

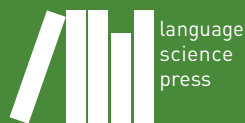
# The Negative Existential Cycle from a historical- comparative perspective

Edited by

Arja Hamari

Ljuba Veselinova

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## Chapter 1

# Negation in Tacana (Amazonian Bolivia): synchronic description and diachronic reconstruction

Antoine Guillaume

## 1 Introduction

Tacana is one of the five extant languages of the small Takanan family from the Amazonian lowlands of Bolivia and Peru (together with Cavineña, Ese Ejja, ~~Araona~~ and Reyesano). The language is critically endangered, being only spoken by a few dozens of elderly people, and basically undescribed, except in the form of a tagmemic grammar (Ottaviano & de Ottaviano 1965; 1967).

This paper is the first study of negation in this language. It is mostly based on a corpus of firsthand data (texts and elicitations) from the Tumupasa dialect that I collected during four months of fieldwork conducted on four field trips between 2009 and 2013. The data are complemented by second-hand materials published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, consisting of a number of texts (de Ottaviano 1980) and sentences that illustrate dictionary entries (Ottaviano & de Ottaviano 1989). Ultimately, some data from the mid-~~XIX~~<sup>th</sup> century are also presented in the section on diachrony (Lafone Quevedo 1902). Note that no controlled elicitation with native speakers was conducted specifically on the topic of negation, which means that the study relies exclusively on my own interpretation of the available corpus.

The goals of this paper are twofold: (1) to provide a detailed description of a wide range of negation (~~SN~~) constructions in Tacana and (2) to attempt a histori-



cal reconstruction of some of the negation markers and patterns. One significant contribution to the field of diachronic typologies of negation is the reconstruction for one of the Standard Negation (hereafter SN) markers of an etymology (stand-alone negation word ‘no’) and type of Jespersen Cycle (from the right of the verb to the left of the verb), which are not commonly reported in general studies on negation. The proposed reconstruction also contributes to the current studies on the interactions between SN and the Negative Existential Cycle (the general theme of the volume) in arguing that the Tacana stand-alone negation word ‘no’ originated in a negative existential predicate. In doing so, the paper adds to the diachronic literature on languages where a negative existential breaks into the verbal domain through a stand-alone negation stage (Croft 1991: 10, 13–14; Veselinova 2013: 127ff; 2016: 155–156).

In the literature, the grammaticalization of stand-alone negation words (also known as “absolute negators,” “pro-sentence words no!,” “negative replies to polarity questions,” “short answers no!,” “negative interjections,” etc.) as SN markers through a reinforcement/strengthening process (Jespersen Cycle) is well documented. The phenomenon is attested, for instance, in languages such as Brazilian Portuguese, Caribbean Spanish dialects, northern Italian dialects, Dutch, Afrikaans, Swedish and Sino-Russian (see, among others, Schwegler 1988; van der Auwera 2009: 49; Veselinova 2013: 127ff; 2016: 155–156). As illustrated, for instance, in Brazilian Portuguese (1), a word meaning ‘no,’ originally used outside of a negative clause (stage 2), ends up replacing the original SN marker inside of the clause (stage 5).

- (1) Brazilian Portuguese (evolutionary path based on discussion in Creissels 2006: 149–150)

- stage 1    *Não sei.*
- stage 2    *Não sei, (não!)*
- stage 3    *Não sei não.*
- stage 4    *(Não) sei não.*
- stage 5    *Sei não.*

In all these languages, however, the cycle operates from the left of the verb to the right of the verb, in other words from a preverbal to postverbal SN marker. In Tacana, as I argue here, the same type of etymology and grammaticalization pathway holds, but the direction of the cycle is the opposite. Here, a postverbal SN marker is in the process of being replaced by a negative stand-alone word in preverbal position. This results in the phenomenon called a Jespersen Cycle “in reverse” by van der Auwera & Vossen (2016) and Vossen (2016); according to



these authors, it appears to be common in South American languages.

The paper is organized in two main parts. The first part is descriptive, with a short introduction on Tacana clause structure and verbal predication (§2) and a presentation of six negation constructions: (1) **Standard Negation (SN)**, which applies, by definition, to declarative main clauses with a finite verb predicate (Miestamo 2005) (§3) but also, in Tacana, to non-verbal clauses expressing equation, proper inclusion, attribution relations (§4) and (in rare cases) existence or location (§5); (2) **negation of existential/locative adjective predicates**; (3) **negation of declarative clauses with a non-finite predicate** with two subtypes (§6); (4) non-clausal **stand-alone negation** (§7); (5) non-clausal **constituent negation** with two subtypes (§7); and (6) **negation of command (hortative and imperative) clauses** with two subtypes (§8).<sup>1</sup> A summary table of all the constructions is provided in ~~section~~ §9. The second part of the paper is diachronic, engaging in a reconstruction of the declarative clause negation markers and patterns: SN and negation of declarative clauses with a non-finite predicate (§10). A summary and a conclusion are provided in §11.



## 2 Basic facts on Tacana clause structure and verbal predication

Main clauses in Tacana consist of an obligatory predicate<sup>2</sup> and optional arguments and/or obliques and/or adjuncts. When overtly expressed, the arguments, whether NPs or pronouns, display a (split)<sup>3</sup> ergative case-marking system, as illustrated in (2a), with an ergative marked A NP and absolutive (unmarked) O NP, and (2b), with an absolutive (unmarked) S NP.<sup>4</sup>

this footnote has one odd closing paren

<sup>1</sup> Essentially, two further types of negation are not discussed in the paper: negation of indefinites and quantifiers and negation in dependent clauses.

<sup>2</sup> Note that the term “predicate” used here does not make reference to any participant of the clause.

<sup>3</sup> The case system is conditioned by the type of referent: strictly ergative with 1SG/2SG pronouns, optionally ergative with 3SG pronouns and NPs, and neutral with all non-singular pronouns (Guillaume 2016; forthcoming).


<sup>4</sup> The Tacana consonant phonemes are *p*, *b*, *t*, *d* [d], *d'* [dʰ/ʔ dʰ], *dh* [ð], *ts* [tʃ], *ch* [tʃ], *s* [s], *sh* [ʃ], *k*, *kw* [kʰ], *r* [r], *m*, *n*, *j* [h], *w* [w/β] and *y* [j]. The vowel phonemes are *a*, *e*, *i* [i/j] and *u* [u/w]. Stress falls on the 3<sup>rd</sup> mora (i.e., vowel or semi-vowel [j] or [w]) counting from the left). Note that the illustrative examples include the free translation in local Bolivian Spanish that was given by the native speakers who helped me transcribe and translate the texts. The codes that follow the translation lines (e.g., so007) correspond to the place of the example in my (Toolbox) database. Unless explicitly specified, the examples come from texts.

(2) Transitive and intransitive declarative main clauses

- a. *Jiawe* =*da* *id'eti biwa*=*ja* *y-abu-ta-(a)ni*.  
 now =PTC sun spider\_monkey=ERG IPFV-carry-3A-IPFV.SIT  
 'Ahora lo está cargando el marimono.'  
 'Now the spider monkey is carrying the sun.' so007
- b. *Biwa* =*da* *kema* [*tsakwa echa*=*su*] *bade-ti-a*.  
 spider\_monkey =PTC 1SG.DAT mapajo(tree) branch=LOC hang-GO-PST  
 S V
- 'Mi marimono se colgó en gajo de mapajo.' (elicited)  
 'The spider monkey (that I shot) went to hang on the branch of a  
 mapajo (*Ceiba pentandra*) tree.'

The arguments, especially when expressed by NPs, do not have strict ordering restrictions and can appear in any position in the clause depending on their discourse-pragmatic status. Pronominal arguments, on the other hand, tend to occur either in first position in the clause (when contrastive) or second position (when referring to continuing topics).

Verbal main clauses can be headed by two types of predicates without semantic differences: a **finite verb predicate**, where the verb takes the inflectional morphology, as illustrated in (2), and a **non-finite verb predicate**, where the verb does not take the inflectional morphology, which is optionally carried by a generic auxiliary (light verb). Both types are illustrated in (3) with the same verb root *tutua* ‘spill,’ used in the finite verb construction in the first clause and in the non-finite verb construction in the second.

- (3) *Dapia* =*da* *etse* *beu* *se* **e-*tutua***. *E-jemi-tsua* =*da* *etse* *beu*  
 there =PTC 1DU PTC fish FUT-spill FUT-take<sub>out</sub>-go<sub>up</sub> =PTC 1DU PTC  
***tutua*** =*da* *etse* **y-*a***.   
 spill =PTC 1DU FUT-do

'There we are going to spill the fishes (on the ground). We are going to lift (the fish trap) up and then spill them (on the ground).'

There is no difference in (at least propositional) meaning between finite verb constructions and non-finite verb constructions. The reasons motivating the use of one construction or the other is not fully understood yet, although it might have to do with the discourse status of the event or some specific discourse genres.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> I noticed, for instance, that non-finite verb constructions are often used when an event is

Finally, both types of predicates do not have any impact on the way the arguments are expressed. When negated, however, they require distinct constructions. The construction used to negate finite verbal main clauses is also used to negate a number of non-verbal clauses. It will be called Standard Negation (SN) and discussed first, as it applies to verbal clauses (§3) and non-verbal clauses (§4 and §5). The construction used to negate non-finite verbal main clauses will be discussed in a separate section (§6).

### 3 Negation of declarative clauses with a finite verb predicate (Standard Negation)

In clauses with a **finite verb predicate**, the lexical verb stem, with or without derivational morphology, directly and obligatorily bears the inflectional morphology (basically TAM and 3<sup>rd</sup> person indexation), as illustrated in (2a,b) above, in the first clause of (3) and (4a,b), and in Table 1 below, which shows the morphological structure of the predicate. In the examples and the Table, the inflectional affixes are in bold and underlined.

- (4) transitive and intransitive main clauses with a finite verbal predicate

- |   |                    |                      |  |
|---|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| A   | O                  | V                    |  |
| a. <i>Dapia</i> = <i>da</i>                                     | <i>etse</i>        | <i>beu</i> <i>se</i> | <b><u>e</u>-<i>tutua</i></b> .         |
| there   | =PTC               | 1DU                  | PTC fish FUT-spill                     |
| 'Ahí ya lo vamos a vaciar los peces.' em044                     |                    |                      |  |
| 'There we are going spill the fish (on the ground).'            |                    |                      |  |
| V   |                    | S                    |  |
| b. <i>Beu</i> = <i>pa</i>                                       | <i>ja-mesia-ti</i> | <b><u>idha</u></b>   | <i>jida</i> <i>deja</i> , <i>mawi</i>  |
| PTC   | =REP               | MID-let              | go_of-MID-REM.PST that man almendrillo |
| <i>echa</i> = <i>jenetia</i> .                                  |                    |                      |  |
| branch=ABL  |                    |                      |  |
| 'Ya dice se largó del gajo del <del>alamendrillo</del> .' ch083 |                    |                      |  |
| 'He let go of himself from the almendrillo branch.'             |                    |                      |  |

Negation of declarative (and interrogative) main clauses containing a finite verb construction is realized through a discontinuous embracing construction

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repeated, as is the case in two consecutive sentences ~~from the same text~~ in (4). I also found that non-finite verb constructions are used more often in informal style and hardly ever in elicited material.

Table 1: Diagram of finite verb construction

-3	<u>TAM</u>
-2	valency change
-1	compounded/incorporated noun
0	<b>verb root</b>
+1	compounded/incorporated verb
+2	valency change
+3	“adverbial-like”
+4	<u>3<sup>rd</sup> person indexation</u>
+5	<u>temporal distance -iti-</u>
+6	<u>“back” -iba-</u>
+7	“adverbial-like”
+8	<u>TAM</u>
+9	reiterative -yu

involving two particles: the preverbal independent *aimue* [ajmue] ~ [ajmwe]<sup>6</sup> and the postverbal enclitic =*mawe* [maʃe] (with a variant =*mue* [mue] ~ [mwe]). The construction is illustrated in (5a) with a transitive clause, and in (5b) with an intransitive clause.

- O                      A                      V
- (5) a. *Aimue ejije=kwana yama e-shanapa-eni-inia=mawe.*  
 NEG jungle=PL 1SG.ERG IPFV-know-WELL-IPFV.SIT.1/2=NEG  
 ‘Ya no conozco estos montes bien.’ ch132  
 ‘I don’t know these jungles well anymore.’
- S                      V
- b. *Aimue =da ema e-siapati-yu=mue.*  
 NEG =PTC 1SG FUT-come\_back-ITER=NEG  
 ‘Ya no voy a regresar.’ na191  
 ‘I’m not going to come back again anymore.’

The preverbal particle *aimue* is phonologically stressed and syntactically free, occurring anywhere before the verb. It is often the first word of the clause, as in (5a,b); see also (7a,b) further below. But this is not an absolute requirement, as in

<sup>6</sup> As will be seen later, *aimue* is a contracted variant of *aimawe* [ajmaʃe] which shows up in some examples of the SN construction when applied to non-verbal clauses.

(6a,b), where it is preceded by several clausal constituents. The exact motivations for placing *aimue* in different positions before the verb remain to be investigated.

- (6) a. *Jade*, [ye=base=ja] =mu *aimue*, *sai-da*  
 let's\_see this=DEPR=ERG =CONTR NEG well-ASF  
 V  
y-a-ta-ani=*mawe*.  
 IPFV-affect-3A-IPFV.SIT=NEG  
 'A ver, este no lo hace bien.' bu092  
 'Let's see, this damned one doesn't do it well.'  
 S  
 b. [*Piada deja*] =pa, [*mesa, d'aki=neje*], *aimue* *sai-da*  
 one man =REP 3SG.GEN brother\_in\_law=ASSC NEG well-ASF  
 V  
*jadusuti-ina*=*mawe*.  
 get\_along-HAB.PST=NEG  
 'Un hombre, dice, que con su cuñado no se llevaba bien.' ch003  
 'There were a man and his brother-in-law who did not get along well.'

The postverbal particle =*mawe*, by contrast, is a phonologically unstressed enclitic with a rigid position. It can only attach to the verb. If the verb of the negated clause is followed by one or more clausal constituents, =*mawe* necessarily remains on the verb, as in (7a,b).

- (7) a. *Aimue* <sup>V</sup> *e-juseute-ta* = *mawe*, *beni* = *ja*.  
 NEG FUT-fell-3A=NEG wind=ERG  
 ‘No los va tumbar el viento.’ bu072  
 ‘The wind will not fell (the trees).’  
<sup>V</sup> <sup>S</sup>  
 b. *Bute-ke!* *Aimue* = *da* *e-kwinana* = *mawe*, *dukei*.  
 go\_down-IMP NEG =PTC FUT-go\_out=NEG deer  
 ‘Bájate! No va salir el venado.’ du018  
 ‘Go down! The deer will not go out.’

In my corpus, very few examples of negation of interrogative clauses can be found. The ones that are available, such as (8), suggest nevertheless that they are negated by means of the same pattern as in declarative clauses.

- (8) *Jukwajasu =da aimue dasu e-nubi-ani=mawe* [yawī tipa=su]?  
 why =PTC NEG then IPFV-enter-IPFV.SIT=NEG water bottom=LOC  
 ‘¿Porque pues no entra debajo de agua?’  
 ‘Why does it (the caiman) not go underneath the water?’ bo080

In the available corpus, *aimue* is never omitted. As for =*mawe*, I found a couple of examples where it is left out, as in (9) and (10), which suggests that =*mawe* might not be obligatory. ~~It is reminded that no controlled elicitation with native speakers was conducted on negation constructions.~~

- (9) [*Ena dume=su*] *aimue e-nubi-ti-ani*.  
 stream inside=LOC NEG IPFV-enter-GO-IPFV.SIT  
 ‘No entra dentro del agua.’ bo081  
 ‘(The caiman) does not enter into the water.’
- (10) *Aimue e-kwina-yu*.  
 NEG PST-arrive-ITER  
 ‘No llegó.’ ch037  
 ‘He didn’t arrive.’

From the perspective of Miestamo’s (2005; 2007) typology of negative constructions, the Tacana negative construction under discussion is symmetric. Apart from the addition of the negative markers, there do not appear to be any obvious morphosyntactic differences, with the same argument-coding system (split ergative case-marking and constituent order flexibility) and same morphological possibilities on the verbal predicate (derivational and inflectional).

#### 4 Negation of non-verbal clauses (1): equation, proper inclusion, attribution

The SN construction is also used for negating non-verbal clauses. The negation of equation, proper inclusion and attribution clauses is discussed in this section. The negation of existential and locative predication is discussed in the next.

In affirmative equation, proper inclusion and attribution clauses, the predicate consists of an NP or an adjective optionally followed by the inflected copula verb *pu* ‘be,’ as illustrated in (11a-d). The S NP is expressed like the S NP of any other intransitive verbal clauses, being optional and, when expressed, not subject to any ordering restrictions.

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- (11) a. proper inclusion (with copula)  
           S                      NP                      COP  
           [Tueda edeje]        [a'una deja] pu-ina.  
           that    youngster bear    man be-HAB.PST  
           'Ese joven era joven (lit. hombre) oso.' au004a  
           'That youngster was a bear-man.'
- b. equation (without copula)  
           S                      NP  
           [Mike ebakepuna] [kema kwara].  
           2SG.GEN daughter    1SG.GEN mother  
           'Tu hija es mi madre.' au155  
           'Your daughter is my mother.'
- c. attribution (with copula)  
           S                      ADJ                      COP  
           Id'eti =di    tuche-da    e-pu-eti.  
           sun    =PTC strong-ASF IPFV-be-IPFV.STAND  
           'El sol también estaba fuerte.' lp078  
           'The sun was very hot (lit. strong).'
- d. attribution (without copula)  
           S                      ADJ  
           Te        =mu    ai-da        beju...  
           garden =CONTR grande-ASF PTC  
           'Ahora el chaco es grande...' gu054  
           'The garden is big..'

When negated, these non-verbal clauses require the SN construction through the discontinuous embracing construction with the predicate-preposed independent *aimue* and the predicate-postposed enclitic =*mawe*, as illustrated in (12). Both have the same properties as when applied to clauses with a finite verb: ordering flexibility for *aimue*, as long as it appears before the predicated NP or predicative adjective; strict position for =*mawe*, directly attached to the copula verb (if present) or to the predicated NP or predicative adjective (if the copula is absent). As can be seen in (12a), the predicate-preposed negation marker can show up in a longer (more conservative) form *aimawe* [ajmaʔe]. As for =*mawe*, I have too few examples of SN applied to non-verbal clauses to know if it displays the shorter variant =*mue* found in SN applied to verbal clauses.

- (12) a. proper inclusion (with copula)

- S NP COP  
 [Tueda edeje] **aimawe** [kristianu eni] *pu-ina=mawe*.  
 that child NEG person real be-HAB.PST=NEG  
 ‘Ese joven no era humano.’ au003  
 ‘That youngster was not a ~~real person~~.’
- b. equation (without copula)  
 S NP  
**Aimue** =jia maida [ye deja] [kema y-awe]=**mawe**?  
 NEG =DUBIT PTC this man 1SG.GEN NPF-husband=NEG  
 ‘¿No es mi marido este hombre?’ (Ottaviano & de Ottaviano 1989: 4)  
 ‘Is this man not my husband?’
- c. attribution (with copula)  
 S ADJ COP  
 [Kea tata] =mu **aimue** sai-da *pu-ina=mawe*.  
 1SG.GEN father =CONTR NEG well-ASF be-HAB.PST=NEG  
 ‘Mi papá no era tan bueno (renegaba / pegaba).’ ps058  
 ‘My father wasn’t nice.’
- d. attribution (without copula)  
 ADJ S  
**Aimue** sai-da=**mawe** [mike e-bakwa].  
 NEG well-ASF=NEG 2SG.GEN NPF-child  
 ‘No es bueno tu hijo.’ au222  
 ‘Your child is not nice.’

Note finally that I do not have examples in the whole corpus where =**mawe** (or *aimawe* ~ *aimue* for that matter) are omitted. More investigations are however needed to confirm whether this is also a possibility, as in clauses with finite verb, especially since I have very few examples of negation of non-verbal clauses in the current dataset.

## 5 Negation of non-verbal clauses (2): existential/locative predication

can’t hyphenate the word *whether*!

There is no clear formal distinction between existential and locative clauses, whether affirmative or negative. In affirmative existential and locative clauses, the predicate is normally one of four posture verbs, either *ani* ‘sit’ (13a-e), *neti* ‘stand’ (14), *sa* ‘lie’ (15) or *bade* ‘hang’ (16); less commonly, the predicate can also be the (copula) verb *pu* ‘be’ (see below). In this function, the posture verbs are inflected



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but with severe restrictions, with only a few possible TAM affixes: a prefix *e-*/*y-* ‘EXIST/LOC,’ the habitual past *-ina* ‘HAB.PST’ and the complex past tense *-iti-a* ‘TDM-PST’. A locative oblique (or, for that matter, another type of oblique) can be present with no rigid position in the clause. With a dative oblique, the same construction yields the semantics of possessive predication, as seen in (13e), with the possessor encoded by the 3SG dative pronoun *mesa*.

(13) positive: posture verb ‘sit’

- |    |   |                       |  |
|----|---|-----------------------|--|
|    | LOC   | V                     | S  |
| a. | ... <i>dapia</i>  | <b><i>y-ani</i></b>   | <i>dhududu.</i>                          |
|    | there   | EXIST/LOC-sit         | capybara                                 |
|    | ‘(En los lagos grandes,) ahí hay capihuara.’ mc004                          |                       |  |
|    | ‘There (in the big lakes,) there are capybaras (lit. sitting).’             |                       |  |
|    | LOC   | LOC                   | V  |
| b. | <i>Chue</i> [ <i>enabaki maje=su</i> ]                                      | <b><i>y-ani.</i></b>  |  |
|    | there stream  | border=LOC            | EXIST/LOC-sit                            |
|    | ‘Allá está (mi mamá) en la banda del arroyo.’                               |                       |  |
|    | ‘(My mother) is there (lit. sitting) on the other side of the river.’ au164 |                       |  |
|    | S   | V                     | LOC                                      |
| c. | [ <i>Beinte familia</i> ]   | <b><i>ani-ina</i></b> | <i>Napashi=su</i> [ <i>da mara=su</i> ]. |
|    | twenty family   | sit-HAB.PST           | Napashi=LOC that time=LOC                |
|    | ‘Veinte familia había en Napashi en ese año.’ na003                         |                       |  |
|    | ‘There were twenty families (lit. sitting) in Napashi at that time.’        |                       |  |
|    | S   | V                     | COMIT                                    |
| d. | [ <i>Piada deja</i> ]   | <b><i>ani-ina</i></b> | [ <i>mesa ewane=sa kwara=neje</i> ].     |
|    | one man   | sit-HAB.PST           | 3SG.GEN wife=GEN mother=ASSC             |
|    | ‘Había un hombre que vivía junto a su suegra.’ gu003                        |                       |  |
|    | ‘There was a man who was living with his mother-in-law.’                    |                       |  |
|    | S   | DAT                   | V  |
| e. | <i>Ebakwa=chidi mesa</i>  | <b><i>y-ani.</i></b>  |  |
|    | child=DIM   | 3SG.DAT               | EXIST/LOC-sit                            |
|    | ‘Tenía dice su hijito.’ ye020   |                       |  |
|    | ‘He had a small child.’ [lit. a small child was sitting to him]             |                       |  |

(14) positive: posture verb ‘stand’

- |  |  |                      |   |
|--|--|----------------------|---|
|  | S  | V                    | LOC   |
|  | <i>Dukei=base</i>  | <b><i>e-neti</i></b> | <b><i>ena=su</i></b> <i>e-id’i-ti-neti.</i> |
|  | deer=DEPR  | EXIST/LOC-stand      | stream=LOC IPFV-drink-MID-IPFV.STAND        |
|  | ‘Ahí está el venado dentro del agua está tomando.’ hv027 |                      |   |

‘There is a deer /the deer is standing in the water and driking (standing).’

- (15) positive: posture verb ‘lie’

LOCS V

*Ue dukei e-sa.*

here deer EXIST/LOC-lie

‘Aquí hay un venado echado.’ du051

‘Here, there is a deer (lying).’ (lit. here a deer lies)

- (16) positive: posture verb ‘hang’

V

LOC

[*Piada semana*] =*pa beu e-bade* [*rara dume=su*].

one week =REP PTC EXIST/LOC-hang hole inside=LOC

‘Así dice (el tigre) estuvo una semana dentro de la cueva.’ bu056

‘(The jaguar) ~~was~~ (hanging) inside of the hole during a whole week.’

Instead of a posture verb, the predicate of an existential ~~and~~ locative clause can apparently also be the verb *pu* ‘be,’ discussed in its copula use in the preceding section. This is suggested by a couple of examples found in the corpus, such as those in (17a) (existential) and (17b) (locative).

- (17) positive: verb ‘be’

S

V

- a. *Juishu beju pu-iti-a.*

judgment PTC be-TDM-PST

‘Había juicio.’ (~~in 064 ott.~~ de Ottaviano 1980: 62)

‘There was a judgment.’

S

LOC

V

- b. *Tueda escuela=su pu-ina.*

3SG school=LOC be-HAB.PST

‘El estaba en la escuela.’ na205

‘He was in the school.’


When negated, existential and locative clauses display two possible patterns. The first, illustrated in (18) and very scarcely attested in the corpus, is through the same discontinuous embracing SN construction with the preverbal independent *aimue* and the postverbal enclitic =*mawe*. This first pattern is illustrated with the posture verb *ani* ‘sit’ in (18a) and (18b) and with the copula verb *pu* ‘be’ in (18c). Note that due to a lack of sufficient examples, I am unable to say if *aimue* and/or =*mawe* display the variants they have in SN when applied to other clause types (*aimawe* [ajmaʃe], =*mue* [mue] ~ [mwe]).

1 *Negation in Tacana (Amazonian Bolivia): synchronic description and diachronic reconstruction*

- (18) a. S V  
 [Da tiempo] **aimue** sapato ani-ina=**mawe**.  
 that time NEG shoe sit-HAB.PST=NEG  
 ‘En ese tiempo no había zapato.’ ci024  
 ‘At that time, there were no shoes.’  
V S  
 b. **Aimue** ani-iti-a=**mawe** Rurrenabaque.  
 NEG sit-TDM-PST=NEG Rurrenabaque  
 ‘(En los tiempos antiguos), no había Rurrenabaque.’ tu002\_ott  
 ‘(In the old days) Rurrenabaque did not exist.’  
 LOC S V  
 c. Upia =mu =da **aimue** ejude ekene pu-iti-a=**mawe**.  
 here =CONTR =PTC NEG village first be-TDM-PST=NEG  
 ‘Aquí no había nada/pueblo / no era pueblo todavía.’ hi020  
 ‘Here at first there was no village.’

The second pattern, illustrated in (19a-e) and found in many examples in the corpus, consists of **aimawe** [ajmaʃe] or variant **aimue** [ajmue] ~ [ajmwe] used alone with a predicative function, with or without the inflected copula verb *pu* ‘be.’ In this use, I analyze *aimawe/aimue* as a lexical negative existential/locative adjective in an attributive clause construction, as described in §4. In the examples provided below, one can see negation of existence in (19a), (19b) and (19c), negation of location in (19d) and negation of possession in (19e) (possessor encoded by the 3SG dative pronoun *mesa*).

- (19) a. ADJ COP S  
 [Biawa tiempo] =mu =da **aimue** pu-iti-a ejude=**kwana**.  
 old time =CONTR =PTC nonexistent be-TDM-PST village=PL  
 ‘En tiempos antiguos no habían pueblos.’ tu001\_ott  
 ‘In the old days, there were no villages.’ [lit. villages were nonexistent]  
S ADJ  
 b. Kwati =mu **aimue** =tsu’u.  
 firewood =CONTR nonexistent =STILL  
 ‘La leña todavía no hay.’ ci104  
 ‘There is no firewood yet.’ [lit. firewood was nonexistent]

- ADJ                      S      ADJ
- c. *Aimue*      *beu se. Aimue*      *beu.*   
 nonexistent PTC fish nonexistent PTC  
 ‘Ya no hay pescado, ya no hay.’ em075  
 ‘There no fish. There were no (fish).’ [lit. fish were nonexistent]  
 S                      ADJ                      LOC
- d. *Ema =mu*      *aimawe*      *beu* [*kema tawi-jude=su*].  
 1SG =CONTR nonexistent PTC 1SG.GEN sleep-PLACE=LOC  
 ‘(Me buscaron ya) yo no estaba en mi cama.’ du101  
 ‘(They searched for me but) I wasn’t in my bed.’ [lit. I was nonexistent in my bed]  
 ADJ                      DAT      S
- e. *Aimue*      *mesa*      *aicha...*  
 nonexistent 3SG.DAT meat  
 ‘No tenía carne...’ ye006  
 ‘He didn’t have meat.’ [lit. the meat was nonexistent to him]

## 6 Negation of declarative non-finite verbal main clauses

We now turn to the negation of main clauses with a non-finite verbal predicate. As noted in §3, main clauses with a non-finite verbal predicate express the same propositional content as those with a finite verbal predicate, but here the predicate has a different structure. The lexical verb stem, with or without derivational morphology, does not directly bear the inflectional morphology. The inflectional affixes (the same ones used in finite verb constructions and listed in Table 1 (i.e., TAM and 3<sup>rd</sup> person indexation)) are either carried by a generic auxiliary (light verb), which in this construction is specifically used for this (inflection-carrying) purpose or, more commonly, altogether absent.

The examples in (20a,b), based on the same transitive and intransitive verb stems *tutua* ‘spill’ and *ja-mesia-ti* ‘let go of oneself’ used in finite verb constructions in (4a,b), illustrate non-finite verb constructions with inflections carried by a generic auxiliary.

- (20) transitive and intransitive declarative main clauses with a non-finite verb and an overt auxiliary

1 *Negation in Tacana (Amazonian Bolivia): synchronic description and diachronic reconstruction*

- V                      A    AUX  
[tuʔtwa]
- a. *E-jemi-tsua*                      =da etse, beu **tutua** =da etse **y-a**.  
FUT-remove-go\_up =PTC 1DU PTC spill =PTC 1DU FUT-do  
'Lo vamos a alzar (la trampa para peces) entre los dos y lo vamos a vaciar.' em045  
'We are going to lift (the fish trap) up and spill them (the fishes) (on the ground).'
- V                      S    AUX  
[haʔmesjati]
- b. *Beu, ja-mesia-ti*                      ema **pu-ana**.  
PTC MID-let\_go\_of-MID 1SG be-REC.PST  
'Ya me largué.' lp033  
'Then I let go of myself.'

As one can see, there are two auxiliaries, the use of which depends on the transitivity of the predicate: *a* 'do' when the predicate is transitive (20a) and *pu* 'be' when the predicate is intransitive (20b). The auxiliaries are etymologically related, respectively, to the independent transitive lexical verbs *a* 'affect, make, do (tr.), say (tr.)', illustrated in (21a), and the intransitive verb *pu* 'be/exist, be located, do (itr.), say (itr.)', which can serve, among other things, as the copula predicate in equation, proper inclusion and attribution clauses (§4) and (less commonly) the predicate of existential/locative clauses (§5), as illustrated in (21b) (repeated).

- (21) a. *Upia mike ete, ekwanaju y-a*.  
here 2SG.GEN house 1PL.EXCL FUT-do  
'Aquí te lo vamos a hacer tu casa.' au313  
'Here we are going to build your house.'
- b. *Tueda escuela=su pu-ina*.  
3SG school=LOC be-HAB.PST  
'Él estaba en la escuela.' na205  
'He was in the school.'

In the non-finite verb constructions, the auxiliary must follow the lexical verb, whether contiguously or not; in (20a,b), for instance, the auxiliary is not contiguous with the lexical verb, being separated from it by a pronoun in both examples, and also by a particle in (20a). As for the lexical verb in this construction, whether the auxiliary is present or not, it receives a specific intonation contour, with a non-phonological prosodic glottal stop [ʔ] in 1<sup>st</sup> syllable coda position (see

phonological inventory in footnote 4) and apparently a different stress pattern.<sup>7</sup>

As stated above, the inflection-carrying auxiliary is not compulsory, and in fact it is left out most of the time; in this situation, the TAM and identity of 3<sup>rd</sup> person subjects have to be recovered from the context. This is illustrated with the transitive and intransitive verb stems *nubi-ame* ‘make enter’ in (22a) and *pue-yu* ‘come again/back’ in (22b).

- (22) transitive and intransitive declarative main clauses with a non-finite verb and no overt auxiliary

- |  |   |  |            |  |
|--|---|--|------------|--|
| O  | A |  | V          |  |
|  |   |  | [nuʔbjame] |  |
| a. <i>Beu etseju gringo=ja beu, cuarto=su nubi-ame.</i>            |   |  |            |  |
| PTC 1DU.EXCL gringo=ERG PTC room=LOC enter-CAUS                    |   |  |            |  |
| ‘Ya a nosotros el gringo al cuarto nos metió e hizo entrar.’ tm057 |   |  |            |  |
| ‘The gringo made us enter into the room.’                          |   |  |            |  |
| S  |   |  | V          |  |
|  |   |  | [pweʔju]   |  |
| b. <i>Pero, [mesa emetse] =mu, ekene pue-yu.</i>                   |   |  |            |  |
| but 3SG.GEN owner =CONTR first come-ITER                           |   |  |            |  |
| ‘Pero su dueño primero se vino.’ ha017                             |   |  |            |  |
| ‘But his owner came first.’  |   |  |            |  |

At the level of the clause, predicates with a non-finite verb and predicates with a finite verb do not require different clausal constructions: the argument-coding system remains the same, with an identical split ergative case-marking system and the same constituent order flexibility.

However, when it comes to negation, clauses with a non-finite verbal predicate are negated differently from clauses with a finite verbal predicate; the SN construction is not used for their negation. Here, two additional negation constructions are available, both of which only involve a single negation marker, which occurs before the verb. The form of the marker is what distinguishes the constructions, with all other properties being identical. In the first construction, the negation marker is the independent morpheme *aimue* (as in SN) while in the second it is the proclitic *mué=* (segmentally identical to one of the variants of *=mawe* in SN). Unlike in SN, here the lexical verb (or the inflection-carrying auxiliary, if expressed) is never followed or accompanied by a second negation marker.

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<sup>7</sup> See footnote 4 for on the stress system in Tacana.

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The negative construction with *aimue* is illustrated in (23a,b) with an overt auxiliary and (24a–c) with no overt auxiliary. In both cases, examples of both transitive and intransitive clauses are provided.

- (23) negative clauses with *aimue* and auxiliary

V AUX

- a. *Biame aimue =da dia a-ta-ina.*  
on\_the\_contrary NEG =PTC eat do-3A-HAB.PAST

‘Pero no lo comió.’ qu004

‘But (the jaguar) would not eat it.’

V AUX

- b. *Aimue beu, kwinana-yu pu-idha.*  
NEG PTC emerge-ITER be-REM.PST

‘Ya no salió más.’ qu033

‘He didn’t leave again.’

- (24) Negative clauses with *aimue* without auxiliary

A O V

- a. *Aimue yama d’aki ba.*  
NEG 1SG.ERG brother\_in\_law see

‘No le he visto al cuñado.’ ch028

‘I didn’t see my brother-in-law.’

S V

- b. *Aimue, ema kwinana-puda.*  
NEG 1SG go\_out-FAST

‘No he salido rápido.’ ch152

‘I didn’t go out fast.’

V

- c. *Enekita =pa aimue beu ja-tibi-ti.*  
really =REP NEG PTC MID-detach-MID

‘En verdad dice que no se soltó.’ ch082

‘Really, (the vine) didn’t break.’

The behavior of *aimue* here is the same as that of *aimue* in SN, being phonologically stressed and free to occur in any position as long as it is before the predicate.

The negative construction with *mué=* is illustrated in (25) with an overt auxiliary and (26a–c), with no overt auxiliary.

- (25) negative clause with **mué=** and auxiliary

V                      AUX                      O

**Mué=pa teje-ti-yu a-ta-idha** [jida mesa ewane] beu.  
 NEG=REP find-GO-ITER do-3A-REM.PST that 3SG.GEN wife PTC  
 ‘Dice que no lo ha ido hallar ese su mujer.’ os043  
 ‘He didn’t find his wife.’

- (26) negative clauses with **mué=** without auxiliary

- A                      V
- [mwéshánapa]
- a. **Yama =mu mué=shanapa** [...] [mesa ebakwa] manu-iti-a.  
 1SG.ERG =CONTR NEG=know 3SG.GEN child die-TDM-PST  
 ‘Yo no me he dado cuenta que ha muerto su hijo.’ su130  
 ‘I didn’t realize that his child had died.’  
 style="text-align: center;">O      V  
 [mwéemahéutsu]
- b. **Mué=ema jeutsu.**  
 NEG=1SG respond  
 ‘No me contestó.’ ch033  
 ‘He did not answer me.’  
 style="text-align: center;">V  
 [mwé:manu]
- c. ... **rusu-ta-idha doctor=ja. Mué=manu.**  
 sew-3A-REM.PST doctor=ERG NEG=die  
 ‘Se lo costuró el doctor (el cuero de su cabeza). No ha muerto.’  
 ti041–42  
 ‘The doctor stitched (the scalp of his head). He hasn’t died.’

As one can see from these examples, *mué=*, like *aimue*, does not have a specific position as long as it occurs before the predicate. It can attach to the predicate, as in (26a,c) or to any preverbal host, as in (25) and (26b); not that in (25), *mué=* attaches to a second position clitic, the reportative *=pa*. The two markers *mué=* and *aimue* only differ in their prosodic status, *mué=* being prosodically dependent while *aimue* has prosodic independence. Note that phonological words formed by *mué=* and its following host have a peculiar stress pattern where stress falls on *mué=*, as can be seen in the phonetic transcriptions in (26b–c).<sup>8</sup> From a functional

<sup>8</sup> As already mentioned in footnote 4, the rule in Tacanan is that stress falls on the 3<sup>rd</sup> mora (i.e., vowel or semi-vowel [j] or [w]) counting from the left. Evidence that the normal rule does not apply here can be seen in (26c), where one should obtain [mwemánu] and not [mwé:manu].



perspective, it is not fully clear what motivates the use of *aimue* versus *mué=*, although it is likely that they differ in encoding different degrees of emphasis; if so, the longer form, *aimue*, is the more emphatic of the two.

From the perspective of Miestamo's (2005; 2007) typology of negative constructions, negation of clauses with non-finite verbs, like the SN, is symmetrical, as it does not result in any obvious morphosyntactic differences. The argument-coding system and the morphological possibilities on the verbal predicate remain the same. The only difference that was noted is, in relation to the lexical verb, the absence of the prosodic glottal stop [ʔ] in 1<sup>st</sup> syllable coda position, which is otherwise characteristic of the lexical verb in affirmative non-finite verb constructions.

## 7 Non-clausal negation

In this section, I describe two types of non-clausal negation: stand-alone negation and constituent negation. **Stand-alone negation** is realized by way of *aimawe* or *mawe*, whether negation consists in answering a polar question, as in (27), or rectifying a false statement, as in (28) and (29).

### (27) response to a polar question

Authority: *Corregidor=ja =mi, e-kisaba-me-ta-ani*      *apa =mi*  
 judge=ERG      =2SG IPFV-ask-CAUS-3A-IPFV.SIT if      =2SG  
*acompañá a-kwa, misha,*      *Semana\_Santa*  
 accompany do-POT church\_service Holy\_Week  
*misha=su,*      *awa mawe?*  
 church\_service=LOC Q      no  
 'El corregidor te hace preguntar si puedes acompañar les a la  
 misa de Semana Santa o no?' su026  
 'The corregidor asks whether or not you could accompany  
 them to the Holy Week Mass.'

Sub-prefect: ***Mawe!*** *Aimue =da ema e-puti=mawe.*  
 no      NEG      =PTC 1SG FUT-go=NEG  
 'No, no voy a ir.' su028  
 ('Do you want to go to Mass with us?') **'No! I won't go!'**

### (28) rectification of a false statement

Mother: *Manuame-pe-ta-kwa tse ekwana.*

kill-COMPL-3A-POT MAYBE 1PL

‘<sub>i</sub>(Tu padre) nos puede matar a toditos!’ au064

‘(Your father) can kill us all!’

Son: *Aimawe! Ema ebiasu tuche-da.*

no 1SG a\_lot strong-ASF

‘No, yo tengo más fuerza que él.’ au066

‘No (he can’t kill us)! (Because) I’m stronger (than him).’

(29) rectification of a false statement

Jaguar: *Jiawe mida yama e-dia.*

now 2SG 1SG.ERG FUT-eat

‘Ahora te voy a comer.’ bu028

‘Now I’m going to eat you.’

Fox: *Mawe tiyu! Be =tsu ema dia-ji!*

no uncle IMP.NEG =YET 1SG eat-IMP.NEG

‘No tío, no me comes todavía!’ bu029

‘No, Uncle! Don’t eat me yet!’

**Constituent negation** is realized by way of the enclitic =*mawe* or its variant =*mue*, which is attached to the constituent to be negated. It is attested as a derivation process with nouns (privative negation), as in (30), and adjectives (adjectival antonym negation), as in (31).

(30) privative negation

a. *Pero pisa=**mue**=da ema.*

but gun=PRIV =PTC 1SG

‘No tengo arma.’ co046

‘I don’t have a gun (lit. I am without a gun / gun-less).’

b. *Dapia lugar=su kristianu=kwana escuela=**mawe**.*


there place=LOC person=PL school=PRIV

‘En este lugar, no tiene escuela la gente.’ na073

‘There, in that place, the people don’t have schools.’ (Lit. are without a school / school-less).

(31) adjectival antonym negation

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S        ADJ                    S                    ADJ  
*Tueda sai-da=**mawe**, ema =mu        sai-da=kita.*  
 3SG   nice-ASF=NEG 1SG =CONTR nice-=INTENS  
 ‘He is bad (lit. not nice) and I am nice.’

## 8 Negation of hortative and imperatives clauses

Finally, to close the synchronic description of negation strategies in Tacana, we here provide a brief description of negation in commands. The first type is **hortative clauses** (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person imperative), which in the affirmative polarity are headed by a finite verb marked by a prefix *pa-* instead of TAM inflectional affixes, as illustrated in (32a). When negated, hortative clauses require a **preverbal independent particle** *be*, which is simply added to the positive construction without further morphosyntactic modifications (same 3<sup>rd</sup> person indexation, same hortative prefix, same argument-marking and constituent order flexibility).

- (32) a. positive  
           O        V                    A                    V  
           *Tueda **pa**-dia-ta        señora=ja, **pa**-id’i-ta.*  
           that   HORT-eat-3A wife=ERG HORT-drink-3A  
           ‘¡Ese (caldo de gallina) que coma la señora! ¡Que tome!’ pa044  
           ‘Let the woman eat this (chicken soup)! Let her drink it!’
- b. negative  
           A                    V                    O  
           *Tueda =mu        **be** **pa**-dia-ta        [jida aicha]!*  
           3SG   =CONTR NEG HORT-eat-3A that meat  
           ‘¡Que el no coma esa carne!’ n2.0138 (elicited)  
           ‘Don’t let him eat that meat!’

The second type of command ~~clauses~~ is **2<sup>nd</sup> person imperative** clauses, which in affirmative polarity are head by a finite verb marked by the **suffix** *-ke*, as in (33a). When negated, the same **preverbal independent particle** *be* must be used. However, the head verb cannot carry *-ke* anymore, which is now replaced by a **suffix** *-ji*, as in (33b). With regards to the other morphosyntactic properties of the clause, they are the same as in the affirmative.

- (33) a. positive  
           “*Dia-**ke** =tsu empanada, kupari!”        ema a-ta-idha.*  
           eat-IMP =YET empanada compadre 1SG do-3A-REM.PST  
           “‘¡Come todavía empanada, compadre!’ me dijo (mi comadre).’ su057

“Eat some more ‘empanada,’ compadre!,” (my comadre) said to me.’

b. negative

*Mawe tiyu. Be =tsu ema dia-ji!*

NEG uncle IMP.NEG =YET 1SG eat-IMP.NEG

‘No tío, ¡No me comes todavía!’ bu029

‘No, uncle, don’t eat me yet!’

## 9 Summary of negation constructions

The following table summarizes all the negation constructions described above. In the schematized constructions, for practical reasons, the most commonly attested variants are given (*aimue* and *=mawe* in most cases).

## 10 Reconstructing the origin of negation markers and constructions

The goal of this section is to identify, on the basis of internal reconstruction, possible etymologies and evolutionary pathways for the rise of the different negative makers involved in ~~the negation of declarative (interrogative) clausal constructions: the SN construction~~ (§3–5) and the construction (with its two subtypes) used to negate clauses with a non-finite verbal predicate (§6), repeated in Table 3.

The negative markers in these constructions are all formally very similar and therefore likely to be historically related; such is not the case with the negative markers involved in negation of command clauses (*be*, *-ji*), the reconstruction of which will not be attempted in this paper.<sup>9</sup> The markers all consist of ~~either~~ *mawe* ~ *mue* used on its own or in combination with a preposed element *ai*, forming *aimawe* ~ *aimue*. Note that *ai* can be used independently of *mawe* ~ *mue*, as an indefinite noun “person/thing, someone/something” (34), suggesting that *aimawe* ~ *aimue* may be an erswhile univerbation of this indefinite ~~pronoun~~ and *mawe* (as in English ‘nothing,’ for example).

<sup>9</sup> One might speculate that *be* is related to *mawe*, which manifests reduced variants such as the clitics *=mue* and *mué=* that come closer to the form of *be*. I will leave this issue for further investigation.

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Table 2: Summary of negation constructions in Tacana



Type	Construction	Sym- metri- cal	Construc- tion type
<u>Clausal</u>			
declarative finite verbal main clauses	[... <i>aimue</i> ... V-INFL(= <i>mawe</i> ) ... ]	yes	1
non-verbal clauses:			
equation, inclusion	[... <i>aimue</i> ... NP... (be-INFL)= <i>mawe</i> ... ]	yes	
attribution	[... <i>aimue</i> ... ADJ... (be-INFL)= <i>mawe</i> ... ]	yes	
existential/locative	[... <i>aimue</i> ... VPOST-INFL= <i>mawe</i> ... ]	yes	
	[... <i>aimue</i> ... be-INFL= <i>mawe</i> ... ]	yes	
<u>Clausal</u>			
non-verbal clauses: existential/locative	[ ... <i>aimue</i> ... (be-INFL) ]	no	2
<u>Clausal</u>			
declarative non-finite verbal main clauses	[... <i>aimue</i> ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ... ]	(yes)	3
	[... <i>mué</i> = ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ... ]	(yes)	
<u>Non-clausal</u>			
stand-alone	[ <i>aimawe</i> ]	—	4
	[ <i>mawe</i> ]	—	
<u>Non-clausal</u>			
constituent negation:			
privative	[N= <i>mawe</i> ]	yes	5
adjectival antonym	[ADJ= <i>mawe</i> ]	yes	
<u>Clausal</u>			
hortative	[... <i>be</i> ... HORT-V ... ]	yes	6
prohibitive	[... <i>be</i> ... V- <i>ji</i> ... ]	no	

Table 3: Summary of negation constructions for verbal main clauses in Tacana

Type of negated constituent	Construction	Symmetrical
clauses with finite verbal predicate or with non-verbal predicates	... <i>aimue</i> ... predicate(= <i>mawe</i> ) ...	yes
clauses with non-finite verbal predicate	... <i>aimue</i> ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ... ... <i>mué</i> = ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ...	yes yes

- (34) *Enekita beu =pa ai=kwana ja-ba-ti-ana.*  
 really PTC =REP thing=PL MID-see-MID-REC.PST  
 ‘En verdad dice se alistó sus cosas (para el viaje).’ co080  
 ‘Really, he prepared his things (for the trip).’

Depending on the construction, the negation markers *mawe* or *aimue* have different degrees of grammatical or phonological freedom (e.g., *mawe* can be a clitic); they can occupy different positions in the clause (e.g., preposed or postposed to the negated constituent); they can be used alone or in combination with ~~each other~~ (forming an embracing negation construction); and possibly, in the case of the embracing construction, one marker can be optional.

If one looks for possible internal cognates, it is notable that *mawe* and/or *aimue* are also used in many other negative constructions described earlier in this chapter, such as the second existential/locative negation construction (§5), stand-alone negation (§7) and constituent negation (§7).

On the basis of these preliminary observations, we will now proceed to reconstruct at least parts of the history of the two negative constructions. We start with the SN construction in §10.1 and then move on to the reconstruction of negation of clauses with a non-finite verb in §10.2.

## 10.1 Evolutionary pathway: SN construction

The embracing preposed marker *aimue* and postposed marker =*mawe* that are used in SN have quite distinct grammatical and phonological properties, which suggest that ~~=mawe is historically older than aimue~~. Evidence for the likely older status of =*mawe* is to be found in its shorter form (*mawe* ~ *mue*), phonological dependence (clitic status) and rigid position. These properties are all diagnostics of an advanced grammaticalization stage and they can be contrasted with

the distinct properties of *aimue*, with its longer form (*aimawe* ~ *aimue*), phonological independence and free position (before the predicate).

One can therefore hypothesize that originally SN was expressed by a single marker, the postposed marker =*mawe*, and that the preposed marker *aimue* was introduced later for reinforcement. If we search for a likely etymology for this newly introduced marker *aimue*, the negative stand-alone word *aimawe* ‘no!’ (27), (28) and (29) – (28) is repeated in (35) below – and the negative existential/locative adjective *aimue* ‘nonexistent’ (19) – (19a) is repeated in (36) below – immediately come to mind, and there is little doubt that the three negation forms (new SN marker, stand-alone negation word and negative existential/locative adjective) are all historically related.

(35) Stand-alone negative ***aimawe***

Mother: *Manuame-pe-ta-kwa tse ekwana.*

kill-COMPL-3A-POT MAYBE 1PL

‘¡(Tu padre) nos puede matar a todos!’ au064

‘(Your father) can kill us all!’

Son: ***Aimawe!*** *Ema ebiasu tuche-da.*

no 1SG a\_lot strong-ASF

‘No, yo tengo más fuerza que él.’ au066

‘No (he can’t kill us)! (Because) I’m stronger (than him).’

(36) Negative existential/locative adjective in an attributive construction

[*Biawa tiempo*] =*mu* =*da aimue pu-iti-a ejude=kwana.*

old time =CONTR =PTC nonexistent be-TDM-PST village=PL

‘En tiempos antiguos no habían pueblos.’ tu001\_ott

‘In the old days, there were no villages.’ [lit. villages were nonexistent]

With regards to the evolution of their use, the hypothesis pursued here is that the negative existential/locative adjective is older, that it later extended its use as a stand-alone negation word, and that this use made it possible to develop a new SN marker. In other words, the immediate etymology of the SN marker *aimue* is a stand-alone negation word, *aimue*, which itself can be traced back to a negative existential/locative predicative adjective *aimue*. According to this scenario, which is schematized in Table 4 with the verb ‘go’ as an illustration in English, the evolutionary trajectory followed by the Tacana stand-alone *aimue* would be similar to that of the Brazilian Portuguese stand-alone negator *não* illustrated in (1). A clause-external stand-alone negator, originally used to reinforce a clause-internal negator (stage 2), is reanalyzed as a second clause-internal

negator, forming an embracing negation construction (stage 3). Over time, the original clause-internal negator becomes optional (stage 4) and ends up disappearing altogether (stage 5), with the result that it is replaced by the new reinforcing (external stand-alone) negator. An alternative hypothesis would be that

shading  
is not  
allowed

Table 4: Evolutionary pathway of Tacana stand-alone negation *aimue* into the marking of SN

stage 1	predicate= <i>mawe</i>	'I will <b>not</b> go'	hypothesized
stage 2	( <i>aimue</i> ), predicate= <i>mawe</i>	'(No,) I will <b>not</b> go'	hypothesized
stage 3	<i>aimue</i> (,)predicate= <i>mawe</i>	'No(,) I will <b>not</b> go'	synchronic use
stage 4	<i>aimue</i> predicate(= <i>mawe</i> )	'No I will ( <b>not</b> ) go'	(synchronic use)
stage 5	<i>aimue</i> predicate	'No I will go' (= I will <b>not</b> go')	hypothesized

the immediate etymology for the new SN marker is not the stand-alone use of the negator *aimue* but its use as a negative existential/locative adjective. In the context of SN, this hypothesis is much less plausible, due to the lack of a conceivable source construction and evolutionary scenario. Had the direct etymology been the negative existential/locative adjective, the only source construction available in Tacana that I can think of is where *aimue* negates the existence of a nominal referent, as illustrated in (36) ('there were no villages' / 'villages ~~did not exist~~').<sup>10</sup> However, negating an event by way of this construction (e.g. 'there is no going for me' / 'my going is ~~not~~') would require important structural changes in the verb form (for instance, the lack of finite morphology) and argument structure (for instance, a different case frame for the core arguments) which are absent in the negation of finite verb constructions. Moreover, the verb to be negated by way of a negative existential/locative adjective should display affirmative polarity; this is not the case, since the verb is marked by the enclitic negator =*mawe*.

As proposed above, it is of course very likely that the SN negator *aimue* and the negative existential/locative adjective *aimue* are historically related, but the link is probably an indirect one, involving an intermediary stand-alone negation stage; cross-linguistically, the move from negated existential predicate to stand-alone negation is a well-attested pathway (Croft 1991: 10, 13–14; Veselinova 2013: 127ff; 2016: 155–156), and when there is synchronic polysemy between the two, the evidence generally points to the negated existential predicate being the

<sup>10</sup> According to Veselinova (2016: 157), "the use of negative existentials with nominalized verb forms is cross-linguistically the most widespread pathway whereby they can be shown to expand into the domain of verbal negation."



source, not the other way around (Croft 1991: 8).

Reconstructing the diachronic development of *=mawe* in the SN construction (stage 1) is a more complex task, for which it will be necessary to resort to comparative data from other Takanan languages. That is beyond the scope of the current paper, and so here I will restrict myself to the observation that the most likely internal cognate is the negative enclitic *=mawe* used alone in constituent negation (privative derivation and adjectival antonym negation; §7).

## 10.2 Evolutionary pathway: negation of clauses with a non-finite verb

We now move to the discussion of the possible diachrony of the negation construction of clauses with a non-finite verb. As a reminder, here negation is realized by way of a single negation marker which is preposed to the lexical verb and which can be one of two morphemes, *aimue* or *mué=*, giving the following two constructions: [... *aimue* ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ...] and [... *mué=* ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ...].

Following the same line of reasoning as above (i.e., taking into account the respective grammatical and phonological properties of *aimue* and *mué=*), it is reasonable to believe that *mué=* is older than *aimue*. This assumption is grounded in the observation that *mué=* displays a shorter form and less phonological independence (being a clitic) than *aimue*; note that in terms of their syntactic distribution, both are free to occur anywhere before the lexical verb. The hypothesis is also corroborated by philological evidence found in a Christian catechism in Tacana from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, which only displays a negation construction that corresponds to that with *mué=*. In the material available, which goes back about 150 years, we see that all the instances of negation of verbal main clauses<sup>11</sup> are realized by way of a preverbal marker *mawe* (spelled *mave*) that precedes a non-finite verb, as in the three examples in (37), and which looks basically similar to our synchronic construction [... *mué=* ... V ... (be/do-INFL) ...].

(37) Old Tacana (mid-19<sup>th</sup> century)

S    NEG   V            AUX

a. *Quejutcua mara mi mave confesa pu?*

how\_many year 2SG NEG confess be

‘How many years have you not confessed?’ (Lafone Quevedo 1902: 297)

<sup>11</sup> Note that in the affirmative polarity, the catechism shows examples of clauses with both finite and non-finite verbs.

A NEG V

- b. *Jucuajasu ni mi mave ichegua.*

why MAYBE 2SG NEG kill

‘¿Y por qué no lo mataste?’ (Lafone Quevedo 1902: 310)

‘Why didn’t you kill it?’

NEG V

- c. *Mave chanapa cuaja miada ema e-ba-nia.*

NEG know why 2SG.ERG 1SG IPFV-see-IPFV.SIT1/2

‘No sé porqué me miráis.’ (Lafone Quevedo 1902: 310)

‘I don’t know why you are looking at me.’

On the basis of these synchronic observations and the historical data, it is possible to suggest that the negation pattern with *mué=* corresponds to the original construction and that the negation pattern with *aimue* is a more recent development.

Turning to the reconstruction of the development paths, since both patterns only differ in the formal and prosodic properties of their negation marker, it can be suggested that they arose in a similar way but at different times in the past. In terms of likely etymologies for *aimue* and *mué=*, the same candidates are available as those for the *aimue* and *=mawe* ~~negators~~ in SN: the negative stand-alone word *aimue* ‘no!’ (35) and negative existential/locative predicative adjective *aimue* (36), to which we can add the second negative stand-alone word *mawe* ‘no!’, illustrated in (38) (repeated from (27)).

- (38) *Mawe! Aimue =da ema e-puti=mawe.*

no NEG =PTC 1SG FUT-go=NEG

‘No, no voy a ir.’ su028

(‘Do you want to go to Mass with us?’) ‘No! I won’t go!’

Although *mawe*, unlike *aimue*, is not attested as a negative existential/locative predicative adjective in present-day Tacana, it is plausible that it could have been used in such a way in the past, and that this function fell into disuse.

Although a scenario similar to that proposed for the reconstruction of SN—a Jespersen Cycle reinforcement process by way of a stand-alone negator replacing a former negator in a clause with a non-finite verb—is not completely inconceivable, here there is no evidence available which would support it. That is, there is no possibility of having the two negative markers *aimue* and *mué=* co-occurring in the same construction.

An alternative scenario that seems more probable would be one which possibly involved as the source construction for both patterns (that with *aimue* and

that with *mué=*) not a clause with a non-finite verb, but a **negative existential/locative predicative adjective** of the clause type illustrated in (36) ('there were no villages' / 'villages ~~did not exist~~'). As commented in footnote 11, this evolutionary pathway is cross-linguistically very common. From this perspective, one could imagine that the transitive and intransitive SN constructions (e.g., in (24a) 'I didn't see my brother-in-law' and (24b) 'I didn't go out fast') come from the reanalysis of clauses with a **nominalized verb as the S argument of a negative existential/locative predicate**. These are translatable literally as 'there is no seeing of my brother-in-law by me' for (24a) and 'there is no fast going out for me' for (24b), respectively. An argument in favor of this hypothesis is that here, unlike in the SN construction with finite verbs, the verb does show some similarities with nominal referents in negative existential predicate constructions, in particular by being obligatorily non-finite ~~and in an affirmative form~~. Moreover, the verb to be negated by way of a negative existential/locative adjective displays affirmative polarity.



Yet, there are several unresolved issues with this hypothesis; in particular, there are many divergent properties between the hypothetical negative existential predicate source construction and the target negative construction with a non-finite verb, which would remain to be explained. One such property is argument coding. In the negation construction with a non-finite verb, the argument coding is identical to that of basic declarative affirmative clauses (the same split ergative case-marking system). If the negation construction with a non-finite verb had originated in an existential predicate, one would expect a different coding pattern, one which should reflect how the arguments can be coded in nominal predicate construction. Notably, one would expect the S and the A of the SN construction to be marked like an experiencer argument in a nominal predicate construction, with dative(+purpose) case marking, as in (39a,b); note that (39a) is repeated from (19e).

- |  |     |     |   |
|--|-----|-----|---|
|  | ADJ | DAT | S |
|--|-----|-----|---|
- (39) a. *Aimue mesa aicha...*  
 nonexistent 3SG.DAT meat  
 'No tenía carne...' ye006  
 'He didn't have meat.' [lit. the meat was nonexistent to him]
- |    |              |                    |                   |
|----|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| b. | <i>Aimue</i> | <i>beju dhidha</i> | <i>kema=puji.</i> |
|----|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|
- nonexistent PTC night 1SG.DAT=PURP  
 'Ya no había noche para mi.' du023  
 'The was no night for me (because I could see at night as well as during the day).' du023

Another problematic property concerns the form and morphosyntactic characteristics of the auxiliaries that can be optionally used in both affirmative and negative clauses with a non-finite verb (to carry the inflectional affixes), namely *a* when it is transitive (e.g., (20a)) and *pu* when the SN clause is intransitive (e.g., (20b)). First, in negative existential predicates, the transitive auxiliary *a*—or better said, its etymological source *a* ‘~~affect, make, do~~ (tr.), say (tr.)’—cannot be used. Second, even though in negative existential predicates the intransitive auxiliary *pu*—or better said, its etymological source *pu* ‘be/exist, be located, do (itr.), say (itr.)’—can be used, as illustrated in (40), it must be followed by the negator =*mawe* in addition to *aimue*, a construction which can be analyzed as the embracing SN of clauses with finite verb constructions [... *aimue* ... V-INFLECTIONS(=*mawe*) ...].

- (40) *Upia =mu      =da aimue      ejude ekene pu-iti-a=mawe.*  
 here =CONTR =PTC nonexistent village first be-PFV-PST=NEG  
 ‘Aquí no había nada/pueblo / no era pueblo todavía.’ hi020  
 ‘Here (at that time) there was no village at the beginning.’

Additional work is needed to investigate further whether this second scenario is supported by the data or if other hypotheses need to be sought.

## 11 Summary and conclusion

This paper presented for the first time a synchronic and diachronic study of negation markers and patterns in Tacana as applying to clauses (declarative/interrogative and commands) and constituents. The diachronic part focused on two major negation construction: SN and negation of clauses with non-finite verbs.

Starting with SN, I argued that its embracing pattern likely arose out of a Jespersen Cycle process in which a stand-alone negator ‘no,’ originally used outside of a negative clause for pragmatic reinforcement, is in the process of replacing the original postverbal SN marker inside of the clause. Taking into account the actual polysemy between this stand-alone word and the negative existential/locative predicative adjective ‘nonexistent,’ I proposed to ultimately trace the origin of the new SN marker back to a negative existential predicate, thereby adding Tacana negation to the list of cases where the Jespersen and negative existential cycles intertwine.

The reconstructed grammaticalization path is also interesting from a diachronic typological perspective because it goes from the right of the verb to the left of

the verb, unlike the more familiar direction from the left of the verb to the right of the verb. As such, the Tacana pattern corresponds to what van der Auwera & Vossen (2016) and Vossen (2016) call a Jespersen Cycle “in reverse”.

Continuing with the second construction, negation of clauses with non-finite verbs, it was proposed that they both directly arose, albeit at different times, out of a negative existential predicate construction where the original function of *aimue* and *mué=* was to negate the existence of a nominalized (non-finite) verb. However, if this hypothesis is correct, how the original intransitive negative existential predicate construction came to display all the synchronic properties of negated clauses with non-finite verbs, which are the same as in the SN construction (split-ergative case marking and alternation of transitivity-sensitive auxiliaries), remains largely unexplained and calls for further research.

## List of non-standard abbreviations

(    )	morpheme that does not appear on the surface (in morpheme line)
[    ]	multiple-word constituent
ASF	adjective suffix
ASSC	associative
CONTR	contrastive
DEPR	depreciative
DUBIT	dubitative
HORT	hortative
INFL	inflection
INTENS	intensifier
MID	middle
NPF	noun prefix
POST	posture
POT	potential
PRIV	privative
REC.PST	recent past
REM.PST	remote past
REP	reportative
TDM	temporal distance marker

this section title should rather be simple “Abbreviations”; additional information may be given in body text

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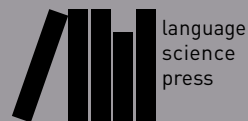




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# The Negative Existential Cycle from a historical-comparative perspective

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