



## 2 Background

- Nurse (2008) gives the following structure for the Kirundi verb:

(3) **NEG**<sub>1</sub> + SM + **NEG**<sub>2</sub> + TA + [OM + [[root + extension] + FV]] + Post-FV

- *Primary* negation is located in the pre-subject marker (Pre-SM) position.
- *Secondary* negation is located in the **NEG**<sub>2</sub> position (or Post-SM).
- Most of the literature also contrasts these types of negation due to their location relative to the verb root.

### 2.1 Negation

#### 2.1.1 Primary Negation

- *Primary* negation is located in the pre-subject marker position.
- In most cases, *primary* negation surfaces as the morpheme *nti-*:

(4) Yohani ntiyafunguye.  
/Yohani **nti**-a-a-funguye/  
John **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-1S-REC.PST-eat.PFV  
'Yohani didn't eat.'

- When there is a first-person subject, *nti-* surfaces as *si-*:

(5) a. Mu bisanzwe sinfuúnguura imihwi.  
/mu bisanzwe **si-n**-fuúngur-a imihwi/  
in usually **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-**1SG.S**-eat-FV 4banana  
'I usually do not eat bananas.'

b. Mu bisanzwe ntafuúngura imihwi.  
/mu bisanzwe **nti-a**-fuúngur-a imihwi/  
in usually **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-**1s**-eat-FV 4banana  
'He usually does not eat bananas.'

- *nti-* appears to dissimilate phonologically to the first-person subject agreement marker *n*.
- Since this behaviour is phonologically driven, I will treat *nti-* and *si-* the same.

#### 2.1.2 Secondary Negation

- *Secondary* negation, is located in the **NEG**<sub>2</sub> position (i.e. post-subject marker position).
- The *ta-* prefix can also surface as (Goldsmith & Sabimana 1985):
  1. *da-* before a voiceless obstruent, due to *Dahl's law* (voice dissimilation between sequential voiceless stops), and
  2. *t-* when it occurs before a vowel.
- The most important distinction between this negation and *primary* negation is that the latter cannot be embedded:

(6) a. \*Keezá yaguze igitabo Juma ntiyasómye.  
/Keezá a-a-guze igitabo Juma **nti**-a-a-sómye/  
Keezá 1S-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book Juma **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-1S-REC.PST-read.PFV

- b. Keezá yaguze                      igitabo Juma atasómye.  
 /Keezá a-a-guze                      igitabo Juma a-**t(a)**-a-sómye/  
 Keezá 1S-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book Juma 1S-NEG<sub>2</sub>-REC.PST-read.PFV  
 ‘Keeza bought a book that Juma did not read.’

- In addition, *secondary* negation can never surface in matrix clauses. *Primary* negation is used instead:

- (7) a. \*Yohani yataguze                      igitabo  
 /Yohani a-**t(a)**-a-guze                      igitabo/  
 John 1S-NEG<sub>2</sub>-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book
- b. Yohani ntiyaguze                      igitabo.  
 /Yohani **nti**-a-a-guze                      igitabo/  
 John NEG<sub>1</sub>-1S-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book  
 ‘John did not buy a book.’

Concisely, negating a matrix clause requires *primary* negation; *secondary* negation must be used when negating a subordinate clause.

- When negating a sentence involving A'-movement, *secondary* negation must be used instead of *primary* negation:

- (8) *Subject extraction:*
- a. \*Niindé ntiyabonye                      umugabo?  
 /ni-ndé **nti**-a-a-bonye                      umugabo/  
 COP-who NEG<sub>1</sub>-1S-REC.PST-see.PFV 1man
- b. Niindé atabonye                      umugabo?  
 /ni-ndé a-**t(a)**-a-bonye                      umugabo/  
 COP-who 1S-NEG<sub>2</sub>-REC.PST-see.PFV 1man  
 ‘Who did not see a man?’

- (9) *Object extraction:*
- a. \*Niindé Yohani ntiyabonye?  
 /ni-ndé Yohani **nti**-a-a-bonye/  
 COP-who John NEG<sub>1</sub>-1S-REC.PST-see.PFV
- b. Niindé Yohani atabonye?  
 /ni-ndé Yohani a-**t(a)**-a-bonye/  
 COP-who John 1S-REC.PST-NEG<sub>2</sub>-see.PFV  
 ‘Who did John not see?’

- Additionally, *primary* negation cannot occur inside a relative clause whilst *secondary* negation can:

- (10) a. \*Ibitabo<sub>i</sub> Yohani ntiyásomye                      t<sub>i</sub> ...  
 /ibitabo<sub>i</sub> Yohani **nti**-a-á-somye                      t<sub>i</sub> .../  
 8book John NEG<sub>1</sub>-1S-REM.PST-read.PFV
- b. Ibitabo<sub>i</sub> Yohani ataásomye                      t<sub>i</sub> ...  
 /ibitabo<sub>i</sub> Yohani a-**ta**-á-somye                      t<sub>i</sub> .../  
 8book John 1S-NEG<sub>2</sub>-REM.PST-read.PFV  
 ‘Books that John didn’t read ...’

(Ndayiragije 1999)

**Summary:**

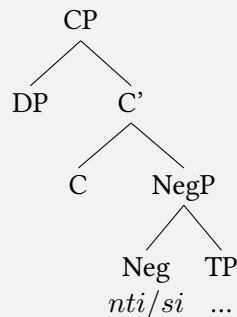
- The two types of negation mentioned are in complementary distribution:
  - *Primary* negation occurs in matrix clauses.
  - *Secondary* negation occurs in subordinate clauses or following A'-movement.
- How can we account for this distribution?

### 3 The Structure of Negation

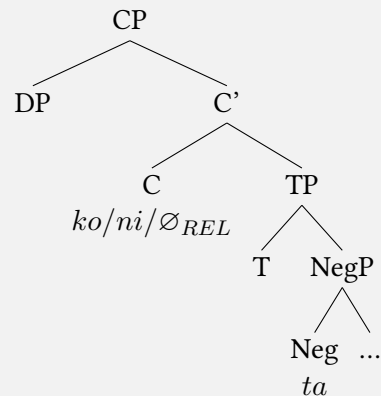
**Goal** is to show that:

- In matrix clauses, (*primary*) negation selects a TP complement (11).
- In subordinate clauses or following A'-movement, TP selects for (*secondary*) negation (12).

(11) Matrix:



(12) Subordinate & A'-movement:



**Evidence:**

1. Functional projection(s) of Negation.
2. Phonologically null relative particle ( $\emptyset_{REL}$ ) that occurs in C.
3. C usually selects negation, but relevant C particles select for finiteness instead.

#### 3.1 Negation in the Literature

**Argument:** Negation has 2 projections, one that selects a TP and the other that is select by T.

- Based on Kitagawa (1986), Kayne (1989), and Pollock (1989), I will assume that negation heads its own functional projection, where *nti/si/ta* are heads.
- In Zulu, *primary* negation is said to be in a syntactic head higher than subject marking, towards the top of the inflectional domain (Buell 2011).
- It is also common for languages to have multiple projections for negation (Zanuttini 1997).
- Ngonyani (2002) argues two points specifically relevant to this analysis:
  1. One NegP selects for TP.
  2. The other is itself selected by TP.

These could explain how *primary* and *secondary* negation occur in distinct positions.

### 3.2 Relative Clauses

**Argument:** Kirundi has a phonologically null relative particle ( $\emptyset_{REL}$ ).

- As with Kirundi, in *Haya* (Great Lakes Bantu) there are two distinct negation positions and forms.
- One is used in matrix clauses and the other in relative clauses:

(13) In *Haya*:

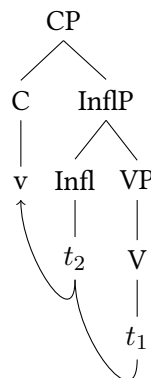
a. Abantu ba Kanyigo tibakayombekile shule.  
 /abantu ba Kanyigo **ti**-ba-ka-yombek-ile shule/  
 2person of Kanyigo **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-2S-RP-build.PFV school  
 ‘Kanyigo people have not built the school.’

b. Abataashome tibaasinge mitiani.  
 /a-ba-**ta**-a-shom-e ti-ba-a-sing-e mitiani/  
**REL**-2S-**NEG**<sub>2</sub>-PST-study-SUBJ **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-2S-PST-pass-SUBJ exams  
 ‘Those who will not study will not pass the exams.’<sup>1</sup>

(Ngonyani 2002)

- Ngonyani (1996, 2000, 2002) argues that verbs moves to C through Infl in Bantu languages:

(14)



- More specifically, Ngonyani (2002) argues that the verb should move up to C<sup>0</sup> in relative clauses.
- This can account for Subject-verb inversion (*viz.* OVS):

(15) In *Shona* (Shona S.10):

Mbatya dzavakasonera vakadzi mwenga.  
 /mbatya **dza**-v-aka-son-era vakadzi mw-eng-a á/  
 10clothes **10REL**-2S-TN-sew-APL 2women 1bride

‘clothes which the women sewed for the bride.’

(Ngonyani 2002)

- The relative marker is always followed by both the subject agreement and tense markers.
- Although, in languages with a relative marker separate from the verb, this inversion construction is not realized.
- The relative marker instead occurs in C<sup>0</sup> on its own without the verb:

<sup>1</sup>Note that this is a free relative clause.

(16) In *Sotho* (Sotho-Tswana S.30):

Setula seo basadi baserekileng kajeno.  
 /setula **seo** basadi ba-se-rek-ile-ng kajeno/  
 7chair 7**REL** 2women 2s-7o-buy-PFV-RL today

‘the chair which the women bought today’

(Ngonyani 2002)

- Contrarily to Bantu languages like *Sotho*, *Shona*, or *Haya*, Kirundi does not have a relativizer prefix or particle.
- However, the subject-verb inversion construction is still prohibited:

(17) a. \*Ibitabo atasómye<sub>i</sub> Yohani *t<sub>i</sub>* biri ku meeza.  
 /Ibitabo a-**t(a)**-a-sómye<sub>i</sub> Yohani *t<sub>i</sub>* bi-ri ku neeza/  
 8book 1s-**NEG**<sub>2</sub>-REC.PST-read.PFV<sub>i</sub> John *t<sub>i</sub>* 8-COP on 9table  
 ‘Books that John didn’t read are on the table.’

b. Ibitabo Yohani atasómye biri ku meeza.  
 /Ibitabo Yohani a-**t(a)**-a-sómye bi-ri ku neeza/  
 8book John 1s-**NEG**<sub>2</sub>-REC.PST-read.PFV 8-COP on 9table  
 ‘Books that John didn’t read are on the table.’

I argue that Kirundi has a phonologically null relative particle ( $\emptyset_{REL}$ ) because verb movement to  $C^0$  is blocked.

### 3.3 C Selection for Finiteness

#### Arguments:

- The following are located in C and select for finiteness:
  1. *ni* copula (focus clauses and *wh*-questions),
  2. subordinate marker *ko*, and
  3. null relative particle  $\emptyset_{REL}$ .

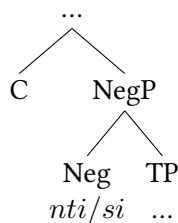
- I first assume that both the complementizer (*ko*) and copulas (*ni/si*) can be found in the C head based on Gatchalian (2022).
- As with relative clauses, in clauses containing these particles, *secondary* negation must occur:

(18) Ni ibitabo Yohani ataáguze.  
 /**ni** ibitabo yohani a-**ta**-á-guze/  
**COP** 8book John 1s-**NEG**<sub>2</sub>-REM.PST-buy.PFV  
 ‘It’s books John didn’t buy.’

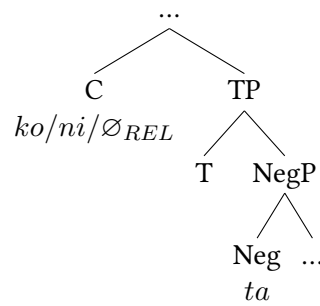
(19) Keezá arázi ko Juma atasomye igitabo.  
 /Keezá a-rá-zi **ko** Juma a-**ta**-somye i-gi-tabo/  
 Keezá 1s-DJ-know **c** Juma 1s-**NEG**<sub>2</sub>-read.PFV 7book  
 ‘Keeza knows that Juma didn’t read a book.’

- Ngonyani (2002) states that if a NegP is selected by C, “the relative marker will fail to govern TP”.
- Thus, I argue that subordinate and copula markers in the C head also have a property which selects for finiteness.
- In the relevant contexts, particles occurring in C<sup>0</sup> block negation and select for finiteness instead:
  1. In both focus clauses and *wh*-questions, the copula *ni* selects a TP.
  2. In subordinate clauses, *ko* also selects a TP.
  3. In relative clauses  $\emptyset_{REL}$  (null particle) fills the C head and selects for a TP.
    - This strengthens the previous argument for a null relative particle ( $\emptyset_{REL}$ ).
- When the C head is empty, it can select for a NegP, but when filled by those above, C selects for finiteness instead.

(20)

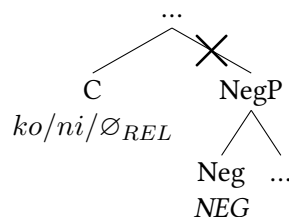


(21)



- Zanuttini (1996) states that a negation projection can only occur when it selects for a TP as its (obligatory) complement.
- Preferably, negation is selected by C which in turn selects a TP complement.
- In subordinate clauses or following A'-movement, this isn't the case because the C<sup>0</sup> position is filled with a finiteness selection feature.

(22)



- To solve this, a Neg projection being selected by TP is the only way for negation to occur within these types of clauses.
- This analysis accounts for the distribution of *primary* and *secondary* negation in Kirundi.
  1. The “default” case is *primary* negation, which occurs to the left of the TP. This Neg head then selects for a TP as its complement.
  2. In cases where it is not possible, *secondary* negation must be used as an alternative.

Overall, “the asymmetry between matrix clauses and [the remaining] clauses can be characterized as NegP selecting TP in matrix clauses, and NegP selected by TP [alternatively]” (Ngonyani 2002).

## 4 Illocutionary Polarity

### Arguments:

1. *Primary* negation has inherent focus, like the conjoint.
2. *Secondary* negation only involves polarity focus.

- The different locations of these two negations suggests that they are also functionally different.
- Givón (1975) and Horn (1989) argue that in many languages, there are two types of negation.
- In addition, Gibson (2008) states that:
  - *Primary* negation can be associated with denial (i.e. contradiction, opposition, contrast).
  - *Secondary* negation is more of a descriptive (i.e. just stating a fact).
- There are three principle facts about negation in Kirundi, and other Bantu languages, that are relevant to this puzzle:
  1. Many in the literature assert that negation has an inherent focus property (Givón 1978; Heine and Reh 1983; Marchese 1983; Hyman and Watters 1984; Güldemann 1996; Güldemann 1999; Güldemann 2007; Scott 2021).
  2. In Kirundi, negation cannot occur with the “anti-focus” marker *ra-* (Ndayiragije 1999).
  3. Both *primary* negation and the disjoint cannot be embedded and are incompatible with focus constructions (as well as other types of A'-movement) (Goldsmith & Sabimana 1985; Ntahokaja 1994; Lafkioui et al. 2016).

### 4.1 The Conjoint/Disjoint (and Focus)

- Kirundi has a conjoint/disjoint distinction:
  - The conjoint is claimed to focus both the verb and the post-verbal element while the disjoint does not (Van der Wal 2015).
  - The disjoint, represented by the *ra-*, is sometimes referred to as the “anti-focus” marker.
- When no post-verbal element is present, the conjoint cannot be used since nothing is being focused (Van der Spuy 1993; Buell 2005; Halpert 2015; Zeller 2021):

(23) Abáàna baárayanyóòye.  
/abáàna ba-á-\*(**ra**)-ya-nyóòye/  
children 2S-PST-**DJ**-CL-drink.PFV  
'Children drank it.' (Ndayiragije 1999)

- According to Ndayiragije (1999), sentences receive a neutral reading when the disjoint is used.
- I reason that, unlike *primary* negation, the disjoint blocks focus on the post-verbal *wh*-word.
- In *in situ wh*-questions the disjoint is disallowed:

(24) Keezá yaguze iki?  
/Keezá a-a-\*(**ra**)-guze iki/  
Keeza 1S-REC.PST-**DJ**-buy.PFV what  
'What did Keeza buy?'



- In contrast, *primary* negation is compatible with this focus construction:

(25) Yohani ntiyabóonye                      nde?  
 /Yohani **nti**-a-a-bóonye                      nde/  
 John **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-1S-REC.PST-see.PFV who  
 ‘Who did John not see?’

- Nonetheless, the disjoint and *primary* negation appear in the similar contexts (i.e. only in matrix clauses without A'-movement), but in different structural positions.
- Despite this, they cannot co-occur:

(26) a. Abáana baáranyóoye                      amatá.  
 /abáana ba-á-**ra**-nyóoye                      amatá/  
 2child 3S-REM.PST-**DJ**-drink.PFV 6milk  
 ‘Children drank milk.’

b. Abáana ntibaányóoye                      amatá.  
 /abáana **nti**-ba-á-nyóoye                      amatá/  
 2child **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-3S-REM.PST-drink.PFV 6milk  
 ‘Children didn’t drink milk.’

c. \*Abáana ntibaáranyóoye                      amatá.  
 /abáana **nti**-ba-á-**ra**-nyóoye                      amatá/  
 2child **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-3S-REM.PST-**DJ**-drink.PFV 6milk

(Ndayiragije 1999)

- An interpretation is that *primary* negation is structurally similar to the conjoint particle.
- Both of them act as focus markers for elements lower in the phrase.
- Furthermore, we showed that negation is located either directly above or below TP, so negation *c-commands* the disjoint.
- Equivalently, negation scopes over the VP-internal and VP-external positions (Buell 2008).

I argue that *primary* negation does not license a neutral interpretation and this is why it cannot appear with the disjoint marker.

## 4.2 Problem

- One potential problem with this analysis is that negation could have an anti-focus or “neutral” interpretation too.
- As stated in Nshemezimana & Bostoen (2017), “negation fulfils exactly the same function as the -ra-/-a- morpheme, only negatively”:

(27) Yohani ntiyásomye                      ibitabo bibiri.  
 /Yohani **nti**-a-á-somye                      ibitabo bibiri/  
 John **NEG**<sub>1</sub>-1S-REM.PST-read.PFV 8book 8two  
 a. ‘John didn’t read two books.’  
 b. ‘John didn’t read two books (**he read only one**).’

(Ndayiragije 1999)

- Regardless, some languages are averse to negation not focusing anything at all (Güldemann 1999).

- Negation must at least “single out the verb lexeme itself or an operator expressing polarity, time, aspect, or modality” (Nshemezimana & Bostoen 2017).
- In Zulu, object marking on the verb “allows focus to be placed on the polarity of the sentence” instead (Zeller 2021).
- Zeller (2021) assumes that negation minimally involves polarity focus.

I argue that both negations still have this focus property.

1. *Primary* negation focuses the verb and its post-verbal element.
2. *Secondary* negation focuses only the verb and its polarity.

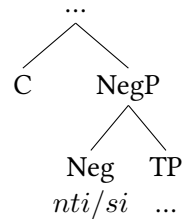
## 5 Summary

### 5.1 The Structure of Negation

In this presentation, I provided an analysis that accounts for the distribution of negation in Kirundi.

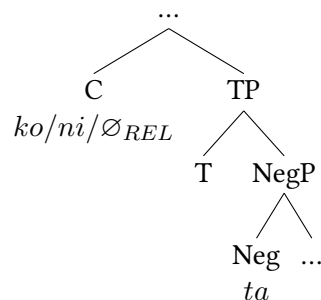
- Negation prefers to select a TP complement, so an empty C head first selects a NegP complement.
- Then, the negation head can select its obligatory TP complement (28).

(28)



- In cases where the CP head is filled, it selects a TP complement instead.
- As a result, a NegP can subsequently only appear by being selected by the TP (29).

(29)



### 5.2 Illocutionary Polarity

I then showed a preliminary analysis linking negation to focus for 3 principle reasons:

1. Many in the literature argue that negation has inherent focus.
2. Negation is incompatible with the “anti-focus” marker *ra-*.
3. Both *primary* negation and this “anti-focus” marker cannot be embedded and are incompatible A'-movement.

I argued that:

1. *Primary* negation focuses the verb and its post-verbal element.
2. *Secondary* negation focuses only the verb and its polarity.

**Thus, Kirundi appears to have the same distinction present in many (Bantu) languages.**

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