Negative Auxiliary in Ulivelivek

1. Introduction: This paper presents a case study of the relation between Neg1 and V1 constituent order in Ulivelivek, a dialect of Puyuma spoken in the south-east part of Taiwan, arguing that the word `*azi* 'NEG' is a negative verb, as evident from the distribution of aspect particles, tense inflection, and cliticization. However, the availability of different kind of voice markers on the main verb that follows `*azi* (cf. Chang 2006) and the absence of the complement clause marker *za* 'COMP' (cf. Chung 1970) suggest that `*azi* cannot be a plain lexical verb. We propose that `*azi* is a finite auxiliary verb that heads AuxP, which undergoes remnant movement to derive the Neg1 constituent order. Our conclusion is that the extremely high tendency for V1 to be Neg1 (Dryer 2013) is a natural typological consequence, if negative verbs are realized either as the matrix verb that takes the sentential complement (Chung 1970), or as the fronted negative auxiliary verb as argued here, which lends support to Payne's (1985) claim.

2. Predicate-fronting (V1) and the position of negation: Since Massam's (2001) influential work, it has been widely suggested that V1 word order in many Austronesian languages follows from the predicate-fronting approach (e.g. Lee 2000; Rackowski & Travis 2000; Wu 2013). However, one potential problem is that typologically, there is a high tendency for V1 languages to be Neg1 (Dryer 2013), which would be wrongly predicted by the predicate-fronting analysis:

(1) $[_{TP} [_{VP} \text{ V DP}_{OBJ}]_i \dots [\text{ S } \dots [_{NegP} \text{ Neg } t_i]]]$ *VP-fronting → Neg-final

The apparent question is whether negations in these languages can receive some sort of verbal treatment to maintain the V1 characteristic. Payne (1985, p207) proposes that negations can be realized in two possible verbal forms: [i] the negative verb that takes a full sentential complement as its argument as in (2a), or [ii] the finite auxiliary to the lexical verb, as in (2b).

(2a) $[_{CP} \ e \ \text{NEG-V} \ [_{CP} \text{ V O/S }]]$ (2b) $[_{CP} \text{ NEG-AUX } [_{VP} \text{ V O/S }]]$

While the existence of the structure in (2a) has already been reported in the studies of Austronesian languages (Chung 1970; Clark 1976), the question whether negative verbs can be realized as a finite auxiliary verb has been a locus of debate. For example, Besnir (2000, p177) claims that the auxiliary analysis receives little language internal support (Tuvaluan), as no class of auxiliaries is identifiable.

3. Observation: Interestingly, Ulivelivek negative sentences contain the sentence-initial negative marker `*azi* that shows many auxiliary-like properties, in the sense that `*azi* is neither the main verb (V1st) of serial verb construction, nor the matrix verb of any bi-clausal structure, but `*azi* still shows many verbal characteristics, as shown below:

Evidence 1 - Absence of complement clause marker: Ulivelivek complement clauses must be marked with the clause marker *za* 'COMP' as in (3a). In negative sentences, however, the *za* marker is not allowed to appear, as in (3b), which rules out the possibility that `*azi* is the matrix verb that takes a sentential complement.

(3a) ma-resan [_{CP} **za** m-ekan i   Sunay za   vulraw]. (3b) `azi (***za**) m-ekan za   vulraw i   Sunay.
     AV-likely   C   AV-eat ABS Sunay OBL fish   NEG C   AV-eat   OBL fish   ABS Sunay
     'It's likely that Asing ate some fish.'   'Asing didn't eat some fish.'

Evidence 2 - Alternation of voice morphology: Chang (2006) pointed out that the second verb (V2nd) in Formosan SVCs must be inflected with the AV marker. In Ulivelivek negative

sentences, however, the lexical verb that follows `*azi* can be inflected with other kinds of voice markers, such as PV in (4), which suggests that `*azi* is not a lexical verb as other V1st in SVCs.
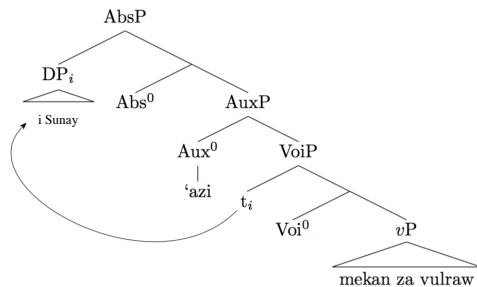
(4) `azi tu-etek-**i**   na vasikaw.
   NEG ERG.3S=cut-PV ABS bamboo
   'He doesn't cut the bamboo.'

(5) `azi=**ku** sahar m-ekan za vulraw.
   NEG=1S like AV-eat OBL fish
   'I don't like to eat fish.'

Evidence 3 — Verbal morphology: Cliticization (5), aspect particles (6), and tense inflection (7) are typical characteristics of verbal elements in Ulivelivek, all of which can be found around `*azi*, which means that `*azi* is verbal in nature, although it is not truly a lexical verb.
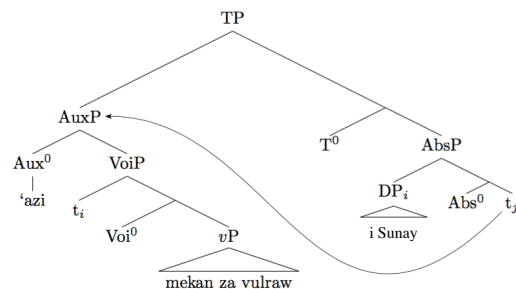
(6) `azi **lra** m-ekan i   Sunay za   vulraw.
   NEG ASP AV-eat ABS Sunay OBL fish
   'Sunay has not eat a fish.'

(7) **ka**-`azi `a-`udalr nu-emanan.
   FUT-NEG PROG-rain P-tomorrow
   'It will not be raining tomorrow.'

4. Proposal The above data suggest that `*azi* deserves a verbal treatment, but it cannot be analyzed as the matrix verb of the bi-clausal structure or as the lexical V1st in SVCs. We propose that `*azi* is a negative auxiliary verb that heads AuxP and undergoes predicate-fronting to the sentence-initial position. Specifically, we assume, following Massam (2001), that the T head in V1 languages carries the [PRED] feature that attracts the maximal verbal projection to Spec-TP. We also assume that the absolutive case is assigned by the independent functional head of AbsP (Lin, to appear). So, after subject raising to Spec-AbsP, the highest verbal maximal projection AuxP undergoes remnant movement to derive the Neg1 constituent order. The analysis thus correctly predicts the correlation between V1 and Neg1.

(8a) Subject raising: (8b) Remnant AuxP movement:

5. Conclusion: According to Dryer's (2013) typological study, out of 104 V1 languages, 102 are also Neg1. We conclude that the predicate-fronting approach has no difficulty dealing with this seemingly problematic correlation. Quite the opposite, we take the correlation as a natural consequence, if negations in V1 languages are to be realized either as the matrix verb as argued by Chung (1970), or as the auxiliary verb as we have argued in this paper. If the analysis is on the right track, then novel data presented in this paper largely support Payne's (1985) claim that negative verbs can also be realized as finite auxiliary verbs (cf. Besnir 2000).

Selected References: Besnir, N. (2000) *Tuvaluan.* || **Chang, Y. H**. (2006) The guest playing host: Adverbial modifiers as matrix verbs in Kavalan. || **Dryer, M.** (2013) Position of Negative Morpheme w.r.t S, O, and V. WALS online. || **Lin, S.-Y. J.** to appear. On deriving the Cop1 structure in Ulivelivek. AFLA 23rd. || **Massam, D**. (2001) Pseudo noun incorporation in Niuean. NLLT. || **Payne, John R.** (1985) Negation. *Language typology and syntactic description.*