On the history of clause-final negation in the Mande languages of the Bani - upper Mouhoun rivers area

Dmitry Idiatov

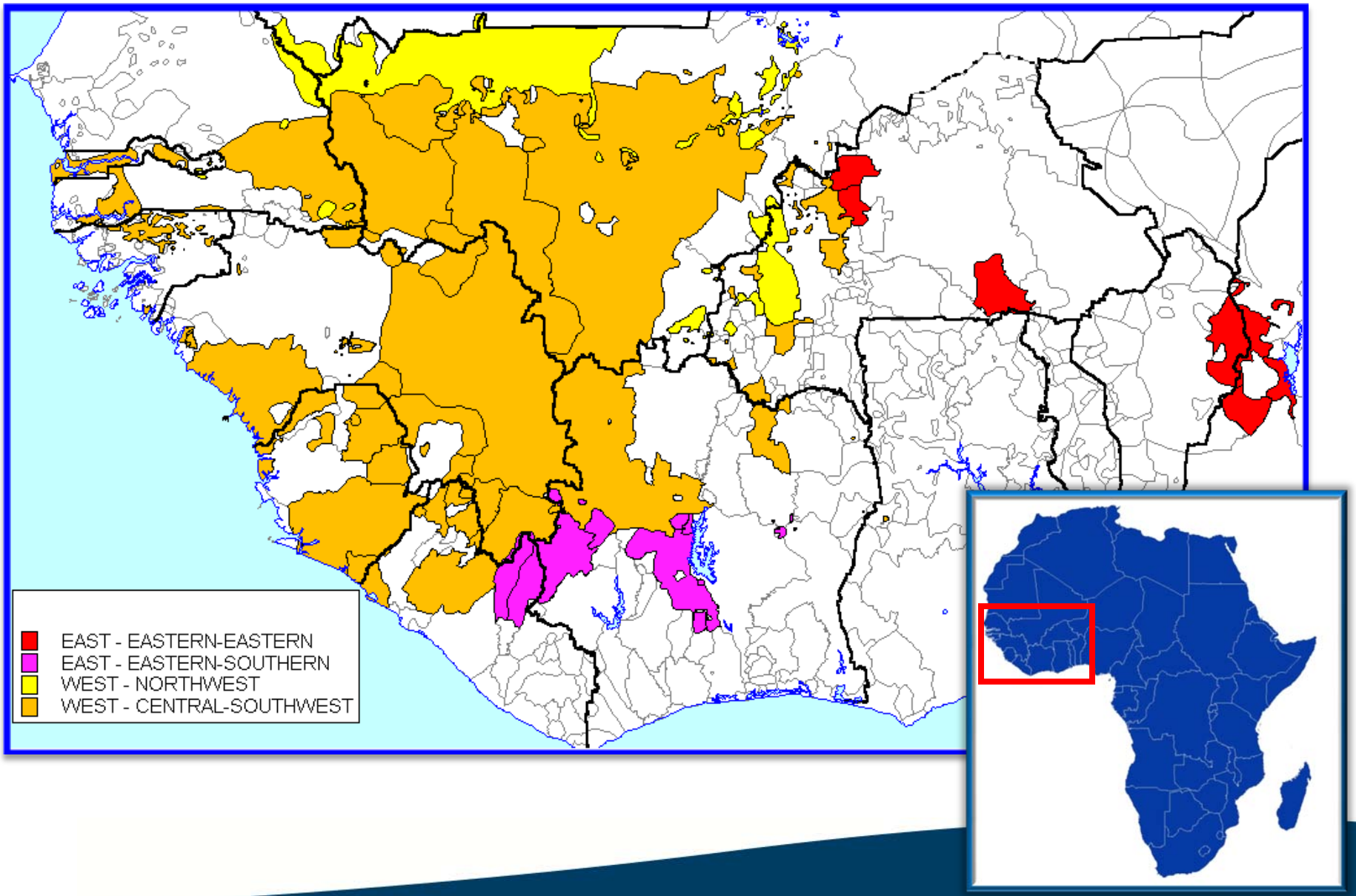
LLACAN - CNRS

UMR8135 CNRS INaLCO
Centre André-Georges Haudricourt
7 rue Guy Môquet 94801 Villejuif Cedex - France

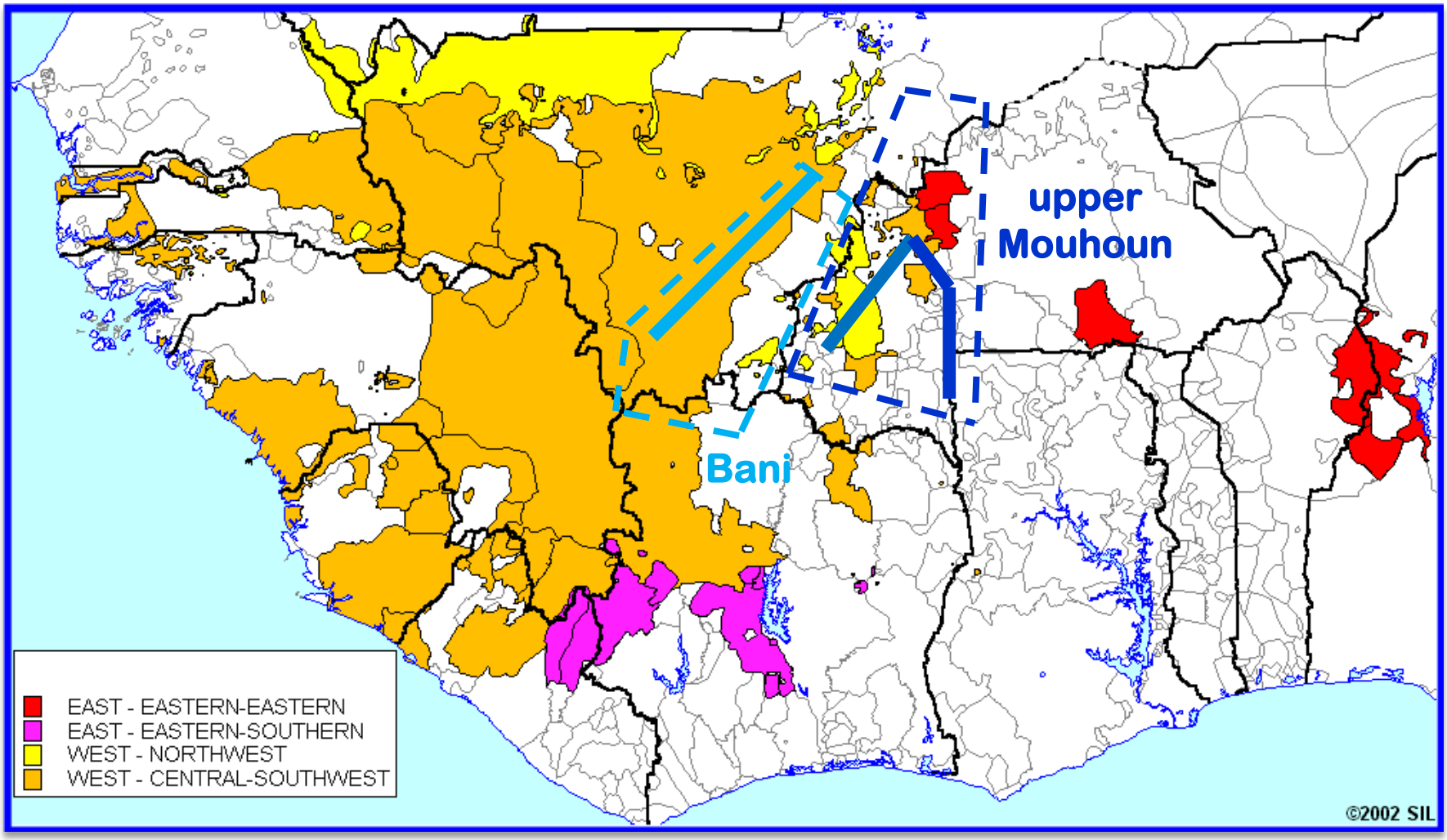
http://llacan.vjf.cnrs.fr/

idiatov@vjf.cnrs.fr

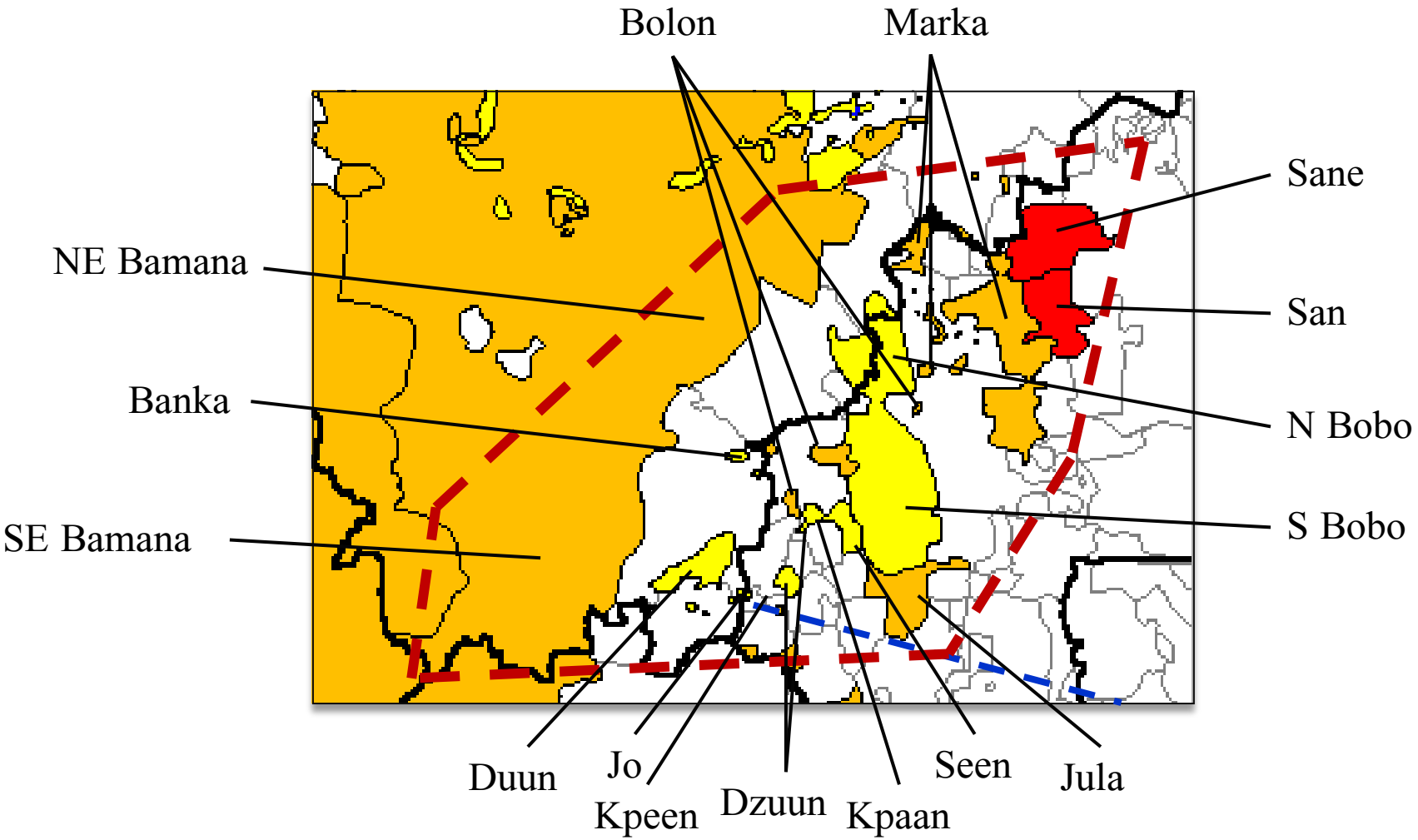
Mande languages



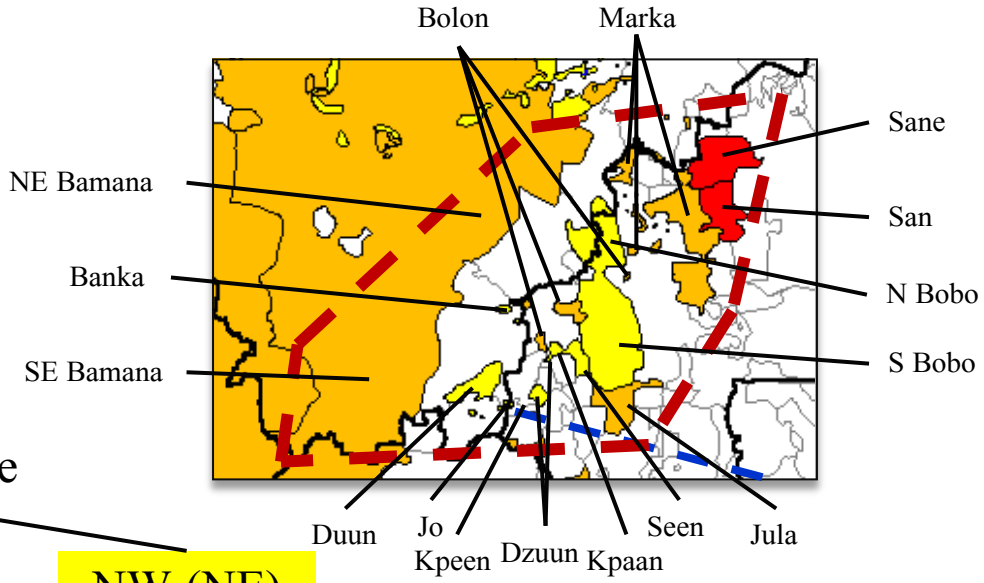
Mande languages of the BuM rivers area



Mande languages of the BuM rivers area



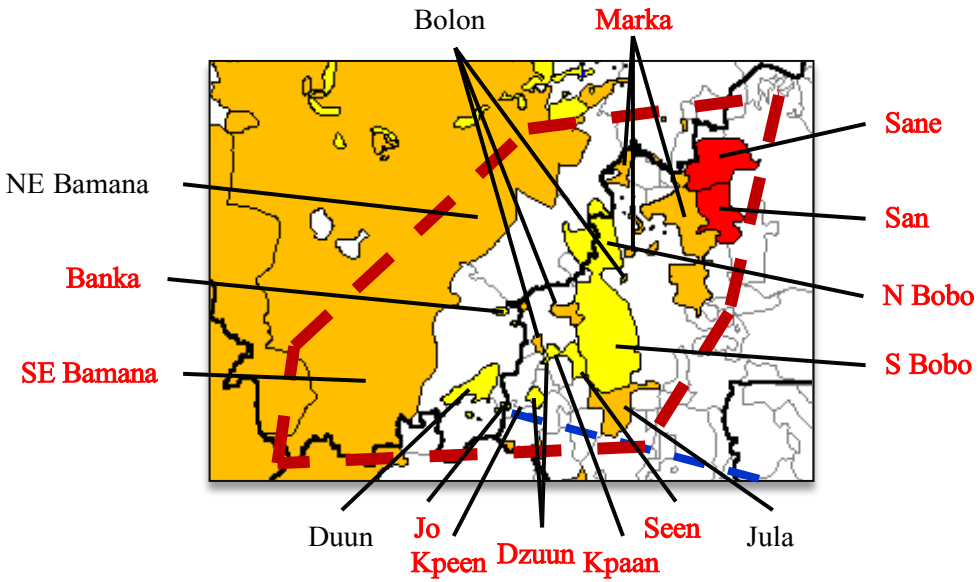
Mande languages of the BuM rivers area



- Proto-Mande
  - SE Mande
    - E Mande
      - Sane
      - San
    - S Mande
  - W Mande
    - SW-C
      - SW
      - C
        - Manding cluster
          - Bamana, Jula; Bolon; Marka
    - NW (NE)
      - Bobo & Samogo
        - Bobo
        - Samogo
          - Jo
          - Seen
          - Duun, Dzuun, Kpaan, Banka
      - Soninke-Bozo

Why the BuM Mande languages?

- Most of the relevant languages have a CFNeg marker

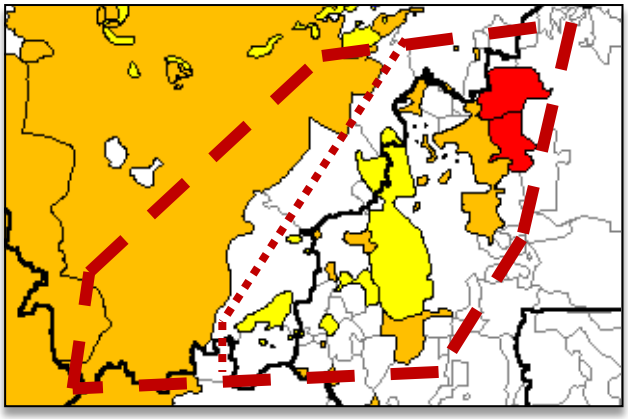


- Outside of the area:
  - W Mande rarely have a CFNeg
  - SE Mande normally have a CFNeg

Why the BuM Mande languages?

- Some particularly instructive examples of CFNegs typical for a much larger area in NSSA, both in terms of their history and the features they show

- Bani vs. upper Mouhoun



Features of the CFNegs in this area

- Associated with **multiple negative exponence** (double and sometimes triple)
- 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 phasal adverbs (cf. Matras 2009)

Dzuun (Solomiac 2007)

- There is a variety of CFNeg particles, in combination with a pre-V negative auxiliary-like markers. The most common and the most neutral in its semantics CFNeg is *wāā*.

bādā "jamais" **byɛ̄** "jamais" **dɛ̄** "plus" **fyéū** "jamais"
kūrāā "jamais" **wāā** "pas" **wāārú** "pas du tout"

  - \+ at least 2 other similar CFNegs

    ŋ̄ɛ̄ '(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 CFNeg particles are clear borrowings from Jula, while *wāā* is probably a borrowing from Bobo.

The histories of the CFNegs based on…

- Morphosyntactic peculiarities of the CFNegs
- Geographic distribution and formal and morphosyntactic variation
- Consideration of possible contact phenomena
- Known history of the sociolinguistic situation of the relevant languages (migrations, language shifts, prestige, etc.)

SE Bamana dialects (Idiatov 2012)

- CFNeg *ni(n)/(y)i/nén* are found in a **compact group of SE Bamana dialects** in addition to a negative marker earlier in the clause (immediately following the subject), which they share with the other Bamana dialects.

- The CFNeg *ni(n)/(y)i/nén* is an **innovation** specific to the dialects in question.

- This CFNeg go back to an iterative frequency adverbial with free-choice semantics, viz. something like **'at any time (not), on any occasion (not)'**

- The adverbial is cognate to Mandinka ***néné*** **'(n)ever; once, at one time, at a certain moment'** (Western Manding) and itself goes back to the referential form of the numeral **'one'** ****ǹ-tá***

- The development from the adverbial to the CFNeg is best analyzed as a case of **contact-induced evolution** modeled on the neighboring Senufo languages

- The **initial transfer** of the pattern occurred when Senufo speakers shifted to Bamana

Bobo – Samogo A (Dzuun, Kpaan & Banka)

- Bobo CFNegs:
  - **N Bobo** (Prost 1983): *kɔ̄/gɔ̄/ɣɔ̄*
  - **Sya S Bobo** (Le Bris & Prost 1981): *gá / ŋg̲á (V̲_)*
  - **Benge/Sya S Bobo** (Morse 1976): *=ga / =ŋg̲a (V̲_) /=ɣa (a_)* with M (L_) or M/H (M_, H_)
  - **Benge S Bobo** (Sanou 1978): *kpá* ("simple negation", apparently as opposed to more specific markers, comparable to Dzuun wāā)
- An earlier form of the Bobo CFNeg: ˚*kɔ́(r)à* or ˚*kwâ* (with optional voiced and labiovelarized allomorphs)
- Samogo A CFNegs:
  - **Dzuun** (Solomiac 2007): *wāā*
  - **Kpaan** (Hochstetler 1994; Kastenholz 2002): *ũ, w̃*
  - **Banka** (Kastenholz 2002): *má*

Bobo – Samogo A (Dzuun, Kpaan & Banka)

- ***kúrà*** **‘(n)ever (NEG)’**:
  - ***kútà** ‘new, recent’ > ‘recently’ > ‘from now/then on (AFF); (not) anymore (NEG)’ > ‘(n)ever (NEG)’
  - Dzuun *kūrāā* ‘never’
  - Susu CF or CI *kɔ̀rɛ́* ‘henceforth, from now/then on (AFF); (not) anymore, (n)ever (NEG)’
  - Bamana *kúra* ‘new’, *kó-kúrá* ‘again’
- **kúrà* ‘(n)ever (NEG)’ > CFNeg in Bobo, later **borrowed** into Samogo A
  - Dzuun *kūrāā* ‘never’ and *wāā* CFNeg represent the same etymon

Bobo – San – NE & parts of S Sane – Marka

- CFNegs:
  - **Marka** (Diallo 1988): *wá*
  - **NE Sane** (Ebermann 2009): *kɔ́*
  - **Parts of S Sane** (Ebermann 2009): *bà, wà*
  - **San** (Platiel 1974, 1990; Pare 1998): *wā* (with allomorphs *bā* and *mā*)
- Bobo CFNeg ˚*kwâ* > Sane (cf. Ebermann 2009:280)
- Bobo CFNeg ˚*kwâ* > San
- San > Marka
- later San > parts of S Sane

Parts of S Sane – C Sane

- CFNegs:
  - **Parts of S Sane** (Ebermann 2009): *yà*
  - **C Sane** (Ebermann 2009): *tɔ́*
- S Sane *yà* (CFNeg & Presentative COP) < Pana *yà* (cf. Ebermann 2009)
  - Pana *yà* : Presentative COP > "all-new utterance" FOC > CFNeg (cf. Beyer 2009, Ebermann 2009:278-9)
- C Sane *tɔ́* ≤ Pana *yà*
  - compare COP: San *tá(ŋ)*, Bisa *tá* and *tá-ú*

Samogo B (Jo, Seen & maybe Kpeen)

- CFNegs:
  - **Jo** (4 tones) (Carlson 1993): *kì*
  - **Seen** (4 tones) (Prost 1971): *ŋè*
  - **?Kpeen** (... tones?) (Zwememann 1996): *ne/ni* (with a polar tone?)

- ***kè* '(n)ever (NEG)'**:
  - ***kè* 'a certain, some' (DET) > 'a little; again; still' (ADV) > '(not) a bit; (not) still, (not) yet (NEG)'
  - Dzuun *ŋē* '(ever) yet'
  - Tura *ké* 'a certain, some; a little; another; again', *ké-wó* 'again (AFF); (no) more, (not) anymore (NEG)'
  - Gban *ké* 'again, still'

The BuM CFNegs in a broader areal perspective

- CFNegs similar to those found in the BuM Mande are typical for a much larger area in NSSA

- Some typological claims pertaining to the CFNeg markers in NSSA:

  - VO & VNeg, and especially VONeg with the Neg being then typically CF, is common in Central Africa and is typologically unusual (Dryer 2009)

    NB: Dryer (2009) considers only VO languages and only "neutral negatives", i.e. obligatory negative words that negate an entire declarative clause with a verbal predicate irrespective of its TAM value, main/subordinate status, etc.

  - double negation, typically involving CFNeg (Beyer 2009:205), have been suggested as an areal phenomenon in parts of West Africa (Kasteholz 2002, Beyer 2009 among others irrespective of the V&O order), centered on the Volta River basin.

Some typological explanations (Dryer 2009)

- For Dryer (2009), Negs are CF because they are somehow "pragmatic" rather than "semantic"

> "One factor that may be relevant is that negative morphemes, though they are traditionally viewed as being semantic rather than pragmatic, since they (allegedly) simply change the truth value of the proposition expressed by the clause, are perhaps bettered viewed as indicating a particular kind of speech act, one of denying."
>
> (Dryer 2009:339)

- How can we operationalize the distinction between pragmatic and semantic Negs?
- Why the Negs are pragmatic in this area and not elsewhere?
- How does this relate to the observerd peculiarities of the CFNegs?

Some typological explanations (Beyer 2009)

- For Beyer (2009), double negation is due to the "inherent focal nature of negation"

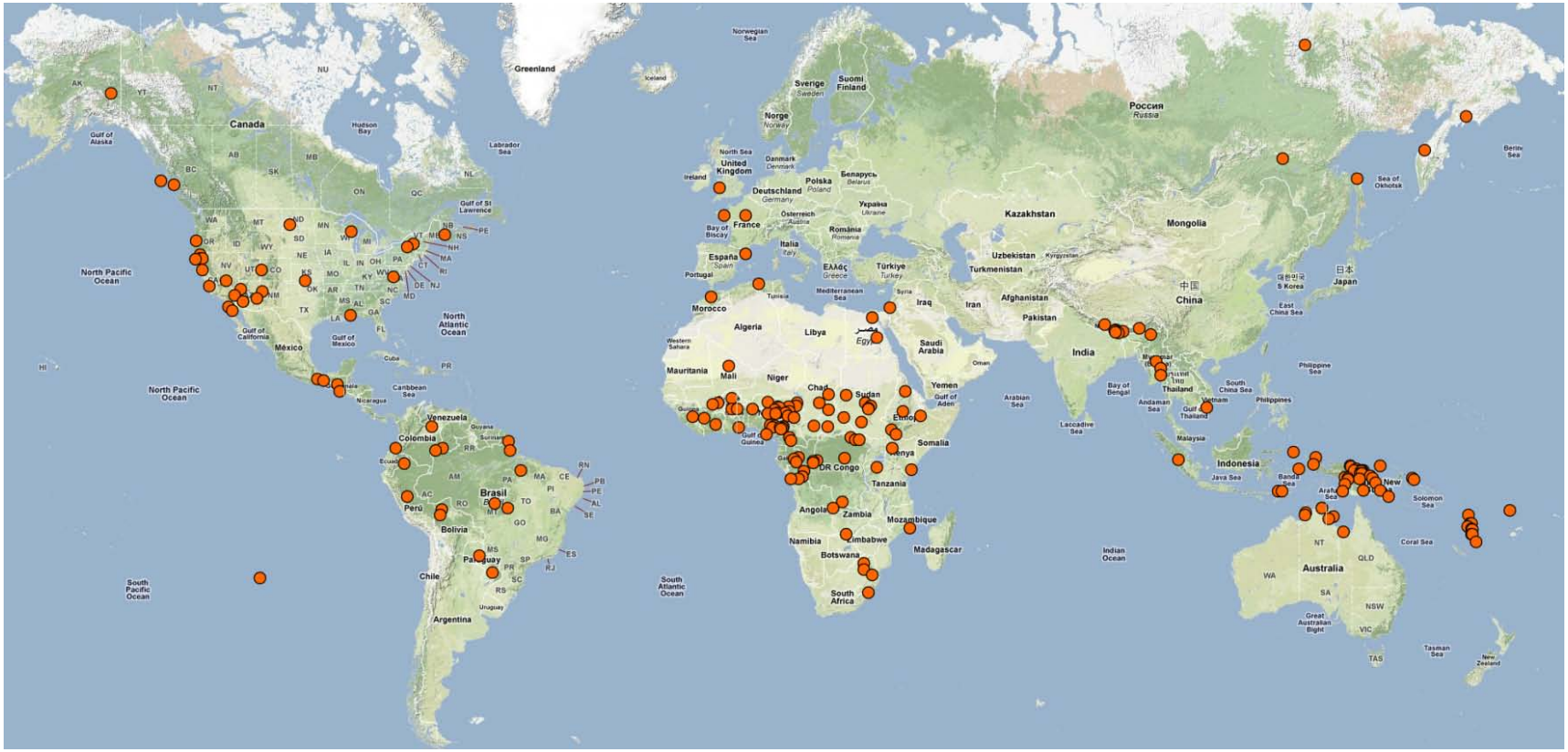
"The common basis for the double negation-marking structure thus seems to be a relation between negation and some kind of emphasis on the negated assertion [...] intrinsic in negative statements". Given "the inherent focal nature of negation [...] these second elements are likely to be grammaticalized from a focus marker, an assertion marker or some kind of reinforcer"

(Beyer 2009:217-8)

- Multiple negative exponence is only a part of a larger bundle of interrelated features
- Why given the inherent focal nature of negation, multiple negative exponence is so prominent exactly in this area of the world?

  Miestamo (2005:209-10): in fact "not so many languages [...] that show reflections of this functional need [to reinforce negation] in their SN [= Standard Negation] constructions or paradigms, and [...] thus [having] A/Emph asymmetry".

- occurrence of **multiple negative exponence** (double, sometimes triple and even quadruple) within a clause

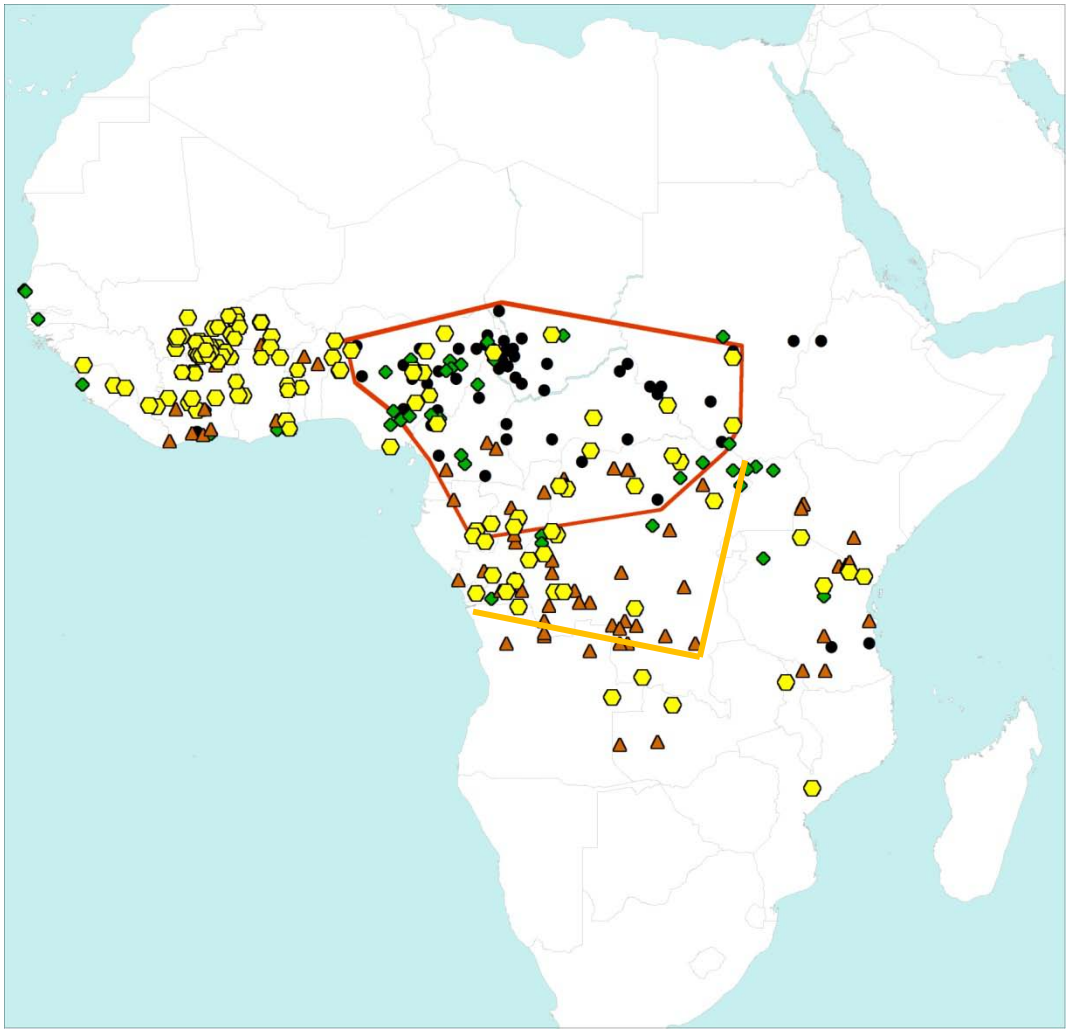


Map 5. Obligatory and optional double negation, optional triple negation (based on Dryer 2011, wals.info features 143B, 143C, 143D)

Some typological explanations (Idiatov 2010)

- A less restrictive definition of CFNeg markers is preferrable (than that of Dryer 2009) as it allows to capture more of the synchronic diversity and this way arrive at a more plausible diachronic account

- The area with CFNeg markers is actually much larger and roughly corresponds to the Macro-Sudan belt (Güldemann 2008) with an important extension along the Lower and Middle Congo River



Map 4. African languages with a clause-final negative marker at least in some constructions (Idiatov 2010)

Some typological explanations (Idiatov 2010)

- A less restrictive definition of CFNeg markers is preferrable (than that of Dryer 2009) as it allows to capture more of the synchronic diversity and this way arrive at a more plausible diachronic account

- The area with CFNeg markers is actually much larger and roughly corresponds to the Macro-Sudan belt (Güldemann 2008) with an important extension along the Lower and Middle Congo River

- The CFNeg markers in this area tend to show similar peculiarities as those I mentioned above

- Both the peculiarities of the CFNeg mentioned above and the fact that this typologically unusual syntactic distribution of Neg is common in the area can be offered a unified diachronic explanation

Explaining CFNegs in NSSA

- Why clause-final?

  They go back to clause-final markers.

- Why they develop so frequently in this area?

  - What do the CF markers actually do?
  - What can their relation be to the expression of negation?

Explaining CFNegs in NSSA

- Various **CF markers** are particularly **common** in the languages of NSSA (= there is a particular **CF slot** in the clause structure)

  In descriptions, these elements are variously referred to as:

  - "modalités de proposition" (in Birom)
  - "modalités d'énoncé" (in Banda-Linda)
  - "particules conversationnelles" (in Wobé)
  - "particules phrastiques" (in Bamana)
  - "marque terminales (déictique et d'emphase)" & "particules dicto-modales" (in Tura)
  - "end of sentence modal markers" (in Boko/Busa/Bokobaru)
  - "modal adverbs" (in Eton)
  - "certificatifs" (in Bafia)
  - "utterance-final particles for expressing attitudinal meanings" (Likpe & other TGM & Kwa)
  - "final particles [marking] such phenomena as illocutionary force and epistemic stance" (Siwu)

- The CF markers in the languages of NSSA primarily convey various kinds of **information and discourse structuring, epistemic, emphasis and modal meanings**.

Explaining CFNegs in NSSA

- By virtue of their position at the (potential) end of a turn, CF markers ("right periphery" markers) tend to get associated with marking **turn-yielding** and thus acquire various **intersubjective and dialogic** (primary) **meanings** or (concomitant) **implicatures**.

  (a **cross-linguistic tendency** not specific to the languages of NSSA, cf. Traugott 2007, 2010)

Explaining CFNegs in NSSA

- Primary I&D markers:
  - the widespread CF "politeness" particle *ò*
  - CF particle *ló* 'I advise you' widespread in Kwa and TGM languages (Ameka 2007:115-6)
  - polar question particles

- Concomitantly I&D markers:
  - markers of information and discourse structure
  - temporal markers with indefinite, esp. free-choice semantics (as "operators that process hearer-sided presuppositions", Matras 2007), such as 'on any occasion, at any time, ever',
  - minimizers and restrictors ('just', 'only', 'once' etc.)
  - ideophones (cf. Dingemanse 2011)

Explaining CFNegs in NSSA

- The **prominence** of the tendency for the development of **I&D implicatures** (**"pragmatic intersubjectification"**) with markers whose core semantics is not I&D is related to the fact that they fill in the same **structural slot** on the RP as the primary I&D markers.

- The tendency for **convergence** of morphosyntactic and formal properties of secondary I&D markers with those of primary I&D markers that can be observed in the languages of the area.

- In the languages of NSSA, CF markers tend to form a **grammatical category** whose core function is the expression of **I&D meanings**.

- the grammatical category of I&D 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!

Explaining CFNegs in NSSA

- 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 I&D CF** markers is bound to 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 ⇒ **conventionalization**

- This explanation accounts naturally for all the special features of the CFNeg in NSSA

References:

Ameka, Felix K. 2007. Grammatical borrowing in Likpe (Sɛkpɛlé). In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*, 107-122. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Beyer, Klaus. 2009. Double negation marking: A case of contact-induced grammaticalization in West-Africa? In Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann & Georg Ziegelmeyer (eds.), *Negation patterns in West African languages and beyond*, 205-222. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Carlson, Robert. 1993. A sketch of *Jɔ*, a Mande language with a feminine pronoun. *Mandenkan* 25. 1-109.

Diallo, Mohamadou. 1988. *Eléments de systématique et de dialectologie du marka-kan (Burkina Faso)*. Grenoble: Université Stendhal III PhD.

Dingemanse, Mark. 2011. *The meaning and use of the ideophones in Siwu*. Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen PhD thesis.

Dryer, Matthew S. 2009. Verb-object-negative order in Central Africa. In Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann & Georg Ziegelmeyer (eds.), *Negation patterns in West African languages and beyond*, 307-362. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ebermann, Erwin. 2009. From double negation to portmanteau: Comparative sentence negation in Northern Samo. In Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann & Georg Ziegelmeyer (eds.), *Negation patterns in West African languages and beyond*, 261-286. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Güldemann, Tom. 2008. The Macro-Sudan belt: towards identifying a linguistic area in northern sub-Saharan Africa. In Bernd Heine & Derek Nurse (eds.), *A linguistic geography of Africa*, 151-185. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hochsteller, J. Lee. 1994. *Enquête linguistique sur la langue duungoma: Une langue samogo parlée au Mali et au Burkina Faso*. Bamako: SIL.

Idiatov, Dmitry. 2010. Clause-final negative markers as a Macro-Sudan areal feature. Paper presented at *Syntax of the World's Languages 4*, Lyon.

Idiatov, Dmitry. 2012 (in press). Clause-final negative markers in southeastern Bamana dialects: a contact-induced evolution. *Africana Linguistica* 18.

Kastenholz, Raimund. 2002. "Samogo" language islands, and Mande-Senufo (Gur) interference phenomena. In Robert Nicolaï & Petr Zima (eds.), *Lexical and structural diffusion: interplay of internal and external factors of language development in the West African Sahel*, 91–110. Nice & Prague: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, Arts et Sciences humaines de Nice et de la Faculté des Études Humaines, Université Charles de Prague.

Le Bris, Pierre & André Prost. 1981. *Dictionnaire bobo-français, précédé d'une introduction grammaticale et suivi d'un lexique français-bobo*. Paris: SELAF.

Matras, Yaron. 2007. The borrowability of grammatical categories. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*, 31-74. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morse, Mary Lynn Alice. 1976. *A sketch of the phonology and morphology of Bobo (Upper Volta)*. New York: Columbia University.

Paré, Moïse. 1998. *L'énoncé verbal en sān (parler de Yaba)*. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou.

Platiel, Suzy. 1974. *Description du parler samo de Toma (Haute Volta): phonologie, syntaxe*. Paris: Université René Descartes (Paris 5).

Platiel, Suzy. 1990. La négation en san. *Linguistique Africaine* 4. 153-165.

Prost, André. 1971. *Éléments de sembla: phonologie, grammaire, lexique (Haute Volta: groupe mandé)*. Lyon: Afrique et Language.

Prost, André. 1983. Essai de transcription grammaticale du dialecte bobo de Tansila, Haute-Volta. *Mandenkan* 5. 1-101.

Sanou, Dafrassi Jean-François. 1978. *La langue bobo de Tondogosso (Bobo-Dioulasso) (Haute-Volta): phonologie, morphologie, syntagmatique. Thèse de 3ème cycle*. Paris: Université Paris V René Descartes, UER de Linguistique Générale et Appliqué.

Solomiac, Paul. 2007. *Phonologie et morphosyntaxe du dzùùngoo de Samogohiri*. Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2 PhD.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2007. (Inter)subjectification and unidirectionality. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 8(2). 295-309.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2010. Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In Kristin Davidse & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.), *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, 29-70. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Zwememann, Jürgen. 1996. Documents kpe̱e̱go. *Cahiers Voltaïques / Gur Papers* 1. 147-164.