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# **Post-verbal negation in Rangi (F33) and Mbugwe (F34) –a Jespersen’s cycle?**



# Negation in Rangi and Mbugwe

1. Introduction
2. Negation in Rangi
3. Negation in Mbugwe
4. Possible sources of *tukʊ*
5. The beginning stages of a Jespersen cycle?
6. “Verb-Object-Negative Order in Central Africa”
7. Conclusion



# 1. Introduction

- Rangi (F33) and Mbugwe (F34) both have a post-verbal negative marker, transcribed as *tuks*.
- Rangi: mandatory in most negative utterances
- Mbugwe: a reinforcement of the negation.
- A Jespersen's cycle?
- Usage, distribution, position sources



## 2. Negation in Rangï

- Most common strategy:  
a preposed negative particle *sí*,  
and the clause-final particle *tukv*.

(1) *sí*      *n-íyó-dóm-a*                      *tukv*  
NEG    SM1<sup>st</sup>sg-PROG-go-FV                      NEG  
'I am not going'



(2) nĩni sí ndí-ri dóm-a na  
1sg.PP NEG SM1sg-AUX go-FV CONN

Kondoa tɛkɛ

Kondoa NEG

‘I will not go to Kondoa’



- *tvkʊ* sometimes drops out:

(3) mw-eene    si    a-chuund-w-a    na    iyo  
1-having       NEG 1:GEN-teach-PASS-FV    CONN mother  
chuund-w-a       a-ri ni    vaa-ntʉ    au    dunia  
teach-PASS-FV       1-be COP 2-person    or    world

‘Who is not taught by (his) mother will be taught by people or the world.’



## Negation in Rangi

- An intensifier *bweete* is sometimes used instead:

(4) ma-wiye	a-ya	sí	ya-fa-a
6-stones	DEM-6	NEG	SM6-suit-FV

kɥ-jeng-er-a	sakafu	bweete
INF-build-APPL-FV	9.floor	at.all

‘These stones are not at all suitable for building a floor’



- Prohibitive: *tʊkʊ* without *sí*

(5) kɥ-n-va-a                      na        nkome        tɥkɥ!  
INF-OM1<sup>st</sup>sg-hit-FV    CONN    9.stick        NEG

‘Do not hit me with a stick!’





- Subclause: *tʊkʊ* appearing without *sí*

(6) na pata tʊkʊ mpaka kw-a kw-iira  
CONN get NEG until 15-ASSOC 15-get\_dark

‘and not catching anything until nightfall’



## 3. Negation in Mbugwe

- Negation with *te-*

(7) baa vá-ka-fik-a korá, ke-ka-vá baa  
even 3PL-CSEC-arrive-FV there 7-CSEC-be even

te-vá-kee-téér-a

NEG-3PL-PST.PROG-hear-FV

'And then they arrived there, still not hearing.'



- *tu* adds emphasis to the negation:

(8) síyε      te-ko-a-ré-fεεng'-εr-a

1PL      NEG-1PL-PST-IPFV-run-APPL-FV

ma-sibitali

toko

cl.6-hospital (SW.)

NEG

“We certainly were not running to the hospital.”



- Subclause: *tʊkʊ* appearing without *te-*

(10) baa ngare toko mpɔɔngó y-a ijóva,  
even if NEG 9.word 9-CONN God

si-káá-ré-kɔɔ

1SG.NEG-IRR-be-LOC

“ If it were not for the word of God, I would not be here.”



# Possible sources of *tuku*

- “Tanzanian Rift Valley language area”:
  - Iraqw, Gorwaa, Alagwa and Burunge (Southern Cushitic)
  - Datooga (Southern Nilotic)
  - Sandawe (Khoisan)
  - Hadza (an isolate)
  - other zone F Bantu languages (Nyaturu (F32), Nilamba (F31) and Kimbu (F24))



- Candidate for a source for *tʊkʊ*: *tuku* or *tuk*  
A post-verbal adverb which occurs both in Burunge and Alagwa
- In Burunge, *tuku* has the meaning ‘entirely’ ‘utterly’ or ‘wholly’, and it is a non-gradable adverb or ideophone.
- In Alagwa *túku* or *túk* means “all”.



- Burunge example:

(11) Kara    hhawata goy                    see    yaa  
          again    husband        1sgPossP    even    S3.PST.Preverb

gaduuudi    tuku  
to.age            entirely

“Moreover, even my husband is utterly aged/ancient” Genesis 18:12



- Kiessling: *tuk<sup>u</sup>* is an ideophone for being old:

(12) gadawud tuk<sup>u</sup>                      *to be extremely old*





- Alagwa example:

(13) Kiyaa	gu/umin	na	Ama Irimi
IPS:O.3PL:PST:preverb	swallow.DUR.3pl	by	Mother Monster
<b>túku</b> , adóo	diitá Ulaaká	sa	Chooka,
all, in_this_manner	from Kondoa.ABL	until	Choka,
kiyaa	gu/umin		<b>túk.</b>
IPS:O.3PL:PST:preverb	swallow.DUR.3pl		all

“**All** of them were swallowed by Ama Irimi, from here in Kondoa to Choka, they were **all** swallowed.”



# Negation in Rangi and Mbugwe

- Rangi *maatukɛ*, adverb meaning “much” or “very”.
- *maa* is an inter-clausal conjunction in Rangi (“then”)
- An old loan from a Cushitic (a consecutive conjunction)



# Negation in Rangi and Mbugwe

- The standard negation is a suffix on the verb in many of the languages in the language area.
- This includes Alagwa, Burunge, Iraqw and Sandawe.
- Some Bantu languages nearby have post-verbal negation:
  - Zone E: Chaga languages (E60), Kuria (E43) and Dawida (E70),
  - Zone P: Matuumbi (P13) and Ndengereko (P 10)



## **Bantu origin of *tuku*?**

- The negative interjection “no” a common source
- The widespread Bantu locative *-ko* is another source
- Both in Mbugwe and Rangi, the vowel is different in the locative (*-koo* and *ko-*).



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# The beginning stages of a Jespersen cycle?

Stage 1

*ne*

Stage 2

*ne ... pas*

Stage 3

*pas*



# Negation in Rangi and Mbugwe

Stage 1

*ne*

*si*

Stage 2

*ne ... pas*

*si.... tʊkʊ*

Stage 3

*pas*

*tʊkʊ*



# “Verb-Object-Negative Order in Central Africa”

- Dryer (2009): an areal feature of post-verbal negation in VO languages in Central Africa.
- Rangi and Mbugwe:
  - are located quite far from the area he delimits
  - the pattern observed it is most likely not an example of this areal feature.



# Conclusion

- Devos and van der Auwera (forthcoming):
  - Jespersen's cycles are quite common and widespread in Bantu languages
  - Many of the manifestations of the Jespersen cycle in Bantu languages are **recent and local innovations.**
- Rangi and Mbugwe might be another example of this.





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# Negation in Rangi and Mbugwe

Thank you!

Kalama monó!

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