POLARITY AGREEMENT IN A'INGAE NOMINALIZATIONS

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In this paper, I describe and analyze the "nominal negative" suffix -*a* NN in A'ingae (or Cofán, ISO 639-3: con), an understudied and endangered Amazonian isolate. The suffix -*a* NN obligatorily attaches to noun phrase-internal functional heads which nominalize negated predicates. I propose that -*a* NN expones agreement with the Neg(ative) feature on T. Therefore, I document the first case of agreement with polarity on nominalizers to date. All the data were collected by the author.

BACKGROUND   A'ingae is a highly agglutinating, exclusively suffixing (and encliticizing), predominantly head-marking language, with a flexible, predominantly SOV word order. Verbal arguments are case-marked in a nominative-accusative alignment. Person feature-agreeing second-position clitics (Dąbkowski, t.a.) and the negative agreement discussed in this paper are the only cases of morphological agreement in A'ingae reported to date.

DATA   A'ingae has a set of classifying nominalizers, including place nominalizer -*'thi* PLC (1a), diurnal nominalizer -*'ki* DRN (1b), delimited space nominalizer -*khû* DLM (1c), periodic nominalizer -*ite* PRD (1d), flat shape nominalizer -*je* FLAT (1e), etc. They allow for deverbal (1a-b) and denominal (1c-e) nominalizations. The semantics of the derived nouns is not fully predictable.

(1) a. *sumbu-'thi*   b. *isûye-'ki*   c. *amba-khû*   d. *na-ite*   e. *na-je*
        leave-PLC   be born-DRN   yucca-DLM   fruit-PRD   fruit-FLAT
        "door"   "birthday"   "yucca field"   "fruit season" "leaf"

A'ingae also has a rich set of evaluative (EVAL) morphemes, such as =*fa'u* "(skinny and) ugly" (2a), =*khu'vi* "pale and skinny," =*chu'u* "fat and pretty," =*fa'khu* "skinny," etc. The relative order of the noun and the modifier within a noun phrase is free (2b-c), but the evaluative appears to the right of the whole phrase. The evaluatives are phonologically bound, so they are enclitics. Plurality is expressed with =*ndekhû* PL. If both are present, the evaluative precedes the plural marker (2d).

(2) a. *pindu* =*fa'u* b. *rande pindu* =*fa'u* c. *pindu rande* =*fa'u* d. *pindu* =*fa'u* =*ndekhû*
        hawk =EVAL   large hawk =EVAL   hawk large =EVAL   hawk =EVAL =PL
        "an ugly hawk"   "a large ugly hawk"   "a large ugly hawk"   "large ugly hawks"

Nominalized clauses can be introduced with a dedicated subordinator =*'chu* SBRD (3a), evaluative markers (3b), classifying nominalizers (3c), or the plural marker (3d). The clauses introduced by these morphemes are nominalized, as evidenced by the fact that they can occupy argument positions and can be case-marked. The clause to which the nominalizer attaches is bracketed [ ].

(3) a. *athe* =*ngi* [*tise tsa* =*ma an*] =*'chu* =*ma*   b. [*tshai'pa-tshe mangû*] =*fa'u* =*tsû jin*
        see =1   (s)he that =ACC eat =SBRD =ACC   slow-ADV   crawl   =EVAL =3 be
        "I saw that (s)he ate that."   "There is a slow ugly crawler."

     c. *jayi* =*ngi* [*tise mama* =*me   ru'nda*] =*khû* =*nga*   d. [*khuvi* =*ma panza*] =*ndekhû*
        going =1   (s)he mom =ACC2 wait   =DLM =DAT   tapir =ACC hunt   =PL
        "I'm going to the room where he waited for his mother." "those who hunted tapir"

Negative predicates, both verbal (4a) and nominal (4b), are formed with -*mbi* NEG. When a negative clause is nominalized via any of the strategies in (3), the nominalizer is obligatorily followed by -*a* NN (5, wavy underline). When several of the clitics in (3) attach to a negative clause, -*a* NN follows each of them (5b-c). (The final *û* /ɨ/ of =*khû* DLM 5a and =*ndekhû* PL 5b surfaces as *i* before *a*. This is regular phonology.)

(4) a. *tise* =*tsû khuvi* =*ma panza-mbi*   b. *va* =*tsû pindu-mbi*
        (s)he =3   tapir =ACC hunt-NEG   this =3   hawk-NEG
        "(S)he didn't hunt tapir."   "This is not a hawk."

(5) a. *jayi* =*ngi* [*tise mama* =*me* *ru'nda-mbi*] =*khi-a̰* =*nga*
   going =1 (s)he mom =ACC2 wait-NEG =DLM-NN =DAT
   "I'm going to the room where he did not wait for his mother."

   b. *athe* =*ngi* [*pindu-mbi*] =*fa'khu-a̰* =*ndekhi-a̰* =*ma*
   see =1 hawk-NEG =EVAL-NN =PL-NN =ACC
   "I saw skinny non-hawks." (not: "*non-[skinny] hawks" or "*non-[skinny hawks]")

   c. *athe* =*ngi* [*pindu-mbi*] =*'chṵ-a̰* =*fa'khu-a̰* =*ma*
   see =1 hawk-NEG =SBRD-NN =EVAL-NN =ACC
   "I saw a skinny non-hawk." (not: "*a non-[skinny] hawk" or "*a non-[skinny hawk]")

The scope of negation corresponds to the linear position of *-mbi* NEG, not *-a* NN (hence the translations of 5b-c). For high-scoping negation, *-mbi* NEG attaches past the nominalizer (6b, cf. 6a).

(6) a. *va* =*tsû* [*pindu-mbi*] =*fa'khu-a̰*   b. *va* =*tsû* [*pindu*] =*fa'khu* =*mbi*
   this =3 hawk-NEG =EVAL-NN   this =3 hawk =EVAL =NEG
   "This is a skinny non-hawk."   "This is not a skinny hawk."

ANALYSIS   The morphemes in (3) can all function as nominalizers. To capture this behavior, I propose that they all expone features on the nominal categorizing head *n* (Embick, 2010). To model the distribution of *-a* NN, I propose that in A'ingae, the nominal head *n* is always associated with an unvalued uPol(arity) probe, which probes into its complement and copies the Neg(ative) feature located on T (7). Assuming the *vocabulary items* of DM (Embick and Noyer, 2007), the exponent of Neg in the context of *n* is *-a* (8).

(9)

(7) the clitics in (3): { *n*, uPol:__ }
(8) Neg ⟷ *-a* / { *n*, _ }

I assume that positive polarity on T is underspecified, but a failure of agreement does not result in ungrammaticality (Preminger, 2014). Thus, A'ingae nominalizers can attach to positive clauses, with *-∅* as the realization of non-agreement (3). Each *n* is associated with a separate uPol-probe. Thus, each clitic separately shows morphological agreement with negation (5b). (The analysis involves stacking *n* heads, but denominal nominalization is robustly attested in A'ingae, e.g. 1c-e.) Since the *n* heads probe downward (into their complements), nouns below negation are not marked with *-a* NN (4b, 6b). The derivation of the NP in (5b) is given in (9). Feature copying is represented with dashed lines.
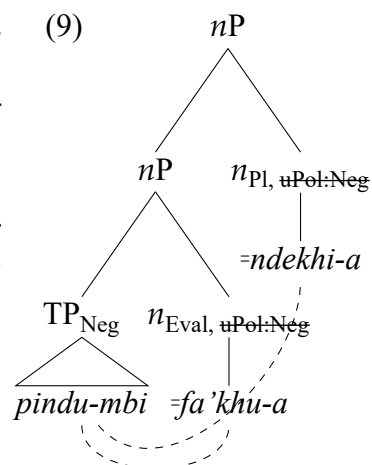
DISCUSSION   Both classic negative concord and the A'ingae negative agreement involve the feature Neg. However, the two phenomena are, in a sense, opposites of each other: In negative concord, the verbal head agrees with (nominal) constituents it c-commands (Deal, t.a.). In the A'ingae negative agreement, a nominal head agrees with the verbal constituent it c-commands.

A'ingae presents the first known case of negative agreement on nominal heads. Since polarity is a prototypically verbal feature, indexing it on nominalizers is a typological oddity. A'ingae lacks gender, class, or number agreement, making this exotic agreement pattern all the more striking.

Dąbkowski (t.a.). "A'ingae second-position clitics are ..." In: *WSCLA 25*. link. Deal (t.a.). "Negative concord as Downward Agree." In: *NELS 52*. Embick (2010). *Localism versus ...* LI Monograph 60. Embick and Noyer (2007). "Distributed morphology and ..." In: *The Oxford Handbook ...* Preminger (2014). *Agreement and Its Failures*.