WHEN THE MORONENE SAY NO

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In the Moronene language of Southeast Sulawesi there are many different ways of saying no. Events and states are negated by the double negator na-...da'a. The negators na'iaa and nahina are used respectively for negation of identification and negation of existence. Subordinate clauses have a distinct negator, namely sa-. Other negators include osie ‘don’t’, used for prohibitive mood, and the negative frequency auxiliary paitsa ‘never’. Inherently negative words, such as mo'ori ‘don’t know’, and pomperamoa ‘can’t stand’, have a negative meaning although they don’t incorporate a negative morpheme. Contrasting to these are frozen negatives, such as nta-da'a ‘perhaps’, and sa-i polo ‘let’, which contain a negative morpheme, but lack negative meaning. Besides their use in full clauses, negators may occur in reduced negative constructions such as one-word answers. There are two main strategies of using negation to assert a strong positive statement, namely double negation and polarity reversal. Since negators appear in sentence-initial position there is a potential problem in determining the scope of negation. The potential ambiguity is resolved by giving more information or a substitute constituent, by word-order change, or by using a cleft-focus construction.

1 INTRODUCTION

Moronene is an Austronesian language of the Bungku-Tolaki family spoken by 31,000 people in Southeast Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia. This paper seeks to describe the phenomenon of negation in Moronene. Some interesting features of Moronene negation include the existence of a variety of negative forms, an interesting pattern of responses to negative questions, contrasting functions of double negation, and various cases of polarity reversal. By polarity reversal we mean clauses with a negative morpheme, yet having positive polarity, and clauses without a negative morpheme, yet having negative polarity.

The Moronene language is best described as a flexible word order language, as word order is heavily influenced by discourse-pragmatic factors. However, in connected narrative discourse there is a high frequency of verbs in clause-initial
position. There are no morphological cases for noun phrases, so person markers are used to differentiate the case roles.

The present investigation of negation in Moronene is guided by the functional-typological approach used in Payne (1985) and Kahrel and Van den Berg (1994). In Moronene, there is more than one negator used. The choice among different negators depends on whether the clause is a main clause versus subordinate clause, event/state versus equative versus existential clause, or indicative versus imperative mood. We present the unmarked uses of negators in § 2. Then the other marked types of negation are examined in § 3. Various modifications undergone by the negative forms according to usage are then looked at in § 4.

When negation is used in the context of a sentence or a multi-propositional discourse, it means that a certain portion of the discourse is denied. The forms of negation themselves cannot designate exactly which portion is under the scope of negation. In § 5, we examine what tools the language uses to clarify this question. In § 6, we briefly discuss some interesting pragmatic functions of negative constructions found in the Moronene data.

2 STANDARD NEGATION

According to Payne (1985:198), standard negation is that type of negation which can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences. Such sentences are characteristically main clauses, and consist of a single predicate with as few noun phrases and adverbial modifiers as possible.

The basic clause types in Moronene are event/state clauses, equative clauses, and existential clauses. In the following sections, standard negation is surveyed in these three basic clause types.

2.1 Negation of events/states

2.1.1 The least marked type of negation

There is a type of negation occurring in Moronene minimal event/state clauses that leaves the subject outside the scope of negation and does not specify denial of any particular constituents. Payne suggests that this construction is better described as ‘VP negation’ (Payne 1985:199) but here it is simply called the least marked type. Other more marked types are dealt with below.

The least marked negation construction has the following form:

\[ \textit{na}-\text{nominative clitic} + \text{verb} \]

The negator \textit{na}-, a bound negative morpheme, is obligatorily followed by the subject marker, a nominative clitic. The verb comes immediately after the nominative clitic.
Negation of an event

An event clause has an active verb which can vary between two forms, with m-marking the nonfinite form and p- the finite form. The finite form is used with the least marked negation construction, for example:

(1)  
\textit{moturi}  
\textit{na-i}  \textit{po-turi}  
NEG-3sNOM INT-sleep  
\text{‘sleep’}  
\text{‘he did not sleep’}

(2)  
\textit{mohalu}  
\textit{na-i}  \textit{po-halu koie kamu}  
NEG-3sNOM TR-get that grain  
\text{‘get’}  
\text{‘he did not get that grain’}

Negation of a state

The stative clause has a stative verb which has an invariant (usually m-initial) form. Notice that this is different from the active verb. For example:

(3)  
\textit{na-i}  \textit{mo-seka lako ki te’iaa-si panta-no}  
NEG-3sNOM STV-brave go if only-CTR own-3sPOS  
\text{‘He was not brave to go if only by himself.’}

2.1.2 Negation with aspect distinctions and emphasis

In contrast to the least marked type of negation, a more marked type of negation involves aspect distinctions or emphasis, which are carried by a second negator da’a. While the \textit{na-} negator always carries a person marker and never carries an aspect marker, this second negator only carries a person marker in certain restricted cases that are discussed below. It is optionally marked for aspect distinctions.

In Moronene there are two aspect markers, i.e. \textit{-mo} ‘perfective’, \textit{-po} ‘imperfective’ as well as \textit{-si}, an emphatic morpheme denoting contra-expectation. When the second negator da’a is combined with \textit{-mo}, as in example (4), it gives the meaning ‘not any more’. When it is combined with \textit{-po}, as in example (5), it gives the meaning ‘not yet’.

(4)  
\textit{na-ku da’a-mo tealo moko-dasi-o ato-ku}  
NEG-1sNOM NEG-PRF pass CAUS-pin-3sABS roof-1sPOS  
\textit{hina malo-mo}  
because night-PRF  
\text{‘I was no longer able to stop by and attach my roof since it was already night.’}
Negation may also be followed by a future tense marker nta, which normally occurs in preverbal position:

(6)  
\[ \text{na-to da'a nta te-'ala} \]
NEG-1piNOM NEG FUT RES-take
‘We will not be taken.’

Example (7) shows the contra-expectation morpheme -si:

(7)  
\[ \text{na-i da'a-si mo-hali} \]
NEG-3sNOM NEG-CTR STV-difficult
‘It is not difficult.’

This characteristic of aspect marking on the second negator da’a\(^2\) indicates its status as an auxiliary verb. One piece of supporting evidence for this status is that modal verbs such as tule’i ‘able’ can optionally carry tense/aspect markers:

(8)  
\[ \text{na-i tule’i-po mom-poko-bangkekee embere} \]
NEG-3sNOM able-IMPF TR/NF-CAUS-tilt bucket
‘He’s not yet able to tilt the bucket.’

The construction of the first negator na- together with the second negator da’a without any aspect marker is quite common. Some clauses show the use of da’a corresponding to its affirmative equivalent daa denoting continuous aspect.

(9)  
\[ \text{na-ku da'a mo-wawa adie ue nta} \]
NEG-1sNOM NEG TR/NF-take this rattan FUT
\[ \text{po-wosu-ku miano sawali ka-ku daa} \]
NR-beat-1sPOS person but then-1sNOM be
\[ \text{mo-wawa nangkua nta po-wosu-ku sapi} \]
TR/NF-take thus FUT NR-beat-1sPOS cow
‘I am not taking this rattan to be my stick for beating a person but I’m taking it to be my stick for beating a cow.’

Example (9) shows two corresponding clauses. One is an affirmative clause with the auxiliary verb daa carrying continuous aspect, whereas the main verb, here an active verb, takes the nonfinite m- form. The other is a negative clause with the negative auxiliary counterpart da’a, which also retains underlying continuous aspect and is
followed by the main verb in nonfinite m- form. With a specified aspect marker on the negative auxiliary verb da’a, the continuous aspect is automatically replaced.

Statistically, the na- da’a construction is often used to negate stative verbs, and much less with non-stative verbs (whether transitive or intransitive). The use with stative verbs can be seen as semantically natural since they tend to have a continuous meaning, for example:

\[
(10) \quad \text{na-i da’a mo-tu’a to’u akoie nangka} \\
\quad \text{NEG-3sNOM NEG STV-old very that jackfruit}
\]

‘That jackfruit is not very ripe.’

### 2.1.3 Ellipsis in the negative expression

In a clause with object fronting, the subject marker is a proclitic on the verb. In the negative equivalent, the proclitic is on the second negator da’a, and the first negator na- drops out since it is not needed as a carrier for the subject clitic. For example:

\[
(11) \quad \text{wonnaa-ngku die ku-da’a to’ori-o} \\
\quad \text{country-1sPOS this 1sNOM-NEG know-3sABS}
\]

‘My country I don’t know.’

The second negator da’a may also be used alone even without a person marker.

\[
(12) \quad \text{da’a me’alu ari ni-mbula-ngku} \\
\quad \text{NEG many finish PASS-plant-1sPOS}
\]

‘There aren’t many that I’ve planted.’

The above phenomenon is an example of ellipsis as a form of grammatical change, eliminating the seeming redundancy. Just as, for example, in modern French the original negative particle ne can be eliminated from the negative expression ne ... pas, leaving only the erstwhile emphatic particle pas as negator (Hock 1991:193-194, inter alia), so also in colloquial Moronene the first negator na- can drop out, although it is still normally used in current Moronene. The second negative marker da’a, which is the negative auxiliary verb and can carry person markers or aspect markers, is less redundant. So ellipsis steps in and da’a remains.

In colloquial Welsh, in some circumstances the first negator disappears and leaves a trace of its former presence (Payne 1985:225). The following two Moronene examples exemplify an allomorph of da’a, i.e. nda’a with n as the trace of the first negator na-. This allomorph is found especially when a person marker is not needed, commonly in short responses of conversation (see § 4.2).
(13) nda’a-mo nta lembahi ka-u tuuna
NEG-PRF FUT long then-2sNOM fall
‘It won’t be long before you fall down.’

(14) nda’a i’aku nta me-nunu
NEG I FUT INT/NF-accompany
‘I will not go along.’

2.2 Negation of identification

The affirmative construction expressing identification is the equative clause. In this type of clause there is an optional copular verb inflected by the third singular absolutive person marker, namely yahoo ‘that is’ as in:

(15) da tealo itonia ya-hoo awo-no Doni
REL drop.by just.now COP-3sABS stepparent-3sPOS Doni
‘The one who dropped by just now is Doni’s stepfather.’

To negate the identification of a noun phrase, a negative equative verb is used. The form is na- + iaa, where iaa originally was probably a copular or link verb ‘be’. A morphophonemic process, the addition of a glottal stop, occurs when the negator becomes part of the verb:

na- + iaa → na’iaa

The negative copular na’iaa ‘not be’ does not carry person markers, but it is optionally marked for aspect. An example:

(16) da ari temba-a die poniu-no oleo na’iaa
REL finish shoot-3sABS this nest-3sPOS sun not.be
miano n-to ‘ori
person LG-know
‘The one who shot the nest of the sun was not an adult (lit. knowing person’.

2.3 Negation of existence

The affirmative construction expressing existence of a noun phrase is the existential clause. The existential verb is daa ‘to be, live, stay’. Givón calls this construction ‘existential-presentative’ (1984:379). It is marked for person and optionally for aspect.

(17) da-ho-mo die sala
be-3sABS-PRF this way
‘There is this trail.’
To negate the existence of a noun phrase, a negative existential verb is used, replacing the affirmative counterpart *daa*. The form is *na-* + *hina*, where *hina* is not used independently in modern Moronene, but was probably found in an earlier stage of the language, meaning ‘to exist’. This existential-presentative negative verb *nahina* ‘to not exist’ is not inflected for person, but can take an aspect marker.

(18) **nahina-mo watu, koie tonia pen-tete-a-no**
not.exist-PRF stone that just.now NR-cross-NRI-3sPOS
‘There are no stones any more at that place where he crossed just now.’

(19) **koraane-‘ira peta-ku nahina-po da ko-bede**
yonder-3pABS paddy-1sPOS not.exist-IMPF REL have-dike
‘None of my rice fields over there have dikes yet.’

### 2.4 Grammatical class of the negator

Payne (1985) contrasts six possible grammatical classes of negators found in the world’s languages. A negator can be either a main verb, an auxiliary verb, an adverb, a noun, a particle, or a derivational affix. In this section we discuss how the negator *na-* should be classified.

#### 2.4.1 Is *na-* a main verb or auxiliary verb?

Although *na-* takes person marking, we do not classify it as a main verb or auxiliary verb. A regular Moronene main verb may be marked in a variety of ways. It may be suffixed by absolutive person markers or prefixed by nominative person markers. It may also be suffixed with aspect markers. In contrast to this, *na-* cannot take absolutive person markers or aspect markers. It does take nominative person markers, but the position is different to that of verbs. In verbs the nominative is a proclitic, but with *na-* it is an enclitic.

Should *na-* be classified as an auxiliary verb? In Moronene, auxiliary verbs can take aspect markers, unlike *na-*. As mentioned above, standard negation often involves a combination of *na-* plus *da’a*. It is the latter that functions as an auxiliary verb. The verbal status of *da’a* is also shown by the fact that it sometimes takes a nominative proclitic.

#### 2.4.2 Is *na-* an adverb?

In Moronene, when adverbs take person marking, they take possessive suffixes, rather than the nominative like *na-*. Note for example the possessive *-ndo* on the adverb *tade-tade:*
na-i  da'a-po  tade-tade-ndo  mem-pe-pana'api
NEG-3sNOM  NEG-IMPF  immediately-3pPOS  PL-INT-gun
'They did not immediately use the guns.'

This suggests that na- is not an adverb.

2.4.3 Is na- a particle?

Building on the negative arguments above, we conclude that na- is best described as a declinable particle. This is not a category mentioned by Payne, for he mentions invariance as being a key characteristic of particles. In Moronene, however, declinable particles are a distinct grammatical class, with seven members. Four are conjunctions: ka- ‘then’, ki- ‘if’, ha- ‘whenever’ and the complementizer hi- ‘that’. One is an exclamative mood marker: taba- ‘how!’ . Two are negators: na- and sa-. They all occur in clause initial position and attract nominative enclitics. Because they have a variety of grammatical functions, it is best to call them particles.

2.4.4 Is na- a derivational affix?

When na- combines with iaa and hina to form, respectively, a negative copular verb and a negative existential-presentative verb, it is acting like a derivational affix. Payne (1985:228) points out that it is very common to find that a restricted subset of verbs in a language may be subject to morphological negation. The most frequent verb to be negated in this way is ‘be’ as in Persian, Arabic and modern Hebrew. This accords with the situation in Moronene.

3 OTHER NEGATION CONSTRUCTIONS

The other negation constructions which are different from standard negation are discussed below.

3.1 Subordinate clause negator

In many languages, as Payne observes (1985:240), "the devices which are used for negating subordinate clauses are different from those used in main clauses." In Moronene, the particular form of the negator used in subordinate clauses is sa-. Its pattern of usage parallels the way na- is used in main clauses. We first examine the usage of sa- in subordinate event/state clauses, then the associated derivational forms, sa’iaa and sahina, used for negative existential and negative equative subordinate clauses respectively. Some interesting associated phenomena are also presented.

3.1.1 Event/state subordinate clauses

The pattern of use of sa- corresponds to that of na- in that it occurs both with and without the negative auxiliary verb da’a, which is optionally marked with an aspect marker, as in the following examples:

80
(21) hapa die nta lako-’a-ngku, hina sa-ku da’ a
to’ori-o
know-3sABS
‘Where will I go, since I don’t know?’

(22) ka-i ari koie, ka-i mo-tu’a pae,
then-3sNOM finish that then-3sNOM STV-old rice
sa-u da’a-mo mong-kotu, pe-sapa-mo
NEG-2sNOM NEG-PRF TR/NF-reap.rice INT-free.of taboo-PRF
‘After that, when the rice is mature and you do not reap the rice any
more, then you are free of taboo.’

Example (22) has three temporal clauses before the final main clause. The third
temporal clause has no conjunction, but the use of sa- as well as the meaning signals
its subordinate status.

Corresponding to the pattern of na- without da’a, the active verb after the
negator sa- normally has the finite p- form as in example (23). Exceptions to this
generalization are discussed in § 4.4.

(23) na-ku da’a nta pokon-tido-o
NEG-1sNOM NEG FUT CAUS-well-3sABS
ki sa-i po-ndo’u roo
if NEG-3sNOM TR-drink medicine
‘I will not be able to heal him if he does not take the medicine.’

When sa- is employed together with a conjunction for the subordinate clause, the
person marker otherwise found on some conjunctions is instead marked on the
subordinate clause negator. Thus in example (25) we do not find ki-u ‘if you’:

(24) ki sa-u lako ala-a
if NEG-2sNOM go take-3sABS
‘if you don’t go take her’

3.1.2 Existential and equative clauses

If the subordinate clause is an existential or equative clause, the forms sa’iaa and
sahina (or sai hina) are used respectively. Examples:

(25) da sa’iaa mokole koie
REL not be king that
‘who is not that king’
(26) **na-sahina** die nta lo-lako-a-ngku
because-not.exist this FUT RED-go-NRI-1sPOS
‘For there is no way for me to go.’

(27) **ki sahina-po yo olompu-no hai tangkeno,**
if not.exist-IMPF ART hut-3sPOS at mountain
**biasa-hira mo-weweu yo laica**
usual-3pABS TR-weweu ART house
‘If they don’t yet have a hut on the mountain, they usually make a house.’

3.1.3 **Borderline cases of subordination**

Most commonly, subordinate clauses are introduced by a conjunction. However this is not always the case as illustrated by example (22) above. In such cases, the use of the **sa-** negator is a significant signal of subordination. For example:

(28) **Kana’umpe nde’e nta po-weu-ngku**
how PART FUT NR-weu-1sPOS
**sa-ku pokowowa-a.**
NEG-1sNOM able-carry-3sABS
‘What was I to do, since I couldn’t carry it?’

A multiple verb clause has a number of verbs with the same subject all of which are parts of one event. If one wants to negate a verb subsequent to the first one, one uses **sa-.** Note the following examples:

(29) **hapka ka-mi m-pe-torici sa-i tepo-tomu**
what then-2pNOM PL-INT-wall NEG-3sNOM REC-meet
**ka-i daa nde’e te-po-wamba**
then-3sNOM stay PART RES-CAUS-door
‘Why did you fix the wall without having the ends meet together and so it is left like a door?’

(30) **asa alo-hira-mo asa oleo sa-i mong-kaa**
one night-3pABS-PRF one day NEG-3sNOM TR/NF-eat
‘They went a night and a day without eating.’

The subject in example (30) is plural, yet the person marker on the negator is singular. The first verb, which is the main verb, is the time phrase ‘one night and one day’. The second verb is ‘eat’. This shows that the negation of the second verb takes a person-neutral form, i.e. the third person singular marker with neutral function. See further the discussion about person-neutral negation in § 4.4.
In a non-prototypical main clause, such as one of exclamation with an adverb ntaperano ‘extremely, how much’, the subordinate clause negator sa- is used:

(31) pamarenta ntaper-a-no sa-i ehe-e
government extremely-3sPOS NEG-3sNOM want-3sABS

mi-an-o-mi-an-d a-mo-taro
RED-person REL INT/NF-gamble

‘The government is extremely unhappy with the people who gamble.’

3.2 Prohibitive mood

The prohibitive morpheme is osie, or the short form sie. In prohibitive mood, the negative morpheme may be interpreted as an auxiliary verb. With regard to verb morphology it is optionally marked with aspect and can be preceded by the proclitic person marker. Like other auxiliary verbs, it precedes the main verb.

(32) osie-mo podo-o
don’t-PRF cut-3sABS

‘Don’t cut it down.’

The function of the aspect or person marking in the negative imperative is parallel to the affirmative imperative. There is no overt pronoun clitic for the second person singular reference, except in archaic poetic speech. Otherwise the explicit second person plural pronoun is used with a less blunt sense of command. For other persons, such as first person and second person plural, the proclitic pronoun is applied to the verb. For example:

(33) to-todo-mo ona
1piNOM-rest-PRF just

‘Let’s just rest.’

The following examples show the way subject may be marked in prohibitive mood:

(34) osie ico’o balu-’o arumai
don’t you sell-3sABS heard
‘Don’t you sell that one.’

(35) to-osie hawiako benu-no, to-wewe-ho
1piNOM-don’t discard husk-3sPOS 1piNOM-do-3sABS
tewali pongkerusi
become broom

‘Let’s not throw away the husk, we should make it into a broom.’
(36) ku-’osie lungkuho-ako, sie mo-pusu-ako
1sNOM-don’t paralysed-INST don’t STV-close.eyes-INST
‘Let me not get paralysed by it, nor get blinded by it.’

In example (36) the tone of the clause seems not to be prohibition but the negative of the permissive mood.

3.3 Negative frequency auxiliary

One may report the frequency of the occurrence of an event or a state as ‘often’, ‘seldom’ or ‘never’. In Moronene, for the meaning ‘never’, the word paisa is used. It can be marked with aspect. When the imperfective aspect is used, paisa-po, the meaning is ‘not yet’. When the perfective aspect is used, paisa-mo, the meaning is ‘never any more’. As mentioned earlier, Moronene auxiliary verbs take aspect markers and leave the main verb in nonfinite form. Because paisa has these characteristics, we may class it as an auxiliary verb. Here are examples:

(37) na-u paisa te-lau
NEG-2sNOM never RES-arrive
‘You never arrived.’

(38) na-ku paisa-po totapi-o wuu-ku
NEG-1sNOM never-IMPF wash-3sABS hair-1sPOS
‘I have not yet washed my hair.’

(39) na-i paisa-mo moko-dungku die oleo
NEG-3sNOM never-PRF CAUS-arrive this day
‘It has never been [like that] again until this day.’

When the word paisa is used together with the negator na-, it does not convey a double polarity reversal giving a positive meaning. This is because paisa has its own function showing frequency of occurrence. The negator na- (or sa-) is for carrying the subject marker. The negator da’a may also occur to express continuous aspect as we have discussed above (§ 2.1.2). Even though the clause has three negators, there is only one polarity reversal from positive to negative.6

(40) sawali na-sa-i da’a paisa mom-paduli
but SUB-NEG-3sNOM NEG never TR/NF-care
‘But he didn’t worry at all.’

A tense marker can precede paisa, giving the meaning of future negative habitual:
(41) na-mi da’a-mo nta paisa awa-a
NEG-2pNOM NEG-PRF FUT never find-3sABS
kana-kana die ta’u
like this year
‘You (pl) will never get it like this year again.’

Note that the expression of the negative future is da’a nta and the aspect is marked on the second negator da’a instead of paisa. We may conclude that when there is a series of auxiliary verbs, the aspect marker is on da’a.

3.4 Inherently negative words

We have found two Moronene words which are not marked by any negator and yet they have negative meaning. The word mo’ori ‘I don’t know’ is dealt with first and then the word pomperama POS ‘(one) can’t stand’. There is also one intensifier only found with negation.

3.4.1 mo’ori

When giving responses, various negative constructions can be employed, including one-word responses. One of these is an inherently negative verb, mo’ori, meaning ‘I don’t know’. It seems to be derived from the existing affirmative form, to’ori ‘to know’, yet it does not have an overt marker of negation. Often it is used as the one-word response to a riddle:

(42) A: Pinewuu hapa-mo da rua rupa e’e-no?
well what-PRF REL two type water-3sPOS
B: Mo’ori.
don’t know
A: Yo bio.
ART egg
‘What well has two types of water?’ ‘I don’t know.’ ‘An egg.’

Another use:

(43) mo’ori, iaa
don’t know s/he
‘as for him, I don’t know’

When mo’ori is marked with the emphatic, contra-expectation morpheme, -si, it shows subtle non-committal to be able to supply the information the questioner looks for. For example:
(44) Na-u da’a to’ori-o hai pampa laica
NEG-2sNOM NEG know-3sABS at side house
da-hoo da tepo-sala?
be-3sABS REL REC- quarrel

‘Didn’t you know that there were people who were quarrelling beside your house?’

Response:

Mo’ori-si.
don’t know-CTR
‘I didn’t know.’

3.4.2 pomperamoa-POS

This word is derived from the verb momperamo ‘stand, endure’. The following is an example of the use of this verb:

(45) na-ku da’a nta mom-peramo lo-lako
NEG-1sNOM NEG FUT TR/NF- endure RED-go
ng-kaida’a
LG-continuous

‘I will not endure continual walking.’

But when this verb is nominalized into the word pomperamoa, with the agent marked by a possessive suffix, the word is inherently negative, meaning ‘(one) can’t stand’. The word pomperamoa is optionally marked with the tense marker nta. For example:

(46) nta pom-peramo-a-ngku lo-lako ng-kaida’a
FUT NR- endure-NRI-1sPOS RED-go LG-continuous

‘I can’t stand walking continually.’

The use of this inherently negative word together with another negator is discussed in § 6.1.1.

3.4.3 Negative intensifier

The adverb mpiha ‘at all’ is found only in negative clauses for intensifying negation. It follows the negator. The initial nasal may be an adverbial ligature. Examples:

(47) nahina mpiha koie
not.exist at.all that
‘There wasn’t any of that at all.’
(48)  *na-ku*  *da’a*  *mpiha*  *to’ori-o*  *kanahi*
    NEG-1sNOM  NEG  at.all  know-3sABS  say
    *ko-waiplode-ko*  *wainto*
    have-girl-2sABS  actually
    ‘I really didn’t know that you had a daughter.’

3.5 Frozen negatives

By frozen negatives we mean polymorphemic expressions which seem to contain a negative morpheme, even though the negative meaning is no longer so clear. The forms involved here are: *nta-da’a* ‘perhaps’, *sa’ia-iaa* ‘not right, evil’ and *sa-i polo* ‘let’.

If we try to analyse the components of the word *ntada’a*, the first can be identified as the future marker *nta* ‘will’. The identity of *da’a* is less clear. One might say that *da’a* is the verb ‘stay, exist’. Yet that would give a more positive and certain meaning than ‘perhaps’. But if *da’a* here is the second negator, it can convey the paradoxical meaning of ‘will’, a certain element, brought into opposition with ‘not’, a negative element. But the exact etymology is unclear. Example of usage:

(49)  *Ato*  *hapa*  *nta*  *p[in]ake-no?*
    roof  what  FUT  [PASS]use-3sPOS
    ‘What roof will be used by him?’

Response:

*Ato*  *rombia*  *nta-da’a.*
roof  sago palm  perhaps
‘Sago-palm roof, perhaps.’

Note that the order of elements is reversed in the negative future; see examples (6) and (23) cited earlier.

The form *sa’ia-iaa* may perhaps be derived from the negator *sa-* and the reduplication of the copular verb *iaa*. Example of usage:

(50)  *ka-i*  *me’alu*  *tapenda*  *da*  *sala*  *amu,*
    then-3sNOM  many  PROG  REL  wrong  do
    *ya-ho-mo*  *hi*  *sa’ia-iaa*
    COP-3sABS-PRF  because  not.right
    ‘Then there are many who act wrongly, that is, they are not right.’

The expression *sa(i) polo* ‘let (him)’ seems to contain the negative morpheme *sa-*.

The meaning of *polo* is hard to determine since it never occurs by itself. The form *polo*
is also used with nai with another meaning (see § 5.3). Different person markers can be used on the sa-. It usually occurs with perfective -mo. Example of usage:

(51) Osie lako da-hoo nta rako-ko polisi.
don’t go be-3sABS FUT catch-2sABS police
‘Don’t go, the police will catch you.’

Response:

Sa-ku polo-mo te-rako.
NEG-1sNOM ?-PRF RES-catch
‘Let me be caught then.’

4 REDUCED NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The general purpose of negation is contradiction. If the background or known portions consisting of most of the constituents of the sentence are removed from the negative construction, the remaining negative can be sufficient to convey what the scope of negation or contradiction is. There are a number of different cases:

4.1 Short clauses or utterances

From the shared knowledge of the preceding context, we can predict the scope of negation from a short negative clause. This occurs both in main and subordinate clauses. The common examples are of the existential negator alone, or the equative negator alone or the unmarked negation na- + verb. Examples:

(52) na’iaa yo camat, na’iaa, yo distere
not.be ART district.officer not.be ART district.officer
iaa ponoha po-nee-no
s/he once NR-name-3sPOS
‘It wasn’t a camat, no, its name previously was district officer.’

Here the negated constituent is the topic part of a topic-comment clause and in the repeated clause the negator stands alone leaving everything else out.

Quite often the clause is shortened leaving only the negator and necessary auxiliary or modal verbs and optional aspect markers. Here are some other examples:

(53) ka-to pon-taurako penda lako, ya-hoo, ki
then-1piNOM TR-begin again go. COP-3sABS if
sa-to da’a-mo, to-todo-mo ona na’ai
NEG-1piNOM NEG-PRF 1piNOM-stop-PRF just here
‘Let’s start going again, but if we can’t, let’s just stop here.’

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(54)  
\[ \text{ki-cu daa-si me-mbula, da-haku-si nta} \]
\[ \text{if-1sNOM be-CTR INT/NF-wake be-1sABS-CTR FUT} \]
\[ \text{totonga-ko, tabau ki-cu daa mo-turi,} \]
\[ \text{protect-2sABS only if-1sNOM be INT/NF-sleep} \]
\[ \text{na-ku da’a} \]
\[ \text{NEG-1sNOM NEG} \]

‘If I am awake, I will protect you, but if I’m asleep, I won’t.’

(55)  
\[ \text{ku-tena-’o tuai-u lako} \]
\[ \text{1sNOM-order-3sABS younger.sibling-2sPOS go} \]
\[ \text{me-bemu-aku na-i ehe} \]
\[ \text{INT/NF-coconut.husk-1sBEN NEG-3sNOM want} \]

‘I told your brother to go to look for the coconut husk for me. He did not want to.’

4.2 Negative responses

A Moronene speaker can respond positively by saying \textit{umbee} ‘yes’ and negatively to deny a statement made by someone by using a negator, often alone without verbs. As the negators have been exemplified above occurring in short clauses and also in a shorter form, there is no doubt that they can be used as short responses or even as a one-word answer. The examples below show how each negator is used.

(56)  
\[ \text{Nde’e i Tadi ari-o tii diceena?} \]
\[ \text{Q PI Tadi finish-3sABS descend here} \]

‘Did Tadi already come down here?’

Response:

\[ \text{na-i da’a} \]
\[ \text{NEG-3sNOM NEG} \]

‘No, he didn’t.’

An allomorph of \textit{da’a}, especially as a one-word answer, is \textit{nda’a}.

(57)  
\[ \text{Dodo, leu-mo ka-to pe-golu} \]
\[ \text{Dodo come-PRF then-1pNOM INT-ball} \]

‘Dodo, come and let’s play football.’

Response:

\[ \text{nda’a-si} \]
\[ \text{NEG-CTR} \]

‘No.’

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The negator *na’ia* is used for negative response to a constituent:

\[(58) \text{Miano Pusu’ea, miano Opali?} \]
\[\text{person Pusu’ea person Opali} \]
\[\text{‘Is he a person from Pusu’ea or from Opali?’} \]

Response:

\[\text{Na’ia, miano mebinga i Kapu-kapura} \]
\[\text{not be person from at Kapu-kapura} \]
\[\text{mo’ia diceena} \]
\[\text{INT/NF-stay here} \]
\[\text{‘No, he’s a person from Kapu-kapura who lives here.’} \]

The negators *paisa* ‘never’ and *mo’ori* ‘not know’ can also be used as one-word responses.

A short negative response may be marked with the morpheme −*si* together with another emphatic morpheme *ai*. For example, *mo’ori-si ai* ‘I really don’t know’, *nai da’a ai* ‘He really doesn’t’, *nahina ai* ‘There is none at all’, *naku paisa ai* ‘I have never at all’. But not *nahina to’u ai* or *nahina mpiha ai* since the words *to’u* or *mpiha* already show the emphasis (see §3.4.3).

The response to a negative statement is different. A negative response can be interpreted two ways, either as denial or as confirmation. When the negative statement is made without question intonation, the negative response is to deny that statement. For example:

\[(59) \text{na-ku da’a nta to’ori ungkaari-co} \]
\[\text{NEG-1sNOM NEG FUT know hold-2sABS} \]
\[\text{‘I will not be able to hold you.’} \]

Response:

\[\text{na-i da’a, mbue, mo-buna-a-si} \]
\[\text{NEG-3sNOM NEG grandparent STV-easy-3sABS-CTR} \]
\[\text{‘No, Grandma, it is easy.’} \]

The negative response here is the third person singular form, meaning ‘not’ that is ‘No, it is not true’. It is referring to the proposition as a whole. This denial does not add new information about any elements in the statement. Thus to achieve clarity of denial, a statement with a reason is provided.

If the statement is made with question intonation, then a negative response is to confirm the negative state of affairs. For example:
(60)  *na-i da’a-si mo-hapa?*  
Neg-3sNOM Neg-CTR TR/NF-what  
‘It doesn’t matter, right?’

Response:

*nda’a*  
Neg  
‘No.’

In this case, the response to the question above is ‘No’ meaning ‘It doesn’t matter’, as confirmation. Another example:

(61)  *Nde’e na’iaa-si manu-’ute?*  
Q not be-CTR chicken-small  
‘Weren’t they small chickens?’

Response:

*Na’iaa manu sala-sala, owose-’o-mo*  
not be chicken small big-3sABS-PRF  
‘They weren’t small chickens, they were big already.’

A negative response to a command means to disobey it. For example:

(62)  *Wee-ho Tama-n-i Lita ka-i onto-o.*  
give-3sABS father-3sPOS-PI Lita then-3sNOM see-3sABS  
‘Give it to Lita’s father to look at.’

Response:

*Oo ku-da’a.*  
oh 1sNOM-NEG  
‘Oh, I won’t.’

From the viewpoint of language typology, this phenomenon is interesting. Moronene does not follow the pattern of English, in which a negative response to a negative clause always confirms the clause. Nor does it follow the pattern of a language like Indonesian, in which a negative response always denies, whether the stimulus clause is negative or positive. Nor is it like French, which has a special morpheme, *si*, to deny negative clauses. Rather the negative response can have opposite meanings, depending on whether the stimulus clause is a statement or a question.

4.3 Juxtaposed negation

When negative clauses are juxtaposed, there is a tendency for elision in the negative constructions in clauses after the initial one. In the previous section it was
shown that the second negator da’a can be used independently. It is often used in neutral negations that are juxtaposed. In example (63), the more independent allomorph, nda’a, is used.

(63) kana’umpe ki-sa-to lako penda mong-kotu
    how if-NEG-1piNOM go again TR/NF-harvest
na-sa-to da’a nta mo-‘awa yo pae,
SUB-NEG-1piNOM NEG FUT TR/NF-get ART rice
nda’a nta mo-‘wee-kita miano pae, nda’a nta
NEG FUT TR/NF-give-1piABS person rice NEG FUT
mo-‘wee-kita miano ki-sa-to lako mo-‘oleo
TR/NF-give-1piABS person if-NEG-1piNOM go TR/NF-day
lentu-no
count-3sPOS

‘So if we don’t go again to harvest then we won’t get any rice, people won’t give us any rice, people won’t give us any if we don’t go to get our daily wages counted out.’

In example (64), the close linkage between the clauses is indicated by the fact that there are no conjunctions, and the negator has no person markers.

(64) ku-‘osie lungkuho-ako, sie mo-pusu-ako
1sNOM-don’t paralysed-INST don’t STV-close.eyes-INST
sie kukumbi-‘ako
don’t scabies-INST

‘Let me not get paralysed from it, nor get blinded from it, nor get scabies from it.’

Example (65) has juxtaposition with the negator na’iaa:

(65) da ari temba-a die poniu-no oleo na’iaa
REL finish shoot-3sABS this nest-3sPOS sun not.be
miano n-to’ori, na’iaa miano mo-tu’a
person LG-know not.be person STV-old

‘The one who shot the sun-nest was not an adult (lit. knowing person), not an old person.’

4.4 Person-neutral negation

In Moronene the meaning of the obligatory person marking on the negator may be neutralized. This phenomenon occurs in negation both at constituent and sentential levels, though for different reasons.
4.4.1 Person-neutral negation with sai at constituent level

The subordinate clause negator sa- may be marked with the third person singular, i.e. sai, though it is clear that the subject is plural or another person. For example:

(66) asa alo-hira-mo asa oleo sa-i mong-kaa
one night-3pABS-PRF one day NEG-3sNOM TR/NF-eat
‘They went a night and a day without eating.’

This type of negator is found when there are two propositions with close semantic integration, either in time, person or action. This leaves only certain elements as the focus of negation such as behavior involved in that event, as in example (66) above, or manner or ability for that action in examples (67), (68) and (69) below. Note from example (66) that an event verb following sai takes the m- form rather than the p-form.

(67) ma-ngku-mo me-’asi hai we’u-u,
later-1sPOS-PRF INT/NF-pinches at neck-2sPOS
ma-ngku-si sa-i me-kora
later-1sPOS-CTR NEG-3sNOM STV-strong
‘Later I will pinch at your neck, later I won’t do it strongly.’

In example (67), the third person negator sai is used even though the subject is first person. Its function is to specify that the manner of action is negated. Another example:

(68) na-sa-i daa-ko ntada’a me-kora
SUB-NEG-3sNOM be-2sABS perhaps INT/NF-strong
hi-u daa tumba-a koie ato
COMPL-2sNOM be butt-3sABS that roof
naho-mo ka-sa-i ehe te-tumba
thus-PRF then-NEG-3sNOM want RES-butt
‘Perhaps you didn’t butt that roof strongly with the result that it didn’t get a hole butted in it.’

In example (68) both the negative and the affirmative clause are marked with a second person singular subject marker. In the negative clause it is on the auxiliary verb daa which has continuous or progressive aspect. If the negator sai functioned as the normal subordinate negator, we would expect the negative auxiliary da’a without a person marker. This person neutral sai specifies that of the continuous action of butting the roof, the manner of the action is negated. Example (69) shows that the modal of ability for an action is negated, not the action itself.
The semantic integration is thus coded syntactically by the form of this person-neutral negator *sai*, as well as by the omission of the auxiliary *da’a*, which means no aspect difference is involved. Such grammaticalization of the negator *sa-* signals that it is not just used for focusing negation for a subordinate clause, but also for marking a dependent proposition with high integration with the main proposition.

### 4.4.2 Person-neutral negation with *sai* at sentential level

**In negative relative clauses**

Since a relative clause is one type of subordinate clause, the subordinate negator *sa-* is used. In event/state relative clauses the negator always takes a singular third person marker, the reason being that the information about the number is already specified in the relativized noun, hence it is redundant to make it explicit in the person marker found in the relative clause.

(70) *impia ka-u daa nta pokom-pe-’udi-’o*

*when then-2sNOM be FUT CAUS-INT-exam-3sABS*

*a ko’ira da sa-i païsa-po me-’udi*

*they REL NEG-3sNOM never-IMPF INT-exam*

‘When are you going to hold an exam for those who have not yet taken the exam?’

It is clear that the subject of the relative clause is plural, yet *sai* is used. In example (71) the plurality of the subject of the relative clause is underlined by the use of the plural morpheme *m-* preceding the verb:

(71) *ko’ira ana-’ate da sa-i da’a*

*they child-small REL NEG-3sNOM NEG*

*m-po-hedo osie-mo mom-pe-bage sinele*

*PL-TR-work don’t-PRF TR/NF-CAUS-divide porridge*

‘Don’t give any porridge to those children who didn’t work.’

This *sai* is different from the one at the constituent level in that it is within sentential negation. That is, it is not only one particular aspect of the event which is negated, but the whole relative clause including aspect and verb.
In nominalized clauses

A dependent nominalized clause is built up around a nominalized verb which modifies a preceding noun, somewhat similar in function to a relative clause:

(72) dadi da-haku mo-‘awa e’e da-ha-no sa-i
so be-1sABS TR/NF-find water be-NRI-3sPOS NEG-3sNOM
nta komea hi daa diide mo-dara oleo
FUT dry.up COMPL be this STV-strong sun

‘So I have found water in a place that will not dry up during this dry season.’

The above example is a locational nominalized clause. The agent of the verb of this clause is already explicit in the possessive suffix.

4.4.3 Is there person-neutral negation with nai?

Example (73) seems to present an example of person-neutral negation since the negator takes a third person singular clitic but there is a second person pronoun subject ico’o at the end of the clause.

(73) na-i tewali mo-malu ico’o
NEG-3sNOM may TR/NF-play you

‘You may not play.’

One might be misled to analyse it as person-neutral negation in a main clause. It will help if we look at some more straightforward cases in which the third person singular subject of the negation represents a clausal subject. These include clauses with evaluative verbs like moico ‘be good’, modality verbs like tewali ‘may’, and epistemic verbs like matantu ‘be certain’. As in most languages, according to Givón (1984:95), an ‘it’ subject is preferred rather than a sentential or clausal subject. For example:

(74) na-i moico hi-to pom-pace
NEG-3sNOM good COMPL-1piNOM TR-use
babu da mo-taha
shirt REL STV-red

‘It’s not good to wear a red shirt.’

(75) na-i da’a-po ma-tantu ka-i
NEG-3sNOM NEG-IMPF STV-certain then-3sNOM
poko-wotu-o
able-break-3sABS

‘It’s not certain he’ll be able to break it.’
In these examples there are explicit conjunctions (*hi*–‘COMPL’, *ka*–‘then’) which mark the embedded clause which is subject. Likewise even when an embedded clause does not have an explicit clause marker, it can be analysed as a clause functioning as subject. The free pronouns in examples (73) and (76) are the subjects of the embedded clause, not the main clause.

(76) **na-i**
    te-wali  *iaa*  mo-bati-bati  *mi*a
    NEG-3sNOM  may  s/he  TR/NF-RED-light  person

*hi-to  *tor*a
SUB-1piNOM  live

‘One shouldn’t make light of people when we are alive.’

The third person nominative is not coreferential to the pronoun but to the clausal subject. The clausal proposition can be a conditional clause, a complement clause, or a nominalized clause.

A similar phenomenon occurs with experiential verbs which take possessive suffixes to mark the experiencer. In example (77) the clause *mongkaa uwi* ‘to eat tubers’ can be analysed as the subject. A literal translation might be: ‘to eat tubers is not likable to me.’

(77) **na-i**
    me-hawa-ku  *mong-kaa  uwi*
    NEG-3sNOM  STV-like-1sPOS  TR/NF-eat  tuber

‘I don’t like to eat tubers.’

5 **SCOPE OF NEGATION**

In Moronene the negative particles appear in sentence-initial position and the succeeding elements can be adverbs, verbs or various types of clauses. As a result there is a potential problem in determining the scope of negation and how to disambiguate the interpretation of what exactly is being negated. Cross-linguistically, negative scope may be encoded syntactically by the use of stress/intonation or cleft-focusing, such as in English, or by merely changing word order, such as in Bikol and Ute (Givón 1984:339-341). In Moronene, stress/intonation does not seem to be used, but rather the ambiguity is resolved by giving more information or a substitute constituent, by word-order change or by using a more explicit means, such as the cleft-focus construction. We first discuss negation of sentence constituents in general and then the negation of more specific types of constituents.

5.1 **Negation of constituents in general**

In general, the negated constituent may be a noun or a verb, either an action or a state verb.
5.1.1 By use of a substitute constituent

As noted earlier, in general a negation construction denies an event or a state, whereas to negate a specific constituent, a substitute constituent is provided later. For example:

(78) \textit{na-i da’a mo-’ita pae, mo-’ita}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{NEG-3sNOM} & \text{NEG} & \text{TR/NF-ask.for} & \text{rice} \\
\text{kinaa} & \text{cooked.rice} \\
\end{tabular}  

‘He didn’t ask for unhusked rice, he asked for cooked rice.’

In example (78) the object is negated, leaving the verb outside the scope of negation.

(79) \textit{na-i da’a li-linca-hira di’ira ica,}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG-3sNOM} & \text{NEG} & \text{RED-move-3pABS} & \text{these} & \text{fish} \\
\text{sawali da-hoo kaa-hira} & \text{but} & \text{be-3sABS} & \text{eat-3pABS} \\
\end{tabular}  

‘He wasn’t moving these fish, but he was eating them.’

In example (79) the subject’s activity is negated, meaning not moving, but eating, leaving the object of the predicate outside the scope of negation.

When a state or a property is denied, the negation may be to express a contrary property (contradictory) or to express a different grade of property, e.g. ‘rather small’. Examples:

(80) \textit{Na’iiaa manu sala-sala, owose-’o-mo}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{not.be} & \text{chicken} & \text{small} & \text{big-3sABS-PRF} \\
\end{tabular}  

‘They weren’t small chickens, they were big.’

(81) \textit{A: Ka-i tii nde’e da okidi.}  
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{then-3sNOM} & \text{go down} & \text{PART} & \text{REL} & \text{small} \\
\end{tabular}  

‘And then the small one went down.’

\textit{B: Okidi, na’iiaa-mo, okidi-’ite ntada’a.}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\text{small} & \text{not.be-PRF} & \text{small-little} & \text{perhaps} \\
\end{tabular}  

‘Not small, rather small, perhaps.’

In example (80), one might be misled that \textit{manu} ‘chicken’, the constituent right after the negator, is negated, or in example (81) that a contrary property, big, is expected. Substitute constituents clarify this.
5.1.2 By use of cleft-focus construction

Yet a more explicit syntactic negation of a constituent can be achieved by using a cleft-focus construction. The affirmative form has the fronting of the focused constituent as the topic, plus an overt relative clause structure as the complement. See the following affirmative and negative examples:

(82)  i’aku-mo da nta ala-a  
     I-PRF REL FUT take-3sABS  
     ‘I’m the one who will take it.’

(83)  na’iaa i’aku da nta ala-a  
     not.be I REL FUT take-3sABS  
     ‘It is not me who will take it.’

In Berbice Dutch, the constituent appears independently with the negator, and it is regarded as an utterance or a sentence fragment (Kouwenberg 1994). In Moronene, syntactically it may or may not be a sentence fragment, yet semantically it is the negation of a constituent which is part of the preceding proposition. For example:

(84)  hi leu awa-a yo ana’ate n-tina,  
     COMPL come find-3sABS ART child-small LG-female  
     tewali na’ana tina, na’iaa tama  
     become also female not.be male  
     ‘If a girl came and found him, he became a girl, not a boy.’

The negated constituent is the noun complement denoting gender and so the substitute is the opposite gender.

5.2 Negation of adverbials

According to Givón (1984:329), adverbials are constituents which are regarded as "attracting" the scope of assertion of the sentence to them alone, unlike the subject, which is usually left outside the scope. This is also implied in negation.

(85)  na-i da’a lembahi usa  
     NEG-3sNOM NEG long rain  
     ‘It didn’t rain long.’

This means the adverbial lembahi ‘long’ is under the scope of negation, leaving the verb usa ‘rain’ out.

An adverbial which is not part of a verb phrase, i.e. a peripheral adverbial, can be negated as well. Example (86) below has a time adverbial. The negation of a quantity adverbial is illustrated in § 5.3.
(86) na-i da’a sa-ko’ua-no miano
NEG-3sNOM NEG when-have-grey.hair-3sPOS person
ka-to kanahi mo-tu’a-a-mo
then-1piNOM say STV-old-3sABS-PRF
‘It is not when someone has got grey hair that we can say that he is already old.’

For an adverb of manner, however, Moronene uses a particular person-neutral negator saí, which is used to clarify that it does not negate the whole event, but particularly focuses on some particular part of the event, such as manner or modality (see § 4.4.1).

5.3 Negation of quantity

Horn (1978:136 ff.) has noted that in expressions involving quantity and/or extent of individuals, qualities, or actions, information may be scaled. The examples below show how the quantity is not negated in a contrary but a scaled manner:

(87) na’iaa da etu miano da tii Kasipute
not.be REL hundred person REL go down Kasipute
‘There were hundreds of people who went down to Kasipute.
(lit.: it was not a hundred people who went...’)

(88) na’iaa rewu
not.be thousand
‘thousands’

Careless interpretation of the first example might yield the meaning that those hundreds of people did not go. Actually, when the equative negator is used to negate a relative clause with a number or number measure noun as the predicate, the construction designates a quantity many times more than the negated quantity.

Another construction uses nai and polo instead of na’iaa da + number, with the identical meaning as example (87) with the equative negator:

(89) na-i polo asa etu miano da lako i
NEG-3sNOM ? one hundred person REL go at
Kasipute
Kasipute
‘Hundreds of people went to Kasipute.’

With the negator nai, the negated element here is the limiter polo which may mean something like ‘limit’.

According to Payne (1985:201, 233-5), not all languages permit quantifier negation like ‘not many’ and ‘not all’ as a syntactic phrase. From his typological
studies, there is a tendency that languages with morphological or bound negatives do not permit quantifier negation, such as Persian and Turkish; whereas languages with a negative particle often do, such as German, Russian and English. Moronene does not permit such quantifier negation, although its negator is a particle, since it is declinable or bound to the person marker or a verb. So some syntactic means are used to compensate for this lack, which are set out below.

5.3.1 Contrary quantifier

Moronene uses contrary quantifiers such as ‘few, little’ to show contrast of quantifier at the level of a noun phrase which has the word order: noun + postmodifier:

\[(90)\] _hai miano me’alu_
\[
\text{at person many}
\]
\[\text{‘to many people’}\]

\[(91)\] _hai miano te’ete_
\[
\text{at person few}
\]
\[\text{‘to few people’}\]

The quantifier _meha_ ‘some, others’, which seems to contrast with ‘all’, conveys the meaning ‘there is no one else’ or ‘there is nothing else’ when negated:

\[(92)\] _nahina meha da nta kawi-ni-o koie tina_
\[
\text{not.exist other REL FUT marry-APPL-3sABS that woman}
\]
\[\text{‘There’s no one else who will marry that woman.’}\]

Moronene has no inherently negative quantifiers such as ‘nothing’, ‘no one’, etc. Therefore, the negator is used with or without indefinite and non-referential morphemes such as _hapa_ ‘what’, _miano_ ‘person’ to convey such meanings. Examples:

\[(93)\] _nahina hapa_
\[
\text{not.exist what}
\]
\[\text{‘It’s nothing.’}\]

\[(94)\] _nahina miano da ari akala’o tokia-no_
\[
\text{not.exist person REL finish deceive-3sABS friend-3sPOS}
\]
\[\text{‘There is nobody who has deceived his friend.’}\]

5.3.2 Negation of quantifier

The negation of a quantifier which renders a ‘not many’ or ‘not all’ reading at sentence level can be achieved by placing a quantifier in predicate position. For example:
(95)  
na-i  da’a  me’alu  e’e-no  
NEG-3sNOM  NEG  many  water-3sPOS  
‘It doesn’t have much water.’

Its corresponding affirmative is:

(96)  
me’alu-o  e’e-no  
many-3sABS  water-3sPOS  
‘It has a lot of water.’

(97)  
na-i  da’a  luwu  tama  da  mom-po-tora  
NEG-3sNOM  NEG  all  male  REL  TR/NF-CAUS-grow  
dangku  
beard  
‘Not all men grow a beard (i.e. men that grow a beard are not all)’

(98)  
pempi-pempia-haku-mo  lako  li-linca-a  
RED-how.many.times-1sABS-PRF  go  RED-move-3sABS  
ni’i-ncu  sawali  dungku  diekana-kana  na-i  
coconut-1sPOS  but  until  now  NEG-3sNOM  
da’a-po  te-wawa  luwu-o  
NEG-IMPF  RES-carry  all-3sABS  
‘I have moved my coconuts so many times but up to now they still have not all been brought.’

In example (98), the quantifier luwu is incorporated into the verb, and the absolutive clitic marks it as the subject of the intransitive passivized verb tewawa ‘be carried’.

To get a quantifier outside the scope of negation, the verb, not the quantifier, is negated, and the reading rendered is ‘many not’ or ‘all not’. This is achieved by placing the quantifier in subject position:

(99)  
ni’i  da  ari  p[in]fo-mone-no  
coconut  REL  finish  [PASS]CAUS-climb-3sPOS  
na-i  da’a-po  te-baea  luwu-no  
NEG-3sNOM  NEG-IMPF  RES-carry.with.hand  all-3sPOS  
‘Of the coconuts that were picked, all of them were not carried back (e.g. none were carried back).’

Here the quantifier luwu with possessive suffix -no is a noun filling subject position.
5.4 Fronting

The purpose of fronting is to create a prominent constituent either as a focus of attention or as a contrast to something previously mentioned. Below, examples of fronted subjects, objects, and time constituents are examined to see whether there is any effect on the scope of negation.

5.4.1 Prominent subject

(100) i Ali, iaa, na-i da’a-mo in-ala
    PI Ali s/he NEG-3sNOM NEG-PRF PASS-take
    ‘Ali was not taken.’

The fronted subject here is not removed from the scope of negation, which covers the entire event. This is different from negation in cleft-focus constructions (§ 4.1.2), that may render a more narrow scope of negation, i.e. ‘it was not Ali (but someone else)’, where Ali becomes a negated constituent.

5.4.2 Prominent object

(101) ka-to ruruki-o da mo-tu‘i, da mo-nga
    then-1piNOM choose-3sABS REL STV-dry REL STV-young
    to-’osie mo-’ala, da mo-tu‘i ka-to
    1piNOM-don’t TR/NF-take REL STV-dry then-1piNOM
    tuuna-ni
    fall-APPL
    ‘Then we choose the dry ones; the young ones we should not take; the dry ones we drop.’

The second clause fronts the object da mongura ‘the young ones’ in contrast to the previous object da motu‘i ‘the dry ones’. Word order seems not to affect the scope of negation, since the fronted object is still within the sentential negation.

5.4.3 Prominent time

In contrast to subjects and objects, time prominent constructions which are fronted in negative clauses remain outside the scope of sentential negation. For example:

(102) dungku tonga oleo na-ndo paisa mo-‘awa
    until middle day NEG-3pNOM never TR/NF-find
    ihi e’e
    snakehead
    ‘Up until midday they still had not found any snakehead fish.’
6 SOME PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF NEGATION

In this section we look at examples of how negation is used for some interesting pragmatic functions.

6.1 Positive certainty

In Moronene there are two main strategies of using negation to assert a positive statement with strong certainty, namely a) double negation and b) polarity reversal. The latter functions in more delicate communication situations. Various data with social and psychological factors at conversational and discourse level contexts are necessary for proper analysis, yet such research would be too exhaustive for the scope of this paper. Here we present only a variety of examples with our tentative conclusions.

6.1.1 Double negation

In previous sections we have seen examples of Moronene clauses with two negators, yet without causing double negation. In clauses with na- da’ a or na- paisa, the presence of two negators only causes one operation of negative polarity. With double negation, however, two negators cause two operations of negative polarity, resulting in a clause with positive polarity. One interesting case is the use of an inherently negative word.

In many languages the use of two negatives makes a strong positive statement. An example of this is Tuyuca, in which double negation has the semantic force of conveying a strong positive statement or else is used for contrafactual comparison (Barnes 1994:340). In Moronene the double negation construction has only the former function.

Example (103) uses three negators, the first two na- paisa conveying the first negation, which is changed into positive by the third negator sa-. Hence ‘never not fighting’ means ‘always fighting’.

(103) tapio hi-mi tepo-’awa me- ti-tila-miu
     every COMPL-2pNOM REC-find INT/NF-RED-sibling-2pPOS
     na-mi m-paisa sa-i tepo-dalu
     NEG-2pNOM PL-n ever NEG-3sNOM REC-enemy

    ng-kaida’a
     LG-continuous

‘Every time you siblings get together there’s never anything but fighting all the time.’
Notice the reinforcement of frequency with the use of extreme denial *paisa* ‘never’. We also find the negative form *sai* used in combination with standard negation, both followed by *nta* ‘will’, another reinforcement of certainty:

(104) **na-ku** da’a sa-i **nta** wosu-’o
NEG-1sNOM NEG NEG-3sNOM FUT beat-3sABS

*na-n-daa* me-tangenge hi-cu **daa** tena-’o
SUB-LG-be INT/NF-mock COMPL-1sNOM be order-3sABS

‘I couldn’t not beat him since he mocked me whenever I ordered him [to do something].’

Another way to express extreme denial in Moronene is to use the expression *nahina lako*—parallel to English ‘no way’—which together with normal negation, has the import of reinforcing a positive statement:

(105) **adalo-n-tama** ronga waipode dengkana-kana mau
youth-LG-male with girl nowadays though

*asahapa-nto* dagai-hira, *nahina* lako-do *sa-i*
strict-1piPOS guard-3pABS not.exist go-3pPOS NEG-3sNOM

**tepo-dandi** tepo-’awa
REC-promise REC-find

‘The boys and girls nowadays, however strictly we watch them, there is no way they won’t make an appointment to see each other.’

The following example looks like a double negation with the force of positive certainty, but it is not:

(106) **na-i** lako-ku **sa-i** mom-poko-bengkaro
NEG-3sNOM go-1sPOS NEG-3sNOM TR/NF-able-set.snare

*ko’ira* manu sawali na-sahina da saba ole-’oleo
those chicken but SUB-not.exist REL appear RED-day

‘It wasn’t that I wasn’t able to set a snare to catch those chickens but because there were not any of them appearing all day long.’

The speaker does not argue about his ability. That is not the point of his assertion of not getting chickens. Notice the difference between the negative form with *nai* here and *nahina* in example (105).

**Inherently negative adverb**

The inherently negative adverb *pomperamo* (see § 3.4.2), with an extreme denial connotation can be combined with *sai* to assert positive certainty.
(107) pom-peramo-a-no die puhu sa-i kaa-ho  
NR-endure-NR-3sPOS this corn NEG-3sNOM eat-3sABS  
manu hina n-te’iiaa-si hi-daa  
chicken because LG-only-CTR COMPL-be  
meke-dampo-dampo-’ate  
REC-RED-close-little  
‘This corn can hardly not be eaten by chickens seeing as it’s only covered a little bit.’

6.1.2 Polarity reversal

As mentioned in the introduction, a clause with negation may have positive polarity instead, even without another negator to form double negation. Diachronically this construction may be derived from one of the above constructions. In such clauses, the person-neutral negator sai is used with or without nta ‘would’ strengthening certainty and having the force of a rhetorical question. Such illocutionary force may be conveyed with or without the syntax of a question.

Negation with question form

The question word hapa ‘what’ combined with the locative noun daha ‘place’ marked by a person marker is normally a question asking ‘where?’. Together with sai it functions as a rhetorical question, not expecting an answer such as a place but giving a strong assertion. The question word, kana’umpe ‘how’ sometimes replaces the word hapa ‘what’.

(108) hapa daha-no sa-i nta  
what place-3sPOS NEG-3sNOM FUT  
mo-poe-no-o hi ari te-tanda-pako  
STV-hurt-3sPOS-3sABS COMPL finish RES-slip-away  
hina mong-kona tu’o ng-keu  
because TR/NF-hit stump LG-wood  
‘How would he not feel hurt when he fell on his bottom since he hit a tree stump?’

Negation without question form

Here the negator sai alone, with or without nta, is used in a construction with the force of a rhetorical question. Similar to what was mentioned in § 3.1.3, the negator sai is found in a non-prototypical main clause. We look at an example of sai without nta first.
This is a situation in which both the speaker and the hearer may have a shared assumption, but more importantly, with different degrees of realization of the information or conviction of the assumption. Why does the speaker in this example not just use double negation as above to make a strong assertion? A declarative form with the speaker as the author of information expressing his own conviction would not involve the hearer’s attention as much as a question form that challenges or stirs up the hearer in evoking information or the answer. Nor would it involve the expression of the attitude of the speaker himself as much as a non-declarative sentence. However when it is a rhetorical question, the question form draws the hearer’s attention to the assumption itself, and involves the speaker’s attitude. What kind of hearer’s attention results or what the speaker’s attitude may be seems to be clearer if the reason supporting that assertion is given.

Negation in a rhetorical question has a persuasive force of drawing the hearer from ignorance, or more often, from a lower realization or conviction with regard to the information or assumption leading to a strong realization or conviction. That is, in example (108), ‘Of course, he would feel hurt’, or example (109), ‘Of course it is like your hands’. By giving the reason, the hearer gets a stronger conviction or realization resulting in an affective response, such as sympathy or shock. These effects also reflect the speaker’s attitudes in making these remarks, namely sympathy or sarcasm respectively.

An example of sai with nta:

\[
(110) \quad \text{sa-i} \quad \text{nta} \quad \text{do-dai-‘a-no} \quad \text{die} \quad \text{ta’i} \quad \text{sapi}
\]
\[
\text{NEG-3sNOM} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{RED-stick-NR-3sPOS} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{feces cow}
\]
\[
\text{na-daa-po} \quad \text{mo-sele}
\]
\[
\text{SUB-be-IMPF} \quad \text{STV-wet}
\]

‘Why shouldn’t the cow manure stick there seeing as it was still wet?’

This example is different from the ones above, since the hearer is the victim herself who must have full realization of the reality and the reason. Such a remark may express resentment to the hearer and may reflect the speaker’s attitude of complaining.
6.2 Saliency

According to Givón (1984:347), in the foreground of narrative discourse where new mainline information is provided, affirmative sentences are found much more frequently than negative sentences. But against an expected, unsurprising, normal or routine background, a negative event is informatively salient. Here is one Moronene example:

(111)  
\[
\begin{align*}
  dadi & \text{ koie i } \text{ Ali da-hoo mo-turi, sawali} \\
  \text{so that P1 Ali be-3sABS INT/NF-sleep but} \\
  \text{na-i} & \text{ da’a mo-turi biri-no, da-ho-si} \\
  \text{NEG-3sNOM NEG INT/NF-sleep ear-3sPOS be-3sABS-CTR} \\
  \text{me-mbula, te’iaa-si mata-no da me-pusu} \\
  \text{INT/NF-awake only-CTR eye-3sPOS REL INT/NF-close.eyes} \\
  \text{‘As for Ali, he was sleeping, but his ears were not sleeping, they were awake, only his eyes were closed.’}
\end{align*}
\]

One could expect that nothing else happened besides the sleeping of Ali, but the negated proposition appears to be against the background of the expected sleeping, so it is salient and informative. Though the context seems to focus on different constituents, i.e. the ears versus the eyes, standard negation is used instead of the form for constituent negation, because the true event of not sleeping is made salient. For more discussion of the saliency of negation at discourse level see Hwang (1992).

7 SUMMARY

Moronene is a language with a variety of negative forms serving various, clear functions. The syntax of Moronene negation is summarized in the following tables.

**Table 1: Negation in Main Clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause type</th>
<th>Negator type</th>
<th>Morphemes</th>
<th>Negated element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>event/state</td>
<td>particle</td>
<td><em>na-NOM</em></td>
<td><em>p-verb</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>particle + auxiliary</td>
<td><em>na-NOM da’a</em></td>
<td><em>m-verb</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equative</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td><em>na-’iaa</em></td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td><em>na-hina</em></td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 2: Negation in Subordinate Clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause type</th>
<th>Negator type</th>
<th>Morphemes</th>
<th>Negated element</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>event/state</td>
<td>particle</td>
<td><em>sa-NOM</em></td>
<td><em>p-verb/m-verb</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>particle + auxiliary</td>
<td><em>sa-NOM da’a</em></td>
<td><em>m-verb</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equative</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td><em>sa-’iiaa</em></td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td><em>sa-hina</em></td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3: Other Negative Constructions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction type</th>
<th>Negator type</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prohibitive mood</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td><em>osie</em> ‘don’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative frequency</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
<td><em>paixa</em> ‘never’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inherent negative</td>
<td>verb</td>
<td><em>mo’ori</em> ‘not know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td><em>pomperamoa-POS</em> ‘can’t stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td><em>mpiha</em> ‘at all’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are modified negative forms or constructions such as shorter or more neutralized ones to serve certain functions in certain communication contexts or to clarify the scope of negation. Moronene uses various devices to clarify the scope of negation such as substitute constituents, cleft focus constructions and fronting.

More research is needed regarding pragmatic functions of negation since the data show many interesting ways of using negation. There are many ways of saying no in Moronene.

108
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>applicative, locative</td>
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</table>
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NOTES

1 I am grateful to the many Moronene speakers who provided data for this paper. Thanks also to David Mead and René van den Berg who provided valuable feedback to different drafts of this paper. Much appreciation to David Andersen, my husband, who did a tedious and thorough job of editing. I am also grateful to Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (the Indonesian Institute of Sciences) under whose auspices much of the research for this paper was done.

2 The word *da’a* appears to be a doublet of the existential-presentative verb *daa* ‘be, stay’. The verb *daa* can be used as an auxiliary verb with underlining continuous aspect while the main verb assumes a nonfinite form. It may also carry aspect or mood markers. In modern Moronene, the archaic form *da’a* tends to be used as the existential-presentative verb in negative clauses as in:

```
na-i     da’a    hai   laica,   da-hoo   lako
NEG-3sNOM stay at home be-3sABS go
```

He is not at home, he has gone.

It is also the negative counterpart of *daa* as the auxiliary verb. One example here shows *da’ a* used both as the negative auxiliary verb and as the main verb in a negative existential-presentative clause:

```
ha-ku     lako    hai   laica-no
whenever-1sNOM go at house-3sPOS

na-i     da’a    da’a
NEG-3sNOM NEG stay
```

Whenever I go to his house he’s not in.

3 The copular verb *iaa* (probably a doublet of *’iaa* ‘third person singular’) in the affirmative equative clause is marked with the third person singular absolutive enclitic -ho/-hoo. The morphophonemic rule is:

```
iaa + -ho  →  yahoo
```

4 In modern Moronene *hina* always occurs with some accompanying morphology, such as being prefixed by the resultative morpheme *te-* as *te-hina* ‘be born’ or preceded by the negator *na-* as *na-hina* ‘not exist’. Esser, in his discussion of the Mori language, favors the hypothesis that *nahina* is derived from a shortening of *nahina* (Esser 1933:247). A negator of the form *nahina* also occurs in the Bungku, Kulisusu and Wawonii languages (David Mead, personal communication).
The occurrence of saihina next to sahina supports the conjecture that the corresponding form in main clauses—in modern Moronene only nahina—derives from an earlier *nai hina (see footnote 4).

Note that the subordinator na-, glossed SUB in example (40), is a different morpheme from the homophonous negator na-. The following example illustrates its usage:

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\textbf{na} & \textit{daa-ko} & \textit{ntada'a} & \textit{ari} & \textit{tantamo}, \\
SUB & be-2sABS & perhaps & finish & contaminated \\
\textit{naho-mo} & \textit{ka-u} & \textit{ko-lumba-lumba} & \\
thus-PRF & then-2sNOM & have-RED-rash & \\
\end{tabular}

‘since you may have eaten something you're allergic to, so you got a rash’