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## Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli

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## 9

## Negation

Negation is marked syntactically with uninflected particles<sup>1</sup> which precede or follow the verb. This chapter introduces clausal negators *na* (§9.1) and *nist* (§9.2 & §9.3), imperative and jussive negator *mo* (§9.4 & §9.5), *mo* used as a negator in declarative sentences (§9.6), constituent negator *naj* (§9.7), and the independent polarity forms *əʔə* and *naj* (§9.8). Negative lexemes may also be formed morphologically with the privative prefix *bɛ-* or negative prefix *nu-* (§9.9).

## 9.1 Negation of verbal predicates

Clausal negation produces the negative counterpart of an affirmative declarative. For negation of clauses with verbal predicates, the preverbal particle *na* is used. *na* is placed immediately before the verb; in the case of compound verbs, *na* occurs between the nominal element and the inflecting verb. If the negator and verb are the only constituents within the clause, the pronominal agreement clitic for perfective aspect often attaches to *na*, which is the only preverbal constituent it can attach to, as in (9.1) & (9.2).

(9.1)    *na = am*            *χuɟ*  
           NEG = 1SG.PFV    eat.PFV  
           ‘I did not eat.’

(9.2)    *na = af*            *tujd*  
           NEG = 3PL.PFV    go.PFV  
           ‘They did not go.’

*na* very rarely occurs in other positions. In our data, there were only two sentences in which *na* does not immediately precede the verb, which are shown

<sup>1</sup>The term particle is widely used in linguistics and language discussion, but there is no rigorous definition. For the purposes of this work, a particle is a separate word that is grammatically dependent on a clause constituent.

in (9.3) & (9.4). In these sentences, *na* may be functioning as a correlating conjunction with the meaning ‘neither... nor...’.

- (9.3) *ju k = dos tizd*  
 3SG.NOM.DIST ANA = manner go.3SG.IPFV
- wi-an hitç tsiz nist, na*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN none thing NEG.be.IPFV NEG
- χu qetç = ir ləwr der xipik*  
 REFL.NNOM stomach = DAT big CPRV flatbread
- vrejd, na χu tan = ir bε der*  
 find.3SG.IPFV NEG REFL.NNOM body = DAT fine CPRV
- ləq vrejd*  
 clothing find.3SG.IPFV
- ‘He leaves like that and has nothing; he does not find a big flatbread for his stomach, nor decent clothing for his body.’
- (9.4) *təw χu az tçəd hitç tsiz mo*  
 2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM ABL house none thing PROH
- vor, na xavung, na balax, na lingi, na*  
 bring.IPFV NEG blanket NEG pillow NEG towel NEG
- sfun, hatto i bax jaktu mas mo vor*  
 soap even one extra shirt also PROH bring.IPFV
- ‘Do not bring anything from your house; no blanket, nor pillow, nor towel, nor soap, do not even bring an extra shirt.’

Sarikoli has a symmetric negation strategy, in which “the structure of the negative is identical to the structure of the affirmative, except for the presence of the negative marker(s)” (Miestamo 2011). The following pairs of sentences demonstrate that the presence of the negative particle *na* is the only difference between the affirmative and negative sentences, regardless of whether the clause is in the imperfective (9.5) & (9.6), perfective (9.7) & (9.8), or pluperfect (9.9) & (9.10) aspect.

- (9.5) *lidia tizd*  
 Lidia go.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Lidia will go.’

- (9.6) *lidia na tizd*  
Lidia NEG go.3SG.IPFV  
'Lidia will not go.'
- (9.7) *nurmongul xuvd*  
Nurmongeel sleep.PFV  
'Nurmongeel has slept.'
- (9.8) *nurmongul na xuvd*  
Nurmongeel NEG sleep.PFV  
'Nurmongeel has not slept.'
- (9.9) *sejfik wandz-it*  
Seyfik see.PRF-CESS  
'Seyfik saw it.'
- (9.10) *sejfik na wandz-it*  
Seyfik NEG see.PRF-CESS  
'Seyfik did not see it.'

Subordinate clauses are negated in the same way, with the preverbal particle *na*. Every variety of subordinate clause may be negated, independently of whether the main clause is affirmative or negative. The following examples illustrate negation of headless relative clauses (9.11), complement clauses (9.12), and conditional adverbial clauses (9.13). Subordinate clauses are bracketed in (9.11) - (9.13).

- (9.11) a. *muu puuts [nəwz tej na tɕəwɣɔdz = ɛndz]*  
1SG.NNOM son still wedding NEG do.PRF = REL  
'My son is one who has not married yet.'
- b. *niso [tar jəwl qatɛɪn tɕoj na broxt = itɕuz]*  
Niso LOC dawn topping tea NEG drink.INF = REL  
'Niso is one who does not drink milk tea in the morning.'
- (9.12) a. *waz = am [gɔlpia-an wi tej*  
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding  
*na tɕejg = i] wazond*  
NEG do.INF = SC know.PFV  
'I knew that Geelpia will not get married.'

- b. *waz = am*                      *[gulpia-an wi*                      *tej*  
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV   Geelpia-GEN   3SG.NNOM.DIST   wedding  
  
*na tcejg = i]*   *na wazond*  
 NEG do.INF = SC   NEG know.PFV  
 ‘I did not know that Geelpia will not get married.’
- (9.13) a. *[maç*   *çitç na*   *tedz = an*                      *tsa]*  
 1PL.NOM   now   NEG   go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV   COND  
  
*səwd*  
 become.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘It is okay if we do not go now.’
- b. *[maç*   *çitç na*   *tedz = an*                      *tsa]*   *na*  
 1PL.NOM   now   NEG   go.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV   COND   NEG  
  
*səwd*  
 become.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘It is not okay if we do not go now.’

## 9.2 Negative existential

In the imperfective aspect, affirmative existential clauses use the existential predicate, *jost* ‘there is’, and negative existential clauses are formed with *nist* ‘there is not’. *nist* is placed clause-finally, where predicates normally occur.

- (9.14) *pa wi*                      *tçed juts nist*  
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST   house fire NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘There is no fire in that house.’
- (9.15) *wi*                      *alo*   *çandasur*   *tcejg = ir*                      *duçtur*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST   TEMP   circumcision do.INF = DAT   doctor  
  
*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘In those days, there are no doctors to do circumcisions.’

- (9.16) *qetç = ir tamoq nist nalist = ir tçed*  
 stomach = DAT food NEG.be.IPFV sit.INF = DAT house

*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘There is no food for the stomach, and no house to live in.’

Existential clauses may be used to form the predicative possessive construction (introduced in §4.2). This construction may be negated by *nist*, as shown in the following examples.

- (9.17) *oriona-an ðuust harabo nist*  
 Oriona-GEN hand vehicle NEG.be.IPFV

‘Oriona does not have a wagon.’

- (9.18) *ejdboj tuqo, wi-an jaχ vrud*  
 Eidboy separate 3SG.NNOM.DIST-GEN sister brother

*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘Eidboy is alone, he does not have brothers or sisters.’

- (9.19) *ar wi afto maç-an dars*  
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST week 1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson

*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV

‘We do not have classes next week.’

In aspects other than the imperfective, as in (9.20) with perfect aspect and (9.21) with perfective aspect, or in subordinate clauses, as in (9.22) with a conditional adverbial clause, *na vid* is used instead of *nist*, with *vid* taking the same inflections as verbal predicates.

- (9.20) *pa varçide di rang putig na veðdz*  
 LOC Varshide 3SG.NNOM.PROX SEMB thread NEG be.PRF  
 ‘In Varshide there is no thread like this. (Evidential/New information)’

- (9.21) *xeb mu-an digar tçer na vud*  
 yesterday 1SG.NNOM-GEN other work NEG be.PFV  
 ‘Yesterday I did not have other work.’

- (9.22) *ta inder pul na vid tsa mo*  
 2SG.NNOM on.person money NEG be.3SG.IPFV COND PROH  
*zoz*  
 buy.IPFV  
 ‘Do not buy it if you do not have money with you.’

### 9.3 Negative copula

As with existential clauses, a copula clause in the imperfective aspect is negated with *nist*. The corresponding affirmative sentence, which does not contain a copula, is followed by *nist*. While *nist* as a negative existential predicate takes a single NP as its argument, it takes both CS and CP arguments as a negative copula. Depending on the semantic relation between the CS and CP, the CP may be an NP (9.23) & (9.24), adjective (9.25) & (9.26), substantival genitive (9.27) & (9.28), or NP marked by a function marker (9.29) & (9.30).

- (9.23) *taw di tar awd mu batço*  
 2SG.NOM 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC here 1SG.NNOM child  
*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘From now on, you are not my child.’
- (9.24) *wi gap at amal i suxt*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST word CONJ action one appearance  
*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘His words and actions are not the same thing.’
- (9.25) *di leq sufat tçardz nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.PROX clothing quality good NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘This article of clothing’s quality is not good.’
- (9.26) *varçide çitç utç iç mas nist utç zurm mas*  
 Varshide now too cold also NEG.be.IPFV too warm also  
*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘Right now Varshide is not too cold and not too hot.’



- (9.27) *u ju xtur-χejl mu*  
 there 3PL.NOM.DIST camel-PL.NOM 1SG.NNOM  
*bob-an nist*  
 grandfather-GEN NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘Those camels over there are not my grandfather’s.’
- (9.28) *jad çejdoi mu χu-an*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX Sheydoi 1SG.NNOM REFL.NNOM-GEN  
*nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘This Sheydoi (female cap) is not my own.’
- (9.29) *di χajun az marjong nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.PROX sister.in.law ABL Maryong NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘This person’s sister-in-law is not from Maryong.’
- (9.30) *waz ta ar dil nist=o*  
 1SG.NOM 2SG.NNOM LOC heart NEG.be.IPFV=Q  
 ‘Do you not remember me?’ (lit. Am I not in your heart?)

A copula complement may not be negated with the verbal negator *na*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.31) & (9.32):

- (9.31) *\*jad tçini na pukzo*  
 3SG.NOM.PROX bowl NEG clean  
 ‘This bowl is not clean.’
- (9.32) *\*hansu ziv χumand set na usun*  
 Han tongue learn become.INF NEG easy  
 ‘Learning Mandarin is not easy.’

As in negative existential clauses, *na vid* is used in all other aspects besides the imperfective, and in subordinate clauses. *vid* is an inflected predicate, negated by preverbal negator *na*, as in (9.33) & (9.34).

- (9.33) *di qad parus mi=di*  
 3SG.NNOM.PROX height last.year CATA=3SG.NNOM.PROX  
*rang buland na vud*  
 SEMB high NEG be.PFV  
 ‘Her height was not this high last year.’

- (9.34) *nizamidin pa tçed na veðdž*  
 Nizamidin LOC house NEG be.PRF  
 ‘Nizamidin is not home. (Evidential/New information)’

#### 9.4 Prohibitive (Negation of imperatives)

The negative imperative, or prohibitive, is formed with a positive imperative plus a special negator, which is the prohibitive particle *mo*. The indicator of an imperative construction, which is the second person verb in imperfective aspect, is the same for both positive and negative imperative constructions, but the negation particle in negative imperatives, *mo*, is different from the negation particles in negative declaratives, *na* and *nist*.

The default position of the prohibitive particle *mo* is the same as that of the lexical verb negator *na*, immediately preceding the verb, as in (9.35) - (9.38), and between the nominal element and inflecting verb in a compound verb, as in (9.39).

- (9.35) *fand mo ðo*  
 false PROH give.IPFV  
 ‘Do not lie.’
- (9.36) *hejrun mo ris*  
 surprise PROH remain.IPFV  
 ‘Do not be surprised.’
- (9.37) *digar χalg=ir mo lev*  
 other person=DAT PROH say.IPFV  
 ‘Do not tell other people.’
- (9.38) *m=a=di xipik mo*  
 CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX flatbread PROH  
  
*χor=it*  
 eat.IPFV=2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Do not eat this flatbread.’
- (9.39) *pa wi içandž mo ka=it*  
 LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST trust PROH do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV  
 ‘Do not believe her.’

However, *mo* is more flexible than *na*, as it is equally acceptable to place *mo* after the verb. Below are examples in which *mo* is used post-verbally.

- (9.40) *wux mo*  
fall.IPFV PROH  
'Do not fall.'
- (9.41) *mu a = ðust waðor mo*  
1SG.NNOM ACC=hand grab.IPFV PROH  
'Do not hold on to my hand.'
- (9.42) *wi qati wazefs mo*  
3SG.NNOM.DIST COM return.IPFV PROH  
'Do not return with him.'
- (9.43) *wef pa tçed alos = it mo*  
3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house lie.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV PROH  
'Do not lie down (sleep over) at their house.'
- (9.44) *χ-oto ziv ranos mo*  
REFL.NNOM-father tongue forget.IPFV PROH  
'Do not forget your father tongue.'

Unlike *na*, which may be used to negate both main clauses and subordinate clauses, *mo* used as a prohibitive marker can only negate the main clause. A subordinate clause may not take *mo* as a prohibitive particle, as shown in the ungrammatical example (9.45):

- (9.45) *\*puğan mo joð tsa səwd = o*  
tomorrow PROH come.IPFV COND become.3SG.IPFV = Q  
'Is it okay if you do not come tomorrow?'

The prohibitive particle *mo* is also used for marking apprehensive mood, which is discussed in §9.5, as well as a rare construction for negating verbal, existential, and copula predicates, described in §9.6.

## 9.5 Apprehensive (Negation of jussives)

Apprehensive mood is the negative counterpart of jussive mood (Overall 2007:357). It expresses indirect prohibitives or wishes for something not to happen. It is most commonly used with third person subjects, and is also marked with the

particle *mo* immediately before or after the main verb, which is in imperfective aspect. Optionally, the jussive verb *laka* ‘let’ may be added before *mo*. Sentences in apprehensive mood often occur with another independent clause, one of them serving as the explanation for the other, as in (9.48) - (9.52).

- (9.46) *xɛb vəwɣdʒ = ɛndʒ xɛvd puɔd, nuur-nendʒ*  
 yesterday bring.PRF = REL milk become.sour.PFV today-ADJ  
*xɛvd (laka) mo pejd*  
 milk let.IPFV PROH become.sour.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘The milk we brought yesterday became sour; may today’s milk not get sour.’
- (9.47) *omil a = χu (laka) mo ðid = am*  
 Omil ACC = REFL.NNOM let.IPFV PROH hit.3SG.IPFV = 1SG.PFV  
*lɛvd, a = wi = am vuust*  
 say.PFV ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST = 1SG.PFV tie.PFV  
 ‘Thinking, “Lest Omil hit himself”, I tied him up.’
- (9.48) *təw χu komputur aboj ka, wejrɔn*  
 2SG.NOM REFL.NNOM computer careful do.IPFV broken  
*(laka) mo səwd*  
 let.IPFV PROH become.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Take care of your computer, lest it get broken.’
- (9.49) *waz = am a = χu naymuɣ, χalg*  
 1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV ACC = REFL.NNOM hide.PFV people  
*a = muu (laka) mo wand*  
 ACC = 1SG.NNOM let.IPFV PROH see.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘I hid myself, lest people see me.’
- (9.50) *a = di guxt dʒald χor = it, piç*  
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX meat fast eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV cat  
*(laka) mo χird*  
 let.IPFV PROH eat.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘Eat this meat quickly, lest the cat eat it.’

- (9.51) *waz a=ta bawej=am, ta*  
 1SG.NOM ACC=2SG.NNOM close.IPFV=1SG.IPFV 2SG.NNOM

*peð (laka) iç mo kaxt*  
 foot let.IPFV cold PROH do.3SG.IPFV  
 ‘I will tuck you in, lest feet get cold.’

- (9.52) *təw iχil ixjur vəw, ɤazd χalg-χejl*  
 2SG.NOM always alert be.IPFV dirty person-PL.NOM

*a=ta (laka) gəwl mo ka=in*  
 ACC=2SG.NNOM let.IPFV trick PROH do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV  
 ‘Always stay on your guard, lest bad people trick you.’

Less commonly, first and second person subjects also occur in apprehensive sentences. The jussive verb *laka* is more strongly preferred in these sentences:

- (9.53) *waz laka kambaxal mo so=am*  
 1SG.NOM let.IPFV poor PROH become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV  
 ‘May I not get poor.’

- (9.54) *χu leq dvez dər pamədz, jong laka*  
 REFL.NNOM clothing thick CPRV wear.IPFV cold let.IPFV

*mo so*  
 PROH become.IPFV  
 ‘Wear thicker clothing, lest you catch a cold.’

## 9.6 Negation of declaratives with *mo*

Another, less common, negative construction uses the prohibitive particle *mo* to negate verbal (9.55), existential (9.56), or copula predicates (9.57) in declarative sentences. In this construction, *mo* precedes the O or CP argument, and sometimes even the subject (as in the second clause in (9.56)), and the existential or copula predicate *vid* ‘be’ is added at the end of the clause:

- (9.55) *a = di*                      *narsa = am*      *waz*      *χubaθ*  
 ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX    thing = 1SG.PFV    1SG.NOM    REFL.NOM
- vug*      *mo*      *az*      *ta*              *taliptç*  
 find.PFV    PROH    ABL    2SG.NNOM    request.PFV
- vəw = am*  
 be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
- ‘I found this thing myself, I will not beg you for it.’
- (9.56) *mu-an*              *mo*      *waloχ*      *vid*              *mo*      *vurdz*  
 1SG.NNOM-GEN    PROH    vehicle    be.3SG.IPFV    PROH    horse
- mu-an*              *vid*              *waz*              *um*  
 1SG.NNOM-GEN    be.3SG.IPFV    1SG.NOM    there
- so = am*                      *tσα*      *tsejz*      *ka = am*  
 become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV    COND    what    do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
- ‘I have no vehicle, I have no horse; what would I do if I go there?’
- (9.57) *waz*              *mo*      *kinu*      *tçulpon*      *vəw = am*              *mo*  
 1SG.NOM    PROH    movie    celebrity    be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV    PROH
- mudil*      *vəw = am*              *hara*      *maθ*      *mudz*      *leq*  
 celebrity    be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV    every    day    new    clothing
- pamejg = ir*  
 wear.INF = DAT
- ‘I am not a movie star, I am not a celebrity, to wear new clothes every day.’

This negative construction formed with *mo* can be combined with a different type of negative clause in the same sentence. For example, the sentence in (9.58) contains a negative clause formed with *mo* and a negative existential clause formed with *nist*.

- (9.58) *wi kaðo inder pul mas nist*  
 3SG.NNOM.DIST boy on.person money also NEG.be.IPFV
- mo ju ingles ziv wazonð=ir*  
 PROH 3SG.NOM.DIST English tongue know.INF=DAT
- vid xu tar xu amriko*  
 be.3SG.IPFV REFL.NNOM LOC REFL.NNOM America
- səwd tsa tsejz kaxt*  
 become.3SG.IPFV COND what do.3SG.IPFV
- ‘That boy has no money, nor does he know English; what would he do if he goes to America on his own?’

### 9.7 Negation of constituents

For negation of a constituent, the negative polarity form *naj* is placed immediately after the negated constituent, which may be an NP or a verb.

When an NP is negated, the negated constituent is topicalized through stress and fronting. The NP, which may be a nominative or non-nominative argument, is placed sentence-initially, followed by *naj*. Another NP, which is the correction of the negated constituent, occurs immediately after *naj* and is also stressed. In (9.59) - (9.61), the negated constituent is an NP headed by a nominative proper noun, non-nominative common noun, and numeral, respectively.

- (9.59) *perizat naj, mejnaχon tu=ri tilfon tçəwg*  
 Perizat NEG Meynahon 2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.PFV  
 ‘It was not Perizat but Meynahon who called you.’
- (9.60) *moçin naj, çer qati so=an*  
 car NEG donkey COM become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV  
 ‘It is not by car but by donkey that we will go.’
- (9.61) *iw naj, tsavur batço jost*  
 one NEG four child be.IPFV  
 ‘It is not one but four children.’

If the negated constituent is a verb, the verb and the aspect and pronominal agreement markers are followed by *naj*. The clause may also include arguments of the predicate, as in (9.64) & (9.65), but the negator only has scope

over the verb, not the whole clause. Constituent negation with the post-verbal *naj* is only applicable for verbal predicates, and not existential or copula predicates, as shown by the ungrammatical example (9.66). Instead, existential and copula predicates are negated with *nist*, as described in §9.2 & §9.3.

- (9.62) *χιιγ = am naj*  
eat.PFV = 1SG.PFV NEG  
'I did not eat.'
- (9.63) *ranuxtε = at naj*  
forget.PFV = 2SG.PFV NEG  
'You did not forget.'
- (9.64) *soqdzon tizd naj, maç qati rast*  
Soqjon go.3SG.IPFV NEG 1PL.NNOM COM remain.3SG.IPFV  
'Soqjon will not go, but will stay with us.'
- (9.65) *a = wi patəw = in naj, uz*  
ACC = 3SG.NNOM.DIST throw.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV NEG again  
  
*rafon = in*  
use.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV  
'They do not throw it away, but use it again.'
- (9.66) *\*pa tçed mejmun jost naj*  
LOC house guest be.IPFV NEG  
'There are no guests at home.'

*naj* cannot be used for NP-internal negation. A modifier within an NP, such as an adjective, cannot be negated with the simple addition of a negator like *na* or *naj*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (9.67) & (9.68). Instead, it must become part of an RC with a predicate that is negated with *na*, as in (9.69).

- (9.67) *\*na χιιçruij kots batço*  
NEG beautiful girl child  
'an unbeautiful girl'
- (9.68) *\*χιιçruij naj kots batço*  
beautiful NEG girl child  
'an unbeautiful girl'



- (9.69) [χωερυj na veðdz=endz] kots batso  
 beautiful NEG be.PRF=REL girl child  
 ‘a girl who is not beautiful’

### 9.8 Independent polarity forms

To respond to a polar question, it is unnecessary to use a full clause. Sarikoli has independent polarity forms *əʔə* ‘yes’ and *naj/nist* ‘no’ which can serve as one-word responses to a polar question. The choice between *naj* and *nist* for ‘no’ depends on the full answer—if the full answer requires the preverbal negator *na*, then *naj* is used as the one-word response, as in (9.70); if the full answer involves the negative copula or negative existential predicate *nist*, then *nist* is used as the one-word response, as in (9.71).

- (9.70) a. *nur mu pa qetε xufs=o*  
 today 1SG.NNOM LOC belly sleep.IPFV=Q  
 ‘Will you sleep in my stomach (next to me, under the same covers) today?’
- b. *naj*  
 NEG  
 ‘No.’
- (9.71) a. *stəwr guxt tu=ri χuε=o*  
 yak meat 2SG.NNOM=DAT happy=Q  
 ‘Do you like yak meat?’
- b. *nist*  
 NEG.be.IPFV  
 ‘No.’

### 9.9 Derivation of negated lexemes

Negative lexemes may be derived morphologically. The privative prefix *bε-* ‘without; lacking’ attaches to common noun ‘X’ to produce an adjective with the meaning ‘without X’. Table 9.1 below presents examples of adjectives that have been derived from nouns with the *bε-* prefix.

Table 9.1 Negative lexemes with *be-*

<i>be-ginu</i> ‘innocent (sinless)’	<i>be-arzεç</i> ‘worthless’
<i>be-pujun</i> ‘boundless’	<i>be-bawu</i> ‘priceless’
<i>be-wosta</i> ‘directly (without means)’	<i>be-kam</i> ‘worry-free’
<i>be-fam</i> ‘stupid’	<i>be-çart</i> ‘unconditional’
<i>be-aql</i> ‘foolish’	<i>be-kuutç</i> ‘weak’
<i>be-tartib</i> ‘messy; orderless’	<i>be-tçuro</i> ‘pitiable; solutionless’
<i>be-ziv</i> ‘mute (tongueless)’	<i>be-çabar</i> ‘uninformed’
<i>be-adab</i> ‘impolite’	<i>be-miwa</i> ‘unfruitful’
<i>be-barakat</i> ‘unprosperous’	<i>be-bor</i> ‘unfruitful’
<i>be-tulej</i> ‘unlucky’	<i>be-çatar</i> ‘safe (danger-free)’
<i>be-rux</i> ‘listless’	<i>be-çadzal</i> ‘having no sense of shame’

The privative prefix *be-* is highly productive and may attach to almost any common noun. The meanings of some commonly-used adjectives with *be-* are not completely predictable, however. For example, *bawu* ‘price; value’ and *arzεç* ‘worth; value’ are close synonyms; but after the addition of *be-*, they become antonyms.

There is another negative prefix, *nu-*, which attaches to adjectives to form the negative counterpart of its host. *nu-* is not productive and does not affix readily to all adjectives; it only occurs with fixed hosts. Table 9.2 shows examples of words in which *nu-* is used.

Table 9.2 Negative lexemes with *nu-*

<i>nu-luzim</i> ‘unnecessary’	<i>nu-balad</i> ‘stranger’
<i>nu-udil</i> ‘unjust’	<i>nu-durust</i> ‘incorrect’
<i>nu-haq</i> ‘unjust’	<i>nu-qatur</i> ‘unranked (low-ranking)’
<i>nu-lujeq</i> ‘unworthy’	<i>nu-pejdu</i> ‘rare (un-appearing)’
<i>nu-suf</i> ‘impure’	<i>nu-ep</i> ‘unfit; mismatched’

As mentioned in §9.7, there are no productive morphological processes to derive negative lexemes from adjectives. Adjectives as adnominal modifiers must be negated in a relative clause, as in (9.69), and adjectives as copula complements must be negated with *nist*, as in (9.25) & (9.26).