

An overview of negatives in Guaykuruan

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Abstract

This paper deals with the grammatical mood of negation and the often similar syntactic and semantic ways used to express it in Guaykuruan languages (spoken in the Gran Chaco region of Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia as well as in the Pantanal region of Brazil, by about 35,000-40,000 people), focussing more intensely on Toba, but using and interpreting data derived from a variety of sources, both contemporary and historic. Negatives can be triggered in a variety of ways. Nominals can be negativized by using a particle in initial position in the sentence, phrase or clause. Verbs can be negated by a particle placed in preverbal position. There are also many negative words or constructions that these languages utilize. Finally, it stresses the importance of the use of discourse and pragmatic data to comprehend negation, because it is also a modality which reduces the factual status of a proposition (Frawley 1992:406). The relationship between interrogatives and negatives must be more carefully analyzed as well so that irrealis, or contrary to fact statements, can be better placed within the grammar of each of the Guaykuruan languages.

Key words: Guaykuruan languages, Toba, Pilaba, Mocovi, Kadiweu, Abipone, negation.

Panorámica de los negativos en guaykuriano

Resumen

Este trabajo trata del modo gramatical de la negación y de los modos sintácticos y semánticos a menudo similares, utilizados para expresarlo en las lenguas guaykuruanas (habladas en la región del Gran Chaco de Argentina, Paraguay y Bolivia, así como en la región del Pantanal de Brasil, por unas 35.000 a 40.000 personas), haciendo énfasis en el toba, pero usando e interpretando datos derivados de una variedad de fuentes, tanto contemporáneas como históricas. Los negativos pueden ser desencadenados en una variedad de formas. Los nominales pueden ser negativizados usando una partícula en posición inicial de la oración, cláusula o frase. Los verbos pueden ser negados por una partícula colocada en posición pre-verbal. Estas lenguas también utilizan muchas palabras y construcciones negativas. Se enfatiza la importancia de datos discursivos y pragmáticos para comprender la negación, porque ella también es una modalidad que reduce el estatus fáctico de una proposición (Frawley 1992:406). La relación entre interrogativas y negativas debe ser más cuidadosamente analizada, de modo tal que el irrealis, o aseveraciones contra-fácticas, puedan ser ubicadas mejor dentro de la gramática de cada una de las lenguas guaykuruanas.

Palabras claves: lenguas guaykuruanas, toba, pilaga, mocovi, kadiweu, abiponc, negación.

In 1783, Dobrizhoffer noted that "the languages of the Abipones, the Mocovies, and the Toba have the same origin and the same relationship among themselves as do Spanish and Portuguese." (1968:II, 153). These three languages, as well as Pilaga and contemporary Kadiweu (historic Mbaya) are grouped together into the family of languages called Guaykuruan¹. This paper will deal with the grammatical mood of nega-

1 Kadiweu and its genetic relationship to the other Guaykuruan languages has not yet been firmly established.

tion and the often similar syntactic and semantic ways these languages use to express it.

In Guaykuruan languages, spoken in the Gran Chaco region of Argentina, Paraguay, and Bolivia as well as in the Pantanal region of Brazil, by about 35,000-40,000 people, negatives can be triggered in a variety of ways. Nominals can be negativized by using a particle in initial position in the sentence, phrase or clause. Verbs can be negated by a particle placed in preverbal position. There are also many negative words or constructions that these languages utilize.

The data for this analysis is derived from a variety of sources including my own field work among the Toba and the Kadiweu, and materials from both contemporary and historic sources². Examples generally use the orthography of the authors; however, I have included morpheme boundaries where possible, have underlined the negative form when it was not done so in the original, and have translated the non-indigenous glosses into English. Where no citation is listed, the examples are from my field notes. In all cases, the interpretation of the materials is my own.

VERBAL MARKERS

Verbal markers in Guaykuruan languages are relatively short, often monosyllabic morphemes. Many are prefixed directly to verbs, others are independent; but as Frawley (1992:388) noted, "the negative generally tends to precede the verb". Table 1 provides the negative morphemes found in all the types of verb usage³.

- 2 More examples from Toba are provided because I have more of them in my corpus. Also, the published materials on the other languages are primarily in the form of elicited words or sentences, out of discourse or narrative context, and therefore are useful for the morphological analysis, but less so for syntactic, discourse or pragmatic purposes.
- 3 The orthography utilized here is one developed by me for the Toba examples and that of the authors for the other examples. The majority of the characters have their IPA value. The following are exceptions: ' or ? = glottal stop, x = voiced post-velar, c = voiceless alveo-palatal affricate, j = voiced alveo-palatal affricate, sh = voiceless fricative, and ly = alveo-

TABLE 1
 Verbal negative particles

Toba	Pilaga	Mocovi	Abipon	Kadiweu
sa(q)	sa	se	ciC(V) ⁴	á(g)
	wana	mes(ka)		dɔ(á)
		tar		ng(á)
		tactar		ing

The verbal markers of negation in Toba are morphemes that negate either a constituent of a sentence or the entire sentence. The negation of a simple sentence is accomplished by the particle *sa* meaning NEG prefixed on the verb transforming it into a negative.

(1)

sa-ña-man na-tomate
 NEG-3s-like CL-tomato
 He doesn't like the tomato.

(2)

caq shigilaq qo'o sa-shigilaq
 be what may be 1s-go or NEG-1s-go
 Be what may be, I'll go or I won't go.

In Pilaga, there are two ways to negate the verb. The more common way is to use the *sa*, as in Toba, as a bound morpheme before the verb.

(3)

hayfm sa-s-qowát (Vidal, p.78)
 PRO NEG-1s-feel hunger
 I am not hungry; I don't feel hunger

palatal lateral. A detailed phonology for Toba can be found in Klein 1973. Phonological statements for Pilaga can be found in Vidal 1992; for Mocovi in Gualdieri 1991; for Abipon in Najlis 1966; for Kadiweu in Griffiths and Griffiths 1976. There is an on-going attempt to better analyze the series of velar and post-velar consonants for all the languages, but I have not dealt with those phonological problems here.

4 The formulation ciC(V) indicates the possible representations of this negative: cit, cig, cik, ciga, and cige.

There is also an adverbial form *wana* utilized as a negative marker and is said by Vidal (1992:112) to represent a generation- al difference⁵.

(4)

wana yi-set da? go-i-di-ni
NEG 3-be able PAS-3-write-downwards
They could not inscribe. (Vidal, personal comm., 1994)

In Mocovi the equivalent form is *se* and is used in the following way:

(5)

se-s-aden (Adam, p.141)
NEG-1s-know
I don't know

(6)

akami se-n-agayarn-i-vá (Adam, p.141)
PRO 2s NEG-have listened to me
You have not listened to me.

There is another way also in Mocovi of forming the negative verb and that is by utilizing the morpheme {*mes(ka)*}.

(7)

mes s-aden (Adam, p.142)
NEG 1s-know
I don't know.

(8)

meska as-evelek (Adam, p.142)
NEG 2s-obey
I do not obey.

5 According to Vidal (personal comm.,1994) {*wana*} "may be another form of existential that extended its syntactic contexts to verbs in general. Note this example:

sa-ya-wana dole
NEG-3-have fire
They did not have fire".

In Abipon, the form {ciC(V)} was used for both verbal and nominal negatives, but in verbs was used in the same way that *sa* in Toba and *Pilaga* and *se* in *Mocovi* are. Thus:

(9)
ciga arin-i (Adam, p.142)
NEG 2s-know
You don't know.

(10)
elg lkehc (Najlis I, p.136)
NEG 3s-see
One doesn't see.

In *Kadiweu*, the negative mood is considerably more complex syntactically as well as morphologically. In simple sentences, when no other prefix occurs before the subject pronoun, {a(g)} occurs; when other prefixes occur before the subject prefix, {dg(a)} is infix before the subject prefix; and before second person object pronouns, {ng(a)} is prefixed. For example,

(11)
a-yelowadi oko (Griffiths', p.198)
NEG-3s-kill people
He doesn't kill people.

(12)
ag-aniodi ina noko (Griffiths', p.79)
NEG-3s-eat DEM day
He didn't eat today.

(13)
me-dga-jadeegi iwoodo (Griffiths', p.79)⁶
prog-NEG-3s-lift up stick
He is not lifting up the stick.

6 me is a prefix of continuative aspect, which in *Kadiweu* precedes the negative marker.

- (14)
nga-godapitgatigi (Griffiths', p.80)
NEG-1pl-clean up
You do not clean us up.

Negative Imperatives/Prohibitives

In Toba, *sa* is also used for a negative imperative or prohibitive.

- (15)
sa-ntela'a
NEG-2s-protect
Do not protect me!

- (16)
sa-'ar'igalaqcigi
NEG-2s-return
Do not return!

- (17)
sa-ytaxixan haraqa'añole
NEG-3s.converse 2s.poss-little girl
May/let your little girl not converse!

In Mocovi, prohibition (also future prohibition) is expressed using the particles {toctar ~ tar}. For example:

- (18)
toctar y-aloact-i (Adam, p.142)
NEG PRO-kill
Don't kill me!

- (19)
tar n-ovictir-ó (Adam, p.142)
NEG PRO-go again
Do not go anymore!

Negative imperatives in Abipon were formed by combining two morphemes: the negative *cig* or *cit* plus the morpheme {*ii*} signifying vocative or command. Thus

- (20)
cig-ii n-icajaganat (Adam, p.142)
NEG-voc PRO-knife-cut
Don't cut with the knife.

Future prohibition, in Abipon, appeared with *cig* or *cit* as free morphemes before the verb.

(21)

cit k-aham-atrañian (Najlis II, p.19)

NEG die

You will not kill!

In Kadiweu, by comparison, the negative imperative is also formed differently than in the other Guaykuran languages. Here the morpheme {*ing*} is prefixed to the second person indicative verb marker. For example,

(22)

ing-okoleni wetiga (Griffiths', p.79)

NEG-throw stone

Don't throw the stone!

(23)

ing-iote (Griffiths', p.78)

NEG-sleep

Don't sleep!

Statives

In Toba, the negative *sa* always precedes the constituent (adjectives, adverbs, or subordinate clauses) to which it refers. See for example, when adjectives occur in statives.

(24)

*saq-tayget*⁷ ji-nakta'ape na-lñ'ace

NEG-nice 3s-bite CL-nails

It is not nice to bite one's nails.

(25)

sayataqta "perhaps" or "I am not certain, sure"

as opposed to

yataqta "I am certain"⁸.

7 The form *saq* is an allomorph of {*sa*}.

8 But note that the unmarked form 'expensive' *qayoyqteu'a* in Toba becomes

Pilaga also forms statives in the same way (Vidal, personal comm., 1994).

- (26)
 dato "cooked (grilled)"
 as opposed to
 sa-rato "raw (not cooked)"⁹

In Mocovi, as in Toba, the *se* form used to negativize other verb formations is used for statives as well.

- (27)
 se-n-oen (Adam, p.141)
 NEG-3s-good
 It is not good; it is bad

In Abipon, *ciC(V)* used to negate regular verbs is also used in statives.

- (28)
 netegink *ci*g naa (Najlis I, p.71)
 dóg NEG bad
 The dog is not bad.

- (29)
 clk y-oamk (Adam, p.142)
 NEG be correct
 It's not fair.

In Kadiweu {a(g)} is added to the demonstrative {ika} to produce the negative stative:

- (30)
 a-ika elio (Adam, p.141)
 NEG-DEM large
 It is not large; it is small

marked in the negative through the addition of the negative marker {sa}.

qayoqteu'a It is expensive
 saqayaw'a It is not expensive; it is cheap

9 In Pilaga, more so than in Toba, [r] and [d] vary. [d] occurs at the beginning of the utterance and [r] occurs intervocalically.

Temporal Negators and other Adverbs

There are also several specific temporal negators in Toba in which *sa* in preceding other negators, carries an augmented semantic notion.

(31)

saxnaxa *rke'e*
NEG-yet 3s-eat
He did not eat yet.

(32) shows usage of a negative degree adverb, *saqalyigim* "hardly" or "barely".

(32)

saqalyigim *jisa'a* *raykiaxak*
hardly 1s-want CL-3s-food
I hardly want the food.

The comparative negative *saqpok* is mentioned in (33).

(33)

saqpok "too little, too few"

For Mocovi, the negative adverb "never" is formed by adding the demonstrative {*cka*} to the negative particle {*mes(ka)*}.

(34)

meska-cká "never" (Adam, p.142)

In Abipon, many of these temporal negators and negative adverbs use the negative particle as a prefix.

(35)

cigicickat "undoubtedly" (Najlis II, p.51)
cigahag "not yet"
ciikihe "never"

Other Negative Triggers

There are also negative triggers in Toba that do not use *sa*, for example *nda'a* in (36) and *qawem* in (37).

(36)

nda'a *nantxat* *na'arwashik*
nothing but 3s-soup 3s-water
The soup is nothing but water.

(37)

qawem ran'onataxak
 not serve, not useful CL-3pl-ways
 Their ways (behavior) are not useful.

Abipon almost always used the negative particle {ciC(V)} discussed above to negativize adjectives, adverbs as well as verbs. There are, however, some negative adverbs that do not use that particle. For example:

(38)

gnicla haoaam (Najlis I, p.113)
 certainly not 1s-fut-come
 I will certainly not come.

In Kadiweu, also unlike the other Guaykuruan languages, in complex sentences of the "if not...then (not)" type, a different morpheme {nidg(a)} is utilized¹⁰.

(39)

nidgenagi domoje natinigoi (Griffiths', p.83)
 if not-3s car tomorrow

agejigo nigotaga
 NEG-1s-go city

If the car does not arrive tomorrow, I will not go to the city.

(40)

nidgopi oda jiotce (Griffiths', p.83)
 if not-go then 1s-go
 If he doesn't go, I'll go.

Scope of Negation

Finally, since negation in Toba and Pilaga is, on the whole, expressed morphologically, the scope of the negative marker *sa* is limited to the clauses in which it occurs. Thus, in complex sentences, verbs

10 The *dg(a)* in this form is the morpheme meaning "if" and is found in all positive conditional sentences. It is homophonous with the negative morpheme discussed earlier.

within subordinate clauses are only negated when they themselves are marked with the negative, see example (41) of Toba and (42) of Pilaga.

(41)

wo'o rake'enaxak qalqa'a sajiwalaqa ne'ena
there is CL-suffering but NEG-1pl-ignore this
There is suffering but we don't ignore it.

(42)

qala:sa sa-go-nata ga? lasook ga? nala:tawek
conj. NEG-1pl-find CL form CL kill
But they did not find the way to kill her. (Vidal, p.89)

The same restrictions hold for Abipon as well.

(43)

tan ayte apatáyc ten nepark (Dobrizhoffer, p. 181)
conj bug country

máoge chik aatekan
therefore NEG sleep

Because there are many fleas in the country, that's why I don't sleep.

And in Kadiweu, only the second occurrence of the verb *datalete*, that is in the subordinate clause, is covered by the scope of the negative.

(44)

algega paga datalete (Susnik I,2, p.22)
sun better shines

ynatita epcnai agica datalete
conj moon NEG shines

The sun shines more than the moon.

Furthermore, since the scope of negation is restricted to the verb with which it occurs in Toba, to negate successive verbs or clauses it is necessary that *sa* be suffixed to each verb, for example (45). Examples for the other languages are not available to me.

(45)

somari saqtaykre'era sanasapat
3s.pro NEG-3s-wants to go NEG-wants to go
to the side

He does not want to go to the side, he does not want to go.

NOMINALS

Morphologically, the most obvious shared morpheme is {ka}. It appears in four of the five languages as part of the negative expression, yet at the same time retains some of its primary meaning. Another morpheme needed to complete the negative existential expression in some of the languages is the shortened form of the demonstrative.

TABLE 2
Negative Nominal Morphemes

Toba	Pilaga	Mocovi	Abipon	Kadiweu
qayka-	kaga?	(s)ka-	citka-	agika
+ka	kaya'te	+eka	+eka	
	yawa			
	ga?			

Before discussing the way in which negative nominal expressions are constructed in Toba and Pilaga, that is, with the NEG. EXISTENTIAL, it is first necessary to discuss positive existential predicates. In Toba and Pilaga, when one wants to express the notion of having or pertaining to, it is necessary to utilize forms which mean literally, "to 'PRO or N' there is". In Toba, the form {wo'o} plus a position classifier or deictic morpheme is utilized.

(46)

wo'o ra-y'ixayaxak
EXIST CL-1s.poss-news
I have news (or information).

(47)

hayem wo'o ka-pi'oq
PRO-1s EXIST CL-3s.-dog
I have a dog (but it is not present as I speak)¹¹.

11 - One can also, of course, say "I don't have a dog, but there is a dog present as I speak" (a considerably more complex expression). For examples of this and a discussion of the larger issue of deictic markers/position classifiers, see Klein (1979).

In Pilaga, {w'o} occurs with a classifier, but it does not seem to be an obligatory form.

(48)

w?o hañi i-wa (Vidal, p.77)
EXIST fem-CL POSS 1s-spouse
I have a wife.

(49)

w?o noóp (Vidal, p.77)
EXIST water
There is water.

Although Dobrizhoffer did not supply any examples for this type of construction in Abipon, he noted (II, p.170) that "I am well" is stated as "I have good health."

Similar in structure and placement to the {wo'o} expressions, is the form meaning 'not to have', 'to be lacking', or 'to X there is not'. As noted by Bárcena in the 17th century, in his *Arte de la Lengua Toba*, "absque" and "sine" must be expressed in a roundabout way (1893). This returns us now to the issue of nominal negation, as seen in the following examples. In Toba,

(50)

qayka kanayom ramñigaren
NEG EXIST CL-money CL-1s.poss-curing
There is no money to cure me.

(51)

hañi'ixaynole qayka kalwe
CL-3s.-old lady NEG EXIST CL-3s.poss-teeth
The old lady has no teeth.

(52)

qayka kayama'
NEG EXIST CL-1s.POSS.-health
I am not fine; I do not have my health.

In Pilaga there are various forms (morphologically similar) used for negative existentials (Vidal 77). *kaga?* is formed from two particles {ka} and {ga?} and it is probably the most basic of these negative

existential forms. In the section on negatives and irrealis, there is further discussion of the particle {ga?}¹².

(53)

kaga? ha-fio-ho na:fia (Vidal, p.48)

NEG EXIST fem-CL-DEM space, place

There was no room.

(54)

kaya?te i-wa (Vidal, p. 77)

NEG EXIST POSS1-spouse

I don't have a spouse.

(55)

kayawa sa? l-apia?-te (Vidal, p.77)

NEG EXIST CL POSS3pl-foot-dual

foot (figuratively)

There were no tires.

In Mocovi there is a negative particle {s(ka)}, which is prefixed to the demonstrative {eka}, a form found in most of the Guaykuruan languages, which provides the negative expressions "nobody, no one, nothing, there is not."

(56)

ska-eka ñapogiña (Adam, p.141)

NEG EXIST 1s-cover-self

I have nothing to cover myself with.

Abipon formed the negative existential by adding the form *ciŋka* to the demonstrative {eka}:

12 At this point I can only speculate on the meaning of the {ka} in Pilaga. We have already established that the Toba /ka/ is synchronically equivalent to the Pilaga /ga?/. It is interesting to me that the first part of the three expressions, for none of which is there sufficient information yet to predict their occurrence, is identical. It could be that the /kaga?/ is a reduplication and is equivalent to the Toba /qayka/.

(57)

ciŋka-eka 1-pabe (Dobrizhoffer, p.170)

NEG EXIST 3s-meat

There is no meat.

(58)

ioale eknam oanerma hamelen laoenek (Najlis I, p.78)

man rel POSS-woman Hamelen husband

la *ciŋka-eka*

for sure NEG EXIST

The man, who was the husband of Hamelen, certainly did not exist.

In Kadiweu, the same combination of the negative *ag* with the demonstrative *ika*, used for statives, also occurs with other negative responses, such as "I don't know, I don't have, no one, nothing."

(59)

ag-ika anedig-aci

NEG EXIST 1s-teach

There is no one to-teach me.

This next example (60) indicates that in Toba the scope of nominal negation refers to or includes the modifier, and therefore {*qayka*} and {*ka*} both precede the modifier as well.

(60)

qalqa'a jiwora fike'enzak ca'aji qaykaka

but equal 1s-suffer because NEG EXIST

yoqta qantawnagek

sufficient POSS1pl-help

But just the same I suffer because there is not sufficient help for us.

Example (61) shows how the two different types of negation in Toba can be combined in one sentence.

(61)

sanacam haŋaratauki qayka kalc'lashik

NEG-3s-boil CL-2poss-pot NEG EXIST CL-firewood

The pot does not boil because there is no firewood.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEGATIVE AND IRREALIS

In each instance of the occurrence of the form {kayka} in Toba, the particle {ka} must be added to the following noun to indicate that whatever is being referred to is missing or lacking. This marker {ka} in its most basic usage marks non- presence or absence, non-movement and non-existence. By semantic extension (see Klein 1973; 1979; 1987), {ka} can also be con- sidered a future possible or dubitative marker.

(62)

nagi	qohawót	sabañi	kawaloq
when	rain	1s-sow	CL-cotton

When it will rain, I will start to sow the cotton.

Thus one can say that in the semantics of Toba, any degree of irrealis or uncertainty on the speaker's part, contains the marker {ka}. In the above example this mood is shown through reference to a non-specific noun with which it forms a nominal construction.

As Vidal (1992:49) noted for Pilaga, this same marker ({ka} → {ga?} in Pilaga) "introduces the concept of unreality or future by way of the reference to an abstract noun with which it forms a nominal construction". This concept can be noted with verbs such as "buy" and "look for" in Pilaga (and in many other languages), and "sow" in Toba, all of which contain the idea of "future"¹³.

(63)

da?m'e	hayim	0-enap-ega	da?	se-kew'o	ga?	harina
PRO-3s	PRO-1s	3s-ask-MOD	CL	1s-buy	CL	flour

He asked me to buy him flour. (Vidal, p.48)

This mood is reflected in the next Toba sentence where {ka} is used in interrogative clauses. Here the speaker is requesting information about something unknown or absent.

13 See Craig (1977:62,93) for a discussion on Jacalteco; Vidal (1992) on Pilaga; Klein (1987) on Toba.

(64)

Wa'age kamari?

INT. CL-3s

Where is he?

As noted in my earlier works on Toba semantics, absence from the visual and temporal field of the speaker is heavily marked. Thus, it was not too surprising to discover a relation between deixis and the negation of verbs in Toba.

In Pilaga, *ga?* is also used when the speaker is asking for new or unknown information.

(65)

nacc ga?-mc ya-nem ar-mena (Vidal, p.48)

INT CL-PRO3s 3s-ask POSS2s-money

Who asked for your money?

This unknown factor is represented in the knowledge subsystem of Toba which uses the {ka} for indicating knowledge which one does not have, but anticipates gaining.

(66)

kamari yayaten

CL-3s 3s-know

He does not know.

A further extension, then, of the irrealis mood is found with the following examples, where {ka} indicates lack of knowledge, but uniquely here is found on a verb¹⁴.

(67)

kayantaxawo ñilasom

CL-3s-push in POSS3s-door

It is unknown who pushed the door.

(68)

kañawaton naci hayem yapaxen

CL-1s-know and then PRO1s s-teach

14 This same phenomenon may be occurring in Pilaga and would explain the second {ga?} on example (42) discussed above.

namqomlaqtaga

Toba-language

I did not know her and then she taught me the language of the Toba.

In sum {ka} can refer to the fact that (a) the referent is not in the presence of the speaker (but might/could be elsewhere) for which see example (47) with wo'o; (b) that the referent does not exist, but possibly will exist, that is as a marker of belief in the realizability of an irrealis event; and (c) it can be used with an interrogative to indicate lack of knowledge, and that the referent is unknown. In other words, not positive equals negative.

Unfortunately, I cannot carry this semantic analysis further for the other Guaykuruan languages, but there are several graduate students now working on Kadiweu, Mocovi and Pilaga, and hopefully they will add to this body of knowledge shortly to allow further generalizations about this phenomenon.

SEMANTIC LIMITS ON NEGATION: TOBA, A CASE IN POINT

In Toba, there are basically two verbal aspects: punctual and progressive. A punctual action can be negated quite easily, as was shown in examples (1) and (2). However, the progressive aspect has different semantic and morphological restrictions. In Toba, the negative marker {sa} does not co-occur with the aspectual suffix of progressive action, when that is the only suffix on the verb. According to Toba logic, how can one negate something that one does not know? Thus one can only affirm a positive progressive action. In other words, it is not possible to say the equivalent of, "I am not going." Rather, negatives of potential or progressive can be expressed by modifying the meaning through adverbs or time modifiers, not through verb morphology.

(69)

ñilgota 'ar'igalaqcigi.

not...soon 2s-returning

You are not returning soon¹⁵.

15 In every instance in which there is an utterance involving a statement of time, the time modifier precedes the verb which it modifies.

(70)

saxnaxa so'onataxatak
 NEG yet 1s-work-prog
 I am not yet working¹⁶

In trying to understand this restriction on the use of the progressive aspect, one needs to think about the pragmatic intent of the speaker, as well as the deontic use of the future or potential or progressive. In Toba (and probably in Pilaga) (Vidal, personal commun., 1994), there is often an indication or expectation or desire that some event should not occur. In other words there is an inherent future feeling to this aspect and future is unknown and therefore negative¹⁷. More work needs to be done on the semantics of verbal aspect in the Guaykuruan languages also in order to better analyze the semantic limits on negation.

CONCLUSION

This paper has presented data showing some similarities and differences in the way in which negation is expressed in Guaykuruan languages. It has focussed more intensely on Toba; however, I believe further research will show structural similarities with the other languages in the family.

It is hoped also that this presentation will serve to encourage the use of discourse and pragmatic data to comprehend that negation is important because it is also a modality which reduces the factual status of a proposition (Frawley 1992:406). The relationship between inter-

- 16 Note also that this sentence uses the modifier discussed earlier with punctual aspect (example (31)), but in this case it occurs with the progressive aspect.
- 17 The future tense occurs in some languages with the potential aspect (e.g. Mixtec [Macaulley 1990]). A good statement on future in Chontal Mayan is found in Knowles-Berry, where she notes that when the nonprogressive imperfective aspect is negated, it reflects the attitudes or intentions of the speaker, rather than that something did or did not happen (as in the perfective). The action in the former, she notes, is non-temporal and continuous and thus negative verbs are modal and non-temporal (1987:346).

rogatives and negatives, just briefly touched on here, must be more carefully analyzed as well so that irrealis, or contrary to fact statements, can be better placed within the grammar of each of the Guaykuruan languages. In sum, negatives, interrogatives, aspectual markers and modals, such as irrealis, all need to be addressed simultaneously.

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