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Author: Kim, Deborah
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Negation

Negation is marked syntactically with uninflected particles\(^1\) which precede or follow the verb. This chapter introduces clausal negators *na* (§9.1) and *nist* (§9.2 & §9.3), imperative and jussive negator *mo* (§9.4 & §9.5), *mo* used as a negator in declarative sentences (§9.6), constituent negator *naj* (§9.7), and the independent polarity forms *ʔʔ* and *naj* (§9.8). Negative lexemes may also be formed morphologically with the privative prefix *be*- or negative prefix *nu-*(§9.9).

### 9.1 Negation of verbal predicates

Clausal negation produces the negative counterpart of an affirmative declarative. For negation of clauses with verbal predicates, the preverbal particle *na* is used. *na* is placed immediately before the verb; in the case of compound verbs, *na* occurs between the nominal element and the inflecting verb. If the negator and verb are the only constituents within the clause, the pronominal agreement clitic for perfective aspect often attaches to *na*, which is the only preverbal constituent it can attach to, as in (9.1) & (9.2).

\[(9.1)\]

\[na = \textit{am} \quad \chiwug\]

\[\text{NEG = 1SG.PFV} \quad \text{eat.PFV}\]

‘I did not eat.’

\[(9.2)\]

\[na = \textit{af} \quad \textit{nuida}\]

\[\text{NEG = 3PL.PFV} \quad \text{go.PFV}\]

‘They did not go.’

*na* very rarely occurs in other positions. In our data, there were only two sentences in which *na* does not immediately precede the verb, which are shown

\(^1\)The term particle is widely used in linguistics and language discussion, but there is no rigorous definition. For the purposes of this work, a particle is a separate word that is grammatically dependent on a clause constituent.
in (9.3) & (9.4). In these sentences, na may be functioning as a correlating conjunction with the meaning 'neither... nor...'.

(9.3)  
\[ \text{ju} \quad k = \text{dos} \quad \text{tizd} \]
3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = manner go.3SG.IPVF

\[ \text{wi-an} \quad \text{hitc} \quad \text{tsis} \quad \text{nist,} \quad \text{na} \]
3SG.NOM.DIST-GEN none thing NEG.be.IPVF NEG

\[ \text{ciu} \quad \text{qet = ir} \quad \text{bawr} \quad \text{der} \quad \text{xipik} \]
REFL.NNOM stomach = DAT big CPRV flatbread

\[ \text{vrejd,} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{ciu} \quad \text{tan = ir} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{der} \]
find.3SG.IPVF NEG REFL.NNOM body = DAT fine CPRV

\[ \text{leq} \quad \text{vrejd} \]
clothing find.3SG.IPVF

‘He leaves like that and has nothing; he does not find a big flatbread for his stomach, nor decent clothing for his body.’

(9.4)  
\[ \text{taw} \quad \text{ciu} \quad \text{az} \quad \text{tced} \quad \text{hitc} \quad \text{tsis} \quad \text{mo} \]
2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM ABL house none thing PROH

\[ \text{vor,} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{xavung,} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{balax,} \quad \text{na} \quad \text{lingi,} \quad \text{na} \]
bring.IPVF NEG blanket NEG pillow NEG towel NEG

\[ \text{sfun,} \quad \text{hatto i bax jaktu mas mo vor} \]
soap even one extra shirt also PROH bring.IPVF

‘Do not bring anything from your house; no blanket, nor pillow, nor towel, nor soap, do not even bring an extra shirt.’

Sarikoli has a symmetric negation strategy, in which “the structure of the negative is identical to the structure of the affirmative, except for the presence of the negative marker(s)” (Miestamo 2011). The following pairs of sentences demonstrate that the presence of the negative particle na is the only difference between the affirmative and negative sentences, regardless of whether the clause is in the imperfective (9.5) & (9.6), perfective (9.7) & (9.8), or pluperfect (9.9) & (9.10) aspect.

(9.5)  
\[ \text{lidia} \quad \text{tizd} \]
Lidia go.3SG.IPVF

‘Lidia will go.’
Subordinate clauses are negated in the same way, with the preverbal particle na. Every variety of subordinate clause may be negated, independently of whether the main clause is affirmative or negative. The following examples illustrate negation of headless relative clauses (9.11), complement clauses (9.12), and conditional adverbial clauses (9.13). Subordinate clauses are bracketed in (9.11) - (9.13).

(9.11)  a. mɯ puws [nəwz tej na tɕowydz=ɛnds]  
1SG.NNOM son still wedding NEG do.PRF=REL  
‘My son is one who has not married yet.’

b. niso [tar jəwl qatesin tɕoj na brox=itɕuz]  
Niso LOC dawn topping tea NEG drink.INF=REL  
‘Niso is one who does not drink milk tea in the morning.’

(9.12)  a. waz=am [ɡułpia-an wi tej]  
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST  wedding

   na tɕeq = i] wazond  
NEG do.INF=SC know.PFV  
‘I knew that Geelpia will not get married.’
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b. \( waz = am \quad [guulpia-an \quad wi \quad tej ] \)
\( 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV \quad Geelpia-GEN \quad 3SG.NNOM.DIST \quad wedding \)
\( na \quad tcejg = i] \quad na \quad wazond \)
\( NEG \quad do_INF = SC \quad NEG \quad know.PFV \)
‘I did not know that Geelpia will not get married.’

(9.13) a. \( [maʂ \quad ciʨ \quad na \quad tedz = an \quad tsa] \)
\( 1PL.NOM \quad now \quad NEG \quad go.PFV = 1PL.PFV \quad COND \)
\( sawd \)
\( become.3SG.IPVF \)
‘It is okay if we do not go now.’

b. \( [maʂ \quad ciʨ \quad na \quad tedz = an \quad tsa] \quad na \)
\( 1PL.NOM \quad now \quad NEG \quad go.PFV = 1PL.PFV \quad COND \quad NEG \)
\( sawd \)
\( become.3SG.IPVF \)
‘It is not okay if we do not go now.’

9.2 Negative existential

In the imperfective aspect, affirmative existential clauses use the existential predicate, \( jost \) ‘there is’, and negative existential clauses are formed with \( nist \) ‘there is not’. \( nist \) is placed clause-finally, where predicates normally occur.

(9.14) \( pa \quad wi \quad tced \quad juts \quad nist \)
\( LOC \quad 3SG.NNOM.DIST \quad house \quad fire \quad NEG.be.IPVF \)
‘There is no fire in that house.’

(9.15) \( wi \quad alo \quad χandasur \quad tcejg = ir \quad duxtɯr \)
\( 3SG.NNOM.DIST \quad TEMP \quad circumcision \quad do.INF = DAT \quad doctor \)
\( nist \)
\( NEG.be.IPVF \)
‘In those days, there are no doctors to do circumcisions.’
Existential clauses may be used to form the predicative possessive construction (introduced in §4.2). This construction may be negated by *nist*, as shown in the following examples.

(9.17)  
**oriona-an dɯst harabo nist**

*Oriona-GEN hand vehicle NEG.be.IPFWV*

‘Oriona does not have a wagon.’

(9.18)  
**ejdboj tuqo, wi-an jaχ vrud**

*Eidboy separate 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN sister brother*

‘Eidboy is alone, he does not have brothers or sisters.’

(9.19)  
**ar wi afto maɕ-an dars**

*LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST week 1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson*

‘We do not have classes next week.’

In aspects other than the imperfective, as in (9.20) with perfect aspect and (9.21) with perfective aspect, or in subordinate clauses, as in (9.22) with a conditional adverbial clause, *na vid* is used instead of *nist*, with *vid* taking the same inflections as verbal predicates.

(9.20)  
**pa varɕide di rang puṭig na veḍdz**

*LOC Varshide 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB thread NEG be.PRF*

‘In Varshide there is no thread like this. (Evidential/New information)’

(9.21)  
**xeb mu-an digar tɕer na vɯd**

*yesterday 1SG.NNOM-GEN other work NEG be.PFV*

‘Yesterday I did not have other work.’
(9.22)  
\[ \text{\textit{ta} inder \textit{pul} na \textit{vid} tsa mo} \]  
\[ \text{\textit{zọz} \text{buy.ipfv}} \]  
‘Do not buy it if you do not have money with you.’

### 9.3 Negative copula

As with existential clauses, a copula clause in the imperfective aspect is negated with \textit{nist}. The corresponding affirmative sentence, which does not contain a copula, is followed by \textit{nist}. While \textit{nist} as a negative existential predicate takes a single NP as its argument, it takes both CS and CP arguments as a negative copula. Depending on the semantic relation between the CS and CP, the CP may be an NP (9.23) & (9.24), adjective (9.25) & (9.26), substantival genitive (9.27) & (9.28), or NP marked by a function marker (9.29) & (9.30).

(9.23)  
\[ \text{\textit{təw} di \textit{tar} \textit{swd} mu \textit{batɕo}} \]  
\[ \text{\textit{nist} \text{NEG.be.ipfv}} \]  
‘From now on, you are not my child.’

(9.24)  
\[ \text{\textit{wi} \textit{gap} at \textit{amal} i \textit{suxt}} \]  
\[ \text{\textit{nist} \text{NEG.be.ipfv}} \]  
‘His words and actions are not the same thing.’

(9.25)  
\[ \text{\textit{di} \textit{leq} sufat \textit{tɕardʑ nist}} \]  
\[ \text{\textit{3SG.NNOM.PROX clothing quality good \ NEG.be.IPFV}} \]  
‘This article of clothing’s quality is not good.’

(9.26)  
\[ \text{\textit{varɕide} \textit{ɕitɕ uʨ iɕ mas nist uʨ \textit{zwrm mas}} \]  
\[ \text{\textit{Varshide now too cold also NEG.be.IPFV too warm also}} \]  
\[ \text{\textit{nist} \text{NEG.be.IPFV}} \]  
‘Right now Varshide is not too cold and not too hot.’
(9.27)  *u jwu xtur-xejl muu*
there 3PL.NOM.DIST camel-PL.NOM 1SG.NNOM

*bob-an nist*
grandfather-GEN NEG.be.IPFV

‘Those camels over there are not my grandfather’s.’

(9.28)  *jad xeidoi muu xju-an*
3SG.NOM.PROX Sheydoi 1SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN

*nist*
NEG.be.IPFV

‘This Sheydoi (female cap) is not my own.’

(9.29)  *di xajun az marjong nist*
3SG.NOM.PROX sister.in.law ABL Maryong NEG.be.IPFV

‘This person’s sister-in-law is not from Maryong.’

(9.30)  *waz ta ar dil nist=o*
1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM LOC heart NEG.be.IPFV = Q

‘Do you not remember me?’ (lit. Am I not in your heart?)

A copula complement may not be negated with the verbal negator *na*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.31) & (9.32):

(9.31)  *jad teini na pukzo*
bowl NEG clean

‘This bowl is not clean.’

(9.32)  *hansu ziv xjumand set na usun*
Han tongue learn become.INF NEG easy

‘Learning Mandarin is not easy.’

As in negative existential clauses, *na vid* is used in all other aspects besides the imperfective, and in subordinate clauses. *vid* is an inflected predicate, negated by preverbal negator *na*, as in (9.33) & (9.34).

(9.33)  *di qad parus mi=di*
3SG.NOM.PROX height last.year CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX

*rang buland na vud*
SEMB high NEG be.PFV

‘Her height was not this high last year.’
9.4 Prohibitive (Negation of imperatives)

The negative imperative, or prohibitive, is formed with a positive imperative plus a special negator, which is the prohibitive particle *mo*. The indicator of an imperative construction, which is the second person verb in imperfective aspect, is the same for both positive and negative imperative constructions, but the negation particle in negative imperatives, *mo*, is different from the negation particles in negative declaratives, *na* and *nist*.

The default position of the prohibitive particle *mo* is the same as that of the lexical verb negator *na*, immediately preceding the verb, as in (9.35) - (9.38), and between the nominal element and inflecting verb in a compound verb, as in (9.39).

(9.34) \[ \text{nizamidin } pa \text{ tɛx } na \text{ ve} \text{d}dz \]  
Nizamidin LOC house NEG be.PRF  
‘Nizamidin is not home. (Evidential/New information)’

(9.35) \[ \text{fand } mo \text{ do} \]  
false PROH give.IPfv  
‘Do not lie.’

(9.36) \[ \text{hejrun } mo \text{ ris} \]  
surprise PROH remain.IPfv  
‘Do not be surprised.’

(9.37) \[ \text{digar } \text{χalg} = \text{ir} \text{ mo } \text{ lev} \]  
other person =DAT PROH say.IPfv  
‘Do not tell other people.’

(9.38) \[ \text{m} = \text{a} = \text{di} \text{xipik } mo \]  
CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX flatbread PROH  
\[ \text{χor} = \text{it} \text{ eat.IPfv} = \text{2PL.IPfv} \]  
‘Do not eat this flatbread.’

(9.39) \[ \text{pa } \text{ wi } \text{ iɛandz } mo \text{ ka} = \text{it} \]  
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST trust PROH do.IPfv = 2PL.IPfv  
‘Do not believe her.’
However, *mo* is more flexible than *na*, as it is equally acceptable to place *mo* after the verb. Below are examples in which *mo* is used post-verbally.

\[9.40\]
\[
\text{wu}_x \quad \text{mo} \\
\text{fall.IPfv} \quad \text{PROH}
\]
‘Do not fall.’

\[9.41\]
\[
\text{mu} \quad \text{a} = \text{dust} \quad \text{wa}d_0r \quad \text{mo} \\
1SG.Nnom \quad \text{ACC} = \text{hand} \quad \text{grab.IPfv} \quad \text{PROH}
\]
‘Do not hold on to my hand.’

\[9.42\]
\[
\text{wi} \quad \text{qati} \quad \text{wa}zef_s \quad \text{mo} \\
3SG.Nnom.Dist \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{return.IPfv} \quad \text{PROH}
\]
‘Do not return with him.’

\[9.43\]
\[
\text{wef} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{teed} \quad \text{a}los = \text{it} \quad \text{mo} \\
3PL.Nnom.Dist \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{lie.IPfv} = 2PL.IPfv \quad \text{PROH}
\]
‘Do not lie down (sleep over) at their house.’

\[9.44\]
\[
\text{\textcircled{\text{\textit{\textsuperscript{\#}}}}}\text{-oto} \quad \text{ziv} \quad \text{ranos} \quad \text{mo} \\
\text{REFL.Nnom-father} \quad \text{tongue} \quad \text{forget.IPfv} \quad \text{PROH}
\]
‘Do not forget your father tongue.’

Unlike *na*, which may be used to negate both main clauses and subordinate clauses, *mo* used as a prohibitive marker can only negate the main clause. A subordinate clause may not take *mo* as a prohibitive particle, as shown in the ungrammatical example (9.45):

\[9.45\]
\[
\text{\textsuperscript{\#}}\text{pugan} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{jo}d \quad \text{tsa} \quad \text{s\textsuperscript{\#}w}d = \text{Q} \\
\text{tomorrow} \quad \text{PROH} \quad \text{come.IPfv} \quad \text{CONd} \quad \text{become.3SG.IPfv} = \text{Q}
\]
‘Is it okay if you do not come tomorrow?’

The prohibitive particle *mo* is also used for marking apprehensive mood, which is discussed in §9.5, as well as a rare construction for negating verbal, existential, and copula predicates, described in §9.6.

### 9.5 Apprehensive (Negation of jussives)

Apprehensive mood is the negative counterpart of jussive mood (Overall 2007:357). It expresses indirect prohibitives or wishes for something not to happen. It is most commonly used with third person subjects, and is also marked with the
particle *mo* immediately before or after the main verb, which is in imperfective aspect. Optionally, the jussive verb *laka* ‘let’ may be added before *mo*. Sentences in apprehensive mood often occur with another independent clause, one of them serving as the explanation for the other, as in (9.48) - (9.52).

(9.46) \[ \begin{align*}
  xɛb & \quad \text{vowydz} = \text{endz} & \quad \text{xevd} & \quad \text{pud,} & \quad \text{nuw-ndz} \\
  \text{yesterday} & \quad \text{bring.PRF} = \text{REL} & \quad \text{milk} & \quad \text{become.sour.PFV} & \quad \text{today-ADJ}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{xɛvd} \ (\text{laka}) \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{pejd} \]

milk let.PFV PROH become.sour.3SG.PFV

‘The milk we brought yesterday became sour; may today’s milk not get sour.’

(9.47) \[ \begin{align*}
  \text{omil} & \quad a = \text{čɯ} & \quad (\text{laka}) & \quad \text{mo} & \quad \text{did} = \text{am} \\
  \text{Omil} & \quad \text{ACC} = \text{REFL.NNOM} & \quad \text{let.PFV} & \quad \text{PROH} & \quad \text{hit.3SG.PFV} = \text{1SG.PFV}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{levd,} \quad a = \text{wi} = \text{am} \quad \text{vuust} \]

say.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST = 1SG.PFV tie.PFV

‘Thinking, “Lest Omil hit himself”, I tied him up.’

(9.48) \[ \begin{align*}
  \text{təw} & \quad \text{čɯ} & \quad \text{komputur} & \quad \text{aboj} & \quad \text{ka,} & \quad \text{wejrun} \\
  \text{2SG.NOM} & \quad \text{REFL.NNOM} & \quad \text{computer} & \quad \text{careful} & \quad \text{do.PFV} & \quad \text{broken}
\end{align*} \]

\[ (\text{laka}) \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{səwd} \]

let.PFV PROH become.3SG.PFV

‘Take care of your computer, lest it get broken.’

(9.49) \[ \begin{align*}
  \text{waz} & \quad \text{am} & \quad a = \text{čɯ} & \quad \text{ḥaynuɣ,} & \quad \text{χalɣ} \\
  \text{1SG.NOM} = \text{1SG.PFV} & \quad \text{ACC} = \text{REFL.NNOM} & \quad \text{hide.PFV} & \quad \text{people}
\end{align*} \]

\[ a = \mu & \quad (\text{laka}) & \quad \text{mo} & \quad \text{wand} \]

ACC = 1SG.NNOM let.PFV PROH see.3SG.PFV

‘I hid myself, lest people see me.’

(9.50) \[ \begin{align*}
  a & \quad \text{di} & \quad \text{guxt} & \quad \text{dzυd} & \quad \text{χor = it,} & \quad \text{piɕ} \\
  \text{ACC} = \text{3SG.NNOM.PROX} & \quad \text{meat} & \quad \text{fast} & \quad \text{eat.PFV} = \text{2PL.PFV} & \quad \text{cat}
\end{align*} \]

\[ (\text{laka}) \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{χɛrd} \]

let.PFV PROH eat.3SG.PFV

‘Eat this meat quickly, lest the cat eat it.’
(9.51) \( \text{waz} \quad a = ta \quad \text{bawej} = am, \quad \text{ta} \)
1SG.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM close.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv 2SG.NNOM
\( \text{peð (laka) i} \quad \text{mo kaxt} \)
foot let.IPfv cold PROH do.3SG.IPfv
‘I will tuck you in, lest feet get cold.’

(9.52) \( \text{taw} \quad \text{ixil} \quad \text{ixjur n} \quad \text{wazd} \quad \text{χalg-χejl} \)
2SG.NOM always alert be.IPfv dirty person-PL.NOM
\( a = ta \quad \text{(laka) g} \quad \text{mo ka} = \text{in} \)
ACC=2SG.NNOM let.IPfv trick PROH do.IPfv = 3PL.IPfv
‘Always stay on your guard, lest bad people trick you.’

Less commonly, first and second person subjects also occur in apprehensive sentences. The jussive verb \( \text{laka} \) is more strongly preferred in these sentences:

(9.53) \( \text{waz} \quad \text{laka} \quad \text{kambasal} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{so} = \text{am} \)
1SG.NOM let.IPfv poor PROH become.IPfv = 1SG.IPfv
‘May I not get poor.’

(9.54) \( \text{χw} \quad \text{isq} \quad \text{dvez} \quad \text{der} \quad \text{pamedz,} \quad \text{jong} \quad \text{laka} \)
REFL.NNOM clothing thick CPRV wear.IPfv cold let.IPfv
\( \text{mo} \quad \text{so} \)
PROH become.IPfv
‘Wear thicker clothing, lest you catch a cold.’

9.6 Negation of declaratives with mo

Another, less common, negative construction uses the prohibitive particle \( \text{mo} \) to negate verbal (9.55), existential (9.56), or copula predicates (9.57) in declarative sentences. In this construction, \( \text{mo} \) precedes the O or CP argument, and sometimes even the subject (as in the second clause in (9.56)), and the existential or copula predicate \( \text{vid} \) ‘be’ is added at the end of the clause:
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(9.55) $a = di$  
$narsa = am$  
$waz$  
$\chiuba\theta$  
$\text{ACC} = 3\text{SG.NNom.PROX}$  
$\text{thing} = 1\text{SG.PFV}$  
$1\text{SG.NOM}$  
$\text{REFL.NOM}$

$\text{vɯug}$  
$\text{mo}$  
$az$  
$ta$  
$talipto$  
$\text{find.PFV}$  
$\text{PROH}$  
$\text{ABL}$  
$2\text{SG.NNom}$  
$\text{request.PFV}$

$vow = am$  
$\text{be.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}$

‘I found this thing myself, I will not beg you for it.’

(9.56) $\text{mɯ-an}$  
$\text{mo}$  
$\text{walow}$  
$\text{vid}$  
$\text{mo}$  
$vurdz$  
$1\text{SG.NNom-GEN}$  
$\text{PROH}$  
$\text{vehicle}$  
$\text{be.3SG.IPfv}$  
$\text{PROH}$  
$\text{horse}$

$\text{mɯ-an}$  
$\text{vid}$  
$waz$  
$\text{um}$  
$1\text{SG.NNom-GEN}$  
$\text{be.3SG.IPfv}$  
$1\text{SG.NOM}$  
$\text{there}$

$so = am$  
$\text{tsa}$  
$tsejz$  
$\text{ka} = am$  
$\text{become.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}$  
$\text{COND}$  
$\text{what}$  
$\text{do.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}$

‘I have no vehicle, I have no horse; what would I do if I go there?’

(9.57) $waz$  
$\text{mo}$  
$\text{kinu}$  
$\text{tɛlpon}$  
$vow = am$  
$\text{mo}$  
$1\text{SG.NOM}$  
$\text{PROH}$  
$\text{movie}$  
$\text{celebrity}$  
$\text{be.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}$  
$\text{PROH}$

$\text{mudil}$  
$vow = am$  
$\text{hara}$  
$\text{maθ}$  
$nudz$  
$\text{leq}$  
$\text{celebrity}$  
$\text{be.IPfv} = 1\text{SG.IPfv}$  
$\text{every}$  
$\text{day}$  
$\text{new}$  
$\text{clothing}$

$pamejg = ir$  
$\text{wear.INF} = \text{DAT}$

‘I am not a movie star, I am not a celebrity, to wear new clothes every day.’

This negative construction formed with $\text{mo}$ can be combined with a different type of negative clause in the same sentence. For example, the sentence in (9.58) contains a negative clause formed with $\text{mo}$ and a negative existential clause formed with $\text{nist}$. 
(9.58)  wi  uado  inder  pul  mas  nist  
3SG.NOM.DIST  boy  on.person  money  also  NEG.be.IPFV  

mo  ju  ingles  ziv  wazond = ir  
PROH  3SG.NOM.DIST  English  tongue  know.INF = DAT  

vid  χu  tar  χu  amrisko  
be.3SG.IPFV  REFL.NOM  LOC  REFL.NOM  America  
səwd  tsə  tsejz  kaxt  
become.3SG.IPFV  COND  what  do.3SG.IPFV  
‘That boy has no money, nor does he know English; what would he do if he goes to America on his own?’

9.7 Negation of constituents

For negation of a constituent, the negative polarity form naj is placed immediately after the negated constituent, which may be an NP or a verb.

When an NP is negated, the negated constituent is topicalized through stress and fronting. The NP, which may be a nominative or non-nominative argument, is placed sentence-intially, followed by naj. Another NP, which is the correction of the negated constituent, occurs immediately after naj and is also stressed. In (9.59) - (9.61), the negated constituent is an NP headed by a nominative proper noun, non-nominative common noun, and numeral, respectively.

(9.59)  perizat  naj,  mejnayon  nu = ri  tilfon  tsəwg  
Perizat  NEG  Meynahon  2SG.NOM = DAT  phone  do.PFV  
‘It was not Perizat but Meynahon who called you.’

(9.60)  mocin  naj,  çer  qati  so = an  
car  NEG  donkey  COM  become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV  
‘It is not by car but by donkey that we will go.’

(9.61)  iwj  naj,  tsavur  batco  jost  
one  NEG  four  child  be.IPFV  
‘It is not one but four children.’

If the negated constituent is a verb, the verb and the aspect and pronominal agreement markers are followed by naj. The clause may also include arguments of the predicate, as in (9.64) & (9.65), but the negator only has scope
over the verb, not the whole clause. Constituent negation with the post-verbal
*naj* is only applicable for verbal predicates, and not existential or copula pred-
icates, as shown by the ungrammatical example (9.66). Instead, existential
and copula predicates are negated with *nist*, as described in §9.2 & §9.3.

(9.62) \[ \chiɯg = am \quad naj \]
\[ \text{eat.PFV} = 1SG.PFV \quad \text{NEG} \]
‘I did not eat.’

(9.63) \[ \text{ranuxxtɕ = at} \quad naj \]
\[ \text{forget.PFV} = 2SG.PFV \quad \text{NEG} \]
‘You did not forget.’

(9.64) \[ \text{soqdzɔn \ tizd} \quad naj, \ mac \quad qati \quad \text{rast} \]
\[ \text{Soqjon \ go.3SG.IPVF \ NEG} \quad 1PL.NNOM \quad \text{COM} \quad \text{remain.3SG.IPVF} \]
‘Soqjon will not go, but will stay with us.’

(9.65) \[ a = wi \quad \text{patw = in} \quad naj, \ us \]
\[ \text{ACC} = 3SG.NNOM.DIST \quad \text{throw.IPVF} = 3PL.IPVF \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{again} \]
\[ \text{rafon = in} \]
\[ \text{use.IPVF} = 3PL.IPVF \]
‘They do not throw it away, but use it again.’

(9.66) \[ *\text{pa tɕɔd mejmun jost} \quad naj \]
\[ \text{LOC \ house \ guest \ be.IPVF \ NEG} \]
‘There are no guests at home.’

*naj* cannot be used for NP-internal negation. A modifier within an NP, such
as an adjective, cannot be negated with the simple addition of a negator like
*na* or *naj*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.67) & (9.68). Instead,
it must become part of an RC with a predicate that is negated with *na*, as in
(9.69).

(9.67) \[ *\text{na \ χuʂruij wots batɕo} \]
\[ \text{NEG} \quad \text{beautiful} \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{child} \]
‘an unbeautiful girl’

(9.68) \[ *\text{χuʂruij naj wots batɕo} \]
\[ \text{beautiful} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{girl} \quad \text{child} \]
‘an unbeautiful girl’
9.8 Independent polarity forms

To respond to a polar question, it is unnecessary to use a full clause. Sarikoli has independent polarity forms *naj* ‘yes’ and *nist* ‘no’ which can serve as one-word responses to a polar question. The choice between *naj* and *nist* for ‘no’ depends on the full answer—if the full answer requires the preverbal negator *na*, then *naj* is used as the one-word response, as in (9.70); if the full answer involves the negative copula or negative existential predicate *nist*, then *nist* is used as the one-word response, as in (9.71).

(9.70)  

a. *nuw mu pa qetx xufs = o*  
   today 1SG.NNOM LOC belly sleep.IPfv = Q  
   ‘Will you sleep in my stomach (next to me, under the same covers) today?’

b. *naj*  
   NEG  
   ‘No.’

(9.71)  

a. *stawr guxt tu = ri qwec = o*  
   yak meat 2SG.NNOM = DAT happy = Q  
   ‘Do you like yak meat?’

b. *nist*  
   NEG.be.IPfv  
   ‘No.’

9.9 Derivation of negated lexemes

Negative lexemes may be derived morphologically. The privative prefix *be-* ‘without; lacking’ attaches to common noun ‘X’ to produce an adjective with the meaning ‘without X’. Table 9.1 below presents examples of adjectives that have been derived from nouns with the *be-* prefix.
Table 9.1 Negative lexemes with be-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>be-ginu</th>
<th>‘innocent (sinless)’</th>
<th>be-arzɛɕ</th>
<th>‘worthless’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be-pujun</td>
<td>‘boundless’</td>
<td>be-bawu</td>
<td>‘priceless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-wosta</td>
<td>‘directly (without means)’</td>
<td>be-ʁam</td>
<td>‘worry-free’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-fam</td>
<td>‘stupid’</td>
<td>be-ɕart</td>
<td>‘unconditional’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-aql</td>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
<td>be-kuːt</td>
<td>‘weak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-tartib</td>
<td>‘messy; orderless’</td>
<td>be-teulo</td>
<td>‘pitiable; solutionless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-ziv</td>
<td>‘mute (tongueless)’</td>
<td>be-χabar</td>
<td>‘uninformed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-adab</td>
<td>‘impolite’</td>
<td>be-miwa</td>
<td>‘unfruitful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-barakat</td>
<td>‘unprosperous’</td>
<td>be-bor</td>
<td>‘unfruitful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-tulej</td>
<td>‘unlucky’</td>
<td>be-χatar</td>
<td>‘safe (danger-free)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-ʁuχ</td>
<td>‘listless’</td>
<td>be-χadʑal</td>
<td>‘having no sense of shame’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The privative prefix be- is highly productive and may attach to almost any common noun. The meanings of some commonly-used adjectives with be- are not completely predictable, however. For example, bawu ‘price; value’ and arzɛɕ ‘worth; value’ are close synonyms; but after the addition of be-, they become antonyms.

There is another negative prefix, nu-, which attaches to adjectives to form the negative counterpart of its host. nu- is not productive and does not affix readily to all adjectives; it only occurs with fixed hosts. Table 9.2 shows examples of words in which nu- is used.

Table 9.2 Negative lexemes with nu-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nu-luzim</th>
<th>‘unnecessary’</th>
<th>nu-balad</th>
<th>‘stranger’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nu-udil</td>
<td>‘unjust’</td>
<td>nu-duːʁust</td>
<td>‘incorrect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-haq</td>
<td>‘unjust’</td>
<td>nu-qatur</td>
<td>‘unranked (low-ranking)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-ľuŋɛq</td>
<td>‘unworthy’</td>
<td>nu-pejdu</td>
<td>‘rare (un-appearing)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu-suf</td>
<td>‘impure’</td>
<td>nu-ɛp</td>
<td>‘unfit; mismatched’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in §9.7, there are no productive morphological processes to derive negative lexemes from adjectives. Adjectives as adnominal modifiers must be negated in a relative clause, as in (9.69), and adjectives as copula complements must be negated with nist, as in (9.25) & (9.26).