Negation in Turkish*
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1. Introduction

There are two forms of negating a verbal predicate in Turkish: *-mE* is an inflectional suffix that is attached to the base verb before the tense/ aspect/ mood markers and suffixes for personal agreement as illustrated in (1). It follows the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative suffixes, and the mood marker for ability.

1. Ben seni unut-ma-dı-m.
(I have not forgotten you)

The second one is the free morpheme'değil'. It is used to negate copular sentences with nominal or adjectival predicates. It is also used to negate verbal sentences when it is placed to the end of the sentence following a conjugated *verb* form. However, it can be used only if the verb is conjugated to certain verbal morphemes including the perfective –mIş, the progressive (I)yor or the future –EcEk[1]. When a verbal sentence is embedded to 'değil', the agreement markers for person and auxiliary postclitics move onto değil and the conjugated verb becomes non finite.

2. Ben seni unut-muş değil-im.
(It is not the case that I have forgotten you)

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[1] We should note here that it is possible to congugate the deontic marker –mElI in Turkmen and Azeri languages; however, there are certain constraints related to the aspectual type of the verb it is attached to. 'Gitmeli değilem' is acceptable while 'anlamalı değilem' is not in Azeri language.

Tura (1981) and Erguvanlı Taylan (1984) have already argued that these two forms of negation in Turkish differ form each other in terms of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features they possess although they seem to reveal the same semantic interpretation, and they can not be used interchangebly. Apart from the findings of the prior research, I will try to describe the contexts that – mE and 'değil' in verbal predicates dispaly a complementary distribution in discourse. The observations presented in this paper are limited to verbal sentences such as ' Ali eve gitmedi' and 'Ali eve gitmiş değil'. First, I will give some working definitions for negation and related topics. In section 3, I will give a brief review of the prior research on the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of these negative markers. In the last section, I will focus on the discourse functions of –mA and 'değil' in verbal predicates giving examples from naturally occuring data to describe the difference on pragmatic grounds.

2. What is negation?

Negation refers to the denial of either an affirmative proposition or some part of it. When a negative element covers the whole proposition, it forms *sentential negation* syntactically and it is said to have widest scope in the logical structure of the sentence. Sentential negation is also named as propositional negation semantically (Payne, 1985; Frawley, 1992). The negative elements that give sentential negation are known as external negation operators semantically. Those that take narrow scope over verbal predicates are internal operators.

Another term that is widely used is *standard negation*. Payne (1985) distinguishes standard negation from sentential negation. Standard negation refers to the most prototypical way of negating a sentence in a language. This type of negation can be applied to the most minimal and basic sentences. In case of Turkish, standard negation is marked by –mE in verbal sentences and non verbal sentences by the predicate 'değil'. A marker of standard negation in a language may not always create sentential negation, since it is mostly affected

by scope bearing elements like quantifiers. We can observe a case in which the marker of standard negation –mE in Turkish can not negate the whole proposition as illustrated in (3):

> 3. Ayşe *arkadaşlarımdan bazılarını* sevmiyor.
>
> (Ayşe does not like *some of my friends*)
>
> 4. Ayşe *arkadaşlarımı* sevmiyor.
>
> (Ayşe does not like my friends)

In   (3), the quantifier 'bazı' restricts the scope of negation and it implies an affirmative proposition ' she likes the rest'. However, in the absence of such a quantifier, -mE takes wide scope and results in sentential negation.

Horn (1989) uses the terms descriptive and metalinguistic negation. According to Horn, negation is a pragmatically ambigious notion and it can not be defined simply on semantic grounds. He makes the distinction between the semantic and pragmatic meanings of negative markers. He uses the term 'descriptive negation' to refer to the semantic function of negation. Descriptive negation refers to what we defined as standard negation above. It is the logical denial of an affirmative proposition; hence, it is truth conditional. For example, the sentence in English 'The sun isn't shining today' reflects descriptive negation since it is a total rejection of the proposition 'the sun is shining'. However, there are certain cases in which the negated form does not result in the denial of the propostion for pragmatic reasons. Consider the utterances given in (5). Speaker B's intention is not to indicate that 'he didn't call the police at all' but to correct Speaker A's utterance with the right intonation counter.

> 5. A. He called the [pólis].
>
>   B. He didn't call the [pólis]. He called the [polís].
>
> (Horn, 1989: 374)

In order to explain the use of negative form in (5B), Horn suggests the term 'metalinguistic negation'. Metalinguistic negation is purely a pragmatic notion, rejecting an aspect of the context for conversational purposes. Since metalinguistic negation does not result in the denial of the proposition, it is not truth conditional. Metalinguistic negation is used for several reasons such as refuting the proper assertability of the sentence in a certain situation or strengthening relatively weak scalar predicates.

3. Syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of –mA and 'değil'

The semantic and pragmatic features of these markers described in Tura (1981) and Erguvanlı Taylan (1984) are as follows:

1. According to Tura, -mE is an internal negation operator and it can take both narrow and wide scope while 'değil' takes only a wide scope as an external negation operator. Hence, she concludes that 'değil' in verbal predicates marks sentential negation. The sentences provided earlier in (3) and (4) examplify the case –mE takes both narrow and wide scopes. Erguvanlı argues that there are cases in which the scopal behavior of these markers is neutralized. For example, factive predicates do not allow their presupposition to be cancelled; therefore, they do not undergo the scope of negative markers. Neither –mE nor 'değil' can take scope over 'reddet' as illustrated in (6) and (7):

> 6. O teklifi reddettiğime pişman olmadım.
> (I did not regret that I refused that offer)
> 7. O teklifi reddettiğime pişman olmuş değilim.
> (I did not regret that I refused that offer)
> (Erguvanlı, 1986: 169)

2. Erguvanlı argues that -mE and 'değil' differ from each other in the contexts in which the negative assertion or a part of it is questioned. In the verbal sentences negated by –mE, it is possible to question any elements as well as the whole negative assertion using the postclitic mI as in (8a-c):

8. a. Erol o işi kabul etmemiş mi?
   (Hasn't Erol accepted that job?)
    b. Erol mu o işi kabul etmemiş?
   (Is it Erol who hasn't accepted that job?)
   c. Erol o işi mi kabul etmemiş?
   (Is it that job that Erol hasn't accepted?)
   (Erguvanlı, 1986: 165)

Erguvanlı claims that it is not possible to do so in the verbal predicates embedded under degil, and this question postclitic is acceptable only at S-final position. She finds the following sentences unacceptable:

11 a. Erol mu o işi kabul etmiş değil?
    b. Erol o işi mi kabul etmiş değil?

However, both (8a) and (8b) can be acceptable in the following contex:
    9. **Speaker A**: Erol o işi kabul etmediğini söyledi. Neden kabul etmiş değil bilmiyorum.

        Speaker B: Erol *mu* o işi kabul etmiş değil!   Hadi canım, kesinlikle kabul etti. Sana yalan söylemiş.

(9) represents a rethorical question. The acceptability of this usage can be explained on pragmatic grounds: When Speaker B rejects the negative assertion and tries to falsify the belif or attitude of the hearer, he/she can shift -mI to right after the subject or the object. However, note that the function of this particle is

not to question the assertion, any more. It rather functions as an emotive element.

3. Pragmatics of -mE and değil: Pragmatic strengthening and metalinguistic negation

In this section, I will argue that 'değil' negation in verbal predicates diverges from –mE in terms of the scalar value of the logical denial it reflects. Frawley (1992) argues that the scalar value of a proposition is affected by two sources: 1. degree of overtness of the negative; and 2. degree of irrealis modality. Frawley defines modality as an epistemic deixis from the reference world to expressed world. Irrealis modality occurs when there is mismatch between these worlds. Drawing an analogy from modality as deixis, he argues that 'negation is the mismatch of the expressed world and the reference world, so the strongest propositional negation should be induced by forms that encode the total mismatch' (p. 396). In case of Turkish, both are overt negative markers, however, only 'değil' marks a high level of irrealis modality and reflects a total mismatch between the expressed world and the reference world in Frawley's terms. Hence, 'değil' is characterized with a strong denial of the proposition. On the other hand, -mE stands for a weak denial and can be cancelled. We can provide evidence for this characterization in two different contexts: It becomes obvious that such a scale actually exists when we put these negative markers into irrealis contexts (Emeksiz, 2006). We expect that the elements that reflect weak denial can occur in such contexts since they can be cancelled without any defect in the meaning of the sentence. (10a), (11a) are both acceptable while (10b), (11b) are not:

10. a. Sanırım/galiba bu filmi daha önce izlemedim
    (I guess I did not watch this film)
    b. *Sanırım/galiba bu filmi daha önce izlemiş değilim.

(I guess it is not the case that I wathed this film)

11. a. Sanırm/galiba Zeynep yarın gelmeyecek

(I guess Zeynep won't come tomorrow)

b. *Sanırım/galiba Zeynep yarın gelecek değil

(I guess it is not the case that Zeynep will come tomorrow)

'Sanırım/ galiba' creates an irrealis context and reduces the certainty level of the proposition ' bu filmi daha önce izlemedim'. The sentences in (10a) and (11a) negated by –mE are well acceptable since the denial can be cancelled. However, (10b) and (11b) result in non acceptable sentences since the denial değil marks can not be cancelled. We should note here that this restriction is true only for verbal sentences under 'değil' negation and 'sanırım' is well acceptable in nominal sentences such as ' Sanırım Ali hasta *değil*'.[2]

The second evidence comes from their ability to mark metalinguistic negation. Since 'değil' has a strong denial, it can not reflect metalinguistic negation. –mE is the only metalinguistic negator for verbal sentences in Turkish as illustrated in (12a) and (12b):

12. a. Nazım Hikmet şiir *yazmadı*, ülküsünü ve ideallerini dile getirdi.

(Nazım Hikmet did not write poems, he stated his ambitions and ideals)

b. *Nazım Hikmet şiir yazmış değil, ülküsünü ve ideallerini dile getirdi.

(It is not the case that Nazım Hikmet wrote poems, he stated his ambitions and ideals)

Sentence (12a) is not a logical denial since it still affirms that Nazım Hikmet wrote poems. It rather strengthens the context provided. On the other hand, the

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negative marker değil (12b) conveys a logical denial and cancels the proposition.

Now, we should answer the question why speakers prefer one of these forms? The answer lies in this pragmatic feature of değil. Since it marks a strong denial, the utterance implies a high degree of certainity and epistemic force when compared to –mE negation. As a result, 'değil' stands at the right most of the scale, charecterized by a strong denial and a high epistemic force:
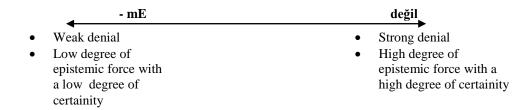
- mE   **değil**

- Weak denial
- Low degree of epistemic force with a low degree of certainity
- Strong denial
- High degree of epistemic force with a high degree of certainity

Figure 1

The scala of epistemic force for the negative markers

4. Negation in discourse

4.1. Functions of standard negation marker -mE

Negation in discourse functions as the denial of an assumption, a state of affairs or a defeated expectation (Hwang,1992). The information status of the denied expectation can be either hearer old or discourse old. However, the denial itself bears new information. Thus, negation functions as an anchor binding old information to the new one as illustrated in (18):

13. Speaker A: Murat işe başladı mı?

(Did Murat start to work?)

Speaker B: Başlamadı. Onun yerine başkasını almışlar.

(No, he Didn't. They hired someone else)

In the context given in (18), speaker A assumes that Murat found a job and he was going to work somewhere. This assumption is hearer old. The negative utterance 'başlamadı' introduces a new state of affairs anchored to the assumption/expectation of the speakers.   Speakers' expectations may derive from two sources: Common ground knowledge and individual experiences. I observed that the denial of expectations is mostly marked by the Standard negative marker –mE in Turkish as illustrated in the examples given in (14) and (15).

(14) …Dün gece eve dönerken köpekler arkamdan havladi. Bizim mahallenin köpekleri.Bir ikisi de peşime takildi; adimlarimi siklaştirdim. **Daha önce onların böyle bir davranışıyla karşilaşmamıştım**; korktum….
(the denial of an expectation based on individual experiences)
(Atay, Oğuz. Korkuyu beklerken)

(15). …Bu sokakta ancak ben barinabilirdim. Benim de sebeplerim vardi. **Köpeklerin böyle sebepleri olamazdı, onlar düşünemezlerdi…** (the denial of an expectation   based   on common ground knowledge)
(Atay, Oğuz. Korkuyu beklerken)

Labov (1972) states that negation in narration expresses the defeat of an expectation that something would happen. Along the same line, Hwang argues (1992) that negatives are not used in narratives unless there is a certain kind of textual, contextual or cultural expectation related to a frame-a break from related items that normally exist together, or it may be related to a script- a break from a normal sequence of events. The data shows that such a break from a frame or a script is also marked most widely by –mE in Türkish as in (16), (17) and (18).

16…. İkimiz birden kalktık ayağa. O zaman göz göze geldik. Başım uğuldadı, uğltular yankılandı. Önümden geçip gitti. …şekerciye doğru yürüdük. Sonra sinemaya. **Sinemadan çıkarken görememiştim**…

(a break from a script)

(Karasu, Bilge. Göçmüş kediler bahçesi.)

17. Balıkçı hiç yapılmayacak bir şey yaptı. Sağ koluyla balığı sararak kendine çeker,   kucaklarken, sol elini zokayı dikkatle çıkarmak üzere balığın açık ağzına soktu.Ağız   kapanıverdi. **Elini çekemiyor**, kolu ağır ağır balığın ağzında yok oluyordu. **Acı duymuyordu**. **Isırılmıyor, koparılmıyordu**.

(a break from a frame)

(Karasu, Bilge. Göçmüş kediler bahçesi)

18. Nakkaşlar bölüğünde ve üstatlar arasında Zarif Efendi diye bilinen ben öldüm **ama gömülmedim. Bu yüzden de ruhum gövdemi bütünüyle terk edemedi**

(a break from a script)

(Pamuk, Orhan. Benim adım kırmızı.)

4.2. Functions of 'değil'

'değil' in verbal predicates is a highly marked structure. I studied on 50 clauses that I found in narrative texts. To observe the functions of 'değil' in discourse, I asked 5 Turkish people who are advanced speakers of English to translate some of the typical examples of this usage from Turkish to English. The reason why I used this methodology is that it is possible to see the the meaning and the functions of 'değil' in the target language overtly. I asked the participants to translate only the underlined değil clauses presented in given contexts into English. Depending on the contextual clues and the translations of the participants, I observed mainly three functions:1. It establishes a state between the event time and the speech time; 2. it induces the certainity of the

proposition, in other terms, it provides a pragmatic strengthening, and 3. it is always used to deny the expectations based on individual experiences, not generic or common ground knowledge unlike –mE

The clauses embedded under değil constitute a state anchoring the event time to speech time. It is significant that all the subjects prefered either the the present perfect form in English or an expression that can mark a non changed state of affairs while translating the clauses with –mIş negated by değil. Text 1 and Text 2 and the translated forms are given below:

Text 1
— Beni şaşırtıyorsun.Şarkılarınla erkeğin güçlü baskısına karşı
duran sen değil miydin? Kadınlarımızı uyarmak, bu baskıya karşı koymak isteyen sen değil miydin?
---**Ne yapalım, henüz karşı koyabilmiş değiller.**
(Ağaoğlu, Adalet. Murat.)

    S1: So what! They *haven't resisted it yet*.

    S2: So what? They *haven't been able to resist it yet*.

    S3: So what, they *haven't resisted it yet*!

    S4: So what! They *haven't withstanded yet.*

    S5: What to do, they *still* can not resist it.

Text 2
Onlarca yıldır, Tophane'de adeta yoksul bir ibret abidesi gibi kolu bacağı kafası kırık zorlukla dikili duran, geçenleri işçileri bekleyen akıbet konusunda uyaran işçi heykeli geliyor aklıma.
Nedense faşist militanların saldırısında paramparça edildikten sonra bir türlü onarılmadığı gibi **yerinden de kaldırılmış değil.**
 (Radikal,2004)

    S1: It has neither been removed.

S2: They haven't replaced it yet.

S3: it hasn't been replaced, either.

S4: It has not been removed, anyway.

S5: It is not the case that it is also removed from its place.

One may attribute the use of present perfect to the adverb 'henüz' in text 1. However, we see that the second clause was also translated with the same grammatical category. Hence, the meaning must derive from 'değil' not the adverb. In both cases, while denying the assumption/expectation, the speakers also express that they are in an ongoing state of this negative situation. We should note here that the same clause negated by –mE reflects a denial and a completed negative state as 'yerinden de kaldırılmadı' having a past reference only.

The second function is to induce the degree of certainity. This occurs to be a strategy to strengthen the validity of the negative state pragmatically. This is an expected function since it has a high epistemic force as mentioned earlier in section 3. I observed that the writers use the particles 'ya' and 'ki' following 'değil' to increase certainty. The particle 'ya' is used with –EcEk while 'ki' is used with –(I)yor and –mIş. The clauses given from Text 3 to 6 examplify their distribution.

Text 3

Adam söylendi:

— Onu da bırakacaksınız.

---Elbette bırakacağım, **kızımı çıplak koyacak değilim ya**

(Güntekin, R. N. Yaprak dökümü)

Text 4

Benim çifte de, atın çiftesi de seninkinin yanında hiç kalır.. deyince,

Ben onlardan daha iyi bilecek değilim ya... diyerek,

çiftesinin pekliğine inanmaya başladı.

(Nesin, A. Memleketin birinde)

Text 5

Beni zaman mahvetti albayım. Zamanla buluyor insan formunu. Her şey zamana bağlı: Yetmiş beş yetmiş altı yetmiş yedi derken insan ölüyor. **Zaman her şeyi hallediyor değil ki.**   (Atay, O. En büyük hazinemiz aklımızdır)

Text 6

Ben de bu işten bir servet yapmış değilim ki.

(Nesin, A. Memleketin birinde)

Another finding of this research is that 'değil' is sensitive to the type of expectation, and   it negates the assumptions and expectations based on *individual experiences*, not common ground or generic knowledge while the standard negative marker –mE can be used for all types of expectations. The examples of expectations based on individual experiences were given in texts presented earlier.

> 19. a. Bardağı hızla duvara fırlattım. **Ama bardak kırılmadı.**
>   b. ? Bardağı hızla duvara fırlattım. **Ama bardak kırılmış değil/ idi.**

In (19), it is the common ground knowledge that a glass may get broken. When we cancel this expectation using değil, the sentence becomes less acceptable. What is more, it is not a preferred structure to mark a break in the script of narration. All the breaks from sequence of events were marked by –mE in the data. The verbal clauses negated by 'değil' mostly express the cognitive state of

the speaker, and a few of them were used to refer to the events in past, that is not in the sequence of the current event.

The last observation is related to the rhetoric relations established within the negative contexts by –mE and değil. The marker 'değil' mostly precedes an utterance that establishes a concessive relation with the negated sentence as illustrated in (20):

20. bu değerli eseri arkadaşımın kütüphanesinde rastlantı eseri buldum ve okumaya başladım şu anda **bitirmiş değilim** CONCESSIVE ama okuduğum kadarıyla benim kendi çapımdaki araştırmalarım, edindiğim bilgi ve kendi görüşümle uyuştuğu için büyük zevkle okuyorum…
(Source: http://www.netkitap.com/kitap-kalpakli-mucize-ali-kaya-akademi-yayinlari.htm)

 On the other, -mE mostly precedes a contrastive relation as illustrated in (21):

21. Daha yazıyı **bitirmedim**. CONTRAST Ekleyeceklerim var.

(Source:http://www.keremdoksat.com/2008/11/04/umuk-nasil-tacizden-nasil-yirtilir-mustafa-kimdir/)

This observation lends support Horn's claim that one way of distinguishing metalinguistic negation from descriptive negation is to detect these different functions in contrastive and concessive environments (Horn, 1989: 402). Metalinguistic uses of negation tend to occur in contrastive environments while descriptive negation occurs in concessive ones. As a metalinguistic marker, -mE occurs in contrastive relations but 'değil' does not.

5. Conclusion

The negative markers –mE and 'değil' in verbal sentences differ from each other mainly in terms of the strength of the denial they mark and the epistemic force they reflect. –mE is a typical negative marker that realizes all the functions of a denial in discourse. 'değil', on the other hand carries out a restricted set of functions including establishing a state between the event time and speech time, inducing the certainity of the denial. It is sensitive to the kind of expectation it cancels and it is used as a denial of individual experiences. It is also restricted to the sequence of events represented. They also differ from each other in terms of the rhetoric relation they are involved in discourse. Değil mostly precedes a concessive relation while –me occurs in contrast relation.

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