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## Negation and Irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario

*Françoise Rose\**

### Abstract

The chapter by Rose draws a sketch of negation in Mojeño Trinitario, an underdescribed South Arawak language spoken in Amazonian Bolivia, and discusses its interaction with irrealis. It starts with presenting the different negation markers and constructions used for each negation type: sentential negation (including the expression of apprehensive, and negation in subordinate clauses), free form answer, constituent negation, existential negation, negative indefinites and privative derivation. The paper then discusses the most interesting point in the expression of negation in Mojeño Trinitario, i.e. its interaction with irrealis. First, irrealis marking is obligatory both in sentential negation and in existential negation. Second, standard negation induces a realis/irrealis coding that is distinct from that occurring in affirmative clauses. This paper argues that standard negation is of the constructional asymmetric type: a negative clause is asymmetric with a corresponding positive clause, on the basis of obligatory irrealis marking and the placement of some TAM and discourse markers on the negative word. In the end, it points to how the encoding of the irrealis may be complex in the languages where the irrealis category covers a wide range of meanings including negation, since irrealis encoding is then redundant with negation encoding.

The coding of negation varies greatly within the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999: 96). This paper offers additional data for comparative purposes. It provides a sketch of negation in Mojeño Trinitario,<sup>1</sup> an underdescribed South Arawak language spoken by a few thousand speakers in Amazonian Bolivia. The data consists of oral Trinitario texts collected by the author in the field since 2005.

This paper offers a description of the different negation markers and constructions used for each negation type (sentential negation, free form negative

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\* I would like to express my gratitude to Patience Epps and the editors for suggestions on an earlier version of the paper. All remaining errors are mine.

1 The Mojeño language consists of four dialects, two of which are still actively spoken, though endangered: Ignaciano and Trinitario.

answer, constituent negation, existential negation, negative indefinites and privative derivation). It also discusses the most interesting point in the expression of negation in Mojeño Trinitario, i.e. its interaction with irrealis, found both in sentential negation and in existential negation. This paper eventually argues that standard negation, i.e. the basic way for negating declarative verbal main clauses, is of the constructional asymmetric type, since it induces realis/irrealis coding that is distinct from that occurring in affirmative clauses.

The first section of this paper focuses on the different negation markers and constructions used for each negation types. The second section describes the forms and functions of the irrealis markers. The third section then concentrates on the interaction between negation and irrealis marking in Mojeño Trinitario.

## 1 Negation Types in Mojeño Trinitario

This section presents the different constructions and markers used for the various types of negation in Mojeño Trinitario, depending on the overall meaning of the negated sentence and on the specific syntactic function of the negated element. It leaves aside for the time being the interaction of negation with irrealis.

### 1.1 Sentential Negation

Sentential negation is marked with the negative element *wo ~ wi* or *wo'i* in sentence-initial position. This element is found immediately before a verbal predicate, as in (1), as well as before a nominal predicate (2) or an adjective (3). No intervening constituent is normally allowed, the subject of the predicate, when expressed with an NP, always follows the predicate.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *Wipo tanigia to waka.*<sup>3</sup> [NEG PRED(V) NP.S]  
 wo-po ta-ni-ko-a to waka  
 NEG-PERF 3NH-eat-ACTV-IRR ART.NH COW  
 'The cows do not eat any more.'

<sup>2</sup> In some examples, the main verb is introduced by a non-human article.

<sup>3</sup> The Trinitario dialect has such a complex system of morphophonemic rules (including vowel deletion) that underlying morphemes are often not recognizable in the phonological realization. This explains the formatting of the Trinitario illustrative examples, with the first line giving a phonological transcription of the utterance (using the local orthography) and the second line giving the morpheme break with the underlying form of the morphemes.

- (2) *Wo pakraraena jmarono.* [NEG PRED(N) NP.S]  
 wo pakrara-ina jmaro-ono  
 NEG peccary-IRR DEM-PL  
 ‘These are not peccaries.’
- (3) *Wo winarajina.* [NEG PRED(ADJ)]  
 wo winaraji-ina  
 NEG bad-IRR  
 ‘These are not bad.’

Although the negative marker *wo ~ wi ~ wo’i* is normally adjacent to the negated predicate, I consider it an independent word for several reasons:<sup>4</sup>

- First, it is not part of the phonological word containing the predicate since its final vowel does not fuse with a predicate-initial vowel.
- It is not even part of the prosodic word containing the predicate, since its vowel never undergoes deletion and does not count in the vowel deletion pattern (Rose 201b).
- Furthermore, even if it normally immediately precedes the predicate, three regular exceptions have been found to intervene between the negation marker and the predicate: the manner demonstrative *ene*, direct speech before the verb *jicho* ‘to say’, and the indeterminate pronoun *oypuka*.
- Finally, it takes some of the suffixes that are on predicates in affirmative sentences, that is to say, principally TAM, evidentials and discourse markers. It therefore partially displays the characteristics of an auxiliary, but yet does not take all the predicate morphology (person, number, future, etc.) as illustrated in (4).

For all these reasons, I consider *wo* to be a distinct word, one of the few monosyllabic words of the language besides articles, interrogatives and the preposition.

- (4) *Wipo nakuchku’viyre.*  
 wi-po n-a-ko-uch-ku-ko-vi-yore  
 NEG-PERF 1SG-IRR-CAU-go.out-CL:interior-ACTV-2SG-FUT  
 ‘(if you get lost again, then) I won’t take you out of it.’

4 Olza Zubiri et al. (2002:112) analyzes the sentential negation *vai-* as a prefix in the Ignaciano dialect. However, he states that *vai-* is always stressed and that the word it accompanies is also always stressed.

The three forms of the negative marker seem to be variants in the context of sentential negation. *wi* is a phonological free variant of *wo* preferred by fewer speakers, but used by all speakers with aspectual suffixes (1) (4), while *wo* is always found without morphology (2) (3). *wo'i* is another variant, used by all speakers, and generally carries discourse markers (7). A possible hypothesis regarding *wo'i* is that it consists of *wo* plus the atmospheric classifier *ʔ*.

A special negative morpheme *wichu* is used in certain types of main and dependent sentences having an apprehensive meaning.<sup>5</sup> The main clauses with *wichu*, all elicited, express advice in the case of danger ('watch out'), as in (5). The dependent clauses with *wichu* express negative purpose ('lest'), as in (6). This apprehensive marker is unmistakably made up of the negation marker *wo* ~ *wi* plus the *-chu* evidential element.<sup>6</sup> *wichu* does not take additional morphology.

- (5) *Wichu ema makovenópa.* [elicited]  
 wichu ema ma-ko-venópo-a  
 watch.out PRO.3M 3M-CAU-fall-IRR  
 'Watch out in case he drops it.'
- (6) *Vyanaporo wichu tanigiawokovi spugiono.*  
 vy-yono-a-po-ro wichu ta-ni-ko-a-wokovi spugi-ono  
 1PL-GO-IRR-PERF-then lest 3NH-eat-ACTV-IRR-1PL vulture-PL  
 'Then let's go lest the vultures eat us.'

Sentential negation in subordinate clauses (other than with the "lest" meaning) does not differ from sentential negation in independent clauses. Example (7) illustrates sentential negation both in the main and dependent clauses.

- (7) *Wo'iji timerigiapo eñi tajicho wo ñim'a to je'china 'chanewokina.*  
 wo'i-iji t-imeri-gi-a-wo eñi tajicho wo  
 NEG-RPT 3-show-ACTV-IRR-MID PRO.M because NEG  
 ñ-im-ko-a to je'chu-ina 'chane-woko-ina  
 3M-see-ACTV-IRR ART.NH true-IRR person-PL-IRR  
 'He did not show up because he hadn't seen whether they were real people.'

5 For special person indexation on verbs preceded by *wichu*, see Rose (2011a).

6 Interestingly, the corresponding form is *machu* in Old Mojeño (Marban 1701) and in the present Ignacioano dialect (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002), maybe built with the same *-chu* on the privative *ma* (Cf. 1.6).

### 1.2 *Free Form Answer*

Among the three forms of the negative word used in sentential negation, the form *wo'i* distinguishes itself as being used also as a free form answer to a yes/no question, as the examples (8) illustrate. It can also be used as a coordinated alternative, as in (9), probably after deletion of the entire second clause (here presupposed). It is interesting to note that in (8a) the tag question is not made up of a negative element, but of the manner demonstrative *ene* 'so, like that'.

- (8) a. *Wo taemotvi, ene?*  
 wo ty-a-imoti-vi, ene  
 NEG 3-IRR-know-2SG DEM  
 'He does not know you, right?'

- b. *Wo'i, wo taemotnu.*  
 wo'i wo ty-a-imoti-nu'  
 NEG 3-IRR-know-1SG  
 'No, he does not know me.'

- (9) *Tyuchkoyrepka wo'ipuka.*  
 ty-uch-ko-yore-puka wo'i-puka  
 3-go.out-ACTV-FUT-HYP NEG-HYP  
 'Will he come out or not?'

### 1.3 *Constituent Negation*

Constituent negation is a restricted and infrequent construction. The only type of constituents that can be negated is either a personal pronoun, as in (10), or the manner demonstrative *ene* as in (11). The negation word *wo ~ wi ~ wo'i* (possibly with suffixes) is placed in sentence-initial position, immediately followed by the negated constituent. No specific focalization or relativization devices are used. Therefore constituent negation and sentential negation are very comparable: the negation word is in sentence-initial position, followed by the negated element, that is to say the predicate in the case of sentential negation, and some other type of constituents in the case of constituent negation.

- (10) *Wo'wore vitina ukojruka.*  
 wo'i-wore viti-ina vi-ko-juu-ko-a  
 NEG-once.more PRO.IPL-IRR IPL-CAU-grow-ACTV-IRR  
 'It is not us who grow them (the plantations, but God).'

TABLE 1 *The agreement paradigm of the negative existential copula*

Person	Negative existential copula
3M male speaker <sup>7</sup>	<i>majina</i>
3M female speaker	<i>ñijina</i>
3F	<i>sijina</i>
3PL	<i>najina</i>
3NH	<i>tajina</i>

(11) *Wo enena nutsi'a, nuchko te to San Pransisku.*

wo ene-ina n-uch-ko-i'o-a n-uch-ko  
 NEG here-IRR 1SG-be.born-ACTV-APL-IRR 1SG-be.born-ACTV  
 te to San Pransisku  
 PREP ART.NH SF

'I was not born here (Lit. it is not here that I was born), I was born in San Francisco.'

1.4 *Existential Negation*

A special negative copula is used in expressions of existential negation. It occurs in sentence-initial position, and is followed by the noun phrase of which the existence is negated, as in (12) and (13). The negative copula carries the TAM suffixes and agrees in person/number/gender with the head noun of the noun phrase. The agreement paradigm is given in Table 1.

(12) *Tajnawore sachena.*

tajina-wore sache-ina  
 EXI.NEG.NH-also sun-IRR  
 'There is also no sun.'

(13) *Najinarich'o aakarena, najinarich'o prefektina.*

najina-rich'o aakare-ina najina-rich'o prefekto-ina  
 EXI.NEG.PL-yet mayor-IRR EXI.NEG.PL-yet governor-IRR  
 'There was not any town mayor yet, there was not any governor yet.'

The copula can also stand by itself and refer anaphorically to some noun it agrees with. The sentence is then reduced to the copula predicate.

<sup>7</sup> For a description of the Mojeño male/female speech distinctions, see Rose (2013).

- (14) *Tajina.*  
 tajina  
 EXI.NEG.NH  
 ‘There is not any.’

When the negated noun is possessed, the interpretation can be that of negated possession.

- (15) *Tajna nayukpirena.*  
 tajina          na-yukpi-ra-ina  
 EXI.NEG.NH 3PL-candle-POSS-IRR  
 ‘They did not have candles.’ (Lit. ‘There were not their candles.’)

In a few examples, the copula has a locative rather than an existential meaning.<sup>8</sup> It indicates that the noun phrase following it is not present in a particular location.

- (16) *Juiti tajinapo to janiono.*  
 juiti    tajina-po          to          jane-ono  
 today EXI.NEG.NH-PERF ART.NH BEE-PL  
 ‘Today the bees were not here.’

Finally, a verb can also be present (17), then the sentence negates the existence of an entity defined by the property of the verb.

- (17) *Najina eno tyoma to vechogiene.*  
 najina    eno    ty-omo-a    to          v-echo-giene  
 EXI.NEG.PL PRO.PL 3-carry-IRR ART.NH 1PL-know-NML  
 ‘There is no one to carry our knowledge.’

### 1.5 *Negative Indefinites*

The same forms as the copulas can also be used in a sentence with a predicate, where they neither precede a noun phrase nor refer anaphorically to a noun. In such cases, they are lexicalized negative indefinites,<sup>9</sup> meaning ‘nothing’ (in the non-human form *taj(i)na*) or ‘nobody, no one’ (in the human forms

8 With this locative meaning, the copula can be found with 1st or 2nd person agreement.

9 Since *mutu* ‘all’ functions as a verb in Trinitario, its negation is not specific to quantifiers. It is rather expressed with the plain sentential negation presented in 1.1.

*naj(i)na, majina, ñijina, sijina*). As such, they constitute a noun phrase that fills an argument slot. There are no regular expressions for negative adverbs such as ‘never, nowhere, in no manner’.<sup>10</sup>

(18) *Tajna naggiouyore.*

tajina            n-a-ggio-vi-yore  
EXI.NEG.NH 1-IRR-do-2SG-FUT

‘I am not going to do anything to you’ (Lit. I am going to do you nothing.)

(19) *Najnaeji tjikpa.*

najina-iji            ty-jikpo-a  
EXI.NEG.PL-RPT 3-answer-IRR

‘Nobody answered.’

### 1.6 *Privative Morpheme*

Within the set of Trinitario negative markers, the only well-known Arawak cognate is the *ma*-<sup>11</sup> privative construction characteristic of many Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999: 95). It is not mentioned in the previous grammar of the Trinitario dialect (Gill 1957), but is attested in the Ignaciano dialect of Mojeño (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 787–798).

Very few textual examples were found in my Trinitario database of about six hours of recordings (cf. 15). Yet more examples were found through elicitation and in the dictionary (Gill 1993).

This derivational morpheme can be found on obligatorily possessed nouns. Its meaning is the negative counterpart of the attributive meaning. It can be translated by ‘without’ or by the negative counterpart of an adjective or participle. In its basic use, it combines with a noun, in most cases suffixed with the morpheme *-re*<sup>12</sup>, and is used as a modifier (20), (21). A non-verbal predicate can be formed on this non-verbal form, with an additional person suffix (22). A transitive verbal predicate can also be derived from it with the help of the

- 
- (1) *Wo wantuji wori.*  
wo vi-a-mutu-ji            vi-a-uri  
NEG 1PL-IRR-all-CL.bulk 1PL-IRR-good  
‘We are not all good.’

10 A negative word *movine* occurred only in four elicited sentences with a meaning that could be translated as ‘never’.

11 *ma-* is realized *m-* word-initially before a consonant, and fuses with word-initial /e/ or /i/ as *mue*.

12 *-re* could be analyzed here either marking unpossessed nouns or as an adjectivizer.

causativizer *e-* and the active suffix *-ko*, just as for causativization of adjective (23).

- (20) *Myenore pnokni koregieroru.* [ma-N-re]  
 ma-yeno-re pnokni koregieroru  
 PRIV-wife-N.POSS DEM corregidor  
 'There may be unmarried *corregidor*.'
- (21) *Nokpojko esu 'móperu mgiño.* [elicited, ma-N]  
 n-okpoj-ko esu 'móperu ma-giño  
 1SG-meet-ACTV PRO.F youngster PRIV-ear  
 'I have met a deaf girl.'
- (22) *kutri'iji to mchicharewokouri'i* [ma-N-re-1/2]  
 kuti-ri'i-iji to ma-chicha-re-wokovi-ri'i  
 be.like-ASS-RPT ART.NH PRIV-SON-N.POSS-ASS  
 'as if we did not had kids'
- (23) *Tmuigñochnu to nemtone.* [elicited 1/2/3-ma-e-N-ko-1/2]  
 t-ma-e-giño-ko-nu to n-emptone  
 3-PRIV-CAUS-ears-ACT-1SG ART.NH 1SG-work  
 'My work made me turn deaf.'

The privative prefix is also found with a negative meaning, on active verbs, either just with the root (24) or with morphology (25). The result of this derivation is then used as a modifier. It can also be nominalized and turned into a non-verbal predicate.

- (24) *muechegne* [Gill (1993), ma-v]  
 ma-echegne  
 PRIV-look.after.family  
 'abandoned'
- (25) *wchichanoviono muechemrejkono* [ma-v-re-ko<sup>13</sup>]  
 wchichanoviono ma-echem-re-j-ko-no  
 1PL-child-PL.KIN PRIV-understand-?-CL:heap-?-PL  
 'our children that do not understand'

13 The sequence *-re-ko* can be analyzed in various ways: *-re* could be the possessive suffix or a pluractional, and *-ko* a non-possessed suffix or the active suffix.

Finally, the privative prefix can combine with sentential negation.<sup>14</sup> The privative prefix thus shows numerous but rare uses. This points to a rather old form in the language.

While in the literature on Arawak languages, the privative prefix is often presented on par with the attributive prefix, these two differ crucially in Mojeño. The privative *ma* derives denominal and deverbal adjectival forms (used as modifiers or non-verbal predicates with person suffixes), while the attributive *ko* derives denominal predicates taking person prefixes (with a possessive meaning).

- (26) *Eto tkijare tropano* [1/2/3-ko-N]  
 eto t-ko-ijare tropa-ono  
 PRO.NH 3-VBZ-name herd-PL  
 'They are called herd (wild pigs).'

### Summary of Section 1

TABLE 2 *The major negation types of Mojeño Trinitario*

Negation types	Negation marker (sentence-initial)	Negated element (second position)
sentential negation	negation word <i>wo</i>	verbal predicate nominal predicate adjectival predicate
constituent negation	negation word <i>wo</i>	pronoun
existential negation	negative copula <i>tajina</i>	noun

14 (2) *wo mgiñonina.* [elicited]  
 wo ma-giño-nu-ina  
 NEG PRIV-ear-1SG-IRR  
 'I am not deaf.'

S	IRR	CAU	root	RED	CL	PLURAC	ACTV	CAU	IRR	O	PL	TAM	RPT	D
					N		MOT	APL1/2		MID		MOT		
					APL3			MOT						

FIGURE 4 Position of the irrealis affixes within the verb structure

## 2 The Irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario

This section describes the forms and function of the irrealis in Mojeño Trinitario, before its interaction with negation is discussed in Section 3. “Prototypically realis is used in clauses where there is perceived certainty of the factual reality of an event’s taking place, while irrealis is used to identify that an event is perceived to exist only in an imagined or non-real world” (Elliott 2000:67). Irrealis, as defined in the preceding quote, is a frequently marked category in Mojeño Trinitario.

### 2.1 The Forms of the Irrealis

Irrealis marking in Trinitario differs depending on the part of speech it attaches to. The suffix *-ina* is specific for non-verbal elements, primarily nouns (like *mimro* ‘mask’ in (27)), but also adjectives and adverbs (like *chochu* ‘tomorrow’ in (28)). It can be used on an argument (27) or on a predicate (28).

(27) *Pepiaka to pmimrina.*

pi-epia-ko-a            to            pi-mimro-ina  
 2SG-make-ACTV-IRR ART.NH 2SG-mask-IRR  
 ‘Make your mask.’

(28) *’Chochinaure.*

’chochu-ina-wore  
 tomorrow-IRR-once.more  
 ‘It could be tomorrow (that we will do it once more).’

On verbs, two forms are found, most commonly the suffix *-a* and less often the prefix *a-*.<sup>15</sup> Figure 4 shows the position of the irrealis affixes within the verb

15 The phonological similarity of these two affixes with the same meaning is suspect. Nevertheless due to their short and unmarked form and to the lack of comparative study, nothing can be put forward about a unique etymology for these two affixes.

structure, more precisely in relation to the stem (in the shaded area). Several interesting observations can be drawn from this. First, the irrealis affixes are not part of the TAM paradigm. This calls for a reality status category independent of the categories of mood and modality. Second, they occupy the inflectional slot nearest to the verb stem. Third, there are two positions for the same morpheme (or at least for a morpheme with the same meaning and the same form). The two positions filled by the irrealis correlate neatly with the classes of the verbs they attach to.

There are two classes of Trinitario verbs, active and stative verbs. Active verbs are characterized either by the obligatory presence of the active (ACTV) suffix *-ko* (as in *ute-ko* ‘come’) or by their root-final /o/ (as in *jikpo* ‘answer’).<sup>16</sup> On all active roots, the irrealis is marked by the suffix *-a*, generally replacing the final /o/ of the active suffix as in (29) or of the root as in (30). With some rare suffix combinations, as in (31),<sup>17</sup> *-a* occurs without effect on final /o/. This constitutes an argument for not considering /o/ as a realis suffix, as done by Ekdahl & Grimes (1964: 262) for another Arawak language, Terena.<sup>18</sup>

(29) *Piutegia!*

pi-ute-ko-a

2SG-come-ACTV-IRR

‘Come!’

(30) *Wiro tyjikpanu!*

wi-ro ty-jikpo-a-nu

NEG-then 3-answer-IRR-1SG

‘It did not answer me!’

(31) *Asapiikommatsero towina.*

a-sapii-ko-num-a-tse-ro towina

2PL-smoke-ACTV-first-IRR-but-then first

‘Smoke first.’

16 The members of this second class of active verbs obligatorily take the active suffix when they carry a stem-internal suffix (Rose 2014).

17 The (rarely used) morpheme *-num* ‘do before going; first’ is the only consonant-initial suffix that can be inserted between the active suffix and the irrealis suffix, thus allowing the final /o/ to be maintained in the phonological output.

18 In their terminology, *-a ~ a-* is analyzed as a *potential* (corresponding to irrealis in the present paper) and *-o* as *actual* (here realis).

Stative verbs (which may be simple (32) or derived from nouns with the *ko*-verbalizer (33)) do not show this systematic /o/ ending. This is another reason for not considering /o/ as a realis marker. Otherwise realis would be marked in Trinitario on active verbs, but not on stative ones.<sup>19</sup> It is more coherent to consider the realis category to be not overtly marked in this language. On stative verbs, as in (32) and (23), but also on some rare active verbs without final /o/, as in (34), the *a*- prefix is used to mark the irrealis.

(32) *Wo tajopu.*

wo t-a-jopu  
NEG 3-IRR-be.white  
'She is not white.'

(33) *Ene wakjuma.*

ene vi-a-ko-juma  
and 1PL-IRR-VBZ-illness  
'And we can get ill.'

(34) *Wo taemotvi, ene?*

wo ty-a-imoti-vi ene  
NEG 3-IRR-know-2SG no  
'He does not know you, right?'

The distribution of the irrealis *a*- prefix and *-a* suffix is actually not as neatly complementary as dependence on the unique criterion of the active or stative status of the verb root would suggest. The prefix *a*- can in fact be found on active verbs in specific contexts. Indeed, once suffixed, the verb form may undergo morphophonological deletion of the vowel slot where the irrealis marker normally occurs, and the realis/irrealis distinction is therefore neutralized. In that case, the prefix *a*- is used.<sup>20</sup> For instance, irrealis is normally marked on the

19 The opposite situation is actually found in the Ignaciano dialect of Mojeño, due to certain historical developments. In the phonological system of this dialect, the phonemes /a/ and /o/ have fused into a single phoneme /a/. As a consequence, the irrealis marker \*a is not distinguishable from the final \*o (realized /a/ in synchrony) of the active verbs. The realis/irrealis distinction is therefore neutralized on active verbs. There are, however, remnants of a prefix *a*- to mark imperative mood on some verbs like *matina* 'be quiet', *mutu* 'all, meet' or *nasi* 'stay' (Olza Zubiri et al. 2002: 827–828), all stative verbs. As a result, the irrealis is overtly marked only on some stative verbs in Ignaciano.

20 This explanation is over-generalizing, since at least with the future suffix *-yore*, even though the final *o* is maintained, the *a*- prefix is used rather than the *-a* suffix.

verb *im* ‘see’ with a suffix *-a* attached after the active suffix realized *-o* on this verb, as illustrated in (35). As usual, the /o/ of the active suffix deletes before the irrealis *-a*. The addition of the intensifier suffix *im’i* on the same stem *im-’o* deletes the /o/ and leaves no slot for the suffix *-a*. This form of the verb then takes the irrealis prefix *a-* (36).

(35) *Wo nim’a.*

wo n-im-ko-a  
 NEG 1SG-see-ACTV-IRR  
 ‘I don’t see.’

(36) *Wo naem’im’i.*

wo n-a-im-ko-im’i  
 NEG 1SG-IRR-see-ACTV-INTE  
 ‘I can not see anything.’

Other Arawak languages have different strategies to avoid neutralization of the realis/irrealis distinction in cases of additional suffixation. Nanti uses a circumfix for irrealis, so that when the surface contrast between reality status suffixes is neutralized, the prefix still indicates irrealis (Michael 2009: 9–10).<sup>21</sup> Terena undergoes vowel harmony so that when the contrast between a realis and an irrealis form is neutralized in the suffixes sequence, the realis/irrealis distinction is visible within the root itself or some other suffix (Ekdahl & Grimes

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(3) *Wo pajikpoyre.*  
 wo pi-a-jikpo-yore  
 NEG 2SG-IRR-answer-FUT  
 ‘You are not going to answer.’

21 Some Nanti examples are given here (Michael 2009: 9–10).

(4) *Ipokake.*  
 i=pok-ak-i  
 3MS=come-PERF-REA.I  
 ‘He came.’

(5) *INpokake*  
 i=N-pok-ak-e  
 3MS=IRR-come-PERF-IRR.I  
 ‘He will come.’

1964: 263).<sup>22</sup> Vowel harmony is a very marginal phenomenon in Trinitario, but is precisely attested in two situations involving the irrealis. First, the irrealis form of the verb *yono* ‘to go’ is *yana*, rather than the expected \**yon(o)-a*. Second, the associated motion / aspectual suffix *-pori’i* (normally realized *-pri’i* or *-poo’i*) surfaces in one example as *-paa’i*, on a verb where the irrealis suffix *-a* is not realized in the phonological output but is underlyingly present (and triggers the /g/ realization of preceding /k/) (37).

(37) *Vioma tanigpaa’i ’ñi’u.*

vi-omo-a    ta-ni-ko-a-pori’i                    ’ñi’u  
 1PL-take-IRR 3NH-eat-ACTV-IRR-PROG\IRR mosquito  
 ‘Let’s take her (there) so that the mosquitos keep biting her.’

In brief, the selection among the three Trinitario irrealis markers (*-ina*, *a-*, *-a*) depends on three criteria: first, the parts of speech of the word on which it occurs (verbs vs. others), then within verbs, the active/stative distinction, and for active verbs the morphophonological environment of the irrealis suffix slot. In all cases, these form distinctions are independent of the variety of functions the irrealis can encode.

## 2.2 *The Functions of the Irrealis*

In positive sentences, the irrealis covers the domains of the imperative (on the second verb of (38)), the hortative (on the second verb of (39)),<sup>23</sup> uncertainty (40), irrealis conditional (first verb of (39)), expected future events (first verb of (38)) and desired events (41).

22 In the following Terena examples (Ekdahl & Grimes 1964: 263), the realis/irrealis distinction is indicated by the vowel of the directional marker (harmonized with covert reality status suffixes).

(6) *píh-op-ea*  
 go-DIR-REF  
 ‘He went back from there to where he had come from.’

(7) *píh-ap-ea*  
 go-DIR-REF  
 ‘Let him go from there to where he had come from.’

23 For special person indexation on verbs in the hortative, see Rose (2011a).

(38) *Te pitekpapo piimuigia.*

te pi-itekpo-a-po pi-iimui-ko-a  
 PREP 2SG-arrive-IRR-PERF 2SG-dance-ACTV-IRR  
 'When you arrive, you have to dance!'

(39) *Wakjumapuka mavinavi to vijuma.*

vi-a-ko-juma-puka ma-ve-ino-a-vi to vi-juma  
 1PL-IRR-VBZ-illness-HYP 3M-take-BEN-IRR-1PL ART.NH 1PL-illness  
 'If we ever get sick, may He cure us (lit. 'take out our illness from us')!'

(40) *Tayere.*

t-a-yere  
 3-IRR-last  
 'Maybe he will be late.'

(41) *Nwoo'o péchanu.*

n-woo'o pi-echo-a-nu  
 1SG-want 2SG-remember-IRR-1SG  
 'I want you to remember me.'

The irrealis is also systematically triggered by the major negation types of Trinitario, a typologically common fact (Elliott 2000: 77–79). This is dealt with in section 3.1.

(42) *Ante wo'i iwachrigia, tajina iwachris'a.*

ante wo'i i-wacho-ri-ko-a tajina  
 before NEG 1PL-pay-PLURACT-ACTV-IRR EXI.NEG.NH  
 i-wacho-ri-ko-'o-a  
 1PL-pay-PLURACT-ACTV-APL-IRR  
 'Before we were not used to buying things, there was nothing to buy.'

Trinitario thus displays a general irrealis category that uniformly marks numerous non-realized meanings. The only two meanings which are sometimes (yet more rarely than others) covered by the irrealis category in other languages, but not in Trinitario, are the habitual aspects and the interrogatives (Mithun 1995, Elliott 2000). In her 1998 paper, Bybee discarded the label of 'irrealis', arguing that it is either too general a label than is appropriate for its quite specific uses in particular languages or that it is useless because it is the construction in which the marker is used that supplies the sense. In Trinitario, the two claims do not hold. First, the category of meanings marked as irrealis is very large.

TABLE 3 *Irealis marking in the major negation types of Mojeño Trinitario*

Negation types	Negation marker	Negated element	Irealis marking
sentential negation	negation word <i>wo</i>	nominal predicate	<i>-ina</i>
		verbal predicate	<i>-a</i>
constituent negation	negation word <i>wo</i>	other constituent	<i>-ina</i>
existential negation	negative copula <i>tajina</i>	noun	<i>-ina</i>

Second, in most of the uses of the irrealis morpheme, there is no special construction; the marker is the unique device to convey the specific meaning. In the case of negation, it is nevertheless true that the irrealis marker is always redundant with the negative marker, as shown in the following section.

### 3 The Interaction between Negation and Irealis in Mojeño Trinitario

This section will investigate the interaction between negation and irrealis. First, the obligatoriness of irrealis marking in negative sentences will be described (3.1); second, the encoding of irrealis in sentences that are semantically both negative and irrealis will be detailed (3.2); third, the interaction of negation and irrealis in Trinitario will be discussed and compared with that of other languages (3.3) and finally, the internal morphological structure of the negative copula will be observed (3.4).

#### 3.1 *Irealis Marking in Negative Sentences*

Elliott states that “In many languages polarity will often dictate irrealis marking, even when the corresponding positive clause is marked realis” (Elliott 2000: 77). This is exactly the case in Trinitario, where negative sentences are all marked for irrealis. In Miestamo’s terminology, standard negation (sentential negation in this paper) shows construction asymmetry in Trinitario, because negation does not simply add a negative marker, but also implies the additional irrealis morphology and a different position of TAM and discourse markers (Miestamo

2005: 52). Assymetry in the marking of the realis status in affirmative and negative sentences is a well-known phenomenon (Miestamo 2005: 96–108) motivated by the fact that some languages have grammaticalized the conceptualization of negation as belonging to the realm of non-realized (Miestamo 2005: 208).

Table 3 schematizes how irrealis is automatically marked on a negated element (predicate, other constituent or the unique argument of the existential predication) in Trinitario. The selection of the specific irrealis marker follows the rules given in 2.1., with the basic distinction of *a-* or *-a* on verbs, and *-ina* on all other parts of speech. Examples are given below for each negation type ((43) to (47)).

In sentential negation, the main verb of the negative sentence must carry the irrealis marker (43). If the predicate is nominal, it carries the nominal irrealis marker *-ina* (44).

- (43) *Wo nechajicha.*  
 wo n-echo-a-jicha  
 NEG 1SG-remember-IRR-well  
 ‘I don’t remember well.’

- (44) *Wo rauriyina, ’rove.*  
 wo rauriyo-ina ’rove  
 NEG brick-IRR adobe  
 ‘There are no bricks, it is adobe.’

In constituent negation, the negated constituent carries the nominal irrealis *-ina*. The main verb is also marked as irrealis (45).

- (45) *Wo’wore vitina ukojruka.*  
 wo’i-wore viti-ina vi-ko-juu-ko-a  
 NEG-ONCE.MORE PRO.1PL-IRR 1PL-CAU-GROW-ACTV-IRR  
 ‘It is not us who grow them (the plantations, but God).’

In sentences with existential negation, the nominal phrase following the negative existential copula is generally marked with the nominal irrealis *-ina* as in (46).<sup>24</sup>

24 The only exception to the regular irrealis marking of the negated constituent is when the copula expresses location. In the few examples available, like example (16), the noun that is located does not carry an irrealis marker.

- (46) *Najinacho'o evangelistena antes.*  
 najina-cho'o evangelista-ina antes  
 EXI.NEG.PL-yet evangelist-IRR before  
 'There was not any evangelist before.'

In sentences where the copula has been reanalyzed as a negative quantifier, irrealis is also marked on the verb (47).

- (47) *Tajina vjicha.*  
 tajina vi-jicho-a  
 EXI.NEG.NH 1PL-make-IRR  
 'We did not do anything.'

Interestingly, in Old Mojeño, irrealis marking on the negated element was subject to variation. Marban (1701) asserts that it was used in the missions of the Mamore region, not in these of the Pampa.<sup>25</sup>

### 3.2 *Negative Irrealis*

When the irrealis marker is obligatory in any negative sentence in a language, a possible result is neutralization of irrealis status marking in negative sentences. This is exemplified with Maung in Miestamo's work (2005: 97). The language may also develop a special way to explicitly express other irrealis functions in negative sentences, as exemplified with Alambalak (Miestamo 2005: 97). Alambalak uses a "doubly irrealis construction" where both a special negative form and a special irrealis marker are used on top of the usual irrealis marker. In the Arawak languages Terena (Ekdahl & Grimes 1964: 267) and Nanti (Michael 2009) a special negative form is also used in irrealis sentences (compare (48) and (49)). Moreover, the usual irrealis suffix *-e* (illustrated in (48)) is replaced by a suffix *-i* that is formally similar to the realis suffix of affirmative sentences (50), and is labelled 'double irrealis'.

**Nanti** (Michael 2009)

- (48) *Tetya ompokahe.*  
 te=tya o=N-pok-ah-e  
 NEG.REA=yet 3NMS=IRR-come-REG-IRR  
 'She hasn't come back yet.'

25 There the realis form of the verb followed a negative particle *nina*; the irrealis form is labeled 'future' by Marban.

(49) *Hara ihati.*

ha=ra                    i=ha-i  
 NEG.IRR=TEMP 3MS=go-REA  
 'He will not go.'

(50) *Yamutiri.*

i=amu-Ø-i=ri  
 3MS=help-IMPF-REA=3MO  
 'He helps him.'

The system of Trinitario is simpler, since the negation word used in the irrealis negative sentences is the one used in standard negation, and the irrealis marker used then is a specific negative irrealis prefix *ku-* (51).<sup>26</sup> A prohibitive clause like (51) thus differs from a positive imperative verb form like the initial word of (53) in the marking of both polarity and irrealis. The negative irrealis marker *ku-* is not restricted to a prohibitive use<sup>27</sup> but can cover the same non-realized functions as the irrealis in affirmative sentences, like hypothesis in (52). It clearly encodes both irrealis and negation, as shows its use independent of the negation word in examples of negative purpose (53). Again, *ku-* was not used in negative future sentences in the Pampa missions, the verb was just marked by the irrealis (Marban 1701).

(51) *Wo pkupikonu!*

wo pi-ku-piko-nu  
 NEG 2SG-IRR.NEG-be.scared-1SG  
 'Don't be scared by me!'

(52) *Te to wo vkiprujcho, tepena to kwoyu.*

te to wo vi-ku-ipruj-cho ty-epeno-a to kwoyu  
 SUB ART.NH NEG 1PL-IRR.NEG-cure-ACTV 3-die-IRR ART.NH horse  
 'If we do not cure it, the horse will die.'

(53) *Pyjocha to tapajo puejchu nakusiopo.*

py-joch-a to tapajo puejchu na-ku-siopo  
 2SG-shut-IRR ART.NH door in.order.to 3PL-IRR.NEG-enter  
 'Shut the door so as not to let them enter.'

26 For special person indexation on verbs with *ku-*, see Rose (2011a).

27 For the neighbouring Ignaciano dialect, the *ku-* prefix is defined as prohibitive by Olza Zubiri et al. (2002: 128–130).

TABLE 4 *Realis/irrealis distinction in Mojeño Trinitario standard negation*

Negation marker	Irrealis marking (on the verb)	Irrealis functions
negation word <i>wo</i>	- <i>a</i> ~ <i>a</i> -	negation
negation word <i>wo</i>	<i>ku</i> -	negation + other non-realized meaning

TABLE 5 *Realis/irrealis encoding in affirmative and negative clauses*

Reality status	In affirmative clauses	In negative clauses
realis	∅	—
irrealis : all non-realized meaning	- <i>a</i> ~ <i>a</i> -	<i>ku</i> -
irrealis : negative sub-component only	—	- <i>a</i> ~ <i>a</i> -

### 3.3 *Discussion on Irrealis Marking in Mojeño Negative Sentences*

Table 4 summarizes the encoding of the reality status in Mojeño Trinitario negative sentences. This Table differs from the simpler picture used historically in the Pampa missions, where irrealis was not triggered by negation and was therefore found in negative sentences only to express other non-realized meanings.

In the end, the obligatory presence of an irrealis marker in present-day Mojeño Trinitario negative sentences does not lead to neutralization of the irrealis status, since a special form *ku*- is used for the negative irrealis. As Table 5 shows, in both affirmative and negative clauses, the distinction between realis and irrealis is marked. But since the negation sub-component of irrealis meaning is encoded in negative sentences with the form used for other irrealis meanings in affirmative sentences, there is a paradigmatic displacement, as Miestamo puts it. The asymmetry is in terms of the form and semantic load of the irrealis marker. The prefix *ku*- encoding irrealis meanings other than negation in negative sentences also indicates negation. In the independent irrealis negative clauses, negation is therefore marked twice.

Trinitario thus constitutes another alternative to the neutralization of reality status in negative sentences in the languages that automatically treat negative

TABLE 6 *Same or different encoding of irrealis and negation in irrealis negative clauses compared to regular negative clauses*

Languages	IRR	NEG
Muang	=	=
Alamblak	≠ (two markers)	≠
Terena/Nanti	≠ (realis marker used)	≠
Trinitario	≠	=

TABLE 7 *Internal morphological structure of the negative existential copula*

Person	Existential copula	Parsing
3M male speaker	<i>majina</i>	<i>maja-ina</i>
3M female speaker	<i>ñijina</i>	<i>ñija-ina</i>
3F	<i>sijina</i>	<i>sija-ina</i>
3PL	<i>najina</i>	<i>naja-ina</i>
3NH	<i>tajina</i>	<i>taja-ina</i>

sentences as irrealis. Table 6 compares the four possibilities such languages have in dealing with irrealis negative sentences.

### 3.4 *The Internal Irrealis Component of the Negative Copula*

The negative copula itself can be segmented as an indeterminate pronoun and the nominal irrealis *-ina*, as presented in Table 7. Elsewhere, indeterminate pronouns are used as interrogative pronouns (54) or pronouns with arbitrary referents (55). The negative meaning of the copula is the result of the combination of the irrealis and the indeterminate meanings.

- (54) *Najtse pnokni'i?*  
 naja-tse            pnokni-ri'i  
 PRO.IND.PL-but DEM-AST  
 'Who could it be?'

- (55) *No najpuka no tyos'ono te to ospitare ...*  
 no naja-puka no ty-ou-ko-i'o-ono te  
 ART.PL PRO.IND.PL-HYP ART.PL 3-be.at-ACTV-APL-PL PREP  
 to ospitare  
 ART.NH hospital  
 'Whatever person who comes out of the hospital ...'

The internal morphological structure of the negative existential copula is such that in negative existential sentences, the irrealis is actually marked twice, once in the copula, once on the noun the existence of which is negated.

### Summary of Section 3

The following table shows the variety of irrealis encoding in negative sentences.

TABLE 8 *Irrealis marking in the major negation types of Mojeño Trinitario*

Negation types	Irrealis marking (in the negation word)	Irrealis marking (on the negated element)
sentential negation	—	- <i>ina</i> (on N and ADJ) - <i>a</i> ~ <i>a-</i> (on V)
sentential negation + other irrealis meaning	—	<i>ku-</i>
constituent negation	—	- <i>ina</i>
existential negation	- <i>ina</i>	- <i>ina</i>

## 4 Conclusions

This paper describes the expression of negation in Mojeño Trinitario. This language makes use of two specific markers, the negative word *wo* ~ *wi* ~ *wo'i* and the negative existential copula. These markers are always sentence-initial and immediately followed by the negated element. A negative clause is asymmetric with a corresponding positive clause, on the basis of obligatory irrealis

marking and the placement of some TAM and discourse markers on the negative word. Interestingly, negation conditions irrealis marking in three different ways. First, in sentences where negation is the only non-realized meaning, the same irrealis markers are found as in non-realized affirmative sentences. Second, in sentences with non-realized meanings other than negation (i.e. imperative, hypothesis ...), a special negative irrealis form is used in addition to the regular negative word. Last, the negative copula itself contains a nominal irrealis marker. This situation points to how the encoding of the irrealis may be complex in the languages where the irrealis category covers a wide range of meanings including negation, since irrealis encoding is then redundant with negation encoding.

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