NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BEJA
(NORTH-CUSHITIC)

Martine Vanhove, Llacan (CNRS-INALCO-Université Sorbonne Paris-Cité)

martine.vanhove@cnrs.fr

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OUTLINE

Introduction
1. Negation of stative predication
2. Phasal negation
3. Non-clausal negation
4. Indefinite negative pronouns
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6. Scope
Conclusion
- Eastern Sudan - 2,000,000 speakers
- Afroasiatic, Cushitic, North – 3 dialects
- SOV
- 3 nom. cases
- Bilingualism with Arabic
- Data from own fieldwork, mostly tales & few dialogues
✓ Paradigmatic asymmetry = Miestamo’s (2005) A/Cat/TAM type

✓ Imperfective, Perfective, Aorist, Perfect and Future, in Indicative affirmative

✓ But Perfective, Aorist and Perfect > Perfect in negative polarity

✓ Imperfective negative based on Perfective

✓ Proclitic negative particle $ka= / ki=$
(1) \textit{handi} \ wari=b \qquad \textit{ki}=\textit{hariw}

tree \ other^{\text{PL}=\text{INDF.M.ACC}} \quad \text{NEG.IPFC}=\text{seek}^{\text{PFV}.[3]}

‘He does not look for other wood.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_54_AA_gazelle_15)

(2) \textit{lawwa}:w-a:=b \qquad ka=a-ki

prowl^{\text{CVB.MNR}=\text{INDF.M.ACC}} \quad \text{NEG.IPFC}=1SG-become^{\text{PFV}}

‘I did/have not prowl(/ed) around.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_04_djinn_184)

(3) \textit{jam} \ g^{w}a-s-i=ho:k \qquad ka=a-di=aj

water \ drink^{\text{CAUS-AOR.1SG}=\text{OBJ.2SG}} \quad \text{NEG.IPFC}=1SG-say^{\text{PFV}=\text{COORD}}

‘I won’t give you water.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_39_Bafalib_26)
Other moods and clause types:

- \( ba=/ bi= \) + stem ablaut and inflection: “Optative”
- \( ba:/ bi:= \) + stem ablaut (and inflection): Prohibitive + simultaneity converb

(4) \( w=\text{?o}:r \quad ba:=hju \quad ha:j \quad gi:g-a \)
DEF.SG.M=child \ NEG.PROH=give\ PROH.SG.M COM \ leave-IMP.SG.M
‘Don’t give it to the boy, take it away!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_10_rabbit_60)

(5) \( ti=\text{dir}?a \quad \text{han} \quad ba=a-faga-am-aj \)
DEF.F=field also \ NEG.OPT=1SG-work-MID-OPT
‘May I not work in the field anymore!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_143)

(6) \( takat=t=\text{o}: \quad we:=t \quad bi=i-d?i:r=e:k \)
woman=INDEF.F=POSS.3SG.ACC \ other=INDEF.F \ NEG.OPT=3SG.M-marry\ OPT=if
‘If he does not marry another woman…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_23_LEZARD_126)
NEGATION OF STATIVE PREDICATION

- No special negator
- Similar to standard negation, and negation in dependent clauses

- *biri* ‘have’ (different from existential)
- Defective: no Perfective, Aorist used instead

(7) \[ w=he:lej \quad hande \quad ani \quad hasir \quad ho:j \]
\[ \text{DEF.SG.M=hare} \quad \text{DM} \quad 1\text{SG.NOM} \quad \text{need} \quad \text{ABL.3} \]

\[ ka=a-bari \]
\[ \text{NEG.IPFV=1SG-have\textbackslash IPFV} \]

‘But the hare, I do not need it!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_10_rabbit_55-56)
Affirmative: enclitic copula

Negative: verb ak ‘be, become’, with appropriate negative particle

(8) \( t\=\?a\text{no}\text{:}e\=t\=a \)

DEF.F=ewe=INDF.F=COP.3PL

‘They are the ewes.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_119)

(9) \( \text{ambara}:\quad bi\=i\text{-}ka\text{:\(j\)=}n\=e\=k \)

3PL.M.NOM NEG.OPT=3-become\OPT-PL=si

‘If it were not them’ (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_rich_sp2_197)
(10) \( baru:k \quad o:bana=wa \)
2SG.M.NOM  track-N.AGT=COP.2SG
‘Are you a tracker?’ (Roper 1928:102)

(11) \( himmad \quad fo:k-ana:=b \quad ki=i-ki \)
Muhammad  hunt-N.AGN=INDF.M  NEG.IPFW=3SG.M-become\PFV
‘Muhammad is not a hunter’ (MT)

(12) \( u:=tak \quad ama:g=i \)
DEF.SG.M.NOM=man  bad=COP.3SG
‘The man is bad.’ (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_rich_SP2_049)

(13) \( fawa:j \quad ka=a-ki=aj \)
free  NEG.IPFW=1SG-become\PFV=CSL
‘Since I am not free…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_285)
✓ 2\textsuperscript{nd} most frequent type of Velisinova (2013) (i.e. no special negative existential)

✓ Only two functions: existence and location

✓ Three locative verbs: \textit{faj}, \textit{haj} and \textit{da}: ‘be there’

✓ TAM marking

✓ \textit{haj}: no perfective, imperative and 1SG

Imperative

✓ \textit{faj}: cannot be negated

✓ None can be used as short answer or privative
NEGATION OF STATIVE PREDICATION

EXISTENTIAL

(14) $m\text{\textbar}ari=t$ han $o:=do:r$ be:b
food=IND.F also DEF.SG.M.ACC=time DIST.SG.M.ACC

$ki=t-ha:j=it$
NEG.IPV=3SG.F-be_there\pov=CSL
‘Since there is no food at that time either…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_46_tirik_062)

(15) $ittifa:g$ $bi=i-da:-ej=e:t$
agreement NEG.OPT=3SG.M-be_there-OPT=REL.F
to:=na:=t=i
DEF.SG.F.ACC=thing=IND.F=COP.3SG
‘There should not be an agreement.’ (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP1_192)
✓ Same constructions as existential
✓ But restrictions on use of *da:, mostly for abstract notions

(16)  *hoːj  ki=haːj=ejt
      ABL.3    NEG.IP=FV=be_there\PFV.[3SG.M]=CSL
      ‘As there are none in there…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_27_goat_174)

(17)  *mi-rkʷa:j  hoː  ka=daː:jə
      N.AC=fear  1SG.DAT NEG.IP=FV=be_there-PFV.3SG.M  only

      *i=ginʔ=iːb
      DEF.M=heart=LOC.SG
      Nevertheless, fear is not in my heart.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_Eritrea_220)
✓ Not obligatory
✓ Rare in natural data
✓ Three constructions: han ‘also’, faːwi ‘again’, ʔagija ‘anew’ + negative verb
✓ han and ʔagija precede the verb
✓ faːwi follows the verb
(18) \( ti=dir?a\) \( han\) \( ba=a-faga-am-aj\)  
DEF.F=field also NEG.OPT=1SG-work-MID-OPT  
‘May I not work in the field anymore!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_143)

(19) \( ani=wa\) \( baru:k=wa\) \( ki=n-am-da~d?ar\)  
1SG.NOM=COORD 2SG.M.NOM=COORD NEG.IPV=1PL-RECP-PLAC~marry\PFV  
\( fa:wi\)  
again  
‘Me and you, we won’t be husband and wife anymore.’  
(BEJ_MV_NARR_23_lezard_075-076)

(20) \( t?a\) \( w=?agija\) \( i:-bd?an\) \( ka=a-di=aj\)  
now DEF.SG.M=anew FUT.SG-forget\INT NEG.IPV=1SG-say\PFV=CSL  
‘Now, I won’t forget him anymore!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_13_grave_080)
✓ Dental click or full paradigm of Imperfective negative of *ak* ‘be, become’

(21) - $t_i=j?a$
   DEF.f=milk
- *na:=t*
   thing=IND.F
- *ho:j*
   ABL.3
- *t-?if-a*
   2-let\PFV-SG.M
- *k^w_i:k^w?aj*
   crow

- *ka=a-ki*
  NEG.IP=1SG-become\PFV
- ‘Did you leave some milk from it, Crow?’
- ‘No!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_332-334)
✓ Means ‘no’ in negative replies to negative polar questions

(22)  - Ahmed nʔir-a:=b
       Ahmed cure-CVB.MNR=INDF.M
       ‘Has not Ahmed healed?’

       - ki=i-ki
          NEG.IPVF=3SG.M-become\PFV
          ‘No, he has not.’ (MT)
✓ Three constructions, depending on category of scope
✓ Particle *anu* ‘without’ with nouns

(23) *kibir anu a:di tak i-kaj=t*

   pride   without  normal  man   3SG.M-become\(\text{PFV=COORD}\)

   ‘He became a normal man without pride.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_31_king_94)
✓ Before motion verbs: General converb of *ʔiʃ* ‘let’ when scope on zero 3rd pers. pronouns

(24) ʔiʃ-\text{ti} gi:g-\text{i:ni}  
\begin{footnotesize}let-CVB.GNRL\end{footnotesize} leave-IPFV.3SG.M  
‘He leaves without them.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_289)

✓ Negative simultaneity converb when clausal scope

(25) ba:=hagi:t gi:g-a  
\begin{footnotesize}NEG.PROH=wait\end{footnotesize}\begin{footnotesize}CVB.SMLT\end{footnotesize} leave-IMP.SG.M  
‘Without waiting, go away!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_25_orphan_260)
✓ No indefinite pronouns proper
✓ Generic noun naː ‘thing’ and numeral gaːl ‘one’ / PL gaːli / gaːl naː (for animates)
✓ gaːl cannot be used in negative utterances
✓ naː or tak ‘man’ are used instead with a negative verb, depending on syntactic function
(27)  
\[ ga:l \, d\varphi ab\varphi a:=t=\circ: \, o:n \, i=su:g=i:b \]  
\text{one \ coffee=} \text{IND.F=} \text{POSS.3SG.ACC} \text{ PROX.SG.M.ACC} \text{ DEF.M=} \text{market=} \text{LOC.SG}  

dann?i=ho:b  
do\text{\textbackslash PFV.}[3\text{SG.M}]=\text{when}  
‘When someone is making his coffee at the market.’  
(BEJ_MV_NARR_11_coffee_01-02)  

(28)  
\[ an\varphi \, ti=fina=t=i \, ga:l \, na:-i \, ge:b \]  
1\text{SG.NOM} \text{ DEF.F=} \text{spear=} \text{IND.F=} \text{POSS.1SG.ACC} \text{ one \ thing-GEN} \text{ beside}  

da:-s-an=it  
\text{be}\text{\_there-CAUS-PFV.1SG=CSL}  
‘I put my spear next to someone’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_49_well_062-063)
(29)    *tak  ba:*=sak*\textsuperscript{w}hi:
       man    NEG.OPT=follow\textbackslash CVB.SMLT
        ‘While no one follows her...’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_55_tanduuy_114)

(30)    *w*=ha:*f=i:b  han  na:*=t  *ki=i-ke:*n
      DEF.SG.M=land=LOC.SG also  thing=\textsuperscript{INDF.F}  NEG.IPVF=3-become\textbackslash PFV-PL
    [The people in this country flew away from her] ‘In the country, there is no one even.’ (lit. (the people) are nothing)
    (BEJ_MV_NARR_33_teeth_31-32)
(31)  \( ti-fik \quad na: \quad ti:-fi \)
3SG.F-hunt\PFV  thing  3SG.F-be\_there\AOR
‘There was something that hunted it.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_261)

(32)  \( na:=t \quad he:=ho:n \)
thing=INDNF.F  give\IMP.[SG.M]=OBJ.1PL
‘Give us something!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_50_fox\_hunt_171)

(33)  \( na: \quad dha:j \quad ka=?e:ta \)
thing  DIR  NEG.IPVF=come\PFV.3SG.F
‘Nothing came to it.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_071)

(34)  \( na:=t \quad ho:k \quad bi=i-d?i:-n=e:k \)
thing=INDNF.F  2SG.DAT  NEG.OPT=3-do\OPT-PL=if
‘If they don’t do anything to you…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_08_drunkard_067)
“Ordinary” negation often used with positive value as understatement

(35) winne:t ho:j qib-a=b
plenty ABL.3 fall-CVB.MNR=INDF.M.ACC

ki=i-ki=ajt
NEG.IPfv=3SG.M-become\PFV=COORD
‘He is furious against him, and…’ (lit. he has not fallen a lot from him) (BEJ_MV_NARR_38_ostrich_143-144)

(36) dijar-an=e:k ka=a-kan
be_tired-PFV.1SG=if NEG.IPfv=1SG-know\MID.PFV
‘I am really exhausted.’ (lit. I don’t know if I am tired)
(BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_165)
✓ => Emphatic/contrastive negation with auxiliary *rib* ‘refuse’ + verbo-nominal form

✓ Limited to Perfective

(37)  
\[ 
\begin{align*} 
girf = e & : h i - a t & i - r i b \\
\text{money} = \text{POSS.3PL.ACC} & \text{give-VN} & \text{3SG.M-refuse\textbackslash PFV} \\
\text{‘He did not give them their money.’} & \text{(BEJ_MV_CONV_01_rich_SP1_097)} 
\end{align*} 
\]

(38)  
\[ 
\begin{align*} 
\text{fibib-at} & \ a - r i b = e : k \\
\text{look-VN} & \ 1 \text{SG-refuse\textbackslash PFV}=\text{if} \\
\text{‘If I had not looked…’} & \text{(BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_349)} 
\end{align*} 
\]
If biclausal, first verb is either a masdar or the general converb

*rib* has full paradigm

(39) \[ e:=jam \quad ti=sito:b-o:j \quad i-nri:b=ho:b \]
DEF.PL.M.ACC=water  DEF.F=convey-N.AC  3SG.M-refuse\IPFV=when
‘When he refuses to bring water…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_48_milk_044)

(40) \[ d?ir-ti \quad i-rib-na \]
marry-CVB.GNRL  3-refuse\PFV-PL
‘They refused to marry (me).’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_36_HUNCHBACK_520)
In complex utterances, scope of negation is only on clause with negative verb

(41) ho:j da:-jan=i da:j ka=a-kan
    ABL.3  be_there_PFV.1SG=REL  be_there\N.AC  NEG.IPFW=1SG-know\MID.PFW
    ‘I don’t know how I did it.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_03_camel_221)
✓ Paradigmatic asymmetry of SN (TAM), historically conditioned for Imperfective
✓ SN indicative ≠ mood & in dependent clauses
✓ Imperative ≠ from Prohibitive (2nd most frequent type in WALS) in 1 verb class
✓ Prohibitive marker = negative of nonfinite verb
✓ Phasal negation and indefinite (negative) pronouns not grammaticalized, various strategies
No special negator for stative predication

- Equational = proper inclusion = attribution clauses: categorial asymmetry
- ≠ from possessive predication
- ≠ from existential/locative predication
- Three locative verbs, with restrictions on polarity for one, on TAM for another, and on semantics for the third
✓ Three strategies for ‘without’ depending on category of scope

✓ Very different from other Cushitic languages

✓ No influence of Arabic, or Nubian
Thank you!