

## On post-verbal negation in Chadic

Post-verbal negation patterns are found in a number of Chadic languages. The paper will look at these both in terms of typology and, if feasible, diachronic development. Typologically, we are quite likely dealing with a feature of great age in family since we find post-verbal negation patterns in all the major branches of Chadic, for instance, in West Chadic *Hausa* (cf. Newman 2000), in Central Chadic Lamang-Hdi (cf. Wolff 2009), and in East Chadic *Kera* (cf. Ebert 1979).

*Hausa* (West Chadic):

**Yáarìnyàa bàà tà dáawóo bá.** ‘The girl didn’t return.’  
girl NEG 3SG.F return NEG

The post-verbal negation marker only occurs in the shape of discontinuous negation marking and is restricted to (a) TAMs other than the continuous and subjunctive, and (b) to equational (non-verbal) clauses, NPs etc. Outside the discontinuous marker construction, the single markers **báa** and **bâa** in other negative constructions never occur post-verbally. Whereas in Standard Hausa the post-verbal negation marker **bá** tends to occur in clause-final position, this is not necessarily the case in “northern” dialects.

*Lamang* (Central Chadic):

**Màná-xáŋ wó.** ‘They didn’t do (it).’  
do 3PL NEG

Lamang also uses a marker **bà** (cf. *Hausa*, *Kera*) which, however, is restricted to negation of focus (contrastive term focus, predication focus) and enters various combinations with post-verbal **wó**. The marker **wó** is always clause-final.

*Kera* (East Chadic):

**A hám kúsúk bà.** ‘She didn’t eat meat.’  
3SG.F eat meat NEG

The negation marker tends to occupy clause-final position, only ideophones and modal particles are allowed to follow.

Note that not **\*ba** is reconstructed as the general negation marker in Proto-Chadic even though it would appear to have a wider distribution in present-day languages (such as in *Hausa* and *Kera*), but rather **\*wa** (as found in Lamang).

Given the great age of the Chadic language family and the high degree of internal diversification, present-day languages display a wide array of synchronic patterns involving post-verbal negation marking (in addition to complementary occurrences of non-post-verbal negation markers). The paper will, first of all, outline the typological variation of post-verbal negation patterns in selected Chadic languages and - possibly - draw some historical generalisation from it.