WHEN THE MORONENE SAY NO

Suree Andersen

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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 *paisa* '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[1]

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:

na-nominative clitic + verb

The negator *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) *moturi*   'sleep'

     na-i   *po-turi*   'he did not sleep'
     NEG-3sNOM   INT-sleep

(2) *mohalu*   'get'

     na-i   *po-halu*   *koie*   *kanu*   'he did not get that grain'
     NEG-3sNOM   TR-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) **na-i**   *mo-seka*   *lako*   *ki*   *te'iaa-si*   *panta-no*
     NEG-3sNOM   STV-brave   go   if   only-CTR   own-3sPOS
     '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 *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. *-mo* 'perfective', *-po* 'imperfective' as well as *-si*, an emphatic morpheme denoting contra-expectation. When the second negator *da'a* is combined with *-mo*, as in example (4), it gives the meaning 'not any more'. When it is combined with *-po*, as in example (5), it gives the meaning 'not yet'.

(4) **na-ku**   *da'a-mo*   *tealo*   *moko-dasi-'o*   *ato-ku*
     NEG-1sNOM   NEG-PRF   pass   CAUS-pin-3sABS   roof-1sPOS

     hina   *malo-mo*
     because   night-PRF

     'I was no longer able to stop by and attach my roof since it was already night.'

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(5) **na-i**   **da'a-po**   *te-'ari-'ari*   *mo-hedo*
     NEG-3sNOM   NEG-IMPF   RES-RED-finish   TR/NF-work

     peta-no
     paddy-3sPOS

     'He has not yet stopped working on his rice field.'

Negation may also be followed by a future tense marker *nta*, which normally occurs in preverbal position:

(6) *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) *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) *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) *na-ku*   **da'a**   *mo-wawa*   *adie*   *ue*   *nta*
     NEG-1sNOM   NEG   TR/NF-take   this   rattan   FUT

     po-wosu-ku   *miano*   *sawali*   *ka-ku*   **daa**
     NR-beat-1sPOS   person   but   then-1sNOM   be

     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) *na-i*   *da'a*   **mo-tu'a**   *to'u*   *akoie*   *nangka*
       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) *wonua-ngku*   *die*   **ku-***da'a*   *to'ori-o*
       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) **da'a**   *me'alu*   *ari*   *ni-mbula-ngku*
       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'.[3] A morphophonemic process, the addition of a glottal stop, occurs when the negator becomes part of the verb:

$$na\text{-} + iaa \rightarrow na'iaa$$

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'.[4] 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-NRl-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:*

(20)	**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:

(21)

hapa	die	nta	lako-'a-ngku,	hina	**sa-ku**	**da'a**
what	this	FUT	go-NRl-1sPOS	since	NEG-1sNOM	NEG

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*)[5] 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-NRl-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/NF-make   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-do-1sPOS

      sa-ku   *poko-wowa-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) *hapa*   *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*   **ntapera-no**   **sa-i**   *ehe-e*
       government   extremely-3sPOS   NEG-3sNOM   want-3sABS

       miano-miano   *da*   *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**-*weweu-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:

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(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 *pomperamoa*-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: | *Pinewuwu* | *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 quarreling 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-NRl-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.'

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(48) *na-ku*   *da'a*   **mpiha**   *to'ori-o*   *kanahi*
      NEG-1sNOM   NEG   at.all   know-3sABS   say

      ko-waipode-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*   *anu,*
      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.'

(54) | *ki-cu* | *daa-si* | *me-mbula,* | *da-haku-si* | *nta* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| if-1sNOM | be-CTR | INT/NF-wake | be-1sABS-CTR | FUT |

totonga-ko,	*tabau*	*ki-cu*	*daa*	*mo-turi,*
protect-2sABS	only	if-1sNOM	be	INT/NF-sleep

na-ku	**da'a**
NEG-1sNOM	NEG

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

(55) | *ku-tena-'o* | *tuai-u* | *lako* |
|---|---|---|
| 1sNOM-order-3sABS | younger.sibling-2sPOS | go |

me-benu-akuo	**na-i**	**ehe**
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 *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) | *Nde'e* | *i* | *Tadi* | *ari-o* | *tii* | *diceena?* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Q | PI | Tadi | finish-3sABS | descend | here |

'Did Tadi already come down here?'

Response:

na-i	*da'a*
NEG-3sNOM	NEG

'No, he didn't.'

An allomorph of *da'a*, especially as a one-word answer, is *nda'a*.

(57) | *Dodo,* | *leu-mo* | *ka-to* | *pe-golu* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dodo | come-PRF | then-1pNOM | INT-ball |

'Dodo, come and let's play football.'

Response:

nda'a-si
NEG-CTR

'No.'

The negator *na'iaa* is used for negative response to a constituent:

(58) *Miano   Pusu'ea,   miano   Opali?*
person   Pusu'ea   person   Opali
'Is he a person from Pusu'ea or from Opali?'

Response:

Na'iaa,   *miano   mebinta   i   Kapu-kapura*
not.be   person   from   at   Kapu-kapura

mo-'ia   diceena
INT/NF-stay   here

'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) *na-ku   da'a   nta   to'ori   ungkaari-co*
NEG-1sNOM   NEG   FUT   know   hold-2sABS
'I will not be able to hold you.'

Response:

na-i   **da'a,**   *mbue,   mo-buna-a-si*
NEG-3sNOM   NEG   grandparent   STV-easy-3sABS-CTR
'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-pinch   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:

(69) *mau*   *buna-buna*   *mo-'ungkaa-ri*   *karakadi*
      though   even   TR/NF-hold-APPL   saw

      na-**sa**-**i**   *to'ori-co*
      SUB-NEG-3sNOM   know-2sABS

      'Whereas you don't even know how to hold a saw.'

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

      ako'ira   *da*   **sa-i**   *paisa-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.

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-NRl-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-pake*
　　　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**   *tewali* *iaa*   *mo-bati-bati*   *miano*
     NEG-3sNOM   may   s/he   TR/NF-RED-light   person

     hi-to   *tora*
     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) *na-i*   *da'a*   *mo-'ita*   **pae,**   *mo-'ita*
NEG-3sNOM   NEG   TR/NF-ask.for   rice   TR/NF-ask.for

kinaa
cooked.rice

'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) *na-i*   *da'a*   **li-linca-hira**   *di'ira*   *ica,*
NEG-3sNOM   NEG   RED-move-3pABS   these   fish

sawali   *da-hoo*   **kaa-hira**
but   be-3sABS   eat-3pABS

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

(81) A: *Ka-i*   *tii*   *nde'e*   *da*   *okidi.*
then-3sNOM   go.down   PART   REL   small
'And then the small one went down.'

B: **Okidi,**   *na'iaa-mo,*   **okidi-'ite**   *ntada'a.*
small   not.be-PRF   small-little   perhaps
'Not small, rather small, perhaps.'

In example (80), one might be misled that *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 *sai*, 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**
     at   person   many
     'to many people'

(91) *hai   miano*   **te'ete**
     at   person   few
     '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*
     not.exist   other   REL   FUT   marry-APPL-3sABS   that   woman
     '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**
     not.exist   what
     'It's nothing.'

(94) *nahina*   **miano**   *da*   *ari*   *akala-'o*   *tokia-no*
     not.exist   person   REL   finish   deceive-3sABS   friend-3sPOS
     '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]o-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-ngura***
      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-never	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 *pomperamoa* (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'iaa-si*   *hi-daa*
chicken   because   LG-only-CTR   COMPL-be

meka-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.

(109) **sa-i**   *kana*   *lima-u*   *naamo*   *biri-u*
NEG-3sNOM   like   hand-2sPOS   with   ear-2sPOS

he-i   *nangkua* *lima-no*   *naamo*   *biri-no*
COMPL-3sNOM   because   hand-3sPOS   with   ear-3sPOS

simbau-'u   *da*   *k[in]aa-u*
friend-2sPOS   REL   [PASS]eat-2sPOS

'Why shouldn't it be like your hands and your ears when it actually is the hands and ears of your friend that you are eating?'

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) **sa-i**   *nta*   *do-dai-'a-no*   *die*   *ta'i*   *sapi*
NEG-3sNOM   FUT   RED-stick-NR-3sPOS   this   feces cow

na-daa-po   *mo-sele*
SUB-be-IMPF   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.

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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)   *dadi*   *koie*   *i*   *Ali*   *da-hoo*   *mo-turi,*   *sawali*
so   that   PI   Ali   be-3sABS   INT/NF-sleep   but

na-i   **da'a**   *mo-turi*   *biri-no,*   *da-ho-si*
NEG-3sNOM   NEG   INT/NF-sleep   ear-3sPOS   be-3sABS-CTR

me-mbula,   *te'iaa-si*   *mata-no*   *da*   *me-pusu*
INT/NF-awake   only-CTR   eye-3sPOS   REL   INT/NF-close.eyes

'As for Ali, he was sleeping, but his ears were not sleeping, they were awake, only his eyes were closed.'

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

Clause type	Negator type	Morphemes	Negated element
event/state	particle	*na*-NOM	*p*-verb
	particle + auxiliary	*na*-NOM *da'a*	*m*-verb
equative	verb	*na-'iaa*	noun
existential	verb	*na-hina*	noun

TABLE 2: NEGATION IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Clause type	Negator type	Morphemes	Negated element
event/state	particle particle + auxiliary	*sa*-NOM *sa*-NOM *da'a*	*p*-verb/*m*-verb *m*-verb
equative	verb	*sa-'iaa*	noun
existential	verb	*sa-hina*	noun

TABLE 3: OTHER NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Construction type	Negator type	Morpheme
prohibitive mood	auxiliary	*osie* 'don't'
negative frequency	auxiliary	*paisa* 'never'
inherent negative	verb adverb adverb	*mo'ori* 'not know' *pomperamoa*-POS 'can't stand' *mpiha* 'at all'

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.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	absolutive
APPL	applicative, locative
ART	article
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
COMPL	complementizer
COP	copula
CTR	contra-expectation
FUT	future
i	inclusive
IMPF	imperfective
INST	instrument
INT	intransitive
LG	ligature
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
NF	non-finite
NR	nominalizer
NRl	nominalizer, locative
p	plural
PART	discourse particle
PASS	passive
PI	person indicator
PL	plural
POS	possessive
PRF	perfective
PROG	progressive
Q	question marker
REC	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REL	relativizer
RES	resultative
s	singular
STV	stative
SUB	subordinate
TR	transitive

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NOTES

[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 **naihina* (Esser 1933:247). A negator of the form *nahina* also occurs in the Bungku, Kulisusu and Wawonii languages (David Mead, personal communication).

[5] 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).

[6] 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:

na	*daa-ko*	*ntada'a*	*ari*	*tantamo,*
SUB	be-2sABS	perhaps	finish	contaminated

naho-mo	*ka-u*	*ko-lumba-lumba*
thus-PRF	then-2sNOM	have-RED-rash

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