

Negation in Chittagonian Bangla

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Abstract : This article is an orientation of the study of negation in the Chittagonian dialect of Bangla. The structure of the declarative negative sentences in Chittagonian Bangla is different from the structure of negative sentences in standard Bangla based on the position of the negative marker. Similarities and differences between standard and Chittagonian negative structures are described with examples. Symmetry of negation in this dialect has also been explained. Negation in zero verb sentences, existential clauses, imperative sentences and sentences with non-finite verbs has been exemplified and described. Interaction between the negative marker and indefinite pronouns and adverbs in Chittagonian Bangla has also been discussed.

Introduction

Negation is a tool that counteracts any statement. It has the ability to deny or falsify a concept. For example, if we take a statement X as a simple declarative statement, $X+$ *negative linguistic element* will present the statement X in a totally opposite way. In any language, negation can be expressed by different types of linguistic elements, i.e. negative particles, affixes, negative existential markers. The pattern of negation may be different in different types of sentences like imperatives, existential sentences or any declarative sentences. In this paper I will try to make an orientation of negation in Chittagonian Bangla from a typological approach. Chittagonian Bangla is a regional variation of Bangla that is spoken by 13,000,000 people (SIL, 2006) of the southeastern part (Chittagong, Rangamati, Bandarban, Khagrachari, Cox's Bazar) of Bangladesh. Because of the lexical and structural peculiarity it is taken as one of the most difficult variation of Bangla by the Bangla speakers. In this paper, I will discuss the comparison between the negation of standard and Chittagonian Bangla, standard

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negation pattern of declarative verbal main clauses, symmetry of negation, negation of zero verbs, negation in existential clauses, negation in imperatives, negation in non-finite verbs, negative indefinite pronouns and adverbs in Chittagonian Bangla.

Negation in standard and Chittagonian Bangla

In this section, I am going to point out the basic differences between the pattern of negation in standard and Chittagonian Bangla.

Form

The first difference is the form of negative particle. In standard Bangla, *na* is used after the main verb as a standard negative particle. For example,

- (1) a. *ami kaṛ-ti korbo*
 i work-DET do.FUT.1
 I will do the work.
- b. *ami kaṛ-ti korbo na*
 i work-DET do.FUT.1 NEG
 I will not do the work.

In Chittagonian Bangla, *no* works as the negative particle.

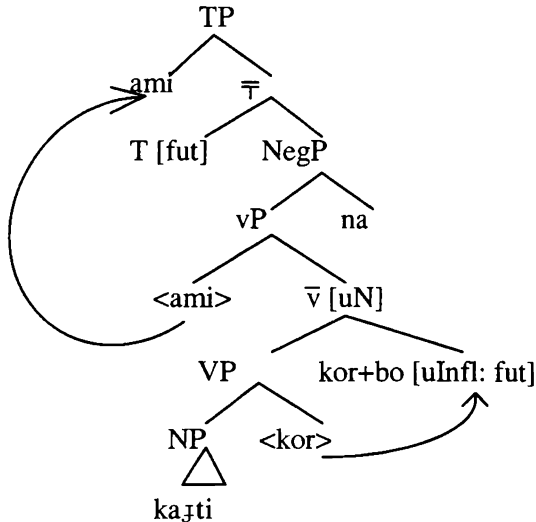
- (2) a. *āi xamman goiṛṛum*
 (*xam-an*) (*gor-um*)
 i work-DET do.FUT.1
 I will do the work.
- b. *āi xamman no goiṛṛum*
 (*xam-an*) (*gor-um*)
 i work-DET NEG do.FUT.1
 I will not do the work.

Here, in the examples in (2), *xamman* consists of two components *xam* (noun) and *-an* (*k^han>an*) (determiner). The rule of assimilation is applied here and the last sound /m/ in *xam* gets doubled and the word becomes *xamman* instead of *xaman* (Maniruzzaman, 2013). *gouiṛṛum* also consists of two components *gor* (verb) and *-um* (1st person future tense marker). The rule of epenthesis causes the insertion of /i/ in between /o/ and /r/ and because of assimilation /r/ turns into /ṛ/ and /ṛ/ gets doubled (Ucida, 1970). Some more examples of this kind of morphophonemic rules can be seen throughout this paper.

Position

This is the most significant difference between the negation of standard and Chittagonian Bangla. If we have a look at example (1, b) and (2, b) we will see that the position of the negative particle in standard Bangla is post-verbal whereas the position of the same in Chittagonian Bangla is pre-verbal.

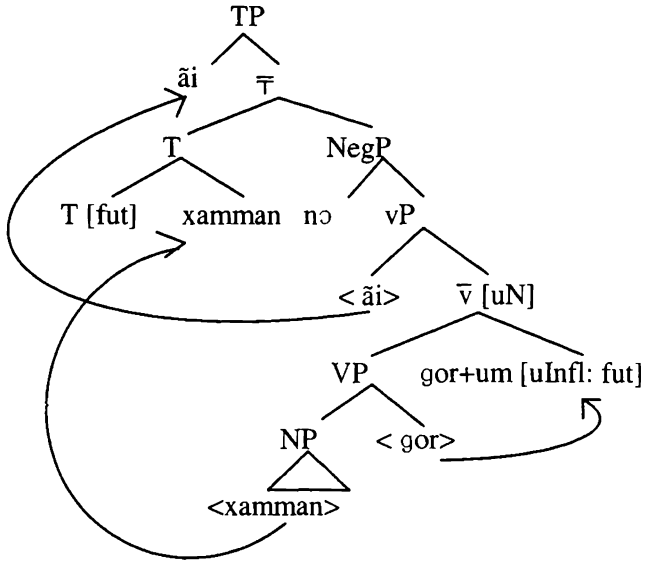
(3)



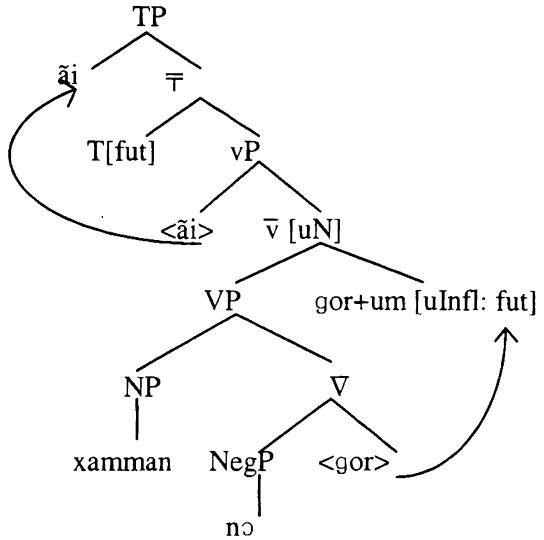
Here, (3) indicates the tree diagram of sentence (1, b) and (4) and (5) are the diagrams of (2, b). In (3) 'kaṛti' is merged with 'kor' and VP is projected. Then 'kor' is raised and adjoined to VP. Then the result \bar{v} is merged with the subject 'ami' that satisfies the uN^* feature of \bar{v} . Then the negation 'na' is merged with vP. Thus, NegP is projected and is merged with T [fut]. The output \bar{T} is merged with the raised subject 'ami' and TP is projected.

In (4), 'xamman' is merged with 'gor' and VP is projected. Then 'gor' is raised and adjoined to VP. Then the result \bar{v} is merged with the subject 'āi' that satisfies the uN^* feature of \bar{v} . Then the negation 'no' is merged with vP and NegP is projected. The object 'xamman' is raised and merged with T [fut]. Then the result T is merged with NegP. The output \bar{T} is merged with the raised subject 'āi' and TP is projected.

(4)



(5)



Example (5) is another hypothetical diagram of (2, b). In (6) negation marker 'no' is merged with 'gor' and \bar{V} is projected. \bar{V} is merged with the object 'xamman' and VP is projected. Then 'gor' is raised and

adjoined to VP. Then the result \bar{v} is merged with the subject 'āi'. Then the output vP is merged with T [fut] and $\bar{\tau}$ is projected. The output $\bar{\tau}$ is merged with the raised subject 'āi' and TP is projected.

Among these three diagrams the basic difference lies in the level where the NegP is projected. Since in standard Bangla negation is a post-verbal element in the diagram also the verb occupies the preceding position of the negation. Diagram (4) and (5) are two hypothetical versions of the example (2, b). In Chittagonian Bangla, negation marker is a pre-verbal element but we still do not know the nature of it—whether it works as a free negation marker or it is a negative affix that actually works along with the verb. For the moment we assume that either of the structure is possible. If we take the negation marker as a free element then the diagram (4) is the probable one where negation is projected outside the vP and belongs to the functional category. On the other hand, if the negation works as a prefix of the verb then it has to precede the verb and has to belong inside the VP.

In other types of negative sentences in these two forms of Bangla language, the difference remains almost the same. For the negation of zero verbs and existential there are different patterns both in these two languages. In a zero verb sentence there is a negator that replaces the verb and in an existential sentence there is a negative existential element. In the latter sections I will discuss these two topics in detail. However, in imperatives and conditional sentences we have both verb and negative particle in a sentence. In these type of sentences negation occupies different positions in standard and Chittagonian Bangla. In imperatives in these two versions of Bangla, both the form and position of the negative particle remains the same as it is in standard negation. For example, in standard Bangla,

- (6) a. $\text{d̪oroʒa-ta b̪oŋd̪ʰo koro}$
 door-DET close do.IMP.2
 Shut the door.
- b. $\text{d̪oroʒa-ta b̪oŋd̪ʰo koro na}$
 door-DET close do.IMP.2 NEG
 Don't shut the door.

In Chittagonian Bangla,

- (7) a. $\text{d̥ɔrza-an bɔndɔ goiʒɔ}$
 door-DET close do.IMP.2
 Shut the door.
- b. $\text{d̥ɔrza-an bɔndɔ nɔ goiʒɔ}$
 door-DET close NEG do.IMP.2
 Don't shut the door.

So, *na* and *nɔ* is used as the negative particle in standard and Chittagonian Bangla respectively where *na* is post-verbal and is *nɔ* pre-verbal.

In negative sentences with non-finite verbs in standard Bangla the negative particle is not always able to hold its post-verbal position and it occupies pre-verbal position. On the contrary, in Chittagonian Bangla, negative particle also changes its position and becomes post-verbal. From the following examples, the difference will become clearer. Though later in this paper negation with non-finite verbs in Chittagonian Bangla has been described in detail but here for the sake of showing the difference between the two versions of Bangla, negation with four kinds of non-finite verbs has been described in short. In the following examples in each section (a) and (b) are the examples of standard and Chittagonian Bangla respectively.

Verbal noun

- (8) a. $\text{ʃe na aʃa porʒɔntɔ amra ɔpekk}^h\text{a korbo}$
 he/she NEG come.VRB until we wait.FUT.1
 We will wait until he/she comes.
- b. $\text{iʃe nɔ aion foiʒɔntɔ āra bas saiom}$
 he/she NEG come.VRB until we wait.FUT.1
 We will wait until he/she comes.

Perfective participle

- (9) a. $\text{ʃe na g}^h\text{umie ʃud}^h\text{u tivi d̥ækh}^e$
 he/she NEG sleep -PP only tv watch.PRS.3
 He/she only watches TV without sleeping.
- b. $\text{iʃe gum nɔ zai-ene xali tibi sae}$
 he/she sleep NEG go-PP only tv watch.PRS.3
 He/she only watches TV without sleeping.

Infinitive

- (10) a. ma amake gan ſun-ʈe dæe ni
 mother me song listen-INF let.PST.3 NEG. PST
 Mother didn't let me listen to the song.
- b. ma ãre gan uin-ʈo no dæe
 mother me song listen-INF NEG let.PST.3
 Mother didn't let me listen to the song.

Conditional participle

- (11) a. ʈumi na bol-le ſe aʃbe na
 you NEG tell-COND he/she come.FUT.3 NEG
 If you don't tell him/her he/ she will not come.
- b. ʈui no xoi-le iʈe no aibo
 you NEG tell-COND he/she NEG come.FUT.3
 If you don't tell him/her he/ she will not come.

Examples given above show that, in these kind of negative sentences negative particle appears before the verbal nouns and also the perfective and conditional form of verbs in standard Bangla whereas in Chittagonian Bangla it appears before these forms of verbs following its regular pattern. However, sentences with infinitives in both these languages show exception. In standard Bangla, the negative particle does not come before the infinitive rather it comes after the main verb. On the other hand, in Chittagonian Bangla, it appears after the infinitive and before the main verb.

Two types of negation

G. Ramachand (2004) describes two types of negation in Bangla. She mentions the standard Bangla negator *na* and another negative particle *ni*. Generally, in a Bangla sentence verb contains a root, aspectual marker, tense and subject agreement. If it is a negative sentence the negation marker will follow the verb. For example,

- (12) ami kaʃ-ti korc^hi na
 i work-DET do.PRG.PRS.1 NEG
 I am not doing the work.
- (13) ami kaʃ-ti korbo na
 i work-DET do.FUT.1 NEG
 I will not do the work.

- (14) ami ka_J-ti korlam na
 i work-DET do.PST.1 NEG
 I did not do the work.

In these examples, the verbal form contains the aspect, tense and subject agreement marker and the negative particle following the verb is expressing only the sense of negation. If we want to get the affirmative form of these sentences we can just omit the negative particle *na*. However a negative sentence with a perfective action does not follow the structure of the affirmative form of the sentence.

- (15) a. ami ka_J-ti korec^hi
 i work-DET do.PRF.PRS.1
 I have done the work.
- b. ami ka_J-ti kori ni
 i work-DET do.PRS.1 PRF/PST.NEG
 I have not done the work.
- (16) *ami ka_J-ti korec^hi na
 i work-DET do.PRF.PRS.1 NEG
 I have done the work.

Here, in the affirmative sentence (15, a) verb is containing all the markers whereas in the negative sentence (15, b) verb is only carrying the subject agreement marker and is conjugated in present tense followed by the negation marker. If we omit the negative particle of this sentence it will no more work as a perfective sentence. If we want to make the affirmative sentence negative like (16) it will be assumed ungrammatical. So, we can assume that in this negative sentence the negative particle *ni* is working as a negation marker as well as a perfective marker. Though in standard Bangla, example (14) and (15) both are used to express the pastness of an event but their difference lies in the fact 'aspect'.

Ramachand (2004) says, "*na* is a pure negation marker and *ni* is specified for both tense and aspect features ([+past] and [+telic] respectively)." According to her, *na* selectively binds the event variable and *ni* directly binds the time variable.

If we now want to check whether this system of negation exists in Chittagonian Bangla we will see that in this dialect there is no different negation marker for the for perfective form of verb. Rather *no* works as

the negator for all tenses and aspects. Like in standard Bangla in this dialect the perfective form of the verb is used mostly to express 'pastness'. For example,

- (17) a. āi xam-an goillam
i work-DET do.PST.1
I did the work.
- b. āi xam-an nɔ goillam
i work-DET NEG do.PST.1
I did not do the work.
- (18) a. āi xam-an goiɟɟi
i work-DET do.PRF.PRS.1
I have done the work.
- b. āi xam-an nɔ gori
i work-DET NEG do.PRS.1
I have not done the work.

Though here two examples of past tense and present perfect tense are presented practically in Chittagonian dialect the verb form of example (18) is generally used to express any past event. Verb form in example (17) expresses an unreal event. For example, (17, b) actually means 'I was supposed to do a work that I did not do and it is a matter of regret now'. However, in example (17) the affirmative and negative sentences have the same structure, the negative one only adds up the negation marker. In (18) both the affirmative and negative sentences carry the same negator but their verbs are not conjugated in the same way. In the affirmative sentence, the verb contains the tense, aspect and person marker but in the negative sentence the verb is conjugated as present tense which means it does not contain any aspect and tense marker and it does not follow the conjugation of the affirmative sentence. In this case it has a similarity with the negative sentence with perfective verb in standard Bangla. The only and the most significant difference is that in Chittagonian dialect there is no different negation marker for the perfective sentences. So, maybe, here Ramachand's hypothesis has an exception. Maybe in Chittagonian dialect negation marker is not the one that contains the perfective feature. Maybe the irregularly conjugated verb solely or along with the regular negation marker expresses the perfective feature.

Standard Negation in Chittagonian Bangla

John R. Payne mentioned the concept of standard negation for the first time in 1985. It is a way that is used to make declarative verbal main clauses negative. In English, *not* is used to make verbal main clauses negative.

Dahl (1979) proposes a typology that suggests that negation may be of two types, (a) morphological (b) syntactic. Morphological negation is also divided into five types, prefixal, suffixal, circumfixal, prosodic and reduplicative negation. Syntactic negation system consists of a negative marker that may be an uninflected particle or an auxiliary verb. Here, basically the syntactic negation system is going to be studied. The examples given below show the differences between these two syntactic negative markers.

- (19) Indonesian (Austronesian, Sundic) (Sneddon 1996: 195; David Gil, Personal communication)
- a. mereka menolong kami
they help us.EXCL
They helped us.
 - b. mereka tidak menolong kami
they NEG help us.EXCL
They didn't help us.
- (20) Finnish (Uralic, Finnic) (Miestamo, 2007)
- a. koira-t haukku-vat
dog-PL bark-3PL
Dogs bark.
 - b. koira-t ei-vät hauku
dog-PL NEG-3PL bark. CNG
Dogs do not bark.

In example (19, b) there is an uninflected negative particle and also a lexical verb which is not morphologically modified. On the other hand, in example (20, b) there is a negative auxiliary verb and a morphologically modified lexical verb.

In Chittagonian Bangla sentences it is not possible to find any negative auxiliary verb and morphologically modified verbs. Rather we see an uninflected negative particle *no* and an unmodified lexical verb.

- (21) a. *iṭe āre sine.*
 he/she me know.PRS.3
 He/ she knows me.
- b. *iṭe āre nɔ sine.*
 he/she me NEG know.PRS.3
 He/ she does not know me.
- (22) *āi e xɔṭa keo-ere nɔ xoium*
i this words someone.DAT NEG tell.FUT.1
 I shall not tell this (words) to anyone.
- (23) *iṭe kisu nɔ gore*
 he/she something NEG do.PRS.3
 He/she does not do anything.
- (24) *āi iṭar ɔnge xɔṭa nɔ xoi*
i his with words NEG talk.PRS.
 I do not talk to him.

Example (21, b) shows the negative sentence which is opposite to (21, a). In this sentence the negative particle *nɔ* is used. This particle is placed before the main verb and it is used as an uninflected individual negative marker. In examples 22, 23, 24 it is clear that the same particle is placed in sentences with present or future tense and with different types of verb. Example 5 and 6 gives a different environment where we see indefinite pronouns like *keore* and *kisu*. Here also *nɔ* is working as the negative marker. We are going to discuss about indefinite pronouns later in this paper. So, from the discussion above we can assume that *nɔ* works as the standard negative marker in Chittagonian Bangla. It will be clearer through the following discussions.

Another topic relevant to the standard negation pattern is negative answer to a question. In English, *not* is used as a sentence negator and *no* is used as a negative answer to questions. In standard Bangla, *na* is used as both the sentence negator and a negative answer to questions. In Chittagonian Bangla *nɔ* works as the standard negative marker. Below examples of negative answers to questions are given.

- (25) Q: *ɔnar nam ki bani?*
 your (honorific) name what bani
 Is your name Bani?
- A: *na*
 NEG
 No.

- (26) Q: one ki zaila?
 you (honorific) what fisherman
 Are you a fisherman?
 A: na
 NEG
 No.
- (27) Q: one ki gan unibak?
 you (honorific) what song listen.FUT.3
 Will you listen to song?
 A: na
 NEG
 No.

Here, the answers to the questions are negative but they are different from the standard negative marker *no* in the subject language. The negative answer to question is *na* which is similar to the negative answer in standard Bangla. So, it can be said that there are two negative markers in our subject language- standard negative marker *no* and negative answer to questions *na*.

Symmetry

Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005) suggests a classification of symmetry of negative sentences based on the representative samples of 297 languages. According to him, negatives can be of two types based on the feature: symmetric and asymmetric. The difference between these two types lies in the structure of the sentences. Whether a negative sentence has a different structure from the affirmative sentence in addition to the presence of a negative marker is the main concern of this distinction. That means the structure of the negative sentence may be different from the affirmative one only by the adding negative markers but not in any other ways. This issue of symmetry can be observed from both the way of construction and paradigm. Members of the paradigms in affirmative and negative sentences share one-to-one correspondence in symmetric paradigms. In asymmetric paradigm such correspondence is not visible.

In Chittagonian Bangla, existence of this one-to-one correspondence can be seen. Below, examples of affirmative and negative sentences in different person and tense condition are given.

- (28) a. $\ddot{a}i$ xam gori
i work do.PRS.1
I work.
- b. $\ddot{a}i$ xam nɔ gori
i work NEG do.PRS.1
I do not work.
- (29) a. $\ddot{t}ui$ xam gɔrɔs
you (intimate) work do.PRS.2
You work.
- b. $\ddot{t}ui$ xam nɔ gɔrɔs
you (intimate) work NEG do.PRS.2
You do not work.
- (30) a. $\ddot{t}ui$ xam gɔrɔ
you (informal) work do.PRS.2
You work.
- b. $\ddot{t}ui$ xam nɔ gɔrɔ
you (informal) work NEG do.PRS.2
You do not work.
- (31) a. ɔne xam gɔrɔn
you (honorific) work do.PRS.2
You work.
- b. ɔne xam nɔ gɔrɔn
you (honorific) work NEG do.PRS.2
You do not work.
- (32) a. iʒe xam gɔre
he/she (informal) work do.PRS.3
He/she works.
- b. iʒe xam nɔ gɔre
he/she (informal) work NEG do.PRS.3
He/she does not work.
- (33) a. iba xam gɔre
he/she (honorific) work do.PRS.3
He/she works.
- b. iba xam nɔ gɔre
he/she (honorific) work NEG do.PRS.3
He/she does not work.
- (34) a. $\ddot{a}i$ xam ɡoiʒʒi
i work do.PRF.PRS.1
I have worked.
- b. $\ddot{a}i$ xam nɔ gori
i work NEG do.PRF.PRS.1
I have not worked.

- (35) a. *ṭui xam goiṭṭos*
 you (intimate) work do.PRF.PRS.2
 You have worked.
- b. *ṭui xam nɔ ɡɔɔs*
 you (intimate) work NEG do.PRF.PRS.2
 You have not worked.
- (36) a. *ṭūi xam goiṭṭo*
 you (informal) work do.PRF.PRS.2
 You have worked.
- b. *ṭūi xam nɔ ɡɔɔ*
 you (informal) work NEG do.PRF.PRS.2
 You have not worked.
- (37) a. *ɔne xam goiṭṭon*
 you (honorific) work do.PRF.PRS.2
 You have worked.
- b. *ɔne xam nɔ ɡɔɔn*
 you (honorific) work NEG do.PRF.PRS.2
 You have not worked.
- (38) a. *iṭe xam goiṭṭe*
 he/she (informal) work do.PRF.PRS.3
 He/she has worked.
- b. *iṭe xam nɔ ɡɔɔe*
 he/she (informal) work NEG do.PRF.PRS.3
 He/she has not worked.
- (39) a. *iba xam goiṭṭe*
 he/she (honorific) work do.PRF.PRS.3
 He/she has worked.
- b. *iba xam nɔ ɡɔɔe*
 he/she (honorific) work NEG do.PRF.PRS.3
 He/she has not worked.
- (40) a. *āi xam goillam*
 i work do.PST.1
 I worked.
- b. *āi xam nɔ goillam*
 i work NEG do.PST.1
 I did not work.
- (41) a. *ṭui xam goilli*
 you (intimate) work do.PST.2
 You worked.
- b. *ṭui xam nɔ goilli*
 you (intimate) work NEG do.PST.2
 You did not work.

- (42) a. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{i}$ xam goilla
 you (informal) work do.PST.2
 You worked.
- b. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{i}$ xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ goilla
 you (informal) work NEG do.PST.2
 You did not work.
- (43) a. one xam goillen
 you (honorific) work do.PST.2
 You worked.
- b. one xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ goillen
 you (honorific) work NEG do.PST.2
 You did not work.
- (44) a. $\text{i}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{e}$ xam goillo
 he/she (informal) work do.PST.3
 He/she worked.
- b. $\text{i}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{e}$ xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ goillo
 he/she (informal) work NEG do.PST.3
 He/she did not work.
- (45) a. iba xam goillo
 he/she (honorific) work do.PST.3
 He/she worked.
- b. iba xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ goillo
 he/she (honorific) work NEG do.PST.3
 He/she did not work.
- (46) a. $\ddot{\text{a}}\text{i}$ xam $\text{g}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{i}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{u}\text{m}$
 i work do.FUT.1
 I will work.
- b. $\ddot{\text{a}}\text{i}$ xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ $\text{g}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{i}\ddot{\text{t}}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{u}\text{m}$
 i work NEG do.FUT.1
 I will not work.
- (47) a. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{i}$ xam goribi
 you (intimate) work do.FUT.2
 You will work.
- b. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{i}$ xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ goribi
 you (intimate) work NEG do.FUT.2
 You will not work.
- (48) a. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{i}$ xam goriba
 you (informal) work do.FUT.2
 You will work.
- b. $\text{t}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{i}$ xam $\text{n}\ddot{\text{o}}$ goriba
 you (informal) work NEG do.FUT.2
 You will not work.

- (49) a. one xam goribak
 you (honorific) work do.FUT.2
 You will work.
- b. one xam no goribak
 you (honorific) work NEG do.FUT.2
 You will not work.
- (50) a. ite xam goribo
 he/she (informal) work do.FUT.3
 He/she will work.
- b. ite xam no goribo
 he/she (informal) work NEG do.FUT.3
 He/she will not work.
- (51) a. iba xam goribo
 he/she (honorific) work do.FUT.3
 He/she will work.
- b. iba xam no goribo
 he/she (honorific) work NEG do.FUT.3
 He/she will not work.

Some examples of affirmative and negative sentences with different tenses and persons are given above for the analysis of symmetry of our subject language. Here, six person (1st, 2nd (intimate, informal, honorific), 3rd (informal, honorific)) and four tense (present, present perfect, past, future) variations have been studied. In examples 28-33 (sentences in present tense) a symmetric relation has been maintained. The only difference between the affirmative and negative sentences is the negative marker which is added to the affirmative sentence to make the negative sentence.

However, in sentences 34-39 (sentences in present perfect tense) negative sentences are different from the affirmative sentences not only in terms of the addition of the negative marker but also because of the conjugation pattern. Verbs in the negative sentences are conjugated as the verbs of present tense. That means negative sentences in present perfect tense do not follow the affirmative sentences of the same tense. If only the negative marker is added before the conjugated verb of the affirmative sentence it will not be acceptable as the correct negative sentence. We have discussed about this special negation pattern earlier in this paper. Since the difference between the affirmative and negative sentences in present perfect

tense is not only the negative marker but also the conjugation pattern we cannot say that here the negative sentences are symmetric.

In examples 40-45 (past tense) only negative marker is added to make the affirmative sentences negative. There are no other differences among these sentences. So these sentences are symmetric here.

In examples 46-51 (future tense) negative sentences follow the structure of the affirmative ones except for the addition of the negative marker. Therefore, in future tense sentences are symmetric.

From the discussion above we see that though in present, past and future tense symmetric constructions are available some peculiar characteristics are found in negative sentences in present perfect tense that make them asymmetric. Because of this distinctiveness we cannot say that in Chittagonian Bangla negative constructions are symmetric.

Negation of Zero Verb

In standard Bangla there is a negative verbal element *no-* which is not used in sentences with other verbs rather it is used in sentences as a negative form of zero verbs (Thompson, 2006). Bangla zero verb is defined as the absence or omission of any verb. According to Thompson (2006) zero verb is a true copula in an equational sentence and the function of a copula is to link or equate the subject and the complement of a sentence. This *no-* element is conjugated in the present tense only. It has four conjugated forms according to the person- *noi* (for 1st person), *nɔ* (for 2nd person, informal), *nɔe* (for 3rd person informal), and *nɔn* (for 2nd and 3rd person honorific). In Chittagonian Bangla also this *no-* element is available but its function is different from that in standard Bangla. In this dialect this verb is conjugated in present tense but only in two forms according to the person- *noi* and *nɔe*. Here, *noi* is used for 1st person and *nɔe* is used for 2nd person (informal and honorific) and 3rd person (informal and honorific). The most interesting part is, *noi* in the 1st person is interchangeable with *nɔe*. That means, functionally *nɔe* is the form that can be used with any person and use of *noi* is restricted to the 1st person only. The following examples are going to make the discussion clearer.

- (52) *āi zaila noi / nɔe*
 i fisherman NEG.0.PRS.1/ NEG.0.PRS.3
 I am not a fisherman.

- (53) āi ɔmiṭ noi / nɔe
 i amit NEG.0.PRS.1/ NEG.0.PRS.3
 I am not Amit.
- (54) t̥ūi manuḥ nɔe
 you (informal) human NEG.0.PRS.3
 You are not a human.
- (55) t̥ūi dōr manuḥ nɔe
 you (informal) rich person NEG.0.PRS.3
 You are not a rich person.
- (56) iṭe ār bonḍu nɔe
 he/she (informal) my friend NEG.0.PRS.3
 He/she is not my friend.
- (57) iba bala manuḥ nɔe
 he/she (formal) good person NEG.0.PRS.3
 He/she is not a good person.
- (58) ār sasa k^huḥi nɔe
 my uncle happy NEG.0.PRS.3
 My uncle is not happy.
- (59) g^hor-gan ār nɔe
 house-DET my NEG.0.PRS.3
 This house is not mine.

From the examples mentioned above, it can be seen that, whatever the person of the subject is negative verbal element *no-* is conjugated in third person though there is a flexible exception in first person. May be, semantically, since the function of the copula is to relate or equate the subject and complement, subjects in these sentences are taking the conjugated negative verb form of the complement.

Negation of Existential Clauses

Croft (1991) proposes a typology of the relationship between negative existential forms and verbal negators. According to him there are three types of relationship in world languages.

Type 1: The verbal negator negates the ordinary existential predicate.

Type 2: A negative existential predicate different from the verbal negator is available.

Type 3: The negative existential is identical to the verbal negator.

In Chittagonian Bangla there is a negative existential predicate that is different from the verbal negator. It replaces the positive existential verb *as-* in the negative sentence.

- (60) $\tilde{a}i$ $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *nai*
 i home-LOC NEG.EX.PRS
 I am not at home.
- (61) $t\ddot{u}i$ $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *nai*
 you (informal) home-LOC NEG.EX.PRS
 You are not at home.
- (62) one $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *nai*
 you (honorific) home-LOC NEG.EX.PRS
 You are not at home.
- (63) ite $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *nai*
 he/she (informal) home-LOC NEG.EX.PRS
 He/she is not at home.
- (64) iba $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *nai*
 he/she (honorific) home-LOC NEG.EX.PRS
 He/ she is not at home.

From the examples, one thing is clear that the negative existential marker in present tense in the subject language is *nai* that is different from the standard negative marker *no* in the same language. Another thing is this marker remains the same with all the persons; it does not get conjugated with different persons. That means there is only one form of negative existential marker in present tense. However it has a different form in past and future tense which is identical to standard negative marker *no*. This marker appears with the past form of *as-* and $t^h\text{ak}$ (future of *as-*) verb in the past and future tense respectively. The past and future form of the example (60) will be the following.

- (65) $\tilde{a}i$ $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *no* *asilam*
 i home-LOC NEG EX.PST.1
 I was not at home.
- (66) $\tilde{a}i$ $g^h\text{or-}\text{ot}$ *no* $t^h\text{aikum}$
 i home-LOC NEG EX.FUT.1
 I will not be at home.

In past and future tense instead of *nai* the standard negator *no* is used with the positive existential predicate *as-* and $t^h\text{ak}$. Existential verbs are conjugated according to the person also. That means in present tense there is a different negative existential marker but in past and

future tense the standard negative marker is used that negates the positive existential verbs.

If we try to follow Croft's typology, negation in existential sentences in the subject language may belong to both type A and type B. Since there is a different negative existential in present tense it belongs to type A. On the other hand, in past and future tense verbal negator *nɔ* negates the existential predicate. So it belongs to type B also. However, according to Croft, some languages can show variation between two types like, A~B, B~C, C~A. It represents the ongoing change or cyclic development of the negative existential structures. In this language the change or development is happening in A>B way.

According to Hanne-RuthThompson (2006) semantically negative existential predicates can be divided in three types.

- (a) Specific absence (in locative sentence)
- (b) General absence with a genitive element
- (c) General absence without a genitive element

Examples of these types are given below.

(a) Specific absence

- (67) *rɔtɔn ʃantɪ-e nai*
ratan peace-LOC NEG.EX.PRS
Ratan is not in peace.
- (68) *ār aɽ-ɔɽ it̪teri t̪ēa nai*
my hand-LOC now money NEG.EX.PRS
Now there is no money in my hand.

(b) General absence (with a genitive element)

- (69) *āt̪te ar kisu gɔra-r nai*
my else any do-GEN NEG.EX.PRS
I have nothing else to do.
- (70) *āt̪te t̪ōar ɔŋge xɔɽa xoibar ʃɔmɔe nai*
my you.GEN with talk.GEN time NEG.EX.PRS
I don't have time to talk to you.

(c) General absence (without a genitive element)

- (71) *ar xono z^hamela nai*
more any problem NEG.EX.PRS
There is no more problem.

- (72) æn xono fɔl nai iɽe nɔ xae
 such any fruit NEG.EX.PRS he/she NEG eat.PRS.3
 There is no such fruit he/she does not eat.

In the examples above the negative existential marker is used in sentences with locative and genitive elements. Though structurally these elements do not make any special changes in the use of the negative marker semantically they provide different expressions. Group (a) presents the specific absence of something. Group (b) expresses negation with a genitive subject which is equivalent to the expression 'to have' in English. Group (c) presents the examples of general non-existence that can be expressed with 'there is/are' in English. However apart from their different structure and meaning they share a common theme- 'absence'.

Negation in imperatives

Auwera and Lejeune (2005) propose a typology of negative imperatives or prohibitive focusing on second person singular imperatives. Based on their sample of 495 languages they suggested four types of negative imperatives.

- Type 1: The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second person singular number imperative and a sentential negative pattern found in (indicative) declaratives.
- Type 2: The prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the second person singular number imperative and a sentential negative pattern not found in (indicative) declaratives.
- Type 3: The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second person singular number imperative and a sentential negative pattern found in (indicative) declaratives.
- Type 4: The prohibitive uses a verbal construction other than the second person singular number imperative and a sentential negative pattern not found in (indicative) declaratives.

Some examples of Chittagonian negative imperatives (prohibitive) are given below to find out their type.

- (73) a. *iṭar ɔŋge xɔṭa xoio*
his/her with words talk.IMP.2
Talk to him/her.
- b. *iṭar ɔŋge xɔṭa nɔ xoio*
his/her with words NEG talk.IMP.2
Don't talk to him/her.
- c. *t̥ūi t̥o iṭar ɔŋge xɔṭa nɔ xɔ*
you EMPH his/her with words NEG talk.PRS.2
You don't talk to him.
- (74) a. *baṭ xaio*
rice eat.IMP.2
Eat rice.
- b. *baṭ nɔ xaio*
rice NEG eat.IMP.2
Don't eat rice.
- c. *t̥ūi t̥o xono ʃɔe baṭ nɔ xɔ*
he/she EMPH any time rice NEG eat.PRS.2
You never eat rice.
- (75) a. *ḍɔrza-an bɔndɔ goiɟɟɔ*
door-DET close do.IMP.2
Shut the door.
- b. *ḍɔrza-an bɔndɔ nɔ goiɟɟɔ*
door-DET close NEG do.IMP.2
Don't shut the door.
- c. *t̥ūi xono ʃɔe ḍɔrza bɔndɔ nɔ goɔ*
you any time door close NEG do.PRS.2
You never shut the door.

In the examples mentioned above in every group the first two examples show the positive imperative and negative imperative sentences respectively. The third sentence presents the regular negative declarative sentence with the same verb. Here, the positive and negative imperative verbs are in the same conjugated form and the regular sentential negative marker appears with it. However, the verb form of the positive and negative imperatives is different from the verb form of the declarative sentences. For example, in the first set of examples (73) the imperative verb form is *xoio* and the verb form in the declarative sentence is *xɔ*. We can assume that the imperative marker of the verbs may be *-o/-io*. However, in both of the negative sentences

the negative marker is the same and it appears before the verb. So, according to Auwera and Lejeune's typology negative imperative construction of this language belongs to type 1 where the prohibitive sentences use the verbal construction of the second singular imperatives and a sentential negative pattern is found in declaratives.

Negation with Non-finite Verbs

Until now I have discussed negation with finite verbs in our subject language. In some languages the negation pattern gets changed when dealing with the non-finite verbs. In standard Bangla the negator comes before the non-finite verbs in such sentences. This creates the possibility of internal negation (Thompson, 2006). However in Chittagonian Bangla positioning of the negator with finite and non-finite verbs in the sentence remains the same. Some exceptions may also be seen. In sentences with finite verbs negation markers come before the verbs. From the following examples we see that the negative marker appears before different types of non-finite verbs also.

Verbal noun

(76) *i*te no aion foijɔɔnto āra bas saiom
 he/she NEG come.VRB until we wait.FUT.1
 We will wait until he/she comes.

(77) *i*te-re xoɕa-ian no xon-ei bala
 he/she-DAT talk-DET NEG say.VRB-EMPH good
 It is good not to tell him/her about it.

In sentences mentioned above negative markers appear before the verbal nouns *aion* and *xon* like they do in sentences with finite verbs.

Perfective participle

(78) *i*te gum no zai-ene xali tibi sae
 he/she sleep NEG go-PP only tv see.PRS.3
 He/she only watches TV without sleeping.

(79) *i*te xono xoɕa no uni-ene gie goi
 he/she any talk NEG hear-PP go.PST.3
 He/she has gone without hearing anything.

In these examples the negator appears before the perfective participle. In example (78) *nɔ* comes in between the conjunct verb ‘*gum zɔn*’ (to sleep) (perfective participle form- *gum zaiene*).

Infinitive

- (80) ma āre gan uin-ɬo nɔ dæe
 mother me song listen-INF NEG let.PRF.PRS.3
 Mother hasn’t let me listen to the song. (Mother didn’t let me listen to the song.)
- (81) ite xam-man goiɬ-ɬo nɔ sae
 he/she work-DET do-INF NEG want.PRF.PRS.3
 He/she has not wanted to do the work. (He/she did not want to do the work.)

In the examples with infinitives we see that no negator appears before infinitives. Rather they appear before the finite verb of the sentence. This means this type of non-finite verb does not allow negators to come before them.

Conditional participle

- (82) ɬui nɔ xoi-le ite nɔ aibo
 you NEG tell-COND he/she NEG come.FUT.3
 If you don’t tell him/her he/ she will not come.
- (83) ite nɔ goil-le xam-man bala nɔ oibo
 he/she NEG do-COND work-DET good NEG happen.FUT.3
 If he/she doesn’t do the work it will not be good.

In these examples negator *nɔ* appears before the conditional form of verb in the conditional clause and the main clause follows the regular pattern of sentences.

There is another negative element available in both standard and Chittagonian Bangla- *noile*. Though there is huge dispute whether it is the conditional participle of *no-* (discussed earlier in this paper) it has proofs of losing its verbal character and being a coordinating conjunction equivalent to English ‘otherwise’ (Thompson, 2006). It connects two clauses and provides a conditional meaning. In Chittagonian Bangla, it is used in sentences like the following.

- (84) *tui ittari gər-ɔt̪ ae noile gər-ɔt̪ duikt̪am nɔ-ddum*
 you (intimate) now house-LOC come NEG.COORD house-LOC
 enter NEG-let.FUT.1
 You come home now otherwise I will not let you enter home.

Here, the coordinating conjunction *noile* is connecting two independent clauses but providing the whole sentence with a conditional meaning.

Indefinite Pronoun and Indefinite Adverb

In English, there are negative pronouns like nobody, nothing and negative adverbs like nowhere, never. In standard Bangla there is no negative pronoun or negative adverb. Rather there are indefinite pronouns- *keu* (someone), *karo* (someones), *kic̣u* (some), *kono* (any) and indefinite adverbs- *koṭ̪ḥao* (somewhere), *kɔḳono* (ever). Chittagonian Bangla follows the same pattern of standard Bangla. In this language there are indefinite pronouns and adverbs that along with negative particles express negativity of sentences.

According to Kahrel (1996) negation of indefinite pronouns is expressed in five ways in different languages of the world.

- Type 1: Standard negation appears with regular or positive indefinite pronouns.
- Type 2: Standard negation is found with a special indefinite pronoun different from the one that can be seen in positive sentences.
- Type 3: An inherently negative indefinite pronoun without standard negation is available.
- Type 4: An inherently negative indefinite pronoun works with standard negation.
- Type 5: No indefinite pronoun can be found. The equivalent function is expressed with an existential construction.

Some examples of indefinite pronouns and adverbs in Chittagonian Bangla are given below.

- (85) a. *āi kisu sai*
 i something want.PRS.1
 I want something.

- b. āi kisu nɔ sai
 i something NEG want.PRS.1
 I want nothing.

In the example given above both the positive and negative sentences contain the same indefinite pronoun *kisu* (something). The only addition to the negative sentence is the negative marker *nɔ*. However this negator changes the meaning of the pronoun and gives it a negative meaning 'nothing'. So, here, the indefinite pronoun along with the negative particle expresses negative meaning. So, we can say that indefinite pronouns in our subject language belong to the type 1 category mentioned above because here an ordinary or positive indefinite pronoun is working with the standard negation marker *nɔ*.

The following examples of other indefinite pronouns follow the same pattern.

- (86) kæoe ār bilai-ba-re nɔ sae
 someone my cat-DET-DAT NEG see.PRF.PRS.3
 Nobody has seen my cat.
- (87) āi kæo-r xota nɔ uinum
 i someone-GEN words NEG listen.FUT.1
 I shall not listen to anyone.
- (88) ār xono naliʃ nai.
 my any complaint NEG.EX
 I have no complaints.

Indefinite adverbs also follow the pattern of indefinite pronouns in Chittagonian Bangla. Standard negative marker appears in the sentence with indefinite adverb and provides a negative expression. Examples of this kind are given below.

- (89) a. iʔe xono mikka zaibo
 he/she somewhere go.FUT.3
 He/she will go somewhere.
- b. iʔe xono mikka nɔ zaibo
 he/she somewhere NEG go.FUT.3
 He/she will go nowhere.
- (90) āi xono ʃɔ̃e gan nɔ uni
 i any time song NEG listen.PRS.1
 I never listen to songs.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to present some of the negation patterns of Chittagonian dialect of Bangla. It was just an orientation of the topics discussed like standard negation, negative existential sentences, negative imperatives and so on. I have argued on the type of negation in different situations and how Chittagonian negation is different from or similar to the negation in standard Bangla. However, sufficient field work was not possible due to the shortage of time and resources. That is why; lack of originality may be felt while reading for this paper. The author is responsible for all the mistakes and inadequacies in this paper. Chittagonian Bangla has some special features that distinguish it from other dialects of Bangla. This dialect is still a barren field to be studied. Structures of the language are yet to be discovered and explained. The concept of negation itself is an important and less studied topic in linguistics. I hope this piece of writing will provide some information with the future studies about negation in Chittagonian and other Bangla dialects.

Notes

The abbreviations used in the examples in this article are as follows.

0, zero verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; CNG, connegative; COND, conditional; COORD, coordinating conjunction; DAT, dative; DET, determiner; EMPH, emphatic marker; EX, existential; EXCL, exclusive; FUT, future; GEN, genitive; IMP, imperative; INF, infinitive; LOC, locative; NEG, negative; PL, plural; PP, perfective participle; PRF, perfect; PRS, present; PST, past; VRB, verbal noun.

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