NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BEJA (NORTH-CUSHITIC)

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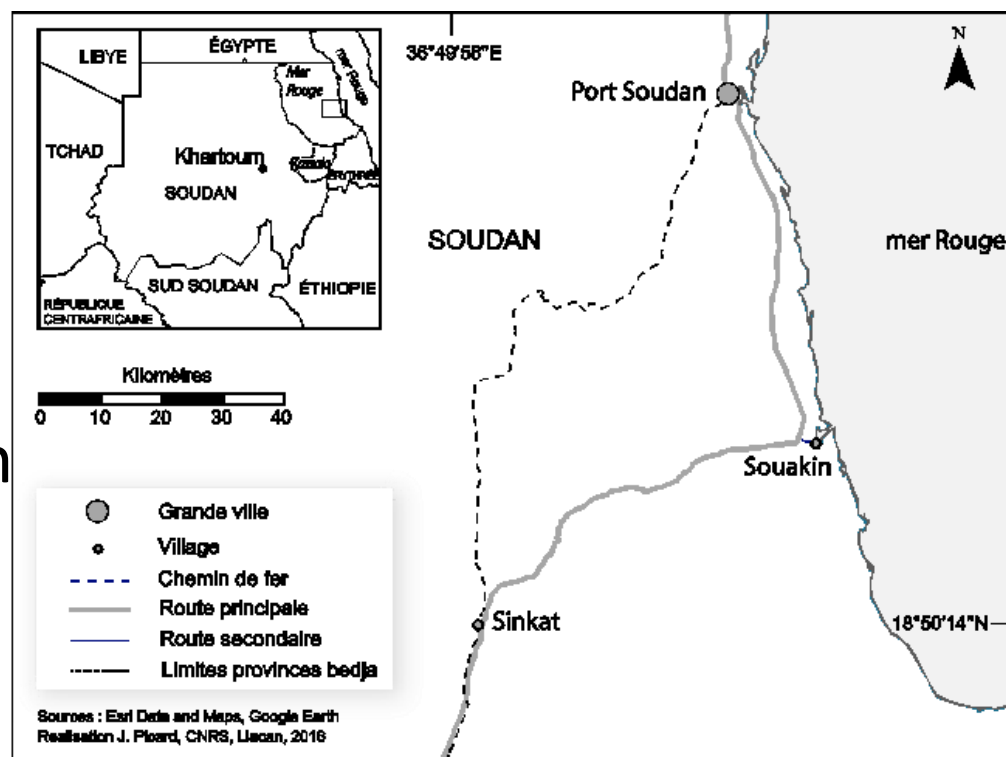
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Introduction

1. Negation of stative predication

2. Phasal negation

3. Non-clausal negation

4. Indefinite negative pronouns

5. Emphatic negation

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

STANDARD NEGATION

✓ 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) *handi   wari=b*   *ki=hariw*
tree   other\PL=INDF.M.ACC   NEG.IPFV=seek\PFV.[3]
'He does not look for other wood.' (BEJ_MV_NARR_54_AA_gazelle_15)

(2) *lawwaːw-aː=b*   *ka=a-ki*
prowl-CVB.MNR=INDF.M.ACC   NEG.IPFV=1SG-become\PFV
'I did/have not prowl(/ed) around.' (BEJ_MV_NARR_04_djinn_184)

(3) *jam   gʷʔa-s-i=hoːk*   *ka=a-di=aj*
water   drink-CAUS-AOR.1SG=OBJ.2SG   NEG.IPFV=1SG-say\PFV=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"
- *baː= / biː=* + stem ablaut (and inflection): Prohibitive + simultaneity converb

(4) *w=ʔoːr   baː=hju   haːj   giːg-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=dirʔa   han   ba=a-ʃaga-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=oː   weː=t   bi=i-dʔiːr=eːk*
woman=INDF.F=POSS.3SG.ACC   other=INDF.F   NEG.OPT=3SG.M-marry\OPT=if
'If he does not marry another woman…' (BEJ_MV_NARR_23_LEZARD_126)

✓ No special negator

✓ Similar to standard negation, and negation in dependent clauses

POSSESSIVE

✓ *biri* 'have' (different from existential)

✓ Defective: no Perfective, Aorist used instead

(7) *w=he:lej*   *hande* *ani*   *hasir* *ho:j*
     DEF.SG.M=hare   DM   1SG.NOM   need   ABL.3

ka=a-bari
NEG.IPFV=1SG-have\IPFV
'But the hare, I do not need it!' (BEJ_MV_NARR_10_rabbit_55-56)

EQUATIONAL, PROPER INCLUSION AND ATTRIBUTION CLAUSES

✓ Affirmative: enclitic copula

✓ Negative: verb *ak* 'be, become', with appropriate negative particle

EQUATIONAL

(8) *t=ʔano:=t=a*
DEF.F=ewe=INDF.F=COP.3PL
'They are the ewes.' (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_119)

(9) *ambara:*   *bi=i-ka: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)

PROPER INCLUSION

(10) *baru:k*   *o:bana=wa*
2SG.M.NOM   track-N.AGT=COP.2SG
'Are you a tracker?' (Roper 1928:102)

(11) *himmad*   *ʃo:k-ana:=b*   *ki=i-ki*
Muhammad   hunt-N.AGN=INDF.M   NEG.IPFV=3SG.M-become\PFV
'Muhammad is not a hunter' (MT)

ATTRIBUTION

(12) *u:=tak*   *ama:g=i*
DEF.SG.M.NOM=man   bad=COP.3SG
'The man is bad.' (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_rich_SP2_049)

(13) *ʃawa:j*   *ka=a-ki=aj*
free   NEG.IPFV=1SG-become\PFV=CSL
'Since I am not free…' (BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_285)

EXISTENTIAL

- ✓ 2nd most frequent type of Velisinova (2013) (i.e. no special negative existential)

- ✓ Only two functions: existence and location

- ✓ Three locative verbs: *faj, haj* and *da*: 'be there'

- ✓ TAM marking

- ✓ *haj:* no perfective, imperative and 1SG Imperfective

- ✓ *faj:* cannot be negated

- ✓ None can be used as short answer or privative

EXISTENTIAL

(14)   *mʔari=t*   *han*   *oː=doːr*   *beːb*
          food=INDF.F also   DEF.SG.M.ACC=time DIST.SG.M.ACC

          ki=t-haːj=it
          NEG.IPFV=3SG.F-be_there\PFV=CSL
          'Since there is no food at that time either…' (BEJ_MV_NARR_46_tirik_062)

(15)   *ittifaːg*   *bi=i-daː-ej=eːt*
          agreement   NEG.OPT=3SG.M-be_there-OPT=REL.F
          toː=naː=t=i
          DEF.SG.F.ACC=thing=INDF.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 *daː*, mostly for abstract notions

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

(17) *mi-rkʷaj   hoː: ka=daː-ja   nuːn*
N.AC-fear   1SG.DAT   NEG.IPFV=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', *ʃaːwi* 'again', *ʔagija* 'anew' + negative verb

✓ *han* and *ʔagija* precede the verb

✓ *ʃaːwi* follows the verb

(18) *ti=dirʔa*   *han*   *ba=a-ʃaga-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*   *baruːk=wa*   *ki=n-am-da~dʔar*
1SG.NOM=COORD   2SG.M.NOM=COORD   NEG.IPFV=1PL-RECP-PLAC~marry\PFV

ʃaːwi
again
'Me and you, we won't be husband and wife anymore.'
(BEJ_MV_NARR_23_lezard_075-076)

(20) *tʔa*   *w=ʔagija*   *iː-bɖan*   *ka=a-di=aj*
now   DEF.SG.M=anew   FUT.SG-forget\INT   NEG.IPFV=1SG-say\PFV=CSL
'Now, I won't forget him anymore!' (BEJ_MV_NARR_13_grave_080)

14

✓ Dental click or full paradigm of Imperfective negative of *ak* 'be, become'

(21)   - *ti=jʔa*   *naː=t*   *hoːj*   *t-ʔiʃ-a*   *kʷiːkʷʔaj*
         DEF.f=milk   thing=INDF.F   ABL.3   2-let\PFV-SG.M   crow

       - *ka=a-ki*
         NEG.IPFV=1SG-become\PFV
       - 'Did you leave some milk from it, Crow?'
       - 'No!' (BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_332-334)

NO

✓ Means 'no' in negative replies to negative polar questions

(22) - *Ahmed*   *nʔir-aː=b*   *ki=i-ki*   *han?*
        Ahmed   cure-CVB.MNR=INDF.M   NEG.IPFV=3SG.M-become\PFV   ADV.Q
      'Has not Ahmed healed?'

      - *ki=i-ki*
        NEG.IPFV=3SG.M-become\PFV
      'No, he has not.' (MT)

16

WITHOUT

✓ 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\PFV=COORD
      'He became a normal man without pride.' (BEJ_MV_NARR_31_king_94)

WITHOUT

✓ Before motion verbs: General converb of *ʔiʃ* 'let' when scope on zero 3rd pers. pronouns

(24) *ʔiʃ-ti*   *giːg-iːni*
      let-CVB.GNRL   leave-IPFV.3SG.M
      'He leaves without them.' (BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_289)

✓ Negative simultaneity converb when clausal scope

(25) *baː=hagiːt*   *giːg-a*
      NEG.PROH=wait\CVB.SMLT   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

SOMEBODY

(27) *ga:l*   *dʒabana:=t=o:*   *o:n*   *i=su:g=i:b*
one   coffee=INDF.F=POSS.3SG.ACC   PROX.SG.M.ACC   DEF.M=market=LOC.SG

dannʔi=ho:b
do\IPFV.[3SG.M]=when
'When someone is making his coffee at the market..'
(BEJ_MV_NARR_11_coffee_01-02)

(28) *ani*   *ti=fina=t=i*   *ga:l*   *na:-i*   *ge:b*
1SG.NOM   DEF.F=spear=INDF.F=POSS.1SG.ACC   one   thing-GEN   beside

da:-s-an=it
be_there-CAUS-PFV.1SG=CSL
'I put my spear next to someone' (BEJ_MV_NARR_49_well_062-063)

(29) *tak* *ba:=sak^whi:*
      man   NEG.OPT=follow\CVB.SMLT
      'While no one follows her…' (BEJ_MV_NARR_55_tanduuy_114)

(30) *w=ha:ʃ=i:b*   *han* *na:=t*   *ki=i-ke:-n*
      DEF.SG.M=land=LOC.SG also   thing=INDF.F   NEG.IPFV=3-become\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)

SOMETHING

(31) *ti-ʃik*   *na:*   *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*   *he:=ho:n*
      thing=INDF.F   give\IMP.[SG.M]=OBJ.1PL
      'Give us something!' (BEJ_MV_NARR_50_fox_hunt_171)

NOTHING

(33) *na:*   *dha:j*   *ka=ʔe:ta*
      thing   DIR   NEG.IPFV=come\PFV.3SG.F
      'Nothing came to it.' (BEJ_MV_NARR_16_Prophet_Fox_071)

(34) *na:=t*   *ho:k*   *bi=i-dʔi:-n=e:k*
      thing=INDF.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)

23

✓ => Emphatic/contrastive negation with auxiliary *rib* 'refuse' + verbo-nominal form

✓ Limited to Perfective

(37) *girʃ=eː*   *hi-at*   *i-rib*
      money=POSS.3PL.ACC   give-VN   3SG.M-refuse\PFV
      'He did not give them their money.' (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_rich_SP1_097)

(38) *ʃibib-at*   *a-rib=eːk*
      look-VN   1SG-refuse\PFV=if
      'If I had not looked…' (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_349)

✓ If biclausal, first verb is either a masdar or the general converb

✓ *rib* has full paradigm

(39)   *eː=jam*   *ti=sitoːb-oːj*   *i-nriːb=hoːb*
       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)   *dʔir-ti*   *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.IPFV=1SG-know\MID.PFV
'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!