Slide 1

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

Slide 2

Manding dialect continuum > Bambara

Manding
- Manding (West)
- Fulnin (Foot)
- Marka Dafin (Last)
- North Eastern (Last)
- South Eastern (Last)

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Slide 3

"Standard" Bambara 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*	
PFV	*yé* OV/ V-*ra*	*má*
SUBJ	*kà / ká*	*kàná*
IMP	∅ (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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Slide 4

CF negatives in southern dialects

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

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Slide 5

CF negatives in southern dialects

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

(1a) *a ye baa ji mi*
3SG REC.PFV water drink
'He drank water'

(1b) *a tɛ baa ji mi nin*
3SG REC.PFV.NEG water drink NEG
'He drank water'

(2a) *á ye gwɔ!*
2PL IMP leave
'Leave (you all)!'

(2b) *á kana gwɔ nin!*
2PL IMP.NEG leave NEG
'Don't leave (you all)!'

(3a) *Madu ye foro lɔ*
PROP LOC field in
'Madu is in the field'

(3b) *Madu tɛ foro lɔ nin*
PROP LOC.NEG field in NEG
'Madu is not in the field'

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Slide 6

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 Bambara 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 Bambara dialects is **formally unstable**, viz. *ni(n)*, *(y)i*, *nén*

  - the range of constructions where a CF negative marker is possible **varies** among these Bambara 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

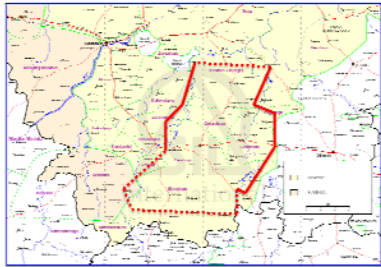
Gwandugu/Baninko Bambara of Sanso (Togola 1984)

Verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
HAB	*bé/yé (sà)*	*té (sà)*
IPFV	*yé* (O)V *lá*	*té* (O)V *lá* (*nɛ́*)
PROG	*yé káà*	*té káà* … (*nɛ́*)
FUT 1	*bɛ̂ ~ nâ*	*té ~ knâ*
FUT 2	*kɛ̀cɔ́ 'yéé* (O)V	?
FUT 3.INTR	?	V-*cɔ́(ɔ́ n)té*
PFV.REC.TR	*yé báá* OV	*té báá* OV (*nɛ́*)
PFV.REC.INTR	V-*ɔ́ yé*	V-*ɔ́ té* (*nɛ́*) / *mà* V
PFV	*yáá*	*mà*
SUBJ	*lá / ná*	*kàná* V (*nɛ́*)
IMP	∅	

Non-verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
LOC/EXIST	*yé*	*té* … (*nɛ́*)
IDENT 1	*yé'ɛ́*	*té'ɛ́* (*nɛ́*)
IDENT 2	*dò*	*té*
EQUAT	*yé* … *lé*	*té* … *lé* (*nɛ́*)

Qualitative verbal PMs

Affirmative	Negative
ká / yáá	*mà*

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)

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 Bambara of Sanso (Togola 1984)

Verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
HAB	*bé/yé (sà)*	*té (sà)*
IPFV	*yé* (O)V *lá*	*té* (O)V *lá* (*nɛ́*)
PROG	*yé káà*	*té káà* … (*nɛ́*)
FUT 1	*bɛ̂ ~ nâ*	*té ~ knâ*
FUT 2	*kɛ̀cɔ́ 'yéé* (O)V	?
FUT 3.INTR	?	V-*cɔ́(ɔ́ n)té*
PFV.REC.TR	*yé báá* OV	*té báá* OV (*nɛ́*)
PFV.REC.INTR	V-*ɔ́ yé*	V-*ɔ́ té* (*nɛ́*) / *mà* V
PFV	*yáá*	*mà*
SUBJ	*lá / ná*	*kàná* V (*nɛ́*)
IMP	∅	

Non-verbal PMs

	Affirmative	Negative
LOC/EXIST	*yé*	*té* … (*nɛ́*)
IDENT 1	*yé'ɛ́*	*té'ɛ́* (*nɛ́*)
IDENT 2	*dò*	*té*
EQUAT	*yé* … *lé*	*té* … *lé* (*nɛ́*)

Qualitative verbal PMs

Affirmative	Negative
ká / yáá	*mà*

CF negatives in southern dialects

- Comparing 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 *bɛ*** (and possible in constructions with the new affirmative marker *yé*)
  - CFNeg is **disprefered** 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(n)*** (irrespective of whether negating PFV or qualitative verbs and whether the corresponding affirmative marker is innovative or not)

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 *yé*

- 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)

CF negatives in southern dialects: history

- the **source meaning** of the CF negative marker *ni(n)/(y)i/nɛ́n* 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'**

- this adverb '(n)ever' may go back to a root **'one'**, such as Jeri and Ligbi *díe(n)* 'one' (Western Mande), which in Jeri is also often reduplicated, viz. *dì.díeŋ, dìn.díeŋ, rì.díeŋ* (Kastenholz 2002:86)
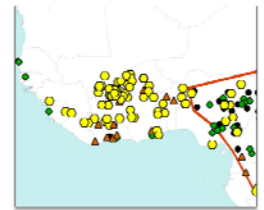
CF negatives in southern dialects: history

- **at least in part**, the development of CF negative markers in southern Bambara dialects is likely to be due to **contact** with the **Senufo** (Gur) languages

  - CF negatives are common in Senufo, such as *mé* in Supyire (Carlson 1994), which is adjacent to the Bambara dialects in question

  - CF negatives are innovation of these Bambara dialects

  - the core area of CF negative marking among the Bambara dialects is Ganadugu, which borders on Supyire

  - it is known that Bambara speakers have moved into this area relatively recent and the dialects of the area must have had important Senufo substrate

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 (also in Mande).

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

- 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