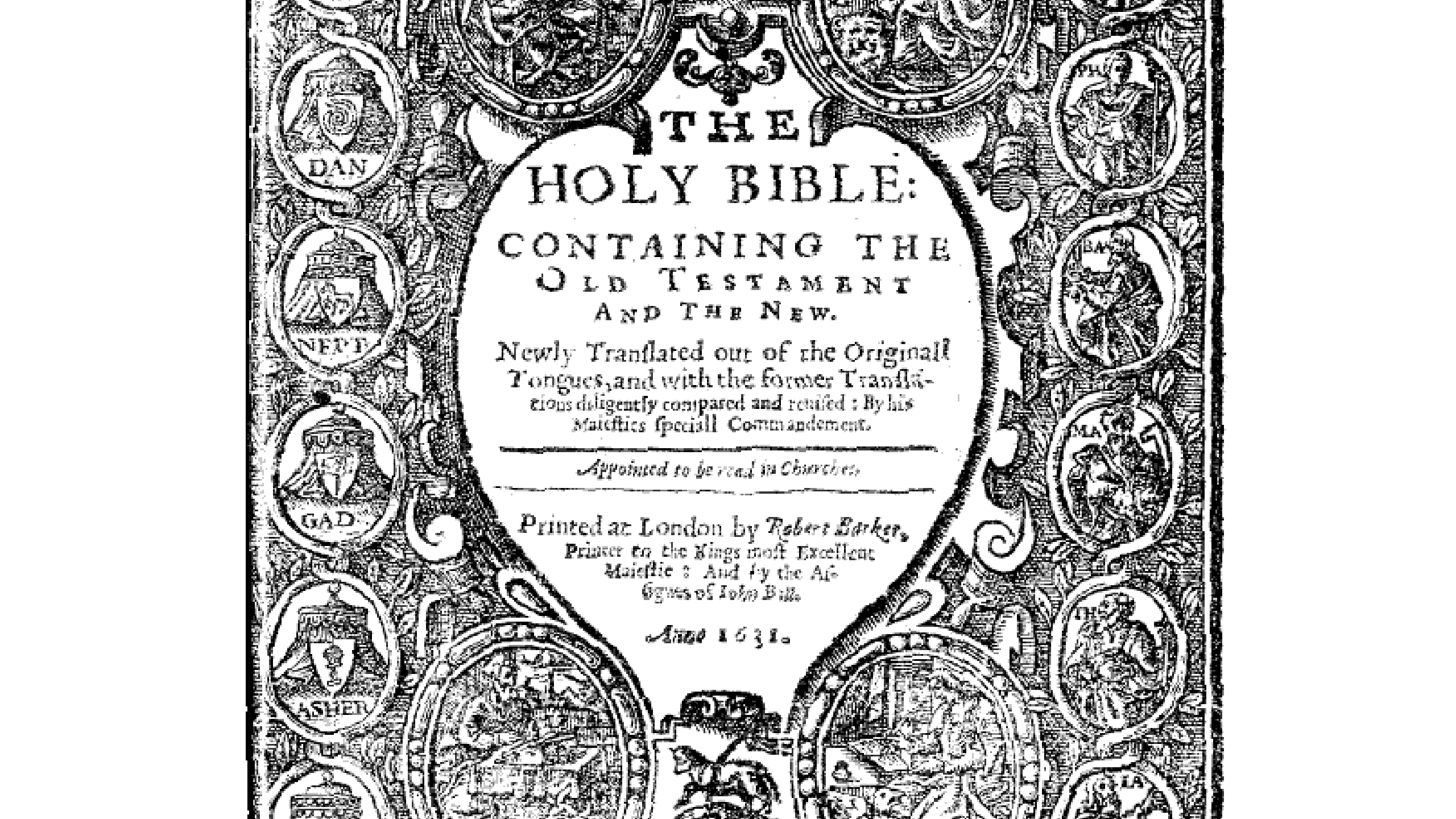


not



THE
HOLY BIBLE:

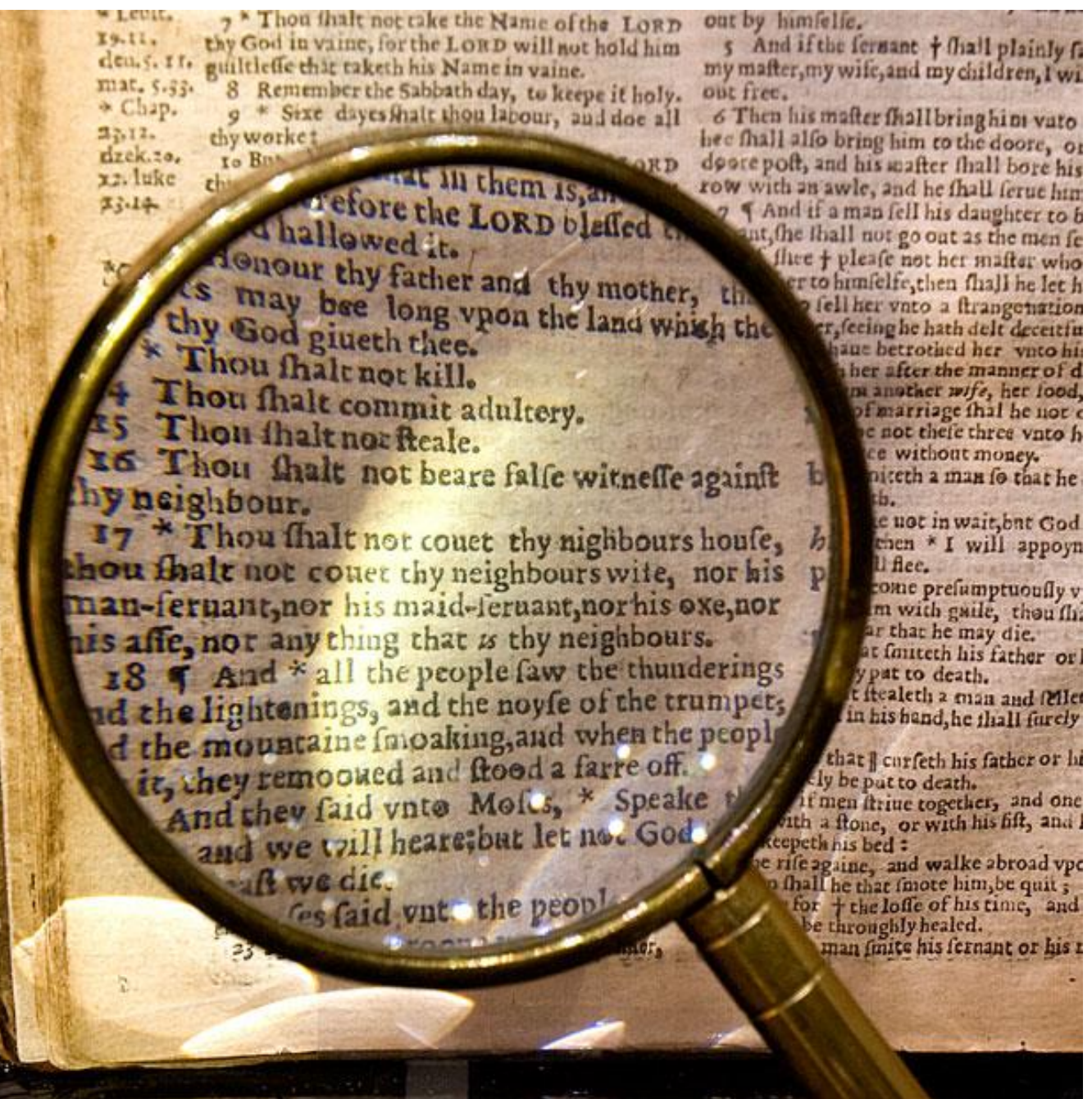
CONTAINING THE
OLD TESTAMENT
AND THE NEW.

Newly Translated out of the Originall
Tongues, and with the former Transla-
tions diligently compared and revised: By his
Maiesties Speciall Commandement.

Appointed to be read in Churches.

Printed at London by *Robert Barker,*
Printer to the Kings most Excellent
Maiestie: And by the As-
signes of *Iohn Bill.*

Anno 1631.



Leuit. 19. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

7 * Thou shalt not take the Name of the LORD thy God in vaine, for the LORD will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his Name in vaine.
8 Remember the Sabbath day, to keepe it holy.
9 * Sixe dayes shalt thou labour, and doe all thy worke:
10 But the seventh day is the Lords day, to reuerence it: for in sixe dayes made the LORD heauen and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the LORD blessed the day, and hallowed it.

11 Honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment, that thy may bee long vpon the land which the LORD thy God giueth thee.

12 * Thou shalt not kill.

13 Thou shalt not commit adultery.

14 Thou shalt not steale.

15 Thou shalt not beare false witness against thy neighbour.

16 * Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours house, nor thou shalt not couet thy neighbours wite, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his asse, nor any thing that is thy neighbours.

17 ¶ And * all the people saw the thunderings, and the lightnings, and the noyse of the trumpet, and the mountaine smoaking, and when the people saw it, they remooued and stood a farre off. And they said vnto Moses, * Speake vnto the LORD, lest we die.

18 ¶ And he said vnto the people, * The LORD hath said, I will appoyne thee to my selfe, thou shalt be my peculiar treasure, a kingdome of priests, and a holy nation. Now therefore, if thou wilt obey my voice, and keep my commandments, thou shalt be my peculiar treasure, as thou hast said, and thou shalt be holy to me, and thou shalt bring forth much fruit to me, and thou shalt be my people. And thou shalt love me, that I may dwell with thee, and thou shalt be my people, and I will be thy God, and thou shalt know that I am the LORD thy God, when I shall bring thee into the land which I swore vnto thy fathers, saying, I will giue it vnto thee. And thou shalt say, The LORD is my God.

out by himselfe.

5 And if the seruant shall plainly see my master, my wife, and my children, I will go out free.

6 Then his master shall bring him vnto the doore, or vnto the doore post, and his master shall bore his row with an awle, and he shall serue him.

7 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, she shall not go out as the men seruaunts: if she please not her master who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

8 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

9 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

10 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

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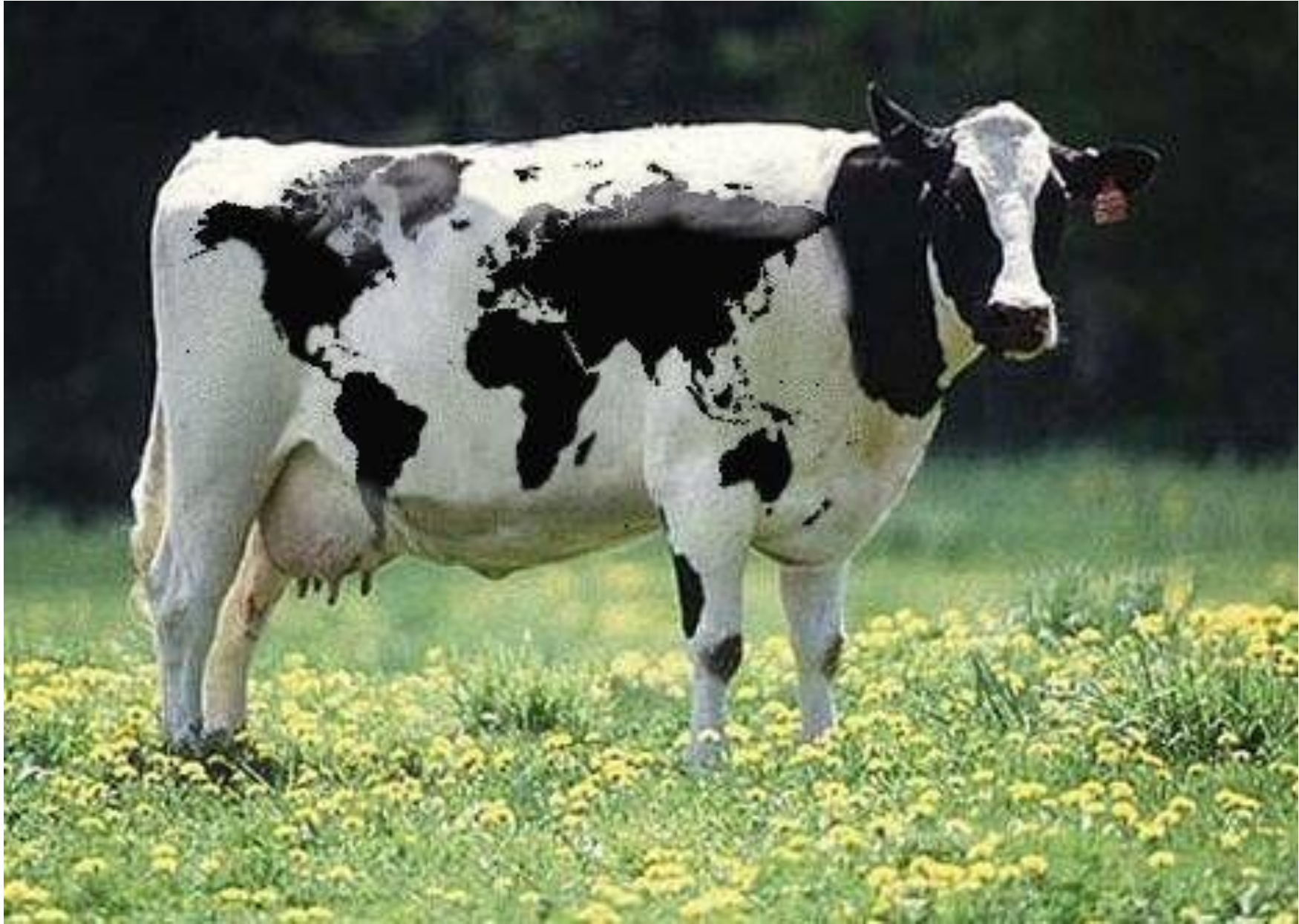
15 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

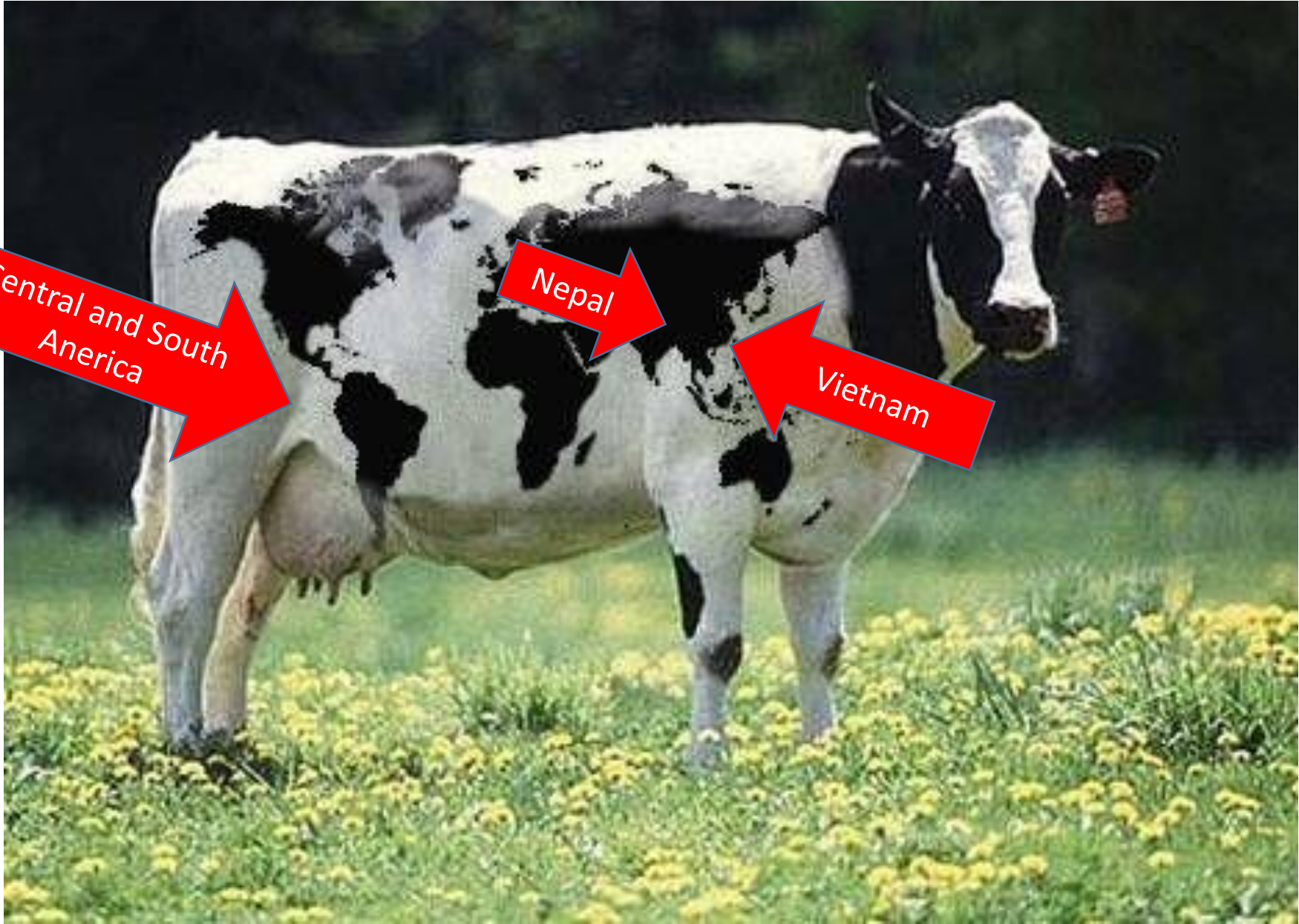
16 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

17 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

18 ¶ And if a man sell his daughter to be a seruant, and she please not her master, who hath bought her, then shall he let her go out free, as though she were a seruant.

Jespersen Cycles in the world

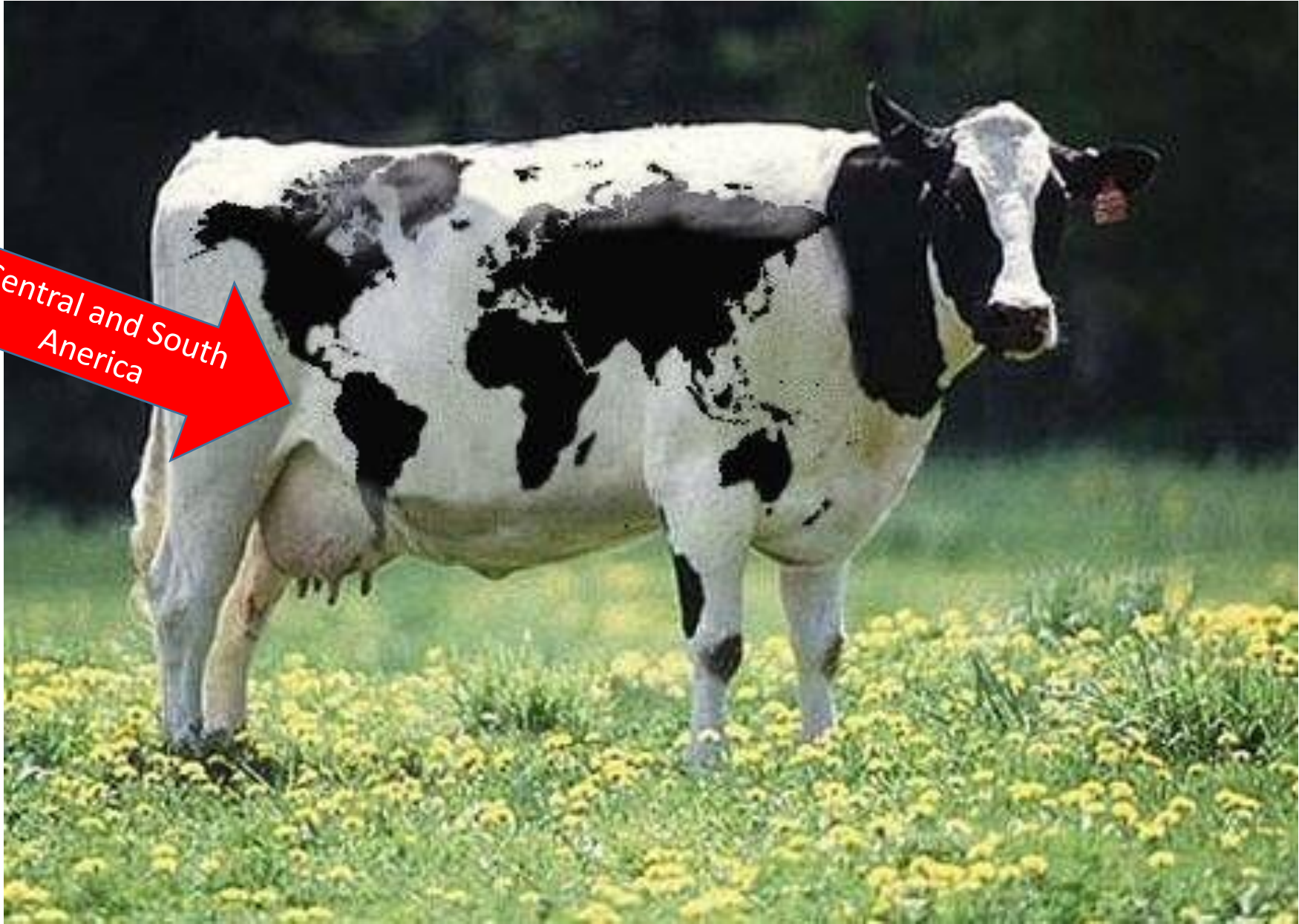




Central and South
America

Nepal

Vietnam



Central and South
America

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)						
Miestamo 2005						
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994						
van Gelderen 2008						
Today						

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)						
Miestamo 2005						
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994						
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today						

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)						
Miestamo 2005						
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today						

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)						
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today						

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today						

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today						530

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today	256					530

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today	256		148			530

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today	256	104	148			530

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today	256	104	148	17	5	530

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today	256	104	148	17	5	530

Source	NEG V	NEG V NEG	V NEG	Other	Triple	Σ
Dryer 2011 (WALS)	133	46	110	1	-	290
Miestamo 2005	6	2	10	1	-	19
Kahrel & vd Berg 1994	3	1	2	-	-	6
van Gelderen 2008	3	8	1	-	-	12
Today	256	→ 104	→ 148	17	5	530

Direct evidence

Indirect evidence

Mayan languages

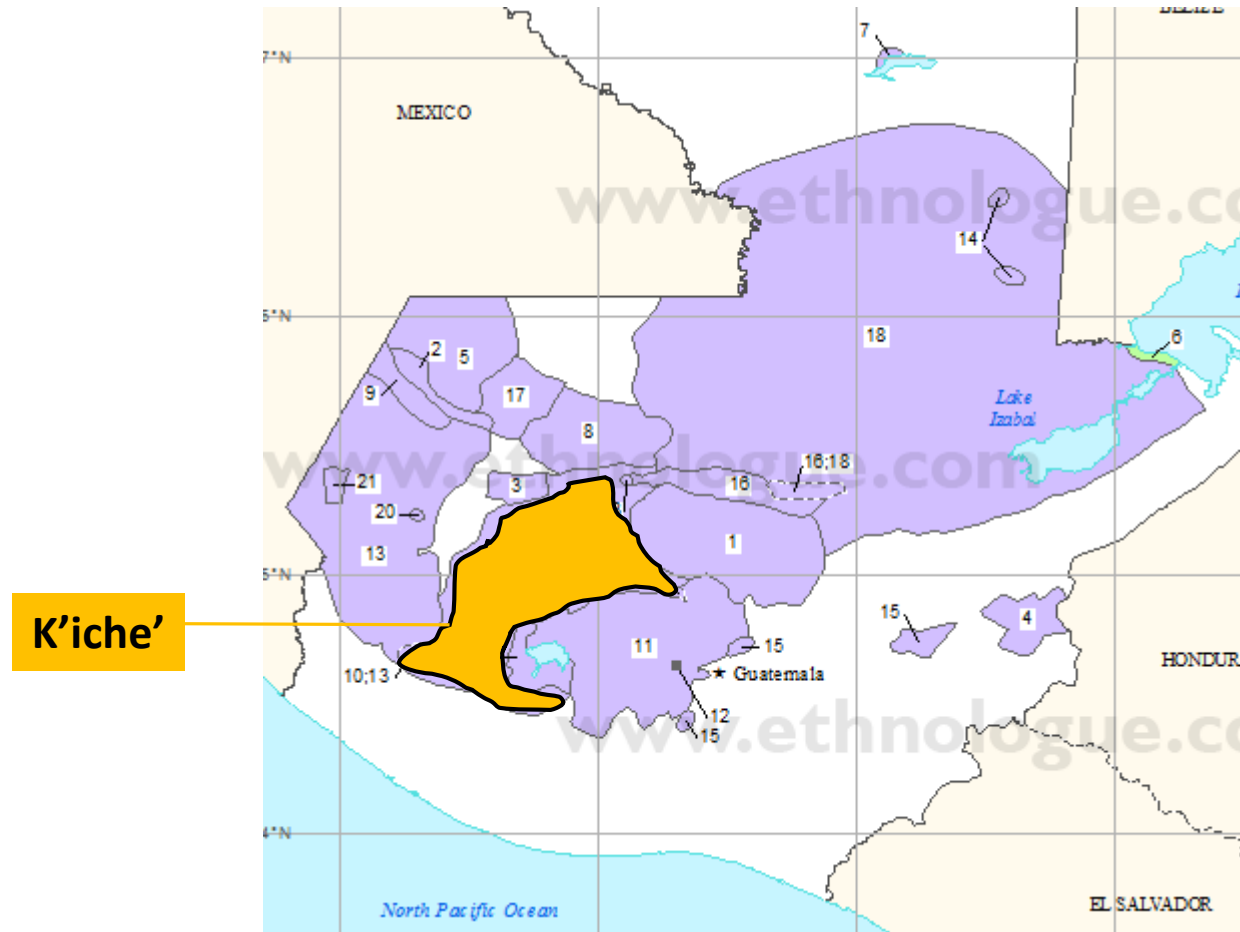


Mayan languages

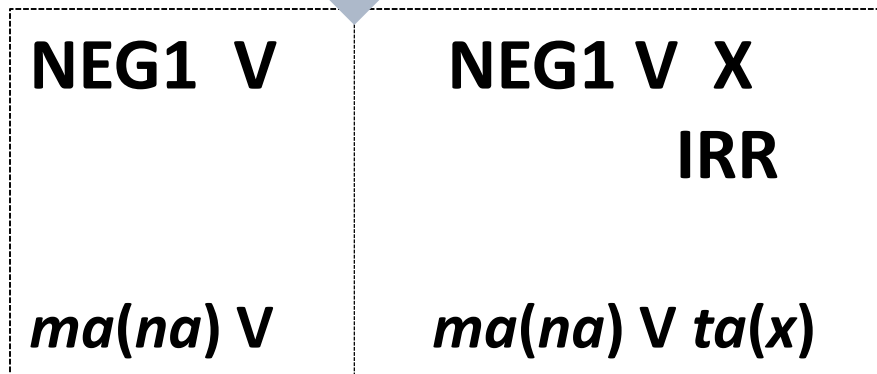
Pokomchí (Myers 1958: 12)

xpon *l* *rek* *pero* *ma'* *xuc'a* *ta* *rib'*
3SG.go to search but NEG1 did NEG2 uncover.it
'He went to search but he did not uncover it.'

Romero, Sergio F. (2012) 'A Maya version of Jespersen's Cycle: The diachronic evolution of negative markers in K'iche', *International Journal of American Linguistics* 78: 77-96.



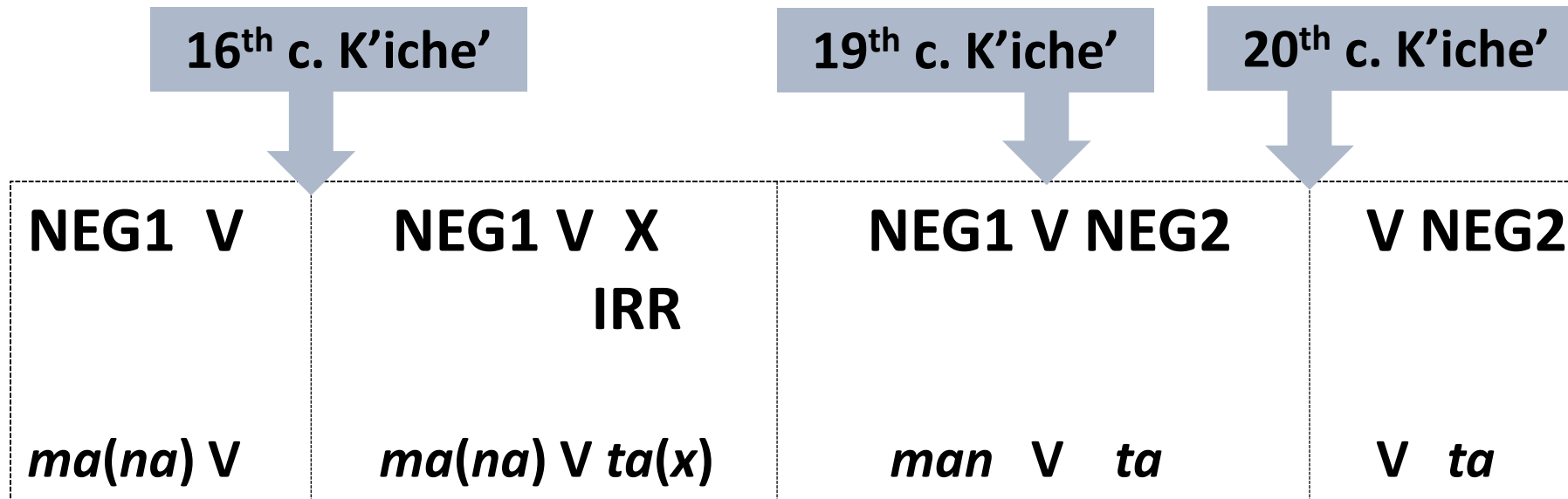
16th c. K'iche'



16th c. K'iche'

19th c. K'iche'

NEG1 V	NEG1 V X IRR	NEG1 V NEG2
<i>ma(na) V</i>	<i>ma(na) V ta(x)</i>	<i>man V ta</i>



20th c. K'iche'



NEG1 V <i>ma(na) V</i>	NEG1 V X IRR <i>ma(na) V ta(x)</i>	NEG1 V NEG2 <i>man V ta</i>	V NEG2 <i>V ta</i>
--------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------	----------------------------------

NEG1 V	NEG1 V X IRR	NEG1 V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma(na) V</i>	<i>ma(na) V ta(x)</i>	<i>man V ta</i>	<i>V ta</i>

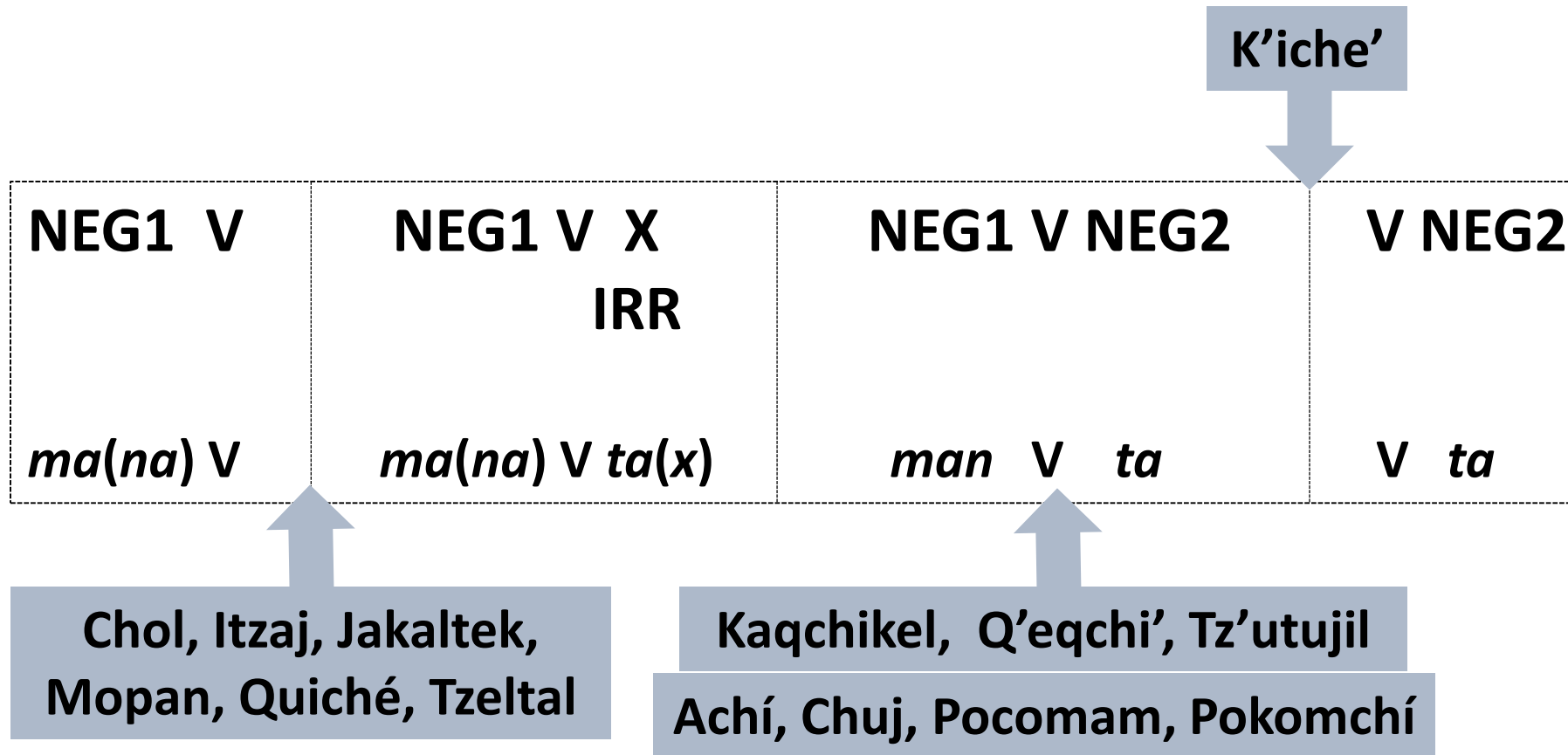
K'iche'



Kaqchikel, Q'eqchi', Tz'utujil

Achí, Chuj, Pocomam, Pokomchí









V NEG2



NEG1 V NEG2

V NEG2



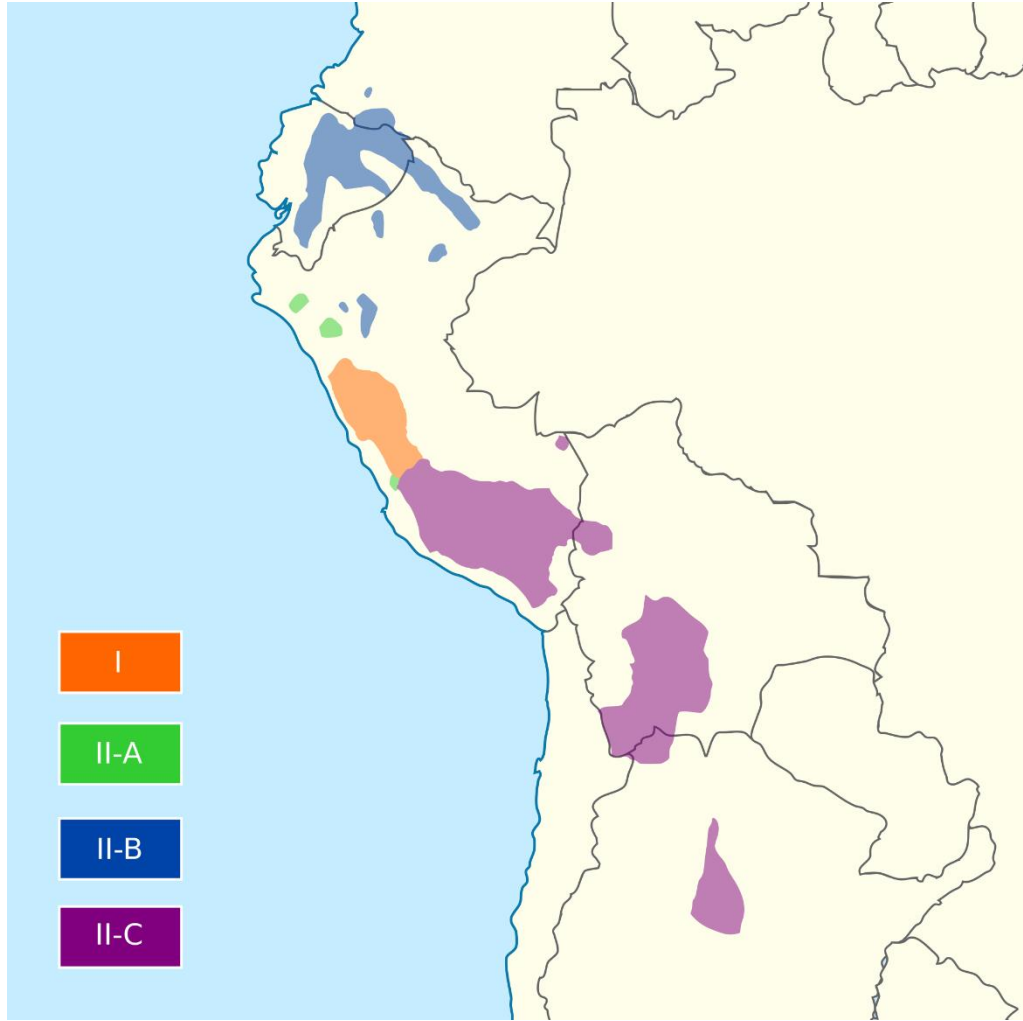
NEG1 V

NEG1 V NEG2

V NEG2

Quechuan languages

Quechuan languages



Quechuan languages

Corongo Ancash Quechua (Hintz 2008: 7)

ke:-man mana pwe:de-:xa-n-tsu ni ba:je-y-ta
this-MET NEG1 can-PSD-3-NEG2 neither go.down
ni su:bi-y-ta
neither go.up

'This man couldn't go down nor go climb up.'

Pineda Bernuy, Edith (2012) (in print) “The development of standard negation in Quechua: a reconstruction”, *The diachrony of negation*. Maj-Britt Mosegaard-Hansen & Jacqueline Visconti (eds.), Amsterdam: Benjamins.

**16th c. Central-Southern Quechua
*lengua general***

Pineda Bernuy, Edith (2012) (in print) “The development of standard negation in Quechua: a reconstruction”, *The diachrony of negation*. Maj-Britt Mosegaard-Hansen & Jacqueline Visconti (eds.), Amsterdam: Benjamins.

16th c. Central-Southern Quechua
lengua general



Pineda Bernuy, Edith (2012) (in print) “The development of standard negation in Quechua: a reconstruction”, *The diachrony of negation*. Maj-Britt Mosegaard-Hansen & Jacqueline Visconti (eds.), Amsterdam: Benjamins.

16th c. Central-Southern Quechua
lengua general

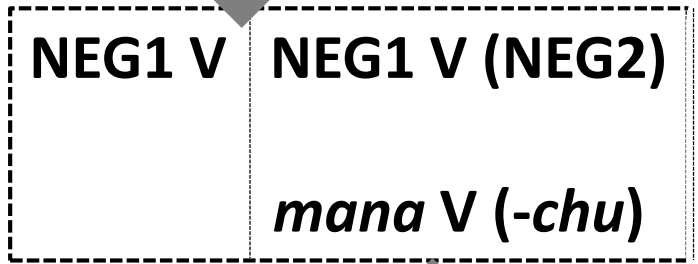
Kiki-lla-n-ta-paŝ *mana* *qishpi-chi-ku-n.*
self-LIM-3-AC-AD NEG save-CAUS-RFL-3
‘They don’t even save themselves.’

16th c. Quechua
lengua general



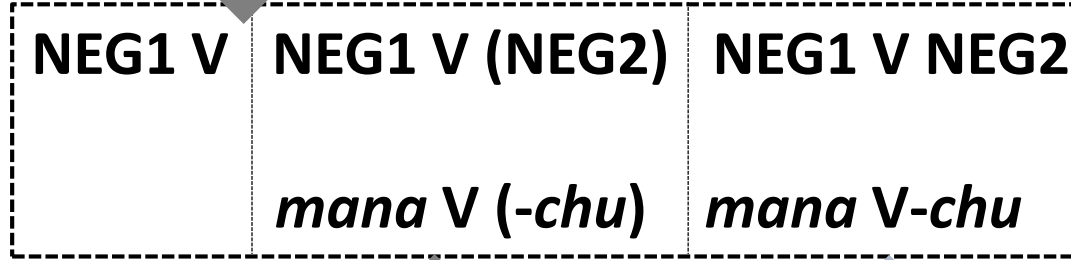
NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)
	<i>mana V (-chu)</i>

16th c. Quechua
lengua general



Arequipa,
Chimborazo,
Huallaga, Inga,
San Martin,
Tarma

16th c. Quechua
lengua general



Arequipa,
Chimborazo,
Huallaga, Inga,
San Martin,
Tarma

Ambo, Ayacucho,
Bolivian,
Cajamarca,
Cochabamba,
Cuzco, de la Unión,
Imbabura,
Lambayeque,
Pastaza, Saraguro

16th c. Quechua
lengua general

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2
	<i>mana V (-chu)</i>	<i>mana V-chu</i>	<i>(mana) V-chu</i>

Arequipa,
Chimborazo,
Huallaga, Inga,
San Martin,
Tarma

Ambo, Ayacucho,
Bolivian,
Cajamarca,
Cochabamba,
Cuzco, de la Unión,
Imbabura,
Lambayeque,
Pastaza, Saraguro

Ancash,
Huamalies,
Pachitea

16th c. Quechua
lengua general

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
	<i>mana V (-chu)</i>	<i>mana V-chu</i>	<i>(mana) V-chu</i>	

Arequipa,
Chimborazo,
Huallaga, Inga,
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Ambo, Ayacucho,
Bolivian,
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Cuzco, de la Unión,
Imbabura,
Lambayeque,
Pastaza, Saraguro

Ancash,
Huamalies,
Pachitea

16th c. Quechua
lengua general



NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
	<i>mana V (-chu)</i>	<i>mana V-chu</i>	<i>(mana) V-chu</i>	

Arequipa,
Chimborazo,
Huallaga, Inga,
San Martin,
Tarma



Ambo, Ayacucho,
Bolivia,
Cajamarca,
Cochabamba,
Cuzco, de la Unión,
Imbabura,
Lambayeque,
Pastaza, Paraguro



Ancash,
Huamalies,
Pachitea



Huaylas, Margos-Yarowilca-Lauricocha

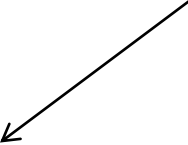




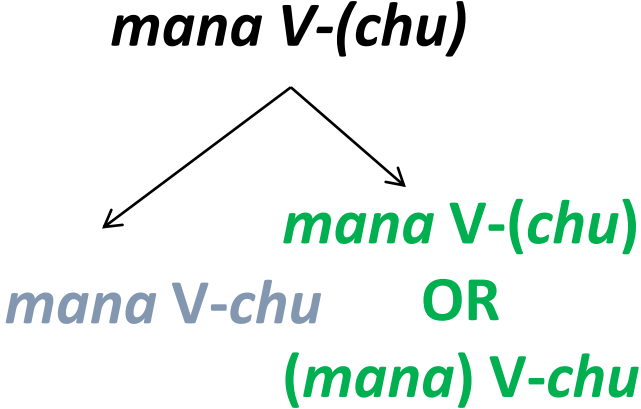
mana V-(chu)

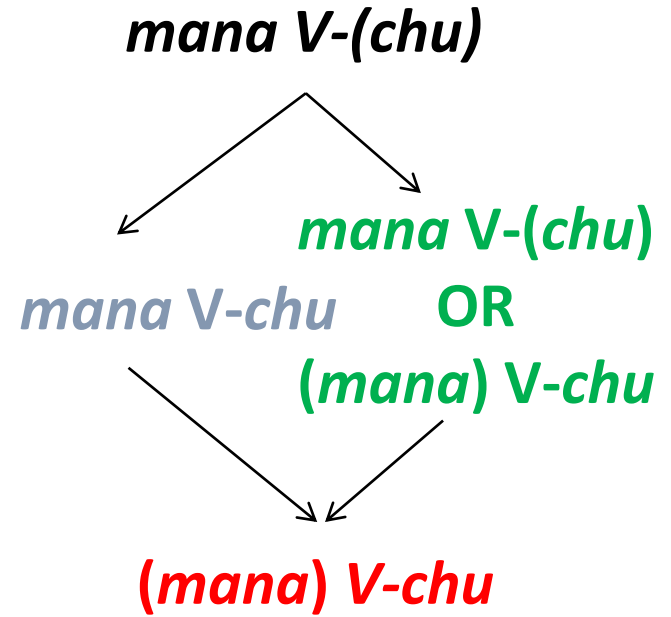


mana V-(chu)



mana V-chu







Preverbal *ma(na)*



Preverbal *ma(na)*



Preverbal *ma*



Preverbal *ma(na)*



Preverbal *ma(na)*



Preverbal *ma*
 < Proto-Arawakan privative
 (Michael 2014: 276)



Preverbal *ma(na)*



Preverbal *ma*
 < Proto-Arawakan privative
 (Michael 2014: 276)



Preverbal *ma*

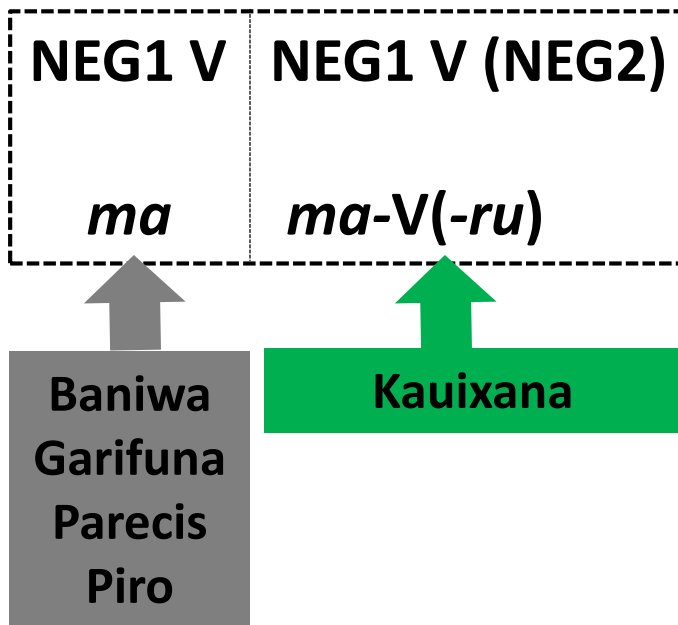
**Arawakan
Maipurean**

NEG1 V

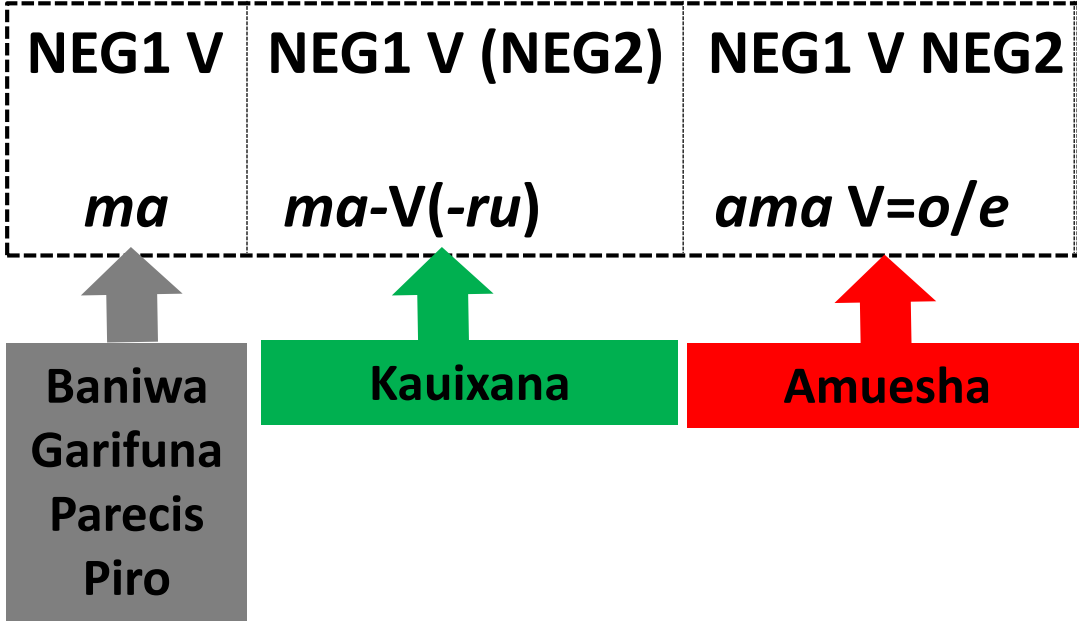
ma

**Baniwa
Garifuna
Parecis
Piro**

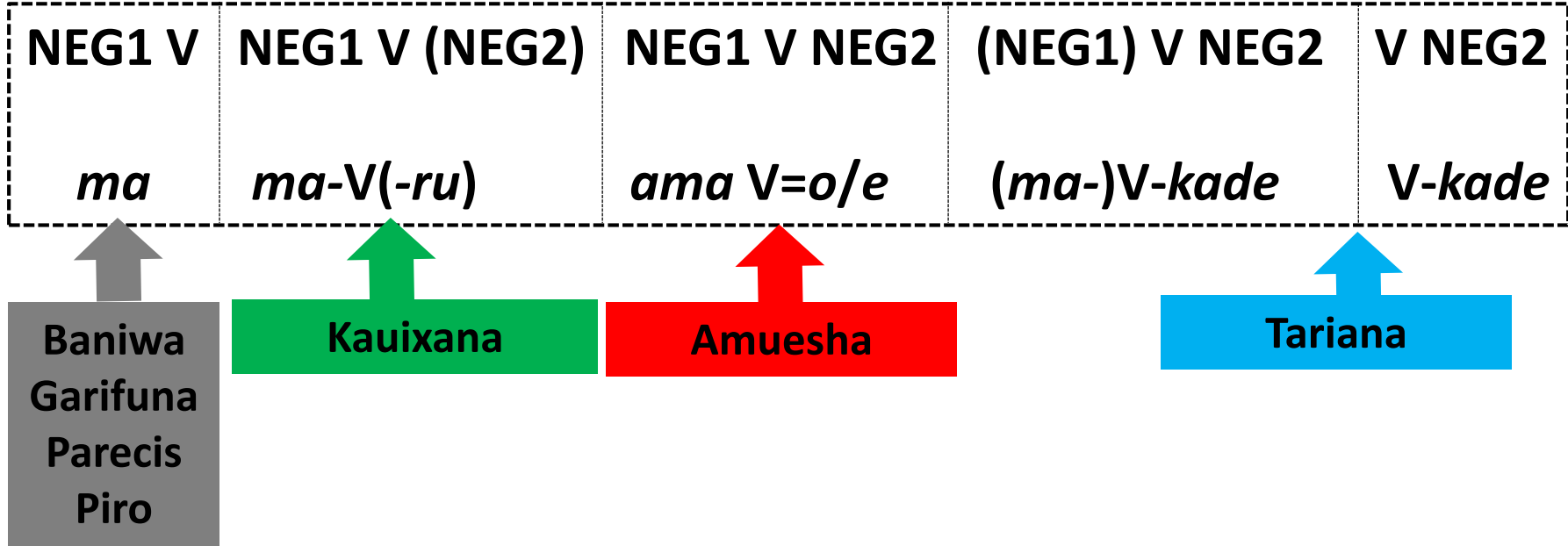
Arawakan Maipurean



Arawakan Maipurean



Arawakan Maipurean



**Arawakan
Maipurean**

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-V(-ru)</i>	<i>ama V=o/e</i>	<i>(ma-)V-kade</i>	<i>V-kade</i>

↑

Baniwa
Garifuna
Parecis
Piro

↑

Kauixana

↑

Amuesha

↑

Tariana

Suffix with voiceless velar stop (Aikhenvald 2014: 109-110;
Michael 2014: 288)

Arawakan Maipurean

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-V(-ru)</i>	<i>ama V=o/e</i>	<i>(ma-)V-kade</i>	<i>V-kade</i>

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Baniwa
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Parecis
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Lokono postverbal NEG *kho(ro)* related to 'a little' (Patte 2014:
56)

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NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-V(-ru)</i>	<i>ama V=o/e</i>	<i>(ma-)V-kade</i>	<i>V-kade</i>

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Baniwa
Garifuna
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Arawakan Maipurean

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-V(-ru)</i>	<i>ama V=o/e</i>	<i>(ma-)V-kade</i>	<i>V-kade</i>

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Baniwa
Garifuna
Parecis
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NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-V(-ru)</i>	<i>ama V=o/e</i>	<i>(ma-)V-kade</i>	<i>V-kade</i>

↑
Baniwa
Garifuna
Parecis
Piro

↑
Kauixana

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Amuesha

↑
Tariana

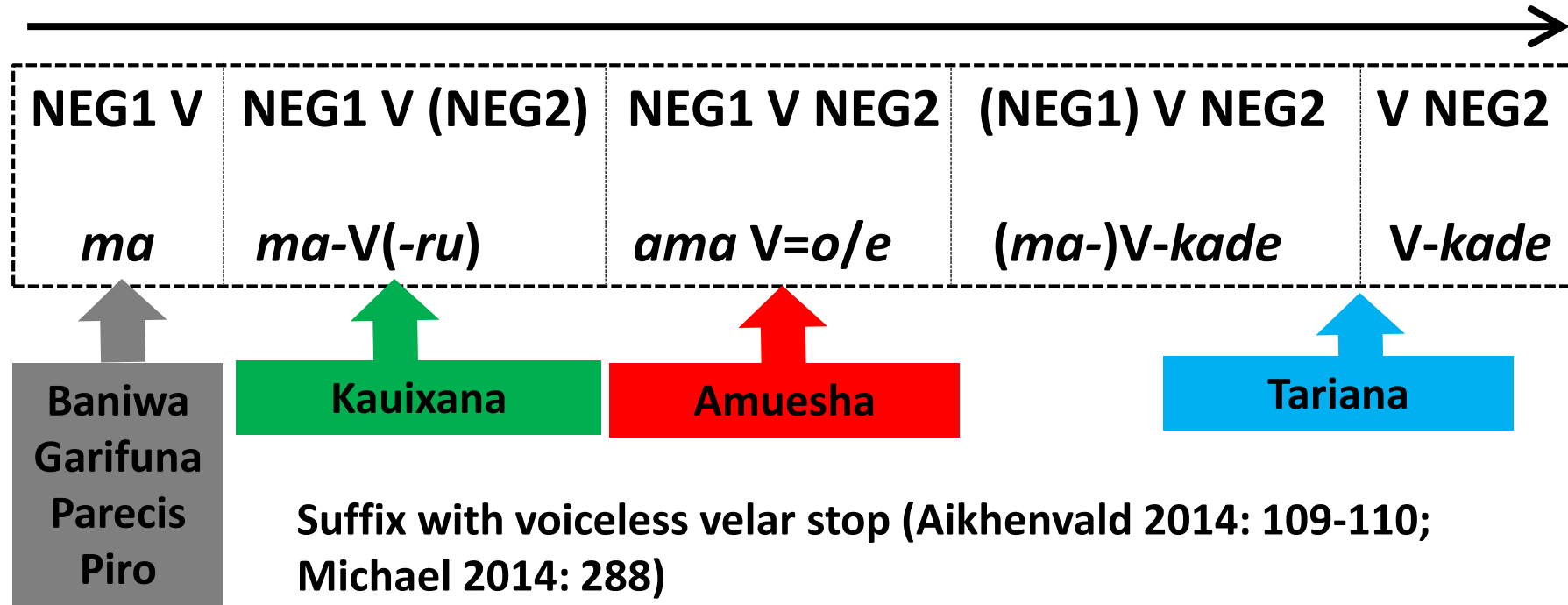
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**Arawakan
Maipurean**

?

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma-V(-ru)</i>	<i>ama V=o/e</i>	<i>(ma-)V-kade</i>	<i>V-kade</i>

Baniwa
Garifuna
Parecis
Piro

Kauixana

Amuesha

Tariana

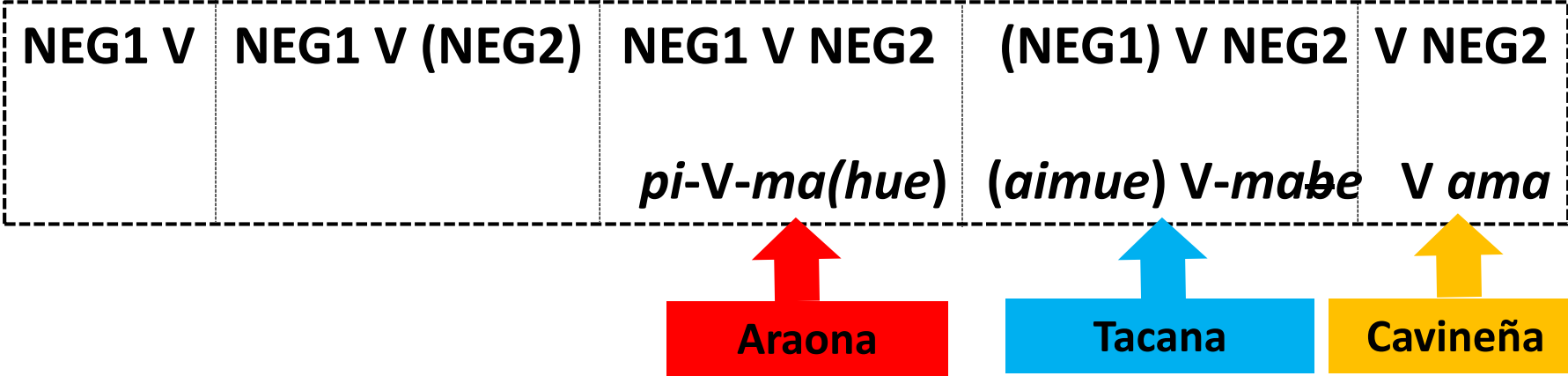
Suffix with voiceless velar stop (Aikhenvald 2014: 109-110;
Michael 2014: 288)

Lokono postverbal NEG *kho(ro)* related to 'a little' (Patte 2014:
56)

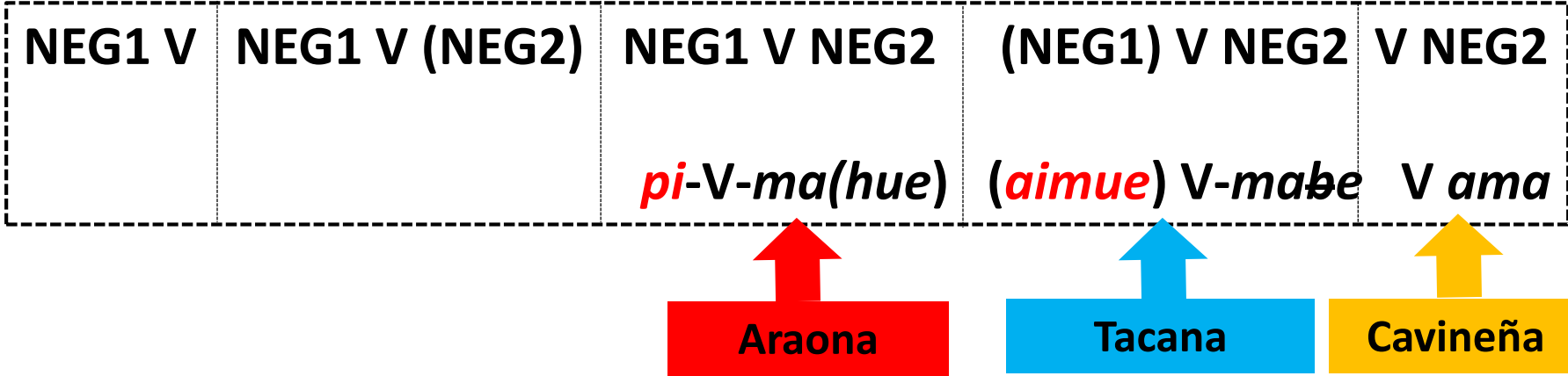
Baré postverbal NEG2 *(wa)ka* (orig.) subordinator (C. de
Oliveira 1996; Miestamo 2005: 86) T

Direct evidence: *kade* older than *ma-V-kade* (Aikhenvald 2002:
105-107) – OV – verbal origin?

Tacanan



Tacanan



Tacanan

NEG1 V	NEG1 V (NEG2)	NEG1 V NEG2	(NEG1) V NEG2	V NEG2
		<i>pi-V-ma(hue)</i>	<i>(aimue) V-maʔe</i>	<i>V ama</i>

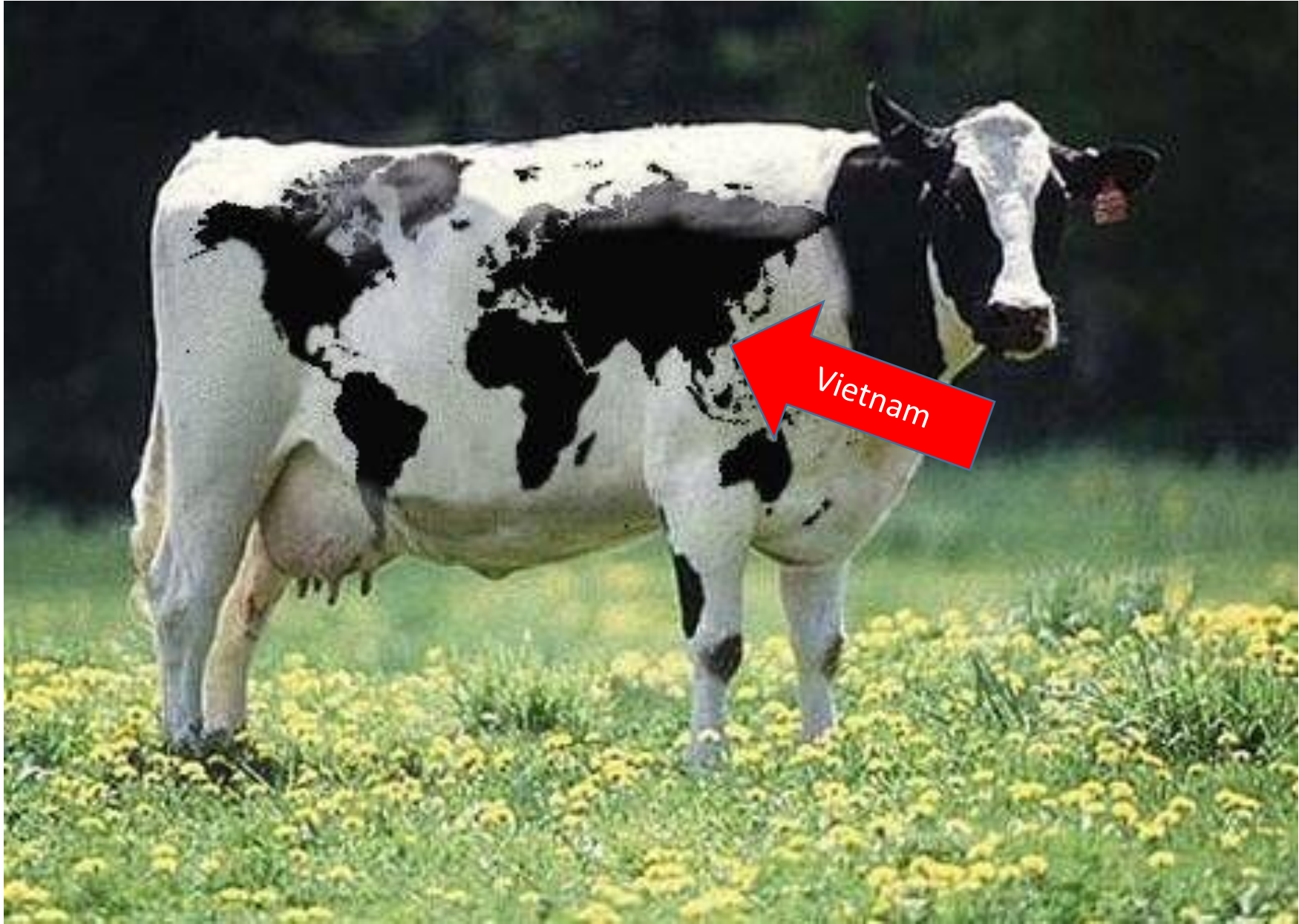
Araona

Tacana

Cavineña



?



Chamic?



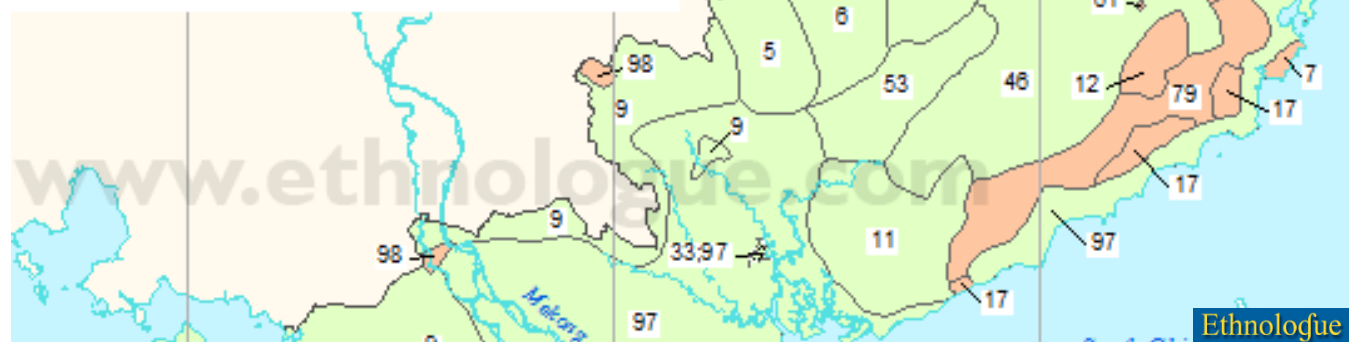
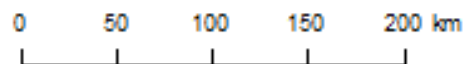
Malayo-Sumbawan

SOUTHERN VIET NAM

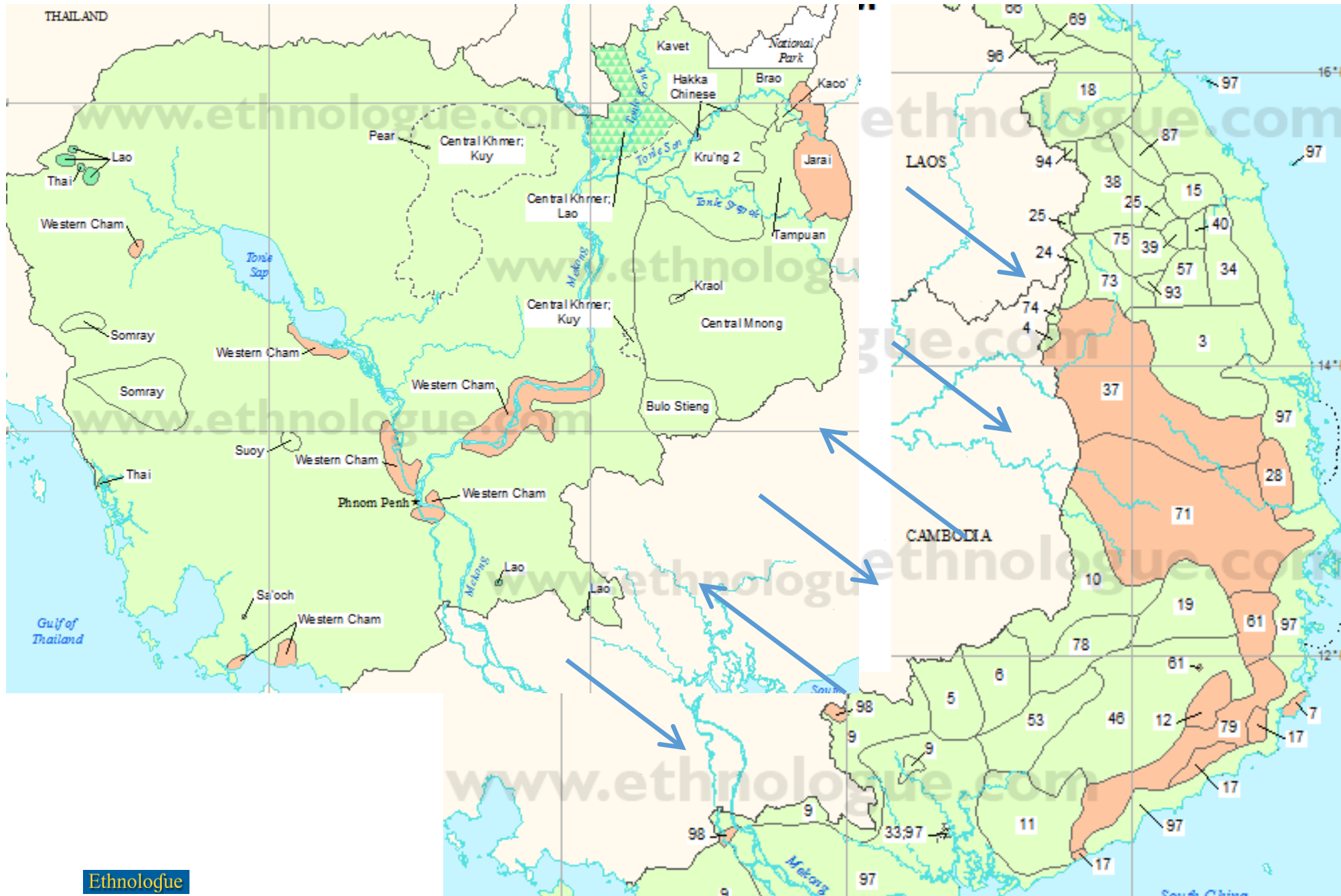
Language Families



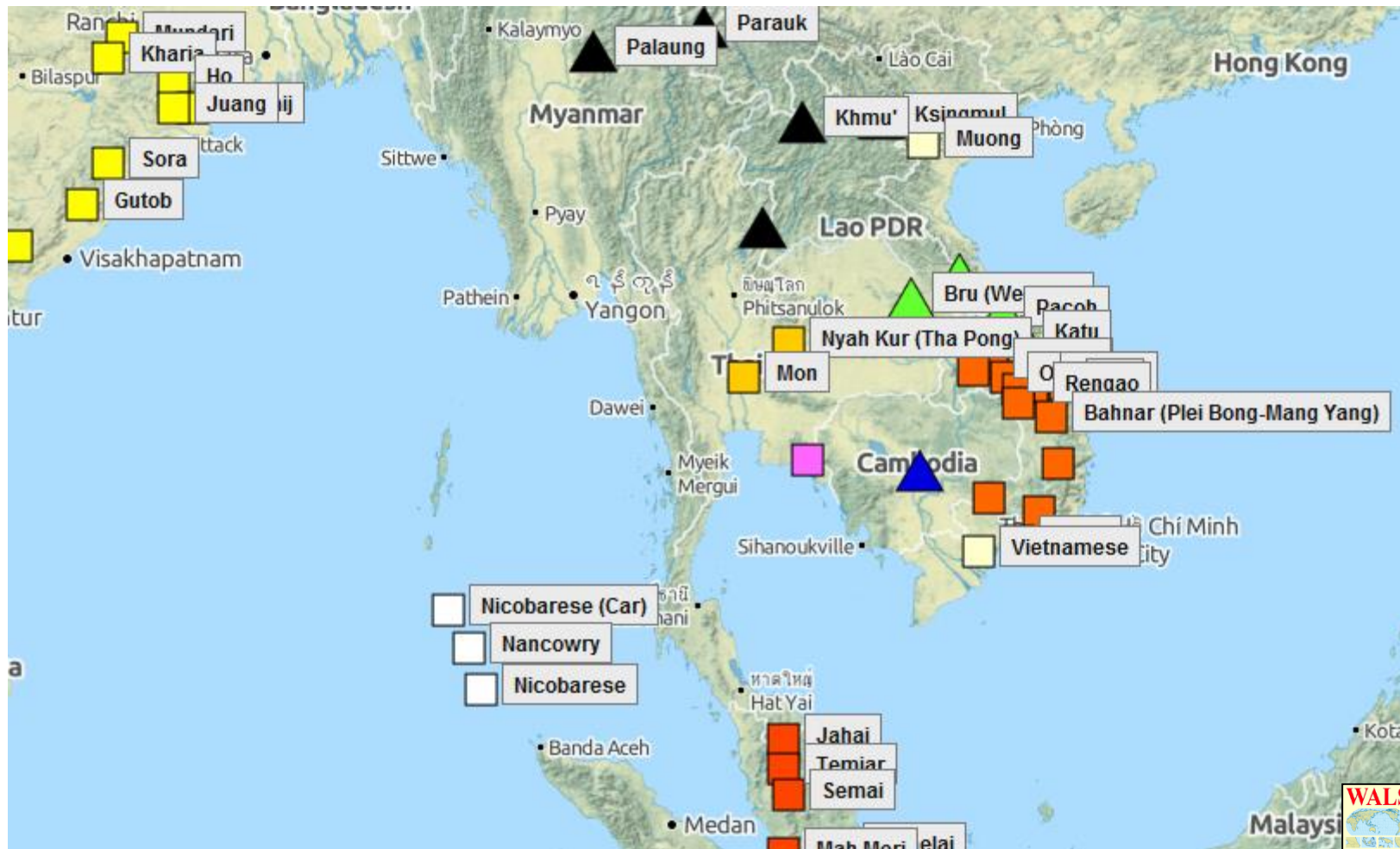
- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 2 Arem | 39 Katua |
| 3 Bahnar | 40 Kayong |
| 4 Brao | 44 Khua |
| 5 Budeh Stieng | 46 Koho |
| 6 Bulu Stieng | 53 Maa |
| 7 Caogia Roglai | 54 Maleng |
| 9 Central Khmer (8) | 57 Monom |
| 10 Central Mnong | 60 Nguồn |
| 11 Chrau | 61 Northern Roglai (2) |
| 12 Chru | 66 Pacoh |
| 13 Chut | 69 Phuong |
| 15 Cua | 71 Rade |
| 16 Eastern Bru (2) | 73 Rengao |
| 17 Eastern Cham (3) | 74 Romam |
| 18 Eastern Katu | 75 Sedang |
| 19 Eastern Mnong | 78 Southern Mnong |
| 24 Halang | 79 Southern Roglai |
| 25 Halang Doan (2) | 87 Takua |
| 28 Haroi | 93 Todrah |
| 33 Ho Chi Minh City | 94 Trieng |
| Sign Language | 96 Upper Ta'oih |
| 34 Hre | 97 Vietnamese (10) |
| 37 Jarai | 98 Western Cham (2) |
| 38 Jeh | |



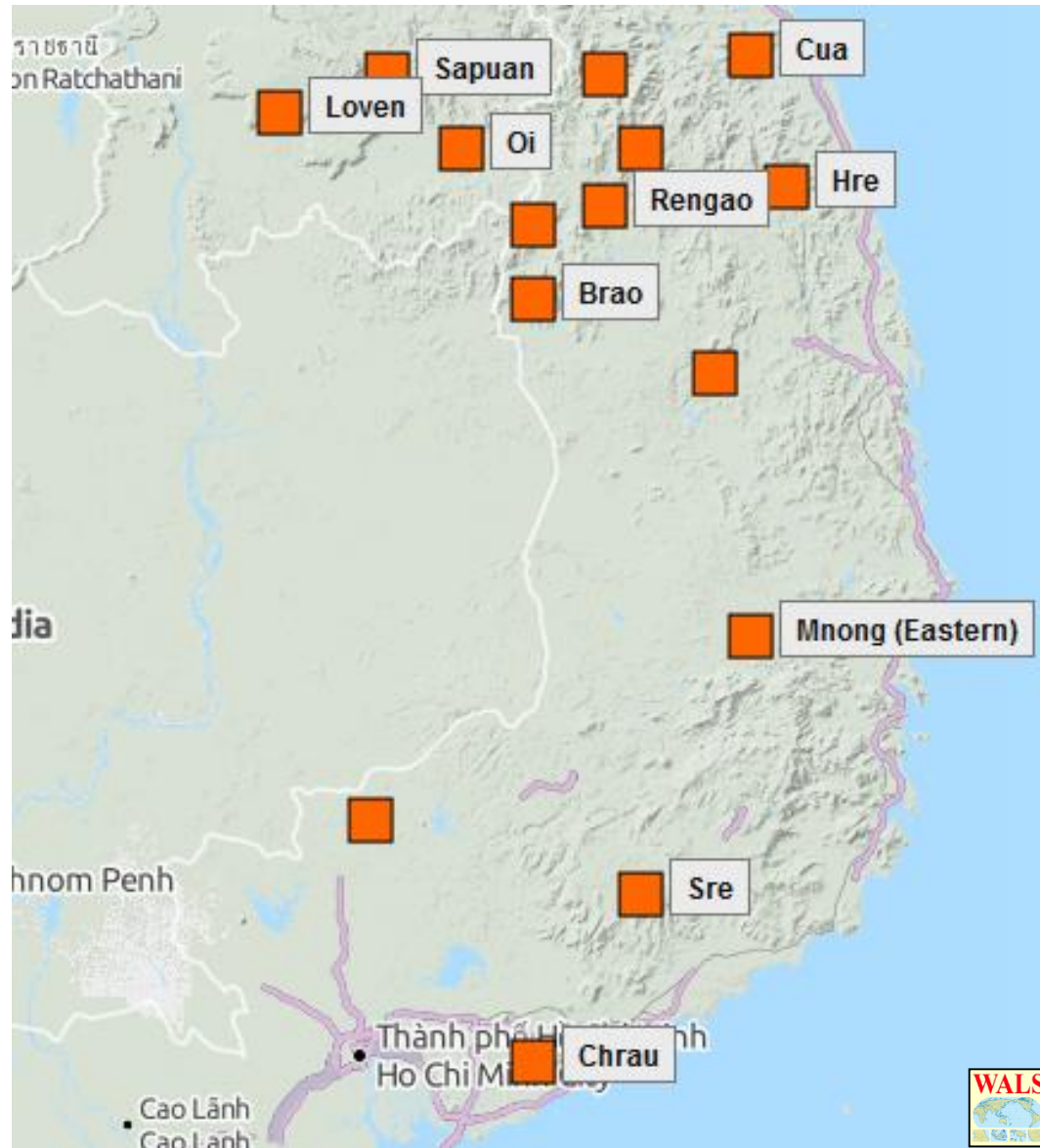




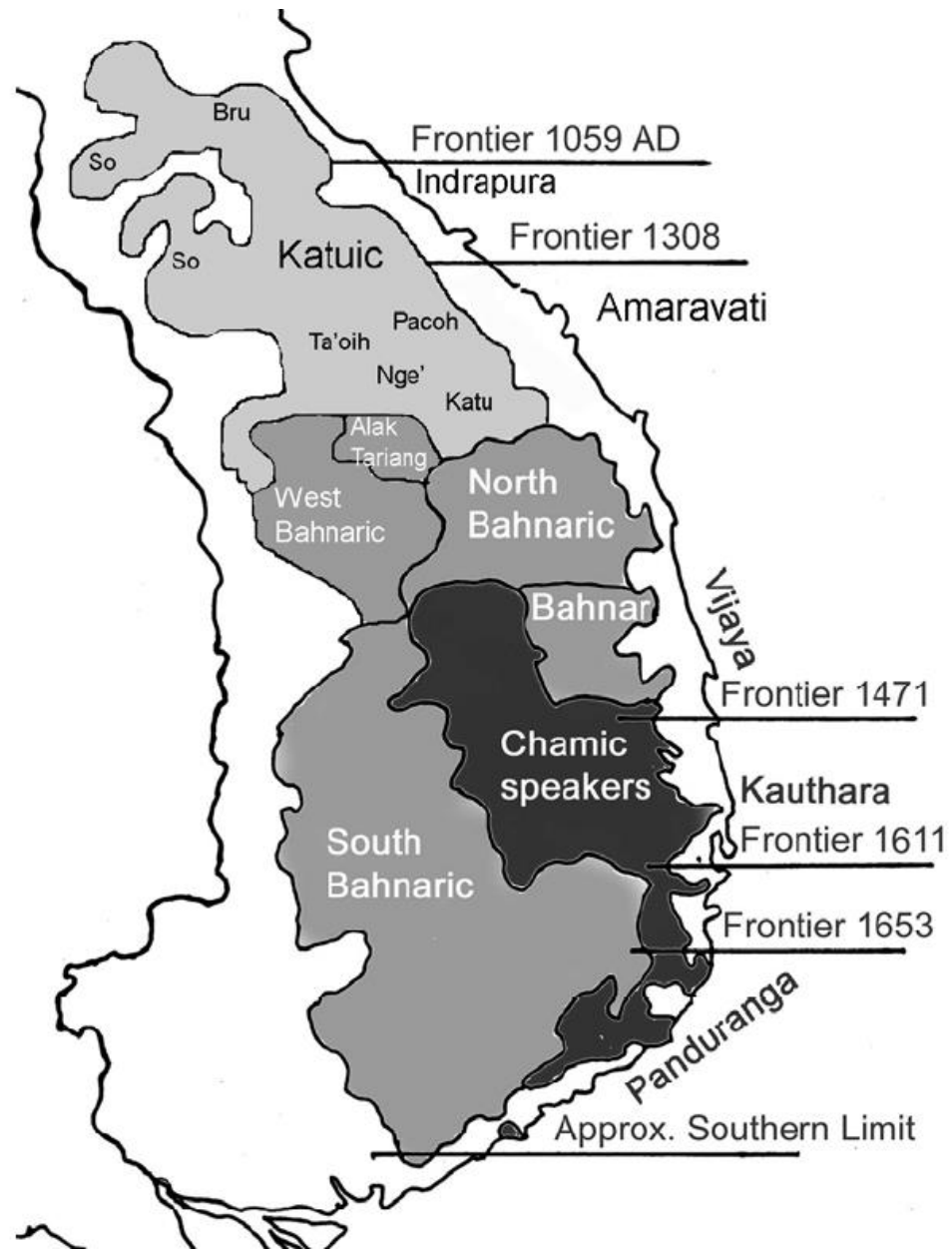
Bahnaric?



Austro-Asiatic



Bahnaric



Sidwell (2007: 115)

2000 years of language contact

2000 years of language contact

- Grant, Anthony P. 2005. 'The effects of intimate multidirectional linguistic contact in Chamic', Anthony Grant & Paul Sidwell (eds.), *Chamic and beyond: studies in mainland Austronesian languages*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 37-104.
- Sidwell, Paul. 2007. 'The Mon-Khmer substrate in Chamic: Chamic, Bahnaric & Katuic contact', Ratreewayland, John Hartmann & Paul Sidwell (eds.), *SEALS XII. Papers from the 12th annual meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (2002)*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 113-128.
- Sidwell, Paul. 2008. 'On the sources of loans in the Proto-Chamic lexicon', Wilaiwan Khanittanan & Paul Sidwell (eds.), *SEALS XII. Papers from the 14th annual meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society (2004)*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 261-267.
- Thurgood, Graham. 1999. *From Ancient Cham to Modern Dialects: Two Thousand Years of Language Contact and Change. With an appendix of Chamic reconstructions and loanwords*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Lee, Ernest W. 1996.
'Bipartite negatives in Chamic',
***Mon-Khmer studies*, 26: 291-317.**

Lee, Ernest W. 1996.
'Bipartite negatives in Chamic',
Mon-Khmer studies, 26: 291-317.

Lee, Ernest W. 1996.
‘Bipartite negatives in Chamic’,
Mon-Khmer studies, 26: 291-317.

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?

- 1. We know more about double negation now.**

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Vietnamese, Khmer, Chrau, Thai

Also in Grant (2005: 75)

Data

Data remain suboptimal

1. Double negation

2. Chamic and Bahnaric

3. Double Negation in Chamic

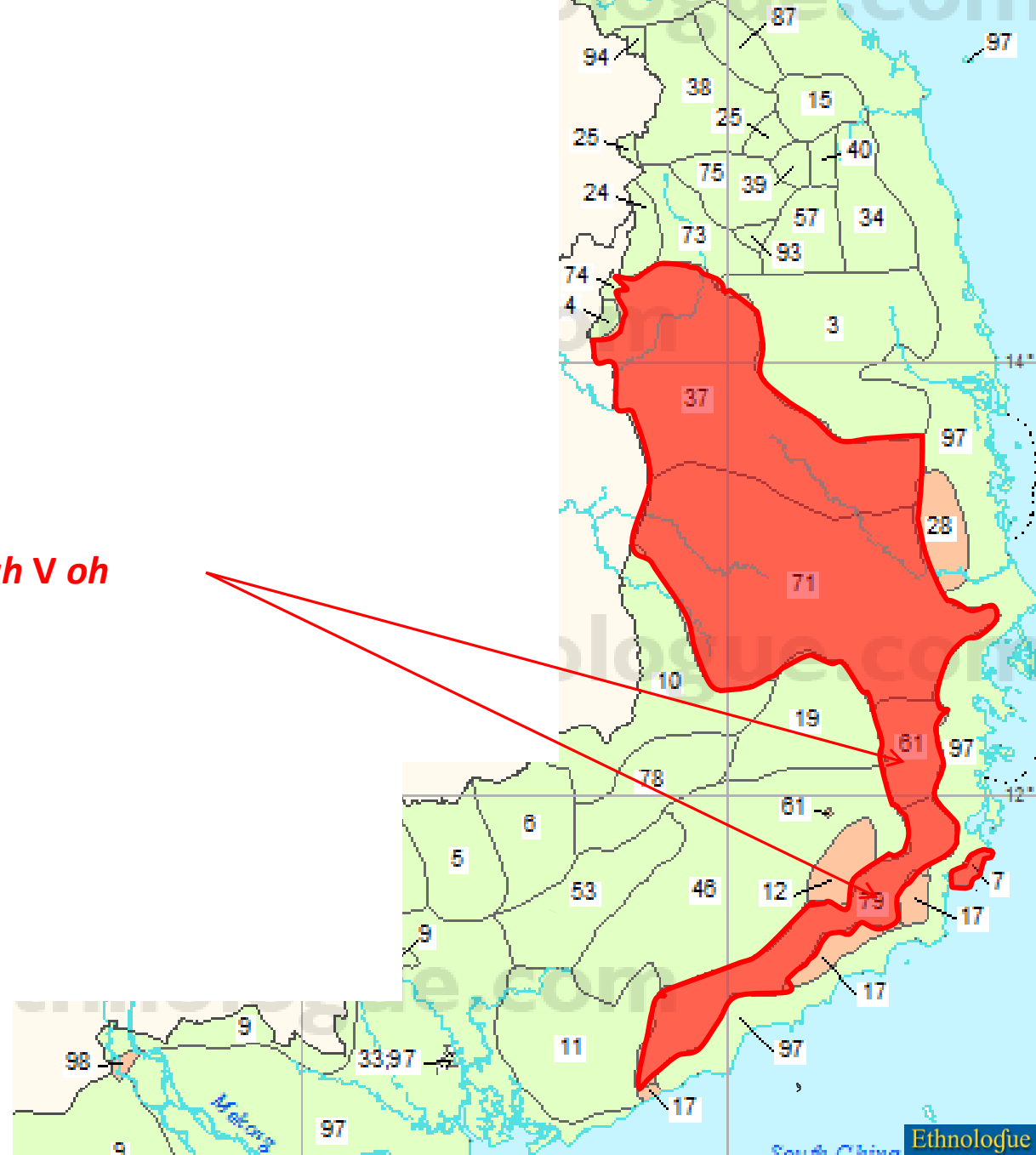
4. Double negation in Bahnaric

5. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric

6. Conclusion

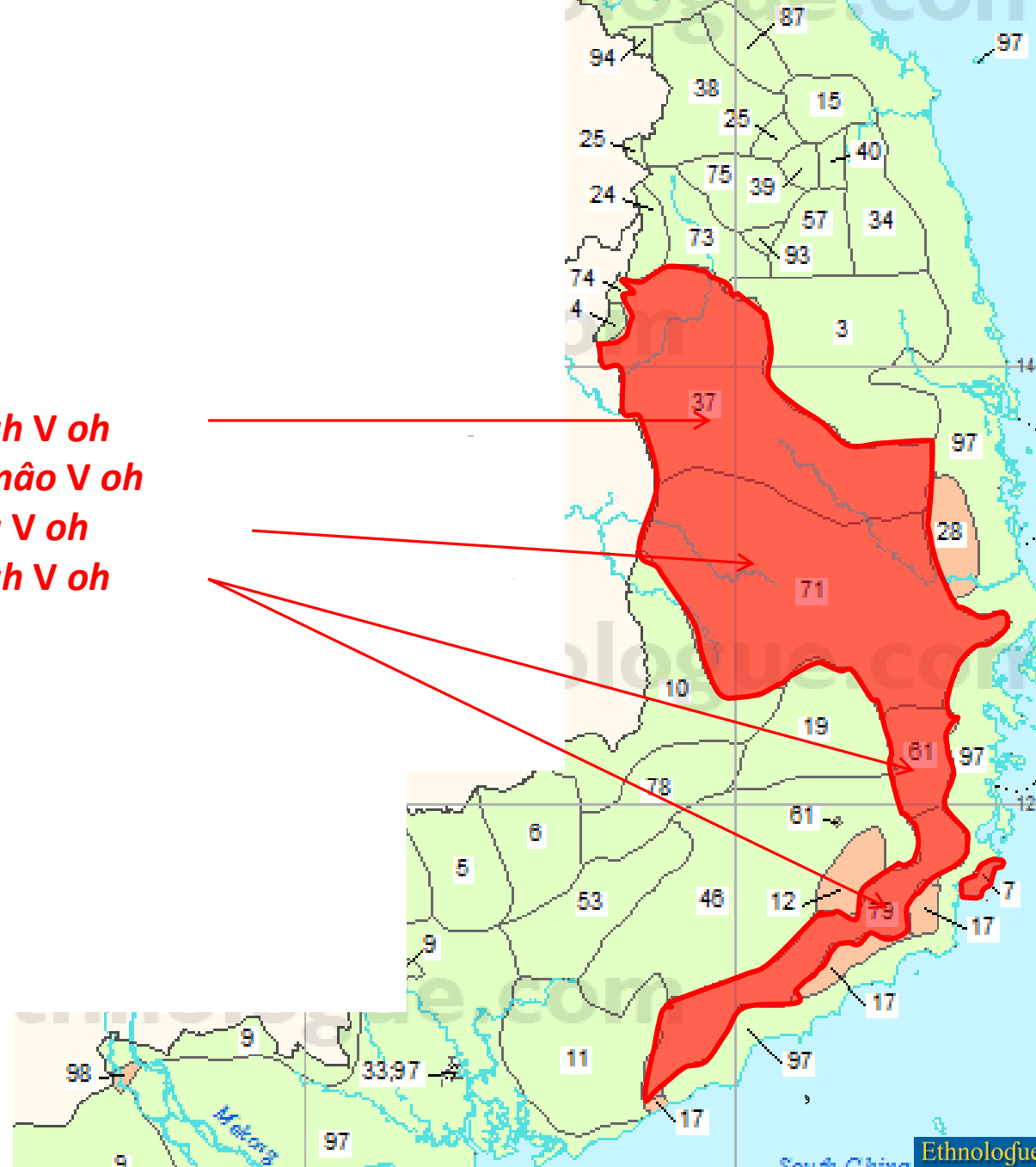
Roglai

buh V oh



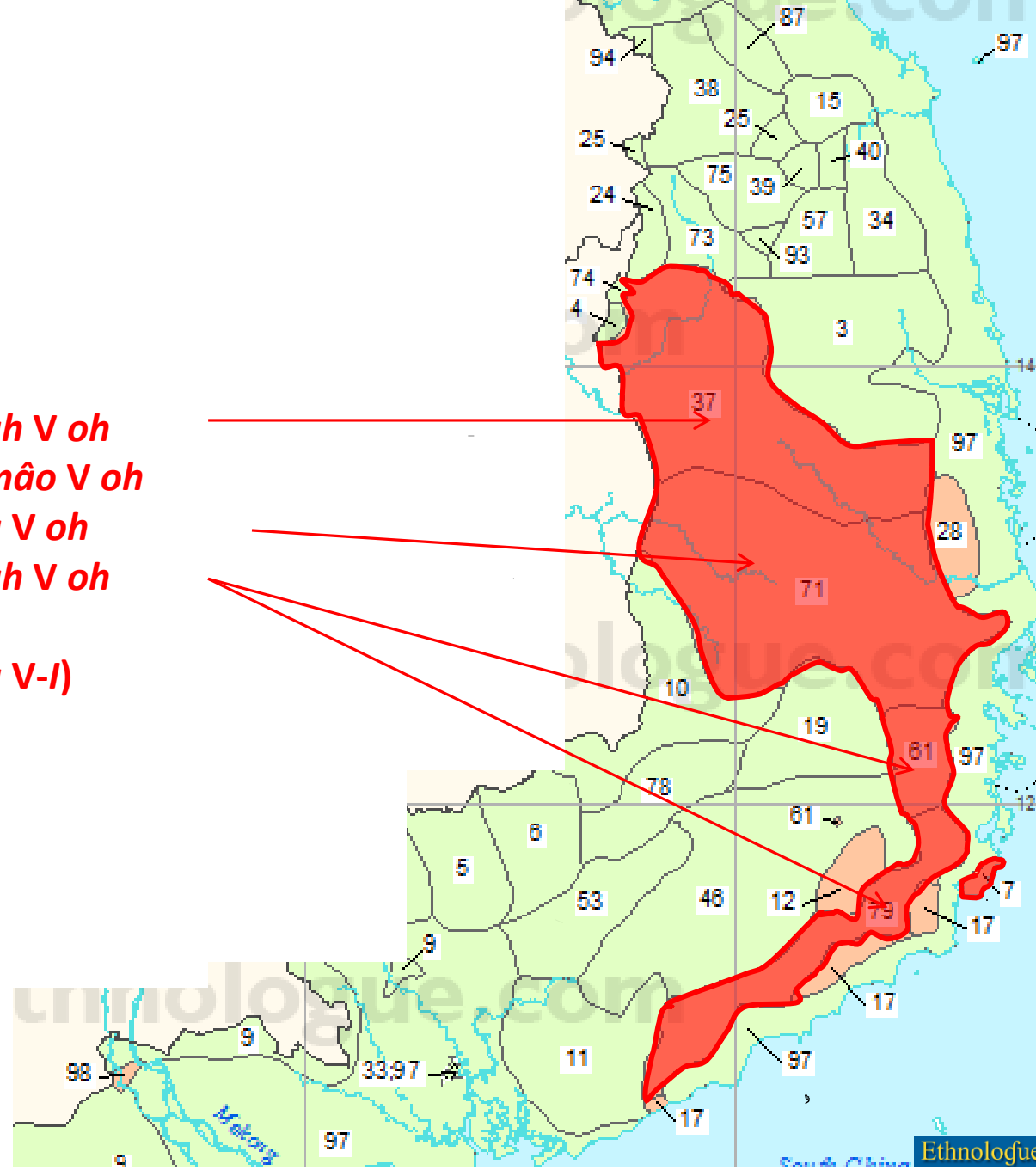
Jorai
Rade (Lee)
(Thurgood)
Roglai

buh V oh
amâo V oh
bu V oh
buh V oh



Jorai *buh V oh*
Rade (Lee) *amâo V oh*
 (Thurgood) *bu V oh*
Roglai *buh V oh*

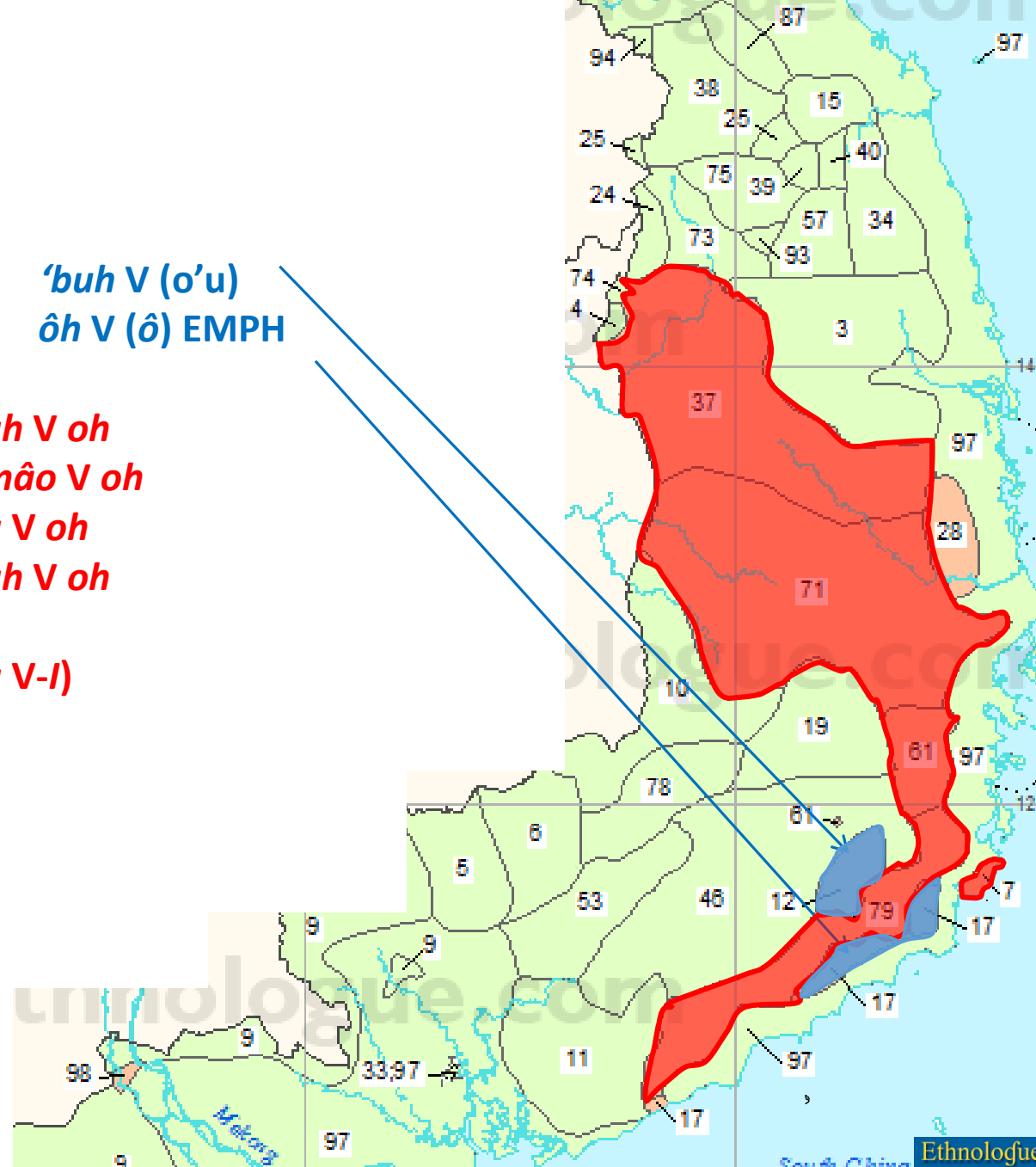
(Tsat *pu V-l)*



Chru
Formal Eastern Cham *'buh V (o'u)*
 ôh V (ô) EMPH

Jorai *buh V oh*
Rade (Lee) *amâo V oh*
 (Thurgood) *bu V oh*
Roglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat *pu V-l)*

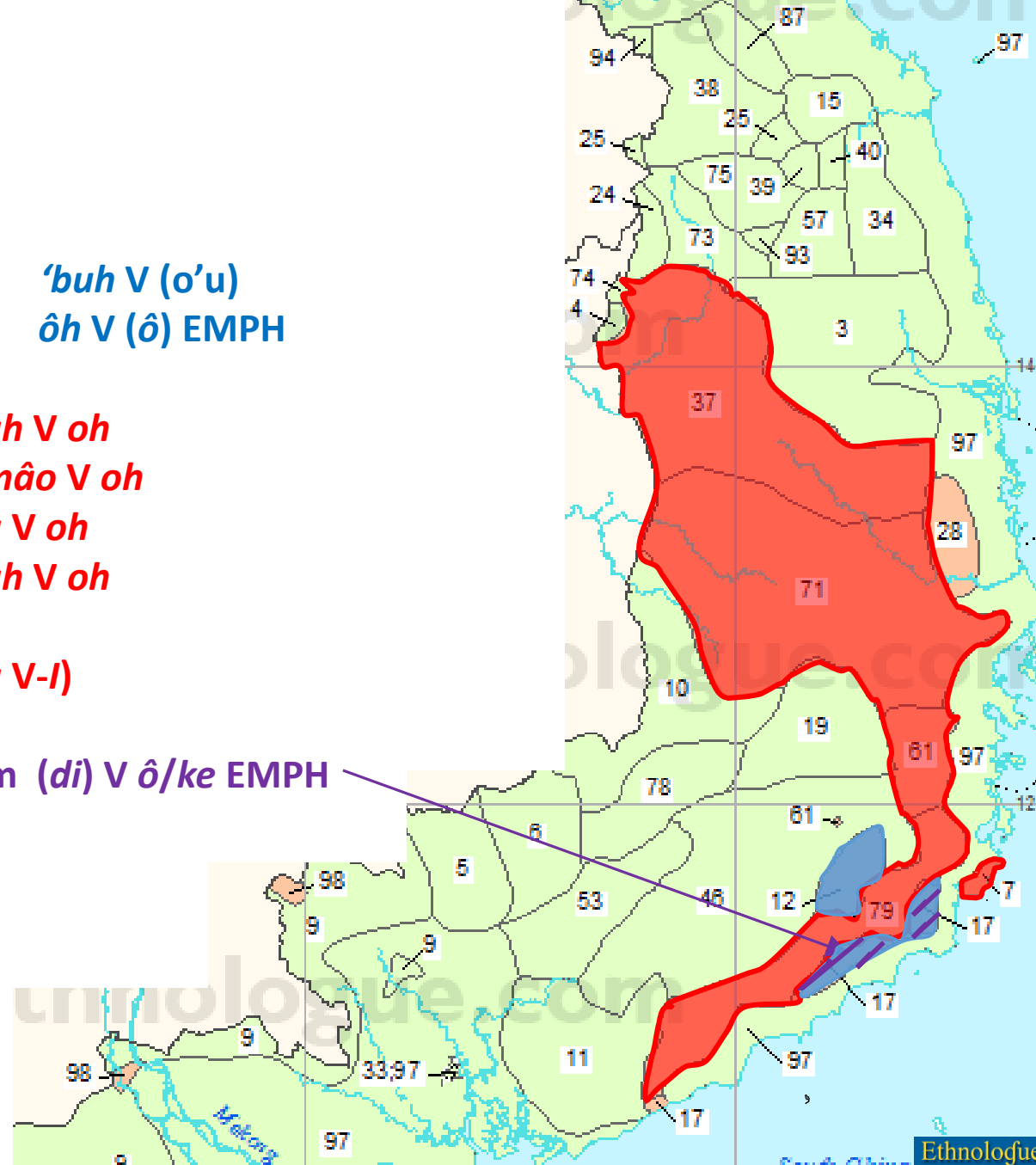


Chru *'buh V (o'u)*
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Jorai *buh V oh*
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Roglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat *pu V-l)*

Informal Eastern Cham *(di) V ô/ke EMPH*



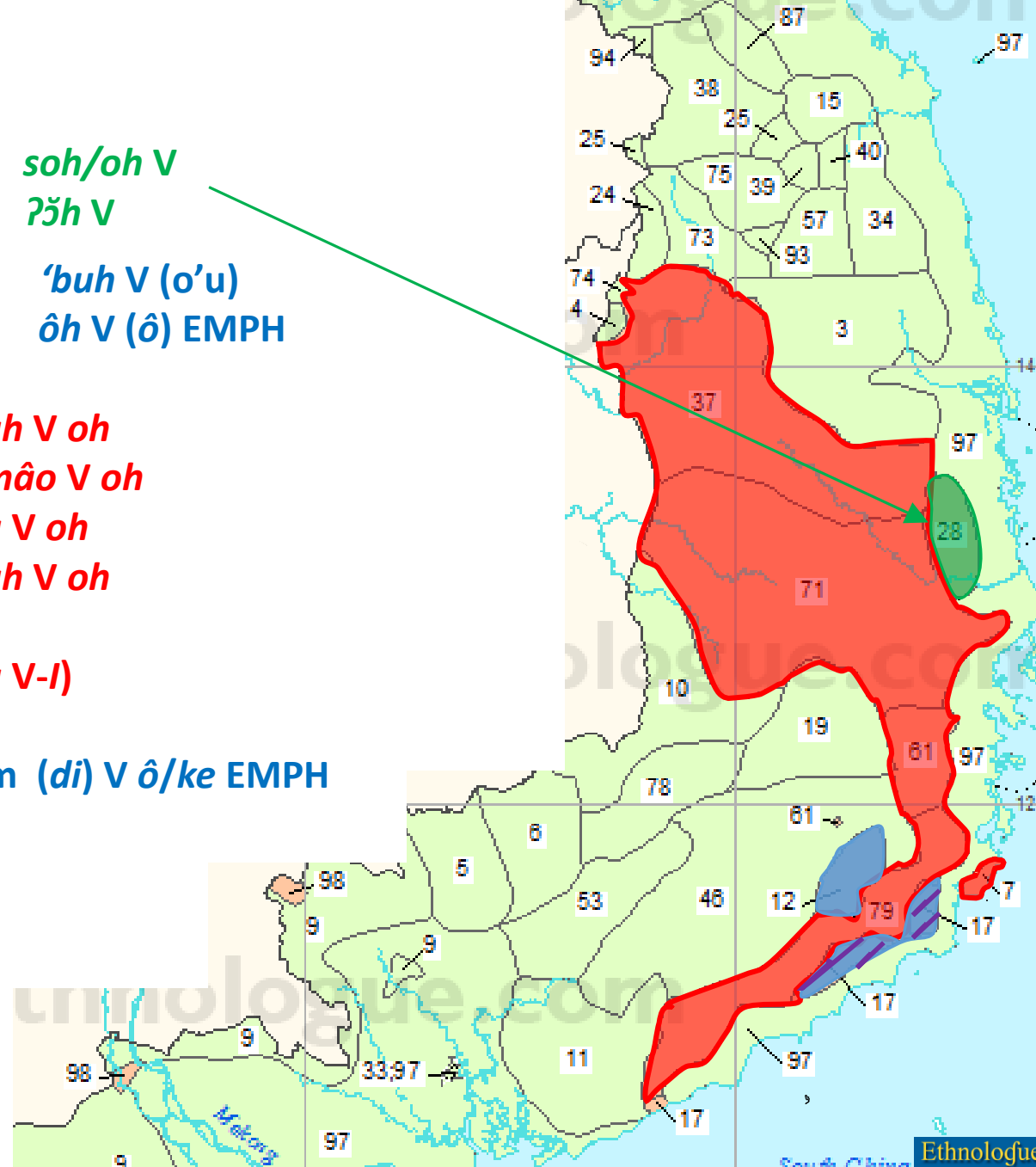
Haroi (Lee)
(Thurgood) *soh/oh V*
ʔǎh V

Chru
Formal Eastern Cham *'buh V (o'u)*
ôh V (ô) EMPH

Jorai
Rade (Lee)
(Thurgood) *buh V oh*
amâo V oh
bu V oh
Roglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat *pu V-l)*

Informal Eastern Cham *(di) V ô/ke EMPH*

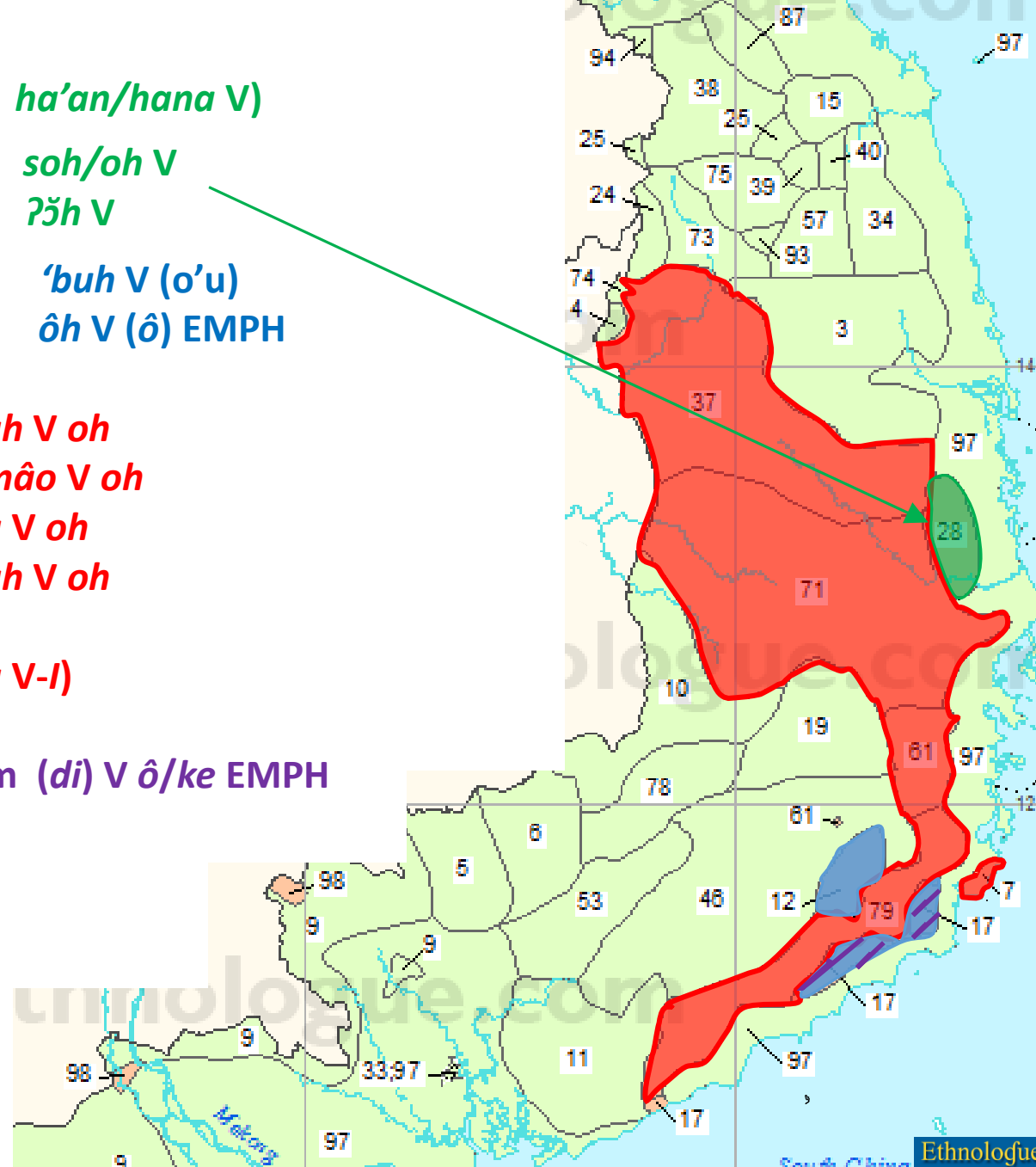


(Aceh
 Haroi (Lee)
 (Thurgood) *ha'an/hana V*
 soh/oh V
 ?ǎh V

Chru
 Formal Eastern Cham *'buh V (o'u)*
 ôh V (ô) EMPH

Jorai
 Rade (Lee)
 (Thurgood) *buh V oh*
 amâo V oh
 bu V oh
 Roglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat
 Informal Eastern Cham *pu V-l)*
 (di) V ô/ke EMPH

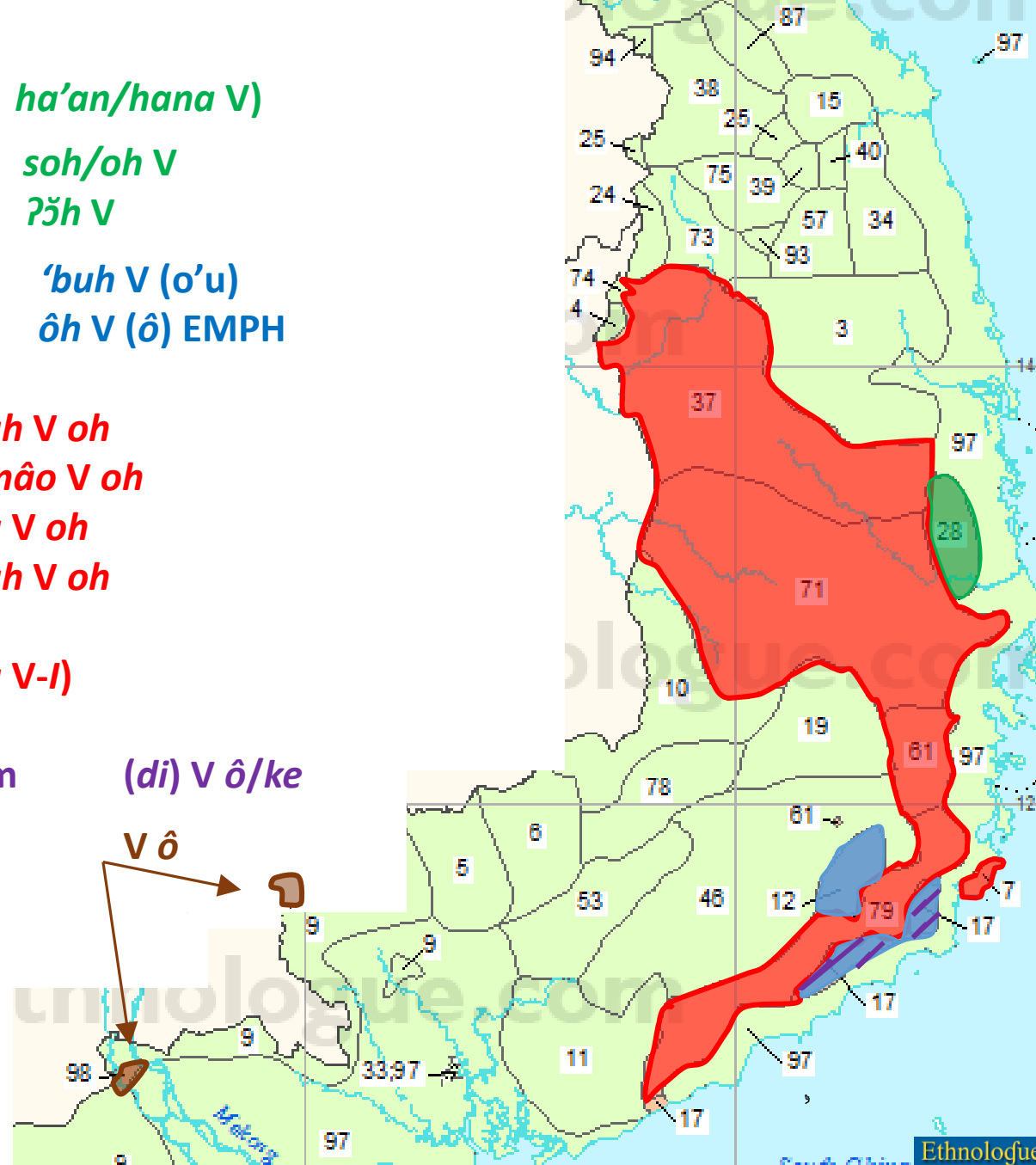


(Aceh *ha'an/hana V*
 Haroi (Lee) *soh/oh V*
 (Thurgood) *ʔǎh V*
 Chru *'buh V (o'u)*
 Formal Eastern Cham *ôh V (ô) EMPH*

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 (Thurgood) *bu V oh*
 Rglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat *pu V-l)*
 Informal Eastern Cham *(di) V ô/ke*

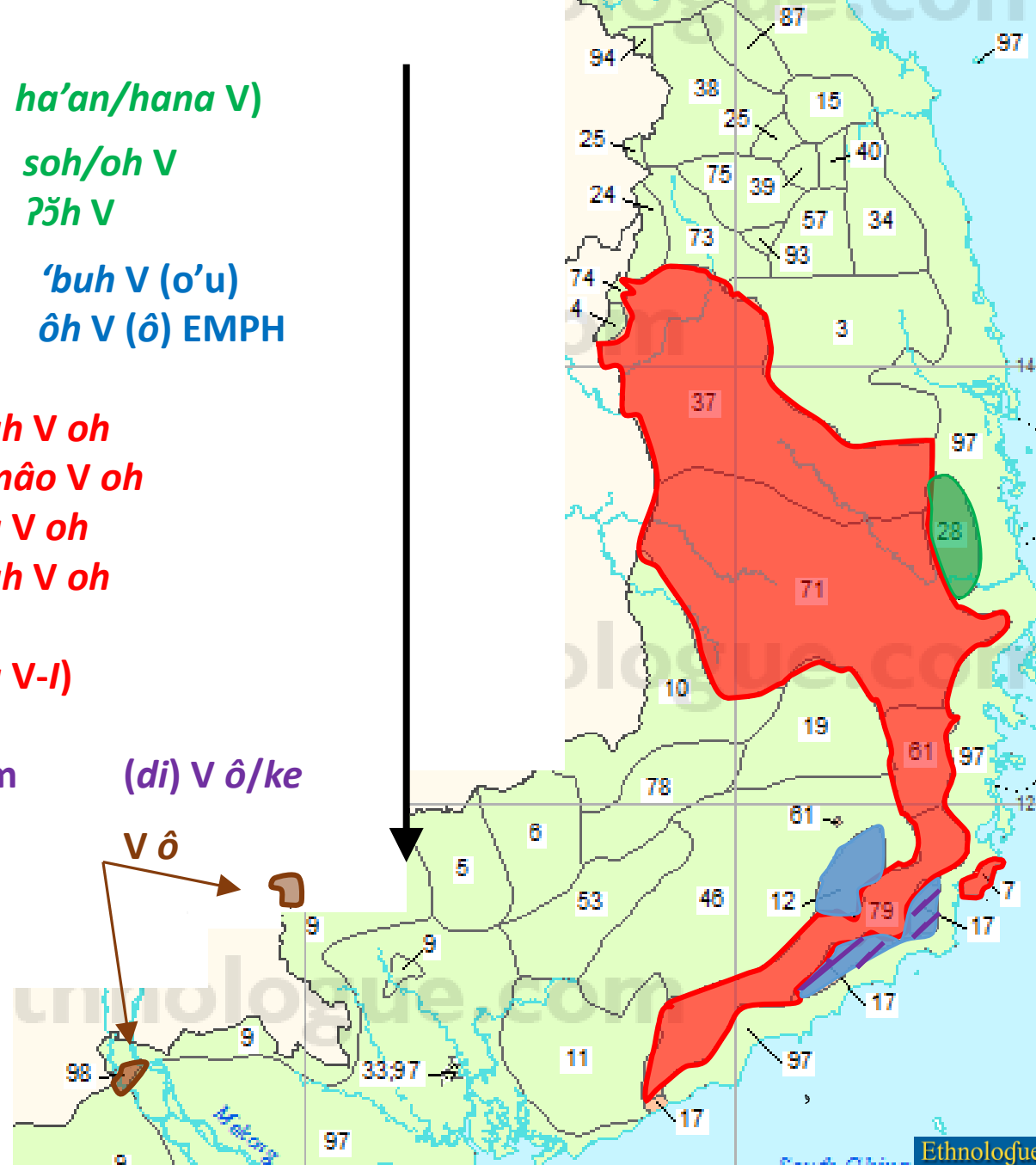
Western Cham



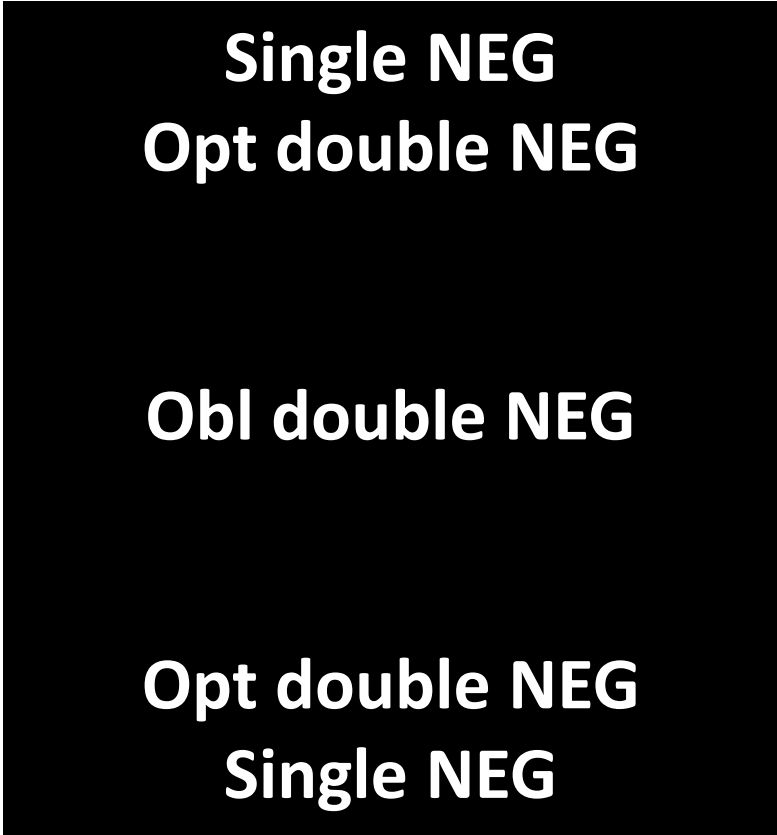
(Aceh *ha'an/hana V*
 Haroi (Lee) *soh/oh V*
 (Thurgood) *ʔəh V*
 Chru *'buh V (o'u)*
 Formal Eastern Cham *ôh V (ô) EMPH*

Jorai *buh V oh*
 Rade (Lee) *amâo V oh*
 (Thurgood) *bu V oh*
 Rglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat *pu V-l)*
 Informal Eastern Cham *(di) V ô/ke*
 Western Cham *V ô*



(Aceh	<i>ha'an/hana V</i>)
Haroi (Lee)	<i>soh/oh V</i>
(Thurgood)	<i>?ǎh V</i>
Chru	<i>'buh V (o'u)</i>
Formal Eastern Cham	<i>ôh V (ô) EMPH</i>
Jorai	<i>buh V oh</i>
Rade (Lee)	<i>amâo V oh</i>
(Thurgood)	<i>bu V oh</i>
Roglai	<i>buh V oh</i>
(Tsat	<i>pu V-l)</i>
Informal Eastern Cham	<i>(di) V ô/ke</i>
Western Cham	<i>V ô</i>



(Aceh	<i>ha'an/hana V</i>
Haroi (Lee)	<i>soh/oh V</i>
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Informal Eastern Cham	<i>(di) V ô/ke</i>
Western Cham	<i>V ô</i>

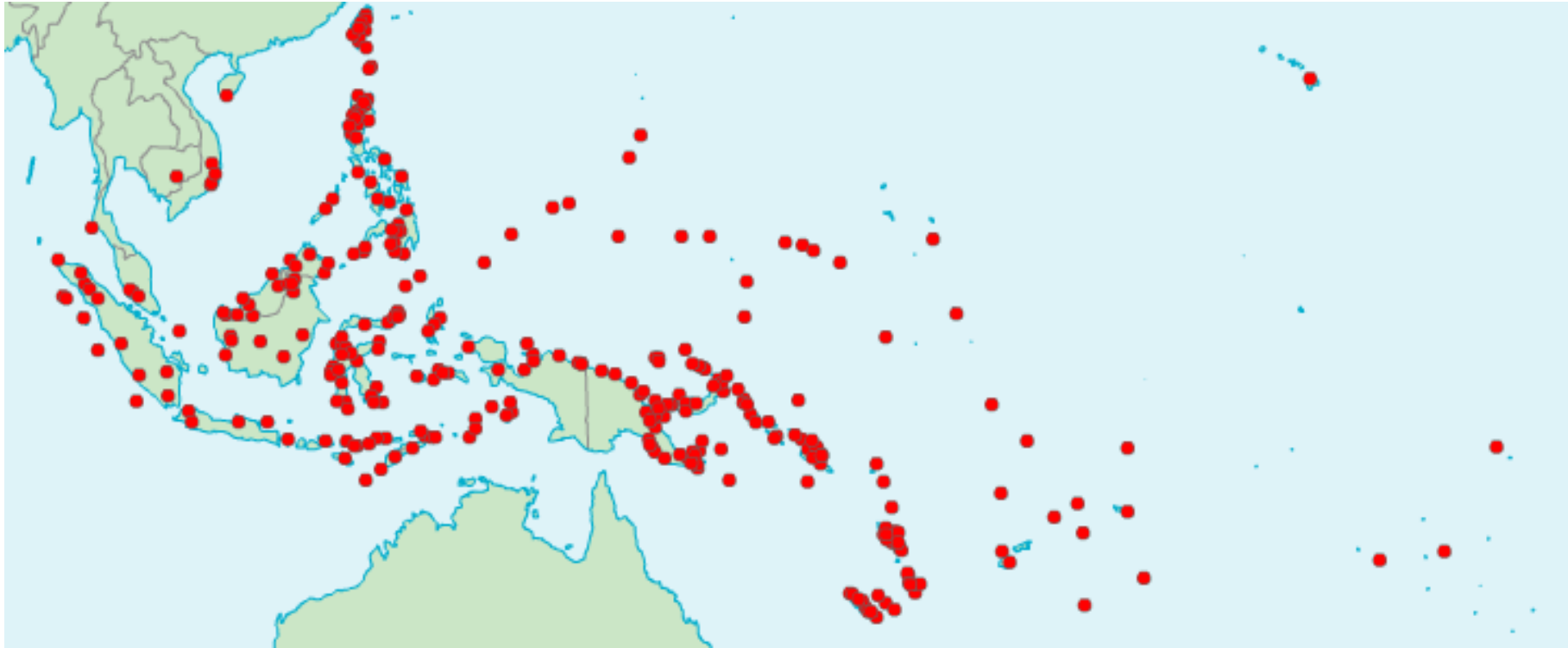
Single NEG
Opt double NEG

Obl double NEG

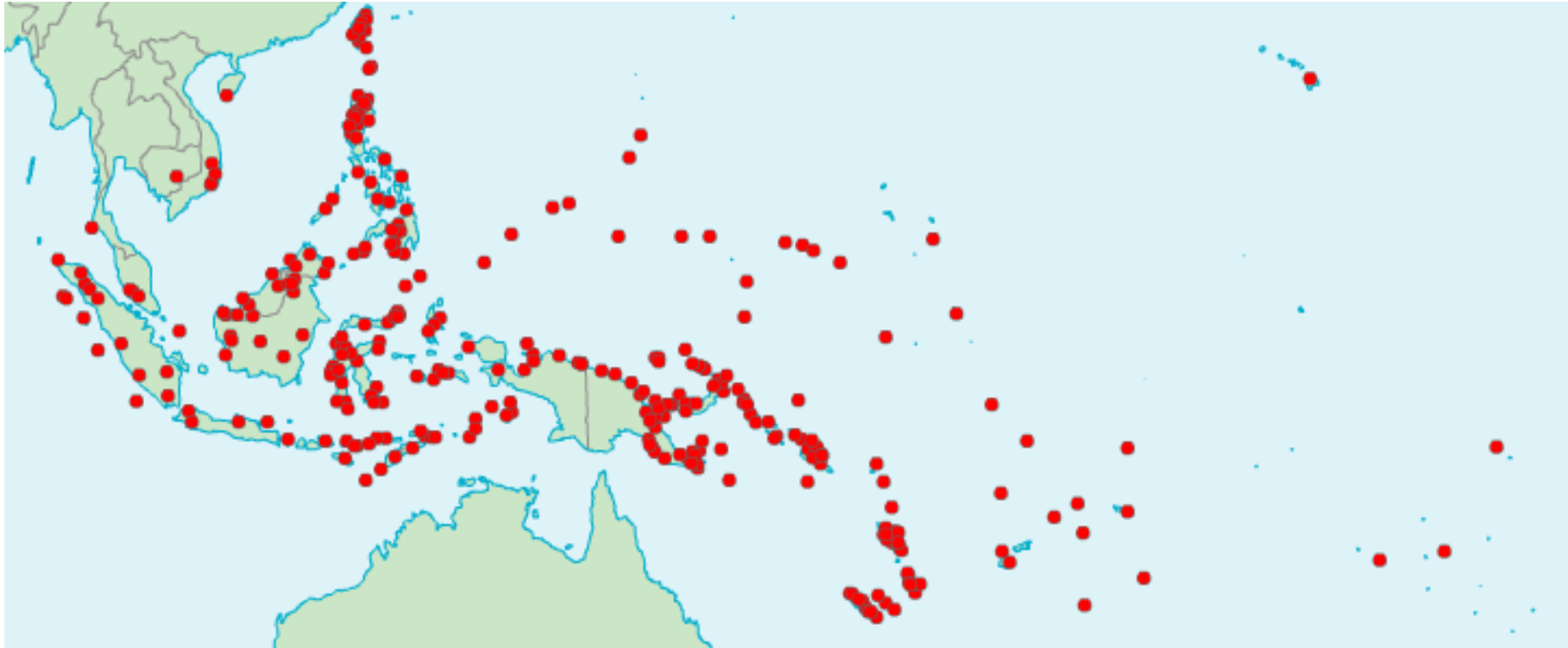
Opt double NEG
Single NEG

'Jespersen Cycle'

Austronesian languages

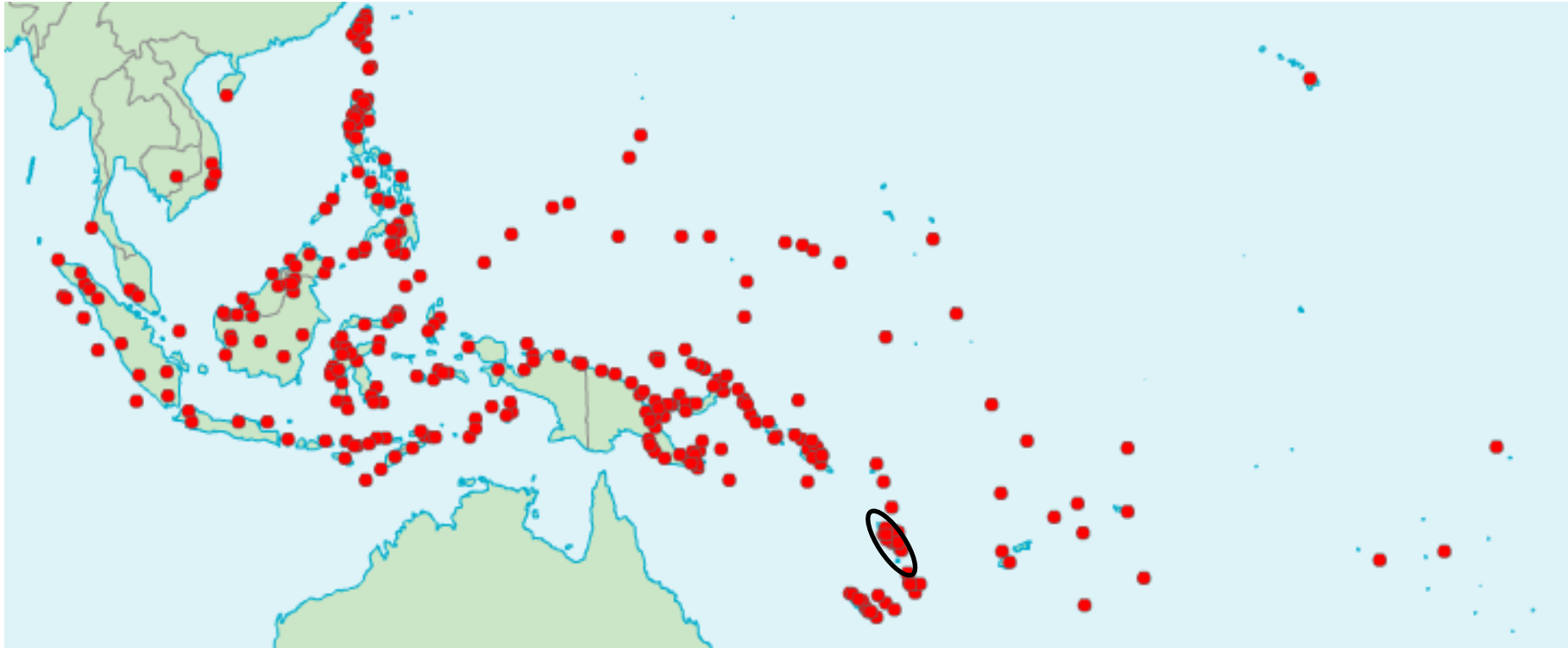


Austronesian languages



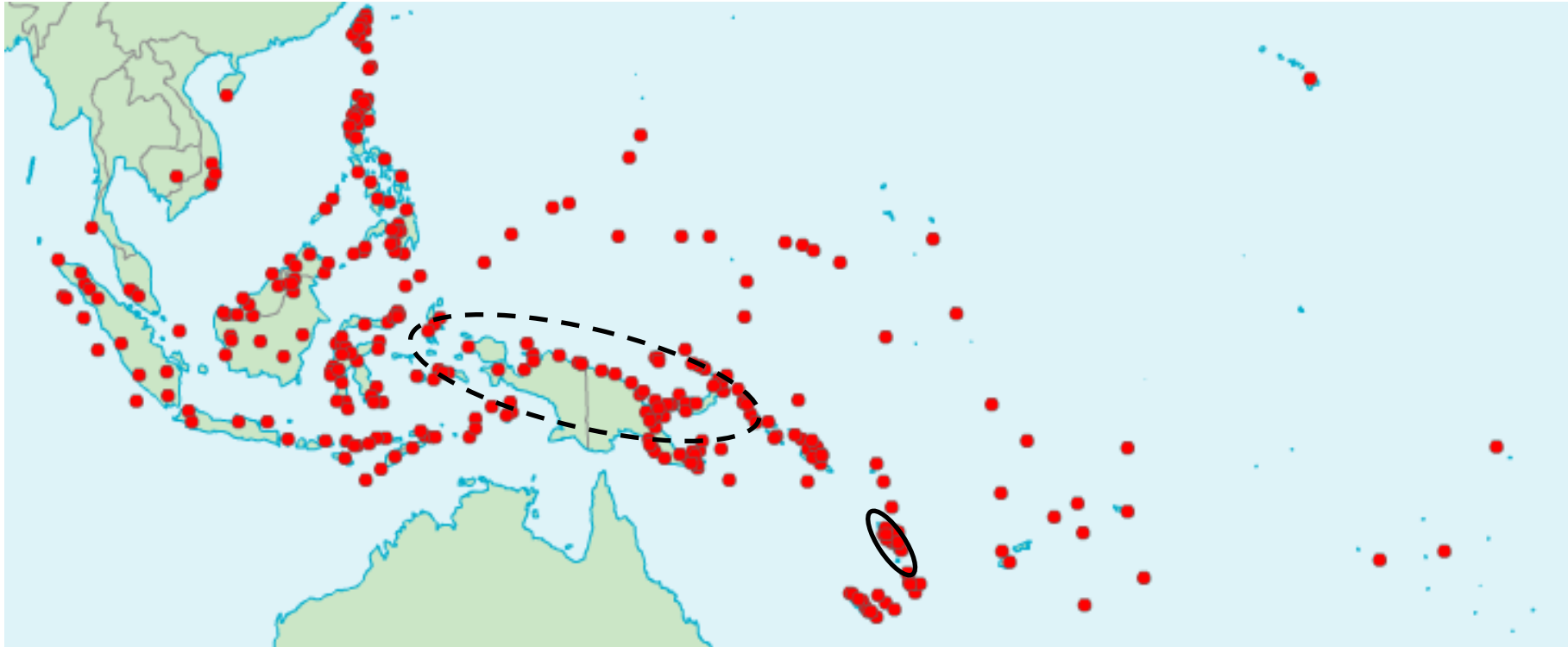
preV single	double	postV single	total
277	81	60	417

Austronesian languages



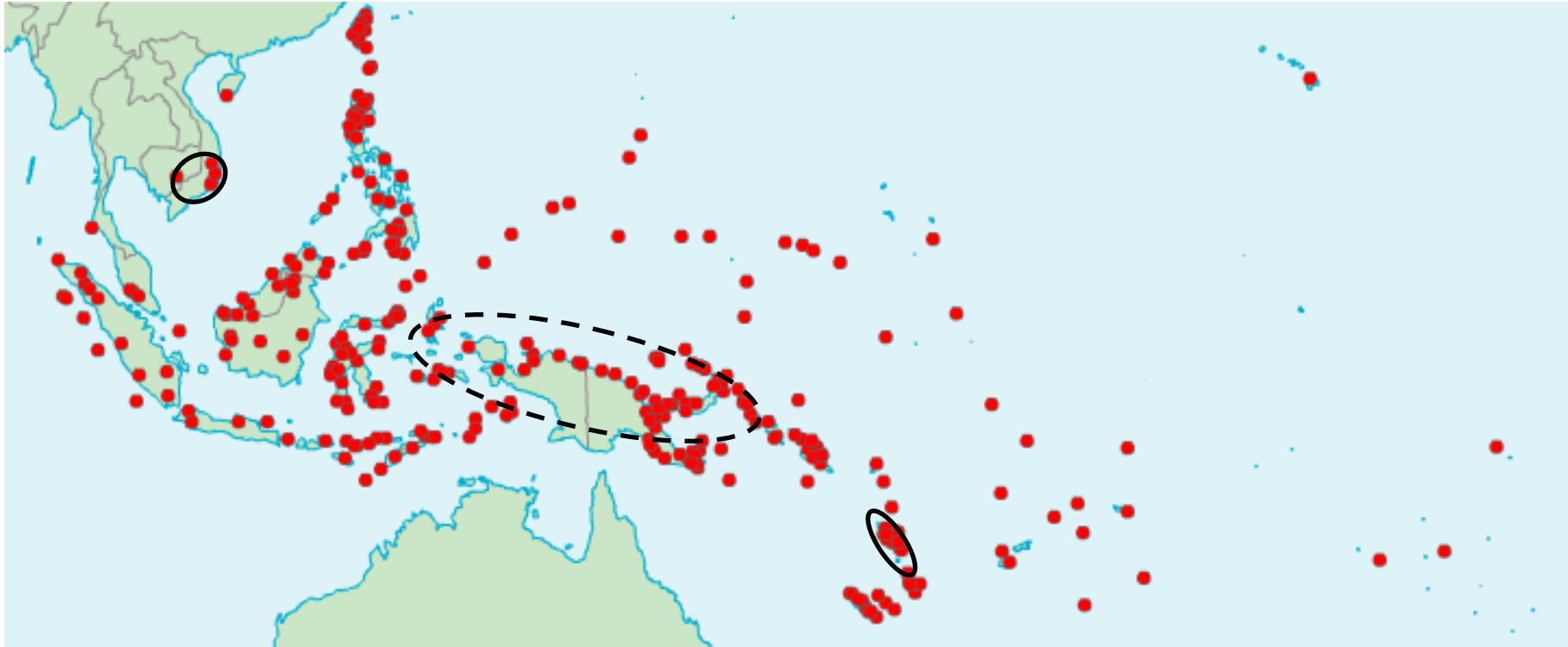
preV single	double	postV single	total
277	81	60	417

Austronesian languages



preV single	double	postV single	total
277	81	60	417

Austronesian languages

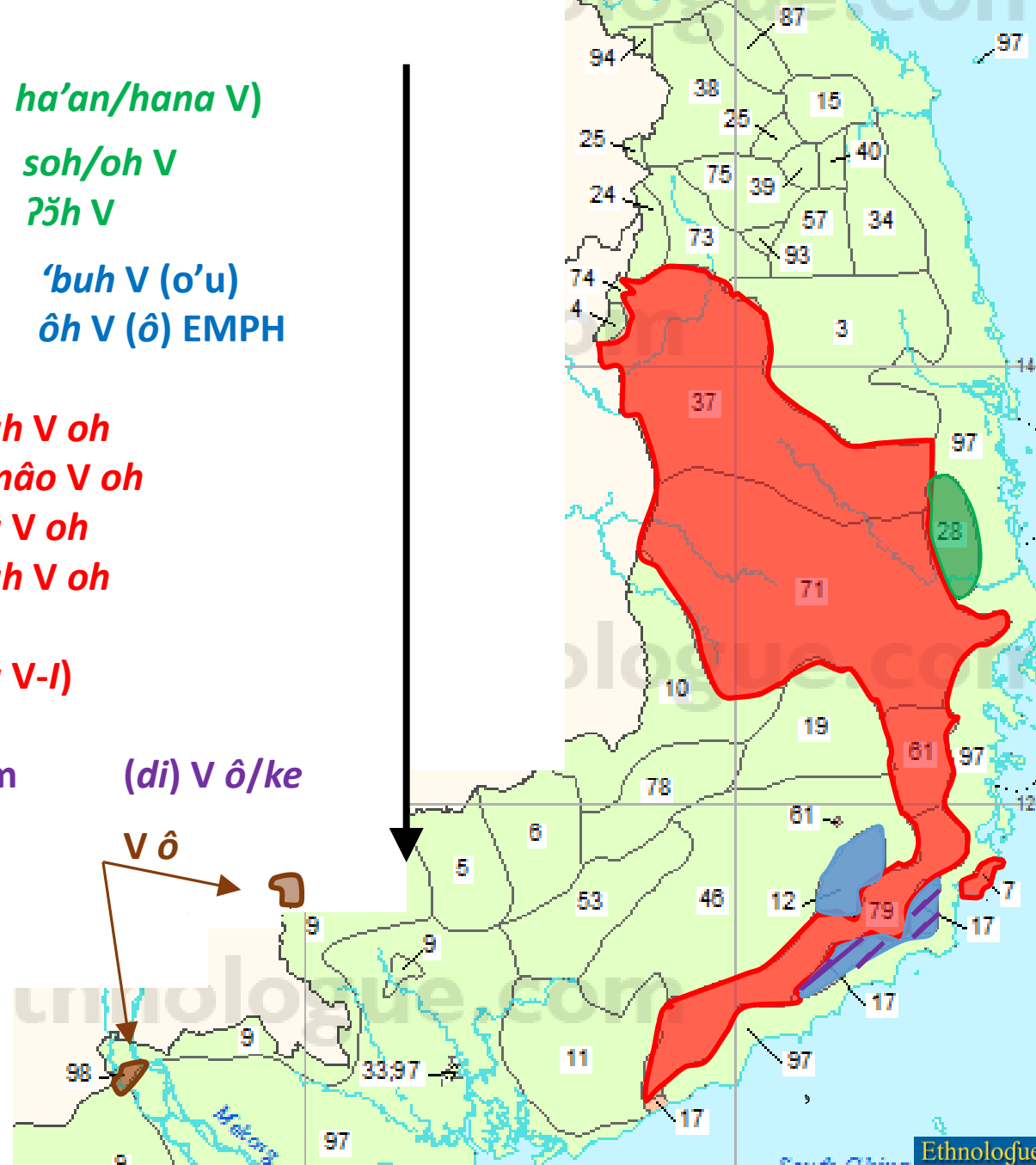


preV single	double	postV single	total
277	81	60	417

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 Informal Eastern Cham *(di) V ô/ke*
 Western Cham *V ô*

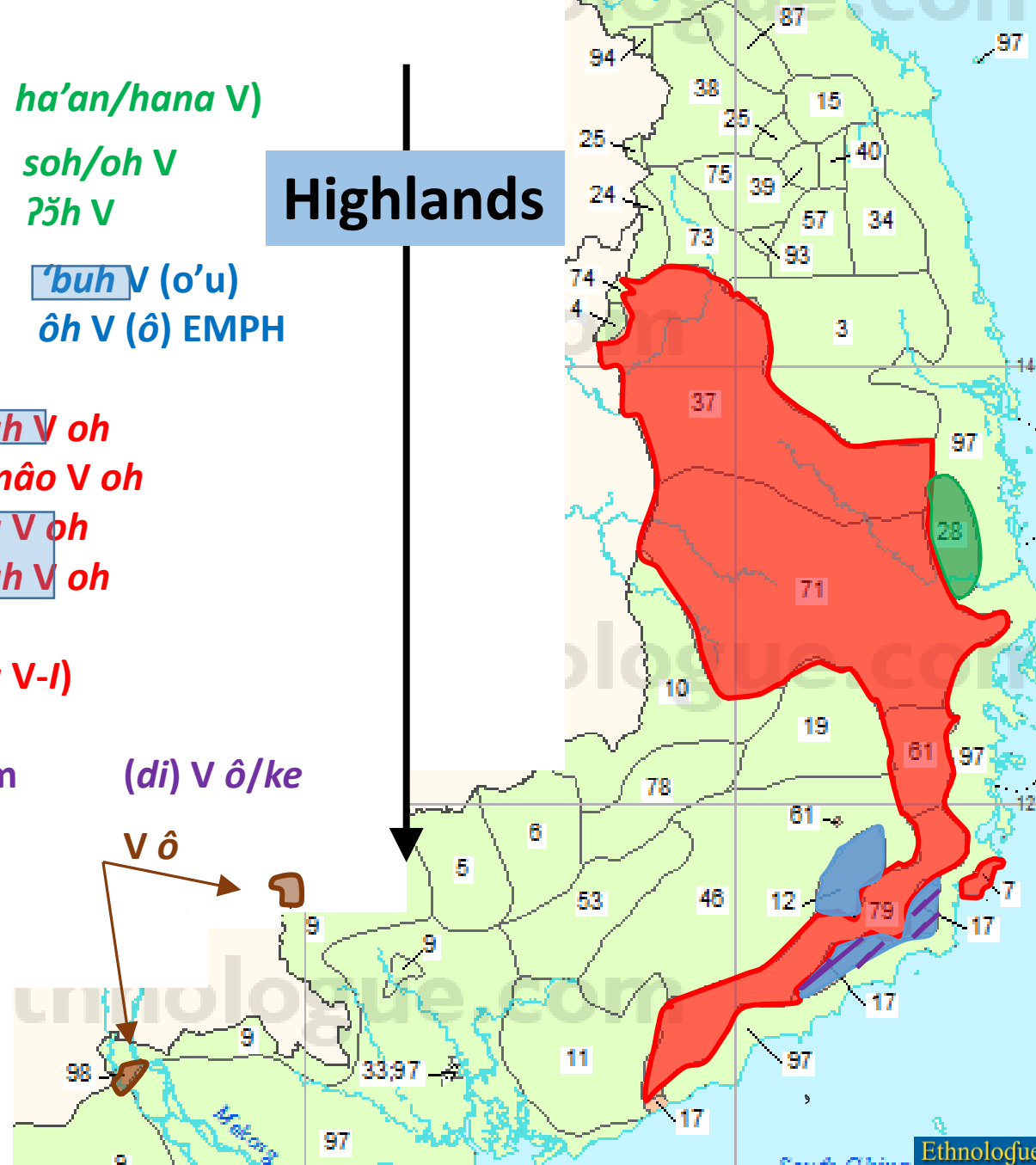


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Jorai *buh V oh*
 Rade (Lee) *amâo V oh*
 (Thurgood) *bu V oh*
 Rglai *buh V oh*

(Tsat *pu V-l)*
 Informal Eastern Cham *(di) V ô/ke*
 Western Cham *V ô*

Highlands



(Aceh
 Haroi (Lee)
 (Thurgood)
 Chru
 Formal Eastern Cham

ha'an/hana V
soh/oh V
ʔh V
'buh V (o'u)
ôh V (ô) EMPH

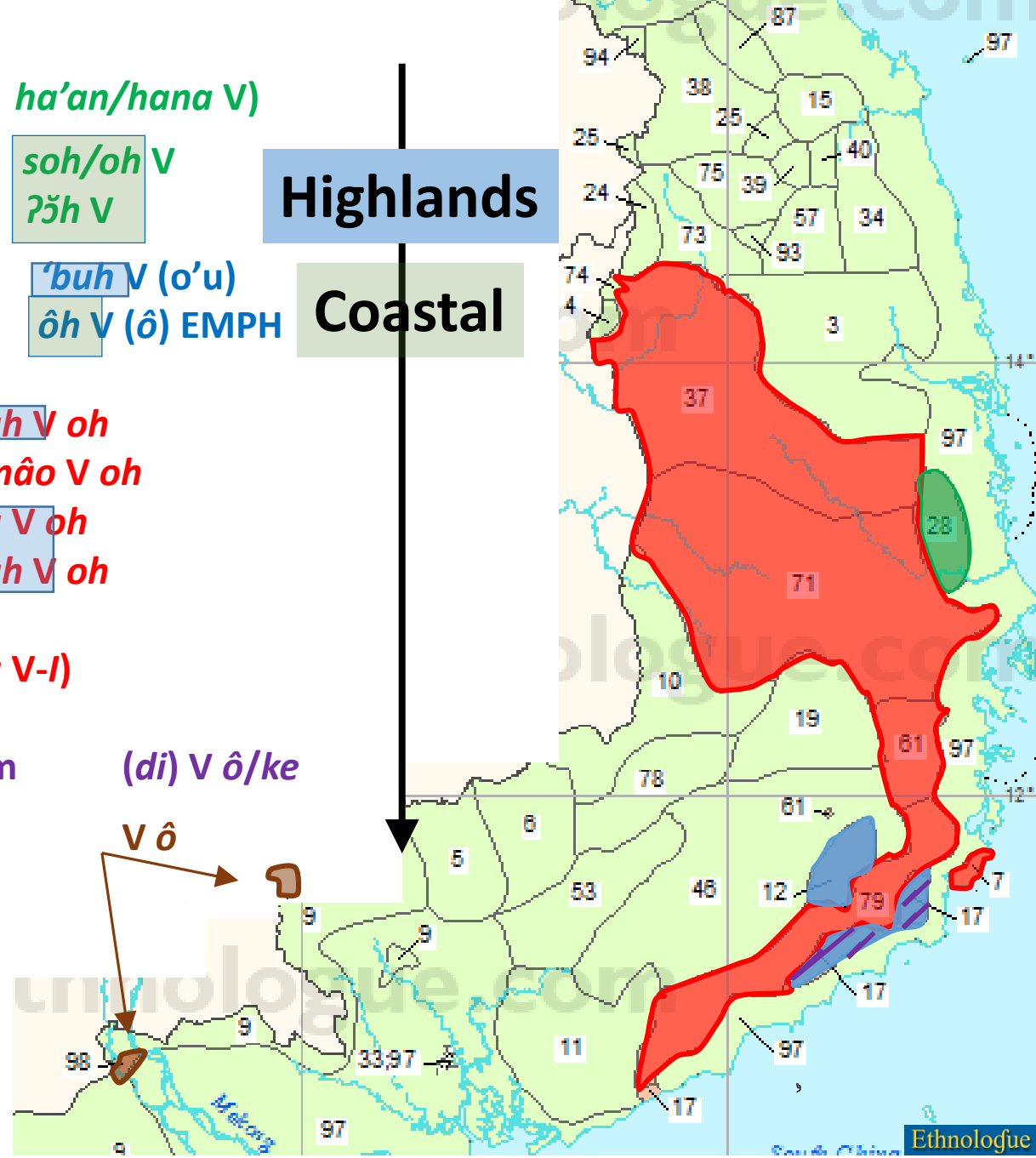
Highlands
 Coastal

Jorai
 Rade (Lee)
 (Thurgood)
 Roglai

buh V oh
amâo V oh
bu V oh
buh V oh

(Tsat
 Informal Eastern Cham
 Western Cham

pu V-l)
(di) V ô/ke
V ô



1. Double negation

2. Chamic and Bahnaric

3. Double Negation in Chamic

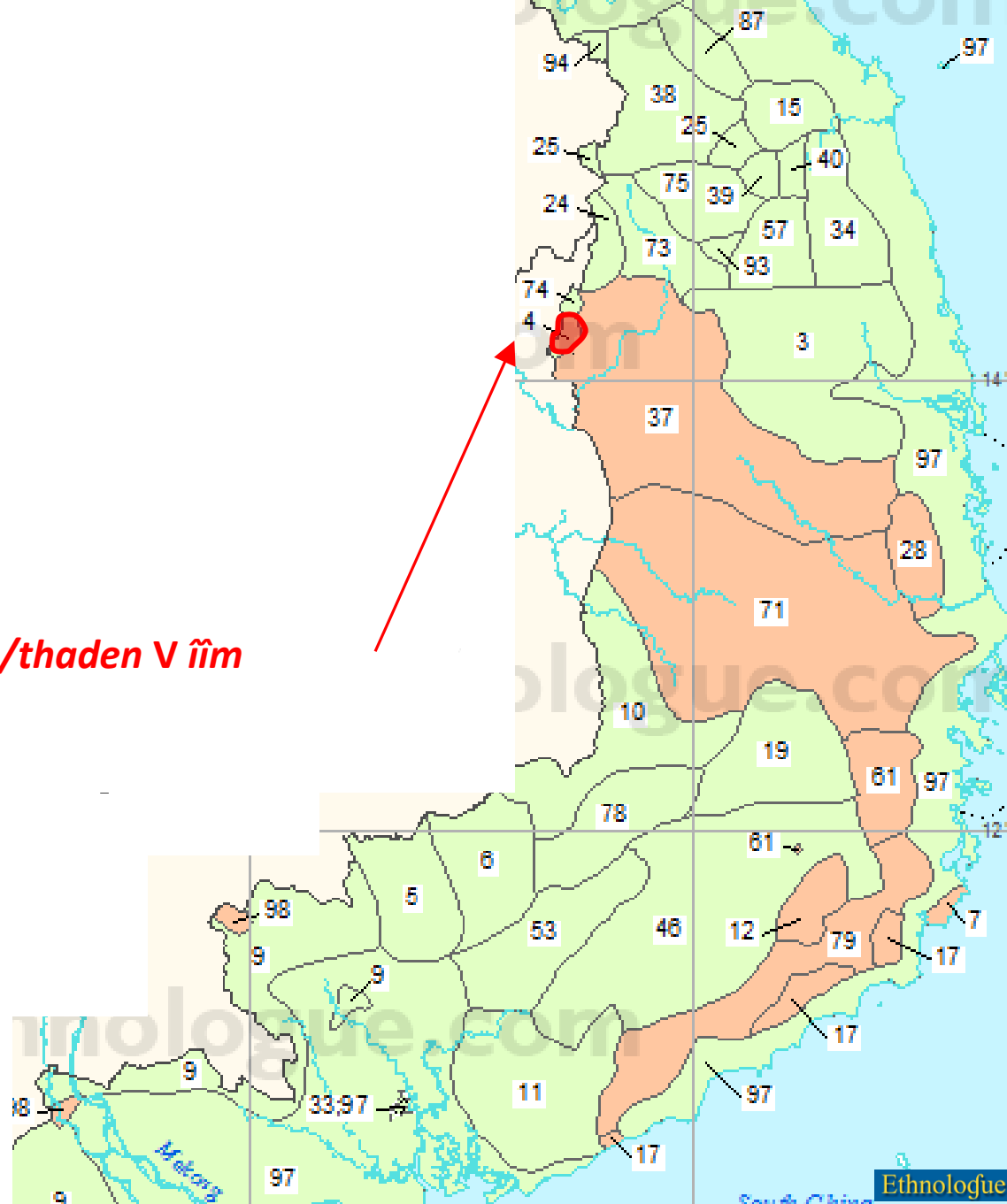
4. Double negation in Bahnaric

5. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric

6. Conclusion

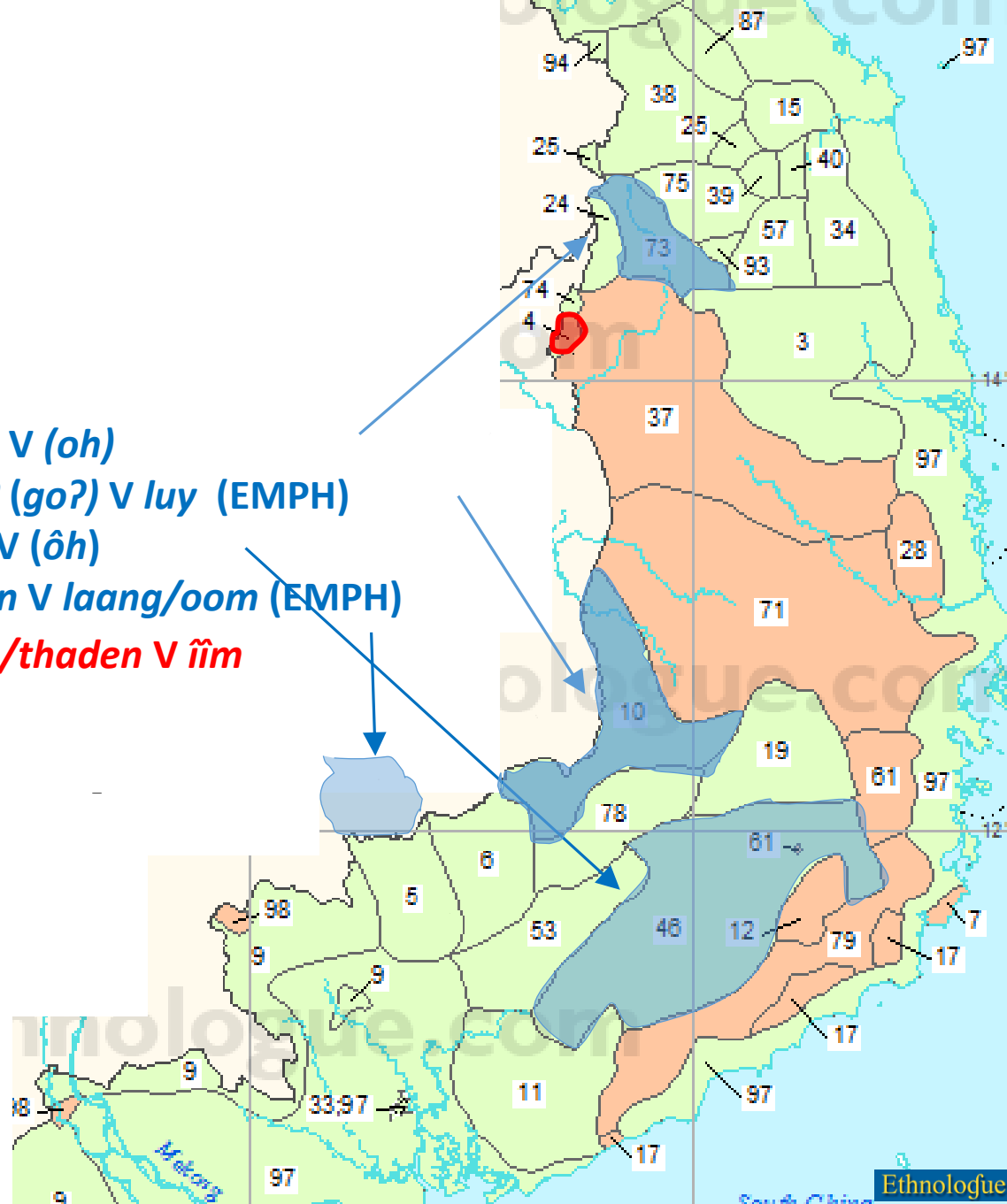
Brao

tha/thaden V ïm

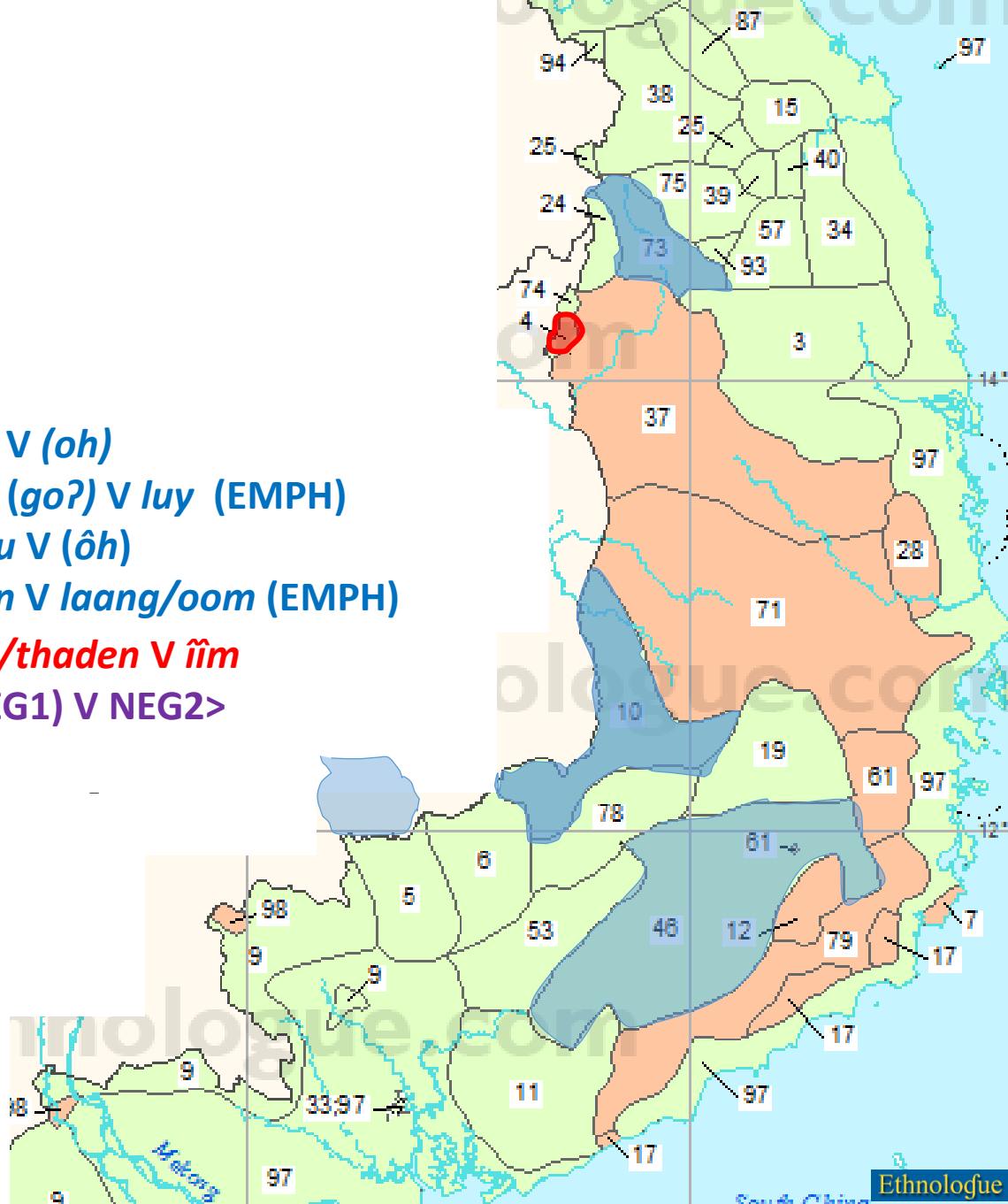


Rengao
Koho Sre
Central Mnong
Stiêng
Brao

big V (oh)
ʔàʔ (goʔ) V luy (EMPH)
au V (ôh)
‘bun V laang/oom (EMPH)
tha/thaden V iim



Rengao	<i>big V (oh)</i>
Koho Sre	<i>?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)</i>
Central Mnong	<i>mau V (ôh)</i>
Stiêng	<i>'bun V laang/oom (EMPH)</i>
Brao	<i>tha/thaden V iim</i>
<no language with	<i>(NEG1) V NEG2></i>



Sedang
Hrê
Bahnar
Koho Chil
Koho Lach

(ôh) ta/ti/tu V

ùh

uh/ko-V

gõ / õ / ôsɔ ê V

ò

Rengao

big V (oh)

Koho Sre

?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)

Central Mnong

mau V (ôh)

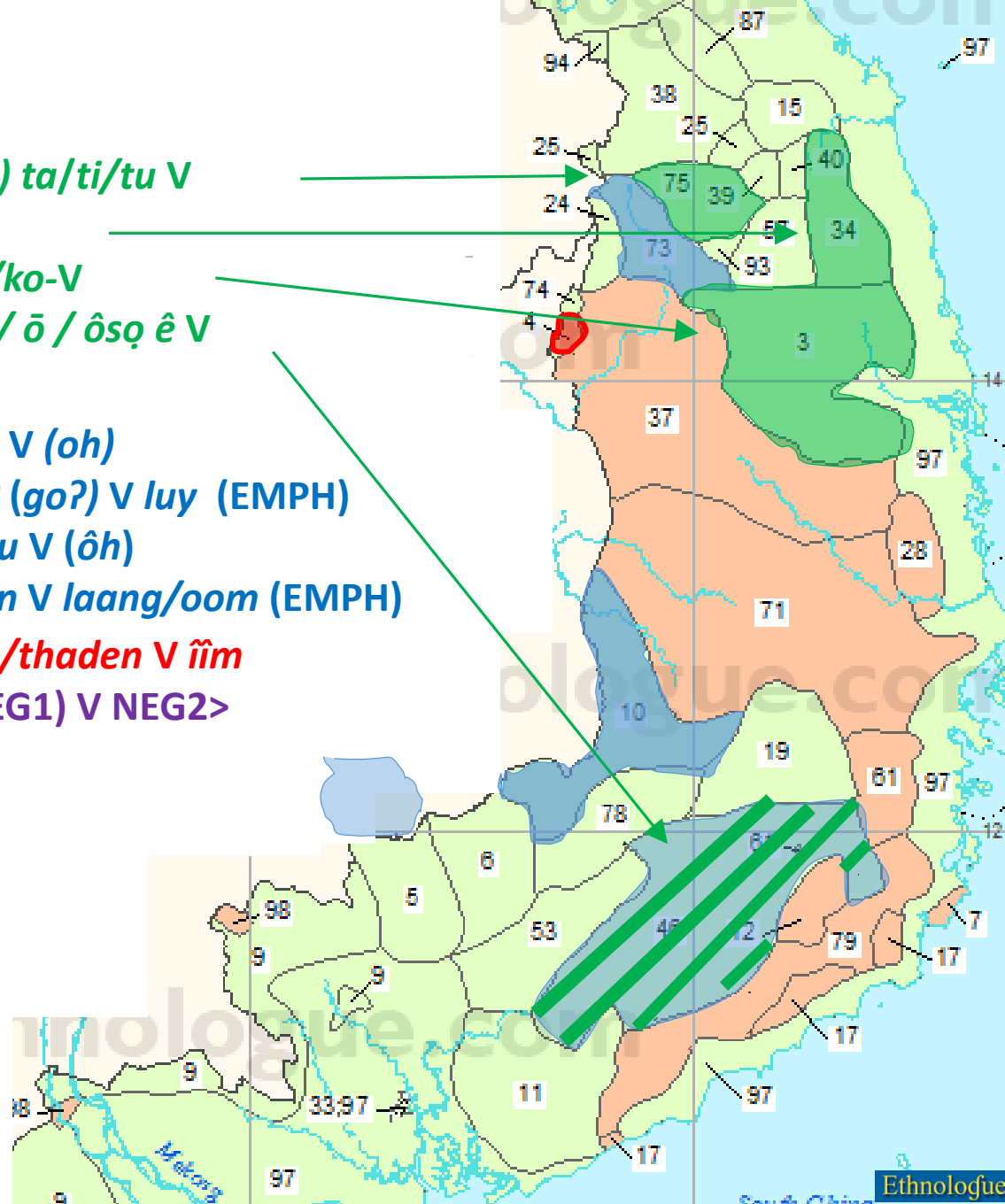
Stiêng

'bun V laang/oom (EMPH)

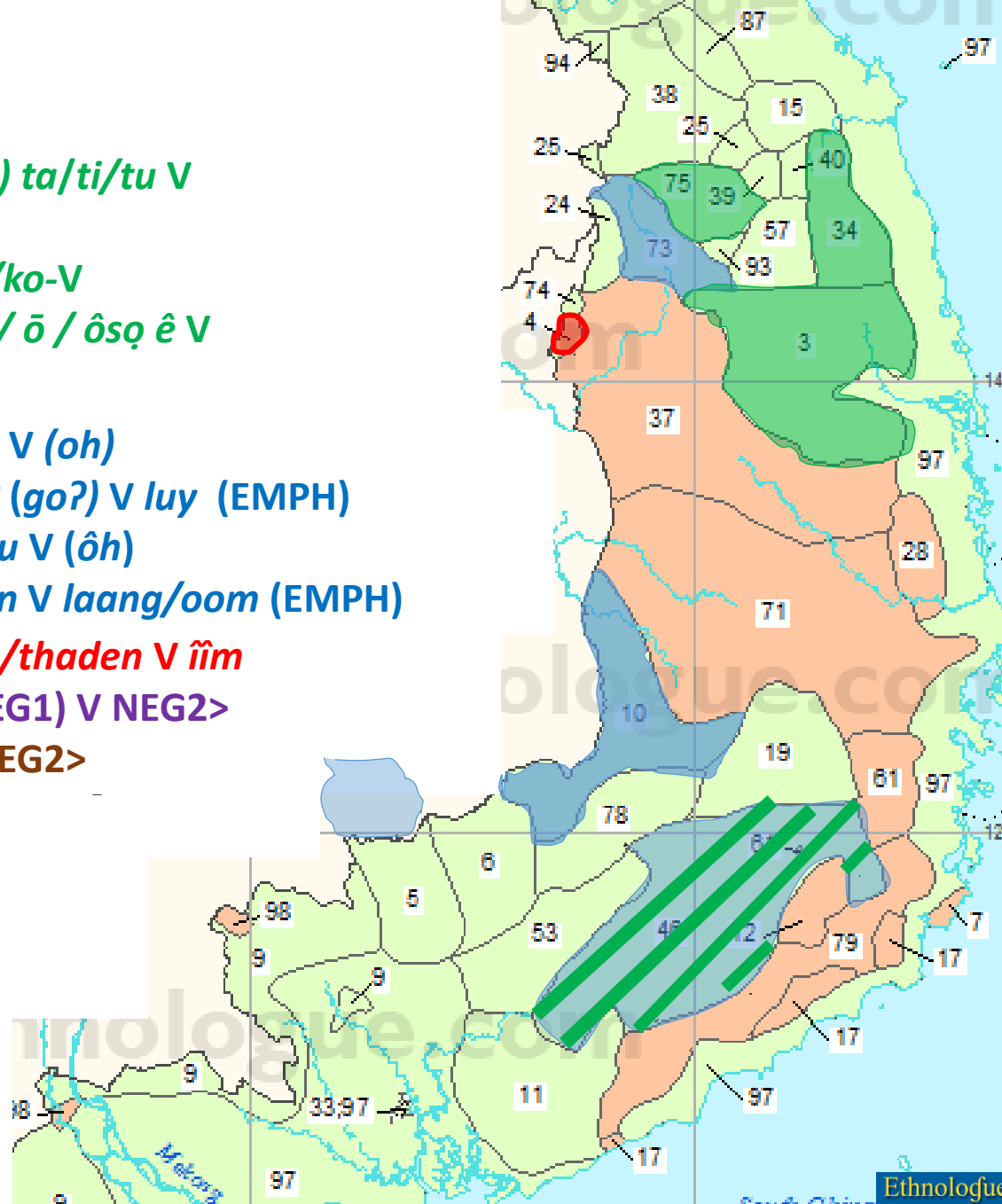
Brao

tha/thaden V iim

<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>



Sedang	<i>(ôh) ta/ti/tu V</i>
Hrê	<i>ùh</i>
Bahnar	<i>uh/ko-V</i>
Koho Chil	<i>gõ / õ / ôsɔ ê V</i>
Koho Lach	<i>ò</i>
Rengao	<i>big V (oh)</i>
Koho Sre	<i>?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)</i>
Central Mnong	<i>mau V (ôh)</i>
Stiêng	<i>'bun V laang/oom (EMPH)</i>
Brao	<i>tha/thaden V iim</i>
<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>	
<no language with V NEG2>	

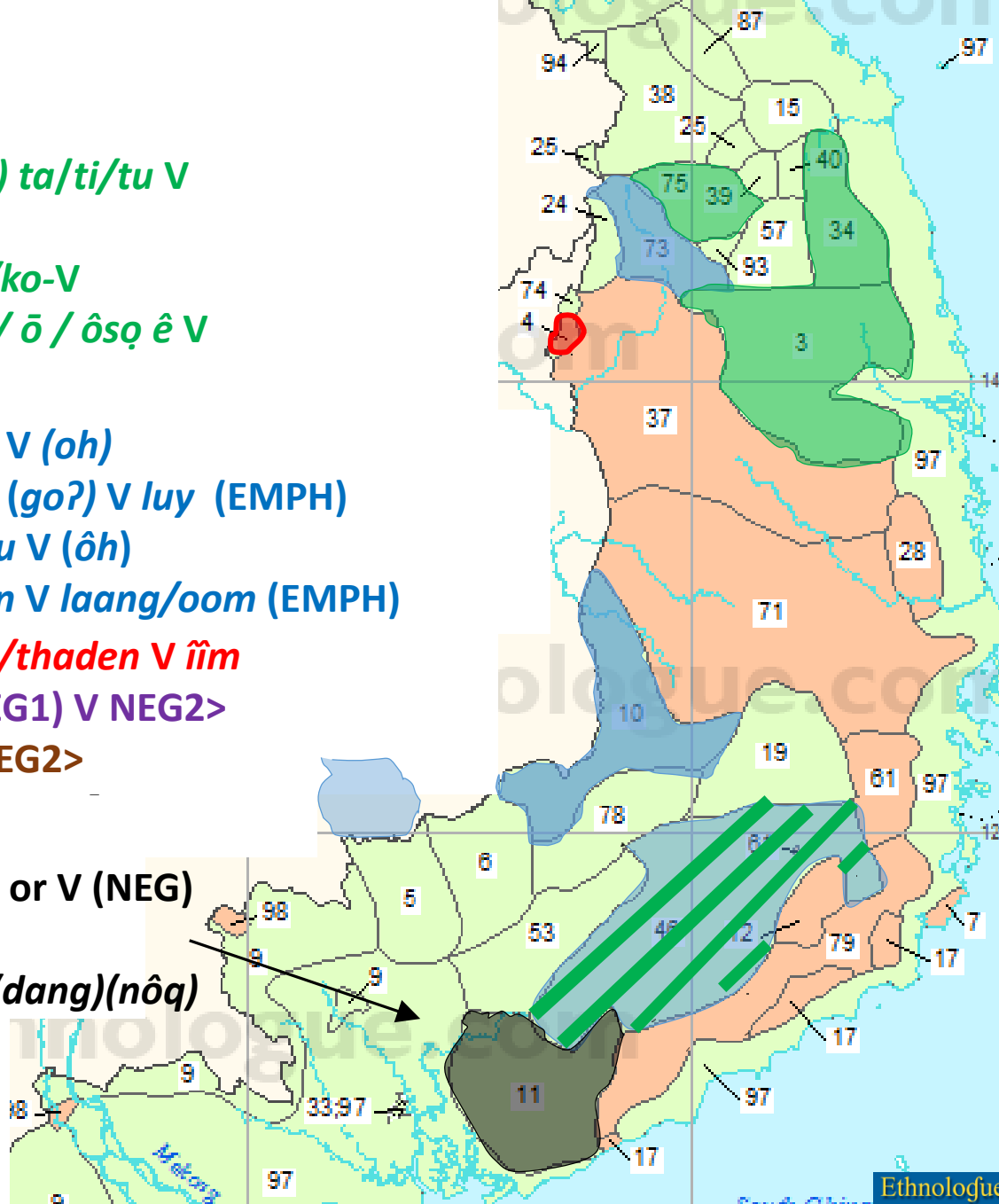


Sedang *(ôh) ta/ti/tu V*
Hrê *ùh*
Bahnar *uh/ko-V*
Koho Chil *gõ / õ / ôsq ê V*
Koho Lach *ò*

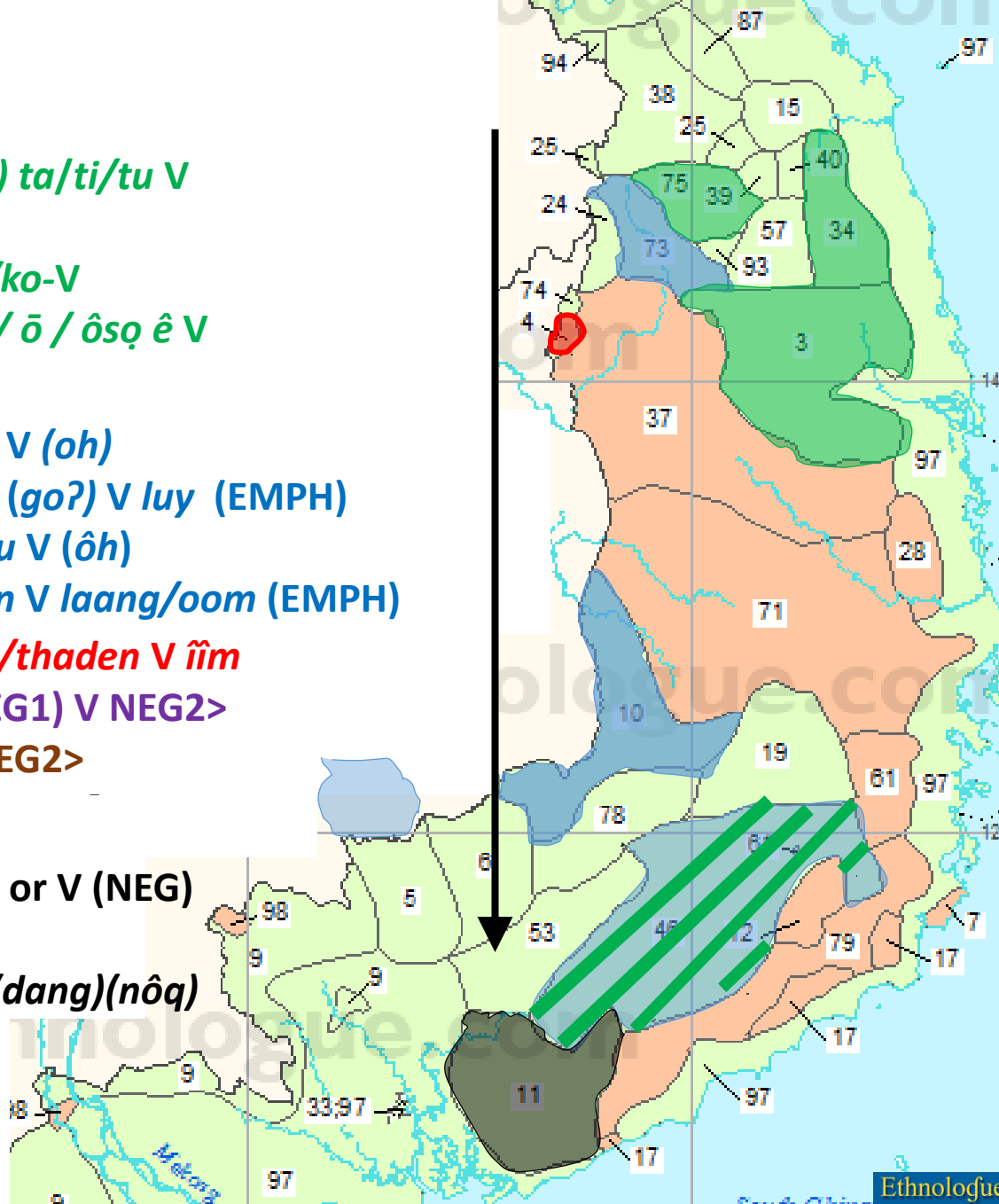
Rengao *big V (oh)*
Koho Sre *?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)*
Central Mnong *mau V (ôh)*
Stiêng *'bun V laang/oom (EMPH)*

Brao *tha/thaden V iim*
<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>
<no language with V NEG2>

Chrau
(NEG) V or NEG V NEG or V (NEG)
(ví)/(có)(sun)/(sây)/
(êq)/(toq)/(un) V (uy)(dang)(nôq)



Sedang	<i>(ôh) ta/ti/tu V</i>
Hrê	<i>ùh</i>
Bahnar	<i>uh/ko-V</i>
Koho Chil	<i>gõ / õ / ôsq ê V</i>
Koho Lach	<i>ò</i>
Rengao	<i>big V (oh)</i>
Koho Sre	<i>?à? (go?) V luy (EMPH)</i>
Central Mnong	<i>mau V (ôh)</i>
Stiêng	<i>'bun V laang/oom (EMPH)</i>
Brao	<i>tha/thaden V iim</i>
<no language with (NEG1) V NEG2>	
<no language with V NEG2>	
Chrau	
(NEG) V or NEG V NEG or V (NEG)	
<i>(ví)/(có)(sun)/(sây)/</i>	
<i>(êq)/(toq)/(un) V (uy)(dang)(nôq)</i>	



1. Double negation

2. Chamic and Bahnaric

3. Double Negation in Chamic

4. Double negation in Bahnaric

5. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric

6. Conclusion

Voh

Chamic

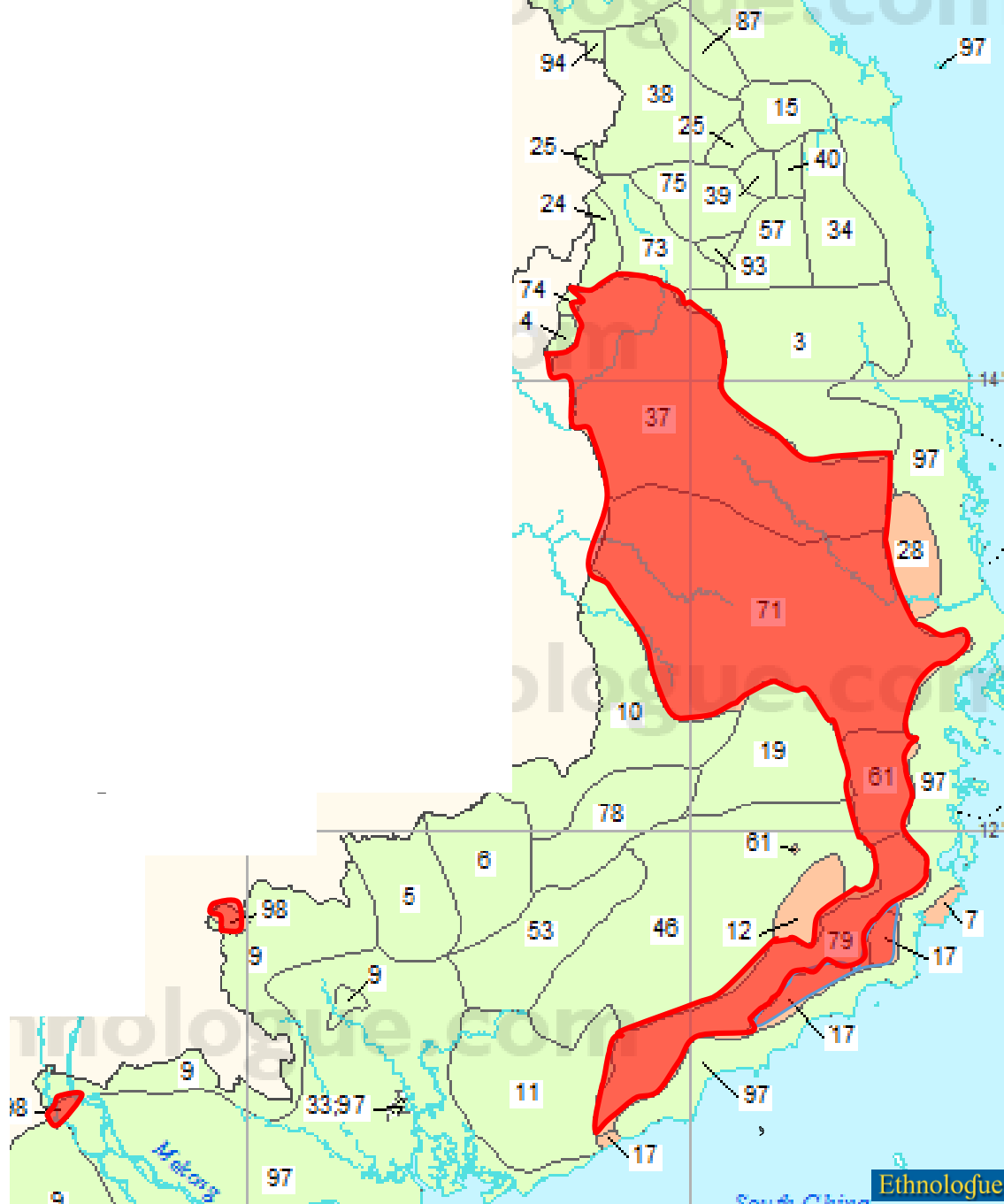
Jorai

Rade

Roglai

Eastern Cham

Western Cham



Voh

Chamic

Jorai

Rade

Roglai

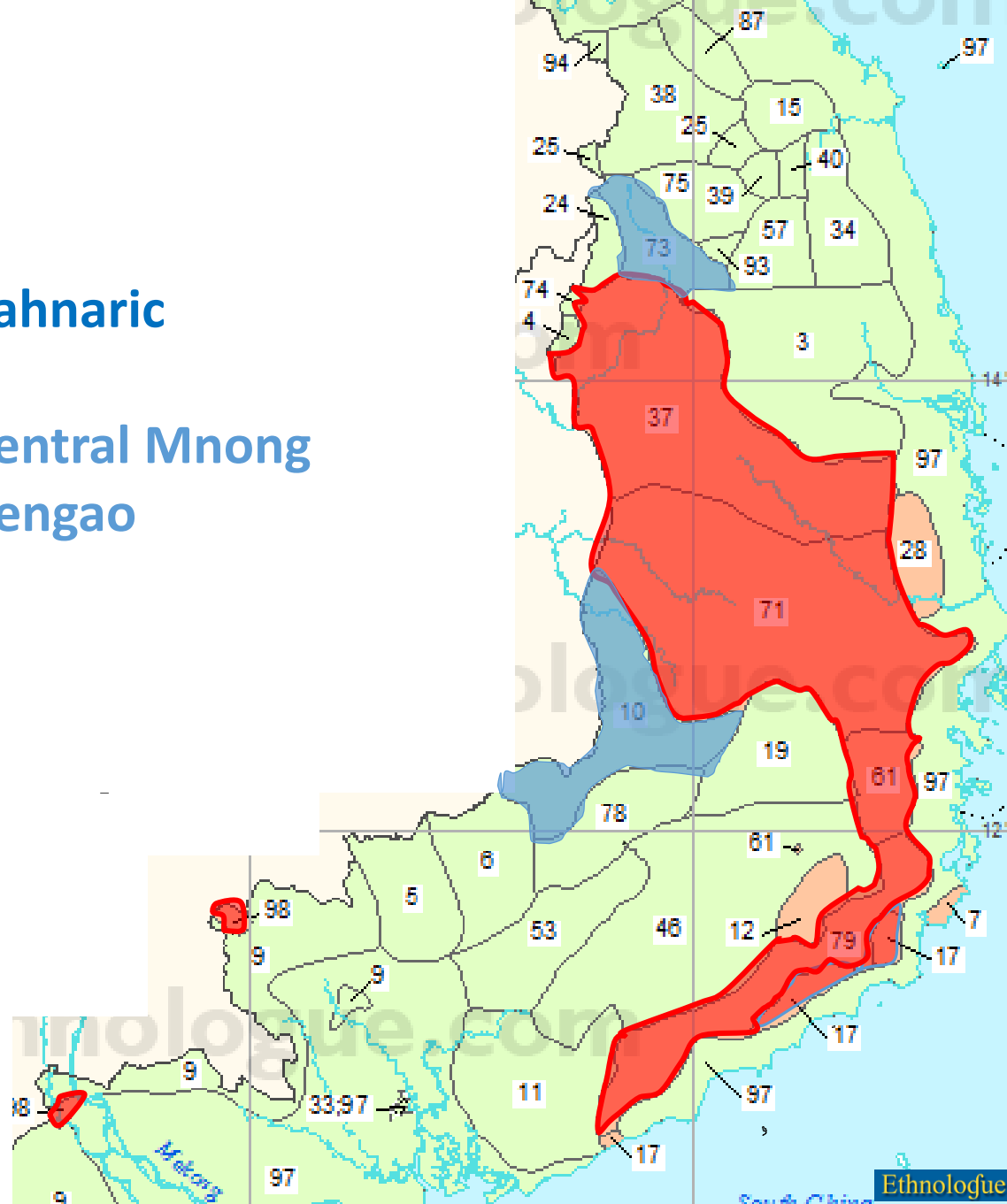
Eastern Cham

Western Cham

Bahnaric

Central Mnong

Rengao

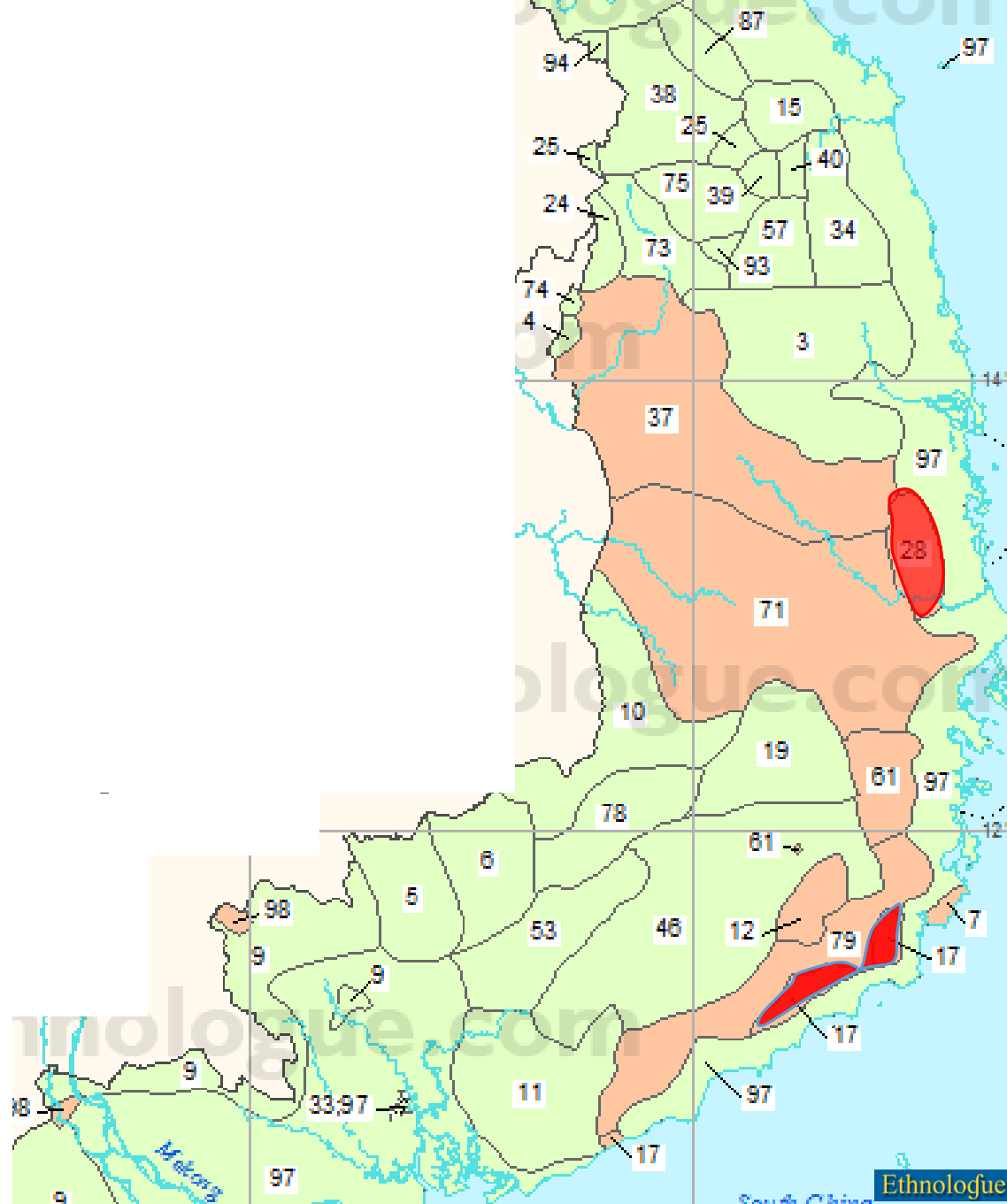


oh V

Chamic

Haroi

Eastern Cham



oh V

Chamic

Haroi
Eastern Cham

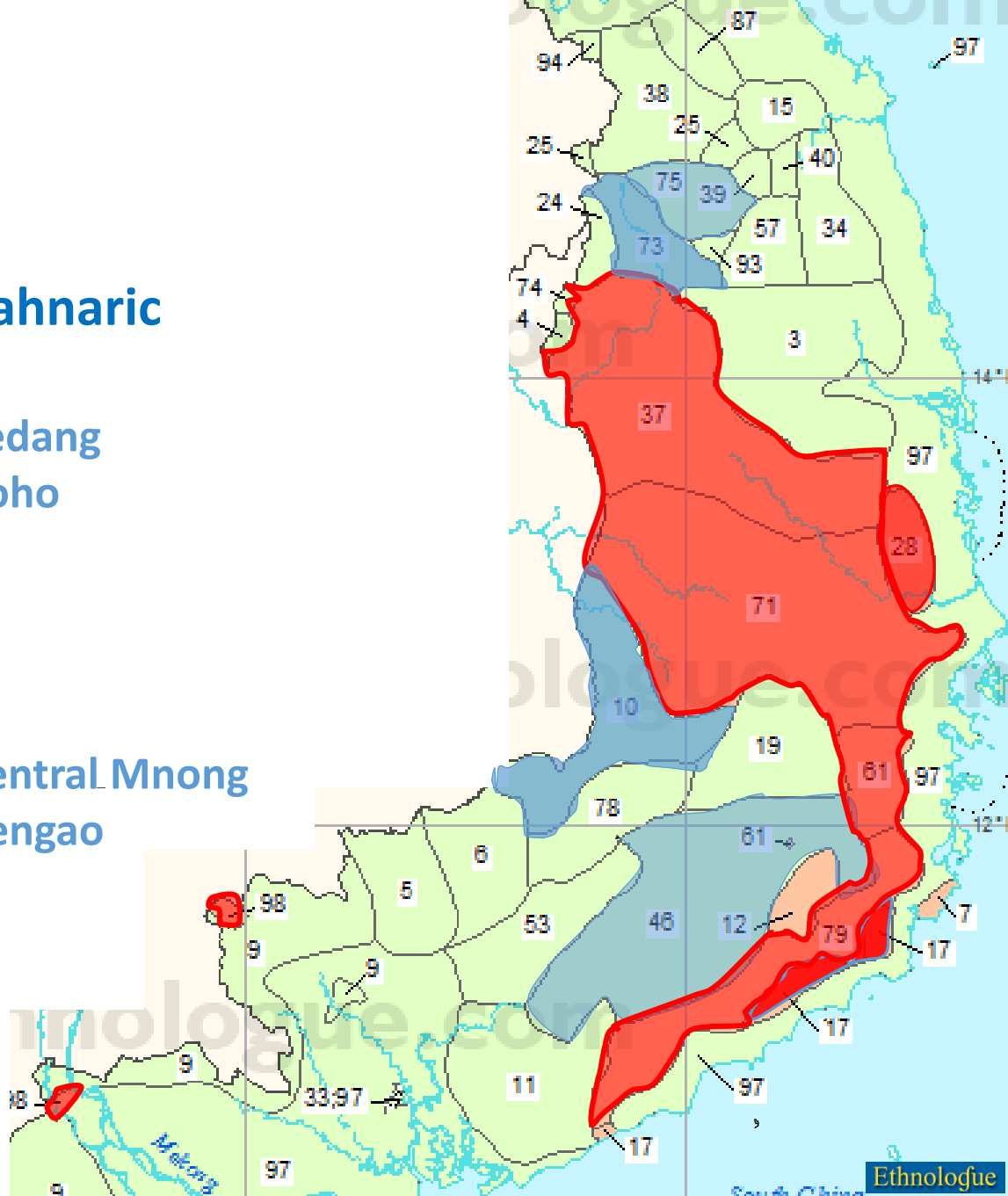
V oh

Jorai
Rade
Roglai
Eastern Cham
Western Cham

Bahnaric

Sedang
Koho

Central Mnong
Rengao



buh V

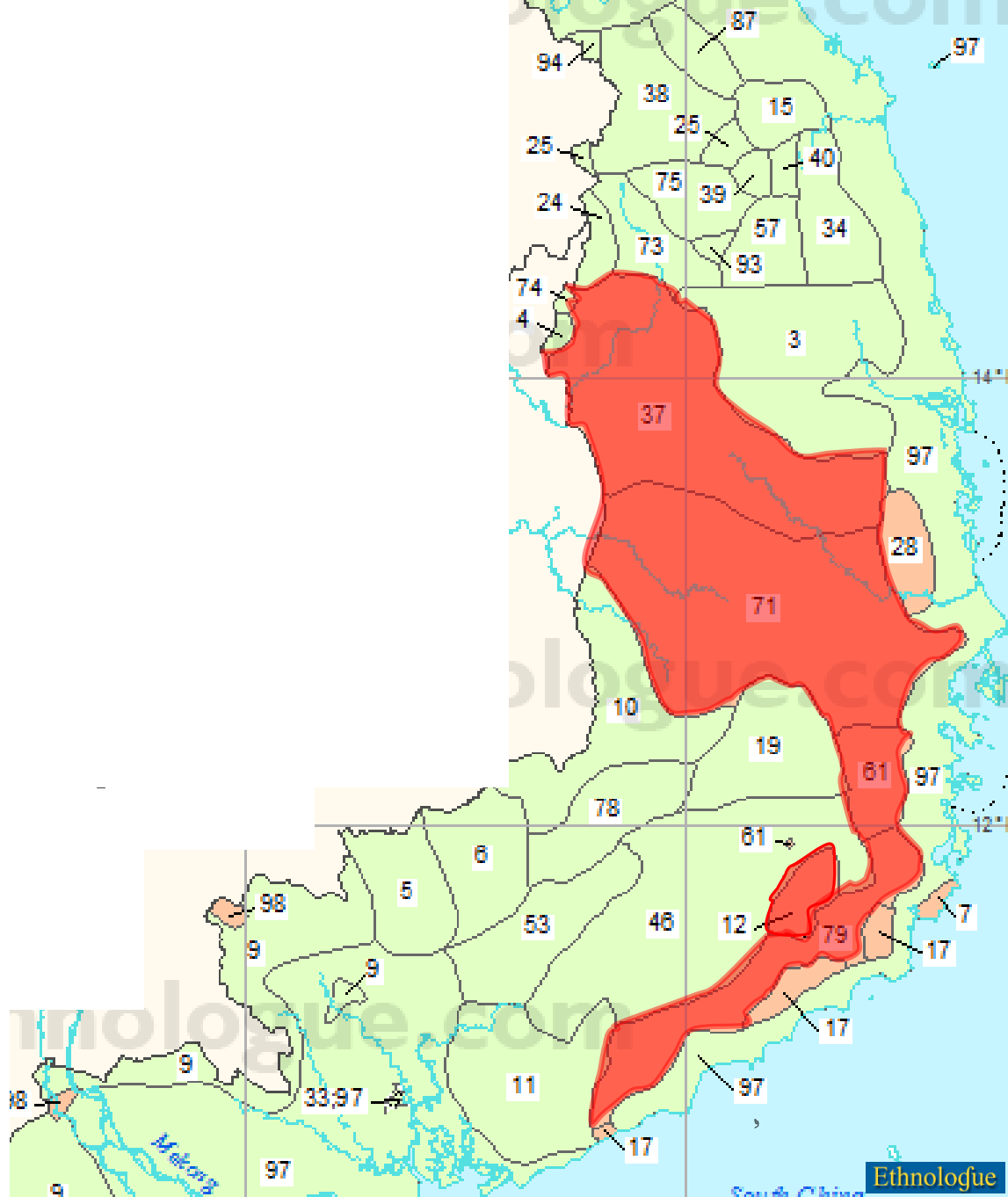
Chamic

Chru

Jorai

Rade

Roglai



buh V

Chamic

Chru

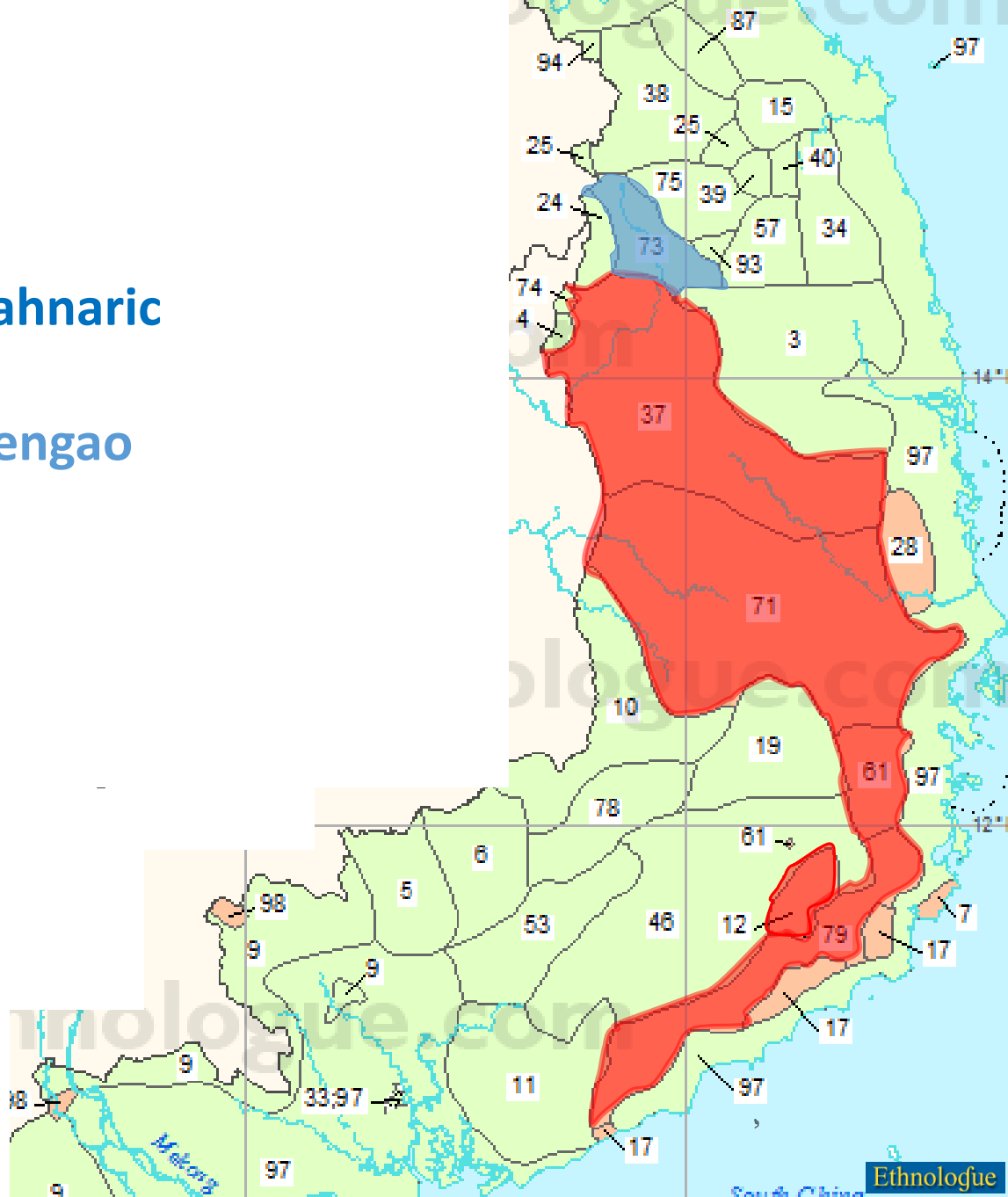
Jorai

Rade

Roglai

Bahnaric

Rengao



oh V

Chamic

Haroi
Eastern Cham

V oh

Jorai
Rade
Roglai
Eastern Cham
Western Cham

buh V

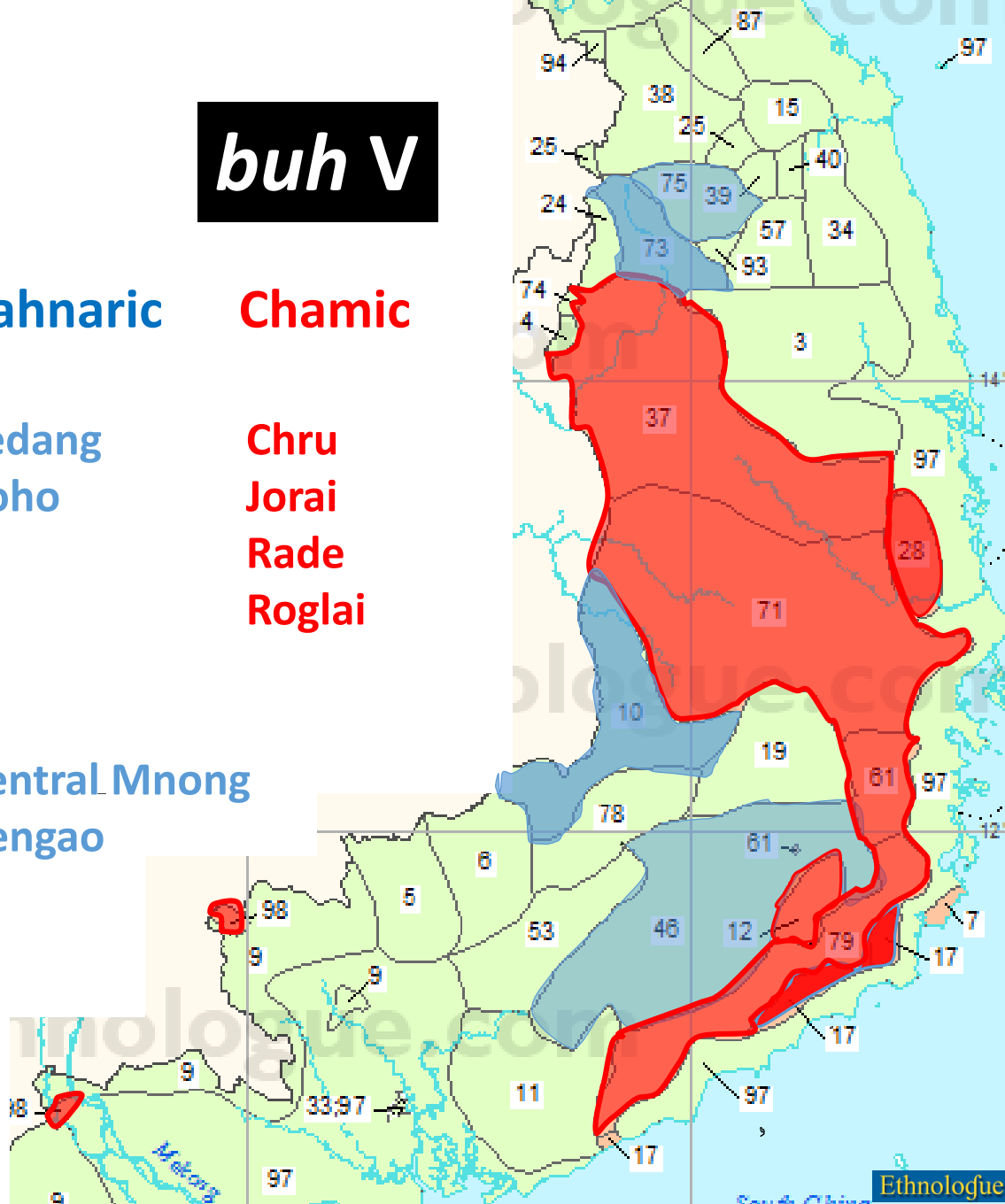
Bahnaric

Sedang
Koho

Central Mnong
Rengao

Chamic

Chru
Jorai
Rade
Roglai



oh V

Chamic

Haroi
Eastern Cham

V oh

Jorai
Rade
Roglai
Eastern Cham
Western Cham

buh V

Bahnaric

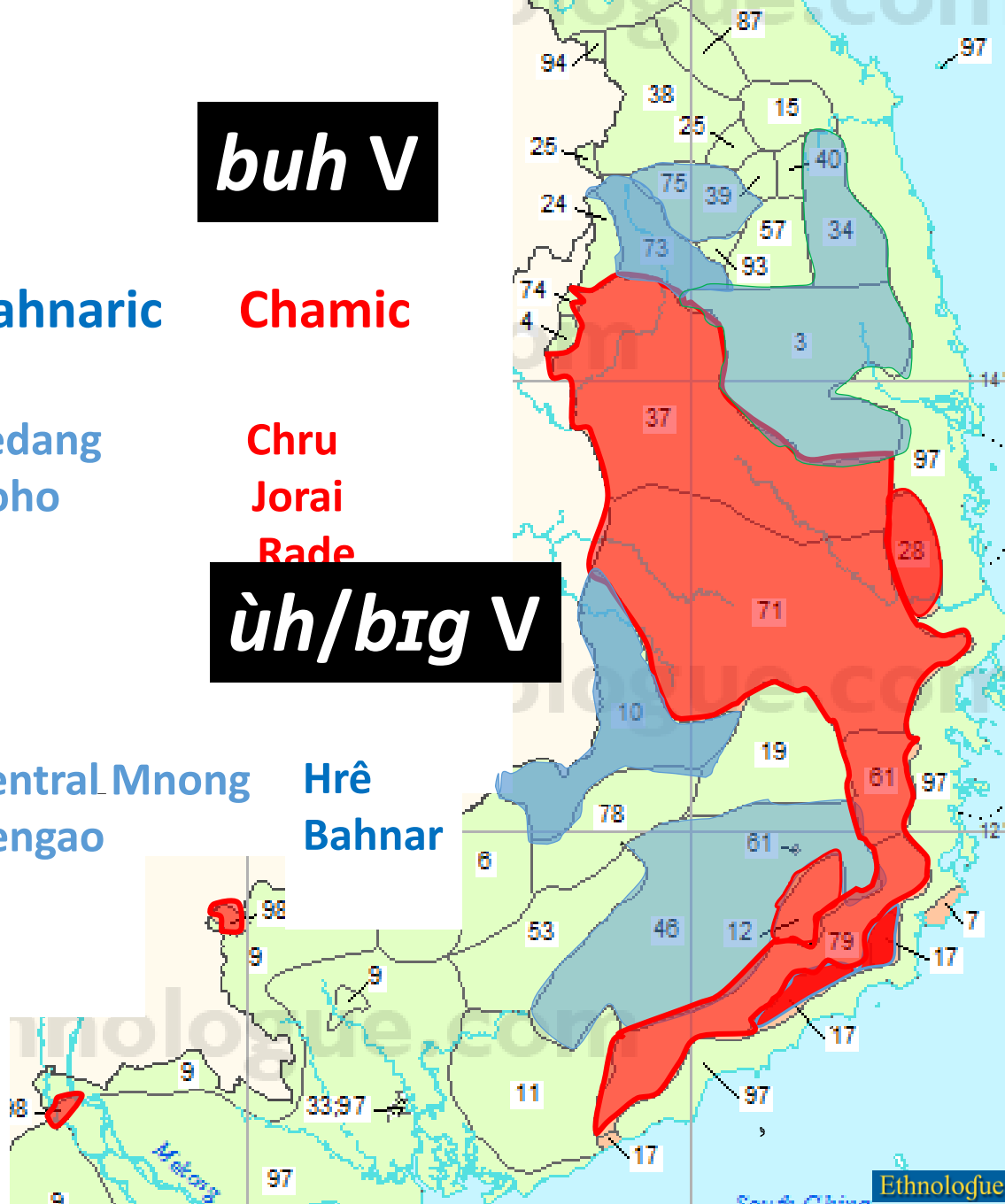
Sedang
Koho

ùh/big V

Central Mnong
Rengao
Hrê
Bahnar

Chamic

Chru
Jorai
Rade



oh V

Chamic

Haroi
Eastern Cham

V oh

Jorai
Rade
Roglai
Eastern Cham
Western Cham

buh V

Bahnaric

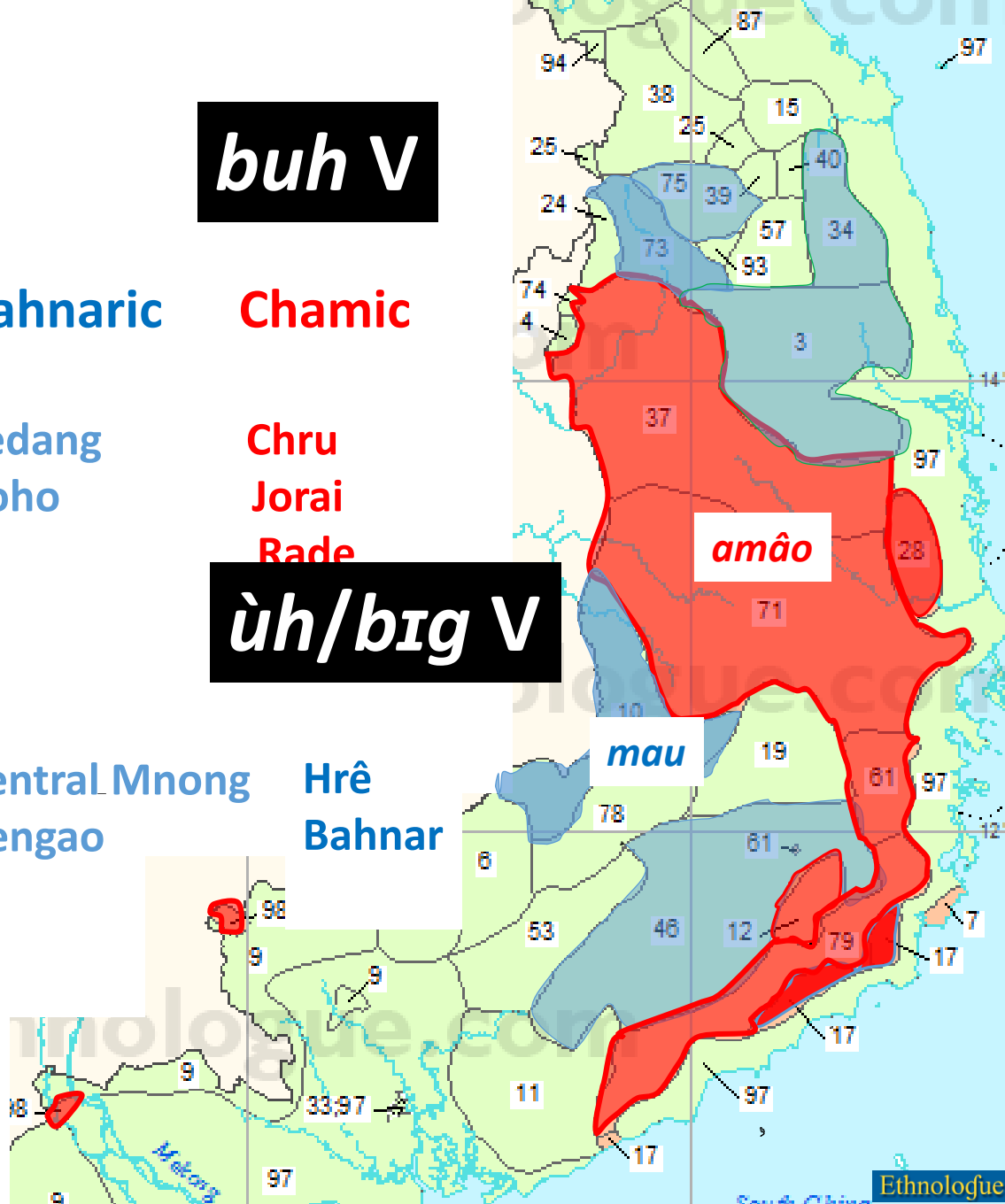
Sedang
Koho

ùh/big V

Central Mnong
Rengao
Hrê
Bahnar

Chamic

Chru
Jorai
Rade



Bahnaric

Chamic markers were borrowed into

**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)

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Though it is possible that the markers themselves are Austro-Asiatic

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 is possible that the markers themselves are Austro-Asiatic ... and it cannot be ruled out that the bipartite pattern itself was original to Mon-Khmer (Grant 2005: 76) or that there was a fair measure of independent development

1. Double negation
2. Chamic and Bahnaric
3. Double Negation in Chamic
4. Double negation in Bahnaric
5. Comparing Chamic and Bahnaric

6. Conclusion

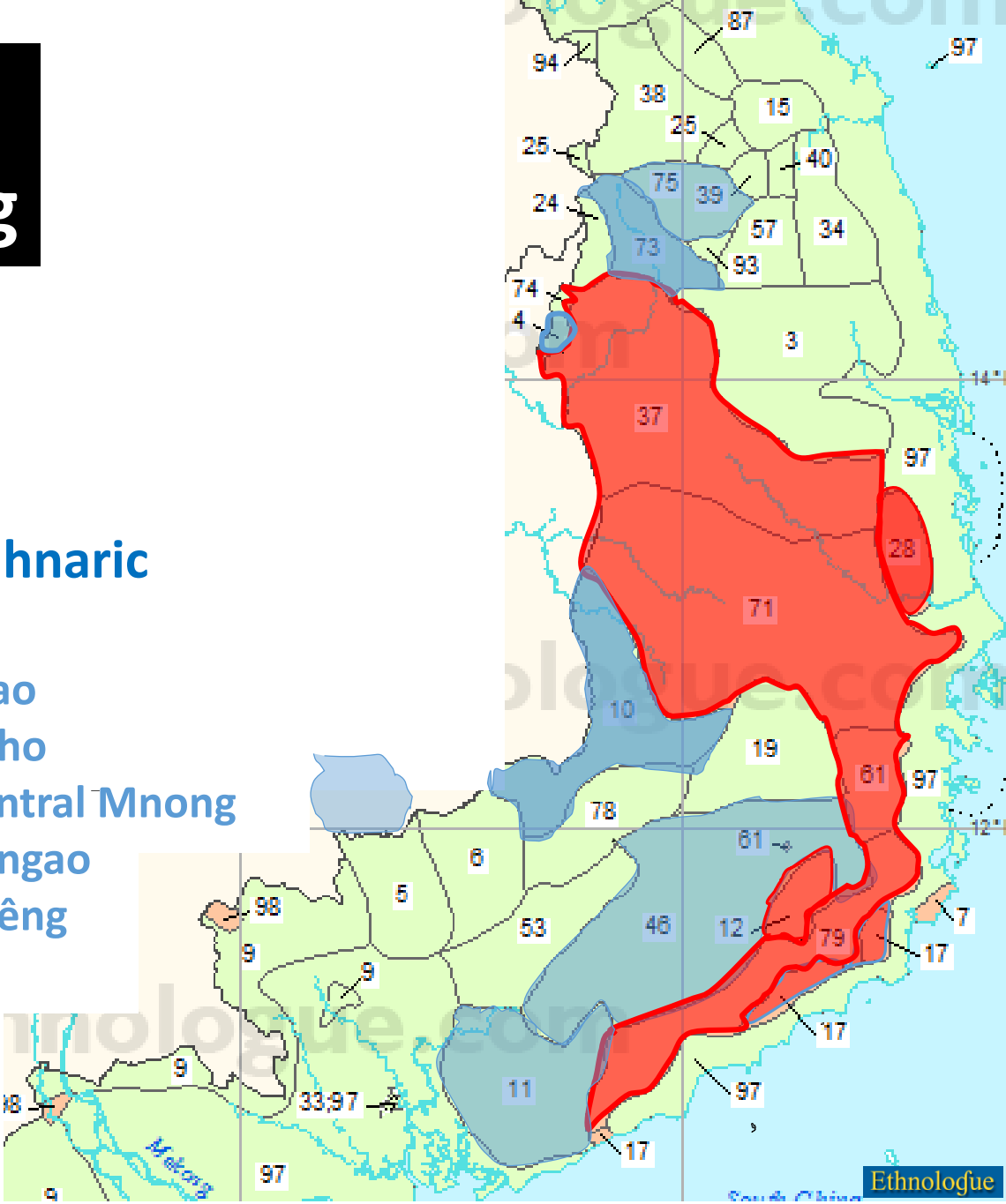
Opt or Obl Double Neg

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

Brao

Chru

Koho

Haroi

Central Mnong

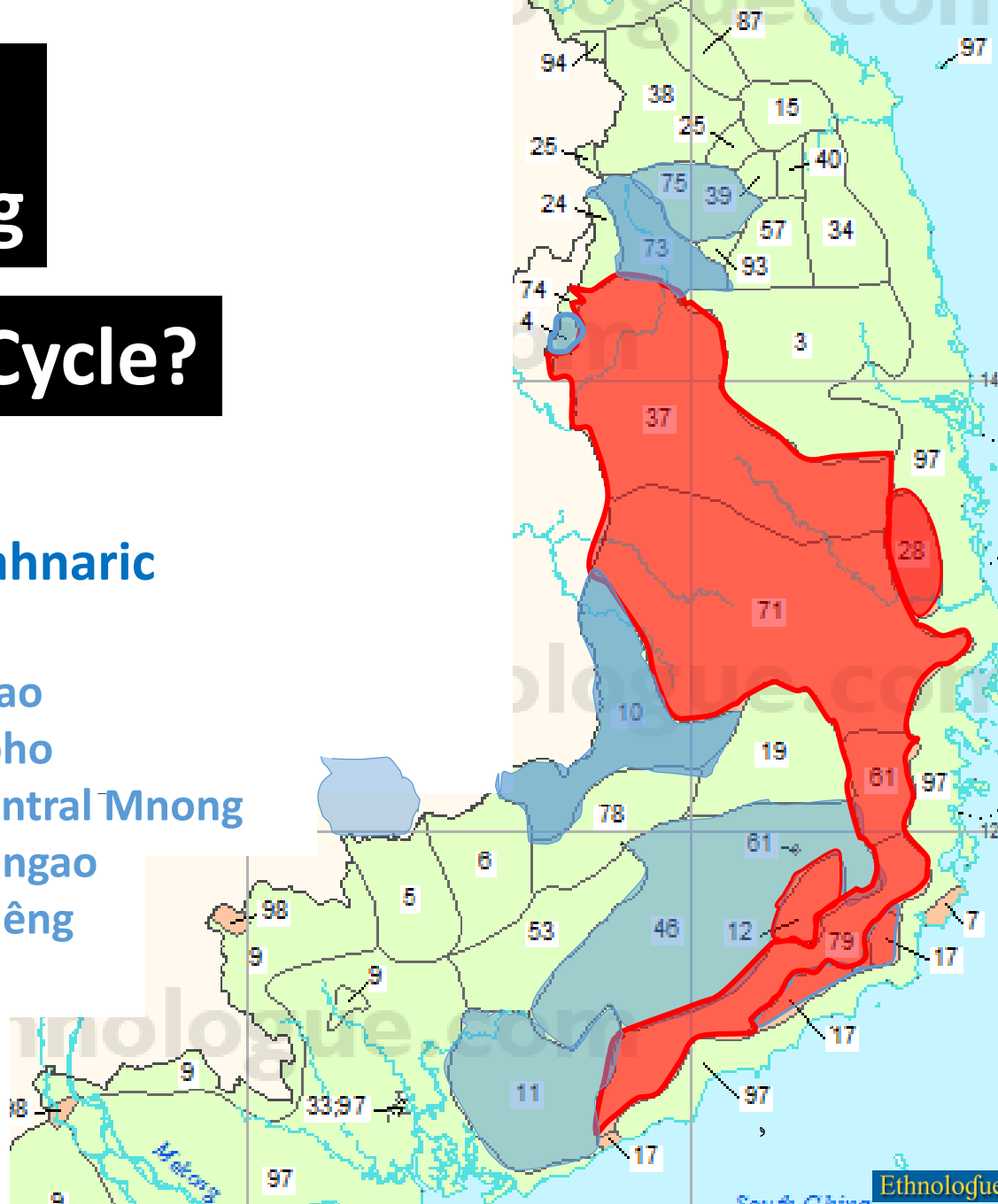
Jorai

Rengao

Rade

Stiêng

Jorai



Opt or Obl Double Neg

Jespersen Cycle?



Chamic

Eastern Cham

Chru

Haroi

Jorai

Rade

Jorai



Bahnaric

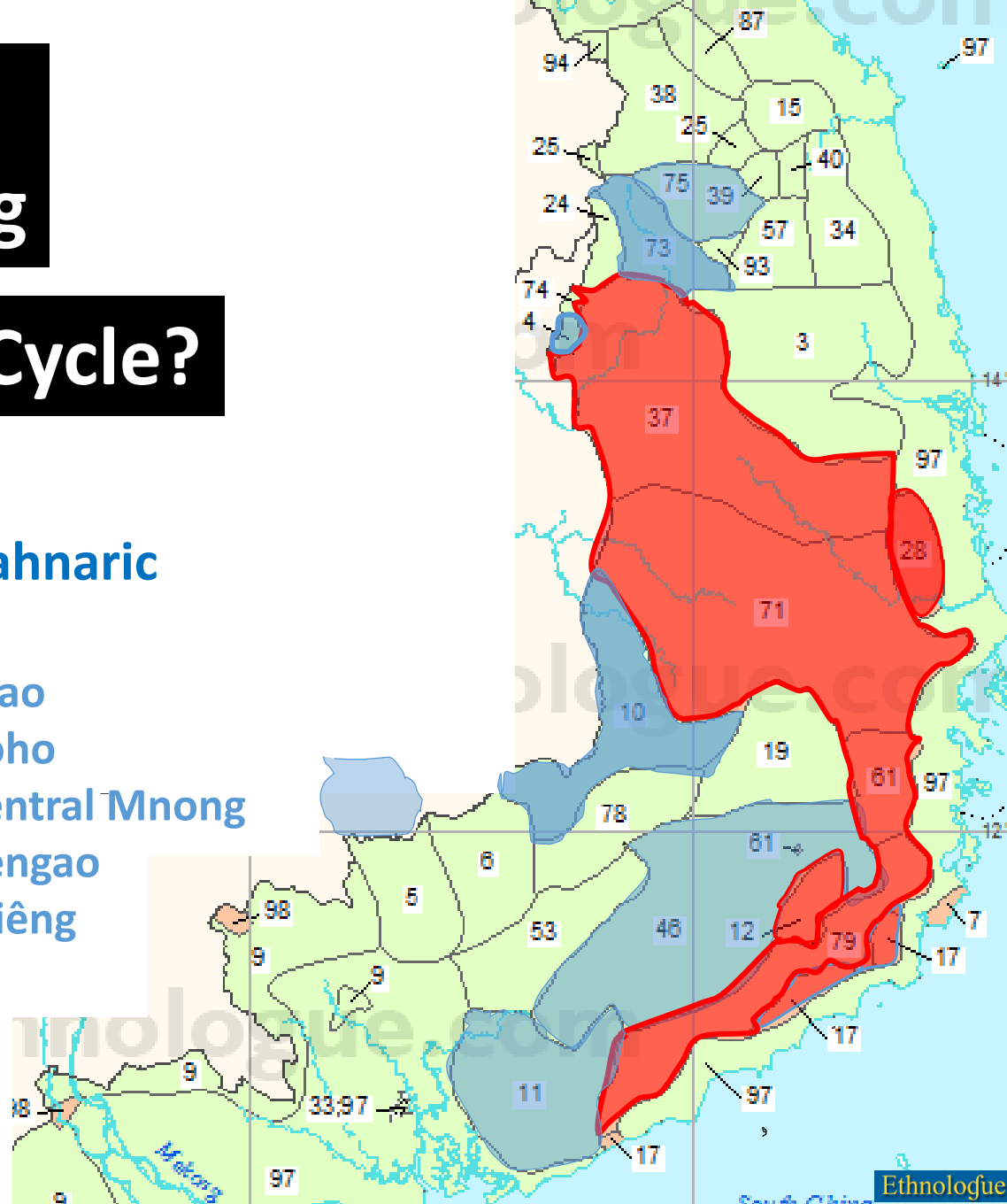
Brao

Koho

Central Mnong

Rengao

Stiêng



**Opt or Obl
Double Neg**

Jespersen Cycle?

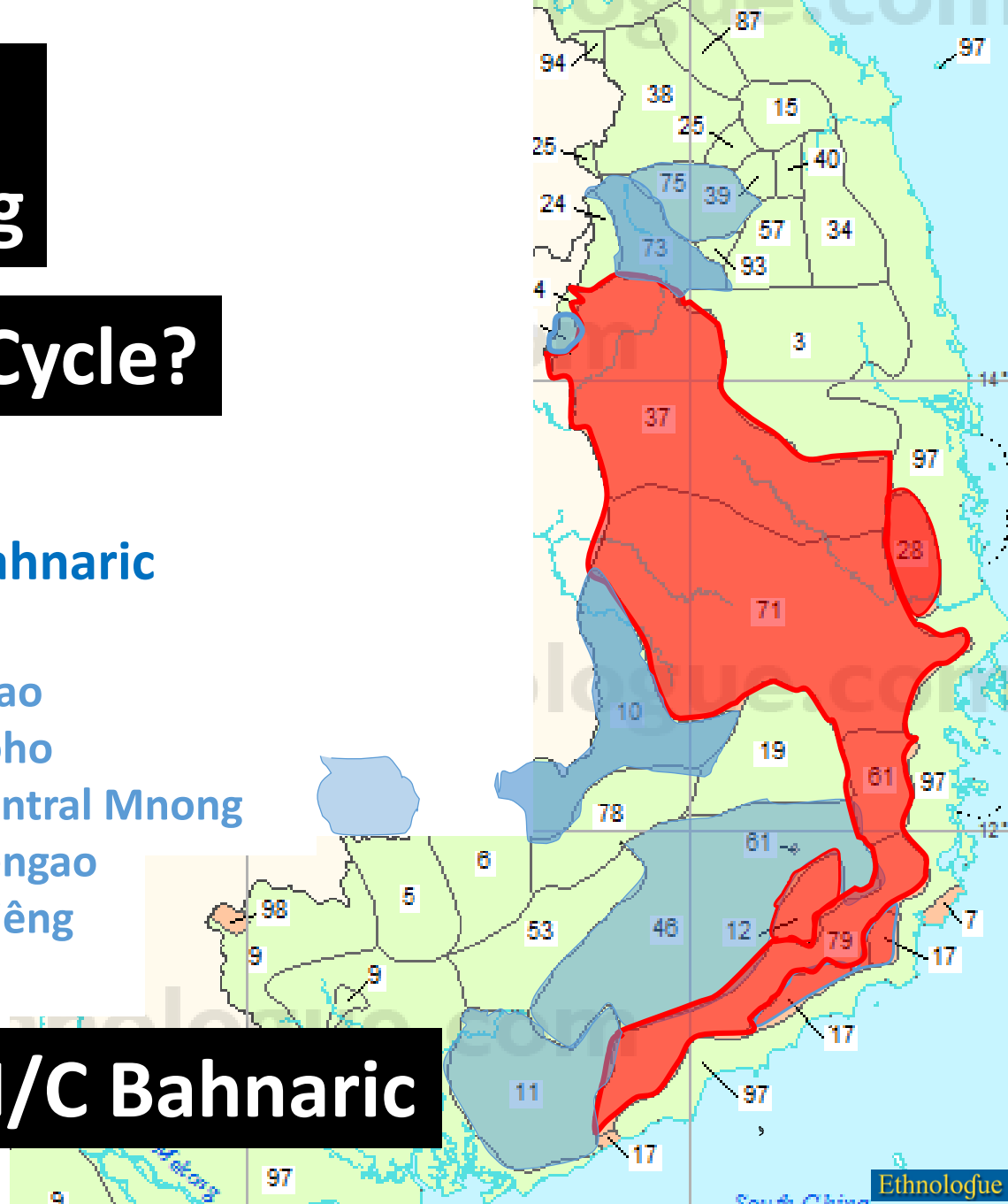
✓
Chamic

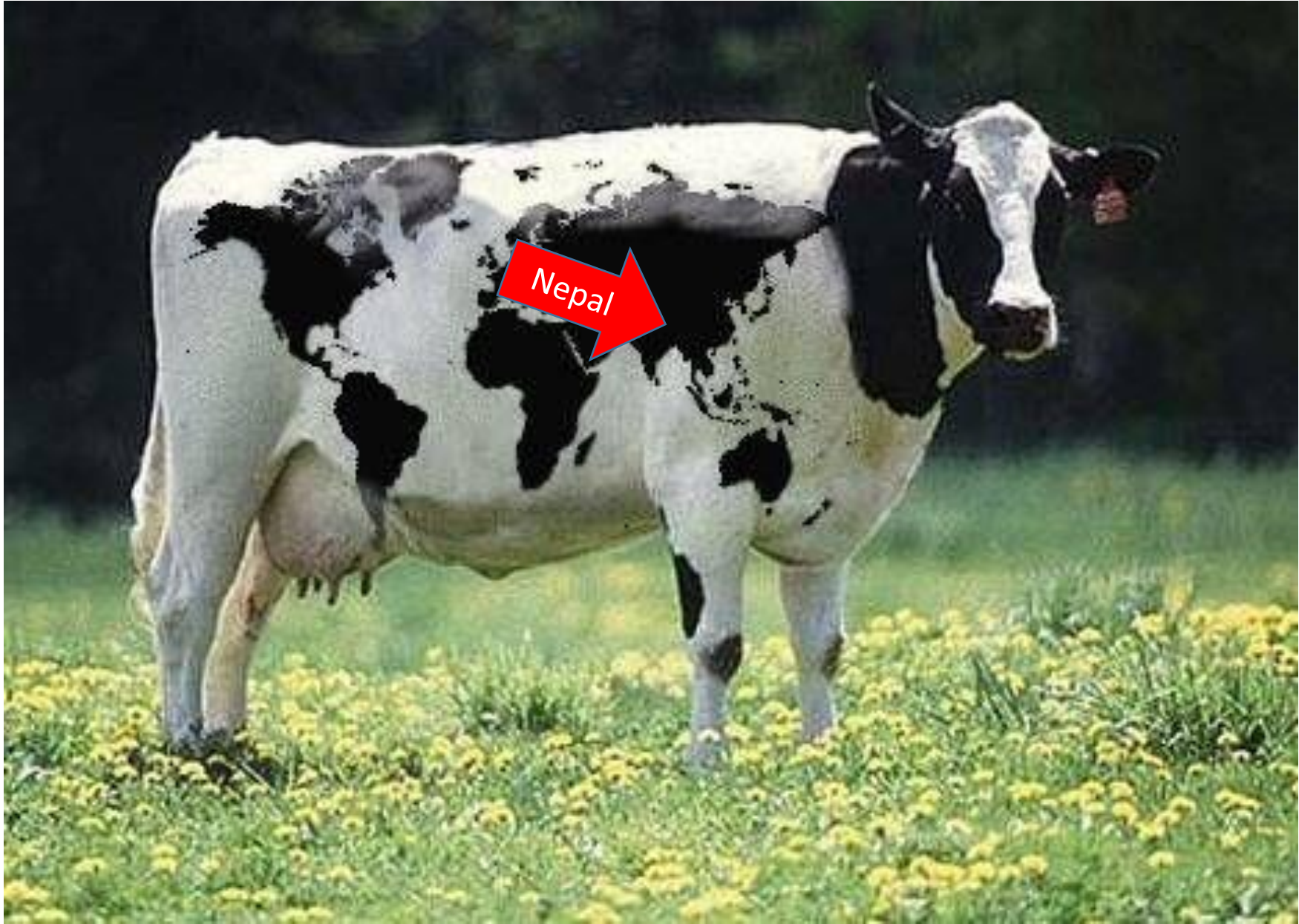
Eastern Cham
Chru
Haroi
Jorai
Rade
Jorai

?
Bahnaric

Brao
Koho
Central Mnong
Rengao
Stiêng

Chamic > N/C Bahnaric





Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

	Total
Miestamo 2005	7
Dryer 2005 <i>LTBA</i>	108
Dryer 2013 <i>WALS</i>	139
Today	156

Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

	Double	Total
Miestamo 2005	2	7
Dryer 2005 <i>LTBA</i>	6	108
Dryer 2013 <i>WALS</i>	12	139
Today	12	156

Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

	Double	Total
Miestamo 2005	2	7
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Dryer 2013 <i>WALS</i>	12	139
Today	12	156

3 Kiranti + Lepcha

5 Kiranti + Lepcha

5 Kiranti + Lepcha

Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

	Double	Triple or more	Total
Miestamo 2005	2	0	7
Dryer 2005 <i>LTBA</i>	6	0	108
Dryer 2013 <i>WALS</i>	12	0	139
Today	12	3	156

3 Kiranti + Lepcha

5 Kiranti + Lepcha

5 Kiranti + Lepcha

Kiranti

Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

	Double	Triple or more	Total
Miestamo 2005	2	0	7
Dryer 2005 <i>LTBA</i>	6	0	108
Dryer 2013 <i>WALS</i>	12	0	139
Today	12	3	156

141

Single

Double NEG in Sino-Tibetan?

	Double	Triple or more	Total
Miestamo 2005	2	0	7
Dryer 2005 <i>LTBA</i>	6	0	108
Dryer 2013 <i>WALS</i>	12	0	139
Today	12	3	156
			141
	Preverbal	Single	93
	Postverbal		40
	Preverbal or postverbal		8

Single

Belhare (Bickel 1996: 56)

misen

ka-niu-?-ni

know

PAT.INCL-know-NPT-NEG

‘He doesn’t know us.’

Single

Belhare (Bickel 1996: 56)

misen

ka-niu-ʔ-**ni**

know

PAT.INCL-know-NPT-**NEG**

‘He doesn’t know us.’

Double

Limbu (van Driem 1987: 91)

allɔ

nam

mɛ-se·k-**nɛn**

now

sun

NEG1-shine-**NEG2**

‘The sun is not shining now.’

Single

Belhare (Bickel 1996: 56)

misen

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PAT.INCL-know-NPT-**NEG**

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NEG1-shine-NEG2

‘The sun is not shining now.’

Triple

Limbu (Ebert 1994: 41)

kɛ-**n**-huʔr-u-(**n**-)si-**n**

2SG-**NEG1**-teach-3PL-(**NEG2**)-3PL-**NEG3**

‘You didn’t teach them.’

Single

Belhare (Bickel 1996: 56)

misen ka-niu-ʔ-**ni**
know PAT.INCL-know-NPT-**NEG**

‘He doesn’t know us.’

Double

Limbu (van Driem 1987: 91)

allo nam **mɛ-se-k-nɛn**
now sun **NEG1-shine-NEG2**

‘The sun is not shining now.’

Triple

Limbu (Ebert 1994: 41)

kɛ-**n**-huʔr-u-(**n**-)si-**n**
2SG-**NEG1**-teach-3PL-(**NEG2**)-3PL-**NEG3**

‘You didn’t teach them.’

Quintuple

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.’

Single

Belhare (Bickel 1996: 56)

misen ka-niu-ʔ-ni
know PAT.INCL-know-NPT-NEG
'He doesn't know us.'

Double

Limbu (van Driem 1987: 91)

allɔ nam mɛ-se·k-nɛn
now sun NEG1-shine-NEG2
'The sun is not shining now.'

Triple

Limbu (Ebert 1994: 41)

kɛ-n-huʔr-u-(n-)si-n
2SG-NEG1-teach-3PL-(NEG2)-3PL-NEG3
'You didn't teach them.'

Quintuple

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.'



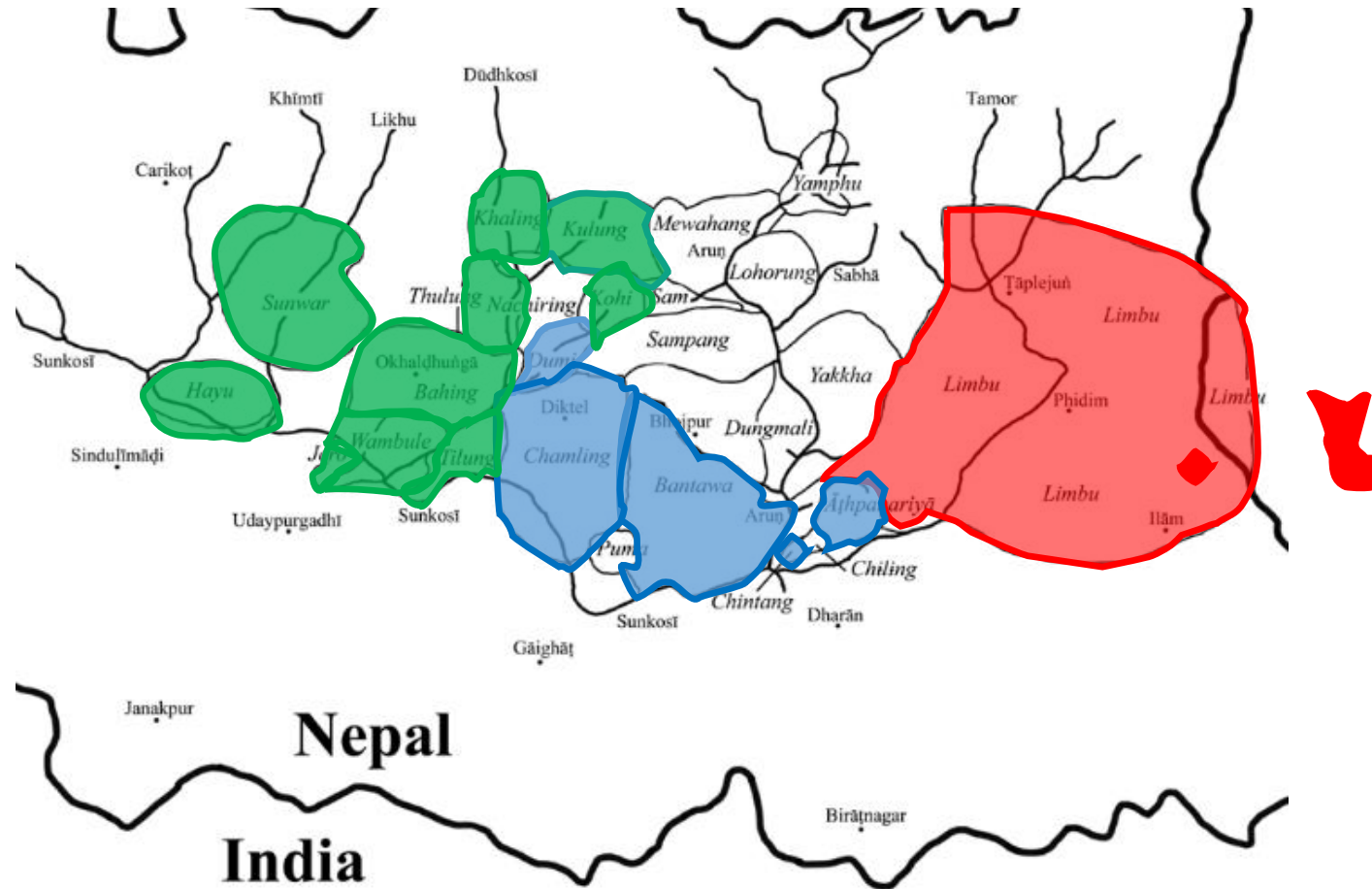


Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha



Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

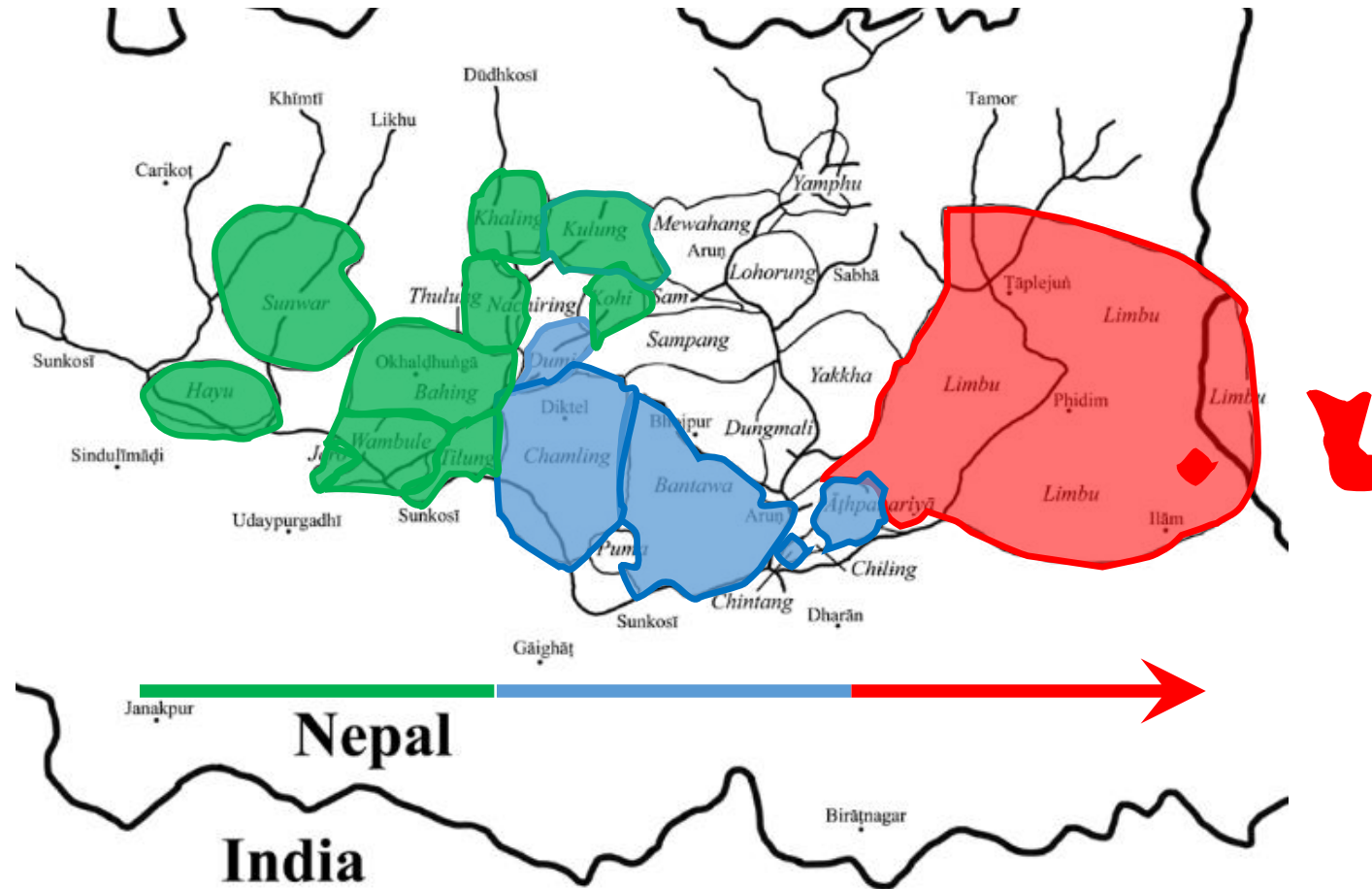
Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi



Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

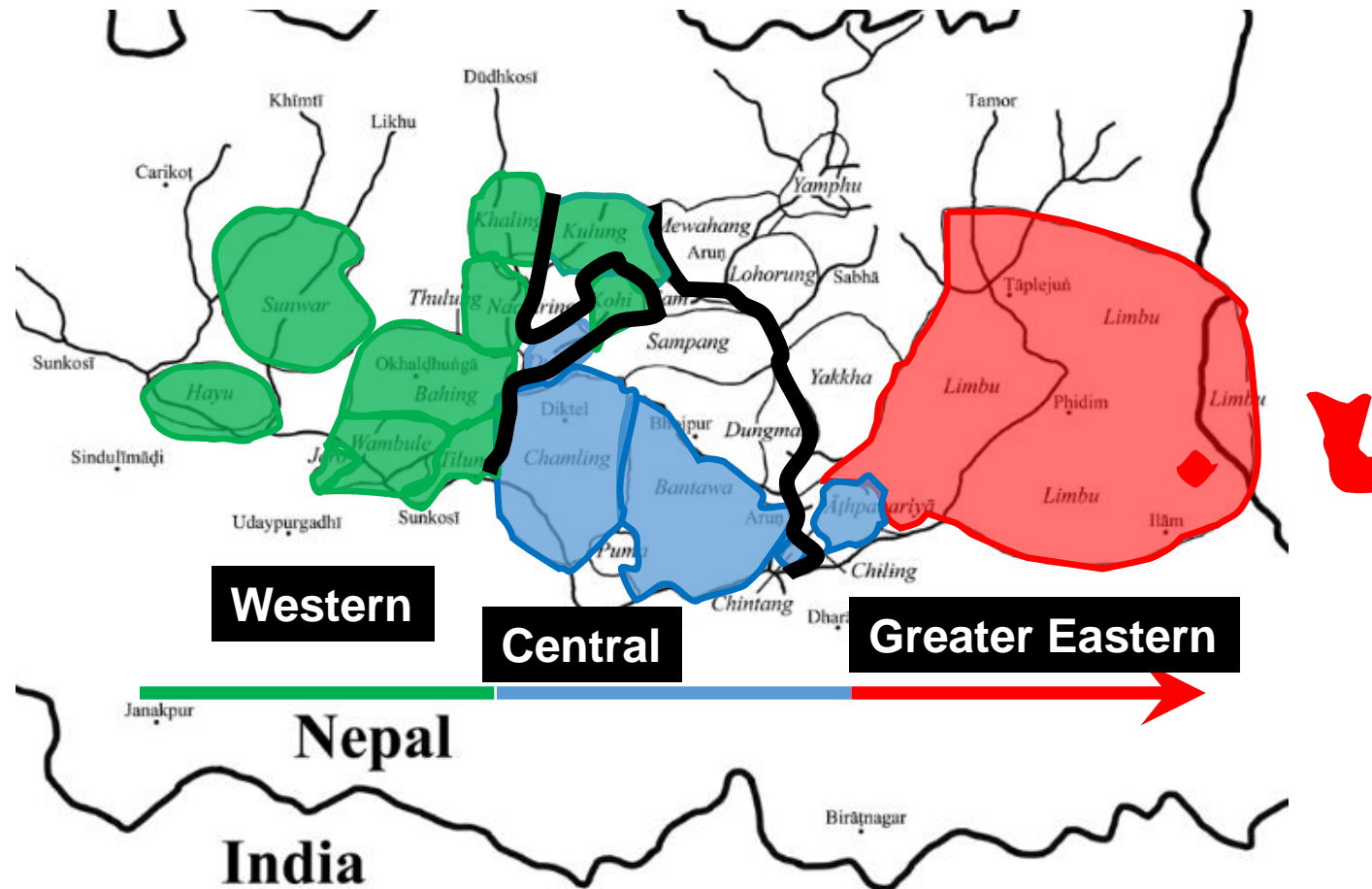
Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Kulung



Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

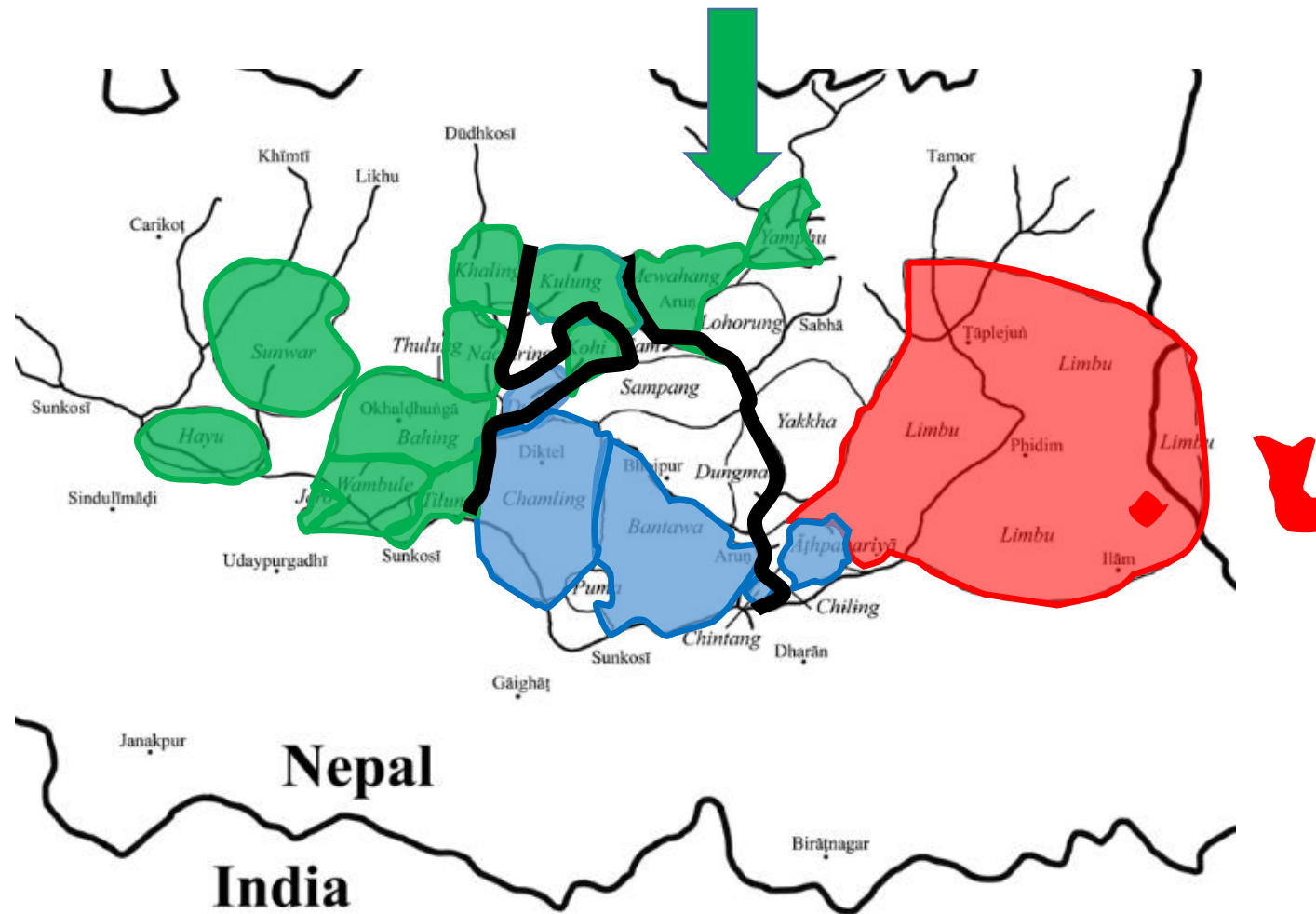
Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Kulung



Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

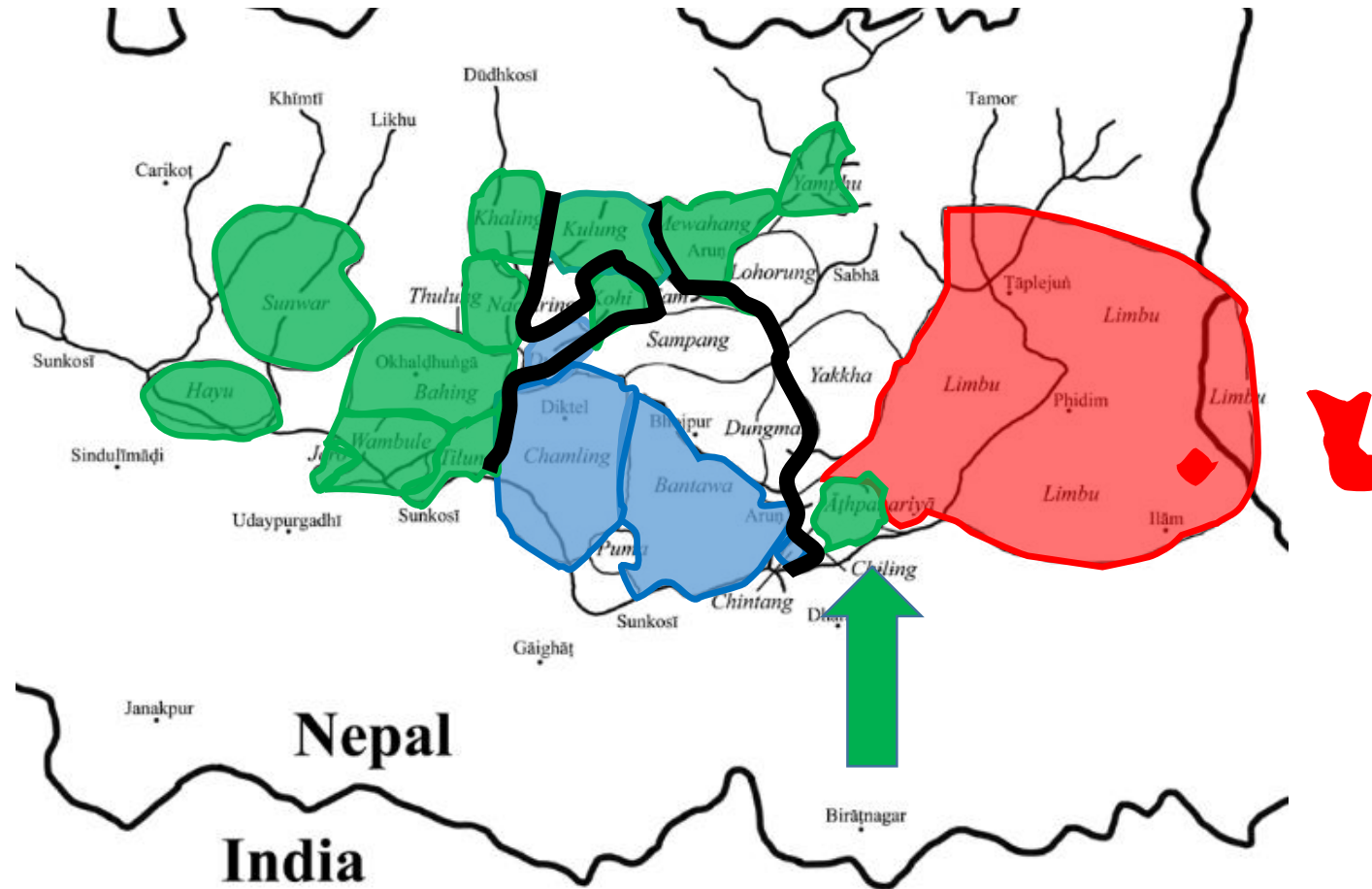
Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Kulung



Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Kulung, Mewahang, Yamphu



Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Chamling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung,
possible: Wambule, Kulung, Mewahang, Yamphu + Athpare, Belhare



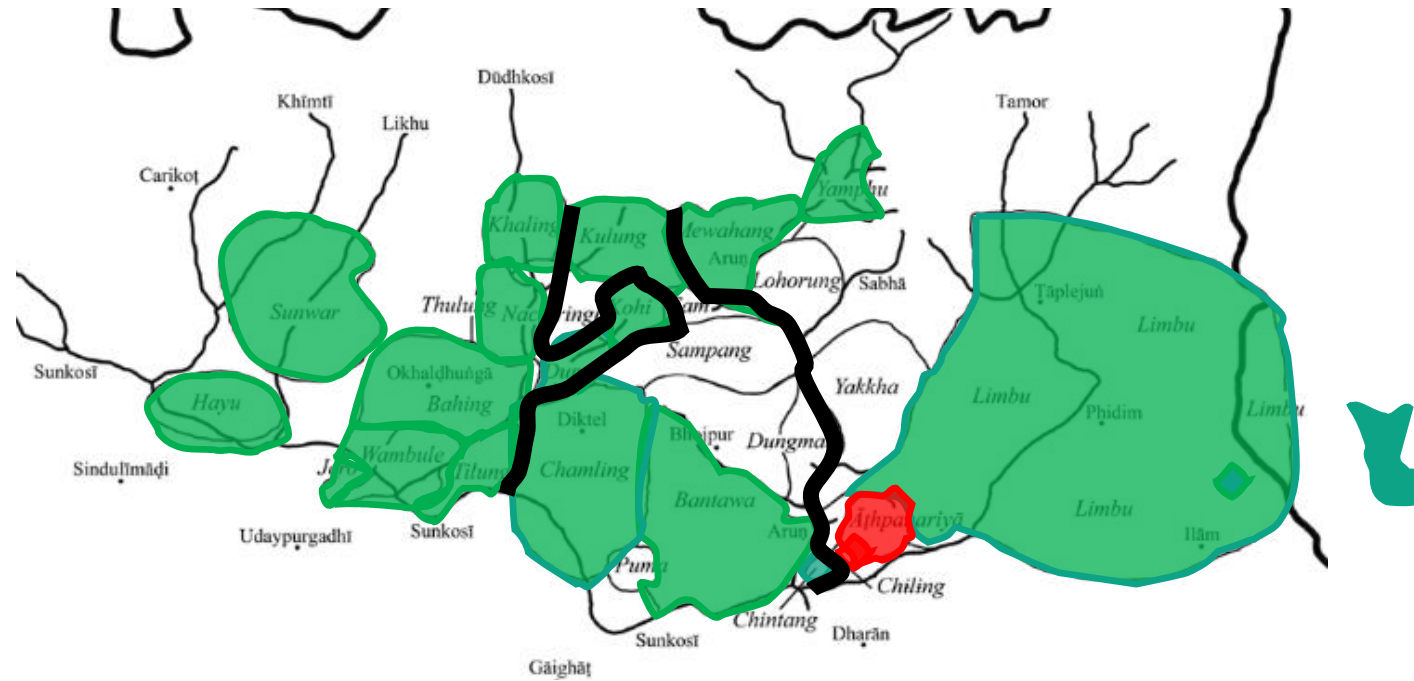
Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Mewahang, Yamphu

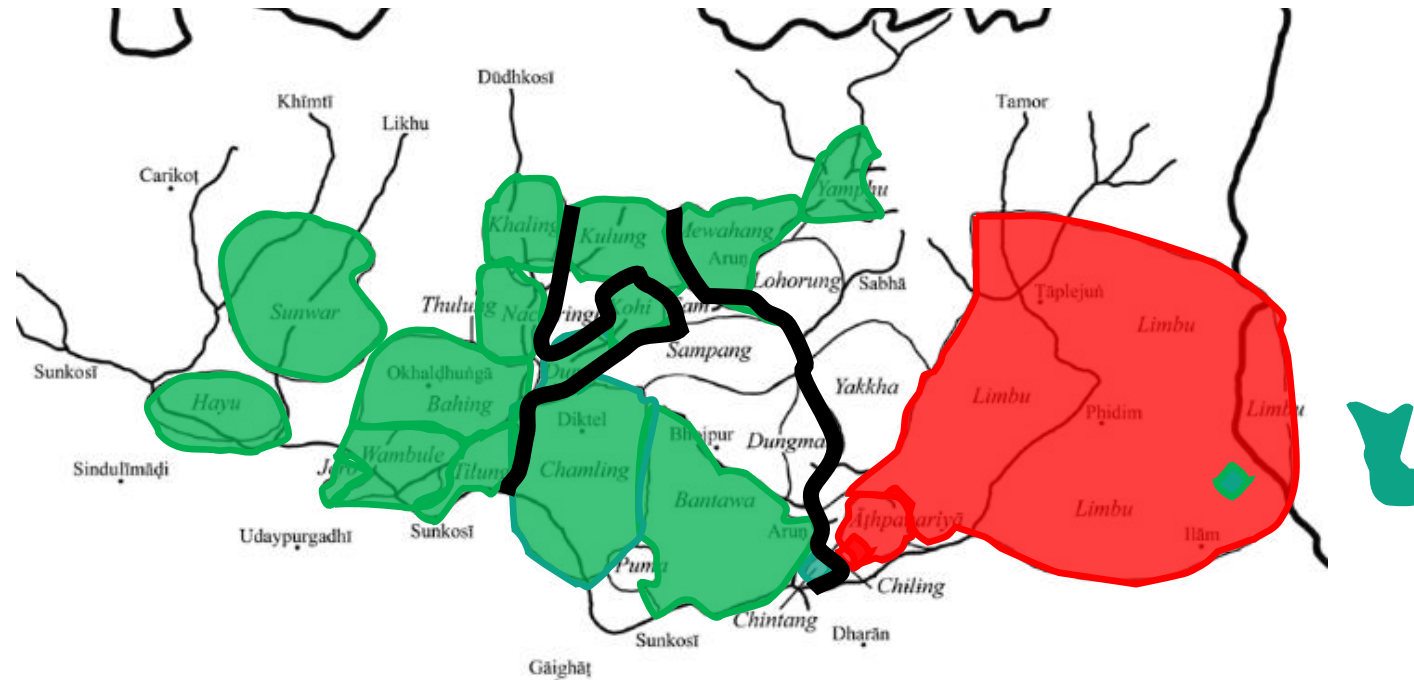
Triple or more possible: Bantawa, Camling, Limbu

What are the preverbal negations?



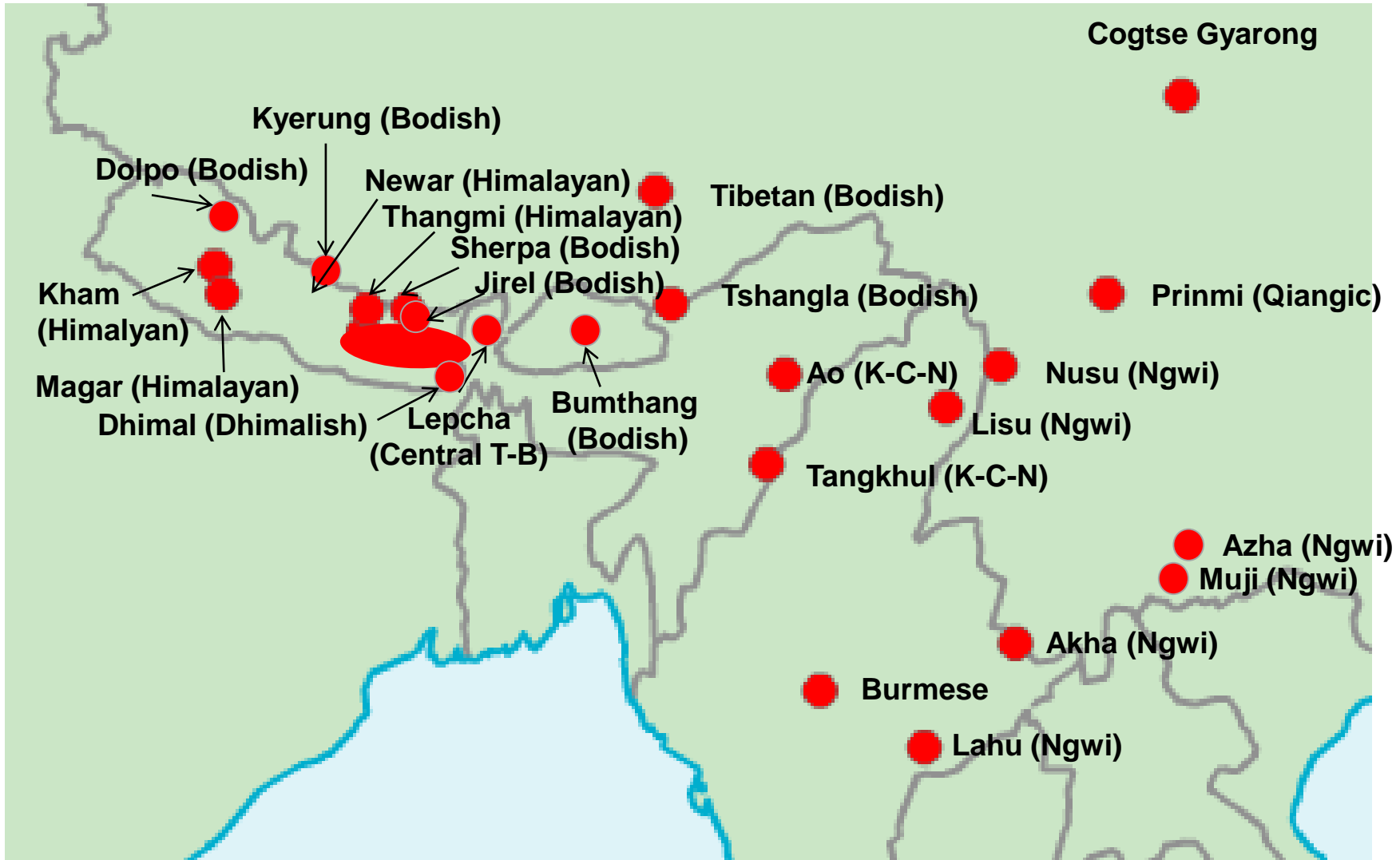
Preverbal

<i>ma/me/mɛ/mə</i>	Hayu, Bahing, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung, Limbu, Lepcha, Mewahang, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung
<i>mæn/man/man</i>	Bantawa, Hayu, Kulung, Yamphu
<i>mæ/mu/mü</i>	Khaling
<i>ɔ/a/i</i>	Bantawa, Jero, Kohi, Wambule
<i>pa</i>	Camling
<i>n</i>	Belhare
<i>∅</i>	Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare



Preverbal

<i>ma/me/mɛ/mə</i>	Hayu, Bahing, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung, Limbu, Lepcha, Mewahang, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung
<i>mæn/man/man</i>	Bantawa, Hayu, Kulung, Yamphu
<i>mæ/mu/mü</i>	Khaling
<i>ɔ/a/i</i>	Bantawa, Jero, Kohi, Wambule
<i>pa</i>	Camling
<i>n</i>	Belhare, Limbu
<i>∅</i>	Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare

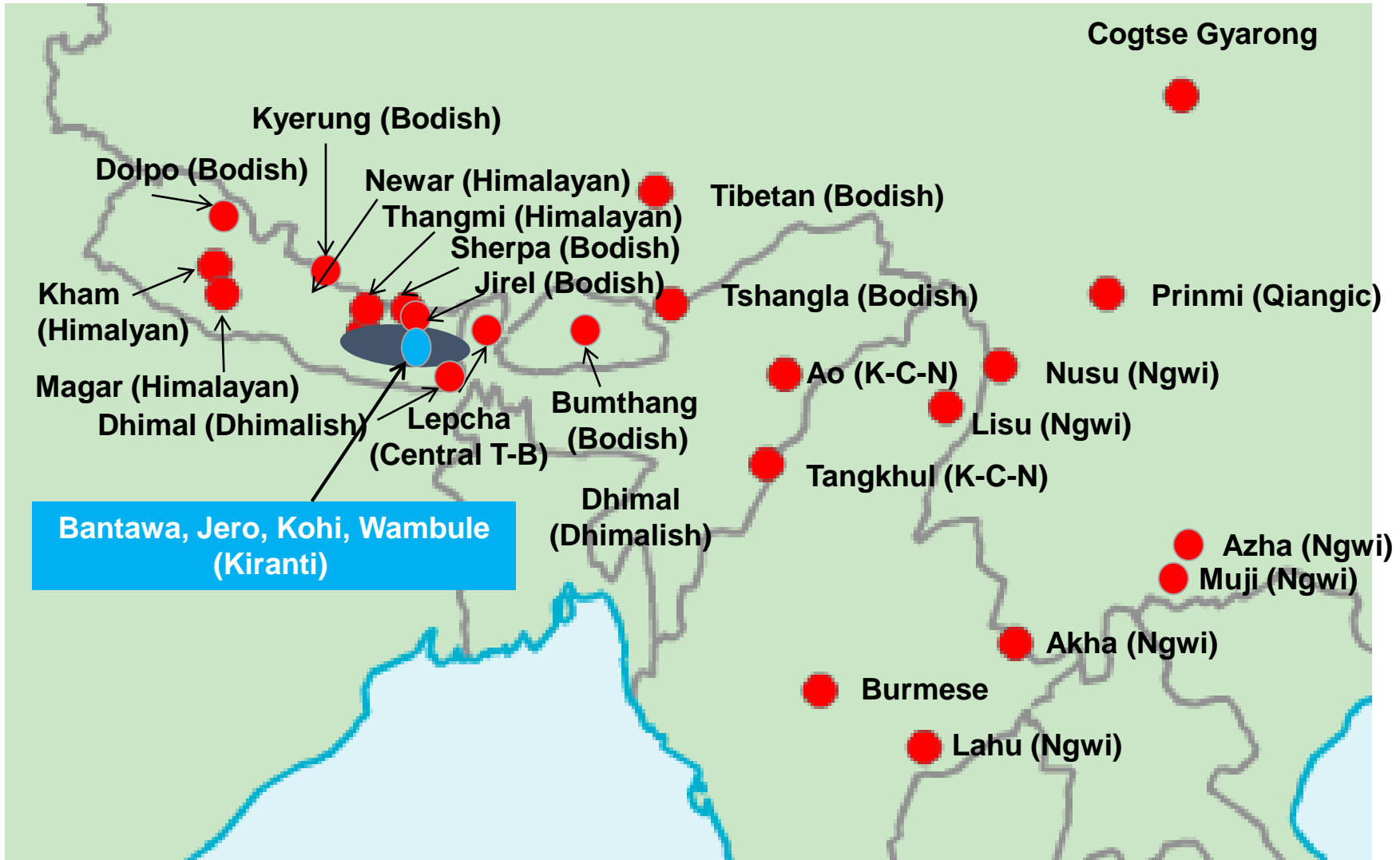


Preverbal *ma*



Preverbal *ma*

PTB **ma* (Benedict 1972: 97; *Matisoff* 2003: 488)



Preverbal *ma*
Preverbal *a*

“The negative morpheme <a·> is the only prefix in Wambule. This morpheme is a cognate of the Tibeto-Burman simple negative *ma [...]”

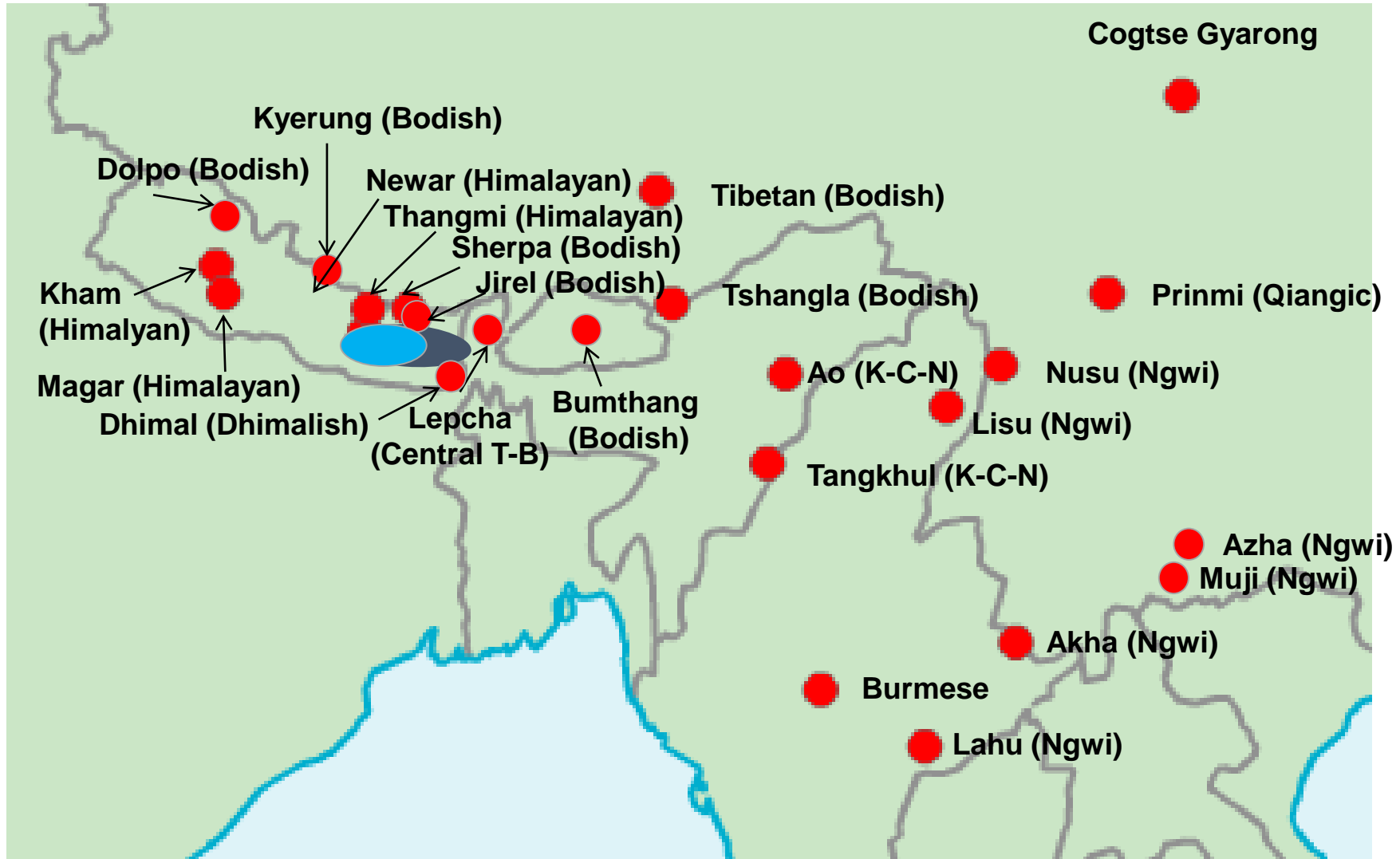
(Oppenort 2004: 249)

“The negative morpheme <a·> is the only prefix in Wambule. This morpheme is a cognate of the Tibeto-Burman simple negative *ma [...]”
(Opgenort 2004: 249)

“Opgenort (2002: 237) writes that Wāmbule <a-> is also cognate, but does not give an etymological history.”
(Doornenbal 2009: 170)



Preverbal *ma*
Preverbal *a*



Preverbal *ma*

Preverbal *mæn/man/manḡ*

Origin of the $-n$?

Origin of the $-n$?

We don't know!

‘Most of the suffixes seem to originate in **mVn*, which appears in various reduced forms as prefix or as suffix, and often both together.’

Ebert (1994: 40)

also Rai T. M. (2012: 164)

‘Most of the suffixes seem to originate in **mVn*, which appears in various reduced forms as prefix or as suffix, and often both together.’

Ebert (1994: 40)

also Rai T. M. (2012: 164)

‘Verbs are negated by a negative prefix (mostly *ma(n)*, *mi*, in SE languages also by a nasal suffix or by both.’

Ebert (2003: 513)

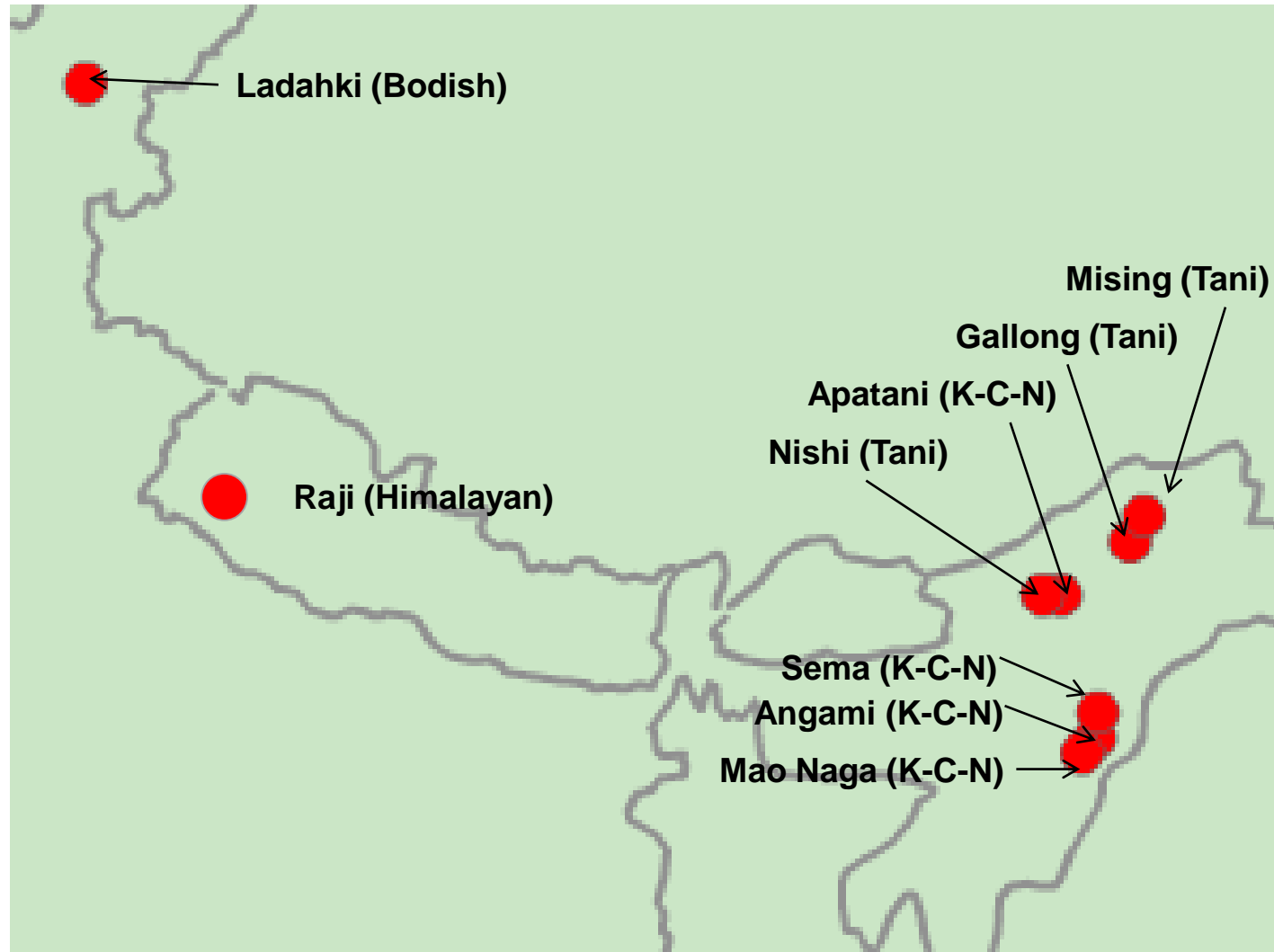
‘Most of the suffixes seem to originate in **mVn*, which appears in various reduced forms as prefix or as suffix, and often both together.’

Ebert (1994: 40)

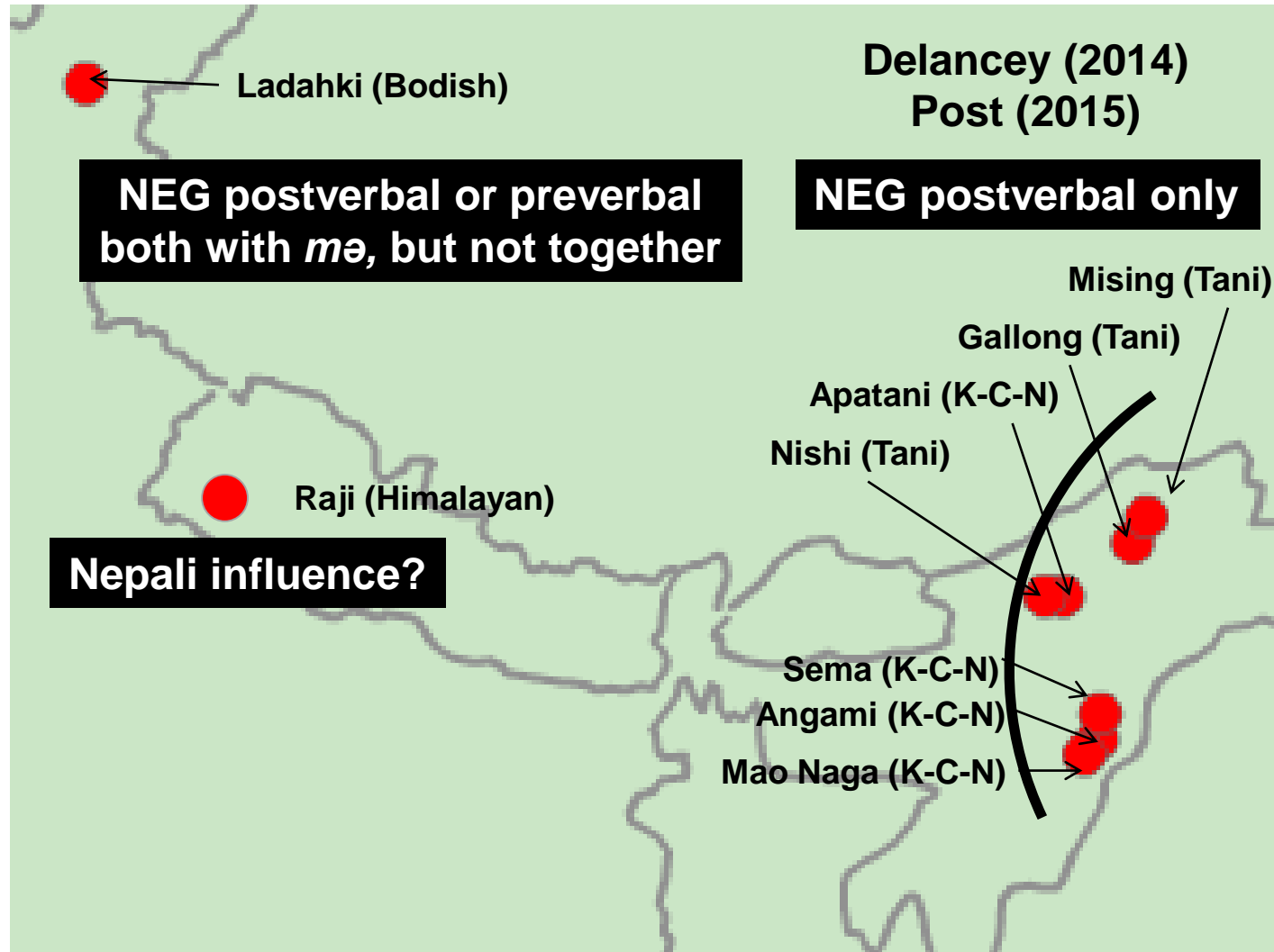
also Rai T. M. (2012: 164)

Perhaps the proto-form is actually **ma(-C)*, ‘where **ma* is pre-head operator and C is a possible consonant, perhaps a nasal or a glide’ (Post 2015: 432)

What are the postverbal negations?



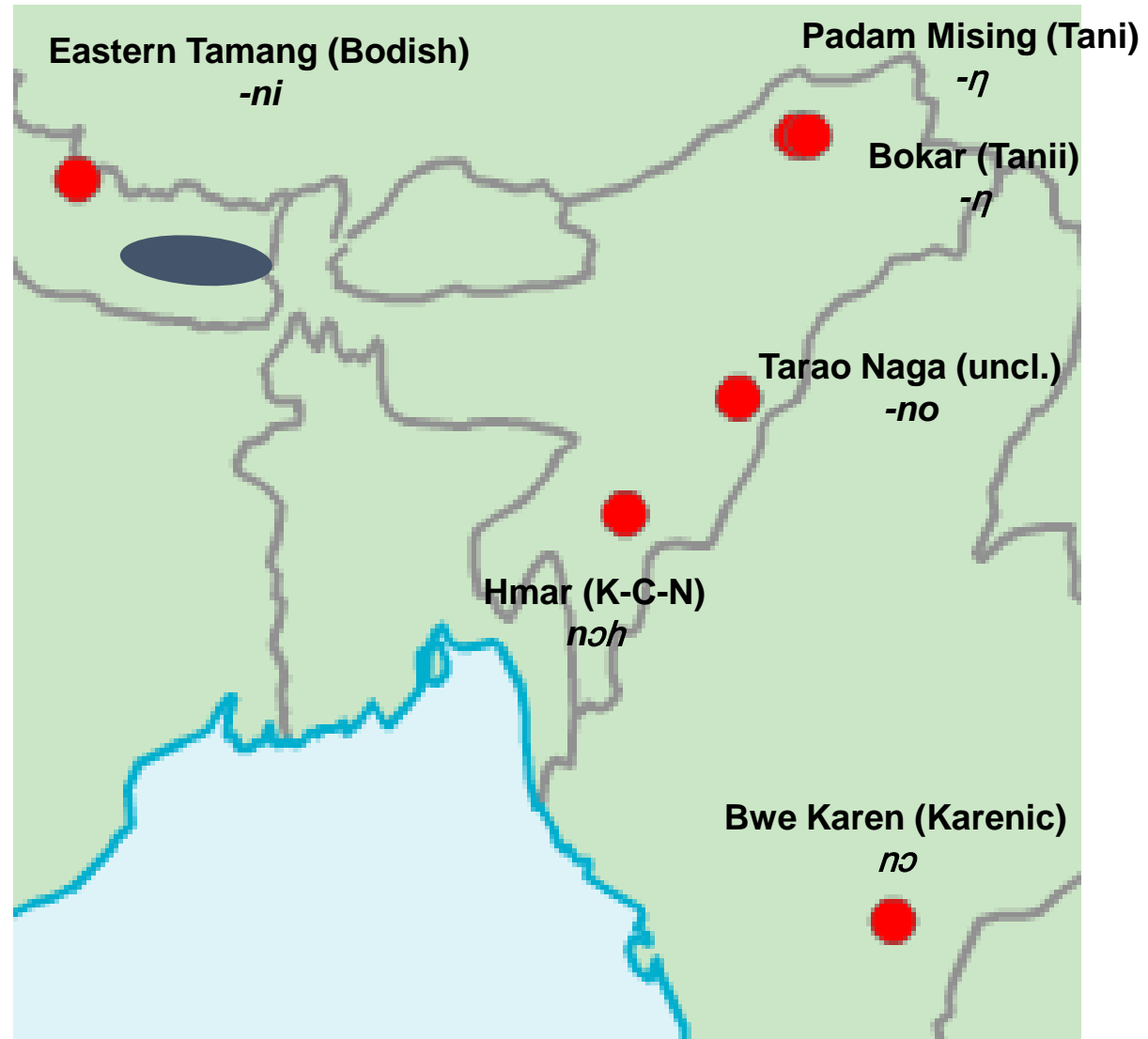
ma/mâmò/mo/mə as a suffix



ma/mâ/mò/mo/m as a suffix



-ni, -n, -nə, -nən, -nin, -ina, -aina, -no



DeLancey (2014)

Origin of this nasal negation?

Origin of this nasal negation?

1. **We don't know!**

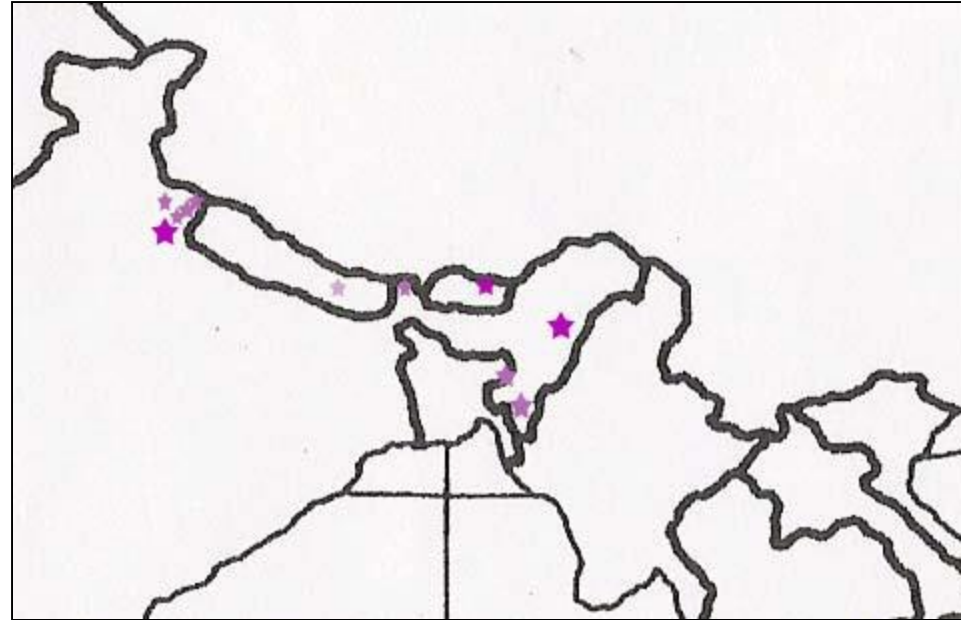
Origin of this nasal negation?

1. **We don't know!**
2. **But we
propose
that it
was a
copula.**

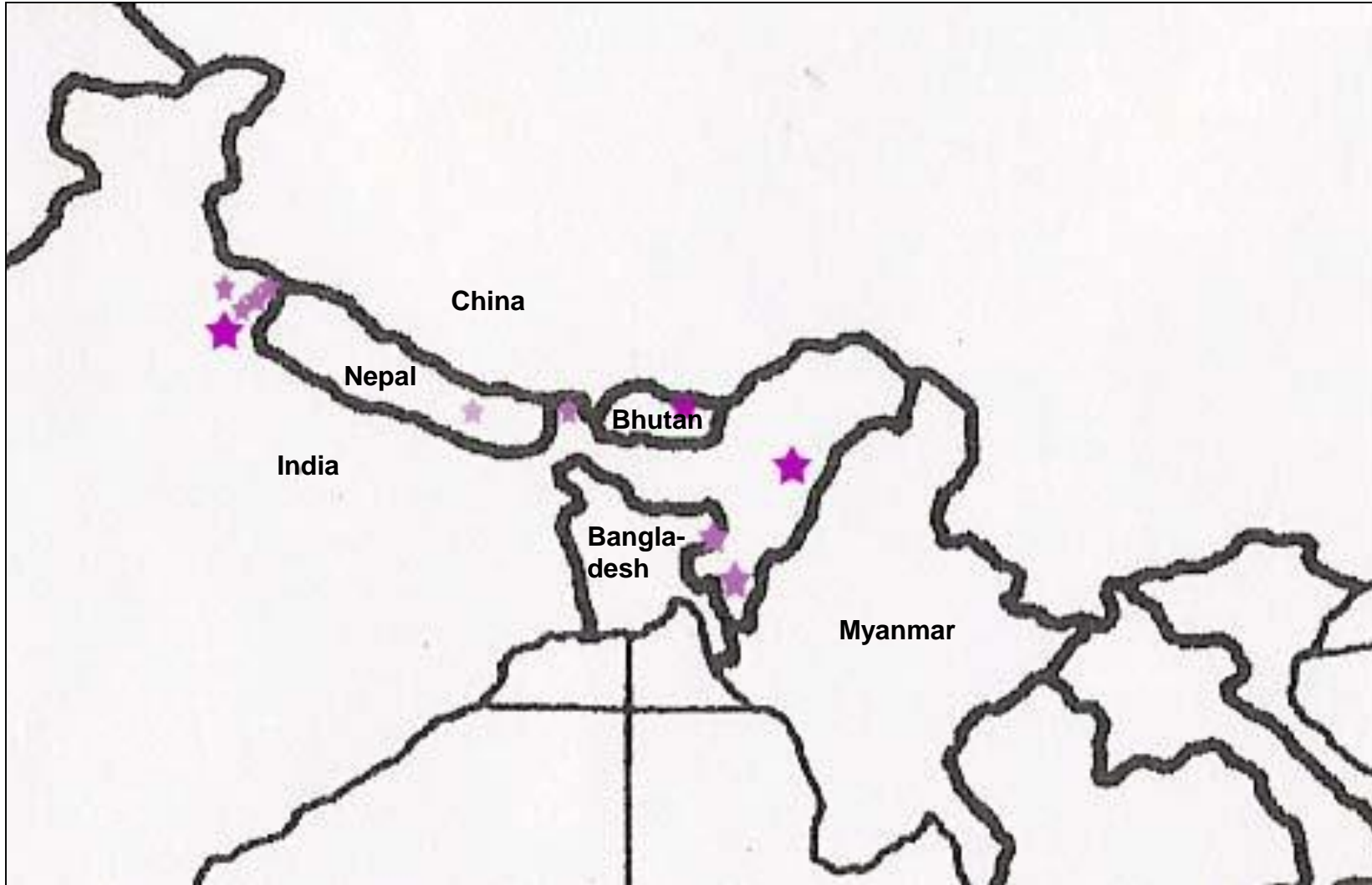
Origin of this nasal negation?

1. We don't know!

2. But we propose that it was a copula.



The TB *ni* copula
Lowes [Hyslop] 2006



**On the interaction between
preverbal *ma-*
and postverbal *-ni***

They can exclude each other

**only *ma-*
only *-ni***

They can go together

ma- -ni

They can exclude each other

**only *ma-*
only *-ni***

They can go together

ma- -ni

Depending on PST vs. NPST

Attested

PST

ma-

-ni

ma-

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ma-

NPST

ma-

-ni

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ni-

-ni

Attested

PST

ma-

-ni

ma-

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ma-

NPST

ma-

-ni

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ni-

-ni

Not attested

PST

-ni

-ni

NPST

ma- -ni

ma-

Attested

PST

ma-

-ni

ma-

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ma-

NPST

ma-

-ni

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ni-

-ni

Not attested

PST

-ni

-ni

NPST

ma- -ni

ma-

Attested

PST

ma-

-ni

ma-

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ma-

NPST

ma-

-ni

ma- -ni

ma- -ni

ni-

-ni

Not attested

PST

-ni

-ni

NPST

ma- -ni

ma-

Attested

PST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>
NPST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ni</i>

Not attested

PST					<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
NPST					<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>



Attested

PST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>
NPST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ni</i>

Not attested

PST					<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
NPST					<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>



Attested

PST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>
NPST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ni</i>

Not attested

PST					<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
NPST					<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>



Attested

PST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>
NPST	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ni</i>

Not attested

PST				<i>-ni</i>	<i>-ni</i>
NPST				<i>ma- -ni</i>	<i>ma-</i>

Attested

Ebert (1994: 41)

NOM

ma-
ma-
ma-

ma-
-ni
-ni

ma-
ma-
ma- -ni

ma-
ma- -ni
ma- -ni

ma-
ma- -ni
ni-

ma-
ma-
-ni

Not attested

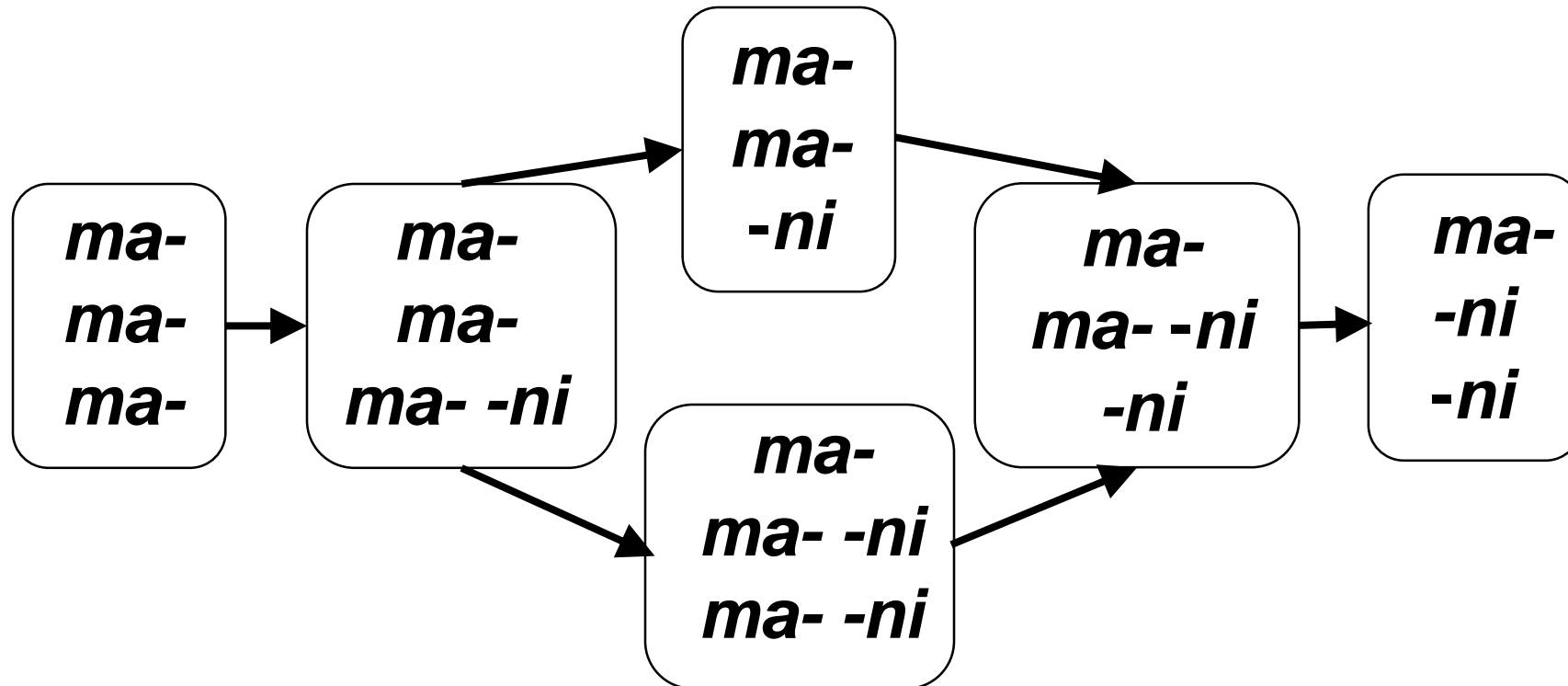
PST

NPST

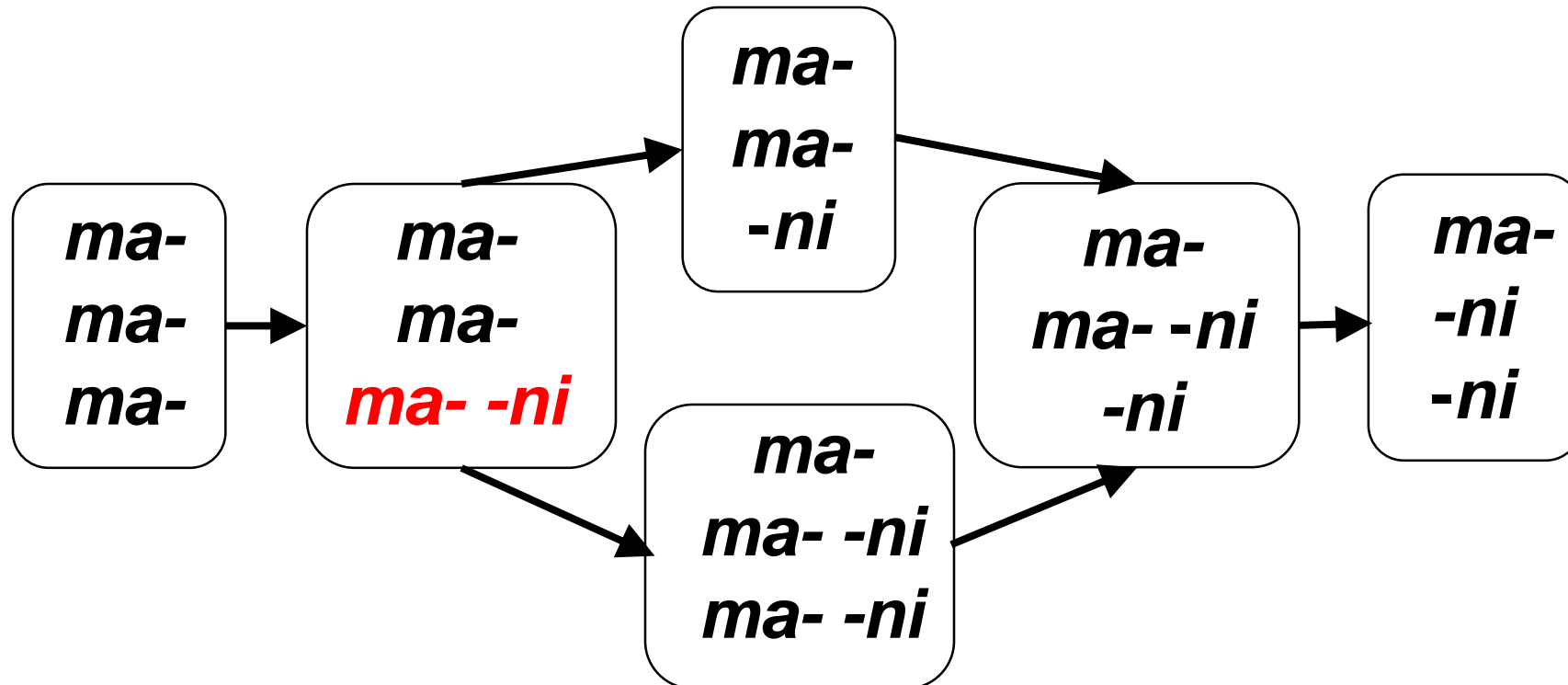
~~*-ni*
ma- -ni~~

~~*-ni*
ma-~~

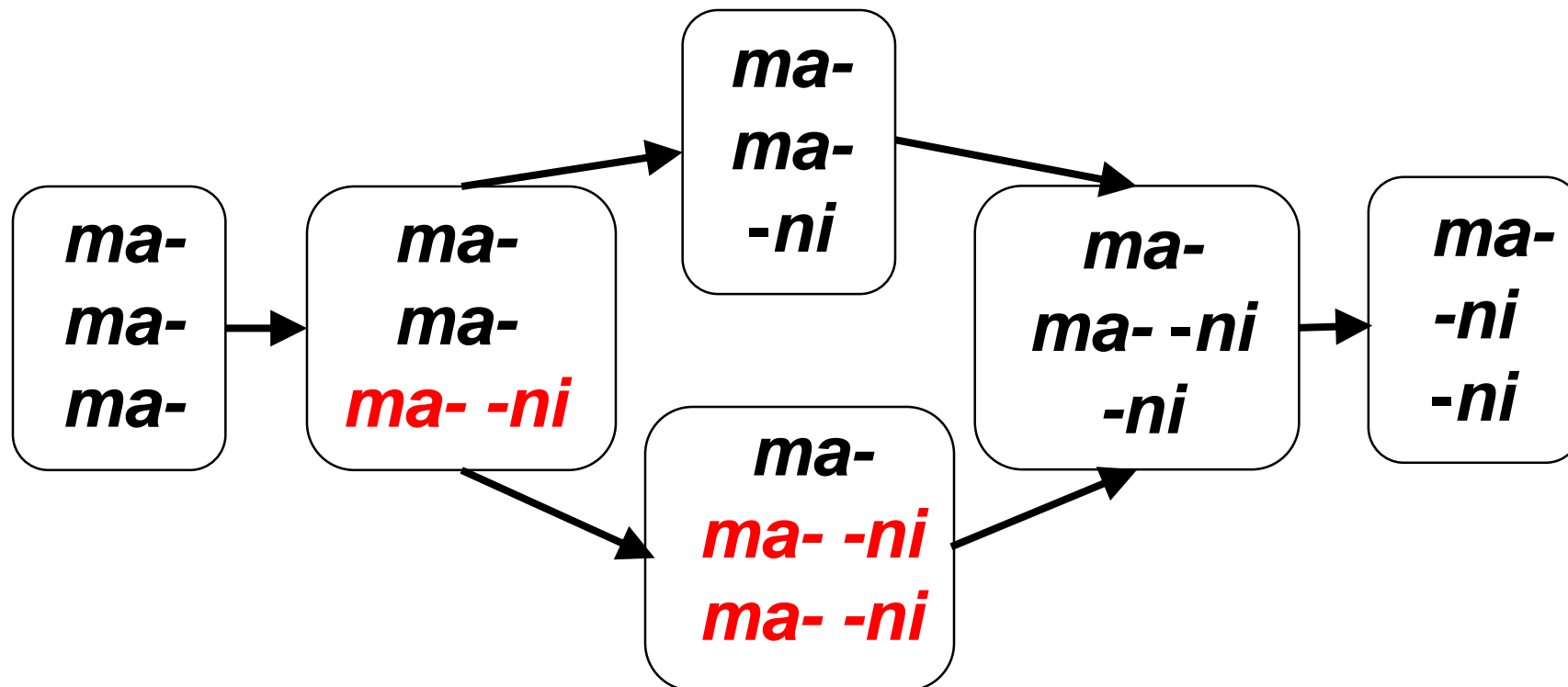
NOM
PST
NPST



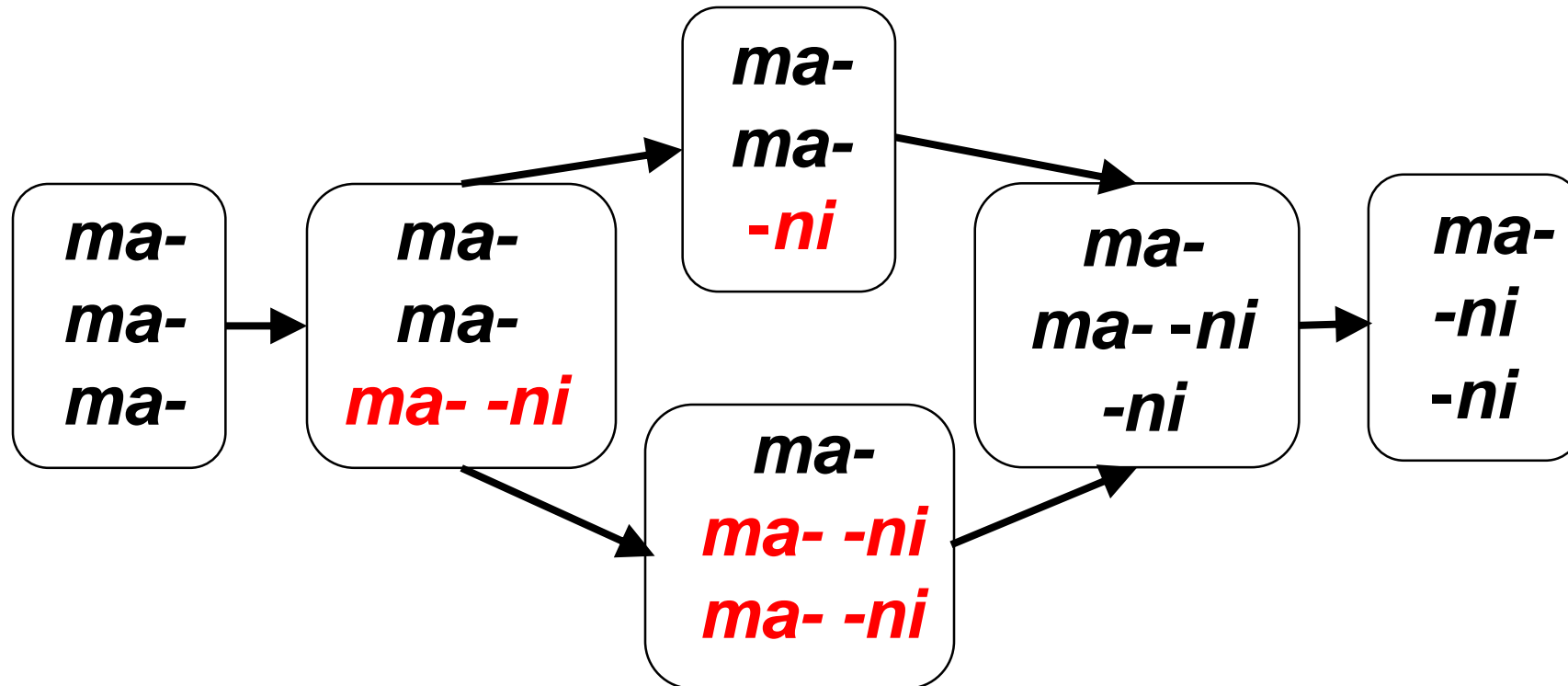
NOM
PST
NPST



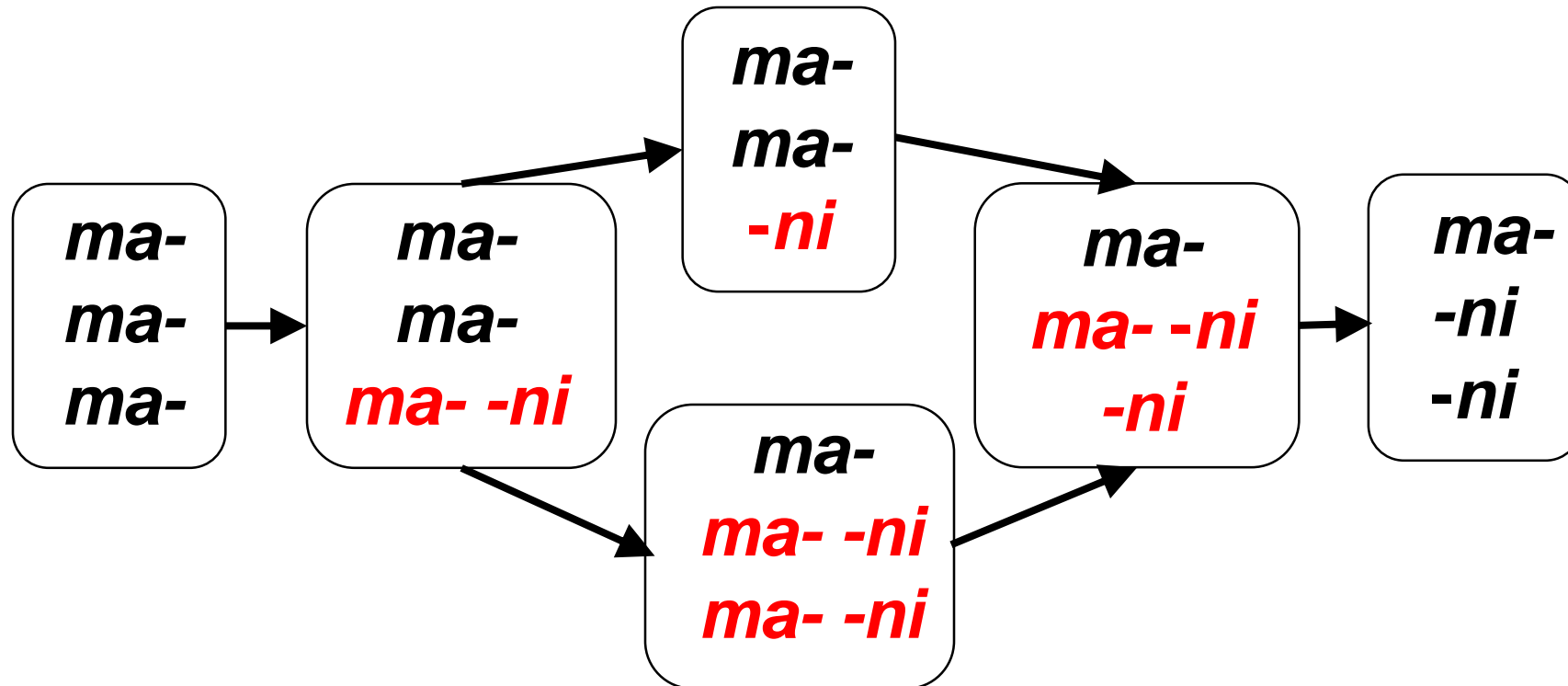
NOM
PST
NPST



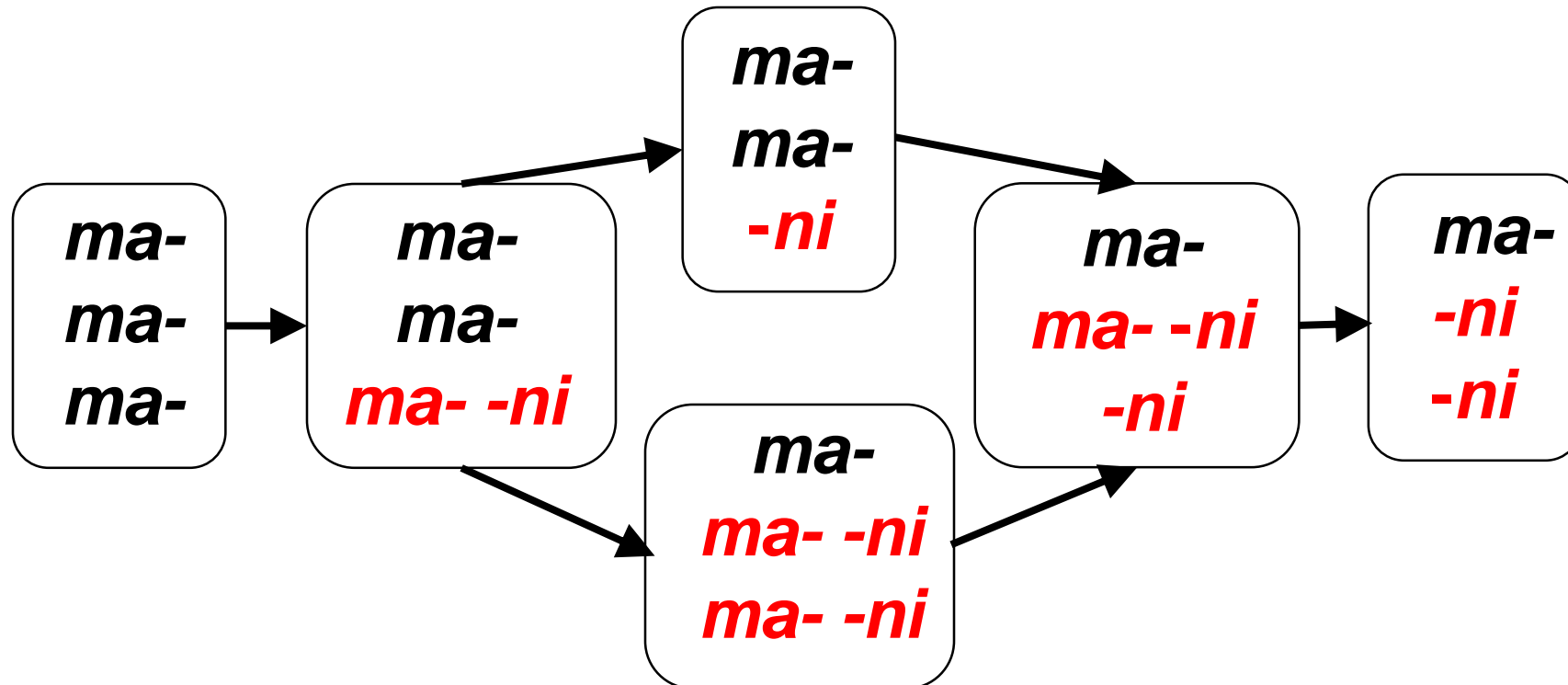
NOM
PST
NPST



NOM
PST
NPST



NOM
PST
NPST





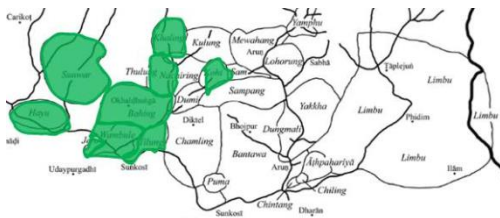
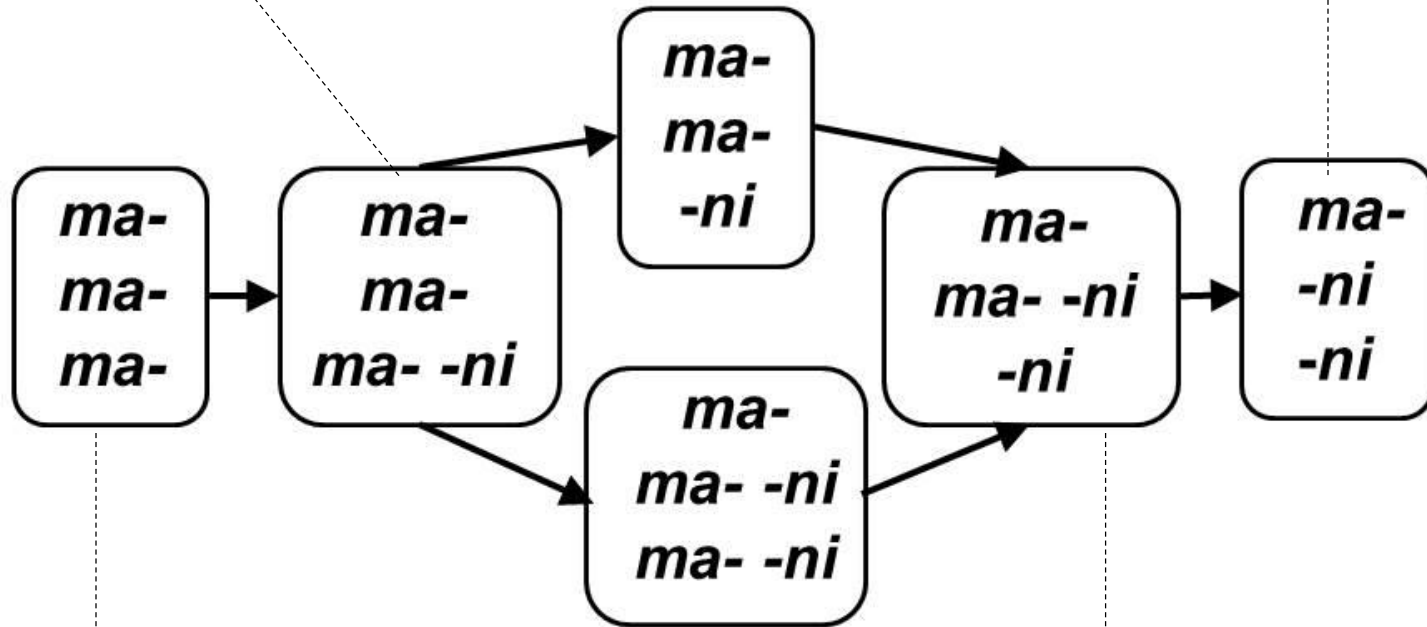
Bantawa



Chintang, Mewahang, Yamphu



Athpare, Camling



**Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar,
Thulung, Tilung, Wambule**



Lepcha, Limbu



Belhare, Dumi, Kulung



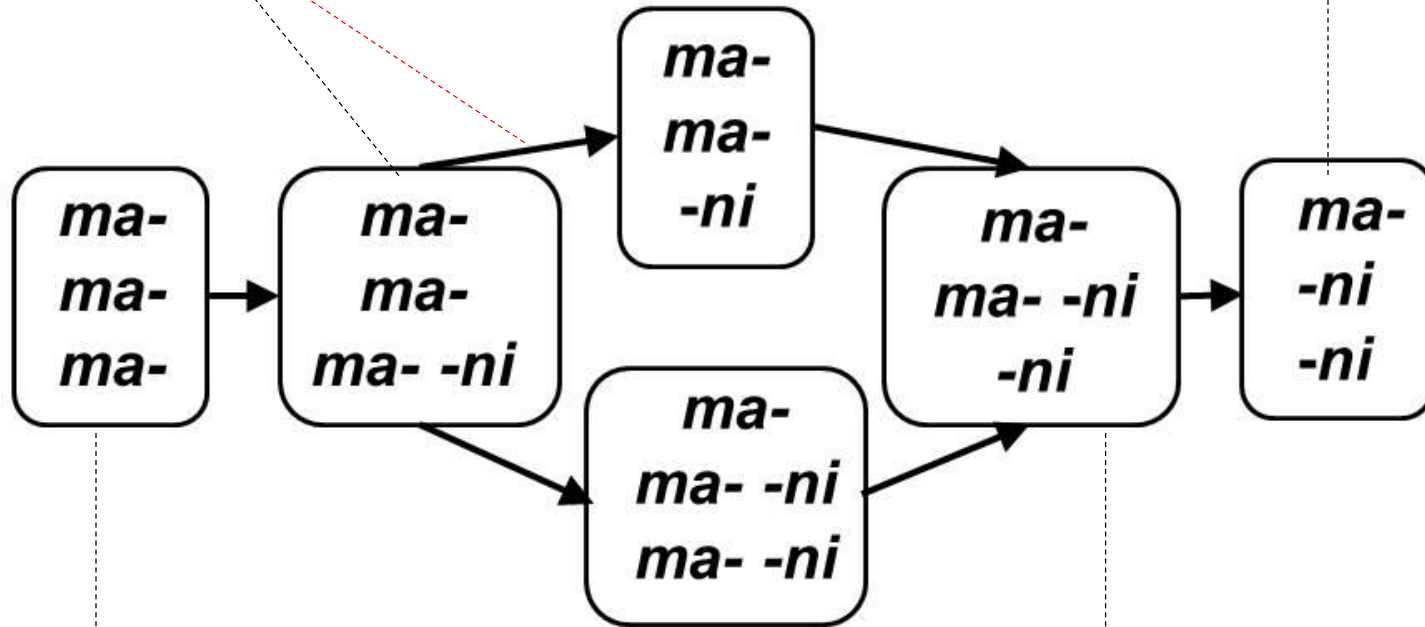
Bantawa



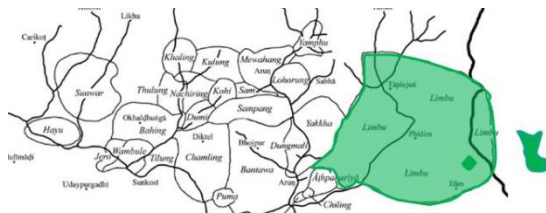
Chintang, Mewahang, Yamphu



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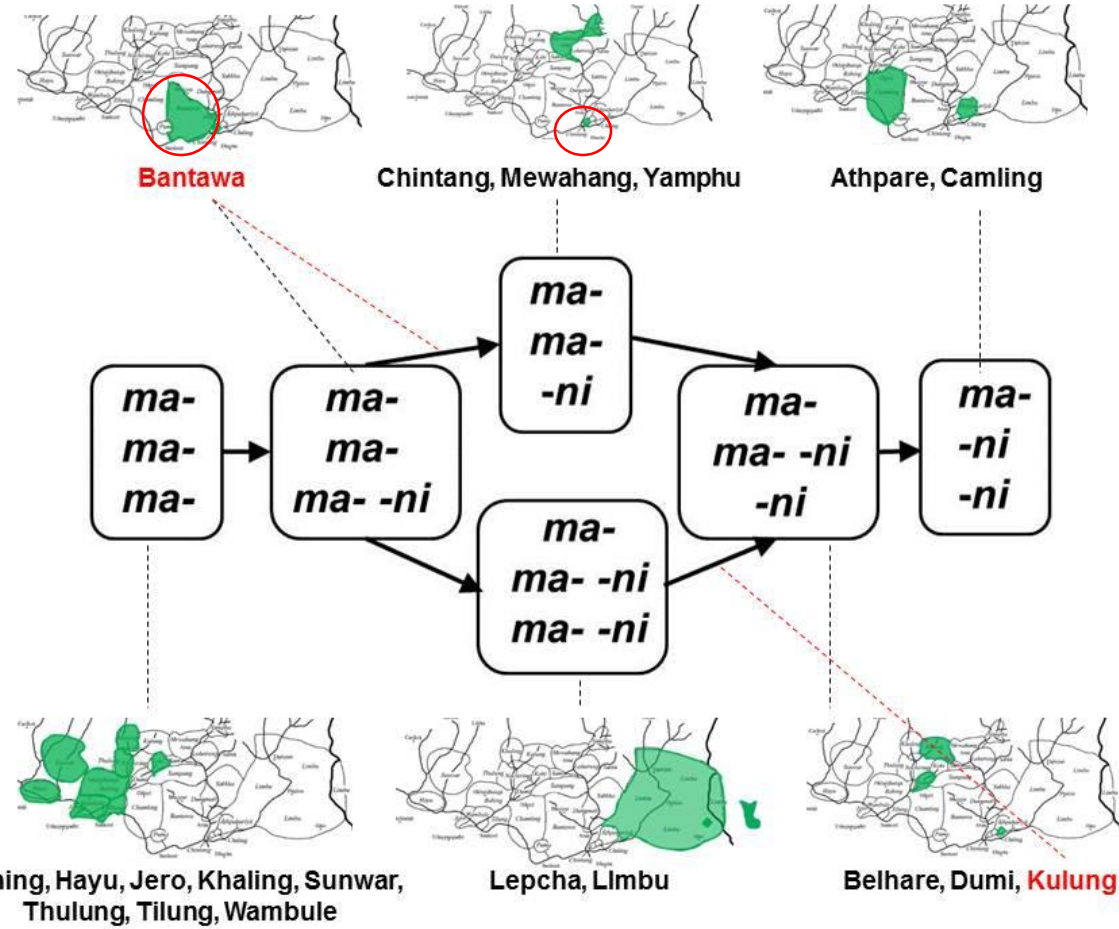


Lepcha, Limbu

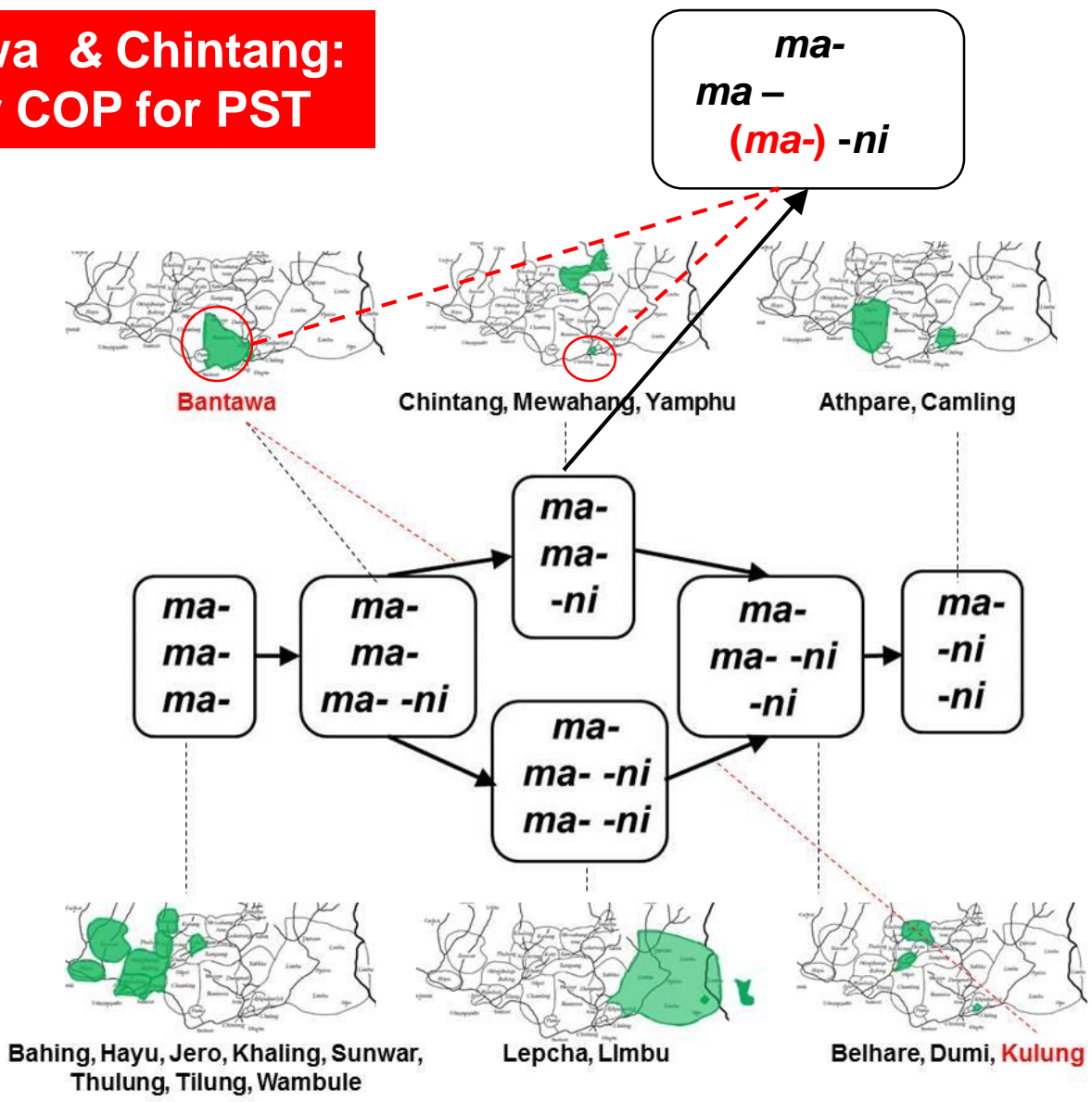


Belhare, Dumi, Kulung

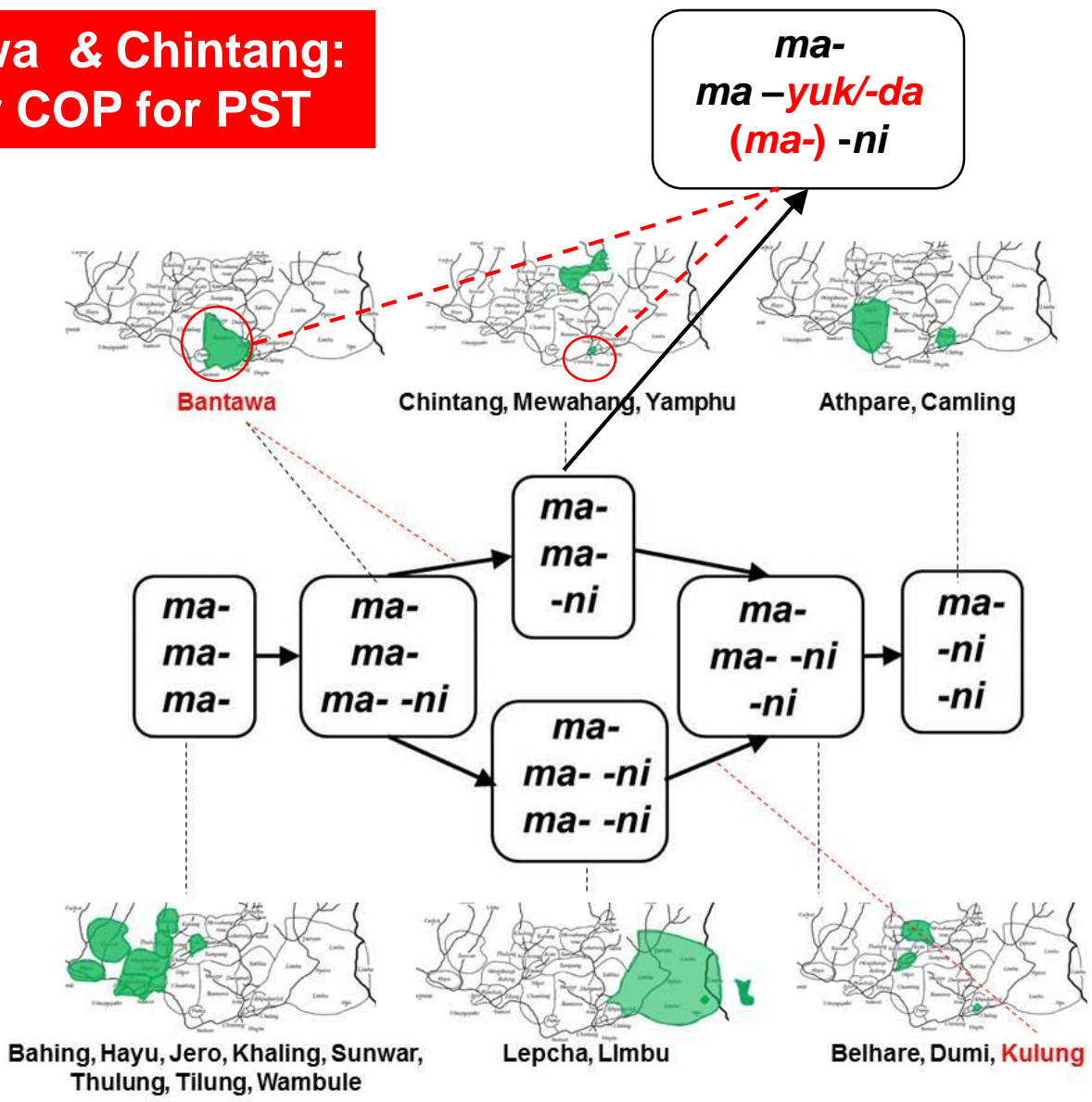
Bantawa & Chintang: Other COP for PST



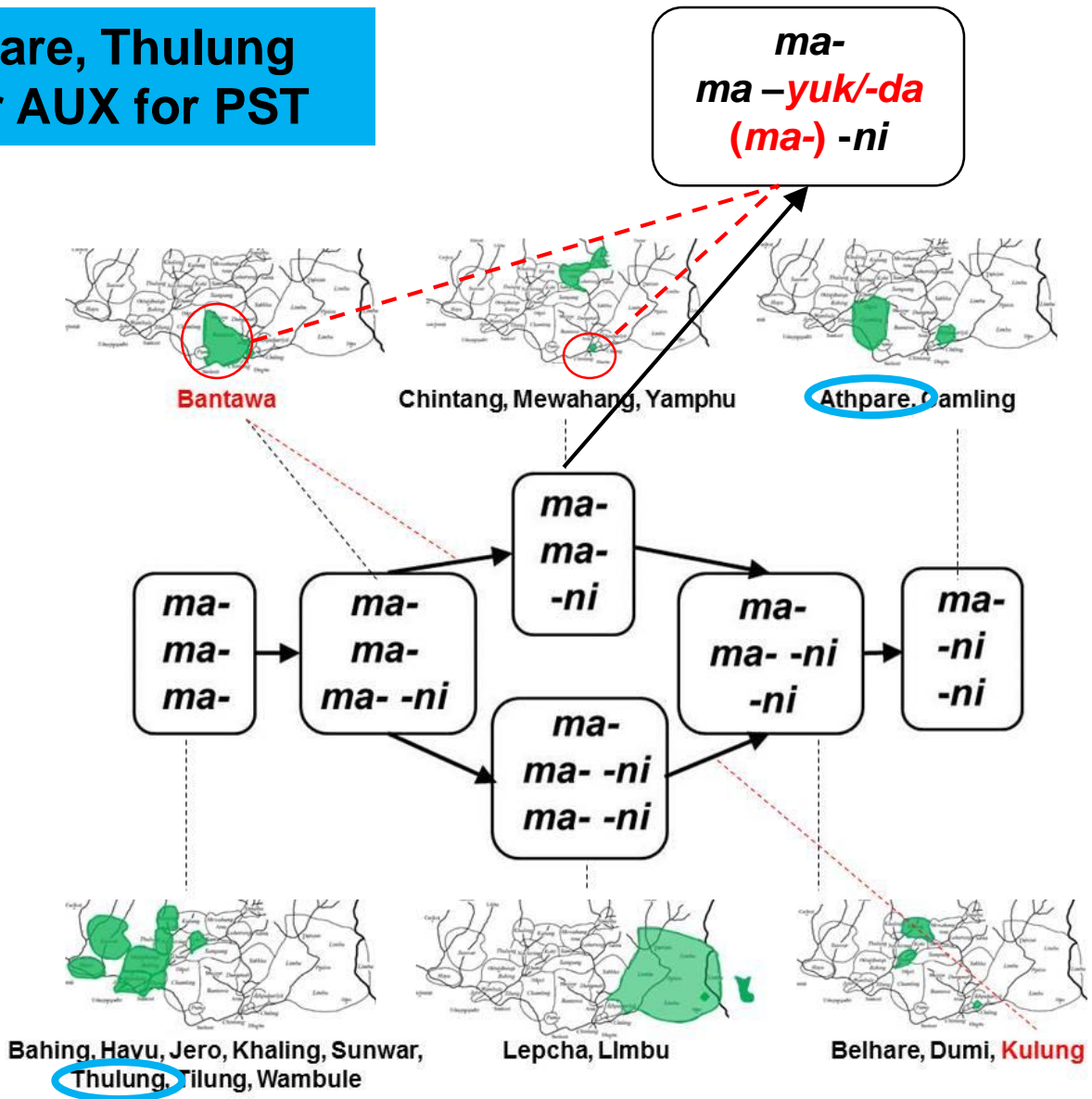
**Bantawa & Chintang:
Other COP for PST**

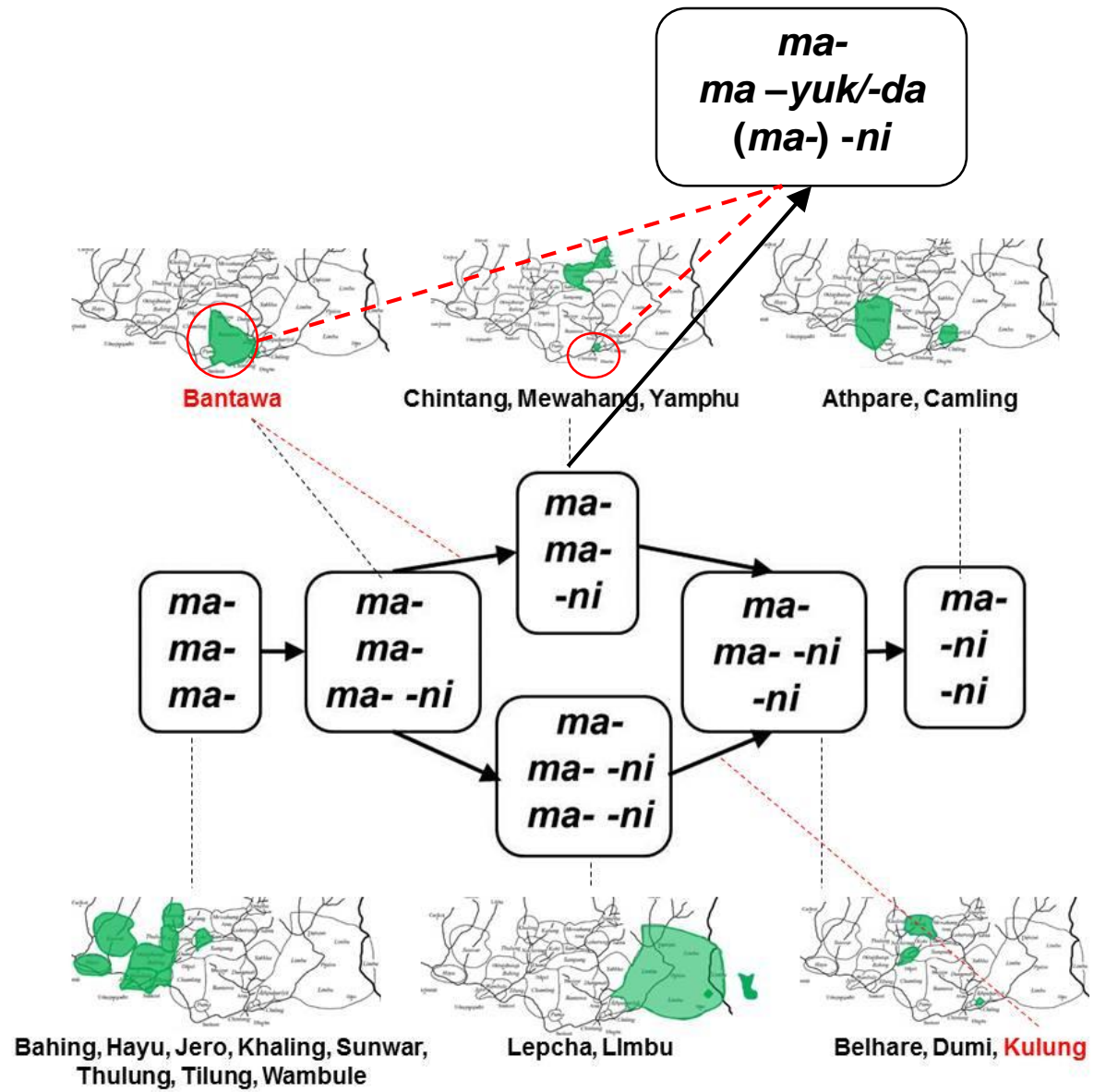


**Bantawa & Chintang:
Other COP for PST**

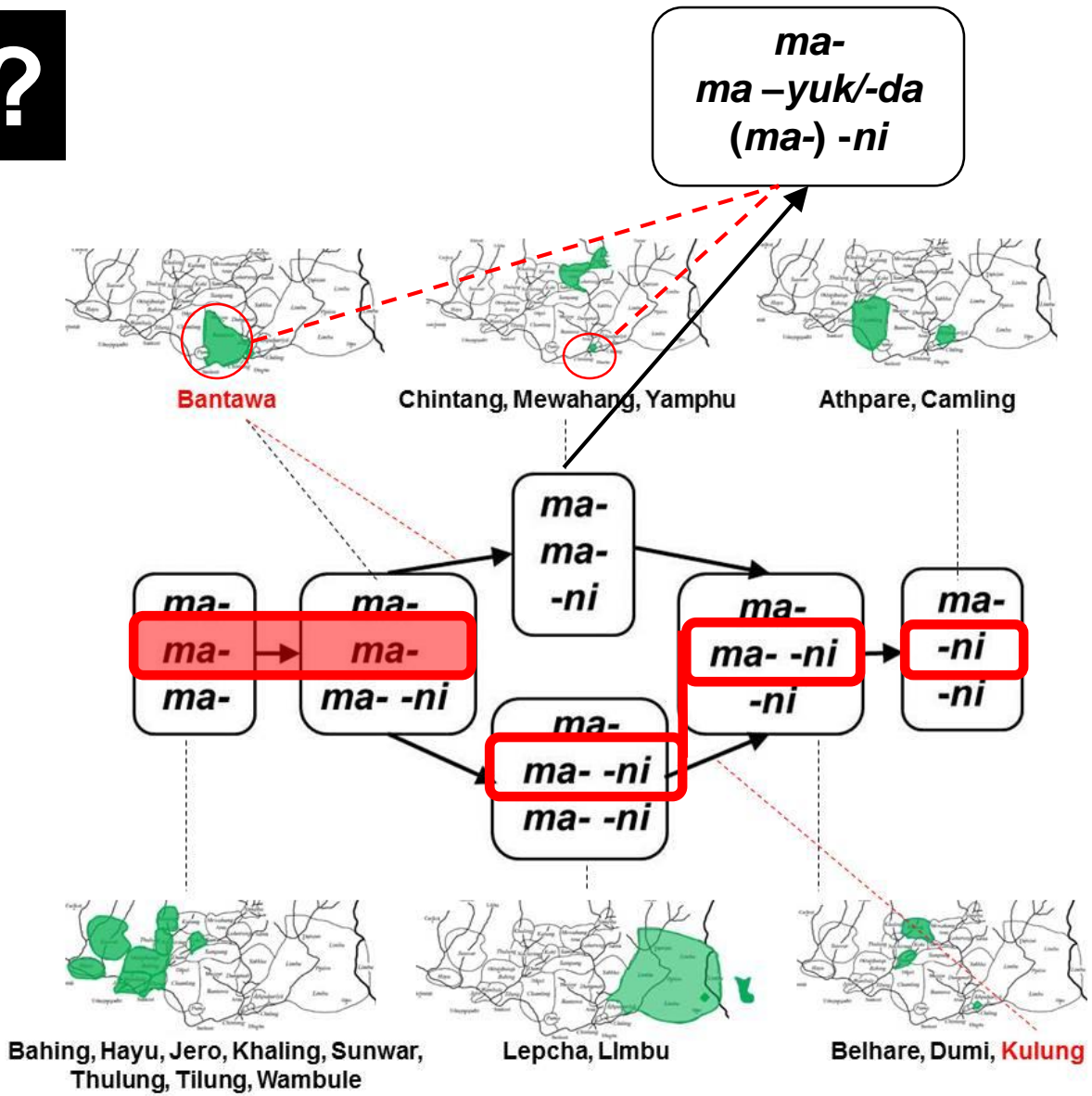


**Athpare, Thulung
Other AUX for PST**

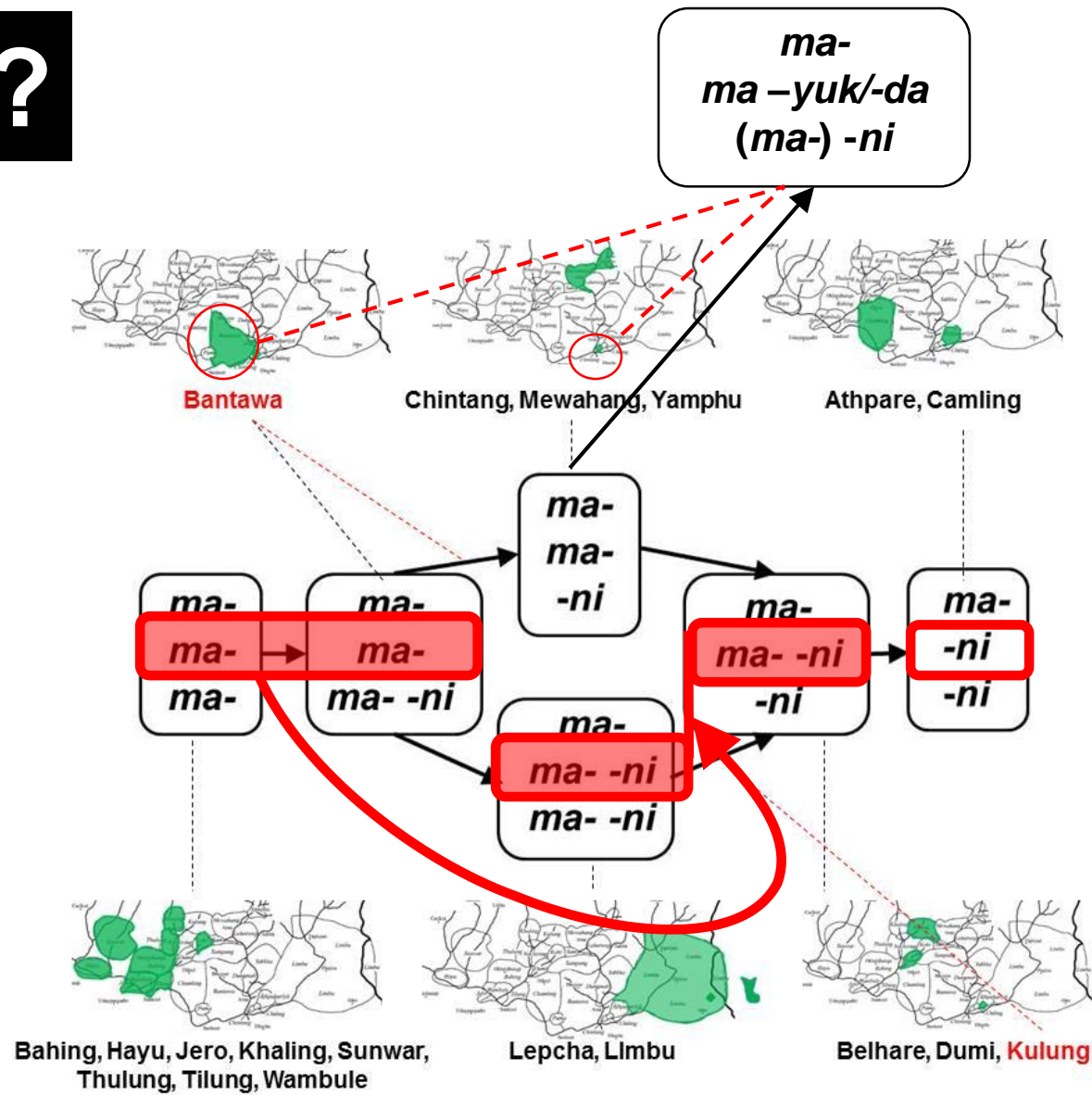




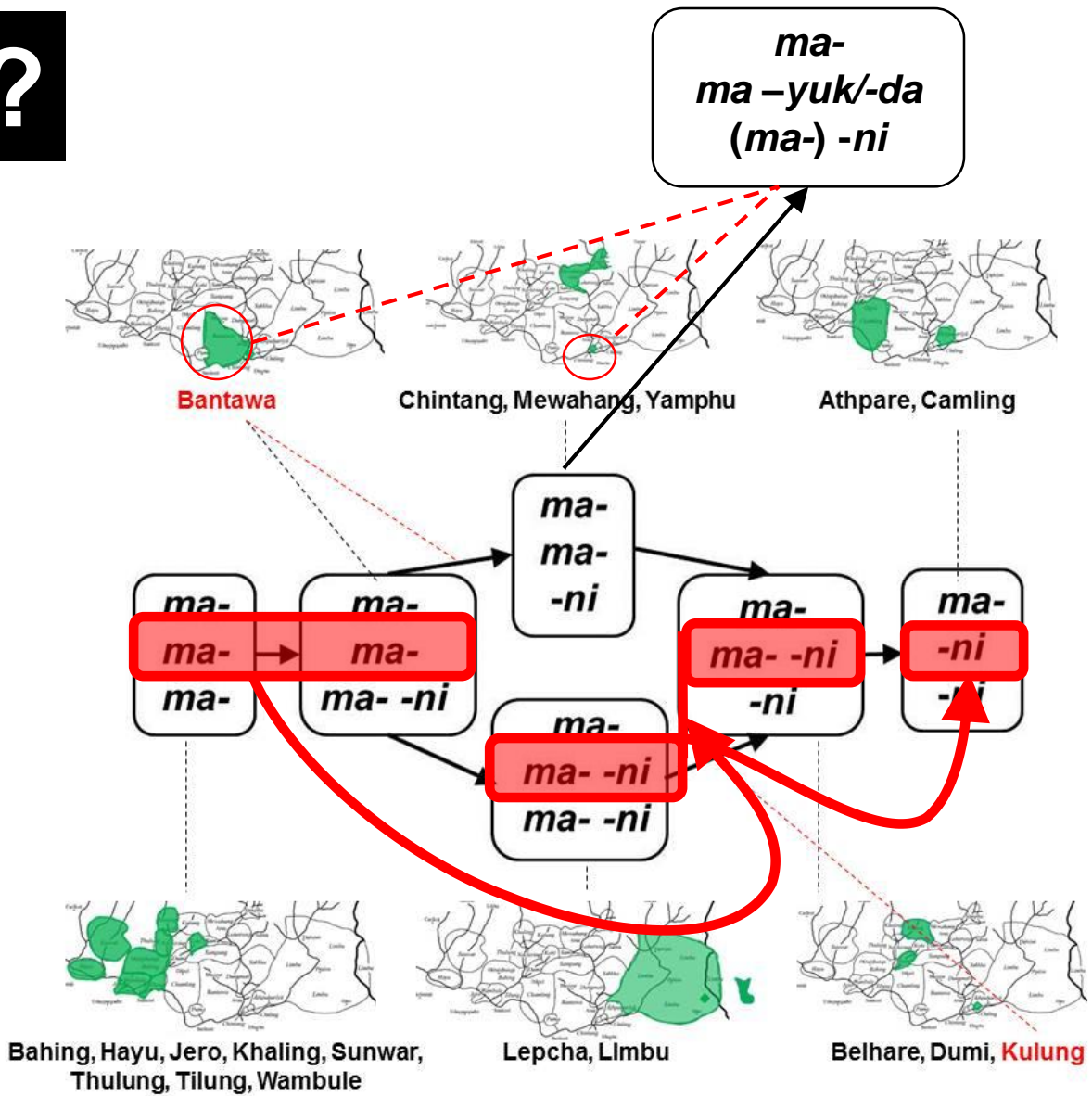
JC?



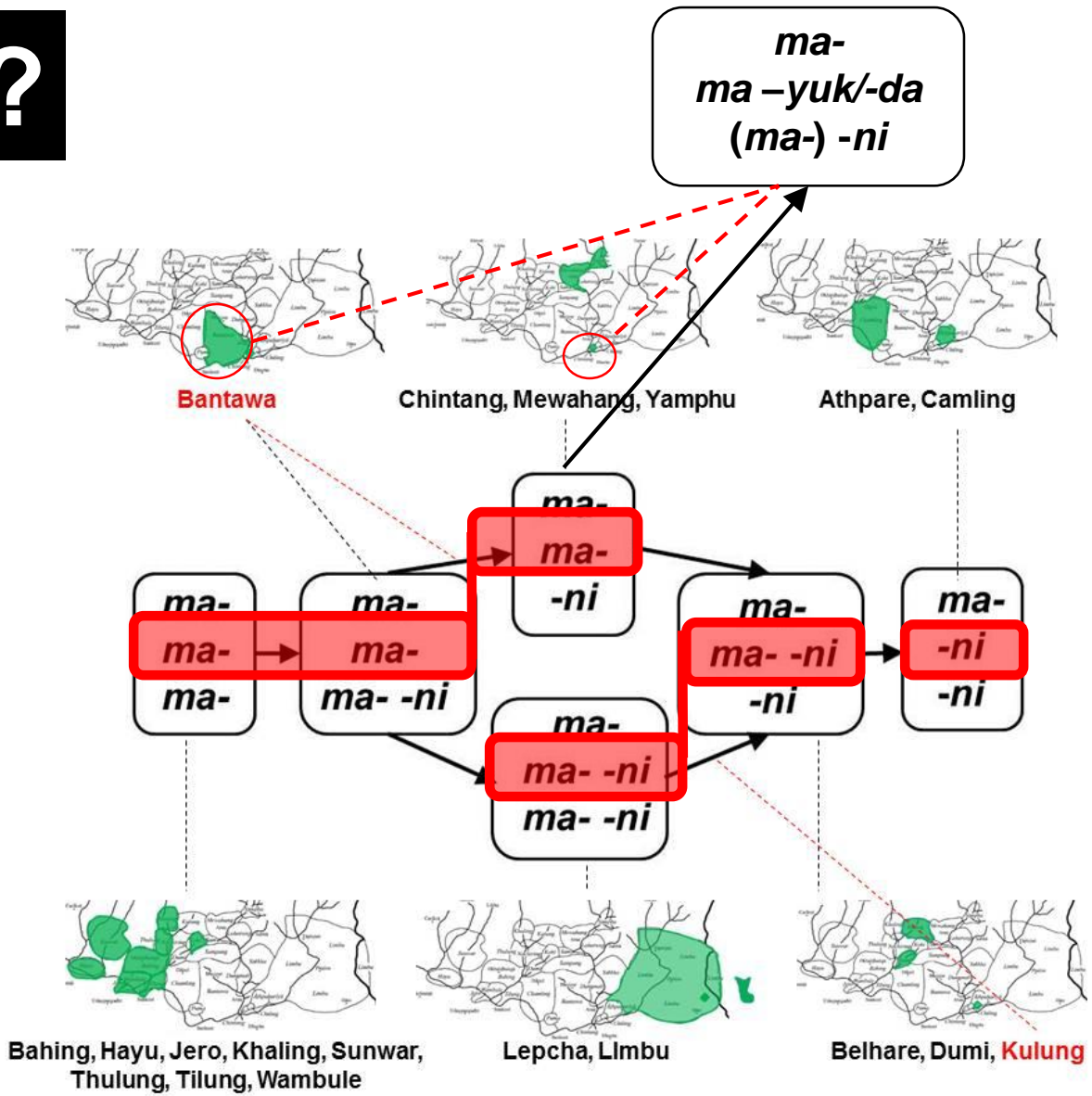
JC?



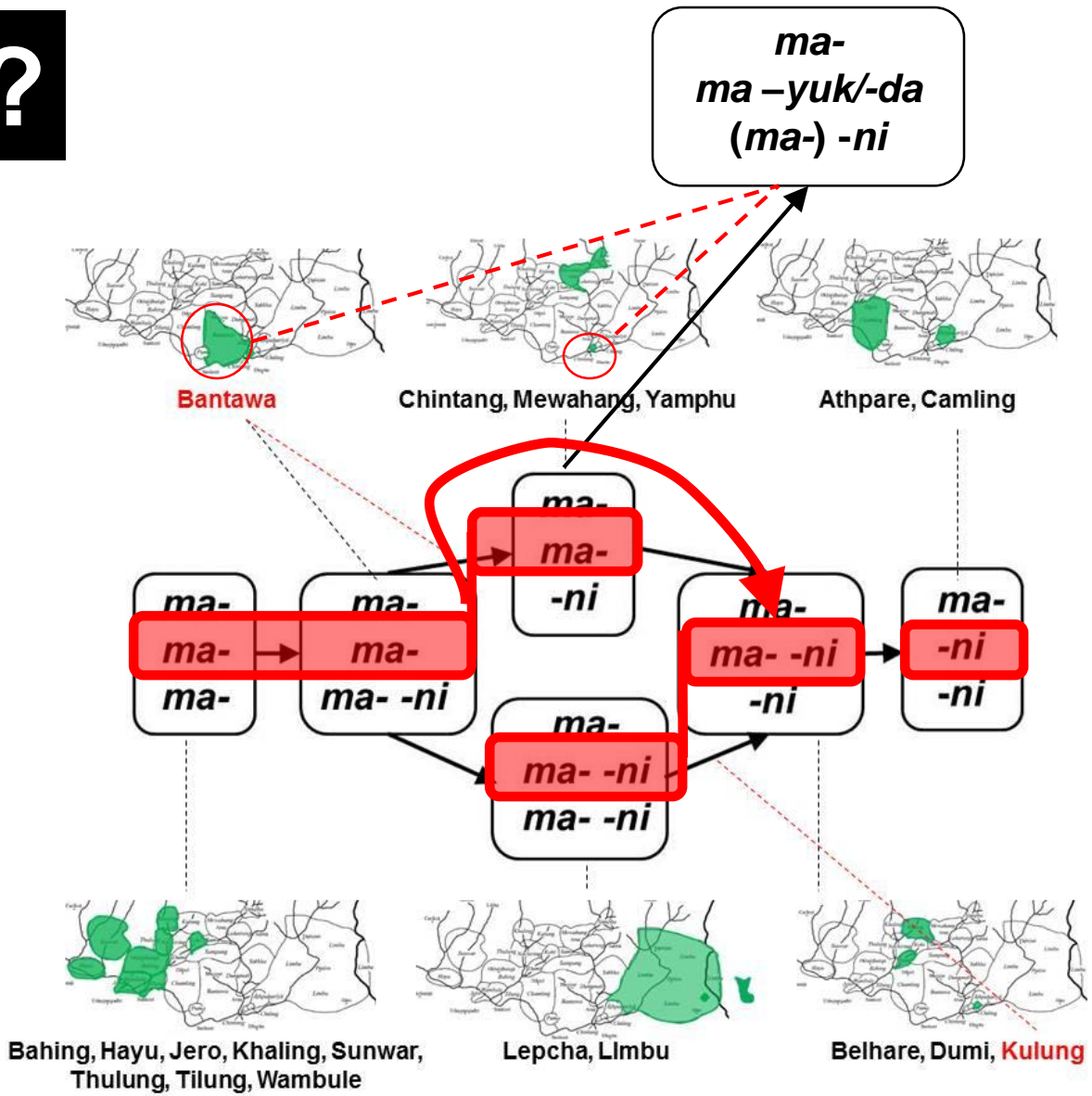
JC?



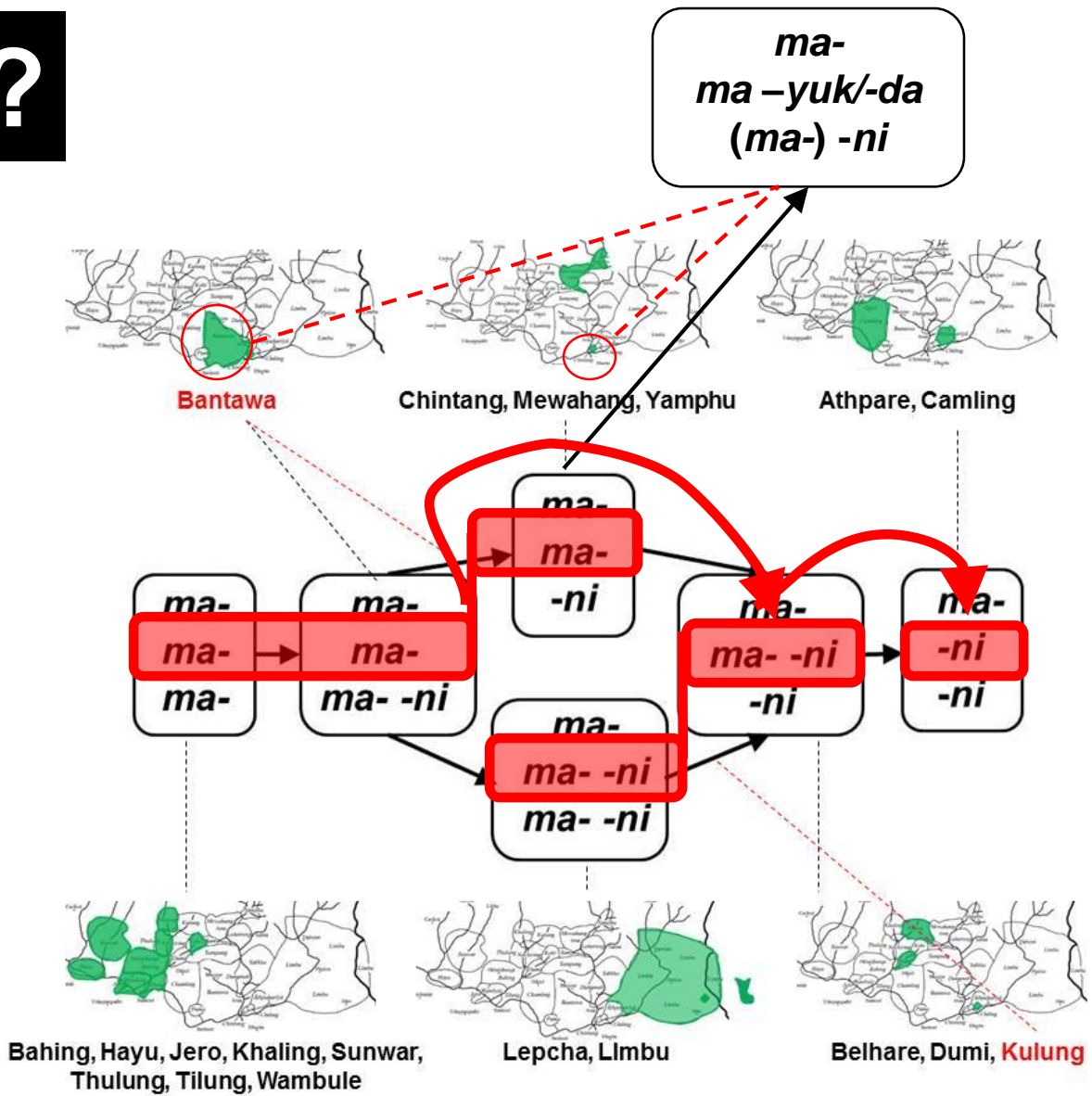
JC?



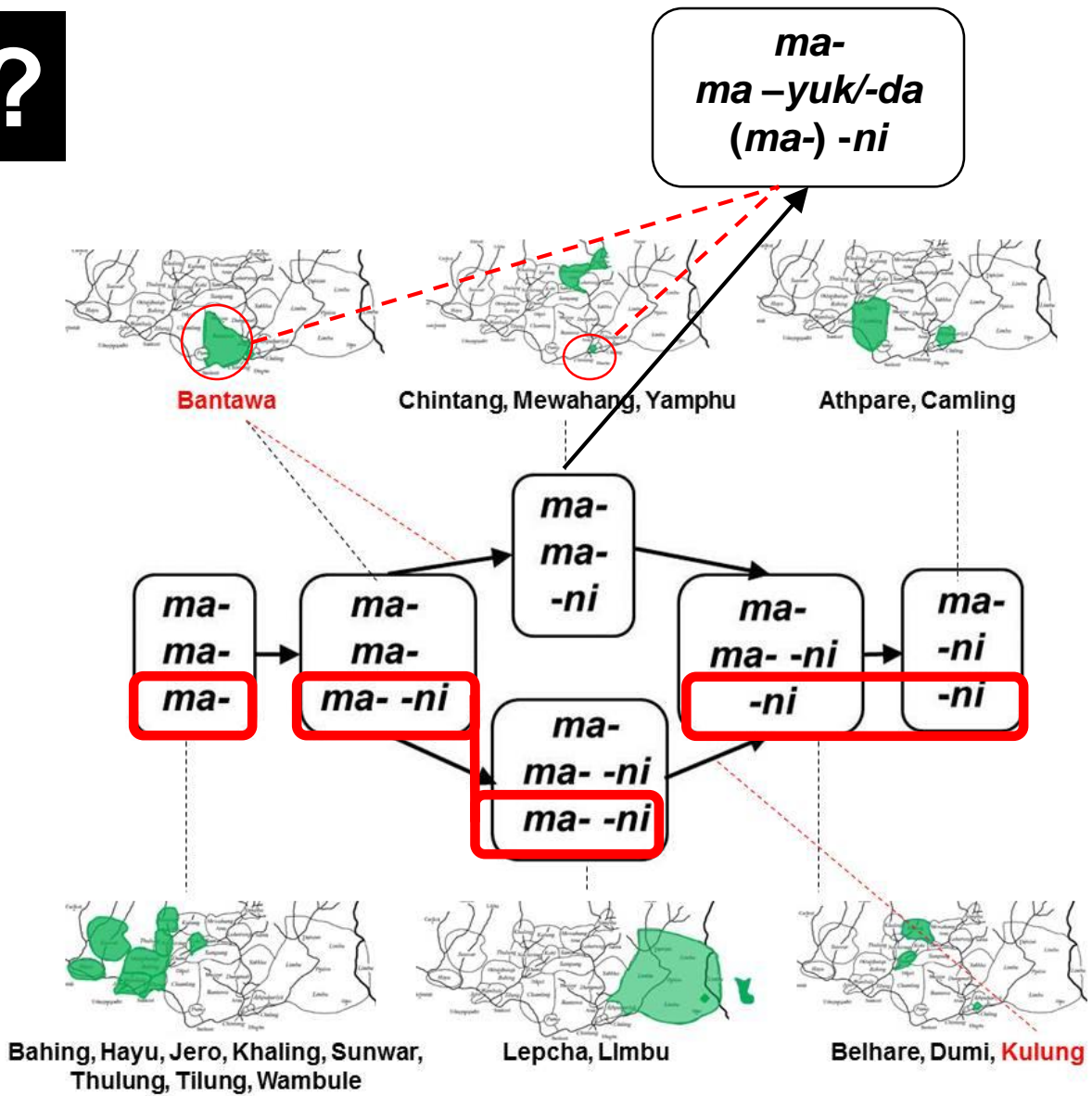
JC?



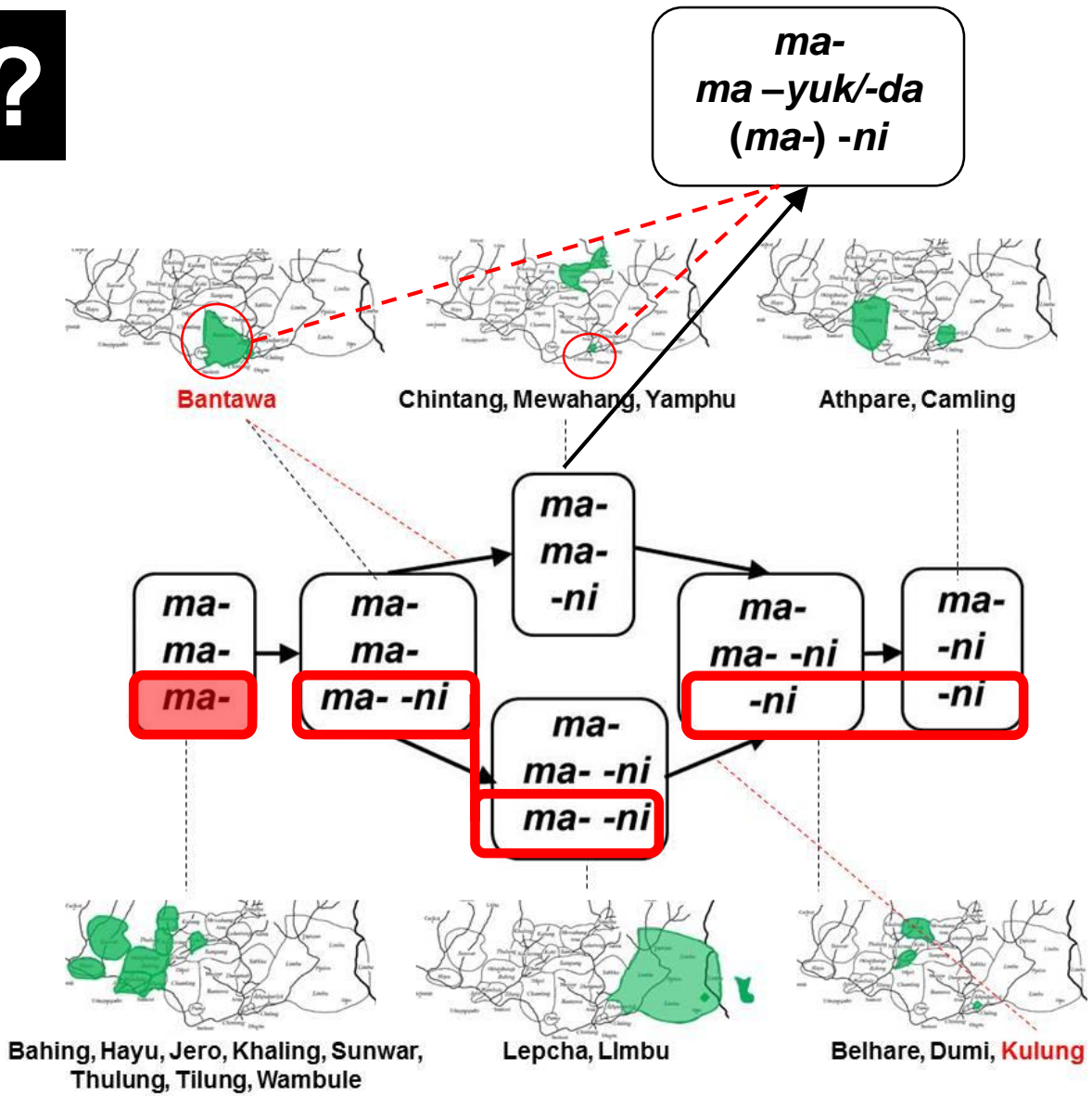
JC?



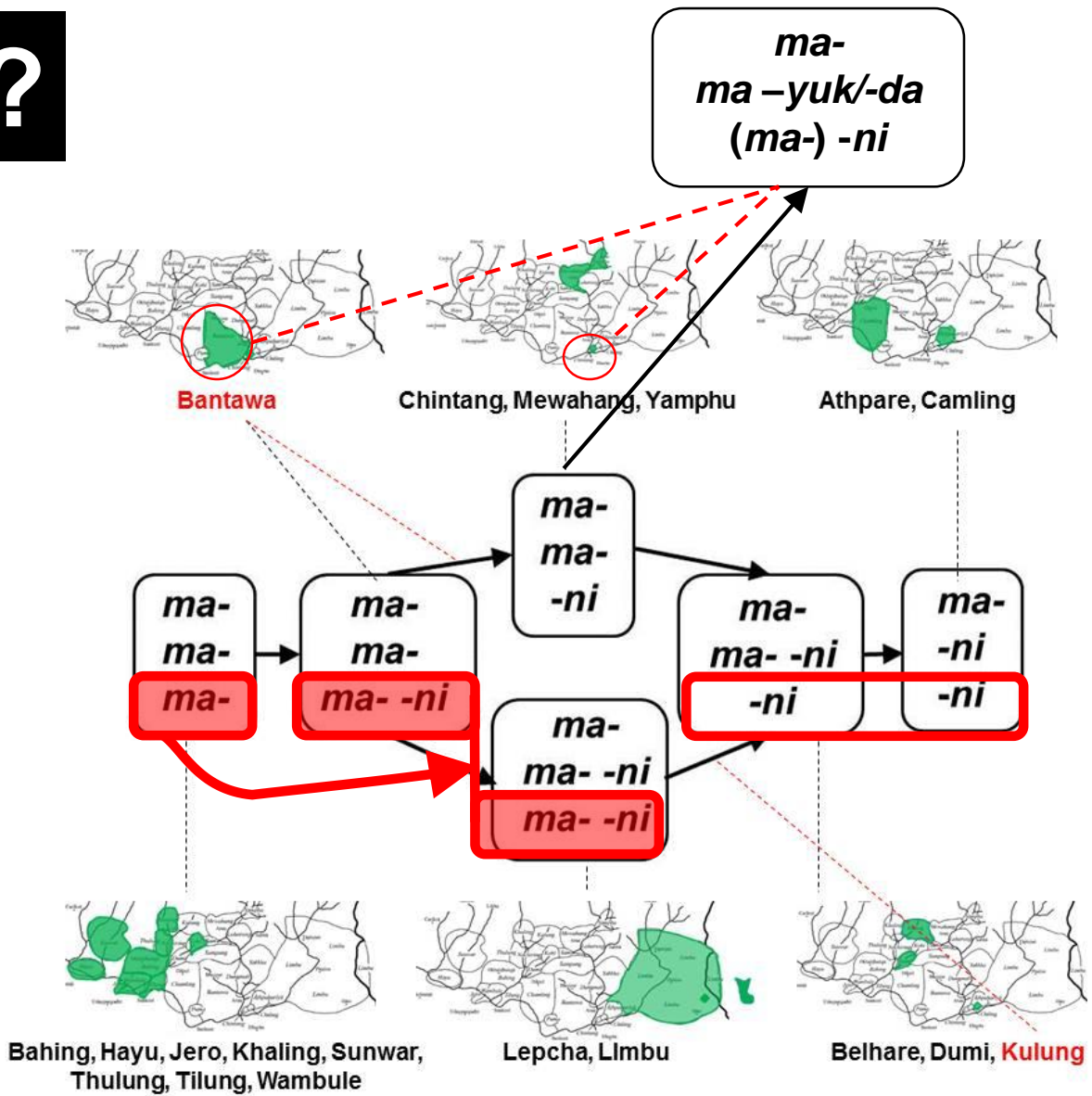
JC?



JC?



JC?



**In JC the additional element
is often a strengthener**

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No evidence for *ni*

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No evidence for *ni*

But Limbu

Nominal NEG for clausal NEG

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No evidence for *ni*

But Limbu

Nominal NEG for clausal NEG

pitcha	kε-dzo	men
beef	2-eat	NEG.NOM

‘It is not the case that you eat beef’

(The speaker is somewhat horrified at the idea.)

(Van Driem 1987: 60)

Other factors?
Contact influence from Nepali?

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Noonan (2003)

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Gautam (2012: 41)

Raj (2009: 277)

Zakharin & Khokhlova (2014)

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...

and the Kiranti nasal suffix is not always *ni*

**Camling –*ina, -aina, -ãi*
“(an adaption to Nepali?)”
(Ebert 1997: 30)**

**Other factors?
Contact influence from Nepali?**

**Nepali has a clause final discourse particle
ni 'indeed'**

(Doornenbal 2009: 316)

1. Multiple negation ...

2. ... in Kiranti

3. Conclusion

Kiranti *ma- ... -ni*

JC account

with reinterpretation of a copula *ni*

Kiranti *ma- ... -ni*

JC account

with reinterpretation of a copula *ni*

?? and contact influence from Nepali ??