NEGATION IN PAZAR LAZ

NESLİHAN CESUR

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2023

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Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Linguistics

by
Neslihan Cesur

Boğaziçi University
2023

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Neslihan Cesur, certify that

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ABSTRACT

Negation in Pazar Laz

This thesis aims to give a detailed description of the four different negation particles in Pazar Laz which are *va(r)*, *vati*, *mot* and *moto*. I demonstrate how the selection of the negator in matrix clauses is carried out according the tense and mood of the negated predicate. I show that while *var* is used to negate predicates in past and present tense in indicative mood, *vati* is used to negate sentences in future tense as well as to negate epistemic readings. The negator *mot* negates predicates in optative/hortative constructions and prohibitive mood. Finally, I argue that the negator *moto* should be considered a separate negation morpheme, considering that it has a distinct distribution from *mot* and behaves differently from all other negators with regard to affirmative preverbs. I also touch on certain negation asymmetries which cause structural differences between affirmative and negative sentences. I demonstrate three different subtypes of asymmetry for Pazar Laz: A/Cat/TAM, A/NonReal and A/Emph. Considering that Pazar Laz showcases counterarguments to the correlation between emphatic marking and negation, I argue that A/Emph asymmetry should not be categorized as a separate asymmetry subtype. I look into the distribution of the negators in non-finite and finite complement clauses. I draw attention to several unexpected patterns found in complement clauses. First of all, I show that contrary to what has been shown in matrix clauses, the negator *var* can be used to negate future tense. Moreover, both *var* and *vati* can co-occur with the modality marker -*ere*. I also show that contrary to what has been claimed before, the placement of the negators with respect to the subordinator *na* is much more flexible.

ÖZET

Pazar Lazcası'nda Olumsuzlama

Bu tez, Pazar Lazcası'ndaki *va(r)*, *vati*, *mot* and *moto* olmak üzere dört farklı olumsuzluk ekinin dildeki dağılımını göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ana cümlelerde olumsuzlayıcı seçiminin, olumsuzlanan yüklemin zamanına ve kipine göre gerçekleştiğini gösteriyorum. Bildirme kipinde *var*'ın geçmiş ve şimdiki zamandaki yüklemleri olumsuzlamak için kullanıldığını, *vati*'nin ise epistemik okumaların yanı sıra gelecek zamandaki cümleleri olumsuzlamak için kullanıldığını gösteriyorum. Olumsuzlayıcı *mot*, istek bildiren yapılarda ve yasaklayıcı kipte kullanılmaktadır. Son olarak, *moto* olumsuzlayıcısının *mot*'tan farklı bir dağılıma sahip olduğunu ve vurgulayıcı önekler (*affirmative preverbs*) açısından diğer tüm olumsuzlayıcılardan farklı davrandığını dikkate alarak ayrı bir olumsuzluk biçimbirimi olarak kabul edilmesi gerektiğini savunuyorum. Olumlu ve olumsuz cümleler arasında yapısal farklılıklara neden olan bazı olumsuzluk asimetrilerine de değiniyorum. Pazar Lazcası için üç farklı asimetri alt tipini gösteriyorum: A/Cat/TAM, A/NonReal ve A/Emph. Pazar Lazcası'nın vurgu belirticiler ve olumsuzluk arasındaki ilişkiye karşı argümanlar ortaya koyduğunu dikkate alarak, A/Emph asimetrisinin ayrı bir asimetri alt tipi olarak sınıflandırılmaması gerektiğini savunuyorum. Çekimli ve çekimsiz yan tümcelerde olumsuzlayıcıların dağılımına da değiniyorum. Yan tümcelerde bulunan bazı beklenmedik kalıplara dikkat çekiyorum. Öncelikle, ana cümlelerde gösterilenin aksine, *var* olumsuzlayıcısının gelecek zamanı olumsuzlamak için kullanılabileceğini gösteriyorum. Üstelik, hem *var* hem de *vati* olumsuzlayıcılarının, *-ere* son ekiyle birlikte bulunabildiğine dikkat çekiyorum. Ayrıca, daha önce iddia edilenin aksine, olumsuzlayanların *na* yan tümce bağlayıcısına göre yerleşiminin çok daha esnek olduğunu gösteriyorum.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ALL	allative
APPL	applicative
APV	affirmative preverb
ASS	assertive
CAUS	causative
CNG	connegative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
MOD	modal
NEG	negative
NHYP	non-hypothetical
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative

OBJ	object
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PST	past
PV	preverb
Q	question particle
REL	relative
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SUB	subordinator
TS	theme suffix

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aim and outline of this thesis

This thesis focuses on the clausal negation system in Pazar Laz. It has been previously established in the literature that Pazar Laz makes use of three main negation particles. However, there has been no attempt to provide a detailed description of their environments. In addition to these three negation morphemes, namely *va(r)*, *vati* and *mo(t)*, I will argue that there is another negation morpheme in Pazar Laz, *moto* which showcases a distinct distribution pattern. Even though this negation morpheme has been previously listed as a phonological variant of the negator *mo(t)*, I will show that their distribution is determined by morphosyntactic criteria. This thesis offers a thorough analysis of these four negation morphemes and their syntactic distribution. Moreover, following Miestamo (2005), I will discuss negation asymmetries and will elaborate on the structural changes which are brought about in the negation process of affirmative clauses. I will show that in contrast to universal linguistic patterns which favor symmetrical asymmetries, asymmetrical negation patterns are prevalent in Pazar Laz.

Chapter 1 is an introduction on Laz people and the Laz language. First, I introduce the Laz identity and the history of the Laz people (*Lazi*). After I briefly talk about Caucasian languages, I elaborate on the Laz language, its speakers, and its dialects. Finally, in the methodology section, I give information on my informants and I mention certain difficulties I faced in my elicitation process.

Chapter 2 constitutes the main part of this thesis. First, I briefly provide background for my analysis on negation asymmetries. After providing a general overview on their categorization, I expand on A/Cat/TAM and A/Emph asymmetries. Second, I provide an overview of matrix clauses in Pazar Laz in order to make the examples and terminology accessible in the rest of the thesis. Next, I talk about the distribution criteria of the negation particles *var*, *vati*, *mo(t)* and *moto*. The negators *mo(t)* and *moto* are discussed under the same section. Finally, I discuss two additional

phenomena with regard to negation. The first one concerns predicate elision in clauses with indefinite pronouns. The second one concerns the non-compatibility of affirmative preverbs with negation particles. In Chapter 2, not only do I show that the distribution of negators is mainly determined by tense and modality but I also discuss three main negation asymmetries found in Pazar Laz. The asymmetry concerning the modality marker marker *-(e)re* (A/Cat/TAM asymmetry) and the "non-realized status" marker *-k'o* (A/NonReal Asymmetry) are discussed under the section on *vati* (Section 2.4). The asymmetry concerning the affirmative preverbs (A/Emph Asymmetry) is discussed under the section on affirmative preverbs (Section 2.6.2).

Chapter 3 focuses on how negation operates in complement clauses. First, I show that three different types of non-finite complement clauses in Pazar Laz can only be negated with the negator *va(r)*. Second, I offer a thorough description of finite complement clauses formed with the subordinator *na* and show how negation works in embedded clauses. I show that the subordinator *na* is a clitic which can either attach to the verb as a proclitic or to an argument as an enclitic. I also show that its placement *vis-à-vis* the negators is quite flexible unlike what has been previously stated in the literature. I also point to an interesting phenomenon concerning the choice of negators in future tense. I show that unlike matrix clauses, both *va(r)* and *vati* can be used to negate clauses in future tense in embedded clauses. Moreover, contrary to what we observe in matrix clauses, the negators and the modal marker *-ere* can co-exist within the same clause.

Chapter 4 provides a conclusive summary of the crucial points which were made throughout the thesis. I offer an overview of the distributional criteria with regard to the negators and suggest research questions for future work.

1.2 Background on Laz people and their language

1.2.1 The Laz Identity and History

Contrary to the common misuse of the word *Laz* to refer to the inhabitants of the Black Sea region of Turkey (more correctly referred to as *Karadenizli*),[1] the ethnic Laz or Lazi are an ethnic minority mainly inhabiting the extreme northeastern Black Sea region of Turkey, more specifically the region between the city of Pazar and the Çoruh (Akampsis) River (Meeker, 1971). Bellér-Hann (2018) points to the location between the villages of Melyat (a district of *Pazar*, which is also called *Atina* in Laz) and *Sarp* (a border village between Turkey and Georgia).

It is difficult to lay out specific criteria for the Laz identity. Turkicization of this ethnic minority, intermarriage and immigration patterns make it hard to construct a standard for the Laz people. From funny stories featuring a goofy Laz character called *Temel*, traditional Laz music featuring instruments such as *kemençe* (fiddle) and *tulum* (bagpipe) to dishes of *hamsi* (anchovy) and a particular Turkish accent, the Laz identity in Turkey is associated with many stereotypes and is subject to (at times racist) ethnic humor. Solomon (2017) describes this stereotyped Laz identity as "ranging from racialised stereotypes of the Laz as comical buffoon to thoughtful, guitar-wielding troubadours." (p.1)

In the following extract, Meeker (1971) discusses the result of this Turkicization and assimilation process as well as the stereotypical conception of the Laz within Turkey:

> Central and western Anatolians accept the Laz as Turks by virtue of their allegiance to the republic, their religion, and their almost universal fluency in Turkish. At the same time, they are considered to be Turks with peculiar and somewhat inferior accents, characters, and customs. The category 'Laz' derives from these peculiarities, and they are what the Anatolian wishes to emphasize when he uses the term. Similarly, when the Black Sea man refers to the Laz, he has in mind a cultural pattern which seems more clearly expressed among the people to the east of him. (p. 323)

[1] See Meeker (1971), Meeker (2002) and Beller-Hann (1995) for a through discussion on Laz identity and the distinction between the Black Sea Turks *Karadenizli* and Laz people.

The Laz are thought to have immigrated to their current location from the northeastern region of today's southern Abkhazia (Beller-Hann, 1995; Bellér-Hann, 2018). Bryer (1967) states that "they moved steadily south and west along the Black Sea coast" and their lands (sometimes referred to as *Lazia* or *Lazica*) were part of greater powers such as the Persian, Byzantine, Ottoman and Russian Empires.

Before their immigration which took place around the first century A.D. during rule of the Romans, Laz people lived under the Kingdom of Colchis (6-8th century B.C.), the Kingdom of Egrisi (4th-1st century B.C.) and the Kingdom of Pontus (Gürpınar, 2000).

However, Bryer (1967) notes that the first reliable piece of information is found after the sixth century when *Lazia* became the Perso-Byzantine march lands. After the arrival of the Arabs in the seventh century, Laz people moved within the borders of Byzantium. This was an assimilation process for the Laz during which they converted to the Orthodox Christian faith. Later on, after the Ottoman conquest, the Laz converted to Islam (Meeker, 2002) and became a "Turkicized minority" (Bryer, 1967). During the Ottoman reign, the region inhabited by the Laz was accepted as a subprovince (*sanjak*) called Lazistan (Solomon, 2017). However, after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, this nomenclature was no longer allowed (Bellér-Hann, 2018).

1.2.2 The Laz language, its classification and dialects

Bordered by the Black Sea on the west and the Caspian Sea on its right, the Caucasus (or Caucasia) is a geographical region located between Eastern Europe and Western Asia, mainly dominated by the Great Caucasus mountain range. Host to over a 100 languages, the Caucasian region is known for its linguistic diversity. Pereltsvaig (2020) states, citing the Roman historian Pliny, that when the Romans came to the Caucasus, they needed 134 interpreters to deal with "the jumble of languages they found". She also cites the Arab geographer and historian al-Azizi who calls the area a "mountain of languages". The languages of this area are also known for their

particular linguistic systems, possessing ejective consonants, having a complex agglutinative morphology and an ergative case system (Pereltsvaig, 2020).

There are three language families found in the region: Northwest Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe or Abkhaz-Circassian) family, Northeast Caucasian family (Nakh-Daghestanian), and South Caucasian (also called Kartvelian) family.[2] Figure 1 illustrates the area where North and South Caucasian languages are spoken.

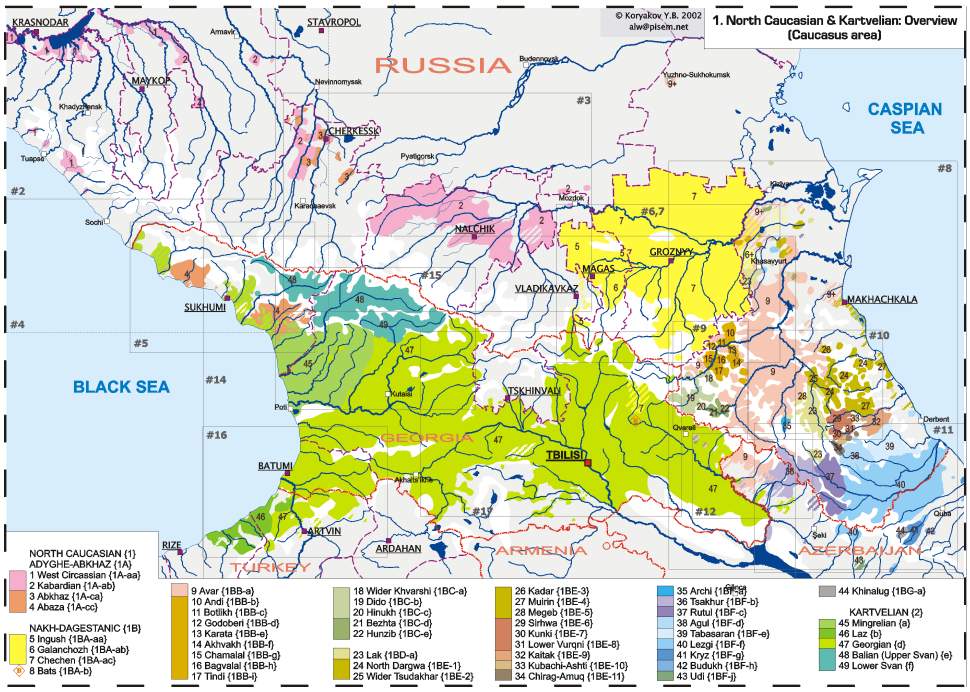

Figure 1. A map of the North and South Caucasus area and its language families (Koryakov, 2002)

Abaza, Abkhaz, Adyghe and Kabardian belong to the Northwest Caucasian family while the Northeast Caucassian family consists of more than thirty languages including Chechen, Avar, Ingush, Lezgian and Udi. Laz belongs to the third language family called the South-Caucasian or Kartvelian language family. Georgian, Svan and Mingrelian are sister languages to Laz, with Svan having the most distinctive features of the four and Mingrelian being the closest language to Laz.

Mingrelian and Laz are sometimes considered to be the dialects of the same language called Zan. Kutscher (2008) notes (citing Gippert (1994)) that this can only be accepted from a historical point of view and she adds that considering the

[2]It should be noted that the relatedness of these language families is a debated subject. They are usually treated as genealogically unrelated.

extremely different environments and cultures Laz and Mingrels are subject to as well as their difficulty in communicating with each other in their own varieties of language, Laz and Mingrelian should be considered separate languages.

Laz is primarily spoken in Turkey contrary to Georgian, Svan and Mingrelian, which are primarily spoken in Georgia. The estimates regarding the number of speakers vary considerably. While Holisky (1991) and Kutscher (2008) gives an estimate between 50,000 and 500,000 speakers, Pereltsvaig (2020) indicates the number of speakers range from 33,000 to 300,000. According to Bellér-Hann (2018), unofficial estimates for the second half of the 20th century range from 90,000 (Benninghaus, 1989) to 250,000 (Feurstein, 2007). She also notes a crucial fact stating that these figures depend on the criteria used, such as fluency in Laz or emotional identification. They can also be affected by the partial nationalist views of the people reporting them. According to Bellér-Hann (2018), the application of the term *Laz* to a larger population in the Black Sea region and patterns of intermarriage also play a role in complicating the matter. Given that most Laz speakers are bilingual (Turkish and Laz) and the younger generations are less and less competent speakers, Laz is considered an endangered language and there are no current official government policies for its preservation, except for the recent addition of optional language courses to the state curriculum.

The Laz inhabit the northeast region of Turkey, between the villages of Melyat (in the district of Pazar) and Sarp (a border village between Georgia and Turkey) (Kutscher, 2008). The main Laz settlements are Pazar (Atina in Laz), Ardeşen (Art'aşeni), Fındıklı (Vits'e), Arhavi (Ark'abi) and Hopa (Xopa). The geographical locations of these regions are illustrated in Figure 2.

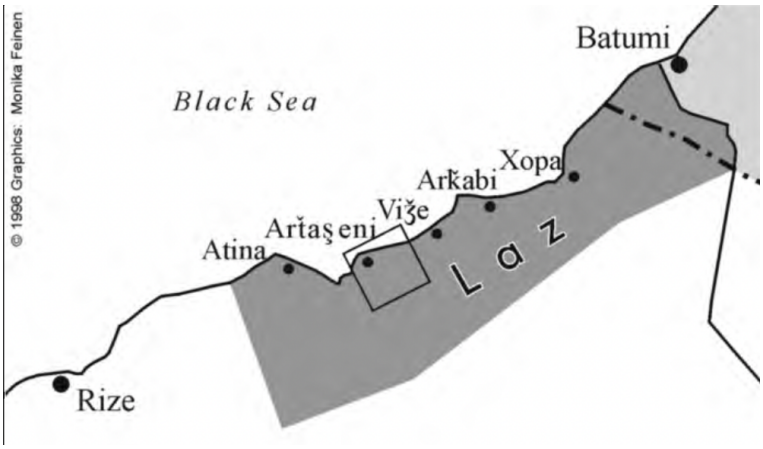

Figure 2. Laz settlement area (Kutscher, 2008)

As Laz has no standard written form, we observe a great amount of dialectal variation among these regions. There are different views on how these dialects should be grouped. The most fundamental division is based on the studies of Marr (1910) and Chikobava (1936), which establish three different dialects of Laz: the Hopa (Xopa) dialect, the Fındıklı-Arhavi (Vit'se-Ark'abi) dialect and the Pazar (Atina) (also spoken certain parts of Ardeşen) dialect. They make this distinction taking into consideration the distribution and variation of the proto-Kartvelian phoneme */q'/. This three-way dialect distinction is also adopted by Holisky (1991).

The nature of the variations can be on a phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical level. For instance, while the verb *ogzalu* means "to light a fire" in all dialects, in the Pazar dialect, it also means "to walk" (Gürpınar, 2000). A crucial morpho-syntactic difference concerns the case system. The ergative marker *-k* and the dative marker *-us*, found in the Pazar dialect, are not present in certain parts of Ardeşen.

(1) a. *Ali-k him-us mutx-u.*
Ali-ERG s/he-DAT hit-3.SG.PST
'Ali hit him/her.' (Pazar dialect)

b. *Ali-∅ him-∅ mutx-u.*
Ali s/he hit-3.SG.PST
'Ali hit him/her.' (Ardeşen dialect) (Gürpınar, 2000)

Moreover, we also observe lexical variation in verb roots (2) or in the conjugation of verbs (3). In 2, the root used in the Pazar (Atina) dialect is *ikum* while in the Çxala village of Artvin, the root is *ikip*.

(2) a. *Mu ikum-s?*
what do-PRS.3SG
'What is s/he doing?' (Pazar dialect)
b. *Mu ikip-s?*
what do-PRS.3SG
'What is s/he doing?' (Çxala dialect)

(3) a. *Ma gitari v-o-çandin-am*
1SG guitar 1SBJ-APPL-play-TS
'I play the guitar.' (Pazar dialect)
b. *Ma gitari gela-p-ç-ap*
1SG guitar PV-1SBJ-play-PRS
'I play the guitar.' (Hopa dialect)

This thesis offers a description of negation in the Pazar (Atina) dialect of Laz, which I will be referring to as Pazar Laz (PL) in the following chapters.

1.3 Previous works on Laz

A comprehensive list of publications on Laz has been documented by Yaman (2019). This list contains not only academic work on Laz, such as book chapters, theses and articles but it also provides sources for literature like poetry, tales, novels and essays.

One of the most fundamental works in Laz is considered to be *Lazuri Alboni* (Lazoğlu & Feurstein, 1984), which offers a phonemic alphabet for Laz using the Latin Script. Moreover, an earlier work carried out in 1935 on the Laz alphabet by İskender Chitaşi has been translated from Laz into Turkish by İsmail Avcı Bucaklişi. This work was published by Lazika Publishing in 2011 with the name *Lazuri Alboni*.

Most of the early works on Laz (Erckert, 1895; Klaproth, 1823; Peacock, 1887; Rosen, 1844) do not provide detailed grammatical descriptions of the language. They mostly focus on the translation of certain words and expressions.

Adjarian (1899) is one of the first works to include some descriptions of the grammar. Marr (1910) is considered to be the first extensive grammarbook, followed by Chikobava (1936), Anderson (1963) and Holisky (1991).

Kojima and Bucaklişi (2003) was one of the main sources I referred to for this thesis. Another source which I consulted frequently was Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), which focuses on the description of Pazar (Atina) Laz.

There are also four master theses on Pazar Laz which have been defended at Boğaziçi University. Gürpınar (2000) offers an overview of Pazar Laz, especially focusing on its case system. Emgin (2009) is a more theoretical work which looks into finiteness in Pazar Laz and argues that the language has borrowed certain infinitival and gerundive constructions from Turkish. Ö. F. Demirok (2013) also offers a theoretical approach on case and agreement patterns in Laz. Finally, in his thesis, Eren (2016) investigates the spatial prefixes in Pazar Laz.

There is also a Ph.D. thesis by Lacroix (2009), which is a comprehensive description of the Ardeşen dialect of Laz. Lacroix has further published papers on Laz concerning ditransitive constructions (Lacroix, 2011), benefactives (Lacroix, 2010), the subordinator *na* (Lacroix, 2012b) and relative clauses (Lacroix, 2012a).

Many academic articles, conference papers and book chapters on Pazar Laz have been published by Balkız Öztürk Başaran (Öztürk, 2013, 2019a; Öztürk & Eren, 2021; Öztürk, 2019b, 2021) and Ömer Demirok (O. Demirok, 2014; Ö. Demirok, 2021; Ö. Demirok & Öztürk, 2022, 2023; Ö. F. Demirok, Hucklebridge, & Nelson, 2018). It should be noted that this line of research has a strongly theoretical emphasis anchored in the generative framework. They are mostly focused on the verbal paradigm, ergativity and argument structure.

1.4 Methodology

The original data included in this thesis was mainly obtained through interaction with two different native speakers of Pazar Laz from different villages of the Atina (Pazar) region. I elicited data mainly via online forms and online meetings. As both speakers

are fluent in Turkish, translation tasks were given to the speakers. Later on, I have manipulated the sentences in Laz and asked them for grammaticality judgements. No audio or video recordings were made during the process.

My main informant is from the Noxlapsu (Hasköy) Village. The other informant is from the village of Tordavat (Sivrikale). It should be noted that due to certain cases of microvariation observed in Laz, it was difficult to work with more than one informants. Besides the main dialectal variation which is found in different regions, there is variation within the same region. The main difference I have observed regarding the negators within Atina (Pazar) is the optionality between the negators *var* and *vati* in future tense. While this optionality is present for the speaker from the Tordavat (Sivrikale) Village, the speaker from the Noxlapsu (Hasköy) village only accepts the negator *vati* in future contexts. This difference is illustrated in more detail in the introduction of Chapter 2.

In spite of the microvariation observed within the region of Atina (Pazar), it should be noted the data provided in this thesis is valid and grammatical in all villages of Pazar. Whenever I found variation or optionality regarding the data, I have indicated it in the text or as a footnote. However, as the main goal of this thesis does not concern dialectal variation, I did not have the opportunity to work with more native speakers from other villages of Atina (Pazar). Considering that there are currently 48 registered villages in Pazar, there may be other cases of microvariation regarding negation or other domains which have not been mentioned in this thesis.

It is also crucial to note that the speakers were not comfortable making long and complex sentences in Laz. This was especially problematic for the data in Chapter 3, where I discuss complementation patterns. Except for the case of certain frequently used main verbs (such as *to know* or *to see*), long sentences with complement clauses do not usually sound natural to native speakers. They have mentioned several times that the utterances were not ungrammatical but that no one from their village would utter them in daily conversation.

Leipzig Glossing Rules were adopted in this thesis.[3] The examples are transcribed mainly using the Turkish alphabet and following the system used in the Laz dictionary by Bucaklişi and Aleksiva (2007) and in the grammar book by Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011).

[3]The current version of Leipzig Glossing Rules can be accessed at their official website: https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf

CHAPTER 2

CLAUSAL NEGATION IN MATRIX CLAUSES

The main objective of this chapter is to illustrate the distribution of the four different negation particles found in Pazar Laz, namely *va(r)*, *vati*, *mo(t)* and *moto*. In the following sections, I show that their distribution is determined by the tense and modality of the clause they are negating. The negator *va(r)* functions as the main negator, appearing as a free negation morpheme and as the negator of clauses in past and present tense. The negator *vati* negates clauses in future tense as well as epistemic readings. The negator *mo(t)* negates optative/hortative sentences as well as prohibitives. Finally, *moto* also negates optative sentences but is not allowed in prohibitives. It is also used in two alternative prohibitive clauses.

In Section 2.1, I provide brief background for my analysis on negation asymmetries. Following the typological classification of negation asymmetries in Miestamo (2005), I discuss the some subtypes of negation asymmetries. I expand on two main subtypes which are relevant to our discussion on Pazar Laz. First, I discuss A/Cat/TAM asymmetries which concern changes in tense, aspect and mood categories. This point is later discussed with regard to Laz in Section 2.4.1. Second, I discuss the A/Emph subtype which denotes a correlation between negation and emphatic marking. I later show in Section 2.6.2.1 that Pazar Laz showcases an opposite pattern regarding this asymmetry and I argue that A/Emph should not be considered a separate asymmetry category.

In Section 2.2, I provide an overview of certain relevant points of the grammar of Pazar Laz. I discuss basic sentence structure (Section 2.2.1), verbal morphology and TAM marking (Section 2.2.2), spatial and affirmative preverbs (Section 2.2.3), imperative constructions (Section 2.2.4) and indefinite pronouns (Section 2.2.5).

In Section 2.3, I give an analysis on the distribution of the main negator *va(r)* which appears in *realis* contexts. I provide data from clauses in present and past tense

to illustrate its distribution. I show how aspectual differences, predicate types or interrogatives do not play a role in determining the choice of the negative morpheme.

In Section 2.4, I focus on the negator *vati*, which seems to be at play in *irrealis* contexts. I illustrate how *vati* is used with verbs carrying the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modal marker *-ere*. I show that this verb form and its negation conveys both a future reading and an epistemic reading. I explain how the negator *vati* cannot co-occur with the present modality marker, *-ere*. Moreover, I show the the use of *vati* with the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u* and explain how this modality marker is replaced with the conditional marker *-k'o* when the clause is negated. I expand on future-in-past, counterfactual and epistemic readings of clauses with *-(a)(r)t'u* and *-k'o*. Finally, I refer to two subtypes of negation asymmetry, A/Cat/TAM and A/NonReal, when accounting for the alternations between affirmative and negative constructions.

In Section 2.5, I discuss two negators, *mo(t)* and *moto*, which mainly appear in clauses with prohibitive interpretations. I show that *mo(t)* can be used in optative and hortative constructions as well as regular prohibitive ones. *Moto*, on the other hand, can appear in optative and hortative contexts while it is not allowed in regular prohibitive sentences. It can also be used with two alternative prohibitive constructions formed with *-(e)re* and *-(a)(r)t'u*. I also indicate that while *mo(t)* is not allowed to appear with affirmative preverbs, *moto* requires them on the verb it negates.

In Section 2.6, I first discuss a predicate elision phenomenon relating to indefinite pronouns. I illustrate that in sentences negated with *va(r)*, if there is an indefinite pronoun as an argument (regardless of which argument it might be), the predicate of the clause can be omitted. I also show that in clauses where the predicate is elided, presence of another definite argument causes ungrammaticality. Second, I expand on the non-compatibility of affirmative preverbs with the negation particles, *va(r)*, *vati* and *mot*. I show that the fact that affirmative preverbs cannot co-occur with certain negators point to a A/Emph negation asymmetry. However, I argue that in

Pazar Laz, this asymmetry operates in the opposite direction and constitutes a counterexample to was has been suggested by Miestamo (2005).

Before presenting the data, it is necessary to emphasize that Pazar Laz exhibits variation within the same dialectal region. The general dialectal differences and other smaller-scale variation within regions can be investigated under the research domain of microvariation.

Considering the amount of linguistic variation it shows, Laz is a rich subject of study for both traditional dialectology studies and microsyntactic comparison. In this thesis, I do not aim to provide a large picture on how dialects differ from each other. In order to make a large-scale microcomparative study in Pazar Laz, we would, indeed, need a much greater number of informants from different villages, larger questionnaires and statistical grammaticality judgement reports.

Within the dialectal region of Atina (Pazar), we observe a small-scale variation concerning the use of two negators, *var* and *vati*. This variation is illustrated in example (1).

(1) a. *Nesrini oxori-şe va mo-xt-a-s.*
Nesrin house-ALL VA PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Nesrin will not come home.'

b. *Nesrini oxori-şe vati mo-xt-a-s.*
Nesrin house-ALL VATI PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Nesrin will not come home.'

Both sentences in (1) show the negation of a future event. In (1a), the negator *va* is used while in (1b), the negator *vati* is used. Both sentences are perfectly grammatical for the speaker from the Tordavat (Sivrikale) Village. In order to negate a verb in future tense, she says it is possible to use both *va(r)* and *vati*. She also mentions that the use of *var* as in (1a) is the preferred form used in her village but that (1b) was also acceptable.

Contrary to this, for the speaker from the Noxlapsu (Hasköy) village, the sentence in (1a) is ungrammatical as *var* cannot be used to negate a future meaning.

In such a context only *vati* can be used as shown in (1b). In sum, the speaker from Noxlapsu (Hasköy) seems to have a more restricted distribution for the negator *va(r)*.

2.1 Negation and negation asymmetries

The negation of a clause in its entirety is referred to as clausal negation regardless of the clause in which it operates — matrix or embedded. Examples in (2) are considered clausal negation on the level of the matrix clause as they negate the main predicate. In (2a), an adjectival predicate is negated while in (2b), the negated element is verbal. For this process, English makes use of the uninflected negation morpheme, *not*, which appears before the nominal or verbal predicate. Moreover, this main negation morpheme does not go under any change based on the tense, aspect or the modality of the verb it operates on.

(2) a. She is not interested.
b. She did not laugh.

Negation is a universal strategy found in every natural language. The negation of a matrix declarative clause with a verbal predicate is usually referred to as standard negation, described in Payne (1985) as “type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences”(p.198) which are “characteristically main clauses and consist of a single predicate with as few noun phrases and adverbial modifiers as possible.” Certain negation environments which are considered to be "non-standard" are imperatives, existential and non-verbal clauses (Miestamo, 2007). In this thesis, I offer a detailed description of all types of negation (standard and non-standard) in Pazar Laz.

Another important aspect of negation which I will discuss throughout the thesis is the relation of negative constructions to their positive/affirmative counterparts. Even though this distinction have been a topic of discussion in several works (Forest, 1993; Honda, 1996), I will be referring to the analysis of Miestamo (2000, 2005, 2007) and Miestamo (2004) throughout my analysis of asymmetry in negation.

The rest of this section and my categorization of negation asymmetries in Pazar Laz is based on Miestamo (2005), which is a typological study on standard negation and affirmative/negative asymmetries in negation[4]. Miestamo (2005) characterizes this work as *functional-domain typology* in which one "studies the formal structural encoding of a given (semantic/pragmatic) functional domain in the languages of the world" (p.2). The main motivation of such a study is to first describe and categorize cross-linguistic variation and then provide explanations for the findings. The functional domain in Miestamo's work is polarity. He offers a typological classification on the distinction between affirmation and negation. He, then, proposes different functional motivations for this distinction and his classification of negation asymmetries.

Even though the book covers a wide range of negation types and asymmetries, I will only include information which will be relevant to the analysis of negation asymmetries in Pazar Laz. In this section, I will talk about the distinction between symmetric and asymmetric negation as well as constructional and paradigmatic asymmetry. I will then mention two subtypes of asymmetry (A/Emph and A/Cat) which will be related to our discussion on negation in Pazar Laz.

Miestamo (2005) groups negation under two types: symmetric and asymmetric. The symmetry/asymmetry distinction can be applied to constructions and paradigms. The first is called a constructional asymmetry and the second is called a paradigmatic asymmetry.

A negative/affirmative construction or a paradigm is symmetric when the only structural change in the negation process is the presence of negation markers. Whenever there are further structural changes in the clause other than the negator(s), the structures are considered asymmetric.

Constructional symmetry/asymmetry is based on the comparison between an affirmative sentence and its negative counterpart. If the nonnegative shows any

[4]Chapter 113 (Miestamo, 2013b) and 114 (Miestamo, 2013a) on the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) are dedicated to negation asymmetries and their distribution among world's languages.

structural changes other than the addition of negative markers, the construction is asymmetric. In the Turkish (3) example below, the construction is symmetric as the the only change in the sentence is the presence of the negation suffix *-mA*[5].

(3) a. *O geri gel-ecek.*
3SG back come-FUT
'She/He will come back.'
b. *O geri gel-me-yecek.*
3SG back come-NEG-FUT
'She/He will come back.'

However, the Finnish examples in (4) are considered to illustrate asymmetric construction because the main verb changes in form and the inflection passes onto the negative auxiliary. In the affirmative sentence, the plural agreement is found on the lexical verb (4a). In its negative counterpart, the plural agreement is suffixed to the negation morpheme and the verb is no longer inflected and turned into its connegative (one of the five type of infinitives in Finnish) form. This is also an example of a inflectional negative morpheme, unlike what we observe in English and in Laz.

(4) a. *koira-t haukku-vat*
dog-PL bark-3PL
'Dogs bark.'
b. *koira-t ei-vät hauku*
dog-PL NEG-3PL bark.CNG
'Dogs do not bark.'
(Miestamo, 2007)

Miestamo (2005) gives another example for asymmetric constructions from Diola Fogny (5), a language spoken in Senegal. Here the negation causes the future morpheme to go under a suppletive process. While the future tense marker in the affirmative sentence is *pan* (5a), the negative form has a specific portmanteau marker, *lɛt*, which marks both negation and future tense (5b). This causes the affirmative and the negative to have a constructional asymmetry.

[5]In Turkish, we also observe a shift in phonological stress in the negation process. While the stress is found on the future marker in the affirmative sentence, it shifts to the verb root in the negated sentence. In Miestamo (2005), phonological stress patterns are not considered as asymmetries. So, I have also disregarded this shift and listed this as a symmetric construction.

(5) a. *pan-i-maɳ*
FUT-1SG-want
'I will want.'
b. *lɛt-i-maɳ*
FUT.NEG-1SG-want
'I won't want.' (Sapir, 2011)

Paradigmatic symmetry/asymmetry concerns the correspondence between the affirmative and negative paradigms. In case of one-to-one correspondence where each member of the paradigm has its own negated form, the paradigm is considered symmetric. However, if the negative paradigm differs in any way from its affirmative counterpart, then the paradigm is considered asymmetric.

In (6), we observe that Meithei (also called Manipuri), which is a language spoken in northeast India, makes a distinction between the non-hypothetical (6a) and the assertive (6b) in affirmative sentences. This distinction is lost in the negative (6c) and the negation suffix *-tə* cannot co-occur with the hypothetical marker *-i*. Miestamo (2007) states that in an asymmetry such as (6), paradigmatic choices are reduced in the negative and it is considered to be a paradigmatic neutralization. This type of paradigmatic asymmetry will be discussed for Pazar Laz in Section 2.6.2.

(6) a. *təw-i*
do-NHYP
'(She) does.'
b. *təw-e*
do-ASS
'(Yes, she) has.'
c. *ey fotostat təw-tə-e*
1SG photostat do-NEG-ASS
'I haven't made copies.'

Miestamo (2005) classifies the asymmetries into further subtypes according to the structural changes which take place in the context of negation. These subtypes can be found in both constructional and paradigmatic asymmetry. The first four subtypes are as follows : (i) A/Fin includes structural changes concerning the finiteness of the verb, (ii) A/NonReal includes cases where there is marking of a

non-realized[6] category on the negative form, (iii) A/Emph concerns cases where negatives involve marking which expresses emphasis in non-negatives and which is not present in corresponding affirmative, (iv) A/Cat includes structural changes concerning other grammatical categories.

The two subtypes which will be of discussion in this thesis are the A/Emph and the A/Cat asymmetries. How Pazar Laz demonstrates negation asymmetries which could be categorized under these two subtypes will be explained in the following sections of this chapter.

2.1.1 A/Emph Asymmetry

The subtype called A/Emph, which is noted as a marginal type of asymmetry in Miestamo (2005, 2007), concerns cases in which the negative form carries emphatic marking which is not (or does not have to be) present in the corresponding affirmative form. Even though the limits of what is considered emphatic marking is not indicated in detail, the examples suggest that it mainly concerns morphemes which emphasize/strengthen the affirmative value of a clause[7].

Miestamo (2005) exemplifies this with a constructional asymmetry from Abipón, which was a native American language spoken in Argentina (7). In Abipón, the affirmative form (7a) does not have any emphatic marking. In the negated sentence (7b), the negator *-cig* is preceded by the emphatic marker *-at*. It should be noted that the translation of the negated sentence does not include a sign of reinforced/emphasized meaning even though the marker *-at* adds an emphasized meaning in non-negatives. The emphatic meaning does not have to be present in the

[6]Concerning the term of 'non-realized', Miestamo (2005) makes the following statement:

> In this context the term reality status is to be understood broadly as involving a general distinction between categories referring to realized and non-realized states of affairs, and not as restricted to the realis/irrealis-distinction [...] Categories expressing realized states of affairs are usually referred to as indicative or realis, whereas categories expressing nonrealized states of affairs include irrealis, interrogative, imperative, conditional, desiderative and dubitative among others (p.96).

[7]Miestamo (2007) and Miestamo, Shagal, and Silvennoinen (2022) claim that the affirmative is never marked in languages and what is sometimes considered affirmative markers are actually declarative or emphatic markers.

negative as long as the form includes the emphatic marker. In (7) the presence of this marking in addition to the presence of the negation morpheme makes this a case of constructional asymmetry.

(7) a. *i-arai-k-am*
3-know-OBJ-FUT
'(S)he will know it.'
b. *cig-at* *i-arai-k-am*
NEG-EMPH 3-know-OBJ-FUT
'(S)he will not know it.' (Miestamo, 2005):109

A paradigmatic asymmetry of this subtype is exemplified with the emphatic *do* in English. English has both a neutral form (8a, 8c) and an emphatic form (8b, 8d) in present tense and in past tense. Nonetheless, the negated forms of these sentences do not have the neutral vs. emphatic distinction (8e, 8f). Moreover, the negated forms are symmetric with the emphatic affirmatives in present and past tense. For this reason, Miestamo (2005) labels this as A/Emph/Neutr asymmetry as there is a neutralization process through which an emphatic distinction is lost in the negative and the negation is symmetric to the emphatic affirmative form.

(8) a. Chris dances.
b. Chris does dance.
c. Chris danced.
d. Chris did dance.
e. Chris does not dance.
f. Chris did not dance.

Miestamo (2005) argues for a correlation between negation and a category marking emphasis and states that the opposite case is not present among the sample languages. This means that there are no cases where "the affirmative would be marked for a category denoting emphasis while the corresponding negative would not." (p.109)

From this generalization, he derives an implicational universal : If the affirmative is marked for a category denoting emphasis then the corresponding negative will also be.

This subtype of asymmetry is especially crucial for Pazar Laz as it provides us with a counterexample to the implicational universal stated above. As I will discuss in more detail in Section 2.6.2, Pazar Laz has a group of emphatic preverbs which cannot co-exist with the negation morphemes. I will argue that this is a paradigmatic asymmetry of type A/Emph/Neutr but works in the opposite direction stated in the definition and the implicational universal which was put forward in Miestamo (2005, 2007). In addition to this, Miestamo (2005) states that for an asymmetry to be considered a separate category, the opposite pattern should not be observed. Considering this criterion, I will argue that A/Emph should not be considered as a separate asymmetry category.

2.1.2 A/Cat Asymmetry

The subtype called A/Cat groups together asymmetries which involve a change in the marking of several grammatical categories. A/Fin denoted a correlation between negation and the reduced finiteness of the lexical verb. A/NonReal established a relation between negation and non-realized event marking. Finally, A/Emph argued that emphatic marking and negatives were correlated.

Contrary to the subtypes mentioned above, A/Cat subtype does not implicate any correlation with a certain marking type and negatives. It simply groups together asymmetries which are hard to categorize cross-linguistically. The asymmetries within this subtype mostly involve verbal categories such as tense, aspect, modality, evidentiality, voice, person and number. As this grouping concerns standard negation, the verbal categories which are taken into consideration are indicatives and irrealis whenever it is used to indicate future or habitual. (Miestamo, 2005)

A/Cat asymmetries can manifest themselves in both constructional and paradigmatic contexts. Miestamo (2005) argues that in constructional asymmetries, the specific markings used in negative contexts do not have any function in non-negative contexts and are specific to the negative counterparts of the same category. This means that no other semantic components are altered when an

affirmative sentence is negated. On the other hand, in paradigmatic A/Cat asymmetries, certain grammatical categories are neutralized in the negated counterparts of the affirmatives. This brings about functional and semantic asymmetries along with a change in form.

Miestamo (2005, 2007) divides A/Cat into further subgroups called A/Cat/TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood), A/Cat/PNG (Person-Number-Gender) and A/Cat/Other. I will only focus on A/Cat/TAM in this chapter as it will be relevant to our discussion on Pazar Laz in the following sections.

A/Cat/TAM includes changes related to tense, aspect and mood categories. These changes can occur in many different ways. TAM markers can undergo certain morphological changes when negated. Some markers can have specific forms only used in negation. These specific markers can be present in addition to the negative morpheme or they can mark both negation and a TAM category cumulatively. Miestamo (2005) illustrates the latter by an example from Koyraboro Senni, a language spoken in Mali and Niger. (9) exemplifies a constructional asymmetry in which an aspectual marker in the affirmative is altered under negation. (9a) is an affirmative sentence with a singular subject. The imperfective is marked with the aspectual marker, *ga*. When the sentence is negated (9b), the aspectual marker changes into *si*, which is a portmanteau morpheme which marks both negation and the imperfective aspect[8].

(9) a. *n* *ga* *koy*
2SG.SBJV IMPF go
'You are going / will go.'
b. *war* *si* *koy*
2PL.SBJV NEG.IMPF go
'You all are not going / will not go.'
(Heath, 1999)

[8]We should note here that the example in (9) is not exactly suitable to illustrate such a change in aspectual marking as the two sentences are not minimal pairs. The affirmative sentence (9a) has a singular subject, while the negated sentence sentence has a plural subject (9b). Yet, I had to include this example as it illustrates a similar case to what we observe in Pazar Laz concerning modality marking and negation.

A TAM marker found in the affirmative can also be completely removed from its negated counterpart. This is illustrated with an example from Mam (10) in Miestamo (2005). In (10a), the future is marked with the suffix *-la*, attached to the lexical verb. We also find the potential marker *ok* in the affirmative sentence. In the negated counterpart of the affirmative (10b), the negation morpheme, *mina* is at the beginning of the sentence while the potential and the future markers have been dropped.

(10) a. *ok chin yoli-la nchi'j*
POT 1SG.ABS talk-FUT tomorrow
'I will talk tomorrow.'
b. *mina chin yoli'n nchi'j*
NEG 1SG.ABS talk tomorrow
'I will not talk tomorrow.'
(Collins, 1994)

As I will illustrate in length in Section 2.4, there seems to be a similar case in Pazar Laz, namely the omission of a modality marker in negation. While this points to a A/Cat/TAM asymmetry, I argue that the situation is rather similar to that of Koyraboro Senni, illustrated in (9), in that the feature expressed with the modality marker in an affirmative clause, appears on the negative morpheme.

The database used in Miestamo (2005) shows that symmetric negation is more common than asymmetric negation in both constructional and paradigmatic cases. In this chapter, I will show that Pazar Laz belongs to the group which is less common and shows two different negation asymmetries in standard negation. A/Emph asymmetry will be analyzed in Section 2.6.2.1 and A/Cat/TAM asymmetry will be illustrated in Section 2.4.1.

2.2 Matrix clauses in Pazar Laz

In this section, I offer an overview of certain grammatical aspects of Pazar Laz which will be relevant to our discussion on negation in this chapter. First, I discuss the word order, alignment system, predicate types and interrogative sentences in Pazar Laz. Secondly, I will offer an overview of verbal morphology, examining the various

prefixes and suffixes which can appear on the verb. Later on, I will demonstrate how imperative constructions are formed. Finally, I briefly mention indefinite pronouns.

2.2.1 Basic sentence structure

As was previously established in Ö. F. Demirok (2013) and Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), the unmarked word order of Pazar Laz is considered to be SOV. Pazar Laz allows word order variation as a strategy to indicate changes in the information structure. (11a), which exemplifies the canonical SOV order, can be an answer to a wide-focus question. Here, the main information conveyed is the event of knitting. The order of constituents can be altered according to differences in the information structure. Focused arguments appear in an immediately pre-verbal position. For instance, (11b) is a response to a narrow-focus question which asks specifically for the agent of the event. The information which is put forward in the case is that it was the speaker's mother who knit the sweater. Thus, the subject/agent is placed pre-verbally.

(11) a. - What happened?
Nana-şkimi-k *k'azağı* *ş-u*
mother-1POSS-ERG sweater knit-PST.3SG
'My mother knit the sweater.'

b. - Who knit the sweater?
K'azağı nana-şkimi-k *ş-u*
sweater mother-1POSS-ERG knit-PST.3SG
'MY MOTHER knit the sweater. / It was my mother who knit the sweater.'

The subject can also appear post-verbally as shown in (12). This construction puts an emphasis on the event and takes the subject of the event as already established in the situational context.

(12) *K'azağı ş-u* *nana-şkimi-k*
sweater knit-PST.3SG mother-1POSS-ERG
'My mother knit the sweater.'

Pazar Laz exhibits seven distinct nominal cases: nominative case which is not overtly marked, ergative case marked with *-k*, dative case marked with *-s*, ablative

case marked with *-şe(n)*, allative case marked with *-şe*, genitive case marked with *-şi* and instrumental case marked with *-te*.

Three of these cases are used in argument marking: the nominative case with no exponent[9], the ergative marker *-k* and the dative marker *-s*. In Pazar Laz, the case marking on an argument is determined its semantic role, rather than the transitivity of the predicate. These systems are generally named split-intransitive systems (also called active-stative alignment or semantic alignment). In this alignment type, the sole argument of an intransitive clause (S) is sometimes marked the same way as the agent of a transitive clause (A) and other times as the patient of a transitive clause (P). Pazar Laz conforms to this pattern in that S arguments are sometimes marked with the ergative marker *-k*, the same way as an A argument or they might appear in nominative case the same way as a P argument. The examples in (13) demonstrate the split-intransitive system in Pazar Laz. (13a) is a transitive sentence with an agentive subject (A) which is marked with the ergative marker *-k*. The P argument, *dolap'i* is in nominative case. (13b) is an intransitive clause with an unergative predicate and an agentive argument. In this case, the S argument is marked with the ergative marker just like the A argument in (13a). However, the S arguments of unaccusative predicates as in (13c) appear in nominative case just as the P argument in (13a).

(13) a. *Oxasure-şk'imi-k dolap'i do-paş-u*
sister.in.law-1POSS-ERG wardrobe.NOM PV-churn-PST.3SG
'My sister-in-law messed up the wardrobe.'

b. *Nesrini-k t'rağod-um-s*
Nesrin-ERG sing-TS-PRS.3SG
'Nesrin sings/is singing.'

c. *Oşk'uri kts-u-n*
apple.NOM rot-TS-PRS.3SG
'The apple rots.'

[9]Following the previous literature on Laz and other Caucasian languages, I refer to the unmarked case as nominative case. However, I do not always indicate the nominative case in the gloss unless it is crucial for the discussion.

Another important point regarding the subjects in Pazar Laz is the dative marked subjects. The dative marker normally appears on the indirect objects of ditransitive predicates as well as on nouns bearing the experiencer and benefactor semantic roles (Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011). In (14a), the indirect argument is marked with the dative marker *-s* while the direct object is in nominative. Another use of the dative case on non-subject arguments is illustrated in (14b). In this example, the sole object is not used in nominative but appears with a dative marker.

(14) a. *Bozo-k oxori nana-muşi-s o-tzir-u*
girl-ERG house mother-3POSS-DAT APPL-show-PST.3SG
'The girl showed her mother the house.'
b. *Bozo-k nana-muşi-s u-çamin-am-s*
girl-ERG mother-3POSS-DAT APPL-scratch-TS-PRS.3SG
'The girl is scratching her mother.'

The two sentences in (15) illustrate cases in which the subject of a transitive verb is marked with the dative marker *-s*. Due to the nature of the predicate, in (15a), the subject is not an agent but an experiencer. This causes it to be marked with the dative case rather than the ergative case. The dative marker is also found on subjects who have not completed an action willingly. Ö. F. Demirok (2013) calls these types of subjects "deagentives". We can see that the same predicate, *to break*, can have an ergative subject when the action was carried out willingly (15c). However, when the potential marker *-a*[10] is added on the verb, the subject loses its agentive nature and the event is interpreted as unintended. So the subject is marked with the dative marker *-s* (15b).

(15) a. *Bozo-s layç'i-şe opşa a-şkurin-e-n*
girl-DAT dog-ALL very APPL-be.scared.of-TS-PRS.3SG
'The girl is very scared of the dog.'
b. *Bozo-s bardağı a-t'ax-u*
girl-DAT glass POT-break-PST.3SG
'The girl broke the glass (without meaning to).'

[10]The potential marker *-a* is used to indicate dynamic modality as well as unintended event as exemplified here. However, this marker is beyond the scope of this section.

c. *Bozo-k bardağı t'ax-u*
girl-ERG glass break-PST.3SG
'The girl broke the glass.'

In Pazar Laz, yes/no questions are formed with the question morpheme *-i* which is suffixed at the end of the main verb. Regardless of which tense the verb is in, interrogative sentence are always formed the same way. (16a) is an affirmative sentence in past tense. (16c) is the interrogative form of this sentence with the marker *-i* suffixed at the end of the verb. (16b) is an affirmative sentence in future tense and its interrogative form is indicated in (16d).

(16) a. *Mçhita baloni e-ju*
red balloon PV-fly
'The red balloon flew away.'
b. *Mçhita baloni e-jv-a-s-ere*
red balloon PV-fly-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'The red balloon will fly away.'
c. *Mçhita baloni e-ju-i?*
red balloon PV-fly-Q
'Did the red balloon fly away?'
d. *Mçhita baloni e-jv-a-s-ere-i?*
red balloon PV-fly-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD-Q
'Will the red balloon fly away?'

Wh-questions (open questions) in Pazar Laz are formed by wh-words which usually appear in an immediately pre-verbal position. Main wh-words include *muya* "what", *mi* "who", *mişi* "whose", *nak* "where", *muya/muşeni* "why", *nam* "which" and *muç'e* "how". Certain question words can also carry case marking. For instance, in (17a), the wh-word *mi* "who" is inflected with ergative case as it fills the position of the agentive subject. As the question asks specifically for the doer of the event, the question word is in the immediate pre-verbal position. (17b) and (17c) ask for non-core arguments and thus do not carry any case marking.

(17) a. *Lazut'-epe mi-k ngol-u?*
corn-PL who-ERG destroy-PST.3SG
'Who destroyed the corn?'

b. *Ham bere-pe k'ata limci-s nak ul-ur-an?*
DEM child-PL every evening-DAT where go-TS-PRS.3PL
'Where do the kids go every evening?'

c. *Ntsa muyaşeni cğatha o-n?*
sky why blue COP-PRS.3SG
'Why is the sky blue?'

Tag questions are always formed with the construction, *hoi*, which is formed out of the free affirmative morpheme *ho*, and the question morpheme *-i*. Whether the sentence is affirmative (18a, 19a) or negative (18b, 19b), the same construction is used. Changes in tense or aspect also do not affect the tag question.

(18) a. *Cami kos-a-re, ho-i?*
window wipe-SBJV-MOD yes-Q
'You will wipe the window, right?'

b. *Cami vati kos-a, ho-i?*
window NEG wipe-SBJV yes-Q
'You won't wipe the window, right?'

(19) a. *Si g-dzir-i, ho-i?*
2SG 2OBJ-see-PST.1SG yes-Q
'I saw you, right?'

b. *Si var g-dzir-i, ho-i?*
2SG NEG 2OBJ-see-PST.1SG yes-Q
'I didn't see you, right?'

2.2.2 Verbal Morphology and TAM marking

2.2.2.1 Present tense and theme suffixes

In Pazar Laz, the present tense/imperfective is generally marked with morphemes which are called thematic suffixes in the literature[11]. Which set of theme suffixes the verb chooses depends on the class which the verb belongs to. It is stated in Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) that there are two main verb classes which differ in terms of case marking of the subject, the form of the third person singular agreement marker in present tense and the choice of thematic suffix used in the imperfective aspect.

[11]There are certain verbs that do not require thematic suffixes which were not exemplified here.

In present tense, verbs belonging to Class 1 have ergative subjects and choose for the thematic suffix *-am* or *-um*. Moreover, the verb carries the third person agreement marker *-s* in present tense. The inflection for person and number for Class 1 verbs is illustrated in (20). The verb in (20a) carries the theme suffix *-um* and the person marking is indicated with the prefix *-p*. However, in (20b), there is an additional suffix *-s* which encodes both tense and person information. The plurality of the subject is indicated with the suffix *-t* after the theme suffix in (20c). Finally, (20d) shows the tense/person suffix *-an* used to indicate third person plural in present tense.

(20) a. *Dale-pe-şkhimi p'anda ce-p-tin-um*
little.sister-PL-1POSS always PV-1SBJ-denigrate-TS
'I always speak ill of my little sisters.'

b. *Dale-pe-muşi p'anda ce-tin-um-s*
little.sister-PL-1POSS always PV-denigrate-TS-PRS.3SG
'S/he always speaks ill of her/his little sisters.'

c. *Dale-pe-t'kvani p'anda ce-tin-um-t*
little.sister-PL-2POSS.PL always PV-denigrate-TS-PL
'You (pl.) always speaks ill of your little sisters.'

d. *Dale-pe-nişi p'anda ce-tin-um-an*
little.sister-PL-3POSS.PL always PV-denigrate-TS-PRS.3PL
'They always speak ill of their little sisters.'

Class 2 verbs have nominative or dative subjects and choose for the thematic suffix *-e(r)* or *-u(r)*[12]. This time, the third person agreement is marked with *-n* on the verb. Whenever we find the third person agreement on the verb, the *r* found on the suffix is dropped. The examples in (21) illustrate the inflection of a Class 2 verb. The verb in (21a) carries the theme suffix *-er* and the person information is encoded with the mono-exponential prefix *-v*. The third person singular form carries a portmanteau suffix, *n*, to encode tense and person information. Just as we have seen in (20), the plural is marked with the suffix *-t* (21c) and the third person plural is marked with the tense/person suffix *-an* (21d).

[12]The choice between the thematic suffixes is tied to certain semantic criteria, which will not be showed in detail here.

(21) a. *Biç'i-s var me-v-a-xol-er*
boy-DAT NEG PV-1SBJ-APPL-approach-TS
'I do not approach the boy.'

b. *Bozo biç'i-s var na-xol-e-n*
girl boy-DAT NEG PV-approach-TS-PRS.3SG
'The girl does not approach the boy.'

c. *Biç'i-s var me-v-a-xol-er-t*
boy-DAT NEG PV-1SBJ-APPL-approach-TS-PL
'We do not approach the boy.'

d. *Biç'i-s var na-xol-er-an*
boy-DAT NEG PV-approach-TS-PRS.3PL
'They do not approach the boy.'

The examples above are all ambiguous between a habitual and a progressive reading. This ambiguity can be resolved with the use of an adverb which indicates the aspectual frequency. The two sentences in (22) have the same verb form. However, the adverbials *hus* and *p'anda* help disambiguate the aspect of these sentences. (22a) is interpreted as progressive aspect while (22b) is interpreted as an habitual.

(22) a. *(Şk'u) hus nçai v-ik-um-t*
1PL now tea 1SBJ-make-TS-PL
'We are making tea right now.'

b. *(Şk'u) p'anda nçai v-ik-um-t*
1PL always tea 1SBJ-make-TS-PL
'We always make tea.'

2.2.2.2 Person agreement markers

Person marking in Pazar Laz is not restricted to the portmanteau tense/person markers which always agree with the subject of the clause. In addition to these, we also find prefixes which mark person. Whether the agreement is going to be with the subject or the object is determined through a selection process the details of which will not be indicated here. The examples in (23) illustrate that the person agreement prefix does not always agree with the same argument. While the person marker on the verb agrees with the object in (23a), it agrees with the subject in (23b). In Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), this selection is said to be tied to the case marking on the object

and is carried out according to an argument hierarchy. The first person singular subject arguments can be marked with *v-*, *p-*, *p'-*, *b-* or *f-*. The second and third person subjects are not overtly marked. First person singular object arguments are marked with *m-* while second person object arguments are marked with *g-*, *k'-* or *k-*. The selection among these sets is mainly carried out according to phonological criteria, the details of which will not be given in this thesis.

(23) a. *Ma si ce-k-ç-i*
1SG.ERG you.DAT PV-2OBJ-beat-PST.1SG
'I beat you.'
b. *Ma himu-s ce-p-ç-i*
1SG.ERG s/he.DAT PV-1SBJ-beat-PST.1SG
'I beat him/her.' (Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011)

Moreover, whenever there is a non-core argument found within a clause, the verb is marked with an applicative marker. (24a) shows a sentence with one internal argument. The verb only carries the first person agreement marker *p'-* and the tense/person marker *-i*. In (24b), a non-core dative argument is introduced within the clause. This results in the marking of the verb with an applicative marker. In this case, the marker is *-u* but it can also appear as *-i* or *-a*. However, the determination of the applicative morpheme is beyond the scope of this introductory section.

(24) a. *Ma past'a p'-ç'v-i*
1SG cake 1SBJ-bake-PST.1SG
'I baked a cake.'
b. *Ma bere-s past'a v-u-ç'v-i*
1SG child-DAT cake 1SBJ-APPL-bake-PST.1SG
'I baked the boy a cake.'

2.2.2.3 Past tense

The past tense in Pazar Laz is also marked with certain morphemes which encode tense/person information. The suffix *-u* marks past tense in third person singular, *-es* marks past tense in third person plural and *i* is used elsewhere in past tense marking. The plural marking is indicated with the plural agreement marker *-t* at the end of the

verb. (25) shows how the past tense is formed with different persons. (25a) marks past tense with the suffix *-i* and the person information is marked with the prefix *v-*. (25b) and (25d) are marked with tense/person suffixes *-u* and *-es* respectively. (25c) carries the plural agreement morpheme *-t* in addition to the tense marker.

(25) a. *Remezani-s v-i-piçv-i*
ramadan-DAT 1SBJ.APPL-to fast-PST.1SG
'I fasted in Ramadan.'

b. *Remezani-s i-piçv-u*
ramadan-DAT APPL-to fast-PST.3SG
'S/he fasted in Ramadan.'

c. *Remezani-s v-i-piçv-i-t*
ramadan-DAT 1SBJ.APPL-to fast-PST-PL
'We fasted in Ramadan.'

d. *Remezani-s i-piçv-es*
ramadan-DAT APPL-to fast-PST.3PL
'They fasted in Ramadan.'

The imperfective aspect in past tense is marked with the marker *-t'*. This marker is placed before the past tense/person morpheme and it follows the theme suffix in cases where the predicate requires it. The imperfective can be interpreted as durational event in the past or it can have an habitual sense, indicating an old habit. (26a) can be interpreted both ways according to the linguistic/situational context. However, the sentence in (26b) has to be interpreted as an habitual thanks to the time adverbial which disambiguates the meaning.

(26) a. *Xordza-lepe-k urzeni çhinax-um-t'-es*
women-PL-ERG grape tread-TS-IMPF-PST.3PL
'Women were treading grapes.' / 'Women would tread grapes.'

b. *Bere v-ort'-i-şa v-i-piç-um-t'-i*
boy 1SBJ-COP-PST-while 1SBJ-APPL-fast-TS-IMPF -PST
'I used to fast when I was a boy.'

2.2.2.4 The subjunctive

In Pazar Laz, the suffix *-a* has been labeled as the subjunctive marker in Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011). This suffix appears in many constructions such as adverbial

clauses (while-constructions, so-that clauses, etc.). However, in this section, I will mainly illustrate their use in matrix clauses which are interpreted as hortative and optative constructions. The negation of these constructions will be analyzed in Section 2.5.

Hortative constructions express a wish of the speaker which encourages/asks the addressee to take action. Examples in (27) show hortative constructions with different person/number inflections. In addition to the subjunctive marker *-a*, the verb can take person agreement prefixes (27a, 27d), person/tense suffixes (27c, 27f) and plural agreement (27d, 27e). This is considered a hortative construction as the speaker is encouraging the addressee to take the action of lighting the heater.

(27) a. *Pilit'a ma v-ogz-a*
heater I 1SBJ-light-SBJV
'Let me light the heater.'

b. *Pilit'a si ogz-a*
heater you light-SBJV
'May you light the heater.'

c. *Pilit'a himu-k ogz-a-s*
heater he-ERG light-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Let him light the heater.'

d. *Pilit'a şk'u v-ogz-a-t*
heater we 1SBJ-light-SBJV-PL
'Let us light the heater.'

e. *Pilit'a t'k'va ogz-a-t*
heater you(pl.) light-SBJV-PL
'May you(pl.) light the heater.'

f. *Pilit'a hini-k ogz-a-n*
heater they-ERG light-SBJV-PRS.3PL
'Let them light the heater.'

Optative constructions also express a wish, a desire of the speaker. However, unlike hortative constructions, they do not require the addressee to take action concerning this wish. They simply express the wish of the speaker which can either be positive or a damnation. The sentences in (28) are both optative constructions. While (28a) expresses a positive wish about the addressee, (28b) is a damnation. In either case, the subjunctive marker is used.

(28) a. *C-i-kçin-a* *do* *c-i-montal-a!*
PV-APPL-turn.gray-SBJV and PV-APPL-reproduce-SBJV
'May your hair turn gray and may you have grandchildren.'
b. *Termaşi do-sk'ud-a-s!*
curse PV-stay-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May curse be on you!'

2.2.2.5 Future tense

The future tense form is indicated with the subjunctive marker *-a* and the suffix *-(e)re*[13]. The person and number marking is carried out the same way. First person carries a person agreement prefix (29a) and third person marks tense/person with the suffix *-s*. It should be noted that whenever *-(e)re* immediately follows the subjunctive marker *-a*, it appears as *-re* as the *e* is dropped (29a, 29b). When the tense/person marker *-s* gets in between them, it appears as *-ere* (29c).

(29) a. *Dulya-s* *mundes* *ce-v-oç'-a-re?*
work-DAT when PV-1SBJ-start-SBJV-MOD
'When will I start work?'
b. *Dulya-s* *mundes* *c-oç'-a-re?*
work-DAT when PV-start-SBJV-MOD
'When will you start work?'
c. *Dulya-s* *mundes* *c-oç'-a-s-ere?*
work-DAT when PV-start-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'When will s/he start work?'

The reason why I choose to gloss *-(e)re* as a modality marker is mainly because it does not only bring in a future meaning but also an epistemic interpretation to the clause it appears in. The examples in (30) show two instances where this verb form is interpreted with an epistemic reading. In (30a), the speaker makes a prediction about the whereabouts of someone. This can be uttered in a situation where the person in question always goes swimming at seven o'clock. The speaker does not know for certain she is at the sea but they are making a guess from their previous knowledge. The example in (30b) is a similar situation in which the speaker

[13]This suffix, which I have glossed as MOD in this thesis, is open to discussion regarding its function and classification. In Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), it is glossed as AUX.

who answers the question cannot see what is written on the ship but making a guess form their world knowledge. In both cases, the verb is formed with the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modality marker *-(e)re*. In other contexts, they could also be interpreted as future tense.

(30) a. - Nanaşkimi nak on? 'Where is my mother?'
Saati şkhiti-s zuğa-s or-t'-a-s-ere
hour seven-DAT sea-DAT COP-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'She should be/must be at the sea at 7 o'clock.'

b. Q: *Ham kharavi-şi jin na nç'ar-u-n muya'-n?*
this ship-GEN on SUB write-TS-PRS.3SG what-COP
'What is it written on the ship?'
A: *Ma-ti vorsi va b-dzir-em, kharavi-şi yoxo*
I-too well NEG 1SBJ-see-TS ship-GEN name
nç'ar-u-t'-a-s-ere
write-PST.3SG-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'I cannot see well either. Its name should/must be written on it.'

According to the linguistic/situational context and the intonation of the speaker, the verb forms in future tense can also have deontic modality readings. When uttered in the right context and with the correct intonation, the sentence in (31) can have a deontic meaning in which it is interpreted as a demand from the addressee.

(31) *Ham k'alate-pe t'k'va tor-a-t-ere*
these basket-PL 2PL carry-SBJV-PL-MOD
'You (pl.) will carry these baskets.'

Pazar Laz also has a past form of the modality marker which is *-(e)(r)t'u*[14], which functions as the past form of *-(e)re*. This marker gives a future-in-past meaning in a simplex structure, denoting an event which was supposed to take place but did not. Note that the modality marker *-ere* in (32a) is replaced by the past modality marker *-rt'u* in (32b).

[14]This suffix can potentially be divided into further parts such as MOD-IMP-PAST. However, I did not choose to do this for two main reasons. First of all, the /r/ which could be considered the modality marker is rarely pronounced in the Atina (Pazar) region. Secondly, the final *-u* which could be considered the third person past tense morpheme no longer undergoes change according to the person in the Pazar region. These indicators show that the suffix has evolved into one single unit which is used in counterfactual situations.

While the first sentence has a future meaning, the second sentence is in future-in-past tense, meaning the event was supposed to take place but it did not. The negation of these constructions will be analyzed in Section 2.4.

(32) a. *Ma mali mo-g-i-ğ-a-re na-k'od-i duçani-şe*
I goods PV-1SBJ-APPL-bring-SBJV-MOD SUB-build-PST.2SG store-ALL
'I am going to bring the goods to the store you have built.'

b. *Ma mali mo-g-i-ğ-a-t'u na-k'od-i duçani-şe*
I goods PV-1SBJ-APPL-bring-SBJV-MOD.PST SUB-build-PST.2SG store-ALL
'I was going to bring the goods to the store you have built.'

In complex structures, the suffix *-(e)(r)t'u* gives a counterfactual reading and is used along with the unreal condition marker *-k'o*. The examples in (33), which are taken from Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), show two conditional clauses. While the embedded condition clauses are marked with the suffix *-k'o*, the main clauses are marked with *-(e)(r)t'u*. It should be noted that just like the examples we have seen above, the past modality marker has to appear with the subjunctive marker *-a*. Also, the first vowel is dropped when the past modality marker immediately follows the subjunctive marker (33b).

(33) a. *Oç'ume tağdili d-i-y-u-k'o nak'u vorsi i-y-a-s-e(r)t'u*
tomorrow holiday PV-APPL-become-PST.3SG-COND how good APPL-become-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD.PST
'How wonderful would it be if tomorrow were a holiday.'

b. *Sk'ani-şe v-ort'-i-k'o dersi v-i-çaliş-a-(r)t'u*
you-ALL 1SBJ-COP-PST.1SG-COND lesson 1SBJ-APPL-work-SBJV-MOD.PST
'If I were you, I would study.'

2.2.2.6 The perfect

In Pazar Laz, the present perfect is indicated with the presence of applicative prefixes *i-* or *-u-*, the causative marker *-ap* and the thematic suffix *-u(r)* (Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011). The formation of the perfect is illustrated in (34).

(34) a. *Purke-pe-s var u-purc-ap-ur-an*
flower-PL-DAT NEG APPL-wilt-CAUS-TS-PRS.3PL
'The flowers have never wilted before.'

b. *Hak furt'ona-s opşa nca c-u-ninkt-ap-u-n*
here storm-DAT many tree PV-APPL-bring.down-CAUS-TS-PRS.3SG
'The storm has brought down many trees here before.'
(Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011)

The perfect can also be used in past and future contexts. (35) illustrates the use of the perfect construction in three different tenses. The present tense is carried out as illustrated in the previous examples (35a). In past perfect tense, we find the imperfective marker and the past tense marker after the theme suffix (35b). In the future perfect construction, we find the same markers as we find in future tense along with the imperfective marker (35c).[15]

(35) a. *Ma oxori dele-m-i-xv-ap-u-n*
1SG house PV-1SBJ-APPL-demolish-CAUS-TS-PRS.3SG
'I have demolished a house (before).'

b. *K'oç-epe moxth-es-şa ma oxori*
man-PL come-PST.3PL-until 1SG house
dele-m-i-xv-ap-u-t'-u
PV-1SBJ-APPL-demolish-CAUS-TS-IMPF-PST.3SG
'I had demolished the house by the time the men came.'

[15]It should be noted that the tense/person markers behave differently than we have previously seen. These constructions carry the third person present suffixes even though the subjects are not in third person. The marking in these cases seems to be related to the object of the clause. The examples below demonstrate how the person marking could be related to the object. (i.a) carries the third person present suffix *-s* while (i.b) does not have this marker. While the subject of the clauses stay the same, the object changes. Thus, it might be the case that the tense/person agreement markers are determined by the object in perfect constructions. This topic needs further investigation. Certain examples pertaining to the negation of perfect constructions will be discussed in Section 2.4.

(i) a. *Ma him m-i-nç'ar-ap-u-t'-a-s-ere*
1SG it 1SBJ-APPL-write-CAUS-TS-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'I will have written it.'

b. *Ma si m-i-nç'ar-ap-u-t'-a-re*
1SG it 1SBJ-VAL-write-CAUS-TS-IMPF-SBJV-MOD
'I will have written you.'

.

c. *K'oç-epe moxth-an-şa ma oxori*
man-PL come-PRS.3PL-until 1SG house
dele-m-i-xv-ap-u-t'-a-s-ere
PV-1SBJ-APPL-demolish-CAUS-TS-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'I will have demolished the house by the time the men come.'

2.2.2.7 The copula

The examples given above were all clauses with verbal predicates. Nominal, pronominal and adjectival clauses are formed with the copula *oren*, which has past, present and future forms and agree with the subject in person and in number. The sentences in (36) show the inflection of the copula according to person and number in present tense. The main root is *-ore-* which appears in (36a) with the subject agreement marker *-v* and without any marker in (36b). In (36c), the verb root becomes *-o-* and carries the tense/person marker *-n*. (36d) has the verb root *-or* and carries the tense/person marker *-an*.

(36) a. *Ma Nesrini v-ore*
I Nesrin 1SBJ-COP
'I am Nesrin.'

b. *Si Nesrini ore*
you Nesrin COP
'You are Nesrin.'

c. *Himi talebe o-n*
s/he student COP-PRS.3SG
'(S)he is a student.'

d. *Şurone-pe axiri-s or-an*
goat-PL barn-DAT COP-PRS.3PL
'The goats are in the barn.'

In present and past tense, the verb root undergoes suppletion and becomes *-ort'-*. (37a) and (37b) show the inflection of the copula in past tense. In (37a), the verb carries the person agreement prefix *-v* and the tense/person marker *-i*. The same root in (37b) does not carry any person marking as the subject is in second plural but it carries the plural agreement *-t*. The future tense is also formed in the same way as verbal predicates on the verb root *-ort'-* (37c, 37d).

(37) a. *Ma talebe v-ort'-i*
1SG student 1SBJ-COP-PST.1SG
'I was a student.'

b. *Tk'va talebe ort'-i-t*
2PL student COP-PST.2PL-PL
'You(pl.) were students.'

c. *Ahmet talebe ort'-a-s-ere*
Ahmet student COP-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'Ahmet will be a student.'

d. *Talebe v-ort'-a-t-ere*
student 1SBJ-COP-SBJV-PL-MOD
'They will be students.'

2.2.3 Spatial and affirmative preverbs

Pazar Laz makes use of certain prefixes which were previously named *preverbs* in Kojima and Bucaklişi (2003) and Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011). Two main categories of preverbs are spatial preverbs and affirmative preverbs. In order to be able to distinguish the two types of preverbs, I gloss affirmative preverbs as APVand spatials as PV in the glosses.

Spatial preverbs are prefixes placed in front of the verb root which indicate/specify the direction of the action. Kojima and Bucaklişi (2003) notes 51 spatial preverbs when we consider all dialects of Laz. Among the most frequently used, we can list *ce-*, *do-*, *e-*, *mo-*, *me-* and *menda-*. It should be noted that the spatial preverbs *do-* and *menda-* also function as affirmative preverbs. While the motion interpretation is present in certain cases, some preverb+verb combinations have lexicalizedd meaning. For instance, while the spatial preverb *do-* indicates an action with a downwards motion in the verb *do-bğalu* 'to pour', this meaning has been lost in the verb *-do-guru* 'to learn'. Spatial prefixes help indicate the motion of the events with specificity. For instance, *dolo* indicates actions which take place towards an deep space (*dolo-bğalu* 'pour something inside a plave with vertical depth') and *-e* indicates actions which take place in an upwards motion (*eç'irdu* 'to pull up something and break it off').

As for affirmative preverbs, Pazar Laz has four of them, which are *ko-*, *do-*, *menda-* and *o-*. As I have indicated previously, *do-* and *menda-* are syncretic with the spatial preverbs. These particles are placed before the verb as prefixes and they always carry the stress of the verbal complex (Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011). They are used to emphasize the meaning of the event or state indicated by the predicate. The speakers report that when these preverbs are used, the speaker insinuates that the taking place of the event was either already acknowledged in the conversation or the interlocutors already knew the information beforehand. The following examples from Kojima and Bucaklişi (2003) illustrate the use of *do-* (38a) and *o-* (38c). In each case, the expectedness of the event is strengthened when used with the affirmative preverb.

(38) a. *V-u-cox-i*
1SBJ-APPL-call-PST.1SG
'I called him/her.'

b. *Do-v-u-cox-i*
APV-1SBJ-APPL-call-PST.1SG
'(Of course) I called him/her.'

c. *P-şv-i*
1SBJ-drink-PST.1SG
'I drank.'

d. *O-p-şv-i*
APV-1SBJ-drink-PST.1SG
'(Of course) I drank.'

Even though the affirmative preverbs indicate the relevance/expectedness of an event between speakers, this does not necessarily mean they have to denote a sense of certainty. For instance, the sentences in (39) are perfectly felicitous even though the speaker is not entirely certain of the event taking place.

(39) a. *K'oçi do-ğur-u beçi*
man APV-die-PST.3SG maybe
'The man has died, I guess.'

b. *K'oçi do-ğur-u m-a-fiçir-e-n*
man APV-die-PST.3SG 1SBJ.APPL-guess-TS-PRS.3SG
'I guess the man has died.'

While *ko-* can appear with spatial prefixes (40), the rest of the affirmative preverbs cannot co-occur with them. In (40), the affirmative preverb *ko-* and the spatial preverb *e* which indicates an upwards motion coexist within the same clause. Moreover, it should be noted that the affirmative preverbs *ko-* and *menda-* have syncretic forms as spatial prefixes. A good way to distinguish them is by negating the verb. As affirmative preverbs cannot co-occur with negators, if their coexistence does not yield ungrammatical results, we can conclude that they are spatial prefixes.

(40) *Ali k-e-xt'-u*
Ali APV-PV-go-PST.3SG
'Ali did go up.'

The importance of these affirmative preverbs stem from the fact that they cannot co-occur with the negators except for the negator *moto*. This fact will be examined within the discussion of negation asymmetries in Section 2.6.2. I will also illustrate how the negator *moto* can co-occur with affirmative preverbs in certain constructions.

2.2.4 Imperative constructions

The basic imperative form in Pazar Laz is expressed with the suffix *-i*. This suffix is syncretic with the past tense suffix used in first and second person. However, we only observe an ambiguity with the second person past tense. As I indicated above, Pazar Laz marks the first person with a prefix on the verb (41c). Thus, even though the imperative marker is syncretic, the person marker on first person of past tense helps distinguish the construction from imperative. However, as we have no person marking in second person past tense (41b), an ambiguity forms with the imperative form. However, the situational/linguistic context and intonation help disambiguate whether it is an imperative or an indicative sentence. The examples in (41) show a regular verb *ot'axu* which means *to break* in Pazar Laz. As the verb is regular, the past tense and present tense are built with the same verb root, *-t'ax-*. The imperative form is formed also with this root.

(41) a. *(Si) t'ax-i!*
(you) break-IMP
'Break (it)!'

b. *(Si) t'ax-i*
(you) break-PST.2SG
'You broke (it).'

c. *(Ma) p-t'ax-i*
(I) 1SBJ-break-PST.2SG
'I broke (it).'

d. *(Si) t'ax-um*
(you) break-TS
'You are breaking (it).

With irregular verbs, the past and present tense are built on different verb roots. The examples in (42) are formed with the irregular verb *oşu*, which means *to drink*. The verb root appears as *-şv-* in past tense (42c) and as *-ş-* in present tense (42d). The imperative is built on the past verb form (42a). As can be seen from example (42b), the prohibitive is built on the present verb root, unlike the imperative and it no longer has the imperative marker *-i*. The formation of prohibitive constructions will be examined in more detail in Section 2.5.

(42) a. *Şv-i!*
drink-IMP
'Drink!'

b. *Mot ş-um!*
NEG drink-TS
'Don't drink!'

c. *(Si) şv-i*
(you) drink-PST.2SG
'You drank (it).

d. *(Si) ş-um*
(you) drink-TS
'You are drinking (it).'

Another irregular verb is *oşk'umu*, which means *to eat*. This verb has two suppletive verb roots: *şk'om-* used in past tense (43c) and *mxor-* used in present tense (43d). Just as we have seen in the previous example, the imperative is built on the past verb form (43a) while the prohibitive is built on the present verb form (43b).

In this example, we can also see how the plural imperatives and prohibitives are formed. The plural marker *-t* is added at the end of the verb (43a, 43b) the same way plural marking is indicated in indicatives (43c, 43d).

(43) a. *Şk'om-i-t!*
eat-IMP-PL
'Eat!' (more than one addressee)
b. *Mo(t) i-mxor-t!*
NEG APPL-eat-PL
'Don't eat!' (more than one addressee)
c. *(Tk'va) şk'om-i-t*
2PL eat-PST-PL
'You (plural) ate.'
d. *(Tk'va) i-mxor-t*
2PL APPL-eat-PL
'You are eating.'

When imperatives are used with affirmative preverbs which were mentioned in the previous section, the interpretation of the imperative is slightly altered, in that what is demanded of the addressee is considered to be a given in the context. For instance, (44a) can be felicitous in a context where the addressee has been waiting to eat or has demanded if s/he could eat. The same is also valid for (44b) which could be uttered in a situation where the addressee has been waiting to sit.

(44) a. *O-şk'om-i-t!*
APV-eat-IMP-PL
'Do eat!' (to more than one addressee)
b. *Ko-do-xed-i!*
APV-PV-sit-IMP
'Do sit!'

The negation of imperatives (prohibitive constructions) will be examined in Section 2.5. I will show that the negator *mo(t)* is used in regular prohibitives. Moreover, I will argue that there is another negation morpheme which demonstrates a different distribution, *moto*, used in certain alternative prohibitive constructions.

2.2.5 Indefinite pronouns

In Pazar Laz, there is a set of indefinite pronouns which are used in affirmative sentences. These are *mitxa* 'someone', *mutxa* 'something' and *sotxa* 'somewhere'. Under negation and in interrogative sentences, we see the pronouns *miti* 'anyone', *muti* 'anything' and *soti* 'anywhere'.

(45) illustrates the use of *mitxa* 'someone' and *miti* 'anyone'. In an affirmative sentence we can only use *mitxa* (45a) and the use of *miti* (45b) yields ungrammatical results[16]. In interrogative clauses, only *miti* can be used (45c). In negated clauses, we use the pronoun *miti* to give the meaning of 'no one'.

(45) a. *Ek'na-şe mitxa amaxt'-u*
door-ALL someone enter-PST.3SG
'Someone came in the door.'

b. **Ekhna-şe miti amaxt'-u*
door-ALL anyone enter-PST.3SG
Intended meaning: 'Someone came in the door.'

c. *Ekhna-şe miti amaxt'-u-i?*
door-ALL anyone enter-PST.3SG-Q
'Did someone come in the door?'

d. *Ek'na-şe miti var amaxt'-u*
door-ALL anyone NEG enter-PST.3SG
'No one came in the door.'

Other examples concerning the use of negation with *miti* are found in (46). (46a) shows *miti* as the subject of the clause and (46b) as the object of the clause. (46b) also shows how indefinite pronouns can carry argument markings. This will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.6.1.

[16]However, *miti* can be used in affirmative sentences if it appears with the indefinite determiner *a(r)* as shown in (i). The speakers report a slight meaning difference. However, I will not mention this use in this chapter.

(i) *Ekhna-şe a miti amaxt'-u*
door-ALL DET anyone enter-PST.3SG
'Someone came in the door.'

.

(46) a. *Cari-şe miti var mo-xt'-u*
dinner-ALL anyone NEG PV-come-PST.3SG
'No one came to dinner.'

b. *İy-u-pe miti-s mot utzom-er!*
happen-PST-PL anyone-DAT NEG tell-TS
'Do not tell anyone what happened.'

The pronouns *mutxa* and *muti* function the same way as the previous examples. *Mutxa* is used in affirmative sentences (47a) while *muti* is used in interrogatives (47b) and in negated sentences alond with the negators (47c).

(47) a. *İsmaili-k mutxa de-m-i-mpul-am-s*
İsmail-ERG something PV-1OBJ-APPL-hide-TS-PRS.3SG
'İsmail is keeping something from me.'

b. *İsmaili-k muti de-m-i-mpul-am-an-i?*
İsmail-ERG anything PV-1OBJ-APPL-hide-TS-PRS.3PL-Q
'Is İsmail keeping something from us?'

c. *Otole var c-idgina-şa muti var b-dzir-em*
glasses NEG PV-wear-until anything NEG 1SBJ-see-TS
'I cannot see anything without putting my glasses on.'

Similar to *mitxa* and *mutxa*, the indefinite pronoun *sotxa* is used in affirmative sentences (48a), while *soti* is used in negated constructions (48b) and interrogative sentences (48c).

(48) a. *Uneneli ar sotxa-şe v-idi-t*
quiet DET somewhere-ALL 1SBJ-go-PL
'We went somewhere quiet.'

b. *Gondunu bere b-gor-i-t ama soti var*
lost boy 1SBJ-look.for-PST-PL but anywhere NEG
m-a-dzir-es
1SBJ.APPL-find-PST.3PL
'We looked for the lost boy but we could not find him anywhere.'

c. *Tatili-s soti v-id-a-re-i?*
holiday-DAT anywhere 1SBJ-go-SBJV-MOD-Q
'Will you go anywhere during the holiday?'

Further aspects of these indefinite pronouns and a predicate elision phenomenon concerning clauses with indefinite pronouns will be discussed in detain in Section 2.6.1.

2.3 The distribution of *va(r)*

In Pazar Laz, the main negator in standard negation is *va(r)*. The parentheses around the last consonant indicate two variants, *va* and *var*, whose distribution is mostly optional and is not fully determined by the phonological environment. In Atina (Pazar), even though both variants are considered acceptable, the tendency seems to be to use *va* instead of *var*. The informants, however, also state that they do choose the variant according to the ease of pronunciation at times. For instance, the informants have stated that they would choose *var* instead of *va* in (50) because the consecutive articulation of vowels is avoided.

(49) *Cebi-s cenç'areri va/var m-i-ğ-u-n*
pocket-DAT money NEG 1OBJ-APPL-have-PRS.3SG
'I don't have any money in my pocket'

(50) *Bozomota-lepe oda-s va/var or-an*
girl-PL room-DAT NEG COP-PRS.3PL
'The girls are not in the room'

The negator *va(r)* is mainly used as a free negation morpheme. It can appear as a free morpheme as response to a polar question (51). It is not possible to use the other negators in the language, namely *vati*, *mot* and *moto* in this way.

(51) a. Question:
Ambai ke-ç'op-i-i?
news PV-get-PST.2SG-Q
'Did you get the news?'

b. Answer:
Va(r)
No

Besides its use as a free negation morpheme, *va(r)* also appears within clauses as the negator of predicates in present tense or past tense.

Examples in (52) illustrate the use of *va(r)* to negate a clause in present tense. The verb root *-çaliş-* is preceded by the valency marker *i-* as there is a non-core argument (*bankas*) in the clause. It is followed by the thematic suffix *-am* and the tense/agreement marker *-s*. In order to negate this sentence, *va(r)* has to be used (52b). The use of *vati*, *mot* or *moto* yields ungrammatical results (52c).

(52) a. *Nezali-k banka-s i-çaliş-am-s*
Nezali-ERG bank-DAT APPL-work-TS-PRS.3SG
'Nezali is working/works at the bank'

b. *Nezali-k banka-s va i-çaliş-am-s*
Nezali-ERG bank-DAT NEG APPL-work-TS-PRS.3SG
'Nezali is not working/does not work at the bank'

c. *Nezalik bankas vati / mot /moto içalişams
Intended meaning: 'Nezali is not working/does not work at the bank.'

It is also important to note that the sentences in (52) can be interpreted either as an habitual or progressive aspect. This is an indicator that aspectual changes do not seem to influence the choice of negator. The example in (53) also shows that the present form of the predicate can be interpreted either as an habitual or an imperfective. Similar to the example above (52), the verb carries the theme suffix *-u(r)* and the tense/agreement marker *-s*. The existence of a temporal adverbial helps disambiguate the interpretation (53c). Regardless of the aspect, the sentence is negated with *va(r)* (53b).

(53) a. *Ayşe-k k'azeta i-t'-ur-s*
Ayşe-ERG newspaper APPL-read-TS-PRS.3SG
'Ayşe reads/is reading the newspaper.'

b. *Ayşe-k k'azeta va i-t'-ur-s*
Ayşe-ERG newspaper NEG APPL-read-TS-PRS.3SG
'Ayşe does not read the newspaper.'
'Ayşe is not reading the newspaper.'

c. *Ayşe-k k'atha ndğa-s k'azeta i-t'-ur-s*
Ayşe-ERG every day-DAT newspaper APPL-read-TS-PRS.3SG
'Ayşe reads the newspaper every day.'

Whether the clause is affirmative or interrogative does not play a role in the choice of the negator, either. (54a) is a negative affirmative sentence in present tense. The choice of negator is *va(r)*. As I have already mentioned in Section 2.2.1, the interrogative mood is marked with the question marker *-i* at the end of the verb (54b). The choice of negator remains the same even though the sentence is now an interrogative.

(54) a. *Bozomota-şkhimi-k oxori dulya-s var*
daughter-1POSS-ERG house chore-DAT NEG
me-m-i-şvel-am-s.
PV-1OBJ-APPL-help-TS-PRS.3SG
'My daughter does not help me with the house chores.'

b. *Bozomota-skani-k oxori dulya-s va*
daughter-2POSS-ERG house chore-DAT NEG
me-g-i-şvel-am-s-i?
PV-2OBJ-APPL-help-TS-PRS-3SG-Q
'Does your daughter not help you with the house chores?'

The negative morpheme *va(r)* also negates sentences in past tense (55). In (55a) and (55b), the verb root *nax-* is followed by the portmanteau past tense/person marker *-u*. Negators other than *va(r)* are not allowed as shown in (55c).

(55) a. *Nesrini-k ğoma çamaşuri nax-u*
Nesrini-ERG yesterday clothes wash-PST.3SG
'Nesrin washed clothes yesterday.'

b. *Nesrini-k ğoma çamaşuri va nax-u*
Nesrini-ERG yesterday clothes NEG wash-PST.3SG
'Nesrin did not wash clothes yesterday.'

c. *Nesrini-k ğoma çamaşuri vati / mot / moto nax-u
Intended meaning: 'Nesrin did not wash clothes yesterday.'

Another example of the use of *va(r)* in past tense is shown in examples (56). Here, the marker which indicates past tense and the subject agreement is *-i*. As the subject is in first person plural, we also find the plural agreement marker *-t* on the main verb. The negative morpheme *va(r)* is used to negate both the indicative (56a) and the interrogative sentence (56b) in past tense.

(56) a. *Limcineri cari-s kapça var ph-t'iğan-i-t.*
evening meal-DAT anchovy NEG 1SBJ-fry-PST.3SG-PL
'We did not fry anchovy for dinner.'

b. *Limcineri cari-s kapça var ph-t'iğan-i-t-i?*
evening meal-DAT anchovy NEG 1SBJ-PST.3SG-PL-Q
'Did we not fry anchovy for dinner?'

As in present tense, aspectual changes do not change the negator of the clause. This is illustrated in (57), where the verb is in past tense and imperfective aspect.

(57) *Nesrini-k cari va(r) hazir-um-t'-u.*
Nesrini-ERG food NEG prepare-TS-IMPF-3SG.PST
'Nesrin was not preparing food.'

The examples given above were all clauses with verbal predicates. The negator *va(r)* can also appear with other types of predicates predicates. As we have seen in Section 2.2.2.7, non-verbal predicates are formed with the copula *oren* which has past, present and future forms and go under agreement with the subject in person and in number. In (58), we find that the copula *oren* is conjugated in agreement with past tense and 3rd person singular which gives us the form *ort'u*. In (59), the copula is conjugated according to present tense and 3rd person singular. Moreover, (58) exemplifies a sentence with a nominal predicate, *Ali*, whereas (59) has an adjectival predicate, *çetini*. In both cases, the negator choice is *va(r)*.

(58) a. *Yarişma na k'azanu Ali ort'-u*
competition REL winner Ali COP-PST.3SG
'The winner of the competition was Ali.'
b. *Yarişma na k'azanu Ali var ort'-u*
competition REL winner Ali NEG COP-PST.3SG
'The winner of the competition was not Ali.'

(59) a. *İmtiani-şi soru-pe opşa çetini on*
exam-GEN question-PL very hard COP.PRS.3SG
'The questions in the exam are very hard.'
b. *İmtiani-şi soru-pe opşa çetini var on*
exam-GEN question-PL very hard NEG COP.PRS.3SG
'The questions in the exam are not very hard.'

Existential constructions in Pazar Laz are also formed with the copula *oren*. The copula can appear in present (60a) or past (60b) form. We still observe the same pattern where the negator is determined according to the tense of the copula.

(60) a. *Oda-muşi-s şk'api var on*
room-3POSS-DAT cupboard NEG COP.PRS.3SG
'There is not a cupboard in my room.'
b. *Ğoma şkhuni çoi-s ç'anda var ort'-u*
yesterday our village-DAT celebration NEG COP-PST.3SG
'There was not a celebration in our village yesterday.'

The negator *va(r)*, as well as the other negators, *vati*, *mo(t)* and *moto* always immediately precede the main verb in matrix clauses. As I have indicated in Section 2.2.1, Pazar Laz allows word order variation as a strategy to indicate changes in the information structure. (61) illustrates the effects of word order change. (61a) is a negative response to a wide-focus question. For this reason, the sentence demonstrates canonical word order. On the other hand, (61b) is a negative response to a narrow-focus question which asks specifically for the agent of the event. Thus, the subject is placed pre-verbally. However, even when stressed, the arguments can never interfere between the negator and the main verb (61c).

(61) a. - What happened?
K'at'u-k monta-muşi var ç-u
cat-ERG offspring-3POSS NEG feed-PST.3SG
'The cat did not feed its offspring.'

b. - Who did not protect its offspring?
Monta-muşi k'at'u-k var ç-u
offspring-3POSS cat-ERG NEG feed-PST.3SG
'THE CAT did not feed its offspring.'

c. *Monta-muşi var k'at'uk çu
Intended meaning: 'The cat did not feed its offspring.'

In affirmative sentences, adverbials immediately precede the main verb. When the sentence is negated, the adverbial immediately precedes the negator + main verb bundle and it is not allowed to interfere between the negator and the verb. In (62a), the adverb *vorsi* immediately precedes the verb but when the sentence is negated, it has to precede the negator (62b) as nothing is allowed to interfere between the negators and the main verb[17] (62c).

(62) a. *Monta-muşi k'at'u-k vorsi ç-u*
offspring-3POSS cat-ERG well feed-PST.3SG
'The cat fed its offspring well.'

[17]There are certain counterexamples for this found in embedded clauses. The location of the subordinate particle *na* is optional regarding the negators and it can interfere between the negators (*var* and *vati*) and the embedded verb. So, we find forms such as *va-na* or *vati-na* before the embedded verb.

b. *Monta-muşi k'at'u-k vorsi var ç-u*
offspring-3POSS cat-ERG well NEG feed-PST.3SG
'The cat did not feed its offspring well.'

c. *Monta-muşi k'at'uk var vorsi çu.
Intended meaning: 'The cat did not feed its offspring well.'

2.4 The distribution of *vati*

The negation morpheme *vati* is used to negate sentences in future tense as well as present and past forms of constructions with modality markers. To be clear, we can say that all the constructions listed in Section 2.2.2.5 are negated with *vati*. One of these are clauses formed with the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modality marker *-ere*. Both the future and the epistemic interpretations can be negated with *vati*. Another construction negated with *vati* is past modal constructions formed with the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u*. Both the counterfactual and the future-in-past interpretations of the past modality marker can be negated with *vati*. As I will illustrate in this section, both present and past modality markers are omitted in negated clauses. While *-(e)re* is not replaced with any other marker, *-(a)(r)t'u* is replaced by the conditional marker *-k'o* in its negated counterpart. In this section, I will argue that these are instances of A/Cat/TAM asymmetries as discussed in Miestamo (2005) and summarized in Section 2.1.

The negation of future tense with *vati* is illustrated in example (63). As I have exemplified in Section 2.2.2.5, the verb carries the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modality marker *-ere* along with the present/third person marker *-s*. (63b) shows the negated version of future tense with the negative morpheme *vati*. The negated version is no longer marked with the modality marker as the coexistence of *vati* and *-ere* results in ungrammaticality (63c). What is striking here is that in the negative form, the verb no longer carries the suffix *-ere* and the verb is left with the subjunctive marker *-a*. We have seen in Section 2.2.2.4 that this form without *-ere* gives an optative or hortative reading in affirmative sentences.

(63) a. *Fuati-k banka-s i-çaliş-a-s-ere*
Fuati-ERG bank-DAT APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'Fuat will work at the bank.'

b. *Fuati-k banka-s vati i-çaliş-a-s*
Fuati-ERG bank-DAT NEG APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Fuat will not work at the bank.'

c. *Fuati-k banka-s vati i-çaliş-a-s-ere.
Intended meaning: 'Fuat will not work at the bank.'

In (64a), without the suffix *-ere*, the sentence is in hortative mood. This results in a neutralization between the negated verb in future tense and the optative/hortative verb form of affirmative and negated sentences. As the negated verb forms are the same, what distinguishes the interpretation is the choice of negator. When the negator is *vati*, the sentence is interpreted with a future meaning whereas if it is negated with *mo(t)* or *moto*, it is interpreted with an optative or hortative meaning. For instance, the negated sentence in (64b) has a hortative meaning while (63b) is interpreted in future tense, even though the verb forms are identical.

(64) a. *Fuati-k banka-s i-çaliş-a-s*
Fuati-ERG bank-DAT APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May Fuat work at the bank.'

b. *Fuati-k banka-s mo(t)/moto i-çaliş-a-s*
Fuati-ERG bank-DAT NEG APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May Fuat not work at the bank.'

Sentences in (65) exemplify the same process with the transitive verb, *tear*. The tense and agreement markers on the verb are the same as the previous examples. *Vati* is used as the negator. As expected, in (65b), the verb no longer carries the suffix *-ere*. As indicated in (64), the verb form in (65b) could also be negated with *mo(t)* and *moto* to give a hortative/prohibitive meaning (65c). However, the negator *va(r)* could never be used with the subjunctive verb form.

(65) a. *Musthafa-k theftheri çhird-a-s-ere*
Mustafa-ERG notebook tear-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'Mustafa will tear the notebook.'

b. *Musthafa-k theftheri vati çhird-a-s*
Mustafa-ERG notebook NEG tear-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Mustafa will not tear the notebook.'

c. *Musthafa-k theftheri mo/moto çhird-a-s*
Mustafa-ERG notebook NEG tear-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May Mustafa not tear the notebook!'

As was the case with the negator *va(r)* in Section 2.3, the interrogative mood does not have an effect on the choice of negator. (66a) illustrates a declarative negated sentence in future tense while (66b) is in interrogative mood. The choice of negator stays the same.

(66) a. *Cami vati kos-a*
window NEG wipe-SBJV
'You won't wipe the window.'

b. *Cami vati kos-a-i?*
window NEG wipe-SBJV-Q
'Won't you wipe the window?'

Copular constructions and existential sentences are negated in the same way as those with verbal predicates. In (67) and (68), the copulas which are in their future form are negated with *vati* (67b, 68b). Similar to verbal predicates, the negator *vati* and the suffix *-ere* cannot co-exist in copular constructions.

(67) a. *Ma hemşere v-ort-a-re*
1SBJ nurse 1SBJ-COP-SBJV-MOD
'I will be a nurse.'

b. *Ma hemşere vati v-ort-a*
1SBJ nurse NEG 1SBJ-COP-SBJV
'I will not be a nurse.'

(68) a. *Oç'ume sinifi-s sum şuri ort'-a-s-ere*
tomorrow class-DAT five people COP-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'There will be three people in the classroom tomorrow.'

b. *Oç'ume sinifi-s sum şuri vati ort'-a-s*
tomorrow class-DAT five people NEG COP-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'There will not be three people in the classroom tomorrow.'

Having established the negation criteria for clauses in present, past and future, there is one more type of tense which needs to be addressed. Absolute-relative tenses, as Comrie (1985) defines it, are "determined by a reference point being before or after the present moment, and by the situation being located before or after that reference point"(p.65). In light of this definition, we could list four different absolute-relative tenses:

- the pluperfect (also called past perfect tense in English) where the reference point is in the past and the situation takes place before the reference point. An example from English can be the sentence : *Sue had eaten when her roommate arrived.*

- the future perfect where the reference point is in the future and the situation happens before the reference point. An example from English can be the sentence: *He will have given up before he can succeed.*

- the future-in-past where the reference point is in the past and the situation comes after the reference point. An example for this could be: *He thought everything would get better.* or *He was going to come.*

- the future-in-future where the reference point is in the future and the situation happens after the reference point. According to Comrie (1985), the periphrastic constructions such as *He will be about to give* are closest in meaning to this tense. A grammaticalized example for this meaning can be found in Latin, in constructions formed with future participle form of the lexical verb and the future tense of auxiliary *be*.

Two cases where a past and a future meaning co-exist within the same construction are future-in-past tense and future perfect tense[18]. In the following examples, I will try to show which of these two tenses determine the choice of negator in the clause.

[18]In Pazar Laz, there does not seem to be a grammaticalized tense for the future-in-future meaning. I also did not include pluperfect in the discussion as both the utterance time and the reference point is in the past. Pluperfect constructions in Pazar Laz were exemplified in Section 2.2.2.6 and they are always negated with the negator *va(r)*.

In future-in-past tense in Pazar Laz, the choice of negator seems to be determined according to the placement of the event compared to the reference point and not the time of utterance. The first clauses in (69a) and (69b) are examples of future-in-past tense in Pazar Laz. As I have already discussed in Section 2.2.2.5, the affirmative form of future-in-past tense is formed with the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u* (69a). In the negated form of (69a), we no longer find the past modality marker, nor the subjunctive marker. The verb only carries the first person past tense marker *-i* and the conditional marker *k'o*[19].

(69) a. *Dişk'a p'-t'ax-a-(r)t'u ama var p'-t'ax-i.*
wood 1SBJ-break-SBJV-MOD.PST but NEG 1SBJ-break-PST.1SG
'I was going to break wood but I didn't.'
b. *Dişk'a vati p'-t'ax-i-k'o ama do-t'rox-u.*
wood NEG 1SBJ-break-PST.1SG-COND but PV-break-PST.3SG
'I wasn't going to break the wood but it did break.'

In these examples, the reference point is located before the moment of utterance, which signals a past event. The event, however, is located after the reference point, which gives a future meaning. As the choice of negator is made according to the event-reference point relation, *vati* is used to negate the sentence (69b).

We observe the same choice in sentence (70), where the verb of the second clause which is in absolute past is negated with *var*, whereas the verb of the first clause which is in future-in-past tense is negated according to the future meaning (reference point-event relation), with the use of *vati*.

(70) *Ham si vati g-i-tzv-i-k'o ama var*
this 2OBJ NEG 2OBJ-APPL-say-PST.1SG-COND but NEG
me-m-a-xondin-u
PV-1SBJ-APPL-hold.on-PST.3SG
'I wasn't going to tell you this but I couldn't help myself.'

As a side note concerning the asymmetry between the constructions mentioned in (69), it should be noted that the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u* can also

[19]The use of *k'o* in counterfactual conditionals was illustrated in Section 2.2.2.5.

be interpreted with a counterfactual reading. This is illustrated in (71), where we observe the same asymmetry between the affirmative and negated constructions.

(71a) shows the affirmative form of a counterfactual clause. This sentence does not have a conditional clause but the insinuation of a condition is still interpreted from the context. The second clause after *ama* in (71a) is a negated clause in future tense. The sentence in (71b) has two different clauses. The first one is the conditional clause which is marked with the conditional marker *-k'o*. The second one is the negated version of the counterfactual clause found in (71a), also marked with the marker *-k'o*. What is interesting is that even though the verb forms in these two clauses are identical, the first clause is negated with *va(r)* while the second clause is negated with *vati*. This seems to be related to the modality marking (in the affirmative) of the second clause. This will be analyzed in more detail at the end of this section.

(71) a. *Ma var m-i-becğ-i-k'o mali si*
1.DAT NEG PV-APPL-yell-PST-COND goods 2.DAT
me-g-i-ğ-a-t'u
PV-2OBJ-APPL-bring-SBJV-MOD.PST
'If you hadn't yelled at me, I would bring you the goods.'

b. *Xat'iri var g-i-ğut'-u-k'o, mali vati*
sake NEG 2OBJ-APPL-be-PST.3SG-COND goods NEG
mo-g-i-ğ-i-k'o
PV-2OBJ-APPL-bring-PST.1SG-COND
'If it were not for your sake, I would not bring the goods to you.'

Another case of absolute-relative tense where past and future meanings coexist is the future perfect tense. Unlike what we have seen above, in future perfect, the reference point is placed after the moment of utterance (future meaning) and the event in question is placed before the reference point (past meaning). What is surprising is that while in the future-in-past case the reference point/event relation was the determining factor for the negator, this time it is the reference point/moment of utterance relation.

(72) illustrates an affirmative and a negated clause in future perfect tense. We have already seen the formation of perfect tense in Pazar Laz in Section 2.2.2.6.

In these examples, the reference point, *5 o'clock*, is placed after the time of utterance while the event is supposed to take place before the reference point. According to the reference point/time of utterance distinction (in this case, future tense), the choice of negator is *vati*. The modality marker *-(e)re* is omitted in (72b).

(72) a. *Oç'ume saati xuti-s Mpoli-şe*
tomorrow hour five-DAT İstanbul-ALL
m-i-lv-ap-u-t'-a-s-ere
1SBJ.APPL-arrive-CAUS-TS-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'I will have arrived at İstanbul by 5 o'clock tomorrow.'

b. *Oç'ume saati xuti-s Mpoli-şe vati*
tomorrow hour five-DAT İstanbul-ALL NEG
m-i-lv-ap-u-t'-a-s
1SBJ.APPL-arrive-CAUS-TS-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'I won't have arrived at İstanbul by 5 o'clock tomorrow.'

The negator *vati* is also used to negate sentences with verbs carrying the markers *-(e)re* and *-(a)(r)t'u* to convey epistemic readings. As I have shown in Section 2.2.2.5, the affirmative verbs formed with the subjunctive marker *-a* and present/past modality markers, *-(e)re* and *-(a)(r)t'u* might have modal interpretations according to the linguistic/situational context.

Examples in (73) convey epistemic readings. In addition to its future interpretation, (73a) can have an epistemic reading which indicates a strong deduction from prior experience. For instance, in a case in which Ahmet's family has a yearly gathering at his parents' house and Ahmet has never missed it so far, Ahmet's mother could utter the sentence in (73a) to express that she strongly believes that he will come. Similarly, (73b) could be uttered in a situation in which Ahmet never shows up to the yearly gatherings. Also, just like the negation of future tense, the negation of the epistemic readings also has to be done with the negator *vati* (73b). The verb no longer carries the modality marker *-(e)re* in the negative form.

(73) a. *Amedi cari-şe moxth-a-s-ere*
Ahmet dinner-ALL come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'Ahmet will come to dinner.'
'Ahmet should come to dinner.'

b. *Amedi cari-şe vati moxth-a-s*
Ahmet dinner-ALL NEG come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Ahmet will not come to dinner.'
'Ahmet should not come to dinner.'

Let us also take a look at the negations of our examples in Section 2.2.2.5. In order to negate these constructions, we need to use the negator *vati* and the modality marker *-(e)re* needs to be omitted in the negated construction. As a response to a question such as *Where is my mother?*, (74a) indicates that the speaker knows that the person in question is always at the sea at 7 o'clock. Likewise, in (74b), the speaker knows from prior experience that the person in question should not be at the sea at 7 o'clock. We see that in (74b), *vati* is used to negate the sentence and the modality marker is no longer present. Similarly, (74c) and (74d) can be answers to a question such as *Do you see what's written on that ship?*. In (74c), considering the fact that ships usually have their names written on them, the speaker makes an hypothesis about what is written on the ship. (74d), on the other hand, could be uttered in an hypothetical situation where ships never have their names written on it. So, the speaker guesses that what is written on the ship cannot be its name.

(74) a. *Saati şkhiti-s zuğa-s ort'-a-s-ere*
hour seven-DAT sea-DAT COP-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'She should be/must be at the sea at 7 o'clock.'
b. *Saati şkhiti-s zuğa-s vati ort'-a-s*
hour seven-DAT sea-DAT NEG COP-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'She cannot be at the sea at 7 o'clock.'
c. *Ma-ti vorsi va b-dzir-em, kharavi-şi yoxo*
1-too well NEG 1SBJ-see-TS ship-GEN name
nç'ar-u-t'-a-s-ere
write-PST.3SG-IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'I cannot see well either. Its name should/must be written on it.'
d. *Ma-ti vorsi va b-dzir-em, kharavi-şi yoxo vati*
1-too well NEG 1SBJ-see-TS ship-GEN name NEG
nç'ar-u-t'-a-s
write-PST.IMPF-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'I cannot see well either. Its name cannot/should not be written on it.'

As we have previously established in this section, the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u* can be used in future-in-past and counterfactual contexts. When it is

negated, it is replaced with the conditional marker *-k'o* and the subjunctive marker is omitted. These suffixes also occur in constructions with an epistemic reading[20]. The epistemic readings of clauses with *-(a)(r)t'u* are negated with *vati* and the subjunctive marker *-a* is omitted from the verb.

Another answer to the question, *Where is my mother?*, could be formed with the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u* (75). In this case, however, the speakers report a change in meaning. While the form in (74a) was interpreted as only a guess without any knowledge of the situation, (75) can be uttered in a context in which the person in question is not at the beach even though the speaker expected them to be there. However, for (76), the interpretation is speaker reports an interpretation similar to that of (74b). It only conveys a deduction. Also note that *-et'u* used in (75) is an alternative form of *-(a)(r)t'u* and is more commonly used in the Pazar area.

(75) *Saati şkhiti-s zuğa-s ort'-a-s-et'u*
hour seven-DAT sea-DAT COP-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD.PST
'She would be at the sea at 7 o'clock.'

(76) *Saati şkhiti-s zuğa-s vati ort'-u-k'o*
hour seven-DAT sea-DAT NEG COP-PST-COND
'She would not/cannot be the sea at 7 o'clock.'

Even though epistemic readings in clauses with *-(a)(r)t'u* are not easily accessible, their negated counterparts with the suffix *-k'o* are commonly used to express deductions. The two negated clauses in (77) illustrate epistemic readings expressed by *-k'o*. In (77a), the speaker states a belief taking into consideration

[20]The epistemic readings of clauses with *-(a)(r)t'u* are not always easily accessible to speakers. While it is easier to access epistemic readings with copular clauses (75), verbal predicates with epistemic readings tend to be expressed with another construction (i). This is a perfect construction with the copula used as an auxiliary and it conveys are strong deduction regarding a past event. When I ask the speakers for the negation of (i), they form it with the suffix *-k'o* and the negator *vati* as illustrated in (77). I will not be discussing these perfect + auxiliary constructions in this work.

(i) *Nesrini-s vazo n-u-xir-ap-u-n-d-on-u*
Nesrin-DAT vase PV-APPL-steal-CAUS-TS-PRS.3SG-APV-COP-PST.3SG
'Nesrin must have stolen the vase.'

.

her/his prior knowledge of Nesrin. In (77b), the speaker makes an observation base on his/her general world knowledge.

(77) a. *Nesrini-k vazo vati nixir-u-k'o*
Nesrin-ERG vase NEG steal-PST.3SG-COND
'Nesrin would not steal the vase.' or 'Nesrin cannot have stolen the vase.'
b. *Madonna şkhuni oxori-şe vati mo-xth-u-k'o*
Madonna 3POSS.PL house-ALL NEG PV-come-PST.3SG-COND
'Madonna wouldn't come to our house.'

We have already seen in Section 2.2.2.5 that the verb in future tense form can take on a deontic meaning when uttered with a stern intonation. (78) illustrates the deontic reading example we have seen in Section 2.2.2.5 and shows that this interpretation can also be negated with *vati* (78b).

(78) a. *Ham k'alate-pe t'k'va tor-a-t-ere*
these basket-PL 2PL carry-SBJV-PL-MOD
'You (pl.) will carry these baskets.'
b. *Ham k'alate-pe t'k'va vati tor-a-t*
these basket-PL 2PL NEG carry-SBJV-PL
'You (pl.) will not/must not carry these baskets!'

As for dynamic modality, we observe the same pattern where the choice of negator is done according to the tense of the clause. This means that the present tense is negated with *va(r)* (79) while future tense is negated with *vati* (80). In the following sentences, dynamic modality is marked with the prefix *a-*. The verb in this case is in present tense, marked with the thematic suffix, -(*e(r)* and the tense/agreement markers. There are no asymmetries found between the verbal form of the affirmatives and negatives in present tense (79).

(79) a. *Ham dida hak'u dişka a-tor-e-n*
this old.woman this.much wood POT-carry-TS-PRS.3SG
'This old woman can carry that much wood.'
b. *Ham didas hak'u dişka var a-tor-e-n*
this old.woman this.much wood NEG POT-carry-TS-PRS.3SG
'This old woman cannot carry that much wood.'

In (80), the dynamic modality interpretation is expressed in future tense. The negated clause is negated with *vati* and we observe the same asymmetry concerning the omission of the modality marker.

(80) a. *Ham didas hak'u dişka a-tor-a-s-ere*
this old.woman this.much wood POT-carry-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'This old woman will be able to carry that much wood.'

b. *Ham didas hak'u dişka vati a-tor-a-s*
this old.woman this.much wood NEG POT-carry-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'This old woman will not be able to carry that much wood.'

2.4.1 A/Cat/TAM and A/NonReal Asymmetry

As we have established in Section 2.1, A/Cat asymmetry groups together negation asymmetries which demonstrate a change in the marking of different grammatical categories when a clause in negated. In this section, I will be specifically referring to the A/Cat/TAM subtype of asymmetries which concerns a change in tense, aspect and mood categories. I will also briefly mention a case of A/NonReal asymmetry, which indicates that whenever an affirmative and a negative is marked differently according to their reality status, it is always the negative counterpart which carried the "non-realized status" marking. First of all, I will show that the modality markers *-ere* and *-art'u* take part in a A/Cat/TAM type of asymmetry in Pazar Laz. Secondly, I will point to a possible A/Non-Real asymmetry concerning the conditional marker *k'o*.

However, it should be noted that the categorization of Miestamo (2005) only concerns standard negation, in that only indicatives and irrealis used to indicate future/habitual are taken into consideration[21]. Within this scope, it is not possible to offer a categorization for the asymmetries found in epistemic modality and counterfactual contexts. For this reason, the epistemic modality interpretations of the markers *-a* and *-ere* as well as the asymmetry between *-art'u* and *k'o* in counterfactual and epistemic contexts will not be taken into consideration in this subsection. I will, however, refer to the modality marker *-ere* and *-art'u* as well as the

[21]Miestamo (2005) states that "mood categories other than indicative (and irrealis in its uses as future/habitual) do not usually form SN contexts and are thus not relevant." (p. 112/113)

conditional marker *k'o* in their future and future-in-past tense interpretations as they can be considered indicative contexts[22].

As I have previously indicated in Section 2.1, there are two types of asymmetry: constructional and paradigmatic. The constructional type concerns the comparison between an affirmative sentence and its negated counterpart. The A/Cat/TAM and A/NonReal asymmetries in Pazar Laz should be considered under the constructional type. The examples in (81) illustrate an affirmative sentence (81a) and its negated counterpart (81b) in future tense. The verb in the affirmative is marked with the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modality marker *-(e)re*[23]. In the negated counterpart, in addition to the presence of the negation morpheme, the suffix *-(e)re* is omitted. For the sake of this example, I have indicated in the gloss of (81b) the nature of the negation marker. Even though I have glossed all negation morphemes as NEG so far, it is clear that each of them holds a specific feature regarding the TAM of the clause which they are negating. From the viewpoint of a negation asymmetry, we could say that while the modality marker is omitted from the sentence, the feature of modality is expressed in the negator, which is *vati*. This makes sense also from a broader point of view considering that *vati* is the negator which is used in modal contexts.

(81) a. *Cami kos-a-re*
window wipe-SBJV-MOD
'You will wipe the window.'

b. *Cami vati kos-a*
window NEG.MOD wipe-SBJV
'You will not wipe the window.'

Remember that in the A/Cat/TAM asymmetries, a specific marker could either be omitted completely or appear on the negation morpheme. Koyraboro Senni (see example (9) in Section 2.1) was a good example for this, in that the aspectual marker

[22]Whether future tense and future-in-past tense should be considered as indicative is open to discussion. We would also question whether a specific language treats these two tenses as indicatives. However, in order to simplify matters, I treat them as indicative constructions.

[23]One could also call *-(e)re* a future marker in this context. However, I will keep referring to it as a modality marker.

found in the affirmative was omitted in the negated form and the imperfective aspect was expressed with the negation morpheme.

When it comes to the negation of future-in-past contexts, we observe a similar pattern regarding the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u* (82). However, the asymmetry in these constructions appear to be more complex than what we have seen for future tense. (82a) is an affirmative sentence in future-in-perfect tense. Similar to the construction in (81a), it is marked with the subjunctive marker *-a* and *-(a)(r)t'u*, the past form of the modality marker. When the sentence is negated (82b), we observe three different changes in the structure. First of all, the past modality marker, *-(a)(r)t'u*, is omitted. The modality feature appears on the negator instead, as was also shown in (81b). However, in this case, the past feature found in the modality marker would be lost. For this reason, the verb in the negated form (82b) carries the past tense morpheme *-i*. Secondly, the subjunctive marker which was kept in the negative form in future tense (81b) is no longer present in the negated counterpart in (82b).

(82) a. *Ma mali mo-g-i-ğ-a-t'u*
1SBJ goods PV-2OBJ-APPL-bring-SBJV-MOD.PST
'I was going to bring the goods to you.'

b. *Ma mali vati mo-g-i-ğ-i-k'o*
1SBJ goods NEG.MOD PV-2OBJ-APPL-bring-PST.1SG-COND
'I was not going to bring the goods to you.'

In (82b), the absolute tense (past tense) is marked with the past marker *-i* and the relative tense (future tense) is indicated with the negator. In this case, the conditional marker *-k'o* seems to mark something other than TAM marking.

As we have previously seen, *-k'o* seems to be a marker which appears in counterfactual contexts (83). This makes it a marker which indicates a non-realized status of events[24]. Even though, I have not elaborated on the A/NonReal subtype in Section 2.1, we have briefly seen that Miestamo (2005) argues for a correlation between negation and non-realized status marking. A/NonReal subtype of the

[24]Remember that markers which denote "a non-realized state of affairs" do not have to be irrealis marking. See footnote (6) in Section 2.1.

negation asymmetries suggests that whenever there is a difference in reality status marking between the affirmative and the negative, the negative should be marked with a category denoting a non-realized status of event.

(83) *Xat'iri var g-i-ğut'-u-k'o, mali vati*
sake NEG 2OBJ-APPL-be-PST.3SG-COND goods NEG
mo-g-i-ğ-i-k'o
PV-2OBJ-APPL-bring-PST.1SG-COND
'If it were not for your sake, I would not bring the goods to you.'

In this case, we could argue that the addition of the conditional marker *-k'o* in the negated counterpart (82b) constitutues a A/Non-Real type of negation asymmetry in Pazar Laz[25]. This findings validates the claim that the negated counterparts and non-realized status marking demonstrate a correlation.

Finally, this means that (82) has showcases 3 main negation asymmetries, which are listed below :

- 2 cases of A/Cat/TAM asymmetry which include the deletion of *-(a)(r)t'u* (which brings about the modality marking of the negator and the past tense morpheme on the verb) and the deletion of the subjunctive mood marker.

- 1 case of A/Non-Real asymmetry which includes the addition of a category marking a non-realized status of events in the negated counterpart.

2.5 The distribution of *mo(t)*

In this section, I will explain the use of two different negators which we find in prohibitive contexts, *mo(t)* and *moto*[26]. The negation morpheme *mo(t)* is used in subjunctive contexts (in optatives and hortatives) and regular prohibitives. The distinction between *mo* and *mot* is similar to the distinction between *va* and *var* which was illustrated in Section 2.3. The speakers choose the negator according to the phonological context, in that if the negator is followed by a vowel, *mot* will be

[25]I should clarify that the exact function and categorization of affixes is not well-established in Pazar Laz. Even though this makes it hard to categorize negation asymmetries, it is clear that Pazar Laz constitutes an example for many of them.

[26]A different variant of the negator *mo(t)* is the negator *moy*, which is mainly used in the region of Ardeşen and not in Pazar.

preferred. Along with the negator *mot*, the negator *moto* can also appear in subjunctive contexts with a slight change in the degree of the prohibition. In the Atina (Pazar) region, the form *moto* is also found in two alternative prohibitive constructions. The first of these constructions include *moto* and the verb in future tense. The second construction is formed with *moto* and the verb carrying the past modality marker, *-(a)(r)t'u*.

Sentences in (84) illustrate the use of *mo(t)* and *moto* with the subjunctive verb form. Even though, in each example the verb carries the subjunctive marker, the interpretations might vary. For instance, (84a) is a negative optative sentence while (84b) illustrates a negative hortative sentence. As I have discussed in Section 2.2.2.4, optative sentences express a wish, a desire while hortatives urge the interlocutor to take an action. Although the examples in (84c, 84d) have the same subjunctive verb form, the can be interpreted as slightly stronger demands. In all of the examples given in (84), it is possible to use both negators. However, the speakers report that the use of *mo(t)* gives a more strict prohibitive reading whereas the use of *moto* conveys a strong wish.

(84) a. *Mo(t)/Moto c-i-montal-a!*
NEG PV-APPL-reproduce-SBJV
'May you not have children!'

b. *Da-skani-k ar daha şkhuni şkhala mo(t)/moto*
sister-2POSS-ERG one more 3PL with NEG
ixaphar-a-s!
speak-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May your sister never speak to us again.'

c. *Mjora var gamaxtaşa mo(t)/moto çir-a!*
sun NEG come.out NEG swim-SBJV
'Don't swim before the sun comes out!'

d. *Mo(t)/Moto do-t'ax-a!*
NEG PV-break-SBJV
'Don't break it!'

It is also important to note that the subjunctive verb (85b, 85a) and the verb in negated future sentences (85c) end up having the same form. As a result of this neutralization process, the choice of negator ends up being the key indicator for the

interpretation of the verb. The use of *mo(t)* or *moto* results in a subjunctive reading in (85b) whereas *vati* results in a future reading in (85c).

(85) a. *Fuati-k banka-s i-çaliş-a-s*
Fuat-ERG bank-DAT APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May/Let Fuat work at the bank.' or 'Fuat should work at the bank.'
b. *Fuati-k banka-s mot i-çaliş-a-s*
Fuat-ERG bank-DAT MOT APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'May Fuat not work at the bank.' or 'Fuat should not work at the bank.'
c. *Fuati-k banka-s vati i-çaliş-a-s*
Fuat-ERG bank-DAT VATI APPL-work-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Fuat will not work at the bank.'

In regular prohibitives which are the negation of imperative forms, we can only use the negator *mo(t)*. As we have seen in Section 2.2, the imperatives are formed with the suffix *-i*. We have also seen that the imperative form is syncretic with the past tense second person form. This is exemplified again in (86) in which the imperative verb form is identical to the past verb form. They are distinguished thanks to the linguistic/situational context and intonation.

(86) a. *İmt'-i!*
escape-IMP
'Run!'
b. *Si imt'-i*
you escape-PST.3SG
'You escaped.'

When imperatives are negated, the imperative marker *-i* is no longer present on the verb. In regular verbs, the verb root stays the same but it now carries the thematic suffix which is found in its present tense form. This thematic suffix is *-er* in (87a) while it is *-um* in (88a). The negation morpheme can only be *mo(t)* in prohibitives. The use of *moto* yields ungrammatical results. In (87a, 88a), the imperative is negated with the negation morpheme, *mo(t)* and the use of *moto* results in an ungrammatical construction (87c, 88c). Another crucial point is that we have another case of syncretism in prohibitives. The verb form in the prohibitive sentence (87a, 88a) and the second person in present tense (87b, 88b) are identical. Unlike the

case in imperatives, this does not cause an ambiguity as the prohibitive form always has the negator *mo(t)* and the indicative form always has the negator *va(r)*.

(87) a. *Mo(t) imt'-er!*
NEG escape-TS
'Don't run!'
b. *(Si) imt'-er.*
(you) escape-TS
'You are escaping.'
c. **Moto imt'-er!*
NEG escape-TS
Intended meaning : 'Don't run!'

(88) a. *Mo(t) kos-um!*
NEG wipe-TS
'Do not wipe!'
b. *Si kos-um.*
you wipe-TS
'You wipe.'
c. **Moto kos-um!*
NEG wipe-TS
Intended meaning: 'Do not wipe!'

We observe a slightly different pattern regarding the verb roots with irregular verbs. The verb root of irregular verbs undergo certain morphological changes in present and past forms. These changes also affect the verb roots in imperatives and prohibitives. In Pazar Laz, the verb *oxtimu* (to go) appears as *-oxt'-* in past tense and as *-ul-* in present tense. The imperatives of such irregular verbs are formed on the past form of the verb root. With the imperative marker and the past tense marker being syncretic, the imperative and the second person of past tense end up having the same form. This is illustrated in (89). The use of the subject is optional in both of these constructions. The linguistic/situational context and intonation helps disambiguate the interpretation.

(89) a. *(Si) mo-xt'-i!*
(you) PV-come-IMP
'Come!'

b. *(Si) mo-xt'-i.*
(you) PV-come-PST.2SG
'You came.'

The same syncretism is found between the second person plural form of the imperative and the second person plural of present tense. Both the imperative (90a) and the affirmative (90b) form are marked with the plural agreement marker, *-t* at the end of the verb.

(90) a. *Mo-xt'-i-t!*
PV-come-IMP-PL
'Come!' (more than one addressee)
b. *Mo-xt'-i-t.*
PV-come-IMP-PL
'You came.' (more than one addressee)

In irregular verbs, a different verb root is chosen for the present form. The root of the verb, *oxtimu*, turns into *ul-* in present tense. (91a) is an affirmative sentence in present tense. It carries the preverb *m-* and the theme suffix *-ur*. The imperative marker *-i* is no longer present. The prohibitive form is formed with the use of the negator *mo(t)* as exemplified in (91b). The negator *moto* is not allowed as we have also seen in (87c) and (88c).

(91) a. *(Si) m-ul-ur.*
you PV-come-TS
'You come/are coming.'
b. *Mo(t)/*Moto m-ul-ur!*
NEG PV-come-TS
'Don't come!'

Similar to (90), the sentences in (92) illustrate the syncretism between a plural prohibitive (92a) and a plural affirmative sentence in present tense (92b).

(92) a. *Mo(t) m-ul-ur-t!*
NEG PV-come-TS-PL
'Don't come!' (more than one addressee)
b. *Tk'va m-ul-ur-t.*
2PL PV-come-TS-PL
'You are coming.'

Even though the syncretisms cause a certain ambiguity in the imperative/affirmative forms, the choice of negator helps disambiguate the meaning in prohibitive/negative pairs. When the negator *mo(t)* is used, the verb is interpreted as a prohibitive (93a) and when the negator is *va(r)*, it is simply the negation of an indicative affirmative statement in present tense (93b).

(93) a. *(Si) mo m-ul-ur!*
(you) MOT PV-come-TS
'Do not come!'
b. *(Si) va m-ul-ur.*
(you) VAR PV-come-TS
'You are not coming./You do not come.'

As I have briefly mentioned in Section 2.2.3, the affirmative preverbs (*ko-*, *do-*, *menda-*, *o-*) cannot co-occur with the negators *var* and *vati*. The same applies for the negator *mot*. The affirmative preverbs can be used with imperatives to reinforce the emphasis on the demand. The speakers have reported that when the preverbs are used, there is an insinuation pointing to the expectedness of the event. The examples in (94) illustrate such a case where the demand of the speaker is reinforced with the preverb *-ko* (94a, 94b)[27].

(94) a. *Ko-mo-xt'-i!*
APV-PV-come-IMP
'Do come!'
b. *Ko-do-xed-i-t!*
APV-PV-sit-IMP-PL
'Do sit! (to more than one addressee)'

Even though preverbs can appear in imperatives, they cannot appear in prohibitives negated with *mot*. The examples in (95) show that prohibitive constructions are not grammatical with affirmative preverbs which are indicated in paranthesis. The constructions are perfectly grammatical with only the spatial preverbs.

[27]The second preverb *-do* which is found in (94b) and *-mo* found on (94a) are spatial preverbs which indicate motion/direction. For an overview on spatial preverbs, see Section 2.2.

(95) a. *Mo(t) (*ko)-mul-ur!*
NEG APV-come-TS
Intended meaning: 'Do not come!' or 'Don't you come!'
b. *Mo(t) (*ko)-do-xed-ur!*
NEG APV-PV-sit-TS
Intended meaning: 'Do not sit!' or 'Don't you sit!'

We have already stated that the negator *moto* cannot be used to negate regular prohibitives. This is illustrated again in (96).

(96) a. **Moto do-xed-ur!*
NEG PV-sit-TS
Intended meaning: 'Do not sit!'
b. **Moto kos-um!*
NEG wipe-TS
Intended meaning: 'Do not wipe!'

However, there are two distinct forms in Pazar Laz which convey a prohibitive meaning in which only the negator *moto* can be used. In one of these constructions, the verb appears in the future form with the suffixes *-a* and *ere*. In the other form, the verb carries the past form of the modality marker. Both of these markers have been mentioned in Section 2.2.2.5. What is interesting is that, unlike the case with *mo(t)*, the affirmative preverbs have to appear in these constructions. It should also be noted that these constructions cannot be used as imperatives without any negators. The two constructions only exist in prohibitive form.

The sentences in (97) illustrate the use of the negator *moto* with verbs in future form. Here, the verbs carry the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modality *ere*, which conveys either a future or an epistemic reading as we have seen in Section 2.2.2.5. However, whenever this verb form is used with *moto*, it conveys a type of prohibitive meaning. The speakers state that this construction is not as much of a demand as the regular prohitibitives formed with *mo(t)* but more so a strong wish or desire. (97a) and (97c) are perfectly grammatical as they are used with the affirmative preverb *-ko*. However, the speakers find that (97b) and (97d) do not sound quite right as the affirmative preverbs are missing.

(97) a. *Moto ko-meç-a-re!*
NEG APV-give-SBJV-MOD
'Don't you give it to him/her!'
b. *??Moto meç-a-re!*
NEG give-SBJV-MOD
Intended meaning: 'Don't you give it to him/her!'
c. *Moto ko-do-xed-a-re!*
NEG APV-PV-sit-SBJV-MOD
'Don't you sit!'
d. *??Moto do-xed-a-re!*
NEG PV-sit-SBJV-MOD
Intended meaning: 'Don't you sit!'

The second construction with the negator *moto* is formed with the past form of the modality marker, *-(a)(r)t'u*[28]. Just like the previous construction, the interpretation here is not reflected on the verb form. Even though the verb carries the past modality marker, the meaning conveys a lighter type of prohibitive. Also similar to the previous case, the constructions must include the affirmative preverbs.

(98) a. *Moto ko-moxt'-a-(r)t'u!*
NEG APV-come-SBJV-MOD.PST
'Don't (you) come!'
b. *Moto ko-meç-a-(r)t'u!*
NEG APV-give-SBJV-MOD.PST
'Don't (you) give (it) to him/her!'

To sum up, the only context in which *mo(t)* and *moto* can both appear is optative/hortative constructions. The negator *mo(t)* can appear in regular prohibitives while *moto* yields ungrammatical results. The negator *moto* can appear with verbs present and past modal forms while *mo(t)* yields ungrammatical results. Moreover, the negator *mot* cannot support affirmative preverbs in the same prohibitive constructions while *moto* requires there to be affirmative preverbs. In light of their differences, we can conclude that *mot* and *moto* are distinct negation morphemes as they clearly behave differently and have a distinct distribution.

[28]The /r/ is indicated in parentheses in the examples as it is not pronounced in the Pazar region as we have seen in Section 2.2.2.5.

2.6 Some additional phenomena

In this section, I will draw attention to two important phenomena regarding negation in Pazar Laz. The first subsection 2.6.1 will illustrate cases in which the predicate of a clause can be omitted in the presence of certain indefinite pronouns. The second subsection 2.6.2 is on affirmative preverb asymmetry, where I show that affirmative preverbs cannot co-occur with the negators *va(r)*, *vati* and *mot*.

2.6.1 Predicate elision

In Pazar Laz, we observe certain instances where the copula or the main verb is absent after the negator *va(r)*. This phenomenon is restricted to clauses with certain indefinite pronouns. We have already seen in Section 2.2.5 the pronouns which appear in negated sentences (along with interrogatives). These pronouns were *muti* "anything" (99), *miti* "anybody" (100) and *soti* "anywhere" (102).

When the main verb is elided a sentence, no other constituent is left in the clause to carry the TAM marking. According to criteria offered in Dahl (1979), Pazar Laz makes use of uninflected negation particles, which are shown to be the most common type of negators in Dryer (2013). In Pazar Laz, it is always the main verb or the copula that carries the tense, aspect, modality (TAM) markers and agreement affixes. The negators can never be inflected with TAM markers, even in cases where the predicate is elided in the sentence.

The following question/answer pairs in (99)[29] and (100) illustrate how the predicate elision takes place as an answer to a question. It is important to note that this elision process can only take place as a response to a question as the context has to be established between the speakers. In both (99) and (100), the questions ask about a past event. As we are in a past context, the choice of negator is *va(r)*. The answer is given with the indefinite pronouns *muti* and *miti*. The existence of the verbal predicate *iyu* and *moxtu* is optional. Even though it is the predicate that carries

[29] In this subsection, I do not provide detailed glosses for verbs as the verbal markings are not relevant to our discussion.

the inflection, the sentence can still be interpreted in past tense when it is elided thanks to the situational and linguistic context, which is provided by the question.

(99) a. Question:
Mu iyu?
what happened
'What happened?'

b. Answer:
Muti var (iyu).
something NEG (happened)
'Nothing happened.'

(100) a. Question:
Mi moxtu?
who came
'Who came?'

b. Answer:
Miti var (moxtu).
someone NEG (came)
'No one did.'

It should be noted that predicate elision can take place only in the presence of the negator *va(r)*. This means that the omission of the predicate can only happen in present and past sentences. A question referring to a future event as in (101a) can never be answered with a predicate elision. This means that predicate elision never occurs with *vati*, and thus can never be used to negate a future event (101c). The use of *var* also results in an infelicitous answer (101d).

(101) a. Question:
Mu iyasere?
what will.happen
'What will happen?'

b. Standard Answer:
Muti vat(i) iyas.
something NEG will.happen
'Nothing will happen.'

c. *Muti vati.
Intended meaning:
'Nothing will happen.'

d. *Muti var.
Intended meaning:
'Nothing will happen.'

(102) illustrates predicate elision with the indefinite pronoun *soti*. As the question (102a) asks for a spatial adverbial, the answer in (102b) is given with *soti*. The subject and the copula are optional. In the absence of the copula, the sentence is still interpreted in present tense thanks to the question.

(102) a. Question:
Nesrini nak on?
Nesrin where COP.PRS
'Where is Nesrin?'

b. Answer:
(Nesrini) soti var (on).
(Nesrin) somewhere NEG COP.PRS
'She is nowhere.'

The following sentence (103) asks for the subject of an event. Note that the both the question particle *mi* in (103a) and the indefinite pronoun *miti* in (103b) carry the ergative marker *-k*. The predicate in (103b) can be omitted. However, in (103b), we have also dropped the object argument, *kadiris*. When the predicate is elided, the object argument is not allowed to appear in the clause (103c).

(103) a. Question:
Kadiri-s mi-k muntxu?
Kadir-DAT who-ERG hit
'Who hit Kadir?'

b. Answer:
Miti-k var (muntxu).
Someone-ERG NEG (hit)
'No one did.'

c. Answer:
*Kadiris mitik var.
Intended meaning: 'No one did.'

In (104), the question is asking for the indirect object of the clause. (104b) provides the standard answer to this question, with the negation morpheme *var* and the predicate in past tense *utzu*. (104c) shows how the predicate can be elided in the presence of the indefinite pronoun *miti*. As we have seen in (103b), the indefinite NPs can still carry their regular case markings when the verb is omitted. This is also the case for (104c), where the indirect object (indefinite pronoun *miti*) carries the dative marker *-s*. Similar to (103c), (104d) shows that the subject cannot appear in the clause along with the indefinite pronoun.

(104) a. Question:
Nesrini-k mi-s utzu?
Nesrin-ERG who-DAT told
'To whom did Nesrin tell?'

b. Standard answer:
Nesrini-k miti-s var utzu.
Nesrin-ERG someone-DAT NEG told
'Nesrin did not tell anyone.'

c. Predicate elision:
Miti-s var (utzu).
someone-DAT NEG (told)
'To no one.'

d. *Nesrinik mitis var.
Intended meaning: 'To no one.'

The examples above have shown that in the presence of an indefinite pronoun and the negator *va(r)*, the predicate can be elided. I have shown that the predicate can only be elided in the presence of *va(r)* and this omission cannot take place in clauses negated with *vati*. Moreover, the when the predicate is elided, the arguments can still carry their argument markings. Another interesting aspect is that, when the predicate is elided, the only argument permitted in the clause is the indefinite pronoun. Other arguments, whether they are the subject or the object of the clause, are not permitted to occur along with the indefinite pronoun.

2.6.2 Affirmative preverb asymmetry

In Section 2.2.3, we have seen that Pazar Laz makes use of four different affirmative preverbs (*do-*, *ko-*, *menda-*, *o-*) which add an emphasis on the completion of the action in question. What speakers report for these constructions usually point to the expectedness of the event, meaning the taking place of the event should be established between the speakers.

A point I would like to make before the discussion on asymmetry concerns their use with discourse markers which suggest that the speaker is not sure of the completion of the event. I have shown in Section 2.2.3 that affirmative preverbs can be used with *beçi* which has a meaning similar to *maybe* in English. This example is illustrated again in (105a). The fact that *beçi* and the affirmative preverb can co-occur in a clause shows that these markers are not necessarily only used when the event has certainly taken place, but they might emphasize the belief of the speaker that the

event has taken place. In this case, the speaker can still doubt that the completion of the event. The English translation of (105a) illustrates that the emphatic *do* in English can also be used with such a discourse marker.

(105) a. *K'oçi do-ğur-u beçi*
man APV-die-PST.3SG maybe
'The man did die, I guess.'

In this subsection, I will show how the affirmative preverbs (APV) cannot co-occur with the negators *var*, *vati* and *mo(t)*, while they can be used with *moto*[30]. I will first exemplify how *va(r)*, *vati* and *mo(t)* cannot be used with APVs. I will offer examples for each negator and for each APV.

The examples in (106) are in present tense and they are negated with *va(r)*. 106a is the neutral form of the verb in present tense, while (106b) shows the emphasized form with the APV *menda-*. (106c) illustrates how the APV cannot be present when the clause is negated with the negator *va(r)*. (107).

(106) a. *V-oşk'-um*
1SBJ-send-TS
'I am sending (him/her).'
b. *Menda-v-oşk'-um*
APV-1SBJ-send-TS
'I am (certainly) sending him/her.'
c. *Var (*menda)-v-oşk'-um*
NEG (APV)-1SBJ-send-TS
'I am not sending him/her.'

(107) includes clauses in past tense, which are also negated with *va(r)*. (107a) shows the sentence in its neutral form, appearing only with the spatial preverb *e-*, which indicates upwards motion as we have seen in Section 2.2.3. In (107b), the APV *ko-* is added to the verb. It loses its final vowel as it is immeadiately followed by another vowel. Finally, (107c) shows that *ko-* cannot occur in the negated counterpart of (107b). This example also shows how the APV *ko-* is allowed to co-occur with spatial preverbs, while other APVs cannot.

[30]I have already shown in Section 2.5 how *mo(t)* cannot appear with affirmative preverbs while *moto* requires them.

(107) a. *E-xt'-u*
PV-go-PST.3SG
'S/he went upstairs.'
b. *K-e-xt'-u*
APV-PV-go-PST.3SG
'S/he (certainly) went upstairs.'
c. *Var (*k-)e-xt'-u*
NEG (APV)-PV-go-PST.3SG
'S/he did not go upstairs.'
((Kojima & Bucaklişi, 2003))

The examples in (108) and (109) illustrate how the negator *vati* cannot co-occur with APVs in future contexts. In (108a), the verb is in its neutral form in future tense. In (108b), the APV *o-* is used to emphasize the expectedness of the action. (108c) shows that the APV *o-* and the negator *vati* cannot co-exist within the same clause.

(108) a. *P'-şkom-a-re*
1SBJ-eat-SBJV-MOD
'I will eat.'
b. *O-p'-şkom-a-re*
APV-1SBJ-eat-SBJV-MOD
'(Of course) I will eat.'
c. *Vati (*o)-p'-şkom-a*
NEG APV-1SBJ-eat-SBJV
'I will not eat.'

Similar to (108), (109) also shows sentences in future tense. This time the APV used on the verb is *do-*. (109a) shows the neutral form of the verb while (109b) shows the emphasized form with *-do*. Similar to what we have observed in (107b), the final vowel of the APV is dropped as it is followed by another vowel. (109c) shows that *-do* cannot be used when the clause is negated with *vati*.

(109) a. *K'ata-muşi duguni-şe u-ç'and-a-s-ere*
friend-3POSS wedding-ALL APPL-invite-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'S/he will invite her/his friend to the wedding.'
b. *K'ata-muşi duguni-şe d-u-ç'and-a-s-ere*
friend-3POSS wedding-ALL APV-APPL-invite-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'(Of course) s/he will invite her/his friend to the wedding.'

c. *K'ata-muşi duguni-şe vati (*d-)u-ç'and-a-s*
friend-3POSS wedding-ALL NEG APV-APPL-invite-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'S/he will not invite her/his friend to the wedding.'

The following example (110) shows the use of the APV *menda-* in imperative constructions. As we have previously seen in Sections 2.2.4 and 2.5, irregular verbs have different verb roots in imperatives and prohibitives. While the imperative form has the verb root *xt'* in (110a), the prohibitive has a suppletive verb root in (110b). (110a) shows that the imperative can appear with *-menda*. However, it cannot appear in the prohibitive form (110b).

(110) a. *Menda-xt'-i!*
APV-go-IMP
'Do go!'
b. *Mot (*menda-)ul-ur!*
NEG (APV)-go-TS
'Do not go!'

I have already illustrated in Section 2.5 how the negator *moto* requires affirmative preverbs on the verb it negates, unlike *mo(t)* which cannot co-occur with affirmative preverbs. So, this will not be exemplified again in this section.

In this work, I do not get into the details of why the affirmative preverbs and certain negators cannot co-occur within the same clause. Even though it seems to be related to a semantic restriction, Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) point to a morphophonological restriction concerning the stress patterns found on the verbal complex.

In Pazar Laz, the negators attract the stress which is normally found on the verb in affirmative sentences. Normally, verbal stress in Pazar Laz is conditioned by many factors and is quite complex. It has been stated in Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) that verbal stress in Pazar Laz can be found in the penultimate syllable, antepenultimate syllable, pre-antepenultimate syllable and even pre-pre-antepenultimate syllable. However, no matter where the verbal stress appears in an affirmative sentence, in negatives, the negator will always attract the verbal stress.

In (111a), the verbal stress is on the first syllable of the predicate, *mişk'un*. When the sentence is negated, the stress shifts to *va(r)* (111b). It is difficult to show this shift with the negator *vati* in future tense because the verb form also changes in the negative. However, it can be observed that in (112a), the verbal stress found on the second syllable shifts onto the first syllable of *vati* in the negative sentence (112b). The verb no longer has stress[31].

(111) a. *Muya ph-∅-a-re m-í-şk'-u-n.*
what 1SBJ-do-SBJV-MOD 1SBJ-APPL-know-TS-PRS.3SG
'I know what I will do.'

b. *Muya ph-∅-a-re vá m-i-şk'-u-n.*
what 1SBJ-do-SBJV-MOD NEG 1SBJ-APPL-know-TS-PRS.3SG
'I don't know what I will do.'

(112) a. *Nesrini-k Nezali-s çitabi meç-á-s-ere*
Nesrin-ERG Nezali-DAT book give-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'Nesrin will give the book to Nezali.'

b. *Nesrini-k Nezali-s çitabi váti meç-a-s.*
Nesrin-ERG Nezali-DAT book NEG give-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Nesrin will not give the book to Nezali.'

However, negators are not the only particles which attract verbal stress. Affirmative preverbs behave in the same stress-attracting way as the negators. The affirmative preverbs, *do-*, *ko-*, *menda-*, *o-*, which are placed in front of the root also attract the verbal stress. While the verbal stress is found in the first syllable of the verb in (113a), when the affirmative preverb *do-* is added, the stress shifts to the APV (113b). (113c) illustrates how the negator attracts the verbal stress and how the APV cannot co-occur with the negator[32].

[31]This stress attracting pattern is also valid for *mo(t)* even though it is not exemplified here.

[32]In cases where the negator *moto* occurs with an APV as illustrated in (i), it is the preverb which carries the verbal stress.

(i) *Moto kó-meç-a-re!*
NEG APV-give-SBJV-MOD
'Don't you give (it)!'

(113) a. *Koçi ğúr-u-n*
man die-TS-PRS.3SG
'The man is dying.'

b. *Koçi dó-ğur-u-n*
man APV-die-TS-PRS.3SG
'The man is dying.'

c. *Koçi vá (*do)-ğur-u-n*
man NEG die-TS-PRS.3SG
'The man is not dying.'

Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) argues that the fact that the affirmative preverbs and negative morphemes cannot appear within the same clause and that they both attract verbal stress shows that both kind of particles form a phonological unit with the verb. In this case, both the negators and the preverbs function as pro-clitics and occupy the same morphological slot given that they are mutually exclusive.

2.6.2.1 A/Emph Asymmetry

We have seen in Section 2.1 that A/Emph asymmetry was noted as a marginal type of asymmetry, in that it is not as commonly observed as the other types. According to Miestamo (2005), this asymmetry pattern suggests that there is a correlation between negative constructions and emphatic markers. Whenever the negative involves emphatic marking (normally used in non-negatives) which is not present in the corresponding affirmative, we can consider it an A/Emph asymmetry. He observes in his data that there is no language which would mark the affirmative with an emphatic marker while the corresponding negative would not be marked. He finally puts forward a universal, which suggests that if the affirmative is marked with an emphatic marker, the negative should also be marked. In this section, I will argue that Pazar Laz has certain characteristics which could be seen as counterexamples to what has been suggested in Miestamo (2005).

Considering the examples which were given in this section, we can say that Pazar Laz shows a negation asymmetry concerning emphatic markers which we have called APVs. This points to an A/Emph type asymmetry. As I have previously indicated in Section 2.1, there are two types of asymmetry: constructional and

paradigmatic. The paradigmatic type concerns the correspondence between affirmative and negative paradigms. In a case in which there is no one-to-one correspondence between paradigms, the asymmetry is considered to be paradigmatic. A/Emph asymmetry in Pazar Laz seems to be a good example of a paradigmatic asymmetry. Let us take the example we have seen in (107). In the affirmative paradigm, we have two possible structures: the neutral (114a) and the emphatic (114c) structure. However, the negated paradigm only has one possible structure (114b), which is the neutral one. This clearly shows a neutralization process in the negation of emphatic structures.

(114) a. *E-xt'-u*
PV-go-PST.3SG
'S/he went upstairs.

b. *Var e-xt'-u*
NEG PV-go-PST.3SG
'S/he did not go upstairs.'

c. *K-e-xt'-u*
APV-PV-go-PST.3SG
'S/he (certainly) went upstairs.

The emphatic *do* example in Section 2.1 illustrated a similar neutralization process for English. This process was called A/Emph/Neutr asymmetry as the emphatic distinction was lost in the negated construction. Nevertheless, as this distinction is disappearing in English, the negated form is built on the emphatic form. The emphatic marker *do* is still present in the negative construction even though it does not semantically convey an emphasis on the event. This is the reason why Miestamo (2005) argues for a correlation between emphatic marking and negation.

However, in Pazar Laz, we observe an opposite pattern in which the emphatic marking is lost in negation while it can be present in the affirmative. This constitutes a counterexample to the correlation between negatives and emphatic markers as well as to the implicational universal put forward in Miestamo (2005). The universal stated that "if the affirmative is marked for a category denoting emphasis then the corresponding negative will also be." In Pazar Laz, the corresponding negative of an affirmative clause with an APV will not be marked with an APV. In this case, we can say that this implicational universal is not valid for Pazar Laz.

Moreover, Miestamo (2005) also states that for an asymmetry to be considered a separate category, the opposite patterns to correlations should never be observed. In this case, we should never find a language in which the affirmative is marked with an emphatic marker while the negative is not as there should be a correlation between negation an emphatic marking. Considering that emphatic marking is not allowed in negative constructions in Pazar Laz, we can say that this correlation does not hold, either. Thus, we could argue that A/Emph asymmetry should not be considered a separate category amongst negation asymmetries.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that The negator *va(r)* is used to negate present and past tense while *vati* negates future tense as well as epistemic readings. I have also shown that *moto* is a different morpheme than *mo(t)*. While they can both be used in optative/hortative contexts, only *mo(t)* can occur in regular prohibitives. Moreover, *moto* can be used in two alternative prohibitive constructions which are formed with modal markers *-(e)re* and *(a)(r)t'u*. While the negators *va(r)*, *vati* and *mo(t)* cannot co-occur with the affirmative preverbs, *moto* requires them in alternative prohibitive constructions. In the light of these findings, I argued that *moto* is a separate morpheme than *mo(t)* and it displays certain behaviours which do not align with the rest of the negators. Table 1 gives an overview of the distribution of the negation morphemes.

Table 1. Overview of the Distribution of Negators

va(r)	*vati*	*mo(t)*	*moto*
present tense	future tense future-in-past tense	optative/hortative constructions	optative/hortative constructions
past tense	epistemic modality	prohibitives	alternative prohibitives with modal markers
cannot co-occur with APVs	cannot co-occur with APVs	cannot co-occur with APVs	can co-occur with APVs

I have also listed three different types of negation asymmetries in Pazar Laz: A/Cat/TAM, A/NonReal and A/Emph which are illustrated in Table 2. I have shown

in Section 2.4.1 that as the modal markers *-(e)re* and *-(a)(r)t'u* are not present in the negated forms the negator *vati* seems to convey the modal information in the clause. Also, in future-in-past tense contexts the past marker is added to the negated form of the verb and the subjunctive marker *-a* is deleted. Another A/Cat/TAM asymmetry found in future-in-past contexts concerns the addition of non-realized status marking to the negated form. As the conditional marker denotes a non-realized event in affirmative clauses, I chose to label it as a "non-realized status marker" within our framework. The fact that it appears on the negated counterpart in future-in-past tense contexts constitutes an example of an A/NonReal asymmetry and the correlation between negation and non-realized status marking. Finally, I have mentioned a paradigmatic asymmetry type with regard to emphatic markers called affirmative preverbs. I have argued that the fact that emphatic markers cannot appear in negated contexts is a counterexample to the correlation between emphatic marking and negation. I have also argued that in light of this opposite pattern, A/Emph should not be considered a separate asymmetry category.

Table 2. Overview of Negation Asymmetries

Subtype	A/Cat/TAM	A/NonReal	A/Emph
Constructional or Paradigmatic	constructional	constructional	paradigmatic
Related markers	- modal markers *-(e)re* and *-(a)(r)t'u* - past tense marker - subjunctive marker *-a*	- non-realized status marker (*-k'o*)	affirmative preverbs

CHAPTER 3

CLAUSAL NEGATION IN COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

This chapter offers a description of non-finite and finite complement clauses and their negation in Pazar Laz. Section 3.1 introduces different finite and non-finite complement clauses in Pazar Laz. In Section 3.2, I look into three different types non-finite complement clauses and their negation. I show that non-finite clauses can only be negated with *va(r)*. Section 3.3 offers a description of finite clauses with the subordinator *na* and their negation. First, I illustrate certain morphosyntactic traits of *na* and *na*-clauses. Second, I show how negation operates in finite embedded clauses, while pointing to certain aspects in which they differ from matrix clauses.

3.1 Complement clauses

Subordinate clauses are traditionally considered to be dependent clauses which are embedded as a constituent in a higher main clause. While referring to Langacker (1987)'s *Asymmetry Assumption*, Cristofaro (2003) defines subordination as a process contrasting with coordination, in that the first involves two events - or *state of affairs* (SoAs) - which are asymmetrical and the latter includes two symmetrical SoAs. With this logic, in a sentence such as (1a), the state of *being afraid* has prominence over the event of *his boss calling*, creating an asymmetrical relation. On the contrary, the two same events in (1b), are considered to have the same level of cognitive prominence, thus, they are in a symmetrical relation. The first example is a case of subordination (1a), while the latter is a case of coordination (1b).

(1) a. He was afraid [that his boss might call]
    b. His boss called and he got scared

This chapter will focus on subordination, thus on structures such as (1a), in which the bracketed element is a complement clause.

A more traditional and morphosyntactic definition of complement clauses is given in Noonan (2007) who describes sentential complementation as a situation that arises when "a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate".

This means that an embedded complement clause can be the subject or the object of the main predicate. Sentences in (2) show cases where subordinate clauses function as the subject of the sentence. (2a) is a finite complement clause in English formed with the complementizer *that* (called a that-clause). (2b) is a gerundive construction formed with a nominalized verb. Finally, (2c) is an infinitival clause formed with the complementizer *for*.

(2) a. [That his boss called] scared him
b. [His boss' calling] scared him
c. [For his boss to call him] was a scary thought

Complement clauses can also function as the object of the main verb. The bracketed clauses in (3) are all subordinate clauses with different structures. (3a) is a finite that-clause just like (2a). (3b) and (3c) are both non-finite structures; the first is an infinitival clause while the second is formed with the complementizer *if*.

(3) a. Jane thought [that there was a burglar in the house]
b. I don't want [you to go there alone]
c. I don't know [if Jason will be at the party]

In Pazar Laz, complement clauses can be formed in various ways. There are both finite and non-finite complement clauses. Finite complement clauses are formed with the subordinator *na*, while there are several strategies for the construction of non-finite complement clauses. Emgin (2009) notes three different non-finite complementation strategies: bare nominalized verbs with *-o...u-*, nominalized verbs with genitive and possessive markers and constructions with nominative subjects.

The subordinator *na* is used in many different contexts such as relative clauses, adverbial clauses, conditional clauses and complement clauses. The use of the subordinator *na* is illustrated in (4)[33].

Here, the embedded finite clause, which is shown in brackets, is the object of the main predicate *uçkin*. The subordinator *na* follows the subject of the subordinate

[33] As the following examples are taken from Lacroix (2009), the sentences are in the Ardeşen dialect of Laz. I have slightly altered the matrix verb according to Pazar Laz.

clause. The predicate of the embedded clause if fully inflected. The two SoAs which are *to know* and *to do* are in an asymmetrical relation where the first SoA is entails the existence of a proposition indicating the entailed SoA.

(4) *Miti-s var u-şk-u-n [he bere-k-na hamtepe*
anyone-DAT NEG APPL-know-TS-PRS.3SG DEM boy-ERG-SUB DEM.PL
v-u]
do-PST.3SG
'No one knows that the boy has done things.' (Lacroix, 2009)

The morphosyntactic characteristics of the subordinator *na* and *na*-clauses as well as the negation of finite complement clauses with *na* will be analyzed in detail in Section 3.3.

A nominalized clauses formed with the infinitival circumfix *-o...u-* is illustrated in (5). The embedded clause indicated in brackets is the subject of the matrix clause. The subject of the embedded clause is marked with the genitive marker *-şi* and the verb root *-prand-* is marker with the nominalizing circumfix *-o...u-*. The embedded verb cannot carry inflection. The negation of this type of nominalized clauses will be analyzed in Section 3.2.1.

(5) *[Mjura-şi o-prand-u] opşa m-alimb-e-n*
sun-GEN NMLZ-shine-NMLZ very 1SG-love-TS-PRS.1SG
'I like the sun's shining.'

(6) shows a nominalized clause formed with genitive-possessive markers. The subject of the embedded clause, which is indicated in brackets, is marked with the genitive marker while the nominalized embedded verb is marked with the third person possessive marker. The negation of nominalized clauses with genitive-possessive markers will be shown in Section 3.2.2.

(6) *Ma [koç'i-şi o-ğur-u-muşi] b-gor-um*
I man-GEN NMLZ-die-NMLZ-3POSS 1SBJ-want-TS
'I want the man to die.' (Emgin, 2009)

Finally, the third type of nominalized clause is *-eri* constructions with a nominative subject. This is exemplified in (7). The embedded subject is in

nominative form while the embedded verb root is marked with the suffix *-eri*. The negation of *-eri*-clauses will be exemplified in Section 3.2.3.

(7) *Ma [bere bgar-eri] do-m-at'son-u*
I child cry-*eri* APV-1SBJ-think-PST.1SG
'I want the man to die.' (Emgin, 2009)

3.2 Negation of non-finite complement clauses

In the following sections, I will show how nominalized constructions are negated in Pazar Laz. Following Emgin (2009), I will briely show that nominalized clauses can only be negated with the negator *var*. Due to the restricted role of negation in nominalized clauses, I do not get into the details of these constructions. This section will merely report what has been previously suggested in Emgin (2009).

3.2.1 Nominalized verbs with *-o...u-*

The most common way of forming nominalized verbs in Laz is with the derivative circumfix *o-...-u*. Complement clauses formed with this circumfix are non-finite clauses which do not share certain features of matrix clauses as opposed to *na*-clauses. The sentence in (8a) is a matrix clause which has a subject with the ergative marker and a verb which has past tense marking. (8b) exemplifies a nominalized version of (8a). The subject of the nominalized clause is marked with the genitive marker *-şi* and cannot carry any other case marking unlike matrix clauses and complement *na-clauses*. The verb is a derived nominal and it is not allowed to carry any TAM marking or agreement markers.

(8) a. *Ali-k dits-u*
Ali-ERG smile-PST.3SG
'Ali smiled.'
b. *[Ali-şi o-dit's-in-u] odit'sinoni ort'-u*
Ali-GEN NMLZ-smile-CAUS-NMLZ funny be-PST.3SG
'Ali's smile was funny.' (Emgin, 2009)

Nominalized clauses can appear in subject and object positions of matrix predicates. (8b) is a copular matrix clause whose subject is a nominative complement

clause. The nominalized complement clause in (9a) functions as the object of the matrix verb *alimben*. As this matrix verb does not require any case marking on its object, the complement clause is in its bare form. However, in (9b), the subject complement clause carries an ergative marker, *-k* as it is required by the matrix predicate, *moxelams*.

(9) a. *[Mjura-şi o-prand-u]* *opşa m-alimb-e-n*
sun-GEN NMLZ-shine-NMLZ very 1SBJ-love-TS-PRS.3SG
'I like the sun's shining.'
b. *[Mjura-şi o-prand-u]-k* *ma p'anda opşa m-oxel-am-s*
sun-GEN NMLZ-shine-NMLZ-ERG me always very 1SBJ-love-TS-PRS.3SG
'Sun's shining always makes me happy.'

The negation of (9b) can only be carried out with the main negator *var* (10). The use of the negator *vati* yields ungrammatical results.

(10) *[Mjura-şi var/*vati o-prand-u]-k* *ma p'anda opşa*
sun-GEN NEG NMLZ-shine-NMLZ-ERG me always very
m-oxel-am-s
1SBJ-love-TS-PRS.3SG
'Sun's not shining always makes me happy.'

3.2.2 Nominalized constructions with genitive-possesive markers

A similar type of non-finite clauses are formed with the genitive marker *-şi* on the embedded subject and with possessive markers found on the verb. Emgin (2009) states that in these constructions the predicative core can keep its full argument structure. However, it is also stated that these constructions cannot appear with psychological verbs such as *to love*.

Considering that these types of structures in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, nominalized constructions with genitive-possessive markers are thought to be emprunts from Turkish (Emgin, 2009). Examples in (11) show the same type of clause in Turkish. Note that in both (11a) and (11b) the embedded subject carries the genitive marker *-(n)In*. The embedded verb carries the possessive marker which

agrees with the embedded subject in number. These are the same possessive markers which appear on nouns to mark possession.

(11) a. *Siz-in bu tez-i bitir-me-(n)iz-i isti-yor-um*
2PL-GEN this thesis-ACC finish-NMLZ-2PL.POSS-ACC want-PROG-1SG
'I want you(pl.) to finish this thesis'

b. *O-(n)un bu tez-i bitir-me-si-(n)i isti-yor-um*
3SG-GEN this thesis-ACC finish-NMLZ-3SG.POSS-ACC want-PROG-1SG
'I want her/him to finish this thesis'

(12a) illustrates a genitive-possessive construction in Pazar Laz. The subject of the embedded clause carries the genitive marker while the predicate has the third person plural possessive marker. If we wanted to negate the embedded predicate, we could only use the negator *va(r)* (12b). It should be noted, however, that negated embedded clauses as in (12b) do not sound natural to speakers even though they are considered to be grammatical. A native speaker would always opt for negation the matrix clause.

(12) a. *Ma [musafir-epe-şi ordo mo-lva-nişi] b-gorum-t'-i*
I guest-PL-GEN early PV-arrive-3POSS.PL 1SBJ-want-IMPF-PST.1SG
'I wanted the guests to arrive early.'

b. *Ma [musafir-epe-şi ordo var/*vati mo-lva-nişi]*
I guest-PL-GEN early NEG PV-arrive-3POSS.PL
b-gorum-t'-i
1SBJ-want-IMPF-PST.1SG
'I wanted the guests not to arrive early.'

3.2.3 Participles with *-eri*

In our final type of nominalized complement clause, the embedded subject always appears with nominative case and the embedded verb is marked with the particle marker *-eri*. While the verb can take all its arguments that it would select in a matrix clause, the embedded verb cannot be inflected. Adverbial modification is possible only with manner adverbs and not with sentential adverbs (Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011).

(13a) is an example of an affirmative *-eri*-construction. We can see that the subject of the embedded clause, *bere*, is in nominative form and the embedded verb is marked with the suffix *-eri*. The embedded clause is modified by a manner adverb, *zerbi*. (13b) shows that *-eri* constructions can only be negated with *var* and never with *vati*.

(13) a. *Ma [bere zerbi k'ap-in-eri] do-m-a-ts'on-u*
1SG boy fast run-CAUS-*eri* PV-1SBJ-APPL-think-PST.3SG
'I thought the child ran fast.'

b. *Ma [Ali ti muşi var/*vati mots'ond-eri]*
1SG Ali head 3POSS NEG like-*eri*
do-m-a-ts'on-u
PV-1SBJ-APPL-think-PST.3SG
'I thought that Ali does not like himself.'

3.3 Negation of *na*-clauses

As we have seen in previous examples, the subordinator *na* is the main subordinator in the language, not only appearing in finite complement clauses but also in adverbial clauses and relative clauses. In this section, we will look at how *na* functions in finite complement clauses and how it interacts with negation. We will discuss its origin, placement in the embedded clause, its optionality and its interaction with the negators.

For the placement of *na* in the embedded clause, Lacroix (2009) states that if the verb is the only constituent found in the subordinate clause, *na* phonologically attaches to the verb as a proclitic. This is shown in (14a), where the only constituent in the embedded clause is the verb, *to escape*. The subordinator *na* attaches to the front of the verb as a proclitic and the phonological pauses indicated by the informants are shown with brackets. However, if there are other constituents before the verb, *na* can attach to any of them as an enclitic. In (14b), the embedded verb, *vu* is preceded by the subject, *berekna* and the object, *hamtepe*. The subordinator is attached to the end of the subject as an enclitic.

(14) a. *Bozo do biç' var dzir-e-skul / [na-i-mt'-es] /*
girl and boy NEG see-PRS.3PL-after / SUB-APPL-escape-PRS.3PL /
k-ox-o-ts'on-ez
APV-PV-APPL-understand-PRS.3PL
'After not seeing neither the boy nor the girl, [the old people] understood that they had escaped.'

b. *Miti-s var u-çk-i-n, [he bere-k-na hamtepe*
someone-DAT NEG APPL-know-TS-PRS.3SG this child-ERG-SUB DEM.PL
v-u]
do-PRS.3SG
'No one knows that the child has done things.' (Lacroix, 2009)

In my data, I have also realized a similar pattern. Whenever *na* does not appear in an immediately pre-verbal position, it is clear to hear that the informants attach it to the argument that precedes it. However, when it is placed between an argument and the embedded verb, it seems to be more difficult to determine whether *na* attaches to the verb as a proclitic or to the argument which precedes it as an enclitic. According to my observation, both attachments are possible. Overall, I observed that there is a general tendency to place *na* between an argument and the embedded verb (whether as a proclitic or an enclitic) rather than any other place in the clause.

As we have seen in examples (2) and (3), *na*-clauses in Pazar Laz can also function either as subjects or objects of a clause. The examples (15a) and (16a) below are both complex structures which have *na*-clauses as an object complement of the main verb.

In (15a), the subordinator attaches to the embedded verb, *moxthit*, as a proclitic. The subject of the embedded sentence is dropped and the person is indicated with the agreement markers on the verb. Our informant has indicated that it is also possible to form this sentence without the subordinator in (15a), which means that the use of *na* is optional. In (15a) the only constituent *na* can attach to is the verb and it is required that it attaches to it as a proclitic. If it is placed after the embedded verb as an enclitic, it yields an ungrammatical result (15b).

(15) a. *(Na)=moxth-i-t b-dzir-i*
(SUB)=come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that you(PL) came.'

b. **Moxth-i-t=na b-dzir-i*
come-PST-PL=SUB 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
Intended meaning: 'I saw that you(PL) came.'

In (16a), an oblique argument, *oxorişe*, is added to the embedded sentence. In this case, we observe that the informant pronounces the subordinator as a unit with what is preceding it as indicated in Lacroix (2009). However, when I ask the informants to pronounce the sentence in segments, I have observed that they can also attach the subordinator to the verb, *moxthit*.

Moreover, in a case where there are more than two constituents in the embedded clause, the subordinator *na* does not have a fixed position and can move within the limits of the subordinate clause. In (16b), the subject of the subordinate clause is not dropped and *na* is attached to it as an enclitic. In the case where the subject is not dropped, it could also appear after the oblique argument as in (16c) and the choice seems to be arbitrary. However, it seems that the immediately preverbal position is the most preferred and common form.

(16) a. *Oxori-şe=na moxth-i-t b-dzir-i*
home-ALL=SUB come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that (you) came home.'

b. *Tkva=na oxori-şe moxth-i-t b-dzir-i*
2PL=SUB home-ALL come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that you(pl.) came home.'

c. *Tkva oxori-şe=na moxth-i-t b-dzir-i*
2PL home-ALL=SUB come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that you(pl.) came home.'

The subordinator *na* also appears in complement clauses which function as the subject of a matrix clause. (17a) shows such a case where the bracketed subordinate clause is in the subject position of the matrix clause. Complement *na*-clauses can also be the subjects of active verbs. The predicate in (17b) is in causative form and the bracketed clause functions as its subject. The same clause

could also function as the object of the matrix verb as in (17c) where the function of the clause changes without any modification in the inner structure of the subordinate clause.

(17) a. *[Ahmeti-k ma=na m-p'or-om-t'-u] ir yeri-s*
Ahmet-ERG 1SG=SUB 1SBJ-love-TS-IMPF-PST all place-DAT
i-gn-u d-ort'-u-n
APPL-hear-PRS.3SG-PP
'That Ahmet loved me was heard everywhere.' (Lacroix, 2009)

b. *[Nana-k bere-s na=muntx-u] bere o-bgar-in-u*
Mother-ERG son-DAT SUB=hit-PST.3SG child APPL-cry-CAUS-PST.3SG
'That his mother hit the child made the child cry.'

c. *[Nana-k bere-s na=muntx-u] ko-miş-u-n*
Mother-ERG son-DAT SUB=hit-PST.3SG PV-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that his mother hit the child.'

Complement clauses formed with *na* are finite clauses[34]. *Na* can also follow the adverb within the embedded clause. In (18a), the subordinator follows the adverb, *yeine*. One of the speakers has indicated that when placed after the adverb, the meaning of the adverb is accentuated and that it does not sound very natural. It is, however, still considered to be grammatical. This might indicate that *na* has properties similar to a focus particle.

Even though it can freely move within the embedded clause, the subordinator *na* has to stay within the preverbal (left-deliminting) boundary of the complement clause and it cannot attach to a constituent of the matrix clause (18c). Moreover, as *na* can only attach to the embedded predicate as a proclitic, it cannot appear in the beginning of the clause unless it is followed by the embedded verb. The sentence in (18d) is ungrammatical because *na* is followed by another argument than the verb and *na* cannot attach to it as proclitic. It can only attach to it as an enclitic.

(18) a. *Tkva yeine=na oxori-şe mo-xt'-i-t b-dzir-i*
2PL fast=SUB house-ALL PV-come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that you(PL) came home fast.'

[34] According to Emgin (2009), *na*-clauses are the only constructions which pass the all finitesness tests and show exactly the same properties that matrix clauses have.

b. *Tkva yeine oxori-şe=na mo-xt'-i-t b-dzir-i*
2PL fast house-ALL=SUB PV-come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that you(PL) came home fast.'

c. **Oxori-şe mo-xt'-i-t na=b-dzir-i*
house-ALL PV-come-PST-PL SUB=1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
Intended meaning: 'I saw that you(PL) came home.'

d. **Na=oxori-şe mo-xt'-i-t b-dzir-i*
SUB=house-ALL PV-come-PST-PL 1SBJ-see-PST.1SG
'I saw that you(PL) came home.'

Another indicator which points to the finite nature of *na*-clauses is that the arguments carry their regular case markings in subordinate contexts. The bracketed clause in (19a) illustrates a subordinate structure with a transitive verb. The subject NP, *Nesrinişi bere* is marked with the ergative marker *-k*, while the object NP, *loya*, is in nominative form. Moreover, we also observe that the object complement clause of the verb, *vogni*, allows the embedded verb to be modified by an adverb *thobaşe*.

The subordinate clause in (19b) also has a transitive verb. As the embedded verb is transitive with an agentive subject, the subject, *Nesrini*, carries an ergative marker *-k* and the benefactor, *bere* is marked with the dative case marker *-s*.

Finally, the embedded verb in (19c) is a ditransitive verb. The subject NP of the embedded clauses is marked with ergative case, the direct object (*hediye*) is in nominative case and the indirect object (*khata*) is marked with the dative case. In all examples, case markings pattern exactly like in matrix clauses.

(19) a. *Phici xaphutzyari b-dzir-i-si, [Nesrini-şi bere-k loya*
mouth dirty 1SBJ-see-PST-when Nesrin-GEN boy-ERG desert
thobaşe na şkhom-u] v-ogn-i
secretly SUB eat-PST.3SG 1SBJ-understand-PST.1SG
'When I saw that his mouth was dirty, I understood that Nesrin's son had eaten the desert.'

b. *Nesrini-k bere-muşi-s mskva resimi (na) u-ğar-u*
Nesrin-ERG boy-3POSS-DAT beautiful picture (SUB) 3OBJ-do-PST.3SG
do-m-agur-u
PV-1SBJ-hear-PST
'I heard that Nesrin painted a beautiful picture for her son.'

c. *Nesrini-k hediye khata-muşi-s na=meç-u*
Nesrin-ERG present friend-3POSS-DAT SUB=give-PST.3SG
v-ogn-i
1SBJ-understand-PST.1SG
'I understood that Nesrin gave the present to her friend.'

As for unergative verbs, Taylan and Öztürk (2014) states that there are two types of unergatives in Pazar Laz: agentive intransitives and verbs of emission. The sentences in (20) illustrate these two types of unergatives in matrix clauses. (20a) shows an agentive intransitive, the verb *to play*. The subject, *berepe*, takes ergative case as the subject is agentive. The same marking is present on the subject of the subordinate clause in (21a). The second example (20b) is formed with a verb of emission, *to shine*. The subject of the matrix clause, *mjura*, can either be marked with ergative case or not. We obverse the same optionality in the embedded version of this clause in (21b).

(20) a. *Bere-pe-k gale i-bir-an*
child-PL-ERG outside APPL-play-PRS.3PL
'The kids are playing outside.'
b. *Mjura-(k) tan-um-s*
sun-(ERG) shine-TS-PRS.3SG
'The sun shines/is shining.'

(21) a. *Çhumanişe bere-pe-k gale na i-bir-an*
in.the.morning child-PL-ERG outside SUB APPL-play-PRS.3PL
do-m-agur-e-n
PV1SBJ-hear-TS-PRS
'In the morning, I hear the children play outside. '
b. *Çhumanişe go-p'-k'utsx-i-si mjura-(k) na*
in.the.morning PV-1SBJ-wake.up-PST.1SG-when sun-(ERG) SUB
tan-um-t'-u b-dzir-i
shine-TS-IMPF-PST 1SBJ-see-PST
'When I woke up in the morning, I saw that the sun was shining.'

The same pattern is observed with unaccusative predicates as well. The case marking in matrix clauses is carried out in the same way in subordinate structures. The subject is in its nominative form in both matrix (22a) and embedded contexts (22b).

(22) a. *Balon-epe t'vats-u-n*
baloon-PL pop-TS-PRS.3SG
'The balloons are popping/pop.' (Taylan & Öztürk, 2014)

b. *Balon-epe na t'vats-ur-an do-m-agur-u*
baloon-PL SUB pop-TS-PRS.3PL PV-1SBJ-hear-PST.1SG
'I heard that the balloons were popping.'

In Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), it is indicated that the subordinator *na* is obligatory when the matrix predicate requires an indicative subordinate clause. We have seen some counter-examples to this in our data above, where the indicative factive predicates such as *to know* and *to see* were used without the subordinator. Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) gives the example below as a case in which the use of *na* is obligatory.

(23) *Ma [Amedi-k Ayşe-s çitabi na me-ç-u]*
1SG Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book SUB APV-give-PST.3SG
ko-m-i-şk'-u-n
PV-1OBJ-APPL-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that Ahmet gave the book to Ayşe.'
(Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011)

It is also stated in Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) that with matrix verbs which require embedded clauses in subjunctive mood, the use of *na* is optional. To illustrate their point, they give the example in (24) whose embedded object clause is not in subjunctive mood but it indicates an event which has not taken place yet.

(24) *Ma [Amedi-k Ayse-s çitabi (na) me-ç-a-s-ere]*
1SG Ahmet-ERG Ayşe-DAT book (SUB) PV-give-SBJV-PRS.3SG-AUX
me-p-şon-u-n.
PV-1SBJ-hope-TS-PRS.3SG
'I hope that Ahmet will give the book to Ayşe.'
(Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011)

During my elicitation process, I have realized that the speakers also accept the sentence in (23) without the use of a subordinator. We have already seen certain cases where constructions without *na* were possible in similar constructions. Moreover, when I asked for judgements for the sentence in (24), my informant said he preferred

the sentence without the subordinator. Even though the rules are not rigid, there seems to be a preference to use *na* in *realis* contexts.

Besides cases where the subordinator *na* is debatable, we observe a specific case where its use is certainly forbidden. The predicate, *ogoru* which means *to want*, requires its embedded clause to be in either the optative mood or in indicative future tense. When the embedded object is used in optative mood, the existence of the subordinator *na* yields ungrammatical results. In (25a) and (25b), the embedded verb is in optative mood. While the sentence is grammatical when no subordinator is used (25a), it becomes ungrammatical with the use of *na* (25b).

(25) a. *Nesrini oxori-şe mo-xt'-a-s b-gor-um*
Nesrin house-ALL PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG 1SBJ-want-TS
'I want Nesrin to come home.'

b. **Nesrini oxori-şe na=mo-xt'-a-s b-gor-um*
Nesrin house-ALL SUB=PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG 1SBJ-want-TS
Intended meaning: 'I want Nesrin to come home.'

If the embedded verb is in an indicative future form with the suffix *-ere*, the subordinator is required in the sentence. When it is not used, the result is not entirely ungrammatical but it is not fully acceptable, either (26a). However, the sentence becomes perfectly grammatical when the subordinator is used (26b).

(26) a. *?Nesrini oxori-şe mo-xt'-a-s-ere b-gor-um*
Nesrin house-ALL PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD 1SBJ-want-TS
'I want Nesrin to come home.'

b. *Nesrini oxori-şe na=mo-xt'-a-s-ere b-gor-um*
Nesrin house-ALL SUB=PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD 1SBJ-want-TS
'I want Nesrin to come home.'

It should be noted that even though the embedded verbs are in indicative future tense in (26), there is not a strictly future reading. For instance, the embedded sentence in (27) does not refer to a future event but to an general event[35].

[35]Even though the following sentence does not have subordinator, the speaker did not report this sentence to be ungrammatical or unnatural.

(27) *Nesrini oxori-şe mo-xt'-a-s-ere xadzi*
Nesrin house-ALL PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD happiness
m-ay-e-n
1SBJ-make-TS-PRS.3SG
'Nesrin's coming home makes me happy.'

All of the three negators which have been mentioned in Chapter 2 can be used to negate embedded complement clauses.

Just like in matrix clauses, the negators always have to precede the verb they are negating. However, we observe that the subordinator *na* can interfere between the negator and the embedded verb[36]. The examples in (28) show all four possible lineups for the negator and the subordinator. The informants state that the combination of the negator and the subordinator is usually pronounced as a single unit, such as *var-na*, *na-var*, *vati-na* and *na-vati*. Hence, I have not shown the subordinator as a clitic in the following examples.

(28) a. *Amedi cari-şe vati na mo-xt'-a-s*
Ahmet dinner-ALL NEG SUB PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that Ahmet will not come to dinner.'

b. *Amedi cari-şe na vati mo-xt'-a-s*
Ahmet dinner-ALL SUB NEG PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that Ahmet will not come to dinner.'

c. *Amedi cari-şe na va(r) mo-xt'-u*
Ahmet dinner-ALL SUB NEG PV-come-PST.3SG
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that Ahmet did not come to dinner.'

d. *Amedi cari-şe va(r) na mo-xt'-u*
Ahmet dinner-ALL NEG SUB PV-come-PST.3SG
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that Ahmet did not come to dinner.'

[36]In certain sources such as Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011) and Emgin (2009), it is indicated that *vati* has to precede *na* while *var* has to follow it. However in my data, I have observed that the placement of the negator and the subordinator is more flexible than this and both combinations are possible.

As shown in (28), the negators seem to be determined according to the same factors as in matrix clauses. The tense and mood of the embedded clause determines the choice of negator.

(29) a. *Ğoma dişka va(r) na p-şok'or-i do-m-a-ts'on-u*
yesterday wood NEG SUB 1chop-PST.1SG PV-1OBJ-APPL-think-PST.3SG
'I thought that I did not chop wood yesterday.'

b. *Huso Ayşe-k oda-muşi-s va(r) i-çaliş-am-s*
now Ayşe-ERG room-3POSS-DAT NEG APPL-work-TS-PRS.3SG
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.1SG
'I know that Ayşe is not working in her room right now.'

The negator *var* is used to negate embedded clauses whose verbs are in past tense (29a) or present tense (29b). The embedded clause in (29a) is an object complement *na*-clause in which the subordinator appears in an immediately pre-verbal position. The negator *var* precedes the subordinator. However, in (29b), the object complement clause is formed without the subordinator. This points to the optionality of *na* in certain contexts[37]. The negator in (29b) also immediately precedes the embedded verb.

When we look at the negation of embedded verbs in future tense, we encounter two interesting puzzles which include unobserved patterns in matrix clauses. The first one is that both *var* and *vati* seems to be able to negate future tense in embedded clauses while in matrix clauses only *vati* can be used. Secondly, both negators can co-exist with the future marker *-ere* in embedded contexts while in matrix clauses, we observed an asymmetry between affirmatives and negatives concerning the existence of *-ere*.

(30) a. *Nesrini oxori-şe mo-xt'-a-s-ere*
Nesrin home-ALL PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
'Nesrin will come home.'

[37]In the previous literature, it has been claimed that the use of *na* is optional in subjunctive contexts (Öztürk & Pöchtrager, 2011). However, I have observed that *na* can also be optional when used with factive predicates such as *to know* (29b) and *to see* (15a).

b. *Nesrini oxori-şe vati/*var mo-xt'-a-s-(*ere)*
Nesrin home-ALL NEG PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
'Nesrin will not come home.'

c. *Nesrini oxori-şe vati (na) mo-xt'-a-s*
Nesrin home-ALL NEG (SUB) PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.3SG
'I know that Nesrin will not come home.'

The examples in (30) illustrate the most expected embedding pattern. The sentence in (30a) shows an affirmative matrix clause in future tense, formed with the future marker *-ere*. (30b) is the negation of (30a) and it no longer carries the future marker. If we use *-ere* and the negator *vati* at the same time, it gives an ungrammatical result. Moreover, the negation of the matrix clause cannot be carried out with the negator *var*, regardless of the existence of *-ere*. According to this pattern, one could assume the grammaticality of the sentence in (30c), whose embedded object clause has exactly the same form as in matrix clauses: negation with *vati* and deletion of *-ere*. It is important to note that the informants stated that the existence of the subordinator *na* is not obligatory in this embedded clause. (30c) seems to be a perfectly grammatical sentence in Pazar Laz.

However, in addition to (30c), we also observe two unexpected embedded clause structures. In (31a), the embedded verb is negated with *vati* as expected. However, the embedded verb still carries the future marker *-ere*. The co-existence of a negator (except for *moto*) and *-ere* is never allowed in matrix clauses. It is crucial to note that while in (30c), the subordinator *na* was optional, in (31a), the sentence ends up being ungrammatical without the subordinator, as shown in (31b). The existence of *na* licences the co-occurrence of the negator and the future marker *-ere*.

Moreover, (31c) shows that a clause in future tense can also be negated with *va(r)* in embedded contexts. As we have seen in Section 2.4, this was ungrammatical in matrix clauses. In addition to this, we also observe the same co-occurence of the negator and the modality marker *-ere*. As in (31a), the existence of the subordinator

is obligatory in (31c). This way, we can say that whenever a negator and *-ere* co-exist within the same embedded clause, the subordinator *na* also has to be present.

(31) a. *Nesrini oxori-şe vati na mo-xt'-a-s-ere*
Nesrin home-ALL NEG SUB PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.3SG
'I know that Nesrin will not come home.'

b. **Nesrini oxori-şe vati mo-xt'-a-s-ere*
Nesrin home-ALL NEG PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.3SG
Intended meaning: 'I know that Nesrin will not come home.'

c. *Nesrini oxori-şe na va mo-xt'-a-s-ere*
Nesrin home-ALL SUB NEG PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG-MOD
ko-m-işk-u-n
APV-1SBJ-know-TS-PRS.3SG
'I know that Nesrin will not come home.'

Besides the instances where the use of *na* is optional, there is also a case where it is prohibited. The verb *ogoru*, which means *to want*, requires it object complement clause to be in optative mood. In these types of optative clauses, the use of *na* brings about ungrammaticality (32a). The same sentence is grammatical without a subordinator.

As we have seen in Section 2.5, optative/hortative constructions are negated with *mo(t)* and *moto* in matrix clauses. In embedded clauses, only the negator *mo(t)* can be used (32b). As the subordinator is never allowed to appear with verbs only carring the subjunctive marker and as *mo(t)* can only appear in such clauses, *na* and *mo(t)* can never co-exist within the same clause.

(32) a. *Nesrini oxori-şe (*na) mo-xt'-a-s b-gor-um*
Nesrin home-ALL (*SUB) PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG 1SBJ-want-TS
'I know that Nesrin will not come home.'

b. *Nesrini oxori-şe (*na) mo(t)/*moto mo-xt'-a-s*
Nesrin home-ALL (*SUB) NEG PV-come-SBJV-PRS.3SG
b-gor-um
1SBJ-want-TS
'I don't want Nesrin to come. (Lit: I want Nesrin not to come.)'

3.4 Summary

In Section 3.2, I discussed the negation of three different types of nominalized clauses: the clauses with verbs nominalized with *-o...u-*, genitive-possessive constructions and participle constructions with *-eri*. We have seen that these embedded non-finite complement clauses can only be negated with the negator *va(r)*.

In Section 3.3, I have looked into the morphosyntactic characteristics of the subordinator *na* an its placement in the embedded clause. The subordinator is free to move around the embedded clause. However, I have shown that while *na* can appear in front of the embedded clause, only when it is followed by the embedded verb and never when it is followed by another argument. I argued that this was an indicator that the subordinator *na* can only attach to the embedded verb as a proclitic and it had to attach to other arguments as an enclitic.

I have also pointed to the fully finite nature of *na*-clauses by showing that they can appear with adverbs, have a fully inflected embedded verb and keep the same argument marking. I have exemplified cases where they can either appear in subject or object complement clauses.

Even though there seems to be a preference to use *na* in indicative contexts and omit it in subjunctive contexts, the rules do not seem to be so rigid. Contrary to what has been suggested in Öztürk and Pöchtrager (2011), the subordinator can also be optional with embedded clauses in indicative mood. Speakers accept cases in which main predicates such as *to know* and *to see* do not have the subordinator in their complements. However, if the embbedded sentence is in its bare subjunctive mood with the marker *-a*, *na* is not allowed to appear in the clause.

When it comes to negation in embedded clauses, the subordinator *na* can either appear between the negator (*va(r)* and *vati*) and the embedded verb or it can appear before the negator. Contrary to what has been stated in the literature, I have shown that the placement of the subordinator and the negator is much more flexible.

Overall, the negators seem to be determined according to the same criteria as in matrix clauses. The negator *va(r)* is used to negate present and past embedded

clauses while *vati* is used to negate clauses in future tense. The negation of epistemic readings were not included in this chapter due to the difficulty of eliciting data in such unnatural sounding sentences.

An interesting contrast with the matrix clauses is observed in the negation of future tense. First, both *va(r)* and *vati* can be used in embedded clauses to negate future tense. Second, both negators can co-exist with the modality marker *-ere* in embedded clauses in contrast with the matrix clauses. However, this is only possible when the subordinator *na* is also present in the embedded clause. Its presence seems to licence the co-existence of the negators and *-ere*.

As for *mo(t)*, we have seen that it can negate optative/hortative embedded clauses as is also the case for matrix clauses. In optative/hortative embedded clauses, *na* is never allowed to appear. Thus, *mo(t)* and *na* never appear within the same clause. Moreover, as opposed to what we have seen in matrix clauses, *moto* cannot negate optative/hortative clauses in embedded structures.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The negation particles in Pazar Laz are selected according to the tense and mood features of the negated predicate. The negator *va(r)* functions as the main negator, appearing as a free negation morpheme and as the negator of clauses in past and present tense. The negator *vati* negates clauses in future tense as well as epistemic readings. The negator *mo(t)* negates optative sentences as well as prohibitives. Finally, *moto* also negates optative sentences but is not allowed in prohibitives. It is also used in two alternative prohibitive clauses.

The main contribution of this thesis is that it considers the negator *moto* as a separate negation morpheme while it was previously considered a phonological variant of the nagator *mo(t)*. I have shown that *moto* has a distinct morphosyntactic distribution and behaves differently regarding the affirmative preverbs. The only context in which *mo(t)* and *moto* can both appear is optative/hortative constructions. While *mo(t)* can appear in regular prohibitives, *moto* cannot. However, *moto* can appear with two alternative constructions with *-ere* and *-(a)(r)t'u*, which also have prohibitive interpretations. The negator *mo(t)* is not allowed to appear in these alternative constructions. Moreover, the negator *mot* cannot support affirmative preverbs in prohibitive constructions while *moto* requires affirmative preverbs on the verb it negates in these alternative constructions. In light of their differences, I have listed *mot* and *moto* as distinct negation morphemes as they clearly behave differently and have a distinct distribution.

The negator *vati* is used to negate verbs which are marked with the subjunctive marker *-a* and the modality marker *-ere*. This verb form can either be interpreted as future tense or with an epistemic reading. In each case, we observe that when the clause is negated the modality marker *-ere* can no longer appear on the verb. In Section 2.4.1, I have argued that this structural change between the affirmative and the negative should be considered a constructional A/Cat/TAM asymmetry. This is because in the negative counterpart of an affirmative sentence, a marker denoting

modality is removed. I have indicated that as the modality marker is omitted the modality meaning is expressed on the negation morpheme, which makes *vati* express two different information, NEG and MOD. Moreover, *vati* can also be used to negate affirmative clauses with the past modality marker *-(a)(r)t'u*. Verbs carrying this marker can convey a future-in-past reading, a counterfactual reading or an epistemic reading (with limited predicates). Similar to the case with the present modality marker, *-(a)(r)t'u* cannot co-occur with the negator *va(r)*. During the negation process, many alternations take place on the verb form. In Section 2.4.1, I have referred to two A/Cat/TAM asymmetries and one A/NonReal asymmetry. First, As *-(a)(r)t'u* is omitted from the verb the negator *vati* expresses the modality meaning and the verb takes on a past marker. Second, the subjunctive marker *-a* is omitted. As these are instances relating to tense and mood markers, I have listed them under a A/Cat/TAM asymmetry. The A/NonReal asymmetry concerns the addition of the conditional marker *-k'o* in the negated counterpart. As this marker appears in conditional and counterfactual contexts in Pazar Laz, I have considered it to be a marker of "non-realized status" of events. Considering that A/NonReal asymmetries also point to the correlation between negation and non-realized status marking, I have listed the asymmetry of *-k'o* as a part of this subtype.

Another important type of asymmetry concerns the A/Emph subtype. A group of prefixes in Pazar Laaz, which are called affirmative preverbs, cannot co-occur with the negators *va(r)*, *vati* and *mo(t)* while they have to occur with the negator *moto*. These preverbs emphasize the taking place of the event by pointing to the expectedness of the situation. The fact that they can occur in affirmatives and not in negatives provides a counterexample to what has been suggested in Miestamo (2005). A/Emph asymmetries suggest a correlation between the negative constructions and emphatic marking. This points to an implicational universal which suggests that if the affirmative is marked with emphatic marking, then the corresponding negative will also be marked. Even though Pazar Laz showcases a paradigmatic asymmetry concerning emphatic marking, it works in the opposite direction and constitutes a

counterexample to the universal, in that the negative construction does not carry emphatic marking while the affirmative can. Miestamo (2005) suggests that for an asymmetry type to be considered a separate category, there should be no counterexamples for the correlations. In this respect, judging from the data in Pazar Laz, we could argue that A/Emph asymmetry should not be considered a separate subtype.

Furthermore, the structure of negated clauses in embedded contexts differs from that of matrix clauses in important aspects. The main difference is that the negator *va(r)* and *vati* can co-occur with the the modality marker *-ere* in embedded clauses. However, this is only possible in contexts where the subordinator *na* is present in the embedded clause. Moreover, the negator *mo(t)* cannot co-occur with the subordinator *na* and *moto* cannot be used in embedded complement clauses.

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