


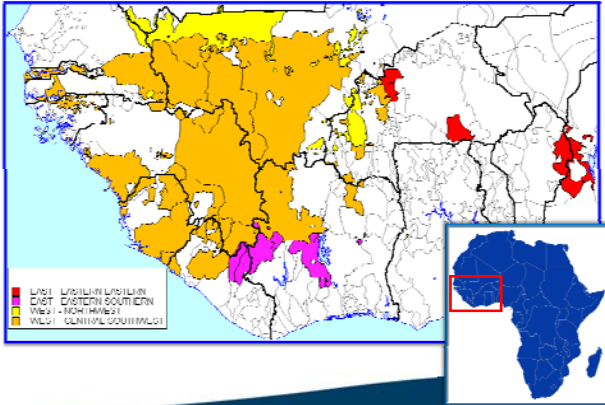
Grammaticalization of clause-final negative markers in Bamana dialects

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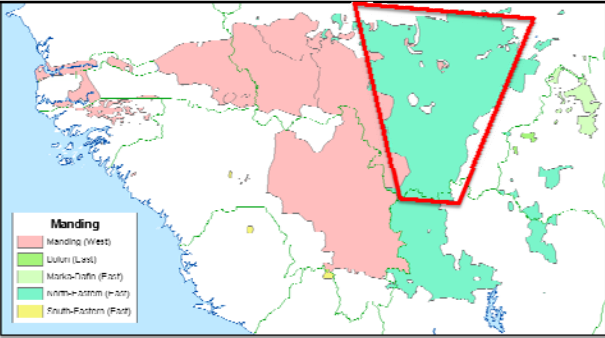
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Mande languages



Manding dialect continuum > Bamana



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Some relevant grammatical properties

- rigid constituent order:** SVX, SOVX, NA, GN, NAdp
- polarity** is expressed cumulatively with TAM
- PREDICATIVE MARKERS:** obligatory auxiliary-like morphemes with sentence constituting function (usually, **S PM OVX**)

(1) à **bé** bàtakí-w̄ sében
3SG **IPFV** letter-PL write
'He writes letters.'

(2) à **té** bàtakí-w̄ sében
3SG **IPFV.NEG** letter-PL write
'He does not write letters.'

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"Standard" Bamana of Bamako

Verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
IPFV	bé	té
PROG 1	bé(O)V lá	té(O)V lá
PROG 2	békà	tékà
FUT 1	bénà	ténà
FUT 2	ná	má
PFV	yé OV / V-ra	kà
SUBJ	kà / ká	káná
IMP	Ø (2SG) / yé (2PL)	

Non-verbal PMs

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

Qualitative verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
	ká	mán

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CF negatives in southern dialects

- An **additional clause-final negative** marker in southern Baninko, Gwandugu, Shendugu and Ganadugu areas: *ní(n)*, *(y)i* (Bird 1982), *nén* (Togola 1984)



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CF negatives in southern dialects

Gwandugu/Baninko Bamana of Massigui (Bird et al. 1982:180-182)

- (1a) *a ye ðaa ji mi*
3SG **RBC.PFV** water drink
'He drank water'
- (1b) *a te ðaa ji mi nin*
3SG **RBC.PFV.NEG** water drink **NEG**
'He didn't drink water'
- (2a) *ð ye gwa!*
2PL **IMP** leave
'Leave (you all)!'
- (2b) *ð kana gwa nin!*
2PL **IMP.NEG** leave **NEG**
'Don't leave (you all)!'
- (3a) *Madu ye foro lo*
PROP **LOC** field in
'Madu is in the field'
- (3b) *Madu te foro lo nin*
PROP **LOC.NEG** field in **NEG**
'Madu is not in the field'

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CF negatives in southern dialects

- The clause-final negative marker is an **innovation** specific to the dialects in question
- CF negative markers are not found in **other Bamana dialects**
- elsewhere in Manding, a CF negative marker is found only in **Marka**, viz. *wà*, but it is clearly **not cognate**
- elsewhere in Mande, CF negative markers are found only in more **distantly related languages**, such as Jeri, Jogo, San, Bisa, Wan, Bokobaru, etc., but they are **not cognate**
- the CF negative marker in these Bamana dialects is **formally unstable**, viz. *ní(n)*, *(y)í*, *nén*
- the range of constructions where a CF negative marker is possible **varies** among these Bamana dialects
- when possible, the CF negative marker is mostly **optional** (cf. Togola 1984 on Gwandugu/Baninko of Sanso)

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CF negatives in southern dialects

- Depending on the construction, CF negative is:
 - impossible / optional & rare / optional & common / ?obligatory
- "There is a **consistent** double negation marker *nin* throughout this region [Gwandugu & Shendugu] also [...] reduced to *ni* and *i* or *yi*" (Bird 1982:217)
- impossible / optional

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Gwandugu/Baninko Bamana of Sanso (Togola 1984)

Verbal PMs

Non-verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative		Affirmative	Negative
HAB	<i>bé (sà)</i>	<i>té (sà)</i>	EXIST	<i>bé</i>	<i>té (né)</i>
IPFV	<i>yé (O)V lá</i>	<i>té (O)V lá (né)</i>	LOC		<i>té ... (né)</i>
PROG	<i>yé káa</i>	<i>té káa ... (né)</i>	IDENT 1	<i>yé'é</i>	<i>té'té (né)</i>
FUT 1	<i>bé ~ ná</i>	<i>té ~ káná</i>	IDENT 2	<i>dò</i>	<i>té</i>
FUT 2	<i>V-c5 'yéé</i>	<i>V-c5 'téeé</i>	EQUAT	<i>yé ... lé</i>	<i>té ... lé (né)</i>
PFV.REC.TR	<i>yé báá OV</i>	<i>té báá OV (né)</i>	Qualitative verbal PMs		
PFV.REC.INTR	<i>V- yé</i>	<i>V- té (né) / mē V</i>			
PFV	<i>yáá</i>	<i>mē</i>			
SUBJ	<i>lá / nē</i>	<i>kānā V (né)</i>			
IMP	Ø			Affirmative	Negative
				<i>ká / yáá</i>	<i>mē</i>

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CF negatives in southern dialects

- Geographically, the range of constructions where CF negative is possible **expands** as one moves **to the southeast**
- thus, in Ganadugu it seems to be possible in all constructions (perhaps, with the exception of the negative imperative)



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CF negatives in southern dialects

- Can the use of a CF negative be accounted for in terms of the **semantics** of the construction?
- kind of... but it's much more about **diachrony** than synchrony

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Gwandugu/Baninko Bamana of Sanso (Togola 1984)

Verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
HAB	bé (sà)	té (sà)
IPFV	yé (O)V lá	té (O)V lá (nǝ)
PROG	yé káá	té káá ... (nǝ)
FUT 1	bé ~ nǝ	té ~ kǝ
FUT 2	V-c5 'yé	V-c5 'té
PFV.REC.TR	yé báá OV	té báá OV (nǝ)
PFV.REC.INTR	V- 'yé	V- 'té (nǝ) / mǝ V
PFV	yáá	mǝ
SUBJ	lá / nǝ	kǝ V (nǝ)
IMP	Ø	

Non-verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
EXIST	yé	té (nǝ)
LOC	yé	té ... (nǝ)
IDENT 1	yé 'é	té 'é (nǝ)
IDENT 2	dò	lé
EQUAT	yé ... lé	té ... lé (nǝ)

Qualitative verbal PMs

Affirmative	Negative
ká / yáá	mǝ

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CF negatives in southern dialects

- Compare across the southern dialects, **except Ganadugu**, where there appear to be no restrictions on the use of a CF negative
- CFNeg is normally **excluded** from constructions where the corresponding **affirmative PM is the old PM be** (and possible in constructions with the new affirmative marker ye)
- CFNeg is **dispreferred** from IMP/OPT/SUBJ constructions with the **negative PM kana** (irrespective of whether the corresponding affirmative marker is innovative or not)
- CFNeg is **excluded** from constructions with the **negative PM ma** (irrespective of whether negating PFV or qualitative verbs and whether the corresponding affirmative marker is innovative or not)

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CF negatives in southern dialects: history

- Ganadugu** appears to form the historical core of the area with the innovative use of CF negative markers
- while diffusing, CFNeg **affected first of all** the constructions where the corresponding affirmative PM is the new affirmative marker ye
- while diffusing, CFNeg **affected last** the constructions with the negative PMs *ma* (whether negating PFV or qualitative verbs) and *kana* (negating IMP/OPT/SUBJ)
- in all probability, in Ganadugu, **originally** CFNeg was **not used** (or **only very rarely used**) in the constructions with the negative PMs *ma* (whether negating PFV or qualitative verbs) and *kana* (negating IMP/OPT/SUBJ)

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CF negatives in southern dialects: history

- the **source meaning** of the CF negative marker *ni(n)/(y)i/nén* is probably something like 'at all, (n)ever', but not 'yet'
- in origin, the CF negative is probably the same as Mandinka **néne '(n)ever'** (Western Mande)
- this adverb '(n)ever' may be brought back to a root **'one'**, such as Jeri and Ligbi *díe(n)* 'one' (Western Mande), which in Jeri is also often reduplicated, viz. *dí.díe', dín.díe', rí.díe'* (Kastenholtz 2002:86)
- this numeral 'one' itself may be a borrowing from Gur, although compare Bisa of Zabré *dííní/ dí:m* 'one' (Eastern Mande; Vanhoudt 1992:385, 1999:24) and the final segment of the common Mande word for 'five', such as Jeri *sóólf*

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CF negatives in southern dialects: history

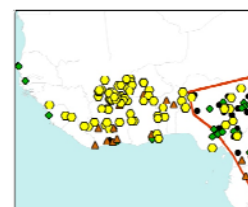
- at least in part, the development of CF negative markers in southern Bamana dialects is likely to be due to **contact-induced grammaticalization**, with the Senufo (Gur) languages as the trigger
 - CF negatives are common in Senufo, such as *mé* in Supyire (Carlson 1994), which is adjacent to the Bamana dialects in question
 - CF negatives are innovation of these Bamana dialects
 - the core area of CF negative marking among the Bamana dialects is Ganadugu, which borders on Supyire
 - it is known that Bamana speakers have moved into this area relatively recent and the dialects of the area must have had important Senufo substrate



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CF negatives in southern dialects: history

- CF negative markers are also found in other **Mande** languages and is in general rather common in **this part of Africa**
- where enough evidence is available, the most common source of post-V and CF negative markers appears to be various **(inter)subjective** discourse/epistemic/emphasis/ modal... particles/adverbs, which are prominently present in the majority of the languages of the area and which are commonly post-V and, when post-V, frequently CF (**including Mande**).
- in principle, the development of CF negatives in Mande can also be explained without appealing to contact... although it is very likely that contact did play a role in this particular case



Map 1. West African languages with a clause-final negative marker at least in some constructions

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