

Unravelling the ‘not’: Left peripheral blocking of negation in Kirundi

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Kirundi has two principle ways of expressing negation: *nti-/si-* and *ta-*. One occurs before subject-marking in matrix clauses and the other after subject-marking in embedded clauses, in those involving A'-movement, and inside nominalizations respectively. I argue that the alternation between these two forms is due to the structure of the left periphery. More specifically, when negation moves to C⁰, it surfaces as primary negation. Otherwise, when this movement is blocked – due to the types of C⁰s in subordinate clauses and those involving A'-extraction, or when there is no C (in nominalizations) – it surfaces lower in its secondary form.

1 Introduction

The majority of Bantu languages have two or three strategies for expressing negation (?). In Kirundi, there are three different negation morphemes: *nti-*, *si-*, and *ta-*. The negation morphemes *nti-* and *si-* occur in the same environments and pre-verbal position, so I will treat them as the same. They both only surface in matrix clauses and never in clauses involving A'-movement. They only differ in that *si-* surfaces with first-person subjects. They will be referred to as the ‘default’ case of negation. The other morpheme, *ta-*, surfaces after subject marking instead. It occurs in subordinate clauses, clauses involving A'-movement, and nominalizations which inversely contrasts with the ‘default’ form of negation (???). It is common in many Bantu languages to have this distinction between two forms of negation in different syntactic environments (???). An example of both primary and secondary negation in Kirundi is shown in (1)^{1,2}; primary negation surfaces in the matrix clause and secondary negation surfaces inside the embedded clause.

- (1) Keezá **nti**-a-a-guze igitabo Juma a-**t(a)**-a-sómye.
Keezá NEG₁-1SM-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book Juma 1SM-NEG₂-REC.PST-read.PFV
‘Keeza did not buy a book that Juma did not read.’

Altogether, both pre-verbal forms of negation (*nti-/si-*) will be referred to as “primary” negation (NEG₁) and (*ta-*) as “secondary” negation (NEG₂) respectively. A summary of all morphemes expressing negation can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of negation morphemes in Kirundi

form	name	position	context
<i>nti-</i> <i>si-</i>	primary (NEG ₁)	pre-subject Agr	matrix clauses <i>exception</i> : 1sg subjects
<i>ta-</i>	secondary (NEG ₂)	post-subject Agr	subordinate clauses, A'-movement, nominalizations

¹ All non-cited Kirundi examples are from my own field work during a Field Methods course at McGill University in 2022. They were elicited with a native speaker, Benilde Mizero, to which I am forever grateful.

² Gloss abbreviations are taken from the Leipzig Glossing rules with the addition of DJ: disjoint, EXPL: expletive, FV: final vowel, NEG₁: primary negation, NEG₂: secondary negation, REC: recent, REM: remote, SFP: sentence-final particle, SM: subject marker, TN: tense.

Overall, primary negation cannot surface within a subordinate clause and is incompatible with A'-movement. I argue that these types of clauses can be connected in that both have a C head which blocks Neg-to-C movement.

§2 gives some background about Kirundi. Next, in §3 I show the distribution and alternation of negation in various contexts. Subsequently, in §4 I argue that when secondary negation surfaces – in embedded clauses, in clauses involving A'-movement, and in nominalizations – C is filled or absent. In §5, I argue that negation is generated in the inflectional domain and moves to C; when it can, it surfaces as primary negation, but when this movement is blocked, it surfaces as secondary negation lower in the clause instead. I then show that this accounts for the distribution of negation in Kirundi. Finally, I conclude in §6.

2 Kirundi background

Kirundi (Great Lakes; JD.62) is a Bantu language spoken mainly in Burundi and some of the surrounding countries by around nine million speakers (?). It is an agglutinative language whose negation affixes to the verbs, which surfaces in two different forms: primary and secondary. More precisely, primary negation is located in the pre-subject marker (Pre-SM) position, the foremost position, and secondary negation is located in the post-subject marker (or Post-SM) position, between SM (subject marking) and TA (tense-aspect). ? gives a structure for the Kirundi verb in (2).

(2) Pre-SM (e.g., **NEG**₁, REL) + SM + Post-SM (**NEG**₂) + TA + [[OM + [[root + extension] + FV]] + Post-FV

Most of the literature also contrasts these types of negation due to their location relative to the verb root. Both types will be presented in more detail in the following section.

Before starting, certain subject markers must be clarified. In the ensuing examples, some will be glossed as 1SG.s and others as 1SM. 1SG.s signifies that the subject marker, usually /n/, identifies the subject as first-person. 1SM, represented as /a/, depicts that the subject is part of noun class 1 in Kirundi (which has 16 different noun classes; ?).

3 Negation in Kirundi

In this section, I describe Kirundi's primary and secondary negation in more detail.

3.1 Primary negation.

The so-called 'default' form of negation, primary negation, can only surface in finite matrix clauses which do not involve A'-movement. It is located in the pre-subject marker position, but can also be separated from the verb in some cases. Nonetheless, it always occurs prior to the verb. In most cases, primary negation surfaces as the morpheme *nti*-:

(3) Yohani **nti**-a-a-funguye.
John **NEG**₁-1SM-REC.PST-eat.PFV
'Yohani didn't eat.'

Since *nti*- is prefixed to the subject marker, it often phonologically assimilates. When the prefix marker for the first noun class, *a*-, is used alongside it, *nti*- + *a* is pronounced as *nta*. The only exception is that when there is a first-person subject, primary negation surfaces as *si*- instead:

(4) a. mu bisanzwe si-n-fuúngur-a imihwi.
in usually **NEG**₁-1SG.s-eat-FV 4banana
'I usually do not eat bananas.'

- b. mu bisanzwe **nti-a**-fuúngur-a imihwi.
 in usually NEG₁-1SM-eat-FV 4banana
 ‘He usually does not eat bananas.’

The reason for this may be that *nti-* dissimilates phonologically from the first-person subject agreement marker *n*, and becomes *si-*. This is more evident when something occurs between the negation and the verb. In these cases, *nta* is used instead of *si-* even if the sentence has a first-person subject. ? analyze *nta* as being composed of negation (*nti-*) plus an expletive (*a*).

- (5) a. **nti**-a misumaari **m**-fise. b. **si-n**-fise imisumaari ...
 NEG₁-EXPL 4nail 1SG.s-have NEG₁-1SG.s-have 4nail
 ‘I don’t have nails.’ ‘I don’t have nails ...’

Another possibility is that primary negation may be taking the form of the negative copula, which is also *si*. This negative copula, as with its non-negative counterpart, *ni*, is found in nominal predicate phrases (6) and clefts (7) which arise from focus constructions.

- (6) a. umwana **ni** umukobwa. b. umugabo **si** umwami.
 1child COP 1girl 1man COP.NEG 1king
 ‘The child is a girl.’ ‘The man is not a king.’ (?)

- (7) ‘What did John buy?’
 a. **ni** ibitabo Yohani a-a-guze.
 COP 8book Yohani 1SM-REC.PST-buy.PFV
 ‘It’s books John bought.’
 b. **si** ibitabo Yohani a-a-guze.
 COP.NEG 8book Yohani 1SM-REC.PST-buy.PFV
 ‘It’s not books John bought.’

Since this behaviour appears phonologically driven, I will treat *nti-* and *si-* as one and the same element. Both of these surface forms occur in the same contexts. Concisely, primary negation appears only in finite matrix clauses where no A’-movement has occurred.

3.2 Secondary negation.

The other type of negation, secondary negation, is located in the post-subject marking position. As with primary negation, it has different phonological forms. It usually surfaces as *ta-*, but can have slight variations. This prefix can also surface as *da-* before a voiceless obstruent, due to *Dahl’s law*, which causes voice dissimilation between sequential voiceless stops by voicing the initial one (?). It can also surface as *t-* when it occurs before a vowel.

An important distinction between primary and secondary negation is that the former is used in matrix clauses, whilst the latter cannot:

- (8) a. *Yohani a-t(a)-a-guze igitabo
 John 1SM-NEG₂-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book
 b. Yohani **nti**-a-a-guze igitabo.
 John NEG₁-1SM-REC.PST-buy.PFV 7book
 ‘John did not buy a book.’

Conversely, primary negation can never surface in embedded clauses; secondary negation is used instead:

- (9) a. *Keezá a-rá-zi [ko Juma **nti**-a-somye igitabo].
 Keezá 1SM-DJ-know COMP Juma **NEG**₁-1SM-REC.PST-read.PFV 7book
 b. Keezá a-rá-zi [ko Juma a-**t(a)**-somye igitabo].
 Keezá 1SM-DJ-know COMP Juma 1SM-**NEG**₂-REC.PST-read.PFV 7book
 ‘Keeza knows that Juma didn’t read a book.’

Additionally, when negating a sentence involving A’-movement, secondary negation must be used instead of primary negation. First, secondary negation surfaces inside relative clauses, as in (10).

- (10) a. *ibitabo_i Yohani **nti**-a-á-somye *t_i* ...
 8book John **NEG**₁-1SM-REM.PST-read.PFV
 b. ibitabo_i Yohani a-**t(a)**-á-somye *t_i* ...
 8book John 1SM-**NEG**₂-REM.PST-read.PFV
 ‘Books that John didn’t read ...’ (??)

In Kirundi, *wh*-questions and focus constructions (instances of A’-movement) are clefts (??). As they also involve A’-movement, secondary negation surfaces within them, as in (11) and (12).

(11) *Subject extraction*:

- a. *ni-ndé **nti**-a-a-bonye umugabo?
 COP-who **NEG**₁-1SM-REC.PST-see.PFV 1man
 b. ni-ndé a-**t(a)**-a-bonye umugabo?
 COP-who 1SM-**NEG**₂-REC.PST-see.PFV 1man
 ‘Who did not see a man?’

(12) *Object extraction*:

- a. *ni-ndé Yohani **nti**-a-a-bonye?
 COP-who John **NEG**₁-1SM-REC.PST-see.PFV
 b. ni-ndé Yohani a-**t(a)**-a-bonye?
 COP-who John 1SM-**NEG**₂-REC.PST-see.PFV
 ‘Who did John not see?’

Lastly, secondary negation is also used inside nominalizations³:

- (13) a. ***nti**-gu-sóm-a igitabo bi-ra-ruh-ish-a.
NEG₁-INF-read-FV 7book 8-DJ-be.tired-CAUS-FV
 b. gu-**ta**-sóm-a igitabo bi-ra-ruh-ish-a.
 INF-**NEG**₂-read-FV 7book 8-DJ-be.tired-CAUS-FV
 ‘Not reading a book is tiring.’

The two types of negation mentioned are in complementary distribution; they can also never co-occur. Primary negation occurs in matrix clauses and secondary negation occurs in subordinate clauses, in clauses involving A’-movement, and inside nominalizations. An additional summary can be found in Table 2 (Table 1 repeated) below.

In the next section, I show that in contexts where secondary negation surfaces, the left periphery is either filled or absent.

³ *ku-* (or *gu-*), the class marker for class 15, is often labelled as INF (e.g., ??).

Table 2. Distribution of primary and secondary negation in Kirundi

form	name	position	context
<i>nti-</i>	primary (NEG ₁)	pre-subject Agr	matrix clauses
<i>si-</i>			<i>exception:</i> 1sg subjects
<i>ta-</i>	secondary (NEG ₂)	post-subject Agr	subordinate clauses, A'-movement, nominalizations

4 Secondary negation and the left periphery

In this section, I show that C is filled, or is absent, in exactly the syntactic environments where secondary negation surfaces. Secondary negation surfaces inside nominalizations, in embedded clauses, and in clauses involving A'-movement. I first discuss nominalizations, then focus constructions, followed by embedded clauses, and finally relative clauses.

4.1 Nominalizations

First, I show that Kirundi nominalizations do not contain a CP. Bantu nominalizations are headed by *ku-* (or *gu-*), the marker for class 15. This class prefix is usually labelled as an infinitive marker as verbs in their infinitive forms are prefixed with it, as in (14).

- (14) **gu-sóm-a**
 INF-read-FV
 ‘reading’

This class marker is argued to be an *n* head (???). ? argue that it takes a clause slightly bigger than *vP*, which can include negation and mood, but not tense. This is the case for Kirundi nominalizations, which cannot contain tense, as in (15).

- (15) **gu-(*a/*á)-sóm-a** igitabo bi-ra-ruh-ish-a.
 INF-REC/REM.PST-read-FV 7book 8-DJ-be.tired-CAUS-FV
 ‘Reading a book is tiring.’
Intended: ‘Having read a book is tiring.’

I assume that nominalizations cannot contain primary negation due to their reduced clause size.

4.2 Focus constructions

In Kirundi, focus constructions are formed using clefts. The copula *ni* surfaces prior to the fronted element that is focused, as in (16).

- (16) **ni** Mariya a-a-guze imboneshakure.
 COP Maria 1s-REC.PST-buy 5television
 ‘It’s Maria that bought the television.’

I follow ? who argues that in focus constructions the copula *ni* is a head found in the left periphery. I however do not make any claims as to the exact position of this particle and its focused constituent. Evidence that it is responsible for negation surfacing in its secondary form is that, contrary to *ex-situ* focus constructions, *in-situ* ones primary negation occurs, as in (17a) and (17b) respectively.

- (17) a. ni ndé yohani a-t(a)-a-bonye?
 COP who John 1SM-NEG₂-REC.PST-see.PFV
 ‘Who did John not see?’
 b. Yohani nti-a-a-bóonye nde?
 John NEG₁-1SM-REC.PST-see.PFV who
 ‘Who did John did not see?’

4.3 Low complementizer

Next, I argue that Kirundi’s embedding complementizer *ko* is a ‘low’ C head (i.e., Fin). In embedded clauses with this complementizer, foci cannot be embedded, and neither can the whole left periphery more generally, as in (18). However, foci can be long distance extracted to the matrix clause instead, as in (19).

- (18) * Keezá a-rá-zi [_i ko ni igitabo_i] Juma a-somye _{t_i}.
 Keezá 1SM-DJ-know COMP COP 7book Juma 1SM-read.PFV
 Intended: ‘Keeza knows that it’s A BOOK Juma read.’
 (19) [_i ni igitabo_i] Keezá a-rá-zi [_i ko] Juma a-somye _{t_i}.
 COP 7book Keezá 1SM-DJ-know COMP Juma 1SM-read.PFV
 ‘It’s A BOOK Keeza knows that Juma read.’

As a result, I argue following the “split-CP” *à la* ? that *ko* is a low embedding complementizer heading a Fin phrase.

4.4 Null relativizer

Next, I argue that Kirundi has a phonologically null relative particle (\emptyset_{REL}) that occurs in C. This can account for both (i) the restriction of subject-verb inversion (*viz.* OVS) in Kirundi relative clauses and (ii) secondary negation occurring within them.

? argues that in some Bantu languages, verbs move to C through Infl. Evidence for this can be seen in Shona (Shona S.10). In (20), the relative clause is headed by the object ‘clothes’. Also, the verb and subject, ‘women’, of the relative clause are reversed which gives the OVS word order below.

- (20) mbatya dza-_i v-aka-son-era vakadzi mwenga.
 10clothes 10REL-2SM-TN-sew-APL 2women 1bride
 ‘clothes which the women sewed for the bride.’ (Shona; ?)

The verb occurring prior to the subject shows that the verb has moved to C. However, in languages with a relative marker separate from the verb, this inversion construction is not realized. For example, in Sotho (Sotho-Tswana S.30), the relative marker instead occurs in C⁰, and the verb stays below the subject, as in (21).

- (21) setula seo basadi ba-se-rek-ile-ng kajeno.
 7chair 7REL 2women 2SM-7O-buy-PFV-RL today
 ‘the chair which the women bought today’ (Sotho; ?)

Contrarily to Bantu languages like Shona and Sotho, Kirundi does not have an overt relativizer prefix or particle. However, as in Sotho, the verb does not invert with the subject:

- (22) a. *ibitabo

a-a-sómye _i	Yohani
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 t_i bi-ri ku neeza.
 8book 1SM-REC.PST-read.PFV_i John 8-COP on 9table
- b. ibitabo

Yohani	a-a-sómye
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 bi-ri ku neeza.
 8book John 1SM-REC.PST-read.PFV 8-COP on 9table
 ‘Books that John read are on the table.’

This points towards Kirundi also having a relativizer particle which blocks verb movement to C as in Sotho. Further evidence for this claim comes from the blocking of primary negation in relative clauses. As with Kirundi, in Haya (Great Lakes; JE.22) there are two distinct negation positions and forms; one is used in matrix clauses, as in (23a), and the other in relative clauses, as in (23b):

- (23) a. abantu ba Kanyigo **ti**-ba-ka-yombek-ile shule.
 2person of Kanyigo **NEG**₁-2SM-REFL-build-PFV school
 ‘Kanyigo people have not built the school.’
- b. **a**-ba-**ta**-a-shom-e ti-ba-a-sing-e mitiani.
REL-2SM-**NEG**₂-PST-study-SUBJ **NEG**₁-2SM-PST-pass-SUBJ exams
 ‘Those who will not study will not pass the exams.’⁴ (Haya; ?)

The relative marker, in (23b), occurs in the canonical position of primary negation and is followed by subject agreement, tense, and secondary negation. This is the exact alternation that is found in Kirundi, as shown in (24).

- (24) a. *ibitabo Yohani **nti**-a-a-sómye bi-ri ku neeza.
 8book John **NEG**₁-1SM-REC.PST-read.PFV 8-COP on 9table
- b. ibitabo Yohani \emptyset **a-t(a)**-a-sómye bi-ri ku neeza.
 8book John **REL** 1SM-**NEG**₂-REC.PST-read.PFV 8-COP on 9table
 ‘Books that John didn’t read are on the table.’

I argue that Kirundi has a phonologically null relativizer particle (\emptyset_{REL}) in C^0 and that, as in Sotho, this relativizer particle blocks primary negation from occurring in the pre-subject marking position in Kirundi.

In the following section, I consolidate these points by arguing that Neg-to-C movement is blocked in exactly the contexts shown above. I then show a full derivation for the movement or blocking effect on negation.

5 Neg-to-C movement

In this section, I propose an analysis to account for the distribution of negation in Kirundi, which I argue is due to properties of certain Cs. Assuming all clauses contain a CP, I argue that negation undergoes movement to C from its base-generated position in the inflectional domain. In §5.1, I propose that when it can move to C, it surfaces as primary negation. On the other hand, when this movement is blocked – inside nominalizations which do not involve C, in embedded clauses due to the complementizer *ko*, in focus constructions due to *ni*, and in relative clauses due to the null relativizer C – negation must surface as secondary negation instead. Thus, these environment are unified in that the left periphery is inaccessible for Neg-to-C movement. In §5.3 and §5.2, I show that this analysis accounts for the distribution of negation in Kirundi.

⁴ Note that this is a free relative.

5.1 Left peripheral restriction

Overall, as was shown in the previous section, the presence of a C head, or its absence, appears to be responsible for the occurrence of secondary negation. I have shown and argued that nominalizations are smaller than TPs, in focus constructions the copula *ni* is a C head, the embedding complementizer is a low CP head, and that Kirundi has a null relativizer particle. Thus, I argue that these phenomena can be taken in tandem as evidence that these particular Cs are responsible for blocking primary negation from surfacing. As a result, negation surfaces lower in the clause in its secondary form. In the following subsections, I argue that negation is generated between AgrP and TP and undergoes movement to C, and that subjects move to spec,CP; both blocked in syntactic environments where secondary negation surfaces.

NegP. The common view for why negation surfaces in different positions relative to subject marking in some languages is that it heads two distinct projections (e.g., ???). ? argues that, in Shona, negation heads one projection between ForceP and FinP and the other below FinP. I propose instead that in Kirundi negation heads only one NegP within the inflectional domain (???); and that its different surface positions are due to whether Neg-to-C movement is permitted or not. This explains why some C heads – or the absence of C altogether – block primary negation from occurring.

A movement analysis is more attractive than the common dual projection alternative as it does not involve the selection of NegP over TP or vice-versa in different cases; for which the spell-out of only one negation morpheme must be accounted for by some sort of long-distance mechanism.

I propose that negation projects between AgrP and TP and follow ? in taking subject marking and tense to occupy them respectively. Many in the literature also argue that whether TP takes a NegP complement or the reverse is parametric (e.g., ???). I show that negation taking a TP complement accounts for the ordering of verbal prefixes in Kirundi. This structure is shown below in (25).

(25) [CP [C] [AgrP [Agr] [NegP [Neg] [TP [T] [...]]]]]

Type of movement. Following this, I posit that Neg-to-C movement is a different type of movement than that of the creation of the verb. As in, Neg-to-C movement consists in syntactic head displacement (e.g., English V-to-T movement) and Bantu verbs are formed through post-syntactic *amalgamation* (i.e., word formation; see ??). However, I follow ? and assume that verbal prefixes do not form complex syntactic heads with the rest of the verb, which has also been adopted by many others (e.g., ???). ? argues that these pre-verbal inflectional morphemes form INFL, a syntactic head separate from the verbal root and suffixes. Altogether, I assume that Kirundi verbs are “distributed across larger syntactic structures” (?).

Following ?, I show that negation can move to C by “skipping” over Agr whilst still respecting successive-cyclic movement. First, according to ?, verbal prefixes are in fact syntactically free morphemes which are usually spelled out in their base-generated positions. For instance, negation is not an affix in Kirundi as it can also surface independently from the verb and other verbal prefixes, as was shown in (5a) in §3 (repeated below in (26)). This example shows evidence that negation can move “across” an intervening head; as I assume it is base-generated under Agr (or *m-* here).

(26) **nti-a** **misumaari** **m-fise**.
 NEG₁-EXPL 4nail 1SG.S-have
 ‘I don’t have nails.’

To account for this, I follow recent work that treats head movement and phrasal movement as one and the same process (?). ? proposes that this type of movement should consist of two separate operations: movement to the specifier of the attracting head (syntactic) and M-Merger, merging of a specifier-head configuration into one head (morphological). By splitting syntactic movement into distinct operations, she posits

that we should expect one to occur without the other. For instance, head movement without m-merge, which she argues could be used as evidence against the Head Movement Constraint, as it can accommodate Germanic negation and prefix reordering; the latter being the case in Kirundi. In a similar vein, ? gives credence to the two-step theory of head movement to account for the ordering of Kitharaka (Thagiicu E.53) prefixes.

I propose that Kirundi negation first moves up to spec,Agr, only it does not m-merge, but undergoes further movement to spec,CP, where it finally m-merges with C, resulting in Figure 1. On the other hand, when this movement is blocked, it remains in its base-generated position, resulting in (27b-c).

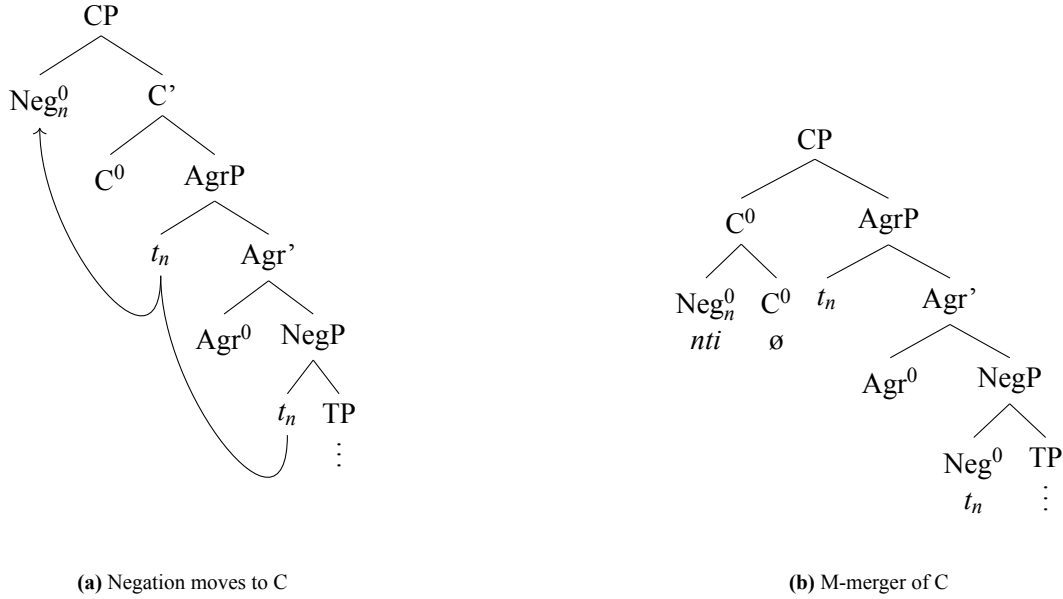


Figure 1. Neg-to-C head movement operations

- (27) a. [CP X [AgrP [Agr SM] [NegP [Neg *ta*] [TP [T T] [...]]]]] where $X = ni \text{ } XP_{foci} \vee ko \vee XP_{head} \emptyset_{REL}$
 b. [... [nP [_n *ku*] [NegP [Neg *ta*] [...]]]]

Lastly, I argue that the different surfaces forms of negation are a result of contextual allomorphy (??); negation surfaces as *nti* when occurring in C and surfaces as *ta* when this movement is blocked and it occurs *in-situ*.

Subjects. Lastly, something should be said of the position of subjects. I have argued that primary negation surfaces in C, although it still surfaces following subjects. I argue that when C is available for Neg-to-C movement, subject movement to spec,CP is also available. Otherwise, when C is filled, subjects remain in a specifier in the inflectional domain.

I follow ? who classifies Kirundi relatives as Type 3, where COMP and INFL features are in C. In earlier work, he argues that Type 3 languages have only a single specifier position in CP where subjects, relativized nouns, and topics move to (?); only one of which can occur in C at any time. This concerns the embedding complementizer as well, as according to ?, the complementizer “*ko* cannot embed topics or other left-peripheral elements”. Additionally, ? argues that this single position must always be filled. I follow these authors in assuming that subjects move to fill spec,CP, except in cases where it is filled by another element; in those cases, subjects remain in spec,Agr, headed by subject agreement. This spec-head agreement configuration is commonly postulated across Bantu (e.g., ??). I assume that the subject marking prefix is the result of a [$u\Phi$] probe on Agr which enters an Agree relation with the subject that moves to

its specifier position; as following ?, heads with an uninterpretable Φ -feature must also come with an [EPP] feature.

Overall, I have shown that there are two distinct positions for negation. Negation surfaces before subject marking when it can move to C. On the other hand, when this movement is blocked – in embedded clauses, in clause involving A'-movement, or in nominalizations – it surfaces after subject marking. In the following subsections, I show a full derivation of primary and secondary negation in each of their respective contexts in Kirundi using this analysis.

5.2 Secondary negation

I first give derivations for secondary negation. Broadly, negation has no C position to move to inside nominalizations and in embedded clauses – using the complementizer *ko* in C – or in clauses involving A'-movement – with either *ni* or the null relative marker in C – Neg-to-C movement is blocked. In all of these cases, negation must surface after subject marking, as the morpheme *ta*.

Nominalizations. I first show the derivation of negation in nominalizations. The derivation for the nominalized subject in (28) is shown in Figure 2.

- (28) [gu-**ta**-sóm-a] igitabo bi-ra-ruh-ish-a.
 INF-NEG₂-read-FV 7book 8-DJ-be.tired-CAUS-FV
 'Not reading a book is tiring.'

Nominalizations are headed by class marker 15, *gu* in this case, in *n* which takes clauses smaller than TP. In these clauses, Neg-to-C movement cannot occur because there is no C position for negation to move to; it therefore surfaces as *ta* after the infinitive marker.

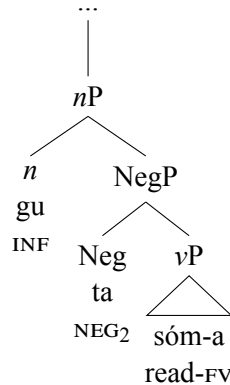


Figure 2. Negation in nominalizations

Subordinate clauses. Next, I show a derivation of negation in subordinate clauses. The derivation for the embedded clause in (29) is shown in Figure 3.

- (29) Keezá a-rá-zi [ko Juma a-t(a)-a-somye igitabo].
 Keezá 1SM-DJ-know COMP Juma 1SM-NEG₂-REC.PST-read.PFV 7book
 'Keeza knows that Juma didn't read a book.'

Embedded clauses are headed by the complementizer *ko*, in FinP. The subject, base-generated in spec,vP, moves to spec,Agr to both check the [EPP] feature and enter a specifier-head Agree relation with the [u Φ]

probe, which realizes the subject agreement marker. Since *ko* is in C, neither negation nor the subject can move to the left periphery as argued for in the previous subsection. In this case, negation surfaces as *ta* in the inflectional domain, after subject marking.

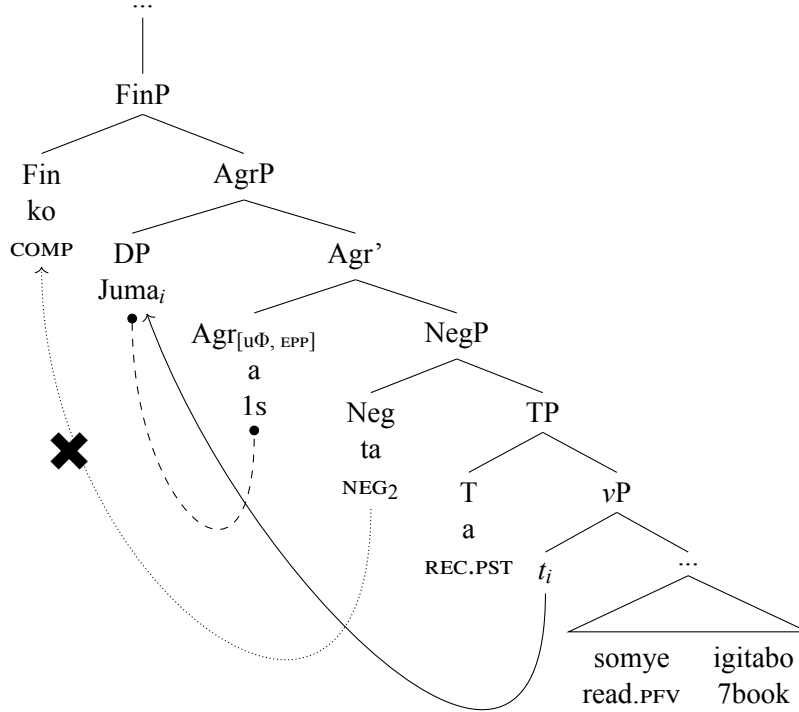


Figure 3. Negation in subordinate clauses

I argue that Kirundi has a low complementizer found in FinP. This predicts that in languages with a high complementizer (e.g., ForceP), which can embed the left periphery, primary negation would surface in subordinate clauses instead.⁵

A'-movement. Finally, I demonstrate the derivation in clauses involving A'-movement. I show both focus constructions, as in (30), and relative clauses, as in (31), simultaneously in Figure 4.

- (30) **ni** ibitabo_i Yohani a-**t(a)**-á-somye *t_i*.
 COP 8book John 1SM-NEG₂-REM.PST-read.PFV
 ‘It’s BOOKS John didn’t read.’

- (31) ibitabo_i Yohani a-**t(a)**-á-somye *t_i* ...
 8book John 1SM-NEG₂-REM.PST-read.PFV

⁵ This is based on current work in Igala (Volta-Niger), where I also argue for a movement analysis of negation (?). In this language, the same form of negation – high tone on the subject, as opposed to the particle *má* – surfaces in both matrix and embedded clauses, shown in (i); as in this language left peripheral items can be embedded.

- (i) í kà kakíní í mà n̄.
 3SG.NEG say COMP 3SG.NEG know NEG.SFP
 ‘S/he did not say that s/he did not know.’

‘Books that John didn’t read ...’

(?)

In both clauses, the object ‘books’ is extracted to the left periphery; I remain agnostic as to its exact position in each case. Additionally, the copula *ni* and null relativizer particle surface in C. The subject moves up to spec,Agr and both transmits its Φ -features to Agr and checks its [EPP] feature; its further movement to C is blocked as the left periphery is filled by either *ni* or \emptyset_{REL} . The movement of negation to C is also blocked and it surfaces as *ta* after subject marking.

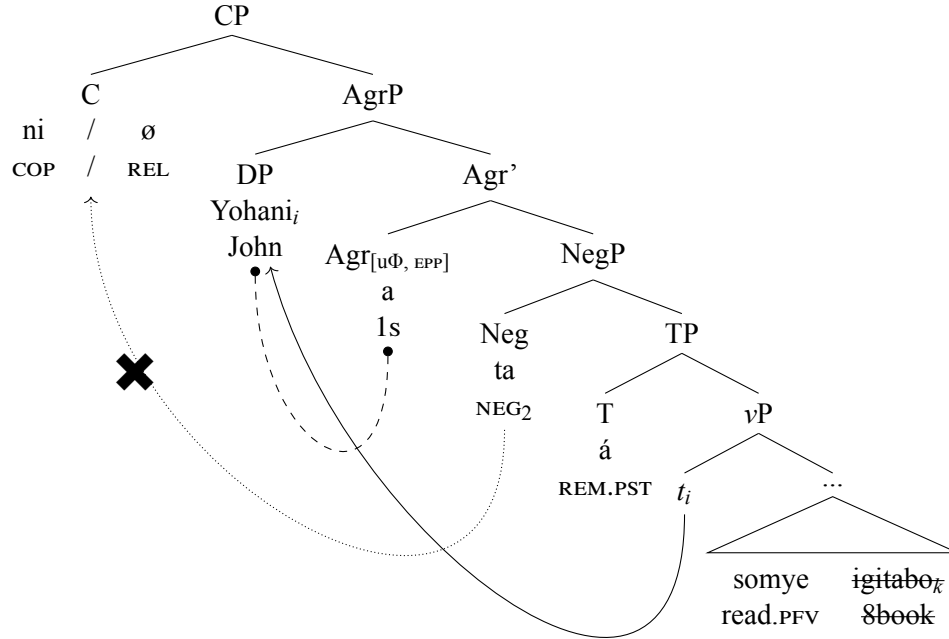


Figure 4. Negation in focus fronting or relative clauses

I have shown that negation surfaces in its secondary form and position in nominalized clauses, in subordinate clauses, and in those involving A'-movement. In these clauses, either C is absent or it is filled, which restricts movement to it.

5.3 Primary negation

In this subsection, I show the mechanism of Neg-to-C movement when it can take place; in finite matrix clauses not involving A'-movement. The derivation in (32) is shown in Figure 5.⁶

⁶ For simplicity, I omit showing all steps of the movement and m-merge operations of Neg-to-C movement in the following derivations.

- (32) Yohani **nti**-a-a-somye ibitabo
 John **NEG**₁-1s-REC.PST-read.PFV 8book
 ‘John didn’t read books.’

In finite matrix clauses, nothing in the left periphery blocks Neg-to-C movement from occurring. Negation first moves to spec,Agr and does not m-merge with Agr but further moves to spec,CP where it m-merges with C. As in the previous derivations, the subject moves to spec,Agr to make subject marking surface by checking both its feature. However, in this case it undergoes further movement to spec,CP as the left periphery is available for movement. As negation surfaces in C, it is realized as *nti*.

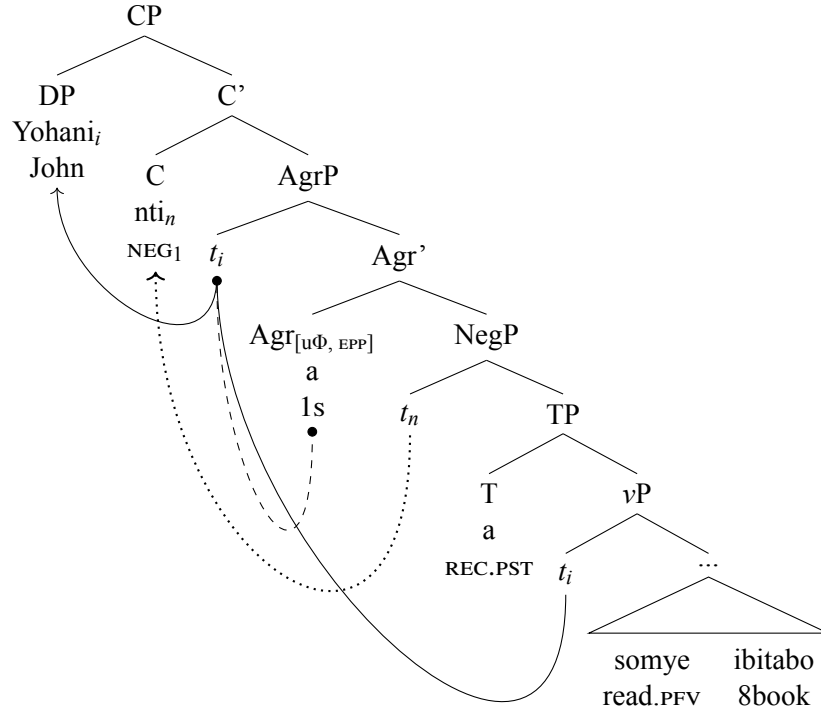


Figure 5. Negation in finite matrix clauses

In brief, secondary negation surfaces when Neg-to-C movement is blocked inside nominalizations which do not contain a C, in subordinate clauses with the complementizer *ko*, in focus clauses with the copula *ni*, and in relative clauses with a null relativizer particle (\emptyset_{REL}). Contrarily, primary negation surfaces when the movement of negation to C is permitted: in finite matrix clauses. Thus, this analysis accounts for the distribution of primary and secondary negation in Kirundi.

6 Conclusion

This paper provided an analysis that accounts for the distribution of negation in Kirundi. Primary negation occurs in finite matrix clauses and secondary negation occurs in subordinate clauses, in clauses involving A'-movement, and inside nominalizations.

I argue that negation moves to C (i.e., Neg-to-C movement), where it surfaces as primary negation before subject marking. On the other hand, in cases where the left periphery is filled, or C is absent, movement is blocked and it surfaces as secondary negation after subject marking instead. More precisely, I argue that when C is filled – by the embedding complementizer *ko*, the copula *ni* in focus constructions, or the null

relativizer particle – or when it is not included – inside nominalizations – negation cannot move to C. I have shown that this accounts for the alternation between primary and secondary negation. Similar alternations are found in other Bantu (and Niger-Congo more generally; e.g., Igala) languages; investigating more languages would aid in strengthening this analysis, which I leave as future research.

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