Negation in Yukuna:
(a)symmetries in main versus subordinate clauses

SYNTAX OF THE WORLD’S LANGUAGES 8
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Aims

- Overview of the negation system of Yukuna, following Miestamo (2005, 2016)
- Constructional asymmetries in subordinate clauses
- Pathways of grammaticalization of negator ūká
Main results

- Synchronously:
  - Particle/auxiliary split system of negation between main and subordinate clauses

- Diachronically:
  - Grammaticalization of a Negative existential (Negative Existential Cycle and Jespersen Cycle)
Introduction
Introduction

- Yukuna (ycn), Arawak, North-Amazonian (Aikhenvald 1999)
- ~770 speakers (Crevels 2011)
- South-Eastern Colombia

Data:
- 7 months of fieldwork funded by ELDP and Labex ASLAN.
- ~5h of transcribed/translated texts
- Alphabet proposed by SIL missionaries based on Spanish, slightly modified: /h/ <j>, /ɾ/ <r>, /tʃ/ <ch>, /ɲ/ <ñ>.
Introduction

Figure 1: Languages of Colombian Amazonia (Queixalós and Renault-Lescure 2000)
Typological profile

- Nominative/accusative alignment
- Agglutinative with little fusion.
- Core arguments (S, P) not marked for role
- Obliques marked with postpositions

(1) Transitive verbal clause

already 3SGN.F-pet kill-PST 3SG.NF
‘His pet already killed him’. (ycn0053,33)
Typological profile

- Part of speech based split intransitivitiy (Durand 2016):
  - Verbal clause type
  - Non-verbal clause type

- Different negation strategies

(2) Non-verbal clause
  a. \([A'jne-jí = tá]_{PRED} [riká]_{3SG.NF}\)
     food-UNPOSS = EMPH
     ‘It is food.’ (ycn0063,144)
1. Main clause negation

VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL CLAUSES
1.1 Standard Negation (SN)

- Obligatory double marking
  - Clause initial particle ŕká
  - Suffix -la.
  - Type Neg[V-Neg] (Dryer 2013)

- Negator ŕká
  - Phonologically independent word
  - Used in negative answers as well
  - Placed before V, but outside of VP

(3) ŕká ná [pi-la’-lá]_VP
    NEG INDF 2SG-do-V.NEG

‘You don’t do anything (Lit. You didn’t do a thing.)’ (ycn0117,97)
1.1 Standard Negation

- Negator –la:
  - Compatible with most verbal inflectional morphology
  - Except with past suffix –khe, -la is omitted

(4) Ŭká na-amá-khe kélé kájé itewí ri-wakajé
   Neg 3PL-see-FAR.PST DEM type fruit_sp 3SG.NF-time
‘They didn’t use to see that type of moriche palm at that time.’ (ycn0108,149)
## 1.1 Standard Negation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction</th>
<th>Õká (...) V-\textit{la}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of negators</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of negators</td>
<td>Clause initial particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradigmatic asymmetries</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constructional asymmetries</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction with TAM</td>
<td>-\textit{la} omitted with far past -\textit{khe}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Summary of properties of SN in Yukuna
1.2 Non-clausal negation

- Two markers: ũká [phrase] kalé
- Negation of non-verbal phrases, as obliques or NV predicates
- Kalé is elsewhere used as an emphatic marker (Jespersen Cycle)
- No asymmetries

\[(5) \quad [ũká \quad ya'jná = jě \quad kalé]_{ADVP} \quad khájúna \quad i'jná \]

far = ALL \quad NV.NEG \quad DEM.PL \quad go

‘These (people) didn’t go far. (Lit. They went not far)’ (ycn0108,87)

\[(6) \quad [ũká \quad inau'ké \quad kalé]_{PREP} \quad nuká \]

Neg \quad person \quad NV.NEG \quad 1SG

‘I am not a person.’ (ycn0068,253)
### Negation in Main clauses: Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation strategy</th>
<th>Marker 1</th>
<th>Marker 2</th>
<th>Asymmetries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Standard negation</strong></td>
<td>Ũká V-la</td>
<td>Clause initial particle</td>
<td>Verbal suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-clausal</strong></td>
<td>Ũká [AdvP/NP/PP] kalé</td>
<td>Pre-phrasal particle</td>
<td>Post-phrasal particle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Negation strategies in main clauses**
2. Subordinate clause negation

CONSTRUCTIONAL ASYMMETRIES
Subordinate clauses

- Highly nominalizing
- Main subordination strategy, as in many South American languages (van Gijn, Haude, and Muysken 2011)
- Strong distinction between verbal and non-verbal negation
- What strategies does Yukuna use for negating nominalized subordinate clauses?
Nominalized subordinate clauses

- Types of Nominalized Subordinates discussed:
  1. Purpose of motion clauses with V-je (lexical nominalizer)
  2. Purposive clauses with V-ka = lojé (clausal nominalizer + subordinating enclitic)
  3. Conditional clauses with V-ka = chú (clausal nominalizer + subordinating enclitic)
  4. Conditional clauses with V-je-ka = é

- Each has a different negation strategy
2.1 Purpose of motion clauses (-je)

- Complement clauses of motion verbs
- Lexical nominalizer -je
- Negation strategy: Non-clausal negation ūká [phrase] kalé
- No asymmetry

(9) \( Ri-i'jī-chá = no \quad ri-amá-je \)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3SG.NF-go-PST = HAB & 3SG.NF-see-PURP.MOT \\
\end{array}
\]
‘He always went to see it. (lit. he always went to its seeing.)

(10) \( ūká \quad taja'-jé \quad kalé \quad nu-i'jna \)
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
NEG & die-PURP.MOT & NV.NEG & 1SG-GO \\
\end{array}
\]
‘I do not go to die (lit. I go to not dying).’ (ycn0063,154)
2.2 Purposive clauses
(=lojé)

- V-ka=lojé: Action, clausal nominalizer -ka and subordinating enclitic =lojé
- Optionally followed by postposition penáje (for)
- Negation strategy: Negative purposive enclitic =piyá
- Constructional asymmetry

(11) Ńaké nu-ímá pi-jló pi-i'ma-ká=lojé ri-jwa'té penáje
Like this 1SG-say 2SG-to 2SG-live-NZ=PURP 3SG.NF-with for
‘I say this to you for you to live with him.’ (ycn0063,16)

(12) Kéchámi wa-la'á píño apú ri-tajná-ka-o=piyá
afterward 1PL-do again other 3SG.NF-finish-NZ-MID=NEG.PURP
‘Afterward we do another one so that it won’t be over.’
2.3 Conditionals with $= \text{chú}$

- $V-ka = \text{chú}$: nominalizer $-ka$ plus subordinating enclitic $= \text{chú}$
- Negation strategy: verbal negation markers $\text{ũká V-la}$
- Constructional asymmetry:
  - $-ka$ is omitted
  - Enclitic $= \text{chú}$ is placed on negator $\text{ũká}$
  - Auxiliary-like behavior of $\text{ũká}$

(13) $\text{Wa-jña'-ká} = \text{chú}$, \quad é kája \quad wa-pa'-ó
$\text{1PL-grab-NZ} = \text{COND1} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{1PL-return-MID}$
‘If we grab (fish), then we return.’ (ycn0042,94)

(14) $\text{Ũká} = \text{chú}$ \quad ná \quad wa-jña'-lá, \quad wa-i'jná \quad píño \quad jana-jé
$\text{NEG} = \text{COND1} \quad \text{INDF} \quad \text{1PL-grab-V.NEG} \quad \text{1PL-go again} \quad \text{fish-PURP.MOT}$
‘If we don’t grab anything, we’ll go fishing again.’ (ycn0042,27)
2.4 Conditionals with = é

- **V-je-ka = é**: future tense –je, nominalizer –ka, subordinating = é

- **Constructional asymmetry:**
  - Negated with ũká only
  - The verb does not carry any suffixes.
  - Negator ũká carries verbal suffixes, as well as enclitic = é

(15) \( Pi-ka'\text{-}je-ka = é \)
\[
\begin{align*}
2\text{SG-throw-FUT-NZ} & = \text{COND2} \\
a\text{.lot} & \quad 3\text{SG.NF} \\
2\text{SG-kill-FUT} & \quad 3\text{PL}
\end{align*}
\]
‘If you throw a lot of that, you will kill them.’ (ycn058,101)

(16) \( ũka\text{-}je-ka = é \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NEG-FUT-NZ} & = \text{COND2} \\
1\text{SG-arrive} & \quad \text{then} \\
2\text{SG-say-FUT} &
\end{align*}
\]
‘If I don’t arrive, then you’ll say…’ (ycn0053,33)
# Negation in subordinate clauses: Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neg. Constr</th>
<th>Negator1</th>
<th>Negator2</th>
<th>Asymmetries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purp.Mot</td>
<td>Ŭká V-je kalé</td>
<td>Pre-phrasal particle</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>V-ka=piyá</td>
<td>Negative subordinating enclitic</td>
<td>Constr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional1</td>
<td>Ŭká=chú V-la</td>
<td>Pre-verbal auxiliary</td>
<td>Constr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional2</td>
<td>Ŭká-je-ka=é V</td>
<td>Pre-verbal auxiliary</td>
<td>Constr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Negation strategies in main clauses
Main vs. Subordinate clauses

- Specificities of negators in different contexts
- Ûká
  - Used both in SN and Non-clausal negation
  - Particle behavior in Main clauses (SN and non-clausal)
  - Auxiliary-like behavior in some subordinate clauses
- -la:
  - Used in SN
  - Used in some subordinate clauses
  - Mutually exclusive with nominalizers
3. Diachronic perspective
Grammaticalization of SN

- Proposed source: Negative existential (ũká)
  - Formerly stative verb: verbal and non-verbal properties (lexical flexibility)

- Ûká used to negate nominalized verbs with -la

- Re-analysis where V-la is the main finite verb.

- Takes over verbal negation (in SN and subordinates), following the Negative Existential Cycle (Veselinova 2016)
Grammaticalization of Verbal Negation

- Completed grammaticalization:
  - Õká no longer used as negative existential
  - -la no longer used as a nominalizer

- Accounts for:
  - Auxiliary-like properties of Õká
  - Incompatibility of –la with nominalizers
Grammaticalization of non-clausal negation

- Õká as nominal modifier:
  - Adjacent to modified Noun
  - Used as nominal negator (non-N)
- Addition of emphatic particle kalé to reinforce negation → Jespersen Cycle (Dahl 1979)
- Kalé becomes obligatory
- Expansion of ŕká [NP] kalé to other types of non-verbal phrases
- Grammaticalization of ŕká [phrase] kalé as non-clausal negation
Conclusion

- Synchronically:
  - Different strategies, shared negator ũká
  - Particle/Auxiliary split between main and subordinate clauses
  - Constructional asymmetries in subordinate clauses

- Diachronically:
  - Syntactic flexibility of source negator ũká
    → Polygrammaticalization through both NEC and Jespersen cycle into SN and Non-clausal Negation
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References


## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Allative</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
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<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>Conditional</td>
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<td>Copula</td>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
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<td>FAR.PST</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Relativizer</td>
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<td>Similative</td>
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<td>Unpossessed</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>Verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>Wh word</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Palá pili’cháka nuká!

THANK YOU

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