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Modality and negation in Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà ñuù Xnúvíkó (Mixtepec Mixtec)

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This presentation

- Negation in Mixtec – background
- Language background: Sà'án Sàvĭ ñà ñuù Xnúvíkó (Mixtepec Mixtec)
- Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec
  - Ability / possibility
  - The perfective
- Conclusion

Negation in Mixtec

Macaulay 1990

- Normally a split between *realis* (IPFV, PFV) and *irrealis* (POT/PURP, PROH) prefixes/clitics
- Irrealis: Ma (na, ña, a)
- Realis: tuu / koo

DIALECT	FORM(S)	SOURCE
Atatláhuca	*ma-/tu-*	Alexander 1980
Ayutla	tone change	Hills 1990
Coatzospan	*ñá*	Small 1990
Jamiltepec	*ma/ñà*	Johnson 1988
Jicaltepec	*ñà*	Bradley 1970
Ocotepec	*mà/nduú, ñaá*	Alexander 1988
Peñoles	*ñà-díú, ñà-túú, túú, ñà*	Daly 1973
San Juan Colorado	*ña*	Stark Campbell et al. 1986
San Miguel el Grande	*ma-/tu-*	Dyk and Stoudt 1965
Silacayoapan	*a/ko*	Shields 1988

NOTE: I have standardized the tone marking in this table to conform to my own. I have only given one source for Jamiltepec Mixtec, since the two available sources (Pensinger 1974 and Johnson 1988) provide the same data.

Negation in Mixtec

Macaulay 1990

(1) ***Tu****-ni-xižaa=ró*

NEG-CP-be+located(R)=2

'You weren't there.' (Chalcatongo Mixtec)

(2) ***Ma****-kį?į=rí*

MA-go(P)=1

'I will not go' (Chalcatongo Mixtec)

(3) ***Ma*** *cúu*

'One cannot or should not' (San Miguel el Grande Mixtec)

Negation in Mixtec

- Within *realis*, aspectual distinction
  - Imperfective vs. perfective (Bickford & Marlett 1998)

SÀ'ÁN SÀVĬ ÑÀ ÑUÙ XNÚVÍKÓ (MIXTEPEC MIXTEC)

Mixtec (Otomanguean) variety spoken in the municipality of Mixtepec (district of Juxtlahuaca, Oaxaca, Mexico)

About 9,000 speakers (Eberhard et al. 2019)

One of the main branches of Mixtec (Josserand 1983)

Little information on this variety, mostly on morphophonology (Pike & Ibach 1976; Paster & Beam de Azcona 2004a,b; Paster 2010; Belmar et al. 2021; Salazar et al. 2022)

Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec

According to Bowers (2020)

Kuě	Mà
REALIS FORMS	IRREALIS FORMS
PFV (REALIS)	

Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec: *Kuě* vs *Mà*

(4) ***Kue*** *kúni-yu sachuun* (Gómez Hernández 2007, gloss from Bowers 2020)

kue	kúni=yu	sachuun
NEG	IPFV/want=1SG	IPFV/work/1SG

'I don't want to work'

(5) ***Ma*** *sana ino sa'an-ko* (Beckmann & Nieves, 2008, gloss from Bowers 2020)

ma-sana+in-o	sa'an=ko
NEG-forget -1PL.INCL	language=1PL.INCL

'We must not forget our language'

Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec: *Kuě* vs *Mà*

(6) ***Ma*** *ntsini lochi ka* (Gómez Hernández 2008, gloss from Bowers 2020)

ma	n-tsini	lochi	=ka
NEG-	PFV-know	volture	=PTCL.DEM

'The volture didn't know'

Corpus

25 speakers

About 5 hours of naturalistic speech data

About 5 hours of elicitation or experimental sessions

39 (fully or partially transcribed) recording sessions

Field Methods Class
"Remote" Fieldwork
In-person Fieldwork
Phonetic experiment

Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec: *Kuě* vs *Mà*

(7) ***Kuě*** *tsáìn-rà ñu'ú.*

kuě	tsáìn=rà	ñu'ú
KUE	IPFV.step=3M	dirt

'He wasn't stepping on the ground' [Iin_chaa_tsini_tsi_tachi; JS; 04:12]

(8) *Ná* ***mà*** *năa sà'án meé-kó ra.*

ná	**mà**	năa	sà'án	meé=kó	ra
DEO	**MA**	NEG.IRR.fade_away	language	INT=1PL.INCL	TOP

'That our language may not disappear' [Kue_nivi_yata; NHG; 09:42]

Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec

Updated with our data:

Kuě	Mà / Màa
REALIS FORMS	IRREALIS FORMS
PFV (REALIS)	
KÚU + V (BE ABLE TO)	

Negation in Mixtepec Mixtec (a bit more complex…)

According to Belmar & Salazar (2023): morphological negation

+	-
IPFV	Kuě + IPFV
PFV	Kuě + CNTF Mà / Màa + CNTF Mà + NEG.PFV Màa + PFV NEG.PFV ((n)R-)
IRR	NEG.IRR ((n)R-) Mà + NEG.IRR Màa + IRR
PROSP	Mà / Màa + NEG.IRR Kuě + PROSP
IMP	Mà + NEG.IRR

Negating ability/possibility

kúu

Kuě kúu ‘lack of ability or knowledge’

(9) *Cháà stàă nùnǐ ra* ***kuě kúu*** *chaà-ñà tiàn…*

cháa=L	stàă	nùnǐ	ra	**kuě**	**kúu**
IPFV.make=1	tortilla	corn	TOP	**KUE**	**IPFV.be_able**

chaa=L=ñà	tiàn
IRR.make=1=3GNR	but

‘Making corn tortillas, I cannot make them but’ [Kue_nchai_noo; A; 04:13]

Mà kŭu ‘external possibility’ (epistemic modality)

(10) *Íjù**, mà kŭu** ntakuiìn iká kantú’î-ka.*

íjù
son

mà	**kŭu**	ntakuiin=L	iká
MA	**NEG.IRR.be_able**	IRR.stand_up=1	DIST

kantú’ú=ì=ka
PFV.stay=3GNR=ANA

‘Son, I cannot stand up, it’s there’ [Kue_nivi_yata; NHG; 05:19] (He couldn’t stand up because of the headworn microphone he was wearing at the time, which was plugged to the recorder)

Negating ability/possibility

Kuě	Mà
LACK OF ABILITY/KNOWLEDGE	EXTERNAL POSSIBILITY (EPISTEMIC MODALITY)

Negating the perfective

Sidenote: CNTF

- Form of the verb indicating that an action never took place (non-realized past)
  - *Ní*
- Used in counterfactuals: *níkatù'un-ní nùû* 'had you warned me (but you didn't)'
- Used when negating perfectives!
  - *Ní* always occurs when *kuě* is used to negate perfectives
  - Almost always with *mà* (perfective), but not with *màa*

Kuě + CNTF ‘Standard negation’

(10) ***Kuě ní****ntanchikó-kà-yù.*

kuě	**ní**	ntanchikó=kà=yù
KUE	**CNTF**	come_back=more=1

‘I didn’t go back anymore’ [Kue_nchai_noo; A; 03:52]

Kuě + CTF ‘Standard negation’

(11) ***Kuě ní****tsìtsà'ìn tsi kue tá'ìn-ka yùcha ko'ì chìkuiî.*

kuě	**ní**	tsì	tsà'àn=ì	tsi	kue	tá'an=ì=ka
NEG	**CNTF**	HAB	go_nonbase=3GNR	COM	PLZ	relative=3GNR=ANA

yùcha	ko'o=ì	chìkuiî
river	IRR.drink=3GNR	water

‘He didn’t go with the other goats to the river to drink water’ [Vaa_chinchee_ntucha; AOC; 03:46]

Màa + PFV 'external possibility' (epistemic modality)

(12) ***Màa*** *ntsà'àn-kà-ră Seén.*

màa	ntsà'àn=kà=rá	Seén
MA	PFV.go=more=3LIQ	Huajuapan

'The water did not go to Huajuapan anymore / It was not possible for the water to flow to Huajuapan anymore.' [Ia_noo; NHG 04:11]

Màa + PFV 'volition' (deontic modality)

(13) ***Màa*** *ntsì'i-kà-vì ñàà.*

màa	ntsì'i=kà=kue=ì	ñàà
MA	PFV.drink=more=PLZ=3GNR	DISC

'They didn't (want to) drink (goat milk) anymore' [Vaa_chinchee_ntucha; AOC; 09:41]

Mà + CNTF 'external possibility' (epistemic modality)

(14) *Ntàà ñuù Yukúnanĭ ra* ***mà ní****ntanchikó-kà-yù.*

ntàà
truth

ñuù	Yukúnanĭ	ra
village	Yucunani	TOP

mà	**ní**	ntanchikó=kà=yù
MA	**CNTF**	come_back=more=1

'The truth is to Yucunani I didn't (couldn't) come back anymore' [Ntanchiko_Yukunani; A; 10:54]

Mà + CNTF '(past) irrealis' (in conditionals)

(15) *Cha tatù* ***mà ní****kana và'î ra kítsi tukú ná ntasávà'a-kue tokó-ñà.*

cha	tatù	**mà**	**ní**	kana	và'a=ì	ra	kítsi
and	COND	**MA**	**CNTF**	leave	well=3GNR	TOP	IPFV.come

tuku=ú	ná	nta-sá-và'a=kue	tuku=ó=ñà
also=2NFORM	DEO	IRR.ITER-do-good=PLZ	also=1PL.INCL=3GNR

'If it didn't go well, you come again and we fix it' [Ia_noo; NHG; 05:57]

Negating the perfective

Kuě + CTF	Mà + CTF/PFV
STANDARD NEGATION	EXTERNAL POSSIBILITY (EPISTEMIC MODALITY)
	VOLITION (DEONTIC MODALITY)
	PAST IRREALIS

Negating ability/possibility

Kuě	Mà
LACK OF ABILITY/KNOWLEDGE	EXTERNAL POSSIBILITY (EPISTEMIC MODALITY)

Negating the perfective

Kuě + CTF	Mà + CTF/PFV
STANDARD NEGATION	EXTERNAL POSSIBILITY (EPISTEMIC MODALITY)
	VOLITION (DEONTIC MODALITY)
	PAST IRREALIS

Conclusions

- The distribution of the two main negators in Sà’án Sàvĭ ñà Ñuù Xnúvíkó (Mixtepec Mixtec) is not solely dependent on the distinction *realis* vs. *irrealis*

- Epistemic and deontic modality play a role in the choice of negator

- *Kuě* is used as the Standard negation, in modally “unmarked” sentences

- *Mà* is used to express irrealis mood, as well as epistemic and deontic modalities

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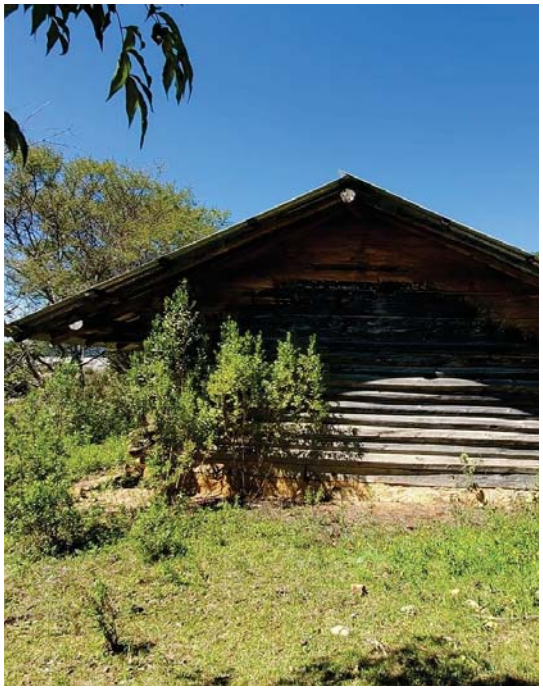
¡Tá tsà'vĭ-kue-ní!



¡TÁ TSÀ'VĬ-KUE-NÍ ÑÀÀ CHÁA SÒ'O-NÍ!