

## Negation in Lekuwa (C27)

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**Abstract:** This paper investigates sentential negation in Lekuwa within the framework of Principles and Parameters developed by Noam Chomsky in the 1980's [1, 2, 3]. Sentential negation is expressed by the negative markers *te*, *ka*, *lawi*, *o-tano* and the negative indefinite *o moto*. The base and surface position of *te*, *ka* and *lawi* is post-verbal, while that of *otano* and *o moto* is preverbal. It is demonstrated that negation in Lekuwa is a functional head which projects a NegP. Its head status is due to the fact that it selects a non-finite VP as complement, triggers the leftward movement of the object NP, and thus satisfies the ECP, and requires the use of a dummy auxiliary to carry T(ense) inflection like in English. The proof of the presence of NegP in Lekuwa brings further evidence to the existence of a Universal Grammar.

**Key words :** Negation, Principles and Parameters, movement, functional head and the HMC/ECP<sup>i</sup>

**Résumé:** Cet article traite de la négation de la phrase en Lekuwa(c27) en se servant du modèle des Principes et Paramètres développé par Noam Chomsky pendant les années 1980 [1, 2, 3]. La phrase négative Lekuwa utilise les négateurs *te*, *ka*, *lawi*, *otano* et l'indéfini négatif *o moto*. Les négateurs *te*, *ka* et *lawi* ont une position de base et de surface post-verbale, tandis que celle d'*otano* et *o moto* est préverbale. La négation en Lekuwa est une tête fonctionnelle parce que non seulement elle sélectionne un VP non-fini comme complément, entraîne le mouvement vers la gauche du NP objet et satisfait ainsi le P EC. Comme en Anglais, la phrase négative en Lekuwa exige l'emploi d'un auxiliaire pour porter l'inflection du T(emps). La preuve de la présence du NegP en Lekuwa apporte une évidence de plus à l'existence de la Grammaire Universelle.

**Mots clés :** Négation, Principes et Paramètres, mouvement, tête fonctionnelle et le CMH/PCE.

### I. Introduction

This paper purports to deal with sentential negation in Lekuwa, a Bantu language spoken in republic of Congo Brazzaville. This analysis is done within the Parameters and Principles framework. 'In many ways, Negation is what makes us human, imbuing us with the capacity to deny, to contradict, to misrepresent, to lie, and to convey irony' (Horn2010,p.1). Although it is expressed in many languages by different morphemes, its existence is attested in all human languages, and so it is assumed to be a category of Universal Grammar (henceforth UG). Thus, Lekuwa as a human language undoubtedly has a way to express negation. Negation in UG is said to be a functional head which projects its own functional phrase. Different criteria of functional elements have been postulated by many scholars, but I shall emphasize upon the crucial ones. Functional elements do not assign theta-roles, they select IP, VP and NP as complements, from which they acquire descriptive content (cf Abney 1987, p54-68), they are triggers of syntactic movement (cf. Rizzi and Cinque 2016, p141), and they should satisfy HMC/ECP. Lekuwa negation should meet these criteria in order to be admitted as a functional head. As a study in the Parameters and Principles framework or UG requires a comparison between different languages in order to testify language universals, thus this study will compare Lekuwa negation with that of other Bantu languages and English when need arises. Therefore, this paper seeks to address the following questions:

1. How is sentential negation in Lekuwa expressed?
2. Is negation in Lekuwa a functional head?
3. What is the Lekuwa negation base position?

In this paper, I hypothesize that Negation in Lekuwa is a functional head which projects its own functional phrase, selects a VP as its complement, triggers the movement of the object NP and requires like in English the insertion of a dummy auxiliary. The paper is organized such that section1 introduces the problem dealt in this paper, its purpose and hypotheses and reviews previous works on Lekuwa and Bantu negation. Section2 discusses the NegP hypothesis. Section3 concentrates on the head status of negation in Lekuwa. Section 4 puts the stress upon sentential negation in Lekuwa. Section5 draws the conclusion of the study.

### **1.1 Review of Related literature**

In this subsection, I shall review some relevant literature that deals with negation in Bantu languages. Bantu languages share some syntactic, morphological and phonological similarities, and so it is important to look at previous studies on negation in Bantu languages to get relevant insights to the present analysis and avoid carrying out research results of which will be identical to those of previous analysis.

#### **1.1.1 Ngonyani, D. 2001. The Morphosyntax of Negation in Kiswahili**

In this paper, Ngonyani describes the sentential negation of Kiswahili within the framework of Principles and Parameters. He listed four Kiswahili bound negative markers, *si-*, *ha-*, the negative copular *si-* and *kuto*. *Si-* is used for the first person singular. It not only replaces the subject marker and the tense morpheme, but also can be infixes between the subject marker and the verb root; while *ha-* is utilized for the rest of plural persons and it follows the subject marker. Negation in Kiswahili is a head which projects a functional phrase because it blocks I-to C movement in relative clauses.

#### **1.1.2 Tanda, V. A. and Neba, A. 2005. Negation in Mokpe and two related coastal Bantu languages of Cameroon.**

They study the negation of Mokpe, Nfaw and Oroko within the framework of Principles and Parameters. In these languages negation is expressed by morphemes which are constrained by tense/aspect of the verb. The former change replaces the latter, except in future, while the latter change their form. Negative markers in Mokpe, Nfaw and Oroko occur pre-verbally. However, in Nfaw in the past tense they occur post-verbally. They admit that negation in Mokpe is a functional head, and its situ position is pre-verbal due to its recurrency in that position. Thus, NEG with the tense feature raises from this position to the abstract T to adjoin it.

The different Bantu languages analyzed in the papers reviewed here share more similarities than differences. Kiswahili, Mokpe, Nfaw and Oroko use different negative morphemes which not only are generally preverbal and can replace tense morpheme or SM, but also form and use of which are determined by tense and aspect. By contrast, Lekuwa negative markers are generally post-verbal; they do not replace tense, aspect and SM and their form and use are not determined by tense and aspect like in the aforementioned languages. These outstanding differences justify the study of Lekuwa negation.

## II. The NegP hypothesis

Pollock (1989) argues that IP must be split into several functional projections. As a matter of fact, Pollock argues that *not* is not an adverb because it does not share the same syntactic properties with adverbs.

To illustrate let us consider the following data from Pollock (1989, p.367):

(1) John often kisses Mary

(2) John does not like Mary

In (1) Tense combines with the verb *kiss*, while in (2) Tense is separated from the verb by the sentential negative marker *not*. Consequently, *not* and *often* are not of the same class. If it is, sentence (2) should be like (3):

(3) \*John not likes Mary.

Since *not* is not an adverb, Pollock proposed that *not* is a head of a negation phrase (NegP). Actually, the Split inflection hypothesis of Pollock assumes that negative morphemes and adverbs are generated at different position as illustrated by the English and French Deep structure:

(4) [ IP NP I ([ Neg not/pas]) [VP (Adv) V.... ] Pollock (1998, p.366)

Pollock's proposals are that the verb and its inflection should be treated as distinct heads at the deep structure (i.e. Agreement and Tense) and it is the verb movement to Infl that may determine the positions of adverbs and negative morphemes in the structure. For instance in French where the inflection is strong, the finite verb moves out of the VP at Phonetic Form and raise to Tense, Neg and to Agr for the purpose of feature checking, the result of which is that the negative marker and certain adverbs surface in post-verbal positions; whereas in English the weakness of its inflection prevents it from attracting the finite verb. As a result the negative marker and adverbs surface preverbal positions as in (3), which is ungrammatical. To rule out this ungrammaticality, Pollock (1989, p.399) proposes that *do* must be generated under Agr. From there it moves to [ $\pm$ Past] T, forming the constituent  $T_i$  shown in (4). [ $\pm$ Past] binds the variable *ei*. The ECP is satisfied since AgrP is defective, and the amalgamated *do*+Agr+T L-marks NegP. By contrast, Chomsky (1989) argues that *do* is inserted in the modal position to bear the affix and then raises to T, so that T does not have to lower to the lexical verb, and so LF raising from V to Agr is no longer necessary. Consequently, the head Neg will not prevent the intermediate trace left by verb from being antecedent governed, and the ECP will not be violated.

Laka (1990, p. 72) claims that '*do-support is a direct consequence of the Tense C-command Condition*' (TCC). TCC states that Tense must C-command the inflectional heads that operate on the clause. He opines that to maintain the C-command relation between T and Neg interrupted by the lowering of V and Agr across Neg *do* must be inserted at S-structure. Thus, sentences like (3) will be ruled out and the verb will no longer raise to Neg and to T at LF to satisfy the ECP.

Like English, Lekuwa also resorts to the insertion of a dummy element to form negative sentences. From what follows, it is important to see which of the three arguments aforementioned can better account for the insertion of the dummy element in Lekuwa negative sentences.

Haegeman (1996, p.189-190) assumes that *not* is not a head because it is crossed by lexical verbs and is stranded in inversion auxiliary constructions, and thus it is rather the specifier of NegP with a null negative head. On the

contrary *n't* is a head because it moves along with the inflected auxiliary in I-to-C movement (Haegeman 1996, p. 189-1990), as shown in (5).

(5) Hasn't John left?

But, *not* is not necessarily stranded, as the following example from Haegeman witnesses.

(6) Has not John been there too? (op. cit.)

Moshen (2011, p. 31) argues that *not* was analysed as the head of NegP as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, instead of *Will I not* we find *Wol not I*. Moreover, Chomsky (2001) claims that if head movement takes place at PF, *not* can be a head.

Nevertheless, all scholars do not share the point of view that *not* is a functional category. Ernst (1992) argues that *not* is an adverb that can occasionally occupy the position of Spec, VP.

In this present analysis, I share the view that *not* is the head of NegP with two contextually restricted phonological realizations (cf. Flagg 2002; Parrott 2007) and head movement of auxiliaries and the copular *be* takes place in the PF branch (cf. Chomsky 2001; Flagg 2002). *Not* is, then, a head with its own maximal projection NegP, which is situated between I and VP. However, under the Split-INFL hypothesis in which INFL is decomposed into independent categories, Agr and Tense, negation may occupy a position between TP and AgrP in English and French. The Split-INFL hypothesis is of a paramount importance in Bantu languages, since Tense and Agr(eement) are marked as separate morphemes at deep and surface structures

### III. The head status of negation in Lekuwa

Like in English, negation in Lekuwa is a head which projects its own functional phrase and requires the insertion of a dummy element. Its head status is determined on the basis of criteria of functional head mentioned in the introduction. That is, it should first select IP, VP or NP as its complement, and then it should trigger syntactic movement and finally satisfy the HMC/ECP. Negation in Lekuwa, as a matter of fact, subcategorizes for a non-finite VP as its complement like other functional complement, as illustrated in (7b and c).

(7) a. Ngai na -tong- í ndáku<sup>ii</sup> mbula e-lik- í e-lek-á

I SM build RPAST 7<sup>iii</sup> house 7 rain 7 be RPAST 7 pass RPAST

'I built a house last year'

b. Ngai na-lik- í ndáku mbula e -lik- í e -lek-á o -tonga ka

I SM Aux RPAST 7 house 7 rain 7 SM be RPAST 7SM pass Inf. M build Neg

'I did not build a house last year'

c. Ngai na-lik-í ndáku o-tonga ka mbula e-lik-í e-lek-á

'I did not build a house last year'

Second, it is a trigger of the syntactic movement of the verb, as shown in (7 b and c). The object NP in (7a) follows the main verb 'tong-'(build), while in (7b and c) it precedes the main verb.

The last criterion that negation in Lekuwa should satisfy to qualify as a head is the Head Movement Constraint/ the Empty Category Principle. This condition requires that a head should not cross another head, a head may only move to a complement which properly governs it (cf. Travis 1984, Chomsky 1988b, Robert 2011) and trace must be governed by the moved element. In order to determine whether Neg in Lekuwa satisfies or not the HMC/ECP it is important to locate its underlying position. The theory of UG is based on 'fundamental principles and parameters that have to be fixed by experience' (Chomsky 1982, p.2-4).

Principles are aspects of grammar which are biologically wired into the Language Faculty, and thus belong to all human languages. Parameters, by contrast, are aspects of grammar which are specific to a language, and are learnt by children when acquiring their native language. This learning consists in fixing the values of these parameters, which are binary in structure. Hence, UG assumes two distinct positions that negation can appear within the verbal complex, namely:

- a) NEG appears inside AGR and TNS, and is assumed to be base-generated in the position immediately preceding the VP for English, French and Turkish type of languages.
- b) NEG appears outside AGR and TNS, and is base-generated preceding TNS and AGR for Berber and Arabic type of languages. (Cf. Ouhalla 1987)

Kaviti (2004, p278) proposes a third parametric value because those two values cannot account for the position of NEG in Kikamba<sup>iv</sup>. Since NEG is placed in the middle of AGR and TNS.

The appropriate value of the Neg Parameter in Lekuwa would have been (b), since Neg in Lekuwa appears outside AGR and TNS. Unfortunately, it is not base-generated in the position preceding TNS and AGR. It is base-generated in the sentence final position. This is evidenced by the fact its position in the sentence is not the result of a syntactic movement.

The movement of the lexical verb to TP in French for instance from its underlying position in the VP which is low in the structure can be demonstrated. Consider the following sentences:

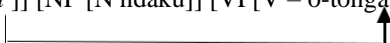
(8) Pierre ne comprend pas.

The D-Structure in (4) shows that the negative marker *pas* precedes the verb, but in (8) it follows the verb. This implies that the verb has moved to T(ense), and its derivation can be illustrated as in (9).

(9) [TP Pierre ne [Ti [AgrP [Agr mang-]] [Neg pas] ei [VP ei ]]

However, it is not possible to demonstrate leftward movement of the lexical verb which can place Neg in the sentence's final position. The lexical verb movement triggered by Lekuwa negative markers is not only rightward, but also does not Murphy (2021, p.23) happen across NEG, as exemplified in (10). NEG in Lekuwa remains in its situ position to have sentential scope. In so doing it does not violate the HMC/ECP.

(10)

[AgrP Ngai [Agr na-] [TP[T-lik-í] ] [VP[V[-ei] ] [NP [N ndaku]] [VP[V – o-tongaí] [NegP[Neg ka] [ mbula e-lik-í e-lek-á ]]]]]<sup>v</sup> 

The rightward movement is not admitted in the literature, since it causes the violation of the ECP. However, the violation of the ECP in (10) is not brought about by Lekuwa negative markers, but rather by the lexical verb. Therefore, the verb rightward movement cannot deny Lekuwa negative markers the head status. Anyway, the movement induced by Lekuwa negative markers can be accounted for differently. I shall discuss this issue in the section on Lekuwa sentential negation.

It stems out from what follows that Neg in Lekuwa is a functional head, since it first selects a non-finite VP as its complement, then it triggers the syntactic movement of the lexical verb which does not cross it, it does not violate the HMC/ECP. In the next section, I shall look at the sentential negation in Lekuwa.

#### IV. Sentential negation

Sentential negation in Lekuwa is construed by means of *te* (not), *ka* (not), *lawi* (not), *o-tano* and the negative indefinite *o moto* (nobody). The majority of these negative markers occur in sentence final position, except *o-tano* and *o moto*. Consequently, the analysis of Lekuwa sentential negation will be portioned into two parts. The first portion will be concerned with *te*, *ka* and *lawi*, and the last portion will concentrate on *o-tano* and *o-moto*.

##### 4.1 The negative markers *te*, *ka* and *lawi*

*Te* is the most frequently used negator in Lekuwa. The use of *ka* is usually actuated by the final vowel *ka* of the verb, as shown in (11).

(11) a. Ngai na -yámbá- ka mbéla ndémbe le-ntso

I SM receive PROG. M. 7call 10moment 5 all

'I often receive call'

b. Ngai na -dzámá- ka mbéla o - yamba ka ndémbe le-ntso

I SM Aux PROG M 7 call Inf. M receive Neg 10 moment 5all

'I do not often receive call'

The negator *ka* is realized as *ke* or *ko* when it is preceded by a verb whose final syllable is *ke* or *ko*. This is seen in the examples below:

(12) a- Ye a -dzámá- ka mbóka o -ke ke  
S/he SM Aux PROG.M 7village Inf.M go Neg  
'S/ he does not go to the village'

b- Ye a- yi ntsu na mo-kólo o -solo ko

S/he SM Aux 7 fish in 3night Inf.M fish Neg

'She does not fish in the night'

By contrast to *te* and *ka* which mean *not*, *Lawi* is normally the figure zero which is also used to express negation. In this vein, it might be translated by naught or nothing. Nonetheless, it can be used at the place of *te* and *ka* without any alteration of the meaning, as shown below:

(13) Ye a -dzámá- ka mbóka o -ke lawi

S/he SM. Aux PROG.M. 7 village Inf.M go Neg

‘S/he does not go to the village’

*Lawi* is very often used in verbless sentence, as witnessed in (14c).

(14) a.. Ngai mwasi lawi

I 1 wise Neg

‘I do not have a wise’

b. Ngai mo-sólo lawi

I 3 money Neg

‘I do not have money’

The negative marker *te*, *ka* and *lawi* have the same idiosyncratic properties. First, they subcategorize for a non-finite VP when they are used with lexical verbs as their complement, as in (15b) and (16b), but this is not the case with the existential verb *-ya* (be) and the particle verb *-ya na* (possess or have) as shown in (17) and (18). Second, they trigger the rightward movement of the lexical verb, as witnessed in (15b) and (16b). Finally, they require the use of the copular *o-ya* (be) or the verb *o-dzama* (to dwell) to negate a sentence. These two verbs lose their initial meaning when used in negative sentences. They become dummy auxiliaries, as in illustrated below:

(15) a- Ngai na -ling- ɔ: le ntsoso

I SM like TPRS Inf. M eat chicken

‘I like to eat chicken’

b- Ngai na -y- i ntsos- ɔ: -ling- ɔ: -le te/ka/lawi

I SM Aux. PRS chicken Inf. M like Inf. M eat Neg

‘I do not like to eat chicken’

(16) a- Ngai na -lámá- ka bioko

I SM cook PROG.M. 8food

‘I am cooking food’

b- Ngai na- dzámá- ka biok- ɔ: -lamb- a te/ka/lawi

I SM Aux PROG.M 8 food Inf.M. cook FV Neg

‘ I am not cooking food/ I am not used to cooking food ’

(17) a. Ngai na -y-i mo-nanga

I SM be PRS 1 rich

‘I am rich’

b. Ngai na- y- i mo-nanga te

I SM be PRES 1 rich Neg

‘I am not rich’

(18) a. Ngai na -y -i na mo-solo

I SM be PRS with 3money

‘I have money’

The present progressive translation of (16b) is induced by the aspect of the affirmative present progressive sentence (16a). This negative form is also used in present with the habitual aspect, as exemplified in (19)

(19) a. Ngai ná -lamba- ka bioko ndembe n-sisu

I SM PRS cook PROG.M 8food 10 moment 10 other

‘ I sometimes cook food’

b. Ngai ná -y-I bioko ndembe n-sisu o -lamka te/ka/lawi

I SM Aux PRS 8 food 10 moment 10 other Inf. M. cook Neg

‘I do not cook food sometimes’

The finite verb in (15 a) is normally *ling-a*. It becomes */ling- ɔ:/* because of the vowel harmony principle, which requires that the vowel *a* coalesces with the vowel *o* to yield a long */ɔ:/* when *a* precedes *o* or *o* follows *a*. In this context the T(ense) inflection and infinitive marker is */ɔ:/*. However, in (15b) the T(ense) inflection is borne by the auxiliary *yi*. The need to insert the auxiliary *-ya-* or *-dzama-* and the movement of the lexical verb is caused by the negator *te/ka/lawi*.

Unlike in English where the insertion of the auxiliary *do* is required to rule out the ungrammaticality caused by the generation of the negator *not* beyond the lexical verb and to bear the Tense inflection, the insertion of the



auxiliary *-ya-* (be) or *-dzama-* in Lekuwa is triggered by the need to support the tense inflection only. In Lekuwa, a negative sentence without the auxiliary *-ya-* or *-dzama-* is neither ungrammatical nor unacceptable. This may be due to the fact that Lekuwa like other Bantu languages are pro-drop languages. They admit the drop of certain syntactic and functional elements, as illustrated in (20).

(20) a. na- y-i ntsoso o- le te  
 1SG SM Aux PRS 7 chicken Inf. M eat Neg  
 'I do not eat chicken'

b. Ngai ntsono o - le te  
 I 7chicken Inf. M eat Neg  
 'I do not eat chicken'

The subject personal pronoun *ngai* (I) in (20a) is dropped, while in (20b) it is not, rather it is the subject marker *na-* and the auxiliary *yi* which are dropped without causing any ungrammaticality. This entails that there is an empty agreement marker under Agr and an empty auxiliary under T, as shown in (21).

(21) [AgrP ngai [Agr e][TP[T e][NP ntsoso][VP[V o-le]]][NegP [ te]]]

I argued in section 3 that the position of the verb in Lekuwa negative sentence was caused by its rightward movement, but taking into account the fact that such a movement is prohibited in generative grammar I suggested that it can be accounted for differently. The rightward movement is prohibited in generative grammar because it prevents the moved element to properly govern its trace. For the verb *o-tonga* (to build) to properly govern its trace it must move to a head position above its trace, but on the contrary it moves to a head position down the trace, and thus causes the violation of the ECP. To avoid the violation of the ECP, I suggest the leftward movement of the complement *ndaku* (house) instead of the rightward movement of its head *-le*. Thus, the derivation of Lekuwa negative sentence proceeds out as follows:

1. The negative marker *te/kallawi* is adjoined to the affirmative sentence, as shown in (21).

(22) \*ngai na-tong- í ndáku mbula e -lik- í e- lek- á te  
 I SM build RPAST 7house 7rain SM be RPAST SM pass RPAST Neg

2. The derivation of a negative sentence in Lekuwa requires the insertion of the dummy auxiliary *-ya-* or *-dzam-* to bear the tense inflection; as a result it turns the finite verb into a non-finite, like in English, but in contrast to English it is preceded by its infinitive marker, as illustrated in (23).

(23) ngai na -lik- í o- tong-á ndáku mbula e -lik- í e -lek- á te  
 I SM Aux RPAST Inf.M. build 7house 7 rain SM be RPAST SM pass RPAST Neg  
 'I did not build a house last year'

(22) is acceptable, but not grammatical because the verb is in the position that cannot allow the negative marker to have wide scope on the sentence. In Lekuwa, for negation to have wide scope over the sentence it must follow the lexical verb. This requirement leads us to the last step of the derivation of the negative sentence in Lekuwa.

3. The verb internal argument 'ndáku'(house) can undergo a leftward movement, but prior to that it is mandatory to get a landing site for the moved element. Thus, I suggest the generation of a VP with a null head under T complement of which hosts the moved NP, as exemplified in (24).

(24) [AgrP ngai [Agr na-][TP[T-lik- í ] ] [VP $\phi$  [V $\phi$  [NP ntsoso<sub>j</sub>]][VP[V o-le] [NP<sup>j</sup> ]]][NegP [ te]]]

The leftward movement of the verb internal argument does not cause any violation of the ECP. In fact, the NP *ntsoso* in (24) properly governs its trace, since the maximal phrase NP which dominates it also dominates its trace.

#### 4. 2. The negative marker *o-ta no*

This negative marker *o-ta no* might have derived from *o-ta ka no*, which is the negation of the verb *o-ta* (to put) followed by the infinitive prefix *no*. Finally, the drop of *ka* produced the negative marker *o-ta no*. This negative marker is exclusively used in imperative clauses, as exemplified in (25):

(25) a- O-ta no kambela ete yawu o li-k- í o -yewa te ! .  
 Neg speak that you SM be RMPAST Inf. M know not  
 'Do not say that you did not know !'

b- O-ta no tambula na ye!

Neg walk with him/her

'Do not walk with him/her!'

*O-ta no* as negative marker which derived from a verb can receive a subject agreement marker triggered by the subject, as shown below:

c- Mokoko a -ta no wuso o -low- is- a ngai !

Mokoko SM put Inf.M. again Inf.M speak caus. FV me

'Mokoko does not speak to me any longer'

#### 4.3 The negative indefinite *o moto*

*O moto* is an indefinite negative element which approximately means nobody. Like *o ta no*, it derives from different words, the locative *o* and the noun *moto* (person). It occurs in preverbal position and subcategorizes for a non-finite verb, as exemplified in (26). Consequently, its last vowel (i.e. o) coalesces with the infinitive marker (i.e. o) to produce a long vowel /ɔ:/

(26) a. O mot -o -tswaka moto o -y-i na mbieli

Neg insult 1person SM be PRS with 7 knife

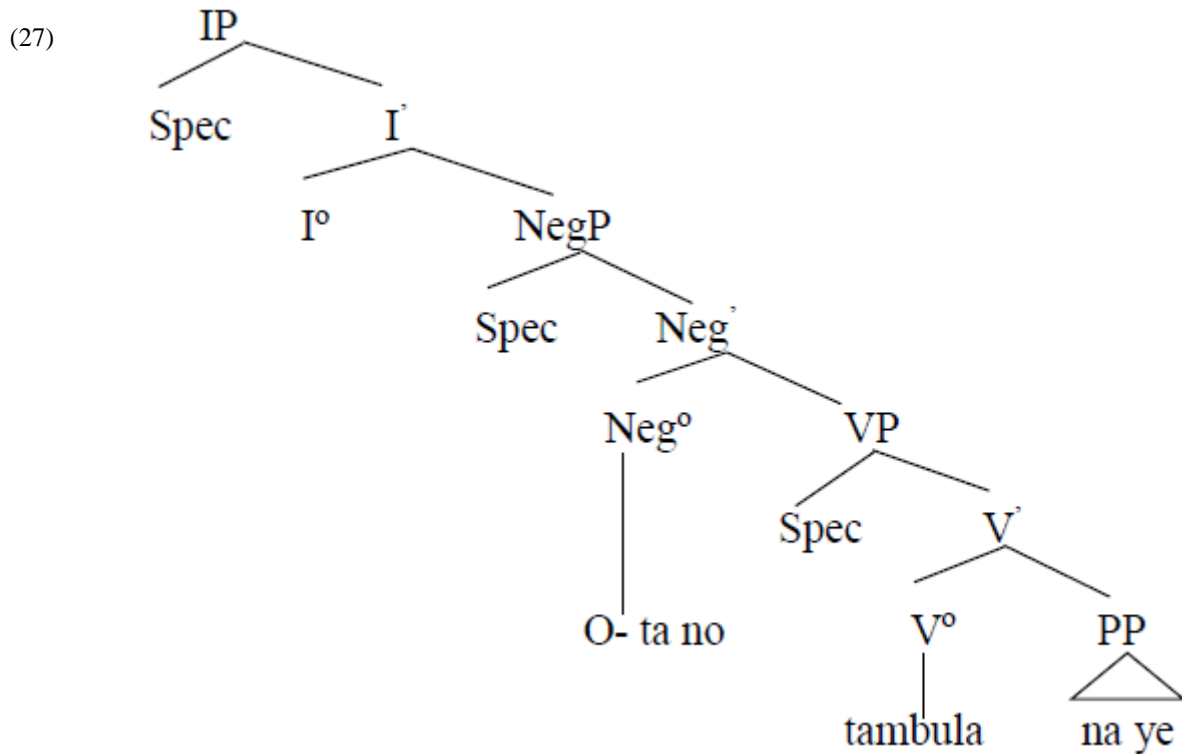
‘Nobody should insult someone who has a knife’

b. o mot-o- kata bioko be

Neg hold 8 thing DEM

‘Do not touch these things / nobody should touch these things’

Like *o-ta no*, *o moto* is exclusively used in the imperative clauses. *O-ta no* is used to give order, whereas *o moto* is utilized to give advice. As expressions of negation in imperative, they share the same representational structure as illustrated in (27).



## V. Conclusion

It was observed in this paper that sentential negation in Lekuwa is construed with the negative markers *te*, *ka*, *lawi*, *o tano* and the negative indefinite *o moto*. The head status of Lekuwa negation was proved by the fact that it selects a VP as its complement, the syntactic movement it triggers and the non-violation of the HMC/ECP. The insertion of the dummy auxiliary *-ya* or *-dzam-* is neither actuated like in English by the need to rule out the ungrammaticality resulted by the movement of *not* across the lexical verb, and to satisfy ECP by letting [ $\pm$ Past] bind the trace of the moved auxiliary as suggested by Pollock (1989) nor by the need to maintain the C-command relation between T and Neg interrupted by the lowering of V and Agra across Neg as argued by Laka (1990). The

insertion of this auxiliary –ya and –dzam- in Lekuwa negative sentence is demanded by the need to carry tense inflection as proposed by Chomsky (1989). In fact, negation in Lekuwa does not move across the lexical verb. It remains in its situ position that is preverbal, and thus cannot violate the HMC/ECP. It is obvious that it triggers a syntactic movement that I first contended that it was a rightward movement of the verb, but as it violates the ECP I made the choice of the leftward movement of the verb internal argument. Such a movement requires a landing site for the moved NP. Thus, I postulated the presence of an empty VP with a NP slot which hosts the moved element. I would have dug deeper into the issue of the rightward movement of the verb, but it is out of the scope of the present study and would have compelled much space. Nevertheless, it might be a subject matter of further researches.

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## Abbreviations

Adv stands for adverb

Aux= auxiliary

AgrP= Agreement Phrase

Caus= causative extension

1SG first person Singular

DEM= Demonstrative

ECP= Empty Category Principle

FV =Final vowel

FP =Force Phrase

HMC= Head Movement Constraint

Inf. M= Infinitive Marker

IP= Inflectional Phrase

PRS=Present

PROG. M Progressive Morpheme

RPAST=Remote PAST

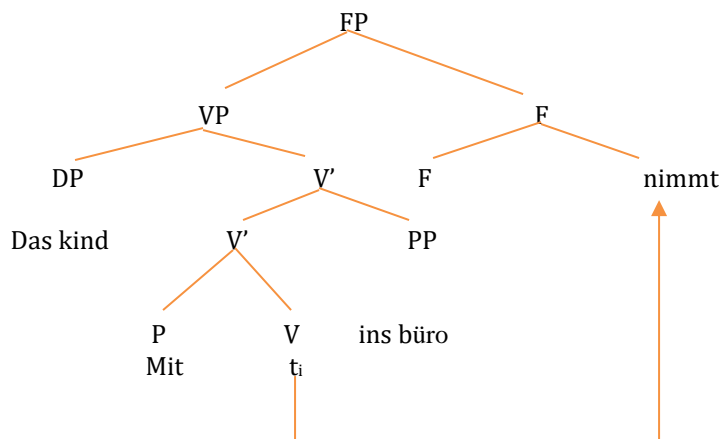
SM Subject Marker

ii Nasalized nouns which are ascribed to the class 9 belong to the class 5 in Lekuwa (cf. Tsono-Mowelle 2022a)

iii Number that precedes a Lekuwa noun in the gloss indicates the noun class to which it belongs.

iv Ki-kamba is a Bantu language spoken in Kenya. It is different from Ki-kamba spoken in the Republic of Congo.

v Movement in the generative grammar is required to be leftward. However, there are generative linguists who demonstrated the existence of the rightward movement. Kural(1977) dealing with Turkish constructions argues that post-verbal constructions are triggered by rightward movement (Cf. Kayne (1994), Endo (1989) makes the same statement concerning Japanese post-verbal constructions. More convincing evidence from the rightward movement is provided by Murphy (2021). He argues that particle verbs in German provide evidence for the rightward movement, as shown below by the T diagram of the sentence ‘... **wenn man das kind mit ins büro nimmt**’ :



Murphy (2021, p.23)