

/ka-/ negative prefix of Choswateng Tibetan of Kham (Shangri-La, Yunnan)

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Choswateng Tibetan, spoken in the south-eastern corner of the Kham region, has three negative prefixes: /ŋi-/ , /ma-/ , and /ka-/ . The first two are derived from two morphemes which are ubiquitous across Tibetic languages, whereas the third is a newly generated negative prefix found in Choswateng Tibetan as well as its surrounding dialects belonging to the rGyalthang subgroup of Kham and its neighbours. This article describes the morphological feature and use of the prefix /ka-/ in Choswateng Tibetan. Morphologically, the prefix /ka-/ can co-occur with most verbs except for the copulative verb /'re?/. Pragmatically, the prefix /ka-/ occurs and is restricted in the following ways: (1) expresses 'definitely not' for statements regarding the self, and 'possibly not, judging from the speaker's knowledge' for statements regarding others; (2) co-occurs with egophoric and sensory evidentials; (3) is not used for a negation of accomplished aspect; and (4) does not deprive the function of the other two negative prefixes. These two analyzes are mutually related; it is suggested that the reason why /ka-/ cannot co-occur with the copulative verb /'re?/ is triggered by a contradiction of implied evidentials: /ka-/ is related to egophoric and sensory, whereas /'re?/ is statemental. Following the description of its use, we discuss the origin of /ka-/ , claiming a possible grammaticalization from an interrogative word *gar* ('where' in Literary Tibetan and common throughout the rGyalthang area) in a rhetorical question to a prefix. Referring to several morphological features of /ka-/ , we consider its grammaticalization as ongoing, but most advanced in Choswateng Tibetan.

Keywords: Kham Tibetan, rGyalthang subgroup, negation, prefix, egophoric evidential, sensory evidential

1. Introduction

Tibetic languages (see Tournadre 2014 for the definition of ‘Tibetic’), both literary and spoken varieties, have two negative prefixes (also called “particle” or “adverb” depending on the literature). The two negative prefixes in most varieties correspond to *mi* (or its archaic variant *myi*) and *ma* in Literary Tibetan (henceforth LT); see de Nebesky-Wojtkowitz 1956:xv for the romanization system of LT. Additionally, they are the *only* two prefixes which are used to construct negative predicates. Interestingly, not a few Tibetic varieties found in the southern Kham region employ an additional negative prefix which has an initial consonant /k/.

The negative prefixes are directly attached to a verb root, as reported in many previous descriptions of various Tibetic languages, e.g. Hoshi (2016: 116) for Literary Tibetan (LT); Denwood (1999: 115–116) for Lhasa; Häsler (1999: 213–215) for Derge; Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2016: 59–60) for Lhagang; Suzuki (2013a) for Sogpho; Haller (2004: 153) for Themchen; Ebihara (2011: 53) for Chabcha; Rig’dzin dBang-mo (2013) for Thewo-stod and Thewo-smad; Gawne (2016: 117–119) for Lamjung Yolmo; Tournadre et al. (2009: 279) for Khumbu Sherpa; Yliniemi (2016) for Lhoke (Denjongke); Tournadre & Karma Rigzin (2015: 62–63) for Choca-ngaca; Koshal (1979: 237–250) for Ladaks language; Sprigg (2002: 109, 114–115) for Balti; and Tournadre & Sangda Dorje (2010) for Common Tibetan (*sPyi-skad*). In most varieties, there are also two verb roots which convey negative meaning: *min* ‘copulative negative verb (CPV.NEG)’ (considered as a coalescent form of *ma-yin* [NEG-CPV]) and *med* ‘existential negative verb (EXV.NEG)’ (considered as a coalescent form of *ma-yod* [NEG-EXV]), with the exception of some varieties such as gTormarong (Dongwang) reported in Bartee (2007: 294–304).

Choswateng Tibetan (approximately 170 speakers in a strict sense; cf. Wu 2009: 295) is one of the Kham Tibetan dialects that has three negative prefixes including a /k/-form. Suzuki (2014; 2017b) considers this language to be a variety maintaining an archaic phonology within the rGyalthang dialect group of Kham, spoken mainly in Shangri-La Municipality, Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China (see Figure 1), which is located at the south-eastern corner of the Tibetosphere (see Roche & Suzuki 2018). This rGyalthang dialect group has been described by Lu (1990; 1992), Hongladarom (1996; 2000; 2007a, b), *Yunnan Shengzhi* Bianzuan Weiyuanhui (1998: 421–441), Suzuki (2011b; 2014; 2018a, b), and Zhao & Li (2014). However, none of the authors mentions the negative prefix in particular, except for Suzuki & Lozong Lhamo (2020). Three negative prefixes of Choswateng Tibetan, and of any dialects belonging to the rGyalthang subgroup, are frequently used by speakers across all generations. This article describes the morphology and usage of the “third” negative prefix and

compares it with the two other negative prefixes based on the first-hand data collected in recent field research.

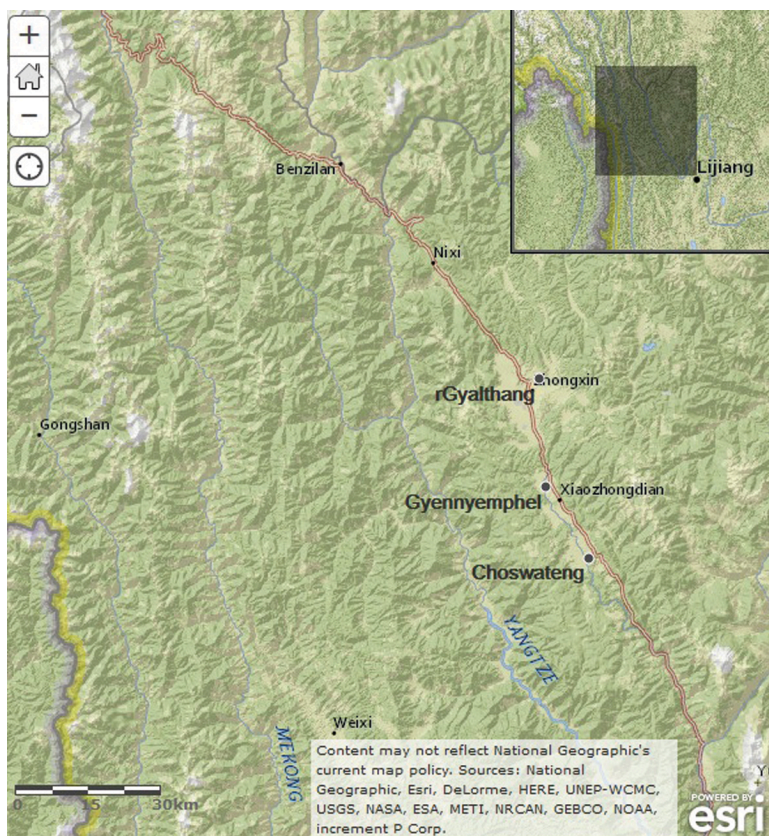


Figure 1. Location of Choswateng Tibetan within Northwestern Yunnan (designed with Arc GIS online) [Three hamlets (rGyalthang, Gyennyemphel, and Choswateng) are marked based on the availability of linguistic materials.]

2. Morphology

In Choswateng Tibetan, three kinds of verb prefixes are attested: negative, interrogative, and directional. They are monosyllabic and form a single tone-bearing unit with the stem. More than one prefix cannot appear simultaneously. Thus, directional prefixes can turn into adverbial phrases (principally disyllabic forms) in yes-no question and negation forms; a negative yes-no question is formed with a negative prefix and either an interrogative suffix or a tag question marker.

The /k-/ negative prefix has several phonetic realizations such as [ka-], [ka:-], and [ka:-] (free variants, henceforth represented by /ka-/), always in a rising tone which spreads to a following verb root, and forms a single tone bearing unit. Two other negative prefixes are /ŋi-/ ([ŋi-, ŋə-]; LT *myi*) and /ma-/ ([ma-, mə-]; LT *ma*). Note that /ka-/ does not include a form with a schwa [ə], as we find with the other negative prefixes in rapid speech.

All verb prefixes in Choswateng Tibetan form a single tone bearing unit together with a monosyllabic verb root; so does /ka-/. In addition to this, it cannot appear with other prefixes. Therefore, we can consider /ka-/ to be a negative prefix in synchronic morphology. There are four tonal shapes (see the Appendix “Sound system of Choswateng Tibetan”): high-level, rising, falling, rising-falling. Tones are contrastive in a phonological word of which only the first two syllables can function as a tone bearing unit. Only two shapes low-rising and rising-falling, are attested for all the negative prefixes. The tonal shape of a verb with a prefix depends on the tone of the verb root. Regarding the phonetic notation of Choswateng Tibetan, we follow Suzuki (2016) for segmental description and Kitamura (1977) for suprasegmental description.

The tables from 1 to 4 below list elicited examples illustrating the morphological construction of negative forms. Some verb roots (stative, copulative and existential verbs), have restrictions displayed in Table 1. With the exception of some suppletive verbs, verb roots are not inflected. A Literary Tibetan (LT) etymon is, when known, given for each example (without making a distinction between Classical Tibetan and Old Tibetan forms).

Table 1 illustrates the most frequent occurrence of negative forms with monosyllabic verbs that do not exhibit morphophonological alternation of verb roots regardless of which prefix they occur with. An asterisk <*> denotes unattested combination of negative prefix and stem.

Table 1. Most frequent occurrence of negative forms

	root	LT etymon	/ŋi-/ prefix	/ma-/ prefix	/ka-/ prefix
send	- ^h t̚ʂ	<i>btang</i>	ʼŋi- ^h t̚ʂ	ʼma- ^h t̚ʂ	ʼka- ^h t̚ʂ
sing	- ^h ʃ̥	<i>bgrang</i>	ʼŋi- ^h ʃ̥	ʼma- ^h ʃ̥	ʼka- ^h ʃ̥
write	ʼçə	<i>bri</i>	ʼŋi-çə	ʼma-çə	ʼka-çə
ask	ʼt̚ə	<i>dri</i>	ʼŋi-t̚ə	ʼma-t̚ə	ʼka-t̚ə
permit	ʼt̚e ^h uʔ	<i>chog</i>	ʼŋi-t̚e ^h uʔ	ʼma-t̚e ^h uʔ	ʼka-t̚e ^h uʔ
plough	- ^h mwə	<i>rmo</i>	ʼŋi- ^h mwə	ʼma- ^h mwə	ʼka- ^h mwə
go	ʼŋgwə	<i>gro</i>	ʼŋi-ŋgwə	ʼma-ŋgwə	ʼka-ŋgwə
eat	- ^h t̚ʂ ^h a	ʼchaʼ	ʼŋi- ^h t̚ʂ ^h a	ʼma- ^h t̚ʂ ^h a	ʼka- ^h t̚ʂ ^h a

Table 1. (continued)

	root	LT etymon	/ŋi-/ prefix	/ma-/ prefix	/ka-/ prefix
need	ʰŋgu:	<i>dgos</i>	ʰŋi-ʰgu:	ʰma-ʰgu:	ʰka-ʰgu:
fear	ʰcaʔ	<i>skrag</i>	ʰŋi-ʰcaʔ	ʰma-ʰcaʔ	ʰka-ʰcaʔ
be hungry	ʰtuʔ	<i>ltogs</i>	*	ʰma-ʰtuʔ	ʰka-ʰtuʔ
be sick	ʰna	<i>na</i>	*	ʰma-na	ʰka-na
EXV.VSEN	ṽṽṽ	<i>snang</i>	ʰŋi-ṽṽṽ	ʰma-ṽṽṽ	ʰka-ṽṽṽ
EXV	ṽṽṽṽṽ	<i>ʼdug</i>	ʰŋi-ṽṽṽṽṽ	ʰma-ṽṽṽṽṽ	ʰka-ṽṽṽṽṽ
EXV	ʰjuʔ	<i>yod</i>	*	*	ʰka-juʔ
CPV.E	ʰzē	<i>zin</i>	*	*	ʰka-zē
CPV	ʰreʔ	<i>red</i>	*	ʰma-reʔ	*

The negative forms of /ʰjuʔ/ (EXV) and /ʰzē/ (CPV) undergo a coalescence (/ʰŋɛʔ/ (EXV.NEG) and /ʰmī/ (CPV.NEG) respectively) whereas the /ka-/ prefix is fully expressed.

Table 2 lists examples of monosyllabic verbs with a morphophonological alternation of the initial consonant of verb roots only when the /ŋi-/ and /ma-/ prefixes are attached.

Table 2. Monosyllabic verbs with a morphophonological alternation by two prefixes

	root	LT etymon	/ŋi-/ prefix	/ma-/ prefix	/ka-/ prefix
fall	ʰpoʔ	<i>bab</i>	ʰŋi-boʔ	ʰma-boʔ	ʰka-poʔ
hide oneself	ʰkoʔ	<i>gag</i>	ʰŋi-goʔ	ʰma-goʔ	ʰka-koʔ
fall down	ʰsaʔ	<i>zag</i>	ʰŋi-zaʔ	ʰma-zaʔ	ʰka-saʔ
melt	ʰɕəʔ	<i>zhu</i>	ʰŋi-ɕəʔ	ʰma-ɕəʔ	ʰka-ɕəʔ
collapse	ʰciʔ	<i>zhig</i>	ʰŋi-ziʔ	ʰma-ziʔ	ʰka-ciʔ
recover	ʰtaʔ	<i>drag</i>	*	ʰma-ɖaʔ	ʰka-taʔ

Although the /ka-/ negative form is considered a prefix based on the behavior of the formation of tone bearing unit, a difference of the morphophonological process between the /ŋi-/ and /ma-/ prefixes vis-à-vis the /ka-/ prefix is attested, as in Table 2. For instance, the initial of the verb ‘fall’ is /p/, which becomes /b/ when the prefixes /ŋi-/ and /ma-/ are added. This morphophonological alternation seems to be related to a voiceless obstruent initial in low tone which corresponds to voiced simplex initials in LT; however, not all the examples under this

condition follow it, e.g. ‘ask’ in Table 1. Hence, a synchronic description should note which verb roots display the alternation of initial consonant.

Table 3 lists examples of monosyllabic verbs where there is morphophonological alternation of the initial consonant of the verb root with all three prefixes.

Table 3. Monosyllabic verbs with a morphophonological alternation by any of the prefixes

	root	LT etymon	/ŋi-/ prefix	/ma-/ prefix	/ka-/ prefix
know	ʼkwə	go	ʼŋi-gwə	ʼma-gwə	ʼka-gwə

Only one verb root /ʼkwə/ shows this type, which indicates that /ka-/ is a verb prefix.

Table 4 shows examples of disyllabic verbs and collocations which originally consist of a noun and a verb.

Table 4. Polysyllabic forms

	root	LT etymon	/ŋi-/ prefix	/ma-/ prefix	/ka-/ prefix
bow down	ʼɛʰaʔ ʼm̥pʰi:	<i>phyag ʼphel</i>	ʼɛʰaʔ ʼŋi-m̥pʰi:	ʼɛʰaʔ ʼma-m̥pʰi:	ʼɛʰaʔ ʼka-m̥pʰi:
understand	ʼha ʼkwə	<i>ha go</i>	ʼha ʼŋi-gwə	ʼha ʼma-gwə	ʼha ʼka-gwə
take a rest	-ḥŋiʔ ʼhswə	<i>gnyid gso</i>	-ḥŋiʔ ʼŋi-hswə	-ḥŋiʔ ʼma-hswə	-ḥŋiʔ ʼka-hswə

As displayed in Table 4, all negative prefixes are attached to the last syllable of the verb, and morphemes of other categories do not often appear in this position. This feature is common to other Tibetic languages. Based on these observations, we can claim that the morphological process by /ka-/ is quite similar to the verb prefixes.

Additionally, /ka-/ cannot precede two negative verbs /ʼmĩ/ ‘negative copulative egophoric verb (CPV.E.NEG)’ and /ʼŋɛʔ/ ‘negative existential egophoric verb (EXV.E.NEG)’. Because only a single prefix is supposed to appear in a verb predicate in Choswateng Tibetan, this fact also suggests that /ka-/ functions as a negative prefix.

In sum, /ka-/ may, on the basis of the morphological irregularity displayed in Table 2, be regarded as a transitional form undergoing grammaticalization from a separate lexical word to a prefix in the strict sense. Nevertheless, for the most part it behaves in the same way as the other prefixes, and hence we consider it to be a prefix in this article.

3. Description of the usage of /ka-/

The difference between the two negative prefixes with nasal initials in Choswateng Tibetan is described as a tense-aspectual distinction although this understanding is not always common to Tibetic languages as Zeisler (2004:297–299, 344–346) discusses. The form corresponding to LT *myi* denotes a negation of the nonperfect and nonaccomplished (1a), whereas that corresponding to LT *ma* denotes a negation of perfect and accomplished (1b) as well as imperative mode, i.e. prohibitive (1c). In negation, an evidential marking is often omitted.

- (1) a. 'ŋa 'sẽ 'ŋi-^hʈʂa
 nga zan myi 'cha'
 1SG food NEG-eat
 'I won't eat food.'
- b. 'ŋa 'sẽ -^hʈʂa ^hma-t^hũ
 nga zan 'cha' ma thon
 1SG food eat NEG-ACP
 'I didn't eat food.'
- c. 'sẽ 'ma-^hʈʂa
 zan ma 'cha'
 food NEG-eat
 'Don't eat!'

The question is how the /ka-/ prefix functions in the given variety possessing a quite similar system of negation. In this section, since every example is given an LT form for each component, the LT etymon for /ka-/ is provisionally identified as *gar*. See § 4 for this description.

This section describes the usage of the /ka-/ negative prefix in comparison with the other two negative prefixes, where available. Since /ka-/ is never used as a prohibitive, we do not deal with imperative forms. The section is divided into three parts concerning copulative verbs, existential verbs, and lexical verbs, followed by a summary. Most Tibetic languages have a complicated evidential-epistemic marking system grammaticalized as a type of access to information (Tournadre & LaPolla 2014:242–243; see also Tournadre 2008, 2017; Vokurková 2008; Gawne 2017; Oisel 2017; Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo 2018). Hence, the description here also refers to this system. We display the evidential system of copulative and existential verbs of Choswateng Tibetan in Tables 5 and 6 below, based on the framework of Suzuki & Sonam Wangmo (2018), who follow the definition of evidentiality advanced by Tournadre & LaPolla (2014).

As far as the present authors know, there is no clear intergenerational difference in the use of negative prefixes. The /ka-/ negative prefix tends to appear

especially in everyday discourse (i.e. general conversations and elicitations), and rarely appears in a narrative mode. As described below, the prefix /ka-/ conveys an emphatic negative sense when it is used with connection to self, i.e. egophoric, whereas it conveys an assumptive negative sense when used with connection to non-self. Assumptive negation differs from inferential, which is a distinct evidential category; we consider it negation of two sensory evidentials. The data employed in this section have been taken from various sources such as elicitation and conversations within the family or between local friends or colleagues, including persons from outside rGyalthang.

3.1 Copulative verbs

Copulative verbs in Choswateng Tibetan can be summarized in five evidential categories as in Table 5.

Table 5. Copulative verb forms of Choswateng Tibetan

	Egophoric	Statemental	Visual sensory	Nonvisual sensory	Inferential
affirmative	ʼzē	ʼreʔ	ʼzē-ŋ̃	ʼcaʔ	ʼzē-loʔ
	ʼjī	ʼʔa ^m bo		ʼzē-caʔ	ʼzē-pa ʔa
					ʼzē- ⁿ doʔ
					ʔa jī ze: ŋ̃
					ʼzē- ⁿ da ʔa ŋ̃
					ʼzē-ʔa jī sūj
					ʼzē-ʔa ⁿ doʔ sūj
negative	ʼmī	ʼma-reʔ	ʼka-zē	ʼka-zē	ʼmī-loʔ
	ʼka-zē				ʼmī-pa ʔa
					ʼmī- ⁿ doʔ
					ʼmī- ⁿ da ʔa ŋ̃
					ʼmī-ʔa jī sūj
					ʼmī-ʔa ⁿ doʔ sūj

There is no semantic difference between /ʼzē/ and /ʼjī/; the latter principally appears in formal speech. However, /ʼreʔ/ and /ʼʔa^mbo/ differ in sense; the former is a neutral statemental evidential, whereas the latter implies an authoritative connotation.

The affirmative stem /ʼzē/ can be replaced by /ʼmī/ in the negative counterpart of the egophoric and inferential in a synchronic morphological analysis; the /ka-/ negative form only appears in egophoric, visual sensory, and nonvisual sensory. The stem /ʼreʔ/ just takes the /ma-/ negative prefix. In the two sensory categories, we might expect an existence of /ʼmī-ŋ̃/ and /ʼmī-caʔ/, but these

forms are not used. This restriction originates from the fact mentioned on Examples (1a–c) that negative forms often appear without evidentials. Meanwhile, this explanation can clarify the status of an affirmative nonvisual sensory form /'caʔ/ is a grammaticalized form of /^hzē-caʔ/. As a result, the negative forms of egophoric, visual sensory, and nonvisual sensory are merged into a single form. A negative form /^hka-zē/ is, however, used irrespective of evidentials, as in (2b) and (3b):

- (2) a. 'ŋa ˈŋdz̥ zē
 nga 'jang zin
 1SG Naxi CPV.E
 'I am Naxi (ethnic group).'
 Situation: I introduce myself.
- b. 'ŋa ˈŋdz̥ ^hka-zē
 nga 'jang gar zin
 1SG Naxi NEG-CPV.E
 'I am definitely not Naxi (ethnic group).'
 Situation: It is evident that I am Tibetan.

- (3) a. ˈkʰwə ˈŋdz̥ reʔ
 kho 'jang red
 3SG Naxi CPV
 'He is Naxi.'
 Situation: I state that he is Naxi.
- b. ˈkʰwə ˈŋdz̥ ^hka-zē
 kho 'jang gar zin
 3SG Naxi NEG-CPV.E
 'I assume that he is not Naxi.'
 Situation: I assume based on his background that he is Tibetan.

When one uses /'ma-reʔ/ instead of /^hka-zē/ in (3b), the sentence will just convey a simple statement of the fact that he is not Naxi; when one uses an inferential form such as /'mī-ⁿdoʔ/, the sentence conveys a connotation of doubt regarding the speaker's utterance and means, 'he would not be Naxi'. /^hka-zē/ appearing in (2b) has an emphasized tone that the speaker *wants* to claim the negation of the sentence. A simple statement of negation corresponding to (2a) is /'mī-/; however, /'ma-reʔ/ is also used and has a little emphasized expression such as 'it is not the case that I am Naxi'. The case of (3b) looks like an utterance in inferential evidential; however, we find similar examples in two sensory evidentials such as (4b) and (5b):

- (4) a. ^ˈnɖə ʼpo mə ʼzẽ-ŋõ
 ʼdi bu mo zin snang
 this girl CPV-VSEN
 ‘This is a girl.’
 Situation: There is a child coming to the speaker, who just got known that
 the child is female.
- b. ^ˈnɖə ʼpo mə ^ka-zẽ
 ʼdi bu mo gar zin
 this girl NEG-CPV
 ‘This is not a girl (not a boy).’
 Situation: There is a child coming to the speaker, who just got known that
 the child is male.
- (5) a. ^ˈnɖə ^ʔa raʔ ^zẽ-caʔ
 ʼdi a rag zin grag
 this alcohol CPV-NVSEN
 ‘This is an alcoholic drink.’
 Situation: I tasted transparent liquid in the glass and just got known that it
 was alcohol.
- b. ^ˈnɖə ^ʔa raʔ ^ka-zẽ
 ʼdi a rag gar zin
 this alcohol NEG-CPV
 ‘This is not an alcoholic drink.’
 Situation: I tasted transparent liquid in the glass and just got known that
 was not alcohol.

(4b) is a negative form of visual sensory, and (5b) is that of nonvisual sensory. Sensory access, in general, implies a mirative connotation, i.e. unexpected information, as mistakenly recognized as an evidential category by DeLancey (1997). However, it is acceptable that the utterances in (4) and (5) can imply mirativity or not.

Compared with these two examples, (3) does not seem to be directly related to sensory access, but rather to inferential in a pragmatic aspect. However, there are a number of negative forms of inferential, as displayed in Table 5. /^ˈka-zẽ/ is thus morphologically not a negation of inferential evidential. The use of the /ka-/ negative prefix conveys a negation of statement with a speaker’s strong claim or judgement based on evidence of high certitude through sensory access to information.

/ʼreʔ/ and /ʼjĩ/ can also be used as auxiliary verbs; however, no examples with /ka-/ are recorded in elicitations. This case will be discussed in § 3.3.

3.2 Existential verbs

Existential verbs in Choswateng Tibetan can be summarized in five evidential categories as in Table 6.

Table 6. Existential verb forms of Choswateng Tibetan

	Egophoric	Statemental	Visual sensory	Nonvisual sensory	Inferential
nonanimate affirmative	^ʌ juʔ	^ʌ juʔ reʔ	^ː ṅṅ	^ː ṅṅ ^ʌ juʔ-caʔ	^ʌ juʔ-loʔ ^ʌ juʔ-pa ʔa ^ʌ juʔ- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ juʔ-ʔa jī ze: ṅṅ ^ʌ juʔ- ⁿ da ʔa ṅṅ ^ʌ juʔ-ʔa jī sūj ^ʌ juʔ-ʔa ⁿ doʔ sūj
nonanimate negative	^ʌ ṅṅ ^ʌ ka-juʔ	^ʌ ṅṅ reʔ	^ʌ ṅi-ṅṅ ^ʌ ma-ṅṅ ^ʌ ka-ṅṅ	^ʌ ṅi-ṅṅ ^ʌ ma-ṅṅ ^ʌ ka-ṅṅ	^ʌ ṅṅ-loʔ ^ʌ ṅṅ-pa ʔa ^ʌ ṅṅ- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ṅṅ- ⁿ da ʔa ṅṅ ^ʌ ṅṅ-ʔa jī sūj ^ʌ ṅṅ-ʔa ⁿ doʔ sūj
animate affirmative	ⁿ doʔ	ⁿ doʔ reʔ	^ː ṅṅ (possessive) (lexical verbs; non-possessive)	ⁿ doʔ-caʔ (possessive) (lexical verbs; non-possessive)	ⁿ doʔ-loʔ ⁿ doʔ-pa ʔa ⁿ doʔ- ⁿ doʔ ⁿ doʔ-ʔa jī ze: ṅṅ ⁿ doʔ- ⁿ da ʔa ṅṅ ⁿ doʔ-ʔa jī sūj ⁿ doʔ-ʔa ⁿ doʔ sūj
animate negative	^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ma- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ka- ⁿ doʔ	^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ma- ⁿ doʔ	^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ma- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ka- ⁿ doʔ (possessive) (lexical verbs; non-possessive)	^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ma- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ka- ⁿ doʔ (possessive) (lexical verbs; non-possessive)	^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ-loʔ ^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ-pa ʔa ^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ- ⁿ doʔ ^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ- ⁿ da ʔa ṅṅ ^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ-ʔa jī sūj ^ʌ ṅi- ⁿ doʔ-ʔa ⁿ doʔ sūj

The existential verbs of Choswateng Tibetan may be divided into two categories: nonanimate and animate. The nonanimate category has two verbs /^ʌjuʔ/ and /^ːṅṅ/, whose animate counterpart is /ⁿdoʔ/. The root /^ʌjuʔ/ is mainly used for the possessive (except for the case of possessing animate things), with the others principally used to indicate existential-location for inanimate things and

existential-location-possession for animate things, respectively. Two sensory evidentials of the animate category in the existential-locational sense are expressed with lexical verbs such as /^hdeʔ/ ‘stay’ and /^ll̥ʂ/ ‘stand’, which are allowed to take any of the TAM (Tense-Aspect-Modality) affixes in the same way as other lexical verbs do (see § 3.3).

/^lŋ̥ʂ/ and /ⁿdoʔ/ can take any of three negative prefixes. /^hjuʔ/, however, can only take /ka-/, which always conveys mirative meaning; it also has a negative coalescent form /^hŋ̥ʂʔ/. We display examples containing the /ka-/ prefix from (6) to (9).

Existential verb (possessive sense; animate possessee) egophoric:

- (6) a. ^hŋa ʔp^haʔ ⁿdoʔ
nga phag ⁿdug
 1SG pig EXV
 ‘I have pigs.’
 Situation: At the moment, I raise pigs.
- b. ^hŋa ʔp^haʔ ^hŋi-ⁿdoʔ
nga phag myi ⁿdug
 1SG pig NEG-EXV
 ‘I do not have pigs.’
 Situation: At the moment, I do not raise pigs.
- c. ^hŋa ʔp^haʔ ^hma-ⁿdoʔ
nga phag ma ⁿdug
 1SG pig NEG-EXV
 ‘I do not have pigs (anymore).’
 Situation: I do not raise pigs now; I have already stopped keeping them.
- d. ^hŋa ʔp^haʔ ^hka-ⁿdoʔ
nga phag gar ⁿdug
 1SG pig NEG-EXV
 ‘I definitely do not have pigs.’
 Situation: I live in a village inhabited by many Hui people, who dislike seeing pigs. So, you know, I am reluctant to raise them, although I love pigs very much as everyone knows.

A set of Examples (7) are descriptions with visual sensory evidential.

Existential verb (possessive sense; animate possessee) visual sensory:

- (7) a. ^hk^hwə ʔp^haʔ ^hŋ̥ʂ
kho phag snang
 3SG pig EXV.VSEN
 ‘He has pigs.’
 Situation: I have got to know by seeing that he raises pigs now.

- b. ʔkʰwə ʔpʰaʔ ʔŋi-nɔʔ
kho phag myi 'dug
 3SG pig NEG-EXV
 'He does not have pigs.'
 Situation: I have got to know by seeing that he does not raise pigs now.
- c. ʔkʰwə ʔpʰaʔ ʔma-nɔʔ
kho phag ma 'dug
 3SG pig NEG-EXV
 'He does not have pigs anymore.'
 Situation: I have got to know by seeing that he does not raise pigs now although he has had them before.
- d. ʔkʰwə ʔpʰaʔ ʔka-nɔʔ
kho phag gar 'dug
 3SG pig NEG-EXV
 'I assume that he does not have pigs.'
 Situation: I have got to know by seeing that he lives in a village inhabited by many Hui people, who dislike seeing pigs. So, I assume that he probably does not raise them.

As seen in Examples (6) and (7), the negation of the existential verb (possessive sense; animate possessee) does not show a morphosyntactic difference between utterances for the self and others. This might result because a negative form does not necessarily take any evidential marking, as we mentioned at the beginning of this section. However, the meanings of the sentences with the /ka-/ prefix greatly differ between utterances for the self (6d) and for others (7d): the former expresses a situation in which the speaker cannot have pigs for a well-known or easily imaginable reason, such as moving to the city centre, whereas the latter expresses an assumption based on the speaker's visual observation. This implies that the /ka-/ prefix itself conveys egophoric access to information rather than inferential; thus, one can analyze (7c) as an egophoric utterance. In addition to this, the /ka-/ prefix can be pronounced with a *stressed* long vowel as [ka:], which denotes a modal negation (e.g. 'I could not have pigs' or 'he could not have pigs').

Existential verb (existential-locational sense) sensory:

- (8) a. ʔḥŋu: ʔtjə ra ʔŋɔ̃
dngul der snang
 money there EXV.VSEN
 'There is money.'
 Situation: I found some money over there.

- b. ^{-h}ŋʊ: ʔtjə ra ʔŋi-ŋʊ̃
dn̄gul der myi snang
 money there NEG-EXV.VSEN
 ‘There is not any money.’
 Situation: I am checking the place. I have not found any money yet.
- c. ^{-h}ŋʊ: ʔtjə ra ʔma-ŋʊ̃
dn̄gul der ma snang
 money there NEG-EXV.VSEN
 ‘There was not any money.’
 Situation: I have already checked that place, and I have confirmed that any money is not there.
- d. ^{-h}ŋʊ: ʔtjə ra ʔka-ŋʊ̃
dn̄gul der gar snang
 money there NEG-EXV.VSEN
 ‘There cannot be any money.’
 Situation: That room is vacant, so I assume any things are not there, including money.

Items (8b) and (8c) principally differ in the temporal relation expressed; the sense of each utterance reflects visual sensory access. Compared to these, (8d) expresses the speaker’s assumption based on evidence obtained through visual sensory access.

Existential verb (possession sense; inanimate possessee) egophoric:

- (9) ʔŋa ʔjə jə ʔka-jʊ̃ʔ
nga yi ge gar yod
 1SG book NEG-EXV.E
 ‘I DO NOT have books with me!’
 Situation: You gave me a stupid question ‘Do you have a book?’ when I am outside farming. It is natural that I do not have books with me now!

The combination /ʔka-jʊ̃ʔ/ does not seem to be frequently observed in everyday speech. While elicited examples like (9) are acceptable, the usage of /ʔka-jʊ̃ʔ/ always accompanies a strong negative modal sense.

3.3 Lexical verbs

Lexical verbs in Choswateng Tibetan can take two or three negative prefixes depending on verb categories such as action, stative, and endopathic verbs. In the case of action verbs, /ŋi-/ is used for the negation of non-accomplished action; /ma-/ is only used for prohibitive when it appears as a prefix of a verb stem, and for the negation of accomplished action when it appears in auxiliaries; see (1).

/ka-/ is used for the negation of non-accomplished and habitual action as well as for negation of present status expressed by stative and endopathic (non-action) verbs; however, a different modal sense is also conveyed, which will be described below.

Verbs are classified here as action verbs, non-action verbs, and auxiliaries attached to lexical verbs.

3.3.1 Action verbs

The negative prefixes which can precede the root of action verbs are /ŋi-/ and /ka-/ in general; /ma-/ is used for prohibitive as cited in (1c); hence, it is not displayed below.

Action verb: utterance that describes the self:

- (10) a. 'ŋa ^ʔa raʔ 'ŋtʰɕ
 nga a rag 'thung
 1SG alcohol drink
 'I drink alcohol.'
 Situation: I state I have a habit of drinking alcohol.
- b. 'ŋa ^ʔa raʔ 'ŋi-ŋtʰɕ
 nga a rag myi 'thung
 1SG alcohol NEG-drink
 'I don't drink alcohol.'
 Situation A: At the moment, I do not drink alcohol.
 Situation B: I have no habit of drinking alcohol.
- c. 'ŋa ^ʔa raʔ 'ka-ŋtʰɕ
 nga a rag gar 'thung
 1SG alcohol NEG-drink
 'I definitely don't drink alcohol.'
 Situation: I must drive a car soon, so I cannot drink any alcohol now.

In utterances that describe others, only /ka-/ appears before a verb root, which always expresses a speaker's assumption of the negation of non-accomplished action or status, especially a negation of a habitual or repetitive action.

Action verb: utterance that describes others:

- (11) ʔkʰwə ^ʔa raʔ 'ka-ŋtʰɕ
 kho a rag gar 'thung
 3SG alcohol NEG-drink
 'I assume that he doesn't drink alcohol.'
 Situation: I know that he drives soon, so I assume that he cannot drink any alcohol now.

- (12) ʔkʰwə ʔjə ʔə ʔka-ʕə
kho yi ge gar bri
 3SG letter NEG-write
 ‘I assume that he doesn’t write a letter.’
 Situation: I know that he is not a person who likes writing a letter, but he could perhaps write one.
- (13) ʔkʰwə ʔrə ʔgwə ʔka-ʔgwə
kho ri ʔgo gar ʔgro
 3SG mountain NEG-go
 ‘I assume that he doesn’t go up to the mountain.’
 Situation: I know that he is not a person who likes climbing a mountain, but he could perhaps climb.
- (14) ʔkʰwə ʔta: ʔʔa tʃə ʔka-ɦō
kho da a de gar ʔong
 3SG now here NEG-come
 ‘I assume that he doesn’t come here now.’
 Situation: I know that he has another matter to do now.

To summarize the usage of /ka-/, we can note that it is employed for a negation of action under the speaker’s assumption based on his/her sensory accessed (witnessed) knowledge. /ŋi-/ and /ka-/ represents a negation of an aspectual feature, i.e. non-accomplished, and modal, respectively for both utterances for the self and others.

3.3.2 Non-action verbs

Non-action verbs include monovalent stative verbs as well as emotion and endopathic verbs. The negative prefixes which can precede the root of non-action verbs are generally /ma-/ and /ka-/. Below we look at egophoric utterances (15)–(16). (15) is an endopathic access to information, and it is marked with nonvisual sensory evidential.

- (15) a. ʔŋa ʔ^htuʔ-caʔ
ŋga ltogs grag
 1SG be hungry-NVSEN
 ‘I am hungry.’
 Situation: I just reply to your question regarding whether or not I am hungry.

- b. 'ŋa ^ma-^htu?

nga ma ltogs

1SG NEG-be hungry

'I am not hungry.'

Situation: I just reply to your question regarding whether or not I am hungry.

- c. 'ŋa ^ka-^htu?

nga gar ltogs

1SG NEG-be hungry

'I am not hungry.'

Situation A: I have the intention to tell you that I am full because I have just taken a meal, implying that no one is hungry just after a good meal.

Situation B: I have the intention to tell you that I am not hungry now so do not consider to prepare a meal now.

- (16) a. 'ŋa ˉxa ˆŋdə ˆ^hcaʔ-caʔ

nga sngags 'dre skrag grag

1SG demon be afraid-NVSEN

'I am afraid of demons.'

Situation: I describe myself as one who is afraid of demons.

- b. 'ŋa ˉxa ˆŋdə ^ma-^hcaʔ

nga sngags 'dre ma skrag

1SG demon NEG-be afraid

'I am not afraid of demons.'

Situation: I describe myself as one who is not afraid of demons.

- c. 'ŋa ˉxa ˆŋdə ^ka-^hcaʔ

nga sngags 'dre gar skrag

1SG demon NEG-be afraid

'I am not afraid of demons.'

Situation A: You maybe consider me as a person who is afraid of demons, but the fact is different.

Situation B: You always say that I am afraid of demons, but I want to emphasize that I am never afraid of demons.

There are several verbs that can take all three negative prefixes, as /ˉha ˆkwə/ 'understand' below:

- (17) a. 'ŋa ˉha ˆkwə

nga ha go

1SG understand

'I understand (what you said).'

Situation: I want to tell you that I understand what you said.

- b. 'ŋa ˈha ˈŋi-gwə
nga ha myi go
 1SG understand NEG-STEM
 'I do not understand (what you said).'
- Situation: At the moment, what you said is too complicated to understand.
- c. 'ŋa ˈha ˈma-gwə
nga ha ma go
 1SG understand NEG-STEM
 'I did not understand (what you said).'
- Situation: I gave up trying to understand what you said.
- d. 'ŋa ˈha ˈka-gwə
nga ha gar go
 1SG understand NEG-STEM
 'I definitely do not understand what you said.'
- Situation: I have never been to school, so it is natural that I cannot understand what you said.

(17d) is quite frequently heard when one is eliciting a word list. Of stative verbs, emotional and endopathic verbs in utterances for others can be preceded only by /ka-/:

- (18) ˈkʰwə ˈka-ˈhʰtu?
kho gar ltogs
 3SG NEG-be hungry
 'I assume that he is probably not hungry.'
- Situation: I know that he has just eaten, so I assume he is not hungry now.
- (19) a. ˈkʰwə ˈŋa ˈka-ˈŋi-gu:
kho nga gar dgos
 3SG 1SG NEG-love
 'I assume that she does not love me.'
- Situation: I assume based on her behavior that she does not courteously treat me.

However, some emotional verbs can be preceded by /ŋi-/ prefix as in:

- (19) b. ˈkʰwə ˈŋa ˈŋi-ˈŋi-gu:
kho nga myi dgos
 3SG 1SG NEG-love
 'I know that she does not love me.'
- Situation: I told her that I loved her, but she refused me.

While /ka-/ infrequently occurs with emotional verbs in egophoric utterance, it is also acceptable. At least, we have not obtained any examples in which /ka-/ is unacceptable in any contexts. (20a) is considered as just a variant of (20b). Further research is necessary.

- (20) a. ʔʼŋa ʔkʰwə ʔka-ḥgɯ:
 nga kho gar dgos
 1SG 3SG NEG-love
 b. ʔʼŋa ʔkʰwə ʔŋi-ḥgɯ:
 nga kho myi dgos
 1SG 3SG NEG-love
 'I don't love him.'

To summarize the usage of /ka-/, we can note that it is employed for a negation of action under the speaker's assumption based on his/her sensory accessed (witnessed) knowledge. /ma-/ and /ka-/ represents a negation of status and modal, respectively, for both utterances for the self and others. However, emotional verbs (19–20) and some other verbs (17) can take /ŋi-/, which means subjectivity of negation without any objective evidence.

3.3.3 Auxiliaries

All the negative prefixes can precede the auxiliaries:

Action verb:

- (21) a. ʔʼŋa ʔsẽ ʔḥṣʰa-tʰũ
 nga zan ʔcha' thon
 1SG food eat-ACP
 'I finished eating food.'
 Situation: I want to tell you that I have already eaten food.
 b. ʔʼŋa ʔsẽ ʔḥṣʰa ʔŋi-tʰũ
 nga zan ʔcha' myi thon
 1SG food eat NEG-ACP
 'I do not eat up food.'
 Situation: I have no intention to eat up food. (negation of achievement of an action)

- c. 'ŋa 'sẽ -ŋ̥ʂ^ha 'ma-t^hũ
nga zan 'cha' ma thon
 1SG food eat NEG-ACP
 'I have not eaten up/taken food yet.'
 Situation A: I am eating now, and I have the intention to eat up food, but I have not accomplished eating. (negation of a forthcoming achievement)
 Situation B: I have not taken food yet. (negation of an action to occur and to be achieved)
- d. 'ŋa 'sẽ -ŋ̥ʂ^ha 'ka-t^hũ
nga zan 'cha' gar thon
 1SG food eat NEG-ACP
 'I have not eaten up food yet, as you see.'
 Situation: I am eating food, and I have the intention to eat up food, but I have not accomplished eating because of some specific reasons related to an addressee who sits together and is always talking.

Next examples are cases of "stative verb + auxiliary":

- (22)=(15a) a. 'ŋa `h̥tu?-ca?
nga ltogs grag
 1SG be hungry-NVSEN
 'I am hungry.'
 Situation: I want to say that I am hungry at the moment.
- b. 'ŋa `h̥tu? 'ŋi-ca?
nga ltogs myi grag
 1SG be hungry NEG-NVSEN
 'I am not hungry.'
 Situation: At the moment, I am not hungry, so I do not need any food.
- c. 'ŋa `h̥tu? 'ma-ca?
nga ltogs ma grag
 1SG be hungry NEG-NVSEN
 'I am not hungry.'
 Situation: I am not hungry now because I have had enough food before.
- d. 'ŋa `h̥tu? 'ka-ca?
nga ltogs gar grag
 1SG be hungry NEG-NVSEN
 'I am definitely not hungry.'
 Situation: As you have seen, I have had enough food together with you, so I am not hungry.

/ŋi-/ and /ma-/ prefixes are used to express subjective and objective negation respectively, whereas /ka-/ prefix is used to express a negation related to a speech environment, especially in the case that a speaker and an addressee share background information.

The next examples illustrate the negation of a secondary verb:

- (23) a. 'ŋa ʰŋgwə-ŋɿ̃
 nga 'gro myong
 1SG go-experience
 'I have been (there before).'
 Situation: I simply tell my experience that I have been to a given place before.
- b. 'ŋa ʰŋgwə 'ma-myong
 nga 'gro ma myong
 1SG go NEG-experience
 'I have not been (there).'
 Situation: I simply tell my experience that I have not been to a given place.
- c. 'ŋa ʰŋgwə 'ka-ŋɿ̃
 nga 'gro gar myong
 1SG go NEG-experience
 'I have definitely not been (there).'
 Situation: As you can easily imagine, I have not had such an experience to visit a given place.

In (23bc) as well, the /ma-/ prefix is used to express objective negation, whereas the /ka-/ prefix is used to express negation related to a situation where the speaker and addressee share background information. Another set of examples is:

- (24) a. 'ŋa ʰtjɛ sɿ ʰta-ŋɿ̃
 nga lta nyan
 1SG TV watch-be good
 'I can watch TV.'
 Situation: I simply tell that I can watch TV at present.
- b. 'ŋa ʰtjɛ sɿ ʰta 'ŋi-ŋɿ̃
 nga lta myi nyan
 1SG TV watch NEG-be good
 'I cannot watch TV.'
 Situation: I control myself not to watch TV at present.

- c. ʼŋa ʼtjẽ sɿ ^{-h}ta ʼka-ŋẽ
 nga lta gar nyan
 1SG TV watch NEG-be good
 'I am not allowed to watch TV.'

Situation: I am forced not to watch TV by my parents.

Note that there is no combination /ʼma-ŋẽ/. The secondary verb /ʼŋẽ/ means 'be good' as a lexical verb; however, when appearing after another lexical verb, it means 'to be permitted'. The difference in the usage of negative prefixes is related to the identity of the party who does not permit the speaker to do a given action; /ŋi-/ is used in the absence of force by another party (24b), whereas /ka-/ is used when someone forces the speaker to abstain (24c).

To sum up, the description of the negation of auxiliaries is more complex than that of lexical verbs, and one should examine carefully which negative prefixes are used with each auxiliary. Nevertheless, the /ka-/ prefix is ubiquitous; in addition, its usage is tied to speech contexts whose background is shared by a speaker and an addressee.

3.4 Summay and remarks

Based on the description in this section, I shall summarize the usage of the negative prefixes. The principal usage of each prefix is as follows:

- /ŋi-/: negation of a non-perfect or habitual action verbs as well as existential verbs
- /ma-/: negation of a copulative verb, existential verbs, stative verbs, and an action in a perfect aspect as well as prohibitive
- /ka-/: negation which appears in egophoric and sensory evidentials and is highly dependent on a speech situation with a modal meaning 'definitely not' (for an utterance for the self; egophoric evidential) and '(judging from the speaker's observation and the situation) possibly not' (for an utterance for others; sensory evidential)

It is noteworthy that the distinction between /ŋi-/ and /ma-/ attested in many Tibetic languages is still maintained in spite of the emergence of the "third" negative prefix.

Another remark regarding /ka-/ is the impossibility of the co-occurrence with the copulative verb /ʼre?/, which is the only exception of the use of /ka-/ found so far. Based on the recapitulation above, we assume that this restriction is related to the sense of the verb /ʼre?/. This verb root functions as a 'statemental copulative verb (cpv)', which is also employed when a speaker states something from an

objective viewpoint. Hence, utterances with /'reʔ/ are always in statemental evidential; however, /ka-/ is used for a negation from a subjective view relying on personal knowledge. Therefore, the co-occurrence of /ka-/ and /'reʔ/ might trigger a contradiction. This implies that the /ka-/ prefix itself is highly connected with egophoric and sensory evidentials, which prevent it from co-occurring with /'reʔ/ because /'reʔ/ lexically conveys “factual” or even “assertive” evidential (cf. Oisel 2017; Tournadre 2017).

The final remark is, as the examples in this section present, that /ka-/ is generally not employed with the second person argument ('you'). Of course, it can co-occur with the second person; however, it is often associated with a pejorative nuance, and it does not seem to be a general negation. In natural conversations, the co-occurrence of /ka-/ and the second person is attested, for example, a statement to child's non-realizable actions by an elder person:

- (25) ʔtɕʰuʔ ʔjə ʔə ʔndjə ʔha ʔka-gwə
khyod yi ge 'di ha gar go
 2SG book this understand NEG-STEM
 'You definitely cannot understand this book.'

Example (25) is a statement of an elder person addressing his grandson who has not been to school and tries to read a literature book. This utterance does not include any pejorative sense; however, the situation which allows /ka-/ and the second person to co-occur is highly restricted.

4. Some remarks regarding the origin of /ka-/

The objective of this article is to provide a synchronic description of the /ka/ prefix, which is the principal part of § 3. However, from the viewpoint of the context of Tibetic languages, there is another interest – what the origin of /ka-/ is.

As mentioned in the introduction, the morphology of negative prefixes is stable within the Tibetic languages. However, it does not imply an existence of marginal morphemes to be employed for negation. It is the case of the gTormarong (Dongwang) dialect of Khams Tibetan described by Bartee (2007: 294–304). However, this dialect does not have a similar form to /ka-/. Nagano (2005; 2018: 51–68) reports newly generated negation particles /ʔja/ and /ʔji/ and gives a hypothetical process of their emergence in the Cogtse and Bhola dialects of Situ-rGyalrong. However, it is not a similar case to Choswateng Tibetan since the new form developed by replacing a previously existent morpheme within the common framework of negation.

As we gave a form *gar* in § 3, our hypothesis for Choswateng Tibetan is as follows: /ka-/ is a form diverted from a lexical interrogative word /'ka:/ 'where' via a rhetorical question form. The relevant interrogative word is *ga la* 'towards where, how' in LT, and it is also used for a rhetorical question construction (Zhang 1985:337), which can be translated as 'how could'. This literary interrogative word can correspond to /'ka:/ in Choswateng Tibetan. This spoken form primarily denotes 'where', which can correspond to *ga* (Les Missionnaires Catholiques du Thibet 1899:140–141; Giraudeau & Goré 1956:13; Zhang 1985:334) and *gar* 'whither, whereto, where' (Jäschke 1881:67; morphologically analyzed as *ga* 'which place'+ dative -*r*; N.B. the case system follows Tournadre 2010:106) in LT respectively. The means of the question by employing an interrogative word are generally known as a rhetorical question (Ilie 1994), and its phonological description is the same as an interrogative sentence; however, it functions to express a reverse polarity. Despite many descriptions of previous works on negation (Croft 1991; Miestamo 2007, 2013; Dryer 2013a, b; Haspelmath 2013; Hansen & Visconti 2014), there are no cases in the world's languages that an interrogative word became a negation marker. However, there are several semantic changes attested such as "interrogative word > indefinite pronoun" (Heine & Kuteva 2002), "indefinite pronoun > negative particle" (Wang 2014:156–157 in Old Chinese), and "interrogative word > conjunction" (Hackstein 2004 in Indo-European). These examples suggest a possibility that an interrogative word changes into a negation marker. Dixon (2012:89–137) provides various examples of negation, in which the description regarding the rhetorical question, however, just includes an example of English (Dixon 2012:135). Interestingly, Yang (2012:358–365) examines a grammaticalization process whereby negated verbs are becoming non-aspectual interrogatives via an aspectual negative, aspectual interrogative, and pure negator. This process seems to be in the reverse direction of the hypothesis regarding the development in Choswateng Tibetan, as mentioned above. We shall therefore examine the validity of the hypothesis in Choswateng Tibetan by analysing three aspects: external factors, internal factors, and typological features.

Looking over the language situation of Choswateng Tibetan, we can find a parallel example regarding the new negative prefix. It is the local dialect of Mandarin which functions as a *lingua franca* in the multiethnic, multilingual society (Suzuki 2017a). In the rGyalthang region, the local Chinese (Yunnanese, or Yunnan dialect of Southwestern Mandarin; see Gui 2001) and Putonghua Mandarin are widely employed, and they definitely influence local vernaculars of the Tibetic language, rGyalthang Tibetan of Khams. In Chinese, rhetorical questions are frequently used just in order to express negation of a given sentence. For instance, to express 'it does not exist', one may use *na you* 哪有 (literally meaning 'where

is (it)?') instead of *mei you* 没有 or *bu you* 不有 in Yunnanese. In some cases, one can hear even a phrase *nage xiaode* 哪個曉得 'who knows?' to express 'I do not know'. Such sentences still to some extent maintain nuance of rhetorical questions, and there are also restrictions of combination with verbs.

However, it is nearly impossible to consider an influence of Chinese as a factor of the emergence of the /ka-/ prefix in Choswateng Tibetan. The /ka-/ prefix is widely used by speakers of all generations, including elders who do not speak Chinese. On the contrary, children attending elementary school, most of whom speak Chinese, frequently use this prefix incorrectly, and their elders criticize and correct the use. Following this observation, we cannot claim Chinese plays an important role to innovate a new negative prefix in Choswateng Tibetan.

Next, we seek internal factors which induced the emergence of the /ka-/ prefix. The morphological feature of the other two negative prefixes is monosyllabic and directly attached to a verb root. Noteworthy features of the interrogative word for 'place' corresponding to LT *gar* in Choswateng Tibetan compared with other Tibetic languages are:

- (A) the interrogative word is monosyllabic; and
- (B) an interrogative word which does not have grammatical case marking precedes a verb root.

Regarding (A), many Tibetic languages have disyllabic forms for this word, e.g. *gang na*, *ga na*, and *gang la*, when they are written in LT. Choswateng Tibetan, as well as many dialects of Khams Tibetan spoken in Yunnan, is peculiar on this point. On the other hand, the feature of (B) is pervasive within Tibetic languages. Therefore, one should claim that the feature characterising Choswateng Tibetan is merely (A). However, a complex condition, *monosyllabic form located just before a verb root*, is crucial for the phenomenon of the present article. As mentioned in § 3, it is because the /ka-/ marker can form a single tone bearing unit together with a verb root that we call it *prefix*. To become a prefix, it must be monosyllabic judging from the examples of other prefixes such as a yes-no question marker (/ʔa-/), directional markers (/ma-/ , /ja-/ , /tsʰə-/ , /pʰə-/ , etc.) as well as negative markers.

To distinguish a negative prefix from an interrogative word /'ka:/, we must notice the different formation of tone bearing units. In the former case, as described in the article, a negative prefix forms a *single* tone bearing unit together with a verb root, whereas in the latter case, both an interrogative word and a verb root have an independent tone. In addition to this, the interrogative word is always pronounced with a long vowel, and thus its phonemic status should have a long vowel: /'ka:/ 'where'. For example:

- (26) a. $\text{ʰŋʊ:} \quad \text{'ka-ŋɔ̃}$
ɳŋul gar snang
money NEG-EXV
‘There cannot be any money.’
- b. $\text{ʰŋʊ:} \quad \text{'ka:} \quad \text{ʰŋɔ̃}$
ɳŋul gar snang
money where EXV
‘Where is the money?’

Of course, (26b) can convey negative meaning as in a rhetorical question, such as ‘There is not any money!’ and ‘I have no money!’ Note also that a rhetorical question has specific prosodic features such as particular stress on the interrogative word, and a speaker’s intention is generally shared within a speech circle. In addition, another interrogative word / ʰʂʰə / ‘what’ can also appear in some fixed phrases, which, however, still have the nuance of a rhetorical question and not fully grammaticalized, as:

- (27) a. $\text{ʰtɕʰʊ?} \quad \text{ʰha} \quad \text{ʰʂʰə-kwə}$
khyod ha chi go
2SG understand NEG[?]-STEM
‘You understand nothing/ You never understand (it).’

In this case, the agent should be either 2nd person or 3rd person, and this phrase has a strong pejorative meaning. Returning to Example (25), we can see a similar situation in the case of the second person argument with / ka- / if Example (25) is uttered to an adult. Since / ka- / is related to personal knowledge, it is undesirable and impolite that children use / ka- / to describe adult addressees who have more knowledge than them.

Compare (27a) with the usage of / ka- / of (17c):

- cf. (27) b. $\text{'ŋa} \quad \text{ʰha} \quad \text{'ka-gwə}$
=(17c) *nga ha gar go*
1SG understand NEG-STEM
‘I definitely do not understand (what you said).’

Comparing / ka- / with / ʰʂʰə /, we can say that both morphological behavior and semantic function are quite similar but different in the alternation of initial voicing of the verb root when prefixed. Additionally, a prosodic prominence appears differently: (27a) often has stress on / ʰha /, whereas (27b), on / 'gwə /. Disyllabic verbs in Tibetic languages have a tendency to possess stress on the first syllable (Caplow 2016:206–211), however, due to a peculiar iambic prosodic feature attested in Khams Tibetan of Yunnan (Suzuki 2013b), all the words can have an

iambic pattern. Based on this prosodic feature, (27a) seems to be a fixed collocation rather than a prefixation of an interrogative word because the element /^hha/ generally does not have any prominence. Compared with this, we can consider (27b) a phenomenon of a simple combination of “prefix + verb root” because it does not have any stress on /^hka/, which should have it if it is an interrogative word. However, a morphophonological alternation as attested in (27b) is limited as mentioned in § 2, hence this fact suggests that the element /ka-/ is not strictly fixed as a verb prefix.

Lastly, we shall look at typological remarks related to the description above. The /ka-/ element preceding a verb root is widely attested in the dialects spoken in the southern Khams region, including the southern part of Chamdo Municipality, Tibet Autonomous Region (see Suzuki & Lozong Lhamo 2020). However, the frequency of its use and the condition of emergence differs in various ways. Some examples are considered fixed expressions, e.g.

- (28) ^hka-
 gar dka'
 NEG-be tired
 ‘I am definitely not tired.’

Example (28) is employed as an answer to ‘thank you’ said to the utterer, i.e. (28) should be translated as ‘not at all’ or ‘my pleasure’. (28) still denotes the meaning of the interlinear translation in Choswateng Tibetan. However, this expression is likely to have been fixed in many dialects. Additionally, the first /ka-/ can have stress and a long vowel in several dialects including Choswateng Tibetan. This phenomenon implies that (28) should not be analyzed in a present way, but the sentence may consist of two words, interrogative word and verb root. However, in the case of Choswateng Tibetan, the vowel length and stress on the /ka-/ prefix do not influence the sentence construction, and only the tone-bearing unit can indicate whether it is an independent word or not. Nevertheless, the following Example (29) is a widely used negative expression (the sound form is of the lCanggrong dialect of Khams Tibetan, spoken in sMarkhams County, TAR):

- (29) ^hka-jø?
 gar yod
 NEG-EXV
 ‘I think that (it) does not exist.’

The utterance (29) was frequently heard when the first author conducted an elicitation of word forms. After long thought regarding native Tibetan word forms, the interviewee repeatedly answered him with (29) in ordinary intonation. Judging from the context, this is not a rhetorical question form but a simple negation form.

According to the interviewee, speakers do not use /'meʔ/, a general egophoric form corresponding to LT *med*, in this case. If one uses /'meʔ/ here, the utterance probably denotes that the speaker simply wants to indicate the absence of a given word form. Moreover, this interviewee grew up in a monolingual native-language environment with the least contact with Chinese. The use of this /ka-/ negation cannot be related to external linguistic factors.

Contrarily, the dialects belonging to the Melung group of Khams Tibetan in Yunnan do not have the /ka-/ negative prefix even though they are diachronically close to Choswateng Tibetan. Speakers of the Melung dialects speak Chinese more usually than those of the rGyalthang dialects (Suzuki 2017a). Nevertheless, the /ka-/ prefix does not appear; following the discussion above, it is because interrogative words for 'where' or 'how' in dialects of the Melung group are not monosyllabic: /'k3 lej/ 'where' and /'k3 dɛ/ 'how' (Suzuki 2011a: 20).

To sum up, the examples of the lCanggrong and Melung are so suggestive that the most crucial factor for the emergence of the /ka-/ negative prefix is the number of syllables of interrogative words which can directly influence the structure of TBU with a verb stem. We cannot exclude the influence of Chinese which has a parallel construction of negation; however, it is just a secondary factor.

Interestingly, based on recent research, we have noticed a similar negative construction by using an interrogative word in Amdo Tibetan (a nomadic variety); see Tsering Samdrup & Suzuki (2019). For instance, /tɕ^he-jən/ (NEG-CPV.E) '(That) is definitely not true' is used in the case that one utters *gar zin* in Choswateng Tibetan. The first syllable is analyzed as LT *chis* ('what.ERG'), and the number of syllables of the new negative marker is also monosyllabic. Therefore, there is a possibility to find more cases of a similar structure in Tibetic languages.

However, there is also a counter-example. Based on the data of Ladaks language provided by an anonymous reviewer, a disyllabic interrogative word /kəne/ 'whence' behaves similarly to *gar* in Choswateng Tibetan. It can also be used in the sense of 'how' as a rhetorical question, implying absolute impossibility, in which case it appears just before a verb stem and cannot co-occur with negated verbs. This case further means that we cannot merely generalize the condition that only monosyllabic interrogative words may become negation particles. However, from the geographic and genetic perspective of Khams Tibetan, monosyllabicity is key to forming a verb prefix.

As a summary of this section, we claim that there are multiple coincidental factors in the background of the process from an interrogative word to a negative prefix. Firstly, in Choswateng Tibetan, the negation is expressed by adding a negative prefix before a verb root or an auxiliary. Secondly, unlike other Tibetic languages, the interrogative word /'ka:/ 'where' is a monosyllabic word, which is the same as existent negative prefixes. Note that this interrogative word is not a ques-

tion for complements playing a grammatical role but a question for a local complement in a syntactic paradigm, hence it often appears just before a verb. Thirdly, the negative prefix /ka-/ is exceptionally able to be pronounced in a long vowel as [ka:] in spite of its prefixal status although other two negative prefixes have weakened forms with a schwa vowel as [nə] and [mə]. This fact also implies that /ka-/ is a transitional form from the interrogative word to a prefix. This process is a development from a lexical form to a grammatical form; therefore, we can call it grammaticalization. To sum, the interrogative word *gar* which appears just before a verb root changed into a verb prefix through a process from a rhetorical question to negation, which is, in fact, still undergoing. In this case, we can explain much easily that the principal meaning of negation with the /ka-/ prefix is oriented to a modal meaning ‘definitely not (for a statement for the self)’ and ‘possibly not (for a statement for others)’ if the expression originates a rhetorical question.

5. Conclusion

This article described the usage of /ka-/ negative prefix in Choswateng Tibetan compared with /ŋi-/ and /ma-/ negative prefixes. We recapitulate the features clarified by the article.

First, the evidence that shows that /ka-/ can be considered as a negative prefix is the following:

1. /ka-/ occupies the same slot as the other negative prefixes;
2. /ka-/ is always in a rising tone which spreads to a following verb root, and forms a single tone bearing unit;
3. /ka-/, even partially, triggers a morphophonological alternation (voicing change) of a single non-aspirated initial with a low (rising) tone;
4. /ka-/ cannot co-occur with other interrogative or directional prefixes; and
5. /ka-/ cannot precede the negation copulative and existential verbs /'mĩ/ and /'ŋeʔ/ like the other negative prefixes.

Second, the principal observations regarding the use of /ka-/ are summarized as below:

1. The negation with /ka-/ has two different modal meanings in terms of objectives to be described: for statements for the self, it implies ‘definitely not,’ while for statements for others, it implies ‘possibly not, judging from the speaker’s observation and the situation’;
2. /ka-/ thus occurs with egophoric and sensory evidentials;
3. /ka-/ is generally not used for a negation of perfect and accomplished; and

4. /ka-/ does not deprive the other negative prefixes of their use being common to many Tibetic languages.

We also provided a brief thought on the etymology of /ka-/ prefix, and provisionally analyzed it as a LT form *gar*, which developed as through a grammaticalization process from a lexical interrogative word denoting ‘where’ to a negative prefix via a rhetorical question construction. This hypothetical result should be examined from a wider perspective of linguistic typology.

Acknowledgements

We should like to thank Ellen Bartee, Nicolas Tournadre, Mitsuaki Endo, Yang Huang, and anonymous reviewers for providing suggestions and comments for an earlier version of this article. A part of this paper was also presented in the 41st meeting of Tibeto-Burman Linguistics Circle (22nd April 2017), where the first author obtained feedback from participants. We owe our sincere gratitude to Ellen Bartee for editing and proofreading the English. All remaining errors are, of course, our own. Field research of the first author was funded by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science [JSPS]: “Study on the Dialectal Development of Tibetan Spoken in Yunnan, China, through a Description of the Linguistic Diversity” (headed by Hiroyuki Suzuki, No. JP25770167), “International Field Survey of Tibeto-Burman Link Languages” (headed by Yasuhiko Nagano; No. JP16H02722), and “Investigation of Undescribed Languages in the Eastern Tibetosphere and their Geolinguistic Research” (headed by Hiroyuki Suzuki; No. JP17H04774).

Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular	E	egophoric
2SG	second person singular	EXV	existential verb
3SG	third person singular	NEG	negative
ACP	accomplished	NVSEN	nonvisual sensory
CPV	copulative verb	SEN	sensory
DAT	dative	VSEN	visual sensory

Appendix. Sound system of Choswateng Tibetan (adapted from Suzuki 2014)

Consonant inventory

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
plosive	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	tʰ		c ^h	k ^h	
	non-aspirated	p	t	t̚		c	k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	d̚		ʃ	g	
affricate	aspirated		ts ^h	tʂ ^h	tɕ ^h			
	non-aspirated		ts	tʂ	tɕ			
	voiced		dz	dʒ̥	dʑ			
fricative	aspirated		s ^h	ʂ ^h	ɕ ^h	ç ^h	x ^h	
	non-aspirated		s	ʂ	ɕ	ç	x	h
	voiced		z	ʐ̥	ʑ̥	ʝ	ɣ	ɦ
nasal	voiced	m	n	ɳ	ɳ̥		ɳ̥	
	voiceless	ɱ	ɳ̥		ɳ̥̥		ɳ̥̥	
liquid	voiced		l	r				
	voiceless		l̥	r̥				
semi-vowel	voiced	w				j		
A: bilabial	B: denti-alveolar		C: retroflex		D: prepalatal			
E: palatal	F: velar		G: glottal					

Vowel inventory

ɿ-ʅ	i		ɯ		u	u
	e		ɵ	ə	ɤ	o
	ɛ				ɔ	
	a		ɑ			

Suprasegmentals (Word tone; pitch height not fixed)

ˉ : high level ˊ : rising ˋ : falling ˊˋ : rising-falling

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Publication history

Date received: 2 February 2018
Date accepted: 8 February 2019