Grammatical Phenomena of Sino-Tibetan Languages 5

Diversity of Negation

シナ＝チベット系諸言語の文法現象 5
否定の多様性

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林　範彦・池田　巧 編

Preface

Negation is one of the most attractive yet difficult topics in linguistics. Every language, whether modern or ancient, has certain strategies for expressing negation, which may make it easier to compare the linguistic features of negation between similar languages as well as explore the diachronic changes through historical analyses. However, the Sino-Tibetan languages, which although are affiliated to a single language family, exhibit enigmatic problems regarding negation in the field of linguistic typology and historical linguistics, for example, morphological diversity of negative forms, syntactic variation, syntax-pragmatic interface, etc. To solve these issues, Sino-Tibetan linguistic experts need to initiate more detailed linguistic descriptions and analyses.

Our project held two workshops on negation in the context of Sino-Tibetan languages. The first workshop was annexed as a special session of IACL-27; it was held at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies on May 11, 2019. It included the following presentations.

Workshop on the Diversity of Sino-Tibetan Negation Phenomena
1. HAYASHI Norihiko（林範彦）：
   Introduction: Research project on negation phenomena in Sino-Tibetan languages
2. 宮島和也（MIYAJIMA Kazuya）：
   上古汉语否定词的多样性：否定词体系的再研究
   [On the diversity of negation markers in Old Chinese: Restudy of negation system.]
3. 鈴木博之（SUZUKI Hiroyuki）：
   从"哪"到"不"：云南迪庆藏语的语法化否定词
   [From 'where' to 'not': Grammaticalized negation form in the local Khams Tibetan in Diqing, Yunnan.]
4. SHIRAI Satoko（白井聡子）：
   Negation forms in nDrapa
5. IWASA Kazue（岩佐一枝）：
   An outline of negation in the Yi languages

The second workshop was held under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, on January 11–12, 2020. Three international guest speakers were invited.

Workshop on Negation and Sino-Tibetan Languages 2
1. LIN You-jing（林 幼菁）（Guest: Peking University 北京大学）
   Negation in rGyalrong.

2. KATO Atsuhiko（加藤昌彦）
   Negation in Pwo Karen.
3. Timotheus Adrianus BODT（Guest: PD researcher, SOAS London）
   Negation strategies in Kho-Bwa.
4. KIRYU Kazuyuki（桐生和幸）
   Negation patterns in Meche.
5. OCHIAI Izumi（落合いずみ）
   Negators in Atayalic languages from a comparative viewpoint.
6. Weera OSTAPIRAT（Guest: Mahidol University）
   On Sino-Tai.

These two workshops were conducted as important research activities of the Research Project: Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (JSPS KAKENHI) (S) 18H05219, "A Study on the Historical Development of the Sino-Tibetan Languages and their Typological Geography" (headed by IKEDA Takumi). The aim of this research is twofold—first, to investigate the geographical diversity and continuity among Sino-Tibetan languages; and second, to analyze common linguistic features to trace their historical developments from the viewpoints of diachronic and contact linguistics.

Based on the above two workshops, this volume compiles eleven papers on the diversity of negation phenomena in the Sino-Tibetan languages. Each contributor has been carrying out linguistic fieldwork and/or deciphering historical documents to understand the linguistic features of this language family for several years. The editors hope that the volume makes a substantial contribution to the research in the Sino-Tibetan language family and linguistic typology.

The editors express sincere gratitude to the language consultants and supporters of the research project. Additionally, we highly appreciate the academic and financial support from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (18H05219), without which the publication of this volume would have been impossible.

Last but not least, through global academic communication and cooperation, our research project shall continue to conduct advanced studies on Sino-Tibetan grammatical phenomena.

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Editors

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Negation in the Sino-Tibetan Context
—A Brief Introduction—

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Summary

This paper is a brief overview of the typological features of negation in the Sino-Tibetan (ST) languages (with two branches, Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman languages), utilizing the data of many previous descriptive works and data I gathered by myself. This paper discusses the features of phonology, word order, tense/aspect, morphology, syntax/semantics, and illocutionary acts.

Phonologically, Sinitic languages usually have plosive and nasal onsets for negative morphemes, while Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages mostly have negative forms derived from Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) *ma*-.

Most Sinitic and TB languages are of the preverbal negation type, whereas postverbal negation type can be found in Northeast India and Bangladesh, the double type (cooccurring preverbal and postverbal negatives) can be found in Nepal and in Karenic languages.

Some Sinitic and TB languages employ different forms for tense/aspect distinctions that show suppletion or vowel alternation, whereas Burmese "tense" distinctions are neutralized in negation.

Many TB negative morphemes are morphologically clitics or affixes. The negative markers in some ST languages are fused with the copula, auxiliary verbs, or aspectual markers.

As for semantic features, some languages with negative-polarity items, such as Mandarin and Duhumbi, have a structural "double negative," which is construed as single negation.

Many ST languages mostly have prohibitive forms derived from PTB *ta* ⋉ *da*, while some languages, such as Burmese, utilize concordance with a sentence-final marker to represent the prohibitive.

Key words: Negation, Sino-Tibetan, Typology, Historical Linguistics, Areal Linguistics

关键词：否定、汉藏语、类型学、历史语言学、地域语言学

1. Introduction

Hashimoto (1978) is widely viewed as a milestone in work on the linguistics of Eastern Eurasia. His macrolinguistic perspectives shed light on the strong relationship between the geographical distribution and linguistic structures of regional languages based on a huge amount of the linguistic data and highlighting typological profiles of some principal languages. He discussed the historical development of negative (negational) elements in East Asian languages (ibid.: 83–93); his discussion is summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1   Regional Shift of Negative Particles (Adapted from Hashimoto 1978: 83–85)[1]

North

Mongol	Manchu	Sibe			
гүй	(a)ku	aqu			
Nanchang	**Changhe**	**Hefei**	**Xi'an**	**Beijing**	**Dungan**
pət	pu	pəʔ	pu	pu	бу
Wenzhou	**Suzhou**				
fu	fəʔ				
Cantonese	**Swatow**	**Meixian**	**Amoy**	**Fuzhou**	
m̩	m̩	m̩	m̩	ŋ	
Zhuang	Tai Lue	Shan	Tai Dam		
m̩	m̩	m̩	m̩		
Khmer	Thai	Sani	Lisu	Lahu	Ong Be
mɯn	mây	ma	ma	mâ	mə

South

Hashimoto (1978) notes that apart from the most northern languages illustrated in Table 1 (Mongolian, Manchu, Sibe), which have velar or uvular onsets in negative particles, most languages here include labial or labiodental onsets. This leads us to speculate that areal diffusion or language convergence among the different language groups took place in this area, and indeed, this possibility can be attested in various aspects of the grammar of each language.

Another important issue, regarding negative particles in Old Chinese, is also discussed in Hashimoto (1978). See Table 2.

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[1] The language names written in **bold** face in Table 1 represent the varieties of Sinitic.

Table 2 Negative Particles in Old Chinese (Hashimoto 1978: 90–91)

	Verbal Negation		Nominal Negation
Plosive Type	*piuə(g) 不	*piuət 弗	*piuə(d) 非
Nasal Type	*miuɑ(g) 無	*miuət 勿	*miuɑ(d) 微
	Simple Form	Fusion with Object	

In Old Chinese, the negative element with plosive onset has three forms, namely, *piuə(g)* 不, *piuət* 弗, and *piuə(d)* 非, while that with nasal onset also has three forms: *miuɑ(g)* 無, *miuət* 勿, and *miuɑ(d)* 微. Here, *piuə(g)* 不, *piuət* 弗, *miuɑ(g)* 無, and *miuət* 勿 relate to verbal negation, and the others to nominal negation. Further, *piuə(g)* 不 and *miuɑ(g)* 無 are simple forms of negation, while *piuət* 弗 and *miuət* 勿, both reconstructed with the coda *-t*, show fusion with the object. Hashimoto (1978) finds that the difference between the plosive type and the nasal type does not relate to their functions but to differences across the dialects of Ancient China.

Regarding Old Chinese, Tatsuo Ota, another Japanese Sinologist, mentions the negative particles in *Lunyu* 論語 and *Mengzi* 孟子 and points out the complicated but interesting distribution of negative particles in these two texts (Ota 1958).

Table 3 Negative Particle in Old Chinese (Ota 1958: 298)

	無	毋	莫	勿	亡	罔	末	靡	不	弗	非	否	未	微	盍
論語 *Lunyu*	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
孟子 *Mengzi*	+	−	+	+	+	(+)	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(+: Used, −: Not Used, (+): Citation only)

Ota (1958) explains these negative morphemes. Some of them are summarized as follows.

First, 無 is used as a negative corresponding to the affirmative counterpart 有 in both *Lunyu* 論語 and *Mengzi* 孟子, while 毋 can be found only in *Lunyu*. Next, 勿, found in both texts, functions as prohibitive when the sentence omits objects. Third, 弗 is in concordance with negatives including objects. Fourth, 非 is the negative counterpart of 是, which indicates copular sentences. Finally, 未 is the negative counterpart to perfective 已.

The morphological variety of negation in Old Chinese leads us to speculate that the negative elements in Sino-Tibetan languages more broadly have also differed in many respects and urges us to make finer analyses of the typological features of negation in this language family.

Prof. Takumi Ikeda of Kyoto University launched a JSPS project entitled "A Study on the Historical Development of the Sino-Tibetan Languages and their Typological Geography" (JP18H05219), ongoing since 2018, and this project is now engaged in investigating many linguistic problems of Sino-Tibetan languages. One of the topics in this

project is negation, which discussed in a workshop at the 27th annual meeting of the International Association of Chinese Linguistics, held at Kobe City University of Foreign Studies in May 2019.

This paper surveys the areal linguistic aspects of negation in Sino-Tibetan languages by reviewing previous descriptive works (See **Data Sources** Section) and my own field data (Youle Jino and Menglun Akeu).[2] Though there are many topics with respect to negation phenomena, the topics in this paper mostly relate to so-called "standard negation" (Payne 1985, Miestamo 2005, Miestamo 2015);[3] however, problems of "non-standard negation" will sometimes be mentioned as well.

2.   **Phonological Aspects**

As mentioned in Section 1, the negative affixes in Sino-Tibetan languages strikingly often have bilabial onsets, though of course there are also several exceptions. Here are some samples of negative morphemes in Sino-Tibetan languages.

Table 4   Samples of Negative Morphemes in Sino-Tibetan[4]

Languages	Negative form(s)	Languages	Negative form(s)
Standard Mandarin	bu, mei	Wambule Rai	a-
Wu (Northern)	və$ʔ^{12}$, fim^{12}mə$ʔ^{12}$	Sangla Kinnauri	ma-
Yue (Chappell and Peyraube 2016)	m^4, mo^5	Kham	ma-
Minnan	bo^5, m^7	Dhimal	ma-, manthu (NEG.EXT)
Garo	-ja-	Bunan	ma-
Hakha Lai	-law	Qiang	/mə/
Mongsen Ao	mə̀-, -la	Guiqiong	mʁ-～mə-～mɛ-

[3] Miestamo (2015: 408) notes that "the term 'standard negation' was coined by Payne (1985), who defined it as 'that type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentence. […] Today, the term is used for the negation of declarative main clauses with a verbal predicate, more precisely for the pragmatically neutral and productive strategies that languages use for this function."

[4] The language names in *italic* in Table 4 represent the varieties of Sinitic. As for the negation phenomena in various Sinitic languages, see also Chen and Sheng eds. (2020).

Karbi	-Cē	Prinmi	mɑ, me (PFV), tjɑ (deontic)
Tangam	-ma(ŋ)	Mu-nya	n̠ɯ³³- (IMPV), mɐ⁵⁵- (PFV)
Meitei	-tə	Lizu	mɐ
Lhasa Tibetan	ma	Anong	m̩³¹
Kurtöp	ma-/me-	Burmese	ma-
Tshangla	ma-	Zaiwa	a¹-
Kathmandu Newar	mɔ-	Nuosu Yi	ap-
Tamang	³a	Khatso	ma³¹
Changtyal	a-	Youle Jino	mɔ- ~ ma-
Manange	a-	Menglun Akeu	ma
Nar-phu	a-	Akha	ma
Tshobdun rGyalrong	mɐ- (IMPV), mə- (PFV, PROH), me- (HAB, NON-FIN, etc.)	Lisu	mɑ²¹
Cogtse rGyalrong	ma-, dʒa/dʒi (PFV)	Lahu	mâ
Stau	ma- (PST), mí- (NPST)	Phunoi	m³¹
Japhug	mɯ-/mɤ-	Eastern Kayah Li	to
Dulong	mə- [mā]	Pwo Karen	ʔé, lə, bá
Hayu	ma	Lepcha	ma-
Jero	a-	Tujia	ta⁵⁵ (OBJ), tʰa⁵⁵ (SBJ), tau⁵⁵ (PFV.OBJ), tʰau⁵⁵ (PFV.SBJ)
Belhare	N- … -n(i)	Jinghpaw	n~ń

Sinitic languages, such as Standard Mandarin (Putonghua), Wu, Yue, and Minnan, have two types of negative, plosive type and nasal type, as mentioned in Section 1, which are related to distinction of simple/existential negation or of aspect.

As many Tibeto-Burmanists notice, the negative element in Proto-Tibeto-Burman can be reconstructed as *ma* or *maŋ* (Matisoff 2003), as supported by many Tibeto-Burman language data. There are, however, a certain number of different forms marking the negative, such as Garo -*ja*, Hakha Lai -*law,* Manange *a*-, etc.

Figure 1 illustrates the geographical distribution of negative morphemes in Sino-Tibetan and neighboring languages.
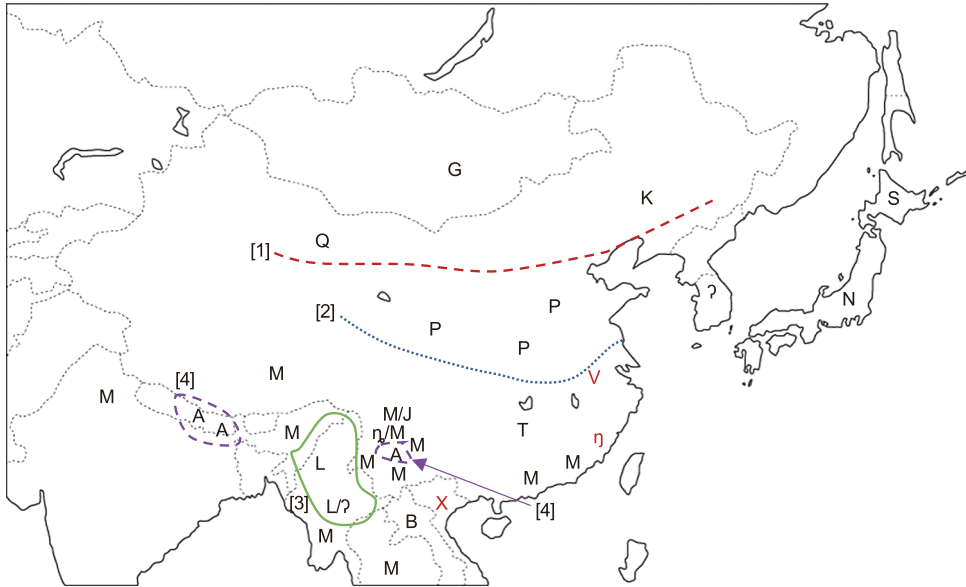
Figure 1   Onset Distribution of Negative Elements in Asian Languages

The area above dotted line [1] exhibits the negative morpheme beginning with velar/uvular onset in the non-Sino-Tibetan language-speaking area. The area between dotted lines [1] and [2] is where people speak varieties of Northern Mandarin, which have the negative morpheme with bilabial plosive onset. The circled area marked by line [3] includes Northeast India, Bangladesh, and the adjacent area, where the Tibeto-Burman languages appear with the negative morpheme with *l*- onset. There are also some languages with negative morpheme *a*- scattered in Nepal and China, which is marked by line [4]. Regardless of the language family, the languages in the remaining areas in principle have the negative morpheme with *m*- onset.

DeLancey (2015) picks out Kuki-Chin negative morphemes whose forms are quite different from PTB *ma, such as #*mak*, *law, #*kay*, and *no, and explores their origins. It is plausible that the form variations reflect semantic change.

Tujia has different negative forms with dental plosive onset, such as ta^{55}/tau^{55} and t^ha^{55}/t^hau^{55} (Xu et al. 2017). t^ha^{55} is used not only for standard negation but also for prohibitive. The origins of the four forms above are not clear at the moment, but it is interesting to consider that these forms may be related to *ta ⋊ *da (prohibitive) at the Proto-Tibeto-Burman stage, as Thurgood and LaPolla (2017: 991) notes.[5]

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[5] Thurgood and LaPolla (2017: 991) add a note to Xu et al. (2017)'s paper and comment that the preverbal t^ha^{55} in Tujia prohibitive sentences "may be the older pattern, as it is the common pattern in Tibeto-Burman, and seems

3.   Word Order

In Sino-Tibetan languages, negative elements can occur before the verb, after the verb, or even both before and after. This section discusses the word order of negative elements and its geographical distribution.

The geographical distribution and typology of word order of negative elements and the verb have been investigated by Dryer (2008), who presents the map in Figure 2.
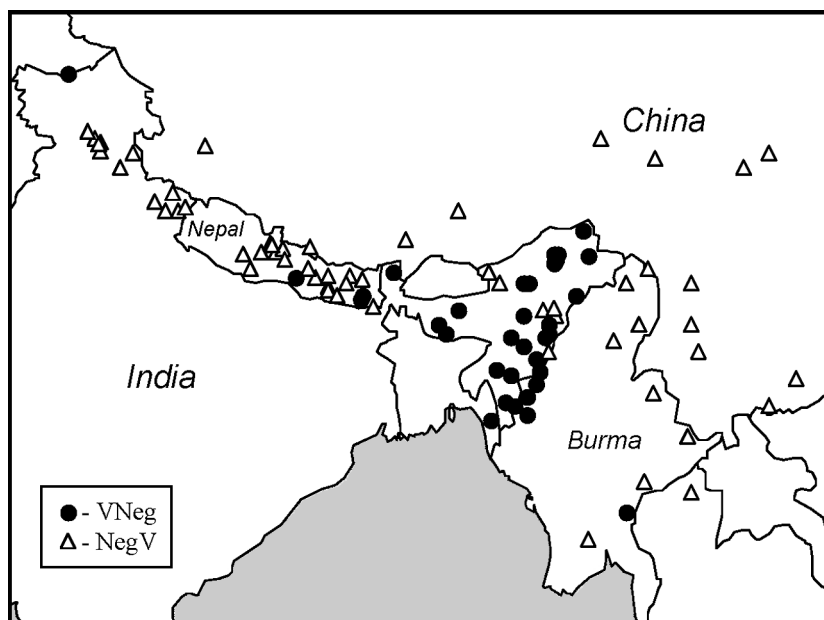
Figure 2   Word Order of Negative Element and Verb (Dryer 2008: 70)

Dryer (2008: 70) summarizes as follows: the postverbal negative appears in a region roughly "corresponding to the section of India east and northeast of Bangladesh and including most Bodo-Garo, Tani, and Kuki-Chin languages, while NegV order is dominant in two areas, one to the west, in Bodic, and one to the east, including Nungish, Jinghpo, Northeast Tibeto-Burman, and Burmese-Lolo languages."

Here we cite some examples of preverbal and postverbal negatives from reference grammars and grammatical sketches of Tibeto-Burman languages as well as Mandarin Chinese.

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to involve the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prohibitive marker *ta*." The present author agrees with this idea and also further analyzes that in the historical development of Tujia the semantic function of t^ha^{55} may have extended to standard negative morpheme.

■ **Preverbal Type**

[Mandarin: China; Sinitic] (Yip and Rimmington 2016: 144)

(1) 他常常不上班。

    tā   chángcháng   **bù**   shàngbān.
    3SG   often   NEG   work

    'He often doesn't go to work.' [**bold** and glossed by the present author]

[Menglun Akeu: Yunnan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (my fieldnote)

(2) ŋa⁵⁵   ɣ²¹lɯ⁵⁵   **ma²¹-dɣ²¹-tsɣ²¹**.
    1SG   snake   NEG-hit-dare

    'I dare not hit snakes.'

[Kathmandu Newar: Nepal; Bodish, Tibeto-Burman] (Hargreaves 2017: 465)

(3) jĩː   ja   **mɔ-**nɔy-a   ni
    1:ERG   rice   NEG-eat-PST:CJ   yet

    'I haven't eaten rice yet.' [**bold** by the present author]

[Bunan: Himarchal Pradesh, India; West Himalayish, Tibeto-Burman] (Widmer 2017: 429)

(4) *ɖonpo = ɕi jaː eltsʰa madʑottsʰa.*
    ɖonpo = ɕi   jaː   el-tsʰa   **ma-dʑot-tsʰa**.
    guest=PL   yesterday   go-PST.DIRE.ALLO.PL   NEG-stay-PST.DIRE.ALLO.PL

    'Our guests left yesterday, they did not stay.' [glosses are reformed and **bold** by the
    present author]

Languages of the preverbal negation type are widely spread in Sino-Tibetan area, regardless of the word order of the basic constituent. Sinitic languages are mostly SVO languages, and the negative element normally precedes the verb. SVO languages spoken in East and Southeast Asia (Thai, Lao, Vietnamese, Khmer, etc.) generally are also of the preverbal type in negation (See also Enfield 2019: 188–191 for Mainland Southeast Asian languages). On the other hand, the remaining Tibeto-Burman languages mostly have SOV word order, but most of the TB languages are of the preverbal negation type.

   There are some languages with the postverbal negation type in the Tibeto-Burman family. See the examples below.

■ Postverbal Type

[Galo: Arunachal Pradesh, India; Tani, Tibeto-Burman]

   (5) ˀó o kaamá a!

       ˀó o ká   a-**má a**
       vegetable   have/exist-NEG

       'There aren't any/enough dishes (for us to provide you with)!' (Post 2015: 437)
       [**bold** by the present author]

   (6) ˀə̀k-pàk ˀagóm tálɨ̂ɨ màa.

       ˀəkə-pakə   ˀagom   tá-lɨ̀ɨ-**máa**
       ANAP.PL-RDUP   speech   listen-DESD-**NEG**

       'I'm **not** interested in listening to that sort of thing.' (Post 2015: 438)

[Hakha Lai: Chin State, Myanmar; Kuki-Chin, Tibeto-Burman] (VanBik 2009: 41)

   (7) Ni Hu   niʔ   vok   ʔa-that   **lăw.**
       Ni Hu   ERG   pig   3SG.S-kill.I   NEG

       'Ni Hu did not kill the pig.'

    It is true that the postverbal type is concentrated in northeast India and Bangladesh, but we should not forget Tujia, which is also postverbal, as seen in (8). This language is spoken in Hunan Province, in China, making it one of the easternmost Tibeto-Burman languages.

[Tujia: Hunan, China; Tujia, Tibeto-Burman] (Xu et al. 2017: 987)

   (8) lai^{53} kɨ^{21} **ta^{24}.**
       today   hot   NEG

       'It is not hot today.'

Lu et al. (2020), another paper discussing negation in Tujia, find that the negative element of the Tujia language originally preceded the verb and that it might have moved to the postverbal position.[6]

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[6] Interestingly, *tʰa* in Tujia precedes or follows the verb when it is employed for prohibitive use. The word order depends on whether a modal verb is used (Lu et al. 2020: 2).

■ **Double Type**

Additionally, we should note that there is another type of word order, namely "double type," both preceding and following the verb, which is attested in some Tibeto-Burman languages, as shown below.

[Pwo Karen: Karen, Myanmar; Karenic, Tibeto-Burman] (Kato 2017: 951)

(9)	ʔəwê	ʔè	**lə**	ʔáɴ	mì	**bá**	nɔ́,	jə	mə	ʔáɴ
	3SG	if	NEG	eat	rice	NEG	that	1SG	IRR	eat

'If he doesn't eat the rice, I will eat it.'

Pwo Karen negates the clause in (9) with two negative morphemes, namely *lə* and *bá*. Kato (2017) explains that *bá* reinforces the negative function of *lə*, which is articulated unstressed. Kato (2017: 950) also exemplifies the post-verbal type of negation in Pwo Karen, as in (10).

(10)	ʔəwê	ʔáɴ	mì	xὲ xὲ	**ʔé**
	3SG	eat	rice	slowly	NEG

'He does not eat rice slowly.'

Colloquial Burmese employs the prefix *ma-* and the particle *=pʰú* to denote negation, which may also be considered a kind of "double type."

[Colloquial Burmese: Myanmar; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (Okano 2013: 41, sentential meaning is translated into English by the present author)

(11) mă-sá＝**pʰú**.
    not-eat=VS:NEG

'not eat/did not eat/have not eaten'

(12) sá＝ʈὲ.
    eat=VS:RLS

'eat/ate/have eaten'

As Okano (2013) analyses, (11) is the negative counterpart of (12). The phrase-final particle ＝*pʰú* can be considered a verbal sentence marker in concord with the negative form of the verb; thus, it is also possible to say that ＝*pʰú* is not a true negative marker.

   In Camling [Eastern Nepal; Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman], the negation is marked by a prefix *pa-* and a suffix *-na, -āi, -aina*, which is exemplified in Table 5. However, "negative *pa-* is

not realized before second person *ta-* due to the one-prefix-restriction." (Ebert 2017: 731)

Table 5   Negation in Camling (Ebert 2017: 731)

	asserted	negated	meaning
1di	ta-khata-ci	pa-khata-ci-na/-c-āi/-c-aina	'we did not go'
2d	ta-khata-ci	ta-khata-ci-na/-c-āi/-c-aina	'you did not go'

Dryer (2008) closely considers only preverbal and postverbal negatives in the map (Figure 2), even though he also notices double negatives and other types.[7] If we include the double negatives and other types and some adjacent non-Sino-Tibetan Southeast Asian languages in the map, it can be depicted as in Figure 3. In this map, ● represents preverbal, ⊛ represents postverbal, ◎ represents double type, and ⊠ represents preverbal or postverbal (but not both at the same time). [Colloquial Burmese is included in double type in this map.]
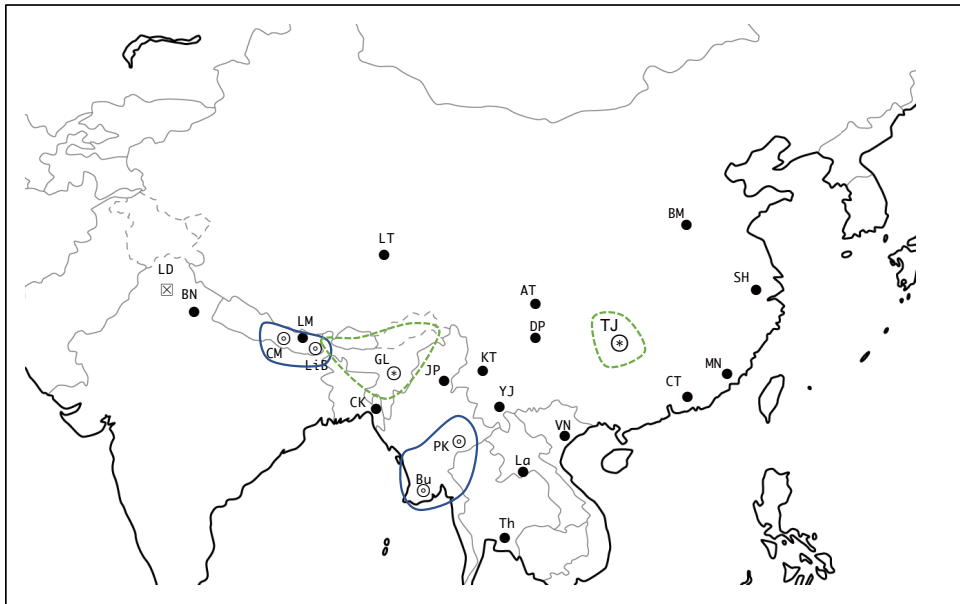
Figure 3.   Negative Elements and Their Positions in East and Southeast Asia

[Abbreviation] (See also **Data Sources** Section)

AT: Amdo Tibetan, BM: Beijing Mandarin, BN: Bunan, Bu: Burmese, CM: Camling, CK: Cak, CT: Cantonese, DP: nDrapa, GL: Galo, JP: Jinghpaw, KT: Kham Tibetan, La: Lao, LD: Ladakhi, LiB: Limbu, LM: Lhomi, LT: Lhasa Tibetan, MN: Minnan, PK: Pwo Karen, SH: Shanghainese, Th: Thai, TJ: Tujia, VN: Vientamese, YJ: Youle Jino

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[7] Dryer (2008: 67) cites the Ladakhi examples from Koshal (1979: 243), and notes that this language employs a prefix in some cases and a suffix in other cases in negation.

As for the double type, it is well known from the development of the French negation system as analyzed by Otto Jespersen (Jespersen 1917), in the so-called *Jespersen Cycle* (Dahl 1979). French negation was originally expressed by preverbal *ne*, and later the postverbal clitic *pas* came to cooccur with *ne*, making it a double type. This double type is still employed in French literary style, whereas in the colloquial style *ne* is often phonetically reduced and *pas* becomes the "real" negator. In Tibeto-Burman, as mentioned in this section, there are a certain number of languages with double type, which may shift to preverbal or postverbal type due to functional redundancy or language contact. van der Auwera and Vossen (2017) analyzes that some Kiranti languages underwent the Jespersen cycle in their negative strategies. The other Tibeto-Burman languages with double (or multiple) negation should be investigated in further analysis as well.

4.   Tense/Aspect and Negation

Tense and/or aspect may also affect negation phenomena. One of the best-known languages in the Sino-Tibetan area is Mandarin Chinese, as seen below.

[Mandarin]
bù 不 functions as a negator of intention and future action, whereas the sentence is not grammatical if the verb is unintentional (Yip and Rimmington 2016: 144). See (13) and (14). The verb in (13), *qù* 去 'to go', is intentional, while that in (14), *xià* 下 'to drop', is not.

(13) 我明天不去开会。

wǒ	míngtiān	bú	qù	kāihuì.
1SG	tomorrow	NEG	go	meeting

'I will not go to the meeting tomorrow.' [glossed by the present author]

(14) *明天不下雨。

*míngtiān	bú	xià	yǔ
tomorrow	NEG	drop	rain

('It will not rain tomorrow.') [glossed by the present author]

On the other hand, *méi(yǒu)* 没有 negates action that has not taken place (Yip and Rimmington 2016: 145). See the example below.

(15) 他昨天没(有)来。

tā	zuótiān	méi(yǒu)	lái
3SG	yesterday	NEG(have)	come

'He did not come yesterday.' [glossed by the present author]

However, if, thanks to deliberate non-action on the part of the subject, a past action did not take place, the negator *bù* 不 is used. See below (Yip and Rimmington 2016: 145).

(16) 他昨天(故意)不来。

tā	zuótiān	(gùyì)	bù	lái
3SG	yesterday	(deliberately)	NEG	come

'He (deliberately) would not come yesterday.' [glossed by the present author]

The negative morphemes in Lolo-Burmese languages rarely show concord with tense/aspect distinctions, whereas Shirai (2021) investigates the functions and the geographical distribution of the negative forms in Qiangic languages spoken in Sichuan Province, China, which differ by tense/aspect distinction. Her paper summarizes Qiangic negative forms, which have four main types: MA type (*m*+low vowel), MI type (*m*+front vowel), MV type (*m*+vowel [neither low nor front]), and non-M type.

Table 6. Negative Forms and Perfective/Imperfective Distinctions in Qiangic Languages (Adapted and summarized from Shirai 2021)

	MA Type	**MI Type**	**MV Type**	**non-M Type**
Prinmi	IPFV/default /mɑ-/	PFV /me-/	—	—
nDrapa	IPFV /ma-/	—	PFV/default /mə-/	—
Situ	NPST /ma-/	—	—	PST /ǰa-, ǰi-/ (Bhola Situ)
sTodsde	PFV$_1$ /ma-/	PFV$_2$ /me-/	IPFV /mə-/	—
Darmdo Minyag	PFV /mɐ-/	—	—	IPFV /ȵə-/
Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs	—	either /mɛ-/	—	IPFV /mtə-, mətə-/

As is seen in Table 6, Prinmi, nDrapa, and sTodsde have distinct forms for perfective and imperfective negatives, showing vowel alternation, while Situ has a suppletive form for past negative. Darmdo Minyag and Guangyinqiao Khroskyabs have imperfective forms for negative, which are also suppletive. Note that *mɛ-* in Guanyinqiao Khroskyabs is irrelevant to the tense/aspect distinction (Shirai 2021).

By picking out some sentential examples from Bhola Situ [Aba Prefecture of Sichuan, China], we look into its negative system in more detail. It has two negative prefixes for tense distinctions, namely *ma-* and *ǰa-/ǰi-*.[8] The former is for non-past events, whereas the latter is for past events.

[Bhola Situ: Aba, Sichuan; Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman] (Nagano 2018: 51, sentential meaning is translated into English and glosses are reformed by the present author)

(17) wuǰo   tsay   to-ki-w＝ren,   məza   tshoɴkhaṅ   **ma**-čhe.
     3SG   vegetable PST-buy-3=because 3SG(female)   shop   NEG.NPST-go

'Because he bought vegetables, she will not go to the shop.'

(18) wuǰo   tsay   to-ki-w＝ren,   məza   tshoɴkhaṅ   **ǰa**-čhe.
     3SG   vegetable PST-buy-3=because 3SG(female)   shop   NEG.PST-go

'Because he bought vegetables, she did not go to the shop.'

(19) štə   thə   kə-ṅos   kə-mak   **ǰi**-čis.
     3SG   what   NMLZ-LKV   NMLZ-LKV.NEG   NEG.PST-say

'(S/he) did not say what this was nor what this was not.'

The predicate in (17), *čhe* 'to go,' is considered to be non-past and thus can be negated by *ma-*. In contrast, the predicates in (18) and (19), *čhe* 'to go' and *čis* 'to say' respectively, are viewed as past events and thus can be negated by *ǰa-/ǰi-*.

Dengjongke, a Tibetic language of Sikkim, India, has a more complicated schema for negation, which is summarized in Table 7.

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[8] /ǰi-/ can be used for prohibitive. (Nagano 2018: 51)

(i) sce   **ǰi**-ro-n
    here NEG.PST-come-2s

'Don't come here!'

[Denjongke: Sikkim, India; Tibetic, Tibeto-Burman] (Yliniemi 2019: 388)

Table 7. Negation of Declarative Final Forms (Adapted from Yliniemi 2019, emphasis by the present author)

Constr.	Affirmative	Gloss	Negated	Gloss
state	*làp*	'is called, says'	**mi-***làp*	'is not called'
simp.prs	*làp bɛʔ*	'says'	**mi-***làp bɛʔ*	'does not say'
IPFV	*làp to (EQU)*	'used to say, is saying'	**ma-***làp to (EQU)*	'used not to say'
			*làp-o **NEG.EX***	'is not saying'
CONT	*làp dø: EX*	'is saying'		
PROG	*làp-tɕɛn EX*	'is saying'		
periphr. PST	*làp-o EQU*	'said'	*làp-o **NEG.EQU***	'did not say (emphatic)'
			mà-*làp(-o EQU)*	'did not say'
PST	*làp-tɕɛ*	'said'		
CMPL	*làp-tsʰa:*	'has said'		
PRF	*làp-làp-o EX*	*[sic]*	*làp-làp-o **NEG.EX***	'has not said'
			*làp-ɕy: **NEG.EX***	'has not said'
RES	*làp-jɵ̀ʔ*	'has said'	*làp-**mèʔ***	'has not said'
SEN.PST/ SEN.RES	*làp-duʔ*	'said'	*làp **mìn**du*	'did not say'
			*làp-o **mìn**du*	'did not say'
NPST	*làp-ɕɛ EQU*	'will say'	*làp-ɕɛ **NEG.EQU***	'will not say (emphatic)'
			mi-*lap-(ɕɛ EQU)*	'will not say'
FUT.UNC	*làp-ɵ̀:*	'will say'		
poss.like	*làp-ɕɛ EX*	'has/had…to say'	*làp-ɕɛ **NEG.EX***	'has/had mot (anything) to say'
HAB.PRS	*làp-kʰɛ̃: EQU*	'said, says'	**ma-***làp-kʰɛ̃: EQU*	'didn't say'
			mi-*làp-kʰɛ̃: EQU*	'doesn't say'
			mi-*lap-o EQU*	'does not say, used not to say'

As seen in Table 7, Denjongke has a very complex system of negative concord. If the verb has a "state" reading, the negative morpheme *mi-* is prefixed to the verb root; on the other hand, if the verb is considered to have an "imperfective" reading, it is negated by the prefix *ma-*. If the predicate has a "continuous" reading or "non-past" reading, it is negated periphrastically by way of existential or equational verbs.

In this section, negative concord for the tense/aspect distinction has been discussed. As noticed, the tense/aspect distinction is neutralized in negative sentences in many languages. A sample is cited from Colloquial Burmese below in (20).

[Burmese: Myanmar; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (Okano 2013, glosses and English translations are added by the present author)

(20) a. căǹɔ   zé   t̯wá=**t̯ɛ̀.**
     [1m]   market   go=VS:RLS

    'I go to the market./I went to the market.' (Okano 2013: 45)

    b. căǹɔ   zé   t̯wá=**mɛ̀.**
     [1m]   market   go=VS:IRR

    'I will go to the market.' (Okano 2013: 45)

    c. căǹɔ   zé   mă-t̯wá=**pʰú.**
     [1m]   market   go=VS:RLS

    'I won't go to the market./I didn't go to the market.' (Okano 2013: 46)

In Burmese linguistics, whether there is a tense system or not is sometimes controversial (for instance, Gärtner 2005, Yanson 2005). Okano (2013) recognizes that Burmese employs realis (*tɛ̀*)/irrealis (*mɛ̀*) markers for time expressions in affirmative sentences, as in (20a, b). Okano (2013: 46) explains that the realis marker represents (i) a one-time past event or (ii) constant status when suffixed to a dynamic verb, while it represents (i) present status or (ii) past status when suffixed to a stative verb. Additionally, he notes that the irrealis marker represents (i) (immediate) future or (ii) the intention of the speaker when suffixed to a dynamic verb, whereas it represents supposition when suffixed to a stative verb. When negated, the realis/irrealis markers are replaced with the negative verb sentential marker =*p̯ʰú* and tense/aspectual distinctions are totally neutralized, as in (20c). Miestamo (2005, 2007) calls this type of negation "asymmetric negation."[9]

5. Morphological Problems

5.1 Word, Clitic, or Affix?

The first morphological problem regarding negative elements is how the negative morpheme can be analyzed: Is the negative element in a given language a word, a clitic, or an affix? When we write a reference grammar on an undescribed language, it is often difficult

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[9] Miestamo (2007: 559) mentions the Burmese negation system as an example, with citation from Cornyn (1944).

to determine criteria for what is a word. At the same time, previous studies in Sino-Tibetan languages sometimes make no clear mention of the "wordness" of the negative morpheme.

Among Sino-Tibetan languages, the Mandarin Chinese negative element *bù* 不 is definitely a word that can occur independently, especially to deny what was asked. The following example (21) is cited from Lü (1999: 90; Pinyin transcription, glosses, and English translations are added by the present author).

(21) a. 他知道吗?   b. 不, 他不知道。

    tā   zhīdao   ma?   bù   tā   bù   zhīdao.
    3SG   know   Q   NEG   3SG   NEG   know

    'Does he know (it)?'   'No, he does not know (it).'

Above, (21b) is the answer to the utterance (21a). In (21b), *bù* 不 can occur independently, like 'No' in English.

Conversely, the negative morphemes in most Tibeto-Burman languages are either clitics or affixes (prefixes/suffixes), which phonologically or syntactically rely on verbs, as can be seen in the Tibeto-Burman examples in this paper. One of the exceptional cases can be seen in Hayu [Kathmandu, Nepal; Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman]. As Michailovsky (2017: 684) describes, the negative *ma* is "intonationally independent and may even be followed by a focus particle: *ma na dzɔ:nom* (not INTS eat:1s→2s: ASS) 'I will absolutely not eat you!'" Imperative *tʰa* can also be used independently: *tʰa!* 'Don't!' (Michailovsky 2017: 681).

5.2 Fusion

Negative elements often fuse with verbs or auxiliaries. Menglun Akeu negative prefix *ma*-fuses with the copula *ŋɤ^{55}* in some cases. See (22).

[Menglun Akeu: Yunnan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (my fieldnote)

(22) a. a^{55}=nɛ^{55} pɛ^{55}kɔ^{21} ȵi^{55} **ma^{21}-ŋɤ^{33}-la^{21}?**
    3SG.OBL=POSS   clothes   this   NEG-COP-Q

    'Isn't this his/her clothes?'

    b. a^{55}=nɛ^{55} pɛ^{55}kɔ^{21} ȵi^{55} *mɤ^{35}*-la^{21}?
    3SG.OBL=POSS   clothes   this   NEG.COP-Q

    'Isn't this his/her clothes?'

In Menglun Akeu, the verb is negated by the negative prefix ma^{21}-, as in (22a); when the copula is negated, however, it often fuses with the negative prefix to become $mɤ^{35}$, as seen in (22b). This type of fusion can also be found in many other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Sinitic languages also show such phenomena. In Fuqing Chinese, spoken in Fujian Province, China, there are a few negative morphemes, such as $iŋ^{21}$ 伓, $mɔ^{44}$ 无, and others. When an auxiliary $ε^{42}$ 'can' is negated, it can be considered to be fused with $mɔ^{44}$ and become $mε$, as in (23).

[Fuqing Chinese: Fuqing, Fujian, China; Mindong, Sinitic] (Chen 2018: 235)

(23) a. khɔ⁴⁴   ε⁴²   **mε**   tiɔ⁵¹?
        □¹⁰   会   舲   着
        bump   AUX   NEG.AUX   arrive

    'Does (the car) bump (something)?'

    b. **mε**   liɔ⁵¹,   muŋ²¹   kiaŋ³⁵.
        舲   着   □   行
        NEG.AUX   arrive   ?   go

    '(It does) not bump. (Don't worry!) Go (ahead).'

Note also that Beijing Mandarin has a word for 'Don't' *béng* 甭 that is derived from a fusion of the negative morpheme *bú* 不 with a verb *yòng* 用 'to use', then lexicalized as *béng* 甭 'Don't V, don't need to V' (Aihara et al. 2004: 66); this 'was created recently' (Ota 1958: 303).

Another type of fusion can be attested in Tujia [Hunan, China; Tibeto-Burman]. The Tujia *tʰa³⁵* is the original negator, but some of the other negators, such as *tʰau³⁵*, *tʰai³⁵* and *tau³⁵*, "resulted from the fusion with either an existential verb or an aspectual particle", in other words, *[tʰa³⁵ + liau²¹ (PFV)] > tʰau³⁵, [tʰa³⁵ + çiə³⁵ (EX)] > tʰai³⁵, [ta³⁵ + liau²¹ (PFV)] > tau³⁵* (Lu et al. 2020).[11]

5.3   "Reduplication"

In Menglun Akeu, when adjectives are negated, the negative morpheme ma^{21}- is generally prefixed to the adjectival root, as can be seen in (24).

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[10] □ in (23) means that there is no corresponding Chinese character for the morpheme.

[11] Note that Lu et al. (2020)'s tonal notation is not the same as Xu et al. (2017)'s, probably due to their dialectal differences.

[Menglun Akeu: Yunnan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (my fieldnote)

(24) a. a²¹li⁵⁵   a²¹mɔ³³   da²¹-mø³³.   b. a²¹li⁵⁵   a²¹mɔ³³   **ma²¹**-mø³³.
     Ali (PSN)   body   PREF-tall   Ali (PSN)   body   NEG-tall

     'Ali is tall.'   'Ali is not tall.'

The adjective in (24a), *da²¹mø³³*, consists of the prefix *da²¹-* and the root *mø³³*. The negative form of this adjective is *ma²¹-mø³³*, where the root *mø³³* is prefixed by *ma²¹-*, as seen in (24b). This general principle, on the contrary, does not apply to the word for 'long'. See (25).

(25) a. xɤ⁵⁵-ma³³   b. **xɤ⁵⁵-ma³³**   **ma²¹-ma³³**   c. ??/* ma²¹-ma³³
     PREF-long   PREF-long   NEG-long   NEG-long

     'long'   'not long'   ('not long')

As seen in (25a), the affirmative form for 'long' is *xɤ⁵⁵ma³³*, which consists of the prefix *xɤ⁵⁵-* and the root *ma³³*. If the general principle is applied to this adjective, the predicted form will be *ma²¹-ma³³*, as seen in (25c), which is rather difficult to accept. Next, we see that (25b) is the attested negated form for this adjective, where the forms of (25a) and (25c) are juxtaposed. It seems that the root is "reduplicated," but in fact in this language the negative morpheme needs to be hosted by the root and to be preceded by the affirmative form when it negates an adjective.

6.   Problems in Syntax and Semantics

This section briefly highlights two problems of negation in syntax and semantics, namely scope and redundancy.

6.1   Scope of negation and the position of the negative morpheme

One of the major issues in the semantics of negation is scope. The scope of negation generally relates to the word order of the negative morpheme and the predicate. (26) and (27) are the examples from Mandarin Chinese.

[Mandarin]

(26) 太不好   (27) 不太好

     tài   bù   hǎo   bú   tài   hǎo
     too   NEG   good   NEG   too   good

     'too bad'   'not so good'

In (26), the negative morpheme *bù* precedes the adjective *hǎo* 'good' and becomes a phrase 'bad'. The adverb *tài* 'too' then modifies the whole phrase *bù hǎo* and intensifies the 'bad' meaning. On the other hand, (27) has a different word order from (26), in that the negative morpheme *bù* precedes the adverb *tài* 'too.' The negative morpheme in (27) scopes the whole phrase 'too good', so that the entire phrase denotes 'not so good.' This is a case where the position of the negative morpheme affects the scope of negation. The semantic analysis of these two examples (26, 27) is confirmed by my personal communication with Chinese speakers, namely, Liu Lingxiao, Shen Hong, Zhang Ling, and Zhang Yan.

Word order of negative morphemes inherently relates to the scope of negation. The relationship between "what is negated" and "where the negative morpheme is placed" is sometimes rather complicated.

Scope of negation is also discussed in languages of postverbal type, such as Galo [Arunachal Pradesh, Northeast India; Tani, Tibeto-Burman], which is described in Post (2015). Post explains that the scope in Galo generally applies leftward; thus, in the following example (28), the negative *máa* only scopes *dó* 'eat,' while the irrealis marker *rə́* scopes over the two preceding morphemes, *dó-máa* 'not eat.' Hence, Post (2015: 438) notes that (28) "should be literally translated with a feel more like *They [will [not eat it]]* (i.e. not eating it is what they will do) rather than the standard English auxiliary-scoping *They [[will not] eat it]* (i.e. eating it is what they will not do)."

(28) *ˀaɲɨ̀ɨ gò ˀêɲə domáa rə́.*

    ˀaɲɨ̀ɨ   *gó*   *ˀeɲə*   **dó-máa**-rə́
    year   IND   yam.variety   eat-NEG-IRR

    'They wo**n't** eat yam for a year (when under a taboo restriction).' (Post 2015: 438)

The negative morphemes in Sino-Tibetan languages are generally placed directly before or after what they scope, as can be seen in the Galo example (28).

■ Verb Serialization/Concatenation and Negation

Verb serialization and verb concatenation are also related to the scope of negation, which will be discussed here.

In Mandarin Chinese, the negative morphemes *bù* 不 and *méi* 没 can be placed in different slots when they occur in verb-compliment structures. See examples (29, 30, 31, 32).

[Mandarin]

(29) 听得懂   (30) 听**不**懂

    tīng-de-dǒng   tīng-bu-dǒng
    listen-LINK-understand   listen-NEG-understand

    'listen and understand'   'listened but not understandable'

(31) 听懂了   (32) **没**听懂

    tīng-dǒng-le   méi-tīng-dǒng
    listen-understand-ASP   NEG-listen-understand

    'listened and understood'   'listened but didn't understand'

The analysis and translation into English of the above examples (29–32) are from personal communication with my Chinese students (Chen Hong and Liu Lingxiao). In (29), the verbs *tīng* 听 (V1) and *dǒng* 懂 (V2) are linked with *de* 得, and the phrase denotes 'listen and understand' as a whole. In Mandarin Chinese, V2 in this structure can be viewed as a kind of result derived from the event of V1. In (29), the verb 'understand' occurs as a result of the event 'to listen.'

In (30), *bù* 不 is slotted between the verbs *tīng* 听 (V1) and *dǒng* 懂 (V2). This sentence denotes that the event 'to listen' has occurred, but the event 'to understand' has not occurred. The negative morpheme *bù* 不 scopes the V2 and precedes it. When the events are recognized as past ones, however, the word orders are different from (30). The negative sentence (32) corresponds to the affirmative (31), and the negative morpheme *méi* 没 precedes the V1 *tīng* 听, not the V2. In (32), the negative morpheme *méi* 没 scopes over V2 *dǒng* 懂, though V1 'to listen' is in fact realized.

On the other hand, we should place the negative morpheme before the entire verb serialization. See (33).

(33) 我**不**去买东西。

    Wǒ   **bú**   [qù ~VP1~]   [mǎi   dōngxi ~VP2~]
    1SG   NEG   go   buy   stuff

    'I will not go shopping.'

In (33), the negative morpheme *bú* 不 comes before VP1 and negates both events, which are represented by VP1 and VP2. A Chinese student of mine (Chen Hong) agreed with this view. The placement of negative morphemes and their relationship with scope are rather complicated, but it is arguable that each morpheme has positional restriction in the VP

structure. For more details on the scope of negation in Mandarin Chinese, see Pan et al. (2016), among others.

In Denjongke, on the other hand, the negative prefix *ma-* precedes the second verb *ko* 'to throw away,' even though it negates the entire structure of serial verbs, as seen in (35).

[Denjongke: Sikkim, India; Tibetic, Tibeto-Burman] (Yliniemi 2019: 387)

(34) tʰu   koː-bo ȉː.
     pick   throw.away-2INF EQU.PER

     '(He) picked and threw (it) away,' (KN e)

(35) tʰu   **ma**-ko.
     pick   NEG-throw.away

     'Do not pick and throw (it) away.' (KN e)

The negation of serial verb construction or verb concatenation varies from language to language. In Youle Jino, as in (36), the negative prefix *ma-* precedes the verb concatenation.

[Youle Jino: Yunnan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (Hayashi 2009: 164)

(36) a⁵⁵xɔ⁴⁴-m̥a⁵⁵   kho³³jin³³   **ma³³**-n̥ɔ⁵⁵ + sɯ⁵⁵-khju⁴².
     Han Chinese-PL   accent   NEG-hear+know-AUX

     'Han Chinese don't understand our accent.' (glosses and sentential meaning are translated into English by the present author)

Here, *ma-* here scopes the verb *sɯ⁵⁵* 'to know,' but *n̥ɔ⁵⁵* 'to hear' is not negated; it literally means "When Han Chinese hear our voice, they don't know our accent." The negative prefix *ma-* cannot be placed between *n̥ɔ⁵⁵* and *sɯ⁵⁵*, because there seems to be a positional constraint requiring the negative prefix to occur before the verb concatenation.

Nuosu Yi also seems to have a positional constraint on the negative particle *ap* (Gerner 2013). Gerner (2013) states that verbs are negated by inserting *ap* before the last syllable of the verb. See (37) and (38).

[Nuosu Yi: Sichuan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman]

(37) cy   hxo pu   go   syt   **ap-mu.**
     3P.SG   mountain   LOC   affair   NEG-do

     'He is not working on the mountain.' (Gerner 2013: 406)

(38) syt   cy   jjit   **gat-ap-qip.**
     affair   DEM.PROX   CL   delay <NEG>

    'The event was not delayed.' (Gerner 2013: 406)

In (37), *ap* comes before the verb, which looks the same as in the languages of the preverbal type mentioned in Section 3. On the other hand, in (38), *ap* occurs before the last syllable of the verb *gat-qip* 'delay.'

In Nuosu Yi, when the progressive marker *njuo* occurs in the predicate, the negative particle *ap* precedes *njuo*, not the verb. See (39).

(39) a. *cy   gup   **ap**-ddur   **njuo.**
      3P.SG   sweat   NEG-exit   PROG

    Intended meaning: 'He is not sweating.' (Gerner 2013: 409)

   b. cy   gup   ddur   **ap-njuo.**
      3P.SG   sweat   exit   NEG-PROG

    'He is not sweating.' (Gerner 2013: 409)

In (39a), *ap* occurs before the verb *ddur* 'exit', which is ungrammatical, while in (39b), it precedes the progressive marker *njuo*, which is grammatical.

Interestingly, when the perfect marker *ox* or the future marker *mix* occurs in the predicate, the negative particle *ap* should precede the verb, as can be seen in (40) and (41), respectively.

(40) bbur ma   a zzyx   ma   bbur   **ap**-yot   **ox.**
     character   DEM.DIST   CL   write   NEG-wrong   DP

    'This character is not wrong.' (Gerner 2013: 410)

(41) nga   ca pot nyip   hxe   **ap**-mgot   **mix.**
     1P.SG   day after tomorrow   fish   NEG-catch   FUT

    'I will not catch fish the day after tomorrow.' (Gerner 2013: 410)

Mu-nya [Sichuan, China; Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman] also seems to have a word order problem regarding the scope of negation. Ikeda (2020) explains that in the verb predicate with the perfect marker -*sø*[55] the negator *mʋ*[33]- is placed before -*sø*[55].

(42) ŋi⁵⁵   ɣuĩ³³ndɯ⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³-ri⁵⁵   =**mɐ³³-sø⁵⁵**   (ni³³).
     1SG.[ERG]   letter   DIR-√write   =NEG-SFX:PFT   DEC

'I did not write a letter.' (Ikeda 2020, **bold** by the present author)

However, the word order of the negative is different in predicates with the declarative marker *rʌ³³*. In this type, the target to be negated is the verb, and the negator *mɐ³³*- is placed before the verb.

(43) ʔɐ³³tsi⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³-**mɐ⁵⁵**-ri³³   rʌ³³.
     s/he [ERG]   DIR- NEG- √write   DEC

'S/he did NOT write. '[witness] (Ikeda 2020, **bold** by the present author)

In Kurtöp [Bhutan; Bodish, Tibeto-Burman], Hyslop (2017) says that negation generally scopes over only the verb to which it is attached (44), but that in some cases, negation scopes the entire construction (45).

(44) *tsheni 'iguthe cozi boi **mabishang***

tsheni   'igu = the   co-si   boi   **ma-bi-shang**
then   letter=INDEF   make-NF   3.ERG   NEG-give-PFV.EGO

'So after making the letter, they didn't give (it)' (Hyslop 2017: 349)

(45) *ngai nya tshotma cozi **mazu***

ngai   nya   tshotma   **co-si**   **ma-zu**
1.ERG   fish   curry   make-NF   NEG-eat

'I didn't cook (and therefore) eat fish curry' (Hyslop 2017: 350)

Hyslop (2017) analyzes that the potentially important difference between (44) and (45) may be due to the occurrence of the pronoun *boi* '3.ERG.' As *boi* in (44) divides the sentence into two clauses, the negative element *ma*- thus cannot scope over the preceding clause. On the other hand, in (45), "the lack of a pronoun between the verbs […] allows the two verbs to represent two events which are so tightly intertwined that to negate one entails negation of the other" (Hyslop 2017: 350).

6.2   Negation and Redundancy

In Mandarin Chinese, there are certain negative-polarity items, such as *chà(yì)diǎn(r)* 差（一）点（儿）'almost'. The interaction between these items and negative morphemes has

been discussed in many previous works, such as Zhu (1959), Lü (1985), Che (2016), Yao (2017), Wang (2020), etc.

Here we raise some examples with *chà(yì)diǎn* 差（一）点 'almost' from Zhu (1959) and Yao (2017). The glosses and sentential meanings in these examples are translated into English by the present author.

[Mandarin]

(46) 差一点摔了一交。（＝没摔）

chàyìdiǎn	shuāi-le	yì-jiao
almost	fall-ASP	one-CLF

'(I) almost fell down.' (Zhu 1959: 435, **bold** by the present author)

(47) 他差点考不上大学。（＝考上了）

tā	**chàdiǎn**	kǎo-**bu**-shang	dàxué
3SG	almost	test-NEG-over	university

'He almost couldn't go to university.' (Yao 2017: 36, **bold** by the present author)

(48) 差点没考上大学。（＝考上了）

chàdiǎn	**méi**-kǎo-shang	dàxué
almost	NEG-test-over	university

'(He/She) almost couldn't go to university.' (Yao 2017: 15, **bold** by the present author)

(49) 差点没摔倒。（＝没摔倒！）

chàdiǎn	**méi**-shuāi-dǎo
almost	NEG-fall-down

'(I) almost fell down.' (Yao 2017: 16, **bold** by the present author)

The examples above (46–49) all can be analyzed from Yao (2017)'s explanation, though (46) is cited from a different source.

In (46), *chàyìdiǎn* 差一点 functions as a negative-polarity item, and thus the sentential meaning will be negative as a result, in other words, 'I did not fall down'; (47), on the other hand, has both *chàdiǎn* 差点 and the negative morpheme *bu* 不, so that this sentence denotes 'He entered the university', hence the cooccurrence of *chàdiǎn* 差点 and *bu* 不 are decoded as "double negation."

Interestingly, (48), employing *méi* 没 instead of *bu* 不, can be construed similarly to (47). Additionally, (49), which relates to (46), can also be construed the same as (46). Similar to Zhu (1959), Yao (2017) finds that the lexically specified desirability of the predicate verb relates to the construal of the result; entering university is construed as the desirable event, while falling down is not.

Yao (2017) points out that a new phrase *méi chàdiǎn* 没差点 has been recently employed similarly to *chàdiǎnméi* 差点没 in (49).

(50) 没差点摔倒。(＝没摔倒！)

méi	**chàdiǎn**	shuāi-dǎo
NEG	almost	fall-down

'(I) almost fell down.' (Yao 2017: 25)

A different but similar type can be seen in Duhumbi [Arunarchal Pradesh, India; Kho-Bwa, Tibeto-Burman] and is described as a "double negative" by Bodt (2020). See (51).

(51) *Gaʔ anu ga baŋba tsaɲi miŋutbaŋ.*

ga-aʔ	*onow*	*ga*	*baŋ-ba*	***tsaɲi***	*miŋ-ɕut-**baŋ***
1SG-GEN	child	1SG	not.be1-NOM	never	sleep-heed-NEG.PRS

'My child never obeys (my request) to sleep if I am not there.' (Bodt 2020: 623, source information is deleted, emboldened, and translation is changed by the present author)

tsaɲi[12] 'never' and *-baŋ* 'NEG.PRS' cooccur in (51), and might be literally construed as a "double negative." However, the adverb *tsaɲi* "retains its negative meaning, but the negation of the verb is elided" (Bodt 2020: 623).

In Atong [Meghalaya, India; Boro-Garo, Tibeto-Burman], van Breugel (2014: 226, 380) describes a phenomenon with the negative *ca*, which signals "an event that has not yet been realized" and is thus similar to the function the *ne explétif* in French.

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[12] *tsaɲi* is a loanword from Tibetan *rtsa-nas*, which is the shortcut form of *rtsa-ba-nas* (Bodt 2020: 623).

(52) *"ətəkciva naʔa aŋna aro aŋmən jəkna naŋʔ kheŋwa dabat aŋ thəyca dabat*
      aŋaw muʔay saʔna hənʔbo" nookno

ətəkciva	naʔa	aŋ=na	aro	aŋ=mən	jək=na
But	2SG	1SG=GOAL	And	1SG=GEN	spouse=GOAL

naŋʔ	kheŋ=wa	dabat	aŋ	thəy=**ca**	dabat
2SG	live=FACT	LIMIT	1SG	die=NEG	LIMIT

aŋ=aw	muʔ=ay	saʔ=na	hənʔ=bo	no=ok=no
1SG=ACC	stay=ADV	eat=GOAL	Give=IMP	say=ASP=QUOT

'"However, you keep giving me and my wife to eat as long as you live until I die",
(he) said, it is said.' (van Breugel 2014: 226, **bold** and reformed by the present author)

van Breugel (2014) explains that in (52), *ca* does not function as negator, but rather signals
that an event has not been realized yet, which can be understood as an expletive use.

7.   Illocutionary Acts and Negation

We have discussed "standard negation" so far in the previous section; this section treats the
relationships between illocutionary acts and negation.

7.1   Negation and Imperative

Negation is used in imperative sentences, and in this use is called the "prohibitive." Strat-
egies for expressing prohibition vary from language to language. As noticed, some lan-
guages employ a special prohibitive marker, while others utilize a general negative mor-
pheme together with certain imperative markers.

   Mandarin Chinese uses various strategies for expressing the prohibitive, as seen in
(53–54).

[Mandarin]

(53) 别去!   (54) 不要去!

bié	qù		bú	yào	qù
PROH	go		NEG	need	go

'Don't go!'

In (53), the prohibitive *bié* 别 precedes the verb, while in (54), a phrase consisting of the
negative morpheme *bú* 不 and the auxiliary *yào* 要 precedes the verb. According to my

Chinese students (Chen Hong, Liu Lingxiao, Shen Hong, and Zhang Ling), the prohibitive meaning of (54) is more intense than that of (53). Lü (1985) and Jiang (1991) claim that *bié* 別 derives from the fusion of *bú yào* 不要, though the origin of *bié* 別 is still controversial.[13]

The prohibitive morpheme in Tibeto-Burman can be reconstructed as **ta* ⋉ **da* (Matisoff 2003), which is attested as a reflex in many modern languages. Some samples are cited here from Yuanjiang Kucong, Hayu, and Darma.

[Yuanjiang Kucong: Yunnan, China; Loloish, Tibeto-Burman] (Chang 2011: 121)

(55) nɔ³¹   **tʌ³¹**   ki³³.
     2SG   PROH   go

   'Don't go!' [**bold** by the present author]

[Hayu: Kathmandu, Nepal; Kiranti, Tibeto-Burman] (Michailovsky 2017: 685)

(56) **tʰa**   dzɔ
     PROH   eat

   'Don't eat it!' [**bold** by the present author]

[Darma: Uttarakand, India; Himalayish, Tibeto-Burman] (Willis 2007: 383)

(57) **tha** ga!
     tha   ga-a
     PROH   do-2SG.IMP

   'Don't do (that)!' [**bold** by the present author]

There are exceptional cases of Tibeto-Burman languages that do not employ the prohibitive **ta* ⋉ **da*. In the Mu-nya language, spoken in Sichuan, the negative has two forms, namely *ȵɯ³³-* (imperfective) and *mʋ⁵⁵-* (perfective), while the prohibitive has a morpheme, *tɕɯ⁵⁵-*. See (58).

[Mu-nya: Ganze (Garze), Sichuan, China; Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman] (Ikeda 2013: 385)

(58) tshe⁵⁵   qə⁵⁵tshø⁵³ = tsɯ³³   ɦa³³-tɕɯ⁵⁵-ndzi³⁵!
     dish   leftover=NMLZ   DIR (downward)-PROH-eat

   'Don't eat the leftover dishes!' (glosses and sentential meaning are translated into English by the present author)

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[13] Ota (1958) analyzes the prohibitive meaning of *bié* 別 as derived from 'other', which is considered to be the core meaning of this word.

In Colloquial Burmese, the prohibitive is expressed by negative concord with *-nê*. See (59).

[Burmese: Myanmar; Tibeto-Burman] (Okano 2007: 25–26, glosses and sentential meaning are translated into English by the present author)

(59) sá-**φ**
     eat-VS

     'Eat!'

(60) mə-sá-**nê**
     NEG-eat-VS

     'Don't eat!'

As seen in Section 4, Burmese employs double-type negation, *ma-… =phú*, with postverbal element concord with simple negation. In this language, the affirmative imperative can be expressed by the verbal root only, as seen in (59). On the other hand, as in (60), the negative imperative, in other words, the prohibitive, is marked by the postverbal element *-nê*.

7.2 Negation and Interrogative

In this subsection, we only discuss the structure of polar questions utilizing negative morphemes.[14] In many Chinese dialects, the verb is "reduplicated" and the negative morpheme "inserted" to express a polar question, the so-called "A-not-A question." See an example from Cantonese in (61).

[Cantonese: Guangdong, Guangxi, Hongkong; Yue, Sinitic]

(61) 你識**唔**識我細佬呀？

    Léih   sīk-**m̀h**-sīk   ngóh   sailóu   a?
    you   know-not-know   my   brother   PRT

    'Do you know my brother?' (Matthews and Yip 1994: 311
    [Chinese Character adapted from Chishima and Kataoka 2000: 408])

(61) is a polar question with an "A-not-A" structure. The verb 識 *sīk* 'to know' is "reduplicated" and "inserted" around the negative morpheme 唔 *-m̀h*. To put it more precisely, it should be better analyzed as a verbal compound like 識 *sīk* +唔識 [*m̀h-sīk*].

    On the other hand, when it comes to the polar question in imperfective aspect, "A-not-A" is not employed; the negative morpheme 未 *meih* is placed at the end of the predicate, as seen in (62).

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[14] There are many issues in the relationship between negation and interrogative, such as the nature of rhetorical questions, etc., that should be investigated in the near future.

(62) 你食咗飯未呀?

Léih   sihk-jó-faahn   **meih**   a?
you   eat-PFV-food   not.yet   PRT

'Have you eaten yet?' (commonly used as a greeting) (Matthews and Yip 1994: 314) [Chinese characters adapted from Chishima and Kataoka 2000: 412]

"A-not-A" type polar questions are also found in some Tibeto-Burman languages, especially in Lolo-Burmese languages.

[Lianghe Achang: Dehong, Yunnan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (Shi 2009: 293)

(63) xɑ^{55} tɕhi^{33} naŋ^{33} tɕa^{33} lau^{33} **n^{31}**   tɕa^{33} lɑu^{33}?
this   CLF   2SG   meal   want   NEG   meal   want

'At this moment, are you hungry or not?' [**bold** and glossed by the present author]

Example (63) is cited from Lianghe Achang, where the negative morpheme *n^{31}* is "inserted" into the two verb phrases *tɕa^{33} lau^{33}* 'hungry [= *lit.* meal want]' and the result is then decoded as a polar question.

    The Leqi language, which is affiliated with the same Lolo-Burmese branch and spoken in the same state in Yunnan Province as Lianghe Achang, also has the "A-not-A" structure, though it seems to make the question particle occur sentence-finally.

[Leqi: Dehong, Yunnan, China; Lolo-Burmese, Tibeto-Burman] (Dai and Li 2007: 254–255)

(64) naŋ^{53} jɛn^{55} pa̰ː^{ʔ55} **a̰^{33}**   pa̰^{ʔ55} la^{53}?
2SG   tobacco   smoke   NEG   smoke   Q

'Do you smoke (tobacco)?' (Dai and Li 2007: 254) [**bold** and glossed by the present author]

In this language, as in (64), if the verb or adjective has a long vowel, the vowel of the "reduplicated" element is shortened and the question particle *la^{53}* is placed at the end of the sentence.

    Additionally, (64) is interchangeable with (65).

(65) naŋ^{53} jɛn^{55} pa̰ː^{ʔ55} la^{53} **a̰^{33}**   pa̰^{ʔ55} la^{53}?
2SG   tobacco   smoke   Q   NEG   smoke   Q

'Do you smoke (tobacco)?' (Dai and Li 2007: 255) [**bold** and glossed by the present author]

In (65), the question particle also occurs doubly in a sentence, which is not considered to belong to the "A-not-A" prototype.

8.   Concluding Remarks

This paper overviewed some typological features of negation phenomena (especially for standard negation) in Sino-Tibetan languages utilizing many descriptive works. The findings can be summarized as follows:

(i)   **Phonological Features**
  Sinitic languages have a "plosive type" and "nasal type" for the onset of negative morphemes, while most TB languages employ the form derived from PTB *ma-* for the negative. Some TB languages have /l-/, /j-/, /a-/ for the onset of the negative.

(ii)   **Word Order Features**
  Most Sinitic and TB languages are preverbal negation type, whereas some TB languages in Northeast India and Bangladesh are postverbal type. Double type can be found in Nepal and Karenic language, such as Limbu, Camling, Pwo Karen.

(iii)   **Tense/Aspect Features**
  Some Sinitic and TB languages employ different forms for tense/aspect distinctions, provided by suppletion (e.g., Qiangic, Rgyalrong) or vowel alternation (e.g., Denjongke), while Burmese has a type of "asymmetric negation," in which the tense/aspect distinction is neutralized.

(iv)   **Morphological Features**
  The negative morphemes in many TB languages are clitics or affixes (prefix/suffix), whereas the ones in Mandarin Chinese and a few TB languages (e.g., Hayu) are words. Some Sinitic and TB languages fuse the negative with the copula, auxiliary verbs, or aspectual markers.

(v)   **Syntactic and Semantic Features**
  (a)   From the viewpoint of scope, the negative element is placed directly adjacent to the word that is to be negated, although in some languages (e.g., Youle Jino), it is not, because of structural constraints.
  (b)   There are some languages with negative-polarity items in which the structural "double negative" is construed as single negation (e.g., Mandarin, Duhumbi). The expletive negative is also attested in some languages (e.g., Atong).

(vi)   **Illocutionary Act Features**
  (a)   Many Sino-Tibetan languages employ different forms for prohibitive than for simple negation; most of the former are derived from PTB *ta* ⋉ *da*, while some languages, such as Burmese, utilize concordance with sentence-final marker to represent the prohibitive.

(b)   To express polar questions, the negative and the affirmative verb form cooccur
      in some Sino-Tibetan languages, in the so-called A-not-A question.

The negation systems of Sino-Tibetan languages are, of course, much more diverse than
can be described or summarized in this paper, for which more abundant linguistic data and
finer analyses are surely needed.

Abbreviation for Glosses

ACC	accusative	INDEF	indefinite
ADV	adverb	INF	infinitivizer
ALLO	allophoric	INTS	intensifier
ANAP	anaphoric	IPFV	imperfective
ASP	aspect	IRR	irrealis
ASS	assertive	LIMIT	limitative
AUX	auxiliary	LINK	linker
CJ	conjunct	LKV	linking verb
CL(F)	classifier	LOC	locational
CMPL	completive	m	male
CONT	continuous	NEG	negative
COP	copula	NF	non-final
DEC	declarative	NMLZ	nominalizer
DEM	demonstrative	NOM	nominative
DESD	desiderative	NON-FIN	non-finite
DIR	directional	NPST	non-past
DIRE	direct evidence	OBJ	objective
DIST	distal	OBL	oblique
DP	dynamic perfect	P	person
EGO	egophoric	PER	personal
ERG	ergative	PFT (PRF)	perfect
EX(T)	existential	PFV	perfective
EQU	equative	PL	plural
FACT	factitive	POSS	possessive
FUT	future	PREF	prefix
GEN	genitive	PROG	progressive
GOAL	goal	PROH	prohibitive
HAB	habitual	PROX	proximate
IMP	imperative	PRS	present
IND	individuative	PRT	particle

PSN	personal name	RLS	realis
PST	past	SG	singular
Q	question	SUB	subjective
QUOT	quotative	SFX	suffix
RDUP	reduplication	UNC	uncertain
RES	resultative	VS	verb sentence marker

Data Sources

Akha: my fieldnote; Amdo Tibetan: Ebihara (2008), Danzheng (2017); Anong: Sun and Liu (2009); Atong: van Breugel (2014); Belhare: Bickel (2017); Bhola Situ: Nagano (2018); Bunan: Widmer (2017); Burmese: Okano (2007, 2013); Cak: Huziwara (2008); Camling: Ebert (2017); Cantonese: Chappell and Peyraube (2016), Matthews and Yip (1994); Chantyal: Noonan and Hildebrandt (2017a); Cogtse rGyalrong: Nagano (2017); Darma: Willis (2007); Denjongke: Yliniemi (2019); Dhimal: King (2009); Drapa (nDrapa): Shirai (2006, 2021b); Duhumbi: Bodt (2020); Dulong: LaPolla (2017); Eastern Kayah Li: Solnit (2017); Fuqing Chinese: Chen (2018); Galo: Post (2015), Garo: Burling (2004); Guiqiong: Jiang (2015); Hakha Lai: Peterson (2017); Hayu: Michailovsky (2017); Japhug: Jacques (2008); Jero: Opgenort (2005); Jinghpaw: Kurabe (2016, 2017); Karbi: Konnerth (2017); Kathmandu Newar: Hargreaves (2017); Kham: Watters (2002); Kham Tibetan: Häsler (1999); Khatso: Donlay (2019); Kurtöp: Hyslop (2017); Ladakhi: Koshal (1979); Lahu: Matisoff (1973); Lao: Enfield (2007); Lepcha: Plaisier (2017); Leqi: Dai and Li (2007); Lhasa Tibetan: Hoshi and Kelsang (2017); Lhomi: Vesalainen (2016); Lianghe Achang: Shi (2009); Limbu: van Driem (2017); Lisu: Bradley (2017); Lizu: Chirkova (2017); Manange: Hildebrandt and Bond (2017); Mandarin Chinese: Lü (1999), Yao (2017), Yip and Rimmington (2016), Zhu (1959), Personal Communication (Chen Hong, Liu Lingxiao, Shen Hong, Zhang Ling, Zhang Yan); Meitei: Chelliah (1997); Menglun Akeu: my fieldnote; Minnan: Chappell (2019); Mongsen Ao: Coupe (2017); Mu-nya: Ikeda (2013, 2020); Nar-phu: Noonan and Hildebrandt (2017b); Nuosu Yi: Gerner (2013); Phunoi: Dai et al. (2018); Prinmi: Ding (2015); Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB): Matisoff (2003); Pwo Karen: Kato (2017); Qiang: LaPolla and Huang (2003); Sangla Kinnauri: Saxena (2017); Stau: Jacques et al. (2017); Tamang: Mazaudon (2017); Tangam: Post (2017); Thai: Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005); Tshangla: Andvik (2017); Tshobdun rGyalrong: Sun (2017); Tujia: Lu et al. (2020), Xu et al. (2017); Vietnamese: Thompson (1965); Wambule Rai: Opgenort (2017); Wu (Shanghainese): Chappell and Peyraube (2016); Youle Jino: Hayashi (2009), my fieldnote; Yuanjiang Kucong: Chang (2011); Zaiwa: Lustig (2010).

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Notes:

Figure 1 and 3 are adapted and reformed from the following website.

https://www.freemap.jp/

上古漢語否定詞 "無" "毋" 及其相關字的演變補說
——以戰國秦漢出土文獻為主——

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Further discussion on the diachronic change of Wú 無 and Wú 毋 in Old Chinese
—Focusing on excavated documents from the Warring States period to the Han dynasty—

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Summary

This article discusses the diachronic changes of the negator *Wú* 無, *Wú* 毋 in Old Chinese, primarily using characters that stand for the negator *Wú* 無 and *Wú* 毋 in excavated documents from the Warring States period to the Han 漢 dynasty.

In Chu 楚 during the Warring States period, 亡 and 無 stood for *Wú* 無, but 無 became a major character at the end of 4th century B.C.; 毋 stood for *Wú* 毋 and never for *Wú* 無. By contrast, in Qin 秦, before the end of the 3rd century B.C., 毋 stood for *Wú* 無 and not only *Wú* 毋, which more accurately reflects a sound change in *Wú* 無 at that time. This character usage became common during the Qin 秦 and Han 漢 dynasty because of the unification of China and the standardization of the writing system by Qin 秦, particularly in the colloquial writing style. Under the literary writing style, 無 and 无 stood for *Wú* 無. However, 毋 which stood for *Wú* 無 increasingly appeared even in the literary style during the Han 漢 dynasty. Then, people started to view 無 as the traditional or correct character, and 毋 replaced with 無. This may have happened before the end of Eastern Han 東漢 dynasty, when the *Gǔ wén jīng xué* 古文經學 became prosperous. This phenomenon represents the dynamic and complex change in writing systems in Old Chinese, which was motivated or influenced by phonetic change in spoken language, dialectical variation, and the historical and cultural background.

Key words: Old Chinese, Negator, *Wú* 無, *Wú* 毋, Excavated documents

關鍵詞：上古漢語，否定詞，無，毋，出土文獻

1. 緒言

本文討論上古漢語中的否定詞"無""毋"，特別是本文利用戰國秦漢時代的出土文獻，以揭示出當時書面語當中"無""毋"的記錄形式的面貌及其演變。

在上古漢語中"無"（*ma¹）是表示"不領有／不存在"的動詞，文字表記上有「亡」「無」「无」等的變體；"毋"（*mə）則是表示禁止、否定性意願等的副詞。文獻中兩者的關係很複雜，歷來有不少討論。其中大西克也（1989）較早利用出土文獻來探討此問題，提出了很重要的看法。但由於各種原因，包括當時所能看到的資料很有限，現在看來似有一些可以補充之處。

本文在大西克也（1989）以及相關先行研究的基礎上，試圖更深入描寫、分析上古漢語，特別是戰國秦漢時代"無"和"毋"的記錄形式的演變過程及其動因。雖然本文的討論似偏重於文獻研究，但我認為可以顯示出上古漢語書面語演變的很複雜的、動態的面貌，可供漢語史作更精密的構建。

2. "無"和"毋"

開始具體討論之前，以下先簡單地描寫"無"和"毋"的語法功能和語義特徵。

2.1 "無"

"無"係表示"不領有／不存在"的動詞[2]，與表示"領有／存在"的"有"相對應：

(1)   臣無二心，天之制也。（《左傳》莊公十四年）

(2)   宋亦饑，請於平公，出公粟以貸，使大夫皆貸。司城氏貸而不書，為大夫之無者貸。宋無飢人。（《左傳》襄公二十九年）

   如（3）（4），"無"也可以帶謂詞性賓語。本文認為這種"無"也是動詞：

(3)   子曰：「志士仁人，無[3] 求生以害仁，有殺身以成仁。」（《論語·衛靈公》）

(4)   却軍之日，無伐齊、外齊焉。（馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》1 章 5）

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[1] 本文所示擬音根據 Schuessler（2009）。
[2] "無"（*ma）應當與表示"逃亡""死亡""滅亡"的"亡"（*maŋ）同源（參見大西克也 2017: 381）。
[3] 定州漢簡《論語》也作"無"。

還有如（10），在表示假定、條件的從句中常常用"毋"[7]：

（10）苟毋任子，講，請以齊為上交。（馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》3 章 17）

由這種用法來看，正如 Auken（2004）把"毋"稱為"Modal negative *wu*"且云"The modal negative *wu* can be treated as expressing deontic modality"[8]，"毋"應當可定性為［+modal］的否定詞。

2.3 "無"和"毋"之間的關係以及上古漢語中的演變

文獻（特別是傳世文獻）中"無"和"毋"的語義功能似乎相通，即如（11），"無"用為表示禁戒的副詞，（12）"毋"則用為表示不領有的動詞：

（11）子謂子夏曰：「女為君子儒，無[9]為小人儒。」（《論語‧雍也》）

（12）薦器則冠有鍪而毋縱（《荀子‧禮論》）

並且在傳世先秦文獻中"毋"罕見，在此揭示 Auken（2004: 202–203）對部分傳世文獻所做的統計結果：

表 1　部分傳世先秦文獻中的"無 / 无"和"毋"的分佈情況

	左傳	論語	孟子	莊子	荀子
無 / 无	1054	126	254	796	640
毋	23	6	0	0	1

根據這種情況，不少研究認為"無"和"毋"實際上表示同一個詞，兩者只是文字表記上的不同而已[10]。

然而"無"字上古音一般歸入魚部（*-a），"毋"則歸入之部（*-ə）[11]，當時語音不同，原則上難以通假或通用。若要說"毋"和"無"是同一個詞的不同寫法，需要作一些解釋；並且如下述，在出土文獻中的情況與傳世文獻很不一樣，暗示"無"和"毋"本來有區別。簡單地把"無"和"毋"看作是表示同一個詞的不同文字，這種看法似有商榷的餘地。

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[7] 參見大西克也、大櫛敦弘（2015: 61）。這不意味著假定從句只用"毋"，也會出現"不"等其他否定詞：
若不休兵，而攻虛梁，守必堅。（馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》26 章 303）

[8] Auken（2004: 196）。

[9] 也有版本作"毋"（參見十三經注疏整理委員會 2000: 83）。

[10] 如呂叔湘（1941/1955）、Chappell and Peyraube（2016: 494–495）等。

[11] 在 Baxter 先生的系統中"毋"歸入侯部（參見 Baxter 1991: 24–26 等）。

　　關於 "無" 和 "毋" 的研究當中，我認為很重要的有大西克也（1989）。大西克也（1989）利用出土文獻來進行過很仔細的考察，以揭示出秦漢時代的出土文獻中，特別是與思想、歷史等有關的文學性作品（馬王堆帛書《老子》《戰國縱橫家書》等）當中動詞用 "無 / 无"，副詞用 "毋"，有分工現象（稱之為 "A 式"）；同時指出秦漢時代的實用性著作（馬王堆帛書《五十二病方》《胎產書》、睡虎地秦簡、居延漢簡等）中，不管動詞、副詞都幾乎只用 "毋"（B 式），並且認為 B 式是由於口頭語言中的音變從 A 式演變過來的（詳下文討論）。大西克也（1989）進一步調查其他資料，指出商代甲骨文動詞用 "亡"、副詞用 "勿" / "毋"（C 式，但 "毋" 很少見）；西周金文動詞用 "亡" / "無"、副詞用 "勿" / "毋"（D 式）；傳世先秦文獻動詞用 "無"、副詞也用 "無"（E 式）。也就是說，除了 B 式和 E 式以外，"亡 / 無 / 无" 和 "毋"（以及 "勿"）在功能上有所區別。大西克也（1989）據此也討論了 A ～ E 式的演變順序，首先提出如下按照資料時代排列的演變（甲說）：

	C 式		D 式		A 式		B 式
動詞	亡	>	亡/無	>	無/无	>	毋
副詞	勿（/毋）		勿/毋		毋		毋
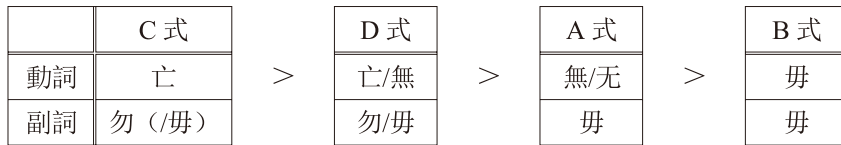
　　然而就此演變模式大西克也（1989: 43–44）認為也有問題，比如難以判斷應把傳世先秦文獻的 E 式放在此系列中何處。因此大西克也（1989）提出了第二種解釋（乙說，下圖引自大西克也 1989: 44）：
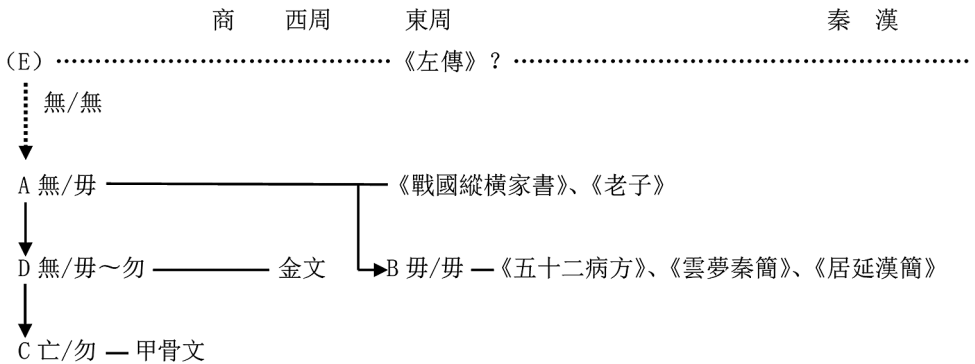
此說資料的年代與語言現象出現的順序不一致，就此大西克也（1989: 44）解釋為："語言的變化速度有快有慢；方言不同，快慢也不一樣。我們的資料當中變化快者甲骨文為魁首，金文居第二位。[馬王堆帛書：引用者]《老子》《經法》等到了秦漢還處在原始的 A 式，是為變化慢者。"

另外關於“無”和“毋”的區別，Auken（2004: 205–208）注意到西漢初期的馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》《春秋事語》中“毋”表示 Auken（2004）所謂“modal negative *wu*”，動詞則用“無”，並且在這些文獻中可與傳世文獻對比的 8 例“毋”，其中 7 例在傳世文獻中作“無”[12]。但 Auken（2004: 207–208）認為馬王堆帛書只是個小樣本，不能據此斷定這是當時典型的用法。徐丹（2007）則通過出土文獻與傳世文獻的比較，出土文獻之間的比較，同一文獻內部材料的比較，提出了“‘無、毋’曾在戰國後期、西漢前期,幅員遼闊的地帶通用，反映了‘魚、侯’合韻的情況。‘無、毋’語法分工是合韻後發生的”[13]這樣的結論。

那麼先秦時代，特別是戰國時代“無”和“毋”的真正面貌如何？兩者本來有所分工還是沒有區別？並且該如何排列從商代甲骨文到秦漢時代的演變順序？根據這種認識，本文試圖討論如下問題：

①戰國時代“無”和“毋”以及相關字的面貌如何。本文主要利用從戰國時代楚地出土的簡帛資料（戰國楚系簡帛，年代大體是 BC5 世紀末到 BC3 世紀左右）來進行調查和分析。這些資料大西克也（1989）當時未能充分利用，但近年來楚系簡帛資料日益豐富，對於考察戰國時代書面語的真正面貌，現如今已經有了很好的條件。

②秦漢時代的“無”“毋”的重新調查。新出土的秦漢時代的簡牘資料也陸續公開，本文據此驗證當時“無”“毋”等字詞的使用情況。

③傳世先秦文獻的情況（即“E 式”）是否反映出當時真貌？若不是，為何傳世文獻是 E 式？其實大西克也（1989）也指出 E 式有可能沒反映當時書面語的面貌，而是後世的改寫。大西克也（1989: 43–44）云“E 式如果推到漢魏以後，就把它放在 A 的後頭。…但目前我們覺得很難找到副詞位置上導致‘毋’到‘無’（即 A 到 E）的變化的原因是什麼。如果 E 式是一種人造的狀態而沒有反映實在的語言，那就沒有這個問題了”。如今可與傳世文獻對比的出土文獻愈加豐富，應當可以做出更明確的判斷。

最後本文也試圖提出關於“無”“毋”以及相關字的演變模式的一種新解釋。

在此需要說明的是，本文不討論“勿”（*mət）及其演變。春秋以後“勿”基本上相當於“毋＋之”，這種看法可謂已經得到大方的認同[14]。但同時大多學者認同甲骨文、西周金文、《尚書》等更早的資料中這個規律不成立[15]，比如 Takashima（1988）認為甲骨文中“毋”和“勿”之間有 stative/eventive 和 non-stative/non-eventive 的對立。關於在上古早期漢語中的“毋”和“勿”有什麼樣的差異，以及與春秋以後漢語的“勿”有什麼樣的關係，這是一個很大、很複雜的問題，在此不能進行充分討論。

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[12] 另外 1 例傳世文獻也作“毋”。

[13] 徐丹（2007: 48）。

[14] “勿”很有可能源自“毋之”的合音（勿 *mət ＝毋 *mə ＋之 *tə）（參見魏培泉 2001 等）。

[15] 參見呂叔湘（1941/1955: 20–21）等。

　　另外，為了論述的方便，以下用 {X} 來表示某個詞（word），即語音和語義的結合；用「Y」表示某個文字字形（character），儘量把字和詞區分開來進行討論[16]。

3. 戰國楚系簡帛中的 {無} 與 {毋}

3.1 戰國楚系簡帛中的 {無}

　　在此討論戰國楚系簡帛中的{無}。戰國楚系簡帛中主要用「亡」「無」來記錄{無}，都可以看作是表示不領有／不存在的動詞，似乎沒有像 {毋} 那樣情態副詞的用法。有研究認為楚系簡帛當中「毋」也會表示 {無}，就此會在 3.2 中進行考察。

　　就戰國楚系簡帛中的「亡」「無」，徐丹（2005）有所討論，但其文的主要目的似在於進行較為宏觀的從戰國到漢代「無」取代「亡」的過程之描寫，就戰國楚系資料來講，徐丹（2005）只利用郭店楚簡《老子》《五行》，以與西漢時代的馬王堆帛書《老子》《五行》等其他資料做對比而已[17]，尚需要進行更仔細的討論。另外，北條立記（2015: 177）也描寫了楚系簡帛中的「亡」「無」的情況，北條氏指出，不管他所謂 “在地性文獻” 還是 “半在地性文獻”[18]，「亡」「無」都見於楚系簡帛的多數文獻中。然而如下文討論，詳細調查後發現「亡」「無」在楚系簡帛中的分佈情況也有一定的偏差，因此本文重新提出其統計和分析。

　　本文末尾的附表 1 是楚系簡帛當中表示 {無}[19] 的「亡」和「無」之分佈情況。就簡單的數量來講，目前所見的楚系簡帛資料中「亡」比「無」多，據本文的統計「亡」總共有 421 例，「無」則有 169 例，「亡」有「無」的 2.5 倍左右。由此看來，似乎在戰國楚地書面語當中「亡」才是主流的用字[20]。

　　然而值得關注的是，雖然「亡」比「無」多，但除了葛陵楚簡，以及包山楚簡中的 1 例以外，用「亡」的都是典籍類、文學性的作品(這並非說典籍類文獻不用「無」，也請看下文討論)，可謂典籍類文獻多用「亡」；與此不同，遣冊、日書、卜筮祭禱記錄、行政檔案等實用方面的簡冊，除了葛陵楚簡以外（即曾侯乙墓竹簡、望山楚簡、九店楚簡、包山楚簡）幾乎只用「無」。這些實用方面的文獻，應當代表當時當地書面語的一般的、典型的用字習慣[21]。

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[16] { } 和「」之間的關係（字詞關係）不一定是必然性的，在不同時代、地區有所差異，例如在春秋戰國時代為了表示第一人稱代詞 {吾}（*ŋa），楚國用「虗」、齊國及三晉等用「虘」、秦國用「吾」，現在我們的書寫習慣中則用「吾」。

[17] 當然當時能利用的資料比現在更有限。

[18] 北條立記（2015）把戰國簡牘資料分為 “在地性文獻” 和 “半在地性文獻” 兩類，前者是指其成書、書寫都在某個統治地域內進行的文獻，如包山楚簡等；後者係如郭店楚簡中的儒家類典籍等，其成書地與抄寫地不同的文獻。

[19] 包括名詞的 {無}。

[20] 周波（2012: 102）云 “六國文字多用 ‘亡’ 表示 {無}”。

[21] 但需要注意的是當時《日書》當在很廣泛的地區裡流通、互相融合（參見海老根量介 2014），因此九店楚簡《日書》也有可能具有楚地以外的來源。

　　並且很重要的是，只有葛陵楚簡用不少「亡」。比起望山楚簡、包山楚簡、九店楚簡，葛陵楚簡的年代較早[22]，據宋華強（2010: 134），葛陵楚簡的年代下限為BC401 年 –BC395 年之間，葛陵楚簡「亡」「無」混用，望山楚簡、九店楚簡、包山楚簡幾乎只用「無」，這種差異有可能體現出楚地書面語的時代性演變[23]。即 BC5世紀末或 BC4 世紀初的葛陵楚簡的時代，楚地書面語中實際用途的文獻也用「亡」，然而到了 BC4 世紀末的望山楚簡、包山楚簡、九店楚簡等時代的楚地，用「無」表示｛無｝才是當時一般的、日常性的用字習慣[24]。關於曾侯乙墓竹簡，它係目前所能看到的楚系簡帛當中時代最早的資料[25]，比起葛陵楚簡也早一點，但未見「亡」。這也許與其地理因素有關，由“曾侯乙”的墓葬所出土的曾侯乙墓竹簡，一般歸屬於楚系資料，但其用字有一些與其他楚簡不合的特徵[26]。

　　綜上述，由戰國楚簡中的「亡」「無」的分佈情況來看，雖然在戰國楚地書面語本來用「亡」「無」來表示｛無｝，但戰國中晚期的楚國書面語當中，頗有可能在表示｛無｝一詞上，「無」才是一般的用字，「亡」則是具有文學色彩的、或是較保守的，不是日常性的用字了。換句話說，當時楚地書面語當中「亡」與「無」之間很有可能存在一種語體色彩、使用場合的差異，楚系簡帛中「亡」和「無」的分佈情況表現出楚系用字的歷史演變，以及與此相關的戰國晚期楚系書面語中用字的層次之存在[27]。

　　然而仍需要注意的是，不能據此簡單地認為，在楚系簡帛的典籍、文學類文獻當中用「無」的文獻比用「亡」的文獻更新、更體現出楚國典型用字習慣等，問題較複雜。因為由附表 1 可以看出，混用「亡」「無」的文獻並非多數，用「亡」還是用「無」分得比較明確。比如郭店簡《老子》甲、乙組幾乎只用「亡」而丙組只用「無」[28]；安大簡《詩經》當中，用「亡」的篇章不用「無」。如徐丹（2005: 65）

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[22] 望山楚簡所出土的望山一號墓的年代，湖北省文物考古研究所（1996: 210）推定為戰國中期的楚威王或懷王前期；包山楚簡所出土的墓葬下葬年代為 BC316 年（參見湖北省荊沙鐵路考古隊 1991: 330–333）；九店楚簡所出土的九店五六號墓屬於戰國晚期早段（參見湖北省文物考古研究所、北京大學中文系 2000: 162）。

[23] 關於楚系簡帛內部的時代性演變以及對其研究的重要性，參見大西克也（2015）、郭永秉（2016）。

[24] 但需要注意的是，也有可能葛陵楚簡的情況不能代表當時全部楚地書面語的情況，或者葛陵楚簡用不少「亡」是它偶然呈現出特別的情況。其實葛陵楚簡中也見與其他楚簡不同且似乎難以看作與其時代性有關的特殊用字，陳斯鵬（2011: 265）指出葛陵楚簡用「還」「嬛」表示地支｛亥｝這個極其特別的現象。

[25] 據湖北省博物館編（1989: 461–464），曾侯乙墓的下葬年代被視為 BC433 年 –BC400 年。

[26] 參見陳斯鵬（2011: 260–264）。

[27] 初步調查劉彬徽、劉長武（2009）所收的楚系金文，「無」有 22 例、「亡」只有 1 例（見於鄔子受鐘“亡作昧爽”），似與本文推測矛盾。但「無」都是“眉壽無期”“萬福無疆”之類的用例，頗有可能是一個較固定的寫法，似與簡帛當中的情況不同，不能一概而論。

[28] 聶中慶（2004: 105–106）據郭店楚簡中「亡」和「無」的使用情況認為丙組形成的年代比其他兩組晚。但是否甲、乙、丙各組的「亡」和「無」的分佈情況只代表時代性差異，似可商榷；徐丹（2005: 65）則根據郭店楚簡《老子》甲組中基本上用「亡」而只有一例用「無」，云“這個孤例表明‘亡’是當時‘正宗’的用法，‘無’也許剛在非正式的寫法裡流傳。很可能是抄寫者無意寫的，而非是一種有意的字體

所指出，這種現象令人猜測「亡」和「無」的選擇並非隨意的，並且如下述其他地區也有可能主要用「無」表示｛無｝，所以需要考慮其文獻所據的底本的情況[29]。

3.2　戰國楚系簡帛中的｛毋｝

據本文的調查，戰國楚系簡帛中「毋」不會用為表示不領有／不存在的動詞[30]，而都可以理解為表示情態否定副詞。換句話說，戰國楚系簡帛中「毋」表示｛毋｝，不會表示｛無｝。然而就以下 3 例「毋」，有研究認為是動詞（即表示｛無｝）。首先就（13），周守晉（2005: 165）揭示郭店楚簡、包山楚簡、九店楚簡、望山楚簡、楚帛書中「毋」之統計而認為只有（13）的「毋」表示｛無｝[31]：

（13）父兄之所樂，苟 毋 大害，少枉納之可也（郭店楚簡《性自命出》簡 61）

郭店楚簡《性自命出》與上博楚簡《性情論》相對應，《性情論》作如下（14），幾乎與（13）一致：

（14）【父】兄之所樂，苟 毋 大害，少枉納之可也（上博楚簡《性情論》簡 31）

就（13）（14）的「毋」，我認為可以理解為表示｛毋｝，因為在（13）（14）中「毋」出現於用「苟」的假定條件句當中，如上述（10），在這種語境中多用｛毋｝；（13）（14）的"害"應當可以理解為動詞。

還有（15）的「母[32]」，一般認為表示｛無｝，比如劉釗（2004: 93）把"友君臣，母（無）親也"翻譯成"朋友及君臣之間則沒有親緣"：

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[29] 風儀誠（2007: 83、92–95）就「于」和「於」指出，有一些出土書籍雖然在行文中基本上用「於」，但引用古書時用「于」；郭店楚簡、上博楚簡和今本的《緇衣》，郭店楚簡《性自命出》和上博楚簡《性情論》，郭店楚簡和馬王堆帛書的《五行》，在這些版本、時代不同的文獻中「于」和「於」的用法基本上一樣。因此風先生認為古書被抄寫的時候會保留原本的寫法，不會隨意改寫「于」和「於」。

[30] 户内俊介（2010: 160）引用大西克也先生的課上發言而云"楚簡の否定詞‘毋’には単独の名詞を否定する用法がなく"（楚簡中的否定詞"毋"沒有否定名詞的用法）。

[31] 在周守晉（2005: 165）所示的表格中沒有明確地交代哪一個「毋」表示｛無｝，但周守晉（2005: 198）把本文（13）作"苟無大害"而引用。

[32] 秦漢之前不區分「母」和「毋」。

（此段文字未完，承接上方腳註部分）
選擇"，若據此說，只用「無」的郭店簡《老子》丙組是"非正式寫法"的抄本了，正式／不正式的對立來討論「亡」和「無」，這似不太合理。然而把甲組（簡 32）的 1 例「無」看作當時抄手習慣的無意識反映，我認為這則是有可能的。如果在戰國中晚期的楚地用「無」表示｛無｝是主要的、日常性的用字這個本文的看法屬實，甲組簡 32 的「無」可以看做是抄手通常的、日常性的用字習慣的偶爾出現，即甲組的抄手本來根據其底本寫「亡」，但途中不小心寫了自己平常所用的「無」，而且抄手自己發現以後在簡 32、37 則又根據底本寫「亡」（此承鄔可晶先生的指教）。

（15）　□□父，有親有尊。長弟，親道也。友君臣，<u>母親也</u>。（郭店楚簡《語叢一》
　　　　簡 78、80–81）

就此「母」，我認為仍可看作表示｛毋｝，"友君臣，母（毋）親也"這一句的意思
有可能是"朋友、君臣之間（雖然互相尊敬，但）不該（像兄弟那樣）親近"[33]。即
使"友君臣，母親也"此句前面有"有親"，也不必就得把此"母（毋）親"的「母
（毋）」看作表示與｛有｝相對應的｛無｝；另外也有一種可能，裘錫圭先生推測在（15）
前面本來有"君，尊而不親。母，親而不尊。"這麼一句[34]，即（15）整體作"君，
尊而不親。母，親而不尊。父，有親有尊。長弟，親道也。友君臣，母親也。"，若
裘先生的推測屬實，也許抄手受到這些「父」「母」的影響，把本來要寫「亡／無」
的地方而誤寫成「母」。
　　總之，即使（13）（14）（15）這些例子「母」表示｛無｝，在楚系簡帛當中也屬
極其罕見的例外。大體上還是可謂在戰國楚系簡帛所體現的語言中「母」只表示｛母｝。

3.3　其他地區的 ｛無｝ 與 ｛毋｝

　　在此討論楚地以外地區 ｛無｝ 與 ｛毋｝ 的情況。徐丹（2005）指出從戰國時代
到漢代有「無」取代「亡」的趨勢，而推測其替換大約在 BC3 世紀發生，並且指
出在湖北出土的郭店簡《老子》中可見「無」，然而在中山王墓（河北省）所出土
的諸器銘文（BC310 年左右）上只見「亡」，由此主張在「亡」到「無」這個變化
上北方比南方保守一些[35]。
　　但我很懷疑其"北方比南方保守"說能否成立。如徐氏所云，確實中山王器銘
文中用「亡」表示 ｛無｝，但需要注意的是，一般來講春秋戰國時代金文的語言文
字很保守、特殊；中山國的文字一般屬入晉系文字，而主要保存戰國時代中原地區
語言的馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》[36]不用「亡」而用「無」「无」，由此可以推測
戰國時代的晉系文字中也有可能用「無」（或「无」）來表示 ｛無｝[37]才是一般的、
普通的用法，「亡」則是比較特殊的用字[38]。也就是說，像上述楚國一樣「亡」與「無」
之間存在一種文體色彩、使用場面的差異的情況，可能不是楚國獨有的，在其他地
區（除秦國，詳下文討論）也是同樣的。但很遺憾，楚國以外的東方地區資料非常
有限，目前難以仔細討論其 ｛無｝｛毋｝ 的情況如何。

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[33] 嶽麓秦簡《為吏治官及黔首》簡 43 有"人情難知，<u>非親勿親</u>，多所知。"一句。
[34] 參見武漢大學簡帛研究中心、荊門市博物館（2011: 149）。
[35] 徐丹（2005: 67）。
[36] 大西克也、大櫛敦弘（2015: 38）。
[37] 在此附帶一提，清華簡《子犯子餘》內容與晉國相當密切，在此篇中也只用「無」，也許與其文獻來
源有關。
[38] 其實三晉璽印、貨幣等中也有用「亡」之例，多表人名、"亡（無）私"等詞語（參見湯志彪 2013:
1722–1725）。

　　另外就「无」，北條立記（2015: 176–178、185–186）根據《説文》“无，奇字無也”、段玉裁注“謂古文奇字如此作也”這些記載，以及戰國秦漢時代出土文獻中的分佈來推測「无」是戰國時代的非秦、非楚系的用字，在齊、晉、燕等地使用。但「无」字本身頗有可能源於「無」的簡省寫法 [39]，此字是否體現出秦、楚以外地區的特徵，有待進一步探討。

　　就戰國時代西方的秦國，則與東方各國情況很不一樣，在下文進行詳細討論。

3.4　小結：戰國時代的 ｛無｝｛毋｝

　　綜上所述，戰國時代楚地書面語用「亡」「無」來表示 ｛無｝，且很有可能到了BC4 世紀末時「無」才是主流的用字了；用「毋」表示 ｛毋｝，「毋」不會表示 ｛無｝。當時其他東方地區情況頗有可能與楚國相同，但也有同時用「无」來表示 ｛無｝的可能。

　　如上引大西克也（1989）所指出，到了西周金文才出現「無」，開始用「亡」「無」來表示 ｛無｝（D 式）；而到了秦漢時代已不用「亡」，A 式用「無」「无」以表示 ｛無｝。由此可見，戰國時代（楚地）可謂處於 D 式到 A 式的過度狀態，本文稱之為“d-a 式”。

4.　秦、漢時代簡帛資料的 ｛無｝與 ｛毋｝

　　如上述，戰國楚系簡帛中用「亡」「無」表示動詞 ｛無｝，似乎沒有「毋」確實表示 ｛無｝的例子。與此不同，戰國末期到統一後的秦國以及西漢時代出土文獻中有眾多「毋」用為動詞。上面已經介紹過，大西克也（1989）以睡虎地秦簡（戰國末期）、馬王堆帛書（西漢早期）、居延漢簡（西漢武帝時代～西漢末）為對象調查「毋」「無 / 无」的分佈情況後發現，與歷史、思想等有關的典籍類文獻是 A 式（動詞「無 / 无」、副詞「毋」），醫學、法律、行政文書等實用方面的文獻則是 B 式（動詞「毋」、副詞「毋」），認為 B 式是從 A 式演變過來的。也就是說，實用性文獻更反映出口語性的、通俗的新因素。在此首先揭示大西克也（1989）的統計（表格的形式有所調整）：

表 2　大西克也（1989）所示秦漢時代出土文獻中「無／无」「毋」的分佈情況

A 式＝動詞「無／无」、副詞「毋」

	馬王堆帛書					
	老子・乙	經法	十六經	稱	戰國縱橫家書	十問
無／无（動詞）	2/61	1/47	1/26	0/7	7/34	1/8
無／无（副詞）[40]	0/1	0/2	0/1	0	0/1	0/0
毋（動詞）	0	0	2	0	1	2
毋（副詞）	14	12	17	9	36	5

B 式＝動詞「毋」、副詞「毋」

	睡虎地秦簡[41]						馬王堆帛書		居延漢簡
	語書	秦律十八種	法律答問	封診式	為吏之道	秦律雜抄	五十二病方	胎產書	
無／无（動詞）	1/0	2/0	0/0	0/0	0/2	0/0	0/0	0/0	3/0
無／无（副詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
毋（動詞）	2	19	5	24	10	3	31	4	45
毋（副詞）	1	36	9	7	20	3	24	5	22

　　大西克也（1989）的發表之後也有不少新材料的發現和公開，本文在此考察新見秦漢時代簡牘資料中｛無｝｛毋｝的情況。

4.1　秦簡中的 ｛無｝ 與 ｛毋｝

　　在睡虎地秦簡以外的秦簡中表示｛無｝｛毋｝的「無／无」「毋」之情況如下表[42]：

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[40] 大西克也（1989）認為"盜賊無有"（馬王堆帛書《老子》乙本）等的「無」係副詞，但如果本文 2.1 的討論屬實，其"無"亦可看作是動詞。下文把這種"無"也認定為動詞。

[41] 睡虎地秦簡《日書》不在大西克也（1989）的統計中，據本文的調查，《日書》中有 68 例動詞「毋」、63 例副詞「毋」（其中簡 76 背的 1 例用「母」表示｛毋｝），「無」（動詞）則見 1 例，「亡」（動詞）也見 1 例（此例見於本文（17））

[42] 名詞用法、表記專有名詞以及因前後文的殘缺而不能判斷的例子不包含在表 3 以及下面表 4 的統計中。

表 3 秦簡中「無/无」「毋」的分佈情況

	北大秦簡							放馬灘秦簡		
	教女	魯久次問數于陳起	祠祝之道	泰原有死者	制衣	禹九策	公子從軍	日書·甲	日書·乙	丹
無/无（動詞）	0/0	0/11	0/0	0/0	0/0	2/0	1/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
無/无（副詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
毋（動詞）	4	5	0	0	3	2	0	1	12	0
毋（副詞）	2	1	1	3	1	7	0	1	17	3

	龍崗秦簡	周家臺秦簡	睡虎地木牘	岳山木牘	嶽麓秦簡				里耶秦簡
		病方			為吏治官及黔首	數	為獄等狀四種	秦律令	
無/无（動詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/4	0/0	0/0	5/0	0[43]
無/无（副詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0
毋（動詞）	4	1	12	0	12	2	23	55	89
毋（副詞）	6	11	4	3	30	0	1	143	42

　　由上表可見，除了個別作品以外，秦簡中可見眾多動詞「毋」，特別是以陰影展示的文獻中動詞、副詞幾乎都只用「毋」。上表文獻除了北大漢簡《教女》，其他都是占卜（放馬灘秦簡《日書》、北大秦簡《禹九策》）、法律（龍崗秦簡、嶽麓秦簡（除《數》））、行政文書（里耶秦簡）、醫學（周家臺秦簡《病方》）、書信（睡虎地秦牘）、數學（北大秦簡《魯久次問數于陳起》、嶽麓秦簡《數》）等實用性的、通俗文獻，這種文獻中多見「毋」，正與大西克也（1989）所指出的傾向一致[44]。北大秦簡《教女》由"善女子之方"（"已出嫁女子在夫家之行為所應遵守的規則"[45]）以及"不善女子之方"（列舉"不善女子的種種劣行，以為善女子必須避免之借鑑"[46]）構成，多為四字一句且押韻。因而似乎可以認為是典籍類作品，但朱鳳瀚（2015: 13）云"《教女》這篇文章，既是與《從政之經》這類修身、宜忌的文章抄在同一卷，用意應近同，也是當時用來供個人修行的話語，只是對象是婦女，其性質似近於《女誡》。而且這篇文章是韻文，多數句子四字為一句，每兩句押韻，顯然也是為了便于誦讀、記憶，亦即方便流行。因而可以認為此種文章在秦代（上可溯至戰國秦）

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[43] 關於 8–143 "蓋侍食贏病馬無小" "病者無小" 的 "無小"，陳偉主編（2012: 83）認為是馬名，何有祖（2015）則認為 "無小" 表示 "沒有小事、不是小事" 之意。

[44] 其實目前發現的秦簡大多是實用方面的文獻，罕見典籍、文學作品。

[45] 朱鳳瀚（2015: 5）。

[46] 朱鳳瀚（2015: 5）。

是有較寬的適用面而且具實際功用的”，可見這種文獻頗有可能是當時人所口誦的
實用性文獻。

在上表中北大秦簡《魯久次問數于陳起》多見「无」，其實此篇也涉及到“數”
的起源以及“數”和宇宙萬物的關係 [47] 等哲學思想方面的內容。而且據田煒（2016），
此篇是“戰國後期根據楚文字抄寫的底本傳抄而來的本子” [48]，在字形、用字上保留
楚國或六國文字的特徵。並且在詞彙方面，此篇中用連詞「與」，這也是戰國時代
東方六國語言的特徵 [49]。由此推測，在北大秦簡《魯久次問數于陳起》多見「无」，
這或許與其文獻性質或來源有關。

就《為吏治官及黔首》中的 4 例，北條立記（2015: 178）已指出都見於與儒家、
墨家關係密切的，以及一種講格言的地方，據此認為有可能反映秦以外的東方地區
的語言。

另外，嶽麓秦簡《秦律令》5 例「無」，其中 4 例如（16）那樣用於“無 AB”
而表示“不管 A 還是 B”，或許是一種固定的用法：

（16）令不更以下 無復不復，更爲典老。（簡 1235）

大西克也（1989: 39）也指出在睡虎地秦簡中表示這種意思的時候用「無 / 无」而
不用「毋」，就其原因云“因為‘不管’的意思比較重而避免‘無’到‘毋’的變化” [50]。

北大秦簡《禹九策》「毋」「無」都見 2 例；《公子從軍》見 1 例「無」，這或許
是古老用字的殘留，待考（也請參看下文 4.3 的討論）。

4.2 漢簡中的｛無｝與｛毋｝

接下來討論漢簡中的「無 / 无」「毋」。本文調查張家山漢簡（西漢早期 [51]）、銀
雀山漢簡（文帝・惠帝時代～武帝早期 [52]）、北大漢簡（武帝後期～宣帝時代 [53]）、
定州漢簡《論語》（宣帝五鳳三年（BC55 年）之前 [54]），其結果如下表：

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[47] 參見韓巍（2015: 29）。
[48] 參見田煒（2016: 51）。
[49] 參見大西克也（1998）、宮島和也（2018: 118）。
[50] 其實並非表示 ｛無｝的「毋」沒有這種用法，在嶽麓秦簡《秦律令》有 1 例「毋」表示“不管”之意，
睡虎地秦簡《日書》中亦可見其例：
　諸當衣赤衣，其衣物 毋小大及表裏盡赤之。（嶽麓秦簡《秦律令》簡 1375）
　它 毋大小，盡吉。（睡虎地秦簡《日書》乙種簡 20）
[51] 從該墓所出土的曆譜記載到呂后 2 年（BC186 年），張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組（2001: 前言）
據此推測墓主人的去世在此年或其後不久。
[52] 參見山東省博物館臨沂文物組（1974）、吳九龍（1985）。
[53] 參見北京大學出土文獻研究所（2011: 53），但此文也說各篇抄寫年代可能略有早晚。
[54] 河北省文物研究所定州漢墓竹簡整理小組（1997: 1）認為定州漢墓的墓主人係劉脩，他死於宣帝五鳳
三年。

表 4　漢簡中「無 / 无」「毋」的分佈情況

	張家山漢簡				
	二年律令	奏讞書	蓋廬	脈書	算數書
無 / 无（動詞）	4/0	4/0	6/0	2/0	0/0
無 / 无（副詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
毋（動詞）	60	5	4	0	2
毋（副詞）	43	37	13	0	0

	銀雀山漢簡					
	孫子兵法	孫臏兵法	尉繚子	晏子	六韜	守法守令等十三種
無 / 无（動詞）	11/16	4/18	8/3	0/15	1/10	0/15
無 / 无（副詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
毋（動詞）	5	1	3	3	5	7
毋（副詞）	9	16	4	6	15	29

	北大漢簡											
	老子	周訓	趙正書	妄稽	節	雨書	荊決	六博	儒家說叢	陰陽家言	反淫	揕輿
無 / 无（動詞）	78/0	21/0	2/0	2/4	0/1	0/0	1/0	1/0	0/0	1/0	0/7	5/1
無 / 无（副詞）	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0
毋（動詞）	0	2	2	1	1	6	8	3	0	0	0	0
毋（副詞）	16	42	2	8	23	1	0	0	3	0	0	0

	定州漢簡《論語》[55]
無 / 无（動詞）	37/0
無 / 无（副詞）	0/0
毋（動詞）	2
毋（副詞）	11

　　在上表中，張家山漢簡的情況比較明確，《二年律令》是法律條文，《二年律令》的 4 例「無」之中，2 例係上舉（16）那樣表示"不管 A 還是 B"的;《奏讞書》的

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[55] 河北省文物研究所定州漢墓竹簡整理小組（1997: 8）云"簡文因唐山地震擾動殘損的，釋文外加 [ ] 號表示"，因此本文統計中不包括出現於加 [ ] 號的地方之例。

「無」皆見於同一個案例（簡 63～68）且都是 "無名數" 這一句，似與其來源有關；《算數書》也是官吏所用的實用性文獻，只見「毋」。而張家山漢簡《蓋廬》主要內容係吳王闔廬和伍子胥的答問，似可認為是典籍類文獻，但多見動詞「毋」。張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組（2001: 275）指出 "該書除涉及治理國家和用兵作戰的理論外，有濃厚的兵陰陽家色彩"，可見此篇具有數術書的一面，並且張家山漢簡所出土的的張家山二四七號漢墓的墓主人是下層官吏 [56]，《蓋廬》也許是講當時官吏所必修的實用性知識的作品，不能完全看作是比較正統的文學性典籍。就《脈書》2 例「無」，也許是古老用字的殘留，或者也有可能受到其所據底本的影響 [57]。

除此之外，北大漢簡《雨書》《荊決》是與占卜有關的數術書 [58]，仍可看出在實用、通俗的文獻中多見動詞「毋」；與此不同，銀雀山漢簡《孫臏兵法》[59]、北大漢簡《老子》《周訓》《妄稽》、定州漢簡《論語》等中幾乎沒有（或很少見）用為動詞的「毋」，仍可見典籍類文獻中「無／无」和「毋」的分工比較明確。

然而上表 4 中其他文獻情況很複雜，例外現象也很多。比如如銀雀山漢簡《孫子兵法》《尉繚子》《晏子》《六韜》，應當係源於先秦時代的典籍，然而其中也出現不少動詞「毋」，就此應當如何解釋？

其實大西克也（1989: 43）認為 B 式是因口頭語言中的音變從 A 式演變過來的（詳下文），關於 A 式、B 式當中的例外現象，大西先生認為 "A 式資料裡有個別 '毋' 作動詞用…，這可算是當時口語中動詞用 '毋' 的新現象偶而涉及到書面語的例子。B 式資料當中動詞用 '无' 的…也可看作舊時代的遺跡或仿古的說法"。戶內俊介（2020: 31–35）則進一步如下推測：戶內先生認為海昏侯木牘《論語》、平壤貞柏洞漢簡《論語》以及北大漢簡《趙正書》《妄稽》等西漢中期的典籍類文獻接近於 B 式，據此認為在西漢早期，張家山漢簡《二年律令》《奏讞書》等實用性文獻用 B 式，而到了西漢中期 B 式滲透到典籍類文獻，並且如果 B 式產生的機制是大西克也（1989）所設想那樣的話，這個現象暗示著西漢中期以後口頭語言層次的現象擴張到了書面語上。

我認為這種說法可從，如下述 B 式更多反映口頭語言中的創新，並且是當時日常性的書寫方式，應當漸漸多影響到比較保守的文學性作品當中，結果呈現出混用「無／无」和「毋」的情形 [60]。

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[56] 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組（2001: 前言）。實際上，也許由這種墓葬本來也不會出土比較高級、正統的文學性作品。

[57] 其中 1 例（簡 40），據張家山漢簡二四七號漢墓整理小組（2001: 242），與《脈書》可以互相對應的馬王堆帛書《陰陽十一脈灸經》甲本作「毋」，乙本作「無」。

[58] 李零（2011）。

[59] 據平田昌司（2009: 31–36），也有可能銀雀山漢簡《孫子兵法》《孫臏兵法》本來是同一篇，可以合在一起。

[60] 就此也值得注意的是，雖然是傳世文獻，西漢武帝時代的《史記》中可見不少動詞「毋」（此承郭永秉教授的提醒）。

4.3　B 式產生的過程及其機制

　　如上舉秦漢時代的出土文獻, 「毋」的動詞用法（即「毋」表示｛無｝）的出現應當與｛無｝的音變有關。大西克也（1989：43）推測是由輕讀而產生例外的語音變化,｛無｝的元音從 *a 變為 *ə 而｛無｝和｛毋｝變為同音, 這推動 A 式到 B 式的變化；Baxter（1991: 24–26）（1992: 468）、Baxter and Sagart（2014: 242）也涉及到｛無｝的音變, 比如 Baxter and Sagart（2014: 242）認為到漢代, 因在非咽喉化唇音之後 *a 與 *o 同化（在 Baxter 先生的體系中「毋」的元音構擬為 *o）,｛無｝和｛毋｝變為同音。

　　就此音變的具體機制如何, 本文暫不論, 但我認為上古漢語的某個時期確實｛無｝和｛毋｝變為同音, 這應當是要認同的。睡虎地秦簡中已可見 B 式, 因此頗有可能戰國末期已經發生了這個變化。然而就此需要注意的是, 由上舉秦漢時代的出土資料的情況可知,｛無｝｛毋｝的同音化的結果是「毋」表示｛無｝, 而並非「無」表示｛毋｝；如上述, 戰國時代頗有可能處於 d-a 式的狀態, B 式應當從此演變過來的。其演變模式可描寫如下：

$$\text{d-a 式} \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{B 式}$$

$$\text{「亡/無（/无）」—｛無｝*ma} \quad > \quad \text{「毋」—｛無｝*mə}$$

$$\text{「毋」—｛毋｝*mə} \quad > \quad \text{「毋」—｛毋｝*mə}$$
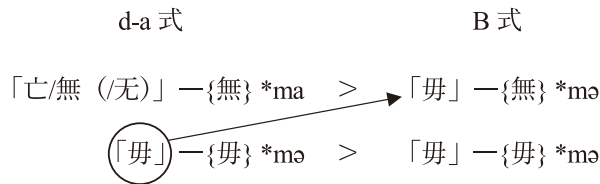
　　也就是說,｛無｝*ma 和｛毋｝*mə 本來在語音、文字表記上都有區別, 但到了上古漢語的某個時期（戰國末期?）在｛無｝*ma 上發生音變而與｛毋｝*mə 同音了, 因而開始用更接近於｛無｝的實際發音的「毋」來記錄[61]。

　　以上是 B 式產生過程的推測。另外 B 式的扎根和普及, 或許與秦國的一統天下和書同文政策有關。如上述, 戰國中晚期的楚國資料中存在「毋」和「亡 / 無」的分工, 源於先秦時代的馬王堆帛書《老子》《戰國縱橫家書》等亦然；但與此不同, 戰國末期的秦國資料中已可見大量表示｛無｝的「毋」。由此看來, 反映口頭語言中的演變而用「毋」表示｛無｝的這個用字習慣, 頗有可能本來是秦國書面語的特徵[62]。

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[61] 徐丹（2007）也討論了｛無｝和｛毋｝的同音化, 詳下文。其實也有可能副詞｛毋｝的功能逐漸接近於｛無｝, 兩者變成近義詞且用法混同, 這種可能性也是不能完全否認的（此承郭永秉教授的提醒）。

[62] 類似的例子有「聞」「問」。戰國末期之前未見用「門」聲字來表示｛聞｝｛問｝之例, 用象形字（及其省體）或者用「昏」聲字來表示（參見宮內駿 2015）。但是到戰國末期的睡虎地秦簡中出現「聞」「問」等「門」聲字來表示｛聞｝｛問｝, 根據 Baxter and Sagart（2014: 63）, 這是因為｛門｝｛昏｝的讀音有所變化。即, 本來｛昏｝與｛聞｝｛問｝語音很接近,｛門｝與｛聞｝｛問｝差別較大。但在後來的某一個時段發生語音演變,｛昏｝與｛聞｝｛問｝語音差別比較大, 反而｛門｝與｛聞｝｛問｝語音很接近, 可以將「門」當作聲符來表示｛聞｝了。

秦國在一統天下的過程中及其後進行了書同文政策，把具有各地地域性特徵的書面語統一為秦國系統的[63]，漢朝也基本上繼承秦國的書面語系統[64]。大西克也（2013: 134–135）指出秦漢時代出土文獻中，官方文書的用字與其他資料相比具有統一性，官方文書以外的文獻中用字比較多樣。秦、漢進行書同文政策，其主要目的應當在於行政文書的統一和由此帶來的文書行政的效率化、正確性的提高，以推廣文書行政；但就文學、歷史、思想哲學方面的作品來講，對其統一的要求應當不那麼嚴格。結果龍崗秦簡、嶽麓秦簡、里耶秦簡、張家山漢簡《二年律令》等秦代到漢初的官方文書中比較嚴格地只用「毋」，係典型的 B 式；其他文獻則不然，較多保留「無」。

4.4　小結：秦漢時代的 {無} {毋}

　　由秦漢時代簡牘資料來看，從秦到西漢時代，典籍類文獻是較多保留先秦時代的 A 式；實用性的文獻中則用反映口頭語言演變的、創新用字的 B 式；但至少到了西漢中期，典籍類文獻中也較多見表示 {無} 的「毋」，通俗的、日常性的語言現象越來越滲透到文學、思想哲學等作品當中。

　　在此附帶一提，在秦簡、漢簡中「亡」用為表示"逃亡""滅亡"之意的動詞 {亡}[65]，幾乎不會表示 {無}。如（17）（18），在里耶秦簡的私人書信以及睡虎地秦簡《日書》中有發現表示 {無} 的「亡」，但應當是很罕見的例外：

（17）前所謁者（諸）柏，柏幸之，不敢亡（無）賜。（里耶秦簡 8-823+8-1997）

（18）鬼入人宮室，勿（忽）見而亡＿（亡，亡（無））已。（睡虎地秦簡《日書・甲》簡 59 背貳）

5.　傳世先秦文獻：先秦時代 E 式是否存在？

5.1　出土文獻與傳世文獻的對比

　　如上述，出土文獻中出現眾多「毋」，然而傳世先秦文獻中很罕見「毋」。大西克也（1989: 42）認為不能完全斷定先秦時代沒有 E 式，但對 E 式的存在表示懷疑，云："先秦時代是否確實存在過 E 式的語言？為什麼一定要提出這個問題，這有三個理由。我們目前還沒找到 E 式的出土文獻，這是第一。一般來說傳世文獻都有受到竄改的可能，尤其是劉向等校書。第三個原因最值得注意，有些傳世文獻裡的 '無' 在出土本子裡往往寫作 '毋'，如今本《老子》沒有一個 '毋'，即 E 式，但出土的《老子》卻屬 A 式；今本《孫子兵法》也是 E 式，而銀雀山出土的漢代抄

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[63] 在其過程中秦國同時對自己的書面語系統也進行了整理和調整，參見大西克也（2013: 134–139）。

[64] 參見張世超、張玉春（1992: 29–30）以及周波（2012: 252–282）。

[65] 大西克也（2017: 393–395）。

本是屬 A 式的。從大量傳世文獻來看，東漢以後'毋'字罕用，它的位置上大部分用'無'字。所以我們不得不考慮有些 E 式的古籍也許出于漢魏六朝人之手"。

　　另外如上述 Auken（2004: 205–208）指出馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》《春秋事語》中可與傳世文獻對比的「毋」，在傳世文獻中幾乎作「無」；徐丹（2007: 43–44）也指出馬王堆帛書《戰國縱橫家書》的「毋」在傳世文獻中作「無」，且對比定州漢簡《論語》和傳世本《論語》後指出，在傳世本作「無」的地方在定州漢簡中也基本上作「無」，然而定州漢簡本作「毋」的地方在傳世本中多作「無」。

　　這些研究未涉及的出土文獻也有不少，並且後來出現了不少可與傳世文獻對比的資料，因此本文進行了出土本和傳世本中「無 / 亡 / 无」與「毋」的較全面的對比。其具體結果請參看附表 2。

　　調查後發現，出土本「無 / 亡 / 无」在傳世本中也作「無 / 无」，未見出土本「無 / 亡 / 无」在傳世本中作「毋」的這種情況；與此不同，就出土本「毋」，除了個別例外（《詩經》《禮記・緇衣》《大戴禮記・武王踐阼》），不管表示動詞｛無｝或副詞｛毋｝，在傳世本中幾乎都作「無」。也就是說，出土本的「毋」在與之相對應的傳世本中作「無」，不止一部分資料，係很強的傾向。

　　由此可見，頗有可能在流傳過程中不少文獻裡的「毋」被改寫成「無」，我認為除非以後發現 E 式的出土文獻，否則應當認為先秦傳世文獻的 E 式是人為的，當時應該沒有存在過 E 式。

5.2　E 式產生的過程及其機制臆測

　　在此試圖推測 E 式產生的過程及其機制。在 4.3 裡已經討論 B 式產生的過程，B 式不管在語音上、還是文字表記上都不區分｛無｝和｛毋｝。因此頗有可能時代越晚越多的人開始認為｛無｝和｛毋｝係同一個詞，「無」「毋」則是同一個詞的不同記錄方式 [66]。在此基礎上，有些人認為「無」才是正確的、正統的用字，因而不僅把表示｛無｝的「毋」，也把本來表示｛毋｝的「毋」改寫成了「無」。也就是說，E 式或許是在 B 式產生和普及的基礎上所發生的一種矯枉過正（hypercorrection）的結果。

　　由上舉秦漢代出土文獻來看，當時人平常看到、所用的書面語中多用「毋」，然而有古老來源的、文學性的、或說是比較典雅的作品中保留不少「無」。因此有人會推測「無」才是正統的、古老的用字，「毋」則是通俗的、不正統的用字（不管表示副詞還是動詞），即把「無」和「毋」看作是古今字般的關係，「無」因而獲得"正統性"，這應當不是不可能的。

　　並且我認為漢代學術潮流的演變——古文經學的興盛——也在這種 E 式的產生及其推廣上起了很重要的作用。西漢時期用"古文"（戰國文字）書寫的經傳被

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[66] 大西克也（1989: 40）指出"六朝以後經師有'毋音無'的注解。東漢以後書面語一般多用'無'而不用'毋'，從此可以想象六朝人不詳'毋'字之音，誤會了'毋'字是'無'字的另外一個寫法"。

重新發現，其後該依據此"古文經"還是"今文經"（用隸書（＝今文）傳抄下來
的經傳）作經傳的解釋，成為一個很大的問題，引起學術上、政治上的爭鬥，即所
謂古文經學和今文經學的對立。兩漢時期立於學官的都是今文經學，但東漢以後古
文經學愈加興盛，到了三國、魏晉時代學官都立古文派[67]。根據金德建（1986: 72、
456）以及大西克也（1989: 42、注⑯），古文經和「無」字的關係密切，比如大西
先生指出《儀禮·士昏禮》"夙夜毋違命"鄭玄注"古文毋為無"而這種注釋在《儀
禮》中 5 見；段玉裁《古文尚書撰異》有"今文尚書多用毋字，古文尚書多用無字"
的記載。又如東漢安帝永初四年（110 年），對朝廷所藏的書籍進行了大規模的校訂，
《後漢書·安帝紀》云"詔謁者劉珍及五經博士，校定東觀五經、諸子、傳記、百
家藝術，整齊脫誤，是正文字"，金德建（1986: 260–262）推測參與此校訂工作的
都是古文家，"是正文字"實際上是指將今文本校定成古文本。若此屬實，頗有可
能通過這種校訂工作不少典籍逐漸變成 E 式。

　　就 E 式普及的時間，出土文獻也提供了一些信息。走馬樓三國吳簡係東漢末
期到三國的資料[68]，內容關於賦稅、名籍、官文書等，係實際用途的、日常性的簡
牘[69]。王保成（2013）整理當時已公開的走馬樓三國吳簡上的文字，以編成文字編，
其中收入 32 個「無」（大多用為動詞），但未見「毋」。由此可知，到三國時代（的
吳國），在日常書面語中至少為了記錄 {無} 已不用「毋」而用「無」了，可見當
時 E 式已經很廣泛地被使用了。

5.3　小結：傳世文獻的 {無} {毋}

　　從出土本和傳世本的對比來看，頗有可能傳世先秦文獻受到後代（東漢以後）
的人為改動而變成 E 式，先秦時代本來不存在 E 式。並且 E 式的產生或許與古文
經學的興起這個學術、政治背景有一定的關係。

6.　總結：上古漢語中 {無} {毋} 相關字的演變估測

　　綜上所述，我認為上古漢語 {無} {毋} 的記錄形式演變，在大西克也（1989）
甲說的基礎上應當可以作如下描寫：

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[67] 參見金德建（1986: 445–449）。

[68] 據長沙市文物工作隊、長沙市考古研究所（1999: 13），此簡牘所見年號中最早的是東漢獻帝建安
二十五年（220 年），最晚的是吳孫權嘉禾六年（237 年）。

[69] 參見長沙市文物工作隊、長沙市考古研究所（1999）。

表 5 上古漢語 {無}{毋} 的記錄形式演變

	商代	西周	春秋戰國	秦～西漢 A
	C 式	D 式	d-a 式	A 式
{無}	亡	亡/無	亡/無（/无）	無/无（/毋）
{毋}	毋	毋	毋	毋

東漢～三國？
E 式
無
無

戰國秦	秦～西漢 B
B 式	B 式
毋	毋
毋	毋

上表①－④分別表示：①反映口頭語言中變化（{無}*ma>*mə）的用字創新；②秦國的"書同文"，以及漢朝的繼承；③日常性用字對文學性書面語的影響；④「無」獲得"正統性"而「毋」幾乎消失。

徐丹（2007）調查、對比秦漢時代出土文獻和傳世先秦文獻，以主張戰國後期、西漢初期「無/无」和「毋」用法上沒有明確的區別，代表兩者的同音化；徐氏認為兩個詞變成同音之後才有了區分兩者的需求,「無/无」和「毋」的語法分工建立。我認為這個看法有商榷的餘地。第一，秦漢時代出土文獻中並非「無/无」和「毋」完全通用，「毋」開始表示 {無} 而浸入「無/无」的領域，反之不然，「無」不會表示 {毋}；第二，從表 5 以及上文討論可見，如果考慮秦漢時代之前的情況，「無/无」和「毋」本來就有所分工，故漢代以後才開始分工這個看法難以贊同 [70]。

7. 結語

本文通過以上討論認為，「亡/無/无」和「毋」原本並非同一個詞的不同記錄形式，而是分別表示 {無} 和 {毋}，直到 B 式以後才在表面上變成文字表記上的差異。本文也主張戰國時代書面語應當處於 D 式和 A 式之間過渡狀態的 d-a 式，且 E 式是東漢以後才出現的，並據此重新較精密地復原出 {無}{毋} 的記錄形式之歷史演變。上古漢語中 {無}{毋} 的記錄形式頗有可能是受到語音變化、書面語的地域性差異、社會文化背景等種種因素之影響而演變的，體現出上古漢語書面語的動態演變及其複雜性。

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[70] 其實我認為徐丹（2007）在資料的操作上也存在一些問題，比如徐氏指出，定州漢簡《論語》中的「毋」在傳世本《論語》中作「無」，據此判斷在定州漢簡的時代（BC55 年前後）「無」和「毋」可以通用，沒有功能上的區別。

餘論

　　如果本文的看法屬實，從商代甲骨文到戰國時代，｛無｝和｛毋｝在功能、語音以及文字表記上都有區別。然而還是不能斷定兩者之間完全沒有關係。就｛無｝和｛毋｝之間的衍生關係，也有不少討論。其中比如張敏（2002/2015: 495–500）討論了存在否定到祈使否定的演變，根據類型學上的證據等推測其演變為"存在否定＞施事取向的否定情態＞說話人取向的否定性情態度"。就上古漢語來講，張氏引用李佐豐（1994: 145）"當'有''無'帶謂詞性賓語時，主要表示行為、變化的必要性和必然性"這個論述，認為上古漢語中從｛無｝的帶"謂詞性賓語"的用法（"無＋VP"）中發展出祈使否定。比如張敏（2002/2015: 498）把下例（19）翻譯成"志士仁人，不應該求生以害仁，而應該殺身以成仁"，認為"無＋VP"表達施事取向的情態（Agent-oriented modarity），並看作存在否定發展出祈使否定的痕跡：

（19）＝（3）子曰：志士仁人，無求生以害仁，有殺身以成仁。

實際上，雖然「無」和「毋」在語音上難以通假，但不能說相差得很遠，也有可能兩者之間存在衍生關係[71]。就此有待進一步探討。

附表 1　戰國楚系簡帛中「亡」「無」的用例

郭店楚簡[72]								
	老子・甲	老子・乙	老子・丙	緇衣	窮達以時	五行	唐虞之道	忠信之道	成之聞之
亡	19	8	0	2	2	11	1	2	1
無	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

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[71] 有不少研究認為上古漢語中具有 *m- 輔音的否定詞都與"存在"（existence）有關（參見 Pulleyblank 1995 等）。

[72] 殘簡 10 也有 1 例「亡」。

			郭店楚簡				
	尊德義	性自命出	六德	語叢一	語叢二	語叢三	語叢四
亡	12	4	4	9[73]	1	16[74]	4
無	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

					上博楚簡[75]							
	孔子詩論	緇衣	性情論	子羔	從政	魯邦大旱	昔者老君	容成氏	周易	恆先	仲弓	采風曲目
亡	6[76]	2	1	1	7	1	2	5	64[77]	0	2	1
無	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	17	0	0

					上博楚簡				
	柬大王泊旱	內禮[78]	曹沫之陣	弟子問	三德[79]	鮑叔牙與隰朋之諫[80]	競公虐	孔子見季桓子	平王問鄭壽
亡	0	2	11	1	0	3	4	3	1
無	1	0	0	1	7	0	0	0	0

					上博楚簡					
	用曰	天子建州·甲	天子建州·乙	君人者何必安哉·甲	君人者何必安哉·乙	凡物流形·甲	凡物流形·乙	季庚子問於孔子	姑成家父	民之父母
亡	4	2	2	2	2	7	2	1	4	25
無	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

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[73] 簡 104 有用「望」表示｛無｝的例子。

[74] 排除有 1 例難以判斷是否表示｛無｝（簡 20–21 "春秋亡（無）不以其生也亡"）。

[75] 除此之外《莊王既成》簡 1 有表示"無射"的｛無｝，同簡中一處用「無」，另外一處則用「亡」。

[76] 其中 1 例作「乇」，當是「亡」的誤寫（參見季旭昇主編（2009: 83）所引李學勤先生說）。

[77] 其中 1 例作「忘」；包括香港中文大學藏楚簡甲 2。

[78] 除此之外"附簡"中有 1 例「亡（無）」。

[79] 包括香港中文大學藏楚簡甲 4。

[80] 包括整理者所謂《競建內之》（參見陳劍 2006/2013）。

上博楚簡								
	命	王居[81]	有皇將起	邦人不稱	靈王遂申	舉治王天下	史蒥問於夫子	卜書	陳公治兵
亡	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	0
無	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	2

清華簡												
	尹誥	程寤	耆夜	金縢	皇門	祭公	楚居	繫年	周公之琴舞	芮良夫毖	赤鵠之集湯之屋	保訓	筮法
亡	1	3	1	1	7	1	0	5	1	8	2	1	3
無	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0

清華簡									
	厚父	封許之命	命訓	湯處於湯丘	湯在啻門	殷高宗問於三壽	鄭武夫人規孺子	管仲	鄭文公問太伯・甲	鄭文公問太伯・乙
亡	2	1	5	1	6	2	2	4	5	5
無	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0

清華簡											
	子儀	子產	子犯子餘	越公其事	攝命	邦家之政	心是謂中	天下之道	邦家處位	治政之道	成人	廼命一
亡	2	9	0	12	13	11	1	2	0	11	1	1
無	0	0	5	0	3	2	0	0	8	1	21	0

安大簡《詩經》							
	周南・行露	秦・權輿	甬・鶉之奔奔	魏・羔裘	魏・無衣	周南・葛覃	俟・園有桃	魏・椒聊
亡	2	1	2	2	1	0	0	0
無	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1

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[81] 包括整理者所謂《志書乃言》（參見陳劍 2011/2013）。

	楚帛書	曾侯乙墓竹簡	葛陵楚簡	望山楚簡 （一號墓）	包山楚簡 [82]	九店楚簡 （五六號墓）
亡	7	0	29	0	1	0
無	1	9	36	1	15	10

附表 2　出土文獻與傳世文獻（今本）的對比 [83]

《周易》[84]		
上博楚簡《周易》	馬王堆帛書《周易》	阜陽漢簡《周易》[85]
「亡」62 例： 今本皆作「无」	「無」1 例 /「无」148 例： 今本皆作「无」	「无」21 例： 今本皆作「无」
「毋」2 例： 今本作「勿」「未」	「毋」1 例： 今本作「无」	「毋」3 例： 今本皆作「无」

《論語》[86]		
定州漢簡《論語》	平壤簡《論語》	海昏侯墓木牘《論語》
「無」47 例 [87]： 46 例今本作「無」（其他 2 例與 {無} {毋} 以外的詞對應）	「無」5 例： 今本皆作「無」	─
「毋」12 例： 11 例今本作「無」，1 例今本也作「毋」[88]	「毋」2 例： 今本皆作「無」	「毋」2 例： 今本皆作「無」

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[82] 除此之外也有表示 "宋亡正" "舒亡悁" "卲無害" "陳無正" "登無龍" 等人名的用例。

[83] 包括表示名詞 {無} 的例子，而表示 {亡} 的「亡」不在此統計中；傳世文中未見與出土本相對應的地方時，不包含在此統計中。

[84] 傳世本參照阮刻《十三經注疏》（藝文印書館，2001 年）。

[85] 調查範圍為簡 1– 簡 221。

[86] 傳世本參照阮刻《十三經注疏》（藝文印書館，2001 年）。

[87] 其中 11 例見於加 "［ ］" 號的地方。

[88] 先進篇 "毋吾以也"，但也有版本作「無」。

《老子》[89]		
郭店楚簡《老子》甲組	郭店楚簡《老子》乙組	郭店楚簡《老子》丙組
「亡」19 例／「無」1 例： 今本皆作「無」	「亡」8 例： 今本皆作「無」	「無」5 例： 今本皆作「無」
—	—	—
馬王堆帛書《老子》甲本	馬王堆帛書《老子》乙本	北大漢簡《老子》
「無」1 例／「无」65 例： 「無」1 例、「无」61 例今本作「無」（其他 4 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）	「無」4 例／「无」65 例： 「無」4 例、「无」61 例今本作「無」（其他 4 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）	「無」87 例： 82 例今本也作「無」（其他 5 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）
「毋」13 例： 9 例今本作「無」（其他 4 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）	「毋」15 例： 12 例今本作「無」（其他 3 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）	「毋」16 例：12 例今本作「無」（其他 4 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）

《孫子》[90]	《晏子春秋》[91]	《六韜》[92]
銀雀山漢簡《孫子兵法》	銀雀山漢簡《晏子》	銀雀山漢簡《六韜》
「無」8 例、「无」14 例： 「無」8 例、「无」13 例今本都作「無」（其他 1 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）[93]	「无」15 例： 今本皆作「無」	「无」5 例： 今本皆作「無」
「毋」13 例： 12 例今本作「無」（其他 1 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）	「毋」8 例： 7 例今本作「無」（其他 1 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）	「毋」13 例： 12 例今本作「無」（其他 1 例與﹛無﹜﹛毋﹜以外的詞對應）

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[89] 傳世本參照樓宇烈《老子道德經注校釋》（中華書局、2008 年）。

[90] 傳世本參照楊丙安《十一家注孫子校理》（中華書局，1999 年）。

[91] 傳世本參照吳則虞編著，吳受琚、俞震校補《(修訂本) 晏子春秋集釋》（國家圖書館出版社, 2011 年）。

[92] 傳世本參照四部叢刊書初編本。

[93] 黃珊（2006: 50–53）分析銀雀山漢簡中的「毋」在傳世本中作其他否定詞的情況。

《詩經》[94]	《逸周書・皇門》[95]	《逸周書・命訓》	《逸周書・祭公》
安大簡《詩經》	清華簡《皇門》	清華簡《命訓》	清華簡《祭公》
「無」3 例 /「亡」8 例：「無」2 例（其他 1 例今本作「罔」）、「亡」8 例今本作「無」。	「亡」7 例：6 例今本作「無」（其他 1 例作「罔」）	「亡」1 例：今本作「無」	「亡」1 例：今本作「無」
「毋」12 例：今本皆「無」	「毋」2 例：今本皆作「無」	「毋」1 例：今本作「無」	「毋」6 例：今本皆作「無」

《禮記・緇衣》[96]		《大戴禮記・武王踐阼》[97]
郭店楚簡《緇衣》	上博楚簡《緇衣》	上博楚簡《武王踐阼》
「亡」2 例：今本皆作「無」	「亡」2 例：今本皆作「無」	—
「毋」3 例：今本皆作「毋」	「毋」3 例：今本皆作「毋」	「毋」4 例：1 例今本「無」，其他 3 例今本也作「毋」

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从"哪"到"不"：云南迪庆藏语否定标记的语法化

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From 'where' to 'not': Grammaticalised negation form in the local Khams Tibetan in Diqing, Yunnan

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Summary

This article argues that a newly emerged, third negative prefix /ka-/ in rGyalthang Tibetan (Yunnan) has been acquired through a grammaticalisation process from a lexical word 'where' to a negative prefix. It principally describes Choswateng Tibetan (rGyalthang subgroup of Khams Tibetan), which uses three negative prefixes /ɳə-/, /ma-/, and /ka-/. The third prefix /ka-/ functions as either an emphasised negation in the egophoric evidential category or an inferential negation for the sensory evidential category from the pragmatic perspective, and it does not co-occur with a statemental evidential category, in particular, a copulative statemental verb stem /ˊreʔ/. The article suggests that the expression with the third negative prefix originates from the structure of a rhetorical question, reflecting morphophonological, syntactic, and pragmatic features. A parallel expression is also frequently found in the local Chinese (Yunnanese). However, the degree of grammaticalisation is more in Khams Tibetan than Yunnanese. The development of interrogative words into verb prefixes is a typologically rare phenomenon of grammaticalisation, and its mechanism needs to be explored from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Key words: negation, grammaticalisation, Tibetic, rhetorical question, language contact

关键词：否定、语法化、藏语支、反问、语言接触

1. 前言

　　本文将讨论在云南藏区藏语中常见的疑问词用为否定前缀这一现象[1]。云南藏语属于康巴藏语[2]，至少有三个方言群：香格里拉、得荣德钦、乡城（Suzuki 2018）。其中，本文讨论的现象系统地出现在香格里拉方言群中的建塘组和云岭山脉东部组（下面简称"建塘藏语"）。本文以属于建塘组的吹亚顶话为例，描写该否定前缀的基本功能和用法并阐述其语法化过程。

　　云南藏区藏语母语者，不管在藏语还是汉语语境中，使用的是口语还是文字，与当地人交流时会使用以下表达 (1)：

(1)　　"办法嘎玉"（摘自朋友[3]的微信朋友圈；2020 年 5 月 13 日确认）

　　　办法　　嘎 - 玉。
　　　way　　NEG-EXV.E

　　　没办法。

　　例(1)包含汉语词和藏语词的汉字音写。因为当地藏语固有表达中很少用"办法"一词，所以作者直接使用汉语借词。"嘎玉"属藏语音写，"嘎"与藏语 /ˈkaː/ 对应，"玉"与当地康巴藏语 /ˈjʉʔ/ 对应。藏语母语人讲的当地通用汉语（西南官话迪庆片；本文简称"迪庆汉语"）却有三种表达：

(2)　　a. 办法　　不　　有。
　　　　　way　　NEG　EXV

　　　　没办法。

　　　　b. 办法　　没　　有。
　　　　　way　　NEG　EXV

　　　　没办法。（乡下流行的说法）

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[1] 本文的主要部分已由 Suzuki & Lozong Lhamo（2020, 2021）用英文阐述；细节描写、讨论、论证方面，参见该文章。本文是日本学术振兴会科学研究费补助金若手研究（A）「チベット文化圏東部の未記述言語の解明と地理言語学の研究」"阐明藏文化圈东部的未描述语言及其地理语言学研究"（17H04774）阶段性结果之一。

[2] 本文末尾附录提供了云南藏语的分类及名称。对于整个藏语支（Tibetic）语言的分类及概况，分别参见 Tournadre（2014）及 Tournadre & Suzuki（2021）。

[3] 康巴藏语香格里拉方言群云岭山脉东部组土话母语人。

    c. 办法　　哪　　有？

       way   where   EXV

  哪有办法？（反问式否定；州内都流行的说法）

    迪庆汉语母语人一般把例 (2) 中的"办法"一词放在句末。他们认为例 (2a) 和 (2b) 代表了地方差异，城区使用例 (2a) 的频率较高。在城区，藏语母语人口音中也还有语序相反的说法，即"不有办法"等。当地藏语母语人认为 (2a) 和 (2b) 表达稍微不同，一般情况下 (2b) 的使用率较高。此外，两种人群均认为例 (2c) 也是经常使用的表达方式。

    例 (2c) 的结构属于疑问句中的"反问句"，说话人的意图在于否定。在迪庆汉语中，例 (2c) 只是反问句，而不是否定句。但云南藏语中，例 (1) 则可以认为是否定句。下面以吹亚顶话为例，对其细节进行描述和分析。

2.　否定词 /ka-/ 的形态学特征及其用法

    本节以吹亚顶话[4] 为例，描写否定词 /ka-/ 的形态学特征，并解释其用法。

2.1　形态学特征

    根据笔者的分析，吹亚顶话的否定词 /ɲə-/（藏文形式 [5]myi）和 /mə-/（藏文形式 ma）作为动词的前缀，无独立声调且和动词词干一起构成一个声调单位[6]。调类为上升或升降，由动词词干而决定。/ka-/ 也如此。此外，/ka-/ 还有以下特点：

1. /ka-/ 与原有的否定前缀 /ɲə-/ 及 /mə-/ 出现在同一个位置：动词词干之前；
2. /ka-/ 与 /ɲə-/ 及 /mə-/ 不能一起出现；
3. /ka-/ 与其他前缀（疑问标记、方向前缀等）不能一起出现；
4. /ka-/ 有时会引起动词词干声母的变化（不送气清音的浊化）。

    其中，第四个特点参见例 (3)：

(3)   a. ˊŋa   ˉha ˊkwə.

          1SG   understand

          我懂。

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[4] 吹亚顶话语音系统的描写如下：辅音 /pʰ, p, b, tʰ, t, d, ʈʰ, ʈ, ɖ, cʰ, c, ɟ, kʰ, k, g, ʔ, tsʰ, ts, dz, tʂʰ, tʂ, ɖʐ, tɕʰ, tɕ, dʑ, sʰ, s, z, ʂʰ, ʂ, z̩, ɕʰ, ɕ, ʑ, ʐ̩, çʰ, ç, ʝ, xʰ, x, ɣ, h, ɦ, m, m̥, n, n̥, ɳ, n̠, ɲ̊, ŋ, ŋ̊, l, l̥, r, r̥, w, j/；元音 /ʅ-ʮ, i, e, ɛ, a, ɑ, ɔ, o, ɤ, u, ɯ, ʉ, ɵ, ə/，有长短、鼻化非鼻化之别；声调为词声调，调类有四个：高平 ˉ，上升 ˊ，下降 ˋ，升降 ^。详细的语音、语法特征参见鈴木（2014a, 2014b）。

[5] 藏文形式依据 de Nebesky-Wojkowitz（1956: xv）的方法转写。本文不区分古藏文和书面藏语之别。

[6] 前提是声调分析为词声调。

b. ´ŋa   ˉħa ´ka-gwə.

    1SG   understand NEG-STEM

我绝不会懂。（直译：我哪知道。）

例 (3a) 中，动词 /ˉħa ´kwə/ "知道" 不带前缀时出现的声母是 /k/，但带了 /ka-/ 前缀时声母变成 /g/，如 (3b) 所示。此变化只能出现前缀和词干之间。

前缀 /ka-/ 能出现在大部分动词词干前面，但是以下三个动词词干除外：

a. /´reʔ/：判断动词泛言示证义词干（藏文形式 red）；

b. /´mĩ/：判断动词向自我示证义的否定词干（藏文形式 min）；

c. /´ɲɛʔ/：存在动词向自我示证义的否定词干（藏文形式 myed）。

其中，b 和 c 意味着 /ka-/ 与形态学上包含否定词的动词无法同时出现，也与上面提到的规则 "/ka-/ 与 /ɲə-/ 及 /mə-/ 不能一起出现" 有关。然而，a 是引起注目的特点。词干 /´reʔ/ 本身包含着泛言示证义，因此，需要讨论 /ka-/ 和泛言示证是否有关联[7]。

2.2 用法

下面描写 /ka-/ 的用法。

除了建塘组土话之外，在较大范围内的方言点都会观察到 /ka-/ 的如下用法：

(4)   ˆka-jɵʔ.

    NEG-EXV.E

不会有。（直译：哪里有）

例 (4) 是在云南藏语区中最常见的用法之一。一方面，如上面已指出，/ka-/ 和动词词干的组合在吹亚顶话等建塘组土话里几乎没有限制。

(5)   a. ´ŋa   ˉpʰɑʔ ʂʰa   ´ɲə-ⁿʈʂʰa.

        1SG   pork   NEG-eat

      我不吃猪肉。

    b. ´ŋa   ˉpʰɑʔ ʂʰa   ˉⁿʈʂʰa   ´mə-tʰũ.

        1SG   pork   eat   NEG-ACP

      我没有吃猪肉。

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[7] 对于藏语支语言的示证范畴的定义，笔者基本上依据 Tournadre（2017）。

     c. ˊŋa   ˉpʰɑʔ şʰa   ˀka-ⁿʈşʰa.
      1SG   pork   NEG-eat

     我绝不吃猪肉。（直译：我哪吃猪肉）

(6)   a. ˉkʰwə   ˉpʰɑʔ şʰa   ˊŋə-ⁿʈşʰa.
        3SG   pork   NEG-eat

      他不吃猪肉。

     b. ˉkʰwə   ˉpʰɑʔ şʰa   ⁿʈşʰa   ˊmə-tʰŭ.
        3SG   pork   eat   NEG-ACP

      他没有吃猪肉。

     c. ˉkʰwə   ˉpʰɑʔ şʰa   ˀka-ⁿʈşʰa.
        3SG   pork   NEG-eat

      他不会吃猪肉吧。（直译：他哪吃猪肉）

    对比以上例句可见，例 (5c) 和 (6c) 的主语不同，表达的意思就不一样。在藏语语法中，此类情况大致来自不同的示证范畴；例 (5c) 与向自我示证有关，例 (6c) 则与感官示证有关。而且，这两句同例 (5a) 和 (6a) 相似，都表达非完成的情况。

    因此，否定前缀 /ka-/ 的简明用法可以定为：参照自己的知识（向自我示证）或自己通过感官认知的知识(感官)，对于某种非完成情况表达否定。其主要意义是，描述对象为说话者自身时，否定义变强，如"绝不会"，而描述对象为非自身时，否定义含推测，如"可能不会"。后者表达的实际意义会包括感官推测义，但在形态学上和感官推测示证没有多大关系。总的来说，这些意思是无法用原有的两个否定前缀所表达的。

    根据上面定义分析 /ka-/ 的话，对于 /ka-/ 不能与判断动词 /ˊreʔ/ 一起使用这一问题，可以提出一个解释。除了判断动词类和存在动词类以外，动词词干本身不带示证表示功能。示证意义一般通过动词前后缀来表达。如上面所描述的，否定前缀 /ka-/ 会与向自我及感官示证结合起来表达出说话人对说话内容的认知和态度，因此，/ka-/ 和泛言示证无法并用。判断动词 /ˊreʔ/ 是一个词干包含泛言示证义的动词，此类动词和 /ka-/ 就不能一起使用。需要注意，与康巴藏语塔公话、理塘话不同的是，建塘藏语的 /ˊreʔ/ 专门表达泛言示证义，不兼容感官示证义 [8]。

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[8] 参见 Suzuki et al.（2021）的康巴藏语及安多藏语示证系统的对比。

3.　/ka-/ 的来历：从疑问词到否定前缀

　　否定前缀 /ka-/ 在藏语支语言中很少看到，而云南藏语的一部分方言中才使用这一否定形式。根据其语音特征以及其用法，同时参考当地汉语的相应表达，笔者设想 /ka-/ 来自疑问词 /ˈkaː/ "哪里"（用于对处所的询问；藏文形式 gar）。用此词构成一个反问句后，疑问词通过语法化成为动词词干的前缀。

　　反问句是各个语言都有的表达方式，表面上是疑问句，但其表达意图是句中肯定或否定意义的相反方面（Ilie 1994）。比如，反问句 "哪有？" 表达的意思是 "哪里都没有"，"谁知道？" 表达的意思是 "谁都不知道"，"有啥？" 表达的意思是 "什么都没有" 等等。而且，反问句也可以是否定疑问形式，比如，"哪没有？"（意思是 "哪里都有"）、"谁不知道？"（意思是 "谁都知道"）等[9]。

　　看吹亚顶话，疑问词 /ˈkaː/ "哪里" 现在仍可以用作疑问词，但其语音形式与否定前缀有所不同。疑问词用法的语音形式为 /ˈkaː/，有长元音及独立声调；当其用作否定前缀时则表现为短元音，声调随着动词词干而变化。词源一致的三个词，即藏文形式 'di "这"（吹亚顶话 /ˈⁿdjə/）、藏文形式 gar "哪"（吹亚顶话 /ˈkaː/，/ka-/）、藏文形式 yod "有"（吹亚顶话 /ˈjʉʔ/）在构成句子时，通过语音、声调、韵律的变化，能表达三个不同的意义，如例 (7)：

(7)　a. ˉⁿdjə　　ˈkaː　　ˊjʉʔ?
　　　　this　　　where　　EXV.E

　　　这个（东西）在哪里？（语境：指着某个东西的照片问对方）

　　　b. ˉⁿdjə　　ˈka-jʉʔ.
　　　　this　　　NEG-EXV.E

　　　（我身边）不会有这样的吧。

　　　c. ˉⁿdjə　　ˈkaː [kaːː]　　ˊjʉʔ [jʉːː].
　　　　this　　　where　　　　EXV.E

　　　绝不会有这样的。（直译：哪里有这样的）

　　例 (7a) 是一个要求对方回答的特指问句，三个词有独立的声调。例 (7b) 是一个否定句，使用向自我示证的形式描述有关自己领有的东西的情况。例 (7c) 是个反问句，第二个词和第三个词有特别的重音和语调。可见，吹亚顶话通过不同的语音形式区分特指问句、否定句及反问句。值得注意的是，只有例 (7b) 的结构不能使用动词的否定形式（/ˈmĩ/、/ˈɲɛʔ/ 以及其他否定前缀），其余的结构都允许使用

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[9] 反问表达的理论语言学特征方面，参见 Romero（2020）。

动词的否定形式。

　　吹亚顶话具有多个疑问词，其中 /ˈkaː/ "哪" 才可以较为自由地用为否定词。其他疑问词主要出现在类似例 (7a) 和例 (7c) 之类的疑问句中，甚至会表达轻视等负面情感色彩，如：

(8)　　¯tɕʰʉ?　　¯ha ˋʈʂʰə-kwə.
　　　　2SG　　　understand NEG-STEM

　　你（那样的小孩）什么也不懂。（语境：老年人小看小孩，对他说）

　　例 (8) 的否定词为 /ʌʈʂʰə-/，来源于疑问词 /ʌʈʂʰə/ "什么"（藏文形式 chi）。此成分是否是前缀有待考证，但出现的位置和 /ˈkaː/ 一样在动词词干前，并且动词词干不会有单独的声调，而是和 /ʌʈʂʰə-/ 一起构成一个词声调（仅有下降）。加之，双音节动词 /ʌha ˈkwə/ "懂"（藏文形式 ha go）带宾语时，其会出现在第一个音节 /ʌha/ 之前，并不是第二个音节 /ʌkwə/ 之前。出现在第二个音节前意味着 /ʌʈʂʰə-/ 是个动词的前缀，但此成分使用频率很低，与 /ˈkaː/ 的情况不同。

　　疑问词 /ˈkaː/ 的语法化很有可能有形态、句法、语音、语用各方面的因素，下面逐个探讨。

　　形态学方面，藏语否定形式的一个特点是一般具有两种形态，如在吹亚顶话的 /ɲə-/ 和 /mə-/，分别与藏文 mi（古藏文 myi）和 ma 对应。这两个否定形式的功能差异基本上可以理解为分别表达对非完成体和完成体及命令式的否定（但仍有争议；参见 Zeisler 2004: 297–299, 344–346）。藏语的表达对示证范畴特别敏感，因此，某种土话中否定形式和示证范畴的表达方法和历史发展存在互动关联，因此，与指定的示证范畴有关的否定前缀的产生是很自然的演变方向。然而，这一设想难以通过对共时状态的描写来证明。

　　句法方面，可以说如果某个语素发展成动词前缀的话，则必须出现动词词干之前。在吹亚顶话（以及建塘藏语）的实际句子结构中，语法格角色的疑问词（/ˉsʰɯ/ "谁"、/ʌʈʂʰə/ "什么" 等）会出现在句子开头位置。在日常对话里，说话人不经常说动词，疑问词可以单独成句，表达充分而完善的意义。反之，非语法格角色的疑问词（/ˈkaː/ "哪里"、/ˈkə ʑe?/ "多少" 等）只能出现在句子中间，主要是动词前面，说话人也经常在对话中说出动词词干。实际上，动词前缀的位置是后者——疑问词才会占据的。

　　从吹亚顶话的实际特征来讲，某一个语素作为动词前缀，那么必须为单音节，并与动词词干一起构成一个声调范围。非语法格角色的疑问词中，/ˈkaː/ "哪里" 就是单音节词（一些土话中的 /ˈnɔ̃/ "何时" 也是）。是否与动词词干形成一个声调范围是可选的，要么形成，要么独立。因此，可以说，与动词词干形成一个声调范围时才可以认为该语素已发展成前缀。有条件时，前缀会引起动词词干声母的音变，此类变化也是有了前缀的身份之后才会引发。

语用学方面，反问结构跨语言普遍地，常用于表达否定的言外之意，其中就能看到促进 /ˈkaː/ "哪里" 变成否定词的实际动机。在藏语，不管是书面语还是口语，反问结构是原来就存在的。因此，反问结构发展成一般的否定句的可能性必然是有的。其发展过程叫做语法化，就是指实词（疑问词）变成虚词（词缀）。然而，类型学上此类变化的案例很少报道，Croft（1991）、Miestamo（2007）、Hansen & Visconti（2014）等综合研究没有提到此方向的变化 [10]。已报道的语法化过程体现为以下方向：疑问词成为不定代词（Heine & Kuteva 2002）、不定代词成为否定词（古汉语；王力 2014: 156–157）。

如果上述语法化的解释能够成立的话，就需要解释清楚为什么藏语支语言中的吹亚顶话等建塘藏语土话（及其相邻地区的一些土话）才有这个现象。因为, 语序、格标记等方面的基本语法特征在藏语各个口语中差异不是很大，所以不能忽视建塘藏语中疑问词发展为否定前缀的特殊。

首先需要关注的是作为来源的疑问词有多少音节。作为前缀，单音节是个必要条件。疑问词 /ˈkaː/ "（在）哪里" 是单音节。而且使用疑问词 "（在）哪里" /ˈka/ 或类似的单音节疑问词的土话主要分布在康南地区，即云南和四川甘孜、西藏昌都的南部。这个分布与使用否定词 /ka-/ 的地区恰好吻合 [11]。

动词前缀必须是单音节这一形态限制也适用于方向前缀。藏语动词之前可以加表示方向的一些词，例如：yar la / ya ra / yar "（向）上"，mar la / ma ra / mar "（向）下"，phar la / pha ra / phar "（向）外"，tshur la / tshu ra / tshur "（向）里" 等（藏文形式）。其中，各例的第一个形式为表示方向的副词（即书面语形式），第二个是第一个形式的口语表达形式，第三个具有动词的 "方向前缀" 功能。本来是两个音节的词变成单音节后才可以成为前缀。康南地区的藏语土话大致都具有这些方向前缀 [12]。

康南的很多藏语土话都使用类似例 (4) 的反问句，使用 "哪有" 来表达 "没有"，其使用的影响力在如例 (1) 的藏 - 汉混杂的表达中也能看到。此外，还有一个固定寒暄语，如例 (9)。该寒暄语是 "谢谢" 的回复。

(9)   ˆka-ʰka [ˆkaːː-ʰka]
       NEG-tired

       不客气。（原义：哪累）

其藏文形式为 gar dka'，这句话在康南的广大方言点都能听到。鉴于寒暄语的韵律特色，第一音节常有重音，第二音节却不带独立声调。因此，例 (9) 已经不是反问，而是否定。

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[10] 但是安多藏语中有类似的否定形式，参见 Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki（2019: 251）。

[11] 对于具体分布范围，参见 Suzuki & Lozong Lhamo（2020: 293）。

[12] 对于方向前缀的用法，参见铃木（2020）。

　　一方面，建塘地区的汉语使用反问句来表达带有感情色彩的否定是常见现象。如例 (2c) 所示，汉语也有类似的表达。从使用频率的角度，可以推测的是，汉语的表达习惯会影响到藏语。对此看法，有两方面的不同意见。一方面是支持互相影响的意见。藏、汉双语的年轻人的语言运用中应该会体现出更多的由两种语言的互相干扰而促发的接触语法化（contact-induced grammaticalisation）现象（Heine & Kuteva 2003）。而且建塘藏语区的汉语使用率比其他地方更高。加之，分布在建塘藏语区的汉藏混合语"希里布（Selibu）"（亦称水磨房话；周洋 2018 及周洋、铃木博之 2020）也使用否定前缀 /ka-/。另一方面是不支持互相影响的意见。在乡村地区，有一些老年人是藏语单语者，他们也经常使用否定前缀 /ka-/。据此情况，我们又很难将 /ka-/ 的功能演化和汉语的"哪"联系起来。

　　根据上面的讨论，汉语的"哪"和藏语的 /ka-/ 之间没有因果关系，但不能否定的是，各种语言中已有的反问结构通过语言接触影响，提高了其使用频率，而建塘藏语的 /ka-/ 几乎已经完成了从疑问词到否定前缀的语法化过程。

4.　结语

　　本文描述了云南藏语的否定前缀 /ka-/ 的用法，并讨论了其语法化过程。/ka-/ 来源于藏文疑问词 gar 的对应形式，按云南藏语的语音、形态、句法特征，可判定 /ka-/ 语法化为了动词的前缀，其基本用法为"向自我示证及感官示证"的否定。本文又指出该语法化现象很有可能受到了迪庆汉语常使用反问形式表达否定意图的影响。

　　疑问词发展为动词前缀是类型学上罕见的语法化现象，其机制还需要从跨语言视角的探讨，也需要针对建塘藏语发展演化的社会历史背景进行进一步深入研究。

附录：云南藏语的分类（Suzuki 2018: 13 的中文翻译）

1 香格里拉方言群		2 得荣德钦方言群		3 乡城方言群	
a	建塘组	a	云岭山脉西部组	a	东旺组
b	云岭山脉东部组	b	奔子栏组		
c	维西塔城组	c	羊拉组		
d	翁上组	d	丙中洛组		
e	浪都组	e	巴拉组		

标注

1	第一人称	EXV	存在动词
2	第二人称	NEG	否定前缀
3	第三人称	SG	单数
ACP	达成体	STEM	多音节动词的词干
E	向自我		

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An Overview of Negation in the Yi Languages*
—Geolinguistic analysis of Yi character maps and a preliminary report on negation in Sani Yi—

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Summary

This paper consists of an outline of negation in the languages of the Yi ethnic group in China and a preliminary report on negation in Sani Yi (ISO 639-3ysn), classified as one of the subdialects of the Southeastern dialect by the official classification in China. In the former part, a general overview of negation in the Yi languages is shown along with results of an analysis of maps of Yi characters with respect to negatives.

Based on these results, first, negative words of the Yi languages in China phonetically divided into two groups: the MA group and the A group. Second, prohibitive words, however, converge into one group, the THA group. In one group, both negative and prohibitive words seem to be infixal, while that is not the case in another group (there are some exceptions). Third, maps of Yi characters denoting negation and their geolinguistic analysis will be shown.

On the one hand, with regard to negative words expressing "not", there is a clear difference between the MA and A groups in the character shapes. Nevertheless, a few characters in the Mojiang area of the MA group demonstrate a notable similarity to those of group A. This may indicate two possibilities: 1. All the characters used for the negation "not" were logographic and their pronunciations may have changed according to dialect or context; or 2. Within the Yi languages, the negative words might have been freely pronounced either as *a or *ma, and their pronunciation gradually changed. On the other hand, there are three groups of Yi characters used for prohibition: Groups 1, 2, and 3. Their geographic distribution and possibilities of phonetic loan will be mentioned.

In the latter part, negation in Sani Yi based on both previous studies and the author's on-site data will be discussed as a case study. The author's data have revealed several features of negation in Sani Yi, such as the neutralisation of tense in negative sentences and morpho-syntactic change in negative forms owing to influences from Chinese.

Key words: Yi languages, negation, Yi character maps, geolinguistics, Sani Yi

關鍵詞：彝語、否定、彝文地圖、語言地理學、撒尼彝語

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1.   Introduction

1.1   The Yi ethnic group and their languages

The Yi ethnic group dwell in southwestern China as well as the northern parts of Vietnam and Laos.[1] The population of the Yi ethnic group in China is approximately 8.7 million, according to the Sixth National Population Census of the People's Republic of China, 2010.[2]

The group of languages spoken by the Yi people, known as Yiyu (彝語) in China, belongs to the Lolo-Burmese language group of the Tibeto-Burman language family. According to the official classification in China, it has six dialects: Northern, Southern, Western, Eastern, Southeastern and Central.[3] Four of these, namely Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Southeastern, possess their own scripts, and numerous manuscripts have been written in them.

Sani Yi, which will be focused on in the latter part of this paper, belongs to Yiliang (宜良) subdialect of the Southeastern dialect. It has maintained its script hitherto.

The Yi languages are analytic, SVO, and head-modifier type. From phonological perspectives, they are tonal and basically open-syllabic except for loan words from Chinese. In addition, it is well known that many of them have such a vocalic distinction as constrictive and non-constrictive in vowels.

As mentioned above, four of the Yi dialects in China have their own characters, which are in the process from ideographic to syllabic, while *Guifan Yiwen* (規範彝文), which are broadly propagated and utilised in Liangshan, Sichuan, are completely syllabic.

Unlike the Modern Yi script of *Guifan Yiwen*, which was designed for universal use, the Old Yi script was not used as a communication tool. It used to be employed exclusively by the *bimos*, religious leaders of the Yi people, and was kept secret from generation to generation within each paternal *bimo* clan. Such individual use and the hereditary nature of Yi characters must have caused countless allographs and might also have led to huge differences in their forms and pronunciations of Yi characters amongst the four Yi-script-active dialectal regions.

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[1] The residence areas of the Yi people are indicated by a white translucent circle on Map 1.

[2] The population of the Yi ethnic people in Vietnam and Laos is as follows: 4,541 in Vietnam, according to the 2009 Vietnam Population and Housing Census; 2,203 in Laos, according to Results of Population and Housing Census 2015. Here, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Shimizu Masaaki from Osaka University who kindly provided me with the data of Vietnam.

[3] See Map 2.
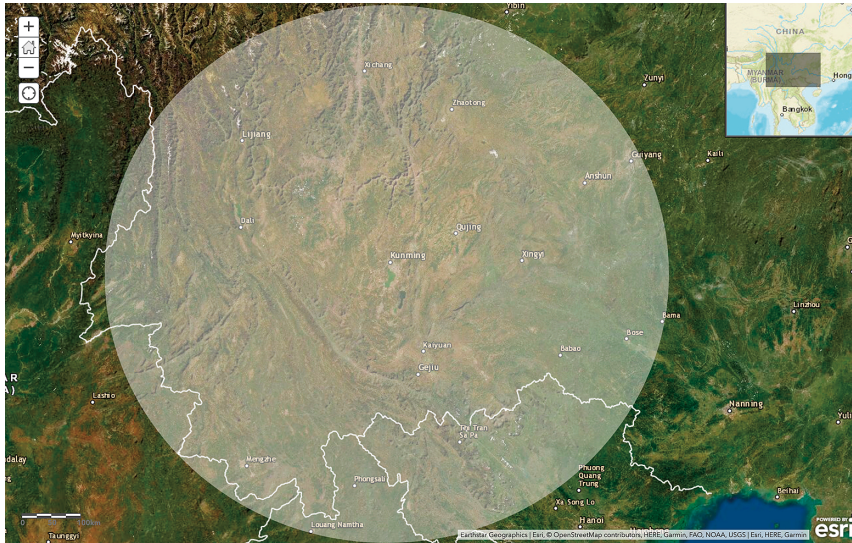
Map 1   The residence area of the Yi ethnic group, indicated by a white shade

Map 2   The Yi dialects in China,[4] the original map from Nishida (1979: 182)

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[4] The dialectal classification was translated into English and then added to the original map of Nishida (1979) by the author. Needless to say, any errors and inadequacies are entirely my responsibility.

1.2   Previous studies on negation in the Yi languages

In previous studies of the Yi languages, basic structures in negation have been described, but intensive studies have scarcely been conducted. The main studies where negation is described are as follows, and the dialectal classifications in parentheses are according to the official classification in China.

1.2.1   Negation in the Northern dialect

- Negation in Nuosu Yi (Northern dialect), described by Chen and Wu (1998: 136–139)[5]

According to Chen and Wu (1998), negation is mentioned in the mood category. A negative word [a^{21}] is described as an affix, which functions as a prefix before a monosyllabic verb root, and as an infix in a disyllabic one. In the case of a verb root with more than three syllables, the word [a^{21}] is inserted in the penultimate syllable.

Prohibition is expressed by the word [tha^{55}] whose behaviour is the same as the negative word [a^{21}], that is, it appears before a monosyllabic verb root, just as a prefix, or between two syllables in a disyllabic verb root, as an infix. Then, in the case of a verb root with more than three syllables, the word [tha^{55}] is placed in the penultimate syllable.

- Negation in Nuosu Yi (Northern dialect), described by Gerner (2013: 403)

The description of negation by Gerner (2013) is as follows:

In Nuosu, the negation particle ap 'not' is used in declarative and interrogative clauses, and the particle tat 'do not' in imperative clauses.[6]

- Referred to *Dian Chuan Qian Gui Yi-Han Jiben Cihui Duizhao Cidian* (《滇川黔桂彝漢基本詞彙對照詞典》, *Yunnan Sichuan Guizhou and Guangxi Chinese-Yi Dictionary of contrastive basic vocabulary*) by Zhongyang Minyuan Yizu Lishi Wenxian Ban (1984: 263), there are [ma^{21}] and [a^{21}][7] for a negative word 'not'.

1.2.2   Negation in the Western dialect

- Negation in Lalo Yi (Western dialect), described by Björverud (1998: 71)

The description of negation by Björverud is cited below:

Lalo has two negative adverbs (NEG); mà 'not' and thà 'don't', which constitute a separate subclass of adverbs. They must always immediately precede the predicative they negate, i.e.; no other word may intervene between the negative adverb and the predicative.

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[5] This summary was translated from Chinese into English by the author. Any errors and infelicities that remain are solely mine.

[6] The negative particles are respectively pronounced as follows: *'ap'* is [a^{21}], *'tat'* is [tha^{55}].

[7] In this resource, the tones are indicated by tone letters, but in this paper, all the tones are indicated by Chao's tone numerals as a matter of convenience.

1.2.3 Negation in the Eastern dialect

- Negation in Panxian Yi (Eastern dialect), described by Liu (2009: 112, 135–136, 138)

In the description by Liu (2009), negation is categorised into adverbs. There are two words for negation, namely, [ma²¹] 'not' and [ta³³] 'do not'. Both are placed before an adjective or a verb, although the prohibitive word [ta³³] is placed between two syllables, in cases where a disyllabic adjective is negated.

- There is also a negative word [ɑ³³] recorded in Wu and Ji (2011: 50), with several Yi characters used to express it.

1.2.4 Negation in the Central dialect

- Negation in Hlersu language (Central dialect), described by Xu et al. (2013: 178–179, 186–189, 203, 208–209)

According to Xu et al. (2013), there are two negative adverbs, [ma²¹] 'not' and [tha²¹] 'do not' in Hlersu language, or 山蘇彝語. Both are simply placed before an adjective or verb, irrespective of the number of syllables.

1.2.5 Negation in the Southern dialect

- Negation in Southern Yi, described by Li (1996: 78, 86, 118–119)

Li (1996) classifies negative words, [mɑ²¹] 'not' and [thɑ²¹]⁸ 'do not', as adverbs. In his description, both precede an adjective or verb.

1.2.6 Negation in the Southeastern dialect

- Negation in Axi Yi (Southeastern dialect), described by Liétard (1909: 295, 308–310, 313; 1911: 2; 1912: 26)

As stated by Liétard (1909), in Axi Yi there are negative words *a⁴* 'not' and *t'a²* 'do not'.⁹

When an adjective consists of one word, the negative word *a⁴* precedes it, whereas an adjective consists of more than two words, a phrase *a⁴ ngè³* 'not to be' or *a⁴ yé³* 'not to seem', follows the adjective and negates it.

When a monosyllabic verb is negated, the negative word *a⁴* precedes it. When a verb is disyllabic, the negative word *a⁴* is inserted between these two syllables.

Prohibition is expressed by another negative word *t'a²* preceding a verb.

- Negation in Axi Yi (Southeastern dialect), described by Yuan (1953: 20)

According to Yuan (1953), a negative word [a²¹]¹⁰ is added before a predicate.

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⁸ In Li's description, [thɑ²¹] was originally written as *t'a²¹*. However, in the present paper, aspiration is uniformly notated [h], as a matter of convenience.

⁹ The apostrophe of the word *t'a²* indicates aspiration in Liétard's description.

¹⁰ In this resource, the tones are indicated by tone letters, but in this paper, all the tones are indicated by Chao's

- Negation in Axi Yi (Southeastern dialect), described by Wu et al. (2014: 82, 84–85, 131)

Wu et al. (2014) categorise a negative word [ʌ²¹][11] as an adverb like other scholars in China, and they mention that it is placed just before a monosyllabic verb or adjective, or in the penultimate syllable when a verb or adjective is polysyllabic.

- Negation in Sani Yi (Southeastern dialect), described by Vial (1909: 41, 51–52)

According to Vial (1909), there are negative words *mà* 'not' and *t'á* 'do not', and they are placed before a verb.

- Negation in Sani Yi (Southeastern dialect), described by Ma (1951: 142–144)

Ma (1951) states that there are negative words *ma¹¹* 'not' and *t'a¹¹* 'do not'. They are positioned before a monosyllabic predicate, while in the penultimate syllable when a predicate is polysyllabic.

However, Ma mentions an exception, the case of some compound verbs that exclusively indicate movement or direction of motion, so-called '趨向動詞' in Chinese. When this type of verb is used, both negative words are not put in the penultimate syllable but precede such a verb. The following are examples from Ma (1951: 143):

ŋɑ³³   mɑ²¹   tɑ³³ lɿ³³
1SG   NEG   stand up/get up

'I do not stand up/get up.'

ŋ̍³³   lɤ²²   thɑ¹¹   gɯ²² lɿ³³
2SG   get into   PROH   come in/enter

'Don't come in.'

- In *Yi-Han Jianming Cidian* (《彝漢簡明詞典》, *Yi-Han Concise Dictionary*) by Yunnan-sheng Lunan Yizu Zizhixian Wenshi Yanjiushi (1984)

There are negative words [mɐ²¹] 'not', [ʌ²¹][12] 'not', which is used in such a phrase [ʌ²¹ bu³³] 'not to have' as heard in Children's talk, and [thɐ²¹] 'do not', in this dictionary.

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tone numerals as a matter of convenience.

[11] This vowel is written as *'A'* in Wu et al. (2014). According to their vowel chart (2014: 10), it seems to be close to [ɑ]. However, in this work it is written as [ʌ], similar to its original notation *'A'* to some extent.

[12] This vowel is written like *'A'* in this dictionary, and its actual phonetic value is unclear. In this paper, it is provisionally signified by [ʌ].

In this dictionary, although the tones are indicated by tone letters, in this paper, all the tones are indicated by Chao's tone numerals as a matter of convenience.

In addition to the descriptions of Sani Yi above, the author's data also demonstrate basic patterns of negation in Sani Yi, negative particles [mɑ²¹] 'not' and [thɑ²¹] 'do not'. Both of them precede a monosyllabic verb or adjective, whereas they are always placed in the penultimate syllable just like an infix when a verb or adjective is polysyllabic. For example,[13]

ŋɑ³³   zi̱²¹ n̩³³ kɯ⁵⁵
1SG   sleep

'I (will) sleep.'

ŋɑ³³   zi̱²¹ n̩³³ <mɑ²¹> kɯ⁵⁵
1SG   sleep   <NEG>

'I will not sleep.'

zi̱²¹ n̩³³ <thɑ²¹> kɯ⁵⁵
sleep   <PROH>

'Don't sleep.'

To sum up this section briefly, three notable features have been found:
- The negative words in Yi languages always precede a verb[14] or adjective.
- No word can intervene between negative words and the predicative.
- It is plausible that both negative and prohibitive words function as a prefix or infix, at least in Sani and Nuosu Yi.

1.3   Negation and their Etymologies in the Yi languages

As seen above, there are two groups for negative words, based on their phonetic values 'ma' or 'a' respectively, and one group for prohibitive words among Yi languages:
  - Negative words: MA group and A group
  - Prohibitive words: THA group
  According to STEDT,[15]
  "In many languages there is an allegro variant with zero-initial, e.g. Lahu **mâ~â***."*
Hence, it is most probable that both the MA and A groups in Yi languages would originate in PTB *ma (NEGATIVE).

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[13] In this paper, any example sentences without notes are cited from the author's own data.

[14] Having thoroughly observed the data referred to for this paper, auxiliary verbs are also dealt with in the same way; in other words, the negative words also precede auxiliary verbs in the Yi languages.

[15] https://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt-cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/2436 (last access on 10th November 2020.)

The etymon for THA group, including such words introduced above as [tha^{55}], [thɑ^{21}], or [t ɑ^{33}], is PTB *(t/d)a PROHIBITIVE (NEG. IMPERATIVE), as shown in STEDT.[16]

1.4   Chart of Negation types in the Yi languages

Here is a chart showing negative words and negation patterns of each dialect.

Subdialects are indicated in parentheses, if needed.

The asterisk indicates a relatively minor type within a dialect.

The type 'MA+A' denotes that negative words of both MA and A groups co-occur within a dialect or subdialect.

The hyphen indicates that no such phenomenon is described in the resources. Nevertheless, the same patterns as shown in this chart may exist in other dialects or subdialects, if we have more data on them. Further data and investigation will be unquestionably required.

Table 1   Negation types in the Yi languages

	Northern	Western	Eastern	Central	Southern	Southeastern
MA	*+	+	+	+	+	+ (Sani)
A	+	−	*+ (Dafang)	−	−	+ (Axi)
MA+A	*+	−	*+ (Dafang)	−	−	*+ (Sani)
NEG+V/A	+monosyllabic words	+	+	+	+	+ monosyllabic words
infixal NEG	+disyllabic words	−	−	−	−	+disyllabic words
NEG in penultimate syllable	+Polysyllabic words	−	−	−	−	+Polysyllabic words
THA	+	+	+	+	+	+
TA	−	−	*+ (Panxian)	−	−	−
PROH+V(/A)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Infixal PROH	+disyllabic words	−	+	−	−	+ disyllabic words (Sani)
PROH in penultimate syllable	+Polysyllabic words	−	−	−	−	+Polysyllabic words (Sani)

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[16] The same as shown in footnote 13.

Interestingly, of all Yi languages used within China, the northernmost Nuosu Yi and the second southernmost Sani Yi display such similar patterns in the negation structure depending on the number of syllables, despite of their long distance.

Furthermore, according to Bradley (2002), Nuosu Yi is classified as Northern Loloish, while Sani Yi as Central Loloish, yet both of them bear such a strong similarity in the negation structure, beyond dialectal difference.

An important future task is to clarify the reason for these intriguing features shared among them.

2. Maps of Yi characters denoting negation and their geolinguistic analysis

In this section, maps of Yi characters used for expressing negation and prohibition will be demonstrated. These maps will enable us to examine clearly not only the distribution of the Yi characters but also the difference in their forms and the interrelation among the Yi languages.

2.1 Map of the Yi characters expressing 'not' and its analysis
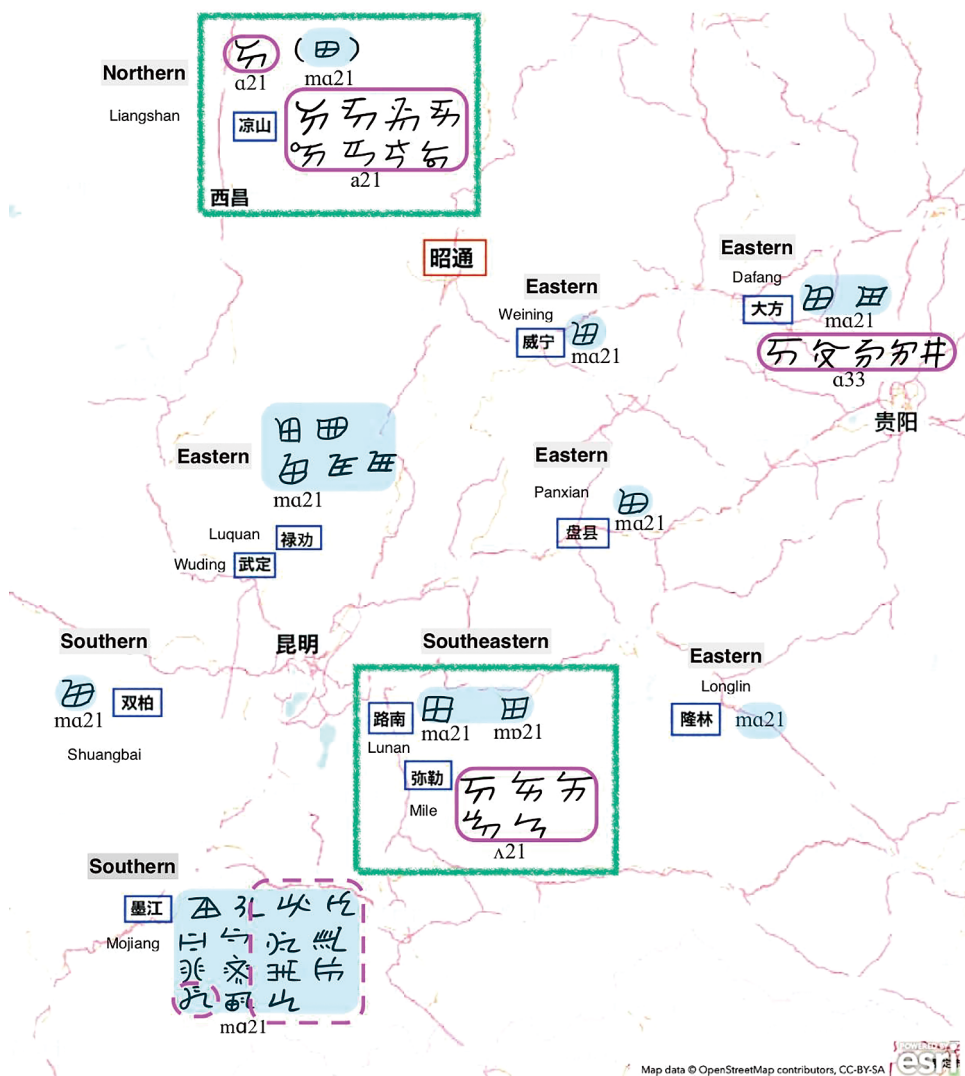
Map 3   Map of Yi characters expressing 'not'

In this map,[17] the MA group in 1.3 is indicated by light-blue shades, whereas the A group is indicated by pink circles. The pink broken lines suggest that some of the characters of the MA group, in fact only in Mojiang, the southmost area on the map, bear a strong resemblance to those of the A group. The green crayonish squares show whether negative words are infixal when they negate a polysyllabic verb or adjective. Apparently, there is a big difference between the MA and A groups, in terms of character shapes.

The characters of the A group are observed in peripheral areas on the map. In the A group, one typical character '㐮' and some other strongly similar characters are found in all the regions. Hence, it is plausible to think that such characters might have the same origin and undergone changes for ages in each region, and there are consequently many allographs.

In the MA group, most characters resemble the Chinese character 田 'field, farmland' more or less, and share a notably high uniformity and similarity with each other. It is highly probable that they would have originated from one "proto-character".

However, in Mojiang area, there exist characters that are notably similar to those of the A group, although they are pronounced [mɑ²¹] all the same. This may imply that all the characters used for negation 'not' were logographic and their pronunciations have varied solely by dialect or contexts. In reality, in Sani Yi's case, *pimos*, religious leaders among Sani people in the Yi ethnic group pronounce certain characters in different ways based on contexts. Therefore, it is unsurprising that in Mojiang area characters belonging to both groups are read [mɑ²¹] irrespective of their shapes.

Another possibility is that within the Yi languages the negative words might have been pronounced either as *a or *ma quite freely at a certain ancient stage; then, in each region their pronunciation would have gradually shifted into either the MA or A group. Then, in parallel with this phonological change, the phoneticisation of Yi characters might have progressed. It is still highly probable that the characters of both the MA and A groups would have been used mainly for negation, because they are observed in such a vast area and have maintained their fixed meaning of negation, although the possibility of phonetic loan cannot be ignored. As seen in Liangshan and Dafang, the fact that characters belonging to each group are strictly distinguished may be evidence for this divergence throughout history.

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[17] The first Yi-character map of the negative word 'not' is seen in Iwasa (2019: 19); it comes together with a brief note.

2.2   Map of Yi characters expressing 'do not' and its analysis

Here is a map of Yi characters denoting prohibition 'do not'.
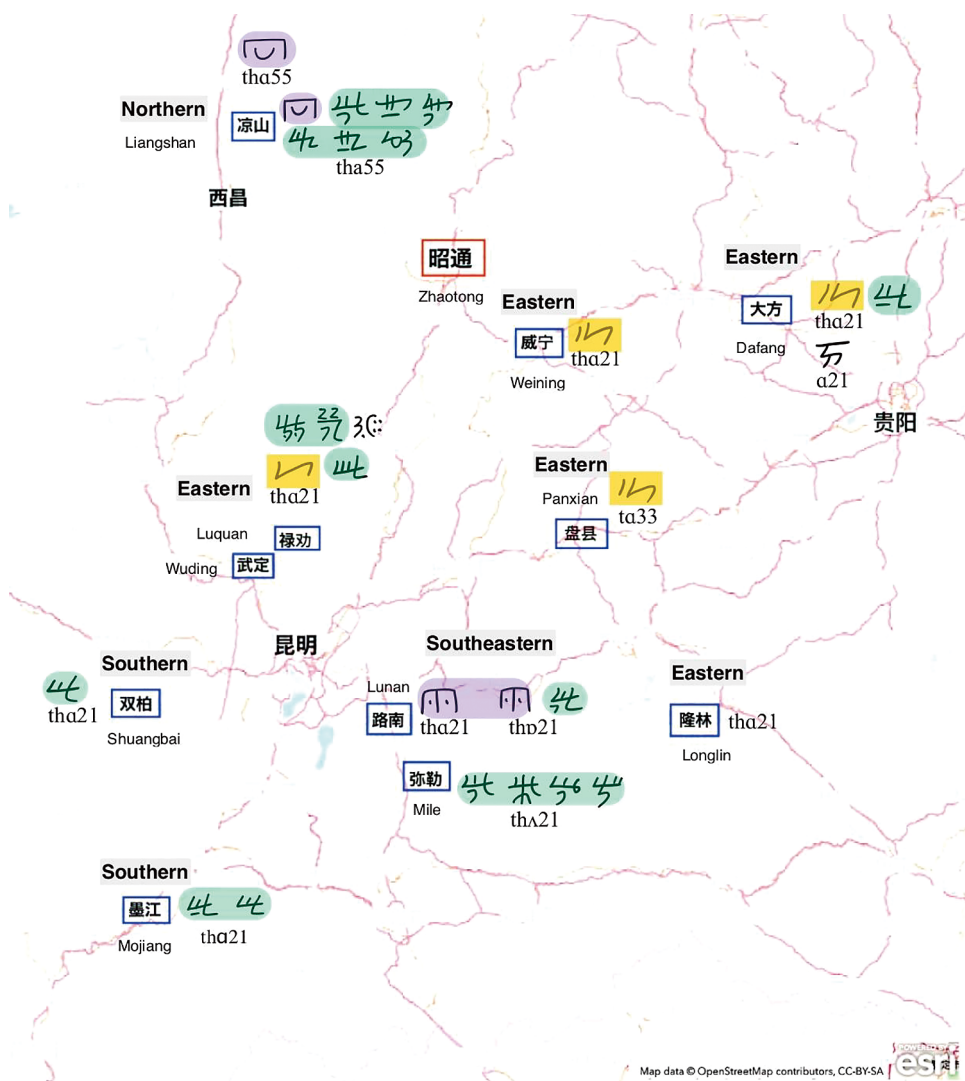
Map 4   Map of Yi characters expressing 'do not'

As observed on the map above, there are three groups of Yi characters expressing prohibition. Judging from a resemblance in the shape of all the characters on the map, the characters shaded green seem to constitute one group, that is, Group 1. All the characters of this group are distributed in peripheral but the vastest areas of all the groups.

Group 2 is marked by yellow shades and found in Eastern dialect areas, mainly around Guizhou. All the characters of this group are examples of phonetic loan, *Jiajie* (假借). They are normally used to denote 'one', and they have the identical phonetic value to that of the prohibitive words in these areas.

Group 3 is demonstrated by lavender shades and found in Lunan of the Southeastern dialect area and in Liangshan of the Northern dialect area. Despite the geographical and dialectal distance, very similar characters are observed. There are no data as for Liangshan, however, and it is highly probable that these characters are a case of phonetic loan, at least in Lunan. These characters usually express 'time, when' in Sani Yi.

3.   Negation in Sani Yi

3.1   Brief introduction and the author's fieldwork data of Sani Yi

As mentioned above, according to the official classification in China, Sani Yi belongs to the Southeastern dialect, whereas Sani Yi and the other Southeastern group of Loloish dialects are placed as one language of Central Loloish by Bradley (2002).

Sani Yi is spoken around Shilin Yi Autonomous County, Yiliang prefecture and Mile prefecture in Yunnan Province.

Sani Yi possesses the script and numerous manuscripts written in it. Generally speaking, Sani Yi is greatly influenced by the Chinese language.

The author has been conducting fieldwork on Sani Yi as well as studying its manuscripts for years. The fieldwork is usually carried out in Wukeshu (五棵樹) village, Shilin Yi Autonomous County, Yunnan, China, around the whitish shaded area, shown on Map 5 below.
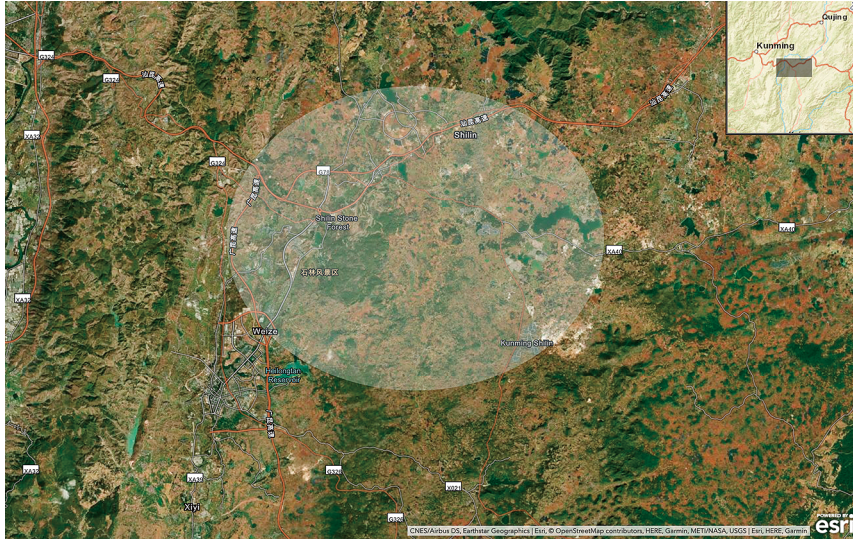
Map 5 Shilin

Map 6 Wukeshu Village

Main consultant:[18] A woman in her 60's. Born and raised in Wukeshu village. Good command of Sani Yi, Southwestern dialect of Mandarin, and Mandarin Chinese.

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[18] My consultant's relatives are also willing to help me describe Sani Yi all the time, as do other villagers. Here, I would like to express my gratitude for their cooperation and long-term friendship.

Fieldwork and the measures to collect linguistic data: the data collected while on-site research in China almost every year as well as enquiry from Japan by video-talk, whenever necessary.

3.2 Basic structure and features of negation in Sani Yi

As observed in 1.2.6, there are three negative particles, [mɑ²¹] 'not', [thɑ²¹] 'do not', and [ʌ²¹] in Sani Yi. From here, [ʌ²¹] will not be mentioned, because it appears in very limited phrases such as [ʌ²¹ bu³³] 'not to have' in Children's talk.

On the one hand, the negative particles [mɑ²¹] and [thɑ²¹] precede a verb, adjective, or auxiliary verb, when it is monosyllabic, and no other words can intervene between them. On the other hand, when they negate a polysyllabic word, they are always placed in the penultimate syllable, although there exist some exceptional verbs[19] that especially indicate movement or direction as described by Ma (1951: 143). In this section, the negative particles [mɑ²¹] and [thɑ²¹] are described as affixes based on their function and behaviour in verbal structures, but of course, more investigation is needed, though.

(1) khi³³   bi³³   lɑ³³   tʂɑ³³
     that   pen   CL   good

     'That pen is good.'

(2) khi³³   bi³³   lɑ³³   mɑ²¹-tʂɑ³³
     that   pen   CL   NEG-good

     'That pen is not good.'

(3) ŋɑ³³   tsɑ³³   dzɑ²¹   xɑ³³
     1SG   food   eat   PRF

     'I have eaten food.'

(4) ni³³   tsɑ³³   dzɑ²¹   xɑ³³   xɑ³³
     2SG   food   eat   PRF   PRF

     'Have you eaten food?'

(5) ŋɑ³³   tsɑ³³   mɑ²¹   dzɑ²¹   se²¹
     1SG   food   NEG   eat   yet, still

     'I have not eaten food yet.'

---

[19] See 1.2.6 for more details.

(6)   thɑ²¹- be³³
      PROH – speak

      'Don't speak.'

(7)   ŋɑ³³   zi̱²¹ ni³³ kɯ⁵⁵
      1SG   sleep

      'I will sleep.'

(8)   ni³³   zi̱²¹ ni³³ kɯ⁵⁵ kɯ⁵⁵
      2SG   sleep~ALT

      'Do you go to bed?'

(9)   ŋɑ³³   zi̱²¹ ni³³ <mɑ²¹> kɯ⁵⁵
      1SG   sleep   <NEG>

      'I will not/do not sleep.'

(10) zi̱²¹ ni³³ <thɑ²¹> kɯ⁵⁵
      sleep<PROH>

      'Don't sleep.'

It is noteworthy that tense is neutralised in negative sentences in Sani Yi.

(11) ŋɑ³³   dʑi̱³³
      1SG   go

      'I (will) go.'

(12) ŋɑ³³   dʑi̱³³   xɑ³³
      1SG   go   PRF

      'I went/have gone.'

(13) ŋɑ³³   mɑ²¹   dʑi̱³³
      1SG   NEG   go

      'I will not/do not go.' or 'I have not gone/I did not go.'

(14) ŋɑ³³   mɑ²¹   dzɿ³³   xɑ³³
     1SG   NEG   go   PRF

'I stop going < I (decide) not to go.'

Here are some examples of negation in complex sentences.

(15) ŋɑ³³   i³³ tɑ³³   tʂo³³   (ɣ)ɑ³³ ²⁰   li̠⁴⁴   se³³
     1SG   here   stay   COMP   like   still

'I still want to stay here.'

(16) * ŋɑ³³   i³³ tɑ³³   tʂo³³   (ɣ)ɑ³³   mɑ²¹   li̠⁴⁴   se³³
      1SG   here.   stay   COMP   NEG   like   still

Sentence (16) is unacceptable to native speakers of Sani Yi.
Instead, they normally say as follows:

(17) ŋɑ³³   i³³ tɑ³³   mɑ²¹   tʂo³³   lɑ⁵⁵
     1SG   here   NEG   stay   PRF

'I do not stay here.'

This sentence implies 'I do not want to stay here anymore', and it is the simplest and the most frequently used expression in this situation. There is another expression with the same meaning, as shown below:

(18) ŋɑ³³   ɕã⁵⁵   (lɑ⁵⁵)   i³³ tɑ³³   mɑ²¹   tʂo³³   lɑ⁵⁵
     1SG   think   (PRF²¹)   here   NEG   stay   PRF

In this case, the word order is not Sani Yi-like but Chinese-like. This might be related to the verb [ɕã⁵⁵], which is a loan word from Chinese, and its pronunciation is probably from Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, '想 [ɕiã⁵³]',²² and its syntactic structure might also have been borrowed. Nevertheless, further investigation is still required, because this type of inversion seems not to be very surprising and is actually observed amongst SOV languages.

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[20] The initial consonant [ɣ] is hardly pronounced in my informant's speech.

[21] This particle is arbitrary.

[22] This is based on the pronunciation of my informant.

3.3   Influence from Chinese: Morpho-syntactic change in negative forms

In Sani Yi, several loan words from Chinese have been morpho-syntactically changed.

(19) tɕiɛ̃⁵⁵ tɑ̃³³
     easy

     'easy' < Yunnan dialect of Mandarin '簡單 [tɕiɛ̃⁵³ tɑ̃⁴⁴]'²³

(20) tɕiɛ̃⁵⁵ <mɑ²¹> tɑ̃³³
     easy   <NEG>

     'not easy'

(21) li⁵⁵ χɛ⁵⁵
     terrible, awesome

     'terrible, awesome' < Yunnan dialect of Mandarin '厲害 [li²¹² xɛ²¹²]'²⁴

(22) li⁵⁵   <mɑ²¹> χɛ⁵⁵
     terrible <NEG>

     'not terrible'

Chinese language has had a huge influence on Sani Yi throughout history. Consequently, it contains countless loan words, many of which have already taken strong root in Sani people's daily lives. This morpho-syntactic phenomenon also demonstrates convincingly that Chinese language has exerted a deep sway over Sani Yi for a long time.

4.   Final remarks and future tasks

This paper is the very first step in describing negation in the Yi languages. Although it is not yet sufficient to clarify a comprehensive view of negation in them, several important features have been introduced here. In particular, the features shared with Nuosu and Sani Yi are worthy of attention and further investigation.

The next step, as one of my future tasks, is to collect more data on negative expressions, restrictions on negation, and negation in serial verb constructions and to conduct intensively focused research in this area. Simultaneously, more data on other Yi languages will also be collected and analysed. A study of negation in the Yi languages will be profitable not only to Tibeto-Burman linguistics but also to general linguistics.

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²³ This is based on the pronunciation of my informant.

²⁴ This is based on the pronunciation of my informant.

Abbreviations

1SG	1st person singular	COMP	Complementiser
2SG	2nd person singular	NEG	Negation
ALT	Alternative question	PRF	Perfect
CL	Classifier	PROH	Prohibitive

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Negation in Mu-nya*

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Summary

The Mu-nya language belongs to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family and is spoken by Tibetans living around Mt. Minya Konka in Sichuan, southwest China. The general expression for 'not be' by the speaker's recognition, such as 'A is not B', is expressed as A B /ȵɯ³³- ŋɐ⁵⁵(ti³³)/ in Mu-nya. /ŋɐ⁵⁵/ is a declarative, a part of speech, which expresses a statement with certainty, while /ti³³/ is another declarative that conveys a statement with confirmation. These two declaratives are often used in combination, and the negator /ȵɯ³³-/ precedes them. Huang (1991) revealed that Mu-nya has three kinds of negative prefixes: /ȵɯ³³-/ is the general negator and is also used in the verb predicate under the imperfect aspect; /mɐ³³-/ is used under the perfect aspect; and /tɕɯ³³-/ is used for prohibitive statements. Apart from Huang's simple observation, Mu-nya has complex negative expressions that have not been reported in detail thus far. This study analyzes the basic functions and grammatical behavior of negators in Mu-nya concerning evidentiality, focusing on negating target items such as the verb, the suffix (=aspect), or the declarative (=evidential) in verb predicates. From my perspective, the negator /ȵɯ³³-/ does not negate the verb stem directly (except for stative verbs), and mainly appears preceding the position of declaratives, or often precedes the imperfect verb suffix /-po³³/ to negate it directly. In contrast, the negator /mɐ³³-/ appears at the preceding position of an active verb stem under the perfect aspect, or often negates the perfect verb suffix /-sɯ³³/ directly. In addition, I will introduce some dialectal varieties corresponding to the general negative expression /ȵɯ³³- ŋɐ⁵⁵(ti³³)/ 'not be' in Mu-nya.

Key words: Tibeto-Burman, Mu-nya, negator, evidentiality, aspect

關鍵詞：藏緬語、木雅語、否定辭、示證性、未完/完了體

1. Introduction

The Mu-nya language belongs to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family and is spoken by about 10,000 Tibetans who live around Mt. Minya Konka in Sichuan, southwest China.

The Mu-nya (WrT. *Mi nyag*) District

A snap shot at a Mu-nya village in Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

The Chinese scholar Huang Bufan (1985) demonstrated that Mu-nya has three kinds of negative prefixes: /n̥ɯ³³-/ is the general negator and is also used in the verb predicate under the imperfect aspect; /mɐ³³-/, is used under the perfect aspect; and /tɕɯ³³-/ is used for prohibitive statements. Huang's observation is simple, but to the point. If we delve further into the topic, we find that Mu-nya negative expressions are somewhat complex concerning evidentiality. This negative construction in Mu-nya has not been described in detail thus far.

2.   The Noun Predicate and Declaratives

In Mu-nya, a noun predicate sentence like 'A is B' is expressed as 'A B DEC.' See example sentence (1) below.

(1)   ŋɯ⁵⁵   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   ŋɐ⁵⁵.
        1sg.   student   DEC

        'I am a student.'

        /ŋɐ³³/   statements with certainty [+certain]
        /ni³³/   general/objective statements
        /ti³³/   confirmed statement [+confirm]; discover/notice

The "declarative" is a part of speech in Mu-nya, which appears at the end of a predicate and implies the speaker's evidentiality. Mu-nya has three kinds of declaratives for statements: /ni³³/ is used for general statements; /ŋɐ³³/ is used for statements that connote certainty; and /ti³³/ indicates confirmation or discovery. /ŋɐ³³/ and /ti³³/ are often combined together as /ŋɐ³³ ti³³/. However, no other combinations are grammatically allowed. Typical affirmative expressions with declaratives include the following:

(2)   ŋɯ⁵⁵   pu³³ ɣɯ̃³³ndɯ³³   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   ŋɐ⁵⁵ (ti³³).   [+certain]
        1sg.   Tibetan letters   student   DEC

        'I am a student in the Tibetan class.'

(3)   ʔɐ³³tsɯ⁵⁵   ŋɯ⁵⁵ = ɣa³³   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³ndʐu³⁵   ni³³.   [general]
        3sg.   1sg. = GNT   student friend   DEC

        'S/he is my classmate.'

(4)   ʔe⁵⁵tsɯ³³   = nɯ³³   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   ti³³.   [+confirm] discover/notice
      3sg.   = also   student   DEC

'S/he is also a student.' [just noticed]

3.   Negation in the Noun Predicate

Negation in the noun predicate in Mu-nya is expressed by the negator /ȵɯ³³-/ preceding a declarative like /ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵/. Negations such as '[noun] A not be [noun] B' is communicated in Mu-nya as follows (‖ indicates the boundary of the subject and the predicate in the sentence): noun A is the subject, and noun B plus /ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ (ti³³)/ is the predicate.

[noun] A	‖	[noun] B	ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ (ti³³).
Subject		**Predicate**	[+certain, (+confirm)]

Negative Construction in the Noun Predicate in Mu-nya

Now let us examine the negative counterpart of typical sentences with three kinds of declaratives:

(2)′   ŋɯ⁵⁵   pu³³ ɣɯ̃³³ndɯ³³   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ (ti³³).
       1sg.   Tibetan letters   student   NEG- DEC [+certain, (+confirm)]

'I am NOT a student in the Tibetan class.'

(3)′   ʔe³³tsɯ⁵⁵   ŋɯ⁵⁵ = ɣa³³   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³ndʑu³⁵   ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ (ti³³).
       3sg.   I = GNT   student   friend   NEG-   DEC [+certain, (+confirm)]

'S/he is NOT my classmate.'

(4)′   ʔe⁵⁵tsɯ³³   = nɯ³³   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ ti³³.
       3sg.   = also   student   NEG-   DEC [+certain, +confirm]

'S/he is NOT a student, either.' [just noticed]

Regardless of the ranking of evidentiality in affirmative sentences, all of these negative counterparts employ one negative expression — /ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ (ti³³)/ — to make a statement.

As seen above, the general negative expression in the noun predicate is /ȵɯ³³- ŋe⁵⁵ (ti³³)/, and is merely used in negative combinations with other declaratives like /ȵɯ⁵⁵-

ni³³/ and /n̠ɯ⁵⁵- ti³³/. /n̠ɯ⁵⁵- ni³³/ is used when it is necessary to emphasize 'it is NOT: that is the truth', and /n̠ɯ⁵⁵- ti³³/ is used especially when the speaker needs to stress 'just discovered/noticed: it is NOT, (I have never known at all.)'.

/n̠ɯ³³- ŋɐ⁵⁵ (ti³³)/	ordinary negative statements with certainty [+certain, (+confirm)]
/n̠ɯ⁵⁵- ni³³/	emphasizing 'it is NOT: objective true': < general statements [-certain, -confirm].
/n̠ɯ⁵⁵- ti³³/	emphasizing 'just discovered/noticed: it is NOT' < confirmed statement [+confirm, +certain]

4. Declaratives in the Adjective Predicate

Mu-nya adjectives in the predicate should be poly-syllabic or duplicated mono-syllabic words like /ku⁵⁵ku⁵⁵/ 'cold'.

(5)   pu⁵⁵su⁵⁵   mɯ⁵⁵   ku⁵⁵ku⁵⁵   ti³³.
       today,   sky/weather cold   DEC [+confirm]

    'It is cold today.' [just noticed]

The declaratives /ŋɐ³³, ni³³, ti³³/ are also used in the adjective predicate to express evidentiality, as well as in noun predicate sentences.

Negative construction in the adjective predicate in Mu-nya is basically the same as in the noun predicate, expressed by the negator /n̠ɯ³³-/ preceding a declarative; the adjective itself must not be negated.

[noun] A	‖	[Adjective]	n̠ɯ³³- ŋɐ⁵⁵ (ti³³).
Subject		**Predicate**	[+certain, (+confirm)]

Negative Construction in the Adjective Predicate in Mu-nya

Let us look at the negative counterpart of sentence (5), a typical adjective predicate sentence.

(5)′   pu^{55}su^{55} mɯ^{55} ku^{55}ku^{55} n̠ɯ^{33}- ŋe^{55} (ti^{33}).
      today,   sky/weather   cold   NEG- DEC [+certain, (+confirm)]

      'It is NOT cold today.'

It is merely used in negative combinations with other declaratives like /n̠ɯ^{55}- ni^{33}/ and /n̠ɯ^{55}- ti^{33}/, except for special situations.

(5)″   pu^{55}su^{55} mɯ^{55} ku^{55}ku^{55} n̠ɯ^{33}- ti^{33}.
      today   sky/weather   cold   NEG- DEC [+confirm]

      'It is NOT cold today.' [just noticed]

(6)   mbo^{55} tĩ^{33}ti^{55} n̠ɯ^{33}- ni^{55}.
      mountain   flat   NEG- DEC [-certain, -confirm] = objective statement.

      'The mountain is NOT flat.' [it is the truth]

/n̠ɯ^{55}- ni^{33}/ is used when it is necessary to highlight 'it is NOT: that is the truth'.

5.   The Negative Structure of the Verb Predicate

A Mu-nya verb consists of a directional prefix plus a verb stem, and adds a suffix for the aspect or a modal if needed, and takes declaratives at the end of the predicate.

Prefix- Stem	**(=Suffix) / (=Modal)**	**Declarative**
direction (person)*	< person (vowel alternation)	
Verb	aspect / mood	evidentiality

*When the verb does not contain a suffix, the vowel alternation appears on the stem.

Verb Predicate in Mu-nya

Next, we examine a typical affirmative sentence with a verb suffix.

(7)   ŋi^{55} ndzɯ^{55} ɸia^{33}- ndzɯ^{55} = po^{33} ŋe^{33}.
      1sg. [ERG]   meal   DIR- eat =SFX:impft   DEC

      'I eat a meal.' [imperfect = present/future]

Sentence (8) is a sentence with a modal instead of a suffix.

(8)   ŋɯ⁵⁵   me⁵⁵   ɦia³³- tɕʰu⁵⁵   xwi³³   ti³³.
       1sg.   medicine   DIR- drink   MOD: must   DEC

       'I must drink medicine.'

5.1   Negation in the verb predicate: Imperfect Aspect

Negation in the verb predicate under the imperfect aspect is expressed as a verb plus the Vstem =/n̦ɯ³³- po⁵⁵/. It is noteworthy that the target item of the negator is the verb suffix /-po⁵⁵/, expressing the imperfect aspect, which often includes the volitional future. See negative sentence (9).

(9)   ŋi⁵⁵   pø⁵⁵ ɣɯ̃³³ndɯ⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³- ri⁵⁵   n̦ɯ³³-po⁵⁵   (ŋɐ³³).
       1sg. [ERG] Tibetan letters   DIR- √write   NEG- SFX:impfct.   DEC

       'I do not write Tibetan letters.' [imperfect = present/future]

The construction of the negative verb predicate under imperfect conditions is as follows:

DIR- STEM   = NEG- SFX (/=MOD)   DEC.
                   /n̦ɯ³³- po⁵⁵/

DIR-: Directional prefix   SFX: Aspect suffix
MOD: Modal auxiliary verb   DEC: Declarative

5.2   Negation in the Verb Predicate: Perfect Aspect

Negation in the verb predicate under the perfect aspect is expressed as a verb plus /mɐ³³- sø⁵⁵/. Here, another negator, /mɐ³³-/, is used in the perfect aspect. The target item of the negator is the verb suffix /-sø⁵⁵/, expressing the perfect aspect. See negative sentence (10).

(10)   ŋi⁵⁵   ɣɯ̃³³ndɯ⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³- ri⁵⁵ = mɐ³³- sø⁵⁵   (ni³³).
       1sg. [ERG] letter   DIR- √write = NEG- SFX: pft.   DEC

       'I did not write a letter.' [perfect = past]

The construction of the negative verb predicate in the perfect situation is as follows:

DIR- STEM   = NEG- SFX (/=MOD)   DEC.
                    /mɐ³³- sø⁵⁵/

---

6.   Negation in the Verb Predicate with Declaratives /rʌ³³/

6.1   Another Declarative in the Verb Predicate

Mu-nya has another declarative, /rʌ³³/, which indicates a statement with the speaker's evidentiality as either experienced or realized. See sentence (11).

(11)   ndə³³qʰʌ⁵⁵   ʔu³³tɕe⁵⁵   nʌ³³- qʰʌ⁵⁵   rʌ³³.
        mountain   rain   DIR- fall   DEC

        'It rained on the mountain.'

This declarative /rʌ³³/ expresses the statement with experience [+realize], which is only used in the verb predicate under the perfect aspect.

6.2   Negation in the VP with Dec /rʌ³³/

Negation in the verb predicate with the declarative /rʌ³³/ is somewhat unique. See sentences (12) and (13). The negator /mɐ³³-/ comes into the position after DIR- before the Vstem as /nʌ³³-mʌ³³-qʰʌ⁵⁵/ 'have NOT fallen', to express negation under the perfect aspect with experience. The target item of the negator /mɐ³³-/ is not the declarative /rʌ³³/, but rather the verb stem.

(12)   ʔu³³tɕe⁵⁵   te³³ lø⁵⁵ = nɯ³³   nʌ³³- mʌ³³- qʰʌ⁵⁵   rʌ³³.
        rain   one CLS =also/even   DIR- NEG- fall   DEC

        'It did NOT rain at all.'

(13)   ŋɯ⁵⁵   ɦa³³- mɐ⁵⁵- ɕe³³   rʌ³³.
        1sg.   DIR- NEG- tired   DEC

        'I am NOT tired. (=I have never [been] tired).'

Let us consider one more negative sentence with the declarative /rʌ³³/.

(14)   ʔɐ³³tsi⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³- mɐ⁵⁵- ri³³   rʌ³³.
        3sg. [ERG]   DIR-   NEG- write   DEC [+realize: pft]

        'S/he did NOT write.' [witness]

It is interesting that this negative expression has dialectal variation in terms of word order. See sentence (14)′ in the Tanggu dialect.

(14)′   ʔeʵ³³tsi⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³- ri⁵⁵   meʵ³³-   rʌ³³.
        3sg. [ERG]   DIR- write   NEG-   DEC [+realize: pft]

        'S/he did NOT write.' [witness] (Tanggu dialect)

The negator /meʵ³³-/ is a prefix, so the target item of the negator in this sentence is the declarative /rʌ³³/. This word order is caused by analogical influence from the negative construction; that is, the negational target is a declarative in the noun predicate and the adjective predicate.

We can point out one more constructional similarity to negation in the verb predicate under the perfect aspect (and the evidentiality is different), as follows:

(15)   ʔeʵ³³tsi⁵⁵   kʰɯ³³- ri⁵⁵   meʵ³³- sɯ⁵⁵.
        3sg. [ERG]   DIR- write   NEG- SFX [general statement: pft]

        'S/he did NOT write.' (without evidentiality)

Although the target item of the negator /meʵ³³-/ in this sentence is not a declarative, but rather a suffix, compare (14)′ with (15): We find clear structural parallelism.

7.   Dialectal Variation of the Negative Predicate

As mentioned above, there are some Mu-nya dialectal varieties of negative constructions. Besides the variation in word order in the Tanggu dialect, some negative expressions, such as /ŋɯ³³jeʵ⁵⁵/ or /tɕɑ³⁵ŋeʵ³³/, are used in the northern villages instead of /n̠ɯ³³-ŋeʵ⁵⁵ti³³/.

All of these expressions are also used for the negative answer 'No' independently. /ŋɯ⁵⁵ jeʵ³³/ is primarily used in Liupa 六巴 village, while /tɕɑ³⁵ŋeʵ³³/ is used in Shenggu 生古 village. Both villages are in the northern part of Mu-nya district (in Kangding xian 康定縣), but these expressions are never used in Tanggu 湯古 village, located in the southern area (in Jiulong xian 九龍縣).

(1)′   ŋɯ⁵⁵   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   n̠ɯ³³- ŋeʵ⁵⁵ (ti³³).   **Tanggu/Liuba/shenggu daialect**
        1sg.   student   NEG- DEC [general statement]

        ŋɯ⁵⁵   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   ŋɯ⁵⁵ jeʵ³³.   **Liuba dialect**
        1sg.   student   DEC [NEG?] [general statement]

        ŋɯ⁵⁵   kʰi³³zi⁵⁵mi³³   tɕɕʌː³⁵ ŋeʵ³³.   **Shenggu dialect**
        1sg.   student   NEG DEC [general statement]

        'I am not a student.'

These are negative variations for 'No.' Since the morphemes /jɐ³³/ and /tɕʌː³⁵/ only occur in this negative phrase sporadically, it is difficult to identify its origin and to analyze the function. Further investigation is required.

8.   Concluding Remarks

This report describes the basic construction of negation in the Mu-nya language. Mu-nya has two kinds of negators: The general negator /n̠ɯ³³-/ is used in the noun predicate, the adjective predicate, and the verb predicate, which negate the impft-suffix /＝po³³/ or declaratives representing evidentiality. The second negator, /mɐ³³-/, is only used in the verb predicate, and expresses negation under the perfect aspect; it negates the pft-suffix /＝sɯ³³/, or the verb stem with the declarative /rʌ³³/ [+realize] contrastively. Here I have introduced two major issues: 'negation and evidentiality' and 'negation and the impft/pft aspect' in Mu-nya. Further issues in negation such as 'partial negation' and the 'double negative' are still under investigation. In addition, we should conduct a thorough study to expound upon the negation system in terms of experience, possibility, and progression.

Abbreviations

CLS	Classifier	IRG	Interrogative
CPT	Comparative	MOD	Modal
DAT	Dative	NEG	Negative
DEC	Declarative	NMR	Nominalizer
DIR	Directional prefix	NUM	Numeral
ERG	Ergative	PCL	Particle
GNT	Genitive	SFX	Suffix

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Negation in rGyalrong

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Summary

This paper outlines the morphological system of negation and related morphosyntactic phenomena in the Bola dialect of rGyalrong. rGyalrong is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the northwestern part of Sichuan Province, China. This language has long attracted the attention of scholars because it has strikingly similar, even identical, shapes to some lexical items of Written Tibetan. On the basis of this fact, some scholars regarded rGyalrong as representing a substratum of Old Tibetan. It is true that rGyalrong area and people have been under the strong influence of Tibet historically and culturally. However, Wolfenden and consequent researches revealed that the language has no direct genetic relation with Tibetan linguistically and that it shares common features with the Qiangic languages. On the other hand, however, rGyalrong shares some characteristics with several subgroups of the Tibeto-Burman family and thus is considered as one of the link languages which connect languages that have genetic relations among them. In this sense, a further approach to its typological features is indispensable.

Among the syntactic features of rGyalrong, its complex structure of verb phrase attracted scholars' attention for a long time. This is the reason why many Tibetologists tended to recognize the parallelism of rGyalrong's system to the prefixes of verb roots of Written Tibetan. Some people asserted that it is a reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman morphosyntax, and some others thought that it is a later development. Concretely, the verb phrase structure of this language can be generalized as:

VPfinal   →   P1- P2 - P3 - P4 - P5 - ROOT - (s) - S1

Negation is specified at the P1 position. P1 is the mood marker, which represents the speaker's attitude toward and judgment of the state and/or the other party. It may contain question, order, *negation*, supposition and optative.

In the previous works of this language, the negation marker was constantly mV-shaped. For instance, Lin (1993), the first comprehensive grammar of lCogtse dialect, describes two negation markers, *ma (mɐ)* and *mə*, explaining their distribution and functions. All the recent descriptions have followed Lin. However, I found *ǰa-* and *ǰi-*, beside *ma-*. This paper gropes for their synchronic usage and historical origin.

Key words: rGyalrong, Qiang, negation marker, verb phrase, Tibeto-Burman

关键词：嘉绒语、羌语支、否定辞、动词组、藏缅语

1.   Introduction

rGyalrong is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language that is spoken in the northwestern part of Sichuan Province, China; it is usually classified in the Bodish branch. This language has long attracted the attention of scholars. Some of them have regarded rGyalrong as representing a similar taxonomic level as written Tibetan (WT) because some of rGyalrong's lexical items are very close, even identical, to the WT orthography; others have tried to position this language as a link among TB languages in general because of its characteristic morphological components. In fact, it shares some characteristics with several subgroups of the Tibeto-Burman family and thus is considered to be one of the link languages connecting genetically related languages. While existing link languages are diverse in type, many still retain their archaic forms at different levels, and their descriptions are thought to be indispensable for the reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

The rGyalrong area has had close connections with Tibet, both historically and culturally. In particular, this area is known for its religious importance, as it served as a major shelter for Bon followers and produced many great Tibetan Buddhist scholars. Mainly for this reason, rGyalrong people borrowed many WT words, and those lexical shapes, along with Tibetan affixes, were incorporated into the rGyalrong language. That is why the rGyalrong language was once considered to represent an ancient form of Tibetan. However, Wolfenden (1929, 1936) and consequent studies have denied any direct genetic relation between Tibetan and rGyalrong based on the analysis of a larger inventory of collected lexical items, while discovering the fact that rGyalrong retains lexical forms and morphosyntactic mechanisms as old as those of Proto-TB, and that a number of its grammatical characteristics (such as sophisticated pronominalization system) and their agreement can be thought to have been invented in later times. In addition, the theory that rGyalrong shares a common origin with the Qiangic languages, and not with Tibetan, is now widely accepted. These studies rely on two methods: the comparison of basic vocabularies and the analysis of verb structures and rGyalrong's typological characteristics in morphosyntax. The former is a generally used method in historical linguistic studies, while the latter is unique to TB studies, which helps us to recognize the typological features of syntax and the developmental role of a number of affixes in the VPs of rGyalrong. In rGyalrong, highly complex yet well-structured syntactic rules are at work, and these rules, in turn, provide important clues in the study of Proto-TB syntax. In this context, I would like to describe the negation system in the Bola dialect of rGyalrong.
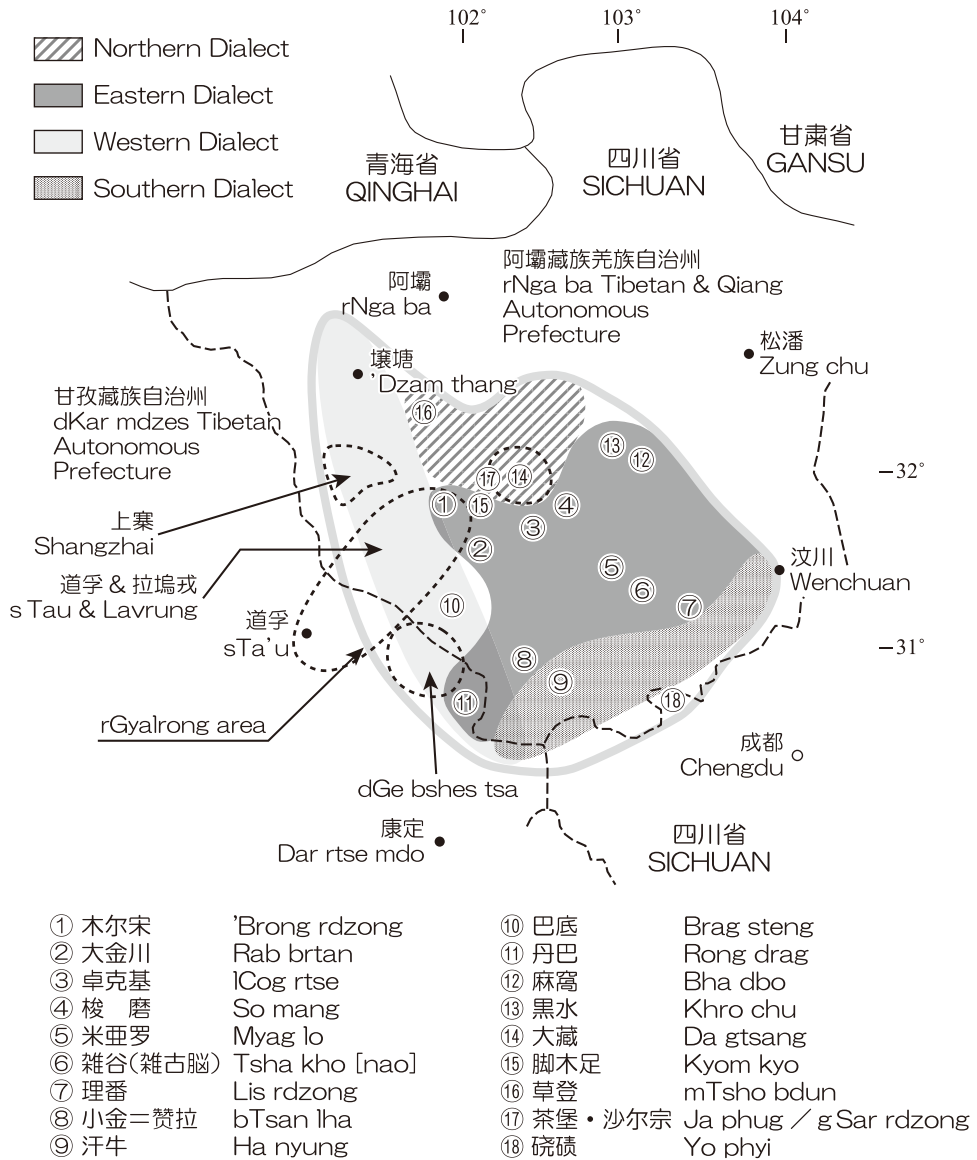
Map   Distribution of the rGyalrong dialects and rGyalrongic languages © Yasuhiko Nagano 2018

2.   Outline of phonology

2.1   Syllable

The syllable canon of the Bola dialect of rGyalrong can be generalized as $(C1)C_i(G)V(C_f)$ (C2), where the parenthesized portions are optional. C1 can be occupied by p-, t-, k-, r-, l-, s-, š-, m-, or ɴ-. All the consonants shown in the next section, except ɦ, can stand at C_i. V stands for vowel, and G is glide, which includes -r-, -l-, -w- and -y-. The following may appear at (C_f): -p, -t, -k, -ʔ, -č, -s, -ɦ, -m, -n, -ṅ, -ñ, -l, -r, -w, and -y. C2 is -s or the pronominal suffix S1, including n, ṅ, ñ, č, w, and y.

2.2   Consonants

Consonant phonemes are the following:

p ph b	t th d		ṭ ṭh ḍ	k kh g	ʔ
	ts tsh dz	č čh ǰ		c ch j	
	s z	š ž			h ɦ
m	n		ñ	ṅ	
	r				
w	l		y		

2.3   Vowels

Vowels are: /a, i, u, e, o, ə, ɐ/. Tones are not distinctive.

3.   The general structure of the rGyalrong verb phrase

Since "negation" is closely related to the language's VP structure, and its marker mainly appears in VPs, I would like to summarize the VP structure of rGyalrong. rGyalrong sentences are either simple or complex. Simple sentences have one verb complex that is necessarily the final one, while complex sentences have any number of non-final verb complexes and a final one. The structure is illustrated schematically as:

$$[(NP)+VP_{non\text{-}final}]^n(particle)[(NP)+VP_{final}] \text{ (AUX) (n=0, 1, or 2)}$$

$VP_{non\text{-}final}$ is infinitive, where ka- prefixes action verbs while kə- appears with stative verbs.

A VP_{final} has the following general structure and it constitutes a word:

$$VP_{final} \rightarrow P1\text{-}P2\text{-}P3\text{-}P4\text{-}P5\text{-}ROOT\text{-}(s)\text{-}S1$$

P1 is the mood marker, which represents the speaker's attitude toward and judgment of the state and/or the other party. It may contain question, an order, prohibition, "negation," supposition, and optative.

P2 is the tense/aspect marker, which specifies the past/non-past distinction and the various aspects of motion that verbs express. For the sake of the past/non-past distinction, directive markers play important roles. Directive markers are descriptively tense markers, but historically, they seem to have been aspect markers.

P3 is the evidential marker, which indicates the information's directness/indirectness and the mirativity of the utterance.

P4, pairing up with S1, represents a pronominal affix. P4 and S1 specify agreement.

P5 is the voice marker, as well as adverbial affixes of manners, indicating causative, repetitive, reciprocal, applicative, and some others.

The morpheme -s is a single derivative suffix to the root. It may appear between the root and S1 only with "process" verbs. It also marks the verb as being in the perfective.

The shape of the verb root is single. Lin (2000) and Prins (2011) claim that the past/non-past contrast is expressed by different root forms (different vowels or the existence of ʔ), but my present informant says that the roots of the past and of non-past are identical. Lin's observation (1993) seems to be the same as mine.

4.   Negation markers

Affixes in the P1 position are mood markers. These include question, negation, prohibition, and irrealis markers.

We have three negation markers: ma-, ǰa-, and ǰi-. ma- is the negation marker for the non-past or imperfect, while ǰa- and ǰi- mark the past or perfect. The distribution of ǰa- and ǰi- is closely related to the main verb's volitionality; the stronger the volition, the more frequently ǰa- appears. In the case of prohibition, ǰi- is always used, while ʔa-ǰi- always appears in the negative optative.

(01) wuǰo   tsay   to-ki-w=ren,   məza   tshoɴkhaṅ   ma-čhe.
   3s vegetable PST-buy-3=because 3s   shop   NEG-go

   'Because he buys vegetables, she doesn't go to the shop.'

(02) wuǰo   tsay   to-ki-w=ren,   məza   tshoɴkhaṅ   ǰa-čhe.
   3s vegetable PST-buy-3=because 3s   shop   NEG-go

   'Because he bought vegetables, she didn't go to the shop.'

(03) štə   thə   kə-ṅos   kə-mak   ǰi-čis.
      this   what   NOM-LKV   NOM-LKVneg   NEG-say

      '(He) didn't say what it is nor what it is not.'

(04) sce   ǰi-ro-n.
      here   NEG-come-2s

      'Don't come here.'

(05) təmu   ʔa-ǰi-lat.
      rain   IRR-NEG-fall

      '(I hope) it doesn't rain.'

I have outlined negation in rGyalrong, including the recent morphological innovation, which has not hitherto been described.

In previous monographs, negation is always marked by ma-. In Lin (1993), the first reference grammar of the lCogtse dialect, it is asserted that adverbs of negation mainly modify verbs or adjectives, representing negation and/or prohibition. The adverbs Lin describes are ma(mɐ) and mə. The first of these indicates "the intent not to do something," while the latter means "not yet finished doing something" or prohibition (Lin 1993: 312–313). Lin quotes the following:

<div align="center">

ŋa ma ki-ŋ.   "I don't buy."
mə mɐ zə-u.   "He doesn't eat."
no mɐ tə-pə-u.   "You don't do (that)."
ta-pu mɐ mʃor.   "The child is not cute."
ŋa mə pɐŋ.   "I haven't finished yet."
wəjo mə za-u.   "He has not yet eaten."
ŋa mə to-m.   "I have not hit him."
ŋa mə mʃor.   "I was not beautiful."
no mə tə-zə-u.   "Don't eat."
no mə tə-lɐt.   "Don't hit."

</div>

My former informant, a native speaker of the lCogtse dialect who helped me in 1980–1981, used the system of negation that Lin (1993) describes. As I noted in Nagano (2003), negation is always marked with ma-, which is placed immediately before the VPfinal, VPnon-final, or auxiliary verb. This observation is common to all the existing monographs, including Lin (1993) and Nagano (2003). After 1985, when fieldwork in the rGyalrong area first became possible, however, we found that the younger generation used ǰa- and ǰi- as

well as ma-. Prins (2011), the most recent reference grammar for the Kyomkyo dialect, also describes the use of ma-, mə- and ɟi-.

We will describe here how these three markers, ma-, ǰa- and ǰi-, are used and how they are distributed. It seems to be a general tendency that ǰa- and ǰi- occur in the past tense or the perfective, while ma- appears in the non-past or imperfective. Let us examine them in detail.

4.1   Negation in the intransitive structure

The following examples show a typical contrast between ǰa-/ǰi- and ma-.

(06)   wuǰo   tsay   to-ki-w=ren   məza   tshoɴkhaṅ   ǰa-čhe.
       3s   vegetable   PST-buy-3=because 3s   shop   NEG-go

       'Since he bought vegetables, she didn't go to the shop.'

(07)   wuǰo   tsay   to-ki-w=ren   məza   tshoɴkhaṅ   ma-čhe.
       3s   vegetable   PST-buy-3=because 3s   shop   NEG-go

       'Since he bought vegetables, she doesn't go to the shop.'

It is grammatical to use ǰi-čhe instead of ǰa-čhe in (06), but it presupposes a special environment or condition where his purchase of the vegetables compels her not to go to the shop.

The following three sentences also contain an interesting contrast:

(08)   wuǰo   w-ərjap   nə-sar   w-əɴkhu=y,
       3s   3s:GEN-bride   PST-draw 3s:GEN-after=LOC

       maǰumaǰu   čhɐ   sɐmuy {sɐ-mot=y}   ǰa-čhe.
       often   *chang* place-drink=LOC   NEG-go

       'Since he got married, he didn't often go to bars.'

(09)   wuǰo   wərjap   nə-sar   w-əɴkhu=y,
       3s   3s:GEN-bride   PST-draw 3s:GEN-after=LOC

       čhɐ   sɐmuy {sɐ-mot=y}   ǰa-to-čhe.
       chang   place-drink=LOC   NEG-PST-go

       'Since he got married, he never went to bars. (He stopped his custom of going to bars.)'

(10) wuǰo   w-ərjap   nə-sar   w-əɴkhu=y,
      3s   3s:GEN-bride   PST-draw   3s:GEN-after=LOC

      čhɐ   sɐmuy {sɐ-mot=y}   ma-na-čhe.
      chang   place-drink=LOC   NEG-PROG-go

      'Since he got married, he has not been going to bars (as a custom).'

These examples are parallel to (06) and (07) regarding the distinction between ǰa-, ǰi-, and ma-. (08) indicates that the protagonist refrained from frequenting bars, while (09) implies that he gave up his customary practice of going to bars. The affix -**to**- in (09) ǰa-to-čhe is a direction marker that indicates that the action takes place in an upward direction. This usage is similar to "up" in "to finish up" and "to eat up" in English, and the sentence (09) stands for his intent to flatly give up drinking. In these instances, the actions are based upon his intent, and therefore, ǰi- does not occur.

(11) wuǰo   kuruʔ   ziṅkey {ziṅkam=y}   ǰikthal {ǰa-yi-kə-thal}=tə
      3s   Tibet   area=LOC   NEG-DIR-3s-go(past)=DEF

      thakčhot   nə-ṅo.
      certain   EVI-LKV

      'It is certain that he didn't go to Tibet.'

The underlying form of this VP should be regarded as {ǰa-yi-kə-thal}, instead of {ǰi-kə-thal}, as the verb root thal always requires a directive yi-. kə-, a pronominal affix for the third person, is optional, and yi-thal is also grammatical.

(12) wuǰo   w-əmñak   ǰa-mǰup   w-əčhes,   təmño   no-pa-w.
      3s   3s:GEN-eye   NEG-close   3s:GEN-since show   PST-see-3

      'Since he could not sleep, he saw the show.'

(13) wuǰo   w-əmñak   ma-mǰup   w-əčhes,   təmño   pa-w.
      3s   3s:GEN-eye   NEG-close   3s:GEN-since show   see-3

      'Since he cannot sleep, he will see the show.'

The word structure eye-close) of the VP (tə-)mñak mǰup "to sleep" looks as if it is transitive, but it behaves intransitively. When we say "to close one's eyes," a causative marker should appear before mǰup.
    The following is an example of the use of ǰi- for a natural phenomenon:

(14)   wuǰoyo   təmñama   wastot   ǰupa {ǰa-wu-pa}   nə-mak.
       3p   cultivation   well   NEG-3p>3-do   EVI-LKVneg

       pewa   təmu   kəmča   ǰi-lat.
       this year   rain   many   NEG-fall

'It is not that they did not cultivate well. It did not rain a lot this year.'

4.2   Negation in the transitive structure

The negation system of the ǰa-/ǰi-/ma- distinction is parallel to that of the intransitive structure. The following three groups of examples present a typical contrast:

(15)   wuǰo   tama   ko-pa= či,   čhițe   ǰa-lat.
       3s   work   PST-do=when   car   NEG-hit/do

'When he worked, he didn't drive a car.'

(15a) wuǰo   tama   pa-w=či,   čhițe   ma-lat.
       3s   work   do-3=when   car   NEG-hit/do

'He does not drive a car when he works.'

(15b) wuǰo   tama   pa-w=či,   čhițe   ma-nə-lat.
       3s   work   do-3=when   car   NEG-PROG-hit/do

'He usually does not drive a car when he works.'

(16)   wuǰo   tama   ǰa-pa-w=ren,   wuɴgra   munadət {ma-wu-na-dət}.
       3s   work   NEG-do-3=since wages   NEG-3p>3-PROG-give

'Because he didn't work, they have not paid him his wages.'

(16a) wuǰo   tama   ǰa-pa-w=ren,   wuɴgra   mudət {ma-wu-dət}.
       3s   work   NEG-do-3=since wages   NEG-3p>3-give

'Because he didn't work, they will not pay him his wages.'

(16b) wuǰo   tama   ǰa-pa-w=ren,   wuɴgra   judət {ǰa-wu-dət}.
       3s   work   NEG-do-3=since wages   NEG-3p>3-give

'Because he didn't work, they did not pay him his wages.'

(16c) wuǰo   tama   ma-pa-w=ren,   wuɴgra   mudət {ma-wu-dət}.
       3s   work   NEG-do-3=since wages   NEG-3p>3-give

       'Because he doesn't work, they will not pay him his wages.'

(17)   wuǰoyo štə   w-əǰim   nuɴphar {no-wu-ɴphar} ju-ɴphar {ǰa-wu-ɴphar}
       3p   this   3s:GEN-house PST-3-sell   NEG-3-sell

       nutho? {nə-wu-tho?}.
       PST-3-ask

       'They asked if (someone) sold this house or not.'

(17a) wuǰoyo štə   w-əǰim   ka-ɴphar ma-ɴphar nutho? {nə-wu-tho?}.
       3p   this   3s:GEN-house INF-sell   NEG-sell   PST-3-ask

       'They asked if (someone) would sell this house or not.'

(18)   wuǰo   gyagar=y   no-we   no-ṅo=y,   ṅa   ǰa-mto-ṅ.
       3s   India=LOC PST-come   EVI-LKV=LOC 1s   NEG-see-1s

       'Although he has already arrived in India, I haven't seen him.'

(18a) wuǰo   gyagar=y   no-we   no-ṅo=y,   ṅa ma-wardo-ṅ.
       3s   India=LOC PST-come   EVI-LKV=LOC 1s NEG-meet-1s

       'Even though he has arrived in India, I will not meet him.'

In these examples, the distribution of ǰa- and ma- is straightforward, and ǰi- never appears. However, ǰi- occurs with the same root, -mto-, in the following sentences:

(19)   štə   w-ərmi   kəci   no-ṅo=y   ǰi-mto-ṅ.
       this   3s:GEN-person where EVI-LKV=LOC NEG-see-1s

       'I didn't see this person anywhere.'

(20)   məza   thə-ke=tsə   ǰa-mto-w.
       3s(she) what-one=CONJP   NEG-see-3

       'She saw nothing whatsoever.'

Looking at the contrastive examples (18) through (20), the distribution of ǰa- and ǰi- seems to be related to volitionality. Let us examine ǰa- and ǰi-, which appear with verbs of cognition, judgment, and/or senses.

(21)   wuǰo   sə   w-əǰim   ŋgu=y   no-ñi-s   jikšəṅ {ǰi-kə-šə-ṅ}.
       3s   who   3s:GEN-house   in=LOC   PST-stay-PFV   NEG-1-know-1s

       'I didn't know whose house he stayed in.'

(21a) wuǰo   sə   w-əǰim   ŋgu=y   kə-ñi=tə   makšəṅ {ma-kə-šə-ṅ}.
       3s   who   3s:GEN-house   in=LOC   INF-stay=DEF   NEG-1-know-1s

       'I don't know whose house he stays in.'

(22)   wu-tondak   mə-nə-(tə-)šə-w?
       3s:GEN-meaning   Q-PST-(2-)understand-2s>3

       'Have you understood the meaning?'

(22a)   ǰikšəṅ {ǰi-kə-šə-ṅ}.
        NEG-1-understand-1s

       'I didn't understand.'

(23)   wuǰo kupa   w-əskat   ma-šə-w=tə   ṅa   ǰikšəṅ {ǰi-kə-šə-ṅ}.
       3s China   3s:GEN-language   NEG-know-3=DEF   1s   NEG-1-know-1s

       'I didn't know that he did not understand the Chinese language.'

The verb šə "to know" usually requires ǰi- in the perfective. This verb is transitive, but taking the pronominalization pattern into account, only (22a) shows a transitive structure; the others have an intransitive pattern.

The verb čis "to say" takes ǰi- in the perfective. For instance:

(24)   wuǰoyo   kupa=y   kə-čhe-ñ   kə-ṅos   kə-mak   ǰi-čis.
       3p   China=LOC   3-go-3p   NOM-LKV   NOM-LKV   NEG-say

       'They didn't say whether they would go to China or not.'

(24a) wuǰoyo   kupa=y   kə-čhe-ñ   kə-ṅos   kə-mak   ma-čis.
       3p   China=LOC   3-go-3p   NOM-LKV   NOM-LKV   NEG-say

       'They will not say whether they will go to China or not.'

(25)   wuǰoyo   štə   thə   kə-ṅos   kə-mak   ǰi-čis.
       3p   this   what   NOM-LKV   NOM-LKVneg NEG-say

       'They didn't say what this would be or not.'

(25a) wuǰoyo   štə   thə   kə-n̓os   kə-mak   ma-nə-čis.
      3p   this   what   NOM-LKV   NOM-LKVneg   NEG-DIF-say

'They won't say what this is or not.'

The following three groups of examples show a good contrast for ǰa-/ǰi-/ma-:

(26) wuǰo   sce   ma-we=tə   ǰi-səso-n̓.
     3s   here   NEG-come=DEF   NEG-think-1s

'I didn't think that he would not come here.'

(26a) wuǰo   sce   ma-we=tə   ma-nɐ-səso-n̓.
      3s   here   NEG-come=DEF   NEG-EST-think-1s

'I don't think that he does not come here.'

(27) wuǰoyo   kor   mupay {ma-wu-pa-y}   ǰi-səso-n̓.
     3p   aid   NEG-3>1-do-1p   NEG-think-1s

'I didn't think that they would not help us.'

(27a) wuǰoyo   kor   mupay {ma-wu-pa-y}   ma-nɐ-səso-n̓.
      3p   aid   NEG-3>1-do-1p   NEG-EST-think-1s

'I don't think that they will not help us.'

(28) štə   w-əma   kə-ra   kə-mak=tə   ǰa-səso-w.
     this   3s:GEN-work   INF-need   INF-LKV=DEF   NEG-think-3

'He didn't think that this work was not important.'

(28a) štə   w-əma   kə-ra   kə-mak=tə   ma-nɐ-səso-w.
     this   3s:GEN-work   INF-need   INF-LKV=DEF   NEG-EST-think-3

'He doesn't think that this work is not important.'

(29)   wuǰo   w-ərjap   kə-sar   ǰi-səso   nə-ṅo=y,
       3s   3s:GEN-bride   INF-pull   NEG-think   EVI-LKV=LOC

       wu-pɐma-ǰis   wu-sə-sar   nə-ṅo.
       3s:GEN-parent-d 3p>3-CAUS-pull EVI-LKV

       'Even though he has not thought about marriage, his parents will make him
       marry.'

(29a) wuǰo   w-ərjap   kə-sar   ǰa-nɐ-səso   nə-ṅo=y,
       3s   3s:GEN-bride   INF-pull   NEG-EST-think EVI-LKV=LOC

       wu-pɐma-ǰis   wu-sə-sar   nə-ṅo.
       3s:GEN-parent-d 3p>3-CAUS-pull EVI-LKV

       'Even though he has not thought about marriage, his parents will make him
       marry.'

(29b) wuǰo   w-ərjap   kə-sar   ma-nɐ-səso   nə-ṅo=y,
       3s   3s:GEN-bride   INF-pull   NEG-EST-think EVI-LKV=LOC

       wu-pɐma-ǰis   wu-sə-sar   nə-ṅo.
       3s:GEN-parent-d 3p>3-CAUS-pull EVI-LKV

       'Even though he doesn't think about marriage, his parents will make him
       marry.'

We see both ǰi- and ǰa- with the same root səso- "to think," which connotes several
grades of volitionality, covering "to remember" > "to consider" > "to regard" > "to dream"
> "to hope." In the examples above, we may hypothesize that ǰi- tends to appear in lower
volitionality utterances, while ǰa- is for those of higher volitionality. The sentences (29)
and (29a) are evidence for this. The estimative marker nɐ- appears in (26a) and not in (26);
this also seems to be related to volitionality. It should be noted that the five sentences (28a)
through (29b) show a transitive pattern in terms of pronominalization, while (26) and (26a)
show an intransitive pattern.

4.3   Negation of adjectives
The following are typical cases of the negation of adjectives. However, I cannot give any
clear-cut explanation for the co-occurrence of ǰa- and ǰi- in the past.

(30)   tham   žimpa-yo   ñi-loto   ǰa-sna.
       now   farmer-p   3p-production   NEG-good

       'These days, the farmers' production has not been good.'

(30a) tham   žimpa-yo   ñi-loto   ma-nə-sna.
       now   farmer-p   3p-production   NEG-DIF-good

       'In these days the farmers' production is not good.'

(31)   yiño tama ǰikskoy {ǰi-kə-skos-y}=tə žuṅ=kə   yiṭhul   nə-pa-w.
       1p   work NEG-1-diligent-1p=DEF   government=ERG punishment PST-do-3s

       'The government punished us for not having been diligent in work.'

(31a) yiño tama makskoy {ma-kə-skos-y}=tə žuṅ=kə   yiṭhul   pa-w.
       1p   work NEG-1-diligent-1p=DEF   government=ERG punishment do-3s

       'The government will punish us for not being diligent in work.'

4.4   Negation of auxiliary verbs

A general tendency is observed in which ma- appears in the non-past tenses, while ǰa- and ǰi- appear in the past; however, it is difficult to show any clear distribution for ǰa- and ǰi- in the negation of auxiliary verbs in the past. It may be possible to assert, however, that the negation used is related to the main verb's meaning, transitivity, and volitionality.

4.4.1   The auxiliary verb ra

The auxiliary verb ra may occur with ma-, ǰa-, or ǰi-.

(32)   domor   təmu kəmča no-lat   w-əčhes,   təmña=y təǰi ǰa-ra.
       last year rain many PST-fall 3s:GEN-since field=LOC water NEG-AUX

       'Because we had a lot of rain last year, we did not need to irrigate.'

(32a) domor   təmu kəmča no-lat   w-əčhes,   təmña=y təǰi ka-lat   ma-ra.
       last year rain many   PST-fall 3s:GEN-since field=LOC water INF-hit NEG-AUX

       'Because we had a lot of rain last year, we do not need to irrigate.'

(32b) domor təmu kəmča no-lat w-əčhes, təmña=y təǰi ka-lat ma-nə-ra.
      last year rain   many   PST-fall 3s:GEN-since field=LOC water INF-hit NEG-DIF-AUX

'Because we had a lot of rain last year, we do not need to irrigate.' (⟸ judgment based on experience)

(33) žuṅ   ñi-ṅbe=y   ṭhəl kəmča ka-dət ǰi-ra   no-ṅo=y,
     government 3p:GEN-for=LOC tax many   INF-give NEG-AUX EVI-LKV=LOC

     wu-ziṅkam   yargyes   kə-kte to-čhe.
     3s:GEN-country development(<WT) INF-big PST-go

'Although (they) didn't need to pay a high tax, the country developed a lot.'

(34) wuǰoyo ñi-šamdu ǰi-ra   no-ṅo=y   tuki {to-wu-ki}.
     3p   3p:GEN-gun NEG-AUX EVI-LKV=LOC   PST-3-buy

'Although they didn't need to buy guns, they bought (some).'

We have ǰa- in (32) and ǰi- in (33); from these examples, we may speculate that "to irrigate" involves a higher volitionality than "to pay tax." In (34), we have no main verb, and ǰi- occurs more often in such cases.

4.4.2 The auxiliary verb čha

The auxiliary verb čha "to be able to" may co-occur with ma-, ǰa-, or ǰi-. The examples below indicate that in the past/perfect, ǰa- appears with a transitive verb, while ǰi- appears with an intransitive verb; ma- appears in the non-past/imperfect.

(35) kunṭen loto   ka-sə-sna   ǰa-čha.
     commune production INF-CAUS-good NEG-AUX

'That commune could not improve their production.'

(35a) kunṭen loto   ka-sə-sna   ma-čha.
      commune production INF-CAUS-good NEG-AUX

'That commune won't be able to improve their production.'

(35b) kunṭen loto   ka-sə-sna   ma-nə-čha.
      commune production INF-CAUS-good NEG-DIF-AUX

'(It is predictable based on experience that) the commune won't be able to improve their production.'

(36) ṅa lopṭey {lopṭa=y}   ka-čhe   ǰi-čha-ṅ.
      1s school=LOC   INF-go   NEG-AUX-1s

'I could not go to school.'

4.4.3   The auxiliary verb tso

The auxiliary verb tso "have time to do something" requires ma- in the non-past and ǰi- in the past. For instance:

(37) ṅa lopṭey {lopṭa=y}   ka-čhe   ǰi-tso-ṅ.
      1s school=LOC   INF-go   NEG-AUX-1s

'I had no time to go to school.'

(38) kə-nəɴdza   ma-tso-ṅ.
      INF-eat   NEG-AUX-1s

'I have no time to eat.'

(39) kə-nəɴdza   ǰi-tso-ṅ.
      INF-eat   NEG-AUX-1s

'I had no time to eat.'

4.4.4   The auxiliary verb yok

We have no example of the auxiliary verb yok "to be allowed" in the past tense.

(40) ṅa təǰim   w-əɴgu=y   ka-ɴgo   mə-yok.
      1s house   3s:GEN-in=LOC INF-go (upstream) Q-AUX

'May I come into the house?'

(40a) ka-we   ma-yok.
       INF-come   NEG-AUX

'(You are) not allowed to come into.'

4.4.5   The auxiliary verb lo

The auxiliary verb lo "to be just about to do" takes ma- in the non-past and ǰa- in the past. We have no example of ǰi-lo.

(41) wuǰoǰis   ǰim   ɴgu=y   kə-čwat   ǰa-lo.
      3d   house   in=LOC   INF-go home   NEG-AUX

      'They two were not about to go home.'

(41a) wuǰoǰis   ǰim   ɴgu=y   kə-čwat   ma-lo.
      3d   house   in=LOC   INF-go home   NEG-AUX

      'They two are not about to go home.'

4.4.6   The auxiliary verb rño

The auxiliary verb rño may take ǰa-, ǰi-, or ma-, but it is a general tendency that "experience" is expressed in non-past structures. As a result, ma- appears frequently.

(42) ṅa   gyagar=y   ka-čhe   nə-rño-ṅ   no-ṅo=y,
      1s   India=LOC   INF-go   PST-AUX-1s   EVI-LKV=LOC

      nɐčey   kəmča   ka-ñi   ma-rño-ṅ.
      duration many   INF-stay   NEG-AUX-1s

      'I have ever been to India, but I haven't stayed long.'

(43) wuǰo   kuruʔ   ziṅka=y {ziṅkam=y}   ka-čhe   ma-rño-w.
      3s   Tibet   area=LOC   INF-go   NEG-AUX-Non1

      'He has never been to Tibet.'

In contrast to (42) and (43), (42a) and (43a) are grammatical, but their respective meanings become "I have ever been to India, but I did not stay long (before some specific point of time)" and "He had never been to Tibet." The appearance of ǰi- and ǰa- depends upon the person, but parallel examples are rare.

(42a) ṅa gyagar=y ka-čhe nə-rño-ṅ no-ṅo=y, nɐčey kəmča ka-ñi ǰi-rño-ṅ.

(43a) wuǰo kuruʔ zinka=y ka-čhe ǰa-rño-w.

4.5   The distribution of ǰa- and ǰi-

The distribution of ǰa- and ǰi- is conditioned by the volitionality of the verbs, as seen in (29) and so on. The following sentences also provide good evidence for this:

(44) wuǰo   ka-we   makčha {ma-kə-čha}   mak.   ma-we   no-ṅos.
      3s   INF-come   NEG-3-can   LKVneg   NEG-come   EVI-LKV

      'It is not that he cannot come. He doesn't (simply) come.'

(45) wuǰo   ka-we   ǰikčha {ǰi-kə-čha}   nə-mak.   ǰa-we   no-ṅos.
      3s   INF-come   NEG-3-can   EVI-LKVneg   NEG-come   EVI-LKV

      'It is not that he could not come. He didn't come (by intent).'

(46) wuǰo   ǰi-we   nə-mak.   ǰa-we   no-ṅos.
      3s   NEG-come   EVI-LKV   NEG-come   EVI-LKV

      'It is not that he (simply) didn't come. He didn't come (by intent).'

In relation to the past root, we usually use wi- "to come," but because the negation markers ǰi- and ǰa- are exclusively used for the past/perfect, we- is also acceptable in (45) and (46).

The following two examples illustrate the same contrast:

(47) wuǰo   khri=zə   kə-mak   ǰi-ɴdza-w.
      3s   rice=than   NOM-LKV   NEG-eat-Non1

      'He didn't eat anything but rice.'

(48) wuǰo   khri=zə   kə-mak   ǰa-ɴdza-w.
      3s   rice=than   NOM-LKV   NEG-eat-3

      'He intentionally didn't eat anything but rice.'

In (47), he did not eat because he was following his own will or taste, while in (48), he intentionally chose to eat rice only due to some external reason or situation.
To summarize, the following can be deduced:

① rGyalrong has three kinds of negation markers: ǰa-, ǰi-, and ma-.
② ma- is a negation marker for the non-past/imperfect, while ǰa- and ǰi- are used for the past/perfect, which matches Lin's (1993) description of mə-.
③ The distribution of ǰa- and ǰi- is related to the verb's volitionality.
   The stronger the volition, the more frequently ǰa- appears.
④ ǰi- is always used for prohibition.
⑤ In the negative optative, ʔa-ǰi- is used, in which ʔa- is an irrealis marker.

4.6   The origin of ǰa- and ǰi-

Since Wolfenden, there has been no description of ǰa- and/or ǰi-. Given that these negation markers are frequently used in my informant's parents' (who are presently in their late 70s) generation, the following explanation may be suitable:

①   In the dialect's normative utterances, ma- was the only negation marker, but ǰa- and ǰi- were present in colloquial negative forms in the past/perfect.

②   The marker ma- has a phonetically similar shape to the question marker mə-. To avoid collapse, a different phonetic shape was adopted.

③   According to Lin (1993), ma- was the negation marker for the imperfect, and mə- was used for the perfect. To avoid confusion between the two, ǰa- and ǰi- were created.

Prins (2011: 485–486) gives a slightly different and descriptive interpretation, reporting that ma- indicates the non-past, while ǰi- is tied to the past/perfective, and mə- indicates prohibition. However, the pattern's historical origin remains unknown.

In TB language groups, there are two main lines of negation: *mV- and *tV-. In most languages, one of the two is dominant, and the other is present as an archaism. Likewise, in rGyalrong, it seems possible that *tV- became ǰa- after a pattern of historical change. Suzuki (2017) claims that the negation marker /ka-/ in Khams Tibetan originated from the question marker /ˊka-/ "where." If this is taken as plausible, rGyalrong's ǰa-/ǰi- may be related to WT *ci-* or *ji-* "what, which." Nevertheless, it remains unclear why ǰa-/ǰi- should be used for the past/perfective negation.

Examining other TB languages, we see no similar shape of negation in neighboring languages, such as Qiang, although we do find that Garo has ja-, which functions as negation marker. Burling (1961: 18) describes -ja- or -gi-ja- infixes and suffixes representing negation in VP, noting that ku-ja- means "not yet done" or behaves simply as a negation marker in the past tense. The latter seems important for clarifying the historical origin of the negation marker.

Although the frequency of occurrence is quite low, ʔa- does appear as a negation particle, separately from ǰa-/ǰi-/ma- as shown in the following example:

(49)   nəǰo   ʔa-ṅə-nak=tsə   meʌkor   mə-ʌdə.
        2s   NEG-IMPS-hurry=COND   train   NonV-go

    'Unless you hurry, the train is going to depart.'

This ʔa- is very much like /ˈa/ in /ˉˈa-yiʌ/, meaning "no kidding" in modern colloquial Tibetan, but it seems improbable that it would have been borrowed. Rather, we must consider the parallelism to the irrealis marker ʔa- in the negative optative.

4.7 The prohibition marker

Prohibition is always marked by ǰi-. ma- never occurs.

(50)   sce   ro-we-n.
          here   DIR-come-2s

          'Come here!'

(50a)   sce   ǰi-we-n.
           here   NEG-come-2s

           'Don't come here!'

(50b)   sce   ǰi-ɴbi-n.
           here   NEG-come(HON)-2s

           'Please don't come here!'

(51)   ka-pši   ǰi-pa-w.
          INF-sing   NEG-song-2s

          'Don't sing!'

(52)   wuǰo   mə-nə-ɴgo=zə,   tama   ǰi-sə-pa-w.
          3s   Q-NonV-sick=if   work   NEG-CAUS-do-Non1

          'If he is sick, don't let him work!'

4.8 The negative optative

The negative optative is expressed as ʔa-ǰi + verb root, in which ʔa- is an irrealis marker. Refer to sentence (05) and the summary presented in Section 4.5. It is uncertain whether this irrealis marker is cognate to ʔa-, which nominalizes directives, or cognate to the negation marker at the PTB level.

5. Afterword

I have described the negation system in rGyalrong, including morphological innovation, which has not been described in previous monographs. In that respect, this small paper can contribute to TB linguistics. At the same time, however, we now have a lot of questions concerning this innovation. In order to answer those, we are expected to collect materials on negation in other dialects and analyze their typological and historical evolution.

Abbreviations

1	first person	IDEF	indefinite
2	second person	IMP	imperative
3	third person	IMPS	impersonal
d	dual	INF	infinitive
ex	existence	INS	instrumental
n	noun	INV	inverse
neg	negative	IRR	irrealis
p	plural	LKV	linking verb
s	single	LOC	locative
v	verb	NEG	negative/negation
<	originated from the right	NIF	new information
>	action going from the left to right	NOM	nominalizer
{ }	underlying form	Non1	non-first person
ABL	ablative	NonV	non-volitional
ABT	absolute tense	NP	noun phrase
ADVR	adverbializer	OPT	optative
ALA	agentless action	P	prefix
APP	applicative	PFV	perfective
ATT	attenuant	POS	possessive
AUX	auxiliary verb	PROG	progressive
CAUS	causative	PROH	prohibitive
COND	conditional	PST	past tense
CONJ	conjunction	Q	question
CONJP	conjunctive particle	S	suffix
DEF	definite	SFP	sentence-final particle
DIF	direct information	ST	Sino-Tibetan
DIR	directive/direction marker	TB	Tibeto-Burman
ERG	ergative	VP	verb phrase
EST	estimative	WT	written Tibetan
EVI	evidential	-	morpheme boundary
FOC	focus marker	=	constituent boundary one degree higher than "-"
GEN	genitive		
HON	honorifics		

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The Isomorphism between Negative and Interrogative:
A case in Rgyalrong*

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Summary

Based on related data as observed in Rgyalrong, this paper examines a phenomenon Watters (2004) and Prins (2016) noticed earlier in the Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan languages they investigate—that the negative and interrogative prefixes share the same form. After describing in detail the forms and functions of negative and interrogative prefixes in the Cogtse dialect, this paper argues that in Rgyalrong, the negative and interrogative prefixes are in isomorphism. Such an isomorphic relation between negators and interrogative markers is detected not only in Rgyalrong, but also in other Sino-Tibetan languages, including Chinese. Based on related evidence gleaned from Rgyalrong, the present study proposes possible contexts and mechanisms that could have caused negators to develop to interrogative markers. While alternative questions have been suggested by Watters (2004) to be the context from which the negative-interrogative isomorphism has arisen; it is equally possible, and more cross-linguistically evidenced, that the evolution could have started from toned-down polar questions formed with a negator and some sentence-final modal (i.e. yes-no question) particle.

Key words: negative, interrogative, isomorphism, negative-interrogative, Rgyalrong

關鍵詞：漢藏語、四土嘉戎語、卓克基話、否定前綴、疑問辭

1. Introduction

In 2004, David Watters establishes convincingly a case in which one single form, *ma-*, can be used either as a negator or an interrogative marker in Kham. After more than a decade, Prins (2016: 592–595) detects a similar case in another Sino-Tibetan language, the Kyom-kyo dialect of Situ Rgyalrong. This paper aims to undertake a further and deeper investigation of such phenomena by examining in detail a similar case in the Cogtse (also known as Zhuōkèjī 卓克基) dialect of Situ Rgyalrong (henceforth Cogtse). Possible developmental pathway is proposed for the case in Cogtse using related synchronic and diachronic facts discovered cross-linguistically.

This paper is organized as follows. After provding the background information of the target language in Section 2, I will lay out the forms and functions of the negative and interrogative prefixes as observed in this language in Section 3, and constructions that could cause confusion between negative and interrogative interpretations are also discussed here (in Section 3.3). Sections 4 and 5 further attest the isomorphism between the negative and interrogative markers by drawing on evidence from the other Rgyalrong languages and a couple of non-Rgyalrongic languages, including Chinese. Section 6 establishes the developmental pathway from negative to interrogative for Cogtse, and proposes two possible scenarios where such a development could have arisen from. Section 7 concludes the paper by summarizing the main findings of this study.

2. The target language

The Cogtse dialect of Situ Rgyalrong is affiliated to the Rgyalrongic subgroup of the Sino-Tibetan/Trans-Himalayan family. Rgyalrongic languages are mainly spoken in the Prefectures of Rngaba (རྔ་བ། Ābà 阿坝) and Ngkarmdzos (དཀར་མཛེས། Ggānzī 甘孜) in Sichuan, China, though according to Suzuki and Tashi Nyima 2016 and Zhao 2018, some Rgyalrongic speech forms could also be spoken in Tibet. Based on Lai (2017) and Lai et al. (2020), the Rgyalrongic cluster constitutes two major clusters:[1] Rgyalrong and Khroskyabs-Stau (also known as "Western Rgyalrongic," which also subsumes Tangut). The Rgyalrong group is consisted of four closely related but mutually unintelligible languages: Situ (四土), Japhug (or Chápù 茶堡), Tshobdun (or Cǎodēng 草登), and Showu (used primarily in the Township of Rìbù 日部) (Jacques 2014; Sun 2015: 731).

Figure 1 is a Stammbaum for the Rgyalrongic cluster based on Lai (2017), Jacques (2014) and Sun (2015).

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[1] Sun and Bstan'dzin Blogros (2019), on the other hand, proposes a tripartite subclassification of the Rgyalrongic cluster: Rgyalrong, Horpa, and Khroskyabs.

Rgyalrongic

Khroskyabs-Stau   Rgyalrong

Khroskyabs   Stau   Situ   Tshobdun   Zbu   Japhug
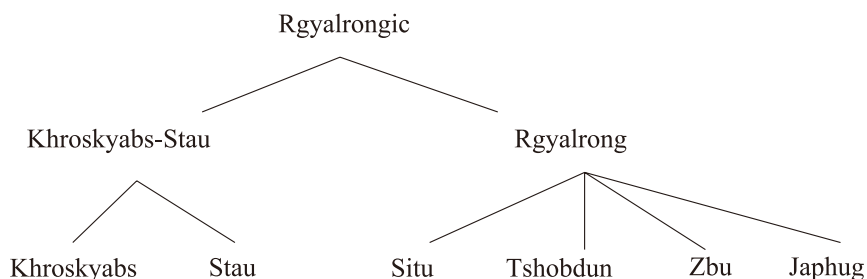
Figure 1   Stammbaum of the Rgyalrongic group

3.   The Negatives and Interrogative in Cogtse

Cogtse has two negative prefixes and one interrogative prefix. Section 3.1 analyzes the functional distribution of the two negators *mə-* and *ma-~mɐ-*; while section 3.2 discusses how the interrogative prefix *mə-* is used to construct interrogative verb forms. Section 3.3 is then dedicated to situations of confusion between the negative and interrogative constructions.

3.1   Negators *mə-* and *ma-~mɐ-*

There are two negative verbal prefixes in Cogtse: *mɐ-~ma-* and *mə-*.[2] According to the contexts they appear, the two negators are in complementary distribution.

3.1.1   Non-past negator *ma-~mɐ-*

The negative prefix *ma-~mɐ-* is used only in non-past situations, including non-past generic fact, future, hortative, and present imperfective.

   This negator is realized either as *ma-* or *mɐ-*, depending on which verb stem it is attached to. In many cases, if the stem is formed with the vowels *ə-* or *ɐ-*, the non-past negator is realized as *mɐ-* instead of *ma-*, which in principle could be analyzed as an alternation caused by vowel harmony. However, there are also situations where the occurrence of *ma-* or *mɐ-* is not predictable, thus it is necessary to represent the prefix using either of its surface forms.

   Sections 3.1.1.1–3.1.1.4 will lay out each of the non-past functions the negator serves.

3.1.1.1   Non-past generic

Generic sentences depict the typical characteristics of a species, a kind or an individual

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[2] In X. Lin (1993: 312–313), the negators are analyzed as adverbials, but in fact *mɐ-~ma-* and *mə-* are prefixes, as they are attached to verb stems, and no independent words can be inserted between the negators and the stems they are attached to.

(Dahl 1985: 99). In example (1), the subject is Muslim, so it is characteristic of the subject to not to eat pork.

(1) (Elicited)

    ŋa   *ʃɐrwê*   *ŋôs-ŋ,*
    1SG   Muslim   COP-1SG

    pakʃâ   **mɐ-zɐ-ŋ**
    pork   **NEG:NPST-**eat1-1SG

    'I am Muslim, I don't eat pork.'

The prefix can also be used to describe a non-past state, as shown in example (2).

(2) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

    o   *tə-mpʰjas*   *kə-do,*
    DM   N-disappointment   NMLZ-there.be1

    wəjo *pi*   *tʃim-ŋgu=j*   **ma-ɲî**   *o*
    3SG   now   house-inside=LOC   **NEG:NPST-**there.be1   DM

    'Oh, I am sorry, he's not home right now.'

3.1.1.2 Future

Attached to a bare stem, the prefix *ma-~mɐ-* can denote not only non-past, but also future situations:

(3) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

    wəti *ndzəmbô* *sɐ-pê*   *maŋdzâ*   *kə-natsa*   *ŋôs*
    there touring(n.) NMLZ:OBL-do2 especially   NMLZ-suit1   COP1

    'It's a tourist attraction.'

    no   **ma-tə-nkʰôs**
    2SG   **NEG:NPST-**2-regret1

    'You won't regret it.'

3.1.1.3 Hortative

The non-past negator is also used to negate a hortative verb form, which is meant for encouraging or discouraging an action undetaken by multiple actors that include the

speaker themselves. Consider example (4).

(4) (Elicited)

    jo   *kərguʃâ*   **mɐ-zɐ-j**   *lû*
    1PL   beef   **NEG:NPST-**eat1-1PL   DM

    'Let's not eat beef.'

3.1.1.4 With Present Imperfective prefix *ŋa-*

The inventory of TAME (tense-aspect-modality-evidential) markers the non-past negator can occur with is very limited. Related data show that the negator only occurs in verb forms prefixed with *ŋa-*, the present imperfective heterophoric prefix, as shown in example (5).

(5) (Elicited)

    pi=tə   *ma-ŋa-mot*
    now=TOP   NEG:NPST-IMPFV:PRES:HET-smoke

    'He is not smoking (any more).'

The structure of verb forms involving the non-past negator is as follows:

NEG *ma-* ⎡——— (2 person)——VERB STEM1——PERSON.NUMBER/TR
         ⎣——IMPFV *ŋa-*

3.1.2 The negator *mə-*

The negative prefix *mə-* occurs in contexts where the non-past negator *ma-~mɐ-* does not occur. It serves a much wider range of functions, thus can be reckoned as the more general and basic negator, which may have emerged in Cogtse earlier than *ma-~mɐ-*.[3] The contexts *mə-* occurs include past, prohibitive, and with a wider range of TAME markers except the heterophoric present imperfective *ŋa-*.

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[3] Note that according to Matisoff, the Proto-Tibeto-Burman negator is **ma-* (see especially Matisoff 2003: 601), but in various Rgyalrongic languages the "elsewhere" (i.e. the basic) negative prefix is *mə-* (see Table 1 in this article). If the negator *mə-* in the Rgyalrongic family has been derived from PTB **ma-*, but has gone through vowel reduction, tone-assignment patterns could possibly have been the factor that caused the reduction. That is, the negator mostly occurs in word-initial position, but in many Rgyalrongic languages word-initial syllables are mostly produced with L tone (with H tone usually assigned to non-initial syllables). Further research is required to determine if this is really the case. I thank Prof. Matisoff for his input in the related discussion during the 2019 STLS in Tianjin.

3.1.2.1   Past

When attached to bare verb stem2 (the stem used primarily to construct verb forms involving past situations), the negator *mə-* can negate an event or a state in the past. Examples (6) and (7) shows that the negators *ma-~mɐ-* and *mə-* contrast in tense. The prefix *ma-~mɐ-* is used for a present state (6), while *mə-* is used for the same state in the past (7).

(6)   (Elicited)

ŋa	*ŋa-pu*	***mɐ-**mʃôr*
1SG	1SG:POSS-child	**NEG:NPST**-be.pretty1

   'My child isn't good looking.' (Present)

(7)   (Elicited)

ŋə-mi	*kə-tsi=ti*	***mə-**mʃor*
1SG:POSS-daughter	NMLZ-be.small1=TOP:OBL	**NEG**-be.pretty2

   'My daughter was not good looking when she was small.'(PAST)

Cogtse verb forms distinguishes the aspectual categories of Perfective and Imperfective, especially in past situations;[4] however, when *mə-* is used as a past negator attached to bare stem2, the two aspects are neutralized. Examples (8) and (9) show that the the verb forms composed of [*mə-*+ STEM2] can be used to encode a perfective event (8) and an imperfective situation (9) in the past.

(8)   (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

mɐj	*te*	*to-spôk*	*zə*
more	one	IMP-start.over1	PART

məʃkʰâ	*kə-tə-tsâs-n=tə*	*ŋa*	*kə-rô*	***mə-**msâm*
just.now	NMLZ-2-say1-2SG=TOP	1SG	NMLZ-be.sufficient1	**NEG-**hear2

   'Say that again, I didn't hear what you said just now clearly.'

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[4] Cf. Y. Lin 2003 for details.

(9) (Elicited)

> *məʃɐ̂r   ŋɐ-pɛ̂   tə-tʃìm   jə-mdu=ti,*
> yesterday   1SG:POSS-father   N-home   PFV-arrive2=TOP:OBL

> *ŋa   ta-ma **mə-pɛ̂-ŋ,**   ŋə-tʃɛ̂   ʒi   tətʰâ **mə-pɛ̂-w,***
> 1SG   N-labor   **NEG-**do2-1SG   1SG:POSS-younger.brother   also   book   **NEG-**do2-TR

> *nɐ-nə-mbrə-tʃ*
> IMPFV:PST-SPON-play2-1DU

'When Father came home yesterday, I wasn't working, and my brother wasn't studying either, we were playing.'

The structure of the (modally unmarked) Negative Past verb form is as follows:

NEG *mə-* ——— (2 person)———VERB STEM2———PERSON.NUMBER/TR

3.1.2.2 Prohibitives

In Cogtse there are three types of prohibitives, relating respectively to Imperatives, Distal Imperatives, and Jussive. All these prohibitives employ the negator *mə-*.

The first type of prohibitives, the Negative Imperative, has the verb strcuture as shown below:

NEG *mə-* —2 person *tə-* —VERB STEM1—TR/2DU/2PL

Note that this verb form is used to tell the addressee not to do something, and the second-preson prefix *tə-* is required in the construction of this verb form. Consider example (10):

(10) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

> *ta-ma=ɲɛ̂   **mə-**tə-narko-w,   nə-skru   to-nətʰam*
> N-labor=PL   **NEG-**2-push.too.hard1-TR   2SG:POSS-body   IMP-take.care1

'Don't work too hard. Take care of your health.'

Negative Distal Imperatives constitute the irrealis prefix *a-*, the negator *mə-*, and second-person prefix *tə-* plus verb stem1:

IRR *a-* —NEG *mə-* —2 person *tə-* —VERB STEM1—TR/2DU/2PL

Distal Imperatives are used when the commanded action does not have to be actualized right away. Consider example (11).

(11) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

> *wəŋkʰuj*   *a-**mə**-tə-nəʃtêr-ɲ*
> afterwards   IRR-**NEG**-2-be.shy.of1-2/3PL

'In the future (if you come again), don't be shy.'

Jussive sentences indicate that 'the speaker allows an event' (Chung and Timberlake 1985: 247). It is intrinsically "third person imperative," as it is the non-locutor who should perform the action (Palmer 1986: 109). In Cogtse Jussive also employs the irrealis prefix *a-*, and it is the third-person, not second-person, indexation that is involved:

The structure of the Negative Jussive verb form

IRR *a-* ——— NEG *mə-* ———VERB STEM1——PERSON.NUMBER/TR

Compare the positive and negative jussive sentences in (12) and (13).

(12) (Elicited)

> *wəjo*   *tə-rmi*   *ɲə-zɐ*   *a-to-zɐ-w*
> 3SG   N-person   2/3PL:POSS-food   IRR-PFV-eat1-TR

'Let him eat others' food.'

(13) (Elicited)

> *wəjo(=kə)*   *tə-rmi*   *ɲə-zɐ*   *a-**mə**-zɐ-w*
> 3SG(=ERG)   N-person   2/3PL:POSS-food   IRR-**NEG**-eat1-TR

'Don't let him eat others' food.'

3.1.2.3   With TAME markers

As mentioned earlier, the negator *mə-* can occur with a wider range of TAME markers. While the aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective is neurtralized in modally-unmarked past situations, with the past meaning conveyed by the negator *mə-* plus verb stem2; the negator is observed to occur with egophoric present imperfective prefix *ko-*, the sensory prefix *na-*, indirect evidential prefix *ŋa-*, and indirect-evidential perfectivizers.

The negator can occur with the egophoric present imperfective prefix *ko-*, which is

always attached to verb stem2. The situation depicted in (14) has been on-going for a while before this sentence is uttered.

(14) (Elicited)

ŋa   kəmamô   tə-psotok   **mə-ko-rmê̂-ŋ**
1SG   mostly   N-whole.night   **NEG-IMPFV:EGO-sleep2-1SG**

'I've been staying up most of the night. (Lit. I've been not sleeping most of the night)'

The negative prefix can also be attached to verb stems prefixed with the sensory prefix *na-*. In example (15), that the rate is not low is not a known fact to the speaker; the application of the sensory *na-* indicates that the situation has been observed or figured out by the speaker.

(15) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

A: This room is not as large as the one we stayed.

B: *nə-ŋos,*   *korə*   *wə-koŋ*   **mə-na-kətsi**
   SEN-COP1   but   3SG:POSS-price   **NEG-SEN-small1**

'No, but the rate is not low (Lit. The rate is not small)'

When used with the indirect evidential prefix *ŋa-*, the prefix *mə-* negates past situations that the speaker has done involuntarily/unconsciously, or has learned as second-hand or inferential information. Examples (16) and (17) are adopted from two folklore stories, and they demonstrate respectively an action and a state of indirect evidentiality in the past.

(16) (*Three Sons and a Bird Named Shakalapongka*)

wa-rkʰam=te   ʃpʰəʃpʰəʃpʰək   ta-â-tsə-tsəs
3SG:POSS-wing=PART   ONOM   EVI:PFV:upward-EVI-CAUS-say1

mə̂-ŋa-lɐt   nə-ŋos
NEG-EVI-release1   SEN-COP1

'(The bird) made the wings sound *shpashpasphak* (by flapping the wings), it didn't speak.'

(17) (*A Lost Man and Ghosts*)

    ptʂêrə   *wətə=te*   **m�â-ŋa-kə-cʰa**
    then   that=one   **NEG-EVI-3PL:INTR-be.able.to1**

    'They were not able to do that (i.e. to kill the Lama).'

While the negative prefix *mə-* plus verb STEM2 signal simple past situations, the negator can also occur with indirect-evidential perfective prefixes. We are able to discover a small number of clear examples in the discourse data. These examples suggest that the use of this type of negative indirect-evidential verb forms is restricted to stative verbs, and it signals a change of state. Consider examples (18) and (19).

(18) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

    o   *ʒɐk*   **m�â-ta-a-tso,**
    oh   time   **NEG-EVI:PFV-EVI-there.be(time)1**

    'Oh it's running late (Lit. Time has run out (I just found it),

    ŋa   *ka-tʃʰê*   *ta-â-mdɐk*
    1SG   NMLZ:INF-go1   EVI:PFV-EVI-be.time.to1

    it's time for me to go.'

(19) (*A Giant and His Parents*)

    tə-rzək   *zə*   **mɑ̂-ta-a-ʃpɐ-ŋ**   *ŋôs*
    one-section (no)more **NEG-EVI:PFV-EVI-be.capable.of**   COP1

    'I can only tell a part (of the story) (Literally: After a part (of it) I became not capable of more.).'

Below are the structures of the negative verb forms with the TAME prefixes as described above:

NEG *mə-* ⎡ ⎡ —SEN *na-* —(2 person)—STEM1—PERSON.NUMBER/TR   (Sensory)
          ⎨ ⎢ —EVI *ŋa-*   (Indirect Evidential: Past)
            ⎢ —EVI perfectivizers   (Indirect Evidential: Perfective)
          ⎣ ⎣ —IMPFV.EGO *ko-* —STEM2—1SG/1DU/1PL   (Egophoric Pres. Impfv.)

And these structures can be collapsed into:

NEG *mə-* —TAME—(2 person)—STEM1/2——PERSON.NUMBER/TR

3.2 Interrogative (Polar question) markers

There are two primary interrogative prefixes in Cogtse. The one that is used more commonly is *mə-*. The other interrogative prefix, *mo-*, according to X. Lin (1993: 245–246), differs from *mə-* in that the former is used in non-past contexts while the latter is restricted to the past, in second and third persons. However, further investigation shows that this is not necessarily the case. Example (20) is a question about a non-past (generic) event, and either of the prefixes *mo-* and *mə-* can be used without changing the intended meaning.

(20) (Elicited)

> *no*   *tɕkʰə̂*   ***mo-/mə-**tə-môt?*
> 2SG   cigarette   **Q-/Q**-2-smoke1
>
> 'Do you smoke?'

In fact, in the discourse data collected so far, questions about non-past generic event employ only *mə-*, as illustrated in (21):

(21) (*A Lost Man and Ghosts*)

> *"nɐ-jê*   ***mə**-ndo"*   *to-ka-tsis*
> 2SG:POSS-oath   **Q**-there.be   PFV-NMLZ:PL:HON-say2
>
> 'Do you have an oath (somewhere)?'he asked.

By the same token, in a question about an event in the past, *mo-* and *mə-* can also be used interchangeably, as shown in example (22).

(22) (Elicited)

> *tɕkʰə̂*   ***mo-/mə-**to-tə-mot?*
> cigarette   **Q-/Q**-PFV-2-smoke2
>
> 'Did you smoke (yet)?'

X. Lin claims that *mo-* is reserved to construct questions that are in effect suggesting an element of permission in the first person (2003: 249–250). We do observe an example as such in the dicourse data:

(23) (*The Rich and the Poor*)

jɐ-pɐ̂=kə		*"ndʒo*	*ʒi*	*sɐgɐs*	*te*	**mo-**pɐ-tʃ"**
1PL:POSS-father=ERG		1DU	also	feast	one	**Q-**do1-1DU

to-kə-tsis	*nə-ŋos*
PFV-NMLZ-say2	SEN-COP1

'The father said "Shall we also throw a feast?"'

Nonetheless, the same usage can be achieved using *mə-*, as demonstrated in another example from Cogtse discourse:

(24) (*Three Sons and Their Pilgrimages to Lhasa*)

mɐju	*kə,*	*tə-tsa*	*kəsâm*	*na-kə-ndô-ɲ*
more	PART	N-son	three	IMPFV:PST-NMLZ-there.be2-2/3PL

te	**mə-**nɐ-pɐ-ŋ?**
one	**Q-**SEN-do1-1SG

'More (story), shall I tell one about three sons? (Lit. shall I tell one that has three sons?)'

Overall, related data show that *mə-* could be the less restricted interrogative prefix. In discourse, it is used more frequently, and so far it is the only interrogaive prefix observed to occur with TAME markers in the discourse data (although elicited data show that *mo-* also occurs with TAME markers). Consider example (24) above and example (25) below.

(25) (*Three Sons and Their Pilgrimages to Lhasa*)

a,	*tətʰâ*	**mə-**na-tə-sjôk?**
Ah	book	**Q-**PFV-2-finish2

'Ah, are you done with the book?'

The structure of interrogative verb forms employing *mə-* and *mo-* is laid out below:

⎡ Q *mə-* —TAM—(2.person *tə-*)—VERB STEM1/2—PERSON.NUMBER/TR
⎣ Q *mo-*

3.3 Confusion btw the negative and interrogative: Isomorphism

Throughout the discussions in the previous subsections, one can easily detect that the more basic negator *mə-* and the less restricted interrogative marker *mə-* are identical in form. In fact, with regard to the grammatical contexts where the two markers are employed, there are two cases of possible confusion between the negative and interrogative constructions. One concerns the interrogative and negative imperative constructions. If a polar question is about a simple past situation (which means that the TAME marking is zero, and STEM1 is employed), and in second person (which means that the second-person prefix *tə-* is required), its surface realization could look exactly the same as the negative imperative construction:

(Interrogative: Non-past, second-person)
Q *mə-* —TAME: Ø—2person *tə-* —VERB STEM1—TR/2DU/2PL

(Negative Imperative)
NEG *mə-* —2person *tə-* —VERB STEM1—TR/2DU/2PL

Consider the interrogative in (26) and the negative imperative in (27). Formally they are identical.

(26) (Elicited)

> *tɕkʰə̂*　　　*mə-tə- môt?*
> N-cigarette　　Q-2-smoke1

> 'Do you smoke?'

(27) (Elicited)

> *tɕkʰə̂*　　　*mə-tə-môt?*
> N-cigarette　　NEG:IMP-2-smoke1

> 'Don't smoke.'

For related situations detected in the Kyomkyo dialect of Situ Rgyalrong, Prins suggests that distinct stress patterns can be employed to distinguish interrogative and negative constructions that are identical in form (2016: 592). In Cogtse, however, none of these constructions has to be produced mandatorily with any specific prosodic pattern. It is possible that the polar question could be uttered more frequently (though not always) with elongation of the final syllable, but such a prosodic strategy is not restricted to interrogation. Whenever the speaker would like to appeal to the addressee, this prosodic strategy could

be employed. In other words, if one is asked to distinguish negative imperatives from interrogatives that are formally identical, prosodic strategies (final lengthening, intonation and so on) could be employed, but it is also true that the two structures can be produced with identical intonation contours.

The other case of confusion occurs between the interrogative and the negative verb form with TAME markers. Possible confusion is conceivable when we compare their structures:

(Interrogative)
Q *mə-* —TAME—(2.person *tə-*)—STEM1/2—PERSON.NUMBER

(Negative with TAME)
NEG *mə-* —TAME—(2.person *tə-*)—STEM1/2——PERSON.NUMBER/TR

Examples (28) and (29) are both in second person, and they both concern perfective situations; thus they employ the same second-person prefixes, identical perfective markers, and the same stem (Stem2). The two sentences are identical in form, but one can be interpreted as a question (28), and the other as a negative sentence (29).

(28) (Elicited)

    tɕkʰə̂   *mə-to-tə-mot*
    cigarette   Q-PFV-2-smoke2

    'Did you smoke?'

(29) (Elicited)

    tɕkʰə̂   *mə-to-tə-mô*
    cigarette   NEG-PFV-2-smoke2

    'You didn't smoke.'

The interrogative *mə-* and the negative *mə-* could be in isomorphism (a situation where two grammatical categories are represented by the same form), not only because they are indentical in form, but also because they cannot co-occur in a verb form, which is to say they occupy the same slot in the verb structure scheme. Consequently, negative polar questions cannot be achieved by a verb form comprising a sequence of *mə-mə-* [Q-NEG] plus the verb stem (30).

(30) (Elicited)

    a. *wəjo*   *məʃêr*   *mbarkʰam=j*   ***mə-mə-⁵tʰɐl?**
       3SG   yesterday   Ma'erkang:PLN=LOC   **Q-NEG-go2**

       'Didn't he go to Ma'erkang yesterday?'

    (Elicited)

    b. *wəjo*   *təskar*   ***mə-mə-na-rŋo-w?**
       3SG   Tibetan.barley   **Q-NEG-SEN-parch1-TR**

       'Isn't he parching Tibetan barley?'

Instead, two strategies are applicable for such situations. One is the application of a negative verb plus a sentence-final interrogative particle (31a). The other is replace the interrogative *mə-* with another interrogative prefix *wu-*, which, based on related data observed so far, seems to be restricted to the formation of negative questions (31b).

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⁵ It should be noted that the sequence of *mə-ma-* [Q-NEG:NPST] is possible, though the verb forms employing them are not used as simple negative questions. In Kyomkyo, a verb form with *mə-ma-* can convey "polite imperative" meanings (Prins 2016: 541). In the Bragbar dialect of Situ Rgyalrong (Zhang 2020), it is analyzed as a sequence of optative-dubitative markers. In Cogtse, while in third person, the verb form converys the meaning "possibly" (1); and while in second person, the verb form is used to ask someone if they are willing to do something (2).

(1) (Elicited)

     wəjo   *mbarkʰam=j*   **mə-ma-tʃʰê**   *je*
     3SG   Ma'erkang:PLN=LOC   **Q-NEG:NPST-go1**   PART

     'He will possibly go to Ma'erkang.'

(2) (Elicited)

     no   *sôsni*   *mbarkʰam=j*   *mə-ma-tə-tʃʰê-n*
     2SG   tomoorrow   Ma'erkang:PLN=LOC   Q-NEG:NPST-go1-2SG

     'Would you go to Ma'erkang tomorrow?'

That the sequence of *mə-ma-* in these cases is really composed of interrogative and negative prefixes can be justified by the Japhug counterpart of the sequence: *u-mɤ*. In Japhug *u* and *mɤ* are respectively interrogative and negative (Jacques, forthcoming: Section 19.7.2). However, since the sequence of these prefixes no longer conveys their compositional meanings, Jacques analyzes *umɤ* as one single morpheme that denotes "possible modality." The same strategy can also be considered for the sequence of *mə-ma-* in the above-mentioned dialects of Situ Rgyalrong.

(31) (Elicited)

   a. *wəjo*   *məʃêr*   *mbarkʰam=j*   **mə-di-s**[6]   **mə?**[7]
     3SG   yesterday   Ma'erkang:PLN=LOC   **NEG-go.westward2-PST**   **Q**

   'Didn't he go to Ma'erkang yesterday?'

(Elicited)

   b. *wəjo*   *təskar*   **wu-mə-na-rŋo-w?**[8]
     3SG   Tibetan.barley   **Q-NEG-SEN-parch1-TR**

   'Isn't he parching Tibetan barley?'

In fact a *mə-mə-* sequence can be spotted in Cogtse, but they are actually components of the negative conditional construction [COND-NEG-]. Example (32) can also be seen in X. Lin (1993: 246), but the whole conditional clause should be interpreted as a past situation instead.

(32) (Elicited)

   no   *təzê*   **mə-mə-tə-za-w=rə,**   *nə-ktô*   *mo*
   2SG   food   **COND-NEG-2-eat2-TR=TOP**   2SG:POSS-belley   be.hungry

'If you didn't eat food, you are hungry.'

In other words, the *mə-mə-* [Q-NEG-] sequence is not allowed in Cogtse, while the

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[6] Cogtse has six orientation verbs, which encode both one of the six orientations (up, down, eastwards, westwards, upgradient, and downgradient) and the meaning of 'to go' (Y. Lin 2017: Section 4.1). The Stem2 of these orientation verbs seem to only occur in the negative verb form. In this example the verb 'go westwards' achieve stem alternation by means of ablaut and tonal variation: *dɔ̂* (Stem1) vs. *di* (Stem2). In positive sentences, the Perfective counterpart of *dɔ̂* would be *nə-tʰɐl* [PFV:westwards-go2].

[7] Two sentence-fianl interrogative particles are observed in Cogtse: *mə* and *mo*. The particle *mo* seems to be used more often in non-past situations, while *mə* is less retricted. The particles are indeed indentical in form with the interrogative prefixes *mə-* and *mo-*, but their developmental histories are not yet clear, so we do not discuss them in this paper.

[8] The interrogative prefix *wu-* can also be used with the negator *ma-~mɐ-* and the sentence final particle *zə* to achieve a toned down manipulative modal function. For example:

(*Runaway Horses*)

wûrtʃʰe   **wu-mɐ-tə-tʃʰê-n**   *zə*
thank.you   **Q-NEG:NPST-2-go1-2SG**   PART

'Won't you go (get the horse) please? (Lit. 'Thank you, won't you go (get the horse)?')'

mə-mə- [COND-NEG-] sequence is. This is because the interrogative *mə-* and negative *mə-* are isomophic, and one single form takes only one slot.

4.   The Negatives and Interrogative in the Rgyalrong group

Table 1 displays the negative and interrogative prefixes as observed in the four languages of the Rgyalrong group. Isomorphism between negatives and interrogatives can be observed in some, but not all, dialects of Situ and Japhug.

Table 1   The negative and interrogative prefixes as observed in the four languages of the Rgyalrong group

	Negatives	Polar Interrogative(s)
Situ: Cogtse	*ma-*: Non-past and negative hortative *mə-*: elsewhere	*mə-*
Situ: Kyomkyo (Prins 2016)	*ma-*: Imperfective *ɟi-*: Perfective *mə-*: Prohibitive	*mə-*
Situ: Bragdbar (Zhang 2016)	*ma-*	*mə-*
Japhug: Tatshi	*ma-*: Non-past *me-*: Sensory (*ma-j*) *maʁ-*: Prohibitive *mə-*: elsewhere	*mi-*: Sensory (*mə-j*) *mə-*: elsewhere
Japhug: Kamnyu (Jacques, forthcoming)	*mɤ-*: Non-finite, non-past etc. *ma-*: Prohibitive *mɯj-*: Sensory *mɯ-*: elsewhere	*ɯ-*
Tshobdun: Kakhyoris (Sun 2017; Sun and Bstan'dzin Blogros 2019)	*mɐ-*: Imperfective *mə-*: PFV and PROH *me-*: (TR.)Cont,HAB,NF	*ə-* or accenting the verb head that already has a prefix
Showu: Zbu (Gong 2018)	*ma-*: Simple Non-past, resultative PASS, PROG (high TR) *mə-*: elsewhere	*ə-*

Figure 2 illustrates the occurrences of such isomorphism from a geographical perspective. The distribution seems to suggest that this is an areal feature; nonetheless, more research is required before we can determine whether the similarities are due to genetic inheritance or areal contact.
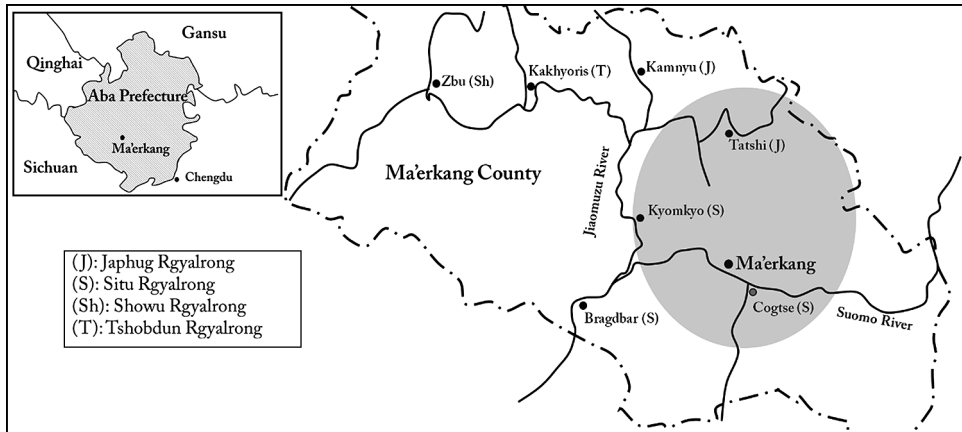
Figure 2   Geographical distribution of negative-interrogative isomorphism within the Rgyalrong family (shaded area)

5.   Negative-interrogative Isomorphism: Non-Ryalrongic languages

The isomorphism between negatives and interrogatives is also observed in two non-Rgyalrongic languages: Kham and Chinese, both of which happen to be Sino-Tibetan languages.

In Kham the interrogative and negative prefixes both come in form of *ma-*; and when occurring with the imperfective marker *ye* or Ø (zero), *ma-* can be interpreted either as an interrogative or a negative. Consider the examples in (33).

(33) **Kham (Watters 2004, adopted from Table 43)**

    a. *ma-dəi-ni-rə*
       NEG-find-2OBJ-3SUBJ

       'They didn't find you'

    b. *ma-dəi-ni-rə*
       Q-find-2OBJ-3SUBJ

       'Did they find you?'

In Chinese, interrogative-negative isomorphism is observed in the development of Mandarin Chinese polar-question marker *mā* 嗎. According to Wang (王力 2004: 523), *mā* 嗎 has derived from the negative existential **mǐua* 無 (which in Mondern Mandarin is pronounced as *wú*), which now is still used as a negative existential in more idiomatic constructions, such as *wú míng* 無名 'nameless (no name)' and *wú qíng* 無情 'ruthless (no emotion)'. Example (34) contains two verses from a poem by Juyi Bai 白居易 (AD 618–90), a poet in Táng Dynasty. Note that the second verse ends with *wú* 無, the negative existential, which here serves as an interrogative particle.

(34)

晚	來	天	欲	雪,	能	飲	一	杯	無?
wǎn	*lái*	*tiān*	*yù*	*xuě*	*néng*	*yǐn*	*yī*	*bēi*	***wú***
late	come	sky	want	snow	can	drink	one	vessel	**NEG**

'It's getting late and it's about to snow, could you drink with me?'

6.   The developmental pathway and possible scenarios

The discussion of the development that has led to negative-interrogative isomorphism should start with the question of which function is the source from which the other function has derived. The developmental history of Chinese shows a rather clear pathway through which an interrogative marker has been derived from a negator. That is, the negator 不 *bù* and the existential negator 無 *wú* started out as negative particles in alternative questions, and were eventually reanalyzed as interrogative markers (See Wei (2007: 24), for example.).

In other words, cross-linguistic evidence suggests that the development is uni-directional: the target morpheme started out as a negator, then developed to denote interrogative meanings, but not the other way around. The negative-interrogative isomorphism as observed in Rgyalrong could have also developed in the same direction.

Now the question remains as to whether the Rgyalrong negative-interrogative isomorphism has arisen from alternative questions, the most common context where a negator can evolve to be an interrogative marker (see Dixon 2010 Vol. 3: 391–399). In the Sino-Tibetan family, alternative questions that are used as polar questions can be found in languages outside of the Sinitic subgroup, such as Dhimal (Nepal). According to King (2009), a normal structure of polar questions in this language involves conjoined clauses "X not-X." Consider example (35).

(35) Dhimal (adopted from King 2009: 288)

ta:-hi   *ma-ta:-hi?*
be.tasty-PST   NEG-be.tasty-PST

'Does it taste good?'

Watters proposes that in Kham, polar questions with the negative/interrogative marker *ma-* could be ellipted forms of "full alternative questions" (2004: 96). However, he also reports that only one full alternative question was found in the hundreds of pages of data he had collected (2004: fn.3). The lack of alternative questions also occurs in Cogtse Rgyalrong. No alternative question is spotted in the discourse data (primarily monologue narratives); only one instance of conjoined alternate clauses was found:

(36) (*The Rich and the Poor*)

na-kə-nə-pî   *mə-kə-nə-pî*
PFV-3PL:INTR-SPON-come2   NEG-3PL:INTR-SPON-come2

te   *jə-pô-ntʃ*   *tsâs-tʃ*   *wəŋkʰurə*
once   IMP-come1-2/3DU   say-1DU   CONN

'Whether they come or not, we say "Come!".'

Of course this finding does not rule out the possibility that in some previous stages of Kham and Rgyalrong, alternative questions were used rather frequently, and they could have been used as regular polar questions, which could have given rise to the negative-interrogative isomorphism. However, if the alternative questions that could have occurred previously in Kham and Rgyalrong could resemble the alternative questions in Dhimal structurally (as illustrated in example (35)), the reanalysis of the negative verb form should require the removal of the positive one. It could be quite a challenge to explain why it was the non-final (positive) element, not the final (negative) element, that was dropped.

Another possible developmental context has nothing to do with tag or alternative questions. It involves questions formed a with negator and some modal marker. Just as Givón noticed, when negation is applied as a "toning-down" device for episdemic and manipulative modalities, it is most commonly used with some irrealis operators including, among others, yes/no-question adverbials (2001: 378). Therefore, "Won't you come in please?" can sound more polite than "Do come in."; and "I suppose he isn't done yet." can be softer than "I wonder if he's done."[9] Following this line of thinking, questions formed with a negator and some modal marker could have been used in Rgyalrong (and maybe Kham as

[9] These two examples are both adopted from Givón (2001: 378).

well) as a toned-down variant of the regular polar question.

In Cogtse discourse one can find instances of polar questions ending with an optional final particle *zə*, which, based on the related data so far, is used more in content questions. Consider examples (37)–(38):

(37) (*Fish in Burnt Water*)

> *kətə=s*   *kə-tʃʰe*   **zə?**
> where=ALL   3PL:INTR-go1   **PART**

'Where will they go?'

(38) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

> *məsni*   *ʒɐk*   *tʰəstê*   *ko-ŋos*   **zə?**
> today   time   how.many   IMPFV:EGO-COP2   **PART**

'What is the date today?'

However, the final particle *zə* is also spotted in various polar-questions, as shown in (39) and (40) (but polar questions without the final particle occur still more frequently).

(39) (*300+ Cogtse Conversation Phrases*)

> *mədʒê*   *ndʒə-sâm*   *ndʒə-ka-səso=tə*
> 3DU   DU:POSS-mind   DU:POSS-NMLZ:OBJ-think=TOP
>
> *mə-ko-nəŋgêj*   *zə*
> Q-IMPFV:EGO-be.identical   **PART**

'Do they have the same personalities? (Lit. Are their minds and thoughts identical?)'

(40) (*Three Sons and a Bird Named Shakalapongka*)

> *ŋə-tsa*   *kətsî=te*
> 1SG:POSS-son   small=PART
>
> *kɐ-sə-lɐt*   *mə-nɐ-tə-cʰa-n*   *zə*
> NMLZ:INF-CAUS-release   Q-SEN-2-be.able.to1-2SG   **PART**

'My little son, are you able to make (the bird) do it (i.e. talk)?"

It could be that the final particle *zə* was serving as discourse marker of appeal in a previous stage, then the toned-down question with a negator and the particle *zə* gradually became the more common polar question. Then, when the sentence-final particle was dropped, the negative marker was re-analyzed as an interrogative marker.

The deletion of sentence-final elements is commonly observed cross-linguistically.[10] In Chinese, the structure of [VP NEG] co-occurred with sentence-final interrogative particles (such as *hū* 乎) for quite a while, and together they constituted an alternative question, as shown in (41).

(41) An example from *Mengzi*《孟子》

動	心	否	乎?
dòng	xīn	fǒu	hū
move	heart	NEG	PART

'Would you be tempted or not?'

Afterwards, when the final particle ceased to appear, the negator was reanalyzed as an interrogative marker (particle) for the question (Wei 2007; Lü 1985). In modern Chinese *dòng xīn fǒu* is a polar question, meaning "Would you be tempted?".

It is therefore reasonable to speculate that the interrogative verb form in Rgyalrong could have originated from questions with a negative verb form plus a sentence-final particle (probably *zə*). After the removal of *zə*, and the reanalysis of the negator *mə-*, the verb form with *mə-* now constitutes regular polar questions.

So far, we do not have ample related data to rule out either of the two developmental hypotheses (i.e. either from alternative questions or from negative, tone-down questions). However, the related evolutionary mechanism seems to suggest that the second hypothesis, though never mentioned or proposed in any related literature, seems to be more natural, and could be pragmatically possible.

7.   Conclusion

This paper explores a phenomenon in which the negative and interrogative prefixes share the same form. Such a phenomenon is observed in various Sino-Tibetan languages, including Chinese, as well as Rgyalrong. Based on related evidence gleaned from Rgyalrong, this paper argues that the negative and interrogative prefixes are in isomorphism, and we propose possible contexts and mechanisms that could have caused negators to serve as interrogative markers. While alternative questions have been proposed by Watters (2004) to be

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[10] See also in Dixon (2010, Vol. 3: 399) the cases in which the removal of sentence-final elements caused the remaining elements to be reanalyzed as interrogative markers.

the context from which the negative-interrogative isomorphism has arisen; it is equally possible, and more cross-linguistically evidenced that the development embarked on toned-down polar questions formed with a negator and some sentence-final modal (i.e. yes-no question) particle. When the final particle was removed, the negator (that is, the only marked element in the remainder of the sentence) was reanalyzed as an interrogative marker.

Abbreviation

1	first person	NMLZ	nominalizer
2	second person	NPST	non-past
3	third person	OBJ	object
CAUS	causative	OBL	oblique
COND	conditional	ONOM	onomatopoetic
CONN	connective	PART	particle
COP	copula	PFV	perfective
DM	discourse marker	PL	plural
DU	dual	PLN	place name
ERG	ergative	POSS	possessive
EVI	indirect evidential	PRES	present
HET	heterophoric	PST	past
HON	honorific	Q	interrogative
IMP	imperative	SEN	sensory
IMPFV	(present) imperfective	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SPON	spontaneous
INTR	intransitive	SUBJ	subject
IRR	irrealis	TOP	topicalizer
LOC	locative	TR	transitive
N	nominal	V1	verb stem 1
NEG	negative	V2	verb stem 2

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Negation in nDrapa
—A morphosyntactic description—

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Summary

This study describes the multiple-negation morphology in the Mätro dialect of the nDrapa language. nDrapa has six negative markers: three prefixes (*mə-* "NEG$_1$", which shows vowel assimilation to the verb stem, *ma-* "NEG$_2$", and <DIR>-*a-* "<DIR>.PROH", that is, a directional prefix whose vowel is replaced with -*a*); two auxiliaries (*ma* "NEG$_3$" and *thaɦgi3* "PROH"); and the negative copula verb (*mɛ2* "COP.NEG"). I identified the prefix *mə-* "NEG$_1$" as the default negative marker since it exists in different types of clauses: a declarative main clause in the perfective or far future situation, an interrogative main clause, or a part of subordinate clauses. The prefix *ma-* "NEG$_2$" signifies the negative of an imperfective declarative main clause. The interrogative and subordinate clauses do not use *ma-* "NEG$_2$" even if the clause is in the imperfective. The prefix <DIR>-*a* "<DIR>. PROH" (the prohibitive form of a directional prefix) negates the imperative, optative, and hortative main clause and part of subordinate clauses. However, this morphology is less productive in the Mätro dialect. Instead, the auxiliary *thaɦgi3* "PROH" may be used as a productive counterpart. The auxiliary *thaɦgi3* "PROH" is used in the same situations as <DIR>-*a* "<DIR>.PROH". The auxiliary *ma* "NEG$_3$" is less frequent but may indicate a negative of the main clause in both the imperfective and remote future contexts. The negative copula *mɛ2* "COP.NEG" is used in a dubitative or uncertain situation, though simple negation in a copula sentence uses the prefix ma- "NEG$_2$".

Key words: negative, tense/aspect, mood, subordinate clause, nDrapa

关键词：否定词、时态、语气、从属子句、扎坝语

1. Introduction

1.1 Aims of this study

The nDrapa language (扎壩/Zhaba, ISO 639-3 zhb) expresses the negative in multiple forms. In some cases, the behaviors of these forms are unexpected from the basic functions described in previous studies. First, this study examines each negation form's structure and function based on typological frameworks. Next, it will discuss their properties focusing on morphosyntactic condition. This paper will not discuss rhetorical devices that indirectly express negation, such as rhetorical questions.

1.2 Language profile

nDrapa belongs to the Qiangic group of the Tibeto-Burman subfamily of the Sino-Tibetan language family.[1] Recent studies have found that an estimated 10,000 speakers (HUANG Yang p.c., 2020) use the language in regions along the Xianshui River, which flows in western Sichuan, China. These regions are in a multiethnic area of Southwestern China called the Western Sichuan Ethnic Corridor (Fei 1980, Sun 1983), the Tibet(-Qiang)-Yi Corridor (Shi 2009, Zhang and Huang 2015), or the Eastern Tibetosphere (Rosche and Suzuki 2018).

This study highlights the Mätro dialect, which is nDrapa's northernmost variety. I gathered the language data in this study from my fieldwork on Mätro nDrapa unless mentioned otherwise.

The following phonemes can be attributed to Mätro nDrapa: (i) consonants: /ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ʈh [ʈʰ], ch [cʰ], kh [kʰ]; p, t, ʈ, c, k; b, d, ɖ, ɟ, g; tsh [tsʰ], tɕh, [tɕʰ]; ts, tɕ; dz, dʑ; m, n, ɳ, ŋ; m̥ [m̥m], n̥ [n̥n], ɳ̊ [ɳ̊ɳ], ŋ̊ [ŋ̊ŋ]; fh [fʰ], sh [sʰ], ɕh [ɕʰ]; f, s, ɕ, x, h; v, z, ʑ, ɣ, ɦ; w, j; l, r [ɻ]; l̥ [l̥l], r̥ [ʈ̥]/; (ii) vowels: /i, ɨ, ʉ, u, e [ɪ], ɵ, o, ɛ, ʌ, ə, a; ei/; and (iii) word tones (marked at the end of a phonological word): 1 (high–level), 2 (high–falling), 3 (low–rising), and 4 (low–rising–falling).

Morphologically, nDrapa uses both prefixes and suffixes, and case enclitics mark most of its grammatical relations. The case-marking system is mostly nominative-accusative, with the nominative having no overt markers. Other cases, such as the accusative-dative marker, may also be omitted if the context conveys a clear grammatical relation. The basic constituent order is SOV. In a noun phrase, the head noun is preceded by a demonstrative but followed by adjectives and numerals.

1.3 Verbal affixes in nDrapa

Prefixation is a main negative-marking strategy. Here, I survey the nDrapa verbal affixes found in the declarative main clause's predicate, which includes the following affixes:

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[1] The genealogical status of the Qiangic group remains under discussion. See Shirai (2020: 366–367) for details.

- A directional prefix of either upward (UPW), downward (DWN), inward (INW), outward (OUT), or neutral (NTL) that occupies the first slot to indicate the direction of motion and/or telicity.
- A negative prefix falling into the prehead slot, that is, directly before the stem of the main verb (VS) or the auxiliary.
- An aspect suffix falling into the posthead slot to indicate the perfective or imperfective and the factual or nonegophoric. If the sentence is egophoric, the slot remains empty.

The main predicate's morphosyntactic head is either a verb or an auxiliary. In the verb-headed predicate, affixes are aligned as DIR- NEG- VS -ASPECT as in (1) whereas in the auxiliary-headed predicate, they are aligned as DIR- VS | NEG- AUX -ASPECT as in (2), with the vertical line '|' indicating a word boundary. A negative prefix is attached to the verb stem in the former pattern but to the auxiliary in the latter pattern.

(1)   DIR-   NEG-   VS   -ASPECT

      ŋʌ-   mʌ-   hɕʌ   -a1.
      OUT-NEG-remain-FAC$_1$.PFV

      '(Anything else) has not remained.'

(2)   DIR-   VS | NEG-   AUX   -ASPECT

      kə-   mmei3   mɨ-   w(u)   -a1.
      INW-get.ripe   NEG-PFV-FAC$_1$.PFV

      '(It) is not ripe enough (to eat).'

1.4   Previous studies

No studies have thoroughly examined the nDrapa negation forms. Huang (1990, 1991, 2009) and Shirai (2013) briefly describe these negation patterns in accordance with predicate types. Meanwhile, Gong (2007: 109–111) simply states that the Waduo dialect uses both forms for the "general negative" (ma^{55} and mə$^{55)}$) and the "prohibitive/negative" (tha^{31}, ka^{55}, and xa^{31}gɪ^{35}) albeit without a detailed description or analysis.

Several typological studies have been conducted on negation, such as Payne (1985), Miestamo (2007), and Dahl (2011), who typically distinguish "standard negation" from others. Concurrently, some other studies on Qiangic languages differentiate the "general/default/最常用的 (most-often-used)" negator from others (e.g., Jacques 2008: 294–295 on Japhug [茶堡嘉绒]; Ding 2014: 206–207 on Prinmi [普米]; Lai 2017: 334–335 on Khroskyabs [绰斯甲/拉坞戎]).

2.   nDrapa negation forms

2.1   A list of negation forms

nDrapa has six morphemes that negate a predicate, the first two of which are productive prefixes, the third is a fossilized prefix, and the latter three are words: [iv] and [v] are auxiliaries while [vi] is a copula. The following section shows examples of each.

Prefixes:
    [i] mə- (mɨ- ~mɵ- ~ mo- ~ mʌ-) 'NEG$_1$'
    [ii] ma- 'NEG$_2$'
    [iii] <DIR>-a- '<DIR>.PROH'
Auxiliaries:
    [iv] ma 'NEG$_3$'
    [v] thaɦgi3 'PROH'
Copula:
    [vi] mɛ2 'COP.NEG'

The perfective predicate of a declarative main clause uses [i] *mə-* 'NEG$_1$', which shows vowel alternation and is also found in other places such as the negative interrogative. Conversely, the imperfective predicate of a declarative main clause employs another prefix, [ii] *ma-* 'NEG$_2$'. Meanwhile, [iii] is typically characterized as a vowel alternation of a directional prefix, which is found in the prohibitive and other situations including a subordinate clause. In addition, [iv] *ma* 'NEG$_3$' is an auxiliary with the same form as the prefix *ma-* 'NEG$_2$', mostly found with a sentence-final particle, *rɛ* 'FAC$_2$' or *pa* 'IFR'. Moreover, [v] *thaɦgi3* 'PROH' likely consists of the prohibitive prefix *tha-* and the auxiliary *ɦgi3*, despite being a fossilized combination, since *tha-* is no longer productive in nDrapa. Its function is similar to that of [iii] <DIR>-a- '<DIR>.PROH', both of which are found in prohibitive sentences and subordinate clauses. Finally, [vi] *mɛ2* 'COP.NEG' is found in the copula position in dubitative situations.

2.2   Functions of negative markers

2.2.1   Negating declarative verbal main clauses

According to Miestamo (2007: 553), the basic means to negate declarative verbal main clauses is through "standard negation." Under this category, nDrapa has three negation forms: The perfective uses the prefix *mə-* 'NEG$_1$' as in (1)–(3) whereas the imperfective employs the prefix *ma-* 'NEG$_2$' as in (4). Meanwhile, the auxiliary *ma* 'NEG$_3$' follows the main verb or auxiliary and occurs in combination with a sentence-final particle as in (5).

(3) zei3   tʌ-mi-khe-a1   rɛ3
     daughter   OUT-NEG₁-give-FAC₁.PFV   FAC₂

     '(He) did not give the daughter (in marriage to the frog).' [FT]

(4) ŋa＝je2   ma-sɨ3.
     1SG=also   NEG₂-know

     'I don't know either.'

(5) swi＝wu2   ʈhʌ3   nɛ＝tɕʉ＝jantɕhi3   ɕɨ＝ʈɨ1   ma＝rɛ3.
     human=ACDT   leg   two=CLF=only   exist₂=IPFV   NEG₃=FAC₂

     'Mankind has no more than two legs.'

Here I describe the two prefixes' detailed positions in standard negation. First, the prefix *mə-* 'NEG₁' is broadly found in the standard negation of the perfective. It can be attached to a verb with a directional prefix, as in (1) and (3); a verb without a directional prefix, as in (6); an auxiliary, as in (2) and (7); and an existential verb (in the simple past in a folktale), as in (8).

(6) fidu-zɛ3   mo-ro2.
     meet-NMLZ   NEG₁-get.1

     '(I wanted to see him yesterday, but) I failed to see him.'

(7) nda1   mahtsa3   khonkhei3   ʑɨ3   tɕi~tɕi1   a-tɛ3
     before   absolutely   like.this   snow   big~NMLZ   DWN-come

     mʌ-n-a2.
     NEG-EXP-FAC₁.PFV

     'We have never had this much snow before.' (Lit. 'Completely, this big snow has not come before.)

(8) hpei2   tɕi~tɕi＝la1   pʌfɨʌ3   mo-po3   sa3
     local.lord   big~NMLZ=LOC   child   NEG1-exist₁   ADM

     'The great lord did not have a child.' [FT]

Second, the prefix *ma-* 'NEG₂' broadly exists in the standard negation of the imperfective but is never attached to a verb with a directional prefix, which is optional in the imperfective (Shirai 2018). It is used with a verb that has no directional prefix, as in (4) and (9);

an auxiliary, as in (10); an existential verb, as in (11); a copula, as in (12); and an adjective, as in (13).

(9) ȵima3   tɕʌti1   ma-ndw-ɛ3.
    PSN   letter NEG_2-can.do-FAC_1.PFV

    'Nima is/was illiterate. (Lit: Nima cannot do letters.)'

(10) figefige3   tɕuu2   tsheri = ta1   ɕettɕu1   ma-ʈ-ɛ.
     teacher   now   PSN=MAL   be.angry   NEG2-IPFV-FAC_1.IPFV

     'The teacher is not angry at Tseri now.'

(11) tʌ3   ma-tɕi-ɛ3.
     water NEG_2-$exist_6$-FAC_1.IPFV

     'There is/was no water.'

(12) ŋa1   hɟa1   {ma-rɛ3/ ma-jʌ3}.
     1SG   Han.Chinese NEG_2-COP_4/ NEG_2-COP_1

     'I am/was not Han Chinese.'

(13) ma-ndʑa = rɛ3.
     NEG_2-good=FAC_2

     'It is/was not good.'

2.2.2 Negation of future situations

The previous section describe'd the nDrapa standard negation using examples from present and past situations. While it is apparent that the perfective employs *mə*- 'NEG_1', the imperfective uses *ma*- 'NEG_2' or *ma* 'NEG_3'. Future situations, however, may take different patterns depending on the speaker's attitude.

For instance, the near-future situation is expressed by the imperfective if the speaker is conscious of its connection to the present. Such a construction would employ *ma*- 'NEG_2' for the negative, as in (14).

(14) somuȵi3   ŋa1   no = rʌ3   jekə1   ji1   ma-ʈʌ3.
     tomorrow   1SG   2SG=GEN   house   go NEG_2-IPFV

     'I will not go to your house tomorrow.'

Moreover, *mə-* 'NEG₁' is also found in a future situation, as in (15), which is tentatively regarded as an effect of remote time: if the future is expressed as an event that is irrelevant to the present, the sentence would tend to use a nonegophoric form and/or the perfective form.

(15) somuɳi3   mokku3   a-mɨ-tɛ-a3   pa3.
     tomorrow   rain   DWN-NEG₁-come-PFT   IFR

'I guess rain will not fall tomorrow.'

In a remote-time context, *ma* 'NEG₃' may also negate the predicate; in such cases, it takes the perfect suffix *-a* 'PFT' and is followed by a sentence-final particle, *rɛ* 'FAC₂' or *pa* 'IFR', as in (16).

(16) ŋa1   tshɨ=wo1   tshəpi=rə3   no1   m̥o1/to-m̥o1
     1SG   ten=CLF   later=GEN   2SG   forget/NTL-forget

     ma-a3   rɛ3.
     NEG.IPFV-PFT   FAC₂

'I will not forget you even after ten years.'

2.2.3   The negative interrogative

The negative interrogative, which includes A-not-A-type questions, does not use the suffix *ma-* 'NEG₂' even if the predicate is the imperfective; instead, it uses *mə-* 'NEG₁'. Examples (17) and (18) are a simple negative interrogative and a A-not-A-type interrogative, respectively; both are the imperfective but use *mə-* 'NEG₁'. This suggests that *mə-* 'NEG₁' is the default negative marker while *ma-* 'NEG₂' occurs in limited circumstances.

(17) shʌ=rʌ1   jekə1   mɨ-ʈe1   ʈɨ=ra3.
     who=GEN   house   NEG₁-far   IPFV=Q

'Whose house is not far (from here)?'

(18) no1   o-cchu1   ʈʌ=me2   mʌ-ʈ-a1.
     2SG   UPW-open   IPFV=Q   NEG₁-IPFV-Q

'Do you open (the gate) or not?'

2.2.4   The negative imperative (or prohibitive)

The nDrapa negation forms for the imperative is different from those for the declarative, which is consistent with Dahl's (2011: 26) point: "It is quite common—in the case of

imperatives one should perhaps even say 'normal'—for negation in other constructions to deviate more or less completely from standard negation."

Examples (19)–(22) illustrate inflections in nDrapa: declarative, imperative, and two types of negative imperative. As seen in (20), the verb stem's vowel may alternate into /u/ in the imperative so that the vowel of the directional prefix assimilates to it. In the negative imperative, however, the directional prefixes themselves may alternate into the prohibitive form, such as *ka-* in (21). Moreover, they may employ the prohibitive auxiliary *thaħgi3* 'PROH' to follow the verb.

(19) ŋa1   kɨ-ttsɨ1   figi3.   <Declarative>
     1SG   INW-eat   PST.1

     'I ate.'

(20) no1   ko-ttsu2.   <Imperative>
     2SG   INW-eat.IMP

     '(You) eat!'

(21) no1   ka-ttsu2.   <Negative imperative 1>
     2SG   INW.PROH-eat.IMP

     '(You) don't eat!'

(22) no1   kɨ-ttsɨ1   thafigi3.   <Negative imperative 2>
     2SG   INW-eat   PROH

     '(You) don't eat!'

The prohibitive forms of directional prefixes demonstrate the downward, inward, and outward prefixes, as listed in Table 1. Blanks exist in the prohibitive column because this formation is less productive than the analytic expression with the prohibitive auxiliary, as seen in (22). The prohibitive forms of directional prefixes are typically characterized with vowel alternation into /a/ except the downward prefix *a-* alternates into *na-*. A provisional etymon of the negative marker /a/ of the imperative is the irrealis marker, which is a cognate of the Japhug irrealis prefix *a-* (Jacques 2008: 295).

Table 1 nDrapa directional prefixes

Plain	Prohibitive	Directive function
ʌ-	—	Upward (UPW)
a-	na-	Downward (DWN)
kʌ-	ka-	Inward/upstream (INW)
ŋʌ-	ŋa-	Outward/downstream (OUT)
tʌ-	—	Neutral/unspecified (NTL)

As mentioned in 2.1, it is highly possible that the prohibitive auxiliary *thaɦgi3* 'PROH' originally consists of the prohibitive prefix *tha-* and the auxiliary *ɦgi3*. The prefix *tha-* is found only in a few stereotyped expressions, such as (23); thus, it is no longer productive in nDrapa. However, *tha-* can be traced back to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prohibitive morpheme *(t/d)a* 'PROHIBITIVE' (Matisoff 2015). We should assume that it merged with the irrealis marker *a-* since the Proto-Tibeto-Burman vowel /a/ corresponds to higher (or brighter) vowels in nDrapa through a process called brightening (Matisoff 2004).

(23) no1   tha-ɕettɕhu3.
    2SG   PROH-get.angry

'Forgive me!' (Lit. 'You, don't get angry!')

2.2.5 Deontic negation

The previous section introduced two ways to negate the imperative, but these negative markers are also present in other sentence types including the optative, as in (24) and (25), and the hortative, as in (26). Moreover, as will be discussed in the next section, certain types of subordinate clauses use a prohibitive form. Parallel phenomena have been reported in another Qiangic language, Prinmi (Ding 2014). Ding (2014: 204–208) terms such a negative marker in Prinmi as "deontic negator" in contrast to general negator and perfective negator.

(24) stso-pɛ3   na-tɛ3   ɕu3.
    hail-DIM   DWN.PROH-come   need

'May it not hail!'

(25) ŋoro1   somuɳi3   tha-vo3   ɕu3.
    3SG   tomorrow   PROH-come.here   need

'I hope he doesn't come tomorrow.'

(26) taja3   to-nthwi1   thafigi3   ndʑa=rɛ3.
     money   NTL-lend   PROH   good=FAC$_2$

     'Let's not lend money. (Lit. It's better not to lend money)'

2.2.6   Negation in subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses also use negative markers that are different from those in standard negation (Shirai 2012). A conditional clause constructed using the polysemic clause linkage marker *ta* 'PCL' mainly employs the prefix *mə-* 'NEG$_1$', as in (27), whereas a conditional clause formed with the conjunction *rʌ* 'COND' utilizes a prohibitive form, as in (28) and (29). While the meanings expressed by (27) and (28) are similar, both clause linkers and both negative markers take different forms. These examples suggest two types of subordinate clauses. I tentatively use 'Subordinate-I' for subordinate clauses negated by a prohibitive form and 'Subordinate-II' for subordinate clauses negated by *mə-* NEG$_1$'.

(27) somun̠i3   mokku3   a-mθ-tɛ=ta3,   ʈhe-a2   rɛ3.
     tomorrow   rain   DWN-NEG$_1$-come=PCL   pleasant-PFT   FAC$_2$

     'It will be pleasant if it does not rain tomorrow.'

(28) somun̠i3   mokku3   na-tɛ=rʌ3,   ʈhe-a2 rɛ3.
     tomorrow   rain   DWN.PROH-come=COND   pleasant-PFT   FAC$_2$

     'It will be pleasant if it does not rain tomorrow.'

(29) n̠wɛ1   ŋoro=pɛrʌ1   ko-fido1   thafigi=rʌ3,
     2PL   3SG=NSUB   INW-wait   PROH=COND

     ŋoro1   ɕettɕu1   ndu3.
     3SG   get.angry   probable

     'If you don't wait for him, he will get angry.'

Moreover, the distribution of prohibitive forms is not limited to imperative or deontic situations. In (30), the prohibitive auxiliary *thafigi* 'PROH' negates the predicate of the first clause despite appearing to have no deontic implications.

(30) anʌ1   lɛhka3   ji3   thafigi＝ne3,   nge＋ttshʌnʌ3   kʌ-n̥a1
    day   work   go   PROH=then   door+behind   INW-hide

    lɛ＝hce-a3   rɛ3.
    put=PST-PFT   FAC$_2$

    'He did not go for work in the daytime but keep hiding behind the door.' [FT]

Nominalizations also show subordinate-type negation. Example (31) uses the prefix *mə-* 'NEG$_1$' to negate the predicate of a nominalized clause although its aspect is the imperfective. This example also indicates that only a declarative main clause may employ *ma-* 'NEG$_2$'.

(31) somun̠i3   ko3   zama3   tsi̠3   mi̠-ʈi-pi1
    tomorrow   here   meal   eat   NEG$_1$-IPFV-NMLZ

    ŋa＝rʌ3   phe3   rɛ3.
    1SG=GEN   father   COP$_4$

    'The person who will not have meal here tomorrow is my father.'

2.2.7 Negative dubitative copula

As we observed earlier, simple negation in a copula sentence uses the prefix *ma-* 'NEG$_2$', as in (12) (repeated below). However, if it is a dubitative or uncertain situation, the form *mɛ2* 'COP.NEG' is used in place of the copula verb, as shown in (32) and (33).

(12) ŋa1   hɟa1   {ma-rɛ3/ ma-jʌ3}.
    1SG   Han.Chinese   NEG$_2$-COP$_4$/ NEG$_2$-COP$_1$

    'I am/was not Han Chinese.'

(32) no1   hɟa1   mɛ2   mo3.
    2SG   Han.Chinese   COP.NEG   CFM

    'You are not Han Chinese, are you?'

(33) ŋoro1   aco3   mɛ＝ra2.
    3SG   PSN   COP.NEG=Q

    '(To my surprise,) that is Akyo!' (Lit. 'Isn't that Akyo?')

Moreover, copula sentences form the negative interrogative using *mɛ2* 'COP.NEG'. Example (34) uses an interrogative marker *ra* 'Q' with it whereas in (35), an interrogative/

dubitative particle *po3* is optional.

(34) ŋorɛ-kʌ1   shʌ1   pɵpa3   mɛ=ra2.
     3PL-inside   who   Tibetan.people COP.NEG=Q

‘Among them, who is not Tibetan?’

(35) no1   hɟa1   mɛ2   (po3).
     2SG   Han.Chinese COP.NEG   DOUBT

‘Aren’t you Han Chinese?’

2.3   Summary

This paper described the negative forms in nDrapa in terms of both function and morpho-syntactic condition, summarized in Table 2. We conclude that *mə-* ‘NEG$_1$’ is the default negative marker whereas other negative forms are used sparingly. This marker is present in all types of clauses except the imperative/optative/hortative (i.e., both the declarative and the interrogative of main clauses and subordinate clauses). Etymologically, *mə-* ‘NEG$_1$’ can be traced back to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman negator *ma ‘NEGATIVE’ (Matisoff 2015).

Table 2   Functional/morphosyntactic distribution of nDrapa negative forms

		Imperfective		Perfective
Main Clause	Declarative	*ma-* ‘NEG$_2$’		*mə-* ‘NEG$_1$’
		ma ‘NEG$_3$’		
		(Copula) *mɛ2* ‘COP.NEG’		
	Interrogative			
	Imperative/Optative/Hortative	<DIR>-*a-* ‘<DIR>.PROH’/*thaɦgi3* ‘PROH’		
Subordinate Clause	Subordinate-I			
	Subordinate-II	*mə-* ‘NEG$_1$’		

3.   Conclusion

This study comprehensively described the following six negative forms in Mätro nDrapa:

Prefixes:
   [i] mə- (mɨ- ~mɵ- ~ mo- ~ mʌ-) ‘NEG$_1$’
   [ii] ma- ‘NEG$_2$’
   [iii] <DIR>-a- ‘<DIR>.PROH’

Auxiliaries:
   [iv] ma 'NEG$_3$'
   [v] thaɦgi3 'PROH'
Copula:
   [vi] mɛ2 'COP.NEG'

Each negative marker's functions and morphosyntactic properties are as follows: [i] The prefix *mə*- 'NEG$_1$' is the default negative marker used by the perfective and interrogative of the main and subordinate clauses for negation. [ii] The prefix *ma*- 'NEG$_2$' signals the negative of an imperfective declarative main clause. [iii] The prohibitive form of a directional prefix <DIR>-a- '<DIR>.PROH' is used to negate the imperative, optative, and hortative main clauses and part of subordinate clauses. [iv] The auxiliary *ma* 'NEG$_3$' may denote the negative of a main clause. [v] The auxiliary thaɦgi3 'PROH' is used in the same situation as [iii], and [v] is more productive than [iii]. [vi] The negative dubitative copula *mɛ2* 'COP.NEG' exists in the copula position in sentences that express dubitative situations.

Abbreviations

1	first person	LOC	locative
2	second person	MAL	malefactive
3	third person	NEG	negative
ACDT	accusative-dative	NMLZ	nominalizer
ADM	admirative	NTL	neutral directive
AUX	auxiliary	NSUB	non-subject
CFM	confirmative	O	object
CLF	classifier	OUT	outward directive
COND	conditional	PCL	polysemic clause linkage
COP	copula verb	PFT	perfect
DIM	diminutive	PFV	perfective
DIR	directive	PL	plural
DWN	downward directive	PROH	prohibitive
EXP	experiential	PSN	proper person name
FAC	factual	PST	past
FT	folktale	Q	question
GEN	genitive	S	subject
IFR	inferential	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	UPW	upward directive
IINW	inward directive	V	verb
IPFV	imperfective	VS	verb stem

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Negation and polarity-reversing effect of an interrogative marker in Pwo Karen*

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Summary

In Pwo Karen, main clauses are negated by *ʔé*, subordinate clauses by *lə ... bá*, and imperative clauses by *ləxì*. In addition to these negators, the expression *bá ʁâ*, which consists of the verb *bá* 'be right' and the interrogative marker *ʁâ*, can be used as a negator. Conversely, when the negator *ʔé*, which is used at the end of the main clause, is followed by the interrogative marker *ʁâ*, the sentences may be used as affirmative ones. Thus, we can say that in Pwo Karen, polarity may be reversed by the presence of an interrogative marker.

Key words: Pwo Karen, Karenic, negator, interrogative marker, polarity

キーワード：ポー・カレン語，カレン語群，否定辞，疑問標識，極性

1. Introduction

Pwo Karen is one of the languages of the Karenic branch of Tibeto-Burman. It has several dialectal groups. Kato (2017, 2019) lists four Pwo Karen dialectal groups that are not intelligible to each other: Western Pwo Karen, Htoklibang Pwo Karen, Eastern Pwo Karen, and Northern Pwo Karen. For the classification of the Pwo Karen dialects and a detailed discussion of their characteristics, see Kato (1995, 2009), Dawkins and Phillips (2009a, b), and Phillips (2017, 2018). The dialect treated in this paper is the Hpa-an dialect that belongs to Eastern Pwo Karen. It is spoken around Hpa-an, the capital of Karen State, Myanmar. For the location of Hpa-an, see the map. The Pwo Karen dialects spoken in nearby cities such as Hlaingbwe and Kawkareik can be included here. In this paper, the language name "Pwo Karen" refers to the Hpa-an dialect. The purpose of this paper is to show the patterns of forming negative sentences (clauses) in Pwo Karen and to argue that polarity can be reversed by the presence of an interrogative marker in this language.
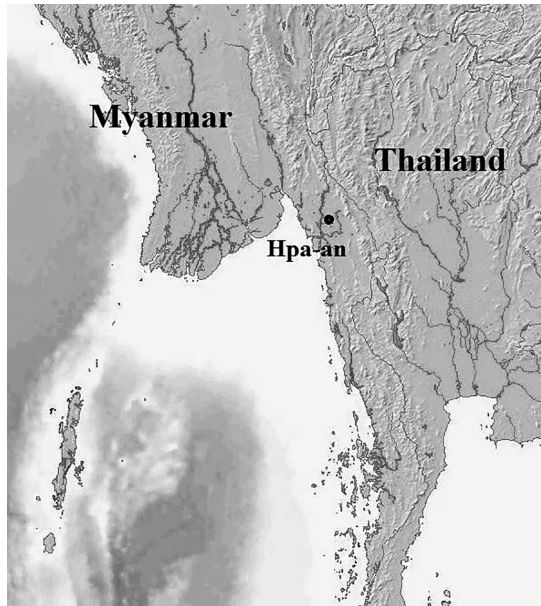
Map   Location of Hpa-an

Pwo Karen is an analytic SVO-type language, which is the same as other Karenic languages. The SVO-type word order of the Karenic languages is unique among Tibeto-Burman languages, which are predominantly of the SOV-type. The basic structure of a verb-predicate clause in Pwo Karen can be represented as in (1). The bracketed elements are optional.

(1)   (NP1) <u>(verb particle(s)) V (verb particle(s))</u>   (NP2) (NP3) (adverbial elements)
            verb complex

In (1), 'NP' represents a noun phrase and 'V' a verb. In the case of an intransitive verb, only NP1 can appear. In the case of a monotransitive verb, NP1 and NP2 can appear; here, NP1 typically denotes the agent and NP2 the patient. In the case of a ditransitive verb, NP1, NP2, and NP3 can appear. To take the typical ditransitive verb *phí̠lân* 'to give' as an example, NP1 is the agent, NP2 the recipient, and NP3 the theme, as is seen in the sentence *jə phí̠lân ʔə̀ láiʔàʊ* (1SG - give - 3SG - book) 'I gave him a book'. Before and after the verb, various verb particles may appear. I call the part comprising of the verb and the verb particle(s), that is, the underlined part in (1), a 'verb complex'. In the position of 'adverbial elements', adverbs, adpositional phrases, adverbial particles, and numeral classifier phrases may occur. A concatenated type serial verb construction may appear in the position of 'V' (for serial verb constructions in Pwo Karen, see Kato (2004, 2017, 2019)). In addition to the elements shown in the schema, after the adverbial elements, another verb may occur, which is the second verb of a separated-type serial verb construction, such as the second verb *θí̠* 'can' in the sentence *jə nân kā θí̠* (1SG - drive - car - can) 'I can drive a car'. Furthermore, some adverbial elements may appear clause-initially. Sentence (2) is an example of a clause with a monotransitive verb. In (2), *nə* '2SG' is NP1; *kʊ́* 'cake' is NP2; *ʔáɴ* 'eat' is the verb; *mə* 'IRR' and *bá* 'OPP' are verb particles; and *ʔáʔá* 'much' (adverb), *lə́ jə ɣéiɴ phə̀ɴ* 'inside my house' (adpositional phrase), and *ɕī̠* 'too' (adverbial particle) are adverbial elements. The part consisting of the verb and verb particles, *mə ʔáɴ bá*, is a verb complex.

(2)   nə   mə   ʔáɴ   bá   kʊ́   ʔáʔá   lə́   jə   ɣéiɴ   phə̀ɴ   ɕī̠
      2SG   IRR   eat   OPP   cake   much   LOC   1SG   house   inside too

    'You will also get a chance to eat a lot of cake inside my house.'

Since the discussion in this paper, especially in Sections 4 and 5, is related to interrogative sentences, let us examine how interrogative sentences are formed in Pwo Karen. Polar questions (yes-no questions) are indicated by the sentence-final particle *ʁâ*, as in (3). *ʁâ* may also be pronounced *ʁá*, *ʁā*, or *ʁà*, but I use *ʁâ*, the form with the falling tone, as the representative form because it is the most frequently used one. In content questions (wh-questions), the sentence-final particle *lê*, instead of *ʁâ*, occurs, as in (4). I call the particles *ʁâ* and *lê* "interrogative markers" in the present paper.

(3) nə   mə   ʔáɴ   mì̱   ʁâ
    2SG   IRR   eat   rice   Q

    'Will you eat (rice)?'

(4) nə   mə   ʔáɴ   chənɔ́   lɛ̂
    2SG   IRR   eat   what   Q

    'What will you eat?'

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 introduces negators in Pwo Karen and discusses their typological characteristics among the Karenic languages and their origins. Section 3 defines the notion of negators in Pwo Karen. Section 4 describes the expression *bá ʁâ* (right - Q), which literally means '(Is that) right?', and regards it as another negator in Pwo Karen. Section 5 describes the behavior of the negator *ʔé* that is used with the interrogative marker *ʁâ* and discusses its non-negative meaning. Section 6 presents the concluding remarks.

2.   Negators in Pwo Karen

In this section, after introducing three Pwo Karen negators, that is, *ʔé*, *lə ... bá*, and *ləxì̱*, I will discuss their typological characteristics among the Karenic languages and consider their origins.

First, when the main clause is negated, the adverbial particle *ʔé* is used as a negator. It is placed in the predicate-final position, as in (5) and (6).

(5) ʔəkhâjò   ʔəwê   ʔɔ́   ʔé
    now   3SG   be   NEG

    'He is not (here) now.'

(6) ʔəwê   ʔáɴ   bá   mì̱   dài   ʔé
    3SG   eat   OPP   rice   still   NEG

    'He has not managed to eat (rice) yet.'

Note that another expression containing a verb and an interrogative marker, that is, *bá ʁâ* (right - Q), can be used to negate the main clause, as will be discussed in Section 4.

Second, when the subordinate clause is negated, the verb particle *lə* is placed immediately before the verb and the adverbial particle *bá* (in rapid speech, it may be pronounced *wá*) is placed in the predicate-final position, as in (7). That is, "double negation" (Dryer

2005) is employed in a subordinate clause. I will treat this combination of the morphemes *lə* and *bá* as a single negator and represent it as *lə ... bá* in the present paper.

(7)	Ɂəwê	**lə**	ɣê̂	lɔ́	jò	**bá**	Ɂəkhúcòn,	jə	bá	mà
	3SG	NEG	come	LOC	here	NEG	because	1SG	must	do

'Because he did not come here, I have to do.'

The particle *bá* may also be placed immediately after the verb, as in (8):

(8)	Ɂəwê	**lə**	ɣê̂	**bá**	lɔ́	jò	Ɂəkhúcòn,	jə	bá	mà
	3SG	NEG	come	NEG	here	here	because	1SG	must	do

'Because he did not come here, I have to do.'

Sometimes, the negator *lə ... bá* may be used in a main clause, as in (9). In this case, the sentence has a special pragmatic function: that is, it typically presupposes that the hearer wants to know the reason for something, and the sentence shows the reason.[1] Thus, (9) can be translated into English as 'It is because she could not find you' or 'It is that she could not find you'.

(9)	**lə**	dá	nə̀	**bá**
	NEG	see	2SG	NEG

'It is because (she could) not find you.' (Sporadic 0-01)

In this usage of the negator *lə ... bá*, the second syllable *bá* may be omitted, as in (10) and (11):

(10)	nə	**lə**	nɛ̀	nə	wēnân
	2SG	NEG	believe	2SG	elder.sister

'It is that you do not believe your elder sister.' (Sporadic 0-01)

(11)	lì	khɔ̂	lê	θí	**lə**	lɔ̀	mə̀ɴmɯ́ɴàɴ
	go	where	Q	also	NEG	tell	niece (=the speaker)

'It is that (he) did not tell me where (he would) go.' (Sporadic 0-01)

The use of *lə ... bá* in a main clause can be syntactically characterized by the fact that a

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[1] This function is somewhat similar to that of the Japanese *no=da* (のだ) construction.

structure used for a subordinate clause is employed for a main clause; thus, we can consider this usage of *lə ... bá* to be an example of insubordination (for the concept of insubordination, see Evans and Watanabe (2016) and Beijering et al. (2019)).

Lastly, for negation of an imperative sentence, the adverbial particle *ləxì* (also pronounced as *xì, ləkhì,* or *khì*) is used. It is placed at the end of the predicate, as in (12).

(12) dú   jè̱   **ləxì̱**
     hit   1SG   PROH

   'Don't hit me.'

Manson (2017) summarizes the patterns observable in the negation of declarative sentences in the Karenic languages. He groups them into five types as follows (I represent the types with the symbols NEG (=negative marker) and V (=verb)):

I) The negative marker is placed immediately before the verb:

   NEG   V   .....

II) The negative marker is placed immediately before the verb and a second marker is placed immediately after the verb:

   NEG   V   NEG   .....

III) The negative marker is placed immediately before the verb and a second marker is placed in the clause-final position:

   NEG   V   .....   NEG

IV) The negative marker is placed immediately after the verb:

   V   NEG   .....

V) The negative marker is placed in the clause-final position:

   V   .....   NEG

Manson assumes that Type I is the original pattern of the Karenic languages. In Pwo Karen today, Types I, II, III, and V can be observed: (5) is an example of Type V, (7) and

(9) of Type III, (8) of Type II, and (10) and (11) of Type I. Thus, in Pwo Karen, only Type IV is not present. A Pa-O example of Type IV from Cooper (2018: 29) is presented in (13). According to Manson, aside from Pwo Karen, Type I is observed in Kayan, Lahta, Gekho, and Paku; Type II in Sgaw; Type III in Bwe, Geba, and Sgaw; Type IV in Pa-O; and Type V in Monu (Manu), Kayaw, Kayah, and Palaychi.

(13) khwè   phrέ   lὲn   phé   bá   tâw   na   mɔ́k.cɔ́k   [Pa-O] (Cooper 2018)
     1SG   buy   come give hit NEG   2SG orange

 'I didn't buy you oranges.'

The verb particle *lə* (see (7) through (11)), which is used in subordinate clauses, originates from the Proto-Karen negative marker ***ta** (Manson 2017: 157).[2] The Proto-Karen ***ta** comes from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prohibitive (negative imperative) marker ***ta** (Benedict 1972: 97; Matisoff 2003: 162; LaPolla 2003: 27). Sgaw Karen, which I assume is genealogically close to Pwo Karen (cf. Shintani 2003), uses the negator *tə ... bâ* in both main and subordinate clauses, and it is evidently cognate with the Pwo Karen negator *lə ... bá* (see (7) through (9)) because these Pwo and Sgaw negators show a regular phonological correspondence both in the first and second syllables. The first morpheme *tə* in Sgaw Karen occurs immediately before the verb, and the second morpheme *bâ* is placed immediately after the verb or in the clause-final position, as is the case with Pwo Karen negator *lə ... bá*. Judging from the regularity of phonological correspondence, Pwo Karen *lə ... bá* can be traced back at least to the lowest common proto-language of Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen. Manson (2017) assumes that Sgaw Karen *bâ* originates from the homophonous intransitive verb meaning 'correct, appropriate, suitable' of the same language. Pwo Karen also has a cognate verb *bá* (see Section 4) with the same meaning. Therefore, if Manson's assumption is correct, it is highly possible that the grammaticalization of the verb meaning 'correct, appropriate, suitable' into a negative marker happened at the stage of the lowest proto-language of Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen.

When we observe the usage of negative markers in the Karenic languages, it seems that Proto-Karen ***ta** had already been used as a general negative marker at the Proto-Karen stage. It is unclear why the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prohibitive marker ***ta** became a general negative marker in Proto-Karen. Ding (2014: 206) shows that the "deontic negator" *tja* in Prinmi, which is used to "convey one's desire and/or expectation as differing from others in an interpersonal communication context", is typically used in a negated imperative sen-

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[2] Forms corresponding to Pwo Karen *lə* in many other Karenic languages still preserve the onset of the Proto-Karen negative marker ***ta**, e.g., Sgaw Karen *tə*. The Proto-Karen onset ***t** became *l* in Pwo Karen in two morphemes: *lə* 'negative marker' and the numeral *lə̂ɴ* 'one' (see Matisoff's (2003: 262) Proto-Tibeto-Burman form ***tan** 'one').

tence. However, Ding argues that its use is not confined to expressing negation in the imperative and that essentially it is used to indicate "conflict of desire between people". When we consider the reason that the Proto-Tibeto-Burman prohibitive marker became a general negative marker in Proto-Karen, it would be worthwhile to refer to the usage of the deontic negator in Prinmi.

The origin of the sentence-final particle ʔé (see (5) and (6)) is unknown. There is no corresponding homophonous word in Pwo Karen. Since no negator that phonologically corresponds with it is found among the other Karenic languages, it would be safe to say that this particle is an innovative form that emerged uniquely in Pwo Karen.[3] Therefore, I assume that Pwo Karen lə ... bá was originally used both in main and subordinate clauses, as is the case with the cognate negator tə ... bâ in contemporary Sgaw Karen. If this is the case, Pwo Karen ʔé, which is placed at the end of a main clause, did not emerge as the result of "Jespersen's cycle".[4] If Pwo Karen had followed Jespersen's cycle, then the second syllable bá in the negator lə ... bá, instead of ʔé, should have remained in main clauses. However, this did not happen, and the particle ʔé, whose etymology is unknown, came into use. Thus, when the negative particle ʔé emerged, something else that had nothing to do with Jespersen's cycle would have happened; however, what happened is unknown at the moment.

Lastly, the negative imperative marker ləxì originates from a verb complex consisting of lə 'NEG' and the verb ɣì 'good'. This is evident from the fact that the prohibitive marker in Western Pwo Karen is lə-ɣé (not-good) and that in Sgaw Karen is tə-ɣē (not-good).

3.   Definition of Pwo Karen negators

It would be necessary here to give a precise definition of "negators" in Pwo Karen. The forms ʔé, lə ... bá, and ləxì listed in Section 2, have two grammatical features in common, which will be described below.

First, the morpheme nāɴ, which appears immediately before a numeral classifier, indicates the non-existence of entities or events when it co-occurs with ʔé, lə ... bá, and ləxì. In an affirmative sentence, it represents a vague small number, as in (14). It can be translated as 'a few' or 'some' in English.

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[3] Negators corresponding regularly to ʔé are widely found in many of the dialectal groups of Pwo Karen, e.g., ʔeʔ in Western Pwo (Kato 1995) and ʔe' in Northern Pwo (Phillips 2017), except Htoklibang Pwo, which uses the form tə ... bá, a borrowing from Sgaw Karen, both in main and subordinate clauses (Kato 2009). Thus, ʔé can be considered an old form that can be traced back to the Proto-Pwo Karen stage.

[4] Jespersen's cycle is a phenomenon in which the first element in a double negation disappears and the second element remains (Jespersen 1917). This terminology was coined by Dahl (1979) to refer to Jespersen's hypothesis. For further details of this phenomenon, see, e.g., Devos and van der Auwera (2013).

(14) jə   mə   ʔáɴcà   nə̀   chə̀   **nāɴ**   mèiɴ
     1SG   IRR   ask   2SG   thing   NC [kind]
     1SG   IRR   ask   2SG   thing   a.few   NC [kind]

'I will ask you a few kinds of questions.' (Short novel IV-04)

When co-occurring with *ʔé*, *lə ... bá*, and *ləxì̠*, *nāɴ* indicates that the number of entities or events is zero. Sentences (15), (16), and (17) are examples with *ʔé*, *lə ... bá*, and *ləxì̠*, respectively. The morpheme *nāɴ* has this meaning only when it co-occurs with these negative forms. Therefore, in this paper, I will refer to the morpheme of this usage as "*nāɴ* of the negative polarity item use" and gloss it as 'any', as in (15), (16), and (17) (for the concept of negative polarity items, see, e.g., Haspelmath (1997)).

(15) thōɴ   jò   chə   ʔɔ́   **nāɴ**   mèiɴ   **ʔé**
     around   here   thing   be   any   NC [kind]   NEG

'There is nothing around here.' (Conversation 002)

(16) ʔəwê   mà   **lə**   bá   **nāɴ**   mèiɴ   **bá**   nɔ́   ʔəkhúcòɴ ...
     3SG   do   NEG   right   any   NC [kind]   NEG   that   because

'Because he could not do anything ...' (Folktale I-04)

(17) ʔáɴ   bá   lā   **nāɴ**   ɣà   **ləxì̠**
     eat   OPP   HORT   any   NC [human]   PROH

'Please anyone don't eat (this).' (Essay II-12)

Second, *ʔé*, *lə ... bá*, and *ləxì̠* allow the particle *lə̀ɴ* 'anymore' to occur in the same clause. In (18), (19), and (20), *lə̀ɴ* can occur in virtue of the presence of *ʔé*, *lə ... bá*, and *ləxì̠*, respectively.

(18) thōʊɴ   θí   bá   **lə̀ɴ**   ʔé
     endure   also   right   anymore   NEG

'I cannot even stand anymore.' (Conversation 003)

(19) phûɗàikɔ̀   lə   ʔɔ́   **lə̀ɴ**   bá   ləkhâiɴ   jò ...
     PN   NEG   be   anymore   NEG   after   this

'After Phudaikaw passed away ...' (Essay III-08)

(20) ɣɛ̂   nī   **lə̀ɴ**   **ləxì̱**
    come   get   anymore   PROH

    'Don't bring it anymore.' (Conversation 001)

The particle *lə̀ɴ* cannot appear in an environment where either of *ʔé*, *lə … bá*, or *ləxì* is not present. Taking the simple short sentence *mà lə̀ɴ ʔé* (do - anymore - NEG) '(I) will not do anymore' as an example, if *ʔé* is removed from this sentence, the obtained sentence **mà lə̀ɴ* (do - anymore) is ungrammatical. Thus, the particle *lə̀ɴ* can also be considered a negative polarity item.

    In this paper, I define a form that can co-occur with *nāɴ* of the negative polarity item use and with the particle *lə̀ɴ* 'anymore' as a negator. Thus, *ʔé*, *lə … bá*, and *ləxì* are regarded as negators, though, in fact, another negator will be added to these in the next section. The category of negators is not a word class, but a set of forms belonging to various word classes that have these two features in common.[5]

4.   Negation with an expression containing an interrogative marker

In Pwo Karen, negation that does not employ either of the negators *ʔé*, *lə … bá*, and *ləxì* can also be observed. Interrogative sentences may pragmatically be used to express negative meaning. For example, (21), which is an interrogative sentence that literally means 'Is our lack of knowledge a good thing?' actually shows that the speaker does not think that lack of knowledge is a good thing. Sentence (22) seems to be a question that literally means 'Do you have to be in such a hurry?' but the speaker does not think that the addressee has to hurry. The interrogative marker *lɛ̂* (see (4)), which is usually used in a content question, is sometimes used in a polar question to express a strong doubt, as in this example. Sentence (23) also takes the form of an interrogative sentence, but the speaker wants to say that there is not anyone that is more stupid than "you". That is, these sentences are used as rhetorical questions to express the speaker's skepticism about some situations expressed in the sentences.

(21) pə̀   jò   chəθíchəbá   ʔɔ́   ça̱   nɔ́   mwē   chəɣì   ʁâ
    1PL   this   knowledge   be   few   TOP   COP   good.thing   Q

    'Is our lack of knowledge a good thing?' (Essay IV-03)

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[5] Forms that have common grammatical features often belong to different word classes. For example, "interrogative words" in English belong to various word classes, e.g., what (noun), whose (determiner), where (adverb), etc. The case of Japanese negators is another example. The Japanese negator *-nai* that is used for verbs is a suffix, and the negator *nai* that is used for adjectives is a kind of adjective; furthermore, these two negators phonologically resemble each other but have different origins.

(22) nə   bá   kəlôɴ   chɨ̄   phɔ̄phɔ̂jɔ̀   lɛ̂,   həɣà
     2SG   must hurry   thing this.much   Q   hey

'Do you have to be in such a hurry?' (Conversation 027)

(23) dòʊɴláʊ   khúdà   jò   ʔə̀ɴkhài   náiɴ   nə̀   mə   ʔɔ́   dài   ʁâ
     world   surface this stupid   than   2SG   IRR   be   still Q

'Is there anyone more stupid than you in this world?' (Sporadic 0-01)

Moreover, in Pwo Karen, an expression that contains the interrogative marker ʁâ has been conventionalized as a form for negation. The Hpa-an dialect frequently uses the expression *bá ʁâ* in order to indicate negation, as shown in (24). *bá ʁâ* means 'Is (it) right?' in isolation and is put at the end of the predicate of the main clause when it indicates negation. It never occurs in a subordinate clause. *bá* is a stative verb meaning 'right, correct, appropriate, suitable'. The same form *bá* is also used as an active verb, which means 'to hit', and probably the meaning of 'right' comes from this meaning. ʁâ is an interrogative sentence-final particle, that is, an interrogative marker (see (3)), and tends to be pronounced ʁá (with the high-level tone instead of the falling tone) when it is followed by another sentence-final particle.

(24) lɨ̀   **bá**   **ʁá**   bò
     go   right   Q   BO

'(He) did not go.'

The expression *bá ʁâ* indicating negation seems to have evolved from an interrogative sentence containing a separated-type serial verb construction with *bá* as the second verb, as in (25):

(25) kɛ́   cəxwà,   nə   **phà**   **bá**   **ʁâ**
     well   king   2SG   guess   right   Q

'Now, Your Majesty, can you correctly guess (the quiz)?' (Folktale 019)

In (25), the verbs *phà* 'guess' and *bá* 'be right' constitute a serial verb construction, in which the second verb *bá* retains its original meaning. In (24), however, *bá* does not retain its original meaning, but is used with ʁâ to negate the verb *lɨ̀* 'to go', and the sentence can be paraphrased with the negator *ʔé* into the sentence *lɨ̀ ʔé* (go - NEG) '(He) did not go' without changing the propositional meaning of the sentence. *bá ʁâ* in this use occurs highly frequently in daily conversation and expresses a strong negation as compared to *ʔé*. It is

typically used when the speaker wants to strongly deny the hearer's assumption. Let us consider (26) as an example. This is a series of utterances consisting of a question and an answer. Speaker A asks speaker B if she (speaker B) has difficulty speaking Pwo Karen. Speaker B thinks that speaker A assumes that she has some difficulty speaking Pwo Karen, and she uses *bá ʁâ* to strongly deny it.

(26) A: | khlàiɴ | phlòʊɴ | khâ | nɔ́, | chəkáchəγɛ̀ | ʔɔ́ | chī | ʁâ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| speak | Pwo | time | TOP | difficulty | be | too | Q |

'When you speak Pwo Karen, do you have any difficulty?'

B: | ʔɔ́ | **bá** | **ʁá** | bò. | dú | ʁáɴ | lə́ | phlòʊɴ | klà | dùʀ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be | right | Q | BO | big | up | LOC | Pwo | among | SFP |

'I don't have any. (Because) I grew up among Pwo Karen people.' (Interview 001)

When *bá ʁâ* is used to denote a negative meaning, it is usually followed by the sentence-final particle *bò* or *nɛ̀ (nê)*. It is possible that these sentence final particles function here as a means to indicate that the sentence is not a question but a negative statement. Without the particles *bò* or *nê*, a sentence containing *bá ʁâ* is likely to be interpreted as an interrogative, as in (25). Let me explain a little about the basic usage of *bò* and *nê* here. The particle *bò* is often used in an interrogative sentence, as in (27), and has the function of softening the question. The particle *nê* is usually used in a declarative sentence, as in (28), to indicate that the speaker expects that the hearer has some knowledge about the information that the sentence conveys.

(27) | hə | lì̠ | kɛ́ | ʁá | **bò** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1PL | go | become | Q | BO |

'Is it OK if we go?' (Conversation 003)

(28) | məkhó | jə | γê, | kā | kəthái | **nɛ̀** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| earlier | 1SG | come | car | tight | NE |

'When I came earlier, the road was busy (as you know).' (Sporadic 0-01)

Below are other examples of *bá ʁâ* (see (29) through (33)) with negative meaning. Note that all these examples have *bò* or *nɛ̀* following *bá ʁâ*.

(29) jə   màbóʊɴ   bá   chə̀   **bá**   **ʁá**   bò
     1SG   donate   OPP   thing   right   Q   BO

'I didn't have the opportunity to donate.' (Narrative 025)

(30) lɔ̀   nə̀   **bá**   **ʁá**   bò,   mū
     tell   2SG   right   Q   BO   mother

'I wasn't speaking about you, dear my wife.' (Sporadic 0-01)

(31) θàmɛ́   **bá**   **ʁá**   nɛ̀
     fear   right   Q   NE

'I don't fear (my wife).' (Sporadic 0-01)

(32) bá   lɔ̀   châ   lóθà   **bá**   **ʁá**   nɛ̀,   həɣà
     must   tell   ache   each.other   right   Q   NE   hey

'Hey, we don't have to speak ill of each other.' (Conversation 027)

(33) θâɪɴkhāɴθá   cháɪɴ   bê   jò   θí   ʔáɴ   ʔwí   **bá**   **ʁá**   nɛ̀
     lime   sour   like   this   also   eat   delicious   right   Q   NE

'Such sour limes are not good.' (Movie <*khwījànwêchînî*>)

Now, let us discuss the possibility of *bá ʁâ* as a negator. As already mentioned in Section 3, I regard a form that can co-occur with *nāɴ* of the negative polarity item use and with the particle *lə̀ɴ* 'anymore' as a negator. In (34) and (35), *bá ʁâ* co-occurs with *nāɴ* and *lə̀ɴ*, respectively.

(34) chəkáchəɣɛ̀   ʔɔ́   **nāɴ**   mèɪɴ   **bá**   **ʁá**   bò
     difficulty   be   any   NC[kind]   right   Q   BO

'There is no difficulty at all.' (Interview 001)

(35) hə   ɣê   bá   **lə̀ɴ**   **bá**   **ʁá**   bò
     1PL   come   OPP   anymore   right   Q   BO

'We will not be able to come anymore.' (Sporadic 0-01)

Considering the ability of co-occurring with both *nāɴ* of the negative polarity item use and *lə̀ɴ* 'anymore', I regard *bá ʁâ* as another Pwo Karen negator in addition to the three negators listed in Section 3. Further, as already mentioned in Section 3, the category of Pwo

Karen negators is not a word class, but a set of various forms that have two common grammatical features, that is, co-occurring with *nāɴ* of the negative polarity item use and with the particle *lə̀ɴ* 'anymore'. I consider that *bá ʁâ* is an expression consisting of a verb and a particle that has been idiomatized as a negator. Since the sentence-final particle *bò* or *nè* usually appears after *bá ʁâ*, there is room to consider the entire *bá ʁá bò* and *bá ʁá nè* as negators. This issue remains to be addressed in future studies.

Semantically, *bá ʁâ* is equivalent to the negator *ʔé*. Thus, one would expect that Sentence (37) with *ʔé*, which is a negation of (36), can be paraphrased with *bá ʁâ* as is shown in (38); however, (38) is somewhat awkward, and (39) is preferred. Sentence (39) can also mean 'He does not speak Pwo Karen', which is a negation of the sentence *ʔə̀wê khlàiɴ phlòuɴ* (3SG - speak - Pwo) 'He speaks Pwo Karen'.

(36) ʔə̀wê   khlàiɴ   phlòuɴ   bá
      3SG   speak   Pwo   right

    'He can speak Pwo Karen.' (Literally: 'He rightly speaks Pwo Karen')

(37) ʔə̀wê   khlàiɴ   phlòuɴ   bá   ʔé
      3SG   speak   Pwo   right   NEG

    'He cannot speak Pwo Karen.'

(38) ? ʔə̀wê   khlàiɴ   phlòuɴ   bá   bá   ʁá   bò
        3SG   speak   Pwo   right   right   Q   BO

      Intended meaning: 'He cannot speak Pwo Karen.'

(39) ʔə̀wê   khlàiɴ   phlòuɴ   bá   ʁá   bò
      3SG   speak   Pwo   right   Q   BO

    'He cannot speak Pwo Karen. / He does not speak Pwo Karen.'

To summarize this section: *bá ʁâ* (right - Q), a form that was originally not related to negation, has been idiomatized to denote negation, and can be recognized as another negator in Pwo Karen.

5.   Negator used for non-negative meaning

In Section 4, we have seen that negative meaning may be expressed in a form that originally had nothing to do with negation. Conversely, a negator may be used to express a non-negative meaning in Pwo Karen. Specifically, when the negator *ʔé* occurs with the

interrogative marker ʁâ, negative meaning may disappear.

Before turning to such examples, see (40), which contains the negator ʔé. As seen from the translation, the negative meaning of the negator is retained in (40). In this example, ʔé is followed by the interrogative marker ʁâ, and ʁâ is often pronounced ʁā with the mid-level tone when it occurs after ʔé. When ʔé and ʁâ co-occur in this way, the coalescent form jā (glossed as NEG+Q), as in (41), is used more frequently than the original form ʔé ʁā. These two sentences ((40) and (41)) have the same propositional meaning.

(40) jə̀   nɔ́   nə   kò   **ʔé**   **ʁā**   bò
     1SG   TOP   2SG   call   NEG   Q   BO

    'As for me, you did not invite me?'

(41) jə̀   nɔ́   nə   kò   **jā**   bò
     1SG   TOP   2SG   call   NEG+Q   BO

    'As for me, you did not invite me? (Conversation 027)'

In (40) and (41), the negative meaning of ʔé followed by ʁâ is retained. However, when the negator ʔé is followed by the interrogative marker ʁâ, there are two cases in which its negative meaning disappears.

First, see (42). In this example, the speaker expects the hearer to approve the fact that Pwo Karens often speak Burmese in Hpa-an. Thus, in the first case, ʔé ʁā (= jā) is used in a way to express that the speaker expects the hearer's approval.

(42) ʔè   dá   ʁán   lé   thəʔàɴ,   phlòʊɴ   θɛ̀   nɔ́   khlàiɴ   pəjàɴ
     if   meet   up   LOC   Hpa-an   Pwo   PL   TOP   speak   Burman

ʔá   **jā**
many   NEG+Q

    'If (they) meet up here in Hpa-an, Pwo Karens often speak Burmese, don't they?'
    (Interview 001)

With this use of ʔé ʁā (= jā), the sentence-final particle nè often occurs, as in (43) and (44):

(43) ɣɛ̂ɴ   nɔ́   mā̄   lɔ̀   bá   **jā**   **nè**
     hear   if   COP   tell   right   NEG+Q   NE

    'If I have heard (the word), I am sure I can tell (it), you know?' (Interview 001)

(44) ʔə̄,   bá   màlú   ʔá   **jā**   **nɛ̀**
      hmm   must   study   many   NEG+Q   NE

'Hmm, (I) have to study much, you know?' (Interview 001)

The second case is that the speaker aims to present new information to the hearer. A typical example is (45). In the situation in which this sentence is used, the hearer does not know the speaker's name; thus, the speaker tells the hearer his name for the first time. In this usage of *ʔé ʁā* (= *jā*), the sentence-final particle *bò* usually appears. (46) and (47) are other examples. *ʔé ʁā bò* (= *jā bò*) occurs highly frequently in daily speech of the speakers of the Hpa-an dialect.

(45) jə   mèiɴ   mwɛ̄   cɔ̀ʔɛ́phlòʊɴ   **jā**   **bò**
      1SG   name   COP   PN [male]   NEG+Q   BO

'My name is Kyaw Eh Phlone.' (Sporadic 0-01)

(46) ʔətwéʔəcòʊɴ   nɔ́   lɔ̂   **jā**   **bò**
      experience   that   EMP   NEG+Q   BO

'(I think that what is important is) an experience.' (Interview 001)

(47) bá   khlàiɴ   lé   phlòʊɴ   **jā**   **bò**
      must   speak   LOC   Pwo   NEG+Q   BO

'(I would say) we have to speak in Pwo Karen.' (Interview 001)

Now, let us again consider sentences (40) and (41). These sentences, like examples (45) through (47), end with *ʔé ʁā bò* (= *jā bò*). Therefore, (40) and (41) can also be used as non-negative sentences to present new information. For example, they can be used in the following situation: At a party, the hearer has forgotten that he himself had invited the speaker. The speaker then utters sentences (40) or (41) in order to let the hearer know that the hearer himself invited the speaker. In this situation, these sentences can be translated as 'As for me, you invited me'. The fact that the hearer invited the speaker was treated here as new information. Thus, (40) and (41) can be used as either negative or affirmative sentences.

After *ʔé ʁā bò* (= *jā bò*), the sentence final particle *nɛ̀* may be further added when the speaker wants the hearer to approve the new information that the sentence conveys, as in (48):

(48) lɔ̀   wê   **jā**   **bò**   nὲ
    tell   EMP   NEG+Q   BO   NE

'(I will) tell you (about that), OK?' (Sporadic 0-01)

To summarize this section: when the negator ʔé co-occurs with the interrogative marker ʁâ, the sentence can be used as an affirmative statement.

6.   Concluding remarks

As we have seen above, main clauses in Pwo Karen are negated by ʔé, subordinate clauses by lə ... bá, and imperative sentences by ləxì. Moreover, negation of main clauses can be achieved by using the expression bá ʁâ (right - Q), whose original meaning is 'Is (it) right?', which has nothing to do with negation. The form bá ʁâ that denotes negation can be considered another negator in Pwo Karen. Conversely, when the negator ʔé co-occurs with the interrogative marker ʁâ, it does not always denote negation. The key points are as follows:

a) The Pwo Karen expression consisting of a verb and an interrogative marker, bá ʁâ (right - Q), has been idiomatized into a negator.

b) When the Pwo Karen negator ʔé is followed by the interrogative marker ʁâ, the sentence can be used as an affirmative statement.

It is worth noting that the interrogative marker ʁâ is involved in both (a) and (b). That is, in Pwo Karen, polarity can be reversed by the effect of an interrogative marker. Here, we need to consider why interrogativity can reverse polarity. As shown in (21) through (23), interrogativity may be used to express skepticism about the situations expressed in the sentences. Skepticism is a negative emotion. Thus, these sentences are interrogative in form, but are, in effect, pragmatically negative. This would be the reason that the polarity is reversed by an interrogative marker. That is, an interrogative sentence can express skepticism, and skepticism is psychologically connected with negation.

Considering that an expression containing an interrogative marker has become a negator in Pwo Karen, it might be possible that an interrogative marker itself is grammaticalized as a negator in some languages. Lucas (2018) says that there do not appear to be any documented cases of a negator deriving from a particle marking polar interrogatives. However, Dryer (2009) suggests that many clause-final negators of central African languages could originate from clause-final question particles, and Wilmsen (2013) claims that the negator -š in some Arabic dialects has an interrogative origin.[6] Pwo Karen is not a language in

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[6] See also Lucas (2018), which offers a critique of Wilmsen's proposals.

which an interrogative marker itself becomes a negator. Nevertheless, since an interrogative marker has the effect of reversing polarity in this language, it would not be surprising if somewhere in the world there is a language that has developed an interrogative marker as a negator.

Abbreviations

BO	the sentence-final particle *bò*	PL	plural
COP	copular verb	PN	personal name
EMP	emphasis	PROH	prohibitive
HORT	hortative	Q	question
IRR	irrealis	S	subject
LOC	locative	SFP	sentence-final particle
NC	numeral classifier	SG	singular
NE	the sentence-final particle *nè*	TOP	topic
NEG	negative marker or particle	V	verb
NP	noun phrase	1	first person
O	object	2	second person
OPP	verb particle denoting opportunity	3	third person

Transcription

The transcription used in this study was phonemic. Consonant phonemes are /p, θ [θ~t̪θ~t̪], t, c [tɕ], k, ʔ, ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ch [tɕʰ], kh [kʰ], b [ɓ], d [ɗ~d], ɕ, x, h, ɣ, ʁ, m, n, ɲ, (ŋ), ɴ, w, j, l, (r [r~ɽ~ɻ])/. The bracketed consonants mainly occur in loan words. Rhymes are /i [ɪ̆i], ɨ, ɯ [ɯ~ɯ̆ɯ], i̠ [ɪ], ʊ, e, ə, o, ɛ, a, ɔ, ai, aʊ, əɴ [ən~ə̃], aɴ [ăɔɴ~ã], oɴ [oɴ~õ], eiɴ [eiɴ~ei], əɯɴ [əɯɴ~əɯ], oʊɴ [oʊɴ~oʊ], aiɴ [aiɴ~aĩ]/. There are four tones: high-level /á/ [55], mid-level /ā/ [33~334], low-level /à/ [11], and falling /â/ [51]. Pwo Karen has atonic syllables, which can occur in all positions except in utterance final. The only rhyme that can occur in atonic syllables is /ə/, and atonic syllables are transcribed with no tone marking.

I formerly transcribed the vowel phoneme /i̠/ [ɪ] as /ɪ/. However, the symbol /ɪ/ is difficult to distinguish from /i/ when they are written with a tone sign. Compare, for example, /ɪ́/ and /í/. Moreover, /ɪ́/ and /í/ are hard to distinguish from each other in some IPA fonts in italics. Therefore, I presently use /i̠/ instead of /ɪ/.

In an example, a period shows the end of a sentence and a comma shows the border of adjacent clauses.

Data

In the brackets after the English translation of each example, the author's material number is shown. Materials used in this paper are as follows: Folktale 019 and Folktale I-04 are folktales; Essay II-12, Essay III-08, and Essay IV-03 are essays; Short novel IV-04 is a short novel; Conversation 001, Conversation 002, Conversation 003, and Conversation 027 are conversation data; Narrative 025 is a narrative; Movie <*khwījànwêchînî*> is a Pwo Karen movie; Sporadic 0-01 contains data sporadically collected during my research (such data as found in conversation with Pwo Karen people, Pwo Karen TV programs, Pwo Karen movies, or Pwo Karen essays); and Interview 001 is an interview program from an internet Pwo Karen news. Examples without a material number were acquired through elicitation.

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Negation in Kho-Bwa:
A typological comparison

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Summary

The Kho-Bwa languages Puroik (Sulung), Bugun (Khowa), Sherdukpen, Sartang, Khispi (Lishpa) and Duhumbi (Chugpa) are generally presumed to form a small, coherent cluster within the Sino-Tibetan language family. They are spoken in western and central Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. The latter four languages form an established sub-group, the Western Kho-Bwa languages.

The Kho-Bwa languages are characterized by a few typologically idiosyncratic negative forms and negation strategies. The inherited Kho-Bwa negation prefix is ***ba**, unlike basically all other Sino-Tibetan languages that have negation markers deriving from a bilabial nasal onset, ***ma**. The Kho-Bwa negation prefix is a real prefix, forming a single phonological unit with the verbal or deverbalised form it modifies. Unlike some neighboring languages, such as the Tani languages that have post-verbal negation, negation in the Kho-Bwa languages is predominantly, but not exclusively, pre-verbal, more like other neighboring languages, such as the Bodish and Hrusish languages.

Specific negation strategies that show variation within the Kho-Bwa languages and may serve as means to further sub-group them include the strategies for negation of derived adjectives, the negation of serial verb constructions, the negation of noun-verb compounds and the form of the negative imperative (prohibitive).

Key words: negation, Kho-Bwa, Sino-Tibetan, typology, phylogenetics

1.   Introduction

This paper aims to describe the negation strategies employed in a small group of languages known in the linguistic literature as the Kho-Bwa languages (van Driem 2001: 473), spoken in the western and central part of the state of Arunachal Pradesh in Northeast India. In this paper, I provide an example of how negation strategies can be a typological feature for the sub-classification of languages.

In section 1, I provide a short introduction into the Kho-Bwa languages, as this small cluster of languages continues to be a rather unknown group within the Sino-Tibetan language family. I also explain the sources of my data. In section 2, I describe the standard Kho-Bwa negation marker, the marker that is used in declarative main clauses with verbal predicates. I show an example of an asymmetric negation paradigm in Duhumbi. I also place this marker in a comparative perspective from both a phonological and a morphosyntactic point of view, in order to illustrate the peculiarity of the marker. In section 3, I shortly discuss the Western Kho-Bwa prohibitive and compare this marker to the situation in the other Kho-Bwa languages and other Sino-Tibetan languages. In section 4, I give a concise description of the negative copula and copular verbs, focusing on Duhumbi, but also providing comparative examples from other Kho-Bwa languages. In sections 5, 6 and 7, I pay attention to the ways in which the Kho-Bwa languages negate noun-verb predicates, serial verb constructions, and the formation of negative adjectives, respectively. In section 8, I provide a typological summary of negation in Kho-Bwa, followed by some concluding remarks on the usefullness of negation strategies in the subclassification of these languages.

1.1   Kho-Bwa

The Kho-Bwa languages are a cluster of linguistic varieties spoken in western and central Arunachal Pradesh in India. Which of these varieties belong together as 'languages' and which varieties are 'dialects' is an unresolved matter. For the purpose of this article, I broadly follow the classification that has been used in our earlier publications (Bodt 2012, Bodt 2014, Lieberherr and Bodt 2017, Bodt 2019 and Bodt 2021) as well as the Glottolog (https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/khob1235) and Ethnologue (https://www.ethnologue.com/subgroups/kho-bwa). This classification broadly follows the classification into 'Scheduled Tribes'. The Puroik, the Bugun and the Sherdukpen have been recognized as Scheduled Tribes since Indian independence. The Sartang have more recently claimed a separate Scheduled Tribe status from an earlier submersion under the Monpa Scheduled Tribe, whereas the Khispi and Duhumbi are still part of the Monpa Scheduled Tribe. In this article, *Kho-Bwa* refers to the entire cluster of languages. *Western Kho-Bwa* refers to the varieties of Sartang and Sherdukpen and Khispi and Duhumbi. *Puroik* refers to the various varieties of Puroik, and *Bugun* refers to the varieties of Bugun. I will use these names also

in preference over names such as Sulung (for Puroik), Khowa (for Bugun), Chugpa (for Duhumbi), Lishpa (for Khispi), Butpa (for Sartang) or Mey (for Sherdukpen). Table 1 presents the basic details of the Kho-Bwa varieties: names, sub-varieties, speaker numbers, and language codes.

Table 1   The Kho-Bwa varieties

group/language	ISO 639-3	variety	speakers
Puroik	suv		
Eastern Puroik		Chayangtajo (+Lasumpatte)	n.a.
		Kurung Kumey	n.a.
		Sario Saria	n.a.
Western Puroik		Rawa	n.a.
		Kojo-Rojo	n.a.
		Bulu	7–20
Bugun	bgg	Bichom (+Ramu)	700
		Wangho (+Dikhyang)	300
		Kaspi	100
		Namphri	200
		Singchung	700
Western Kho-Bwa			
Sartang	onp	Khoina	500
		Jerigaon	400
		Khoitam	500
		Rahung	600
Sherdukpen	sdp	Rupa	3,000
		Shergaon	1,500
Khispi	lsh		1,500
Duhumbi	cvg		600

The varieties of Puroik are actually so distinct from each other that they may rather qualify as distinct languages. They are spoken across large swathes of mountainous jungle in the eastern part of the Kho-Bwa area. Although estimates for the total number of Puroik speakers range between 5,000 and 10,000, Lieberherr and Bodt (2017) list individual speaker populations of the Puroik varieties as no more than a few hundred each. The handful of Bugun varieties are spoken by around 2,000 people in a confined geographical area. There is no description of the internal diversity and classification of the Bugun varieties,

and the varieties mentioned here are largely based on Lieberherr and Bodt (2017). Sherdukpen is spoken in two varieties, Rupa and Shergaon, by a total of around 4,500 people. The Sartang varieties, Khoina, Jerigaon, Khoitam and Rahung are spoken by less than 2,000 people. Finally, Khispi and Duhumbi are spoken by some 1,500 to 2,000 people. Khispi and Duhumbi are largely mutually intelligible (Bodt 2020: 46–47). Figure 1 shows the approximate location of the Kho-Bwa varieties.
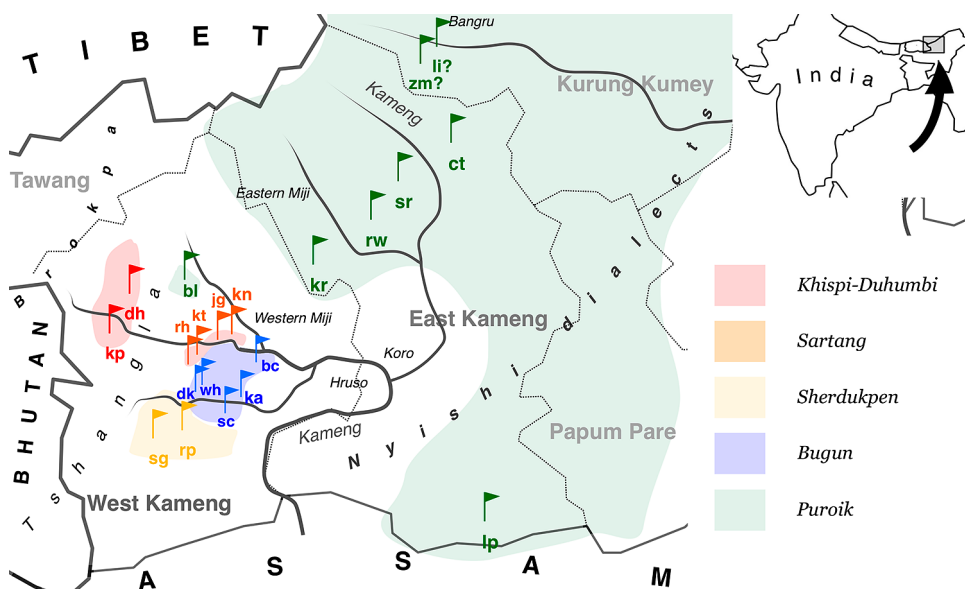
Figure 1   Linguistic map of Western Arunachal Pradesh with the Kho-Bwa varieties[1] (reproduced from Lieberherr and Bodt 2017).

Several ideas have been set forward about the affiliation between these languages ever since the contours of the cluster were first established by Tian-Shin Jackson Sun (Sun 1993). An overview of these ideas is provided in Lieberherr and Bodt (2017). In that paper, we show on basis of a comparison of shared core vocabulary that the Kho-Bwa languages form rather distinctive internal clusters. The heat map we generated clearly indicates three clusters: 1. Khispi, Duhumbi and the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties, with Khispi and Duhumbi slightly apart from the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties; 2. the Bugun varieties; and 3. the internally most diverse Puroik varieties. We also compared the core vocabulary of the Kho-Bwa varieties with that of other languages and reconstructed proto-languages of the region: Proto-Bodo-Garo, Proto-Tani, Proto-Kuki-Chin, Written Burmese, Bhutan

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[1] kp=Khispi, dh=Duhumbi, bl=Bulu, rh=Rahung, kt=Khoitam, jg=Jerigaon, kn=Khoina, shg=Shergaon, rp=Rupa, sc=Singchung, dk=Dikhyang, wh=Wangho, kap=Kaspi, bc=Bichom, kr=Kojo-Rojo, rw=Rawa, sr=Sario Saria, ct=Chayantajo, lp=Lasumpatte, zm? and li?=Kurung Kumey.

Tshangla, Written Tibetan and Proto-Hruso. The resulting heat map shows that all the Kho-Bwa varieties share a higher percentage of core vocabulary with each other than with any of these other languages. The smallest differences are found between the Bugun varieties and Proto-Hruso and the Bugun varieties and the Sartang varieties, which is not entirely surprising given the fact that Hruso varieties like Miji and Hruso Aka are contact languages for Bugun and Sartang. In addition, sensitivity analysis showed that this result is robust and unlikely the result of mere chance.

The conclusions we draw from the paper (Lieberherr and Bodt 2017) are that the Kho-Bwa varieties most likely *do* form a coherent sub-group of the Sino-Tibetan languages, and that they are more closely related to each other than to any of the other languages and reconstructed proto-languages we included in our analysis. Our paper also showed that there are three clear sub-groups in Kho-Bwa: The Western Kho-Bwa varieties including Khispi, Duhumbi, the Sartang varieties and the Sherdukpen varieties; the Bugun varieties; and the highly diverse Puroik varieties. Our paper does not show that Bugun and Puroik group together in "Eastern" Kho-Bwa like the Western Kho-Bwa varieties do.

These broad conclusions are also the outset of this paper, and as this paper will show, the available data on negation provide additional evidence for the internal sub-grouping of the Kho-Bwa languages proposed in Lieberherr and Bodt (2017).

1.2   Data and Methodology

The majority of the data that I use in this paper are my own: Whenever no source is mentioned, the data are mine. I collected these data between 2012 and 2019 as part of my PhD and postdoctoral researches. The Duhumbi data have earlier been published in Bodt (2020). The Khispi and Sartang data are all my own. In the case of the latter, this is mainly because the only other available source (Dondrup 2004) does not differentiate between the four varieties of Sartang. The Sherdukpen data are my own, unless mentioned otherwise: I make use of Jacquesson's 2015 description of Rupa Sherdukpen whenever my own data are incomplete or inconclusive. For Bugun, I use my own limited data, with additional reference to Lander-Portnoy 2013, Dondrup 1990 and Barbora 2015. For Puroik, I rely on Lieberherr's 2017 description of Bulu Puroik. Sources for the comparative data from other languages are my own unless mentioned otherwise.

In general, I will provide examples of negation strategies for each of the Kho-Bwa varieties whenever these are available. In deciding on which negation strategies to focus, I broadly follow the various categories in Miestamo's typological work (Miestamo 2007, 2017). I then compare these strategies to each other, as well as to those of other Sino-Tibetan languages.

From a semantic perspective, negation can be defined as an operator that changes the truth value of a statement to its opposite (Miestamo 2017: 405). Different languages employ different negative constructions. In typological work on negation, focus has primarily been

on standard negation (section 2, 5 and 6), the negation of imperatives (section 3) and the negation of non-definite pronouns (not addressed in this paper due to insufficient data from the varieties under discussion). Less common in typological studies are negation in non-declarative sentences with copula (section 4) and negative adjectives (section 7). These two topics, as well as the specific cases of standard negation of noun-verb predicates and in serial verb constructions, were included in this paper because of the importance of these grammatical phenomena in the Kho-Bwa varieties.

2.   Standard Negation

With standard negation I refer to negation in declarative main clauses with verbal predicates (Miestemo 2005: 39–45). Payne (1985) identifies three types of negative markers: negative affixes, negative particles, and negative verbs. The Kho-Bwa languages are characterised by standard negation with negative affixes, and are hence canonical Sino-Tibetan languages with morphological rather than syntactic negation.

2.1   Standard Negation in Kho-Bwa
Standard negation in declarative main clauses takes place in the Kho-Bwa languages with a basic negative prefix. All the Western Kho-Bwa varieties and all the Puroik varieties have a negative prefix for verbal predicates derived from a reconstructed prefix ***ba-**. Because of the iambic rhythm of the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties, the vowel of the inherited prefix is commonly reduced to a schwa, with additional harmonisation between the vowel of the negative prefix and the vowel of the verb root it modifies. On basis of the available data, Bugun is the only exception among the Kho-Bwa languages, having a negative prefix a-.

Table 2   Kho-Bwa negative prefixes

(proto-)language	source	negation prefix
Proto-Western Kho-Bwa	Bodt 2019	***ba-**
Khispi		ba-
Duhumbi		ba-
Sartang		bə-
Sherdukpen		bə-
Proto-Puroik	Lieberherr 2015	***ba-**
Bugun		a-

The only anomaly can be found among some speakers of Rupa Sherdukpen, who have a

bilabial nasal onset of the negative prefix, rather than a bilabial plosive onset, as is shown in example (1). This observation was also reported by Jacquesson (2015: 120).

(1)
    a. tʰyk-gɔ-ɔ̃   hũ   bə-mɔ̃-ba
       village-LOC-GEN   salt   NEG-get-NOM

      'In the village (we) don't get salt.'

    b. tʰyk-gɔ-ɔ̃   hũ   mə-mɔ̃-ba
       village-LOC-GEN   salt   NEG-get-NOM

      'In the village (we) don't get salt.'

The reason for this variation is unknown, perhaps it is a Tibetan or Tshangla contact language influence among older, religiously educated speakers.

2.2   Morphology of Standard Negation

Negation in the Kho-Bwa languages is pre-verbal, as these positive and negative example sentences (2a) to (2o) show.

(2)
    a. Duhumbi: **ga**   **dɛn-deʔ**
                1SG   know-PRS

           'I know.'

    b.   **ga**   **ba-dɛn**
                 1SG   NEG-know

           'I don't know.'

    c. Khispi: **ga**   **dɛn-de**
                 1SG   know-PRS

           'I know.'

    d.   **ga**   **ba-dɛn**
                 1SG   NEG-know

           'I don't know.'

e. Khoina   gu   mã-pʰɔ̃
                 1SG   get-PRF

                 '(I) got.'

f.   gu   **bə**-mã̃
                 1SG   NEG-get

                 '(I) did not get.'

g. Khoitam: gu   dɛn
                 1SG   know

                 'I know.'

h.   gu   **bə**-dɛn
                 1SG   NEG.know

                 'I don't know.'

i. Rupa: dʑap-ma
                 be.good-IPFV

                 '(It) will be good.'

                 ba-dʑap-ma
                 NEG-be.good-IPFV

                 '(It) won't be good.'

j. Shergaon: dʑap-pa
                 be.good-NOM

                 '(It's) good.'

k.   **ba**-dʑap-pa
                 NEG-be.good-NOM

                 '(It's) not good.'

l. Puroik: dɛ̃
                 know

                 '(I) know' (Lieberherr 2017: 359)

m.   gu   **ba-**dɛ̃
                1SG   NEG-know

'I don't know' (Lieberherr 2017: 275)

n. Bugun   naŋ
                drink

'to drink' (Dondrup 1990: 19)

o.   **a-**naŋ
                NEG-drink

'(to) not drink'[2] (Dondrup 1990: 19)

In the Khoina, Khispi, Duhumbi and Khoitam examples, but also in comparative examples from other languages of the region in section 2.4, any additional tense or aspect marking in an affirmative declarative sentence, such as a present marker, an imperfective marker or a copula, is lost in the negated declarative sentence.

2.3   Asymmetric Negation

In Duhumbi the imperfective form of the verb does not have a negated form. Instead, the negated form of an imperfective clause in the past tense is the same as the negated form of the past perfective. This is an example of an asymmetric paradigm, where the paradigm in the affirmative has a distinction which is no longer shown in the negative. In asymmetric negation, we generally observe structural differences between affirmatives and negatives in addition to the presence of negative markers (Miestemo 2017: 407). The particular case of Duhumbi reflects the relationship between aspect and negation discussed in detail in Miestamo and van der Auwera (2011). The Duhumbi case also lends additional evidence against, among others, Schmid's (1980) claim that the perfective aspect would be excluded from negation and that the imperfective aspect would appear instead: In Duhumbi, the opposite holds.

An example from Duhumbi can be found in (3), where the affirmative answer b. to question a. uses the imperfective in -da IPFV, but the negative answer c. uses a negated past perfective marked by the nominaliser in -ba NOM. The imperfective is used here in the affirmative because it describes an event or action that occurred over a certain period of time, but was completed in the past; the action, and not the duration or the outcome, is emphasised. If the result or outcome of the event or action that began and ended at a par-

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[2] Note, that Dondrup (1990: 19) glosses this example as 'do not drink', i.e. a prohibitive, however, given the context of these examples '*a* is prefixed to the verb to indicate negation', I presume he refers to standard negation here, i.e. the negated form of 'to drink', 'to not drink'.

ticular time in the past is of importance to the speaker at the moment of speaking or if that result or outcome is otherwise emphasised, then the past perfective in -ba NOM would have to be used.

(3)

  a. naŋ   dejju   brukpa   filem   doj-da   kʰip-**ba**=ɲi
     2SG   yesterday   Bhutanese   movie   look-IPFV   cry-**NOM**=Q

    'Did you cry watching the Bhutanese movie yesterday?'

  b. oŋ   kʰip-**da**
     Yes   cry-**IPFV**

    'Yes, (I) cried.'

  c. boju   **ba**-kʰip-**ba**   {†**ba**-kʰip-**da**}
     NEG.COP.EQ   **NEG**-cry-**NOM**   {†**NEG**-cry-**IPFV**}

    'No, (I) did not cry.'

Unfortunately, I do not have comparative data on a similar phenomenon for the other Kho-Bwa languages. Future research may reveal that asymmetric negation is more common in the Kho-Bwa languages.

2.4 Comparing Standard Negation

The bilabial plosive onset for the standard negation marker is a unique phonological innovation of the Kho-Bwa languages. From West to East, all the Sino-Tibetan languages have a bilabial nasal onset for the negative prefix, as is illustrated by the selected examples in Table 3.

Table 3   Selected negative markers in Sino-Tibetan languages

language	source	negation affix
Kho-Bwa		
Proto-Western Kho-Bwa	Bodt 2019	***ba-**
Proto-Puroik	Lieberherr 2015	***ba-**
(Bugun		a-)
Other ST		
Bunan	Widmer 2014	ma-
Kham	Watters 2004	ma-

Limbu	van Driem 1987	mɛ-
Lepcha	Plaisier 2007	ma- (PROH)
Tibetan		ma- (PROH/PST)
Dhimal	King 2009	ma-
Galo	Post 2007	-máa
Mongsen Ao	Coupe 2007	mə̀-
Kyom-kyo rGyalrong	Prins 2016	ma-
Qiang	LaPolla and Huang 2003	mə-
Chinese	Baxter and Sagart 2014	無 *mju* < *ma 'not have'

Unlike the phonological form of the standard negation marker, the Kho-Bwa preverbal negation is common among Sino-Tibetan languages. It is also found in basically all the neighbouring languages, as the examples from Miji, Tshangla and Tawang Monpa in (4) show. Notice, again, how all these languages have a negative prefix with a bilabial nasal and also, how the negated declarative sentences commonly lose the tense and aspect markers that are present in the affirmative sentences.

(4)
    a. Miji: ɲaŋ ɲi-ne
                  1SG know-?

                  'I know.' (Simon 1979: 13)

    b.   ɲaŋ   **ma**-ɲi
                  1SG   NEG-know

                  'I don't know.' (Simon 1979: 13)

    c. Tshangla: dʑaŋ se-n-tɕa
                  1SG   know-SE-COP

                  'I know.'

    d.   dʑaŋ **ma**-se-la
                  1SG   NEG-know-COP

                  'I don't know.'

e. Tawang Monpa: ŋeː   kan.dur
                  1SG   know.PRS

                  'I know.'

f.   ŋeː   **ma**-kan
                  1SG   NEG-know

                  'I don't know.'

To my current knowledge, there are only three exceptions to the Sino-Tibetan negative prefix with a bilabial onset, and all three are found in postverbal, rather than preverbal position. The first one seems to concentrate among the languages spoken in the plains of the Brahmaputra, such as Karbi and the Boro-Garo languages such as Rabha and Atong, as is illustrated in Table 4. The negation postfix in these languages is rather consistent and may therefore represent an old retention or independent innovation.

Table 4   Negation postfixes in selected languages of the Brahmaputra valley

language	source	negation postfix
Karbi	Konnerth 2014	**-Cē**
Rabha	Joseph 2007	**-ca**
Atong	Breugel 2014	**-ca**
Proto-Bodo-Garo	Joseph and Burling 2006	***-ya^0**

Another exception is evidenced by a rather motley and geographically diverse group of languages that have a different postfix that may be cognate. Some languages that show this marker are presented in Table 5.

Table 5   Negation postfixes in selected languages

language	source	negation postfix
Milang	Modi 2017	**-ŋə**
Lepcha	Plaisier 2007	ma-V-**ne**
Limbu	van Driem 1993	**-nɛn**
Liangmai	Widinibou 2017	mak-V-**ngei**

Notice, how Lepcha and Liangmai combine this postfix with a negative prefix that seems to derive from the inherited Sino-Tibetan prefix ***ma-**. This type of what is sometimes referred to as 'double negation', with the simultaneous presence of two markers of nega-

tion, is not uncommon, and is also found in, for example, French *je **ne** sais **pas*** 'I don't know' (Dryer 2013 [2005]). In the languages of Table 5, the dental or velar nasal suffix may originally have functioned as an emphatical element, with the original inherited negative marker with nasal prefix preserved in Lepcha and Liangmai but lost in Milang and Limbu. This is known as the Jespersen Cycle and was originally reported from Germanic languages (Jespersen 1917).

Finally, there is another group of exceptions where we find postverbal rather than preverbal negation, but with a negation postfix with a bilabial nasal. These are the Tani, some Kuki-Chin and the Angami-Pochuri languages spoken to the East and Southeast of Kho-Bwa, which all have postverbal negation, as the examples (5a) and (5b) from Galo and Poumai Naga show.

(5)

   a. Galo   ɲíi   kəbə̀   káa-**máa**
                   person   other   have/exist-**NEG**

       'There wasn't anyone else.' (Post 2007)

   b. Poumai Naga   **mai**   **bo**   təu=ly=**mò**-kini
                      people   rice.storage   eat=SEQ=**NEG**-while

       'While the people (the owner) do not eat...' (Veikho 2019)

Post (2007: 570) indicates that this Galo postverbal negator -máa derives from a Proto-Tani postverbal marker ***maŋ***, which is also confirmed by Sun's reconstruction (Sun 1993: 270). A similar negative postfix can be found in the Kuki-Chin language Purum -mong (Meitei 2017).

In this respect, it is curious to note that the Kho-Bwa language Duhumbi has a postverbal marker -baŋ which denotes a negative present. The present marker in -deʔ PRS and its negated form in -baŋ NEG.PRS describe a present action over which the agent has no control, or a habit or custom over which the speaker has no control. Examples of the affirmative and negated present are provided in (6).

(6)

   a. woj   tsʰematsʰe   ça   tɕha-deʔ
       3SG   always   meat   eat-PRS

       '(S)he always eats meat.'

b. woj   adaŋ=raŋ   ça   tɕʰa-**baŋ**
   3SG   when=EMPH   meat   eat-**NEG.PRS**

'(S)he never eats meat.'

Cognates of this marker have not yet been identified from the other Kho-Bwa languages, but as we will see later on, it may derive from the negative Duhumbi copular verb baŋ- 'to be not'. Because the change from bilabial nasal to bilabial plosive is presumed old, Duhumbi may have retained this old negation postfix in this specific context, whereas it was lost in other Kho-Bwa varieties.

The correspondence between the reconstructed Proto-Western Kho-Bwa and Proto-Puroik initial bilabial plosive and the other Sino-Tibetan initial bilabial nasal is regular, as the examples in Table 6 show: There are at least four additional concepts in which the reconstructed Proto-Western Kho-Bwa and Proto-Puroik onset contains a bilabial plosive, whereas other attested or reconstructed Sino-Tibetan languages have a bilabial nasal: 'fire', 'dream', 'name', and 'person' or 'other person'. Characteristically, the Bugun forms for 'fire', 'dream', 'name' and 'human' also evidence this sound correspondence, despite not having it in the negative prefix.

Table 6   Sound correspondence Sino-Tibetan ***m-**, Kho-Bwa ***b-**[3]

concept	PWKB	PP	Bugun	OTib	Tsh	Bur	PT	PCN	Chi
fire	baj	bai	boːɛ	mye	mi	mīḫ	mə	may	燬 < *m̥ajʔ
dream	ban	baŋ	ə.bɔŋ.bɔŋ	Ø	mɔŋ.çi	mak	jup-maŋ	maŋ	夢 < *C.məŋ-s
name	a.bʲeŋ	a.bjɛn	ə.bɛŋ	myiṅ	miŋ	maññ < *meṅ	muɯn	miŋ	名 < *C.meŋ
other person	bʲi	bii[4]	bi.jou[5]	myi[6]	mi[7]	Ø	mi:	mii	Ø

Curiously, however, we find a preverbal negation marker **ba-** and an emphatic form **baŋ-** in the Austroasiatic language Santali, as the examples in (7) show. We will see examples of negation with baŋ- in Duhumbi in section 4.

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[3] OTib and Bur from Hill (2019), PCN from Bruhn (2014), PT from Sun (1993), Chi from Baxter and Sagart (2014).

[4] 'human'.

[5] 'human'.

[6] 'person'.

[7] 'person'.

(7)
    a. Santali: **ba**-ko   baḍae-a
                     NEG-3pS   know-IND

         'They don't know.' (Neukom 2001: 149)

    b.   **baŋ**-ko   baḍae-a
                     NEG-3pS   know-IND

         'They certainly don't know.' (Neukom 2001: 149)

3. The Prohibitive

In a typological study on prohibitives (second person singular negative imperatives), van der Auwera and Lejeune ([2005] 2013) and van der Auwera (2006, 2010) found that there is a strong tendency for prohibitives to show negative marking different from declaratives. Indeed, most of the Western Kho-Bwa languages have a dedicated negative imperative or prohibitive prefix derived from Proto-Western Kho-Bwa ***tʰa-**, as is evidenced by the forms for PROH.do 'don't do!' in Table 7. Like the negative prefix, in the Sherdukpen varieties, the vowel of the prohibitive prefix tends to harmonise with the vowel of the verb root it modifies: Whereas də-raˀ is realised as [daˀ-raˀ], də-ziŋ PROH.sleep 'don't sleep' would be realised as [di-ziŋ].

Table 7   Western Kho-Bwa prohibitives

variety	prohibitive marker	example
PWKB	***tʰa-**	
Khispi	tʰa-	tʰa-le
Duhumbi	tʰa-	tʰa-li
Jerigaon	tʰə-	tʰ-rɛˀ
Khoitam	tʰə-	tʰ-rɛˀ
Rahung	tʰə-	tʰ-rɛˀ
Rupa	də-	də-raˀ
Shergaon	də-	də-raˀ

The Sartang variety Khoina and Puroik, however, do not have a dedicated negative imperative, as is illustrated in example sentences (8a) to (8f), and the situation in Bugun has not yet been described.

(8)
    a. Puroik: amjɛɛ rɨɨ-jan-bo
                good stay-PRMN-IMP

                'Stay well!'

    b.   ʥi = buu² = ku²   **ba**-njaʔ-bo
                ANA=dog=OBJ   NEG-make.noise-IMP

                'To the dog [he said]: Don't make noise!' (Lieberherr 2017: 236)

    c. Khoina: raʔ-mɔʔ
                do-IMP

                'Do (it)!'

    d.   **b**-raʔ-wa-dɛ
                NEG-do-?-COP

                'Don't do (it)!'

    e.   tsʰuʔ-mɔʔ
                eat-IMP

                'Eat (it)!'

    f.   **bə**-tsʰuʔ-wa
                NEG-eat-?

                'Don't eat (it)!'

The Western Kho-Bwa negative imperative prefix has cognates in several Sino-Tibetan languages, indicating it is an inherited prefix.

Table 8   Sino-Tibetan prohibitives

(proto-) language	prohibitive	source
Proto-Bodo-Garo	***taⁿ-**	Joseph and Burling 2006
Bunan	tʰa-	Widmer 2014
Kham	ta-	Watters 2004
Atong	ta	van Breugel 2014
Mongsen Ao	tə̀-	Coupe 2007
Qiang	tɕV-	LaPolla and Huang 2003

Unlike the prohibitive, Duhumbi (and Khispi) negates all the other moods, such as the adhortative and the jussive, with reflexes of the standard negation marker **ba-**, as is shown in the Duhumbi adhortative in (9).[8] The situation in other Kho-Bwa languages has not been described in detail yet.

(9)
   a. Duhumbi: ça   tur-ɲu
                 meat   chase-ADH

            'Let's hunt!'

   b.   ça   **ba**-tur-ɲu!
                 meat   **NEG**-chase-ADH

            'Let's not hunt!'

4.   Negative Copula and Copular Verbs

Eriksen (2011: 277) found that that many languages use a strategy different from standard negation for the negation of non-verbal predicates, for which he posits the Direct Negation Avoidance (DNA) principle: '[a]ll non-standard negation of non-verbal predicates is a means to negate such predicates indirectly'. To some extent, we observe this strategy in the Kho-Bwa languages as well: there are several unique negative copulas that do not derive from a negated form of an affirmative copula. In other cases, however, the negated form of a copula is formed through negation of the affirmative form of a copula or a copular verb. However, we can observe significant variation between the various Kho-Bwa varieties. Because most Kho-Bwa varieties are still data-deficient, this section will succinctly present the negative copula in some of the Kho-Bwa varieties, before paying closer attention to the specific situation in Duhumbi. Table 9 presents the equational and existential copula in the Kho-Bwa varieties. The only missing forms are the Jerigaon negated existential and the Bugun negated equational copulas.

Table 9 Affirmative and negative equational and existential copula in Kho-Bwa languages

variety	affirmative	gloss	negative	gloss
Duhumbi	be^{ʔ}	COP.EXIS	baŋ	NEG.COP.EXIS
	gitɕha	COP.EQ	boju	NEG.COP.EQ

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[8] It may be useful to note that with regard to interrogative sentences, another frequently encountered non-declarative sentence type, the Kho-Bwa languages construct negative interrogative sentences in the same way as declarative sentences, i.e. with the standard negation marker ba- (Bugun a-).

Khispi	be	COP.EXIS	baŋ	NEG.COP.EXIS
	gitɕha	COP.EQ	boju	NEG.COP.EQ
Khoina	bɛʔ	COP.EXIS	baʔaʔ	NEG.COP.EXIS
			byʔy	NEG.COP.EQ
Jerigaon	bɛʔ	COP.EXIS	?	
			byʔy	NEG.COP.EQ
Khoitam	bɛʔ	COP.EXIS	bɔʔɔʔ	NEG.COP.EXIS
			byʔy	NEG.COP.EQ
Rahung	bɛʔ	COP.EXIS	bɔʔɔʔ	NEG.COP.EXIS
			byʔy	NEG.COP.EQ
Rupa	baʔ	COP.EXIS	bɔʔɔʔ	NEG.COP.EXIS
			beʔe	NEG.COP.EQ
Shergaon	baʔ	COP.EXIS	bɔʔɔʔ	NEG.COP.EXIS
			biʔi	NEG.COP.EQ
Puroik	baʔ	COP.EXIS	wɛɛ	NEG.COP.EXIS
	ʒuu	COP.EQ	bɔɔ ~ ba-bɔɔ	NEG.COP.EQ
Bugun	um	COP.EXIS	oi	NEG.COP.EXIS
			?	

The Khispi, Duhumbi, Sartang and Sherdukpen negative equational copula is thought to drive from a Proto-Western Kho-Bwa form **ba-ju**. This form combines the standard negation marker **ba-** with a no longer existent affirmative equational copula **ju**, which may, however, be reflected in Bulu Puroik equational copula ʒuu. The Sartang and Sherdukpen negative existential copula and the Bulu Puroik negative equational copula are also cognate, likely derived from a Proto-Kho-Bwa form **ba-aʔ**. The Khispi and Duhumbi negative existential copula baŋ may also be cognate with this form, although the phonological process resulting in this form is not regularly attested.

In Khispi and Duhumbi, we find both an equational and an existential copula, with both having their respective negated forms, as the examples from Duhumbi in (10a) to (10d) show. However, the situation is different in the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties. In these varieties, an equational phrase simply juxtaposes the predicate to the subject, without any verb or copula, as is shown from the Rupa Sherdukpen example in (10e). Whereas this is also attested in Duhumbi and Khispi (see Bodt 2020: 329–330), these two varieties more commonly use one of the copulas or copular verbs of sections 4.1 and 4.2. A negated equational phrase, however, needs a negative equational copula even in the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties, as the example from Rupa Sherdukpen in (10f) shows. Like in Khispi

and Duhumbi, in the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties, there is a dedicated existential copula, with a negated variant, as the Rupa examples in (10g) and (10h) show.

(10)

  a. Duhumbi: ŋa   beˀ
                  fish   COP.EXIS

                  'There is fish.'

  b.   ŋa   **baŋ**
                  fish   NEG.COP.EXIS

                  'There is no fish.'

  c.   ga   duhutma   gitɕʰa
                  1SG   woman   COP.EQ

                  'I am a woman.'

  d.   ga   awu   **boju**
                  1SG   elder.sister   NEG.COP.EQ

                  'I am not the elder sister.'

  e. Rupa: ɲuˀ   baˀ
                  fish   COP.EXIS

                  'There is fish.' (Jacquesson 2015: 85)

  f.   ɲuˀ   **bɔˀɔ**
                  fish   NEG.COP.EXIS

                  'There is no fish.' (Jacquesson 2015: 85)

  g.   gu   gi   amu   snu
                  1SG   TOP   woman   lucky

                  'I am a lucky woman.' (Jacquesson 2015: 84)

  h.   gu   gi   anukhao   **be-e**
                  1SG   TOP   elder.sister   NEG.COP.EXIS

                  'I am not the elder sister.' (Jacquesson 2015: 83)

Like in Duhumbi, the use of the Rupa copula seems to be have an evidential and episte-mological basis, which considers the source and nature of the evidence there is for a state-ment, rather than simply a distinction between equational and existential functions of the copula. Also, the Rupa existential copula baˀ and its negated form bɔ-ɔˀ seem to be more like copular verbs rather than like copula in the true sense of the word, because like the Duhumbi copular verbs ʥu- and baŋ-, the Rupa copula baˀ and bɔ-ɔˀ, in a contracted form bɔˀ, participate to some extent in inflection like other verbs.

As far as described, the situation in Bugun mirrors the situation in the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties: There is no affirmative equational copula but simple juxtaposition of noun and predicate, as in (11a). Bugun also has an existential copula (11b) and a negative existential copula (11c). The negative equational copula of Bugun, presuming it exists, has not yet been described.

(11)

   a. Bugun: oi   buphua   bajo   weeya
               3SG   boy   very   good

       'He is a very good boy' (Barbora 2015: 86)

   b.   sruwa   um
               salt   COP.EXIS

       'There is salt.' (Dondrup 1990: 34)

   c.   sruwa   **oi**
               salt   NEG.COP.EXIS

       'There is no salt.' (Dondrup 1990: 33)

Like Khispi and Duhumbi, Bulu Puroik (Lieberherr 2017: 158) makes a distinction between an affirmative and a negative equational and an affirmative and a negative existen-tial copula, as is shown in examples (12a) to (12d).

(12)

   a. Bulu Puroik: guu   pʰɛNbu   ʒuu=ro
                    1SG   Phembu   COP=EMPH

         'I am Phembu.' (Lieberherr 2017: 191)

b.   guu   pʰɛNbu   **babɔɔ**
            1SG   Phembu   COP.NEG

'I am not Phembu.' (Lieberherr 2017: 191)

c.   priNdəə   diʃidɨlu=ku   baʔ-bjao-na
            Puroik   Bulu=LOC   COP.EXIS-COP.FOC-NPST

'Only in Bulu there are Puroiks.' (Lieberherr 2017: 344)

d.   la   **wɛɛ**
            CONJ   NEG.COP.EXIS

'But (he) is not there.' (Lieberherr 2017: 197)

In addition to the negative copula bɔɔ, the form ba-bɔɔ of the Bulu Puroik negative copula is what Lieberherr calls 'hypercharacterised': It is the negative copula bɔɔ preceded by the negative prefix ba-, but his data seem to indicate that ba-bɔɔ is more commonly used than simply bɔɔ. The existential copula in Puroik has a curious feature, namely that the copula wɛɛ functions as affirmative 'there is' in the Eastern Puroik varieties, but as negative existential copula 'there is not' in the Western Puroik varieties. For a more detailed overview of the Bulu Puroik copula, I refer to Lieberherr's 2017 work.

4.1   Duhumbi Affirmative Copula

The Duhumbi copula presented in Table 9 are an oversimplification of the actual situation in the language. Duhumbi has four affirmative copulas, beʔ, gitɕʰa, ɕi and le and one affirmative copular verb, dʑu-. The use of these copula is determined by factors of epistemological, evidential, emphatic, and assertive nature, rather than on basis of which relation they express in the non-verbal clause.

The copula beʔ is used to describe simple facts that are observable or otherwise objectively verifiable and expresses relations of existence, attribution, equation, possession. In this, the existential relation seems to be the most important and original function of the copula. The copula le expresses new, recently acquired and currently relevant information and is found expressing inclusion, existence, equation and possession. The equational relation seems to be the most original function of the copula. The copula gitɕʰa expresses an inherent, inalienable identity and is often used in a kind of emphatic sense in relations expressing inclusion or possession. This copula in its form and function appears to be a loan from Tshangla. The copula ɕi asserts and confirms the truth of statement and is mainly used in relations expressing equation, attribution and possession.

Finally, Duhumbi has the copular verb dʑu-. This copular verb is used in copular sentences that express accumulated, prior or general knowledge and is found in relations

expressing existence, equation, attribution and possession. Like other verbs, this copular verb can be modified by markers of tense, aspect, mood as well as evidentiality and information structuring markers. The copular verb ʥu- is likely derived from the verb ʥu {da} 'to sit, to stay, to live, to reside'.

4.2 Duhumbi Negative Copula

Duhumbi has two negative copular verbs and one derived negative copula. In (6b), we have seen the root of the copular verb baŋ- as the marker for the negative present. The copular verb baŋ- is the most commonly attested negative copula, negating the affirmative copula and the affirmative copular verb in their existential, attributive and possessive sense. On the other hand, the copular verb boju- can be used in a negative equational sense, to express a lack of identity or inclusion, and to express a lack of possession, in which the negative equational sense is the most common.

The verbal origin of the copular verbs baŋ- and boju- can be concluded from the fact that they can both be modified by the Duhumbi nominaliser. Because the nominaliser is used to express the past perfective, the copular verbs baŋ- and boju- can also occur in sentences referring to a past tense. The negative copular verb boju- has only been attested modified by the nominaliser, whereas the negative copular verb baŋ- has also been attested with other tense/aspect markers, such as the preterite in -ɲi, the non-past perfective in -baʔ and the non-past potential in -ʥu-tʰeʔ. This seems to indicate that boju- actually is a true negative copula that has expanded into the verbal domain, whereas baŋ- is originally a verb that has expanded into the copular domain.

The copula balaŋ is rarely attested and refers to something or someone that was there but no longer is. The copula is the copular verb baŋ in the perfect with -loŋ.

The negative copular verbs baŋ- and boju- have a limited conjugational flexibility. This is also characteristic of the affirmative copular verb ʥu-. The copular verbs do not, for example, occur modified by markers that are used in present tense situations, such as the imperfective in -da or the present in -deʔ. This is rather intuitive, because in present tense situations, the copula themselves will fulfil all the functions. In future contexts, the copular verbs baŋ- and boju- are often replaced by forms of the verb lon 'to come', in a sense of 'to become in the future and then to be'.

What this short introduction into the Duhumbi affirmative and negative copula and copular verbs may illustrate, is that the actual situation of copula in Kho-Bwa languages may be more complex than the situation described in Table 9. Lieberherr's work on Bulu Puroik (2015: 188–197) also gives indications of this complexity. The description that hitherto exists for Rupa Sherdukpen (Jacquesson 2015) either indicates the situation in this language is much simpler, or that the description itself is incomplete. None of the earlier sources on Bugun or the Sartang varieties pays any attention to copula, and the examples it contains are incomplete, unclear, or otherwise not useful for typological comparison.

5.   Negation of Noun-Verb Predicates

Complex predicates of a noun and a verb are common in the Kho-Bwa languages. All the Kho-Bwa languages of which descriptions exist have the same way of negating noun-verb predicates, namely by negating the verbal part of the predicate. In (13), we find three examples.

The Duhumbi example (13a) shows that the negation prefix precedes the verbal predicate chat, and not the nominal part kʰotʰoŋ of the noun-verb predicate kʰotʰoŋ tɕʰat 'to mind something'. Although the noun kʰotʰoŋ means 'hat, cap or headgear' and tɕʰat means 'to be tired; to be absent; or to be severed', this is not a native Duhumbi noun-verb predicate. Instead, it is of borrowed origin and derives from Tshangla kʰodaŋ tɕʰat 'to mind something' which ultimately goes back to the Tibetan khothag cod 'to make up one's mind'. Whereas the affirmative form of the noun-verb predicate can be glossed as a single form 'to mind', when negated and split by a negation marker, it has to be glossed in a more innovative way, as is shown here. In the Rupa example (13b), the negation of the noun-verb predicate ha kʰũ 'to be hungry' is placed before the verbal element kʰũ of the predicate, and not before the nominal part ha. Finally, the Puroik example in (13c) also shows how in negation of the noun-verb predicate hiN tʃɛʔ 'to be hungry' the negation marker precedes the verbal part and not the nominal part or the entire predicate.

(13)

    a. Duhumbi: kʰotʰoŋ   **ba**-tɕʰat,   adi   le=ɲi
                     mind   **NEG**-be.severed   how   COP=Q

        '(We) won't mind, how was it?'

    b. Rupa: ha   **bu**-khũ-ziŋ-baõ,   blat   tɕʰan-doʔ-m
                     food   **NEG**-be.hungry-ANT-PFP   work   finish-NGP-FUT

        'While I am (still) not hungry, I will finish working.' (Jacquesson 2015: 104)

    c. Puroik: guu   hiN   **ba**-tʃɛʔ
                    1SG   ?   **NEG**-be.hungry

        'I am not hungry.' (Lieberherr 2015: 142)

This strategy of negation of noun-verb predicates is more common in Sino-Tibetan languages, as the comparative example in (14) from Bhutan Tshangla shows.

(14)

Bhutan Tshangla:	ai-bak	kʰodaŋ	**ma**-tɕʰat.pa,	haŋten	tɕʰo-wa	ja?
	1PL.PL	mind	**NEG**-be.severed.NOM,	how	stay-PST	Q

‘We don't mind, how was it?’

6. Negation of Serial Verb Constructions

Like noun-verb predicates, serial verb constructions form an important and integral part of the grammar of all Kho-Bwa languages. They most commonly alter the lexical aspect of a verb, such as the deontic or epistemic modality, the aspect, the voice, or the telicity.

Despite the fact that they occur in all the Kho-Bwa languages, there is a clear split in the way that serial verb constructions are negated between Duhumbi on the one hand, and the other Kho-Bwa languages on the other. Whereas in Sartang, Puroik and Sherdukpen the negative prefix precedes the entire predicate and is prefixed on the first verb of the serial verb construction, in Duhumbi the negative infix precedes the last verb in the predicate, as the examples (15a) to (15d) show.

(15)

a. Puroik:

grii	kuN	**ba**-vuu-muɛN
1PL	up	**NEG**-go.from.base-can

‘We can't go up.’ (Lieberherr 2017: 142)

b. Rupa:

wa	**bo**-ong-nyu-re
3SG	**NEG**-go-want-ITT

‘He does not want to go.’ (Jacquesson 2015: 101)

c. Khoitam:

gɔ	ʥɔŋ	**bə**-tɕʰi-ma-dɛ
1SG.ERG	fine	**NEG**.give-finish-PRS

‘I have not finished paying the fine.’

d. Duhumbi:

gar	lej-ta	wa-**ba**-tʰup
1PL	up-ALL	move-**NEG**-can

‘We can't go up.’

Duhumbi seems to show Bodish contact influence in the negation of serial verb constructions, as the comparative examples from Bhutan Tshangla (16b) and Dzongkha (16c) show. Although Dzongkha was not a contact language for Duhumbi, Duhumbi was influ-

enced by other Central Tibetan varieties that have similar constructions, such as Üke and Brokpa.

(16)

a. Duhumbi: war   lerim = gi   tɕʰot-**ba**-tʰup-ba
            3PL   plan=TOP   make-**NEG**-can-NOM

'They were unable to make that plan.'

b. Bhutan Tshangla: rokte-bak   lerim   tɕot-**ma**-re-ba-la
                     3PL-PL   plan   make-**NEG**-can-NOM-COP

'They were unable to make the plan.'

c. Dzongkha: འཆར་གཞི་དེ་   བཟོ་མ་ཚུགས་པས།
             charzhi-d'i   zo-**ma**-tshu-bä
             plan-this   make-**NEG**-can-[AK]

'[They] were unable to make the plan.' (van Driem 1993: 243)

7. Negative Adjectives

Finally, adjectives in the Kho-Bwa languages can be divided in inherited native adjectives, derived native adjectives, and borrowed adjectives. I will only focus on the native adjectives here because the language contact situation for the various Kho-Bwa languages is too diverse and complicated to focus on all the borrowed forms as well.

7.1 Inherited Negative Adjectives

In the Kho-Bwa languages, inherited native adjectives are marked by an adjective prefix. This adjective prefix is o- or u- in Duhumbi and Khispi, with vowel harmony determining the exact prefix; the schwa ə- in Bugun; and a- (occasionally ə- or u-) in the other Western Kho-Bwa languages and Puroik.

Some inherited native adjectives that express an attribute have unique antonyms that do not rely on negation. Examples are the pairs 'good' and 'bad', 'heavy' and 'light' and 'old' and 'new' presented in Table 10. The only marked exception here is Bugun, which in some adjectives, such as the example of 'bad', has the negative prefix a- that replaces the adjective prefix ə-.

Table 10   Adjectives and their negated forms

variety	good	bad[9]	light	heavy	new	old
Duhumbi	o-ʥop	u-ʐan	(jaŋ-pu)[10]	u-li	ɔ-kʰɔn	ɔ-mɛn
Khispi	(nak-pa)[11]	u-ʐan	(jaŋ-kan-ma)	u-li	ɔ-han	ɔ-mɛn
Khoina	a-ʤʑɑʔ	a-ʐɑ̃-dy ~ a-nu	a-ruŋ-du	a-li	a-fɛn	a-mɛn
Jerigaon	a-ʤʑɛʔ	a-nu	a-ruŋ-du	a-li	ə-hɛn	a-mɛn
Khoitam	a-ʥap	a-zɔ̃ ~ a-nu	a-ruŋ-du	a-li	a-fan	a-man
Rahung	a-ʤap	a-zɔ̃ ~ a-nu	a-ruŋ-du	a-li	a-hɛn	a-mɛn
Rupa	a-ʥap	a-zɔ̃ ~ a-ɲu	a-ruŋ-du	a-li	a-fan	a-man
Shergaon	a-ʤap	(bə-ʤap-paʔ¹²~) a-ɲu	a-ruŋ-du	a-li	u-fan	a-man
Dikhyang Bugun	ə-viə	*a*-viə	ə-tʰow	ə-lai	ə-vɔ̃	ə-hɛk
Bulu Puroik	a-mjɛɛ	a-lao	a-tɔɔ	a-liɨ	a-fɛN	a-mɛn

Other inherited native adjectives, that do not have exact antonyms, can only be negated in a negated copular sentence with the positive attribute. This is, for example, the case with colour terms. The colour terms 'black' and 'white' all have distinctive forms in the Kho-Bwa languages, as is shown in Table 11.

Table 11   Example of adjectives without antonym

variety	black	white
Duhumbi	u-tɕʰam	jaŋ-kar[13]
Khispi	u-tɕʰam	jaŋ-kal
Khoina	a-tɕʰũ	a-zɑ̃
Jerigaon	a-tɕʰɔ̃	a-zã
Khoitam	a-tɕʰũ	a-zɔ̃
Rahung	a-tɕʰũ	a-zɔ̃
Rupa	a-tɕʰũ	a-zɔ̃
Shergaon	a-tɕʰɔ̃	a-zɔ̃
Dikhyang Bugun	ə-sai	ə-mau
Bulu Puroik	a-hʲɛN	a-rjuN

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[9] There are clearly two roots for 'bad' in the Western Kho-Bwa varieties, one deriving from Proto-Western Kho-Bwa ***a-nʲu** 'bad (not good)' and the other from Proto-Western Kho-Bwa ***a-zʲʷan** 'poor, weak'.

[10] This, and the Khispi form, are Tshangla loans.

[11] This is a Tawang Monpa loan.

[12] This is the negated form of 'good', with a nominalising suffix -paʔ and the negative prefix ba- replacing the adjective prefix a-.

[13] This, and the Khispi form, are Bodish loans.

But although 'heavy' is the antonym of 'light', 'black' is not the antonym, or a negated form of 'white'. Hence, to say that the attribute of a house is 'not black', or 'not blue', requires a negative copula, as the examples from Duhumbi, Rupa and Bulu Puroik in (17a) to (17f) show.

(17)
   a. Duhumbi: wam   utɕʰam   beʔ
                   house   black   COP.EX

                   'The house is black.'

   b.   wam   utɕʰam   **baŋ**
                   house   black   NEG.COP.EXIS

                   'The house is not black.'

   c. Rupa: gu   yam   gi   oho   Ø
                   1SG   house   TOP   blue   Ø

                   'My house is blue.' (Jacquesson 2015: 84)

   d.   gu   yam   gi   oho   **beʔe**
                   1SG   house   TOP   blue   NEG.COP.EXIS

                   'My house is not blue.' (Jacquesson 2015: 84)

   e. Bulu Puroik: hɨN   ham   a.hʲɛN   baʔ
                   near   house   black   COP.EXIS

                   'This house is black.' (cf. Lieberherr 2017: 194)

   f.   hɨN   ham   a.hʲɛN   **bɔɔ**
                   near   house   black   NEG.COP.EQ

                   'This house is not black.' (cf. Lieberherr 2017: 194)

7.2 Derived Negative Adjectives

In most Kho-Bwa languages, adjectives that describe an attribute can be derived from intransitive verbs that have a property concept, such as 'to be warm', 'to be big', or 'to be broken'. In the Western Kho-Bwa languages derivation of adjectives from verbs most commonly takes place through nominalisation. The nominaliser is -ba or -pa, as the examples of Duhumbi, Khoitam, Shergaon, Rupa and Rahung show. These nominalised verbs func-

tioning as adjectives can then be negated with the standard negation marker ba-. But as the example of Khoitam shows, there is a second strategy in which a positive adjective becomes a negative adjective in a copular clause with a negative copula. Khoitam here mirrors the situation in Bulu Puroik, where, according to Lieberherr (2017: 104), derived adjectives, unlike inherited adjectives, can either be negated with the negative prefix ba- or with a negative copular predicate.

Table 12 Adjective derivation from verbs

variety	verb root	positive adjective	negative adjective	gloss
Duhumbi	gɛt 'break'	gɛt-ba 'broken'	**ba**-gɛt-ba 'unbroken'	NEG-break-NOM
Khoitam	juŋ 'be ripe'	juŋ-ba ~ a-juŋ 'ripe'	**ba**-juŋ-ba ~ a-juŋ **bɔ.ɔ**ˀ 'unripe'	NEG-ripe-NOM ~ ripe NEG.COP.EXIS
Rahung	dʑɛt 'break'	dʑɛʔ-ba 'broken'	**bə**-dʑɛʔ-ba 'unbroken'	NEG-break-NOM
Rupa	gat 'break'	gat-pa 'broken'	**ba**-gat-pa 'unbroken'	NEG-break-NOM
Shergaon	dʑap 'be good'	a-dʑap 'good'	**ba**-dʑap-pa 'bad'	NEG-good-NOM
Puroik	min 'ripen'	a-min 'ripe'	**ba**-min ~ a.min **ba.bɔɔ** 'unripe'	NEG-ripe ~ ripe NEG. COP.EQ
Tshangla	pʰɔt	pʰɔt-pa	pʰɔt-pa **ma**-la	broken-NOM NEG. COP (†ma-pʰɔt-pa)

Notably, as the last row in Table 12 shows, Tshangla follows the Puroik pattern of negating derived adjectives with a negative copula, and not with the negative prefix. In Tshangla, maphotpa would mean 'won't break', not 'unbroken', whereas maphotpa la would mean 'it did not break', not 'unbroken'.

Neither own data nor the available secondary sources (Dondrup 1990, Lander-Portnoy 2013, Barbora 2015) has any detailed description of adjective formation in Bugun. Dondrup (1990: 77–83) is the most extensive list of Bugun adjectives. A quick comparison shows no analogies with the Western Kho-Bwa and Puroik strategies of the formation of derived negative objectives. All Bugun adjectives are either unique lexical forms (phiyang 'long, tall', dun 'short'; niyap 'smooth', sũwa 'rough'; gong 'strong, hard; bright, clear', zĩya 'weak'), or their antonym formed in the manner as described in 7.1 (wie 'good, kind', a-wie 'bad, vile, worst'; khie 'beautiful', a-khia 'ugly'; gun-chit 'useful', gun-a-chit 'useless'), or simply the verb root (ru-um 'fear', rum 'afraid'; i 'die', i 'dead'; bing 'close v.', bing 'closed (adj.)'; shong 'be stale, rotten', shong 'wet, muddy' but e-shong 'rotten').

8.   Concluding Remarks

All the Kho-Bwa varieties except Bugun have pre-verbal negation with a negative prefix that drives from Proto-Kho-Bwa ***ba-**, which displays a uniquely Kho-Bwa phonological innovation compared to the other Sino-Tibetan languages that have a negative marker with a bilabial nasal ma- or related forms. Although the Bugun negation prefix a- is distinct from that of the other Kho-Bwa varieties, the negation in Bugun is pre-verbal, like in the other Kho-Bwa varieties, and indeed in most Sino-Tibetan languages.

All the Western Kho-Bwa languages except Khoina have a dedicated prohibitive derived from Proto-Western Kho-Bwa ***tʰa-** with cognates in several Sino-Tibetan languages. Dedicated prohibitive markers are typologically not uncommon. However, Puroik and Khoina use the regular negative prefix for the prohibitive mood and the situation in Bugun is undetermined.

All Kho-Bwa varieties have negated copulas to express negation in non-verbal predicates. The negated equational copula in Khispi and Duhumbi is cognate with the negated equational copula in the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties and the negated existential copula in the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties is cognate with the negated equational copula in Puroik. The Khispi, Duhumbi and the Puroik negated existential copula do not have cognates in the other varieties. This indicates that both semantic change and innovation have occurred. Again, Bugun has a poorly described but at first sight distinct set of copulas.

Whereas the negative prefix precedes the verbal component of complex noun-verb predicates in all Kho-Bwa languages of which descriptions exist, there is a distinction in the way in which serial verb constructions are negated. The negation before the last verb in the verb string that we observe in Duhumbi is likely an influence from the Bodish languages or Tshangla, whereas the negation before the entire verbal string as seen in the other Kho-Bwa varieties appears to be the inherited structure.

The derived native adjectives, formed through nominalisation, can be negated with the negation prefix in Western Kho-Bwa languages. Derived adjectives in Puroik are not formed through nominalisation, but their negation can either be in copular clauses with a negative copula or with the negation prefix. This combination of two strategies is, however, also reported from Khoitam Sartang. A Bugun derived adjective appears to be simply the verb root from which it is derived: Information on negative derived adjectives is lacking. These typological features are presented in Table 13.

Table 13   Comparison of negation strategies in Kho-Bwa, with the aberrant varieties in bold

feature/variety[14]	Duh	Khi	Khn	Jer	Kht	Rah	Rup	Sher	Bug	Pur
negation marker ***ba-**	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N, a-	Y
pre-verbal negation	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
prohibitive marker ***tʰa-**	Y	Y	N, ba-	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	N, ba-
negative equational copula ***ba-ju**	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	YNC
negative existential copula ***ba-aʔ**	YNC?	YNC?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	YNC	YNC
negation of N-V predicates before the V	Y	Y	(Y)	(Y)	(Y)	(Y)	Y	(Y)	?	Y
negation in SVC before entire string	N	N	(Y)	(Y)	Y	(Y)	Y	(Y)	?	Y
unique negative adjectives	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y, most	Y
negation of adjectives through copular clauses	Y	Y	(Y)	(Y)	(Y)	(Y)	Y	(Y)	?	Y
negative derived adjectives with negative prefix	Y	Y	(Y)	(Y)	Y	Y	Y	Y	?	Y
negative derived adjectives in copular clauses	N	N	(Y)	(Y)	Y	(Y)	(Y)	(Y)	?	Y

Based on these typological observations, Bugun is the most data-deficient but also the most aberrant Kho-Bwa variety, having a distinct prefix for standard negation and the negation of adjectives and a negative copula that does not appear cognate with the other Kho-Bwa varieties. Bulu Puroik is in many respects similar to the Western Kho-Bwa varieties, except for its lack of a dedicated prohibitive marker, a feature strangely enough shared by the Western Kho-Bwa variety Khoina. Within the Western Kho-Bwa languages, the distinctiveness of the Khispi and Duhumbi negation strategies, such as the negation of serial verb constructions, can be explained through contact with the Bodish languages or Tshangla. This confirms the slightly distinct position of these two varieties versus the Sartang and Sherdukpen varieties. Hence, this comparison of Kho-Bwa negation strategies confirms the results of our earlier lexicostatistical study (Lieberherr and Bodt 2017).

Less can be concluded regarding the position of the Kho-Bwa cluster within the Sino-Tibetan language family: Indeed, except for Bugun, the Kho-Bwa negation strategies surveyed here are not much distinct from the majority of Sino-Tibetan languages. The main

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[14] Duh=Duhumbi, Khi=Khispi, Khn=Khoina, Jer=Jerigaon, Kht=Khoitam, Rah=Rahung, Rup=Rupa, She=Shergaon, Bug=Dikhyang Bugun, Pur=Bulu Puroik. Y=yes, N=no, YNC=yes, not cognate, (Y) is expected yes, ?=unknown. N=noun, V=verb, SVC=serial verb construction.

distinctive feature, the denasalised onset of the standard negation marker, is a phonological feature, not a morphological or syntactic one.

However, there are some caveats to this analysis. Detailed descriptions of the Sartang varieties, Bugun and the varieties of Puroik other than Bulu Puroik are lacking. Some of the negation strategies and particular features of negation, such as the rich system of negative copula and the asymmetric negation described from Duhumbi, could not be compared to the other Kho-Bwa varieties. In particular, data from Bugun on several negation strategies, such as the prohibitive, the negation of noun-verb predicates and the negation of serial verb constructions, are absent, making a comparison in these respects impossible. And finally, Bulu Puroik is the westernmost Puroik variety, spoken close to the Sartang varieties. In addition, three of the handful of Bulu Puroik speakers have mothers who were Sartang speakers (Lieberherr 2017: 274). We may, hence, suspect some level of linguistic influence of Sartang on Bulu Puroik. From this perspective, a comparison with negation strategies of other Puroik varieties spoken further East may provide a more balanced overview. Unfortunately, the available sources on these varieties of Puroik either lack sentences (Remsangpuia 2008, Soja 2009), lack glosses (Tayeng 1990), or are written in Chinese (Lǐ 2004), limiting their accessibility.

Hopefully, in the coming years more descriptions of the Kho-Bwa varieties, and in particular Sartang, Bugun and Puroik, will become available, which will enable further typological comparisons and phylogenetic studies based on them.

Abbreviations

1PL	first person plural	COP.EQ	equational copula
1SG	first person singular	COP.EXIS	existential copula
2SG	second person singular	EMPH	emphatic marker
3PS	third person plural	ERG	ergative
	subject pronominal	EXIST	existential
	marker	FUT	future
3SG	third person singular	GEN	genitive case marker
ADH	adhortative	IMP	imperative
AK	newly aquired	IND	indicative
	knowledge suffix	IPFV	imperfective
ALL	allative	ITT	iterative
ANA	anaphoric	LOC	locative case marker
ANT	until now	NEG	negative affix
BUR	Burmese	NEG.COP.EQ	negative equational
CHI	Chinese		copula
COP	copula		

NEG.COP.EXIST	negative existential	PRMN	permansive
	copula	PROH	prohibitive
NEG.PRS	negative present	PRS	present
NGP	no gap in time future/	PST	past
	past	PT	Proto-Tani
NOM	nominaliser	PWKB	Proto-Western Kho-
OBJ	object		Bwa
OTIB	Old Tibetan	Q	question marker
PCN	Proto-Central-Naga	SE	stem extender
PFP	past tense	SEQ	sequential
PL	plural	TOP	topicaliser
PP	Proto-Puroik	TSH	Tshangla
PRF	perfective		

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Reconstructing Proto-Atayalic negators*

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Summary

This paper attempts reconstruct to four types of negators with different functions (i. verbal, ii. nominal, iii. existential, and iv. prohibitive) in the Atayalic languages Atayal and Seediq. This paper first reconstructs four negators in each of Proto-Seediq (i. *ini, *kani, ii. *adi, *uxay, iii. *uka, iv. *iya) and Proto-Atayal (i. *ini, *kana, ii. *iyat, iii. *uka, iv. *ka, *laxi) by comparing two dialects in each language. For the reconstruction of the Proto-Seediq negators, Paran Seediq and Truku Seediq are compared. For the reconstruction of Proto-Atayal, Squliq Atayal and C'uli' Atayal are compared. Then, by comparing the forms and functions of the negators in Proto-Seediq and Proto-Atayal, the Proto-Atayalic negators are reconstructed (i. *ini, *kani, *kana, ii. *adi, iii. *uka, iv. *ka, *ija). The Proto-Saisiyat negators are also reconstructed to supplement the evidence for the reconstruction of Proto-Atayalic *ija, which is the negator used for prohibition.

Key words: negators, Seediq, Atayal, Saisiyat, reconstruction

關鍵詞：否定辭、賽德克語、泰雅語、賽夏語、構擬

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1.   Introduction

Atayalic is a subgroup in the Austronesian languages family. The Atayalic subgroup includes two languages: Atayal and Seediq. In Atayal, there are two main dialects, namely Squliq Atayal and C'uli' Atayal. In Seediq, there are also two main dialects, namely Paran Seediq and Truku Seediq.[1] The Atayalic languages are spoken by indigenous people in Taiwan, which is the homeland of many other Austronesian languages. The Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, other than Yami on Orchid Island, which belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, are collectively called the Formosan languages. The Atayalic subgroup is classified as one of the first-order subgroups, directly separating from Proto-Austronesian (Blust 1999). Therefore, the reconstruction of Proto-Atayalic has great significance for elucidating Proto-Austronesian. However, little work has been done on the Proto-Atayalic reconstruction, except for Li (1981), who reconstructed Proto-Atayalic phonemes.

This paper deals with negators in the Atayalic languages. However, the use of a negator is not limited to Atayalic; rather, it is a typological feature that is commonly seen in Formosa languages, as summarized in Lin (2011). In the process of discussing negators in Atayalic languages, cognate form negators in neighboring languages, such as Pazih, Puyuma, Rukai, Siraya, Thao, Tsou and Saisiyat, are also introduced.

In Atayalic languages, negators are placed in the clause-initial position to express a negative proposition. Perusal of the existing literature, specifically Huang and Wu (2018) for Squliq Atayal, Huang (1995) for C'uli' Atayal, Ochiai (2016) for Paran Seediq, and Tsukida (2009) for Truku Seediq, led to an observation that there are four types of negators with different functions and that these are commonly used in both Atayal and Seediq. The functions of these negators are (i) verbal negation, (ii) nominal negation, (iii) existential negation, and (iv) prohibition.

The existing literature also points to the following typological observations. In both Atayal and Seediq, negators for (ii) nominal negation and (iii) existential negation are followed by nouns and express meanings of "A is not equal to B" and "there is not A (A does not exist)," respectively. Negators for (i) verbal negation and (iv) prohibition are followed by verbs, meaning "someone do not do something," and "Do not do something!" The verbs following these negators have restrictions on their forms. Verbs in Atayalic languages are mainly divided into two classes, namely dependent and independent,[2] which are roughly analogous to irrealis and realis, respectively, from a semantic point of view. It is the dependent class that appears after these negators. Each class is characterized by a few forms of affixation for two voices: the actor voice and the undergoer voice. However, the voice distinctions are confined to verbs of high transitivity. The undergoer voice is further divided

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[1] Ogawa and Asai (1935: 21, 559) were referred to for the classification of the Atayal and Seediq dialects.

[2] The terminology in this paragraph follows Ross (2009).

into three types (i.e., the patient, location and circumstance subject type). Therefore, the undergoer voice has more than one form of affixation for the dependent and independent class, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1   Paran Seediq affixation patterns for verbs of high transitivity[3]

	AV	UV patient	UV location	UV circumstance
Independent	*<um>, mu-*	*-un*	*-an*	*su-*
Independent past	*<umun>, mun-*	*<un>*	*<un>...-an*	—
Independent future	*umpu-*	—	—	—
Dependent	*Ø-*	*-i*	*-i*	*-ani*

Independent class affixations for verbs of high transitivity (Table 1) contain information relating to tense, whereas verbs of low transitivity have no distinction of tenses. There are inflectional forms for the neutral, past (a undergoer voice circumstance subject lacks this tense), and future tense (only actor voice). These negators for verbal negation and prohibition are followed by the dependent class of verbs. It follows that for verbs of high transitivity, the tense is neutralized in the negative construction. The neutralization of tense distinctions is reported cross-linguistically in Payne (1985).

Table 2 shows the affixation patterns for verbs of low transitivity. The voice distinction is neutralized in this type of verb. In addition, there is no distinction of tenses.

Table 2   Paran Seediq affixation patterns for verbs of low transitivity

Independent	*mu-*	*Ø-*	*tu-*
Dependent	*ku-, pu-*	*ku-*	*tu-*

This paper discusses negators in two dialects of Atayal and two dialects of Seediq. Some negators are common to both Atayal and Seediq, while others are not. Even within each language's own dialects, some negators are common, while others others are not.

The purpose of this paper is to first reconstruct four types of negators in Proto-Seediq (i. *ini, *kani, ii. *adi, *uxay, iii. *uka, iv. *iya) and four in Proto-Atayal (i. *ini, *kana, ii. *iyat, iii. *uka, iv. *ka, *laxi) by comparing two dialects in each language. For the reconstruction of the Proto-Seediq negators in Section 2, Paran Seediq and Truku Seediq are compared. For the reconstruction of Proto-Atayal in Section 3, Squliq Atayal and C'uli' Atayal are compared. Then, by comparing the forms and functions of the negators in Proto-Seediq and Proto-Atayal, the Proto-Atayalic negators are reconstructed as i. *ini, *kani, *kana, ii. *adi, iii. *uka, iv. *ka, *ija) in Section 4. Proto-Saisiyat negators are also reconstructed in Section 5 in order to supplement the evidence for the reconstruction of Proto-Atayalic *ija, which is the negator for the prohibitive.

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[3] Tables 1 and 2 are based on Ochiai's (2016) descriptions of Seediq verbs and their morphology.

2.   Seediq negators

Section 2.1 first discusses the four negators in Paran Seediq in the following order: verbal negation, nominal nominal negation, existential negation, and prohibition. This is followed by a discussion of the four negators in Truku Seediq in Section 2.2. Based on the comparison of negators in these Seediq dialects, the Proto-Seediq negators are reconstructed in Section 2.3.

2.1   Paran Seediq

In Paran Seediq, the negator for verbal negation is *ini*, the negator for nominal negation is *uxe*, the negator for existential negation is *uka*, and the negator for prohibition is *iya*, according to the existing literature, specifically Chen (1996) and Ochiai (2016). These negators are shown in Table 3.

Table 3   Paran Seediq negators

Verbal neg.	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
ini	*uxe*	*uka*	*iya*

Examples for each negator are shown in (1–4), which are based on the author's field notes.[4]

(1)   The verbal negator *ini*

   a. ***ini***   *Ø-imah*   *sino*   *heya.*[5]
      NEG   AV.DEP-drink   wine   3SG

     "I do not drink wine."/"I did not drink wine."

   b. ***ini***   *ku-ŋacun*   *heya.*[6]
      NEG   STAT.DEP-stingy   3SG

     "He is not stingy."

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[4] Key to the abbreviations: ACC (accusative), ASP (aspect), AV (actor voice), CAUS (causative), DEP (dependent), DET (determiner), GEN (genitive), INCL (inclusive), INDEF (indefinite), INDEP (independent), NOM (nominative), NEG (negator), OBL (oblique), PART (particle), PL (plural), SG (singular), STAT (stative), UVL (undergoer voice location subject), UVP (undergoer voice patient subject), TOP (topic).

[5] Its affirmative sentence is *m-imah sino heya* (AV-drink wine 3SG).

[6] Its affirmative sentence is *mu-ŋcacun heya* (STAT-stingy 3SG).

(2)   The nominal negator *uxe*

    uxe   *seediq*   *hini*   *ka*   *heya.*
    NEG   person   here   NOM   3SG

    "He/she is not a person from this area."

(3)   The existential negator *uka*

    uka =*ta*   *sapah.*
    NEG =1PL.INCL   house

    "We do not have a house."

(4)   The prohibitive *iya*

    a. **iya**   *bube-i*   *qedin*   =*su.*
      NEG   hit-UVP/UVL.DEP   wife   =2SG.GEN

      "Do not hit your wife."

    b. **iya**   *ku-ŋacun!*
      NEG   DEP-stingy

      "Do not be stingy!"

2.2   Truku Seediq

In Truku Seediq, the negator for verbal negation is *ini*, the negator for nominal negation is *adi* or *uxay*, the negator for existential negation is *uŋat*, and the negator for prohibition is *iya*, according to the existing literature, specifically Tsukida (2009) and Juang (2012). These negators are shown in Table 4. Examples for each negator are shown in (5–9), which are cited from Tsukida (2009) and Juang (2012). Their transcriptions are presented here, with slight modifications.

Table 4   Truku Seediq negators

Verbal neg.	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
ini	*adzi, uxay*	*uŋat*	*iya*

(5)   The verbal negator *ini*

ini	*Ø-taqi*	*hini*	*ka*	*Kumu.*
NEG	AV.DEP-sleep	here	NOM	Kumu

"Kumu does/did not sleep here."

(6)   The nominal negator *adʑi*

adʑi	*payi*	*=mu*	*ka*	*hiya.*
NEG	grandmother	=1SG.GEN	NOM	3SG

"She is not my grandmother." (Juang 2012: 101)

(7)   The nominal negator *uxay*[7]

uxay	*payi*	*=mu*	*ka*	*hiya.*
NEG	grandmother	=1SG.GEN	NOM	3SG

"She is supposedly not my grandmother." (Juang 2012: 101)

(8)   The existential negator *uŋat*

uŋat	*qaya*	*=mu*	*da.*
NEG	stuff	=1SG.GEN	PART

"My luggage is not there." (Tsukida 2009: 276)

(9)   The prohibitive *iya*

iya	*mah-i*	*ka*	*qəsiya.*
NEG	drink-UVP/UVL.DEP	NOM	water

"Don't drink the water!" (Tsukida 2009: 277)

2.3   Proto-Seediq

Based on a comparison of the four types of negators in the Seediq dialects, Proto-Seediq is reconstructed as shown in Table 5.

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[7] With regard to *uxay* and *adʑi*, Juang (2012) observes a slight meaning difference and adds "supposedly" to the translation of *uxay*.

Table 5 Proto-Seediq negators

	Verbal neg.	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
Paran Seediq	*ini, kani*	*uxe*	*uka*	*iya* (< *iða*)
Truku Seediq	*ini, kani*	*adi, uxay*	*uŋat*	*iya*
Proto-Seediq	*ini, *kani	*adi, *uxay	*uka	*iða

The negators for (a) verbal negation and (d) prohibition are easy to reconstruct. They each have the identical forms *ini* and *iya* in both Paran Seediq and Truku Seediq. The first form is directly reconstructed in Proto-Seediq. Recorded in the 1920s, the second form appears as *iða* in Paran Seediq (Asai 1953). There was a historical change from the early Paran Seediq *ð* to *y* in present-day Paran Seediq. Therefore, *ð* was reconstructed as the medial consonant of the prohibitive.

As for (c) existential negation, the two forms are similar but slightly different. Truku Seediq has the *t* word-finally whereas Paran Seediq does not have it. Further, Truku Seediq has the medial consonant *ŋ*, which appears as *k* in Paran Seediq. It is the Paran Seediq form *uka* that shares cognates in other Formosan languages, such as Saisiyat *oka*, Bunun *uka*, Thao *uka*, and Tsou *ukʔa*, as proposed in Lin (2011: 200). Therefore, the form in Paran Seediq *uka* is reconstructed in Proto-Seediq. It follows that the near-cognate *uŋat* in Truku Seediq shows sporadic sound changes, the addition of a final consonant, and the change of teh medial consonant from *k* to *ŋ*. The identical form that appears in Truku Seediq is seen in Squliq Atayal (Section 3.1). This form seems to have been adopted into Truku Seediq by borrowing from Squliq Atayal, which is spoken by Truku Seediq tribe's neighboring tribe. In addition, the sporadic addition of the final consonants seen in negators are characteristic of Atayal (e.g., *uŋa-t*, *uka-s*, *iya-t*), as discussed in Section 3.

As for (b) nominal negation, *uxe* in Paran Seediq and *uxay* in Truku Seediq are cognates. The diphthong *ay* in the final syllable changed to *e* in Paran Seediq, as Ochiai (2015) points out. Therefore, Proto-Seediq is reconstructed as *uxay. The other form, *adi*, is only used in Truku Seediq. However, a similar form, *kadi*, is marginally used as a negator in Paran Seediq, in phrases such as *kadi beyo* "soon (not taking a long time)."[8] The negator *kadi* in this phrase can be replaced by *uxe*, so that it is also expressed as *uxe beyo*.[9] It is therefore likely that Paran Seediq had *kadi* as another kind of nominal negator. This form in Paran Seediq has an additional *k* word-initially, whereas Truku Seediq lacks it. As discussed in Section 4, Truku Seediq *adi* has cognates that are identical to those in other Formosan languages, such as Puyuma and Rukai, as Lin (2011: 191) points out. Therefore, *adi* is

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[8] The meaning of *beyo* is unknown; however it is assumed to mean "a long time." It is seen in the word *cubeyo*, meaning "in the past." In this form, the prefix *cu-* indicating the past is attached to the root *beyo*.

[9] This phrase is the only occurrence of *kadi* that the author collected during her fieldwork among the Paran Seediq. In this phrase, the negator *ini* can also be used (e.g., *ini beyo* "soon").

reconstructed in Proto-Austronesian.[10]

There is another negator that could be reconstructed in Proto-Seediq. The form of this negator is *kani*, which is so rarely used that it has been overlooked. The author has never heard this form in spontaneous speech. The author somehow collected this form as "a kind of negator." However, no detailed elicitation was conducted regarding this negator. For Truku Seediq, Rakaw et al. (2006: 350) lists the cognate negator *kani* with the meaning "should not do (such way)." Both dialects have *kani* as a negator; therefore, it can be reconstructed in Proto-Seediq. In addition, *kani* seems to be a verbal negator based on an example recorded in Rakaw et al (2006: 350), as shown in (10). Similar to the verbal negator *ini*, the verb following the negator *kani* (i.e., *usa* "to go") appears in its dependent form. Thus, *kani* is reconstructed in Proto-Seediq as a verbal negator as shown in Table 5. The negator *kani* differs from *ini* in that it signifies deontic negation.

(10) Truku Seediq

> **kani**   *su*   *usa.*
> NEG   =2SG   AV.DEP.go
>
> "You should not go."[11]

3.   Atayal negators

Section 3.1 discusses the four negators in Squliq Atayal in the following order: verbal negation, nominal nominal negation, existential negation, and prohibition, followed by a discussion of the four negators in C'uli' Atayal in Section 3.2. Based on a comparison of negators in these Atayal dialects, Proto-Atayal negators are reconstructed in Section 3.3.

3.1   Squliq Atayal

In Squliq Atayal, the negator for verbal negation is *ini*, the negator for nominal negation is *iyat*, the negator for existential negation is *uŋat*, and the negator for prohibition is *ka* or *laxi*, according to the existing literature, specifically Rau (1992), Liao (2003), and Huang and Wu (2018). These negators are shown in Table 6. Examples for each negator are shown in (11–15), which are cited from Egerod (1980) and Huang and Wu (2018). Their transcriptions are presented here, with slight modifications.

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[10] The word-initial *k* seen in Seediq could be added by a sporadic sound change, or it could be a kind of prefix (however, the function of this prefix is unknown).

[11] The original translation is in Mandarin. The English translation is provided by the present author.

Table 6 Squliq Atayal negators

Verbal negator	Nominal negator	Existential negator	Prohibitive
ini, kana	*iyat* (or *yat*)	*uŋat*	*ka*[12]*, laxi*

(11) The verbal negator *ini*

ini	= *saku*	*qaniq*	*mami*	*na.*
NEG	=1SG.NOM	AV.DEP.eat	rice	yet

"I have not yet eaten." (Egerod 1980: 227)

(12) The nominal negator *(i)yat*[13]

iyat	*tuqiy*	*na*	*mit*	*qani*	*hiya.*
NEG	trail	GEN	goat	this	DET

"This is not a goat trail." (Huang and Wu 2018: 137)

(13) The existential negator *uŋat*

uŋat	*təməmiyan*	= *mu.*
NEG	pickled.meat	=1SG.GEN

"I do not have pickled meat." (Huang and Wu 2018: 146)

(14) The prohibitive *ka*

ka	*Ø-usa*	*kiya!*
NEG	AV.DEP-go	there

"Do not go there!" (Huang and Wu 2018: 145)

(15) The prohibitive *laxi*

laxi	*pəbəbu-i*	*laqi*	= *su*	*la!*
NEG	breast.feed-UVP/UVL.DEP	child	=2SG.GEN	PART

"Do not breast-feed your child!" (Huang and Wu 2018: 144)

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[12] In the existing literature on Squliq Atayal, which the present author consulted, only Liao (2003) and Huang and Wu (2018) report *ka* as the negator for the prohibitive. Others only report *laxi*.

[13] According to Huang and Wu (2018: 137), *yat* is a the variant of *iyat*.

In Seediq, there is a negator *kani* "should not," which is rarely used. For Squliq Atayal, Egerod (1980: 253) reports a similar form, *kana*, meanings "would prefer not to, in order not to, would want to prevent." Given the similar meanings, it can be considered a cognate, even though the final vowels differ (See Section 4). The author could not find the negator *kana* in previous studies on C'uli' Atayal. An example of kana in Squliq Atayal from Egerod (1980: 253) is shown in (16).[14]

(16) Squliq Atayal

ini	= *su*	*usa*	*taihok*	*ga,*
NEG	=2SG	AV.DEP.go	Taipei	PART

kana	*su*	*agal*	*qilis*
NEG	=2SG	AV.DEP.get	injury

"If you had not gone to Taipei, you would not have been injured."

Similar to the verbal negator *ini*, the negator *kana* is followed by a vowel in its dependent form (i.e., *agal* "to get"). Therefore, it is added as a verbal negator in Table 6.

3.2   C'uli' Atayal

In C'uli' Atayal, the negator for verbal negation is *ini*, the negator for nominal negation is *yakaat*, the negator for existential negation is *ukas* or *uka*, and the negator for prohibition is *ka* or *laxi*, according to the existing literature, specifically Huang (1995). These negators are shown in Table 7. Examples for each negator are shown in (17–21), which are cited from Huang (1995). Her transcriptions are presented here, with slight modifications.

Table 7   C'uli' Atayal negators

Verbal negator	Nominal negator	Existential negator	Prohibitive
ini	*yakaat*	*ukas, uka*	*ka, laxi*

(17) The verbal negator *ini*

ini	= *mu*	*rasi-i*	*ku*	*qusia.*
neg	=1SG.GEN	bring-UVP/UVL.DEP	NOM	water

"I didn't bring the water." (Huang 1995: 63)

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[14] The interlinear glosses are provided by the present author.

(18) The nominal negator *yakaat*

yakaat	*itaal*	*i*	*Baicu.*
NEG	Atayal	NOM	Baicu

"Baicu is not Atayal." (Huang 1995: 162)

(19) The existential negator *uka(s)*

ukas	*a*	*qulih.*
NEG	NOM	fish

"There is no fish." (Huang 1995: 160)

(20) The prohibitive *ka*[15]

ka	*aras*	*cu*	*qusia!*
NEG	AV.DEP.bring	ACC	water

"Don't bring water!" (Huang 1995: 61)

(21) The prohibitive *laxi*

laxi	*ku*	*m-nubuwaq*	*cu*	*quwaw.*
NEG	NOM	AV.INDEP-drink	ACC	wine

"Don't drink wine!" (Huang 1995: 169)

3.3   Proto-Atayal

Based on a comparison of the four types of negators in the Atayal dialects, Proto-Atayal is reconstructed as shown in Table 8.

Table 8   Proto-Atayal negators

	Verbal neg.	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
Squliq Atayal	*ini, kana*	*iyat, yat*	*uŋat*	*ka, laxi*[16]
C'uli Atayal	*ini*	*yakaat*	*uka(s)*	*ka, laxi*
Proto-Atayal	*ini, *kana	*iyat	*uka	*ka, *laxi

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[15] Huang (1995) transcribes this negator with two *a*'s, i.e., *kaa*.

[16] This form in Squliq Atayal, however, appears as *laxan* in Guérin (1868: 482). He transcribed it as *lakan*, but it is analyzed to represent *laxan*, which is the undergoer location voice form for *malax* "to give up."

The negators for (a) verbal negation and (d) prohibition are easy to reconstruct. They each have identical forms, namely *ini* for verbal negation and *ka* and *laxi* for prohibition, in both Squliq Atayal and C'uli' Atayal. These forms are reconstructed in Proto-Atayal.

As for (c) existential negation, Squliq Atayal has *uŋat*, which is identical to the form in Truku Seediq. Proto-Seediq is reconstructed as *uka (Section 2.3). The form that is identical to *uka* is seen in a C'uli' Atayal subdialect that is spoken in Skikun, as reported in Li (1981: 289).[17] Hence, this form, *uka*, is also reconstructed in Proto-Atayal. Another form reported in C'uli' Atayal is *ukas*. This form shows the sporadic addition of the final consonant *s* (e.g., *uka-s*).[18] Similarly, Squliq Atayal *uŋat* also shows the sporadic addition of the final consonant t (e.g., *uŋa-t*). Further, the medial consonant is sporadically changed from *k* to *ŋ*.[19]

As for (b) nominal negation, the form *iyat* in Squliq Atayal is reconstructed in Proto-Atayal. In another form, *yat*, in Squliq Atayal, the initial vowel *i* seems to be deleted. In the C'uli' Atayal form *yakaat*, an unknown segment, *<kaa>*, seems to be inserted before the final consonant of *yat*, e.g., *ya<kaa>t*. This type of infixation with an unknown function is characteristic of Atayalic languages, as observed in Tsuchida (1975), Li (1985), and Li and Tsuchida (2009).[20] As explained in Section 4, the Proto-Atayal form for nominal negation, *iyat, originates in the prohibitive *iya (which is reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic).

4.   Proto-Atayalic reconstruction

Based on a comparison of the four types of negators in Proto-Seediq and Proto-Atayal, Proto-Atayalic is reconstructed as shown in Table 9.

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[17] Li (1981: 289) adds glottal stops before and after *uka*. However, these glottal stops before the initial vowel and after the final vowel are not shown in this paper. The same form is also reported in Iijima (1906: 141) as an Atayalic form. However, it is transcribed in Katakana as オカ, and it can be phonetically represented as [oka].

[18] Although this sound change is sporadic, the same change is observed in another word. Proto-Atayalic *baki "grandfather" is reflected as *baki* in Seediq dialects. Its cognate in Squliq Atayal is *bənəkis* (taken from Egerod (1980: 81)), and its meaning is changed to "old person." The Atayal form is analyzed as *b<ən>əki-s*. The root *baki* is not only infixed by *<ən>*, which is a fossilized infix with an unknown function; it is also suffixed by *-s*, which would be the same sporadic sound change seen in *uka-s*. In addition, it also underwent vowel weakening of the *a* into a schwa.

[19] Although this sound change is sporadic, the same change is observed in another word: Proto-Atayalic *hakaw is reflected as *hakaw* "ladder, bridge" (taken from Rakaw et al. (2006: 275)) in Truku Seediq. Its cognate in C'uli' Atayal is *hawŋu* (taken from Ogawa and Asai (1935: 13)), demonstrating the sound change of the medial consonant *k into ŋ, which is, the same change seen in *uŋat*. The vowels also show sound changes in the Atayal form.

[20] The process was probably *iyat → iya<kaa>t → ya<kaa>t*. This type of infixation before the final consonant is characteristic of Atayalic languages. However, this type of infix, referred to as fossilized infix in Ochiai (2020b), is usually composed of a CV, a consonant followed by a single vowel. Therefore, *<kaa>* in *ya<kaa>t* is likely to be phonemically represented as *<ka>* with a single vowel.

Table 9 Proto-Atayalic negators

	Verbal neg.[21]	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
Proto-Seediq	*ini, *kani	*adi, *uxay	*uka	*iða
Proto-Atayal	*ini, *kana	*iyat	*uka	*ka, *laxi
Proto-Atayalic	*ini, *k-ani, *k-ana	*adi	*uka	*ija, *ka

The negators for (a) verbal negation and (c) existential negation are easy to reconstruct. They each have the identical forms, *ini and *uka, in both Seediq and Atayal. These forms are reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic.

As for the negator for (d) prohibition, *ija in Proto-Seediq is reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic. Proto-Seediq *ð dates back to Proto-Austonesian *j, which is a kind of voiced obstruent, as described by Blust (2013: 579). According to Blust (2013: 578), its reflex in Proto-Atayal should be *s*, *g*, or *r*. However, it appears as *y* in *iyat, which shows that its function shifted from prohibition to the negator of nominal negation.[22] A piece of evidence supporting *ija in Proto-Atayalic is a cognate in Proto-Saisiyat that could be reconstructed as *iða (See Section 5). Proto-Saisiyat *ð also dates back to Proto-Austronesian *j.

As described in Section 3, the existential negator *uka (Proto-Atayal) is sporadically added to final consonants in Atayal dialects, e.g., *uka-s* or *uŋa-t*. The same process seems to be applied to early Proto-Atayal *iya, resulting in *iya-t. Further, the function of *iya-t changed from prohibition to nominal negation.

Proto-Atayalic *ija for prohibition changed its function to nominal negation, and the negator for the prohibitive is gapped. To fill this gap, the new words *ka* and *laxi* were introduced. Among these two forms, *ka* seems to be older than *laxi*. One reason is that the origin of *laxi* is clear. On the contrary, the origin of ka is unknown. Egerod (1980: 21) reports that *laxi* is derived from the verb *alax*, which means "to give up." The negator *laxi* shows (*alax-i* > *lax-i*), the undergoer form of the dependent class. Another reason is their different syntactic behavior. The prohibitive *ka* is followed by a verb of the dependent class in both Squliq Atayal and C'uli' Atayal, which is the typical pattern observed in the prohibitive construction. On the contrary, *laxi* is followed by the dependent class only in Squliq Atayal but followed by a case marker and an independent verb in C'uli' Atayal. This indicates the grammaticalization of *laxi* from the imperative verb "Give up!" to a negator.

As for (b) nominal negation, one of the Proto-Seediq forms *adi is reconstructed in

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[21] Li (1981: 289) also reconstructs *ini in Proto-Atayalic; however, he does not reconstruct Proto-Seediq and Proto-Atayal.

[22] Although the change from Proto-Austronesian *j to Proto-Atayal *y is exceptional, the same change is seen in another word: one of the Proto-Austronesian demonstratives reconstructed by Ochiai (2020a) is *hija "that, there." Its reflex in Proto-Atayal is also *hija. Its reflex in early Paran Seediq is hiða "that, 3sɢ" (taken from Asai 1953). Its expected reflex in Proto-Atayal is either *hisa, *higa, or *hira. However, present-day Atayal reflects this as *hiya* (3sɢ), in which Proto-Austronesian *j is exceptionally reflected as *y*.

Proto-Atayalic because it shares cognates with other Formosan languages, such as Puyuma *aḍi* and Rukai *aḍi*, as Lin (2011: 191) points out. However, their function in Puyuma and Rukai are different from nominal negation. In Puyuma, it functions as verbal negation and prohibition, and in Rukai, it functions as prohibition, according to Lin (2011). It was found that there is one language that shares the identical cognate, that is, Siraya, an extinct Formosan language.[23] Siraya has the negator *asi*, which functions not only as verbal negation but also as nominal negation (Adelaar 2011: 99). With regard to the medial consonant *s*, Proto-Austronesian *d, which is reflected as Proto-Atayalic *d, corresponds to *s* in Siraya (Ross 2015: 31). Considering these, *adi is likely to be reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic.

As for the other negator *uxay in Proto-Seediq, the cognate *uzay* is found in Pazih.[24] The medial consonant *z* indicates that it dates back to Proto-Austronesian *s[25] as Li and Tsuchida (2001: 6) point out. The Proto-Austronesian *s is mostly reflected as h in Atayalic languages as previously described (e.g., Ross 2015: 32). However, it sometimes appears as *x* (Ochiai 2021). It can be said that *uxay in Proto-Seediq and *uzay* in Pazih are perfect cognates. Examples of *uzay* in Li and Tsuchida (2001: 314) reveal that this negator functions not only as prohibition but also as nominal negation. The function of nominal negation overlaps in Proto-Seediq *uxay and Pazih *uzay*. It is therefore supposedly reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic. However, the author is rather reserved about this judgement. The cognate is found in one language only, Pazih, which is a neighbor of Seediq. It is possible that *uxay is an innovative form for nominal negation in Proto-Seediq and that it was somehow borrowed into Pazih.

Next, the cognacy and origins of the negators *kani* in Seediq and *kana* in Atayal are concerned. In Paran Seediq, there is an indefinite marker *ani*, e.g., *ani maanu* (INDEF what) "whatever." This marker sometimes varies with *ana*, for example, *ani tikuh* or *ana tikuh* (INDEF a.little), meaning "not a little" (in a negative sentence). According to Rakaw et al. (2006: 67), Truku Seediq only uses *ana*. This variation of the indefinite markers *ani* and *ana* corresponds to that of the negators *kani* and *kana*. Hence, the negators *kani* and *kana* could be derived from *ani* and *ana*. If so, the negators kani and kana are analyzed as *k-ani* and *k-ana*, with *k* as the separate morpheme. Since *ani* and *ana* are indefinite markers without a negative meaning, the *k* must function as a negator. It seems possible that the prohibitive *ka* is the origin of this *k*. The combination of ka and the following *ani* or *ana*

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[23] It is likely that Babuza also shares the cognate. Babuza has *alli* "not" (Ogawa 2003: 312), which was originally recorded by the Dutch in the 17th century, so it represents Dutch-style orthography. The phonetic representation could be [ali]. However, it is difficult to explain the medial consonant *l* since it is expected to appear as r. The reflex of Proto-Austronesian *d in Babuza is *r* (Ross 2015: 31). The examples in Ogawa (2003: 312–313) indicate that it was used as a verbal negator.

[24] This form is from Li and Tsuchida (2001: 314).

[25] This is written as *θ in Ross (2015: 32).

would produce **ka-ani or **ka-ana (** indicates a hypothetical form). The hiatus would coalesce and become *kani* and *kana*. It is difficult to decide which form should be reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic; therefore, both are tentatively reconstructed. The prohibitive ka is only reconstructed in Proto-Atayal; however, along these lines, it is also seen as a part of the morpheme in *k-ana, which is reconstructed in Proto-Seediq. Therefore, *ka as prohibitive is reconstructed in Proto-Atayalic.

5.   Saisiyat Negators

By investigating the negators in Zeitoun (2001), the negators for the four functions can be classified as follows: (a) verbal negation *ʔokaʔ* or *iʔiniʔ*, (b) nominal negation *ʔokaʔ*, (c) existential negation *ʔokaʔ*, and (d) prohibition *ʔiziʔ*. Based on these forms, Proto-Saisiyat is reconstructed as shown in Table 10. Those forms shown in bold are considered to be cognates in Proto-Saisiyat and Proto-Austronesian.

Table 10   Saisiyat negators and their reconstruction

	Verbal neg.	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
Saisiyat (Zeitoun 2001)	*ʔokaʔ, iʔiniʔ*	*ʔokaʔ*	*ʔokaʔ*	*ʔiðiʔ*
Proto-Saisiyat	*oka, **ini**	*oka	***oka**	***iða**
Proto-Atayalic	***ini**/*kani/*kana	*adi	***uka**	***ija**/*ka

It is evident that Saisiyat *ʔokaʔ*, which is seen across verbal, nominal, and existential negation, is the cognate of Proto-Atayalic *uka, which functions as existential negation.[26] In Saisiyat, it is supposed that the existential negator *oka extended its functional domain to include nominal and verbal negation. An example of the existential negator *ʔokaʔ* is seen in (22).

(22) The existential negator *ʔokaʔ*[27]

yako	*ʔokaʔ*	*ka*	*rayhil.*
1SG	NEG	ACC	money

"I do not have money." (Zeitoun 2001: 129)

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[26] Lin (2011: 200–204) also recognizes that Saisiyat *ʔoka* appears in existential and verbal negation; however, he does not include nominal negation, which appears as *ʔokik* in his table. He also mentions semantic shift of the existential negator *ʔoka* into verbal negation. This paper proposes that the existential negator *ʔoka* spread not only to verbal negation but also to nominal negation.

[27] Note that word order in Saisiyat is different from those in the Atayalic languages. In Saisiyat, the pronoun *yako* (free form) appears clause-initially.

As for *ʔokaʔ* as a verbal and nominal negator, Zeitoun (2001: 128–129) points out that it is obligatorily followed by a ligature *ʔiʔ* as seen in example (23a). Her transcriptions are presented here, with slight modifications. In Saisiyat, similar to in the Atayalic languages, the verb following the verbal negator uses the dependent class. In (23b), an example of the stative verb *sararaʔ*, the prefix *k-*, indicating the dependent class, is phonetically attached to the preceding linker, resulting in the negator *ʔokaʔ* being followed by the complex *ʔik*. In addition, as Zeitoun (2011) notes, these two elements, *ʔokaʔ* and *ʔik*, further contract to **ʔok***ik* (<*ʔokaik* <*ʔokaʔ-ʔi=k*), as shown in (23c). In this contracted form of the negator, the final vowel *a* in *ʔokaʔ* is deleted.

(23) The verbal negator *ʔokaʔ*

a. A non-stative verb

yako	*ʔokaʔ*	*ʔi*	*shebet*	*ka*	*korkoring.*
1SG	NEG	LIG	AV.DEP.beat	ACC	child

"I did not beat the child." (Zeitoun 2001: 129)

b. A stative verb

yako	*ʔokaʔ*	*ʔi=k*	*sararaʔ*	*hisia.*
1SG	NEG	LIG=STAT.dep	like	3SG.ACC

"I do not like him." (Zeitoun 2001: 132)

c. A stative verb (contracted)

yako	**ʔok***ik*	*sararaʔ*	*hisia.*
1SG	NEG.LIG.STAT.DEP	like	3SG.ACC

"I do not like him." (Zeitoun 2001: 132)

In Saisiyat, the nominal negator is also followed by a dependent form. Strictly speaking, nouns has no distinction of dependent or independent forms. This distinction is only applied to verbs. However, in Saisiyat, the prefix *k-*, indicating the dependent class of stative verbs is attached to nouns. Examples (24a–b) are variants. The negator *ʔokaʔ* is not contracted in (24a), whereas it is contracted in (24b).

(24) The nominal negator *ʔokaʔ*

    a. *yako*   **ʔokaʔ**   **ʔi-k**   *Saisiyat.*
      1SG   neg   LIG-STAT.DEP   Saisiyat

    "I am not Saisiyat." (Zeitoun 2001: 127)

    b. *yako*   **ʔokik**   *Saisiyat.*
      1SG   NEG.LIG.STAT.DEP   Saisiyat

    "I am not Saisiyat." (Zeitoun 2001: 127)

There is another form for verbal negation, *iʔiniʔ*, which is also a clear cognate with Proto-Atayalic *ini. The Saisiyat form has an additional vowel, *i*, in front of the historical root *ʔiniʔ*. This could be a result of reduplication or some kind of prefixation. Although there are two forms for verbal negation, *ʔokaʔ* and *iʔiniʔ*, their meanings are slightly different. In terms of semantics, *ʔokaʔ* is a typical negator for verbal negation, simply the negation a proposition, whereas, *iʔiniʔ* means that "something is not yet done" (Zeitoun 2001: 129), as shown in (25). This negator is also obligatorily followed by the ligature *ʔi* (Zeitoun 2001: 128–129).

(25) The verbal negator *iʔiniʔ*

    iʔiniʔ   **ʔi=k**   *sizaeh.*
    NEG   LIG-STAT.DEP   finish

    "It is not finished yet." (Zeitoun 2001: 129)

As for the negator for prohibition, the present-day Saisiyat is *ʔiðiʔ*, and this negator is also obligatorily followed by the ligature *ʔi* (Zeitoun 2001: 128–129), as shown in (26).

(26) The prohibitive *ʔiziʔ*

    ʔiðiʔ   **ʔi**   *haŋih*   *ila!*
    NEG   LIG   AV.DEP.cry   ASP

    "Don't cry!" (Zeitoun 2001: 129)

This prohibitive form *ʔiðiʔ*, which would be phonemically represented as *iði*, is similar to the Proto-Atayalic *ija that is reconstructed in Section 4. The first two segments correspond to each other. The initial vowel is the same, and as for the consonant, Saisiyat ð and

Proto-Atayalic *j are reflexes of Proto-Austronesian *j. The only difference is the final vowel, which is *i* in Saisiyat and *a* in Atayalic. Suppose that the Proto-Saisiyat form had *a* as the final consonant, appearing as *iða*. Then, a similar phonetic contraction as that seen in *ʔokaʔ* (22a–b) could have happened to *iða*, followed by the ligature *ʔi*. The sequence of *iða ʔi* could have resulted in *iði* by deleting *a*. If this is on the right track, the contraction of the prohibitive *iða* (or *ʔiðaʔ*) occurred earlier than the contraction of the verbal/nominal negator *ʔokaʔ*. For the prohibitive, only the contracted form *ʔiðiʔ* is used in the present day, and *iða* is lost. On the contrary, for verbal and nominal negators, *ʔokaʔ* and its contracted form *ʔokik* are interchangeable. Further, *ʔiðiʔ* includes the ligature; however, it seems that it has gradually fossilized, lost its function, and been recognized as a part of the root. Therefore, in the present day, the ligature *ʔi* is reintroduced after *ʔiðiʔ*.

6. Concluding remarks

Table 11 shows the four Proto-Austronesian negators that Lin (2011) reconstructed by investigating negators and their functions in several Formosan languages including Atayal, Seediq, Saisiyat, Thao, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Amis, and Kavalan.

According to Lin (2011), the verbal negator in Proto-Austronesian is *adi, the nominal negator is *ini, the existential negator is *uka, and the prohibitive is *ka.

Table 11 Proto-Austronesian negators in Lin (2011) and Proto-Atayalic

	Verbal neg.	Nominal neg.	Existential neg.	Prohibitive
Proto-Austronesian (Lin 2011)	*adi	*ini	*uka	*ka
Proto-Austronesian (This paper)	general neg. *ini, *adi		*uka	*ka
Proto-Atayalic	*ini, *k-ani, *k-ana	*adi	*uka	*ka, *ija

For the sake of comparison, the Proto-Atayalic negators reconstructed in this paper are also presented in the table. Interestingly, they have four common forms: *adi, *ini, and *uka, and *ka. As for the prohibitive, Lin (2011) reconstructed *ka to Proto-Austronesian based on these forms: Atayal *ka*, Bunun *ka*, Amis *aka*, and Rukai *ka*.[28] This paper reconstructed the Proto-Atayalic prohibitive as *ka and *iya. The second form is seen in Seediq and Saisiyat. In Atayal, it appears as *iyat*, with the sporadic suffixation of -*t*. It also changed its function to nominal negation. This *iya seems to be a later innovation than *ka.

As for *uka, it is used as an existential negator not only in Proto-Atayalic but also in Proto-Austronesian. As for *adi, it is a verbal negator in Proto-Austronesian, whereas it is

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[28] However, there are only two languages that reflect *ka as prohibitive. These languages are Atayal and Bunun.

a nominal negator in Proto-Atayalic. As for *ini, it is nominal negator in Proto-Austronesian, whereas it is a verbal negator in Proto-Atayalic. If Lin's (2011) reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian negators is on the right track, it follows that the negators the original functions of *ini and *adi were switched in Proto-Atayal, which seems to be less likely.

In order to fully understand the historical change negators underwent from Proto-Austronesian to Proto-Atayalic, some work remains to be done regarding the Proto-Austronesian negators Lin (2011) reconstructed. First, Lin's (2011) reconstruction did not deal with the historical development of negators in each language. This paper attempted to reconstruct Proto-Saisiyat negators (Section 5) and argued that the existential negator *oka extended its function to verbal negation as well as to nominal negation. The reconstructed verbal negator has two forms *ini and *oka. The original verbal negator should be *ini.

Second, some extinct Formosan languages are not included in the data on which Lin (2011) based his reconstruction. The reconstruction need to be revised by adding data for extinct languages, such as Pazih, Siraya, Babuza, and Basay. For instance, Proto-Austronesian *adi is reflected in Siraya as *asi*.[29] According to Adelaar (2011: 99), the Siraya negator *asi* is used for both verbal and nominal negation.[30]

This paper tentatively suggests that Proto-Austronesian had three rather than four distinctions of negators. There was no distinction between verbal and nominal negators.[31] Rather, there was a general negator used for both verbal and nominal negation. There were two forms used for this function: *ini and *adi. The other two negators were the existential negator *uka and the prohibitive *ka. In the time of Proto-Atayalic, the general negators *ini and *adi diverged into two functions, namely verbal and nominal negation, respectively. In addition, another innovative negator, *k-ani* or *k-ana*, was derived from *ka and the indefinite marker *ani or *ana, with the function verbal negation with a deontic meaning. The innovative prohibitive *ija was also produced.

An investigation of negators in extinct Formosan languages may reveal a different picture of Proto-Austronesian. Moreover, an investigation of the history of negators in each language may reveal a more accurate picture of Proto-Austronesian.

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[29] This form is from Adelaar (2011: 99).

[30] However, for examples of *asi*, Adelaar (2011: 99) only lists instances of verbal negation. An example in which *asi* is used as a nominal negator can be found in Adelaar (2011: 177). The example is *ăsi dĭk na paul ta pakäwäx ki kaäwlung* (NEG only PART bread NOM CAUS-STAT-live OBL person) "Man shall not live by bread alone," which literally means "The thing causing a man to live should not only be bread" (the present author slightly modified the interlinear glosses).

[31] According to Lin (2011: 189–217), among the languages he investigated, only the Atayalic languages, Saisiyat, and Puyuma show that distinct forms are used for verbal and nominal negation. Other languages, namely Tsou, Rukai, Bunun, Amis, Thao, and Paiwan use the same set of negators for both nominal and verbal negation. This also supports the present author's three distinctions with regard to Proto-Austronesian negators.

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Negation patterns in Meche*

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Summary

This paper discusses the negation structure of Meche, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the southeastern part of Nepal. The negation marker in Meche is not cognate with the Proto-Tibeto-Burman negation prefix *ma-*, but is suffixal, as observed in other TB languages of North East India. The Meche negation suffixes are not simple negation markers attached to the verb in affirmative clauses, but rather constitute a paradigm contrasting with affirmative suffixes with respect to tense-aspect-modality (habitual -*ə* vs. -*a*, future -*nai* vs. -*a*, past -*aʔ* vs. -*yi*, recent past/perfect -*bai* vs. -*akəi*, continuous/perfect -*dəŋ* vs. -*akəi*). In negative clauses, negation suffixes occur instead of corresponding affirmative verbal suffixes. There is, however, one negative prefix: the prohibitive marker *da-*, which is cognate with the PTB-negative imperative marker *da/ta*. Meche has a negation suffix that signals a change of situation into a negative state, -*le*. The negation in subordinate clauses is based on finite negation markers, but the patterns are slightly different. The nominalized clause is formed by one of the two nominalizers, -*gra* and -*nai*, for affirmative nominalized clauses. However, there is only one negative nominalizer -*yi*. For temporal-conditional adverbial clauses, the finite negative suffixes are used, while for other types of adverbial clauses, which are based on nominalization, the negative nominalizer -*yi* is always used. Finally, the paper speculates regarding a possible origin of one of the negative suffixes in Meche based on Wood (2008) and a piece of data from Tani (Post 2015). The negative suffix -*a* might have originated from the Proto-Bodo-Garo prohibitive *ta*, which is cognate with PTB *da/ta*, and which for some reason might have been employed as a regular negative marker. A possible phonological change would be *ta > ca > ja > ya > a* in Boro and Meche.

Key words: affirmative/negative paradigm, nominalizers, finite/nonfinite negations, origin of negative suffix

1. Introduction

Dryer (2008) discusses the order of negative morphemes with respect to the verb in Tibe-to-Burman languages. There are two patterns: VNeg and NegV. His data show that the VNeg order is mainly observed in languages in southeast Nepal and northeast India (most Bodo-Garo, Tani, and Kuki-Chin languages), while the NegV order is more dominant in the other areas. His data contain an example from Bodo of VNeg order, as in (1).

(1) ^{2}aŋ-^{1}ō ^{2}ga^{2}mi-^{3}aw ^{1}thaŋ-^{0}a
     1SG-SUBJDEF   village-LOC   go-NEG.NONPAST

      'I do not go to the village.' (Bhattacharya 1977: 191)

In Bodo, the negative marker in (1) is -*a*, which is a suffix.

Many Tibeto-Burman languages have a cognate negative morpheme with bilabial nasal consonant onset, *ma*. However, the Bodo languages do not have such negative mor-phemes. I will illustrate this point by taking up a Bodo language spoken in Nepal, called Meche. I will extensively discuss certain morpho-syntactic patterns of negation observed in Meche, including the negation patterns in main clauses and subordinate clauses. Meche also has a negative existential verb.

Section 2 provides a brief outline of this language. Section 3 discusses the negation patterns in matrix clauses, and Section 4 discusses those in subordinate clauses. In Section 5, the possible origin of one of the negative suffixes is discussed. Finally, Section 6 con-cludes the paper.

2. A brief introduction to the Meche language

Meche is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the southeastern districts of Nepal, mainly in the Jhapa District.

A map of Nepal

Figure 1   A map of Nepal and the location of Meche settlements

Meches belong to the Bodo people from an ethnological point of view. Meche falls within the Bodo group of the Bodo-Garo branch among Tibeto-Burman languages. According to Joseph and Burling (2006: 1–2), the Bodo group has four sub-groups: a) Garo, b) Koch, Rabha, Wanang, Atong, and Ruga, c) Boro (Boro, Kokborok, Tiwa), and d) Deuri. "Boro" is used as a hyper-denomination of the subgroup and as the name of the language spoken in Assam. Meche is a close variety of Boro. Boro was once referred to as Kachari in the 19th century, but since the Boro people call themselves Boro, it is appropriate to use the self-designation as the name of the language. Likewise, "Meche" is an exonym, and Meches call themselves Boḍo [boḍo] in their language. It would be more appropriate to call the language "Bodo," but the Meches in Nepal prefer not to use their self-denomination and identify themselves as Meches in official documents. Thus, I maintain the name "Meche" for the people and the language. Based on this fact, J&B's Boro sub-group shall contain Boro-Mech, Kokborok, and Tiwa instead.

Boro-Mech consists of mutually intelligible dialects. Based on phonological and grammatical differences, Kiryu (2012) discusses two major dialectal groups, the western dialectal group, which consists of Meche and North Bengal Boro, and the eastern dialectal group consisting of Boro dialects spoken in Assam. This division is based on phonological and grammatical differences. For example, the Western varieties have the affricate consonant /c/ (transcribed as *ch*), while the Eastern varieties do not, and /c/ is replaced by /s/. For

example, the number '1' in the Western varieties is /ce/. However, in Assam varieties, it is /se/. In the Western varieties, 'to wash' is /cu/ and 'to stab' is /su/, but the two words are rendered in the Eastern varieties as /su/ although they are different in tone.

The phonemes in Meche are simple.[1] There are six vowels, /ə, a, i, u, e, o/ and diphthongs /əi, əu, ai, au, iu, eu/.

Meche has the following inventory of consonants:

p	t		k	
b	d		g	
m	n		ŋ	
		s [s/ɕ]		h
		j [z/ʑ]		
		c [ts/tɕ]		
w	l r [ɾ]		y [j]	

Stops have no contrast in terms of aspiration. The voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/ (transcribed as *ph, th, kh* respectively) are aspirated in syllable-initial position. The velar nasal appears only in the coda position. The consonants /c/, /j/, and /s/ are palatalized when followed by the vowels /i/ and /e/.

From a typological perspective, Meche shows an agglutinative morphology except for TAM verbal suffixes, which are fusional. The word orders in this language are SV, AVO, AN/NA, GN, and RelN. It also has a rich system of numeral classifiers, in which the classifier precedes the number (ClfNum).

3.   Negation in predicate clauses

3.1   Declarative clauses

In Meche, negation is marked by suffixes of verbs. The negation strategy is asymmetric in terms of the affirmative/negative dichotomy. Unlike other Tibeto-Burman languages, Meche does not have a simple negative marker. All the negative markers, except the pro-

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[1] Boro is often said to be a tonal language with high and low tones. Although I have not yet performed any acoustic analyses, it seems that the tonal distinction is not simply a matter of the pitch of a tone-bearing unit; a high tone is either associated with a glottal stop or a high pitch on the syllable of the following element. For example, in the cases of *ja*[H] 'eat' and *ja*[L] 'become'. When the high-tone word is pronounced alone, /ja/ is accompanied by a glottal check, as in /jaʔ/, while the low-tone word shows no glottal check. When followed by a TAM suffix, for example, *-bai* (a perfect marker), no glottal feature occurs on the high-tone word, but a high pitch is marked on the suffix, as in /ja33-bai44/. Conversely, the pitch falls sharply in the case of the low-tone counterpart, as in /ja33-bai11/. Meche shows the same pattern for high-tone words, but low tone words show no sharp pitch falling on the suffix, as in /ja33-bai33/. This difference in tonal quality gives a clear impression that the two languages Boro and Meche sound different.

hibitive marker (see Section 3.4), are suffixes. The cognate negative prefix with the onset consonant bilabial nasal /m/ is found in many TB languages, but Meche has no negative affix with this consonant.

Table 1 shows the paradigm of the finite verbal suffixes in terms of affirmative and negative clauses.

Table 1 Finite verbal suffixes

	Affirmative	Negative
Habitual	-ə	-a
Future	-nai	-a
Past	-aʔ	-yi
Recent past/Perfect	-bai	-akhəi
Continuous/Perfect	-dəŋ	-akhəi

The negative suffixes *-ə*, *-a*, *-yi*, and *-akhəi* take an epenthetic consonant when they are attached to the verb, depending on the preceding phoneme, as in (2).

(2) a. -ya: after front vowels /a/, /i/, /e/   jaʔ-ya   'do not eat'
     b. -ŋa: after velar consonants /k/, /g/, /ŋ/   ləŋ-ŋa   'do not drink'
     c. -ma: after bilabial consonants /p/, /b/, /m/ gum-ma   'do not graze'
     d. -na: after dental consonants /t/, /d/, /n/   dən-na   'do not put'
     e. otherwise no epenthetic consonant is inserted

In matrix clauses, verbs inflect for tense, aspect, and modality in both affirmative and negative clauses. The inflectional suffixes are fusional, including tense, aspect, modality, and negation. As shown in Table 1, there are five different suffixes in the affirmative series, while there are three suffixes in the negative series. The temporal distinction between habitual and future is not observed in the negative, and there are two types of affirmative perfect suffixes with only one negative counterpart.

The affirmative habitual suffix *-ə* corresponds to *-a* in the negative clause, as in (4).

(3) bodo = a   oma?   bidod   jaʔ-yə.
     Meches=NOM   pig   meat   eat-HAB

     'Meches eat pork.'

(4) bodo = a   məsəu   bidod   jaʔ-ya.
     Meches=NOM   cow   meat   eat-NEG.NPST

     'Meches do not eat beef.'

Future situations are marked by the suffix *-nai*, and its negation is marked by the same suffix as the habitual negative, *-a*.

(5) "nəŋ   gabən   thaŋʔ-nai?"   "əhə,   aŋ   thaŋʔ-a."
    2SG   tomorrow   go-FUT   No   1SG   go-NPST.NEG

    "Are you leaving tomorrow?" "No, I'm not leaving."

The tense distinction is dissolved between habitual (or present) and future. Thus, the negative suffix is considered to be non-past in terms of the tense.

Past situations are marked by *-aʔ* for affirmative and *-yi* for negative. They are often followed by the temporal remoteness marker, *mən*.

(6) dakhali   aŋ   hathai = au   thaŋʔ-aʔ   mən.
    the.other.day 1SG   market=LOC   go-PST   TRMT

    'The other day I went to the market.'

(7) dakhali   aŋ   hathai = au   thaŋʔ-yi   mən.
    the.other.day 1SG   market=LOC   go-PST.NEG   TRMT

    'The other day I didn't go to the market.'

Past situations, especially the recent past, can be marked by the suffix *-bai*. The negation of the *-bai* verb corresponds to the verb with *-akhəi*.

(8) nəŋ   əŋkham   jaʔ-bai   na   jaʔ-akhəi?
    2SG   cooked.rice   eat-PFCT   or   eat-NEG.PFCT

    'Did you eat rice or not?' (FT: 'Have you eaten yet?')

Etymologically, the negative suffix *-akhəi* can be considered a combination of the non-past negative suffix *-a* plus *khəi*, whose meaning is unclear.

Progressive situations are marked by the continuous aspect marker *-dəŋ*. The corresponding negation marker is *-akhəi*.

(9) nəŋ = neu   hai   nokha   ha-dəŋ   na   ha-akhəi?
    2SG=GEN.LOC   toward   rain   fall-CONT   or   fall-NEG.PFCT

    'Is it raining or not in your place?'

Meche has an equational copular verb *əŋ*. In affirmative contexts, noun predicate clauses are

often a simple juxtaposition of the subject NP and the predicate NP without the copula, unless emphasis or a modality sense is involved. When negated, the copular verb is also required.

(10) be   rentha = ni   noʔ.
     this   Rentha=GEN   house

     'This is Rentha's house.'

(11) be   rentha = ni   noʔ   əŋ-thar.
     this   Rentha=GEN   house COP-definitely

     'This is definitely Rentha's house.'

(12) be   rentha = ni   noʔ   əŋ = daŋ.
     this   Rentha=GEN   house COP=maybe

     'This might be Rentha's house.'

(13) be   rentha = ni   noʔ   əŋ-a.
     this   Rentha=GEN   house COP-NEG.NPST

     'This is not Rentha's house.'

The negative suffix follows a modality suffix and precedes a modality clitic.

(14) be   rentha = ni   noʔ   əŋ-thar-a.
     this   Rentha=GEN   house COP-definitely-NEG.NPST

     'This is definitely not Rentha's house.'

(15) be   rentha = ni   noʔ   əŋ-a = daŋ.
     this   Rentha=GEN   house COP-NEG.NPST=maybe

     'This may not be Rentha's house.'

The copular verb can take the non-past negative suffix -*a* and the past negative suffix -*yi*, but it does not take the suffix -*akhəi*. This is because the copular clause is free from aspectual distinctions.

(16) rentha = ya   roja   əŋ-yi = mən,   da   roja   kha.
     Rentha=NOM   sherman   COP-NEG.PST=TRMT   now   sherman   really

     'Rentha was not a sherman, but now he IS a sherman.'

In Meche, the adjectival predicate clause also does not need a copula in affirmative contexts. Like the noun predicate clause, it requires the copular verb in negation.

(17) mia   gusu   mən,   dənəi   gusu   əŋ-a.
yesterday cold   TRMT   today   cold   COP-NEG.NPST

'It was cold yesterday, but it's not cold today.'

3.2 The negation of future events

One interesting strategy in negation is the use of the negative copula *əŋ-a*. The negative copula can be added to the sentence-final position to give it a sense of 'It is not that'.

(18) bi   lum   ja-nanəi phəi-yi   əŋ-a,   ba-nanəi phəi-yi.
3SG fever happen-CP come-NEG.PST COP-NEG.NPST be.bored-CP come-NEG.PST

'It was not that he didn't come because he had a fever, but that he didn't come because he was bored.'

When it is attached to the future marker *-nai*, it expresses a similar meaning.

(19) bi   mia   thaŋʔ-nai əŋ-a   mən, theu bi   thaŋʔ-dəŋ.
3SG   yesterday go-FUT   COP-NEG.NPST TRMT but   3SG go-PFCT

'It was not that he would go, but he has gone.'

However, the *-nai* plus *əŋ-a* complex is reanalyzed as a single future negation marker and phonologically reduced to *neŋa*. This phonologically reduced form is used only for clauses with a third-person subject with a slight emphatic overtone.

(20) əhə,   isa   ha-neŋa
no   that.way be.possible-NEG.NPST

'It is NOT possible that way.'

The suffix *-nai* was originally a nominalizer. In the pattern *-nai* plus *əŋ-a*, it is often understood as a future event, but when a different temporal interpretation is forced by an overt temporal expression, the *-nai* suffix is simply understood as a nominalizer, becoming atemporal itself. The tense interpretation depends on the overt temporal expression. In the following example, the temporal adverbial *da* 'now' forces the interpretation of the nominalized verb *mau-nai* 'working' as a present progressive situation.

(21) da   bi   haba   mau-nai   əŋ-a,   unduglaŋ-dəŋ.
     now   3SG   work   move-NMLZR   COP-NEG.NPST   take.nap-CONT

'He isn't working now, but he's taking a nap.'

This temporal coercion does not occur when the reduced-form *neŋa* is used. In (22), the adverbial *da* is reinterpreted as near future.

(22) da   bi   thaŋʔ-neŋa.
     little.later   3SG   go-NEG.FUT

'He's NOT going a little later.'

3.3 The existential verb

Meche has an affirmative existential verb *doŋ*. This verb does not take any of the negative suffixes in Table 1, but the negative existence is expressed by the negative verb *gəi*. The negative verb takes only the non-past and past negative markers. Here are some examples.

(23) bi = ne   hahu   doŋ,   aŋ = ne   hahu   gəi-ya.
     3SG=GEN   land   exist.NPST   1SG=GEN   land   not.exist-NPST

'He has land, but I don't have land.'

In (23), the affirmative existential verb *doŋ* does not take any TAM suffixes, but the negative existential verb *gəi* takes tense suffixes.

(24) expresses a habitual situation. In this case, the negative existential takes the non-past negative suffix and the marker *mən*, indicating temporal remoteness.

(24) sigaŋ = au   bəŋdəŋ-phra   gəi-ya   mən.
     before=LOC   Parbate.Hindu-PL.NOM   not.exist-NEG.PST   TRMT

'A long ago, there were no Parbate Hindus.'

Compare this with (25), a case of a particular past situation.

(25) mia   bahan   bi   gəi-yi   mən.
     yesterday   here   3SG   not.exist-PST   TRMT

'He was not here yesterday.'

3.4 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses in Meche involve the stem form of verbs. The negative imperative, or

prohibitive, is expressed by adding the prohibitive prefix *da-* to the verb.

(26) əŋkham   jaʔ.
     cooked.rice   eat.IMP

   'Eat the rice.'

(27) əŋkham   da-jaʔ.
     cooked.rice   PROH-eat.IMP

   'Don't eat the rice.'

This was the only negative prefix in Meche. The prohibitive prefix is a clear cognate with the PTB-negative imperative **da/*ta* (Matisoff 2003).

3.5   Change of situation into a negative state

Meche has two markers that indicate situational changes (Kiryu 2008). One is *=chəi,* and the other is the negative suffix *-le*.

The clitic *=chəi* can be attached to any type of sentence, denoting that the situation described is new.

(28) aŋ   bə   thaŋʔ-nai.
     1SG   too   go-FUT

   'I'm going too.'

(29) aŋ   bə   thaŋʔ-nai = chəi.
     1SG   too   go-FUT-CS

   'I'll go too.' (Implying that I won't stay anymore.)

In the past, *=chəi* is attached to *-akhəi*, and as a whole, it is pronounced *-akhəchəi*. It carries the sense 'after all', implying that the expected situation has not been attained.

(30) mia   rentha = ya   phəi-akhə = chəi.
     yesterday   Rentha=NOM   come-NEG.PFCT-CS

   'Rentha didn't come after all.'

For non-past situations, *=chəi* is not attached to the negation marker; rather, Meche has an independent non-past negative marker for situational change, *-le*, which carries the sense 'anymore'.

(31) aŋ   bi＝khəu   ham   ja-le.
    1SG   that=ACC   affection   become-NEG.NPST.CS

‘I don’t like that anymore.’

(32) da   thə-bai.   aŋ   laʔ-le.
    now   be.enough-PFCT   1SG   take-NEG.NPST.CS

‘I’ve had enough. I won’t take (refill of rice) anymore.’

The existential verb *doŋ* does not take *-le*, but the negative existential verb *gəi* does.

(33) da   aŋ＝ha   phəisa   gəi-le.
    now   1SG=COM   money   not.exist-ANYMORE.NPST

‘I don’t have money anymore.’

4.   Negation in subordinate constructions

The negation patterns in subordinate clauses are slightly different from negation in matrix clauses. Despite having the same suffixes, not all are employed. There are at least two types of subordination in Meche: nominalized clauses and adverbial clauses.

4.1   Nominalized constructions

Meche has two grammatical nominalizers: *-gra* and *-nai*. The nominalizer *-gra* corresponds to the habitual suffix in the matrix clause, and the nominalizer *-nai* corresponds to everything else.[2]

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[2] Shibatani (2017, 2018) discusses two types of nominalization and two functions. One type of nominalization is “argument nominalization,” wherein an argument of an event is denoted. The other type of nominalization is “event nominalization,” where an event itself is denoted. Shibatani considers nominalization a grammatical process that metonymically evokes a denotation closely associated with the nominalized structure. Shibatani further argues that the nominalization structure has two functions: an NP-use, traditionally understood as a complement clause, and a modification-use, traditionally understood as a noun complement clause and a relative clause. In this paper, I adopt this approach to nominalization and do not use the term “relative clauses.” Further, Shibatani does not consider “nominalized clauses” to be clauses because the function of a clause is predication, whereas the function of a nominalization structure is denotation. He defines “clause” in terms of its function rather than its internal structure. His approach has a significant advantage in explaining under a single concept of nominalization a wide range of phenomena that are traditionally discussed as different grammatical constructions and those that are not effectively treated, such as Japanese noun-modifying constructions that cannot be understood as relative clauses. See Shibatani’s works for details.

(34) thaŋkhu   chəb-mə.
     tobacco   suck-HAB

     '[He] smokes tobacco.'

(35) thaŋkhu   chəb-gra   (mansi)
     tobacco   suck-NMLZR   (man)

     'the one who smokes' or 'smoker'

(36) aŋ = khəu   goga   mən-bai.
     1SG=ACC   cold   befall-PFCT

     'I've got a cold.'

(37) aŋ = khəu   [goga   mən-nai] = ya   sajai-bai.
     1SG=ACC   cold   befall-NMLZR=NOM   bother-PFCT

     'It bothers me that I've got a cold.'

In the nominalized structures, the tense distinction disappears. The distinction implied by the two nominalizers is that of individual vs. stage-level situations. The nominalizer *-gra* signifies an individual-level situation, while the nominalizer *-nai* signifies a stage-level situation, as in (35) and (37).

When it comes to negation, even this distinction is dismissed, and only the negative nominalizing suffix *-yi* is used. This suffix is obviously cognate with the past negative suffix.

(38) bi   mansi = ya   thaŋkhu   chəb-ma.
     that   person=NOM   tobacco   suck-NEG.NPST

     'That person does not smoke tobacco.'

(39) [thaŋkhu   chəb-myi   (mansi)   ] = ya   bi   nə.
     tobacco   suck-NEG.NMLZR (man)   =NOM   that   FOC

     'The man/one who does/did not smoke tobacco is that one.'

4.2   Adverbial constructions

Meche has several adverbial constructions. Adverbial constructions are clause-like structures that modify the matrix predicate, expressing reasons, temporal relations, etc. In these constructions, nominalized structures are mainly used, especially when the sense of nega-

tion is expressed. Some examples are illustrated in the following.

4.2.1 Reasons

Reasons are expressed by the *(=ni) gunin* construction, which takes a verb nominalized by *-nai* or *-yi*.

(40) gabaŋin   haba   ja-nai=ni   gunin   bi   olmol=au   gəgləi-bai.
     much   task   happen-NMLZR=GEN   reason.EMP   3SG   stall=LOC   fall-PFCT

   'He got stuck up because a lot of tasks occurred to him.'

(41) rentha   phəi-yi   gunin   renthi=ya   bərab-dəŋ.
     Rentha   come-NEG.NMLZR   reason.EMP   Renthi=NOM   be.angry-CONT

   'Since Rentha didn't come, Renthi is angry.'

Another expression for reason is the *khai* construction.

(42) jəŋ=ne   bisa   gəi-yi   khai   jəŋ   chintha   tha-dəŋ.
     1PL=GEN   child   not.exist-NEG.NMLZR   sake   1PL   sorrow   stay-CONT

   'Since we don't have any children, we are in a sorrow.'

4.2.2 Conditional and Temporal

In Meche, conditional and temporal adverbial constructions are marked by *=bla* or *=la*. In affirmative clauses, the verb may take a finite suffix, but it is optional. When it is negated, finite negative markers are used.

(43) bi   thaŋʔ-(nai)=bla   aŋ   bə   thaŋʔ-nai
     3SG   go-(FUT)=if   1SG   too   go-FUT

   'If he goes, I will go, too.'

(44) bi   thaŋʔ-a=bla   aŋ   thaŋʔ-nai.
     3SG   go-NEG.NPST=when/if   1SG   go-FUT

   'If he does not go, I will go.'

4.2.3 Other Temporals

There are several temporal expressions. The *ja-che* and *mani* expressions indicate a simultaneous situation.

(45) nokha   ha-yi   ja-che   jəŋ   gele-ni.
     rain   fall-NEG.NMLZR   happen-CONV   1PL   play-HOR

    'Let's play while it does not rain.'

(46) bi   əŋkham   ja?-yi   mani   phuŋ=niphra   hor=sim   phərai-ya?.
    3SG   cooked.rice   eat-NEG.NMLZR   while   morning=from   night=until   study-PST

    'He studied from morning till night without eating.'

5.   A possible origin of the negative suffix

The historical origin of the negative suffixes is highly unclear in Meche and Boro. Unlike other Tibeto-Burman languages, which share reflexes of the PTB negative markers, Meche does not except for the prohibitive prefix *da-*. From a synchronic point of view, many TB languages in northeast India often have negative suffixes cognate with the PTB negative marker. However, Bodo-Garo languages do not. Wood (2008) discusses negative suffixes in Bodo-Garo languages, as shown in the following table.

Table 2   PBG Negative Suffix (Wood 2008: 85)

Garo	Bodo	Rabha	Deuri	Dimasa	*PBG
-ja	-a ~ -ya ~ -wa	-ca	-ya	-ja	-*ya

He reconstructs - *ya* as the negative suffix in the Proto-Bodo-Garo language, which also lacks bilabial consonants. This reconstruction shows the possibility that Bodo-Garo languages had already lost the PTB negative *ma* at the proto-language stage. The origin of the reconstructed - *ya* is unclear.

One interesting piece of data comes from the Tani languages spoken in the state adjacent to Assam. Post (2015: 441) illustrates the Tani negation markers. The regular verbal negation marker in Tani is *maa*, which is a clear cognate of the PTB negative marker. Contrariwise, the prohibitive marker -*jóo* does not seem to be cognate with the PTB prohibitive, *da/*ta* (Matisoff 2003: 660). However, it is phonologically very similar to the Garo and Dimasa negative suffix -*ja*. If *da/*ta* was weakened phonologically and changed to *joo*, this would be a case of lenition. If this is the case, one possible source of the Bodo-Garo negative suffix would be lenition of the prohibitive marker *da/*ta* (Matisoff 2003: 586), rather than fortition, as suggested by Wood (2008). This is just a mere possibility without further evidence. Nonetheless, if so, the PTB prohibitive marker was employed as a regular negation marker instead of the *ma*-related negation marker in PBG. Wood reconstructed the PBG prohibitive as *ta-*. A possible change would be, as in (47), that *ta* underwent lenition and became *ca*, which is retained in Rabha, that it changed into *ja* in

Garo and Dimasa, and further changed into -ya in Boro and Deuri, and that -ya in Bodo has gone further in phonological reduction, resulting in the consonant /y/ being retained in a certain environment but not in other environments.

(47) PTB   PBG   Garo, Dimasa   Rabha   Deuri, Boro   Boro

    *da/*ta ⟶ *-ta ⟶ -ca

               -ja ⟶ -ya ⟶ -a

6. Conclusion

This study discusses the negation structure of Meche. The sense of negation is expressed on the verb. The negation suffixes are asymmetrical and fused into a single morpheme with tense-aspect senses. Meche also has a PTB cognate negative imperative prefix. I have also illustrated the negation patterns in subordination structures. In subordination, whether affirmative or negative, the nominalization structure comes into play. Although the historical origin of the negative suffix is yet to be clarified, one possible scenario has been presented based on the internal data from Boro-Garo and external data from Tani.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
CONT	continuous	NEG	negation
CONV	converbial	NMLZR	nominalizer
COP	copula	NOM	nominative
CP	conjunctive participle	NPST	non-past
CS	change of situation	PFCT	perfect
EMP	emphatic	PL	plural
FT	free translation	PST	past
HAB	habitual	SG	singular
HOR	hortative	TRMT	temporal remoteness

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