

1) 著作権保護のための表示

当報告の内容は、それぞれの著者の著作物です。

Copyrighted materials of the authors.

2) 研究会基本情報

タイトル:「バントゥを縦にみる:言語記述と類型論への通時的視点の導入 (jrp000292)」
(2024 年度第 3 回研究会)

日時: 2025 年 3 月 5 日 (水) 午前 8 時より午後 9 時

場所: オンライン

1. Daisuke Shinagawa (ILCAA)

'Typological variation in negation marking in Kilimanjaro Batu: focusing on the DEM to NEG grammaticalisation path' (「キリマンジャロ・バントゥ諸語における否定表示のバリエーション: 指示詞から否定詞への文法化に焦点をあてて」)

2. All participants

Discussion

本研究課題の 2024 年度第 3 回研究会は、上記日時においてオンライン (公開) で開催され、共同研究員 8 名に加えて、プロジェクト外の研究者 3 名が参加した。なお、本研究会は、ゲント大学バントゥ諸語研究センター (BantUGent) との共催である。

キリマンジャロ・バントゥ諸語は、動詞のあとに現れる否定標識を共通してもつが、こうした否定標識は、その音形に関して、特筆すべきバリエーションが言語内/言語間でみられる。今回の研究会では、こうしたバリエーションを理解するための言語変化に関する仮説が、発表者から提示され、それについて参加者間で討論が行われた。詳細については、次ページ以降の資料も参照されたい。

本研究課題の共同研究員の約半数は、日本国外に拠点を置いている。今後も、こうしたオンライン研究会を開催することで、多くのメンバーの積極的な関与を促していきたいと考えている。

文責: 古本真

Typological variation in negation marking in Kilimanjaro Bantu

focusing on the DEM to NEG grammaticalisation path

Daisuke Shinagawa (ILCAA)

ILCAA Joint Research Project
"Diachronic Perspectives on Language Description and Typology in Bantu (jrp000292)"

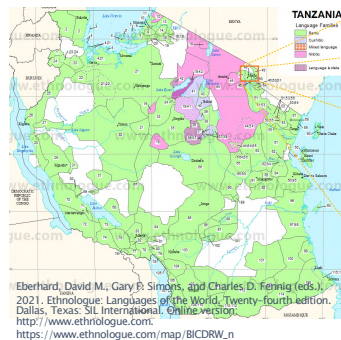
The 3rd meeting: 05-Mar-2025 @ ILCAA/online



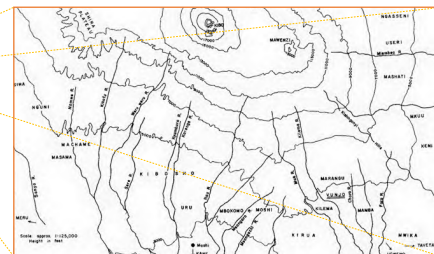
1

1. Intro: KB and its internal variation

Language map of Tanzania



Language map of Kilimanjaro



Nurse, Derek. 1981. Chaga/Taita. In Hinnebusch, Thomas H. and Nurse, Derek and Mould, Martin (eds.), *Studies in the Classification of Eastern Bantu Languages*, 127-180. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

3

Outline

1. Introduction: KB and its internal variation
2. NEG in Bantu: typological overview and typical sources of post-verbal NEG
3. NEG in KB in literature: full-agreement system in Gweno and unsolved questions
4. More variation in KB
 - Mkuu (Rombo): an invariant marking system + pragmatic distinction
 - Uru (CK): a partial agreement system and its implication
 - Rwa (WK): a distinctive system with different origin
5. Summary, insights, and further perspectives

2

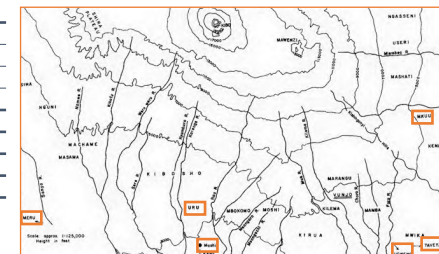
1. Intro: KB and its internal variation

List of Kilimanjaro Bantu languages (KB)

WK E621	E621A Rwa, Meru	E622A Mochi
	E621B Mashami	CK E622B Mbokomu
	E621C Siha	E622C Vunjo
	E621D Kiwoso	E622D Uru
Rombo E623	E621E Masama	E63 Rusha
	E621F Ng'uni	E64 Kahe
	E623A Useri	E65 Gweno
	E623B Mashati	E74 Dabida
	E623C Mkuu	
	E623D Keni	

Philippon, Gérard and Marie-Laure Montlahuc. 2003. Kilimanjaro Bantu (E60 and E74). In Nurse, Derek and Gérard Philippon (eds.), *The Bantu Languages*, London: Routledge, pp. 475-500.
Maho, Jauni F. 2009. NUCI Online: The online version of the New Updated Guthrie List, a referential classification of the Bantu languages.
https://brill.com/fileasset/downloads_products/35125_Bantu-New-updated-Guthrie-List.pdf

Language map of Kilimanjaro



Nurse, Derek. 1981. Chaga/Taita. In Hinnebusch, Thomas H. and Nurse, Derek and Mould, Martin (eds.), *Studies in the Classification of Eastern Bantu Languages*, 127-180. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

4

2. NEG in Bantu: typological overview

Verb-internal NEG in Bantu

Bipartite NEG in PB and in many present-day languages

(Meeussen 1967; Kamba-Muzenga 1981; Güdemann 1999; Nurse & Philippson 2003)

Preln *ka- for main clauses vs.

NEG2 *tá- (INF, REL), *tí- (SBJV) for non-main clauses

(1) Bantu verbal morphological template (cf. Meeussen 1967: 108–111, Rose et al. 2002: 1–4)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Preinitial	SM (Initial)	Postinitial	TAM	OM	Stem	Final	Postfinal

This complementary negation system is still widely attested in many present-day Bantu languages. In Swahili [G42], the preinitial *ha-* is used for the negation of independent main clauses as in (2a), while the postinitial *si-* marks negation in subjunctive forms as in (2b).

(2) Swahili [G42]

a. *ha-tu-end-i*

NEG(II-2-a)-SM1PL-go-PRS.NEG(II-2-c)

'We do not go.'

b. *tu-si-end-e*

SM1PL-NEG(II-2-b)-go-SBJV

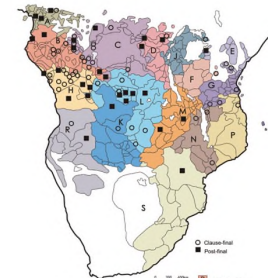
'Let us not go.'

Shinagawa & Marten (2021: 219)

5

2. NEG in Bantu: typological overview

Post-verbal NEG in Bantu (Devos and Auwera 2013)



Map 3: Post-verbal negative markers in the Bantu languages

Devos & van der Auwera (2013: 215)

To give an idea of the relative frequency of obligatory non-emphatic **post-verbal negative** markers in Bantu languages, they occur **33 times** in a geographically diversified sample of **100 Bantu languages** [Devos & Auwera 2013: 214; based on Nurse's (2008) sample]

Table 3. P052: Where is negation expressed in independent tenses? [n=57]

Values	Number	%	Types in Table 1
n/a: negation is achieved using a periphrastic construction	1	2	1
1: in the preinitial position only (NEG-SM-...)	15	26	II-2-a
2: in the postinitial position only (SM-NEG-...)	3	5	II-2-b
3: in the final vowel position of the inflected verb only	0	0	II-2-c
4: in the postfinal position of the inflected verb (i.e., as an enclitic)	1	2	II-1-c
5: two (or more) of the above (either 1 or 2 + 3)	17	30	
6: in a preverbal independent negative particle only	2	4	II-1-a
7: in a postverbal independent negative particle only	7	12	II-1-c
8: two (or more) of the strategies above	11	19	

Shinagawa & Marten (2021: 229)

6

2. NEG in Bantu: typological overview

Major sources* of post-verbal NEG in Bantu (Devos and Auwera 2013)

1. Negative words [ibid.: 233]

(20) Tumbuka N21 (Young 1932: 140)

chara kuti n-ku-ku-pulika chara
no NEG ISG-PROG-2SG-hear-FI NEG
'No, I do not hear you.'

2. Possessives [ibid.: 246]

(54) Kete L21 (Kamba Muzenga 1980: 147, Kamba Muzenga 198

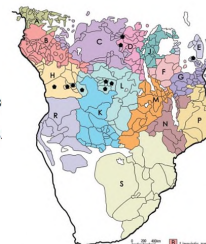
a. *ká-tsa-tánd-end* cf. *iyimbund* yend
NEG1.1-FUT-burn-FLNEG2 9.hip 9.POSS
'S/he will not burn.' 'his hip'

3. Locatives [ibid.: 241]

(39) Kongo H16h (Bentley 1887: 599)

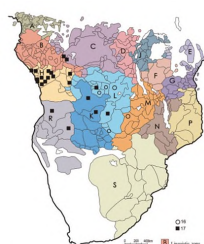
kiele ko kwame ko
NEG1.ISG.be.PRF 17.LOC 17.POSS1SG NEG2
'I have not been there.'

Igs with POSS as NEG



Map 3: Possessives as post-verbal negative markers

Igs with LOC as NEG



Map 3: Locatives as post-verbal negative markers

*Devos & Auwera (2013: 232–233) language-internal and comparative data allow us to suggest at least six different recurrent sources for post-verbal negative markers in Bantu languages: negative answer particles, other negative words, two types of locative pronouns [cl. 16 & 17 suffixes: added by DS], possessive pronouns and locative possessive pronouns

7

3. NEG in KB

Gweno (Devos and Auwera 2013: 253; based on Philippson and Nurse 2000)

Postverbal NEG marker **showing full agreement** with the subject

a. *θi-le-βon-ire* m-ndu *ni*
SM1SG.NEG-PST.R-see-PST.R 1-entity **NEG1SG**
'I didn't see anybody' (Philippson & Nurse 2000: 257)

b. *kúfíe pfo*
ku-Ø-tj-ie pfo
SM2SG-PST.N-come-PST.N **NEG2SG?**
'You didn't come' (Devos & van der Auwera 2013: 253)

c. *fwaŋiya ipfwa fwe*
fu-a-fiy-a i-pfwa **fwe**
SM1PL-PRS-want-FV INF-die **NEG1PL**
'We don't want to die' (Philippson & Nurse 2000: 257)

d. *niŋfirera mwe*
m-tji-rer-a **mwe**
SM2PL-HAB-talk-FV **NEG2PL**
'You don't usually talk' (Devos & van der Auwera 2013: 253)



8

3. NEG in KB

Gweno (Devos and Auwera 2013: 253; based on Philippson and Nurse 2000)
Postverbal NEG marker **showing full agreement** with the subject

- e. *mká θo kwáku áleyíle mwána wé...*
m-ka θo kwaku a-le-yíle mw-ana we
1-woman DEM1 because SM1-PST.R-have.PROF 1-child NEG1
'that woman, because she had no child'
(Philippson & Nurse 2000: 257)
- f. *βáleβónire βayanga βó*
βa-le-βon-ire βa-γanga βo
SM2-PST.R-see-PST.R 2-witchdoctor NEG2
'They didn't see witch-doctors'
(Philippson & Nurse 2000: 257)
- g. *kyumbá ki kínakulwa kyó*
ki-umba ki ki-na-kul-w-a kyo
7-room DEM.P.7 SM7-NOT.YET-sweep-PASS-FV NEG7
'This room hasn't been swept yet'
(Philippson & Nurse 2000: 263)



9

3. NEG in KB

Source of agreeing NEG in Gweno (Devos and Auwera 2013:252–254)

However, the recurrent use in Chaga languages of what is assumed to be a second person singular form (i.e. pfo or a related form) raises some questions. In Gweno (E65) the post-verbal negative markers are similar to independent personal pronouns, except for this second person singular form pfo. As seen in (76) the second person singular form is remarkably similar to the possessive stem.

(76) Gweno E65 (Philippson 1984: 122, 125, 127)

	post-verbal negative markers	independent pronouns	possessive stems
1sg	ní	ini	-akwa
2sg	pfo	iwe	-apfo
3sg / class 1	wé	we	-akwe
1pl	fwé	ifwe	-eru
2pl	mwé	imwe	-enyu
3pl / class 2	bó	bo	-aβo

Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205–274.

11

3. NEG in KB

Post-verbal negation in Chaga (Devos and Auwera 2013:252–254)

- ❖ In all groups of KB, negation typically involves **post-verbal negative markers**
- ❖ Languages **other than Gweno** usually have a set of two or three NEG, suggesting that their NEG systems are **reduced from the original Gweno-like system**

159–160, Philippson and Montlahuc 2003: 496). In Mochi (E622A), for example, the first and second person singular forms appear to have generalised as post-verbal negative markers. Either one can be used irrespective of person, number or class of the subject concord, as (75) makes clear.²⁵

- (75) Mochi E622A (Nurse 1979: 275)
- á-kap-á maná pfo / nyí
1-hit-PROG 1.child NEG / NEG
'He is not hitting the child.'

Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205–274.

10

3. NEG in KB

Post-verbal negation in Chaga (Devos and Auwera 2013:252–254)

As suggested by Philippson (pers. comm.), the use of the (reduced) second person possessive form could be explained by the need to differentiate between second person singular and third person singular class 1. However, the second person singular negative marker pfo is also formally relatable to a class 17 locative pronoun pfo.²⁶ As a matter of fact, several Chaga grammarians have noticed the (near-)homonymy between the post-verbal negative marker and a class 17 locative pronoun (Raum 1909: 163, Augustiny 1914: 42, Müller 1947: 51). This sheds a different light on the situation. It could well be the case that Western Kilimanjaro and Rombo languages, which all have post-verbal negative markers that are relatable to pfo, did not reduce a Gweno-like system (by generalizing the second person singular form) but followed a different grammaticalization path deriving their post-verbal negative markers from a class 17 locative pronoun.²⁷ Central Kilimanjaro could still be said to have reduced the full agreement system as it uses first person singular forms next to (p)fo (cf. (75)). Our preliminary conclusion is that Chaga post-verbal negative markers have an origin in either a locative or a personal pronoun. Possibly some mixed systems have emerged but this and other details need more detailed investigation.

Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205–274.

12

3. NEG in KB

Source of *pfó* in Gweno (Devos and Auwera 2013:252–254)

However, the recurrent use in Chaga languages of what is assumed to be a second person singular form (i.e. *pfo* or a related form) raises some questions. In Gweno (E65) the post-verbal negative markers are similar to independent personal pronouns, except for this second person singular form *pfo*. As seen in (76) the second person singular form is remarkably similar to the possessive stem.

(76) Gweno E65 (Philippson 1984: 122, 125, 127)

	post-verbal negative markers	independent pronouns	possessive stems
1sg	ní	ini	-akwa
2sg	pfó	iwe	-apfo or <i>pfo</i> as a cl. 17 locative pronoun?
3sg / class 1	we	we	-akwe
1pl	fwé	ifwe	-eru
2pl	mwé	imwe	-enyu
3pl / class 2	bó	bo	-aþo

Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205–274.

13

3. NEG in KB

Post-verbal negation in Chaga (Devos and Auwera 2013:252–254)

Questions

1. What are the source of **pfo**; i) POSS.2pl or ii) DEM of locative class 17?
2. Are WK and Rombo systems, which have NEG relatable to **pfo**, reduced from a full agreement system (by generalizing the 2sg form) or of independent origin (by adopting class 17 locative pronoun as their post-verbal negative markers)?
3. Does Chaga post-verbal negative markers originate from a locative or a personal pronoun or anything else?

Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205–274.

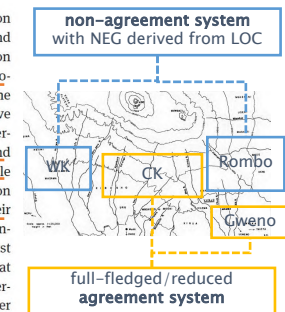
15

3. NEG in KB

Gweno-like system vs. LOC-based system? (Devos and Auwera 2013:252–254)

As suggested by Philippson (pers. comm.), the use of the (reduced) second person possessive form could be explained by the need to differentiate between second person singular and third person singular class 1. However, the second person singular negative marker *pfo* is also formally relatable to a class 17 locative pronoun *pfo*.²⁶ As a matter of fact, several Chaga grammarians have noticed the (near-)homonymy between the post-verbal negative marker and a class 17 locative pronoun (Raum 1909: 163, Augustiny 1914: 42, Müller 1947: 51). This sheds a different light on the situation. It could well be the case that Western Kilimanjaro and Rombo languages, which all have post-verbal negative markers that are relatable to *pfo*, did not reduce a Gweno-like system (by generalizing the second person singular form) but followed a different grammaticalization path deriving their post-verbal negative markers from a class 17 locative pronoun.²⁷ Central Kilimanjaro could still be said to have reduced the full agreement system as it uses first person singular forms next to (*pfo*) (cf. (75)). Our preliminary conclusion is that Chaga post-verbal negative markers have an origin in either a locative or a personal pronoun. Possibly some mixed systems have emerged but this and other details need more detailed investigation.

Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205–274.



14

4. Variation in KB

Rombo–Mkuu (Shinagawa 2015)

Main clause negation is marked by the invariant post-verbal particle *kú*

- 1SG *ngiŋemlola rafiki jákwa ngámá **ku***
'I will not see my friend tomorrow'
- 2SG *usoma kitabú **ku***
'You do not read a book'
- 1PL *dukufúnsa kirómbo **ku***
'We do not learn the Rombo language'
- 2PL *múŋerunda kasi luní **ku***
'You (pl.) will not work today'
- cl.1 *esakwa hewá **ku***
'S/he does not watch the sky'
- cl.2 *þefelólá **ku***
'They will not see'

Lexical source of NEG
⇒ invariant form *ku* < DEM_{LOC}

POSS.2sg	DEM. cl.17		
	Prox.	Med.	Dis.
-afo	ku	ko	kula



Shinagawa, Daisuke 2015. *A grammatical sketch of Chaga–Rombo* [in Japanese] Tokyo: ILCAA

16

4. Variation in KB

Rombo-Mkuu (Benji Wald p.c.)

Co-existence of **ku** and **fo** with pragmatic/ discourse functional contrast

ngi-kund-i mw-anaká shu ku
SM1SG-love-STAT 1-woman DEM1 NEG
'I don't like this woman'

ngi-kund-i mw-anaká shu fo?
SM1SG-love-STAT 1-woman DEM1 NEG
Don't I like this woman? (probably with surprise)

Lexical source of NEG
⇒ invariant form **ku** < DEM_{Loc}

POSS.2sg	DEM. cl.17
Prox.	Med.
-afo	ku
	ko
	kula

What is the origin of **fo**?

Concerning the functional uniformity as a main-clause negation, as well as the diachronic process discussed below, it is feasibly assumed that **fo** is cognate with **pfo** in other KB, i.e., a near doublet of **ku**, rather than derived from POSS.2sg **-afo**, which shows no empirical evidence that it has a direct relevance to NEG **fo** both in terms of functional motivation (at least in KB) as well as its phonetic shape (where is the stem initial 'a' gone?).

Shinagawa, Daisuke 2025. Descriptive notes on negation particles in Kilimanjaro Bantu languages. *Working paper in African Linguistics* 2: 83–100

17

4. Variation in KB

Uru (CK) (Shinagawa fieldnote)

Postverbal NEG showing partial agreement with the subject

1SG	<i>tʃiléóló* ká pʃó/ʃi</i> 'I did not fall'	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1SG-PST#fall-F	pʃó/ni NEG/PRON1SG
2SG	<i>kuléóló* ká pʃó/*jo</i> 'You did not fall'	ku-le#olok-a SM2SG-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*jo NEG/PRON2SG
1PL	<i>luléóló* ká pʃó/*so</i> 'We did not fall'	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1PL-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*so NEG/PRON1PL
2PL	<i>muléóló* ká pʃó/*nu</i> 'You did not fall'	mu-le#olok-a SM2PL-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*nu NEG/PRON2PL
cl.1	<i>aléóló* ká pʃó/o</i> 'S/he did not fall'	a-le#olok-a SM1-PST#fall-F	pʃó/o NEG/PRON1
cl.2	<i>waléóló* ká pʃó/wo</i> 'They did not fall'	wa-le#olok-a SM2-PST#fall-F	pʃó/wo NEG/PRON2
cl.7	<i>kiléóló* ká pʃó/kjo</i> 'It (cl.7) did not fall'	ki-le#olok-a SM7-PST#fall-F	pʃó/kjo NEG/DEM7
cl.17	<i>kuítʃijó pʃó</i> 'The place is not known'	ku=itʃi-w-a SM17=know-PASS-F	pʃó NEG<DEM17

Two series of NEG, i.e.,
i) non-agreement **pfo**
ii) agreement forms

agreement forms cannot be used with a speech participant subject (other than 1SG)

Both agreement and non-agreement forms are used with non-speech participant (= class noun) subjects



18

4. Variation in KB

Uru (CK) (Shinagawa fieldnote)

Postverbal NEG showing partial agreement with the subject

1SG	<i>tʃiléóló* ká pʃó/ʃi</i> 'I did not fall'	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1SG-PST#fall-F	pʃó/ni NEG/PRON1SG
2SG	<i>kuléóló* ká pʃó/*jo</i> 'You did not fall'	ku-le#olok-a SM2SG-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*jo NEG/PRON2SG
1PL	<i>luléóló* ká pʃó/*so</i> 'We did not fall'	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1PL-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*so NEG/PRON1PL
2PL	<i>muléóló* ká pʃó/*nu</i> 'You did not fall'	mu-le#olok-a SM2PL-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*nu NEG/PRON2PL
cl.1	<i>aléóló* ká pʃó/o</i> 'S/he did not fall'	a-le#olok-a SM1-PST#fall-F	pʃó/o NEG/PRON1
cl.2	<i>waléóló* ká pʃó/wo</i> 'They did not fall'	wa-le#olok-a SM2-PST#fall-F	pʃó/wo NEG/PRON2
cl.7	<i>kiléóló* ká pʃó/kjo</i> 'It (cl.7) did not fall'	ki-le#olok-a SM7-PST#fall-F	pʃó/kjo NEG/DEM7
cl.17	<i>kuítʃijó pʃó</i> 'The place is not known'	ku=itʃi-w-a SM17=know-PASS-F	pʃó NEG<DEM17

Source of agreeing NEG for speech participants S

Person PRON (short)			
1sg	ni	1pl	<i>so</i>
2sg	<i>jo</i>	2pl	<i>nu</i>
3sg	<i>o</i>	3pl	<i>wo</i>

19

4. Variation in KB

Uru (CK) (Shinagawa fieldnote)

Postverbal NEG showing partial agreement with the subject

1SG	<i>tʃiléóló* ká pʃó/ʃi</i> 'I did not fall'	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1SG-PST#fall-F	pʃó/ni NEG/PRON1SG
2SG	<i>kuléóló* ká pʃó/*jo</i> 'You did not fall'	ku-le#olok-a SM2SG-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*jo NEG/PRON2SG
1PL	<i>luléóló* ká pʃó/*so</i> 'We did not fall'	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1PL-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*so NEG/PRON1PL
2PL	<i>muléóló* ká pʃó/*nu</i> 'You did not fall'	mu-le#olok-a SM2PL-PST#fall-F	pʃó/*nu NEG/PRON2PL
cl.1	<i>aléóló* ká pʃó/o</i> 'S/he did not fall'	a-le#olok-a SM1-PST#fall-F	pʃó/o NEG/PRON1
cl.2	<i>waléóló* ká pʃó/wo</i> 'They did not fall'	wa-le#olok-a SM2-PST#fall-F	pʃó/wo NEG/PRON2
cl.7	<i>kiléóló* ká pʃó/kjo</i> 'It (cl.7) did not fall'	ki-le#olok-a SM7-PST#fall-F	pʃó/kjo NEG/DEM7
cl.17	<i>kuítʃijó pʃó</i> 'The place is not known'	ku=itʃi-w-a SM17=know-PASS-F	pʃó NEG<DEM17

Source of agreeing NEG for non-speech participants S

	DEM.P	DEM.M	DEM.D
cl.1	<i>idzu</i>	tʃo	<i>ulja</i>
cl.2	<i>iwu</i>	wo	<i>walja</i>
cl.3	<i>ifu</i>	fo	<i>fulja</i>
cl.4	<i>iji</i>	jo	<i>ilja</i>
cl.5	<i>ili</i>	lo	<i>ilja</i>
cl.6	<i>ixa</i>	xo	<i>xalja</i>
cl.7	<i>iki</i>	kjo	<i>kilja</i>
cl.8	<i>ifi</i>	fo	<i>filja</i>
cl.9	<i>iji</i>	jo	<i>ija</i>
cl.10	<i>itsi</i>	tso	<i>tsilja</i>
cl.11	<i>ilu</i>	lo	<i>luja</i>
cl.12	<i>ika</i>	ko	<i>kalja</i>
cl.16	<i>ija</i>	xo	<i>xalja</i>
cl.17	<i>kunu</i>	pfo/ko	<i>kũja</i>

20

4. Variation in KB

Uru (CK) (Shinagawa fieldnote)

Source of non-agreeing NEG

Postverbal NEG showing partial agreement with the subject

1SG	<i>tʃiléóló* ká pfó/j</i>	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1SG-PST#fall-F	pfó/ji NEG/PRON1SG
2SG	<i>kuléóló* ká pfó/*jo</i>	ku-le#olok-a SM2SG-PST#fall-F	pfó/*jo NEG/PRON2SG
1PL	<i>luléóló* ká pfó/*so</i>	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1PL-PST#fall-F	pfó/*so NEG/PRON1PL
2PL	<i>muléóló* ká pfó/*nu</i>	mu-le#olok-a SM2PL-PST#fall-F	pfó/*nu NEG/PRON2PL
cl.1	<i>aléóló* ká pfó/o</i>	a-le#olok-a SM1-PST#fall-F	pfó/o NEG/PRON1
cl.2	<i>waléóló* ká pfó/wo</i>	wa-le#olok-a SM2-PST#fall-F	pfó/wo NEG/PRON2
cl.7	<i>kiléóló* ká pfó/kjo</i>	ki-le#olok-a SM7-PST#fall-F	pfó/kjo NEG/DEM7
cl.17	<i>kuitʃijó pfó</i>	ku=itʃi-w-a SM17=know-PASS-F	pfó NEG<DEM17

	DEM.P	DEM.M	DEM.D
cl.1	<i>idʒu</i>	<i>tʃo</i>	<i>ulja</i>
cl.2	<i>iwo</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>walja</i>
cl.3	<i>ifu</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>fulja</i>
cl.4	<i>iji</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>ilja</i>
cl.5	<i>ili</i>	<i>ljo</i>	<i>ilja</i>
cl.6	<i>ixa</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>xalja</i>
cl.7	<i>iki</i>	<i>kjo</i>	<i>kilja</i>
cl.8	<i>ifi</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>filja</i>
cl.9	<i>iji</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>ija</i>
cl.10	<i>itsi</i>	<i>tso</i>	<i>tsilja</i>
cl.11	<i>ilu</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>lulja</i>
cl.12	<i>ika</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kalja</i>
cl.16	<i>ija</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>xalja</i>
cl.17	<i>kunu</i>	<i>pfó/ko</i>	<i>kʃija</i>

21

4. Variation in KB

Uru (CK) (Shinagawa fieldnote)

Postverbal NEG showing partial agreement with the subject

1SG	<i>tʃiléóló* ká pfó/j</i>	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1SG-PST#fall-F	pfó/ji NEG/PRON1SG
2SG	<i>kuléóló* ká pfó/*jo</i>	ku-le#olok-a SM2SG-PST#fall-F	pfó/*jo NEG/PRON2SG
1PL	<i>luléóló* ká pfó/*so</i>	tʃi-le#olok-a SM1PL-PST#fall-F	pfó/*so NEG/PRON1PL
2PL	<i>muléóló* ká pfó/*nu</i>	mu-le#olok-a SM2PL-PST#fall-F	pfó/*nu NEG/PRON2PL
cl.1	<i>aléóló* ká pfó/o</i>	a-le#olok-a SM1-PST#fall-F	pfó/o NEG/PRON1
cl.2	<i>waléóló* ká pfó/wo</i>	wa-le#olok-a SM2-PST#fall-F	pfó/wo NEG/PRON2
cl.7	<i>kiléóló* ká pfó/kjo</i>	ki-le#olok-a SM7-PST#fall-F	pfó/kjo NEG/DEM7
cl.17	<i>kuitʃijó pfó</i>	ku=itʃi-w-a SM17=know-PASS-F	pfó NEG<DEM17

Lexical source of NEG
i) agreement form
= PRON for Persons
= DEM_n for Classes
ii) non-agreement (invariant)
form **pfó** = DEM₁₇



22

4. Variation in KB

An assumed historical process of simplification of the agreement patterns of negative particles

Subject		Rombo	Uru	Gweno	*Proto E60
Speech Participants	1SG	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON	PRON
	2SG	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	PRON
	1PL	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON
	2PL	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON
Discourse Referents	cl.1	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON	PRON
	cl.2	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON	PRON
	other (cl.n)	DEM ₁₇	DEM _n	DEM _n	DEM _n

23

4. Variation in KB

Rwa (WK) (Shinagawa fieldnote)

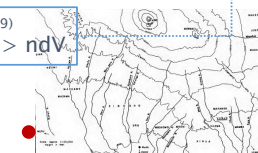
Invariant/non-agreeing postverbal NEG with a different origin from DEM₁₇

1SG	<i>nlóliáa ndi</i>	'I will not see'	NEG in Dawida (cf. Philippson & Montlahuc: 2003) ⇒ Preinitial nde=
1PL	<i>tilolié ndi</i>	'We did not see'	cl.1 ndeukúkabiéye <i>nde= u-ku-kab-ieye</i> NEG-SM1-OM2SG-hit-PST 'S/he did not hit you'
cl.2	<i>vaworé numbé ndi</i>	'They do not have cows'	

NEG in Central Kenyan Bantu (Kamba-Muzenga: 1978:99)

⇒ PB *tj negative predicate index (Meeussen 1967: 115) > ndi > ndv

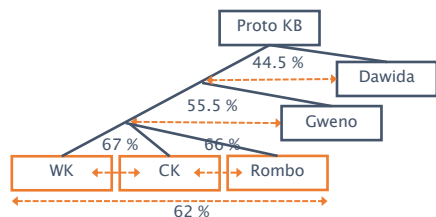
Gusii	<i>titukogenda</i>	Kamba	<i>nduneekota</i>
	'nous n'allons pas'		'tu n'as pas tire'



24

4. Variation in KB

Genealogical branching based on lexicostatistic correspondences
(cf. Nurse 1981: 134, 162, 168, 165)

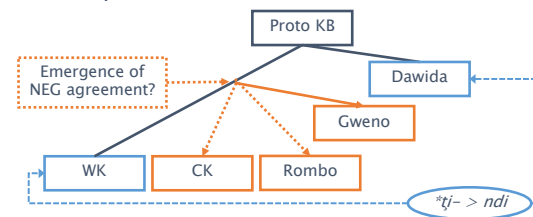


- Lexical similarities suggest that WK, CK, and Rombo constitutes an immediate group of genealogic branching, with WK-CK slightly closer than CK-Rombo

25

4. Variation in KB

Branching suggested by comparison of negation marking systems developed in this study



- Grouping based on the systematic continuity of negation marking clearly suggests a different genealogical unity consisting of CK, Rombo, and Gweno, to the exclusion of WK and Dawida

26

5. Conclusion

Questions

- What are the source of **pfo**; i) POSS.2pl or ii) DEM of locative class 17?
→ Given the assumed diachronic scenario based on cross-KB variation, the source of **pfo/fo** (<*ku-o) should be DEM of locative class 17.

Subject		Rombo	Uru	Gweno	*Proto E60
Speech Participants	1SG	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON	PRON
	2SG	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	PRON
	1PL	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON
	2PL	DEM ₁₇	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON
Discourse Referents	cl.1	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON	PRON
	cl.2	DEM ₁₇	PRON	PRON	PRON
	other (cl.n)	DEM ₁₇	DEM _n	DEM _n	DEM _n

27

5. Conclusion

Questions

- Are WK and Rombo systems, which have NEG relatable to **pfo**, reduced from a full agreement system (by generalizing the 2sg form), or of independent origin (by adopting class 17 locative pronoun as their post-verbal negative markers)?
→ Existence of NEG with class 17 origin, be it **pfo** or **ku**, rather suggest that it is part of a reduced system, i.e., the scenario suggests that the full agreement system (illustrated by Gweno) where agreeing markers were derived from PRON for persons and from DEM for classes was simplified via the partial agreement system (illustrated by Uru) to the invariant marking system (illustrated by Rombo-Mkuu) through generalisation of the cl. 17 demonstrative.
- On the other hand, the NEG **ndi** and related forms attested in WWK (Rwa) and Dawida (as a transposed verbal prefix) are historically relatable to PB *ti, which apparently form a distinct group. It may be plausible to think that **ndi** in WWK may be a later introduction after the establishment of post-verbal NEG particle (p.c. Benji Wald)

28

5. Conclusion

Questions

3. Does Chaga post-verbal negative markers originate from a locative or a personal pronoun or anything else?

→ PRON for persons, DEM for classes. LOC should have been only part of the original full agreement system, but it replaced agreeing PRON first (illustrated by partial agreement system in Uru), then other class nouns.

	DEM.P	DEM.M	DEM.D
cl.1	<i>idzu</i>	<i>tfo</i>	<i>ulja</i>
cl.2	<i>iwo</i>	<i>wo</i>	<i>watja</i>
cl.3	<i>ifu</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>fulja</i>
cl.4	<i>iji</i>	<i>Jo</i>	<i>ilja</i>
cl.5	<i>ili</i>	<i>ljo</i>	<i>ilija</i>
cl.6	<i>ixa</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>xalja</i>
cl.7	<i>iki</i>	<i>kjo</i>	<i>kilja</i>
cl.8	<i>ifi</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>jilja</i>
cl.9	<i>iji</i>	<i>Jo</i>	<i>ija</i>
cl.10	<i>itsi</i>	<i>tso</i>	<i>tsilja</i>
cl.11	<i>ilu</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>lulja</i>
cl.12	<i>ika</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kalja</i>
cl.16	<i>ija</i>	<i>xo</i>	<i>xalja</i>
cl.17	<i>kunu</i>	<i>pfo/ko</i>	<i>kulja</i>

Person PRON (short)			
1sg	<i>ni</i>	1pl	<i>so</i>
2sg	<i>jo</i>	2pl	<i>nu</i>
3sg	<i>o</i>	3pl	<i>wo</i>

Source of agreeing NEG for speech participants S

Source of agreeing NEG for non-speech participants S

Source of non-agreeing/invariant NEG

29

5. Conclusion

Additional Questions

4. Why DEM? Why are (an entire series of) demonstratives, rather than possessive or locative, adopted to be negation markers?

→ DEM is a common source of focus marking in many Bantu languages (cf. De Kind et al. 2013, Van de Velde 2005) and focus enforcer is the common source of the new NEG, i.e., the Jespersen's cycle. In Bantu, the typological correlation between morphological focus markers and NEG particle is salient (Shinagawa & Marten 2021, 2023). At least based on the observation in KB, DEM can be included as the fourth source of NEG particle exactly through the Jespersen's cycle discussed by Devos & Auwera (2013)

		MFM			
		P140=no		P140=yes	
NEG.P	P056=1	obligatory with other markings	0.0%	100.0%	Nzadi B865, Uru Eb220, Rombo B62; Rangi F33, Kikongo Kisilongo H16a; Lamba M54, Matengo N1
	P056=3	obligatory w.o. other markings	50.0% Chindamba C52	50.0%	Bafia A55
	P056=4	present depending on tense	33.3% Cokwe K11	66.7%	Aote A71, Ngangela K12
	no	not attested	61.1% (omitted)	38.9%	(omitted)
Grand Total			46.4%	53.6%	

31

5. Conclusion

Additional Questions

4. Why DEM? Why are (an entire series of) demonstratives, rather than possessive or locative, adopted to be negation markers?

→ DEM is a common source of focus marking in many Bantu languages (cf. De Kind et al. 2013, Van de Velde 2005) and focus enforcer is the common source of the new NEG, i.e., the Jespersen's cycle. In Bantu, the typological correlation between morphological focus markers and NEG particle is salient (Shinagawa & Marten 2021, 2023). At least based on the observation in KB, DEM can be included as the fourth source of NEG particle exactly through the Jespersen's cycle discussed by Devos & Auwera (2013)

3.3.3. Negative particles implying the presence of an MFM: P056 → [P140=1]
The next set of data provides a more detailed picture of the correlation discussed in the previous section. It examines the correlation between the presence of MFM and one type of verb-external negation, namely the presence of a negation particle (P056). As suggested by the implicational correlation discussed in the last section, our data show a significant correlation between them. According to the database, all the languages with [P056=1], i.e., a negative particle is obligatory in addition to verb marking (including tone marking), are confirmed to have morphological means of focus marking (disregarding those languages without relevant information of P140). These languages include Nzadi (B865), Uru (E622d), Rombo (E623), Rangi (F33), Manda (N11), and Matengo (N13).¹⁰

Parameter matching	Covariation rate	Number of languages
If P056=0, P140=1	0.41	[P056=0, P140=0] (10); [P056=0, P140=1] (7); [P056=0, P140=undefined] (14)
If P056=1, P140=1	1.00	[P056=1, P140=0] (0); [P056=1, P140=1] (6); [P056=1, P140=undefined] (2)
If P056=3, P140=1	0.50	[P056=3, P140=0] (1); [P056=3, P140=1] (1); [P056=3, P140=undefined] (9)
If P056=4, P140=1	0.67	[P056=4, P140=0] (1); [P056=4, P140=1] (2); [P056=4, P140=undefined] (6)

Shinagawa & Marten (2021: 237)

30

Reference

- De Kind, Jasper, Maud Devos, Gilles-Maurice de Schryver, and Koen Bostoen. 2013. Negation markers, focus markers and Jespersen cycles in Kikongo (Bantu, H16): a comparative and diachronic corpus-based approach, paper presented at Workshop on information structure in Bantu, Berlin.
- Devos, Maud and Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Jespersen cycles in Bantu: Double and triple negation. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 34(2): 205-274.
- Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2021. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Twenty-fourth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version
- Guldemann, Tom. 1999. The genesis of verbal negation in Bantu and its dependency on functional features of clause types. In Hombert, Jean-Marie, and Larry M. Hyman (eds.) *Bantu historical linguistics*. California: CSLI, pp. 545-587.
- Kamba-Muzengwa, Jean Georges. 1978. Les formes négatives dans les langues bantoues, Tervuren: Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika.
- Maho, Jouni F. 2009. NUCLE Online The online version of the New Updated Guthrie List, a referential classification of the Bantu languages. https://brill.com/files/asset/downloads_products/35125_Bantu-New-updated-Guthrie-List.pdf
- Meeussen, Achille E. 1967. Bantu grammatical reconstructions. *Africana Linguistica* 3: 80-122.
- Moshi, Lioba. 1988. A functional typology of "ni" in Kivunjo (Chaga). *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 18(1): 105-113.
- Nurse, Derek. 1981. Chaga/Taita. In Hinnebusch, Thomas H. and Nurse, Derek and Mould, Martin (eds.), *Studies in the Classification of Eastern Bantu Languages*, 127-180. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Philippson, Gérard and Marie-Laure Montlahuc. 2003. Kilimanjaro Bantu (E60 and E74). In Nurse, Derek and Gérard Philippson (eds.) *The Bantu languages* 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp. 475-500.
- Philippson, Gérard, and Derek Nurse. 2000. Gweno, a little known Bantu Language of Northern Tanzania. In Kahigi, K. K., Yared M. Kihore, and Maarten Mous (eds.) *Lugha za Tanzania/Languages of Tanzania: A study dedicated to the memory of the late Prof. C. Maganga*. Leiden: CNWS, pp. 233-284.
- Shinagawa, Daisuke. 2015. A grammatical sketch of Chaga-Rombo [in Japanese]. Tokyo: ILCAA.
- Shinagawa, Daisuke 2025. Descriptive notes on negation particles in Kilimanjaro Bantu languages. *Working paper in African Linguistics* 2: 83-100
- Shinagawa, Daisuke, and Lutz Marten. 2021. Micro-typological covariation of negation and focus marking morphology in Bantu languages. *Gengo Kenkyu* [Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan] 160: 215-248.
- Van de Velde, Mark. 2005. The Order of Noun and Demonstrative in Bantu. In Bostoen, Koen and Jacky Maniacky (eds.), *Studies in African Comparative Linguistics with special focus on Bantu and Mande*, 425-441. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa.

32

Acknowledgement

This work is supported by the following grants and projects, which I hereby acknowledge.



JSPS Grant-in-aid for Scientific Research (B)
"The Parameter-driven approach to cross-Bantu typology: Exploring the
variation and universals in Bantu languages"
#23H00622; PI: Daisuke Shinagawa



'Diachronic Perspectives on Language Description and Typology in Bantu'
(2024–2026)



Description and Documentation of Language Dynamics in Asia and Africa:
Toward a More In-depth Understanding of the Languages and Cultures of
People Living in Asia and Africa (DDDling)