Negation and Epistemic Marking in Kalapalo (Southern Carib, Alto Xingu, Brazil)

How to argue in an Amazonian language Analysis of stance enactment negation

Ellen B. Basso, Professor Emerita
University of Arizona School of Anthropology, Tucson, Arizona

Standard Negation

General Features

*Kalapalo exhibits asymmetric SN clausal types. (Miestamo 2005 says typologically relatively rare) .

*Two different subtypes of Miestamo's 'asymmetric constructional type' each also appearing as an asymmetric paradigm

*Kalapalo asymmetries accord language-internally with inflectional and derivational features.

*In asymmetric type II, 'be' and 'do' verbs AUX used in both affirmative and negative constructions, *contra* descriptions of related Kuikuro language variety (Franchetto 2010: 126).

*Northern Carib languages have NEG suffixes on verbs and AUX (Miestamo 2005); these are realized as negative quantifiers in Kalapalo.

I. *Kalapalo constructional and paradigmatic asymmetries of Miestamo's* ***A/Cat/TAM/Neutr.***

*Most *affirmative aspectual suffixes disallowed*, Kalapalo speakers only use punctual PNCT as in (1), (4) *contra* Hopper & Thompson 1980: and distant/ potential future (FUT.2) (2), (3.ii).

Affirmative lexical verb inflections

PNCT: punctual	*-lu(ñ); dyu/dyi*	*telu*	*go*
CONT: continuous	*-ta, nda*	*teta*	*going*
PERF: perfective	*-pligi,* *-nigi* or *-nipa* (plural)	*tepligi,* *tenigo*	*finished going*
IMPF: imperfective	*-tifigi*	*tetifigi*	*is going*
T.1: anticipated (near) future	*-tani*	*tetani*	*will soon go*
T.2: potential future	*-luiŋo*	*teluigo*	*will go later*
REP: repeated	*-inali*	*tenali*	*going again, in return*
HYP: hypothetical.	*-fo-*	*tefoli:* *tefola*	*might go, almost going*

*Two possible *initial negative free particles* (examples1-4): ***ihali* NEG; *afiti*, denial**

(1) Use of ***ihali*** 'neutral negation' free particle. Other features: FUT. 2 transitive verb inflection.

ihali *u-api-luiŋo* *i-feke*
NEG 1-club-FUT.2 3-ERG
'He won't club me.'

*The verb, noun or adverb may be suffixed by the bounded negative quantifier

-la 'never' (2), (3ii), (4).

(2) Features: ***ihali*** ; PNCT intransitive verbal inflection; negative quantifier suffix *-la* on verb phrase

ihali *u-te-tu-la* *okogetsi.*
NEG 1-go-PNCT-never tomorrow
'I will never go tomorrow.'

(3). Features: ***afiti*** , PNCT; *-la* on the verb phrase (line ii).

i. *ule* *atche-fa* *tu-tefu-andi* *kuk"-uta-ni*
AFR PER-TOP REF-stomach-full 1+2-EQA-FUT.1
'That continues to this day when they are made pregnant *probability background*

ii. ***afiti*** *kagikagi* *te-ye-lo-la* *kupehe*
denial spiny.catfish eat-TRN-PNCT-never 1+2:ERG
'no, we never eat spiny finned catfish.'

(4) Negation of an adverbial predication. ***afiti*** and *-la* with FUT.2 intransitive verb inflection

afiti-fa *ihafe* *ifa-ki-ñiŋo-la* *e-feke,* ***afiti.***
denial-TOP quick 3.come.out-TRNS- FUT.2-never 2-ERG denial
'No, you will never make it come out quickly, no.'

II. *Kalapalo asymmetry sub-type,* Miestamo's ***A/Fin/Neg-LV***

*Finite element (FE) is an AUX that marks copular subject, number and TAM. Similar to N. Carib languages (refs. in Miestamo 2005)

*Both constructions and paradigms are asymmetric.

*AUX is an asymmetric construction type. 'be' verb paradigms are more elaborate and in some cases forms are different from those of the affirmative LV.

(5) AUX is active equative verb (*ata-*) marking person and FUT.1 (anticipation future) : ***ãtani,*** 'entering into a process soon'. Lexical verb *tsa-*, 'listen' is in non-finite construction (adversative+desiderative; Anderson's 2006: 39-115 *AUX head construction.*

AUX
inji-la=lefa *tah-tsa-ti* ***ata-ni***
long.time-NEG=SEQ adversative-listen-DES 3.EQA-FUT.1
'She didn't want to be listening for very long.' (not for a long time her wanting to be listening soon)

*Asymmetry also derives from LV as a derived nominalized or adverbialized, or non-finite verbal negation:

(6) LV *fo-* 'cry' is nominalized (by negative nominalizer –ŋi NEGN) and negated (by –***la***); no initial free negation particle. 'Existential' root used as AUX marks 2nd person and urgent imperative inflection +negative nominalized form of the verb (Anderson's *split construction* 2006:183-214).

negative nominalized +'never' LV AUX
i-ñuku-gu *fo-nu-* *nda* *to-fo-ŋi-la* ***e-its-ue***
her son-POSS cry-ITR-CONT REF-cry-NEGN-never 2-EX-urgent
'Her son was crying.' "You must stop that crying" (lit.that not crying person you never are right away)

*Copular complements adverbialized: verb :

(7) Negative adverbialized verb as existential copular complement; AUX negated with –***la.**

Negated adverbialized verb existential copula AUX+never ADV
i. *u-ti-mbe-****nu-kila*** ***u-i-ãigi*** ***ata-ŋe-la*** ***gele,***
1-arrive-INTR-PREV-NADV 1-EX-transformed EQA-ABIL-never still,
'If prevented I am still never able to arrive,

ii. *inde Giti ata-ni* *u-ti-mbe-****luiŋo****=tale*
here sun EQA-FUT.1 1-arrive-INTR-FUT.2=different.time
while the sun is moving over here, I'll arrive later some other time!'

Negative Epistemic Markers

General Features

* Kalapalo *triadic epistemic stance enactments* (Du Bois 2007) involve marked alignments of speaker and interlocutor (or a 3rd person) perspectives concern epistemic objects..

* Five Kalapalo epistemic markers reference varieties and degrees (Dixon 2012) of negative alignment including changes of a speaker's perspective:

* Findings show complications of affirmative-negative standard negation polarity (Miestamo 2005; Bergqvist 2016).

Negative epistemic elements and their meanings

Element	Gloss	Types of personal alignment	Meaning	Examples
kiŋi	EM11	2 same as1	regret while affirming own or interlocutor's statement, *'too bad'*	1a-b
pile	EM15:	1 different from earlier 1	speaker's prior affirmation becomes a negative conclusion, *'despite what I thought'*	2
tiki	EM19	2different from1	surprised denial of own or interlocutor's presupposition of speaker's knowledge, *'why do they/why should I think that'*	3a-b
tima	EM28	2different from 1	strong disclaimer of assigned responsibility, *'not my fault'*	4
nipa	EM24.	2different from1	speaker contradicts interlocutor, *'except that', 'but if'*	5 a-b

1) ***kiŋi*** EM11 regret while affirming own or interlocutor's statement, *'too bad'*
affirmative background

i. *ti ti* *tikii tik,* *tapi-gi-pe* *i-nji-li* *i-feke*
(sound of walking) (sound of arrival) foot-POSS-SEL 3-see-PNCT 3-ERG
As he walked up, his eyes were drawn to some footprints.

ii. *afiti* *gele=* ***kiŋi*** *kiŋamuk"e-****la.*** *niŋifeke* *afiti* *gele*
denial still=EM12 children-none QUOT denial still
'This can't be any of the kids yet, I'm sorry to say', he said, 'Not yet'.

(2) ***pile*** EM15: speaker's prior affirmation becomes a negative conclusion,
'despite what I thought'
Context: The speaker realizes his uncle (whose wife was his lover) has taken him away to be killed because of jealousy (NOT to go together for arrows, as the uncle originally claimed).

a-fanja-nofo-i *wãke* *u-a-niŋi=****pile*** *wãke*
2-jealous-USIN-COP EM1 1-EQS-PFV=EM15 EM1
u-iku-ki-ne-ta *a-tifigi*
1-take.away-CAUSE-PURP-CONT 3.EQS- IMPF
'Despite what I thought before, it was your jealousy of me that made you take me away, that's what really happened before'.

(3) ***tiki*** EM19: surprised denial of own/ interlocutor's presupposition of speaker's knowledge, *why do they/should I think that.X''*

Context: A warrior cannot understand why his wife says others fear he has come to kill them all, because
he's REALLY come to marry her..

i. *una-male* *ago* *te-ta* *figei* *niŋifeke* *content question*
Q-wrong these.people go.away-CONT ADEM QUOT
'Why are so many of these people here going away like this', he asked her.

ii. *tu-e-lɨ-ko* *fanja-mi-ta* *igei* *e-feke* *affirmative background*
REF-kill-PNCT-PL worry-INT-CONT IDEM 2-ERG
'They're worried that this means you will kill them all.'

iii. *ta-****tiki*** *Ø-e-lɨ-ko-iña* *u-ẽ-na-lɨ* *rhetorical tag question*
RQ-EM19 3-kill-PNCT-PL-DAT 1-come.to-INTR-PNCT
'Why should anyone **think I've** come here to kill them all?'

4) ***tima*** EM28. strong disclaimer of assigned responsibility, *'not my fault'*
Context: A fruiting plant is blamed by an animal's father for poisoning his son.

i. *ti-tomi=****tima*** *e-mu-gu* *igi-fes-iñali* *u-feke* *rhetorical tag question*
RQ-PURP=EM28 2-son-POSS head-ugly-MAL 1-ERG
'**Why should I be blamed** for troubling your son?'

ii *u-ikeu-te-lɨ=muk"e-ti* *i-gitse* *affirmative background*
1-be.angry-TR-PNCT=EM12-DES EP-unable
'Even if I tried to get angry (at him), it would have been in vain
e-mu-gu *ẽ-ta* *u-fimi-tso-ke-tiGi*
2-son-POSS come-CONT 1-anus?-chew-INTR-ADV
'when your son came nibbling me by my fruit's opening'.

iii. *ti-tomi=****tima*** *u-ikeu-ŋalɨ* *i-feke* *rhetorical tag question*
RQ-PURP=EM28 1-be.angry-REV 3-ERG
'**Why should I be blamed** for getting mad at him in return?'

(5) ***nipa*** EM24. speaker corrects interlocutor, *'except that', 'but if''*
The speaker provides a correction of the interlocutor's (or 3rd person's) presupposition; the correct information is not known (or considered irrelevant) by them.

Context: a dispute about travelling. A foreigner insists upon travelling in a certain direction, even though locals repeatedly show him the CORRECT direction. EM24 marks the speaker's contradiction of the visitor.

i. *la!* *e-te-ke* *efu-ta=****nipa*** *e-ge-tomi* *Atatsinu-kai*
distant.place 2-go-IMP canoe-in=EM24 2-travel-PURP NAME=-DEST
'**Except that's** the way you should go, **not what you want/say**, you go by canoe to travel to the Atatsinu' .

ii. *afiti,* *la* *u-te-ta-ni*
denial, far.place 1-go-CONT-FUT.1
'You're wrong, I'll be going that (other) way."

iii. la= ***nipa*** *e-te-ke, Atatsinu-kai=****nipa*** *e-te-ke, la*
distant.place=EM24 2-go-IMP NAME-DEST= EM24 2-go-IMP distant.place
'**Except that's** the way you should go, **not what you want/say**, you should go to the Atatsinu, way over that way'.

Acknowledgments

To three generations of residents of Kalapalo settlements gratitude for their patience in teaching me about a different way of life and a different language. To the National Science Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., the Guggenheim Foundation, and University of Arizona for their financial support of my research.

References

Anderson, Gregory D.S.2006 *Auxiliary Verb Constructions*. Oxford: The University Press
Bergqvist, Henrik 2016. 'Epistemic perspective in Kogi'. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 82 (1). 1-34
Dixon, R.M.W. 2012 *Basic Linguistic Theory 3: Further grammatical topics*. Oxford: The University Press.
Du Bois, John W.2007 'The stance triangle'. *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction.* ed. by Robert Englebretson. pp.139-182 . Amsterdam: John Benjamin.
Franchetto, Bruna 2010 'The ergativity effect'. In *Ergativity in Amazonia* ed. by Spike Gildea and Francese Queválos, pp. 121-158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
Hopper, Paul J. & Thompson, Sandra A. 1980. 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse'. *Language* 56: 251-299.
Miestamo, Matti 2005 *Standard Negation.* Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter

Contact **Ellen B. Basso:** agavet66@gmail.com

P.O. Box 5373 Oracle, Arizona 85623

Materials will be available in essay form by the end of 2018.