

Negation Patterns in West African Languages and Beyond

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Volume 87

Negation Patterns in West African Languages and Beyond

Edited by Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann and Georg Ziegelmeyer

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Introduction

Norbert Cyffer

In earlier grammatical descriptions of African languages, the concept of negation was not given major consideration (in one recent grammar it was even forgotten). With the increasing general interest in language typology and language contact, the aspect of expressing the denial of an action or the negative counterpart of an indefinite pronoun attracted greater interest from linguists. To our knowledge, apart from some scattered articles, only a very few publications emphasized general aspects of negation, e.g., *Linguistique Africaine*, 4, 1990. Here, several specialists in African languages produced articles on negation following a given pattern of negation categories.

In this volume we have decided to concentrate on languages in West Africa and in the adjacent north (Berber) and east. The main reason for this decision was the question of whether there are language contact zones, with a specific emphasis on negation strategies.

Genetic factors may not be the sole explanation for the existence of similar negative constructions. The conceptualization of negative categories may also have emerged from within an individual language, or from contact with another language. We believe that areal factors are often more prominent than genetic ones.

In this volume we decided to do without any special instructions to the authors in order to give the individual authors the freedom to describe the complex of negation in their respective languages as adequately as possible.

Many languages show a complexity of negation patterns. For example, in command forms we often do not find a direct negation equivalent of the affirmative form. Instead, a more complex structure must be applied, which often even avoids the use of a straight negative morpheme. Therefore, we prefer to use the term 'Prohibitive' instead of 'Negative Imperative', etc.

The issue of different negation patterns in different TAMs is very challenging and requires a deep analysis of the conceptualization of negation in the language. For example, Kanuri applies negative markers in the Completive and Potential TAMs, which differ from the Imperfect TAM. In the latter, no straight negation process was originally possible. Instead, a negative predicator and an embedded affirmative clause were applied (e.g., the English sentence 'I will not go to Kano' was constructed as 'there is not [that] I will go to Kano'). However, in the modern-day language this underlying construction has been grammaticalized into a 'Negative Imperfect'. A similar situation may be observed in Hausa.

Another widespread feature is the lack of negative indefinite pronouns. They are in a strict sense affirmative and only occur in a negative context, e.g., by applying a verb in a negative TAM.

Genealogy and areality

Of course, we have no definitive answer to the question of whether negation in general is predominantly based on genealogical factors or not. Admittedly, it is not our primary objective to generalize or even over-generalize our results. However, we have some convincing indications that areal factors have played an important role in the formation of negative patterns. Let us take the examples of Kanuri and Hausa. Kanuri is a Saharan language in the Nilo-Saharan phylum, while Hausa is a Chadic language in the Afro-Asiatic phylum.

Both languages are, or were, *languages of wider communication*. As Kanuri lost this role in the 19th century, Hausa increasingly took it over. One of the negation markers in both languages is **ba**. In his recent Hausa grammar, P. Newman can easily imagine a relationship between the two languages. He also proposed the possibility that this marker was borrowed from Kanuri into Hausa (Newman 2000: 180, 357–365).

It is not so much our concern to decide who took over what from whom. In the foreground of our considerations, we would prefer to look into the conceptualization of negation, because we believe that the adoption of negative concepts may be more prominent than lexical borrowing. In the following table (see below) we compare Hausa and Kanuri patterns of negation.

Of course, the issues of areality and genealogy cannot be ignored. For example, we have strong arguments that in the Saharan languages, areal factors are more important than genealogical ones. With regard to Kanuri, we may also argue that its negative formation principles show more similarities with languages in its environment than with Beria (Zaghawa), also a Saharan language (Jakobi & Crass 2004, Cyffer 1991). Here, we especially observe differences in the negative formatives (Kanuri *nyí*, *bâ*, Beria *ɔ*), as well as different formation strategies (in Kanuri, the formation of the Negative Imperfect is different than in other TAMs, while in Beria, the same negative formation is used). On the other hand, Kanuri shares similar negation concepts with other non-Saharan languages of the area. Again, we observe a variety of complex negative constructions in Chadic languages (Pawlak 1994: 128).

The reason why different negation patterns are applied in different TAMs may be found in the development of specific grammatical categories. Through Kanuri we may get a possible clue. The following example illustrates that the negative morpheme of the Imperfect TAM relates to the negative predicator *bâ/báwo* 'there is (are)/was/were) not'.

díwal bâ there is no road

The Imperfect in Kanuri – and the other Saharan languages – is based on a locative-instrumental concept. The formative is (*Ci*)*n*. e.g.,

Adverb. NP	díwal-<i>lin</i>	on the road
Verb	búk-<i>in</i>	I am eating

Therefore, we may conclude that the basic concept of the Imperfect has been a locative-instrumental one, which required a different formation of the negative.

[bóri búkin] bâ	it is not [I am eating a meal]
> bóri búkinbâ	I am not eating a meal

	Hausa	Kanuri
Negative Perfective (<i>Hausa</i>)	<i>ba su tafi bá</i> they did not go	
Negative Completive (<i>Kanuri</i>)		<i>lezânyí</i> they did not go
Formative	<i>ba... bá</i>	<i>-nyí</i>
Negative Potential (<i>Hausa</i>)	<i>ba(a) sáa tafi bá</i> they should not go	
Negative Potential (<i>Kanuri</i>)		<i>lejádannyí</i> they shouldn't go
Formative	<i>ba(a)... bá</i>	<i>-nyí</i>
Negative Imperfective (<i>Hausa</i>)	<i>báa saa tafiyaa</i> they do not go	
Negative Imperfect (<i>Kanuri</i>)		<i>lezâiwâ</i> they do not go
Formative	<i>báa</i>	<i>-bâ (báwo)</i>

The geographical areas

Two geographical areas are given special consideration:

- a. The eastern part of Nigeria. This area has already been identified in other linguistic fields as an area of contact phenomena. Further studies will have to look into the possibility of linguistic areas or *Sprachbund* (N. Cyffer, T. Hagemeyer, P. Jaggar, O. Ndimele, A. Storch, E. Wolff, G. Ziegelmeyer).
- b. The Gur and Mande regions. Intensive contact phenomena were confirmed by the authors (E. Ebermann, K. Winkelmann and G. Miehe, V. Vydrine).

The Songhay study (P. Zima) may provide a link between the two regions; the same applies to the survey article on double negation (K. Beyer).

The articles on Berber (A. Mettouchi) and Central Africa (M.S. Dryer) geographically delimit the West African regions, and may help to identify the reach of linguistic areas.

Ekkehard Wolff describes the negation patterns of the adjacent Central Chadic languages Lamang and Hdi. He considers negation under the framework of focus. He also emphasizes the “fairly rich inventories of negation subsystems” in the contexts of aspect and focus. He concludes that, although Lamang and Hdi form a closely related language continuum, they diverge in many aspects of their grammar. The incompatibility of focus and negation is further noted. This feature is observed in many languages in the areas under investigation.

Philip J. Jaggat concentrates his statements on the force of negative adverbial intensifiers, treating a complex which has mostly been neglected in previous grammars of Hausa and other African languages. Here we discover that, in order to cover the whole complex of negation, adjuncts play an important role in expressing negative conceptions. Syntactic restrictions are also observed when applying these adjuncts in a negative context.

Norbert Cyffer describes negation strategies in Kanuri from a typological and areal perspective. Grammaticalization is evident in the conceptualization of new negative patterns. This is especially evident in the negative formation of the Imperfect TAM, which diverges from the negation of the other TAMs. As is the case in many languages in West Africa, focus and TAM conflict with each other. However, the paper also shows how speakers bypass these restrictions and find other ways of showing focus and negation in the same sentence.

Georg Ziegelmeyer compares negation strategies of the non-indicative mood in three ‘Languages of Wider Communication’ in northeastern Nigeria: Hausa, Fulfulde, and Kanuri. It is assumed that these languages have experienced intensive mutual contact in the past. Therefore the issue of contact-induced phenomena is of special concern. His objective is to identify common principles of negation in these languages. He concludes that a contrast between negation in the indicative and non-indicative moods is observed in the three languages.

Anne Storch highlights negation patterns in Jukun (Niger-Congo) in Nigeria and Cameroon. She focuses on the possibility of negating different constituents within a sentence. In her article, the interplay of focus and negation in the same position also plays a prominent role. She points out the occurrence of the sentence negative marker in final position, and as this also occurs in many languages of the area, contact-induced phenomena may be involved.

Ozo-mekuri Ndimele provides a survey of negation marking in Igbo. He comes to a conclusion that is shared by other contributors to this volume, that in a negative context the neutralization of distinct affirmative TAM categories is evident. He further states that Igbo opens up specific morpho-syntactic characteristics in connection with

negation. In line with other languages presented in this volume, the interaction of focus and negation is evident. We can also conclude for Igbo, e.g., as for Kanuri, that in order to link the two, more complex syntactic structures are required. Here, two clauses are involved, one of them a negative cleft construction, and the other the clause containing the focus.

Tjerk Hagemeijer describes aspects of negation in the Creole language Sântome (Equatorial Guinea). This language is Portuguese-based and contains substrata from Kwa and Western Bantu languages. The author puts the main focus on discontinuous negation patterns, a feature which is evidently widespread in West Africa, but is usually less common in Creole languages.

Petr Zima points out the impact of areality on various grammatical categories, including negation. He also mentions the complexity of negation, which is increased through divergence in the dialects. His study will certainly also help to arrive at a better understanding of the evolution of Songhay.

Kerstin Winkelmann and Gudrun Miehe uncover negation systems in the Gur languages of the Niger-Congo phylum. First of all, they disclose the complexity of negating processes in the individual languages. In addition, they also document that both genealogy and areality shaped the varieties of negative constructions present in the Gur languages. Contact across genetic linguistic units has a great impact on the actual negation patterns.

Erwin Ebermann describes the phenomenon of 'double negation' in North Samo (a Mande language). He comes to the conclusion that the system of negation in this language is the result of areal contact and grammaticalization. The areal effects occurred during the migrational moves of the North Samo people to their present habitat, which traversed different linguistic contact areas.

Klaus Beyer attracts the attention of the reader to the recurrent phenomenon of 'double negation marking' in West African languages. It becomes evident that this feature can only be tackled when areality is given special consideration, an approach supported by the fact that other authors of this volume also found it necessary to consider this aspect.

Valentin Vydrine provides a survey of negation models in the South Mande languages. He illustrates that negation in these languages is not necessarily uniform. However, similarities between individual Mande languages are observed. It is not surprising that he notes a contradiction between the simultaneous application of focus and negation.

Amina Mettouchi points out the remarkable diversity of negation patterns in Berber languages. She differentiates between constructions which are ancient, especially the preverbal negator, and more recent post-verbal negating elements. Though universal patterns of negation may be attested, the existence of 'areal clusters' in northwestern Africa is also emphasized. She also proposes that other structures should be included in the study of negation before conclusive remarks can be made, e.g., the complex of focus and topic. In this, Mettouchi is in agreement with other authors of this volume.

Matthew S. Dryer illustrates typological phenomena which occur in Central Africa and which may be independent from the genetic affiliation of the particular language. As the common features found in all language phyla of the region (Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Congo) are less common in other geographical areas, he assumes that areal factors have played a significant role. His main concern is the placement of negative formatives, which occur in the clause final position. He leaves to future analyses the question of whether this widespread feature is the result of diffusion from a branch of the Chadic family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum, or whether it reflects a Nilo-Saharan substratum.

The main objective of this volume is to document negation patterns in individual languages or linguistic units. This area was chosen because linguists have previously identified several typological similarities. Further studies may throw more light on assumed contact phenomena. However, even though the studies were not primarily carried out to identify common contact-induced features, we can conclude that certain phenomena seem to be more present in our areas of investigation than elsewhere. The prominent typological features which were identified in this respect are:

- Conflict or even incompatibility between negation and focus,
- Use of other indirect means of negating non-indicative verbs,
- Widespread disjunctive negative marking.

Whether the *Sprachbund* concept will hold here cannot be answered yet. However, the authors hope that further examinations in this field will help to better understand the diversity and homogeneity of negation patterns.

The articles also document that the understanding of negation in individual languages and linguistic units helps to understand other basic concepts of grammar and the emerging grammaticalization processes.

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Negation of non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri

Georg Ziegelmeyer

Negation of non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri differs from negation of indicative mood in several aspects. For instance, negation markers of non-indicative mood are morphologically different from those of indicative mood and they occupy different positions within the sentence. This results in a clear contrast between negation of indicative and non-indicative TAM paradigms. What becomes apparent is that the typological feature ‘contrast between negation of indicative and non-indicative mood’ is shared by genetically unrelated languages spoken in northern Nigeria. At first glance one could assume that this phenomenon is the result of structural diffusion in the respective contact region. This feature, however, is also shared by many languages of the West African Sahel.

Introduction

Hausa, Fulfulde, and Kanuri are typologically and genetically different languages. Hausa belongs to the Chadic branch of Afro-Asiatic, Fulfulde to the Atlantic branch of Niger-Congo, and Kanuri to the Saharan branch of Nilo-Saharan. Hausa is spoken in northern Nigeria, the southern parts of Niger and the northern part of Ghana. Kanuri is the widest-spread language in the Lake Chad region and is spoken in all countries bordering on the lake (Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria). Fulfulde¹ is the language of the Fulbe, found throughout a wide band in West Africa (Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon). The Fulbe (singular Pullo) refer to their language variously as Pulaar (Senegal), Pular (Guinea) and Fulfulde (Mali and eastwards). Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri are all spoken in northeastern Nigeria and contiguous areas. Although Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri are very different in their structures due to a lack of genetic relationship, similarities may be found in different

1. In this article eastern Fulfulde varieties are considered, i.e. the dialect areas of Adamawa and what Arnott (1970: 3) calls ‘central northern Nigeria’.

domains of grammar, e.g. Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri are characterized by an elaborate system of tense-aspect-mood (TAM). Basically, the time systems of these languages are aspectual, i.e. time relations are expressed in terms of completed and in-completed action in relation to a variable reference point. Both aspects include several subcategories, which specify the exact time relation. Apart from the basic aspects, there are also non-aspectual categories. In order to generalize and simplify the terminology, we generally use the term tense-aspect-mood, or simply TAM, for each category. A second basic distinction can be made between indicative mood and non-indicative mood. Complexes of conjugations that express non-indicative mood generally express commands, exhortations, obligations, requests for permission, or the granting of permission, etc., whereas those of indicative mood express statements or questions. Non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri comprises categories such as the subjunctive and the imperative. It will be elaborated here that negation of non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri differs from negation of indicative mood in several aspects, e.g. negation markers of non-indicative mood are morphologically different from those engaged in indicative mood. Negation markers used in non-indicative mood occupy different positions within the sentence compared to those used in indicative mood. Hausa and Fulfulde do not mark negation of non-indicative mood within the verbal complex, i.e. a negative particle is used to indicate negation while the verbal complex remains unchanged. The negative particles are followed by an affirmative sentence using a non-indicative TAM. In Kanuri, negation of non-indicative mood is marked twice, i.e. a sentence initial particle is followed by a sentence in the negative completive TAM.

1. Hausa

According to Newman (1971: 183): ‘*Modern standard Hausa marks negation in six different ways, five involving some variant or variants of the morph **ba(a)**, the sixth employing the morph **kádà**. Negation types two and three serve to negate tensed sentences with indicative TAMs while negation type six negates non-indicative mood. Negation types one, four and five are mainly found in non-verbal clauses.*

Negation type (1) is formed by the discontinuous markers **bàa ... ba** and it serves to negate equational predicates, NPs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and full sentences. Examples:

- (1) **yâu bàa Tàlaatàa ba cèè**
today NEG Tuesday NEG STAB
‘today is not Tuesday’
- (2) **bàa àbîn dà nakèè soò ba**
NEG thing.DET which 1SG.REL_CONT want.VN NEG
‘that’s not what I want’

- (3) **tanàa ganii (àmmaa) bàa sòosai ba**
 3F.CONT see (but) NEG clearly NEG
 ‘she sees (but) not clearly’
- (4) **Audù yaa tàfi kàasuwaa (àmmaa) bàa dà saafe ba**
 Audu 3M.COMP go market (but) NEG in morning NEG
 ‘Audu went to the market (but) not in the morning’
- (5) **bàa Laadi tanàa dà kudii ba nèè**
 NEG Ladi 3F.CONT with money NEG STAB
 ‘it is not that Ladi has money’

Negation type (2) is formed by the markers **bà(a)² ... ba** and negates verb phrases of tensed sentences in all TAMs except the continuous and the subjunctive. Examples:

- (6) **bà sù sanii ba**
 NEG 3PL.COMP know NEG
 ‘they didn’t know’
- (7) **bà saà daawoo ba**
 NEG 3PL.POT return NEG
 ‘they will likely not return’
- (8) **bà zaà ka kàasuwaa ba?**
 NEG go 2M.(ALL) market NEG?
 ‘will you not go to the market?’
- (9) **yaàraa bà(a) zaa sù zoo ba**
 children NEG FUT 3PL. come NEG
 ‘the children will not come’
- (10) **bàa sukàn yi azùmii ba**
 NEG 3PL.HAB do fasting NEG
 ‘they don’t normally fast’

Negation type (3) **baa ...** serves to negate continuous verbal clauses, locative and stative sentences. Examples:

- (11) **baa màa soònsà**
 NEG 1PL.CONT like.VN.of.3M.
 ‘we don’t like him’
- (12) **Laadi baa tàa nân**
 Ladi NEG 3F.CONT here
 ‘Ladi isn’t here’

2. According to Newman (2000: 357): ‘[...] the length of the vowel in the initial **bà(a)** is subject to variation. In SH [standard Hausa], the following would seem to represent current-day usage. The neg **bà(a)** is always short in the negative completive, [...] usually short in the potential and allative, [...] normally short but also long in the future, and sometimes short but usually long in the habitual.’

Negation type (4) uses the marker **baabù** ‘there isn’t, there aren’t’ and serves to negate existential sentences. It is the negative counterpart of **àkwai** ‘there is/are’. Examples:

- (13) **baabù mootàa**
 NEG.be car
 ‘there isn’t any car’
- (14) **àkwai likità nân? aa’aa baabù**
 be doctor here? no NEG.be
 ‘is there a doctor here? no, there isn’t’

Negation type (5) uses the marker **baà** and serves as an alternative marker for **baabù** in existential sentences with a complement being expressed and as a negative formative for ‘have’ sentences. Examples:

- (15) **Muusaa baà shi dà kèèkè**
 Musa NEG.be 3M. with bicycle
 ‘Musa doesn’t have a bicycle’
- (16) **baà mâi cikin kwalabaa**
 NEG.be oil in bottle
 ‘there isn’t any oil in the bottle’

Negation type (6) uses the morphemes **kadà** or **kâř**³. This prohibitive marker serves to negate sentences with a subjunctive TAM (including the imperative). The category of the imperative shows in Hausa a single form, i.e. 2.sg. (communis generis!), not reflecting the typical breakup into masculine and feminine. The imperative seems to be marked by a specific tone pattern (Low)High, having some context induced varieties. Functions of the imperative apart from the 2.sg.c. are realized by the use of the subjunctive. In the second person singular, the subjunctive also serves as a less energetic alternative to the imperative. In this case, the gender of the addressee is expressed. Since the imperative is restricted to the affirmative, negative commands are expressed by the so-called negative subjunctive, i.e. the particle **kadà** (=kâř) is followed by an affirmative sentence in the subjunctive TAM. Examples:

Imperative

- (17) a. **tàashi!**
 get up.IMP
 ‘get up! (you sg.c.)’
- b. **kadà kà taashi!**
 NEG 2M.SUB get up
 ‘don’t (you sg.m.) get up!’

3. The short form **kâř** is very common. It is the result of final vowel apocoptation and rhotacism of the resulting syllable-final /d/. The low tone of the second syllable of **kadà** is preserved and combines with the high tone of the first syllable, producing a fall, i.e. **kádà** → ***kád** → **kâř**.

- (18) a. **kàawoo kuudii!**
bring IMP money
'bring money! (you sg.c.)'
- b. **kâĩ ki kaawoo kuudii?**
NEG 2F.SUB bring money
'don't (you sg.f.) bring money!'
- (19) a. **mù jee!**
1PL.SUB go
'let's go!'
- b. **kadà mù jee!**
NEG 1PL.SUB go
'let's not go!'

Subjunctive

In addition to its function as a less energetic alternative to the imperative, the subjunctive also expresses wishes, desires, purpose, necessity, obligation etc. Subjunctive clauses also occur as embedded objects or complements of sentences expressing volition or opinion as well as in adverbial clauses expressing purpose, often introduced by the conjunction **dòomin/don** 'in order to'. Examples:

- (20) a. **inàa soò kà tàimàkee nì**
1sg.CONT want 2M.SUB help DO.1SG.
'I want you (sg.m.) to help me'
- b. **inàa soò kadà kà tàimàkee nì**
1SG.CONT want NEG 2M.SUB help DO.1SG.
'I don't want you (sg.m.) to help me'
- (21) a. **yaa kàmaatà sù tàmbàyee shì**
3M.COMP be better 3PL.SUB ask DO.3M.
'it is better they ask him'
- b. **yaa kàmaatà kàda sù tàmbàyee shì**
3M.COMP be better NEG 3PL.SUB ask DO.3M.
'it is better they don't ask him'

Negative purpose

- (22) **kà tàfi dà laimàa (don) kadà ruwaa yà baa kà kaashii**
2M.SUB go with umbrella (in order to) NEG water 3M.SUB give DO.2M. 'excrement'
'take (sg.m.) an umbrella lest you get soaked'

Negation of the subjunctive is peculiar in several ways. It makes use of a totally different morpheme **kadà** or **kâĩ** that can't be related to the usual initial negator **ba(a)** and it lacks a final negator. Both peculiarities have been explained by Newman (1971: 191ff.) in terms of a reconstructed West Chadic negative construction of the form *negative adverbial conjunction... optional final negator. He further stated that: '[...] *Chadic languages generally have one of two types: (a) Neg_i...Neg_p and (b)... Neg_p the latter being the more common. However, in negative subjunctive and the negative imperative, even languages that have no Neg_i use some kind of marker at the beginning of the sentence in addition to the Neg_f occurring at the end. This marker... is structurally a type of adverbial*

conjunction. Though inherently semantically negative, it is not a true Neg marker. The existence of such negative adverbials is common in Chadic and their usage is similar wherever they are found' Newman (1971: 191ff.).

The second peculiarity concerns the lack of the final negator **ba**. It can be explained due to a tendency found elsewhere in Chadic where the use of the final negator in sentences expressing negative command is reported to be optional.

A third peculiarity concerns the position of **kadà** in the sentence. If the sentence uses a nominal subject, **kadà** can optionally be separated from its pronoun and shifted in front of the subject. This is not possible with all other types of negation in Hausa. Examples:

- | | | | |
|------|--|-----|--|
| (23) | yaarò kadà yà fita
boy NEG 3M.SUB go out
'the boy shouldn't go out' | = | kadà yaarò yà fita
NEG boy 3M.SUB go out |
| (24) | yaarò baa yàa fita
boy NEG 3M.CONT go out
'the boy is not going out' | but | * baa yaarò yàa fita
NEG boy 3M.CONT go out |

2. Fulfulde

Fulfulde marks negation in several ways using different morphemes. Tensed sentences using indicative TAMs mark negation in most instances (with exception of the emphatic completive) within the verbal complex, i.e. morphemes marking aspect, voice and polarity are suffixed to the verbal stem. Non-indicative mood is negated by a sentence initial particle followed by an affirmative sentence using a non-indicative TAM.

Negation type (1) uses the morpheme **-aa**. This type is much more restricted in its usage than other negation types since it is confined to the active voice with a limited range of verbs. Most often this type serves to negate non-verbal constructions. It also serves to negate tensed sentences in a stative (i) TAM and a restricted range of verbs like **annda** 'know', **yida** 'like', **waawa** 'can, be able', etc. For a detailed discussion of this negation type see (Mohamadou 1989: 69–89 and 1990: 145–52). Examples:

- (25) **ɗum beldum na (koo) ɗum welaa?**
3SG. nice Q (or) 3sg. be nice.NEG
'is it nice or is it not nice?'
- (26) **o wi'ii ngel don tunwaa**
3SG. say.COMP 3SG. STAT(i) be dirty.NEG
'he/she said it (child) is not dirty (in a dirty state)'
- (27) **mi anndaa**
1SG. know.NEG
'I don't know'

Negation type (2) uses the morphemes **-aay(i)**⁴ (active voice), **-aaki** (middle voice) and **-aaka** (passive voice). It serves to negate tensed sentences in a completive TAM. It is also used to negate stative sentences using the stative (i), most frequently in the middle and passive voices while the active voice uses negation type (1) with some verbs. Examples:

- (28) **ndaa deftere nde a tawaay**
see book 3SG. 2SG. find.NEG_COMP
'here is the book you didn't find'
- (29) **mi ummaaki**
1SG. get up.NEG_COMP
'I didn't get up'
- (30) **tewu judaaka**
meat roast.NEG_COMP
'the meat was not roasted'
- (31) **odon joodii na, koo boo o joodaaki?**
3SG.STAT(i) sitting.STAT(i) Q or indeed 3SG. sitting.NEG_STAT(i)
'is he/she sitting, or isn't he/she sitting?'

Negation type (3) engages the morphemes **-ata(a)** (active voice), **-ataako**⁵ (middle voice) and **-ataake**⁶ (passive voice). This type negates tensed sentences with future or continuous TAMs. Examples:

- (32) **Samambo huwataa doo**
Samambo work.NEG_FUT/CONT here
'Samambo will not/doesn't work here'
- (33) **be njoodataako**
3PL. sit down.NEG_FUT
'they won't sit down'
- (34) **dum defataake**
3SG. cook.NEG_FUT
'it won't be cooked'
- (35) **odon huwa na (koo) o huwataa?**
3SG.CONT work.CONT Q (or) 3SG. work.NEG_CONT
'is he/she working or isn't he/she?'

Negation type (4) uses the particle **naa** and it serves to negate equational predicates, NPs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and full sentences. It also serves to

4. This suffix varies from dialect to dialect, i.e., **-ay** (Adamawa), **-aali** (Fuuta Jaloo) and **-aani** (Fuuta Tooroo).

5. The varieties of Fuuta Jaloo and Fuuta Tooroo use the morpheme **-otaako**.

6. The morpheme **-etaake** is found in Fuuta Tooroo.

negate tensed sentences using an emphatic completive TAM. For the manifold use of the particle **naa** in Fulfulde varieties spoken in eastern Mali, western Niger and northern Burkina Faso see Seydou (1990: 223). Examples:

- (36) **naa dūm mbeewa, dūm mbaala**
 NEG 3SG. goat 3SG. sheep
 ‘it is not a goat, it is a sheep’
- (37) **naa mi yidāa mo**
 NEG 1SG. like.NEG DO.3SG.
 ‘it is not that I don’t like him’
- (38) **Muusa wi’ii naa hannde**
 Musa say.COMP NEG today
 ‘Musa said not today’
- (39) **mi hokka dūm, naa mi wuya dūm**
 1SG. give.EMPH_COMP 3SG. NEG 1SG. borrow.EMPH_COMP 3SG.
 ‘I was given it, not lent it’

Negation type (5) uses the morpheme **walaa** ‘there isn’t, there aren’t’ and serves to negate existential sentences with or without a complement being expressed and as a negative formative for ‘have’ sentences and locative sentences. Examples:

- (40) **walaa**
 NEG.be
 ‘there is none’
- (41) **walaa koodūme**
 NEG.be anything
 ‘there is nothing’
- (42) **dūm walaa bote**
 3SG. NEG.be use
 ‘it has no use/it is useless’
- (43) **o walaa don**
 3SG. NEG.be here
 ‘he/she is not here’

Negation type (6) uses the particles **taa** and **to**. It serves to negate sentences in a non-indicative mood. In Fulfulde, both positive and negative polarity can combine with indicative mood in a verbal complex, this is not true of non-indicative mood. Non-indicative mood in Fulfulde comprises the imperative and the subjunctive⁷. A

7. Fulfulde has another non-indicative mood called desiderative (also labeled as optative, jussive or exhortative). At the semantic level, this TAM expresses a desire. Desiderative forms occur only in the first person plural inclusive and with **Alla** ‘God’ as subject. According to Arnott (1970: 290), the desiderative is negated by the particle **to** followed by an affirmative sentence in

sentence containing a non-indicative complex is negated by means of a sentence initial particle followed by an affirmative sentence in a non-indicative TAM.

Imperative

Fulfulde distinguishes between different singular and plural imperative forms, the former used in addressing one person, the latter in addressing more than one person. There are two sets of imperative forms, the *'general imperative'*, expressing a simple command, and the less frequent *'habitual imperative'*, used in enjoining continual or repeated action, most often translated as *'keep on...'*. Fulfulde doesn't have distinct negative imperative forms. Prohibitions are expressed by the use of a negative particle in combination with positive imperative forms. In Adamawa Fulfulde, the particle **taa** is used to negate both singular and plural imperatives, while 'central northern' dialects, e.g. the Gombe dialect, use the particle **to** with plural imperatives. Examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (44) a. war(u)!
come.IMP (SG.)
'come! (SG.)' | b. taa war(u)!
NEG come.IMP (SG.)
'don't come! (SG.)' |
| (45) a. mballee yam!
help.IMP (PL.) DO.1SG.
'help me! (PL.)' | b. to mballee yam!
NEG help.IMP (PL.) DO.1SG.
'don't help me! (PL.)' |
| (46) a. wolwatay!
talk.HAB_IMP (SG.)
'keep on talking! (SG.)' | b. taa wolwatay!
NEG talk.HAB_IMP (SG.)
'don't keep on talking! (SG.)' |

Subjunctive

In Fulfulde, the uses of the subjunctive are numerous and varied. It expresses wishes, desires, purpose, necessity, obligation etc. There is no specific negative subjunctive, but the negative counterpart of the subjunctive is provided by the use of the negative particles **to** and **taa**⁸ preceding the subject. Examples:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (47) a. ƙe nasta!
3PL. enter.SUB
'they should come in!' | b. to ƙe nasta!
NEG 3PL. enter.SUB
'they are not to come in!' |
| (48) a. Faatu natta suudu mum!
Fatu enter.SUB hut her
'Fatu should enter her hut!' | b. to Faatu natta suudu mum!
NEG Fatu enter.SUB hut her
'Fatu shouldn't enter her hut!' |

the desiderative TAM. In his description, however, negated examples of the desiderative TAM are not provided.

8. The particle **taa** is frequently used in Adamawa Fulfulde, whereas **to** is found in 'northern central' dialects.

- (49) a. **mi yidi be nasta**
1SG. want.COMP 3PL. enter.SUB
'I want them to come in'
- b. **mi yidi taa be nasta**
1SG. want.COMP NEG 3PL. enter.SUB
'I don't want them to come in'
- (50) a. **ndikka be ngara jooni**
better 3PL. come.SUB now
'they had better come now'
- b. **ndikka to be ngara jooni**
better NEG 3PL. come.SUB now
'they had better not come now'

Negative purpose

In Fulfulde, the subjunctive, either with or without **ngam** 'in order to', is used to express purpose clauses, being negated by the particles **to** and **taa**.

- (51) **be ummilawake ngam to be sakitoo**
3PL. get up fast.COMP in order to NEG 3PL. be late.SUB
'they got up fast so as not to be late'

3. Kanuri

Kanuri (Yerwa dialect) marks negation in five different ways involving variants of five morphemes. For a detailed discussion of negation patterns in Kanuri see also Cyffer (same volume). Negation type (1) involves the morphemes **bâ** and **báwo**, which function as negative existential markers meaning 'there is no...'. They may be used either with a complement or by themselves, e.g. in the sentence **bâ** 'there isn't any'. Secondly, they are used to negate 'have' sentences. In both cases **bâ** and **báwo** negate non-verbal clauses. The morphemes **bâ** and **báwo** are also used in verbal sentences negating the imperfect aspect. The morpheme **bâ** is suffixed to the verb while the morpheme **báwo** is usually separated. Examples:

- (52) **kəndágə bâ/báwo**
oil NEG.be
'there isn't any oil'
- (53) **kúngənzə bâ/báwo**
money.POSS.3SG. NEG.be
'he/she doesn't have money'

- (54) **kāmbú sɔladɪnbá/báwo**
 food 3SG.sell.IMPF.NEG
 'he/she doesn't sell food'

Negation type (2) involves the morphemes **-nyí** and **-nnyí**. The suffix **-nyí** is used with verbal sentences marking the negative completive aspect in all persons except the first person plural. It is also the formative for the negative future in the first and second person singular and the second person plural of class 1 verbs and in the first and second person singular and second and third person plural of class 2 verbs. The suffix **-nnyí** is the formative of the negative future in the third person singular and the third person plural of class 1 verbs and the third person singular of class 2 verbs. Examples:

- (55) **Kánoro lengānyí**
 Kano.to go.1SG.NEG_COMP
 'I didn't go to Kano'
- (56) **Kánoro lejānnyí**
 Kano.to go.3SG.NEG_FUT
 'he/she will not go to Kano'

Negation type (3) involves the suffix **-ndé** marking the first person plural of the negative completive aspect and the future. Examples:

- (57) **cída ádā tamonyēndé**
 job DEM finish.1PL.NEG_COMP
 'we didn't finish this job'
- (58) **kasúwulan ciwandíyendé**
 market.in find.1PL.NEG_FUT
 'we will not find (it) in the market'

In negation type (4), the negative predicator **gānyí** 'it is/was not' is applied in negative non-verbal clauses. Usually, such clauses denote equation or description. It is also used to signal negation of comparison clauses where the affirmative comparison clause is embedded in a negative non-verbal clause terminated by **gānyí** 'it is not that...'. Examples:

- (59) **féro ádā ganá gānyí**
 girl DEM small be.NEG
 'this girl is not small'
- (60) **táda ádā túduro ganá wo gānyí**
 boy DEM DEM.to small PRED be.NEG
 'this boy is not smaller than that one'
 (lit. 'it is not that this boy is small in relation to that one')

Negation type (5) involves the morphemes **wandé** (SG.) and **wandówó** (PL.) used in verbal clauses expressing negative command. Negative command is formed by these

particles and a tensed sentence in the negative completive aspect. This construction is the negative counterpart of the imperative and the subjunctive, which are used to express orders, commands, wishes. etc. The imperative has forms for the 2nd person singular and plural and for the 1st person plural, which denotes duality ('we' 'you and I'). The subjunctive only occurs in the 1st and 3rd persons. **Wandé** is basically a singular form, but it can be used in the plural as well. **Wandówó** can only be used in the plural. Like in Hausa and Fulfulde, prohibitions are expressed by using a sentence initial particle. The difference is that the verbal aspect changes from the imperative/subjunctive to negative completive. The origin and the basic meaning of **wandé/wandówó** is still uncertain⁹. Examples:

Imperative

- | | |
|--|--|
| (61) a. lúyè!
go out.IMP (2SG.)
'go out!' | b. wandé lúwumí!
NEG go out.2SG.NEG_COMP
'don't go out!' |
| (62) a. lenyówó!
go.IMP (1PL.)
'let us (you and I) go!' | b. wandé/wandówó lenyêndé!
NEG go.1PL.NEG_COMP
'let us (you and I) not go!' |

Subjunctive

- | | |
|--|--|
| (63) a. Gambó bówónge!
Gambo call.1SG.SUB
'I should call Gambo!' | b. wandé Gambó bówóngeñyí!
NEG Gambo call.1SG.NEG_COMP
'I shouldn't call Gambo!' |
| (64) a. bóri áðə búíye!
meal DEM eat.1PL.SUB
'we should eat this meal!' | b. wandé/wandówó bóri áðə búiyéndé!
NEG meal DEM eat.1PL.NEG_COMP
'we shouldn't eat this meal!' |

Negative purpose

Clauses of reason and purpose are expressed by the indirectness marker **-ro**, often combined with the particle **nanka**. However, negative purpose clauses engage the particles **wandé/wandówó** and a tensed sentence in the negative completive aspect. Examples:

- (65) **nyíro Náira yôr úwu yíkin wandé Músa kúngónaro kórəmmí nankadəro**
2SG.to Naira hundred five give.1SG.IMP NEG Musa money.for ask.2SG.NEG_COMP
'in order to'
'I will give you five hundred Naira lest you ask Musa for money'

9. **Wandé** and **wandówó** have the typical imperative suffixes **-é** for the singular and **-wó** for the plural, however, in present-day Kanuri the verbal base **wand-** doesn't exist.

4. Conclusions

Non-indicative mood generally expresses commands, exhortations, obligations, requests for permission, or the granting of permission etc., whereas indicative mood expresses statements or questions. Non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri comprises categories such as the subjunctive and the imperative. Negation of non-indicative mood in Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri differs from negation of indicative mood in several aspects, e.g. negation markers of non-indicative mood are morphologically different from those engaged in indicative mood. Negation markers used in non-indicative mood occupy different positions within the sentence compared to negation markers in indicative mood. Hausa and Fulfulde do not mark negation of non-indicative mood within the verbal complex, i.e., a negative particle is engaged expressing negation followed by an affirmative sentence in a non-indicative mood. In Kanuri, negation of non-indicative mood is marked twice, i.e., a sentence initial particle marking negation is followed by a sentence in the negative completive TAM.

What becomes apparent is that the typological feature ‘contrast between negation of indicative and non-indicative mood’ is shared by the genetically unrelated languages Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri. At first glance one could assume that this phenomenon is the result of structural diffusion in the respective contact region. This phenomenon, however, is not restricted to northern Nigeria. It must be added that, according to Zima (same volume): ‘*contrasting of the negation of indicative and non-indicative TAM paradigms appear to be shared by a wider inventory of genetically different languages of the Sahel*’. And he provides further evidence of this feature in the Songhay case. However, the picture of the distribution of this typological feature throughout languages across West Africa is still far from being complete. For a discussion about the possible areal and/or genetic origins of this phenomenon, see also Zima (this volume).

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Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person	NEG	negation/negative
ALL	allative	NEG_COMP	negative completive
C.	communis	NEG_CONT	negative continuous
COMP	completive	NEG_FUT	negative future
CONT	continuous	NEG_STAT	negative stative
DEM	demonstrative	PL.	plural
DET	determiner	POSS	possessive
DO	direct object	POT	potential
EMPH_COMP	emphatic completive	PRED	predicator
F.	feminine	Q	question word
FUT	future	REL_CONT	relative continuous
HAB	habitual	STAB	stabilizer
HAB_IMP	habitual imperative	STAT	stative
IMP	imperative	SUB	subjunctive
IMPF	imperfect	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
M.	masculine	VN	verbal noun

The impact of clause types and focus control, aspect, modality, and referentiality on negation in Lamang and Hdi (Central Chadic)

H. Ekkehard Wolff

Negation in two closely related Central Chadic languages (Lamang, Hdi) is deeply intertwined with focus and clause types. Marked modality and morphologically marked negation are mutually exclusive; in *sensu strictu*, the negation domain is restricted to the indicative mood. Negation interacts in a systematic way with aspectuality through the intrinsic focus characteristics of some of the aspectual forms. Indirectly, therefore, negation interacts also with referentiality, since referentiality links up again with aspectuality and modality. The languages have developed several negation strategies (e.g. general/simple negation, a focus negation frame, a non-focus negation frame, dependent clause negation) and use negative tagging. Lamang has developed a special contrastive term focus negation strategy. The languages differ remarkably, however, with regard to the compatibility of inflexional formatives with negative markers.

1. Introduction

Lamang and Hdi are two closely related languages spoken on different sides of the international border that separates north-eastern Nigeria from northern Cameroon. The languages belong to the so-called Wandala-Lamang group which are part of the sub-branch A of Central Chadic (Newman 1990). At one time in history quite likely part of a dialect continuum, Lamang and Hdi, at the opposite periphery of this continuum, have diverged over time and space in relative isolation from each other, aggravated by two non-linguistic factors: Since World War I they are separated by an international demarcation line which separates a former French colony in the east from a former British colony in the west, both originally part of the German colony “Kamerun”; and they are topographically separated by a sharp mountain escarpment: Hdi is spoken in a remote locality named Tourou (Turu) on a mountain plateau in Cameroon, which is quite difficult to access from where Lamang is spoken. The Lamang speaking area with its several varieties follows the Madagali-Gwoza-Pulka road on the plains in Nigeria. Both speaker communities have (or at least used to have) only little contact with each other, if any.

For Lamang, a fairly comprehensive descriptive grammar has been published some 20 years ago (Wolff 1983); Hdi has only recently been blessed with a full grammar (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002). We are, therefore, in a happy position now to compare two closely related grammatical systems which, however, display considerable differences that are interesting to look at from the point of view of linguistic variation with regard to grammatical categories and coding strategies.

The paper is organized in the following way: I shall first establish certain aspects of a meta-theory that allows us to compare the aspectual systems of Lamang and Hdi in the affirmative domain and their interdependence with clause types, intrinsic focus and assertive predication focus (Section 2). Then the inventories and types of negation are shortly introduced for both languages (Section 3). In Sections 4–9, I shall bilaterally confront and compare the negation types of Lamang and Hdi, before winding up with some concluding remarks in Section 10.

2. Clause types and focus control

In two recent studies on predication focus in selected Chadic languages (Wolff 2001, 2003), the following distinctions in terms of “focus types” and “scope of focus” were found to be useful (see Figure 1 and Figure 2 below).

In the present paper, we shall be concerned with both assertive and contrastive focus. Contrastive focus will play a role mainly in instances of term focus, while assertive focus will be discussed in terms of predication focus.

Two further theoretical concepts are needed for the discussion (cf. Hyman & Waters 1984: 242ff.): (a) focus control, and (b) intrinsic focus. Focus control will be discussed in terms of (i) *pragmatic control*, i.e. the speaker determines the element(s) on which the grammar will express focus; (ii) *grammatical control*, i.e. the grammar determines how the speaker will express focus. This distinction highlights the observation that, in some cases, in terms of assertive predication focus the speaker is free to choose between constructions or verb forms marked for [+focus] and [-focus]. In other cases, the speaker does not have this choice, i.e. the grammar itself enforces the choice between two constructions or verb forms, for instance, by imposing a constraint on dependent clauses to only allow [- predication focus] forms.

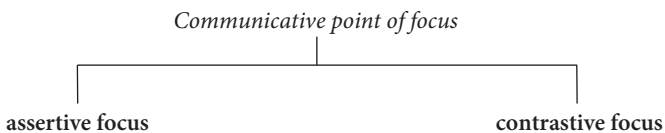


Figure 1. Focus types

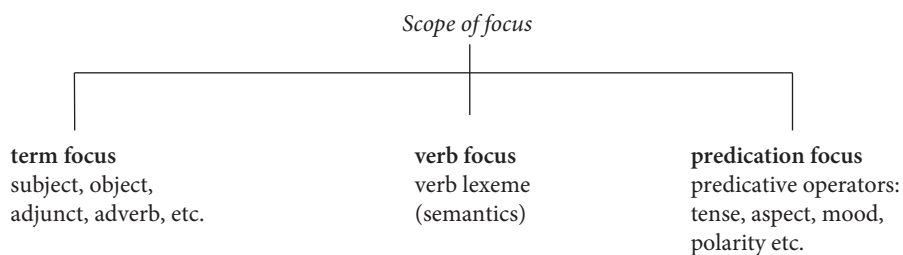


Figure 2. Scope of focus

Certain inflectional categories of verbs (predicative operators such as aspects, tenses, moods etc.) show an affinity to predication focus. This affinity shall be referred to as *intrinsic focus*, i.e. focus intrinsic to the particular aspectual, temporal or modal category. Diagnostic for intrinsic focus are the following observations: (a) Certain inflectional categories display a particular dichotomy of *in-focus* vs. *out-of-focus morphology*; this is true for Lamang and Hdi and has long been known from Hausa and is widespread in Africa beyond Chad. ¹ (b) The occurrence of certain inflectional categories is restricted to exactly those pragmatically or grammatically controlled environments, in which characteristically either *in-focus* or *out-of-focus morphology* must be used. This relates directly to the dichotomy of pragmatic clause types that Frajzyngier and Shay (2002) relate to and call – rather unhappily – the “two aspectual systems” in Hdi: ²

1. Their pragmatically independent clauses relate to pragmatic, i.e. speaker control over the option of using *in-focus morphology* for the verbal predicate,
2. their pragmatically dependent clauses relate to grammatical control by restricting this domain to the occurrence of *out-of-focus morphology* for the verbal predicate.

Consequently, only pragmatically independent clauses allow the occurrence of aspectual categories with *intrinsic focus* in terms of *assertive predication focus*; vice versa, these aspectual categories are disallowed in pragmatically dependent clauses (in which,

1. “In a number of related and unrelated African languages, a curious interplay is observed between tense-aspect and focus. While the exact realization of this interplay varies from language to language, in each case some parameter of focus determines which of two corresponding sets of tense-aspect markers is used in a given instance. The well-reported occurrence of “main” vs. “relative” (clause) tenses is a case in point and has been documented from one extreme of the African continent to the other, e.g. Fula in the West and Nguni Bantu in the South(east).” (Hyman & Watters 1984: 233)

2. “One system occurs in affirmative indicative clauses, in yes/no questions, and in comments on topicalized constituents... The other aspectual system occurs in comments on the focused constructions, relative clauses, wh-questions, and presentative constructions.” (Frajzyngier and Shay 2002: 295) I would maintain that this is not a question of two aspectual systems, but of one system under two kinds of “control”, i.e. pragmatic and grammatical control.

however, other types of focus, like contrastive term focus or verb focus, may pertain to constituents other than the operators of the verbal predicate).

Having cleared the bush in terms of some of the salient theoretical concepts and terminology, we are now free to look at their instantiations in the two languages, Lamang and Hdi. The particular interrelationship that is valid for these languages and, therefore, is central to this paper is summarized and depicted in the following diagram:

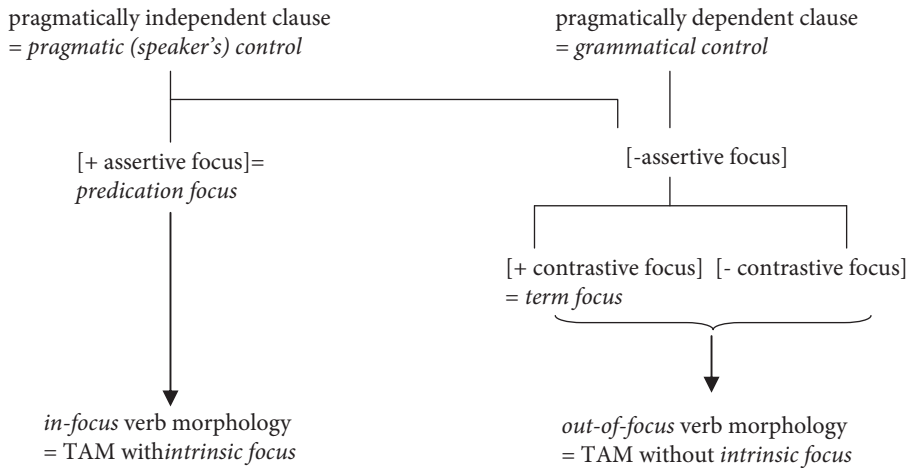


Figure 3. Clause type, focus, and verb morphology in Lamang and Hdi

Lamang

Wolff (1983: 189f) refers back to the notion of *functional sentence perspective* as originally developed by the Prague School. It is identified as the salient “semantic factor ... which determines the order of constituents in the sentence.” Since (a) the marked site of the constituent in sentence perspective is at the beginning of the clause, and (b) “the basic word order for verbal sentences in Lamang can be represented as V – S – O”, the verbal predicate is automatically located in the foreground position of sentence perspective and, therefore, can/must be marked for assertive predication focus *in situ* (originally referred to as “AUX/verb emphasis” in Wolff 1983: 190), whereas other constituents would have to be *foregrounded* by being shifted to clause-initial position. Wolff gives the following schematic account (slightly modified for the purpose of the present paper):

Table 1. Functional sentence perspective and constituent order in Lamang

	foreground site of functional sentence perspective					
	constituent	marking				
default (unmarked)	-	-	V	S	(O)	(adv)(ADV)
assertive predication focus	V	REDUPL		S	(O)	(adv)(ADV)
contrastive term focus	V S O ₁ O ₂ adv	FRONT -é		S V - V S V S V S	(O) (O) -(O ₂) (O ₁) - (O)	(adv)(ADV)
topicalization	S O ₁ O ₂ adv ADV	FRONT (ná)	V V V V V	- S S S S	(O) -(O ₂) (O ₁) - (O) (O)	(adv)(ADV)

In Lamang, aspectual categories with intrinsic focus and, therefore, under pragmatic control of the speaker are the following, grouped under the two “macro-aspectual” labels PERFECTIVE and IMPERFECTIVE:

Table 2. Aspectual categories with intrinsic focus in Lamang

Perfective	Imperfective
perfect I	not available in Central Lamang;
habilitative ³	a “progressive” formed by vn+vn reduplication is reported to
iterative habilitative	have developed in South Lamang (Larry Roettger, p.c.)
perfect II	

3. The label “habilitative” refers to a verbal paradigm that encodes “ability to perform the action denoted by the verb”; a verbal paradigm derived from the habilitative by the “iterative” prefix encodes the idea of “repeatedly being able to perform the action of the verb”.

Note that “perfectivity” in a most general sense has several manifestations in Lamang:

- verb base reduplication in [+ predication focus] forms, found in four conjugational paradigms marked for PERFECTIVE (perfect I, perfect II, habilitative, iterative habilitative); these reduplicative verb forms are, at the same time, nominalized;
- a “completive” suffix -(‘)tá with [- predication focus] forms, which is optionally available for (a) several conjugational paradigms in the indicative mood in the IMPERFECTIVE aspect (nominalized verb forms), and (b) for the aspect-neutral aorist (non-nominalized verb forms); the suffix is obligatory in the prohibitive mood;
- use of extensions, i.e. marking of SPECIFICITY OF REFERENCE, in the subjunctive mood and the imperative.

Note that, for the purpose of this paper (and in other publications), I shall restrict the term PERFECTIVE to a particular set of conjugational paradigms which are marked by verb base reduplication (cf. Tables 2 and 3). Outside the sub-system of the PERFECTIVE conjugational paradigms, only the particular auxiliary verb construction of the narrative aspect is affected by pragmatic control mechanisms, i.e. allowing in-focus-and out-of-focus morphosyntax.

In addition, there is contrastive term focus available in Lamang marked by {-é} (originally a cleft construction involving a copula), allowing for contrastive verb focus.

The following examples were put together for illustration in Wolff (2003c), their presentation here is slightly modified:⁴

Table 3. In-focus and out-of-focus TAM forms in Lamang

PERFECTIVE	[+Predication Focus] in-focus form marked by verb base reduplication option: [±EXT]	[-Predication Focus] out-of-focus form [-EXT] only
perfect I	[-EXT] tsá-tsá-ká cut-cut-2SG you have cut (it)	There is no out-of-focus form for PERFECTIVE available. However, the notion of “completed action” can be expressed outside the PERFECTIVE sub-system by the combination of a “completive” + IMPERFECTIVE or aorist form:
habilitative	tsá-tá -tsá-ká cut-HABIL-cut-2SG you are able to cut (it)	

4. The feature [±EXT] refers to the presence or absence of derivational EXTension suffixes in the verbal morpheme string which, in addition to coding spatial relationships and directionality, argument structures and argument roles etc., by their mere presence encode “referentiality” (cf. Section 9).

iterative	tá -tsá-tá -tsá-ká	
habilitative	ITER-cut-HABIL-cut-2SG you are repeatedly able to cut (it)	
perfect II	tsà-tsá-ká cut-cut-2SG you have cut (for some time, but without finishing)	[-EXT] * tsá-tá -ká ⁵ cut -CPL-2SG you cut (it) completely
perfect I	[+EXT] tsó-ŋ -tsá-ká cut-EXT-cut-2SG you have cut (it) through	[+EXT] * tsó-ŋ -tà -ká cut -EXT-CPL-2SG you cut (it) through
habilitative	tsó-ŋ -tà -tsà-kà cut-EXT-HABIL-cut-2SG you are able to cut (it) through	
iterative habilitative	tá -tsó-ŋ -tà -tsà-kà ITER-cut-EXT-HABIL-cut-2SG you are repeatedly able to cut (it) through	
(perfect II)	[not available with EXTension]	
NON-PERFECTIVE	[+Predication Focus] in-focus form marked by postponed { <i>má ~ ń</i> }+ subject options: [±EXT]	[-Predication Focus] out-of-focus form unmarked options: [±EXT]
narrative	[-EXT] gú tòw má-hán NARR cry:NOM FOC-3PL and then crying were they	[-EXT] gú-hán tòw-ò NARR-3PL cry-NOM and then they were crying
	[+EXT] gú skwé-b ń kúmbrà NARR come-out:NOM FOC monitor then out came Monitor	[+EXT] gú kúmbrà skwé-bè NARR monitor come-out:NOM then Monitor came out

Hdi

We find the following pieces of general information: “There are two aspects that code the pragmatic status of the clause: perfective and imperfective. The other aspect, viz. stative, does not code the pragmatic status.” (Frajzyngier and Shay 2002: 295) “Negative

5. * Marked forms are construed from memory.

clauses can be either pragmatically independent or pragmatically dependent. The two types of clauses have different formal characteristics.” (Frajzyngier and Shay 2002: 7) The situation in Hdi is illustrated by the following tables. Note that the table as originally presented in Frajzyngier and Shay (2002: 296) is given first, followed by a version of the table with modifications that I would propose to consider, because Frajzyngier and Shay’s table is incomplete: They miss out the progressive aspect, which later in their grammar (pp. 317–19) is described in some detail. Interestingly, the Hdi progressive has intrinsic focus, cf. “...the progressive aspect is also a means of focusing on the verb. It cannot be used if the focus is on an element other than the verb.” As regards the stative aspect, F&S are again silent on the issue of focus – all they have to say is that “in the progressive aspect (a subclass of the imperfective) and the stative aspect there is no distinction between pragmatically dependent and pragmatically independent clauses” (p. 325). I take this to indicate pragmatic control over both the progressive and the stative, i.e. both to have intrinsic focus.

This assumption is supported by the observation that all TAM categories that have intrinsic focus cannot occur in the negative by maintaining their particular morphological coding, i.e. verb base reduplication (perfective), verbal noun reduplication (progressive), *ndá* construction (stative) are all disallowed in the negative! Note further that grouping the stative under IMPERFECTIVE, as proposed here, is at variance with F&S who have nothing to say on this but appear to view the stative as an autonomous third aspectual category on a par with PERFECTIVE and IMPERFECTIVE. (Note that the emergence of a progressive aspect form with intrinsic focus, which is – like the Hdi progressive form – based on the complete reduplication of the simple verbal noun, is reported from southern Lamang dialects (Larry Roettger, p.c.). Such form/category was not in use in the *Xəḍkala* variety of Central Lamang and is, therefore, not described in Wolff (1983).)

Table 4. Aspectual system in Hdi: alternative analyses

		Independent	Dependent
F&S	Perfective	reduplication	verb-a
	Imperfective	tà+ nominal verb	tà+verbal root
	Stative	ndá+ verb-a	–
	aspect-neutral <i>Aorist</i>	(?)	verb-a
alternative/ re-analysis (HEW)	PERFECTIVE	verb base reduplication	–
	IMPERFECTIVE: <i>Imperfective I/II</i>	nominalized verbs	} tà+verb:NOM (with final vowel deletion)
	<i>Progressive</i>	tà+verb:NOM	
	<i>Stative</i>	tà+verb-á-y verb(-á-y):[NOM]	
		ndá+verb-a: NOM	

Note that based on 35 years of acquaintance with Lamang and other Central Chadic languages, I generally disagree with F&S on their treatment of verb-final vowels and I have modified interlinear translations as given in this paper accordingly in the light of (a) other sources on Hdi (Langermann 1994, Eguchi 1971), and (b) my own comparative and dialectological work on the Lamang-Hdi language continuum (Wolff 2004a, 2006, 2004b). For the original analysis and description, the reader is referred to Frajzyngier and Shay (2002). I consider, for instance, the verb forms of the aorist (Frajzyngier and Shay: “perfective in pragmatically dependent clauses”) as unmarked, i.e. I do not consider the final /a/ of the verb a verbal suffix of some sort, but the lexical vowel of the verbal base. Cf.

Table 5. Re-analysis of verb-final vowels in Hdi

final vowel	Frajzyngier and Shay (2002)	proposed re-analysis
(-) a	point of view: goal-orientation (PVG); verbal noun ending (NOM)	lexical vowel of the verb base verbal noun ending (Zero suffix; NOM)
Ø	indicative mood of imperfective aspect; dependent imperfective	systematic deletion of final vowel/vn- suffix: out-of-focus imperfective aspect
- u	point of view: source orientation (SO); verbal noun ending (NOM)	extension suffix: auto-benefactive (ext); verbal noun ending (NOM)
- i	extension suffix: movement away (ext); verbal noun ending (NOM)	

In terms of intrinsic focus, the following (re-)analysis of Hdi is proposed:

Table 6. Aspectual categories and intrinsic focus in Hdi

intrinsic focus	Non-Imperfective	Imperfective
[+ intrinsic focus]	(independent) perfective	(independent) imperfective I progressive stative
[- intrinsic focus]	(Frajzyngier and Shay: dependent perfective) “aorist” (HEW)	(dependent) imperfective II

The following examples, which display the in-focus- vs. out-of-focus morphological dichotomy, can be put together from Frajzyngier and Shay (2002)(see Table 7 below).

Notes on Table 7:

1. The Hdi in-focus PERFECTIVE form corresponds directly to the Lamang PERFECT(IVE). Note that reduplication of the verbal base must be seen as

portemanteau marking of both assertive predication focus and PERFECTIVITY. The Hdi out-of-focus form is, most likely, not marked for PERFECTIVE (MACRO-)ASPECT at all and should be called something different (in analogy to previous writings by the present author, I suggest “aorist” for this aspect-neutral category). It has two Lamang counterparts:

- the non-completive aspect-neutral *aorist* (compare the Hdi form *fá-tsí* “he put” below, containing an overt 3rd pers. sg. subject pronoun, with the construed Lamang *aorist* form **fa-tse* (dial.), Central Lamang **fá-dé*).
- the completive aspect-neutral *aorist* (compare the Hdi form *fá-tà* “he put”, with no overt coding of subject, with the construed Lamang completive *aorist* form **fá-tá* “he put”).

Table 7. In-focus and out-of-focus aspect forms in Hdi

PROGRESSIVE [-EXT]	in-focus form	out-of-focus form
Marker:		
Reduplication of verbal noun ending in -y (F&S: “PO”)	tà -xwáyá-y -xwáyá-y-xèn IMPF-run -PO -run -PO-3PL they are running	non-existent
[+EXT]: not available		
STATIVE [-EXT]	ndá mtá dá-ní STAT die:NOM father-3SG his father is dead	non-existent
Marker:		
ndá + verbal noun		
[+EXT]: not available		
NON-IMPERFECTIVE	[+Predication Focus] in-focus form: reduplication (independent) perfective	[-Predication Focus] out-of-focus form: unmarked “aorist” (F&S: dependent perfective)
[-EXT]	ksá-ksá yáyí tá kri catch-catch squirrel OBJ dog Squirrel caught Dog	wá tá fá -tà nà who COM put-REF Q who put it?
[+EXT]	s -ù -s -í drink-EXT-drink-1SG I drank up	kà kùzà -nà -yá -tá vli SEQ darken-DEM-D:GO-REF space tà tví PREP road and then darkness surprised him on the road (lit. “the space darkened around him on the road”)

IMPERFECTIVE Marker: <i>tà-</i>	in-focus form: verbal noun <i>Imperfective I</i>	out-of-focus form: deletion of final vowel <i>Imperfective II</i>
[-EXT]	<i>tà- yáli Mbítsá</i> IMPF-steal:NOM Mbitsa Mbitsa steals	<i>nú tà- z[ə] -ká</i> which thing IMPF-eat:NOM-2SG which thing do you eat?
	<i>tà - dífá kri</i> IMPF-hide:NOM dog the dog is hiding	<i>tà - díf kri</i> IMPF-hide:NOM dog while the dog is hiding
	<i>tà - fsá-y -xən tá hlwí</i> IMPF-grill-PO-3PL OBJ meat they grill meat ⁶	
[+EXT]	no examples available	no examples available

2. The IMPERFECTIVE (MACRO-)ASPECT is marked by the widespread Chadic prefix *tà-*. Verbs must use a verbal noun marked by suffix or Zero. Verbs may use different forms, for which I propose the following alternative descriptive account which is largely based on comparative typological evidence when comparing Hdi and Lamang:⁷
- Some nouns which are etymologically related to verbs have a lexicalised ending in *-u* or *-i*, e.g. *pyù* “libation” < > *pyá* “to spread”; this is probably not a productive process of nominalization in Hdi (but cf. the Lamang regular verbal noun formation /*py-ù*/ [*py-ò*] < *pya* “to pour”); *xàní* “sleep” < > *xàná* “to sleep” (cf. noun *xini* “sleep” < > verb *xina* “to sleep” in Lamang);

6. PO = potential object marker *-áy* (F&S); under my proposed tentative reanalysis of Hdi, this form would represent a particular verbal noun formation that suffixes *-y* to the verbal base ending in /*a*/. In this case, however, I will retain F&S’s label in interlinear translation.

7. F&S, who do not believe in benefits for their analysis from closely related Lamang evidence, suggest a different analysis (2002: 305ff): they rather vaguely introduce a few verbal nouns ending in *u ~ i*, then go on discussing a special “object marker *-áy*, which replaces the last vowel of the verb and assumes its tone... The marker *-áy* is obligatory if the clause has an object marked by the preposition *tá*.” They gloss *-áy* “PO”, i.e. potential object marker. But looking at some of the examples in F&S (2002: 308–9) reveals that using the verbal noun ending in ...*áy* does not require an object marked by the preposition *tá* to be present! Quite obviously, too, the nominalizer in Hdi may also be Zero or become systematically deleted. Observations to this effect are implicit rather than made explicit in F&S’s analysis and description. Cf. examples like the following (“:NOM” added by HEW):

<i>ndá</i>	<i>mtá</i>	<i>dá-ní</i>	his father is dead (p. 320)
STAT	die:NOM	father-3SG	
<i>tà</i>	<i>ḃərzl[ə]</i>	<i>ús</i>	the blood runs (p. 311)
IMPF	run:NOM	blood	

Note that the same marking devices, i.e. nominalization by suffix or Zero, are also available in Lamang.

- some verbal noun formations add -y to the verb base (glossed “PO potential object marker” by F&S), e.g. *zá-y* “eating”, *mtá-y* “dying”, *kátá-y* “helping” etc. (I consider it likely that this suffix is the etymological and systematic counterpart of the productive verbal noun suffix /-w̃/ [-ò] in Lamang, cf. *z-ò* < **za-w̃* “eating”);
- for some verbal nouns, Zero marking makes the verbal noun identical in shape to the verb root, e.g. *dífá* “hide, hiding”, *mtá* “die, dying” (cf. the same behaviour of intransitive verbs and qualitatives in Lamang which end in /a/ and remain unchanged when used as verbal nouns);
- we also find deletion of final vowels, e.g. *díf* “hiding”, *ḃərzl[ə]* “running” (cf. underlying form *dífá*, *ḃərzlá* (?); note that Lamang has a rule of deleting the final vowel of a verbal noun when followed by subject pronoun clitics in simple IMPERFECTIVE verb stems).

In the IMPERFECTIVE (MACRO-)ASPECT there are two formally distinct paradigms that, at variance with F&S, shall be distinguished here as aspectual sub-categories *Imperfective I* and *Imperfective II*. *Imperfective I* has intrinsic focus and must be used in pragmatically independent clauses (i.e. under speaker-control), and it carries assertive predication focus when it is used. This in-focus form (*Imperfective I*) must carry an overt final vowel in the verbal noun. *Imperfective II* occurs in pragmatically dependent clauses and is, therefore, grammatically controlled. This out-of-focus form (*Imperfective II*) is devoid of the final vowel.⁸

3. The progressive aspect clearly belongs to the IMPERFECTIVE (MACRO-) ASPECT as indicated by the prefix *tà-* (which has a cognate in Lamang *tá-* and beyond; it tends to mark “repeated”/“iterative” etc. action across Chadic – cf. Newman 1990) plus the verbal nominalization through suffix -y (F&S, however, analyse -áy as “potential object marker”).
4. With regard to the Hdi stative, it is worth noting that periphrastic constructions formed in a parallel manner were also observed in Central Lamang, albeit as being of rather marginal status within the inflexional system (Wolff 1983: 171), cf.

<i>ndá- d̥</i>	<i>zùwì</i>	the rope is plaited
with-plait(ing) rope		(cf. <i>ḃá</i> “plait”, vn <i>d̥-o</i>)
<i>ndò- mt -ì</i>		I am dead
with-dead 1SG		(cf. <i>mta</i> “die”, vn * <i>mta-Ø</i>)

8. As regards the out-of-focus form, I would maintain that Hdi makes use of a systematically apocopated verbal noun, i.e. with deleted final vowel (cf. the same process in Lamang), rather than choosing the “root form” of the verb as F&S (2002: 311) suggest.