

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	<u>Vere- Gimme</u>	Vere Kaadaam (= Momi) cluster Jango (= Morn Jango) Kobom, Eilm, Nissim Vomnəm
	Vere	Damti (Damtəm) Gomnəm cluster (Koma Ndera)
	Gimme	Beiya, Gindoo Riitime Kompana (= Panme, Gimnime): Yegme; Baanime
X		Dooyayyo [Doyayol]
X		Lɔŋto (Voko) Pere
Duru		Dii cluster Dugun Duupa

This classification has been superceded by the new classification that can be consulted at <http://www.blogs.uni-mainz.de/fb07-adamawa/adamawa-languages/samba-duru-group/samba-duru-languages/>

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.

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**
- Pɛrɛma **CNM: 2 different morphemes; double negation?**
- Dii **CNM: 3 different morphemes; double negation in verbal predicates**
- Pɛrɛ **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 only: 3 different morphemes**
- Kobom **CNM: 1 morpheme; double and triple negation marking**
- Momi, Jangu **CNM: 1 morpheme; double negation marking in certain constructions**
- Dooyaaayo **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	NEG	Negation
ANT	Anterior	NEX	Nominal Existence
ART	Article	O	Object
AUX	Auxiliary	p	Plural
CL	Class	PASS	Passive
CON	Conditional Marker	PAST	Past Tense
COP	Copula	PERF	Perfective
DIR	Directional	POSS	Possessive Pronoun
DEM	Demonstrative	QU	Question marker
EX	Existence	REL	Relative
FOC	Focus	S	Subject
FUT	Future	s	Singular
IMP	Imperative	SUBJ	Subjunctive
IPF	Imperfective	SUBR	Subordination Marker
LOC	Locative	V	Verb
		VN	Verbalnoun

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Languages Samples

Sama (Samba of Allani)

(Source: Gwenaëlle Fabre: 2003)

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

(1) *gáʔ* Negation of identification

Fabre 2003: 287:49 /53

- a) *Abdú gàad gáʔ* Abdou isn't (the) chief. *Abdú gàar-á* Abdou is (the)chief.
Abdou chief NEG Abdou chief NEX

(2) *séʔ* Negation of predication

Fabre 2003: 286 : 47

- Àma bánáə má yān bāa sé* But now there isn't money for the horse too
But now too horse money NEG
à má bāa tó túrú. but there is money.
but money ACT EX

(3) *síʔ* Negation of Imperative

Fabre 2003:160: 18/16

- ñ bəd gbəd síʔ* Don't taste the food *ñ bəd gbərəá* 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) *néñā í bán sún də dân kʰən léenà* You, who don't know to, it will surely throw you off.
Person.DEM 2s know NEG REL FUT truly throw off
- b) *néerée léb ēe vəə sún gú ?* Who didn't buy a goat?
Person buy QU goat NEG QU
- c) *abdú léb vəə g-éé ?* Didn't Abdou buy a goat?
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) *sún* Negation of verbal & nominal predicates.

- a) *dón sún.* It's not an elephant. *dón-á.* It's an elephant.
elephant NEG elephant NEX
- b) *Ø làm ān sún.* S/he doesn't cultivate. *Ø làm ān-á* S/he cultivates something.
3s cultivate thing NEG anything 3s cultivate thing.NEX
- c) *Ø diī yān sún.* S/he won't come. *Ø diī yānú.* S/he will come.
3s AUX come.VN NEG 3s AUX come.VN

(2) *sí* Negation of Imperative

- mú vàd sí.* Don't die! *mú vàd várā.* Die!
2s die NEG 2s die VN
- yāā sí.* Don't come! *yāā yáánā.* Come!
come NEG come VN

(3) **Negation of subordinate clauses and questions**

- a) *màà wāān wō nēŋ súŋ dē mā zá núŋ-bú.* If it doesn't rain we'll leave in the morning.
COND rain 3s rain NEG SUBR 1P leave morning.LOC
- b) *mú gābò s-āà.* Don't you know him?
2s know.3S.OBJ NEG-QU
- c) *mú dì súŋ mîn .* Where don't you go?
2s go NEG where

(4) **gān ... súŋ Negation of Copula Constructions = Existence**

- a) *wúl gān súŋ.* There is no water. *wúl dá tēnā.* There is water.
Water COP.NEG NEG water COP FOC
- b) *Ø gān vāā àrkéēn súŋ.* He isn't with a woman. *Ø dá vāā àrkéēn-á.* HO He is with..
3s COP.NEG and woman NEG 3s COP and woman.NEX

Dii (Duru)

Clause-final negation marking; 3 different morphemes. Double negation in verbal predicates.

(1) **pélí Negation of Identification and existence.**

- a) *g̃bānàà yè pélí.* S/he isn't chief. *g̃bānàà í.* S/he is chief.
chief exist NEG.EX chief EX
- b) *mām pélí.* There is no water. *mām d̃l-í.* There is water.
water NEG.EX water COP EX

(2) **V-n...né Negation of verbal predicates.**

- a) *Ø yāān né.* S/he doesn't come. *Ø yāā ó.* S/he comes.
3s come-NEG NEG 1s come ACT
- b) *wāyé bàān hēn né.* S/he doesn't cultivate anything. *wāyéē bàà hēnì.* S/he cultivates something.
man cultivate.NEG thing NEG man cultivate thing.EX

(3) **sá Negation of Imperative and Subjunctive**

- a) *àm yāā sá.* come ! *yāā ó* Don't come !
? come NEG come ACT
- b) *à yāā sá.* S/he shouldn't come ! *à yāā ó* S/he should come !
3s.OBL come NEG 3s.OBL come ACT

(4) **Position of Negation Markers in subordinate clause and questions.**

- a) *Ø dī yāān n-āà.* Won't S/he come ?
3s AUX come.NEG NEG-QU
- b) *à yāān né téē vún mbàà ó.* If S/he doesn't come we'll stay.
3s come.NEG NEG CON 1P stay ACT

Beiya

(Source: U. Kleinewillinghöfer, S. Littig, field notes)

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

(1) wá Negation of copula constructions, verb-less clauses and nominal predications

Yóó yēn kúsén ?wá. This is not an animal.
 COP thing bush NEG

(2) V' Negation of verbal predication

- a) *mī wákè góm̄mī.* Me, I'm not hungry *mī wákè gòm̄mī .* Me, I'm hungry
 1s hunger hurt.1s.O.NEG Me, hunger doesn't hurt me.)
 1s hunger hurt.1s.O
- mō wákè góm̄mē yā.* Aren't you hungry? *mō wákè gòm̄mē yā.* Are you hungry?
 2s hunger hurt.2s.O.NEG QU 2s hunger hurt.2s.O QU
- b) *miñ túúrə Fəl̄é.* I don't come to Poli. *miñ tūr̄ə Fəl̄é.* I come to Poli.
 1s come.NEG Poli. 1s come Poli
- c) *má líí sōōk* Don't eat Sok! *má lìi sōōk* Eat Sok!
 2s eat.NEG Sok. 2s eat Sok
- d) *mīn ípē bék̄sə nòm̄bə wáá wāi sè.* I didn't see the snake who bit the boy.
 1s see.NEG snake.CL bite.PERF kid male CL

Lòntó people: *Lònmó*

(Source: Kleinewillinghöfer field notes)

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

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

- a) *ø h̄ə p̄ɔ̄gə yé.* S/he didn't eat meat. *ø h̄ə p̄ɔ̄gə bá.*
 3s eat meat NEG S/he doesn't eat meat.
- ø d̄ə p̄ɔ̄gə h̄ɔ̄n yé.* S/he is not eating meat. S/he doesn't eat meat
 3s be meat eating NEG
- p̄ɔ̄g h̄ɔ̄yí yé.* The meat is/was not eaten.
 meat eat.PASS NEG
- b) *wə f̄ ḡàr yé.* S/he is not chief. *wə(f) ḡàryɔ.* He is chief.
 3s be chief NEG
- mààg pí yé.* T/here is no water. *mààgò.* (T/here is) water.
 water COP NEG

(2) sé Negation of Imperativ and Subjunctive

- a) *á h̄ə k̄ɔ̄r sé.* Don't eat (the) food. *á h̄ə k̄ɔ̄rə bá. á h̄ə k̄ɔ̄rə b̄ò.*
 2s eat food NEG You shouldn't eat food.
- ba h̄ə̄l̄ k̄ɔ̄r sé.* Let's not eat (the) food. *ba h̄ə̄l̄ k̄ɔ̄r (b̄ò).*
 1p.IN eat.PL food NEG
- b) *wə h̄ə p̄ɔ̄g sé.* He shouldn't eat meat. *wə h̄ə p̄ɔ̄g bá.*

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

<i>mí sô.</i>	It is not me.	<i>mí yɔ.</i>	It's me.
<i>nèè mààg sô.</i>	This/it is not water.	<i>(nèè) mààgô.</i>	(This/it is) water.
<i>yðð, wə (í) gâr sô.</i>	This one, he is not the chief.	<i>yðð gâryɔ. yðð wə gâryɔ. yðð wə í gâryɔ.</i>	
DEM.CL1 3s (be) chief NEG			

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

<i>ń hèn beg káa nòŋ yèè yɔ kò, yé.</i>	I did not see the snake that did not bite the dog.
1s see snake ANT.1 bite dog NEG REL, NEG	
<i>á gàn má sô nò, náa gàn mé?</i>	If it wasn't you who brought it, who brought it then?
2s carry 2s NEG "if", ...	
<i>káa wə wə.é ligo.ró pí yé.è?</i>	Wasn't he in his room?
ANT.1 3s. 3s.POSS.LOC room.LOC COP NEG QU	

Kòbóm people: *Kòbó* (Source: Kleinwillinghöfer field notes)

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

(1) *k'... V-´... ro* Negation of verbal predications.

<i>kína ré kóó ro.</i>	I didn't eat (the) food.	<i>mi re.shì kóó.</i>	I eat food.
NEG.1s.x eat.NEG food NEG		1s eat.PERF food	
<i>kána wòm gwāā ro.</i>	He didn't build a house.	<i>ø wòm.shì gwaa.</i>	He built a house.
<i>kána re.tí kóó ro.</i>	S/he has not yet eaten (the) food.	<i>ø re.ti kóó.</i>	S/he has already...
<i>kátá ré kóó ro.</i>	S/he shouldn't eat (the) food.		

(2) *k' pí ... ro* Negation of progressive and copula construction (Ident. and Exist.)

a) <i>kím pí gwaa wōm.kpù ro.</i>	I am not building a house.	<i>mi pí gwaa wōm.kpù.</i>	
<i>= kím pí wōm.kpù gwaa ro.</i>		<i>= mi pí wōm.kpù gwaa.</i>	
NEG.1s COP build.VN house NEG			
b) <i>kím pí rèi ro.</i>	I am not inside.	<i>mi pí rèi.</i>	I am inside.
<i>ká pí gonzù ro.</i>	He is not [the] Chief.	<i>(wíri) pí gonzù.</i>	He is [the] Chief.
c) <i>máam ká póo. (< pí ro)</i>	There is no water.	<i>máam pí.</i>	There is water.
<i>kí póo.</i>	They are not present. They don't exist.		

(3) *ká ... ro.* Negation of Presentation

<i>ká mi ro .</i>	It is not me.	<i>ànè mi.</i>	It's me.
<i>ká máam no.</i>	This/it is not water.	<i>(ànè) máam.</i>	(This/it is) water.

(4) *be () ... ro* Negation of Imperative

<i>bé-mú re kóó ro.</i>	Don't eat (the) food.	<i>re-m kóó.</i>	Eat food!
NEG.IMP-2s eat food NEG		eat-2s food	
<i>be-é re kóó ro.</i>	Let's not eat (the) food.	<i>é re-yé kóó.</i>	Let's eat (the) food.

Doyayo [dooyááyó]; people: *Doowaayo* (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 tone 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.) (tones in Doyayo: ¹²³⁴ (Wiering & Wiering 1994)

(1) **´ V ... ge²** Negation of "Performative" aspect.

<i>∅ wóm ge².</i>	S/he didn't build .	<i>∅ wóm³ wómo. = wóm lúkó.</i>
<i>míí wóm lúg ke².</i>	I didn't build a house.	<i>mí³ wóm³ lúkó.</i>

(2) ... **táa²** ... 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 táa¹²** „be not“ replaces the normal **gi²** „be“, and the **-ko** suffix carries tone ³ ... " (Hewson 2009: 9.)

<i>táa² lúk wónko³.</i>	S/he is not building a house.	<i>gr² wónk lúkó.</i>	S/he is building a house.
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(3) **bo ´ ...** Negation of Imperative and Subjunctive

a) <i>bo mó wó³mó² lúkó.</i>	Don't build a house!	<i>wó³mó²! wóm³ lúkó.</i>	
Build a house!			
<i>bo mó tùi.</i>	Don't go out!	<i>tùi mó².</i>	Go out!
<i>bo wé le.</i>	Let's not eat!	<i>yε wé le.</i>	Let's eat!
b) <i>bo gí le nambò.</i>	S/he shouldn't eat meat.	<i>gí án gí le nambò.</i>	S/he should eat meat.
		<i>gí án mó le nambò.</i>	You should eat meat.

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

<i>míí ge².</i>	It is not me.	<i>míí ya¹².</i>	It is me.
<i>yéré mém ge².</i>	This is not water.	<i>yéré mémé.</i>	This is water.
<i>mém ró³b ge².</i>	The water is not good.	<i>mém ró³b bó.</i>	The water is good.

(2A)... **táa²** ... Negation of copula constructions with **gi**.

<i>mém táa² ro.</i>	There is no water.	<i>mém² gr² ró²</i>	There is water.
<i>míí táa² du²³.</i>	I am not here.	<i>mí³ gr² du²³.</i>	I am here.