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Proto-Tai negation system from Comparative and Historical Tai perspectives

Reconstructing Proto-Tai

- Advances in historical Tai phonology in the last century, i.e. Haudricourt (1948), Li (1954, 1970), Gedney (1989a, 1989b, 1989c), Sarawit (1973), Pittayaporn (2009).

Outline of Proto-Tai phonology (Pittayaporn 2009)

- PT was most likely a sesquisyllabic language.
- PT had no aspiration contrast.
- PT had a richer array of consonants than attested in modern Tai languages, i.e. *q-, *ɢ-
- Vowel length contrast in all monophthongs
- Final *-l, and final *-c.
- Three tones contrasting with respect to pitch, voice quality, and duration.
- CT is not a genetic subgroup.

Proto-Tai grammar: the unknown

- Very little diachronic work on Tai grammatical change, i.e. Diller (2001), Enfield (2003), Kullavanijaya (2008).
- None on Proto-Tai morphosyntax and semantics.

Negators in Tai languages

- Tai languages show a variety of etyma as standard negators.

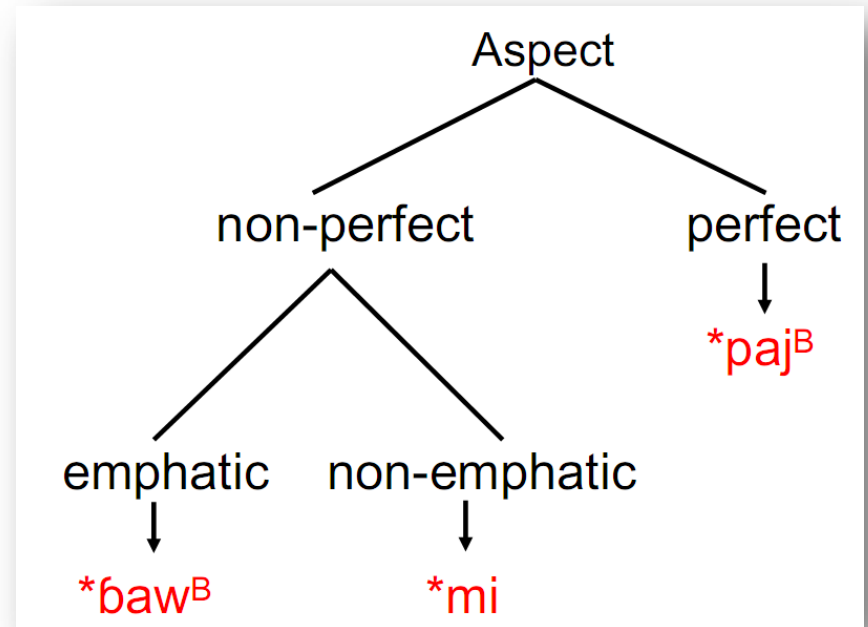|	*mi	*ɓaw^B	*paj^B	others
Thai				maj$^{B2/C1}$ 'not'
Shan		maw^{B1} 'not'	paj^{B1} 'not yet'	
Western Nung		bɔ:^{B1} 'not'	paj^{B1} 'not yet'	
Bao Yen	mi^{A1} 'not'	bɔ:^{B1} 'not'	paj^{B1} 'not yet'	saŋ^{A2} 'still not'
Yay	mi^{A1} 'not'	bo^{B1} 'not'		fi^{B2} 'not yet'
Du'an		baw^{B1} 'not'		di^{A1} 'not'

- Only *mi and *ɓaw^B have been analyzed from a diachronic perspective, cf. Burusphat (2006).

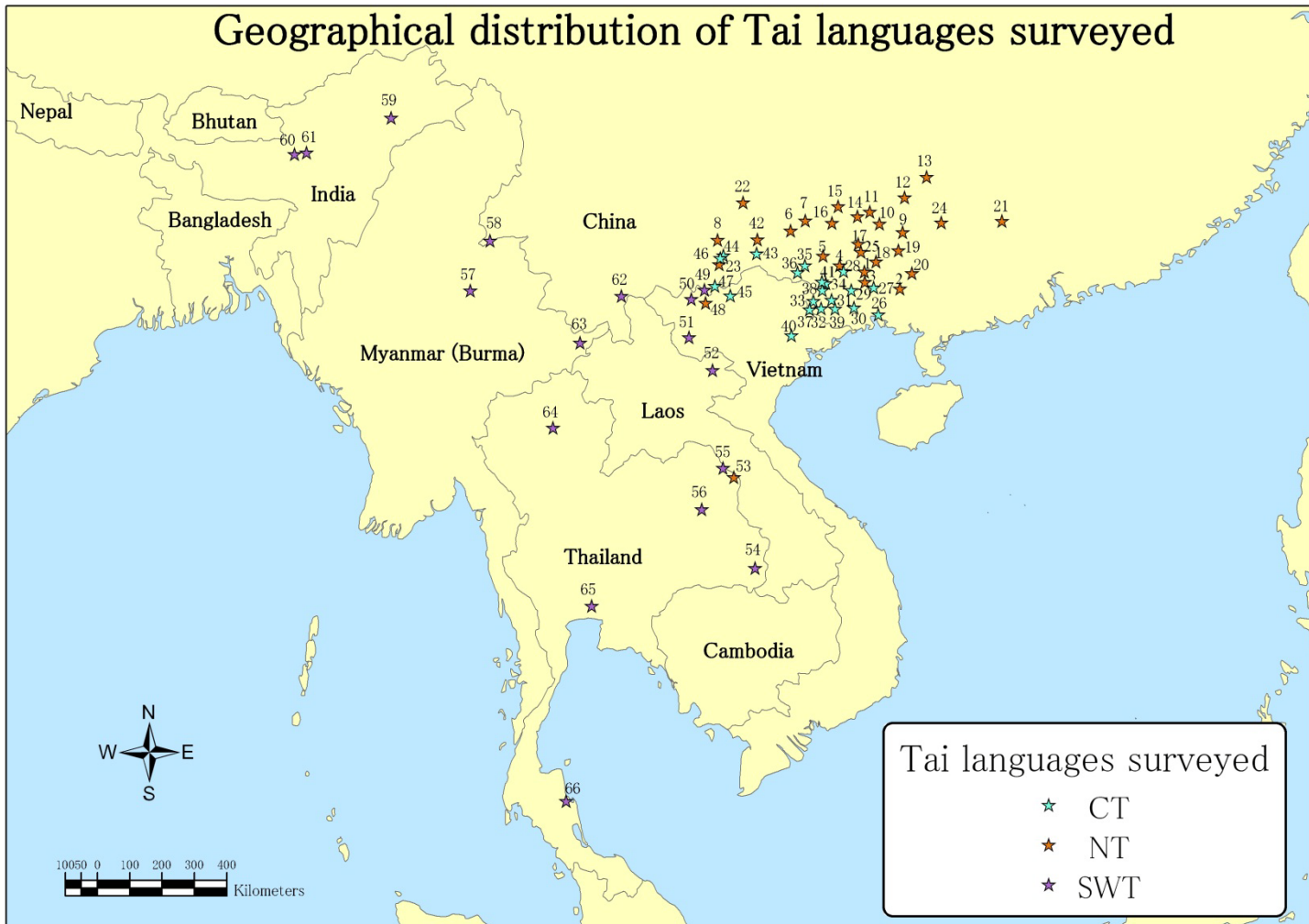# Reconstructing the PT negation system: methodology

- Identify PT negator etyma using data from 66 Tai languages.
- Posit forms and meanings of the reconstructible PT negator etyma.
- Propose the PT negation system based on the reconstructed etyma.
- Find further support from textual materials.

Proposal

- **PT negation system made distinctions between**
  - perfect/non-perfect
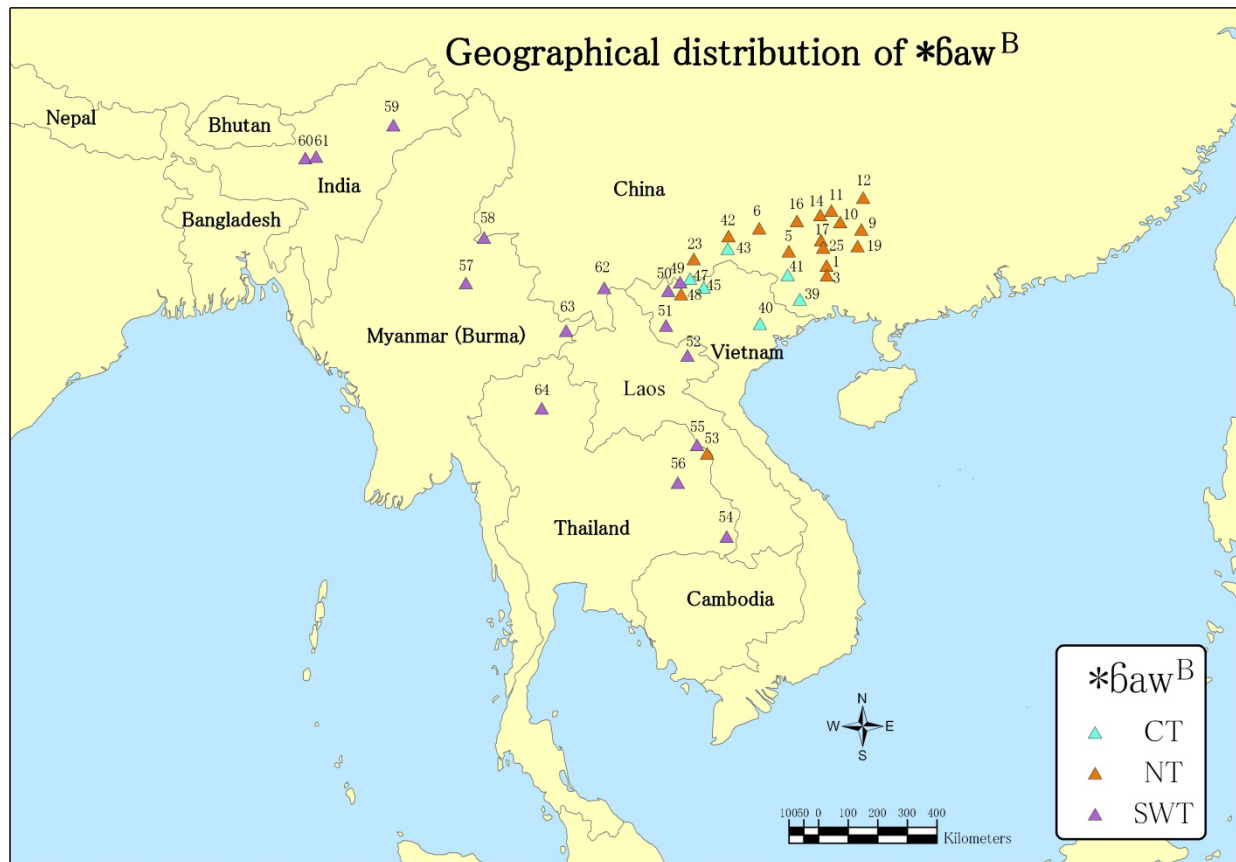 - emphatic/non-empathic

Aspect
- non-perfect
  - emphatic → *ɓaw^B
  - non-emphatic → *mi
- perfect → *paj^B

Data

Geographical distribution of Tai languages surveyed

Reconstructible negators

- *ɓaw^B

- *mi

- *paj^B

The etymon *ɓaw^B

- Found in all groups.

Geographical distribution of *ɓaw^B

Modern reflexes of *ɓaw^B

Wuming (NT)	baw^{C1} (irregular tone)
Yanshan Nung (CT)	bo^{B1}
Yong (SWT)	bɔː^{B1}
Shan (SWT)	maw^{B1}
Tai nüa (SWT)	m̩^{B1}

- 'not' in modern languages
- Regularly with B1 tone
- The range in forms are due to changes that occurred in individual languages, cf. Burusphat 2007.

The etymon *mi

- Found in all the three groups.

Geographical distribution of *mi
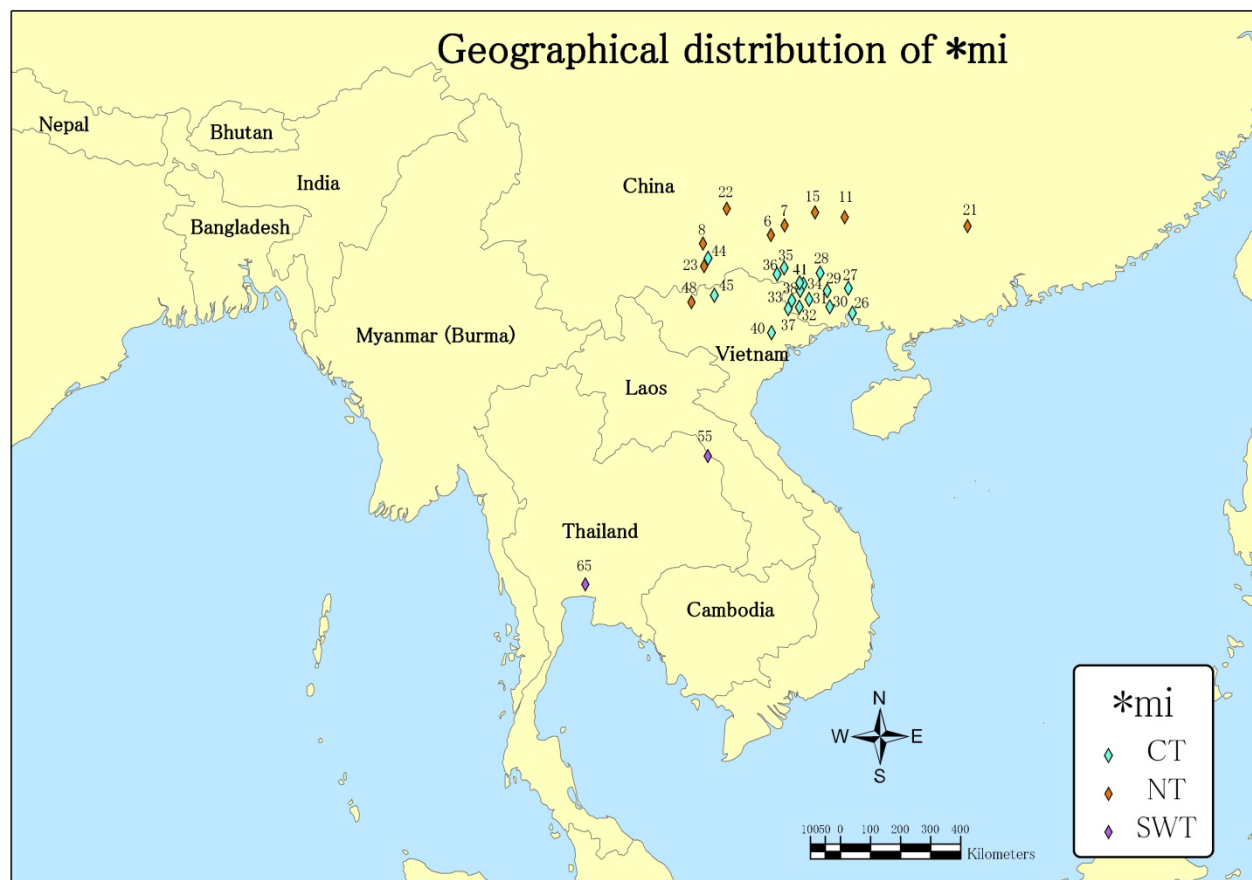
Modern reflexes of *mi

Tianlin (NT)	mi^{A2}
Yongbei (NT)	m̩^{C1}
Chongzuo (CT)	məi^{A2}
Thai (SWT)	mi^{C2}

- Typically glossed as 'not'.
- Irregular tonal correspondence, i.e. tone not reconstructible
- In some languages, *mi may appear with other morphemes
  - /mi^{B2} mej^{A2}/ 'not yet' (Qiubei)
  - /maŋ^{C1}/ 'not yet' (Shangsi)

The etymon *pajᴮ

- Found only in CT and SWT groups.

Geographical distribution of *pajᴮ
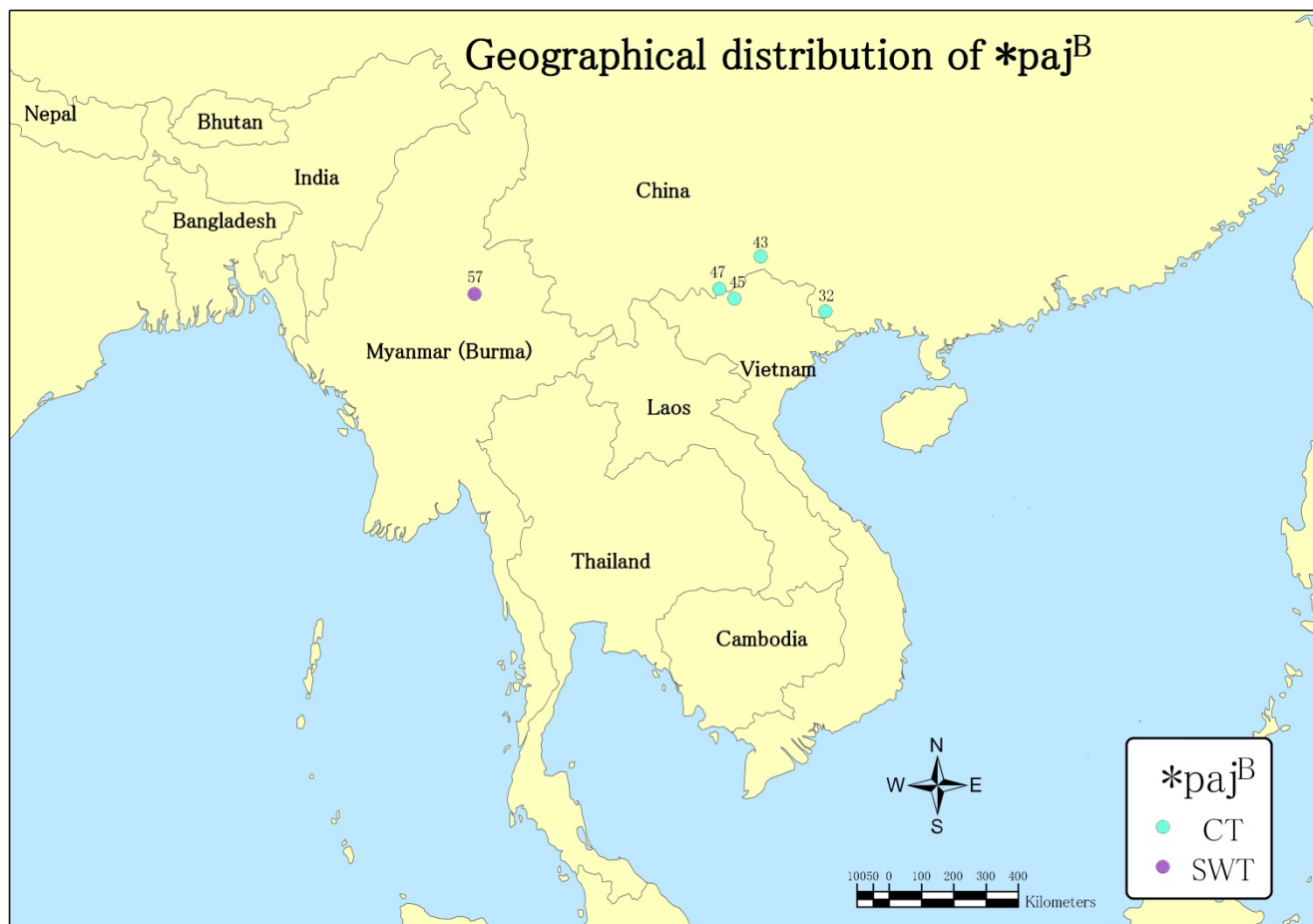
Modern reflexes of *paj^B

Ningming (CT)	paj^{B1}
Guangnan-Nung (CT)	paj^{B1}
Western Nung (CT)	paj^{B1}
Shan (SWT)	paj^{B1}

- Glossed as 'not yet' in every language.
- Regularly with B1 tone
- Reconstructed
  - Not explainable as loan or internal development.
  - Found in a wide geographical area.
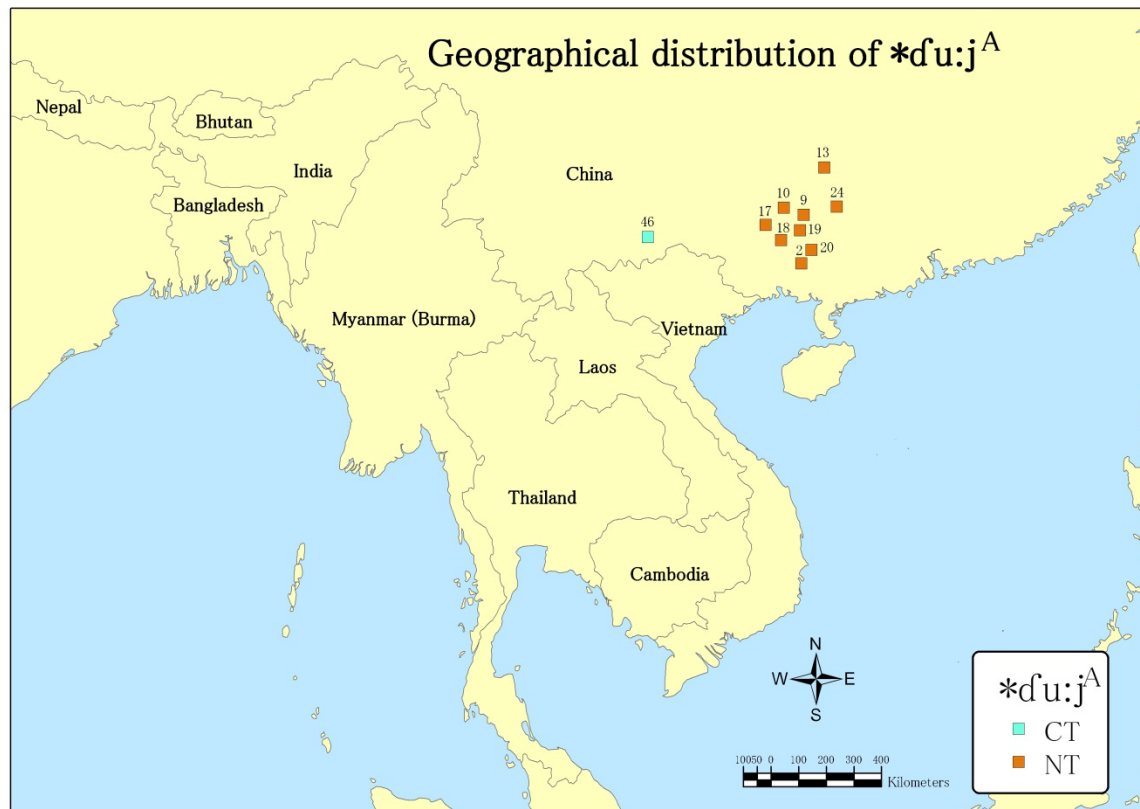
Negators not reconstructed

- *ɗuːjᴬ
- *wiːᴮ
- *ɟaŋᴬ

The etymon $*ɗuːj^A$

- Only found in China among NT languages and one CT language.

Geographical distribution of $*ɗuːj^A$

Modern reflexes of *ɗuːjᴬ

Hengxian (NT)	ʔi^{A1}
Shanglin (NT)	ɗi^{A1}
Wenma (CT)	ɗi$^{B1/B2}$

- Always glossed as 'not', except when appear with *ɟaŋᴬ.
  - /ɗi^{A1} ɕaŋ^{A2}/ 'not yet' (Du'an)

- Mashan has /ɗɨA1/~/ɗuːiA1/ 'if not, otherwise'
- Not reconstructible
  - Confined to NT, except for Wenma
  - Semantic change: 'if not' > 'not'

The etymon $*wi:^B$

- Only found in a few NT languages in China (except for Yay, which migrated to Vietnam)

Geographical distribution of $*wi:^B$

Modern reflexes of $*wi{:}^B$

Tianlin (NT)	fi^{B2}
Lingyue (NT)	fi^{B2}
Bouyei (NT)	wi^{B2}
Yay (NT)	fi^{B2}

- Glossed as 'not yet' in every language.
- Chinese borrowing:
  - 未 wèi 'not yet' (EM υi^C < LMC $\upsilon jyj^C/\upsilon ji^C$ < EMC muj^C)
  - Correspondence between Tai *B and Chinese *C

The etymon *ɟaŋ^A

- Found in CT and NT, not at all in SWT.

Geographical distribution of *ɟaŋ^A
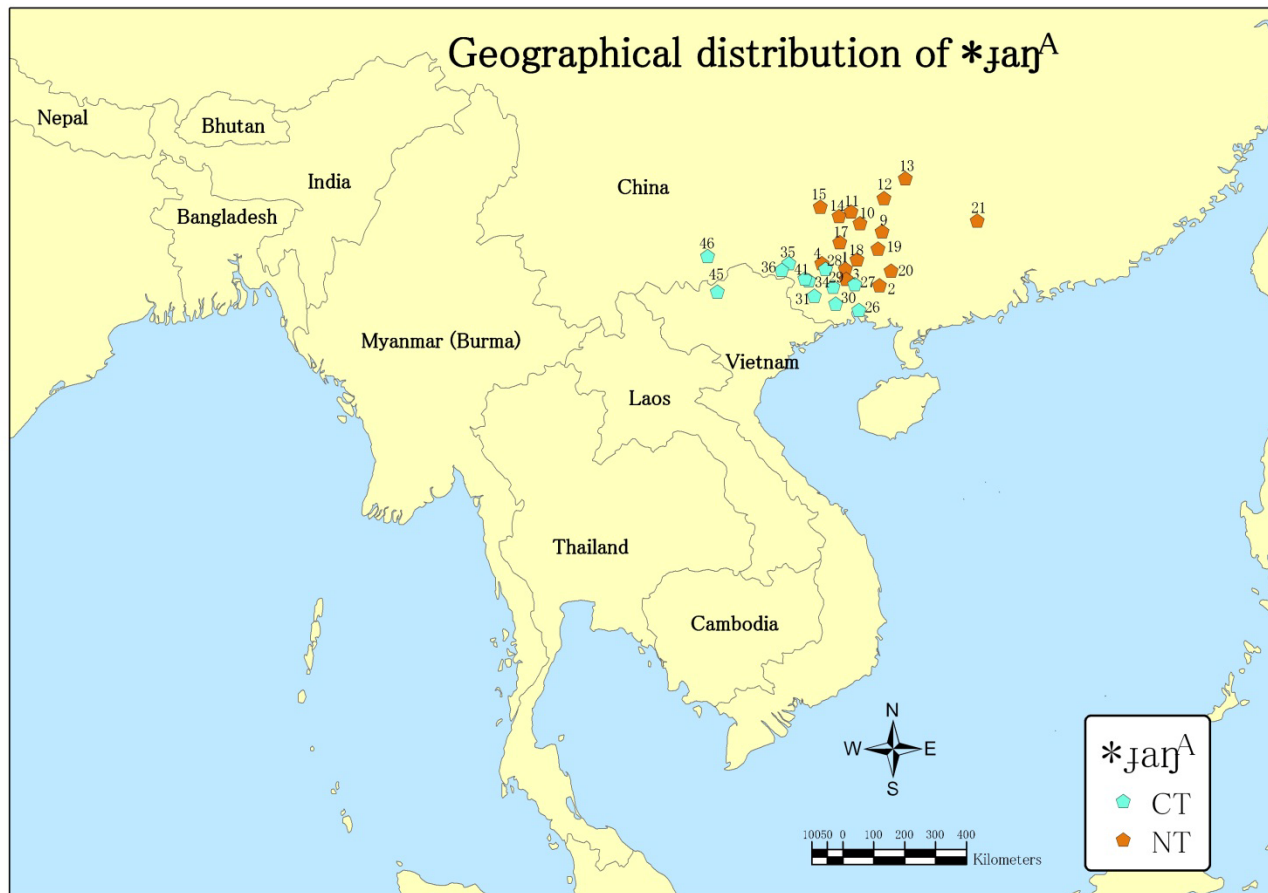
Modern reflexes of $*\text{ɟaŋ}^{A}$

Hengxian (NT)	tɕaŋ^{A2}
Pingguo (NT)	ɕaŋ^{A2}
Liujiang (NT)	tsaŋ^{A2}
Hechi (NT)	saŋ^{A2}
Wenma (CT)	$\text{tsən}^{A1}\ \text{di}^{B2}$

- **Difference in meaning among languages**
  - 'not yet', i.e. /ɕaŋ^{A2}/ (Shanglin)
  - 'yet', i.e. /$\text{mi}^{A2}\ \text{ɕaŋ}^{A2}$/ (Nandan)
- **Contamination: 'ever, yet' > 'not yet'**
- **Chinese borrowing: 曾 céng 'once' (< EMC $*\text{dzən}^{A}$)**

Perfect/non-perfect distinction (Comrie 1976)

PERFECT	NON-PERFECT
■ Express a relation between a present state and a past situation and indicate the continuing present relevance of a past situation.	■ Other aspects which do not satisfy the criteria for perfect.
■ I have lost a penknife. (perfect)	■ I lost a penknife. (past/non-perfect)

Reconstruction of Tai negation system

- Three negators in PT: $*ɓaw^B$, $*mi$ and $*paj^B$
- Aspectual distinction between perfect and non-perfect
- Contrast between $*ɓaw^B$ and $*mi$ unclear
- Bao Yen is one of the languages that still retain the original aspectual distinction.

Non-perfect

- /bɤw³/ = no, not

- /mi:²/ = not

/pɔː⁴ phaː⁶ kaː⁴ *bɤw³* phɛːt³ bɤw³ daŋ¹/
The sky god would not make lightning and thunder.

/phaː⁶ lɛːŋ⁶ thaːm¹ piː¹ *mi:²* phɤn¹/
The drought lasted for three years, during which it did not rain.

- /pɤj³/ = not yet

- /saŋ¹/ = still not yet

/laːn¹ *pɤj³* huŋ¹ khɤw⁵/
Grandchild has not cooked rice.

/laːn¹ *saŋ¹* huŋ¹ khɤw⁵/
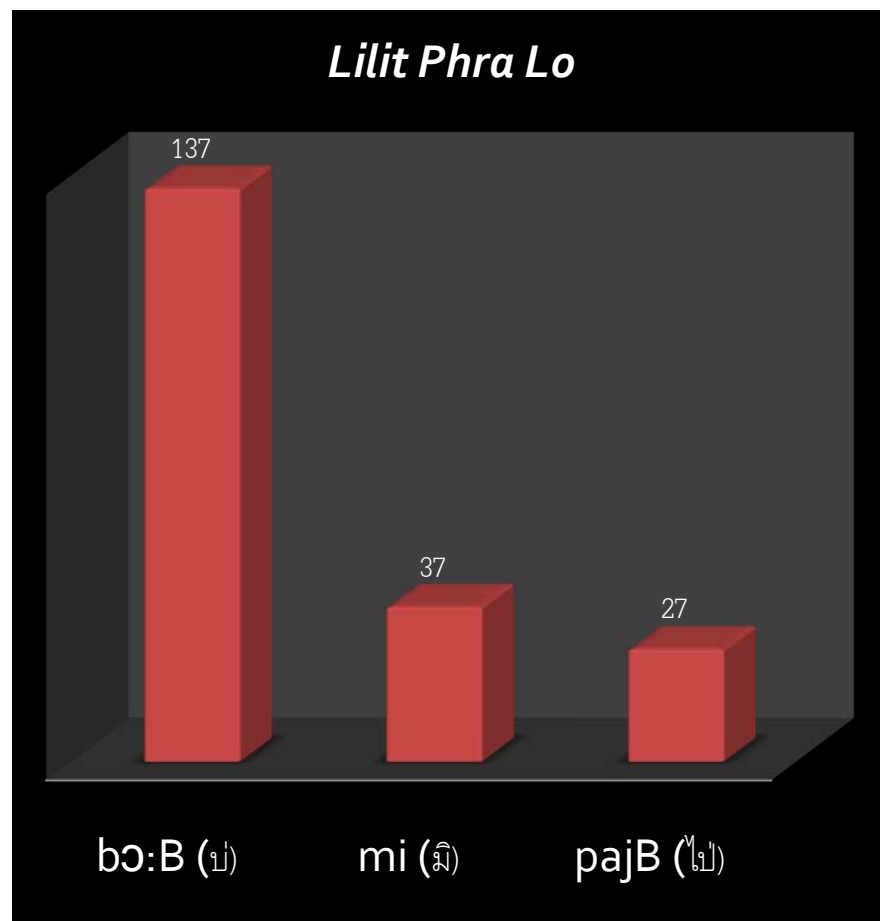Grandchild still has not cooked rice.

perfect

Support from Old Thai literature

- Use of negators in *Lilit Phra Lo* (early Ayutthaya; 15th century) matches the reconstructed PT system.
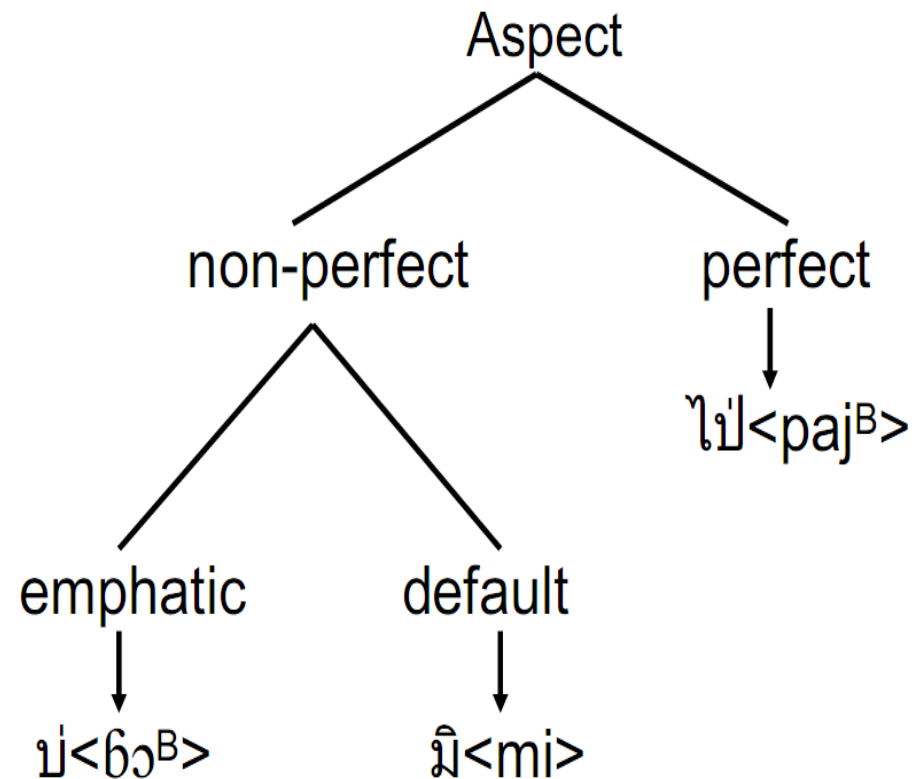
Lilit Phra Lo

- ## Old Thai represented by *Lilit Phra Lo* had 3 negators
  - บ่ <bɔ:^{B}> from *ɓaw^B
  - มิ <mi> from *mi
  - ไป่ <paj^B> from *paj^B

Lilit Phra Lo

137 — bɔ:B (บ่)
37 — mi (มิ)
27 — pajB (ไป่)

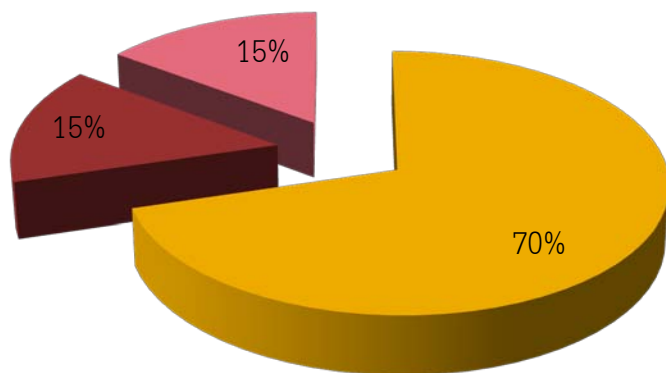# Aspectual distinction in *Lilit Phra Lo*

■ Old Thai had an aspectual distinction between perfect and non-perfect negators

ไม้ <pajᴮ> as perfect negator

ไม้ **<pajᴮ>**

■ perfect ■ non-perfect ■ ambiguous

- 70% of ไม้ <pajᴮ> were used in perfect aspect.
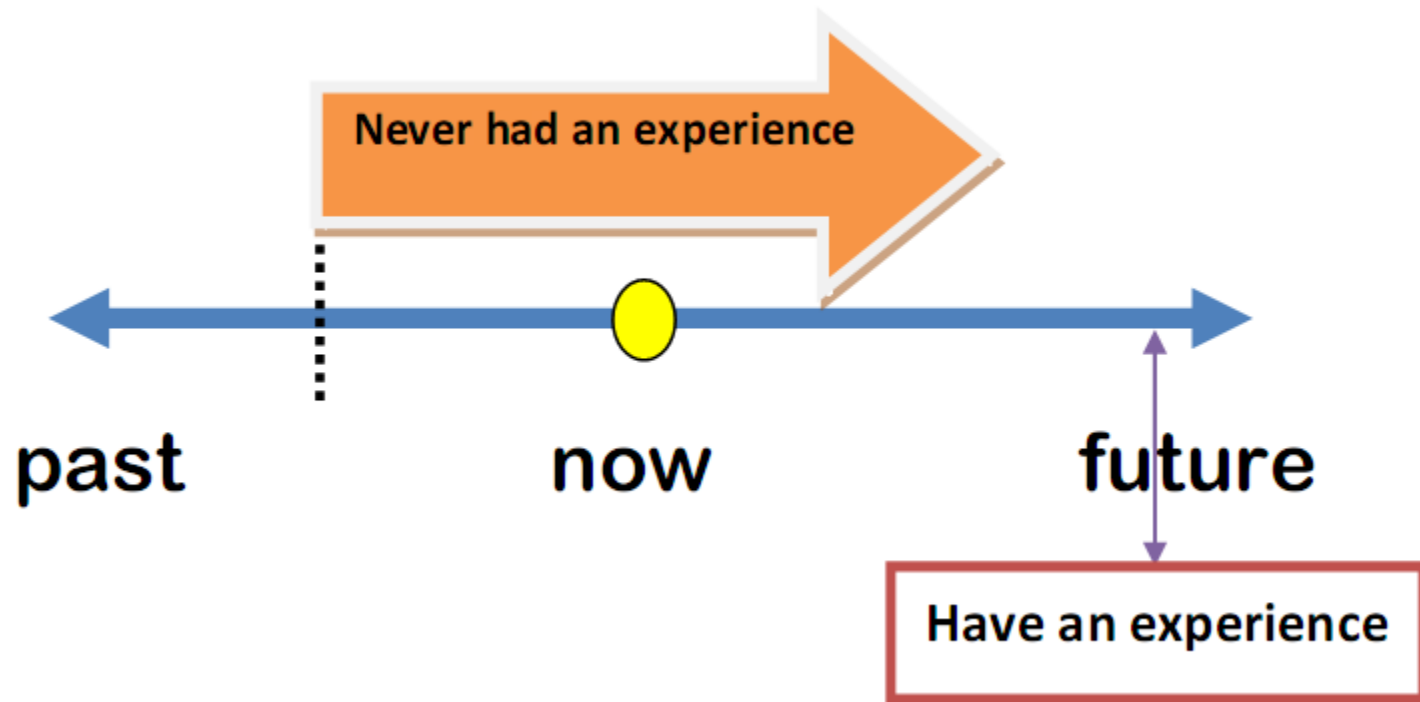- Only 15% occurred in non-perfect situation.

$<\text{paj}^\text{B}>$: Example 1

พี่เอยแต่น้อยเกิด ตนมา ยัง<u>ไป่</u>เคยเดียงสา สักน้อย

Since I was born, I have <u>never </u>once had an experience yet.

- Perfect aspect
- ยัง /jaŋ^1/ indicates persistence of a situation.
- เคย /khɤ:j^1/ refers to a situation that has held at least once up to some reference point in time.

$\langle$paj$^B\rangle$: Example 2

รัก**ไป**ทันถึงวัน ด่วนร้าง

Our love <u>has not </u>lasted one day but you have to leave so early.

- Perfect aspect
- ทัน /t^{h}an^1/ expresses that a situation persisted up to a certain point in time but did not reach the expected end point.

ป่ <bɔ:^{B}> as non-perfect marker

ป่ <bɔ:^{B}>

2%

■ perfect ■ non-perfect ■ ambiguous

3%

95%
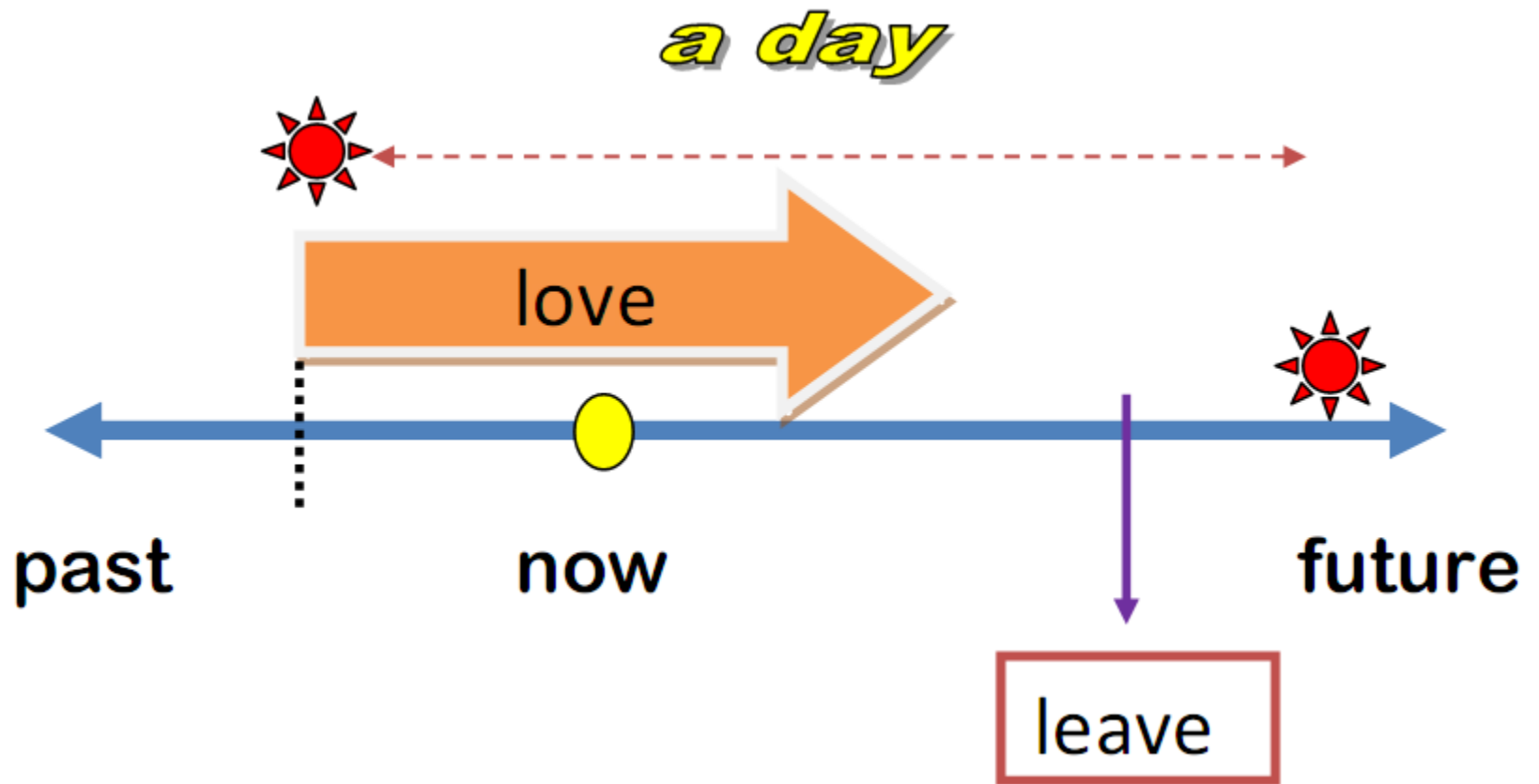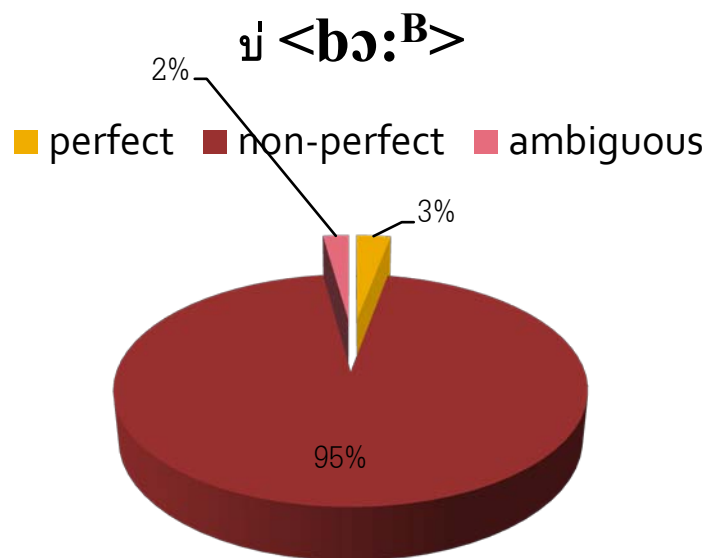
- **95% of ป่ <bɔ:^{B}> was used in non-perfect situations**
- **Only 3% was used in perfect sentences**

$<\text{bɔ:}^{B}>$: Example 1

ถึงตำบลนั้นนั้น   ท่านผ้าย **บ** หึง
To each district, he travels <u>not</u> for long.

- Non-perfect
- No relevance to present situation
- No relation between past situation and present state

<bɔːᴮ>: Example 2

จะลองใครใครก็มา จะหาใครใครก็ **บ** อยู่

Those whom he calls on come; those he summons <u>do not</u> stay put.

- Non-perfect
- No relevance to present situation
- No relation between past situation and present state

มิ <mi> as non-perfect marker

มิ<mi>

🟨 perfect 🟥 non-perfect 🟥 ambiguous

3%   5%

92%
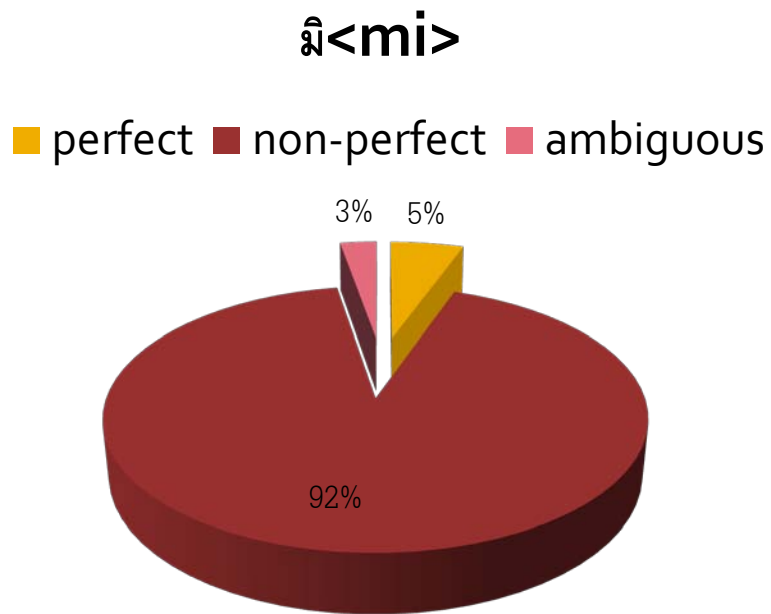
- 90% of มิ <mi> occurred in non-perfect contexts.
- Only 5% occurs in perfect situations

<mi>: Example 1

เผือข้า**มิ**ใคร่ผ้าย ไปไกล ท่านนา

The two of us <u>do not </u>wish to go away from you.

- Non-perfect
- A description of a state that does not have relevance to the present.

<mi>: Example 2

ครั้นจะอยู่ท้าวธจะ**มิ**หลับ

If we stay, he <u>will not </u>sleep.

- ▪ Non-perfect
- ▪ A situation that will take place at a particular point in time without persistence.

Old Thai and PT negation system

- Sentences with perfect aspect tended to use ไป่ $<paj^B>$.
- บ่ $<b\jmath:^B>$ and มี $<mi>$ generally occurred in non-perfect contexts.
- The aspectual distinction (perfect vs. non-perfect) in Old Thai lends support to the proposed PT reconstruction.

Prosodic distinction between บ่ <bɔ:^{B}> and มิ <mi>

- บ่ <bɔ:^{B}> and มิ <mi> are both non-perfect markers.
- Sometimes both are used in combination, e.g. บ่มิ <bɔ:^{B} mi>
- Morphosyntactic and semantic differences unclear.
- *Khlong* verses in *Lilit Phra Lo* shows that บ่ <bɔ:^{B}> and มิ <mi> had different prosodic behaviors.

Syllables counts in *khlong si suphap*

- The appropriate number of syllables in each *khlong si suphap* line is fixed to 7.
- Light unstressed syllables are not counted.

Unstressed syllables in *Khlong* verses

KHLONG SI SUPHAP

5 + 2 = 7

○○○○◌ ○○● (○○)
○○◌● ○○●
○○◌● ○○ (○)
○○◌● ○○◌○○

(วรรคหน้า)

5 + 4 = 9 (วรรคหลัง)

/tha.ˈnɔmᴬ¹/
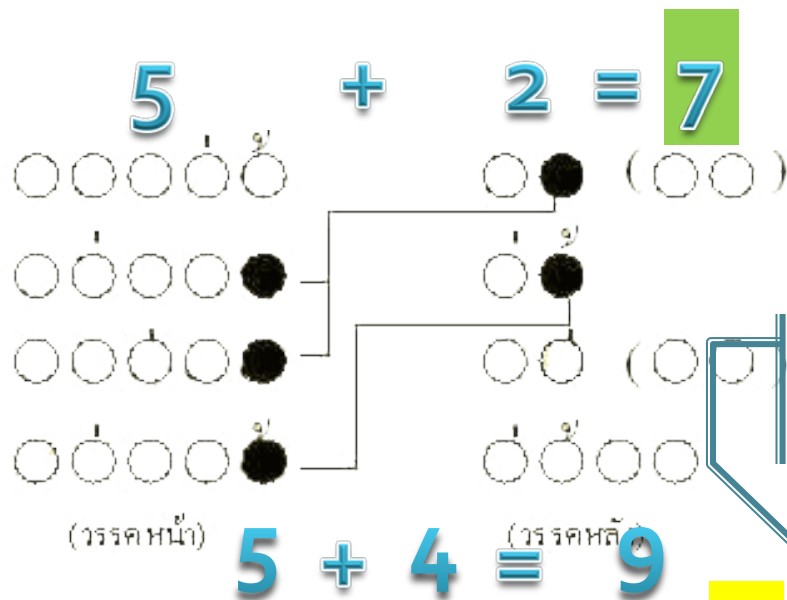
EXAMPLES

เสียง.ลือ.เสียง.เล่า.อ้าง   อัน.ใด พี่.เอ๋ 7
เสียง.ย่อม.ยอ.ยศ.ใคร   ทั่ว.หล้า 7
สอง.เขือ.พี่.หลับ.ใหล   ลืม.ตื่น ฤๅ.พี่ 7
   อย่า.ได้.ถาม.เผือ 7

/sa.ˈŋuənᴬ¹/

สิบ.เดือน.อุ้ม.ท้อง.พระ   ลอ.ลักษณ์ 7
ส.งวน.บ่.ลืม.ตน.สัก   หนึ่ง.น้อย
ตราบ.พระ.ปิ่น.ไตร.จักร   เสด็จ.คลอด มา.ป 7
ถ.นอม.อาบ.อุ้ม.ค้อย.ค้อย   ลูบ.เลี้ยง.รัก.ษา

8

10

บ่ <bɔːᴮ> and มิ <mi> in *Khlong* verses

บ่ <bɔːᴮ>   **มิ <mi>**

๑๔๐
เอ็น.ดู.สอง.ราช.ไท้   ธิ.ดา. ท่าน.นา
ท่า.**บ่**.เห็น.โหย.หา   อก.ไหม้
พระ.ลอ.ราช.จัก.มา   ฤๅ.ไป่. มา.เลย
สอง.ราช.ละ.ห้อย.ไห้   แต่.ถ้า.ภู.บาล

7

๔๓๗
   เผื่อ.ข้า.**มิ**.ใคร่.ผ้าย   ไป.ไกล. ท่าน.นา
ตัว.จาก.ใจ.อา.ลัย   ท่าน.ไท้
ขอ.ลา.บ.พิตร.ไป   ประ.พาส. พระ.เอย
สม.ส.นุก.เล่น.ไหล้   หล่ง.สร้อย.สวน.ขวัญ

7

- The negator บ่ <bɔːᴮ> and มิ <mi>, when occurring alone, are counted like normal syllables.

Metrical count of บ่มิ $<bɔ:^B mi>$

บ่มิ $<bɔ:^B mi>$

๑�๖

แล.วัน.สาม.คาบ.ป้อน   เป็น.นิตย์

บ.มิ.ให้.ใคร.ทำ.ผิด   แผก.เจ้า

แสน.ส.งวน.คู่.ชีวิต   ฤๅ.ใคร่   กลาย.เลย

เทียร.ผดุง.คุ้ง.เท้า   ตราบ.รู้.เสวย.เอง

8

- Lines containing the compound negator บ่มิ $<bɔ:^B mi>$ always have 8 syllables
- In recitation, มิ $<mi>$ does not receive stress.
- มิ $<mi>$ in the compound บ่มิ $<bɔ:^B mi>$ is not counted metrically.

Contrast between ป <bɔ:^{B}> and มิ <mi>

- Metrical count of *khlong* verses in *Lilit Phra Lo* suggests that มิ <mi> was possibly unstressed in Old Thai.
- Stresslessness often correlates with lack of emphasis.
- The prosodic distinction between ป <bɔ:^{B}> and มิ <mi> thus supports the speculated emphatic/non-emphatic contrast between PT *ɓaw^B and *mi.

Old Thai literature and PT negation system

- The perfect/non-perfect contrast between ไป่ <paj^B> and บ่ <bɔ:^{B}>/มิ <mi> in Old Thai literature attests the aspectual distinction in the reconstructed PT negation system.
- The prosodic defect of มิ <mi> supports the speculation that PT *ɓaw^B and *mi contrasted in terms of emphasis.

A note on *^{h}rɔːn^B

- ห่อน $<$hɔn$^B>$ from *^{h}rɔːn^B is another negator in Thai.
- Currently means 'not' but used only in poetry.

รัฐ**ห่อน**เคยให้ใช้แห่งชน

The state <u>does not</u> ever let the people exercise their own (rights).

(อาทิตย์ถึงจันทร์, ๑๕๗)

A note on $*^{h}r\mathfrak{o}:n^{B}$ (cont.)

- **Royal Institute Dictionary**
  - 'ever'
  - 'not' only in poetry, i.e. <u>**ห่อน**</u>เห็นเจ้าเศร้าใจครวญ

    '<u>Not</u> seeing you made me sad'
- **Southern Thai**
  - 'ever' used in negative sentences only
  - อรไม่<u>**ห่อน**</u>ไปสุราษฎรฯ /$\mathfrak{Po}:n^3$ maj^6 **$h\mathfrak{o}:n^1$** paj^3 $su^1ra:t^6$/

    I have not <u>ever</u> been to Suratthani.
- **Also in Ahom and old texts in some other SWT languages**

A note on *^{h}rɔːn^B (cont.)

- Path of semantic change:

  'ever' > 'never' > 'not'

  - contamination: not+ever
  - bleaching: 'never' > 'not'
  - Obsolescence
  - Poetic adoption

Conclusion (1)

- Comparative evidence indicates that the PT negation system possibly made two important distinctions:

  - a perfect/non-perfect
  - possible emphatic/non-emphatic (possible)

Conclusion (cont.)

- A historical study of negators in Old Thai literature provide supports for the proposed system of PT negation.
- A promising approach to investigating PT grammar is to reconstruct smaller subsystems based on lexical reconstruction of closed-class vocabulary items, e.g. question words, aspect markers, classifiers, etc.

Special thanks

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