

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-atawen-s iah *(te)-ra-atawen-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, sotsi 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-atawen-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 buidlings, 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 teiononhtonniónhon, kheh thiiokare'tsherahní:non
Iah te-io-nonhtonniónh-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'teionkwarahotá:ton.
#Iah io-snore tha'-te-ionkw-arahtat-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'teionkwarahotá:ton.
Iah te-io-snore tha'-te-ionkw-arahtat-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]^o = λw.swim(he)(w)
c.[tehatá:wens]^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.