Title
Negation in Arawak Languages

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Author
Michael, Lev David

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To Christian, Zoe, and Isabella

and

To Chris (*notasanotakempi*)

and

To the speakers of Arawak languages,
whose patience, dedication, and hard work
with linguists from around the world
have made this volume possible

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Abbrev.	Meaning
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
A	A-class verb
A/S	Subject
ABL	Ablative
ACT	Actual
ACTV	Active
ADL	Adlative
ADJVR	Adjectivizer
AF	Affirmative
AFF	Affect
AG	Agent
ALL	Allative
ANIM	Animate
ANT	Anterior
APL	Applicative
ART	Article
AS	A stem
ASS	Associative
ASSOC. MOT	Associated motion
ASSV	Asseverative
ATR	Attributive
AUG	Augmentative
AUX	Auxiliary
B	Base stem
BEN	Benefactive
CAU	Causative
CAUS: INFL	Causative of influence
CERT	Certain
CL	Classifier
CMP	Complement marker
CNTF	Counterfactual
CNTRST	Contrast
COM	Comitative
COMP	Completive
CONC	Conclusive
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjuction
COP	Copula
CPT	Centripetal
CT	Thematic consonant
D	D series
DAT	Dative
DECL	Declarative
DEI	Deictic
DEM	Demonstrative
DEO	Deontic
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Directional
DIS	Distant
DSTR	Distributive
DV	Dummy Verb
DX	D+ series
E	Exclamatory stem
EP	Epenthetic
EMP	Emphatic
EXCL	Exclamative
EXI	Existential
EXP	Expectative
F	Feminine
FEM	Feminine
FIN	Final
FOC	Focus
FRU	Frustrative
FUT	Future
GEN	General
GER	Gerund
GRAD	Gradual
H	Hortative stem
HAB	Habitual
HYP	Hypothetical
I	I-class verb

ICP	Inceptive
IMMED	Immediate
IMP	Imperative
IMPERS	Impersonal
IMPF	Imperfective
INC	Incompletive
IND	Indicative
INDEF	Indefinite
INF	Infinitive
INSTR	Instrumental
INT	Interrogative
INTE	Intensifier
INTN	Intentional
INTR	Intransitivizer
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
MAL	Malefactive
META	Metalinguistic
MID	Middle
MS	Male speech
N	Negative stem
N.POSS	Non-possessed
NEG	Negative
NF	Non-feminine
NH	Non-human
NL	Nominal
NM	Non-masculine
NML	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominative
NS	N series
NONVIS	Non-visual
O	Object
P	Patient
PART	Participle
PAS	Past
PASS	Passive
PF	Perfect
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PL.KIN	Plural of kinship terms
PLURACT	Pluractional
POL.SUG	Polite suggestion
POSP	Postposition
POSS	Possessive
POSSED	Possessed
POT	Potential
PR	Prefix series
PRED	Predicate
PREP	Preposition
PRES	Present
PRIV	Privative
PRO	Pronoun
PROG	Progressive
PROH	Prohibitive
PROX	Proximal
PS	Prefixable stem
Ps	Possessor
PUNCT	Punctual
PURP	Purposive
REA	Realis
REC	Recent
REF	Referential
REFX	Reflexive
REG	Regressive
REL	Relativizer
REM	Remote
REP	Repetitive
REST	Restrictive
RESULT	Resultative
REV	Reversative
RPT	Reportative
Q	Question
S	Subject
Sa	Subject of active intransitive verb

So	Subject of stative intransitive verb
SEC	Secondhand
SG	Singular
SJ	Subject in stative predicates
SS	S series
SUB	Subordinator
T	T series
TEMP	Temporal
TH	Thematic suffix
TRAN	Transitive
TRANS	Transitivizer
UNCERT	Uncertain
UNPOSS	Unpossessed
V	Verb
VER	Veridical
VBZ	Verbalizer
VIS	Visual
WH	Wh
XTRM	Extreme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

LEV MICHAEL AND TANIA GRANADILLO

This volume brings together nine studies on negation in Arawak[1] languages, representing most of the major branches of the Arawak family, and spanning a vast geographic area: from Bolivia (Trinitario) to Honduras (Garifuna), and from the Andean foothills of Peru (Nanti) to eastern Brazilian Amazonia (Wauja). All of the authors have conducted extensive fieldwork on the languages that their chapters focus on, and many of them have written comprehensive descriptive grammars on those languages, or are in the process of doing so.

The goal of this volume is to advance comparative research on Arawak languages, especially in the areas of morphology and syntax. Although the Arawak languages were the first group of Native American languages to be identified as a linguistic family, in 1782 (Gilij 1965) – preceding even Jones' famous proposal of the Indo-European family in 1786 – comparative work on Arawak languages has been halting. Efforts at reconstructions of Proto-Arawak (PA) have largely been limited to reconstruction of PA phonology and lexical items (e.g. Matteson 1972, Payne 1991a, Ramirez 2001a, Valenti 1986), and even these have generally met with skeptical receptions, due to a variety of methodological issues, especially the tendency to apply the comparative method inconsistently (Kaufman 1994, Michael 2009b, Payne 1991a). Although reliable comparative work on Arawak languages must ultimately rest on adequate phonological reconstructions, this volume is motivated by the belief that it is also important to make progress in developing a more detailed comparative picture of grammatical phenomena among Arawak languages. Efforts in this direction have been made for a number branches of the family, or for areally delimited groups of Arawak languages (e.g. Aikhenvald 1995b, 2001a, 2007a, Corbera 2005, Derbyshire 1986, Wise 1986); but family-wide comparative work of this nature is less developed, and focuses mainly on assessing morphological cognacy, e.g. in the domains of person marking (Payne 1987), noun classifiers (Payne 1991b), and valency-changing morphology (Wise 1990). Perhaps the most comprehensive effort of this kind is Aikhenvald's (2002: 288-295) overview of a "common Arawak

[1] See §3 for a discussion of the choice of the term 'Arawak' rather than 'Arawakan' to refer to the family.

morphological nucleus," which summarizes and expands on the previous studies mentioned above. The contributors to this volume believe that this is a propitious moment to expand the comparative vision of Arawak specialists to include grammar more broadly, beginning with the comparative morphosyntax of negation.

Negation is an attractive starting point for the comparative study of Arawak grammar for a number of reasons. First, negation has long played an important role in comparative Arawak linguistics, with the existence of a Proto-Arawak privative **ma-* being one of the small number of points on which all reconstructions have agreed (see Chapter 11). Second, recent advances in the typology of negation also make the comparative study of negation in Arawak languages timely, including Miestamo's (2005) typology of standard negation and van de Auwera and Lejeune's (2011) typology of prohibitives.

Each chapter in this volume describes a number of negation constructions in each language. These include standard negation (SN) constructions (i.e. negation in declarative main clauses) and the structural relationships between SN constructions and their affirmative counterparts; prohibitive constructions; and reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative. Most chapters also discuss negative indefinites and negation in clause-linking constructions and subordinate clauses. Since the languages represented in the volume span most of the major branches of Arawak, the result is a wide-ranging and detailed overview of negation constructions in the family.

Many of the chapters in this volume constitute the first detailed description of negation in the languages to which they are dedicated, and even chapters concerning better-described languages discuss hitherto unknown characteristics of negation in those languages. Munro and Gallagher's chapter on *Garifuna* describes the complex negation system of this northernmost Arawak language, which employs both a reflex of the Proto-Arawak privative prefix and a negation particle. Especially noteworthy in Garifuna is the interaction between negation and person marking on lexical and auxiliary verbs. Patte's chapter on *Lokono* presents an interesting intermediate case between Garifuna on the one hand, in which the reflex of the privative is the typical form of SN, and most other Arawak languages on the other hand, where reflexes of the privative do not serve as a SN strategy: in Lokono, reflexes of the privative are only used with stative and subordinate verbs. *Kurripako Ehe-Khenim*, described by Granadillo, exhibits a structurally relatively straightforward SN system, in which negation is expressed by a preverbal particle, but it also exhibits the striking socio-linguistic features that, first, the form of the SN particle varies significantly in

closely-related varieties, and second, the form of the SN element (and the corresponding affirmative particle) serve as names for the various varieties. *Tariana*, described in Aikhenvald's chapter, exhibits one the most structurally complex systems of morphological negation in the family, as negation is in some cases marked by both a suffix and a prefix, and in other cases, only a suffix, depending on verb class. Aikhenvald also discusses how contact with neighboring Tukanoan languages has affected negation constructions in Tariana. Facundes' chapter on *Apurinã* presents a detailed discussion of SN constructions based on free negation elements as well as those relying on reflexes of the privative, and introduces the issue of aspectual neutralizations associated with SN, an important characteristic of SN constructions in southern Arawak languages. Facundes also discusses negation in clause-linking constructions, and presents a comparative discussion of negation in Iñapari and Yine, which together with Apurinã constitute the Purús branch. Ball's description of *Wauja* provides an analysis of negation in naturally-occurring discourse, with a focus on morphologically complex negation elements consisting of a negation particle and a number of aspectual and modal clitics. *Paresi*, described by Brandão, presents an interesting case, in that it exhibits two SN constructions, one of which involves a finite lexical verb, and the other a nominalized form of the verb. Michael's description of *Nanti* provides an example of the complex paradigmatic asymmetries involving reality status that are found in several southern Arawak languages, and presents a detailed discussion of negation in clause-linking constructions. Michael also compares the Nanti SN system to the virtually identical systems of the other members of the Kampan branch and, strikingly, that of the distantly-related language Terena. *Trinitario*, as described by Rose, is the southernmost Arawak language to which a descriptive chapter is dedicated in this volume. Trinitario presents an intriguing variant of the southern Arawak irrealis system described by Michael, which Rose situates in a cross-linguistic discussion of interactions between reality status marking and negation.

The final chapter in this volume presents a comparative typological overview of negation in 27 Arawak languages, including the nine languages to which individual chapters are dedicated. Included in this overview are a typologization of the morphosyntactic realization of SN in Arawak languages, an evaluation of constructional and paradigmatic (a)symmetries across the family, a typologization of prohibitive constructions in terms of (a)symmetries with respect to declarative and imperative constructions, and a survey of reflexes of the PA privative **ma-*, focusing on their productivity and their morphosyntactic functions

in particular languages. The chapter also discusses trends and patterns in negation constructions across the family and presents tentative conclusions regarding what we can infer about negation constructions in pre-modern Arawak languages, including PA.

The locations of the languages to which chapters are dedicated in this volume are given in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Geographical locations of Arawak Languages in this volume*

2. *Genetic relationships within the Arawak family*

The precise genetic relationships among the languages in this volume are somewhat unclear, because of enduring uncertainties regarding internal classification. It should be noted that there is no doubt about their membership in the Arawak family, however. We now briefly review the major recent classifications of the family.

Extant classifications of Arawak languages have been based either on lexicostatistical methods (e.g. Payne 1991a, Ramirez 2001a) or on even less explicit methods (e.g. Aikhenvald 1999, Campbell 2012), and disagree in various ways and to varying degrees. The three most recent classifications of the family are those by Aikhenvald (1999), Campbell (2012) and Ramirez (2001a), which are reproduced schematically in Figures 2, 3 and 4, respectively (including all languages mentioned in Chapter 11). Aikhenvald's and Campbell's classifications both exhibit a basic split between northern and southern divisions,[2] which has long been standard in Arawak classification. Ramirez diverges from this tradition in lacking a northern-southern split at any level of his classification, and by positing that the highest level split is between an eastern division, consisting of Palikúr, Wauja, and Parecí, and a western division, consisting of all other Arawak languages. Aikhenvald's and Campbell's classifications are also broadly similar at the lower levels. With respect to Southern Arawak languages, their classifications differ in that Aikhenvald treats Baure, Kinikinau, Trinitario, and Terena as forming a group with no internal sub-grouping, while Campbell considers Terena and Kinikinau to form one sub-group, and Trinitario and Baure to form another, and that these two sub-groups group together with the Purús branch (Apurinã, Iñapari, and Yine) to form a sub-branch of Southern Arawak. In Aikhenvald's classification the Purús branch does not form a sub-branch with any other languages in the southern division. In the northern division the differences are somewhat marked between Aikhenvald and Campbell. Both Campbell and Aikhenvald consider Garifuna, Añun, Lokono, and Wayuu to group together, but Aikhenvald splits Garifuna off within this group. Campbell considers this group of languages to form a branch with Wapishana within the northern division, while Aikhenvald does not. Both Aikhenvald and Campbell posit a major branch within the northern division of Arawak that contains the same set of languages (i.e. all languages other than those already mention, plus Palikúr), which they refer to as 'North Amazonian' and 'Upper Amazon', respectively. Although the details of sub-grouping are different within this group, they are broadly similar, with Campbell offering a somewhat more articulated sub-grouping structure.

Ramirez's classification is effectively quite flat, since his western division includes most of the languages of the family, which are sorted into eight coordinate branches. According to this classification, for

[2] For ease of comparison we distinguish the various levels of groupings, in order of descending inclusiveness, as: division, branch, sub-branch, group, and sub-group.

example, the low-level group containing Garifuna and Wayuu is no more closely related to any of the northern Arawak languages than it is to any of the groups containing southern Arawak languages. This classification is thus effectively quite agnostic regarding mid-level groupings in Arawak. At the lower levels, Ramirez's groupings are actually quite similar to those of Aikhenvald and Campbell, with the notable exceptions of grouping the Kampan branch with the Purús branch in Southern Arawak; and in northern Arawak, providing a much finer structure for the group corresponding roughly to the 'North Amazonian' or 'Upper Amazon' group of Aikhenvald and Campbell. In addition, Ramirez also splits off Bare and certain languages in the Orinoco basin as groups coordinate with groups that Aikhenvald and Campbell consider to be southern Arawak languages.

For purposes of discussing genetic relationships among Arawak languages in this volume, we will follow Aikhenvald's and Campbell's classifications, since they represent variations on the traditional consensus regarding the classification of Arawak languages (see e.g. Payne 1991a).

Thus, with respect to the languages to which chapters are dedicated in this volume, we can make a number of observations. First, most branches of Arawak are represented in this volume, with the exceptions being, in the northern division, Palikúr and – for Aikhenvald's classification – Wapishana (recall that Campbell groups Wapishana with Garifuna, Wayuu, and their close sister languages). In the southern division, the only unrepresented branches are those involving Yanesha' and Chamicuro, whose relationship to other Arawak languages is generally unsettled. Among the languages of the northern division, Kurripako and Tariana are placed in the same low-level group by both Aikhenvald and Campbell (and indeed, by Ramirez as well), but readers will appreciate that their SN systems could hardly be more different. Garifuna and Lokono are likewise grouped together, although Campbell does not consider them to be members of the same low-level group, while Aikhenvald does. As readers will see, the SN systems of the two languages are quite different, although they exhibit some noteworthy similarities in terms of negation functions of reflexes of the PA privative. In the southern division, the only two languages which group together, except at the division level, are Paresi and Wauja. Readers will note the similarity in the SN element of these languages, but the SN systems are otherwise quite different. Trinitario and Nanti are treated as belonging to separate branches in southern Arawak, but there are intriguing similarities to be found in the way that negation interacts with reality status in both languages.

Figure 2. *Classification of Arawak languages mentioned in the volume, following Aikhenvald (1999)*

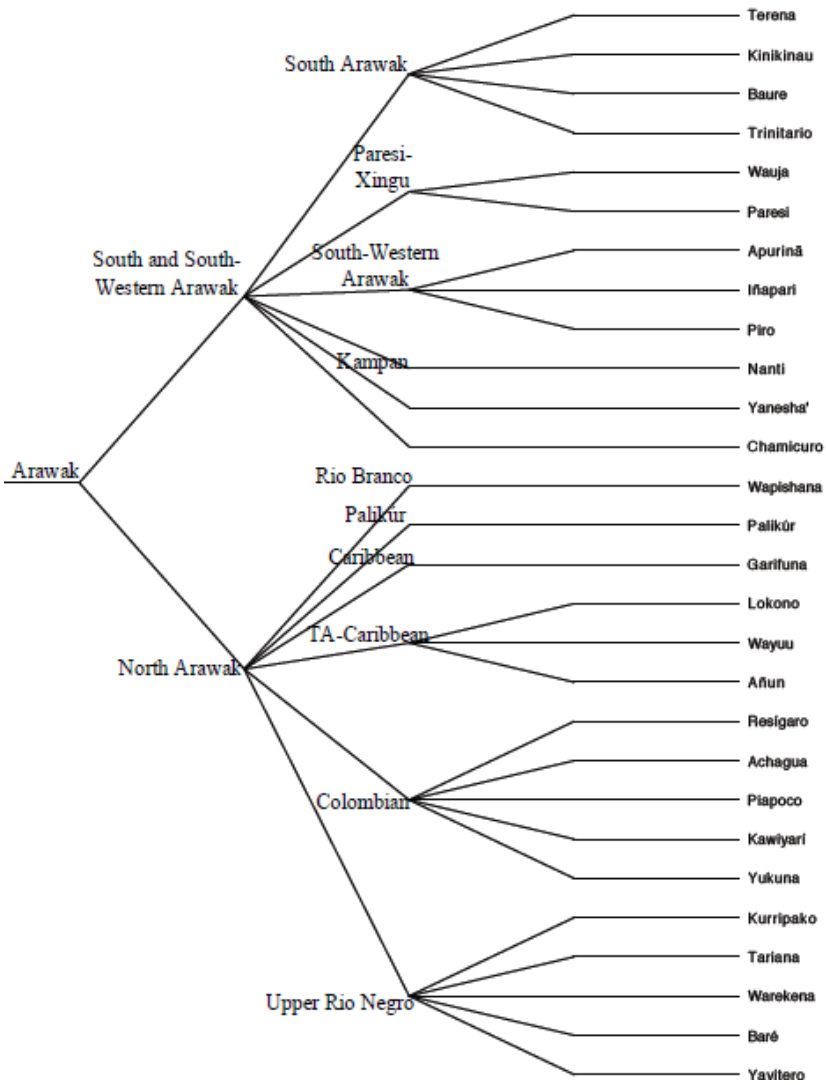


Figure 3. *Classification of Arawak languages mentioned in the volume, following Campbell (2012)*

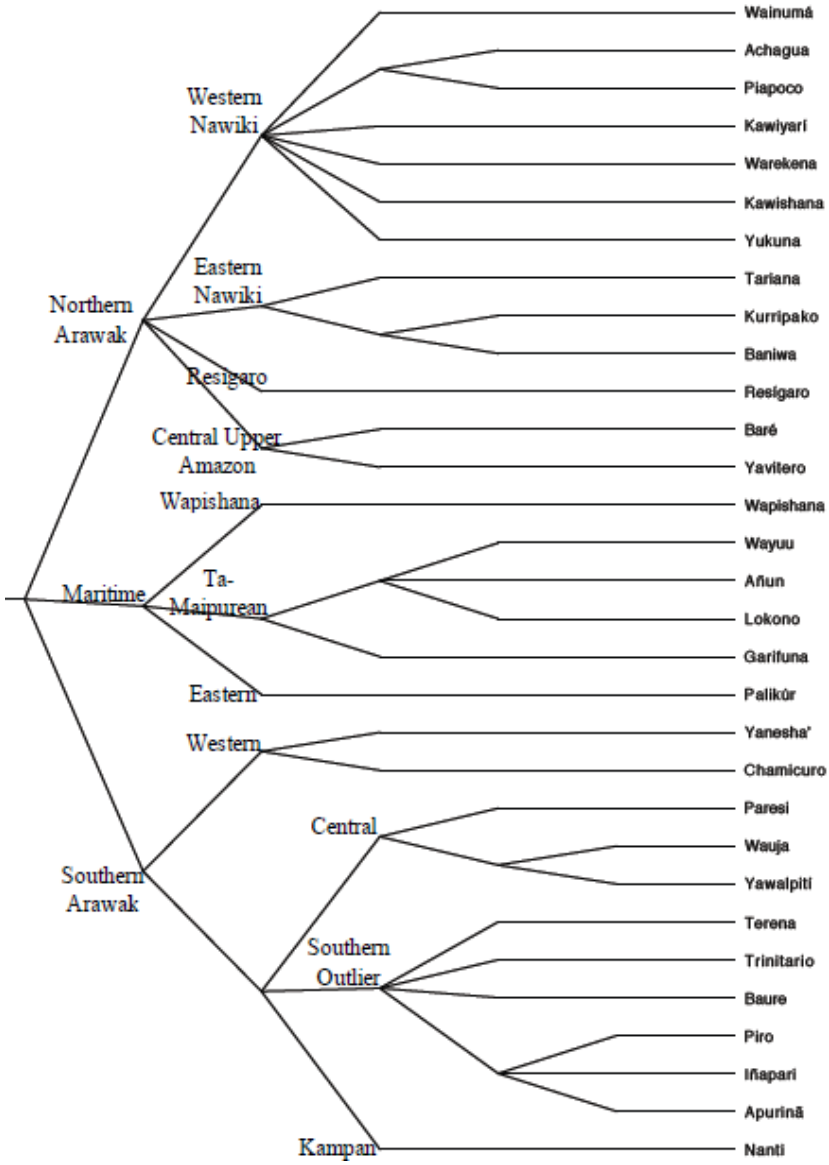
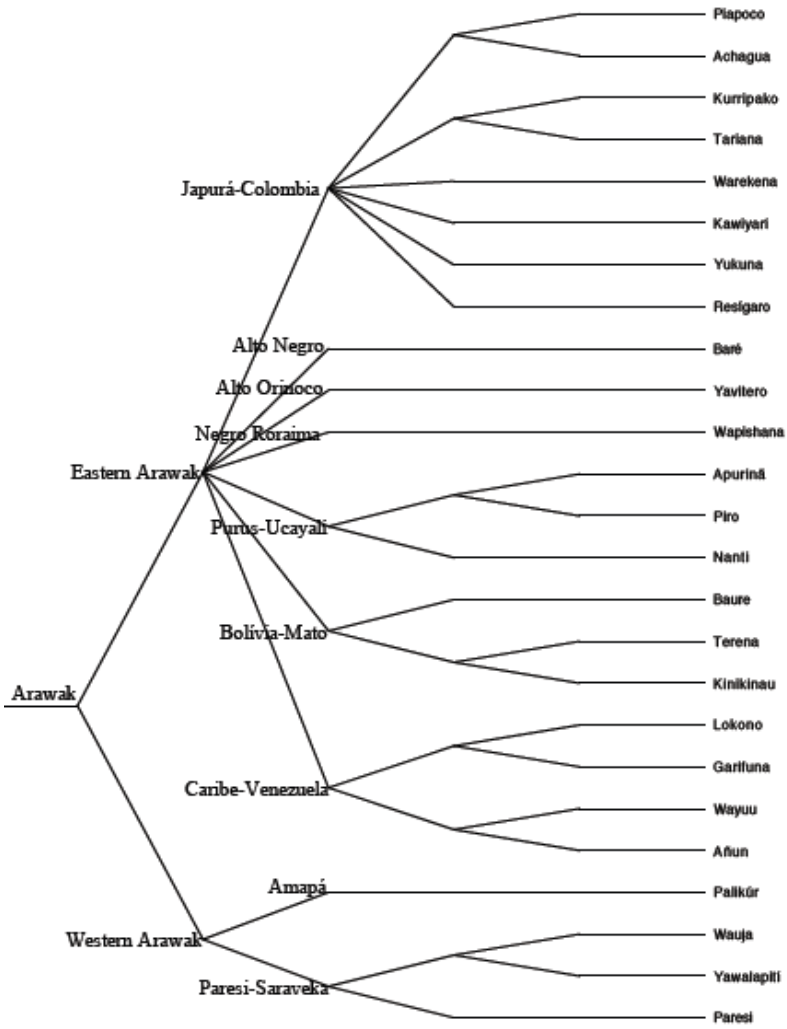


Figure 4. *Classification of Arawak languages mentioned in the volume, following Ramirez (2001)*



3. *A note on terminology*

Before closing this introduction, we briefly address a terminological issue – the choice between the terms 'Arawak' and 'Arawakan'. Both of these terms have been used to refer to the family that we call 'Arawak' in this chapter. Aikhenvald (1999) has argued against using 'Arawakan' to refer to the family that we examine in this volume on the grounds that this term has been used by some scholars to denote a speculative grouping that includes both a core group of languages whose relatedness is not in question (our 'Arawak'); and another set of languages whose relatedness to the core group is considerably less clear, including the languages of the Arawá and and Harakmbut families (Matteson 1972), and in other cases also the Guahibo family, and the isolate Puquina (Payne 1991a, Derbyshire 1992: 103). For those who use the term 'Arawakan' in this broader way, the term 'Maipurean' (also 'Maipuran') or 'Maipurean Arawakan' is used to distinguish the core group from the other languages within the larger hypothesized 'Arawakan' family (see, e.g. Payne 1991a). Aikhenvald's choice of terminology amounts to the proposal that 'Arawakan' should be used for the larger speculative grouping, and 'Arawak' for core group, rather than the terms 'Maipurean' or 'Maipurean Arawak'.

In this chapter we adopt Aikhenvald's proposal, but it should be noted that there is disagreement on this terminological point even among Arawak(an) specialists. Wise (2005), for example, argues for retaining the term 'Arawakan' for the core or 'Maipurean Arawakan' languages on the grounds that, first, by convention, language families take the *-an* suffix, e.g. 'Athabascan' and 'Austronesian'; and second, that 'Arawak' has also served as the name of single language, referred to in this volume as 'Lokono' (see Patte, this volume).

CHAPTER TWO

GARIFUNA NEGATIVES[1]

PAMELA MUNRO AND CAITLIN E. GALLAGHER

In this paper we present a description of basic negation and other associated negative structures and morphemes in the Arawak language Garifuna, spoken in Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

Section A provides a morphosyntactic overview of the language, while the remaining sections of the paper deal with negatives. Section B describes standard verbal negation with the negative prefix *m-* and the negative verb stem, along with the negative hortative and various irregular and anomalous structures. Sections C and D describe the uses of the negative existential verb *úwa* and the nominal negative particle *máma.* Section E deals with a specialized type of negative question with the particle *má,* and section F with negative exclamations, which also use *má* and *máma.* Additional morphemes associated with negative verbs and other negative structures are presented in section G, and section H introduces some negative indefinites. In section I we address Miestamo's concept of asymmetry in negative structures (2005), while section J is a very brief survey of negation in complex sentences. A brief conclusion is in section K.

A. BRIEF SKETCH OF GARIFUNA

1. *Basic transitive sentences*

[1] We are grateful to the Garifuna speakers who have helped us, especially Maurice Lopez, but also Henrietta Augustine, Vincent Lopez, Vincent Guzman, Dora Williams, Joseph Williams, and Efigenia Hill (as well as, less recently, Anita Lambey-Martinez, Ivan Martinez, and the late Zoilo Blanco); all these speakers are currently in or formerly from Seine Bight Village, Belize. This work has been supported by the Department of Linguistics and Academic Senate of UCLA. Data come from work on negation by Gallagher in 2009 supplemented by previous and subsequent fieldwork in California and Belize by Munro. We are also grateful to Jena Barchas-Lichtenstein and our other colleagues in UCLA Linguistics 160 in Fall 2009 (Kathy Chong-Cheung, Holly Farless, Valerie Gofman, Zachary Hart, Heidi Klockmann, Mikael Miller, María Rodríguez, Svetlana Tchistiakova, Michael Tessler, and Jennifer Zhang), as well as to the members of two earlier field methods classes taught by Munro (especially Janine Ekulona and the late Darcy Bruce Berry), to the other linguists who have offered their input, and to members of the more recent 114 and 191B classes. Special thanks to Jennifer Zhang for the phonetic data described in fn. 13 below. Recent analyses of Garifuna are in Munro and Lopez et al. (2012 and an ongoing revision).

Garifuna is very strictly VSO. The structure of a typical transitive sentence is

1A-VERB (*1B*-AUXILIARY)-*2*(SUBJECT) (OBJECT) (OTHER)

Auxiliaries occur only in certain constructions indicating such features as aspect and transitivity. Except in a very few specialized constructions,[2] there is always inflection for subject, either at position 1A, position 1B, or position 2. Most transitive sentences are also inflected for object: when this occurs, subject inflection is at 1A or 1B (these never co-occur), and object inflection is at 2. (Typically, only indefinite objects do not agree.) The "other" slot includes prepositional phrases and adverbs (which may often be focused, as described in section A.3 below).

The language has seven inflectional pronominal categories: first person singular (1SG), second person singular (2SG), third person singular feminine (3F), third person singular masculine (3M), first person plural (1PL), second person plural, (2PL), and third person plural (3PL). There are a number of different series of pronominal agreement markers, whose use is determined by the morphosyntactic construction used; these are identified with PR, T, NS, D, DX, and SS[3] in the examples below and in later sections.

Nominal arguments need not appear overtly, but when they do, they always occur in neutral sentences in the order SO; there is no nominal case marking. The language has a system of sex gender for animate third person singulars and arbitrary lexical gender for inanimates (Munro 1997). Independent pronouns, which are also unmarked for case, are extremely rare, except in copular and focus constructions (see section D). Many verbs have multiple stems (sometimes suppletive) for use in different constructions, as discussed in section B.2 below.

Below are a few illustrations of the schema above, using the transitive non-future auxiliary *umu*:[4]

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[2] Certain active verbs, for example, can be used with the uninflected auxiliary *an* (discussed further in section A.2) to express a third-person singular past.

[3] These abbreviations stand for the Prefix series (normally called "P" in the literature), the T series, the N series (normally "N"), the D series (earlier referred to as "R"), the D+ series (earlier referred to as "D"), and the Short series (normally now "S", earlier called the Infix series). For more about inflection, see Munro (1997, 2007). The new names for these series used here reflect the analysis of Munro and Lopez, et al. (2012).

[4] Data are presented in the UCLA Garifuna orthography, adapted from the orthography used in Cayetano et al. (1993, 2005) and Sabio and Ordóñez (2006). The three principal differences from previous orthographies are the following: long vowels (discussed further in section B.2 below) are written double; stressed high back unrounded

(1) Éiha l-umu-ti[5] mútu óunli.
see:B PR3M-TRAN-T3M person dog
'The man saw the male dog.'

(2) Éiha t-umu-ti mútu óunli.
see:B PR3F-TRAN-T3M person dog
'The woman saw the male dog.'

(3) Éiha l-umu-tu mútu óunli.
see:B PR3M-TRAN-T3F person dog
'The man saw the female dog.'

(4) Éiha t-umu-ti óunli mútu.
see:B PR3F-TRAN-T3M dog person
'The female dog saw the man.'

(5) Éiha t-umu-ti óunli.
see:B PR3F-TRAN-T3M dog
'She saw the male dog.', 'The female dog saw him.'

(6) Éiha l-umu-tu mútu.
see:B PR3M-TRAN-T3F person
'He saw the woman.', 'The man saw her.'

Comparable intransitive sentences normally mark their subjects with a T series suffix:

(7) Abínaha-tu Kathy.
dance:B-T3F Kathy
'Kathy danced.'

ü is written û; and ñ is not used (instead, we write the phonetically more appropriate y plus nasalized vowel; cf. the discussion in Cayetano n.d.). In addition, we always mark main stress (though note fn. 5 below), even when it would be predictable by Cayetano's rules. As is well known, the Garifuna vocabulary includes many well assimilated loans from Carib, French, Spanish, and English; we will usually not comment on these. We also will not comment on phonological changes, such as the irregular deletion of intervocalic *r*.

[5] We have somewhat arbitrarily normalized the presentation of auxiliaries: we write them as separate words (unless they are elided with a preceding verb, as in (12a)), but unstressed. Sometimes they clearly are stressed, however. Thus, their pronunciation is similar to that of second-position clitics, such as *sa* in (44) or (84) below, which we also write without stress. (This is not the only similarity between auxiliaries and clitics, as it happens.)

(8) Gúndaa-tu Kathy.
be.happy:B-T3F Kathy
'Kathy is happy.'

2. *Nonfuture and future*

Garifuna main clause types are divided into what we will call nonfuture and future sentences.[6] Compare the following with (2), (7), and (8):

(9) T-éihi be-i mútu óunli.
PR3F-see:PS *ba*-D3M person dog
'The woman will see the male dog.'

(10) T-abínaha ba Kathy.
PR3F-dance:PS *ba* Kathy
'Kathy will dance.'

(11) Gúndaa bo-u Kathy.
be.happy:B *ba*-D3F Kathy
'Kathy will be happy.'

Future main clauses use an auxiliary *ba* that occurs in the normal auxiliary position following the verb.[7] As (10) and (11) show, active and non-active intransitive futures work differently: active intransitives, like active transitives, have a main prefix agreeing with the subject on the prefixable stem (PS) of the verb; intransitive non-active sentences show the subject with a suffix on the auxiliary following the same basic stem (B) that was used in the non-future.

Less commonly, an alternate auxiliary, *an*, is used in active future sentences, with no apparent difference in meaning between sentences

[6] It's hard to find the best label for the opposition between these two classes of sentences. "Non-future"/ "future" seems rather simplistic, but in main clauses at least the difference does seem to be one of tense. Note, however, that there is also a future second-position clitic *me* that can be used alone to mark future in certain subordinate clauses (where the choice of complementizer may also be relevant).

[7] Like most verbs, as discussed in section B.2, many auxiliaries may have prefixed and unprefixed forms — for example, *ba* may appear as *uba* (118b), and *yan* as *iyan* (81-82), and *an* suppletes to *uman* with a plural subject prefix. (Only the transitive auxliary *umu* in e.g., (1)-(6) is always prefixed.) To simplify matters, we refer to alternating auxiliaries in the unprefixed form.

The forms of *ba* in (9) and (11) illustrate a fairly general phonological rule by which (in most cases) *a* plus *i* gives *ei* and *a* plus *u* gives *o*. The same rule, combined with a fairly common (but sporadic) process of intervocalic *r* deletion (as discussed further in fn. 16), can produce *áfou* from *áfaru* in the forms of 'hit' in (12), for example.

like (12a&b).

(12) a. N-áfaru-wu ba.
PR1SG-hit:PS-pass *ba*
'I'm going to get hit.'

b. N-áfaru-w-an.
PR1SG-hit:PS-pass-*an*
'I'm going to get hit.'

Because of their multiple uses (as described below) we will gloss the auxiliaries *ba* and *an* simply as *'ba'* and *'an'*.

3. *Focus*

Garifuna's VSO word order is extremely rigid (recall that there is no nominal case marking on subjects or objects). Although many other verb-initial languages allow focus movement of items before the verb, simple movement of this type is not possible in Garifuna, as shown by examples like (13) and (14):

(13) *Kathy abínaha-tu.
Kathy dance:B-T3F (cf. (7))

(14) a. Afríduha t-umu-tu Heidi barúru.
fry:B PR3F-TRAN-T3F Heidi plantain
'Heidi fried the plantain.'

b. *Heidi afríduha t-umu-tu barúru.
Heidi fry:B PR3F-TRAN-T3F plaintain

c. *Barúru afríduha t-umu-tu Heidi.
plantain fry:B PR3F-TRAN-T3F Heidi

One non-verb word or phrase of a Garifuna sentence may appear initially, but only with accompanying syntactic changes. Such structures are used, for example, in answer to Wh questions and are typically translated into English with clefts, 'the one' constructions, or intonational focus (shown here with the focused item underlined), as in (15), with a focused intransitive subject, and (16), with a focused transitive object:

(15) Kathy gúndaa bo-u.
Kathy be.happy:B *ba*-D3F
'It's Kathy who is happy.', 'Kathy is the one who is happy.', '<u>Kathy</u> is happy.' (cf. (8))

(16) Barúru t-afriduha bo-u Heidi.
plantain T3F-fry:PS *ba*-D3F Heidi
'It's the plantain that Heidi fried.', 'The plantain is what Heidi fried.', 'Heidi fried <u>the plantain</u>.' (cf. (14a))

For consistency, we will use only intonational focus translations of the focus sentences below, but as far as we know all these translation options are available for any Garifuna focus sentence.

Adverbs and prepositional phrases are particularly often focused. Such oblique focus constructions use the a-stem (AS) of the verb, with no *ba*:

(17) a. Wínouga t-afríduho-u Heidi barúru.
yesterday PR3F-fry:AS-SS3F Heidi plantain
'Heidi fried the plantain <u>yesterday</u>.'

b. T-ídan gusína t-afríduho-u Heidi barúru.
PR3F-in kitchen PR3F-fry:AS-SS3F Heidi plantain
'Heidi fried the plantain <u>in the kitchen</u>.'

Garifuna focus sentences thus are clefts, with an initial non-verbal predicate like that of simple predicate nominal sentences such as (18) (for more about these, see section D.1).

(18) Leskuélana Wán.
student John
'John is a student.'

The focus cleft structures in (15) and (16) are thus similar to the bracketed sequences in the relative clauses in (19) and (20).[8] Garifuna focus clefts, then, are complex sentences, just as English clefts are.

[8] Wh questions (which we don't exemplify here) work comparably to relative clauses. Ekulona (2000) argues that future *ba* is different from the *ba* that appears in relative clauses and Wh questions (and also clefts), and this also seems to be the view of Berry (n.d.), but the jury is still out on a definitive analysis.

(19) Éiha n-mumu-tu hinyáru tó [gúndaa
see:B PR1SG-TRAN-T3F woman DEM:F be.happy:B
bo-u].
ba-D3F
'I saw the woman [who is happy].'

(20) Hóu n-umu-tu barúru tó
eat:B PR1SG-TRAN-T3F plantain DEM:F
[t-afríduha bo-u Heidi
PR3F-fry:PS *ba*-D3F Heidi].
'I ate the plantain [that Heidi fried].'

B. VERBAL NEGATION

All Garifuna negative verbs have an *m-* prefix (section B.1), and normal negative verbs have special stem form (marked below with "N") that is often different from the prefixable stem (section B.2). However, there are various irregularities (section B.3), some verbs are lexically negated (section B.4), and some verbs cannot be negated at all (section B.5). Negative hortative verbs use the *m-* prefix with a different (H) stem (section B.6).

1. *The* m- *prefix*

Garifuna negative verbs have a prefix *m-*. This prefix can be used on the great majority of verbs (for some exceptions, see section B.4.1 below), regardless of semantic class:

(21) a. Áfara n-umu-ti.
hit:B PR1SG-TRAN-T3M
'I hit him.'

b. M-áfaru n-umu-ti.
NEG-hit:N PR1SG-TRAN-T3M
'I didn't hit him.'

(22) a. Óumuga-tina.
sleep:B-T1SG
'I slept.'

b. M-óumuguu-tina.
NEG-sleep:N-T1SG
'I didn't sleep.'

(23) a. Busíyen-tina dúna.
want:B-T1SG water
'I want water.'

b. M-abúsiyen-tina[9] dúna.
NEG-want:N-T1SG water
'I don't want water.'

(24) a. Gúndaa-tina.
be.happy-T1SG
'I am happy.'

b. M-agúndaa-tina.
NEG-be.happy:N-T1SG
'I'm not happy.'

(25) a. Dará n-umu-tu gáfu.
open:B PR1SG-TRAN-T3F box
'I opened the box.'

b. M-adáru n-umu-tu gáfu.
NEG-open:N PR1SG-TRAN-T3F box
'I didn't open the box.'

Taylor (e.g., 1952a: 150) refers to this "adjectivalizing" prefix as "privative" *mA-*,[10] and indeed, examples like (23)-(25) suggest that a prefix *ma-* is added to the basic verb stem. However, the vowel after the prefix is not always *a*, e.g. in verbs that begin with a vowel other than *a*, as in (22b), so it seems best to analyze the prefix as simply *m-*.

2. *Negative verb stems*

[9] Garifuna words can be stressed on only the first or second syllable. When a consonant-initial word with second syllable stress is prefixed, stress must move one syllable to the left.

[10] All citations from the works of Douglas Taylor (only a small number of which appear in our references) in this paper have been converted to our orthography, while retaining Taylor's use of capital letters for alternating vowels.

Comparison of the negative and non-negative verbs above shows that verbs can differ not only in their initial vowel but also in other ways, such as the final vowel. In many cases, it appears that negative *m-* is added to a prefixable stem (PS) exactly like that used in future forms like (26)-(27) or in focused forms like (28)-(29):

(26) N-adáru bo-u gáfu.
PR1SG-open:PS *ba*-D3F box
'I will open the box.'

(27) L-áfaru bo-u Michael Jena.
PR3M-hit:PS *ba*-D3F Michael Jena
'Michael will hit Jena.'

(28) Áun ba adáro-u gáfu.
1SG.PRO.MS. *ba* open:AS-SS3F box
'I will open the box.'

(29) Jena l-áfaru bo-u Michael.
Jena PR3M-hit:PS *ba*-D3F Michael
'Jena is the one Michael hit.'

Different morphosyntactic constructions use different verbal stem forms.[11] The unprefixed basic stem (B) is used when the verb is followed by T series inflection (e.g. in many examples above) or certain prefixed auxiliaries, such as transitive *umu* in (21a) and (25a) The PS stem is used with PR series prefixes, as in (26)-(27).[12] The final vowels of the B and PS stems often differ, and a number of verbs have a completely suppletive B stem, as illustrated in (30):

(30) a. Yûndü-tina.
go:B-T1SG
'I went.'

b. M-ídii-tina.
NEG-go:N-T1SG
'I didn't go.'

[11] Munro is currently doing an extensive survey of Garifuna verb stem variation. This is a big job!

[12] Note too that nouns may have a possessive stem, as seen for *gárada* 'book' in (118).

c. N-ídii ba.
PR1SG-go:PS *ba*
'I will go.'

In many of our examples the negative stem (N) is the same as the PS stem, but this is not always the case, as illustrated below:

(31) a. N-adúnra bo-u Jena.
PR1SG-touch:PS *ba*-D3F Jena
'I'm going to touch Jena.'

b. M-adúnru n-umu-tu Jena.
NEG-touch:N PR1SG-TRAN-D3F Jena
'I didn't touch Jena.'

(32) a. N-abûrüha ba.
PR1SG-write:PS *ba*
'I'm going to write.'

b. M-abûrühaa-tina.
NEG-write:N-T1SG
'I didn't write.'

(33) a. L-áhuyu yan húya.
PR3M-rain:PS INC rain
'It's raining.'

b. M-áhuyun-ti húya.
NEG-rain:N-T3M rain
'It didn't rain.'

Thus, the PS and N stems may be the same, they may end in different vowels (31), they may have a longer final vowel in the N stem (32),[13] or they may have a final nasal vowel in the N stem (33).

The appearance of the nasal vowel supports the claim of Suazo

[13] More work needs to be done on Garifuna vowel length contrasts, which can be seen in such rare minimal pairs as *bálu* 'bullet' (*á* = 190 msec.) vs. *báalu* 'ball' (290 msec.). Measurements of the comparable portions of the *abûrüha / abûrühaa* stems of 'write' (as in (32)) averaged 157 vs. 320 msec. (Outside of morphological contexts, long vowels are most common in loanwords, but are also seen in native words like *fúbuliiya* 'net'.) Great thanks to Jennifer Zhang for the measurements reported here.

(1994: 159ff) that there is a negative suffix *-n*.[14] While we are sure we have missed hearing some nasal vowels,[15] that doesn't explain the vowel length variations or the other vowel changes. Other investigators have different views of this situation. Taylor refers to the negative stem as either a "negative participle" or a "privative participle" (1952a: 164) but does not discuss how this form differs from the non-negative/non-privative form. The only widely available Garifuna dictionary, Cayetano, ed. (1993, 2005) only occasionally lists negative stems (primarily for verbs expressing adjectival meanings), just a few of which are written with final accented (i.e., in his usage, long) and/or nasalized vowels. The unpublished dictionary by Stochl, Hadel, and Zuniga (n.d.) lists several inflected negative forms for most verbs. While stems are not segmented, the corresponding portions of these words often are written with final nasal and/or accented vowels (though in others they are unchanged), regrettably without accompanying discussion or analysis.

N stems appear not to change in the focus (34), future (35), or future focus (36) forms:

(34) Jena m-adúnru n-ubo-u.
Jena NEG-touch:N PR1SG-*ba*-D3F
'I didn't touch Jena.' (cf. (31b))

(35) M-adáru n-ubo-u gáfu.
NEG-open:N PR1SG-*ba*-D3F box
'I'm not going to open the box.' (cf. (25b))

(36) Áun ba m-adáru gáfu.
PRO.1SG.MS *ba* NEG-open:N box
'I'm not going to open the box.' (cf. (25b))

3. *Irregularity in the use of negative* m-

There are several ways in which Garifuna verbal negation does not work

[14] Suazo (1994: 159) writes, "Para la conjugación de verbos garífunas en forma negativa batará hacer uso del siguiente equema matricial [to conjugate Garifuna verbs in the negative form it is necessary to use the following schema]," followed by a chart with slots for the negative prefix *m(a)*, the verb or root, the negative suffix *n*, and the [T series] verbal suffix. This is followed by 16 pages of examples of various verbs conjugated in different tenses, each with the stem-final suffix *–n*.

[15] Some speakers have a tendency to denasalize many nasal vowels; we're sure that some of the N stems we write as equivalent to P stems are probably nasal-vowel-final. We initially thought this fact might also explain the long-vowel-final N stems, but in fact vowels known to be denasalized are usually not heard as long.

exactly as described above.

3.1. *Verbs that aren't used with* m-

Taylor (1952a: 153) claims that "Some adjectives and their nominal derivatives, such as uríba [our orthography: *wuríba*][16] *bad*...cannot take the privative or any other prefix." Taylor's example doesn't work for current consultants, who happily produce these constructions, as in (37):

(37) M-awuíbaa-ti.
NEG-be.bad:N-T3M
'It's not bad.'

However, there are other verbs for which there seems to be no negative stem, some but not all of which are adjectival. These are negated periphrastically, as described in section C.4 below.

3.2. H-*initial verbs*

H-initial verbs usually drop the *h*-[17] in negative and all other prefixed forms.[18] (There is otherwise no prohibition against intervocalic *h*.)

(38) a. Hanúfude-tuwa.
be.afraid:B-T1PL
'We're afraid.'

b. M-anúfude-tuwa.
NEG-be.afraid:N-T1PL
'We're not afraid.'

[16] We've recorded *wuríba*, *wuíba*, and *wríba* for this verb (as well as variants with *ü* replacing *u*). The second and third variants reflect a strong tendency toward deletion of (some, primarily but not only) intervocalic *r*'s and an opposite tendency to drop an unstressed vowel before a stressed syllable starting with *r* (e.g. in *furése / frése* 'be fast').

[17] Taylor (1952b: 225) suggests that the *h*- we discuss here is a "rare alternant" of the *g*- in section B.3.3. Perhaps this was true at one time, but it does not seem to be the case today. *G*- only occurs on stative verbs, but 'whip' (40) (to cite one example) is neither stative nor apparently derived from a stative verb. (There are certainly other differences as well, not the least of which is that *h*-initial verbs can freely be prefixed, while *g*-initial verbs normally cannot, except in the reanalysis cases we discuss in section B.3.4.)

[18] We have discovered only a few exceptions to the *h*-drop rule, among them *haláguwa* 'break', which has negative forms *máhalashagu* (transitive) and *mahálagashu* (intransitive). Note that the *h*-drop cases cannot be analyzed as involving *h*-insertion in the B stem, since there are many vowel-initial verbs that never begin with *h*-, such as *abínaha* 'dance', *éiha* 'see', *ínyu* 'be tall', *óumuga* 'sleep', *úwa* 'not exist', and *ûhüran* 'shoot'.

(39) a. Héitagua-tina.
think:B-T1SG
'I think.'

b. M-éitagu-tina.
NEG-think:N-T1SG
'I don't think.'

(40) a. Hóungura l-umu-tina.
whip:B PR3M-TRAN-T1SG
'He whipped me.'

b. M-óunguru l-umu-tina.
NEG-whip:N PR3M-TRAN-T1SG
'He didn't whip me.'

3.3. *Affirmative* g- */ negative* m- *alternations*

A number of stative verbs appear with *g-* in the affirmative (*gA-*[19] "attributive" for Taylor, e.g., 1956a: 5), *m-* in the negative. The most productive of these are morphological potential forms like those in (41) and possessive verbs derived from nouns, as in (42):[20]

(41) a. G-erémuha-dii-tina.
AF-sing-POT-T1SG
'I can sing.'

b. M-erémuha-dii-tina.
NEG-sing-POT-T1SG
'I don't sing; I can't sing.'

(42) a. G-abûdügü be-i.
AF-POSSED.store *ba*-D3M
'He will have a store.'

b. M-abûdügü be-i.
NEG-POSSED.store *ba*-D3M
'He won't have a store.'

[19] Indeed, there is some evidence that the "affirmative" prefix should be analyzed as *ga-* rather than *g-* when used on possessive verbs like those in (42) (perhaps these include a morpheme like the 'have.1' of (43)?); we ignore this for now.

[20] *G-/m-* verbs don't show the same sort of stem alternations as other verbs, so we won't indicate stem class for them.

Two other *g-/m-* pairs can also express 'have' (in various restricted contexts):

(43) a. G-án be-i ában büdûgü.
AF-have$_1$ *ba*-D3M one store
'He will have a store.'[21]

b. M-án be-i ában büdûgü.
NEG-have$_1$ *ba*-D3M one store
'He won't have a store.'

(44) a. Ká sa g-áma be-i biyáma gárada?
WH Q AF-have$_2$ *ba*-D3M two book
'Who has two books?'[22]

b. Ká sa m-áma be-i biyáma gárada?
WH Q NEG-have$_2$ *ba*-D3M two book
'Who doesn't have two books?'

A variety of other verbs (many of them denominal) also show the same alternation, as illustrated below. (An additional *g-/m-* pair is shown in (112) in section H below.)

(45) a. G-íbe-tu féin.
AF-be.much-T3F bread
'There is a lot of bread.'

b. M-íbe-tu féin.
NEG-be.much-T3F bread
'There is not a lot of bread.'

(46) a. G-ála-ti budéin.
AF-be.unempty-T3M bottle
'The bottle has something in it.'

[21] The examples in (43) have a similar meaning to those in (42). The a. examples were judged synonymous, but (42)b. was judged better than (43)b.

[22] See Munro (2007) for more on the structure of Wh questions in Garifuna. The masculine agreement on *ba* implies a masculine or default subject for the question. For a speculation on the etymology of *gáma/máma* here, see section D.1 below.

b. M-ála-ti budéin.
NEG-be.unempty-T3M bottle
'The bottle is empty.'

3.4. *Reanalysis*

Finally, some uses of *m-* are just irregular. Normally, for example, the prefixes *g-* and *m-* are absolutely initial, but there are several cases where prefixes such as negative *m-* can appear before a verb with one of these prefixes. For example, alongside the normally formed possessive verbs from *iráü* 'child' (47a&b) are the additional forms (47c&d),[23] which are semantically specialized. In examples (47c&d), morphemes that have undergone reanalysis are given glosses corresponding to their original meaning in the first line of morpheme glosses, and are given a gloss corresponding to their reanalyzed meaning in the line that follows.

(47) a. G-aráü bo-u.
AF-POSSED.child *ba*-D3F
'She will have a child.'

b. M-aráü bo-u.
NEG-POSSED.child *ba*-D3F
'She won't have a child.'

c. T-ag-áraü-du ba.
PR3F-AF-POSSED.child-ICP *ba*
have.child:PS
'She will have a child (for instance, as a result of fertility treatments).'

d. M-ag-áraü-du bo-u.
NEG-AF-POSSED.child-ICP *ba*-D3F
have.child:N
'She won't have a child (for instance, as a result of fertility treatments).'

The verb in (47c&d) has thus been reanalyzed with a different structure, as shown in the second gloss line below the underlined portion of the first one.

In a different sort of reanalysis, the verb *ánha* 'agree' in (48a) can be negated as (48b) 'not agree, refuse' (which is actually more common) and can itself be negated (48c):

[23] Taylor (1956a: 2) also discusses this type of alternation.

(48) a. Ánha-ti.
agree:B-T3M
'He agreed.'

b. M-ánhaa-ti.
NEG-agree:N-T3M
refuse:B
'He didn't agree.', 'He refused.'

c. M-amánhaa-ti.
NEG-refuse:N-T3M
'He didn't refuse.'

3.5. *Other irregularities*
Sometimes negative formation involves the unexpected loss of part of the non-negative stem, as in

(49) a. Nibágari-ti.
be.alive:B-T3M
'It's alive.', 'It has life in it.'

b. M-abágari-ti.
NEG-be.alive:N-T3M
'It's not alive.', 'There's no life in it.'

4. *Lexical negation*

Garifuna has several verbs that generally cannot be negated with *m-*, but have lexical negative counterparts. Many of these verbs are "defective" and are missing other stems than N.

4.1. Giyára / Siyán
Example (41) showed the morphological expression of 'can' in Garifuna. A similar thought[24] can be expressed lexically, using the verb *giyára* (or, for some speakers, *gawára*), as in (50). This verb, however, cannot be negated; the corresponding negative is expressed with the verb *siyán*, as in (51):

[24] Mr. M. Lopez explains that while (41a) and (50) mean just about the same, there is a difference between (41b) and(51): the second refers to a temporary incapacity, while the first is more general or permanent.

(50) Giyára-ti n-erémuha.
be.able:B-T3M PR1SG-sing:PS
'I can sing.' [25]

(51) Siyán-ti n-erémuha.
be.unable:B-T3M PR1SG-sing:PS
'I can't sing.'

But *siyán* can also be negated (as noted by Taylor 1952a: 164):

(52) M-ásiyanruu-tina.
NEG-be.unable:N-T1SG
'I'm not unable.'

This suggests that (for contemporary speakers at any rate) there is a convergence between two paradigms, one defective, rather than simple suppletion.

4.2. Subúsi / Abúdei

The two verbs for 'know' are *subúsi* 'know' and *abúdei* 'not know':

(53) Subúsi-ti úraga n-ún.
know:B-T3M story PR1SG-DAT
'I know the story.'[26]

(54) Abúdei-ti úraga n-ún.
not.know:B-T3M story PR1SG-DAT
'I don't know the story.'

In this case, it seems that neither verb can be negated with *m-* (or in any other way).

5. *Verbs that cannot be negated*

Some auxiliary-like or modal verbs have no negative counterpart and cannot be negated. *Diyú* 'should' is one example:

[25] These two verbs take a clausal complement, which agrees as third person masculine. The same is true of *diyú* in B.5.

[26] These examples illustrate the oblique subject construction described in Munro (2007). Both verbs can also occur in normal transitive constructions.

(55) Diyú-ti n-ídii.
should-T3M PR1SG-go:PS
'I should go.'

(56) Diyú-ti m-ídii n-an.
should-T3M NEG-go:N PR1SG-*an*
'I shouldn't go.'

6. *Negative hortatives*

Non-negative hortatives (imperatives, 'let's', and 'let...' sentences) use the basic (B) stem ((57a-c) & (58a-c)), while negative hortatives (negative imperatives, 'let's not', and 'don't let...' sentences) use a different stem (H) ((57d-f) & (58d-f)).[27] Future examples (57g) & (58g) and non-future negative examples (57h) & (58h) are also given for comparison below.

(57) a. Óumuga b-an!
sleep:B PR2SG-*an*
'Sleep!'

b. Óumuga wa-man.
sleep:B PR1PL-*an*
'Let's eat.'

c. Óumuga t-an.
sleep:B PR3F-*an*
'Let her sleep.'

d. M-óumuga b-an!
NEG-sleep:H PR2SG-*an*
'Don't sleep!'

e. M-óumuga wa-man.
NEG-sleep:H PR1PL-*an*
'Let's not sleep.'

[27] Taylor (1956a: 27) reports that the prohibitive stem (our H stem) is "positive" as opposed to the privative participle (our N stem). The H stem of 'sleep' is like the ("positive"?) B stem of 'sleep'. Presumably the P stem of 'sleep' is not "positive" because it greatly resembles the N stem. However, H and B stems do not always resemble each other, since, at a minimum, all H stems are prefixed.

f. M-óumuga t-an.
NEG-sleep:H PR3F-*an*
'Don't let her sleep.'

g. N-óumugu ba.
PR1SG-sleep:PS*ba*
'I will sleep.'

h. M-óumuguu ba-dina.
NEG-sleep:N*ba*-DX1SG
'I won't sleep.'

(58) a. Hóu b-an!
eat:B PR2SG-*an*
'Eat!'

b. Hóu wa-man.
eat:B PR1PL-*an*
'Let's eat.'

c. Hóu t-an.
eat:B PR3F-*an*
'Let her eat.'

d. M-éiga b-an!
NEG-eat:H PR2SG-*an*
'Don't eat!'

e. M-éiga wa-man.
NEG-eat:H PR1PL-*an*
'Let's not eat.'

f. M-éiga t-an.
NEG-eat:H PR3F-*an*
'Don't let her eat.'

g. N-éigi ba.
PR1SG-eat:PS *ba*
'I will eat.'

h. M-éigin ba-dina.
NEG-eat:N *ba*-DX1SG
'I won't eat.'

C. THE NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL *ÚWA*

Úwa 'not exist' has a number of uses: in negative existentials/locationals (section C.1), in existential 'have' constructions (section C.2), in existential quantificational constructions (section C.3), and in the negation of certain verbal constructions (section C.4).

1. *Affirmative and negative existentials and locationals*

Úwa is used as the negative of the extremely defective and irregular discontinuous verb *a...hein*, used with the short set (SS) of pronominal markers infixed. Perhaps this could be seen as a special case of the lexical pairs in B.4. Neither of these verbs appears to have a morphological negative counterpart.

(59) A,ní,hein Búngiyu.
exist:B,SS3M[28] God
'There is a God.', 'God exists.'

(60) Úwa-ti Búngiyu.
not.exist:B-T3M God
'There is no God.'

Both these verbs can refer to location as well as existence:

(61) A,ní,hein ában óunli t-ídan múna.
exist:B,SS3M one dog PR3F-in house
'There is a dog in the house.', 'There is one dog in the house.'

(62) Úwa-ti (ában) óunli t-ídan múna.
not.exist:B-T3M (one) dog PR3F-in house
'There is not a dog in the house.', 'There is no dog in the house.'

Úwa agrees for person and number and can appear in different tenses (although it is never prefixed):

[28] Commas are used around infixed elements, such as the SS3M -ni- here.

(63) Úwa-tina yan.
not.exist:B-T1SG INC
'I wasn't there.'

(64) Úwa ba-dibu t-ídan múna.
not.exist:B *ba*-D2SG PR3F-in house
'You will not be in the house.'

2. *Existential 'have' constructions*

A...hein and *úwa* are also used in a 'have' construction (cf. (42)-(44)), in which the possessor appears as the object of the preposition *úma* 'with':

(65) A,nú,hein báandi bímena h-úma.
exist:B,SS3F many banana PR2PL-with
'You guys have many bananas.'

(66) Úwa-tu bímena wá-ma.
not.exist:B-T3F banana PR1PL-with
'We have no bananas.'

3. *Existential quantification*

Úwa is used in a variety of other constructions to express negative quantification (see Barchas-Lichtenstein 2012).

(67) Úwa-ti bálu áfaru-ti budéin.
not.exist:B-T3M bullet hit:B-T3M bottle
'No bullets hit the bottle.'

(68) Úwa-tiyan ní[29] ában ha-dágiya
not.exist:B-T3PL not.even one PR3PL-from
g-erémuha-dii-tiyan.
AF-sing-POT-T3PL
'None of them can sing.', 'Not even one of them can sing.'

4. Úwa *as a verbal negator*

Úwa is also used to express negation periphrastically with verbs that cannot otherwise be negated, such as the a. examples below. In this construction (b. examples), the subject of the negated verb is indicated

[29] *Ní* is discussed in section G.2 below.

with a prefix on the *an* auxiliary; an object is shown with an N suffix:

(68) a. Duwárei ba-dina.
be.careful:B *ba*-DX1SG
'I'm going to be careful.'

b. Úwa be-i duwárei n-an.
not.exist:B *ba*-D3M be.careful:B PR1SG-*an*
'I'm not going to be careful.'

(69) a. Magádiya-tu.
be.beautiful:B-T3F
'She's beautiful.'

b. Úwa-ti magádiya t-an.
not.exist:B-T3M be.beaufiful:B PR3F-*an*
'She's not beautiful.' (an unlikely thing to say!)

(70) a. Ferúdun n-umu-tibu.
forgive:B PR1SG-TRAN-T2SG
'I forgive you.'

b. Úwa-ti ferúdun n-an-nibu.
not.exist:B-T3M forgive:B PR1SG-*an*-NS2SG
'I don't forgive you.'

D. NEGATION WITH *MÁMA*

The particle *máma* is used to negate copular sentences (sections D.1-D.2) and sentences that use the incompletive auxiliary *yan* (section D.3). (Another use of *máma* is described in section F.)

1. *Affirmative and negative copular sentences*

Simple affirmative Garifuna sentences with nominal (or pronominal) predicates have an N N structure like that illustrated in (18) above ((72)-(74), a. examples) — there is never an overt copula.[30] These are negated

[30] Garifuna has no evidence of a copula in "adjectival" sentences, which are expressed with intransitive stative verbs (some exemplified in section B) or locational sentences (discussed in section C.1). The best candidates for 'be'-like verbs would probably be the ubiquitous auxiliaries *an* and *ba*, but we know of no relevant evidence.

with a special sentence-initial negative particle, *máma* (b. examples):[31]

(72) a. Leskuélana Wán.
student John
'John is a student.'

b. Máma leskuélana Wán.
not student John
'John is not a student.'

(73) a. Leskuélana nugúya.
student PRO.1SG
'I am a student.'

b. Máma leskuélana nugúya.
not student PRO.1SG
'I am not a student.'

(74) a. Ûdüraü lé.
fish this
'This is a fish.'

b. Máma ûdüraü lé.
not fish this
'This isn't a fish'

Taylor (1958: 44) proposes that *máma* may consist of the "privative" (negative) prefix *mA-* plus the comitative preposition *úma* 'with'. The semantics of this etymology aren't clear to us. (This suggestion is probably a better etymology for the *gáma/máma* pair in (44) since *úma* can be used to express 'have', as shown in section C.2.)

Future copular sentences look more like the ordinary verbal constructions of section A.2, since the predicate noun or *máma* comes

[31] Taylor (1958: 44) comments that *máma* "often functions like a verb". Indeed, in future copular sentences like (76) *máma* appears in the same position that a verb might appear, but this does not seem to be true in the usual pattern in (72)-(74), since there are no verbs that indicate a pronominal subject with an independent pronoun, as in (73). This has led some to propose that words like *nugúya* 'I'/'me' (73) are in fact inflected auxiliaries (consider tha Taylor (1952a: 152, 1956a: 15) translates this word as 'it is I', and *nugúya* does include the P1SG prefix *n-*). While this proposal might work for (73), it's hard to imagine *Wán* 'John' as a third-person masculine inflected auxiliary in (72); moreover, male speakers sometimes use special pronouns (such as first-person singular *áun*) which show no evidence of inflection.

directly before the inflected auxiliary *ba*, just as a stative verb might (cf. (11)):

(75) Leskuélana ba-dina l-ídan ísei irúmu.
student *ba*-DX1SG PR3M-in new year
'I'll be a student next year.'

(76) Máma ba-dina leskuélana l-ídan ísei irúmu.
not *ba*-DX1SG student PR3M-in new year
'I won't be a student next year.'

The use of *máma* in some negative focus sentences (which are copular in form, as shown in section A.3) is exemplified in section J.1.

2. *Negative copular sentences with pronoun subjects*

A mysterious alternation in word order occurs in negative copular sentences with pronoun subjects like first-person singular *nugúya* or third-person singular masculine *ligíya*. In sentences like (77), either the predicate noun or the pronoun subject may follow *máma* — but this subject-first order is not possible when the subject is a noun (78):

(77) a. Máma leskuélana ligíya.
not student PRO.3M
'He is not a student.'

b. Máma ligíya leskuélana.
not PRO.3M student
'He is not a student.'

(78) *Máma Wán leskuélana.
not John student
* 'John is not a student.' (cf. (72b))

3. Máma *negation of sentences with auxiliary* yan

Máma cannot be used to negate most ordinary verbs:

(79) *Máma abínaha(a)-tina.
not dance:PS(N)-T1SG
'I didn't dance.'

However, *máma* is used to negate progressive and other sentences

containing the incompletive auxiliary *yan*. Progressive sentences with active verbs, like those in (80), have a subject prefix on the main verb, while progressive sentences with positional verbs, like those in (81), have the subject prefix on the auxiliary. Intransitive resultative statives, like those in (82), work like the progressive positionals. In each case (b. sentences) *máma* precedes the negated clause with no other change.

(80) a. L-erémuha yan t-úma Maria wínouga.
PR3M-sing:PS INC PR3F-with Maria yesterday
'He was singing with Maria yesterday.'

b. Máma l-erémuha yan t-úma Maria
not PR3M-sing:PS INC PR3F-with Maria
wínouga.
yesterday
'He wasn't singing with Maria yesterday.'

(81) a. Lára n-iyan l-anágaagiyan Michael.
stand:B PR1SG-INC PR3M-behind Michael
'I'm standing behind Michael.'

b. Máma lára n-iyan l-anágaagiyan Michael.
not stand:B PR1SG-INC PR3M-behind Michael
'I'm not standing behind Michael.'

(82) a. Darágu t-iyan gáfu.
open:B PR3F-INC box
'The box is open.'

b. Máma darágu t-iyan gáfu.
not open:B PR3F-INC box
'The box is not open.'

Máma negation can optionally be used with certain adjectival verbs that are preferentially conjugated in the affirmative with *yan* (with subject agreement marked suffixally), such as *sándi* 'be sick', but these may also be negated with the normal verbal pattern presented in section B.

(83) a. Sándi yan-dina.
be.sick:B INC-D1SG
'I'm sick.'

b. M-asándi-tina.
NEG-be.sick:N-T1SG
'I'm not sick.'

c. Máma sándi yan-dina.
not be.sick:B INC-D1SG
'I'm not sick.'

The *máma...yan* construction is rather mysterious, since there do not seem to be any other ways in which these *yan* constructions are copular or like nominalizations. Although these sentences express stative notions, most other stative verbs are negated normally with *m-*.

E. (DOUBLE?) NEGATIVE QUESTIONS WITH INITIAL MÁ

The least marked form of a Garifuna confirmation question uses the optional second-position clitic *sa*, which, like all Garifuna clitics, follows the initial word or phrase in the sentence, most neutrally the verb and any following auxiliary, as in:

(84) a. Éiha l-umu-ti sa iráhü óunli?
see:B PR3M-TRAN-T3M Q child dog
'Did the child see the dog?'

b. M-éihin l-úmu-ti sa iráhü óunli?
NEG-see:N PR3M-TRAN-T3M Q child dog
'Didn't the child see the dog?'

An initial negative particle *má* is used in a variant type of negative question like:[32]

(85) Má sa m-éihin b-umu-ti?
huh Q NEG-see:N PR2SG-TRAN-T3M
'Haven't you seen him?'

We gloss this particle as 'huh' since it seems to have a tag-like quality.

[32] Taylor (1956b: 144) reports this construction ("negative questions to which a positive answer is expected") but gives only copular examples, saying "In this function ma is occasionally replaced by máma" (which is entirely expected, since *máma* is the normal negative for copular sentences, as seen in section D). Taylor (1958: 36) provides one non-copular example without discussion.

(The position of the question clitic *sa*, incidentally, confirms that *má* is an independent word.)

Since the verb is negative in (85) and since *má* looks like other negatives, this sentence appears to include a double negative. However, not all *má* questions use a negative N-stem verb:

(86) a. Má sa ú b-umu-ti l-ún?
huh Q give:B PR2SG-TRAN-T3M PR3M-DAT
'Didn't you give it to him?'

b. Má sa m-íshu b-umu-ti
huh Q NEG-give:N PR2SG-TRAN-T3M
l-ún?
PR3M-DAT
(Equivalent to (86a))

The verb in (86) can be either non-negative or negative, with no difference in meaning. The difference between these questions and (85) is that *ú* / *-íshu* is a verb with a suppletive B stem.[33] This set of verbs always allows a non-negative verb in this *má* question construction, with sentences like (87) judged less acceptable:

(87) ??Má sa éiha b-umu-ti?
huh Q see:B PR2SG-TRAN-T3M
'Haven't you seen him?'

The other sentence-initial negative particle, *máma* (section D), is not used in this question construction.

Another *má* morpheme is described in the next section.

F. NEGATIVE EXCLAMATIONS

Negative exclamations use the particles *má* and *máma* described in sections D and E. Taylor (1956b: 144) reports that *má* "may also be employed with exclamatory force", as in his example (88), without commenting on fact that the question particle appears at the end rather than the beginning of the sentence:

[33] We don't know of any other syntactic feature that picks out the set of suppletive verbs! Most odd.

(88) L-ubuídun barána má!
PR3M-be.beautiful:E sea huh
'Isn't the sea beautiful!' (Taylor 1956b:144: 'how beautiful the sea is, isn't it!')

Current speakers use this construction along with another similar one. (89)a. uses the same final *má* as in (88), while (89)b. uses initial *máma*:[34]

(89) a. T-ubuídun iráhü má!
PR3F-be.beautiful:E child huh
'Isn't the girl beautiful!'

b. Máma t-ubuídun iráhü!
not PR3F-be.beautiful:E child
(Equivalent to (89a))

These exclamations use what we'll call the exclamatory (E) stem of the verb, which seems to be a type of nominalization. [35] It is not clear why *má* appears at the end rather than the beginning of these sentences. Such exclamations can be more complicated (sometimes with initial *má* and other variations in structure):

(90) a. Má l-ubrídun l-abûrüha Gatsby!
huh PR3M-be.good:E PR3M-write:PS Gatsby
'How well Gatsby writes!'

b. Máma l-ubrídun l-abûrüha Gatsby!
not PR3M-be.good:E PR3M-write:PS Gatsby
(Equivalent to (90a))

c. L-ubrídun l-abûrüha Gatsby má!
PR3M-be.good:E PR3M-write:PS Gatsby huh
(Equivalent to (90a))

[34] Most speakers describe these two exclamatory constructions as synonymous, but Ms. Guzman said that (89)b. means you are talking to someone: "you need a partner in acknowledging the beauty of this child". On the other hand, Mr. V. Lopez said that (89)b. means "you're saying it to yourself".

[35] This is Taylor's view; he glosses the verb in (88) as 'beauty'.

G. SPECIAL MORPHEMES ASSOCIATED WITH NEGATION[36]

This section presents several additional morphemes that appear in negative sentences: "conclusive" *–gubei* (section G.1), *ní* 'not even' (section G.2), and the various ways to say 'no' (section G.3).

1. "Conclusive" *–gubei.*

'Never' is expressed with the "conclusive" suffix *–gubei* ((91)-(92); Taylor 1952a: 165) that also appears in quantifier constructions like (93).

(91) M-óumugu-gubei-tuwa.
NEG-sleep:N-CONC-T1PL
'We never slept.'

(92) M-abúnidi-gubei-tina.
NEG-POSSED.hat-CONC-T1SG
'I never had a hat.'

(93) Éibagua-tuwa biyán-gubei wagíya.
run:B-T1PL two-CONC PRO.1PL
'Both of us run.'

The morpheme *-gubei* can also express 'had better':

(94) Hóu-gubei b-e-in l-adûga n-áfaru ba-dibu.
eat:B-CONC PR2SG-*an*-D3M PR3M-comp PR1SG-hit:PS *ba*-DX2SG
'You'd better eat it, (or else) I'll hit you.'

(95) Adímaha-gubei b-an.
talk:B-CONC PR2SG-*an*
'You'd better talk.'

2. Ní *'not even'*

Ní is a Spanish loan that is used in several constructions, most likely all calqued from Spanish. For example, *ában* 'one' is normally not used

[36] Taylor (1956b: 148) suggests that an adverbial particle *mámai* 'since, on account of the hindering fact that' also includes a negative element. We have been unable to elicit this word.

with negative existential *úwa* (as in (96); cf. (61) vs. (62)); when *ában* is used, it is usually preceded by *ní*, as in (97):

(96) Úwa-tu hinyáru t-ídan leskuéla.
not.exist:B-T3F woman PR3F-in school
'There isn't a woman in the school.'

(97) Úwa-tu ní ában hinyáru t-ídan leskuéla.
not.exist:B-T3F not.even one woman PR3F-in school
'There is no woman in the school', i.e. 'There is not even one woman in the school.'

When a *ní ában* phrase is focused, it can express negation without an accompanying negative morpheme, as in (98). (This is why it's glossed 'not even': thus, sentences like (97) above can be seen as double negation.)

(98) Ní ában ha-dágiya g-erémuha-dii-tiyan.
not.even one PR3PL-from AF-sing:PS-POT-T3PL
'Not even one of them can sing.'

Although *ní* is used most commonly with *ában* 'one', it can appear with other numbers:

(99) Ní biyáma ha-dágiya g-erémuha-dii-tiyan.
not.even two PR3PL-from AF-sing:PS-POT-T3PL
'Not even two of them can sing.'

Very rarely, *ní* 'not even' is used without a following number:

(100) M-éihin-gubei-tina ní (ában) gürígiya.
NEG-see:N-CONC-T1SG not.even (one) person
'I didn't see anyone [not even one person].'

(101) Ní bugúya m-adûgü be-i.
not.even PRO.2SG NEG-do:N *ba*-D3M
'Not even you will do it.'

The *ní....ní....* 'neither...nor...' construction (only linking nouns, and always focused) in (102) is clearly borrowed from Spanish:

(102) Ní bugúya ní nugúya
not.even PRO.2SG not.even PRO.1SG
m-asándi-tuwa.
NEG-be.sick:N-T1PL
'Neither you nor I is sick.', 'Not even you, not even I, we're not sick.'

For another use of *ní,* see the discussion of *ní káta* in section H below.

3. *'No'*

There are three words for 'no' in Garifuna: *uwá*, *nóu,* and *íno* (Note that *uwá* is not the same as *úwa* 'not exist'.) *Nóu* is a loanword (it is not listed either in Cayetano 1993, 2005 or in Stochl et al. n.d.), but is widely used. *Íno* is currently rare. We have not found any difference in usage.

H. NEGATIVE INDEFINITES

Many negative indefinites are expressed with *úwa* constructions (section C), as in (103)-(106):

(103) Úwa-ti erémuha-ti brídu.
NEG.exist-T3M sing:B-T3M well
'Nobody sings well.'

(104) a. Úwa-ti hínsiye-ti l-ún Wán.
NEG.exist-T3M like:B-T3M PR3M-DAT John
'John doesn't like anyone.'[37]

b. Úwa-ti(yan) hínsiye-ti(yan) l-ún
NEG.exist-T3M(PL) like:B-T3M(PL) PR3M-DAT
Wán.
John
'John doesn't like anyone.' (Equivalent to (104a))

(105) Úwa-ti asúsedu-ti n-ún.
NEG.exist-T3M happen:B-T3M PR1SG-DAT
'Nothing happened to me.'

[37] Both versions of this sentence are transitive dative subject constructions; see Munro (2007).

(106) Úwa-ti n-éihi.
NEG.exist-T3M PR1SG-see:PS
'I didn't see anything.'

The only specifically negative indefinite is *ní káta*, composed of *ní* 'not even' (section G.2) and *káta*, which is related to *ká/kátei/kátou/kátayan* 'who/what'. But *ní káta* means only 'something'/'anything'/'nothing', never 'someone'/'anyone'/'no one', and *káta* is not used on its own.

(107) M-adéi-tina ní káta béya-ba.
NEG-find:N-T1SG not.even anything beach-on
'I didn't find anything on the beach.'

(108) M-asûrüü l-umu-tina ní káta.
NEG-sting:N PR3M-TRAN-T1SG not.even anything
'Nothing bit (i.e., stung) me.'

(109) M-éihin-tina ní káta.
NEG-see:N-T1SG not.even anything
'I didn't see anything.'

Usually 'no one' is expressed with a construction like that in (100). Even some otherwise conservative speakers use the English loan *sánbadii* 'somebody'; this is most common in affirmative sentences, but can be used in the negative as well:

(110) A,ní,hein sánbadii ligílisi-rugu.
exist:B,SS3M somebody church-in
'Somebody is in the church.'

(111) M-éihin-tina sánbadii l-áru béya.
NEG-see:N-T1SG somebody PR3M-on beach
'I didn't see anybody on the beach.'

'Somewhere' and 'nowhere' can be expressed with a *g-/m-* verbal construction like those described in section B.3.3:

(112) a. G-alíyoun-tina.
AF-go.somewhere-T1SG
'I went somewhere.'

b. M-alíyoun-tina.
NEG-go.somewhere-T1SG
'I didn't go anywhere.', 'I didn't have anywhere to go.'

These verbs are derived from *halíya* 'where'.

I. Asymmetry in negative structures

"Asymmetry" in the sense of Miestamo (2005) refers to any lack of parallelism between corresponding negative and non-negative constructions. There are several symmetric negative constructions in Garifuna (section I.1), but probably too many asymmetric ones to list here (we present some of them in section I.2). In many cases, future and non-future, transitive and intransitive, and active and non-active constructions work differently.

1. *Symmetric negation*

The most symmetric negation occurs with all types of sentences with the *yan* incompletive auxiliary, which are negated simply by the addition of *máma* 'not', as shown in section D.3.

Non-future simple intransitive (113)-(114) and transitive (115) and future non-active (116) constructions are parallel in form in terms of the position and shape of their inflection, aside from the addition of the negative prefix *m-* and the verbal stem differences discussed in section B.2.

(113) a. Óumuga-tina.
sleep:B-T1SG
'I sleep.'

b. M-óumuguu-tina.
NEG-sleep:N-T1SG
'I don't sleep.'

(114) a. Gundáa-tina.
be.happy:B-T1SG
'I am happy.'

b. M-agúndaa-tina.
NEG-be.happy:N-T1SG
'I am not happy.'

(115) a. Dará n-umu-tu gáfu.
open:B PR1SG-TRAN-T3F box
'I opened the box.'

b. M-adáruu n-umu-tu gáfu.
NEG-open:N PR1SG-TRAN-T3F box
'I didn't open the box.'

(116) a. Gúndaa ba-dina.
be.happy:B *ba*-D1SG
'I'm going to be happy.'

b. M-agúndaa ba-dina.
NEG-be.happy:N *ba*-D1SG
'I not going to be happy.'

2. *Asymmetric negation*

Most other constructions show asymmetries between affirmatives and negatives, many of them reflecting the fact that a negative verb with the *m-* prefix cannot also have a subject prefix. Some illustrations are given below.

In future active intransitive sentences, for example, subject agreement is marked with a prefix in the non-negative, but as a suffix in the negative:

(117) a. N-óumugu ba.
PR1SG-sleep:PS *ba*
'I will sleep.'

b. M-óumuguu ba-dina.
NEG-sleep:N *ba*-D1SG
'I won't sleep.'

Subject agreement is marked with a prefix in both affirmative and negative future active transitive sentences, but the prefix appears on the verb in the non-negative and on the future auxiliary in the negative:

(118) a. N-adára bo-u n-igárada.
PR1SG-open:PS *ba*-R3F PR1SG-POSSED.book
'I'm going to open my book.'

b. M-adáruu n-ubo-u n-igárada.
NEG-open:N PR1SG-*ba*-D3F PR1SG-POSSED.book
'I'm not going to open my book.'

Perfect sentences show a different auxiliary (*agi/gi* 'still, yet') in the negative (119)-(120) (which can, however, also be used in the non-negative (121)).

(119) a. Hóu n-an-ru barúru.
eat:B PR1SG-*an*-DX3F plantain
'I have eaten the plantain.'

b. M-éigi n-agi-ru barúru.
NEG-eat:N PR1SG-still-DX3F plantain
'I have not eaten the plantain yet.'

(120) a. Abínah-a-un.
dance-*an*-DX3F
'She has danced.'

b. M-abínah-agi-un.
NEG-dance-still-DX3F
'She has not danced yet.'

(121) Agúmula gi-dina sígau.
smoke:B still-DX1SG cigarette
'I still smoke cigarettes.'

J. NEGATIVES IN COMPLEX SENTENCES

In this section, we describe how negation works in negative focus constructions (section J.1) and negative subordinate clauses (section J.2), as well as presenting suggestive data on negative transportation (section J.3).

1. *Negative focus*

As noted earlier (section B.2), ordinary N stem verbs are used even in negative focus (cleft) sentences like (122b):

(122) a. Gatsby éigi ba-nu barúru.
Gatsby eat:PS *ba*-NS3F plantain
'Gatsby ate the plantain.'

b. Gatsby m-éigin ba-nu barúru.
Gatsby NEG-eat:N *ba*-NS3F plantain
'Gatsby didn't eat the plantain.'

An alternative negative focus construction involves negating the focused predicate with *máma* (section D):

(123) a. Máma Gatsby éigi ba-nu barúru.
not Gatsby eat:PS *ba*-NS3F plantain
'It wasn't [isn't?] Gatsby who ate the plantain.'

b. Máma Gatsby m-éigin ba-un barúru.
not Gatsby NEG-eat:N *ba*-NS3F plantain.
'It wasn't [isn't?] Gatsby who didn't eat the plantain.'

Negative verbs apparently do not show the same variation in form that non-negative ones do.

2. *Negative complements and other negative subordinate clauses*

There are many forms of complement clauses in Garifuna; in general, the behavior of negative and non-negative complement clauses is quite symmetric. Some embedded clauses use complementizers equivalent to prepositions with masculine objects (agreeing with the following clause; cf. Munro 1997),[38] the most common of which is instrumental *láu*, as in:

(124) a. Héitugua-tina l-áu gúndaa t-an
think:B-T1SG PR3M-INSTR be.happy:B PR3F-*an*
Jena.
Jena
'I think Jena is happy.'

[38] As noted in Munro (1997), in conservative old men's speech, clauses (and such additional morphemes as the complement marker *lá* in (127) below) are treated as feminine. It's not clear whether there are any speakers today who completely control this variety of speech, but many produce such examples willingly when prompted.

b. Héitugua-tina l-áu m-agúndaa
think:B-T1SG PR3M-INSTR NEG-be.happy:N
t-an Jena.
PR3F-*an* Jena
'I think Jena isn't happy.'

(125) a. Bürí-ti l-áu dará n-an-nei
be.good:B-T3M PR3M-INSTR open:B PR1SG-*an*-
béna.
NS3M door
'It's good that I opened the door.'

b. Bürí-ti l-áu m-adáru
be.good:B-T3s PR3M-INSTR NEG-open:N
n-an-nei béna.
PR1SG-*an*-NS3M door
'It's good that I didn't open the door.'

As (124) and (125) show, both subject and object complements, whether transitive or intransitive, active or stative, typically appear in the non-future with subject and object agreement marked on the *a* auxiliary.

There are other complementizers as well, such as *luwéi* 'from' in (126):

(126) a. Hamúfude-tina l-uwéi t-áfaru ba-dina
be.afraid:B-T1SG PR3M-from PR3F-hit:PS *ba*-DX1SG
lá.
CMP
'I'm afraid she's going to hit me.'

b. Hamúfude-tina l-uwéi m-afáyeiru
be.afraid:B-T1SG PR3M-from NEG-pay:N
t-uba-dina lá.
PR3F-*ba*-DX1SG CMP
'I'm afraid he won't pay me.'

The matrix verb *hamúfude* (for many speakers *hanúfude*) in (126) appears to occur only with unrealized complements; complement clauses with explicit future reference, like these, usually include the *ba* auxiliary. These examples also include the somewhat mysterious complement marker *lá*, which is cliticized to the verb-plus-auxiliary phrase of certain complement clauses. While *lá* usually appears in future complements, its

use is not restricted to them, as (127a) shows:

(127) a. Subúsi l-umu-ti l-áu dará
know:B PR3M-TRAN-T3M PR3M-INSTR open:B
n-an lá béna.
PR1SG-*an* CMP door
'He knows that I opened the door.'

b. Subúsi l-umu-ti l-áu
know:B PR3M-TRAN-T3M PR3M-INSTR
m-adáru n-an béna.[39]
NEG-open:N PR1SG-*an* door
'He knows that I didn't open the door.'

Sometimes there is no complementizer:

(128) a. Buí-ti t-éigi be-i lá.
be.good:B-T3M PR3F-eat:PS *ba*-D3M CMP
'It's good that she's going to eat it.'

b. Buí-ti m-éigin t-ube-i lá.
be.good:B-T3M NEG-eat:N PR3F-*ba*-D3M CMP
'It's good that she's not going to eat it.'

3. *Negative transportation*

The two translations of (129) below suggest that there is no negative transportation (with negation of a subordinate clause shown in the matrix clause), but (130) suggests the opposite, since it's hard to be sure what a literal interpretation of (130b) would be:

(129) Héitagua-tina l-áu m-águndaa
think:B-T1SG PR3M-INSTR NEG-be.happy:N
l-an Wán.
PR3M-*an* John
'I think John isn't happy', 'I don't think John is happy.'

(130) a. Héitagua-tina úwa-tu t-ídan múna.
think:B-T1SG NEG.exist:B-T3F PR3F-in house
'I think she's not in the house.'

[39] The complement marker *lá* does not seem to be used in non-future negative clauses.

b. M-éitagu-tina a,nú,hein lá t-ídan
NEG-think:N-T1SG exist:B,SS3F CMP PR3F-in
múna.
house
'I don't think she's in the house.'

K. CONCLUSION

Garifuna negative verbs include the negative prefix *m-;* they also show stem changes and, frequently, differences in the position and shape of inflection and other features that may be seen as asymmetric. A few negative verbs are suppletive, with the negative existential verb *úwa* used in a wide range of different constructions. The particle *máma* is used to negate copular and focus constructions, as well as sentences containing the incompletive auxiliary *yan*. Negative questions and exclamations may show unusual negation patterns, while negation in complex constructions does not appear to vary from its main-clause equivalent.

In this paper we have thus provided a fairly complete overview of the syntax and morphology of Garifuna negation. Consideration of syntactic issues like scope remains as work for the future, along with a fuller description of verbal stem alternations.

CHAPTER THREE

NEGATION IN GUIANESE LOKONO/ARAWAK

MARIE-FRANCE PATTE [1]

Guianese Lokono/Arawak is spoken in the lowlands of the Guianas, Guyana, Suriname, the French Overseas department of Guiana, and Venezuelan Guayana. Some speakers live also in Europe, mainly in the Netherlands and Great Britain. Along with Goahiro (or Wayuu), Parauhano (or Añun) and Garifuna, this language belongs to the North-Caribbean group of the Arawakan languages.

Like other Arawakan languages, Lokono/Arawak exhibits, in addition to the negative particle *kho(ro)*, a privative marker, *ma-*. In this particular language, the privative marker has developed functions as negative operator.

The language exhibits active/stative alignment, in that the subject of a stative verb and the object of a transitive active verb occupy the same position, and also exhibits pro-drop, since this same position can optionally be left empty.

A distinction is made between an event or state perceived as actually occurring or having occurred (realis) and an unrealized event or state (irrealis). This distinction between realis and irrealis is materialized for a great number of verbs by the final vowel of the verbal theme, *a* co-occurring with past and present events (realis), while any vowel but *a*, dictated by vowel harmony and thus predictable, co-occurs with unrealized event or state. Thus for example, the verbal form *dadukha* 'I have seen', 'I see', exhibits the final vowel *a* while the prospective *dadukhuha* 'I shall see', 'I have to see', as well as the infinitive *dukhun* 'to see', 'seeing' exhibit the thematic vowel *u*.

As in many other Arawakan languages, the nouns distinguish classes of nouns. *Relative* nouns are obligatorily possessed or dependent while the *absolute* nouns are independent in that they are not related to another noun.

Lokono makes a three-way gender/number distinction: *masculine*, which includes male human referents; *plural*, which includes all human referents, male and female; and *feminine*, which includes feminine human and all non-human referents.

Three paradigms of person markers are attested: i) a set of pronouns,

[1] I would like to thank Lev Michael and Tania Granadillo for their helpful comments and suggestions.

which are independent words and are a distinct class of nominals; ii) a series of prefixes, which encode the subject of active verbs and the 'possessor' of relative nouns; and iii) a series of clitics, which encode the object of active transitive verbs and the subject of stative verbs; these always follow the predicate. A list of these person markers is given at the end of the chapter.

Typically, the predicate, be it a verb or a noun, occupies the first position in the sentence; similarly, modifiers in noun phrases are followed by the nouns they modify.

A particular active verb, which I refer to as a 'dummy verb', plays an important role in discourse. This verb is 'light', both semantically and phonologically, but it can stand alone as the sole predicate in a sentence. However, its meaning is underspecified, so that its interpretation depends on utterance context, and the appropriate translation can vary considerably (for example, 'to be', 'to say', or 'to do'). Most commonly, however, the dummy verb serves as an auxiliary verb. In this function, the dummy verb bears TAM and person markers. It connects the fronted adjunct to the rest of the sentence in a focus structure. It also appears in a specific negative construction that we discuss below. In these auxiliary constructions, the dummy forms a complex nucleus with the lexical verb, which appears in non-finite form, bearing the infinitive marker *–n*, and may or may not carry person markers.

The orthography used in this chapter has been used by the Lokono/Arawak community of the French Overseas Department of Guiana since 2006. Examples taken from other sources have been adapted to this orthography. I thank the Lokono/Arawak speakers of this community, and especially Mrs. Ursula Visser Biswane, who provided additional examples.

A. THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE

The Lokono/Arawak negative particle has two forms, *kho* and *khoro*. It may be historically related to the Kurripako negative marker *kuri* (Granadillo this volume), but it is also probably related to the Lokono/Arawak diminutive particle *khan*, which means 'a little' or a 'small quantity'.

Kho(ro) is predominantly a negative marker, but as we shall see in examples below, it may combine with a pronoun or a conjunction to narrow the scope of the element with which it is combined; it sometimes also serves to convey an attenuative meaning, as in polite requests.

Whenever it has appeared suitable in the following examples, the positive counterpart is given (as b) after the negative (a).

1. *Position and scope*

This section will focus on the distribution of the particle *kho(ro)* in terms of its position and scope*;* and show that the negation constructions in which it participates are symmetric ones, in the typology of Miestamo (2005).

1.1. *Position*

In a clausal negation (1-3), the negative particle *kho(ro)* follows the predicate of the proposition negated. Since the predicate occupies the first position, *kho(ro)* occupies the 2nd position. Similarly in a constituent negation, *kho* follows the constituent under scope (4).

The element preceding the negation particle may be a verb, as *thudukha* in (1); a noun, as in (2); or a nominal predicate, as *kidoantho* in (3).

(1) a. Thu-dukha khoro to.
3F.AG-see NEG DEM.F
'She does not see this.'

b. Thu-dukha to.
3F.AG-see DEM.F
'She sees this.'

(2) a. Wa-yo khoro to hiyaro.
1PL.POSS-mother NEG DEM.F woman
'This woman is not our mother.'

b. Wa-yo to hiyaro.
1PL.POSS-mother DEM.F woman
'This woman is our mother.'

(3) a. Kidoan-tho kho to.
true-NL.F NEG DEM.F
'This is not true.'

b. Kidoan-tho to.
true-NL.F DEM.F
'This is true.'

Thus far, we have seen the negative marker in clausal negation: it follows the predicate, typically in first position, be it a verb, as in (1a), a noun, as in (2a), or a nominalization, as in (3a). In a constituent negation,

the negation particle follows the element under scope. In (4a) the element under scope is a modifier in a complement position, *hibiro.*

(4) a. Lu-dukha hibiro kho usehu.
3M.AG-see small NEG worm
'He sees big worms.' (lit. 'not small')

b. Lu-dukha hibiro usehu.
3M.AG-see small worm
'He sees small worms.'

As (4a) shows, the negative operator follows the modifier *hibiro* 'small'. As a consequence, it separates the modifier from *usehu*, the noun it modifies.

The very common utterances given in (5) convey some misgiving or some reluctance to fully assent, they employ *tha* 'it is', the dummy verb inflected for 3rd feminine, and the dubitative particle *baha* 'maybe'. The negation particle follows the dummy verb and occupies second position.

(5) a. Th-a kho baha.
3F.AG-DV NEG maybe
'Maybe not.' (I don't think so.)

b. Th-a baha.
3F.AG-DV maybe
'Maybe.' (I should think so.)

1.2. *Symmetric negation*

As shown in the examples above, the particle *kho(ro)* alone conveys the negative meaning and does not bring any other modification to the sentence. This negation construction can thus be classified as symmetric in Miestamo's terms.

However, in the pair of examples given in (6), we see that the negative particle plus a person marker is sufficient to form a well-formed sentence, as shown with the first person pronoun *dai* in (6a).

(6) a. Dai khoro.
1S.PRO NEG
'It is not me.'

b. Dai to.
1S.PRO DEM.F
'It is me.'

Notice in (6b) that in the positive counterpart, the demonstrative is needed to form this equative-type utterance. This does not invalidate, in our view, the previous remark which classifies this negation with *kho(ro)* as symmetric, since Miestamo's typological classification only applies to 'standard negation' (1973-39:45).

1.3. *The reportative*

The reportative particle (RPT) *tha* 'it says', 'they say', belongs to the epistemic domain and indicates that the speaker distances himself from his own assertion, and consequently does not fully validate it.

In all the examples above, the negative particle follows the predicate, which is generally a single word. We shall see now that the reportative *tha* precedes the negative particle. As a result, the validational force of the negated proposition is reduced.

In the following example, the verbal form *laitha* 'he knows' forms a complex predicate with the reportative *tha*; this combination as a whole is under the scope of the negative operator. In this complex sentence, the question marker *halika* 'how?' or 'which?', introduces the complement of the matrix verb contained in the main clause.

(7) L-aitha tha kho halika
3M.AG-know RPT NEG Q
l-a-ma dia-n tora hiyaro
3M.AG-DV-POT speak-INF DEM.F woman
oma.
with
'He does not know, they say, how he can speak to that woman.'

In the following example, the focused nominal *tora* is fronted, it is followed by the reportative *tha*, the combination as a whole is negated. Notice that both the reportative and the negation split the adjunct phrase, separating the postposition *khona* and its object *tora*.

(8) Tora tha kho khonan thu-dukha.
DEM.F RPT NEG about 3F.AG-see
'She does not, they say, see about THAT.' 'THAT, they say, is not her concern.' 'THAT, they say, is of no concern for her.'

1.4. *Negative indefinites*

The negative indefinites corresponding to English ‘nothing’ and ‘nobody’, and the negative time adverb ‘never’, are all formed using the negative particle *kho(ro)*. The first negative indefinites are formed with *kho(ro)* and a question word: *hamâ* ‘what?’ in the case of ‘nothing’, as shown in (9), and *halikan* ‘who?’ in the case of ‘nobody’, as shown in (11). The negative temporal indefinite ‘never’ involves the adverb *abahan* ‘once’, as shown in (14).

(9) Hamâ khoro l-ani-ka wa-mun.
what? NEG 3M.AG-do-PF 1PL.POSS-DAT
‘He hasnt done a thing for us.’
‘He does not do anything for us.’
‘He does nothing for us.’

This negative indefinite is often employed with *diaro* ‘like’, a particle which is usually employed in expressing comparisons. When co-occurring with negation, *diaro* expresses the exhaustive character of the negation.

(10) Hamâ diaro kho thu-shiroko
what? Like NEG 3F.POSS-flesh
tho-khonâ-ka
3F.POSS-on/about-PF
‘There remained absolutely no flesh on it[s body].’

(11) Halikan khoro andâ-the yaha.
who? NEG come-CPT here.
‘Nobody came here.’

The following example illustrates the negative indefinite *halikan kho* associated with *diaro.*

(12) Na-dukha halikan diaro kho.
3PL.AG-see who? likely NEG
‘They don’t/didn’t see anybody (at all).’

Note that a negative indefinite referring to living beings can also be formed by combining *khoro* with *kakuthi* ‘living (creature), human being’, as in (13).

(13) Kakuthi khoro na-dukha.
living NEG 3PL.AG-see
'They don't see any living (creatures).'

The negative indefinite referring to time combines the negative particle *kho(ro)* with *abahan*, a time adverb meaning 'once'. It is usually associated with *diaro* 'like'. This complex formation acts as an adverbial phrase and requires, when fronted, the presence of the dummy verb, inflected for person, as in (14).

(14) Abahan diaro th-a kho andu-n
once likely 3F.AG-DV NEG come-INF
wa-shikoa-nro.
1PL.POSS-house-ALL
'She NEVER comes to our house.'

2. *The negative particle in understatements*

The negation particle *kho(ro)* is also employed for *litotes*, or rhetorical understatements. An example of this common use of the negative particle is given in (4a), above, and other examples are given below.

2.1. *The negative particle in quantifiers*

One series of rhetorical understatements involve combinations of *kho(ro)* with quantifiers. Examples of this construction include *abaro kho* 'many', literally, 'not one', as in (15); *aba lokhodi kho* 'many kinds, in many ways', literally, 'not one kind, not in a single way', as in (16); and *mi… kho* 'much, very much', literally, 'not a minimum, not a small quantity', as in (17).

(15) Abaro kho bokhorona thu-thukuda.
one NEG vine.*sp.* 3F.AG-uproot
'She uprooted many *bokhorona* vines.' (lit. 'not one *bokhorona* vine')

(16) Atâko-tho aba lokhodi kho tibokili
covered-NL.F one kind NEG scrub
abo da kia horhoro.
with ASSV that earth
'That [piece of] earth was indeed covered with all kinds of scrub.' (lit., 'not one kind of scrub')

The quantifier *mi* always appears with the negative particle *kho*. The complex quantifier formed with the dummy verb occupies the first position in the sentence and is linked with the rest of the sentence through either parataxis or subordination of the portion of the sentence containing the lexical verb.

Under paratactic strategy, the quantifier and the item that it quantifies are both predicates; no overt conjunction appears between the two clauses, as in (17).

(17) Mi th-a kho th-îmatoa.
minimum 3F.AG-DV NEG 3F.AG-be.angry
(It is much; she is angry.)
'She is/was very furious.' (lit. 'not a little angry')

Under the subordination strategy, the complex quantifier acts as the main clause, and it is followed by a non-finite form of the lexical verb, marked as subordinate by the absence of TAM marker and by the infinitive morpheme *-n*, as in (18).

(18) Mi th-a kho halekhebe-n.
minimum 3F.AG-DV NEG happy-INF
(It is much that she [is] happy. It is much her being happy.)
'She is/was very happy.' (lit. 'not a little happy')

2.2. *Understatement in other contexts*
Rhetorical understatement can also be found in less conventionalized contexts than in the negated quantifiers discussed above. Examples are given in (19) and (20).

(19) Â! Akharo kho li omâdoa koba
EXCL now NEG PRO.3M die REM.PAS
da-dokothi!
1SG.POSS-grandfather
'Ah! This one did not die recently, Grandfather!'
(P. van Baarle.161:24)

(20) Bu-dukha, tanohoke-ya kho b-oma
2SG.AG-see today-VER NEG 2SG.POSS-with
hibin da de.
Already ASSV 1SG.SJ
'Look, it's not just since yesterday that I have been with you.'
(D. Taylor.1977.107:51)

3. *Restrictive or attenuative value*

The negative particle appears in contexts when it does not negate an assertion, but rather limits the element it combines with and that it follows immediately. This restrictive value is found with first person markers, producing exclusive person, and with a conjunction, where *kho* limits to the immediate context the conjoined element (21). The negative particle may also have an attenuative value in order to lessen, or mitigate the force of the assertion, this use is registered in polite requests, as in (22).

3.1. *With the first person markers: exclusive person*

When associated with the person pronouns, the negator *kho* generates an exclusive person marker. It appears to apply only to the first persons, singular *dai* and plural *wai*. In the words of Bennett (1995: 14),

> Whenever kho is added to 'dai' making 'daikho' or to 'wai' making 'waikho' it makes the word mean: I for one, or I of this group or I of this place and the plural would be: we for that matter or we of this group or we of this place.

First person exclusive includes the speaker and may include the hearer but excludes a non-speech act participant: in this combination, *kho* brings to the first person a limitation or restriction.

3.2. *With the conjunction* ken

In addition, the negative particle *kho* is often used with the conjunction *ken* 'and', resulting in a combination which foregrounds the immediate context, and which can be translated as 'and then' or 'and so', as in (21).

(21) Ken kho aba loko na-kora
CONJ NEG one in 3PL.POSS-hammock
lokhodi-ka da ye.
inside-PF ASSV 3PL.SJ
'And then, in one of their hammocks they indeed [stayed] inside.'

3.3. *Attenuative value*

The negative particle is also employed with an attenuative value in polite requests, as in (22).

(22) Da-khoyabu-ya da bo, bu-shika-n
1SG.AG-pray-VER ASSV 2SG.O 2SG.AG-give-INF
kho to da-duna-wa
NEG DEM.F 1POSS-wing-REFX
da-mun
1SG.POSS-DAT
'Indeed I implore you, won't you give me my (own) wings.'
(D.Taylor.1977.101:36)

B. THE PRIVATIVE

Apart from the negative particle *kho(ro)*, Guianese Lokono/Arawak exhibits, as do many other Arawakan languages, another negative morpheme, the privative *ma-*. The privative is the negative counterpart of the attributive *ka-*, both being found in reconstructions of proto-Arawakan (Matteson 1972; Payne 1991; Dixon & Aikhenvald 1998). In Lokono/Arawak, however, the privative marker has developed uses independent from the attributive. Thus, attributive and privative cannot be said to be symmetrical or homologous in this language. Cognates to the derivational and inflectional functions of Guianese Arawak/Lokono *ma-* are found in other Arawakan languages.

Although the privative functions derivationally in Lokono, it also functions as a negative operator. In these cases the privative marker forms part of a construction in which the lexical verb appears in non-finite form and co-occurs with the dummy verb. Thus, the privative, typically combined with nouns and stative roots, is in this function combined with a non-finite form of an active verb, making necessary the presence of the dummy verb to form an active sentence. We assume this predicative pattern, to be due to the affinity of negation with stativity.

In Section 1, below, examples (23) - (26) show privative *ma-* as the negative counterpart of attributive *ka-*. Part 2 shows the derivational properties of *ma-* that are not shared with *ka-*; these are exemplified in (27) - (29). Finally, Part 3 gives examples of *ma-* as a negative operator in minimal predicates, as in (30), (32a) and (33a); and in complex sentences, as in (34) - (37).

1. *Privative as the negative counterpart of attributive*

The Guianese Lokono/Arawak privative prefix *ma-* conveys the general meaning 'lack', or 'be deprived of', and is the negative counterpart of attributive *ka-*, as in, for example, *ma-lokhodo* 'without load, unloaded', *ka-lokhodo* 'with load, loaded'. In (23) - (26), the (a) examples show the

privative form, with *ma-*, and the (b) examples show the attributive form, marked with *ka-*.

In terms of distribution, both privative *ma-* and attributive *ka-* combine with stative roots and relative nouns. An example of a stative root, *mana* 'sharp, cutting edge', combining with the privative and the attributive is given in (23).

(23) a. Ma-mana da-yadoalan.
PRIV-cutting.edge my-knife
'My knife is without cutting edge, my knife is blunt.'

b. Ka-mana da-yadoalan.
ATR-cutting.edge my-knife
'My knife is with cutting edge, my knife is sharp.'

Relative nouns can likewise bear both the privative and attributive. In (24), we see these morphemes combining with *usa* 'child of someone', in its bound form *–sa.*

(24) a. ma-sa-tho
PRIV-child-NL.F
'female without child, childless woman'

b. ka-sa-tho
ATR-child-NL.F
'female with child'

In (24), the feminine gender marker in the nominalizer *–tho*, nominalizes the stative predicate, additionally marking the feminine gender of the nominalized element.

We see a similar effect in the following example, where the relative noun *shikoa* 'house of someone, home' is combined with *ma-* (in 25a) and with *ka-* (25b) respectively, and subsequently nominalized with masculine nominalizer *-thi.*

(25) a. ma-shikoa-thi
PRIV-home-NL.M
'a homeless man'

b. ka-shikoa-thi
ATR-home-NL.M
'a man with home'

We now turn to the question of the relative permanence or transitoriness associated with the stative predicate derived with the privative. The examples given in (24) and (25) describe a permanent quality, or attribute, of the referent.

Since Lokono allows nominal predicates, and also permits verbal argument positions, particularly subject position in a stative predicative structure, to be left empty (i.e. permits pro-drop), in an appropriate context (i.e. when reference is recoverable from context), (25a) could also be translated as 'He is a homeless man.' and (25b) as 'He is a man with home'. Similarly, (24a) could be translated as 'She is a female without child, she is a childless woman.' and (24b) as 'She is a female with child.' These interpretations presuppose that the states described are essentially permanent.

On the other hand, nouns derived with the attributive *ka-* and privative *ma-* may also bear TAM markers, like perfect *–ka*, in which case the state denoted by the *ma-* or *ka-* derived stem is understood to be transitory. This is exemplified in (26), where the X in the gloss indicates the entity referred to in the utterance context.

(26) a. Ma-shikoa-ka.
PRIV-home-PF
'X is *now* homeless.' (X has reached the state of being homeless)

b. Ka-shikoa-ka.
ATR-home-PF
'X is *now* with home.'

The difference between (25) and (26) is comparable to the difference between Spanish *ser* and *estar*, where (25) could be translated as "X *es sin hogar*" and (26) as "X *está sin hogar*".

2. *The privative in derivation*

In Guianese Arawak/Lokono, privative *ma-* plays an important role in word formation, in ways distinct from attributive *ka-*. The productivity of the former exceeds the productivity of the latter, and therefore *ka-* and *ma-* cannot be said to be symmetrical in the language.

2.1. *Stative roots*

As seen in (23), above, *ma-* can combine with stative roots. For example the stative root *seme* 'sweet, tasty', can combine with the privative to

produce *ma-seme* ‘not sweet, not tasty’. Note that in this case, the positive counterpart of *maseme*, given in (27b), is *seme*, thus does not exhibit the attributive morpheme.

In (27a), *seme* appears with the privative *ma-* and the nominal feminine marker *tho*, in order to form the word *masemetho.* In this sentence, the derived form functions as a nominal predicate which agrees with the subject, the feminine demonstrative *to.*

(27) a. Ma-seme-tho to.
PRIV-sweet-NL.F DEM.F
‘This is not sweet.’ (This [dish, beverage, fruit, person…] belongs to the category of un-sweet objects, an essential, time-stable and permanent quality).

b. Seme-tho to.
sweet-NL.F DEM.F
‘This is sweet.’ (belongs to the category of sweet objects, an essential, time-stable and permanent quality)

A stative root like *seme* bearing the privative *ma-* can also take a TAM marker, like perfect *–ka*, as in (28a), which yields a transitory interpretation regarding the state denoted by the stem. The positive counterpart of (28a) is given in (28b).

(28) a. Ma-seme-ka no.
PRIV-sweet-PF 3F.SJ
‘It is not sweet *now*.’ (it has reached, completely and fully, the state ‘un-sweet’, a contingent, changeable, alterable quality)

b. Seme-ka no.
sweet-PF 3F.SJ
‘It is sweet *now*.’ (a contingent, changeable, alterable quality)

Since the privative *masemetho* and its positive counterpart *semetho* given in (27), are feminine, the subject, if overtly realized, must also be feminine, as is the feminine demonstrative *to* in the examples. In contrast, in (28) , the TAM marker perfect *–ka* allows the presence of the clitic, the feminine 3rd person *no,* and we suggest that this aspectual marker *–ka* gives the status of a verb to the stative forms in (28) and (26).

To sum up the facts presented so far, both attributive *ka-* and privative *ma-* derive stative predicates. Both prefixes can combine with relative nouns, as shown in (24), (25) and (26). Some stative roots can also combine with both prefixes, as shown in (23), but most stative roots, like *seme* 'sweet', illustrated in (27) and (28), combine only with *ma-*.

2.2. *Privative and causative in word formation*

Another kind of asymmetry between *ka-* and *ma-* is found in word formation. Stems formed with privative *ma-* can also take the causative *-dV*, yielding active verbs with the general meaning 'to deprive something/someone of some of its attributes (specified by the lexical item)'.

For example, when the relative noun *bana* 'leaf' is combined with *ma-* and the causative *-dV*, an active verb results, which is shown in (29) in the infinitive form.

(29) ma-bana-du-n
PRIV-leaf-CAU-INF
'to take the leaves off', 'to cause X to be deprived of its leaves'

The same formation is attested in the forms *mabokorhodon* (from *bokorho* 'clothes'), 'to take someone's clothes off' and *makedin* (from *eke* 'covering'), 'to take someone's covering off'.

3. *Privative* ma- *as a negative operator*

The privative marker may also act as a negative operator with active verbs, in a particular construction involving a non-finite form of the privative-derived lexical verb and the dummy verb.

3.1. *The dummy verb*

As a negative operator, the privative participates in a construction in which the privative-derived lexical verb appears in non-finite form and is followed by the dummy verb, which receives inflection appropriate to the transitive active verbs, as shown in (30).

(30) M-aithi-n d-a no.
PRIV-know-INF 1SG.AG-DV 3F.O
'I don't know it.' ('I am without knowing it.; I am unaware of it.')

The dummy verb is made necessary by the stativity of the lexical verb form inflected by *ma-* and deprived of the inflectional morphology of the active verbs, the prefixal person markers and TAM markers. In such constructions, the dummy verb, acts as auxiliary and receives the inflectional morphology.

It should be noted that the preceding construction is not the only way to negate a fact or an event. The negative particle is also available for this purpose, as in (31a), to be compared with its affirmative in (31b).

(31) a. D-aitha kho no.
1SG.AG-know NEG 3F.O
'I don't know it.'

b. D-aitha no.
1SG.AG-know 3F.O
'I know it.'

Note also that in (31) *no* stands for the 3rd person object, which is its typical position in an active transitive predicative construction, while in (28) *no* is the subject of a stative clause. This is one of the characteristics that leads us to classify this particular language as active/stative.

3.2. *The prohibitive construction*

The prohibitive construction likewise employs a *ma-*derived lexical verb in infinitive form and a finite dummy verb, which in the prohibitive, bears a 2nd person marker, as in (32a); the corresponding positive imperative is given in (32b).

(32) a. M-ôsu-n b-a!
PRIV-go-INF 2SG.AG-DV
'Don't go!' (without-going you-be)

b. B-ôsa!
2SG.AG-go
'Go!'

We see that the privative can fulfill different functions: a derivational function, as shown above in Part 2; and a syntactic function as a negative operator, as discussed in this section. The fact that the privative has two different functions allows that the privative appear twice in a given form, where the first instance is the negative operator and the second is the derivational element. Consider the previously exemplified active

privative verb *ma-bana-du-n*, given in (29), which appears in (33a) in a prohibitive construction; compare the corresponding (positive) imperative in (33b).

(33) a. Ma-ma-bana-du-n b-a no!
PRIV-PRIV-leaf-CAU-INF 2SG.AG-DV 3F.O
'Don't take its leaves off!'

b. Bu-ma-bana-da no!
2SG.AG-PRIV-leaf-CAU 3F.O
'Take its leaves off!'

The examples in (30), (32a) and (33a) show that the negation formed with the privative generates a complex nucleus, in which the lexical verb appears in a non-finite form, marked as such by *–n*, and is associated with the dummy verb which carries the inflection. The two elements appear adjacent to one another and share the same core arguments.

Following Miestamo's terminology, if we compare it with the corresponding positive assertions this negative construction is thus asymmetric and belongs to the type A/Fin ("Asymmetry in the finiteness") since "the lexical verb loses its finiteness, and […] a new finite element (auxiliary) is introduced into the negative clause to bear the finite verbal categories" (Miestamo 2005: 73).

Previous works (Givón 1978; Miestamo 2005) have mentioned the connection existing between stativity and negation. We assume that the predicative strategies associated with the privative marker in this particular language are due to the affinity of negation with stativity. This affinity allows the privative, which generates a stative predicate, to act as a negative operator in particular constructions, namely with some verbs like *eithin* 'to know' (30) and *anshin* (see below 34), in prohibitive sentences (32-33), and in subordinates, as we shall see below (35-36).

3.3. *Complex sentences*

We now discuss the privative in complex sentences. Previous examples have already illustrated complex sentences, where the negative *kho(ro)* operates in the main clause, as in (7); or in the dependent, or subordinate, clause, as in (22).

This section discusses a series of complex sentences where the privative acts as a negative operator. Negation-transport, where an embedded sub-clause is negated, but the negator is attached to the verb of the higher clause, is only registered with the verb *anshin* 'to want', as in (34).

(34) M-anshi d-a n-andu-n-the.
PRIV-want 1AG-DV 3PL.AG-come-INF-CPT
'I don't want them to come / I wish they would not come.'

With perception verbs such as *dukhun* 'see', the main clause is in the affirmative, and the privative acts as a negation operator in the embedded sub-clause, as in (35):

(35) Da-dukha ma-bina-n n-a-n.
1SG.AG-see PRIV-dance-INF 3PL.AG-DV-INF
'I saw that they did not dance.'

With request verbs such as *âdokhoton*, no transport is attested either. These verbs allow the embedded clause be negated with the privative morpheme (36).

(36) D-âdakhota ye ma-boka-n
1SG.AG-ask 3PL.O PRIV-cook-INF
n-a-n-bia.
3PL.AG-DV-INF-FIN
'I asked them not to cook.'

But the following utterance, in (37), quoting a prohibitive followed by an independent clause, is more natural and generally preferred.

(37) "Ma-boka-n h-a-li!" d-a
PRIV-cook-INF 2PL.AG-DV-DEO 1SG.AG-say
na-mun.
3PL.POSS-DAT
'"Don't cook!" (lit., 'you must not cook'), I said to them.'

C. Some other aspects of negation

1. *Double negation*

When double negation occurs, the general pattern is a sequence which combines the privative *ma-* and the negative particle *kho(ro)*. Double negation is exemplified in (38), another example of understatement, which is very frequent in spontaneous speech.

(38) Ma-seme-tho khoro kokorhiti wa-dukha.
PRIV-tasty-NL.F NEG maripa 1PL.AG-see
'We saw delicious (lit. 'not un-tasty') *maripa* fruits.'

We observe that the double negation results in a positive assertion.

2. *Negative answers*

There are several ways of answering negatively to a yes-no question. The main strategies are given below.

2.1. *Standard negative answer*

The standard negative answer is *bâkhoro*, in which it is easy to recognize the negative particle *khoro*, as in (39):

(39) B-adia-ko-ma Loko udiahu?
2SG.AG-speak-PF-POT Arawak language
'Can you speak the Arawak language?' 'Do you speak Arawak?'

Bâkhoro, m-eithi-n d-a to
No! PRIV-know-INF 1SG.AG-DV DEM.F
Loko adia-n.
Arawak speak-INF
'No! I can't speak the Arawak language.' 'No! I don't speak Arawak.'

2.2. *The negative answer focusing on person*

Another kind of negative short response involves the privative and person information. Thus, another possible response to the question given in (39) is that given in (40).

(40) *Manda*.
'I don't.' (lit.: 'not me')

This negative answer, inflected for first person, is in a paradigmatic relationship with *manba* 'not you' (2SG); *mantha* 'not her/not it' (3F); *manla* 'not him' (3M); *manwa* 'not us' (1PL); *manha* 'not you' (2PL); and *manna* 'not them' (3PL).

2.3. *Emphatic negative answer*

Another short response, the emphatic negation, likewise incorporating the privative, is given in (41).

(41) – Manin!
– ‘Not at all!’

3. *Negative existential*

Lokono/Arawak has no positive existential. However, a stative verb, *kawan*, meaning ‘lack’ or ‘be missing’, given in (42), can be analyzed as a negative existential.

(42) Kawa-ka oniabo.
be.missing-PF water
‘There is no water.’

D. CONCLUSION

The Lokono/Arawak language exhibits two negation operators. Apart from a negation particle, *kho*, it uses the privative *ma-* as a negation operator in some particular constructions.

Typically, *kho* follows the predicate. With the exception of reportative *tha*, nothing can separate *kho* and the predicative core in clausal negation, or the negated constituent in constituent negation. The particle *kho* enters in the formation of negative indefinites. This particle is not always a negation: it has also restrictive and attenuative values in some contexts.

Privative *ma-* combines with relative nouns and stative roots and enters in stative constructions. As a negation operator, *ma-* enters in a construction involving a non-finite form of the privative derived lexical verb and the dummy verb, bearing the inflectional morphology of the active verbs, functioning as an auxiliary. This construction forms the prohibitive; it is also commonly used with some verbs, like *eithin*, to know; *anshin* to want, and in subordinates.

APPENDIX

Table 1. *Lokono person markers*

	PRONOUNS (A/POSS)	**PREFIXES (O/S)**	**CLITICS**
1	*dai*	*d(a)-*	*... de*
2	*bui ~ bî*	*b(u)-*	*... bo*
3F	* *to*	*th(u)-*	*... no*
3M	* *li*	*l(u)-*	*... i*
1PL	*wei*	*w(a)-*	*... we*
2PL	*hui ~ hî*	*h(u)-*	*... hu*
3PL	*nei*	*n(a)-*	*... ye*

* 3F *to* is the demonstrative feminine (DEM.F) and 3m *li* the demonstrative masculine (DEM.M).

CHAPTER FOUR

ON NEGATION IN KURRIPAKO EHE-KHENIM

TANIA GRANADILLO

In the Ehe-Khenim dialect of Kurripako, an Arawak language spoken in the Northwest Amazon and part of the Kurripako-Baniwa continuum, there are two different negation strategies. One of them involves the negative marker *khenim* and its contraction *khen* and the other involves the commonly-found privative Arawak morphological marker *ma-*. After a brief background of the language and its speakers, I provide examples collected in the field of the various strategies, and describe their similarities and differences, in order to provide more data on this under-described and endangered language.

1. *The Kurripako-Baniwa Dialect Continuum*

The Kurripako-Baniwa dialect continuum is spoken in the Northwest Amazon, along the Içana, Negro and Guainía rivers and their tributaries. This area falls under the jurisdiction of Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil. This dialect continuum has about 10,000 speakers. The number of dialects is not well established nor the characteristics, distribution and differences of each. According to my ethnographic study (Granadillo 2006), speakers identify dialects by the affirmative and negative short answers, yes and no, as in the table below. In general, it can be said that Aha-Khuri is found in all three countries, Ehe-Khenim is only found in Venezuela and Oho-Karo and Oho-Ñame are in Colombia and Brazil; however migration and displacement affect this distribution.

Table 1. *Dialect recognition by 'yes' and 'no' forms*

YES	**NO**
Aha	*Khuri*
Ehe	*Khenim*
Oho	*Karo*
Oho	*Ñame*

Negation, then, plays an important role sociolinguistically and is an important marker of dialect identification. In the next sections I present

data from the Ehe-Khenim dialect.[1]

2. *The negative marker* khenim

Standard negation in Ehe-Khenim involves the free pre-verbal element *khenim ~ khen*. This negation strategy can be found with various different types of sentences and verbs. It is used in declarative verbal main clauses, with existentials and weather verbs, interrogatives, dependent verbal clauses and serial verb constructions. This is also used as the short negative response. Each one of these will be addressed in the various subsections that follow.

2.1. *Declarative verbal main clauses*

Kurripako is considered a VOS language. The negative marker is used as a sentential negative as in example (1). Negation appears as a preverbal element.

(1) Khenim li-ihnia-ka dzaawi.
NEG 3SGNF-eat- T/A tiger
'He doesn't eat tiger.'

In spite of speakers thinking of *khenim* as the prototypical marker that is used for negation, there are in fact very few instances in which this full form is attested outside of elicitation. In most cases, the variant *khen* is found and other markers may be added. Example (2) contrasts an affirmative sentence in (2a) with its negative counterpart (2b) which shows the shorter form. Focused elements appear before the verb, rendering the order FOC (NEG) VERB.

(2) a. Julio i-ito kenke-riku.
Julio 3SGN-go manioc.field-LOC
'Julio went to the field.' (focused subject)

b. Julio khen i-ito kenke-riku-hle.
Julio NEG 3SGN-go manioc.field-LOC-ALL
'Julio didn't go to the field.' (focused subject)

[1] The data has been collected in the villages of Victorino and Pavoni during various fieldtrips undertaken since June 2000 with funding from the Tinker foundation, University of Arizona Joint Anthropology and Linguistics research grant, National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement grant, University of Arizona Social and Behavioral Sciences Dissertation grant and the University of Western Ontario.

This negation strategy does not change with aspect and reality status, as some Southern Arawak languages do (for various examples see Michael, Rose this volume). Example (3) shows a negative irrealis construction.

(3) Khen nu-ito-tha.
NEG 1SG-go-IRR
'I almost didn't go.'

2.2. *Existentials and weather verbs*

Khenim ~ khen can also be used with various types of verbs. When used with an existential, it is very common for it to co-occur with the impersonal verb *pakapa* 'someone sees' as in (4a) and (4b).

(4) a. Khenim pa-kapa hure kenke.
NEG IMP-see many manioc.field
'There are not many manioc fields.'

b. Khen-tsa pa-kapa Julio li-pana-riku.
NEG-RES IMP-see Julio 3SGNF-house-LOC
'Julio is not in the house.'

This co-occurence is not obligatory as the negation can also be expressed without it as in (5).

(5) Khen hurre kenke.
NEG many manioc.field
'There are not many manioc fields.'

It is also used with weather verbs as in (6) and (7).

(6) Khen-tsa hamu-deka.
NEG-RES be.hot-T/A
'It is not hot.'

(7) Feekuwa khen-tsa iidza-deka.
yesterday NEG-RES rain-T/A
'Yesterday it didn't rain.'

According to the various examples presented before, we can say that standard negation is symmetric (Miestamo 2005). It is generally the first

element in the clause, though a focused element always appears before it. It can be shortened and combined with other elements such as the restrictive marker. It can also be emphasized, in the case of the existentials, by the impersonal verbal expression *pakapa* ‘someone sees’.

2.3. *Interrogatives*

This same negative marker is also used in negative interrogative constructions. In this case, the wh-markers are focused, so the negative markers follow it. Examples (8)-(11) give an overview of several different question types.

(8) Kuana khen pi-no-ka?
WH NEG 2SG-come-T/A
‘Why didn’t you come?’

(9) Kuaka khenli pi-a-ka Juan i-sro?
WH NEG 2SG-give-T/A Juan 3SGN-DAT
‘What didn’t you give Juan?’

(10) Kuaka khenli pi-taita pi-ihnia-ka?
WH NEG 2SG-able 2SG-eat-T/A
‘What can’t you eat?’

(11) Kuaka hliaha khenli na-inoa-ka?
WH DEM NEG 3PL-kill-T/A
‘Who did they not kill?’

Two forms of the negative are used in these sentences. One of them is the shortened form of *khenim*, and the other has an additional morpheme *–li*. The meaning of this morpheme is not clear, but it seems to be polyfunctional, appearing in various contexts such as with classifiers (see Aikhenvald 2007), with relative pronouns and in negative interrogatives. The shortened form combines with various clitics, including subordination markers.

2.4. *Clause linking constructions*

The same negation strategy is used for clause linking constructions. Various clause-linking structures are presented, including conditionals, relative clauses, and complement clauses. In each case, the negative carries the markers for tense and aspect and the type of clause and leaves the main verb with person marking only. Example (12) shows a

counterfactual conditional.

(12) Khen-kada-pia-ntha nu-ito estados unidos-hle …
NEG-COND-PAST-IRR 1SG-go United States-ALL
'If I hadn't gone to the United States …'

The negative element is present at the beginning of the clause. In this case, it carries the marker for conditional, past and irrealis while the verb is only left with the subject marker. This clitic hosting does not happen in non-clause linking structures as can be seen example (3) repeated here as (13).[2]

(13) Khen nu-ito-tha.
NEG 1SG-go-IRR
'I almost didn't go.'

Notice that in (13) the irrealis marker is not affixed to the negative, but rather to the verb, which is not the case in the conditional clause in (12). This can also be seen in as relative clauses such as the ones in (14) and (15).

(14) nu-ahne-pia-tsa aatsinali khen-dali-tsa idzaami-ka
1SG-know-PAST-RES man NEG-SUB-RES die-T/A
'I knew the man who didn't die'

(15) nu-ma nu-ihnia-ka kuutsi khen-dali-tsa i-ihnia-ka
1SG-want 1SG-eat-T/A pig NEG-SUB-RES 3SGN-eat-T/A
huure.
many
'I want to eat the pig that doesn't eat a lot'

In both examples, the negative has the restrictive marker *-tsa* as well as the subordination marker for relative clauses *-dali* . However, the verb is left with the person marker and a tense and aspect marker whose meaning remains uncertain.[3] In other examples, such as in the complement clause in (16) this marker does attach to the negative.

[2] This is an interesting use of the irrealis.

[3] This is under study and more data are needed to understand the meaning.

(16) Li-kaite khen-ka kuaka li-kopere-li.
3SGNF-say NEG-T/A WH 3SGNF-hunt-3SGNF
'He said he didn't hunt anything/he hunted nothing.'

It is important to figure out the various meanings of this marker since it seems to behave in various ways when it interplays with negation. In some cases it remains attached to the verb in clause linking constructions but in others it attaches to the negative.

In complement clauses the negative is positioned before the element over which it has scope, as can be seen in examples (18) and (19).

(18) Khen-tsa nukapa-deka ro-kotso-ka.
NEG-RES 1SG-see-T/A 3SGF-wash-T/A
'I didn't see her washing.'

(19) Nukapadeka khen-tsa ro-kotso-ka.
1SG-see-T/A NEG-RES 3SGF-wash-T/A
'I saw her not washing.'

In general, it appears that negation in clause linking constructions attracts most verbal markers except for person markers. The negative precedes the verb, as it does in standard negation.

2.5. *Negatives in Serial Verb constructions*

Serial verb constructions (SVC) are quite common in Kurripako-Baniwa, with as many as five verbs in one construction. In these constructions every verb has both person and tense and aspect markers. This can be seen in (20).

(20) Li-kaite a las diez nu-dia nu-nu.
3SGNF-say at ten 1SG-return 1SG-come
'He said, "At ten I will come back."'[4]

Negated SVCs will have the negative particle preceding the first verb as in (21).

(21) Khen-ka wa-taita wa-toloka-ka-ni.
NEG-T/A 1P-be.able.to 1P-shoot-T/A-3SGP
'We weren't able to shoot it.'

[4] Note the Spanish code-switch *a las diez* (at ten).

2.6. *Negative indefinites*

Available data indicates that negative indefinites are formed with the shortened form *khen* and the corresponding WH particle. This is common in other Arawak languages as well (for examples see Aikhenvald, Michael, Patte this volume) .

(22) Dzaawi khen kuaka li-kophere-li.
tiger NEG WH 3SGNF-hunt-3SGNF
'The tiger hunted nothing; The tiger didn't hunt anything.'

(23) Khen-tsa kuaka tio conejo, mendahliaha.
NEG-RES WH uncle rabbit say DEM
dzaawi li-sru.
tiger 3SGNF-DAT
'"Nothing uncle rabbit," the tiger said to him.'

Now let us turn to the other negation strategy, the privative marker *ma-*.

3. *The privative marker* ma-

The privative marker *ma-* (and its attributive counterpart *ka-*) derives stative verbs from nouns. These stative verbs take S_o markers, that is, they have the same subject markers as the P of transitive verbs (for more details see Danielsen and Granadillo 2008). Example (24) shows a noun, its privative derivation (25), and its attributive derivation (26).

(24) iipe 'meat'

(25) Meepe-ka hliaha aatsinali. (ma-iipe > meepe)
be.thin-T/A DEM man (PRIV-meat > thin)
'That man is thin.'

(26) Keepe-ka hliaha aatsinali (ka-iipe > keepe)
be.fat-T/A DEM man (ATT-meat > fat)
'That man is fat.'

These markers can be understood as having the meaning of *lacking* or *having* the noun in question, therefore their interpretation in this case as 'to be fat' (ie. to have meat) and 'to be thin' (ie. to lack meat). However, the privative also has a negative interpretation and is the preferred strategy for translating negative attributes in elicitation tasks as in (27b)

even though the use of the negative *khenim* is also acceptable as in (27c).

(27) a. Julio keepe-dali
Julio ATT.meat-T/A
'Julio is fat'

b. Julio meepe-dali,
Julio PRIV.meat-T/A
'Julio is not fat/Julio is thin'

c. Julio khen keepe-dali
Julio NEG ATT.meat-T/A
'Julio is not fat'

It may be that the alternation between these two strategies is linked to whether the predicate is viewed as inherent or temporary, or to the informational structural status of the elements in the clause. At the moment I do not have data that can clarify this.[5]

The privative marker *ma-*is also used in prohibitive constructions as in example (28).

(28) a. Pi-ihnia-tsa!
2SG-eat-RES
'Eat!

b. Ma-ihnia-tsa!
PRIV-eat-RES
'Don't eat!'

The use in prohibitives is exhaustive with all kinds of verbs, being exemplified in (28) with an active verb, in (29) with a non-derived stative verb, and in (30) with a derived stative verb.

(29) Ma-ako-tsa shaa!
PRIV-speak-RES 2PL
'Don't talk! (you pl.)'

(30) Me-erua-tsa phia!
PRIV-be.angry-RES 2SG
'Don't be angry! (you sg.)'

[5] I thank Lev Michael for this suggestion.

It is important to note the presence of the restrictive affix *–tsa* since this occurs very frequently in negative constructions, not only with the privative *ma-* but also with the particle *khen* as pointed out before.

4. *Standard Negation in other Northern Arawak languages*

It is important to see how standard negation and the use of the negative marker *khenim* in Kurripako compare to other Northern Arawak languages. In order to do this, I offer data from other sources on Wayuunaiki, Baniva and Yavitero, all languages spoken in Venezuela.

4.1. *Wayuunaiki (Guajiro)*

According to Mosonyi et al (2000a)[6] the most common negation strategy is the use of the verb *nnojolee* 'not be' and a subordinate marker *–in* on the second verb. Example (31) contrasts an affirmative and a negative sentence.

(31) a. Ekirajü-shi taya.
teach-M 1SG
'I (masc.) teach.'

b. Nnojoi-shi ekirajü-in taya.
not.be-M teach-SUB 1SG
'I (masc.) don't teach.'

This does not vary whether the analytic or synthetic conjugation is being used. Below is the same contrast with the same verb in synthetic conjugation.

(32) a. Te-kirajüin.
1SG-teach
'I teach.'

b. Nnojoi-shi te-kirajüin.
not.be-M 1SG-teach
'I teach (someone masc.).'

[6] All the data in this subsection is from the source cited. Format of the examples has been adapted to follow that of the article throughout, I follow the analysis as presented by the authors.

c. Nnojoi-sü te-kirajüin.
not.be-M 1SG-teach
'I teach (someone fem.).'

According to Mosonyi et al (2000a:371), the negative carries most of the verbal suffixes except for volition. This is different from Kurripako in that the negative carries (almost) all suffixes, including person.

4.2. *Baniva*

According to Socorro and Alvarez (2002), negation in Baniva is expressed by the particle *ya* before the verb and the verbal suffix *–pia*. Example (33) contrasts an affirmative and a negative sentence.

(33) a. Nuwèyá.
1SG.want
'I want.'

b. Ya nuwèya-pià.
NEG 1SG.want-NEG
'I don't want.'

This particle carries some aspect and tense morphemes as well as the subordinator. This is presented in examples (34)-(36).

(34) Ya-mia canta-pia yuwê.
NEG-PERF sing-NEG toucan
'The toucan doesn't sing anymore.'

(35) Ya-pásrià nutéruka.
NEG-FUT 1SG.cut
'I will not cut.'

(36) Ya-li núpa-pià, ya wenta-pia
NEG-REL come-NEG NEG buy-NEG
'The one who didn't come, didn't buy'

This construction is close to the Kurripako, only some tense and aspect suffixes and the subordinate affix are attached to the negative.

4.3. *Yavitero*

According to Mosonyi et al (2000b), negation in Yavitero is expressed

by the particle *játa* which precedes the verb.

(37) Játa nu-jlá kiá.
NEG 1SG-go there
'I don't go there.'

This particle may carry the aspect suffix and the relativizer, but not any person markers. Below are examples of imperfective, perfective and dependent clause negatives.

(38) Játa-sa nu-wíta nu-yánata.
NEG-IMP 1SG-know 1SG-write
'I don't know how to write yet.'

(39) Játa-na ni-játata.
NEG-PERF 3PL-work
'They don't work anymore.'

(40) Ji-má-ji játa-ye táteja nu-síwi.
2SG-hit-3SG NEG-PUR laugh 1SG-DAT
'Hit him so he doesn't laugh at me.'

These examples also show parallelism with the Kurripako examples, as the negative carries all aspect markers as well as any dependant clause markings but no person markers.

5. *Conclusions*

In the Ehe-Khenim dialect of the Kurripako-Baniwa continuum, there are two different negation strategies. One of them involves the negative marker *khenim* and its shortened form *khen* and the other involves the commonly-found privative Arawak morphological marker *ma-*. The negative marker *khenim* is used for most verbs and for clause linking construcions. It is positioned preverbally and focused elements antecede it. It attracts most tense and aspect markers when in clause linking constructions. This is very similar to negation strategies in Wayuunaiki, Baniva and Yavitero, all Northern Arawak languages spoken in Venezuela. The privative marker is used for stative verbs and for prohibitives, though stative verbs may also be negated with the negative marker *khenim*.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEGATION IN TARIANA: A NORTH ARAWAK PERSPECTIVE IN THE LIGHT OF AREAL DIFFUSION

ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD

1. *Preamble*

Markers of negation, and negative constructions, vary substantially even between closely related Arawak languages. Patterns of negation marking are particularly susceptible to contact-induced change. Tariana, a well-documented North Arawak language influenced by East Tucanoan languages, is a case in point.

Tariana is the only North Arawak language currently spoken within the multilingual linguistic area of the Vaupés River Basin, dominated by East Tucanoan languages, and characterized by obligatory societal multilingualism which follows the principle of linguistic exogamy: 'those who speak the same language as us are our brothers, and we do not marry our sisters'. A striking feature of the Vaupés linguistic area is a cultural inhibition against language mixing viewed in terms of borrowing forms. Long-term interaction based on institutionalized multilingualism between East Tucanoan languages and Tariana has resulted in the rampant diffusion of grammatical and semantic patterns (rather than forms) and calquing of categories (discussed in detail in my previous work, e.g. Aikhenvald 2002, 2003). A complex interaction of areal diffusion, genetic inheritance and independent innovation —whose net result goes beyond mere intertranslatability between languages in contact — accounts for the complexity of the Tariana grammar. Negation is a particularly complex area of the grammar; forms and patterns vary across dialects. This is what we address here.[1]

[1] This chapter, as all my previous work, is based upon information obtained through my immersion fieldwork with speakers of all existing dialects of Tariana (mostly the Wamiarikune of Santa Rosa and of Periquitos, with about 100 speakers in all). Tariana is highly endangered: no children are learning the language in the village of Santa Rosa, and just a few speak it in the village of Periquitos (more detail in Aikhenvald 2003: 18-24, 2002: 213-21; forthcoming). I have also worked with the dialect of the Kumandene subgroup of Tariana spoken by about thirty people in the village of Santa Terezinha on the Iauarí river, and analyzed all the existing materials on other dialects (see the survey in the Appendix to Aikhenvald 2003; Aikhenvald forthcoming). The Kumandene dialect is not mutually intelligible with the Wamiarikune dialect. Speakers communicate with each other in Tucano. An overview of previous work on Tariana is in Aikhenvald (2003). Note that the monograph by Ramirez (2001a) contains numerous inaccuracies concerning Tariana and many other Arawak languages. His claim that Tariana is a dialect of Baniwa

I start, in §2, with a brief outline of the typological properties, and the verb structure, in Tariana, focussing on the Modern Tariana of Santa Rosa. In §3, I discuss Tariana negation in declarative clauses. In §4, I turn to the negative imperative. Derivational negation is discussed in §5, while §6 focuses on the inherently negative lexemes and a negative particle. The ways of saying 'no', as a pro-clause, are addressed in §7. In §8, I discuss dialectal variation in Tariana negation, and the negative forms attested in early sources on Tariana.[2]

Negation patterns and negative forms in Tariana are then compared to those in closely related North Arawak languages from the Wapuí subgroup (Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako, Guarequena and Piapoco), and in other North Arawak languages of the Rio Negro area. We then contrast Tariana negation with that in the neighbouring East Tucanoan languages (§9). The Appendix contains a list of negative forms in North Arawak laguages in the Rio Negro and adjacent areas, and a list of sources on these.

2. *Verb classes, verb structure and predicate types in Tariana*

Tariana is a polysynthetic agglutinating language with some fusion. Its head marking properties are inherited from the proto-language, while dependent marking has been acquired by areal diffusion from East Tucanoan languages (see Aikhenvald 2002). For instance, unlike in most other Arawak languages, grammatical relations in Tariana are marked by cases on a nominative-oblique basis, calquing an East Tucanoan pattern. Constituent order depends on discourse. Word order within some constituents is fixed and within others depends on which constituent is in focus.

Constituent negation in Tariana is limited (we return to it in §6): this is in contrast to a few other Arawak languages of the area, such as Guarequena, Warekena of Xié and Baré. Most frequently, only the predicate is negated. To understand the principles of negation marking, we first address (2.1) verb classes, (2.2) verb structure, and (2.3) predicate types.

2.1. *Verb classes*

(based on limited work with two speakers of Tariana with restricted competence in the language) is misleading. This is tantamount to saying that French is a dialect of Spanish.

[2] I am grateful to all my teachers of Tariana, the Britos of Santa Rosa and the Muniz of Periquitos, and to the Lopez and Martins families from Santa Terezinha, for teaching me their remarkable language. Thanks are equally due to R. M. W. Dixon, and Kris Stenzel for helpful comments and insights, and to W. F. H. Adelaar for sharing and discussing Natterer's materials with me.

Every verbal root in Tariana is either prefixed or prefixless. Prefixed verbs can be transitive, ambitransitive (A = S_a or O = S_a) or active intransitive (S_a). Prefixless verbs are typically stative intransitive (of S_o type); some are A = S_o ambitransitives. A prefixed transitive verb is shown in (1), and a prefixed active intransitive verb is in (2).[3]

(1) Hema ipe nu-hña-ka.
tapir INDEFINITE+meat 1SGA-eat-REC.PAS.VIS
'I have eaten tapir's meat.'

(2) Nu-nu nu-maɾa-ka.
1SGS_a-come 1SGS_a-arrive.ashore-REC.PAS.VISUAL
'I have come arriving ashore.'

A prefixless stative S_o verb is shown in (3). Its subject, 'I', takes the subject case. (A, S_a and S_o in Tariana require the same case marking).

(3) Kaɾu-pu-mahka nuha.
be.scared-AUG-REC.PAS.NONVIS I(subject)
'I am very scared.'

Transitivity classes show correlations with the presence or absence of prefixes. All transitive, most ambitransitive and the few ditransitive verbs are prefixed. All active verbs (for instance, verbs of motion) are prefixed. All verbs denoting states are prefixless. A few prefixless verbs are ambitransitive, e.g. *hui* 'like (food)', *nhesiɾi* 'like (not food)'. Each verb belongs to just one class — either prefixless or prefixed.

2.2. *Verb structure*

The structure of a verbal word in Tariana is fairly complex. A simple predicate has one prefix position, up to nine suffix positions and over ten clitic positions. Most enclitics are 'floating', that is, they attach either to the predicate or to any constituent which is in focus (see Aikhenvald 2003: 57-60, 253-4).

A verbal word in Tariana can take only one prefix. This can be either a personal cross-referencing prefix, or the negator *ma-* or the relativizing

[3] This is ultimately the reflection of the Proto-Arawak split-S system: see Aikhenvald (1999, 2003)

prefix *ka-* (the few words that contain two prefixes are mentioned in §5). If a prefixed verb is negated, cross-referencing prefixes are omitted and gender, number and person distinctions neutralized. (4) is the negated variant of (1). A personal pronoun can be added to disambiguate such a sentence. The negative markers are underlined.

(4) Hema ipe ma-hña-kade-ka.
tapir INDEFINITE+meat NEG-eat-NEG-REC.PAS.VISUAL
'(I) have not eaten tapir's meat.'

If a prefixless verb is negated, just the suffix *-kade* is used, as in (5), the negative counterpart of (3):

(5) Karu-kade-pu-mahka nuha.
be.scared-NEG-AUG-REC.PAS.NONVIS I(subject)
'I was well and truly not scared.'

To form a relative clause, the prefix *ka-* replaces the cross-referencing prefixes:

(6) kawhi ka-ɨra
manioc.flour REL-drink
'(someone) drinking manioc flour'

2.3. *Predicate Types*

In addition to simple verbs, Tariana has a variety of complex predicates which include passive, admirative, and a few more structures with modal meanings (see Aikhenvald 2003: 458-9). Only some of these can be negated. There is a complex set of contiguous serial verb constructions consisting of several grammatical and phonological words. Each has to have the same subject marking. An example of a positive serial verb with a directional meaning is in (2).

As expected, each serial verb has one polarity value: one cannot negate components of a serial verb separately (this is one of definitional properties of serial verbs: see Aikhenvald 2003: 423-30). Importantly for our discussion here, the negative prefix *ma-* and the concomitant suffix *-kade* attach to the first verb in the serial verb construction imparting negative value to the whole construction: (7) is the negated counterpart of (2). The personal prefix appears only on the second verb.

(7) Ma-nu-kade nu-mara-ka.
NEG-come-NEG 1SGS$_a$-arrive.ashore-REC.PAS.VIS
'I have not come arriving ashore.'

A member of any word class can occupy the predicate slot in Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003: 81). Verbs express many more categories than non-verbs when used as predicates (and have to be nominalized if used as arguments). Members of word classes other than verbs cannot be used in commands.

3. *Negation in Tariana declarative clauses*

Three patterns of negation in declarative clauses are to be distinguished:
- negating a non-future declarative clause with a verbal or non-verbal predicate (§3.1),
- negating a future declarative clause with a verbal predicate (§3.2), and
- negating a copula clause (§3.3).

Clauses with non-verbal predicates cast in future cannot take negative morphology: they have to be rephrased to be negated. Some prefixless verbs cannot be negated. Among these are *iɾa* 'need, must', *khewa* 'be accustomed to', and a few predicates with deprecatory meaning, e.g. *puthepu* 'be in a bad way, do in vain'.

3.1. *Negating a non-future declarative clause*

To negate a simple verbal word in Tariana, a prefix *ma-* and a suffix *-kade* attaches to the root of any prefixed verb: see (4), in §2. Any prefixless verb takes just the suffix *-kade*: see (5), in §2. So does a member of any other word class in the predicate slot. In (8), a noun *nawiki* 'person, Indian' appears in the predicate slot:

(8) Duha nawiki-kade-pidana
she person-NEG-REM.PAS.REPD
ñamu-pidana duha.
evil.spirit-REM.PAS.REPD she
'She was not a person, she was an evil spirit.'

Serial verb constructions take only one marker of negation (this is similar to Kurripako: see Granadillo this volume, and to Baniwa Hohôdene: Taylor 1991, Bezerra 2005.) Since cross-referencing prefixes cannot take the negative prefix *ma-*, and the prefix *ma-* appears on the

first verb in a serial construction, this verb 'loses' its cross-referencing prefixes (as in (7)).

Thus, the components of a negated serial verb do not get identical cross-referencing, unlike positive serial verbs. Since the components cannot be negated separately, ambiguity may arise. Example (9) contains a negated causative serial verb construction ('order-kill'). It can mean either 'he did not order (them) to kill many (fish)', or 'he ordered (them) not to kill many fish (i.e. to kill only a few)'. In the context of the story, the second reading turns out to be more appropriate: there was an explicit order to kill some fish, but not to kill too many. Outside this context either reading would be acceptable. The serial verb construction is in brackets.

(9) Hanupe-se [mara-kade-ka
many-CONTRAST NEG+order-NEG-REC.PAS.VIS
dinu].
3SGNF+kill
'He did not order (them) to kill many (fish).' or 'He ordered not to kill many (just a few).'

If a complex predicate (different from a serial verb) is negated, the negator usually goes onto the first verb in the predicate, just like with serial verbs. A negated complex predicate containing the complementizer *kwe* 'that, how' is illustrated in (10). No constituent can intervene between the components, and the order of components is fixed:

(10) Kwe ma-dia-kade-pidana
that/how NEG-return-NEG-REM.PAS.REPD
na-yeka.
3PL-can/be.able
'They did not know how to return.'

A complex predicate with the meaning of 'do a little bit' consists of the same verb repeated twice, the first one taking the tense and evidentiality markers, and the second one accompanied by the suffix *-kawya*. If it is negated, the negative marker goes onto the first occurrence of the verb:

(11) Ketemi-kade-naka ketemi-kawya.
remain-NEG-PRES.VIS remain-SMALL.EXTENT
'Nothing remains, not one little bit.'

An epistemic complex predicate meaning ‘maybe’ consists of two verbs repeated twice, whereby only the second verb takes the tense-evidentiality specifications. The predicate is strictly contiguous, and the order of words is fixed. If it is negated, the negator goes onto each verb. This is a rare instance of marking negation twice in Tariana:

(12) Ma-nu-kade ma-nu-kade-sika.
NEG-come-NEG NEG-come-NEG-REC.PAS.INFERRED
‘He is not coming (we infer).’

A negated verb can be nominalized with classifiers in their derivational function (see further discussion, with different examples, in Aikhenvald 2003: 96):

(13) ma-mia-kade-pua
NEG-float-NEG-DER.CL:WATERWAY
‘river on which nothing floats’

A negative nominalization created this way offers an option of negating an argument without negating the whole clause.

3.2. *Negating a future declarative clause with a verbal predicate*

Similarly to neighbouring East Tucanoan languages, Tariana has two positive future forms, *-mhade* ‘uncertain future’ and *-de* ‘certain future’ (restricted to first person subjects), in addition to the intentional modality marked with the suffix *-kasu*. Future negative clauses show neutralization for the two futures and for the intentional; that is, (14) is the negative counterpart of the positive forms in (15), (16) and (17):

(14) (Nuha) ma-nu-kásu.
I NEG-come-FUT.NEG
‘I won’t/shall not come, am not about to come.’

(15) Nu-nu-kasú.
1SG-come-INTN
‘I am about to come, I intend to come.’

(16) Nu-nu-de.
1SG-come-FUT.CERT
‘I will come (definitely).’

(17) Nu-nu-mhade.
1SG-come-FUT.UNCERT
'Maybe I will come.'

The paradigmatic relationship between negation, future and the intentional modality is shown in Table 1. That fewer categories are expressed in negative than in positive clauses is congruent with predictions in Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998).

Table 1. *Neutralization of future, and of intentional modality in negative clauses*

MARKING IN POSITIVE CLAUSES	MEANING	MARKING IN NEGATIVE CLAUSES
-de	definite future (1st person)	*ma-…-kasu*
-mhade	uncertain future (1st person) any future (non-1st person)	
-kasú	intentional	

When a future form of a prefixless verb is negated it takes the suffix *-kásu*, distinct from the intentional marker *-kasú* (en enclitic). The negative future form of a prefixless verb *putɑa* 'be wet, make wet' is in (18):

(18) Wha iya putʃa-kásu.
we rain be.wet/make.wet-FUT.NEG
'Rain won't make us wet.'

In my corpus,[4] about 90% of occurrences of the negative future of prefixless verbs are accompanied with the emphatic negative particle *ne* (see §6). The prefixless verb *hamiya* 'be heavy' appears in the future negative form in (19), accompanied by *ne* 'emphatic negator' which strengthens the negative meaning and can be translated as 'not at all, not one bit':

[4] The corpus of Wamiarikune Tariana (Santa Rosa and Periquitos) contains c. 200,000 words.

(19) Yaɾusi<u>sede</u>-ka itawhya <u>ne</u>
goods NEG.EXI-SUB canoe NEG.EMP
hamiya-<u>kásu.</u>
be.heavy-FUT.NEG
'If there are no goods, a canoe won't be heavy at all.'

That the emphatic negative *ne* is so pervasive in future negative clauses involving prefixless verbs may be motivated by phonological reasons. The intentional marker *-kasù* is a clitic, and it carries a secondary stress which is weaker than the primary stress falling on the root and affixes (see Aikhenvald 2003: 37-9, on stress in Tariana). Stress is the only means of distinguishing a positive *hamíya-kasù* 'is going to be heavy' and a negative *hamiya-kásu* 'won't be heavy'. The emphatic negative *ne* serves to ensure the negative meaning is expressed with clarity. We will see in §9.1 that the emphatic negative *ne* is shared by a number of languages in the area. Its use in Tariana may have been enhanced by its occurrence in Tucano.

Negation of future clauses shows further complexity. The future marker *-mhade* — uncertain future with 1st person and the only future with nonfirst person (Aikhenvald 2003: 320-1) — can occur with a verb negated with a non-future negative suffix *-kade* to indicate deontic modality ('obligation') in future. This use agrees with the 'deontic' meaning for *-mhade.* This is illustrated in (20).

(20) Kaɾu-<u>kade</u>-mhade nhumeta.
be.scared-NEG-FUT.UNCERT 1SG+feel
'I should not feel scared (but I do).'

In contrast, *kaɾu-kásu nhumeta* (be.scared-NEG.FUT 1SG+feel) 'I will not feel scared', with the negative future *-kásu,* has a future meaning. The sequence *-kade-mhade* with a prefixed verb 'work' has a deontic meaning 'you should not be working':

(21) Phia ikasu-nuku <u>me</u>hpani-<u>kade</u>-mhade.
you today-TOP.NON.A/S NEG+work-NEG-FUT
'You should not be working today (since today is Good Friday).'

The deontic *-kade-mhade* and the negative future *-kásu* are reminiscent of a similar distinction in Tucano (Aikhenvald 2002: 134) and may have developed in Tariana as a result of intensive language contact (see §9.2).

Clauses with non-verbal predicates can take positive future markers but cannot be negated. If a negative meaning is to be expressed, they have to be rephrased. The negative equivalent of non-verbal identity clauses in (22) and (23) is a verbal clause in (24), with the verb *-a* 'become':

(22) Nawiki-mhade diha.
person-FUT he
'He will be a person.'

(23) Nawiki-kasu diha.
person-INTN he
'He intends/is going to be a person.'

(24) Nawiki ma:-kasu.
person NEG+become-NEG.FUT
'He is not going to become a person/won't be a person.'

Verbless clauses, with a noun, adjective, adverb, or demonstrative in the predicate slot, can express identity, equation, and a number of other meanings (Aikhenvald 2003: 497-8). Existential, locational, and especially possessive meanings are expressed with a prefixless copula.

3.3. *Negating a copula clause*

Prefixless copula *alia* 'be' in Tariana is used for marking existence, location and possession. Its negative counterpart is *sede.* Other copulas are either prefixed verbs (e.g. *-a* 'become', *-dia* 'become again'), or prefixless verbs, e.g. *hiku* 'be similar'. They are negated in the same way as other verbs of these classes (see §§3.1-2).

The positive prefixless verb *alia* 'be, exist' is illustrated in (25), and its negative counterpart *sede* is shown in (26) (also see the first clause in (19)).

(25) Nese-nuku itʃiɾi hanupe alia-pidana.
then-TOP.NON.A/S game many EXI-REM.PAS.REPD
'Then there was (said to be) a lot of game.'

(26) Inipe sede-ka wa-na.
child NEG.EXI-REC.PAS.VIS 1PL-O
'We have no children', or 'There are no children to us.'

A clause containing *sede* can be nominalized. For instance, *dithi sede* (3SGNF+eye NEG.EXI) 'his eye does not exist' can be nominalized with *-ite* 'animate classifier' as *dithi sedite* 'the one whose eye does not exist, eyeless person'. Such a nominalized form is a way of negating a constituent without negating the whole clause. An example is in (27): this is from a story about an evil spirit who used to steal people's eyes (widespread in the area, and, in all likelihood, of Tucanoan origin):

(27) Di-thi-sedite-pasi
3SGNF-eye-NEG.EXI+CL:ANIM-AUG
di-wa-kha di-a-pidana.
3SGNF-enter.jungle-AWAY 3SGNF-go-REM.PAS.REPD
'The big eyeless (man) went away (into the jungle) (it is said).'

The copulas *alia* and *sede* are somewhat atypical compared to other prefixless verbs. They do not occur in serial verb constructions. Neither can they be used in commands.

The form *alia* in Tariana does not have any cognates in Arawak languages, and bears a segmental similarity to Desano *ári*) copula 'be', 'have' (Miller 1999, Aikhenvald 2002: 156). The etymology of *sede* is unclear. We will see in §9.2 that most East Tucanoan languages have a negative existential and possessive verb. We hypothesize that the presence of a suppletive negative copula in Tariana could be the result of Tucanoan influence. This is corroborated by the fact that inherently negative existential verbs are absent from two of Tariana's closest relatives in the Wapuí subgroup, Baniwa-Kurripako and Guarequena. Piapoco has an inherently negative existential verb; however, unlike Tariana, it is partially similar to the declarative negator (see §9.1 and Table 3 in the Appendix).

East Tucanoan languages have two inherently negative verbs, e.g. Tucano *marí* 'not exist' and *moó* 'not have'. The two verbs are derived from the same underlying root *bãá-: marí* has an underlying form *bãá-di* (not.be-MEDIAL) while *moó* has an underlying form *bãá-o* (not.be-CAUS) (see Ramirez 1997: 168-9). In Tariana *sede* is used in both senses: 'not be' and 'not have' (see §9.2).

4. *Negative imperative*

Negative imperative (or prohibitive)[5] is marked with the adverb *mhaĩda* (occasionally pronounced as *mhẽda* by younger speakers). This form was grammaticalized from the quantifier *mhaĩda* 'few'. It is used with imperative verbs with second person, as in (28), and with first person plural, as in (29):

(28) Mhaĩda pi-ni!
PROH 2SG-do
'Don't do (this)!'

(29) Mhaĩda wa wehpani ikasu-nuku!
PROH 1PL+go 1PL+work today-TOP.NON.A/S
'Let's not go work today!'

Prefixless verbs cannot occur in a positive imperative construction. However, all of them — with the exception of the copulas *alia* 'exist' and *sede* 'not exist' — can occur in negative commands. (30) illustrates a negative command with the verb *munumeni* 'mutter, speak indistinctly':

(30) Mhaĩda munumeni!
PROH mutter
'Don't mutter!'

Prohibitive clauses can be considered 'impoverished' compared with their positive imperative counterparts. Positive imperatives distinguish distance in space and time. No such distinctions are found in prohibitives. But, similarly to the positive imperative, prohibitives occur with *-pida,* a marker of a command 'by proxy'. The late Cândido, the most traditional speaker of the language, told us not to try and eat a flower I found at the road side. His command was relayed to me by his son Jovino:

(31) Mhaĩda-pida pi-ñha-kaɾu.
PROH-IMP.SEC 2SG-eat-PURP.VIS
'This is not for you to eat (I am saying this Cândido told us so).'

[5] See the typological discussion in Aikhenvald (2010). The analysis of the Tariana imperatives and their origins is in Aikhenvald (2008).

The prohibitive *mhaĩda* can also be used with the future *-mhade* in deontic meaning ‘one shouldn’t do so and so’, as in (32):

(32) Mhaĩda phia hĩ kalisi-nuku
PROH you this story-TOP.NON.A/S
pi-kalite-mhade.
2SG-tell-FUT
‘You should not tell this story.’

The construction *mhaĩda-pida* is also used to negate a command to a third person:

(33) Mhaĩda-pida du-kalite!
PROH-IMP.SEC 3SGF-tell
‘She is not to not tell (the secret story)!’

In addition, *mhaĩda-pida* is used in the meaning of negative purposive, ‘so that something does not happen’, as in (34).

(34) Diha-da-nuku
ART-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S
dhita-pidana dhinuru-se
3SGNF+take-REM.PAS.RPT 3SGNF+neck-LOC
mhaĩda-pida niwhã-niki diha
PROH-IMP.SEC3SGNF+bite-COMP he
adaita.
snake
‘He put the (finger) into its throat, in such a way that the snake couldn’t bite it off.’

This use of prohibitive and secondhand imperative is reminiscent of Tucano (see Ramirez 1997: 147, and discussion in Aikhenvald 2002: 165), and is most likely a calque from Tucano.

Mhaĩda is the only prohibitive form in traditional Tariana. Some innovative speakers occasionally use the Tucano-influenced imperative *-ya* with a non-future negative form to mark prohibitive or negative obligation (see Aikhenvald 2008). This usage is rejected by all the traditional speakers.

5. *Derivational negation*

The negative prefix *ma-* is a widespread derivational negator in Tariana. Etymologically, it goes back to Proto-Arawak **ma-*, the negative

counterpart of the Proto-Arawak relative-attributive **ka-* (see Aikhenvald 2002: 305).

Most prefixed — that is, obligatorily possessed — nouns denoting body parts, and a few kinship nouns, can take *ka-* 'relative, attributive' and *ma-* 'negative' to express possession of a body part or of a kinship relation, or the lack of it. They are nominalized with a classifier, e.g. (35), from *du-sa-niɾi* (3SGf-spouse-M) 'her husband':

(35)	ka-sa-niɾite	ma-sa-niɾite
	REL-spouse-M+CL:ANIM	NEG-spouse-M+CL:ANIM
	'a married (woman)'	'an unmarried (woman)'

And from *di-sa-do* (with a variant *di-sa-du*) (3SGNF-spouse-FEM) 'his wife':

(36)	ka-sa-du-ite	ma-sa-du-ite
	REL-spouse-F-CL:ANIM	NEG-spouse-F-CL:ANIM
	'a married (man)'	'an unmarried (man)'

Similar examples with body part nouns include:

(37)	ne:ɾi ka-sawite	ne:ɾi ma-sawite
	deer REL-horn+NCL:ANIM	deer NEG-horn+NCL:ANIM
	'deer with horns'	'deer without horns'
	kepite	mepite
	REL+flesh+NCL:ANIM	NEG+flesh+NCL:ANIM
	'fat, fleshy'	'thin, emaciated'

A number of stative verbs which do not take any personal prefixes have counterparts with derivational prefixes ka- and ma-, e.g. (38):

(38)	ñapu khewaka-puna
	spring REL+*deep-CL:RIVER
	'a shallow spring'

ñapu mhewaka-puna
spring NEG+*deep-CL:RIVER
'a deep spring'

Generally, a verbal word in Tariana can take only one prefix. In just two instances, this is not the case. The root *-wĩta*, likely to have been borrowed from Portuguese *vender* 'sell', appears in two prefixed transitive verbs — *-ka-wĩta* 'pay' and *-ma-wĩta* 'borrow'. The derivational negator *ma-* and its positive counterpart *ka-* have effectively fused with the root, and the root containing these prefixes takes cross-referencing prefixes before them, e.g. *di-kawĩta* 'he pays', *di-mawĩta* 'he owes'.

The derivational negator *ma-* appears with a few roots with negative meanings which do not have a counterpart with the attributive *ka-*, e.g. *meɾi* (NEG+blood) 'get weak, emaciated', and *ma-kaɾe* (NEG-breath) 'breathless, tired'. It also derives a number of inherently negative predicates where the root does not occur in any other context, e.g. *mahyuna, manhina* 'be difficult', *ma:pi* '(physically) tired, exhausted'.

The prefix *ma-* is also used to negate participles whose positive form contains the prefix *ka-*. A pair of examples, with a positive participle marked with *ka-* and its negative counterpart with *ma-*, is in (39):

(39) itʃìɾi ka-inu
game REL-kill
'the one who kills game'

itʃìɾi ma-inu
game REL.NEG-kill
'the one who does not kill game'

Participles are used as predicates of relative clauses (Aikhenvald 2003: 185, 460-1). They have a number of nominal properties (such as gender, and nominal tense), and can be considered a subclass of nouns.

6. *Inherently negative lexemes, and a negative particle*

Inherently negative lexemes in Tariana are mostly predicates. None of them can take personal prefixes. Just one, *hãida* 'I don't know', can be used as a clause on its own, and constitutes a separate word class. Inherently negative lexemes which contain no overt negator are the negative existential/possessive copula *sede* (discussed in §3.2), and *hãida* 'I don't know'. Other inherently negative lexemes contain negative morphemes. These are: *hyu-kade* 'not be; not appear' (containing the declarative negative suffix *-kade* discussed in §3.1) with a future counterpart *hyukásu*; *ma:kwa* 'without talking, quietly'; *ma:kuya*

'shut up!' (containing the negative prefix *ma-* discussed in §5); *masakade* 'not be enough' (containing the negative prefix *ma-* and the negative suffix *-kade*; see §3.1*)*; *pukasu* 'not at all' (containing the future negative suffix *-kasu* discussed in §3.2), and also *kuɾipua* '(there is) nothing, not at all'.

The form *ma:kuya* is etymologically cognate to Baniwa of Içana *ma:ku-dza* (NEG+speak-IMP) 'do not talk, shut up' (note that *dz* in some Baniwa dialects, such as Hohôdene, regularly corresponds to Tariana *y*, e.g. Baniwa *dzawi*, Tariana *yawi* 'jaguar'). The combination of a prefix *ma-* and a suffix *-dza* is a normal way of forming prohibitives in Baniwa and in Kurripako (see Granadillo, this volume, Bezerra 2005, Aikhenvald 2008, Taylor 1991). The Tariana form *ma:kuya* could be either a loan from a dialect of Baniwa in which Tariana *y* corresponds to *y* (and not to *dz*), for instance, Kumandene Kurripaco, or an archaic expression. Some speakers of Tariana (e.g. the late Cândido Brito) dismiss this form as a Baniwa loan.

The form *kuɾipua* consists of the negator *kuɾi* attested in varieties of Kuripako (see an overview in Bezerra 2012: 69, and Granadillo, this volume) and an archaic emphatic *-pua* (*-pu* in Modern Tariana).[6]

The negative particle proclitic *ne* is used in a number of contexts: as a constituent negator, as the only negator in a clause, and also in an emphatic double negative construction. This use of this particle mirrors the Tucano patterns.

In clauses with a negated predicate, *ne* negates pronouns such as *kwana* 'who' and *kwaka* 'what', and number word 'one' (which is often used in an indefinite meaning). This is a strategy for negative pronouns in Tariana. In (40), *ne-kwana* is used on its own as a response to a question:

(40) Question: Kwana-nihka di-nu?
who-PAS.VIS.INT
'Who has come?'

Answer: ne kwana
NEG who
'No one.'

[6] Jovino Brito, a highly proficient but innovative speaker, used to apply assimilation and have an alternative pronunciation of *kuɾipua* as *kuɾupua* in the 1990s and early 2000s (Aikhenvald 2003: 413). At present, he tends to shorten the vowel sequence *ua* to *a* shifting stress to the last syllable and pronouncing the form as *kuɾupá* alongside more generally used *kuɾipua*.

Ne is used as the only predicate negator only if followed by an impersonal verb. The meaning is 'impossible to VERB', e.g. *ne pa-ka-niki* (NEG IMPERS-see-COMP) 'impossible to see', and the following expression in (41):

(41) Hipa-nuku ne pa-nu-niki.
rapids-TOP.NON.A/S NEG IMPERS-come-COMP
'It was impossible to come (near) the rapids.'

The particle *ne* can also be used as a negative response. That *ne* is used as the only negator in the clause in limited circumstances may be indicative of its recent origins: see §9.1.

Negation can be marked twice in the same predicate, to make it sound more categorical. Then the negative proclitic *ne* appears in front of a negated predicate (or on the first component of a serial verb construction), as in (19) and in (42). Similarly to all the proclitics in Tariana, *ne* can form an independent phonological word, as in (19), if it is emphasized.

(42) Di-na du-wana-tha-pidana
3SGNF-O3SGf-call-FRU-REM.PAS.REPD
ne-ma-dia-kade-pidana.
NEG.EMP-NEG-return-NEG-REM.PAS.REPD
'She called him in vain, he DID NOT come.'

This 'double' negative construction in Tariana is very similar to what we find in Tucano.

In East Tucanoan languages a clause can contain two negatives, to convey a strongly negative meaning. In (43), from Tucano, negative particle *neê* negates the pro-form 'one', and the verbal suffix *-ti-* negates the verb. Similarly, in (44), from Tariana, *ne* 'negative' negates *paita* 'one', and a combination of a negative prefix plus a negative suffix negates the verb.

Tucano

(43) Neê ni'kɨ́ eta-ti-ámi.
NEG one+CL:ANIM come-NEG-REC.PAS.VIS.3SGNF
'No one came.'

Tariana

(44) [Ne paita] ma-nu-kade-ka.
NEG one+CL:ANIM NEG-come-NEG-REC.PAS.VIS

'No-one came.'

The Tucano particle *neê* can co-occur with a negated verb, to express particularly strong negation, as in (45) (Ramirez 1997: 154). Tariana *ne* is rather similar (see (19) and (42)).

Tucano

(45) Neê ~~ɨ~~a-tí-sa'.
NEG want-NEG-PRES.NONVIS.nonthird.p
'(I) do not want anything at all.'

This particle can be used as a one-word strong negative reply, both in Tariana and in Tucano:

Tucano

(46) Eta-á-ti? neê!
arrive-REC.PAS.VIS-INT NEG
'Are they coming? No, not at all!'

Tariana

(47) Na-nu-nihka? ne!
3PL-come-REC.PAS.VIS.INT NEG
'Are they coming? No, not at all!'

The origin of the particles *neê* (Tucano) and *ne* (Tariana) is unclear. However, given the similarity in form and in usage between Tariana and Tucano, and the absence of similar patterns in Baniwa-Kurripako and in Piapoco, we can hypothesize that Tucano has influenced these usages of the Tariana *ne*. A negative marker with a dental nasal is attested in many languages of the area (see §9.1), and also in Nheêngatú *nê* and its variants (Stradelli 1929: 575). (Contrary to Ramirez 1997: 168, it is almost certainly coincidental that Portuguese has a negative marker of similar form *nem* 'neither, nor, not even'.)[7]

7. *How to say 'no' in Tariana*

Tariana has a variety of ways of phrasing a negative answer to a question, or as a negative response to a command. The particle *ne* is one of these: this is an emphatic negator, 'no, no way!', as in (48). The

[7] The occasional occurrence of Portuguese *nem* in Tariana, is restricted to innovative and not very proficient speakers (Aikhenvald 2002: 182).

inherently negative *hyukade* can be used as a general negative reaction or response.

There is yet another strategy for negative answers to questions. To say something like 'I am not really doing what you are asking me about', the negative form of the verb 'do' is often used. (48) consists of a question: an evil spirit in disguise asks a man floating in a dangerous lake why he is doing so. The man answers in the negative:

(48) Kwe pi-ni pi-ɾahta-nha?
how 2SG-do 2SG-float-PRES.VIS.INT
Ma-ni-kade-naka.
NEG-do-NEG-PRES.VIS
'Why are you floating?' (asked the spirit) 'I am not (literally, I am not doing)' (said the man) (in fact he was not floating: he was trying to drown himself).

Or a negated form of the verb used in the question can occur in the answer:

(49) Kwaka-nuku du-sape-nihka?
what-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGf-speak-PAS.VIS.INT
Duha ma-sape-kade-ka.
she NEG-speak-NEG-REC.PAS.VIS
'What did she say? Nothing (lit. she did not say).'

Both techniques are shared with Tucano (see Aikhenvald 2002: 135). No other Arawak language of the area has such pattern of negative response. This suggests that it is likely to result from areal diffusion.

If a question is asked in a negative form, a negative answer will be given to confirm the negation, as in (50). Here, *ne* is also used as an emphatic negative response 'no! not at all'.

(50) Tupialinuma-peni ma-nu-kade-nihka? Ne!
Periquitos-PL:ANIM 3PL-come-PAS.VIS.INT NEG
'Have the people from Periquitos not arrived? Not at all!'

A positive answer would be:

(51) Na-nu-ka-sita.
3PL-come-REC.PAS.VIS-COMP
'They have arrived indeed.'

These techniques are also shared with Tucano.

A negative interjection *aha* can be used as a negative response. Kumandene Tariana have a corresponding form *a'a* while the Hohôdene Baniwa use *ohõ* (Neusa Lopez, p.c.). Interestingly, the Tariana refer to the Baniwa as *Ũhũ-nawiki* (literally, people of ũhũ) thus using the negative response in the exonym for the people.

8. *Negation across time and space: the dialects of Tariana, past and present*

Tariana used to be a continuum of numerous dialects (one for each of several hierarchically organized clans: see Aikhenvald 2003, for a discussion). The major dialect still actively spoken is that of the Wamiaɾikune, traditionally one of the lowest ranking clans.[8] The outline of negation presented this far reflects the variety of Wamiaɾikune of Santa Rosa as spoken nowadays. A combination of a suffix and a prefix widely used for negating prefixed verbs in Tariana is rather unusual in the context of other North Arawak languages (see §9.1). This pattern is by no means pervasive in other dialectal varieties.

The dialect of Periquitos has the same set of negative forms and patterns used in that of Santa Rosa.[9] In addition, there is a form of emphatic verbal negation 'not at all, really not' marked just with the suffix *-maka*, without replacing the cross-referencing prefixes with the negative prefix *ma-*, e.g. *wa-kwisa-ka-maka-nuka* (1PL-scold-DECL-NEG-PRES.VIS) 'we are not at all scolding'; *hanipa-maka* (big+CL:OPEN.SPACE-NEG) 'not much at all'.

In the Kumandene of Tariana, the suffix *-kade* or *-de* is the only means of marking negation on verbs of all types, e.g. Kumandene *li-nu-kade* (3SGNF-come-NEG), Santa Rosa *ma-nu-kade* (NEG-come-NEG) 'he does not come'. The future negator is *-katse*, e.g. *nu-ma-katse* (1SG-sleep-NEG.FUT) 'I won't sleep'. The prefix *ma-* does not occur on inflected verbs as a declarative negator. This is also the case in an

[8] A comparison between various dialects suggests that the linguistic diversity within the Tariana continuum was comparable to the differences between various dialects of Portuguese, Spanish and Galician. The variety of Periquitos, also from the Wamiaɾikune, is mutually intelligible with that of Santa Rosa. In contrast, the variety of Santa Terezinha is not.

[9] In the Periquitos variety, the morpheme *-kade/-kede* sometimes behaves as a floating clitic: for instance, in complex predicates of a 'quasi-serial verb construction' type (as in (9) above) the negation goes onto the subordinator, e.g. *ne-kwe-kede di-ni di-yeka* (NEG-how-NEG 3SGNF-do 3SGNF-can/be.able) 'he did not know what to do'.

archaic variety of Tariana spoken by Maria Sanchez, the wife of the late Cândido Brito.[10]

The Kumandene Tariana of Santa Terezinha use the negator *-de* or *-kade* on nominal constituents, including indefinite-interrogative pronouns, which can be negated without negating the predicate, e.g. *kwaka* 'what, something', *kwaka-de* 'nothing'. The same strategy is used for prohibitives and for declarative negative constructions. The language is heavily influenced by Hohôdene Baniwa; as a consequence most speakers also use negative particles *ña* and ñame with positive verb forms in declarative negation (details are in Aikhenvald forthcoming).

Negation expressed just with the suffix *-kade* appears to be a feature of two now extinct dialects, the Phi×ikawape (formerly spoken in the village of Dom Bosco, and Kabana (Kwenaka), and the Kabana (formely spoken in Itaiaçu), partially described in Giacone (1962), an eclectic sketch grammar based on a mixture of dialects. Negative forms are marked just with the suffix *-kade* (without prefix *ma-*), e.g. *nohá nu-páni-kade* (I 1SG-work-NEG) (Giacone 1962: 39) 'I do not work'.

The Tariana language was first recorded by Johannes Natterer, who collected a relatively short list of words and sentences in 1831. The recorded variety, that of Ipanoré, is no longer spoken. A negative sentence (Item 97) translated as 'no' (Nein), contains a negative verbs *manakété,* most likely the equivalent of the Santa Rosa Tariana *ma-na-kade* (NEG-want-NEG) '(I/you, etc) do(es) not want'. Another remarkable feature of *manakété* is vowel assimilation in the negator whose alternative realization is *-kade.* Such assimilation is a feature of innovative speakers of the Wamiaɾikune dialect of Santa Rosa, and can be attributed to the influence of Tucano phonology. That such a form was attested by Natterer shows that the vowel assimilation process could be of considerable antiquity.

The second oldest source on Tariana is a word list recorded by Coudreau (1886: 474-6). It is not clear which Tariana dialect this comes from. The positive pair in the source is *Nunamá* 'I want' ('Eu quero' in the original) versus *Nunàcademá* 'I don't want' ('Não quero'). The morpheme-per-morpheme breakdown is most likely as follows:

(52)	Coudreau:	Nunamá	Nunàcademá
	Analysis:	nu-na-mha	nu-na-kade-mha
	Gloss:	1SG-want-PRES.VIS	1SG-want-NEG-

[10] Maria Sanchez is eighty-six years old, and highly proficient in Tariana. She was born in Teresita (Colombia). Her father was a Piratapuya; therefore she also counts as an ethnic Piratapuya. Her mother was Tariana.

	PRES.VIS
'I want'	'I don't want'

The negative form contains just the negative suffix *-kade* and no negative prefix. The person distinctions are not neutralized.

A short vocabulary of an unknown dialect of Tariana collected by Hermann Schmidt in 1906-1908 and published by Koch-Grünberg (1911: 267-281) contains negative verbal forms with both patterns.

All the dialects of Tariana (except the Kumandene dialect) employ a particle for negating commands. Its form varies: in the Periquitos variety the form corresponding to the Santa Rosa form *mhaĩda* 'prohibitive' (§4) is *mhene.* In his grammar sketch, Giacone (1962: 42) recorded prohibitive *maánika*. This same form appears in the sample sentences (p. 60), followed by an alternative form *mehéna*. According to Eliseu, Marino and Jorge Muniz, this was his rendering of the Periquitos *mhene* supplied by Marino's uncle Anibal Muniz during the revision of the grammar in 1959.

We now turn to the etymology of Tariana negative markers, and the problem of the Tucanoan impact on Tariana negation.

9. *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance in Tariana negation*

Table 2 summarizes various techniques of marking negation in the extant varieties of Tariana. To streamline the presentation, inherently negative lexemes with an overt negator (§6) have not been included in this Table. We then compare negation in Tariana with related languages (§9.1), before focusing on the impact of East Tucanoan languages (§9.2).

9.1. *Negation in Tariana, and in related languages*

Tariana forms a genetic subgroup with the Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum, Piapoco, Resígaro and Guarequena (see Aikhenvald 2001, 2003).[11] Subgrouping of other Arawak languages North of the Amazon requires further investigation.

Negation markers in North Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro and surrounding areas are given in Table 3 in the Appendix, organized by type of morpheme — whether a prefix, a suffix, an independent particle or a combination of these. Unlike in other language

[11] Shared vocabulary percentages between North Arawak languages (based on 100 and then 300 word counts) are discussed in Aikhenvald (2001) and (2002), alongside difficulties with reconstructing Proto-North-Arawak.

families of the world, where negation can be a stable feature across the family, negation marking in Arawak languages varies, even between very close and mutually intelligible varieties. This can be seen from a comparison of negation in Baniwa of Guainia, Yavitero and Warekena of Xié — which are mutually intelligible, but differ in their negation marking.

The varieties of Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum also vary in the ways they mark negation. This is so much so that dialectal varieties are usually identified by the way of marking negation: Oho-karro Kurripako are those who use *oho* for 'yes' and *karro* for 'no', and *Oho-ñame* are those who say *oho* for 'yes' and *ñame* for 'no' (Granadillo, this volume). The term *Kurripako* translates as 'it is said *Kurri'* (where *kurri* is a negator), and *Karutana* is a way of referring to a dialect where the negator is *karu* (or *kaʒu*).

A comparison between Tariana (see Table 3 in the Appendix) and other North Arawak languages of the area show how different the Tariana patterns and forms are from those in related languages, even the closest ones.

Just like most of its Arawak relatives, Tariana preserves the negative prefix *ma-* (see Aikhenvald 2002: 291) synchronically used for derivational and nominal negation. Table 3 shows that *ma-* is used in all the languages as a derivational device. Languages vary as to its productivity (for instance, in Warekena of Xié and in its dialects, Baniwa of Guainia and the now extinct Yavitero it is not fully productive). In some, but not others, *ma-* is used to derive negative verbs (as in Resígaro).

A major structural feature Tariana shares with many other Arawak languages is different markers for negating declarative and imperative clauses.

Table 2. *Negation in Tariana: a summary*

Tariana dialect	Declarative non-future clause		Declarative future clause		Existential and possessive clause	Imperative	Derivational negation, inherently negative forms and particles
	prefixed verbs	prefixless verbs	prefixed verbs	prefixless verbs			
Wamiarikune of Santa Rosa and Periquitos	*ma*-ROOT-*kade*	ROOT-*kade*	*ma*-ROOT-*kasu*	ROOT-*kasu*	*sede*	*Mhañda* inflected verb (Periquitos *mheme)*	*ma*- 'derivational negation' *ne* 'emphatic and constituent negation' *kuripua* '(there is) nothing, not at all' *hãida* 'I don't know'
	-*maka* 'emphatic negation' (Periquitos only)						
Santa Terezinha variety	*ROOT-de* (also used in constituent negation)		*ROOT-katse*		*tsede*	*ROOT-de*	*ma*- 'derivational negation' *ne* 'emphatic and constituent negation'

Some Tariana dialects have a rather unusual pattern of discontinuous negation (non-future *ma-…-kade* for prefixed verbs and *-kade* for prefixless verbs and other predicates; and future negation *ma-…-kasu).* Other varieties employ just the suffix *-kade* 'non-future negative' and

-kasu ‘future negative’. It appears, from the analysis of older sources and archaic varieties of Tariana (see §8) that both patterns are of considerable antiquity.

Neither pattern is widespread in any of the Arawak languages of the area. The Tariana negative suffix *-kade/-kásu* does not appear to have any straightforward cognates in Arawak languages. Piapoco, Yawarete-Tapuya, Baniwa Hohôdene and Siuci, and Kurripako varieties all have a negator containing a velar *-k-*, cf. Piapoco *càmi-ta* ‘declarative negator’ (the emphatic suffix *-ta* is also found in Tariana), Yawarete-tapuya *kazu* ‘negator of subordinate clauses’ (Garcia Salazar 1991), Oho-karro Kurripako *karro,* occasionally contracted to *ka* (Granadillo, p.c. and this volume; an overview in Bezerra 2005, 2012), Baniwa Hohôdene *kaʒu* ‘clause negator’ (Taylor 1991: 75, own data). The declarative negator in modern Achagua is *hoka* (Wilson 1992, Melendez 1989). A grammatical sketch by Neira and Ribeiro (1762) contains a number of seemingly independent words translated as a negator (Spanish *no*), all with a velar *k* (*coacao, coacaya, coaquetaya, cui, cuimi* ‘no’, *queniu* ‘there is not’ (no hay)). A negator containing a voiceless velar is found in other Arawak languages north of the Amazon, e.g. Palikur *ka-* ‘prohibitive’, *ka-* Inflected verb-*ma* ‘negative imperative’ (Green and Green 1972, Diana Green p.c.).[12]

Person, number and gender distinctions are neutralized in Tariana declarative clauses (in the Santa Rosa variety) and in prohibitive clauses in Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako continuum. This can be considered an independent innovation of the Tariana-Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako not shared by any other North Arawak languages.

The segmental form and the morphological status of the prohibitive marker in Tariana is consistent across all dialects. The prohibitive particle *mhaĩda* is suspiciously similar to the particle *mainda* in Bahwana, used both as a declarative and as a prohibitive negator.[13] The only existing grammar of Bahwana, by Ramirez (1992), was based on working with a somewhat obsolescent last speaker (who subsequently passed away), from the area of Middle Rio Negro (township of Santa Isabel do Rio Negro). Historically, it appears that Bahwana was spoken in the Middle Rio Negro area, a fair way away from the Middle Vaupés River Basin where the Tariana live now. However, the migration stories of the Wamiaɾikune show that at least some of their groups passed

[12] Kaišana, formerly spoken in the Middle Rio Negro area (Hanke 1960) appears to have had a negator with a velar consonant, *ˌka* ‘there is not, not have’ (Stefan Dienst, fieldnotes based on work with a rememberer of the language).

[13] There are also partial segmental similarities with Resígaro prohibitive *=ma u*, *-má, -ma* , and with Wapishana *manaa* (not included in Table 3).

through the regions of the Japurá-Caquetá Rivers on their way to the Middle Vaupés and thus may have been in contact with the Bahwana. This, however, is nothing but speculation.

The origins of the negative copula *sede* 'not exist, not have' and of the inherently negative form *hãida* 'I don't know' are equally obscure. The inherently negative *kuripua* '(there is) nothing, not at all' is likely to contain a cognate of declarative negator *kurri* found a number of Kurripako varieties (Granadillo, this volume, Bezerra 2005, 2012, Valadares 1993). And we saw, in §6, that the inherently negative command in Tariana, *ma:kuya* 'shut up!' is likely to be a borrowing from a dialect of Baniwa of Içana.

The emphatic *ne* in Tariana remains a puzzle. A number of North Arawak languages have a negative particle containing a nasal. These include Resígaro *nií, niíkó, niíkhámí* 'declarative negator' (Allin 1975), Yucuna *-niña/-niño* 'prohibitive', Bare *hena* 'declarative negator', and nasal formatives in Guarequena *nalé* 'declarative negator', Ehe Khenim Kurripako *khenim* or *khen*, Achagua (of 1761) *queniu* 'there is not'. But this evidence is plainly not enough to establish cognacy.[14]

Interestingly, Hup, a Makú language, has a particle marking 'reinforced' negation (Epps 2008: 736-7), *nɑ̀ʼ*, a borrowing from Tucano, identified as such by the speakers themselves. We saw in §6 that the ways in which the particle *ne* is used in Tariana bear the impact of Tucano influence. Whether or not the particle itself is a Tucano borrowing remains an open question. No speaker of Tariana considers it a loan from Tucano.

9.2. *The impact of language contact on Tariana negation*

Negation in Tariana is marked rather differently from East Tucanoan languages.The predicate negator in East Tucanoan is a suffix, e.g. Tucano *-ti*, Desano *-biri-*, Wanano *-era*, Tuyuca *-ri*. Another suffix occurs in negative imperatives, e.g. Tucano *ba'a-tika-ya* (do-PROH-IMP), Desano *ba-biri-kã-ke* (eat-NEG-PROH-IMP) 'do not eat'.

There are no negative forms borrowed from any Tucanoan language (the only possible candidate could be the negative *ne*: see previous section). This is consistent with the major feature of the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area characterized by diffusion of patterns and not of segmental forms.

[14] Stefan Dienst, who worked with the last rememberer of Kaišana, recorded the form *enej* meaning 'not exist, not have'.

The development of suffixed negation in Tariana could have partially resulted from East Tucanoan influence, since — as we saw in the previous section — it is rarely found in other Arawak languages of the area.

We saw in §6 that the 'double negative' construction in Tariana must have been developed under East Tucanoan influence. The patterns of negative response in Tariana discussed in §7 also have a distinctly Tucanoan 'feel' to them. Further instances of East Tucanoan influence lie in (A) the development of different forms for marking future and non-future declarative negation; (B) the development of additional inherently negative verb stems, calquing those found in East Tucanoan; and (C) the development of two negative futures.

A. DIFFERENT FORMS FOR MARKING FUTURE AND NON-FUTURE NEGATION.

Many East Tucanoan languages have different marking for future and non-future declarative negation, e.g. Tucano *-ti-* 'declarative negator', *-so-me* 'future negator', Wanano *-era-* 'non-future declarative', *-si* 'future negative', Desano *-biri/-bi* 'declarative negator', future negator *-sõbe*) (Ramirez 1997, Waltz 1976, Stenzel 2004, Miller 1999: 136). This distinction is absent from all the Arawak languages of the area — which makes it likely that the distinction in Tariana is the result of calquing from an East Tucanoan source.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF NUMEROUS INHERENTLY NEGATIVE VERB STEMS.

Unlike other Arawak languages, Tariana has a number of inherently negative stems. These have an exact semantic equivalent in East Tucanoan languages; cf. Tucano *ũûba'*, Tariana *hãĩda* 'I don't know'; Tucano *mari*, Tariana *sede* 'not exist'. The development may have been enhanced by the presence of an inherently negative stem with this same meaning in a contact language.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF TWO NEGATIVE FUTURES

We saw, in §3.2, that Tariana has two negative futures: the deontic *-kade-mhade* and the negative future *-kásu*. This distinction is reminiscent of Tucano (Aikhenvald 2002: 134) and may have developed in Tariana, as a result of intensive language contact. The negative future is exemplified in (53) and (54):

Tucano (Ramirez 1997: 166):

(53) Apê-some.
play-NEG.FUT
'(I/you/he/she etc) won't play.'

Tariana:

(54) Ma-manika-kasu.
NEG-play-NEG.FUT
'(I/you/he/she etc) won't play.'

The deontic future is illustrated in (55) and (56) (also see (20 and (21)):

Tucano (Ramirez 1997: 166):

(55) Apê-ti-gö-sa-mi.
play-NEG-M-FUT-3SGNF
'(He) must not play.'

Tariana:

(56) Ma-manika-kade-mhade.
NEG-play-NEG-FUT
'(He) must not play.'

9.3. *To conclude*

We conclude that contact-induced morphological innovations in Tariana negation involve the development of a number of new forms, and new distinctions, following the East Tucanoan patterns. Areal diffusion contributes to the increase in overall complexity of the Tariana negation system, which shares only a few features with closely related languages.

All varieties of Tariana are characterised by the presence of a suffixed negator in declarative clauses, and the negative prefix *ma-* in its derivational function (used with nouns and adjectives). Whether or not the negative prefix *ma-* in declarative negative clauses found in the Wamaiɾilune dialect is an innovation or an archaism remains an open question.

APPENDIX I

Table 3. *Negation in North Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro and adjacent areas (arranged by type of morphemes marking negation)*

MECHANISM	LANGUAGE	FORM	MEANING
Prefix	Bare	*ma-*	privative forms of possessed nouns; verbs with inherently negative meanings
	Warekena of Xié	*ma-*	derivational prefix in a few verbs with inherently negative meanings; *ma-tse* 'lest'
	Yavitero	*ma-*	privative adjectives
	Piapoco	*ma-*	privative prefix on adjectives
	Achagua 1	*ma-*	negative adjective
	Achagua 1	*o-*2person-VERB	negative imperative
	Bahwana	*ma-*	privative derivational marker (productive with adjectives, verbs, nouns and classifiers)
	Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako	*ma-*	privative derivational prefix with verbs and adjectives; prohibitive with verbs
	Guarequena	*ma-*	privative derivational prefix with verbs, nouns and adjectives
	Resígaro	*ma-*	privative marker on verbs
Particle/clitic/ independent word	Bare	*hena* *ne*	negative response 'no'; negator in subordinate clauses emphatic negation
	Warekena of Xié	*ne* *yahã*	emphatic negation negative response 'no'

	Yavitero	*háta* *hinta*	declarative negator prohibitive negator
	Piapoco	*càmi-ta*	declarative negator accompanied by *-ta* 'emphatic'
	Achagua 1	*hóka*	declarative negator
	Achagua 2	*coacao, coacaya, coaquetaya, cuicuimi; queniu*	'no' 'there is not' ('no hay')
	Bahwana	*mainda*	declarative and prohibitive negator
	Baniwa Hohôdene Baniwa Siuci, Yawarete Tapuya, Kumandene /Ayanene	*ña, ñame* (*kaZu*)	declarative negator
	Aha Kurri Kurripako Ehe-Khenim Kurripako Oho-karro Kurripako Oho-ñame Kurripako	*kurri* contracted to *ku* *khenim*, contracted to *khen* *karro*, contracted to *ka* *ñame*	declarative negator
	Guarequena	*nalé* *pjéma* *-pidá-*	declarative negator negator in clauses expressing suggestions prohibitive
	Resígaro	*nií, niíkó, niíkhámí*	declarative negator
Suffix	Yucuna	*-niña/-niño*	negative imperative

Enclitic	Resígaro	*=ma/u, -má, -ma/*	prohibitive***
Double marking: prefix and suffix	Bare	*ba*-Person-Root-*ka*	negative imperative
	Baniwa of Içana/ Kurripako	*ma*-VERB.ROOT-*tsa***	negative imperative
Double marking: particle/clitic and suffix	Yucuna	*unká* Person-Root-*ké* *unká* Person-Root-*la*	declarative negation declarative negation (imperfective)
	Bare	*hena* Person-Root-*waka*	declarative negation
Double marking: particles/clitics	Yucuna	*unká* NOMINAL *kalé*	non-verbal predicative negation
	Warekena of Xié	*ya*=Person-Root=*pia*	declarative negation
	Baniwa of Guainia	*ya*=Person-Root=*pià da=Person-Root-pià*	declarative negation prohibitive*****
Complex predicate	Warekena of Xié	*pida pi*-VERB (2sg+see 2sg-VERB)	Negative imperative
	Piapoco	*picá* 2sg-VERB	Negative imperative
Inherently negative forms (selection)******	Bare	*bed'a-waka; ind'awaka*	'nothing' (negative meaning on their own)
	Warekena of Xié	*beneʃi (bena-iʃi)*	'nothing'
	Piapoco	*caná*-	'there is none' (accompanied by affixes and clitics)
	Achagua 1	*hiní*	'nothing, no-one', 'negative existential'

Notes to Table 3.

* *picà* can be interpreted as a grammaticalized for meaning '2sg-see' (cf. Piapoco root *-icaca* 'see', Tariana *-ka* 'see'). The

structural patterns of marking negation share some structural similarities. In Piapoco and in Warekena, the prohibitive construction probably goes back to '2person+see' (Piapoco *pi-ca*, Warekena *pida*, from *pi-eda*).

** The form of the suffix is *-tsa* in Aha-Kurripako (Granadillo 2006: 81), in Baniwa Hohôdene (Taylor 1991: 49-50; my own fieldwork), and *-tSa* in Kumandene/Ayanene (Valadares 1993). The form *-ya* is said to be used in the Baniwa variety in contact with the Tariana.

*** Just a selection of inherently negative forms is included here. Transparent forms, such as Guarequena *nale+ikáka* (NEG be seen) 'not exist' (González-Ñáñez (1997: 102) are not included.

**** In Resígaro prohibitive is a suffix to the verb, possibly under the influence of Bora (see Aikhenvald 2001).

***** In the absence of a full grammar of Baniwa of Guainia, it is impossible to make an informed decision about the status of *ya-*, *da-* and *-pià* as affixes or clitics. Their syntactic behaviour in the few examples given by the authors points towards their status as clitics, just like in Warekena of Xié (which can be considered a dialect of Baniwa of Guainia). Mosonyi (2000: 209) considers *ya* a 'particle' and *-pià* are suffix (but no arguments are given).

APPENDIX II

Sources on North Arawak languages included in Table 3

Achagua 1: Wilson (1992: 54, 131-41), Meléndez (1998: 164-170)
Achagua 2: Neira and Ribeiro (1762)
Bahwana: Ramirez (1992: 60-1)
Baniwa/Kurripako: Baniwa Hohôdene: Taylor (1991), Ramirez (2001a), own fieldwork
Baniwa Siuci: Ramirez (2001a), own fieldwork
Aha Kurri Kurripako: Granadillo (2006)
Ehe-Khenim Kurripako: Granadillo 2006
Oho-karro Kurripako: Granadillo 2006, this volume
Oho-ñame Kurripako: Granadillo 2006, this volume
Kumandene/Ayanene Kurripako: Valadares (1993)
Yawareté-Tapuya (Baniwa of Içana): Garcia Salazar (1991)
Bare: Aikhenvald (1995, ms-a), Lopez Sanz (1972)
Guarequena: González-Ñáñez (1997: 101-2, 106-7)
Piapoco: Klumpp (1990: 58, 63, 107-8, 159-60), (1995: 47); Reinoso Galindo (2002: 277-8)
Resígaro: Allin (1975: 143, 216, 481)
Warekena of Xié: Aikhenvald (1998, ms-b)
Baniwa of Guainia: González-Ñáñez (1997: 103); Mosonyi (2000: 209-10), Mosonyi and Camico (1996: 40)
Yavitero: Mosonyi (1987: 59)
Yucuna: Schauer and Schauer (1978, 2000, 2005)

CHAPTER 6

NEGATION IN APURINÃ (ARAWAK)

SIDI FACUNDES

1. *Introduction*

Apurinã is an Arawak language spoken in many villages scattered along tributaries of the Purus River in western Brazil.[1] In most villages, the language is not being taught to children, and only adults – in some villages, only elders – still have fluent command of it. The number of speakers is unlikely to exceed 400 out of a population of nearly 3,000.

The focus of this paper is on the strategies used to mark negation in the language. Two types of negation strategies will be discussed: the negative particle *kuna* and the privative marker *ma-*. In general, negation constructions in Apurinã are symmetrical, in Miestamo's (2005) terms. Negation constructions thus in general do not require marking beyond the negation element itself, with a partial exception involving perfectivity. The negative particle *kuna* is used to mark more prototypical verbal predicates, while the privative marker is used more frequently with nominal-like predicates. Where both can be used, the difference in meaning between the two types of negative constructions generally follows from discourse-pragmatic factors associated with differences between more verbal versus more nominal predicates. A brief discussion of possibly related negative forms in closely related Arawak languages is also provided.

2. *Preliminaries*

Apurinã exhibits a highly complex polysynthetic word structure, especially in the verb, and is predominantly suffixing. It exhibits noun incorporation and is head-marking, with typical verb-final word order patterns: Gen-N, N-Post, N-Rel. Subject and object NPs rarely co-occur in the same clause; when they do, they generally follow OSV order and no cross-referencing person markers occur in the verb. Most often, core arguments are expressed solely by markers in the verb, and pre-verbal free subject and object NPs generally cannot co-occur with any co-

[1] Facundes (2000) is a detailed grammar of the language. Earlier work on Apurinã includes Pickering (1971), as well as other topic-specific articles, book chapters and BA and MA theses.

referential cross-referencing markers. Noun stems and verb stems include a lexical base, which in the case of verbs can be simple or compound, and may also include incorporated regular nouns (free or bound) or classificatory nouns (reminiscent of class terms). The language also has clitic-like 'floating morphemes'[2] , that is, bound forms that can occur on noun stems, verb stems, pronouns and particles (Facundes 2000, 2002). Table 1 lists the cross-referencing markers (Facundes and Chagas forthcoming), which can appear by themselves on the verb to refer to core arguments, or can co-occur with co-referential post-verbal subject or object NPs. The set used as subject markers can also be used with nouns to indicate their possessors.

Table 1: *Person markers*[3]

PERSON/ GENDER	**SUBJECT/POSSESSIVE PERSON MARKERS**		**OBJECT PERSON MARKERS**	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1	*ny-*	*a-*	*-nu*	*-wa*
2	*py-*	*hĩ-*	*-i*	*-i*
3M	*y-*	*y-...(-na)*	*-ry*	*-ry*
3F	*u-*	*y-...(-na)*	*-ru*	*-ru*

Example (1) illustrates subject (*ny-* and *py-*) and object markers (*-i* and *-nu*) with transitive verbs.[4]

[2] A "floating morpheme" is a clitic-like bound morpheme that can attach to words of different classes in Apurinã, sometimes more than once in the same clause. The term "floating morpheme" is used here, instead of "clitic" following Facundes (2000, 2002), who shows that the phenomenon in Apurinã cannot be clearly classified as any of the simple or special clitics described in the specialized literature on the subject. See also fn. 11.

[3] The forms presented in Table 1 correspond to the variants that occur before non-palatal consonants. The vowel /ɨ/, represented here as "y", deletes before vowels other than /i/ and surfaces as [i] before palatal sounds, including /i/; /n/ also surfaces as [ɲ], represented as "nh" in this chapter, in this latter environment All the vowels in these markers nasalize before /h/, which then deletes. Except for /ɨ/, all vowels also nasalize before other vowels. For the details on the complex morphophonemic variation of person markers, see Facundes (2000).

[4] The symbols used in the transcription of the data follow the IPA conventions, with the following exceptions: y = [ɨ] high, central, unround vowel; [th] = [c]; ʃ; x = [ʃ] ; ts = alveolar affricate; tx = [tʃ]; w = labial approximant; i = [j] when it appears before or after a vowel in the same syllable.

(1) a. ny-myna-i
1SG-bring-2.O
'I brought you.'

b. py-myna-nu
2SG-bring-1SG.O
'You brought me.'

Intransitive verbs can be divided into two classes, based on whether they take subject or object markers to cross-reference their sole argument. Example (2) illustrates the fact that non-descriptive verbs take subject markers (*ny-* and *py-*); in contrast, (3) shows that although some descriptive verbs take subject markers (*ny-* and *py-*), others take object markers (*-nu* and *-i*).

(2) a. ny-serena
1SG-dance
'I danced.'

b. py-myteka
2SG-run
'You ran away.'

(3) a. ere-nu
be.pretty-1SG.O
'I'm pretty'

b. ny-tyma-ta
1SG-be.tired-VBL
'I'm tired.'

c. ere-i
be.pretty-2SG.O
'You're pretty'

d. py-tyma-ta
2SG-be.tired-VBL
'You're tired.'

As Chagas (2007) and Facundes and Chagas (forthcoming) show, this descriptive verb split is motivated by the lexical aspect of the verb, or more specifically, by whether they denote permanent versus temporary

states.[5] Finally, there is also complex system of relative markers in the language, a sequence of four phonemic slots that combine to relativize a clause, but which individually encode the notion of relativization, voice polarity/number, gender and grammatical relation. This system is described in detail in Facundes (2000, 2004) and is relevant to this paper because it also encodes negation, as will be shown in section 4.

3. *Negation In Apurinã*

The basic properties of negation in Apurinã are illustrated by the short dialog sequence, drawn from the Apurinã creation narrative, and given below. The two participants are a woman and her 'dead' sister. The negation elements are underlined to indicate how negation can be expressed syntactically or morphologically in the language.

As shown in (4), Apurinã exhibits the privative prefix marker *ma-* (or *m-*, or *mV-*), which is found in other Arawak languages (see e.g., Matteson 1972: 165, Taylor 1977: 58, Payne 1991: 377, and Aikhenvald 1999: 80), and serves to negate words in a manner comparable to the English forms *–less* (as in 'shirtless', 'jobless'), *un-* (as in 'unreal', 'unmarried'), or *iC-* (as in 'impossible', 'illegal'). Note that Payne (1991) reconstructs **ma-* for Proto-Arawak.

The presence of *ma-* can trigger negative agreement on the verb, as in (4), where the form *m-areka-tu* 'She is not good' bears *–tu*, the third person feminine negative form (cf. *areka-ru* 'She is good'). The *–r ~ –t* alternation that marks positive vs. negative polarity in the relative marking system summarized in Table 2 is thus the same as that found in the negative agreement pattern that tends to accompany the privative. In addition to the bound morphemes associated with negation, Apurinã exhibits a syntactic marker of negation, the negative particle *kuna*. *Kuna* is used for free form negation, as in (5), and for sentential negation, as in the second instance of the particle in (6).

(4) A: Pite, m-are-tu-nuka-i, pĩ-ĩtu
2SG PRIV-good-NEG.F-only-2SG.O 2SG-body
m-inha-katy-nuka-ra-i (...)
PRIV-COP-REL.NEG-only-FOC-2SG.O
'You're no good, no good at all. You're bodyless (...)'

[5] Facundes and Chagas (forthcoming) have also shown that there are ambivalent descriptive verbs, where a given verb root yields a temporary or permanent interpretation, depending on whether a subject or object person marker, respectively, is used.

(5) B: Kuna, nhi-ĩtu ka-ra-nu. Kuna, kuna,
NEG 1SG-body PRD-FOC-1SG.O NEG NEG
kuna. Ny-kama-nhi nhi-ĩtu-ka-ra-nu
NEG 1SG-soul-AFF 1SG-body-PRD-FOC-1SG.O
'No. I AM (in) my body. No, no no. My soul is (in) my body.'

(6) A: Kuna, py-kama-ta-ke-pyty-ka-ra-i.
NEG 2SG-soul-VBL-thin-indeed-PRD-FOC-2SG.O
Kuna ny-mẽẽ-nany-ka-i waipinhi-nhi wai
NEG 2SG-want-PROG-PRD-2SG.O here-AFF here
'No. You're just a soul indeed. I don't want you here.'

Both the morphological negative marker and the negative particle were identified by Polak (1894: 9-19), and are also described by Pickering (1971), using a tagmemic framework, and in more detail by Pickering (1978), using the generative model of that period. In the rest of this paper, I will present an analysis of the grammatical properties of each of these negative forms in Apurinã in terms of how they fit into the grammatical system of the language, and into the Arawak family and language typology more generally. I focus on grammatical aspects of negation, and thus discourse-pragmatic phenomena, although important for understanding some of the distinct uses of negation, will not be discussed.

3.1. *Standard negation*

Standard negation, defined "as the basic means that languages have for negating declarative verbal clauses" (Miestamo 2007: 553, citing Payne 1985), is marked in Apurinã by the negative particle *kuna*. This particle occurs most often immediately before the predicate, as in the intransitive sentence in (7), and the transitive sentence in (8).[6]

[6] There are indications that there is a homonym form *kuna*, used as an intensifier in some Apurinã varieties with some descritive verbs that take object pronominal markers. So in *Kuna amary-puwa-nu* (very kid-big-1SG.O) 'I'm a very big kid', *kuna* is used as an intensifier; but in *Kuna mitha nhi-txa* (not big 1SG-AUX) 'I'm not big', *kuna* is used as a negative particle. A complete analysis of the intensifier *kuna* cannot be presented at this time because such a form does not occur in all dialects, and because more descriptive details about it are still needed.

	Subj	NEG	V
(7)	Ny-kanawa-te	kuna	thamiruka.
	1SG-canoe-POSSED	NEG	sink

‘My canoe didn’t sink.’

	Subj	NEG	V	V
(8)	Sytu	kuna	imata-ry	u-wenuk-inhi
	Woman	NEG	know-3SG.O	3F.S-swim-GER

‘The woman does not know how to swim.’

When appearing immediately before non-predicative constituents, and usually clause-initially, the negation particle can add discourse-pragmatic effects to utterances, such as contrastive negative focus, as in (9). When a negative proposition includes the notion of ‘anymore’, ‘no longer’ or ‘any longer’, the form *kuna* is used and the suffix *-ika* attaches to the predicate, as in (10).

	NEG	OBJ	V	OBJ	V
(9)	Kuna	kaykyry	n-ytyka,	ãatsuta-nany	n-etamata.
	NEG	caiman	1SG-see	trunk-only	1SG-see

‘It was not a caiman that I saw, just a tree trunk.’

	SUBJ	NEG	V-NEG
(10)	Kãkyty	kuna	natxitha-ika
	People	NEG	be.hungry-anymore

‘The people don’t go hungry anymore.’

The particle *kuna* often undergoes phonological reduction, taking the stressed clitic form ‘*na=*, as in (11), which is a variant associated with fast speech. This variant is more common in varieties spoken in lower Purus River communities.[7]

(11) ‘Na=ny-nereka-ry
not=1SG.S-want-3O.M
‘I don’t want it.’

[7] The form *‘na=* is marked with an apostrophe to indicate that it carries heavy stress. In fact, for some speakers, stress is the only audible feature left to mark negation in fast speech, such that the segments in *‘na=* are fully omitted and only word-initial stress remains.

Other constructions that negate with *kuna* include non-verbal predicate constructions with zero copulas, as in (12); constructions involving the auxiliary verb *txa*, as in (13); and predicates with the copula verb *–inha*, as in (14).[8]

(12) Kuna pupỹkari-ika-nhi ikira kyky.
NEG Apurinã-anymore-AFF DEM man
'That man is not Apurinã anymore.'

(13) Ikira pupỹkary [kuna atha atuku i-txa].
DEM Apurinã NEG 1PL like 3M.S-AUX
'That Indian person is not like us.'

(14) Ikira pupỹkary [kuna atha atuku inha-kari-nhi]
DEM Apurinã NEG 1PL like COP-REL-AFF
pamuari-ra.
Paumari-FOC
'That Indian who is not like us, (he) is Paumari.'

Existential predicates are also negated with *kuna*, as in (15)-(17).

(15) Watxa mỹyty kuna awa-ika.
today shaman NEG exist-anymore
'Nowadays there's no shaman anymore.'

(16) Ĩthupa kuna awa-ika nhikitxi.
jungle NEG not-anymore game
'There's no game in the jungle anymore.'

(17) Kuna awa-ry kamyry.
NEG exist-3M.O spirit
'There's no spirit.'

The utterances in (18)-(19) illustrate non-core arguments with negative focus, further illustrating that negative focus can be expressed by preposing *kuna* to a left dislocated constituent, as was shown in (9), above.

[8] The word *pupỹkary* is used both as an ethnonym and as the generic word for 'Native American', depending on whom you ask. Its use as an ethnonym is recent, since the traditional norm was to use the clan's name as one's ethnonym.

(18) Kuna awapuku-txi-ã ny-sa myny.
NEG village-UNPOS-LOV 1SG.S-go today
'It's not to the (Indian) village that I go today.'

(19) Kuna myny-nhi ny-sa awapuku-txi-ã,
NEG today-AFF 1SG.S-go village-UNPOS-LOC
kyta-ra ny-sa.
yesterday-FOC 1SG.S-go
'It was not today that I went to the village, it was yesterday.'

3.2. *Indefinite pronouns*

Apurinã lacks grammaticalized indefinite pronouns. Instead, indefinite referents are introduced into discourse with the numeral *hãty* 'one' used as an indefinite article, as in (20). Such referents can also be introduced as part of a relative clause, as in (21), or as part of an existential construction, as in (22).

(20) Hãty kãkyty apu-pe.
one person arrive-PERF
'A person has arrived.'

(21) kãkyty apu-pe-kary...
person arrive-PERF-REL
'the person who has arrived...'

(22) Awa-ry kãkyty...
exist-3M.O person
'There's a person...'

There are likewise no negative indefinite pronouns, with a single exception discussed below, and negative indefinite functions are simply realized by *kuna* negating a word, as in (23), or a whole clause, as in (24)&(25), yielding a default indefinite interpretation.

(23) Kuna kãkytyapuka watxa.
NEG personarrive today
'No one arrived today.'

(24) Awapuku-txi-ã kuna n-aũkyta-ry kãkyty.
village-UNPOS-LOC NEG 1SG.S-meet-3M.O person
'I didn't meet anyone in the village.'

(25) Kuna ereka-ry awa ywãa.
NEG be.good-3M.O exist there
'Nothing is good there.' (Lit., 'What is not good exists there.')

The only instance of a negative indefinite pronoun is the element *m-inha-katy* 'what is not' (and its inflectional variants), which is formed from the negative prefix *ma-*, the copula verb *inha*, and the relative nominalizing form *-katy*. The form of the relative nominalizer, *-katy*, corresponds to a negative subject referent. Due to its fully transparent morphology, it is likely that this negative indefinite pronoun is a recent development in the language. Examples of this negative indefinite are given in (26); note that this element co-occurs with the negation element *kuna*, so that all sentences with this negative indefinite are instances of double negation.

(26) a. Kuna m-inha-katy nhi-nhika.
NEG PRIV-COP-REL 1SG.S-eat
'I didn't eat anything.' (Lit., I didn't eat what is deprived of being.)

b. Kuna m-inha-katy n-ytyka.
NEG PRIV-COP-REL 1SG.S-see
'I didn't see anything.' (Lit., I didn't see what is deprived of being.)

c. Kuna m-inha-katy nh-imaruta.
NEG PRIV-COP-REL 1SG.S-know
'I don't understand anything.' (Lit., I don't know what is deprived of being.)

3.3. *Imperatives*

Although there are indications that Apurinã had morphological markers for imperatives in the past, as seen in Pickering (1971, 1978), such forms seem to have been lost in most contemporary varieties, or at least in

those considered in this study.[9] As a result, imperatives tend to be marked by intonation, and by the absence of the NP subject, as in (27). Imperatives are also negated with *kuna*, as in (28). The form *kunhi-ku* is used with directives indicating an action in the near future, as in (28c-d).[10]

(27) Wai-munhi p-yna.
here-to 2SG.S-come
'Come here!'

(28) a. Kuna pỹ-arita-ry anãpa.
NEG 2SG.S-beat-3M.O dog
'Don't hit the dog!'

b. Kunhi-ku p-ukanywata-pe.
NEG-FUT 2SG-murder-PERF
'Don't go commit a crime.'

c. Kunhi-ku p-uka-py-ry k-ÿytyry-ry.
NEG-FUT 2SG-kill-PERF-3M.O ATR-steal-3M.O
'Don't go kill the thief.'

4. *Morphological negation*

As mentioned earlier, the Apurinã morphological negative marker *ma-* corresponds to the privative marker found in other Arawak languages, and it triggers a form of word internal negative "agreement" by requiring the suffixation of *-ty* for masculine forms, as in (29a) and (31), and *-tu* for feminine forms, as in (30). As seen below, *ma-* is used with non-verbal or descriptive predicates.

(29) a. Kyky ma-ereka-ty apuka.
man PRIV-be.good-NEG.M arrive
'The bad (deprived of goodness) man arrived.'

[9] The forms listed, but not illustrated, by Pickering (1971: 14) are *-peka* 'hard command', *-poka* 'polite command, please', *-ma* 'would', *-pe* 'don't', *-panɪ* 'stop' and *-pɪ* 'derogatory of object'. Except for *-puka* (*i.e. -poka*, here adjusted to the current spelling) they all are attested in present day Apurinã, but not as prohibitives.

[10] The form *kunhi-* is clearly related to the negative particle *kuna*; however, the source of the final vowel /i/ is unknown, since this form does not appear in older registers of the language. Presently, *kunhi-* is attested in combination with "floating" morphemes.

b. Kyky ereka-ry apuka.
man be.good-3M.O arrive
'The good man arrived.'

(30) Sytu m-ỹtanyry-tu apuka.
woman PRIV-spouse-NEG.F arrive
'The unmarried (deprived of a husband) woman arrived.'

(31) Amaryny m-yry-ty apuka.
child PRIV-father-NEG.M arrive
'The fatherless (deprived of a father) child arrived.'

As seen in (32), this morphological marker can also negate the predicate of a relative clause. As shown in Table 2, *-katu* and *-katy* consist of a sequence of four formatives that together mark a relative clause, thus restricting the referential properties of a nominal expression in a matrix clause. As such, these relativizers vary in form with regard to grammatical relations, voice, number, gender, and crucially, clausal polarity. The details of these relativizers are not immediately relevant; the crucial matter is that they exhibit internal negative agreement triggered by the use of *ma-*.

(32) a. Sytu [ma-kirãta-rewa-ta-katu]
woman PRIV-snore-INTR-VBLZ-REL.NEG.
mireka.
wake.up
'The woman who does not snore woke up.'

b. Kyky [ma-kirãta-rewa-ta-katy] mireka
man PRIV-snore-INTR-VBZ-REL.NEG.M wake.up
'The man who does not snore woke up.'

Table 2. *Relative marking system*

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Types of clauses</td><td rowspan="3">Relativizer</td><td colspan="4">Voice</td><td colspan="4">Polarity & Number</td><td colspan="2">Gender</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Active</td><td rowspan="2">Passive</td><td rowspan="2">“Inverse”</td><td colspan="2">Positive</td><td colspan="2">Negative</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Subj.</td><td>Obj.</td><td>SG</td><td>PL</td><td>SG</td><td>PL</td><td>M</td><td>F</td></tr>
<tr><td>Subj head$_{Rel}$</td><td rowspan="4">-k</td><td>-a</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>-r</td><td rowspan="4">-n</td><td rowspan="3">-t</td><td rowspan="4">-n</td><td rowspan="4">-y</td><td rowspan="4">-u</td></tr>
<tr><td>Obj head$_{Rel}$</td><td></td><td>-u</td><td></td><td></td><td>-t</td></tr>
<tr><td>Passive</td><td></td><td></td><td>-o</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">-r</td></tr>
<tr><td>“Inverse”</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>-e</td><td>-r</td></tr>
</table>

An interesting feature of Apurinã morphological negation is that its negative sense can be reversed by another prefix, *we-*, as in (33). The semantic meanings of (33a) and (33c) appear to be the same, and their use is determined by discourse-pragmatic factors that require further analysis.

(33) a. Ere-ru ãtakuru.
be.pretty-3F.O girl
‘The girl is pretty.’

b. Mẽ-ere-tu ãtakuru.
PRIV-be.pretty-NEG.F girl
‘The girl is ugly.’

c. Ma-wẽ-ere-tu ãtakuru.
NEG-REV-be.pretty-NEG.F girl
‘The girl is pretty.’

It is even structurally possible to negate the same predicate three times in the same clause, each time marked by a different negative marker, although this is often judged as unnatural by native speakers since interpreting such forms is confusing. There is some preliminary evidence that the reversal negative marker cancels out all negations in the sentence. So, in (34d), the expected meaning of the sentence would be ‘He does not make bad things,’ since a literal interpretation would imply that ‘He does not [make [the reverse of [un[good things]]]]’ (where square brackets indicate the semantic scope of each negative marker); that is, if ‘ungood things’ = bad things, ‘reverse of bad things’ = good things, then what ‘he does not make’ is ‘good things’. But since the

correct interpretation is that what 'he does not make' is 'bad things', we can conclude that the *we-* prefix cancels out all negations in the sentence, not just the morphological negation. At this stage, not much else can be said about this kind of construction, since examples such as (34d) are only attested in elicited data, and since speakers have difficulties interpreting such utterances. Although speakers were consistent in the interpretations they eventually produced, analysis of these complex constructions would benefit from verification with more speakers, and the study of textual examples.

(34) a. Ereka-ry y-kama.
be.good-3M.O 3M.S-make
'He makes what's good.'

b. Mẽ-ereka-ty y-kama.
PRIV-be.good-NEG.M 3M.S-make
'He makes what's bad.'

c. Ma-wẽ-ereka-ty y-kama.
PRIV-REV-be.good-NEG.M 3M.S-make
'He makes what's not bad.'

d. Kuna ma-wẽ-ereka-ty y-kama.
NEG PRIV-REV-be.good-NEG.M 3M.S-make
'He doesn't make bad things.' (Lit., 'He makes the reverse of non-bad things.')

The notion of 'anymore', 'no longer' or 'any longer' can also be expressed morphologically by marking the predicate already bearing the morphological negative with the suffix *-nuka*, rather than by *–ika*, as in (35), (cf. (10), (11), (15)&(16)).

(35) nhipukury ma-ereka-ty-nuka
food PRIV-be.good-NEG-anymore
'food that's not good anymore'

Unlike the negative particle *kuna*, the morphological negative is not used to negate imperatives.

5. *Negation, tense, and aspect*

Since other Arawak languages show some relationship between reality status and negation (See introduction to this book), it is important to inquire into the possibility of such relationship also in Apurinã. In order to do that, some discussion on the status of tense-aspect distinctions in the language is required.

In Facundes (2000), a distinction was made between future and non-future tense in Apurinã. Such a distinction was based on the fact that, when taken in isolation, a sentence with no morphological tense marker can be interpreted as exhibiting either present or a past temporal reference. Thus, for example, the sentence *nhi-nhipukuta* (1SG-eat) could mean either 'I eat' or 'I ate'. On the other hand, a sentence in which the verb bears the suffix *-ku*, such as *nhi-nhipukuta-ku*, can only have future temporal reference, i.e. 'I will eat'. A simple analysis of these facts would treat *-ku* as a future tense suffix, while present and past tenses are morphologically unmarked. However, it is now clear that for some speakers, isolated sentences can yield a future interpretation, and that very often speakers rely on syntactic or discourse-pragmatic clues to make the correct interpretation of utterances as regards tense. For example, (36) illustrates a case where the temporal adverbs alone are sufficient to determine the temporal reference of particular propositions.

(36) Kyta nhi-nhika-ru amakyry, watxa nhi-nhika-ru
yesterday 1SG-eat-3M.O *tambaqui* today 1SG-eat-3F.O
mamury, katana nhi-nhika-ru pathari.
matrinxã tomorrow 1SG-eat-3M.O chicken
'Yesterday I ate *tambaqui* fish, today I ate *matrinxã* fish, and tomorrow I'll eat chicken.'

An excerpt of the beginning of the Apurinã creation narrative illustrates how events and situations are marked in the language. The narrative starts with a dialog between the creature responsible for the near-annihilation of the Apurinã ancestors and the two young women who survived that fate. The dialog starts with a request from the creature, in (37a), for the two girls to climb down a tree. In this first utterance no tense is explicitly marked. The creature then goes on in (37b) to state/propose what will happen in the future, and now the first verb and the object of the second verb are marked with *-ku*. So, in (37) *-ku* is not

used to mark a request (which implies a possible future action) but rather to mark a future intention: [11]

Creature:

(37) a. "N-akyru-na pi-katxaka."
1SG-grandma-PL 2SG-climb.down
'"My dear, climb down (the tree)."'

b. "Iie n-anhika-i-ku. Iie
PART 1SG-take.away-2O-FUT DEM
n-amary-te-ku iie hĩte
1SG-son- POSSED-FUT PART 2PL
tanyry-ta-pe u-txa-na."
husband-VBZ-PERF 3F-AUX-PL
'"I'll take you to be my son's wives."'

In (38) we see that the girls answer with a negative statement about a future event, but no explicit marking for tense or aspect is used. So, in this example, *-ku* is not used with the negation of a future event.

Girls:

(38) "Kuna, kyru, kuna atha katxaka."
NEG grandma not 1PL climb.down
'"No, grandma, we're are not going to climb down."'

In (39), the creature asks for clarification as to why the girls will not carry out the requested action, and again no explicit marker for future is used. Here we have a request for information made in the negative form and *-ku* is not used.

Creature:

(39) "Iie keinhinhiãpa kuna pi-katxaka."
PART why NEG 2SG-climb.down
'"Why don't you climb down?"'

The girls repeat their negative stance on the future action (40), once again with no future marker.

[11] This is one of many "floating" morphemes in Apurinã the outer-most morphological layer of base. A detailed description of the phenomenon is given in Facundes (2000, 2002). See also fn. 2.

Girls:

(40) “Kuna atuku inhinhianhi a-katxaka (...)”
NEG like PART 1PL-climb.down
‘“We won’t climb down (...)”’

The creature uses a question (41) to verify the present stance of the girls, and no explicit present tense marker is used in the utterance.

Creature:

(41) “Iie ny-tserĩi-ka-nhi hĩ-pĩka?”
DEM 1SG-tooth-PRED-AFF 2PL-be.afraid
‘“Is it my teeth that you fear?”’

The girls confirm the reason for their present stance (42), and no explicit tense marker is used.

Girls:

(42) “Ari, kyru. Wera-pyty-ka-ra a-pĩka
Yes grandma DEM-indeed-PRED-FOC 1PL-be.afraid
py-tserĩi.”
2SG-tooth
‘“Yes, grandma. It’s those teeth of yours indeed that we are afraid of.”’

After confirming her suspicion, the creature proposes a possible action to be taken by the girls (43), and no explicit or present or past marker is used. The event expresses a proposed action, and *-ku* is not used.

Creature:

(43) “Ari. Ymamari iiũka-ã pỹ-arita ny-tserĩi,”
Yes jenipapo ripe-INST 2SG-hit 1SG-tooth
u-txa.
3F.S-say
‘“Right. You hit my teeth with the ripe *jenipapo* (fruit)”, she said.’

Thereafter, the voice of the narrator states three past results of the events earlier mentioned (44), and yet once again no explicit marking of past is used.

Narrator:

(44) a. Ywaĩka, ynuwa makatxaka txa-ry ymamari
PART 3PL pick AUX-3M.O jenipapo
iũkary.
ripe
'Then they picked the ripe *jenipapo*.'

b. Ynuwa harita tuk!
3PL hit tuk
'They hit.'

c. Ywa-sawaky-iuka u-tserĩi ata etuku-peka
3M.SG-when-only 3F-tooth 1PL same-PERF
txa-ry.
AUX-3M.O
'Then the teeth became normal.'

Next, the creature renews the request for the girls to climb down the tree (45a), now that the reason for their fears has been eliminated. No explicit indication of present is used. She goes on to state what is to happen (in the immediate future) to the girls after they climb down the tree (45b), and now the form *-ku* is used with the clause-initial temporal expression. The voice of the narrator appears at the end of the utterance as a final closure to state that what precedes was stated by the creature, and no explicit indication of past tense is used.

Creature + Narrator:

(45) a. "Ari. N-umekanhi-ru, pi-katxaka."
Yes. 1PL-grandchild-F 2PL-climb.down
'"Right. Climb down, my granddaughters."'

b. "Watxa-ra-ku n-anhika-pe-i
today-FOC-FUT 1SG-take.away-PERF-2PL.O
n-awapuku," u-txa-ry.
1SG-house 3SG.F-say-3O.M
'"NOW I'll bring you to my house," she said.'

In the following utterance (46), the voice of the narrator again appears as a sentence fragment, and then the girls state what they are about to do; this time the form *-ku* is used in the matrix verb:

Girls + Narrator:

(46) Inhinhĩa uwereka uwa, “ary, kyru,
PART later 3SG.F yes, grandma
a-katxaka-pyty-ka-ku.”
1PL-climb.down-indeed-PRED-FUT
y-txa-ka-ta-na ynuwa.
3M.SG-AUX-PRED-VBLZ-PL 3PL
‘After that she (said)... “Yes, grandma, we’ll climb down,”
they said.’

Finally, at the end of this short episode (47), the voice of the narrator is once again used to state the last action accomplished by the creature before she brought the girls somewhere else, and no explicit marking of past is used:

Narrator:

(47) Syka u-txa-ry kutary
give 3SG.F-AUX-3O.M basket
‘She gave (them) the basket.’

The excerpt illustrates three facts about the language already noted in Facundes (2000): there is no specialized morphological marker for present or past tense, and *-ku* can only be used with future events. Such facts make it tempting to think that the real opposition in the language is not one of future versus non-future tense, but one of realis versus irrealis, i.e. a grammatical opposition between what is actual and what is not actual. While it is not the purpose of the chapter to resolve this issue here, one can argue that this alternative analysis presents some difficulties. The excerpt above illustrates that *-ku* is not generally used with negated propositions or with directives. However, if *-ku* marked irrealis, we would expect it to arise in precisely these contexts. Furthermore, other constructions typically associated with irrealis marking, such as those expressing wishes and hopes, are also not marked with *-ku*, unless they are used in a sort of counter-expectational form, in which case they combine with the adversative/frustrative/counter-expectation marker, *-ma*, as in *nhika-ma-ry-ku* ‘would eat it, but’, *sa-ma-ku* ‘would go, but’, and *kama-ma-ry-ku* ‘would make it, but’, as described later in this chapter. Thus, to analyze *-ku* as a marker of irrealis would mean to add another idiosyncratic member type to an already problematic typological category. One would still need to explain why some future events would be encoded as irrealis and others as realis.

On the other hand, if one maintains the non-future vs. future tense distinction, the problem remains as to which 'kind' of future should be marked with *-ku*. Although a full account of these descriptive facts is beyond the scope of this paper, and requires further research, one could argue that Apurinã is more organized around the notion of perspectives imposed on the propositional content, rather than in terms of points of reference in time. When temporal deixis is important for making sense of discourse, aside from syntactic contexts such as those illustrated in (36), aspect markers can be used, and there are plenty of them in the language, including perfective (50a), imperfective (50b&c) and (51), habitual (52), and progressive (53), among others.

(50) a. Nhi-nhipukuta-peka-ku.
1SG-eat-PERF-FUT
'I'm going to eat already.'

b. Nhi-nhipukuta-panhika-ku.
1SG-eat-IMPF-FUT
'I'm still going to eat.'

c. Kuna nhi-nhipukuta-panhika-ku.
NEG 1SG-eat-IMPF-FUT
'I'm not going to eat yet.'

(51) Atukatxi wai-panhika inhaka-saaky kikiu-munhi
sun here-IMPF AUX-TEMP farm.field-to
ny-sa-panhika-ku.
1SG-go-IMPF-FUT
'When I arrive, if it's still sunny, I still will go to the farm field.'

(52) P-awa-pika-ku ĩkurapukuryty
2SG-exist-HAB-FUT there
'You'll be always living in this world.'

(53) Uwa kiiumanetxi arika-nã-ta-ry kãkyty
3SG.F elder burn-PROG-VBZ-3M.O person
'The creature was burning (to death) people.'

In general, the same aspect markers used in affirmative clauses are used also in negative clauses, except for the perfective marker in (50a), which is only used in affirmative clauses. The distinction between perfective

and imperfective is neutralized in negative clauses, as seen in (50b) and (50c). Thus, in terms of the restrictions on the use of negation that are imposed by tense, aspect and modality, Apurinã neutralizes the perfectivity distinction in negative constructions in favor of the imperfective form. Furthermore, although the future marker *-ku* is not generally used in negative sentences which do not carry an aspectual distinction, cf. (40) and (50c), this is unlikely to be a fully grammatical distinction, since affirmative future event clauses can also lack such a marker. Therefore, as far as standard negation is concerned, Apurinã negatives are mostly symmetrical (Miestamo 2005, 2007) across different tenses and aspects, except for perfectivity. Other differences between negative and affirmative sentences are more likely to derive from particular discourse-pragmatic considerations.

6. *Negation and clause combinations*

In this section I describe negation in the major types of Apurinã clause combination constructions. In complex sentences containing an independent clause as a complement, the negative particle precedes the clause that is negated, as in (54).

(54) a. Nh-imaruta-ry kuna u-nhika-ry ximaky.
1SG-know-3M.O NEG 3F.SG-eat-3M.O fish
'I know she didn't eat the fish.'

b. Kuna nh-imaruta-ry u-nhika-ry-wa-ku
NEG 1SG-know-3M.O 3F.SG-eat-3M.O-REFX-FUT
ximaky.
fish
'I don't know if she herself will eat the fish.'

In general, complex sentences containing a dependent clause as a complement also make use of *kuna* to negate the matrix clause, as in (55a), where the gerund marker, *-inhi*, makes the complement clause dependent. As for dependent complement clauses, these make use of the morphological negative marker, as in (55b), in which case the verb form is marked by a nominalizer. Very often, however, these semantic propositions are expressed with utterance verbs and direct quotations, as in (55c).

(55) a. Kuna nh-imaruta-ry ywaã u-s-inhi.
NEG 1SG-know-3M.O there 3F-go-GER
'I don't know if she went there.'

b. Nh-imaruta-ry ywaã u-ma-sy-kany.
1SG-know-3M.O DEM 3F-NEG-go-NML
'I know about their not going there.'

c. "Kuna yã-ã p-uka-nã-ta-pe-wa,"
NEG water-LOC 2SG-jump-PROG-VBZ-PERF-REFX
nhi-txa-ry samaryny.
1SG-say-3M.O boy
'I told the boy, "Don't you keep jumping in the water."'

Constructions involving negative transport – that is, where a complex sentence with a matrix clause that is negated can be paraphrased by a complex sentence where the complement clause is negated (cf. "I don't think she's coming" vs. "I think she's not coming") – are not attested in the language. In attempting to elicit a paraphrase of a sentence such as (56a&b) is offered by speakers as a translation of 'I think he did not come'.

(56) a. Kuna n-awyka-ry ywa inh-inhi.
NEG 1SG-believe-3M.O 3M.SG come-GER
'I don't think he came.'

b. Kuna Ø-yna atxĩity
NEG 3M.SG-come perhaps
'Maybe he didn't come.'

In sentences with subordinate clauses, the matrix clause is negated with *kuna*, as in (57a), and subordinate clauses are generally negated with the privative, as in (57b-c).

(57) a. I-kipa-ka-saaky, kuna kikiu-munhi ny-sa.
3M-bathe-PRED-TEMP NEG farm-to 1SG-go
'If/when it rains, I will not go to the farm.'

b. Y-ma-kipa-kany-saaky ny-sa-pyty-ka-ku
3M-NEG-bathe-NMZ-TEMP 1SG-go-indeed-PRED-FUT
kikiu-munhi.
farm-to
'If/when it doesn't rain I'll go to the farm.'

c. Amaryny ĩthupa y-myteka y-ma-kipa-kany-wa
Boy jungle 3M-run 3M-NEG-bathe-NMZ-REFX
ĩkapane.
PURP
'The boy ran away into the forest so as not to take a bath.'

Finally, there are two types of sentences that do not always involve clause combinations, but in some of their uses function as adversative or conditional constructions. The first construction takes the frustrative marker, *-ma*, which indicates that the event denoted by the verb bearing the frustrative has adverse results, as in (58a). In such sentences, which have adversative, frustrative or counter-expected meanings, the clitic-like marker *-ma* attaches to one (or more) constituent in the first clause, which thereby becomes semantically dependent. When such constructions are negated, either clause can take the negative particle, as in (58b&d); (58c) exemplifies the use of the privative when the second clause is a syntactically dependent clause. The only attested instances of the privative in frustrative constructions with non-subordinate clauses involve the copula verb *inha*, as in (58e).

(58) a. ywa-ma iusaraãka-ta-pe-ma-ry
3M.SG-FRU peel-VBZ-PERF-FRU-3M.O
Ø-aripe-ka-ta-wa.
3M-burn-INTE-VBZ-REFX
'He tried to peel it, but got burned.'

b. Nhi-keta-ma-ry kayaty, kuna y-pyna.
1SG-shoot-FRU-3M.O paca NEG 3M-die
'I shot the paca, but it didn't die.'

c. Iãkyny y-nyta-pe-ma-na
footprints 3M-search-PERF-FRU-3PL
m-apu-kyny-t-ika.
PRIV-find-NMZ-PRED-anymore
'They searched for its tracks, which were not found anymore.'

d. Kuna ny-nyta-ma-ru, itxama[12]
NEG 1SG-search-FRU-3F.O however
n-etama-ta-ru.
1SG-see-VBZ-3F.O
'Although I didn't look for her, I found her anyway.'

e. Ywa Kanhinhary
3SG Kanhinhary
m-inha-pe-ẽ-kany-ma-ry
PRIV-COP-PERF-PASS-NMZ-FRU-3M.O
kunhi-ma-ku wai ã-awa.
not-PRIV-FUT here 1PL-exist
'If it were not for him, Kanhinhary, we would not be here.'

The second type of clause-combining construction discussed here makes simultaneous use of the frustrative marker, *-ma*, and the future marker, *-ku*, in conditional constructions involving meanings of unfulfilled or frustrated expectations, as in (59a). As illustrated by (59a&b), the *-ma...-ku* combination does not make a clause syntactically dependent, since although the interpretation of these sentences may seem incomplete, they can be used as a complete sentence denoting an event that generates an unfulfilled expectation, which need not be explicitly expressed. In (59c), the first clause is dependent and takes the *-ma...-ku* markers, but what makes it syntactically dependent is the presence of the gerund marker, *-inhi*.

(59) a. Ary. ywã-ma-ra-ku a-myna-ma-ry.
Yes there-FRU-FOC-FUT 1PL-bring-FRU-3M.O
'Yes, it's from there that we would bring it (if we went there/but we didn't go there).'

b. Watxa-ma-ra-ku atha-ma-ra-ku watxa
today-FRU-FOC-FUT 3PL-FRU-FOC-FUT today
iie kama-ry.
PART make-3M.O
'(If it were) nowadays, nowadays we would build it (but we cannot do it any longer).'

[12] This form must derive from *y-* '3M' *txa* 'COP' *-ma* 'FRUSTRATIVE', but appears to have lexicalized as an adversative connective.

c. Ywaã a-s-inhi-piti-ka-ma-ra-ku
DEM 1PL-go-GER-indeed-PRED-FRU-FUT
a-myna-ry katsupary.
1PL-bring-3.O coca.leaf
'Indeed by going there (if we would), we would bring some *katsupary* (but we will not go there).'

Clauses bearing the *-ma...-ku* markers can take either the morphological marker for negation, as in (60a), or the negative particle, as in (60b).

(60) a. N-yry-pyty-nhi-ka iia atuku ykara
1SG-father-indeed-AFF-PRED DEM like DEM
atuku m-inha-kany-ma-ku.
like NEG-COP-NMZ-FRU-FUT
'If my father had not been like this indeed (we would not be like we are).'

b. Ykara m-inha-kany [...] kuna iia atuku
DEM PRIV-COP-NMZ NEG DEM like
a-txa-ma-ku.
1PL-COP-NEG-FUT
Atha-pyty-ka-ma-ra-ku [...]
1PL-indeed-PRED-FRU-FOC-FUT
'Were it not for that... we would not be the way we are. We'd be ourselves indeed.'

7. *Brief note on negation in closely related languages*

The languages most closely related to Apurinã, geographically and probably genetically, are Piro (also known as Manchinéri or Yine) and Iñapari. Interestingly, Piro (according to the description presented in Matteson 1965), shows both a free form *ma* and a prefix form *m(a)-*, both of which generally co-occur in the sentence. Matteson gives the form *hike* as the negative answer to questions, and it appears to be morphologically complex, since *hi* is used to mark emphatic negation, as in *hi waleko xema* (Neg even him listen) 'He didn't even listen to him.' (p. 49) and *hi-tʃe*, 'not yet'.

Iñapari, on the other hand, according to Parker (1995), shows the negator element to be the prefix form *aa-*, which is simply attached to the positive form of the verb, as in *aa-noyapiráma* 'I'm not going to go.' (cf. *noyapiráma* 'I'm going to go'). The form *aháimáni* is given as the negative answer to questions.

The Piro forms *ma* and *m(a)-* are clearly related to the privative marker of Apurinã and other Arawak languages, but in Piro, it appears to be used with wider scope. On the basis of the sound correspondences attested for Apurinã-Piro-Iñapari (Brandão and Facundes 2006), I find no evidence that the Iñapari form, /*a:-*/ is cognate to the Piro and Apurinã negative marker *m(a)-*. Furthermore, Iñapari forms such as *m-uji-petíri* (lit. the one that doesn't see, cf. *oji-tí* 'eyes' and *ma-putúri* 'mute' (cf. *potumachá-ti* 'lips', also found in Parker 1995), provide instances of the negative marker *ma-* with its typical privative function. Whether these are instances of loanwords in Iñapari remains to be determined. In any case, Piro and Iñapari do not seem to show cognate forms for the Apurinã standard negative marker, *kuna*.

8. *Final Remarks*

Standard negation in Apurinã (i.e. the negative coding of declarative clauses) is marked by the negative particle *kuna*. Non-verbal, copula, and existential clauses/constructions, imperatives, negative focus, and indefinite pronouns can all also be negated with *kuna*. The morphological negative morpheme *ma-*, which corresponds to the privative marker in some other Arawak languages, is used primarily with non-verbal or descriptive predicates and with relative clauses, although it also has the derivational function common to other Arawak languages. Standard negation, marked by the negative particle *kuna*, is symmetrical across the various grammatical subsystems, except in relation to perfectivity, where the perfective versus imperfective distinction is neutralized in favor of the latter. Other restrictions involving negation and tense-modality do not seem to be fully grammaticalized in the language, and depend on discourse-pragmatic factors, which require further investigation.

Finally, whereas the Apurinã morphological marker *m(a)-* has attested cognates in other Arawak languages, albeit with functions that may vary slightly, no cognate form has been attested thus far for the marker of standard negation, *kuna*. Unless conclusive evidence of grammatical borrowing in the language is found, this standard negation marker is a candidate for innovation in the language.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NEGATION IN WAUJA DISCOURSE

CHRISTOPHER BALL

1. *Introduction*

This chapter describes forms of negation in Wauja,[1] an Arawak language spoken in the Upper Xingu region of the Xingu Indigenous Park in Brazil. In addition to Wauja, two other Arawak languages; Mehinaku and Yawalapiti, are spoken in the Upper Xingu. No specific treatments of the morphosyntax or the semantics and pragmatics of negation exist for any of these languages. In this paper I attempt to partially fill this gap with documentation of some common formal negation strategies in Wauja.

I analyze standard negation of main clauses using the Wauja negative element *aitsa*. I describe Wauja standard negation as relatively symmetrical in that there is very little structural difference between declarative sentences that assert propositions and their negated counterparts besides the addition of the negative element (Miestamo 2005). This contrasts with data from other Arawak languages that show how negation interacts in complex ways with Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) categories, especially reality status, in relatively asymmetrical ways (Michael this volume). I discuss forms of nonstandard negation in Wauja that employ morphologically complex forms. I present examples of morphological derivations from the negative element *aitsa* that add epistemic and emphatic meanings, and accomplish conditional and deontic negation. I also examine constituent negation utilizing the privative morpheme *ma-*, commonly found in Arawak languages (Payne 1991). I analyze another form of nonstandard negation, existential negation, as employing a morphological variant of privative *ma-*. My data are drawn from elicited and naturally occurring discourse contexts. I present both context independent and contextually malleable aspects of the meanings of these negation forms in use, with attention to the speech act functions of negative expressions.

2. *Sociolinguistic Background*

[1] Wauja is also known in the literature as Waurá.

Wauja is an Arawak language spoken by roughly 350 people in the Brazilian Upper Xingu. The term Upper Xingu designates both the region below the confluence of the Kuluene and Batovi rivers where the Xingu river is formed and the culture area and social system comprised by the indigenous groups that live there. The Upper Xingu is found within the borders of the Xingu Indigenous Park. The Wauja participate in the Upper Xingu social system along with member groups speaking Arawak, Carib, Tupí(-Guarani) languages, as well as one language isolate. The Arawak languages spoken in the Upper Xingu are Wauja, Mehinaku and Yawalapiti. The groups speaking Carib languages are Kuikuro, Kalapalo, Nahukuwá, and Matipu. Awetí is a Tupí language and Kamayurá is Tupí-Guarani. Trumai is a language isolate. Wauja and Mehinaku are very closely related if not varieties of the same language and speakers of these varieties can communicate with one another with some difficulty. Seki (1999) considers them to be dialects of one language, describing Yawalapiti as the most structurally divergent of the Xinguan Arawak languages.

The Upper Xingu culture area is a multilingual system, but of a particular sort. Many languages are spoken in the area, but individuals and groups are often monolingual (Basso 1973, Franchetto 2001). Monolingual language purity is a strong index of ethnic group identity and is reinforced at the community level through a region-wide tendency to local group endogamy. In this sociolinguistic setting, Upper Xinguan languages are highly localized, typically spoken by numbers of people in the hundreds in a few locations where speakers experience a high degree of interactional frequency and an almost total domination of face-to-face conversation in the local code. Wauja is a good example of this pattern, with a relatively small and restricted number of speakers, a low degree of bilingualism, ethnic group endogamy, and so far one hundred percent monolingual socialization of children to Wauja in early childhood. Most Wauja speakers reside in a single village called Piyulaga, with the exception of one extended family that lives in a separate settlement, and some individuals who have moved to nearby towns or live in a so-called vigilance post at the southwest border of the Park on the Batovi river. The Batovi is considered by Wauja to be a part of their traditional territory.

The introduction of Portuguese to the Upper Xingu was in some ways stemmed by the institution of the park in the middle of the twentieth century, but groups throughout the Upper Xingu have seen increasing individual and group bilingualism in recent decades. Currently many Wauja men under the age of thirty and fewer women have acquired some Portuguese as a second language through contact with Brazilians in

adolescence and young adulthood. It is only through travel to the outside that Wauja become bilingual in Portuguese, all young children in Piyulaga learn only Wauja.

Linguistic documentation of Wauja is relatively limited to date. Previous linguistic analysis of the language has been conducted by Richards (1973). The Wauja language shares many features typical of Arawak languages including a nominal classifier system and an inalienability contrast in nominal possessive forms (Aikhenvald 1999, Corbera Mori 2005, Granadillo 2004). Wauja typically displays SVO word order.

(1) Yakowakowa ainxa-pai ata o-tai.[2]
Toucan 3.eat-IMPF tree 3SG-fruit
'The toucan eats fruit.'

One exception to this tendency derives from the active-stative contrast in verbal syntax and semantics that is manifest in other Arawak languages in verbal morphology (Aikhenvald 1999) but that Wauja has preserved in word order. Subject NPs of stative predicates appear post verbally, patterning with objects of transitive predicates.

(2) Awojotopa-pai yakowakowa isixauto-mapo.
3.be.beautiful-IMPF toucan 3SG.anus-fur/down
'The toucan's downy tail feathers are beautiful.'

3. *Standard Negation*

Standard negation is expressed in Wauja with the negative element *aitsa*. Examples of sentential negation in verbal clauses utilizing the negative particle *aitsa* appear in (4) and (6) below.

(3) Awojo-pai.
3.be.good-IMPF
'It's good'

(4) Aitsa awojo-pai.
NEG 3.be.good-IMPF
'It's not good.'

[2] The orthographic conventions used in this chapter correspond to those used in my dissertation (Ball 2007).

(5) N-unupa-wo.
1SG-see-3O
'I see it.'

(6) Aitsa n-unupa-wo.
NEG 1SG-see-O
'I did not see it.'

Example (7) comes from a narrative about negotiating relations with other Upper Xinguan groups and ending arguments over rights to fishing grounds.

(7) Aitsa a-peyete onaam-iu.
NEG 2PL-be.angry again-PERF
'We didn't get angry (argue) ever again.'

As can be observed in the previous examples, *aitsa* typically appears immediately pre-verbally. It is unattested post verbally and constructions such as in (8) are ungrammatical.

(8) *unupa-wo aitsa.
3.see-O NEG
'S/he did not see it.'

When an overt subject NP heads the clause, the negative element *aitsa* usually appears after the subject NP immediately before the verb as in (9).

(9) Toneju-nau pata atuluka-pai kata Yamurikuma
women-PL only 3.dance-IMPF PROX Yamurikuma
o-kaho, enoja-nau aitsa atuluka-pai o-kaho.
3-LOC man-PL NEG 3.dance- IMPF 3-LOC
'Only women dance in this Yamurikuma ceremony, men do not dance in it.'

(10) Amunau aitsa peyete-pei.
Chiefs NEG 3.be.angry-IMPF
'Chiefs don't get angry (complain).'

But the negative element *aitsa* may appear before the subject NP, as in example (11) from a narrative about the *kaumai* funerary ritual (also popularly known in Brazil and in the anthropological literature by its

Kamayurá name *kwarup*) and how it functions in part to alleviate the grief of the sponsor whose relative has died. Here the fronting of the negative particle in (11b) may be due to the funeral sponsor's discourse status as given information since he has already been introduced as topic.

(11) a. Maka kaumai-yekeho kotepe-mona.
RESULT funeral-owner/master 3.be.happy
'So the funeral sponsor is happy.'

b. Maka aitsa kaumai-yekeho pawalapa.
RESULT NEG funeral-owner/master 3.be.sad
'So the funeral sponsor is not sad.'

c. Oukaka inyau-nau a-watana-ta-pai.
therefore person-PL VBZ-flute-VBZ-IMPF
'That is why people dance.'

In the following example (12) the object NP of a transitive clause is fronted as a topic, and the negative element appears before the subject and verb.

(12) Kawoka aitsa toneju-nau unupa-pai.
Kawoka flutes NEG woman-PL 3.see-IMPF
'As for the Kawoka flutes, women don't see them.'

Discourse information structure seems to be the cause of alternation in word order in examples such as these. Consider the following discourse in example (13) of the use of the expression of standard negation in Wauja taken from a recording of an interview I conducted with one of the members of a Wauja dance troupe who had traveled to France to perform a ritual show. The Wauja performers had become dissatisfied with the lack of food, sweet drinks, and tobacco provided by the French sponsors and expressed this in terms of worry that the spirit invoked in the dance, named *Atujuwa*, was becoming angry due to hunger and thirst. One of the performers explained the situation to me as follows.

(13) a. Oukaka Atujuwa peyete-pei.
therefore Atujuwa 3.be.angry-IMPF
'That is why Atujuwa is angry.'

b. Peyete-pei Atujuwa.
3.be.angry-IMPF Atujuwa
'Atujuwa is angry.'

c. Aitsa Atujuwa ainxa-pai,
NEG Atujuwa 3.eat-IMPF
'Atujuwa is not eating,

d. Aitsa tuuka-pai,
NEG 3.drink-impf
not drinking,

e. Aitsa tuuka-pai guarana,
NEG 3.drink-IMPF soda pop
not drinking soda pop,

f. Aitsa ainxa-waka-ta-pai,
NEG 3.eat-DSTR-CAUS-IMPF
not eating all around (having sex?),

g. Aitsa utautaka-pai yakawaka-tope.
NEG 3.suck-IMPF things-many
not eating many different fruits.'

h. Peyete-pei Atujuwe=eu=hã
3.be.angry-IMPF Atujuwa=PERF=EMP
'Atujuwa is angry.'

Note first that in (13c), the full subject NP 'Atujuwa' appears after the negative element *aitsa*. This example of the position of the negative element shows interaction with information structure in discourse. The subject NP refers to given information here, since 'Atujuwa' was introduced in (13a). The overt subject in (13b) appears post verbally. The subject NP follows the first appearance of the negative element in (13c). The subject is elided in the following four lines (13d-g), all of which begin with the negative element *aitsa*. Finally the subject NP appears in post-verbal position again in (13h), as in (13b). Since *peyete* 'be.angry', which also denotes fighting, arguing, or complaining, is an active verb, typically its subject NP will appear pre-verbally, as in example (10) above. The post verbal position of the subject NP in (13b) and (13h) has the effect of emphasizing the predicate by fronting the verb with a following subject NP cross-referencing a given participant. The overall

effect is that the subject is introduced in line (13a), and his anger is emphasized in (13b) while his identity is presupposed. The negative element begins the next five lines (13c) through (13g), which poetically frames the negative condition of the principal actor. He is described in line (13d) as not eating, in line (13e) as not drinking soda pop, here a reference to the cosmopolitan version of more traditional Wauja ceremonial beverages. In line (13f) the verb 'eat' takes the distributive suffix to depict Atujuwa as not eating 'all over', which in this construction perhaps purposefully overlaps with a common Wauja expression for sexual intercourse; *ainxa-waka* 'eat-DSTR'. In line (13g) he is described as not consuming various things with a verb referring exclusively to consuming fruit. The repetition of the negative element at the beginning of these five lines works in the discourse to front the lack of food, drink, and sex that Atujuwa is experiencing as the cause of his anger. This anger is reintroduced in the final line of this speaker's turn in (13h), where, as in (13b), the verb appears before the subject NP to emphasize the severity of the situation.

Clause linking constructions including negation do not exhibit different forms of negation in Wauja. Example (11) repeated here as example (14) shows a negative purposive construction.

(14) a. Maka kaumai-yekeho kotepe-mona.
RESULT funeral-owner/master 3.be.happy
'So the funeral sponsor is happy.'

b. Maka aitsa kaumai-yekeho pawalapa.
RESULT NEG funeral-owner/master 3.be.sad
'So the funeral sponsor is not sad.'

c. Oukaka inyau-nau a-watana-ta-pai.
Therefore person-PL VBZ-flute-VBZ-IMPF
'That is why people dance.'

In clause linking constructions with finite complement clauses as in (15) reported speech complements exhibit the same negation as main clauses.

(15) Aitsa n-uuta-pai uma, aitsa n-uuta-pai.
NEG 1SG-know-IMPF 3.say NEG 1SG-know-IMPF
'"I don't know," he said, "I don't know."'

In clause linking constructions with non-finite complement clauses such as desiderative complements, negation can only occur in the matrix

clause as in example (16).

(16) a. N-atukuta n-aintxaa-pai kupato
1SG-want 1SG-eat.SUB-IMPF fish
'I want to eat fish.'

b. Aitsa n-atukuta n-aintxaa-pai kupato
NEG 1SG-want 1SG-eat.SUB-IMPF fish
'I do not want to eat fish.'

c. *N-atukuta aitsa n-aintxaa-pai kupato
1SG-want NEG 1SG-eat.SUB-IMPF fish
INTENDED MEANING: 'I want to not eat fish.'

4. *Morphologically complex negation*

Wauja also has several complex negative forms fulfilling specific functions other than standard negation that are derived from the basic negative element *aitsa*. In fact, *aitsa* cannot appear alone, as a negative reply to a question for example, and it does not count as a full grammatical utterance. In contrast any of the complex forms discussed in this section that are based on *aitsa* plus the addition of extra morphological material can stand alone in discourse as fully grammatical and well-formed utterances. I discuss morphological operations that modify this particle including suffixation and cliticization of aspect, mood, and intensity markers, such as the following.

Table 1. *Verbal Category and Discourse Function of Negatives*

NEGATIVE PARTICLE	VERBAL CATEGORY	ENGLISH GLOSS	DISCOURSE FUNCTION
Aitsa	indicative	'not'	Negation (assertive)
aitsa=yajo	epistemic (to a high degree of certainty)	'truly not!'	Expressive
aitsa=wiu	perfective	'no thank you'	Refusal, Decline
aitsa-ha	emphatic	'nothing,' 'not at all,' 'not true!'	Denial, Protest
aitsa=miya Amiya	conditional/ deontic	'would not' 'you'd better not,' 'don't do it!'	Counterfactual, Possible Conditional, Warning, Negative Deontic
aitse=neke	durational	'not yet'	

The form *aitsa=yajo* 'truly not,' is used to assert a strong negative evaluation. One might use the phrase *aitsa=yajo* to describe terrible fishing results, when a fisherman has caught nothing he can state that the results are truly negative. Aspectual modification involving the perfective clitic produces a special negative construction, *aitsa=wiu*, used to refuse offers. Suffixation of the emphatic produces *aitsa-ha*, 'nothing, not at all' the most common negative form used in reply to interrogatives. Cliticization of the conditional morpheme produces a negative form, *aitsa=miya*, used to denote negative possibility, and in a reduced phonological structure to form negative deontic sentences used to issue warnings and negative imperative commands.

An interesting example of the use of *aitsa=yajo* comes from the same discourse context as example (13) above. In this case in example (17) a different speaker explains why the Atujuwa spirit was perceived to be angry while the Wauja performers were visiting France. The following speaker expresses extreme disapproval and worry in this discourse through repetition of the negative element and in the culminating iteration by suffixation of *=yajo* 'truly', which typically indicates high epistemic certainty of a text's denotational content but in combination with the negative expresses an intensity of negative evaluation.

(17) a. Oukaka ai-moja-pai Atujuwa outs-iu.
therefore 1PL.-be.afraid-IMPF Atujuwa 3.from-PERF
'That is why we are afraid of Atujuwa.'

b. Aitsa k-uleken-pei=yiu,
NEG ATTR-food-IMPF=PERF
'He doesn't have food,

c. oukaka ai-moja-pai outs=iu.
therefore 1PL-be.afraid-IMPF3.from=PERF
so we are afraid.'

d. Onuka pitsa Atujuwa pitsana onuka-we
3.harm/kill may Atujuwa maybe 3.harm/kill-FUT
aitsu=wiu.
1PL=PERF
'He might harm - Atujuwa might harm us.'

e. Aitsa k-uleken-pei=yiu,
NEG ATTR-food-IMPF=PERF
'He doesn't have food,

f. aitsa kal=iu tamana-kona-pai a-u
NEG DEM=PERF buy-PASS-IMPF 1PL-BEN
guarane=eu.
soda pop=PERF
soda pop wasn't bought for us.'

g. Aitsa aitsa aitsa=yajo=wiu,
NEG NEG NEG=truly=PERF
'It is truly bad,

h. oukaka ai-moja-pai kal=iu=hã
therefore 1PL-be.afraid-IMPF DEM=PERF=EMP
so we are afraid of that,

i. apapatai outsa kat=iu=nohã.
spirit-monster from PROX.DEI=PERF=EMP
of this spirit-monster.'

j. Onuka pitsana-we aitsu=wiu.
3.harm/kill maybe-FUT 1PL=PERF
'Maybe he will harm us.'

Like the text of the previous speaker in example (17) that immediately preceded this section of text, the second speaker here similarly describes Atujuwa's lack of food using the negative element *aitsa* in lines (17b&e). Note that in lines (17b&e) the speaker uses *aitsa* plus the attributive *ka-* in *aitsa k-uleken-pei-yiu* 'he doesn't have food'. I return to this below in section 5 when I discuss differences in the use of the negative element *aitsa* with attributive constructions in place of the attributive's negative counterpart, the privative *ma-*. In line (17f) the speaker states that no soda pop was provided for the Wauja performers by the French sponsors of the ritual show, causing the spirit-monster whose masks they are there to dance to suffer from thirst. The speaker repeats in lines (17a), (17h), and (17i) that the performers are afraid of the sprit-monster Atujuwa, and in lines (17d&j) that Atujuwa might harm them. The repetition of the negative element *aitsa* and suffixation of the epistemic suffix *-yajo* 'truly' in line (17g) drives home the point that this situation is truly bad.

Polite refusal to accept an offer, such as offers of food, tobacco, soap at the watering hole, etc. is expressed in Wauja with a construction in which the perfective cliticizes to the negative element to produce phrases as in example (18).

(18) aitsa=wiu
NEG=PERF
'No thank you.'

This morphologically complex form stands alone in discourse as a full and complete reply. On one occasion I confused *aitsa=wiu* 'no thank you' with the construction *aitsa-ha*, containing an emphatic and sometimes nominalizing suffix which is used in Wauja to mean 'nothing' or 'not at all.'[3]

[3] One reason why I say that *-ha* may be a nominalizer is that this morpheme appears to combine with e.g. deictics to form nouns that can function as syntactic subjects. So for example *ja-ha*, where deictic *ja-* 'there/that' becomes 'that one,' which as a noun can be subject of a main clause as in *ja-ha utuka-wiu ata* 'He cut wood.' I don't know if *aitsa-ha* is the same type of nominal syntactically. This needs more study. Granadillo (personal communication) notes that *ha* is present in North Arawak languages to indicate the independent pronouns and the deictics, so 'I' is *hnua* in Kurripako and *nuha* in Tariana.

(19) aitsa-ha
NEG-EMP/NML
'Nothing / not at all.'

When asked by the mother of the Wauja household I stayed in if I wanted more fish stew I politely refused, or so I thought, by saying *aitsa-ha*. This expression was interpreted as too strong a denial for the circumstances. The situation provided a metalinguistic lesson in table manners, as everyone laughed at me and insisted that I reply to an unwanted offer with the expression *aitsa=wiu* 'no thank you.' Now, *aitsa-ha* is appropriate as a reply to a question where one wants to indicate either that one does not at all know or does not at all care. In example (20) a man is asked if he misses his wife and replies *aitsa-ha* 'not at all.'

(20) A: Pu-pawalapa-pai p-inyu ou-neke?
2SG-miss-IMPF 2SG-wife 3.from-still
'Do you miss your wife?'

B: Aitsa-ha.
NEG-EMP/NML
'Not at all.'

Aitsa-ha is also the most common second pair part in everyday Wauja greeting scenarios. When a visitor enters a house the occupant initiates by asking something to the effect of "what's up?" or "what is it?" and the reply is *aitsa-ha* 'nothing, not much'. This may be immediately followed by a detailed explanation for the purpose of the visit.

(21) A: Natsi?
'What is it?'

B: Aitsa-ha.
NEG-EMP/NML
'Nothing.'

Consider another example (22) of explicit metalinguistic instruction involving *aitsa-ha*, where this time I was told how to use it correctly. The correction plays on the difference between shamans, who smoke tobacco for medicinal purposes, and lay folk who simply smoke, where the mere act of smoking is indicated with the use of the restrictive 'merely' suffix *–tai*. In example (22) speaker A begins by asking B (the

author) if he is smoking.

(22) A: Pu-tuuka-pai?
2s-smoke-IMPF
'Are you smoking?'

B: Nu-tuuka-pai.
1SG-smoke-IMPF
'I am smoking.'

A: Yatama pitsu.
shaman 2SG
'You're a shaman.'

B: Aitsa-ha.
NEG-EMP/NML
'Not at all.'

A: Aitsa-ha nu-tuuka-tai p-uma.
NEG-EMP/NML 1SG-smoke-REST 2SG-say
'No, that's not correct, say "I am *merely* smoking."'
or, 'Say, "Not at all, I am *merely* smoking."'

In this example (22), the Wauja speaker A is correcting the use of the verb in the reply of the researcher, speaker B. The place of the negative expression in this exchange is interesting, because it is unclear if in A's corrective suggestion in the final line he is using *aitsa-ha* or mentioning it. He might be interpreted as using *aitsa-ha* to tell B that he is wrong, after which A instructs 'say "I am merely smoking,"' or A could be interpreted as providing a full replacement for speaker B's reply complete with appropriate exemplification of the negative as in 'say, "Not at all, I am merely smoking."'

Conditional constructions in Wauja indicating the possibility of some action or state of affairs are formed with cliticization of the conditional *=miya*.

(23) Uno taka-we, katoga-waka=miya n-ipitsi.
water fall-FUT be.cold-DSTR=COND 1SG-DAT
'If it rains, I would be cold.'

Use of *-miya* also contributes to conditional constructions as in example (24).

(24) Amaka=miya autopajo-te-ne pitsu.
hammock=COND be.old-CAUS-TEL 2SG
'If (you) hammock (lay about), then it makes you become old.'

Example (24) could also be interpreted as a counterfactual conditional construction. Lyons (1977: 795) illustrates counterfactual constructions with the English example "If he had been to Paris, he would have visited Montmartre," wherein the premise "he went/has been to Paris" (as well as the proposition "he went/has been to Montmartre") is interpreted as not holding. In Wauja, when *=miya* occurs with the negative particle the result is often a negative counterfactual conditional such as in (25).[4] In example (25) a housemate jokingly told me that if I had been attracted by fame to become a pop singer I would never have had the good fortune to live among the Wauja people. In (25) the negative particle appears in the apodosis (result) clause.

(25) a. P-iya apai-yekeho=miya,
2SG-go song-owner/master=COND
'If you had become a singer,

b. aitsa Wauja pi-tsuwa ou,
NEG Wauja 2SG-come DIR
you would not (have) come to the Wauja,

c. aitsa=miya pi-tsuwa-ha.
NEG=COND 2SG-come-EMP
you would not (have) come at all.'

Observe that in the conterfactual conditionals in (25) and in (26) and (27) below, *=miya* appears in both the protasis (condition) and apodosis clauses. It is unclear if this distribution distinguishes conditionals, as in example (13) with *=miya* only in the apodosis clause and the future/irrealis in the protasis clause, from the counterfactual conditional constructions.

Two examples of *=miya* from the same narrative about the sun and

[4] Lev Michael (personal communication) notes that *=miya* may be cognate with the Nanti counterfactual conditional *=me*. More data need to be examined to determine how general a conditional Wauja *=miya* is.

the moon both show counterfactual conditional uses. In (26) the narrator describes a counterfactual situation saying that if the sun were closer to the earth people would burn and die. The speaker elsewhere in the narrative describes how in mythical times the sun did in fact come down through the surface of the sky and scorched ancestral people. Since we know this happened before but that the same situation does not hold now, this should be interpreted as a present counterfactual.

(26) a. Au-numanai-tsa=miy=iu au-numana,
1PL-near- CL.protruding=COND=PERF 1PL-near
'If it (the sun) was near to us, near to us,

b. enu-taku o-nai-tsa=miy=iu,
sky-CL.surface 3SG-LOC-CL.protruding=COND=PERF
if it was coming out/down through surface of the sky,

c. a-usix-ene-te=miy=iu
1PL-burn-RESULT-CAUS=COND=PERF
we would all burn up.'

d. Aw-akama-ta=miy=iu=hã
1PL-die-CAUS=COND=PERF=EMP
'It would really kill us.'

A little later in the narrative, the speaker describes why the moon is darker than the sun, and thus night-time darker than daytime, saying that a mythical spirit named Munuri died on the surface of the moon, leaving a mark that dampened its brightness. Example (27) shows a clear counterfactual negative conditional. In contrast to (25), in example (27) negation appears in the in the protasis clause.

(27) a. Aitsa=miya o-taku-wa (-ha),
NEG=COND 3SG-surface-CL.prone (-EMP)
'If he (Munuri) wasn't flat on its surface,

b. itsa-waka=miya kat=iu=han,
be.like-DSTR=COND PROX.DEI=PERF=EMP
it would be (bright) like this here (the light of day),

c. muin-yaka=yajo=wiu.
bright-DSTR=truly=PERF
truly bright all over.'

In addition to these uses of *=miya*, a second construction involving grammaticalization of the *aitsa* negative particle plus *=miya* to form *amiya* is used to express prohibitive, i.e. negative imperative statements. Consider the prohibitive use in example (28) from a ritual adult baptism where a name giver bestows a new name and warns villagers to not use the receiver's old name Kukisi anymore.

(28) Amiya Kukisi, amiya Kukisi y-uma
NEG.IMP Kukisi, NEG.IMP Kukisi 2PL-say
ipits-iu-hã.
3.DAT-PERF-EMP
'Not Kukisi, don't call him Kukisi!'

Also, shouts of *amiya!* as in example (29) are among the most common utterances heard from adults to small children in Wauja, used as a prohibition equivalent to "don't (do that)!" when children touch, eat, run, scream, etc. in inappropriate ways.

(29) Amiya!
NEG.IMP
'Don't (do that)!'

The *amiya* construction is used to express negative imperative statements, warnings, or forbidding someone from performing some action.[5] This probably involves historical reduction of the negative element *aitsa* in combination with the conditional *=miya*. The resulting construction *amiya* from *aitsa=miya* has become a morphologically, semantically, and pragmatically independent form. So *amiya* "don't (do it)" and *aitsa=miya* "would not" may be diachronically related but they are synchronically distinct.[6]

The morpheme *-neke* 'still' is a highly productive morpheme in Wauja used to indicate duration of some activity or state of affairs that combines with the negative particle in example (30).

(30) Aitsa n-ainxa-wiu.
NEG 1SG-eat-PERF
'I didn't eat.'

[5] The fused form amiya may also be used to express negative deontic statements of the sort "You shouldn't do X," but this requires further investigation.

[6] Compare phonological reduction of negative *kona* to *a* in Apurinã (Facundes 2000).

(31) N-ainxe-neke.
1SG-eat-still
'I have yet to eat,' *or* 'I am still eating.'

(32) Aitse-neke n-ainxa-pai.
NEG-still 1SG-eat-IMPF
'I'm not eating yet.'

Example (33) comes from story told by a young Wauja man about studying medicine at the Xingu Park's central post.

(33) Aitse-neke na-ki-yeje-tuwa-yajo-pai.
NEG-still 1SG-ATTR-knowledge-REFX-truly-IMPF
'I didn't really study yet.'

5. *Privative –ma*

An important distinction to make in Wauja negation regards the ubiquitous Arawak privative *ma-* in comparison to the Wauja negative element *aitsa*. The privative *ma-* forms negative nominal constructions as well as negative predicates. One particularly good example of *ma-* negation of a nominal constituent is a place name described in a Wauja myth about the original peopling of the Batovi River. The Wauja's founding ancestor travelled downriver in his canoe and deposited subordinate chiefs at spots along the river where they started settlements that took their names. He did this until he reached the limits of Wauja territory and ran out of chiefs and thus names. Accordingly this riverine limit of Wauja territory is named for its lack of a name. Example (34) is also interesting because it shows that *ma-* can derive nouns, though it almost always derives verbs.

(34) Ma-kupona-ya.
PRIV-name-CL.liquid
'The place/port with no name.'

The privative *ma-* is the counterpart to the attributive *ka-* and while used in Wauja it is not highly productive, and not as common as the attributive. Data from Richards (1988) appear in examples (35) and (36).

(35) Ka-tai.
ATTR-fruit
'Have / bear fruit.'

(36) Ma-tai.
PRIV-fruit
'Lack-fruit.'

I can attest that *ka-tai-pai* 'ATTR-fruit-IMPF' is a common way to state that trees are bearing fruit, as in example (35), but the privative counterpart *ma-tai* that Richards reports as in (36) does not appear in my data. Richards cites in the same work a few more examples of *ma-* constituent negation with the Wauja verb for 'know' which is formed with the attributive *ka-*. So in (37) and (38) from Richards (1988) we have *k-ieje* vs. *m-ieje*. In my own data *mi-yeje* is unattested and the form for expressing the negated counterpart of example (39) *ni-ki-yeje-pei* 'I know,' is not *ni-mi-yeje-pei* with an intended meaning of 'I don't know' as in (40) but *aitsa ni-ki-yeje-pei* 'I don't know' as in (41).

(37) K-ieje.
3.ATTR-knowledge
'S/he knows.'

(38) M-ieje.
3.PRIV- knowledge
'S/he does not know.'

(39) Ni-ki-yeje-pei.
1SG-ATTR-knowledge-IMPF
'I know'

(40) ??Ni-mi-yeje-pei.
1SG-PRIV-knowledge-IMPF
Intended meaning: 'I don't know.'

(41) Aitsa ni-ki-yeje-pei.
NEG 1SG-ATTR-knowledge-IMPF
'I don't know.'

These differences could be the result of a few different causes. They could point to a possible historical tendency in Wauja to replace use of

privative *ma-* with the negative particle *aitsa* in constructions of this type. Alternatively, the privative constructions could be grammatical but semantically distinct from the constructions with the negative particle as in some other Arawak languages such as Parecis (see Brandão this volume). The privative construction with a verb such as 'know' could indicate permanent ignorance or mental impairment, while the construction with the negative particle could indicate temporary lack of specific knowledge. More data need to be considered to assess this.

Privative *ma-* is also possibly a fused element of the Wauja suffix *-malun* 'deficient.' This morpheme participates in a set of semantic oppositions in Wauja also present in Yawalapiti (Viveiros de Castro 2002). Wauja *-kuma* 'excessive', or 'superlative' is opposed to *-malun* 'inferior,' or 'deficient.' Wauja *-yajo* 'true/truly,' or 'archetypical' is opposed to *-mona* which can designate the mere instantiation of a type, a 'token,' or a relationship of similarity in form, an 'icon.' Powerful spirit beings can be explicitly designated in Wauja with the modifier *-kuma*. This carries a positive association in the sense that while possibly dangerous, the being is supernatural and grand. Conversely, *-malun* can be suffixed to nouns to denote the inferior or otherwise deficient quality of the referent. An expression such as *wekeho-malun* 'owner-inferior' indicates that a ritual sponsor has not lived up to expectations of generosity, he has been stingy, a rubbish chief. Referring to someone as *toneju-malun* 'woman-inferior' is to insult her as an undesirable woman.

6. *Existential negation*

There is another type of non-standard negation (Miestamo 2005) in Wauja that may be derived from the privative *-ma*. The stative predicate *mano-* is a negative counterpart to the Wauja existential construction based on a distal deictic *ja* 'there' usually inflected with an imperfective cilitic *-pai*, as in example (42).

(42) Ja-pai uno.
DIS.DEI-IMPF water
'There is water.'

Note the similarity to English existential formed from a deictic plus a verbal element. In Wauja, *mano-* appears to be an irregular verb, irregular in part because it is one of the only predicates that never inflects for person cross-reference with a subject pronominal prefix (along with *itsa-* 'be.like'), so a form such as **nu-mano-pai* '1s-

NEG.EXIST-IMPF' is ungrammatical. This may be because the negative existential predicate in Wauja cannot semantically take first or second person subjects. The semantic meaning of *mano-* can be glossed as 'run out or become exhausted.' It may be analyzed as a morphologically complex construction based on the privative morpheme *ma-*, found throughout Arawak and in Wauja in just this form, plus a second element *-no*, which bears a formal similarity to the Wauja object marking suffix and may or may not be historically related to this. In any case it seems that existential negation in addition to limited cases of constituent negation are accomplished with versions of the privative *ma-*. Both the positive polarity and negative polarity existential forms are exemplified in the following discursive exchange in (43), often heard among men gathered in the center of the Wauja village.

(43) A: Ja-pai hoka?
DIS.DEI-IMPF tobacco
'Is there/do you have any tobacco?'

B: Aitsa-ha, mano=wiu.
NEG-EMP/NML NEG.exist=PERF
'Nothing /not at all, it's all gone.'

Note that the negative polarity *mano* can and often does appear in the same utterance with negative particle derived forms such as *aitsa-ha* 'nothing,' which as we have seen has the speech act function of denial. Pragmatically the pair part sequence in example (43) consists of a solicitation, 'please give me tobacco,' followed by a denial, or refusal to share: 'no you can't have any.' Thus a requester, after asking about the existence of tobacco, cannot successfully protest that the requestee actually does have some because the statement *mano=wiu* is taken as a volitional refusal as much or more than as a statement of fact about the existential status of tobacco.

Another example where *mano* can appear with sentential negation using an *aitsa-* derived particle is given in (44). This example shows an instance of double negation which can be interpreted as having overall positive polarity. Wauja permits double negation when the negative particle combines in the same clause with other negation morphemes such as *mano-* and *ma-*. Constructions where *aitsa* itself is repeated do not seem to produce polar inversion, but rather emphasis of negation, as in example (13) above.

(44) Aitse-neke mano-pai yatakoja-i.
NEG-still NEG.EXIST-IMPF language/words-UNPOSS
'(We) still have not finished talking/words have not yet ceased to exist.'

7. *Conclusion*

In this chapter I have sketched the most commonly used forms of negating propositions in the Wauja language. In addition I have looked at derived negative forms and how these function in the language to accomplish various speech acts, such as denial, refusal, etc. I have examined how the majority of negatives in Wauja use the negative element *aitsa-* but I also have described the function of the privative *ma-* in constituent negation and as possibly a contributing morphological element in both the "deficient" suffix *-malun* and the existential negation predicate *mano-*. I have tried to take examples from varied contexts and have relied on both elicited and discourse examples. The inclusion and analysis of examples of negative expressions as they occur in discourse, both in narratives and in examples of common everyday interactions, gives a nuanced sense of the ways in which speakers use negation to communicate in the Wauja language.

CHAPTER EIGHT

STANDARD AND NON-STANDARD NEGATION IN PARESI

ANA PAULA BRANDAO

A. INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to contribute to our typological understanding of negation, and especially how negation strategies may vary among languages of the Arawak family, by providing a better understanding of negation in Paresi. This work will also contribute to furthering the description and documentation of the Arawak languages, especially the relatively little-documented Southern Arawak languages.

Paresi is a Southern Arawak language spoken by approximately 2000 people, who are distributed among several villages near the city of Tangará da Serra, in the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. The Paresi corpus used for this chapter resulted from my own research in 2007, 2008 and 2009 in the villages of Formoso and Rio Verde. Published materials on Paresi are not extensive, and are restricted mainly to SIL publications by Rowan (1979, 2001), a thesis by Silva (2009) and a paper by Brandão (2010).

There are two primary ways of expressing negation in Paresi; one is syntactic (by using the particles *maiha* or *maitsa*) and the other is morphological (by the prefix *ma-*). The alternation between these strategies appears to be conditioned by semantic factors. The derivational negator is very productive, and although it takes the same form as the negative *ma-* found in other Arawak languages, it differs significantly in its distribution. Interestingly, the tense and/or aspect of the sentence is important in determining the type of negative construction that will occur in Paresi, including whether it will have a non-nominalized or nominalized verb. Finally, there is a structural difference between simple and complex negative clauses, found in conditional constructions.

In this chapter, I provide general typological information in section B. Negation in non-prohibitive clauses are described in §1, negative imperatives in §2, negative indefinites in §3, negative complex sentences in §4, constituent negation and the negative *xini* in §5. The privative prefix *ma-* is described in §6, and double negation in §7.

B. GENERAL TYPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

This section presents typological information relevant to negation in Paresi. Basic constituent order is SV in intransitive clauses, as in (1), and AOV in transitive clauses, as in (2).

(1) Dirizonae kawitx-ita=ene.
dirizonae shout.out-PROG=ANT
'Dirizonae shouted out.' (Dirizonae)[1]

(2) Ena awo Ø-waya.
man rhea 3SG-see
'The man saw the emu.' (E)

Interrogative words are sentence-initial in content interrogatives, as in (3). There are two ways of expressing polar questions in Paresi: by using a rising intonation pattern or by using the interrogative particle *zoana* in sentence-initial position, as in (4).

(3) Zala kore zane zema?
who UNCERT? go go.after
'Who will follow him?' (Waikoakore)

(4) Zoana alitere-ze mahiye-nae waeholoko-la?
how true-NML bat-PL arrow-POSSED
'Is it true that you have the bats' arrow?' (Txinikalore)

In a noun phrase, a noun can be preceded by a demonstrative or a numeral, as shown in (5) and (6). When a noun phrase is followed by another noun phrase, the combination is interpreted as a genitive construction, as in the NP *mahiyenae waeholokola* 'bats' arrow' in (4), above.

(5) Hatyo Marara ene ala Ø-tyaloka.
DEM Marare PAS FOC 3SG-bite
'That deceased Marara was bitten.' (Waikoakore)

(6) Hanama-katse ala atya-katse.
three-CL.long FOC tree-CL.long
'There are three sticks.' (Xikonahati)

[1] The source of each example is indicated by the name of each text; E indicates that it came from elicitation.

Adjectives precede the nominal head, as in (7).

(7) Ehare kahare oliti aitx-ita kalore matsene
for.example a.lot game kill-PROG big field
tyom-ita
do-PROG
'For example, they kill a lot of games and they make a huge field.' (Toahiyere NB)

In addition, Paresi employs postpositions, as in (8).

(8) Hatyaotseta Ø-tekoa-ha zoima kakoa.
then 3S-go.away-PL child COM
'They went away with the child.' (waikoakore)

C. NEGATION IN PARESI

Cross-linguistically, there are two general types of negation: sentential, or clausal, negation and constituent negation. According to Miestamo (2007), there are also two types of clausal negation: standard negation, i.e. the negation of declarative sentences, and non-standard negation, which is found in imperatives, existentials, and non-verbal clauses. In general, Paresi negative sentences exhibit the negative particle *maiha*. In imperatives, non-standard negation is used; either the particle *maiha* occurs with the particle *iya*, or the particle *awa* is used. In the following discussion, I also discuss the distribution of the negative prefix *ma-*, which is a derivational negator widespread among Arawak languages.

1. Negation in non-prohibitive clauses

1.1. *Negation of non-nominalized and nominalized verbs*

Paresi exhibits asymmetric negation. The structural difference from non-negative sentences is the presence of the negative particle *maiha* or *maitsa*[2], and of the progressive marker *-ita*, as in (9) or of the mominalizers *-re* (or its variants *-ze* and *-ye*) (as seen in examples 12 and 13)

.

[2] *Maiha* was probably formed historically from the prefix *ma-*. In my data, *maitsa* and *maiha* are in free variation, but in the past they may have pertained to different varieties.

(9) a. Ø-tsema-zema-tya-h-ita-ha.
3SG-hear-go.after-TH-PL-PROG-PL
'They listen to it.' (E)

b. H-eiya=ya i-hiye-ha hoka maiha
2SG-say=IRR 3SG-BEN-PL CONJ NEG
tsema-zema-tya-h-ita-ha.
hear-go.after-TH-PL-PROG-PL
'You talk to them but they do not listen to it.' (Formoso onetse)

The negative particle can be clause initial, as shown in (10), or before the verb, as in (11).

(10) Maitsa nikare-ta z-atyokoe-nae-ne
NEG like-INTE 2PL-grandfather-PL-POSSED
z-eye-nae-ne Zahola kina-te-re
2PL-father-PL-POSSED Zahola strong-PROG-NML
zaore.
FRU
'It was not like this, your grandfather and your parents were as strong as Zahola.' (Txinikalore)

(11) Motya=tyo Ø-zane n-aoka hoka maiha
UNCERT=FOC 3SG-go 1SG-think CONJ NEG
no-wai-t-ene
1SG-see-TH-3O
'I thought that he went away and consequently did not see it.' (Txinikalore)

This asymmetrical strategy also applies to interrogative sentences, as in (12) and (13). The same negator is used when replying to a question, as shown in (13b).

(12) Maiha hi-ka-nakaira h-aoko-wi-ye?
NEG 2SG-ATR-food 2SG-want-?-NML
'Don't you want to eat?' (E)

(13) a. Hi-ka-nakaira h-aoko-wi-ye?
2SG-ATR-food 2SG-want-?-NML
'Do you want to eat?' (E)

b. maiha
NEG
'No'

The first asymmetry we consider is the constructional asymmetry in which verbs in negated clauses lose their finiteness. In Paresi, this type of asymmetry surfaces in the construction in which the standard negation is expressed by the negative particle *maiha*, which immediately precedes the verb, which bears the nominalizing suffix *–ze* or *–re*, as in (14) and (15). The affirmative counterpart of such clauses exhibit finite inflection, as in (16), which is the affirmative counterpart of (15), and bears the progressive marker *-ita*. Examples (14) and (15) exhibit a habitual or temporally non-specific meaning.

(14) Hi-kaitxihini minita hoka maiha hi-kaotse-ze.
2SG-dream always CONJ NEG 2SG-wake.up-NML
'You are always dreaming; that is why you do not wake up.'
(Katomo nali)

(15) Maitsaaetsa-re Txinikalore, Timalakokoini.
NEG kill-NML Txinikalore Timalakokoini
'He is not able to kill Txinikalore and Timalakokoini.'
(Txinikalore)

(16) Ø-aitsa Txinikalore Timalakokoini.
3SG-kill Txinikalore Timalakokoini
'He killed Txinikalore and Timalakokoini.' (E)

Miestamo (2005) analyzes negative markers that co-occur with nominalized verbs, such as Paresi *maiha*, as uninflected auxiliaries (a negative verbal finite asymmetry), and argues that the presence of the negator forces the verb to take a nominalized form. In Paresi, however, I consider *maiha* to be a particle rather than an auxiliary, because its presence does not lead the verb to lose its finiteness in all cases. Below there is more discussion of instances in which *maiha* does not trigger loss of finiteness.

Another type of asymmetric negative construction in Paresi is when the aspect is neutralized, a case similar to the neutralization of person, gender, and number distinctions in Tariana in negative constructions with the prefix *ma-* and the negative suffix *–kade* (Aikhenvald, 2003). In non-negative sentences there are four aspects: the perfective, which is unmarked; the imperfective *-hena*, as in (17); the progressive *–ita*, as in

(18); and the completive *-heta*, as in (19).

(17) Na-ha-hena ite.
1SG-work-IMPFFUT
'I will work.' (E)

(18) Na-hak-ita.
1SG-work-PROG
'I am working.' (E)

(19) No-kaoke-heta.
1SG-arrive-COMP
'I arrived.' (E)

Negated sentences that do not employ the nominalized form of the verb instead exhibit a finite verb bearing the progressive marker *–ita*. Such clauses do not necessarily yield a progressive interpretation, however, and may yield perfective interpretations, as in (20); or imperfective ones, as in (21). The future can be indicated either by the future marker *=ite* or the irrealis *=iya,* as shown in (21) and (22) respectively.

(20) Maiha na-hak-ita kafaka.
NEG 1SG-work-PROG yesterday
'I did not work yesterday.' (E)

(21) Maiha=ite makani na-hak-ita.
NEG=FUT tomorrow 1SG-work-PROG
'I will not work tomorrow.' (E)

(22) Maiha=iya makani na-hak-ita.
NEG=IRR tomorrow 1SG-work-PROG
'I will not work tomorrow.' (E)

1.2. *Existentials and negation*

In the negative existential construction, the verbal negator *maiha* negates the positive existential predicate. Croft (1991) observes that this is a typologically common construction cross-linguistically. The existential predicate can be expressed by using the existential verb *aka*[3], as in (23), and in negative existentials, the standard negation strategy is used, as seen in (24).

[3] The allomorph *ake* appears when preceding the vowel *e*.

(23) Pão ake heta.
bread EXI COMP
'There is bread.' (E)

(24) Maiha ehare ma-haliti katyatere howe-ne aka.
NEG DEM NEG-person non-indian poison-POSSED EXI
'There was no non-Indian poison.' (Formoso onetse)

1.3. *Negation in non-verbal clauses*

There are two ways of expressing negation in non-verbal clauses. In nominal predicate clauses lacking a copula, the negative construction is formed with the negative particle *maiha/maitsa* and the negative *xini* , as in (25). In adjectival predicate clauses, where the stative verbal root bears a nominalizer (*–re* or *–ze*[4]) the negative construction exhibits the same negative particle, as in (26) and (27)[5]. In either case, the particle *maiha/maitsa* can appear either immediately before the adjective or noun, or in sentence-initial position.

(25) Maitsakirakahare xini.
NEG animal NEG
'It is not an animal.' (Rowan, 1978:27)

(26) Imoti xiyatya-ne maiha kalore-ze.
non-indian bridge-POSSED NEG big-NML
'The bridge constructed by the non-Indians was not big.' (JG nawenane)

(27) Maitsakotoi nete waiye-he-ze.
NEG tapir meat good- ?-NML
'Tapir meat is not good.' (Katomo nali)

Predicates can also be formed by the copula *tyaona* 'become', which indicates a change of state and may bear TAM morphology.

(28) Kalini owene maiha inityohali-ti no-tyaona.
now here NEG old.person-UNPOSS 1SG-become

[4] It seems that the alternation between the constructions with and without the nominalizer is associated with aspect, but this requires further research.

[5] The nominalizers and the negative *xini* can also co-occur in the same construction with adjectives, but the negative *xini* is optional.

‘Now, I am not getting old here.’ (Katomo nawenane)

2. Negative imperative

Positive imperatives have no morphological marker in Paresi, but they have a rapidly descending pitch (Brandão, 2010). They occur with second singular or plural person-marking, and either with the imperfective *-hena* or with the verb of motion *zane*[6] ‘go’, as shown in (29) and (30):

(29) Hi-yane ha-koaha.
2SG-go 2SG-bathe
‘Go take a shower.’ (E)

(30) Hi-yane h-aitxo-tya!
2SG-go 2SG-hoe-VBZ
‘Go hoe!’ (E)

In order to form a negative imperative, the prohibitive particle *awa* is employed, as shown in (31). The same particle also occurs in negative conditional constructions. In (32), the use of the negative form *awa* together with the form *iratyo* results in a polite suggestion. Another construction, in which *maiha*[7] is followed by the irrealis marker *iya*, as in (33), yields two possible interpretations: a negative deontic sense and a future one.

(31) Awa hi-yome bao kakoa!
NEG 2SG-play bread COM
‘Do not play with the bread!’ (Katomo nali)

(32) Awa ira-tyo hi-yane-hete-hena.
NEG POL.SUG?-FOC 2SG-go-COMP-IMPF
‘Please, do not go away.’ (E)

(33) Maiha iya ha-nitx-ita eteti.
NEG IRR 2SG-eat-PROG meat
‘You should not eat meat; You will not eat meat.’ (E)

[6] There is a morphophonological process in which the phoneme *z* becomes *y* when the preceding morpheme ends with the vowel *i*: *no- zane* ‘I go’ and *hi-yane* ‘you go’.

[7] The particle *maiha* followed by *iya* is pronounced *maha* in fast speech.

3. Negative indefinites

Paresi forms negative indefinites by using the standard negation particle *maiha/maitsa* to negate indefinite pronouns, which is the most common way of forming negative indefinites, according to Kahrel (1996). These indefinite pronouns can also be used in questions as interrogative pronouns, as seen example in (3).

(34) Maitsazoana zowaka ezakere wi-yaiye-he-ne-re.
NEG how time like.this 1PL-see-?-POSSED-NML
'I have seen nothing like this before.' (Rowan, 1969, p. 79)

(35) Maitsazoana iraitse-koa-tya zaka e-kakoa.
NEG how chat-?-TH tell 3SG-COM
'Nobody talks to him.' (E)

(36) Kalikini-ya=tyo tyotya maiha-tyo zoare kohatse-ra
now-IRR=FOC all NEG-FOC what fish-POSSED
ake-heta.
EXI-COMP
'Today there is nothing, there is no fish.' (Formoso onetse)

4. Negation in complex sentences

Negation in complex sentences behaves similarly to negation in simple sentences. However, a non-standard negation element appears in conditional clauses, as discussed below.

4.1. *Negation in complement clauses*

Cross-linguistically, expressions with the verbs *think, believe,* and *want* are more likely to present the negation of subordinated clauses in which the negator of the embedded clause is attached to the verb in the higher clause (i.e. exhibit negation transport). In Paresi, there is no neg-transport in these constructions.

(37) [Motyatyo maiha Maria Ø-tih-ita] [n-awita].
UNCERT NEG Maria 3SG-wash-PROG 1SG-think
'I thought that Maria did not wash.' (E)

In (38), the verb *aoka* 'want' is nominalized and the negator precedes the verb *zane*.

(38) Atyotyo [maiha no-zani-heta] Ø-aoka-re.
grandfather NEG 1SG-go-COMP 3SG-want-NML
'My grandfather wants me to not go away.' (E)

Complement sentences can function in direct quotation as in (39):

(39) Wi-hinaehare-nae maitsa kotoi nete waiye-he-ze
1PL-relative-PL NEG tapir meat good-?-NML
Ø-nea-h-ita- ha.
3SG-say-PL-PROG-PL
'Our relatives say, "The tapir meat is not good."' (Katomo nali)

4.2. *Negation in conditional constructions*

The protasis of a conditional construction bears the irrealis clitic *iya*, as shown in (40). The negative conditional can be classified in two types: those referring to situations that may arise, which are formed by the negative *maha* and the irrealis clitic *iya*, as in (41); and those referring to situations that have already failed to arise (counterfactual), which take the irrealis clitic plus the negative *awa* (also found in negative imperative clauses), as in (42).

(40) Haira=iya halaitsoa Ø-txiya-ha hoka maiha zoare
ball =IRR jump 3SG-pass-PL CONJ NEG what
Ø-tyaon-ita.
3SG-COP-PROG
'If the ball passes (here), then it is not worth anything.' (cotidiano)

(41) Maha iya one-ta hoka no-zane na-haka.
NEG IRR water-INTE CONJ 1SG-go 1SG-work
'If it does not rain, I will work.' (E)

(42) Iya awa imoti Taviano kolatya-h-it-ene
IRR NEG non-Indian Taviano take.away-PL-PROG-3O
hoka hekotya=iya Ø-tyaon-ita-ha kalini.
CONJ PART=IRR 3SG-COP-PROG-PL now
'Had they not been taken away by the non-Indian Taviano, they would still be living here.' (Formoso onetse)

5. Constituent negation and the negative *xini*

In order to negate part of a proposition, the negative *maiha* immediately precedes the constituent to be negated and the negative *xini* must follow the constituent to be negated, as seen above in (43b).

(43) a. Cristiano ehok-ene.
Cristiano break-3O
'Cristiano broke it.' (E)

b. Maiha Cristiano xini ehok-ene.
NEG Cristiano NEG break-3O
'It was not Cristiano who broke it.' (E)

The position of *xini* can also be at the end of the sentence, as seen in (44):

(44) MaitsaWaikamo Ø-zane-ta xini.
NEG Waikamo 3SG-go-INTE NEG
'It was not Waikamo who went away.' (Rowan, 1969: 60)

6. The privative prefix *ma-*

The privative derivational negator *ma-* is common in Arawak languages, but its distribution in Paresi is different from that in other languages. In Tariana, for example, the negative *ma-* occurs with obligatorily possessed nouns and numerous stative verbs, as a counterpart of the attributive *ka-*. In Apurinã, a Southwestern Arawak language, the negative marker occurs only with objective descriptive intransitive verbs. In Paresi, nouns and stative verbs can take the prefix *ma-* deriving privative nominal and stative predicates, as shown in (45) and (46) respectively.

(45) a. ityani
son
'son'

b. Ma-itsani-ha.
PRIV-son-PL
'They will not have children.' (E)

(46) a. airaze
sweet.smelling
'sweet-smelling'

b. M-airaze.
PRIV-sweet.smelling
'It is not sweet-smelling.' (E)

A nominal predicate of possession may be derived from possessed nouns with either the attributive *ka-*, as in (47a) and (48a), or with the privative *ma-*, as in (47b) and (48b), plus the nominalizer *-hare*. Those derived with *ma-* indicate that the subject of the predicate does not possess the root from which the predicate is derived.

(47) a. Ka-ketse-ra-hare.
ATR-knife-POSSED-NML
'I have knives.' (E)

b. No-ma-ketse-ra-hare.
1SG-PRIV-knife-POSSED-NML
'I do not have knives.' (E)

(48) a. No-ka-kawalo-ni-hare.
1SG-ATR-horse-POSSED-NML
'I have horses.' (E)

b. No-ma-kawalo-ni-hare.
1SG-PRIV-horse-POSSED-NML
'I do not have horses.' (E)

In some cases, there is a difference in meaning between negative-polarity clauses formed via the syntactic strategy (the *maiha* particle) or the derivational/morphological strategy (the *ma-* negator). The difference is that in the former case, the statement does not indicate a permanent characteristic, as in (49a) and (50a); but in the latter case, the characteristic is construed as a permanent one, as in (49b) and (50b).

(49) a. Maiha no-ka-itsani-ye.
NEG 1SG-ATR-son-POSSED
'I do not have children.' (E)

b. ma-itsani-halo
PRIV-son-NML
'one who is sterile (cannot have children)' (E)

(50) a. Maiha atyo haliti xini.
NEG FOC personNEG
'He was not a human (he was transformed in human).' (E)

b. ma-haliti-hare
PRIV-person-NML
'one who is a non-Indian' (E)

In other cases either the predicate or the nominal form can be used, depending on the context, with no difference in the interpretation of the two constructions, as shown in (51a-b):

(51) a. Maiha no-ka-iyanini-ye.
NEG 1SG-ATR-husband-POSSED
'I do not have a husband.' (E)

b. ma-iyanini-halo
PRIV-husband-NML
'one who does not have a husband' (E)

Some negative forms in Paresi, as in the case of the lexemes *maotikone* 'stupid' and the verb *maotseratya* 'lie', may contain the negative morpheme *ma-*. These words may stem from historically negated forms, even though the roots of these forms do not occur in any other context synchronically.

7. Double negation

There are a handful of cases of double negation of a constituent in my corpus, in which the particle *maiha* negates a constituent already negated by *ma-*. Such uses of double negation are concomitant with the negative focus *xini*.

(52) Maitsama-tsema-ka-hare xini zakai-hake-re.
NEG PRIV-listen-TH-NML PART tell-story-NML
'Do not be someone who does not listen to the story.' (kani)

In some cases, the construction may result in a positive polarity degree emphasis construction, because the meaning of the sentence with double negation is positive and it is used to emphasize its positive quality, as shown in (53).

(53) Kani-tse nika maiha
pequi.fruit-CL eat NEG
m-airaze-hare xini.
PRIV-sweet.smelling-NML PART
'I have never eaten a pequi fruit as sweet-smelling as this one' (lit., 'I have never eaten a pequi fruit that was as not non-sweet-smelling as this one.') (kani)

D. CONCLUSIONS

I have provided a description of Paresi negation strategies and shown that the standard strategy is the use of the negative particle *maiha* in declarative clauses in general, with some structural variation depending on tense and aspect. Paresi also employs a non-standard negation strategy in imperative clauses, which involves the particle *maiha* together with *iya* or a negative particle *awa*. A variation of this non-standard strategy is also used with conditional constructions, where the irrealis marker plus the particle *awa* are used.

In addition to these syntactic strategies, there is a morphological strategy, by which the prefix *ma-* is used to negate existential clauses and constituents. This prefix has a wide distribution and occurs on nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

This study is preliminary. Further research will clarify the semantic differences between the syntactic and the derivational negation strategies in passives. More investigation is also needed to explain the uses of the nominalized form of the verb and of the double negation strategy.r of roots.

CHAPTER NINE

NEGATION IN NANTI*

LEV MICHAEL

1. *Introduction*

This chapter describes negation constructions in Nanti, a Kampan Arawak language. Negation constructions discussed in this chapter include negation in main and subordinate declarative clauses, existential negation, negative indefinites, and a number of morphologically complex negation particles. Like the other chapters in this volume, these phenomena are approached from a functional-typological perspective, and comparisons are drawn between Nanti negation phenomena and similar ones found in other Arawak languages.

Nanti exhibits several different main clause negation constructions, which are distinguished by their semantic, pragmatic, and/or syntactic properties. Nanti exhibits an unusual distinction between standard/descriptive negation, described in §3, and metalinguistic negation constructions (Carston 1996, Geurts 1998, Horn 1985), discussed in §4, where the latter exclusively serve to deny propositions that have surfaced in, or are implied by, the preceding discourse. Nanti descriptive main clause negation is also typologically unusual, as it involves three different constructions, which make use of two distinct negation particles which exhibit complicated interactions with clausal reality status (Elliott 2000). Nanti exhibits a distinct existential negation construction, described in §5, which employs a defective negative verb, which also surfaces in an 'exhaustive negation' construction. These five types of declarative main clause negation are summarized in Table 1. In addition to these major constructions, which involve morphologically simplex negation elements, Nanti also exhibits a number of

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morphologically complex negative elements, discussed in §6. The complex negation elements are employed in 'extreme degree', non-immediate, deontic, and durational negation constructions.

Table 1. *Principal Nanti main clause negation elements and their morphosyntactic and pragmatic restrictions*

NEGATION TYPE	**NEG FORM**	**MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES**	**PRAGMATIC RESTRICTIONS**
DESCRIPTIVE	*te(ra)* *ha(ra)*	negates notionally realis clauses only negates notionally irrealis clauses only	none none
METALINGUISTIC	*matsi*	no interaction with reality status	'echoic' use only
EXISTENTIAL	*mameri*	morphosyntactically defective	none
EXHAUSTIVE	*mameri*	negates notionally realis clauses only	'exhaustive' sense only

Negation constructions in subordinate clauses, discussed in §7, differ from main clause ones in their tendency to employ phonologically reduced forms of negation particles, which often serve as clitic hosts for the second-position clitics that mark the semantic relationship between the main and subordinate clause. Both the complex negation elements that surface in subordinate clauses and the restrictions on negation exhibited by the subordinate clauses are discussed in that section.

Negative indefinite constructions, which are mainly formed with the negation particles found in descriptive main clause negation, are described in §8. Finally, comparative observations relating Nanti main clause negation constructions to those in the other Arawak languages are presented in §9, as are observations relating the metalinguistic and existential negation elements to the Proto-Arawak privative **ma-*.

2. *Sociolinguistic, Comparative, and Typological Background*

Nanti is a language of the Kampan group,[1] a set of closely-related Arawak languages spoken in the Andean foothills region of southeastern Peru, and in the adjacent lowland regions of Peru and Brazil. Apart from Nanti, the Kampan group includes five commonly recognized varieties:

[1] This group is also referred to as 'Pre-Andine Arawak', a label I avoid because of ambiguities regarding the membership of the grouping denoted by this name (Michael 2008: 212).

Asháninka, Asháninka, Kakinte, Matsigenka, and Nomatsigenga. Linguists differ on the number of distinct languages they recognize in this group, from three (Kaufman 1990, Campbell 1997), to four (Solís 2003), to six (Aikhenvald 1999). Since Nanti speakers avoided contact with non-Nantis until the early 1990s (Michael 2008), only more recent classifications of the Kampan group mention them (e.g. Gordon 2005).

Nanti is spoken by some 450 individuals who live in the headwaters regions of the Camisea River and Timpia River of southeastern Peruvian Amazonia. Until the mid-1990s, Nantis were entirely monolingual, but now several young men have acquired a thorough knowledge of Matsigenka, the most closely-related of the other Kampan varieties, and more recently still, a few young men have also acquired a basic knowledge of Spanish.

Nanti is a polysynthetic, agglutinative, head-marking language with extensive, principally suffixal verb morphology. Apart from reality status, aspect is the only other obligatory verbal inflectional category. Nanti mainly displays nominative-accusative alignment, but exhibits traces of the split intransitivity characteristic of the Ashéninka branch of the group (Payne and Payne 2005). Arguments are realized either as person markers (or cross-reference markers), or much less frequently, as free NPs. Basic consituent order is arguably SVO, although at most a single verbal argument is realized as a free NP in any clause. Inflectional nominal morphology is minimal, consisting of optional plural marking and a single general locative postposition. See Michael (2008) for a more detailed description of the language.

I gathered the data on which this chapter is based in the Nanti community of Montetoni during some 20 months of fieldwork between 1997 and 2005. All the data presented in this chapter are drawn from non-elicited, naturally-occurring discourse.

3. *Descriptive Main Clause Negation*

In this section I describe Nanti descriptive main clause negation constructions and discuss the interaction between clausal polarity, reality status, and aspect exhibited by these constructions. These constructions exhibit two distinct negation elements, *tera* and *hara* (and their related reduced forms *te* and *ha;* see §6), whose distribution is conditioned by the semantics and morphosyntactic properties of the clauses that they negate. We consider these issues now.

The distribution of the two negative particles is determined by the notional reality status of the clauses undergoing negation, with *tera*

serving to negate notionally realis clauses, as in (1), and *hara* negating notionally irrealis clauses, as in (2). As these examples illustrate, the negation elements normally appear immediately preverbally.

(1) a. Iporohi.
i=poroh-ø-i
3MS=clear.land-IMPF-REA.I
'He is clearing land.' (REALIS)

b. Tera imporohe.
tera *i=N-poroh-e*
NEG.REA 3MS=IRR-clear.land-IRR.I
'He is not clearing land.'

(2) a. Imporohe.
i=N-poroh-ø-e
3MS= IRR-clear.land-IMPF-IRR.I
'He will clear land.' (IRREALIS)

b. Hara iporohi.
hara *i=poroh-i*
NEG.IRR 3MS=clear.land-REA.I
'He will not clear land.'

These examples illustrate that the choice of negation element is determined by the notional reality status of the corresponding positive polarity clause, and that in turn, negation affects the marking of reality status of the whole, now negated, clause. In order to better understand these related phenomena, we now briefly review the semantics and morphosyntax of reality status marking in Nanti. Note that a comparison of the preceding positive polarity sentences and their negative counterparts shows that they differ in reality status marking, and that these constructions therefore exhibit a paradigmatic asymmetry of the A/NonReal type, in Miestamo's (2005) typology.

3.1. *An Interlude: Reality Status in Nanti*

Reality status is based on a notional distinction between realized eventualities and unrealized ones (Palmer 2001). In Nanti, the morphological realis/irrealis distinction aligns with semantic distinctions in temporal reference, mood, and polarity in typologically expected ways (e.g. Elliot 2001, Mithun 1995). As exemplified in (3), positive polarity

declarative clauses with non-future temporal reference exhibit realis marking, while those with future temporal reference or non-indicative modalities exhibit irrealis marking, as in (4a-c). Reality status marking in positive polarity clauses is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. *Semantic parameter values and reality status marking in positive polarity clauses*

SEMANTIC PARAMETER	REALIS MARKING	IRREALIS MARKING
TEMPORAL REFERENCE	Non-future	Future
HYPOTHETICALITY	Actual	Hypothetical, (Conditional)
FACTUALITY	Factual	Counterfactual
SPEAKER-ORIENTED MODALITY	ø	Imperative, Polite Directive/Exhortative
AGENT-ORIENTED MODALITY	ø	Obligation, Need
PROSPECTIVENESS	ø	Purposive, Prospective complement

(3) Opoki maika.
o=pok-ø-i *maika*
3NMS=come-IMPF-REA.I now
'She is coming now.'
(non-future temporal reference; indicative modality)

(4) a. Ompoke kamani.
o=N-pok-ø-e *kamani*
3NMS=IRR-come-IMPF-IRR.I tomorrow
'She will come tomorrow.' (future temporal reference)

b. Ompokakeme chapi.
o=N-pok-ak-e=me *chapi*
3NMS=IRR-come-PERF-IRR.I=DEO yesterday
'She should have come yesterday.' (deontic modality)

c. Pena!
p-ø-e=na
give-IMPF-IRR.I=1O
'Give (it) to me!' (imperative modality)

Note that realis is marked by a suffix, while irrealis is marked by a circumfix.[2] The reality status suffixes exhibit lexically-conditioned allomorphy based on the division of Nanti verbs into two semantically arbitrary verb classes, the I-class and A-class verbs, as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. *Reality status affix allomorphy*

	I-CLASS STEM	**A-CLASS STEM**
REALIS	*-i*	*-a*
IRREALIS	*N- -e*	*N- -eNpa*

3.2. *Negation and Reality Status*

If we conceive of negation as an operator applying to a clause, as schematized in (5), then the distribution of *tera* and *hara* can be schematized as in (6a) and (7a), where the alternation between the two forms of negation is conditioned by the *notional* reality status of the clause to which they apply, with the 'realis negation' *tera* used to negate notionally realis clauses, and the 'irrealis negation' *hara* being used to negate notionally irrealis clauses. Sentences exemplifying this pattern are given in (6c) and (7c).

(5) a. Neg (Cl)

b. I will not eat the pie = not (I will eat the pie)

(6) a. tera (Cl_{realis})

b. Opoki.
o=pok-ø-i
3NMS=come-IMPF-REA.I
'She is coming.' = Cl_{realis}

[2] Note also that there are a number of morphophonological processes which result in the deletion of the leftmost element of the irrealis circumfix. This element is an underspecified nasal, and it acquires its place of articulation features from voiceless stops or affricates to its right. It deletes when no appropriate voiceless stop or affricate is available, (as in (17)). This first element of the circumfix also deletes when the verb is stripped of its subject prefix, as in the imperative, since such stripping results in a forbidden complex word-initial onset (e.g. *mp*, as in (4c)), which is resolved by the deletion of the nasal stop.

c. Tera ompoke.
tera *o=N-pok-e*
NEG.REA 3NMS=IRR-come-IRR.I
'She did not come.' = not (she came) = Neg (Cl_{realis})

(7) a. hara ($Cl_{irrealis}$)

b. Ompoke.
o=N-pok-ø-e
3NMS=IRR-come-IMPF-IRR.I
'She will come.' = $Cl_{irrealis}$

c. Hara opoki.
hara *o=pok-i*
NEG.IRR 3NMS=come-REA.I
'She will not come' = not (she will come) = Neg ($Cl_{irrealis}$)

Note, however, that the reality status *marking* borne by the verb in the negated clause indicates the reality status of the *whole* negated clause, and not solely the reality status of the affirmative clause to which the negation operator applies. Thus, notionally realis clauses which have undergone negation, as in (6c), and which are – as whole clauses – notionally irrealis (since the clause denotes an unrealized state of affairs), take irrealis marking.

It should be noted in passing that the adverb *pahentya* 'almost' triggers irrealis marking in exactly the same way as the negative particle *tera*, as in (8). Given that the states of affairs which can described using this adverb are necessarily ones that failed to be realized, like those denoted by negated clauses, it is unsurprising that it triggers the same reality status marking as the negative particle *tera*.

(8) Pahentya inkame.
paheNtya *i=N-kam-e*
almost 3MS=IRR-die-IRR.I
'He almost died.'

The negated counterparts of already notionally irrealis clauses, as in (7b), present a more complicated situation. Clauses of this type are notionally irrealis prior to negation, and negating them results in a notionally 'doubly-irrealis' clause. As already noted, these constructions

exhibit a distinct form of negation, *hara*, and surprisingly, verbs in this construction take the erstwhile realis marker *-i ~ -a*. All doubly irrealis clauses in the language exhibit this combination of the irrealis negation and the realis marker, including the negative deontic, as in (9), and the negative conditional and negative counterfactual, described in §7, below.

(9) Hame opoki.
ha=me *o=pok-i*
NEG.IRR=DEO 3NMS=come-REA.I
'She should not have come.'

Since the combination of the irrealis negation *hara* and the erstwhile realis suffix *-i ~ -a* systematically appears in notionally doubly-irrealis clauses, I consider the combination *hara … -i ~ -a* to be a non-compositional doubly irrealis construction, in which the reality status marker does not indicate realisness as it normally does, but rather, together with *hara*, indicates the doubly irrealis nature of the clause.

The interaction of negation and reality status marking discussed so far is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. *Summary: Negation and reality status marking*

	REALIS	**IRREALIS**	**DOUBLY IRREALIS**
POSITIVE POLARITY	V *-i ~ -a*	*N-* V *-e ~ -eNpa*	
NEGATIVE POLARITY		NEG (REALIS) = IRREALIS *tera N-* V *-e ~ -eNpa*	NEG (IRREALIS) = DOUBLY IRREALIS *hara* V *-i ~ -a*

Note that Nanti does not exhibit a distinct prohibitive construction; rather, Nantis simply employ irrealis sentences with second-person subjects and a directive intonation to issue prohibitive directives, as in (10), which, without intonation, is ambiguous between declarative and prohibitive interpretations. Note that this sentence does not correspond to the negated form of an imperative clause, as subjects are omitted in imperatives.

(10) Hara poogaro.
hara *pi=oog-a=ro*
NEG.IRR 2S=consume-REA.A=3NMO
'Don't eat it!' or 'You will not eat it.'

3.3. *Aspect in Negative Polarity Clauses*

Positive polarity clauses are obligatorily marked for aspect, bearing either the null imperfective, as in (11a), or the perfective *-ak*, as in (11b).

(11) a. Inihi.
i=nih-ø-i
3MS=speak-IMPF-REA.I
'He is/was speaking.'

b. Inihake.
i=nih-ak-i[3]
3MS=speak-PERF-REA.I
'He spoke.'

This obligatory perfective/imperfective contrast is neutralized in negated clauses, however, and overt perfective marking is in fact unattested, as evident in (12b&d).

(12) a. Tera irinihe.
tera *i=ri-*[4]*nih-e*
NEG.REA 3MS= IRR-speak-IRR.I
'He doesn't/didn't speak.'

b. *Tera irinihake

c. Hara inihi.
hara *i=nih-i*
NEG.IRR 3MS= speak-REA.I
'He will not speak.'

d. *Hara inihake

Since the perfective/imperfective contrast is neutralized in negated clauses, Nanti exhibits paradigmatic neutralization asymmetry, in Miestamo's (2005) terms. Note that the perfective/imperfective contrast is preserved in positive polarity irrealis constructions, as in (13), and consequently the aspectual neutralization we see in Nanti negative

[3] In most cases, the realis *-i* neutralizes to *-e* following the perfective *-ak* (Michael 2008: 253).

[4] The irrealis prefix *N-* irregularly surfaces as *ri-* following the third person masculine subject marker *i=*.

clauses is not a 'derived asymmetry' resulting from the irrealis status of these clauses (see Miestamo (2005: 157) for a discussion of derived asymmetries).

(13) a. Irinihe.
i=ri-nih-ø-e
3MS= IRR-speak-IMPF-IRR.I
'He will speak.'

b. Irinihake.
i=ri-nih-ak-e
3MS=IRR-speak-PERF-IRR.I
'He will speak.'

4. *Metalinguistic Negation*

Nanti is one of an apparently small number of languages that exhibit a distinct negative particle employed exclusively for metalinguistic negation,[5-6] expressing what Geurts (1998) call 'proposition denial', i.e. the negation of a proposition that has previously surfaced in discourse, either explicitly or as an implicature.

Consider the following interaction, in which Migero, the leader of the Nanti community of Montetoni, is arguing with the leader of the Matsigenka community of Tayakome regarding a trip a Nanti man made to Tayakome. The leader from Tayakome, unhappy with the man's visit, has accused Migero of having given him permission to make the trip, to which Migero responds with the utterance in (14), a clear example of proposition denial.

(14) Matsi nopakeri maika peremisa.
matsi *no=p-ak-i=ri* *maika*
NEG.META 1S=give-PERF-REA.I=3MO now
peremisa
permission
'It is not the case that I gave him permission at that time.'

[5] Kahrel (1996: 19-20) mentions Vietnamese and Navajo as languages with distinct metalinguistic negation markers.

[6] This form of negation has also been called *external negation* (Horn 1985), *propositional negation* (Kahrel 1996), *modality negation* (Lyons 1977), and *radical negation* (Seuren 1976).

Metalinguistic negation is also often employed in partial rejections of a prior proposition, as in (15).

(15) Matsi iryo gaa**t**iro, naro gaa**t**iro.[7]
matsi *iryo*
NEG.META 3NM.FOC.PRO
og-aa-i=ro *naro*
put-ASSOC.MOT-REA.I=3NMO 1.FOC.PRO
og-aa-i=ro
put-ASSOC.MOT-REA.I=3NMO
'It is not the case that *he* took her back, *I* took her back.'

Metalinguistic negation is often called 'external negation' because it sometimes fails to interact with other morphosyntactic elements in the same way as standard clausal negation. For example, in languages that do not allow double negation using descriptive negation elements alone, the combination of metalinguistic and descriptive negation is usually the sole means by which a single clause may exhibit two clausal negation elements, as in the English example in (16) (see Mughazy (2003) for a discussion of metalinguistic double negation in Egyptian Arabic). This is also the case for Nanti, which generally does not permit two clausal negation elements in a single clause. But as (17) demonstrates, the language does permit the combination of metalinguistic negation with simple negation.

(16) A: You don't like Joe.
B: I don't not like him, I just find him boring.

(17) Matsi te pishine**t**emparo oka.
matsi *te* *pi=N-shine-eNpa=ro*
NEG.META NEG.REA 2S=IRR-like-IRR.I=3NMO
o-oka
3NM-this
'It is not the case that you don't like this.'

Perhaps the most striking way in which metalinguistic negation exhibits its 'external' nature in Nanti, however, is that it does not restrict reality status or aspectual marking in the way that descriptive clausal negation

[7] The sans serif **a** and **t** that appear in the first lines of examples are epenthetic segments that break up heteromorphemic consonant and vowel clusters, respectively (Michael 2008: 239-241).

with *tera* or *hara* does. First, the presence of external negation does not affect reality status marking on the verb. Consider (15), which exhibits realis marking, despite being the negated counterpart of a notionally realis clause. Such a clause would exhibit irrealis marking if the negative particle employed were the descriptive negation element *tera* instead of the metalinguistic negation *matsi*. Likewise, consider (17), which exhibits irrealis marking despite being the negated counterpart of a notionally irrealis clause, which would exhibit realis marking if the negative element were the descriptive negation negation *hara*. The metalinguistic negation element *matsi* simply does not restrict the reality status marking on verbs that fall under its scope.

Similarly, the metalinguistic negation particle does not affect aspectual marking on the verb. Recall that in clauses under the scope of either of the two descriptive negation elements, the verbal imperfective/perfective contrast is neutralized. But as is evident in (14), aspectual marking is retained in clauses negated with *matsi*. In terms of Miestamo's (2005) typology, then, metalinguistic negation, unlike descriptive negation, is symmetric in Nanti.

In summary, Nanti metalinguistic negation does not interact with or restrict the reality status or aspectual marking of clauses under its scope, nor does it interact with simple negation itself, as evidenced by cases of otherwise prohibited double negation. In these respects, Nanti metalinguistic negation interacts with the propositions it negates in the same manner that descriptive negation in the matrix clauses of reported speech constructions interacts with reported speech complements, as discussed below. This behavior is perhaps unsurprising, since it has been suggested that metalinguistic negation is intrinsically 'echoic' of previous utterances (Carston 1996).[8]

Finally, we observe that the form of the metalinguistic negation *matsi* suggests a relationship with the privative *ma-*, found in many Arawak languages and reconstructed by Payne (1991) to Proto-Arawak.

5. *Existential Negation*

5.1. *Basic Existential Negation*

Nanti positive polarity existential constructions employ one of two

[8] This fact, combined with the fact that the clearly related existential negation *mameri* appears to be a defective verb, raises the interesting possibility that historically *ma* may have had verbal predicative properties at some point in the development of Southern Arawak.

morphologically defective verbs, depending on the animacy of the associated nominal argument, as illustrated in (18a&b). Despite the fact that the existential verb typically takes no verbal morphology, its status as a verb is confirmed by the fact that it may be derived with the verbal frustrative *-be*, upon which it obligatorily takes standard verbal inflectional morphology, as in (19).

(18) a. Aityo oburoki.
aityo *oburoki*
EXI.INAN manioc.beer
'There is manioc beer.'

b. Ainyo shintori.
ainyo *shintori*
EXI.ANIM peccary
'There are peccaries.'

(19) Aityobetaka seri.
aityo-be-ak-a *seri*
EXI.INAN-FRU-PERF-REA.A tobacco
'There previously was tobacco.'

Existential negation is expressed by replacing the existential verbs *aityo* or *ainyo* with the negative existential predicate *mameri ~ mame*, as in (20). Since all Nanti clauses otherwise require a verb, it is likely that *mameri* is a defective verb, like its positive polarity counterparts. Note, however, that *mameri* never takes any verbal morphology.

(19) Mameri ibatsa.
mameri *i-batsa*
NEG.EXI 3MPS-meat
'There is no meat.'

Since the negative existential predicate takes no reality status or aspectual morphology, the resulting clause is ambiguous in terms of its temporal reference, permitting present and past temporal reference readings, but not future ones, as in (21). This is also true of the positive polarity counterparts of these negative existential clauses.[9]

[9] In order to express an existential predication with future temporal reference it is necessary to employ the lexical verb *tim* 'live'.

(21) Mameri saburi, mameri oga hacha.
mameri saburi mameri o-oga hacha
NEG.EXI machete NEG.EXI 3NM-that axe
'There were no machetes, there were none of those axes.'
(reading in actual discourse context)
'There are no machetes, there are none of those axes.'
(available reading in other contexts)
BUT NOT: 'There will be no machetes, there will be none of those axes.'

5.2. *Exhaustive Negation*

The negative existential element *mameri* also appears in 'exhaustive negation' constructions, where it precedes a lexical verb, and indicates that the state of affairs described by the clause was not realized even to the smallest degree, as in (22) and (23). As with standard descriptive negation, this use of *mameri* triggers irrealis marking on the verb. Note that the exhaustive negation construction is only available for clauses which, prior to negation with *mameri*, are notionally realis. As such, exhaustive negation is not possible with counterfactual, deontic, or hypothetical clauses, or those with future temporal reference.

(22) Mameri inehako**t**ero saburi, kotsiro.
mameri i=N-nehako-e=ro
NEG.EXI 3MS=IRR-be.familiar.with-IRR.I=3NMO
saburi kotsiro
machete knife
'He had no familiarity with machetes or knives at all.'

(23) Mame iritsamai**t**e … onti yoogakara posuro.
mame i=ri-tsamai-e oNti
NEG.EXI 3MS=IRR-farm-IRR.I PRED.FOC
i=[10]oog-ak-a=ra posuro
3MS=consume-PERF-REA.A=SUB wild.plantain
'He did not farm at all, rather he ate wild plantains.'

6. *Morphologically Complex Negation in Simple Sentences*

In this section I examine a number of morphologically complex negative elements attested in Nanti, beginning with lexicalized forms, and then

[10] Note that the 3MS clitic *i=* surfaces as *y=* before *o*-initial verbs.

turning to forms that arise productively from cliticization. I conclude with a discussion of the relationship between the long forms of the descriptive negation particles *tera* and *hara*, and their reduced forms, *te* and *ha*.

6.1. *Grammaticalized Complex Negation Forms*

Extreme Degree Negation. Nanti exhibits a number of constructions that qualify or specify the degree to which the negation holds for the clause in question. One such construction involves the realis and irrealis negative elements *tesakona* and *hasakona*. These particles negate a construal of the clause in which the state of affairs denoted by the clause holds to a high or extreme degree, as in (24) and (25). The extreme degree negation elements restrict reality status and aspectual marking on verbs under their scope in the same way as the standard descriptive negation particles do.

(24) Tesakona onkatsite.
tesakona *o=N-katsi-e*
NEG.REA.XTRM 3NMS=IRR-hurt-IRR.I
'It does not hurt very much.'

(25) Hasakona nobiika.
hasakona *no=obiik-a*
NEG.IRR.XTRM 1S=drink-REA.A
'I will not drink very much.'

It is possible to analyze these extreme degree negation elements as composed of the negative 'roots' *te* and *ha* (see §6.3), and a second element *-sakona*. The latter element does not appear synchronically as a productive morpheme elsewhere in the language, but it is probably a lexicalized concatenation of the suffixes *-sano* 'truly' and *-kona* 'a little bit'.

Non-Immediate Negation. Another pair of lexicalized complex negative elements, *tetana* and *haratana ~ hatatana*, serve to indicate that the state of affairs denoted by some clause did not, or will not, obtain immediately after some salient temporal reference point, as in (26) and (27).

(26) Tetana onti nopokashite.
tetana *oNti* *no=pok-ashi-e*
NEG.REA.IMMED PRED.FOC 1S=come-PURP-IRR.I
'I did not come right away (with some purpose in mind).'

(27) Hatatana nopokahi.
haratana *no=pok-ah-i*
NEG.IRR.IMMED 1S=come-REG-REA.I
'I will not return right away.'

The forms *tetana* and *haratana ~ hatatana* (note the free variation in the irrealis form) are probably grammaticalized forms of the expressions *te tahena* and *hara tahena* 'not right away'. The word *tahena* has a number of uses synchronically in Nanti, including a spatial adverb 'near to one another', a temporal adverb 'soon, right away', an interjection 'hurry up!', and a suppletive imperative 'come'. The first two of these uses, with their senses of spatial and temporal proximity, are plausible sources for the non-immediate negation meanings of *tetana* and *haratana ~ hatatana*.

6.2. *Negative Particles as Clitic Hosts*

Morphologically complex negative forms also result from the fact that the short forms of the descriptive negation particles *te* and *ha* can serve as hosts for second-position clitics, including the deontic clitic *=me* and the durational clitic *=tya*. Morphologically complex negation forms also arise in clause-linking constructions, where second-position clitics such as the counterfactual conditional *=me*, the possible conditional *=rika*, and the purposive *=ni* attach to negation elements (see §7).

Deontic Negation. Deontic modality is expressed by the deontic clitic *=me*, as exemplified in positive polarity clause in (28). The deontic marker is a second position clitic, as can be seen by comparing (28) and (29). In negative polarity deontic clauses, the deontic marker cliticizes to the short form of the sentence-initial irrealis negation particle *ha*, resulting in the negative deontic element *hame*, as in (30).

(28) Nonkihakeme sekatsi.
no=N-kih-ak-e=me *sekatsi*
1S=IRR-carry-PERF-IRR=DEO yuca
'I should have carried (i.e. brought) yuca.'

(29) Birome p**a**higahero.
biro=me *p-hig-ah-e=ro*
2.FOC.PRO=DEO give-PL-REG-IRR.I=3NMO
'You should have given them back.'

(30) Hame pitsosenat**i**ro.
ha=me
NEG.IRR=DEO
pi=tsot[11]*-se-na-i=ro*
2S=slurp.up-CL:mass-MAL.REP-REA.I=3NMO
'You shouldn't slurp it up.'

Durational Negation. A second complex negative form results from cliticization of the second position clitic *=tya*, which indicates that the state of affairs described by the clause endures up to some relevant temporal reference point, often the moment of speaking, as in (31). The same clitic will attach to negative particles if they occupy clause-initial position, as they typically do, resulting in morphologically complex negation forms, as in (32) and (33). Note that in cases of realis negation, it is the short form *te* that serves as the clitic host, rather than the long form *tera*.

(31) Aityotya oburoki.
aityo=tya *oburoki*
EXI.INAN=still manioc.beer
'There is still manioc beer (to drink).'

(32) Tetya ompokahe.
te=tya *o=N-pok-ah-e*
NEG.REA=STILL 3NMS=IRR-come-REG-IRR.I
'She has not come back yet.'

(33) Haratya nokanti.
hara=tya *no=kaNt-i*
NEG.IRR=STILL 1S=say-REA.I
'I will not yet say.'

[11] Particular combinations of roots and classifiers, like this one, exhibit irregular heteromorphemic consonant cluster resolution, where instead of insertion of an epenthetic **a** at the morpheme boundary, the final consonant of the root deletes. The same phenomenon is found in (42).

6.3. *Analyzing* tera *and* hara

The morphologically complex forms described in the previous section suggest that in addition to the long forms of the negation particles *tera* and *hara*, there exist corresponding short forms *te* and *ha*. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the forms *te* and *ha* are attested in spoken Nanti as unstressed proclitic forms, as in (34) and (35).

(34) Te nonkamante. [tenòŋkamánte]
te *no=N-kamaNt-e*
NEG.REA 1S=IRR-tell-IRR.I
'I did not tell.'

(35) Ha pagi. [hapágʒi]
ha *pi=ag-i*
NEG.IRR 2S=get-REA.I
'You won't get (it).'

This suggests the possibility that we should analyze *tera* and *hara* as morphologically complex elements, a proposal which is rendered somewhat plausible by the fact that there exists a polyfunctional clitic *=ra*, which appears on purposive clauses, as in (41), and in temporal overlap clause-linking constructions (Michael 2008: 429-430). Several converging pieces of evidence suggest that this idea is ultimately incorrect, however, and that instead, the pairs of long and short negation forms developed through analogy, with their current distribution being governed by prosodic factors and information structural concerns.

Comparison of Nanti negation particles with those found in the other five Kampan languages (see §9) indicates that Nanti is the only language, other than the closely related Matsigenka, to exhibit both short and long forms for the realis and irrealis negation particles. All other Kampan languages exhibit a monosyllabic form for the realis negation particle (i.e. cognates to *te*) and a disyllabic form for the irrealis negation particle (i.e. cognates to *hara*). This fact suggests Nanti historically likewise exhibited a 'short' realis negation particle (i.e. *te*) and a 'long' irrealis one (i.e.. *hara*), and that long and short counterparts were developed by analogy, resulting in full sets of short and long negation particles for both realis and irrealis negation.

Evidence in favor of this analysis can be found in pairs of lexicalized forms such as *haratya* 'not yet (irrealis)' and *tetya* 'not yet (realis)', which preserve the original forms for the irrealis and realis negation elements, i.e. *hara* and *te*, rather than uniformly exhibiting short or long

negation forms. The pairs *tetana* ‘not soon (realis)’ and *haratana* ‘not soon (irrealis)’ (not **hatana*) exhibit the same pattern.

Finally, it is important to note that I have been unable to discern any semantic or syntactic difference between the long and short forms of the negation particles. This fact likewise argues against *tera* and *hara* being morphologically complex, since we would expect the hypothetical morpheme *-ra* to contribute either some semantic content or syntactic feature to the supposedly complex negation forms. Instead, the distribution of these forms appears to be governed by prosodic factors, and secondarily, information structural ones. We now consider these factors.

Long negation forms are obligatorily when constituting the only word in an utterance,[12] suggesting that in this case the long forms are selected to satisfy the Nanti disyllabic minimum word requirement (Crowhurst and Michael 2005) – indeed, this factor may be responsible in part for the original analogical development of the long form of the realis negation particle. Long forms are also common in slow or careful speech, in which negative particles are stress-bearing, and likewise must satisfy the disyllabic minimum word requirement. Similarly, constructions exhibiting constituent focus, as in (36), or predicate focus, as in (26), overwhelmingly bear stress and exhibit long negation forms.

(36) Yokari yoka hara iryo ikihi.

i-oka=ri	*i-oka*	*hara*	*iryo*
3M-this=CNTRST	3m-this	NEG.IRR	3M.FOC.PRO
i=kih-i			
3MS=enter-REA.I			

‘*This* one, *he* won’t enter.’

Short forms, in contrast, appear either when negation particles serve as clitic hosts, or in fast speech, in which case short forms cliticize to phonological words to their right.

7. *Negation in Clause-Linking Constructions*

Negation in clause-linking constructions exhibits many of the same properties as in negation in mono-clausal sentences, on which we have focused thus far. Clause-linking construction differ in two ways, however: first, particular clause-linking constructions exhibit distinct

[12] Both *tera* and *hara* can serve as short form negative responses, depending on the reality status of the elided proposition.

morphologically complex negation elements; and second, subordinate clauses in clause-linking constructions tend to exhibit restrictions on the presence of negation elements.

We consider these two issues now, beginning with morphologically complex negation elements in conditional, counterfactual, and purposive constructions.

7.1. *Negation in Possible Conditional Constructions*

The condition clause of conditional constructions is formed with the second position conditional clitic *=rika*, as in (37). As this example illustrates, positive polarity condition clauses take irrealis marking. As would be expected, their negative polarity counterparts exhibit the doubly irrealis construction, exhibiting the irrealis negative particle *ha*, as in (38). Note that the negative particle serves as a host to the conditional clitic, resulting in a morphologically complex negation element.

(37) [Nomporohakerika hanta parikoti]COND, [irompa aka pokahena aka onkuta]RESULT.
no=N-poroh-ak-e=rika *haNta*
1S=IRR-clear.land-PERF-IRR.I=COND there
parikoti *iroNpa* *aka* *pok-ah-e=na*
far.away suddenly here come-REG-IRR.I=1O
a*ka* *oNkuta*
here next.day
'If I were to clear land far away over there, I would promptly come back here the following day.'

(38) [Harika otimi hampi]COND, [hara nokanti maika aka pintimake aka]RESULT.
ha=rika *o=tim-i* *haNpi*
NEG.IRR =COND 3NMS=live-REA.I medicine
hara *no=kaNt-i* *maika* *aka*
NEG.IRR 1S=say-REA.I now here
pi=N-tim-ak-e *aka*
2S=IRR-live-PERF-IRR.I here
'If there were no medicine, I would not say, "Please live here."'

7.2. *Negation in Counterfactual Conditional Constructions*

Counterfactual conditional constructions express a conditional

relationship between two events that failed to be realized in the past. As is to be expected from the notionally irrealis nature of both events, positive polarity counterfactual clauses take irrealis marking, as in (39), while negative polarity counterfactual clauses exhibit doubly irrealis constructions, as in the condition clause of (40). Both clauses bear the second position counterfactual clitic *=me*.

(39) [Inkaharame noha**t**e]COND, [nontsonkerome]RESULT.
iNkahara=me no=N-ha-ø-e
earlier=CNTF 1S=IRR-go-IMPF-IRR.I
no=N-tsoNk-ø-e=ro=me
1S=IRR-finish-IMPF-IRR.I=3NMO=CNTF
'Had I gone earlier, I would have finished it (clearing the garden).'

(40) [Hame nokisainit**i** matsontsori]COND, [noha**t**akeme inkenishiku]RESULT.
ha=me no=kisaini-i matsoNtsori
NEG.IRR =CNTF 1S=dream-REA.I jaguar
no=ha-ak-e=me iNkenishiku
1S=go-PERF-IRR.I=CNTF forest
'Had I not dreamed of a jaguar, I would have gone into the forest.'

7.3. *Negation in Purposive Constructions*

Purposive constructions exhibit an idiosyncratic polarity-sensitive alternation in the marking of the goal clause, resulting in a structural asymmetry between positive and negative polarity purpose clauses and a complex negation element in the latter case. Positive polarity goal clauses are marked with the verbal clitic *=ra*, and exhibit irrealis marking, as in (41). Negative polarity purposive clauses, however, exhibit the morphologically complex negative purposive element *hani* and realis marking, as in (42). The latter element can be decomposed into two morphemes, the irrealis negation *ha*, and a purposive marker *=ni*, leading us to conclude that such clauses are doubly irrealis, as we would expect, given the irrealis marking on the positive polarity goal clause. At the same time, the form of the purposive marker changes from that found in positive polarity clauses *=ra*, to the special negative purposive form *=ni*.

(41) Yagutake niha irobiikempara.
i=agu-ak-i *niha*
3MS=climb.down-PERF-REA.I water
i=ri-obiik-ø-eNpa=ra
3MS=IRR-drink-IMPF-IRR.A=SUB
'He (a howler monkey) climbed down to drink water.'

(42) Norobite hani omakasabiti.
no=o[+VOICE]-rog-bi-ø-e
1S=CAUS-dry-CL:1D.rigid-IMPF-IRR.I
ha=ni *o=makasa-bi-i*
NEG.IRR =PURP 3NMS=decay-CL:1D.rigid-REA.I
'I will dry (the arrow cane) so that it does not decay.'

It should be noted that cognates to *=ni* surface as second position clausal purposive clitics in both negative and positive polarity goal clauses in several other Kampan languages, including Kakinte (Swift, 1988: 37-38), and the closely related Matsigenka (Snell, 1998: 62). The asymmetry we see in the Nanti purposive construction with respect to negation is presumably a result of the expanding function of the subordinate clause marker *=ra* at the expense of the former general purpose marker *=ni* in affirmative, but not negative, clauses.

7.4. *Negation in Relative Clauses*

Relative clauses in Nanti are formed with a second position relativizing clitic *=rira* (Michael 2008: 402-414), as in (43), which is identical in form, though not distribution, to the deverbal nominalizing suffix *-rira* (Michael 2008: 303-304). Since the relativizer is a second position clitic, it is not surprising that negated relative clauses exhibit a morphologically complex negation element, consisting of the the short form of the negation particle, to which the relativizer cliticizes, as in (44).

(43) Aityo oburoki [birorira tinkiro]*RelCl*?
aityo *oburoki* *biro=rira*
EXI.INAN manioc.beer 2.FOC.PRO=REL
tiNk-i=ro
mash-REA.I=3NMO
'Is there manioc beer that *you* mashed?'

(44) Sharoni okigake sekatsi [terira nantabagete]*RelCl*.
sharoni *o=kig-ak-i* *sekatsi*
agouti 3NMS=dig-PERF-REA.I manioc
te=rira *no=aNtabaget-e*
NEG.REA=REL 1S=weed-IRR.I
'An agouti dug up the manioc that I didn't weed.'

7.5. *Negation in Complement Clause Constructions*

Nanti complement clauses restrict the presence of negation particles depending on whether they are deranked (i.e. exhibit inflectional restrictions due to their syntactic relationship to other clauses), or ranked (and do not exhibit such restrictions). Deranked complement clauses may also impose reality status restrictions if the complement clause is temporally 'prospective' with respect to the main clause, and this reality status marking may interact with negation elements in the main clause.

Ranked complement clauses in Nanti behave identically to main clauses with respect to negation. A reported speech complement, a prototypical ranked clause type, is shown in (45); we see that a negation element is permitted in the complement clause, that it occupies the same position that we would expect from main clause negation, and that the reality status marking on the verb is identical to main clause negation.

(45) Ikanti hara p**a**higahiri saburi.
i=kaNt-i *hara*
3MS=say-REA.I NEG.IRR
p-hig-ah-i=ri *saburi*
give-PL-REG-REA.I=3MO machete
'He said, 'Don't give him a machete again.''

All ranked complement clauses in Nanti are morphosyntactically identical to reported speech complements, exhibiting the same deictic properties as reported speech complements (i.e. direct reported speech deixis), and even optionally take a complementizer that is lexicalized from the *verbum dicendi kant* 'say' (Michael 2008: 416-423). Other than verbs of communication, certain verbs of cognition, such as *pintsa* 'decide' and *sure* 'think', take ranked complements.

Deranked complements, in contrast, do not permit negation elements, as demonstrated by the ungrammatical (46c), although such complement constructions do, of course, permit negation in the matrix clause, as demonstrated by the grammatical (46b).

(46) a. Ikogake irihate.
i=kog-ak-i *i=ri-ha-e*
3MS= want-PERF-REA.I 3MS=IRR-go-IRR.I
'He wanted to go.'

b. Tera inkoge irihate.
tera *i=N-kog-e*
NEG.REA 3MS=IRR-want-IRR.I
i=ri-ha-e
3MS=IRR-go-IRR.I
'He did not want to go.'

c. *Ikogake/Inkoge tera/hara irihate.
INTENDED SENSE: 'He wanted not to go.'

Deranked complements can be further divided into two classes, prospective and non-prospective, depending on the way that their reality status and aspectual marking are restricted by their matrix clauses, which in turn affects how they interact with negation elements in the matrix clause. Prospective complements are those whose realization lies in the future of the state of affairs expressed by the main clause (regardless of whether the realization of the complement may lie in the past relative to the moment of utterance of the sentence). Complements of verbs of desire, as in (46), are prototypical prospective complements. The realization of non-prospective complements, on the other hand, does not necessarily lie in the future of the state of affairs denoted by the main clause, as in the case of complements of verbs of perception, given in (47), or phasal verbs, given in (48).

(47) Nonehake Rerisuha gonketahi.
no=neh-ak-i *Rerisuha*
1S=see-PERF-REA.I personal.name
ogoNke[13]*-ah-i*
arrive-REG-REA.I
'I saw Rerisuha arrive.'

[13] Initial vowels of verb stems lacking a subject marker, as in this example, are deleted (Michael 2008: 243-245).

(48) Itsonkatanake ipimantagetake.
i=tsoNka-an-ak-i
3MS=finish-ABL-PERF-REA.I
i=pimaNt-ge-ak-i
3MS=give.gift-DSTR-PERF-REA.I
'He finished giving gifts.'

Non-prospective deranked complement clauses exhibit the same reality status as their associated matrix clauses, as evident in comparing (47) and (49). In negated sentences, such complements cannot exhibit overt aspect marking, thus exhibiting the same paradigmatic neutralization characteristic of negated main clauses. This indicates that although they cannot bear their own negation elements, they clearly fall under the scope of the negation element in the matrix clause. And as demonstrated by the perfective complement verb in (48), there is no restriction on aspectual marking *per se* in deranked complements other than that imposed by negation in the matrix clause. Nanti non-prospective deranked complement clauses include verbs of perception, phasal verbs, and *ogo* 'know how'.

(49) Tera nonehe ompokera Rerisuha.
tera *no=N-neh-e*
NEG.REA 1S=IRR-see-IRR.I
o=N-pok-e=ra *Rerisuha*
3NMS=IRR- come-IRR.I=SUB personal.name
'I did not see Rerisuha come.'

Prospective deranked complements, such as desiderative complements, present a slightly different situation, in that they obligatorily bear irrealis marking, whether the verb is affirmative realis, affirmative irrealis, or negative irrealis (i.e. negated with *tera*), as in (46a), (50), and (46b), respectively.

(50) Inkoge irihate.
i=N-kog-e *i=ri-ha-e*
3MS=IRR-want-IRR.I 3MS=IRR-go-IRR.I
'He will want to go.'

Prospective deranked complements show realis marking only when the matrix clause is a doubly irrealis constructions, as in (51).

(51) Hara ikogi ihati.
hara *i=kog-i* *i=ha-i*
NEG.IRR 3MS=want-REA.I 3MS=go-REA.I
'He will not want to go.'

8. *Negative Indefinites*

Nanti positive indefinite pronouns are based on interrogative words, either being identical to them, or optionally bearing the indefinite clitic *=ka*, as in (52b).

(52) a. Tyani tentakeri?
tyani *teNt-ak-i=ri*
which.one.ANIM accompany-PERF-REA.I=3MO
'Who accompanied him?'

b. Tyanika tentakeri.
tyani=ka
which.one.ANIM=INDEF
teNt-ak-i=ri
accompany-PERF-REA.I=3MO
'Someone accompanied him.'

It is unclear if Nanti should be analyzed as exhibiting negative indefinite pronouns as such, since their function is filled by collocations of standard negation particles and interrogative words, as in (53b). Since clauses with these candidate negative indefinites exhibit reality status marking consistent with the negation particle having clausal scope, rather than simply negating the indefinite pronoun, analyzing these collocations of negation particles and indefinite pronouns as negative indefinite pronouns does not seem warranted. Rather, it is more consistent with the reality status marking facts to treat cases like (53b), (54), and (55) as negative polarity sentences with (positive) indefinite arguments. Note that these 'negative indefinite' constructions can be formed with both realis and irrealis negation particles, as appropriate to the overall reality status of the clause, and as exemplified in (53) and (56), respectively.

(53) a. Tsini pinehake?
tsini *pi=neh-ak-i*
who 2S=see-PERF-REA.I
'Whom did you see?'

b. Tera tsini nonehe.
tera *tsini* *no=neh-e*
NEG.REA who 1S=see-IRR.I
'I didn't see anyone.'

(54) Tera tata noge.
tera *tata* *no=og-e*
NEG.REA what 1S=do-IRR.I
'I am not going to do anything.'

(55) Tera tsini pakuhakagerime.
tera *tsini*
NEG.REA who
pakuh-akag-e =ri=me
discard-CAUS:INFL-IRR.I=3NMO=CNTF
'No one convinced him to discard (his wife).'

(56) Hara tya nohati.
hara *tya* *no=ha-i*
NEG.IRR where 1S=go-REA.I
'I will not go anywhere.'

9. *Comparative Observations*

In this section I discuss major similarities and divergences between negation in Nanti and negation in other Arawak languages, focusing on the interaction between negation and reality status, and on the reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative **ma* in Nanti.

As described in §3, the Nanti descriptive negation and reality status systems interact in a complex manner, and there is evidence that this system may be of considerable antiquity in Southern Arawak. First, it is clear that Proto-Kampa (PK) must have possessed a RS system very similar to the one described here for Nanti, since the other modern Kampan languages exhibit RS systems that appear to differ in only minor ways from the Nanti one (Kindberg 1980, Payne 1981, Shaver 1996, Snell 1998, Swift 1988). RS is a binary inflectional category in all

the Kampan languages and, as is evident in Table 5 (which suppresses details of allomorphy in specific languages), there is considerable similarity among the languages in terms of reality status morphology and the related forms of negation. As far as can be determined from published sources, the semantics of realis and irrealis marking in these languages appears to be quite similar to that of Nanti, and they also all exhibit doubly irrealis constructions in the prototypical case of negated clauses with future temporal reference.

Table 5. *Reality status suffixes and negation in the Kampan languages*

	I-CLASS	**A-CLASS**	**REA.NEG**	**I-CLASS**	**A-CLASS**	**IRR.NEG**
Asháninka	*-i*	*-a*	*te*	*-e*	*-ia*	*eero*
Ashéninka	*-i*	*-a*	*te*	*-e*	*-ea*	*eiro*
Kakinte	*-i*	*-a*	*tee*	*-e*	*-eNpa*	*aato*
Matsigenka	*-i*	*-a*	*te(ra)*	*-e*	*-eNpa*	*ga(ra)*
Nanti	*-i*	*-a*	*te(ra)*	*-e*	*-eNpa*	*ha(ra)*
Nomatsigenga	*-i*	*-a*	*te*	*-e*	*-ema*	*kero*

There are also indications of similar systems in more distantly related Southern Arawak languages. In particular, Terena, a language spoken in Brazil near the Paraguayan border, possesses a RS system strikingly similar to the Kampan ones.[14] As in the Kampan languages, a realis/irrealis contrast is obligatorily marked on all Terena verbs, as in (57),[15] and the language also distinguishes two negation particles that select for the notional reality status of the clauses they negate: a realis negation *ako*, as in (58a) and an irrealis negation *hyoko*, as in (58b) (Ekdahl and Grimes 1964, Butler 1978).[16] Strikingly, the use of the irrealis negation triggers nominally 'realis' marking on the verb, producing a doubly irrealis construction like that found in the Kampan languages.

[14] My thanks to Sasha Aikhenvald for bringing the Terena system to my attention.

[15] The semantics of the Terena RS realis/irrealis contrast appears similar to that found in the Kampan languages. One notable difference is that verbs in clauses with future temporal reference may take either realis or irrealis marking depending on the degree of certainty with which the speaker predicates the future event.

[16] Ekdahl and Grimes (1964) characterize the inflectional contrast as between 'actual' and 'potential', and the two negations as the 'negation of actual mood' and the 'negation of potential mood' respectively.

(57) a. *pih-óp-o*
go-REG-REA
'He went back (to where he came from).'

b. *píh-áp-a*
go-REG-IRR
'He will go back (to where he came from).'

(58) a. *ako* *pih-áp-a*
NEG.REA go-REG-IRR
'He did not go back (to where he came from).'

b. *hyoko* *pih-óp-o*
NEG.IRR go-REG-REA
'He will not go back (to where he came from).'

Turning to reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative marker **ma* in Nanti, we find that it is no longer morphologically productive in Nanti, nor apparently in any of the other Kampan varieties. There are, however, a number of lexical items, including function words, which appear to exhibit reflexes of the privative in frozen form. Lexical roots such as *magempi* 'be deaf'[17] (cf. *gempita* 'ear') and *amatsogampi* 'be blunt' (cf. *tsogampi* 'be sharp') are presumably lexicalized remnants of a formerly productive privative derivation process. Likewise, the negative existential verb *mameri* (see §4.1) and the metalinguistic negation particle *matsi* (see §3) are presumably related to the PA privative.

The functions filled by the modern reflexes of **ma* in other languages are filled by a number of mechanisms in Nanti. The common cross-Arawak function of this morpheme in deriving negative nominal-modifying predicates from nouns (see Aikhenvald, Munro, Patte, this volume) is handled largely by relative clauses or by standard negation of stative verbs that take the relevant noun as an argument. The function of the privative in some languages, such as Lokono (see Patte, this volume), of forming a denominal verb that denotes the loss of a part from the pertinent whole, is filled in Nanti by the reversative *-reh* (Michael, 2008: 275-275 & 289-290). When affixed to a verb root, as in (59a), the reversative derives a stem that denotes the reversal of some action, but when it is affixed to an inalienable noun, as in (59b), it derives an intransitive verb stem denoting the removal of that part.

[17] My thanks to Mary Ruth Wise for bringing this root to my attention.

(59) a. Okuch**a**rehanake.
o=kuch-reh-an-ak-i
3NMS=snag-REV-ABL-PERF-REA.I
'It became un-snagged.'

b. Ogitorehake.
o=gito-reh-ak-i
3NMS=head-REV-PERF-REA.I
'It's head came off.'

10. *Conclusion*

This chapter has described negation strategies in a variety of construction types in Nanti. Standard negation in main clauses reveals a complex interaction between negation and reality status marking, manifested as a paradigmatic asymmetry in reality status marking and the presence of two different standard negation particles, whose distribution is conditioned by the reality status of the positive-polarity clause. In addition to standard negation, Nanti exhibits a metalinguistic negation element which does not interact with reality status, and which can co-occur with standard negation particles, yielding double negation constructions. Other non-standard forms of negation described in the chapter include existential negation, which is expressed by a morphologically defective negative verb; that same verb is also used with lexical verbs to express 'exhaustive negation'. Nanti does not exhibit a distinct prohibitive construction; rather a declarative doubly irrealis construction is used to express a negative directive. Nanti also exhibits a number of morphologically complex negation elements, some of which exhibit a degree of lexicalization, such as the 'extreme degree' and 'non-immediate' negation elements, while others, such as the deontic and durational negation elements, are clearly decomposable into a negation particle and a clitic. The chapter has also described negative indefinites in Nanti, which are formed by negating interrogative words used in content interrogatives.

Negation in clause-linking constructions such as conditional, counterfactual, and purposive clause constructions was also discussed. In general, negation in these constructions closely resembles main clause negation, once it is taken into account that most subordinate clauses are treated as intrinsically irrealis.

This chapter also examined Nanti negation in a comparative light, showing that the other Kampan languages appear to exhibit very similar

negation systems, down to the complex interaction between negation and reality status that is amply attested in the Nanti data. The negation system of a distantly related Southern Arawak language, Terena, was shown to exhibit significant structural similarities to those found in the Kampan languages, including the sensitivity of reality status marking to negation and a 'doubly irrealis' construction. Finally, reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative in Nanti were discussed; although there are no productive reflexes of this morpheme in the language, frozen reflexes can be found in a small number of roots.

CHAPTER TEN

NEGATION AND IRREALIS IN MOJEÑO TRINITARIO

FRANÇOISE ROSE[1]

The coding of negation varies greatly within the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999: 96). This paper offers additional data for comparative purposes. It provides a sketch of negation in Mojeño Trinitario,[2] an underdescribed South Arawak language spoken by a few thousand speakers in Amazonian Bolivia. The data consists of oral Trinitario texts collected by the author in the field since 2005.

This paper offers a description of the different negation markers and constructions used for each negation type (sentential negation, short negative answer, constituent negation, existential negation, negative indefinites and privative derivation). It also discusses the most interesting point in the expression of negation in Mojeño Trinitario, i.e. its interaction with irrealis, found both in sentential negation and in existential negation. This paper eventually argues that standard negation is of the constructional asymmetric type, since it induces realis/irrealis coding that is distinct from that occurring in affirmative clauses.

The first section of this paper focuses on the different negation markers and constructions used for each negation types. The second section describes the forms and functions of the irrealis markers. The third section then concentrates on the interaction between negation and irrealis marking in Mojeño Trinitario.

1. *Negation types in Mojeño Trinitario*

This section presents the different constructions and markers used for the various types of negation in Mojeño Trinitario, depending on the overall meaning of the negated sentence and on the specific syntactic function of the negated element. It leaves aside for the time being the interaction of negation with irrealis.

1.1. *Sentential negation*

Sentential negation is marked with the negative element *wo ~ wi* or *wo'i*

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Patience Epps for suggestions on an earlier version of the paper. All remaining errors are mine.

[2] The Mojeño language consists of four dialects, two of which are still actively spoken, though endangered: Ignaciano and Trinitario.

in sentence-initial position. This element is found immediately before a verbal predicate, as in (1), as well as before a nominal predicate (2) or an adjective (3). No intervening constituent is normally allowed, the subject of the predicate, when expressed with an NP, always follows the predicate.[3]

(1) Wipo tanigia to waka.[4] NEG PRED(V) NP.S
wo-po ta-ni-ko-a to waka
NEG-PERF 3NH-eat-ACTV-IRR ART.NH cow
'The cows do not eat any more.'

(2) Wo pakraraena jmarono. NEG PRED(N) NP.S
wo pakrara-ina jmaro-ono
NEG peccary-IRR DEM-PL
'These are not *peccaries*.'

(3) Wo winarajina. NEG PRED(ADJ)
wo winaraji-ina
NEG bad-IRR
'These are not bad.'

Although the negative marker *wo ~ wi ~ wo'i* is normally adjacent to the negated predicate, I consider it an independent word for several reasons:[5]
- First, it is not part of the phonological word containing the predicate since its final vowel does not fuse with a predicate-initial vowel.
- It is not even part of the prosodic word containing the predicate, since its vowel never undergoes deletion and does not count in the vowel deletion pattern (Rose 2011b).
- Furthermore, even if it normally immediately precedes the predicate, three regular exceptions have been found to intervene between the negation marker and the predicate : the manner demonstrative *ene*, direct speech before the verb *jicho* "to say" and the indeterminate pronoun *oypuka*.

[3] In some examples, the main verb is introduced by a non-human article.

[4] The Trinitario dialect has such a complex system of morphophonemic rules (including vowel deletion) that underlying morphemes are often not recognizable in the phonological realization. This explains the formatting of the Trinitario illustrative examples, with the first line giving a phonological transcription of the utterance (using the local orthography) and the second line giving the morpheme break with the underlying form of the morphemes.

[5] Olza (2002:112) analyzes the sentential negation *vai-* as a prefix in the Ignaciano dialect. However, he states that *vai-* is always stressed and that the word it accompanies is also always stressed.

- Finally, it takes same of the suffixes that are on predicates in affirmative sentences, that is to say, principally TAM, evidentials and discourse markers. It therefore partially displays the characteristics of an auxiliary, but yet does not take all the predicate morphology (person, number, future, etc.) as illustrated in (4).

For all these reasons, I consider *wo* to be a distinct word, one of the few monosyllabic words of the language besides articles, interrogatives and the preposition.

(4) Wipo nakuchku'viyre.
wi-po
NEG-PERF
n-a-ko-uch-ku-ko-vi-yore
1SG-IRR-CAU-go_out-CL:interior-ACTV-2SG-FUT
'(if you get lost again, then) I won't take you out of it.'

The three forms of the negative marker seem to be variants in the context of sentential negation. *wi* is a phonological free variant of *wo* preferred by fewer speakers, but used by all speakers with aspectual suffixes (1) (4), while *wo* is always found without morphology (2) (3). *wo'i* is another variant, used by all speakers, and generally carries discourse markers (7). A possible hypothesis regarding *wo'i* is that it consists of *wo* plus the atmospheric classifier *'i*.

A special negative morpheme *wichu* is used in certain types of main and dependent sentences having an apprehensive meaning.[6] The main clauses with *wichu* express advice in the case of danger ("watch out"), as in (5). The dependent clauses with *wichu* express negative purpose ("lest"), as in (6). This apprehensive marker is unmistakably made up of the negation marker *wo* ~ *wi* plus the *–chu* evidential element.[7] *wichu* does not take additional morphology.

(5) Wichu ema makovenópa. *elicited*
wichu ema ma-ko-venópo-a
watch.out PRO.3M 3M-CAU-fall-IRR
'Watch out in case he drops it.'

[6] For special person indexation on verbs preceded by *wichu*, see Rose (2011a).

[7] Interestingly, the corresponding form is *machu* in Old Mojeño (Marban 1701) and in the present Ignaciano dialect (Olza et al. 2002), maybe built with the same *–chu* on the privative *ma* (Cf. 1.6).

(6) Vyanaporo wichu tanigiawokovi spugiono.
vy-yono-a-po-ro wichu ta-ni-ko-a-wokovi
1PL-go-IRR-PERF-then lest 3NH-eat-ACTV-IRR-1PL
spugi-ono
vulture-PL
'Then let's go lest the vultures eat us.'

Sentential negation in subordinate clauses does not differ from sentential negation in independent clauses. Example (7) illustrates sentential negation both in the main and dependent clauses.

(7) Wo'iji timerigiapo eñi tajicho wo ñim'a to je'china 'chane.
wo'i-iji t-imeri-gi-a-wo eñi
NEG-RPT 3-show-ACTV-IRR-MID PRO.M
tajicho wo ñ-im-ko-a to je'chu-ina
because NEG 3M-see-ACT-IRR ART.NH true-IRR
'chane
person
'He did not show up because he hadn't seen whether they were real people.'

1.2. *Free form answer*

Among the three forms of the negative word used in sentential negation, the form *wo'i* distinguishes itself as being used also as a free form answer to a yes/no question, as the examples (8) illustrate. It can also be used as a coordinated alternative, as in (9), probably after deletion of the entire second clause (here presupposed). It is interesting to note that in (8a) the tag question is not made up of a negative element, but of the manner demonstrative *ene* "so, like that".

(8) a. Wo taemotvi, ene?
wo ty-a-imoti-vi, ene
NEG 3-IRR-know-2SG DEM
'He does not know you, right?

b. Wo'i, wo taemotnu.
wo'i wo ty-a-imoti-nu
NEG 3-IRR-know-1SG
'No, he does not know me.'

(9) Tyuchkoyrepka wo'ipuka.
ty-uch-ko-yore-puka wo'i-puka
3-go.out-ACTV-FUT-HYP NEG-HYP
'Will he come out or not?'

1.3. *Constituent negation*

Constituent negation is a restricted and infrequent construction. The only type of constituents that can be negated is either a personal pronoun, as in (10), or the manner demonstrative *ene* as in (11). The negation word *wo ~ wi ~ wo'i* (possibly with suffixes) is placed in sentence-initial position, immediately followed by the negated constituent. No specific focalization ore relativization devices are used. Therefore constituent negation and sentential negation are very comparable: the negation word is in sentence-initial position, followed by the negated element, that is to say the predicate in the case of sentential negation, and some other type of constituents in the case of constituent negation.

(10) Wo'wore vitina ukojruka.
wo'i-wore viti-ina
NEG-once.more PRO.1PL-IRR
vi-ko-juu-ko-a
1PL-CAU-grow-ACTV-IRR
'It is not us who grow them (the plantations, but God).'

(11) Wo enena nutsi'a, nuchko te to San Pransisku.
wo ene-ina n-uch-ko-i'o-a
NEG here-IRR 1SG-be.born-ACTV-APL-IRR
n-uch-ko te to San Pransisku
1SG-be.born-ACTVPREP ART.NH SF
'I was not born here (Lit. it is not here that I was born), I was born in San Francisco.'

1.4. *Existential negation*

A special negative copula is used in expressions of existential negation. It occurs in sentence-initial position, and is followed by the noun phrase of which the existence is negated, as in (12) and (13). The negative copula carries the TAM suffixes and agrees in person/number/gender with the head noun of the noun phrase. The agreement paradigm is given in Table 1.

(12) Tajnawore sachena.
tajina-wore sache-ina
EXI.NEG.NH-also sun-IRR
'There is also no sun. '

(13) Najinarich'o aakarena, najinarich'o prefektina.
najina-rich'o aakare-ina najina-rich'o
EXI.NEG.PL-yet mayor-IRR EXI.NEG.PL-yet
prefekto-ina
governor-IRR
'There was not any town mayor yet, there was not any governor yet.'

Table 1. *The agreement paradigm of the negative existential copula*

PERSON	**NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL COPULA**
3M male speaker	*majina*
3M female speaker	*ñijina*
3F	*sijina*
3PL	*najina*
3NH	*tajina*

The copula can also stand by itself and refer anaphorically to some noun it agrees with. The sentence is then reduced to the copula predicate.

(14) Tajina.
tajina
EXI.NEG.NH
'There is not any.'

When the negated noun is possessed, the interpretation can be that of negated possession.

(15) Tajna nayukpirena.
tajina na-yukpi-ra-ina
EXI.NEG.NH 3PL-candle-POSS-IRR
'They did not have candles.' (Lit. 'There were not their candles.')

In a few examples, the copula has a locative rather than an existential meaning.[8] It indicates that the noun phrase following it (or referred to

[8] With this locative meaning, the copula can be found with 1st or 2nd person

anaphorically) is not present in a particular location.

(16) Majina, te muemtone jmakni.
majina te ma-emtone jmakni
EXI.NEG.M PREP 3M-work DEM
‘(- Maybe he is at home.) – He is not, he is at work. ‘

Finally, a verb can also be present (17), then the sentence negates the existence of an entity defined by the property of the verb.

(17) Najina eno tyoma to vechogiene.
najina eno ty-omo-a to
EXI.NEG.PL PRO.PL 3-carry-IRR ART.NH
v-echo-giene
1PL-know-NML
‘There is no one to carry our knowledge. ‘

1.5. *Negative indefinites*

The same forms as the copulas can also be used in a sentence with a predicate, where they neither precede a noun phrase nor refer anaphorically to a noun. In such cases, they are lexicalized negative indefinites[9], meaning "nothing" (in the non-human form *taj(i)na*) or “nobody, no one” (in the human forms *naj(i)na*, *majina*, *ñijina*, *sijina*). As such, they constitute a noun phrase that fills an argument slot. There are no regular expressions for negative adverbs such as “never, nowhere, in no manner”.[10]

(18) Tajna naggiouyore.
tajina n-a-ggio-vi-yore
EXI.NEG.NH 1-IRR-do-2SG-FUT
‘I am not going to do anything to you’ (Lit. I am going to do you nothing.)

---

agreement.

[9] Since *mutu* ‘all’ functions as a verb in Trinitario, its negation is not specific to quantifiers. It is rather expressed with the plain sentential negation presented in 1.1.

(1) *Wo wamtuji wori.*
wo *vi-a-mutu-ji* *vi-a-uri*
NEG 1PL-IRR-all-CL.bulk 1PL-IRR-good
‘We are not all good.’

[10] A negative word *movine* occurred only in four elicited sentences with a meaning that could be translated as ‘never’.

(19) Najnaeji tjikpa.
najina-iji ty-jikpo-a
EXI.NEG.PL-RPT 3-answer-IRR
'Nobody answered.'

1.6. *Privative morpheme*

Within the set of Trinitario negative markers, the only well-known Arawak cognate is the *ma-* privative construction characteristic of many Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999: 95). It is not mentioned in the previous grammar of the Trinitario dialect (Gill 1957), but is attested in the Ignaciano dialect of Mojeño (Olza Zubiri 2002: 787-798).
Very few textual examples were found in my Trinitario database of about six hours of recordings (cf. 15). Yet more examples were found through elicitation and in the dictionary (Gill 1993).

This derivational morpheme can be found on obligatorily possessed nouns. Its meaning is the negative counterpart of the attributive meaning. It can be translated by "without" or by the negative counterpart of an adjective or participle. In its basic use, it combines with a noun, in most cases suffixed with the possessive morpheme *-re*, and is used as a modifier (20)(21). Elicited examples show that a non-verbal predicate can be formed on this non-verbal form, with an additional person suffix (22). A transitive verbal predicate can also be derived from it with the help of the verbalizer *–cho* (23).

(20) Myenore pnokni koregieroru. *m*-N-*re*
m-yeno-re pnokni koregieroru
PRIV-wife-N.POSS DEM corregidor
'There may be unmarried *corregidor*. '

(21) Nokpojko esu 'móperu mgiño. elicited, *m*-N
n-okpoj-ko esu 'móperu m-giño
1SG-meet-ACTV PRO.F youngster PRIV-ear
'I have met a deaf girl. '

(22) Mchicharenu. elicited, *m*-N-*re*-1/2
m-chicha-re-nu
PRIV-SON-N.POSS-1SG
'I do not have any children.'

(23) Tmuigñochnu to nemtone. elicited 1/2/3-*m*-N-*cho*-1/2
t-mui-giño-ch-nu to n-emtone
3-PRIV-ears-VBZ-1SG ART.NH 1SG-work
'My work made me turn deaf.'

The privative prefix is also found with a negative meaning, on active verbs, either just with the root (24) or with morphology (25). The result of this derivation is then used as a modifier. It can also be nominalized and turned into a non-verbal predicate.

(24) muechegne Gill 1993, *m*-V
mu-echegne
PRIV-look_after_family
'abandoned'

(25) wchichanoviono muechemrejkono *m*-V-*re*-*ko*[11]
wchichanoviono mu-echem-re-j-ko-no
1PL-child-PL.KIN PRIV-understand-?-CL:heap-?-PL
'our children that do not understand'

The privative prefix thus shows numerous but rare uses. This points to a rather old form in the language.

While in the literature on Arawak languages, the privative prefix is often presented on par with the attributive prefix, these two differ crucially in Mojeño. The privative *ma* derives denominal and deverbal adjectival forms (used as modifiers or non-verbal predicates with person suffixes), while the attributive *ko* derives denominal predicates taking person prefixes (with a possessive meaning).

(26) Eto tkijare tropano 1/2/3-*ko*-N
eto t-ko-ijare tropa-ono
PRO.NH 3-VBZ-name herd-PL
'They are called herd (wild pigs).'

[11] The sequence –*re*-*ko* can be analyzed in various ways: -*re* could be the possessive suffix or a pluractional, and –*ko* a non-possessed suffix or the active suffix.

Summary of Section 1

Table 2. *The major negation types of Mojeño Trinitario*

NEGATION TYPES	NEGATION MARKER (SENTENCE-INITIAL)	NEGATED ELEMENT (SECOND POSITION)
sentential negation	negation word *wo*	verbal predicate nominal predicate adjectival predicate
constituent negation	negation word *wo*	pronoun
existential negation	negative copula *tajina*	noun

2. *The irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario*

This section describes the forms and function of the irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario, before its interaction with negation is discussed in Section 3. "Prototypically realis is used in clauses where there is perceived certainty of the factual reality of an event's taking place, while irrealis is used to identify that an event is perceived to exist only in an imagined or non-real world." (Eliott 2000:67) Irrealis, as defined in the preceding quote, is a frequently marked category in Mojeño Trinitario.

2.1. *The forms of the irrealis*

Irrealis marking in Trinitario differs depending on the part of speech it attaches to. The suffix *–ina* is specific for non-verbal elements, primarily nouns (like *mimro* 'mask' in (27)), but also adjectives and adverbs (like *chochu* 'tomorrow' in (28)). It can be used on an argument (27) or on a predicate (28).

(27) Pepiaka to pmimrina.
pi-epia-ko-a to pi-mimro-ina
2SG-make-ACTV-IRR ART.NH 2SG-mask-IRR
'Make your mask.'

(28) 'Chochinaure.
'chochu-ina-wore
tomorrow-IRR-once.more
'It could be tomorrow (that we will do it once more).'

On verbs, two forms are found, most commonly the suffix *–a* and less

often the prefix *a-*.[12] Figure 1 shows the position of the irrealis affixes within the verb structure, more precisely in relation to the stem (in the shaded area). Several interesting observations can be drawn from this. First, the irrealis affixes are not part of the TAM paradigm. This calls for a reality status category independent of the categories of mood and modality. Second, they occupy the inflectional slot nearest to the verb stem. Third, there are two positions for the same morpheme (or at least for a morpheme with the same meaning and the same form). The two positions filled by the irrealis correlate neatly with the classes of the verbs they attach to.

Figure 1. *Position of the irrealis affixes within the verb structure*

S	**IRR**	CAU	ro ot	RED	CLN APL3	PLUR AC	ACTV MOT	CAU APL1 /2 MOT	**IRR**	O MID	PL	TA MOT	RP T	D

There are two classes of Trinitario verbs, active and stative verbs. Active verbs are characterized either by the obligatory presence of the active (ACTV) suffix *–ko* (as in *ute-ko* 'come') or by their root-final /o/ (as in *jikpo* 'answer').[13] On all active roots, the irrealis is marked by the suffix *–a*, generally replacing the final /o/ of the active suffix as in (29) or of the root as in (30). With some rare suffix combinations, as in (31),[14] *-a* occurs without effect on final /o/. This constitutes an argument for not considering /o/ as a realis suffix, as done by Ekdahl and Grimes (1964: 262) for another Arawak language, Terena.[15]

(29) Piutegia!
pi-ute-ko-a
2SG-come-ACTV-IRR
'Come!'

[12] The phonological similarity of these two affixes with the same meaning is suspect. Nevertheless due to their short and unmarked form and to the lack of comparative study, nothing can be put forward about a unique etymology for these two affixes.

[13] The members of this second class of active verbs obligatorily take the active suffix when they carry a stem-internal suffix.

[14] The (rarely used) morpheme *–num* "do before going; first" is the only consonant-initial suffix that can be inserted between the active suffix and the irrealis suffix, thus allowing the final /o/ to be maintained in the phonological output.

[15] In their terminology , *-a ~ a-* is analyzed as a *potential* (corresponding to irrealis in the present paper) and *–o* as *actual* (here realis).

(30) Wiro tyjikpanu!
wi-ro ty-jikpo-a-nu
NEG-then 3-answer-IRR-1SG
'It did not answer me!'

(31) Asapiikommatsero towina.
a-sapii-ko-num-a-tse-ro towina
2PL-smoke-ACTV-first-IRR-but-then first
'Smoke first.'

Stative verbs (which may be simple (32) or derived from nouns with the *ko-* verbalizer (33)) do not show this systematic /o/ ending. This is another reason for not considering /o/ as a realis marker. Otherwise realis would be marked in Trinitario on active verbs, but not on stative ones.[16] It is more coherent to consider the realis category to be not overtly marked in this language. On stative verbs, as in (32) and (23), but also on some rare active verbs without final /o/, as in (34), the *a-* prefix is used to mark the irrealis.

(32) Wo tajopu.
wo t-a-jopu
NEG 3-IRR-be.white
'She is not white.'

(33) Ene wakjuma.
ene vi-a-ko-juma
and 1PL-IRR-VBZ-illness
'And we can get ill.'

(34) Wo taemotvi, ene?
wo ty-a-imoti-vi ene
NEG 3-IRR-know-2SG no
'He does not know you, right?

[16] The opposite situation is actually found in the Ignaciano dialect of Mojeño, due to certain historical developments. In the phonological system of this dialect, the phonemes /a/ and /o/ have fused into a single phoneme /a/. As a consequence, the irrealis marker *a is not distinguishable from the final *o (realized /a/ in synchrony) of the active verbs. The realis/irrealis distinction is therefore neutralized on active verbs. There are, however, remnants of a prefix *a-* to mark imperative mood on some verbs like *matina* 'be quiet', *mutu* 'all, meet' or *nasi* 'stay' (Olza 2002: 827-828), all stative verbs. As a result, the irrealis is overtly marked only on some stative verbs in Ignaciano.

The distribution of the irrealis *a-* prefix and *–a* suffix is actually not as neatly complementary as dependence on the unique criterion of the active or stative status of the verb root would suggest. The prefix *a-* can in fact be found on active verbs in specific contexts. Indeed, once suffixed, the verb form may undergo morphophonological deletion of the vowel slot where the irrealis marker normally occurs, and the realis/irrealis distinction is therefore neutralized. In that case, the prefix *a-* is used.[17] For instance, irrealis is normally marked on the verb *im* 'see' with a suffix *-a* attached after the active suffix realized *-'o* on this verb, as illustrated in (35). As usual, the /o/ of the active suffix deletes before the irrealis *–a*. The addition of the intensifier suffix *im'i* on the same stem *im-'o* deletes the /o/ and leaves no slot for the suffix *–a*. This form of the verb then takes the irrealis prefix *a-* (36).

(35) Wo nim'a.
wo n-im-ko-a
NEG 1SG-see-ACTV-IRR
'I don't see.'

(36) Wo naem'im'i.
wo n-a-im-ko-im'i
NEG 1SG-IRR-see-ACTV-INTE
'I can not see anything.'

Other Arawak languages have different strategies to avoid neutralization of the realis/irrealis distinction in cases of additional suffixation. Nanti uses a circumfix for irrealis, so that when the surface contrast between reality status suffixes is neutralized, the prefix still indicates irrealis (Michael 2009a: 9-10).[18] Terena undergoes vowel harmony so that when

[17] This explanation is over-generalizing, since at least with the future suffix *–yore*, even though the final *o* is maintained, the *a-* prefix is used rather than the *–a* suffix.

(2) Wo pajikpoyre.
wo pi-a-jikpo-yore
NEG 2SG-IRR-answer-FUT
'You are not going to answer.'

[18] Some Nanti examples are given here (Michael 2009a: 9-10).

(3) Ipokake.
i=pok-ak-i
3MS=come-PERF-REA.I
'He came.'

(4) INpokake
i=N-pok-ak-e
3MS=IRR-come-PERF-IRR.I
'He will come.'

the contrast between a realis and an irrealis form is neutralized in the suffixes sequence, the realis/irrealis distinction is visible within the root itself or some other suffix (Ekdahl & Grimes 1964: 263).[19] Vowel harmony is a very marginal phenomenon in Trinitario, but is precisely attested in two situations involving the irrealis. First, the irrealis form of the verb *yono* "to go" is *yana*, rather than the expected **yon(o)-a*. Second, the associated motion / aspectual suffix *–pori'i* (normally realized *–pri'i* or *-poo'i*) surfaces in one example as *–paa'i*, on a verb where the irrealis suffix *–a* is not realized in the phonological output but is underlyingly present (and triggers the /g/ realization of preceding /k/) (37).

(37) Vioma tanigpaa'i ‘ñi'u.
vi-omo-a ta-ni-ko-a-pori'i ‘ñi'u
1PL-take-IRR 3NH-eat-ACTV-IRR-PROG\IRR mosquito
‘Let's take her (there) so that the mosquitos keep biting her. ‘

In brief, the selection among the three Trinitario irrealis markers (*-ina*, *a-*, *-a*) depends on three criteria: first, the parts of speech of the word on which it occurs (verbs *vs*. others), then within verbs, the active/stative distinction, and for active verbs the morphophonological environment of the irrealis suffix slot. In all cases, these form distinctions are independent of the variety of functions the irrealis can encode.

2.2. *The functions of the irrealis*

In positive sentences, the irrealis covers the domains of the imperative (on the second verb of (38)), the hortative (on the second verb of (39)),[20] uncertainty (40), irrealis conditional (first verb of (39)), expected future events (first verb of (38)) and desired events (41).

[19] In the following Terena examples (Ekdahl & Grimes 1964: 263), the realis/irrealis distinction is indicated by the vowel of the directional marker (harmonized with covert reality status suffixes).

(5) píh-op-ea
go-DIR-REF
‘He went back from there to where he had come from.’

(6) píh-ap-ea
go-DIR-REF
‘Let him go from there to where he had come from.’

[20] For special person indexation on verbs in the hortative, see Rose (2011a).

(38) Te pitekpapo piimuigia.
te pi-itekpo-a-po pi-iimui-ko-a
PREP 2SG-arrive-IRR-PERF 2SG-dance-ACTV-IRR
'When you arrive, you have to dance!'

(39) Wakjumapuka mavinavi to vijuma.
vi-a-ko-juma-puka ma-ve-ino-a-vi
1PL-IRR-VBZ-illness-HYP 3M-take-BEN-IRR-1PL
to vi-juma
ART.NH 1PL-illness
'If we ever get sick, may He cure us (Lit. take out our illness from us)!'

(40) Tayere.
t-a-yere
3-IRR-last
'Maybe he will be late.'

(41) Nwoo'o péchanu.
n-woo'o pi-echo-a-nu
1SG-want 2SG-remember-IRR-1SG
'I want you to remember me.'

The irrealis is also systematically triggered by the major negation types of Trinitario, a typologically common fact (Elliott 2000: 77-79). This is dealt with in section 3.1.

(42) Ante wo'i iwachrigia, tajina iwachris'a.
ante wo'i i-wacho-ri-ko-a
before NEG 1PL-pay-PLURACT-ACTV-irr
tajina i-wacho-ri-ko-'o-a
EXI.NEG.NH 1PL-pay-PLURACT-ACTV-APL-IRR
'Before we were not used to buying things, there was nothing to buy.'

Trinitario thus displays a general irrealis category that uniformly marks numerous non-realized meanings. The only two meanings which are sometimes (yet more rarely than others) covered by the irrealis category in other languages, but not in Trinitario, are the habitual aspects and the interrogatives (Mithun 1995, Eliott 2000). In her 1998 paper, Bybee discarded the label of 'irrealis', arguing that it is either too general a label than is appropriate for its quite specific uses in particular languages

or that it is useless because it is the construction in which the marker is used that supplies the sense. In Trinitario, the two claims do not hold. First, the category of meanings marked as irrealis is very large. Second, in most of the uses of the irrealis morpheme, there is no special construction; the marker is the unique device to convey the specific meaning. In the case of negation, it is nevertheless true that the irrealis marker is always redundant with the negative marker, as shown in the following section.

3. *The interaction between negation and irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario*

This section will investigate the interaction between negation and irrealis. First, the obligatoriness of irrealis marking in negative sentences will be described (3.1); second, the encoding of irrealis in sentences that are semantically both negative and irrealis will be detailed (3.2); third, the interaction of negation and irrealis in Trinitario will be discussed and compared with that of other languages (3.3) and finally, the internal morphological structure of the negative copula will be observed (3.4).

3.1. *Irrealis marking in negative sentences*

Eliott states that "In many languages polarity will often dictate irrealis marking, even when the corresponding positive clause is marked realis" (Elliott 2000: 77). This is exactly the case in Trinitario, where negative sentences are all marked for irrealis. In Miestamo's terminology, standard negation shows construction asymmetry in Trinitario, because negation does not simply add a negative marker, but also implies the additional irrealis morphology and a different position of TAM and discourse markers (Miestamo 2005: 52). Assymetry in the marking of the realis status in affirmative and negative sentences is a well-known phenomenon (Miestamo 2005: 96-108) motivated by the fact that some languages have grammaticalized the conceptualization of negation as belonging to the realm of non-realized (Miestamo 2005: 208).

Table 3 schematizes how irrealis is automatically marked on a negated element (predicate, other constituent or the unique argument of the existential predication) in Trinitario. The selection of the specific irrealis marker follows the rules given in 2.2., with the basic distinction of *a-* or *–a* on verbs, and *–ina* on all other parts of speech. Examples are given below for each negation type ((43) to (47)).

Table 3. *Irrealis marking in the major negation types of Mojeño Trinitario*

NEGATION TYPES	NEGATION MARKER	NEGATED ELEMENT	IRREALIS MARKING
sentential negation	negation word *wo*	nominal predicate	*-ina*
		verbal predicate	*-a*
constituent negation	negation word *wo*	other constituent	*-ina*
existential negation	negative copula *tajina*	noun	*-ina*

In sentential negation, the main verb of the negative sentence must carry the irrealis marker (43). If the predicate is nominal, it carries the nominal irrealis marker *-ina* (44).

(43) Wo nechajicha.
wo n-echo-a-jicha
NEG 1SG-remember-IRR-well
'I don't remember well.'

(44) Wo rauriyina, 'rove.
wo rauriyo-ina 'rove
NEG brick-IRR adobe
'There are not bricks, it is adobe.'

In constituent negation, the negated constituent carries the nominal irrealis *–ina*. The main verb is also marked as irrealis (45).

(45) Wo'wore vitina ukojruka.
wo'i-wore viti-ina
NEG-once.more PRO.1PL-IRR
vi-ko-juu-ko-a
1PL-CAU-grow-ACTV-IRR
'It is not us who grow them (the plantations, but God).'

In sentences with existential negation, the nominal phrase following the negative existential copula is generally marked with the nominal irrealis *–ina* as in (46).[21]

[21] The only exception to the regular irrealis marking of the negated constituent is when the copula expresses location. In the few examples available, the noun that is

(46) Najinacho'o evangelistena antes.
najina-cho'o evangelista-ina antes
EXI.NEG.PL-yet evangelist-IRR before
'There was not any evangelist before.'

In sentences where the copula has been reanalyzed as a negative quantifier, irrealis is also marked on the verb (47).

(47) Tajina vjicha.
tajina vi-jicho-a
EXI.NEG.NH 1PL-make-IRR
'We did not do anything.'

Interestingly, in Old Mojeño, irrealis marking on the negated element was subject to variation. Marban (1701) asserts that it was used in the missions of the Mamore region, not in these of the Pampa.[22]

3.2. *Negative irrealis*

When the irrealis marker is obligatory in any negative sentence in a language, a possible result is neutralization of irrealis status marking in negative sentences. This is exemplified with Maung in Miestamo's work (2005:97). The language may also develop a special way to explicitly express other irrealis functions in negative sentences, as exemplified with Alamblak (Miestamo 2005: 97). Alamblak uses a "doubly irrealis construction" where both a special negative form and a special irrealis marker are used on top of the usual irrealis marker. In the Arawak languages Terena (Ekdahl & Grimes 1964 : 267) and Nanti (Michael 2009a) a special negative form is also used in irrealis sentences (Compare (48) and (49)). Moreover, the usual irrealis suffix *–e* (illustrated in (48)) is replaced by a suffix *-i* that is formally similar to the realis suffix of affirmative sentences (50), and is labelled 'double irrealis'.

Nanti (Michael 2009a)

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located does not carry an irrealis marker.

(7) Juiti tajinapo to janiono.
juit i tajina-po to jane-ono
today EXI.NEG.NH-PERF ART.NH bee-PL
'Today the bees were not here. '

[22] There the realis form of the verb followed a negative particle *nina*; the irrealis form is labeled 'future' by Marban.

(48) Tetya ompokahe.
te=tya o=N-pok-ah-e
NEG.REA=yet 3NMS=IRR-come-REG-IRR
'She hasn't come back yet.'

(49) Hara ihati.
ha=ra i=ha-i
NEG.IRR=TEMP 3MS=go-REA
'He will not go.'

(50) Yamutiri.
i=amu-Ø-i=ri
3MS=help-IMPF-REA=3MO
'He helps him.'

The system of Trinitario is simpler, since the negation word used in the irrealis negative sentences is the one used in standard negation, and the irrealis marker used then is a specific negative irrealis prefix *ku-* (51). [23] A prohibitive clause like (51) thus differs from a positive imperative verb form like the initial word of (53) in the marking of both polarity and irrealis. The negative irrealis marker *ku-* is not restricted to a prohibitive use[24] but can cover the same non-realized functions as the irrealis in affirmative sentences, like hypothesis in (52). It clearly encodes both irrealis and negation, as shows its use independent of the negation word in examples of negative purpose (53). Again, *ku-* was not used in negative future sentences in the Pampa missions, the verb was just marked by the irrealis (Marban 1701).

(51) Wo pkupikonu!
wo pi-ku-piko-nu
NEG 2SG-IRR.NEG-be.scared-1SG
'Don't be scared by me! '

[23] For special person indexation on verbs with *ku-*, see Rose (2011a).

[24] For the neigbouring Ignaciano dialect, the *–ku* prefix is defined as prohibitive by Olza (2002: 128-130).

(52) Te to wo vkiprujcho, tepena to kwoyu.
te to wo vi-ku-ipruj-cho
SUB ART.NH NEG 1PL-IRR.NEG-cure-ACTV
ty-epeno-a to kwoyu
3-die-IRR ART.NH horse
'If we do not cure it, the horse will die.'

(53) Pyjocha to tapajo puejchu nakusiopo.
py-jocho-a to tapajo puejchu
2SG-shut-IRR ART.NH door in.order.to
na-ku-siopo
3PL-IRR.NEG-enter
'Shut the door so as not to let them enter.'

3.3. *Discussion on irrealis marking in Mojeño negative sentences*

Table 4 summarizes the encoding of the reality status in Mojeño Trinitario negative sentences. This Table differs from the simpler picture used historically in the Pampa missions, were irrealis was not triggered by negation and was therefore found in negative sentences only to express other non-realized meanings.

Table 4. *Realis/irrealis distinction in Mojeño Trinitario standard negation*

NEGATION MARKER	**IRREALIS MARKING (ON THE VERB)**	**IRREALIS FUNCTIONS**
negation word *wo*	*-a ~ a-*	negation
negation word *wo*	*ku-*	negation + other non-realized meaning

In the end, the obligatory presence of an irrealis marker in present-day Mojeño Trinitario negative sentences does not lead to neutralization of the irrealis status, since a special form *ku-* is used for the negative irrealis. As Table 5 shows, in both affirmative and negative clauses, the distinction between realis and irrealis is marked. But since the negation sub-component of irrealis meaning is encoded in negative sentences with the form used for other irrealis meanings in affirmative sentences, there is a paradigmatic displacement, as Miestamo puts it. The asymmetry is in terms of the form and semantic load of the irrealis marker. The prefix *ku-* encoding irrealis meanings other than negation in negative sentences

also indicates negation. In the independent irrealis negative clauses, negation is therefore marked twice.

Table 5. *Realis/irrealis encoding in affirmative and negative clauses*

REALITY STATUS	**IN AFFIRMATIVE CLAUSES**	**IN NEGATIVE CLAUSES**
realis	Ø	---
irrealis : all non-realized meaning	*-a ~ a-*	*ku-*
irrealis : negative sub-component only	---	*-a ~ a-*

Trinitario thus constitutes another alternative to the neutralization of reality status in negative sentences in the languages that automatically treat negative sentences as irrealis. The following table compares the four possibilities such languages have in dealing with irrealis negative sentences.

Table 6. *Same or different encoding of irrealis and negation in irrealis negative clauses compared to regular negative clauses*

LANGUAGES	**IRR**	**NEG**
Muang	=	=
Alamblak	≠ (two markers)	≠
Terena/Nanti	≠ (realis marker used)	≠
Trinitario	≠	=

3.4. *The internal irrealis component of the negative copula*

The negative copula itself can be segmented as an indeterminate pronoun and the nominal irrealis *–ina*, as presented in Table 7. Elsewhere, indeterminate pronouns are used as interrogative pronouns (54) or pronouns with arbitrary referents (55). The negative meaning of the copula is the result of the combination of the irrealis and the indeterminate meanings.

Table 7. *Internal morphological structure of the negative existential copula*

PERSON	EXISTENTIAL COPULA	PARSING
3M male speaker	*majina*	*maja-ina*
3M female speaker	*ñijina*	*ñija-ina*
3F	*sijina*	*sija-ina*
3PL	*najina*	*naja-ina*
3NH	*tajina*	*taja-ina*

(54) Naatse pnoknii'i?
naja-tse pnokni-ri'i
PRO.IND.PL-but DEM-*ri'i*
'Who could it be ?'

(55) No najpuka no tyos'ono te to ospitare…
no naja-puka no
ART.PL PRO.IND.PL-HYP ART.PL
ty-ou-ko-i'o-ono te to ospitare
3-be.at-ACTV-APL-PL PREP ART.NH hospital
'Whatever person who comes out of the hospital…'

The internal morphological structure of the negative existential copula is such that in negative existential sentences, the irrealis is actually marked twice, once in the copula, once on the noun the existence of which is negated.

Summary of Section 3

The following table shows the variety of irrealis encoding in negative sentences.

Table 8. *Irrealis marking in the major negation types of Mojeño Trinitario*

NEGATION TYPES	**IRREALIS MARKING (IN THE NEGATION WORD)**	**IRREALIS MARKING (ON THE NEGATED ELEMENT)**
sentential negation	---	*-ina* (on N and ADJ)
		-a ~ a- (on V)
sentential negation + other irrealis meaning	---	*ku-*
constituent negation	---	*-ina*
existential negation	*-ina*	*-ina*

4. *Conclusions*

This paper describes the expression of negation in Mojeño Trinitario. This language makes use of two specific markers, the negative word *wo ~ wi ~ wo'i* and the negative existential copula. These markers are always sentence-initial and immediately followed by the negated element. A negative clause is assymetric with a corresponding positive clause, on the basis of obligatory irrealis marking and the placement of some TAM and discourse markers on the negative word. Interestingly, negation conditions irrealis marking in three different ways. First, in sentences where negation is the only non-realized meaning, the same irrealis markers are found as in non-realized affirmative sentences. Second, in sentences with non-realized meanings other than negation (i.e. imperative, hypothesis…), a special negative irrealis form is used in addition to the regular negative word. Last, the negative copula itself contains a nominal irrealis marker. This situation points to how the encoding of the irrealis may be complex in the languages where the irrealis category covers a wide range of meanings including negation, since irrealis encoding is then redundant with negation encoding.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

A TYPOLOGICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON NEGATION IN ARAWAK LANGUAGES*

LEV MICHAEL

A. INTRODUCTION

Negation is known to vary considerably in both form and morphosyntactic function among the languages of the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999: 96), with even closely-related languages sometimes exhibiting negation elements with starkly different forms and functions. The purpose of this chapter is to present a typological overview of negation in Arawak languages and to develop a preliminary comparative synthesis of negation constructions in this major language family. In this chapter I examine standard negation, prohibitive constructions, and privative prefixes; other forms of negation described in the preceding chapters, such as negative pronouns and existential negation, are omitted due to the lack of adequate descriptive coverage in the broader sample on which this chapter is based.

This chapter draws on the detailed studies in this volume of Apurinã [apu], Garifuna [cab], Kurripako [kpc], Lokono [arw], Nanti [cox], Paresi [pab], Tariana [tae], and Mojeño Trinitario [trn], as well as drawing on published resources that describe negation in 19 other Arawak languages: Achagua [aca], Añun [pbg], Bare [bae], Baure [brg], Iñapari [inp], Kawiyarí [cbb], Kinikinau [gqn], Palikúr [plu], Piapoco [pio], Resígaro [rgr], Terena [ter], Wapishana [wap], Warekena [gae], Wauja [wau], Wayuu [guc], Yánesha' [ame], Yavitero [yvt], Yine [pib], and Yucuna [ycn].[1] These 27 languages, out of approximately 40 living and recently extinct Arawak languages, represent all of the major branches the family with living members (see Ch. 1), with several branches represented by more than one language.

I discuss standard negation in §B, first in terms of a structural typology of negation constructions in §B.1, and then, in §B.2, in terms of Miestamo's (2005) influential typology of negation, which is based on the ways in which negated clauses differ from their affirmative

*My thanks to Marie-France Patte, Françoise Rose, and especially Alexandra Aikhenvald, who all provided extremely helpful comments on this chapter. Any errors that remain are, of course, my responsibility alone.

[1] Each language name is accompanied by the stable three letter ISO 639-3 code.

counterparts. Prohibitive constructions are discussed in §C in terms of their relationship to both standard declarative[2] negation constructions and affirmative imperative constructions. Reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative **ma-* are discussed in §D. The preceding three sections form the basis of §E, which identifies major trends in negation constructions across the family and presents hypotheses about the development of negation constructions in the family. Finally, in §F, I discuss broader comparative issues and present my general conclusions.

B. STANDARD NEGATION

In this section I describe and compare standard negation strategies in Arawak languages in terms of: 1) the structural properties of standard negation, and 2) the structural differences between negative clauses and their affirmative counterparts. The first basis of comparison draws on standard morphological and syntactic distinctions, such as whether negation elements are bound or free, and where they are situated with respect to the lexical verb of the negated clauses. The second basis of comparison draws on Miestamo's (2005) distinction between 'symmetric negation', in which negative sentences and their affirmative counterparts differ only in the presence of negation morphology; and 'asymmetric negation', where negative clauses differ in additional ways, e.g. in TAM marking, from their affirmative counterparts.

1. *The structural realization of standard negation in Arawak languages*

Standard negation (SN) varies significantly in its structural realization among Arawak languages. Although pre-verbal particles are the most common means of expressing SN, many languages exhibit negative auxiliaries or negative affixes, and small number of discontinuous negation systems are also found in the family.

I begin this survey of the structure of Arawak SN constructions by clarifying the terminology that I will employ. SN may be realized by morphologically free negation elements, which I refer to as *syntactic negation*, or by morphologically bound elements, which I refer to as *morphological negation*. If only one negation element is employed in the negation construction, I refer to the construction as *simple*, and if more than one is employed, I refer to it as *complex*.[3] Complex negation can be

[2] That is, constructions in indicative sentential mood (non-imperative, non-interrogative, and non-conditional).

[3] What I call complex negation is called 'double' or 'discontinuous' negation by

morphological in nature, if it involves two or more bound elements, or it can be syntactic in nature, if it involves two or more morphologically free elements (e.g. as exemplified by French *ne ... pas* negation). I consider complex negation constructions that involve both bound and free morphemes instances of *complex morphosyntactic negation*. Finally, it is important to clarify one point with respect to this structural typology: I consider affixes, but not clitics, to be 'bound'. I treat clitics, which may or may not form phonological words with adjacent elements, as 'free' for the purposes of distinguishing between syntactic and morphological negation.[4] This structural typology is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: *A structural typology of standard negation constructions*

		Negation Element 2		
		NONE	FREE	BOUND
Negation Element 1	FREE	Simple syntactic negation	Complex syntactic negation	Complex morphosyntactic negation
	BOUND	Simple morphological negation	Complex morphosyntactic negation	Complex morphological negation

Analyzing the standard negation constructions in the 27 languages that form our comparative Arawak dataset, we find that 21 languages exhibit simple syntactic negation, while only one exhibits complex syntactic negation. Four languages exhibit simple morphological negation, one language exhibits complex morphological negation, and two languages exhibit complex morphosyntactic negation. Note that two languages, Garifuna and Lokono, exhibit both simple syntactic negation and simple morphological negation.

1.1. *Simple syntactic negation*

Simple syntactic negation is by far the most common form of negation among Arawak languages, with 21 languages in the sample making use

Miestamo (2005:554).

[4] It should be noted that there is variation among grammatical descriptions of Arawak languages in terms of the care taken to distinguish clitics from affixes. It is entirely possible that certain languages that I treat as exhibiting morphological negation will turn out to express negation with clitics.

of either a negation particle[5] or a negative auxiliary verb in at least one SN construction. I first examine languages with negation particles and then those with negative auxiliaries.

Negative particles. Table 2 lists the 16 languages that express SN with a particle, together with the form of the particle and its position relative to the verb. If a language exhibits more than one distinct negation particle (excluding allomorphs) they appear separated by commas.

Table 2: *Negation particles in Arawak languages*

Language	Particle and verb	Language	Particle and verb
Apurinã	*kuna* V	Palikúr	*ka* V[6,7]
Bare	*hena* V	Paresi	*maitsa*, *maiha* V
Baure	*noka* V	Resígaro	*níí* V
Garifuna	*mama* V	Terena	*ako*, *hyoko* V
Kawiyarí	*uká* V	Wapishana	*auna* V
Kurripako	*khen* V	Wauja	*aitsa* V
Lokono	V *khoro* ~ *kho* (2nd position)	Yavitero	*jata* V
Nanti	*tera*, *hara*, *matsi* V	Yine	*hi* V

With the exception of Lokono, all negation particles in these Arawak languages are preverbal, as in the Apurinã sentence in (1) and the Baure sentence in (2).

(1) Ny-kanawa-te kuna thamiruka.
1SG-canoe-POSS NEG sink
'My canoe didn't sink.' (Facundes this volume)

(2) Nka ro=etoroko-wo.
NEG 3SGM=come.out-COP
'He didn't come out.' (Danielsen 2007: 340)

[5] I reserve the term 'particle' for morphologically simplex and phonologically free functional elements.

[6] Note that Launey (2003: 197) treats Palikúr negation as a preverbal particle, while Green and Green (1972) charaterizes it as a clitic. I follow the more recent work for present purposes.

[7] Palikúr non-verbal predicates participate a distinct negation construction, discussed in §D, which may exhibit a reflex of the Proto-Arawak privative.

In Lokono, the negation particle appears in second position in the clause (Patte this volume): In (3a) the negation element follows the sentence-initial verb, while in (3b) it follows the sentence-initial element, but precedes the verb.

(3) a. Thu-dukha khoro to.
3F.AG-see NEG DEM.F
'She does not see this.'

b. Kakuthi khoro na-dukha.
living NEG 3PL.AG-see
'They don't see any living (creatures).' (Patte this volume)

Negative auxiliaries and split systems. Five languages, Achagua, Kinikinau, Piapoco, Trinitario, and Wayuu, exhibit negative auxiliaries or auxiliary-like SN elements.[8] Published analyses of both Kinikinau (De Souza 2008) and Wayuu (Captain and Mansen 2000, Mansen and Mansen 1984) explicitly chararacterize that the SN elements in these languages as auxiliary verbs, and Rose (this volume) indicates the Trinitario SN element "partially displays the characteristics of an auxiliary". In this section I argue that the Achagua and Piapoco facts suggest that these languages also exhibit negative auxiliaries. I begin by discussing Wayuu, Achagua, and Kinikinau, the three languages whose auxiliaries exhibit the most clearly verbal properties, and then turn to Piapoco and Trinitario. I discuss the ambiguous case of Bare last.

Before we proceed, however, it is useful to draw a further distinction in our typology between those standard negation systems that exhibit a split between negative auxiliary-like sub-system and particle-like[9] sub-systems, and those that do not. Achagua, Kinikinau, and Piapoco exhibit split systems of this type, where the split is conditioned by modal or aspectual properties of the clause, or by verb class. Note that I have chosen to refrain from treating the 'particle-like' constructions as particle constructions proper, largely due to their obvious relatedness to the

[8] In several of the cases discussed in this chapter the SN elements take some, but not all, inflection typical of a finite verb. These elements thus exhibit verbal qualities but may not be canonical auxilaries.

[9] Note that I have chosen to refrain from treating the 'particle-like' constructions as particle constructions proper, largely due to their obvious relatedness to the negative auxiliary constructions and the difficulty, given the available descriptions of the relevant languages, in reaching a conclusive determination that the 'particle-like' constructions do not display properties of negative auxiliary constructions.

negative auxiliary constructions and the difficulty, given the available descriptions of the relevant languages, in reaching a conclusive determination that the 'particle-like' constructions do not display properties of negative auxiliary constructions.

Table 3 lists the 5 languages that I treat as exhibiting negative auxiliary constructions, with relevant morphosyntactic details of the constructions, and where relevant, their particle-like counterparts. In the case of languages which exhibit split systems, the conditioning factor is indicated in square brackets following the construction.

Table 3: *Negative auxiliary constructions in Arawak languages*

Language	Auxiliary-like construction	Particle-like construction
Achagua	*ho-ka*-AGR(gen., num.)-TAM V_{sub} [indicative]	*ho-kta* V [non-indicative]
Kinikinau	*ako*-ASP-(FUT) V_{sub}-IRR [active]	*ako* IRR-V-ASP [stative]
Piapoco	*kami*-AGR(gen., num) V [habitual]	*kami-ta* V [non-habitual]
Trinitario	*wo~wi~wo'i*-TAM V-IRR	NA
Wayuu	*noho(l)*-(FUT)-AGR(gen, num) V_{sub}	NA

We begin by considering the case of Wayuu, which exhibits the negative auxiliary *nóhol ~ nóho*, which takes subordinated lexical verbs as complements (Captain and Mansen 2000: 804-805, Mansen and Mansen 1984: 211-223). The negative auxiliary exhibits 'absolutive' agreement, agreeing in gender (if singular) and number with the subject of the subordinate verb when that verb is intransitive, as in (5), but agreeing with the object of that verb, when it is transitive, as in (4). The subordinated verb bears the subordinating suffix *-in* and bears agreement prefixes which show agreement with the notional subject of the subordinated verb if that verb is transitive, as in (4); otherwise it does not bear agreement morphology, as in (5). Generalizations regarding the placement of TAM morphology in negated clauses are not clear from the available published materials. In some cases, as in (5), TAM morphology appears on the negative auxiliary, which in other cases, as in (6), it appears on the subordinate verb.

(4) Nóho-tsü t-erü-in.
NEG.AUX.GEN.TENSE-SG.NM 1SG-see-SUB
'I did not see her.' (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 214)

(5) Nohol-ee-rü o'unü-in.
NEG.AUX-FUT-SG.NM go-SUB
'She will not go.' (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 220)

(6) Noho-iʃi oʔuna-ha-tʃi-in tʃi
NEG.AUX GEN.TENSE-SG.M go-FUT-M-SUB DEM
wajuu-kai.
man-SG.M
'This man will not go.'(Captain and Mansen 2000: 805)

We now turn to Achagua SN, which I argue exhibits a number of similarities to Wayuu SN. Published works on Achagua do not explicitly analyze the morphologically complex negation elements in the language as negative auxiliary verbs (Wilson and Levinsohn 1992; Melendez 1998), but an inspection of the available data suggests that Achagua SN constructions involve a negative auxiliary followed by lexical verb of reduced finiteness. Achagua also exhibits a mood-conditioned auxiliary/particle SN construction split.

In Achagua indicative clauses, like those in (7) and (8), morphologically complex negative elements are followed by verbal roots bearing reduced morphology, or no morphology at all. In both (7) and (8), the negative element includes the negative root *ho* and the indicative marker *-ka*,[10] which is obligatorily followed by a number-gender agreement suffix. This agreement marker can be followed by inflectional affixes, such as the remote past suffix *-mi*,[11] as in (7). The lexical verb that follows the morphologically complex negation element lacks the person/number/gender-marking and TAM inflectional morphology typical of finite verbs in the language, as evident in (7) and (8). The negation elements in Achagua SN constructions thus exhibit characteristics of finite verbs, while the lexical verbs do not, lending support to the analysis of *ho* as a negative auxiliary, and the following lexical verb as a non-finite complement of the negative auxiliary.

[10] Melendez (1998: 181-186) glosses *-ka* as 'tópico', while Wilson and Levinsohn (1992: 175-176) gloss it as a 'terminación afirmativo' ('affirmative ending'). The affix in question does not appear to indicate topic in the standard information structural sense, and given that it alternates with *-kta*, which indicates conditional modality or weak epistemic modal status, I have chosen to gloss the morpheme as 'indicative'. Clearly, further work is required to clarify the semantics of this suffix.

[11] Melendez glosses *-mi* as indicating 'caducidad', and in certain examples, it seems to function as a perfect. Clearly, further work is necessary to clarify the semantics of this suffix.

(7) Nuja ho-ka-i-mi wowai
1.PRO NEG-IND-M-REM.PAS want
nu-iinu-ka.
1-come-IND
'I had not wanted to come.' (adapted from Melendez 1998: 165)

(8) Ho-ka-i iinu waalee taikala.
NEG-IND-M come today afternoon
'He will not come this afternoon.' (adapted from Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 133)

As in the case of Wayuu, agreement on the Achagua negative auxiliary distinguishes masculine and feminine gender in the singular (compare (8) and (9)), but not in the plural, as in (10).

(9) Ruja ho-ka-u muru.
3.SG..PRO NEG-IND-F get
'She does not hunt.' (adapted from Melendez 1998: 166)

(10) Tʃoniwa-enai ho-ka-ni eewa
person-PL NEG-IND-PL be.able
na-yaaʒa-ka-u.
3PL-fly-IND-PAC
'People are not able to fly.' (adapted from Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 134)

As indicated above, Achagua exhibits a mood-conditioned auxiliary-particle split. The negative root in negated non-indicative clauses[12] bears the non-indicative *-kta ~ -kita*, as in (11), and unlike its indicative counterpart, the morphologically complex negative element does not bear gender marking, while the lexical verb following it does. The available descriptions do not permit us to conclude how TAM marking is realized in these negative non-indicative constructions, but the fact that person marking appears on the lexical verb, and gender and number agreement is lacking from the negation element, suggest that the

[12] Examples and discussion in Melendez (1998) and Wilson and Levinsohn (1992) show that this negation construction surfaces in conditional clause-linking constructions and in mono-clausal constructions indicating doubt or uncertainty. Wilson and Levinsohn (1992: 163-164) indicate that *-kta* is an irrealis suffix and demonstrate that it appears on verbs in positive polarity clauses.

negation element is less auxiliary-like in non-indicative clauses.

(11) Ho-kta na-iinu wa-trawahaa.
NEG-NON.IND 3PL-come 1PL-work
'If they don't come, we will work.' (adapted from Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 136)

Before turning to Piapoco SN I wish to briefly address an alternative to the analysis of Achagua SN elements as auxiliaries. The principal evidence that Achagua SN elements are negative auxiliaries is that TAM morphology like the remote past *-mi* in (7) and the non-indicative *-kta* in (11), which typically appear on verbs in positive polarity clauses (Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 163-164), form part of morphologically complex SN elements in negative polarity clauses. An alternative analysis to consider is that these TAM elements are not suffixes, but rather clitics – presumably second position clitics. However, both Melendez (1998: 47) and Wilson and Levinsohn (1992: 47) explicitly discuss clitics in their descriptions Achagua, and neither work indicates that the TAM elements in question are clitics. Melendez indicates that the Achagua reportive is a clitic, for example, and provides examples in which it appears in second position on preverbal elements (e.g. Melendez 1998: 153, 167), unlike the remote past *-mi,* exemplified in (7). It should be noted, however, that neither Melendez nor Wilson and Levinsohn present the data necessary to unambiguously rule out the alternative clitic analysis, pointing to a useful area for future descriptive work on the language.

Turning to Piapoco SN constructions, it is helpful to observe that although no works on the language characterize the SN element as negative auxiliary, Reinoso (2002: 319, 277, 245) does explicitly characterize the negation element as a stative verb, noting that it takes predicate (i.e. verbal or nominal predicate) morphology, including reality status (ibid.: 245) and gender marking (ibid: 204-205, 277), among other forms of predicate inflectional morphology (ibid.: 323). Reinoso also indicates that it takes the morphology typical of subordinated stative verbs when it appears in subordinate contexts (ibid.: 320).

Like Achagua, Piapoco exhibits a split between a more auxiliary-like and less auxiliary-like construction, where the distinction between the two construction types lies in whether the verb takes gender marking, which Reinoso considers an inflectional category of stative predicates (Reinoso 2002: 143-145). The more auxiliary-like of the two SN constructions, exemplified in (12a), is employed in negative habitual contexts. In these constructions, the negative element exhibits gender agreement for singular subjects, and plural agreement for plural subjects,

as in Achagua, while the lexical verb only exhibits number agreement. The gender and plural agreement suffixes are identical to verbal object agreement suffixes. The more particle-like construction surfaces in non-habitual contexts, as in (12b), where the negation element bears no person agreement.[13]

(12) a. Isabela kàmí-ichúa i-musúa-wa.
Isabela NEG-F 3SG-leave-INTR
'Isabela (habitually) does not leave.' (Klumpp 1985: 133)

b. Uruwàcha kàmi-ta na-múa-wa wa-lí.
tortoise NEG-FOC 3PL-emerge-INTR 1PL-to
'The tortoises did not emerge for us.' (Klumpp 1985: 132)

The negation element can serve as the sole predicative root in a sentence, as in (13), in which case it bears reality status morphology.

(13) Kami-ka-lí-ni.
NEG-REA-COND-3SG.M
'Let it not be so.' (adapted from Reinoso (2002): 245)

Rose's (this volume) characterizes the Trinitario standard negation element as "...partially display[ing] the characteristics of an auxiliary" by virtue of the fact that it takes some (but not all) types of predicate morphology. Rose remarks that negation "takes the same suffixes that are on predicates in affirmative sentences ... principally TAM, evidentials, and discourse markers", as evident in (14), where the negation element bears the perfect suffix.

(14) Wipo tanigia to waka.
Wo-po ta-ni-ko-a to waka
NEG-PERF 3NH-eat-ACT-IRR ART.NH cow
'The cows do not eat any more.' (Rose this volume)

I next turn to Kinikinau, which De Souza (2008) explicitly analyzes as exhibiting a negative auxiliary. Kinikinau exhibits an auxiliary-particle

[13] In these contexts the negation element bears the suffix *-ta*, glossed by Klumpp (1985) as 'focus'. Reinoso (2002) glosses it as 'restrictive', while Mosonyi (2000: 650) segments the morpheme off, but leaves it unglossed. It is unclear what its semantics and morphosyntactic functions are.

split that is conditioned by the lexical aspect of the lexical verb, with active verbs conditioning the negative auxiliary construction and stative verbs conditioning the more particle-like one. In negated clauses with active lexical verbs, the negative auxiliary root *ako* bears the TAM marking of the clause, as in (15), while the lexical verb bears the irrealis suffix *-a*.[14]

(15) Ako-ti-mo pih-a.
NEG-IMPF-FUT go-IRR
'She will not go.' (adapted from De Souza 2008: 97)

When the lexical verb is stative, the negation element appears to behave like a morphologically simplex particle, and does not bear aspectual or tense morphology, as evident in (16). Instead, the verb bears aspectual marking, and the irrealis marker surfaces as the verbal prefix *o-*.

(16) Ako o-ko-ima-ti.
NEG IRR-ATTR[15]-husband-IMPF
'She does not have a husband.' (adapted from De Souza 2008: 96)

I now turn to the ambiguous case of Bare (Aikhenvald 1995), which is one of the small number of Arawak languages that Miestamo (2005: 86-86) discusses with respect to his proposed typology. Miestamo analyzes Bare as exhibiting an uninflected negative auxiliary *hena*, which takes a complement clause whose verb bears the nominalizing/subordinating suffix *-waka*, as in (17).

(17) Tesa paɹatya ate yahaɹika hena-phe nu-bihité-waka.
this money until now NEG-yet 1SG-meet-MOD
'This money, up to now I did not find (it).' (adapted from Aikhenvald 1995: 34)

[14] De Souza (2008:93-96) glosses *-a* as 'subjunctive'. I treat it as an irrealis suffix, however, since the morphosyntactic distribution of the Kinikinau subjunctive is very similar to that of irrealis suffixes in Kampan Arawak languages (Michael this volume), Trinitario (Rose this volume), and Kinikinau's close relative Terena (Michael this volume).

[15] De Souza (2008: 83-84) glosses *ka- ~ ko-* as a 'verbalizer'. Both its form and its derivational properties strongly resemble the attributive prefix **ka-* which is reconstructed to PA and is attested in many Arawak languages (Payne 1991a: 377). I gloss the morpheme accordingly.

Perhaps the strongest support for Miestamo's interpretation is that Bare does in fact exhibit a nominalizer *-waka* (Aikhenvald 1995: 21). Aikhenvald (1995: 33) indicates that this morpheme is polyfunctional, surfacing in purposive subordinations, 'uncontrollable result' subordinations, and action nominalizations, as well as appearing in SN constructions. In short, *-waka* serves nominalizing or subordinating functions outside of negation contexts, making it plausible that it does so in SN constructions.

Nevertheless, certain facts cast doubt on Miestamo's analysis. In particular, there are negated sentences in which the subordinator/nominalizer *-waka* fails to appear, as in (18), and is instead replaced by the declarative mood suffix *-ka*. The declarative suffix regularly appears in main clauses (Aikhenvald 1995: 33), suggesting that the sentence in (18) may lack subordinating morphology altogether. If this observation is correct, then the negative auxiliary analysis of *hena* is much less attractive. It is also worth noting that if *hena* is indeed accurately analyzed as a negative auxiliary, it would be the sole wholly inflectionless negative auxiliary to be found among the Arawak languages. For these reasons, I do not follow Miestamo's lead in treating *hena* as a negative auxiliary.

(18) Hena id'uaɻi nu-yada-ka.
NEG good 1SG-see-DECL
'I do not see well.' (Aikhenvald 1995: 35)

Finally, I mention that Brandão (this volume) evaluates and ultimately discards an analysis of the Paresi SN element *maiha* ~ *maitsa* as a negative auxiliary. Paresi exhibits at least two SN constructions, one in which the main verb is nominalized, as in (19), and another in which the verb appears marked with the progressive, as in (20).

(19) Maetsa aetsa-re Txinikalore, Timalakokoini.
NEG kill-NMLZ Txinikalore Timalakokoini
'He is not able to kill Txinikalore and Timalakokoini.'
(Brandão this volume)

(20) Maiha tsema-zema-tya-h-ita-ha.
NEG hear-go.after-TH-PL-PROG-PL
'They do not listen to it.' (Brandão this volume)

Brandão (this volume) observes that constructions like the one in (19) are precisely one of the type of constructions that Miestamo (2005) classifies

as a negative auxiliary construction, due to the fact that the verb appears in a nominalized form, but rejects the conclusion that the Paresi SN element is a negative auxiliary, on the basis of constructions like the one in (20), in which the main verb does not appear in a nominalized form.[16]

1.2. *Complex syntactic negation*

There is only one Arawak language in our sample which clearly exhibits complex syntactic negation: Warekena (Aikhenvald 1998). Standard negation in Warekena typically involves two elements, a proclitic *ya=*, and an enclitic *=pia* (Aikhenvald 1998: 264). These negation elements may both simultaneously cliticize to the verb, as in (21), although when certain TAM clitics are present in the clause, the negation elements are attracted to the negation proclitic, forming a preverbal clitic group, as in (22). It is also possible for both clitics to attach to non-verbal elements, such as pronouns or demonstratives, as in (23), an instance of constituent negation. Aikhenvald (1998: 265) observes that *ya=* can also sometimes be omitted in cases of repetition.

(21) Kunehu ya=nupa=pia=hã...
rabbit NEG=come=NEG=PAUS
'The rabbit did not come...' (adapted from Aikhenvald 1998: 264)

(22) Ya=mia=hã yutʃi=pia=yu
NEG=PERF=PAUS strong=NEG=3SGF
yu-ma-paɻu matsuka.
3SGF-do-PURP flour
'She (my wife) is not strong enough to make flour.'
(adapted from Aikhenvald 1998: 264)

(23) Ya=e=pia=hã yutʃia-ɻi mawaya...
NEG=DEM=NEG=PAUS kill-REL snake
'It was not he who killed a snake...' (adapted from Aikhenvald 1998: 265)

1.3. *Simple morphological negation*

Four Arawak languages exhibit simple morphological negation; these are

[16] Note that both *maitsa/maetsa* and *maiha* appear with the progressive (Brandão this volume), ruling out the possibility that there are two constructions in Paresi, one which is a negative auxiliary construction, and the other which is a particle construction.

listed in Table 4. Note that Garifuna exhibits both prefixal and particle SN elements, whose distribution is lexically determined. It is also worth noting that although I treat Tariana as exhibiting complex morphological negation, certain classes of verbs bear only a single negation affix, so that in this particular context, Tariana can be thought of as exhibiting simple morphological negation. The reader is referred to §B.1.4 for further information.

I begin by considering the simpler cases of Añun and Iñapari, and then turn to the more complex case of Garifuna. The reader is referred to §B.2.2 for a discussion of Lokono prefixal negation.

Table 4: *Simple morphological negation in Arawak languages*

Language	Construction
Añun	V-pe
Garifuna	m-V
Iñapari	aa-V
Lokono	ma-V

Prefixal simple morphological standard negation is found in Iñapari (Parker 1995), as in (24), and in Garifuna, which is discussed below. Note that in the Iñapari case the negation prefix appears outside of subject marking; this contrasts with both Garifuna and Lokono prefixal negation, which attach directly to the verb stem.

(24) Aa-nu-hañama.
NEG-1SG-sing.IMPF
'I am not singing.' (Parker 1995: 148)

Añun is the sole Arawak language in which negation is expressed solely by a suffix (Patte 1989: 100-101), as in (25).

(25) Wa-yaapaa-ía-chi-pe.
1PL-wait.for-PROSPECTIVE-M-NEG
'We are not going to wait for him.' (Patte 1989: 101)

Garifuna presents a more complicated picture than either Iñapari or Añun in terms of morphological negation. Unlike Añun or Iñapari, Garifuna exhibits not only a morphological SN strategy – involving the prefix *m-*,

as in (26b) – but also two syntactic strategies, one involving a negative existential verb, *úwa*, as in (27a), and another involving the preverbal negation particle *máma*, as in (27b). The prefixal strategy is the default negation strategy, but some verbs cannot be negated with the negative prefix, and must instead be negated with *úwa*, while clauses exhibiting the incompletive auxiliary *yan* must be negated with *máma* (Munro and Gallagher this volume). And as discussed in §C.2.2, there are intricate interactions between person marking and negation.

(26) a. Áfara n-umu-ti.
hit:B PR1SG-TRAN-T3M
'I hit him.'

b. M-áfaru n-umu-ti.
NEG-hit:N PR1SG-TRAN-T3M
'I didn't hit him.' (Munro and Gallagher, this volume)

(27) a. Úwa-ti ferúdun n-a-nibu.
not.exist:B-T3M forgive:B PR1SG-*a*-NS2SG
'I don't forgive you.'

b. Máma l-erémuha yan t-úma Maria
NEG PR3M-sing:PS INC PR3F-with Maria
wínouga.
yesterday
'He wasn't singing with Maria yesterday.' (Munro and Gallagher, this volume)

1.4. *Complex morphological negation*

Tariana (Aikhenvald this volume) exhibits a particularly structurally complex system of morphological negation.[17] The Tariana system is complicated in two ways. First, it is structurally complex, in that it exhibits a set of negation constructions in which the verb bears both a negation prefix and a negation suffix, as in (28).

[17] I here summarize Aikhenvald's (this volume) description of the Santa Rosa variety; several other varieties omit prefixes entirely in SN constructions. The reader is referred to Aikhenvald (this volume) for a detailed discussion of the structural realization of SN in the former Tariana dialect continuum.

(28) Hema ipe
tapir INDEFINITE+meat
ma-hña-kade-ka.
NEG-eat-NEG-REC.PAS.VISUAL
'(I) have not eaten tapir's meat.' (Aikhenvald this volume)

There are two different negation suffixes, *-kade*, exemplified in (28), and *-kásu*, exemplified in (29). The negation suffix *-kásu* is employed in definite future, uncertain future, and intentional mood contexts, while *-kade* is employed in non-future contexts.

(29) Ma-manika-kásu.
NEG-play-FUT.NEG
'I/you/he/she, etc. will not play.' (Aikhenvald this volume)

The Tariana negation system exhibits another layer of subtlety in that there also exists a prefixless SN construction, which is conditioned by membership of the verb stem in one of two classes: the 'prefixed' or 'prefixless' class.[18] If a verb belongs to the prefixed class, SN is complex, involving the prefix *ma-*, and the suffixes *-kade* or *-kásu*, as in (28) and (29). The SN construction for prefixless verbs omits the negative prefix *ma-*, as in (30), such that negation is simple, and realized by the appropriate suffix.[19]

(30) Wha ya pútʃa-kásu.
we rain be.wet/make.wet-FUT.NEG
'The rain won't make us wet.' (Aikhenvald this volume)

1.5. *Complex morphosyntactic negation*

Two Arawak languages, Yánesha' and Yukuna, exhibit complex morphosyntactic negation. In both Yánesha' and Yukuna the free negation element is preverbal and the bound element is a verbal suffix, as evident in Table 5, and exemplified in (31) and (32).

[18] The 'prefixed' or 'prefixless' classes are distinguished by their ability to take prefixes of any kind (e.g. person marking), and not only the negation prefix.

[19] When a negated verb lacks the negation prefix it is very common, but not grammatically obligatory, for the clause to exhibit the emphatic negative particle *ne* (Aikhenvald this volume).

Table 5: *Complex morphosyntactic negation in Arawak languages*

Language	Construction
Yánesha'	*ama* V-*e*~-*o*
Yucuna	*unka* V-*la*-*TAM*

(31) Ama nemneñ-o.
NEG I.want-NEG
'I don't want it.' (Duff-Tripp 1997: 179)

(32) Unka ri-i'nha-la-je pi-jwa'até.
NEG 3M-go-NEG-FUT 2SG-COM
'He will not go with you.' (adapted from Schauer and Schauer 2000: 313)

2. *(A)symmetry in Arawak standard negation constructions*

In §B.1 I presented a structural typological overview of standard negation constructions in Arawak languages. In this section I typologize Arawak languages in terms of structural and paradigmatic relationships between negated clauses and their affirmative counterparts, following Miestamo's (2005) influential cross-linguistic typology of negation. The basic distinction in this typology is between 'symmetric' and 'asymmetric' SN constructions. A SN construction is considered symmetric if the sole difference between a negative clause and its affirmative counterpart is the presence of the morphemes that express SN. A SN construction is considered asymmetric if negative sentences differ systematically from their affirmative counterparts, beyond the presence of the SN morphemes themselves. Note that a language may exhibit both symmetric and asymmetric SN constructions. Table 6 summarizes the (a)symmetry of negation constructions in our sample.

Table 6: *Constructional and paradigmatic asymmetries in Arawak languages*

Language	All symmetric	Constructional asymmetry	Paradigmatic asymmetry
Achagua	no	negative auxiliary in indicative	no
Añun	no	no	aspect neutralization

Apurinã	no	no	aspect neutralization
Baure	no	negative achievement verbs bear copula suffix	no
Bare	no	negated verbs tend to take suffix *-waka*	no
Garifuna	no	agreement affixes change position or appear on auxiliary in neg. prefix strategy	no
Iñapari	yes	no	no
Kinikinau	no	negative auxiliary with active verbs	irrealis displacement
Kurripako	yes	no	no
Lokono	no	'dummy verb' hosts agreement affixes in neg. prefix strategy	no
Palikúr	no	no	aspect neutralization
Paresi	no	loss of finiteness	aspect neutralization
Piapoco	no	negative auxiliary with habituals	no
Resígaro	yes	no	no
Nanti	no	no	reality status displacement, aspect neutralization
Tariana	no	negation-tense portmanteau	future-modality neutralization
Terena	no	no	reality status displacement, aspect neutralization
Trinitario	no	negative auxiliary loss of finiteness neg.-irrealis marker	irrealis displacement
Wapishana	no	stative predicates asymmetric	no
Warekena	yes	no	no
Wauja	yes	no	no
Wayuu	no	non-future negative auxiliary	no

Yánesha'	no	no	'reflexivity' neutralization
Yine	yes	no	no
Yucuna	no	imperfective-negative portmanteau	no

2.1. *Symmetric Negation*

Of the sub-sample of 25 languages for which it is possible to assess the (a)symmetry of SN constructions,[20] six languages exhibit exclusively symmetric SN constructions: Iñapari (Parker 1995), Kurripako (Granadillo this volume), as in (33), Resígaro (Allin 1976), Warekena (Aikhenvald 1998), Wauja (Ball this volume), and Yine, as in (34).

If we examine the Kurripako and Yine affirmative and negative sentence pairs in (33) and (34), we see that the sole difference between these sentences is the presence of the negation particles *khen* and *hi*, respectively, making these clear examples of symmetric SN constructions.

(33) a. Julio i-ito kenke-riku.
Julio 3SGN-go manioc.field-LOC
Julio went to the field (focused subject)'

b. Julio khen i-ito kenke-riku-hle.
Julio NEG 3SGN-go manioc.field-LOC-ALL
'Julio didn't go to the field (focused subject)'
(Granadillo this volume)

(34) a. Rɨkʃiklona.
r-hikʃika-lo-na
3SGM-find-3SGF-3PL
'They found her.'

b. Hi rɨkʃiklona.
hi r-hikʃika-lo-na
NEG 3SGM-find-3SGM-3PL
'They did not find her.' (Hanson 2010: 299)

[20] Evaluating the (a)symmetry of SN constructions requires a level of descriptive detail with respect to negation constructions not available for all of the languages in our larger sample. The languages I have had to exclude from our discussion of SN (a)symmetry are Kawiyarí and Yavitero.

Four other Arawak languages exhibit both symmetric and asymmetric constructions: Achagua, Baure, Garifuna, and Wapishana. I consider each of these languages in the section devoted to the relevant type of asymmetry that the language exhibits.

2.2. *Asymmetric Standard Negation*

Asymmetric negation constructions are more varied than symmetric ones, since the ways in which asymmetries can arise between affirmative sentences and their negative counterparts are quite diverse. The first distinction to be drawn among types of negation asymmetries is between constructional and paradigmatic asymmetries.

Beginning with constructional asymmetries, we first note that in order for a SN construction to be considered constructionally symmetric, a one-to-one correspondence must obtain between the elements in an affirmative clause and those in the corresponding negated clause, excepting the SN morphemes themselves. In *constructionally asymmetric* SN constructions, this one-to-one relationship does not obtain (Miestamo 2005: 52-53). Constructional asymmetries can take a number of different forms, including: 1) discrepancies between the grammatical categories found in main affirmative clauses and those in negated clauses; 2) structural differences in how grammatical categories are expressed in negated and in affirmative clauses (e.g. they exhibit negative clause allomorphs, or are expressed with portmanteau morphemes that also express negation); or 3) differences in the positions of elements in negated clauses and affirmative clauses.

Paradigmatically asymmetric SN constructions, in contrast, involve differences between the paradigmatic structure of grammatical categories in negated clauses and their affirmative counterparts (Miestamo 2005: 52-54). There are two major types of paradigmatic asymmetries relevant to Arawak languages: neutralization asymmetries and displacement asymmetries.

A language is characterized as exhibiting a *neutralization asymmetry* if a contrast in values for a given grammatical category available in positive polarity clauses is not available in negative polarity clauses (Miestamo 2005: 54).[21] An important neutralization symmetry in Arawak

[21] It is important to clarify a possible source of confusion regarding neutralization asymmetries and their relationship to constructional finiteness asymmetries. It is common, for cross-linguistic purposes, to define loss of finiteness partly in terms of the reduction of inflectional distinctions available to a given clause in comparison to those available to fully independent clauses. There is a sense, therefore, in which any paradigmatic neutralization asymmetry could be interpreted as a loss of finiteness, leading one to treat

languages, discussed below, is the neutralization, in negated clauses, of the contrast between perfective and imperfective values for the grammatical category of aspect.

A language is categorized as exhibiting a *displacement asymmetry* (Miestamo 2005: 55) if a form that expresses values for a particular grammatical category is identical in positive and negative polarity clauses, but the category values expressed by those forms are different in positive and negative polarity clauses. Displacement asymmetries are found in a subset of Arawak languages with reality status systems, such as Nanti (Michael this volume), in which the suffix *-i*, when it appears in positive polarity clauses, expresses non-future temporal reference, but when found in negated clauses, expresses future temporal reference.

Constructional asymmetries Thirteen Arawak languages exhibit constructional asymmetries: Achagua, Bare, Kinikinau, Piapoco, Pareci, Trinitario and Wayuu, which exhibit finiteness asymmetries, and Baure, Garifuna, Lokono, Tariana, Wapishana, and Yucuna, which exhibit constructional asymmetries of different sorts.

Finiteness asymmetries involve the loss of finite inflectional morphology on lexical verbs in negated clauses, which often bear nominalizing or subordinating morphology instead. All six Arawak languages that employ negative auxiliaries (Achagua, Bare, Kinikinau, Piapoco, Trinitario, and Wayuu) exhibit finiteness asymmetries, since the lexical verb loses some or all of its inflection to the negative auxiliary. Languages with auxiliary-particle splits of course exhibit split constructional asymmetries. In the case of one of these languages, Achagua, a further complexity arises, since there are circumstances under which the lexical verb in a negative auxiliary construction can retain some of its inflectional morphology.

Achagua verbs in positive polarity clauses may either bear prefixes that indicate the person, number, and gender of the subject, as in (35a), or bear suffixes that indicate the number, but not the person, of the subject, as in (36a) (Melendez 1998: 41-43; Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 26-

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paradigmatic neutralization asymmetries as constructional finiteness asymmetries. It is clear, however, that Miestamo does not intend paradigmatic neutralization asymmetries to be interpreted in this way. Rather he intends that 'non-finiteness' be understood in terms of the lexical verb of a negated clause having either: 1) relatively nominal characteristics; 2) the form of a prototypically syntactically dependent verb; or 3) in fact being syntactically dependent on the negation element. The simple loss of an aspectual contrast in a SN construction is thus insufficient reason to treat the construction as exhibiting a finiteness asymmetry. Note also that in neutralization asymmetries, the category – for example, aspect – is still marked on the verb, despite the number of possible distinctions in that category being reduced.

28).[22] The latter construction appears to co-occur with free pronouns. Verbs in negative polarity clauses that exhibit subject prefixes retain their prefixes, as in (35b), while those that exhibit subject suffixes lose them, as in (36b). Prefixing verbs thus appear to retain more of their inflectional morphology, and are hence less asymmetric than their suffixing counterparts.

(35) a. Nu-wówai éema.
1SG-want horse
'I want a horse.'

b. Hó-ka-i nu-wówai éema.
NEG-IND-SG.M 1SG-want horse
'I don't want a horse.' (Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 131)

(36) a. Nuyá wówai-ɐʒi éema.
1SG want-SG horse
'I want a horse.'

b. Nuyá hó-ka-i wówai éema.
1SG NEG-IND-SG.M want horse
'I don't want a horse.' (Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 131)

Paresi likewise exhibits a finiteness asymmetry, although it is not analyzed as exhibiting negative auxiliaries *per se*, as discussed in §B.1.1.

I now turn to constructional asymmetries that do not involve finiteness, beginning with the 'auxiliary' asymmetries found in Lokono and Garifuna. In Lokono, we find that in certain circumstances an auxiliary or 'dummy verb' (Patte this volume) appears in negated clauses (note, crucially, that this element is not a negative auxiliary, since it does not express negation). In Lokono this auxiliary surfaces to host the subject prefix when the use of the morphological negative fills a morphological position normally occupied by the subject prefix. We see in (37a), for example, that the subject prefix is attached to the lexical verb, but that in (37b), the erstwhile position of the subject prefix is now occupied by the negation prefix *m-*, and the subject prefix is now

[22] The factors that govern the choice between these two verb-marking strategies are unclear in the published sources. However, Melendez's (1998: 164) glosses suggest that there may be an informational structural difference between the two construction types.

attached to the ‘dummy verb’ that follows it. Note that this construction requires that the verb also bear a non-finite suffix.

(37) a. D-aitha no.
1SG-know 3FO
‘I know it.’

b. M-aithi-n d-a no.
NEG-know-INF 2SG-DV 3FO
‘I don’t know it.’ (Patte this volume)

Note that the syntactic negation strategy described in §B.1.1 is the default SN construction in Lokono, and that only a small number of verbs, including *eithin* ‘know’ and *anshin* ‘want’, can participate in the construction described in this section.

The constructional asymmetries in Garifuna resemble those in Lokono, to which Garifuna is relatively closely related. As in Lokono, Garifuna constructional asymmetries stem from the fact that the negative prefix displaces subject markers from their prefixal position on the lexical verb to another position, often an auxiliary to the right of the lexical verb. Unlike Lokono, however, prefixal negation is the typical mechanism for standard negation, and use of the negative prefix does not require finiteness-reducing morphology on verb. Moreover, in Garifuna, auxiliaries are often required for independent reasons (typically, expression of TAM), so that the structural asymmetry in Garifuna does not involve the presence or absence of the auxiliary as such, but rather the position of the subject prefix alone. These observations are illustrated in (38), where the affirmative sentence in (38a) bears a subject prefix, which is displaced onto the auxiliary in the negative sentence in (39b), yielding a constructional asymmetry. The reader is referred to Munro and Gallagher (this volume) for a detailed discussion of Garifuna asymmetries.

(38) a. N-adáru bo=u gáfu.
PR1SG-open:PS ba=D3F box
‘I will open the box.’

b. M-adáru n-ubo-u gáfu.
NEG-open:N PR1SG-ba-D3F box
‘I’m not going to open the box.’ (Munro and Gallagher this volume)

Baure also exhibits a constructional asymmetry unrelated to finiteness, by which 'punctual' or 'achievement' verbs must take the 'copula' suffix *-wo* when negated, as evident in (39b), which is not found in the corresponding affirmative clause, as in (39a) .[23]

(39) a. Ver netorok.
ver ni=etorok
PERF 1SG=come.out
'I came out.'

b. Nka retorokow.
nka ro=etoroko-wo
NEG 3SGM=come.out-COP
'He didn't come out.' (Danielsen 2007:340)

Finally I consider Tariana and Yucuna, two languages that exhibit constructional asymmetries due to portmanteau negation morphemes. In the case of Yucuna, Schauer and Schauer (2000: 522) analyze SN as involving complex morphosyntactic negation, as in (32) above, which exemplifies the free SN element *unka* and the negative suffix *-la*. In imperfective clauses, where one might expect the unattested collocation **-la-hike* (NEG-IMPF), the portmanteau negative imperfective *-ke* appears instead, as in (40). The imperfective is thus realized in structurally distinct ways in affirmative and negative clauses, yielding a constructional asymmetry.

(40) Unka ri-'ijna-ke japaje.
NEG 3M-go-NEG.IMPF work.
'He didn't go to work.' (Schauer et al. 2005: 314)

Tariana exhibits a constructional asymmetry due to its negation-tense/mood portmanteau suffixe *-kásu*, which is employed in definite and uncertain future and intentional mood contexts, as in (41)(Aikhenvald this volume). In negated clauses, *-kásu* replaces dedicated tense and mood morphemes found in the correspponding affirmative clauses, such as the definite future *-de* (first person), the future *-mhade* (uncertain future for first person, general future for non-first person), and the

[23] The reader will also note that the perfective particle *ver*, present in (39a), is absent in (39b). It is not clear if this is an incidental difference between the two sentences or if it is related to the difference in their polarity, and hence another – in this case, paradigmatic – asymmetry.

intentional *-kasú*.

Tariana additionally exhibits a constructional asymmetry for the same reason that Garifuna and Lokono do: a negation prefix usurps the position typically occupied by the subject prefix (Aikhenvald this volume), as can be seen by comparing (41a&b). Unlike the Garifuna and Lokono cases, however, in Tariana no auxiliary hosts the deleted subject prefix – it is simply deleted.

(41) a. Nu-nu-kasú.
1SG-come-INTN
'I am about to come.'

b. Ma-nu-kásu.
NEG-come-FUT.NEG
'I won't/shall not come, am not about to come.'
(Aikhenvald this volume)

Paradigmatic asymmetries I begin the discussion of paradigmatic asymmetries in Arawak languages by considering paradigmatic neutralization asymmetries, which are found in eight languages. Four of these languages, Apurinã (Facundes this volume), Nanti (Michael this volume), Paresi (Brandão this volume), and Terena (Butler 1978) exhibit perfective-imperfective neutralizations, not allowing perfective-marked verbs in negative polarity sentences. This type of neutralization is illustrated for Nanti in (42), where we see that the perfective is permitted in affirmative sentences, as in (42a), but not in negated ones, as in (42b&c).

(42) a. No=neh-ak-i=ri.
1S=see-PERF-REA=3MO
'I saw him.'

b. Tera no=neh-e=ri.
NEG.REA 1S=see-IRR=3MO
'I did not see him.'

c. *Tera no=neh-ak-e=ri.
NEG.REA 1S-see-PERF-IRR=3MO
(Michael this volume)

A more comprehensive case of aspectual neutralization is reported by Launey (2003: 197) for Palikúr, who observes that "[t]he negation *ka*

neutralizes all the verbal categories", specifically mentioning that the imperfective, 'comutatif', and 'tendenciel' do not appear in negated clauses. Patte (1989: 101) likewise reports for Añun that with the exception of the 'prospective' and 'inactual' aspects (and then only in desiderative constructions), negative verbs lack the rich verbal morphology that affirmative verbs display. In Tariana, a three-way distinction between definite, uncertain, and intentional modality is neutralized in the single future tense-negation portmanteau, *-kásu* (Aikhenvald this volume).

Wapishana exhibits a neutralization asymmetry associated with the tense-mood system of the language. Wapishana exhibits four tense-mood categories, which are expressed by combining two more semantically primitive categories: 'indicative mood',[24] expressed by the suffix *-n*, and non-present tense, expressed by the suffix *-niː*. These two morphemes are combined in affirmative sentences to yield imperative mood (–indicative, –non-present), present tense (+indicative, –non-present), past tense (–indicative, +non-present), and future tense (+indicative, +non-present) senses (dos Santos 2006: 161). It appears, however, that in negative declarative sentences, only the indicative mood suffix appears, so that tense-mood distinctions are neutralized to present tense.[25] Thus we have what appear to be cases of past temporal reference, as in (43), in which the verb bears only the indicative suffix, which in affirmative clauses would express present tense, and not past tense.

(43) Au-na i-abat-a-n aimaakan.
NEG-DEI 3M-listen-EP-IND thing
'He didn't hear anything.' (original: 'ele não escutou nada'; dos Santos 2006: 192)

Furthermore, we even find that stative predicates are required to bear indicative mood marking, even though they do not generally participate in the four-way tense-mood distinction discussed above. Dos Santos (2006) indicates that Wapishana stative predicates obligatorily take an 'adjectivizer' suffix, *-ɲu*, in affirmative clauses, as in (44a), but in negative clauses, stative predicates obligatorily bear the indicative, as in (44b). This, however, may best be analyzed as a constructional asymmetry, since the negative clauses in question express a category not

[24] It is not clear that 'indicative' is an entirely felicitous label for this category, since it surfaces in interrogative sentences.

[25] It should be noted that dos Santos (2006) does not directly address this issue; this conclusion is based on an examination of the data presented in the cited work.

found in their affirmative counterparts.

(44) a. Wɨɽɨː aka-j uzɻka-ʔu.
PROX fruit-NPOSS ripe-ADJVR
'This fruit is ripe.'

b. Wɨɽɨː aka-j au-na ɨ-uzɻka-n.
PROX fruit-NPOSS NEG-DEICT 3M-ripe-IND
'This fruit is not ripe.' (dos Santos 2006: 154)

Yánesha' contrasts with the cases considered thus far in exhibiting neutralization of a non-TAM category. In this language, verbs apparently fall into two classes: 'reflexives' (apparently including both reflexives proper and some semantically middle verbs) and 'non-reflexives', where 'reflexives' are marked by a suffix *-a* (Duff-Tripp 1997: 81). The reflexive suffix does not surface on verbs in negated clauses, however, neutralizing the morphological distinction between reflexives and non-reflexives (Duff-Tripp 1997: 179).

Perhaps the most elaborate paradigmatic asymmetries found in Arawak languages, however, are the reality status displacement asymmetries found in Southern Arawak, including Kinikinau, Terena, Trinitario, and the languages of the Kampan branch. Kinikinau and Trinitario exhibit the simpler version of these systems, in which the irrealis marker yields different interpretations in affirmative and negative clauses. In the case of Kinikinau, the irrealis suffix *-a* indicates interrogative mood in positive polarity clauses (among other functions), as in (45), but declarative mood in negative polarity ones, as in (46).

(45) Na ni-k-a-'a ûti?
INT eat-CT-IRR-OBJ 1PL
'When will we eat it?' (De Souza 2008: 106)

(46) Ako-ne ni-k-a ûti.
NEG-PUNCT eat-CT-IRR 1PL
'We did not eat.' (De Souza 2008: 97)

In Trinitario, the verbal irrealis marker *-a* indicates a variety of irrealis modalities in affirmative clauses (e.g. conditional), but declarative modality in negative clauses (Rose this volume).

A more elaborate asymmetry is found in the 'flip-flop' displacement asymmetries of the Kampan languages (Michael this volume) and Terena (Ekdahl and Grimes 1964). In these languages, both the realis and the irrealis markers participate in displacement asymmetries, exchanging their semantic interpretation in affirmative and negative clauses. Take the case of the Nanti reality status suffix *-i*, which expresses non-future temporal reference in affirmative sentences such as (47a), but future temporal reference in negative sentences such as (47b).

(47) a. No=pok-i.
1S=come-REA
'I am coming.'

b. Hara no=pok-i.
NEG.IRR 1S=come-REA
'I will not come.' (Michael this volume)

The realis suffix *-e* exhibits exactly the opposite 'flip-flop': it expresses future temporal reference in affirmative clauses, and past temporal reference in negative clauses, as evident in (48a&b). Note also that the SN elements in (47b) and (48b) are different. As discussed in Michael (this volume), these negation elements can be analyzed as selecting for the reality status of the propositions they negate, yielding the terms 'realis negator' and 'irrealis negator' for the two negation elements. Note that the irrealis negator is used in what might be called 'doubly irrealis' contexts, that is, contexts consisting of the negation of a notionally irrealis clause (e.g. one that exhibits future temporal reference).

(48) a. No=N-pok-e.
1S=IRR-come-IRR
'I will come.'

b. Tera no=N-pok-e.
NEG.REAL 1S=IRR-come-IRR
'I did not come.' (Michael this volume)

As Miestamo (2005: 96-97) intimates, these 'flip-flop' displacement asymmetries are cross-linguistically quite rare, but strikingly, Terena exhibits an interaction between negation and reality status that is almost identical to the Nanti one. Terena exhibits both the same flip-flop displacement asymmetry, and the same distinction between a 'realis negator' and an 'irrealis negator' (Michael this volume).

It is worth noting that Trinitario, although it does not exhibit a flip-flop displacement asymmetry *per se*, exhibits a different form of reality status and negation marking in 'doubly irrealis' contexts than in 'singly irrealis' ones: in doubly irrealis contexts, verbs bear a special negative irrealis prefix, *ku-*. Rose (this volume) observes that this prefix serves, like the realis and irrealis negators in Terena and the Kampan languages, to maintain a notional reality status contrast in negated clauses, suggesting another broad similarity among the negation systems of southwestern Arawak languages.

C. Prohibitive constructions in Arawak languages

I now turn to a comparative typology of another important negation construction type in Arawak languages, the prohibitive construction, based on Van der Auwera and Lejeune's (2005) study of asymmetries in prohibitive constructions. Note that there are three languages which I exclude from our discussion, due to the lack of description of prohibitive constructions: Kawiyarí, Piapoco, and Terena.

Van der Auwera and Lejeune (2005) develop a four-way typology of prohibitive constructions based on a division of prohibitive constructions into two parts: 1) the part of the construction that expresses negation; and 2) the remainder of the construction. Language-specific constructions are then typologized on the basis of whether: 1) the part of the construction that expresses negation is the same as, or different from, the corresponding part of the standard negation construction in a language; and 2) whether the remainder of the construction is the same as or different from the second person affirmative imperative construction.[26] Combinations of these two binary distinctions yield the prohibitive construction Types I-IV listed in Table 7.

To these four types, I add a fifth type which serves to distinguish between two quite different ways in which the category of Type III constructions can be interpreted. As characterized in Table 7, the Type III construction type potentially conflates quite different types of prohibitive constructions: 1) those in which the non-negation portion of the

[26] This typology can be seen as an extension to prohibitives of Miestamo's basic strategy of typologizing SN on the basis of (a)symmetries between negative and affirmative main clauses. In the case of Van de Auwera and Lejeune's typology, however, it is not negative and affirmative declarative sentences that are compared, but rather, on the one hand, negative declaratives and negative imperatives (with respect to the form of negation), and on the other hand, affirmative imperatives and negative imperatives (with respect to the remainder of the construction).

construction is different from both imperative constructions *and* declarative constructions, and 2) those in which the non-negation portion of the construction is distinct from imperative constructions by virtue of being identical to (at least some types of) declarative constructions. For the purposes of this chapter, I reserve Type III for prohibitive constructions in which the non-negation portion of the construction is distinct from both affirmative imperatives and declaratives, and reserve Type V for constructions that are used to express prohibitive meanings, but are not constructionally distinct from some subset of declarative constructions. As we shall see, Type V prohibitives are common in certain branches of Arawak.

Table 7: *Prohibitive construction types*

Prohibitive type	Prohibitive construction	Expression of negation
Type I	same as imperative	same as standard negation
Type II	same as imperative	different from standard negation
Type III	different from imperative	same as standard negation
Type IV	different from imperative	different from standard negation
Type V	No distinct prohibitive construction	

Table 8 summarizes the prohibitive construction types found in the Arawak languages in our sample, based on the typology given in Table 7.

Table 8: *Prohibitive constructions in 23 Arawak languages*

Language	Prohibitive type	Negation	Remainder of clause
Achagua	Type II	*o*-V	same as imperative
Añun	Type II	V-*ata*	same as imperative
Apurinã	Type V	*kuna* V	same as declarative
Baure	Type III	*noka* V	omits subject marking
Bare	Type IV	*ba*-V	V-*ka*
Garifuna	Type III	*m*-V	H-stem instead of B-stem
Iñapari	Type III	*aa*-S-V	V-*ni*
Kinikinau	Type V	*ako*-TAM V	same as declarative realis

Kurripako	Type IV	*ma*-V	omit subject marking; verb bears restrictive suffix *-tsa*
Lokono	Type IV	*ma*-V	non-finite main verb; use of 'dummy' verb
Palikúr	Type III	*ka* mood V	*ba* (mood) V
Paresi	Type II	*awa* V	same as imperative
Resígaro	Type II	V-*ma*	same as imperative
Nanti	Type V	*hara* V	same as declarative irrealis
Tariana	Type II	*mhaĩda* V	same as imperative
Trinitario	Type IV	*wo ku*-V	*ku*-V
Wapishana	Type III	*auna* V	V takes 'immediate' marking
Warekena	Type III	(ya-) ... V-*pia*	SVC with 2SG-perceive
Wauja	Type II	*amiya* V	same as imperative
Wayuu	Type IV	*nojo* V	negative auxiliary
Yánesha'	Type III	*ama* V	disapprobative marking
Yine	Type I	*hi* V	same as imperative
Yucuna	Type IV	V-*niña*	portmanteau prohibitive

I now discuss the distribution of the prohibitive construction types in languages in our sample and their structural properties.

Only a single Arawak language in our sample, Yine, is described as exhibiting a Type I prohibitive construction, i.e. one where the prohibitive consists of the standard negation of the regular imperative construction. In this case, the SN element is a preverbal particle.

Type II prohibitive constructions, which employ the standard imperative construction, but exhibit a non-SN negation strategy, are found in six languages of our sample: Achagua, Añun, Paresi, Resígaro, Tariana, and Wauja. These constructions are quite structurally diverse.

In Achagua, the basic imperative construction consists minimally of a bare verb stem with second person subject marking, as in (49a), while the prohibitive is formed by adding the prefix *o-*, here interpreted as expressing negation, as in (49b).

(49) a. Hi-íya li-ája kubái-ka!
2SG-eat 3SGM-there fish-IND
'Eat that fish!' (Wilson and Levinsohn 1992: 100)

b. O-hi-taːnia.

PROH.NEG-2SG-speak
'Don't speak.' (Melendez 1998: 169)

Note that Achagua SN is not expressed by a prefix, but rather an auxiliary (see §B.1.1), such that prohibitive negation differs not only in form from the negation element, but also in terms of its morphological characteristics. Resígaro is similar to Achagua in that SN is a morphologically free preverbal element, but the prohibitive negation element is a bound morpheme – in the case of Resígaro, the verbal clitic *=ma(ʔ)* (Allin 1976: 354).

In the remaining Type II languages, the prohibitive negation element is structurally parallel to SN, even though the forms of the elements are different: both SN and prohibitive negation are suffixes in Añun, as in (50), and preverbal particles in Paresi and Wauja. As an example of the latter type, consider the Wauja sentence in (51). Note that Ball (this volume) analyzes the negation element *amiya* that appears in prohibitives as having historically involved the conditional *=miya*.[27]

(50) Pi-ka-ata!
2SG-eat-PROH.NEG
'Don't eat!' (Patte 1989: 109)

(51) Amiya Kukisi y-uma ipits-iu-han.
NEG.IMP Kukisi 2PL-say DAT-PERF-EMP
'Don't call him Kukisi.' (Ball this volume)

Type III constructions, in which prohibitive negation is expressed in the same way as standard negation, but where the remainder of the construction differs from the corresponding imperative construction, are found in seven languages: Baure, Garifuna, Iñapari, Palikúr, Wapishana, Warekena, Yánesha'.

Two of these languages, Iñapari and Palikúr, exhibit additional morphology not found in the imperative, which can be interpreted as dedicated prohibitive modal marking. In the case of Iñapari, the marking is a verbal suffix, as in (52b), while in Palikúr, it is a preverbal particle that appears between the negation particle and the verb, as in (53).

(52) a. Pi-ahɨra-ma-ʔa!

[27] If *=miya* is cognate to the counterfactual *=me* found in Kampan languages, then this Wauja negative element resembles, for example, the Nanti negative deontic *ha-me* (NEG.IRREAL-CNTF), which is often used in negative directives.

2SG-yell-TAM-IMPER
'Yell!'

b. Aa-pi-ahɨra-ma-ni-ʔa!
NEG-2SG-yell-TAM-PROH-IMPER
'Don't yell!' (Parker 1995: 200)

(53) Ka ba sigis!
NEG PROH run
'Don't run!' (Launey 2003: 218)

Two Type III languages, Wapishana, and Yánesha', bear modal or aspectual marking that is optionally present in finite non-prohibitive clauses, but is required in prohibitives. In the case of Wapishana, this is the 'immediate' suffix *-na:* (dos Santos 2006:165), while in Yanesha it is the 'disapprobative' *-ats* (Duff-Tripp 1997: 114).

In the remaining Type III languages, prohibitives differ from imperatives in a variety of ways. Garifuna prohibitives exhibit a different verb stem allomorph from imperatives (Munro and Gallagher this volume). Baure imperative constructions involve a form of the verb bearing the suffix *-no* (which is also employed for nominalizations) and subject prefixes, as in (54a), but the verb in prohibitive constructions does not bear person prefixes, as evident in (54b).

(54) a. Enevere pi=aviko-po-no!
tomorrow 2SG=return-PRFLX-NOM1
'Return tomorrow!'

b. Nka ya-no!
NEG cry-NOM1
'Don't cry!' (Danielsen 2007: 344)

Finally, negation in Warekena prohibitives is expressed the same way as in SN constructions, but the lexical verb is accompanied by the verb 'perceive' that bears second person marking, as in (55a&b), revealing its origin as a serial verb construction (Aikhenvald 1998: 393-394).

(55) a. Pida pi-kulua-pia.
2SG+perceive 2SG-drink-NEG
'Don't drink (it).'

b. Ya-pida pe-pia-na!

NEG-2SG+perceive 2SG+eat-NEG-1SG
'Do not eat me!' (Aikhenvald 1998: 394)

Type IV languages diverge most significantly from standard negation constructions and positive imperatives, in that the element that expresses negation is different from SN, and the remainder of the construction is distinct from positive imperative constructions as well. There are five Type IV languages in our sample: Bare, Kurripako, Lokono, Wayuu, and Yucuna. The structural properties of these Type IV prohibitive constructions are quite diverse.

Both Lokono and Kurripako prohibitives are formed using a reflex of the proto-Arawak privative **ma-* and a form of the verb that exhibits reduced finiteness. In Lokono, the negative *ma-* is prefixed to a non-finite form of the verb, which is followed by the 'dummy' or auxiliary verb *a*, which bears second person marking, as in (56b).[28]

(56) a. B-ôsa!
2SG.AG-go
'Go!'

b. M-ôsu-n b-a!
PRIV-go-INF 2SG.AG-DV
'Don't go!' (Patte this volume)

The Kurripako construction is similar, except that there is no corresponding auxiliary verb, such that person is not expressed in prohibitives (Granadillo this volume).

Bare represents yet another kind of Type IV system. Aikhenvald (1995: 33) analyzes the verb in prohibitive constructions as bearing the prohibitive circumfix *ba- ... -ka*. It is not entirely clear, on language-internal grounds, whether it is possible to determine which part of the circumfix can be assigned a negation function, and which a modal function. Trinitario presents a similar issue in that prohibitives exhibit both the SN negation particle *wo* and the verbal prefix *ku-*, which expresses both negation and irrealis, and appears instead of the irrealis suffix *-a* that appears in imperative constructions. By virtue of the fact that *ku-* expresses both negation and irrealis (although the standard negation particle also appears), the Trinitario prohibitive thus expresses

[28] Note that the negation strategy described here also extends to a very small number of declarative main clause verbs. I do not consider Lokono to be a Type V language, however, since the default (and vastly more frequent) negation strategy involves not the negation prefix plus auxiliary verb, but a negation particle.

negation differently than in SN constructions, and mood differently than in imperatives. Yucuna can be considered a step further in this direction, as a single verbal suffix, *-niña*, appears to express both negation and imperative mood.

The final Type IV language I consider, Wayuu, could almost be considered a Type V language. Recall that Wayuu expresses SN with a negative auxiliary verb and a lexical verb bearing the subordinating suffix *-in*. The same is true of the Wayuu prohibitive construction, as seen in (57b). Wayuu positive imperatives, however, are expressed with a verb bearing 2nd person subject marking, an 'infinitive' suffix, and optional tense marking,[29] as in (57a). The non-negation part of the prohibitive construction is thus identical to the non-negation portion of the declarative clause, which is typical of Type V languages (see below). The negative auxiliary stem *nójo* is likewise also employed in standard negation constructions, but in that context it bears tense, number, and gender information, while it does not do so in prohibitive constructions, making the form of negation in Wayuu prohibitives different from that in SN constructions, yielding a Type IV prohibitive.

(57) a. P-eitt-aa-pa!
2SG-give-INF-TENSE
'Put (it)!' (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 160)

b. Nojo p-apüt-ü-in!
NEG 2SG-leave-EP-SUB
'Don't leave!' (Mansen and Mansen 1984: 226)

Finally I consider the Type V languages in our sample: Apurinã, Kinikinau, and Nanti. The constructions used to express negative directives in these languages are identical to negative declarative constructions (or some subset thereof), and are in this way distinct from imperatives. In a significant sense, these languages can be said to lack a prohibitive construction. Nanti, for example, exhibits a distinctive imperative construction characterized by the omission of the subject person clitic and presence of irrealis marking on the verb, as in (58a), but the typical utterance for giving a negative directive in Nanti is formally identical to a negative polarity utterance with future temporal reference, as in (58b).

[29] It is not clear what the semantic contribution of the tense suffixes are in these constructions.

(58) a. Kaat-e!
bathe-IRREAL
'Bathe!'
b. Hara pi-kaat-i.
NEG.IRR 2S-bathe-REAL
'You will not bathe.'; 'Don't bathe!' (Michael this volume)

D. THE PRIVATIVE

The privative **ma-* is one of the small number of morphemes that most historical works on Arawak languages agree in attributing to Proto-Arawak (Payne 1991a). Of the 27 Arawak languages considered here on which information is available regarding reflexes of the privative, 20 have productive reflexes and seven[30] appear not to. I begin here by developing a number of generalizations regarding functions of these productive reflexes and then later discuss cases of languages that lack productive reflexes of the privative. Table 9 presents a summary of these results, indicating whether each language in the sample exhibits a productive reflex of **ma-*, and if so, whether the privative productively derives a privative denominal stative predicate, a negative destative stative predicate,[31] or exhibits some other productive function.

It is possible at the outset to identify three major functions of modern reflexes of the Proto-Arawak (PA) privative: 1) it derives privative stative predicates from nouns; 2) it endocentrically derives privative stative predicates from stative predicates; and 3) it functions as standard negation.

The denominal privative function is exemplified by the Piapoco form in (59), where the resulting stative verb indicates that its subject lacks the referent of the nominal stem from which the stative verb (or adjective) is derived.

(59) ma-enu-ni-ta

[30] As discussed below, Palikúr, Resígaro, and Yánesha' exhibit morphemes whose relationship to the PA privative is unclear.

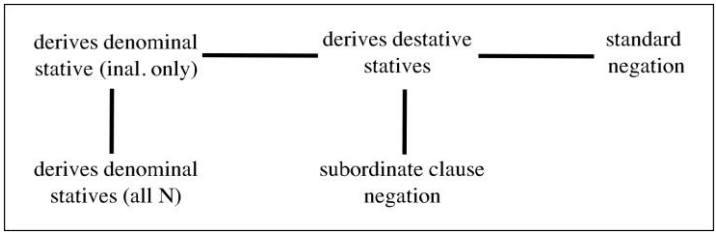
[31] It should also be noted that there can be some doubt, on a language by language basis, about the word class of the element derived by the privative, especially when the available descriptions touch on the privative in only the briefest fashion. Take the case of Yucuna, where the privative is described as deriving 'adjectives' (Schauer and Shauer 2000: 304). In Yucuna, 'adjectives' can be the sole predicate in a sentence, however, raising the question of whether they should actually be considered stative verbs. Given such ambiguities, I am deliberately vague here, referring to the results of privative derivation as 'stative predicates'.

PRIV-shotgun-POSS-REST
'be without a shotgun' (adapted from Reinoso (2002): 120)

The endocentric stative privative function is exemplified by the Yine stems *maluka* 'not want/like' (cf. *haluka* 'want/like') and *mumata* 'not know' (cf. *himata* 'know') (Hanson 2010: 85). Finally, the standard negation function of reflexes of the PA privative is exemplified by Garifuna, as discussed in §B.1.3.

Significantly, an implicational relationship appears to hold between the three functions of the privative identified here: if the reflex of the PA privative functions as standard negation, it will also exhibit the destative and denominal privative derivational functions, and if it exhibits the destative function, it will also exhibit the denominal function. This relationship is represented in the top row of the network diagram given in Figure 1, where the presence of any one of these functions in a language entails the presence of all of the functions to its left. Note that I do not include the appearance of reflexes of the PA privative in prohibitive constructions in this figure.

Figure 1: Functions of reflexes of the PA privative



Only two languages in the sample considered in this chapter exhibit all three of the major private functions: Garifuna and Tariana.[32] Much more common are languages that exhibit only the destative and denominal privative derivational functions. These languages include Apurinã, Baure, Lokono, Paresi, Piapoco, Yine, and Yucuna. The denominal and destative functions of the Baure privative, for example, are illustrated in (60) and (61), respectively.

(60) Mo-avinon=ri?

[32] I exclude Lokono here, since the use of the privative in main clauses is extremely restricted, see §B.2.2.

PRIV-husband=3SGF
'Is she unmarried?' (Danielsen 2007: 187)

(61) Ri=mo-ki'in=ro noiy San Antonia-ye.
3SGF=PRIV-want=3SGM there San Antonio-LOC
'She doesn't want him there in San Antonio.'
(Danielsen 2007: 188)

Languages which appear to exhibit only the denominal derivational function seem to be the most common, and include Achagua, Bare, Iñapari, Kurripako, Palikúr, Trinitario,[33] Wapishana, Wauja, Wayuu, and Yavitero.

Finally, in about a third of the languages in our sample, the privative is either losing its productivity, as in the case of Wauja (Ball this volume), or is no longer productive, as in the cases of Añun (Patte 1989: 102), the closely related languages Kinikinau (De Souza 2008) and Terena (Bendor-Samuel 1961, Butler 1977), Warekena (Aikhenvald 1998), Yánesha' (Duff-Tripp 1997), and the languages of the Kampan branch (Michael this volume).[34] However, even in languages without productive reflexes of the PA privative, it is often possible to find evidence of its former productivity in frozen forms. Consider the Nanti verb root *magempita* 'be deaf' (cf. *gempita* 'ear'), which indicates the former productivity of *ma-* as a denominal privative, and the verb root *amatsogampi* 'be blunt' (cf. *tsogampi* 'be sharp'), which indicates its former productivity as a destative privative (Michael this volume). Patte (p.c.) likewise reports frozen forms like these in Añun, including *mochöö* 'deaf' (cf. *chöö* 'ear').

There are at least four languages in which the PA privative appears to be frozen as part of a negation particle, as in the standard negation *maiha* ~ *maitsa* in Pareci (Brandão this volume), the Nanti metalinguistic negation *matsi* (Michael this volume), the Bahwana standard negation and prohibitive *mainda* (Aikhenvald this volume). The Wauja negative existential *mano* (Ball this volume), the Warekena clause-linker *matse* 'lest, warning' (Aikhenvald 1998: 356), and the Old Mojeño and Mojeño Iganciano apprehensive *machu* (Rose this volume). In Yine it appears to have been the source for a negative auxiliary verb *ma* 'not do' (Hanson

[33] Rose (this volume) provides examples of stems that function as modifiers, where the privative appears to be frozen on active verb roots.

[34] It should be noted that assessing the productivity of reflexes of the PA privative can be challenging, given the state of documentation for many languages. It is possible that some of these languages that I treat as not exhibiting a productive reflex of the PA privative will be reclassified once further documentation becomes available.

2010: 345-346). The Yánesha' standard negation particle *ama* may be another instance of the frozen privative, but it should be noted that Yanesha has been heavily influenced by the nearby Quechua varieties (Wise 1976), which exhibit the standard negation particle *mana*.

In addition to the three major functions of modern reflexes of the privative outlined above, there are two finer distinctions to be drawn. First, the descriptions of some languages, such as Achagua (Ramirez 2001a: 326), Bare (Aikhenvald: 35), Lokono (Patte this volume), Trinitario (Rose this volume), and Tariana (Aikhenvald this volume), state that the denominal privative applies only to inalienable nouns.[35] If we assume that this restriction does not hold for all languages, then a further implicational relationship holds: if a language allows denominal privative derivation of alienable nouns, it allows it for inalienable ones.

Second, there are Arawak languages in which reflexes of the privative do not function as standard negation, but do serve as the means for negating subordinate clauses. In at least three languages, Apurinã, Lokono, and Yine, reflexes of the PA privative are employed in the negation of some subset of subordinate clauses. In Lokono (Patte this volume), for example, it is employed to negate complements of verbs of perception and requesting;[36] while in Apurinã (Facundes this volume) it appears on nominalized complements of verbs of cognition, verbs in the protasis of conditional constructions, and verbs in negative purposive clauses; while in Yine (Hanson 2010: 339-340) it is attested in negative purposive clauses. And in the two languages in which reflexes of the privative serve as standard negation, Garifuna (Munro and Gallagher this volume) and Tariana, the privative also serves to negate certain subordinate clauses (see, e.g. Aikhenvald 2003: 544). All the languages for which reflexes of the PA privative serve negation functions in subordinate clauses also exhibit destative derivation, yielding another implicational relationship: if a language employs a reflex of the privative to negate subordinate clauses, it also also employs it for destative derivation.

The implicational relationships between alienable and inalienable denominal derivation and subordinate clause and destative derivation are represented in Figure 1 with the convention that the presence of a function in the network entails the presence of the functions above it.

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[35] The extent to which the privative derivation is restricted to inalienable nouns in other languages is difficult to assess, since it cannot be assumed that failure to mention this restriction (which is common), entails that alienable nouns can undergo privative derivation.

[36] Patte (this volume) reports that the privative can be employed with a limited set of matrix verbs, as in *meithin* 'not know' (cf. *eithin* 'know').

We finally consider two other functions of modern reflexes of the privative, the prohibitive and habitual functions, which do not appear to be involved in any implicational relationships. In at least two languages, Kurripako (Granadillo this volume) and Lokono (Patte this volume), reflexes of the PA privative express negation in prohibitives, despite not serving as the typical means to express standard negation. Resígaro expresses negation in the prohibitive construction with the suffix *-ma*, which may have developed from the PA privative.[37]

In several languages, a reflex of the privative can also appear on active verbs, not as standard negation, but as a negative habitual. This is sometimes accompanied by nominalization, as in Wapishana, as in (62). Alvarez (2009) makes a similar observation regarding the appearance of the privative on active verb stems in Wayuu, where, interestingly, it cannot appear on stative roots.

(62) ɨ-ɽɨ ma-kaup-a-kaɽɨ.
3M-M PRIV-bathe-EP-NOMZ
'He doesn't (like to) bathe.' (dos Santos 2006: 136)

An illuminating example that illustrates the aspectual difference between clauses exhibiting standard negation and privative negation is found in Brandão's (this volume) discussion of the Paresi privative. In this case, an expression employing standard negation, as in (63a), indicates a possibly temporary state of affairs, while an expression employing the privative, as in (63b), indicates a permanent state of affairs.

(63) a. Maiha no-ka-itsani-ye.
NEG 1S-ATR-son-POSSED
'I do not have children.'

b. ma-itsani-halo
NEG-son-NML
'one who is sterile (cannot have children)'
(Brandão this volume)

In Baure, the privative *mo-* can also appear on active verbs that bear the stative 'copula' suffix *-wo*, as in (64). Danielsen does not specify how this privative negation of verbs differs from SN, but the gloss in (64)

[37] Note that Facundes (this volume) relates the Apurinã frustrative *-ma* to the Apurinã privative *ma-*, rendering the idea that Resígaro prohibitive suffix derives from the former privative prefix somewhat more plausible.

suggests that a temporally non-specific or habitual sense is associated with this privative form, which would be consistent with the stative characteristics of other forms derived with the privative.

(64) Mo-yono-wo=ro.
PRIV-walk-COP=3SGM
'He doesn't walk.' (Danielsen 2007: 187-188)

The Bare privative functions denominally, deriving stative predicates from inalienable nouns (Aikhenvald 1995: 35), and possibly destatively,[38] but also derives negative verbal forms from some non-stative verbs, e.g. *ma-khiña* 'forget', from *khiña* 'think' (Aikhenvald 1995: 35).

Table 9. *Functions of reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative*

Language	Denominal	Destative	SN	Other
Achagua	yes	no	no	no
Añun	no	no	no	no
Apurinã	yes	yes	no	relative clauses (nomz.), purposive (nomz.)
Baure	yes	yes	no	negative habitual on actives
Bare	yes (inal.)	uncertain	no	derives negative change-of-state verbs
Garifuna	yes	yes	yes	no
Iñapari	yes[39]	no	no	no
Kawiyarí	yes	no	no	no
Kinikinau	no	no	no	no
Kurripako	yes	no	no	Prohibitive
Lokono	yes (inal.)	yes	no	Prohibitive
Palikúr	yes	no	no	no

[38] There is one example of the privative attaching to a root glossed as 'closed' (Aikhenvald 1995: 35).

[39] Parker (1997: 93) lists *ma-* 'sin' ('without') in his Iñapari wordlist but does not discuss it in the brief accompanying morphological description. Denominal derivations involving *ma-* include *majanahúri* 'deaf' (cf. *janáho* 'ear'), and there are also a small number of forms derived with the privative whose glosses that suggest it derives privative stative verbs from other verbs (e.g. *mujɨpetíri* 'ciego (lit. él que no ve)'; where *-ri* is the third person stative subject marker). See also Facundes' (this volume) discussion of Iñapari.

Paresi	yes	yes	no	negative habitual on nominalized active verbs
Piapoco	yes	yes	no	no
Resígaro	no	no	no	prohibitive
Nanti	no	no	no	no
Tariana	yes (inal.)	yes (restricted)	yes	relative participles
Terena	no	no	no	no
Trinitario	yes (inal.)	no	no	no
Wapishana	yes	no[40]	no	negative habitual on nominalized actives
Warekena[41]	no	no	no	no
Wauja	yes	no	no	no
Wayuu	yes	no	no	negative habitual on nominalized actives
Yánesha'	no	no	no	no
Yavitero	yes	no	no	no
Yine	yes	yes	no	negative auxiliary
Yucuna	yes	yes	no	also appears on active verbs

In closing this section I briefly discuss morphemes in two languages that may be reflexes of the PA privative, but whose morphosyntactic behavior is sufficiently unlike that of unambiguous reflexes of the privative as to raise doubts about their origin. The first such morpheme, the clitic *=ma ~ =nama*, appears in Palikúr negation constructions involving non-verbal predicates (nouns and adjectives), as in (65a), and progressive forms of lexical verbs, as in (65b), which Launey (2003: 199) analyze as

[40] Dos Santos (2006: 148) discusses the use of the privative in Wapishana, but does not mention the privative affixing directly to verbs of any kind, nor are there any examples of such forms in his description of the language. Aikhenvald (2002: 291), however, alludes to just this possibility when she remarks, "Its negative counterpart *ma-* is productive everywhere except for Wapishana where *ma-* is found only in reversative aspect (*ma- ... -kan*)." This remains an issue for further investigation.

[41] Aikhenvald (p.c.) suggests that the fact that the reflex of the PA privative in Warekena is not productive on verbs may be the result of language obsolescence.

participles. Green and Green (1972: 42) indicate that this enclitic "appears on any word that the speaker feels to important," and may appear more than once in a clause, as in (65c). An examination of the data presented by Green and Green (1972: 42-43) suggests that its distribution may depend on an interaction of scope and focus effects, but this clearly remains a matter for future research.

(65) a. Eg ka n-nag-uh=ma.
PRO.3F NEG 1-mother-EXCL=NEG
'She is not my mother.' (adapted from Launey 2003: 198)

b. Ig ka ax-ne=ma.
PRO.3M NEG eat-PART=NEG
'He is not eating.' (adapted from Launey 2003: 199)

c. Usuh ka ke=ma Uhokri=ma.
1PL.EXCL NEG be.like=NEG God=NEG
'We are not like God.' (adapted from Green and Green 1972: 43)

The second morpheme we consider is the Resígaro clitic *=ma(ʔ)*, which appears in prohibitive constructions, as in (66).

(66) veʔe i-tsanaʔ-maʔ
here 2PL-come-PROH
'Don't (you pl.) come here!' (adapted from Allin 1976: 354)

Both the Palikúr and Resígaro morphemes in question combine negative semantics with a phonological form that suggests a relationship with the PA privative. However, their morphosyntactic distribution is quite unexpected from the standpoint of the PA privative which, as is discussed in section E.1, was most likely a derivational prefix. If the Palikúr and Resígaro morphemes in question did in fact develop from the PA privative, their modern morphosyntactic properties would presumably have resulted from diachronic processes that permitted them to break free from their prefixal position, possibly via an intermediate step in which they formed part of a negative existential or negative auxiliary verb (see next section). At this point, however, the relationship of these morphemes to the PA privative remains an open question.

E. A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON ARAWAK NEGATION CONSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this section is to describe similarities and patterns among negation constructions in the Arawak languages, and where possible, develop hypotheses about the historical development of these constructions. It is important to be forthright, however, that at this stage in the development of comparative Arawak linguistics it is not possible to draw firm conclusions regarding the historical development of negation in Arawak languages. There are two principal factors affecting our ability to understand the evolution of negation in Arawak languages: the incipient nature of Arawak comparative historical linguistics generally, and the special historical challenges posed by negation.

Although there has been progress in recent decades in reconstructing phonological inventories and lexical items for certain Arawak subgroups (e.g. Brandaõ and Facundes (2007), Michael (2011)), we are still very far from having a reliable reconstruction of PA phonology or a model of the diversification of the family. As a result, it is not possible to securely establish cognacy of the functional elements involved in negation, and we must instead resort to less reliable judgments based on synchronic similarity of form and function. We are likewise limited in our ability reliably conclude that constructional similarities in negation structures of modern Arawak languages reflect descent from constructions present in Proto-Arawak or mid-level proto-languages rather than processes of parallel development. And as discussed in Chapter 1, the related issue of valid sub-groupings in Arawak remains unclear, as evident in the disagreements between the internal classifications proposed by Aikhenvald (1999), Campbell (1997), Payne (1991a), and Ramirez (2001a), and the relatively flat structure of these classifications. As such, the goal of this section must be seen as identifying noteworthy empirical patterns and offering informed hypotheses that can serve as objects of future research, which will ultimately require systematic applications of the comparative method and attention to language contact phenomena.

The second issue that complicates a historical view on Arawak negation is the diachronic mutability of negation constructions more generally, as evident in processes of 'negation renewal' like Jespersen's cycle (Dahl 1979, van der Auwera 2010) and Croft's cycle (Croft 1991). I consider these briefly now.

In classical discussions of both cycles, multi-step processes results in the replacement of one negation morpheme by an unrelated one (cf. van der Auwera 2010: 78). In the initial state of Jespersen's cycle, languages exhibit both a neutral SN element and an emphatic negation strategy which consists of the neutral SN element and another 'reinforcing' element. As the result of pervasive use of the emphatic strategy, the

'neutral' element undergoes semantic bleaching, so that it can no longer appear by itself, yielding the second step in the cycle. In the third step of the cycle the first element continues to bleach, eventually disappearing entirely, leaving SN to the formerly reinforcing element. The subsequent weakening of this new SN element and the introduction of a new reinforcing element returning the cycle to the first step. The result is complete replacement of one SN negation element by a historically unrelated one. The reader is directed to van der Auwera (2010) for a detailed discussion of this process.

Croft's cycle can be considered a notable subtype of Jespersen's cycle, where the negative emphatic construction consists of a negative existential verb that takes a nominal complement and eventually bleaches to the point of becoming a SN element. As Miestamo (2005: 221) observes, the result of this process can be a negative auxiliary.

1. *The privative*

There can be little doubt that Proto-Arawak exhibited the privative prefix **ma-* (Matteson 1972: 164, Payne 1991a: 377). As discussed in §D, modern reflexes of the privative are attested either as productive morphemes or in frozen forms in all the major branches of the family. And despite the lack of the requisite phonological reconstruction, the overwhelming uniformity in the phonological shape of these reflexes supports the phonological shape posited for the PA privative. The morphosyntactic function of the private is less clear, however, and discussion of this issue will be one of the major concerns of this section.

20 out of 27 Arawak languages in our sample exhibit productive reflexes of the PA privative, and all these reflexes minimally derive denominal stative predicates. In eight languages, reflexes of the privative additionally function endocentrically to derive destative stative predicates. And in two languages, the privative additionally expresses standard negation. Significantly, as discussed in §D, there is an implicational relationship between these functions, whereby the presence of the SN function entails presence of the destative function, which in turn entails presence of the denominal function.

On the basis of these facts, I propose that the PA privative derived denominal stative predicates only, and that the destative and standard negation functions were later developments. Two facts support this proposal. First, the denominal function is the only function common to all productive reflexes of the privative. Second, the implicational hierarchy is most parsimoniously explained if the PA privative was originally denominal and its distribution gradually broadened from nouns

to stative predicates to non-stative predicates. Were we to posit that the PA privative was originally destative (and not denominal) we would have to explain why the destative came to take on denominal functions in every single case – including the cases of parent languages whose descendants *only* exhibit a denominal function, which would, under this hypothesis, involve instances of loss of the original destative strategy. If we posit that the denominal function was the original one, however, we simply need to observe that in some cases, a destative function developed, which neatly explains why all productive reflexes of the PA privative exhibit a denominal function, and in roughly half the cases, additionally exhibit a destative function.

Much the same reasoning leads to the conclusion that PA **ma-* did not serve to express to standard negation. In only two of the languages considered in this chapter do reflexes of the PA privative serve to express standard negation of verbs of all lexical-aspectual classes (i.e. actives as well as statives): Garifuna and Tariana.[42] It is considerably simpler to explain the modern distribution of reflexes of the privative with SN functions by positing that the SN function is an extension from the destative function in Garifuna and Tariana than to posit that all languages but Garifuna and Tariana lost the SN function (and in many cases, the destative function as well).

The historical process suggested by the preceding observations, then, is the following: the PA privative **ma-* derived denominal statives, and in many languages, reflexes of the privative extended their function to stative predicates. Note that stative predicates share with nouns non-dynamic semantics, so that this extension consisted of a reanalysis of the privative as applying not to only nouns, but to non-dynamic stems more generally. If this proposal is correct, we likely have to posit that this reanalysis occurred more than once, since we find the destative function attested in a number of branches. The idea that non-dynamicity played a role in the extension of the function of the privative is supported by its appearance in subordinate clauses involving nominalization or participle formation, as in Apurinã (Facundes this volume) and Tariana (Aikhenvald this volume), and on nominalized forms of habitual constructions, as in Paresi (Brandão this volume), Wapishana (dos Santos 2006: 138), and Wayuu (Álvarez 2009).

The subsequent extension from the destative function to the SN function could plausibly have occurred in at least two ways. One

[42] And it should be recalled that in Tariana the reflex of the privative is never the sole element employed in the expression of negation, and moreover, is obligatorily omitted for verbs of the prefixless class (see §B.1.5).

possible route would have first involved extension from the destative function to active habituals, as has happened in Baure (see §D). This process may have necessitated an intermediate step involving nominalized forms, or occurred directly by virtue of the relatively non-dynamic character of habituals. On this view, once applied to active habituals, the distribution of the privative reflex could have extended to all actives, thereby becoming the manner in which standard negation is expressed.

An alternative route would have involved an extension of its distribution from subordinate clauses to main clauses. As mentioned above, privative reflexes serve to negate nominalized verbs in subordinate clauses for a number of languages, and even serve as the negation strategy for non-nominalized verbs in subordinate clauses in Lokono (Patte this volume). The presence of privative reflexes in subordinate clauses could thus be understood to be facilitated by nominalizations as such, or by the reduced finiteness of verbs in subordinate clauses, be they nominalized or not. In either case, extension of its negation function to main clauses would have resulted in the reflex of the privative becoming the SN strategy. Evans' (2007) observation that negation is one of the common grammatical functions implcated in 'insubordination' processes cross-linguistically lends plausibility to the process I propose here.[43]

If the historical account sketched in this section regarding the morphosyntactic function of the PA privative are essentially correct, it follows that PA must have expressed standard negation with a morpheme other than the privative. Comparative observations regarding standard negation morphemes is the topic of §E.2.

I close this discussion of the privative with some observations regarding loss in the productivity of its reflexes in certain languages. Perhaps the most suggestive set of languages in this regard is a set of Southern Arawak languages in which reflexes of the PA privative are no longer productive, and are even rare in frozen forms: Terena, Kinikinau, and the languages of the Kampan branch. As we shall see below, the standard negation and prohibitive systems of these language also exhibit suggestive similarities.

Other than this geographically relatively cohesive set of languages, instances of unproductive reflexes of the PA privative are quite scattered.

[43] Further evidence for the role of insubordination comes from the fact that prohibitives in several Arawak languages (Garifuna, Kurripako, Lokono, and possibly Resígaro) employ reflexes of the privative. Evans (2007) observes that imperative constructions are well attested as outcomes of insubordination.

Both Resígaro and Yánesha', arguably the two Arawak languages most affected by language contact (Wise 1976, Seifart in press), appear to lack productive reflexes of the privative, as does Añun, whose negation system in general appears to have been radically restructured with respect to the typical Arawak profile (see §E.2.1). The only other language considered in this chapter that lacks a productive reflex of the PA privative is Warekena, whose SN system shares some suggestive similarities to that of Añun. We return to this point below.

2. *Standard negation*

2.1. *Form of the Proto-Arawak standard negation element*

Standard negation elements in modern Arawak exhibit suggestive phonological similarities that stimulate hypotheses about the form of the PA SN element. I reiterate that in the absence of reliable phonological reconstructions, we must exercise caution in speculating about the form of proposed Proto-Arawak SN morphemes, but some intriguing patterns evident in the data nevertheless merit comment.

Aikhenvald (this volume), observes that several Northern Arawak languages exhibit SN elements that include a voiceless velar stop. The languages that Aikhenvald mentions include Awarete-tapuya *kazu*, Oho-karro *karro*, Hohôdene Kurripako *kaʒu* (all members of the Kurripako-Baniwa dialect continuum),[44] Piapoco *kami*, and Achagua *hoka* and *hokta*. To this list of languages we can add the following Northern Arawak languages: Kawiyarí *uka* (Reinoso 2012), Lokono *khoro* (Patte this volume), Palikúr *ka* (Launey 2003) and Yucuna *unka* (Ramirez 2001a, Shauer and Schauer 2000), and from Southern Arawak languages: Apurinã *kuna* (Facundes this volume), Baure *noka ~ nka* (Danielsen 2007), Kinikinau *ako* (De Souza 2008), Nomatsigenga *kero* (Shaver 1996), and Terena *ako* and *hyoko* (Ekhdal and Grimes 1964). In addition, Trinitario (Rose this volume) exhibits a verbal prefix *ku-*, which expresses both negation and irrealis.

While it is impossible at this point to establish cognacy among these SN elements or parts of these elements, the widespread presence of the voiceless velar stop in Arawak SN particles is striking, and suggests that a morpheme salient in SN constructions exhibited a voiceless velar stop at some relatively early point or points in the diversification of the Arawak languages. Whether this morpheme was a SN morpheme as such, or a reinforcing element of some type involved in a Jespersen cyle

[44] Granadillo, this volume, lists forms *khuri*, *khenim*, *karo*, and *ñame* as SN particles for various varieties in the Kurripako-Baniwa dialect spectrum.

is at this point impossible to say, of course. Likewise, whether the morpheme in question reconstructs to PA is far from clear, as is the issue of whether we are dealing with a single historical source for the voiceless velar stop, or possibly different sources in the major branches of the family. These remain important questions for future research.

There are also a number of other patterns indicative either of shared innovations, or parallel development, among negation constructions. One such case involves Warekena and Añun. As discussed in §B.1.2, Warekena is the sole Arawak language to exhibit complex syntactic negation, consisting of a pro-clitic *ya=* and an enclitic *=pia*, while Añun is the sole language to exhibit a negation suffix, *-pe*. The form of these two SN systems are suggestive of systems at different points of a Jespersen cycle, where the original negation element, of which the Warekena *ya=* is a reflex, began to weaken, and was reinforced by an element which has Warekena *=pia* and Añun *-pe* as reflexes. On this view, the cycle has progressed further in Añun, since the original SN element has disappeared entirely in this language. In Warekena the original element remains, although as noted in §B.1.2, it can be omitted in contexts of repetition of the negated element, suggesting that the Warekena system may also be heading towards loss of the original SN element.

Another set of similar negation strategies are found in the Southern Arawak languages Nanti, Paresi, and Wauja, where the Paresi SN element *maitsa* ~ *maiha* and the Wauja SN element *aitsa* strongly resemble each other, while the Nanti metalinguistic negation *matsi* closely resembles the Paresi SN element. At this point the origin of these negation elements is unclear, but based on the Paresi and Nanti forms, it seems credible that these elements exhibit frozen reflexes of the PA privative, raising the possibility that these forms were originally stative predicates of some type. One possibility to be explored in future work, then, is that these elements resulted from Croft's cycle, by which a negative existential element comes to function as a standard negation element. The fact that the Paresi SN construction often involves nominalized main verbs, but the associated SN element does not bear inflectional morphology (unlike a full-fledged negative auxiliary) lends some support to this proposal, since existential elements in Southern Arawak languages tend not to take inflection (see e.g. Danielsen 2007: 197-199; Michael 2008: 291).

2.2. *Morphosyntactic properties of standard negation elements*

In this section I discuss identifiable patterns in the morphosyntactic properties of SN elements in the Arawak languages and consider what

these patterns permit us to conclude about the morphosyntactic properties of SN in Proto-Arawak. I begin with a discussion of (a)symmetry in Arawak SN constructions, and then focus on more specific properties of the constructions.

As evident in Table 6, in our sub-sample of 25 Arawak languages, only six exhibit solely symmetric SN constructions, while the other 20 languages exhibit either constructional or paradigmatic asymmetries, or both. While the available resources on Kawiyarí and Yavitero do not permit us to determine with certainty the symmetry of their SN systems, there is a clear tendency for Arawak languages to exhibit asymmetric, rather than symmetric, SN constructions. This tendency may in fact be even stronger than these figures suggest, since it is not uncommon for earlier descriptive works (and recent brief ones) to omit explicit discussions of interactions between negation and verbal inflectional categories, which affects our ability to identify SN asymmetries. Consider the case of Palikúr, where an early work focused on aspect (Dooley and Green 1977) did not mention the fact that a number of aspectual distinctions are neutralized under negation (Launey 2003: 197). If not for Launey's more recent work, it would have been easy to (mis)classify Palikúr as exhibiting symmetric negation. No doubt as the description of Arawak languages advances, formerly unremarked asymmetries under SN will be discovered.

Regardless of the residual uncertainties regarding the (a)symmetry of particular Arawak SN systems, it is clear that Arawak languages show a marked preference for asymmetric SN systems, which runs counter to cross-linguistic tendencies. On the basis of his areally and genetically balanced sample of 179 languages, Miestamo (2005: 236) concluded that "...symmetric negation is clearly more common than asymmetric negation". Whereas Miestamo (2005: 171) found 40% of languages to exhibit solely symmetric SN constructions, 42% to exhibit both symmetric and asymmetric constructions, and only 17% to exhibit only asymmetric constructions,[45] Arawak languages pattern quite differently. In Arawak languages, only 24% of Arawak languages exhibit solely symmetric SN constructions, 28% exhibit both symmetric and asymmetric constructions, and 48% exhibit only asymmetric constructions.

The major sources of these asymmetries are: 1) the negative auxiliary constructions found in both Northern and Southern Arawak languages; 2)

[45] Miestamo (2011), which is based on a larger sample of 297 languages gives the following percentages: 38% symmetric only, 44% symmetric and asymmetric, 18% asymmetric only.

the particle-plus-reality-status systems found in Southern Arawak languages; 3) the auxiliary/dummy verb systems found in Garifuna and Lokono; and 4) the aspectual neutralizations found scattered across the family. We now examine the first three of these sources of asymmetry in greater detail.

I first examine the negative auxiliaries and the related phenomenon of negation-sensitive reality status systems. Five modern Arawak languages can be analyzed as exhibiting negative auxiliaries: Achagua, Kinikinau, Piapoco, Trinitario, and Wayuu (see §B.1.1).[46] In terms of their morphosyntactic properties, these auxiliary constructions pattern in two groups, which also happen to pattern geographically: 1) a northern group consisting of Achagua, Piapoco, and Wayuu; and 2) a southern group consisting of Kinikinau and Trinitario.

SN constructions in the northern group are characterized by an auxiliary verb which takes gender and number agreement. The Achagua-Piapoco subgroup is further characterized by an auxiliary/particle split, where the SN element in the particle-like construction bears the final syllable *ta* in both languages. Given the similarities between the constructions in the two languages and the fact that Achagua and Piapoco are considered by some to be quite closely related (e.g. Ramirez 2001: 3), it is likely that their common ancestor exhibited a similar SN construction. A credible evaluation of whether the Wayuu negative auxiliary and the Achagua and Piapoco negative auxiliaries descend from a negative auxiliary construction in a common ancestor is not possible at this point, but it is worth noting that the Wayuu negative auxiliary takes gender and number agreement like the Achagua and Piapoco auxiliaries, and moreover, that the agreement pattern is the same: masculine/feminine agreement in the singular, and gender-neutral agreement in the plural. Despite these similarities, it is sobering to note that current classifications treat Wayuu as quite distantly related to Achagua and Piapoco, with their posited common ancestor being Proto-Northern Arawak (PNA; Aikhenvald 1999, Campbell 1997: 181). If these classifications are roughly correct, and the negative auxiliary

[46] It is an interesting question if, from a historical perspective, we should include Paresi in this group. Although Brandão (this volume) does not analyze Paresi as synchronically exhibiting negative auxiliaries, the fact that verbs in negated clauses are typically nominalized suggests that negation elements at least historically functioned as auxiliaries that took nominalized complements. However, it may also be the case that the Paresi SN construction originated from a negative existential construction, and that the Paresi system never developed a negative auxiliary as such. Because of this uncertainty, I omit Paresi from consideration, even diachronically, as a member of the negative auxiliary group of Arawak languages.

constructions in the three languages descend from common source, this would entail reconstructing the negative auxiliary construction to PNA. Given the absence of negative auxiliary constructions in other Northern Arawak languages, however, such a conclusion is not well supported.

Another possible explanation for the similarity between the SN constructions in Wayuu and the Achagua-Piapoco group stems from the observation that Achagua and Piapoco are the extant Arawak languages geographically closest to Wayuu (other than Añun, which radically restructured its negation system in any event, see §E.2.1). This raises the possibility that the similarity in their negation systems may reflect historically-distant language contact. And finally, it is worth remembering that the similarities we see between the Wayuu system and the Achagua and Piapoco systems could be due to parallel development. As Croft (1991) observes, negative auxiliaries can derive from negative existential constructions, as part of the broader process of negation renewal. On this view, the similarities between the Wayuu system and the Achagua and Piapoco ones could be understood as the result of similar Croft's cycle processes, where the morphosyntactic similarities in the modern SN systems in question derives from similarities among the existential constructions of the ancestors of these three languages.

Turning now to negative auxiliary constructions in the southern group, we note that the SN constructions in Trinitario and Kinikinau are characterized by irrealis marking on the complement to the negative auxiliary (see §B.1.1). The fact that Trinitario and Kinikinau are both Southern Arawak languages might suggest that this type of negative auxiliary system may be reconstructable to their common ancestor, but a comparison with Southern Arawak (SA) particle-plus-RS systems, the second of the major sources of asymmetries in Arawak SN constructions identified above, suggests a more complicated relationship among SA SN constructions

A striking similarity found among SA SN systems is the rather intricate SN systems found both in Terena and the geographically distant Kampan languages. These languages exhibit two distinct negation particles that interact in subtle ways with notional and morphological reality status, resulting in flip-flop paradigmatic asymmetries (see §B.2.2). Significantly, Terena is very closely related to Kinikinau,[47] which, as discussed above, exhibits a negative-auxiliary-plus-RS system.

[47] The two languages are sufficiently closely related that Campbell (1997: 181) treats Kinikinau as a dialect of Terena, while Aikhenvald (1999: 67) distinguishes the two languages. De Souza (2008: 19, 38) affirms their similarity, but treats them as distinct languages.

The nature of the relationship between these two types of systems is indicated by the fact that the Kinikinau negative auxiliary is clearly cognate to the Terena realis SN particle (*ako*, in both languages), suggesting that the Terena SN particle *ako* developed from a negative auxiliary verb. The probable relationship between the Kinikinau negative-auxiliary-plus-RS system and the Terena particle-plus-RS system (with a flip-flop asymmetry) suggests a diachronic relationship of some sort between these two types of systems more generally in SA.

Support for such a relationship can be found in the more general similarities between SA particle-plus-RS systems and negative auxiliary systems outside of SA, such as that of Achagua. Recall that the Terena and Kampan SN systems exhibit two SN particles, each of which subcategorizes for a proposition with a specific notional reality status, and selects for a specific RS suffix. In particular, one SN element selects for a notionally realis complement and irrealis marking (*tera* in Nanti, and *ako* in Terena), while the other selects for a notionally irrealis complement and realis marking (*hara* in Nanti, and *hyoko* in Terena). Strikingly, we find an suggestive parallel in the Achagua SN system, which likewise exhibits two SN elements with distinct selectional properties: one SN element, a negative auxiliary, selects for indicative complements in which the verb bears subordinating morphology, while the other SN element, a more-particle morpheme, selects for non-indicative complements in which the verb does not bear subordinating morphology. The characteristics of the two types of SN systems are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10: *Properties of SN constructions in Achagua, Terena, and the Kampan languages*

	selects for clause that is notionally:		*selects for morphology that is:*	
SN element 1	realis	indicative	irrealis	subordinating
SN element 2	irrealis	non-indicative	realis	non-subordinating
	Kampan & Terena	Achagua	Kampan & Terena	Achagua

The Terena and Kampan SN systems and the Achagua one can be seen to exhibit considerable congruence if we make the following plausible correspondences: 1) notionally realis : indicative; 2) notionally irrealis : non-indicative; 3) realis morphology : non-subordinating morphology;

and 4) irrealis morphology : subordinating morphology.[48] The principal structural difference that remains between the two sets of systems is that in Achagua, SN element 1 is a negative auxiliary, while in the Kampan languages and Terena, it is a particle. Recall, however, that comparison of Kinikinau and Terena indicates that the negative auxiliary present in their (relatively recent) common ancestor became a particle in Terena, suggesting a plausible trajectory from an Achagua-like negative auxiliary system to an SA particle-plus-RS system.

To summarize, then, we have identified structural parallels between a Northern Arawak negative auxiliary system and the SA particle-plus-RS SN systems of Terena and the Kampan languages, and in the Terena case, identified an instance of a negative auxiliary grammaticalizing in to a negation particle, resulting in a classic SA particle-plus-RS SN system. This pair of observations suggests that the particle-plus-RS systems of the Kampan languages developed in a manner similar to that of Terena, despite the fact that we have no direct evidence of a precursor negative auxiliary construction in this case. More generally, this allows us to connect the negative-auxiliary-plus-RS systems of Kinikinau and Trinitario to the particle-plus-RS systems of Terena and Kinikinau. In particular, these observations lead us to hypothesize that negative auxiliary SN systems were found in the mid-level SA proto-languages from which Kinikinau, Terena, Trinitario, and the Kampan languages descended.

It remains an open question at this point whether the diverse SA negative-auxiliary-plus-RS and particle-plus-RS can be traced to constructions in a single common ancestor (presumably a mid-level SA proto-language from which Kinikinau, Terena, Trinitario, and the Kampan languages descended), or whether the precursor negative auxiliary construction developed independently more than once in SA. The fact that the Achagua negative auxiliary system displays striking formal similarities to the SA particle-plus-RS systems lends support the possibility of multiple instances of independent innovation, however. Since all extant classifications treat Achagua as distantly related to SA (see Chapter 1), we are faced with either reconstructing negative auxiliary systems to some very early point in Arawak, or more plausibly, concluding that the similarities between the Achagua and SA systems is due to ongoing processes of negation renewal that independently yielded SN constructions with similar formal properties in Achagua and SA.

[48] Note that irrealis morphology is common in subordinate clauses in Kampan languages like Nanti (Michael this volume), lending further support to this correspondence.

Having already posited independent innovation of negative auxiliary constructions in Northern and Southern Arawak, there is little *a priori* reason to rule out independent innovations within SA. Further research is clearly required to evaluate these alternative explanations for the similarities found among SA SN systems.

Finally, I turn to a brief discussion of the auxiliary/dummy verb asymmetries found in Garifuna and Lokono. In both cases, the asymmetry in question is associated with the use of negation prefixes that are reflexes of the PA privative. As discussed in §§2B.1.3&B.2.2, the negative prefix is the default SN element in Garifuna, but is restricted to subordinate verbs and a small number of stative main verbs in Lokono. As discussed in §E.1, however, it seems likely that the range of functions of the privative in Garifuna system is an extension of the Lokono one, leading us to conclude that the common ancestor to these relatively closely-related languages exhibited an SN system resembling that of Lokono.

3. *Prohibitives*

Perhaps the single most striking fact about Arawak prohibitive constructions is their simple diversity. Whereas a number of relatively broad patterns can be isolated for both reflexes of the privative and standard negation, there are considerably fewer such patterns that are apparent in the prohibitive data.

The most suggestive pattern involves Type V prohibitives (where prohibitives are structurally identical to negative declaratives), which are found exclusively in Southern Arawak (SA) languages: Apurinã, Kinikinau, the Kampan languages, and Trinitario. With the exception of Apurinã, these languages form part of the group of SA languages that exhibit the negative auxiliary and RS systems discussed in §E.2.2.

F. Discussion and conclusions

The comparative typological survey presented in this chapter has examined reflexes of the Proto-Arawak privative, standard negation constructions, and prohibitive constructions in 27 Arawak languages. I have shown that unproductive reflexes of the privative are more common as was previously believed, and that their synchronic functions are more restricted than was thought. I have also suggested that historically, the PA privative derived only denominal stative predicates, and that its less common destative functions, and even rarer SN functions, are more

recent developments.

The survey of (a)symmetry in SN constructions in Arawak languages revealed that this family is cross-linguistically atypical in the degree to which it favors asymmetric SN constructions over symmetric ones. The greatest contributors to the Arawak propensity for SN asymmetries appear to be negative auxiliary constructions in Northern and Southern Arawak languages and the reality status systems common in Southern Arawak languages, which I suggested may have developed from negative auxiliary systems themselves. The auxiliary/dummy verb systems of Garifuna and Lokono are another source of asymmetry in Arawak SN constructions. While it is too early in the development of Arawak historical linguistics to ascertain to what depth negative auxiliaries reconstruct in the family, it is clear that they will occupy an important role in the account we develop of the evolution of negation in the family.

One entailment of the proposed denominal stative derivational function of the PA privative **ma-* is that PA exhibited a SN element from the privative. Given that we lack a phonological reconstruction for PA, and negation renewal is cross-linguistically common, positing a form for the PA SN element is a fraught endeavor at this point. Nevertheless, there are sufficiently many modern Arawak SN elements that exhibited a voiceless velar stop to tentatively suggest a PA SN element did also.

The comparison of negation constructions in the family also yields observations relevant to subgrouping within the family. For example, it appears that the negation systems of a group of Southern Arawak languages, consisting of the Kampan branch, Kinikinau, Terena, and Trinitario, pattern together in a number of respects, including exhibiting negative auxiliaries and/or related reality status systems, lacking a productive reflexes of the privative, and exhibiting Type V prohibitive systems. While these typological similarities are hardly conclusive, they suggest that the Kampan branch may be more closely related to Kinikinau, Terena, and Trinitario than previously thought. Also suggestive is the fact that Baure does not pattern with Kinikinau, Terena, and Trinitario, perhaps indicating that the latter three languages form a more closely related group within a larger group that also includes Baure. Clearly, these hypotheses await evaluation via systematic application of the comparative method.

The negation systems of Garifuna and Lokono also exhibit significant similarities – in particular similar person-marking behavior involving auxiliary or ‘dummy’ verbs in negative clauses. These two languages are uncontroversially grouped together in most classifications.

A somewhat more complicated case was presented by the negative

auxiliary systems of Achagua, Piapoco, and Wayuu (see §E.2.2). The Achagua and Piapoco systems exhibit significant similarities that are compatible with, and support, the fact they are grouped together in most classifications. The similarities between the Achagua and Piapoco systems, on the one hand, and the Wayuu system, on the other hand, are less compatible with a genetic explanation, given our current understanding of subgrouping in Northern Arawak.

Another instance of striking similarities that are not easily explained by common descent involves Añun and Warekena. The form of SN in these languages suggests that they are experiencing, or have already experienced, similar Jespersen processes. They also both lack productive reflexes of the privative, and are the only Northern Arawak languages other than Resígaro (which has experienced significant language contact) to do so. While these shared typological features may be due to common descent, such a conclusion would be rather perplexing, given our understanding of the internal classification of the family. Although both languages are Northern Arawak languages, Añun is typically grouped with Lokono, Wayuu, and more distantly, Garifuna, while Warekena is typically grouped with Kurripako and Tariana (Aikhenvald 1999), or in a larger Northern Arawak group that is nevertheless quite distinct from the group containing Añun (Campbell 1997: 181). Unless the internal classification of Northern Arawak is considerably different than is currently believed, the similarity between Warekena and Añun suggest that the two languages independently followed similar trajectories in a Jespersen cycle.

The survey of negation constructions in this chapter has, in many cases, raised more questions than it has answered, but that is perhaps to be expected and even desired at this early stage in the development of Arawak historical linguistics. What is clear, however, is that Arawak languages are an interesting laboratory for the study of negation, and that the study of negation will play a significant role in understanding the historical linguistics of this important language family. This work walso reveals the importance of descriptive work on Arawak languages, and shows that more, and more detailed, studies of negation and its interaction with other aspects of grammar, such as inflectional systems, have a great deal to contribute to comparative work on Arawak languages.

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