

# AN AREAL TYPOLOGY OF CLAUSE-FINAL NEGATION MARKERS IN NORTHERN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND THEIR HISTORICAL RELATION WITH PHASAL POLARITY EXPRESSIONS

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- Clause-final negation markers (**CFNMs**):
  - typologically rare
  - found in a very wide range of languages of northern sub-Saharan Africa (NSSA)

(cf. Dryer 2009, Beyer 2009, Idiatov 2010, 2012, 2015 and Devos & van der Auwera 2013)

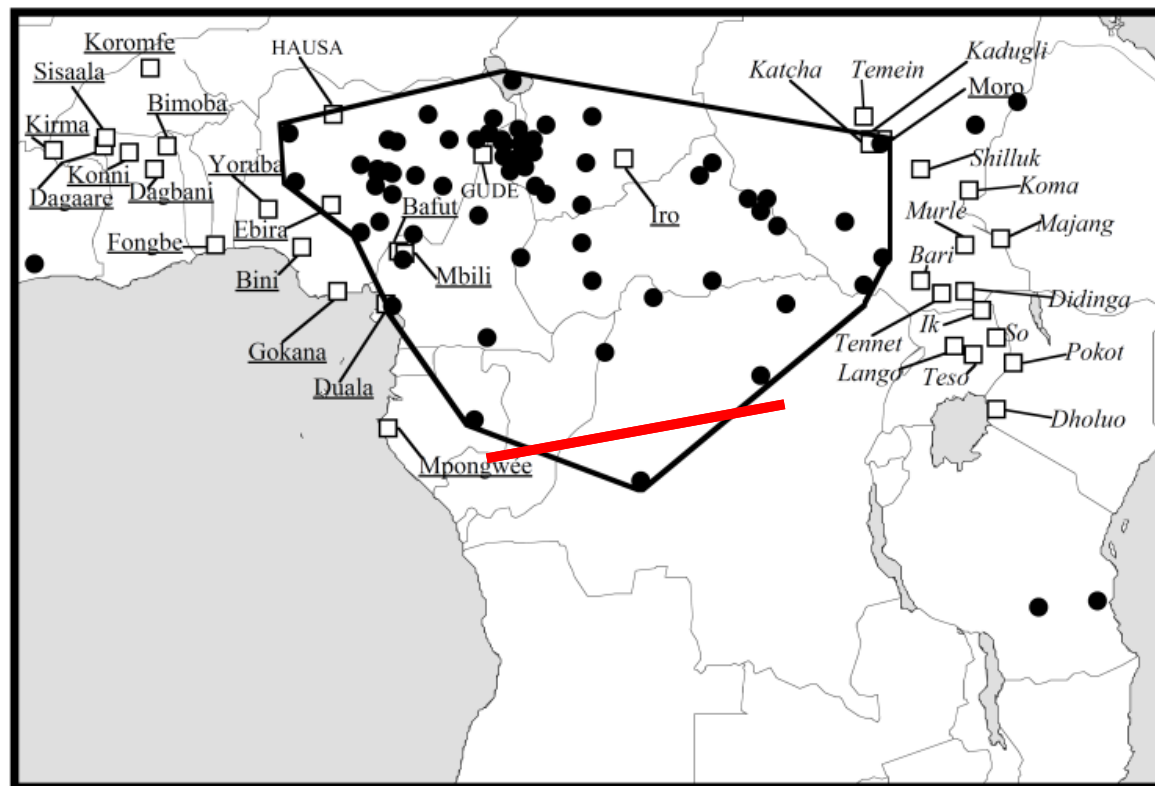
- CFNMs tend to occupy **the same constructional slot** as phasal polarity expressions (PPEs)
- Strong **semantic** and often also **formal links** are known to exist **between PPEs and negation**
- CFNMs may be **expected** to often develop out of PPEs
- However, this expectation is **not borne out** by the available data...

- **Objective #1:** An analysis of spatio-temporal language dynamics in sub-Saharan Africa with respect to the feature CFNM
- **Objective #2:** Discuss a number of cases from Mande languages where CFNMs do happen to be historically related to PPEs



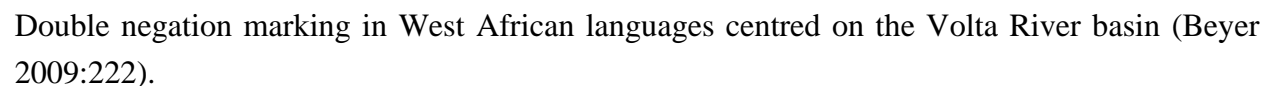
# I. An areal typology of clause-final negation in Africa

- **Dryer (2009): “neutral negation”**, i.e. obligatory and productive (general) negation marking patterns in declarative verbal main clauses expressed by negation markers that are words, in languages with SVO order in Africa

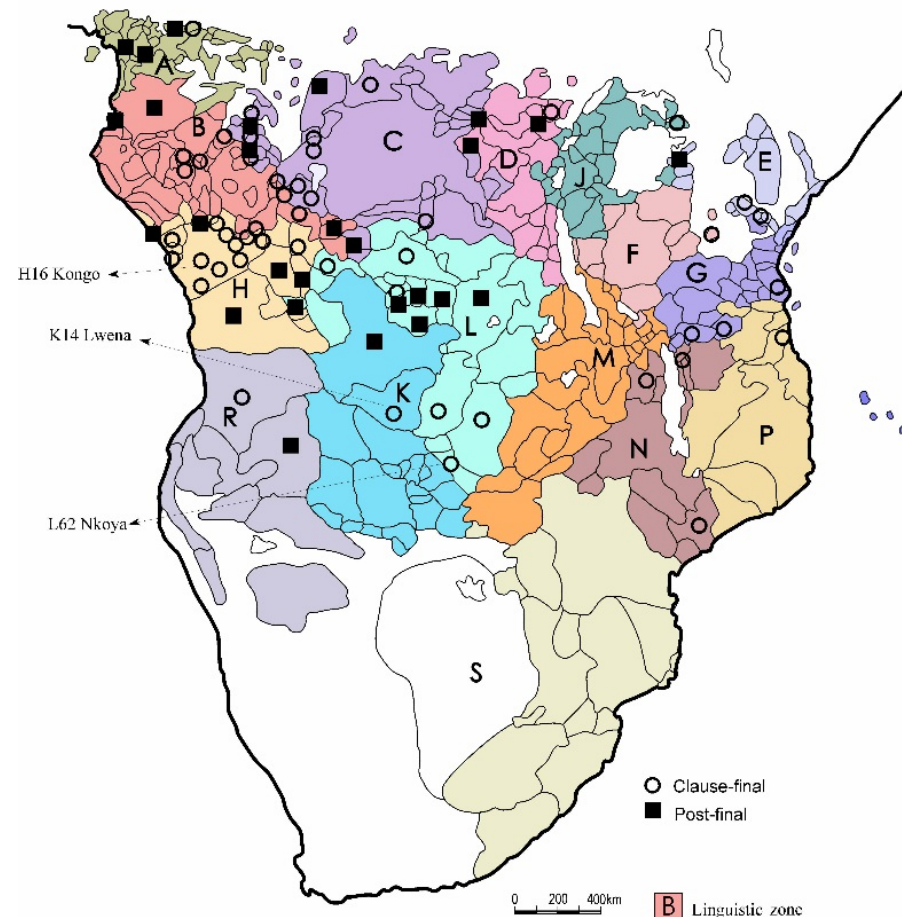


VO&VNeg languages in Africa, with their core area delineated (Dryer 2009:323)

- ## Double Negation Marking in Gur, Mande, Kwa, and Kru Languages



- **Devos & van der Auwera (2013)**: an in-depth study of multiple negation exponence in **Bantu** languages

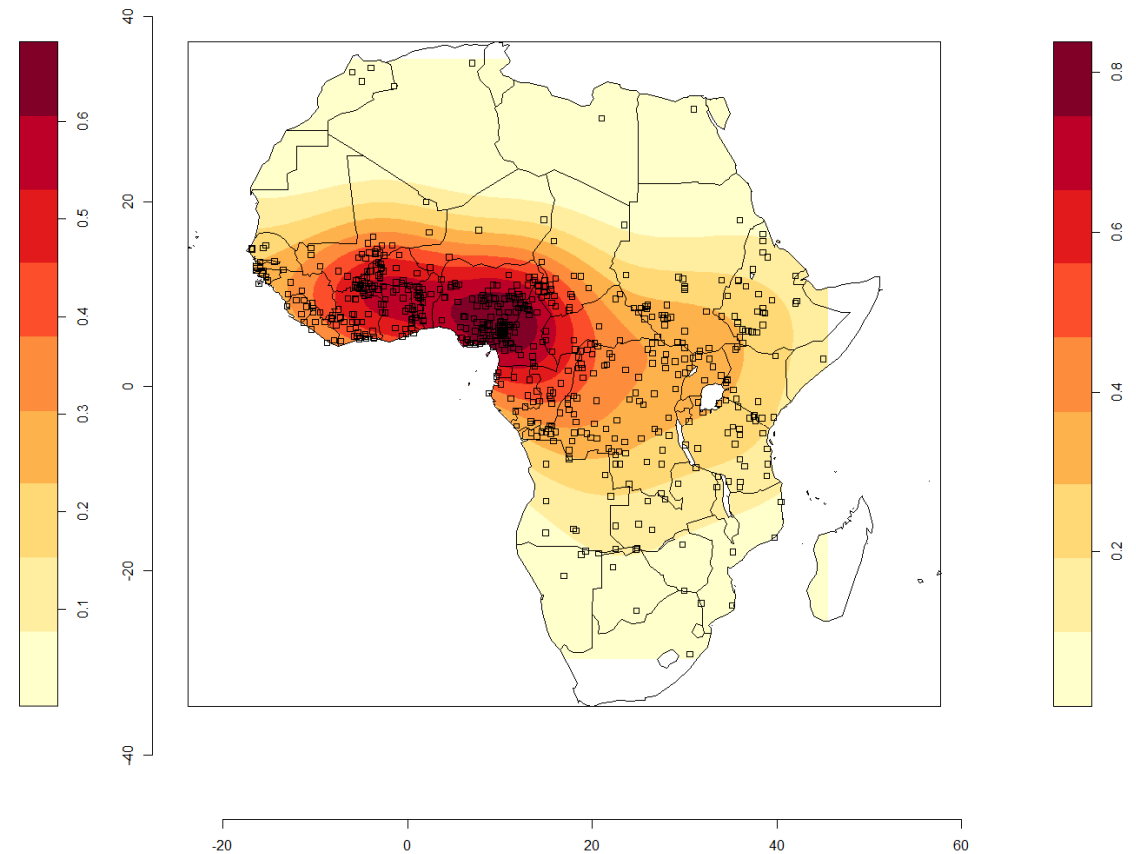
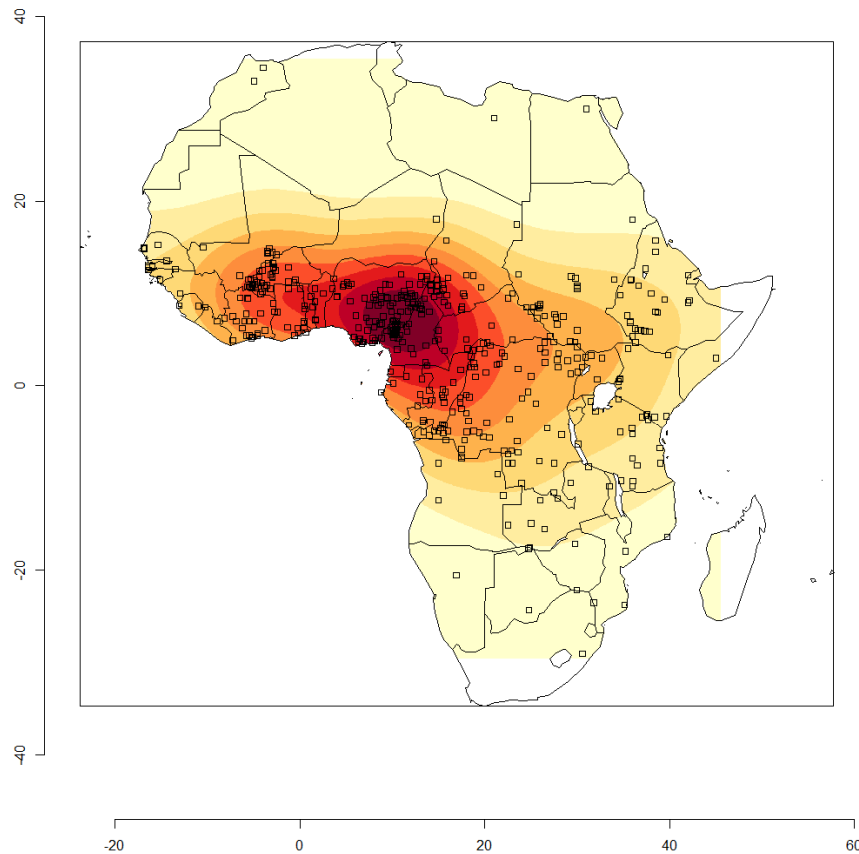


Bantu double negation (Devos & van der Auwera 2013:215)



- A sample of **618** African languages of which:
  - **452** have post-verbal negation markers (**PVNM**s) (including CFNM)s)
  - **256** have **CFNM**s

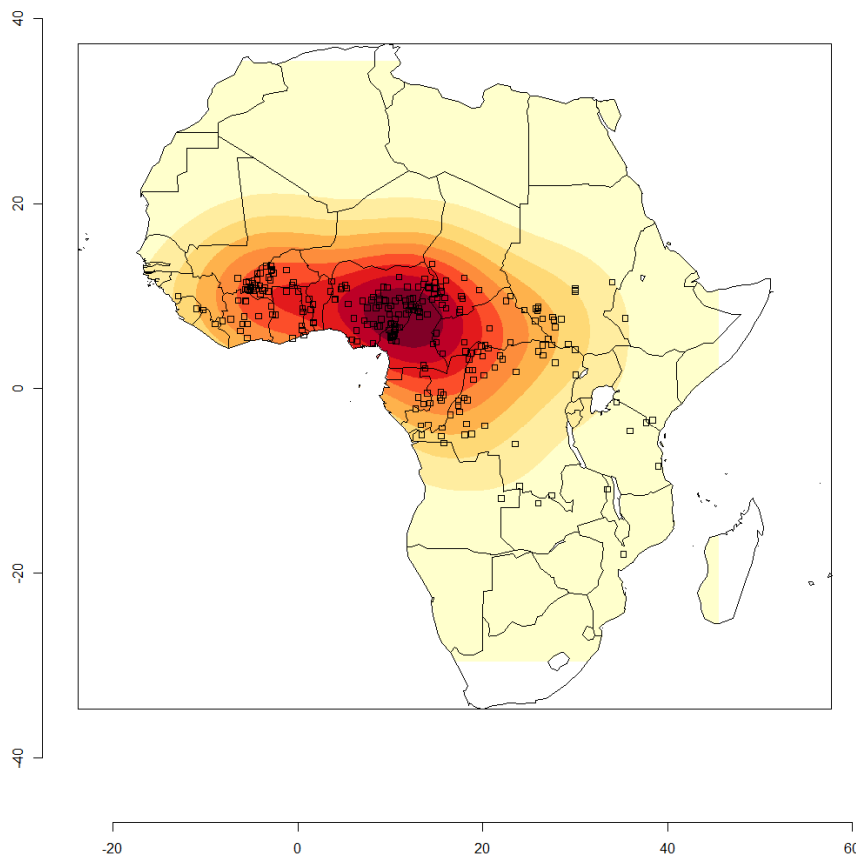
- 452 languages with **PVNMs** of any kind **do not form** any distinctive **areal pattern**



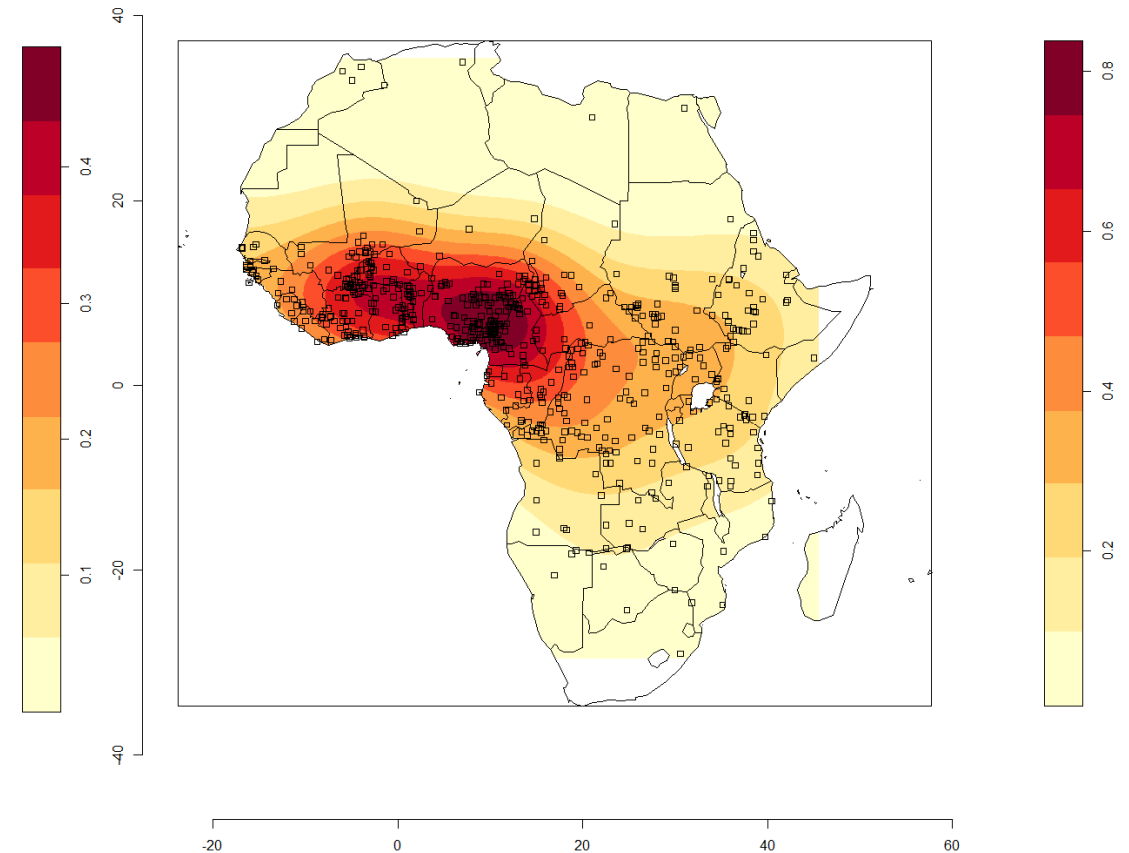
[Figure 4](#). The geographic distribution of the 462 languages of the sample **with post-verbal negation markers** and a plot of their spatial intensity

[Figure 5](#). The geographic distribution of the **618 languages of the sample** and a plot of their spatial intensity

- 256 languages **with CFNMs** of any kind **do form a clear areal pattern**

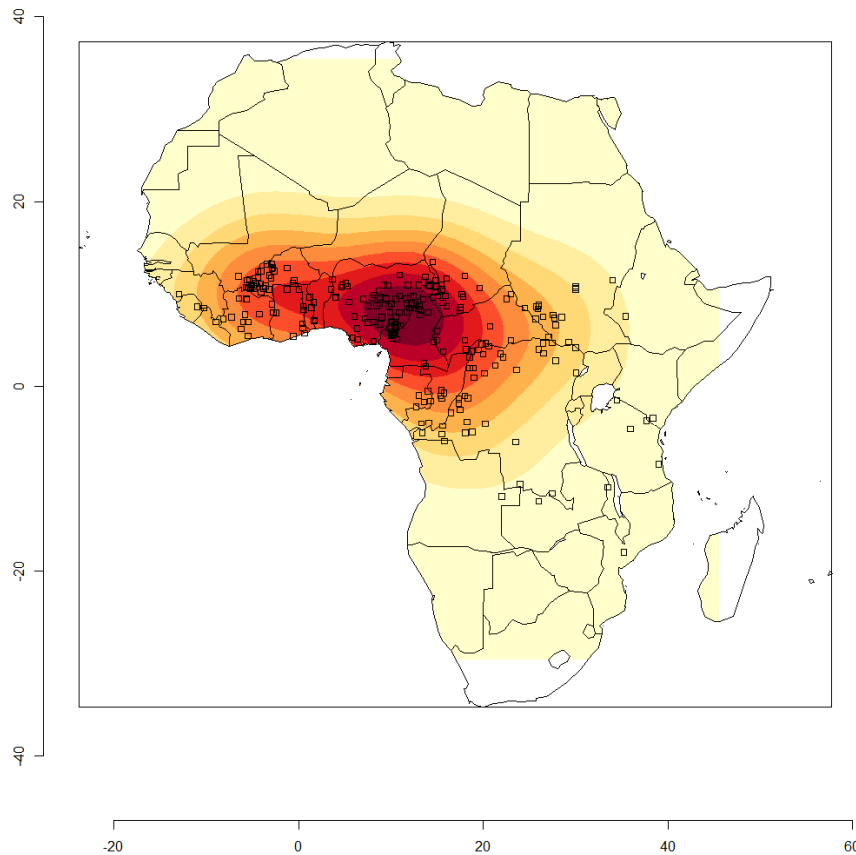


**Figure 6.** The geographic distribution of the 256 **languages with CFNMs** and their spatial intensity

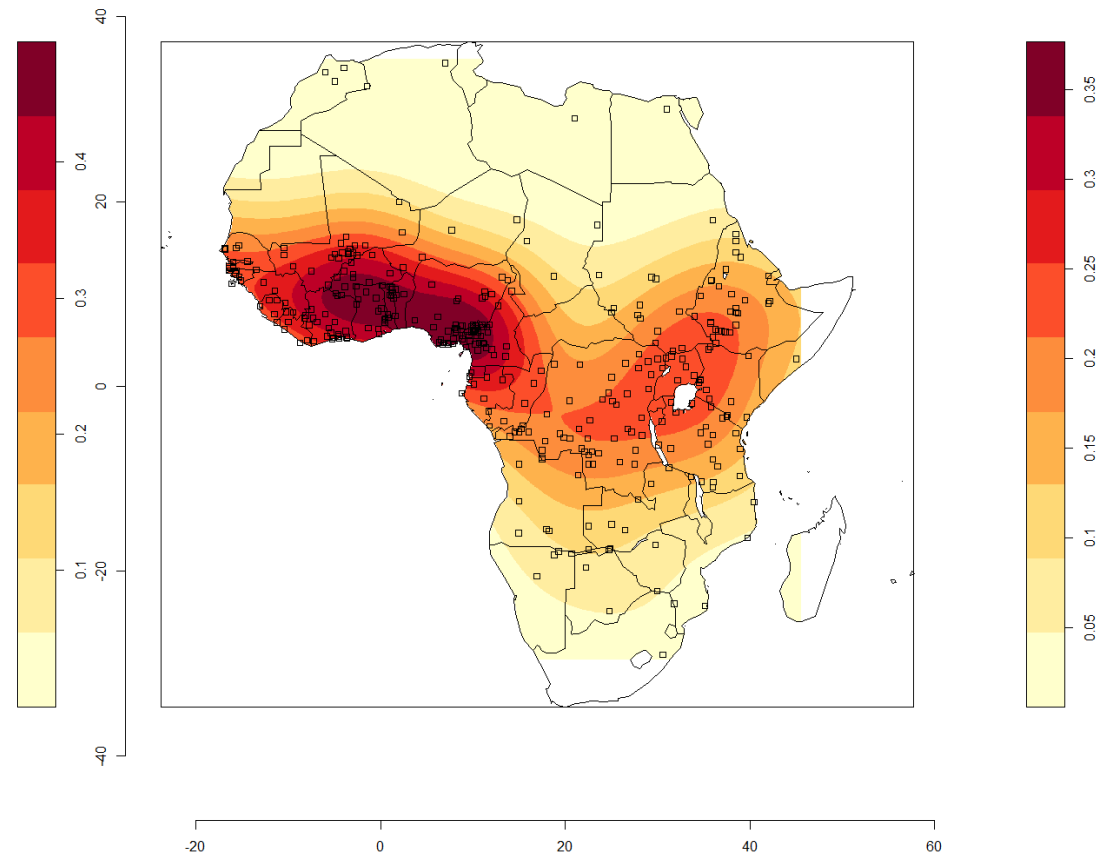


**Figure 5.** The geographic distribution of the 618 **languages of the sample** and a plot of their spatial intensity

- Languages **with CFNMs** vs languages **without CFNMs**



[Figure 6](#). The geographic distribution of the 256 **languages with CFNMs** and their spatial intensity



[Figure 7](#). The geographic distribution of the 362 **languages without CFNMs** and their spatial intensity

- Typologically peculiar morphosyntax and diachrony of CFNMs in sub-Saharan Africa
  - Associated with **multiple negative exponence** (double, sometimes triple or even quadruple)
  - Often **morphosyntactically deficient** as compared to the more canonical grammatical markers in being optional or lacking in some types of clauses as conditioned by their:
    - TAM value
    - main/subordinate status
    - information structure and associated speech act type
    - text genre
  - Diachronically rather **unstable**
  - relatively **easy borrowable**, unlike negators in other parts of the world but like discourse markers, focus particles and **PPEs** (cf. Matras 2009)

## Dzuun (Western Mande; Mali, Burkina-Faso; Solomiac 2007)

- A **variety of CFNMs**, in combination with a pre-V negative AUX-like markers. The most common and semantically **neutral CFNM** is ***wāā***.

bādā "jamais" byē "jamais" dē "plus" fyéū "jamais"  
 kūrāā "jamais" wāā "pas" wāārú "pas du tout"

*ḡē* '(ever) yet', *tsú* '(not X) either'

*wāārú* < \**wāā tú* (where \**tú* > *tsú* '(not X) either')

- wāā* is in **complementary distribution** with **CF particles of emphasis and polar questions**.
- wāā* is **optional or lacking** in **some constructions** (PROH, conditional subordinates).
- wāā* is sometimes lacking in **proverbs**.
- Most of the CFNMs are clear **borrowings** from Jula, while *wāā* is probably a borrowing from Bobo.(cf. Idiatov 2015)

- **Morphosyntactic properties** of negation constructions **differ**:
  - across languages
  - within a given language from one predicative construction to another.
- Depending on our goals and means we can **cut up this variation space in different ways**.

- An **inclusive definition**: synchronic **diversity** as a window on **language change**
- Jespersen Cycle (cf. van der Auwera 2009, 2010 for a general overview and Devos & van der Auwera 2013 on Bantu languages)
  - proceeds through a number of stages
  - most intermediate stages characterized by variation
  - related languages do not proceed on this path in exactly the same manner



I consider as **CFNMs** the elements that may be used in the right periphery of negative verbal predications with clause scope negation but that do not appear in the corresponding positive predications and whose position is determined with respect to the clause as a whole.

- not confined to double negation-marking
- not confined to markers that mark negation only
- the degree of morphological bounding of CFNMs is not relevant
- not restricted to the negation of declarative verbal main clauses
  - \*Negation of nominal predicates is beyond the scope
- I consider both **obligatory** and **optional** CFNMs

- **Obligatory CFNMs:**
  - throughout
  - in a subset of negation construction
- **Optional CNFMs** are considered in so far as:
  - their addition does not change the **propositional meaning** of the negative predication
  - the constraints on their use are conditioned primarily by **structural properties of their environment** rather than their meaning
- A clear-cut distinction is **not always possible**
  - language change is **gradual**
  - ‘at all’ emphatic negation markers
  - **rule of thumb:** follow the grammatical description

- **Obligatoriness in disguise of optionality:** it is the use of a negation marker in a particular slot within a negation construction that is obligatory, but not the specific negation markers
  - French (cf. van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2016)
  - Dzuun (cf. Idiatov 2015)

- The description *clause-final* in CFNM refers to the **canonical position** of the negation marker on the extreme right periphery of a clause.
- A given negation marker **need not** be in the absolute clause-final position **in every possible construction** to count as a CFNM.
- The position of the CFNM **with respect to other right periphery markers** and verbal predicate modifiers may be fixed or depend on a range of factors, such as their scope, meaning, morphosyntactic structure, length.
- A clear-cut distinction is **not always possible**
  - language change is gradual
  - relevant examples are lacking

- The relative order of object and verb is **not relevant** (unlike Dryer 2009)
- VO and OV order may present **different types of analytic problems**
- In Africa unlike elsewhere, **post-O negation markers** are usually **also CF** (cf. Dryer 2009:319)

- African languages with **OV order and a post-V negation** marker:
  - OVX Neg (mostly Mande) → **CFNM**
  - OV & XV & V Neg (Afro-Asiatic except Chadic; Saharan, Fur, Nubian; Dogon; Ijoid) → Neg usually best analysed not as CF but as **PV**

- The patterns of geographic distribution of the languages of the sample are basically **point patterns** which show:
  - the overall extent of the pattern
  - the regions of concentration of the two types of languages
- This binary representation **hides important diversity**
- We need to **increase the degree of granularity** of our data
- **Two parameters:**
  - obligatoriness of CFNMs
  - constructional freedom of CFNMs



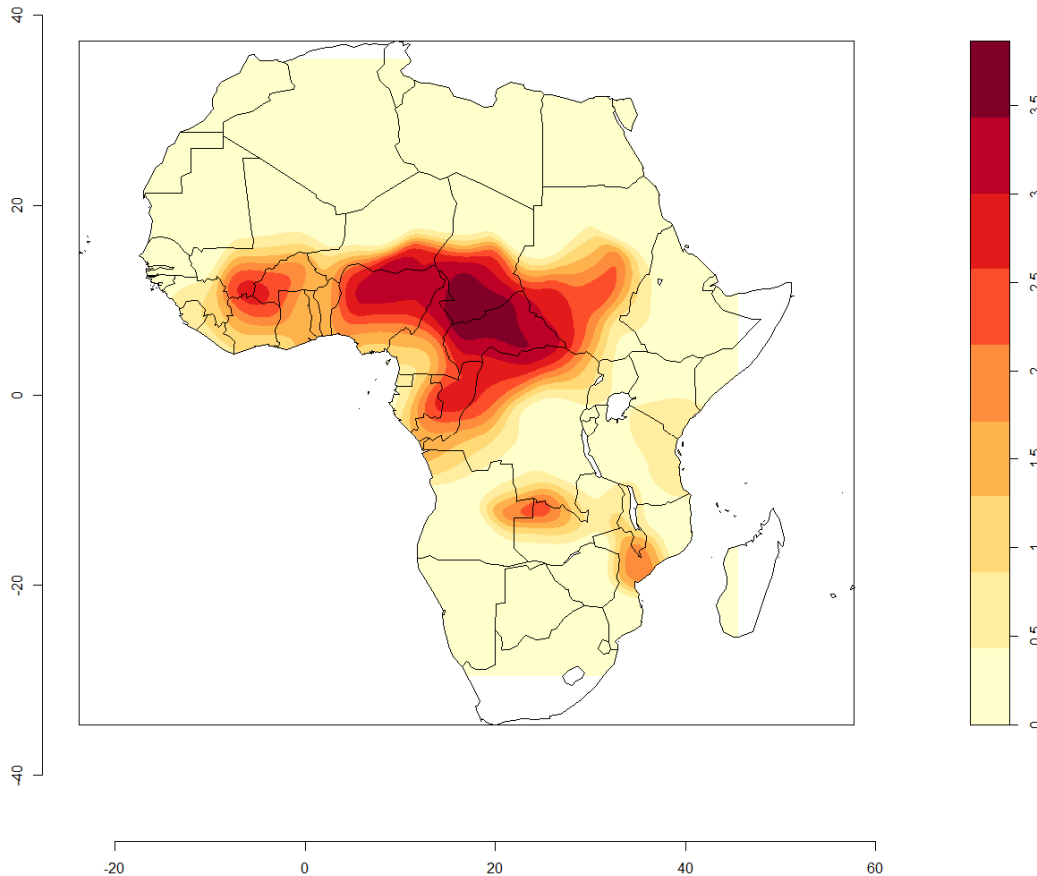


Table 1. Constructional restrictions and optionality: two ranking options

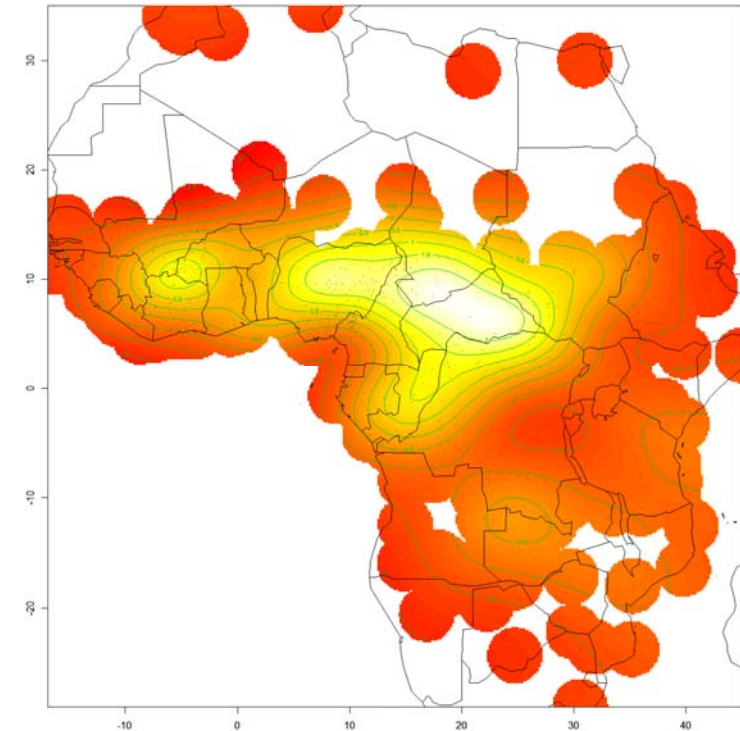
Constructional freedom highest	Constructional freedom	Obligatoriness	Obligatoriness highest	Number of languages
0	no CFNMs		0	328
0.5	unclear		0.5	34
1	restricted	optional	1	7
3	unrestricted	optional	2	22
2	restricted	obligatory	3	31
4	unrestricted	obligatory	4	196

- Either of the two parameters could be ranked first
- For this particular distribution, both options produce **very similar results**
- A principled preference for ranking **obligatoriness highest**: obligatoriness as the defining property of **grammatical meanings** (cf. Idiatov 2008)
- CFNMs that are both obligatory and free of constructional restrictions are **canonical grammatical markers** (in the sense of canonical typology, cf. Brown, Chumakina & Corbett 2013)
- The classification **classifies languages**, not CFNMs

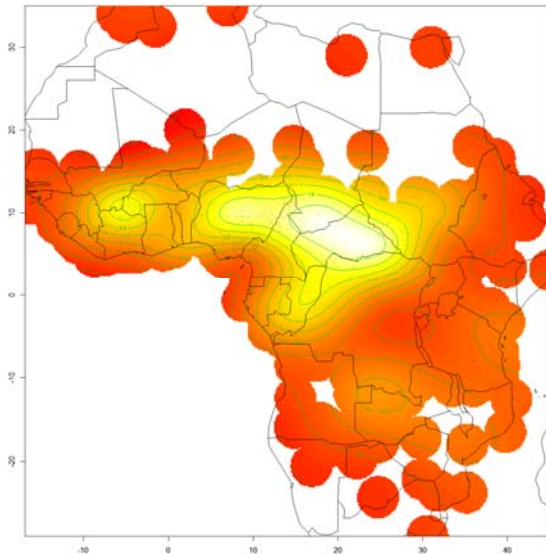
- **Two methods** of spatial analysis and visualization:
  - spatial interpolation
  - generalized additive modelling (GAM)
- The two **methods converge** on the same spatial pattern of the feature CFNM



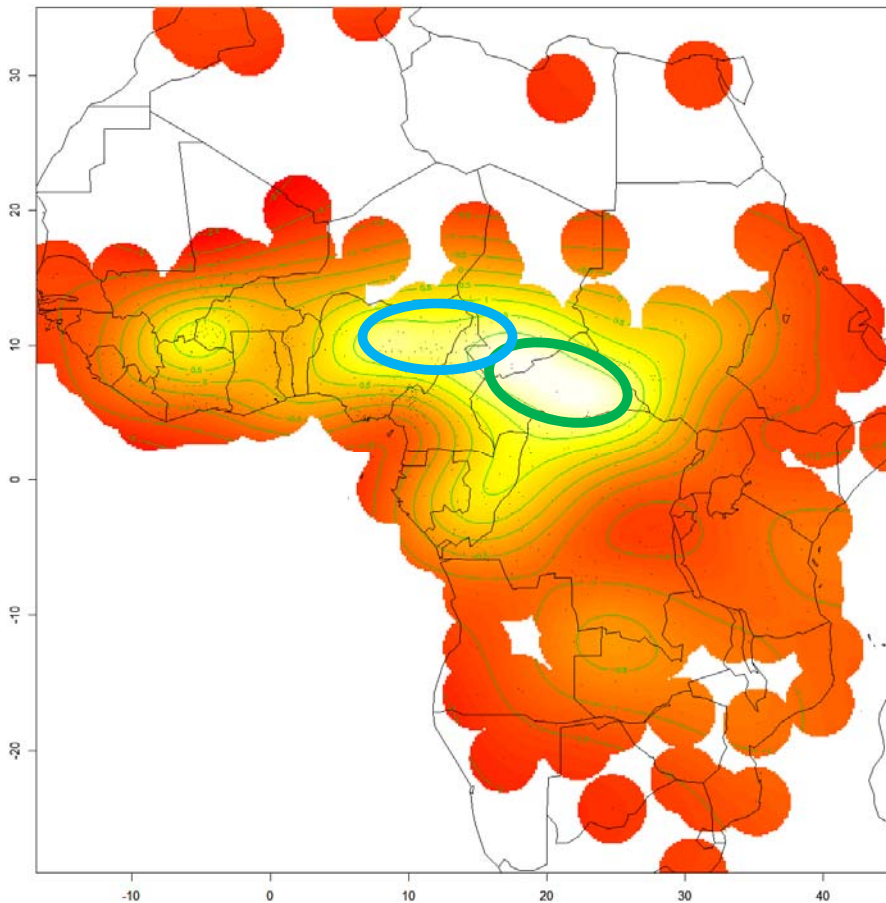
**Figure 8.** The spatial interpolation graphic of the different values of the feature CFNM using Gaussian kernel smoothing (the default bandwidth value adjusted by 1.3)



**Figure 10.** A contour plot with the heat map colour scheme visualizing a GAM produced using Scheme 1 for coding of the feature CFNM (k=13, family = Gaussian, edf = 41.73,  $p < 2e-16$ , deviance explained = 43.7%, AIC = 2234)



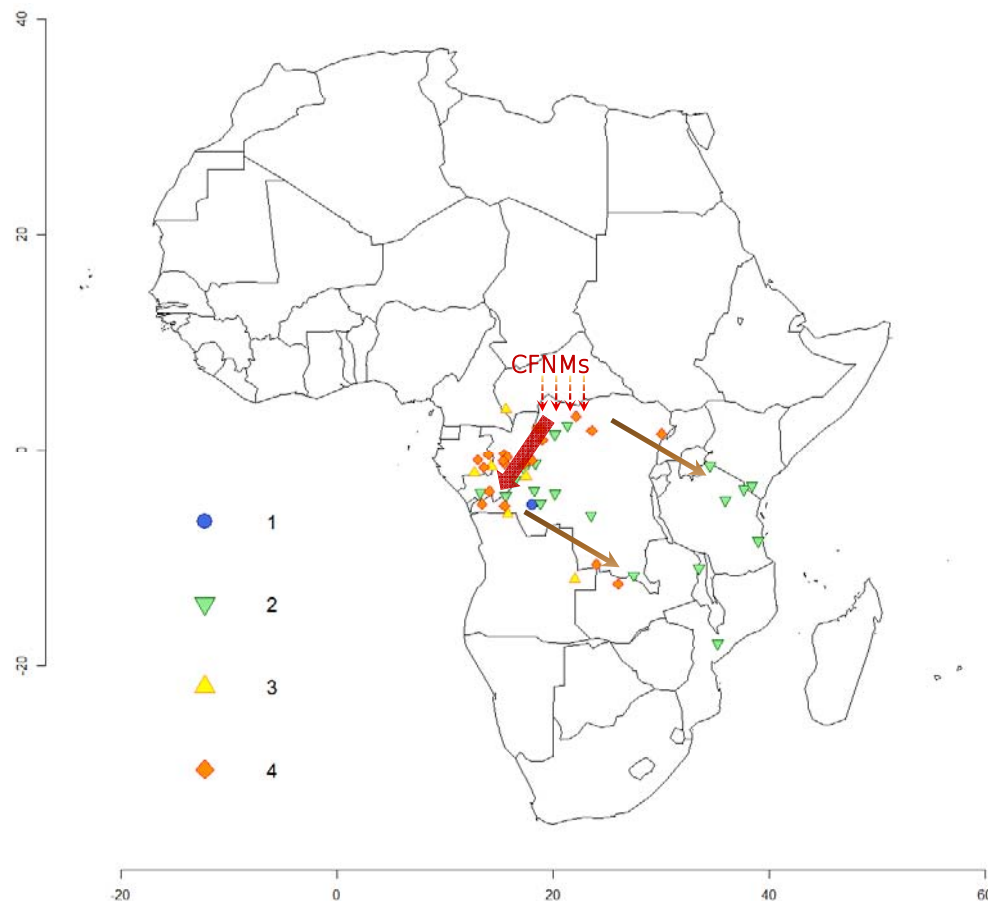
- **Two focal areas:**
  - the Central Focal Area (**CFA**) – **primary**
  - the Western Focal Area (**WFA**) – **secondary**
- Separated by a **major discontinuity** around Ghana, Togo and Benin



(Idiatov to appear)

- The prominent region in southern Chad and the CAR **cannot be the historical core** of the CFA
- The **primary historical core of the CFA** is situated immediately to the northwest of the CAR along the Benue River corridor going from southern Chad through northern Cameroon into central Nigeria

- The prominent region in southern Chad and the CAR served as the **source for the spread** of the feature CFNM **among Bantu** languages further south



[Figure 19](#). The suggested direction of spread of the use of CFNMs in Bantu from a major focal area of CFNMs use in northern Central Africa into the Congo River corridor and the two secondary prominence zones.



Idiatov (2012, in preparation)

- **CF position** of CFNMs: their origin in other clause-final markers
- **High frequency** of CNFMs **in the area**: common presence of a **grammatical category of clause-final markers** whose core function is the expression of **intersubjective** meanings
- The grammatical category of intersubjective CF markers = a **conventionalization** of a particular **conversational strategy**:

Express your awareness of and engagement with the addressee's attitudes and beliefs when your assertive authority may be at stake!

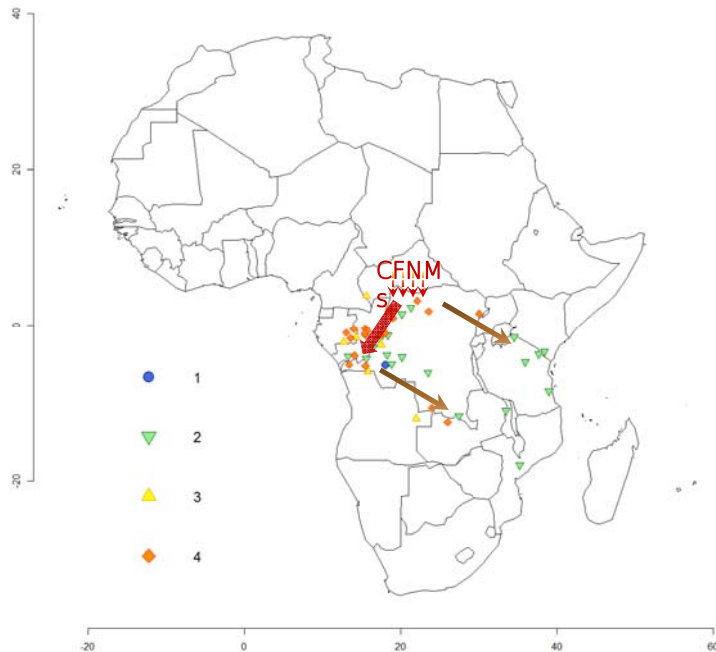


- Combined with the fact that **negation** is one of those situations when “the **speaker’s assertive authority** is at stake and a special effort is needed to win over the hearer’s confidence” (cf. Matras 2007:67; Miestamo 2005:209), the **use of intersubjective CF** markers will be **frequent with negation** in these languages

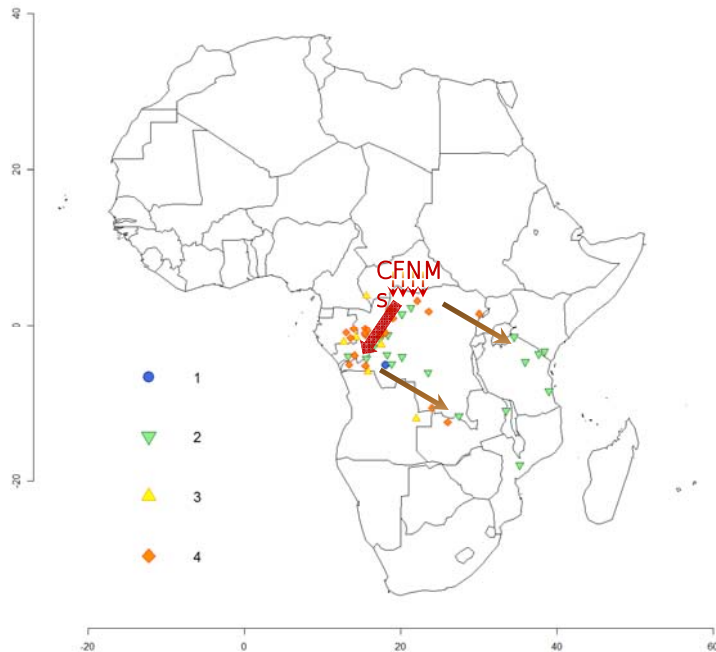
“It appears that at least subjectification and perhaps pragmatic intersubjectification are involved in the early development of the Jespersen Cycle.”

(Traugott 2010)

- Frequency  $\Rightarrow$  **conventionalization**
- This explanation **accounts naturally for** all the typologically **unusual features** of the CFNM in NSSA



- CFNM in Bantu results from a **spread from the CFA**
- CFNM in Bantu tend to develop through somewhat **different pathways** than elsewhere
- These pathways are:
  - **less likely** to lead to **constructional restrictions**
  - **more likely** to result in **optional CFNMs**

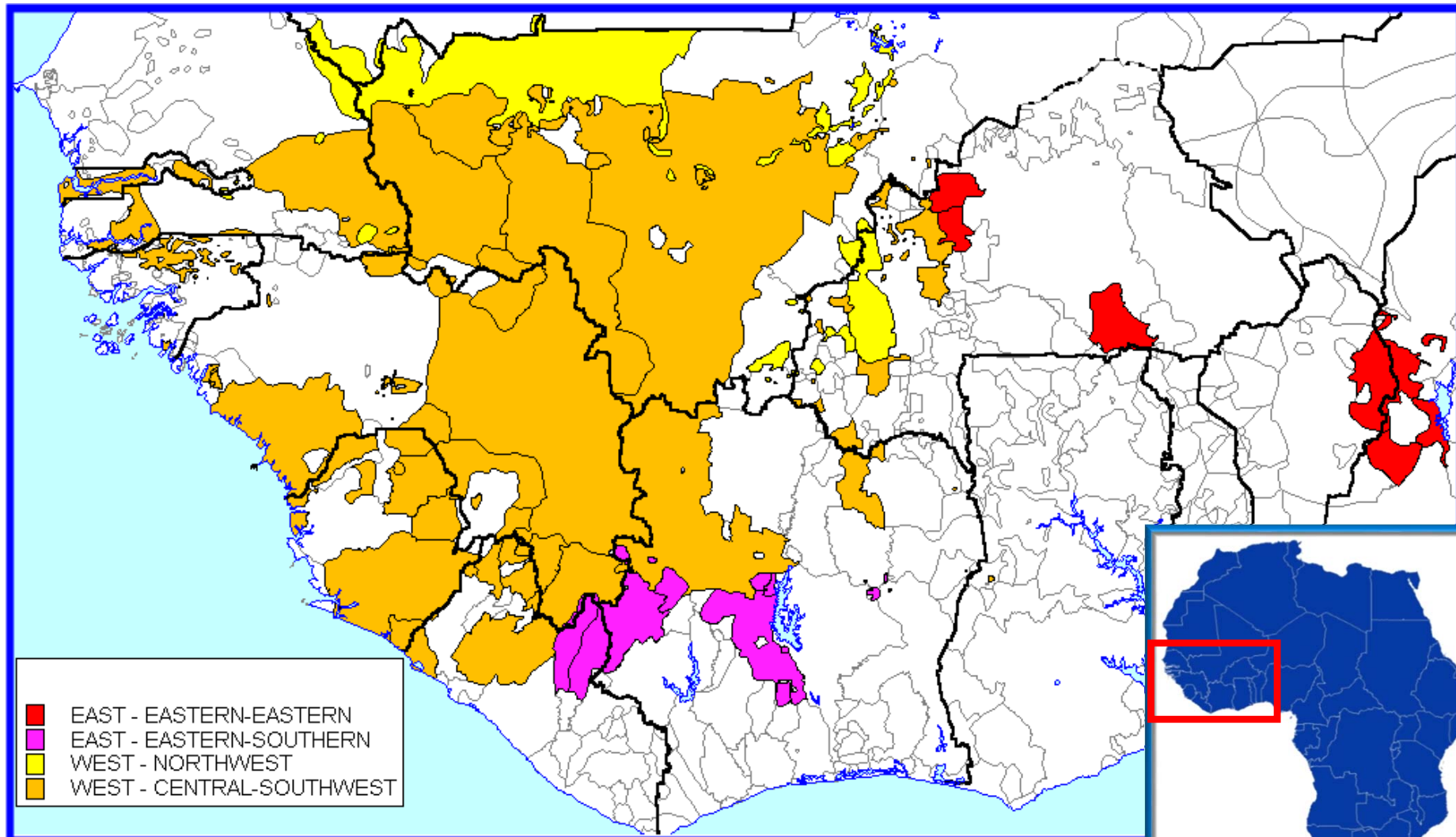


- The same sources of CFNM as in Bantu are **rarely attested in NSSA**

- locative pronouns
- possessive pronouns
- negative (answer) particles

(cf. Devos & van der Auwera 2013)

## II. CFNMs and PPEs: the Mande case



- In sub-Saharan Africa, PPEs rarely develop into **default CFNM**
- This may be a **more broad cross-linguistic generalization** about any kind of default NMs (e.g., French has generalized *pas* and not *plus*)
- CFNMs originating in PPEs expressions tend to remain restricted to certain **TAM constructions**

- CFNMs originating in PPEs expressions tend to be restricted to TAM constructions with **perfective semantics**
- **Tura** (Southeastern Mande, Côte d'Ivoire): **Negative Perfect construction** [NEG.PFV + (O) V + **CFNM *bhê***]

(1) É ló' wô', òô                      nû      bhê

... 3SG.PFV.NEG come yet

‘Since he left, he has not come back (yet)’

(2) É waa' zé, à      lòó'                      òô                      mó      bhê

...3SG duration-FOC 3SG.PFV.NEG last yet

‘Not much time has passed (yet) since he arrived here’

(3) Móó                      à      yê      dô      bhê

1SG.PFV.NEG 3SG see once yet

‘I have never seen him’ (lit.: ‘I have not seen him once (yet)’)

- Elsewhere *bhê* is an adverbial meaning ‘there is, being in existence, extant’

(1) Pôñê            ké        bhê  
something    COP    there.is  
‘There is something’

(2) Pôñê            àà                    bhê  
something    3SG.NEG.COP    there.is  
‘There is nothing’



- When PPEs do evolve **into default CFNMs**, this **evolution is not direct** and necessarily proceeds through:
  - the addition of an **indefinite semantic component** (such as ‘not yet’ > ‘not ever yet, not on any occasion yet’)
  - the development of the implicature of an **intersubjective operator** processing hearer-sided expectations and presuppositions (such as ‘not ever yet, not on any occasion yet’ > ‘not at all, really not’)

(Idiatov 2015)

- The PPE **\*kè ‘yet; still’** as the source of the default CFNMs in **some Samogo languages** (Western Mande): Jo *kĩ*, Seen *ɲè*, and probably Kpeen *nè* or *nĩ*.
- The PPE **\*kè ‘yet; still’** itself most likely goes back to an **indefinite determiner** ‘a certain, some, any’ whose **reflexes** are found throughout Mande:
  - Tura determiner *ké* ‘a certain, some; a little; another; again’, its adverbial derivate *ké-wó* ‘again; (no) more, (not) anymore’
  - Gban determiner *ké* ‘again, still’
  - Bokobaru determiner *kè* ‘a certain; any; none, not any’

**Dzuun** (Western Mande; Mali, Burkina-Faso; Solomiac 2007)

- A variety of CNFMs, in combination with a pre-V negative AUX-like markers. The most common and semantically neutral CNFM is *wāā*.
- One of the more specific CNFMs: *ɲē* '(ever) yet'

- (1) *dzín nǐ kéréū shē, tà kó nǐ dón nī*  
 child REL born.PFV today DEM and REL belly COP  
*ē náà jàn 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)
- (2) *tò 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)
- (3) *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)

- emergence of uses with an **overtone of universal quantification**:  
'(not) yet' → '(not) ever yet', 'never (yet)'
- **weakening of the temporal directionality**: 'ever yet', 'never (yet)'  
→ 'never'
- further bleaching of the temporal semantics and strengthening of  
the **implicature of an intersubjective operator** processing hearer-  
sided expectations and presuppositions: 'never' → 'not at all'
- **weakening of the implicature of an intersubjective operator**: 'not  
at all' → a default CFNM