

NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

St. Petersburg School
of Arts and Humanities

Department of Philology

Negation in Khmer

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Student:

Daria Saparova

Group BFL 172

Supervisor:

Maria Kholodilova, Senior
Lecturer

Consultant:

Sergey Dmitrenko

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INTRODUCTION

As noted by Miestamo (2007), negation in simple propositional logic can be considered as an operator that reverses the truth value of a proposition. Formally negation works as follows: when p is true, $\neg p$ is false and *vice versa*. At a core level, negation works just like that, but it also “shows interactions with many aspects of meaning and structure”.

Miestamo (2005, 2007, 2013) also distinguishes two types of negation: standard and non-standard. By standard negation is meant the negation in main declarative clauses, and by non-standard everything that is not included in this definition (existential negation, non-verbal clauses, imperatives, and the negation of subordinate clauses).

In this paper, I will consider ways of expressing both standard and non-standard negation in the Khmer language. This study is relevant since there are no papers specifically focusing on Khmer negation, except for some sections in grammatical descriptions (see Khin Sok 1999, Haiman 2011, Bisang 2014, Gorgoniev (Горгониев 1966)). In this paper, I will not consider the lexical expression of negation, for example, using the verb *chup* (ឈប់) “stop”, which is discussed by Gorgoniev (Горгониев 1966).

Khmer is the official language of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Khmer belongs to the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro-Asiatic family, forming a separate group in it. Khmer is an isolating language with elements of derivational morphology, which has lost its productivity. According to (Kasevich 1983), Khmer is an “improperly syllabic” (несобственно слоговой) language because it contains single consonant affixes. Traditionally, two parts of speech are distinguished in Khmer: names and predicatives (adjectives and verbs). The word order in transitive sentences is rigid SVO¹, the word order in the noun phrase is NA². Grammatical relations in Khmer are conveyed by word order and several optional functional words. Verbal serialization is fairly common. One of the most common ways of conveying negation and prohibition is a double construction with preverbal and clause-final markers, see Dmitrenko (Дмитренко 2018) and Haiman (2011).

This study is based on corpus data (<http://sealang.net>, <http://sealang.net/khmer/bitext.htm>, <http://sealang.net/oldkhmer/bitext.htm>, <http://sealang.net/oldkhmer/corpus.htm>) and on Internet textual resources collected using the Google. Also, some of the data was elicited from Khmer native speakers. Examples in which it is not noted where they came from were elicited by native speakers. Examples from articles and from corpora were given to the single transcription standard adopted by Headley (1977). Also, translations of examples from corpora and articles were presented original form and were not changed.

¹ Subject-Verb-Object

² Noun-Adjective

This paper consists of six chapters, as well as an introduction and conclusion. The first chapter describes the prepositive and postpositive markers of negation, their functions and differences, and their historical origin. The second chapter is devoted to the expression of standard negation with special attention to resultative constructions. The third chapter is about non-standard negation in Khmer. In section 3.1, negation in non-verbal predication is discussed, in section 3.2, I will look at caritive, in section 3.3, at prohibitive, and in section 3.4, negation in dependent clauses is discussed. The fourth chapter is devoted to the double negation in the Khmer language in terms of the Jespersen Cycle. The fifth chapter is devoted to the diachronic analysis of the negation in modern Khmer, as well as study of the negation in the old Khmer language. The sixth chapter discusses negation in other languages of the Austro-Asiatic family.

CHAPTER 1. NEGATION MARKERS IN KHMER

This chapter will examine separately the prepositive and postpositive markers of negation, since they perform different functions in the sentence.

In modern Khmer, the meaning of negation can be expressed by four prepositional markers (*min*, *ʔat*, *pum* and *ʔət*), which can also be accompanied by four clause-final markers (*te:*, *sah*, *laəy* and *sah laəy*).

According to Bisang (2014: 491) and Khin Sok (1999: 407), a negative answer is expressed by the particle *te:* is used, which can be combined with the multifunctional marker *ba:t*, see example (1).

(1) - ឯងឃើញម្នាក់អញទេ?

<i>ʔaen</i>	<i>khən</i>		<i>muək</i>	<i>ʔən</i>	<i>te:</i>
you	see		hat	mine	NEG.FINAL

‘Have you seen my hat’?

- (បាទ)ទេ

<i>(ba:t)</i>	<i>te:</i>
ASP	NEG.FINAL

‘No’.

This will not be considered. (Khin Sok 1999: 407)

I will not examine it further and in this chapter markers of constituent and sentential negation will be described.

1.1. Prepositional markers

As noted above, the meaning of negation can be expressed in modern Khmer by four prepositional markers (*min*, *ʔat*, *pum* and *ʔət*), which precede the verb and preverbal TAM markers, see Bisang (2014: 491), see example (2).

(2) ខ្ញុំមិន/អត់/ពុំ/ឥតចេះនិយាយខ្មែរ

<i>knom</i>	<i>min</i>	/	<i>ʔat</i>	/	<i>pum</i>	/	<i>ʔət</i>	<i>ceh</i>
I	NEG1		NEG2		NEG3		NEG4	know

niʔjiəj *khmae*

speak Khmer

‘I don’t speak Khmer’.

As noted by Bisang (2014: 691) that the “basic” negative construction in Khmer consists of two components: one of the prepositional negators + marker *te:* But sometimes *te:* can be omitted, see example (3).

(3) ខ្ញុំមិន/អត់/ពុំ/គិតចេះនិយាយភាសារុស្ស៊ីទេ

<i>knom</i>	<i>min/</i>	^{OK} <i>ʔat/</i>	^{OK} <i>pum/</i>	^{OK} <i>ʔat</i>	<i>ceh</i>	<i>niʔjiaj</i>	<i>phiesa:</i>
I	NEG1	NEG2	NEG3	NEG4	know	speak	language
<i>ruhsi</i>	<i>(te:)</i>						
Russian	NEG.FINAL						

‘I don’t speak Russian’.

According to Bisang (2014: 491), one of the differences in the use of the markers is style. i.e., these markers differ in their use in texts of different styles. The marker *ʔat* is used primarily in colloquial oral texts, while *min* is probably the most basic form, found equally often in oral and written texts. The particle *pum* is used mainly in written texts. According to Jenner and Pou (1982), this marker is used in scientific texts (*langue savante*). The marker *ʔat* appears in written texts with archaic elements.

Bisang also mentions a special negative form of the verb *miən* “to have, exist”, which is formed using the negative prefix *k-* (*k-miən*), see example (4).

(4) គ្មានមនុស្សទេ

<i>k-miən</i>	<i>mɔnuh</i>	<i>te:</i>
NEG-have	human	NEG.FINAL

‘There are no people’.

It is important that the form *k-miən* is quite rare and one of its main uses in the modern Khmer language is in caritive constructions (see Chapter 3). In the contexts of sentential and constituent negation, the verb *miən* is more often used with prepositional particles.

(5) ខ្ញុំមិន/អត់/ពុំ/គិតមាន

<i>knom</i>	<i>min</i>	/	<i>ʔat</i>	/	<i>pum</i>	/	<i>ʔat</i>	<i>miən</i>
I	NEG1		NEG2		NEG3		NEG4	have
ប៉ាកទី			ដូច	គេ	ទេ			
<i>pakti:</i>			<i>do:c</i>	<i>ke:</i>	<i>te:</i>			
strong.relationship			like	they	NEG.FINAL			

“I have no close relationships like the others”. (Sealang Bitext)

In order to determine the difference between these markers, we looked at the frequency of each of them. According to the corpus data, the frequency of these markers is as follows (see table 1).

Table 1. Frequency in corpus (<http://sealang.net>)

marker	number of occurrences
--------	-----------------------

<i>min</i>	7889
<i>pum</i>	1000
<i>ʔət</i>	530
<i>ʔat</i>	335

It can be seen that the most frequent particle is *min* and the least frequent one is *ʔat*. The distribution was probably influenced by style, because *min* is the most stylistically neutral and can be used in almost all contexts. Meanwhile, *ʔat* is primarily used in oral speech, and corpus data mostly consists of official texts.

As noted by Pou (1982), historically, the markers *ʔat* and *ʔət* go back to the same form of the predicative *ita* (Angkor version is *ʔyat*) with the meanings ‘be absent’, ‘be powerless’, ‘forgive’ and the preposition *it* ‘without’, see examples (6) and (7).

(6) OLD KHMER

daha ʔyat santāna ta puruṣa ley ...
COND NEG descendant REL male AT_ALL
‘If there be no more male descendants, ...’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

(7) OLD KHMER

sre jnañ karom tnal mat it caṃkā
ricefield be_enclosed bottom road M. NEG3 dry_field
‘The enclosed ricefield below the Mat road, without the dry field’.
(Oldkhmer Bitext)

According to Jenner (2009), marker *pum* can be traced back to a form of the predicative *vvaṃ* with the meanings ‘be closed, close’, ‘be forbidden’. It also has an adverbial meaning of negation and rejection. Also, one of the main uses of this marker was in the prohibitive contexts with the constructions *vvaṃ ʔāc ti* (NEG + COP + CONJ) and *vvaṃ jā pi* (NEG2 + able + PASS), examples (8) and (9).

(8) OLD KHMER

vvaṃ jā pi³ oy pi ʔnak vādhā
NEG COP CONJ give CATEG person interfere
‘Let not others interfere with [them]’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

³ In Old Khmer, the particle *pi* (the modern analogue sounds like *bəi*) was also used in categorical prohibition constructions with the prohibitive marker *kom*, see section 3.4.

(9) OLD KHMER

vvaṃ ṛāc ti āyatta ta vrīha viṣaya
NEG2 able PASS come_under_the_authority CONJ rice kingdom
‘[These revenues] are not to come under the authority of the district commissioners
of rice, ...’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

The marker *min* appears rather late (in the Middle Khmer period). According to Jenner and Pou (1982), in the 17th century, the form *man* of this marker started replacing the negative particle *pum*. The origin of this form is unknown. Perhaps this marker grammaticalized from the predicative *miən* “to have” or from the relativization marker *man*. It is also possible that this marker was borrowed from the Cham language. In the dictionary of Aymonier and Cabaton (1906), there is a particle *min/man* with an expressive, negative or affirmative meaning.

1.2. Postpositional markers

As noted above, the Khmer language uses special clause-final negation markers. Khin Sok (1999: 406) calls them “expressions denoting the degree of negation” (*des termes indiquant le degré de négation*). There are markers សោះ (*sah*), ឥឡឹង (*laəy*), សោះឥឡឹង (*sah laəy*) and also marker តែ (*te:*), which I will consider separately, since it performs another function. These clause-final markers cannot express negation alone, so they occur only in combination with preverbal markers.

In many cases *sah* is a marker of emphatic negation. According to Headley (1977), in negative sentences *sah* expresses the meaning ‘at all, in the least, completely, utterly, absolutely; finally’. As claimed by Khin Sok (1999: 408), the marker *sah* can be used in both written and oral speech.

(10) វាមិនរៀនសោះ

vie min riən sah
it NEG1 study NEG.EMPH
‘He doesn’t study at all’.

Khin Sok (1999: 407) claimed, that with *sah* negation is highlighted. For example, in (11) the French translation is “*je n’avance pas* (c’est- à-dire pas d’un pas)”.

(11) ខ្ញុំមិនទៅមុខសោះ

knom min tiv muk sah
I NEG1 go in_front_of NEG.EMPH
‘I don’t approach (at all)’. (Khin Sok 1999:407)

One of the most frequent uses of *sah* is in combination with the marker *ṭaoj* in the prohibitive construction (the prohibitive marker in Khmer is *kom*, see section 3.3.). The

construction *kom...ʔaoj sah* (PROH...CAUS+AT_ALL) expresses a categorical prohibition, see example (12).

(12) កុំសម្លាប់កណ្តុរនេះឱ្យសោះ

<i>kom</i>	<i>sɔmlap</i>	<i>kɔndol</i>	<i>nih</i>	<i>ʔaoj</i>	<i>səh</i>
PROH	kill	mouse	this	CAUS	NEG.EMPH

‘Do not kill this mouse under any circumstances!’ (Saparova 2019)

According to Headley (1997) *sah* can also be used in some non-negative contexts, and mean “flavorless, dry, physically exhausted, exhausted and dry in the throat”. I will not consider these cases.

Historically, the marker *sah* can be traced back to the form *soh* (Pre-Angkorian variant is *soh*) with the meaning ‘be exhausted, used up, all gone, out of’. It was also used in adverbial sense and meant ‘completely, wholly, utterly; (not) at all, in the least, in any way, to any extent’.

The next marker of the end of the clause that modifies the negative meaning is *laəj* (ឆ្លើយ). According to Khin Sok (1999: 408), this indicator is semantically similar to the marker *sah*, but used more in literary written texts. As claimed by Elovkov (ЕЛОВКОВ 2006: 239), the element *laəj* is more often used in negative statements expressing the duration of the lack of action or state. Headley (1977) similarly describes the meaning of *laəj*, noting that in negative sentences it “express[es] the idea of incompleted action, existence or progressing action”⁴, see example (13).

(13) ក៏នៅតូចមិនទាន់ជួយខ្លួនវាបាននៅឡើយ

<i>ka</i>	<i>niv</i>	<i>to:c</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>toan</i>	<i>cuəy</i>	<i>kluən</i>	<i>vie</i>
so	still	small	NEG1	on_time	help	REFL	it
<i>ba:n</i>	<i>niv</i>	<i>laəj</i>					
ASP	still	AT_ALL					

‘He [my son] is still young and not yet able to care for himself’. (Sealang Bitext)

This marker can also be used in an affirmative context, expressing the idea of duration.

As claimed by Saparova (Сапарова 2019), in the prohibitive construction with the marker *kom* (see section 3.3 about prohibitive), clause-final *laəj* can be used only with stative verbs (a class vaguely corresponding to adjectives) expressing the duration and reinforcement of the prohibition, compare examples (14) and (15).

(14) កុំខ្វល់ខ្វាយពី ថ្ងៃស្អែកឡើយ

<i>kom</i>	<i>khvɔl₁</i>	<i>khva:j₂</i>	<i>pi:</i>	<i>thɨaj₁</i>	<i>sʔaek₂</i>	<i>laəj</i>
PROH	be_restless _{1,2}		PREP	tomorrow _{1,2}	AT.ALL	

‘Don't worry about tomorrow’.

⁴ He also gives translations like “(not) ... at all ..., ever, anymore; absolutely”.

- (15) កុំសម្លាប់កណ្តុរនេះ(??ឡើយ)
kom sɔmlap kɔndol nih (ʔlaəj)
 PROH kill mouse this AT.ALL
 ‘Don’t kill this mouse’. (Saparova 2019)

As claimed by Bisang (2014: 710), Thai has a word *laəj*, which is borrowed from Khmer and goes back to the word *laəj*. This marker in Thai can also be used in affirmative contexts.

According to Jenner (2009), historically, *laəj* goes back to the verb *leya/ læya* (Pre-Angkorian and Angkorian variant is *ley*), which meant ‘to go on, beyond, further; to continue; to pass, surpass’. Also it was used in negative constructions and renders a meaning that is similar to that in modern language. Headley (1977) notes, that *laəj* has meanings: either, likewise; any more, any longer, in any way; ever, at all, to any extent, in the least, under any circumstances.

- (16) OLD KHMER
cāmpa srom samtac ’ayat ’anak mvay ta ’āc
 Cham surround lord absent person one CONJ able
chpañ ley
 fight AT_ALL
 ‘The Cham hemmed in His Majesty, [and] there was not a man able to fight any longer’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

In some studies, for example, Khin Sok (1999: 408), the marker *sah laəj* (សោះឡើយ), which is a combination of markers *sah* and *laəj*, is considered separately. The author says that this marker is used mostly in literary texts, and that the construction *sph laəj* expresses the meaning of categorical negation. Headley (1977) translates this marker as “nothing, absolutely nothing”.

- (17) ខ្ញុំមិនដែលមានពេលទំនេរសោះឡើយ
knom min dael mien pe:l₁ tumne:2 sah laəj
 I NEG1 REL have leisure time_{1,2} EMPH.NEG AT_ALL
 ‘I never ever have any free time’. (Sealang Bitext)

The construction *sah laəj* can also be used in prohibitive. As mentioned by Saparova (Сапарова 2019), in a prohibitive context this marker also expresses categorical negation. However, this construction is not restricted to the stative verbs, unlike the prohibitive construction with the clause-final *laəj*, compare examples (14), (15) and (18).

- (18) កុំសម្លាប់កណ្តុរនេះសោះឡើយ
kom sɔmlap kɔndol nih sph laəj
 PROH kill mouse this NEG.EMPH AT_ALL
 ‘Under any circumstances don’t kill this mouse’. (Saparova 2019)

Finally, there is a clause-final negation marker *te:* (ែទ). I will consider it separately, because it has the most neutral semantics, and it is not clear what it contributes to the meaning of the whole sentence. It is claimed in some works (for example, Bisang (2014: 691)) that the basic negative construction in Khmer consists of two components: a prepositional negator + the marker *te:*, see example (19).

- (19) ខ្ញុំមិន/អត់/ពុំ/គិតចេះនិយាយភាសារុស្ស៊ី(ទេ)
knom min/ OKʔat/ OKpum/OKʔat ceh niʔjiəj phiesa:
 I NEG1 NEG2 NEG3 NEG4 know speak language
ruhsi (te:)
 Russian NEG.FINAL
 ‘I don’t speak Russian’.

Nonetheless, Bisang (2014: 691) writes that a negative sentence with *te:* has “a certain emphatic effect”.

Khin Sok (1999: 407) claimed, that *te:* adds confidence and categorization (decisiveness) to the statement.

- (20) ខ្ញុំមិនយកទេ
knom min jɔ:k te:
 I NEG1 take NEG.FINAL
 ‘I absolutely do not accept it’. Bisang (2014: 691)

However, he later notes that categorization can be expressed simply by raising the tone. Thus, the sentence from the example below may have two interpretations: the first one without raising the tone, and the second with raising, see example (21).

- (21) ខ្ញុំមិនយក
knom min jɔ:k
 I NEG1 take
 i. ‘I do not accept it’.
 ii. ‘I absolutely do not accept it’.

In modern Khmer *te:* also functions as a polar question marker⁵, see example (22).

- (22) អ្នកចេះនិយាយខ្មែរទេ
neak ceh niʔjiej khmae te:
 you know speak Khmer NEG.FINAL
 ‘Do you speak Khmer?’ (Gorgoniev 1966)

⁵ But as claimed Bisang (2014: 691), “[p]olar questions are minimally expressed by rising (or falling) intonation”.

According to Bisang (2014: 691), interrogative sentences are clearly distinguished from negative by sentence-final high pitch in questions.

According to Gorgoniev (Горгониев 1966), the question marker *te:* can be combined with the disjunctive conjunction *ri:* (ᠢᠷᠢ) to form a more specific type of questions. As claimed by Bisang (2014: 691), a combination of *ri:* followed by *te:* (*ri: te:*) has the same meaning as *te:* alone, compare examples (1), (22) and (23).

(23) អ្នកស្តាប់ខ្ញុំយល់ឬទេ

<i>neak</i>	<i>sdap</i>	<i>knom</i>	<i>yʉəl</i>	<i>ri:</i>	<i>te:</i>
you	hear	I	understand	DISJ	NEG.FINAL
'Do you understand me?'					

According to Jenner (2009), the postpositional final particle *te*: goes back to the predicative with the meanings ‘be empty, unoccupied, vacant, idle’, ‘be absolute, utter, final’ and later to a clause-final emphasis marker.

CHAPTER 2. STANDARD NEGATION

To show distinction in coding different types of negated contexts I will look at two types of negation: standard (SN) and non-standard negation (NSN).

“A SN construction is a construction whose function is to [negate] a verbal declarative main clause [...], and that is (one of) the productive and general means the language has for performing this function [...]”

Miestamo (2005: 42)

In this chapter, I will look at negation in declarative clauses, and in the next chapter, the contexts that Miestamo (2005: 45) calls non-standard negation will be considered.

As noted above, in the Khmer language, the basic or standard negation is expressed preverbally, and the postpositive marker *te*: is added, but sometimes it can be omitted. Thus, the word order is as follows: *min*⁶ + V+ (*te*):

- (24) គ្នាមិន/អត់/ពុំ/ឥតទៅជាមួយទេ
knie min/ ʔat/ pum/ ʔat tiv cie₁ muəj₂ te:
 I NEG1 NEG2 NEG3 NEG4 go with_{1,2} NEG.FINAL
 ‘I am not going along’. (Sealang Bitext)

In a resultative (completive) construction, the negator is placed before the second (lexical) element. In Khmer, resultative construction realized as a serial verb construction. As claimed by Haiman (2011: 271), “[t]he S[erial] V[erb] (here a perfectivizing “success” verb) signals that the operation attempted in the M[ain] V[erb] was carried out successfully; if the SV is negated, that it was not”. There is a number of “success verbs”, which have specific meaning in this serial construction. As claimed by Khin Sok (1999: 409), in negative resultative construction the word order is as follows: MV + NEG+ SV + (NEG.FINAL)

- (25) គេដេកមិនលក់(ទេ)
ke: de:k min lvək (te:)
 3 sleep NEG1 to_sell NEG.FINAL
 ‘He cannot sleep’/ ‘They are not asleep’. (Sealang Bitext)
- (26) គេដេកលក់
ke: de:k lvək
 3 sleep to_sell
 ‘They are asleep’.

As claimed by Haiman (2011: 271), in Southeast Asian languages resultative constructions are productive (for example, in Vietnamese, Thai, Lao, and Hmong).

⁶ Further almost everywhere I will use the marker *min*, since it is the most frequent.

Also, as Khin Sok (1999: 411) notes, the negation marker can be placed not only before the verb, but also before a word that is under its scope.

(27) គាត់និយាយមិនច្រើនទេ

<i>koat</i>	<i>niʔjiej</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>craən</i>	<i>te:</i>
3	speak	NEG1	much	NEG.FINAL
‘He doesn’t speak a lot’.			(Sealang Bitext)	

CHAPTER 3. NON-STANDARD NEGATION

Non-standard negation can be defined as a negation that is not standard (see previous chapter). That is, negation in non-declarative and non-main clauses, non-verbal predication and non-productive.

According to Miestamo (2013), non-standard negation includes negated imperatives (prohibitives), negation of existentials and non-verbal clauses, and the negation of subordinate clauses.

“[I]mperatives, existential and non-verbals are clearly the most common environments to require special negative constructions. This typological fact makes it reasonable to claim that they represent a separate phenomenon and thereby supports the decision of excluding these environments from the definition of SN[...]. In later research, the typology of imperative, existential and non-verbal negation can be compared to the typology of SN, and a more comprehensive typology of clausal negation can be proposed.[...]”

Miestamo (2005: 45)

In this chapter, I will examine how the Khmer language expresses negation in non-verbal predication, the expression of caritive and prohibitive, and also negation in dependent clauses.

3.1. Non-verbal predication

According to Hengeveld (1992), non-verbal predication (NVP) can be defined as a construction “[...] containing a form of the (equivalent of the) verb *to be* on the one hand, and those [constructions] containing no verb at all on the other [...]”.

Usually, several types of NVP are distinguished, but I will focus on those whose selection is relevant for the Khmer language. So, in this paper, I will consider the following types: location, possession, classification, and existential negation.

As claimed by Haiman (2011: 212), in Khmer there is a clear distinction between verbal/adjectival predicates, which are not used (in the usual case) with copula, locative predicates, which are used with the verb *niv*, and nominal predicates, which are used with the copula *cie*, compare examples (28) – (30).

(28) ជ្រូកនៅក្រោមផ្ទះ

cru:k niv kraom pteah

pig locate under house

‘The pig is under the house’. (Haiman 2011: 212)

(29) *ជ្រូកជាត្រកូមផ្ទះ

**cru:k cie kraom pteah*

pig COP under house

Exp.: ‘The pig is under the house’.

(30) ខ្លាជាសត្វនោក

kla: cie sat chaot

tiger COP animal stupid

‘The tiger is a stupid animal’. (Sealang Bitext)

Further, I will not consider locative predication, since it cannot be called non-verbal in the sense that it is used without a verb. The verb *niv* is quite frequent and is often used in its direct lexical meanings, see examples (31) and (32).

(31) ខ្ញុំនៅឯនាយ

knom niv ʔae niey

I locate PREP there

‘I live over there’.

(32) ឯងទៅឬមួយនៅ?

ʔaen niv ri: muəj niv

you locate DISJ one locate

‘Are you going or staying?’

There is one more copula in Khmer, which sounds like *ki* (គឺ).

(33) នេះគឺផ្កាថ្ម

nih ki: pka: tma:

this FOC flower stone

‘It is coral’. (Jacob 1968:141)

Sometimes this copula can be combined with copula *cie*, see (34)

(34) មនុស្សទាបដែលពាក់វ៉ែនតានោះគឺជាឪពុកខ្ញុំ

mənuh tiep dael peak vaentaa nuh ki: cie

human short REL wear glasses that FOC COP

ʔəvpuk knom

father I

‘The short man wearing glasses is my father’. (Haiman 2011: 247)

As claimed by Bisang (2014: 688), the difference in the use of the copulas *cie* and *ki*: is due to the fact that the first is used for characterizational sentences, and the second for identification (the combination of copulas is also used for identification).

Haiman (2011: 246) considers *ki*: as a cleft or focus marker. Moreover, it can be combined with the complementizer *tha*: “to say”, see (35)

(35) ដែលខ្ញុំដឹងនោះគឺថាវាជាសត្វឆ្កែ

dael knom dəŋ nuh ki: tha: nieŋ niŋ mək
REL I know that FOC COMPL missy FUT come
‘As far as I know, she’s planning to come’.

(=That which I know is this: she’s coming). (Haiman 2011: 246)

But I will not consider the marker *ki* further, since it cannot be negated.

In some cases (usually in oral colloquial speech), there can be no copula in NVP, see example (36).

- (36) គាត់មេម៉ាយ
koat me:-ma:j
she widow
‘She is a widow’. (Jacob 1968: 141)

Existential contexts in the Khmer language are formed using the verb *mien* ‘to have’, see (37).

- (37) មានកូនបួននាក់ក្នុងបន្ទីកខ្ញុំ
mien ko:n buən neak knoŋ bantuk knom
have child four HUM.CLS inside duty I
‘There are four children in my care’. (Sealang Bitext)

Further, I will not consider existential predication, since it is formed by adding negators to the verb and behaves in this case as a regular verbal negation. However, since the verb *mien* has a special negative form *k-mien*, it can sometimes be used, see example (38).

- (38) គ្មាន/មិនមានមនុស្សគ្រប់ទីកន្លែង
k-mien / min mien mənuh krup ti:1 kanlaeŋ2
NEG-have NEG1 have human all place_{1,2}
‘There weren’t people anywhere’.

Negation in non-verbal predication in Khmer language is usually expressed by the construction *min*⁷ *mɛ:n cie* (មិនមែនជា), see (39).

- (39) គាត់មិនមែនជាវេជ្ជបណ្ឌិតទេ
koat min mɛ:n cie viceaʔbandit te:
he NEG1 true COP doctor NEG.FINAL
‘He is not a doctor’.

It can be seen that in this construction not the predicate, but explicit confirmation of predicates truth is negated. Eriksen (2011) called it Direct Negation Avoidance (DNA).

⁷Another prepositional marker of negation can be used.

“DNA (Direct Negation Avoidance):

All non-standard negation of non-verbal predicates is a means to negate such predicates indirectly.

Direct negation and indirect negation:

Direct negation of a predicate PRED means that PRED is the main object of the negation’s semantic scope, e.g. if X in NEG [X] is the main object of the negation (NEG)’s semantic scope, then PRED is directly negated iff X=PRED. Indirect negation of a predicate PRED is any operation which avoids this structure, but which still leads to a negative reading of the proposition P which in its positive form would take PRED as its main predicate. Indirect negation may allow PRED to be partly or fully within the scope of negation, as long as $X \neq \text{PRED}$ in NEG [X]”

(Eriksen 2011: 277)

In other words, it means, that non-verbal predication avoids being directly under the scope of negation. As claimed by Eriksen (2011), DNA has three strategies:

1. Distantiating strategies: *It is not true that this dog is a collie. There is no such thing as this dog being a collie. It cannot happen that this dog should be a collie.*
2. Phrase-internal strategies: *This dog is something which is not a collie. This dog is collieless. It is not a collie, the something which this dog is.*
3. Negationless strategies: *This dog is different from a collie. This dog is a beagle.*

It can be seen from the examples, that Khmer uses the negated verification strategy. As claimed by Eriksen, “[i]n the negated verification strategy, DNA is achieved by negating an explicit confirmation of the predicate’s truth, i.e. ‘It is not true that y(x)’”.

(40) ប៊ិចនេះមិនមែនជាបស់អ្នកទេ

bic nih min mɛ:n cie rɔbah neak te:
pen this NEG1 true COP POSS you NEG.FINAL
‘This pen isn’t yours’.

In Khmer, the standard negation particle is *min*, but in the non-verbal predicates *min* has scope over the verb *mɛ:n* with the meaning “be true”, which intervenes between the negator and the copula.

This strategy is also found in other languages of Southeast Asia and it is probably an areal feature.

(41) THAI

kháw mây chây phûan
3 NEG true friend
‘He’s not a friend’.

(Eriksen 2011: 280)

- (42) VIETNAMESE
tôi không phải là ngu'ời Na Uy
 1SG NEG true be person Norway
 ‘I’m not a Norwegian’. (Eriksen 2011: 280)

Such words as *mɛ:n*, *chây*, and *phải* are called DNA-mediators in Eriksen’s terminology, since they “mediate between the language’s standard negator and the non-verbal predicate itself”.

Also, as claimed by Gorgoniev (Горгониев 1966: 106), when *min mɛ:n* is used to negate NVP, the copula can be omitted, especially in colloquial speech.

- (43) វាមិនមែនចោរទេ
vie min mɛ:n cao te:
 it NEG1 true bandit NEG.FINAL
 ‘He is not a bandit’.

3.2. Caritive

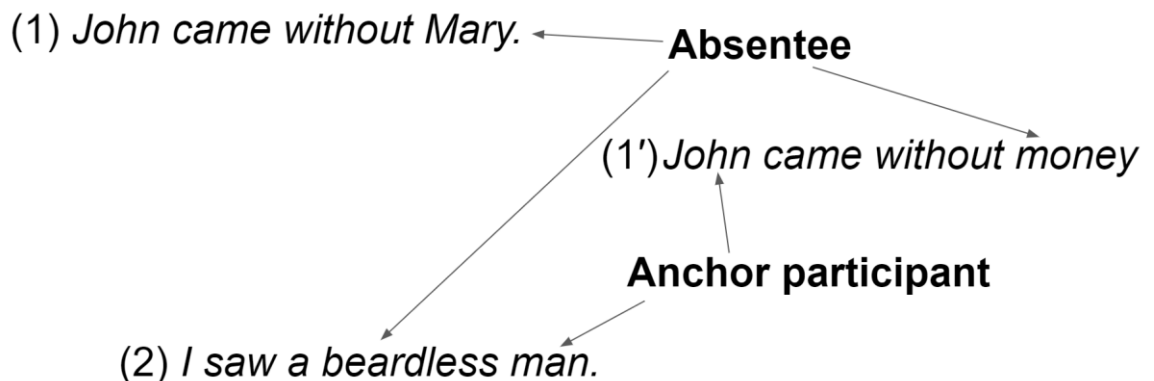
Another meaning from the negation zone is the caritive. In a first approximation, a caritive is a grammatical category that expresses the meaning of “absence”, which in English is expressed by the preposition *without* and the suffix *-less*.

- (44) *John came without Mary.*

- (45) *John is childless.*

According to Oskolskaja and Fedotov (Оскольская, Федотов 2019), “caritive describes non-involvement (in a particular case, absence) in the situation of a certain participant (absentee), while the predication of non-involvement is a semantic modifier of this situation or a participant of some other situation (anchor participant)”⁸. Figure 1 shows the basic terms used in this definition.

Figure 1. Caritive (Oskolskaja, Fedotov 2019)



⁸ “[к]аритив описывает невовлеченность (в частном случае отсутствие) в ситуацию некоторого участника (абсенса), при этом предикация невовлеченности является семантическим модификатором этой ситуации или участника некоторой другой ситуации (ориентира)”.

The meaning of the caritive was not discussed in grammars and other papers devoted to the Khmer language. In the parallel corpus, there are very few English caritive constructions and in Khmer text caritive constructions do not correspond to them

According to my data obtained using elicitation methods, the basic⁹ caritive construction in Khmer is *kmian* (គ្មាន), see example (46)

- (46) អាងគ្មានទឹក
ʔa:ŋ k-miən tik
 pool NEG-have water
 ‘Swimming pool without water’.

This construction is a negative form of the verb មាន (*miən*) ‘to have’ with a negative prefix *k-*, which occurs only with this word. This form can also be used in existential negative contexts, see (47).

- (47) ខ្ញុំគ្មានជាកំនីដូចគេទេ
knom k-miən pakti: do:c ke: te:
 I NEG-have strong.relationship like they NEG.FINAL
 ‘I have no close relationships like the others’.

However, in this case, the form *k-miən* competes with other negative forms of the verb *miən* (to have), e.g. *min miən/ ʔat miən/ ʔət miən/ pum miən*. In modern Khmer, this usage of the verb *k-miən* is not very productive and in oral speech *ʔat miən* is used more frequently and *min miən* in written (S. Yu. Dmitrenko, p.c.)

In some contexts, the form ដោយគ្មាន (*daoj kmian*) is also possible. The marker *daoj* has many different functions. In this context, it probably marks one situation as “secondary”, “background” to another (S. Yu. Dmitrenko, p.c.). For a more detailed description of the functions of *daoj*, see (Paillard 2013). The construction *daoj kmian* is often used to translate caritives from other languages.

It seems that *daoj kmian* is NPI (negative polarity item), since its use in affirmative sentences is judged as not quite grammatical, see examples (48) – (50).

- (48) ខ្ញុំពិតជាមិនអាចរស់នៅដោយគ្មានគាត់
knom pitcie min ʔa:c rəhniv daoj k-miən koat
 I surely NEG1 able live DAOJ NEG-have he
 បាន ទេ
ba:n te:

⁹ By basic is meant such a construction, which is the most frequent, the most grammaticalized and covers the largest number of caritive contexts.

ASP NEG_FINAL

‘I cannot live without him’.

(49) ខ្ញុំមិន ចេះធ្វើការ?(ដោយ)គ្មានតន្ត្រី

<i>knom</i>	<i>mɨn</i>	<i>ceh</i>	<i>tvəəkaa</i>	[?] (<i>daoj</i>)	<i>k-miən</i>
I	NEG1	be.able	work	DAOJ	NEG-have
<i>dantrəy</i>					
music					

‘I cannot work without music’.

(50) ខ្ញុំចេះធ្វើការ(??ដោយ)គ្មានតន្ត្រី

<i>knom</i>	<i>ceh</i>	<i>tvəəkaa</i>	(^{??} <i>dao</i>)	<i>k-miən</i>	<i>dantrəy</i>
I	be.able	work	DAOJ	NEG-have	music

‘I can work without music’.

It is interesting that in Thai there is also a multifunctional marker *doy* (โดย) (which is probably borrowed from the Old Khmer¹⁰), which is used in some caritive contexts. But in Thai it has no restriction on negative contexts, see (51).

(51) THAI

โดยปราศจากเพื่อน¹¹

<i>doy</i>	<i>prāṣcāk</i>	<i>pheŋxn</i>
by	without	friend
‘without friends’.		

3.3. Prohibitive

In many studies, prohibitive is understood as a “negative imperative,” see among others Khrakovsky and Volodin (Храковский, Володин 2002: 89). However, Gusev (Гусев 2013: 59) and Aikhenvald (2010: 192) use the term in a more narrow sense. So by “prohibitive” here is a construction for which there is a specialized form in the language, i.e. prohibitive is a special construction that uses specialized negation or a verb form that is different from the imperative.

According to Haiman (2011), Elovkov (Еловков 2006), Gorgoniev (Горгониев 1966), Khin Sok (1999), and Saparova (Сапарова 2019), prohibitive in Khmer is expressed by a special marker *kom*.

(52) កុំដេកនៅបន្ទប់នេះ

¹⁰ it is a Mon-Khmer verb with the meaning ‘follow, follow the path’

¹¹ Example from <http://web-corpora.net/ThaiCorpus/search/>

<i>kom</i>	<i>de:k</i>	<i>nəw</i>	<i>bəntvəp</i>	<i>nih</i>
PROH	sleep	be_situated	room	this
‘Don’t sleep in this room’.		(Saparova 2019)		

The use of negation markers and imperative markers to express prohibitive in Khmer is not possible, see (53).

- (53) *មិនដេកចុះ
**min de:k coh*
 NEG1 sleep IMP3¹²
 Expected: ‘Do not sleep’.

According to Spatar (1996), the expression of a prohibitive meaning by *kom* is also possible for the first-person plural, see example (54)

- (54) យើងកុំនិយាយអំពីរឿងនេះ
jɔːŋ kom niʔjiəj ʔəm-piː ruəŋ nih
 1PL PROH speak about question this
 ‘Let us not speak about the matter’ (Spatar 1996).

As noted by Saparova (Сарапова 2019), the meaning of prohibition for the first person singular, as well as for the third person in the Khmer language is expressed by the construction *jɔːk lɔp*: “it would be better”. The internal form of this construction is a combination of the predicatives “take” and “be good”, see examples (55) and (56).

- (55) *(យកល្អ)ខ្ញុំកុំនិយាយភាសាខ្មែរ
**(jɔːk lɔpː) khnom kom niʔjiəj phiəsaː*
 take be_good 1SG PROH speak language
khmae
 Khmer

‘I won’t better speak Khmer’. (Saparova 2019)

- (56) *(យកល្អ)វាគ្មានដេកនៅបន្ទប់នេះ
**(jɔːk lɔpː) viə kom de:k nəw bəntvəp*
 take be_good 3 PROH sleep be_situated room
nih
 this
 ‘Let him better not sleep in this room’. (Saparova 2019)

¹² There are several imperative markers in Khmer. However, a combination of any of the negation markers with any imperative marker is impossible.

However, the main strategy for expressing a prohibition to a third person is to use a combination of prohibitive and the causative markers *kom* *ʔaoj*, see (57)

(57) កុំឱ្យគាត់សម្លាប់កណ្តុរនេះ

<i>kom</i>	<i>ʔaoj</i>	<i>koat</i>	<i>sɔmlap</i>	<i>kɔndol</i>	<i>nih</i>
PROH	CAUS	3	kill	mouse	this

‘Let him not kill this mouse’. (Saparova 2019)

Marker *ʔaoj*, according to Khin Sok (1999: 333), Haiman (2011: 228), Spatar (1996), can perform the functions:

- the verb “give”;
- a marker of the factitive and permissive causation;
- marker of the benefactive;
- marker of jussive and hortative;
- goal marker.

The construction *kom* *ʔaoj* is not grammatical with a second person, cf. example (58).

(58) កុំអោយ(*ឯង)ដេក

<i>kom</i>	<i>ʔaoj</i>	(* <i>ʔaen</i>)	<i>de:k</i>
PROH	CAUS	2	спать

Expected.: ‘Do not sleep’.

As noted in Saparova (Сарапова 2019), *kom* can be combined with some imperative particles:

(59) ចូរកុំព្រួយ បារម្ភពីការប្រឡងរបស់អ្នក

<i>coul</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>pruəj ba:rəm</i>	<i>pi:</i>	<i>ka:</i>	<i>prɔlv:ŋ</i>
IMP1	PROH	be_worried	PREP	job	exam
<i>rɔbɔh</i>	<i>neak</i>				
POSS	2/3				

‘Do not worry about your exam’. (Saparova 2019)

It is also noted that in the prohibitive it is possible to add clause-final markers that add additional meaning, for example, the marker *ʔaj*, the function of which in this context is not clear, see (60).

(60) a. កុំសម្លាប់កណ្តុរនេះអី

<i>kom</i>	<i>sɔmlap</i>	<i>kɔndol</i>	<i>nih</i>	<i>ʔaj</i>
PROH	kill	mouse	this	what

b. កុំសម្លាប់កណ្តុរនេះ

<i>kom</i>	<i>sɔmlap</i>	<i>kɔndol</i>	<i>nih</i>
------------	---------------	---------------	------------

PROH kill mouse this
 ‘Don't kill this mouse’. (Saparova 2019)

Also, in Khmer there is a construction of categorical prohibition *kom...ʔaoj sah* (see section 1.2. about the marker *sah*)

- (61) កុំដេកនៅបន្ទប់នេះឲ្យសោះ
kom de:k nəw bəntvəp nih ʔaoj səh
 PROH sleep be_situated room this CAUS NEG.EMPH
 ‘Do not sleep in this room under any circumstances!’ (Saparova 2019)

3.4. Dependent clauses

In this section, I would like to look at negation in Khmer polypredicative constructions. Some types of dependent clauses, in general, are not different from the main clauses in terms of negation strategies.

- (62) REASON CLAUSE
khnom kut tha: kəat təw camka : hauj daoj-sa:-tae
 1 think COMPL 3 retire garden IAM REAS
khnom ʔat ba:n khɿ:ɲ moutou rəbah kəat nɿw ti:
 1 NEG PRF see motorcycle POSS 3 locate place
nih
 this
 ‘I think he went to the garden, because I do not see his motorcycle in place’.
 (Dmitrenko (Дмитренко 2019))

- (63) RELATIVE CLAUSES
 អរគុណ [ដែលមិនជក់បារី]
ʔa:kun [dael min cvək ba:rəj]
 thank REL NEG1 suck cigarette
 ‘Thank you for not smoking’. (Haiman 2011: 300)

However, there are also some exceptions. For example, as Haiman (2011: 304) notes, the complementizer *cie* (which is also a copula, see section 3.1.) can be used with negated verb *dəŋ* ‘know that,’ which in affirmative clauses uses another complementizer *tha:* ‘to say’.

- (64) វាមិនដឹងជារត់ទៅណា
vie min dəŋ cie rəət tiv na:
 3 NEG1 know COP run go which
 ‘He didn’t know which way to run’. (Haiman 2011: 304)
- (65) គាត់ដឹងថាជារត់តាមណា

<i>koat</i>	<i>dəŋ</i>	<i>tha:</i>	<i>roət</i>	<i>ta:m</i>	<i>na:</i>
3	know	COMPL	run	follow	which

‘He knows which way to run’.

Also, in the Khmer language, negation in counterfactual conditional constructions is expressed specially. According to Spatar (1998) and Haiman (2011: 227), the prohibitive marker *kom*, in the combination *kom tae* (prohibitive + “only”) is used to express negation in the protasis. If it is not needed to express negation in the apodosis, then *kom ʔai* (prohibitive + “what”) is used there. If it is necessary to express negation in the apodosis, then the marker *min* is needed there.

(66) កុំតែឯងកាលពីម្សិលមកកុំអីឯងបានទទួលលុយបានទៅហើយ

<i>kom</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>ʔaey</i>	<i>ka:l₁</i>	<i>pi:2</i>	<i>msəl₃</i>	<i>mɔ:k</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>ʔai</i>
PROH	only	2	yesterday _{1,2,3}		come		PROH	what
<i>ʔaey</i>	<i>ba:n</i>	<i>tɔtuəl</i>	<i>lɔj</i>	<i>ba:t₁</i>	<i>təw₂</i>	<i>hauj₃</i>		
2	ASP	get	money	RES _{1,2,3}				

‘If you hadn’t come yesterday, you would have already received the money’.

(Saparova 2019)

(67) កុំតែឯងកាលពីម្សិលមកកុំអីឯងមិនបានទទួលលុយបានទៅហើយ

<i>kom</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>ʔaey</i>	<i>ka:l₁</i>	<i>pi:2</i>	<i>msəl₃</i>	<i>mɔ:k</i>
PROH	only	2	tomorrow _{1,2,3}		come	
<i>kom</i>	<i>ʔei</i>	<i>ʔaey</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>ba:n</i>	<i>tɔtuəl</i>	<i>lɔj</i>
PROH	what	2	NEG1Φ ASP		get	money
<i>ba:t₁</i>	<i>təw₂</i>	<i>hauj₃</i>				
RES _{1,2,3}						

‘If you had not come yesterday, you would not have received money’.

Saparova (2019)

In general, the study of negation in subordinate clauses in the Khmer language requires a further study.

CHAPTER 4. DOUBLE NEGATION

This chapter focuses on what was already mentioned in the previous sections, namely double negation with the clause-final marker *te*:. This phenomenon is due to Jespersen’s cycle. The pattern was first formulated by Otto Jespersen in his book “Negation in English and Other Languages” in 1917 (see Jespersen (1917)).

4.1. Jespersen’s cycle

Dahl (1979) describes Jespersen’s cycle as a process by which the expression of negative meaning in a language “tends to increase and decrease in complexity over time in regular ways”. In the literature (for example (Chatzopoulou 2014)) Jespersen’s cycle is mainly described as a diachronic three-stage process:

(68) Stage 1: Negation is expressed by a prepositional element

Stage 2: Both preverbal and postverbal elements express negation (discontinuous expression (Chatzopoulou 2014))

Stage 3: Postverbal expression of negation or prepositional marker becomes optional.

The most famous examples of the Jespersen’s cycle are usually given from the French language. So, in French at the first stage (in Old French) there was only a prepositional negator *ne*. Then, in the second stage, the postpositional marker *pas* appeared, formed from the noun ‘step’. And in the third stage, the prepositional marker became optional (and in colloquial speech, it is not used at all).

(69)	<i>Je</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>parle</i>	<i>Français</i>	<u>Stage 1</u> (Old French)
	<i>Je</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>parle</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>Français</i> <u>Stage 2</u> (Middle French)
	<i>Je</i>		<i>parle</i>	<i>pas</i>	<i>Français</i> <u>Stage 3</u> (Modern colloquial French)
	I	NEG	speak	NEG	French
	‘I don’t speak French’.				

As claimed by Dahl (1979), it seems that all clause-final negators were first emphatic forms.

Chatzopoulou (2014) proposed a formalization of Jespersen’s Cycle in terms of intensification.

“If X is a negative expression, either syntactically continuous or discontinuous, and α a variable of quantities (as of individuals, amounts or times) Jespersen’s cycle goes through the following stages:

STAGE I $\llbracket X \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle d, \langle \alpha, \triangleright \rangle} . \lambda \alpha. [\forall d > 0: \neg P(d)(\alpha)]$ (intensified predicate negation)

STAGE II $\llbracket X \rrbracket = \lambda p. \neg p$

(plain propositional negation)”

4.2. The case of Khmer

As mentioned before, there is a double negation in Khmer, expressed by one of the prepositional negator before the verb and by the marker *te:* at the end of the clause.

(70) ខ្ញុំមិន/អត់/រៀ/ឥតចេះនិយាយខ្មែរទេ

<i>knom</i>	<i>min</i>	/	<i>ʔat</i>	/	<i>pum</i>	/	<i>ʔat</i>	<i>ceh</i>
I	NEG1		NEG2		NEG3		NEG4	know
<i>niʔjiəj</i>	<i>khmae</i>		<i>te:</i>					
speak	Khmer		NEG.FINAL					

‘I don’t speak Khmer’.

As claimed by Khin Sok (1999: 407), *te:* adds confidence and categorization (decisiveness) to the statement and Bisang (2014: 691), and Haiman (2011) suggest that a negative sentence with *te:* has “a certain emphatic effect”.

It seems that Khmer is probably still in the second stage of the Jespersen cycle, because, according to corpus data, old Khmer did not use the postpositional *te:* in negative statements, but modern Khmer uses in frequently, see Table 2.

Table 2. Double negation

marker	total	with <i>te:</i>	% with <i>te:</i>
<i>min</i>	7889	506	6.4
<i>pum</i>	1000	393	39.3
<i>ʔat</i>	530	161	30.4
<i>ʔat</i>	335	146	43.5

According to the table, compiled based on corpus data¹³, it can be seen that the negators *pum*, *ʔat* and *ʔat* are quite often used with clause-final *te:*, while the marker *min* is used only in 6% of the total occurrences of *te:*. The fact that this marker is rarely used with a postpositional particle can be attributed to the fact that this marker appeared in the Khmer language quite recently (15th–16th century), because according to Bybee (2007), newer forms tend to retain properties. She calls it *conserving effect* and describes it as an effect when units with a high frequency tend to retain properties, including structural ones.

The modern Khmer seems to be somewhere between the first and second stages of the Jespersen cycle in terms of Chatzopoulou (2014), since in modern Khmer construction NEG + *te:* can express both intensified and plain negation (S. Yu. Dmitrenko, p.c.).

¹³ <http://sealang.net/khmer/corpus.htm>

$\llbracket \text{min} \dots \text{te} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle d, \langle \alpha, t \rangle \rangle} . \lambda \alpha. [\forall d > 0: \neg P(d)(\alpha)]$	(intensified predicate negation)
$\llbracket \text{min} \dots \text{te} \rrbracket = \lambda p. \neg p$	(plain propositional negation)
$\llbracket \text{min} \rrbracket = \lambda p. \neg p$	(plain propositional negation)

However, as claimed by Haiman (2011: 228), sometimes *te*: is required. In some conditional sentences in the protasis, it is optional, while in the apodosis it is required. It seems that in contexts like this *te*: is required, because it closes the conditional structure, that is, it shows that this is a single structure: from *baə* to this point (S. Dmitrenko, p.c.), see (71)

- (71) បើបងកុំឯងមិនចេះហៅបងកណ្តុរ(ទេ) ឥតបានអំបែងមក*(ទេ)
baə ba:ŋ kok ʔaen min ceh hav ba:ŋ
 if elder_sibling heron you NEG1 know call elder_sibling
*kandol (te:) ʔət ba:n ʔambaen mɔ:k *(te:)*
 mouse NEG.FINAL NEG4 ASP pan come NEG.FINAL

‘If you, heron, do not address the rat correctly, you will not succeed in bringing back the roasting pan (that you are asking her to loan you)’. Haiman (2011: 228)

It is interesting that, according to van der Auwera and Vossen (2015), Jespersen Cycle hypothesis also applies to Bahnaric languages, which is a branch of Austro-Asiatic languages. As the authors claimed, it is due to language contact (they consider that in many cases this is due to contact with Chamic languages). For example, Cambodian Stiêng has a negative construction *bən... (de)*, both parts of which are borrowed from Khmer (Bon 2014: 412-413). The element *de* goes back to Khmer *te*:

- (72) STIÊNG
pa:j-kət bən sɔw de:
 frog NEG see NEG
 ‘He does not see the frog’. (Bon 2014: 412)

Interestingly, Stiêng is also on the second stage of the Jespersen Cycle, in sense that clause-final marker is optional (as well as in Khmer).

Table 3. A Jespersen Cycle for the Bahnaric languages (van der Auwera and Vossen 2015)

Stage	Language	Branch	Construction	Source
1	Sapuan	West	<i>ta</i> V	Jacq & Sidwell 1999: 22
	Sedang	North	(<i>ôh</i>) <i>ta/ti/tu/pa</i> V	Smith 1979: 108-109; Smith & Sidwell 2014: 824
	?Hrê	North	? <i>ùh</i> V	Trebilco 1971: 5
	?Cua	North	<i>le e</i> V	Maier & Burton 1971: 5
	Bahnar	Central	<i>uh ko</i> V <i>ko</i> -V	Banker, J. 1964: 36; Banker, E. 1964: 116-117
	?Koho Lach	South	<i>ò</i> V	Thomas & Nut 1970: 5
	?Eastern Mnong	South	<i>ay so</i> V	Blood & Blood 1972
	?Koho Chil	South	<i>gõ/õ/õso ê</i> V	Evans 1970: 5
	Koho Sre	South	? <i>à?</i> V	Manley 1971: 222-224
	Chrau	South	<i>jó(q)/ví/có/sun/sây/êq/toq/un</i> V	Thomas 1971: 57, 144
	Stiêng (Vietnam)	South	<i>pau</i> V	Miller 1976: 37-38
2	?Rengao	North	<i>bɪg</i> V (<i>oh</i>)	Gregerson 1979: 20, 54
	Central Mnong	South	<i>mau</i> V (<i>ôh</i>)	Phillips 1973: 130
			<i>mo</i> V (<i>oh</i>) <i>lic/e:/lij/pwaj</i> V	Butler 2014: 739
	Stiêng (Cambodia)	South	? <i>bun</i> V (<i>oom</i>)	Miller 1976: 37-38
			<i>bən</i> V (<i>de</i>)	Bon 2014: 120-121, 412-413
3	Brao	West	<i>tha/thaden</i> V <i>ĩm</i>	Keller 1976: 26-28, 42, 44 ILL

CHAPTER 5. NEGATION IN OLD KHMER

This chapter considers negation in the Old Khmer language. The data was obtained from the Old Khmer inscriptions corpus (Sealang Oldkhmer¹⁴), and from the parallel Old Khmer-English corpus (Oldkhmer Bitext). The Sealang Oldkhmer consists of 669 texts and 13331 words.

Usually, the old Khmer language is divided into the following eras: 611 – 802 is the pre-Angkor period, 803 – 941 is the early Angkor period, and 942 – 1431 is the late Angkor period.

It was noted above that all negation indicators, except *min*, developed from the old Khmer, see their frequency in Table 4.

Table 4. Frequency in Old Khmer in IPM (<http://sealang.net/oldkhmer/corpus.htm>)

Time period	Markers of negation		
	<i>min</i>	<i>pum</i>	<i>ʔat/ʔət</i>
Modern Khmer	1127	142.9	47.8/75.7
Old Khmer ¹⁵	0	2043	521.7

According to Table 4, the most frequent of the negative indicators was *pum* (all possible pronunciations of this marker according to Jenner (2009): *vvaṃ/ vvaṃ/ vuṃ/ bvaṃ/ bvuṃ*), the next is *ʔ(a/ə)t* (*'yat / 'ayat / 'ayatt / et / it / 'at*) and the marker *min* was not used in this period.

Thus, according to our data, the distribution of the markers in the zones of negation is obtained as follows, see Table 5

Table 5. Negation in Old Khmer¹⁶ (<http://sealang.net/oldkhmer/bitext.htm>)

Negation zone	Marker of negation			
	<i>min</i>	<i>pum</i>	<i>ʔat/ʔət</i>	<i>kom</i>
prohibitive	0	92	0	66
standard negation	0	39	0	0
caritive	0	0	56	0

According to the table, it can be seen that *pum* covers almost all the negation zone (except for the caritive), including the prohibitive. This is because it was used in the constructions *vvaṃ jā pi* (NEG + COP + CONJ) and *vvaṃ 'āc ti* (NEG + ABLE + PASS), which expressed the meaning of the prohibitive to the first and third person (it can also be called negative hortative and jussive), see examples (73) and (74).

¹⁴ In the corpus, the year 878 stands as the lower limit for a large number of inscriptions with unknown dating.

¹⁵ The frequency in ipm in old Khmer in this table was calculated for all years from 611 to 1431.

¹⁶ The frequency in this table is presented in number of occurrences.

(73) OLD KHMER

vvaṃ jā pi oy pi 'nak vādhā

NEG COP CONJ give CATEG person interfere

‘Let not others interfere with [them]’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

(74) OLD KHMER

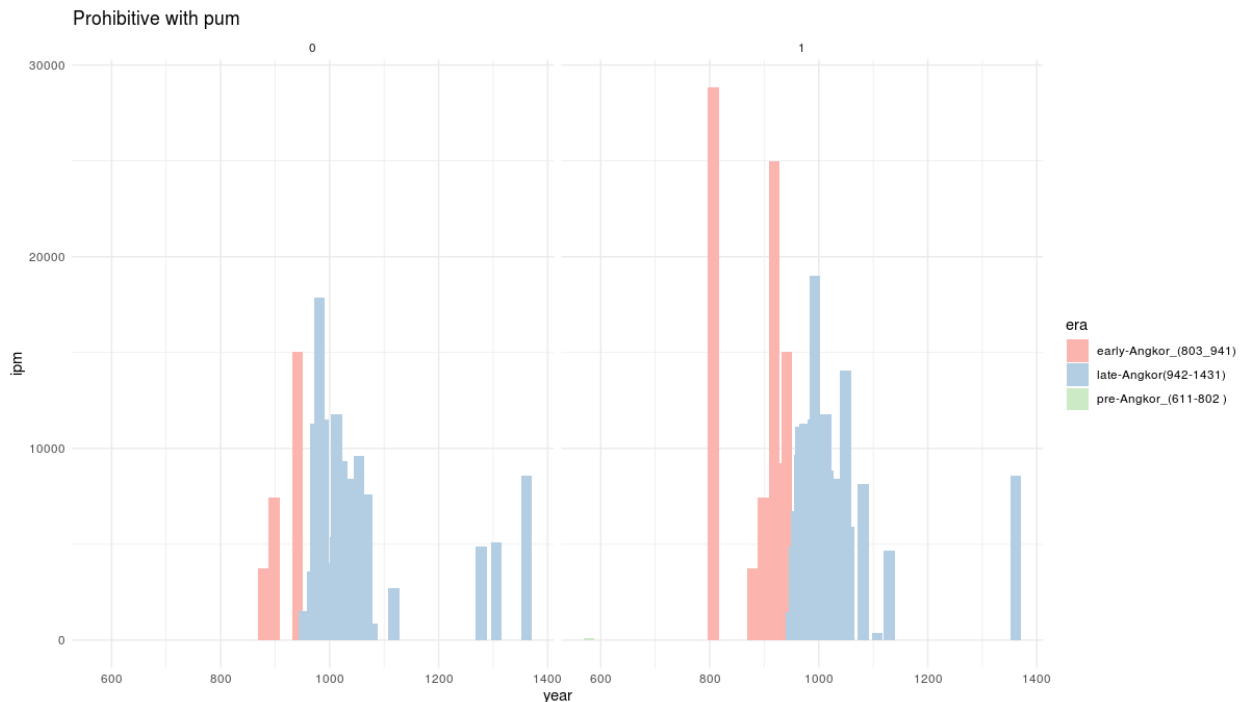
vvaṃ 'āc ti 'āyatta ta vrīha viṣaya

NEG able PASS come_under_the_authority CONJ rice kingdom

‘[These revenues] are not to come under the authority of the district commissioners of rice, ...’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

According to the corpus data, marker *pum* was used most often in negative jussive and hortative function, see Figure 2. Figure 1 is structured as follows: 0 is the usage of *pum* in a non-prohibitive function, and 1 in a prohibitive one.

Figure 2. Frequency of *pum* in old Khmer



Probably, in the example (73) the meaning of the prohibitive is due to the conjunction *pi*, which was also used with the prohibitive marker *kom* in the context of a categorical prohibition, see (75).

(75) OLD KHMER

kaṃ pi trū tiñ

PROH CONJ smite ax

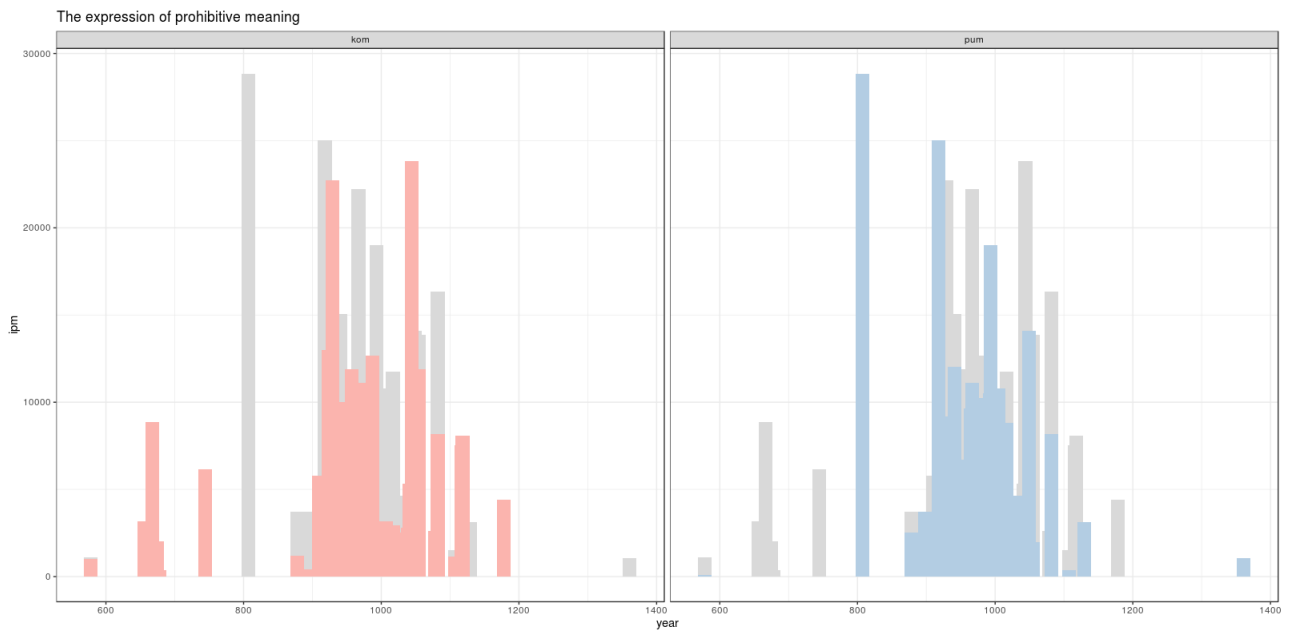
‘May the ax not smite [thee]!’ (Oldkhmer Bitext)

According to corpus data, the difference in the use of *kom* and *pum* in the old Khmer due to the fact that *kom* was used for the second person, and *pum* for the third and first, see example (76).

- (76) OLD KHMER
kaṃ ti chdyās guhā
 PROH PASS clutter_up grotto
 ‘Do not clutter up the grotto’. (Oldkhmer Bitext)

The usage of the *pum* and *kom* in the prohibitive zone was equally frequent, see. Figure 3.

Figure 3. Prohibitive in old Khmer

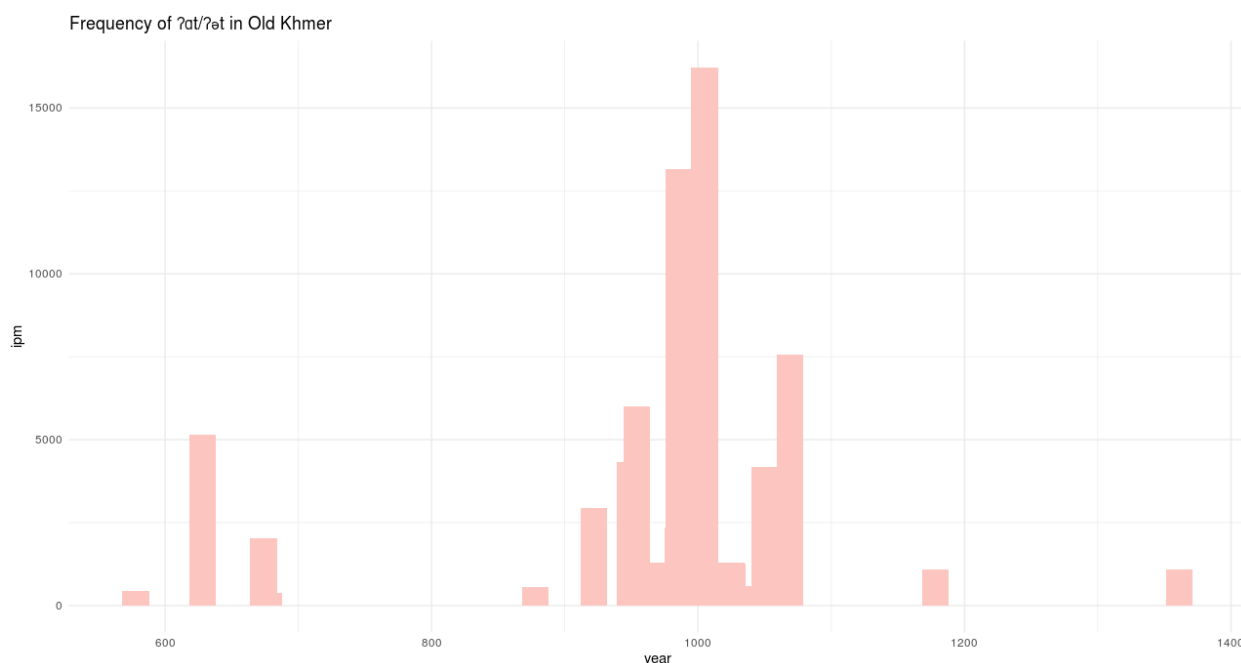


The usage of the markers *ʔat / ʔət* was limited only to the caritive contexts, see example (78).

- (77) OLD KHMER
sre jnañ karom tnal mat it caṃkā
 rice enclosed below road M neg dry_field
 The enclosed ricefield below the Mat road, without the dry field'.

According to the corpus data, the usage of *ʔat / ʔət* was very frequent in the 1000, but after that the frequency declined, see Figure 4.

Figure 4. Frequency of $\text{ʔat} / \text{ʔət}$ in old Khmer



Marker *mīn* appeared only at Middle Khmer period, see example (78) from the text from 16th century.

(78) MIDDLE KHMER

<i>bāky</i>	<i>muoy neḥ</i>	<i>mīñ</i>		<i>hetu</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>sralāñ'</i>	<i>mān</i>
word	one DEM	said		REAS	NEG	love	have
<i>bāky</i>	<i>thā</i>	<i>chñāy</i>					
word	judge	far					

‘Because (you) don’t like these words, they will condemn (you) everywhere’.

Despite the fact that in modern Khmer the marker *mīn* is the most frequent, in parallel corpus data there is no occurrences of it. According to Jenner and Pou (1982), in the 17th century, the form *man* of this marker started replacing the contexts of the negative particle *pum*. But nowadays it cannot be used in prohibitive contexts, how *pum* could.

CHAPTER 6. NEGATION IN AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES

6.1. Classification of Austro-Asiatic languages

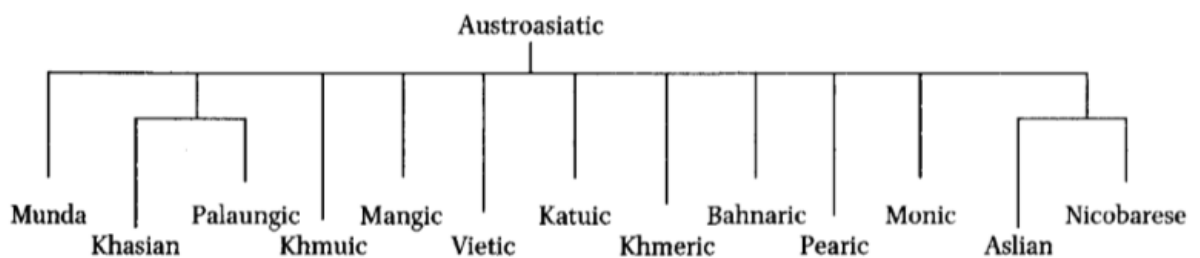
Before describing the negation in Austro-Asiatic (further AA) languages, it is important to classify them, since languages in this linguistic family are significantly different from each other. I will not describe in detail the grammatical description of each branch, but only give the most specific features that are described in Sidwell (2014).

As noted in (Sidwell 2014), “[t]he languages fall out into more than a dozen branches, although how the branches coordinate into a nested tree is controversial”.

In this work, I will use only Sidwell's classification, since it is one of the latest, and also takes into account previous works. Sidwell provides a ‘provisional’¹⁷ AA classification, which is based on “lexical, lexicostatistical, computational phylogenetic, and phonological studies”.

So in that paper, the following solution is proposed, see Figure 5.

Figure 5. Austro-Asiatic classification (Sidwell 2014: 179)



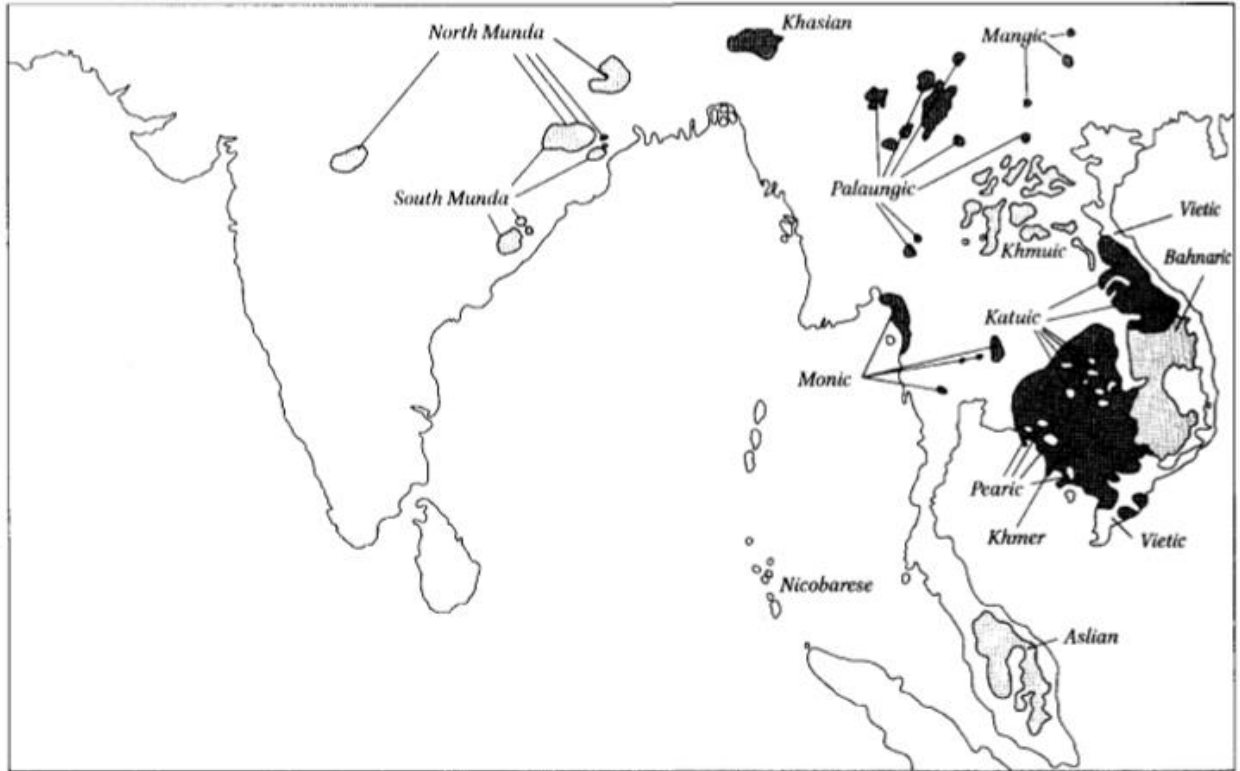
So there are 11 main branches, two of which split into another 2. According to (Sidwell 2014: 180), these nodes indicate that at some point in history there was a phase of rapid differentiation. Sidwell says that historically this division is related to agriculture and rice cultivation, as well as to the fact that the proto-AA language is very old:

“[proto]AA is very old, and was relatively stable over millennia in a dialect chain or “linkage” that underlies the present division into branches. The culture was at home along the Mekong and surrounding uplands, perhaps as far afield as the Red River valley; it was characterised by foraging, hunting, fishery and tuberculture. The combination of dry and wet rice cultivation was adopted circa 4000 BP, and increased the adaptability and vitality of AA communities, who then quickly radiated southward and westward over a range roughly corresponding to what we recognise today.”

¹⁷ “[...] characterised as ‘provisional’ as any hypothesis is open to revision in the light of evidence and analysis” (Sidwell 2014: 179)

Thus, Sidwell (2014) provides a map that illustrates the geographical distribution of all 14 branches, see Figure 6.

Figure 6. Map of Austro-Asiatic (Sidwell 2014)



As discussed by Sidwell (2014), the exact classification of these languages is a matter of debate, see, for example, Diffloth (2005), Shorto (2006), and more

6.2. Negation in Austro-Asiatic languages

In this section, I will describe the main ideas explained by Jenny, Weber and Weimuth (2014). As the authors claimed, negation in AA languages is very diverse and it is hard to name any feature that can be claimed as general. The authors also point out that preverbal negation may be claimed as a tendency. However, there is no (or little) data available for a lot of languages. Another difficulty is also the fact that it is impossible to reconstruct the proto-AA negator. However, there are some negation markers, that are found in languages from different branches, for example, negators **k-* (the authors mention *kobo* in Mlabri, *koʔ* in Danau, *ka* in Mundari), which is used in Khmer with the verb *mīən* “to have”, and **ʔət* with the meaning ‘lack, be finished, exhausted’, which is found in Car, Munda, as well as in the Khmer language, as described above.

As mentioned above, the main negators in AA are preverbal particles, see for example a negative sentence from Vietnamese.

(79) VIETNAMESE

thảo không làm ở khoa

PN NEG work reside faculty

‘Thảo does not work at the faculty’. (Jenny, Weber, Weimuth 2014: 108)

Negation can also be expressed by negative copulas, negative auxiliaries, and pronominalized negators.

For example, in Munda languages, there is a negative auxiliary that receives person marking, see (80).

(80) SANLATI

ba-ko badae-a.

NEG-3PL know-IND

‘They don’t know’. (Neukom 2001:149)

In Muöt there are several negators, some of which are expressed syncretically with the person and number of the subject, see (81).

(81) MUÖT

cit juan̄sise ïitcaccə neʔ leipəue.

1SG.NEG PROG read PROX.VIS book

‘I am not reading this book’. (Jenny, Weber, Weimuth 2014: 108)

Jenny, Weber, and Weimuth (2014) also describe postverbal negators. Usually postverbal markers are used together with preverbal markers, as in Danau, see (82).

(82) DANAU

ō (lə-)kī lən koʔ mə

1SG NEG-go accompany NEG.COP 2SG

‘I won’t go with you’. (Jenny, Weber, Weimuth 2014: 109)

There are also languages where postverbal negators occur alone without preverbal markers, for example Rumai, see (83).

(83) RUMAI

ʔaw: mək mǎ tho

1SG like NEG bean

‘I do not like beans’. (Jenny, Weber, Weimuth 2014: 109)

What is more, Jenny, Weber, Weimuth (2014: 108) mention, that “[p]reverbal negators usually have narrow scope over the following verb, while negative copulas and clause-final negators may have wide scope over the clause”. It seems that this statement is also true for the Khmer language.

AA languages are characterized by clause-final emphasizing negative markers, which have the same functions as *te:* in Khmer. For example, in Mon there is clause-final negator *pùh*, “which

reinforces the negation”, see (Jenny 2014). Sometimes *pùh* occurs alone without the preverbal negative particle (it seems, that Mon is at the third stage of Jespersen’s cycle like French).

- (84) MON
deh hùʔ kleŋ pùh deh ham
 3 NEG come NEG 3 speak
 ‘He said he wouldn’t come’. (Jenny 2014)

Negation in non-verbal predication may be expressed by a negative copula, for example as in Pacoh, see (85).

- (85) PACOH
ʔrviət ʔn.neh ʔih ʔm.maj
 pen PROX NEG.COP 2SG.POSS
 ‘This is not your pen’. (Jenny, Weber, Weimuth 2014: 109)

However, in Mon there is an asymmetry, because non-verbal predicates are negated by a conjunction of the main preverbal negator *hùʔ*, which in this case occurs postverbally, and marker *siəŋ* ‘be so’, see (86).

- (86) MON
həkaoʔ noʔ kòh ʔəca kəsao le hùʔ siəŋ
 body PROX MEDL teacher NML.write ADD NEG be.so
 ‘She (knew that she) was no writer’.

As claimed by the authors, another feature of AA languages is the usage of a special marker for prohibitive sentences. Usually these prohibitives are preverbal, as in Khmer, Chong, and Khasi (Jenny et al. 2014: 111).

In some other languages, prohibitive markers co-occur with the imperative markers, as in Koho and Khmer.

In Appendix 1, I give examples of markers of negation in some AA languages. So you can notice that there are both those that are similar to those that were mentioned in this section (for example, *ʔəʔ*), as well as those that are found only in a particular language. It is also clear that in AA there is a tendency for double negation, which brings some kind of emphatic effect.

CONCLUSION

The study carried out allows us to establish that negation in the Khmer language is a rather complex category. One of the difficulties is that there are several prepositive markers (*min*, *ʔat*, *pum*, and *ʔət*), but their difference is due to the style. Also in the Khmer language, there is a double negation with an optional postpositional marker *te:*. According to my data, Khmer is in the second stage of the Jespersen's Cycle (like some other Austro-Asiatic languages).

According to the data, non-standard negation is quite different from standard negation. In non-verbal predication in Khmer, the DNA (Direct Negation Avoidance) principle is followed. The Khmer language also distinguishes the expression of caritive in affirmative and negated sentences. In prohibitive in the studied language, a special marker *kom* is used. Also, in prohibitive contexts, double construction with a clause-final marker is possible. In the section about dependent clauses, two contexts were examined: the complementizer with the verb “know” and conditional sentences. Haiman (2011) described that the verb “know” may use different complementizers, depending on whether it is negated or not. In counterfactual conditional sentences in protasis and apodosis, the prohibitive marker *kom* is used.

The Jespersen Cycle in the Khmer language requires further study because it seems that at this stage in the Khmer language it is possible to have an emphatic as well as a plain reading of the sentence with the clause-final *te:*.

It seems that the Khmer language does not have any obvious structural differences from most Austro-Asiatic languages in terms of expressing negation. It is possible that Khmer was influenced by some languages from the Southeast-Asian areal (for example, in the Cham (Austronesian) language there is a negator *min*).

In general, negation in Khmer requires further study. First, it is necessary to consider negation in other types of dependent clauses. We also need to figure out the facts that allow the possibility of dropping the copula in negation in non-verbal predication. Moreover, the areal context of negation should be studied (negation in the Austronesian and Thai-Kadai languages).

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APPENDIX 1

NEGATIVE MARKERS IN AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES

BRANCH	LANGUAGE	VERBAL NEGATION	PROHIBITIVE	INTERJECTION
Aslian	Temiar	<i>to?</i>	<i>je? a?</i> – literally means “refrain from”	<i>to?</i>
	Semai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>töq</i>, • <i>tiq</i>, • <i>jatiq</i> • <i>pěq</i> <p>the choice of negator depends on the dialect</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>agooq</i>, • <i>deq</i> • <i>gaq</i> 	
Bahnaric	Chrau	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>eq</i> 'not', • <i>sun</i> 'not', (often used in doublets) • <i>un (n-)</i> 'not', • <i>jo</i> 'not' • <i>toq</i> • <i>co</i> 'negative' • <i>vi</i> • in colloquial speech negation can be expressed simply by raising the tone <p><u>clause-final</u> (used for emphatic effect)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>uy</i>: the strongest effect • <i>noq</i>: this creates an impression of finality or determination, indicating that the speaker has made a decision and is not going to change it; related to the verb <i>noq</i> “refuse, not want” • <i>dang</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>vang</i> 'don't' have • <i>vang vay</i> • <i>pach conh</i>: sometimes cooccurs with the final particle te • <i>vaconh</i> • <i>conh te</i>: 'Don't do it, I don't want to' 	
	Sedang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>oh pa, pa</i> 'not' • <i>oh ta, oh ti, oh tu, ta, ti, tu</i> 'not' • <i>ta hai</i> 'not yet' <p><u>clause-final</u></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ma ta</i> • <i>poi ta</i> 	

		• <i>oh</i>		
	Sre (Koho)	<u>Regular negation</u> • <i>ʔaʔ</i> ‘not’ • <i>ʔaʔ het</i> “not yet” <u>Emphatic negation</u> <i>ʔaʔ goʔ... luy</i> “not at all”	<i>banh</i> – do not	
Katuic	Kuay	• <i>piʔ</i> • <i>wiʔ</i> • <i>leh</i> • <i>piʔ than</i> – “still not” <u>clause-final</u> • <i>ʔah</i> – completeness of the action • <i>la:j</i> – “at all”	• <i>jah ʔa:n</i> <u>clause-final</u> • <i>da:</i> • <i>naʔ</i> • <i>ni</i>	
	Pacoh	• <i>lajʔ</i> • <i>jo:h</i> – not yet, препозитивно	<i>ʔakəp</i>	<i>lajʔ</i>
	So-A	• <i>ha</i> • <i>mpi:ayh</i>		
Pealang-Khmuic	Khmu	• <i>ʔam</i>		
	Lawa	• <i>təo</i> • <i>ʔo</i>	• <i>puʔ</i>	
	Nam Sod Khmu	• <i>ʔaj</i> • <i>haʔ</i> • <i>ʔeʔ</i>	• <i>taʔ</i>	
Pearic	Kasong	• <i>koh</i> • <i>na:k</i> ‘be not’	• <i>ma:j</i>	
Mon	Mon	• <i>huʔ...puh</i> • <i>huʔ</i>		
Khasian	Khasi	• <i>im</i> or <i>-m</i> • in case of past tense <i>im</i> occurs before the tense marker, then <i>ʃim</i> is used • <i>khlem</i> 1. used only in past tense, without past tense marker 2. without 3. unless • <i>limne...limne</i> – neither...nor	• <i>wat</i>	

Munda	Mundari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ka-</i> • <i>ka oro</i> – “isn’t it, to be sure” • <i>ci ka?</i> – “isn’t it; or not” 	• <i>alo</i>	
Nicobarese	Nicobarese (Car dialect)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>ʔət</i> • <i>rəh</i> – negative interrogative • <i>rəhə</i> negative emphatic 	• <i>ʔuh</i>	