# PERFECT AND NEGATION: EVIDENCE FROM LITHUANIAN AND SUNDRY LANGUAGES

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## 1. Perfect and negation: general remarks[1]

The interaction of perfect and negation has not so far received any comprehensive treatment in the theoretical and typological literature.

McCawley (1999: 179):
present perfect negated

(1) a. *John hasn't received any encouragement.*
'there is no event of John receiving some encouragement'

perfect applied to a negated verb phrase

b. *John has* [*not returned my calls*] *many times.*
'there are many past events of John not returning my calls'

Cf. similar observations in Zanuttini (1996: 189–190), De Swart & Molendijk (1999: 19), Katz 2003 and De Swart (2012: 773–776), see below.

☞ Two interpretations of the combination of perfect and negation are possible depending on their relative scope:

- the **"higher interpretation"** (NEG > PERF): 'it is not true that situation V has current relevance', cf. (1a).
- the **"lower interpretation"** (PERF > NEG): 'situation not-V has current relevance', cf. (1b).

In Western European languages with a distinct perfect gram (e.g. English, Spanish, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek), its combination with negation can in principle have both interpretations depending on the context.

English (except some rare contexts, see below)

(2) a. *I **have not worked** for State Security*. NEG > PERF
b. *I **have not slept** for 4 days.* PERF > NEG

Bulgarian (the same translations)

(3) a. ***Ne*** ***săm*** ***raboti-l*** *za* *Dăržavna* *sigurnost.*[2] NEG > PERF
NEG AUX.PRS.1SG work(IPF)-PST.PRT for state security
b. ***Ne*** ***săm*** ***spa-l*** *ot* *4* *dn-i.*[3] PERF > NEG
NEG AUX.PRS.1SG sleep(IPF)-PST.PRT from 4 day-PL

Peninsular Spanish

(4) a. ***No he visto*** *gente más fea que en las manifestaciones.* NEG > PERF
'I haven't seen more unpleasant people than during mass demonstrations.'[4]

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[1] The study has been financially supported by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities, grants Nos. 12-34-01345 and 14-04-00580.
[2] http://tinyurl.com/qa92s6p, accessed October 2014.
[3] http://tinyurl.com/o8kgvv8, accessed October 2014.
[4] http://tinyurl.com/oael2pa, accessed October 2014.

b. *Tengo una costilla rota y* ***no*** *he* ***comido*** *en dos días.* PERF > NEG (Google)
'I've got a broken rib and have not eaten for two days.'[5]

The "lower" interpretation of negation most easily arises in contexts where 'not-V' and especially its direct or indirect results or consequences have pragmatic salience, e.g. 'not eat', 'not drink', 'not sleep', 'not paying taxes' etc.
Cf. the notion of "negative facts/events" (Stockwell et al. 1973: 250–251):

> "There are certain cases where a negation of an event may ... itself be an event... Semantically, the 'event' seems to be the breaking of a habitual or expected pattern of activity".

(Cf. also Horn 1989: 51–55; Higginbotham 2000: 73–75.)

## 2. General remarks on Lithuanian perfect

(Cf. Sližienė 1964, 1967, 1969, 1995; Geniušienė, Nedjalkov 1988; Geniušienė 1989, 1990).
Auxiliary *būti* 'be' + active past participle (I exclude from consideration constructions with passive participles), cf. (5):

(5) *Tai turbūt geriausi-as anekdot-as, kok-į* ***es-u*** ***girdėj-ęs***.
that perhaps best-NOM.SG.M joke-NOM.SG what-ACC.SG.M AUX.PRS-1SG hear-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
'This is perhaps the best joke I've (ever) heard.' (LKT)

The auxiliary can occur in virtually any grammatical form, and is often left out in the Present Tense, cf. (6). Specialized meanings triggered by particular forms of the auxiliary, e.g. annulled result with the Past Perfect or epistemic modality with the Future Perfect, won't be considered.

The main meanings of the Perfect:
➢ Subject-oriented resultative (only with telic verbs denoting change of state of the subject): 'the result of V holds at reference time' (cf. Parsons 1990 "target state"), cf. (6), (7).

(6) *J-i* ***at-si-sėd-us-i*** *patogiai.*
3-NOM.SG.F PRV-RFL-sit.down-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F comfortably
'She is sitting (lit. «has sat») comfortably.' (Servaitė 1988: 84)

(7) *T-ą vasar-ą Ūl-a* ***buv-o*** ***ap-si-vilk-us-i***
DEM-ACC.SG summer-ACC.SG Ula-NOM.SG AUX-PST.3 PRV-RFL-dress-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
*nauj-a suknel-e.*
new-INS.SG.F dress-INS.SG
'That summer Ūla was dressed (lit. "had put on") in a new dress.' (ibid.)

➢ Experiential or existential (in principle possible with all verbs but especially favoured by atelic verbs, which do not admit the resultative meaning): 'the situation V occurred at least once up to the reference time' (cf. Parsons 1990 "resultant state"), cf. (5), (8).

(8) *Mažid-as* ***buv-o*** ***žaid-ęs*** *dešimt-is žaidim-ų.*
M.-NOM.SG AUX-PST.3 play-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M ten-ACC.PL game-GEN.PL
*Dar niekuomet* ***ne-buv-o*** ***pa-jut-ęs*** *toki-os aistr-os grum-ti-s.*
yet never NEG-AUX-PST.3 PRV-feel-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M such-GEN.SG.F passion-GEN.SG fight-INF-RFL
'M. had [by that time] played dozens of games. But he had never felt such a passion for fight.' (LKT)

☞ Notably, the Lithuanian perfect, unlike English or Bulgarian (Iatridou et al. 2001), does not have the "universal" or "inclusive" meaning and cannot denote a durative situation lasting up to the reference time. Thus, only (10a) with a Present tense form can serve as a felicitous translation for English (9).

[5] http://tinyurl.com/p3hrkjr, accessed October 2014.

(9) *I **have been working** at the University for 2 years already.*

(10) a. *Universitet-e* ***dirb-u*** *jau* *dvej-us* *met-us.*
university-LOC.SG work-PRS.1SG already two-ACC.PL.M year-ACC.PL

b. *#Universitet-e* ***es-u*** ***dirb-ęs*** *dvej-us* *met-us.*
university-LOC.SG AUX.PRS-1SG work-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M two-ACC.PL.M year-ACC.PL
'I have worked at the university for two years [and now I don't work there].'

## 3. Perfect and negation in Lithuanian

The Lithuanian Perfect, as has been noted already by Sližienė (1967: 70), has two morphological positions for negation, which turn out to correspond to two different scopes:

- the "higher" position on the auxiliary, (11a);
- the "lower" position on the participle, (11b).

(11) a. *Niekada* ***ne-s-u*** ***miegoj-ęs*** *lauke.*
never NEG-AUX.PRS-1SG sleep-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M outdoors
'I have never slept outdoors.' (NEG > PERF)

b. *Jau* *dvi* *dien-as* ***es-u*** ***ne-miegoj-ęs.***
already two:ACC.F day-ACC.PL AUX.PRS-1SG NEG-sleep-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
'I have not slept for two days already.' (PERF > NEG)

The higher and the lower negations are not mutually exclusive, as show rare examples of double negation with the interpretation 'it is not the case that there has been not-V', (12):

(12) *Niekada* ***ne-s-u*** ***ne-padėj-ęs*** *žmog-ui*
never NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG NEG-help-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M person-DAT.SG
*vien dėl to, kad jis yra vienos ar kitos partijos narys.*
'It has never been the case that I didn't help a person just because he was a member of a particular party.' (LKT)

Some further naturally occurring examples:

(13) a. *J-is* *dar* *niekad* ***ne-buv-o*** ***mat-ęs***
3-NOM.SG.M yet never NEG-AUX-PST.3 see-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
*toki-os* *didel-ės* *egl-ės...*
such-GEN.SG.F large-GEN.SG.F fir.tree-GEN.SG
'He had never seen such a huge fir-tree before...' (LKT)

b. *Labai* *seniai* ***buv-o*** ***ne-mat-ęs*** *vaik-ų.*
very long.ago AUX-PST.3 NEG-see-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M hild-GEN.PL
'[By that time] he had not seen the children for a very long time.' (LKT)

(14) a. *Aš* *niekada* *taip* *anksti* ***ne-s-u*** ***valg-ęs*** *vakarien-ės.*
I:NOM never so early NEG-AUX.PRS-1SG eat-PST.PA.NOM.SG.F breakfast-GEN.SG
'I have never eaten dinner so early.' (LKT)

b. *Pa-meči-au* *penk-is* *lit-us,* *todėl* *nuo* *ryt-o*
PRV-throw-PST.1SG five-ACC.PL.M litas-ACC.PL therefore from morning-GEN.SG
***es-u*** *niek-o* ***ne-valg-ęs.***
AUX.PRS-1SG nothing-GEN NEG-eat-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
'I lost five litas, so I have not eaten anything since morning.' (LKT)

It is worth noting that examples like (11b), (13b) and (14b) could be argued to instantiate the "universal" meaning. However, such an interpretation is most likely to arise pragmatically: normally, for the resultant state of the non-occurrence of the event to hold, the event should not occur during the time span of this state. However, there are examples where this pragmatic implication is overridden, cf. (15) below.

The "lower" position of negation can also occur in the experiential perfect:

(15) *O armij-oje* ***es-u*** ***<u>ne</u>-miegoj-ęs*** *tr-is par-as.*
and army-LOC.SG AUX.PRS-1SG NEG-sleep-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M three-ACC.PL day-ACC.PL
'When I was in the army I once did not sleep for three days.'[6]

In many cases the opposition of the "higher" and the "lower" negations is pragmatic rather than semantic, cf. the following naturally occurring examples:

(16) a. *Nei vien-o blog-o komentar-o apie j-uos*
nor one-GEN.SG.M bad-GEN.SG.M comment-GEN.SG about 3-ACC.PL.M
***<u>ne</u>-s-u*** ***skaiči-us-i.***
NEG-AUX.PRS-1SG read-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
'I have not read a single bad comment about them.'[7]

b. *Galbūt* ***es-i*** ***<u>ne</u>-skaiči-us-i*** *klub-o taisykli-ų*
perhaps AUX.PRS-2SG NEG-read-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F club-GEN.SG rules-GEN.PL
*ir nežinai, jog tokios temos netoleruojamos?*
'Perhaps you have not read the club's rules and don't know that such topics are not tolerated?' ['you are such that did not read the rules'][8]

(17) a. *Vyr-as* ***<u>ne</u>-buv-o*** ***prarad-ęs*** *sąmon-ės,*
man-NOM.SG NEG-AUX-PST.3 loose-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M conscience-GEN.SG
*tačiau pat-s pa-ei-ti jau ne-galėj-o.*
however oneself-NOM.SG.M PRV-go-INF already NEG-can-PST.3
'The man did not lose conscience, but could no longer walk by himself.' [a neutral statement][9]

b. *Pasak medik-ų … j-is dar* ***buv-o*** ***<u>ne</u>-prarad-ęs***
according.to doctor-GEN.PL 3-NOM.SG.M yet AUX-PST.3 NEG-loose-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
*sąmon-ės ir galėj-o kalbė-ti.*
conscience-GEN.SG and can-PST.3 talk-INF
'According to the doctors … he had not yet lost conscience and could talk.' [the state of 'not having lost conscience' is asserted as salient] (LKT)

Besides that, the "lower" negation becomes the only option when the Perfect combines with some other "external" prefix such as the continuative *tebe-* 'still' (18) or the restrictive *te-* 'only' (19).

(18) *…humor-o jausm-o* ***<u>tebėra</u>*** ***<u>ne</u>-prarad-us-i*** *iki šiolei.*
humour-GEN.SG sense-GEN.SG CNT + AUX.PRS.3 NEG-loose-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F till up.to.now
'She still has not lost her sense of humour.' (LKT)

(19) *Iš Beethoven-o simfonij-ų* ***<u>te</u>-s-u*** ***<u>ne</u>-girdėj-us-i*** *treči-osios.*
from Beethoven-GEN.SG symphony-GEN.PL RSTR-AUX.PRS-1SG NEG-hear-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F third-GEN.SG.F.DEF
'Of Beethoven's symphonies I have not heard only the Third.' (elicited)

➢ The use of the lower negation in the perfect in Lithuanian is mainly employed for the discursive highlighting of the event of not doing something and asserting the current relevance of the state arisen from such a "negative event"; see Arkadiev (2015) for more detailed argumentation and a formalization of the negative events analysis.

[6] http://tinyurl.com/pxb28nh, accessed March 2015.
[7] http://tinyurl.com/mqxryty, accessed March 2015.
[8] http://tinyurl.com/oqaoenh, accessed October 2014.
[9] http://tinyurl.com/loogj9p, accessed October 2014.

## 4. Perfect and negation in the East Baltic area

Latvian

Looks similar to the "standard average European" type: the negation on the auxiliary freely admits the "lower" interpretation, cf. (20), (21).

(20) *Vis-u* *nakt-i* ***ne-esmu*** ***gulēj-is***.
all-ACC.SG night-ACC.SG NEG-AUX.PRS.1SG sleep-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M
'I have not slept whole night.'[10]

(21) *Es* ***ne-esmu*** ***ēd-us-i*** *div-as* *dien-as*.
I:NOM NEG-AUX.PRS.1SG eat-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F two-ACC.PL.F day-ACC.PL
'I have not eaten for two days.'[11]

Negation on the participle seems to be possible in Latvian just in a small number of lexicalized cases like (22).

(22) *Un* *var-u* *aizmirs-t,* *ka* ***esmu*** ***ne-ēd-us-i,***
and can.PRS-1SG forget-INF that AUX.PRS.1SG NEG-eat-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
***ne-iz-gulēj-us-ie-s*** *un* *sa-slim-us-i.*
NEG-PRV-sleep-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F-RFL and PRV-become.sick-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
'And I can forget that I haven't eaten, haven't slept enough and feel sick.'[12]

Latgalian

The data is extremely scarce, but according to Nicole Nau (p.c., March 2013) examples with lower negation are not attested in her corpus; (23) shows that the perfect with negation on the auxiliary can have the lower interpretation:

(23) ***na-asmu*** *treis* *mēneš-i* *nik-uo* ***ād-us-e…***
NEG-AUX.PRS.1SG three month-NOM.PL nothing-GEN eat-PST.PA-NOM.SG.F
'… I haven't eaten anything for three months' (folklore text)[13]

East Slavic dialects: due to the consistent non-occurrence of the auxiliary in the present tense, only "pluperfect" constructions with the past tense auxiliary are really indicative.

- North-West Russian dialects

(24) *My* *v* *kolxoz-e* ***ne*** ***by-l-i*** ***vo-šot-ši.*** NEG > PERF
we:NOM in kolkhoz-LOC.SG NEG AUX-PST-PL PRV-go:PST(PFV)-PST.CNV
'We did not enter the kolkhoz.' (Novgorod oblast', Kuz'mina & Nemčenko 1971: 183)

(25) *Tr-i* *noč-i* ***ne*** ***l'ok-ši*** ***by-l-a***. PERF > NEG
three-ACC night-ACC.PL NEG lie.down(PFV)-PST.CNV AUX-PST-SG.F
'I did not sleep for three nights (then).' (Novgorod oblast', ibid.: 188)

- Belorussian dialects bordering on Baltic

(26) *Ja* ***n'e*** ***by-l-a*** ***gl'adz'e-ų̆šy***. NEG > PERF
I:NOM NEG AUX-PST-SG.F see(IPF)-PST.CNV
'I had not looked.' (Belorussia, Astravecki district, Mackevič & Grinaveckienė 1993: 106)

(27) *Ja* ***by-l-a*** *jašče* ***n'e-je-ų̆šy***. PERF > NEG
I:NOM AUX-PST-SG.F yet NEG-eat(IPF)-PST.CNV
'I hadn't eaten yet.' (Belorussia, Braslaŭski district, ibid.)

[10] http://tinyurl.com/lokoqa, accessed October 2014.
[11] http://tinyurl.com/kvc64p8, accessed October 2014.
[12] http://tinyurl.com/mq4h7uw, accessed October 2015.
[13] http://tinyurl.com/pwu2c9s, accessed October 2015.

(28) *Vy* *šče* *z* *malin* ***by-l-i*** ***n'a*** ***pry-šo-u̯šy***. PERF > NEG
you.PL.NOM yet from raspberry(GEN.PL) AUX-PST-PL NEG PRV-go(PFV)-PST.CNV
'You hadn't yet come from picking raspberries.' (Belorussia, Polacki district, Mackevič 1957: 46)

(29) *tut* *ni* *adzin* *čəlav'ek* ***n'a*** ***by-u̯*** ***asta-u̯šy-si***. NEG > PERF
here nor one(NOM.SG.M) man(NOM.SG) NEG AUX-PST(SG.M) remain(PFV)-PST.CNV-RFL
'Not a single person had remained here.' (ibid.)

Cf. the following structural parallelism between Lithuanian and dialectal Belorussian observed by Mackevič & Grinaveckienė (1993: 107):

(30) Lith. *Jis* ***buvo*** *tris* *dienas* ***ne-valg-ęs***.
Bel. *Jon* ***byu̯*** *try* *dni* ***n'a-je-u̯šy***.

➢ Polish dialects in Lithuania (*polszczyzna wileńska*)

(31) *Do* *armi-i* *on* *vutk-i* ***n'e*** ***by-l*** ***koštova-fšy***.
before army-GEN.SG 3(NOM.SG.M) vodka-GEN.SG NEG AUX-PST(SG.M) try(IPF)-PST.CNV
'Before the army he had not tried vodka.' (Adomavičiūtė & Čekmonas 1991: 100)

(32) *Ja* *ot* *sam-ego* *ran-a* ***by-l-a*** ***n'e*** ***jat-šy,*** ***n'e*** ***pi-fšy***.
I:NOM from very-GEN.SG.M morning-GEN.SG AUX-PST-SG.F NEG eat(IPF)-PST.CNV NEG drink(IPF)-PST.CNV
'I have not eaten and drunk since morning.' (elicited)

Baltic Finnic: lower negation expressed by a special construction with the abessive form of the infinitive (Tamm 2011: 861–862, 875–876); cf. the 'without'-perfects in Welsh and Spanish below.

➢ Võru

(33) *Sis* *arotõl-da-s, …* *midä* ***om*** *jo* *ärq* ***tett***
then discuss-IPS-PRS what:PTV AUX.PRS.3SG already PTCL do:PST.PP
*ja* *miä* ***om*** ***tege-mä-ldäq***.
and what:NOM AUX.PRS.3SG do-INF-ABE
'Then it is discussed, what has been done already and what has not been done.' (Tamm 2011: 875)

## 5. Some parallels in other linguistic areas

Standard English (Zanuttini 1996: 189–190, ex. originally from Stockwell et al. 1973)

(34) a. *Mary* ***hasn't*** *always* ***paid*** *taxes*. (NEG > PERF > always)
b. *Mary* ***has*** *always* ***not paid*** *taxes*. (PERF > always > NOT)

vs. Italian (ibid.)

(35) a. *Maria* ***non ha*** *sempre* ***pagato*** *le tasse*. (=34a, 34b)
b. **Maria* ***ha*** *sempre* ***non pagato*** *le tasse.*

Cf. also some naturally occurring English examples with "split" negated Perfect:

(36) a. *They really love nursery and* ***have*** *sometimes* ***not wanted*** *to come home!*[14]
b. *I* ***have*** *often* ***not slept*** *or* ***eaten*** *for 2 days at a time.*[15]

However, such examples of "split Perfect" are quite rare: according to BNC (100 mil. words), *have/has sometimes/often/always not* occurs 10 times, while *has/have not* occurs about 11 000 times. Note also that examples like (34) and (36) are not even mentioned in a 800-page long study of the English verb phrase by Declerck (2006).

[14] http://tinyurl.com/mvvyvou, accessed October 2014.
[15] http://tinyurl.com/phk2wkm, accessed October 2014.

Irish English (Harris 1984: 312)

(37) a. *I **haven't** even it **made** yet.* (NEG > PERF)
b. *I've a loaf **not touched**.* (PERF > NEG)

Swedish (Larsson 2009: 175–176) — resultative constructions only

(38) a. *Artikel-n **är** **inte** **skriv-en**.* (NEG > PERF)
paper-DEF AUX.PRS NEG write-PST.PRT
'The paper has not been written (yet).'
b. *Artikel-n **är** fortfarande **o-skriv-en**.* (PERF > NEG)
paper-DEF AUX.PRS still NEG-write-PST.PRT
'The paper has still not been written.' (lit. "is still un-written")

Welsh (Borsley, Jones 2005: 131), cf. the Finnic abessive above.

(39) a. ***Dydy** Sioned **ddim** **wedi** **cyrredd**.*
NEG.AUX.PRS.3SG Sioned NEG PRF arrive
b. ***Ma'** Sioned **heb** **gyrredd**.*
AUX.PRS.3SG Sioned without arrive
'a = b Sioned has not arrived.'

Spanish (González Rodríguez 2015) — resultative constructions only, cf. the Finnic abessive above.

(40) a. *El escaparate **está limpio**.*
'The shop window is clean (lit. is cleaned).' (González Rodríguez 2015: 43)
b. *El escaparate **no está limpio**.*
'The shop window is not clean (lit. isn't cleaned).' (ibid.: 44)
c. *El escaparate **está sin limpiar**.*
'lit. The show window is without being cleaned.' (ibid.)
d. *El escaparate **no está sin limpiar**.*
'The shop window is not without being cleaned.' (ibid.: 45)

Khwarshi (Nakh-Daghestanian > Tsezic, Khalilova 2009: 203–207): the position of negation correlates with scope:

(41) a. *žu* *e$^{n}$xu-ł* ***usan-un*** ***y-eč-un-ay***. (NEG > PERF)
3:ABS river-INTER bathe-PFV.CNV F-AUX-PST-NEG
'She did not bathe in the river.' [She never bathed in the river before]
b. *žu* *e$^{n}$xu-ł* ***usan-bič*** ***y-eč-un.*** (PERF > NEG)
3:ABS river-INTER bathe-NEG.CNV F-AUX-PST
'She did not bathe in the river [on some particular occasion].' (ibid.: 207)

Similar "duality" of negation with respect to periphrastic resultative/perfect constructions is reported for some other Daghestanian languages as well, e.g. Agul (Timur Maisak, p.c., 2013), Tsakhur (Kibrik & Testelec eds. 1999: 84), Bagwalal (Kibrik ed. 2001: 112, 306) and Godoberi (Kibrik ed. 1996: 105).

Burmese (Sino-Tibetan > Tibeto-Burman, Mathias Jenny, p.c.)

(42) a. *θu* *ba-hmá* ***pyɔ̀*** ***mə-thà*** ***phù***.
3 what-ever say NEG-AUX:deposit NEG
b. *ba-hmá* ***mə-pyɔ̀*** ***thà*** ***phù***.
what-ever NEG-speak AUX:deposit NEG
'He didn't say anything.' "There seems to be no difference in meaning between the two forms, the choice being rather an individual preference, with dialectal differences in some cases." (Mathias Jenny, p.c.)

Sri Lankan Malay (Austronesian-based creole, Slomanson 2009: 258)

(43) a. *Farida nasi **as-makan** **tr-aḍa**.*
Farida rice ASP-eat NEG.FIN-AUX
b. *Farida nasi **jang-makan** **aḍa**.*
Farida rice NEG.NFIN-eat AUX
'Farida hasn't eaten rice (before).' According to Peter Slomanson (p.c.), the construction in (43b) "is rare, but still possible". Functional differences between the two variants are unknown.

Japanese (Alpatov et al. 2008: 285; Kishimoto 2008, 2013)

(44) a. *Ore wa daremo **korosh-ite** **i-na-i** yo.* (NEG > PERF)
I TOP nobody kill-CNV AUX-NEG-PRS PTCL
'I have not killed anybody.' [the state of being a murderer is denied]
b. *Sore o **wasure-nai-de** **i-te** kure.* (PERF > NEG)
this ACC forget-NEG-CNV AUX-CNV AUX.IMP
'Do not forget it!' [the state of not forgetting is required]

Finally, it is worth noting that there are languages where the negated periphrastic perfect is formed by attaching the negation to the lexical verb rather than to the auxiliary, in contrast to Bulgarian or Italian — Limbu and Dumi (Sino-Tibetan > Tibeto-Burman, van Driem 1987: 178–181; van Driem 1993: 240–242).

Limbu

(45) *a-sira gɔˑ thaŋ kərə **mɛn-ni-ʔeˑ** **waˑ-ʔɛ**.*
my-pleasure then come.up but NEG.CNV-see-NEG.CNV AUX-1SG.NPST
'I'm sure I would like it, but I've never seen one.' (van Driem 1987: 179)

## 6. Conclusions

➢ The "lower" interpretation of negation in perfect constructions is relatively well-attested in the languages of Eurasia; from a purely logical stand, nothing prevents it from being universal. (On the related but not identical issue of "not-yet" grams see Veselinova 2015.)

➢ The possibility of formally distinguishing between the "higher" and the "lower" interpretations of negation in perfect constructions is less trivial and deserves a detailed cross-linguistic study. Lithuanian, in contrast to most European languages, presents a clear example of a language where this difference in semantic scope is reflected in the morpho-syntax in the most iconic and compositional way.

| **Language** | **Default position of negation in the periphrastic perfect** | **Negation on the lexical verb** | **Expression of the semantically lower negation** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lithuanian | Aux | yes | neg + lexical verb |
| Latvian | Aux | marginal | neg + Aux |
| North Russian | Aux | yes | neg + lexical verb |
| Estonian | Aux | no | abessive construction |
| English | Aux | marginal | neg + Aux, (rarely) neg + lexical verb |
| Italian | Aux | no | neg + Aux |
| Spanish | Aux | no | neg + Aux,<br>(rarely) abessive construction |
| Welsh | Aux | no | (?) abessive construction |
| Khwarshi | Aux | yes | neg + lexical verb |
| Japanese | Aux | yes | neg + lexical verb |
| Burmese | ? | yes | ? |
| Limbu | lexical verb | yes | ? |
| Sri Lankan Malay | Aux | yes | neg + lexical verb |

➢ From an areal perspective, the lack of a formal distinction between the "higher" and the "lower" interpretations of negation seems to be an areal feature of the SAE languages, probably correlating with a higher degree of grammaticalization of the perfect and its eventual development into perfective or past.

➢ The languages which can formally distinguish between the "higher" and the "lower" interpretations occur on the fringes of SAE; it seems fairly plausible that the availability of "lower" negation in some linguistic varieties of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania is an areal phenomenon.

**Abbreviations**

ABE – abessive, ABS – absolutive, ACC – accusative, ASP – aspect, AUX – auxiliary, CNT – continuative, CNV – converb, DAT – dative, DEF – definite, DEM – demonstrative, F – feminine, FIN – finite, FUT – future tense, GEN – genitive, HPL – human plural, IMP – imperative, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental, INTER – interessive case, IPF – imperfective, IPS – impersonal, LOC – locative, M – masculine, NEG – negation, NFIN – non-finite, NOM – nominative, NPST — non-past, PA – active participle, PFV – perfective, PL – plural, PRF — perfect, PRS – present tense, PRT – participle, PRV – preverb, PST – past tense, PTCL – particle, PTV — partitive, RFL – reflexive, RSTR – restrictive, SG – singular, TOP – topic, & – coordination.

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