# A BRIEF DESCRIPTION ON DOUBLE NEGATION IN ANAKALANGU, CENTRAL SUMBA

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KEYWORDS	ABSTRACT
Anakalangu, Double negation, Negative markers, Astronesian language	This paper aims at describing double negation in Anakalangu, Central Sumba- Indonesia. Anakalangu is a morphologically-synthetic language in which its word- morpheme ratio can be 1:3 up to 1:4. It also has SVO order. Data in this research were collected through elicitation and recording processes. Then they were analysed by using Miestamo (2007), Dahl (1979) and Klamer (1998). Results show that negative constructions in Anakalangu clearly involve double negators where NEG1 is located in pre-verbal and NEG2 is found in post-verbal positions. From seven negative structures provided by Miestamo (2007), standard negators in Anakalangu are 'da-, -ma' ; its imperative negators are 'abu-, -di' ; its existential are 'da-, ai-mang/-u' ; its nominal and adjectival negators are 'da-,ai-ma' ; its temporal negators are 'dhadhi-,-ma/-e' and its locative negators are 'da-,ai-ma'. Moreover, the presence of negative constructions in Anakalangu verbal and non-verbal phrases in fact make them morphologically denser than the rest of phrases. Interestingly, our observation finds that double negation in Anakalangu probably fills one of Jespersen's stage where NEG2 located in post-verbal situations tends to be omitted without changing the meaning of the sentence although it needs more investigation.
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## INTRODUCTION

Anakalangu or Anakalang (ISO 639-9 : akg) is an Austronesian language, administratively spoken in central Sumba regency, Sumba island. 'Anakalang' is morphologically derived from 'ana' meaning 'child' and 'kalang' meaning 'good'. Anakalang lexically means 'good child'. Anakalang was initially a traditional kingdom, then formally established by Dutch administration in 1913 through *Korte Verklaring* (Tenabolo 2022). The main characteristics of Anakalang traditional settlements in central Sumba are popularly indicated by megalithic tombs where Anakalang houses formed linear patterns to face these tombs (Handini 2019). This shows a deep quality of Anakalangu people in ancestral worships. It is estimated that there are around 16,000 to 17,000 speakers of the language today (Eberhard et al 2022). Interestingly, Anakalangu is nowadays still used at schools for the sake of helping its native speakers in educational processes before they can fluently use Standard Indonesian (Djawa et al 2020). However, there is a disagreement among linguists on the linguistic vitality status of Anakalangu. While Eberhard et al (2024) believe that this language is a stable variety, Hammarstörm et al (2024) conversely claim that this language is in a threatened situation when they are 20 percent sure that Anakalangu is vulnerable to death.

This article aims to describe Anakalangu negative constructions as we find that there are limited sources discussed the structural aspects of this language. We hope that we can enrich academic discussion about Austronesian languages by discussing negative characteristics in Anakalangu structures.

## Typological Classification of Anakalangu

Anakalangu typologically belongs to Bima-Hawu subgroup consisting of 10 languages under Malayo-Polynesian group of Austronesian phylum (Eberhard et al 2024; Hammarström et al 2024).

Historically, Esser, a language officer of the Dutch colonial government in 1934, divided languages in Indonesia into 19 genetically-related groups (Blust 2008). They are 1. Sumatra group, 2. Java group, 3. Davak group (including Bajaw), 4. Bali-Sasak group, 5. Philippine group, 6. Gorontalo group, 7. Tomini group, 8. Toraja group, 9. Loinang-Banggai group, 10. Bungku-Laki group, 11. South Celebes languages, 12. Muna-Butung group, 13. Bima-Sumba group, 14. Ambon-Timor group, 15. Sula-Bacan group, 16. South Halmahera-West New Guinea group, 17. Melanesian languages, 18. North Halmahera language family, 19. Papuan languages. Of the 19 groups, the first 17 groups belong to Austronesian, while the other two are classified as Papuan languages. One of the groups he mentioned above is Bima-Sumba group. Later, Esser mentioned 6 languages involved in this Bima-Sumba group. They are Bimanese, Manggarai, Ngada-Lio, West Sumba, East Sumba and Hawunese. It is clear here that there were no Anakalangu mentioned at his work. Later, Fox (in Blust 2008) argued that although Sumba, Raijua, Savu and Ndao speakers use different varieties, these varieties still connect with languages involved in the Sumba-Bima group. Ruhlen (in Blust 2008) improved the report by clearly mentioning 16 languages under 'Bima-Sumba' group. Interestingly, Ruhlen started mentioning the name of Anakalangu as one of Sumba languages. This report is strengthened by Grimes' description (2000) mentioning Anakalangu as one of the 26 languages under the Bima-Sumba group.

The sociolinguistic position of Anakalangu and other languages spoken in Sumba itself was recently acknowledged since they initially tended to be accepted as dialects of Sumba language. In 1994, Klamer (1994) claims that Kambera is one of languages of Bima-Sumba. This enforces the other 'dialects' to look for their sociolinguistically independent identities, too. Evidently, being in doubt whether Anakalangu and other varieties in Sumba are dialects or languages, Budasi (2006) preferred to label them 'isolects'. It took for about 10 years before Budasi (2010) and Asplund (2010) accept these dialects as true 'languages', also showing how slow linguists adapt themselves to a new typological concept of linguistic classification in this speaking area. Today, Analakalangu is one of 8 Sumbanese languages beside Kambera, Wanokaka, Kodi, Lamboya, Wewewa, Loli and Mamboro.

## METHODOLOGY

This is qualitative research where data were collected through a simultaneous process of elicitation and recording processes. In the elicitation processes, informants were asked to translate several sentences from Standard Indonesian into Anakalangu. Recording processes were conducted by using SONY IC Recorder ICD-UX200F. There are two informants involved in data collecting process. The data were analysed by using several structural theories such as Miestamo's classification of negation structures (2007) as well as Dahl (1979) and Klamer (1998).

We describe basic structures of Anakalangu to give a clear picture on how Anakalangu operates in clausal and sentential levels as well as some morphosyntactic features of the language. Then, we present Anakalangu's negative structures that we divide into seven structures, that is, standard negative, imperative negative, existential negative, nominal negative, adjectival negative, temporal negative and locative negative. By using Jespersen's cycle, we finish our description with describing possible evidence on a weakening process occurred at clause final position in Anakalangu negative construction.

#### FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 1. Basic Structures of Anakalangu

We should acknowledge here that there is almost no through report on the grammatical aspects of Anakalangu. Therefore, we seek to describe here the basic structures of Anakalangu based on our observation on actual expressions we collected during data collecting period.

First, Anakalangu is morphologically a synthetic language where a word morpheme ratio can be 1:3 up to 1:4 such as 'ai-ma-ng-u' (to exist-NEG-Verbal Applicative-Emphatic) meaning 'to have / to possess'. Second, this language has SVO order. For example, please see an Anakalangu sentence below (01) :

01. Nyuwa ai-ng-u oma-gu 1sg.Pron.Subj to be-Verbal.Appl-Emph farm-1sg.Poss 'I have a farm'

Third, along with the first feature above, we emphasize here that Anakalangu verbal phrases are the most morphologically dense area in Anakalangu clausal structure. Next, possessive constructions are mainly marked by possessive enclitics that attach to nouns such as 'oma-gu' (farm-my).

#### 2. Negation in Anakalangu

Anakalangu possesses double negation system as negation in that language is never singlemarked in its each clause. There are two morphemes which usually present to indicate negation. In our observation, the first negator (NEG1) is preverbal, while the second negator (NEG2) is postverbal.

There is almost no report about Anakalangu negation system in previous literature. However, Klamer (1998,142) ever reported that Kambera, a Sumbanese neighbouring language, also has double negation. Interestingly, after reading Klamer's short description about double negation in Kambera, we believe that Anakalangu's double negation is more massive than Kambera as in Kambera there is also single negation patterns while there is no single negation found in Anakalangu. However, it is also true that Kambera's negation system is more various compared to Anakalangu since Anakalangu is predominantly double negation.

Perhaps detailed explanation below can tell us clearer about Anakalangu negation.

## 3. Negative Markers

	Negators
Standard negation	<i>da-, -ma</i> 'not'
Negation in Imperative Clauses	<i>abu-, -di</i> 'do not'
Negation in Existential Clauses	da- ai-mang/u 'not exist'
Negation in Nominal Clauses	<i>da-, -ma</i> 'not'
Negation in Adjectival Clauses	<i>da-, -ma</i> 'not'
Negation in Temporal Clauses	dhaadhii-, -ma/e 'not yet'
Negation in Locative Clauses	<i>da- ai-ma</i> 'not'

Table 01. Negative Markers in Anakalangu

By looking at Table 01 above, there are 7 pairs of negative markers in Anakalangu based on 7 types of negative clauses. In particular, 'da-, -ma' are the primary negators in Anakalangu. It can function as the standard negator and negators for non-verbal clauses such as nominal and adjectival clauses. 'da-, -ma' means 'no' or 'not'. In Anakalangu, 'abu-,-di' are a pair of imperative negators which can be translated as 'do not'. Its existential negators are 'da-,ai-mangu' meaning 'not exist'. Moreover, it has two pairs of non-verbal negators, that is, 'dhaadhii-,-ma/e' for temporal negators and 'da-,ai-ma' for locative negators.

Looking at the negative markers above, the relationship between NEG1 and NEG2 is consistent, meaning that they usually exist in a fixed pattern. For example, anytime standard

negation structure is expressed, 'da' is always present together with '-ma'. Or, anytime imperative negation is uttered, 'abu' usually exits with '-di'. This also happens to other pairs of Anakalangu negators above.

## 4. Negative Constructions

To describe Anakalangu negative constructions, we occupy Miestamo's classification on negation structures (2007). In his division, Miestamo (2007) divides negative constructions into four kinds, they are, standard negation, negation of imperative, negation of non-verbal and existential negation.

Standard negation can be grasped as a primary technique to either partially or fully negate their declarative verbal main clauses (Miestamo 2005; Miestamo 2007; Miestamo 2017). At (01) and (02), 'da-,-ma' behaves as a circumfix where 'da-' exists in pre-verbal position and '-ma' sits in post-verbal position. However, due to a nasal homorganic process at (02) 'da-' is stimulated to have a preceding nasal sound. In our observation, Anakalangu verb phrases, particularly in negative constructions, are morphologically dense sets of words since there can be at least 4 morphemes involved in the negative verb phrases. A general pattern for standard negative construction in Anakalangu is 'Subject + NEG1 + Pronoun Clitics + Verb + NEG2 + Object'.

02.	nyiama	n-da-ma-kəluma-ma	iangu
	We	nasal-NEG1-1pl.Clit-catch-NEG2	fish
	'We do n	ot catch the fish'.	

03.	Dudda	da-dda-ropu-ma	manu
	3.pl	NEG1-3pl.Clit-cut-NEG2	chicken
	'They did	not kill the chicken' (literally	y = cut the chicken)

Negation in Anakalangu imperative clauses is mainly characterised by 'abu-,-di' circumfix where in its verbal phrases, 'abu-' sits as a prefix, while '-di' behaves as a suffix. 'abu-,-di' double negators mean 'do not'. The basic morphological structure of Anakalangu verbal phrases can involve at least three morphemes as in (04) and (05) although we acknowledge here that it is possible for Anakalangu verbal phrases to have more than three morphemes in its verbal phrase. A general structure that can be drawn for Anakalangu imperative negation is 'NEG1 + Verb + NEG2 + Demonstrative/Quantifier + Object'.

04.	abu-judda-di	lali	madhai
	NEG1-sleep-NEG2	too	long
	'Do not sleep too long'.		

05.	abu-dheki-di	na	katopu
	NEG1-take-NEG2	Dem.	machete
	'Do not take that mad		

Negation of existential clauses in Anakalangu is marked by a set of morphemes, that is, 'da, ai-mangu' which can be broken into 'da-ai-ma-ng-u' as can be seen in (06) below. Although raw material of this existential negative clauses is 'da-,-ma' double negators, they are also modified by several morphological elements such as 'ai' meaning 'be', '-ng' suffix functioning as an applicative derivation changing the negative nominal phrase 'da-, ai-ma' 'is/are not' into a negative verb 'do not have'. Also, '-ng' suffix requires an object. Last but not least, '-u' suffix functions as an emphatic

expression to emphasise a situation for having nothing. From (06) and (07), a general pattern of existential negative clauses is 'NEG1 + Auxiliary Verb + NEG2 + Applicative Derivation + Object + Preposition + Adverb'.

06.	da-ai-ma-ng-u NEG1-be-NEG2-Appl.Deriv-Emp 'There is no goat inside the stall'.	kamei goat	ni ta-galu in-stall
07.	da-ai-ma-ng-u NEG1-be-NEG2-ApplEmph 'There is no rice in the sack'.	maruasu rice	ta-karung in-sack

We should explain clearly here that there are clear boundaries between 'da-, ai-ma' as a locative negator, 'da-, ai-mang' as a verbal negator and 'da-, ai-mangu' as an existential negator. Anakalangu is a morphologically-synthetic language where a word can be made of more than three or four morphemes. The evidence of this statement can be seen from its negative constructions. The basic double negators in Anakalangu are 'da-,-ma' and 'ai' is inserted into the negative circumfix to mark negative locative clauses. The result is 'da aima'. Next, 'da aima' is added by '-ng' suffix functioning as an applicative derivation changing a nominal phrase to a verbal one. Once again, 'da aimang' is a verbal negator as can be seen at (08) below. Moreover, 'da aimang' is added with '-u' suffix to emphasise the situation. Here, 'da aimangu' can be glossed as 'not exist' as in (06) and (07) above. It is used as an existential negative marker. However, we should acknowledge here that basically there is no semantic distinction between 'da aimang' and 'da aimangu'. In several data we collected, both the negators can be used for negative existential clauses without showing clearly different meanings.

08.	da-ai-ma-ng	oma-gu	
	NEG1-be-NEG2-Appl.Deriv.	farm-1sg.Poss.clit	
	'I do not have a farm'. (literal : I do not have my farm)		

Nonverbal clauses consist of nominal, adjectival, locative and temporal clauses. However, as can be seen at Table 01 above, these negative clauses do not share the same negators for their negative patterns. Thus, we begin our description by explaining nominal and adjectival negative clauses first since they have the same negator for both constructions. Like the standard negator above, the negator for Anakalangu nominal / adjectival negative clauses is 'da-,-ma' circumfixal negator meaning 'not'. In our investigation, the morphological number for negative nominal phrases is around four as been seen from (09) and (10) below. A general structure for nominal / adjectival negative phrases is 'Subject + NEG1 + Noun/Adjective + NEG2 + Pronoun Clitic '. However, it should be mentioned that in Anakalangu actual utterances, the existence of subject, in many cases, becomes optional due to the presence of personal clitics inside the nominal/adjectival phrases functioning to represent the subject itself. Interestingly, the existence of personal clitics in those patterns is obligatory. This results in many Anakalangu oral expressions uttering without clear subjects.

- 09. Nyuwa da-desa-ma-wa I NEG1- (chief of) village-NEG2-1sg.clit 'I am not a chief of the village'.
- 10. Da-na-bani-ma

NEG1-3sg.Clit-angry-NEG2 'He is not angry'.

Locative negative clauses in Anakalangu are marked by 'da-ma' although they are then entered by 'ai' in the middle of the circumfix to mark 'is/are not'. Similar to nominal / adjectival negative phrases, locative negative clauses, in our observation, can consist of four morphemes including the circumfixal negators. A typical structure of locative negative clauses as in (11) below is '(Subject) + NEG1 + be + NEG2 + Personal clitic + Preposition + Place name'.

11.	Da- ai-ma-ja NEG1-be-NEG2-3pl.Clit 'They are not in Kupang.	ta-Kupang in-Kupang	
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12. Mama da-ai-ma-nya ta oma mother NEG1-be-NEG2-3sg.clit in farm '(my) mother is not at the farm'.

Negation in temporal clauses is marked by a 'dhadhi-ma/me' circumfix which can be translated as 'not yet'. At examples (13) and (14), it can be seen how Anakalangu noun phrases are surrounded by this circumfix. A simple temporal negative construction is structured as follows : 'NEG1 + Demonstrative/Noun + Number / Noun + NEG2 + Aspectual'.

- 13. dhadhi-jam-habulu-me-pa NEG1-hour-ten-NEG2-Asp. 'It s not ten o clock'.
- 14. dhadhi-na-waihang-ma-pa NEG1-this-morning-NEG2-Asp. 'It has not been morning yet'.

## 5. Evidence on Possible Weakening of Clause Final Negation in Anakalangu

Jespersen's approach (1917) on the dynamics of negative constructions around the world perhaps can be seen from Anakalangu context. In Jespersen's concept, there are three stages of negative patterns found in the world, that is, (1) negative marker in a pre-predicate position; (2) negative marker in clause-final position and (3) double negation (Jespersen 1917; Fricke 2017). Anakalangu in this context certainly demonstrates one stage of Jespersen cycle, that is, double negation. It can be seen in Example (15) below.

15. da-na-maleru-ma NEG1-3sg.Pron.Clit.-far-NEG2 'He/she is not far'.

It is obvious from example (15) that adjectival negative marker here is 'da-,-ma' showing negative identity of Anakalangu as an Austronesian language with double negative marking. However, from the elicited data we obtained during our research, it clearly shows that there is a tendency where negative markers in clause final position are weakened and even omitted. Perhaps example (16) below can show us why.

16. da-na-maleru NEG1-3sg.Pron.Clit.-far 'He/she is not far'.

One of our informants agreed that both examples (15) and (16) can be used with the exactly same meaning although in example (16) NEG2 '-ma' is absent. As our observation is still limited to this sentence, it is too early to say that there is clearly coming new stage based on Jespersen's cycle where a negative marker only appears in a pre-predicate position, which in example (16) is 'da-'. However, it can become evidence that this fact might have widened to other sentences with other negative markers too. Surely, further deeper investigation on this needs to be done.

## CONCLUSION

As a morphologically synthetic language, Anakalangu possesses double negation. This feature covers all types of negative constructions including standard negators, negators in imperative clauses, negators in existential clauses and negators in nominal, adjectival, temporal dan locative clauses. However, in the dynamics of communication and language uses among its speakers, Anakalangu seems to show another stage of Jespersen cycle with deletion of negative marker in clause final position. With the lack of our data about this, then it is too early to claim that this has become a new stable pattern in Anakalangu. Therefore, another more research should be conducted in order to get better data about this.

#### Abbreviation

1sg	First Singular	Deriv.	Derivation
3sg	Third Singular	Emph.	Emphatic
1pl	First Plural	NEG1	First Negative
3pl	Third Plural	NEG2	Second Negative
Appl.	Applicative	Poss.	Possessive
Asp.	Aspectual	Pron.	Pronoun
Clit.	Clitics	Subj.	Subject
Dem.	Demonstrative	-	

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