Locative, existential and possessive predication in the Chaco

Nivaĉle (Mataguayan) and Pilagá (Guaykuruan)

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Nivaĉle (Mataguayan) and Pilagá (Guaykuruan) languages, which geographically overlap in the Argentinian Chaco region of South America, present evidence challenging the often repeated claim that locative predications universally underlie possession predications (Lyons 1967; Jackendoff 1983; DeLancey 2000; Freeze 2001; Langacker 2009, among others). In both languages copular elements can link two Determined Phrases (DPs) to predicate location, possession or existence, i.e. the primary predicative element in such constructions is not a lexical verb. However, Nivaĉle and Pilagá each use a single copular form for both non-verbal existential and possessive predication constructions, and a different copular form for non-verbal locative predication constructions. Subtypes of the various constructions, including negative forms, can be related to Heine's cognitive possession schemas. In Pilagá, all three negative constructions share the same copular elements, but there are arguably still more similarities between the negative possessive and negative existential constructions compared to the negative locative construction. If these shared features across the two languages are due to areal contact, the influence would have had to have happened at the Proto-Mataguayan and Proto-Guaykuruan languages stage.

Keywords: existential, possession, location, negation, Guaykuruan, Mataguayan

1. Introduction

The idea that "possession is location" has often been articulated in the cognitive semantics and grammaticalization literature. What is meant by this is that a LOCATIVE cognitive model is posited as somehow basic, perhaps to our human interaction with the world around us; and that the concept of POSSESSION is then assumed to be either identical to the LOCATIVE cognitive model, or to be conceptually – and

potentially historically – based on or derived from it. While not disputing that a locative metaphor and locative constructions often are extended to express possession in various languages, this paper presents data from Nivaĉle and Pilagá to argue that locative predications do not universally underlie possession predications. The paper presents data on locative, existential and possession constructions of the sort sometimes referred to as "non-verbal" predications (Hengeveld 1992: 26; Dryer 2007: 224–249). What is meant by this is that the primary predicative element is not a lexical verb, though a copula with verbal inflectional features may occur as part of the "non-verbal predicate" structure. We will see that Nivaĉle and Pilagá display greater affinity between their so-called non-verbal EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication constructions than between their LOCATIVE and POSSESSIVE ones.[1] At the end of the paper we briefly address whether shared features across the two languages in these non-verbal predication constructions might, or might not, be due to areal contact.

The LOCATIVE cognitive model itself consists of a FIGURE positioned relative to some GROUND (Talmy 1972). The asymmetrical FIGURE-GROUND relationship comes from Gestalt psychology in which the terms co-define each other. The FIGURE is roughly what is perceived as "standing out" against a supporting field or object, i.e., against the GROUND (Rubin 1915). In linguistics, notions associated to the psychological concept of FIGURE include Trajector (Langacker 1987: 231) and the semantic role of THEME (DeLancey 2000), while the psychological concept of GROUND has been linked to Landmark (Langacker 1987: 231) and the semantic role of LOCATION (variously called Locative, LOC; DeLancey 2000). Other linguistic asymmetries have also been attributed to the figure-ground distinction (e.g. whole propositions have sometimes been claimed to stand in figure-ground relationships to each other; Croft & Cruse 2004: 56–58). As we are concerned in this paper with intra-clausal relationships, we will talk in terms of THEME and LOCATION, as well as other semantic role notions.

A sampling of statements either asserting or presupposing the "possession is location" view includes:

i.   "…in many, perhaps in all, languages existential and possessive constructions derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from locatives…." (Lyons 1967: 390)

ii. "…it can be argued that so-called possessive expressions are to be regarded as a subclass of locatives (as they very obviously are, in terms of their grammatical structure, in certain languages)." (Lyons 1977: 474)

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1.   Note that we do not discuss all non-verbal predication constructions in the two languages, but only those concerned with predicating location, existence, and possession. For terminological simplicity we will use the term "copula" in this paper for both the 'be located at' and the 'exist' verbal elements, even though the latter need not join two elements in existential predications.

iii. "Being alienably possessed plays the role of location; that is, "*y* has/possesses *x*" is the conceptual parallel to spatial "*x* is at *y*". (Jackendoff 1983: 192)

iv. "Though all possession is location, not all location is possession." "The possessive is prototypically an existential with a [+human] location." "The existential is universally locative." (Freeze 2001: 941, 946)

v. "Possessives and locatives share an abstract conceptual characterization …" (Langacker 2009: 103).[2]

Additional supportive discussion is found in DeLancey (2000: 8; which includes an entire section entitled "Possessors as Locations"); Sørensen (2001); to some extent Stassen (2009: 11–15), inter alia.

In the seminal typological study on possessive, existential and locative predications, Clark (1978: 87) clearly expresses the view that "existential," "locative," and "possessive" predication constructions are all subcases of "locational constructions". For example, she states that the English expressions *There is a book on the table, The book is on the table, Tom has a book,* and *The book is Tom's* are all "locationals". What functionally differentiates them, in her view, is the definiteness of the "non-locative" and the animacy of the "locative" element. Based on her 30-language survey, she concludes that if the non-locative (THEME) is indefinite, the reading is typically existential; while if the THEME is definite, the reading is locative. If the LOCATIVE is animate, the reading is typically possessive. Other scholars have reiterated these animacy and definiteness views.

However, there are both more modulated and alternative voices to the "possession is location" view as a universal statement. Seiler (1983: 4) states that possession is a "bio-cultural" concept, semantically involving "the relationship between a human being, his kinsmen, his body parts, his material belongings, his cultural and intellectual products. In a more extended view, it is the relationship between parts and whole of an organism". Based on his broad knowledge of African languages, Heine (1997) proposes that possessive constructions may be derived (cognitively and historically) from various "source schemas" – only one of which is Location. The others he terms Action, Accompaniment, Goal, Topic, Source, Equation, and Genitive. In other words, in one language or another a morphosyntactic structure that expresses possession can be isomorphic to, or share significant features with, a functionally locative, topic, equational, etc. construction, and hence there are evidently *multiple* morphosyntactic sources for predication constructions that express possession. In a corpus study of Maa (Maasai) Payne (2009) observes that one verb root *tii* predicates the locative notion of 'be at', and a second distinct verb root *ata* predicates possessive 'have'. Both roots extend to predicating existence of items, though *ata* 'have' is much more common in this function. Thus, there must

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2. Langacker asserts, however, that possessives and locatives are not exactly identical.

(have) be(en) a conceptual association between possession and existence, as well as between location and existence; but there is little or no prima-facie evidence in the corpus data for a direct conceptual association between location and possession. With reference to non-verbal predicate constructions, Dryer (2007: 245) notes that a number of languages treat predicate possession clauses rather like existential clauses – and differently from locational clauses in those same languages.

The first goal of this paper is to describe Nivaĉle (Mataguayan)[3] and Pilagá (Guaykuruan) non-verbal locative, existential, and possessive predication constructions. What motivates treating Nivaĉle and Pilagá in a single paper is that they overlap geographically within the Argentinian Chaco region and have had a long history of contact. We will suggest that some relevant structural features are, at first glance, quite similar across the two languages. This raises the question of whether those shared features are due to contact-induced convergence. We cannot fully answer that question in this paper, nor undertake the historical reconstruction work on the Mataguayan and Guaykuruan families (Table 1) that would be required to definitively answer the question. However, we will suggest in the conclusion that if certain shared features across the constructions are due to contact, the relevant convergence was likely between ancestors of the modern languages rather than directly due to contact or bilingualism between modern Nivaĉle and Pilagá.

Table 1. Mataguayan and Guaykuruan language families[4]

Mataguayan	Guaykuruan
Wichí	Kadiweu
Chorote	Southern Guaykuruan
Nivaĉle	Pilagá
Maká	Toba
	Mocoví
	Abipón[†]
	Eastern Guaykuruan
	Guachí[†]
	Payaguá[†]

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3.   The name *Mataguayan* was used to refer to the language family in various Jesuit documents dating from 1733 (Fabre 2014). This term is also used by Najlis (1984) and Nercesian (2014). Other names for the family include *Matacoan* (Loukotka 1968: 53; Greenberg 1987: 73; Campbell 2013); *Mataco-Mataguayan* (Tovar 1951: 400, 1961, 1964), *Mataco-Maka* (Kaufman 1990: 46). The term *Mataco* has become pejorative to the indigenous people in Bolivia and northern Argentina as it refers to an animal like an armadillo, indicating cowardliness.

4.   Viegas Barros (1993–4) posits Guachí[†] (Wuachí) and Payaguá[†] as part of Gaykuruan, but this is not accepted by some scholars. Kaufman (1990) apparently accepts Wuachi but not Payaguá. Klein's (1985) survey of Argentine indigenous languages doesn't mention either of these. Campbell (2013: 276) says the connection between Guachí and Payaguá remains uncertain.
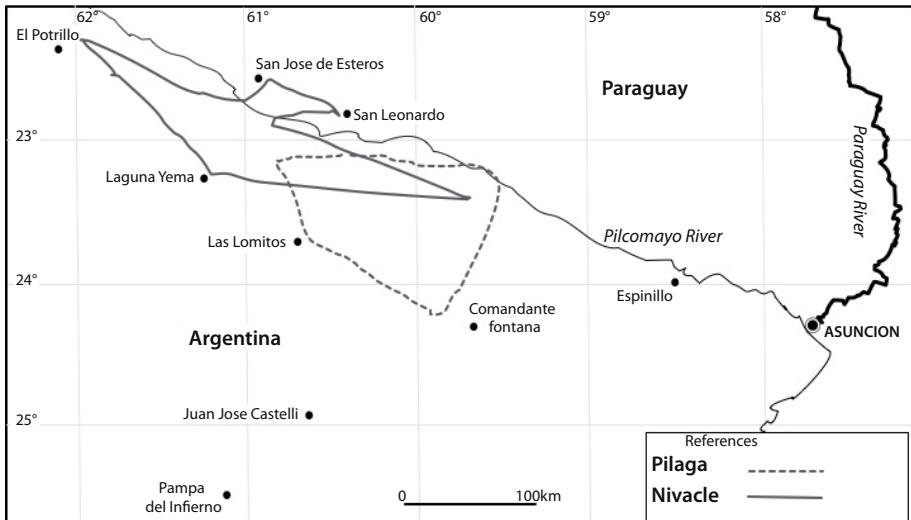
Figure 1. Nivaĉle and Pilagá overlap in the Argentinian-Paraguayan Chaco region

Figure 1 indicates the regions from which Pilagá and Nivaĉle data in this paper come. Pilagá is spoken only in Argentina and there is no known dialect variation. Nivaĉle extends beyond the area marked in Figure 1, on both sides of the Argentina-Paraguay border (roughly marked by the Pilcomayo River). There has not been complete agreement about the number of subgroups that constitute the Nivaĉle people, not only within the literature but also among the Nivaĉle people. Klein and Stark (1977: 392) maintain that there are two groups: the inland or 'bush' Chulupí, and the 'river' Chulupí. In contrast, Stell (1989) maintains that there are five dialectal groups: *Chishamne lhavos* 'people from upstream' or 'highlanders', *Shicha'am lhavos* 'people from downstream' or 'lowlanders', *Yita'a lhavos* 'people from the forest', *Jotoy lhavos* 'people from the feathergrass', and *Tavashay lhavos* 'people from inland'. Field research for this project has focused on the varieties spoken upstream and downstream the Pilcomayo River in the province of Formosa, Argentina, indicated in Figure 1. Occasionally we cite examples from other authors including Fabre's work which reflects Paraguayan speakers. We have not found any significant differences between the patterns in Fabre's data and ours relative to the issues under discussion here.

2. Nivaĉle preliminaries[5]

Nivaĉle has two distinct copular forms that roughly translate as 'exist' and 'be located at'. The 'be located at' copula is used for LOCATIONAL predication, while the 'exist' copula is used for both EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSION predications. Given this, it would appear that Nivaĉle POSSESSION predication(s) developed from the EXISTENTIAL construction or vice-versa; and that POSSESSION did not develop from a LOCATIONAL construction. (Comparative Mataguayan data, which we will briefly address in the conclusion, gives further evidence that this is the case; see also Fabre 2015).

We first introduce some basic grammatical features of Nivaĉle. At the phrase and clause level, word order variation is apparent. In clauses with lexical verbs, subjects occur both before and after their verbs, but the verb generally precedes its object. Within a nominal phrase, Fabre (2016: 377–380) states that an animate possessee precedes the possessor noun; but an inanimate possessee tends to follow the possessor.

Distinctions between word classes in Nivaĉle could be described as "fuzzy", meaning that many roots or stems can be used either for reference (i.e. a "nominal" function) or for making a predication (i.e. a "verb" function), without much if any derivational morphology on the root. What is much clearer are distinctions at the phrase level. The following are among the major features that differentiate what we will refer to as determiner phrases and predicate phrases.

Determiner phrase

In general, a "nominal phrase" must be initiated by a determiner (D) clitic and hence we refer to the resultant construction as a determiner phrase. Determiner phrases have the potential to refer to participants. Fabre (2016: 91–93) indicates that exceptions to the determiner requirement consist of incorporated nouns (rare), relator nouns (which must follow their predicates or verbs marked with locative

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5. Throughout this paper we use practical orthography forms for Nivaĉle data. The Nivaĉle orthography is Spanish-based but phonemic in accord with the system in use in Northern Argentina. The Nivaĉle vowel phonemes /i, u, e, o, a, ɒ, ï, ú, ė, ȯ, à, ɒ̓/ are represented as <i, u, e, o, a, ô, ii, uu, ee, oo, aa, ôô>. The glottalized vowels / ï, ú, ė, ȯ, à, ɒ̓/ may be phonetically longer than plain vowels but Gutierrez (2015) does not analyze them as contrastive for length. Consonant phonemes /p, p', t, t', k, k', ʔ, f, s, ʃ, x, t͡s, t͡s', t͡ʃ, t͡ʃ', ɬ, k͡l, m, n, v [w~β~v], j/ are represented as <p, p', t, t', c ~ qu, c' ~ qu', ', f, s, sh, j, ts, ts', ch, ch', lh, ĉl, m, n, v, y>. The basic orthography was developed primarily by Catholic priest Father J. Seelwische. It is influenced by the Spanish orthography, e.g., the use of <qu> before /i e/, and the use of <c> before /a, o, u, ô /. The Comisión Lingüistica Pueblo Nivaĉle changed Seelwische's "cl" to <ĉl> in order to differentiate this unit phoneme from the Spanish consonant cluster [kl]. See Gutierrez (2015) and <www.nivacle-lhcliish.org> for more discussion.

or applicative morphemes), vocatives, and citation forms. A determiner may also precede a (conjugated) verb form, effectively creating a nominal phrase which can function either as a referring phrase in itself, or as a complement or relative clause (Otero & Vidal 2016). Though the determiners are usually proclitics, in certain constructions a determiner is encliticized to a host.

A determiner is chosen based on visual interpretation of the referent, according to the following four parameters and illustrated in the immediately following examples:

D_1= seen at the time of utterance
D_2= seen prior to and not present at time of utterance; still in existence
D_3= seen prior to and not present at time of utterance; *not* still in existence (e.g., dead or destroyed); also used for non-visual perception
D_4= never seen

(1) *na=ajôclô y-i-shi*   *lha=aacjiyuc*
     D_1=bird   3.CL$_4$.R-be.located-LOC$_3$ D_1.F=tree
     'The bird is in the tree.' (I see the bird and the tree)

(2) *olhumashe ya-quej   ja=Asunción*
     tomorrow 1.CL$_4$.R-go D_2=Asunción
     'Tomorrow I will go to Asunción.'   (from Gutierrez 2010: 58; our glossing)

(3) *lh-ca=lha-mimi   ca=yi-velh*
     F-D_3=POS3-mother D_3=POS1-relative
     'his/her deceased mother' 'my deceased male relative'
                                              (from Stell 1989: 364; our glossing)

(4) *nam jayu   lham pa=ele*
     come PROSP REP D_4=priest
     '(I heard that) a new priest is going to come'
                                              (from Gutierrez 2010: 68; our glossing)

Determiners also distinguish masculine (unmarked) and feminine (prefixed) for singular entities and ±human for plural entities. Note that the simplest forms of the determiners for each of D_1 through D_4 are the masculine singular variants.

Predicate phrase

A predicate phrase carries non-possessive person-marking affixes. Main clause predicate phrases do not carry determiners (though person-marked verbs can be preceded by determiners in complement and relative clauses). Items which translate as verbs, nouns (including possessed nouns), adjectives, etc. in other languages

can function as predicates in Nivaĉle. In fact, terms designating very concrete and time-stable entities, such as 'tree' or 'dog', that would pattern as typical nouns in many other languages, mean 'It is a tree' or 'He/she/it is a dog' when they occur without a determiner.

The person-marking affixes on predicates are selected from one of five conjugation classes (Fabre 2016). For some of the classes, affixes also differ for realis (R) versus irrealis (IRR) mode (and there is considerable allomorphy). Distribution of the conjugations displays some active/inactive sensitivity. The Fourth and Fifth conjugations allow marking of two participants. In the Fourth conjugation, the subject is indicated with a prefix. If the verb is ditransitive or carries an applicative, then the indirect/applied object can also be marked with a pronominal suffix.[6] Though there is much idiosyncrasy, the five conjugations roughly vary with transitivity and semantic features of the predicate such as volition, dynamicity, property concept description, quantification, speech, psychological experience, position, reciprocality, causation, antipassivity, among other features (the reader is referred to Fabre 2016 for more detail). In examples, our glosses accord with Fabre's verb classes. Thus, for example, $3.CL_1$ means 'third person, conjugation class 1' while $3.CL_4.R$ indicates 'third person, conjugation class 4, realis'. Basic allomorphs for the First and Fourth conjugations, the indirect/applied object suffixes, and the possessor prefixes, all of which will be relevant to this paper, are given in (5).

(5)

First conjugation (CL_1) prefixes		Fourth conjugation realis $CL_4.R$ prefixes	
1	*ya'-*	1	*j-*
2	*a'-*	2	*lh-*
3	Ø	3	*y-*
1INCL	*cas- (catsi-)*	1INCL	*sht-*
Indirect/applied object (O) suffixes		Possessor prefixes (POS)	
1	*-ya*	1	*y(i)-*
2	*-'a*	2	*a-*
3	*-e*	3	*lh(a)- / t'a-*
1INCL	*-elh* PL + *-ya*	1INCL	*cas- (catsi-)*

The particular conjugation choice can mark the difference between otherwise homophonous lexemes. For example, the 'negative existential' (6) and 'go' (7) share the root forms /am/ and /ôm/,[7] but the 'negative existential' conjugates according

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6. In the Fifth conjugation the prefixes reflect a hierarchical system, which will not concern us in this paper. It should also be noted that verbs can be quite complex morphologically, beyond just the person-class-mode conjugations.

7. Some speakers clearly use both forms *am ~ ôm* and the variants appear to depend on vowel harmony issues. For instance, *am* invariably co-occurs with the determiner clitic *=pa*.

to the First conjugation, while 'go' conjugates according to the Fourth conjugation. The copular elements of concern in this paper pattern with the First (cf. Example (6) and §§ 4–5) and Fourth (cf. § 3) conjugations, though they may be somewhat irregular (cf. 8).

(6) 'negative existential', First conjugation
    a. *a'-am=pa*
        2.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST=D$_4$
        'You don't exist.'   (from Fabre 2016: 174)
    b. *ôme Ø-am=pa*
        no   3.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST=D$_4$
        'No, it doesn't exist.'
    c. *Ø-ôm   lha-pa=yi-vjatshiy-a*
        3.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST F-D$_4$=1.POS-car-IRR
        'I don't have a car.' (Lit. 'My car (never seen) doesn't exist.')

(7) 'go/come', Fourth conjugation
    a. *j-ôm-elh-ei*   / *j-am-elh-ei*
        1.CL$_4$.R-go-PL-LOC$_1$
        'We arrived there.'
    b. *lh-n-am*
        2.CL$_4$.R-CISL-go
        'You arrived.'
    c. *y-ôm-ei*
        3.CL$_4$.R-go-LOC$_1$
        'It (fish) goes there.'

Fabre (2016: 189) gives the conjugation of what we present as the irregular verb *i ~ ôv~ e* 'be located at' in the Fourth conjugation realis affirmative paradigm as:

(8) 'be located at', Fourth conjugation
    1   *j-aôv*
    2   *lh-aôv*
    3   *y-i*
    1INC *shn-aôv*

With this brief introduction to some basic grammatical features, we now turn to non-verbal LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSIVE predication constructions in Nivaċle.

3. The Nivaĉle LOCATIVE predication construction

Nivaĉle has a number of lexical positional verbs. In this paper, however, we are concerned just with the irregular Fourth conjugation copula *i ~ ôv~ e* 'be located at', which is an integral part of what we call the LOCATIVE predication construction. We consider this construction in our discussion of "non-verbal" predication since *i ~ ôv~ e* is copular in nature, linking GROUND and FIGURE elements. The overall structure of this construction is schematized in (9), where the top line inside the box indicates form and the second line indicates associated meaning within the construction.

(9) Nivaĉle LOCATIVE predication construction

(DP)	4ᵀᴴ CONJ-*i ~ e ~ ôv*-LOC	DP
FIGURE:THEME	FIGURE-BE.AT	GROUND:LOCATION
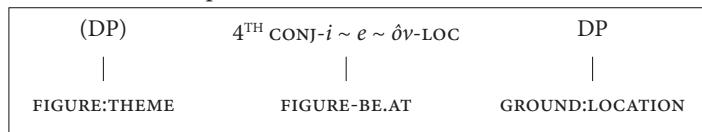
As indicated in (9), the GROUND (which here can be called a LOCATION) is expressed in a DP. The FIGURE (i.e., the THEME) is in a DP if it is not pronominal, plus is reflected in a Fourth conjugation pronominal prefix on the verb. If it is pronominal, it is expressed only via the pronominal prefix.

The 'be located at' copula must also carry one of many locative (LOC) suffixes, which further specify the GROUND on which the FIGURE is located. For instance, the LOC suffix *-ch'e* indicates location in a container or delimiting space that has three-dimensional depth like a river, a hole, or inside a bottle; while the LOC suffix *-shi* indicates location in a delimiting space that profiles lack of three-dimensional depth like surface ground (earth), a tree, etc. For this paper, we gloss these two particular suffixes as *-shi* 'LOC.IN₁' and *-ch'e* 'LOC.IN₂'. Fabre (2016) describes many other LOC suffixes.[8]

Though in general word order is variable in Nivaĉle, in the LOCATIVE predication construction the FIGURE always precedes the 'be at' copula, and the GROUND always follows the copula. There is no obligatory marking of person (or possession) on either DP, though this is possible if the referent is possessed. Regardless of marking of possession on a DP, the force of the construction is to assert location of an item.

Examples of this construction follow, demonstrating various deictic, animacy, and spatial orientation options.

(10) *na=ajôclô y-i-shi*   *lha=aacjiyuc*
 D₁=bird   3.CL₄.R-BE.AT-LOC.IN₁   F.D₁=tree
 'The bird (visible) is in this/that tree (visible).'

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8. Fabre's semantic characterization of *-ch'e* and *-shi* is a bit different from ours.

(11) *lha=lhafcataj y-i-'e*   *na=vatjat'eĉl*
      F.D$_1$=fly   3.CL$_4$.R-BE.AT-PROX   D$_1$=wall
      'The fly (visible) is on the wall (visible).'

(12) *lh-ja=yi-ch'acfa*   *y-i-'ei*   *ja=tovôc*
      F-D$_2$=1.POS-spouse 3.CL$_4$.R-BE.AT-LOC$_1$ D$_2$=river
      'My wife (not visible) is at the river (not visible).'

(13) *lh-ja=y-ch'acfa*   *y-i-jop*   *lh-ja=lh-chita*
      F-D$_2$=1.POS-spouse 3.CL$_4$.R-BE.AT-NEXT.TO   F-D$_2$= 3.POS-sister
      'My wife (not visible) is with her sister (not visible).'

(14) *lh=vatcacshei y-i-ch'e*   *na=t'caĉlôôi*
      F.D$_1$=vegetable 3.CL$_4$.R-BE.AT-LOC.IN$_2$ D$_1$=pot
      'The vegetables (visible) are in the pot (visible).'

(15) *lh-ja=y-ch'acfa*   *y-e-'e*   *ja=lha-jpôyich*
      F-D$_2$=1.POS-spouse 3.CL$_4$.R-BE.AT-PROX   D$_2$=3.POS-house
      'My wife (not visible) is at home (not visible).'

A negative LOCATIVE predication construction has essentially the same structure, using the same copula, this time with the irregular root form *ôv* but with a negative prefix and an irrealis Fourth conjugation person prefix.

(16) *lh-ja=y-ch'acfa*   *ni-n-ôv-'e*   *ja=lha-jpôyich*
      F-D$_2$=1.POS-spouse NEG-3.CL$_4$.IRR-BE.AT-PROX   D$_2$=3.POS-house
      'My wife (not visible) is not at home (not visible).'

4. Nivaĉle EXISTENTIAL constructions

The Nivaĉle positive EXISTENTIAL constructions use the existential copula *caaj*,[9] or its negative counterpart *am*, both of which belong to the First conjugation. The structure of the ASSERTIVE EXISTENTIAL predication construction is sketched in (17).

(17) Nivaĉle ASSERTIVE EXISTENTIAL predication construction

(DP)	1ST CONJ-*caaj / a*	DP
|	|	|
GROUND:LOCATION	FIGURE-EXIST	FIGURE:THEME

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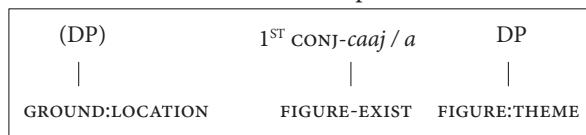
9. A variant form *cat'a'aj* is also used by speakers of the *Shicha'am Lhavos* variety.

In the ASSERTIVE EXISTENTIAL construction, the predicated entity or FIGURE always follows the 'exist' copula. The GROUND element may only occur before *caaj*, if expressed at all. In our data we find no marking of possession on the postverbal FIGURE DP.

(18) *nô-que ∅-caaj   na-va=yichatjulh yucuve-c*
      D_1-DEM 3.CL_1-EXIST D_1-PL=four   bread-PL
      'There are four pieces of bread (visible) here (visible).'

(19) *na=vat-tata-shi   ∅-caaj   na=t'asjaan*
      D_1=POS.INDF-cook-LOC.IN_1 3.CL_1-EXIST D_1=meat
      'There is meat (visible) in the pot (visible).' [Lit. 'There is meat in the cooking place.'][10]

In an INTERROGATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction, the order is reversed. The FIGURE precedes *caaj*, while the GROUND follows *caaj*. In the following, note that the determiner element is encliticized to the question word:

(20) *she-pa ∅-caaj   na=vat-tatashi*
      what-D_4 3.CL_1-EXIST D_1=POS.INDF-pot
      'What (never seen) is there in the pot (visible)?'

The NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction takes a specifically 'negative existential' base *am* which also inflects according to the First conjugation.[11] The base *am* is nearly always encliticized by the D_4 determiner *pa* 'never seen'. This determiner is not just a prosodic leftward "slop over" from the following FIGURE DP, as the FIGURE can have its own determiner (21).

(21) *na=vat-tatashi   Ø-am=pa   ca=t'asja'an*
      D_1=POS.INDF-pot 3.CL_1-NEG.EXIST=D_4 D_3=meat
      'There is no meat (never seen/non-existent) in the pot (visible).'

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10. The locative suffix *-shi* on 'cook' plays a lexical derivational function here, creating a noun.

11. Fabre (2016: 174) notes that *am* sometimes takes a suffixal version of the First conjugation affix, apparently possible when it has the meaning of 'negative possession' as opposed to 'negative existence'.

5. Nivaĉle POSSESSIVE predication constructions

There are two positive non-verbal POSSESSIVE predication subtypes in Nivaĉle, and two negative counterparts.[12] All four of these use the positive and negative existential copulas described in § 4. To help anchor our discussion to the broader typological discussion of possession, we relate these to Heine's (1997) "schemas" as in (22) and (23); see also Fabre (2015).

(22) TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication (Heine's Genitive schema, Fabre's "non-standard topic possessive")

(DP)	1ST CONJ-*caaj* / *am*	POS-DP
GROUND:POSSESSOR	FIGURE-EXIST	POSSESSOR-FIGURE:POSSESSED
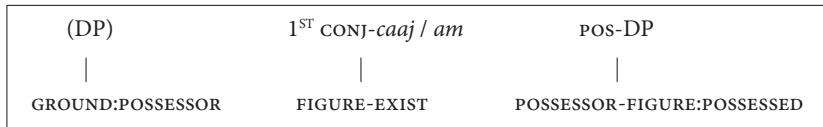
(23) TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication (Heine's Goal schema, Fabre's "topical-locational hybrid possessive")

1ST CONJ-*caaj*/*am*-O.PRO-*m*	(POS-)DP
FIGURE-EXIST-POSSESSOR-BEN	(POSSESSOR-)FIGURE:POSSESSED
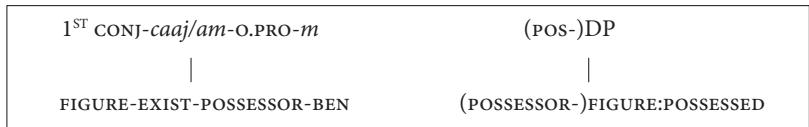
In both POSSESSIVE predication constructions, the possessed entity (the FIGURE) necessarily follows the '(not) exist' verb. If the possessor is expressed by a DP in TYPE I, it may occur only before the 'exist' verb. Note that this is NOT the order pattern of the DP_{GROUND} in the LOCATIVE predication construction; compare (9) in § 3. Hence, the possessor in Nivaĉle predicative possession is not so easily amenable to simply being analyzed as a [+human] GROUND:LOCATION.

5.1 TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication construction (Heine's Genitive schema)

The TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication is built around the EXISTENTIAL predication. The primary difference between the EXISTENTAL and the TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication is that the latter requires a possessor proclitic (POS) on the possessed item.

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12. Fabre (2015) claims there are 14 strategies for predicating possession in Nivaĉle. He includes among this number constructions with lexical verbs and what we would consider to be discourse-topicality affects on order of the lexical possessor, and syntactic complexity of the possessee. We also find some variations in our data that his (2015) work does not cover, such as the negative version of (18) (i.e. negative possession not involving the benefactive applicative), though his (2016) grammar includes examples of it.

It is also this fact that makes the construction conform to what Heine (1997) calls a Genitive schema: if it were not for the "genitive" marking on the possessed item, there would be no sense of possession, but rather just of existence of the FIGURE against a GROUND.

(24) *na=nu'u ∅-caaj   pa-va=lha-lha-s*
D$_1$=dog   3.CL$_1$-EXIST   D$_4$-NONHUM.PL=3.POS-flea-PL
'The dog (visible) has fleas (not seen).' (Lit. 'The dog its fleas exist.')

(25) *a-nô=que vat-uijat-shi   ∅-caaj   na-va=lh-tuvaije-s*
F-D$_1$=DEM   POS.INDF-cloth-LOC.IN$_1$ 3.CL$_1$-EXIST   D$_1$-PL=3.POS-grease-PL
'This shirt has stains (on it).' (Lit. 'This shirt its stains exist.')

If the possessor is pronominal, an independent pronoun may occur (26). However, it need not occur since the possessor is marked on the possessed noun. The latter is seen in (27)–(28). Example (28) is rather complex, with a Third conjugation prefix *lha-* for 2nd person (not for 3rd) instead of the *a-* 2.POS prefix. The example demonstrates that the determiner *pa=* effectively creates a DP from what would otherwise be an independent predication.

(26) *Yi-va'atsha ∅-caaj-ya-m*
1-PRO   3.CL$_1$-EXIST-1O-BEN
'I have it (the knife.)'

(27) *∅-caaj   ja-pi=napu'   yi-ch'injo-vot*
3.CL$_1$-EXIST   D$_2$-HUM.PL=two   1.POS-younger.brother-PL
'I have two younger brothers.' (Lit. 'My two younger brothers exist.')

(28) *∅-caaj   pa=lha-n-cashay-'esh*
3.CL$_1$-EXIST   D$_4$=2.CL$_3$.R-CIS-barter-INST
'Do you have anything to sell?' (Lit. 'It exists your selling/that which you barter with')

It should be pointed out that not everything which translates idiomatically into a possessive predication in English or Spanish is actually a possessive predication, i.e. with possessive force, in Nivaĉle. The following, for example, could be idiomatically translated into English and Spanish as 'The food has salt' / 'La comida tiene sal.' However, it is a Nivaĉle EXISTENTIAL predication.

(29) *na=vat-ôc   ∅-caaj   ca=na'apcutaj*
D$_1$=POS.INDEF-food   3.CL$_1$-EXIST   D$_3$=salt
'There is salt in the food.'

5.2   TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication construction (Heine's Goal schema)

The general structure of the TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication construction is sketched in (23) above. Like TYPE I, this construction is also built around the EXISTENTIAL construction, but it has the 'benefactive' applicative *-m* which effectively renders the existential copula. Hence, the 'exist' copula takes both a Fourth conjugation subject prefix and an applied object suffix (O) which expresses the person of the possessor. This is a type of External Possession construction (Payne & Barshi 1999). The presence of the 'benefactive' applicative is what renders this construction rather akin to Heine's Goal schema, wherein a possessor is expressed something like *Money is to me* for 'I have money'.

While TYPE I POSSESSIVE predication requires a possessive prefix (POS) on the possessed, TYPE II allows it optionally. Unlike the TYPE I construction, the TYPE II construction does not express the possessor in a DP. Example (30) shows this construction with a POS prefix on the possessed figure, while (31) shows the construction without a POS prefix.

(30) $\varnothing$-*caaj-ya-m*   *ja=yi-ĉlesa*   *lha-n-jut-yi-y*
   3.CL$_1$-EXIST-1.O-BEN D$_2$=1.POS-knife 2.CL$_4$.R-CIS-give-1.O-DIST
   'I have the knife you lent me.' (Lit. 'My knife you lent me exists for me.')

(31) $\varnothing$-*caaj-'a-m*   *lh-pa=vancansas lha-n-cashy-'esh*
   3.CL$_1$-EXIST-2.O-BEN F-D$_4$=mobile   2.CL$_4$.R-CIS-barter-INST
   'Do you have mobile phones to sell me?' (Lit. 'Mobile phones you barter with exist to you?')

Optionality of possessor marking on the possessed DP may show an intermediate stage between EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication constructions; but this awaits further diachronic research. Also needing further research are the motivations for choosing between TYPE I and TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication constructions. However, we venture to suggest that lack of a lexical possessor in the TYPE II construction may have something to do with greater discourse topicality of the possessor; or possibly TYPE II is more concerned with simply profiling the fact of the relationship between an already-established possessor and the possessed, akin to Seiler's (1983) characterization of possession quoted in the introduction.

5.3   NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction

As with the positive possessive predication constructions, there are two negative counterpart constructions. Both are built around the NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL *ôm/ am* 'neg.exist, be lacking'. In other respects, the constructions are identical to the TYPE I Genitive and the TYPE II Goal schemas discussed in §§ 5.1–5.2. Consider

examples (32–34) for the negative Genitive schema, with and without clause-initial DP possessors.[13]

(32) *nô-que=jpôyich Ø-am=pa lh-ashi-'a*
D$_1$-DEM=house 3.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST=D$_4$ 3.POS-mouth-IRR
'That house (visible) doesn't have a door.'

(33) *∅-ôm lha-pa=yi-tinshanja-'a*
3.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST F-D$_4$=1.POS-money-IRR
'I don't have any money.'

(34) … *lhayasha ca=ôm-a pa-pi=a-velhavôt-'elh*
because D$_3$=NEG.EXIST-IRR D$_4$-PL.HUM=2POS-relative-PL
'… because they did not have relatives…'

Example (35) illustrates the negative Goal schema, with the applied object suffix plus 'benefactive' on the negative existential copula.

(35) *Ø-am-'a-m lh-pa=a'-bicicleta*
3.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST-2.O-BEN F-D$_4$=2.POS-bike
'You don't have a bike.' (data from Fabre 2015: 25; our glossing)

(36) *Ø-am-ya-m lh-pa ca=tn-ôjque-a*
3.CL$_1$-NEG.EXIST-1.O-BEN F-D$_4$ D$_3$=INDEF.POS-jug-IRR
'I don't even have a jug.' (data from Fabre 2015: 25; our glossing)

5.4 Bi-clausal BE.AT construction

Throughout § 5 we have seen that possessive predications are built around the existential copulas, and not around the 'be at' copula introduced in § 3. Like the EXISTENTIAL predication and unlike the LOCATIVE predication, the POSSESSIVE predications (especially TYPE I) do not require a LOC suffix on the verb or any kind of locative on the possessor.[14] It is our contention that they therefore do not really support the "possession is location" proposal.

There is, however, a third construction that brings the existential and locative copulas together in predicating possession. This is a bi-clausal construction, at least

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13. Example (32) is also unusual in not having a determiner before 'its mouth'. Perhaps =pa on the negative existential satisfies the determiner requirement, or perhaps a negated non-referential mention is another situation where a determiner may be omitted (see the discussion of determiner Phrases in § 2).

14. Though conceivably some might propose that the 'benefactive' applicative is locative in its semantics.

in origin, that employs both the 'be located at' and 'exist' forms. Unlike the TYPE I and TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication constructions, the possessed DP apparently does not have the option of carrying a POS prefix.[15]

(37) Bi-clausal BE.AT-EXIST construction

y-i-ei	DP	1ST CONJ-*caaj / am*	DP
BE.AT	GROUND:POSSESSOR	FIGURE-EXIST	FIGURE:POSSESSED

In elicitation context, the Spanish translations suggested by consultants for utterances framed in this construction read rather like existential predications. Even if the semantics are more existential than possessive, conceivably this construction could be the opening wedge for developing what Stassen (2009: 57–62, 2013) calls a "Topic Possessive" construction:

> The Topic Possessive shares with the Locational and the Genitive Possessive the characteristic that the possessed NP is construed as the grammatical subject of the existential predicate. The distinguishing feature of the Topic Possessive lies in the encoding of the possessor NP, which is construed as the topic of the sentence. As such, the possessor NP indicates the "setting" or "background" of the sentence, that is, the discourse frame which restricts the truth value of the sentence that follows it. Its function can thus be paraphrased by English phrases such as *given X*, *with regard to X*, *speaking about X*, *as far as X is concerned*, and the like.   (Stassen 2013)

In the Nivaĉle BE.AT-EXIST construction, clause-initial *yiei* 'it is located' might functionally correspond to an 'as for X' phrase, introducing as GROUND the LOCATIVE-cum-POSSESSOR, where-at the THEME-cum-POSSESSED FIGURE exists. To the extent this analysis is warranted, it would give credence to the idea that human beings are wont to view human locations as "possessors". In the majority of our examples of this construction, however, the locations are inanimate.

(38) *y-i-ei*   *na=yita'* $\varnothing$-*caaj*   *ja-va=josinôjô*
      $3.CL_4.R$-BE.AT-LOC_1 D_1=mountain $3.CL_1$-EXIST D_2-PL.NONHUM=wild.turkey
      'There are wild turkeys (previously seen) in the mountain (visible).'
      (Possibly: 'As for the mountains, they have wild turkeys.')

(39) *y-i-ei*   *ja=jpôyich* $\varnothing$-*caaj*   *ja-pi=nivaĉle*
      $3.CL_4.R$-BE.AT-LOC_1 D_2=house $3.CL_1$-EXIST D_2-PL.HUM=person
      'There are people (previously seen) in the house (previously seen).'
      (Possibly: 'As for the house, it has people.')

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15. Fabre (2015) does not list this among his predicative possession types.

(40) *y-i-ei* *ja=jpôyich* *am=pa-pu-ca=nivaĉle'-a*
   3.CL$_4$.R-BE.AT-LOC$_1$ D$_2$=house NEG.EXIST=D$_4$-PL.HUM-DEM=person-IRR
   'There weren't people (never seen) in the house (previously seen).'
   (Possibly: 'As for the house, it didn't have people.')

6. Pilagá nonverbal predications[16]

We now turn to the Guaykuruan language Pilagá. Distinct copular verbs roughly translate as 'exist' versus two 'be located at' forms. As in Nivaĉle, 'exist' is used both in EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication, while 'be at' copulas are not used for possession.

Pilagá has distinct sets of verbal person prefixes that function in a type of split-S subject-marking system (Vidal 2008). Vidal refers to these as Sets A (roughly 'performer/source', with or without volition) and B (roughly 'affected'). The 'performer/source' versus 'affected' semantics appear to be a secondary development from a spatial direction or trajectory system in which the A forms correspond to 'itive' and the B forms to 'ventive'. A separate third set of verb prefixes codes objects of transitive verbs; some transitive verbs have subjects in the A form and others in the B form (Vidal 2008: 413). The basic singular forms of the prefix sets, which display considerable allomorphy in the third person, are in (41).

(41)   Set A subject prefixes   Set B subject prefixes
   1 *s-*   *ɲ-*
   2 *aw- / o-*   *an-*
   3 *d-, t-, i-/yi-, h-, w-, Ø* *n-*
      Object prefixes
   1 *yi- / ɲi-*
   2 *an-*
   3 Ø

Nominal phrases are initiated by a "specifying" element consisting of either a positional/deictic classifier (CLF), a demonstrative, or a combination of both (Vidal

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16. As we have done for Nivaĉle, we use practical orthography forms for Pilagá data. Pilagá has four vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o/, represented as <a, e, i, o>. Consonant phonemes /p, t, k, q, ʔ, d, g, ʕ, s, x, h, t͡ʃ, l, ʎ, m, n, ɲ, j, w with allophones [w ~ β] / are represented as <p, t, c, q, ', d, g, ʕ, s, j, h, č, l, λ, m, n, ñ, y, w/ƀ>. Note that < ʕ > represents a pharyngeal fricative. The practical Pilagá orthography was established by representatives and school teachers in 1997. Conventions generally follow a phoneme-based view except for [w] and [β] that are in complementary distribution, but each allophone was assigned a separate orthographic representation, i.e., <w> and <ƀ>, respectively. See Vidal (2001) for more discussion.

1997, 2001). A classifier, demonstrative, gender, and/or plural morphemes may combine together into a complex DP-initial word, e.g.:

(42) *ha-da-ča-lo* *yawo-'*
F-CLF:VERTICAL.EXTENSION-DEM-PL woman-PL.PAUCAL
'those women standing' (Vidal 2001: 123)

The deictic classifiers participate in a system of "nominal tense"; for example, the ITIVE or 'going away' classifier *so'* can not only indicate an 'absent' referent, but also can help yield the meaning of 'past tense' to the predication. The VENTIVE classifier *na'* indicates both 'coming toward' and 'proximate/near'. The DISTAL classifier *ga'* also indicates 'absent'. (Note that we gloss these classifiers in various ways, depending on the context.)

Possessor prefixes marking person of the possessor occur on inalienable nouns. Lexical possessors follow the possessed noun. In clauses with lexical verbs, subjects precede their verbs, while objects follow them.

(43) *so'* *siyaʃawa* *y-anem* *ha-so'* *nalo* *ha-ñi'* *yawo*
CLF:PAST man A.3-give F-CLF:PAST fruit F-CLF:NONEXT woman
'The man gave the fruit to the woman.'

We now turn to Pilagá non-verbal LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSIVE predication constructions. In Pilagá the negative counterparts of all share the same negative copula, so they are treated together in § 10 in order to more clearly show the similarities and differences among them.

7. The Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction

At the highest level, the structure of the Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction (44) is essentially identical to its Nivaĉle counterpart.

(44) Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction

(DP)	SUBJ-*eta*-LOC	DP
|	|	|
FIGURE:THEME	FIGURE-BE.AT	GROUND:LOCATION

In Pilagá there are two third person forms of 'be at', *weta* and *neta:*

(45) *qalaʃasa* *da'* *w-eta-ñ'a* *na'* *alewa …*
but COMP A.3-BE.AT-LOC:DOWNWARD CLF:PROX land
'But when it is on the ground …'

(46) *na'*   *nikiyaꞔaki*   *n-eta-da-ñ'a*   *kal'i di'*   *alewa*
CLF:PROX plates   B.3-BE.LOC-PL-LOC:on ADV CLF.EXT floor
'The plates were on the floor.'

(47) *so'*   *ɓiaq*   *l-t'a*   *n-eta-we*   *he'n ɓiaq*
CLF:PAST forest POS.3-father B.3-BE-AT-LOC:WITHIN DEM forest
'The father of the forest is within the forest.'

(48)   a.   *so'*   *Asien*   *n-eta-lege*   *so'*
           CLF:PAST Asien B.3-BE.AT-LOC:ON CLF:PAST
           la-lo
           POS.3-CLF:domestic.animal
           'Asien appeared on his domestic animal (donkey),
  b.   *n-eta-lege*   *so'*   *la-lo-asena*
           B.3-BE.AT-LOC:ON CLF:PAST POS.3-CLF:DOMESTIC.ANIMAL-donkey
           wayodaꞔa-ik.
           be.crippled-M
           'he was on his crippled donkey.'

As glossed above, *weta* and *neta* appear to be the Set A and Set B inflected variants of a single root *eta*, as the form *(w)eta* can inflect for other persons:

(49) *Da'*   *so-weta-ñ'a*   *ñi'*
COMP A.1-BE.AT-LOC:DOWNWARD CLF:NONEXT
n-adie-wo …
POS.INDF-way-DIR:ENCLOSED.SPACE
'When I am in the entryway (door) …'

(50) *on-eta-n'ye*   *na'*   *y-adik*
B.2-BE.AT-LOC:MIDDLE CLF:PROX POS.1-way
'You are in my way.'

The examples above demonstrate that the Pilagá 'be at' copula must carry a directional/locative (LOC) suffix, just as in Nivaĉle. This suffix does not just delimit the nature of the GROUND; rather it further specifies the relationship between the FIGURE and the GROUND.

The locative copula *(w)eta/neta* is not used for negative locational predications. Instead denial of a location can be inferred from use of the negative existential (§ 10).[17]

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17. Or it may be inferred from negation of a classifier, which we do not discuss here.

8. The Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction

The Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE EXISTENTIAL construction is noteworthy for its apparent propensity to not include a "locational" GROUND. It is initiated by the (generally) non-inflecting base *w'o* (variant *wo'e*), followed by a DP expressing the item whose existence is predicated. Though there may not be any GROUND to mutually co-define a FIGURE, we will nevertheless refer to the existing item as a FIGURE (or THEME). In nearly all cases, the FIGURE follows 'exist'. The structure is sketched in (51), and typical examples follow.

(51) Pilagá EXISTENTIAL construction

w'o	DP
|	|
EXIST	FIGURE:THEME
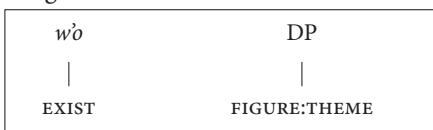
(52) *w'o   so'   siyaɾawa*
     EXIST CLF:PAST   person
     'There was a person.'

The EXISTENTIAL construction is a typical way of saying the equivalent of 'Once there was a day…' to initiate a story or section of a narrative:

(53) *w'o   so'   nlo' so'   waɾayaqal'ačiyi qataɾa*
     EXIST CLF:PAST day   CLF:PAST fox   CONJ
     so'   doqoto'
     CLF:PAST pigeon
     'There was a day when the fox and the pigeon (got together).'

(54) *qanč'e w'o   na'=ena'   siyak-pi   l-asaɾa-ta-yi*
     CONJ   EXIST CLF:PROX=CLF.PROX animal-PL A.3-laugh-PRG-PL
     čegoɾonae qataɾa he'n siñet napam   yima na
     rat   CONJ   DEM   pichi armadillo QNT   CLF:PROX
     t'a-e   ledema.
     small-F   hare
     'There were many animals laughing (at them): the rat and the pichi, the armadillo, all of them, (even) the little hare.'

Though *w'o* is generally non-inflecting, the following example does show inflection both for third person and plural:

(55) *ya-w'o-te   so'   l-taɾayaɾa-'-g*
     A.3-EXIST-PL.DUAL CLF:PAST   POS.3-talk-PL.3-DIR:IN.FRONT
     'They had a talk.' / 'There existed their talk.'

Some variation in order is possible in particular complex constructions. Consider the following where *w'o* intervenes between the FIGURE whose existence is predicated and a clausal modifier of the FIGURE:

(56) | *qanč'e* | *naa'n* | *kote* | *w'o* | *eda* | *ye-to* | *na* | *siyaʃawa* |
|------|---------|--------|-------|-------|--------|------|-----------|
| CONJ | ADV | piraña | EXIST | COMP | A.3-bite | CLF:PROX | person |

'so until now sometimes there is a piraña that bites a person.'

As noted, the structure in (51) above reflects the strong propensity of this construction not to include a ground. In one rare example in our corpus, a GROUND element occurs in a subordinate clause that could be construed as a type of relative-clause modifier to the FIGURE:

(57) | *segam'e* | *w'o* | *da'* | *onaʃa-ik* | *da'* | *čiyaqa-yi* | *qataʃa* |
|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|
| seems | EXIST | COMP | be.good-M | COMP | emanate-DIR:INSIDE | CONJ |

w'o	*da'*	*sa-no'en*
EXIST	COMP	NEG-be.better

'In his work there is the good and the bad.' (Lit. '(It) seems the good that emanates from the work exists and the bad exists.'

9. Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication constructions

As in Nivaĉle, both the positive and negative Pilagá POSSESSIVE predication constructions are built around the EXISTENTIAL constructions. Unlike Nivaĉle, there is just one AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication structure. The possessed DP carries a possessor (POS) prefix, so the construction corresponds to Heine's (1997: 58) Genitive schema. That is, the construction literally reads 'X's Y exists'.[18]

(58) Pilagá AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction (Heine's Genitive schema)

(DP)	*w'o*	POS-DP
GROUND:POSSESSOR	EXIST	POSSESSOR-FIGURE:POSSESSED
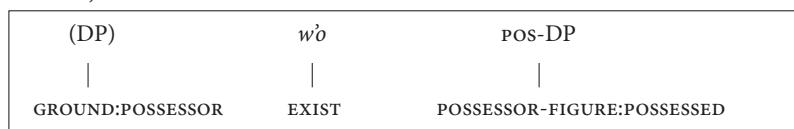
Though we have presented the DP$_{POSSESSOR}$ first in the diagram in (58), the examples below show that the DP$_{POSSESSOR}$ may occur at the beginning of the clause (59),

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18. Some nouns in Pilagá cannot be possessed. How these nouns functions relative to the POSSESSIVE predication construction awaits further research.

after the DP$_{POSSESSED}$ (60), or may be omitted (61–62). Separate DPs are sometimes bracketed here for clarity.

(59) [*so'*   *koñem*]   *w'o*   [*so'*   *maeč'e   la-wan-aʃan-qa'*]
CLF:PAST skunk   EXIST CLF:PAST proper POS.3-hide-NMLZ-place
da'   *n-awa-n*   *na'*   *owaqae*
CLF:VERT.EXTEND B.3-watch.over-NPROG CLF:PROX pig.species
'The skunk has its proper (own) hiding place to catch the little pig.'

(60) *w'o* [*da'*   *l-odiak*]   [*so'*   *qaño-le*].
EXIST CLF:VERT.EXTEND POS.3-beauty CLF:PAST young-F
'The young woman was very pretty.' i.e. 'The young woman has her beauty.' (Lit. 'Her beauty exists the young woman.')

(61) *qataʃa w'o*   [*da'*   *maeč'e l-oiki-aʃak*]   *qane'*
CONJ   EXIST CLF:VERT.EXTEND proper POS.3-curse-NMLZ   REPORT
sa-qo-i-set-aʃat   *da'*   *qo-i-la-'a*
NEG-INDEF-A.3-be.able-NMLZ CLF:VERT.EXTEND INDF-A.3-see-O.SG
wač'e   d-ananaʃa-ik.
CONJ   A.3-have.magic-M
'But he is said to have a proper curse, a power that cannot be seen because it is magic.'

(62) *w'o   da'   l-wa*
EXIST CLF:VERT.EXTEND POS.3-spouse
'She has a husband (I see him standing).'

To summarize, just as we saw for Nivaĉle, in Pilagá the non-verbal AFFIRMATIVE POSSESSIVE predication constructions have developed from the EXISTENTIAL predication construction (or vice-versa), and clearly not from the LOCATIVE one.

10. Pilagá negative constructions

In the negative domain there is a reduction in number of copular forms. The NEG-ATIVE LOCATIVE, NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL, and NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication constructions all use the negative forms listed in (63). Unlike Nivaĉle there is no distinct negative 'not be located at' copula. There are several negative existential forms, varying for animacy and number (though agreement does not seem strict).

(63) Negative existential forms
a. *qaga'* / *qaga'te* 'NEG.EXIST.ANIMATE'
b. *qaya'* / *qaya'te* 'NEG.EXIST.INANIMATE'
c. *qayawa*   'NEG.EXIST.PL'

However, there are some differences across the three negative constructions. We presented schemas for the positive constructions earlier, and present all the negative ones here. First, in the NEGATIVE LOCATIVE, the 'negative exist' copula occurs first, followed by DP$_{GROUND:LOCATION}$ and DP$_{FIGURE:THEME}$, which may vary in order relative to each other. This is indicated by the tilde ~ in (64). The DP$_{GROUND}$ is obligatory.

(64)   Pilagá NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction

qaga'/qaya'	DP		DP
|	|		|
NEG.EXIST	FIGURE:THEME	~	GROUND:LOCATION

The following allows either the animate or inanimate negative existential as it refers to a technically inanimate bicycle, yet the word *pegaaki'i* is a compound literally meaning 'like an horse' (which of course is animate). The predication is locational in the sense that 'my bicycle' clearly exists but it is being asserted that it just is not in a particular location.

(65)   *qaya'/qaga'*   *ha-so'*   *yi-lo- pegaaki'i*   *ñi'*   *emek*
       NEG.EXIST.INAN   F-CLF:PAST   POS.1-CLF:animal-bicycle   CLF:NONEXT   house
       'My bicycle was not in the house.'

The following has just the inanimate negative existential. The bird exists and was present in the past but is now gone, indicated by the classifier *so'* (Vidal 1997, 2001; see also 48 above).

(66)   *qaya'*   *so'*   *mayo*   *ha-da'*   *epaq*
       NEG.EXIST.INAN   CLF:PAST   bird   F-CLF:VERT.EXTEND   tree
       'The bird is not in the tree.' (I do not see the bird, the bird is not there).

In (63) we suggest that *qaga'* is a negative for animates and *qaya'* is a negative for inanimates. Since locations are typically inanimate we might expect that *qaga'* would not occur in the NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication construction, but this turns out to be false. *Qaga'* 'NEG.EXIST.ANIM' can occur in the LOCATIVE predication to negate the existence of an animate being in a location; the DP locative complement is required, which is what differentiates this construction from the EXISTENTIAL predication. As in (67–68), the locative *lačaqa* 'his/her house' may occur either at the end of the sentence or immediately after *qaga'*:

(67)   *qaga'*   [*na'*   *i-wa*]   [*l-ačaqa*]
       NEG.EXIST.ANIM   CLF:PROX   POS.1-spouse   POS.3-house
       'My spouse is not in her house.' (Lit. 'My spouse does not exist at her house.')

(68) *qaga'*   [*l-ačaqa*]   [*so'*   *yi-wa*]
      NEG.EXIST.ANIM POS.3-house CLF:PAST POS.1-spouse
      'My husband is not in his house.' (because he left)
      (Lit. 'My husband does not exist in his house.')

Like its affirmative counterpart, the NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL predication construction (69) is also a one-place predicate.

(69) Pilagá NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL predication construction

qaga'/qaya'	DP
|	|
NEG.EXIST	FIGURE:THEME

(70) *qaya'*   *noɣop*
      NEG.EXIST water
      'There's no water.'

(71) *qanač'e yem nač'e ñ-'emaɾa-ñe*   *ha-so*   *yawo*
      CONJ   finish CONJ B.3-turn.around-CMPLET F-CLF:ABSENT woman
      nač'e ek tae-'ta   di'   *ɓiaq nač'e qaga'*
      CONJ go go-DIR:AWAY CLF:HORIZ.EXTEND forest CONJ NEG.EXIST.ANIM
      'Then the woman turned around and returned to the forest and disappeared
      (Lit. … and doesn't exist).'

(72) *qaga'te*   *yawo-'*
      NEG.EXIST.ANIM woman-PL
      'There are/were no women.'

(73) *da' yi-ɓi-ta   di'*   *wo'e   da'*
      COMP A.3-burn-NMLZ CLF:HORIZ.EXTEND summer COMP
      qayat'e   noɣop …
      NEG.EXIST.INAN water
      'In summer when there is no water ….'

The NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction is characterized by a POS prefix on the DP$_{FIGURE:POSSESSED}$ and a dominantly post-verbal but optional DP$_{GROUND:POSSESSOR}$ (74).

(74) Pilagá NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction

qaga'/qaya'	POS-DP	(DP)
|	|	|
EXIST	POSSESSOR-FIGURE:POSSESSED	GROUND:POSSESSOR

Like its affirmative counterpart, the Pilagá NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication involves Heine's Genitive schema: 'X's Y does not exist' could be translated as 'X does not have Y.' The available examples of the NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE predication construction place the DP_{POSSESSOR} last:

(75) *qaya'*   [*l-ačaqa*]   [*da'*   *yi-wa*]
      NEG.EXIST.INAN POS.3-house CLF:VERT.EXTEND POS.1-spouse
      'My husband does not have a house.' (Lit. 'His house does not exist my spouse.')

(76) *qaya'*   [*l-ačaqa*]   [*na'*   *yi-wa*]
      NEG.EXIST.INAN POS.3-house CLF:PROX POS.1-spouse
      'My spouse does not have a house.' (Lit. 'Her house does not exist my spouse.')

In essence what is being negated in (75–76) is the existence of the inanimate 'my house'; this correlates with use of the inanimate negative existential *qaya'*. Compare these with the NEGATIVE LOCATIVES in (65–68) above and also observe that the 'negative existential' reading does not exist for (75–76). This is because the 'existential' meaning of *qaga'* is conventionally tied to 'negative existence for humans'.

Though all three negative constructions share the same copular elements, there are arguably still more similarities between the NEGATIVE POSSESSIVE and EXISTENTIAL predications compared to the NEGATIVE LOCATIVE predication. This can be seen by the ambiguity in (77). There is no locative complement and thus the locative reading cannot be obtained. Only the 'negative existential' and 'negative possessive' readings surface. Here either the spouse is contingently away from the house (77a), or permanently away from it since he/she is dead (77b). The positional classifier *di'* for horizontally extended referents in (77b) unambiguously indicates that the human referent is dead and consequently nonexistent. Conversely, in (77a) the spouse is classified by the deictic classifier *na'* which typically categorizes kinship terms or people close to the domain of the speaker (i.e., 'proximal'), as a semantic extension of the motion feature 'coming towards here' (Vidal 1997, 2001: 341).

(77) a. *qaga'*   *na'*   *i-wa*
          NEG.EXIST.ANIM CLF:PROX POS.1-spouse
          Possession/Existence
          'I do not have a spouse.' / 'My spouse does not exist.' (Lit. 'My spouse does not exist.')

      b. *qaga'*   *di'*   *i-wa*
          NEG.EXIST.ANIM CLF:HORIZ.EXTEND POS.1-spouse
          Possession/Existence
          'I do not have a spouse' (because he/she is dead).' / 'My deceased spouse does not exist.'

In (78) a possessed DP follows the existential form. This might suggest a 'possession' predication interpretation, but the force of the predication seems equally 'existential'.

(78) *qayawa*   *na'*   *so-nqatadañi*
NEG.EXIST.PL CLF:PROX POS.1-hunting.preys
'There is nothing we hunt' (='There is nothing for us to hunt'.)
(Lit. 'Our hunting prey don't exist.')

In (79) there is no possessor prefix (*y-alik* is inflected like a verb), but otherwise the macro-structure of the clause parallels that of (78). Here the existential reading seems paramount.

(79) *qaya'te*   *y-alik*
NEG.EXIST A.1-eat
'There is nothing I eat.' (= 'There is nothing for me to eat.')

To summarize, we may say that 'negative existential' ('There is no X'), 'negative possession' ('There is no X (for/of) Y'), and 'negative location' ('X is not located at Y') are all conventionalized meanings of the bases *qaga'/qaya'* since these forms are found in all three predication types. But there are subtle differences among the negative constructions, particularly between the LOCATIVE on the one hand and the EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE on the other. Notably, there is some ambiguity between the 'existential' and 'possessive' readings of particular sentences; but not ambiguity with 'locative' readings. Again we conclude that despite use of the same negative copula in all three constructions, there must be greater conceptual affinity between the 'existential' and the 'possession' notions.

11. Conclusions and contact issues

We have argued that in both Nivaĉle and Pilagá, non-verbal POSSESSIVE predication constructions are built on the EXISTENTIAL predication construction. Both languages have LOCATIVE predication constructions, but these are not extended to express possession. Aside from the Nivaĉle TYPE II POSSESSIVE predication construction, a primary difference between the EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSION constructions is that the latter marks the possessor directly on the possessed DP (i.e. a DP-internal device), but there is no change in the basic nature of the copular (existential) element. The LOCATIVE predication construction has both a distinct copula and a locative suffix.

The findings presented here do not support the universality of a "possession-is-location" claim, contrary to what seems to be articulated by Lyons (1967, 1977),

Freeze (2001), and others. But they also clearly do not throw out the existence of a "possession-is-location" metaphor as operative in some languages. Indeed, the fact that the same negative copula occurs in Pilagá for negative location, negative possession, and negative existence supports a conceptual link between all three notions (as was argued by Clark 1978). The potential strength of a conceptual relationship between existence and possession has not been robustly explored in the literature, and it merits greater typological investigation as this is not the first study to comment on a link between existential and possession predications (again see Clark 1978 and Dryer 2007: 242–243).

Finally, we turn to some brief comments on potential contact issues between Pilagá and Nivaĉle. There appear to be a number of similarities between the languages in their non-verbal constructions investigated in this paper. The similarities are summarized in Tables 2 and 3. Both languages use distinct copulas for the AFFIRMATIVE LOCATIONAL predication construction on the one hand versus for the EXISTENCE/POSSESSION predication constructions on the other. In both, LOC suffixes are on the affirmative 'be at' copulas. Both have suppletive negative copulas. There are also order similarities across most of the corresponding constructions (Tables 2 and 3). The copular elements are indicated in bold.

Table 2. Nivaĉle and Pilagá LOCATIONAL predication constructions

	Nivaĉle			Pilagá		
AFFIRM	DP$_{FIGURE}$	**BE.AT**-LOC	DP$_{GROUND}$	DP$_{FIGURE}$	**BE.AT**-LOC	DP$_{GROUND}$
NEG	DP$_{FIGURE}$	NEG-**BE.AT**-LOC	DP$_{GROUND}$		**NEG.EXIST**	DP$_{FIGURE}$ ~ DP$_{GROUND}$

Table 3. Nivaĉle and Pilagá EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predication constructions

	Nivaĉle		Pilagá			
EXIST	DP$_{GROUND}$	**EXIST**	DP$_{FIGURE}$		**EXIST**	DP$_{FIGURE}$
POSSN	(DP$_{GROUND}$)	**EXIST**	POS-DP$_{FIGURE\ TYPE\ I}$	(DP$_{GROUND}$)	**EXIST**	POS-DP$_{FIGURE}$
		EXIST-BEN	(POS-)DP$_{FIGURE\ TYPE\ II}$			
NEG EXIST	DP$_{GROUND}$	**NEG.EXIST**	DP$_{FIGURE}$		**NEG.EXIST**	DP$_{FIGURE}$
NEG	(DP$_{GROUND}$)	**NEG.EXIST**	POS-DP$_{FIGURE\ TYPE\ I}$		**NEG.EXIST**	POS-DP$_{FIGURE}$ DP$_{GROUND}$
POSSN		**NEG.EXIST**-BEN	(POS-)DP$_{FIGURE\ TYPE\ II}$			

To answer whether the shared features are due to contact, one must investigate whether Nivaĉle and Pilagá share something unique that the other members of their respective families do not. We cannot really explore the details of this question in this paper, but do note that the existing literature demonstrates that the non-verbal PREDICATE location, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSION structures of Nivaĉle and Pilagá are, for the most part, found in related languages in both families (Gerzenstein 1994; Nercesian 2011; Carol 2011; Fabre 2015).

On the whole the distinct sets of 'be at' versus 'exist' copular verbs are cognate across the languages within each individual family.

In at least the Mataguayan languages Nivaĉle, Maká, and Chorote, the 'be at' verb employed in the LOCATIVE predication constructions do not appear to be cognate with the 'exist' verb. (Wichí is the most divergent Mataguayan language, using one verb *i(hi)* for LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE predications.) In Guaykuruan, we have nothing particular to say at the moment about whether the 'be at' *(w)eta* and 'exist' *wʾo* have distinct etymologies.

Relative to the predicative possession schemas in the sense of Heine (1997), the Mataguayan language Maká exhibits Goal and Genitive schemas cognate to those in Nivaĉle.

Altogether, given such intra-family cognate constructions, the shared similarities across Nivaĉle and Pilagá in the constructions discussed in this paper are unlikely due to contact directly between those two languages. This does not rule out potential contact at higher nodes, nor widespread areal convergence influences.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1	first person	DEM	demonstrative
2	second person	DIR	directional
3	third person	DIST	distal
A	Set A pronominal prefixes	EXIST	existential verb
ADV	temporal adverb	F	feminine
ANTIP	antipassive	HORIZ.EXTEND	horizontally extended
ANIM	animate	HUM	human
B	Set B pronominal prefixes	INAN	inanimate
BEN	benefactive	INDF	indefinite
CIS	cislocative	INS	instrumental
CL	verb class	IRR	irrealis
CLF	classifier	LOC	locative suffix
CMPLET	completive	M	masculine
COMP	complementizer	NEG.EXIST	negative existential verb
CONJ	conjunction	NMLZ	nominalizer
D	determiner	NONEXT	non-extended

NONHUM	non-human	PRO	pronoun
NPRG	non-progressive	PRG	progressive
O	object	QNT	quantifier
PAST	past time interpretation	R	realis
PL	plural	REPORT	reportative
POS	possessor person prefix	VERT.EXTEND	vertically extended

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