Negation
Week 9 - 3/26 - 3/28
Linguistics 460/560: The structure of Itunyoso Triqui

(1)   There are several negators in Itunyoso Triqui. These are sensitive to both phrasal type and information structure.

(2)   Nominal negators can be used with verb phrases if a complementizer is used alongside them.

(3)
Word	Meaning	Context of use
ni³taj²	negative existential, 'there are no...'	*nominal*
ni³taj² si²	'there are none that...'; 'it does not exist that...'	*verbal*
se⁴	counterfactual, negative focus; 'not X but Y'	*nominal*
se⁴ si²	'it's not that..., but rather that...'	*verbal*
nun³	standard negator, 'not'	*verbal*
si³	prohibitive, used only with potential reading	*verbal*

(4)   **Ni³taj²**   ne³tan³
        NEG.exist   bean
        'There are no beans'

(5)   **Ni³taj²**   si³-ka²toj⁵
        NEG.exist   POSS'D-shirt.1S
        'I have no shirt' ~ 'My shirt does not exist.'

(6)   Ta¹koj¹   ka³hanj²=sij³ nan²   yu³be³².   Ta¹koj¹ si²   **ni³taj²**
        by.foot   PERF.go=3M   DIR   EVID.EXP   by.foot because   NEG.exist

        ka³min⁴³   k-a⁴chin⁴³   taj¹³   yu³mej³.
        car   PERF-pass   as.such   EVID.NEG.EXP

        'By foot they went. By foot because there were no cars that passed by as such.'

(7)   A small tangent on Triqui final particles...
        a.   There are at least 40-50 of them and they are sensitive to negation.
        b.   They encode evidentiality, focus, and many other pragmatic phenomena.
        c.   We'll look at them specifically in a week or so.

(8)   **Se⁴**   Juan   ki³-ranj⁴   chu³che³²   sa³ni² ma²hanj⁵   ki³-ranj⁴.
        not   Juan   PERF-buy   chicken   but   self.1S   PERF-buy
        '*Juan* didn't buy the chicken, but *I* bought it.'

(9)   It's possible to use both *ni³taj²* and *se⁴* with a complementizer *si²* and then use them with verbal or adjectival phrases. These appear to be extended uses of these negators.

(10)   **Se⁴**   **si²**   cha¹kanj¹   ma²han⁴=reh¹   cheh³
        not   that   be.tall.1S   self=2S   be.short
        'It's not that I'm tall, *you* are short.'

(11)   **Ni³taj²**   **si²**   ka³-bin³   nan³   nan²   yu³mej³
        NEG.exist   that   perf-be   here   DIR   EVID.NEG.EXP
        'Nothing happened here.'   lit. *'there was nothing that was here'*

(12)   Nominal negation is fairly uncontroversial, but verbal negators *nun³* and *si³* interact in interesting ways with verbal aspect marking.

(13)   First, typical uses of these negators.

        (a)   **Nun³**   ka²-hnah²   nni⁴ =reh¹   tu³kwaj⁵
                NEG   PERF-come   mother=2S   house.1S
                'Your mother did not come to my house.'

        (b)   **Nun³**   u³nun³=nej³   sta³hanj³   sti⁴la⁴³   nej³
                NEG   understand=3P   language   castellano   also
                'They also do not understand Spanish.'

(14)   However, in many contexts with these negators it is necessary to *flip* the aspect of the verb marking completely. So, a negated *perfective* requires a *potential* aspect-marked verb, while a negated *potential* requires a *perfective* aspect-marked verb.

(15)   This aspectual flip under negation also exists in Copala Triqui (Hollenbach 1976). It is shared across Triqui languages.

(16)   **Nun³**   ka²hanj²=sij³   ni³kyanj⁵   Reporting a "completed event"
        NEG   POT.go=3M   Tlaxiaco
        'He did not go to Tlaxiaco.' / 'No fue a Tlaxiaco.'

(17)   **Nun³**   ki³-ni³hinj⁵   nni⁴=reh¹   Reporting a "planned event"
        NEG   PERF-see.1S   mother=2S
        'I will not see your mother.' / 'No voy a ver a tu madre.'

(18)   Ta³   sah¹   **nun³**   ki²-hyaj³   ka³nan⁴³=unj³   k-a²hbe³   ki³-cha⁴kwij⁴=unj³
        this   well   NEG   PERF-do   win=3F   POT-be.able   perf-help=3F
        'Aunque no ganara, podria ayudarnos'
        'Even if she *doesn't* win (the election), she would (still) be able to help (us).'

        Line 96, El Partido Morena; 06/9/2015; Carmen López González and Nieves López Guzmán

(19)   It is not altogether clear to me the contexts which condition this aspectual flip in Triqui -
       it is not always required for every verb followed by *nun³*.

(20)   For the *si³* negator, the aspectual flip is *required* when it functions as a general negator.

       (a)   **Si³**   ki³-ni⁴hya⁴³   nni⁴ =reh¹
             NEG.POT   PERF-see.1s   mother=2s
             'I will not see your mother.'

       (b)   **Si³**   k-oh³   ku³man¹
             NEG.POT   PERF-hit   rain
             'It will not rain.'

       (c)   **Nun³**   k-oh¹   ku³man¹
             NEG   POT-hit   rain
             'It did not rain.'

(21)   However, *si³* has another use with potential verbs - as a prohibitive in commands. The
       potential aspect (and the 2nd person singular) are used together to indicate commands.

       (a)   **Si³**   k-oh¹=reh¹
             NEG.POT   POT-hit=2s
             'Don't hit!'

       (b)   **Si³**   ka²hanj² =reh¹ rian³² chrunj⁵   ta³
             NEG.POT   POT.go=2s   face   box   this/these
             'Don't go on top of those boxes.'

(22)   So, when used as a general negator, *si³* requires the aspectual flip. When used as a
       prohibitive, the potential aspect must be used since prohibitives are commands.

(23)   For some reason, use of *si³* is not permitted with a perfective form of a stative experiencer
       verb like *ni³hin³* 'know/see', but it is grammatical with a perfective form of the active
       verb ni³hyaj² 'see/watch.'

(24)   This suggests that there may be a more complex interaction between the choice of these
       two general negators and the lexical aspect of the verb. Hollenbach finds something
       similar for Copala Triqui (1976).

(25)   In Copala Triqui, the same pattern occurs, but the cognate form with nun³ – *ne³* only
       occurs with progressive/unmarked verbs and potential verbs (where we'd expect the
       perfective).

(26)   The cognate form with si3 – *se²* only occurs with perfective verbs (where we'd expect the
       potential), just like in Itunyoso Triqui.

(27) The use of *nun³* with perfective verbs as well in Itunyoso Triqui is perhaps an innovation as a parallel with *si³*.

(28) In Copala Triqui, pre-verbal adverbs block the aspectual flip (n.b. 5 is low, 1 is high)

> (16) zaʔ⁵ guǯuh⁴ žini³ yuwe²¹ âh
> *The boy will lay the palm mat down well.*
> (17) guǯuh⁴ zaʔ⁵ žini³ yuwe²¹ âh
> *The boy will lay the palm mat down well.*
>
> (20) nę³ zaʔ⁵ guǯuh³⁴ žini³ yuwe²¹ âh
> *The boy didn't lay the palm mat down well.*
> (21) nę³ guǯuh⁴ zaʔ⁵ žini³ yuwe²¹ âh
> *The boy didn't lay the palm mat down well.*

(29) Only the first verb in andative/venitive constructions is affected.

> (33) nę³ gaʔna⁵ žini³ gaǯa⁴ žini³ âh
> *The boy didn't come to sing.*
> (34) zę⁴ gaʔna³³ žini³ gaǯa⁴ žini³ âh
> *The boy won't come to sing.*

(29) Whether it affects both verbs in complex verbal constructions is not clear. Note that 'learned to mend' has the flip on both verbs, but 'know how to mend' does not require the flip on the second verb (but it's a purposive construction and those are always potential aspect).

> (39) ginariʔ³ žini³ nanuwą³² žini³ goto³²
> âh
> *The boy learned how to mend the shirt.*
> (40) nę³ ginariʔ⁵ žini³ nanuwą⁵ žini³
> goto³² âh
> *The boy didn't learn how to mend the shirt.*
> (46) nę³ geneʔę⁵³ žini³ nanuwą⁵ žini³
> goto³² âh
> *The boy didn't know how to mend the shirt.*
> (47) geneʔę⁵³ žini³ nanuwą⁵ žini³ goto³²
> âh
> *The boy will know how to mend the shirt.*

(30) In Copala Triqui:

(a) The toggle of aspect has an adjacency restriction between the negator and the verb, as we see with adverbs.

(b) Certain verb + complement pairs involve a flip of both verb aspects, while others do not.

(31) What about in Itunyoso Triqui?

(32) **Nun³** k-a²ra² chi³hna³²=sij³ ka³hanj² na²kaj²=sij³
NEG POT-toss hunger=3M PERF.go POT.carry=3M
'They didn't accept (toss hunger) going to take it.'

(33) Ma²han³=neh⁴ ni² **nun³** k-a²nin²+ra⁴³=neh⁴ si²
self=1P.INCL and NEG POT-stop+DESID=1P.INCL that

ki²-cha⁴kwij⁴=neh⁴=unj³
POT-help=1P.INCL=3F

'We ourselves did not think about helping her.'

(34) Ni² nun³ ki¹-rih¹+ra⁴³=chuj³ taj¹ ki²-hyaj³=chuj³
and neg pot-get+want=anim how pot-do=anim
'And the animal did not understand how it did it.'

(35) Note that the sentence in (32) does not require the aspectual flip, but the ones in (33) and (34) do. Perhaps the use of the complementizer permits it to have scope over the entire clause?

(36) Unlike Copala Triqui, adverbs do not seem to block the rule in Itunyoso Triqui.

Be⁴ ta³ bin³ **nun³** **kwi³** k-a¹chi¹hi¹ te⁴lu⁴³ ngwi³¹ ka²na²
TOP this be NEG day/now POT-begin many person POT.weed.soil

ku²nun²=nej³
POT.sow=3P

'It's that many people have not yet started to weed and sow.'

(37) Why flip aspect? It may be related to the original realis/irrealis split in Mixtecan languages.

(38) For most Mixtecan languages, the basic distinction is between a realis and an irrealis stem. Completive/Perfective morphology is marked separately.

(39)   Example from Southeastern Nochixtlán Mixtec (McKendry 2013, p.35).

Irrealis			Imperfective			Imperfective Causative			
kāsī	lānā			sēsī	láná		ðā	kásí	láná	kítí
kasi^{MH}	lana^{MH}	H	sesi(^{H})	lana^{MH}	H	ða(^{H})	kasi^{MH}	lana^{MH}	kiti^{MH}
eat	child	IPFV	eat	child	IPFV	CAUS	eat	child	animal
The child will eat.			*The child is eating.*			*The child is feeding the animals.*			

(40)   The irrealis is usually *unmarked* in Mixtec languages, but it's the imperfective that is unmarked in Triqui languages.

(41)   Consider Yoloxóchitl Mixtec (Palancar et al. 2016)

Table 5. The verbal paradigm of four exemplary verbs in YM.

	'hang' (tr)	'drag' (tr)	'break' (tr)	'boil' (intr)
IRR	chi^{3}kun^2	ku^3+ñu^{3}u^3	taʔ^{3}bi^4	kwi^{1}so^1
NEG.IRR	chi^{14}kun^2	ku^{14}+ñu^{3}u^3	taʔ^{14}bi^4	kwi^{14}so^1
CPL-1	ni^1-chi^{3}kun^2	ni^1-ju^3+ñu^{3}u^3	ni^1-taʔ^{3}bi^4	ni^1-si^{1}so^1
CPL-2	chi^{13}kun^2	ju^{13}+ñu^{3}u^3	taʔ^{13}bi^4	si^{1}so^1
INCPL	chi^{4}kun^2	ju^4+ñu^{3}u^3	taʔ^{4}bi^4	si^{4}so^1
STAT	ndi^{4}kun^2	---	taʔ^{4}bi^4	---
PROG	chi^4+ndi^{3}kun^2	ñu^{4}u^4	---	---

(42)   There is an overt marker for the incompletive (imperfective) for certain achievement predicates in Yoloxóchitl Mixtec. This involves a high tone /4/ in that language.

Table 6. Tone allomorphy for the incompletive.

	Syllable structure	LEX		INCPL	CPL-1	INCPL	
a	disyllabic	/1-1/	>	/4-1/	ni^1-ki^{1}xin^1	ki^{4}xin^1	'fall asleep'
	monosyllabic				ni^1-tu^{1}un^1	tu^{4}un^1	'catch fire, light up'
b	disyllabic	/1-3/	>	/4-13/	ni^1-ka^{1}ku^3	ka^{4}ku^{13}	'escape'
	monosyllabic				ni^1-ka^{1}an^3	ka^{4}an^{13}	'get accustomed'
c	disyllabic	/1-4/	>	/4-14/	ni^1-ka^{1}xan^4	ka^{4}xan^{14}	'sneeze'
	monosyllabic				ni^1-ku^{1}un^4	ku^{4}un^{14}	'for chilli to be ground into sauce'
d.1	disyllabic	/3-3/	>	/4-3/	ni^1-ka^{3}ba^3	ka^{4}ba^3	'lie down to sleep'
					ni^1-nda^{3}ba^3	nda^{4}ba^3	'fall'
d.2	monosyllabic	/3-3/	>	/4-4/	ni^1-chi^{3}i^3	chi^{4}i^4	'get wet'
					ni^1-kaʔ^{3}a^3	kaʔ^{4}a^4	'emit a sound'
					ni^1-ku^{3}u^3	ku^{4}u^4	'occur, happen'
					ni^1-chiʔ^{3}i^3	chiʔ^{4}i^4	'harvest' (tr)
e.1	disyllabic	/3-4/	>	/4-4/	ni^1-ku^{3}chi^4	ku^{4}chi^4	'feel sad'^{21}
					ni^1-ka^{3}ba^4	ka^{4}ba^4	'turn' (tr.)
e.2	monosyllabic	/3-4/	>	/4-24/	ni^1-ka^{3}a^4	ka^{4}a^{24}	'slip'
					ni^1-ku^{3}un^4	ku^{4}un^{24}	'grind [chilli] for sauce'

(43)   What does this have to do with Triqui?

(44)   The function of the aspectual prefixes in Mixtec is unique based on the *aktionsarten* for verbs. It may be that unique negators were reserved for certain lexical aspect and verb aspect combinations.

(45)   This may have led to a particular arrangement that then got generalized as a pattern related to negation, not to aspect itself, i.e. always use "aspect form A" with negative perfectives.

(46)   This is all completely speculative though. We still have little idea of how this pattern evolved. However, Hollenbach (1976) did not know either. She ended her paper with a 🤷🏻‍♂️.

References
Hollenbach, B. E. (1976). Tense-negation interplay in Copala Trique. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 42:126–132.
McKendry, I. (2013). *Tonal Association, Prominence, and Prosodic Structure in Southeastern Nochixtlán Mixtec*. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.
Palancar, E. L., Amith, J. D., and Castillo García, R. (2016). Verbal inflection in Yoloxóchitl Mixtec. In Palancar, E. L. and Léonard, J.-L., editors, *Tone and Inflection: New Facts and New Perspectives*, pages 295–336. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.