

Sino-Tibetan Negation and the Case of Galo: Explaining a Distributional Oddity in Diachronic Terms*

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Mark W. Post

University of New England

While the vast majority of Sino-Tibetan (=Trans-Himalayan) languages have a pre-head predicate negator, Tani is one of a small handful of subgroups whose languages display an exclusively post-head negator. This negator, furthermore, is somewhat unusual in having both derivation-like and inflection-like properties, and in occupying an ‘intermediate’ position between derivations and inflections in the predicate stem. This article proposes a common explanation for both facts, by hypothesizing that reanalysis of an AUX-final serial verb construction as a single predicate word has resulted in realignment of an earlier pre-head auxiliary negator as a predicate suffix with leftward scope over the predicate stem. This is similar to another channel found in some Tibeto-Burman languages in which a prefixal negator fuses with a clause-final auxiliary to become a suffix (as in Kuki-Chin and ‘Naga’); however, I argue it to be ultimately somewhat different. These arguments are made on the basis of a more comprehensive description of negation in Galo (Tibeto-Burman > Tani, Eastern Himalaya) than was provided in Post (2007); as such, a second goal of the paper is to contribute to the typology of negation in Asian languages more generally.

Key words: Galo language, historical linguistics, negation, Tani languages, Tibeto-Burman languages

1. Introduction

The overwhelming majority of Sino-Tibetan (or Trans-Himalayan)¹ languages have a pre-head predicate negator, such that there is little doubt that pre-head predicate negation will reconstruct in

* This paper was initially written while on fieldwork in Arunachal Pradesh in 2009, and has passed through several drafts since that time. All data presented herein are drawn either from a spoken corpus of Galo narrative and conversational texts, or from field observation logs, or else were modelled by my consultants on the basis of data so obtained. All Galo data reported on herein were rechecked for accuracy by `Ilww Rwbāa (w=i). Tani language transcriptions are in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), except where $c = [tɕ]$ and $z = [dʒ]$; diacritics \acute{a} , \grave{a} , and \hat{a} represent high, low, and rising-falling tones respectively. In examples, the first line represents a ‘phonological’ (surface) transcription, while the second line gives ‘grammatical’ (underlying) representations (which may or may not coincide). Other language data follow conventions established by the cited source. I thank my primary Galo consultant for this paper, `Ilww Rwbāa, and my Milang and Lower Adi consultant, Yankee Modi. I have benefited greatly from discussions with Nick Evans, Scott DeLancey, Guillaume Jacques, Linda Konnerth, Yankee Modi, Randy LaPolla, Amos Teo, and two anonymous LL reviewers, all of whom I thank, in addition to Sihong Zhang, who helped write the Chinese abstract. Any errors, however, are mine.

¹ By ‘Sino-Tibetan’, I mean ‘all those languages which are generally recognized as either Tibeto-Burman or Sinitic’. By ‘Trans-Himalayan’, I understand ‘the same set of languages, though with no implication of a major Sinitic/Tibeto-Burman bifurcation’. Since this article does not directly address issues of subgrouping or high-level reconstruction, nothing further will be said on this point.

some form to the earliest levels of the family. The most commonly identified form points to an origin in **ma(-C)*, where **ma-* is a pre-head operator and *C* is a possible consonant, perhaps a nasal or a glide (more on the latter point later). For example, Bradley (1979:372) identifies a serial-verb-like pre-head negator **ma* for Proto-Loloish, which is echoed in Matisoff's (2003) Proto-Tibeto-Burman 'negative auxiliary' **ma(y)*; LaPolla (2003:27) also projects a 'preverbal particle' **ma-* to his Proto-Sino-Tibetan. Thus while some questions may remain concerning the precise morphological status and form of the predicate negator at the earliest stages, there is no doubt regarding its antiquity, its ultimate reconstructibility or its pre-head status.

The Tani languages, spoken primarily in central Arunachal Pradesh state, North East India, differ from the Sino-Tibetan norm in two respects. First, while all known Tani languages have a cognate predicate negator reflecting Proto-Tani (PT) **ma(ŋ)*, this negator patterns exclusively as a predicate SUFFIX. This makes Tani one of a small handful of Tibeto-Burman subgroups (seemingly limited to the North East Indian region in which Tani languages are also found) that display an exclusively post-head predicate negator, and may be the only subgroup in which the post-head predicate negator is a direct reflex of the pre-head negator **ma(-C)*. Second, while pre-head negators in Tibeto-Burman can usually be interpreted as wide-scope operators, applying over the predicate, auxiliary or VP (including any associated inflections), as discussed in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997:45–47), Tani negative suffixes exhibit a mixture of derivation-like and inflection-like properties, occur between derivations and inflections on the predicate stem, and have scope over the stem component of a predicate (not over any inflections).

The primary goal of this article will be to provide a common explanation for both of these facts in terms of the hypothetical restructuring of an erstwhile serial verb construction **V (V . . .) AUX* into a single predicate word *V(-SFX)-SFX*. I argue that in the process of this restructuring, a set of clause-final auxiliaries were reanalysed as predicate inflectional suffixes, and a pre-head auxiliary negator was reanalysed as a suffix to the preceding predicate stem. This process of restructuring-and-reanalysis would appear to be somewhat different from some of the other mechanisms by which post-head negation has come about in Tibeto-Burman languages—such as, for example, the fusion of pre-head negators with a final auxiliary verb, or the innovation of clause-final negative auxiliaries, both of which are found in Kuki-Chin (Grierson 2005[1904]:19; DeLancey 2014).

If this explanation is accepted, it would therefore seem that the relatively 'unusual' circumstances of predicate negation in Tani languages, as well as, potentially, in some other North East India area subgroups, owe their appearance to an ordinary Tibeto-Burman starting point and a fairly ordinary set of diachronic developments. This diachronic case will be argued on the strength of a more comprehensive description of negation in the Galo language (Tibeto-Burman > Tani, Eastern Himalaya) than was provided in Post (2007). As such, an additional goal of the paper will be to contribute to the typology of negation in Asian languages more generally.

The remainder of the article has the following structure: following a general overview of Tani languages in §2, §3 through §5 outline the primary structures of negation in Galo, treating negation in predicative clauses, indefinite constructions, and appositive clauses in that order. Section 6 then discusses sentential negative particles, while §7 turns to lexeme-internal negation and §8 treats some perhaps marginal but, as we shall see, diachronically significant uses of a negative verb. This rounds out the description of negation in Galo. In §9 and §10 we will look beyond the basics from two distinct perspectives: in §9, we look at some functional extensions of negation; in §10, we look at

the historical origins and development of negation in Tani, and conduct a partial reconstruction of Proto-Tani negation on the basis of the Galo facts presented in §3–§8 and in comparison with other Tani languages. Section 11 concludes the presentation.

2. A brief introduction to the Tani languages

2.1 Genealogical and areal context

Galo falls within the Tani branch of Tibeto-Burman languages, as demonstrated by Sun (1993). Post's (2013) minor revision of Sun's Tani family tree is presented in Figure 1; data cited in this article are from the Lare dialect of Galo, shown in Figure 1 in bold. Geographically, the Tani languages are primarily found in the Eastern Himalaya, in modern-day central Arunachal Pradesh state, North East India. A large number of Tani language speakers are also found in Upper Assam, primarily identifying as Mising. A very small number of primarily Western Tani tribespeople are found across the international border in Tibet, although very little reliable information regarding their status is currently available (Figure 2).

2.2 Typological features

As a background to both the description of Galo negation and the morphosyntactic reconstruction to follow, it will be helpful to present some of the basic features of Tani grammar. Readers who have some familiarity with Tani grammars may wish to skip over this section, referring back to it only when necessary.

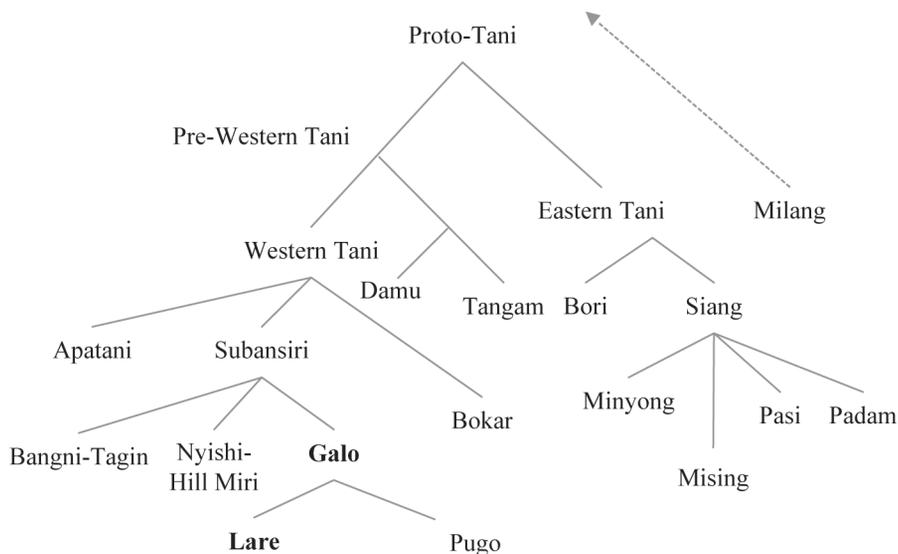


Figure 1: Family tree of the Tani languages, from Post (2013); note that Milang may well descend from a pre-Proto-Tani position within the same overall lineage as Tani; however, this cannot currently be demonstrated with confidence (Post & Modi 2011)

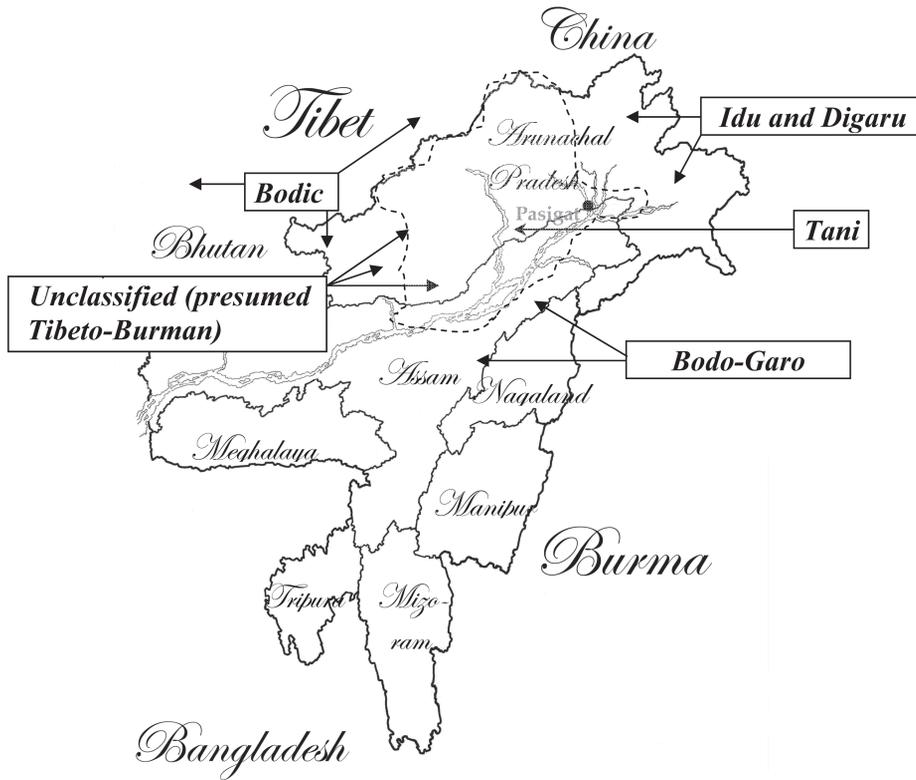


Figure 2: North East India, showing the Tani cultural-linguistic area in dashed outline

Typologically, the Tani languages all have predicate-final clause structure, and are morphologically synthetic and agglutinating. Finiteness is well coded in Tani grammar, both in the sense of grammatical TAM inflections (but no agreement) on the predicate and in the sense of a structurally well-coded main/subordinate clause distinction; verb serialization is unattested in the modern languages.

Most Tani languages exhibit a strong asymmetry between noun phrase and predicate structures. Noun phrases consist mainly of independent syntactic words or phrases, which occur in positionally and functionally well-defined categories (1).

- (1) *ɲunùk kaakên nà tanii môok higì*
 [[ɲunù-kə]_{GENP} [káa-kèn-nà]_{RELC} [[tanii]_{MNOM} [mookò]_N_{NOM} [higì]_{DEM}]_{NP}
 1.PL-GEN look-GOOD-NZR:SUB person place SPRX.IND
 ‘this our beautiful Tani area’

Most nouns, adjectives and adverbs, as well as most members of modifying NP categories such as classifiers, numerals and relator nouns, are disyllabic and etymologically dimorphemic in Tani languages. For example, the Galo noun *mookò* in (1) has the internal composition *móo-* ‘land; area’ + *kò-* ‘earth; soil’ (both elements are bound roots, which lack part-of-speech assignment at this level). However, synchronic productivity of compounds at this level is limited, which is why *mookò*

is not analysed in (1). Expansion of a dimorphemic nominal stem is not a structural possibility in most Tani languages (that is to say, nouns do not take suffixes).

Tani predicates are quite different from noun phrases or nouns. Predicates are built upon a core of a single grammatical word, which generally consists of a morphologically bound nuclear root plus as many as six or seven morphologically bound dependents. Unlike with nouns, productivity of the predicate composition is, in general, high; in the following example from Upper Minyong, each constituent of the predicate, including the root (VROOT), derivations (PDER) and inflections (PINFL) is fully productive ((2)).

- (2) *amiá kòm goktâ kirâm hikáa toi.*
 ami=ə kòm [[gók]_{VROOT}[-tâ-kí-râm-hí-káa]_{PDER}[-tó]_{PINFL}]_{PRED}=ì.
 person=TOP ADD call-INCP-ATT-FRUS-REFL-TENT-PFV=QTAG
 ‘The man also tried in vain to have a go at calling, eh.’

One conceptually challenging but important aspect of analysis of Tani languages concerns the distinction between the GRAMMATICAL and PHONOLOGICAL units ‘word’. As in many other languages of the world (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002), Galo and several other Tani languages sometimes exhibit a contrast between ‘grammatical words’ and ‘phonological words’. For example, in the Galo sentence in (1), the relative clause *káa-kèn-nà* is grammatically a single word, but is broken up into two phonological words *kaakèn* and *nà*. On the other hand, in the Minyong sentence in (2), the noun phrase *ami=ə* consists of two grammatical words which are realized as a single phonological word *amiá*. A full analysis of this phenomenon is presented in Post (2009);² for present purposes, the distinction should simply be kept in mind, particularly as we discuss structures of negation in the Galo predicate complex.

Another aspect of analysis of the Tani predicate complex which merits highlighting in this context concerns the morphological status of predicate word constituents. The overwhelming majority of Tani verb roots are bound, simplex monosyllables, such as Galo *ín-* ‘walk; go’ and *dó-* ‘eat’; such roots cannot stand as pronounceable grammatical words. Almost all types of following dependent are similarly bound, simplex monosyllables. This includes derivational manner and result modifiers such as Galo *-kèn* ‘GOOD’ in (1), and inflectional suffixes such as Minyong *-tó* ‘PFV’ in (2). In the overwhelming majority of cases, it is not possible to utter a final clause in absence of an inflected predicate, whether the stem is simple or complex ((3)–(4)).³

² For the immediately curious: criteria for phonological wordhood include the operation of assimilation sandhi word-internally (but not across words), appearance of a glottal stop onset word-initially but not word-internally, word-final vowel reduction in non-phrase-final contexts, and the operation of a prosodic (rhythm and tone) template which references the word unit. Criteria for grammatical wordhood include the ability to stand independently as a meaningful utterance, to be syntactically ‘movable’ as a unit, and to be referenced by syntactic processes (such as ellipsis).

³ There are exceptions in informal register, which may relate to the relatively highly grammaticalized status of certain predicate derivations and an incipient inflectional role; for example, in Lower Adi the pan-Tani Comparative suffix *-jà(ŋ)* can license a final predicate, but only with certain predicate stem types (such as *ái* ‘good’ (Yankee Modi, personal communication 2014)). A similar situation holds for Galo Exhaustive result derivation *-ŋám*. These are, so to speak, the exceptions that prove the rule.

- (6) *tiiçóo moŋâm lakèe.*
 tíi-còo-mò-ŋám-là(a)=kèè
 imbibe-FIRST-CAUS-EXH-IPTV.SDIR=HORT.POL
 ←———— SCOPE
 ‘Let us all drink first (before doing something else).’

The final characteristic of Tani languages which it will be important to mention here concerns a structural asymmetry between PREDICATIVE and APPOSITIVE clause types. Predicative clauses are headed by an inflecting predicate, whose nucleus may be either a verb root, such as in (2)–(3), or an adjective (not shown). In general, constituents of a predicative clause are either NP arguments of that predicate—again, as in (2)–(3)—or are subordinate clauses, adverbials or adjuncts which are intonationally and sometimes structurally ‘set aside’ from the clausal core (again, not shown in the interest of space). Appositive clauses lack an inflecting predicate; instead, two noun phrases are arrayed in apposition, in the unmarked order TOPIC-FOCUS. Appositive clauses handle the limited range of predicative functions EXISTENCE, EQUALITY and ATTRIBUTION, and are not generally able to host or stand as subordinate clauses ((7)).

- (7) *bâə ʔêe gonà.*
 [bâ]_{TOPIC.NP} [ʔêe gó]_{FOCUS.NP} =nà
 DST.DOWN excrement IND =DECL
 ‘That (down there) is excrement.’

In Post (2007), appositive clauses were divided into VERBLESS and COPULAR subtypes; the verbless subtype consists of two simple NPS in apposition, with no copula, as in (7), while the copular subtype exhibited an uninflecting copula ə (homophonous with and clearly derived from Topic marker ə or a common historical source *^hə ‘Distal/anaphoric demonstrative’). This subdivision is not straightforward, as there is just as much evidence against analysing the would-be copula ə as a copula as there is in favour of doing so. This difficulty does not impact significantly on the matter at hand, but should perhaps be kept in mind when negation in appositive clauses is discussed in §5.

3. Negation in predicative clauses

3.1 Declarative clauses

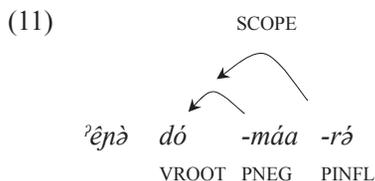
Galo declarative clauses are negated via a predicate suffix *-máa*. A few examples are first provided ((8)–(10)).

- (8) *ʔóo kaamáa!*
 ʔóo káa-**máa**
 vegetable have/exist-NEG
 ‘There aren’t any/enough dishes (for us to provide you with)!’

- (9) *ʔək-pàk ʔagóm talîi màa.*
 ʔəkè-pakè ʔagom tá-lîi-**máa**
 ANAP.PL-RDUP speech listen-DESD-NEG
 ‘I’m **not** interested in listening to that sort of thing.’
- (10) *ʔaŋî gò ʔéŋə domáa rə.*
 ʔaŋî gó ʔéŋə dó-**máa**-rə
 year IND yam.variety eat-NEG-IRR
 ‘They **won’t** eat yam for a year (when under a taboo restriction).’

Examples (8)–(10) reveal that the structural status of Negative *-máa* is somewhat unique in the context of the Galo predicate complex. As was mentioned in §2, the basic structure of the Galo predicate complex is *vROOT-PDER*-PINFL*. Now, (8) and (9) show *-máa* to be capable of licensing a final predicate, and of following a Desiderative derivation; both of these characteristics suggest Negative *-máa* to have the structural status of an inflection. In (10), however, we see that Negative *-máa* can co-occur with Irrealis inflection *-rə* ‘IRR’; this suggests that the structural status of Negative *-máa* may be somewhat closer to that of a derivation. Let us explore this situation in a little more detail.

First, recall from the discussion in §2 that no verb root may stand alone as head of a final predicative clause. So, for example, **ʔóo káa* is an unacceptable Galo sentence on the model of (8). Also recall that derivations are not, in general, able to license a final predicate; so, in the same way, **ʔək-pàk agóm talîi* is not an acceptable sentence on the model of (9). In both of these unacceptable sentences, the negative suffix *-máa* has been removed; accordingly, it is clear that *-máa* has the ability to license a final predicate, unlike Galo derivations and like Galo inflections.⁵ However, when we look at (10), we find *-máa* co-occurring with Irrealis inflection *-rə*, and occurring relatively closer to the root. Accordingly, following the discussion of scope in §2, we should say that Irrealis *-rə* has leftward scope over the *vROOT-máa* sequence, and should be literally translated with a feel more like *They [will [not eat it]]* (i.e. *not eating it* is what they *will do*) rather than the standard English auxiliary-scoping *They [[will not] eat it]* (i.e. *eating it* is what they *will not do*). These scope relations are schematized in (11).



Additional evidence suggesting that Galo *-máa* has a relatively derivation-like status is found in nominalized clauses:

⁵ For example, it would also be possible to render the starred sentences in this paragraph acceptable by suffixing Irrealis *-rə*, or any other Galo predicate inflection.

Among the very many nominalizers attested for Galo, a division has been made into PRIMARY and SECONDARY types. Primary nominalizers are semantically abstract and reference the grammatical relations SUBJECT, OBJECT and OBLIQUE, as well as (in two of four cases) the modalities REALIS and IRREALIS. In certain constructions, at least, it is possible for predicate derivations, as well as negation and at least some types of (other) predicate inflection, to occur in a predicate which has been nominalized by a primary nominalizer. Therefore, these types of construction have no bearing on the grammatical status of negation, and so will not be of interest to us here.

The case of secondary nominalizers is a bit different. Secondary nominalizers are semantically richer than are primary nominalizers, and do not directly reference grammatical relations. Rather, they derive nominals with meanings like *-dín* ‘reason for PRED’, *-kór* ‘manner of PRED’, *-dí* ‘time of PRED’, *-má* ‘accompaniment to PRED’, and so on. A nominalized clause derived via a secondary nominalizer cannot occur in a cleft/focus construction, only rarely enters into a relative clause construction, and more generally occurs as an adjunct participant nominalization which is usually deployed as an NP (OR NP head) in usage (i.e. something like *His way of walking annoys me*). A detailed exemplification of these facts will be omitted here in the interests of space and to avoid excessive redundancy with Post (2011b). However, the point we need to note is this: no predicate inflections, under any circumstances, may occur on a stem derived via a secondary nominalizer. No exceptions to this generalization of any kind occur in my data, and attempts to model such sentences have been uniformly rejected by my Galo consultants. Rather, the only stem-expanding forms which are permitted to occur on a secondarily nominalized stem are (other) predicate derivations.

The ability of Negative *-máa* to co-occur with secondary nominalizers is unrestricted, however. In the following examples, (12) demonstrates use of secondary nominalizer *-dín* ‘NZR:REAS’, in this case deriving a reason noun from the verb *ʔin-* ‘go’. In (13), we see that the same sentence is unacceptable with the addition of Imperfective inflection *-diuu* ‘IPFV’; moreover, no other predicate inflection could be substituted here to render the sentence acceptable. However, (14) demonstrates that the occurrence of *-máa* ‘NEG’ in the string is acceptable. Example (15) then shows that the same structure is also accepted if *-máa* ‘NEG’ is substituted for by Desiderative derivation *-lii* ‘DESD’.

- (12) *nók ʔindíná jôoʷ à là?*
 nó-kə ʔín-dín=ə jòo=ə làa
 2.SG-GEN go-NZR:REAS=TOP what=TOP CQ
 ‘What’s your **reason for** going?’
- (13) **nók ʔindíuu dinná jôoʷ à là?*
 nó-kə ʔín-díuu-dín=ə jòo=ə làa
 2.SG-GEN go-IPFV-NZR:REAS=TOP what=TOP CQ
- (14) *nók ʔimmáa dinná jôoʷ à là?*
 nó-kə ʔín-máa-dín=ə jòo=ə làa
 2.SG-GEN go-NEG-NZR:REAS=TOP what=TOP CQ
 ‘What’s your **reason for not** going?’

- (15) *nók ?inlîi dinná jòó^w à là?*
 nó-kə ?in-**lîi-dín**=ə jòo=ə làa
 2.SG-GEN go-DESD-NZR:REAS=TOP what=TOP CQ
 ‘What’s your **reason for wanting** to go?’

To summarize, predicate stems which are expanded by either the Desiderative derivation *-lîi* ‘DESD’ or Negative *-máa* (or both, in that order) are able to be nominalized by a secondary nominalizer such as *-dín* ‘NZR:REAS’. However, a stem expanded by Imperfective inflection *-diu* ‘IPFV’ is not. This would again suggest that the structural status of *-máa* ‘NEG’ is closer to that of a predicate derivation than a predicate inflection.

One outcome of this relatively derivation-like status of *-máa* is that it is able to occur without any known restrictions in subordinate clauses, and can occur simultaneously in any higher clause heads. Thus, multiple negation within a complex clause is a straightforward possibility. The double-negated sentence in (16), while translated by excruciating-sounding English, is normal in Galo.

- (16) *?immâab rimâa.*
 [[?in-**máa**=bə]_{SBRD.CLAUSE} rî-**máa**]_{MAIN.CLAUSE}
 go-NEG=SBRD do-NEG
 ‘It **doesn’t** do to **not** go.’ (i.e. one **must** go)

Double-negation is not, however, possible by means of double-suffixation to a single predicate stem ((17)).

- (17) **ŋó ?immáa maató.*
 ŋó ?in-**máa-máa**-tó
 1.SG go-NEG-NEG-PFV
 (putatively, ‘I didn’t *not* go.’)

A final point to raise here concerns the temporal/aspectual value of *-máa* ‘NEG’. As is suggested by the translations of examples (8), (9), (14) and (16), the basic temporal/aspectual value of *-máa* ‘NEG’ appears to be IMPERFECTIVE. However, closer examination reveals that this is something more like a default understanding assigned to a context-free statement than a semantically entailed value per se. This is because use of simple *-máa* ‘NEG’ in perfective contexts is acceptable, when conditions permit it. Consider the exchange in (18)–(19), in which the first speaker fixes a past time reference, marked by Experiential perfect inflection *-béé* ‘EPF’. The second speaker’s rejoinder, which retains the past time/perfect reference frame, is marked only by Negative *-máa*.

- (18) *A: mərùm, ?ací bomtóo búl cìn caabée rèè?*
 mərùm ?ací bomtóo bulù cìn càa-bée rèè
 last.night elder.brother NAME 3.PL ADD ascend-EPF PQ
 A: ‘**Did** Elder Brother Bomto and the rest of them also come up (to addressee’s house) **last night**?’

by Matisoff (2003) and LaPolla (2003:27) to Proto-Tibeto-Burman (though with far fewer witnesses than for **ma-*, it must be acknowledged).

Like Galo imperative markers in general, the Prohibitive suffix cannot co-occur with most other types of predicate inflection, and its use implies a second person subject ((22)–(23)).

- (22) *mejjóo kèè!*
 mèn-**jóo** kèè
 speak-**PROH** HORT.POL
 ‘Be quiet!’ (Lit.: ‘Don’t speak!’)

- (23) *ηóm dèn ʔabbôm pajóo kàa.*
 ηó-m̄ dèn ʔabó=əm pá-**jóo** kàa
 I.SG-ACC ICMP father=ACC cut-**PROH** HORT.ADVS
 ‘But me, the father, you oughtn’t to kill (me).’

It is not possible for *-máa* and *-jóo* to co-occur on the same stem ((24)).

- (24) **ʔimmáa jookèè!*
 ʔín-**máa-jóo**=kèè
 GO-NEG-**PROH**=HORT.POL
 (putatively, ‘Don’t not go (i.e. go)!’)

Although the focus of this paper is primarily on negation in Galo, it is worth noting briefly that the Western Tani Prohibitive suffix *-jóo* does not generally occur in Eastern Tani; instead, we usually find a prosodic variant of Negative *-máa*: namely, *-máʔ ~ -mâa* ((25)).⁶

- (25) *imâa!*
 í-mâa
 do-**PROH**
 ‘Don’t (do that)!’ (Upper Belt Minyong)

Finally, to return to Galo, we should note that the process of INSUBORDINATION has led to cases in which *-máa* ‘NEG’ is used in imperative contexts, albeit in a special marked construction. Very briefly, ‘insubordination’ in this sense refers to a process in which an imperative matrix verb (i.e. a subordinate clause complement-taking main verb) is contextually ellipsed (Evans 2007). The

⁶ A possible exception is in Mising, as reported in the dictionary of Lorrain (1995[1910]). I have not attested this form in my own, admittedly incomplete, Mising data; it is possible that the anomalous occurrence of *-jóo* in Lorrain’s data is reflective of Galo substrate influence, in some, though perhaps not all, dialects of Mising. No plausible lexical source or other diachronic precursor to Prohibitive *-jóo* has yet been identified, making it likely that *-jóo* reflects a relatively old prohibitive suffix which has been replaced by an innovative use of *-máa* in Eastern Tani at or some time after the Proto-Eastern-Tani stage.

functional value of the matrix verb is thereby ‘understood’, despite it not being overt, and the subordinate clause becomes utterable as a complete sentence (entailing, usually, the additional semantic value of the erstwhile ellipsed matrix verb). In advanced stages, the subordinate clause can become reanalysed as a main clause, subordinating morphology can become finite inflectional morphology, and the erstwhile main verb can no longer be used in the new construction. This is a pervasive process in Tani, and has led to the very frequent use of sentences like (26)–(27). The ostensible historical source construction of sentences such as (26)–(27) is given in (28); however, such ‘fuller’ sentences are vanishingly rare and may sound odd or inappropriate to speakers. Reanalysis of the subordinating enclitic *bə* as a finite-clause-licensing Subjunctive inflection is clearly well advanced.⁷

- (26) *olóo máab dēi!*
 ò-lòo-**máa=bə** dēi
 fall-DOWN-NEG=SJNC EXHR
 ‘Don’t fall down, now!’ (< ≡ ‘Not to fall down, now!’)

- (27) *məəŋíí məəc kumáa bə!*
 məə-ŋíí məə-có-kú-**máa** **bə**
 think-OBJECT.1 thing-OBJECT.2-CMPL-NEG SJNC
 ‘Don’t go objecting!’ (< ≡ ‘Not to object!’)

- (28) *?məəŋíí məəc kumáab rít kèe!*
 [[məə-ŋíí məə-có-kú-**máa=bə**]_{SBRD.CLAUSE} rí-tó kèe]_{MAIN.CLAUSE}
 think-OBJECT.1 thing-OBJECT.2-CMPL-NEG=**SBRD** do-IPTV.ODIR HORT.POL
 ≡ ‘Don’t be going and objecting!’

4. Interrogatives and indefinite constructions

It is common in Indo-European languages for negation to ‘dock’ on non-predicate constituents, of which indefinite nouns and pronouns (i.e. terms such as English *no-one*, *nobody* and *nothing*) are among the most common and well known. This type of structure is alien to Tani languages.⁸ Nevertheless, there are usually particular constructions—often involving interrogative pronouns in combination with a dedicated particle of some kind—which entail negative indefinite functions.

In Galo, negative indefinite functions are achieved through use of an interrogative pronoun in the focal argument slot, followed by an Additive particle *cin* ‘ADD’ (with the basic meaning ‘also’) and a predicate negated in *-máa* ((29)–(30)).

⁷ The same construction, involving a cognate subordinator *pə* (seemingly < PTB nominalizer **pa*), is also widespread in Eastern Tani. This suggests that these sorts of developments are fairly early within the Tani group.

⁸ In fact, it is alien to most of the languages of East and South East Asia, which typically not only lack negative indefinite nouns and pronouns, but also lack indefinite nouns and pronouns altogether (see e.g. Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005:299–304 for Standard Thai).

- (29) *j̄ə cìn aamáa.*
j̄ə cìn áa-máa
who ADD come-NEG
 ‘Nobody came.’

- (30) *bulù=əm j̄o cìn mèn-máa.*
 bulù=əm **j̄o cìn mèn-máa**
 3.PL=ACC **what ADD speak-NEG**
 ‘He didn’t say **anything** to them ~ He said **nothing** to them.’ (No difference in Galo.)

The Galo construction is thus directly comparable to the well-known negative indefinite construction of Mandarin Chinese ((31)).

- (31) *shéi dōu/yě bù lái*
who all/also NEG come
 ‘Nobody came.’ (Mandarin Chinese)

The Galo negative partitive (‘none of the x’) is based on the same construction, with the ‘set noun’ occurring as a pre-core topic ((32)). For additional discussion of the Galo pre-core topic slot, see Post (2007:§9.2.1.5).

- (32) *ʔahóo nà j̄ə cìn aamáa.*
 [ʔahóo-nà]_{PRE-CORE.TOPIC} [**j̄ə cìn áa-máa**]_{MAIN.CLAUSE}
 long/tall-NZR:SUB **who ADD come-NEG**
 ‘None of the tall (men) came.’ (Lit.: ‘Concerning the tall (men), **nobody** came.’)

Since indefinite constructions in Galo depend so closely on interrogative material, it is worth wondering how interrogative clauses are formed, and how negation in interrogative clauses operates.

One possibility, which is generally rejected by my consultants as ‘overly informal’ at best and possibly incorrect (but which has, in fact, been attested on occasion in spontaneous discourse), is to form an ‘in-situ’ interrogative: that is to say, an interrogative construction in which the question word simply replaces the focal constituent in the canonical clause syntax. An in-situ construction would, then, resemble the negative indefinite construction in (29), but with the Additive particle removed; this example is given in (33).

- (33) *?j̄ə aamáa.*
j̄ə áa-máa
who come-NEG
 ‘Who didn’t come?’ (interrogative reading)
 ‘Nobody came.’ (indefinite reading)

As (33) also shows, however, some speakers are able to use the in-situ construction with an indefinite reading, again in an ‘informal’ register, in which the Additive particle is deliberately ellipsed. Perhaps

for reasons of inexplicitness, the in-situ construction is generally disapproved of by my consultants, and is rarely found in my corpus.

Much more commonly, interrogative clauses make use of the CLEFT/FOCUS CONSTRUCTION, described in more detail in Post (2007:§9.4). Very briefly, a Galo cleft/focus construction has two major constituents: first is the FOCUS constituent, which consists of whatever part of a notional clause is under focus; it is obligatorily marked by one of many available FOCUS PARTICLES. In an interrogative cleft/focus construction, the focused constituent is always that part of a clause which is being questioned, and is represented by an interrogative pronoun. The following constituent is the TOPIC, and consists of the remainder of the clause constituents, headed by a nominalized predicate and marked by a topic marker. This is first schematized in (34); an example of a negated interrogative cleft focus construction is then given in (35).

(34) [*focal.constituent* PCL]_{FOCUS} [(*other constituents*) PRED-NZR=TOP]_{TOPIC}

(35) *jəə làa aamáa nə?*
 [jəə làa]_{FOCUS} [áa-máa-nà=ə]_{TOPIC}
 who CQ come-NEG-NZR:SUB=TOP
 ‘Who **didn’t** come?’ (Lit.: ‘Who is it, the **not**-come-er?’)

One interesting outcome of this arrangement is that it is structurally impossible in Galo to form a cleft/focus construction in which a negative indefinite entity is under focus: that is, something like *?Nobody is (the one) who came*. This is because the negative operator is located in the predicate, while the focused material is obligatorily dislocated from the predicate constituent.

5. Negation in appositive clauses

The preceding sections have discussed negation in predicative clauses. Here we discuss negation in appositive clauses, which makes use of a different negative operator *móo* ‘ANEG’ (for ‘Appositive clause negator’). Given the structural similarity between *-máa* and *móo*, one naturally suspects that they may be in some way related; indeed, when evidence from other Tani languages is brought forth, it would appear that a historical relationship is likely (see §10). However, no evidence of a historical or ongoing relation in terms of Galo grammar can currently be established on internal grounds.

móo ‘ANEG’ follows the focus NP of an appositive clause construction (see the discussion of appositive clause structure in §2.2), following any articles and/or postpositions which may be associated with the focus NP and preceding any sentence-final particles. *móo* occupies the same syntactic position as, and is to an extent in an antonymic relationship with, an emphatic or ‘definitive’ particle *rìu*.⁹ Neither form is obligatory in this construction—that is, neither is required for

⁹ *rìu* is described as a ‘versatile’ particle by Post (2007:660). It can occur in several morphosyntactic positions, including predicate-internally. In the latter case, however, it does not occupy the same morphological position as the negative suffix, and, in fact, can co-occur with the negative, with an emphatic value.

the utterance to be acceptable—and so they are not considered to be copulas as such, but rather a variety of sentence-final particle ((36)–(37)).

- (36) *əg^ə ruunà*
 əgə rùu=ná
 DST.IND DEF=DECL
 ‘Absolutely right!’ (Lit.: ≅ ‘It’s definitely that.’)

- (37) *jôog^o mooná!*
 [jòo=go]_{FOCUS} [móo=ná]_{PARTICLE}
 what=IND ANEG=DECL
 ‘It’s **nothing** (don’t worry about it)!’ (Lit.: ≅ ‘It’s **not** something.’)

Like many phrase-final operators in Galo, *móo* ‘ANEG’ has the prosodic status of a clitic, in the sense that it forms a single phonological word with a neighbouring constituent when qualifying prosodic conditions exist. This is clearly seen in (38); note here the gemination of initial *m-*, a semi-regular feature of certain morphemes which is found at phonological-word-internal suffix or clitic boundaries.

- (38) *bîi[?] áb gommóo.*
 [bîi]_{TOP} [ʔáb go]_{FOCUS} [=móo]_{PARTICLE}
 3.SG father IND =ANEG
 ‘He’s **not** a father.’

móo ‘ANEG’ is also found negating certain types of in subordinate clauses (see the preceding section). The most commonly attested is an in subordinate clause in Predictive *-lapə* ‘PRD’, a complex inflection whose sense seems to derive in part from an ellipsed complement-taking verb of cognition *máə-* ‘think’ (for details, see Post 2007:§16.6.2.2.1). An example is given in (39); note here again the gemination of initial *m-*, signalling clitic status and phonological merger with the preceding grammatical word.

- (39) *nôm gâml^p pəmmôo rəe?*
 nó-m̄ gâm-lapə=móo rəe
 2.SG-ACC bite-PRD=ANEG PQ
 ‘Is there **not** a chance that (the dog) will bite you?’

The precise reason for selection of the appositive clause negator as opposed to predicate negator *-maŋ* for in subordinate clauses is not yet clear. However, one potential line of enquiry concerns the fact that in Tibeto-Burman languages in general, subordinate clauses often tend to be based on, or otherwise to resemble, nominalizations (Noonan 1997, among others). One naturally wonders, then, whether the tendency for in subordinate clauses to take negation in *móo*—like the focal NP of an appositive clause, but unlike all predicative clauses—might not signal a fundamental (or earlier) nominal status, despite their current ability to function as final clauses. Indeed, there is a strong likelihood that the second formative of Predictive *-lapə*—namely, the erstwhile complementizing

suffix *-pə̀*—is a reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman nominalizer **pa* (see LaPolla 2003, among others), as discussed in Post (2007:§16.6.2.1). However, there is no Galo-internal evidence which would support an analysis to the effect that *-pə̀*, or *-lapə̀*, is a synchronic nominalizer in the senses discussed in §3.1 earlier and in Post (2011b). Further intra-Tani comparative research will be required before anything more substantial can be said on this point.

Finally, it should be noted that, although we have discussed appositive clauses so far as being negated only by Appositive negator *móo*, there are, in fact, restricted possibilities for the occurrence of a particle alternant of Negative suffix *-máa*, *máa* ‘NEG’. For example, *máa* can follow the focus of an attributive appositive clause, seemingly only if no referential modification (demonstratives, articles . . .) is present. For example, (40) is acceptable only *without* the bracketed articles *ə* or *go*; if *móo* ‘ANEG’ was used rather than *máa* ‘NEG’, use of the bracketed articles would be acceptable.

- (40) *b̃i ticár (*ə/*gó) máa.*
 b̃i ticár ə/go máa
 3.SG teacher TOP/IND NEG
 ‘He’s not a teacher.’

In equative appositive clauses, *móo* ‘ANEG’ and *máa* ‘NEG’ are interchangeable; in (41), note incidentally that *máa* ‘NEG’ does not undergo initial gemination, unlike *móo* ‘ANEG’.

- (41) *A: ?ikii gò bərə̀e . . . B: ?ikii gomáa ~ gommóo.*
 ?ikii go bərə̀e ?ikii go=**máa** ~ go=**móo**
 dog IND CJEC dog IND=NEG ~ IND=ANEG
 ‘A: Perhaps it’s a dog (making the sound over there) . . . B: (No,) it’s **not** a dog.’

máa ‘NEG’ cannot negate an in subordinate clause ((42)).

- (42) **nóm gám^l pəmáa rèe?*
 nó-m̃ gám-lapə̀=**máa** rèe
 2.SG-ACC bite-PRD=NEG PQ

At the time of writing, no functional principle governing the respective distributions of *móo* ‘ANEG’ and *máa* ‘NEG’ has been discovered. However, it has been noticed on occasion that younger speakers in high language contact areas (both Assam-bordering and Minyong-bordering) are more liberal in their usage of *máa* than are some other speakers. Therefore, there is a distinct possibility that use of *máa* as a copular negator is part of a paradigmatic levelling process, replacing the (comparatively infrequent) stand-out particle *móo* in a process possibly motivated by simplification of the language grammar. However, due to the infrequency of this construction in my corpus, it will not be possible to say much more on this point in absence of a multi-dialectal corpus of conversational Galo of sufficient size. This remains, then, a topic for further research.¹⁰

¹⁰ One might offer an alternative hypothesis that *máa* in sentences like (40) is, in fact, a predicate suffix, and that ‘teacher’ is being used predicatively. But that appears not to be the case, inasmuch as it is not possible to substitute *máa* for, or for *máa* to co-occur with, any (other) predicate inflections in this construction; for example, it is not possible to say **b̃i ticár-d̃iu*, employing the Imperfective suffix *-d̃iu*.

6. Other negative operators

Unlike in some languages, there are no narrow-scope negative operators outside the predicate word in Galo, hence no direct equivalents of negative pronouns and adverbs such as *never*, *nobody*, *notwithstanding*, and so on. However, there is one arguably wide-scope negative operator *máa* ‘NEG’, an interjection which is homophonous with and obviously relatable to the Negative predicate suffix *-máa* ‘NEG’. In most cases, Negative interjection *máa* occurs preposed to a negated clause, in a sense ‘foreshadowing’ the clause’s negative content. It has the basic function of disagreeing with a previous statement made by the addressee, and is usually well translated by English ‘no’ ((43); also see (19)).

- (43) *A: ?orók gò káad larèe? B: máa, kaamáa.*
 ?orók go káa-dó(o) larèe **máa** káa-máa
 machete IND have/exist-STAT DUB NEG have/exist-NEG
 ‘A: Do you have a machete or what? B: **No**, I don’t.’

máa ‘NEG’ can also stand as a complete utterance, usually signalling a negative response to a polar question. An alternative form in this context is *má?*. Such usages tend to sound somewhat abrupt; a more common and seemingly more polite means of offering a negative response employs a rather more idiomatic (and phonologically aberrant) interjection *?m-hm?*. However, in general, the most appropriate type of negative response would include at least the predicate of a negated clause, as in (43).

In a slight pragmatic extension of this basic sense, interjection *máa* ‘NEG’ is also very often used with a politeness value, in situations when a speaker is asked for clarification and to signal that what s/he has said is actually not particularly important and may not merit the addressee’s attention. This is similar to discourse uses of English *nothing*; in the following example, the speaker had said something inaudible from inside a room to some unseen people outside a room, conversing on the balcony. When she was asked what she had said, she realized that, in fact, she had not been an addressee in the conversation, as she had mistakenly believed, and so uttered the following sentence as a mildly self-deprecating rejoinder ((44)).

- (44) *máa, ηôm takâa dūu bərəe mǎn^əmǎ ná.*
máa ηó-m̄ takâa-dūu bərəe mǎn-nám=ə ná
 NEG I.SG-ACC ask-IPFV CJEC think-NZR:RLS=COP DECL
 ‘**Nothing**; I had thought you were perhaps asking me (that’s why I replied out of turn).’

Finally, we should also note a somewhat idiomatic use of interjection *máa*, also found in Minyong, which will be termed the ‘*máa-máa*-speech-verb’ construction. In this construction, a clause headed by speech-reporting verb *ám-* ‘say; tell’ is subordinated to a main clause representing a speaker’s assertion. The content of the speech-reporting verb is given as ‘*máa-máa*’. Thus, the literal sense of the construction is something like ‘one might say “no, no” . . . (though one would be mistaken)’. However, the construction conventionally carries a sense closer to English *whatever one might say* or *although one may deny it*; that is, no actual speech event is implied ((45)).

- (45) *máa-máa əmláa cìn nók aapúk cərəə goló məərúu rá!*
 [máa-máa əm-la(a)cìn] nó-kə aapúk cərəə go=lo máə-rùu-ré
 NEG-NEG say-CONC 2.SG-GEN heart corner IND=LOC think-DEF-IRR
 ‘Although (you) may deny it, in a corner of your heart you must love me!’

7. Lexeme-internal negation

As discussed in §2, Tani lexemes are structured according to a fairly rigid set of principles. It should be clear from the discussions in §2 and §3 that there is little scope for the structure of a Galo verb to host internal negation, inasmuch as most verb roots are bound, simplex morphemes and negation does, in any event, occur primarily within the predicate word (which a verb root will then ultimately head). However, there is a small handful of lexemes, mainly nouns and adjectives, in which a negative formative may be found. In all attested cases, this morpheme is homophonous with the negative suffix *-máa* (Table 1).

Table 1: Internally negative lexemes in Galo

Word	Gloss	Part of speech	Form. 1	Gloss	Form. 2	Gloss
<i>gommáa</i>	‘mute’	ADJ	<i>góm-</i>	‘speech’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>ɲigmáa</i>	‘blind’	ADJ	<i>ɲík-</i>	‘eye’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>dummáa</i>	‘headless’	ADJ	<i>dúm-</i>	‘head’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>moomàa</i>	‘busy’	ADJ	<i>mòo-</i>	‘leisure?’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>ɲimáa</i>	‘poor’	N, ADJ	<i>ɲí-</i>	‘person’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>jəmáa</i>	‘poor’	N, ADJ	<i>jə-</i>	‘???’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>himáa</i>	‘corpse’	N	<i>hí-</i>	‘die’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’
<i>pomáa</i> ¹¹	‘demerit’	N	<i>pó-</i>	‘good (arch.)’	<i>máa-</i>	‘not (have)’

Although the compositions of the forms in Table 1 are, in most cases, transparent—no Galo speaker would have much difficulty in identifying the second formative *máa-* as being relatable to Negative suffix *-máa*, for example—they are not based on synchronically productive formations; for example, it is not possible to form an adjective **ruumáa* ‘deaf’ on the pattern *rúu-* ‘ear; hole’ + *máa-* ‘not (have)’, exemplified by *ɲigmáa* ‘blind’ (Table 1).¹² Furthermore, it is possible to negate the adjectives in Table 1 further ((46)), while it is not possible to negate a compositionally negated predicate further, as discussed and illustrated in §3.1, example (17). This demonstrates the synchronic non-compositionality of the forms in Table 1 with respect to negation.

- (46) *moomáa mabbóo ló, b̥i áasaé.*
moomàa-máa-booló b̥i áa-há=ée
busy-NEG-COND 3.SG come-NZR:IRR=ANTR
 ‘If he hadn’t been busy, he would have come.’

¹¹ Generally occurs only in the fixed expression *alə-pomáa* ‘good-not.good’ ‘pros and cons (of a situation)’.

¹² The Galo word for ‘deaf’ is *ruuji*; the precise semantic value of the second formative is not yet known.

8. A negative verb?

While limited in terms of functionality, inflectional possibilities and discourse frequency, a form *máa-* ‘not be’ exists in Galo which appears to have the basic structural status of a verb root. *máa-* ‘not be’ has most often been attested following a distal/anaphoric pronoun, in a seemingly intransitive-predicative use ((47)). This is semantically similar, but not identical, to a negated appositive clause in *móo* ((48); see also §5).

(47) *âg^ə maará!*

[*əgə*]_S [*máa-rá*]_{PRED}
ANAP.IND not.be-IRR

‘It won’t be that’ (i.e. the conclusion you have reached or referent you have mentioned does not accord with any true state of affairs)

(48) *âg^ə móo!*

[*əgə*]_{FOCUS} [*móo*]_{PARTICLE}
ANAP.IND ANEG

‘Not that one’ (i.e. that isn’t the referent that I mean to indicate)

Although one might suspect that a sentence like (47) might ‘underlyingly’ contain an ellipsed verb such as *rì-* ‘do’ (with *-máa-rá* then understandable as a predicate-internal suffixal complex NEG-IRR, along the lines of (10) above), this is seemingly not the case. Insertion of *rì-* ‘do’ results in a different sentence, with a different semantic value ((49)).

(49) *âg^ə rimâa rá.*

əgə *rì-máa-rá*
DST.IND do-NEG-IRR

‘That one won’t do it (something else will).’

Similarly, although the basic suffixal status of *-rá* ‘IRR’ should be clear from the discussion in §2, it may be worth highlighting the fact that *máa-* in (47) cannot be analysed as a prefix to a putative auxiliary verb *rá-* ‘be’, inasmuch as the sentence is ungrammatical in the absence of *máa-* ((50)).

(50) **âg^ə rá*

əgə *rá-/rá*
DST.IND be/IRR

All naturally attested occurrences of verbal *máa-* have been of the type exemplified in (47), although my consultants have accepted full-NP subject mentions in elicitation. My Galo consultants have been less enthusiastic about accepting other types of verbal inflection, such as the Imperfective, and have been similarly reluctant to form nominalization-based relative clauses with a verb root *máa-*; however, such sentences are straightforwardly possible in certain Eastern Tani languages, such as the variety of Lower Adi spoken around Pasighat ((51)).

- (51) *nok abu maaduŋ. nok abu maanam ləgaapə . . .*
 no-k abu maa-duŋ no-k abu maa-nam ləgaŋ=pə
 2.SG-GEN father not.be-IPFV 2.SG-GEN father not.be-NZR:EVENT reason=DAT
 ‘He isn’t (to be viewed as) your father. Because of him not being (viewable as) your father . . .’ (Data from Yankee Modi, personal communication 2014)

Thus, Galo *máa-* could, in principle, be viewed as a DEFECTIVE or INCOMPLETE (or simply ‘non-prototypical’) verb—something which is perhaps not surprising, in view of its marked semantic value and in comparison with similar phenomena cross-linguistically (Payne 1985).

9. Functional extensions

In the previous sections, we have looked at the forms associated with the function of negation in Galo and at their grammatical statuses. In this section, we look at some functional extensions of these forms.

In §6, we reviewed the basic functions of a sentence-initial particle *máa* ‘NEG’. In an extended function, the same particle has developed a CLAUSE-COORDINATING use. Making use of its sentence-initial position, and also of its semantic contents which indicate negation of a preceding statement, Negative *máa* has developed into a DISJUNCTIVE COORDINATOR with a sense close to English ‘or (if not)’. In terms of intonation, the disjunctive coordinator is usually closer to the first clause. However, it seems to be a syntactic element of the second clause, inasmuch as it remains present if the first clause is contextually ellipsed ((52)). Use of disjunctive *máa* is generally restricted to non-declarative sentences (i.e. sentences which either are explicitly interrogative or in which the speaker’s lack of direct knowledge is overtly marked).

- (52) (*híg ʔal jáad nàa bərée*) *máa*
 hígì ʔaló-jàa-dó(o)-nà=ə bərèe=’ **máa**
 SPRX.IND good-COMP-STAT-NZR:SUB=TOP CJEC=NFI **DISJ**
əg ʔal jáad nàa bərée?
 əgè ʔaló-jàa-dó(o)-nà=ə bərèe
 APRX.IND good-COMP-STAT-NZR:SUB=TOP CJEC
 ‘(Is this one better,) **or** is that one better?’

A very different kind of functional extension has come about in part by means of the process of insubordination, described earlier in §3.2. As we saw briefly in that section, clause subordinator *bə* ‘SBRD’ has developed a subjunctive value which in part derives from ellipsis of a semantically light matrix verb (see examples (26)–(28)). A clause headed by a predicate negated in *-máa* ‘NEG’, and which is then marked in the Subjunctive in *bə* ‘SJNC’, accordingly has a value of something like ‘to not do *x*’ or ‘the idea of not doing *x*’. In colloquial Galo, this type of sentence has then come to be used with a RHETORICAL value, as ‘(really), the idea of not doing *x* (of course one must do it)!’

- (53) *A: ʔopôo tîidûu còm? B: tîimáa bə̀!*
 ʔopòo tîi-dùu còm tîi-máa bə̀
 liquor imbibe-IPFV GUES imbibe-NEG SJNC
 ‘A: I suppose you drink liquor? B: **Certainly** I do!’ (Lit.: ‘**To not** drink (would be unthinkable)!’)

Whether as a direct extension of this construction or as a reanalysis of some other, structurally and functionally similar arrangement of forms, sequences with a subjunctive, irrealis or other speculative value such as *-máa=bə̀* ‘NEG=SJNC’ have been reanalysed as UNITARY FORMS with a semantic value along the lines of ‘certainly’, ‘of course’ or ‘is it not so (that)’. Such forms are most often found marking appositive clause constructions, where they can be easily recognized as reanalysed forms, inasmuch as this is not a position normally open to the *máa* negator (see §5) ((54)).

- (54) *ɲunúk duukò zâa à tə̀ə baahár tə̀ə maabə̀.*
 ɲunù-kə̀ dùu-kò zâa ə̀ tə̀ baahár tə̀ maabə̀
 I.PL-GEN stay-NZR:LOC real TOP DST.UP PLACE DST.UP **isn’t.it**
 ‘Our real village is Basar up there, **isn’t it** (i.e. we don’t historically belong to the Assam border area).’

Other forms with comparable semantic values and functions are *maadhi* ‘is it not so’ and *maacò* ‘it seems to be; I reckon’.

10. Historical origins and later developments

The goal of this article up to this point has been to describe the synchronic facts regarding negation in Galo. One fact which should stand out by now is the ubiquity and stability of a form *máa*, which we have seen occurring as a sentential interjection, a predicate suffix, a formative root of a lexical compound, a defective verb root and (to some extent) an appositive clause-marking particle. Looking beyond Galo to other Tani languages, although the current state of Tani language description is not such that we are able to characterize fully all structures associated with negation, we can at least recognize some of the major attested forms and functions. A sample of 11 languages—five from the Eastern Tani branch, five from the Western Tani branch, and Milang, which may descend from a pre-Proto-Tani position (see Figure 1 earlier)—reveals that the occurrence of a predicate suffix is ubiquitous, a sentential interjection is similarly widespread, and an NP negator, while not attested in most sources due to incompleteness of description, is at least found in both major Tani branches. Accordingly, each of these three functions most likely reconstructs to the Proto-Tani stage at a minimum (Table 2).

Table 2 also reveals an interesting fact regarding the form of the negator. The most widespread form is *ma(ɲ)*, with a nuclear *-a-* vowel; this form is found across branches in all three attested functions, and in languages which are areally dispersed (such as Apatani and Minyong). The less frequent form *mo(ɲ)* is also found across branches, but in languages which occupy a more or less contiguous, north-central geographical area: namely, the central Tibet border region and the area

Table 2: Forms and functions of negative operators in a sample set of Tani languages

Branch	Language	PRED SFX	NP Negator	Interjection	Source
Eastern	Minyong	<i>-maŋ</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	(author's field notes)
Eastern	Bori	<i>-maŋ</i>	?	?	(Megu 1988)
Eastern	Ashing	<i>-maŋ</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	<i>ma</i>	(Megu 2003)
Eastern	Tangam	<i>-maa</i>	<i>moŋ</i>	<i>moŋ</i>	(author's field notes)
Eastern	Ramo	<i>-moŋ</i>	?	<i>moŋ</i>	(Badu 2004)
Western	Bokar	<i>-mo(ŋ)</i>	?	<i>mo^(h)</i>	(Megu 1990)
Western	Apatani	<i>-má</i>	<i>má</i>	<i>má</i>	(author's field notes)
Western	Nyishi	<i>-ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	(Abraham 2005)
Western	Tagin	<i>-ma</i>	?	?	(Das Gupta 1983)
Western	Pailibo	<i>-ma</i>	?	<i>ma</i>	(Badu 1994)
Pre-PT	Milang	<i>-ŋɛ</i>	<i>ŋɛ</i>	<i>ŋɛi</i>	(author's field notes)

immediately southward. Accordingly, it would seem that **ma(ŋ)* will reconstruct to Proto-Tani; the *mo(ŋ)* forms are, in turn, analysable as an areally spreading innovation.¹³

We next turn to Milang. As Table 2 shows, the Milang form *ŋɛ(i)* is distinct from the mainstream Tani forms. Looking again to the provisional Tani family tree in Figure 1, there would appear to be only two possible solutions. Either the PT form **ma(ŋ)* is original and the Milang form is an innovation, or vice versa. Looking to other Tibeto-Burman languages, it becomes obvious that the first solution is correct; reflexes of Tibeto-Burman **ma(-C)* are widespread in modern Tibeto-Burman languages from several branches (Matisoff 2003). The Milang form is thus most likely to be innovative—seemingly, at the level of ‘Siangic’, in view of an obvious correspondence with Koro-*ŋa* (Post & Blench 2011). However, the fact that the major Milang negative FUNCTIONS are identical to those in mainstream Tani languages supports reconstructing this set of functions to the Proto-Tani stage at least.

¹³ While the development **ma(ŋ) > mo(ŋ)* would seem to be irregular in some languages at least (such as the Lare dialect of Galo which has been described in this paper), both PTB **-a > PT *-o* and PT **-aa > Modern Tani -oo* are well-attested regular changes more generally. For an example of the first type, consider PTB **ba > PT *ʔa-bó* ‘father’. For an example of the second type, see PT **kán > Loodu-Karka (Northern Galo) kóo-* ‘have/exist’. Obviously, we are dealing here with a characteristically areal change. In this connection, an anonymous reviewer has suggested that *mo(o)* could reflect **ma-jo*: that is, a fusion of a proto-Negative with the (source of the) WT Prohibitive suffix. This strikes me as unlikely, as it would not explain how, for example, certain ET languages, which in general lack a cognate of the WT Prohibitive suffix, nonetheless acquired this form. Nor is there any positive WT evidence in favour of this etymology—for example, of constructions in which both the negative and the prohibitive suffix can occur on the same stem in a language without *mo(ŋ)* (such as Apatani). Finally, while it is possible for glides to become elided in the process of fusion in Tani (as in Proto-Galo **bə = rje > Pugo Galo bee* ‘Conjectural particle’), I have only see this happen in the environment of high/front vowels and never between low or back vowels. In sum, while it is not possible to rule out a **NEG-PROH* etymology for *mo(ŋ)*, the available evidence is not in its favour.

We have now established a proto-form and a limited set of proto-functions. It remains to discuss categorical status. Although there may be several possibilities, the hypothesis I will advance here is that at or before the Proto-Tani stage (and most likely a good deal earlier), Negative **ma(ŋ)* fundamentally had the status of a VERB with the meaning ‘not (have)’.

Evidence for this view comes from several sources: first, as was discussed in §8, we can find a more or less functional negative verb occurring as an intransitive predicate head with the semantic value ‘not be’ in Tani languages from both Western and Eastern branches, such as Galo and Lower Adi.¹⁴ In addition, as was discussed in §7, there exists a relatively infrequent but nonetheless well-attested word formative *máa-* with the semantic value ‘not (have)’, which occurs in the second position of certain dimorphemic compounds: for example, *jimáa*, reflecting *ji-* ‘person’ + *máa-* ‘not (have)’ (see Table 1). Most such compositions would have come about from historical noun–verb compounds:¹⁵ in this case, PT **mi-ma(ŋ)* ‘person-not (have)’. Ultimately, these compounds themselves would have probably arisen from relative clause constructions of the form [N][RELC], in which a zero-nominalized relative clause headed by a single verb is postposed to a lexical noun; precisely such constructions are found widely in the Northern Burma/North East Indian border area, in languages such as Singpho (Morey 2011) and Rawang (LaPolla 2008).¹⁶ Schematically ((55)):

(55)	<i>*mi</i>	<i>*ma(ŋ)</i>	>	<i>*mi-maŋ</i>	>	<i>jimáa</i> ¹⁷
	person	who lacks		person-lack		poor (person)
	N	RELC		N-V		ADJ/N

Furthermore, evidence of an even richer earlier verbal status may be found in Galo proverbs. As is well known, idioms, proverbs, folktales and songs very often preserve archaic lexemes and syntactic patterns (think of *four-and-twenty blackbirds* or *holier-than-thou* . . .). In the following Galo proverb, note the occurrence of a verb root *máa-* with the sense ‘not have’, which is inflected for Perfect aspect ((56)). This is not a usage available to speakers of modern vernacular Galo; rather, we find here the fossilized behaviour and semantics of an archaic lexeme whose modern-day descendants are primarily functional in nature.

(56)	<i>paanáa paakàa, paamáa nà maakáa.</i>			
	<i>pàa-nà=ə</i>	<i>pàa-káa</i>	<i>pàa-máa-nà=ə</i>	máa-káa
	get-NZR:SUB=TOP	get-PF	get-NEG-NZR:SUB=TOP	not.have -PF
	‘The haves have got, the have-nots have not. ’ (Galo proverb)			

¹⁴ Yankee Modi informs me that similar formations are also possible in Milang, although a detailed investigation remains to be conducted.

¹⁵ Or so one assumes, on the basis of semantics. As far as I am able to judge, it is not possible to assign part-of-speech status to the internal constituents of dimorphemic nouns and adjectives in Galo; nor is it possible to reconstruct part-of-speech values to their etymological word sources except on a semantic basis.

¹⁶ For application of the concept of zero-nominalization to the types of historical developments being discussed here, see Deutscher (2009) and Post (2011a).

¹⁷ **mi > ji* is a regular change in Galo historical phonology; see Post (2007:§2.4.3.3).

In sum, there is good evidence from comparative Tani lexical semantics, lexical structuring and proverbs that a lexical verb *maŋ* ‘not (have)’ existed in the history of Tani languages.¹⁸

With this idea in mind, let us return now to the matter of the structural status of negation in Galo, which was discussed in some detail in §3. As we saw, negation in Galo—and, in fact, in all Tani languages for which I have seen any data—occurs closer to the root than do (other) inflections, and has a categorical status which seems intermediate between inflectional and derivational. Now, supposing that the (pre-)Proto-Tani predicate negator was indeed a verb, then Proto-Tani predicate morphology should be understood as having had the morphosyntactic status of a SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION ((57)).

(57)	<i>*ŋo</i>	<i>*ʔin</i>	<i>*maŋ</i>	<i>*rje</i> .	(> Modern Lare Galo <i>ŋó ʔin-máa-rə</i>)
	1.SG	go	not.have	be/exist	1.SG go-NEG-IRR
	NP	V ₁	V ₂	V ₃	
	‘I will not go.’				

In fact, there is good evidence that ancestral Tani predicate morphosyntax had precisely the character of a serial verb construction, some of which is reviewed in Post (2007:§2), as well as in Post (2010). The main evidence for this view concerns the general reconstructibility of most predicate dependents as lexical verbs—for example, Galo Irrealis suffix *-rə* reconstructs to an existential verb PT **rje*, depicted in (57)—considered together with the linear regularity and almost uniform productivity of predicate dependents.

What will interest us here is something slightly different, however. Let us first recall again the basic structure of the Galo predicate word, which, this time taking negation into account, would look something like VROOT-PDER-PNEG-PINFL. As we also recall from §3.1, scope of negation in modern Galo applies leftward over a stem, as one would expect, given a root-initial predicate with a string of suffixal dependents (see example (11)). But this may not have been the case historically. If we look carefully at the attested set of modern Galo predicate inflections, the majority have clearly come from copulas or other existential verbs of some kind. As we saw earlier, Irrealis *-rə* derives from an existential verb **rje* ‘be/exist’.¹⁹ Each Galo non-perfective suffix also reconstructs to a positional verb with locative existential functions: that is, PT **duŋ* ‘sit; be at (animate)’ > Galo *-dùu* ‘IPFV’, **dak* ‘stand; be in (contained, attached)’ > *-dàk* ‘COS’ and **do(ŋ)* ‘lie down; be at (inanimate)’ > *-dó(o)* ‘STAT’. In addition, the modern Galo Perfect suffix *-káa* appears to reconstruct to a verb **ka(ŋ)* ‘have/exist’ (see Post 2008 for a fuller description of Tani existential verbs and their grammatical reflexes). To the extent that these Proto-Tani precursors to modern-day

¹⁸ Guillaume Jacques (personal communication 2014) has pointed out a phonological and semantic resemblance to OC 亡 **m(j)aj* ‘not (have)’ > Mandarin *wáng* ‘perish’, which was used as a negator in Zhou bronze inscriptions, albeit typically in construction with 不 *bù* (Djamouri 1991:24–25). It is perhaps noteworthy in this context that the association of ‘not (having)’ with ‘death’, evidenced in the development of the Sinitic form, is echoed in PT **si-maŋ* ‘corpse’ (see Table 1). This is tempting, but too little is currently known regarding Tani–Sinitic correspondences to say anything firm at the present stage.

¹⁹ Compare the modern Lare Galo verb *rə-* ‘be/exist (animate)’.

Tani predicate inflections indeed had the character of copulas or existential verbs occupying a clause-final position, the modern-day obligatoriness of Tani predicate inflections would have thus originated in the obligatoriness of a clausal existential predicator.

How plausible is this reconstructed predicate syntax from a broader Tibeto-Burman perspective? While it would be premature to imply a genealogical link between Tani and any other well-described Tibeto-Burman subgroup on this or any other basis, it is nevertheless worth noting that precisely the same predicate syntax that we are claiming to have existed at or before the Proto-Tani stage—a serial verb construction with a final existential predicator—is found in Kachin-Luic languages such as Jingpho, spoken in Northern Burma ((58)); in simplified Jingpho varieties such as Singpho, spoken closer to the Tani area in the Lohit river valley, the existential predicator has lost Proto-Sal agreement features ((59)). The modern-day Singpho predicate syntax would thus appear largely identical to that of our Proto-Tani reconstruction.

- (58) *ŋai³³ lai³¹ka³³ thi ŋa³¹ ŋ³¹ŋai³³*
 1.SG book read be.doing 1.SG.SUB.DECL
 ‘I am reading.’ (Jingpho, Kachin-Luic) (Dai & Diehl 2003:408)

- (59) *ŋai³ sii³ ŋaa¹ ha²ʔ*
 1.SG die be>FUT DECL
 ‘I will die.’ (Turung Singpho) (Morey 2010:440)

Returning to the topic of negation, then, if we assume that the Proto-Tani antecedents to our modern-day Tani predicate inflections were indeed clause-predicating copulas or existential verbs, it is virtually certain that negation would have applied directly over them. That is to say, if the syntax of a given language requires it to state that ‘CLAUSE is the case’, it must also be able to state that ‘CLAUSE is not the case’ (see Payne 1985:§2.1 for a complementary perspective). As it happens, the Proto-Tani negative verb would have been perfectly positioned for exactly such a function ((60)).

- (60)
- | | | | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| | SCOPE | | | |
| | ↘ | | | |
| <i>*ŋo</i> | <i>[*ʔin</i> | <i>[*maŋ</i> | <i>*rje]</i> . | |
| 1.SG | go | not.have | be/exist | |
| NP | V ₁ | V ₂ | V ₃ | |
- ‘I will not go.’ (Lit.: ≡ ‘I go not-be.’; Compare English ‘I [am-not] going.’)

If this characterization is accurate, it would mean that Proto-Tani predicate syntax had exactly the characteristics which are found in almost all East/South East Asian verb-serializing languages, including Standard Thai ((61)) and Mandarin Chinese ((62)).

- (61) *phǒm [dǎn [mâj pen]]*.
 1.MASC walk not be
 ‘I can’t walk.’

- (62) *wǒ [jì [bù dǎ]].*
 1.SG remember not allow
 ‘I can’t remember.’

This is also true closer to home and with more characteristically Tibeto-Burman verb-final profiles, Lhasa Tibetan and Tamang ((63)–(64)).²⁰

- (63) *nga gnyid 'khugs ma-byung.*
 I sleep fall NEG-COP.PFV.EGO
 ‘I couldn’t get to sleep.’ (DeLancey 2003:285)

- (64) ... *'pin ʔa ʔto.*
 give not need
 ‘(We) ... don’t have to give (food to the people who don’t come).’ (Mazaudon 2003:300)

As the Tani languages seemingly shifted in typological profile from the reconstructed isolating-serializing type exemplified in (57) to the agglutinating-embedding type we find today, the structural position of negation remained the same. However, as the grammatical status of Tani clausal existential predicators shifted from being the GRAMMATICAL CLAUSAL HEAD to being a DEPENDENT PREDICATE SUFFIX, the scope of negation accordingly shifted leftward, over the grammatical predicate stem. This development is schematized in (65); in the first case, lexical verb **ʔin* ‘go’ is semantic head of the predicate while copula/auxiliary **rje* ‘be/exist’ is grammatical head, taking negation as a modifier. In the second case, *ʔin* ‘go’ is both semantic and grammatical head, and both *-máa* ‘NEG’ and *-rǎ* ‘IRR’ are modifying suffixes.

- (65)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-------|--|------------------|--|--|
| | SCOPE | | SCOPE | | |
| | ↘ | | ↘ | | |
| [*ʔin [*maŋ *rje]] | > | | [[ʔin -máa] -rǎ] | | |
| go not be/exist | | | go -NEG -IRR | | |

²⁰ It is also worth noting in this context that Sino-Tibetan languages frequently exhibit the pattern *not have* > *NEG*, as in Mandarin 沒有 *méi yǒu* ‘not have’ (used as a perfect negator, as in 沒有來 *méi yǒu lái* ‘didn’t come’) or, even more to the point, the fused Cantonese negator 無 *mow*^{2f} (Yue 2003:98). In principle, PT **ma(y)* ‘not (have)’ could reflect the same type of origin. Note that the negator in serial verb constructions is not traditionally analysed as a verb in Mainland South East Asian languages—partly because ability to be negated is often taken as criterial to the definition of verbs, and the negator usually cannot negate itself (see e.g. Matisoff 1973:265 for Lahu; or, outside of Tibeto-Burman, Enfield 2007:239 for Lao). Probably for this reason, Matisoff (2003) reconstructs PTB **ma(y)* as a negative ADVERB. There is nothing wrong in principle with this, of course; however, in view of independent evidence of verbal behaviour in cognate forms, as we have seen earlier—and particularly when the emergence of such negative verbs from negated existential verbs is so well attested, as it is in Sinitic—the possibility that PTB **ma(y)* ultimately reflects a negative verb ‘not (have)’, or else a composite sequence **ma-C* ‘NEG-exist’, must be considered.

In closing, we should briefly address the status of Tani suffixal negation in the broader Tibeto-Burman context. As I mentioned at the outset of this article, Tani languages are among a small handful of Tibeto-Burman subgroups which exhibit an exclusively suffixal negator, almost all of which are also found in the same North East Indian region in which we find Tani. Among them are Kuki-Chin, southern ‘Naga’, Bodo-Garo and Karbi; some potentially related phenomena, usually involving an interaction between suffixal and a co-existing prefixal negation, are observed in central ‘Naga’, as well as in Bodic and in rGyalrongic. A forthcoming paper by DeLancey (2014) will address many of these issues, which I therefore refrain from discussing in detail here. I will, however, point out that, in the majority of the above-mentioned cases, suffixal negation derives from FUSION of the negative prefix with a following copula or auxiliary verb. A fairly clear example comes from a negative predicate derivation in Karbi, which otherwise preserves **ma(-C)* only as an interrogative particle.

- (66) *chō-movē, jùn-movē mm.*
 eat-not.have drink-not.have AFF
 ‘(He had) nothing to eat, nothing to drink.’ (Karbi, Konnerth 2014:263, glossing slightly adjusted by this author.)

It seems very likely that the Karbi *-movē* forms derive from an earlier sequence [V NEG.PFX-COP], restructured as [V-SFX]. This fusional structure is thus directly comparable to the Bodic ‘negative copulas’, as in Lhasa Tibetan.

- (67) *nga phyin med.*
 I go.PST NEG < *NEG=COP
 ‘I did not go.’ (Tournadre 1998:140)

The point I wish to make here is that, as far as I am able to discern, a fusional analysis is *not* supported in the case of Tani. As we have seen, the *source* constructions are similar, perhaps identical: in both cases, we posit a pre-head negator to a final copula or auxiliary verb. The *mechanism* for the shift to suffixal status, however, appears to be different. In Tani, we find no clear evidence of an earlier copula or auxiliary which might have fused with the negative prefix in order to produce a negative suffix; instead, as we have seen, the earlier Tani copulas/auxiliaries remain morphologically distinct, and productive, as a new set of predicate inflections ((57)). We also find no clear evidence of morphophonology associated with the Tani predicate negator which might support reconstruction of an earlier fused form. The only real candidate would be our final velar nasal *-ŋ*, which may or may not be reconstructible to the Proto-Tani stage. Could this *-ŋ* reflect an earlier copula or auxiliary, with PT **ma(ŋ)* ultimately reconstructible as **ma-ŋV* ‘NEG-AUX’? Possibly, but this would be pure speculation. First, there is no Tani-internal evidence to support reconstruction of an auxiliary with the form **ŋV* (unless it were Siangic **ŋa* ‘NEG’, but this again is speculation).²¹

²¹ Even more speculatively, Japhug rGyalrong has a negative existential verb *maje* ‘not exist (sensory)’, which Jacques (2012:91) demonstrates to have been historically compositional (also recall the Jingpho *ŋa*³¹ existential in (58)). Again, however, we know too little about either Tani’s external correspondences or the compositionality of the Proto-Tani form to claim direct evidence of cognacy on this basis.

Second, the most straightforward explanation for development of a velar nasal in Eastern Tani *may* ‘NEG’ is a regular phonological rule applying throughout the Eastern Tani branch in which non-front PT **-VV* sequences become *-Vŋ*. While this is perhaps an odd-seeming rule, it is well exemplified by Indo-Aryan loanword nativizations in Eastern Tani languages: for example, Assamese *sa* ‘tea’ > Lower Adi (= Pasi-Padam) *say*, and Assamese *ɕontɔra* ‘mandarin orange’ > Lower Adi *sunturay*. Thus, whether or not a final velar nasal is reconstructible to the Proto-Tani stage—this remains to be determined—the ET reflexes with a final velar nasal are, in either case, phonologically regular, and so cannot be used to support reconstruction of a putative proto-auxiliary. To summarize, although the restructuring and reanalysis mechanism I have hypothesized in this article for Tani languages is, in many ways, relatable to the mechanism that DeLancey (2014) will discuss for Kuki-Chin and other Tibeto-Burman languages, I argue that it is ultimately distinct, in that reconstruction of an event of [NEG-AUX] fusion is not motivated by the Tani data. A similar case can perhaps be made for the nearby Bodo-Garo languages. While I am not capable of conducting a full analysis of negation in Bodo-Garo languages, the distributional characteristics of the Garo predicate negator appear to be very similar to those of the Tani negator. As Burling writes, the (presumably non-cognate) Garo negator *-ja* ‘comes late in the sequence of adverbial affixes, but . . . always comes before the progressive *-ing*’ (Burling 2004:142)—that is to say, before Garo predicate inflections ((68)–(69)).

(68) *chon•ja-ing-jok*
 small-NEG-PROG-COS
 VROOT-PNEG-PINFL-PINFL
 ‘no longer getting small’ (Burling 2004:142, analysis by this author.)

(69) *sok-be-ja-ode*
 arrive-HERE-NEG-COND
 VROOT-PDER-PNEG-PSUB
 ‘if (you) don’t arrive here . . . ’ (Burling 2004:157, analysis by this author.)

Unless a [NEG-AUX] source for Garo *-ja* can be demonstrated, it seems at least as likely that Bodo-Garo languages might have undergone a similar set of developments to those hypothesized here in the case of Tani. Whether these facts might have further implications for the subgrouping of Tibeto-Burman languages, or for the areal typology of Tibeto-Burman languages of the Tani/Bodo-Garo region, is an interesting question which, however, lies outside the scope of this article.

11. Conclusion

This article has had two primary goals. One goal was a comprehensive description of negation in Galo, in the course of which it was found that negation in Galo exhibited two somewhat odd features: the first, a post-head predicate negator, which is very rare in Sino-Tibetan overall; and the second, a negator with both derivation-like and inflection-like properties, which applies between derivations and inflections with stem-level scope rather than having scope over the entire predicate word. The second goal of this article has been to propose an explanation for both of these facts in

terms of a reconstructed Proto-Tani predicate syntax, in which an earlier serial verb construction with a clause-final existential/auxiliary and a pre-head negator was reanalysed as a single grammatical word, with negator scope shifting leftward over the predicate stem.

It is hoped that, at a minimum, this article will stand as a contribution to the typology of negation in Sino-Tibetan, and in Asian languages more generally. It should also contribute to a broader understanding of the origins and evolution of Tibeto-Burman predicate structures, which have received renewed recent attention from DeLancey (2010, 2013), among others.

Finally, I hope that this article might serve as a demonstration of how diachronic syntax can offer plausible theories to explain odd-seeming distributional facts. Such diachronic theories are not directly testable, to be sure, but they are supportable, and of potentially greater explanatory value than are theories which make recourse to stipulated ‘parameters’, or any other pre-defined features of a stipulated ‘universal grammar’ (Croft 2008; Evans & Levinson 2009; Givón 2002).

Abbreviations

A Transitive subject; ACC Accusative; ADD Additive; ADJ Adjective; ADVS Advisative; AFF affirmative; ANAP Anaphoric; ANEG Appositive clause negator; ANTR Anterior; APRX Addressee-proximate; ATT Attemptive; AUX Auxiliary; CAUS Causative; CJEK Conjectural stance; CMPL Completive; COMP Comparative; COMT Comitative; CONC Concessive; COND Conditional; COP Copula; COS Change-of-state; CQ Content question; DAT Dative; DECL Declarative stance; DEF Definitive; DEM Demonstrative; DESD Desiderative; DISJ Disjunctive; DST Distal demonstrative; DUB Dubitative; EGO Egophoric; EPF Experiential perfect; ET Eastern Tani; EXH Exhaustive; EXHR Exhortative; FRUS Frustrative; FUT Future; GEN Genitive; GENP Genitive phrase; GUES Guessing stance; HORT Hortative; ICMP Implicit comparison; INCP Incipient; IND Individuative; IPFV Imperfective; IPTV Imperative; IRR Irrealis; LOC Locative; MASC Masculine; MIR Mirative; MNOM Modifying nominal; N Noun; NEG Negator; NFI Non-final intonation; NOM Nominal; NP Noun phrase; NZR Nominalizer; O Transitive object; ODIR Other (non-speaker) directed; PCL Particle; PDER Predicate derivation; PF Perfect; PFV Perfective; PINFL Predicate inflection; PL Plural; PNEG Predicate negation; POL Polite; PQ Polar question; PRD Predictive; PRED Predicate; PROG Progressive; PROH Prohibitive; PST Past; PTB Proto-Tibeto-Burman; PUNC Punctual; QTAG Question tag; RDUP Reduplication; REAS Reason; REFL Reflexive; RELC Relative clause; RLS Realis; S Intransitive subject; SBRD Subordinate; SDIR Speaker-directed; SFX Suffix; SG Singular; SJNC Subjunctive; SPRX Speaker-proximate; STAT Stative; SUB Subject; TENT Tentative; TMP Temporal; TOP Topic; UCRT Uncertainty stance; V Verb; VP Verb phrase; WOND Wonderment stance; WT Western Tani

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149 Bldg E11 (Linguistics)
University of New England
Armidale 2351, Australia
markwpost@gmail.com

漢藏語之否定暨迦龍語個案研究： 用歷時術語對其分布異象的闡釋

Mark W. Post

新英格蘭大學

絕大部分漢藏語言（或跨喜馬拉雅語言）的謂語中心詞都帶前置否定標記，然而，在漢藏語言中，也有一小部分語言的謂語中心詞只帶後置否定標記，達尼語便是其中之一。這種否定標記具有某種特殊的性質——既與派生變化相似，又與屈折變化相似，在謂語主體中處於派生變化和屈折變化的「中間」地帶。通過對以情態助詞結尾的連動結構形成的單個謂詞的再分析，本文認為早期前置的情態否定標記由於在謂語主體中位置左移、重新排列而形成了謂語後綴，並且提出對上述兩種現象的普適性解釋。這與在有些藏緬語，譬如，庫基-欽語和那加語中發現的另一種變化途徑有著相似性，在這些語言中，否定前綴與句尾情態助詞融合而形成了後綴。然而，筆者認為上述現象在本質上有些許的不同。本文提供了比 Post (2007) 文關於迦龍語（一種藏緬語族達尼支語言，位於東喜馬拉雅）否定結構更為詳盡、綜合的描寫，基於此，筆者得出上述論斷。因此，本文的另一目標在於豐富亞洲語言否定結構的類型學特徵。

關鍵詞：否定，藏緬語，達尼語，迦龍語，歷史語言學