

## Negation in Koasati

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Koasati is a Muskogean language spoken by some 200 citizens of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana and by a portion of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas.<sup>1</sup> Many aspects of Koasati negation—particularly the placement of negative affixes in different verb classes—have been described in Kimball (1991). This description reflects further research on Koasati and describes negation in a wider typological context (Dahl 1979; Miestamo 2005, 2016).

Koasati generally has SOV word order in positive and negative sentences.

- (1) a. *a:t-osi-k*            *łalo-n*            *i:p*  
           person-DIM-SBJ    fish-NSBJ        eat.LGR  
           ‘the child is eating the fish’
- b. *a:t-osi-k*            *łalo-n*            *ik-p-o-n*  
           person-DIM-SBJ    fish-NSBJ        NEG-eat.RGR-NEG-SF  
           ‘the child is not eating the fish’

Enclitics appear after noun phrases to indicate case or discourse status: *-k* for subject (with a focused form *-ok*), *-n* for nonsubject (focused form *-on*), and *-p* for topic, among others. In conversation, phrases are often added after the verb as afterthoughts.

Verbs are marked for the person and number of their arguments. Koasati distinguishes three series of person markers: agent (‘A’), patient (‘P’), and dative (‘D’).

- |     |   |  |                |
|-----|---|--|----------------|
| (2) | <i>hiča-l-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>is-hiča-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>hiča-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>il-hiča-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>has-hiča-laho<sup>n</sup></i>        | ‘I will see it’<br>‘you will see it’<br>‘he/she will see it’<br>‘we will see it’<br>‘you all will see it’      | Agent series   |
| (3) | <i>ča-banna-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>či-banna-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>banna-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>ko-banna-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>hači-banna-laho<sup>n</sup></i> | ‘I will want it’<br>‘you will want it’<br>‘he/she will want it’<br>‘we will want it’<br>‘you all will want it’ | Patient series |
| (4) | <i>am-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>čim-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup></i><br><i>im-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup></i>  | ‘I will be hungry’<br>‘you will be hungry’<br>‘he/she will be hungry’  | Dative series  |

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<sup>1</sup> I am deeply indebted to the Coushatta Language Committee for sharing their knowledge with me. I would especially like to thank Bertney Langley, Lorenda Poncho, and Linda Langley.

*kom-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘we will be hungry’  
*hačim-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘you all will be hungry’

The agent series is only used for subjects. Transitive verbs (5) and intransitive verbs describing deliberate actions (6) generally use the agent series for their subjects.

- (5) *a:sihli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will wash it’, *a:sopliči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will wash (another’s hair)’, *abosli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will barbecue it’, *ačapilka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will put it outside’, *ačhali:liči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will let it out’, *ačo:li-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will sew it’, *alotli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will fill it’, *atohli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will drive it’, *ayammi-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will stir it’, *batapli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will hit it’, *čoko:liči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will park it’, *ha:lo-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will hear it’, *hača:liči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will make it stand’, *hiča-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will see it’, *hokfi-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will put it in’, *hofna-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will smell it’, *hokfa-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will get dressed’, *hopo:ni-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will cook it’, *i<sup>n</sup>-ha:lo-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will listen to it’, *ilakasamo-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will show off’, *im-awi:či-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will help him/her’, *in-ka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will give it to (someone)’, *ipa-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will eat (one item of food)’, *kaha-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will say it’, *koyoffi-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will cut it’, *latafka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will kick it’, *libatli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will burn it’, *lommi-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will hide it’, *naho-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will do it’, *ohompa-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will eat (several foods)’, *okbahli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will close it’, *paka:mači-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will tame it’, *sbakohli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will throw it’, *sobayliči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will teach’, *st-a:ya-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will carry it’, *tanatliči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will lower it’, *tihli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will brush it’
- (6) *a:ya-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will go about’, *afa:ka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will laugh’, *atla-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will go’, *bala:ka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will lie down’, *bitli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will dance’, *čayahli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will walk’, *čoko:li-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will sit down’, *falanka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will wake up’, *ila-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will get here’, *iltohno-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will work’, *inča:li-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will write’, *lonka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will hide’, *na:ti:ka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will speak’, *noči-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will sleep’, *onti-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will come’, *o:hapka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will take a bath’, *pahka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will shout’, *sobayli-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will learn’,<sup>2</sup> *talwa-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will sing’, *tanihka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will gamble’, *wayka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will fly’, *yahka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will cry’

The patient series is generally used for direct objects (7) and for the subjects of nonagentive intransitive verbs (8).

- (7) *ča-hi:č* ‘he/she sees me’
- (8) *ča-ho:pa-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will be sick’, *ča-lohka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will get tired’, *ča-taklahka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will be busy’, *ča-tammi-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will fall’, *ča-tołtohka-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will cough’, *ča-hakbiska-l-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘I will sneeze’

<sup>2</sup> This verb generally uses the agent series for the subject in positive contexts, but the patient series in negatives: *ča-sobăy-k-o-n* ‘I don’t know/I haven’t learned’.

Only a few transitive verbs such as *banna-* ‘want’ and *ilhosi-* ‘forget’ use the patient series for a subject:

- (9) *ča-hači-lhosi-nna-n^*  
 1SG.P-2PL.P-forget-PROHIB-SF  
 ‘don’t you all forget about me!’

The dative series is generally used for indirectly affected objects of verbs:

- (10) *am-manka-laho^n* ‘he/she will talk to me’, *am-inča:li-laho^n* ‘he/she will write for me’, *am-ponha:lo-laho^n* ‘he/she will listen to me’

A small number of verbs use the dative series for their subjects (11).<sup>3</sup>

- (11) *am-aka:no-laho^n* ‘I will be hungry’, *an-na:ho-laho^n* ‘I will have it’, *am-ayyih* ‘I am lazy’, *am-matta-laho^n* ‘I will miss (an appointment, etc.)’, *al-lokb* ‘I’m hot’, *a^n-ho:p* ‘I hurt’

Koasati has three affixes that might be called “wandering affixes” (possibly old clitics): these affixes are prefixed, infixes, or suffixed depending on the class of the verb stem they attach to.<sup>4</sup> The wandering affixes in Koasati are the agentive person markers (other than first person singular *-li*); the negative marker *ik-*; and the verbal noun marker *il-*. A verb like *hiča-* ‘see’ prefixes these markers:

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| (12) <i>is-hiča-laho^n</i> ‘you will see it’     | 2SG.A       |
| <i>ik-hĩ:č-o-laho^n</i> ‘he/she will not see it’ | NEG         |
| <i>il-hiča</i> ‘seeing’                          | verbal noun |

A verb like *talwa-* ‘sing’ infixes these same markers:

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| (13) <i>ta&lt;či&gt;lwa-laho^n</i> ‘you will sing’    | 2SG.A       |
| <i>ta&lt;kĩ&gt;lw-o-laho^n</i> ‘he/she will not sing’ | NEG         |
| <i>ta&lt;li&gt;lwa</i> ‘song’                         | verbal noun |

The verbs *na:li:ka-* ‘talk’ and *hopo:ni-* ‘cook’ are suffixing verbs in different classes:

<sup>3</sup> The simplest way to test for a subject is to see whether nominative *-k* is used with a noun phrase: *am-aka:n* ‘I am hungry’, *a:tosi-k im-aka:n* ‘the baby is hungry’; *am-ayyih* ‘I am lazy’, *koła na:ni-k im-ayyih* ‘that man is lazy’.

<sup>4</sup> The parallelism between these wandering markers has been explored for Alabama in the work of Hardy and Montler 1991, and Montler and Hardy 1990, 1991. The placement of these markers in the different languages is described in Haas (1946) and Martin and Munro (2005).

- (14) *na:ti:-hiska-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘you will talk’                    2SG.A  
*na:ti:-hikk-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not talk’                NEG  
*na:ti:-hilka* ‘language’                                        verbal noun
- (15) *hopon-či-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘you will cook’                        2SG.A  
*hopõn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not cook’                NEG  
*hopon-ka* ‘cooking’    verbal noun

Kimball (1991), expanding on Haas’s (1946) classification, distinguishes eleven classes of verbs based on the placement and form of these wandering affixes.

One complication is that the class of a verb may change when suffixes are added to a verb root. The verb *lokba-* ‘hot’, for example, is an infixing verb:

- (16) *lokba-laho<sup>n</sup>*    ‘it will be hot’  
*lo<kĩ>kb-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*    ‘it will not be hot’

When the same verb root is suffixed to express degree, the derived verb form is suffixing:

- (17) *lo<kĩ>kb-o-<sup>n</sup>*    ‘it’s not hot’  
*lokb-ǎ.<sup>n</sup>h-os-tĩkko-<sup>n</sup>*    ‘it’s not that hot’

The suffix *-nanna-* ‘always’ is another suffix that appears between the verb root and the mark of negation:

- (18) *ačo:li-*    ‘sew’  
*ačo:-k-ó-hčo:k*    ‘he/she doesn’t sew’  
*ačo:li-nanna-tĩkk-ó-hčo:k*    ‘he/she doesn’t always sew’

It is therefore helpful to think of negation as an operation that applies to a domain that is larger than the root and that we might call the VERB STEM.

Like the other Muskogean languages, Koasati has a system of GRADES or internal changes typically applying to the penultimate syllable of a verb stem and affecting verbal aspect.<sup>5</sup> The lengthened grade is an eventive aspect used for actions that took place or are taking place. It is formed by assigning mid-to-low falling tone on the penultimate syllable of the stem with lengthening of that vowel (if possible). The pitch often goes up on the following syllable.

- (19) *isi-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will pick up’                        *ì:sí-l* ‘I am picking it up’ (L-grade)

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<sup>5</sup> Here I briefly describe the lengthened grade (L-grade), the rising grade (R-grade), and the geminating-rising grade (GR-grade). In addition, there is an aspirating grade (H-grade) and nasalizing grade (N-grade).

The rising grade is found in negatives. Rising tone is assigned to the penultimate syllable of the stem (with lengthening of that vowel, if possible).

- (20) *hiča-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will see’                      *ik-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not see’ (R-grade)  
*talwa-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will sing’                      *ta<kĩ>lw-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not sing’ (R-grade)  
*na:ti:ka-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will talk’                      *na:ti:-hĩkk-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not talk’ (R-grade)<sup>6</sup>  
*čoko:li-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘(one) will sit down’                      *čokō:-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/will not sit down’ (R-grade)

The geminating-rising grade indicates a state resulting from an event. It is formed by assigning rising tone to the penultimate syllable of the stem and, if possible, geminating the onset of that syllable:

- (21) *čoko:li-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘(one) will sit down’                      *čokkō:li-l* ‘I am sitting’ (GR-grade)

### Form of Negation

Negation in Koasati applies to verbs and has three marks: a wandering affix *ik-* is prefixed, infix, or suffixed to the verb (with placement and form determined by verb class); a suffix *-o* is added; the verb stem is placed in the rising grade (with rising tone assigned to the syllable before *-o*). Examples (22-24) show these three processes applying in prefixing, infixing, and suffixing verbs:

- (22) *hiča-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will see it’                      *ik-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not see it’  
(23) *talwa-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will sing’                      *ta<kĩ>lw-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not sing’  
(24) *na:ti:ka-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will talk’                      *na:ti:-hĩkk-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* ‘he/she will not talk’

In addition, two verbs are suppletive in the negative.

- (25) a. *a:t-osi-k*                      *łalo-k*                      *in-nă:ho-:s*  
          person-DIM-SBJ    fish-SBJ    D-exist.RGR-PST1.IMPERF  
          ‘the child had a fish’  
      b. *a:t-osi-k*                      *łalo-k*                      *im-ikso-:s*  
          person-DIM-SBJ    fish-SBJ    D-NEG.exist.RGR-PST1.IMPERF  
          ‘the child didn’t have a fish’

<sup>6</sup> When rising tone appears on a syllable closed by an obstruent, some speakers divide the tone over two syllables: *na:ti:-hĩkk-o-laho<sup>n</sup>* may thus be pronounced *na:ti:-hĩkk-ó-laho<sup>n</sup>*.

- (26) a. *y-ok*                      *ič-ok*                      *om*  
           this-FOC.SBJ            deer-FOC.SBJ            be  
           ‘this is a deer’
- b. *y-ap*                         *ič-ok*                         *ko-<sup>n</sup>*  
           this-TOP                    deer-FOC.SBJ            NEG.be-SF  
           ‘this is not a deer’

Person marking is expressed differently in positive and negative sentences:

- (27) *hiča-l-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘I will see it’                      *ak-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘I won’t see it’  
*is-hiča-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you will see it’                      *čik-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you won’t see it’  
*hiča-laho<sup>n</sup>*                    ‘he/she will see it’                      *ik-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘he/she won’t see it’  
*il-hiča-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘we will see it’                      *kil-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘we won’t see it’  
*has-hiča-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you all will see it’                      *hačik-hĩ:č-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you all won’t see it’
- (28) *ča-banna-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘I will want it’                      *ča-băn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘I won’t want it’  
*či-banna-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you will want it’                      *či-băn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you won’t want it’  
*banna-laho<sup>n</sup>*                    ‘he/she will want it’                      *băn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘he/she won’t want it’  
*ko-banna-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘we will want it’                      *ko-băn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘we won’t want it’  
*hači-banna-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you all will want it’                      *hači-băn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you all won’t want it’
- (29) *am-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘I will be hungry’                      *am-akăn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘I won’t be hungry’  
*čim-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you will be hungry’                      *čim-akăn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you won’t be hungry’  
*im-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘he/she will be hungry’                      *im-akăn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘he/she won’t be hungry’  
*kom-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘we will be hungry’                      *kom-akăn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘we won’t be hungry’  
*hačim-aka:no-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you all will be hungry’                      *hačim-akăn-k-o-laho<sup>n</sup>*            ‘you all won’t be hungry’

As the forms in (27-29) show, the agent series of person markers differs in the negative. It may be that *ik-* was once a negative auxiliary verb with its own series of agent person markers. With verbs using the patient series (28) or dative series (29), *ik-* has the form used in the third person for that verb class.

As Miestamo (2005:129) has noted, (27) is an asymmetric system with agentive person marking expressed differently in the positive and negative. Grammatical aspect also differs: while positive verbs may appear in the lengthened grade, geminating-rising grade, etc., negative verbs are uniformly in the rising grade (possibly an old imperfective):

- (30) *čokò:li-l* ‘I am getting seated’ (event)                      }  
           *čokkô:li-l* ‘I am sitting’ (state)                                      } *čoko:-tăkk-o<sup>n</sup>* ‘I am not getting seated/sitting’

Some tense forms are restricted to perfective or imperfective aspect. In the recent past (earlier today up to last night), *-t* is used for an event that is successfully completed once, while *-:s* is used for a state, a negative event or state, or a repeated event.

- (31) a. *a:t-osi-k*                      *lato-n*                      *i:pá-t*  
 person-DIM-SBJ    fish-NSBJ    eat.LGR-PST  
 ‘the child ate the fish’
- b. *a:t-osi-k*                      *lato-n*                      *ík-p-o-:s*  
 person-DIM-SBJ    fish-NSBJ    NEG-eat.RGR-NEG-PST1.IMPERF  
 ‘the child didn’t eat the fish’

Koasati lacks a dedicated pattern for lexical negation, but some instances of clausal negation may have been lexicalized, as in the following forms:

- (32) *kano-* ‘good’    *kǎn-k-o-n* ‘bad, not good’  
*čoba-* ‘big’    *čo<kǐ:>b-o-n* ‘small, not big’  
*čayha-* ‘tall’    *ča<kǐ:>h-o-n* ‘short, not tall’

The reason for distinguishing these forms is that lexicalized negatives may themselves be made negative.<sup>7</sup>

- (33) *kǎn-k-o-tǐkk-o-n*    ‘it’s not that he/she/it is bad/not good’  
*ča<kǐ:>h-o-tǐkk-o-n*    ‘it’s not that he/she is short/not tall’  
*čo<kǐ:>b-o-tǐkk-o-n*    ‘it’s not that he/she/it is small’

Negative commands are expressed with a prohibitive suffix *-nna* added to the second person singular or plural:

- (34) *ta<či>lwa-nna-n^*  
 sing<2SG.AG>-PROHIB-SF  
 ‘don’t you sing!’
- (35) *ta<hači>lwa-nna-n^*  
 sing<2PL.AG>-PROHIB-SF  
 ‘don’t you all sing!’

<sup>7</sup> One speaker describes these double negatives as “kind of awkward, but okay in an argument”. The same speaker rejects a double negative in an ordinary (non-lexicalized) negative: *\*ho<kǐ>kf-o-tǐkk-o-n* ‘it’s not that he isn’t getting dressed’.

Any type of clause may be negated, but negation is limited to verbs. (36-37) are examples of negation in adverbial clauses:

- (36) *fala<sup>n</sup>-hĩkko-ska-n,*                      *ho<ki>kf-o-:s*  
 wake.up-NEG-BECAUSE-DS    wake.up<NEG>-NEG-PST1.IMPERF  
 ‘because he didn’t wake up, he didn’t get dressed’
- (37) *o<kĩ:>b-o-:p*  
 rain<NEG>.RGR-NEG-TOPIC  
 ‘if it doesn’t rain...’

As Kimball (1991:239) notes, the suffix *-ha:lo-* normally appears with negation, however:

- (38) *hopon-tākk-o-ha:l-ok*  
 cook-1SG.A.NEG-NEG-while-FOC.SS  
 ‘before I cook (lit. ‘while I do not cook’).

The following is an example of negation in a non-finite complement clause.

- (39) a. *Skye-ka-k*                      *tabakčampoli-n ipa-h*                      *bànná-t*  
 Skye-LOAN-SBJ    cake-NSBJ    eat-COMP    try.LGR-PST  
 ‘Skye tried to eat the cake.’
- b. *Skye-ka-k*                      *tabakčampoli-n ik-p-o-h*                      *bànná-t*  
 Skye-LOAN-SBJ    cake-NSBJ    NEG-eat-NEG-COMP    try.LGR-PST  
 ‘Skye tried not to eat the cake.’

I have so far found no evidence of neg-raising in Koasati. In Koasati, the mark of negation goes on the verb of the semantically-negated clause:

- (40) *Linda-k*                      *o<kĩ>nt-o-laho-n*                      *ǎ:lo-l*  
 Linda-SBJ    come.SG<NEG>.RGR-NEG-FUT-DS    think.GRGR-1SG.A  
 ‘I don’t think Linda will come.’ (lit., ‘I think Linda will not come.’)
- (41) *o<kĩ:>b-o-laho-n*                      *ǎ:lo-l*  
 rain<NEG>.RGR-NEG-FUT-DS                      think.GRGR-1SG.A  
 ‘I don’t think it will rain.’ (lit., ‘I think it will not rain.’)

### The Scope of Negation

In English, negation can sometimes apply to more than one VP joined with *and* or *or*:

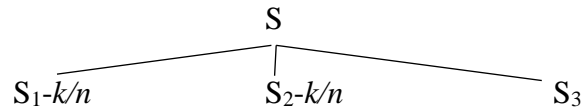


- (42) a. *Don't sit down and eat!*  
 b. *Don't sit down or eat!*

- (43) a. *Pat didn't sit down and eat.*  
 b. *Pat didn't sit down or eat.*

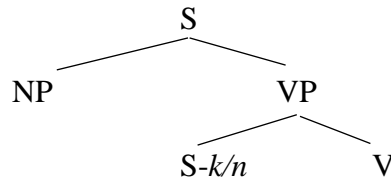
The structure of corresponding expressions in Koasati is somewhat different and requires a description of switch-reference. Koasati has a same-subject marker *-k* (focused form *-ok*) and a different subject marker *-n* (or *-n*, focused form *-on*). Switch-reference is commonly used at the ends of non-final chained clauses:

- (44) Chained clauses:

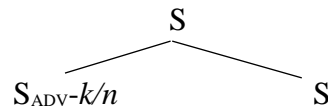


In this case, *-k* at the end of  $S_1$  indicates that the subject of  $S_1$  is the same as the subject of  $S_2$ . In the same way, *-n* at the end of  $S_2$  indicates that the subject of  $S_2$  is different from the subject of  $S_3$ . The same switch-reference markers appear at the ends of complement clauses (45) and adverbial clauses (46).

- (45) Complement clauses:



- (46) Adverbial clauses:



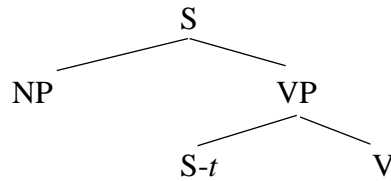
In these three structures, negation is restricted to the clause containing the negative element. This is true for both indicative clauses (47) and imperatives (48).

- (47) a. *Linda-k*      *čokòhl-ók*      *ì:pá-t*  
 Linda-SBJ      sit.SG.HGR-FOC.SS      eat.LGR-PST  
 ‘Linda sat down and ate.’
- b. *Linda-k*      *čokòhl-ók*      *ík-p-o-:s*  
 Linda-SBJ      sit.SG.HGR-FOC.SS      NEG-eat.RGR-NEG-PST1.IMPF  
 ‘Linda sat down and didn’t eat.’ (not: ‘Linda didn’t sit down and eat.’)

- (48) a. *čokòhl-ók*                      *ohomp<sup>^</sup>*  
 sit.SG.HGR-FOC.SS      eat.IMP  
 ‘Sit down and eat!’
- b. *čokòhl-ók*                      *ohompa-n<sup>^</sup>*  
 sit.SG.HGR-FOC.SS      eat-PROHIB  
 ‘Sit down and don’t eat!’ (not: ‘Don’t sit down and eat!’)

Interestingly, Koasati has another clause type that is cognate with what Broadwell (2006:217ff) calls “-*t* phrases” in Choctaw.<sup>8</sup> These -*t* phrases are reduced clauses ending in -*t* describing an action or situation that is simultaneous with the main verb (and generally sharing the same subject):

(49) -*t* phrases:



- (50) a. *łoyka-t*                      *ì:lá-t*  
 return-COVERB                      get.here.SG.LGR-PST  
 ‘he/she came back’
- b. *łoyka-t*                      *ík-l-o:-s*  
 return-COVERB                      NEG-get.here.SG.RGR-NEG-PST1.IMPERF  
 ‘he/she didn’t come back’
- (51) *haččǎ:li-t*                      *is-pa-n<sup>^</sup>*  
 stand.GGR-COVERB                      2SG.A-eat-PROHIB  
 ‘Don’t eat while standing!’
- (52) *čoko:-čì-n<sup>^</sup>*,                      *mat-ča-hì:čá-t*  
 sit.SG-2SG.A-PROHIB      DIR-1SG.P-look.LGR-COVERB  
 ‘Don’t sit there looking at me!’

### The Focus of Negation

Different elements within the scope of a negation may be interpreted as negative. I will refer to this as the FOCUS OF NEGATION.

Koasati has a discourse marker -*p* (or -*ap* on personal pronouns) that serves to set a phrase apart from the rest of the sentence. A noun phrase marked with -*p* often has a sense of mild

<sup>8</sup> Broadwell (2006) also calls these “participial clauses”, but I use that term for clauses that modify nouns. Kimball (1991:227) refers to -*t* as a coordinating conjunctive suffix.

emphasis or contrast. Such a form may be used to resume a topic that was discussed earlier.<sup>9</sup> In (53), we see *-p* used in a phone conversation between two people discussing plans for Thanksgiving:

- (53) *kosn-ap ama:-hilka-laho-k om, Texas-ka-f-on*  
 we-TOP go.TPL-1PL.A-FUT-SS be Texas-LOAN-LOC-FOC.NSBJ  
  
*ča-fono:si-fa-n*  
 1SG.P-sister-LOC-NSBJ

‘us, we’re going to Texas, to my sister’s’

This usage seems common in exchanges of this type. One person makes a statement (e.g., ‘my name is Mary’) and then a second person might use it to distinguish himself or herself from the previous speaker (‘me, my name is Betty’).

Topic marker *-p* is often used in negative sentences (54) and speakers often add *-p* when making a sentence negative (55):

- (54) *ak-hĩ:č-o-:s, ya-:fa-p*  
 1SG.A.NEG-see.RGR-NEG-PST1.IMPERF this-LOC-TOP  
 ‘I didn’t see him over here’

- (55) a. *y-ok ič-ok om*  
 this-FOC.SBJ deer-FOC.SBJ be  
 ‘this is a deer’  
  
 b. *ya-p ič-ok ko-n*  
 this-TOP deer-FOC.SBJ be.NEG-SF  
 ‘this is not a deer’

This use of *-p* is reminiscent of Japanese *wa*, which may also indicate topic and the focus of sentential negation (Hinds 1986:149ff; Nyberg 2012:45-46).

This use of *-p* in Koasati for negative focus does not seem to be as straightforward as the textbook descriptions of Japanese, however. (56-58) show one speaker’s translations of sentences in English with different negative focus:

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<sup>9</sup> Kimball (1991:411) describes *-p* as a marker of “new topic” indicating “that the topic into which a discussion is about to enter, or which is just finished, is new, or contains new information.” I will refer to it instead simply as “topic”, as it generally appears on elements that are already established or accessible in the discourse.

(56) *Linda-k alk̄i:y-o-t, Houston-ka-fa-p, nihtaka-p.*  
 Linda-SBJ go.SG<NEG>.RGR-NEG-PST2 Houston-LOAN-LOC-TOP yesterday-TOP  
 ‘Linda didn’t go to Houston yesterday.

*Lake Charles-ka-f-on aḷi:yá-t.*  
 Lake Charles-LOAN-LOC-FOC.NSBJ go.SG.LGR-PST2  
 She went to Lake Charles.’

(57) *Linda-k alk̄i:y-o-t, Houston-ka-fa-p, nihtaka-p.*  
 Linda-SBJ go.SG<NEG>.RGR-NEG-PST2 Houston-LOAN-LOC-TOP yesterday-TOP  
 ‘Linda didn’t go to Houston yesterday.

*Eli-ka-k om̄mi-t*  
 Eli-LOAN-SBJ do.LGR-PST.2  
Eli did.’

(58) *Linda-k alk̄i:y-o-t, Houston-ka-fa-p, nihtaka-p.*  
 Linda-SBJ go.SG<NEG>.RGR-NEG-PST2 Houston-LOAN-LOC-TOP yesterday-TOP  
 ‘Linda didn’t go to Houston yesterday.’

*Tahollo-fo:k-on aḷi:yá-t.*  
 Sunday-when-FOC.DS go.SG.LGR-PST  
 She went on Sunday.’

At this point it seems that topic *-p* is sometimes related to negative focus, but the relationship is complex (and needs more work).

### Indefinite Pronouns

Kimball (1991:423ff) discusses indefinite and interrogative pronouns in Koasati. As he notes, the same word is often used for indefinite expressions (‘something’, ‘somewhere’, etc.), negative indefinites (‘(not) anything’, ‘(not) anywhere’, etc.), and interrogatives (‘what’, ‘where’, etc.).

*na:si*

something	(not) anything	what
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*nakso-fa* (*nakso* ‘which one’ + locative *-fa*)

somewhere	(not) anywhere	where
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*nakso-fo:ka* (*nakso* ‘which one’ + *-fo:ka* ‘when, during’)

sometime	(not) anytime	when
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The human indefinite pronoun *a:ti* can be used for ‘someone’ and ‘(not) anyone’, but not for ‘who’. Instead, the word *nakso* ‘which one’ is used to ask about humans.

<i>a:ti</i>		<i>nakso</i>
someone	(not) anyone	which one, who

(59) *na:s-on*                      *hì:čá-l*  
 what/thing-FOC.NSBJ see.LGR-1SG.A  
 ‘I see something’

(60) *na:s-on*                      *ak-hĩ:č-o<sup>n</sup>*  
 what/thing-FOC.NSBJ 1SG.A.NEG-see.RGR-NEG-SF  
 ‘I don’t see anything’

(61) *na:s-on*                      *is-hì:čá<sup>n</sup>*  
 what/thing-FOC.NSBJ 2SG.A-see.LGR-SF  
 ‘what do you see?’

Modifiers can be added to these words for other senses:

free-choice: *nak(so)-santik* ‘whichever’  
 universal: *a:t-ohya* ‘everyone’, *nakso-f-ohya* ‘everywhere’  
 else: *a:t-mi:ta* ‘someone else’

## Summary

Koasati negation is marked on verbs with an affix *ik-*, a suffix *-o*, and the rising grade. Verb stems fall into different classes based on the placement of the *ik-* affix. Scope is limited to the clause. Negation affects the form of agentive person markers. By changing aspect, it also affects tense markers. Additional work is needed to determine which verbal suffixes are added before negation and what class of negation they take.

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