

Mood and Negation in Nanti (Kampa, Arawak)

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In Nanti, an Arawak language of lowland southeastern Peru, mood is a verbal inflectional category. This paper describes the syntactic and semantic aspects of inflectional mood in Nanti, focusing on the interaction between mood and negation. In particular, I examine a group of constructions involving negation in which verbs take mood marking that appears to contradict the modal semantics of the clause. I argue that this counterintuitive mood marking is a consequence of scopal interaction between mood and negation.

In Nanti, mood is realized by a binary verbal inflectional distinction, of the type frequently referred to as a realis/irrealis system (Palmer 2001). In many respects, Nanti mood-marking is typical of realis/irrealis systems. Beginning with affirmative clauses, we note that non-imperative clauses with non-future temporal reference take realis marking, as in (1). Realis mood marking is realized by a verbal suffix.

- (1) *i=kahat-∅-i*
3MASC.SUBJ=bathe-IMPRF-REAL
'He is/was bathing.'

Irrealis mood-marking is found in affirmative clauses with future temporal reference, as in (2), in counterfactual constructions, in conditional constructions, and in imperative constructions. Irrealis marking is also characteristic of non-finite verbal complements. Irrealis mood marking on the verb is realized as a circumfix.

- (2) *i=n-kahat-∅-e*
3MASC.SUBJ=IRREAL-bathe-IMPRF-IRREAL
'He will bathe.'

In the context of negation, however, mood marking becomes more interesting. In the first place, Nanti exhibits two negators, each of which subcategorizes for the modal semantics of their complement. The *realis negator*, *te-*, subcategorizes for semantically realis complements, such as the non-future temporal reference verb given in (1). However, the resulting negated clause takes irrealis mood marking, as in (3), a common feature of realis/irrealis mood systems.

- (3) *te=ra* *i=n-kahat-e*
NEG.REAL=TEMP 3MASC.SUBJ=IRREAL-bathe-IRREAL
'He did not bathe.'

The *irrealis negator*, *ha-*, subcategorizes for semantically irrealis complements, such as the verb with future temporal reference given in (2). Counter-intuitively, clauses like these, with negated semantically irrealis complements take realis mood marking, as in (4).

- (4) *ha=ra* *i=kahat-i*
NEG.IRREAL-TEMP 3MASC.SUBJ=bathe-REAL
'He will not bathe.'

Thus, while affirmative future temporal reference induces irrealis marking, as in (1), and negation (of realis complements) induces irrealis marking, as in (3), a negated future temporal reference clause induces realis marking. This is the major puzzle presented by Nanti mood marking, which I seek to address.

Inspired by analyses of discrepancies in mood marking by Mithun (1995) and by McGregor and Wagner (2006), I argue that the counterintuitive mood-marking exhibited by negated clauses in Nanti is a consequence of negation having scope over mood in Nanti. This interaction between negation and mood results in the overall modal value of a clause being the opposite of that marked on the verb. I also show that this analysis is consistent with the mood marking found in conditional and counterfactual constructions.

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McGregor, William and Tamsin Wagner. 2006. "The Semantics and Pragmatics of Irrealis Mood in Nyulnyulan". *Oceanic Linguistics*. (45) 2: 339-379.

Mithun, Marianne. 1995. "The relativity of irrealis". In Bybee, J. and S. Fleischman (eds.). *Modality in Grammar and Discourse*. John Benjamins.