1. Data

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<td>(1) nara-gui</td>
<td>(2) bajar aryana-gui</td>
<td>(3) xator-a-gui</td>
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<td>ustr sun-NEG</td>
<td>day sun-NEG</td>
<td>dance-PS-T NEG</td>
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<td>‘sunless day’</td>
<td>‘Bair without Aryuna’</td>
<td>‘doesn’t dance’</td>
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1.1 Prenominal gui

- Resulting adjectives can be coordinated with other derivative (4) or non-derivative (5) adjectives:
  (4) ung-gui bu ams-try uʃ an color-NEG and taste-COM food ‘colorless and tasteful food’
  (5) nara-gui bu mu udor sun-NEG and bad day ‘sunless and bad day’

- Prenominal gui cannot be attached to referential noun phrases (6);
  (6) * aryana-gui bajar aryana-NEG | bair
  * Exp.: ‘Bair without Aryuna’

- It is impossible to derive a privative adjective from another adjective (7).
  (7) * mug-gui udor bad-NEG | day
  * Exp.: ‘not bad day’

1.2 Postnominal gui

- When displayed after the head noun, the gui-phrase is usually translated by informants as a prepositional phrase (8);
  (8) bajar kina-ds aryana-gui ok-o | bair cinema-DAT aryana-NEG go-DPPV ‘Bair went to the cinema without Aryuna.’

- There is no constraint on referentiality of the complement of postnominal gui: it can be either referent (9) or non-referent (10).
  (9) tu-ran-ds na xabun-gui hir be-n0 | she-DAT this boy-NEG good be-PRS ‘Without this guy she feels better.’
  (10) damba te sux-gui u-n0 | damba tea sugar-NEG drink-PRS ‘Damba drinks tea without sugar.’

1.3 Verbal gui

- Verbal gui can only be used with indicative tenses. It can only be located before the subject agreement marker (11);
  (11) aʃ al-gui-gor aligas-ʃi | bara-xa-gui-a | work-CAR-INST river.perch-S1 | catch-OUT-NEG-2SG
  ‘Without work you can’t catch any perch.’ (* ‘A cat in gloves catches no mice.’)

- * lì-utàn-gui | roast-3SG-NEG | Exp.: ‘let him not cook’

2. Buryat background

According to Sanhjeev (1962) and Nugteren (2003) i.e., marker gui is a form of the existential negator íigel (13).

(13) nam-ds ulan myaʃik ugei | 1SG-STR red ball NEG.COP

‘I don’t have a red ball.’

But only verbal gui can have íigel as its substitutor, cf. (14, 15, 16).

(14) VERBAL NEGATOR
  a. bì hurl-ìgi orxi-xa-gui-b | 1SG school drop-out-OUT-NEG-1SG
  b. bì hurl-ìgi orxi-xa | u-gei-b | 1SG school drop-out-OUT NEG.COP-1SG
  ‘I won’t drop out of school.’

(15) PRENONOMINAL NEGATOR
  * nara ugei | udor sun NEG.COP day
  Exp.: ‘Sunless day’

(16) POSTNOMINAL NEGATOR
  * bajar kina-ds aryana ugei ok-o | bair cinema-STR aryana NEG.COP go-DPPV | Exp.: ‘Bair went to the cinema without Aryuna.’

3. Puzzle

- Why does gui-affix (but not the full form íigel) take as its complement constituents that do not form a natural class?
- How many gui’s are there in Buryat?
- If more than one, then how are they connected?

4. Analysis

In our analysis we accept the model of grammaticalization of negative items in Mongolian proposed by Yu (1991).

- NEGATIVE WORD, POSSIBLY VERB -> NEGATIVE AUXILIARY OR ADVERB -> NEGATIVE SUFFIX

(17) NEGATIVE WORD, POSSIBLY VERB
  bi ulan mjaceg ugei-b | ball
  ‘I don’t have a red ball.’

(18) NEGATIVE AUXILIARY OR ADVERB
  nam-ds ulan myaʃik ugei | 1SG-DAT red ball NEG.COP
  ‘I don’t have a red ball.

(19) NEGATIVE SUFFIX
  tero konʃta gui-xa-gui he sweet ask-OUT-NEG
  ‘She won’t ask for sweets.’

The verbal gui is posed after TAM markers, but before subject-verb agreement markers, so we claim that it is located between TP and AgrSIP projections (e.g. as in Haegeman, 1995).

In our view, both nominal gui-phrases are formed as PredP within which gui locates in the head-Pred position. DP or NP, absence of which gui is marking, is posed in the complement position, i.e., in the scope of negation.

When posed after the head noun, as it was claimed by Joseph (1990), such predicate can undergo predicative-to-preposition conversion:

“Postal (1955) has proposed that some predicates undergo a demotion to one of several sub-predicate relations, and it may be that one of these relations can be used in motivating the prepositional behavior of predicates such as μu (Greek comitative-preposition, author’s note); however, such a suggestion remains to be worked out, for μu and for any natural language preposition that is to be treated as an initial predicate.”

See also the Small Clause analysis for norwegian clauses introduced by med ‘with’ in (Ramm 2012). Resulting PredP (PP) sententially occurs as a verbal adjunct (Erelt 2008).

When located before the head noun, constituent marked abessive can also be interpreted as an adjective (Hamari 2011). See (Morita 2005) for an analogous analysis for some adjectives in Japanese.

5. Conclusion

All three instances of the affix gui are closely connected with each other through processes of grammaticalization and reinterpretation.

Verbal negator gui is a result of grammaticalization of the negative affix íigel ‘to be absent’. In the modern Buryat language it serves as negative verbal indicative affix; its projection is located between TP and AgrSIP levels, cf. Figure 1.

Prenominal and postnominal gui’s are of the same origin: both are PredP’s adjoining to the structure, gui is located in the head Pred position and has absentee as its complement (cf. Figure 2). When disposing before the head noun, then adjectival interpretation is switched on; when gui-phrase is postnominal, then it is interpreted as postpositional phrase.

References


