Surrogate Imperatives in Bantu Languages with Postverbal Negative Particles

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the morphosyntax of sentential negation and negative imperatives in three Bantu languages of southern Tanzania. The languages are Kindendeule, Kikisi, and Chingoni. Kikisi and Chingoni are coded by Guthrie (1967-71) as G67 and N12 respectively. Kindendeule, which is not mentioned by Guthrie, is coded as N101 in Maho's (2003) update of Guthrie's classification. In these languages, sentential negation is marked by post-verbal particles. Furthermore, prohibitive commands in these languages do not use the imperative morphology, but what is known as surrogate negative imperatives (Rivero 1994). Accounts of surrogate negative imperatives in other languages have attributed the ban on the negative marker to its being a syntactic head that blocks movement of the verb to C (Zeijlstra 2004, 2006). This paper examines data in these three languages in the light of this claim. The main claim of the present paper is that the negative particles are adverbs that do not act as barriers to movement of V-to-C.

The paper is organized in the following way. Section 2 provides an overview of sentential negation and imperatives in Kindendeule, Kikisi and Chingoni. Following this description, arguments that suggest the negative particle is an adverb are presented in Section 3. Section 4 contains an analysis followed by a typological overview of negation and negative imperative Section 5. The conclusion is in Section 6.

2. Sentential Negation and the Negative Imperative

The three languages have an SVO structure with similar morphological structure. In this section, we first provided an overview of sentential negation, and then present imperative forms in the three languages.

The particle for sentential negation in Kindendeule is *jee* or *jeka* and it appears after the verb. The following two sentences constitute a minimal pair contrasted by the presence of a negative particle in the second sentence.

(1)   a.   ŋ-gɛni   a-ki-tɔl-a   u-gembe
              1-guest   1SM-PT-take-IND   14-beer
              'The guest took the beer.'

	b.	ŋ-gɛni	a-ki-tɔl-a		je	u-ɣembe
		1-guest	1SM-PT-take-IND		NEG	14-beer

'The guest did not take the beer.' [1] (Ngonyani 2010:252)

Sentence (1a) is made up of S-V-O, while the one in (1b) is S-V-Neg-O. The negative particle does not negate the object. In other words, sentence (1b) is not translated as 'The guest cooked something (not beer).' Such constituent negation would require the negative particle to appear after the negated constituent. The negation as found in (1b) negates the entire verb phrase. Therefore, although it appears after the verb, the particle has scope over the verb.

Kikisi has two negative particles that are synonymous, namely, *hee* and *ndali*. The difference between them is mostly dialectal. Their post-verbal distribution is demonstrated in the following examples.

(2)	a.	Tu-ka-l-í	βu-sipa.		
		we-HP-eat-PF	14-sardine		

'We ate sardines.'

	b.	Tu-ka-l-í	hee	βu-sipa.	
		we-HP-eat-PF	NEG	14-sardine	

'We did not eat sardines.' (Ngonyani 2011:136)

	c.	βa-longo	β-angu	ngu-βa-βon-a	ndali
		2-relative	2-my	I-2OM-see-IND	NEG

'I don't see my relatives.' (Ngonyani 2011:187)

The negative particle *hee* appears in (2b) after the verb before the object. A similar position is observed in (2c) where the particle *ndali* appears after the verb and sentence-finally. In this sentence, however, there is no post-verbal object phrase. Instead, there is a pronominal object affix on the verb.

Chingoni has *hee* and *lepa* as variants of the negative particle. The following two sentences illustrate the contrast between the affirmative sentence and the negative sentence.

(3)	a.	m-geni	a- tol-ili	u-gimbi	
		1-guest	1SM-take-PF	14-beer	

'The guest took beer.'

	b.	m-geni	a- tol-i	lepa	u-gimbi
		1-guest	1SM-PT-take-PF	NEG	14-beer

'The guest did not take beer.'

As in the other two languages, the negative *lepa* appears after the verb *atoli* 'she/he took' and before the object.

The standard form of negation in these languages is not found in imperatives. Negative imperatives exhibit different morphology from true imperatives. Consider the imperative in Kikisi with the verb –*jis*- 'come.'

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[1] Abbreviations:

CAUS	Causative	DEM	Demonstrative	FT	Future tense
HP	Hodiernal past	IMP	Imperative	IND	Indicative marker
INF	Infinitive marker	NEG	Negative marker	OM	Object marker
PF	Perfect aspect marker	PL	Plural	PT	Past tense marker
SG	Singular	SM	Subject marker		

(4) a. jis-a   apa.
         Come-IND   here
         'Come here.'   (singular)

     b. N-jis-a   apa.
         You(pl)-come-IND here
         'Come here.'   (plural)   Ngonyani (2011:130)

The verb does not bear a subject marker or tense when the subject of the imperative is singular, as shown in (4a) *jisa* 'come.' The imperative form of the plural, however, bears a subject prefix for 2nd person plural *njisa* '(you all) come' (4b). In both these forms, the final vowel is the indicative *–a*.

   Negative commands do not make use of the imperative morphology just described. A periphrastic negative marker appears before the main predicate. Using the same verb we illustrate the negative imperative forms.

(5) a. Somu ku-jis-a.
         NEG INF-come-IND
         'Do not come.'

     b. N-somu   ku-jis-a.
         PL-NEG   INF-come-IND
         'Do not come (pl).'   (Ngonyani 2011:132)

The negative imperative for singular subject (5a) is made up of the periphrastic negative marker *somu*, while the negated predicate *kujisa* 'to come' appears in the infinitive form. The plural subject negative imperative is marked by the inflected negative marker *nsomu* in (5b). The pattern of subject marking found in the periphrastic form is the same as in true imperatives identified earlier in (4).

   A pattern similar to Kikisi is found in Chingoni, as demonstrated in the following examples in which the verb gega 'carry' is used.

(6) a. Geg-a   ma-nji.
         Carry-IND   6-water
         'Carry the water.'

     b. M-geg-a   ma-nji.
         You(all)-carry-IND   6-water
         'You (all) carry the water.'

This is not the form used in negative commands. As in Kikisi, a periphrastic *–koto* appears before the predicate for which the negative command applies. This is exemplified below.

(7) a. U-koto   ku-geg-a   ma-nji .
         you-NEG INF-carry-IND 6-water
         'Do not carry water!' (singular)

     b. M-koto   ku-geg-a   ma-nji.
         You-NEG INF-carry-IND 6-water
         'Do not carry water!' (plural)   (Ngonyani 2003:87)

The periphrastic negative marker is inflected for both singular subject and plural subject. It is worth noting that *–koto* is derived from *–kotoka* 'cease, stop.'

   As in Kikisi and Chingoni, to form a negative imperative in Kindendeule, the verb takes the infinitive form together with the negative particle *–kɔtɔ* or *jee,* as illustrated in the following examples.

(8)   a.   jɛnd-a   ku-n-gonda
                go-IND INF-3.farm
                'Go to the farm.'

      b.   ku-jɛnd-a   <u>jee</u>   ku-ŋ-gonda!
                INF-go-IND   NEG   17-3-farm
                'Do not go to the farm.'

      c.   ŋ-kɔtɔ   ku-jɛnd-a   ku-ŋ-gonda!
                you-stop   INF-go-IND   17-3-farm
                'Do not go to the farm.'   (Ngonyani 2010:255)

Either the periphrastic negation *–kɔtɔ* or the negative marker *jee* can be used to form a negative imperative. The negative marker requires the verb to be in the infinitive form (8b). The periphrastic form also takes an infinitive verb, as in (8c).

     To sum up, Kindendeule, Kikisi and Chingoni have post-verbal negative markers for sentential negation. These three languages do not use true imperative negative but surrogate negative imperatives. The most common form of the surrogate negative imperative is a periphrastic negative marker that precedes the verb, itself in the infinitive form. In the following section, we explore the behavior of the negative elements in order to determine their syntactic positions.

3. The Adverbial Behavior of Post-verbal Negative Markers

     In this section we examine the syntactic status of the negative particle in sentential negation. We argue that the negative particles are not X^o but adverbs. They are characterized by appearance in adverb positions and, evidently, they do not prevent verb movement to an inflectional node. We demonstrate these features with examples from Kindendeule and Chingoni. Further evidence for V-to-I comes in the form of VP ellipsis and lack of scope ambiguity in causatives.

     In Kindendeule, the negative particle *jee* behaves like an adverb. This adverbial behavior is found in its distribution and in the ability to exchange position with an adverb in post verbal position without affecting the scope. Likewise, *jee* may appear in different adverb positions. When it appears after the verb, we get sentential negation. The same negation marker appears after other heads to mark constituent negation.

 (9)   a.   B-ana <u>tu</u>   ba-ki-hik-a.
                2-child only   2SM-PT-come-IND
                'Children only came.'

      b.   B-ana   ca-ba-geg-a   <u>tu</u>   ki-tandabala.
                2-child   FT-2SM-carry-IND   only   7-basket
                'Children will carry the basket anyway.'

      c.   Ka-gimbwa   ka   ka-cɔkɔmbɛ   <u>muno.</u>
                21-dog   21DEM 21-small   much
                'The small dog is too little.'

      d.   A-ki-tam-a   mu-nyumba   <u>momo.</u>
                1SM-PT-stay-IND   18-house   18-18
                'She/he stayed right in the house.'

In (9a), the adverb modifies a noun phrase in subject position, while in (9b) the adverb appears after the verb but modifies the entire sentence. The adverb in (9c) modifies the adjective and in (9d) it

appears after a locative noun which it modifies. These adverbs can be replaced with the negative particle as shown in the following sentences.

(10) a.   Bana   jee   bakihika.
            2-child   NEG   2SM-PT-come-IND
            'It is not children (that) came.'

      b.   B-ana   ca-ba-gɛg-a   jee   ki-tandabala.
            2-child FT-2SM-carry-IND   NEG   7-basket
            'Children will not carry the basket.'

      c.   Ka-gimbwa   ka   ka-cɔkɔmbe   jee.
            21-dog   21DEM   21-small   NEG
            'The (small) dog is not little.'

      d.   Aki-tam-a   mu-nyumba   jee.
            1SM.PT-stay-IND   18-house   NEG
            'She/he did not stay in the house.'

In (10a), the particle negates the subject, while in (10b) the particle negates the whole sentence. In sentence (10c), *jee* negates the adjective and in (10d) it negates the location. The positions of the negative particle appear to be the same as the positions occupied by different adverbs in (9). Just like adverbs that modify various domains, the negative marker has scope of several possible domains. We can reasonably conclude that the post-verbal negative marker is an adverb due to its distributional patterns.

In order to have scope over the proposition, NEG must be generated higher than VP. Its appearance after V must be attributed to movement of V. Its failure to prevent movement is consistent with adverbial behavior. The movement of the Verb to Infl is argued for in Ngonyani (1996). Using data from VP ellipsis in Kindendeule (as in the following example) and Kiswahili, Ngonyani argues that the verb survives ellipsis because it has moved out of the VP.

(11) Halima aki-lem-a   n-ghonda   gw-ake
      Halim 1SM.PT-farm-IND   3-farm   3-his/her

      na   Miche   aki-lem-a …   helahe
      and   Miche   1SM.PT-farm-IND   also
      'Halima cultivated her farm and Miche did so too.'   (Ngonyani 1996:84-85)

In this example, the second conjunct is elliptical. However, only the object appears missing. Ngonyani (1996) and Ngonyani and Githinji (2006) demonstrate that the verb in Chingoni moves out of VP to support Infl features.

One of the questions we may want to address is the adjunction position of the negative. Again other adverbs provide relevant clues. From VP ellipsis, it appears that the negative marker *jee* is left-adjoined higher than other VP adverbs. In VP ellipsis, a VP adverb is eliminated together with the object of the verb as the following example from Chingoni illustrates.

(12)   V-ana va-kali-tungu   jɛmbɛ   kanyata-kanyata   (Chingoni)
              2-child 2SM-PT-pick   10mango   quickly-quickly
              'Children were picking mangoes quickly

              na dadi   w-avi a-kali-tungu   mewa.
              and 1father 1-their 1SM.PT-pick   also
              and their father did so too.'   (Ngonyani and Githinji 2006:43)

The adverb *kanyatakanyata* 'quickly' appears in the first conjunct but not in the second conjunct. But the interpretation of the second conjunct recovers the object and the manner adverb. In a similar construction but with negative adverb, the negative adverb cannot be eliminated in a similar manner. Consider the following set of sentences from Kindendeule.

(13) a. Halima aki-pengu   kacɔkɔ n-kɔngɔ
          Halima 1SM.PT-fell   slowly 3-tree

          na   Juma   aki-pengu   helahe
          and   Juma   1SM.PT-fell   likewise
          'Halima cut the tree slowly and Juma did so too.'

      b. Halima akipengu   jee   n-kongo
          Halima 1SM.PT-fell   NEG   3-tree

          na   Juma   aki-pengu   jee.
          and   Juma   1SM.PT-fell   NEG
          'Halima did not cut the tree and neither did Juma.'

      c. ?Halima   akipengu   jee   n-kongo
          Halima   1SM.PT-fell   NEG   3-tree

          na   Juma   aki-pengu   jee   helahe
          and   Juma   1SM.PT-fell   NEG   likewise
          'Halima did not cut the tree and neither did Juma.'

      d. *Halima   akipengu   jee   n-kongo
          Halima   1SM.PT-fell   NEG   3-tree

          na   Juma   aki-pengu   helahe.
          and   Juma   1SM.PT-fell   likewise
          'Halima did not cut the tree and neither did Juma.'

To use a conjunct with ellipsis and retain the negation in both clauses, the speaker must use the negative marker in both clauses (13b). If the negation marker appears only in the first conjunct, as do other adverbs, the result is an ungrammatical sentence (13d). This indicates that although the negative marker behaves as VP adverbs in most respects, it has constraints it does not share with VP adverbs.

Further evidence is found in lack of scope ambiguity for negation in causative constructions. Causative constructions denote two events. Since the causative affix and the verb root form one word, adverbs may be ambiguous with respect to their scope. Here is an example from Kindendeule.

(14) a. Ma-tungutu g-aki-tɛlɛk-a   kabe li-kɔlɔ.
          6-owl   6SM-PT-cook-IND   again 5-vegetable
          'The owls cooked vegetable again.'

      b. Nungu   hya-ki-ga-telek-eh-a   kabe ma-tungutu li-kolo.
          9porcupine 9SM-PT-6OM-cook-CAUS-IND   again 6-owl   5-vegetable
          'The porcupine made the owls cook vegetable again.'
          i.   making (causing) again
          ii. cooking again

The adverb my modify causation, which is a higher predicate yielding the first interpretation. It may also modify the cooking, resulting in the second interpretation. This ambiguity is due to the possibility of two adjunction positions, one with the causative VP and the other with the root VP.

This ambiguity is not available for the negative marker. Replacing the adverb with the negative *jee*, we get the following sentences.

(15)   a.   Ma-tungutu g-aki-tɛlɛk-a   jee   li-kɔlɔ
                          6-owl   6SM-PT-cook-IND   NEG   5-vegetable
                          'The owls did not cook vegetables.'

        b.   nungu   hja-ki-ga-tɛlɛk-ɛh-a   jee ma-tungutu li-kɔlɔ
                    9.porcupine 9SM-PT-6OM-cook-CAUS-IND NEG 6-owl   5-vegetable
                    'The porcupine did not make the owls cook vegetable.'
            iii.   Did not make (CAUSE)
   iv.   *did not cook

The negative marker unambiguously only negates causation, as lack of ambiguity in   (15b) demonstrates.

In short, the distribution of the negative marker reveals it is an adverb that does not prevent V movement to I. Therefore, it is not X^0. Furthermore, this is an adverb that appears higher than other VP adverbs. The puzzle here is that the negative adverb does not block verb movement to C to form true imperative and yet TNI is banned in these languages. We explore possible structures of the negative and the imperative in the following section.
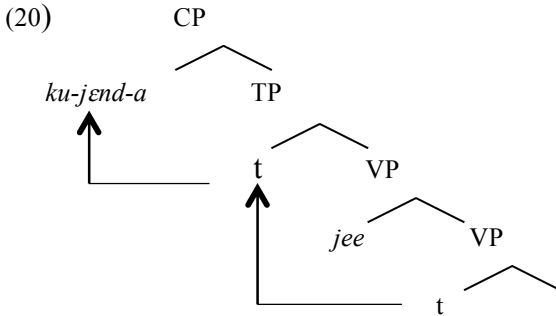
4. Analysis

The negative command is a result of interaction between the imperative and the negative. Therefore, we locate the imperative, which by definition involves a command illocutionary force in C. In this section, we present assumptions about clause structure in order to locate the imperative and negation. The clause structure provides a framework for analyzing the negative as associated with tense phrase (TP). We share assumptions with Han (2001) and Zeijlstra (2004, 2006). These are on (a) the location of the illocutionary force on the left periphery, (b) the position of negation in the scope of the operator of the command illocutionary force, and (c) head movement constraint.

The analysis of the SNI in these languages can be accounted for by using Rizzi's (1997) proposal of an articulated left periphery of the sentence. His proposal is based on the commonly accepted assumption that the clause is made up of three layers, namely, the lexical layer, the inflectional layer, and the complementizer layer. These three layers can be represented in the following way:

(16)   CP
                        IP
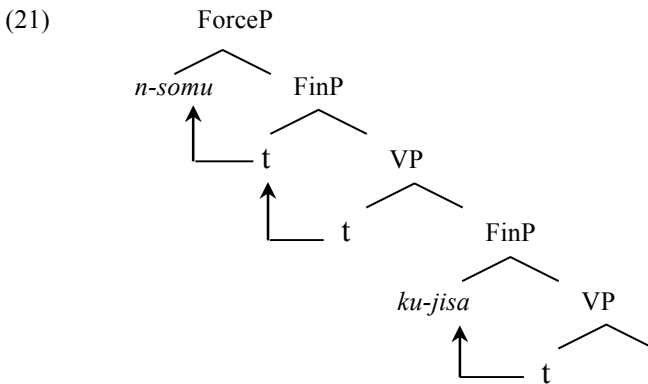   VP
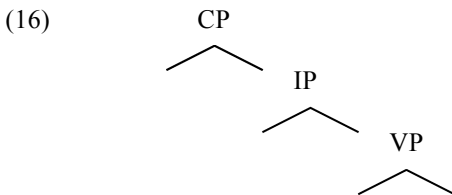
The VP is the lexical layer responsible for assigning arguments and theta roles. The IP is the locus of functional heads such as tense and case. The CP, complementizer layer, is the domain of functional heads that have to do with topic and operator-like elements including focus, interrogative and relativization. It is the locus where illocutionary force is expressed.

Rizzi (1997) proposes to split the CP into four functional projections in a manner that parallels the split of IP (Pollock 1989) and VP shells (Larson 1988). In this proposal, CP, or the left periphery of the clause is composed of four phrases, namely, Force Phrase, Topic Phrase, Focus Phrase, and Finiteness Phrase. These are represented as shown below.

(17)   ForceP
              TopicP
                    FocusP
                          FinP

ForceP connects the clause with external superordinate structure. Relative clauses, comparatives and adverbials, for instance, are part of ForceP system. FinP is the locus of interface between the CP and inflectional TP. Rizzi demonstrates that ForceP and FinP are obligatory elements. This is where the specifications for agreement, case and tense are found. In this proposal, ForceP and FinP express selectional relations, one looking outwardly to superordinate structure, the other looking inside the IP. Projections between these two, that is to say, TopicP and FocusP, do not express selectional relations and may vary in order. These two are responsible for discourse related features, such as word order changes for topicalization.

As already noted, SNI involves an illocutionary force of command. In the structure proposed by Rizzi, it is located in ForceP. This cannot be the location of negation. This can be demonstrated with examples from English.

(18)   Do not write the story.

This negative imperative must be interpreted as 'I am commanding you not to write the story.' This means negation is in the scope of the illocutionary force of command. It cannot be interpreted as 'I am not commanding you to open the window.' In this case, the command is in the scope of negation. We therefore conclude that that negation must be located below the node that encodes the command illocution, that is to say, below ForceP.

We have identified several features that point to a location of negation. The features are: (a) the imperative is located in C, the locus of illocutionary force; (b) the verb moves to T; (c) the negative marker that appears after the verb scopes the verb and its complement; (d) the negative markers exhibits the behavior of adverbs. There are two forms of negative imperative in these languages. One is the infinitive verb followed by the negative marker that is also used in true imperatives (19a). The second one makes use of periphrastic negative marker that appears before the verb (19b). The two are repeated here for convenience.

(19)   a.   ku-jɛnd-a   jee   ku-ŋ-gonda!   (Kindendeule)
              INF-go-IND   NEG   17-3-farm
              'Do not go to the farm.'   (Ngonyani 2010:255)

        b.   N-somu   ku-jis-a.   (Kikisi)
              PL-NEG   INF-come-IND
              'Do not come (pl).'   (Ngonyani 2011:132)

We conclude that the negative particle is a VP adverb located as shown below for *kujɛnda jee* 'do not go.'

(20)

```
            CP
           /  \
    ku-jɛnd-a  TP
        ↑     /  \
        |    t    VP
        |____↑   /  \
             | jee   VP
             |      /  \
             |_____t    /\
                       t
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In this structure, the verb is generated lower than the negative adverb. This verb raises to the TP and finally to CP in the imperative form. The surrogate negative imperative (SNI) is not triggered by a negative syntactic head that prevents movement of the verb. Rather, SNI in these languages is brought about by morphosyntactic requirement of the verb merging with a T element. In this case the infinitive *ku-* functions as the T element. The imperative CP selects a TP. This TP is headed by the infinitive and has, as its complement, a VP. The negative marker modifies this VP by supplying the negative feature. This negative feature can be checked in a complement of TP.

When a periphrastic form is used, there are two VPs. The negative element is not an adverb but a higher V. This verb moves to ForceP to express the command 'stop.' Since it exhibits some inflection feature, namely, subject marking, it must go through FinP. This higher VP takes as its complement a FinP which contains the VP that is headed by the lower verb. FinP selects an infinitive verb.

(21)

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            ForceP
           /    \
      n-somu    FinP
        ↑      /   \
        |____ t     VP
              ↑    /  \
              |___t    FinP
                      /   \
                 ku-jisa   VP
                    ↑     /  \
                    |____t
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The ban on negative imperative cannot be accounted for in a principled way. It appears that there are language-specific constraints that prevent TNI.

5. A Typological View

There is a well-know cross-linguistic variation in the compatibility of imperative morphology and negation. There are languages, such as Dutch and Polish, in which imperative morphology is compatible with negation. This is known as true negative imperative (TNI). TNI is illustrated by Zeijlstra (2006:405).

(22)   a.   Jij   slaapt   niet.   (Dutch)
                   you   sleep   NEG
                   'You don't sleep.'

        b.   Slaap!
               sleep
               'Sleep!'

    c.   Slaap   niet!
                sleep   NEG
                'Don't sleep!'

(23)   a.   (Ty)   nie   pracujesz   (Polish)
                you.2sg NEG   work.2SG
                'You don't work.'

        b.   Pracuj!
                work.2SG.IMP
                'Work!'

        c.   Nie   pracuj!
                NEG   work.2SG.IMP
                'Don't work.'

The imperative form of 'sleep' in Dutch is *slaap* (22b). This same form is used in negative imperative with the negation marker *niet* appearing after the verb, as (22c) reveals. In Polish, *pracuj* 'work' is used in both imperatives (23b, c). The negative marker *nie* appears before the verb in (23c).

    Spanish, on the other hand, is a language in which imperative morphology cannot co-occur with negation. Instead, a negative command requires the subjunctive form. Rivero (1994) calls this form of prohibitive command surrogate negative imperative (SNI). Below are surrogate negative imperative (SNI) examples from Zeijlstra (2006:405-406).

(24)   a.   Tu   no   lees.   (Spanish)
                you.sg NEG   read.2SG
                'You don't read.'

        b.   Lee!
                  read.2SG.IMP
                'Read!'

        c.   *No   lee!
                NEG   read.2SG.IMP
                'Don't read!'

        d.   No   leas!
                NEG   read.2SG.SUBJ
                'Don't read.'

The imperative form of 'read' in Spanish is *lee* as in (24b). The negative imperative does not use this form (24c). Instead, the subjunctive *leas* appears with the negative marker *no* before it (24d) . This means Spanish imposes a ban on true negative imperatives.

    In an attempt to account for this crosslinguistic variation, Zeijlstra (2006:414) makes the following observation.

(25)   G1: Every language with an overt negative marker X^0 that carries [iNEG] bans TNIs.
          G2: Every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X^0
          Zeijlstra (2006:414).

Zeijlstra (2004, 2006) claims that the ban on true negative imperative is a feature of languages whose negative marker is a syntactic head (X^0). The claim is based on three assumptions: (a) the imperative mood is encoded in C, (b) the imperative mood must scope the negative, and (c) head movement

constraint (HMC). When the negative marker is a syntactic head, the verb cannot move and merge with the imperative mood because the negative head is a barrier. We argue in this paper that HMC is not the only possible constraint that results in a ban in TNI. Another cause of this ban may be the location of the negative marker in sentential negation. In these languages, the negative marker is located on the left periphery of the VP.

This generalization needs to be reviewed in the light of data from Tanzanian Bantu languages of Kikisi, Kindendeule, and Chingoni. The data show that the negative particles exhibit distributional features of adverbs. However, these languages do not have a true negative imperative. The verb morphology used for imperative cannot combine with negation to express a negative command.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we set out to describe negative imperatives in Kindendeule, Kikisi and Chingoni languages of southern Tanzania. In these three languages, sentential negation is marked by postverbal particles. This negation marking is incompatible with imperative morphology or true imperatives. We examine Zeijlstra's (2004) claim that only languages with Neg ban true negative imperative morphology. The reason for this is that Neg block movement of the verb to C, the locus of illocutionary force. We have presented data from the Bantu languages of Kindendeule, Kikisi and Chingoni, all of which have post-verbal negative particles. Using examples from Kindendeule we have shown that these particles are not syntactic heads but adverbs of VP. On the basis of the distribution of the negative particles we conclude that although Neg is a sufficient condition for triggering SNI, it is not a necessary condition. In their study of SNI and TNI, Collberg and Håkanson (1999) reach the conclusion that factors other than the head status of the negation may be at play in determining the use of SNI. The findings in the present study are consistent with their findings.

The proposal put forward here is that in these languages, SNI is brought about by language specific constraints. In these languages, a VP is modified with a negative adverb. With this modification, the verb needs to merge with T, in this case, in the form of the infinitive *ku*. Movement of the verb is not blocked by the negative particle because the particle is an adverb. However, further typological studies might reveal some systematic constraints that are at play.

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