

Clause final negation and double negation marking in Northwest Kainji

Rebecca Paterson
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Main goals of this talk

1. Observe “standard” negation patterns in 4 closely related Northwest Kainji languages.
2. See how this Kainji, Benue-Congo subgroup fit within Dryer’s (2009) typology of Verb-Object-Negative order.
3. Discuss possible motivations for the variation in the negation patterns across the 4 languages.

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Introduction – Kainji Languages

Kainji location and classification within East Benue-Congo

Watters (2018: 3,5); Gerhardt (1989)

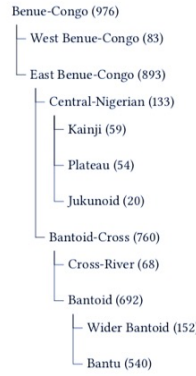


Figure 2: The external and internal classification of E.

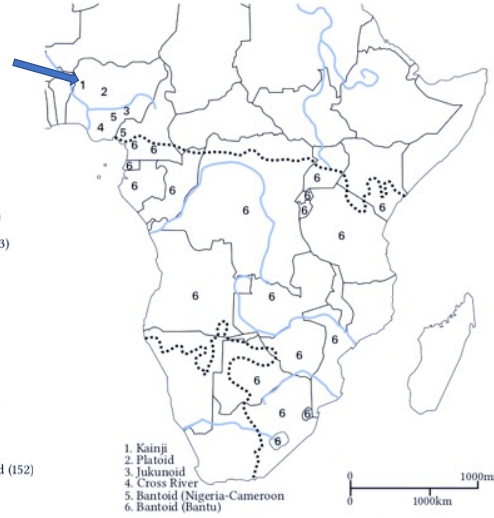
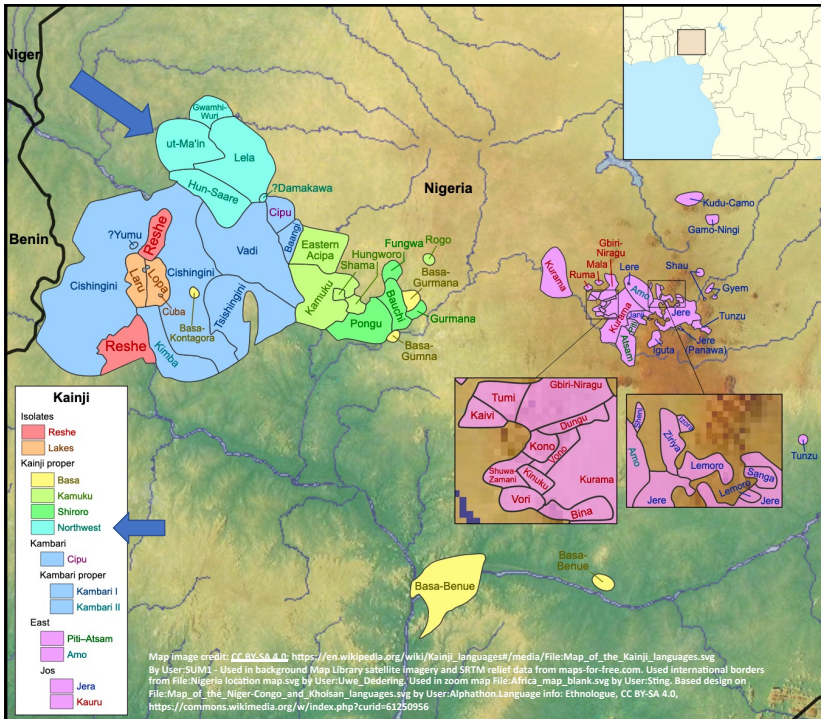


Figure 1: The locations of the five branches of EBC

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Location – Kainji Languages

Northwest Kainji (McGill & Blench 2012 and Blench 2018)

- **Ut-Ma'in** [gel] (aka Kag-Fer-Jiir-Koor-Ror-Us-Zuksun. Puku-Geeri-Keri-Wipsi, Fakkanci, Gelanci)
- **C'Lela** [dri] (aka Dakkarkari)
- **ut-Hun** [uth] (aka Eastern Duka(wa))
- **us-Saare** [uss] (aka Western Duka(wa))
- Gwamhi-Wuri-Mba [bga]
- Damakawa (moribund)[dam]

See McGill & Blench (2012) for a state of the art on Kainji languages.

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Some typological features of NW Kainji Languages

- Noun class languages with concord agreement on many targets
 - “Striking reduction of nominal prefixes to a single consonant” (Blench 2018: 72)
- Constituent order (Paterson 2019):
 - S V (O₁) (O₂)
 - S AUX V (O₁) (O₂) –AUX can encode Tense, Aspect, Modality, **Polarity** and more
- Alternate word orders exist for some auxiliary constructions.
 - E.g., in Ut-Ma'in S AUX (O₁) V (O₂) word order is limited to *nɔm* ‘do’ auxiliaries; V in this construction must be in nominalized form.
- Prefixing and suffixing (Hoffmann 1967; Good 2018)
- Derivational verbal suffixes (akin to Bantu *verbal extensions*) (McGill & Blench 2012)

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NW Kainji data sources

- Ut-Ma'in data is from Paterson (2019)
- **C'Lela** (aka Dakkarkari) data is from Dettweiler (2015)
- **ut-Hun** (aka Eastern Duka(wa)) data is from Bendor-Samuel, Skitch and Cressman (1973)
- **us-Saare** (aka Western Duka(wa)) data is from Heath (2020)

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Negation Patterns in NW Kainji

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Two negation patterns across NW Kainji: CFNM and DNM

- CFNM: CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION: **S V O Neg**
- DNM: DOUBLE NEGATION: **S Neg V O Neg**

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Ụt-Hun [uth]

Bendor-Samuel et al. (1973); Crozier (1984); Meistamo (2015) – only DNM;
Dryer (2009) and Heath & Heath (2002) as CFNM

- (1) Ụt-Hun (as in Dryer (2009:317) from Bendor-Samuel et al. (1973))
- | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| [S |] V | [O |] Neg |
| <i>kó</i> | <i>[ēēr ār-gààn dÉ]</i> | <i>hár</i> | <i>[wár ò ān-ká zūr yo]</i> á |
| even | arrow CM-one | it touchbody CM | that lion CM.DEF NEG |
| ‘not even one arrow touched that lions body.’ | | | |
| lit: ‘even one arrow didn’t touch that lion’s body’ | | | |

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C‘Lela/Dakkakanci – Only DNM

- (2) C‘Lela/Dakkakanci (Dettweiler 2015:116)

S-Neg-V = O	Neg
<i>ú-tà-h^wá = ?ò</i>	dá
3S-NOT.HAVE-kill = 3S	not
‘He did not kill him.’	

- (3) C‘Lela/Dakkakanci (Dettweiler 2015:117)

Neg-S-V = O	O	Neg
<i>?á-nán-gá = :nè</i>	<i>tġ-h’ùbù</i>	dá
NOT-1P.IN.ICM-marry=3P.OBJ	CM-co-wives	not
‘Our people do not practice polygamy.’		

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Ut-Ma'in– Both CFNM and DNM

(4) Ut-Ma'in: DN (PROGRESSIVE in Paterson 2019a: 174)

wáʔ-ó = rò	z̄ē	S = Neg	V _{NMLZ} = Neg
child-C 1 = 3SG.POSS	say	ōm = zá	m-há = dà...
		1SG.SUBJ = NEG	6B-go = NEG

'His child said "I am not going"...

(5) Ut-Ma'in: CFN (PAST in Paterson 2019a: 109)

S	V	O ₁	O ₂ = Neg
r̄ē-ē	já:g	b̄ō	ʔ-tʃàn = dà
god-C 3	give-PST	2SG	C6-feather = NEG

'creator did not give you feathers'

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Us-Saare – Both CFNM and DNM ... ?

(7) Us-Saare: DNM (BARE VERB + SPECIAL PN.SUBJ 2SG in Heath 2020: 145)

				S	V	Neg
an-zwōom	o	zee	uhm-uhm	wō	dek	rá
Mr. Hare	he	say	no-no	you	carry	not

'Mr Hare, he said, "No, no. You will not take it". '

(6) Us-Saare: CF (BARE VERB in Heath 2020: 107)

		S	V	Neg
e	zee	e	nap	rá
they	say	they	know	not

'They said, "they did not know." '

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Us-Saare – Both CF and DNM ...?

Koyan-d_o u_m he w_o m-r_ur_e m_ok_o , o ya m – d_ek rá .
 whatever I will you telling you be.not carry not
 det pro v pro v pro neg v neg

Whatever I will tell you now, you will **not** accept it. (2) Ref: 052.20. See also 032.6.1; 032.6.2; 044.11; 044.27; 046.13; 046.20; 048.9; 045.15; 049.39

This is stated positively as:

Koyan-d_o u_m he w_o m-r_ur_e m_ok_o w_o ha m-d_ek

"Whatever I will tell you now, you will accept" (through elicitation).

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Two negation patterns – CFNM and DNM

• CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION: S V O Neg

Affirmative counterpart S V O

-all tense aspect is encoded as suffixes on the V or can be derived from the tense/aspect established for the discourse

• DOUBLE NEGATION: S Neg V O Neg

Affirmative counterpart S Cop [VO]_{VP^{NMLZ}}

-all tense aspect is encoded as suffixes on the Copula or can be derived from the tense/aspect established for the discourse

-event is contained within a nominalized VP that requires a copula

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Dryer's (2009) typology of VONeg order

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Dryer (2009: 4)

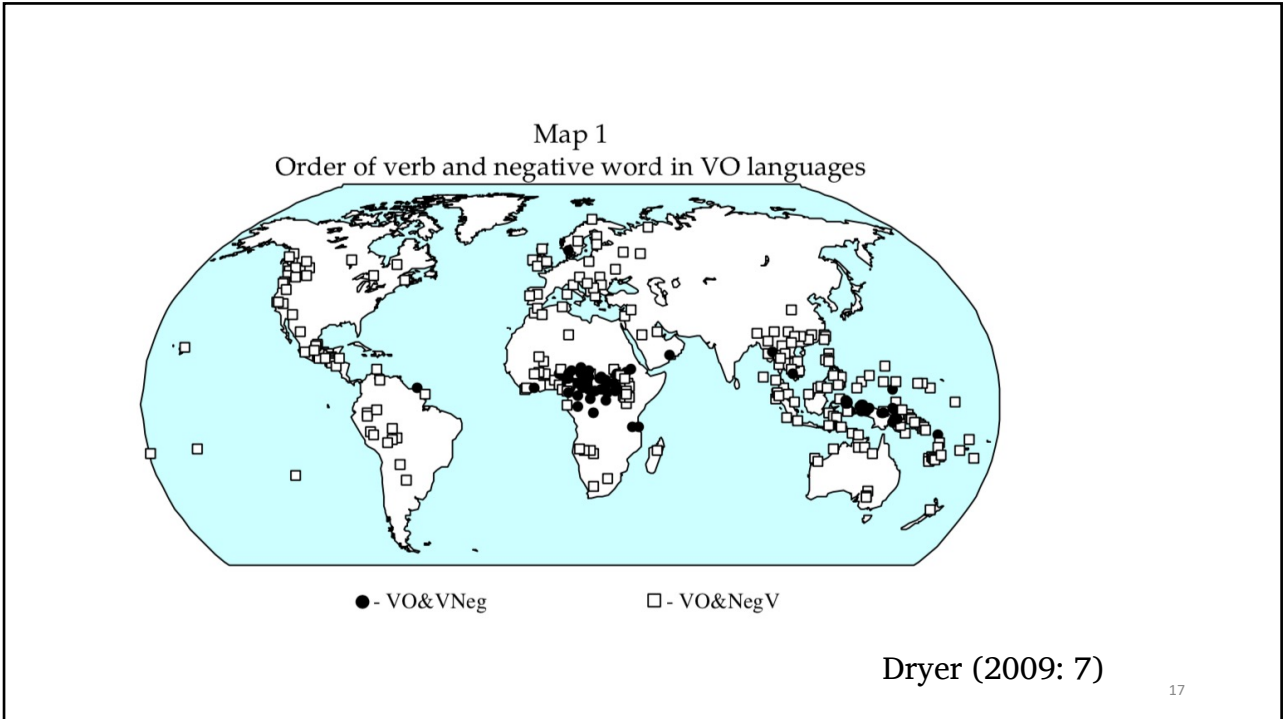
Table 1
Order of verb and negative word in VO languages

	Afr	Eur	SEA&O	AuNG	NAm	SAm	Total
VO&VNeg	18	1	5	9	0	1	34
VO&NegV	23	7	19	9	26	9	93

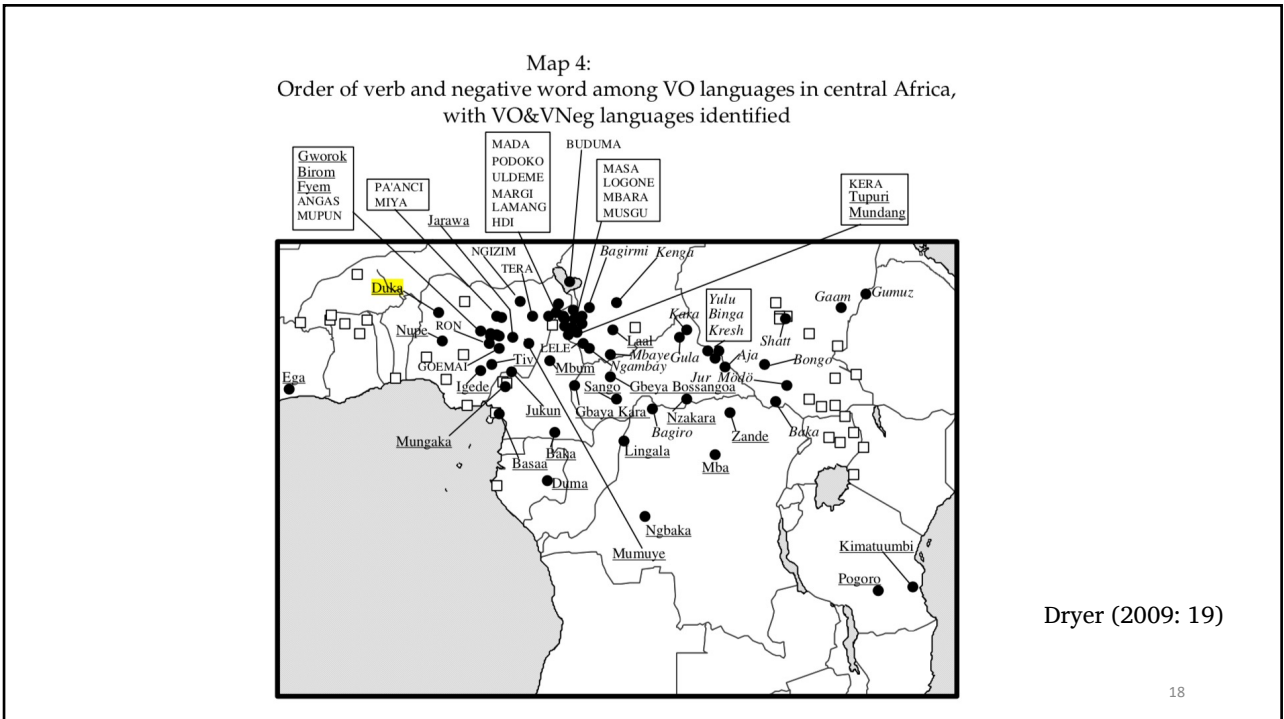
(Afr = Africa, Eur=Eurasia, SEA&O=Southeast Asia and Oceania, AuNG=Australia-New Guinea, NAm=North America, SAm=South America)

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Dryer's (2009) typology of negation

Includes:

- Neutral clause negatives
- Morphemes that negate an entire clause

Not concerned with:

- Negative pronouns
- Negatives with narrow focus

“with morphemes used to negate imperative clauses, nor constructions used for negating clauses with **nominal predicates**, in so far as these are different in a language from constructions for negating declarative clauses with verbal predicates.” (Dryer 2009: 2)

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Discussion

- Based on Dryer (2009) how would we classify C'Lela?
 - DNM is the only negation strategy
- What is ignored by not considering clauses with “nominal predicates” (Dryer 2009: 2 and Idiatov 2018: 123)?
 - For Ut-Ma'in looking at nominalization is the key to understanding when DNM/multiple exponence will occur.

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Discussion

- What else do Kainji languages have to teach us about multiple markers of negation?
 - Hungwere [nat] (Kamuku group, Kainji) shows 3-5 adjustments (depending on what you count) between an affirmative/negative pair of clauses.
 - Adjustments include
 - **tonal shift**: L → H on preverbal negative marker
 - **reappearance of final vowel** (FV)
 - which causes a change in **syllabification** across the clause:
CVC CVCVC → CV CVV CVCVCV
- CFNM negation leads to ambiguity in scope of negation.

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Explorations and explanations of negation patterns and cycles

- Jespersen cycle or Jespersen's cycle (Jespersen 1917; Dahl 1979)
- Negative Existential Cycle or the Croft cycle (Croft 1991; Kahrel 1996; Veselinova 2014)
- Dryer (2009) word order typology – VO&VNeg versus VO&NegV
- Beyer (2009) contact-induced grammaticalization of DNM
- Areal CFNM – “the most plausible account of synchronic patterns can only be gleaned by casting your net wide to catch more of the synchronic diversity, rather than by trying to reduce it.” (Idiatov 2018)
- Copulas and Nominalization (van der Auwera & Vossen 2017; several chapters within Veselinova & Hamari (*forthcoming*))

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Explorations and explanations of negation patterns and cycles

- Copulas and Nominalization (van der Auwera & Vossen 2017; several chapters within Veselinova & Hamari (*forthcoming*))

“Key notions discussed throughout the book include affirmative and negative existential constructions, the expansion of the latter into verbal negation, and subsequently from more specific to more general markers of negation. **Nominalizations** as well as the uses of negative existentials as standalone negative answers **figure among the most frequent pathways** whereby negative existentials **evolve as general negation markers.**” (excerpt from synopsis of Veselinova & Hamari *forthcoming*)

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Thank you!

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