

INTRODUCTION

- In Kanien'kéha, negation is **bipartite**; it obligatorily features the particle *iah* and the negative prefix *te-/th-* on the predicate.

(1)***(Iah)** tehatá:wens. (2)**Iah** *(te)hatá:wens.
 *(**iah**) te-ra-atawens-s **iah** *(te)-ra-atawens-s
 NEG NEG-M.SG.A-swim-HAB NEG NEG-M.SG.A-swim-HAB
 'He doesn't swim' 'He doesn't swim'

- Puzzle:** while both *iah* and *te-/th-* have been descriptively labeled as negative, they express only **one** instance of negation.
- Proposal:** *iah* is a regular negative operator, **te-/th-** mark backgrounded information. The necessity of the latter stems from more general pragmatic requirements of negation.

SEMANTICS OF *iah*

- The negative semantics is contributed by the particle *iah*, as it can be used as a stand-alone negative answer particle.

(3) Wa'shní:non' ken onón:ta? **Iah**, só:tsi kanó:ron.
 wa'-s-hninon-' ken ononta? **iah**, sótsi ka-noron.
 FACT-2.SG.A-buy-PUNC Q milk NEG too N.SG.A-expensive
 'Did you buy the milk? **No**, it was too expensive'

MORPHOSYNTAX OF NEGATION

- The form of the negative prefix depends on the presence of certain other prenominal prefixes on the verb.
- Here, I treat *te-* and *th-* as allomorphs of the same morpheme.

Prefix	TRANS COIN	FACT	DUPL	FUT OPT	REP CIS	Pronominal prefixes
Negative prefix			<i>th-</i>			<i>te-</i>

(4)**Iah** thiewakátie's. (5)**Iah** tetkatá:wens.
iah th-**ie**-wak-atie'-s **iah** te-**t**-k-atawens-s
 NEG NEG-TR-1SG.P-throw-HAB NEG NEG-CIS-1SG.A-swim-HAB
 'I don't throw it.' 'I don't swim there.'

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NEGATION AND BACKGROUND

- Negative utterances are rarely used 'out-of-the-blue' and require the positive counterpart to be presented in the context.
- (6) a.Context 1: You are walking on a street where every other house has a sign 'Hotel' on it; it must be a touristy area. Among these buildings, you see a house with the following sign: 'This is **not** a hotel.'
- b.Context 2: You are walking on a regular street with no signs around. Suddenly, on one of the buildings, you see the following sign: #'This is **not** a hotel.' (adapted from Tian & Breheny 2019)

CONTRASTIVE USES OF *th-*

- The prefix *th-* is also used in **contrastive** contexts without *iah*.
- (7) **Iah** teiononhntonniónhon, kheh **thi**io-kare'tsherahní:non
iah te-io-nonhntonnionh-on, kheh **thi**-io-kare'tsher-a-hnin-on
 NEG NEG-N.SG.P-think-STAT just NEG-N.SG.P-cookie-LK-buy-STAT
 ne Jessica.
 ne Jessica
 NE Jessica
 'Without thinking, Jessica just bought cookies.'
- These contexts are similar to English sentences with **indifference** marking exclusive particle *just*.
- (8) a.Alfonso **just** grabbed whatever tool was handy. (Beltrama 2022)
 b.Presupposition: Alfonso grabbed whatever tool was handy.
 c.Assertion: Alfonso did nothing else.
- Exclusive particles like *just* presuppose (obligatorily convey a background assumption) that the positive component of the sentence is true and assert that no other proposition is true.
 - Proposal:** *th-* appears in contexts like (7) specifically to mark that the proposition is part of the background.

SEMANTICS OF NEGATIVE MORPHOLOGY

- In some cases, the negative morphology on the verb in a negative sentence is **optional** and crucially affects its semantics.
- (9) Context: On Tuesday, we had the only sprint workout of the week scheduled, but we missed it.
- a. #**Iah iosnó:re** tha'teionkwarahá:ton.
 #**Iah io-snore** tha'-te-ionkw-arahat-on
 NEG N.SG.P-fast NEG-DUP-1PL.P-run-STAT
 Int.: 'We didn't run sprints.' Lit.: 'We didn't run fast.'
- b. **Iah teiosnó:re** tha'teionkwarahá:ton.
Iah te-io-snore tha'-te-ionkw-arahat-on
 NEG NEG-N.SG.P-fast NEG-DUP-1PL.P-run-STAT
 'We didn't run sprints.' Lit.: 'We didn't run fast.'
- Proposal:** the difference between (9a) and (9b) lies in whether both predicates or only the main one is included in the background.

NARROW SCOPE NEGATION

- When *iah* takes narrow scope over one constituent, the latter must appear adjacent to it, as in (10).
 - Although the event express by the verb is not negated per se, the predicate must still be marked with the negative morphology.
- (10) **Iah Shawátis** tehoienawà:se.
iah Shawatis te-ro-ienawa'se
 NEG **John** NEG-M.SG>M.SG-help.STAT
 'It was **not John** who helped him' (, it was Mary who helped him.)
- If the negative prefix is used to mark the background of the sentence, its use in (10) seems more motivated.
- (11) Representation of (10)
 a.**Iah** [Shawátis_F [tehoienawà:se]_{BACKGROUND}]
 b.Presupposition: Someone (male) helped.
 c.Assertion: John didn't help.
- I assume that constituents appearing between *iah* and the verb move out of the scope of negative prefix via focus movement.
 - This is supported by the fact that NPIs with inherent focal features (Chierchia 2013) must appear in this position.
- (12) **Iah thé:nen** tethotkáhton ne Kó:r.
iah thenen te-t-ro-atkaht-on ne Kor
 NEG **anything** NEG-CIS-M.SG.P-see-STAT NE Paul
 'Paul didn't see anything'

BROAD SCOPE NEGATION

- For (1), I propose that *te-/th-* presuppose the focus value of the predicate, as in this case the predicate is also focused.
- (13) Representation of (1)
 a.**Iah** [[tehatá:wens]_F]_{BACKGROUND}
 b. [[tehatá:wens]_F^o = λw.swim(he)(w)
 c. [[tehatá:wens]_F^f = {λw. y in w | y ∈ D_{<S,T>}}
 d.Presupposition: Some proposition is true.
 e.Assertion: He didn't swim.
- In this case, the presupposition is weak, but it still satisfies the pragmatic requirements of negation.