Negation in Arawak Languages

# Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

#### Series Editors

David Beck (*University of Alberta*) Mily Crevels (*Leiden University*) Hein van der Voort (*Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi*) Roberto Zavala (*CIESAS-Sureste*)

#### Editorial Board

Peter Bakker, Aarhus University – Nora England, University of Texas, Austin
Ana Fernández Garay, Universidad Nacional de La Pampa – Michael Fortescue,
University of Copenhagen – Victor Golla, Humboldt State University – Pieter
Muysken, Radboud University Nijmegen – Enrique Palancar, CNRS – Keren
Rice, University of Toronto – Frank Seifart, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary
Anthropology – Leo Wetzels, CNRS/Sorbonne-Nouvelle, VU Amsterdam

VOLUME 6

# Negation in Arawak Languages

Edited by

Lev Michael Tania Granadillo



LEIDEN | BOSTON

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Negation in Arawak languages / Edited by Lev Michael, Tania Granadillo.

pages cm. – (Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas ;  $\boldsymbol{6})$ 

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-25701-6 (hardback: alk. paper) – ISBN 978-90-04-25702-3 (e-book) 1. Arawakan languages—Grammar. 2. Arawakan languages—Negatives. 3. Endangered languages. 4. Language attrition. I. Michael, Lev, editor of compilation. II. Granadillo, Tania, editor of compilation.

PM5476.N44 2014 498'.39-dc23

2014001302

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1876-5580 ISBN 978 90 04 25701 6 (hardback) ISBN 978 90 04 25702 3 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Global Oriental and Hotei Publishing. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

# To Christian, Zoe, and Isabella

and

*To Chris* (notasanotakempi)

and

To the speakers of Arawak languages, whose patience, dedication, and hard work with linguists from around the world have made this volume possible

•

# Contents

Index 301

List of Maps and Figures VIII
Abbreviations IX
Notes on Contributors XIV
Introduction 1
Lev Michael and Tania Granadillo
Garifuna Negatives 13
Pamela Munro and Caitlin E. Gallagher
Negation in Guianese Lokono/Arawak 54
Marie-France Patte
On Negation in Kurripako Ehe-Khenim 74
Tania Granadillo
Negation in Tariana: A North Arawak Perspective in Light of Areal
Diffusion 86
Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald
Negation in Apurinã(Arawak) 121
Sidi Facundes
Negation in Wauja Discourse 147
Christopher Ball
Standard and Non-Standard Negation in Paresi 169
Ana Paula Brandao
Negation in Nanti 184
Lev Michael
Negation and Irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario 216
Françoise Rose
A Typological and Comparative Perspective on Negation in Arawal
Languages 241
Lev Michael

# List of Maps and Figures

1	
N	an

Geographic locations of Arawak languages in this volume 4

# Figures

1	Classification of Arawak languages mentioned in the volume, following
	Aikhenvald (1999) 7
2	Classification of Arawak languages mentioned in the volume, following
	Campbell (2012) 8
3	Classification of Arawak languages mentioned in the volume, following
	Ramirez (2001) 9
4	Position of the irrealis affixes withing the verb structure 226
5	Functions of reflexes of the PA privative 277

# **Abbreviations**

1 First person Second person 2 Third person 3 A-class verb A Subject A/S Ablative ABL Actual ACT ACTV Active ADL Adlative Adjectivizer ADJVR Affirmative AF AFF Affect Agent AG Allative ALL ANIM Animate Anterior ANT APL Applicative Article ART AS A stem Associative ASS

ASSOC.MOT Associated motion

ASSV Asseverative Assertive AST Attributive ATR AUG Augmentative Auxiliary AUX В Base stem Benefactive BEN Causative CAU

CAUS:INFL Causative of influence

CERT Certain
CL Classifier

CMP Complement marker

CNTF Counterfactual

COMTRST Contrast
COM Comitative
COMP Completive

X ABBREVIATIONS

CONC Conclusive
COND Conditional
CONJ Conjuction
COP Copula
CPT Centripetal

CT Thematic consonant

D D seriesDAT DativeDECL DeclarativeDEI Deictic

DEM Demonstrative

DEO Deontic

DIM Diminutive

DIR Directional

DIS Distant

DSTR Distributive

DV Dummy Verb

DX D+ series

E Exclamatory stem

**Epenthetic** EP **Emphatic EMP** Exclamative EXCL Existential EXI Expectative EXP F Feminine Feminine FEM Final FIN FOC Focus Frustrative FRU **Future FUT** General GEN Gerund GER

н Hortative stem

GRAD

Gradual

HAB Habitual
HYP Hypothetical
I I-class verb
ICP Inceptive
IMMED Immediate
IMP Imperative

ABBREVIATIONS XI

**Impersonal IMPERS** Imperfective IMPF Incompletive INC Indicative IND Indefinite INDEF Infinitive INF INSTR Instrumental INT Interrogative Intensifier INTE Intentional INTN INTR Intransitivizer

**Irrealis** IRR Locative LOC Masculine M Malefactive MAL Metalinguistic META

Middle MID

MS Male speech Negative stem N Non-possessed N.POSS

Negative NEG NF Non-feminine Non-human NH Nominal NL

NM Non-masculine Nominalizer NML Nominative NOM N series NS Non-visual NONVIS Object O Patient Р PART **Participle** PAS Past Passive PASS Perfect PF Perfective PERF

Plural Plural of kinship terms PL.KIN

Pluractional PLURACT POL.SUG Polite suggestion

PL

XII ABBREVIATIONS

Postposition POSP Possessive POSS Possessed POSSED Potential POT Prefix series PR Predicate PRED PREP Preposition Present PRES Privative PRIV PRO Pronoun Progressive PROG Prohibitive PROH Proximal PROX

PS Prefixable stem

Possessor

**Punctual PUNCT** Purposive PURP REA Realis Recent REC Referential REF Reflexive REFX Regressive REG Relativizer REL Remote REM Repetitive REP Restrictive REST Resultative RESULT REV Reversative Reportative RPT Question Q S Subject

 $egin{array}{ll} S_a & Subject of active intransitive verb \\ S_o & Subject of stative intransitive verb \\ \end{array}$ 

SEC Secondhand SG Singular

sj Subject instative predicates

SS S series
SUB Subordinator
T T series
TEMP Temporal

ABBREVIATIONS XIII

TH Thematic suffix
TRAN Transitive
TRANS Transitivizer
UNCERT Uncertain

UNCERT Uncertain
UNPOSS Unpossessed

v Verb

VER Veridical
VBZ Verbalizer
VIS Visual
WH Wh
XTRM Extreme

## **Notes on Contributors**

#### Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald

is Distinguished Professor, Australian Laureate Fellow and Director of the Language and Culture Research Centre at James Cook University. She is a major authority on languages of the Arawak family, from northern Amazonia, and has written grammars of Bare (1995) and Warekena (1998), plus *A grammar of Tariana, from northwest Amazonia* (2003), in addition to essays on various typological and areal features of South American languages. Her other major publications include *Classifiers*: (2000), *Language contact in Amazonia* (2002), *Evidentiality* (2004), *Imperatives and commands* (2010), *Languages of the Amazoni* (2012) and *The Art of Grammar* (forthcoming).

## Christopher Ball

is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Notre Dame. He completed the Joint PhD in Linguistics and Anthropology at the University of Chicago in 2007. His linguistic and ethnographic dissertation fieldwork was with the Arawak speaking Wauja people in the Upper Xingu of Brazil. He teaches and writes in the areas of language in culture, the political economy of language in society, ritual performance, inalienable possession, Amazonian development, discourse and power, dialect and multilingualism, relationality and alterity, grammatical categories and mind, language and place, indigeneity, and language shift.

#### Ana Paula Brandão

is a PhD candidate at the University of Texas at Austin. She is currently working on her dissertation: "A reference grammar of Paresi-Haliti". She began fieldwork in 2004 with the Apurinã language and she has conducted field research since 2007 in the Paresi communities. Her main interests are typology, language documentation and description, with a particular focus on Amazonian languages.

## Sidney da Silva Facundes

(AKA Sidi Facundes) is a Professor of General and Descriptive Linguistics, and of Portuguese at the Universidade Federal do Pará, in Belém, Brazil. His contribution to this book was written while he was a visiting professor at the University of Thammasat, in Bangkok, Thailand. His research area is Arawak languages, with special focus on Apurinã; his publications include various articles and book chapters on the subject. His most current investigation attempts to

determine both the contributions of Apurinã to linguistic typology as well as to the pre-history of Arawak in Western Amazonia.

#### Caitlin E. Gallagher

received her BA in Linguistics at the University of California Los Angeles in 2009. She is currently pursuing a Masters Degree in Social Work at the University of Southern California and expects to graduate in May 2014.

#### Tania Granadillo

is Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Linguistics at The University of Western Ontario. She has been working on Indigenous languages of Venezuela since 1996. Her interests span both Anthropology and Linguistics specializing in Venezuelan Indigenous languages, language policy, language ideology, language shift, maintenance and revitalization, language documentation and description. She is the co-editor of *Ethnographic Contributions to the Study of Endangered Languages* (2011).

#### Lev Michael

is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. He has carried out fieldwork with speakers of A?iwa (isolate), Iquito (Zaparoan), Matsigenka (Arawak), Máíhiki (Tukanoan), Muniche (isolate), Nanti (Arawak), Omagua (Tupí-Guaraní-lexified contact language), and Sápara (Zaparoan). With a methodological grounding in language documentation, his research focuses on the socio-cultural dimensions of grammar and language use, typology, language contact in South America, and the historical linguistics of Arawak, Tupí-Guaraní, and Zaparoan languages. In his engagement with Amazonian indigenous communities, he is also involved in language revitalization, and in training and collaborating with community linguists.

#### Pamela Munro

is a Distinguished Professor of Linguistics at UCLA. Munro's publications include dictionaries and grammars of Cahuilla, Chickasaw, Kawaiisu, Mohave, Wolof, Tlacolula Valley Zapotec, and UCLA student slang, as well as technical articles on many other topics. In 2012–2013 she taught two courses on American indigenous linguistics in which UCLA undergraduates were able to work with Mr. Maurice Lopez, her main Garifuna consultant, and to write stories in Garifuna with his help. She is also currently working on Gabrielino/ Tongva/ Fernandeño, Chickasaw, Q'anjob'al, and Quichua.

## Françoise Rose

is a Research Fellow of the National Scientific Research Center of France (CNRS) in Lyon. Her research interests are primarily in the description of indigenous languages of Amazonia. She studies more specifically Emerillon (Tupi-Guarani, French Guiana) and Mojeño Trinitario (Arawak, Bolivia). She has written the first comprehensive grammar of Emerillon. She is also interested in diachronic and areal issues.