

# Negation in Chuxnabán Mixe

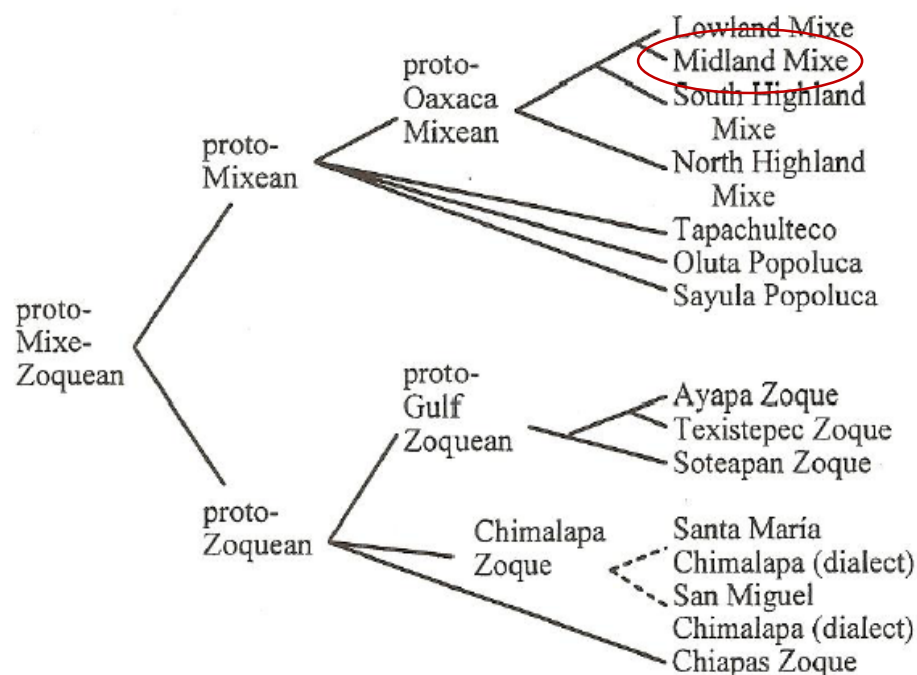
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# Introduction: Language profile

- Chuxnabán Mixe (ISO: pxm; location: 17°01'08.3"N 95°49'46.6"W)
  - Mixe-Zoquean language



- Spoken by 900 people in San Juan Bosco Chuxnabán, Oaxaca, Mexico
- Mixean territory: 290 communities, each with its own variety/dialect
- Considered ‘unsafe’: literacy mostly in Spanish, language use in village

# Introduction: Language profile

## Typological profile

- Polysynthetic and head-marking
- Hierarchical and inverse alignment system (person, animacy, topicality)\*
- Noun incorporation and frequent compounding
- No nominal case marking, except for locative; number marking is optional
- Independent and dependent paradigms for person and TAM markers on verbs\*
- Verb stem changes for independent/dependent paradigm
- Word order fairly flexible, but generally verb-final

\*illustrated on the following slides

# Introduction: Language profile

## Typological profile: Person marking

- Hierarchical and inverse alignment system (person, animacy, topicality)

*Table 1: Person prefixes*

### Independent person prefixes

Person	Intrans	Trans.A	Trans.O
1	-	<i>n-</i>	<i>x-</i>
2	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>
3	-	<i>y-</i>	-

### Dependent person prefixes

Person	Intrans	Trans.A	Trans.O
1	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>x-</i>
2	<i>m-</i>	<i>x-</i>	<i>m-</i>
3	<i>y-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>y-</i>

+ the plural suffix *-të* for actor or undergoer for all three persons

+ special first person inclusive *-ëm* for both actor and undergoer

# Introduction: Language profile

## Typological profile: Hierarchy and inverse

- Example 1: Hierarchical and inverse alignment system

(1) No inverse suffix with first person undergoer, but inverse in 3>2

(a) *x-yuuɟx-p*

1.O-wake.up-ASP

‘You/(She) wake/(s) me up’

(b) *m-yuuɟx-ě-p*

2.O-wake.up-INV-ASP

‘S/he wakes you up’

*Figure 1: Hierarchical and Inverse system*

Relation	Marking	Inverse mrkd	Relation	Marking	Inverse mrkd
1>2 =>	1.A	n/a	3>1 =>	<b>1.O</b>	<b>no</b>
1>3 =>	1.A	n/a	3>3' =>	3.A	n/a
2>1 =>	<b>1.O</b>	<b>no</b>	3'>3 =>	<b>3.O</b>	<b>yes</b>
2>3 =>	2	n/a			
3>2 =>	2	<b>yes</b>			

# Introduction: Language profile

## Typological profile: Verb paradigms

- Dependent versus independent paradigms
  - Verbs are inflected as being independent or dependent  $\neq$  subordinate
  - Verbs are inflected as dependent if a non-core constituent precedes it or when a temporal or locative adverb or a negative particle precede it (even in main clauses)
  - Aspect-mood suffixes on verbs also follow different paradigms for dependent and independent inflection
  - TAM particles are invariant (e.g. past marker *oojts*, *tëë* anteriority')

# Introduction: Language data

## Data for this paper

- Personal field work in 2008 and 2011 in the village, including the transcription of eleven oral narratives (5-15 min)
- Transcription of a 30-minute dinner-table conversation
- Ongoing documentation with a speaker living in the US
  - Elicitation of affirmatives from negative of the data above
  - General elicitation of negatives and corresponding affirmatives following Miestamo's (2016) questionnaire
- Data of related languages available:
  - Ayulta Mixe (Romero 2008), Sierra Popoluca (Boudreault 2009, also 2018)

# Introduction: This presentation

## Negation strategies in Chuxnabán Mixe

### Standard negation

- Negative markers and multiple expressions of negation
- Constructional asymmetries

### Nonstandard negation

- Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*
- Prohibitives with *ka'ap*
- Other uses of *kii/ këtii*
- Negation in non-verbal clauses



# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'ap*

- Standard negation = negation in main declarative verbal clauses (Payne 1985)
- Negative markers described in terms of type, position, and number of markers present in a clause (Miestamo 2016)
- In general/most frequently, the negative particle *ka'ap* is used in standard negation in Chuxnabán Mixe, as in examples (2)-(5)

(2)-(5) Standard negation with negative particle *ka'ap*

(2)	<i>ka'ap tkaanyë</i>	<i>kääpy</i>
	<b><i>ka'ap</i></b> <i>t-kay-në</i>	<i>y-kay-p</i>
	NEG 3A.DEP-eat-ASP	3A.IND-eat-ASP
	'He doesn't/didn't eat (something).'	'He eats/ate (something).'

(3)	<i>ka'apës ëejts n'ijxy</i>	<i>ëejtsës n'ijxy</i>
	<b><i>ka'ap=ës</i></b> <i>ëejts n-'ijx-y</i>	<i>ëejts=ës n-'ijx-y</i>
	NEG=EMPH 1SG 1A.DEP-see-ASP	1SG=EMPH 1A.IND-see-ASP
	'I haven't seen him.'	'I have seen him.'

# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'ap*

- Standard negation with negative particle *ka'ap* (con't)

(4)	<i>ka'ap tuky ja kääky</i> <i>ka'ap t-tuk-y ja kääky</i> NEG 3A.DEP-cut-ASP DEM tortilla 'He didn't break the tortilla (to eat it).'	<i>tyuky ja kääky</i> <i>y-tuky ja kääky</i> 3A.IND-cut-ASP DEM tortilla 'He broke the tortilla (to eat it).'
(5)	<i>ka'ap kē'ekēch iich ntaatuuntē</i> <i>ka'ap kē'ekēch iich t-yaa-tun-tē</i> NEG footwear PST 3A.DEP-CAUS-use-PL 'They didn't use footwear.'	<i>yaatuuntēp iich kē'ekēch</i> <i>y-yaa-tun-tē-p iich kē'ekēch</i> 3A.IND-CAUS-use-PL-ASP PST footwear 'They used footwear.'

- Negative particle can be moved before or after any noun phrase, if it remains in pre-verbal position; post-verbal position is considered ungrammatical
- Negative particle can take the first person emphatic enclitic, evidential enclitics, and demonstratives can cliticize to it as well

## Negation: Standard negation: *ka'ap*

- Standard negation with negative particle *ka'ap* (con't)

(6)-(7) Standard negation with negative particle *ka'ap* clause-internally

(6) *ëejtsëm ka'ap ntiimito'owtë*  
*ëejtsëm ka'ap n-tiimito'ow-të*  
1PL.INCL NEG 1A.DEP-obey-PL  
'We didn't obey.'

(7) *tääpë Tinnë ka'apës oojts xnyikaapxtu'utë*  
*tääpë Tinnë ka'ap=ës oojts x-nyikaapxtu'ut-të*  
this NEG-EMPH PST 1O.DEP.defend-PL  
'This Tino didn't defend us.'

# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

- Standard negation with negative prefix *ka'*-
- Negative verbal prefix *ka'*- occurs occasionally in standard negation
- Significantly less frequent than the negative particle *ka'ap*  
=> only a handful of clauses in the data; mostly in non-standard negation and in combination with another form of negation

(8)-(9) Standard negation with verbal prefix *ka'*-

(8) *jētu'un ja ja'ay tka'ja'oyētē*  
*jētu'un ja ja'ay t-ka'-ja'ooyē-tē*  
so DEM people 3A.DEP-NEG-fix-PL  
'So the people didn't fix it.'

*jētu'un ja ja'ay ntaa'oyētē*  
*jētu'un ja ja'ay t-naa'oyē-tē*  
so DEM people 3A.DEP-fix-PL  
'So the people fixed it.'

(9) *(nii) yē'ē tkajakēxy ja kääky*  
*(nii) yē'ē t-ka'-ja-kēxy ja kääky*  
PST DEM 3A.DEP-NEG-CAUS-end DEM tortilla  
'They didn't finish the tortilla.'

*(nee) yaakēējxpy iich ja kääky*  
*(nee) y-yaa-kēējxpy iich ja kääky*  
PST 3A.IND-CAUS-end PST DEM tortilla  
'They finished the tortilla.'

# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

- Standard negation with negative prefix *ka'*- (con't)
- In any sentence the verb may carry the negative prefix *ka'*- instead of or in addition to the negative particle *ka'ap*, with some exceptions (see below)
- Both markers can be present in negative concord (Hoekesema 2009)
- Constraints to the use of the negative prefix *ka'*-
  - *ka-* can only be used as a single negator in clauses where only the subject is overtly expressed, as opposed to a subject and an object => see (10a-d)

# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

(10) Sole negator *ka*- restricted use

(10a) *Juank tka'kaychäänyë*

*Juank t-ka'-kay-chäänyë*

3A.DEP-NEG-eat-finish

'Juan doesn't eat.'

(10b) *Juank ka'ap ja kääky tka'kaychäänyë*

*Juank ka'ap ja kääky t-ka'-kay-chäänyë*

NEG DEM tortilla 3A.DEP-NEG-eat-finish

'Juan doesn't eat tortilla.'

(10c) *Juank ka'ap ja kääky tkaychäänyë*

*Juank ka'ap ja kääky t-kay-chäänyë*

NEG DEM tortilla 3A.DEP-eat-finish

'Juan doesn't eat tortilla.'

(10d) \**Juank ja kääky tka'kaychäänyë*

\**Juank ja kääky t-ka'-kay-chäänyë*

DEM tortilla 3A.DEP-NEG-eat-finish

'Juan doesn't eat tortilla.'

# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

- Standard negation with negative prefix *ka'*- (con't)
- Constraints to the use of the negative prefix *ka'*-
  - Same restriction as in (10d) occurs in Ayutla Mixe (Romero 2008:453)
  - Ayutla Mixe: Romero (2008:453) notes an additional restriction for locative phrases with motion verbs, extending the restriction to non-core elements => this does not occur in Chuxnabán Mixe => see (11)

## Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

- Standard negation with negative prefix *ka'*- (con't)

(11) Sole negator *ka-* possible with locative phrase

(11a) *yë'ë ka'nëekxɸ kyamoch*  
*yë'ë o-ka'-nëekx-p y-kam-och*  
DEM 3S.IND-NEG-go-ASP 3POSS-field-LOC  
'He is not going to his field.'

(11b) *yë'ë ka'ap nyiikx kyamoch*  
*yë'ë ka'ap y-niikx y-kam-och*  
DEM NEG 3S.DEP-go-ASP 3POSS-field-LOC  
'He is not going to his field.'



# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

- Standard negation with negative prefix *ka'*- (con't)
- *ka'*- as shortened form of negative particle *ka'ap*

(12) Negative prefix *ka'*- as shortened form of *ka'ap*

(12)	<i>mijts ka'mnēekx</i>	<i>mijts ka'mkay</i>
	<i>mijts <b>ka'</b>-m-nēekx</i>	<i>mijts <b>ka'</b>-m-kay</i>
	2SG NEG-2S-go	2SG NEG-2S-eat
	'You didn't go.'	'You don't eat.'

- Different ordering of prefixes on verb:
  - Generally, person marker occupies the first slot
  - But: in (12) the negative prefix *ka'*- takes the first slot in the sequence
  - => *ka'*- is a shortened form of the negative particle *ka'ap* which has been attached as a proclitic to the predicate
  - Intermediate stage between *ka'*- and *ka'ap*?

# Negation: Standard negation: *ka'*-

- Standard negation with negative prefix *ka'*- (con't)
- The negative prefix *ka'*- occurs generally with other negators in non-standard negation: interrogatives: (13), adverbial clauses: (14), constituent negation: (15)

(13)-(15) Verbal prefix *ka'*- in non-standard negation

(13) *pën kyamëemëto'opy ja myaestrë*  
*pën y-ka'-yaa-mëemëto'opy ja y-maestrë*  
someone 3O.DEP-NEG-CAUS-obey-ASP DEM 3POSS-teacher  
'Who doesn't obey his/her teacher?'

(14) *ko jä'ä kääky kyaaku'uxë*  
*ko jä'ä kääky y-ka'-yaa-ku'ux-ë*  
when DEM tortilla 3O.DEP-NEG-CAUS-fill.up-INV  
'When he wasn't filling up on tortilla.'

(15) *niimaa kyä'nyëekx ni yaa kya'näx*  
*nii=maa y-ka'-nëekx ni yaa y-ka'-näx*  
NEG-where 3S.DEP-NEG-go NEG here 3S.DEP-NEG-walk  
'She is going nowhere, not even here she is coming through'

# Negation: Multiple expression of negation

- Proclitic *nii*= occurs in non-standard negation (mostly negative indefinites: *niiḗn* ‘nobody’, etc. )
- The presence of *nii*= triggers negative marking on the verb: *ka*'- (obligatory negative concord)
- Note: negator *nii* can also be found detached (only in pre-verbal position), and it can attach to the negative particle *ka*'*ap*
- Note: *ni* differs from *nii* and is probably a Spanish borrowing => see (14)
- Note: homophonous *nii*- = animacy marker unrelated to the negator

# Negation: Multiple expressions of negation

(16)-(19) Obligatory negative concord *nii*= and *ka'*- or *nii*- and *ka'ap*

(16) *tää nii yē'ē ja kääky tka'kaychäänyē*  
*tää **nii** yē'ē ja kääky t-**ka'**-kaychääny-ē*  
then NEG DEM DEM tortilla 3A.DEP-NEG-finish.eat-INV  
'Then they never finished eating the tortilla'

(17) *nii pēn jyā'ā tka'mēnēekx*  
***nii**=pēn jyā'ā t-**ka'**-mēnēekx*  
NEG=someone there 3A.DEP-NEG-take  
'Nobody took it there.'

(18) *niipēn kyaamēmētowētē*  
***nii**=pēn o-**ka'**-yaamēmētowēt-ē*  
NEG=someone 3O.IND-NEG-obey-INV  
'Nobody obeyed him.'

(19) *ets niika'apēka pi'kana'k ntēkē'enē tääkē*  
*ets **nii**=**ka'ap**=ēk=ja'a pi'kana'k t-nēkē'enē tääkē*  
and NEG=NEG=EV=DEM child 3A.DEP-devour like.that  
'And he could not devour a child like that'

# Negation: Multiple expression of negation

- All three negators are not found in a single sentence in the naturally occurring data, but are deemed grammatical

(20) Multiple expressions of negation: 3 negators (from elicitation)

(20a) *niikana'a ka'ap kyäminy*

*niikana'a ka'ap y-ka'-min-y*

**never**    **NEG**    3S.DEP-NEG-come-ASP

‘S/he is never coming.’

(20b) *niikana'a ma niipën kyänëëkx*

*niikana'a ma niipën y-ka'-nëëkx*

**never**    where **NEG=someone** 3S.DEP-NEG-go

‘Nobody ever goes anywhere.’

- Negator tripling also possible in Ayulta Mixe, but rare (Romero 2008:452-3)

## Summary: Standard negation & negators

- Each of the negative markers *ka'ap*, *ka'*, and *nii=* can co-occur with one of the other two negative markers in a sentence
- The negative particle *ka'ap* can, and most often is, the single negator in a sentence
- The proclitic *nii=* always co-occurs with either the negative prefix *ka'* or the negative particle *ka'ap*
- The negative prefix *ka'* may occur as a shortened form of *ka'ap* (see example 12) possibly illustrating diachronic developments

# Negation: Constructional asymmetries

- Symmetric/asymmetric negation: based on structural differences between negative and corresponding affirmative clauses (Miestamo 2005, 2007, 2009, 2014, 2017)
- Constructional asymmetry: structure of the negative clause is NOT identical to the structure of the corresponding affirmative clause, in addition to the presence negative markers
- Chuxnabán Mixe shows constructional asymmetries
  - Negative markers are not simply added to a corresponding affirmative clause
  - There are several accompanying constructional differences
  - The presence of the negative particle *ka'ap* triggers dependent inflection on the verb

# Negation: Constructional asymmetries

- Chuxnabán Mixe dependent/independent distinction
  - A sentence is treated as either independent or dependent, each with its own set of inflectional person markers and aspectual/mood suffixes
  - Dependency is triggered if a non-core constituent, such as an adverb, a temporal or locative particle, or the negative particle *ka'ap*, precedes the predicate
  - This means that a predicate is marked as independent only in sentences that solely contain core argument constituents before the verb
  - Dependency is unrelated to subordination and occurs in both main and subordinate clauses
  - The same occurs in other Mixean languages (see Romero 2008)



# Negation: Constructional asymmetries

(21)-(23) Independent and dependent marking

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (21) Independent<br><i>maatsyüüijchpy</i><br><i>m-yaa-tsyüüijch-py</i><br>2A.IND-CAUS-hurt-ASP.IND<br>'You hurt him.'           | Dependent<br><i>ka'ap xyaatsyüich</i><br><i>ka'ap x-yaa-tsyüts-y</i><br>NEG 2A.DEP-CAUS-hurt-ASP.DEP<br>'You don't hurt him.'                                       |
| (22) Independent<br><i>yaa'o'kjä'ä</i><br><i>y-yaa-'o'k-jä'ä</i><br>3A.IND-CAUS-die-DEM<br>'He killed it.'                      | Dependent<br><i>tää oojts awa'atsn ntaa'anaktë</i><br><i>tää oojts awa'atsn t-naa'anak-të</i><br>then PST key 3A.DEP-take.away-PL<br>'Then they took away the key.' |
| (23) Independent<br><i>tu'uk xuk'awaanë</i><br><i>tu'uk x-tuk-'awaanë</i><br>one 1O.IND-CAUS-say<br>'One (of them) said to me.' | Dependent<br><i>yë'ës oojts tëkok ximto'px</i><br><i>yë'ë=ës oojts tëkok x-imto'px</i><br>DEM=EMPH PST once 1O.DEP-hit<br>'One time he hit me.'                     |

# Negation: Constructional asymmetries

- Chuxnabán Mixe dependent/independent distinction formally
  - Special set of person prefixes
  - Special set of aspect/mood suffixes
  - Verbs stem variations depending on dependent or independent forms (based on different conjugational verb classes) (patterns need further study in Chuxnabán Mixe)
- However: not all negative clauses are in dependent inflection
- When the proclitic *nii*= co-occurs with the negative prefix *ka'*- the verb can be either in the dependent or the independent based on the constituents preceding the predicate
- The same occurs when only the negator *ka'*- is used
- \*Note example (12): where *ka'*- occurs as shortened form of *ka'ap*, person prefix shape the same in dependent/independent, 2s = *m-*, and thus can't tell the difference

# Negation: Constructional asymmetries

(24)-(26) Dependent/independent with proclitic *nii*=

(24) *niika'na'a kyämiin*  
*niika'na'a y-ka'-miin*  
never 3S.DEP-NEG-come  
'S/he never comes.'

(25) *niiyaa kyänaax*  
*nii=yaa y-ka'-naax*  
NEG-here 3S.DEP-NEG-come.by  
'S/he doesn't even come by here.'

(26) *niipën kyaamëmëtoowëtë*  
*nii=pën o-ka'-yaamëmëtoowët-ë*  
NEG=someone 3O.IND-NEG-obey-INV  
'Nobody obeyed him.'

# Summary: Constructional asymmetries

- Chuxnabán Mixe dependent/independent distinction with different negators:
- Sentences with *ka'ap* are always dependent
- Sentences with *ka'*- as sole negator are generally independent (unless non-core constituent precedes verb)
- Sentences with *nii=* are either dependent or independent based on the type of constituents that precede the predicate:
  - => only clauses with *niipën* 'nobody' can be independent

# Summary: Constructional asymmetries

Table 2: Dependent/independent with different negators

	<i>ka'ap</i>	<i>ka'-</i>	<i>nii=</i>
Dependent	x		
Dependent	x	x	
Dependent	x		x
Dependent	x	x	x
Dependent/Independent*		x	x
Independent		x	
Dependent/Independent*			x

\*Marked as independent only when *nii=* is part of *niipën* 'nobody'

## Summary

- Asymmetries include: a) separate set of person prefixes; separate set of aspect/mood suffixes; c) special verb stem
- Not all negative clauses exhibit constructional asymmetries
- Dependent forms are not specifically associated with negatives => should these asymmetries be considered of the subtype A/Cat (Miestamo 2013b)?

# Negation: Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*

- Two kinds of asymmetries for prohibitives (Miestamo 2005)
  - Differences in negation strategies between declaratives and imperatives
  - Differences in verbal constructions in positive and negative imperatives
- Chuxnabán Mixe: multiple ways of expressing prohibitives
- Generally formed with a special negative pre-verbal particle *këtii* or *kii* and an optional negative imperative suffix *-ëch*
- Positive imperatives are formed using the bare verb stem, except with a first person undergoer that is marked as an enclitic
- First person undergoer is marked in both affirmative and negative imperatives

# Negation: Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*

(27)-(29) Prohibitives with *këtii/ kii* and optional *-ëch*

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (27) | <i>kii mtsë'ekë</i><br><b><i>kii</i></b> <i>m-tsë'ekë</i><br>NEG.IMP 2S.DEP-be.afraid<br>Don't be afraid! (SG)  | <i>tsë'ekë</i><br><i>tsë'ekë</i><br>be.afraid<br>Be afraid! (SG)  |
| (28) | <i>këtii mëtse'ekëtë</i><br><b><i>këtii</i></b> <i>m-tsë'ekë-të</i><br>NEG.IMP 2S.DEP-be.afraid-PL<br>Don't be afraid! (PL)   | <i>tsë'ekëtë</i><br><i>tsë'ekë-të</i><br>be.afraid-PL<br>Be afraid! (PL)  |
| (29) | <i>këtii s xukpaatëch mtëts</i><br><b><i>këtii=s</i></b> <i>x-tukpaat-ëch</i> <i>m-tëts</i><br>NEG.IMP=1 1O.DEP-touch-NEG.IMP 2POSS-tooth<br>'Don't touch us with your tooth!' (SG) | <i>tukpa'tkës mtëts</i><br><i>tukpa'tk=ës</i> <i>m-tëts</i><br>touch-1      2POSS-tooth<br>'Touch us with your tooth!' (SG) |

# Negation: Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*

(30)-(31) Prohibitives with *këtii/ kii* and optional *-ëch*

(30a) *këtiiis xkyöx*

*këtii=s x-kyöx*

NEG.IMP=1 1O.DEP-hit

‘Don’t hit me!’

(30b) *këtiiis xkyoxëch*

*këtii=s x-kyox-ëch*

NEG.IMP=1 1O.DEP-hit-NEG.IMP

‘Don’t hit me!’

(31a) *këtiiis xkyoxtë mas nkwaajken*

*këtii=s x-kyoxtë ma=s n-kwaajken*

NEG.IMP=1 1O.DEP-hit-PL on=1 1POSS-head

‘Don’t hit me on the head!’ (pl)

(31b) *këtiiis xkyoxëch mas nkwaajken*

*këtii=s x-kyox-ëch ma=s n-kwaajken*

NEG.IMP=1 1O.DEP-hit- NEG.IMP on=1 1POSS-head

‘Don’t hit me on the head!’



## Summary: Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*

- Prohibitive strategy differs from standard negation and thus represents the first type of Miestamo's asymmetry
  - It also differs from imperatives (which are formed using the bare verb stem)
- => in prohibitives the verb takes
- a) person prefixes from the dependent set (since the particle is pre-verbal)
  - b) the plural *-të* (same as in the imperative), but only if the suffix *-ëch* does not occur
- Note: unlike in declarative clauses, the second person actor is marked even if the clause contains a first person undergoer
  - *Kii* seems to be a shortened form of *këtii*; the two particles can be used interchangeably

# Negation: Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*

Constraints in the use of *kii/ këtii* with other negatives

- Prohibitive particle has to occur clause-initially (no other negator may precede it) (see 32b)
- The presence of other pre-verbal negative words triggers the presence of the negative prefix *ka'*- on the verb, in addition to the suffix *-ëch* (as in 32b)
- In prohibitives with other negative words, the suffix *-ëch* may be the only prohibitive marker (as in 33a)

# Negation: Prohibitives with *kii/ kētii* or *-ëch*

(32)-(33) Constraints for *kii/ kētii*; prohibitive with *-ëch* only

(32a) *niikana'as xkya'mëkaajpxëch*

***niikana'a=s x-ka'-mëkaajpx-ëch***

**never=1 1O.DEP-NEG-talk-NEG.IMP**

'Never talk to me!'

(32b) \**niikana'as kii/ kētii xkya'mëkaajpxëch*

\****niikana'a=s kii/kētii x-ka'-mëkaajpx-ëch***

**never=1 NEG.IMP 1O.DEP-NEG-talk-NEG.IMP**

'Never talk to me!'

(33a) *niimaa mka'në'ëkxëch*

***niimaa m-ka'-në'ëkx-ëch***

**nowhere 2S.DEP-NEG-go-IMP.NEG**

'Don't go anywhere!'

(33b) *niimaa mka'nëekx*

***niimaa m-ka'-nëekx***

**nowhere 2S.DEP-NEG-go**

'You are not going anywhere.'

## Summary: Prohibitives with *kii/ këtii*

- Asymmetries referring to differences in negation strategies between declaratives and imperatives: a) special markers *kii/ këtii* and the optional suffix *-ëch*, b) *-ëch* is obligatory in clauses without *kii/ këtii*
- Asymmetries referring to differences in the verbal constructions used in positive and negative imperatives: a) imperatives formed with bare verb stem + first-person enclitic, if applicable; b) prohibitives take the dependent person and aspect markers (same patterns as in declaratives) + obligatory first person undergoer enclitic when present
- But: prohibitives can also be formed similar to negated declaratives => with negative particle *ka'ap* + obligatorily the verbal suffix *-ëch*

## Summary: Prohibitives with *ka'ap*

(34)-(35) Prohibitives with *ka'ap* + *-ëch*

(34a) *ka'ap mintëch*  
*ka'ap m-mint-ëch*  
NEG 2S.DEP-come-NEG.IMP  
'Don't come!'

(34b) *këtii mintëch*  
*këtii m-mint-ëch*  
NEG.IMP 2S.DEP-come-NEG.IMP  
'Don't come!'

(35a) *ka'apës xchë'ëkëch*  
*ka'ap=ës x-chë'ëk-ëch*  
NEG=1 1O.DEP-afraid-NEG.IMP  
'Don't be afraid of me!'

(35b) *këtiis xchë'ëkëch*  
*këtii=s x-chë'ëk-ëch*  
NEG.IMP=1 1O.DEP-afraid-NEG.IMP  
'Don't be afraid of me!'

=> two competing strategies to form prohibitives: *kii/këtii* + (*-ëch*)  
or NEG/*ka'ap* + *-ëch*

- Ayutla Mixe: no special negation strategy (Romero 2008:307)
- Sierra Popoluca: special negator '*ot'oy*' in prohibitives/optatives (Boudreault 2009)

# Summary: Prohibitives

Table 3: Summary of strategies to form imperatives and prohibitives

	Bare stem	Person marker	1 <sup>st</sup> person undergoer	<i>kētii/ kii</i>	<i>ka'ap</i>	Other pre-verbal neg ('never')	<i>ka'</i> -	<i>-ëch</i>	SG/PL <i>o/ -të</i>
Imperative	x		x						x
Prohibitive		x	x	x		(x)		(x)	(x)
Prohibitive		x	x			x	x	x	
Prohibitive		x	x	x		x		(x)	(x)
Prohibitive		x	x		x			x	

\* dependent inflection

## Other uses of *kii/kētii*

- Negative particle *kii/kētii* also used in negative polar interrogatives  
=> no formal distinction between prohibitive and negative interrogative (38)

(36)-(38) *kii/kētii* in negative polar questions

- (36) *kētii miny Juank?*  
*kētii m-miny Juank*  
NEG 2S.DEP-come  
'Juan is not coming?'
- (37) *ka'ap miny*  
*ka'ap m-miny*  
NEG 2S.DEP-come  
'S/he didn't come.'
- (38) *kii miny*  
*kii m-miny*  
NEG 2S.DEP-come  
'Don't come!' = 'Isn't s/he coming?'

## Other uses of *kii/ kətii*

- Negative particle *kii/ kətii* also used in non-verbal negative interrogatives and negative existential

(39)-(40) *kii/ kətii* in negative polar questions

(39a) *kii iich ja tējk chapsēch?*  
***kii** iich ja tējk y-tsaps-ēch*  
NEG PST DEM house 3S.DEP-red-NEG  
'Wasn't the house red?'

(39b) *tsaps iich ja tējkē?*  
*ø-tsaps iich ja tējk-ē*  
3S.IND-red PST DEM house-Q  
Was the house red?

(40) *kii tii?*  
***kii** tii*  
NEG what  
'There isn't anything?'



## Other uses of *kii/kētii*

- Negative particle *kii/kētii* also used in tag questions

(41)-(43) Negative particle *kētii* in tag questions

- (41) *xiipē campsine i'ta'any, kētiijē pa'ch*  
*xiipē campsine i'ta'any **kētii=jē'ē** pa'ch*  
this.one farmer will.be NEG=DEM buddy  
'This one (Salvador) will be a farmer, right buddy?'
- (42) *jā'ā ko tēē nyiivimpi'tē, kētii*  
*jā'ā ko tēē y-niivimpi'tē **kētii***  
DEM because before.now 3S.DEP-repeat NEG  
'Because he repeated (the school year), right?'
- (43) *oojts m'och jamp, kētiijē? wi'ix inā'āny Joaquín?*  
*oojts m-'och jamp **kētii=jē'ē** wi'ix inā'āny Joaquín*  
PST 2S.DEP-go there NEG=DEM how said  
'So, you went there, right? ¿What did Joaquín say?'

## Summary: used of *kii/ këtii*

Negative particle *kii/ këtii* can be used in:

a) Prohibitives

b) Negative polar interrogatives (verbal predicates)

c) Negative polar interrogatives (non-verbal predicates)

d) Negative existential

e) Tag questions

=> *-ëch* is optional in a), b), e) + possibly d) (needs further study)

=> occurs clause-initially in a)-d)

=> occurs sentence-finally added to previous statement in e)

=> *kii/ këtii* strategy may be a politer form for prohibitives, but it is becoming the main strategy

# Negation: non-verbal clauses

- Non-verbal negatives differ from non-verbal affirmative clauses in that the non-verbal predicate takes person prefixes (dependent inflection); juxtaposition occurs in the affirmative
- Non-verbal negation differs from verbal negation in that in addition to the negative particle *ka'ap*, the predicate takes the enclitic =*ëch* (in equatives and attributives)
- The enclitic =*ëch* does not occur in the future which shows different strategies for both affirmatives and negatives
- There is a second negation strategy in equatives and attributives involving a verbalizer –*a't*/ –*aajt*

# Negation: non-verbal clauses

(44)-(46) Negation in non-verbal clauses (equatives)

(44) *yë'ë tääpë yuujk yë'ë u'k.*  
*yë'ë tääpë yuujk yë'ë u'k*  
DEM this animal DEM dog  
'This animal is a dog.'

*yë'ë tääpë yuujk ka'ap yë'ëch 'u'k.*  
*yë'ë tääpë yuujk ka'ap y-yë'ë=ëch 'u'k*  
DEM this animal NEG 3S.DEP-DEM=NEG dog  
'This animal is not a dog.'

(45) *jä'ä yë'ë mëj tu'ts.*  
*jä'ä yë'ë mëj tu'ts*  
DEM DEM big pot  
'This is the big pot.'

*ka'ap jä'ä myej tu'tsëch.*  
*ka'ap jä'ä y-mej tu'ts=ëch*  
NEG DEM 3S.DEP-big pot=NEG  
'This is not the big pot.'

(46) *yë'ës ntaajk'aajchpy.*  
*yë'ë=s n-taajk='aajch=p*  
DEM=1 1POSS-mother=VRB-ASP  
'She is my mother.'

*ka'apës yë'ë ntaajk'ach.*  
*ka'ap=ës yë'ë n-n-taajk='ach*  
NEG=1 DEM 1A.DEP-1POSS-mother=VRB  
'She is not my mother.'

# Negation: non-verbal clauses

(47)-(49) Negation in non-verbal clauses of attribution

- (47) *yë'ë 'uk awa'an.*  
*yë'ë 'uk awa'an*  
DEM dog wild  
'The dog is wild.'
- 'uk ka'ap y'awa'anëch.*  
*'uk ka'ap y-'awa'an=ëch*  
dog NEG 3S.DEP-wild=NEG  
'The dog is not wild.'
- (48) *Juank yë'ë iich wij.*  
*Juank yë'ë iich wij*  
DEM PST intelligent  
'Juan was intelligent.'
- Juank ka'ap iich wyijëch.*  
*Juank ka'ap iich y-wij=ëch*  
NEG PST 3S.DEP-intelligent=NEG  
'Juan was not intelligent.'
- (49) *yë'ë to'oxychëejkëch pejëch.*  
*yë'ë to'oxychëejk-ëch pej-ëch*  
DEM woman-PL skinny-PL  
'The women are skinny.'
- yë'ë to'oxychëejkëch ka'ap pyejy'a'të.*  
*yë'ë to'oxychëejkëch ka'ap y-pejy='a'të*  
DEM women-PL NEG 3S.DEP-skinny=VRB  
'The women are skinny.'

(50) No =*ëch* in negative clauses of proper inclusion

- (50) *Juank yë'ë (tu'uk) mëëtuumpë.*  
*Juank yë'ë (tu'uk) mëëtuum-pë*  
DEM (one) worker-ASP  
'Juan is a worker.'
- Juank ka'ap yë'ë myëëtuny.*  
*Juank ka'ap yë'ë y-mëëtuny*  
NEG DEM 3S.DEP-worker  
'Juan is not a worker.'

# Summary: Negation in non-verbal clauses

Table 4: Negation strategies in non-verbal clauses

	Affirmative	Negative strategy #1	Negative strategy #2
Equation (nominal predicate)	juxtaposition	<i>ka'ap</i> + person + <b>=ëch</b>	<i>ka'ap</i> + verbalizer + person
Proper inclusion (nominal predicate)	juxtaposition (+ <i>-'aamp</i> in FUT)	<i>ka'ap</i> + person (+ <i>-'a'any</i> in FUT)	
Attribution (adjectival predicate)	juxtaposition (+ <i>i'tä'äny</i> in FUT)	<i>ka'ap</i> + person + <b>=ëch</b> (+ <i>i'tä'äny</i> in FUT, but no <b>=ëch</b> )	<i>ka'ap</i> + verbalizer + person <i>ka'ap</i> (+ <i>i'tä'äny</i> in FUT)

- Negation strategies in locatives and existentials differ from those in other non-verbal clauses

# Summary and conclusions

- Negation has proven to be very complex in Chuxnabán Mixe
- As expected, different types of clauses exhibit different negation strategies, but what is special is that the language often has multiple negation strategies for a particular type of negation, as well as multiple negators in a clause, some of which as optional
- Multiple expressions of negation within a single clause may be due to old and new negators occurring simultaneously whereby optional negators may represent the older forms

=> this makes Chuxnaban Mixe an interesting language for studying diachronic developments

=> this may also open the possibility of studying variation within negation (i.e. frequency of competing strategies)

=> important to use both naturally-occurring and elicited data

# Summary and conclusions

- Given that the distinction between dependent and independent inflection is pervasive in the language and not specifically related to negation, examining negation based on asymmetries resulting from this distinction may be less useful in this language
- Open questions: is the suffix *-ëch* in prohibitives and negative interrogatives the same as the negative enclitic in non-verbal negation?
- Further study:
  - study the use of each negator for each type of clause or construction and determine the limits of its use (form to function)
  - examine diachronic developments
  - possible borrowing and areal spread of negation strategies



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*Dios kujuuyëp!*  
Thank you!