Jukunoid negation particles: special emphasis on Yukuben.

Rose-Juliet Anyanwu

Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt/Main
Institut für Afrikanistik
anyanwu@em.uni-frankfurt.de
rosejulietanyanwu@yahoo.de

This paper presents a general overview and comparison of negation particles in select Jukunoid languages. As indicated in the examples below, such particles can have a variety of shapes. They basically occur in sentence-final position, as in Yukuben and Kuteb (SJ), Jukun of Takum, Wukari, and Hone (CJ).

I. Indicative

1. *Yukuben – Anyanwu (ms)*
a)
Āmà   rī/rē   sí   í-sí.
1sg   IMPERFV   walk   cl-walk
'I am walking.' [Lit.: 'I am walking walk.']

b)
Āmà   ré   ē-sì   í-sí   kɔ́ŋ.
1sg   IMPERFV   SM-walk   cl-walk   NEG
'I am not walking.' [Lit.: 'I am walking walk not.']

2. *Kuteb – Koops (2009: 231)*
Ā   wēn-bā   icʷu   bē.
3pl   kill-3pl   leopard   NEG
'They did not kill a leopard.'
(where L-tone is left unmarked)

3. *Takum – Welmers (1968: 56)*
Bē   rī   bī   bé   ᵐbá.
3pl   TAM   come   RECAP   NEG
'They are not coming.'

4. *Wukari – Welmers (1968: 57)*
Nī   rī   tˢā   ní   būtˢō   ᵐbá.

2pl TAM COP RECAP work NEG
'You aren't working.'

5. Hone – Storch (1999: 251-252)
a)
ɔ̄-tì-ɲī-é.
NSP.2sg-IND.NEG-know-NEG
'You did not learn (of)/hear (it).' (Original: "du hast (es) nicht gelernt/erfahren.")

b)
ɔ̄-tɔ̀-rí-fúk   *námyíí*   *mɔ̀ŋ.*
NSP.2.sg-IND.NEG-PRES-hear-(NEG)   language-PP.1pl   NEG
'You don't understand our language.'

c)
Kín-áá   *bánɔ̀ŋ.*
head-PP.3sg   NEG
'S/he is mentally ill/deranged.' ((a) "S/he is not with her/his head or (b) Her/his head is non-existent/missing.")

II. Imperative
6. Yukuben – Anyanwu (ms)
a)
Dɔ̀ŋ!
go
'Go!'

b)
Fé   *dɔ̀ŋ*   *kɔ́ŋ!*
PROHIB.FOC   go   NEG
'Don't go!'

7. Kuteb – Koops (2009: 228)
Àⁿdá   *tí*   *ànyīsū*   *ā*   *kà-bā*   *àtáŋ*   *bē!*
women   and   children   HO   go-3pl   there   NEG
'Don't let the women and children go there!'

8. Takum - Welmers (1968: 57)
(Ú)   *ká*   *yā*   *àná!*
(2sg)   PROHIB.FOC   go   NEG
'Don't go!'

9. Wukari - Welmers (1968: 57)

(Ú)	*ká*	*yā*	*ᵐbá*!
(2sg)	Prohib.Foc	go	Neg

'Don't go!'

10. Hone – Storch (1999: 251-252)

a)

Ká-ɲī-é!

Imp.Neg-know-Neg

'Do not "know"/learn (of)/hear (it)!' (Original: "wisse nicht!; erfahre (es) nicht!")

b)

Ká-yāg	*bēr-Kààsàà*	*mɔ̀ŋ*!
Imp.Neg-gehen-(Neg)	Kasan Dare	Neg

'Don't go to Kasan Dare!'

My main idea is to argue that (at least in the majority of the languages under consideration) the canonical pattern of negation in the Jukunoid languages is sentential negation, marked generally by a sentence-final negative particle, which probably originates from grammaticalisation.

The scope of the piece focuses on 1) outlining and discussing the relevant known negative particles (and markers) found in some Jukunoid languages, 2) comparing and contrasting them with those of Yukuben in particular.

Since Yukuben basically uses, *inter alia*, a presumably cognitive semantic device in form of a sentence-final particle *kɔ́ŋ* (which can be interpreted/translated as "false (not true)" or "not") to change the meaning of a given expression from positive to negative, and since this same negative particle is used exactly the same way as question particles, I will explore a diachronic connection between them.

Furthermore, by making reference to other various relevant typological work on negation, I will have recourse to a diachronic approach by arguing that *kɔ́ŋ* may have derived from *kɔ́-hūŋ* 'false/falsehood' (the positive counterpart of which is *ká-vāŋ* 'true/truth') via grammaticalisation, whereby the H-M tone pattern in *kɔ́ŋ* derives from the merger of the H-tone of *kɔ́* and the M-tone of the elided TBU *hū*. At this point, such an approach might have a direct consequence for a strategy which opts for (or rather dares) seeking an explanation in a topic/comment-related phenomenon. This would entail the negation particle acting as comment, and the affirmative statement itself as a whole acting as topic.

The results of the discussion are expected to contribute, in the first place, to the foundation for the reconstruction of negation particles (as well as markers/affixes) in Jukunoid in particular and Niger-Congo in general, as well as general typological work on negation.

Note: All the interlinearisation specifications in Welmers's examples are mine.

(Abbreviations: SJ = Southern Jukunoid; CJ = Central Jukunoid; ms = manuscript; Neg = Negation/negative; Ag = Agreement; Sm = subject marker; cl = class; sg = singular; pl = plural; L = low; Imperfv = Imperfective; Perfv = Perfective; TAM = tense, aspect, mood/modality; Recap = "recapitulating"; Cop = copula; Nsp = Nominal subject pronoun; Ind = Indicative; Pres = present; Pp = Possessive pronoun; Ho = Hortative; Imp = Imperative; Prohib = Prohibitive; Foc = Focus; H = High; M = Mid; TBU = tone-bearing unit)

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