

Clause-final negative markers in southeastern Bamana dialects: a contact-induced evolution

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Abstract

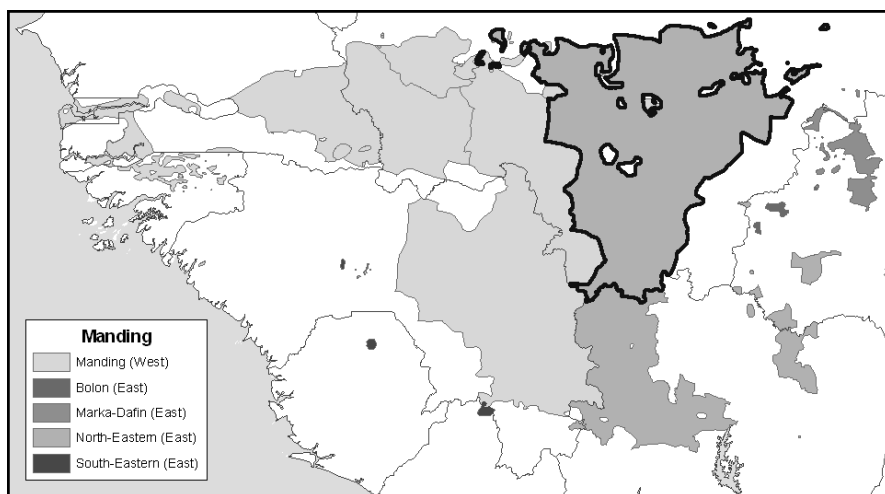
A compact group of southeastern Bamana dialects, viz. southern dialects of the Baninko area and dialects of the neighboring Gwandugu, Shendugu and Ganadugu areas, uses an innovative clause-final negative marker, in addition to a negative marker earlier in the clause (immediately following the subject), which it shares with the other Bamana dialects. Although both the form and the negative polarity semantics of this clause-final marker can be offered a language-internal diachronic account, I argue that its innovative pattern of use and ongoing grammaticalization in these dialects are best analyzed as an instance of contact-induced evolution modeled on the neighboring Senufo languages. The initial transfer of the pattern occurred when Senufo speakers shifted to Bamana.

Keywords: Bamana (Bambara), Mande, Senufo (Gur), clause-final negation, numerals, morphology, syntax, language contact, historical linguistics

1. Introduction

Bamana (Bambara, Bamanankan) belongs to the eastern group of the Manding dialect cluster which is part of the Central subbranch of the Western branch of the Mande language family. Basically, *Bamana* is a cover term for almost any Eastern Manding varieties spoken in Mali (see Map 1), whereas in Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina-Faso the closely related Eastern Manding varieties are usually referred to as *Jula* or *Maninka*.¹ The post-independence state borders have contributed to the emergence of more pronounced (socio)linguistic divisions within the Eastern Manding continuum. Thus, in Mali, so-called Standard Bamana, which has developed as an urban koine in the capital Bamako, is steadily gaining ground elsewhere in the country, influencing the local Manding varieties and virtually becoming the national lingua franca.

Map 1. *Manding and Bamana* (the source map is adapted from <http://www.sil.org/SILES/2000/2000-003/Manding/Manding.htm>)



All Mande languages have a strict SOVX constituent order in transitive constructions, where O in the immediately preverbal position is obligatory present, at least as a dummy pronoun, and SVX in intransitive constructions.² Polarity in Mande languages tends to be expressed syncretically with tense, aspect, and mood. At the same time, it is not uncommon for these categories to be marked in more than one place within a clause (see Bearth 1995, 2009; Kastenholz 2003, 2006). Typically, the morphology involved consists of the so-called predicative markers (auxiliary-like morphemes immediately following the subject), verbal

¹ The term *Maninka* is potentially confusing as it is also used to refer to some Western Manding varieties spoken in Guinea, Mali and Senegal.

² X stands for “oblique”, which is any constituent (an argument or an adjunct) other than S and O (see Creissels 2005).

inflection (segmental and/or suprasegmental), and sometimes also clause-final particles and various secondary operators occupying different slots within the clause structure. In most Bamana varieties, polarity is expressed cumulatively with TAM categories by means of the aforementioned predicative markers, as summarized in Tables 1-3 for Standard Bamana.

Table 1. *Standard Bamana predicative markers with non-quality verbs (see Idiatov 2000)*

	Affirmative	Negative
IPFV	bé	té
PROG1	bé (O)V lá	té (O)V lá
PROG2 (CONT)	békà	tékà
FUT1	bénà	ténà
FUT2	ná	—
PFV	yé OV / V-ra	má
SUBJ	kà / ká	kàná
IMP	\emptyset (2SG)/ yé (2PL)	

Table 2. *Standard Bamana predicative markers with quality verbs*³

Affirmative	Negative
ká	mán ⁴

³ Quality verbs (also known as predicative adjectives) are a closed class of some 50 predicates with quality semantics, such as **bòn** ‘be big, important’ and **dí** ‘be nice, pleasant, tasty’ (see Vydrine 1990, 1999). These verbs do not distinguish TAM categories, although they can be combined with the so-called discontinuous past marker **tùn** (see Idiatov 2000). Discontinuous past is “roughly characterizable as ‘past and not present’ or ‘past with no present relevance’” (Plungian & van der Auwera 2006).

⁴ In the Bamana spelling, the **-n** after a vowel (before a consonant or a space) marks the nasalization of the vowel.

Table 3. *Standard Bamana predicative markers in non-verbal predications*

	Affirmative	Negative
LOC/EXIST	bé	té
IDENT	dòn	
EQUAT	yé ... yé	té ... yé

Example (1) illustrates polarity marking for the Imperfective.

Standard Bamana

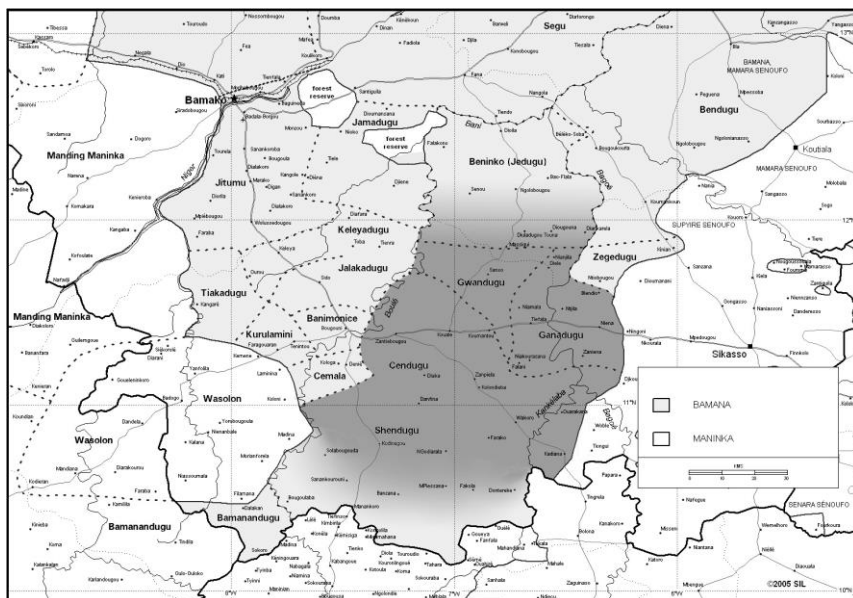
- (1) a. **À bé bágán màrà**
 3SG IPFV cattle keep
 ‘He keeps cattle.’
- b. **À té bágán màrà**
 3SG IPFV.NEG cattle keep
 ‘He does not keep cattle.’

A compact group of southeastern Bamana dialects (see Map 2), viz. southern dialects of the Baninko area and dialects of the neighboring Gwandugu, Shendugu and Ganadugu areas, is reported to use the clause-final negative markers **ni(n)/(y)i** (Bird 1982)⁵ and **nén** (Togola 1984) in addition to a negative predicative marker shared with the other Bamana dialects.

Map 2. *The southeastern Bamana varieties with clause-final negative markers (the source map is adapted from http://www.sil.org/SILESR/2000/2000-003/Manding/Bamana_map.htm)*⁶

⁵ Note that Bird (1982) does not mark tone here. For the same reason, tone marking is generally also absent in the examples from Bird (1982) further in the text.

⁶ The northern (within the Baninko region) and southern (within the Shendugu region) fringes of the area with a clause-final negative marker are blurred on the map in order to reflect the fact that the exact northern and southern borders are not clear from Bird (1982).



Examples (2-4) illustrates the bipartite negative marking for the Bamana of Massigui (from Gwandugu or Baninko area).

Bamana of Massigui (Bird 1982:180-182)

- (2) a. **A ye baa ji min**
 3SG PRF water drink
 'He drank water.'
- b. **A te baa ji min nin**
 3SG PRF.NEG water drink NEG
 'He didn't drink water.'
- (3) a. **Á ye gwo!**
 2PL IMP leave
 'Leave (you all)!'
- b. **Á kana gwo nin!**
 2PL IMP.NEG leave NEG
 'Don't leave (you all)!'
- (4) a. **Madu ye foro lo**
 PROP LOC field in
 'Madu is in the field.'
- b. **Madu te foro lo nin!**
 PROP LOC.NEG field in NEG
 'Madu is not in the field.'

In this paper, I take a closer look at the data on clause-final negative markers (henceforth CFNM) available for the dialects of this area and I discuss several generalizations that can be deduced from the data (Section 2). I will then provide a (language-internal) diachronic account of the origins of these CFNMs (Section 3). I suggest that in all probability, they go back to an iterative frequency adverbial with free-choice semantics, viz. something like ‘at any time (not), on any occasion (not)’ (Section 3.1). I also discuss some possible cognates of this adverbial elsewhere in Manding and generally in Mande (Section 3.2) and hypothesize that its ultimate source is a numeral meaning ‘one’ (Section 3.3). Finally, I argue that their innovative pattern of use and ongoing grammaticalization in the dialects in question are best analyzed as a case of contact-induced evolution modeled on the neighboring Senufo languages (Section 4).

2. CFNMs in the southeastern Bamana dialects: distribution and patterns of use

A comparison with other Bamana dialects and a range of closely related Mande languages suggests that the CFNMs **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** represent an innovation specific to the southeastern Bamana dialects. Thus, CFNMs are lacking in other Bamana dialects. Elsewhere in Manding, a CFNM is found only in Marka (an Eastern Manding variety spoken in Burkina-Faso, see Map 1), where it has the form **wà** (Diallo 1988), which is clearly not cognate with the Bamana forms. Beyond Manding, CFNMs are found only in more distantly related Mande languages, such as Jeli **tɛ** and Jogo **dɛ/rɔ** within Western Mande (Braconnier & Coulibaly 1986; Tröbs 1998), San **tó/bà/yà/wā/kó**, Bisa **í/y(é)**, and Bokobaru **ro** within the Eastern branch of Southeastern Mande (Ebermann 2009; Jones 2004; Vanhoudt 1992), Guro **ḍō** and Wan **ś/(w)á** within the Southern branch of Southeastern Mande (Vydrine 2009), among others. However, already the sheer variety of forms of these markers and their rather irregular distribution pattern within Mande are strongly indicative that these are all relatively recent and mostly independent innovations which are not directly related to the Bamana forms.

The innovative character of the CFNMs in Bamana is further suggested by the fact that these markers are formally rather unstable across this compact group of dialects as we find forms such as **nin**, **ni**, **yi**, **i** and **nén**. Similarly, the range of constructions where a CFNM is possible varies from dialect to dialect. Thus, in Ganadugu, CFNMs seem to be possible in all constructions (with a potential exception of the negative imperative, Bird 1982 is not clear on the issue). Elsewhere, the range of constructions using a CFNM is more restricted. Finally, when possible, a CFNM appears to remain optional to varying degrees, which suggests that its grammaticalization is still ongoing. Thus, in Bird’s (1982) overview of Bamana dialects, CFNMs are sometimes given in brackets or are absent altogether in the examples from the dialects which elsewhere in this source are described as using CFNMs. In Togola (1984), which is the only detailed description of a southeastern Bamana dialect, viz. Bamana of Sanso (Gwandugu

or Baninko area), the CFNM **nén** appears to be optional in all constructions where it occurs,⁷ as summarized in Tables 4-6.

Table 4. *Bamana of Sanso predicative markers with non-quality verbs (based on Togola 1984)*

	Affirmative	Negative
HAB	bé/yé (sà)	té (sà)
IPFV	yé (O)V lá	té (O)V lá (nén)
PROG	yé káà	té káà ... (nén)
FUT1	bê ~ nân	té ~ knân ⁸
FUT2 ⁹	kècò 'yéé (O)V	?
FUT3.INTR	?	V-có(ó n)té
PRF.TR	yé báá OV	té báá OV (nén)
PRF.INTR	V-n yé	V-n té (nén) / màn V
PFV	yáá	màn
SUBJ	lá / nán	kànan (O)V (nén)
IMP	Ø	

⁷ On the one hand, Togola (1984) presents some negative TAM constructions with a CFNM **nén** but then, further in the text, says that the CFNM is optional. On the other hand, it also happens that he does not mention the CFNM as a part of a given negative TAM construction but a CFNM can be found in some examples of this construction elsewhere in the text. Still, some negative TAM constructions do lack a CFNM consistently in Togola (1984).

⁸ The initial **k-** in **knân** comes from ***t-** of **té** through a dissimilation after the loss of the vowel **é**.

⁹ Togola (1984) presents FUT2 and the negative FUT3.INTR as a single construction with the latter being the negation of the former. However, such analysis is precluded by the difference in transitivity between the two constructions, which itself is due to their original structures. Given these structural considerations and the way Togola (1984) presents the two constructions, I would expect that FUT2, which in origin is *[S be(come)-PTCP.IPFV EXIST INF (O) V], paraphrasable as something like ‘There’s S be(com)ing to (O) V’ (i.e. ‘There’s S going to (O) V’), probably lacks an exact negative counterpart, while the affirmative counterpart of the negative FUT3.INTR, probably something like [S V-**có** (i.e., PTCP.IPFV) EXIST/IDENT/LOC], is likely to have the progressive reading as the more common one, as is the case with a comparable construction in Standard Bamana.

Table 5. *Bamana of Sanso predicative markers with quality verbs (based on Togola 1984)*

Affirmative	Negative
ká / yáá	màn

Table 6. *Bamana of Sanso predicative markers in non-verbal predications (based on Togola 1984)*

	Affirmative	Negative
LOC/EXIST	yé	té (nén)
IDENT1	yé'é	té'é (nén)
IDENT2	dò	té
EQUAT	yé ... lé	té ... lé

At first sight, the presence or absence of the CFNM **nén** in a given negative TAM construction in Bamana of Sanso has no direct relation to the semantics of the construction. Thus, we have two semantically identical identificational constructions, one where the CFNM is sometimes used and one where it is not. Similarly, there are two constructions to negate the intransitive recent perfective, one where the CFNM is sometimes used and one where it is not. There is the habitual construction without a CFNM, on the one hand, and semantically close imperfective and progressive constructions with an optional CFNM, on the other.

However, these data do allow for some interesting observations which are worth fleshing out. To begin with, according to Togola (1984:207), IDENT2 (Table 6) is a borrowing from central Bamana dialects, such as Standard Bamana (see Table 3),¹⁰ where no CFNMs are found, and actually it is rarely used in Sanso. This fact allows to account for the impossibility of a CFNM in IDENT2, which otherwise is somewhat disturbing. This fact is also particularly interesting for two other reasons. First, it suggests that whether a CFNM is possible or not in a given negative construction may depend on the form of the corresponding affirmative marker. Thus, although in all negative non-verbal predicative constructions the negative predicative marker is **té**, the CFNM **nén** is possible only in those constructions where the corresponding affirmative marker is **yé** (viz. LOC/EXIST, IDENT1, EQUAT) and not **dò** (viz. IDENT2).¹¹ Second, it suggests that the absence of

¹⁰ This hypothesis is in accordance with the available comparative evidence, as discussed in Creissels (1981).

¹¹ The marker **yé'é** in the affirmative IDENT1 is a relatively straightforward contraction of the EQUAT construction ***yé à lé** [PM 3SG PP] (Togola 1984:206). Similarly, for the negative

a CFNM with a given negative predicative marker may be accounted for by influence from central Bamana dialects where the same negative predicative marker is not accompanied by a CFNM.

In verbal negative constructions, the CFNM **nén** is found with the negative predicative markers **té**, in (originally) imperfective constructions,¹² and **kàrán**, in the subjunctive/imperative. Note that among the negative constructions with the predicative marker **té**, the CFNM **nén** is found only in those constructions where the corresponding affirmative marker is not **bé**, but only **yé** (viz. IPFV, PROG, PRF.TR, PRF.INTR). This is reminiscent of the situation with non-verbal predications and does not seem to be a mere coincidence. Thus, of the two affirmative predicative markers, **yé** is the more recent one, presumably going back to the verb **yé** ‘see, look’ (see Creissels 1981) via its use as a marker of an identificational construction, and it is generally not used in verbal constructions in central Bamana dialects, such as Standard Bamana, which tend to use only the older marker **bé**.¹³ That is, here, as with non-verbal predications, the form of the corresponding affirmative marker correlates with the (im)possibility of using the CFNM and the influence of central Bamana dialects can be presumed to inhibit the use of the CFNM in those constructions that Bamana of Sanso shares with central Bamana dialects.

Interestingly, the CFNM **nén** is not found with the negative predicative marker **màn**, irrespective of whether the verb involved is a non-quality verb and the construction is perfective or the verb involved is a quality verb and TAM distinctions are neutralized. This similarity between the two negative constructions is most likely due to the fact that **màn** in non-quality and quality verb constructions is originally one and the same marker, i.e. the quality verb construction is originally a regular verbal TAM construction with perfective, or more probably, resultative semantics. This hypothesis is further corroborated by the fact that one of the two possible affirmative predicative markers in the quality verb construction, viz. **yáá**, is identical to the predicative marker in the regular verbal PFV construction. Finally, comparable similarities between the markers of constructions involving quality verbs and that of perfective/resultative

IDENT1, **té¹é** < ***té à lé** [NEG.PM 3SG PP]. That is, at least historically, the predicative markers here are **yé** in the affirmative and **té** in the negative.

¹² The PRF.INTR marker is originally a resultative based on an EXIST/LOC construction (predicative marker **yé**) with a PTCP.PFV of the verb (marked by nasalization and lengthening of the final vowel of the verb). The PRF.TR marker is originally an IPFV form of the verb ‘finish, end’ found throughout Manding (such as **bán** in Standard Bamana).

¹³ In this respect, it may also be interesting to note that in comparison to Standard Bamana, Bamana of Sanso appears to be equally innovative in its use of several TAM constructions relevant here. Thus, the construction that in Standard Bamana is used as IPFV, is used to express HAB in Bamana of Sanso. Similarly, Standard Bamana PROG1 corresponds to Bamana of Sanso IPFV, Standard Bamana PROG2 (CONT) corresponds to Bamana of Sanso PROG, Standard Bamana (intransitive) resultative (V-PTCP.PFV **bé/dòn**) corresponds to Bamana of Sanso PRF.INTR. Given the general patterns of evolution of TAM categories, the Standard Bamana usage is more likely to reflect the older situation.

constructions used for regular (intransitive) verbs are found elsewhere in Manding, as for instance, in Mandinka (see Rowlands 1959:53, 74, 77, 87; Creissels 1983:107-110) and Manyà (Heydorn 1949:56-57).

In Standard Bamana, the formal distinction between the negative predicative markers in the perfective and quality verb constructions, viz. **má** and **mán** respectively (see Tables 1-2), is secondary. It can be conceived of as a formal manifestation of the functional divergence of the two constructions (comparable to the divergence between the indefinite article *a(n)* and the numeral *one* in English).¹⁴ That in Standard Bamana this functional divergence is formally manifested through the loss of nasalization in the marker of the negative perfective construction is most likely due to frequency effects of its combination with the following personal pronouns. With the only exception of the 1SG pronoun, personal pronouns in Bamana are vowel-initial, e.g. 3SG **à** and 3PL **ù**, whereas the overwhelming majority of Bamana lexemes is consonant-initial,¹⁵ including all the quality verbs. In Manding, in normal speech word-initial vowels, especially in the case of pronouns, frequently cause the elision of the preceding word-final vowel accompanied by compensatory lengthening, as in Standard Bamana **à yé à dí ù mà** → /à yáá 'dúú mà/ 'He gave it to them'. In addition, nasalization, especially word-final, is relatively unstable across Manding. Depending on the variety and sometimes the particular word, it may surface only in a restricted number of contexts, disappear without traces or disappear but bring about some morphological alternations to its right. In the case of the negative predicative marker in question, the data of Mandinka are particularly interesting. Thus, in Mandinka, where this predicative marker is **mán/mân** with a final **ŋ** (see Creissels 2011), it regularly fuses in a transitive construction to **mâa** with a following 3SG pronoun **à** functioning as O (see Rowlands 1959:14-15, 87).¹⁶ The denasalized variant of this predicative marker should be quite common with non-quality verbs by virtue of their being not only intransitive but also transitive and enhanced by the fact that in Manding, in a transitive construction O is obligatorily present in the immediately preverbal position, at least as a dummy pronoun. At the same time, it never occurs with quality verbs since they are all intransitive and

¹⁴ It is paralleled by the divergence between the corresponding affirmative constructions and their predicative markers. In origin, the affirmative quality verb construction with the predicative marker **ká** is also a perfective verbal construction, similarly to what we observe synchronically in Bamana of Sanso with the predicative marker **yáá** that shows up in both constructions. Perfective markers of the form **ka** (originally, probably ***kà**) are found in many Manding varieties, although much less frequently within the Bamana area.

¹⁵ In this aspect of its phonotactics, Bamana is very similar to other Mande languages, which have a strong preference for (simple) onsets, viz. *C*, *NC* or *C* followed by a glide or a liquid. In most Mande languages, vowel-initial words are found only in borrowings and function words, including personal pronouns.

¹⁶ In this respect, **mán/mân** behaves similarly to conjunctions ending in **-ŋ**, such as **bírín** 'when, since', **kàbírín** 'since' and **nín** 'and, with; if, when', but unlike verbs ending in **-ŋ**, such as **sòŋ** 'agree' and **lón** 'know', for which such a fusion appears to be rather exceptional according to Rowlands (1959:15).

consonant-initial. As the two constructions diverge functionally, frequency effects may lead to phonologization of this contextual distinction, as must have happened in Standard Bamana.

These rich data on Bamana of Sanso that can be extracted from Togola (1984) allows making better sense of the somewhat fragmentary data on the distribution of CFNMs in other southeastern Bamana dialects provided by Bird (1982). Thus, when we compare the distribution of CFNMs across the southeastern dialects (Gnadugu Bamana largely aside, as it appears to allow CFNMs in virtually all constructions), we may observe that first, normally, CFNMs do not show up in those negative constructions where the corresponding affirmative predicative marker is the older marker **bé**, shared with central Bamana dialects, whereas they are generally possible when the corresponding affirmative predicative marker is the innovative **yé**. Second, CFNMs appear to be generally absent from the negative constructions with the predicative marker **ma(n)**, irrespective of whether it is a negative perfective construction or a negative quality verb construction and whether the corresponding affirmative predicative marker is innovative or not.

3. A diachronic account of the CFNMs **ni(n)/(y)i/nén**

This section provides a language-internal diachronic account of the origins of the CFNMs **ni(n)/(y)i/nén**. The argument is twofold, being built on a convergence between the morphosyntactic peculiarities of the CFNMs in southeastern Bamana dialects and comparative data from closely related languages where formally similar elements are found with mostly quantifying semantics. This convergence points to an iterative frequency adverbial with free-choice semantics, viz. something like ‘at any time (not), on any occasion (not)’ as the source of the CFNMs **ni(n)/(y)i/nén**. Finally, I argue that the ultimate source of this adverbial is a numeral meaning ‘one’.

3.1. A frequency adverbial as the source of the CFNMs

The generalizations on the distribution and patterns of use of CFNMs in southeastern Bamana dialects summarized at the end of the last section suggest the following scenario of their spread within these dialects. To begin with, the Gnadugu dialects, which are the easternmost dialects of the area with the innovative use of CFNMs, appear to form the historical hotbed of this area, since it is in Gnadugu that the use of CFNMs has (almost?) no exceptions. The use of CFNMs affected first of all those negative constructions where the corresponding affirmative predicative marker is the innovative marker **yé**. This correlation with the form of the corresponding affirmative marker suggests that what is now a CFNM was originally also used in affirmative clauses. That is, originally, it is not an inherently negative element. At the same time, that those constructions where the corresponding affirmative predicative marker is the older marker **bé** happened to be less affected by the use of CFNMs can be accounted for by the influence of central Bamana dialects, where this marker is the norm. In this respect, note that central Bamana dialects have since long occupied a socio-politically dominant

position in the area, in the past as the language of the Bamana kingdom of Segu (17th–19th century) and in the present as the language of the capital, Bamako, and the de facto lingua franca in this part of Mali.

The use of CFNMs affected the negative constructions with the predicative markers **ma(n)** last, both in negative perfective and negative quality verb constructions. The fact that in this case, unlike in negative constructions involving the negative predicative marker **té**, it is not the form of the corresponding affirmative predicative marker that is relevant but directly the form of the negative predicative marker itself, suggests that when the use of CFNMs started to spread in the dialects in question, CFNMs were not yet used, or only infrequently so, with the negative predicative marker **ma(n)** in Ganadugu, the presumed hotbed of this feature.

The clause-final position of the marker **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** points to an adverbial source. The fact that its original distribution is related to the aspectual type of the predication and the apparent possibility of its earlier use in affirmative constructions suggest that this adverbial had some type of quantifying or phasal semantics, rather than for instance restrictive (such as ‘(not) only’, ‘(not) at all, (not) even’) or evaluative (such as ‘certainly (not), definitely (not)’) semantics. Thus, restrictive adverbials tend to be polarity sensitive. Neither restrictive nor evaluative adverbials tend to correlate with the aspectual type of the predication. The range of possible sources of the marker **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** can be narrowed down even further. Thus, many phasal adverbials, such as ‘already, (not) yet’, ‘(not) completely’, should be excluded since they are particularly common in perfective constructions. Among quantifying adverbials, frequency adverbials with multiplicative semantics, such as ‘several times (not)’, also score poorly for the same reason. Frequency adverbials with distributive semantics, such as ‘(not) every time’, and with iterative semantics of a moderate degree of iteration, such as ‘sometimes (not)’, ‘usually (not)’, equally appear as a rather unlikely source of a secondary negation marker as a means of reinforcement of a primary negation marker since their moderate frequency semantics squares better with the idea of attenuation rather than reinforcement. All in all, the most likely candidate is an iterative frequency adverbial with free-choice semantics, viz. something like ‘at any time (not), on any occasion (not)’.¹⁷

Finally, note the following facts in relation to the hypothesis that the source of the CFNM **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** is a frequency adverbial predominantly used in negative constructions. In Bamana, there are very few inherently negative elements, such as the determiner **sí** ‘no [N]’ or the clause-final emphasis marker **féwu** ‘absolutely not, no way’. However, some elements that are not inherently negative, are mostly used with negative polarity, such as (largely phasal) adverbials **bilen** ‘(not) yet, not any more, in fact not’ and rarely affirmatively as ‘still, again’ or as an exclamation ‘at this hour?! still now?!’ and **bán** ‘(not) yet’ and in questions marking impatience ‘finally, after all’ (see Dumestre 2003).

¹⁷ A more idiomatic, but much less precise way to render the intended meaning in English would be the gloss ‘(n)ever’.

Importantly, the latter group also includes the adverbial **((h)á)bádá(n)**,¹⁸ which is mostly used in negative constructions as ‘(n)ever, on whatever occasion (not), under any (no) circumstances’, sometimes independently as an interjection ‘never, on no occasion, under no circumstances’, and rarely in affirmative constructions, as ‘on all occasions, under any circumstances’ (see Dumestre 2003; Bailleul 1996:11). The adverbial **((h)á)bádá(n)** provides an interesting parallel to the possible source of the CFNM **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** discussed above. Furthermore, given that **((h)á)bádá(n)** is a clear borrowing from Arabic, we may hypothesize that it replaced some earlier form with comparable semantics and that it was the latter form that served as the source for the CFNM **ni(n)/(y)i/nén**.

3.2. Further comparative evidence

The latter hypothesis is further corroborated by the existence of a very close formal and semantic match to the hypothesized adverbial in Mandinka, the westernmost Manding variety spoken in Senegal, Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. Thus, according to Denis Creissels (p.c.; 1983:39-40, 2011), Mandinka has an element **néné**, occurring in the slot (sometimes referred to as that of an *operator*) immediately after the subject and before the predicative marker, which appears to have been evolving out of an indefinite meaning ‘once, at one time, at a certain moment’, as reflected for instance in its use in the formulaic expression in (5), into a “negative polarity item comparable to English *any*-indefinites”. Thus, currently **néné** is used almost exclusively as ‘(n)ever, at any time (not), (not) on even one occasion’ in negative constructions, as in (6), and as ‘ever, on at least one occasion’ in affirmative interrogative constructions, as in (7).

Mandinka (Creissels 2011:153)

- (5) **Mùsù dóo lè néné sòtó-tà**
 woman a.certain FOC once find.oneself-PFV
 ‘Once upon a time there was a woman.’
- (6) **Í néné mán tàa Tùbàabùdùu**
 1SG ever PFV.NEG go Europe
 ‘I have never been to Europe.’
- (7) **Í néné yé jàtóo jè?**
 2SG ever PFV lion:ART see
 ‘Have you ever seen a lion?’

In some eastern varieties of Mandinka (also geographically closer to the Eastern Manding part of the Manding dialect cluster),¹⁹ at least in its use as a negative polarity sensitive item in (6) and (7), **néné** can be freely replaced in the same

¹⁸ It is a borrowing from Arabic, also attested as a noun meaning ‘eternity’, as in the postpositional expression **(h)ábádá kámà** ‘forever’.

¹⁹ Such as the Mandinka spoken by Sidiya Jaata, one of the two collaborators of Creissels (1983), who is a native of Wulli in the extreme east of Gambia.

position by **bádáa** and in negative constructions, as in (6), reinforced by a related clause-final inherently negative emphasis marker **ábádán** ‘never’ or its equivalent **múk**. Both **bádáa** and **ábádán** seem to be largely unknown in the core Mandinka area further to the west. All Mandinka varieties also know the nominal root **ábádáa** ‘eternity’ used in compounds. The position of both **néné** and **bádáa** immediately after the subject and before the predicative marker is clearly a result of a secondary shift from their original regular clause-final adverbial slot closer to the predicative marker slot as the major locus of TAM and polarity marking in Manding and generally in Mande. This is most obvious in the case of **bádáa** whose original adverbial nature is suggested by its etymology as a borrowing and further confirmed by the fact that it is found in its regular clause-final adverbial slot elsewhere in Manding. Moreover, this is not an isolated development since various comparable syntactic shifts of adverbials with temporal semantics into the same slot as occupied by **néné** in Mandinka are found elsewhere in Manding and beyond.

Besides the Mandinka **néné**, the “inactuality” or “irrealis” **nde** found in Yalunka (Western Mande, Central), as described by Lüpke (2005),²⁰ is yet another reflex of the adverbial that resulted in the CFNM **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** in southeastern Bamana dialects. The marker **nde** is normally clause-final, as in (8-11), but in some cases it immediately follows the verb and precedes the oblique, as in (12). The combination of **nde** with IPFV may result in a future reading, as in (8), a generic reading, as in (9), a habitual past of the ‘used to’ type reading, as in (10).

Yalunka (Lüpke 2005:120-121)

- (8) **E a fala-m’ i be nde!**
 3PL 3SG say-IPFV 2SG for INACT
 ‘They will say it to you!’
- (9) **E xuu(-ma nde)**
 3PL meow-IPFV INACT
 ‘[What kinds of sounds do cats make?] They meow.’
- (10) **Fal-la fan, nxo dɔxɔ-ma a fari nde**
 donkey-DEF also 1PL.EXCL sit-IPFV 3SG on INACT
 ‘[Describing means of transportation in narrator’s youth:] Donkeys as well, we were riding them.’

The combination of **nde** with PFV conveys the meaning of a cancelled result, as in (11).

²⁰ The variety of Yalunka described by Lüpke (2005) is spoken in the village of Saare Kindia in northern Guinea. Yalunka forms with the very closely related language Susu one of the two major subdivisions of Central Mande, while Manding is a lower-level unit within the other major subdivision.

- (11) **Maimuna mini-xi nde, a yamba keden min, a soo,**
 PROP exit-PFV INACT 3SG tobacco one drink 3SG enter
a dɔxo dagi-nee i
 3SG sit mat-DEF:PL at
 ‘Maimuna had gone out, she smoked a cigarette, she came in, she sat down
 on the mats’ (Lüpke 2005:121)

Within a counterfactual conditional, **nde** is used in the protasis with PFV and PST, and in the apodosis, with IPFV, as in (12).

- (12) **... e nax' e e sɔtɔ-xi nde nun, a saa-ma nde**
 3PL QUOT 3PL 3PL find-PFV INACT PST 3SG lie-IPFV INACT
ji kaidi-n' i
 this paper-DEF at
 ‘...they say, if they had obtained them [their baccalaureates], it [their
 names] would have appeared in this list’ (Lüpke 2005:122)

The cancelled result and habitual past uses of **nde** are reminiscent of the use of Mandinka **néné** in the meaning ‘once, at one time, at a certain moment’ in (5) above. Similarly, the future readings of the combination of **nde** with IPFV may be seen as a possible result of interaction between the semantics of IPFV and an adverbial originally meaning ‘at one time, at a certain moment’. The generic reading of the combination of **nde** with IPFV resembles the indefinite reading of Mandinka **néné** as ‘at any time’, as well as the rare affirmative use of the latter’s Bamana equivalent **((h)á)bádá(n)** as ‘on all occasions, under any circumstances’.

3.3. A numeral as the source of the frequency adverbial

The parallels between the CFNM **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** in southeastern Bamana dialects, Mandinka **néné**, and Yalunka **nde** highlighted in 3.1-3.2 point to a common source with some general quantifying semantics of the ‘once’ type. In this perspective, the Yalunka inactuality marker **nde**, and as a result also the respective Mandinka and Bamana forms, can be brought back to the numeral root ***tā** ‘one’²¹ having numerous reflexes in Western Mande, especially in its Southwestern and Central branches.

Etymologically, the Yalunka marker **nde** is equivalent to the indefinite quantifier/determiner [N] **ndé** ‘some [N], one [N], a certain [N]; some quantity of [N]; another [N]’ (PL: **ndéyè/ndéè**) in the closely related language Susu (see Toure 1994:149-151). The form **ndé** itself is clearly a frozen combination of the base form **ndá**, still found in Yalunka as **nda** (Lüpke 2005:107)/ **ndá** (Creissels 2010:63) ‘some, a certain’,²² with a referential article, whose underlying form in

²¹ The tone of this reconstruction is somewhat problematic.

²² The variety of Yalunka described by Lüpke (2005) has lost tone.

Susu is **yí** (Toure 1994:139). That is, in Susu the unmarked non-referential form ***ñdá** was lost, with only the marked referential form ***ñdá-yí** > ***ñdéé** > **ñdé** preserved, whereas in Yalunka, both the unmarked non-referential form **nda** and the marked referential form **nde** have been preserved but have diverged functionally. The underlying form of the article in Susu is identical to the proximal demonstrative **yí** ‘this (one)’, or preposed to a N, a modifier ‘this [N]’. In Yalunka, this article has been replaced by a new form based on the distal demonstrative **na** but has remained frozen on many nominals as is suggested by a disproportionately high percentage of final anterior vowels in nominals as opposed to verbs (see Lüpke 2005:94-95). Note in this respect that in Susu words with a short final vowel, the quality of the final vowel of the referential form resulting from the fusion with the article is often generalized to the unmarked form of the nominal (Toure 1994:103).

The origin of the Susu and Yalunka indefinite quantifiers/determiners **ñdé** and **ñdá** in a numeral ‘one’ is supported by the forms for the numeral ‘one’ in Jeri and Jogo (Ligbi).²³ Thus, in Jeri, as described in Kastenholz (2001:57, 86), ‘one’ as nominal modifier has the form **dié^N/jé^N**, sometimes also reduplicated as **rì.dié^N**, while ‘one’ used independently in enumeration is reduplicated as **dì.dié^N/dìn.dié^N**, where ^N marks a latent homorganic nasal which unlike the regular syllable final nasal **-ŋ** normally surfaces only before another consonant within the same phonological word. In the variety of Jeri described by Tröbs (1998:102) and in Jogo, as described by Persson & Persson (1980), one and the same form **dié^N** is used for both modification and enumeration. The Jeri and Jogo forms can be brought back to the referential form ***ñdéé**, itself from an earlier ***ñdá-yí** ‘one-ART’, that in Susu and Yalunka, later shortened to **ñdé** but in Jeri and Jogo evolved into ***ñdéé** > ***^Ldéé** (where ^L marks an initial floating low tone) > ***^Ldié^N** > **dié^N** and reduplicated as **dì.dié^N/dìn.dié^N**. This reconstruction accounts for both the presence of a latent homorganic nasal and the initial low tone in the reduplicated forms.

It is reasonable to suppose that the numeral use of the item in question precedes its use as an indefinite quantifier/determiner. A further important piece of evidence for the reconstruction of the Central Mande forms in question comes from Southwestern Mande languages where the root ‘one’ can be reconstructed as ***tā** with its referential form reconstructible as ***ñ-tā**, the homorganic nasal being the referential article going back to the 3SG pronoun ***ñ**. Like in Central Mande, reflexes of this root in Southwestern Mande often function as indefinite quantifiers/determiners. For instance, in the variety of Liberian Kpelle described by Thach & Dwyer (1981:68-69), we find a modifying [N] **tā** ‘some, any [N]’ and a pronominal **tā** ‘some’ and **dā** ‘some of them’ besides the numeral reflex ‘one’ within the construction expressing the numeral ‘six’, viz. **lólú māi dā** (literally, something like ‘the one (**dā**) of the upper side (**māi**) of five (**lólú**)’, that is ‘the one on top of five’) and as the form of the numeral ‘one’ used in enumeration, viz.

²³ Jeri and Jogo form one of the two major groups within the non-Susu/Yalunka subdivision of Central Mande.

táyán or **tāñ**.²⁴ Interestingly, in the Liberian Kpelle variety described in Leidenfrost & McKay (2005), yet another relevant use of the same reflex **tā/tá** is reported, viz. ‘(n)ever, at any time (not), (not) on even one occasion, (not) once’ in the same operator slot as **néné** in Mandinka, as in (13).

Liberian Kpelle (Leidenfrost & McKay 2005:246)

- (13) **Vé** **tā** **lí-ní** **nāā**
 3SG.NEG once go-NEG.PFV there
 ‘He has never been there.’

Reflexes of ***tā** ‘one’ can also be found in Western Mande languages outside of the Central-Southwestern branch. Thus, Soninke has a bound root **-ta** ‘one (of a natural pair)’, as in **toro-ta** ‘one ear’ and **yaaxa-ta** ‘one eye’ (Smeltzer & Smeltzer, no date). In fact, it is not implausible that ultimately ***tā** ‘one’ itself goes back to a root meaning ‘leg, foot’. Thus, in Soninke again, we find **tàá** (Creissels 1992:48), **tá** (SG.DEF) / **tà** (“functionally non-independent form”) / **tàa-nú** (PL.DEF, Diagana 1995:75) ‘leg, foot’, which is also used in the meaning ‘time, occurrence’, and less importantly for us here, as a nominalizer ‘manner of doing something’ (Diagana 1995:285; Smeltzer & Smeltzer, no date).²⁵

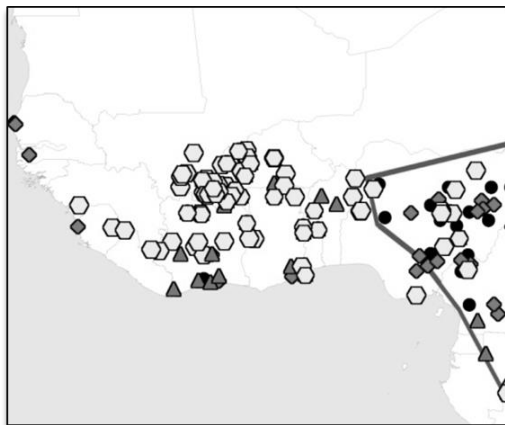
4. CFNMs in the southeastern Bamana dialects: a case of contact-induced evolution?

The CFNMs of the southeastern Bamana varieties are clearly local innovations. At the same time, CFNMs are also found in various other Mande languages (see Section 2) and in general such markers are quite common in northern sub-Saharan Africa (see Dryer 2009 on Central Africa and Idiatov 2010 for a revision of Dryer’s analysis and evidence from a wider area), as illustrated on Map 3 for Western Africa.

²⁴ The source of the second part of this numeral is not immediately clear. Most likely, it is a postposition related to Bandi **nga(ŋ)** ‘on, atop’ and Looma **ga** ‘on’, which should come from something like ***gaŋ**. The lenition of intervocalic **g > ɣ > ∅** in the beginning of the second syllable of the numeral form in question is not unusual.

²⁵ Interestingly, the same range of functions, viz. ‘leg, foot; time, occurrence; manner of doing something’, is also covered by a single item in Bamana, viz. **sèn**, not cognate with the Soninke form. However, an important obstacle that needs to be accounted for before a link between the numeral root ***tā** and this body part term could be established with more certainty are the forms for ‘leg, foot’ in Sorogama Bozo and Tigemaxo Bozo, viz. **taba** and **tɔ** (Creissels 1992:48). An explanation that can be envisaged here and that would not be particularly surprising in a Mande context is that the Sorogama and Tigemaxo forms are in fact frozen compounds of the root **ta** ‘leg, foot’ with a locative postposition/nominal **ba** ‘on’ found, for instance, in Sorogama Bozo (Monteil 1932:276, 307).

Map 3. *West African languages with a clause-final negative marker at least in some constructions that are not included in Dryer (2009) (marked by diamonds; Idiatov 2010)*²⁶



Furthermore, as discussed in Section 3, the CFNMs of the southeastern Bamana varieties can be given a language-internal etymology. However, I argue that the innovative pattern of use of these items as CFNMs and their ongoing grammaticalization in the latter function in the dialects in question are best analyzed as a case of contact-induced evolution modeled on the neighboring Senufo languages.²⁷ The initial transfer of the pattern occurred when Senufo speakers shifted to Bamana. This scenario is suggested by the following observations.

First, obligatory CFNMs, often used in combination with another negative marker in the auxiliary position immediately following the subject, are “widespread in central and northern Senufo languages”, some of which are immediately adjacent to the Bamana dialects in question, and where their “most likely source would be some sort of adverb” (Carlson 1994:376). Thus, in Kampwo Supyire, a Senufo language bordering the Ganadugu Bamana area, we find the CFNM **mé**, as in (14), which, “perhaps descended from the locative adverb **mé** ‘there’” (Carlson 1994:569).

²⁶ The other icons on this map mark languages with various other kinds of post-verbal negative markers, irrelevant for us here, whereas the line marks the western border of the area highlighted by Dwyer (2009).

²⁷ Senufo, Gur and Mande languages of the area have long been known to share a number of features and language contact has been repeatedly appealed to in the literature as a plausible explanation for these similarities (see Kastenholz 2002 and Beyer 2009 for some further data and references).

Supyire (Carlson 1994:392)

- (14) **Sùpyà ná sùpyà nyè à yaa pi láhá pí-yè**
 person and person NEG.PRF PRF ought 3PL.SUBJ separate 3PL-REFL
nà nàfùùñi kùrùgò mé
 on wealth.DEF through NEG
 ‘People (lit.: a person and a person) ought not to separate from each other
 because of money.’

Second, within the southeastern Bamana dialects with the innovative use of CFNMs, it is the dialects of the Ganadugu region, which are the easternmost dialects immediately bordering on Supyire, that appear to form the historical hotbed of this area (see 3.1). At the same time, CFNMs are lacking in the Bamana dialects outside of this area.

Finally, a substantial part of the Bamana speaking population of the area in question must have some Senufo background, which, given the current distribution of the Senufo languages, is likely to be largely Supyire. The steady encroachment of Manding on the Senufo territory is known to have been going on for centuries (see Dombrowsky-Hahn 1999, 2010), at least since the time of the Mali empire (13th–15th century), later during the Bamana kingdom of Segu (17th–19th century) and in the present, with Bamana as the *de facto* lingua franca in this part of Mali. Moreover, the spread of Manding in this part of Mali appears to have been proceeding largely through language shift with only minor migratory movements of Manding speaking populations. In this respect, it is particularly telling that while “it is fairly clear that there has been a long history of bilingualism in Bambara (or its diaspora Jula) among the Supyire”, as reflected by the substantial number of borrowed Manding matter and structure in Supyire (Carlson 1994:2), the bilingualism is hardly at all reciprocal.

To round up the picture, recall (Section 2) that the generalization of the use of CFNMs is being counteracted in southeastern Bamana dialects by the influence of central Bamana dialects which lack CFNMs and which have since long occupied a socio-politically dominant position in the area. Importantly, the strength of this inhibitive influence is construction-specific, largely dependent on whether or not the construction is shared with central Bamana dialects.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I discussed the innovative clause-final negative markers **ni(n)/(y)i/nén** of the southeastern Bamana dialects, which include the southern dialects of the Baninko area and dialects of the neighboring Gwandugu, Shendugu and Ganadugu areas. A detailed analysis of the distribution of this CFNM in Bamana of Sanso has brought to light the importance of the aspectual type of the predication and systematic interference of central Bamana dialects inhibiting the use of the CFNM in certain types of predicative constructions. Based on its clause-final position, the observation that its original distribution was related to the aspectual type of the predication and that it was not confined to negative

constructions, I argued that this CFNM is most likely to go back to an iterative frequency adverbial with free-choice semantics, viz. something like ‘at any time (not), on any occasion (not)’. Within Central Mande, this adverbial can be further related to such forms as the Mandinka operator **néné** functioning as a negative polarity item ‘(n)ever’ and indefinite ‘once, at one time, at a certain moment’, the indefinite quantifier/determiners ‘some, a certain [N]’ **ndé** in Susu and [N] **ndá** in Yalunka, the inactuality marker **nde** in Yalunka, and the numeral **díe**^N ‘one’ in Jeri and Jogo. Comparative evidence further connects it to various Southwestern Mande reflexes of the root ‘one’ ***tā** and its referential form ***ñ-tā**, the homorganic nasal being the referential article, and beyond the Southwestern-Central node, to the Soninke bound root **-ta** ‘one (of a natural pair)’, possibly itself ultimately going back to the body part term ‘leg, foot’, such as the Soninke **tàá**. The primary point about the development of these CFNMs I argued for in this paper is that they go back to a native Bamana item that has come to be used as a CFNM on the model of the neighboring Senufo languages where such markers are widespread. In particular, I suggested that the initial transfer of the pattern occurred when a part of the speakers of Supyire, the Senufo language presumably originally spoken in the Ganadugu area on which Supyire presently borders, shifted to Bamana.

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Abbreviations

ART	article	FUT	future
CFNM	clause-final negative marker	HAB	habitual
CONT	continuative	IDENT	identificational
DEF	definite	IMP	imperative
EQUAT	equational	INACT	inactual
EXCL	exclusive	INF	infinitive
EXIST	existential	INTR	intransitive
FOC	focus	IPFV	imperfective
		LOC	locative

NEG	negation	PTCP	participle
PFV	perfective	QUOT	quotative
PL	plural	REFL	reflexive
PM	predicative marker	SBJ	subject
PP	postposition	SG	singular
PRF	perfect	SUBJ	subjunctive
PROG	progressive	TAM	tense-aspect-modality
PROP	proper name	TR	transitive
PST	past		

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