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

SYNTAX OF THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES 8 PARIS, FRANCE SEP. 3 – 5 2018.

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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 *ũká*

Main results

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

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

Introduction

NEGATION IN YUKUNA

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>, /t͡ʃ/ <ch>, /ɲ/ <ñ>.
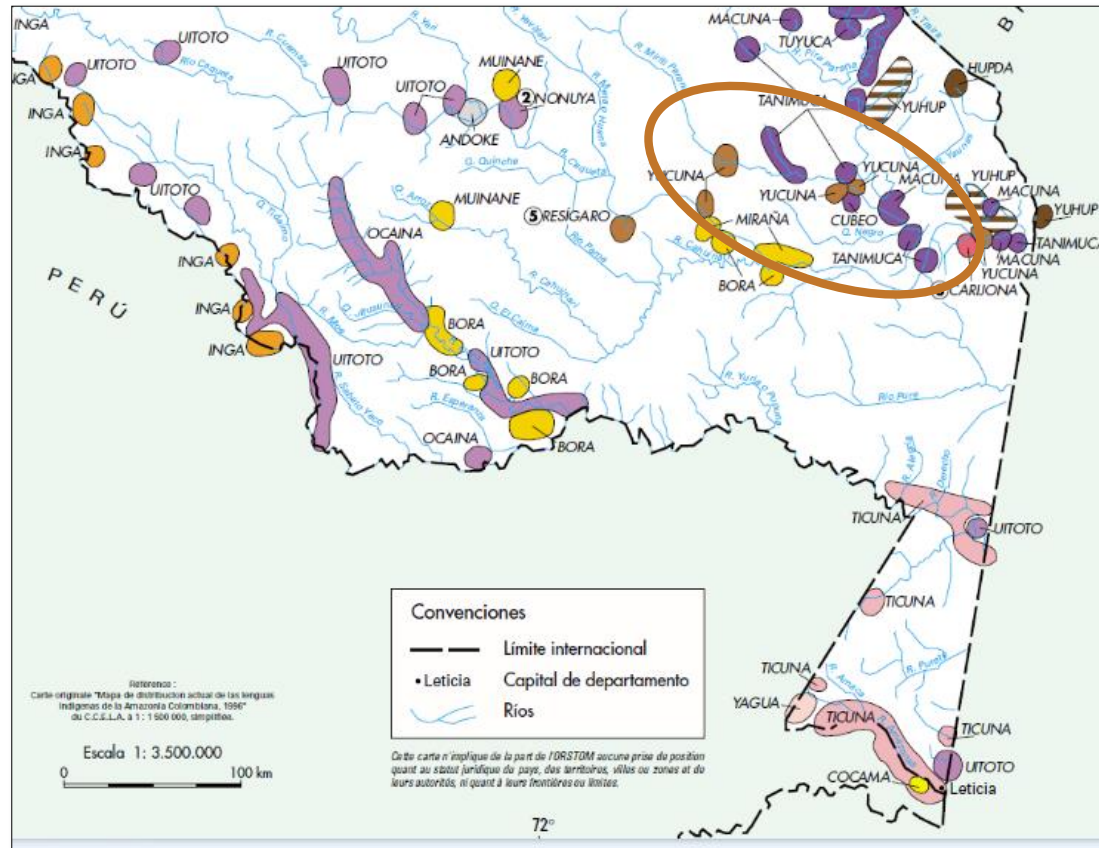
Introduction

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
    a. Kája   [[ri-pirá]$_S$ nó-cha]$_{VP}$ riká.
    already   3SGN.F-pet   kill-PST   3SG.NF
    'His pet already killed him'. (ycn0053,33)

Typological profile

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

- Different negation strategies

(2) Non-verbal clause
    a. *[A'jne-jí=tá]*$_{PRED}$ *[riká]*
       food-UNPOSS=EMPH   3SG.NF
       '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 *ũká*
  - Suffix *-la.*
  - Type Neg[V-Neg] (Dryer 2013)

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

(3)   ***Ũká***   *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)   ***Ũká***   *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

Construction	*Ũká* (...) V-*la*
Number of negators	2
Type of negators	Clause initial particle Verbal suffix
Paradigmatic asymmetries	No
Constructional asymmetries	No
Interaction with TAM	-*la* omitted with far past -*khe*

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)   **[Ũká**   *yaꞌjná=jẽ*   **kalé]**_{ADVP}   *khájúna*   *iꞌjná*
       NEG   far=ALL   NV.NEG   DEM.PL   go
'These (people) didn't go far. (Lit. They went not far)' (ycn0108,87)

(6)   **[Ũká**   *inauꞌké*   **kalé]**_{PRED}   *nuká*
       NEG   person   NV.NEG   1SG
'I am not a person.' (ycn0068,253)

Negation in Main clauses: Summary

	Negation strategy	Marker 1	Marker 2	Asymmetries
Standard negation	*Ũká* V-*la*	Clause initial particle	Verbal suffix	No
Non-clausal	*Ũká* [AdvP/NP/PP] *kalé*	Pre-phrasal particle	Post-phrasal particle	No

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 *ũká* [phrase] *kalé*

- No asymmetry

(9) *Ri-i'jĩ-chá=no*   *ri-amá-je*
     3SG.NF-go-PST=HAB   3SG.NF-see-PURP.MOT
     'He always went to see it. (lit. he always went to its seeing.)

(10) **Ũká**   *taja'-jé*   **kalé**   *nu-i'jna*
     NEG   die-PURP.MOT   NV.NEG   1SG-GO
     '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)   *Ñaké   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 =*chú*

- V-*ka*=*chú* : nominalizer –*ka* plus subordinating enclitic =*chú*

- Negation strategy: verbal negation markers *ũká* V-*la*

- Constructional asymmetry:
  - -*ka* is omitted
  - Enclitic =*chú* is placed on negator *ũká*
  - Auxiliary-like behavior of *ũká*

(13) *Wa-jña'-**ká**=**chú**,*   *é kája*   *wa-pa'-ó*
      1PL-grab-NZ=COND1   then   1PL-return-MID
      'If we grab (fish), then we return.' (ycn0042,94)

(14) ***Ṹká**=**chú***   *ná*   *wa-jña'-**lá**,*   *wa-i'jná*   *píño*   *jana-jé*
      NEG=COND1   INDF   1PL-grab-V.NEG   1PL-go   again   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 *ṹká* only
  - The verb does not carry any suffixes.
  - Negator *ṹká* carries verbal suffixes, as well as enclitic =*é*

(15)   *Pi-ka'-**je-ka**=**é**   kajrú   riká,   pi-kapicháta-je   neká*
           2SG-throw-FUT-NZ=COND2   a.lot   3SG.NF   2SG-kill-FUT   3PL
           'If you throw a lot of that, you will kill them.' (ycn058,101)

(16)   *Ṹka-**je-ka**=**é**   nu-iphá,   é   pi-ímá-je …*
           NEG-FUT-NZ=COND2   1SG-arrive   then   2SG-say-FUT
           'If I don't arrive, then you'll say…' (ycn0053,33)

Negation in subordinate clauses: Overview

	Neg. Constr	Negator1	Negator2	Asymmetries
Purp.Mot	*Ũká V-je kalé*	Pre-phrasal particle	Post-phrasal particle	No
Purposive	*V-ka=piyá*	Negative subordinating enclitic		Constr
Conditional1	*Ũká=chú V-la*	Pre-verbal auxiliary	Verbal suffix	Constr
Conditional2	*Ũká-je-ka=é V*	Pre-verbal auxiliary		Constr

Table 3: Negation strategies in main clauses

Main vs. Subordinate clauses

- Specificities of negators in different contexts

- *Ũká*
  - 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)

- *Ũká* 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:
  - *Ũ̃ká* no longer used as negative existential
  - *-la* no longer used as a nominalizer

- Accounts for:
  - Auxiliary-like properties of *ũ̃ká*
  - Incompatibility of *–la* with nominalizers

Grammaticalization of non-clausal negation

- *Ũká* 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 *ũká* [NP] *kalé* to other types of non-verbal phrases
- Grammaticalization of *ũká* [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

Acknowledgements

- Virgelina Yucuna Matapí and all Yukuna consultants

- Funding institutions ELDP, Labex ASLAN

- Françoise Rose (DDL/CNRS) and members of the Dynamique du Langage lab.

- Workshop organizers
  - Matti Miestamo (University of Helsinki)
  - Ljuba Veselinova (Stockholm University)

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Abbreviations

ALL	Allative		NZ	Nominalizer
AUX	Auxiliary		PERF	Perfective aspect
COND	Conditional		PL	Plural
COP	Copula		PROH	Prohibitive
DEM	Demonstrative		PST	Past tense
EMPH	Emphatic		PTCP	Participle
F	Feminine		PURP	Purposive
FAR.PST	Far past		PURP.MOT	Purpose of motion
FUT	Future		REFL	Reflexive
HAB	Habitual aspect		REL	Relativizer
INDF	Indefinite		SG	Singular
MID	Middle voice		SIMIL	Similative
NEG	Negative		UNPOSS	Unpossessed
NF	Non-feminine		V	Verb
NV	Non-verbal		WH	Wh word

Palá pili'cháka nuká!

THANK YOU

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