Clause-final negative markers in Bobo and Samogo: parallel evolution and contact

Dmitry Idiatov
LLACAN – CNRS

e-mail: idiatov@vjf.cnrs.fr

Dmitry Idiatov
LLACAN – UMR 8135 du CNRS
7, rue Guy Môquet – BP 8
94801 Villejuif Cedex
France

Abstract

As many other languages of northern sub-Saharan Africa, almost all Bobo and Samogo languages (two distantly related Mande groups) exhibit prominently clause-final negative markers (CFNMs), a cross-linguistically uncommon property. Unlike negators in other parts of the world, CFNMs in the area prove to be rather unstable diachronically and relatively easily borrowable similarly to discourse markers, focus particles and phasal adverbs, with which they also happen to share peculiarities of morphosyntax and paths of historical development. This paper first provides an exhaustive overview of the data available on the use of CFNMs in these languages. Building on these data, I advance an account of the history of the default CFNMs in these languages. In particular, I argue that the default CFNMs of Jo, Seen and probably Kpeen (all Samogo) go back to the phasal adverbial *kè '(not) yet; still', whereas the default CFNMs of Bobo and Dzuun, Ban and Kpaan ultimately go back to a phasal adverbial *kÚDà(C)á '(not) again'. However, the default CFNMs of Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban turn out to be only indirect reflexes resulting from a lateral transfer of the Bobo CFNM, which expanded an already rich system of semantically more specific CFNMs in these languages.

Keywords: Mande, Bobo, Samogo, clause-final negation, historical comparative syntax, language contact, morphology

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1. Introduction[1]

According to the current classifications of the Mande languages (Kastenholz 2003, Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013, Vydrin 2009), the Bobo and Samogo languages spoken in the west of Burkina Faso and the bordering regions of southeastern Mali (cf. Map 1) belong to the Western branch of the Mande language family. Bobo can be divided into Northern Bobo

(ISO 639-3: bbo) and Southern Bobo (ISO 639-3: bwq), both of which are characterized by an important degree of dialectal diversity. Following Solomiac's (2007:28) update on Kastenholz's (2003) classification, the major division within the Samogo languages is between Jo (ISO 639-3: jow), on the one hand, and Seen (ISO 639-3: sos) and the Duun dialect cluster, on the other. The Duun dialect cluster comprises Duun (ISO 639-3: dux), Dzuun (ISO 639-3: dnn), Kpaan (ISO 639-3: dnn), Kpeen (ISO 639-3: cpo) and Ban (ISO 639-3: bxw).

Map 1. Bobo and Samogo languages
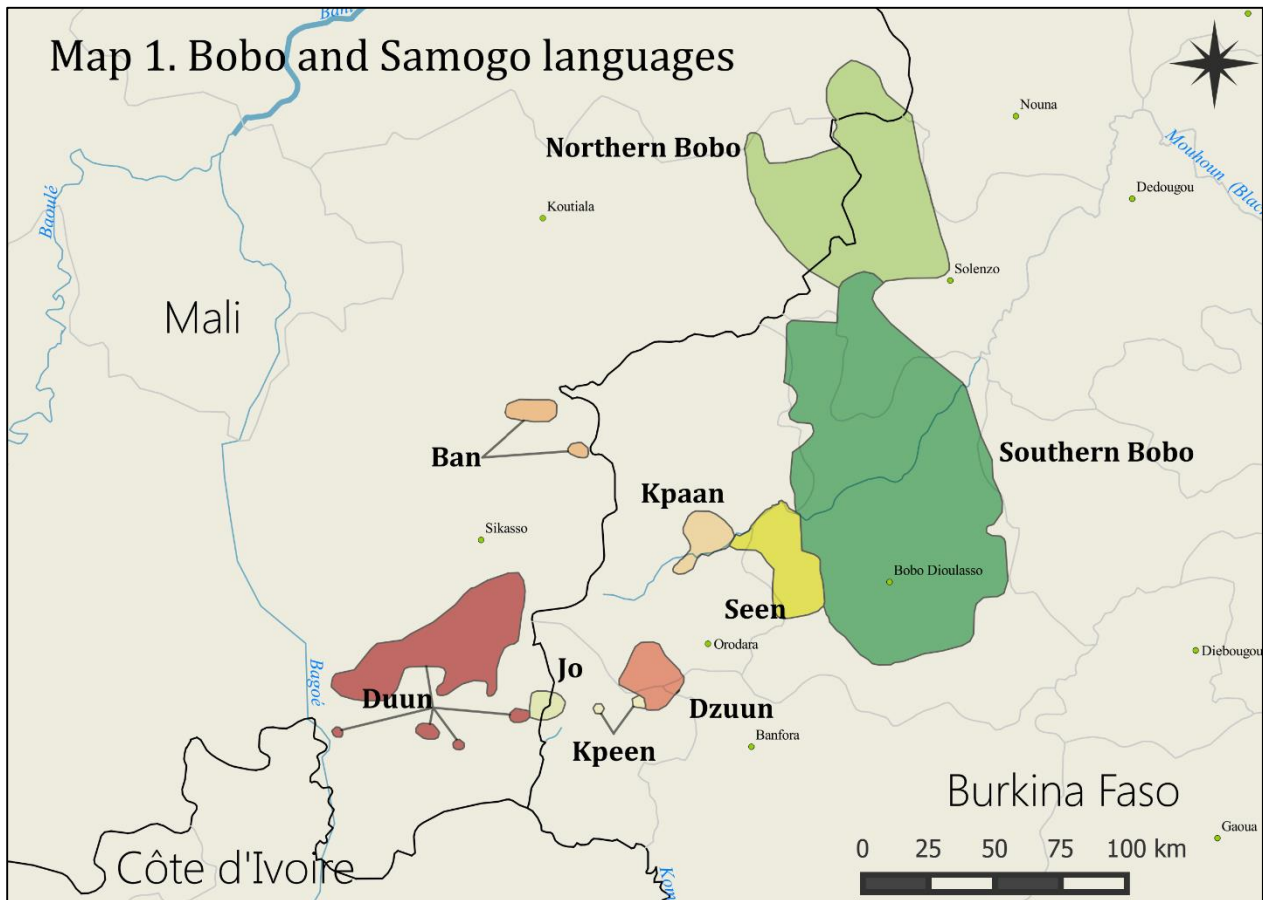
Within the Western branch, Bobo and Samogo are usually grouped together in one clade, either as having an immediate common ancestor (Kastenholz 2003, Solomiac 2007, Vydrin 2009) or separated by an intermediate node, such that Bobo is the sister of Soninke-Bozo instead of Samogo (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013). At the same time, it is generally admitted that the two groups are only distantly related, to the extent that even the observed degree of their relatedness may in fact be largely due to a horizontal transfer via contact (Vydrin 2009:113). In this respect, it is worth mentioning that in earlier classifications (see an overview in Kastenholz 1996:25-26), Bobo was first classified as belonging to the

Eastern part of the Southeastern branch and later as constituting another major branch within Mande, in addition to the Western and Southeastern branches.

Nowadays, only one Samogo language, Seen, borders on a Bobo speaking area. It is Jula (ISO 639-3: dyu), a Western Mande language from the Manding dialect cluster within the Central subbranch, rather than any of the Bobo or Samogo languages that basically functions as the lingua franca in the region. Thus, Jula is also the source of numerous borrowings in the other languages of the area (e.g., see Solomiac 2007:23-26 on Jula borrowings in Dzuun). However, this situation appears to be relatively recent, accelerated in the 19th-20th centuries with the advent of Islam, closely associated with the Jula in this area.[2] Being numerically one of the largest ethnic groups in the region, the Bobo must have occupied a more important position in the past. A further indirect support for the earlier importance of the Bobo in the region comes from archaeology. Thus, a particular ceramic tradition associated today with blacksmith potters linked to the Bobo is reported to have been dominant in 7-13th century AD in a much more wider area than the one currently occupied by the Bobo (Mayor et al. 2005:47-48). By contrast, the Samogo speaking communities are all small. Accordingly, in an earlier contact situation, the aforementioned horizontal transfer must have occurred mostly in the direction from Bobo into Samogo.

One of the linguistic features shared by many languages of the area, including Bobo and all Samogo languages except Duun, is the use of clause-final negative markers (cf. Beyer 2009, Idiatov 2012a, 2012b, Kastenholz 2002), either in combination with other negative markers earlier in the clause, as in (1) from Yaba Northern Bobo, or on their own, as in (2) from Jo.

Yaba Northern Bobo

(1) *àá*   *nà*   *yɔ̀ẁ*   *ná*   *à*   *kún*   *dì* *kɔ̄*
    3SG.NEG FUT go\NMLZ FUT ART.SG market in   NEG
    'He will not go to the market.' (Prost 1983:46)

Jo

(2) *ú*   *tá* *Lừlùnì* *kì*
    3SG.M go   PROP   NEG
    'He did not go to Luluni.' (Carlson 1993:15)

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[2] Thus, it is telling in this respect that in Dzuun the word for Islam *jèèbe* is a derivate of *jèe* 'Jula' literally meaning something like 'Jula-ness' (cf. Traoré et al. 1998).

This feature is particularly interesting because it is uncommon cross-linguistically (Dryer 2009) but is prominently present in many languages of northern sub-Saharan Africa (Idiatov 2010). Moreover, clause-final negative markers (henceforth, CFNMs) in the languages of this zone are characterized by a number of peculiarities in their morphosyntax and diachronic development that set them apart from similar markers elsewhere and offer important clues as to an explanation of their observed areal distribution (Idiatov 2012b). Among the aforementioned peculiarities, probably the most evident one is that in the languages of this zone the use of CFNMs tends to be associated with the presence of multiple negative exponence within a clause, most commonly double, as in (1) above, but sometimes also triple and occasionally even quadruple. Another peculiarity of CFNMs in the area is that they are often morphosyntactically deficient as compared to the more canonical grammatical markers in being optional or lacking in some types of clauses as conditioned by the TAM value of the predicate of the clause, the subordination status of the clause, the associated information structural and speech act type values, or the discourse type that the clause belongs to. Diachronically, CFNMs in the area tend to be rather unstable and appear to be relatively easily borrowable, unlike negators in other parts of the world, but more like discourse markers, focus particles and phasal adverbs (cf. Matras 2009).

I illustrate some of these interesting peculiarities associated with CFNMs with the example of Dzuun in Section 2. Dzuun is probably the best described language of all the Bobo and Samogo languages. Grammatical sketches, sometimes accompanied by a lexicon, exist for Jo, Seen and several Bobo varieties. For Duun, Kpaan, Ban and Kpeen, the published data is rather fragmentary. The little information that is available on CFNMs in the Samogo languages other than Dzuun is summarized in Section 3. In Section 4, the same is done for Bobo. In Section 5, I discuss the evolution of CFNMs in these languages, highlighting the role of language contact in their development in a part of Samogo languages. In particular, I argue that the default CFNMs in Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban are most likely to be borrowings from Bobo, although the same etymon has also been preserved at least in Dzuun where it has the more specialized meaning 'never'. In Jo, Seen and probably Kpeen, CFNMs have developed out of a different lexical source, whose reflexes can also be found in Dzuun and Bobo.

2. CFNMs in Dzuun

2.1 Overview

As described by Solomiac (2007), Dzuun has a variety of CFNMs, summarized in (3), that are used in combination with negative auxiliary-like markers occuring in the post-subject position earlier in the clause. Occasionally, more than one CFNM can be used within one clause (see Section 2.3). Dzuun has 3 tone levels.

(3)   a.   *bādā*   '(n)ever'
                byē̄   '(n)ever'
                fyéū ~ fyēū ~ fyō   '(n)ever; (not) at all'
                dē̄   'no more, anymore'
                kūrāā   '(n)ever; (not) at all'
                wāā   'not'
                wāārú   '(not) at all'

      b.   *ŋē̄*   '(ever) yet'
                tsú   '(n)either'

The markers in (3a) are explicitly characterized by Solomiac (2007:254) as CFNMs. The CFNMs markers in (3b) can be found elsewhere in his description of Dzuun, although Solomiac (2007) does not classify them as CFNMs explicitly. Presumably, for *tsū* '(n)either', the reason is that the same form also functions as a negative determiner meaning '(not X) either', as illustrated in (11-13) below. For *ŋē̄* '(ever) yet', probably the reason is that it also may occur in affirmative clauses in the meaning 'yet, still', as illustrated in (61-63) below.

     Of all the CFNMs given in (3), *wāā*, as in (4), is the most common and semantically the most neutral (see Section 2.4).

     Dzuun (Solomiac 2007:270)

(4)   *à*   **náà**   *wù*   *è*   *tsí*   **wāā**
      3SG   NEG.PST   good   3SG.SBJV   save   NEG
      'It was not good that he be saved.'

In complex clauses where it is the first main clause that is negated, as in (4) and (12), the default CFNM *wāā* is placed by preference after the dependent clause.

     Most of the markers in (3a) are clear borrowings from Manding, either from Jula or from some other Eastern Manding variety. Thus, compare Dzuun *bādā* 'never' and Bamana

(ISO 639-3: bam; an Eastern Manding variety closely related to Jula) *((h)á)bádá(n)*,[3] 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' (Dumestre 2003, Bailleul 1996:11). Dzuun *fyéū ~ fyēū ~ fyō* 'never; (not) at all' matches the Bamana clause-final emphasis marker *f(y)éwú* 'absolutely not, no way' (Dumestre 2003, Bailleul 1996:133). Dzuun *byɛ̄* 'never' parallels the Bamana quantifier *béɛ ~ byɛ́* 'every, each, all'. For a probable relation of the CFNM *dɛ̄* with a similar Manding form see Section 2.2. Such rampant borrowing of forms subsequently recruited in Dzuun for the use as CFNMs is paralleled by a similarly extensive borrowing of clause-final emphatic markers from Manding (cf. Section 2.2).

2.2 CFNMs vs. clause-final emphatic and polar interrogative markers

The CFNM *dɛ̄* 'no more', as in (5), is identical to the clause-final emphatic marker *dɛ̄* 'really', as in (6) and (7). Similarly to all the other clause-final emphatic markers, the latter is said to be a borrowing from Jula, where it has the form *dɛ́* (Solomiac 2007:256).

Dzuun

(5) *wó   dòn   náà,   wó   **nā**   bómà   jàá   dɛ̄*
2SG enter come.IPFV 2SG NEG exit   see.IPFV   anymore
'You enter, but you do not find the exit anymore.' (Solomiac 2007:254)

(6) *ā   náà   dòn   wɔ̀   rèē   dóùn   mìīn,*
2SG come.IPFV enter village DEM in   here

*ā   **nā**   nâ   mòò   jà   dɛ̄!*
2SG NEG   FUT   person see   EMPH
'You come to enter this village here, but really, you will not see anybody!' (Solomiac 2007:254)

(7) *à   cī,   á!   cī   mún   dzūnwēīnsíá   mún   sàn   fîrìū   dɛ̄*
3SG QUO ah! QUO 1SG   friend.DEF   1SG   foot cheat.PFV EMPH
'He said, 'Ah! My friend has really cheated me.' (Solomiac 2007:483)

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[3] Ultimately, this word is a borrowing from Arabic. In Bamana, it is also attested as a noun meaning 'eternity', as in the postpositional expression *(h)ábádá kámà* 'forever'.

It is possible relate the CNFM *dɛ̄* 'anymore' to forms such as Looma *de* 'still; (not) yet' (Wilhoit 1999:53, 143; ISO 639-3: lom, tod) and Loko *lɛ̀* '(not) yet' (Kimball 1983:59; ISO 639-3: lok) (both languages belong to the Southwestern group, only distantly related to Dzuun within the Western Mande clade). However, this connection is problematic semantically, as the meaning of the Southwestern forms has an opposite temporal directionality to that of the Dzuun marker. A more plausible scenario is that the CFNM *dɛ̄* has evolved out of the emphatic marker *dɛ̄*. Thus, the negative *dɛ̄* in (5) could equally be interpreted as an emphatic *dɛ̄*, viz. 'You enter, but really, you do not find the exit', with the meaning 'no more' being just a possible implicature. In this respect, note that four out of six examples with *dɛ̄* glossed as 'really' or EMPH in Solomiac (2007) are negative clauses. Furthermore, the negative *dɛ̄* and the emphatic *dɛ̄* cannot co-occur. Although this restriction may well be explained by homonymy avoidance or by assuming that the two *dɛ̄*'s have not completely diverged yet, a somewhat different interpretation may be preferrable. In particular, it is also possible to argue that the restriction is due to the fact that some of the negative and emphatic markers happen to share the same clause-final slot in the clause structure and enter in a paradigmatic-like relation. The latter interpretation is corroborated by the fact that a similar restriction exists for the default CFNM *wāā*. According to Solomiac (2007:254), the CFNM *wāā* is mutually exclusive with clause-final emphatic and polar interrogative markers, as in (6) with the emphatic marker *dɛ̄* and in (8) with the polar interrogative marker *ɔ̀ ~ ò ~ ù*.

Dzuun (Solomiac 2007:511)

(8) *tɔ̀   jāāncîán   tó   **nā**   yɛ̄   mùn   tsɛ̄   shē   **ɔ̀?***
    DEM peace.DEF though NEG here.is 1PL   on   today   PQ
    'Aren't we in this state of peace today?'

The most obvious explanation for this mutual incompatibility of CFNMs with emphatic and polar interrogative markers is that historically these negative markers have evolved out of markers functionally similar to the emphatic and polar interrogative markers, somewhat like what we observe almost *in vivo* in the case of the CFNM *dɛ̄*. As I argue in (Idiatov 2012b), it is somewhat misleading to treat the kind of markers involved here as markers of emphatic negation and they are best construed (at least diachronically) as intersubjective markers that were not originally negative-polarity items. However, for the purposes of the present paper, the distinction between intersubjective and emphatic functions can be neglected.

2.3 Multiple CFNMs within a clause

The CFNMs that are semantically narrower than the default CFNM *wāā* usually stand alone. However, occasionally, they can be followed by *wāā*, as in (9) – which can be conceived as evidence that its generalization as the default CFNM to the expense of other CFNM markers is ongoing – or they can co-occur with each other when the negative meaning needs to be further specified, as in (10).

Dzuun

(9) *tà   bwèy,   bɔ́ɔ   rèè   **náà**   n'á   rē   yè*
     DEM   moment   elder   PL   NEG.PST   COP-3SG   at   3PL.SBJV

     *ē   sɛ́rɛ́   **kúráá**   **wāā***
     REFL   pray   ever   NEG
     'At that time, the elders did not want to pray at all / did not ever want to pray.' (Solomiac 2007:256, 578)

(10) *à   **náà**   fyā   fyɛ̄   **dɛ̄**   **kūrāā***
     3SG   NEG.PST   fabric   white   anymore   at.all
     '[When the chicken wanted to come with the white fabric,] it was not a white fabric anymore at all' (Solomiac 2007:539)

Although synchronically the default CFNM *wāā* cannot be followed by any other negative marker, the existence of the CFNM *wāārú* '(not) at all' suggests that the situation used to be different in the past, in all probability before it was generalized as the default CFNM. Thus, *wāārú* appears to go back to *wāā* followed by the marker *tù, whose other regular reflexes are the CFNM *tsū* '(n)either', as in (11), and the negative determiner *tsū* '(not X) either', as in (12) and (13).

Dzuun

(11) *wò   yē   bá   ná   à   tɔ̀ū   tà   tsúrú*
     LOG.SG   COND   become   PST   3SG   know.PFV   DEM   as

     *wò   yɛ̄rɛ̄   fā   nàūnà   **tsū***
     LOG.SG   self   NEG   come.PFV.FRU   either
     '(He says that) if he had known, he himself would not have come either.' (Solomiac 2007:492)

(12) *mún* **tsú** *fá* *nī* *dzī* *à* *dè* *wó* *jáá* *rā* *síí* *ròn*
1SG either NEG COP can 3SG say 2SG eye at market at

cī *à* *byēēsēīn* *ní* *wāā*
QUO 3SG gravel FOC NEG

'Me neither, I could not tell you at the market that it was gravel' (Solomiac 2007:574)

(13) *tāàn* *nā* *nèē* *dzíín* *blà* *zhîîgī* *réè* **tsū** *jà* *wāā*
woman.DEF NEG DEM child big three PL either see NEG

'The woman did not see these three big children either' (Solomiac 2007:345)

2.4 The default CFNM wāā *as a (non-canonical) grammatical marker*

Although the CFNM *wāā* is the default CFNM in negative predications, it cannot be considered a canonical grammatical marker because it is morphosyntactically deficient in being optional or lacking in some types of clauses as conditioned by the TAM value of the predicate of the clause, the subordination status of the clause, the associated information structural and speech act type values, or the discourse type that the clause belongs to (besides the constraints on co-occurrence with other clause-final markers mentioned in 2.2 and 2.3 above).

Thus, the CFNM *wāā* is optional with the prohibitive marker *máà*, as in (14), as explicitly mentioned by Solomiac (2007:270), and the negative subjunctive-narrative marker *mà*, as can be seen from the comparison of (15) where *wāā* is absent and (16) where *wāā* is present. Note that in complex sentences where it is the first main clause that is negated, as in (16), the default CFNM *wāā* is placed at the very end of the whole complex construction after the dependent clause, whereas more specific CFNMs are used at the end of the negated main clause.

Dzuun

(14) *à* *cī* *é,* *é* **máà** *fù* **(wāā)**
3SG QUO ah 2PL PROH get.up NEG
'He says: 'Ah, do not get up'.' (Solomiac 2007:270)

(15) *ŋáá* **mà** *à* *tó* *è* *bè* *mòdzìnbē* *tárà*
God NEG.SBJV 3SG let 3SG.SBJV go family obtain
'Let God not allow it that he gets a family (children)' (Solomiac 2007:299)

(16) *mòdzíán* **mà** *dán jòōn nòn* **fyō**, *yè nà n jà* **wāā**
person.DEF NEG.SBJV arrive bush at at.all 3PL.SBJV come 1SG see NEG
'(God, help me today,) nobody at all should come back from the fields and find me'
(Solomiac 2007:298)

The prohibitive and the subjunctive-narrative markers behave similarly with respect to the CFNM *wāā* because at least historically, the two markers are clearly allomorphs of one and the same marker of which the allomorph *máà* has become specialized for use in directive speech acts addressed to the interlocutor(s). The distribution between the two forms is not complimentary since *mà* can also be used in the same prohibitive construction as *máà* (cf. Solomiac 2007:298), while *máà* cannot be used in the subjunctive or narrative construction as *mà*. This justifies their synchronic analysis as two different markers by Solomiac (2007). At the same time, apparently since their differentiation is not that clear-cut, Solomiac (2007) occasionally presents them as variant forms of one and the same negative subjunctive marker (for instance, see 2007:543). From the point of view of their form, the relation between *mà* and *máà* parallels that between the free allomorphs of the affirmative subjunctive-narrative marker, viz. *yè* and *yéè*.

The default CFNM *wāā* is banned from negative conditional clauses, as in (17), unlike more specific CFNMs, such as *fyēū* 'never; not at all', which are possible there, as in (18).

Dzuun

(17) *à* **mā** *sárà, ā dzūníén báán* **(*wāā)**
3SG NEG.COND pay 2SG behind.DEF hit NEG
'If it is not payed, your behind will get beaten' (Solomiac 2007:544)

(18) *ŋà, ā rē mòò* **mā** *bá nī mōn* **fyēū** …
but 2SG GEN person NEG.COND become COP there at.all
'However, if you do not have a relative there at all…' (Solomiac 2007:544)

This incompatibility of the CFNM *wāā* with the negative conditional marker $m\bar{a}^H$ is not surprising given that historically, the marker that currently functions as the conditional marker served as the basis for the formation of the subjunctive-narrative marker discussed above. In this respect, compare the affirmative conditional $y\grave{e}^H$ and the negative conditional $m\bar{a}^H$, on the one hand, and the affirmative subjunctive-narrative *yéè/yè* and the negative subjunctive-narrative *máà/mà*, on the other. Historically, the subjunctive-narrative marker is the result of the fusion of the marker that currently functions as the conditional marker with another marker that followed it.

This may also account for why the CFNM *wāā* is only optional with the subjunctive-narrative but plainly incompatible with the conditional marker. Most likely, the reason is that with the conditional marker being older, frequency effects have had more time to act towards reducing the frequency of its originally optional but rare use in combination with the CFNM *wāā* down to zero, i.e. to make it ungrammatical.[4] The difference between the default CFNM *wāā* and the other CFNMs with respect to their co-occurrence with the conditional and subjunctive narrative has a largely similar explanation with the difference that the occurrence of the non-default CFNMs is conditioned by semantics and not only by the affirmative/negative status of the predication as with the default CFNM *wāā*, which is expected to be able to counteract potential frequency effects.

The reason why the marker that currently functions as the conditional marker was originally rare with the default CFNM *wāā* in the first place is the lack of assertiveness characteristic of conditional clauses, or for that matter, of most of the clause types that are considered subordinate under traditional morphosyntactic criteria (see Cristofaro 2003:28). This lack of assertiveness implies that in a conditional clause the assertive authority of a speaker is not at stake even when the conditional clause is negated and there is basically no need for the speaker to contravene any expectations of the interlocutor by recurring to an intersubjective marker, in this particular case an intersubjective marker associated with negation (cf. 2.2 above), such as the marker that later resulted in the default CFNM *wāā*. More or less the same line of reasoning, by the way, accounts straightforwardly for the incompatibility of the default CFNM *wāā* with polar interrogative constructions (cf. 2.2 above), similarly characterized by lack of assertiveness.

Yet another constructional type where the default CFNM *wāā* appears to be frequently lacking are proverbs (Solomiac 2007:255), as in (19).

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[4] The original function of this marker need not to have been conditional, and in fact, most likely, it was not. However, minimally, this marker was restricted to a subordinate construction that could have a conditional reading as one of its implicatures.

Dzuun

(19) *mòdzīn sī mā fɔ̄r'lá sūūn géé bàá vìrìì*
person hand body be.tough.DEF palm thing.DEF become.IPFV dog.DIM

*kōntórón nē cì, à **nā** nâ à ɲɔ́n, mòò **nā** nâ à ɲɔ́n*
small GEN fufu 3SG NEG FUT 3SG eat person NEG FUT 3SG eat

'The wealth of a stingy man is like fufu of a small puppy, it will not eat it, nobody will eat it.' (Solomiac 2007:255)

The dependence of the use of a negative marker on the discourse type that the clause belongs to, viz. on the distinction between proverbs and non-proverbs, may appear strange at first sight. However, it can be accounted for rather straightforwardly if we assume that the default CFNM *wāā* goes back to an intersubjective marker that became associated with negation. Thus, originally, the rarity of the default CFNM *wāā* in proverbs must have been due to the same lack of assertiveness characteristic of proverbs as of subordinated clauses and polar questions.

Finally, the use of the default CFNM *wāā* may be influenced by the information structure of the clause. Thus, the default CFNM *wāā* may be absent when the focus is on the negation itself (Solomiac 2007:542), as in (20).

Dzuun

(20) …*kpār'ná yèrè ē kplārá rì báán nèē tsúrú jàcí è tòbáá*
beast.DEF self REFL tail.DEF FOC hit.IPFV DEM like like 3PL know.AG

*rì, à **nā** dzī fú*
FOC 3SG NEG be.able get.up

'…the beast itself was just wagging its tail as if they were acquaintances, it did NOT manage to get up.' (Solomiac 2007:542)

The possibility to focus the negation itself by omitting the CFNM *wāā* is clearly owing to the current default status of the CFNM *wāā*.

Summing up, the default CFNM *wāā* falls short of the status of a canonical grammatical marker because of its morphosyntactic deficiency. However, it is exactly the fact that the aforementioned constraints on its use are by and large conditioned by structural properties of its environment rather than its meaning in the strict sense that makes it more of a grammatical marker as compared to the other CFNMs, such as *fyéū* 'never', 'not at all', that have more specific semantics on which their occurrence in an utterance is dependent.

3. CFNMs in the Samogo languages other than Dzuun

3.1 Duun

According to Kastenholz (2002:99) and Tröbs (2008:2), there are no CFNMs in Duun. Negation is marked exclusively by a negative marker in the immediately post-subject slot.

3.2 Ban

Kastenholz (2002:97-98) reports Ban to use the CFNM *má*. Depending on the TAM value of the predication, this CFNM can either be the only marker of negation, as in (21), which is similar to what one finds in Jo, as in (2) above, or it co-occurs with another negative marker in the immediate post-subject slot, as in (22) and (23), which is similar to what one finds in Dzuun (cf. Section 2). Similarly to Dzuun, Ban appears to have 3 tone levels.

Ban

(21) *mūn   kè   sēē-nán   yūgɔ̄ má*
     1SG   FUT calabash-DEF fix   NEG
     'I won't fix the calabash' (Kastenholz 2002:98)

(22) *kpìrì-lán ná-à   ʃṍfɛ́ɛ́n-nān bā-nà   má*
     man-DEF   NEG-TAM   donkey-DEF beat-IPFV NEG
     'The man does not beat the donkey' (Kastenholz 2002:97)

(23) *kpìrì-lán ná   mē̄   ʃṍfɛ́ɛ́n-nān bā-nà   má*
     man-DEF   NEG TAM donkey-DEF beat-IPFV NEG
     'The man does not beat the donkey' (Kastenholz 2002:98)

3.3 Kpaan

Kpaan uses a CFNM that is transcribed as *ũ* by Hochstetler (1994:66) and as *w̃* ("a clitic, non-syllabic element") by Kastenholz (2002:98-99). In the two published examples, (24) and (25), this CFNM co-occurs with another negative marker in the immediately post-subject slot.

Kpaan

(24) *Musa ná   góoma-ma w̃*
     PROP NEG speak-PFV NEG
     'Musa did not speak' (Kastenholz 2002:98)

(25) *Musa* **ná** *góoma-ra* *w̃*
    PROP NEG speak-IPFV NEG
    'Musa does not talk' (Kastenholz 2002:98)

The number of tone levels in Kpaan is not clear from the sources but it is likely to be 3 as in Dzuun and Ban.

3.4 Kpeen

The only source available on Kpeen, Zwernemann (1996), is based on the brief fieldnotes prepared for publication more than 30 years after the actual fieldwork, with no original sound recordings preserved. The data are therefore to be taken with necessary reservations. Zwernemann (1996) uses only 2 tone levels for his Kpeen data.

    According to Zwernemann (1996:163), negation in Kpeen is marked with a morpheme *nè* or *nì* at the end of a sentence, sometimes accompanied with an additional "preverbal morpheme *nǎ*", as illustrated in (26-31) (original glosses kept).

    Kpeen

(26) **ná** *tó* **nè**
    TAM know NEG
    'I do not know' (Zwernemann 1996:163)

(27) *mwɔ̀* *sí* *à* **ná** *ná* **nè**
    man none 3SG TAM come NEG
    'Nobody came' (Zwernemann 1996:163)

(28) *fɔ̀álà* *à* **ná** *nà* **ní**
    why   3SG TAM come   NEG
    'Why didn't he come' (Zwernemann 1996:163)

(29) *ì* **nà** *gílí* **nè**
    3PL NEG? be.numerous NEG
    'They are not numerous' (Zwernemann 1996:163)

(30) *ń* **nà** *ká* *Màmàdù* *kílì* **nè**
    1SG NEG? TAM? PROP   call NEG
    'I wouldn't call Mamadu' (Zwernemann 1996:163)

(31) *má* **nà** *Màmádù kílì* **nè**
    ?   NEG? PROP   call   NEG
    'Don't call Mamadu!' (Zwernemann 1996:163)

At least a few remarks need to be made about these examples. First, a quick comparison with the other Samogo languages suggests that the CFNM in Kpeen is actually always accompanied by another negative marker in the immediate post-subject slot. Second, the only example where the CFNM has the vowel *i* (which by the way is marked in the example with a high tone rather than low as in the running text) is a question (28), which may suggest that it is a result of a fusion with some question marker. Given that no clause-final marker is otherwise found in other examples of constituent questions in the source, it is unlikely that it is a different marker altogether and not a negative marker as such.

3.5 Seen

According to Prost (1971:13, 47-48, 52-55), Seen, a language with 4 tone levels, uses the CFNM *ŋè*. In most constructions, the CFNM *ŋè* is the only marker of negation within a clause, as in (32-35). In constructions whose affirmative variants use the copula *sín*, viz. the locative construction, the progressive and resultative constructions derived from the latter, and the adjectival predicate construction, this auxiliary is replaced by the negative copula *ɲà* in addition to the use of the CFNM *ŋè*, as in (36). Similarly to Dzuun, in complex sentences where it is the first main clause that is negated, CFNMs in Seen are found at the very end of the whole complex construction after the dependent clause, as in (32-33).

    Seen

(32) *à*   *ná*   *à*   *tɔ̀*   *àà*   *kwɔ́*   **ŋè**
    3SG FUT 3SG let 3SG.SBJV leave   NEG
    'He will not let him leave' (lit.: '[that] he should leave') (Prost 1971:148)

(33) *ń'à*   *tɔ̀gɔ̀* *tɔ̀*   *ké*   *tsé*   *lɛ́*   **ŋè**
    1SG-3SG name know it.is some which NEG
    'I don't know what is his name' (lit.: 'I don't know his name it is which one?') (Prost 1971:151)

(34) *ké*   *kyébè̀*   *tùrù* **ŋè**, *moè̀*   *kwàa-wɔ̀n* **ŋè**
    it.is rainy.season just NEG person.PL farm-HAB NEG
    'People farm only in the rainy season' (lit.: '[If] it is not just rainy season, people do not farm') (Prost 1971:151)

(35) *à   dyò   mì̀   ŋè̀*
  2SG water drink NEG
  'Do not drink water!' (Prost 1971:52)

(36) a. *à̀   sín   dyò   míné*
   3SG COP water drink.PROG
   'He is drinking water' (Prost 1971:53)

  b. *à̀   ɲà̀   dyò   míné   ŋè̀*
   3SG COP.NEG water drink.PROG NEG
   'He is not drinking water' (Prost 1971:53)

Somewhat similarly to Dzuun and possibly Kpeen, the CFNM *ŋè* in Seen cannot be used in polar questions. Instead, a special negative polar interrogative clause-final marker *à ~ án* needs to be used, as in (37). Compare also (38) where an affirmative polar question is marked by means of lengthening of the clause-final vowel.

  Seen

(37) *à   ná   ń   kyè̀   kpè̀è̀   wò̀   án*
  2SG FUT 1SG give knife with NEG.PQ
  'Won't you give me the knife?' (Prost 1971:43)

(38) *à̀   fɔ̀gà   sì̀-ìn*
  3SG   full COP-PQ
  'Is it full? (Prost 1971:43)

Unless the affirmative polar question marker is indeed underlyingly *e* (with an underspecified tone), as Prost (1971:43) argues, the negative polar interrogative clause-final marker *à ~ án* may result historically from a fusion of the CFNM *ŋè* with some polar question marker that used to follow it, such as the Jo polar question marker *wá* (Carlson 1993:15).

3.6 Jo

According to Carlson (1993:15, 60), negation is marked in Jo by a CFNM *kì*, as in (39-40), which appears to be the only marker of negation within a clause except in prohibitive and negative subjunctive constructions where the negative auxiliary *fá* is used in addition, as in (41). Unless the reason are typos in some of the examples provided by Carlson (1993:60, 81-82, 84), the tone of the CFNM appears to be optionally influenced or assimilated by the

preceding tone, as in (41). Jo has 4 tone levels, and like in Dzuun, there may be floating tones.

Jo

(39) *ú   tá   Lùlùnì kì*
3SG.M   go   PROP   NEG
'He did not go to Luluni.' (Carlson 1993:15)

(40) *wí-ì   nà-à   kì*
3SG.M-COP come-PROG   NEG
'He is not coming' (Carlson 1993:18)

(41) *á   fá   pő   kí*
2PL   NEG.SBJV   go.out   NEG
'Don't go out (plural)!' (Carlson 1993:82)

There are no examples of negative polar questions in the source revealing whether the CFNM *kì* is freely combinable with the clause-final polar question marker *wá* in Jo.

4. CFNMs in Bobo

I will now present the data on four Bobo varieties, one Northern Bobo (Section 4.1) and three Southern Bobo varieties (Sections 4.2-4.3). All the sources on different Bobo varieties that were consulted mention the use of CFNMs in addition to an obligatory negative marker earlier in the clause in the immediate post-subject slot. The CFNMs in different Bobo varieties appear to be cognates. Similarly to Samogo, in complex sentences where it is the first main clause that is negated, the CFNMs in Bobo are found at the very end of the whole complex construction after the dependent clause. All varieties but one are described as having one default CFNM whose use appears to be obligatory except in polar questions, conditional clauses and a few other constructions, a situation familiar from the Samogo languages. However, unlike for Dzuun for instance, no competing CFNMs are reported for Bobo varieties. It is difficult to evaluate whether this neat picture reflects the real state of affairs or the degree of detail of the descriptions available. All the Bobo varieties discussed below have been described as having 3 tone levels.

4.1 Yaba Northern Bobo

The Yaba (Yebɛ) dialect of Northern Bobo as spoken in Tansila described by Prost (1983) uses the CFNM *kɔ* in addition to an obligatory negative marker earlier in the clause in the

immediately post-subject slot, as in (42). The CFNM *kɔ̄* is frequently lenited to *gɔ̄*, *ɣɔ̄* and presumably *xɔ̄* (Prost 1983:7).[5]

Yaba Northern Bobo

(42) **àá**   nà yɔ̀ẁ   ná à   kún dì **kɔ̄**
3SG.NEG FUT go\NMLZ FUT ART.SG market in NEG
'He will not go to the market.' (Prost 1983:46)

Unlike in Dzuun, the CFNM *kɔ̄* can be followed by the clause-final polar question marker *kὲ*, as in (43). However, it is the polar question marker that can be lacking while the CFNM *kɔ̄* is kept in place, as in (44).

Yaba Northern Bobo

(43) ōɣō   **má** kpìn   mὲ **kɔ̄** **kὲ**
2SG.EMPH NEG   millet.beer drink NEG PQ
'Isn't it you who drank millet beer?' (Prost 1983:44)

(44) à **má** à kā nān   (ɛ) é yàa **kɔ̄**
3SG NEG 3SG GEN chicken 1SG REL kill   NEG
'Isn't it his chicken that I killed?' (Prost 1983:44)

The CFNM *kɔ̄* appears to be incompatible with the clause-final conjunction *… wāā, … wāā* 'or', as in (45).

Yaba Northern Bobo

(45) ē gìān wāā, ē **má** gíán **wāā,** ē é   tàā
2SG agree or   2SG NEG agree or   2SG DEM do
'Whether you agree or you do not agree, you will do it.' (Prost 1983:89)

The CFNM *kɔ̄* is lacking in some of the examples of conditional clauses in Prost (1983), which is reminiscent of the situation in Dzuun (see 2.4). Given that Prost (1983) does not comment explicitly on the issue, several interpretations are possible. To begin with, the CFNM *kɔ̄* could be simply optional in conditional clauses. However, given the distribution of the CFNM *kɔ̄* in the examples in Prost (1983), it is also possible that its occurrence depends on the reality status of the conditional clause. Thus, the CFNM *kɔ̄* is present in all

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[5] Prost (1983) does not mention the last variant *xɔ̄* explicitly but he mentions elsewhere that in fast speech *k* is often lenited to *x* (Prost 1983:8).

but one (for a possible explanation, see below) examples of real conditionals, as in (46), and lacking in all examples of counterfactual conditionals, as in (47).

Yaba Northern Bobo

(46) *ē   já   **mē**   sūgū **kɔ̄**, ē   **mā** sébè nē   mōbīlī tèè **kɔ̄***
     2SG COND NEG.CNS be.rich NEG 2SG NEG can CNS car   buy NEG
     'If you are not rich, you cannot buy a car' (Prost 1983:96)

(47) *ē   tá   nē   jà   **mā** náà,   ā   tá   nà   yòẁ   ná*
     2SG PST CNS COND NEG come   1SG PST FUT go\NMLZ FUT
     'If you hadn't come, I would have gone away' (Prost 1983:97)

The only example of a real conditional without the CFNM *kɔ̄* is a proverb (48) stating that one cannot change certain traits of one's character.

Yaba Northern Bobo

(48) *wúrō já   **mā** wùri yàà, à   nà   kɔ̀ɔ̀   ná*
     God   COND NEG hyena kill 3SG FUT enter\NMLZ FUT

     è   gbērè   wùyè dí
     ART.PL sheep.PL   house in
     'Unless God kills the hyena (lit.: 'If God did not kill the hyena'), it will enter the sheep pen' (Prost 1983:96)

In the light of the Dzuun data described in Section 2.4 above (cf. example (19)), it is not unlikely that the lack of a CFNM in (48) may be exactly due to the fact that this sentence is a proverb, thus characterized by the lack of assertiveness.

4.2 Sya Southern Bobo A

The Sya variety of Southern Bobo as spoken in the Tounouma quarter of Bobo-Dioulasso and the neighboring village of Kiri described by Le Bris & Prost (1981) uses the CFNM *gá* in addition to an obligatory negative marker earlier in the clause in the immediately post-subject slot, as in (49-50). The CFNM *gá* is lenited to *ŋá* after a nasal vowel or an oral vowel preceded by a nasal consonant (Le Bris & Prost 1981:23).

Sya Southern Bobo A

(49) *ǹkɛ́* **àá** *yē* *dò* *kà* *à* *yí* *hòn* **gá**
but 3SG.NEG REFL.SG speech put 3SG POSS in NEG
'But he didn't answer to him' (lit.: 'But he didn't put his own speech in his one') (Le Bris & Prost 1981:155)

(50) *yè* *nà* *sìrí* *nēbō* *yè* **kǎ** *Sǒn Nòn zà à nē nà*
3PL FUT die\FUT only.if 3PL SBJV.NEG man child see 3SG CNS come

kɔ̄ *yá* *diàmànā* **gá**
with 3SG.GEN kingdom NEG
'[There are people here,] they will not die before they will have seen the Son of Man come with his kingdom' (lit.: 'they will die only if they should not see the Son of Man that he comes with his kingdom') (Le Bris & Prost 1981:96)

In Sya Southern Bobo A, the CFNM *gá* appears to be obligatory in all constructions where CFNM *kɔ̄* is optional or impossible in Yaba Northern Bobo. Thus, the CFNM *gá* is used with the clause-final conjunction *… wà, … wà* 'or' (51), in real conditionals (52), counterfactual conditionals (53), and proverbs (54).

Sya Southern Bobo A

(51) *wuròmēnē* *wà,* *wurǒ mēnē* **gá** **wà,** *dúrú dò kūnà*
sky rain or sky\NEG rain NEG or well edge be.fresh\HAB
'Whether it rained or it did not rain, a well edge is wet' (Le Bris & Prost 1981:160)

(52) *gbànā* *hòn* **má** *wē* **gá,** *bē* *kpìn* *tèrè*
money COND NEG finish NEG 2SG.SBJV millet.beer buy
'If the money is not finished, buy millet beer' (Le Bris & Prost 1981:99)

(53) *à* *mā* **má** *vɔrɔ* **gá,** *ŋwón* *mā* *nà* *fón* *mā*
3SG COND NEG be.born NEG DEM COND FUT be.good\FUT 3SG.for
'If it had not been born, it would have been better for him' (Le Bris & Prost 1981:102)

(54) *wūrò* **má** *sàmìrì yὲ* **gá,** *à nà kɔ́* gbā-kōn hòn
    God NEG hyena kill NEG 3SG FUT enter\FUT sheep-house in
    'Unless God kills the hyena (lit.: 'If God did not kill the hyena'), it will enter the sheep pen' (Le Bris & Prost 1981:99)

Equally, the CFNM *gá* can be combined with the clause-final polar question marker *rā*, as in (55). However, Le Bris & Prost (1981:50) present a different construction based on an affirmative predication with the clause-final negative polar question marker *lὲ*, as in (56), as the default way of constructing negative polar questions.

    Sya Southern Bobo A

(55) *yὲ* *ŋwǒn fà yìrà n'á dē bē má,* **bέ** *ŋwón*
    3PL.PRS DEM thing say\PRS CNS.3SG put 2SG on 2SG.NEG DEM

    mɔ̀ **gá** **rā**
    hear NEG PQ
    'The things that they blame you for (lit.: 'The things they say and put on you'), haven't you heard them?' (Le Bris & Prost 1981:84)

(56) *yὲ* *ŋwǒn fà yìrā,* *bē tùrú tí hōn* **lὲ**
    3PL.PRS DEM thing say\PRS 2SG ear COP 3SG.in PQ.NEG
    'The things they say, don't you hear them?' (lit.: 'your ear is in it, isn't it?') (Le Bris & Prost 1981:50)

Finally, the obligatory character of the CFNM *gá* is supported by the fact that its use is also required with negative polarity adverbials, such as *àbādā* 'never' (57) and *tītīrī* 'again; not again, no more'.

    Sya Southern Bobo A

(57) **má** *à zà* **àbādā gá**
    1SG.NEG 3SG see never NEG
    'I have never seen him' (Le Bris & Prost 1981:115)

4.3 Sya Southern Bobo B

Another variety of Southern Bobo is described by Morse (1976:38) who refers to it as the "Tounouma dialect". This would imply that it is the same Sya Southern Bobo variety as described by Le Bris & Prost (1981). However, it seems that Morse (1976) has mixed data from two different Southern Bobo varieties. Thus, her initial consultant comes from Sala,

which should be a Benge Southern Bobo village, whereas the other two consultants she worked with later come from Tounouma, which is indeed a Sya Southern Bobo village. I will refer to the variety described by Morse (1976) as *Sya Southern Bobo B*.

Morse (1976:83-84, 132-133) describes the CFNM of Sya Southern Bobo B as a "negative suffix" or "negative enclitic" *ga* that does not have an inherent tone. Its tonal realization is described slightly differently on two occasions. Thus, Morse (1976:83-84) states that it is realized as M after L and as M or H (in free variation) after M and H, as in (58). Later in the same publication (1976:132-133), she claims that its tone either is identical to the preceding tone or is one level higher. A comparison with another "toneless" clause-final marker, the polar question marker *ra*, which is L after L and M after M or H, suggests that the CFNM *ga* could be analyzed as having a lexical M tone, viz. *gā*, which can be optionally raised after H, as opposed to the polar question marker which appears to be lexically L and is obligatorily raised after M and H.

Sya Southern Bobo B

(58) *mɛ́*   *à*   *gṵ̀* *bɛ́*   *gā*
     1SG.NEG 3SG find here   NEG
     'I didn't find it here' (Morse 1976:84)

Morse (1976:132-133) further mentions that the CFNM *ga* has two additional allomorphs as far as its segmental form is concerned, viz. *ŋã* after a nasal vowel and *ɣa* after *a*.

Morse (1976:98-100, 120-121) makes an interesting observation on a special intonation pattern associated with negative utterances in Sya Southern Bobo B. The main distinctive feature of this negative intonation is a slightly raised pitch level throughout the entire utterance as compared to the pitch level of affirmative declarative utterances and questions. This overall raised pitch makes the negative intonation pattern similar to the exclamation intonation pattern, which is marked by a very high pitch range and increased speed, with an utterance final L being on the level of M in a declarative utterance and an utterance final H being raised to an extra H with a subsequent sharp and brief downglide to about the level of M. Furthermore, the negative, affirmative declarative and exclamation intonation patterns differ from an interrogative tone pattern by absence of a final glottal stop.

The few examples with the CFNM *ga* provided in Morse (1976) suggest that it does not differ much in its use from the CFNM *gá* in Sya Southern Bobo A (cf. Section 4.2 above). That is, its use appears to be obligatory in addition to an obligatory negative marker earlier in the clause in the immediately post-subject slot. It is not possible to say anything

on whether it is equally required with the clause-final conjunction … *wà, … wà* 'or', in real conditionals, counterfactual conditionals and proverbs.

4.4 Benge Southern Bobo

The Benge variety of Southern Bobo as spoken in Tondogosso and described by Sanou (1978) is the only one of the four Bobo varieties considered here that is not reported to use a default CFNM in addition to an obligatory negative marker earlier in the clause in the immediate post-subject slot, as illustrated in (59).

Benge Southern Bobo

(59) *sùmórò* **hàá** *wīrī*
foreigner NEG call
'The foreigner did not call' (Sanou 1978:106)

At the same time, Sanou (1978:115) mentions an (apparently) optional CFNM *kpá* glossed as '(simple negation) not'. The CFNM *kpá* is part of a larger category of clause-final markers which Sanou (1978:112-116) calls "modalisateurs d'énoncé" (utterance modal markers, utterance modalizing terms) and which mostly mark illocutionary force, epistemic stance and various intersubjective functions. Sanou (1978) subdivides these utterance modal markers into six classes: (i) "strong affirmative", (ii) "affirmative", (iii) "dubitative", (iv) "negative", (v) "interrogative", and (vi) "jussive". Some forms belong to several classes in which case they convey slightly different meanings. The clause-final markers that can occur in negative clauses are summarized in (60), with dedicated CFNMs in (60a) and clause-final markers that can convey other functions as well in (60b).

(60) a. *kpá*   '(simple negation) not'
        tītī   '(reinforced negation) never'

   b. *dà̃*   'impatience, irritation' (also an "affirmative" and a "jussive" marker)
       yò   'well, let's see' (also an "affirmative" marker)
       lè   'doubt and question' (also a "dubitative" marker)

Given that the negative and interrogative clause-final markers are supposed to occupy the same slot in the clause structure, CFNMs should not co-occur with interrogative markers in questions. It is not clear from the source whether a question may be marked by intonation alone so as to allow the use of CFNMs in questions. Finally, it is not clear from the source either whether CFNMs can be used in conditional clauses or proverbs.

5. Origins of the default CFNMs in Samogo and Bobo

5.1 Samogo A vs. Samogo B – Bobo

The Samogo and Bobo languages show a large variety of different CFNMs, summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. CFNMs in the Samogo and Bobo languages

	CFNMs	
	default	specialized
Samogo		
Jo[A]	*kì*	
Seen[A]	*ŋè*	*à ~ án* NEG.PQ
Duun cluster		
Duun	——	
Dzuun[B]	*wāā*	*bādā* '(n)ever', *byɛ̄* '(n)ever', *fyéū ~ fyēū ~ fyō* '(n)ever; (not) at all', *dɛ̄* 'no more, anymore', *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all', *wāārú* '(not) at all', *ŋē* '(ever) yet', *tsú* '(n)either'
Kpaan[B]	*ũ ~ w̃*	
Ban[B]	*má*	
Kpeen[A]	*nè ~ nì*	
Bobo		
Northern		
Yaba	*kɔ̄ ~ gɔ̄ ~ ɣɔ̄*	
Southern		
Sya A	*gá ~ ŋá*	*lɛ̀* NEG.PQ
Sya B	*gā ~ ŋã̄ ~ ɣā*	
Benge	*kpá*	*tītī* 'never'

[A] – Samogo A languages, [B] – a Samogo B languages

In what follows, I will focus only on the default CFNMs which are most close to being canonical grammatical markers. In the latter group, there is in fact rather little variation as just two different forms can be argued to have evolved into the default CFNMs in the Samogo and Bobo languages. The first set resulted in the default CFNMs in Jo, Seen and

presumably Kpeen, a group that for brevity's sake I will refer to as Samogo A and discuss in Section 5.2 below. The second set produced the default CFNMs of Bobo, discussed in Section 5.3, and Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban, a group that I will refer to as Samogo B and discuss in Section 5.4. I argue that the CFNMs of Bobo and Samogo B are related in Section 5.5. More specifically, I suggest that Samogo B languages are likely to have borrowed the relevant CFNM from Bobo.

5.2 Samogo A: Jo, Seen and presumably Kpeen

The Jo default CFNM *kì*, the Seen default CFNM *ŋè* and presumably the Kpeen default CFNM *nè* or *nì* are arguably related to the Dzuun clause-final marker *ŋē*, as in (61), where it functions as a CFNM '(ever) yet' instead of the default CFNM *wāā*, in (62), where it functions as a CFNM 'yet' in combination with the default CFNM *wāā*, and in (63), where it is used as a regular adverbial meaning 'yet, still'.

Dzuun

(61) *kàbī   mún   kéréū,   mún   **nā**   kèìn nèē   tsūrū jà   **ŋē***
     since 1SG   born.PFV   1SG   NEG   bird DEM   like   see yet
     'Since I was born, I have never seen a bird like that (yet).' (Solomiac 2007:250)

(62) *tɔ̀   y'á   tàrà   wó   **nā** kéré   **ŋē**   **wāā***
     DEM   SBJV.3SG   find   2SG   NEG   born   yet   NEG
     '[The old man should tell you that there has been this intelligence like this], while you were not yet born' (Solomiac 2007:252)

(63) *dzín nìí   kéréū   shē,   tà   kó   nìí   dón   nī*
     child REL   born.PFV today DEM and REL   belly COP

     *ē   náà   ɲàn **ŋē**,   twēī   ráá   wár'là   bèé   min*
     REFL mother in   yet   DEM   GEN   money.DEF go.IPFV where
     '[The tax, as its amount was not settled,] where did the money go of a child that has been born today or of a child that is yet in his mother's belly?' (Solomiac 2007:571)

Example (61) also shows how a CFNM meaning 'yet' may acquire an additional overtone of universal quantification, as 'ever yet', 'never (yet)'. From here, the temporal directionality inherent to the meaning 'yet, still' of *ŋē* may weaken, especially if the marker becomes confined to negative predications, to come to mean plainly 'never'. A further bleaching of the temporal component in its semantics from 'never' to something like '(not)

at all' is rather straightforward. In this respect, compare several other Dzuun CFNMs, such as *fyēū* and *kūrāā* (see Section 2 above).

As to the sound correspondences, Jo *kì*, Seen *ŋè* and Dzuun *ŋē* also correspond rather regularly. The tonal correspondences are fine. The segmental match is not perfect but is within the limits of acceptable variation for functional elements of such a high frequency of use and it is in accordance with phonotactic tendencies typical of Mande languages. Thus, as we have seen in the example of the CFNMs in Bobo varieties, the lenition of *k* to *g* or *ɣ* and in the proximity of a nasal to *ŋ* in a functional morpheme is rather common. That Seen and Dzuun have apparently generalized the nasalized allomorph is a somewhat less common development, but there is definitely nothing unique about it. In this respect, compare the Manding postposition *lá* 'at' which in most varieties has the allomorph *ná* in nasal contexts. However, in at least one Manding variety, Kagoro (Vydrine 2001), the nasal allomorph *ná* has been generalized to the expense of the other allomorphs. The vowel qualities of the Seen and Dzuun forms are identical and that of the Jo form is very close. In this respect, note also that there are no morphemes of the form *Ce* in Carlson (1993), which may suggest an earlier raising of *e* to *i* in morphemes of such shape. This clause-final marker can therefore be reconstructed as *kè 'yet; still'.[6] As its possible cognates we can consider the Tura (Southern Mande; ISO 639-3: neb; 4 tone levels) determiner *ké* 'a certain, some; a little; another; again', its adverbial derivate *ké-wó* 'again; (no) more, (not) anymore', the Gban (Southern Mande; ISO 639-3: ggu; 4 tone levels) determiner *ké* 'again, still', the Bokobaru (Eastern Mande; ISO 639-3: bus; 3 tone levels) determiner *kē* 'a certain; any; none, not any'. The indefinite determiner use as 'a certain, some, any' can be taken to be primary for this etymon.

Another possible source of the CFNMs in Jo and Seen could be the root whose reflex in Dzuun is *yē* '(adjective) new; (adverb) again'. Semantically, the link is equally plausible as with *ŋē* '(ever) yet; still'. However, the sound correspondences in the case of *yē* 'new; again' would be more problematic. Thus, given that in Dzuun it is not a functional morpheme, if we admit the possibility of lenition for this root at all, such lenition would have been expected to be somewhat less advanced, as something like *gē* or *xē* rather than *yē*. Furthermore, linking Jo *kì* and Seen *ŋè* to Dzuun *yē* would make it more difficult to relate Dzuun *yē* 'new; again' to its likely cognates outside of Samogo, such as the Sya Southern Bobo A adverb *yɛ̄* 'again, as well' and Soninke *yekka* 'equal, similar', *yekko* 'be equal, similar' (ISO 639-3: snk). Finally, the fact that Dzuun *ŋē* also functions as a CFNM,

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[6] In a proto language with 2 tone levels.

whereas none of the cognates of Dzuun *yē* 'new; again' does, further strengthens the etymology linking the CFNMs in Jo and Seen to Dzuun *ŋē* '(ever) yet; still'.

5.3 Bobo

The CFNMs of different Bobo varieties discussed in 4.1-4.4, viz. Yaba Northern Bobo *kɔ̄* ~ *gɔ̄* ~ *ɣɔ̄*, Sya Southern Bobo A *gá* ~ *ŋá*, Sya Southern Bobo B *ga* ~ *ŋã* ~ *ɣa*, Benge Southern Bobo *kpá*, are all sufficiently similar to each other to arguably reflect the same etymon. Given the phonotactic patterns of Bobo, this etymon can be reconstructed as something like *kwâ, from earlier *kÚà (standing for *kúà, *kóà or *kɔ́à) or rather *kÚDà, where *D* represents some voiced coronal consonant. This reconstruction accounts for the attested variation in the vowels, *ɔ* vs. *a*, and the consonants, plain voiceless velar *k* and lenited voiced velars *g* ~ *ɣ* vs. labial-velar *kp*. Thus, labial-velars *kp* and *gb* are generally rare in Bobo. They are frequently freely realized as labialized velars *kw* and *gw* respectively, and in most cases can be shown to go back to a combination of a velar stop with a back rounded vowel before any front or central unrounded vowel, as can be seen from a comparison of Sya Southern Bobo B *kɔ̱* (SG) vs. *kpa̱* ~ *kɔ̱a̱* ~ *kɔ̄má̄* (PL) 'house, hut', Sya Southern Bobo A *kɔ̱* (SG) vs. *kpà̱ɛ̄* ~ *kpàē* (PL) 'house, hut', Sya Southern Bobo B *kŭ̱* (SG) vs. *kŭ̱á̱* ~ *kpã̄* (PL) 'fear' (cf. Morse 1976:38-39, 90, 165, Le Bris & Prost 1981:23). Moreover, it is probably not a coincidence that it is the CFNM *kpá* of Benge Southern Bobo that has the most complex phonological form and no lenited variants, as it is also the only CFNM of the four considered that appears to be completely optional.

As to the tones, the reconstruction of the HL tone pattern for the CFNM marker *kÚDà is suggested by the following observations. First of all, it is important to notice that its lexical tone is H or M and never L. Furthermore, the attested differences in its lexical tone are itself suggestive of an earlier combination of different tones. Given that proto Bobo appears to have had only two tone levels (cf. Dwyer 1994), the tone pattern of this marker must have been HL or LH. That it is HL rather than LH is suggested by the distribution of rising and falling tone combinations on underived CV, CVV and CVCV morphemes in native Bobo vocabulary. Thus, in Sya Southern Bobo B, which we can take as the example (cf. Morse 1976:85-94, 170), of the three possible rising combinations LH and LM are common and MH is unattested on native underived CV and CVV morphemes, whereas of the three possible falling combinations HL is exceptional, HM is unattested, while ML is only moderately attested on CV morphemes and unattested on CVV morphemes. For CVCV morphemes the situation is similar to that of CV morphemes, although the picture is somewhat disturbed by the presence of an important number of borrowed or historically

derived words with the HL pattern and a small number of MH words. In other words, in Bobo rising tone patterns, such as LH, appear to preserve much better than falling tone patterns, such as HL, that show a strong tendency to leveling. Therefore, if the CFNM in question had been LH, we would have expected it to preserve its rising pattern or at least the L component of the original LH pattern, which does not happen.

As will be discussed in 5.5, the reconstruction *kÚDà may need to be further augmented for the common Bobo level to something like *kÚDà(C)á.

5.4 Samogo B: Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban

The relationship between the default CFNMs of Dzuun *wāā*, Kpaan *w̃ ~ ũ* and Ban *má* is less obvious than in the case of the CFNMs in Samogo A and Bobo. However, the proposed relationship is made more plausible by the following converging observations. First, the three lects are sufficiently close as to be largely mutually intelligible (cf. Solomiac 2007:26-28). Second, the CFNMs are all sufficiently similar and a possible relationship between them would be in line with phonotactic tendencies typical of Mande languages. Thus, a change from *w* to *m* is a common change in functional morphemes in a nasal context which can be further followed by a generalization of the nasal allomorph (cf. 5.2 above). This would relate the Dzuun form to those of Ban and Kpaan. A contraction from *má* to *w̃ ~ ũ* in a functional morpheme would not be surprising either linking the Ban form to that of Kpaan.

The Dzuun CFNM *wāā* is the most informative of these three CFNMs for the purposes of reconstruction. Thus, its CVV shape suggests an earlier CVCV structure. Its tone pattern can be reconstructed as HLH, with the final H becoming floating at some point. Normally, in this position a floating H is lost without traces in Dzuun. However, its earlier presence is suggested by the MMH tone pattern of the complex CFNM *wāārú* '(not) at all' (cf. 2.3) instead of the tone pattern MMM that would have been expected otherwise. The complex reconstructed HLH tone pattern in turn suggests that the earlier segmental structure of this marker was equally more complex, viz. CVCVV or CVCVCV.

The initial *w-* is rare in Dzuun and all other words beginning with the sequence *wa* in Traoré et al.'s (1998) Dzuun dictionary are clear borrowings (perhaps with one exception). The somewhat marginal status of the initial sequence *wa* is further corroborated by the fact that *wa* in borrowings is sometimes adopted to Dzuun phonology as *gba*. Thus, Solomiac (2007:314) notes that the Jula term *waa* is borrowed as *waa*, or even better adapted to Dzuun phonology, as *gbaa*.

All this suggests that the CFNM *wāā* used to begin with a labial-velar or labialized velar stop, ultimately going back to a sequence of a velar stop and a rounded back vowel, viz. something like *gÚDà(C)á, where *U* and *D* represent a rounded back vowel and some voiced coronal consonant, respectively. Although an initial *g-* is normal in native Dzuun vocabulary, in this particular context it would be somewhat unusual and is more likely to result from a lenition of an earlier *k-*, as would not be surprising for a functional morpheme. Summing up, it is possible to reconstruct the Dzuun CFNM *wāā* as *kÚDà(C)á, although as we will see in 5.5, this reconstruction may be a bit too complex for the historical level at issue and it should rather be resimplified to *kwáǎ ~ *kwáà^H or even more likely to *gwáǎ ~ *gwáà^H.

5.5 Bobo – Samogo B

The reconstructed forms of the default CFNMs of Bobo, *kÚDà, and Samogo B, *kÚDà(C)á, are strikingly similar. Even taking into account that certain segments remain underspecified, the two etymons are sufficiently long and match well tonally and functionally to warrant a strong hypothesis of a historical relation between them. In addition, these internal reconstructions allow on purely formal grounds to preclude with a sufficient degree of certainty a possibility that respective CFNMs were borrowed into Bobo and Samogo from any other language of the wider region reported to have a *WA*-like CFNM (cf. Beyer 2009:214), such as Marka *wà* (a Western Mande Manding language spoken further away to the northeast; ISO 639-3: rkm), San *wā* (an Eastern Mande language spoken further away to the northeast; ISO 639-3: sbd), Bwamu (unidentified dialect) *waʔ* (a Central Gur language spoken to the east of the Bobo area; ISO 639-3: bmq, box, bwy, bwj), Dyan *wā* and Kaansa *wàʔ ~ yàʔ ~ nàʔ* (both minority Central Gur languages spoken further away to the east; ISO 639-3: dya; ISO 639-3: gna). In fact, should at least some of these CFNMs happen to be related to the Bobo and Samogo B forms, it is the Bobo form that would be their source rather than the other way around.

If we focus on the Bobo and Samogo B forms, the question is whether the two forms are common retentions or one is related to the other through borrowing. I believe that it is borrowing rather than retention and more specifically, a borrowing from Bobo into Samogo B for the following reasons. The reconstruction *kÚDà(C)á of the Samogo B default CFNM is also strikingly similar to the Dzuun CFNM marker *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all'. Given the similarity in function and form between the two CFNM markers, it is highly plausible that the two markers are somehow historically related. Yet, it is unlikely that the Dzuun CFNM marker *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all' and the Dzuun default CFNM *wāā* can

be both direct reflexes of *kÚDà(C)á at the same time. The two markers, *kūrāā* and *wāā*, are still so close functionally and occupy the same syntactic slot so that it is rather difficult to conceive how they might have diverged formally from a common source within Dzuun or Samogo B. There is a number of possible solutions to this problem, all presuming borrowing. The following two accounts are the most parsimonious. According to the first solution, the Dzuun CFNM marker *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all' is a direct reflex of the etymon *kÚDà(C)á, which is equally the source of the Bobo default CFNM *kÚDà, whereas the Dzuun default CFNM *wāā* (and the related Kpaan and Ban forms) is an indirect reflex of the same etymon which entered Samogo B through borrowing of the Bobo CFNM at a stage when the latter was already simplified to *kwáǎ ~ *kwáà[H] or even more likely to *gwáǎ ~ *gwáà[H]. The second solution would assume that it is the Dzuun default CFNM *wāā* that is a direct reflex of the etymon *kÚDà(C)á while the Dzuun CFNM marker *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all' appeared later through borrowing of the Bobo CFNM at a stage when the latter still had the form *kúdàá.

For the moment, I do not see any direct evidence that could settle the question unequivocally. However, the following two observations taken together provide a strong indirect support for the first account. Thus, on the one hand, in all Bobo varieties discussed, both Northern Bobo and Southern Bobo, rather distant from each other, the respective CFNM is always the default one and never semantically specific, which can be interpreted as an indication of a significant time depth of its semantic generalization and subsequent formal reduction within Bobo. On the other hand, there is very much variation in what regards the default CFNMs within the Duun dialect cluster, otherwise rather close-knit. Furthermore, the pattern of this variation suggests a mostly independent and relatively late generalization of the respective default CFNMs. Thus, besides the etymon found in Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban, in Kpeen we find a different form, presumably related to one of the non-default CFNMs in Dzuun and the default CFNM in Jo and Seen, the two Samogo languages outside of the Duun dialect cluster, while Duun is reported to lack a CFNM completely.

It is worth pointing out that both accounts imply that for the common Bobo level, the reconstruction *kÚDà needs to be augmented to *kÚDà(C)á, a reconstruction already familiar from the discussion of the Samogo B data. The first account, preferred here, implies in addition that within Samogo B, the earliest form of the etymon that later resulted in the Dzuun CFNM *wāā* should be simplified from *kÚDà(C)á to *kwáǎ ~ *kwáà[H] or even more likely to *gwáǎ ~ *gwáà[H] with the initial consonant already lenited.

By way of conclusion, in (64) I provide some plausible cognates of Bobo and Samogo *kÚDà(C)á from other Western Mande languages which suggest that the development of

the CFNM use of this etymon has occurred via the path of semantic evolution sketched in (65). I will not elaborate here on the reconstruction of the form of the etymon beyond Bobo and Samogo.

(64) Tige Bozo adverb or operator *xua* '[AFF] again; [NEG] not again, no more' (Daguet et al. 1953:81, Blecke 1996:130; ISO 639-3: boz)

Bamana adjective *kúrá* 'new, next, recent' (corresponding to Mandinka *kútâ*), also as part of the adverb *kó-kúrá* 'again' (lit. 'matter new')

Bamana expressive adverb *kúdáyí* '[AFF] forever; definitely; [NEG] not forever, never again'[7] and Susu *kɔ̀rɛ́* '[AFF] henceforth, from now/then on; [NEG] not anymore, never' (Toure 1994:291; ISO 639-3: sus)

(65) 'new, recent, next' > 'anew, again' > '[AFF] again; [NEG] not again, no more' > '[AFF~NEG] (n)ever' > '[NEG] not at all' > CFNM

6. Conclusions

This article has provided an exhaustive overview of the data available on the use of CFNMs in several Bobo and Samogo languages with particular attention to the default CFNMs. I highlighted those peculiarities of the morphosyntax of these CFNMs that set them apart from similar markers elsewhere and that may aid in clarifying their observed areal distribution, such as their common association with multiple negative exponence and their frequent morphosyntactic deficiency as compared to more canonical grammatical markers.

In Section 5, I discussed the history of the default CFNMs in these languages. In particular, I have shown that just two different forms can be argued to have evolved into the default CFNMs in the Samogo and Bobo languages. The first etymon that resulted in the default CFNMs of the Samogo languages Jo, Seen and probably Kpeen can be brought back to the phasal adverbial *kè 'yet; still', itself most likely going back to an indefinite determiner whose reflexes are found throughout Mande.

The second etymon *kÚDà(C)á that resulted in the default CFNMs of the four Bobo varieties discussed and of the Samogo languages Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban has proved to have had a more complex history involving both parallel evolution of its Bobo and Samogo reflexes and borrowing at a certain point of its Bobo reflex into the relevant Samogo varieties, as schematically represented in Fig. 1.

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[7] The latter adverbial has also been borrowed in Dzuun as *kūdēyn* 'forever', presumably from a Manding variety where it had an additional suffix *-ni*, which may sometimes expand adverbials in Manding.
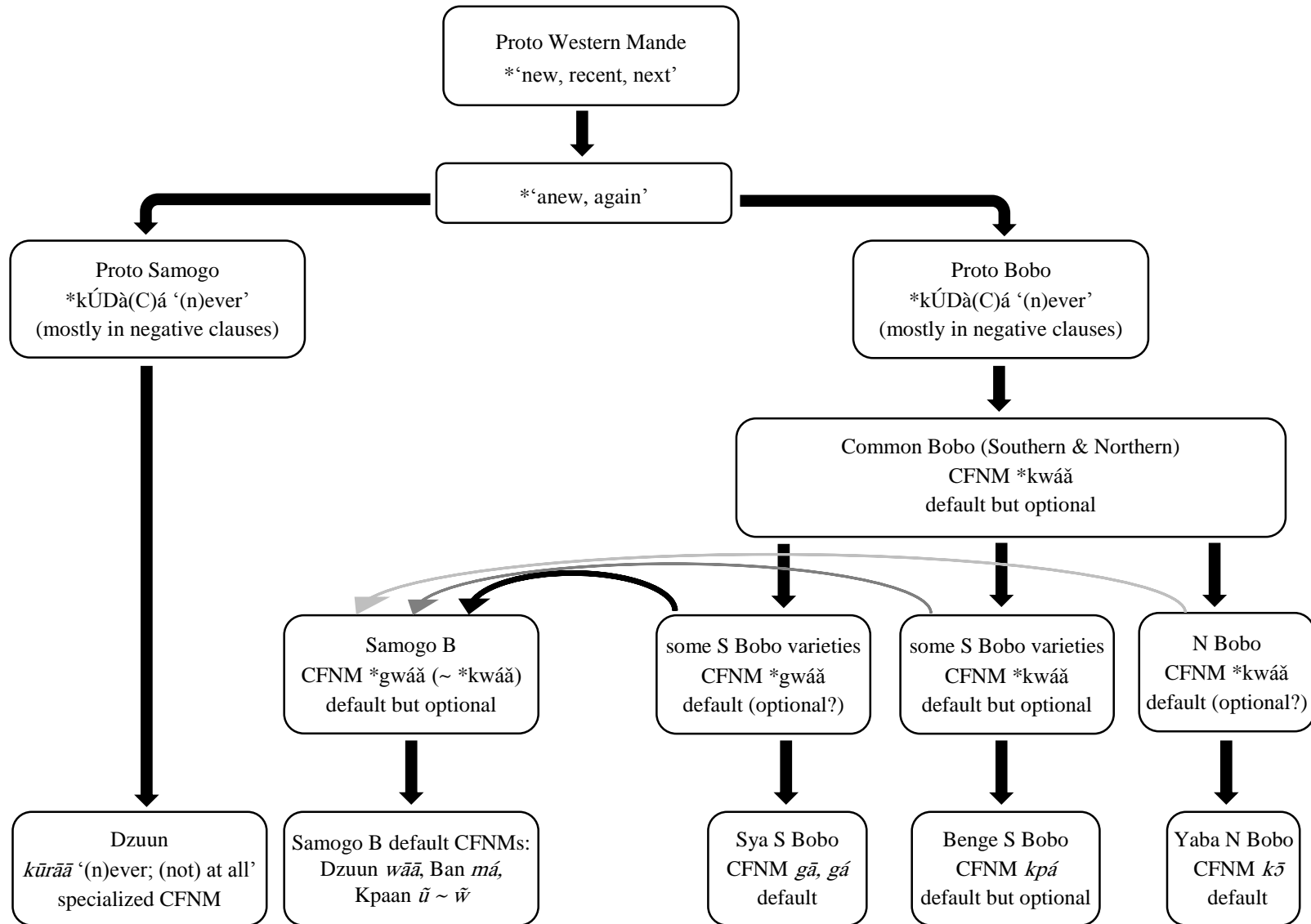
Figure 1. The evolution of the etymon *kÚDà(C)á in the Samogo and Bobo languages

A comparison of the internal reconstructions of this etymon made separately for Bobo and Samogo with the remaining data available on the non-default CFNMs of Dzuun suggests that its direct reflexes are the default CFNMs of the Bobo varieties and the Dzuun non-default CFNM marker *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all', while the default CFNMs of Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban are its indirect reflexes resulting from a lateral transfer from Bobo. A lateral transfer hypothesis in this particular direction is coherent with what is known about the sociolinguistic history of the region. Within this scenario, it has proved to be possible to further refine the original internal reconstructions for different historical levels. Thus, for the common Bobo level, the internal reconstruction *kÚDà was augmented to *kÚDà(C)á, whereas within Samogo, the earliest form of the etymon that later resulted in the default CFNM of Dzuun, Kpaan and Ban could be simplified from the originally reconstructed *kÚDà(C)á to *kwáǎ ~ *kwáàᴴ or even more likely to *gwáǎ ~ *gwáàᴴ with the initial consonant already lenited. The lines in Fig. 1 that represent this lateral transfer event from Bobo into Samogo B are color graded from black to light grey in accordance with the estimated likelihood of the given source of the transfer event. Within Samogo, the original internal reconstruction *kÚDà(C)á of the default CFNM can instead be linked directly to the Dzuun non-default CFNM marker *kūrāā* '(n)ever; (not) at all'. Finally, a further external comparison beyond Bobo and Samogo suggested that the CFNM use of this etymon goes back to its earlier use as a phasal adverbial 'anew, again' derived from a modifier 'new, next, recent'.

Finally, the overview of the CFNMs in Bobo and Samogo languages presented in the paper together with the discussion of the history of the respective CFNMs provided an illustration of the observation that CFNMs in the area tend to be rather unstable diachronically and happen to be relatively easily borrowable, unlike negators in other parts of the world, but like discourse markers, focus particles and phasal adverbs (cf. Matras 2009), with which they also happen to share peculiarities of morphosyntax and paths of historical development.

Glosses:

AFF	affirmative	COP	copula
AG	agentive nominalizer	DEF	definite
ART	article	DEM	demonstrative
CFNM	clause-final negative marker	DIM	diminutive
CNS	consecutive	EMPH	emphatic
COND	conditional	FOC	focus

FRU	frustrative	PROG	progressive
FUT	future	PROH	prohibitive
GEN	genitive	PROP	proper name
HAB	habitual	PST	past
IPFV	imperfective	PQ	polar question marker
LOG	logophoric pronominal	QUO	quotative
M	masculine	REFL	reflexive
NEG	negation	REL	relative
NMLZ	nominalizer	SG	singular
PFV	perfective	SBJV	subjunctive
PL	plural	TAM	tense-aspect-modality
POSS	possessive		

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