Negatives, between Chamic and Bahnaric

Frens Vossen & Johan van der Auwera

Center for Grammar, Cognition and Typology
University of Antwerp
Negatives, between Chamic and Bahnaric or Lee (1996) revisited

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1. Introduction

2. Negation in Chamic

3. Negation in Bahnaric

4. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric negation

5. Conclusion
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Chamic?
Malayo-Sumbawan
Bahnaric?
Austro-Asiatic
Bahnaric
Sidwell (2007: 115)
2000 years of language contact


Negatives, between Chamic and Bahnaric
or
Lee (1996) revisited

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Burmese (Bernot 1980: 45)

\[
\begin{align*}
    mə & \quad ‘sa \quad ‘phu \\
    \text{NEG1} & \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{NEG2}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) don’t eat (it).’

Roglai (Lee 1996: 294)

*buh* Amã não paq apu *oh*  
*NEG1* Father go to rice. field *NEG2*  
‘Father didn’t go to the rice field.’
Why should Lee (1996) be revisited?
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1. We know much more about double negation now.
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Also in Grant (2005: 75)
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   Vietnamese
   Khmer
   Chrau
   Thai

   Also in Grant (2005: 75)

   Today: Bahnaric
‘standard negation’

Declarative main clause verbal negation

So not:
prohibitives (‘don’t V’)
‘not yet’, ‘no longer’
‘cannot’, ‘not be’, ‘not have’, ...
‘nobody’, ‘never’, ...
Data
Data remain suboptimal
1. Introduction

2. Negation in Chamic

3. Negation in Bahnaric

4. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric negation

5. Conclusion
Chru
Formal Eastern Cham
‘buh V (o’u)
ôh V (ô) EMPH

Jorai
Rade (Lee)
(Thurgood)

Roglai

buh V oh
amâo V oh
bu V oh
buh V oh
Chru  ‘buh V (o’u)
Formal Eastern Cham  ôh V (ô) EMPH
Jorai  buh V oh
Rade (Lee)  amâo V oh
(Thurgood)  bu V oh
Roglai  buh V oh
(Tsat  pu V-I)
Informal Eastern Cham  (di) V ô/ke EMPH
Haroı (Lee) (Thurgood)

Chru
Formal Eastern Cham

Jorai
Rade (Lee) (Thurgood)
Roglai

(Tsat)

Informal Eastern Cham

soh/oh V
?ōh V
‘buh V (o’u)
ôh V (ô) EMPH
buh V oh
amâo V oh
bu V oh
buh V oh
pu V-I)

(di) V ô/ke EMPH
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**Negation Patterns:***

- Single NEG
- Opt Double NEG
- Obl Double NEG
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Jesperersen Cycle
NEGATION
In
ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES
By
OTTO JESPERSEN
CHAPTER I

General Tendencies.

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.
CHAPTER I

General Tendencies.

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

jeo ne di (Old French)
je ne dis pas (modern literary French)
je dis pas  (modern colloquial French).
CHAPTER I

General Tendencies.

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

As an example of this course of events, Jespersen quotes the following stages in the development from Latin to Modern French:

1. non dico (Latin)
2. je ne di (Old French)
3. je ne dis pas (modern literary French)
4. je dis pas (modern colloquial French).

He also shows that the Germanic languages went through a parallel development in their earlier stages. Since we are dealing with a cyclical process in the sense that we go from a single particle to a double and back again, we may refer to this kind of development as 'Jespersen's Cycle'.

The obvious question is whether all cases of double Neg particles have
— L’histoire de la négation allemande nicht, qui étymologiquement signifie « pas une chose », est parallèle à celle de la négation latine et française. — Les langues suivent ainsi une sorte de développement en spirale: elles ajoutent des mots accessoires pour obtenir une expression intense; ces mots s’affaiblissent, se dégradent et tombent au niveau de simples outils grammaticaux; on ajoute de nouveaux mots ou des mots différents en vue de l’expression; l’affaiblissement recommence et ainsi sans fin.

Antoine Meillet (1912)
Neg X $\rightarrow$ Neg Neg
Neg X → Neg Neg
Neg $X \rightarrow$ Neg Neg

minimizer such as $pas$
Neg X $\rightarrow$ Neg Neg

minimizer such as *pas*
a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*)
Neg $X \to$ Neg Neg

minimizer such as $pas$

a negative phrase, as in English ($ne \ldots not$)

a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans ($nie \ldots nie$)
Neg $X \rightarrow \text{Neg Neg}$

minimizer such as $pas$

a negative phrase, as in English ($ne \ldots not$)

a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans ($nie \ldots nie$)

a subordinator
Neg X \rightarrow Neg Neg

minimizer such as *pas*

a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*),
a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans (*nie ... nie*),
a subordinator

Arizona Tewa (Kroskrity 1984: 95)
Sen k'wiyó *we-*mán-mun-*dí*.
man woman NEG-3>3.ACT-see-NEG

‘The man did not see the woman.’
Neg X → Neg Neg

minimizer such as *pas*

a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*)

a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans (*nie ... nie*)

a subordinator

a negative answer particle
Neg X $\rightarrow$ Neg Neg

minimizer such as *pas*

a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*)

a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans (*nie ... nie*)

a subordinator

a negative answer particle

Lifonga C412 (Djamba Ndjeka 1996: 143)

té na-î-mo-wéñ-é té

no 1SG-NEG1-1-see-PRS NEG2

‘No, I will not see him’
Neg $X \rightarrow$ Neg Neg

minimizer such as *pas*
a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*)
a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans (*nie ... nie*)
a subordinator

a negative answer particle

Lifonga C412 (Djamba Ndjeka 1996: 143)
$té \quad na-î-mo-wèn-é \quad tê$
$no \quad 1SG-NEG1-1-see-PRS \quad \text{NEG2}$
‘No, I will not see him’

Kwezo L13 (Forges 1983: 216)
$lo \quad gwâmi \quad nga-swêg-á \quad ídondo$
$\text{NEG NEG 1SG.PST}-\text{hide-PRF} \quad \text{9.meat}$
‘I have not hidden the meat’
Neg X → Neg Neg

minimizer such as *pas*
a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*)
a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans (*nie ... nie*)
a subordinator
a negative answer particle
Neg $X \rightarrow$ Neg Neg

- minimizer such as *pas* +EMPH
- a negative phrase, as in English (*ne ... not*) +EMPH
- a copy of the first Neg, as in Afrikaans (*nie ... nie*) ±EMPH
- a subordinator $-$EMPH
- a negative answer particle ±EMPH
Neg X → Neg Neg

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Neg V X → Neg V Neg
Austronesian languages
Austronesian languages

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<th>postV single</th>
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Informal Eastern Cham
= (di) V ô/ke EMPH
Western Cham
= V ô

Lee 1996: 316
1. Introduction

2. Negation in Chamic

3. Negation in Bahnaric

4. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric negation

5. Conclusion
Brao

tha/thaden V ììm
Rengao
Koho Sre
Central Mnong
Stiëng
Brao

big V (oh) (EMPH)
?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)
mau V (ôh)
‘bun V laang/oom (EMPH)
tha/thaden V îîm
Rengao: big \( V (\text{oh}) \) (EMPH)
Koho Sre: \(?à? (go?) \ V \ luy\) (EMPH)
Central Mnong: \( mau \ V (\text{ôh})\)
Stiêng: ‘\(bun \ V \ laang/oom\) (EMPH)
Brao: \(tha/thaden \ V \ iïm\)

<no language with \(\text{NEG1} \ V \ \text{NEG2}\)>
Sedang
Hrê
Bahnar
Koho Chil
Koho Lach
Rengao
Koho Sre
Central Mnong
Stiëng
Brao

<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>
Sedang  (ôh) ta/ti/tu V
Hrê          üh
Bahnar        uh/ko-V
Koho Chil    gō / ō / õsō ê V
Koho Lach   ̀
Rengao       big V (oh) (EMPH)
Koho Sre     ?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)
Central Mnong mau V (ôh)
Stiêng       ‘bun V laang/oom (EMPH)
Brao         tha/thaden V îîm

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Sedang
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<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>
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Chrau
(NEG) V or NEG V NEG or V (NEG)
(vî)/(cô)(sun)/(sây)/
(êq)/(toq)/(un) V (uy)(dang)(nôq)
**Brao**

<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>

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**Hrê**

**Bahnar**

**Koho Chil**

**Koho Lach**

**Rengao**

**Koho Sre**

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Chamic

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Rade
Roglai
Eastern Cham
Western Cham
Chamic

Haroı
Eastern Cham
Chamic

- Haroi
- Eastern Cham

Bahnaric

- Sedang
- Koho
buh V
Chamic
Chru
Jorai
Rade
Roglai
buh V

Chamic

Chru
Jorai
Rade
Roglai

Bahnaric

Rengao
Chamic markers were borrowed into Bahnaric
Chamic markers were borrowed into Bahnaric – only North & Central Bahnaric, not West Bahnaric
The assumption that Chamic markers were borrowed into Bahnaric – only North & Central Bahnaric, not West Bahnaric – fits a general borrowing hypothesis (Sidwell 2002: 113; Sidwell & Jacq 2003: 10)
The assumption that Chamic markers were borrowed into Bahnaric – only North & Central Bahnaric, not West Bahnaric – fits a general Borrowing hypothesis (Sidwell 2002: 113; Sidwell & Jacq 2003: 10)

Though it cannot be ruled out that the bipartite pattern itself was original to Mon-Khmer (Grant 2005: 76) or that that was a fair measure of independent development
1. Introduction

2. Negation in Chamic

3. Negation in Bahnaric

4. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric negation

5. Conclusion
Opt or Obl
Double Neg
Jespersen Cycle?

Chamic
- Eastern Cham
- Chru
- Haroi
- Jorai
- Rade
- Jorai

Bahnaric
- Brao
- Koho
- Central Mnong
- Rengao
- Stiêng
Opt or Obl
Double Neg

Jespersen Cycle?

✓
Chamic

?
Bahnaric

Eastern Cham
Chru
Haroi
Jorai
Rade
Jorai

Brao
Koho
Central Mnong
Rengao
Stiêng
Opt or Obl
Double Neg

Jespersen Cycle?

✓ Chamic

Bahnaric

Eastern Cham
Chru
Haroi
Jorai
Rade
Jorai

Chamic > N/C Bahnaric