

10 *Preliminary remarks on Gyarong negation particles*¹

YASUHIKO NAGANO

1 Introduction

Gyarong (*rGyal rong* in Written Tibetan (WT)) is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language spoken in the northwestern part of Sichuan Province, China. This language has long attracted the attention of scholars, because of the striking similarity of some of its lexical items to those of WT as well as its complicated system of affixation, which could be regarded as reflexes of Proto-TB morphology.

The author has written two studies on the language (Nagano 1984, 2003), and this small paper is intended to supplement their discussion of the negation system. The negation particles that I point out in this paper have not been described in any previous works on Gyarong.

The majority of the Gyarong people inhabit the Aba (WT *rnga ba*) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture and the Gantse (WT *dkar mdzes*) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of Sichuan Province. The exact population is unknown, since they are not officially recognised as an independent national minority, but are classified as part of the Tibetan nationality. The number of speakers is at least 150,000.

It is traditionally said that there are eighteen dialects. This classification came from the historical division of the area into eighteen administrative zones in the 12th century, with a separate dialect said to be spoken in each zone. On the basis of modern data, however, the

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this paper: 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, AUX auxiliary verb, CAUS causative, ERG ergative, HON honorific, IMP imperfect, INF infinitive, INTERR interrogative, LOC locative, N noun, NEG negative, NOM nominaliser, NP noun phrase, PFT perfect, PL plural, PROG progressive, PROH prohibitive, PTT patient, SG singular, VP verb phrase.

David Bradley, Randy LaPolla, Boyd Michailovsky and Graham Thurgood, eds, *Language variation: papers on variation and change in the Sinosphere and in the Indosphere in honour of James A. Matisoff*, 159–172.

Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 2003.

Copyright in this edition is vested with Pacific Linguistics.

language seems to have three dialects: northern, eastern and western. There are about 10,000 speakers of the northern dialect; Datsang (WT *da tshang*) is in the center of the northern area. There are about 50,000 speakers of the western dialect, in the Dzatang (WT *'dzam thang*) and Tampa (WT *bstan pa* or *dam pa*) areas. The eastern area covers a relatively large region including Cogtse (WT *lcog rtse*), Barkham (WT *'bar khams*), Suomo (WT *so mang*), Tsakunao or Tshako (WT *bkra shi gling*), Lishan (WT *lis rdzong*), Shaojin (WT *btsan lha*), Jinchuan (WT *rab brtan*), Heishui (WT *khro chu rdzong*) and Mawo (WT *bha dbo*). There are around 80,000 Gyarong people in this area.

These dialects are classified according to their initial consonant clusters and by the behavior of pronominal affixes in VPs. However, not all the descriptions of dialects are complete, so the classification remains tentative. Among these dialects, the conservative Cogtse (WT *lcog rtse*) dialect, which retains a set of affixes, is considered the standard. The following description is based on that dialect, unless otherwise noted.

The consonant phonemes of Gyarong are here transcribed as follows: *p ph b; py phy by; t th d; tr thr dr; k kh g; ky khy gy; ';* *ts tsh dz; c ch j; s z; sh zh; h, h̃; m n ny ng; l hl r; w y*. As to the phonetic values, *ph phy th thr kh khy tsh ch* are aspirated. *Py phy by* and *ky khy gy* are palatalised. The palatalised velars also have palatal stop allophones [c ʝ]; Chinese linguists often transcribe them as [cç cç' ʝj]. *Tr thr dr* are retroflex; *c ch j* are palatoalveolar [tʃ tʃʰ dʒ], and *sh zh* are alveopalatal fricatives [ç z]. The *h̃* represents a voiced cavity fricative. *Ny ng* are palatal and velar nasals [ɲ ŋ], and *hl* is a voiceless alveolar lateral fricative [ɬ].

In addition to the above, there is /N/ as a phoneme of nasalisation, which occurs as a homorganic nasal before the stops and affricates, and in final consonant position, nasalising the preceding vowel. The vowels are /a i u e o ə/. The usual allophone of /i/ is [i]; /u/ has allophones [u] and [ũ]. Tone is not distinctive. Some say there are several minimal pairs, but these were in fact homonymous in the speech of my informants.

The syllable structure is (C)C_i(G)V(C_f)(s), where the parenthesised portions are optional. The (C) prefix position can only be occupied by *p t k r l s sh m* or *ŋ*. All the voiceless consonants in this position become voiced when followed by a voiced initial consonant. All consonants except for *h̃* can occur as initial consonant C_i. G stands for medial glides *r l w y*. C_f can either be *p t k ' c s h̃ m n ny ng l r w y* or *ŋ*. There are syllables that could be interpreted as vowel-initial, but these are interpreted as 'V here.

2 Negation particles in previous works

The only negation marker previously described in all previous studies on the language has been the *ma-* particle. For instance, the exhaustive grammar of Cogtse dialect by Lin describes it as follows: 'In Gyarong, the adverb of negation mainly modifies verbs and/or adjectives, specifying negation and prohibition' (Lin 1993:312–313, my translation). The

adverbs he describes are *ma* [ma, mɛ] and *mə*. The former is the normal negation, while the latter means ‘not yet finished’ or prohibition. He lists the following examples.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | <i>ŋa ma ki-ŋ</i> | ‘I don’t/won’t buy.’ |
| | <i>mə mɛ zə-u</i> | ‘He doesn’t/won’t eat it.’ |
| | <i>no mɛ tə-pə-u</i> | ‘You don’t do it.’ |
| | <i>ta-pu ma mfor</i> | ‘The child is not cute.’ |
| (2) | <i>ŋa mə pɛŋ</i> | ‘I haven’t done it.’ |
| | <i>wəjo mə zə-u</i> | ‘He hasn’t eaten.’ |
| | <i>ŋa mə to-m</i> | ‘I haven’t beaten him.’ |
| | <i>ŋa mə mfor</i> | ‘I wasn’t beautiful.’ |
| (3) | <i>no mə tə-zə-u</i> | ‘Don’t eat.’ |
| | <i>no mə tə-lət</i> | ‘Don’t beat.’ |

My second informant, who passed away at the age of 65 in 1985, had the same negation system. As I wrote (Nagano 2003), ‘Negation is always expressed by *ma* which is followed by VP-final, VP-nonfinal or auxiliary verb’. However, a more recent informant, belonging to a much younger generation, has different negation particles, *ja-* and *ji-*.

3 Negation particles in recent data

As a general tendency, *ja-/ji-* seem to appear in perfect aspect, while *ma-* appears in the imperfect. The distribution of *ja-* and *ji-* will be discussed at the end of this chapter. Prohibition is expressed exclusively by *ji-*.

3.1 Negation particles in intransitive structures

The following examples show a typical contrast between *ja-/ji-* and *ma-*.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (4) | <i>wugyo</i> | <i>tsay</i> | <i>ta-ki-w</i> | <i>reN,</i> | <i>məza</i> | <i>tshongkang</i> | <i>ja-che</i> |
| | he | vegetable | PFT-buy-3PTT | because | she | store | not-go |
| | ‘Because he bought vegetables, she didn’t go to the store.’ | | | | | | |
| (5) | <i>wugyo</i> | <i>tsay</i> | <i>ta-ki-w</i> | <i>reN,</i> | <i>məza</i> | <i>tshongkang</i> | <i>ma-che</i> |
| | he | vegetable | PFT-buy-3PTT | because | she | store | not-go |
| | ‘Because he bought vegetables, she will not go to the store.’ | | | | | | |

In negative sentences, no direction prefix occurs in the final VP. Sentence (4) means that she judged she did not need to go to the store. The form *ji-che*, instead of *ja-che*, is only possible under the condition that his purchase of vegetables forced her not to go to the store.

- (6) *wugyo wa-rgyap nə-sar wu-Nkuy, magyu magyu che sa-mu-y*
 he marriage PFT-get of-since often wine place-drink-LOC
ja-che
 not-go
 'Since he got married, he did not go to the tavern often.'
- (7) *wugyo wa-rgyap nə-sar wu-Nkuy, che sa-mu-y ja-ta-che*
 he marriage PFT-get of-since wine place-drink-LOC not- PFT-go
 'Since he got married, he has never been to the tavern.' (he quit the habit of going to the tavern)
- (8) *wugyo wa-rgyap nə-sar wu-Nkuy, che sa-mu-y ma-nə-che*
 he marriage PFT-get of-since wine place-drink-LOC not-PROG-go
 'Since he got married, he is not going to the tavern.'

Example (6) means that he refrained from going to the tavern so often, whereas (7) means that he quit his habit of going to the tavern. The perfect marker *ta-* in (7) was originally a direction affix meaning 'upward', which now connotes completion. In these three examples, his not going to the tavern is based on his own will, and the form *ji-che* does not occur.

Another verb which means 'go', *thar*, requires a general movement prefix *yi-*. We may be able to say that *yi-* has been lexicalised. Therefore, *jikthar* in (9) should be analysed as *ja-yi-kə-thar* instead of *ji-kə-thar*.

- (9) *wugyo kuru zinka-y jikthar (<ja-yi-kə-thar)-je thakchot*
 he Tibet area-LOC not-general.movement-1SG-go-NOM certain
nə-ngo
 down-AUX
 'It's certain that he did not go to Tibet.'

In both (10) and (11), (*tə-*)*mnyak gyu* behaves as an intransitive verb meaning 'to sleep', although it literally is 'to close eyes'. When this literal meaning needs to be expressed, a causative prefix must precede *gyu*.

- (10) *wugyo wu-mnyak ja-gyu wuches, tə-mnyo no-pa-w*
 he his-eyes not-sleep since show PFT-watch-3PTT
 'Because he didn't fall asleep, he watched the show.'
- (11) *wugyo wu-mnyak ma-gyu wuches, tə-mnyo pa-w*
 he his-eyes not-sleep since show Ø-watch-3PTT
 'Because he does not fall asleep, he will watch the show.'

Natural phenomena seem to require *ji-* as in (12). The form *jupa* is a contraction of *ja-wu-pa*.

- (12) *wugyo-yo tə-mnya-ma wastot jupa(<ja-wu-pa)-nəma. pewa tə-mu*
they cultivation well not-3PL>3-AUX(NEG) this.year rain
kəmca ji-lat
many not-fall
‘It isn’t that they didn’t plant well. It didn’t rain a lot this year.’

3.2 Negation particles in transitive structures

Basically, the differentiation of *ma-* and *ja-/ji-* seems the same as in the intransitive structure, as seen in the following examples. In parallel examples (13) to (15), (16) to (19) and (20) to (22), the *ja-* versus *ma-* distinction is rather straightforward. The informant did not accept any sentences with *ji-*.

- (13) *wugyo tama ku-pa ci, chitre ja-let*
he work PFT-do when car not-drive
‘When he worked, he didn’t drive a car.’
- (14) *wugyo tama pa-w ci, chitre ma-let*
he work do-3PTT when car not-drive
‘When he works, he doesn’t drive a car.’
- (15) *wugyo tama pa-w ci, chitre ma-nə-let*
he work do-3PTT when car not-PROG-drive
‘When he works, he usually doesn’t drive a car.’
- (16) *wugyo tama ja-pa-w reN, wu-Ngra munədet (<ma-wu-nə-det)*
he work not-do-3PTT because salary not-3PL>3-PROG-pay
‘Because he didn’t work, they are not paying him his salary.’
- (17) *wugyo tama ja-pa-w reN, wu-Ngra mudet (<ma-wu-det)*
he work not-do-3PTT because salary not-3PL>3-pay
‘Because he didn’t work, they will not pay him his salary.’
- (18) *wugyo tama ja-pa-w reN, wu-Ngra judet (<ja-wu-det)*
he work not-do-3PTT because salary not-3PL>3-pay
‘Because he didn’t work, they didn’t pay him his salary.’
- (19) *wugyo tama ma-pa-w reN, wu-Ngra mudet(<ma-wu-det)*
he work not-do-3PTT because salary not-3PL>3-pay
‘Because he doesn’t work, they will not pay him salary.’
- (20) *wugyo-yo stə wu-gyim nu(<no-wu)-Npar ju(<ja-wu)-Npar*
they this of-house PFT-3-sell not-3-sell
nutho(<nə-wu-tho)
PROG-3-ask
‘They are asking whether or not they sold the house.’
- (21) *wugyo-yo stə wu-gyim ka-Npar ma-Npar nutho (<nə-wu-tho)*
they this of-house INF-sell not-sell PROG-3-ask
‘They are asking whether or not they sell the house.’

- (22) *wugyo-yo stə wu-gyim nu(<no-wu)-Npar ju(<ja-wu)-Npar*
 they this of-house PFT-3-sell not-3-sell

tutho(<ta-wu-tho)

PFT-3-ask

'They asked whether or not they sold the house.'

However, depending on the verb, the following alternatives occur:

- (23) *wugyo gyaga-y na-we nongo-y, nga ja-mto-ng*
 he India-LOC high.to.low-come AUX-though I not-CAUS-see-1SG
 'Even though he has arrived from India, I haven't seen/met him.'

- (24) *wugyo gyaga-y na-we nongo-y, nga ma-wa-rdo-ng*
 he India-LOC high.to.low-come AUX-though I not-CAUS-see-1SG
 'Even though he has arrived from India, I won't meet him.'

For (23), *ma-mto-ng* is theoretically grammatical. However, the informant rejected it, because the subordinate sentence is based on the direct information and therefore *ma-mto-ng* meaning 'I don't see him' constitutes a contradiction.

Unlike *ja-* in (23), *ji-* may appear for the same verb, as in:

- (25) *wugyo wu-gyim guy mak-nyi ji-mto-ng*
 he of-house in NEG.AUX(EXISTENCE)-NOM not-see-1SG
 'I didn't see him when he wasn't at home (he was always at home).'

- (26) *shtə wu-rmi kəce nongo-y, ji-mto-ng*
 this of-man where AUX-though, not-see-1SG
 'I didn't see this man anywhere.'

- (27) *məza thə ke-tsi ja-mto-w*
 she what also not-see-3PTT
 'She hasn't seen/observed anything.'

Comparing (23) and (27) to (24) and (25), volitionality may be hypothesised as a key for the distribution of *ja-* and *ji-*.

- (28) *wugyo su wu-gyim-guy no-nyis jikshing(<ji-kə-mshi-ng)*
 he who of-house-in PFT-stay not-1SG-know-1SG
 'I didn't know whose house he stayed in.'

- (29) *wugyo su wu-gyim-guy kə-nyis-tə makshing(<ma-kə-mshi-ng)*
 he who of-house-LOC IMP-stay-NOM not-1SG-know-1SG
 'I don't know whose house he stays in.'

- (30) *wu-tong mə-nə-mshi-w jikshing(ji-kə-mshi-ng)*
 its-meaning INTERR-PFT-know-3PTT not-1SG-know-1SG
 'Have you understood the meaning?' 'I haven't.'

- (31) *wugyo kupa wu-skat ma-mshi-w-tə nga jikshing(<ji-kə-mshi-ng)*
 he China of-language not-know-3PTT-NOM I not-1SG-know-1SG
 'I didn't know that he doesn't know Chinese.'

As far as the verb ‘to know’ is concerned, it requires *ji-* as its negation marker in the perfect. It is true that ‘to know’ is a transitive verb, but only the first sentence in (30) shows the typical transitive structure, judging from the pronominal affix pattern. The other sentences have the *kə-mshi-ng* (1SG/2SG-ROOT-1SG) pattern, which is the structure for intransitives. This dialect has a euphemiser *yi-* but it is not appropriate to analyze *ji-* as *ja-yi-* because the euphemiser cannot occur before a pronominal prefix.

- (32) *wugyo-yo kupa zinka-y kə-che-ny kəngos kəma ji-ches*
they China country-LOC INF-go-3PL AUX AUX(NEG) not-say
‘They didn’t say whether or not they were going to China.’
- (33) *wugyo-yo kupa zinka-y kə-che-ny kəngos kəma ma-ches*
they China country-LOC INF-go-3PL AUX AUX(NEG) not-say
‘They won’t say whether or not they are going to China.’
- (34) *stə thə kəngos kəma ji-ches*
this what AUX AUX(NEG) not-tell
‘They didn’t tell what this is (or is not).’
- (35) *stə thə kəngos kəma ma-nə-ches*
this what AUX AUX(NEG) not-PROG-tell
‘They don’t tell what this is (or is not).’

From the examples above, we may be able to conclude that ‘to tell’ also requires *ji-* for negation in the imperfect. The following examples show the *ja-/ji-/ma-* contrast.

- (36) *wugyo skyi ma-we-tə ji-suso-ng*
he here not-come-NOM not-remember-1SG
‘I didn’t remember that he isn’t coming here.’
- (37) *wugyo skyi ma-we-tə ma-nə-suso-ng*
he here not-come-NOM not-PROG-remember-1SG
‘I don’t remember that he isn’t coming here.’
- (38) *wugyo-yo kwor mupay(<ma-wu-pa-y) ji-suso-ng*
they help not-3PL>1PL-do-3PL>1PL not-remember-1SG
‘I didn’t think they won’t help us.’
- (39) *wugyo-yo kwor mupay(<ma-wu-pa-y) ma-nə-suso-ng*
they help not-3PL>1PL-do-3PL>1PL not-remember-1SG
‘I don’t think they won’t help us.’
- (40) *shtə wa-ma kə-ra kuma-tə ja-suso-w*
this of-work INF-needed AUX(NEG)-NOM not-regard-3PTT
‘He didn’t regard that this work is not important.’
- (41) *shtə wa-ma kə-ra kuma-tə ma-nə-suso-w*
this of-work INF-needed AUX(NEG)-NOM not-PROG-regard-3PTT
‘He is not regarding that this work is not important’

- (42) *wugyo wa-rgyap kə-sar ji-suso nongo-y, wu-pa-ma jis*
 he his-marriage INF-marry not-think AUX-though his-parents two
wu-su-sar nəngo
 3PL>3SG-CAUS-marry AUX
 'Even though he did not think about marriage, his parents will make him.'
- (43) *wugyo wa-rgyap kə-sar ja-suso nongo-y, wu-pa-ma jis*
 he his-marriage INF-marry not-want AUX-though his-parents two
wu-su-sar nəngo
 3PL>3SG-CAUS-marry AUX
 'Even though he did not want to get married, his parents will make him.'
- (44) *wugyo wa-rgyap kə-sar ma-suso nongo-y, wu-pa-ma jis*
 he his-marriage INF-marry not-want AUX-though his-parents two
wu-su-sar nəngo
 3PL>3SG-CAUS-marry AUX
 'Even though he does not want to get married, his parents will make him.'

For the same verb root, both *ja-* and *ji-* occur. The root *suso* includes different grades of volitionality, that is, 'to remember' > 'to think' > 'to regard' > 'to dream' > 'to want', and it seems that the more volitional the meaning is, the more frequently *ja-* occurs. Note that the pronominal affix pattern is transitive only in (40) through (44).

3.3 Negation particles with adjectives

There are not enough examples to draw any conclusion concerning the distribution of *ja-* and *ji-* with adjectives.

- (45) *tham zhimpa-yo nyi-loti ja-sna*
 nowadays farmer-PL of-production not-good
 'These days farmers' production was no good.'
- (46) *tham zhimpa-yo nyi-loti ma-nə-sna*
 nowadays farmer-PL of-production not-PROG-good
 'These days farmers' production is no good.'
- (47) *yinyi tama ji-kə-skoy(<skos-y)-tə chung-gə yitrhul*
 we work not-diligent-1PL-NOM government-ERG punishment
nə-pu-w
 PFT-charge-3PTT
 'The government punished us for our non-diligent work.'

- (48) *yinyi tama ma-kə-skoy(<skos-y)-tə zhung-gə yitrhul*
 we work not-diligent-1PL-NOM government-ERG punishment

pu-w

charge-3PTT

‘The government will punish us for our non-diligent work.’

3.4 Negation particles with auxiliary verbs

The distribution of *ja-/ji-* and *ma-* is the same as the examples above. The verb *ra* ‘to need’ takes both *ja-* and *ji-* in (49) to (53), depending upon the gradation of volitionality.

- (49) *domor təmu kumca na-lat wuches, təmnya-y teji ka-lat*
 Last.year rain much PFT-fall because field-LOC water INF-do

ja-ra

not-need

‘Because it rained a lot last year, they didn’t have to irrigate the fields.’

- (50) *domor təmu kumca na-lat wuches, təmnya-y teji ka-lat*
 Last.year rain much PFT-fall because field-LOC water INF-do

ma-ra

not-need

‘Because it rained a lot last year, they won’t have to irrigate the fields.’

- (51) *domor təmu kumca na-lat wuches, təmnya-y teji ka-lat*
 Last.year rain much PFT-fall because field-LOC water INF-do

ma-n-ra

not-PROG-need

‘Because it rained a lot last year, they don’t have to irrigate the fields.’

- (52) *zhung nyi-nbey thrə kumca ka-det ji-ra nongo-y,*
 government of-toward tax many INF-give not-need AUX-though

wu-zi-nkam yargyes kə-kte ta-che
 its-country development big PFT-go

‘Though they didn’t have to give much tax to the government, the country has developed a lot.’

- (53) *wugyo-yo nyi-shamdu ji-ra nongo-y, tuki(<ta-wu-ki)*
 they their-gun not-need AUX-though PFT-3PL>3-buy
 ‘Even though they don’t need a gun, they bought one.’

The verb *cha* ‘to be able to’ also takes *ja-* and *ji-*.

- (54) *kuntren loto ka-sə-sna ja-cha*
 commune production INF-CAUS-good not-able
 ‘The commune was not able to produce well.’

- (55) *kuntren loto ka-sə-sna ma-cha*
 commune production INF-CAUS-good not-able
 'The commune will not be able to produce well.'
- (56) *kuntren loto ka-sə-sna ma-nə-cha*
 commune production INF-CAUS-good not-PROG-able
 'The commune is not able to produce well.'
- (57) *nga loptrey(<loptra-y) ka-che ji-cha-ng*
 I school-LOC INF-go not-able-1SG
 'I was not able to go to school.'

The verb *tso* 'to have time to' takes only *ji-* as in:

- (58) *nga loptrey(<loptra-y) ka-che ji-tso-ng*
 I school-LOC INF-go not-have.time.to-1SG
 'I did not have time to go to school.'

For *yo* 'to be allowed', there is only one example:

- (59) *nga tagyim wu-nkuy ka-ngo mə-yo ka-we ma-yo*
 I house of-in INF-enter INTERR-allowed INF-enter not-allowed
 'May I come in?' 'Not allowed to come in.'

The auxiliary verb *lo* 'to be about to' requires *ja-* and *ma-*. I have no examples with *ji-*.

- (60) *wugyo jis gyimguy(<gyim-nguy) kə-cwat ja-lo*
 he two house-toward INF-return not-be.about.to
 'Those two weren't about to return home.'
- (61) *wugyo jis gyimguy(<gyim-nguy) kə-cwat ma-lo*
 he two house-toward INF-return not-be.about.to
 'Those two aren't about to return home.'

The form *myo* 'to have the experience of' can be prefixed by *ja-*, *ji-* or *ma-*. But in most cases *ma* is used, as in (62) and (63).

- (62) *nga gyaga-y ka-che nə-myo-ng nongo-y, nəci*
 I India-LOC INF-go PFT-have.experience-1SG AUX-though there
kumca ka-nyi ma-myo-ng
 long INF-stay not-have.experience-1SG
 'Even though I've gone to India, I haven't stayed there for a long time.'
- (63) *wugyo kuru zinka-y ka-che ma-myo-w*
 he Tibet area-LOC INF-go not-have.experience-3SG
 'He has never been to Tibet.'

Conversely, (64) and (65) are grammatical. In these examples, the meaning is rather close to 'had not stayed' and 'had not been'. In these latter examples, informants say that *ji-* is used with first person and *ja-* with third person.

- (64) *nga gyaga-y ka-che nə-myo-ng nongo-y, nəci kumca*
 I India-LOC INF-go PFT-have.experience-1SG AUX-though there long
ka-nyi ji-myo-ng
 INF-stay not-have.experience-1SG
 ‘Even though I’ve gone to India, I had never stayed there long.’
- (65) *wugyo kuru zinka-y ka-che ja-myo-w*
 he Tibet area-LOC INF-go not-have.experience-3SG
 ‘He had never been to Tibet.’

3.5 Negation particles in optative/desiderative structures

Optative is expressed by *'a-ji-* + ROOT. The form *'a* seems to be a cognate with the nominaliser *'a*. Elsewhere, this affix is primarily prefixed to the direction markers to nominalise them: *'a-tha* ‘the above, upper place’, versus *ta-* ‘upward’, *'a-na* ‘down, the lower place’ versus *na-* ‘downward’.

- (66) *wugyo mə-nə-go zə, tama 'a-ji-pa-w*
 he uncontrollable.act-PROG-sick if work NOM-not-do-3PTT
 ‘If he is sick, I hope he doesn’t work.’
- (67) *wugyo mə-nə-go zə, tama ji-sə-pa-w*
 he uncontrollable.act-PROG-sick if work NOM-not-do-3PTT
 ‘If he is sick, don’t make him work.’
- (68) *wugyo lhasa-y 'a-ji-che*
 he Lhasa-LOC NOM-not-go
 ‘I hope he doesn’t go to Lhasa.’
- (69) *təmo 'a-ji-lat*
 rain NOM-not-fall
 ‘I hope it doesn’t rain.’

3.6 Prohibition

Prohibition is consistently marked by *ji-*.

- (70) *shci ro-we-n*
 here towards.speaker-come-2SG
 ‘Come here!’
- (71) *shci ji-we-n*
 here not-come-2SG
 ‘Don’t come here!’
- (72) *shci ji-nbyi-n*
 here not-come(HON)-2SG
 ‘Please don’t come here.’

- (73) *ka-pshi ji-pa-w*
 INF-sing not-do-2SG
 'Don't sing!'

3.7 Irregularities

The contrast between *ja-*, *ji-* and *ma-* has now been described. However, the following sentences show an irregularity. (75) and (76) are normal structures; the reason for (74) having two negation particles is unknown.

- (74) *wugyo tama ma-ji-pa-w zə, wu-Ngra ka-bja me*
 he work not-not-do-3PTT if his-salary INF-draw AUX(NEG)
 'If he is not going to work, there is no salary to draw/get.'
- (75) *wugyo tama ma-pa-w zə, wu-Ngra ka-bja me*
 he work not-not-do-3PTT if his-salary INF-draw AUX(NEG)
 'If he is not going to work, there is no salary to draw/get.'
- (76) *wugyo tama ja-pa-w reN, wu-Ngra ka-bja no-me*
 he work not-not-do-3PTT because his-salary INF-draw PFT-AUX(NEG)
 'Because he didn't work, there was no salary to draw/get.'

3.8 Distribution of *ja-* and *ji-*

Sentences (4) through (65) show that volitionality of verbs lies behind the behavior of *ja-* and *ji-*. The following examples may further support this.

- (77) *wugyo ka-we makcha(<ma-kə-cha) mak, ma-we nongos*
 he INF-come not-3SG-can AUX(NEG) not-come AUX
 'It is not that he cannot come, he doesn't come.'
- (78) *wugyo ka-we jikcha(<ji-kə-cha) mak, ja-we nongos*
 he INF-come not-3SG-can AUX(NEG) not-come AUX
 'It is not that he couldn't come, he didn't come.'
- (79) *wugyo ji-we nəma, ja-we nongos*
 he not-come AUX(NEG) not-come AUX
 'It is not that he couldn't come, he didn't come.'

Sentences (78) and (79) are similar in meaning. In (79) the meaning of the first clause is that it is not that some external factor prevented him from coming, while the second clause in (78) and (79) means that he did not come of his own will. The following two examples show a parallel to the preceding.

- (80) *wugyo khri zə kəma ji-Ndza-w*
 he rice other.than anything not-eat-3PTT
 'Except for rice, he didn't eat anything. (he couldn't eat anything else)'

- (81) *wugyo khri zə kəma ja-Ndza-w*
 he rice other.than anything not-eat-3PTT
 'Except for rice, he didn't eat anything.'

Example (81) means that because of his own taste, he ate only rice; while (80) means that because of some external reason, the only thing he could eat was rice.

4 Summary and speculations

Summarising the above, we can tentatively conclude the following:

- a) The Cogtse dialect of Gyarong has three negation particles, *ja-*, *ji-* and *ma-*.
- b) The form *ma-* is used in the imperfect while *ja-* and *ji-* are used in the perfect.
- c) The form [mə] of Lin (1993) corresponds to *ja-* and *ji-* here.
- d) The differentiation of *ja-* and *ji-* is related to volitionality; the more volitional the main verb is, the more frequently *ja-* appears.
- e) Prohibition is always marked by *ji-*.

A similar system of negation is observed in the Kyomkyo dialect of Gyarong. Prins reports that in Kyomkyo, there is a contrast between *nga masyiong* 'I don't know' and *nga djasyiong* 'I didn't know', adding that the vowel change has to do with mood and so on. This contrasts with the volitionality meaning of *ja-* and *ji-* in Cogtse.

What then is the origin of *ja-* and *ji-*? These forms have never been described in previous studies of Gyarong. But, according to my informant, these were common at least among his grandparents' generation. If so, we can speculate that, although *ja-/ji-* have existed for a long time, *mə-* was dominant in the standard Gyarong while *ja-* and *ji-* were used as colloquial forms. It is probable that, since *mə-* is identical with the interrogative marker, the negation particle split into *ma-* and *ja-/ji-* in order to avoid confusion. As for dialects of Gyarong other than Cogtse and Kyomkyo, there is no report of the coexistence of *ja-/ji-* and *ma-*.

The historical origin of *ja-/ji-* may perhaps be in Proto-TB prohibitive **ta*. It seems plausible that this old verbal negative prefix was palatalised in Gyarong, becoming *ja-/ji-*.

References

- Bauman, James J., 1975, Pronouns and Pronominal Morphology in Tibeto-Burman. PhD dissertation, U. C. Berkeley.
- Chang Kun and Betty S. Chang, 1975, Gyarong historical phonology. *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology* 46/3:391–524.
- DeLancey, Scott, 1981, An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns. *Language* 57/3:626–657.

- Driem, George van, 1993, The Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 56/2:292–334.
- Jin Peng, 1949, Etude sur le Jyarung. *Han Hiue* 3:211–310.
- et al. 1957/58, Jiarongyu Suomohua de yuyin he xingtai (Phonology and morphology of the Suomo dialect of Gyarong) [in Chinese]. *Yuyan Yanjiu* 2:123–151, 3:71–108.
- LaPolla, Randy, 1992, On the dating and nature of verb agreement in Tibeto-Burman. *BSOAS* 55/2:298–315.
- Lin Xiangrong, 1993, *Jiarongyu yanjiu* (Gyarong language research) [in Chinese]. Chengdu: Sichuan Nationalities Press.
- Nagano, Yasuhiko, 1984, *A historical study of the rGyarong verb system*. Tokyo: Shiseido.
- 2003, Cogtse Gyarong. In Graham Thurgood and Randy LaPolla eds *The Sino-Tibetan languages*, 469–489. London: Routledge.
- Qu Aitang, 1984, Jiarongyu gaikuang (An outline of the Gyarong language) [in Chinese]. *Minzu Yuwen* 2:67–80.
- Wolfenden, Stuart N., 1929, *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman linguistic morphology*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- 1936, Notes on the Jyarong dialect of eastern Tibet. *T'oung Pao* 32:167–204.