoshi (2002) and Bošković (2004) for cross-linguistic ban on negative imperatives. Recall examples from Spanish in (5)-(6) above. As discussed in Bošković (2012), such patterns of the lack of true negative imperatives in Spanish and across Romance can be accounted for with (11a-b). Recall also that Spanish switches to a different verb form in negative imperatives (the "surrogate" imperative) in order to repair the illicit structure of (11b). Bošković (2012) also notes that other strategies are available cross-linguistically to repair illicit structures in cases where Stranded Affix Filter is violated. Thus, for instance, English uses *Do*-Support as a last resort operation to avoid a Stranded Affix Filter violation in negative finite clauses. Consider the examples in (13) with their corresponding structures in (14), which show that tensed main verbs in English cannot co-occur with negation, a ban similar to the negative imperatives paradigm:

(13a) John laughed.
(13b) *John not laughed.
(13c) John did not laugh.

(14a) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ $John_i$ T (-ed) [$_{VP}$ t_i laugh]]]

(14b) [$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ $John_i$ T (-ed) [$_{NegP}$ not [$_{VP}$ t_i laugh]]]] (adapted from Bošković 2012: 6)

Below we consider the second negative morpheme in Coorgi – *-at*, and we propose to view it as another logically possible type of repair for the illicit structure in (11b). Specifically, we propose that *-at* is a "surrogate" negation.

3.2 Negative imperatives and "surrogate" negation

Now that we have discussed why *-le* can never co-occur with imperatives, let us address why *-at can* co-occur with imperatives. Following Bobaljik (1995, 2002), we adopt the view that adjuncts (i.e. adjoined elements) do not interfere with Affix-Hopping even when they intervene between the elements involved in a PF-merger. According to our hypothesis (8), *-at* is adverbial negation, adjoined to VP, as was illustrated in (9), repeated in (15) below. The non-head nature of *-at* does not create an intervention between the V and the null imperative head -∅, and thus the merger goes through, and the Stranded Affix Filter is not violated. Thus, *-at* can co-occur with negation.

(15) [CP_{imp} [TP [VP [VP V] **at**]] ∅]

4 Extension of the analysis: Negation and Agreement

So far, we have shown that Coorgi fits a cross-linguistically robust pattern in disallowing imperatives to be negated with the basic sentential negation marker (*-le*). We have proposed that this pattern in Coorgi can be accounted for with the Affix-Hopping analysis, in the same way as previously proposed for the identical pattern in other languages. We have also proposed to treat the negation marker which is found with imperatives (*-at*) as a repair strategy to avoid the violation of the Stranded Affix Filter, and we have called this strategy a "surrogate" negation. In this section, we explore the consequences of this analysis for the broader distribution of the two negation morphemes in the language.

If our hypothesis (8) is correct, i.e. if *-le* is head negation, and *-at* is an adjunct negation, we predict that their interaction with affixal material other than imperatives would also be different. Let us consider the patterns of distribution of the two negation morphemes and agreement morphology in order to test this prediction.

In affirmative clauses, verbs in Coorgi are affixed with subject agreement. Consider, for instance, illustrative examples in (16), where agreement morphology on the verbs is bold-faced:

(16a) neenə Rahim-na poyy-u-**viya**
you.SG Rahim-ACC hit.PRS-EP-**2SG**
'You (sg.) hit Rahim.'

(16b) ninga Rahim-na poyy-u-**vira**
you.PL Rahim-ACC hit.PRS-EP-**2PL**
'You (pl.) hit Rahim.'

In (16a), the present tense stem of the verb *poyy*- 'hit' is inflected for agreement with the second person singular agreement suffix -*viya,* while in (16b) the present tense stem of the verb *poyy*- 'hit' is affixed with a second person plural portmanteaux (person+number) agreement suffix. However, as is common across Dravidian (see section 4.2), Coorgi restricts the co-occurrence of negation and agreement morphology: agreement suffixes cannot occur with one of the negative morphemes – suffix -*le*. In non-affirmative clauses on verbs negated by -*le,* agreement morphology does not surface, as in (17)-(18).

(17a) neenə Rahim-na poyy-u-**le**
you.SG Rahim-ACC hit-EP-**NEG**
'You (sg.) don't hit Rahim'.

(17b) *neenə Rahim-na poyy-u-**le-viya**
you.SG Rahim-ACC hit.PRS-EP-**NEG-2SG**
Intd.: 'You (sg.) don't hit Rahim'.

(18a) ninga Rahim-na poyy-u-**le**
you.PL Rahim-ACC hit-EP-**NEG**
'You (pl.) don't hit Rahim'.

(18b) *ninga Rahim-na poyy-u-**le-vira**
you.PL Rahim-ACC hit.PRS-EP-**NEG-2PL**
Intd.: 'You (pl.) don't hit Rahim'.

Crucially, however, we observe that -*at* negation does not block agreement. Consider examples in (19) below[4]:

(19a) poyy-at-**e**
hit.PRS-NEG-**2SG**
'Don't hit (2Sg) s.t./s.o.'.

(19b) poyy-at-**i**
hit.PRS-NEG-**2PL**
'Don't hit (2Pl) s.t./s.o.'.

In (19a), the negative imperative form of the verb stem *poyy*- 'hit' is inflected with the second person singular agreement suffix -*e*, while in (19b) the same stem is inflected with the second person plural agreement suffix -*i.*

In (16)-(19), we thus observe abstractly the same pattern as we have observed in the distribution of negation and imperatives in Coorgi: namely, we observe that particular verbal morphology (imperative or agreement) cannot co-occur with the -*le* negation.

4.1 Affix-Hopping accounts for agreement and negation patterns

We propose that both instances of the -*le* negation blocking the appearance of particular morphology in Coorgi can be explained with the same account, and, in fact, both patterns – the ban on cooccurrence of negation with imperatives and the ban on cooccurrence of negation with agreement – have received the same account cross-linguistically. We thus propose that in Coorgi -*le* blocks agreement in the same way as it blocks imperatives. This is straightforwardly captured with the Affix-Hopping analysis.

Let us first recall the ban on negative tensed finite clauses in English presented in (13), repeated below in (20):

(20a) John laughs.
(20b) *John not laughs.

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[4] The difference in the phonological form of the agreement markers in (16) and (19) appears is conditioned by the imperative context: the second person plural agreement suffix has an allomorph -*ri(-i)* in imperative and -*vira* elsewhere in non-past tense. A phonological rule governs the distribution of -*ri* vs. -*i* (2Pl) in imperative with the consonant-initial suffix attached after a vowel and the vowel-initial suffix attached after a consonant (iia vs. iib-c):

(i) ninga Rahim-na poyy-u-vira
you.PL Rahim-ACC hit.PRS-EP-2PL
'You (pl.) hit Rahim.'

(iia) poyy-u-ri
hit.PRS-EP-2PL
'Hit(2Pl) s.t./s.o.'

(iib) poyy-at-i
hit.PRS-NEG-2PL
'Don't hit(2Pl) s.t./s.o.'

(iic) eŋŋ-i
say.PRS-2PL
Cf. 'Say(2Pl) it!'

(20c) John does not laugh.

According to the Affix-Hopping analysis of English inflection, a PF/morphological merger lets the finite verb in the VP acquire its inflectional features (in Infl), i.e. the verb and the inflectional features come together not via syntactic raising of the verb (see Embick and Noyer 1999, Bobaljik 2002: 210-221 for a discussion of the details of the syntax-phonology mapping). The inflection on the finite verb in (20a) is thus obtained as in (21):

(21) [$_{IP}$ John [I^0 -s] [$_{VP}$ laugh-]]
✓ Affix-Hopping (PF/Morphological merger)

Affix-Hopping is, however, blocked if the stem and the affix are not adjacent. Negation in English (just like in Coorgi) blocks Affix-Hopping as the verb stem in VP and the agreement affix in Infl are not adjacent anymore. In English, *do* must be inserted at PF in order to avoid the violation of the Stranded Affix Filter. Thus, (20b) is ungrammatical, and (20c) is grammatical, schematized in (22) below:

(22) [$_{IP}$ John [I^0 -s] not [$_{VP}$ laugh-]]
× Affix-Hopping (PF/Morphological merger) blocked

We propose that the ban on co-occurrence of agreement and the *-le* negation in Coorgi can be accounted for with an identical analysis. Verbs in affirmative clauses surface in VP and merge with agreement inflection under adjacency in the PF as schematized for the form in (23a) in (23b):

(23a) ninga poyy-u-**vira**
you.PL hit.PRS-EP-**2PL**
'You (pl.) hit.'

(23b) [$_{Agrp}$ [$_{TP}$ ninga$_i$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ poyy-] T] -vira]
✓ Affix-Hopping (PF/Morphological merger)

However, the agreement suffix *-vira* fails to merge when a Neg head intervenes since the adjacency between the verb stem in VP and the inflectional affix is disrupted, which results in the ungrammaticality of (24a), schematized in (24b):

(24a) *ninga poyy-u-le-vira
you.PL hit.PRS-EP-**NEG-2PL**
Intd.: 'You don't hit.'

(24b) *[$_{Agrp}$ [$_{NegP}$ [$_{TP}$ ninga$_i$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ poyy-] T] -le] -vira]
× Affix-Hopping blocked

Agreement thus cannot occur with the *-le* negation in Coorgi as it would violate the Stranded Affix Filter (Lasnik 1981, 1995) in exactly the same way as in English (21)-(22).

4.2 Against an alternative proposal

Recall the agreement and negation interaction: *-le* negation cannot occur with agreement, while *-at* can, which we interpret to signal a difference in the syntactic nature of the two negation markers. In this section, we discuss an alternative proposal developed in Amritavalli (2014) and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005/2007) to account for the ban on co-cooccurrence of negation and agreement in Kannada and other Dravidian languages.

Most of the Dravidian languages famously exhibit a pattern whereby negative clauses and affirmative clauses look drastically different syntactically. While in affirmative clauses verbs are regularly marked for tense and

agreement (with some differences across the family in the agreement features available), in negative clauses, verbs are not marked with agreement, and instead must surface in the gerund or the infinitive form (bold-faced in (25b-c)). Consider Kannada examples below illustrating this general Dravidian pattern:

(25a) avanu ban-d-anu
he.NOM come-PST-3M.SG
'He came.'

(25b) avanu bar-uv-**ud(u)** illa
he.NOM come-IPFV-**GER** NEG
'He didn't come.'

(25c) avanu bar-**alu** illa
he.NOM come-**INF** NEG
'He didn't come.' (Kannada; adapted from Amritavalli 2014: 286)

In (25a), the past tense stem of the verb *bar-* 'come' is inflected with the third person masculine singular agreement suffix *-anu.* The verb also carries an overt tense/aspect suffix. As shown in (25b-c), the gerund plus *illa* negation (a cognate variant of the Coorgi *-le*) receives a non-past interpretation, and the infinitive plus *illa* negation is interpreted as past tense.

Amritavalli (2014) and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005/2007) claim that *illa* cannot occur with agreement in Kannada and other Dravidian languages because both negation and agreement are in the same syntactic position, namely in the head of PolarityP. They suggest that when there is positive polarity (i.e. non-negative clauses), the PolarityP is occupied by agreement. In negative polarity contexts (i.e. negative clauses), the PolarityP is occupied by *-le/illa*, and thus *-le/illa* can never cooccur with agreement. Crucially, they argue that the difference in the verb forms found in affirmative clauses (25a) and in negative clauses (25b-c) is due to the Neg and agreement selecting for different types of verbal complements: while Neg as the head of PolarityP selects for a non-finite (gerund or infinitive) complement, agreement as the head of PolarityP selects for a finite verbal complement. One can potentially think of extending such an analysis to Coorgi as well, as the same observation is attested in Coorgi, i.e. *-le* does not occur with agreement, as shown in 4-4.1. However, we argue against such an analysis for Coorgi.

In Amritavalli (2014) and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005/2017), both agreement and negation are in PolarityP, but in complementary distribution depending on the positive/negative polarity. What heads the PolarityP also has an immediate manifestation in terms of the finiteness of the clause: if Neg is present, the clause is expected to be non-finite; if agreement is present, the clause is expected to be finite. However, as Amritavalli (2014) and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005/2017) themselves note, Malayalam presents an immediate counterexample to these predictions as clause structures are the same in affirmative and negative sentences in Malayalam, with no overt non-finite morphology showing up with *illa*, unlike Kannada and other Dravidian languages. This is illustrated in the Malayalam examples in (26) below:

(26a) awan wan-nu
he come-PST
'He came.'

(26b) awan wan-n(u) illa
he come-PST NEG
'He didn't come.'

(Malayalam; Amritavalli 2014: 298)

To account for this 'Dravidian split' with the general Dravidian pattern (25) on one hand and the Malayalam pattern (26) on the other hand, Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005/2017) claim that the diachronic loss of agreement in Malayalam resulted in the loss of the Polarity distinction as well, which leads to the lack of a visible morphological difference between affirmative and negative clauses in Malayalam, unlike other Dravidian languages. Importantly, Amritavalli and Jayaseelan specifically state the following prediction of their analysis: 'We predict a correlation: Dravidian languages with **overt agreement** will **not instantiate the same verb forms in negative clauses as in affirmative clauses**; negative clauses will look very different from affirmative clauses in these languages' (Amritavalli & Jayaseelan 2005/2017: 328, emphasis ours). Crucially, Coorgi behaves exactly in the way that is predicted to not occur by Amritavalli and Jayaseelan's analysis: Coorgi behaves like Malayalam in that *-le* negation does not select for a non-finite complement (no infinitival or gerund morphology), but at the same time Coorgi behaves like the rest of Dravidian in having overt agreement morphology in its grammar. If one were to adopt Amritavalli's and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan's analysis, and entertain the idea that both agreement and negation are

in PolarityP, then negation should introduce a non-finite complement, contra the Coorgi empirical facts. The Coorgi facts cannot be explained in terms of the loss of agreement (unlike Malayalam), and are a serious problem to Amritavalli (2014) and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan's (2005/2017) analysis.

A number of additional reasons suggest that the analysis of the complementary distribution of the *-le/illa* negation and agreement in Dravidian proposed in Amritavalli (2014) and Amritavalli and Jayaseelan's (2005/2017) should not be extended to Coorgi (and might need to be reevaluated for Dravidian more generally). First, such an analysis misses the robust cross-linguistic generalization, namely that particular verb forms such as imperatives and agreement cannot occur with negation. Secondly, it misses the language-internal generalization that *-le* negation is not only banned with agreement, but is also banned with imperatives. If one were to extend Amritavalli's or Amritavalli and Jayaseelan's analysis to Coorgi, one would need to provide an independent mechanism to account for the fact the *-le* cannot occur with imperatives. Thirdly, in such an analysis, there is no explanation for the fact that the other form of negation, *-at*, can cooccur with both agreement and imperatives (cf. 3.2).

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented novel data from Coorgi showing that one of the negation morphemes in the language (*-le* negation) cannot occur with imperatives or with agreement. We have shown that the other form of negation, *-at*, on the other hand, can occur with both. The paper explored possible reasons behind this pattern, and proposed that this distributional difference between *-le* and *-at* stems from a difference in their syntactic position, namely we argue that *-le* is head-negation (head of NegP), while *-at* is adjunct negation occupying an adjunct position (SpecVP). We have shown that this syntactic difference between the two types of negation in Coorgi places the observed patterns within a robust cross-linguistic generalization: negation is banned in imperative contexts in (some) languages where negation morphemes are syntactically heads, while negation is allowed in imperative contexts in languages where the negation morphemes are adjuncts (Zeijlstra 2004, Bošković 2004, 2012). We have thus argued that the patterns of the distribution of negation in Coorgi is due to a cross-linguistically attested pattern of head Neg blocking Affix-Hopping. We have argued that Coorgi provides typologically interesting data in that there are both head-negation and adjunct-negation in a single language, and while the head-negation is banned in imperatives, the adjunct negation can co-occur with imperatives – both in line with cross-linguistic patterns. The welcome contribution of this analysis is, firstly, in its ability to account for the ban on the cooccurrence of negation with both imperatives and agreement via the same mechanism, and, secondly, in that it gives a uniform account for the identical restrictions in English, Romance, and Coorgi (among other languages) with the same operation.

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