

**NEGATION**

# **5 sessions on negation**

**5 sessions on negation**

**a challenge**

**5 sessions on negation**

**a challenge**

**in more than 1 way**



**Stanford U 2001**  
**U of Chicago 1989**  
**UCLA 1972**



**Stanford U 2001**

**U of Chicago 1989**

**UCLA 1972**



**Stanford U 2001**

**U of Chicago 1989**

**UCLA 1972**

**Ad Foolen (Nijmegen)**

- 1. 1917 (Clausal negation)**
- 2. Clausal negation (bis)**
- 3. Negative indefinites**
- 4. (Negative) indefinites (bis)**
- 5. Negative existentials ... and  
bringing it all together**

1917





**Julianus  
Alphonsus  
Ludovius  
Jan-Baptistus  
Van der Auwera**



**Julianus**  
**Alphonsus**  
**Ludovius**  
**Jan-Baptistus**  
**van der Auwera**

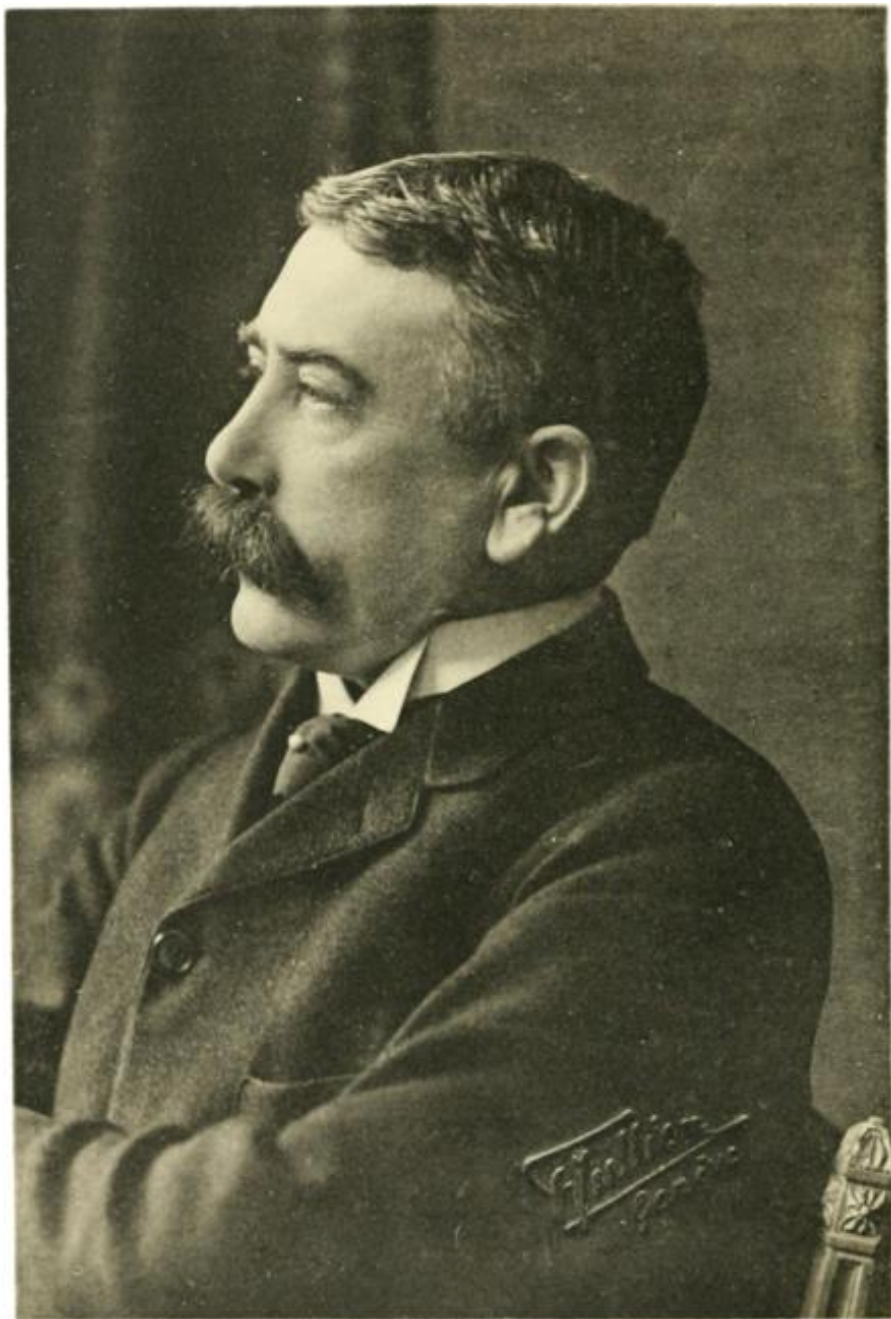


**Julianus**  
**Alphonsus**  
**Ludovius**  
**Jan-Baptistus**  
**van der Auwer-a**  
**nuo      seno-vandens**













→ *Sten's Hjelmslev.*  
6/1 1918.

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.  
Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. I, 5.

NEGATION  
IN  
ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES  
BY  
OTTO JESPERSEN



KØBENHAVN

HOVEDKOMMISSIONÆR: ANDR. FRED. HØST & SØN, KGL. HOF-BOGHANDEL  
BIANCO LUNOS BOGTRYKKERI  
1917

24442

GERM

A III. 72

JES 1

UNIV. FAC.  
ST. IGNATIUS





→ *Storis Hjelmslev.*  
6/1 1918.

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.  
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24442  
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ST. IGNATIUS

157  
P. Gynt 195 De lofte før At spede lidt til. — Nej, om jeg gør! | id. Når vi døde v. 145 Kan du ikke mindes det nu længer? — Nej, så sandelig om jeg kan | Kielland Fort. 40 men nei saagu' om jeg ved, hvad jeg har gjort | Hørup 2. 267 men ved gud! om jeg vilde undvære oppositionen, ingen af os vilde undvære den | Niels Møller Kogl. 297 Og ja, så min sæl, om jeg ikke også ser William sidde derovre | Bang Haabl. sl. 357 Om det just er sundt at ligge og døse i saadan en hundekulde.

In the same way in German: Ob ich das verstehen kann! and in Dutch: Fr. v. Eeden Kl. Joh. 115 Of ik niet besta! Drommels goed. Cf. Fr. (with an oath) Droz Mons. 3 Du diable si je me souviens de son nom (see below on *the devil*).

As *if* is often used in the same way: B. Jo. 3. 154 "What college?" As if you knew not (= of course you know). In the same way in other languages: Somom du ikke vidste det! | Als ob du es nicht wüsstest! | Comme si tu ne savais pas!

(3) In Roister 38 Hence both twaine. And let me see you play me such a part againe — *let me see you play* means the same as 'don't play'; a threatening "and I shall punish you" is left out after *let me see*, etc.

More often we have the imperative *see* (or *you see*) with an *if*-clause: *see if I don't* = 'I shall':

Sh. H4. B. II. 2. 77 see if the fat villain haue not transform'd him ape | Brontë P. 27 I see such a fine girl sitting in the corner . . . see if I don't get her for a partner in a jiffy! | Thack N. 529 Make your fortune, see if you won't | Trollope O. 137 now I'll get the day fixed; you see if I don't | Gissing G. 64 I shall rise to the occasion, see if I don't | Wells L. 94.

Exactly the same phrase is usual in Dan., see, e. g., DgF. nr. 390 Stat op, her Ioen, och gach her-ud!" "See, om ieg gjør!" sagde Ioen — whence Baggesen: "Kom ud, ridder Rap,

e. g. *sēmmit sēm* 'nobody there' | *sēmmit sēm hallottam* (or: *nēm hallottam sēmmit*) 'I have heard nothing'. Sometimes there are three negative words in the same sentence: *nēm felejtēk el sēmmit sēm* 'I forget nothing'. Negative words begin with *s-* or *n-*.

Repeated negation is found in many other languages. I shall mention only a few examples from Bantu languages. In H. G. Guinness's "Mosaic History in the Congo Language" (London, Hodder and Stoughton, n. d.) I find, for example, *ka bena mambu mambiko* 'not there are words evil not' | *yetu*

5\*

• *Novorodnitskiy alen. i litauiske folkewortze, f. ex.*

*iš nieks jē negalējs norādīt.*

*kād jī niekadēs nēko netuī mautiēt.*

*tū niekād nieko nepriēks.*

*iš daudzās jī niekadēs nieko negāvo.* (cf. *ibid.* p. 246-247.)

# 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) jeo 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



**(1979) Typology of sentence negation,  
*Linguistics* 17: 79-106.**

*non*

*ne*

*ne ... pas*

*ne ... pas*

*pas*

<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>pas</i>
------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------------	------------



<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>pas</i>
------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------------	------------

formal  
weakening



<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>pas</i>
------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------------	------------

formal  
weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>pas</i>
------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------------	------------

formal  
weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>pas</i>
------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------------	------------

formal  
weakening

formal  
weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

<i>non</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>ne ... pas</i>	<i>pas</i>
------------	-----------	-------------------	-------------------	------------

formal  
weakening

formal  
weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening



formal

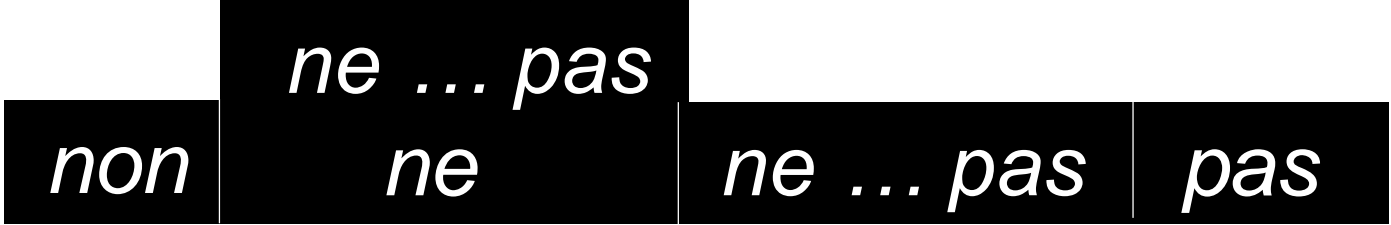
formal

weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening



*non* | *ne* | *ne ... pas* | *ne ... pas* | *pas*

formal

formal

weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

*non* | *ne ... pas* | *ne* | *ne ... pas* | *pas*

formal weakening

*non* | *ne* | *ne ... pas* | *ne ... pas* | *pas*

formal

formal

weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

*non* | *ne ... pas* | *ne* | *ne ... pas* | *pas*

emphatic

neutral

formal weakening



formal

formal

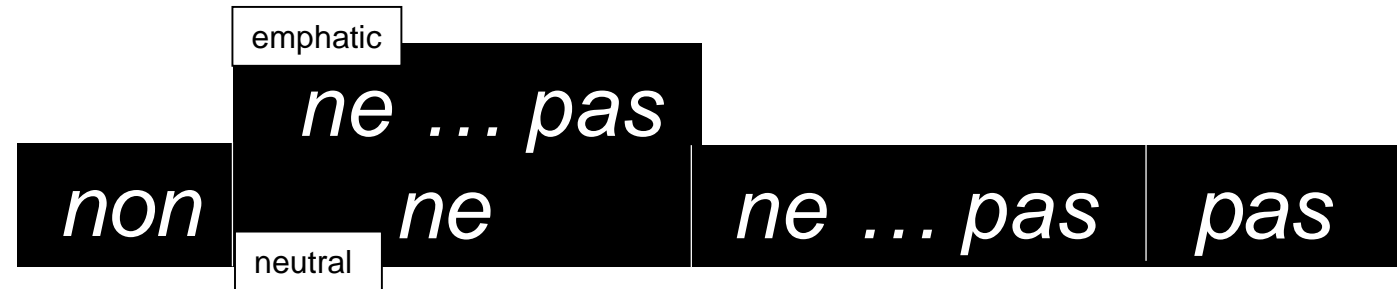
weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

semantic + formal strengthening



formal weakening



formal

formal

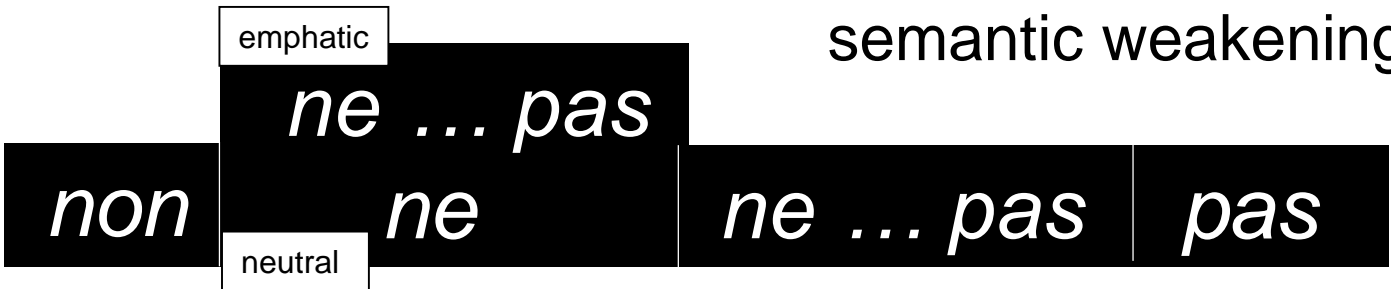
weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

semantic + formal strengthening



semantic weakening

formal weakening



formal

formal

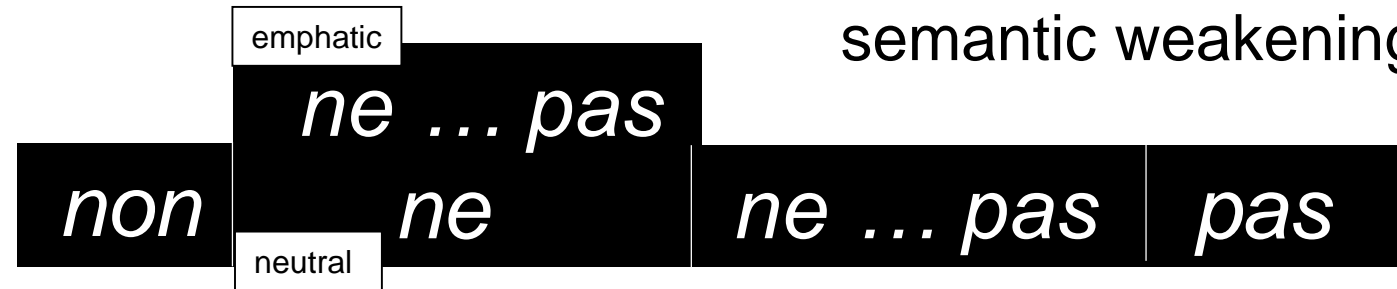
weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

semantic + formal strengthening



semantic weakening

formal weakening

formal weakening



formal

formal

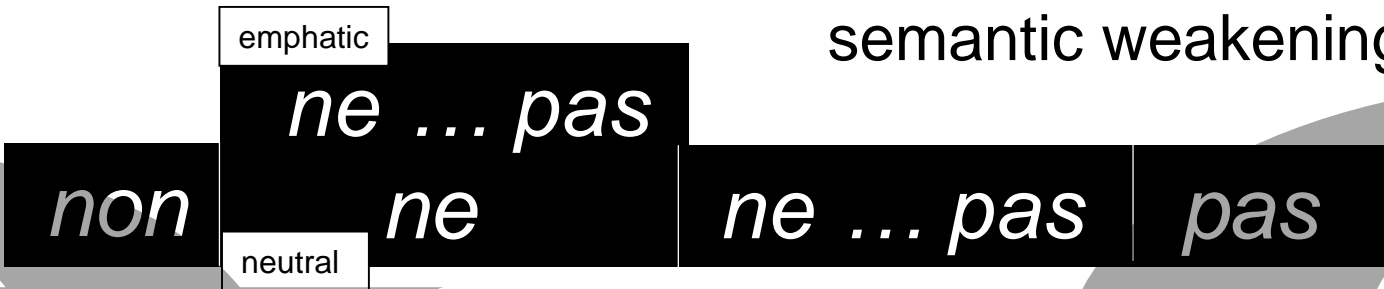
weakening

weakening

semantic + formal  
strengthening

semantic  
weakening

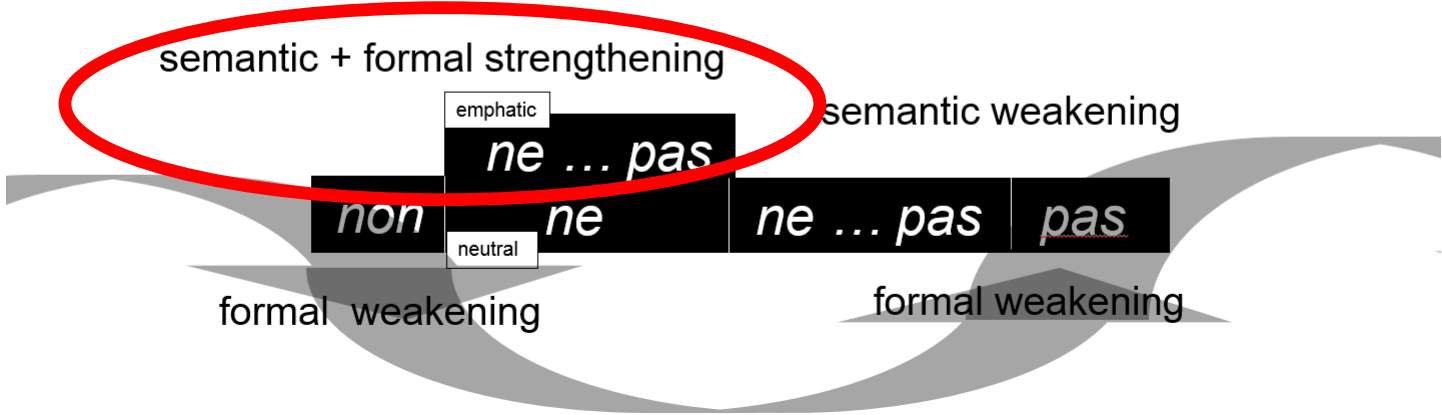
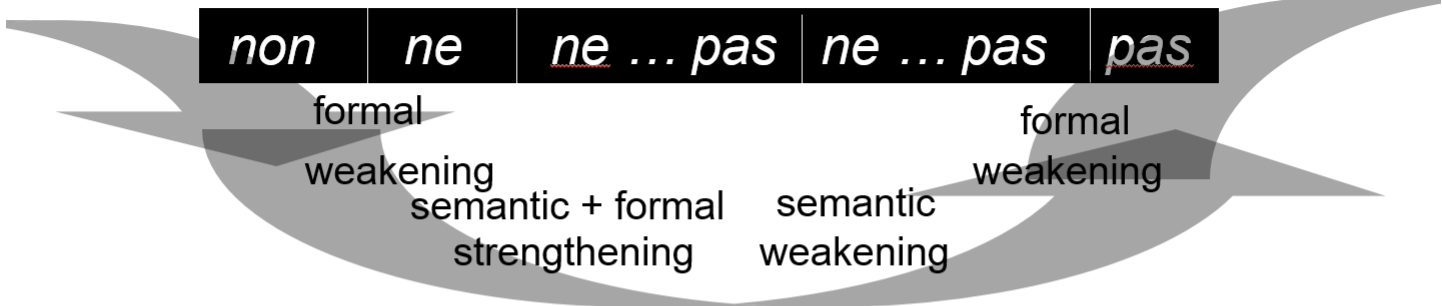
semantic + formal strengthening



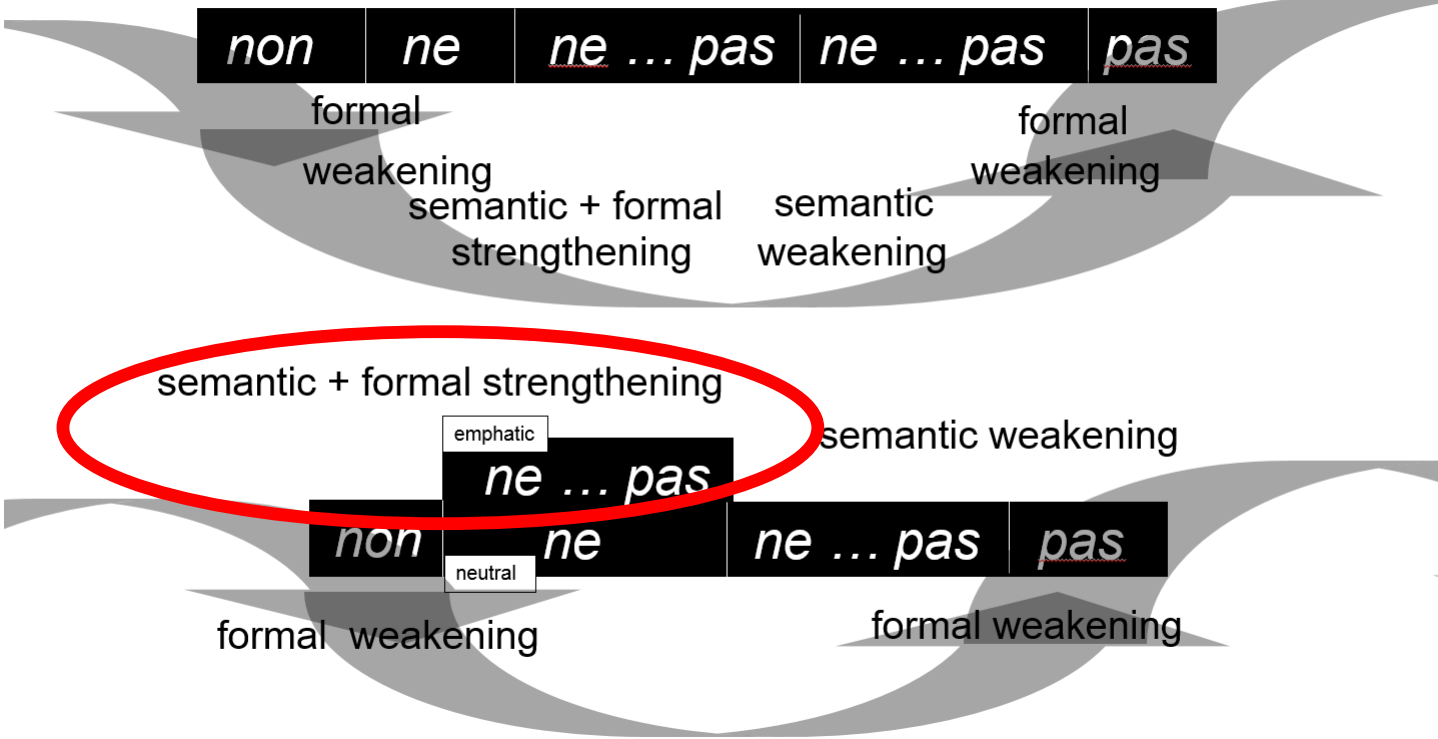
semantic weakening

formal weakening

formal weakening



① emphasis need not be marked lexically

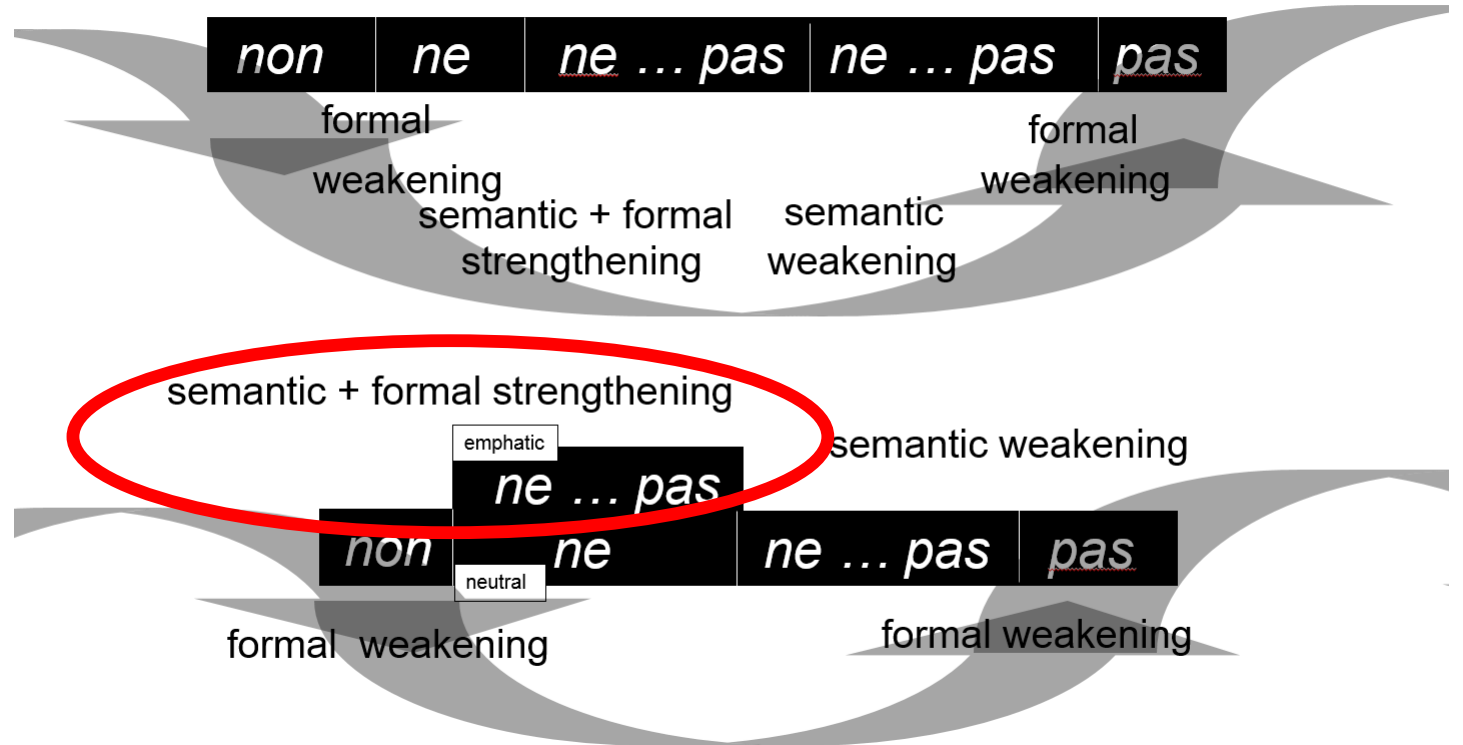


① emphasis need not be marked lexically

*I do NOT like him.*

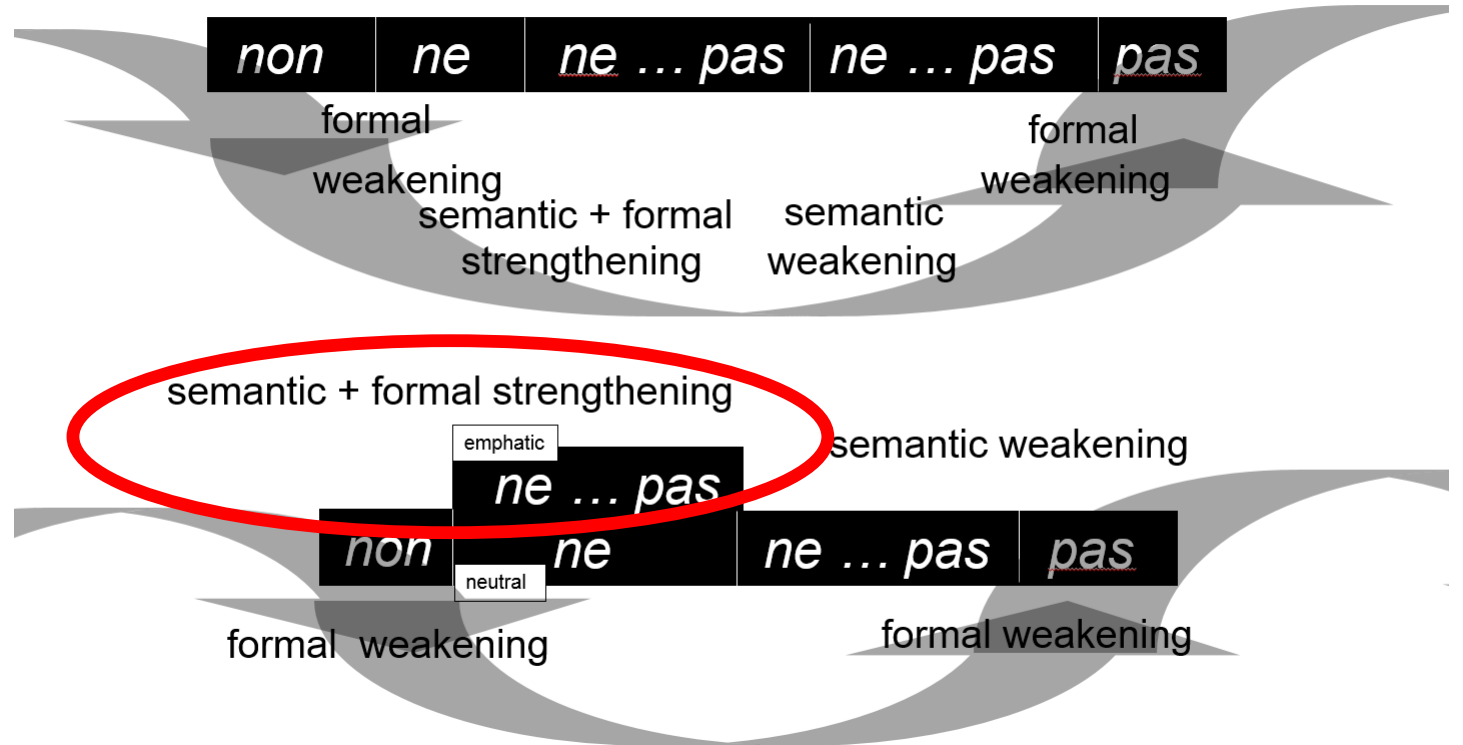
*I don't like him at all.*

*I don't like him.*



① emphasis need not be marked lexically

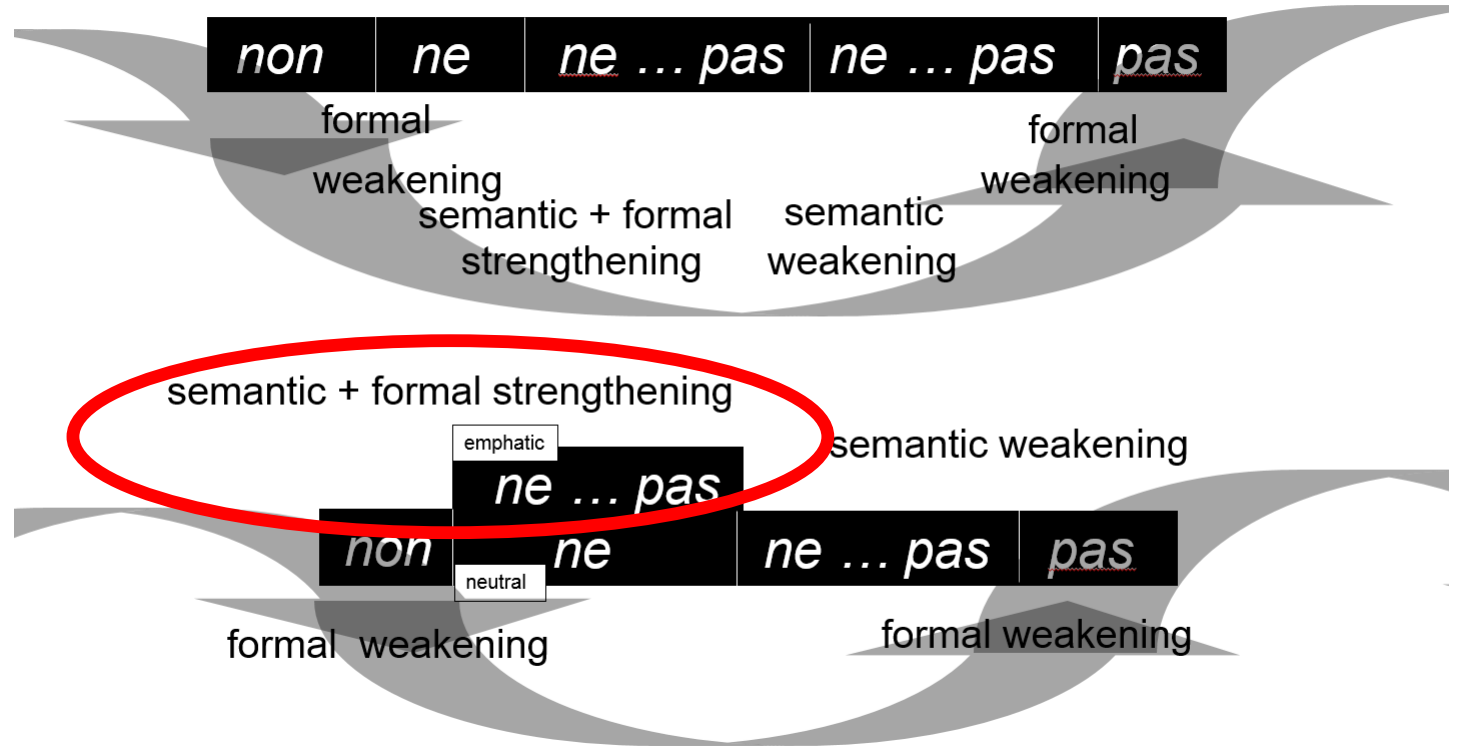
② there need not be any semantic and formal weakening



① emphasis need not be marked lexically

② there need not be any semantic and formal weakening

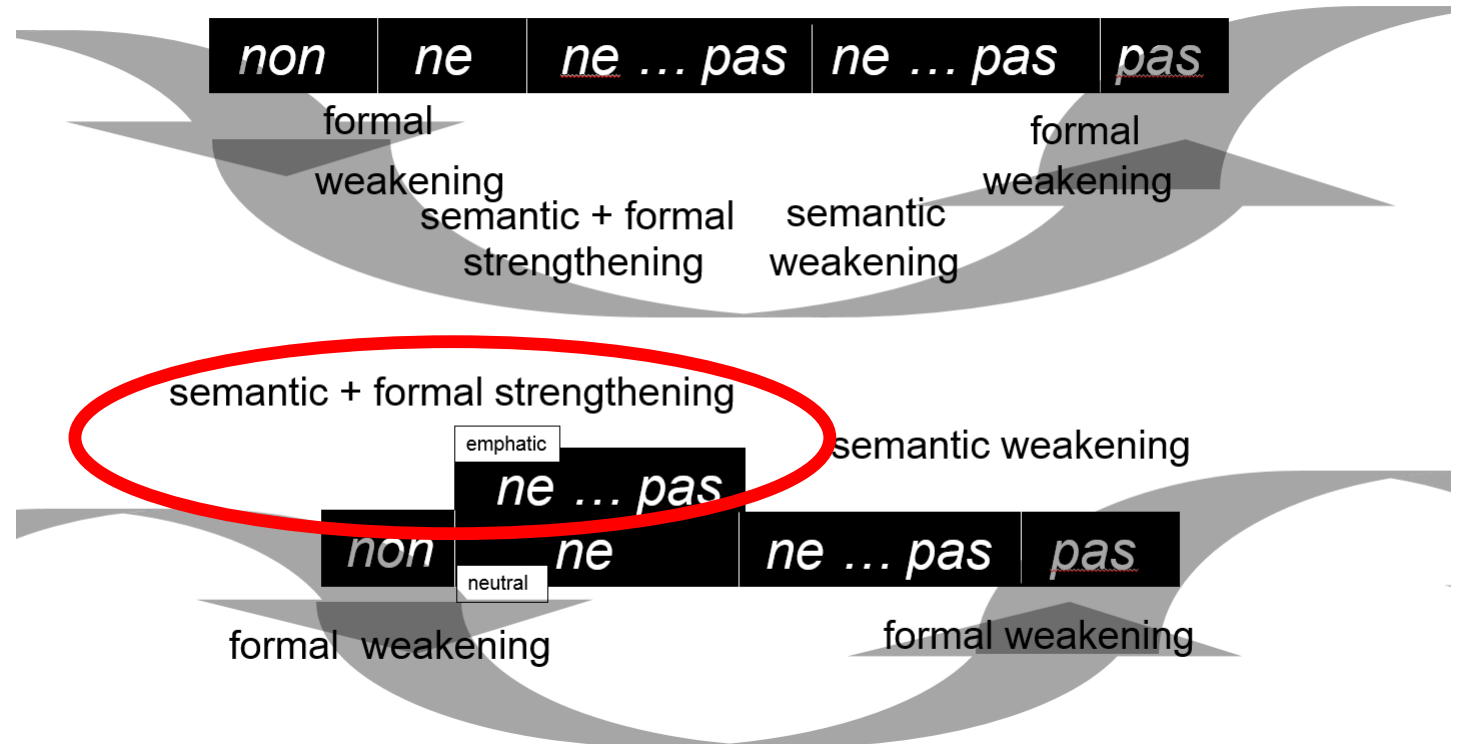
③ there may be formal weakening without semantic weakening



① emphasis need not be marked lexically

② there need not be any semantic and formal weakening

③ there may be formal weakening without semantic weakening

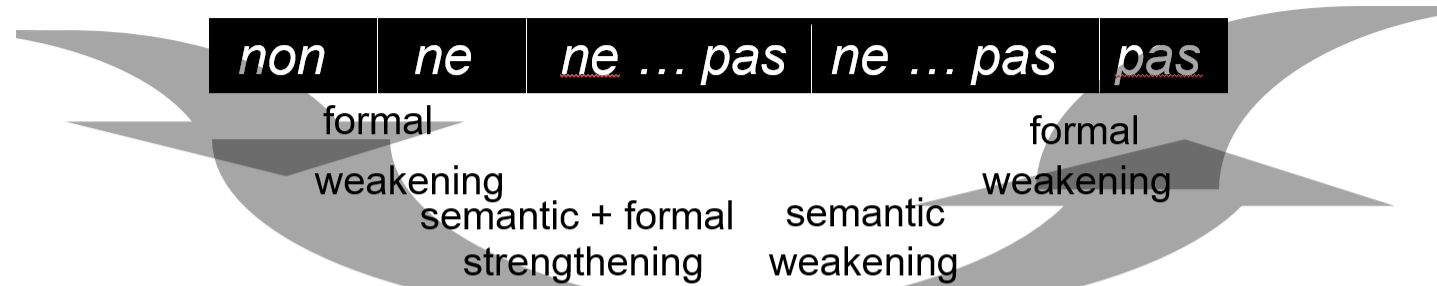


*He didn't tell me fuck all about the car.  
He told me fuck all about the car.*

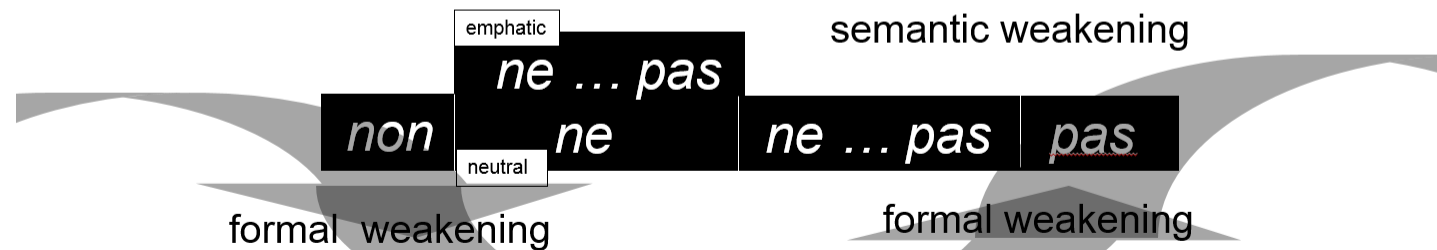
*Hij begrijpt er de ballen niet van.  
Hij begrijpt er de ballen van.*

(Horn 2001, Hoeksema 2008)

Jespersen 1917, Wackernagel 1926, Dahl 1979, Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008, Jäger 2008, ...

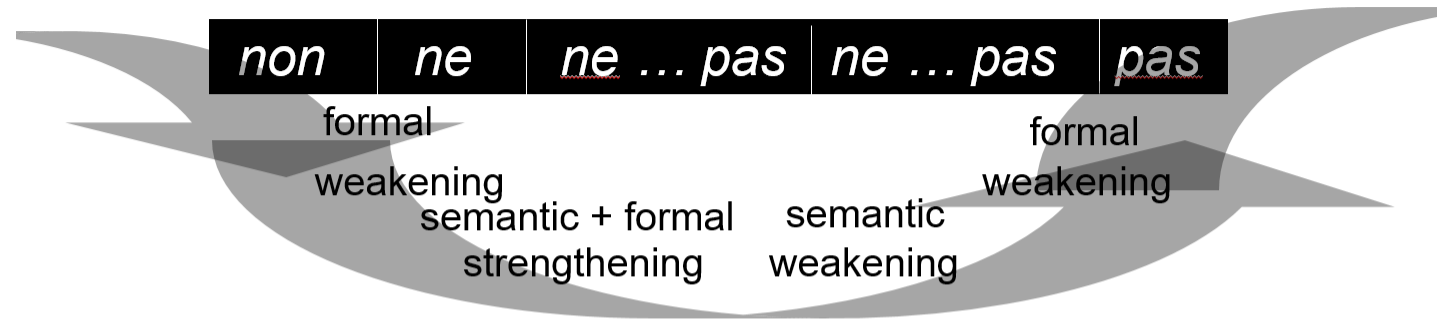


semantic + formal strengthening

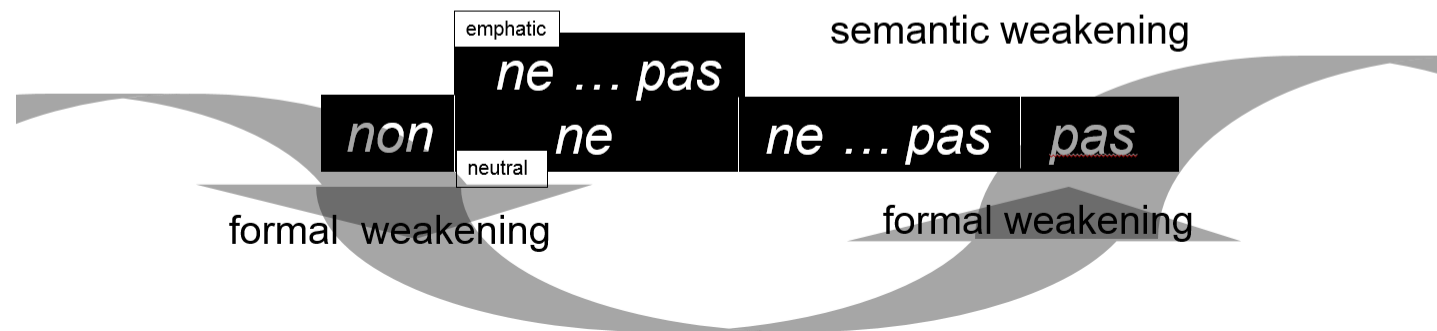


Hock 1991, Hopper & Thompson 2003,  
Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006, ...

Jespersen 1917, Wackernagel 1926, Dahl 1979, Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008, Jäger 2008, ...





semantic + formal strengthening



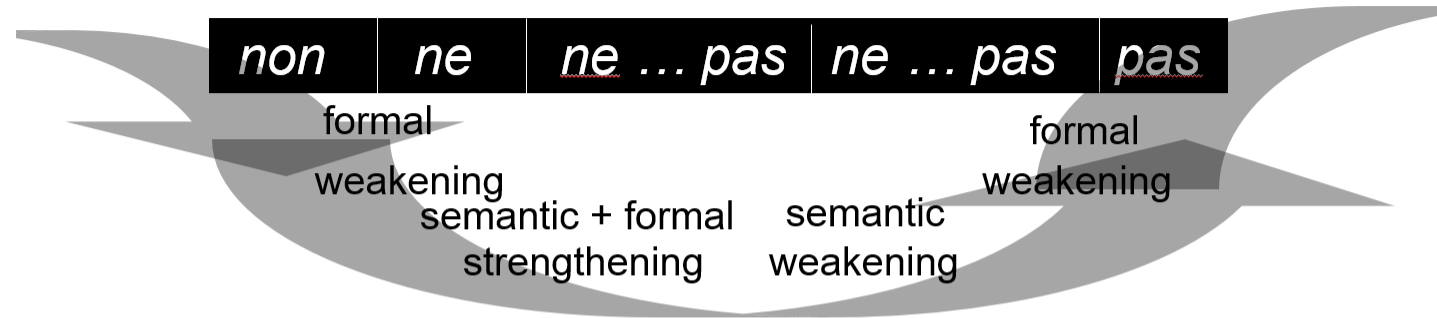
Gardiner 1905  
Hock 1991, Hopper & Thompson 2003,  
Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006, ...

**Gardiner, Alan H. 1905. 'The word ,  ', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 41: 130-135**

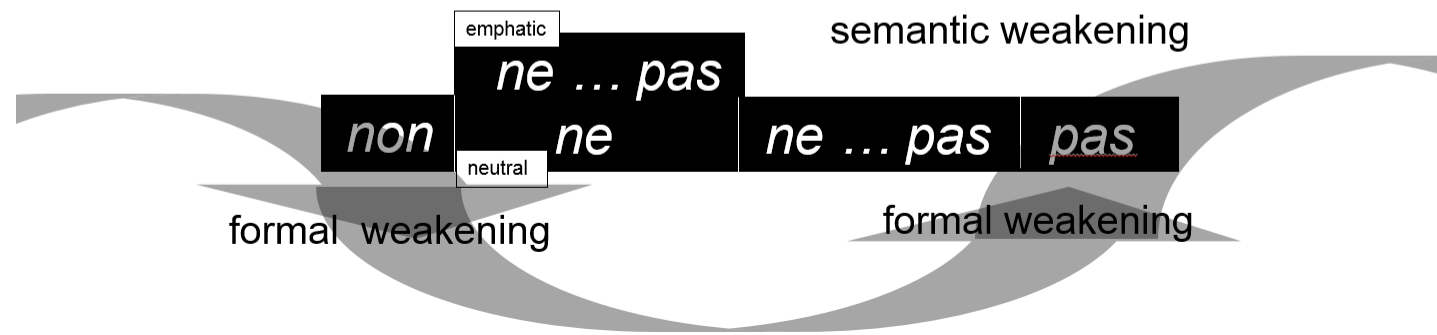
**Gardiner, Alan H. 1905. 'The word ,  ', Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 41: 130-135**

The often noted likeness of  $\Delta\text{N}$  to the French *pas*, *point*<sup>2</sup> is now seen to be no superficial resemblance. These words, from the Latin *passum* and *punctum*, were originally adverbial accusatives placed at the end of negative sentences<sup>3</sup> for the purpose of emphasis; just like the English »not a jot«, »not a straw«. The etymology of  is unknown, but when we first encounter it, it is as an emphatic adverb in negative sentences. *Pas* and *point*, and like them the Demotic , Coptic  $\Delta\text{N}$ , next lose their emphasising force, and become mere adjuncts of the negative word (French *ne*, Coptic  $\bar{\text{n}}$ ). Last of all, they come themselves to be looked upon as negative words:

Jespersen 1917, Wackernagel 1926, Dahl 1979, Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008, Jäger 2008, ...

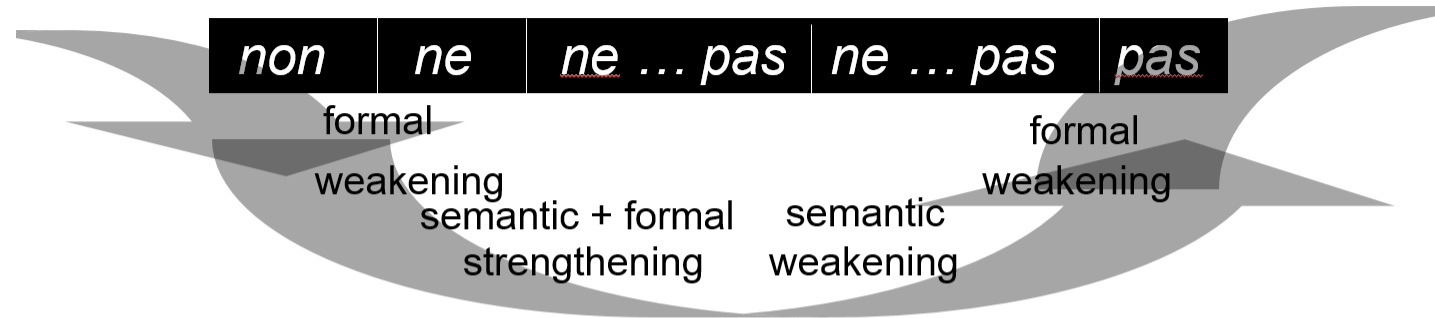


semantic + formal strengthening

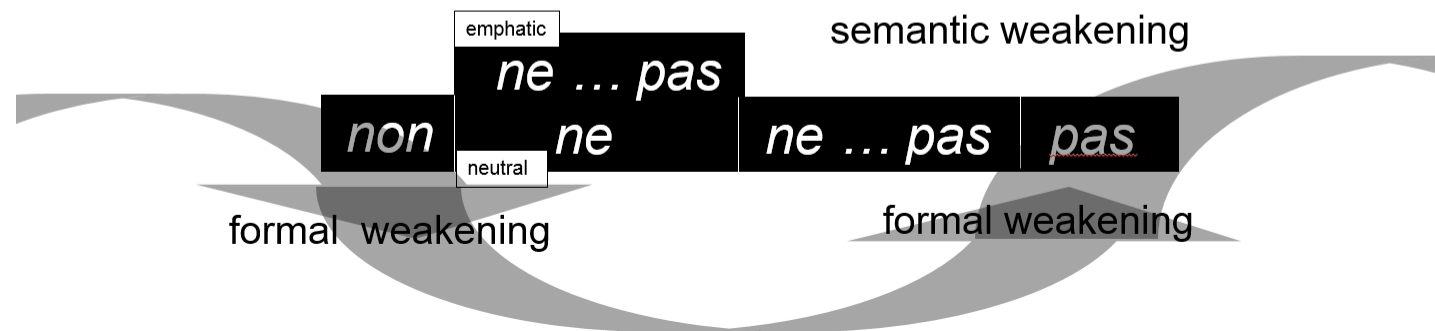


Gardiner 1905  
Hock 1991, Hopper & Thompson 2003,  
Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006, ...

Jespersen 1917, Wackernagel 1926, Dahl 1979, Breitbarth & Haegeman 2008, Jäger 2008, ...



semantic + formal strengthening



Gardiner 1905, Meillet 1912,  
Hock 1991, Hopper & Thompson 2003,  
Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006, ...

# Meillet, Antoine. 1912. L'évolution des formes grammaticales. *Scientia* 12: 384-400.

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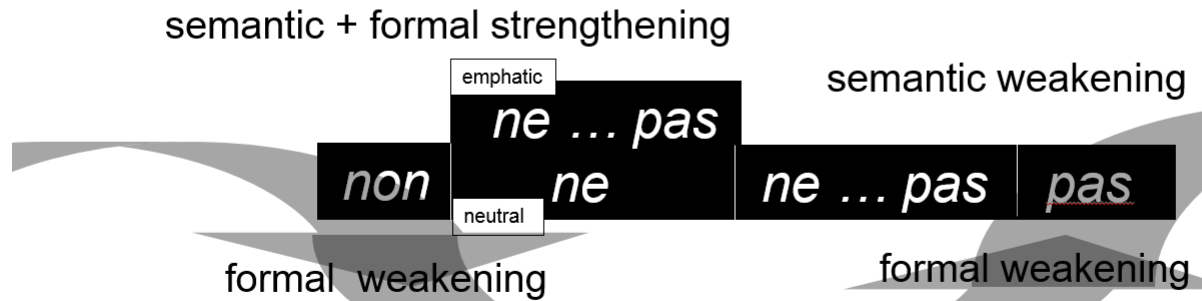
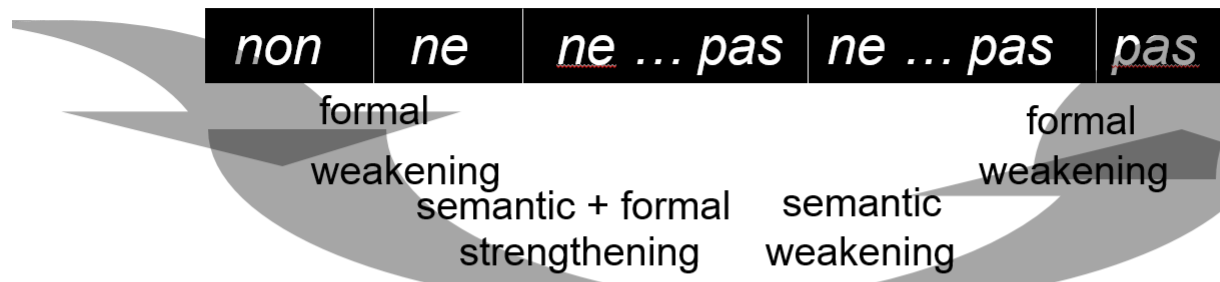
“ SCIENTIA „

— 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.

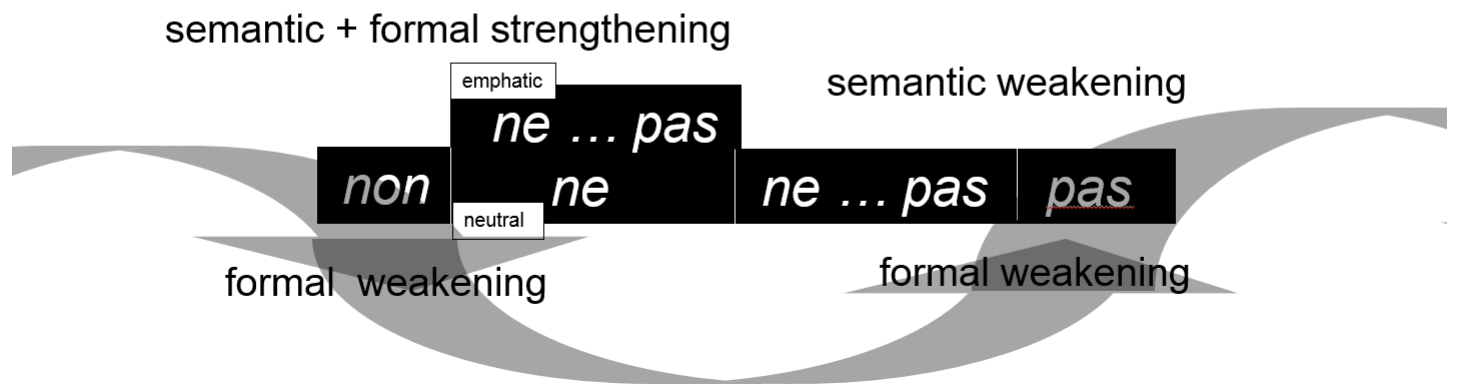
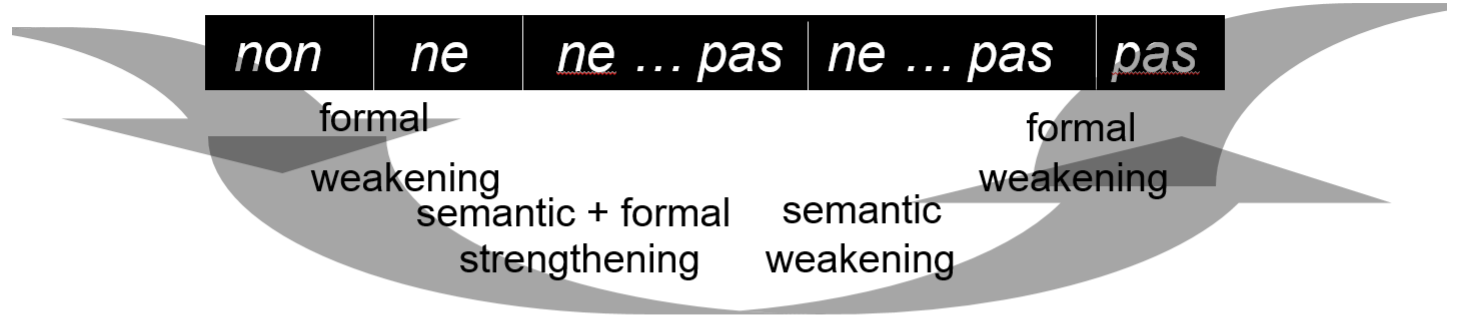
so far ... a bit of intellectual history

Jespersen's cycle starts (at least) 12 years  
before Jespersen (1917)

## 2 types of explanation ...



# 2 types of explanation ... can both be true?



# 2 types of explanation ... can both be true?

*non*   *ne*   *ne ... pas*   *ne ... pas*   *pas*

formal weakening   semantic + formal strengthening   semantic weakening   formal weakening

semantic + formal strengthening

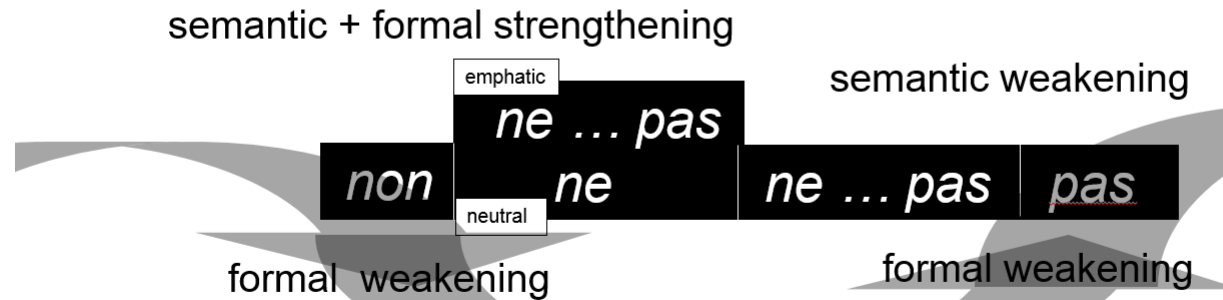
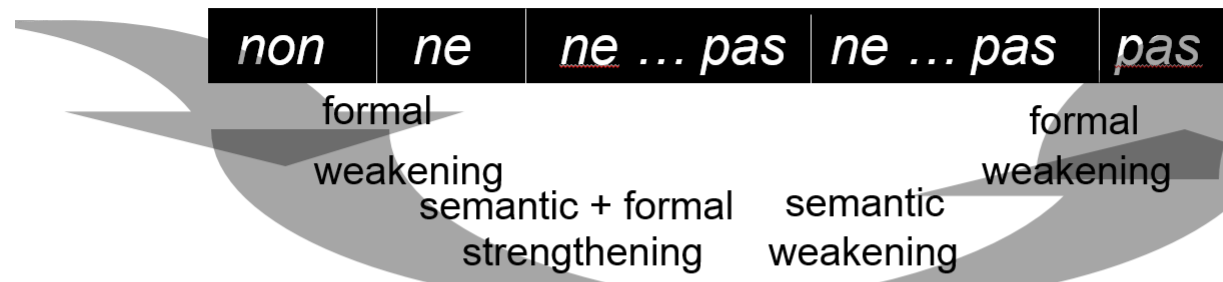
*non*   <sup>emphatic</sup> *ne ... pas*   *ne*   *ne ... pas*   *pas*  
neutral

formal weakening   semantic weakening   formal weakening

pragmatic concern  
 ... to be sure that the  
 emphatic negative meaning  
 comes across

# 2 types of explanation ... can both be true?

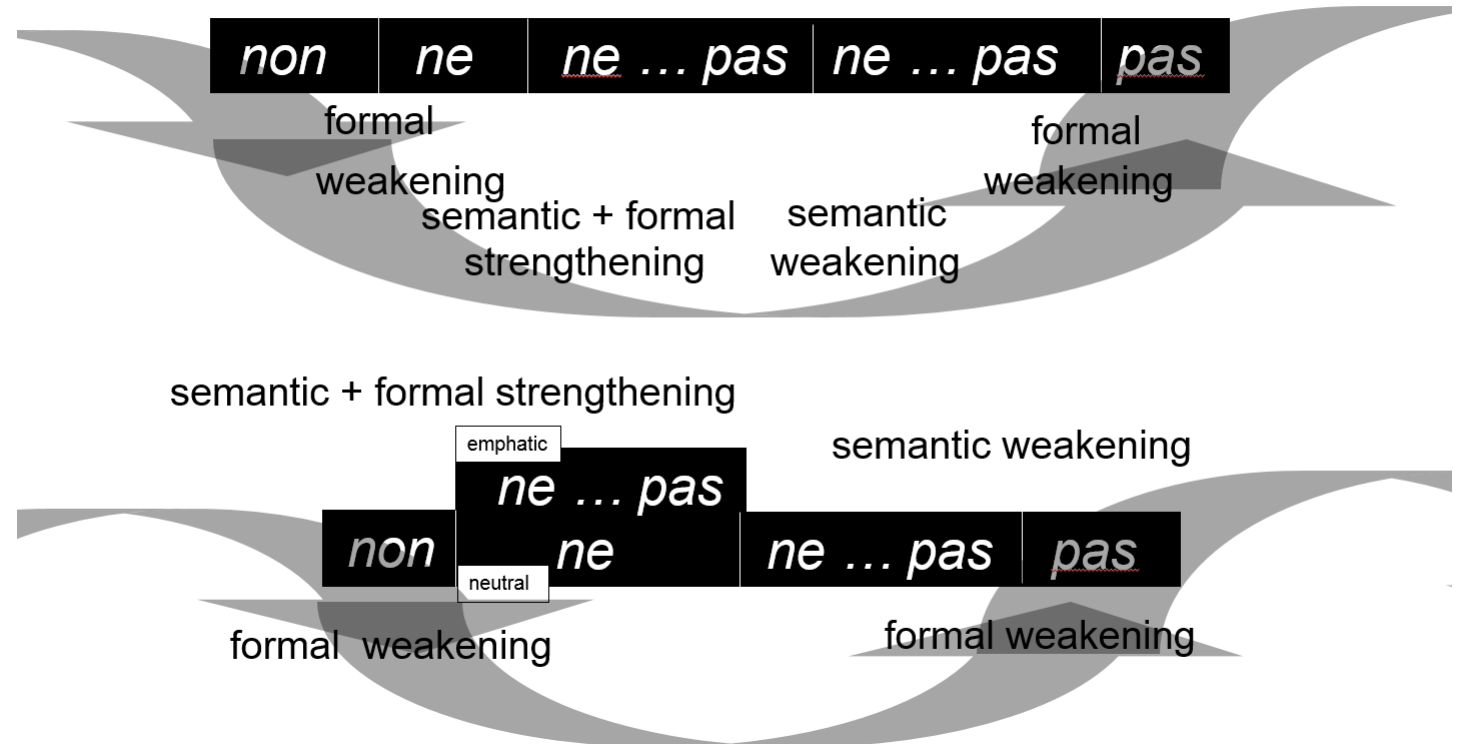
semantic concern  
 ... to be sure that the  
 neutral negative meaning  
 comes across



# 2 types of explanation ... can both be true?

semantic concern  
 ... to be sure that the  
 neutral negative meaning  
 comes across

Easiest, just a repetition







## Paul McCartney 1973

[...]

(you know you did, you know you did you know you did)



## Paul McCartney 1973

[...]

(you know you did, you know you did you know you did)

But in this ever changing world in which we live in

[...]



## Paul McCartney 1973

[...]

(you know you did, you know you did you know you did)

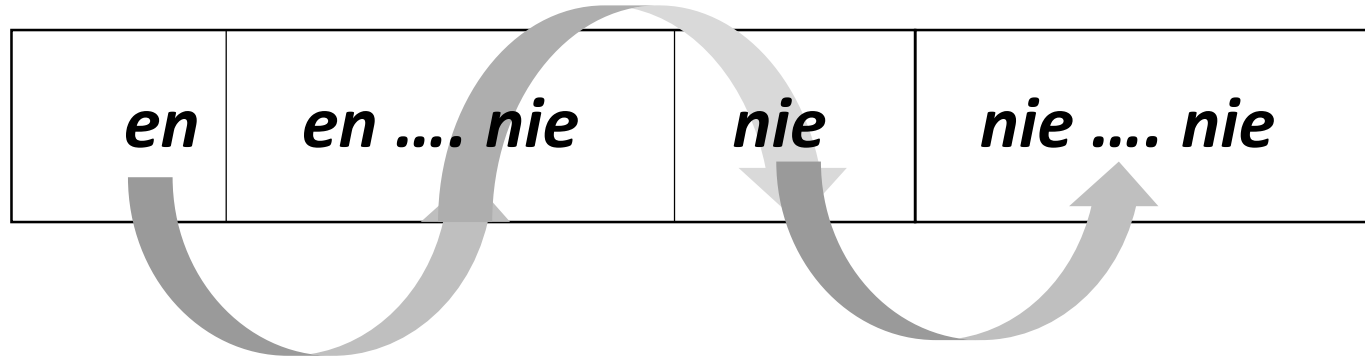
But in this ever changing world **in**  
which we live **in**

[...]

# Brabantian Belgian Dutch



# Brabantic Belgian Dutch



<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Form</b>	<b>1 2</b>

**Neg1** → **Neg1 Neg2**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Form</b>	<b>1    2</b>

**Neg1**      →      **Neg1 Neg2**

**Neg1 repeated**

Afr. *nie ... nie*

Meaning	1
Form	1 2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated

Afr. *nie ... nie*

Meaning	1
Form	1 2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated  
minimizer

Afr. *nie ... nie*  
Fr. *ne ... pas*

Meaning	1
Form	1 2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated  
minimizer  
negative pronoun

Afr. *nie ... nie*  
Fr. *ne ... pas*  
Dut. *en ... niet*

Meaning	1
Form	1    2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated  
 minimizer  
 negative pronoun  
 subordinator

Afr. *nie ... nie*  
 Fr. *ne ... pas*  
 Dut. *en ... niet*  
 AZ Tewa we ... *dí*

Meaning	1
Form	1    2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated  
 minimizer  
 negative pronoun  
 subordinator

Afr. *nie ... nie*  
 Fr. *ne ... pas*  
 Dut. *en ... niet*  
 AZ Tewa *we ... dí*

Arizona Tewa (Kroskrity 1984: 95)

Sen    k<sup>w</sup>iyó                    we-mán-mun-*dí*.  
 man   woman                NEG1-3>3.ACT-see-**NEG2**

‘The man did not see the woman.’

Meaning	1
Form	1    2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated  
 minimizer  
 negative pronoun  
 subordinator  
 negative answer particle

Afr. *nie ... nie*  
 Fr. *ne ... pas*  
 Dut. *en ... niet*  
 AZ Tewa *we ... dí*  
 Lifonga *na ... tɛ́*

Meaning	1
Form	1    2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated

minimizer

negative pronoun

subordinator

negative answer partikcle

Afr. *nie ... nie*

Fr. *ne ... pas*

Dut. *en ... niet*

AZ Tewa *we ... dí*

Lifonga *na ... té*

Lifonga C412 (Djamba Ndjeka 1996: 143)

té        na-í-mo-wén-é        **té**

no        1SG-NEG1-1-see-PRS **NEG2**

‘No, I will not see him’

Meaning	1
Form	1    2

Neg1 **X** → Neg1 **Neg2**

Neg1 repeated

minimizer

negative pronoun

subordinator

negative answer particle

Afr. *nie ... nie*

Fr. *ne ... pas*

Dut. *en ... niet*

AZ Tewa *we ... dí*

Lifonga *na ... tɛ́*

Kwezo *lo ... gwâmi*

Kwezo (Forges 1983: 216)

**lo** gwâmi nga-swěg-á

**NEG2** NEG1 1SG.PST-hide-PRF

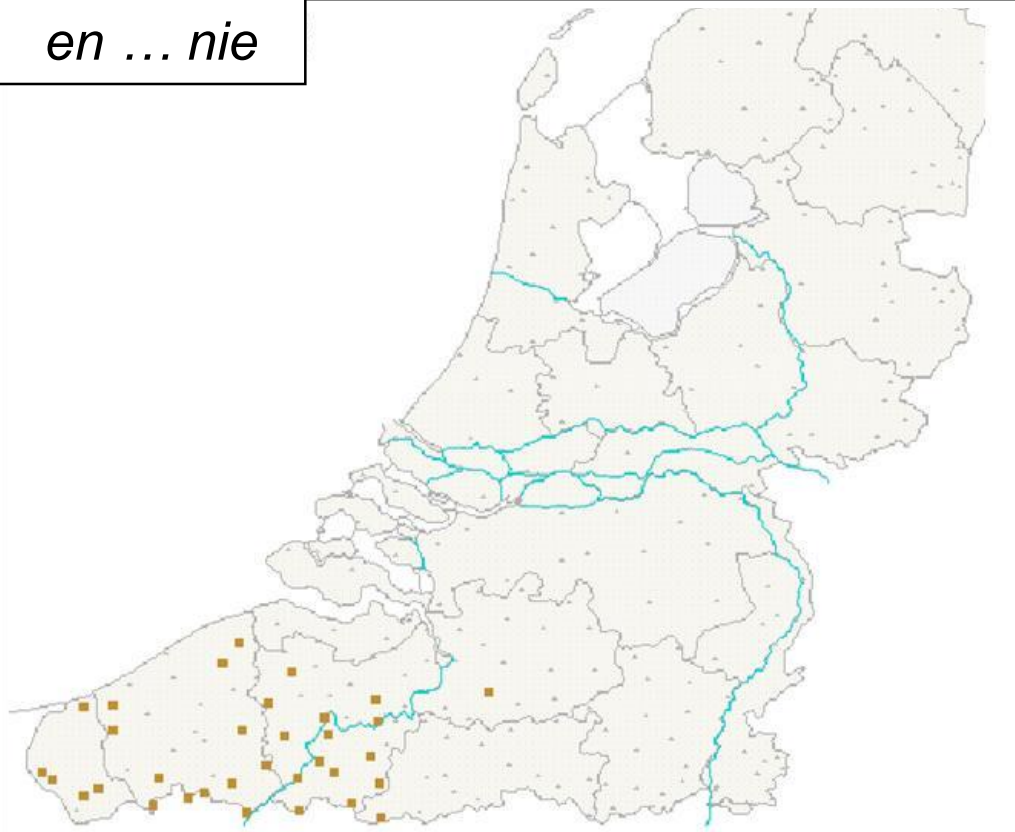
'I have not hidden the meat'

ídondo

9.meat

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

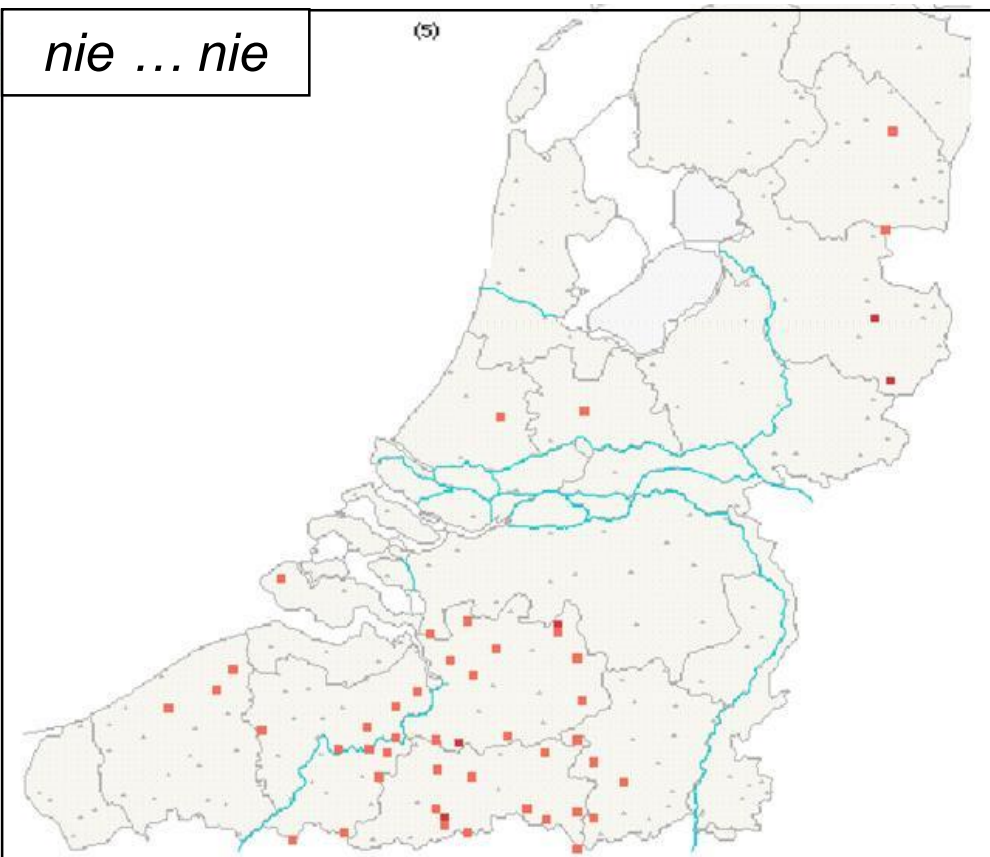
en ... nie



Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

East, West & French Flemish

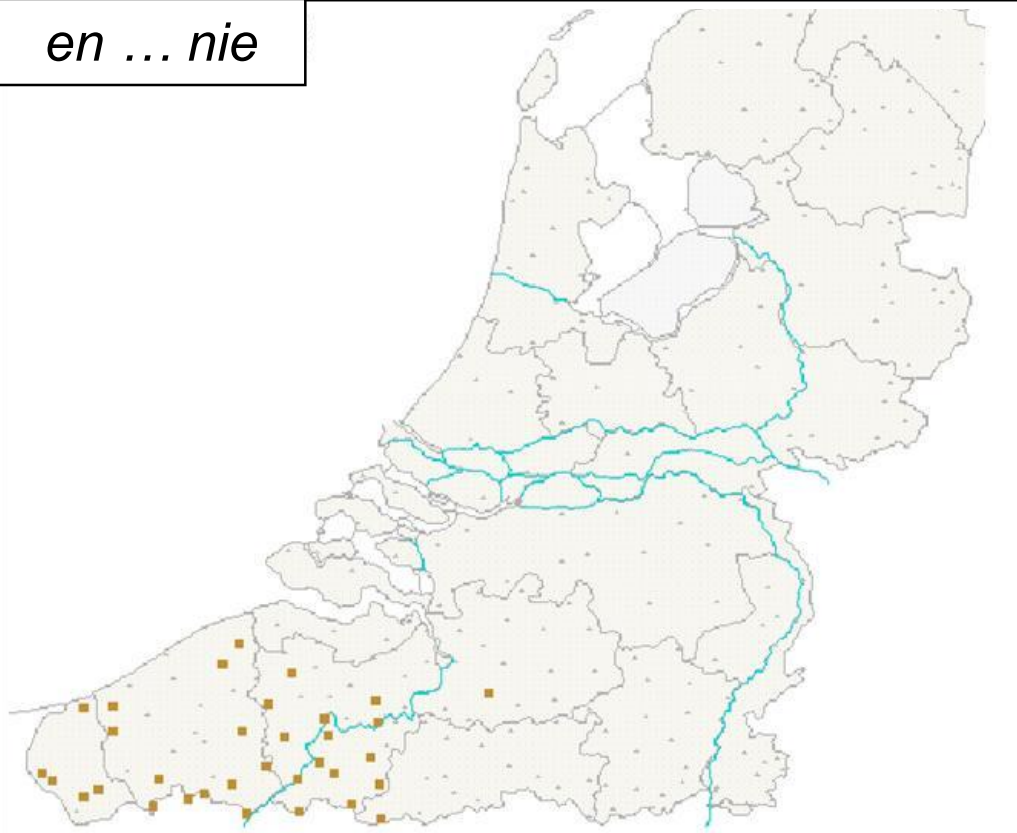
nie ... nie



Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Brabantic

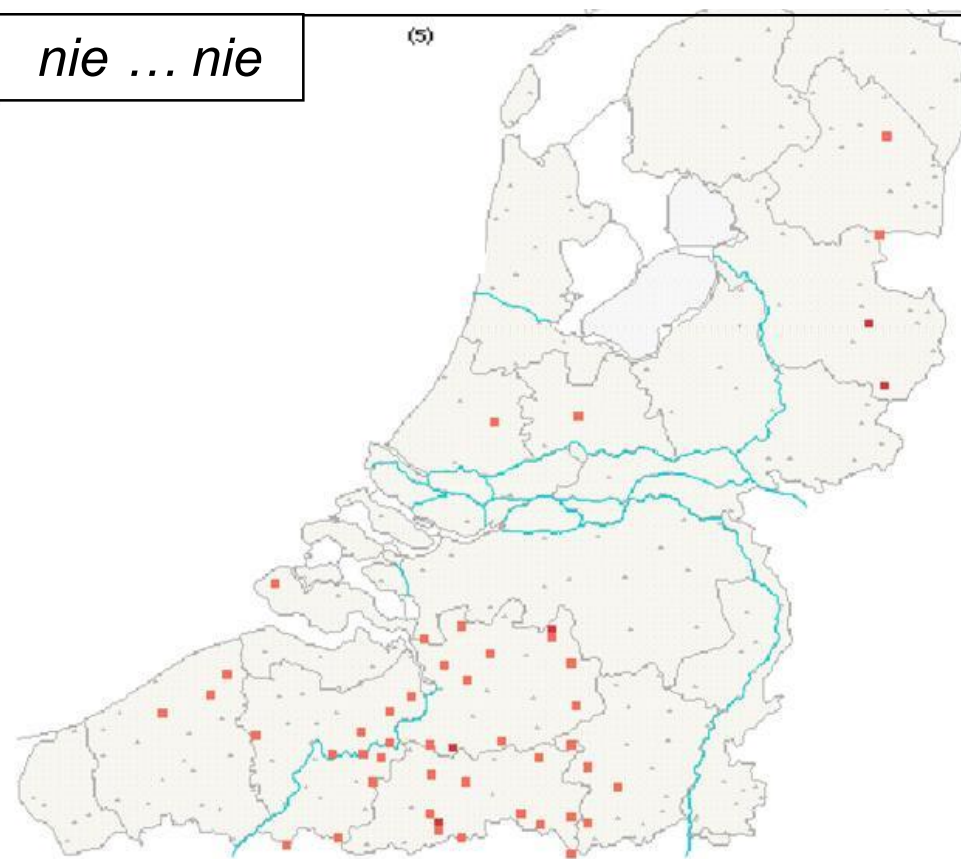
*en ... nie*



Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

East, West & French Flemish

*nie ... nie*

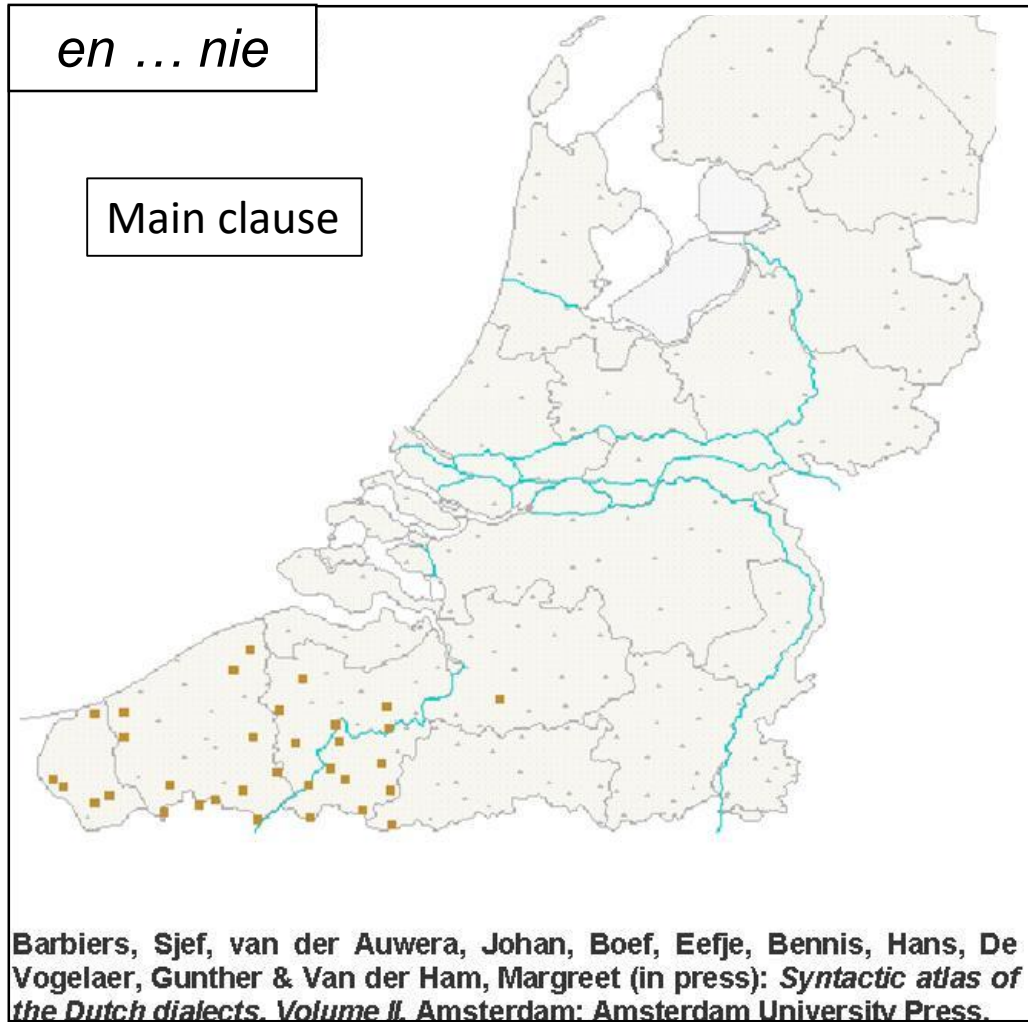


Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

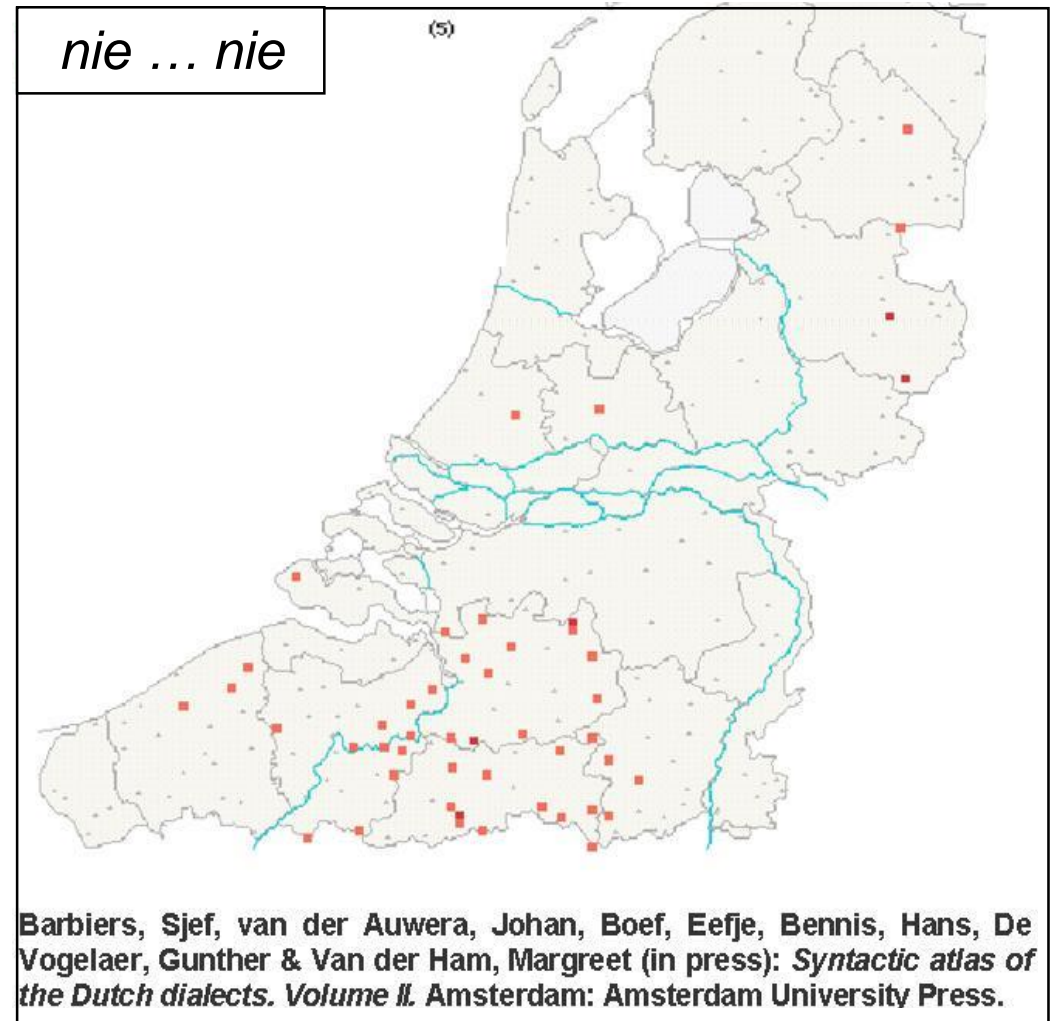
Brabantic

?? *en ... nie ... nie*

Blancquaert (1923: 68)



East, West & French Flemish



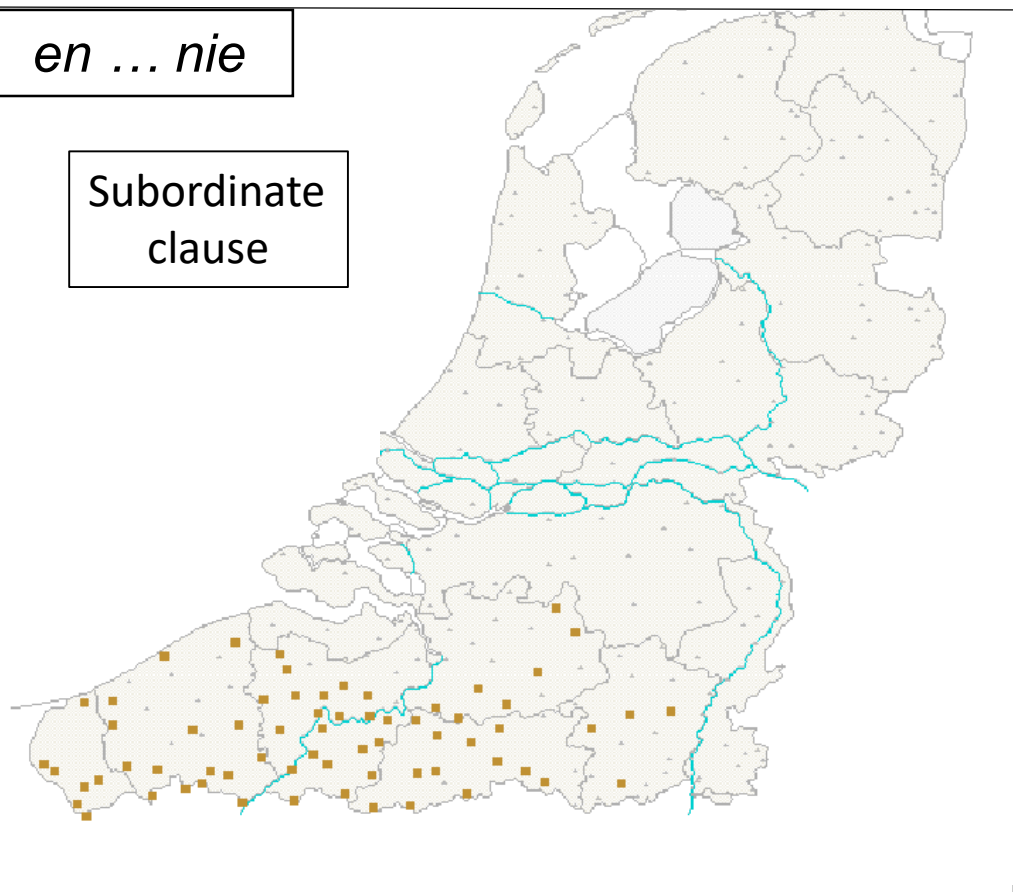
Brabantic

?? *en ... nie ... nie*

Blancquaert (1923: 68)

en ... nie

Subordinate  
clause

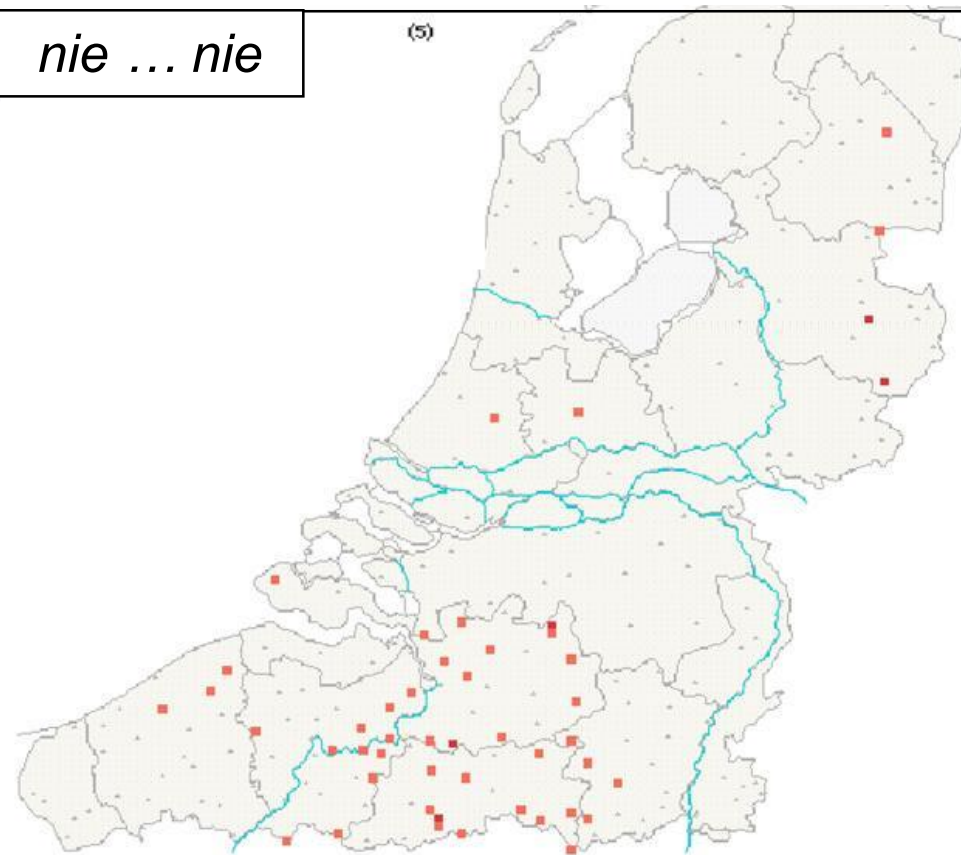


Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

East, West & French Flemish

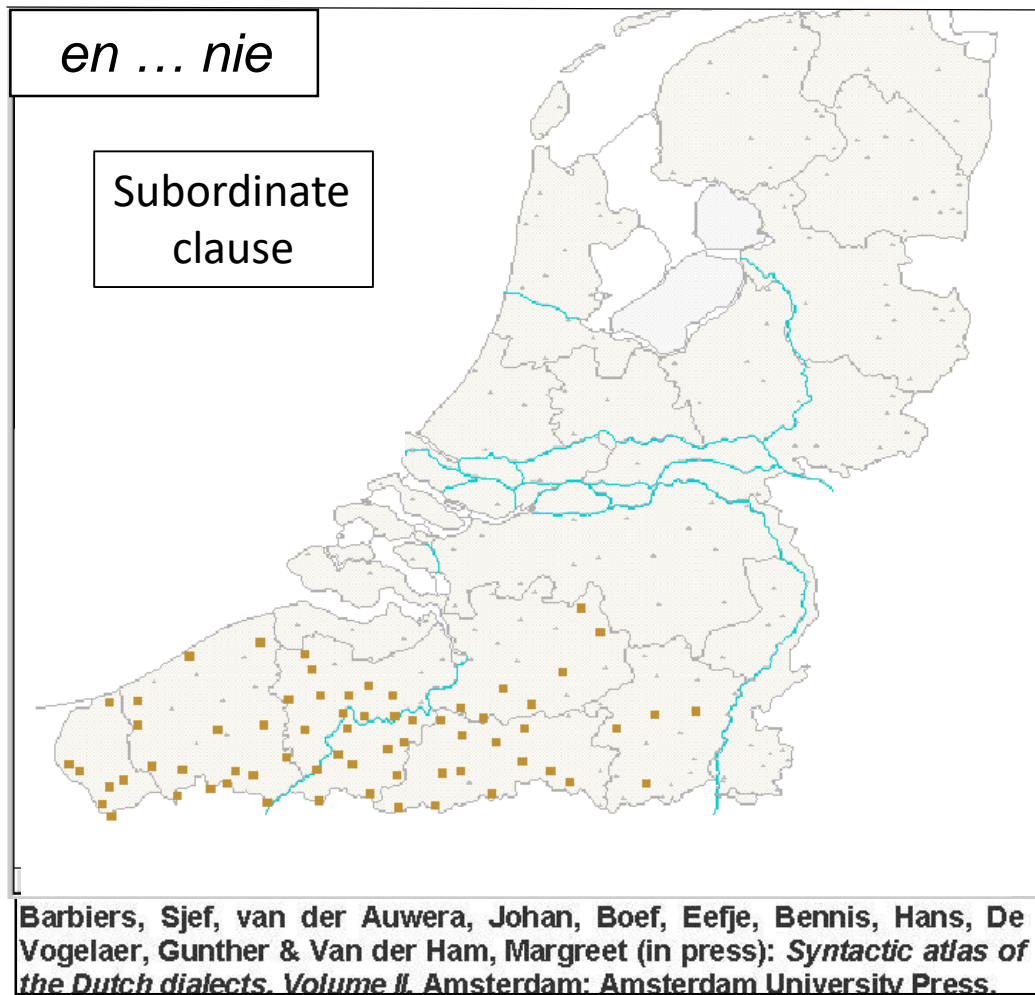
nie ... nie

(s)



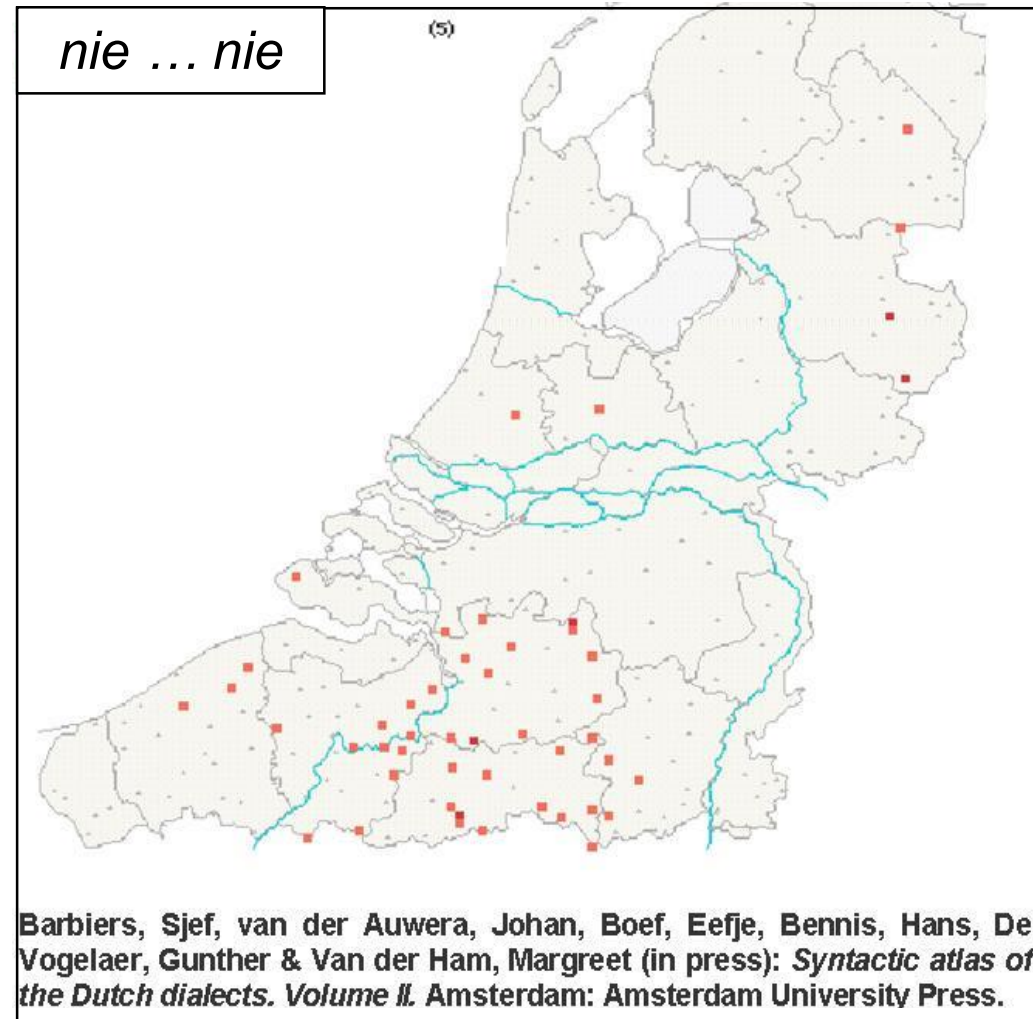
Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Brabantic



East, West & French Flemish

*Pas op dat ge nie en valt nie!*  
 take.care that you NEG NEG fall NEG



Brabantic

‘Take care that you don’t fall!’  
 (Pauwels 1958: 454)

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

**Brabantian Belgian Dutch (Pauwels 1958: 454)**

**Pas op dat ge **nie en** valt **nie!****

**fit on that you **NEG2 NEG1** fall **NEG2****

**'Take care that you don't fall!'**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

**Brabantian Belgian Dutch (Pauwels 1958: 454)**

**Pas op dat ge nie en valt nie!**

**fit on that you NEG2 NEG1 fall NEG2**

**'Take care that you don't fall!'**

**Luyia (Appleby 1961: 93)**

**shi-n-jam-ile**

**NEG1-1SG-be.pleased-FI**

**'I am not (at all) pleased.'**

**ta**

**NEG2**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

Brabantic Belgian Dutch (Pauwels 1958: 454)

Pas op dat ge nie en valt nie!

fit on that you NEG2 NEG1 fall NEG2

‘Take care that you don’t fall!’

Luyia (Appleby 1961: 93)

**shi-n-jam-ile-khwo**

**NEG1-1SG-be.pleased-FI-NEG3**

‘I am not (at all) pleased.’

**ta**

**NEG2**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

**Brabantic Belgian Dutch (Pauwels 1958: 454)**

**Pas op dat ge nie en valt nie!**  
**fit on that you NEG2 NEG1 fall NEG2**  
**'Take care that you don't fall!'**

**Luyia (Appleby 1961: 93)**

**shi-n-jam-ile-khwo** **ta**  
**NEG1-1SG-be.pleased-FI-NEG3** **NEG2**  
**'I am not (at all) pleased.'**

**Lewo (Early 1994: 69)**

**Pe** **ne-pisu-li** **re** **Santo.**  
**NEG1** **1SG-see-try** **NEG2** **Santo**  
**'I have not seen Santo.'**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>		
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

Brabantian Belgian Dutch (Pauwels 1958: 454)

Pas op dat ge nie en valt nie!  
 fit on that you NEG2 NEG1 fall NEG2  
 'Take care that you don't fall!'

Luyia (Appleby 1961: 93)

shi-n-jam-ile-khwo ta  
 NEG1-1SG-be.pleased-FI-NEG3 NEG2  
 'I am not (at all) pleased.'

Lewo (Early 1994: 69)

**Pe** ne-pisu-li **re** Santo **poli.**  
**NEG1** 1SG-see-try **NEG2** Santo **NEG3**  
 'I have not seen Santo.'

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4?</b>

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

**pe**                      **a-pim**                      **re**                      **poli**  
**NEG1**                      **3SG-R.come** **NEG2** **NEG3**

‘They have not come.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

**pe-re**                      **a-pim**                      **re**                      **poli**  
**NEG1-NEG4** 3SG-R.come **NEG2** **NEG3**

‘They have not come.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re            a-pim            re            poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá            p-ènd            mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re            a-pim            re            poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá            p-ènd            kwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re            a-pim            re            poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá            p-ènd            kwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

**εη**            lɔvi  
**NEG1** wash

‘You don’t wash yourself.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re                    a-pim                    re                    poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá                    p-ènd                    kwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

**εη**                    lɔvi                    nɛ:nt  
**NEG1** wash                    **NEG2**

‘You don’t wash yourself.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re            a-pim            re            poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá            p-ènd            kwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

                  εη            t            εη            lɔvi            nɛ:nt  
                   NEG3            yourself NEG1 wash            NEG2  
 ‘You don’t wash yourself.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re                    a-pim                    re                    poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá                    p-ènd                    kwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

εη            t            εη                    t                    εη            lɔvi            nɛ:nt  
 NEG4    you NEG3                    yourself NEG1 wash    NEG2  
 ‘You don’t wash yourself.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

pe-re            a-pim            re            poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá            p-ènd            kwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

εη            t            εη            t            εη            lɔvi            nɛ:nt  
 NEG41 you NEG31            yourself NEG1 wash            NEG2  
 ‘You don’t wash yourself.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

**pe-re**                    a-pim                    **re**                    **poli**  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3  
 ‘They have not come.’

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

**kì-n-àà-búl-áá**                    **p-ènd**                    **hwáám** mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child  
 ‘I have not hit the child at all.’

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

εη            t            εη            t            εη            lɔvi            nɛ:nt  
 NEG41 you NEG31            yourself NEG1 wash            NEG2  
 ‘You don’t wash yourself.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>			
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>

Lewo (Early 1994: 420)

**pe-re** a-pim re poli  
 NEG1-NEG4 3SG-R.come NEG2 NEG3

'They have not come.'

Kanincin (Devos, Tshibanda & van der Auwera 2010: 177)

kì-n-àà-búl-áá **p-ènd** hwáám mwáàn  
 NEG1-1SG-TM-hit-TM NEG2-NEG3 NEG4 1.child

'I have not hit the child at all.'

Càrcare, Liguria (Manzini 2008: 85)

εη t εη t εη lɔvi nɛ:nt  
 NEG41 you NEG31 yourself NEG1 wash NEG2

'You don't wash yourself.'

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>					
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5?</b>	

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>					
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>				
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

**Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009: 271)**

**i-ciŋ-nin**                      **set-nin-∅-nin-ci-n**

**NEG1-hang-NEG2**    **kill-NEG3-PROG-NEG4-DUP-NEG5**

**'He is not killing himself by hanging.'**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>						
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6?</b>	

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>						
<b>Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	

<b>Meaning Form</b>	<b>1</b>					
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>





<b>Meaning Form</b>	<b>1</b>					
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>



Figure 1.5: On the verandah



<b>Meaning Form</b>	<b>1</b>						
	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	



Figure 1.5: On the verandah



Viśvahān Rāi



Mitra Rāi



Thām Jit Rāi

# Meaning Form

1

1

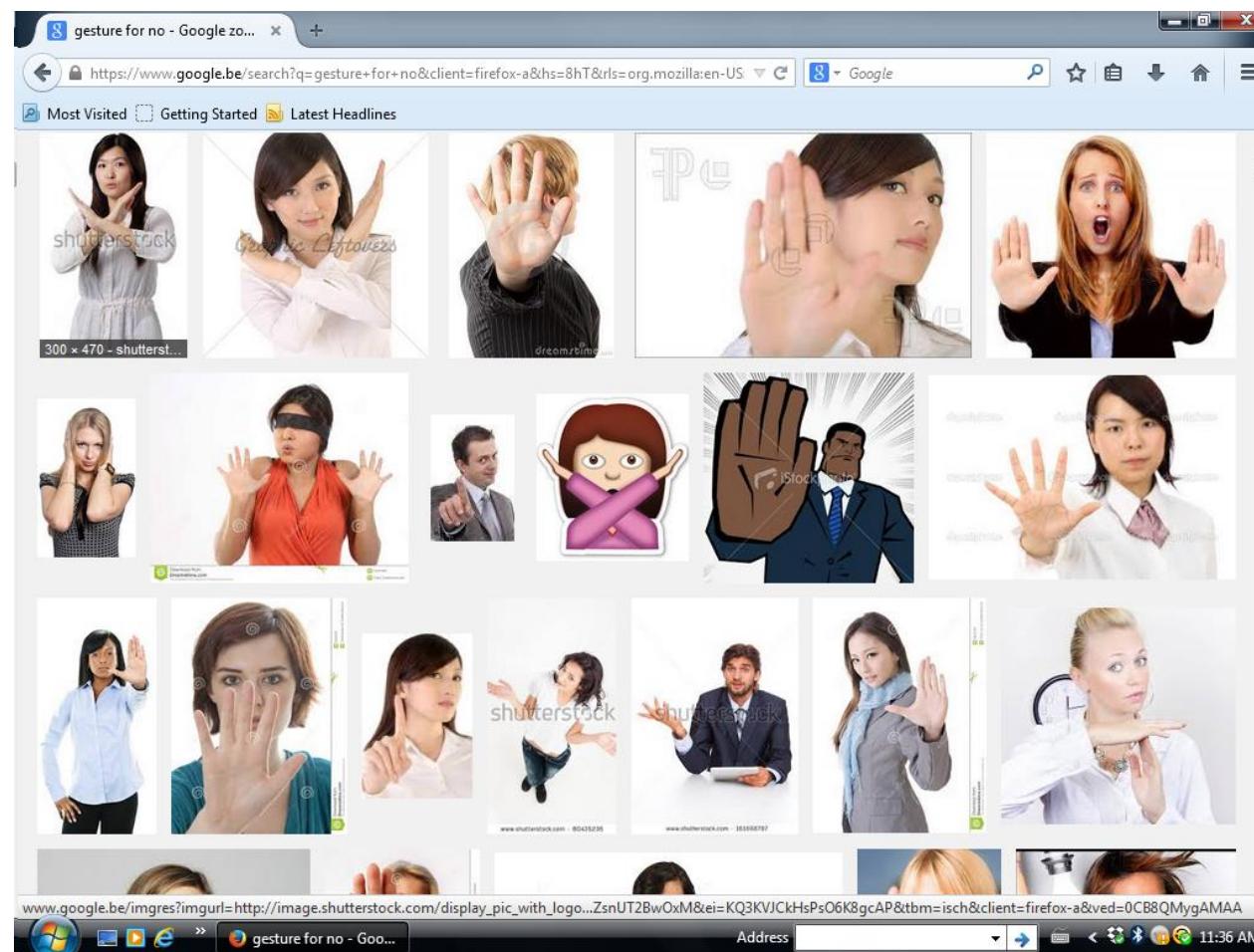
2

3

4

5

6



<b>Meaning Form</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
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<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>						
<b>Form</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	

Karitiána (Landin 1984: 237)

Y **ta**-oty-j ãyn

I **AFF**-bathe-tense I

‘I will bathe.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>						
<b>Form</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	

Karitiána (Landin 1984: 237)

Y **Ø**-oty-j                      ãn

I **NEG**-bathe-tense I

‘I will not bathe.’

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>					
<b>Form</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

**Karitiána (Landin 1984: 237)**

**Y Ø-oty-j ãn**

**I NEG-bathe-tense I**

**‘I will not bathe.’**

**Havyaka Kannada**

**(van der Auwera & Bhat 1999: 5, 15,17)**

**ma:śTrakko kate o:du-g-u**

**teachers story read-SUBJ.NPST-3PL**

**‘The teachers may be reading a story.’**

<b>Meaning</b>	<b>1</b>						
<b>Form</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	

**Karitiána (Landin 1984: 237)**

**Y Ø-oty-j ãn**

**I NEG-bathe-tense I**

**‘I will not bathe.’**

**Havyaka Kannada**

**(van der Auwera & Bhat 1999: 5, 15,17)**

**ma:śTrakko kate o:du-Ø-u**

**teachers story read-SUBJ.NEG-3PL**

**‘The teachers may not be reading a story.’**

**NEG1**  
*aaa*



**NEG1 NEG2**  
*aaa bbb*

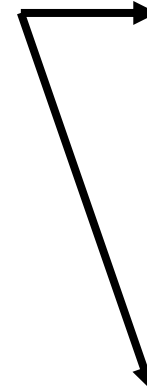


**NEG2**  
*bbb*

**NEG1**  
*aaa*



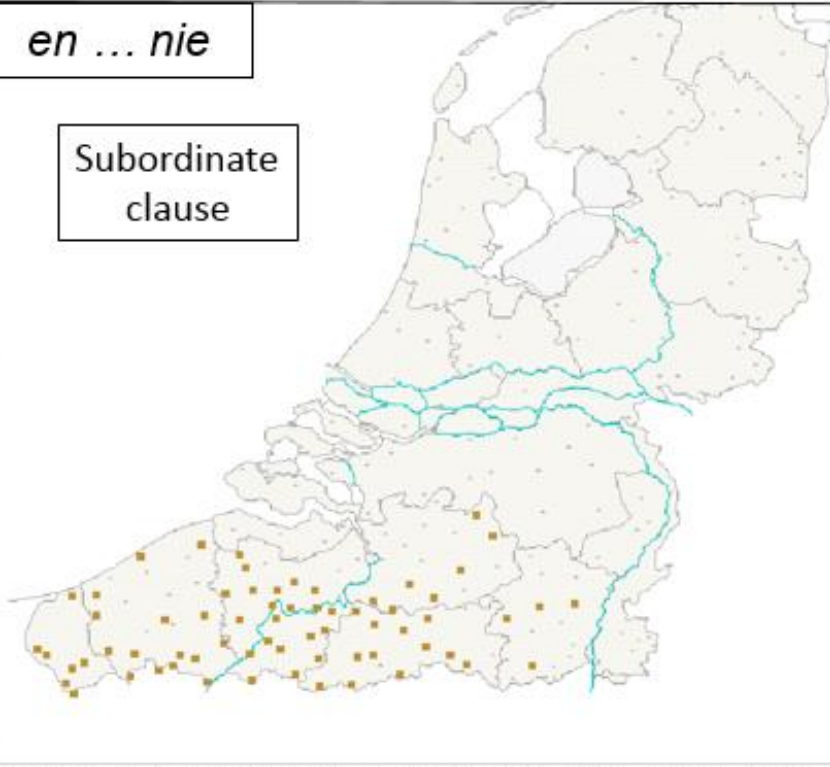
**NEG1 NEG2**  
*aaa bbb*



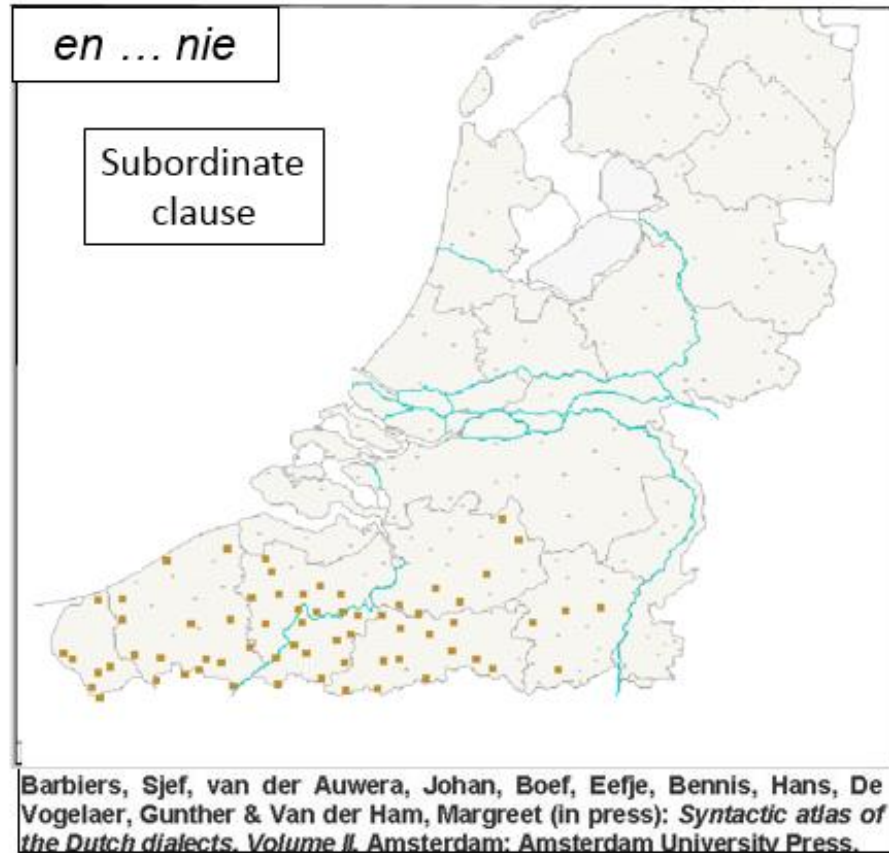
**NEG2**  
*bbb*  
  
**???**  
*aaa*

*en ... nie*

Subordinate  
clause



Barbiers, Sjef, van der Auwera, Johan, Boef, Eefje, Bennis, Hans, De Vogelaer, Gunther & Van der Ham, Margreet (in press): *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.



***Ze pakte eu portefeuille waar dase***  
**she took her wallet where that.she**  
***eu sleutelke in en doet.***  
**her small.key in SUB does**  
**‘She took the wallet in which she puts her key.’**

