Negation Patterns in Sama Duru Languages

1) SAMA - DURU
(Adamawa State of Nigeria, Adamawa Region and North Region of Cameroon)

SAMA (=Samba Leeko)
- Sama (cluster); Nyong
- Kolbila
- Perema (Wom)

DURU
Vere- Gimme
- Vere Kaadaam (= Momi) cluster
- Jango (= Mom Jango)
- Kobom, Ekhim, Nissim
- Vonmam
- Damti (Damtəm)
- Gounom cluster (Koma Ndera)

Gimme
- Beiya, Gindoo
- Riitime
- Kompana (= Panme, Gimnime): Yegme; Baanime

X
- Dooya̰ayɔ [Doyayo]

X
- Lɔŋto (Voko)
- Pere

Duru
- Dii cluster
- Dugun
- Duupa

2) Negation Patterns in Sama Duru languages
- Negation of verbal predications:
  - with Clause-final Negative Markers (CNM)
  - without Clause-final Negative Markers (CNM)
- Negation of copula constructions, verb-less clauses, nominal predications.

2a) Negation of verbal predications with CNM
- Almost all Sama Duru languages possess negation markers which take clause-final position.
- In subordinate (and relative clauses) they may be followed by the respective markers; they also occur before focus and simple question markers.
- In some languages the CNMs are the only overt sign of negation.
- In others the CNMs co-occur with:
  - pre-verbal negative markers
  - tonally modified verb forms
  - post-verbal (negative) markers suffixed to the verb

2b) Negation of verbal predications without CNM
- In very few (2?) Sama Duru languages Clause final negation marking does not occur in all types of verbal predications. In one it is not attested at all, in contrast to its closest relative.

This classification has been superseded by the new classification that can be consulted at http://wwwblogs.uni-mainz.de/fb07-adamawa/adamawa-languages/samba-duru-group/samba-duru-languages/
2c) Negation of copula constructions, verb-less clauses, nominal predications

Clause final negative markers also occur in most languages (where data is already available) to negate copula constructions, verb-less clauses, nominal predications which express for example: presentation, identification, and existence. We noted:

- The same markers are used as in verbal predications.
- A different marker is used for certain constructions.

3) Language Samples

- Sama
  CNM only: 3 different morphemes
- Kolbila
  CNM only: 2 different morphemes
- Perema
  CNM: 2 different morphemes; double negation?
- Dii
  CNM: 3 different morphemes; double negation in verbal predicates
- Perer
  CNM: 1 morpheme; double negation in verbal predicates
- Beiya
  Absence of CNM in verbal predications;
  CNM only in certain copula constructions, verb-less clauses, nominal predications
- Riitime
  CNM: 1 morpheme; double and triple negation marking
- Lɔŋto
  CNM: 3 different morphemes
- Kobom
  CNM: 1 morpheme; double and triple negation marking
- Momi, Jangu
  CNM: 1 morpheme; double negation marking in certain constructions
- Dooyɑayɑ
  CNM occur only in negation of "performative" aspect;
  verb-less clauses, nominal predications.
  Double and triple negation marking in certain constructions

4) Summary and comparative overview

see Table of Negation Markers

Abbreviations

ACT Actuality
ANT Anterior
ART Article
AUX Auxiliary
CL Class
CON Conditional Marker
COP Copula
DIR Directional
DEM Demonstrative
EX Existence
FOC Focus
FUT Future
IMP Imperative
IPF Imperfective
LOC Locative
O Object
p Plural
PASS Passive
PAST Past Tense
PERF Perfective
POSS Possessive Pronoun
QU Question marker
REL Relative
S Subject
s Singular
SUBJ Subjunctive
SUBR Subordination Marker
V Verb
VN Verbal noun
References


Contact

kleinewi@uni-mainz.de
littig@uni-mainz.de
Languages Samples

**Sama** (Samba of Allani)
(Source: Gwenaëlle Fabre: 2003)

Clause-final Negation Markers are the only signs of Negation; Three different Markers

(1) **gá?**

Negation of identification

Fabre 2003: 287:49 /53

a) **Abdú gàad gáʔ**

Abdou isn’t (the) chief. **Abdú gàar-á**

Abdou chief NEG

Abdou is (the)chief. **Abdou chief NEX**

(2) **sé?**

Negation of predication

Fabre 2003: 286:47

*Áma bpción má yān bāa sé*

But now there isn’t money for the horse too

*ámá bāa tô tūrū.*

but there is money.

(3) **sf?**

Negation of Imperative

Fabre 2003:160:18/16

*ǹ bèd gbèd sf?*

Don’t taste the food **ǹ bèd gbèrá**

Taste the food. 2s.IMP taste food NEG.IMP

2s.IMP taste food NEX

(4)

Negation of subordinate clauses and questions

Fabre: 2003:223:114/18/39

a) **négā ní bān sān dō dān k’ÓN lēnā**

Person.DEM 2s know NEG REL FUT truly throw off

You, who don’t know to, it will surely throw you off.

b) **nēréē lēb ēe vōo sān gū ?**

Person buy QU goat NEG QU

Who didn’t buy a goat?

c) **abdū lēb vōo g-ēe ?**

Abdou buy goat NEG+QU

Kolbila
(Source: S. Littig, field notes)

Clause-final Negation Markers are the only signs of Negation; Two different Markers.

(1) **sūn**

Negation of verbal & nominal predicates.

a) **dōn sūn.**

It’s not an elephant. **dōn-á.**

It’s an elephant. 3s cultivate thing NEG

3s cultivate thing NEX

b) **Ø lām ān sūn.**

S/he doesn’t cultivate. **Ø lām ān-á**

S/he cultivates something. 3s AUX come.VN NEG

3s AUX come.VN NEX

c) **Ø dīī yān sūn.**

S/he won’t come. **Ø dīī yānū.**

S/he will come. 3s AUX come.VN NEG

3s AUX come.VN

(2) **sí**

Negation of Imperative

**mux àd sf.**

Don’t die! **mux àd vārā.**

Die! 2s die NEG

2s die VN

**yāā sf.**

Don’t come! **yāā yāānū.**

Come! come NEG

come VN
Negation of subordinate clauses and questions

a) \( \text{màà wā̰̃̀̃̀n wō nɛ̄ŋ sùŋ dē mā zā nùŋ-bù.} \) If it doesn’t rain we’ll leave in the morning.
   COND rain 3s rain NEG SUBR 1P leave morning.LOC
b) \( \text{mù gā̀bò s-à̀à.} \) Don’t you know him?
   2s know.3S.OBJ NEG-QU
c) \( \text{mù di sùŋ mìn.} \) Where don’t you go?
   2s go NEG where

Negation of Copula Constructions = Existence

a) \( \text{wūl gā gā gā gānn nn sù sù sù sùŋ ŋŋ. ŋŋ. ŋŋ. ŋŋ. ŋŋ} \) There is no water.
   Water COP.NEG NEG COP.FOC
b) \( \text{Ø gā gā gā gānn nn vāā àrkéēn sù sù sù sùŋ ŋŋ...} \) He isn’t with a woman.
   3s COP.NEG and woman NEG and woman.NEX

Dii (Duru)
Clause-final negation marking; 3 different morphemes. Double negation in verbal predicates.

Negation of Identification and existence.

a) \( \text{g̀b̀ā̰̃̀̃̀nàà yè péli.} \) S/he isn’t chief. \( \text{g̀b̀ā̰̃̀̃̀nàà ī.} \) S/he is chief.
   chief exist NEG.EX chief EX
b) \( \text{mām péli.} \) There is no water. \( \text{mām dīl-ī.} \) There is water.
   water NEG.EX water COP EX

Negation of verbal predicates.

a) \( \text{Ø yāānn nn né.} \) S/he doesn’t come. \( \text{Ø yāā ó.} \) S/he comes.
   3s come-NEG NEG 1s come ACT
b) \( \text{wāyé bàān hɛ̄n né.} \) S/he doesn’t cultivate \( \text{wāyéē bàà hɛ̄nì.} \) S/he cultivates
   man cultivate.NEG thing NEG anything. man cultivate thing.EX something.

Negation of Imperative and Subjunctive

a) \( \text{à̀m yāā sá.} \) come! \( \text{yāā ó} \) Don’t come!
   ? come NEG come ACT
b) \( \text{à yāā sá.} \) S/he shouldn’t come! \( \text{à yāā ó} \) S/he should come!
   3s.OBL come NEG 3s.OBL come ACT

Position of Negation Markers in subordinate clause and questions.

a) \( \text{Ø di yāānn n-àà.} \) Won’t S/he come?
   3s AUX come.NEG NEG-QU
b) \( \text{à yāānn né tḕe vùn mbàà ó.} \) If S/he doesn’t come we’ll stay.
   3s come.NEG NEG CON 1P stay ACT
Beiya

Absence of Clause final negative marking in verbal predications. Clause-final marking only in certain copula constructions, verb-less clauses and nominal predications.

(1) wó

Negation of copula constructions, verb-less clauses and nominal predications

Yáyén kúsén  ãwó.
COP thing bush NEG

This is not an animal.

(2) V

Negation of verbal predication

a) mí wókó múmmi.
1s hunger hurt.1s.O.NEG
Me, I’m not hungry

mí wókó múmmi .
1s hunger hurt.1s.O
Me, I’m hungry

mô wókó múmmô và. Aren’t you hungry?
mô wókó múmmô và.
2s hunger hurt.2s.O.NEG QU
Are you hungry?

b) mín túùrè Fôlé.
1s come.NEG Poli.
I don’t come to Poli.
mín túùrè Fôlé.
1s come Poli

I come to Poli.

c) mà lîi sôôk
2s eat.NEG Sok.
Don’t eat Sok!
mà lîi sôôk.
2s eat Sok

Eat Sok!

d) mín ipô béksô nômbô wàá wâá sôô.
1s see.NEG snake.CL bite.PERF kid male CL

I didn’t see the snake who bit the boy.

Lônôô

people: Lônôô

Clause-final Negation Markers are the only sign of negation; Three different morphemes.

(1) ýé

Negation of verbal predications & copula constructions (Ident. and Exist.)

a) ø hó póó góó ýé.
3s eat meat NEG
S/he didn't eat meat.

ø hó póó góó bá.
3s eat meat
S/he doesn't eat meat.

b) wà f gùr ýé.
3s be chief NEG
S/he is not chief.

wà(í) gùryô. He is chief.

màá gó.
3s be chief
(T/here is) water.

(2) sê

Negation of Imperativ and Subjunctive

a) á hó kôôr sê.
2s eat food NEG
Don’t eat (the) food.

á hó kôôr bá. á hó kôôr bô.
2s eat food
You shouldn’t eat food.

ba hôlí kôôr sê.
1p. IN eat.PL food NEG
Let’s not eat (the) food.

ba hôlí kôôr (bô).

b) wà hó póó góó sê.
He shouldn’t eat meat.

wà hó póó góó bá.
(3) sô  

**Negation of presentation** (This/It is not X." "It is not so.")

- *mí sô.* It is not me.  
  *mí yɔ.* It's me.
- *nèè mààg sô.* This/it is not water.  
  *(nèè) mààgô.* (This/it is) water.
- *yàdà wɔ́ (f) gàr sô.* This one, he is not the chief.  
  *(yàdà gàryɔ.* yàdà wɔ́ gàryɔ. yàdà wɔ́ é gàryɔ.*

**DEM.CL 3s (be) chief NEG**

(4) **Position of CNM in subordinate, relative clauses & questions.**

- *ń hɛ̰̀n beg káa nɛ̀ɛ̀ ɡà̰r yɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́.* I did not see the snake that did not bite the dog.  
  1s see snake ANO.1 bite dog NEG REL. NEG
- *á gàn má sô nò, nàà gàn mɛ̀?* If it wasn't you who brought it, who brought it then?  
  2s carry 2s NEG "if", …
- *káa wɔ́ wɔ́ ɡà̰ryɔ́. yɔ́ɔ̀ wə gà̰ryɔ́.* Wasn't he in his room?  
  ANO.1 3s.POSS.LOC room.LOC COP NEG QU

Kòbóm people: Kòbó  
(Source: Kleinewillinghöfer field notes)

Clause-final Negation marking; one morpheme only. Double and triple Negation Marking.

(1) *k̀... V̀... ro*  

**Negation of verbal predications.**

- *kína ré kàš ro.* I didn't eat (the) food.  
  *mí re.shi kàš.* I eat food.
- *kánà wòm gwàá ro.* He didn't build a house.  
  *wòm.shi gwaa.* He built a house.
- *kána re.tí kàš ro.* S/he has not yet eaten (the) food.  
  *re. tí kàš.* S/he has already...
- *kátá ré kàš ro.* S/he shouldn't eat (the) food.

(2) k̀ *pi ... ro*  

**Negation of progressive and copula construction (Ident. and Exist.)**

- a) *kím pí gwaa wòm.kpù ro.* I am not building a house.  
  *mi pí gwaa wòm.kpù.* I am building a house.
  
  = *kím pí wòm.kpù gwàá ro.*  
  = *mi pí wòm.kpù gwaa.*

- b) *kím pí rèi ro.* I am not inside.  
  *mí pí rèi.* I am inside.
- *ká pí gɔnʒù ro.* He is not [the] Chief.  
  *(wìrì) pí gɔnʒù.* He is [the] Chief.
- c) *máam ká póo. (< pí ro)* There is no water.  
  *máam pó.* There is water.
- *ki póo.* They are not present. They don't exist.

(3) kà ... ro.  

**Negation of Presentation**

- *ká mi ro.* It is not me.  
  *ànɛ̀ mi.* It's me.
- *ká máam no.* This/it is not water.  
  *(ànɛ̀) máam.* (This/it is) water.

(4) be ( ) ... ro  

**Negation of Imperative**

- *bê-mú re kàš ro.* Don't eat (the) food.  
  *re-ši kàš.* Eat food!
  
  = *bê-mú re kàš ro.*  
  = *re-ši kàš.*

- *be-é re kàš ro.* Let's not eat (the) food.  
  *é re-yé kàš.* Let's eat (the) food.

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**Note:** The text above is a partial transcription of a page from a document discussing negation patterns in Sama–Duru languages, focusing on negation in presentation, verbal predications, progressive and copula construction, and imperative negation. It includes examples of negation in various linguistic contexts and structures, with translations and notes on the usage of negation morphemes. The text is formatted in a way that highlights the structure and function of negation in these languages, providing insights into the linguistic nuances and parallels.
Doyayo [dooyá̰á̰yɔ́]; people: Doowaayɔ (Sources: John Hewson: 2009; U. Kleinewillinghöfer, field notes)

Clause-final negation marking only in negation of "performative" aspect, verb-less clauses and nominal predications. Additionally double and triple negation marking.

"There are three negative constructions. The first is found with the Performative aspect, the second with the Imperfective, and the third with Imperative. … In the first the negative particle ge² is added at the end of the phrase. The subject pronoun takes tone ¹ and the third person subject is deleted as usual. The verb takes tones ² on its nuclear syllable, tone ¹ on the second syllable (if any), and tone ³ on the third syllable (if any).” (Hewson no date: 9.)

(1) ́ V … ge²  
Negation of "Performative" aspect.

Ø wɔ́m ge².  
S/he didn't build.  
Ø wɔ̃lm wɔmo. = wɔ̃m lúkó.

mii wɔ̃m lúg ke².  
I didn't build a house.  
mii̯ wɔ̃lm lúkó.

(2)  … táá²  
Negation of Imperfective aspect.

"In the second negative construction the distinctions between the Remote, Proximate, and Present are neutralized: all three have the same form. The subject pronoun again has high tone, but the negative auxiliary taal² "be not" replaces the normal gi² "be", and the -ko suffix carries tone ³ "..." (Hewson 2009: 9.)

táa lúk wɔ́nko².  
S/he is not building a house.  
gi² wɔ́nko lúkó.  
S/he is building a house.

(3)  bo ́ ...  
Negation of Imperative and Subjunctive

a)  bo mɔ̃mo² lúkó.  
Don't build a house!  
wõmo²! wɔ̃m lúkó.

Build a house!

bo mɔ̃ tùù.  
Don't go out!  
tùù mɔ̃.  
Go out!

bo wɛ́ le.  
Let's not eat!  
yɛ wɛ́ le.  
Let's eat!

b) bo gi le nambɔ.  
S/he shouldn't eat meat.  
gi ́àn gi le nambò.  
S/he should eat meat.  
gi ́àn mɔ́ le nambò.  
You should eat meat.

(1A) ́ ... ge²  
Negation of nominal predication (Identification, Presentation)

mii ge².  
It is not me.  
mii ya².  
It is me.

yɛ́rɛ́ mɛ́m ge².  
This is not water.  
yɛ́rɛ́ mɛ́mɛ́.  
This is water.

mɛ́m rɔ́b ge².  
The water is not good.  
mɛ́m rɔ́b bɔ́.  
The water is good.

(2A) ... táá² ...  
Negation of copula constructions with gi.

mɛ́m táá² ro.  
There is no water.  
mɛ́m gi² ro²  
There is water.

mii táá² du².  
I am not here.  
mii̯ gi² du².  
I am here.