

CHAPTER ELEVEN

A TYPOLOGICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON NEGATION IN ARAWAK LANGUAGES*

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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], Kawayarí [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

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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 declarative² 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 particle⁵ 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	<i>kuna</i> V	Palikúr	<i>ka</i> V ^{6,7}
Bare	<i>hena</i> V	Paresi	<i>maitsa, maiha</i> V
Baure	<i>noka</i> V	Resígaro	<i>nít</i> V
Garifuna	<i>mama</i> V	Terena	<i>ako, hyoko</i> V
Kawiyarí	<i>uká</i> V	Wapishana	<i>auna</i> V
Kurripako	<i>khen</i> V	Wauja	<i>aitsa</i> V
Lokono	V <i>khoró</i> ~ <i>kho</i> (2nd position)	Yavitero	<i>jata</i> V
Nanti	<i>tera, hara, matsi</i> V	Yine	<i>hi</i> 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) characterizes 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 characterize 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-like⁹ 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 auxiliaries.

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.

- (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 clauses¹² 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-*hta* 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 *-hta* 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.’ (Klumpff 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.’ (Klumpff 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 Klumpff (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-ATTR¹⁵-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 palatya ate yahalika 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'uaʒi 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-palu 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-li mawayá...
 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.
 IPL-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 incomplete 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'	<i>ama V-e~-o</i>
Yucuna	<i>unka V-la-TAM</i>

- (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

Apurinā	no	no	aspect neutralization
Baure	no	negative achievement verbs bear copula suffix	no
Bare	no	negated verbs tend to take suffix <i>-waka</i>	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 habituais	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. Rikʃiklona.
 r-hikʃika-lo-na
 3SGM-find-3SGF-3PL
 'They found her.'
- b. Hi rikʃiklona.
 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-

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-ezi 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)

Parsi 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 suffix *-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 corresponding 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 *-ni:*. 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 aimakaan.
 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, *-ʔu*, 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. Wiṭi: aka-j uzka-ʔu.
 PROX fruit-NPOSS ripe-ADJVR
 ‘This fruit is ripe.’
- b. Wiṭi: aka-j au-na i-uzka-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 ũti?
 INT eat-CT-IRR-OBJ 1PL
 ‘When will we eat it?’ (De Souza 2008: 106)
- (46) Ako-ne ni-k-a ũti.
 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 (Ek Dahl 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: Kawayarí, 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	<i>o-V</i>	same as imperative
Añun	Type II	<i>V-ata</i>	same as imperative
Apurinã	Type V	<i>kuna V</i>	same as declarative
Baure	Type III	<i>noka V</i>	omits subject marking
Bare	Type IV	<i>ba-V</i>	<i>V-ka</i>
Garifuna	Type III	<i>m-V</i>	H-stem instead of B-stem
Iñapari	Type III	<i>aa-S-V</i>	<i>V-ni</i>
Kinikinau	Type V	<i>ako-TAM V</i>	same as declarative realis

Kurripako	Type IV	<i>ma-V</i>	omit subject marking; verb bears restrictive suffix <i>-tsa</i>
Lokono	Type IV	<i>ma-V</i>	non-finite main verb; use of 'dummy' verb
Palikúr	Type III	<i>ka</i> mood V	<i>ba</i> (mood) V
Paresi	Type II	<i>awa</i> V	same as imperative
Resígaro	Type II	<i>V-ma</i>	same as imperative
Nanti	Type V	<i>hara</i> V	same as declarative irrealis
Tariana	Type II	<i>mhaïda</i> V	same as imperative
Trinitario	Type IV	<i>wo ku-V</i>	<i>ku-V</i>
Wapishana	Type III	<i>auna</i> V	V takes 'immediate' marking
Warekena	Type III	(<i>ya-</i>) ... <i>V-pia</i>	SVC with 2SG-perceive
Wauja	Type II	<i>amiya</i> V	same as imperative
Wayuu	Type IV	<i>nojo</i> V	negative auxiliary
Yánesha'	Type III	<i>ama</i> V	disapprobative marking
Yine	Type I	<i>hi</i> V	same as imperative
Yucuna	Type IV	<i>V-niña</i>	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-ta:nia.

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-ahíra-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-ahira-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 seven³⁰ 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’.

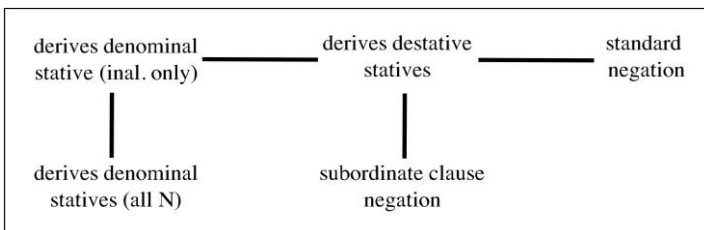
PRIV-shotgun-POSS-REST

‘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.

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) ɬɾi ma-kaup-a-kaɾi.
 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 *majanañuri* ‘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. *mujpetiri* ‘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*)."⁴¹ 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*(?), which appears in prohibitive constructions, as in (66).

- (66) ve?e i-tsana?-ma?
 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 habituais, 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 habituais. On this view, once applied to active habituais, 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 implicated 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 Resigaró) 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 *kerô* (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 cycle

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*

	<i>selects for clause that is notionally:</i>		<i>selects for morphology that is:</i>	
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.

