

WHEN SYNCHRONY MEETS DIACHRONY

The negation system of Fε?fε? in the light of the Jespersen Cycle

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WHEN SYNCHRONY MEETS DIACHRONY

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SYNCHRONIE ONTMOET DIACHRONIE

Het negatiesysteem van het Fε?fε? in het licht van de Jespersen cyclus
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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door

Emilienne Ngangoum
geboren op 1 november 1975 te Kameroen

Promotoren: Prof. dr. M. B. H. Everaert

Prof. dr. H. E. de Swart

To the beloved memory of the first hero of my life – Valentin Pouangue – the emblematic figure I am privileged to have had as my father;

For challenging his ancestors' beliefs to teach me – when I was yet a child – that there is no girlhood in achievement, hence, there is no height I may not aim at; and for inviting me to embrace the fear of God (Psalm 111: 10; Proverbs 3: 5 - 8) as the permanently stable, unchangeable, and reliable anchor from which to engage into and pursue any enterprise in life.

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Pó fù? si(?) kwá pü? bá
Hand one Neg tie/wrap bundle Neg

‘A single hand doesn’t / cannot tie a bundle.’ **Fε?fe? proverb**

To confirm the truth of the above Fε?fe? proverb, I can say without any shadow of a doubt that this dissertation would simply not exist if I had had the presumption to be its single, self-made author. Therefore, I consider it an immense privilege to be able to express my heartfelt gratitude to the multitude of people whose name will not appear on the cover page, and yet whose input has contributed to make this volume exactly what it is today. From my promoters to my informants in the Bamileke and Grassfield Bantu communities in and out of Cameroon, through the UiL OTS technical and administrative staff, via the UiL doctoral, post-doctoral fellows and professors, along with the bunch of researchers met during talks, summer schools and conferences in and away from Utrecht, not forgetting the non linguist friends and family members, I owe countless ‘*thank you*’ to a countless crowd of people; And a deep feeling of humility submerges me as I acknowledge that I would still be standing behind some doors if some God-given people had not made it their responsibility to fling them open so I could pass through and get to the places I needed to get and do the things that needed to be done.

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Abbreviations and symbols

- ˊ high tone
- ˋ mid tone
- ˎ low tone
- ˇ rising tone
- ˉ falling tone
- 1 first person
- 2 second person
- 3 third person
- AGR agreement
- ASP aspect
- ASPP aspect phrase
- C1 class 1
- C7 class 7
- CL clause
- CM contrast marker
- COMPL complement
- CONS CL consecutive clause
- COP copula
- COMP complementizer

COMPL	completive
CP	complementizer phrase
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR COMPL	directive complement
DISC	discourse
DP	determiner phrase
EME	Early Middle English
EMP	emphasis
FINP	finiteness phrase
FOC	focus
FOCP	focus phrase
FUT	future tense
FUT1	the near future tense
FUT2	the distant future tense
FUT3	the remote future tense
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IP	inflectional phrase

JC	Jespersen Cycle
LF	logical form
LME	Later Middle English
ME	Middle English
MOD CL	modal clause
NEG	negation
NEGP	negative phrase
NP	noun phrase
OE	Old English
OM	object marker
OV	object – verb
P0	recent past tense
P1	today's past tense /same day past (PST1)
P2	yesterday's past tense (PST2)
P3	distant past tense (PST3)
P4	remote past tense
PERF PRS	perfective present
PL	plural
PLD	Primary Linguistic Data
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRS	present tense
PRO	pronoun

PROG	progressive
PST	past
PURP CL	purpose clause
Q	question
QP	question phrase
REM	remoteness
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SOV	subject – object – verb
SUB	subordinator
SVC	serial verb construction
SVO	subject – verb - object
TDL	to-do list
TNI	true negative imperative
TP	tense phrase
UG	Universal Grammar
UP	Uniformitarian Principle
VO	verb – object
VP	verb phrase

Ethnologue codes for languages used

Czech [ISO 639-3: [ces](#)]

Dutch [ISO 639-3: [nld](#)]

English [ISO 639-3: [eng](#)]

Fε?fε? [ISO 639-3: [fmp](#)]

French [ISO 639-3: [fra](#)]

German [ISO 639-3: [deu](#)]

Ghomala? (Bafounda) [ISO 639-3: [bbj](#)]

Italian (Cairese/Piemontese) [ISO 639-3: [ita](#)]

Kwa? [ISO 639-3: [bko](#)]

Mədəmba [ISO 639-3: [byv](#)]

Men̄gaka [ISO 639-3: [xmg](#)]

Nda?nda? [ISO 639-3: [nnz](#)]

Ngemba (Bafut) [ISO 639-3: [nge](#)]

Ngomba [ISO 639-3: [jgo](#)]

Ngombale [ISO 639-3: [nla](#)]

Ngwe (Nweh) [ISO 639-3: [nwe](#)]

Ngymbong [ISO 639-3: [nnh](#)]

Welsh [ISO 639-3: [cym](#)]

When synchrony meets diachrony

Yemba (Foto) [ISO639-3:[ybb](#)]

I Variation – the meeting point across times

We can today easily assent to Saussure's argument that Old High German gesti 'guests' did not coexist in the consciousness of any speaker with the modern German counterpart, Gäste, with the result that these items have therefore never been linguistically opposed. What is missing in his conception, however, is the possibility of a moment in time when a more archaic gasti and a more innovating variant, gesti, did coexist in the minds of some very real speakers of the language ... Saussure's error, it seems to us, was to equate the juxtaposition of remote stages of a language with the juxtaposition of stages in general. It is this unjustified generalisation which lay at the basis of his antimony between the structural and the historical.

Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968)

1.1. The topic of inquiry

This dissertation is concerned with synchronic variation as the reflection and/or residue of language change. The empirical focus is the fine-grained synchronic variation encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe? as summarised in table 1. The system in table 1 stands as an amazing puzzle to the reader more familiar with negation in languages such as Modern English and Standard Dutch which express sentential negation by means of a dedicated negative marker as illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively.

- (1) ‘Joseph is **not** an Egyptian.’

- (2) Jan loopt niet
John walks NEG

'John does not walk.'

Table 1: Current Fe?fe? negation¹ table for adult speakers

Tense, aspect, mood & clause types	Negation
Interrogative clause: tag questions & other uses	bà
Conditional(protasis)	si... bà
Non-past (future, locative, progressive & habitual present)	si... bà
Past 2 & 3	sì
Past 1	kà?
Perfectivepresent	kà?
Perspectival	là?
Modal clause	lè
Consecutive clause	lè
Directive complement	pá?/sì
Purpose clause	pá?/si bà
Infinitive clause	mbá?/si bà
Imperative clause	pá?/sì

The leading research question raised by the contrast between the languages in examples (1) and (2) on the one hand and the one in table 1 on the other is whether there exists any roadmap that can lead from one of the extremes to the other. The present dissertation provides a positive answer to this question by arguing that variation of the kind exhibited in table 1 is the synchronic manifestation of language change. The central purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the validity of this claim based on the special properties of the negation system of Fe?fe?. The major theoretical assumptions adopted are from the principles and parameters framework, with a reanalytical perspective on variation. In order to account for the Fe?fe? data set, I adopt a broadly comparative methodology, bringing together cross-generational comparison (also referred to as the socio-historical method) within the present Fe?fe? speech community, micro-comparison involving closely related languages of the Bamileke area, and macro-comparison involving both present and previous stages of Indo-European languages with historical records. The remainder of this chapter leads the reader through an overview of the negation data of Fe?fe? in

¹The first impression one gets upon observing table1 is that the shape of negative markers might be triggered by the morpho-syntax of surrounding categories, more specifically tense and clause types. In order to answer the reader's questions regarding the numerous labels in the first column of table 1, an overview of the tense/aspect and clause typing categories of Fe?fe? is provided in chapters 2 and 3.

section 1.2. This is followed by a succinct view of the major stand point adopted in contemporary theoretical linguistics regarding variation in section 1.3, with the observation that the kind of variation encountered in Fe?fe? might raise the need to moderate the strong mutual exclusivity view of parametric variation. Section 1.4 subsequently offers the comparative method as an adequate tool to explore the Fe?fe? data set, and section 1.5 introduces the reader to Fe?fe? as a linguistic unit, with some of its typological peculiarities. The fieldwork study carried out within the Fe?fe? speech community is described in section 1.6, and the chapter closes with an outline of the thesis in section 1.7.

1.2. Overview of the data

Horn (2001) has argued that if not semantically, then negation² is at least pragmatically ambiguous. Thus, he establishes a distinction between descriptive and metalinguistic negation. Furthermore, recent research in the domain of negation poses that negation is even more complex. Miestamo (2007) presents it as a multifaceted phenomenon that can be both asymmetric and symmetric. In the former, a negative construction differs from its positive version by the mere addition of a negative marker. In the latter, the introduction of the negative marker into a positive construction brings along a number of other changes. Bond (2009) also poses that negation interferes with many other elements in the sentence, and this is more so in African languages than elsewhere in the globe. As if providing empirical support to back up the above authors, the negation system of Fe?fe? is characterised by a wealth of synchronic variation. At the level of the construction proper, we encounter both bipartite and monopartite negative constructions in the language. At the level of the morpho-phonology, the language displays a number of lexical items for the sole expression of negation. With regard to distribution, the items used to express negation occur in different syntactic environments³, either in free variation or in complementary distribution. When word order facts are taken into consideration, we also encounter a wealth of variation. These aspects of the variation are discussed in turn in the following paragraphs.

² From Jespersen (1917), Klima (1964), Givon (1978), Dahl (1979), Ladusaw (1992, 1993), Laka (1990), Haegeman (1995), Zanuttini (1997), Kahrel (1996), Rowlet (1998) to the new millennium releases such as Giannakidou (2000), Bell (2004), Mazzon (2004), Zeijlstra (2004), Miestamo (2005), Penka (2007), Biberauer (2008a), Wallage (2008), among many others, the study of natural language negation has constituted the subject of extensive inquiry throughout the last few decades.

³The negation of declarative verbal main clauses labelled ‘standard negation’ by Miestamo (2005) corresponds to three different ways of marking negation in Fe?fe?.

1.2.1. The concurrent use of bipartite and monopartite negations

It is implicitly assumed in contemporary linguistics that sentential negation in a single language state is expressed either by a monopartite or by a bipartite negative strategy. Bipartite negation is the use within a single clause of two different items for the expression of a single logical negation. Hence, in Standard French (3), sentential negation is expressed by means of a bipartite construction; that is, the concomitant use of the items *ne* and *pas*, yielding the discontinuous negation *ne pas*. Unlike bipartite negation, in monopartite negation a single clausal marker is used for the expression of a single logical negation. Colloquial French and English make use of a monopartite negative marker, *pas* (4a) and *not* (4b) respectively.

- (3) Marie **ne** mange **pas** de pain
 Marie NEG eat NEG DET bread

‘Marie doesn’t eat bread.’

- (4) a. J’aimé **pas** Jean
 1SG loveNEG Jean
 ‘I don’t love Jean.’
 b. Mary is **not** John’s sister.

However, unlike French and English, Fe?fe? in its present state uses both monopartite and bipartite negative constructions as illustrated below with the past (5a) and the future (5b) respectively.

- (5) a. Siani lè **sí** γέ ntéé
 Siani P3 NEG go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’
 b. Siani **sí** ká γέ ntéé **bá**
 Siani NEG F2 go market NEG
 ‘Siani will not go to the market.’

In (5a), a single item *sì* is used for the expression of negation. In (5b), *sì* is used in combination with a second item *bà* for the expression of negation. This state of affairs suggests that F ε ?f ε ? combines the strategies used to express negation in both Standard French and Colloquial French in a single synchronic language state.

1.2.2. The morpho-phonology of negative markers

Though we find the negative marker *sì* in its monopartite and bipartite uses in (5), this is however not the only negative marker of F ε ?f ε ? . Besides *sì* and *sì... bà*, there are other lexical items which are used to convey negation in F ε ?f ε ? . These items are illustrated in (6a), (6b), (6c) and (6d) with *kà?*, *pá?*, *lè*, and *là?* respectively.

- (6) a. Siani **kà?** fhú ɳgɛ́ ntéé
 Siani NEG P1 go market
 ‘Siani has not gone to the market.’
- b. Pü lè [má Siani **pá?** ɳgɛ́ ntéé]
 INDF say [that Siani NEG go market]
 ‘Siani has been told not to go to the market.’
- c. Siani sù? á lè γé ntéé
 Siani come 3SG NEG go market
 ‘Siani came and did not go to the market.’
- d. pá? Siani lè γé ntéé
 can Siani NEG go market
 ‘Siani cannot go to the market.’
- e. Siani **là?** kwá pɛ?
 Siani Never build house
 ‘Siani has never built a house.’

The negative items in (6) may, just like *sí*, be used in combination with the clause-final marker *bá*, thus yielding bipartite constructions. This occurs when the speaker wants to give additional strength to the negative statement, as in (7).

- (7) a. Ngá?, pà-pé **ká?** lè-é pà-pé ʒí nʃáá pù pápá á

No, 1PL-INCL NEG say-that 1PL-INCL know pass DET fathers NEG

‘No, we haven’t said that we know better than our parents (EMP).’

- b. Pá? pú **lé** yúé múnʒwé **bá.**

Can INDF NEG buy woman NEG

‘It is not possible to buy a bride (EMP).’

- c. **Mbá?** mbé zó má ndék wèn wá? cù ó **bá.**

NEG agree 2SG that debt INDF remain head POSS NEG

‘Don’t (you) owe anyone anything (EMP).’

The markers *Pá?* and *Mbá?* are two allomorphs of the same item. The first occurs clause-initially, while the second occurs elsewhere, as illustrated in (8). The example in (7c) is a consecutive imperative clause extracted from a series of many clauses. Note however that there are some elderly speakers, especially Bana speakers, who at times also use the pre-nasalised version *mbá?* of this item clause initially.

- (8) **Pá?** ŋgé ntéé, **mbá?** ndøø wúzá

NEG go market NEG cook food

‘Don’t go to the market and don’t prepare food!’

The clause-final negator is not used as a standalone item to convey the semantics of negation. Hence, if the middle field negator is taken out of any of the above examples, the resulting sentences will become unacceptable negative sentences. Yet, the clause-final marker can still occur in some sentences where it is felt to contribute some sort of a negative meaning, though indirectly or only pragmatically. For instance, though the example in (9) does not at first sight appear negative, the listener associates each of the clauses it contains to a negative proposition. This is worthy of attention because these underlying negative propositions will be replaced

by a mere feeling of finality, in the sense of authority, if the clause-final marker is left out.

(9)	Yá	γé	tè	kwé	ná	bǎa	ndì	lá	bá,
	It	go	until	reach	on	DEM	limit	DEF	NEG[
	mà	pù	ká Kó	náa	si?si	yòò	náá	yòò	bá] ,
	[that	3PL	F2 receive	take	rub	3PL	body	POSS	NEG]
	[tè	ó	ndé	ncyé?	[má	pù	pá	ŋgù	láhá]?
	[until	2SG	say	now	[that	3PL	again	do	how]
	[Mà	pù	ká	kó	bá]				
	[that	3PL	F2	receive	NEG]]				

‘In case things go that far, then they will have to live with the situation of course. What else can they do? They will have to accept it of course.’

The *bá* in the first line of (9) could be considered as a counter-expectational marker. Its pragmatic contribution is to give the clause in which it occurs the following interpretation: ‘*it is of course not expected for things to get that far, but if that were to be the case ...*’ Hence, though there is no other negative marker here, except for *bá*, there is still a hidden, unspoken negative statement which would be absent if the marker *bá* were not present. The *bá* in the second and third lines could be considered as a strong positive polarity item (see Szabolcsi, 2004). It conveys a connotation of resignation on the part of the speaker; resignation as to the real course of events which the experiencer is not in a position to influence. So, the unstated message underlying the polite constructions in the second and third lines is ‘*they will not have any other choice but to accept/take things as they are*’. As a strong positive polarity item then, *bá* in the second and third lines of (9) pragmatically conveys some form of negative semantics. I can therefore state that the clause-final marker can contribute the semantics of negation only indirectly. Unlike the other negative markers illustrated above, it cannot be inserted into a positive proposition to reverse its truth conditional properties.

The above examples have shown that there are many lexical items used for the expression of negation in Feʔfeʔ. Among these are *sí*, *kòx?*, *páʔ/ Mbáʔ*, *lòx?*, and *lé*. Each of these markers can be used either as a standalone item or in a bipartite relation with the clause-final marker *bá*. The latter contributes the semantics of negation as a standalone item only indirectly, by means of pragmatic detours. Worth noting is the fact that a negative answer to a yes/no question may not be formulated

with any of the above negatives. For this purpose, Fe?fe? speakers make use of the item *Dgà?* (10b), which can be considered to derive from the verb *to deny* or *to refuse* ‘nah *ngà?*’.

- (10) a. Siani ndùà ã?

Siani home Q

‘Is Siani home?’

- b. **Dgà?**

‘No.’

It is also important to note here that none of the lexical items discussed in (5) to (9) may be used as a negative fragmentary answer in Fe?fe?. For negative fragmentary answers, Fe?fe? has to rely on n-words as illustrated in (11).

- (11) a. Wó mà ndùà ã?

Who PROG home Q

‘Who is in?’

- b. **Sòwèn**

‘Nobody.’

N-words constitute the subject of much debate because multiple instances of seemingly negative items happen to be interpreted as a single negation, thus challenging the theory of compositionality of meaning. The distribution of n-words varies from language to language. N-words co-occur with the negative marker in some languages but are mutually exclusive with it in others. In the first case involving double negation (DN) in languages like Dutch (12), n-words and negative markers are mutually exclusive in a clause expressing a single negation. In the second case, referred to as negative concord (NC) languages such as Czech (13), an n-word and a negative marker together convey a single negation reading.

- (12) a. Niemand loopt

n-person walks

‘Nobody walks.’

b. *Niemand loopt niet

n-person walks not

‘Nobody walks.’

(13) Milan nividi nikoho

Mila neg-sees n-person

‘Milan doesn’t see anybody.’

It follows that n-words convey the semantics of negation in some languages but seem not to do so in others. This raises a question related to their inherent interpretation. Two major approaches to the interpretation of n-words emerge from the relevant literature, standing in stark opposition to each other. The first of these analyses n-words as semantically negative just like the markers of sentential negation (de Swart and Sag, 2002). According to the second one, n-words are inherently non negative (Zeijlstra, 2004; Penka, 2007). In between these two extremes we find a more compromising approach stating that n-words are ambiguous between a negative and a non-negative interpretation (Herburger, 2001).

Though n-words in Fe?fe? appear to follow the pattern attested in negative concord languages (14), they additionally display the particular characteristic of also occurring in non-negative contexts (15).

(14) **Sòwèn** kà? lε **sònù** mbí **sòwèn**

Nobody NEG say nothing to nobody

‘Nobody said anything to anybody.’

(15) **Sòwèn**⁴ lé **sònù** mbí **sòwèn** ε?

Nobody say nothing to nobody Q

‘Has anybody said anything to anyone?’

Fe?fe? therefore brings together two contradictory facets of n-words, thus displaying the characteristics of two distinct groups of languages, the first in which n-words are inherently non-negative, and the second in which n-words are inherently negative. This raises the need to resolve the tension that arises from the non-negative facet of

⁴N-words may also co-occur with an obligatory clause-final marker as in non-past environments.

n-words, as in yes/no questions (15) and their negative facet as in fragmentary answers (11). This question is postponed for future research.

1.2.3. The redistribution of negative markers

The characteristic property of the variation displayed in the negation system of Fe?fe? lies in the fact that negative items are not used randomly. In other words, it is not possible to simply insert any negative marker into a given positive sentence in order to negate it. For instance, if the negative markers in (6a) and (6b) are interchanged, this would result in unacceptable sentences as shown in (16).

- (16) a. *Siani **pá?** γé ntéé
 Siani NEG go market
 ‘Siani has not gone to the market.’
- b. *Pu lé má Siani **kà?** ηgé ntéé
 INDF say that Siani NEG go market
 ‘Siani has been told not to go to the market.’

The ungrammaticality of (16a) and (16b) on the one hand, in comparison to the acceptability of (6a) and (6b) on the other, suggests that we are dealing here with an instance of contextual variation with specific markers dedicated to specific syntactic environments. This is indeed the case, with markers in complementary distribution in the indicative, but in free variation elsewhere. The redistribution of negative markers which is summarised in table 1 is as follows. In past tenses preceding the speech day (P2 & P3), *sí* is used to express negation (5a). In non-past environments, namely future tenses, habitual and progressive present tenses, and in locatives, *sí...ba* is the marker of negation (5b). In the (P1) past tense, which is restricted to the speech day (6a), as well as in the perfective present tense (7a), the language makes use of *kà?*. The marker *lé* is used in consecutive⁵ clauses (6c), and in complement clauses to the modal *pá?* (6d). In non-indicative environments, negative markers come in free variation. In imperatives, and in directive complements, *sí...ba* (17a) and *pá?/mbá?* (17b) are in free variation. In infinitives and purpose clauses, *sí...ba* (18a) and *pá?/mbá?* (18b) are in free variation. This distribution is summarised in table 1.

⁵See chapter 3 for a brief description of the different clause types of Fe?fe?.

- (17) a. Ó **sí** γé ntéé
 2SG NEG go market

‘Don’t go to the market! ’

- b. **Pó?** ηgé ntéé
 NEG go market

‘Don’t go to the market! ’

- (18) a. Siani fúá **pá?** γé ntéé
 Siani leave NEG go market

‘Siani has left so as not to go to the market.’

- b. Siani pé náh **sí** ηgé ntéé **bá**
 Siani agree to NEG go market NEG

‘Siani has agreed not to go to the market.’

1.2.4. Word order facts

The negation system of Fe?fe? also displays some word order variation. Starting with monopartite negation, we observe that the negative marker always follows the subject when there is one (5a), (6a), (6b), (6c), and (6e). This gives the word order subject > negation as in (19).

- (19) Subject > Neg

Following the negative marker, there is a verb plus its complement(s) as in (5a), in (6a), (6b), and (6c). These may optionally be preceded by an aspectual marker as in (20). We thus far obtain the order in (21).

- (20) Siani ká? fhú má ηgé ntéé
 Siani NEG P1 PROG go market

‘Siani was not going to the market.’

- (21) Subject > Neg > Asp > Verb > Compl

The word order in (21) is the same in all monopartite negative constructions which take the elements in (21). An element of variation however intervenes when the word order between the tense marker and the negative marker is taken into consideration. To illustrate this point, let us consider examples (5a) and (6a) repeated here for convenience.

- (5) a. Siani **lè** **sì** **γɛ** ntéé
 Siani P3 NEG go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’
- (6) a. Siani **kà?** **fhú** **ŋgɛ** ntéé
 Siani NEG P1 go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market (earlier today).’

In (5a), the tense marker *lè* precedes the negative marker *sì*. In (6a), by contrast, the tense marker *fhú* follows the negative marker *kà?*. This provides us with the order tense > negation in the first case and the order negation > tense in the second. We can now revise the word order in (21) with the addition of the tense information as in (22).

- (22) a. Subject > TP > Neg > Asp > Verb > Compl
 b. Subject > Neg > TP > Asp > Verb > Compl

From (22), we observe that there are two different surface positions for negation, one preceding the tense marker and the other following the tense marker. This provides another instance of variation in the negation system of Fe?fa?. Synchronously, one could account for the variation discussed so far by postulating three alternative possibilities.

- ❖ Each of the elements involved occurs in separate tense and negative phrases. This would imply that there are two tense phrases and two negative phrases at work in the clause structure of the language.
- ❖ There is a uniquely dedicated tense phrase and a uniquely dedicated negative phrase. Adopting this position would imply that one of the two orders is derived from the other. That is, either the order negation > tense is derived, or the order tense > negation is derived.

- ❖ Either there are two NegPs, one preceding a unique TP and the other following it, or there are two TPs, one preceding a unique NegP and the other following it.

The choice between the above three options must be made on empirical grounds. Data from teenagers' speech (see section 1.6) show the reversed order between *sì* and *lè* in (5a), thus giving negation > tense rather than tense > negation. This provides the same word order between (5a) and (6a) for teenagers, thus leading to eliminate (22a) from the speech of teenagers. Taking this into consideration leads me to postulate a change in the position of negation, with the negative marker being initially merged as in (22a) in adults' speech, and then moving beyond the TP and resulting in a position preceding tense, with the new order in (22b).

The inclusion of the word order of bipartite negation as in (5b) makes the picture even more complex. This is because the order between tense and negation in (5a) is different from the order between tense and negation in (5b), despite the fact that both (5a) and (5b) have *si/si...ba* as negative marker.

(5)	a.	Siani	lè	sì	$\gamma \dot{\epsilon}$	ntéé
		Siani	P3	NEG	go	market
‘Siani did not go to the market.’						
	b.	Siani	si	ká	$\gamma \dot{\epsilon}$	ntéé ba
		Siani	NEG	F2	go	market NEG
‘Siani will not go to the market.’						

In (5a), the negative marker *sì* follows the tense marker *lè*, giving the word order tense > negation as in (22a). In (5b), by contrast, the negative marker *si* precedes the future tense marker *ká*, yielding the word order negation > tense as in (22b).

On the basis of (5a) and (5b) alone, one may want to postulate that the past tense marker is structurally higher than the future tense marker. This would provide a unique position for negation between the two TPs. However, the tense marker *fú* in (6a) is also a past tense marker. Yet it follows the negative marker *kà?*. In the data of teenagers, we see that *kà?* and *sì* do not occur in different positions. This suggests that *sì* in the data of adults is lower than *sì* in the data of teenagers. We could therefore postulate that there are two surface positions for *sì* in the grammar. The presence of the clause-final negator *ba* in (5b) leads me to further modify (22) as in (23):

- (23) a. Subject > TP > Neg > Asp > Verb > Compl
 b. Subject > Neg > TP > Asp > Verb > Compl
 c. Subject > Neg > TP > Asp > Verb > Compl > Neg⁶

Summing up, there are two major elements of variation with regard to word order. The first has to do with the position of negation in relation to tense. The second involves the presence versus absence of the clause-final negator *bà*. A more elaborate description of these questions is provided in section 7.2. There, an integrative discussion including the structural relation of negative markers with other functional categories such as tense and aspect is undertaken in an attempt to structurally capture the extensive variation just overviewed on a single synchronic clausal structure.

1.3. Variation in contemporary theoretical linguistics

From a parametric perspective, the phenomenon of variation - whether it involves synchronic variation among different grammatical systems or diachronic variation between different stages of the same language - is considered to involve mutually exclusive options. For instance, all languages are considered to be either VO or OV, with radically free word-order languages being considered impossible. Viewed from this angle, a parametric approach to language forces a consistent choice on any given grammatical system. In this spirit, Ouhalla (1990) proposed the Neg parameter according to which there are two groups of languages with respect to the patterning of clausal negation. In the English type of languages, negation selects the VP as illustrated with (24).

- (24) ‘She will **not** eat beans.’
 (25) ‘Elle **ne** mangera **pas** de haricot.’

In (24), the expected word order is tense > negation > verb. The French type of languages illustrated with (25) displays the order negation > tense > verb. This provides a parametric choice between the word-order negation > tense versus tense > negation. However, when the following examples are taken into consideration, a language such as Fε?Fε? may be viewed as questioning such a parameterisation. In (26), the negative markers *kà?* and *si*

⁶Bipartite negation with a clause-final negator has been labelled BNF, meaning bipartite negation with a final Neg (Bell, 2004).

precede the tense markers *fú* and *ká* respectively, thus patterning with the French type of languages. In (27) by contrast, the negative marker *si* follows the tense marker *lè* in accordance with the English type of languages.

- (26) a. Siani **kà?** fhú nzá ɻkwé
- Siani NEG P1 eat beans
- ‘Siani did not eat beans (earlier today).’
- b. Siani **si** ká zá ɻkwé **bá**
- Siani NEG F2 eat beans NEG
- ‘Siani will not eat beans.’
- (27) Siani lè **si** zá ɻkwé
- Siani P3 NEG eat beans
- ‘Siani did not eat beans.’

The above examples show that Fe?fe? patterns rather nicely with both the French and the English types of languages, thus fitting into both supposedly exclusive options of the Neg parameter. Moreover, these facts provide empirical evidence against a similar parametric view also adopted by Zanuttini (1997), who claims that ‘the position where a negative marker can occur is fixed within each language’.⁷ Zanuttini goes even further to account for pre-verbal versus post-verbal negation as representing two opposite parametric options with regard to the expression of negation.

As such, Zanuttini argues that the mutual co-existence of both pre-verbal and post-verbal negation should be empirically nonexistent from the perspective of a single language state. However, this approach to parametric variation cannot be reconciled with data such as that found in Cairese which, just like Fe?fe?, synchronically displays the contemporary co-existence of the possible conflicting parametric options as seen in (28).

⁷ I come back to this in relation to the structural implications of overlapping markers during the JC in chapter 7.

- (28) a. U **n**'importa
 s.cl NEG matters
 'It doesn't matter.'
- b. Renata am piaz **nen**
 Renata s.cl me pleases NEG
 'I don't like Renata.'

In the above Cairese examples provided by Zanuttini (1997: 14), *n* in (28a) illustrates pre-verbal negation, while *nen* in (28b) illustrates post-verbal negation. Both examples are however representative of the contemporary use of negation in this Italian dialect investigated by Parry (1997). Hence, the two conflicting parametric options assumed to be antagonistic or mutually exclusive *peacefully* co-exist in contemporary Cairese. If the parameterisation approach regarding the expression of negation as argued for by Ouhalla (1990) and Zanuttini (1997) is to be maintained, the examples above from Cairese and Fε?Fε? yield a situation of *grammar internal parametric variation*. We know however from the present state of theoretical linguistics - more specifically of the parametric framework - that such a combination of contradictory parametric options is prohibited. The need therefore arises to look into these and similar sets of data from a different perspective.

1.4. Plan of inquiry: the comparative tool

According to Greenberg (1969: 147), a fundamental purpose of the comparative method is the uncovering of constancies of structure or of developmental tendencies underlying individual variant forms. This (uncovering) task is based on the well-accepted assumption that human languages in their surface diversities are all cut from the same underlying pattern. In this regard, it is possible to characterise the underlying pattern common to all human languages only if structural patterns of variable languages, whether historically related or not, exhibit some common denominators in spite of their differences. From this perspective, the comparative method turns out to be an indispensable tool, without which it is impossible to construct a universal model and a more general theory of language. By means of cross-linguistic comparison we are able to move to generalisations that hold of human languages in general. This provides support for the concept of a Universal Grammar (UG), a general theory of the human language faculty made

up of invariant principles. Another principle to which I adhere in this book and that may be considered to derive from a UG perspective to the study of human languages is the Uniformitarian Principle (UP). The UP has been proposed among others by Labov (1972), and Croft (2003). These authors postulate that languages of the past do not differ in nature from present day languages. Hence, both past and present day languages are governed by the same principles, and the forces underlying linguistic change are therefore likely to be the same in both present and past language states. The present research assumes both UG and the UP while comparing the negation system of Fe?fe? not only to historically unrelated languages, but also to past language states.

Though the negation data of Fe?fe? in its synchronic state appear to display a situation of grammar internal parametric variation, it turns out - when this system is compared to languages with historical records in their stepwise development across time - that the situation observed in present day Fe?fe? is simply the manifestation of language change. Differently stated, we are dealing here with the result of a meeting point between multiple successive options that have stacked up into the linguistic system in a period of intensive reshuffling subsequent to language change. While the parametric approach in its present state postulates mutually exclusive options in situations of variation, the set of empirical data encountered across languages suggests that one should rather embark on a different analytical route. As an empirical argument to back up the claim that *grammar internal variation* results from the accumulation of successive options that stack up into the system until the grammar has found and adopted a new system, let's consider the diachrony of negation in the English language.

In Early Old English, that is, as early as the eighth century according to van Kemenade (2000: 58-59), the English language made use – for the expression of negation – only of the marker *ne* (initially *no*) which immediately preceded the verb. As early as Classical Old English, however, the use of bipartite negation is attested, with the older negator *ne* being concomitantly used with other forms such as *na/no* and *nawiht/nowiht* for the expression of a single sentential negation (van Kemenade, 2000: 63-64). Note however that the introduction of bipartite negation does not lead to the immediate eradication of the previous use with *ne* alone for the expression of negation. Rather, both monopartite and bipartite uses are co-variants for many centuries. We therefore have here the first instance of *grammar-internal variation* as the result of the introduction of a new option for the expression of the same grammatical function. In Early Middle English, the two co-variants already attested in Old English continue to be used for the expression of negation, the only difference being that the spelling of the second item in bipartite negation has changed. From the form *na/no* and *nawiht/nowiht* of Old English, we now have the

spelling *noht/noȝt/nout* and *nawt/naht* in bipartition with *ne* (Jack, 1978a). In Later Middle English, we see an additional way of expressing negation, namely *not* (the descendant of *nawiht/nawt*) as a standalone marker of negation. It is however worth noting that this form is used alongside the two previous uses attested from Classical Old English. Granted, the previous uses are exponentially reduced in Later Middle English in comparison to the increasing use of the standalone *not* (Jack, 1978b). Yet they are still present in the grammatical system at the introduction of *not*, and survive for a certain period of time alongside *not* before finally going out of use.

It follows that we attest (at least) three different ways of expressing negation in Later Middle English. Moreover, these three means of expressing the same grammatical function result from the accumulation of options that have been introduced into the language one after the other and have stacked up while waiting for the grammar to adopt a new system. The new system eventually prevails as we enter the Early Modern English period, where *not* is established as the marker of negation. This perception of the facts corroborates Kroch's (1989, 1994) statement according to which a reorganisation of the grammar takes place only when one form entirely displaces (all) the other(s) at the end point of a change. In between the single form launching the language change in Classical Old English and the single form that closes up this change in Early Modern English, the grammatical system displays *grammar-internal variation*. From the perspective of the parametric framework this would straightforwardly correspond to *grammar-internal parametric variation*. Such variation arises in other languages as well, including German and Dutch for Germanic, French and Cairese for Romance, and Welsh for Celtic (see section 4.3 for a more elaborate discussion).

Beyond the macro-comparison with unrelated languages, the comparative method is further invoked through micro-comparison as a means of delineating the variation displayed in the negation system of Fe?fε?. At this level (micro-comparison), the redistribution of a single linguistic process is observed across closely related languages. According to Greenberg (1966: 517), ‘the method is therefore like that of producing a moving picture from successive still shots obtained from languages at various stages of the development that interests us.’ In this regard, the different stages found in the languages compared are considered to reflect the different stages of the evolution of the process under consideration (cf. Greenberg, 1969; Zanuttini, 1997; and Kayne, 2000). In short, this approach consists in inferring diachronic links through the analysis of synchronic micro-variation.

Therefore the synchronic negation system of closely related Bamileke⁸ languages such as Foto, Nweh, Mengaka and Ngomba is taken into consideration. This way, we can see the cognates of the negative forms of Fe?fe? at different stages of their chronological evolution across these languages. We can thus see that the negation system of Foto (adult speech) is more similar to the teenage negation system of Fe?fe?, thus indicating that the former might be more innovative. Mengaka I will consider as more conservative in continuing to use the cognate of the oldest marker as an autonomous marker of negation in numerous syntactic environments. The newer markers are found mostly in bipartition with the oldest marker, and we can thus witness their stepwise change into autonomous items serving the function of negation. I will use this micro-comparative view of Bamileke languages as further empirical support for the hypothesis of language change as an explanation underlying the variation displayed by the negation system of Fe?fe?.

Finally, I also rely on language internal cross-generational comparison, also referred to as the socio-historical method, with the purpose of further supporting the thesis of language change. In this regard, the speech of elderly speakers is compared to the speech of teenagers. The aim of the language internal cross-generational comparison for Fe?fe? was to trace at least some signs of changes in this synchronic language state before definitely extending the thesis of language change to the variation observed. This decision was based on the assumption that if the observed variation was the result of language change, we might see it ‘at work’, showing contemporary divergences across generations. In this regard, I explored the dialects of Central Fe?fe? in search of contemporary differences that could be relied upon to advocate the thesis of language change. Note, however, that the restriction to Central Fe?fe? was the result of a survey also involving Northern Fe?fe?, from which I drew the conclusion that the northern dialects such as Foutouni, Fondjomekwet, and Fondanti are so different that it would confuse matters. For instance, with regard to pronunciation, they do not consider themselves Fe?fe? at all. Moreover, the internal variations found even within the closer northern dialects such as Banja and Bapouantou end up constituting a distraction with respect to the specific purpose of the investigation. Because of this divergence, I exclude the Northern dialects from the present analysis. The cross-generational comparison carried out among the speakers of Central Fe?fe? is described in section 6. But immediately below, I first introduce the reader to the language under study.

⁸ The Nweh data are from Nkemnji (1992, 1995); the Ngomba data are taken from Sartre (1999, 2002), the Mengaka and Foto data were obtained from personal communications with informants from the related speech communities.

1.5. The language

Linguistically, Fe?fe? belongs to the Niger-Congo language family which, according to most recent estimates, would be the largest in the world.

1.5.1. The people

Fe?fe? is spoken in the Haut-Nkam division of the west province of Cameroon. The people refer to themselves as *pá-Fà?*, meaning *the people of Fà?*. *Fà?* is also the headquarters of the Haut-Nkam division, rendered in administrative documents as *Bafang*. The word *fà?* stems from *fàʔá*, which means *so* or *thus* (near hearer demonstrative). Hence, *Fèʔéfèʔé* would be a reduplicated form of the near speaker version of this word.

1.5.2. Linguistic classification

Fe?fe? is a Bamileke language of the Eastern Grassfield Bantu group. Bantu languages belong to the Benue-Congo family of the Niger-Congo phylum (also referred to as the Niger Kordofanian phylum). The latter is one out of the four major language phyla of Africa. The figure below shows how Fe?fe? can be traced back to Niger-Congo. The Grassfield zone is, thus, subdivided into four major groups:

- ❖ Eastern Grassfield
- ❖ Momo
- ❖ Ring
- ❖ Menchum

The most recent internal classification of Grassfield languages (Watters, 2003) considers Fe?fe? along with ten other languages as belonging to the Bamileke subgroup of the Mbam-Nkam, as we can see on the extreme right of the figure. Bamileke as a branch comprises, apart from Fe?fe?, Ghomala? (Bafunda), Yemba (Foto), Dgyembong, Ngombale, Ngwe (Nweh), Mægaka (Menjaka), Nda?nda? (Bangwa), Ngomba, Kwa?, and Medumba. The languages are to some extent mutually intelligible, with increase or decrease of intelligibility relative to the geographical distance between them. Hence, Ngombale and Mengaka for instance could appear, because of geographic proximity, to be more closely related to the Ngemba languages of the North-West than to a Bamileke language such as Fe?fe?, which is geographically more distant.

The present classification takes into consideration the most recent contributions that have been proposed after Richardson (1957). According to Richardson, Bamileke languages would fall under the non-Bantu Bantoid subgroup.

Table 2: Fe?fε? within Bamileke, the Grassfields, Bantu and further.

However, the Grassfield Research group convincingly demonstrates that Bamileke languages share most of the defining properties of other Bantu languages and should be included within this group. Williamson (1971), Voorhoeve (1971) among others have made substantial contribution toward this end. Voorhoeve goes even further to argue that Ngemba and Nun also fall under Bamileke. Ngemba languages are mutually intelligible with the Bamileke language spoken in the Bamboutos department. However, the political division that resulted from the colonial administration redistributed Ngemba and Bamileke into English and French

speaking Cameroons respectively. Moreover, the strong influence of Islam and the successive attempts by Sultan Njoya (regional king) to conquer and subject the surrounding kingdoms, have greatly contributed to set the Bamoun people apart as a separate ethnic group. Yet their language shares many properties with Bamileke languages.

Dieu and Renaud (1983) in ALCAM (Atlas linguistique du Cameroun) subdivide Fε?fe? into two major areas: Northern Fε?fe? and Central Fε?fe?. Northern Fε?fe? comprises dialects such as Fotouni, Fondanti, Fondjomekwet, Banja, Bapouantou; while Central Fε?fe? is made up of Bana, Banka, Bafang Centre, Banwa, and Bakou, among others. However, Hyman (1972) in his study of the phonology of Fε?fe? does not consider Fotouni, Fondanti and Fonjomekwet as Fε?fe? dialects. He thus reduces Northern Fε?fe? to Banja and Bapouantou.

Beyond the above divisions into Northern versus Central Fε?fe?, Domche (1984: 46-57) states that all the villages taken into consideration – at the exception of Fondjomekwet which belongs to an altogether different group – are daughters, granddaughters, great granddaughters, etc. of the Fomopea language. Hence Fomopea, which is among the second original groups which left Ndop⁹, gave birth to Fokoue, Fondanti and Banka?. During the following generation, Banka? gives birth to Bana and Bafang. Bana in turn gives birth to Bakassa and Badomkassa, while Bafang gives birth to Bandoungia. Finally, Bakassa gives birth to Batie. Some major villages such as Bakou and Banwa which are not mentioned by Domche evolve from Bafang for the former, and from Bana and Bakassa for the latter.

Though data were collected in all the above villages, only the central dialects are considered in the present study. Banja and Bapouantou have been excluded because of the high amount of dialect internal variations which they display.

1.5.3. Tonal patterns

Fε?fe? is a tone language. This means that tone is meaningful in the language. Hence, the omission of tone on the segment *pua*, for instance, leads to multiple possible interpretations: *bag* (which has a low tone), *go crazy* (which has a mid tone), and *two* (with a high tone). Only by adding the appropriate tone is it possible to disambiguate, thus making it more specific with regard to meaning.

⁹Ndop is considered as the starting point of the people group known today under the label ‘Bamileke’.

Discrete tones

According to Stoll (1955), Ngangoum (1970), and Hyman (1972), Fe?fe? has four discrete level tones as illustrated in the words below:

	word	Translation	Tone level	diacritic
(29)	pùà	→ bag	Low tone	(')
30)	Púà?	to bend over/to break	Raised-low	(')
(31)	püä	to go crazy	Mid tone	(')
(32)	páú	Two	High tone	(')

However, Stoll (1955), Ngangoum (1970) and Hyman (1972) all disagree on the terminology for the raised-low and mid tones. I personally believe that this is due to the fact that what Hyman (in particular) calls raised-low in most cases is often rendered¹⁰ either like a low tone or like a mid tone. For instance, I personally think that the example above with a raised-low according to Hyman has a mid tone, while the examples below by Hyman with a raised low all have a low tone.

	Raised-low according to Hyman	but low for me
(33) a.	Cák	pot → càk
b.	Sé?	tooth → sè?
c.	Mbäää	meat → mbäää
d.	Phi	kolanut → phi

As a native speaker, I therefore have a hard time in practice figuring out what the real difference is between the raised-low tone and the mid tone. Hyman however offers an explanation to this conflicting situation by arguing that ‘raised-low tones derive from low tones’ both historically and synchronically. Hence they result from a low tone that is immediately followed by a non-low tone (a floating high tone). Given that I only have access to the synchronic state of the tonal patterns of this

¹⁰It is worth acknowledging here that there exists a gap of 44 years between 1971, when Larry Hyman collected the data for his dissertation, and present-day Fe?fe?. For instance, while we come across the variation from a low to a raised-low for the word *mbäää* (33c) when followed by the possessive adjective *my* as in *mbäää bå*, it should be noted that this occurs only in the speech of really old speakers. Moreover, not all older speakers raise the last vowel of this word before the possessive adjective. For instance, though my mother is aged 70, she (as well as many other Fe?fe? speakers) pronounces this string as *mbäää mä*. In fact this is a case of dialectal variation that does not have any bearing on semantic interpretation and should not distract us from the major pursuit of the present research.

language, and given that the restricted scope of this research does not enable me to dwell further on this question, I will not make use of a fourth discrete tone in my transcription. I will limit myself to three discrete tones: a low tone, a mid tone (which covers both raised-low and mid tones) and a high tone, knowing that some of my low and mid tones will correspond to a raised-low for Hyman. Moreover, I will make use of the diacritics (˘) for a low tone, (˙) for a high tone, and (‘) for the all other discrete tones, which may be either mid or raised-low.

Contour tones

Hyman (1972) also proposes four contour tones for Fɛ?fɛ?:

Two rising tones

- (34) A rising tone from raised-low to mid: c˘ → head, mv̊a → dog
- (35) A rising tone from raised-low to high: fh'í → new, fɛé? → thus

Two falling tones

- (36) A falling tone from mid to low: mbûū → God, mv̊en → grass
- (37) A falling tone from high to low: bɛε → this, sɛε → here

In my transcription, I will stick to two contour tones:

- (38) A rising tone (˘): kẘen → beans, ɲkɛ̊ → monkey; and
- (39) A falling tone (˙): mbûā → a madman, shâñù → a miracle/wonder

1.5.4. Syllable structure

Fɛ?fɛ? is in most respects made up of monosyllabic words. Most disyllabic words are compounds of some sort. Hence we have the words for *way* (40a) and *home* (40b) respectively which when combined give a new word *door* (40). In a similar vein, the word corresponding to the preposition *above/up* when combined with the word for *house* gives a new word, namely *roof* (41).

- (40) a. nʒì way/road
- b. Ndúá home

- c. nʒindùč *door*
- (41) a. cù *up/above*
 b. Pè? *house*
 c. cúpè? *roof*

Lexical morphemes always begin with a consonant. The latter can be followed by one or two vowels, one vowel followed by a consonant, or two vowels followed by a consonant. Optionally, a glide may occur after the initial consonant. Hence, the structure of the syllable is given in (42) below:

- (42) C₁ (W) V₁ (V₂) (C₂).

We thus have the following eight possible morpheme structures:

- (43) a. CV: kò *farm*
 b. CVV: sùà *game*
 c. CVC: sák *bird*
 d. CVVC: pùč? *break/bend over*
 e. C_wV: ſwi *to grow up*
 f. C_wVV: cwéé *cut*
 g. C_wVC: kwén *enter*
 h. C_wVVC: ſwiáč *to beat*

1.5.5. The overall word order

As a language, Feʔfeʔ displays both head-initial (44) and head-final (45) phrases. According to Abney (1987), the head element in a prepositional or noun phrase is not the nominal, but the preposition or the determiner. Accordingly, the prepositions *tám* ‘in’ in (44a) and *dòm* ‘above’ in (44b) respectively precede the nominals *ndjìá* ‘house’ and *kò?* ‘shell’. We are therefore dealing here with a head-initial phrase. In (45a) and in (45b), by contrast, the nominals *mén* ‘child’ and *pè?* ‘house’ both precede the possessive adjective *à* ‘my’ and the demonstrative adjective *bǎa* ‘that’, thus yielding head-final phrases.

- (44) a. Tám ndjúá
 In house
 ‘In the house’
- b. Dòm kò?
 Top shell
 ‘On top of/above the shell’

- (45) a. Mèn à
 Child my
 ‘My child’
- b. Pè? Băa
 House that
 ‘That house’

Despite the variation in headedness observed in (44) and (45), the clause in Fe?fe? has a rigid SVO order as illustrated with the sentences in (46) and (47).

- (46) Siani fhú ñgé kò
 Siani P1 go farm
 ‘Siani went to the farm.’
- (47) Pùu Siani fhú ñgé kò
 Children Siani P1 go farm
 ‘Siani’s children went to the farm.’

When one considers the verb *ngé* in (46) and (47), one can realise that the number (singular versus plural) of the subject does not trigger any change on the form of the verb, as one gets the same verb form with both singular and plural subject. This leads me to state that there is no overt (formal) marking of the agreement between the subject and the verb in Fe?fe?. One can further observe from the examples in (46) and (47) that functional heads in Fe?fe? are free morphemes that do not cluster

with the (stem/root of the) verb to form a single word. Hence each functional head is, by virtue of its atomicity, a word in its own right. This position may be illustrated by the fact that other morphemes may be inserted between the verb *ngé* and the tense marker *fhu* as seen in (48) and (49).

- (48) Siani fhú má ñgé kò¹
 Siani P1 PROG go farm
 ‘Siani was going to the farm.’
- (49) Siani fhú mbá ñgé kò¹
 Siani P1 again go farm
 ‘Siani went again to the farm.’

In (48), an aspectual marker occurs between the tense marker *fhu* and the verb *ngé*. This shows that the tense and the verb may not be considered as one and the same word in this language. What is even more interesting is that the item that occurs between the verb and the tense may not only be an aspectual marker as seen in (48). In (49), we find an adverbial element standing between the verb and the tense marker *fhu*.

The SVO order in Fe?fe? is also present in relative constructions, as shown in example (50). Moreover, this order is preserved even in yes/no questions (51).

- (50) a. Siani lè yi mù ká lè fè kwèlè? lá
 Siani P3 see child that P3 sell plantains FOC
 ‘Siani saw the child who sold the plantains.’
- b. Siani lè yi kwèlè? yì mù lè fè lá
 Siani P3 see plantain that child P3 sell FOC
 ‘Siani saw the plantains which the child sold.’
- (51) a. Siani lè fè kwèlè?
 Siani P3 sell plantains
 ‘Siani sold plantains.’

- b. Siani lè fé kwèlè? è?
 Siani P3 sell plantains Q
 ‘Did Siani sell plantains?’

In fact, the only context where the subject is allowed not to be in first position is in an object WH question. Nevertheless, even in an object WH question, the object may either precede (52a) or follow (52b) the SV string. In the latter case, the subject is still allowed to feature sentence-initially. As seen in (52c), the subject remains as elsewhere at sentence-initial position.

- (52) a. Ká té Siani lè fè è?
 What OM Siani P3 sell Q
 ‘What did Siani sell?’
- b. Siani lè fé ká á?
 Siani P3 sell what Q
 ‘What did Siani sell?’
- c. Wó má lè fè kwèlè? è?
 Who SM P3 sell plantains Q
 ‘Who sold the plantains?’

Given the linear pre-eminence of the subject, we always have the word order subject + the rest of the clause in Fè?fè?. It follows that the position of the subject may be used as a stable anchor from which to establish whether a functional category in the language belongs to the C or to the IP domain. More about the structural aspect of the Fè?fè? data is postponed until chapter 7. Immediately below, I describe the field work study carried out among Fè?fè? speakers.

1.6. The field study

The field study reported here was carried out in Cameroon both in Douala and in Bafang from October to December 2009. As already stated, the field study was motivated by the need to test the hypothesis of language change regarding the variation displayed in the negation system of Fè?fè?. The specific goal being

pursued was the investigation and unveiling of possible variations between different age groups, and also between different dialects (though the latter turned out not to provide any variation that could be useful for the present purposes). This is in accord with the current practice in language change studies conducted from an apparent time perspective. Accordingly, when a language undergoes changes, ‘traces of the changes are left behind in the language’s structure’ (Campbell, 2004: 225). Against this background, the following points were specifically taken into consideration during the investigation:

- ❖ Possible differences in the morphemes used to express negation in specific syntactic environments.
- ❖ Changes in the semantic contribution of a specific negative item when considered from the same or from different syntactic environment(s).
- ❖ Change in the morpho-phonology of negative items.
- ❖ Change of linear position for existing negative markers.

To this end, the data needed were gathered via three major tools. The first consisted in recording the free speech of informants during a topic-oriented conversation. In this part of the data collection none of the informants had any idea as to what was being investigated; hence there was no possibility for informants to influence the outcome in any specific direction. The informants involved here only knew I was interested in knowing more about their cultural values. The second tool used was translation tests. At this point, informants knew the target was their language. There was therefore some risk that a prescriptive norm might intervene, especially from those who have gone through the NUFI¹¹ schools. But even then, an informant would have needed to pay close attention to the specific sentences in need of translation to know what particular construction of the language was being investigated. Finally, I made use of grammaticality judgement tests as the last tool for gathering the needed data. At this point, it should have been clear to each informant involved that negation was the focus of my concern. A fourth tool was also used, but this was only with the lower school classes whose students I did not consider mature enough to actively participate in a debate on the selected topic, namely ‘Who should choose my marriage partner?’ For these younger students, the possible situations usually encountered in families were re-enacted in the form of drama. In the following paragraphs I turn to the specifics of each of these tools. But

¹¹NUFI is a literacy program specifically focused on the Fe?fe? language. Initially, NUFI was a school program meant to teach people how to read and write Fe?fe?. It has now developed into a full curriculum that teaches most school subjects (mathematics, science, geography, etc.) in Fe?fe?, and also rewards success with diplomas starting from the first school leaving certificate to the equivalent of a high school diploma.

prior to that, I would like to introduce my reader to the source of my informants (1.6.1).

1.6.1. The source of informants

Teenage¹² informants

My teenage informants were obtained from the public secondary schools and high schools of the locality of Bafang and its vicinity. More specifically, I worked with students from the following schools: Lycee Classique de Bafang, Lycee de Banwa, Lycee de Bakou, Lycee de Babouantou, Lycee de Banja, C.E.S. de Fondanti, and Lycee de Fondjomekvet. These schools have been ordered according to the level of freedom I was given by the authorities of the said schools. For instance, in the first school in the list, I was assigned an office space where both students and interested teachers could get in touch with me. Moreover, I was introduced to the higher classes by the authority in charge of the program, and was invited to participate by means of a presentation in the preparation of a yearly cultural event. As such the entire school knew I was there for the purpose of research on Fe?fɛ?. Furthermore, I was given the timetable of the different classes and could thus access a particular classroom if I knew there was no course scheduled for a particular time frame. Because of this, I could get in touch with the class prefects during the breaks and agree on a plan ahead of time. Because of this freedom of access, the activities in the other schools were all launched from Lycee Classique de Bafang. My contact person in each of the last three schools in the list was the teacher of a particular course and, as a consequence, I could only have access to his or her classroom.

The advantage of having the Lycee Classique de Bafang as a kind of headquarters for my investigations with students was that this school is right in the centre of Bafang, both as a city and as the headquarters of the Haut-Nkam division. As such all the dialectal varieties were widely represented there, unlike in the more remote villages where dialects other than that of the locality are not readily available. The peculiar advantage of all dialects being represented in Lycee Classique de Bafang becomes even more significant because my contact persons in Bana and Foutouni couldn't get me into Lycees de Bana and Foutouni respectively. As a consequence, I had to rely on those Bana and Foutouni students that were registered in Lycee Classique de Bafang. Fortunately enough, these communities were well-represented in the Lycee Classique de Bafang.

¹² The term ‘teenager’ here is generally used to refer to the younger generation of informants. Yet the subjects involved generally ranged from age 11 for the younger classes to age 22 for the higher classes. A few exceptions occurred with a 24 and two 23 year-olds in the villages Fondjomekvet and Bakou.

All in all, I worked with 50 Banka? Students, 30 Bana students, 8 Bakou students, 32 Banwa students, 64 students from Bafang Centre, 9 Fotouni students, 17 Bapouantou students, 9 Banja students, 9 Fondanti students, and 8 Fondjomekwet students; a total of 236 students. Among these are 184 from Central Fc?fe? and 52 from Northern Fe?fe?.

Elderly speakers

Unlike the student population available within the closed setting of a school, the population of elderly people was extremely difficult to access. I always needed a contact person to lead me right into the home of the informant. Moreover, it is not acceptable for such a go-between to simply introduce a visitor and leave the scene. As a consequence, the contact person had to be there throughout the exchange. Therefore, due to the other activities and responsibilities of the contact persons, the number of informants I could visit was very restricted. Hence, I interviewed an average of three to five elderly speakers per dialect. In the case of elderly speakers, I did not restrict myself to those people living in Bafang and the other Fe?fe? villages of the Haut-Nkam division. Apart from these, informants were also interviewed in the locality of Douala, where there is a significant immigrant population from the Bamileke region.

1.6.2. Data collection tools

In the previous decades, the Fe?fe? language has not been used as a major medium of instruction in the schools or as the medium of communication in the administration. Therefore, we are dealing here with a situation where I had to base my collection on purely spoken data. The data collected is subdivided into two parts, namely that which results from free speech and that which is the result of well-thought-out and conscious speech. The first part (free speech) is the result of a situation in which the focus of the speaker was not his language, but the position or opinion s/he was trying to convey about a particular question. In the second case (conscious speech), the informant paid careful attention to his/her speech because s/he was asked to translate (translation test) or evaluate the correctness of (grammaticality judgment test) a construction. Below, I discuss the gathering of free speech and of conscious speech.

The gathering of free speech

It is often argued that negative constructions are marked. Hence, people don't usually make use of them, unless they really have to. In view of this assumption, it

was necessary to design a natural context favorable for the use of negative constructions. So, the theme I used not only fitted the cultural setting, but was related to the conflicting views between generations resulting from a changing cultural system not only for $F_e?fc?$ speakers, but for Bamileke people in general. Originally, Bamileke communities constitute well-organised kingdoms with well-defined rules and principles regulating social life. Hence, there are things that are not expected from any individual belonging to the system, and any violation is severely punished. In this system, the king and his advisors can decide to exclude someone from the society or to simply bury an individual alive because he has disobeyed the prescribed norms. In this setting, a man can marry many wives, and choose the husband he desires for his daughter. The daughter's opinion doesn't count, and no one expects her to voice her preferences, if any. Furthermore, the ways marriages are conducted are decided by the two families and not by the young people getting married. Moreover, there is a boundary which a person is not expected to cross for the sake of marriage, and people in fact marry their children only to people they know very well (friends, covenant and business partners, etc). Finally, to fossilise the situation, when anything goes wrong between the young couples, their families, who are friends or business/covenant partners, come together and simply tell their children what behavior is expected of them.

Things went undisputed until contact with Western civilisation was established. A different school system is now in place, and children get to go away from their families in order to further their studies. Daughters are even allowed to study abroad, resulting in a radical change of values. More and more intertribal marriages take place, and the children from these marriages speak more French than the local language. As a consequence, the grandparents can hardly contribute to the upbringing of their grandchildren. They feel excluded. The old values are however still rooted in the older peoples' mindset. They would like to be involved in the life of their children, in the same way that their parents were once a part of theirs. They would like to tell their children who to marry and how to behave in their marriages. But the younger generation is no longer influenced by their advice and would not give them the authority needed to enforce the ancient norms. The latter are frustrated that their parents don't understand that they are grown up and should lead their own lives. They are frustrated by these continual interferences, while the parents on their side are frustrated for not being allowed to be more involved in their children's lives.

The above two paragraphs provide the setting for the goal-oriented conversations. As a native speaker conscious of the said cultural setting, I was able to participate in the conversations while directing them in the appropriate direction depending on the age of the informants, and making sure all the possibilities were taken into

consideration. For instance, if a participant or group of participants held fast to a single opinion (traditional mindset is good or bad), I would lead them to consider what was good in the position they were rejecting, and what life in the community could be or could have been with or without that. For instance, in the case of younger speakers, I often raised the problem of prostitution, pre-marital childbirth, abortion, etc., which would be non-issues if the older norms were maintained. With elderly speakers, I often brought up the problem of forced marriages that reduced the young girls/women to mere slaves, and of continual family strife due to polygamous marriages which resulted in having brothers and sisters planning to poison or kill one another.

In the case of younger speakers, the conversations were held in classroom settings, with a particular case serving as the starting point of the debate. In this case, the story of Dogmo and Sianga? was used to initiate the discussion, which would then vary according to the reaction of the different groups. Here, the students were brought together according to their village of origin. Hence, there was a discussion group for Banka? participants, another one for Bana, another for Banwa, etc. The groups were made up of three to ten persons. When there were less than three speakers of a particular dialect in a classroom, they were invited to join the same group from a different classroom.

The story of Sianga? and Dogmo

Sianga? and Dogmo meet in high school. They become friends and a mutual admiration arises. Finally they realise they are in love with each other. Upon graduating from high school, they consider making their relationship more concrete: they want to marry. However, their parents interfere. Dogmo is a girl from a different village (Dschang), and speaks a different language (Yemba). The parents of Sianga? would prefer him to marry a daughter of the land, one who can speak their own language (Fé?fē?). Because Dogmo does not meet these conditions, they oppose the marriage. The parents of Dogmo also had better plans for their daughter. They had expected that upon graduating from high school, she would marry the son of their business partner who is a wealthy guy. According to them, Sianga? does not deserve their daughter. He doesn't earn enough money to provide her with the standard of social security she deserves. Therefore, they oppose the marriage. So, here are two young persons who deeply appreciate each other and who are in love with each other, and yet they face radical opposition from both of their families.

The informants are requested to advise Dogmo and Sianga?. As high school students, they may find themselves in exactly the same situation in the years ahead. What is their reaction? Is a young person supposed to stick to his/her parents'

position? Are the motivations raised by the parents valid? What should Dogmo and Sianga? do? Should they obey their parents or move on with their love story despite their parents' opposition? The opinions were varied, and the investigator continually asked questions to keep the conversation alive. Through these discussions, negative constructions were used in natural, spontaneous speech, and I could identify which negative items occurred in which syntactic environments.

The drama version of the story of Sianga? and Dogmo

With younger students, who as a consequence do not yet have relationships with the other sex as an issue in their life, I still shared the story of Sianga? and Dogmo. But in this case, I explained to them (in French) what the debate in the different families involved could be, and they were invited to reconstitute the story in the form of drama with the different family characters. The drama was however not in French, but in Fe?fe?. In this way, though the ideas were mine, they were uttered in the Fe?fe? constructions used by these younger speakers. I let the students decide among them what they would say, and only interfered to let them know I was missing a certain aspect of the debate. Yet, I didn't discuss the issue with them in Fe?fe?. This enabled students to be creative and also produce negative constructions in natural speech without being influenced by the Fe?fe? I used. In both this situation and the situation with older students, the only concern on the part of informants was to speak in such a way that the point they were making was clear to their listener. Therefore, there was no way I interfered with their choice of words. Moreover, they couldn't interfere with my objectives which were unknown to them. Also, as with older students, the groups were formed according to the dialectal distinction and the exchange was recorded for later use.

The conversation with elderly speakers

The conversation with elderly speakers was introduced differently. In this case, I simply expressed the desire to know the cultural values of my ancestors, acknowledging some of the things that were not according to traditional norms, and resulting in things that the society was not really prepared to handle (divorce, single parenting, children torn between fighting parents, etc.). The questions often asked were what was done in the old days to prevent these situations from occurring, and what has caused the drastic change that is currently being witnessed? On which points had the parents failed in their educational duties; why did they embrace the new system; did they do it freely and if so what was their motivation? Were they compelled to do so? Would they make the same choices if they had the opportunity? New questions were raised as the conversations evolved. Elderly speakers were asked, among other things, whether they thought it possible to reverse the situation,

if they had tried anything to prevent things from going so differently. What happened that caused the younger generation to choose different cultural values? Was there any possible way to change the trend?

Control for the discourse structure?

One might raise the question whether the above set up is sufficient to control the discourse structure. In other words, is there no risk that elderly speakers end up using only past tenses because they are asked to talk about what used to be? Or would it be possible that younger speakers restrict their use of tenses only to the future because they talk about future prospects? Strictly speaking, I would say no. It is indeed not possible to prevent the speaker in this setting from going one way or the other. In fact, the free speech was not meant to lead speakers to choose one discourse structure or the other, as this is rather difficult. The sole aim of these conversations was, as much as possible, to provoke informants to voice their frustration, anger, and disagreement.

However, despite the above set-up, the conversations always varied depending on the personal realities of the informants. Most younger speakers took time to make it known that they clearly knew the former cultural values of the society, and they did this by talking about what used to happen, and many went as far as providing the true life stories of their own parents or some other close relatives as illustrations. Moreover, the questions used to keep the conversation going were sometimes simply readjusted to the particular question the informant wanted to talk about, as long as s/he ended up providing negative constructions. For instance, an older woman who was asked to talk about marriage would usually contrast the way things were done in the past with the way they are done nowadays. And, when talking about the dowry, she could express her anger at the fact that younger people simply want to do away with it, to the point of cancelling the traditional part of the wedding simply because they can't pay the dowry. In this line of thought, she would also predict how difficult it will be for the resulting couples to deal with a difficult crisis once in their marriage, because their respective families were kept out. In a particular case, an older woman directly told me: 'I repeat, your mindset has gone wrong! The types of questions you ask are not things that we could even voice in our days'. In the same vein, younger speakers would contrast the two generations, in order to show how the settings and motivations behind issues and choices were different.

Against the background of these continual contrasts between the two periods/generations in both older and younger speakers' speech, none of the conversations, to the best of my knowledge, ended up being restricted to the use of only either past or future tenses. Moreover, the fact of just allowing the speaker to

give way to the flow of his/her thought made it possible for a particular construction (consecutive clauses) that would otherwise rarely occur in a question and answer setting to be freely used. The peculiarity of consecutive clauses (see section 3.2), which turns out to play in our favor in this case, is that they are morphologically tenseless. In other words, the consecutive clause is a chameleon-like construction in the Fε?fe? discourse structure; in the sense that it always adopts the semantic tense of the preceding sentence, while remaining tenseless morphosyntactically. As a result, consecutive clauses and their peculiar negative marker are not in any way influenced by the choice of tense. Their morphosyntax with regard to both tense and negation does not vary depending on the choice of tense. Therefore, even if a particular conversation were to turn out to make use of essentially past or future tenses, this would not in any way affect consecutive constructions.

Notwithstanding the above statements, it is still possible that the very nature of the set-up may have contributed to younger speakers having a reduced number of sentences in the past tense compared with older speakers, and vice versa. Therefore, in order to prevent this from affecting the overall results, I do not compare the use of either past or future tenses between the two generations. The comparison between the two generations is therefore restricted to the occurrence or non-occurrence of a particular negation in a particular syntactic environment, to the semantic contribution of a particular negative item in the syntactic environment in which it occurs, and to whether an item occurs in bipartite or monopartite construction in a particular environment. Furthermore, I pay close attention to the concomitant presence of two different negation markers in the same syntactic environments, while checking whether the two generations differ in this regard. Finally, the word order and phonetic/phonological differences between the two generations is taken into account.

The gathering of conscious speech

The translation and grammaticality judgment tests were meant to serve as a control tool. In other words, they were intended to check, for instance, whether mismatches in word order were acceptable, whether the negators used in different syntactic environments could be interchanged with each other, whether two different negative strategies could be used in the same clause, etc. This part of the interview provided a clearer view of the situation, in the sense that students would clearly indicate that though they do not personally use a particular negator, having it in a construction does not make the construction unacceptable, because their parents or grandparents use it. So I often received answers like ‘Yes, this sentence is correct, yet, that is not how I speak.’ And to the question ‘So, how do you speak?’, a negative marker or a particular word order would simply be substituted with another one. This allowed

me to see that students are conscious of the difference between their speech and that of the older generation. Moreover, they somehow distance themselves from a norm which is not unknown to them. The reaction of older speakers to this violation of what could be considered the norm is however rather flexible. With the exception of NUFI teachers, most elderly speakers' reaction to the change of word order, for instance, between negator and tense marker was 'Children speak like that'. And to the question 'But is it correct?', they would reply with something like, 'Children speak anyway they want. Who are we to refuse anything?'

1.6.3. Data analysis

The negative constructions in each conversation were grouped according to sentence types or to the syntactic environments in which they were uttered. This decision was motivated by the distribution of negative markers in adults' speech as observed in table 1. I ended up with a table for elderly speakers that slightly differs from table 1, as well a table for younger speakers that differs from table 1. I briefly introduce here the variation that I have observed from the data, and postpone the relevant tables until a more elaborate discussion of the facts in chapter 6.

Possible differences in the morphemes used to express negation in specific syntactic environments

Firstly, in non-indicative environments, elderly speakers make use of two markers of negation in free variation. That is, they freely use either *si/si...ba* or *pá?/mbá?* without any semantic change. In the same contexts, teenagers consistently make use of *si/si... ba* alone. Secondly, in consecutive clauses, elderly speakers make use of a single negator, namely *lē*. Unlike them, teenagers use both this marker and *si...ba* in the same environment. Thirdly, in non-past tenses, elderly speakers make use of *si...ba*. Teenagers on their own use both this marker and the standalone *si*. Fourthly, in past tenses, teenagers make use only of the marker *si*. Elderly speakers, by contrast, are found to also produce *si ba* in this syntactic environment. Fifthly, in a perfective present construction conveying the overall meaning '*never*', elderly speakers use *lá?*, while teenagers use the standard perfective present marker *ká?* plus an additional morpheme *lá?*.

Changes in the semantic contribution of a specific negative item when considered within the same or from different syntactic environment(s)

I noticed in this regard that there is a shift in the productivity of some markers. First, *si...ba* is not productive for negation in past tense environments in the speech of the younger generation. In the speech of elderly speakers, this item is productive in past tenses. By contrast, *si* is not productive in future tenses in the elderly speakers' speech, while it is in the speech of the younger generation. Still, with *si... ba*, it is productive in consecutive clauses in the speech of the younger generation, while it is not in the speech of the older generation. *Là?* as a standalone item is productive for negation in a perfective construction with the meaning 'never' (henceforth, the perspectival negation). In the speech of the younger generation, this item needs to co-occur with the perfective negator to make sense.

Change in the morpho-phonology of negative items

Here, the phonetic reduction or phonetic prominence of a marker is taken into consideration. Firstly, *si* occurs in two phonetic shapes in the speech of elderly speakers, namely the normal form *si* and a phonetically more prominent form ending with a glottal stop. The latter form is scarce in the speech of teenagers, though from time to time I could perceive its remnant in the habitual construction, particularly in the speech of those teenagers who are particularly eloquent in *Fe?fe?*. Secondly, the clause-final marker occurs in two phonetic shapes in the speech of teenagers, namely in its full version and in a reduced version in the form of a mere vowel. The latter version is nonexistent in elderly speakers' speech.

Change of linear position for existing negative markers

Here, negative markers are considered in their linear position with respect to other items of the clause such as tense and subject markers. Firstly, *si* follows the past tense marker in the speech of the elderly generation, while it precedes this same marker in the younger generation's speech. Secondly, in imperatives, there are two linear positions for *si* in the speech of elderly speakers. In the first case, *si* precedes the subject marker. In the second case, *si* follows the subject marker. Only the latter version occurs in the speech of teenagers.

From the four checking points above, I conclude that the cross-generational comparison involving the generations of elderly and teenage speakers also provides empirical support confirming the hypothesis of language change initially entertained. This hypothesis was entertained by analogy with the correlation of variation with change as observed in Indo-European languages with historical

records (see the case of English discussed earlier). Building on synchronic data to advocate a case of language change as I do in this thesis is a method pioneered by Labov many decades ago. From a Saussurean perspective, synchronic and diachronic phenomena do not in any way relate to each other, (cf. Saussure, 1916). While the former deals with the simultaneous elements of a system, the latter would focus on the substitution of one element for another in time, thus relating successive items that are not accessible to a single collective consciousness. The Saussurean perception of linguistics had thus imposed on diachronic studies the requirement to consider only data from different periods of time.

Diverging from standard diachronic techniques, Labov (1965) launches the apparent-time approach that builds on synchronic variation as a screen into diachronic change. By this method, it becomes possible to disclose the dynamic tendencies embedded in the synchronic system. This is possible from a perspective that does not consider immediately successive stages of a language as absolutely discontinuous entities, but rather as a subtle continuum that brings together archaic and innovating patterns co-existing not only in the collective consciousness of the community, but also in the minds of individual speakers. In Wanner's (2006: 1-2) terminology, 'the antinomy between synchrony and diachrony, between the formal and the historical, should be relegated to the periphery'. In this spirit, I rely on historical data from English, French, and Welsh, as well as on synchronic data from Cairese and Welsh to further confirm the position that the variation encountered within a single state of a language constitutes a meeting point between items originating from different time spans. In addition to the cross-generational data of Fe?fe?, I build on this cross-linguistic evidence to propose that the variation observed in the negation system of Fe?fe? be viewed as partially analogous to the kind of variation observed in these Indo-European languages with historical records. From this perspective, both the larger number of markers and their redistribution across different syntactic environments within the same language state (see section 4.3) are less of a puzzle than one might think. I therefore propose for the data of Fe?fe? a language change analysis of the same nature as the one advocated to account for similar kinds of variation across language families.

Against this background, and given both the UP and the UG assumption that natural languages change in constrained ways, I treat the variation encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe? as a case of language change and more specifically as a slice of the Jespersen Cycle (JC). However, while I adopt a JC analysis, I do not embrace its standard version which implicitly postulates that the items under analysis are discrete entities stemming from discontinuous periods of time, with each time frame bringing its own single marker as it goes. Rather, I perceive in cross-generational variation a miniature reflection of different periods of time

imbricated into each other in the form of an undisrupted continuum. Hence, an item may span two or more generations and thus happen to overlap with other items innovated in later generations. I therefore argue that a situation of variation of the type described in table 1 is the result of a series of discrete changes contributed by each generation of users. The most immediate questions that arise therefore regard the order of introduction into the language of the co-existing markers attested, given the lack of historical records in the case of *Fε?fe?*; as well as an adequate way of accommodating the resulting variation structurally. The remainder of this thesis addresses these points.

1.7. Overview of the main issues addressed

I set out in this research to dissect the system and single out each phenomenon surfacing in two (or more) variable morphosyntactic forms or with two different semantic interpretations as evidence for one or more discrete change(s) having taken place, each at a unique and peculiar time point in the history of the language (chapter 5). But prior to picking apart the *Fε?fe?* system, I assume the validity of both UG and of the UP, and describe in chapter 4, as a prelude to the analysis of *Fε?fe?*, a set of complex negation data from Romance, Germanic and Celtic languages. The goal of this description is to provide evidence from multiple language families supporting the claim that synchronic variation in this case is a meeting point between negative markers that have been introduced into languages one after the other. Hence, when we come across the same lexical form conveying the semantics of negation in situation 1 but not in situation 2, we are to interpret the two situations as representing two distinct periods in the history of the language. As a consequence, the semantic shift from situation 1 to situation 2 points to a historical change which resulted in an interpretational shift with regard to the same morpho-phonological form. For instance, I argue that the form *si* in the following two clauses represents in each of these clauses a different historical time span.

- (53) Siani lè **si** γé ntéé
 Siani P3 NEG go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’

- (54) Siani **si** ká γé ntéé *(bá)
 Siani NEG F2 go market NEG
 ‘Siani will not go to the market.’

In the first case, *si* contributes negation as a standalone item. In the second case, *si* does not contribute negation unless in a bipartite relation with the clause-final item *bā*. I propose in chapter 6 that *si... bā* is chronologically older than the standalones *si*. Hence, the language first innovates a *si* that can only contribute the semantics of negation when in a bipartite construction with the clause-final item *bā*. However, as *si* is associated with the expression of negation by long-term use in a bipartite construction with an item already expressing negation, in the long run it acquires the ability to contribute negation as a standalone item. We can therefore see how the same lexical item occurs in two distinct usages, and yet each of the usages represents a different historical point in the language. Thus the variation involved in the two forms cannot be considered as a single event. Rather, we are dealing here with an instance of two separate historical events or changes. It follows that the fine-grained variation encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe? is the result of a series of successive discrete historical changes. In other words, the items in table 1 were not all introduced into the language at once. There was an initial generation with only one of the items. With the flow of time, the others items were successively added as new grammars arose with successive generations. Beyond the Fe?fe? data proper, evidence for this position is provided through micro-comparison with closely related languages of the Grassfield area, and this results in a relative chronology of markers as provided in chapter 6.

From the discussion in section 4.3, we observe that there is a huge amount of variation involving co-existing markers throughout the JC. Therefore, the resulting overlap, though resulting from a meeting point between markers originating from different periods of time, still needs to be accommodated within the clausal structure of a single language state. Hence, whether we are dealing with Old or Middle English, Old French, formal or informal Welsh, or Cairese, we encounter the co-existence of multiple ways of expressing negation, just like in present-day Fe?fe?. In fact, there seems to be a single way of expressing negation only at the beginning and at the end of the JC. In between these two poles, there are always at least two co-existing strategies for the expression of negation in each of the languages taken into consideration. The question this raises is what a clause structure must look like for the series of synchronic variants encountered in negation systems throughout the JC to enjoy a *peaceful* co-existence. In order to answer this question, I propose in chapter 7 that multiple negation projections (NegPs) need to be posited in the clausal domain to accommodate co-existing markers.

From the table at the introduction of this chapter, we can see that different markers associate with different syntactic environments, such that infinitives or dependent consecutive clauses for instance make use of different negative markers. The

restricted aim regarding structural variation in the present proposal is therefore to capture how a single clausal environment like an independent main clause succeeds to accommodate the synchronic co-existence of markers that have originated from different periods of time. More specifically, I discuss the variable positions of three items, namely, the markers *bá*, *kà?* and *sí* which all occur in matrix clauses. The specific claim made in chapter 7 is that negative items are not static over time. Hence, a marker that is initially introduced lower on the clausal spine will undergo structural reanalysis, thus making the space it previously occupied available for newer items. I illustrate such a historical change of position for negative markers with the variation encountered with the marker *si* between two different generations in the present Fe?fe? speech community, namely elderly (55-56) and teenage (57) speakers. We witness here a case of structural reanalysis involving the marker *sí* as found across two different generations.

(55)	Münzwé	lè	si? ¹³	ndí?	si	ndúá	mbá?	mbá
	Woman	P3	NEG	while	stay	home	man	be
	má	á	nhá	í	wú	tà?	bá	
	that	3SG	give	her	thing	much	NEG	

‘A woman did not stay in a man’s house because he gave her too many things.’

(56)	Pòh	lă?	si?	ŋgú	băa	nzánzá	púnzú	bá
	1PL	PST-HAB NEG	do	DEM	dirty things		NEG	

‘We didn’t do such dirty things.’

(57)	Pà	pàrā	yáá	sí	lè	pé		
	DET	parent	POSS	NEG	P3	agree		
	má	á	máré	pí	pápá	zá	[mbi?cú	píyá

that 3SG marry with father POSS because they

¹³More about the presence of the glottal stop on this negator in section 5.5.1; more specifically, the comments related to examples 43 to 47.

sì lă? mà pú yù tă? lă? bă]

NEG PST-HAB that 3PL have one land NEG

‘Their parents did not agree with her marrying my father because they were
not from the same village.’

In the elderly speakers’ examples in (55) and (56), we see that the negative marker *si?* follows the past tense marker *lè* (55) and the habitual marker *lă?* (56). We however observe exactly the opposite pattern in teenagers’ speech illustrated in (57). In the first line of (57), the negative marker *sì* precedes the tense marker *lè*. Moreover, *sì* also precedes the habitual marker *lă?* in the third line of (57). This provides us with an instance of upward reanalysis, where the same negative marker raises from a lower to a higher position from one period of time to another. The variation thus observed by comparing the generation of teenagers to the elderly generation provides evidence for the dynamism in the position of negation.

More specifically, once an item becomes a member of the class of negative markers, it undergoes a series of successive upward reanalyses. Hence, a marker may or may not contribute semantically to the expression of negation depending on its structural position. The default hypothesis is that a marker that is still entering the negation system will first be used in a bipartite construction with an item that already conveys negation as a standalone marker. At this point, the new item does not yet contribute the semantics of negation and occurs at a structurally low position. Upon association with the expression of negation and upon acquiring the ability to contribute negation on its own, the new marker raises upward on the clausal spine into a position from which it expresses negation as a standalone item. This item may raise further up in the process, and eventually loses its ability to contribute the semantics of negation in becoming a pure discourse item. I propose that the items *si* and *bă* in *Fé?fe?*, *bó* and *te* in *Nweh* and *pó* and *kă?* in *Menjaka* may be accounted for as belonging to different stages of such a structural change on the clausal spine.

This reanalytical aspect of the proposed account, which involves the ability of markers to occur at different positions on the structural spine depending on their propensity to convey the semantics of negation or not, also corresponds with the fact that the same negative marker may either express negation on its own or needs to be in a bipartite construction with another marker to do so. Evidence for this variation is provided from both *Fé?fe?* and closely related languages. For instance, the marker *kă?* in *Fé?fe?* expresses negation on its own. Yet the same marker in *Menjaka* is still being introduced into the negation system. Hence, it must be in a bipartite

construction with the older marker *po'* for the expression of negation. The latter (*po'*) still expresses negation as a standalone marker in Mengaka. However, its counterpart in Fe?fe? (*bā*) has now lost the ability to express negation on its own as the result of a series of reanalyses.

Chapter 8 addresses the apparent challenges that the Fe?fe? older marker constitutes for a JC-based account. The first has to do with the surface word order between old and new markers which are qualified in JC-languages as pre- versus post-verbal markers. We thus come across *ne not* in Middle English, and *ne pas* in Standard French. In the case of Fe?fe?, the old marker is post-verbal while the new marker is pre-verbal. The similarity observed in the word order pattern between old and new in most languages having received a JC-analysis suggests that there is a parallelism or correlation between chronological order and structural order in the JC. It follows that either Fe?fe? should be rejected as a JC-language on the grounds of its divergence regarding the word order question, or that there is some mismatch between linear order and structural order in the case of Fe?fe?. I argue that what matters in the JC is a correlation between chronological and structural order, and provide evidence that this correlation holds in Fe?fe? just as in other languages that have undergone this language change process, and that the surface word order of the older clause-final marker is derived.

The second challenge, this time semantic, that Fe?fe? constitutes for the JC regards the source of emphasis in bipartite negation. It is usually taken for granted that the source of emphasis in the bipartite stage of the JC lies in the new marker. The data of Fe?fe? provide an altogether different reading of the facts, with the older clause-final marker contributing emphasis while the new marker does not. Upon considering the data of West Flemish, I show that Fe?fe? is not unique in exhibiting an older marker conveying the semantics of emphasis in bipartite negation. It emerges that the pieces of empirical data regarding the bipartite stage of the JC, namely the new marker conveying emphasis in the standard account, the older marker conveying emphasis in Fe?fe? and in West Flemish, and the new marker in obligatory bipartite negation in Fe?fe?, point to a complex stage two of the JC. I subsequently set out to argue that a fine-grained version of bipartite negation settles these questions with each optional item in a bipartite negation construction contributing not negation, but emphasis. This straightforwardly explains the shared properties of Fe?fe? and West Flemish on the one hand, and the neutral reading of obligatory bipartite negation in Fe?fe? on the other. Evidence for the new marker conveying emphasis is provided from the Bamileke language Mengaka. It follows that while the data of Fe?fe? benefit from the insights provided by historical records in the JC-languages considered, the complexity and novelty of the Fe?fe? data also sheds new light on the JC as a natural language process.

A quick look at the negation table provided at the introduction of this chapter provides a motivation underlying the short grammatical overview following this chapter. From table 1, we see that the shape¹⁴ of negative markers varies with either the tense or clause type in the vicinity in which it occurs. This raises the necessity to introduce the reader to the relevant categories, and thus brings in the second and third chapters of this dissertation. Chapter 2 is devoted to the tense and aspect system, while chapter 3 provides a short description of the clause typing system of the language, taking into consideration both dependent clauses and different sentence types.

¹⁴ Note however that typological studies on dependencies between grammatical categories (Aikhenvald and Dixon, 1998; Malchukov, 1998) maintain that polarity (here negation) may not be dependent on other grammatical categories. By contrast, other grammatical categories may be dependent on polarity. Hence, the present research does not consider tense and clause types as being responsible for triggering the variation observed in the shape of negative markers. Notwithstanding the above observation, the correlation of negation with clause types has been observed by many researchers, among whom Gulderman (1996) for narrow Bantu languages, Ndayiragije (1999) for Kirundi more specifically. Ndayiragije in particular proposes that certain clause types license the negator *nti*, while the negator *ta* is licensed by different clause types. Regarding the question whether some underlying mechanisms might be responsible for triggering this correlation between negation and clause types, Bell (2004) argues that the difference is caused by an underlying variation in the set of uninterpretable features associated to each negative marker. Hence, *ta* would be licensed by a [+wh] CP, while *nti* is not. Moreover, Bell extends to the negation system of Bukusu the observed dichotomy between embedded and [+wh] clauses on the one hand, and declarative main clauses on the other hand. In Bukusu, declarative main clauses as well as embedded clauses are negated with the particle *se*. Relative clauses, by contrast, as well as wh-questions, imperatives and subjunctive clauses, are negated with a different particle, *xa*. In view of these distributional facts, Bell proposes that the particle *xa* associates with a [+wh] CP. By this he means that the head of CP in imperatives, wh-questions and relative clauses has a [+wh] feature which contributes to trigger a morpho-phonological form for negation other than the default form *se*. The position that the shape of negation in similar instances of variation would be triggered by surrounding categories is already adopted by Hallman (1997) with regard to the Nweh negation system. Hallman builds on a suggestion made by Nkemnji (1995) in a footnote, and according to which the marker *te* would be the single basic negation in Nweh, while all other negatives would result from the concatenation of *te* with other elements. Thus, *be?* would result from the fusion of *bɔ* and *te*, *kee* from the fusion of *k* and *te*, and *lee* from the fusion of *lɔ* (tense marker) and *te*. Hallman then argues that *be?*, the subjunctive negation form in Nweh, would be the concatenation of the clause-final negation *bɔ* plus the future tense marker *le?*.

II Tense and aspect

2.1 Introduction

In well-studied Indo-European languages, tense and aspect are often affixes on the verb. It is, for instance, not possible to insert an item with adverbial function between the verbal root /mang/ and the third-person present tense affix /e/ of the verb *manger* (to eat) in French. Things are however quite different with Grassfield Bantu languages in general and, in the present case, Fe?fe?. As example (1) illustrates, tense and aspect markers in Fe?fe? can be separated from each other and from the verb by other elements; i.e., this language uses a periphrastic strategy for tense and aspect marking.

- (1) Siani fhú vúsi mā mbá ŋgé ntéé.
Siani P1 hurry PROG again go market
'Siani was hurrying back to the market.'

In (1), the tense marker *fhú* is separated from the aspect marker *mā* by the adverb *vúsi*. Furthermore, the adverb *mbá* 'again' intervenes between the aspect marker and the verb. Hence, the verb *ŋgé* comes as the fourth word in linear order after the tense marker and as the second word after the aspect marker.

When these tense and aspect markers are considered from the perspective of some of the Indo-European languages, one might be tempted to merge the tense and aspect markers with the verb into a single word (2).

- (2) Siani fhúmāŋgé ntéé
Siani P1-PROG-go market
'Siani was going to the market.'

This is the orthography solution adopted by most literacy books. In view of examples like (1), such an option is clearly not optimal. Because of the possibility of inserting other items between verbal root and tense/aspect items, I subsequently treat each inflectional morpheme as a separate word.

Another question raised by the relation of the verb to inflectional elements arises when (1) is compared to (3). In (1) we have a pre-nasalised form of the verb *ŋgɛ̄*. However, the same verb in (3) appears without the preceding homorganic nasal.

(3)	Siani	fħu	njá?	γɛ̄	nté̄
	Siani	P1	already	go	market

‘Siani already went to the market’.

Additionally, the item used to express the adverbial meaning ‘*hurriedly*’ in (1) can be used as a verb, as in (4a). Furthermore, example (4b) shows that the adverb *mbá* ‘*again*’, as found in (1), is also verbal in nature.

(4)	a.	Siani	mà	mvúsi	
		Siani	PROG	hurry	
‘Siani is in a hurry.’					
	b.	Siani	mà	mbá	
		Siani	PROG	return	
				back	
		‘Siani is coming back.’			

In view of the above facts, I will first introduce the reader to the forms and functions of the verb in Fe?fe?. Therefore, section 2.2 offers a detailed discussion of the special characteristics of the Fe?fe? verb. Following this, the tense system and the aspectual systems of Fe?fe? constitute the two major focal points of the remainder of the chapter, with section 2.3 being dedicated to the tense system, while section 2.4 tackles the aspectual system of the language.

2.2. The forms and functions of the Fe?fe? verb

The goal of this section is to introduce the reader to the peculiarity of the Fe?fe? verb system. This is necessary especially because it is a recurrent phenomenon that

the same stem functions as a verb, in the sense of an event, but also performs some other functions. In section 2.2.1I discuss the variable uses of the verb, while section 2.2.2 draws the reader's attention to the two major forms of the Fe?fe? verb.

2.2.1. The functions of the verb

The verb in Fe?fe? may assume functions other than the simple expression of an event. Among other uses, the Fe?fe? verb may occur as an adjective (2.2.1.1), an adverb (2.2.1.2), as a light verb (2.2.1.3), and may even feature as a functional category (2.2.1.4).

2.2.1.1. The *Fε?fε?* verb in its *adjectival function*

The Fe?fe? verb can be used to express an adjectival meaning as in example (5), with the verbal stem vè used in (5a) as a verb but as an adjective in (5b).

- (5) a. Ndì á vè
 Father POSS aged
 ‘My father has become old.’

b. mívè múzwé
 old woman
 ‘An old woman’

2.2.1.2. The *Fe?fe?* verb in its adverbial function

The verb in Fe?fe? may also be used adverbially. For instance, the particle *pà* functions as a verb in (6a), but as an adverbial element in (6b).

- (6) a. Siani **pà** ndjàm mbèe
 Siani return behind house
 ‘Siani went back to the house.’

b. Siani **pà** ngé ntéé
 Siani again go market

‘Siani went again to the market.’

From the examples above, we can see that a verbal stem in Fe?fe? may not be given a meaning out of context. Rather, any verbal stem receives an appropriate interpretation only in association with the other elements of the clause of which it is a part.

2.2.1.3. The Fe?fe? verb in the function of a light verb

The verb may also be used as a light verb to enhance or elaborate on the meaning of the main verb (7). From the translation of (7a), it is clear that the main event of the clause consists in the cutting of the meat.

- (7) a. Siani láh pyé ntʃwé mbɔ̡ɔ̡
 Siani took knife cut meat
 ‘Siani cut the meat with a knife.’
- b. Siani láh pyé
 Siani took knife
 ‘Siani took the knife.’

Thus, the verb *lah* ‘took’ in this case has the sole role of enhancing the main verb by specifying the precise steps taken to execute the cutting of the meat. Such verbs have been referred to as light verbs. The example in (7b) however shows that the verb *lah* may also function as the only verb of a clause. In this case, it constitutes the only event of the clause.

2.2.1.4. The Fe?fe? verb used as a functional category

The verb may finally be used as a functional category, as illustrated in (8) and (9), with a tense marker and an aspectual marker respectively. In this case, the verb (8b, 9b) has undergone a grammaticalisation process by which it no longer functions as a full verb in some cases, as with the particles *fhú* in (8a) and *mà* in (9a).

- (8) a. Siani fhú ñgé ntéé
 Siani P1 go market
 ‘Siani went to the market (earlier today).’

- b. Siani fhú ntéé
 Siani return market
 ‘Siani has come back from the market.’
- (9) a. Siani mà ḥgé ntéé
 Siani PROG go market
 ‘Siani is going to the market.’
- b. Siani lè mā ntéé
 Siani P3 be market
 ‘Siani was at the market.’

From the examples in (8) and (9), we clearly see that a verb in Fε?fe? may serve as a functional category, reflecting the process of grammaticalisation whereby lexical categories have lost their initial contentive uses and become the host of more abstract features.

2.2.1.5. Interim summary

The discussion above has led us to see that the verbal stem in Fε?fe? may be used as an adjective, as an adverb, as a light verb and even as a functional category. The following paragraphs consider the two major forms of the verb in Fε?fe?.

2.2.2. The forms of the verb

Tense and aspect are marked in Fε?fe? by preverbal particles that occur in the order in (10). The tense marker immediately follows the subject of the clause, and is in turn followed by the aspect marker. Following the aspect marker is the verb phrase, which is made up of the verb plus its complement.

- (10) Siani lè mā nzā wúzā
 Siani P3 PROG eat food
 ‘Siani was eating.’

These preverbal particles can however be separated from the verb by other elements such as adverbials (11a), negation (11b), and light verbs (11c).

- (11) a. A lè yá? zá wúzá ó
 3SG P3 already eat food 2SG-POSS
 ‘He already ate your food.’
- b. O lè sì zá wúzá
 2SG P3 NEG eat food
 ‘You did not eat.’
- c. pú mà ndáh yùá? nzá kwéè wúzá
 3PL PROG take stinginess eat all food
 ‘They are stingily eating all the food.’

From examples (11b) and (11c), we see that the same verb form occurs with both singular and plural subjects, second person and third person subjects. Hence, the verb form is not determined by either tense/aspect or by agreement with the subject. As a matter of fact, there are only two verb forms in Fe?fe?: a bare verb form as in (11a) and (11b) and a pre-nasalised verb form as in (11c). In general, one may say that the bare form associates with the completed event (12), while the pre-nasalised form associates with the non-completed event (13).

- (12) Siani γè kò
 Siani go farm
 ‘Siani has gone to the farm.’
- (13) Siani mà ñgé kò
 Siani PROG go farm
 ‘Siani is going to the farm.’

However, there are some particles which contribute to trigger the bare or pre-nasalised forms, and thus seem to override the more general effects of completed aspect versus non-completed aspect. Take, as an example, the insertion of a pre-

nasalisation triggering particle in (14) with the effect of changing the form of the verb, though we still have the perfective or completed aspect. In the same vein, the presence of a non-pre-nasalisation trigger will also provide us with a bare form of the verb (15).

- (14) Siani pà $\eta g\acute{e}$ kò
 Siani again go farm

‘Siani has gone to the farm again.’

- (15) Siani mà njá? $\gamma \acute{e}$ kò
 Siani PROG first go farm

‘Siani is first going to the farm (before doing something else).’

So, we are dealing with perfective or completed aspect in both (12) and (14), and yet we have a bare form of the verb in the first case and the pre-nasalised form of the verb in the other. In the same vein, both pre-nasalised and bare forms of the verb in both (13) and (15) occur with the imperfective or non-completed aspect. This shows that the presence or absence of the particles added in (14) and (15) overrides the inherent aspectual properties of the clause under consideration. Below, the two groups of particles triggering either the bare form or the pre-nasalised form of the verb are discussed. It is argued that the items of the first group, which will be labelled pre-nasalisation triggers, can all be associated with a lexical verb. Hence, it is possible that they are verbs that are undergoing the process of grammaticalisation. This would justify their behaving like other verbs in triggering pre-nasalisation on the following verb. The second group can be considered to be less homogeneous. Hence, it is more difficult to relate them to any lexical verb. As such, they could be considered as auxiliaries at different degrees in their grammaticalisation process.

2.2.2.1. Pre-nasalisation triggers

The elements discussed in this section all trigger pre-nasalisation on the following verb. It is not possible to relate this to a phonological rule, as the nature of the phonetic elements involved is never at stake. I would rather argue that these elements simply display the behaviour characteristic of all verbs in the language. In this regard, whenever two verbs immediately follow each other, the second in linear order will be pre-nasalised. This property of verbs is observed in most Grassfield languages, and can be illustrated with verb series.

- (16) a. Siani wɔɔ ntäm siɛ
 Siani bend fall ground
 ‘Siani has fallen down.’
- b. Siani kà wɔɔ ntäm siɛ
 Siani P2 bend fall ground
 ‘Siani fell down (yesterday).’

In example (16), we are dealing with two verbs, the first of which I assume to be in a local relation with the tense (whether overt or not). The second of these verbs is not in a local relation with the tense marker because of the intervening first verb. Hence, it fails to get into an agreement relation with the tense marker and is pre-nasalised by default. I propose that all pre-verbal particles that trigger pre-nasalisation on the following verb have verbal properties. Hence they behave like the first verb in series by intervening between the main verb and the tense marker. Below I illustrate each of these elements in its pre-verbal function and in its lexical verb function.

i. *Mà*

The particle *mà* has the function of an aspectual marker in Fε?fε?. It is used to express progression, or an ongoing event, and always triggers pre-nasalisation on the immediately following verb as in (17).

- (17) Siani mà ñgɛ́ kò
 Siani PROG go farm
 ‘Siani is going to the farm.’

The particle *mà* is however a grammaticalised form of the lexical verb *mbá* ‘to be’. The two forms (grammaticalised and lexical) of this verb are used interchangeably by some speakers, while others use one or the other of the two forms in all contexts. The confusion that arises from this is particularly evident when speakers from different dialects or from different age groups (of the same dialect) communicate. The tendency is for the more conservative speakers to say that the more progressive ones have degraded the language, while the latter find the pronunciation of conservative speakers strange or perhaps archaic. However, the only difference seems to reside in the pronunciation. Hence the three forms *mbá*, *bá* and *má* can be

encountered in the same environment depending on the speaker, as in (18), (19) and (20).

- (18) a. Yá mā fɛ? ...
 b. Yá mbā fɛ? ...
 It be thus
 ‘It is like this (in view of the present situation)...’
- (19) a. Siani mā sáá lá
 b. Siani bā sáá lá
 Siani be Dem DEF
 ‘Siani was there (close to hearer).’
- (20) a. Pé bā ɲkáá wɔ?
 b. Pé mā ɲkáá wɔ
 2PL PROG run who
 ‘Who were you running away from?’

From the examples above, I conclude that the aspectual marker *mà* triggers pre-nasalisation because it has preserved its verbal properties. Note that the aspectual marker may occur with a low tone as in (15) and (17) or with a mid tone as in (20) depending on the tone of the surrounding words.

ii. Fhú

The particle *fhú* is used as P1 tense marker (see section 2.3.3.2). This particle always triggers pre-nasalisation on the following verb (21). This particle can be related to the verb *mfhú* ‘return/come back’ (22). The grammaticalised and lexical forms can occur adjacent to each other as in (23).

- (21) Siani fhú ɲgé kò
 Siani P1 go farm

‘Siani went to the farm (earlier today).’

- (22) Siani fhú kò

Siani return farm

‘Siani has come back from the farm.’

- (23) Siani fhú mfhú kò

Siani P1 return farm

‘Siani came back from the farm (earlier today).’

In (22) the lexical verb *fhú* occurs without a homorganic nasal because it is not preceded by a pre-nasalisation trigger. However, the same verb in (23) is pre-nasalised because of the preceding pre-nasalisation triggering particle *fhú*. From (22) and (23) we see that the lexical and grammaticalised form of the same verb can be so similar to each other that the only difference between them resides in the different functions they each assume. To conclude, the tense particle *fhú* triggers pre-nasalisation on the following verb because it has a verbal origin.

iii. Yi

The particle *yì*, also written simply as *i* (in literacy books) is used as the future tense marker F1 (see section 2.3.4.1). This particle triggers pre-nasalisation on the following verb (24). I propose that this particle also has a verbal source.

- (24) Siani (y)i ñgé ntéé mfɔnzá è
Siani F1 go market morning DEM

‘Siani will go to the market this morning.’

The verbal particle *yì* may be related to the forms *dì* and *nì* as in (25). Thus used, these forms express the idea of immediacy. Hence, apart from the use in (24), they have only an adverbial function in their contemporary use.

- (25) Nl ñgé ntéé lá
Yi ñgé ntéé lá
Di ñgé ntéé lá

Immediately go market FOC

‘Go immediately to the market!’

From (25), we observe that this same particle can be pronounced with three different consonants, though in exactly the same environment and with the same meaning. Unlike with the preceding particles, I however do not know of any situation where the particle *yì* / *dì* / *nì* has a clearly verbal function. As discussed earlier in section 2.2.1.2, adverbial expressions are generally considered to be verbal in nature in Fe?fe?. If on the right track, this would explain why *yì* triggers pre-nasalisation on the following verb.

iv. *Lá?*

The particle *lá?* in Fe?fe? can be used as a remoteness marker as in (28). The functional use of this particle may be considered to be derived from its lexical use in (26) and (27).

(26) Pòò lá? sì diɛ mà mùù mà ŋgùù

1PL spend night without sleeping COMP child PROGSICK

‘We spent a sleepless night as the baby was sick.’

(27) Pú lá? ndéé mǎ yèò

3PL spend night bereave mother POSS-3PL

‘They spent the night weeping because of their mother’s death.’

(28) Siani lè lá? ndé-ndéé sì fù ŋgùù

Siani P3 REM get married without grow girl

‘Siani got married long ago prematurely/without reaching the proper age.’

In (26) and (27) we have the lexical use of *lá?*, which like any verb can be preceded by a tense marker. This verb, just like any other verb, would trigger pre-nasalisation on any following verb as (27) illustrates. In its function as a remoteness marker (see sections 2.3.3.5 and 2.3.4.3), the particle *lá?* displays a disparity in its ability to trigger pre-nasalisation. When used as a remote past tense marker, *lá?* triggers pre-nasalisation on the following verb as expected (28). However, in its function as a

remote future tense marker, *lá?* does not trigger pre-nasalisation on the following verb (29).

- (29) Siani ká lá? ló-ndùá sì kwé? ηkwé?
 Siani F2 REM get married without like like

‘Siani will someday get married whether she likes it or not.’

A possible speculation about (29) would be that the future tense marker *ká* could be a modal particle, as argued for most future tense markers (Condoravdi, 2002; Kaufmann, 2005). In this case, *lá?* functions in (29) as a real tense marker and not like a verb, and hence occupies the tense (TP) slot. As a result, the following verb patterns like the first verb in a sequence, and as such cannot be pre-nasalised since it is in a local relation with the tense marker, which happens to be *lá?* in this case.

v. *Nàh*

The particle *nàh* is used as the infinitival marker (30) in *Fe?fe?*. This particle is a grammaticalised form of the verb *ndáh* ‘take’. As such, there are contexts where both forms are interchangeable (31).

- (30) Siani kèè nàh mbéé ná
 Siani refuse to hate 1SG

‘Siani has refused to hate me.’

- (31) a. Siani kèè nàh mbéé ná
 b. Siani kèè ndáh mbéé ná
 Siani refuse take hate 1SG

‘Siani has hated me by means of her refusal.’

From (31) we see that the lexical and grammaticalised forms can have exactly the same distribution (and function). Hence, the pre-nasalisation trigger on the following verb is, as in other cases, the result of having verbal properties.

vi. *Pá?*

The particle *Pá?* is used as a negative marker in imperatives. The positive imperative (32a) comes with the bare form of the verb. It follows that pre-nasalisation on the verb in (32b) has as its source the preceding particle *Pá?*.

- (32) a. γé kò
 Go farm
 ‘Go to the farm!’
- b. Pá? ŋgé kò
 NEG go farm
 ‘Don’t go to the farm!’

vii. *Pà*

The particle *pà* is used as an adverb meaning ‘again’. This adverb however derives from the verb ‘to return/go back’. Hence, I propose that this particle triggers pre-nasalisation on the following verb by virtue of its verbal nature. The adverbial and verbal uses are illustrated in (33a) and (33b) respectively.

- (33) a. Siani pà ŋgé kò
 Siani again go farm
 ‘Siani went to the farm again.’
- b. Siani pá njàm
 Siani return behind
 ‘Siani has gone back.’
- c. Pà lá!
 Return FOC
 ‘Do return!’

One may want to question the tonal difference between *pá* in (33a) and in (33b), given that tone is meaningful in Fe?fe?. I postulate that the tonal difference observed here is triggered not by the lexical effect of the tone, but rather by the effect of the surrounding tone. To corroborate this point, I provide example (33c), where the lexical verb *pà* shares a low tone with the particle *pà* ‘again’ in (33a).

viii. *Ni*

The particle *ni* is used exclusively as an adverbial item as illustrated in (34). I am not aware of any other use of *ni*.

- (34) Siani ni ñgé ntéé kwè vák lyé?
 Siani usually go market all measure day
 ‘Siani usually goes to the market every day.’

The particle *ni* always follows the subject and may not be preceded by another pre-nasalisation triggering item.

ix. *Tén*

The particle *tén* differs from other elements discussed so far because its use is restrictive. The first restriction on the use of *tén* is that it does not occur in a positive sentence (35).

- (35) *Siani tén ñgé ntéé
 Siani already go market
 ‘Siani has already gone to the market.’

Example (35) becomes acceptable if a negative marker is inserted into it, thus yielding (36). Moreover, *tén* is also acceptable in a question (37).

- (36) Siani **kò?** tén ñgé ntéé
 Siani NEG already go market
 ‘Siani has not yet gone to the market.’
- (37) Siani tén ñgé ntéé é?
 Siani already go market Q

'Has Siani already gone to the market?'

The particle *tén* always triggers pre-nasalisation, whether in a negative or in an interrogative sentence.

x. *Interim summary*

The examples above have shown that some particles always trigger pre-nasalisation on the immediately following verb irrespective of the grammatical aspect associated with the host sentence. I have proposed that these particles have a verbal source. Hence their ability to trigger pre-nasalisation on the following verb is a verbal property of the type observed whenever two verbs occur immediately adjacent to each other. In such cases, the second verb is always pre-nasalised. This is because the first verb intervenes between the tense marker and the second verb, thus resulting in the latter having infinitival behaviour rather than the behaviour of a tensed verb. I turn in the following section to non-pre-nasalisation triggers.

2.2.2.2. *Non-pre-nasalisation triggers*

The group of non-pre-nasalisation triggers is mostly made up of tense markers. This group also comprises a few items with purely adverbial functions, as well as negative markers. However, we saw from the preceding discussion that tense markers, negative markers and adverbial particles may have a verbal nature. I suggest that at least some of the tense markers, negative markers and the adverbial markers encountered in this section may also have a verbal origin. In spite of this potential verbal origin, I propose that they do not trigger pre-nasalisation on the following verb because they are much more advanced in their grammaticalisation process. Hence, they might have lost their verbal properties as a consequence. These particles are now auxiliary-like. The newly-acquired property is responsible for triggering the same effect that a tense marker would trigger on an immediately following verb, namely the bare form of the verb. In the following paragraphs I discuss some of the particles that do not trigger pre-nasalisation effects.

i. *Tense markers*

The first class of non-pre-nasalisation triggers is made up of tense markers (see section 3 below). This group comprises the two past tense markers preceding the speech day, namely P2 (38) and P3 (39), and the distant future marker, F2 (40). Whenever a verb immediately follows any of these three particles, it appears in its bare form.

- (38) Siani **kà** $\gamma\acute{e}$ kò
 Siani P2 go farm

‘Siani went to the farm (yesterday).’

- (39) Siani **lè** $\gamma\acute{e}$ kò
 Siani P3 go farm

‘Siani went to the farm (long ago).’

- (40) Siani **ká** $\gamma\acute{e}$ kò
 Siani F2 go farm

‘Siani will go to the farm.’

In (38) to (40), we have the same verb phrase, and we can observe that in all three cases we have the bare form of the verb. This implies that none of the preceding tense markers triggers a pre-nasalised verb form.

Though the particles in (38) to (40) do not trigger pre-nasalisation, I do not have any grounds for arguing that they override pre-nasalisation. This statement is motivated by the fact that they never occur between a verb and another particle by virtue of their high position in the clause. To explain what I mean by ‘override pre-nasalisation effects’, I repeat below the example in (38), while inserting additional particles first triggering (b) and then overriding (c) pre-nasalisation.

- (38) a. Siani kà $\gamma\acute{e}$ kò
 Siani P2 go farm

‘Siani went to the farm (yesterday).’

- b. Siani kà **mà** **ŋgé** kò
 Siani P2 PROG go farm

‘Siani was going to the farm (yesterday).’

- c. Siani kà **mà** **njá?** $\gamma\acute{e}$ kò

Siani P2 PROG first go farm

‘Siani was first going to the farm (yesterday).’

In (38b), the particle *má* triggers pre-nasalisation on the verb, which has changed from *yé* as in (38a) to *ygé* in (38b). In (38c), we still have the pre-nasalisation-triggering particle *má*. Yet, its pre-nasalisation effect has been overridden by the insertion of the additional particle *njá?*. Because of the presence of *njá?*, we end up having the bare form of the verb in (38c), and this is despite the presence of the pre-nasalisation trigger *má*. Therefore, I state that the pre-nasalisation effect of *má* has been overridden by the presence of *njá?* in (38c). From (38a) to (38c), we can see that the particles *kà* and *njá?* trigger the same effect on the verb, namely non-pre-nasalisation. These two particles, however, differ because of their structural height in the clause. While the former cannot occur after a pre-nasalisation trigger such as *má*, the latter can. Therefore, the latter can be argued to override pre-nasalisation effects, while it can only be stated that the former does not trigger pre-nasalisation. Given that it does not occur in a position following a pre-nasalisation trigger, there is no ground for stating whether it can override pre-nasalisation or not. I illustrate in the following paragraph the use of negative markers which do not trigger pre-nasalisation.

ii. Negative markers

The second class of elements that trigger the bare form of the verb is made up of negative markers. Like tense markers, it is not possible to state that these particles override pre-nasalisation effects, because they are structurally higher than all the particles that trigger pre-nasalisation effects. As with tense markers, a verb that immediately follows any of these particles appears in its bare form. Examples (41) to (43) illustrate this.

(41) Siani **kò?** *yé* kò

Siani NEG go farm

‘Siani has not gone to the farm.’

(42) Siani **fà?** á **lè** **zá** wúzák

Siani work 3SG NEG eat food

‘Siani worked and did not eat.’

- (43) Siani lè sì zá wúzà
 Siani P3 NEG eat food
 ‘Siani didn’t eat.’

The above examples have illustrated negative markers that do not trigger pre-nasalisation effects. Beyond tense and negative markers, another class of pre-verbal items that does not trigger pre-nasalisation is made of the adverbial elements *njá?*/*yá?*. This element constitutes the object of the following paragraphs.

iii. An auxiliary-like adverb

The adverbial *yá?/njá?* ‘already/first’ patterns like the negative and tense markers discussed above in not triggering pre-nasalisation on the following verb (44). This particle, however, differs from tense and negative markers because it can be inserted between the verb and pre-nasalisation triggering particles (45). When this happens, the particle *yá?/njá?* has the effect of overriding pre-nasalisation effects. As a consequence, the verb that immediately follows this particle always appears in its bare form.

- (44) Siani yá? γé kò
 Siani already go farm
 ‘Siani has already gone to the farm.’
- (45) Siani mà njá? γé kò
 Siani PROG first go farm
 ‘Siani is first going to the farm.’
- (46) Siani mà ngé kò
 Siani PROG go farm
 ‘Siani is going to the farm.’

When (45) is compared to (46), we can understand what it means for *njá?* to override the pre-nasalisation effect. The verb in (46) is immediately preceded by the aspectual marker *mà*. This particle is a pre-nasalisation triggering particle. Hence, the verb that follows it must start with a homorganic nasal. However, when *njá?* is

inserted between the pre-nasalisation trigger *mà* and the verb, the pre-nasalisation on the verb is cancelled, and the verb occurs in its bare form.

The meaning difference associated with the particle *yáʔ/njáʔ* deserves some attention. As stated above, this particle can be interpreted as meaning either ‘already’ or ‘first’. It is however possible to predict which meaning to expect from its use. Whenever this particle is used in an environment that is perfective by default (44), it is interpreted as meaning ‘already’. In an environment that has an overt aspectual marker (45), or in any other environment (47), it is interpreted as meaning ‘first’.

- (47) Siani pà **njáʔ** γè kò
 Siani again first go farm

‘Siani has, once more, first gone to the farm.’

Finally, we can observe the verbal tendency of *yáʔ/njáʔ* by considering its different forms in the illustrative examples. In (44) this particle appears in its bare form. This is what is expected if it is a verb, because it is first in the linear order. However, in (45) and in (47), the particle occurs in its pre-nasalised form, due to the fact that it is preceded by a pre-nasalisation trigger. From our discussion so far, the pre-nasalisation trigger affects elements that are verbal in nature. Hence, for this particle to be subjected to this principle, it needs to be a verb. We can therefore conclude that *yáʔ/njáʔ* is verbal in nature just like the pre-nasalisation triggering particles discussed in section 2.2.2.1. The fact that this particle with auxiliary-like properties is also verbal in nature suggests that some of the tense and negation particles discussed in the preceding section are also verbal. It is however not possible to test some of them further because of their high position in the clause.

2.2.2.3. Interim summary

The discussion in the preceding paragraphs leads to one major conclusion: the form of the verb in *Fe?fe?* does not depend on notions such as completed versus non-completed aspect, tensed versus non-tensed or finite versus non-finite clauses. The form of the verb is independent of such notions and is determined solely by whether the particle that immediately precedes triggers pre-nasalisation or not. It follows that it is not possible to determine whether one is dealing with a finite or non-finite clause by observing the form of the verb. It is always necessary to consider the other elements involved in the clause under consideration in order to determine whether the clause is finite or not. According to Romaine (1993: 62), the use of the same

verb form in finite and non-finite environments would signal the lack of a formal finiteness distinction in Creole languages. Commenting on the Creole forms that display no formal finiteness distinction, Eide (2007) argues that the distinction is reducible to the absolute versus relative tense distinction (see section 2.3). She then proposes that the absolute versus relative tense distinction can also be used as a diagnostic for finiteness distinction in Germanic languages. According to these authors, a formal distinction in the expression of finiteness would be responsible for the forms of the verb. If these authors are right, then *Fε?fe?* must have lost the formal expression of finiteness, thus explaining why the verb is insensitive to notions traditionally linked to finiteness such as tense and agreement. Leaving this debate for further research, I turn in the following paragraphs to the description of the tense and aspect system of *Fε?fe?*.

2.3. The tense system

2.3.1. Introduction

Following Comrie (1985: 9), this section is based on the definition of tense as ‘the grammaticalised expression of location in time’. Comrie, in his typological study, identifies different ways in which the languages of the world accomplish this task. As such he distinguishes between:

- ❖ Absolute tense systems (which take the present moment as their deictic centre or reference point);
- ❖ Relative tense systems (where the reference point for location of a situation is some point given by the context, and not necessarily the present moment); and
- ❖ Degrees of remoteness systems (where the possibility of locating situations more accurately before or after a given reference point is available).

Fε?fe? combines a relative and a remoteness system. The relative tense system in *Fε?fe?* is restricted to consecutive environments, while the degree of remoteness system covers the remaining environments. The degree of remoteness system is however based on the present moment as the deictic centre or reference point. Hence, it is a kind of absolute tense system. Though not well known to linguists studying Indo-European languages, the remoteness system for the expression of time is not unique to *Fε?fe?*. Most Bantu languages make use in non-consecutive environments of tense markers that are quantitatively related to each other. This kind of tense system differs from that of English or French, for example, in that the tenses

are subdivided according to time frames. However, just like in English and French, this is based on the present moment as the deictic centre or reference point.

Related tense systems, i.e., based on degrees of remoteness, vary cross-linguistically from a two-way to at most a seven-way subdivision for the past tense. In other words, a past tense may have up to seven degrees of remoteness. An example provided by Comrie is that of the Amerindian language Kiksht, with seven oppositions solely for the past tense. It is however observed that future tenses usually have a less prolific system than past tenses. With regard to the origin of such systems, Nurse (2008: 90) suggests that tense reference for most Bantu languages is based on the ‘communal consciousness’.

A hordienal (today) past goes back to sunrise on the same day, the start of the most recent period of communal consciousness. Likewise, a hordienal future extends to dawn tomorrow, hesternal (yesterday) and crastinal (tomorrow) work the same way, and so on.

In Fe?fe?, as elsewhere, there are more subdivisions in the past (4-5) than in the future (3). As such, there are tense markers that refer solely to the speech day, others to the previous or following day, and so on. Following Comrie (1985: 2), I assume that ‘time can be represented as a straight line, with the past represented conventionally to the left and the future to the right. The present moment, on its own, is represented as a point labelled 0 on that line’.

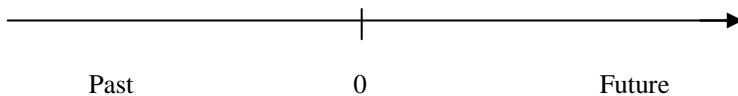


Figure 1: Representation of the time flow

The following discussion is organised as follows. The remoteness system constitutes the subject of sections 2.3.2, 2.3.3 and 2.3.4. Unlike in the above figure, however, I launch this discussion with present tenses (2.3.2). The motivation for this choice is twofold: firstly, present tenses are not subject to remoteness distinctions. Secondly, they constitute the deictic centre from which both past and future events are evaluated. Section 2.3.3 is dedicated to past tenses, and section 2.3.4 to future tenses. Relative tenses are then unpacked in section 2.3.5.

2.3.2. Present tenses

The present tense reading, that is, the correspondence of an event with the speech time, can be obtained in Fe?fe? in five possible ways. These correspond to the

progressive present, the habitual present, the perfective present, the stative present and the locative present. The present tense does not have an overt tense marker.

2.3.2.1. *The progressive present*

The progressive present, which is made up of the pre-nasalised verb form preceded by the progressive marker *mà*, expresses an event that is ongoing at the speech time.

- (48) a. Siani mà ŋgé kò
 Siani PROG go farm
 ‘Siani is going to the farm.’
- b. Siani mà ŋkwá pè?
 Siani PROG build house
 ‘Siani is building a house.’
- c. Siani mà nsáá
 Siani PROG grow tall
 ‘Siani is growing tall.’
- d. Siani mà ndát
 Siani PROG jump
 ‘Siani is jumping.’

The progressive marker in *Fe?fe?* may be used indiscriminately with any verb, irrespective of whether the verb is inherently durative or not. Hence, I have illustrated this tense with verbs whose meanings are as varied as ‘*go*’ (a), ‘*build*’ (b), ‘*grow tall*’ (c) and ‘*jump*’ (d).

2.3.2.2. *The habitual present*

The habitual present expresses an event that takes place regularly, like habitual activities (49a) and (49b). These could have a frequency that is weekly (49c), yearly (49d) or simply seasonal. The habitual present does not have an overt aspectual marker. However, it has a pre-nasalised verb form. As already seen from the discussion in section 2.2.2, whenever two verbs immediately follow each other, the

second in linear order will be pre-nasalised. Hence, pre-nasalisation on the verb form is always triggered by a preceding element of a verbal nature. The pre-nasalised verb form of the habitual present thus suggests that this verb may be underlyingly preceded by a silent pre-nasalisation trigger.

- (49) a. Siani nù ndù?
- Siani drink wine
- ‘Siani drinks wine.’
- b. Siani ŋgé kò pí püü mbi
- Siani go farm with children POSS
- ‘Siani goes to the farm with his children.’
- c. Siani ndøø ŋgóp kwè vák ŋgáñzà
- Siani cook chicken all every week
- ‘Siani cooks chicken every week.’
- d. Siani ŋkwá pè? kwè vák ŋgù?
- Siani build house all every year
- ‘Siani builds houses every year.’

Like the progressive present, the habitual present is not selective as to which verb it can occur with. Hence it can be used with verbs as diverse as ‘*drink*’ (49a), ‘*go*’ (49b), ‘*cook*’ (49c), or ‘*build*’ (49d).

2.3.2.3. *The perfective present*

The perfective present expresses an event that is completed at the speech time (50). Like the habitual present, the perfective present does not have an overt aspectual marker. It however differs from the habitual in taking a bare form of the verb. The perfective present may also express an event which is completed at the speech time, but where the real time of occurrence is much further back in the past (51). In Mutaka and Tamanji (2003), this is referred to as the perfective of result.

- (50) a. Müü zá wúzá

- Child eat food
 'The child has eaten.'
- b. Siani lòò wúzɑ
 Siani cook food
 'Siani has cooked.'
- (51) a. Njü Siani kwá mbɛ? kēé tǎä
 Husband Siani build houses up to three
 'Siani's husband has built up to three houses.'
- b. Siani zi pùù yām
 Siani born children ten
 'Siani has given birth to ten children.'

The perfective present is very widely used and does not show any restriction with regard to the inherent meaning of the verb it occurs with.

2.3.2.4. *The stative present*

The stative present is mostly used attributively. Hence it differs from the perfective in expressing the reading of a present state of affairs instead of a completed event. Most adjectives in Fe?fe? have a verbal stem and are used attributively. Hence, one obtains a stative present when they are used to express a present state. Like the perfective, the stative present employs a bare form of the verb. Illustrative examples are provided in (52).

- (52) a. Siani sàà
 Siani be tall
 'Siani is tall.'
- b. Siani pɛ?
 Siani be good/beautiful

‘Siani is good/beautiful.’

- c. Siani vɛ
 Siani be old

‘Siani is old.’

Unlike the perfective present, the stative present is very restrictive with regard to the choice of the verb with which it occurs.

2.3.2.5. *The locative present*

The locative present is used to express the present location of a person or thing. The peculiarity of the locative present lies in the absence of a verbal element. Its meaning corresponds to English constructions made up of a subject, a copula and a locative complement (53a). However, the Fɛ?fɛ? language always drops the copula in the present (53b).

- (53) a. Siani is in the house
 b. Siani ø ø ø ndùč
 Siani COP PREP DET house
- ‘Siani is in the house.’

Non-verbal predication is, however, a unique property of the Fɛ?fɛ? present tense. With other tenses the same construction takes both a tense marker and a copula as illustrated in (54).

- (54) a. Siani fhú mbá ndùč
 Siani P1 be house
 ‘Siani was in the house (earlier today).’
- b. Siani ká bá ndùč
 Siani F2 be house
 ‘Siani will be in the house.’

The locative present can also be used with purely deictic locatives like *here* and *there* (55), or with demonstratives (56).

- (55) a. Siani ŝē
 Siani LOC (near speaker)
 ‘Siani is here.’
- b. Siani ŝă
 Siani LOC (near hearer)
 ‘Siani is there.’
- c. Siani ŝî
 Siani LOC (far from speaker and hearer)
 ‘Siani is there.’
- (56) a. Siani b̂ē
 Siani DEM (near speaker)
 ‘Here is Siani / this is Siani.’
- b. Siani b̂ă
 Siani DEM (near hearer)
 ‘That is Siani.’
- c. Siani b̂î
 Siani DEM (far from speaker and hearer)
 ‘There is Siani.’

The absence of the copula in the locative present suggests that the present tense should be viewed as the deictic centre or reference point par excellence.

2.3.3. Past tenses

Like most Bantu languages, Fe?fe? subdivides the time flow in the past by means of degrees of remoteness. In this regard, Fe?fe? distinguishes five degrees of remoteness in the past: the recent past (P0), today's past (P1), yesterday's past (P2), the distant past (P3) and the remote past (P4) readings. They are discussed in this order in the following paragraphs.

2.3.3.1. The recent or immediate past tense (P0)

The recent or immediate past reading is obtained by the bare form of the verb, as in the perfective present, preceded by the particle *fhú* 'return/come back from'. This could be considered as the equivalent of the French expression 'venir de' as in (57):

- (57) Siani vient de manger
 Siani come-PRS to eat
 'Siani has just eaten.'

The immediate past lays such emphasis on the immediacy of the event that one obtains a reading according to which the event has been completed within just a few minutes (less than an hour) before the utterance, as illustrated with (58) and (59).

- (58) Pè ø kà? **fhú** sòò nà bá á?
 2PL P0 NEG return wash body NEG Q
 'Haven't you just washed?'
 (59) a. Pòò mà ñgé ywé màkàlà
 1PL PROG go buy màkàlà
 'We are going to buy màkàlà.'
 b. Mákàlà ká mà pè ø **fhú** zá wúzá á?
 Mákàlà what that 2PL P0 return eat food Q
 'What is the purpose of màkàlà when you have just eaten?'

The particle *fhú* is a light verb with the meaning ‘*return/come back*’. For instance, a mother who sees her children heading to the playground after taking their bath will utter the sentence in (58). Another good illustration occurs when teenagers head out to buy *màkàlà* immediately after dinner. This often results in an exchange like the one in (59). I have labelled this tense P0 because it is in reality not a past event, as its time of occurrence can hardly be differentiated from the point 0 on figure 1 (representing the time flow) in section 2.3.1. I would like to admit at this point that it may be difficult for the non-native speaker to understand the difference between the immediate past (P0) and the past tense restricted to the speech day (P1) immediately below. This is not because of the overlap in time frame, given that the two tenses do not overlap. One could rather say that the immediate past is included within today’s past. Moreover, while it is possible to state that the immediate past almost overlaps with the speech time, the same cannot be said of today’s past tense. On the contrary, there is an intentional distance between today’s past and the speech time. I would nevertheless provide the reader with a simple clue that can make it easy to differentiate between the two tenses. In the first case (immediate past), the eventive verb that follows the light verb *fhú* always occurs in bare form, i.e., without a preceding nasal. In the second case (today’s past) the following verb is always pre-nasalised, unless it is preceded by a non-pre-nasalisation trigger (see section 2.2.2.2).

2.3.3.2. Today’s past tense (P1)

The past tense marker *fhú*, which shall be labelled P1, is used to indicate that an event occurred on the speech day (60a). This tense marker restricts the event to a time frame that does not extend beyond the speech day. As such the insertion of an adverb with a conflicting time frame leads to an unacceptable sentence (60b).

- (60) a. Siani **fhú** *ŋgé* kò pí *pùà*
 Siani P1 go farm with bag
 ‘Siani went to the farm with the bag (earlier today).’
- b. *Siani **fhú** *ŋgé* kò *wáá* pí *pùà*
 Siani P1 go farm yesterday with bag
 ‘Siani went to the farm yesterday with the bag.’

Example (60b) is not acceptable because there is a clash between the time frame indicated by the tense marker and the one indicated by the adverb.

2.3.3.3. Yesterday's past tense (P2)

The past tense marker *kà*, which is labelled P2, is used to indicate an event that occurred the previous day, or two to three days earlier, as in (61a) and (61b). This tense marker cannot be used when referring to an event that occurred on the speech day as in (61c).

- (61) a. Siani **kà** zá ñkwé wáá
 Siani P2 eat beans yesterday
 ‘Siani ate beans yesterday.’
- b. Siani **kà** zé nñí
 Siani P2 dance song
 ‘Siani danced (yesterday/ a few days ago).’
- c. *Siani **kà** zé nñí zé?è
 Siani P2 dance song today
 ‘Siani danced today.’

Example (61c) is unacceptable because the tense marker *kà* and the adverb *zé?è* ‘today’ clash in the time frames they indicate. However, this tense marker can be used together with an adverbial specifying the precise time of occurrence within the frame indicated by the tense marker itself. So it is possible to say ‘*Siani went to the farm early in the morning or at noon*’ with *kà* as a tense marker, as illustrated with (62).

- (62) Siani **kà** zé nñí cù?
 Siani P2 dance song night
 ‘Siani danced last night.’

Example (62) is to be understood as meaning that the dancing took place during the night but within the time frame delimited by the tense marker *kà*. The tense marker *kà* may also be used when referring to a time frame as long as a week. The use of *kà* within such a longer time frame, however, is usually combined with the adverbial *fútè* ‘since’.

2.3.3.4. *The distant past tense (P3)*

Another tense marker may be used to indicate past events that are even further distant from the speech time. This is labelled P3, and may be considered as the default past tense marker, because it will be used when no specific information on the time frame is known. It is also the tense marker that many young people in the urban area used where standardly a P2 marker would have been used. As a matter of fact, many young people use P3 for all events preceding the speech day.

- (63) a. Siani lè tǒ làksi
 Siani P3 pass exam
 ‘Siani passed the exam.’
- b. Siani lè tǒ làksi ŋgú? mà?
 Siani P3 pass exam year other
 ‘Siani passed the exam last year.’

2.3.3.5. *The remote past tense (P4)*

Fε?fe? expresses events that are remotely far from the speech time by means of a remoteness marker (Rem). The latter is added to the P3 tense marker as in (64) to form a complex tense that I label P4.

- (64) Siani lè lā? kwá pɛ? sì mà á téń ndòò-ndàá
 Siani P3 REM build house without that 3SG yet get married
 ‘Siani built a house long ago when he was not yet married.’

The remoteness marker cannot however be used alone as a remote past tense marker. It must always be used in combination with the P3 tense marker.

2.3.3.6. *Interim summary*

To conclude, it is possible to distinguish up to five time frames within the past tense in Fε?fe?. This five way distinction, however, holds only if P0 is taken into consideration and given the status of a tense of its own right.

2.3.4. The future tenses

In Fe?fe? there are fewer internal distinctions for the future than for the past. As such there is a near future tense marker, a distant future tense marker, and a remote future tense marker.

2.3.4.1. The near future tense (F1)

The near future tense marker indicates an event to occur within the speech day (65). It will be labelled F1 in the subsequent discussion. This tense is marked with the particle *yì*, also rendered simply as *i* in literacy books. This tense marker is always followed by a pre-nasalised form of the verb.

(65) pé	yì	ŋgé	ntéé			
2PL	F1	go	market			

‘You will go to the market (today).’

(66) Púú	yì	ŋgé	ntéé	wáá	mbá	Siani
1PL	F1	go	market	tomorrow	mbá	Siani

‘You and I will go to the market tomorrow Siani.’

The F1 tense marker, however, is not as rigid as the P1 past tense marker (see 2.3.3.2). The P1 past tense marker yields ungrammaticality whenever it is found in the same clause with an adverb designating a different frame of time. Unlike the P1 past tense marker, the F1 future tense marker can have its time frame extended by an adverb designating a broader time frame, as in (66). Hence, when standing on its own as in (65), it has a meaning that is restricted to the time frame of the speech day. However, that restriction can be overridden by the adverb *wáá* ‘tomorrow’ as in (66).

2.3.4.2. The distant future tense (F2)

Fe?fe? makes use of a different marker to express an event to occur later than two to three days from the speech time. The morpheme *ká*, which is labelled F2, is used for this purpose.

(67) Siani	ká	lòò-ndáá	ŋgwù?	(b)é
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Siani F2. get married year DEM

‘Siani will get married this year.’

2.3.4.3. *The remote future tense (F3)*

When there is no clear idea as to when in the time ahead a future event will occur, a remoteness marker (Rem) may be added to the F2 tense marker to form the remote future tense F3. This is a complex tense, and is used for what could be considered predictions about the normal expectations of life. For instance, a teenage girl who does not understand why her mature elder sister is so protective of her husband or child may be given the answer in (68).

- (68) a. Ó ká **lá?** lòò-ndàá nʒí
 2SG F2 REM get married know
 ‘You will know when you get married some day (remotely).’
- b. Ó ká **lá?** nzi yò mùú njú?
 2SG F2 REM bare 2SG child understand
 ‘You will someday understand when you’ve had your own child.’

As discussed below, the remoteness marker is used in many other instances not related to a far-away future. The uses discussed in the following paragraphs cannot however be considered as specific tenses, unlike the remote future.

2.3.4.4. *Remoteness as the speaker’s judgement*

The use of the remoteness marker is more pervasive than discussed earlier. The speaker may choose to make use of the remoteness marker even while using the P1 past tense marker. This occurs when the speaker intends to convey the meaning of remoteness even with respect to an event that took place on the speech day. For instance, if Siani and another woman had planned to leave early to visit the market in the neighbouring village, and yet the other woman shows up at ten o clock, the exchange in (69) may take place between the woman and Siani’s daughter.

- (69) a. Mámí zó ndàá á?
 Mother 2SG home Q

'Is your mother home?'

b. Mámí zá fhú **ndá?** nʃáá sì nzá lee

Mother 1SG P1 REM leave without day clear

'My mother left long before daybreak.'

The remoteness here is not with respect to the normal time flow, but rather with regard to the plans of Siani. Or rather, with regard to the fact that the other woman has failed to honour the pre-arranged plan by showing up late. Note that the remoteness marker in (69b) has a pre-nasalised form. This is because it is a verbal particle and is preceded by the tense marker *fhú*, which is a pre-nasalisation trigger (see section 2.2.2.1).

Similar exchanges occur when students are going back to school (in the big cities). For instance, Siani's daughter (Mbúámbóó) plans to leave her family to go back to her university studies in the big city. The sister of Siani (Wèlà?ʒi) had expressed the desire to send a packet to her daughter who couldn't come home for the school break because she had to resit an exam. Wèlà?ʒi however shows up on Sunday evening, though the plan was for Mbúámbóó to leave the previous Saturday in the morning. After the usual greetings, Wèlà?ʒi and Siani may continue as in (70).

(70) a. Wèlà?ʒi: Mbúámbóó si ndáá bá á?

Mbúámbóó NEG home NEG Q

'Is Mbúámbóó not home?'

b. Siani: Mbúámbóó kà **lá?** nʃáá tè wáá

Mbúámbóó P2 REM leave since yesterday

'Mbúámbóó left (ever) since yesterday.'

Though it is difficult to convey the remoteness meaning in the English translation, (70b) will not convey the same meaning if the remoteness marker is taken out. By including the remoteness marker in (70b), the speaker intends to say that it is absolutely out of place for anyone to be asking about Mbúámbóó at the speech time.

The remoteness marker is also used to introduce folktales, and serves the same function as the English '*Once upon a time*' or the French '*Il était une fois*' (71).

(71) Yá **lɑ?** mə? líé?...

It **lɑ?** some day

It P3-be some day

‘Once upon a time/ it was one day...’

Example (71) is the only (suspicious) use of this marker as an autonomous tense marker. Note that the second glossing of (71) renders the interpretation of the item *lɑ?* as a remoteness marker rather suspicious. Moreover, the item *lɑ?* in (71) has a mid tone rather than a high tone, thus suggesting it is a different morpheme. I refer the interested reader to examples (87), (88), and (89) for related uses with a different interpretation.

To conclude, the remoteness marker may be used in combination with P3 or F2 to form a remote past tense or a remote future tense, respectively. But it may also be used with P1 and P2 to convey a subjective remoteness with regard to a specific situation.

2.3.5. Relative tenses

The system based on degrees of remoteness considered in the discussion above is a sub-system of the absolute tense system, in the sense that it takes as deictic centre or reference point the present moment. Relative tenses, in order to locate a situation in time, must rely on some point provided by the context as the reference point. In *Fε?fe?*, these tenses are encountered in consecutive environments. These environments are commonly found in most Bantu languages, and are referred to as narrative by some authors.

Many Bantu languages use a special device in narratives, where a string of situations happens in sequence. The time of the situation is first established, either explicitly in a first verb in a string, or implicitly, because the participants know the context, which therefore doesn't need mentioning. All following verbs in the sequence are then marked by a special narrative marker, which replaces the tense marker appropriate to the time established by the first verb.

(Nurse, 2008: 120).

2.3.5.1. *The forms of the verb in consecutive clauses*

Fε?fε? differs from the situation thus described by Nurse in not having an overt narrative marker. Instead, the absence of the overt narrative marker leads to two different forms for the verb depending on the situation:

- ❖ When the subject of the consecutive clause is identical to the subject of the higher independent clause, the consecutive clause takes a pre-nasalised verb. This occurs even without any obviously overt pre-nasalisation trigger (see section 2.2.2.1).
- ❖ If the subject of the consecutive clause differs from the subject of the higher independent clause, one obtains a bare verb form, unless the verb is preceded by an overt pre-nasalisation trigger.

Hyman and Watters (1984:258) provide different labels for the two cases. The pre-nasalised verb form is referred to as a consecutive form (72), while the bare form (73) would be a sequential or subsecutive form.

(72)	Nzà	lè	lě,	nsé
	Day	P3		be clear be dark
‘The next day came and was dark.’				
(73)	Nzà	lè	lě,	mbàk lo
	Day	P3	be clear rain	fall
‘The next day came and it rained.’				

The subject in the higher clause in example (72) is also the subject of the lower verb *nsé* ‘be dark’. However, (73) has a new subject for the lower verb *lo* ‘rain’. There are many other issues of interest surrounding consecutive and subsecutive clauses. However, our present concern is restricted to their tense interpretation.

2.3.5.2. *Relative tenses subject to the degrees of remoteness system*

The relative tense found in the subsecutive or consecutive clause is always identical to the tense introduced in the previous and independent clause. Morphologically, however, tense is neutralised in this environment. In other words, there is no overt morphology associated with tense in a consecutive/subsecutive clause. Rather, the tense of the higher clause always extends to the consecutive clause. Hence, if the

higher clause tense is P1 (74), or F2 (75), the consecutive clause will also be interpreted with regard to tense as P1 and F2, respectively.

(74) Müú fhú njómà, ŋgé?

Child P1 wake up cry

‘The child woke up and cried (earlier today).’

(75) Müú ká yómà, ŋgé?

Child F2 wake up cry

‘The child will wake up and cry.’

In the above examples, the consecutive clause receives the same tense interpretation as the independent clause preceding it. So, the preceding clause is needed in order to provide a tense interpretation of the following consecutive clause. The preceding clause is thus the reference point provided by the context, without which it would not be possible to locate the consecutive clause in time. Note that the relative tense would behave in the same way if the examples involved different subjects for the two clauses.

2.3.5.3. *Interim summary*

To conclude, Fe?fe? makes use of degrees of remoteness as the main strategy for the expression of tense. However, a relative tense is used in consecutive/subsecutive clauses. The relative tense is always identical to its reference tense, and the latter is always subject to the remoteness system.

2.4. Aspect

2.4.1. Introduction

According to Chung & Timberlake (1985), aspect characterises the relation of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs. In Tenny’s (1987) terms, this includes such things as whether the event is understood to involve change over time, whether it has a definite endpoint or is ongoing in time, whether or not it is repetitive, etc. Based on this, Fe?fe? can be considered to demonstrate three aspectual distinctions: the perfective, the progressive, and the habitual.

2.4.2. The perfective

All past tenses, as discussed in section 2.3.3, simply convey a perfective reading without any additional mechanism. So the perfective as an aspect seems to be the default aspectual reading in Fe?fe?

(76) Muú yɛ?

Child cry

‘The child has cried.’

(77) Siani fhú ŋgé kò pí pùà

Siani P1 go farm with bag

‘Siani went to the farm with the bag.’

(78) Siani kà zé nji cù?

Siani P2 dance song night

‘Siani danced last night.’

(79) Siani lè tɔ́ làksi

Siani P3 pass exam

‘Siani passed the exam.’

Example (76) has a null present tense and yet is interpreted by default as a perfective present. The same holds for (77), (78) and (79), which are by default today’s perfective past, yesterday’s perfective past, and distant perfective past, respectively. From the examples above, it is safe to state that any bare past tense sentence in Fe?fe? has a default perfective reading. Other aspectual readings may therefore be derived compositionally from the perfective. Such is the case of the progressive, to which I turn immediately below.

2.4.3. The progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is obtained by simply adding the progressive morpheme *mà* to any verb. This applies to the present (80), to the past (81), and to the future (82) tenses as illustrated respectively with the examples below.

- (80) Siani **mà** **ŋgé** kò pí pùà
 Siani PROG go farm with bag
 ‘Siani is going to the farm with the bag.’
- (81) Siani fhú **mà** **ŋgé** kò pí pùà
 Siani P1 PROG go farm with bag
 ‘Siani was going to the farm with the bag (earlier today).’
- (82) Siani ká **mà** **ŋgé** kò pí pùà
 Siani F2 PROG go farm with bag
 ‘Siani will be going to the farm with the bag.’

The progressive aspect may also be used with the infinitive¹ (83) and with the imperative (84).

- (83) a. ...Nàh **ŋgé** kò
 To go farm
 ‘...To go to the farm.’
- b. ...Nàh **má** **ŋgé** kò
 To PROG go farm
 ‘...To be going to the farm.’
- (84) a. Yɛ kò
 Go farm
 ‘Go to the farm!’
- b. Mā **ŋgé** kò

¹ The use of the progressive with the infinitive leads us to agree with Tenny (1987: 14) that aspect, unlike tense, does not refer to contextual information, but rather to the internal time of the event.

PROG go farm

‘Be going to the farm!’

Example (84b) reminds us that the progressive marker is a pre-nasalisation trigger. As such, it triggers pre-nasalisation on the imperative verb, which otherwise has a bare form as shown by (84a).

2.4.4. The habitual aspect

There are two forms for the habitual aspect in Fɛ?fe?. The first is made up of the pre-nasalised form of the verb without any overt marking for aspect. This corresponds to the habitual present as illustrated in (85).

- (85) a. Siani ɲgé kò
 Siani go farm
 ‘Siani goes to the farm (habitually).’
- b. Siani ɲkwá mbɛ?
 Siani build houses
 ‘Siani builds houses (habitually).’

The habitual present expresses an event that is repetitive, in the sense of a habit. Example (85b), for instance, may be interpreted as meaning that Siani is a professional house builder.

The second form for the habitual is made up of an overt morpheme (*lă?*) plus the pre-nasalised form of the verb (86). As shown in the example in (86b), this marker is clearly a past tense marker associated with a durative situation or aspect.

- (86) a. Siani **lă?** ɲkwá mbɛ?
 Siani lă? build houses
 ‘Siani used to build houses.’
- b. Siani **lă?** mbà fã? mà à kà? lèø-ndùá
 Siani PST-HAB be thus that 3SG Neg married

‘Siani as we knew him was (surprisingly) not married.’

The habitual form in (86) expresses an event that used to occur in a repetitive way in the past and corresponds to the habitual past. I therefore gloss it henceforth as past habitual rather than habitual alone. It is however worth warning the reader at this point against confusing the marker *lă?* with another marker which looks similar but differs with regard to its tone as illustrated in (87). While we have a contour tone in (86), the tone in (87) is a mid tone. On close scrutiny, this tonal change signals a functional change.

(87) a. Siani **lă?** má tă? mvè mbá?

Siani was instead DET old man

‘Siani was an old man (rather than anything else).’

The functional difference between (86) on the one hand and (87) on the other lies in the fact that while the item with the contour tone *lă?* in (86) always precedes a verb, the mid tone marker *lă?* in (87) does not need to precede a verb. In (87), *lă?* is the fusion of a tense and a copula. Supportive evidence for this position comes from the two different versions of the utterance in (88).

(88) a. Siani lè bá sɛ̃ɛ

Siani P3 be here

b. Siani **lă?** sɛ̃ɛ

Siani *lă?* here

‘Siani was here.’

The uses in (87) and (88) are reminiscent of the use of *lă?* to introduce folktales, as mentioned in section 2.3.4.4. The example provided there is repeated here as (89a) and (89b). Note also the use in (89c) and (89d), where a similar construction is used to introduce a report.

(89) a. Yà **lă?** mò? líé?...

‘It was some day...’

- b. Yá lè bá mǎ? líé?...
- It P3 be some day
- ‘Once upon a time/ there was some day...’
- c. Yá lǎ? wāa, Siani lòø ŋkwé
- it was yesterday Siani cook beans
- d. Yá lè bá wāa, Siani lòø ŋkwé
- It P3 be yesterday Siani cook beans
- ‘Siani cooked beans yesterday.’

From the discussion above, we see that *lǎ?* with a mid tone is a complex morpheme made up of the P3 tense marker plus the verb *be*, while *lǎ?* with a contour tone is the past habitual marker.

2.4.5. The inchoative aspect

Apart from the aspects discussed so far, Fε?fe? also has a way of expressing an event that is about to take place (90). In this case, the language does not have a particular aspect marker, but makes use of the bare form of the verb plus the particle *lá*.

- (90) a. Siani jùà lá
- Siani go lá
- ‘Siani is on the edge of going/ There goes Siani.’
- b. ñgá nʒì lá
- 1SG way lá
- ‘I will be right back /There I come.’

Regarding the relation of the predicate to the time interval over which it occurs, the examples in (90) reflect events that are only starting to develop. Hence, there is no relation to either endpoint or durativity here. Examples of this type are however used

profusely in familiar conversations and may easily go unnoticed in a discussion on aspect.

2.4.6. Interim summary

We have seen that Fe?fe? makes use of the perfective as the default aspect, with all past tenses in their bare form conveying a perfective aspect. To each bare form of the verb, the speaker may add a progressive marker to obtain the progressive aspect. The habitual aspect shares a pre-nasalised verb form with the progressive, though it does not have a habitual marker when combined with the present tense. In its past form, however, the habitual aspect disposes of a habitual marker. Fe?fe? thus displays three major aspects, to which I have added the inchoative aspect. The latter, though usually not mentioned in discussions involving aspect, occurs as regularly as other aspects in the daily speech of the Fe?fe? community.

2.5. Chapter conclusion

The above discussion has shown that tense and aspect markers in Fe?fe? are independent lexical items; thus, Fe?fe? has a periphrastic tense/aspect marking. Moreover, tense and aspect markers do not need to be immediately adjacent to each other. Other items may intervene between them. With regard to content, the tense system of Fe?fe? is essentially built on the degree of remoteness system, though it still takes the present moment as the deictic centre or reference point. However, consecutive clauses have a chameleon-like behaviour in the sense that they must always rely on some point provided by the context for the expression of tense. Hence, the tense of a consecutive clause is always identical to the tense of the preceding clause, giving rise to the label of ‘relative tense’.

Regarding aspect, the perfective could be considered as the default aspect in Fe?fe?. As such, all past tenses in their simple regular use convey the perfective aspect. To any regular past tense sentence, the progressive marker *má* and the habitual marker *lär?*, respectively, may be added to obtain a progressive or habitual reading. While the progressive marker *má* is also used for the present progressive, there is no overt habitual marker for the habitual present in Fe?fe?. The progressive marker in Fe?fe? can also be used in the future to convey a progressive future. Beyond the perfective, the habitual and the progressive, Fe?fe? also has a particular way of expressing an event that is about to take place, and I have labelled this the inchoative aspect. I turn in the following chapter to another category that at first sight may be considered to trigger the formal shape of negative markers, namely clause types.

III Clause types

3.1. Introduction

Negative markers in Fe?fe? change in their morphological realisation as one shifts from one clause type¹ to another. Hence, a background chapter on clause types constitutes a prerequisite for a better understanding of the discussion of the Fe?fe? negation system. Dryers (2007) identifies four different senses in which one can talk about clause types in a language. One way, he says, is in terms of the distinction between declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences. This distinction is widely referred to as one of clause-typing in recent works, and is one of the major concerns of the present chapter. A second type of clause type is represented, according to Dryers, by the distinction between main clause and subordinate clause, and among different types of subordinate clauses. This chapter provides a succinct overview of dependent clauses in Fe?fe?. The goal of this overview is to enable the reader to have a better understanding of each clause that hosts a particular form of negation. Dryers defines two other ways in which one can talk about clause type: namely, the way the same event or situation can be spoken about, from different perspectives, with grammatical consequences such as topic and focus; and different types of clauses in terms of the types of predicates involved. The last two senses fall outside the scope of our present preoccupations and will not be mentioned further.

In the negation table at the introduction of this dissertation, we can observe that the following types of dependent clauses appear to interfere with the form of negation: consecutive clauses, directive complement clauses, purpose clauses, infinitive clauses, and modal complement clauses. These clause types and others that are closely related to them constitute the topic of sections 3.2 and 3.3. While section 3.3 focuses on coordinate constructions, section 3.2 addresses non-coordinate constructions. Note however that the present discussion does not aim to provide a

¹Beyond Bantu languages, the correlation of negation with clause types is also observed elsewhere. For instance, Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2005) observe that Malayalam and Kanada (both Dravidian languages) exhibit separate negative markers in finite and non-finite clauses.

theoretical treatment of dependent clauses in Fε?fe?, as this is beyond the scope of this research. The succinct insight provided below is therefore only meant to make it possible for the reader to be able to figure out what each clause type associated with a particular negation refers to. Sections 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 then address the question of clause types from the perspective of different sentence types such as the declarative, the interrogative and the imperative, and section 3.7 concludes the chapter.

3.2. Non-coordinate dependent clauses in Fε?fe?

All languages have strategies for linking clauses together into complex sentences. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 176) define a complex sentence as a syntactic unit consisting of more than one clause. A more detailed definition of a complex sentence is provided in the following quote:

A complex sentence may consist of a nucleus (a clause that can stand alone) and one or more additional nuclei, or of a nucleus and one or more ‘margins’, relatively dependent clauses that may not stand alone but nevertheless exhibit different degrees of dependency. Among clauses which form margins, three types can be semantically distinguished: those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions (called adverbial clauses).

Thompson and Longacre (1985: 172)

The definition above distinguishes three basic types of dependent clauses: complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses. A complement clause is one that functions as an argument (subject or object) of the main clause (1). A relative clause (2) is, according to Andrews (2007), ‘a subordinate clause that delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause’. It follows that both complement and relative clauses relate to the nominal argument part of the main clause, either by being the argument itself or by modifying it. In this respect, they differ from adverbial clauses (3), which are modifiers of primarily non-nominal constituents and, as a consequence, benefit from more freedom in their relation to the main clause.

- (1) a. He hopes [that his daughters visit his home country].
- b. [That they should visit his home country] is essential.
- (2) The man [who raised the girl] is her legal father.

- (3) She shouted [so that people should be alarmed].

Though all dependent on the main clause, these clause types exhibit different levels of dependency on the main clause. While the two NP-related dependent clauses are embedded in the main clause or in one of its arguments, adverbial clauses are not. The goal of the following short overview is simply to introduce the reader to those dependent clauses which are referred to while discussing negation. Given that relative clauses do not feature among those clauses that seem to trigger a particular form for negation (see table 1, chapter1), they will no longer be mentioned in what follows.

The definition of complex sentences above does not suggest anything about the existence of coordinate structures. However, subordination and coordination are both considered as syntactic notions denoting relations between parts of a complex syntactic unit. Fabrisius-Hansen and Ramm(2008) establish a distinction between the two notions: while subordination (in the narrow sense) is an asymmetric relation, and thus is correlated with hierarchical structure, this is not necessarily true for coordination. While such structures in Fe?fe? constitute the subject of section 3, this section gives an overview of non-coordinate dependent clauses. The discussion in this section is organised as follows. Section 3.2.1 discusses directive complement clauses, showing how they differ from other finite complement clauses. Section 3.2.2 unveils modal complement clauses. Section 3.2.3 is devoted to infinitival complement clauses. Section 3.2.4 tackles purpose clauses, and the section is concluded in 3.2.5.

3.2.1. Directive complement clauses

Noonan (2007: 74) defines complementation as ‘the grammatical state where a predication functions as an argument of a predicate’. There are numerous ways of forming a complement clause in Fe?fe?, resulting in variable complement types. Directive complements are equivalent to what may be otherwise referred to as subjunctive complements or a subtype thereof. I however choose the label ‘directive’ to avoid controversies while focusing specifically on the construction that appears to trigger a particular form for negation in the language under consideration. Directive complements (4) in Fe?fe? are introduced by the complementizer *má* ‘that’. In this regard, they do not differ from indicative (5) complements.

- (4) Siani pέ [má mūú yɛ?]

Siani agree [that child cry]

‘Siani has agreed that the child should cry.’

- (5) Siani p̄é [má müü yɛʔ]

Siani agree [that child cry]

‘Siani has agreed that the child has cried.’

The only formal difference between (4) and (5) appears to be in the tone of the verb. In (4) we have a mid tone (') verb, while (5) has a low tone (˘) verb. At the level of interpretation, the complement in (4) differs from the one in (5). In the latter, the child has already cried, and the subject *Siani* simply agrees to it, maybe as an eye witness. In the former, the subject *Siani* has a position of authority. Hence, s/he is able to prevent the crying from occurring, by taking some measure such as offering more care or more food. Rather, *Siani* chooses to let the child cry.

Besides the above interpretational difference, indicative and directive complements exhibit some major differences. Indicative complements are sentence-like complements, in the sense that they have roughly the same syntactic forms as an independent main clause. Hence, indicative complements share all the tense, negation and aspectual distinctions of a main clause (6)-(8).

- (6) Siani p̄é [má müü (si) ká yɛʔ (bɑ)]

Siani agree [that child (NEG) FUT2 cry (NEG)]

‘Siani has agreed that the child will (not) cry.’

- (7) Siani p̄é [má müü lè yɛʔ]

Siani agree [that child P3 cry]

‘Siani has agreed that the child cried.’

- (8) Siani p̄é [má müü lè mɑ ŋgɛʔ]

Siani agree [that child P3 PROG cry]

‘Siani has agreed that the child was crying.’

In (6), we have the negation *si* ... *bɑ*, which could occur in an independent main clause. In this regard, the complement clause in (6) does not differ from an independent main clause. In (7), we have the tense marker *lè* just as in an independent clause, with the same interpretation. Finally, example (8) provides an

illustration of a progressive aspect at work in the complement clause. The second part of each of the sentences in (6) to (8) can, in the absence of the complementiser, constitute an autonomous and wholly understandable sentence in Fe?fe?. I illustrate this point with the second portion of (8), reproduced as an independent clause in (9).

- (9) Müü lè má ñgę?

child P3 PROG cry

‘The child was crying.’

All the complement clauses in (6) to (8) are therefore full sentences functioning as arguments within another sentence. Hence, they are referred to as sentence-like complements. By contrast, the second part of (10) cannot, without the complementizer *má*, stand on its own as an autonomous sentence.

- (10) Siani lé [má müü (pá?) ñgę?]

Siani say [that child (NEG) cry]

‘Siani said that the child should (not) cry.’

Furthermore, the directive complement can only have a future-oriented interpretation, while this restriction does not hold for indicative complements. It should also be noted that there is a very limited number of verbs that can take directive complements, while no such restriction holds for indicative complements.

Subject complements

Another major difference between indicative and directive complements lies at the level of their function within the main clause of which they are an argument. While indicative complements can only be the objects of the main clause, directive complements can also function as the subject of the main clause, as illustrated in (11) to (12).

- (11) Yá cák [má pè γę mfà?]

it must [that 2PL go work]

‘You must go to work/ it is important / essential that you go to work.’

- (12) Yá pè? [má pè mèę yèę mfà?]

I be good [that 2PL finish 2PL-POSS work]

‘It is good that you finish your work.’

While the complement clauses in (11) to (12) and the ones in (6) to (8) occupy the same surface position with respect to the main clause, the expletive *yá* ‘it’ in (11)-(12) is simply a dummy subject, and the directive complement is the real subject.

No co-reference between matrix and embedded subject

Indicative and directive complements differ further with regard to subject co-reference. While the subject of an indicative complement can be co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause (13), this is not allowed in the case of directive complements. Example (13) cannot have a directive interpretation.

(13) Siani lé [má á ká γé mfā?]

Siani say [that 3SG F2 go work]

‘Siani said that s/he (Siani) will go to work.’

The above discussion has provided some criteria on the basis of which a directive complement may be differentiated from a simple indicative complement. The following section is devoted to yet another type of complement clause displayed by the Fe?fe? language, namely the modal complement clause.

3.2.2. Modal complement clauses

Modal complements, also referred to as potential complements, are introduced by the modal particle *pá?*. This particle is used to express both ability/possibility or potentiality (14) and permission (15). The modal *pá?* differs from the modal *cák* ‘must’ in (11) because it is never preceded by an expletive subject. Hence, it is always in sentence-initial position.

(14) Pá? Siani (lē) cēē wū

Can Siani (NEG) read thing

‘Siani can (not) read.’

(15) Pá? pè (lē) γā sùà pí müü ncíë?

Can 2PL (NEG) do game with child now

‘You may/are allowed (not) to play with the baby now.’

- (16) Pá? yá bá mà mūú tāp siɛ

Can it be that child fall down

‘It could be that the baby has fallen.’

Example (16) shows that even when the modal *pá?* occurs with an expletive in the same construction, the expletive does not precede the modal. The potential marker *pá?* is also encountered in closely related Grassfield languages. However, while this modal is also a sentence-initial item in Bafut (Ngemba) positive sentences, the Western Bamileke language Nweh has restructured the order of this modal with respect to the subject marker, resulting in an English or French-like word order for the potential construction. The Bafut (17) and Nweh (18) examples are provided below.

- (17) a. Mbá ñkàà í sàtâ ñséâ

Can monkey SM tear elephant

‘A monkey can tear an elephant to pieces.’ (Tamanji, 2009)

- b. Kàá mbá ñkàà í wá?â ñgòò bú?û

NEG can monkey SM NEG drum play

‘A monkey cannot play a drum.’ (Tamanji, 2009)

- (18) a. Atem à bè lèb á Njikem

Atem SM can beat OM Njikem

‘Atem can beat Njikem.’ (Nkemnj, 1995)

- b. Atem à bè gá lèb á Njikem bó

Atem SM can NEG beat OM Njikem NEG

‘Atem cannot beat Njikem.’ (Nkemnj, 1995)

From these examples, we see that while Fé?fé? and Bafut have the word order modal > subject, Nweh has the word order subject > modal. The constructions in (17) and

(18) show further that there are two subject and two object positions available in Grassfield languages. The first and highest subject position is occupied by the subject, while the second is occupied by the subject marker, a pronoun in agreement with the subject.

3.2.3. Infinitival complement clauses

Infinitival complements in Fε?fe? are introduced by the infinitival marker *nàà/nàh^{‘to’}*. Infinitival complements differ from indicative and directive complements in taking a pre-nasalised verb form.

- (19) Siani pέ [nàh ŋgέ ntéé]
 Siani agree [to go market]
 ‘Siani has agreed to go to the market.’

Infinitival complements can occupy both the subject (20) and the object (21) position of the main clause. Infinitival complements further differ from indicative complements in taking a special negation form (20b).

- (20) a. [Nàh nzέ màkósà] fùà pά Fǎ?
 [To dance màkósà] be more than people of Bafang
 ‘The Bafang people were unable to dance *màkósà*.’
- b. [Nàh mbá? nzέ màkósà] pέ? pά Fǎ?
 [To NEG dance màkósà] be good people offǎ?
 ‘The Bafang people were happy not to dance *màkósà*.’
- (21) Siani pέ [nàh (mbá?) nzέ màkósà]
 Siani agree [to (NEG) dance màkósà]
 ‘Siani has agreed (not) to dance *màkósà*.’

The above discussion shows that infinitive complements are characteristically different from other complement clauses. I now turn to the purpose clause in Fε?fe?.

3.2.4. Purpose clauses

A purpose clause provides the intention motivating the action carried by the main clause. The event expressed by the purpose clause must be unrealised at the time of the main clause event. Purpose clauses in Fe?fe? are introduced by a very subtle marker of subordination, the vowel á. This vowel is sometimes not pronounced. In this case, there appears to be a breath that leaves some space between the utterance of the main clause and that of the dependent clause. In the following example, I use the subordinator as found in the Syllabaire ‘*Tie manceh ghəəla?*’ by Sadembouo (2003).

- (22) Ngòfàt té Siani in dèè [á näh cii púú mbí zè?ɛ].

Maize that Siani F1 cook [SUB to feed children 3SG-POSS today]

‘It is maize that Siani will cook to feed her children today.’

- (23) Pó láh nòò ñgé ntéé [á fè]

3PL took beast go market [SUB sell]

‘They took the beast to the market to sell.’

Purpose clauses take a special negator pár as in (24). This negator is the same as that found in imperatives and optionally in directive complements.

- (24) Pó láh nòò ñgé ntéé [á pár? näh càk]

3PL took beast go market [SUB NEG put pot]

‘They took the beast to the market so as not to cook it.’

Purpose clauses are a subtype of oblique clauses. According to Palmer (1986:172), oblique clauses are subordinate clauses that function neither as subjects nor objects of the main clause. Rather, they have an adverbial, adjunctive or oblique status. As an adverbial clause, the purpose clause can, according to Hengeveld (1998), be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the main clause. This may be explained by their non-argumental function.

3.2.5. Interim summary

This section has discussed non-coordinate dependent clauses in Fe?fe?. Among these are directive complements, infinitival complements, modal complements and

purpose clauses. These clauses each appear to trigger a special form of negation, that is, one that differs from the negative marker found in independent main clauses. This short overview is meant to enable the reader to have an idea of what is at stake whenever a given negator is associated with a particular type of clause. The following section is devoted to coordinate structures.

3.3. Coordinate structures

Clauses in Fe?fe? can be coordinated by means of an overt coordinator or by a pause (in speech, indicated by a comma in writing) separating the coordinated clauses. The major characteristic of covert coordination is co-referentiality involving mostly tense marking, but to some extent also subject marking. Below clausal coordination is discussed, starting with overt coordination.

3.3.1. Overt coordination

Overt coordination differs from covert coordination not only in having an overt coordinator, but also in involving two balanced structures. Both the first and the second conjuncts have all their components. Hence we could consider them to be two CPs. Overt coordination involves a conjunction phrase. Fe?fe? has three overt conjunction markers that can be used to coordinate two clauses of equal status: *ndà?* followed by the complementizer *má* altogether meaning ‘but’, ‘nevertheless’, ‘however’ or ‘although’; *tá?* ‘but’, and *mbi?*-*cu-má* ‘because’. Below are some examples of balanced coordination.

3.3.1.1. *Ndà?-má* as a coordinator

The coordinator *ndà?-má* joints two clauses of equal status, as illustrated with (25) and (26).

- (25) Sèn i yòò nʃáá i, [ndà?-má pí-yúá ná ndáá sùkú jù?].

Friend 3SG-POSS be old pass 3SG [but that 3PL in room school one]

‘His friend is older than him, but/nevertheless they are in the same classroom.’

- (26) Nʒìè mà kwó müü, [ndà?-má á i já? nü χù].

Hunger PROG take child [but that 3SG F1 first drink medicine]

‘The baby is hungry, but/however he will first take medicine.’

3.3.1.2. *Tà?* as a coordinator

The coordinator *tà?*, unlike *ndà?*, does not need the presence of the complementiser *má* in order to coordinate a clause. It introduces an unexpected statement as illustrated with (27) and (28).

- (27) Siani nʃù-ʃü [tà? ă tőš làksì].
 Siani be stubborn [but 3SG pass exam]

‘Siani is stubborn but s/he has passed the exam.’

- (28) Siani tőš làksì [tà? ă si ká pà ŋgé sùkû bá]
 Siani passed exam [but 3SG NEG F2 again go school NEG]
 ‘Siani has passed the exam but s/he will no longer go to school.’

3.3.1.3. *Because* clauses (*mbi?-cù-má*)

A ‘*because* clause’ provides an explanation as to why the event of the main clause has taken place. The *because* clause shares the properties of an independent main clause.

- (29) Ā kà? láh pùà [mbi?-cù- má pó i mfá? ntám nàč sùkû]
 3SG NEG take bag [because that 3PL F1 work in farm school]

‘He has not taken his bag because they will work in the farm of the school.’

- (30) Mùú mà ŋgé? [mbi?-cù-má ă mà ŋgúú]
 baby PROG cry [because that 3SG PROG be sick]
 ‘The baby is crying because he is sick.’

The *because* clause is introduced by a complex marker of coordination made up of *má* ‘*that*’ as found in complement clauses, preceded by *mbi?-cù* ‘*because*’. The latter may itself be considered a compound word, in the sense that it has two roots, namely *mbi?* ‘*report/tell*’ and *cù* ‘*head*’. The fact that the subordinator *má* is part of the complex marker may suggest that we are dealing here with an instance of

subordination. However, the two clauses linked by this complex marker have equal status, unlike in cases of true subordination. This mixture of properties may lead to label this as a case of co-subordination, a concept also used by Thompson et al. (1985).

3.3.2. Covert coordination

Covert coordination in $F\epsilon?f\epsilon?$ may also be labelled as consecutive clauses (see Hyman 1971). This usually involves the same tense across the conjuncts. We distinguish two cases depending on whether the same subject is used across the conjoined clauses or not. Hyman and Watters (1984:258) label the resulting clauses as consecutive (31a) and (31b) and subsecutive (31c) clauses, respectively.

- (31) a. Siani lò síé, ñgé ntéé
 Siani quit ground go market
 ‘Siani got up and went to the market.’
- b. Siani kà? lò síé, á²lè γéntéé
 Siani NEG quit ground 3SGNEG go market
 ‘Siani has not got up and she has not gone to the market.’
- c. Síani sà?, mén i tó? γé?
 Siani come child 3SG-POSS start cry
 ‘Siani came and her child started crying.’

The subject of the subsecutive clause is not identical with the subject of the preceding independent clause. The two clauses, however, share both tense and aspectual properties. Consecutive clauses involve a sequence of events carried out by the same subject, as in (31a). In (31a) there is only one overt subject, *Siani*. The

²Note that the subject of the consecutive clause is obligatory in the presence of negation. I propose in an upcoming paper that the presence versus absence of the subject in a consecutive clause be accounted for by invoking the amount of structure, i.e., AgrP + TP vsTP alone; see Bobaljik and Thrainsson (1998) on the spilt IP parameter. Moreover, the non deletion of the subject in (31b) suggests that deletion under identity is not obligatory for the subject, unlike tense deletion. Thus, while tense deletion applies whenever the condition of identity is met, subject deletion may be dependent on the level at which the consecutive clause is linked to the preceding clause. I refer the interested reader to Johannessen (1998) for the different structural levels at which conjuncts may be attached within the clause.

consecutive clause ‘*yge’ ntee*’ does not have an overt subject, though it shares the same subject *Siani* with the preceding clause.

Consecutive conjuncts involving two clauses look on the surface like serial verb constructions (SVCs). Both constructions involve two verbs. Because of this similarity, it is important for the reader not to confuse one with the other. The major difference between consecutive clauses and a construction involving serial verbs (SVC)³ lies in the number of events involved in each of the constructions. While an SVC (32) constitutes a single event/clause expressed by means of two verbs, consecutive clauses (31) involve multiple events, each representing a separate clause.

- (32) a. Siani läh piɛ ɻkʉɑ? pō i
 Siani take knife cut hand 3SG-POSS
 ‘Siani cut his hand with the knife.’
- b. Siani kɑ? läh piɛ ɻkʉɑ? pō i
 Siani NEG take knife cut hand 3SG-POSS
 ‘Siani has not cut his hand with the knife.’
- c. Siani fhú ndah piɛ ɻkʉɑ? pō i
 Siani P1 take knife cut hand 3SG-POSS
 ‘Siani cut his hand with the knife (earlier today).’

We observe that on the one hand the examples in (31) involve the coordination of two clauses, each of which can be negated separately (31c). On the other hand, the examples in (32) involve a single clause made up of two verbs, a light verb and a lexical verb. Hence, only a single negation can apply to it (32b). We further observe from (32c) that an SVC can take only one tense morpheme, thus indicating the time specification associated with it. While (31) involves consecutive clauses made up of only two events, it is worth stating here that consecutive clauses may involve a series of three or more events (33). The first clause may be negated, while the

³I refer the interested reader to Stewart (2001) for a detailed account of serial verb constructions. Note also that some authors, such as Ameka (2006), prefer to use the label multi-verb constructions (MVCs) as a comprehensive notion including both consecutive clauses and serial verb constructions.

consecutive clause remains positive (34). Moreover, the consecutive clause alone may be negated, while the first clause is not (35).

- (33) Siani lè γé ntéé, mfé mbàà, njwé mvá
 Siani P3 go market sell meat buy oil

‘Siani went to the market, sold meat, and bought oil.’

- (34) Siani lè sì γé ntéé, mváà mfá? ndúá

Siani P3 NEG go market, spend time work home

‘Siani didn’t go to the market, but spent time doing house chores.’

- (35) Siani lè γé ntéé, á lè fá? ndúá
 Siani P3 go market 3SG NEG work home

‘Siani went to the market and didn’t do the house chores.’

Unlike SVCs, which have a single external argument for two verbs, consecutive clauses involve conjuncts which each have their own external arguments. The external argument of the second conjunct is however deleted under identity, and this explains why we end up having an overt higher external argument and a covert lower one in (33). From (35), however, we observe that deletion under identity does not apply in the presence of a negative marker in the consecutive clause. Example (35) further shows that the non-deletion of the lower subject is not dependent upon the presence of negation in the higher clause. As seen from (34), if the higher clause alone is negated, subject deletion will still apply in the lower clause. However, subject deletion does not apply in the lower clause if the latter is negated, irrespective of whether the higher clause is negated or not.

Apart from having the same subject in the first and in the second conjuncts (36), consecutive clauses also have the same tense in both conjuncts. But unlike the second conjunct’s subject, the second conjunct’s tense is also deleted in the presence of negation (37). This shows that while the full morphosyntactic realisation of the lower clause subject is dependent on the presence of negation (37), the same does not hold for tense.

- (36) Siani fhú ndó sié, ngé ntéé
 Siani P1 quit ground go market

‘Siani got up and went to the market (earlier today).’

- (37) Siani fhú ndó siɛ, ă lɛ γé ntee
 Siani P1 quit ground 3SG NEG go market

‘Siani got up and did not go to the market.’

This suggests that deletion under identity is automatic for tense, but not for subject. To put things differently, subject deletion would be conditioned by the amount of structure that is available in each and every derivation, while tense deletion applies whenever the condition of identity is met. The question this raises is why we have subject deletion at all, and what principle comes into play to prevent it from applying in the presence of negation. I postpone this question for future research.

3.3.3. *Interim conclusion*

The goal of this section was to familiarise the reader with the different types of dependent clauses that at first sight appear to play a role in the formal realisation of negation in Fe?fe?. Foremost among the clauses discussed is the consecutive clause, which seems to be little known in the literature on Indo-European languages. This clause type has been described and differentiated from SVCs, thus enabling the reader to have a picture of what is at stake whenever s/he comes across the label ‘consecutive clause’. We have seen that a consecutive clause is the second or third, etc. conjunct of a covert coordination construction. Preceding consecutive clauses, I have briefly illustrated overt coordination. Prior to coordinate structures, other clause types that stand out because they seem to trigger some change in the form of negation have been briefly described. Among these are infinitival complements, directive complements, purpose clauses, and the modal complement clause which is no more than the complement to a modal. Having provided these background clarifications on the dependent clauses that seem to be intricately related to the negation system, the following sections pay attention to sentence types, with the specific goal of introducing the reader to the peculiarity of the imperative, a clause type that at first sight also triggers a particular shape for negation.

3.4. Clause types as sentence types

The aspect of clause type which is of interest to us in the following three sections is the one pertaining to the distinction between different types of sentences such as declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. The following examples given by

König and Siemund (2007) show that these three sentence types relate to the same basic proposition, in these examples '*John's taking out the garbage*':

- (38) a. 'John is taking out the garbage.'
- b. 'Is John taking out the garbage?'
- c. 'Take out the garbage, John.'

Thus, the same basic propositional content needs an additional element turning it into a particular clause type, namely interrogative, imperative or declarative. Therefore, a clause type can be best defined as a complex of propositional content + an additional element specifying it as belonging to a particular type. There is substantial debate around the question of whether there is a uniquely dedicated (syntactic) way of marking a proposition as belonging to a clause type. That is, does each sentence directly encode – in the syntax – the information that it is an assertion, a command or a question? The answer to this question has led to different approaches to clause-typing. This section provides a succinct insight into the major standpoints of two different approaches to clause-typing. Section 3.4.1 discusses the diverging perspectives adopted by the formal and truth-conditional approaches, while the formal and semantic criteria that may be relied on to identify different clause types are discussed in section 3.4.2. Finally, section 3.5 describes declarative and interrogative clauses in F_e?f_e?, while section 3.6 unravels the peculiarity of the F_e?f_e? imperative clause.

3.4.1. Different approaches to clause types

Cheng (1991), along with others (Katz and Postal, 1964; Baker, 1970), have argued for the existence of an element dedicated to identifying a clause as interrogative. Platzack and Rosengren (1997), Rivero and Terzi (1995), and Han (1998), among others, posit an imperative operator as the typing element for imperative clauses. These scholars, together with many others, argue that clauses need to be typed formally. This typing is to be done through some element, overt or covert, usually located in the left periphery of the clause. As such, the verb-initial position in imperatives (especially in Romance), or the fronting of the *wh*-word in interrogatives, are considered to result from the attraction and movement of the verb or *wh*-word by the typing elements. Viewed from this perspective, declarative clauses must also have some typing element, for without the latter, the declarative clause would be made up of the propositional content alone. In this respect, Wechsler (1991) is reported by Zanuttini and Portner (2003) as extending the formal typing analysis of clauses to declarative sentences as well.

The proponents of the formal approach to clause-typing base their claims on data from the analysis of specific languages. There are languages that clearly establish the clause type distinction by making use of alternative particles. Among these is Greenlandic Eskimo, reported by Sadock and Zwicky (1985) and Sadock (1984) (quoted in Konig and Siemund (2007)). In Greenlandic Eskimo, ‘the three basic sentence types are identified by different verbal affixes’: *voq* for declaratives, *va* for interrogatives, and *git/guk* for imperatives. Nama Hottentot and ‘Khoisan languages in general’ are also reported to make use of a systematic opposition marked by different particles to differentiate between the three basic sentence types. Other languages, such as Korean, Shona (Bantu) and Japanese also make use of special particles to differentiate between clause types. It turns out that these markers have no other function in the proposition, and are there simply to indicate the type of the sentence. Thus, the idea of propositional content plus some additional element with the function of turning the proposition into a particular sentence type seems to be well-motivated. For these languages, it seems straightforward to postulate a typing element or feature, leading to a special slot in the syntactic representation. One could, in turn, also postulate a covert version in case an expected marker is not represented phonologically by some segment.

The formal approach to clause-typing is however not adopted by Zanuttini and Portner (2003), henceforth Z&P. Z&P find the proposal that the typing element ‘is syntactically realised in terms of a single element or feature’ problematic. Objecting that there is no evidence for a morphosyntactic element present in all and only the members of individual types, Z&P disagree with the approach according to which the clause is formally typed in the syntax. Rather, clause types would be ‘marked in the syntax by encoding primitive components of the semantics’. In their view a clause type should be defined as a pairing of form and function. As a consequence, the question one should raise when addressing a clause type is ‘What semantic properties both uniquely identify each type and are represented in the syntax?’ They thus lay emphasis on the need to uncover the components of truth-conditional meaning which determine each clause type.

The emphasis laid by Z&P on the need to uncover the components of truth-conditional meaning associated with each clause type is understandable when one is confronted with claims that a clause type would be a syntactic category rigidly tracked or strictly specified with clear-cut formal properties. For instance, some languages have a special verb form for the imperative. In such languages, there are often different forms for subjunctive or infinitive verbs, and the latter are not to be used in an imperative clause. In some of these languages, for instance, negation cannot co-occur with the imperative verb form, yet the propositional content comprised in the relevant speech act can be negated with the verb form for infinitive

or subjunctive. When incompatibility of the imperative with negation is discussed in the relevant literature, what one usually has in mind is the imperative verb form and not the propositional content of the imperative clause as a whole. Yet what should be negated is the propositional content and not the verb form (at least according to propositional logic). Taking this particular case into consideration, it follows that Z&P are right in laying emphasis on the need to uncover the components of truth-conditional meaning associated with each clause type. If the latter are taken into consideration, this would lay on the researcher the obligation to go beyond the special form of the verb when deciding what an imperative is or is not.

Nevertheless, it is the case that there are some syntactic features that are associated with specific clause types as well. For instance, question particles (not *wh*-words) seem to be specific to interrogative clauses. Furthermore, it is an empirical observation that imperative clauses are usually associated with less inflectional material than other clause types. Thus, the propositional content in '*John's taking out the garbage*' in the example by Konig&Siemund above is to be viewed as combining with both formal properties and truth-conditional components to derive three different clause types. The need therefore arises to acknowledge the contribution of both truth-conditional components and formal elements to the make-up of each clause type.

3.4.2. Formal and semantic criteria

Konig and Siemund (2007: 278), quoting Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 158), posit that a cross-linguistically useful definition of sentence types must be based on formal criteria: 'the sentence types or, more specifically, the formal properties characterising those types should ideally form a system of alternative choices that are mutually exclusive, such that each sentence token can be assigned to one type and no sentence token can be a member of more than one type'. On the basis of such criteria, three major sentence types are usually identified cross-linguistically: declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Besides, there are some minor types which are considered not to be universally attested, among which are the exclamative and the promissive, echo questions, etc. The following discussion will however be restricted to the major types.

Konig and Siemund propose three kinds of paradigmatic oppositions that are used to differentiate between the major sentence types:

- ❖ The three major sentence types can be distinguished inflectionally. For instance, imperatives usually lack inflectional morphology.

- ❖ There may be different particles for different types which are mutually exclusive.
- ❖ The three types may be assigned different word order patterns. It is very common for interrogatives to differ from declaratives with respect to word order.

The above oppositions all play a role in distinguishing between the three major sentence types in Fe?fe?. The imperative always has the bare verb form, unless it is negative. The interrogative has a clause-final question particle. Furthermore, it has an additional supportive particle whenever it involves a word order difference. Yet *wh*-word fronting is optional. Note that exclamatives, which are not included in the present discussion, are often reported to take *wh*-words. This shows that one cannot rely solely on formal marking to identify a clause type. Below we discuss some basic semantic criteria associated with each of the three major sentence types.

Beyond the paradigmatic oppositions acknowledged above as contributing to the identification of a particular clause type (word order differences, inflection, or the presence of a particular particle (overt or covert)), there is, according to Z&P, yet another element that should be taken into consideration in the process of identifying a clause type. This has to do with ‘the sentence’s denotation’. In this respect, Portner (2004) proposes some denotational oppositions that should be used to identify different clause types.

Portner proposes to view declaratives as simply denoting propositions. Portner expands further by stating that an assertion is to be understood as ‘the addition of a proposition to the common ground’, the latter being ‘the set of propositions mutually assumed by the participants in a conversation’. So it should be more appropriate to consider declaratives as assertions. This is also the position adopted by Han (1998: 157). Declarative sentences may be used, according to König and Siemund (2007: 8), ‘to express most of the speech acts distinguished in the typology by Searle’. However, we are interested here in what should be seen as the prototypical denotation for each clause type. Thus, declarative sentences are those that have an essentially descriptive function, and further convey the belief of the speaker that the proposition expressed is either true or will eventually turn out to be true.⁴

Coming to interrogatives, Portner follows Ginzburg (1995) and Roberts (1996) to propose that ‘interrogatives are associated with a question set’. The question set on its own is ‘a set of sets of propositions’, and ‘the questions in the question set are

² A language like Greenlandic Eskimo that uses a particle specifying a proposition as declarative (in contrast to other clause types) immediately questions such a definition. So there seems to be more than propositional content needed in a declarative clause.

those which the participants in the conversation mutually agree to answer'. Following Groenendijk and Stokhof (1985), Han (1998) considers a question as denoting a partition that represents the set of possible answers. Therefore, an interrogative clause must involve an instruction to the hearer to retrieve the true answer from the set of possible answers, and subsequently notify the speaker of the choice made.

Finally, Portner states that the denotation of imperatives is a to-do list (TDL), because 'imperatives represent actions that the addressee should take'. In the remainder of the discussion, both formal and denotational criteria are taken into consideration to explore the different sentence types of Fe?fe?

3.5. Declarative and interrogative sentences

3.5.1. Declarative sentences

Declarative sentences display the general word order of Fe?fe?, which is SVO (39). This word order is found in all construction types in Fe?fe?, with *wh*-questions being the only exception. Even yes/no questions have an SVO word order. In (39) the subject is the very first word in linear order. It may be immediately followed by the verb, as in (39a). Alternatively, tense/aspect, negation and even adverbial particles may intervene between the subject and the verb (39b). Following the verb is the object. The latter may however be preceded by an adjective (39b).

- (39) a. Siani γé kò
 Siani go farm
 ‘Siani has gone to the farm.’
- b. Siani kà? fhú mā mbá nsɔɔ pā?pā? nji
 Siani NEGP1 PROG again wash red dress
 ‘Siani was not washing the red dress again (earlier today).’

Functionally, declarative sentences in Fe?fe? serve the functions commonly assumed cross-linguistically, such as 'assertion, reports, acts of complaining and bragging, but also acts of predicting and promising' (Konig and Siemund, 2007: 285).

3.5.2. Interrogative sentences

With regard to declarative sentences, interrogatives involve at least two formal oppositions: they take a question intonation that consists of a clause-final intonation rise. Interrogative sentences also involve a question particle, and may optionally trigger word order change coupled with an additional supportive particle. The optional oppositions, however, apply only to *wh*-questions. The question particle and the difference in word order with in-situ and fronted *wh*-words are discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.5.2.1. The question particle

The question particle in Fe?fe? consists of the lengthening of the last vowel of the sentence at hand, as in (40b). In other words, the last vowel may even be lengthened across a consonant if the last phoneme of the last word is a consonant, as in (41b).

- (40) a. Siani fà mbàà
 Siani eat meat
 ‘Siani has eaten meat.’
- b. Siani fà mbàà á
 Siani eat meat Q
 ‘Has Siani eaten meat?’
- (41) a. Siani lè fé kwèlè?
 Siani P3 sell plantains
 ‘Siani sold plantains.’
- b. Siani lè fé kwèlè? ē
 Siani P3 sell plantains Q
 ‘Did Siani sell plantains?’

In (40) the last phoneme of the last word of the sentence is a vowel /à/. This vowel is lengthened to form a question particle. We can also observe that the tone on the lengthened vowel is different from the tone of the last vowel of the word *mbàà*. The

latter has low tone vowels, while the lengthened question particle has a rising (low-high) tone. In (41a), the final segment of the last word of the sentence is not a vowel, but a consonant. As seen in (41b), the question particle is not identical to this consonant, but instead to the vowel immediately preceding it, namely /ɛ/. Once more, we see a change from the low tone of the vowel in the declarative to a rising tone on the question particle. I would suggest that the high tone that attaches to the low tone, as found on the final word in (40a) and (41a), is the real question morpheme, and that the vowel lengthening is meant to provide this tone with a tone-bearing unit.

3.5.2.2. *Wh-word in situ*

In yes/no questions, the word order for declarative clauses is always maintained, and each word in the clause maintains its declarative word order position. In *wh*-questions, however, there are two possibilities. When the *wh*-word is left in situ (42b), the declarative clause word order is maintained. In this case, the *wh*-question does not have any additional properties apart from the ones discussed with the yes/no questions in examples (40b) and (41b).

- (42) a. Siani lè fɛ kwɛlɛ?
 Siani P3 sell plantains
 ‘Siani sold plantains.’
- b. Siani lè fɛ ké ð
 Siani P3 sell what Q
 ‘What did Siani sell?’

When we compare (42a) and (42b), we observe that the *wh*-word occupies exactly the same position as the direct object. They both immediately follow the verb. Furthermore, the question word in (42b) has exactly the same distribution as in (41b), that is, immediately after the direct object. However, when the *wh*-word is fronted, there is a stark contrast between the word order of a declarative and that of an interrogative sentence.

3.5.2.3. *Fronted wh-words*

The fronting of the *wh*-word goes hand in hand with the introduction of an additional word in the interrogative sentence. Moreover, the newly introduced word

differs in form depending on whether the fronted word is a subject or not. When a subject is fronted, as in (43b), the accompanying word is *má*. However, if the fronted word has some other function, the accompanying word is *té*, as in (43c) & (43d).

- (43) a. Siani lè fé kwèlè?
- Siani P3 sell plantains
- ‘Siani sold plantains.’
- b. Wò má lè fé kwèlè? ê
- Who má P3 sell plantains
- ‘Who sold plantains?’
- c. Ké té Siani lè fé ē
- What té Siani P3 sell Q
- ‘What did Siani sell?’
- d. Séñò té Siani lè fé kwèlè? ê
- When té Siani P3 sell plantains Q
- ‘When did Siani sell plantains?’

A question one may raise with respect to the examples in (43b) to (43d) is related to the contribution of the morpheme separating the fronted *wh*-word from the rest of the clause. I would like to note that this element is not specific to questions, as it can be found in other examples involving the fronting from within the sentence to the left periphery. These same morphemes surface when items which are contrastively focused are fronted. In the latter case, we also have the subject versus non-subject asymmetry. That is *má* for subject in (44b) and *té* for non-subject in (44c).

- (44) a. Siani lè fé kwèlè?
- Siani P3 sell plantains
- ‘Siani sold plantains.’
- b. Siani má lè fé kwèlè?

	Siani	má	P3	sell	plantain
‘It is Siani who sold plantains.’					
c.	kwèlè?	té	Siani	lè	fè
	Plantains	té	Siani	P3	sell
‘It is plantains that Siani sold.’					

In (44b) and in (44c), we are dealing with cases of contrastive focus. A comparison of (44b) and (44c), on the one hand, to (43b), (43c), and (43d) on the other hand, shows that the contrastively focused items are in complementary distribution with the fronted *wh*-words. So, if we assume that the contrastively focused items end up in the specifier of the focus phrase, then we may want to posit that the fronted *wh*-words also occupy the specifier position of the focus phrase. The particles *má* and *té*, which are in between the focused item and the subject as in (44b) and (44c), would then occupy the head of the focus phrase. Assuming this to be right, we could then propose that these same particles that immediately follow the fronted *wh*-word in examples (43b), (43c) and (43d) are functioning as focus particles. This set of data thus provides empirical support for claims in the literature (cf. Ouhalla, 1996; Grohmann, 2001; Aboh, 2007) on focus and question formation, according to which languages that move *wh*-phrases to the C-domain in fact target the focus phrase.

3.5.2.4. *Interim summary*

This section has shown that interrogative sentences differ from declaratives in having not only a different intonation, but also a question word that could be considered as typing the clause. Moreover, there is word order change involved with some *wh*-questions. The present research however does not adopt the position according to which *wh*-word fronting would serve the typing function. Rather, we have seen that the fronted *wh*-words happen to occupy the same position as contrastively focused items fronted to the left periphery. Hence, the fronting of *wh*-words should be motivated differently. I postpone this question for future research.

3.6. Imperative sentences

Cross linguistic data on the imperative clause show that it diverges with respect to declarative and interrogative clauses in two major respects. Firstly, the imperative is considered to be inflectionally defective, that is, it has less inflectional morphology, as in (45). The singular imperative verb in (45a) and in (45c) is made up of the bare

stem, with no marking for tense or agreement. There is however a number agreement marking in the imperative, thus distinguishing the plural forms in (45b) and (45d) from the singular ones.

- (45) a. Dic! Speak! (SG) Latin
- b. Dicite! Speak! (PL)
- c. Parle! Speak! (SG) French
- d. Parlez! Speak! (PL)

Second, the imperative subject (46a), in most cases, behaves differently from the subject in other clause types. This involves the omission of the subject in context where both declaratives (46b) and interrogatives (46c) would require one.

- (46) a. Eat your food! (SG & PL)
- b. You have eaten your food.
- c. Have you eaten your food?

These diverging points have been considered to have some implications for the clause structure of the imperative⁵. More specifically, scholars such as Zanuttini (1991), Platzack and Rosengren (1997) and Zeijlstra (2004) have argued that the imperative lacks a TP projection. Taking a different position, Postdam (1998, 2007) has proposed that the imperative does in fact not differ from interrogatives and declaratives in this respect. Rather, all three categories would share the same clausal architecture. Basing her argumentation on semantic grounds, Jensen (2004) argues against a TP-less imperative. According to her, tense would even be an inherent aspect of the imperative. She further proposes that the temporal make-up of the imperative is complex and is thus significant in distinguishing the imperative from other clause types.

3.6.1. Issues around the imperative clause in Fε?fe?

An exploration of the imperative in Fε?fe? turns out to be of interest in the context of the above debate for at least two reasons. First, the singular imperative, as in

⁵The interested reader is referred to van der Wurff (2007) for an extensive discussion on imperative clauses.

(47a), comes obligatorily without subject, thus contrasting with the plural imperative (47b), which must have an overt subject.

- (47) a. Zā wúzā
 Eat food
 ‘Eat!’
- b. Pè zā wúzā
 2PL eat food
 ‘Eat!’

Second, both the singular imperative in (48a) and the plural imperative in (48b) must have an overt subject whenever the imperative clause happens to be linked to some other clause, be it a conditional or temporal (*when* or *before*) clause.

- (48) a. Siani sà? [ò zā wúzā]
 Siani come [2SG eat food]
 ‘Eat when Siani comes/has come!’
- b. Siani sà? [pè zā wúzā]
 Siani come [2PL eat food]
 ‘Eat when Siani has come!’

The question this raises is what the contribution of the relevant additional clause is with respect to subject licensing within the imperative. It would also be interesting to make clear what the exact linking relation is between the two clauses, since most scholars argue that, across languages, imperatives cannot be embedded (Sadock and Zwicky, 1985; Palmer, 1986). However, I do not enter this debate, and the discussion of the link between the two clauses is postponed for future research.

Yet another aspect of the imperative in Fe?fe? is the fact that there is no dedicated verb form for the imperative in this language. This raises the question whether the imperative verb (49a) and (50a) in Fe?fe? offers a different pattern from the one observed so far across languages.

- (49) a. Zā wúzā
 Eat food
 ‘Eat!’
- b. Ō zā wúzā
 2SG eat food
 ‘You have eaten.’
- (50) a. Mā nzā wúzā
 Prog eat food
 ‘Be eating!’
- b. Ō mā nzā wúzā
 2SG PROG eat food
 ‘You are eating.’

In example (49a), the form of the verb is in no way different from the verb in (49b), a declarative. The same verb form is also found after the progressive in both declarative and imperative clauses in examples (50a) and (50b). Hence, there is no dedicated verb form for the imperative in F_e?f_e?

An understanding of the imperative is significant for the remainder of this thesis because imperative clauses fall within the group of environments that have a particular form for negation and which could, as a consequence, be considered to trigger a change in the formal realisation of negation. Laying down the specifics of the constituent elements, as well as the internal structure of imperatives, is a necessary step to pave the path for the analysis in subsequent chapters. The following discussion is organised as follows: section 3.6.2 starts with the verb form found in imperatives. In section 3.6.3, the question of the overt marking of the plural subject is addressed. The position adopted here is that this is simply a different facet of overt agreement that is marked on the verb in languages such as Latin and French. Section 3.6.4 discusses the imperative subject, arguing that the second person is an inherent part of the imperative meaning. In section 3.6.5, the subject of sequential imperative is addressed. It is argued that the sequential imperative subject is a pure agent. Section 3.6.6 tackles the licensing of imperative subjects. In this respect, I

adopt the proposal of Jensen (2003) regarding the decomposition of tense. Section 3.6.7 concludes with a proposal about the overall internal structure of imperatives in Fe?fe?.

3.6.2. The imperative verb in Fe?fe?

There is no special verb form dedicated to the imperative in Fe?fe?. This, however, is not a characteristic of the imperative. As seen in section 2.2 of the previous chapter, there are only two verb forms in Fe?fe?: the bare form and the pre-nasalised form. These forms are triggered by special particles that have been labelled non-pre-nasalisation triggers and pre-nasalisation triggers, respectively. I speculated at the close of chapter 2 that this deficiency in the form of the verb, which consists in using the same verb form in both finite and non-finite environments, would result from the loss of the morphological marking of the finiteness distinction. Hence, it is not possible to rely on the form of the verb to postulate whether the imperative in Fe?fe? is inflectionally defective. In fact I will argue against this view. As seen from example (49) and (50), the imperative verb does not differ from the verb form encountered in the declarative clause. Like the declarative verb, the imperative verb may appear bare or pre-nasalised if preceded by the relevant trigger. To conclude, there is nothing to be learned about imperatives in Fe?fe? by simply observing the form of the verb.

3.6.3. Overt subject in plural imperatives

Cross-linguistically, imperatives are considered to be subjectless by default. So, when confronted with a subject in an imperative clause, one might question whether the relevant construction is genuinely imperative. However, as argued for by Zanuttini and Portner (2003), one needs to uncover the components of truth-conditional meaning associated with each clause type, as discussed in section 3.4.1. Accordingly, it was stated in section 3.4.2 that imperatives denote a TDL. In other words, imperatives represent actions that the addressee should take. Hence, the two sentences in (51) both involve a speaker giving some order to an addressee that turns out to be singular in the one case and plural in the other.

- (51) a. Zá wúzā
 Eat food
 ‘Eat!’
- b. Pè zá wúzā

2PL eat food

‘Eat!’

Against this background, I argue that Fe?fe? is not doing anything special in having an overt plural subject. Imperatives in other languages also differ in morphology whenever the change from second person singular to second person plural occurs, as illustrated above in example (45) for Latin and French. The major difference between Fe?fe? on the one hand and French and Latin on the other is the following: while the latter mark agreement on the verb, the former does not. As we have seen in chapter 2, there is never any marking of the agreement between the verb and the subject on the verb in Fe?fe?. Hence, the only place Fe?fe? can make number features visible is on the subject. This may be the reason why Fe?fe? requires an overt plural subject in imperatives. If so, what happens to the second singular agreement? As seen in both Latin and French, and also in many other languages, there is no overt second person singular agreement involved in imperatives. This may be because the second person is inherently a part of the imperative meaning (see section 3.6.4 below). Hence, agreement needs to be marked only if the addressee is not the default singular. If this is on the right track, then the patterns found in the Fe?fe? imperative are so far not really special. What is special here is about Fe?fe? as a whole, not about imperatives in particular.

To conclude, Fe?fe? marks plural agreement on imperatives just like other languages. Fe?fe? however differs from well-known languages in not marking agreement on the imperative verb, but rather on the imperative subject. Hence, for plural agreement marking to be made possible in Fe?fe?, there is a requirement for there to be an overt plural subject.

3.6.4. Second person and imperative meaning

In the previous section, it has been argued that the second person is an inherent part of the imperative meaning. Imperatives cross-linguistically involve an addressee. The prototypical situation representing an imperative is that of a face-to-face exchange. In such situations, the expected subject is *you*, whether second singular or plural. When second plural, this subject may involve a thematic coordination. This may be better illustrated with a Fe?fe? situation. In Fe?fe? the pronoun translated in English as the plural *you* may convey one of four meanings:

- (52) a. Pè: You (a group of two or more addressees, whether all present or not).
- b. Pé-pú: you (plural addressees plus a group that is absent).

- (53) a. Pí-yó: You (the singular addressee plus another person that is absent).
 b. Pí-pú: you (the singular addressee plus a group that is absent)

So whether the situation involves a thematic coordination or not, there is always an addressee involved, and without this addressee, there would not be an imperative. Hence the addressee, which is always second person, can be considered as an inherent part of the imperative meaning.

We however come across situations where the agent of the imperative, i.e., the person supposed to execute the TDL, is not the addressee. Such cases may be illustrated with the English example in (54).

- (54) Someone call the police!

The question such an example raises is where the second person has gone. Indeed, if the second person is an inherent part of the imperative, then either (54) is not an imperative, or the second person is covert in (54). The latter option has been argued to be more accurate. According to Jensen (2003), the imperative subject has two parts. The first part is introduced in the thematic domain, and is made up of the agent. The agent is in charge of the real execution of the TDL. The second part that is incorporated into the imperative tense is the addressee. The addressee is the second person referred to above and who is involved in the face-to-face exchange. When the agent part of the imperative coincides with the addressee, the result is a prototypical second person subject, as in (55a), and the latter does not need to be overt. However, the addressee may play two roles: belonging to the set of agents while at the same time being the addressee, as in (55b) and (55c). I illustrate with the thematic coordination provided by Fε?fe?

- (55) a. γé kò
 Go farm
 ‘Go to the farm!’
- b. Pi-yó γé kò
 2PL go farm
 ‘Go to the farm (i.e., addressee + third party)!’

- c. Pè-pù γé kò
 2PL go farm

‘Go to the farm (i.e., group of addressees + group of others)!’

In (55b), the addressee is singular, but the agent is plural. This is because the thematic subject that is inserted in the VP domain is made up of the thematic coordination 2SG and 3SG. However, the addressee who is involved in the face to face conversation is only the 2SG. In (55c), the thematic subject who is responsible for executing the TDL is made up of the coordination of 2PL and 3PL. However, only the second plural is involved in the face-to-face exchange, and hence is the addressee. It follows that the two parts of the imperative subject may be separated. The thematic coordination provided by Fε?Fε? is a natural language illustration. If the agent can thus be separated from the addressee, then we understand that in cases like (54), we have a third person agent. Yet the addressee is still a second person, because the addressee must take part in the face-to-face conversation, though s/he may not personally execute the TDL.

3.6.5. The subject of sequential imperatives

The separation between the agent and the addressee of the imperative may provide an initial insight into the behaviour of the subject of sequential imperatives. By ‘sequential imperative’, I mean any imperative clause that appears as a second or consecutive clause. Such an imperative may be preceded by a ‘when clause’, by an ‘if clause’, or by some temporal clause. Illustrative examples are provided in (56) and (57).

- (56) a. Siani sà?, [ò zá wúzá]

Siani come [2SG eat food]

‘Eat once Siani comes/has come!'

- b. Siani sà?, [pè zá wúzá]

Siani come [2PL eat food]

‘Eat once Siani has come!'

- (57) a. Siani sà?, [pi-yɔ zá wúzá]

- Siani come [2PL eat food]
 ‘You and Siani eat once she has come!’
- b. Siani sà? [à zá wúzá]
 Siani come [3SG eat food]
 ‘Once Siani has come, she should eat!’
- c. Siani sà? [ò γé ntéé]
 Siani come [2SG go market]
 ‘Go to the market once Siani has come!’

The first observation that can be made about sequential imperatives is that, like free-standing imperatives, they involve a TDL and an addressee. However, they differ from other imperatives in always having an overt subject, whether the latter is singular or plural. Hence, we have a 2SG subject in (56a), a 2PL subject in (56b), a 2PL subject in (57a), a 3SG subject in (57b), and a 2SG subject in (57c). We saw from the discussion in the previous section, which was limited to free-standing imperatives, that only plural imperatives take a subject. With sequential imperatives, however, the subject, whether singular or plural, cannot be omitted.

Having discussed the separation of the agent from the addressee in the previous section, I propose that the subject of the sequential imperative is deprived of one of its parts. Or rather, that the overt subject is made up of the agent part alone, while the addressee part of the subject remains covert, i.e., is semantically present but not present morphosyntactically. This explains why the sequential subject cannot be omitted. I will make use of (57) to explain my point. In (57b), for instance, the agent of the imperative is not the addressee, but a third party. In this case, we can see that the addressee is nowhere to be found, at least morphologically. So, in the sequential imperative, what matters is for it to be known who the agent of the given order should be. In (57a), the speaker makes it explicit that the agent should be both the addressee and the third party because of the thematic coordination bringing together 2SG plus third party. In (57b), the addressee does not seem to count. I would propose that this is because the addressee is the part of the information that is already known. This is because the addressee is already involved in the conversation from the first clause, here a ‘when clause’. Finally, in (57c) the speaker wants the agent of the given order to be the addressee. Here, the addressee and the agent happen to be identical, in the sense that a second person imperative subject should normally be

omitted, but in this case it must be present because the agent part receives emphasis and as such must be overt. Hence, it is more difficult to say that we are dealing only with the agent. But I would still posit that the situation is similar to (57a) and (57b). In particular, the speaker somehow points the finger at the agent, so there will not be any confusion as to who the intended agent should be. In (57c), as in other sequential imperatives, the addressee is already known from the first clause. Hence there is no need to mention her/him, unless some emphasis has to be laid on her/him. In this case, s/he and no other should be the agent. A point that could further support this line of argumentation comes from what happens in thematic coordination even in independent imperatives. I repeat example (55) here for illustration.

- (55) a. γέ kò
 Go farm
 'Go to the farm!'
- b. Pi-y᷑ γέ kò
 2PL go farm
 'Go to the farm (i.e., addressee + third party)!'
- c. P᷑-pū γέ kò
 2PL go farm
 'Go to the farm (i.e., group of addressees + others)!'

In (55a) the addressee is identical to the agent. Hence, the imperative subject is covert, probably because it is assumed to be the addressee, and addressees are usually not overt cross linguistically because they are known. However, the moment the addressee is not perfectly identical to the agent, the subject must be overt. I would postulate that this subject needs to be overt because of the agent. There is a disparity between the agent and the addressee, hence, the agent must be known. As a consequence, we get an overt subject. This seems to be a natural tendency in natural language: whatever is already known does not need mentioning again. Instead we want to unveil the unknown. Therefore, the known addressee, as in (55a), does not need mentioning. In (55b) and (55c), by contrast, there is more than the addressee at stake. Therefore, the unknown must be unveiled. As a result, we get an overt subject. This simple principle is what is operating in sequential imperatives, thus imposing the requirement for an overt subject, which is in fact the agent.

To conclude, this section has provided an explanation as to why the subject of a sequential imperative, whether singular or plural, cannot be omitted. Building on the separation between the subpart of the imperative subject as proposed by Jensen (2003) and adopted in the previous section, this section has argued that the sequential subject is essentially an agent.

3.6.6. The licensing of imperative subjects

The absence of an overt subject in imperatives in the Latin and French examples in (45), as well as in many Indo-European languages, has led some scholars to argue that the imperative has a truncated clause structure. More specifically, the imperative is considered to lack a TP. The most immediate question such a position raises in the presence of languages like Fe?fe? that have overt imperative subjects is how these subjects get to be licensed. This question is itself based on the well-accepted assumption in contemporary theory that subjects are licensed by tense. We have seen from the previous sections that agreement morphology is licit in imperatives, both in Indo-European languages and in Fe?fe?. The overt marking of agreement by itself signals the covert presence of the subject with which the verb (in the case of Latin and French) agrees. In the case of Fe?fe?, the subject is overt. How this subject gets licensed is the subject matter of this section.

Following Jensen (2003), I would like to argue that imperatives have a TP, just like declaratives and interrogatives. The imperative tense, however, differs from the declarative tense. Jensen calls the imperative tense T_{Imp}^0 , while the declarative tense is labelled T_{Dec}^0 . According to Jensen, the two tenses differ in interpretation. While the declarative tense corresponds to the event time, the imperative tense is anchored to the speech time.

That the imperative tense is anchored to the speech time may provide an explanation as to why it is not overt. We saw from the section on tense that there is never any overt tense involved in the present in Fe?fe?, as in (58). This means that there is a correlation between zero marking and anchoring to the speech time. Accordingly, Fe?fe? goes as far as dropping even the copula verb in the present tense. Hence, the locative present in (59) is simply made up of the subject plus the location. Note the clear difference between the locative present, on the one hand, and the locative in the past and future tenses on the other. The former, (59a), is simply devoid of all non-lexical information, unlike the latter, (59b) and (59c), which provide both tense and copula.

- (58) a. Siani sàà

- Siani be tall
 ‘Siani is tall.’
- b. Siani zi pūú yām
 Siani born children ten
 ‘Siani has given birth to ten children.’
- c. Siani n-nù ndù?
 Siani drink wine
 ‘Siani drinks wine.’
- (59) a. Siani ŝē
 Siani here
 ‘Siani is here.’
- b. Siani fhú mbɑ ŝē
 Siani P1 be here
 ‘Siani was here (earlier today).’
- c. Siani ká bɑ ŝē
 Siani F2 be here
 ‘Siani will be here.’

I would posit that this is because the tense and copula in the present tense are considered to be obvious, because they coincide with the speech time. If this holds for declaratives, that would mark aspect in the present but not tense, and simply because the present tense corresponds to the speech time, then, it should be logical for the imperative not to mark tense for the sole reason that its tense corresponds to the speech time. We saw from section 3.6.2 that the imperative follows other patterns of the language as well. Accordingly, the verb forms found in imperatives are the same as those found elsewhere in the language.

It follows from the ongoing discussion that the imperative in Fe?fe? will adopt the patterns found elsewhere in the language as long as they don't clash with its specific properties. Hence, it is normal under these circumstances that anchoring with the speech time should produce the same effect in both declarative and imperative, namely no morphological marking for tense.

The imperative further differs from the declarative tense with respect to the nature of the phi-feature it bears. While the declarative tense carries an uninterpretable phi-feature against which the DP checks an uninterpretable tense feature with the result of nominative case on the DP, the imperative tense has an interpretable phi-feature. The latter has a specification for second person. Hence, the checking relation (see Frampton and Gutman, 2000; Pesetsky and Torrego, 2004) between tense and the imperative subject results in the latter acquiring the function of the addressee.

Finally, the imperative tense differs from the declarative tense in not requiring an overt subject. This is why there is no expletive imperative subject. Unlike the imperative tense, the declarative tense needs to have its specifier filled by an overt subject. Hence, even an empty (expletive) subject would do as long as that requirement is met. We can then see that the two types of tenses license two different types of subject. While the declarative subject is 'predicated over', the imperative subject is addressed. A consequence of this analysis is that the thematic subject in a declarative clause always raises to Spec TP, unless the requirement of that position being filled is met by the presence of an expletive. However, the thematic imperative subject may remain in the thematic domain. This is clearly illustrated by cases where the thematic subject differs from the addressee. The most straightforward case comes from the subject of consecutive imperatives.

- (60) a. Pè-pú γé kò
 2PL go farm
 ‘Go to the farm!’
- b. Pú sà?, [pè-pú γé kò]
 3PL come 2PL go farm
 ‘You and they go to the farm when they come!’

In both (60a) and (60b), the addressee is made up only of the *pé* part of the overall subject, while the second part of the subject *pú* is only a part of the agent.

3.6.7. The internal structure of imperatives in Fε?fe?

The discussion in the preceding sections has shown that imperatives mark agreement with the subject ((61b) and (62)). Hence, the argument which maintains that they are inflectionally defective cannot be based on agreement morphology. I will therefore include an agreement phrase in the structure of imperatives.

- (61) a. Dic! Speak! (SG) Latin
- b. Dicite! Speak! (PL)
- (62) a. Parle! Speak! (SG) French
- b. Parlez! Speak! (PL)

Moreover, we have argued in section 3.6.6 that imperatives are not tenseless. Hence, they have a TP just like declarative clauses. Furthermore, examples such as (63b) which mark aspect overtly provide evidence for the projection AspP in imperatives.

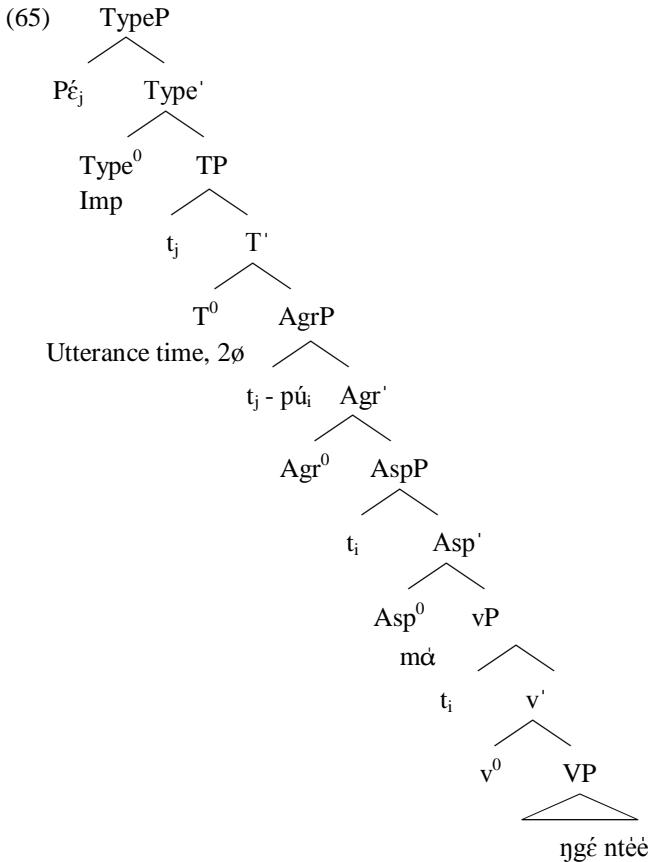
- (63) a. Zà wúzà
- Eat food
- ‘Eat!’
- b. Mà nzà wúzà
- PROG eat food
- ‘Be eating!’

Finally, I also argue that the thematic domain below the aspectual phrase does not differ from that found in declarative clauses. Hence, the agent subject is merged in the extended VP domain, more specifically in the specifier of the little vP. I will however leave open the question of how developed the imperative CP may be. I will simply assume that imperatives have a typing feature that converts them from a simple propositional content to an imperative sentence. I therefore propose the structure in (65) for the imperative sentence in (64).

- (64) Pè-pù mà ñgé ntéé
- 2PL PROG go market

'Be going to the market!'

In (65), the first part of the imperative subject, which is made up of the agent (here 2PL + 3PL), is merged in the thematic domain, namely in the specifier of vP. Once the Aspectual and agreement heads are in place, the agent raises into AgrP for feature checking. Upon the merging of the imperative TP (anchored to the speech time) that is inherently associated with second person, the *pé* part of the agent that also coincides with the addressee raises into Spec TP for feature-checking purposes. Finally, the typing phrase is merged and the imperative feature in its head enters into a checking relation with the addressee, resulting in the latter remerging into Spec TypeP.



3.6.8. Interim summary

The purpose of this section was to provide a descriptive overview of clause types in Fe?fe?. The section started with the definition according to which a clause is a combination of propositional content plus an additional element specifying it as belonging to a particular type. We further saw that there are both formal and truth-conditional criteria that can be used to identify clause types. On the basis of these criteria, we have identified three major clause types in Fe?fe?: declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. The subsequent discussion has shown that the three clause types differ formally in many respects. However, the similarities they share in the case of Fe?fe? are also rather striking. Some of the recurrent facets shared by all three clause types are the form of the verb and the structure of the Middle Field or TP layer of the clause.

3.7. Chapter conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to provide the reader with the necessary background information on clause types. This goal is motivated by the fact that negative markers in Fe?fe? appear to vary in their formal realisation depending on the type of clause in which they occur. It was therefore necessary to introduce the reader to the relevant clause types, thus giving the reader an idea about the nature of the construction in which each particular negative marker occurs. In this respect, this chapter has combined two definitions of clause types provided by Dryers (2007), namely the one involving the different types of dependent clauses, and the other having to do with the distinction between imperative, interrogative and declarative clauses.

IV Synchronic variation in language change

Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it.
George Santayana

4.1. Introduction

The main goal of this chapter is to provide cross-linguistic data as an empirical argument supporting the thesis advocated in this dissertation, namely that synchronic variation is the reflection of language change. The assumption that synchronic variation is a reflection of diachronic change turns out to be well-substantiated in contemporary linguistics (Croft, 1991; Hopper and Traugott, 2003; Campbell, 2004). Hence, languages exhibiting enormous variations with respect to the expression of a single linguistic function are conceived as hosting a hybrid system in the area of grammar thus affected. In this regard, investigations into the histories of Indo-European languages with historical records reveal a correlation between language change and the availability of multiple options for a single linguistic function. Examples of diachronic changes associated with synchronic variation thus abound in functionalist as well as in generativist accounts of language change. In this regard, the change from OV to VO word order in both English and Icelandic is reported to have gone through a long period where both options were equally attested (Pintzuk, 1991; Hroarsdottir, 1998; Fuss and Trips, 2002). In the passage from SOV to SVO, Ancient Greek undergoes a period of extensive coexistence between the two word orders (Taylor, 1990, 1994). Moreover, the introduction of do-support in English provides an instance of variation between do and non-do-support patterns (Kroch, 1989). Still in English, we also encounter a case of mutual co-existence between *be going to* and *be gonna* (Hopper and Traugott, 2003).

Closer to the topic of the present research is the mutual coexistence of *ne*, *ne pas* and *pas* in the history of negation in French. This is a contemporary case of synchronic variation coupled with diachronic change. This correlation between

diachrony and synchronic variation in the negation system has also been attested in the history of English, Dutch and German, and is still available today in the Welsh and Cairese negation systems. These, as well as other cases of variation are exhibited in an area of grammar which is otherwise devoid of synchronic variation. Therefore, they can rightfully be considered as reflexes of language change. Indeed, the variation attested today in the Cairese and Welsh negation systems, as well as the one observed in previous stages of the negation systems of French, English, Dutch and German, among others, may all be accounted for as part of the diachronic process standardly known under the label of the Jespersen Cycle (JC). I therefore rely on this well-known case of language change observed cross-linguistically in the domain of negation as an empirical argument supporting the thesis that synchronic variation is the reflection of language change. Before getting to the facts substantiating the correlation of variation to language change, I first present the familiar aspects of the JC found in most studies involving the diachrony of negation in section 4.2. Following this, section 4.3 discusses the same language change phenomenon from a perspective that brings out the real state of affairs as encountered in natural language data, thus unveiling its similarities to the variation observed in the negation data of *F_e?f_e?* introduced in section 1.2. The chapter concludes in section 4.4.

4.2. The JC from the standard perspective

The label ‘Jespersen Cycle’ is first used by Dahl (1979). By so doing, Dahl recognises the role of Jespersen as a forerunner in accounting for the shift exhibited in negation systems in terms of a cyclic development¹. Accordingly, the JC can be conceived of as a process that takes a negation system from a monopartite to a bipartite construction and back to a monopartite construction. Jespersen (1917: 4) defines the process as follows:

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

In the standard story of the JC, an original negator is weakened, and then reinforced by some item standardly assumed to be unique, and the latter subsequently takes

¹ According to Van der Auwera (2009), Meillet would have predated Jespersen in this regard.

over the function previously assumed by the original marker, while the original marker peacefully gives way to its successor by getting out of sight altogether. In the following examples from French (1), English (2), German (3) and Dutch (4), we can see the original negator in the (a) examples, while the reinforcer occurs in its reinforcing function in the (b) examples and, finally, the (c) examples illustrate the initially reinforcing element in its function as an autonomous marker of negation.

French

- (1) a. Je **ne** sais
 I Neg know
 ‘I don’t know.’
- b. Je **ne** sais **pas**
 I Neg know Neg
 ‘I don’t know.’
- c. Je sais **pas**
 I know Neg
 ‘I don’t know.’

English

- (2) a. ic **ne** secge
 I **ne** seye **not**
 I say **not**
 c’. I do **not** say

German

- (3) a. **ni** wâniu ih iu lfb habbe
 Neg think I he live have
 ‘I do not think he is still alive.’

- b. die Hinam **ne**-scolt du **nicht** ezzen...
 The hyena Neg-shall you Neg eat
 ‘You shall not eat the hyena.’
- c. Hans has **nicht** gegessen
 Hans has Neg eaten
 ‘Hans has not eaten.’

Dutch

- (4) a. Inde in uege sundigero **ne** stünt
 And in way sinners.Gen Neg stood.3sg
 ‘And didn’t stand in the way of sinners.’
- b. Si-**ne** ware **niet** genedert heden
 She-Neg were Neg humiliated currently
 ‘She wasn’t humiliated currently.’
- B'. Zulcx (**en**) heft noyt **niet** ghebleken
 Such Neg has n-ever Neg appeared
 ‘Such has never appeared (to be the case).’
- c. Jan loopt **niet**
 Jan walks Neg
 ‘Jan does not walk.’

The standard story thus provides us with a historical pathway according to which no two markers are ever competing for the same syntactic environment. In fact, the most extreme view of the standard story (as stated by Jespersen himself) would be one in which there is always a single strategy for negation available to the language at one time. Hence, we get a schema like the one in (5).



(The three stages of the JC in the standard story)

From the perspective of the standard story, the JC pathway of development knows only two lexical items. In the case of French, for instance, the first item is *ne*, and the second *pas*. During the time frame identified on the line in (5) as 1, *ne* is the only marker available to the language. During the time identified as 3 in (5), *pas* is the only marker known to the language. In between periods 1 and 3, *ne* and *pas* are sandwiched into a single negation *ne pas* as the means for the expression of negation. Hence, each time frame comes and goes, taking along its own single negation, and no negation gets into the space of another.

Seen from this angle, things seem to be as straightforward and clean as with mathematical logic. Following the pathway thus set in motion by Jespersen (1917), a standard analysis of the JC usually brings out the chronological succession of markers that have been involved in the cycle (with the relation they have held toward each other), thus motivating the rise and fall of different markers on morphosyntactic or semantic and pragmatic grounds. This results in a linear evolution with no overlap. As a consequence, the stages of the JC are often conceived of as discrete entities (5). In this line of thought, two major types of analysis emerge from recent works on the JC:

- ❖ The cycle is launched by and because of the morphosyntactic impoverishment of the old marker, as the negative feature is transferred to the reinforcer (Roberts & Roussou, 2003; Willis, 2012).
- ❖ The cycle results from two simultaneous changes: reanalysis of the old marker into a polarity marker, and reanalysis of the old reinforcer into a negative marker (Breitbarth, 2009).

Common to both types of analyses is the prediction that at any time the negative feature should not be carried by two different morpho-phonological negative markers within the confines of a single synchronic language state. In the case of English, for instance, when we come across the mutual co-existence of *ne*, *ne not* and *not* within the same synchronic period of time as encountered in the thirteenth century English language, it is expected that either *ne* or *not* alone should carry the feature of negation at a time, and not both. Therefore, as long as *ne* still carries the negation feature in the given language state, *not* cannot. Hence, the bipartite marker

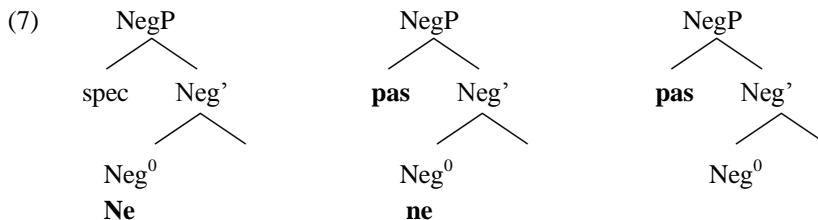
ne not can only be the result of an agreement with either the *ne* or the *not* portion of the construction inherently contributing the semantics of negation. Moreover, when the monopartite marker *not* starts contributing negation semantically, it is not possible, from the perspective of this group of analyses, for the monopartite marker *ne* to still contribute negation, because, if this happens, there would be two items with the negation features within the confines of a single synchronic language state.

The approach represented by (5) is consistent with a parametric conception of grammar in which a single value for a particular parameter holds at a time, with each change of value resulting in language change (Lightfoot, 1991). Haegeman (1995: 106) implemented this approach in the configuration for negation argued for in the Neg-criterion.

(6) The Neg-criterion

- a. A Neg-operator must be in a spec-head configuration with an X^0 [Neg];
- b. An X^0 [Neg] must be in a spec-head configuration with a Neg-operator.

Adopting the Neg-criterion, Roberts and Roussou (2003) derive the JC in terms of whether lexical material is found in the head, in the specifier or in both slots of NegP.



From this perspective, the clause structure of the language has no space left for *ne* once *ne...pas* is functional. In fact, any co-existence situation is excluded. It follows that the Neg-criterion implicitly predicts the impossibility of natural language accommodating two co-existent negative strategies. Yet this view cannot be the whole story because of the synchronic variation encountered across languages at the flux of the JC. Therefore, it is safe to state that the standard story of the JC represented in (5) is an oversimplification.

One may want to justify this choice by arguing for the gradualness of language change. Yet I do not, in this dissertation, adopt the gradual postulate of language change. Given the major tenets of the parametric enterprise which I endorse in this

thesis, language change as well as cross-linguistic variation is the result of a parametric change. Therefore, in accordance with the biolinguistic perspective which perceives a grammar as the reflection of an individual's internal knowledge state, language change is considered to have occurred whenever two distinct knowledge states can be deduced between two generations on the basis of the available data. In this regard, language change in the strict(est) sense is a single-generation phenomenon. Against this background, Hale (1998) defines change as a set of differences between two grammars. This implies that language change arises or does not at the birth of the new grammar, i.e., following the endpoint of the language acquisition process. However, because grammars are properties of individual human beings, a newly acquired feature that arises in a new individual's grammar may never spread to the entire speech community and, when it does, it still has to spread from the initial innovative speaker to other speakers in his/her sphere of influence.

From the foregoing discussion, we understand that a new feature in a grammar, or a loss thereof, is instantaneously present at the end of the language acquisition process. It arises as a feature of an individual I-grammar/language. It does not arise as the property of the speech community as a whole. The individual I-grammar or language is the locus where the change originates. Therefore, change is abrupt or instantaneous in the sense that the second-generation grammar diverges in some point or other from the grammar of the first generation, and this despite the fact that the latter provided the input on the basis of which the former came into existence. There is therefore no way in which such a change could be considered to be anything but instantaneous or abrupt. This leads to the following core question: why then do we have synchronic variation between the features of the new and the old grammars? Differently stated, how can we reconcile the abruptness or instantaneity of change with its correlation to synchronic variation between old and new forms or patterns? Postponing the answer to this question, I first draw the reader's attention to an issue that has widely contributed in enforcing the position that language change is gradual.

The discussion above has led us to understand the motivation underlying the generativists' position in maintaining that change is abrupt or instantaneous against the empirical body of evidence provided by consistent synchronic variation between new and old patterns in the observable data. This paragraph addresses a terminological issue that underlies the conception of language change as a gradual phenomenon. To illustrate with an example, we could consider the innovation from *ne not* to *not* in the expression of negation in English. It is most likely that even in the speech of the innovator of this change, we first encounter the layering of both *ne not* and *not* as negative markers before the systematic elimination of *ne not*. We

therefore assume the validity of the uniformitarian hypothesis to posit that what we observe in today's changing systems must have also occurred in systems like English whose data were handed down while the change was already performed. It is usually the case that the innovation is first seen in specific syntactic environments, and later spreads to others.

As we saw earlier, language change is strictly speaking a single-generation phenomenon. It turns out, however, that the data considered in studies of language change scarcely involve a change from two adjacent generations. This implies that the word *change* is more often used with other meanings. One of these meanings involves changes over multiple generations, where a span of multiple centuries often lies between the two sets of data being taken into consideration to advocate a case of language change. When ample evidence is provided to show that these data can be considered to involve multiple iterations of a single generation change, Hale (2007) posits that the process of acquisition underlying language change is virtually the same, despite the iterations. Therefore, there must always be a 'lineal descent' relationship between the grammars being compared. This implies that the descendant grammar must have been acquired on the basis of primary linguistic data (PLD) provided by a series of successive daughters of the other (ancestor) grammar. Under these conditions, the label language change is still appropriate according to Hale (2007). Hale however argues for another sense in which the word '*change*' has been used in the literature, and which, when left without clarification, stands as a source of substantial terminological difficulties.

Indeed, the word '*change*' is usually used with the sense 'diffusion of change through the speech community', as found in the following quote: 'Change X began in the thirteenth century but was completed only in the late sixteenth' (Hale, 2007: 35). In such statements, the portion 'was completed only in late sixteenth' simply means was not diffused to the entire speech community until the date mentioned. When the word '*diffusion*' is thus freely interchanged with '*change*', one may start thinking that change occurs in the same way that one can start climbing a mountain and consistently move from one height to the other before finally reaching the top. This is parallel to the process of diffusion, but change is a different kind of phenomenon. As stated above, a change occurs as the result of the language acquisition process, and is observable when the new grammar arises at the end of the acquisition process. At this point, the change is either there or not. It can be inferred by comparing the new grammar with the one that provided the PLD, and any difference that arises between the two grammars can be labelled as an instance of change. Therefore, a change is a result state and, as a consequence, cannot be gradual. In order to further illustrate the kind of issues that give rise to a situation of

apparent gradualness in language change, I borrow a scenario about a rock rolling down a hill in the following quote from Hale (2007: 34-35):

A large rock sits upon a hill. Every 20 years or so an individual with instructions to place an identical rock next to the rock they see on the hill comes along and does so... These replacements proceed, at regular intervals, and 400 years later there is rock at the bottom of the hill which bears some resemblance to the original rock which sat at the top of the hill 400 years earlier.

In this scenario, if the displacement of the rock from the top to the bottom of the hill is viewed as a single process, then there is no other way to characterise it but as being gradual. However, when we consider that a new generation of speakers takes over about every 30 years, and perhaps each time with small changes in the PLD handed down to the next generation, then we can better see that what seems to be a large, apparently gradual change – as viewed from the perspective of 400 years difference – is instead made up of a series of discrete changes contributed by each generation. What is gradual is therefore the diffusion of the change to the community of speakers. Diffusion involves the adoption by a group of speakers of (a) linguistic feature(s) initially innovated within the I-grammar of some other speaker. This is indeed a gradual process that may span centuries. Given the foregoing facts, it is the duty of the twenty-first century linguist to reconcile the abruptness of language change with synchronic variation as observed across language families. In the following section I provide a set of data which fares badly with a ‘single item at a time’ version of the JC. From Old French through Middle English and Formal Welsh via present-day Cairese, this provides an empirical argument against the standard story of the JC.

4.3. The overlapping approach to the JC

The history of languages which have completed or almost completed the cycle tells us that there is a cline/rise and a decline of the JC. In between the two poles, exists the flux of the cycle where all the markers involved in the JC co-exist.

(8)

		1		
	1	2	2	
1	2	3	3	3

The JC from the overlapping perspective

The flux in (8) corresponds to the middle column where all the markers involved in the JC are co-existent. The flux is preceded by the stepwise introduction of negative markers into the language (on the left side of the middle column), and is followed by the stepwise exit of negative markers from the language (on the right side of the middle column). This implies that the original marker will not be eliminated and will still be available until the marker that will ultimately replace it is in place. Stated differently, the cycle is not completed at the introduction of the marker that will eventually take over in the new system. Then starts the decline, during which the older markers are lost to the language. Hence the figure that would best portray the real state of affairs (overlap of negative strategies) encountered during the JC is that of a triangle (8), rather than a straight line (5).

A prediction one can make from the representation in (8) is that the original marker will not be lost to the system before the last element has found a stable place in the system. This prediction can be verified by observing the cases of French and English which have completed the changing process under consideration. We observe from (8) that at certain points, multiple strategies with a variable length of life span will co-exist. This corroborates Kroch's (1989, 1994) position that a reorganisation of the grammar takes place only when one form entirely displaces (all) the other(s) at the endpoint of a change. In between the initial single strategy and the final one, the language is striving to find a new system. Thus, it explores variable options. This is best illustrated by the case of French, where the original negator *ne* enters into a bipartite configuration with *mie*, *pas* and *point*, respectively. The representation in (8) further predicts that there are periods of mutual co-existence and overlap between the French negative strategies *ne*, *ne...pas* and *pas*, for instance. Such a period of co-existence has been attested in many other languages, as already discussed for the English language in section 1.3. The following paragraphs provide natural language illustrations to back up this position. Section 4.3.1 discusses the mutual co-existence of multiple negative markers in Romance. Section 4.3.2 discusses the mutual co-existence of multiple markers for negation in Germanic, and section 4.3.3 pays attention to a similar period of mutual co-existence between markers in the Celtic language Welsh. Finally, section 4.3.4 discusses the overall situation of overlap thus observed in Indo-European languages alongside the variation exhibited in present-day Fe?fe?, with the conclusion that both situations may receive a JC analysis.

4.3.1. The co-existence of multiple negative items during the JC in Romance (Old French and Cairese)

The information usually discussed in JC-related research focuses on the existence of discrete successive stages. The goal of this section is to draw the reader's attention to yet another characteristic property displayed by the JC stages, namely co-existence of multiple negation strategies. In this regard, I discuss the situation of synchronic variation encountered in the earlier stage of the French language and in the Cairese language even in her contemporary state.

The negation system of Old French displays a variation that strikingly parallels the synchronic system we find in today's Fe?fe?. In one and the same language state, we come across the older marker *ne* (9), alongside a group of former nominals that have been reanalysed and integrated into the negation system. Among these are *pas* (10), *mie* (11), *goutte* (12) and *point* (13), which have all been handed down from Latin.

- (9) Jeo ne dis

1sg not say

'I don't say.'

- (10) Mais a bataille **n'**oset il **pas** venir

But to battle not-dared he not come

'But to battle did he not dare at all to come.' [Eckardt, 2006]

- (11) Quel part qu'il alt, **ne** poet **mie** cäir

Which part that-he goes not poet not fall

'Wherever he goes, he cannot fall a bit.' [ibid]

- (12) Si fait oscur, **ne** veient **gote**,

so make dark, not they-see not

'It is so dark, they don't see anything.' [ibid]

- (13) Belin **ne** crienst **point** sa manace ...

Belin not fear his threat

'Belin does not fear his threatening.' [ibid]

It has been argued that this variation might be due to regional variants. Thus, it is perhaps not illustrative of true instances of co-existent strategies. Below, I provide contemporary data from Cairese to show another Romance negation system which, like that of Old French, displays a wealth of variation during the JC.

In Cairese, an Italian dialect spoken in Cairo Monte, the negation system displays extensive variation. Of particular significance is the fact that the said variation is synchronic, as has been reported in Parry's (1997) fieldwork investigation into the dialects of Italy. From the following examples, we can acknowledge the three stages of the JC that would feature in the standard analysis; that is, *n* for stage 1, *n ... nent* for stage 2, and *nent* for stage 3.

- (14) a. U- **n** pu'Riva ka'pi
 3SG NEG could understand
 'He could not understand.'
- b. U **n** bugia **nent**
 3SG NEG moves NEG
 'He doesn't move.'
- c. A R-a **neN** viSt
 3SG 3SG-has NEG seen
 'She has not seen.'

The first common point with F ϵ ?f ϵ ?, even if one were to limit the Cairese empirical data to the above three items, is that they are co-existent in one and the same synchronic language state, just as with *si*, *si bā* and *bā* in F ϵ ?f ϵ ?. Furthermore, the Cairese data further pattern with F ϵ ?f ϵ ? in the sense that the older marker *n* is also found in bipartition with markers other than *nent*, namely *p* in (15a) and *nu* in (15b).

- (15) a. A **N** vu'rejsap ka par'tismu 'seNtsa salu'tele
 3sg Neg would-want Neg that
 'He wouldn't want us to leave without saying goodbye to him!'

b.	A	N	I	!	viSt	le	Nu
	1SG	NEG	3SG	have	seen	3SG	NEG
‘I haven’t seen him.’							

This is reminiscent of the other Fe?fe? markers such as *kà?*, *pá?* and *lè*, which also occur in a bipartite construction with the marker *bà*, as seen in section 1.2. Moreover, we also find in Cairese some of these markers which occur as standalone items, as in (16). Finally, we even come across tripartite negation in (17), with *n*, *p*, and *nu* in a single semantic negation.

- (16) a. Zèrchuma ‘d **nun** sc-purchèse
 ‘Cerchiamo di non sporcarci (let.-si).’ .
- b. Mi a’i eu truvò manèra ’d **ciû** indè per èva
 ‘io (scl scl) ho trovato modo di più andare (non andare più).’
- (17) Si ma dy’menika u **N** e **p** ‘vny **nu**
 Yes but Sunday 3SGNEG is NEG come NEG
 ‘Yes, but on Sunday he didn’t come!'

The Cairese negation data thus presented is even richer in variation than the set of data encountered in Fe?fe?. Zanuttini (1997: 14-16) clearly recognises the three stages of the JC at work in *n*, *n* ... *nen*, and *nen*. This leads me to adopt the position that the presence of additional markers, whether in bipartite construction with the older marker, or as standalone markers, does not have to be taken as grounds for disqualifying a system from a JC-based analysis. From the discussion above, we can safely conclude that the extensive synchronic variation available in the negation system of Fe?fe? is not a unique pattern in negation systems cross-linguistically. To further substantiate this claim, I provide illustration from a Germanic language in the following paragraphs.

4.3.2. The co-existence of multiple negative items during the JC in English

The JC in English, that is, the process that resulted in the change from the original negator to the modern English *not* and *n’t*, can be said to have started from Old

English (OE). The facts are usually summarised in terms of three distinctive stages, with *ne*, *ne not* and *not* occurring in stages one, two and three, respectively. However, by scrutinising the available data more closely, van Kemenade (2000) exposes the early patterns of the JC at a time when the original negator *no* is not yet weakened into a clitic. In so doing, she offers insight into the change from *no* to *ne*, and allows us to see the patterns displaying the earlier bipartite negative constructions. The overall insight that emerges is that the JC is characterised by consistent overlap between its stages. Hence, as early as OE, we encounter a situation of synchronic variation in the expression of negation, whereby *no*, *ne*, and *ne...na* co-exist for the expression of negation, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (18) **No** ic me an herewasmun hnagran talige, /gubgeweorca, bonne
Not I myself in war-strength inferior count, battle deeds, than
Grendel hine
Grendel himself
‘I do not count myself less in war-strength, in battle deeds, than Grendel
does himself.’ [Beowulf 677-8]
- (19) **Ne** sende se deofol at fyr of hafnium, peah pe hi Ufan come
Not sent the devil then fire from heaven, though that it From-above came
‘The devil sent not fire from heaven, though it came from above.’
- (20) **Ne** het he us **na** leornian heofonas to wyrckenne
Not ordered he us **not** learn heaven to make
‘He did not order us to learn to make the heavens.’

The synchronic variants thus encountered in OE and displayed in (18) to (20), however, originate from different periods of time. Hence they have been introduced into the language in a linear order, with the original *no* being reanalysed as *ne*, and the latter subsequently being reinforced by *na*, thus forming the bipartite negation *ne na*. The foregoing discussion clearly provides empirical support for the assumption that synchronic variation in a single language state is the reflection of language change.

The mutual co-existence of multiple forms for the expression of negation is also substantiated in Middle English (ME). In his paper about negation in Early Middle English (EME), Jack (1978a) reports the co-existence of two strategies for the expression of negation, namely *ne* and *ne nawt*. To the question whether there is a semantic difference between *ne* and *ne nawt*, Jack states:

...Written texts do not easily give testimony of a slight difference of emphasis such as may have distinguished *ne nawt* from *ne*... The frequency with which *ne nawt* occurs is such that it cannot reasonably be supposed to be distinctly emphatic... Moreover, there are certain syntactic situations which favor the use of *ne nawt* rather than *ne*, and this implies that ... the two can hardly have been distinct in meaning, since the choice between them was connected to the formal character of the surrounding clause.

The last sentence in the above quote by Jack provides a shared property between the synchronic variation encountered in EME and the one described in present-day Fe?fe?, namely the situation of complementary distribution between co-existing markers. In EME, *ne* and *ne nawt* are in complementary distribution, just as *si* and *si bɑ* in today's Fe?fe?, repeated here from examples (5a) and (5b) of chapter 1.

- (5) a. Siani lè sì γέ ntéé
 Siani P3 NEG go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’
- b. Siani si ká γέ ntéé bɑ
 Siani NEG F2 go market NEG
 ‘Siani will not go to the market.’

The innovation with respect to the redistribution of existing negative variants in Later Middle English (LME) has to do mainly with the fact that *ne* is found predominantly in embedded environments. A notable difference between the two periods is that we now have three instead of two negative variants. Both Wallage (2008) and Jack (1978b) observe that *ne* in LME is mostly found in subordinate clauses. Given this state of affairs, Jack (1978b: 60-61) states that ‘the clauses in which *ne* occurs are often consecutive in character’. The two remaining variants *ne not* and *not* are used with considerable freedom as reported by Jack, and are thus in free variation. To summarise, we observe that old and new markers co-exist from

OE until LME. Moreover, they are often redistributed in different syntactic environments. Specifically, the oldest marker *ne* in LME is restricted to subordinate clauses.

Besides the co-existence of different stages during the major periods of the history of English, we also observe the existence of other markers in a bipartite relation with the old marker *ne*. Here, as in Old French, we see the older negator *ne*, originally a standalone marker as in (18), consistently entering into a bipartite construction with many other forms (21). Among these are *na* (*t*), *no*, *noht*, *noght*, *not*, *nates* and *nahwar*.

- (21) a. **Ne** het he us **na** leornian heofonas to wyrckenne
Not ordered he us **not** learn heaven to make
‘He did not order us to learn to make the heavens.’
- b. **Ne** sceal he **nates** hwon þinre sag gelyfan
‘He shall in no way your say believe.’
- c. Ac hi **ne** beoð swaðeah **nahwar** totwæmede
‘But they are not however never separated.’
- d. Ac of hem **ne** speke ic **noht**
But of them Neg speak I Neg
‘But I did not speak of them.’
- e. For of al his strengðe **ne** drede we **nawiht**
For of all his strength Neg dread we Neg
‘For of all his strength we don’t have any dread.’

Some of these markers can also be used alone (22) to express negation in OE/ME. Most of these forms will later disappear, giving way to the modern form *not* (23). I refer the interested reader to Mazzon (2004: 26-27) for a more detailed discussion.

- (22) a. Forðam ic me nu **na** ondræde þusend folces
Because I am now Neg afraid of thousand people

'Because now I am not afraid of a thousand people.'

- b. Thou sall **noghte** do so
 You ought NEG do so

'You ought not do so.'

- c. I know **nat** the cause
 I know NEG the cause

'I do not know the cause.'

- (23) Fear **not** my part of the dialogue.

The above English examples show that English has also been subject to the type of synchronic co-existence between negative markers encountered in today's Fe?fe?. This provides further empirical support for the claim that the state of variation observed in Fe?fe? is not unprecedented in the history of negation systems across languages. The following section unravels a similar situation of synchronic co-existence between negative markers in Welsh, a language from the Celtic family.

4.3.3. The co-existence of multiple negative items during the JC in Welsh

Of the systems discussed so far, Welsh appears to be the most complex. Two strategies for negation are identified in Formal Welsh:² *nid* and *nid ddim* in finite main clauses (25), and *na(d)* and *na(d) ddim* in finite subordinate clauses (26). Though the monopartite and bipartite strategies thus found in formal Welsh represent two different stages of the JC, they co-exist and constitute another illustration of the thesis that synchronic variation is the reflection of language change.

- (24) Soniodd Sioned am y digwyddiad

Mention.past.3sg Sioned about the event

'Sioned talked about the event.'

- (25) a. **Ni** soniodd Sioned am y digwyddiad

² All the Welsh examples provided here are from Borsley and Jones (2005).

- Neg** mention.past.3sg Sioned about the event
 ‘Sioned did not talk about the event.’

b. **Ni** soniodd Sioned **ddim** am y digwyddiad
 NEG mention.past.3SG Sioned NEG about the event
 ‘Sioned did not talk about the event.’

(26) a. Gwn [na ddaw Sioned heno]
 Know.pres.1SGNEG come.FUT.3SG Sioned tonight
 ‘I know that Sioned will not come tonight.’

b. Gwn [na soniodd Sioned **ddim** am y digwyddiad]
 Know.PRS.1SGNEG menion.PST.3SG Sioned NEG about the event
 ‘I know that Sioned did not talk about the event.’

Nid (25a) and *na* (25b) are always clause initial, immediately preceding the verb. Imperatives (27b) share with subordinate clauses the negation form *na*.

- (27) a. Symuda!
 Move.IMP.SG
 ‘Move!’

b. Na symuda!
 NEG move.IMP.SG
 ‘Don’t move!’

From the above examples, we observe that the first stage of the JC in Welsh, as illustrated in (25a), (26a) and (27b), is contemporary with the second stage displayed in (25b) and (26b). It is worth noting that while the *ni ddim* and *na ddim* strategies are available for the indicative in both main and subordinate clauses, the reinforcing negator *ddim* is not used with imperatives in Formal Welsh.

Though Informal Welsh preserves a remnant of *nid* that can be seen in the *d ddim* strategy (28), negation in finite main clauses is expressed by *ddim* alone (29).

- (28) a. Oedd Gwyn yn cysgu
 Be.IMPF.3SG Gwyn prog sleep
 ‘Gwyn was sleeping.’
- b. Doedd Gwyn **ddim** yn cysgu
 Neg.be.impf.3sg Gwyn Neg prog cysgu
 ‘Gwyn was not sleeping.’
- (29) Fydd Gwyn **ddim** yn cysgu
 Be.fut.3sg Gwyn Neg prog cysgu
 ‘Gwyn will not be sleeping.’

The difference between the future example (29) with *ddim*, and the example involving the past tense, (28b), shows that the standalone *ddim* in Informal Welsh is an autonomous marker of negation in finite independent clauses. Furthermore, we see here an instance of complementary distribution, with *d ddim* and *ddim* associating with different tense markers.³ In subordinate clauses, the older negator *na* is still used on its own to express negation (30). Borsley and Jones (2005) state that the subordinate negator *na*, as found in (30), does not require a negative dependent, but it allows one (31). This implies that *ddim* is truly optional in subordinate environments in Informal Welsh.

- (30) Dw I ‘n gobeithio [**na** fydd Mair yna]
 Be.pres.1sg I prog hope Neg be.fut.3sg Mair there
 ‘I hope that Mair will not be there.’
- (31) O’n I ‘n gwbot [**na** oedd Gwyn **ddim** yn hapus]
 Be.impf.1sg I prog know Neg be.impf.3sg Gwyn Neg pred happy
 ‘I know that Gwyn wasn’t happy.’

However, *ddim* on its own is also already available even in subordinate clauses (32) as an autonomous marker of negation in Informal Welsh.

³ This is a kind of parallel to complementary distribution involving tense distinction in Fe?fe?.

- (32) Dw I ‘n gwbod [fydd Mair **ddim** yna heno]
 Be.pres.1sg I prog know be.fut.3sg Mair Neg there tonight
 ‘I know Mair won’t be there tonight.’

We thus see that the three stages of the JC are all co-existent in subordinate clauses in Informal Welsh. Moreover, each of examples (30), (31) and (32) contributes negation semantically during the historical period under consideration. It follows that the ability to bear the interpretable feature of negation or to convey the semantics of negation is shared by multiple morpho-phonological items within one and the same language state.

Finally, data from Informal Welsh show that *ddim* is never integrated into imperative and infinitive clauses as a standalone negator. Rather, with the decay of the older form *na* that used to function as a negative marker in the imperative as in (27b), the form *peidio* is now extended to these environments. Hence, imperatives vary freely between the forms *paid* (33) and *paid dim* (34), while infinitives vary between *beidio* (35) and *beidio ddim* (36).

- (33) a. **Paid** â symud
 Neg.sg with move
 ‘Do not move!’
- b. **Peidiwch** â symud y car
 Neg.pl with move the car
 ‘Do not move the car!’
- (34) **Paid/Peidiwch** â gneud **dim** byd
 Neg.sg/Neg.pl with see Neg world
 ‘Don’t do anything!’
- (35) Geisiodd Gwyn [**beidio** ag ateb y cwestiwn]
 Try.past.3sg Gwyn Neg with answer the question
 ‘Gwyn tried not to answer the question.’
- (36) Geisiodd Gwyn **beidio** â deud **dim** byd

Try.past.3sg Gwyn Neg with say Neg world
 ‘Gwyn tried not to say anything.’

The following table summarises the situation of variation just described for Welsh. As with English and French, we once again have evidence from the Welsh data just discussed that synchronic variation is the reflection of language change. Hence, old and new markers peacefully co-exist. With regard to their redistribution in the language, older markers are found in subordinate and imperative clauses, while independent main clauses are more innovative.

Table 1: Co-existing negative markers in Welsh

Periods	Stages	Main clauses	Sub. clauses	Imperatives	Infinitives
Formal Welsh	Stage 1	ni (d)	na(d)	na/peidio	beidio
	Stage 2	ni(d) ddim	na(d) ddim	-----	-----
	Stage 3	-----	-----	-----	-----
Informal Welsh	Stage 1	-----	na(d)	paid	beidio
	Stage 2	d ddim	na(d) ddim	paid ddim	beidio ddim
	Stage 3	ddim	ddim	-----	-----

4.3.4. The complexity of the empirical data underlying the JC

In its standard version, the JC involves only two lexical items, A and B, in stages 1 and 3, respectively. In stage 2, the lexical items A and B are sandwiched into a single bipartite negation. Given the similarities that emerge between the set of data just unravelled from languages from three different families and all displaying an unfamiliar facet of the JC, it becomes clearer that the data of Fe?fe? summarised in table 2 also point to the JC in its non-standard form. I therefore propose that the properties of negative constructions in Fe?fe? be understood as a JC-phenomenon. This position is motivated by the unparalleled similarities between the data just unravelled from Romance, Germanic and Celtic languages and the present-day Fe?fe? negation data.

Table 2: Current F_E?f_E? negation table for adult speakers

Tense, aspect, mood and clause types	Negation
Interrogative clause: tag questions and other uses	b _A
Conditional(protasis)	si... b _A
Non-past (future, locative, progressive & habitual present)	si...b _A
Past 2 & 3	sì
Past 1	kù?
Perfective present	kù?
Perspectival	l _A ?
Modal clause	l _E
Consecutive clause	l _E
Directive complement	pá?/sì
Purpose clause	pá?/sì b _A
Infinitive clause	mbá?/sì b _A
Imperative clause	pá?/sì

This is so not only with regard to the multiplicity of synchronic items used for the sole expression of negation in each language state taken into consideration, but also because the co-existing items appear to be redistributed in different syntactic environments⁴.

More specifically, we can see that imperative and infinitive clauses in F_E?f_E? are associated with some specific markers (*pá?*/*mbá?*). A similar pattern is exhibited in Welsh, where imperatives and infinitives are associated with a special form for negation. As in F_E?f_E?, imperative and infinitive clauses share the same root morpheme in Informal Welsh, with a slight difference in its morphological realisation. The clause-type parallel with F_E?f_E? further unfolds when subordinate environments are taken into consideration. While main clauses use *ni(d)*, subordinate clauses have a different form, namely the older negator *na* (30). From the foregoing discussion, we see that the parallel between Welsh and F_E?f_E? with regard to the correlation between negation and clause type is strongly substantiated with empirical evidence. Assuming the validity of the UP, this parallel in

⁴Forest (1993) offers a functional (usage-based) account as an explanation for the redistribution of co-existing negative markers into different syntactic environments. Yet, this redistribution is not expected to change, for instance from Classical OE to ME if it is triggered by the clausal environments in which negation occurs. We thus see the negation system shifting in its distributional properties, while the clause types assumed to trigger the variation in the shape of negation remain constant. This suggests that one should look elsewhere for an explanation motivating the variation observed in the negation system.

distribution between the two languages is exploited in chapter 6 to decide which of the negative strategies in Fe?fe? are more innovative and which ones could be considered to be older forms.

The correlation of negation and clause type is not substantiated with as much empirical evidence in English and French. Jack (1978a), referring to EME, claims that ‘there are certain syntactic situations which favour the use of *ne...nawt* rather than *ne*, ...the choice between them was connected to the formal character of the surrounding clause’. Jack further argues that the older form *ne* was used more often in negative interrogatives and in clauses containing some other negative element, while *ne nawt* was preferred in declarative and imperative clauses. This also provides evidence for a correlation between negation and clause type. In LME, *ne* is found predominantly in embedded environments. Given this state of affairs, Jack (1978b: 60-61) concludes that ‘the clauses in which *ne* occurs are often consecutive in character’. The major point that arises from the above observations from Jack (1978b) is that there is a split between the oldest strategy (*ne*) and other strategies with regard to syntactic distribution. This is also a clause-typing correlation, though not as fine-grained as what we see with Welsh and Fe?fe?. The difference thus highlighted between oldest versus other strategies will also be exploited to better understand the evolution of the negation system of Fe?fe?.

Coming to French, corpus studies have mostly reported on the environments that have retained the oldest strategy. In this respect, Ashby (1981), as well as Muller (1991), report that *ne* is retained in dependent environments, particularly relatives (dependent on a noun phrase containing a semi-negation, or on a partitive construction introduced by *pas*), conjunctive subordination, if-constructions, interrogatives with partial questions, subjunctives and dependent infinitival clauses. Additionally, *ne* also tends to be retained with the temporal auxiliaries *être* and *avoir*, as well as with the modal verbs *savoir*, *devoir* and *pouvoir*. We can therefore conclude that the syntactic environments that favour the older marker seem to be recurrent, with dependent environments in both French and English hosting old markers. What emerges from the foregoing data is that when negators originating from different periods of time occur together in a specific language state, natural languages have the tendency to redistribute them in different syntactic environments. Hence, the marker that is being supplanted does not disappear from all syntactic environments at the same time. Some environments retain it much longer than others. This results in a distributional situation where older markers are lost to certain environments, but are still prevalent in others.

It follows that the set of empirical data underlying the JC is more complex than usually presented from the perspective of the standard account. The present research

diverges from the standard account in taking into consideration the overall set of data available in the languages used as the empirical domain for JC-based accounts. As a consequence, language change is to be conceived as involving a stage of synchronic hybridisation⁵ in the sense that innovative forms co-exist alongside older forms (in the output representations of the grammar for a certain period of time) before the latter are ousted by the former.

Against this background, and given both the UP and the UG assumption that natural languages change in constrained ways, I account for the variation encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe? as a case of language change and, more specifically, as a slice of the JC. From this perspective, both the larger number of markers and their redistribution across different syntactic environments within the same language state cease to be a puzzle. The most immediate questions that remain after the above unfolding of the similarities with unrelated language families therefore regard the order of introduction into the language of the co-existing markers attested, given the lack of historical records in the case of Fe?fe?. Moreover, an adequate way of structurally accommodating the resulting variation has to be taken into consideration. The following chapters address these points.

4.4. Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to provide cross-linguistic evidence supporting the main thesis advocated in this research, namely that synchronic variation is the reflection of language change. Hale (1998) defines language change as a set of differences between two grammars from two generations with a ‘lineal descent’ relationship. This applies irrespective of whether the generations or grammars taken into account are synchronic or not. Thus, the data taken into consideration as an empirical argument are synchronic for Cairese and Informal Welsh, and not for English, French, and Formal Welsh. Yet they have all provided strong evidence backing up the position that variation be perceived as a meeting point between items originating from different periods of time. This further confirms the view that cross-linguistic comparison is a highway that leads to useful descriptive generalisations via the uncovering of shared developmental tendencies. Having thus proposed ample evidence from outside the language under study to back up the thesis advocated, I turn in the next chapter to Fe?fe?-internal evidence supporting the position that variation is indeed the reflection of language change.

⁵This state of affairs leads me to echo the question raised by Biberauer (2008: 17) regarding the ability of binary parameters to account for the attested range of variation observed in natural languages.

V Variation and the reflexes of change in Fe?fe?

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses internal variation within a synchronic language state as the display of language change. Kroch (1989, 1994) proposes that the reorganisation of the grammar takes place only when one form entirely displaces (all) the other(s). This implies that actual change involves more empirical bite than the binary and antagonistic options that macroparameters seem to give us. It is this type of observation that leads (for some) to a focus on microvariation (Baker, 2008). The radical shift from one option to another is in natural language situations preceded by the mutual co-existence of both or more options¹. It follows that a change from one option to another is naturally preceded by a meeting point between multiple successive options. Though these options are introduced into the language one after the other, and though they may also exit the linguistic system in the same fashion, they first stack up in the system while the latter is in search of a new equilibrium. This time of intensive reshuffle could perhaps be considered a transitional period or bridge between the chronological domain that is to exit the language and the one that takes over. As such, it needs to be given due consideration by the parametric enterprise.

I propose that the present state of the Fe?fc? negation system is the result of a series of discrete changes contributed by successive generations of speakers. Hence, the overlapping situation in Fe?fe? is to be analysed as a meeting point between markers that have been introduced into the linguistic system one after the other, but which have stacked up until the grammar will have found and adopted a new system. Viewed from this perspective, synchronic variation between old and new forms does not constitute a conceptual problem. Rather, by the expansion of linguistic structures alongside the grammar-internal changes, the accumulation of successive options guarantees the necessary continuity or bridge between the chronological domain that

¹Positing language change as the source of language variation may provide an answer to the question raised by Gallego (2011) regarding why variation exists at all, given an innately transmitted UG.

is to exit the language and the one that takes over. As a consequence, the integrity that guarantees the sameness of the linguistic system despite its change is made possible through a ‘synchronically integrated diachrony’. This sameness of the linguistic system enables cross-generational interactions despite the differences in the grammatical principles at work within the different generations involved in the speech community.

The present proposal adopts the position held by Croft (1991) about language-internal reconstruction, one of the methods used to discover diachronic processes. Internal reconstruction is, according to Campbell (2004), ‘a technique for inferring aspects of the history of a language from what is seen in that language alone’. This is possible because a language that has undergone changes deposits in its structure a variation pointing to the traces of the changes it has gone through. Along this line of thought, Croft (1991: 3) states the following:

Consider the case of variation between...forms for a single grammatical function. Even in the case in which the two forms have become specialised (e.g., one negative for the perfect tenses and one for imperfect tenses), it is almost always the case that the two forms originated at different times in the past, and one is older than the other.

Internal reconstruction therefore takes into account variations in a single synchronic language state. Hence, it is a well-known method used by various researchers in apparent time studies innovated by Labov (1965). The latter differ from real time studies (which compare samples of linguistic data from different periods of time such as OE, ME, and Modern English) in relying on purely synchronic data to infer diachronic change. In this respect, I take each version of a lexical item which comes out either in two separate constructions (monopartite versus bipartite) or with two different interpretations as evidence for one or more discrete change(s) having taken place, each at a unique and peculiar time point in the history of the negation system of the Fε?fe? language. Variation here is therefore perceived essentially from the perspective of the interpretational import of the items used in the negation system. That is, we observe whether an item conveys the semantics of negation or not and, if it does, whether it does so as a standalone item or not. In this regard, there are two major groups of items found in the expression of negation: those that convey the semantics of negation and those that do not. The second group is further subdivided into two: on the one hand, we have the class of items that used to convey the semantics of negation but that no longer do so as a result of aging coupled with multiple reanalyses resulting in their being used for other discourse purposes. On to

ther hand, we have the class of items that do not convey the semantics of negation because of their recent association with the expression of negation.

During the discussion, I make use of data from closely related languages to fill the gaps that may arise in the argumentation. This is in accordance with the comparative method for linguistic analysis. The comparative method is standardly accepted as a good tool for the discovery of diachronic processes. The bulk of comparative studies done across languages show that variation among languages is not random. Hence, the redistribution of a single linguistic process may be observed across closely related languages or dialects. According to Greenberg (1966: 517), ‘the method is therefore like that of producing a moving picture from successive still shots obtained from languages at various stages of the development that interests us’. In this regard, the different stages found in the languages compared are considered to reflect the different stages of the evolution of the process under consideration (cf. Greenberg, 1969; Zanuttini, 1997; and Kayne, 2000). In short, this approach consists in inferring diachronic links from the analysis of synchronic micro-variation. In this spirit, Devos and van der Auwera (2009) rely on synchronic variability to reconstruct different stages of the JC in Bantu languages.

The present discussion excludes those items that in Fe?fe? never occur in declarative main clauses, and thus takes into consideration only the three items *bà*, *si* and *kà?*, respectively. Prior to discussing how the variation involved in the use of these items is an instance of reanalysis and thus of language change, I first elucidate the notion of reanalysis in section 5.2. Section 5.3 discusses the reflexes of changes that can be deduced through the variable uses of the clause-final marker *bà*. Section 5.4 is devoted to variation in the use of *kà?*. Section 5.5 considers those instances of language change that can be deduced from the variations observed in the use of the marker *si*. Section 5.6 concludes the chapter.

5.2. Reanalysis and meaning change

Reanalysis² can be viewed simply as a change in grammatical principles. It is usually defined as change in the underlying structure of a construction without any modification of its surface manifestation (Campbell, 2004: 284). Reanalysis results in a single surface construction being given two or more different analyses. Hence, reanalysis has the effect of attributing an alternative semantic interpretation and/or structural position to the same surface form. The result of reanalysis is the

² See Langacker 1977 for the standard view on reanalysis.

availability of ambiguity for a single surface form. This ambiguity can be displayed in the variable uses of the same form, since the source structure for change survives in its old form after it has been reanalysed. Reanalysis is not directly observable and can only be deduced from the different possible analyses that are assigned to a given construction. In this regard, Hopper and Traugott (2003) characterise reanalysis as being covert by opposition to analogy, which is overt. The covert nature of reanalysis has consequences for its identification. This is because a construction whose overall meaning remains the same may in fact have been reanalysed with regard to the meaning of its constituent parts. Only a resulting analogical change can contribute to the identification of the reanalysis. For instance, in bipartite negation, we can have up to three respective reanalyses: firstly, the older marker alone can contribute negation; secondly, the new marker can acquire the ability to contribute negation as the result of its association with the old marker. At this point, the semantics of negation in the construction seems to be derived from the contribution of both markers. This is a first reanalysis, and yet only a single item, namely the new marker, has been reanalysed, while the bipartite construction as an overall construction has not been subject to reanalysis. Then a second reanalysis occurs when the older marker in the bipartite construction loses the semantics of negation. At this point, the bipartite construction as a whole has still not been reanalysed, as its overall meaning is still that of negation. Yet the source of negation in that construction lies in the new marker alone. Finally, the older marker in the bipartite construction is reanalysed as a marker of emphasis. At this point, the bipartite construction as a whole is subject to reanalysis, because it no longer conveys only the semantics of negation, but rather that of emphatic negation. We can then see how a construction as a whole may maintain its semantic contribution while its different constituent parts change in their specific semantic contribution. Hence, the same surface bipartite construction will be used as an optional monopartite construction in some syntactic environments but not in others. This is because some of these environments correspond to those where a reanalysis has occurred in one of the constituent parts of the bipartite construction, while other syntactic environments have not witnessed such a reanalysis.

The discussion above thus provides an explanation for the availability of ambiguity for a single surface form. According to this logic, reanalysis is not only syntactic, but also semantic. In the foregoing discussion, I rely on the analogical change resulting in synchronic variation between two or more paradigms for the expression of negation in order to identify the semantic reanalysis of negative items. Differently stated, I argue that the lexical items used to express negation in Fe?fe? have been reanalysed semantically over time and thus have changed in their ability to contribute negation at LF. In the following quote, Willis (2012: 6) acknowledges many reanalyses for the new Welsh negator *ddim*.

The Welsh postverbal negation marker underwent successive reanalysis from noun > indefinite pronoun > VP-adverb > uninterpretable negative specifier > interpretable negative specifier. At each stage, *dim* splits into two, resulting in the ‘layering’ effect characteristic of grammaticalization, whereby earlier properties of an item are peripherally present in a historically later grammar.

From the above quote from Willis, we understand that reanalysis results in a split in the sense that the source item which served as input to the reanalysis remains in the language alongside the item resulting from the reanalysis. Hence, when *ddim*, the interpretable and standalone negative marker, has arisen from reanalysis, the source item (which is uninterpretable for negation) is still available in Welsh. Hence, the source element does not immediately disappear as the result of the reanalysis. Rather, it is still present in the system. Thus, after the first reanalysis, we have two surface versions of the original element. Yet the two versions associate with two different structural and/or semantic analyses. The scenario is repeated every time that reanalysis takes place. Therefore, if a surface form has been reanalysed three times, we end up having a single surface morpho-phonological form, and yet four different analyses, whether structural or semantic. The different analyses or interpretations that a single form may receive are used in the following paragraphs as evidence for the reanalyses and hence changes that the negative items of Fe?fe? have undergone.

5.3. Language change as variation in the use of the clause-final marker *bá*

The Fe?fe? clause-final marker *bá* has been subject to a series of discrete changes. The traces of these changes are displayed in the numerous splits in the use of this item. The first evidence of reanalysis in the use of this marker may be found in its use in both bipartite and monopartite constructions as displayed in different syntactic environments. Moreover, we can also see variation in the use of this item across different generations. These splits result from the reanalyses it has undergone. Section 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 illustrate those reanalyses that involve both bipartite and monopartite constructions, and in 5.3.3, I discuss the different uses of the clause-final marker *bá* as a standalone item in present-day Fe?fe?.

5.3.1. Variation in the use of *bá* in bipartite negation

The clause-final marker *bá* as found in today's Fe?fe? has been subject to a couple of reanalytical changes that can be clearly documented from existing cross-generational data. It is found in bipartite constructions where its deletion or optionality results in an unacceptable utterance. This may be illustrated with the use of *bá* in bipartite constructions with *si* in non-past environments.

(1) Mén wèn *(**si**) yá wú *(**bá**)

Child INDF NEG still exist NEG

'A person can no longer claim a child as his own.'

(2) Ò *(**si**) i mbanjám sɛε *(**bá**)

2SG NEG F1 come back here NEG

'You won't come back here.'

(3) Púú fùu *(**si**) sáá *(**bá**)

Sons chief NEG there NEG

'The sons of the chief are not there.'

In examples (1) to (3), the clause-final marker *bá* cannot be optionally left out, as this would result in an unacceptable sentence for the adult Fe?fe? speaker. This means that this marker conveys negation in these sentences. It is however worth noting here that this marker in present-day Fe?fe? does not have the semantic contribution of an autonomous marker of negation, because leaving out the marker *si* also results in an unacceptable sentence in each case. This means that the clause-final marker in the above examples can be analysed as an item that contributes to the semantics of negation, but needs to be in an agreement relation with another marker to be able to do so. Evidence that this marker can contribute the semantics of negation as a standalone item may be found in closely related languages such as Ngomba³ (4) and Mengaka⁴ (5).

³All the Ngomba data are taken from Sartre (1999, 2002).

⁴Data from Mengaka were obtained from personal communication with native speakers.

(4) Ngomba

A ndá p̄ó

3SG house NEG

'S/he is not in the house.'

(5) Mengaka

a. Mèn zó màkàbò p̄ó

1SG eat cocoyam NEG

'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

b. Mèn (kà?) zó màkàbò p̄ó

1SG kà? eat cocoyam NEG

'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

c. * Mèn kà? zó màkàbò

1SG NEG eat cocoyam

'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

In examples (4) and (5a), the clause-final marker in both Ngomba and Mengaka is a standalone marker of negation. This means that it conveys the semantics of negation by itself and in a straightforward manner. The example in (5b) provides a bipartite construction with the other marker being optional, and the fact that (5c) is not acceptable clearly shows that the only source of the semantics of negation in (5b) is the clause-final marker *p̄ó*. It is however worth noting here that Ngomba, for instance, also displays the use of the clause-final marker in obligatory bipartition with other items, as in (6a). Moreover, the item *káa* that we find in a bipartite relation with the clause-final marker in (6a) can also be used as a standalone marker of negation in Ngomba (6b).

(6) a. Gegaj **káa** p̄uŋ n-zwé w-aa p̄ó

C7-okra NEG please C1-wife C1-POSSNEG

'My wife doesn't like okra.'

- b. Móo **káa** pó ñj-kóŋ
 C1 child NEG be Pref-crawl
 ‘The child is not crawling.’

In the above examples, we clearly see that the clause-final negator in Bamileke languages can be used both as a standalone marker of negation and as a marker that needs to be in a bipartite relation with another item in order to convey negation. We find only the latter use in Fe?fe?, but there are some cases where the sole presence of the clause-final marker brings about a negative connotation that would be absent otherwise, as illustrated with (7).

- (7) Yá γé tè kwé ná bää ndì lá **bá**,
 It go until reach on DEM limit DEF bá
 [mù pü ká Kó náá si?si yòò náá yòò **bá**],
 [that 3PL FUT2 receive take rub 3PL body 3PL-POSS bá]
 Tè ó ndé ncyé? [má pü pá ñgú láhá]?
 until 2SG say now [that 3PL again do how]
 [Mà pü ká kó **bá**.
 [that 3PL F2 receive bá]

‘If things go that far, then they will have to live with the situation of course. What else can they do? They will have to accept it of course.’

The *bá* in the first line of (7) could be considered a counter-expectational marker. Pragmatically, it conveys the message ‘*it is of course not expected for things to go that far, but if that were to be the case...*’ Hence, though there is no other negative marker here except for *bá*, there is still a hidden (though not uttered) negative statement which would be absent if the marker *bá* were not present. The *bá* in the second and third lines could be considered a strong positive polarity item (see Szabolcsi, 2004). It conveys a connotation of resignation on the part of the speaker; resignation as to the real course of events which the experiencer is not in a position

to influence. So, the unstated message underlying the polite constructions in the second and third lines is '*they will not have any other choice but to accept/take things as they are*'. As a strong positive polarity item then, *bà* in the second and third lines of (7) pragmatically conveys some form of negative semantics. It follows from the foregoing discussion that the semantics of negation underpins the constructions in (7). Moreover, this semantics of negation would be absent if the marker *bà* were simply left out of (7). Therefore, one can safely conclude that the marker *bà* carries a negative feature which alone explains the underlying negative statement present in the mind of the interlocutors.

Notwithstanding the negative connotation associated with the use of *bà* in (7), it is the case that *bà* is never found conveying the semantics of negation in a straightforward way in the Fe?fe? language as it is spoken today. Hence, though *bà* is still used as a marker that is felt intuitively to contribute some negative connotation in sentences such as (7), it is not possible to insert this marker in a positive sentence in order to obtain a negative one. The foregoing point suggests that the negative connotation associated with the use of *bà* in (7) is a remnant of the negative semantics of the kind found in Ngomba and Mengaka in (4) and (5a) respectively. If on the right track, then it follows that the negative use of the clause-final marker *bà*, as found in today's Fe?fe?, results from the semantic reanalysis of an initial marker with the full strength of negation as a standalone item (as in Ngomba and Mengaka). Along this line of reasoning, the clause-final marker as found in obligatory bipartite negation in (3) to (5) would also result from the same semantic reanalysis. Assuming that the items in (4) and (5a) represent the first or optimal strength of the clause-final marker, one could say that the clause-final marker as it occurs in (1) to (3) and in (7) has lost its optimal strength. This is the first case of semantic reanalysis involving this marker. We also encounter this reanalysed version of the clause-final marker in bipartition with *si* in consecutive clauses in the emerging speech of teenagers. As already stated in section 1.6.3, I came across many cases where teenagers simply replace the default marker *lè* with *si* *bà* as illustrated in (8).

(8)	Mbà	pùünii	mbé	tè	ntóm	ká lá,
	Even	twins	get	until	come out	DISC
	[pú	si	ŋgu	mém	ncü	bà
	[3PL	NEG	have	same	heart	NEG]

'Even twins, once born, don't have the same heart.'

From the uses discussed earlier, where the clause-final marker still has a semantic contribution in the expression of negation, we also come across the situation where this item is so reduced in its strength with regard to its contribution in the expression of negation that it is simply left out with no consequence for the negative construction. This is now being observed in the speech of teenagers who, from time to time, simply drop the clause-final marker in non-past environments.

- (9) Young Bankà?

Pú	si	mà	nʒi	[má]	pá?	pú	yù	fá?a
3PL NEG PROG			know	[that	can	3PL	do	so
Má	γé	máré	tá?	ŋgá?ṣùà	si	ʒí	bé]	
child	go	marry	one	wizard	without	know	ø]	

'They don't realise that by so doing they can push the child to marry a wizard unknowingly.'

- (10) Young Banwa

Mó?	wénk	si	fi?	[mà	pú	pù	ni
Some	human being	NEG	so	[that	INDF	mold	3SG
má	má?	ká	yá	bé]			
DISC	some	kind	way	ø]			

'Some human beings are not such that they result from a peculiar molding process.'

- (11) Young Bana

yá	si	mbé?	[má	ó	kwé	ndùá
It	NEG	be good	[that	2SG	enter	house
té	nʒi	pá	má?	páh	bé]	
before	know	DET	other	side	ø]	

'It is not good for you to discover the other facets only when you are in the home/marriage.'

Note the contrast between the examples in (1) to (3) and those in (9) to (11). In the former, the clause-final negation is an obligatory component of the negative clause. In (9) to (11), we are dealing with exactly the same syntactic environments. The deletion of the clause-final marker innovated by teenagers in (9) to (11) illustrates a further semantic reanalysis of the clause-final marker. Here, this marker has lost all ability to contribute negation and is therefore felt to be redundant. This justifies its deletion from these non-past sentences.

5.3.2. Variation in the use of *bá* beyond the expression of negation

Besides the reanalysis of the clause-final marker into a dispensable item (strikethrough) with regard to the expression of negation as illustrated in (9) to (11), we encounter this item serving an altogether different function in bipartite negation. This time, the clause-final marker has been reanalysed as a marker of emphasis. Hence, in its absence, we get a neutral negation reading, while its presence results in an emphatic negation reading. We can illustrate this change in environments where middle field markers contribute negation as standalone items. This is the case with *sí*, which, in past tenses not involving alternatives, conveys the semantics of negation as a monopartite item, as in (12a). Yet when this item occurs in bipartite negation in a past tense, the negation is not neutral, but emphatic (12b).

- (12) a. Siani lè ~~sí~~ γέ kò
 Siani P3 NEG go farm
 ‘Siani did not go to the farm.’
- b. Siani lè ~~sí~~ γέ kò **bá**
 Siani P3 NEG go farm EMP
 ‘Siani did not go to the farm (EMP).’

The example in (12b) might raise the question whether it is at all possible to express emphasis in obligatory bipartite negation such as illustrated in examples (1) to (3). I provide a positive answer to this question. Fe?fe? indeed has an independent way of expressing emphasis. This is usually made possible by means of an additional pronominal element that does not contribute to the argument structure of the

conceptual meaning being conveyed, whether in a positive or in a negative clause. For instance, in the following examples we encounter an extra pronominal element *z̄o*, *yi* and *ȳo*, respectively. The absence of this additional pronominal item would give each of these utterances a neutral reading. However, with these items, we get an emphatic negation.

- (13) Old Bana speaker

Púú	fìu	si?	ncám	z̄o	fă?a	bá
Sons	chief	NEG	hit	3PL	so	NEG

‘The sons of the chief don’t hit like that (EMP).’

- (14) Old Banwa speaker

ᬁ	nsá?	fù	lé	[à	kà?	ᬁ	ó	yi]
2SG	come	chief	say	[3SG	NEG	know	2SG	3SG]

‘When you come the chief says that he doesn’t know you (EMP).’

- (15) Old Bankà? speaker

....	[mà	pòh	kà?	ᬁ	ȳo	ŋwà?ni]
.....	[that	1PL	NEG	know	1PL	writing]

‘.... Then we had not known writing, i.e., we were illiterate (EMP).’

The emphatic strategy used in (13) to (15) may also be used in a context where the clause-final marker functions as a marker of emphasis. However, when this happens, the result is an impression that the speaker is granting more emphasis to his/her statement than necessary, and the pronominal element may be felt to be redundant. Example (16) illustrates such a case of overemphasis.

- (16) Old Bakou speaker

ᬁ-gà?	ᬁ	yá	tè	ŋkwé	sää	bá
1SG-NEG	know	1SG	until	reach	there	EMP

‘I don’t know that much, really.’

The utterance in (16) would still be emphatic if either the clause-final item *bà* or the additional pronominal element *yá* were absent. With both of these elements in (16), the speaker altogether denies all responsibility regarding knowledge of the information that is being requested from him. This is particularly important here because being knowledgeable about certain things may be very costly in some contexts. Doubly emphasising an utterance in this case is therefore not felt to be redundant, but rather clearly informative.

Coming back to the reanalysis of the clause-final item *bà* into a marker of emphasis, this is observed in environments where the middle field marker of negation has the ability to convey negation as an autonomous, standalone marker. Hence, the negative items *kà?*, *lè*, and *pá?*/*mbá?*, which all convey negation as standalone items, convey emphatic negation when they occur in bipartition with the clause-final marker *bà*.

- (17) Old Banwa speaker

Ngă	ʒi	má?	nu	ná	[ndà?	n-dé	mě	bà]
1SG	know	some	stories	about	[but	1SG-NEG	end	EMP]

'I know something about it but not all (EMP).'

- (18) Old Bana Speaker

Mbá?	mbé	zó[má ndék wèn wǎ?	cú	ó	bà
NEG	agree	2SG[that debt INDF remain head 2SG-POSS EMP]			

'Don't owe anyone anything (EMP).'

In the above examples, we can see yet another semantic reanalysis of the Fe?fe? clause-final marker. As illustrated in (12b) and in (16) to (18), the clause-final marker can now contribute the semantics of emphasis when it occurs in a bipartite construction with a negative item which by itself can already contribute negation. This is the case with *sí* in past tenses, or with *kà?*, *lè* and *pá?*/*mbá?*, which all convey the semantics of negation as standalone markers.

Yet another reanalysis of the clause-final marker in a bipartite construction may be found in tag questions. Here, we encounter a purely formal use of negation where it is not possible to identify any particular clause as the one being negated.

- (19) Mú γé?, si fá? bá áà?

Child cry NEG so NEG Q

‘The child has cried, hasn’t he?’

Tag questions in Fe?fe? are used to enhance a conversation. For instance, a mother who has left her child at home to go shopping may launch the conversation with (19) as she comes back. Similar constructions, however, also intervene in the midst of a conversation, when the speaker wants his interlocutor to provide further details about a situation. For instance, a girl may be telling her friend about her new office mate who happens to be a nice guy. While she may be avoiding discussing her personal feelings about the guy, her friend could go straight into the matter by stating (20).

- (20) Ó kwé? í, si fá? bá áà?

2SG love 3SG NEG so NEG Q

‘You love him, don’t you?’

Note however that tag questions may also be used for provocative purposes. In the case of a mother who comes back from her activities outdoors just to find out that her teenage daughters have not done any of the house chores, rather than shouting, she could just say something like (21).

- (21) Pé vóo mbèe, si fá? bá áà?

2PL stay home NEG so NEG Q

‘You stayed home, didn’t you?’

There is absolutely no intention on the part of the mother stating (21) of asking whether the daughters spent the time at home. She is rather questioning the usefulness of their having been home throughout, given that there is no impact of their presence on the house. Similar constructions are used for insulting or mocking, but also for encouraging and congratulating. We therefore see here a discursive function of the negative construction which in these cases is being used **not** for the purpose of reversing the propositional content of a clause, but for purely discursive purposes.

Apart from the formal use of the clause-final marker as seen in the bipartite construction *si bā* and illustrated in tag questions above, this item is also found in strong emphasis in Fe?fe?. Unlike in tag questions, where it must occur only with the bipartite construction *si bā*, the clause-final marker in strong emphasis may be used both as a monopartite and as a part of a bipartite construction. In both cases, the host construction appears to be a question, though with a slight formal difference related to the intonational contour. I elaborate my point with the following illustrations.

- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| (22) | a. | Pú | mà | tʃè | ó |
| | | INDF | PROG | call | 2SG |
| ‘You are being called.’ | | | | | |
| b. | Ngá? | pé | bá | áà? | |
| | 1SG | answer | NEG | Q | |
| c. | N-gá? | | pé | bá | áà? |
| | 1SG-NEG | | agree | NEG | Q |
| | ‘I have answered, haven’t I?’ | | | | |

The final intonation in (22b) and in (22c) is low, unlike in a real question. These expressions however have the final question particle, just like other questions. These expressions are usually used to take a strong position. At times they may even give the hearer the impression of being disapproved for asking his/her question, because they contradict the presupposition underlying the statement of the interlocutor. The person stating (22a) assumes that the speaker of (22b)/ (22c) has not responded upon being called. Hence, in stating (22b) or (22c), the speaker contradicts the silent presupposition as if implying that the statement of the interlocutor is irrelevant. Here, the semantics of negation is not associated with the statement as such, and the contribution of *bá* in (22b) or of *kà?* *bá* in (22c) may be considered to be purely discursive. In (23b) as well, there is no proposition being negated. Rather, the speaker is making a strong statement.

- (23) a. Vóp fhú mà há ná ntʃá mú bá ā?
 Dust come from where on shoes child that Q

‘Where does dust come from on that child’s shoes?’

- b. Á lè sì táp syé bá áà?
 3SG P3 NEG fall down NEG Q

‘He did fall, didn’t he?’

These constructions are used in a context where the speaker assumes that the interlocutor has already received the information s/he is requesting. Therefore, the statement provided in the reply (23b), as with (22b) and (22c), is very strong and may even appear to be aggressive. For instance, consider a context where grandmother- who is quite old has been asking for Siani for some time and, though she has been told that Siani went to the farm, she keeps on asking. At some point, her interlocutor will respond with either (24a) or (24b).

- (24) a. Siani γè kò bá áà?
 Siani go farm NEG Q

‘Isn’t it the case that Siani went to the farm?’

- b. Siani kà? fhú ngé kò bá áà?
 Siani NEG P1 go farm NEG Q

‘Did Siani not go to the farm (EMP)? / Siani did go to the farm.’

In (24), the speaker simply avoids being rude by leaving out any personal pronoun. But the statement is quite equivalent to ‘You already know that Siani has gone to the farm, so please stop asking’. Therefore, (24) is really a rhetorical question, in the sense that there is no question being asked in (24), as the speaker does not expect an answer. In reality, the speaker is rather making an emphatic statement. It follows from the foregoing discussion that the contribution of negation in the above constructions, if any, is syntactically separated from the statement that is being made, namely ‘*Siani went to the farm*’. Hence the contribution of the negative marker(s) in (22) to (24) is once more purely discursive.

5.3.3. The monopartite uses of the clause-final marker *bá* in Fe?fe?

As the clause-final marker loses its ability to contribute negation by being reanalysed as a marker of emphasis in a negative construction, as illustrated in (12b) and in (16) to (18), it also starts expressing a meaning independent of negation even apart from other negative markers. Hence, we encounter it in other functions as a monopartite item. The clause-final marker may be used as a standalone item in the expression of emphatic affirmation (26).

- (25) Speaker 1: Siani kwá pɛ?
- Siani build house
- ‘Siani has built a house.’

- (26) Speaker 2:
- a. Fă?a **bá** ḫ?
- Thus NEG Q
- ‘Exactly, isn’t it?’
- b. ɲŋá **bá** ḫ
- Yes NEG Q
- ‘Yes, of course!’

In both (26a) and (26b), there is some form of emphatic affirmation in the response of Speaker 2, and this is conveyed by the marker *bá*. The difference between the speaker in (26a) and the speaker in (26b) lies in the reception of the information in both cases. In (26b), the speaker’s attitude seems to be ‘Yes of course, we all know that, and that is in fact what we have always expected of Siani’. In (26a), by contrast, the speaker doesn’t seem to have had prior knowledge of the information being given to him/her. So his/her reply is associated with some sort of surprise, which is at the same time strongly appreciative. This strong appreciation is conveyed by the marker *bá*.

Bá may also be used in a comparative clause, as illustrated in (27) and (28), where it expresses an attitude of resignation on the part of the speaker.

- (27) Púŋgù pé kò ndé

Girls 2PL PROG say
 [é pé ʒl nʃúá yáá bá á]?
 [that 2PL know more 1PL bá Q]

‘The fact is that you girls are claiming to be wiser than us (the mothers).’

(28) Pú mbé yì mà mbwó bá,
 INDF agree 3SG but to-2SG bá
 yá si mǎ yòò cù bá
 it NEGthat 1PL head NEG

‘We grant it but to you. It is not our decision/choice.’

The presence of *bá* in (27) and (28) expresses the attitude of the speaker who is scandalised and has adopted an attitude of resignation, thus giving up any hope regarding the situation.

Bá is also used in a situation where a traditional law or convention has been violated. In this case, the presence of *bá* as found in (29) seems to convey a warning, as if to say ‘*get ready to face the consequences of your actions!*’

(29) ó si ná kó? máfú bá á?
 2SG sit on stool queen bá Q

‘Well, (I see that) you have sat on the queen’s chair!’

In the Bamileke community, there is a traditional convention according to which any lay person may not share a seat with the king/queen or with other persons of the nobility. It may however happen that the queen is invited to another person’s house as in the situation in (29). In this case, there is no special chair for her. Nevertheless, once she is given a seat, no one else is supposed to use it as long as she is around. So, by using *bá* in (29), the speaker is somehow saying ‘*see what you have done!*’

The marker *bá* in this Fe?fe? use is a marker of positive polarity. *Bá* here therefore

conveys an attitude of fear regarding what may happen to the person who has violated the rule.

5.3.4. Interim summary

Summing up, I have shown in the foregoing discussion that the clause-final marker in Fe?fe? has undergone a series of semantic reanalyses. From an initial use with a negative strength like the one encountered today in Mengaka and in Igomba, the clause-final marker is first reanalysed as an item that still contributes negation, but which needs to be in a bipartite construction with another negative item. This first reanalysis has been illustrated in (1) to (3). From this reduced strength in its expression of negation, the clause-final marker is further reanalysed as an item that is altogether void with regard to the expression of negation. This is seen in the speech of teenagers who are now leaving out the marker *bà* in non-past environments. This shows that this item is now felt to be redundant even in these syntactic environments. This semantic change has been illustrated in (9) to (11). With the redundancy of the clause-final marker with regard to the expression of negation, this item is further reanalysed as a marker of emphasis in the presence of the middle field marker as illustrated in (12b) and in (16) to (18). From there, the clause-final marker is reanalysed as having a multitude of other discursive functions, as found in both bipartite and monopartite constructions.

The foregoing discussion therefore confirms the thesis adopted in this dissertation, according to which synchronic variation in a single synchronic language state is the reflection and result of language change. Language change in this case is manifested through a series of reanalyses. It is worth noting before closing this section that the semantic reanalyses just discussed are accompanied by the phonetic reduction of the clause-final marker. This reduction is currently a characteristic that distinguishes the speech of teenagers from that of adult and elderly speakers. Hence, the clause-final marker is progressively reduced to a vowel as in (30) to (32).

- (30) **Si** kwe' ya wà? mā mbòpsi à.
 NEG all it all that spoil NEG

'It is not in every case that things go wrong.'

- (31) .. mā pú **si** mā ñkwé? [má sièsì
 .. that 3PL NEG PROG want [that teaching

téndàá' pié á]

family die NEG]

'.. because they don't want the values of the family to be lost.'

- (32) Ngá?, pápé **kà?** lé-[é] pápé 3i nʃáá pà
 No, 1PL-INCL Neg say-[that 1PL-INCL know pass DET
 pápa á]

fathers EMP]

'No, we haven't said that we know better than our parents (EMP).'

Note however that the phonetic reduction of the clause-final marker does not seem to have any consequence for its semantic import. It can still contribute negation in (30) and (31), while it contributes emphasis in (32). This item is however not reduced phonetically in its use as a monopartite marker. While the first monopartite version of the clause-final marker in Bamileke languages has the full potential to convey negation, such is not the case for the marker *kà?*, whose use constitutes the subject of the following section.

5.4. Language change as variation in the use of *kà?*

The marker *kà?* in Fe?fe? does not display any cross-generational variation, unlike the marker *ba* discussed in the previous section. *Kà?* has, however, undergone a series of reanalyses. Evidence for this position can be found in micro-variation data from the Bamileke languages. The present use of the Fe?fe? marker *kà?* can be considered as the third step in a series of reanalytical changes undergone by this marker. As illustrated with (33a), this marker is first found as an optional marker in a bipartite construction with the clause-final marker in Mengaka. The unacceptability of example (33b) clearly shows that *kà?* in Mengaka cannot yet contribute negation as a standalone item. Therefore, the semantics of negation in (33a) is contributed solely by the clause-final marker *pò*, which as seen in (33c) conveys negation as a standalone item.

- (33) Mengaka

- a. Mèn (**kà?**) zó màkàbò **pò**

- 1SG **kà?** eat cocoyam NEG
 'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'
- b. *Mèn **kà?** zó màkàbò
 1SG NEG eat cocoyam
 'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'
- c. Mèn zó màkàbò **pó**
 1SG eat cocoyam NEG
 'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

Following from the above illustrations, I postulate that the marker *kà?* starts out as an item that does not convey the semantics of negation. Hence, it first acquires the semantics of negation by virtue of its association with the expression of negation in a bipartite construction with an item that already carries the semantics of negation, namely the clause-final marker *pó*. Following this early stage in its use, the marker *kà?* is reanalysed as a marker which together with the clause-final marker yields a neutral bipartite negation. I illustrate this second stage with the use of this marker in Ìgomba (34) and Nweh⁵ (35).

(34) Ìgomba

- Gegaŋ **káa** pǔŋ n-zwé w-aa **pó**
 C7-okra NEG please C1-wife C1-POSS NEG
 'Okra doesn't please my wife/My wife doesn't like okra.'

(35) Nweh

- Bèseŋ é – ló **gà** pfét nzhó **bó**
 Birds SM FUT NEG eat palm-nuts NEG

⁵ All the Nweh data are from Nkemnji (1992, 1995). I however got into contact with native speakers of Nweh as a result of my need for information about the negator used in consecutive clauses.

‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

The use of the above cognates of *kà?* constitutes the second stage in the development of this marker. From this stage, the marker *kà?* is further reanalysed, but this time as a marker that as a standalone item conveys the semantics of negation. This is the stage available in present-day Fe?fe?.

- (36) Siani **kà?** fhú ŋgé ntéé
 Siani NEG P1 go market

‘Siani has not gone to the market.’

In (36), *kà?* has the optimal potential to contribute negation. Hence it does not need to be in a bipartite construction with another marker. The Bamileke languages Nweh (37) and Ngomba (38) also have this stage, thus displaying a variation in the use of this marker that is not available in present-day Fe?fe?.

- (37) Nweh
 Bèseŋ é – ló **gà** nzhó pfét
 Birds SM FUT NEG palm-nuts eat

‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

- (38) Ngomba
 Móɔ **káa** pó íj-kój
 C1 child NEG PROG crawl

‘The child is not crawling.’

One may have the impression, at first sight, that present-day Fe?fe? also displays the stage found in (34) and (35) in Ngomba and Nweh, respectively. This is because we also encounter the marker *kà?* in a bipartite construction with the clause-final marker in Fe?fe?. However, unlike in Ngomba and Nweh, where the relevant bipartite construction conveys a neutral negation reading, this bipartite construction in Fe?fe? does not convey neutral negation. Rather, as already discussed in section 5.3.2 regarding example (16), among others, the mutual co-occurrence of the clause-final marker with a middle field negator that already contributes negation by itself results in an emphatic negation reading. This implies that the clause-final marker in (39) does not contribute negation. Thus, the semantics of negation in (39) lies entirely

with the marker *kà?*, with the clause-final marker *bà* contributing something else to this construction, namely emphasis.

(39)	Siani	kà?	fhú	ŋgé	ntée	bà
	Siani	NEG	P1	go	market	bà

‘Siani has not gone to the market (EMP).’

It is nevertheless logical to postulate that (39) results from an earlier stage like the one illustrated in (34) and (35) with both *kà?* and *bà* working together to convey the semantics of negation. Such a stage, where the omission of one of the bipartite markers results in an unacceptable construction, is observed with the marker *si* in present-day Fe?fe?.

I can conclude from the discussion of *kà?* that though this marker displays little variation in present-day Fe?fe?, its present use can be logically deduced from some semantic reanalyses. Hence, it starts out as an optional item not contributing anything to the semantics of negation, then is reanalysed as an item that can contribute negation when in bipartition with another marker, before finally becoming an item with the full potential to convey the semantics of negation as a standalone item. Though richer in variation in present-day Fe?fe?, the marker *si*, to which I turn below, appears to have started its lifespan as an inherently negative item.

5.5. Language change as variation in the use of the marker *si*

The marker *si* found in present-day Fe?fe? displays an interesting language-internal variation. This variation does not only include the semantics of negation, but also involves both word order and phonetic changes. In section 5.5.1 I discuss the semantic reanalyses undergone by this marker, and turn in sections 5.5.2 and 5.5.3 to word order changes. The phonetic reduction involving *si* is encountered as a part of the word order change discussion.

5.5.1. Variation in the semantic interpretation of *si*

Unlike with the marker *kà?*, there is no instance of *si* that is altogether void with regard to the contribution of negation, either in Fe?fe? or in any of the Bamileke languages I have come across so far. Moreover, a quick look across Bamileke languages does not provide any instance of this marker as an optional marker

without contribution to the semantics of negation. I argue in section 5.3.3 (the role of decategorisation) that this state of affairs results from the fact that *si* as a negative marker is reanalysed from an inherently negative item. Hence, it enters the negation system with a prior inherent negative semantics, though it still starts life in the negation system by being associated with the older marker *bá* in a bipartite construction.

The negation system in present-day Fe?fe? displays two versions of *si*. The first (40) must obligatorily occur in a bipartite construction with the older marker *bá* to be able to contribute negation, while the second (41) is able to convey the semantics of negation as a standalone item.

- (40) Siani **si** ká γé ntéé *(bá)
- Siani NEG F2 go market NEG

‘Siani will not go to the market.’

- (41) Siani lè **si** γé kò
- Siani P3 NEG go farm

‘Siani did not go to the farm.’

In (40), *si* cannot contribute negation as a standalone item, given that leaving out the clause-final marker results in an unacceptable sentence. As a consequence, it can safely be stated that *si* in (40) does not yet have the full potential to convey the semantics of negation. Out of its association with the marker *bá*, *si* is reanalysed as an item with the full potential to convey negation as an independent standalone item, as in (41).

From the foregoing discussion, there is only a single instance of semantic reanalysis that can be documented from the available set of data in Fe?fe?. That is, the reanalysis from an item which needs the contribution of the clause-final marker to be able to convey negation, to an item that contributes negation as an independent item. However, the most interesting aspect of the variation regarding this change lies in the fact that we can track it both across generational boundaries and as the shift is performed from one syntactic environment to another. In this regard, we can see from the following table how the syntactic environments hosting the monopartite versus bipartite use of *si* shift as we consider either elderly or teenage speakers. The items in bold signal a case of outstanding generational variation.

Table 1: The cross-generational distribution of *sì* and *sì...ba* across syntactic environments

	Elderly speakers		Adult speakers	Teenage speakers	
Past tenses	Sì...ba		Sì	Sì	
Non-past tenses	Sì...ba		Sì...ba	Sì...ba	Sì
Consecutive clauses	Lè		Lè	Lè	Sì...ba

In table 1, we can see that *sì...ba* occurs in the speech of elderly speakers even in past tense environments. Taking the speech of the average adult speaker to be the default use, this occurrence in the speech of elderly speakers should be considered as a deviation when things are considered from a purely synchronic perspective. However, the diachronic orientation of the present research provides a rather straightforward explanation for this apparent deviation. If *sì* is a recent innovation in comparison to *sì...ba*, as proposed in the following chapter, the latter used to be found in more syntactic environments in an earlier period of time. As a consequence, the occurrence of *sì...ba* in past tense environments (42) in the speech of elderly speakers is simply a vestige of an extinct pattern.

(42) Old Bana speaker

Ménʒwé lè	si?	ndí?	si	ndùa'	mbá?	mbà
Woman P3	NEG	while	stay	home	man	be
[má á nhá í wú tà? ba.]						
[That 3SG give 3SG-POSSThing much NEG]						

‘A woman did not stay in a man’s house because he gave her too many things.’

When we skip the adult column, which is the standard, and jump into the teenagers’ column, we encounter two innovations. First, *sì* now occurs in non-past tenses (9) - (11). This is also a deviation when considered solely from a synchronic perspective. However, from a diachronic perspective, this is simply the exhibition of the cross-generational variation that occurs as a new grammar arises at the end of the acquisition process. Hence, the presence of *sì* in non-past tenses simply tells us that there has been a change from the present generation of adult speakers to that of teenage speakers. We are therefore witnessing a widening of the range of syntactic

environments in which this negator occurs. Going one step back into the column of elderly speakers, the loss of *si... bá* (in past tenses) from the generation of elderly speakers to the present adult generation represents a decrease in the range of syntactic environments in which *si... bá* used to occur. The second innovation in the speech of teenagers lies in the presence of *si... bá* in consecutive clauses (8). While consecutive clauses display the marker (*lé*) as the marker of negation in the speech of both adult and elderly speakers, teenagers are now making use of free variation between *lé* and *si... bá* in this syntactic environment. This change also widens the range of environments in which this marker occurs.

Summing up, I have shown that the reanalytical changes involving *si* as observed in present-day Fe?fe? go beyond the mere ability of this item to either contribute negation as a standalone marker or not. We can observe this shift both across generations and across syntactic environments. I turn in the following paragraph to the word order variation exhibited in the use of *si*. However, before doing that I want to discuss the different phonological shape introduced for the middle field negator under discussion in (42).

As seen in (42) above, this marker comes endowed with a glottal stop, thus making it a three-phoneme morpheme rather than a morpheme with two phonemes as seen before. The form *si?* is recurrent in the speech of elderly speakers, and is more so in some (Bánà) Fe?fe? dialects than in others (Bánkà?). The canonical environments which highly favour the use of *si* with a glottal stop are the habitual (43) and conditional (44). However, I also came across this non-reduced form in other environments, such as the future (45), a ‘when clause’ in the present tense (46), and even the past tense (47).

(43) Old Bana speaker

Púú	fùu	si?	ncám	z᷑	fá?a	bá
Sons	chief	NEG	hit	3PL	so	NEG

‘The sons of the chief don’t hit like that.’

(44) Old Bana speaker

N-dè	si?	nùási	retret	nà	bá [mà ḡá]	há?
------	------------	-------	--------	----	-------------------	-----

1SG-P3 NEG prepare retirement 1SG-POSS NEG [that 1SG where]

'Where would I be if I had not prepared my retirement?'

- (45) Old Banka? speaker

wèn	si?	ndá?	pyé	yá	bá
INDF	NEG	rem	lose	it	NEG

'It will never be lost.'

- (46) Old Bana speaker

N- si?	mbé	zá	fé?ε	mbá	ŋgá?	bá
1SG-NEG	agree	1SG	thus	again	refuse	NEG

'When I agree like this I don't intend to change my words later/afterwards.'

- (47) Old Banka? speaker

pòh	lă?	si?	ŋgu	bää	nzanzá	pánzú bá
3PL	PST-HAB NEG	do	DEM	dirty	things	NEG

'We didn't do such dirty things.'

The non-reduced form of this middle field marker is also recurrent in the speech of elderly speakers in the imperative, and illustrative examples shall be provided in the discussion involving word order change in the paragraphs ahead.

5.5.2. Word order change between *si* and temporal markers

Another observable variation exhibited in the use of *si* lies at the level of its linear order in relation to neighbouring categories such as temporal markers and subject markers. I discuss the variation with temporal markers in this section and take up the variation in word order with the subject marker in the following sections.

Fe?fe? displays a situation of word order change between negation and the temporal markers *lè* and *la?*. There is one particular point of interest that emerges from this section, and that is directly relevant to the major concern of this thesis, the synchronic co-existence of two different word orders in one and the same individual grammar. The more general pattern consists in the older generation having negation immediately after temporal markers in linear order, on the one hand, and the

younger generation having the reversed order on the other. In between these two groups are the middle-aged, who fluctuate between the two patterns; sharing one or the other pattern with either the older or the newer generation. These variations are illustrated below.

(48) Old speaker

Pòh	lă?	sí?	ŋgù	băa	nzánzá	pānzù bá
3PL	PST-HAB	NEG	do	DEM	dirty	things NEG
‘We didn’t do such dirty things.’						

(49) Old speaker

Münzwüe	lè	sí?	ndí?	si	ndúá	mbá?
Woman P3		NEG	while	stay	home	man
mbá [má]	á	nhá	í	wú	tà?	bá]
be [that	3SG	give	3SG	thing	much	NEG]

‘A woman did not stay in a man’s house because he gave her too many things.’

In older speakers’ speech, illustrated in (48) and (49), we see that both the habitual marker *lă?* in (48) as well the tense marker *lè* (49) linearly precede the negative marker *sí?*. Hence, temporal markers are always followed by the negative marker. Things are however different when we consider the speech of teenagers. As illustrated with the example in (50), the word order in the speech of teenagers is exactly the reverse of what we see in (48) and (49).

(50) Teenagespeaker

Pà	pàrā	yáa	sí	lè	pé	[má
DET	parent	3PL-POSS NEG		P4	agree	[that
Á	máré	pí	pápá	zá	[mbi?cú	píyá sí lă?
3SG	marry	with	father	1SG-POSS because	3PL NEG PST-HAB	

mà pú γù tǎ? lā? bɑ]]
 that 3PL have one land NEG]]

‘Their parents did not agree with her marrying my father because they were not from the same village.’

The first part of (50) has the negator *si* immediately preceding the tense marker *lè*. In the bracketed part of (50), we see the negator *si* once more preceding a temporal marker, this time the habitual marker *lā?*. This shows that teenagers simply have the opposite of the order found in the speech of elderly speakers with regard to temporal and negative markers. Most middle-aged speakers’ pattern with teenagers regarding the order of negator and habitual marker, while patterning with elderly speakers regarding the order of negation and tense marker, as illustrated in (51) and (52). However, some adult speakers, especially those from Bana, also pattern with elderly speakers with regard to the order of negation and habitual marker.

(51) Siani **lè** **si** γé kò
 Siani P3 NEG go farm

‘Siani did not go to the farm.’

(52) Siani **si** **lā?** ŋgé kò
 Siani NEG PST-HAB go farm

‘Siani didn’t habitually go to the farm.’

We can see that (51) patterns with (49), that is, with the choice consistent with the elderly speakers’ grammar, while (52) patterns with the *because* clause in (50), and hence with the teenagers’ grammar. This clearly shows that two individuals may produce the same string and yet not have the same grammar. In other words, if a foreign linguist were to come across the examples in (49) and in (51) without any information about the other variations between the producers of these strings, s/he may wrongly conclude that they derive from the same underlying grammar. The same holds between the string in (52) and the *because* clause in (50). These two strings, though they have the same word order, are produced by two grammars which differ in other respects. We may even want to go further to consider negation and the future tense marker. At this point in time, all three generations considered

have a uniquely fixed word order in this regard, as they all produce the sentence in (53).

(53)	Siani	si	ká	γɛ	kò	bá
	Siani	NEG	F2	go	farm	NEG

‘Siani will not go to the farm.’

Yet we know empirically that these three grammars have different settings in many respects. This leads me to postulate that the new set of rules that are accessible when a discrete change occurs does not necessarily make the rules previously available immediately inaccessible.

From the examples provided so far, one may want to postulate that each individual has a fixed and unique setting regarding the order between negation and temporal markers. This is, however, not exactly the situation encountered in the field. A clear counter-example comes from the case of an elderly Bankà? woman who in the discussion patterns with other elderly people, with the exception of a sentence which she produces with the negator preceding the habitual marker *la?*. The relevant example is provided in (54).

(54)	Old Banka? speaker
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..	mbi?	pú	si	lă?	nsi	mă	ndăá	ʃù?
	...because	3PL	NEG	PST-HAB stay	PREP	house	one	

‘.. because they didn’t stay in the same house.’

The word order in (54), when coupled with the order in (48) for elderly speakers, provides evidence supporting the position that a new change does not result in the old pattern being immediately lost to the grammar displaying the new pattern. We can further learn from the availability of (54) in the grammar of an elderly speaker that the change under consideration may predate the teenagers’ and even the middle-aged speakers’ generations. This also provides support for the position that once a change has occurred, it takes many generations for it to be spread to the entire speech community. Further evidence supporting this comes from the case of a few teenagers who pattern with elderly speakers with regard to the word order of negation and the habitual marker. A further point to note from the presence of the two distinctive word orders in the speech of the elderly Bankà? woman is that synchronic variation between new and old patterns is not limited to the lexicon, but

also extends to the syntax. To conclude, I have just shown that the variation involved in the use of *sì* in Fe?fe? also includes word order variation between this marker and temporal markers. The following paragraphs discuss the word order change between *sì* and the imperative subject.

5.5.3. Word order change between *sì* and the imperative subject

This section considers the word order change between negation and the subject of imperative clauses. For this purpose, let us consider the difference between (55) and (56). Example (55) provides us with the common way of expressing negation with the negator *sì* in imperative clauses. In this example, the subject marker immediately precedes the negative marker. In (56), we have a pattern that occasionally occurs in the speech of some elderly people, and exceptionally in that of younger people. In this second example, the negative marker *sì?* linearly precedes the subject marker, unlike in (55). Finally, in (57), we have a really archaic and out of use pattern that was produced by a very old speaker in an attempt to show us how variable usages convey the same meaning across all Fe?fe? villages. In this last example, we have not only a single negative marker, but two; the first of which has the non-reduced phonological form, while the second is reduced.

(55)	Ó	si	γé	kò
	2SG	NEG	go	farm

‘Don’t go to the farm!'

(56)	Si(?)	ò	γé	kò
	NEG	2SG	go	farm

‘Don’t go to the farm!'

(57)	Si?	ó	si	γé	kò
	NEG	2SG	NEG	go	farm

‘Don’t go to the farm!'

The contrast between examples (55) and (56) shows us that there has been a change in the word order of negation and the subject of imperative clauses. The question that arises with regard to these two orders is what the nature of the change has been. In other words, is it the negation or the subject marker that has moved from one

position to another? The second question of interest to us here is related to the contrast between (56) and (57). This second question is concerned with the possible pathway of change from (57) to (55).

With regard to this second question, I would postulate, contrary to expectations, that the oldest pattern is (56) rather than (57). Example (57) should be seen as another facet of the synchronic variation between the old and the new that precedes the establishment of the new pattern as the new standard or norm. According to this logic, we first have (56), initially with the glottal stop as well. Then (57) emerges as a prelude to (55). After a certain time, the first negator in (57) is felt to be superfluous and is optionally deleted before being dropped altogether. But note that the introduction of (57) into the language does not eradicate (56). Rather, both structures are used concomitantly. And because there is only a single negator in (56), it is not perceived as marked, and can thus survive the intermediate use in (57) when the new pattern with negation following the subject marker is firmly established. Hence, synchronic variation should be viewed as a transitional pathway between the old and the new patterns.

Concerning our first question, I would like to reject from the outset the possibility of the negative marker lowering from a position higher than the subject to a position below the subject. This position is in line with the formal approach to grammaticalisation put forward in Roberts and Roussou (2003), according to which grammaticalisation is always upward in the syntactic structure. This leaves us with the task of finding out what has happened with the subject marker. Differently stated, the question to answer is ‘How do we account for the variable positions of the subject marker with regard to negation?’ Chapter 3, section 3.6, provides a synchronic account of imperatives in Fε?fe?. There, we saw that imperative clauses always take a subject when in the second person plural, but occur without a subject when the addressee is the second person singular. An exception to this last point arises only when the second person singular (also the addressee) is pragmatically interpreted as the intended agent who is to carry out the duty/assignment in the TDL. This can arise when there is another potential agent in the context. Hence, by having an overt subject, the speaker is somehow making use of a contrastive focus strategy, as if to say out of all possible agents, you, the addressee, are to execute the TDL. I illustrate this point with some examples from the discussion in chapter 3.

(58) Siani sà?, [piy᷑ zá wúz᷑]

Siani come [2PL eat food]

‘You and Siani eat when she comes!’

- (59) Siani sà? [à zá wúzá]

Siani come [3SG eat food]

‘When Siani comes, she should eat!’

- (60) Siani sà? [ò γé ntéé]

Siani come [2SG go market]

‘Go to the market when Siani comes!’

In (58) to (60), we are dealing with sequential imperatives. This simply means that each of the imperative clauses is the second in a sequence of two clauses. In this context, the subject of the first clause in each of the sequences is a potential agent for the TDL of the imperative clause. This is best illustrated with (59). In (59), the overt subject of the imperative is not the addressee, but the intended agent, a third party. Yet the addressee who is involved in the face-to-face exchange is not overtly realised in the morpho-syntax of the imperative clause. From this example, we can easily understand that the overt subject in both (58) and (60) designates the intended agent of the TDL and not the addressee. Hence, an imperative in Fe?fe? comes with an overt subject when there is a potential separation between the addressee and the agent. I further illustrate this point with non-sequential imperatives in (61) to (63).

- (61) γé ntéé

go market

‘Go to the market!’

- (62) Pi-yó γé kò

2PL go farm

‘Go to the farm (meaning addressee plus third party)!’

- (63) Pè-pù γé kò

2PL go farm

‘Go to the farm (meaning group of addressees plus others)!’

In (61), there is no separation between the addressee and the intended agent of the imperative clause. Hence, there is no overt subject, because the default second person singular prototypical for the imperative subject is chosen. In (62) and (63), by contrast, there is an agent that is not identical to the addressee, in the sense that the agent is made up of the addressee plus some other person(s). In this case, an overt subject is required.

The foregoing discussion shows that a contrast arises between negative and positive imperative clauses with regard to the subject. To illustrate this contrast, let us compare (61) and (55), both repeated here as (64) for the sake of convenience.

- (64) a. γé ntéé
 go market
 ‘Go to the market!’
- b. Ó sì γé kò
 2SG NEG go farm
 ‘Don’t go to the farm!’

We can see that while (64a) patterns with what we have said about imperatives, (64b) does not. In (64b), as in (64a), we are dealing with non-sequential imperatives. Moreover, there is perfect identity between the addressee and the agent in both (64a) and (64b). However, (64b) has an overt subject, contrary to expectation. This may lead the reader to raise questions about the account provided for the behaviour of imperative subjects in chapter 3. However, I will provide another example of an imperative clause with negation that fits perfectly well with the analysis provided in chapter 3. When the negator *pá?* (65), rather than *sì*, is used to negate the imperative clause, we do not find an overt subject unless the conditions discussed above are met.

- (65) a. Pá? ñgé kò
 NEG go farm
 ‘Don’t go to the farm!’
- b. Pé pá? ñgé kò
 2PL NEG go farm

'Don't go to the farm!'

So we can see that (65) patterns with the analysis provided with regard to imperative subjects. A subject is overt only when there is a possibility of lack of perfect identity between the addressee and the agent(s). This tells us that the problem with (64b) does not lie in the account of imperative subjects. Rather, we should try to find out what is peculiar about the negator *si* such that it triggers an overt subject in a context where we expect to find a covert subject. In this regard, it is necessary to consider other differences between *si* and *pá?* that may shed light on the specific properties of the former.

Verbal versus non-verbal negators

The first difference to which we may want to pay attention is the possible source of each of these items. In this regard, we would start by stating that while *pá?* is verbal in nature, *si* is not. It is possible to relate *pá?* to another lexical item in the language. Moreover, this other item has exactly the same morphology, the only exception being that some people freely interchange the vowel /a/ with /ə/. The item in question is the modal verb *pá?*, as seen in (66) to (68). Furthermore, some people pronounce this item as seen in (67), which corresponds to the pre-nasalised form of the negator (68) when it is not in word-initial position.

- (66) **Pá?** ò lì? sà? [mà pápá zó cák tò?
 Can 2SG while come [that father 2SG-POSS find one
 mánʒwáɛ mbèe]
 woman home]

'It is possible for you to come home and find that your father has a woman for you.'

- (67) **Mbá?** móɑ à müü lé lóɔ mén i
 Can mother POSS child NEG forget child 3SG-POSS
 'A mother cannot forget her child.'

- (68) **Pá?** nhú wú wèn nzá, **mbá?** njá nci
 NEG borrow thing INDF eat NEG put heart

Ó ná wú wèn
 2sg-Poss on thing INDF

‘Don’t retain what you have borrowed from someone, and don’t envy what belongs to another!’

Example (68) is reminiscent of cases of consecutive clauses, where the verb of the second clause is always pre-nasalised. Hence, the negator *mbá?* in (68) behaves just like a verb in this regard. I therefore argue that the negator *pá?*/*mbá?* is verbal in nature. This cannot be said of *sí*. This negator may have been derived from the preposition (69) and complementiser (70) *sí*.

(69) Siani γé ntéé **sí** pùà

Siani go market without bag

‘Siani has gone to the market without a bag.’

(70) Siani γé ntéé [sí] láh pùà]

Siani go market [without take bag]

‘Siani has gone to the market without taking a bag.’

In (69), on the one hand, we see *sí* functioning as a preposition and taking a noun as complement. In (70), on the other hand, *sí* is functioning as complementiser, and its complement is a clause, in this case a participial clause. Unlike verbs, *sí* does not trigger pre-nasalisation on the following verb *láh* in (70). Hence, we may postulate that *sí* is not verbal in nature. As seen in chapter 2, many particles in Fe?fe?, including adverbs, adjectives, aspectual and even tense markers, are verbal in nature. So far, the only thing we know is that *sí* is not verbal, and it has been grammaticalised from the preposition *sí*. Before considering how this decategorisation from *sí* (either complementiser or preposition) to negation might provide an explanation for the particular behaviour of *sí* with respect to subject licensing, I would like to examine another respect in which *sí* and *pá?* differ as negators used in the same syntactic environment, in this case imperative clauses. This point concerns the ban on true negative imperatives.

The ban on true negative imperatives

I argue that *pá?* and *sí* can be freely used in imperatives because they occupy two different syntactic positions. Independent evidence for this is provided by the conflicting patterns generated by these two negators with regard to the ban on true negative imperatives (henceforth, TNIs). This parametric variation has to do with the fact that imperative clauses can or cannot be negated (Zanuttini, 1994; Zeijlstra, 2006). The ban on TNIs has led researchers working on imperatives to classify languages into two groups: those that accept negative imperatives, and those that do not. By TNI, what is meant is that the same verb form that is used to express positive imperatives must also occur in the negated imperative clause. When this verb form undergoes some modification in the presence of negation, it is no longer considered to be the genuine imperative verb form. Hence, the label ‘surrogate negative imperative’ is used instead. This can be illustrated with Dutch (71) and Spanish (72). While the latter bans TNIs, the former does not.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|----------|----|----------------|
| (71) | a. | Slaap! | b. | Slaap niet! |
| | | Sleep | | sleep Neg |
| | | ‘Sleep!’ | | ‘Don’t sleep!’ |
| (72) | a. | Lee! | b. | *No lee! |
| | c. | | | No leas! |
| | | Read | | Neg read |
| | | ‘Read!’ | | ‘Don’t read!’ |
| | | | | ‘Don’t read!’ |

In the Dutch example in (71b), we can see that the form of the verb found in the positive imperative is exactly the same reproduced in the negated imperative. Only a negative marker has been added. In Spanish, by contrast, the unacceptability of (72b) shows that it is not possible to use the verb form for the positive imperative in a negative imperative. There is still a way to express negative imperatives in Spanish, but the speaker has to resort to a different verb form for this purpose, as seen in (72c).

The explanation provided for the ban on TNIs essentially relies on the head versus non-head status of the negative marker. Accordingly, a head (X^0) negative marker blocks the movement of the verb from I^0 to C^0 (Rivero and Terzi, 1995), while an XP Neg does not. More specifically, Zeijlstra (2006) argues that

...if a negative marker is a syntactic head and carries an [iNeg] feature,
 V_{imp} may not move across Neg^0 , but must attach to it...If a language

does not exhibit a negative marker Neg⁰, this marker can never block verbal movement to C⁰ and TNIs must be allowed.

In other words, the same form of the verb is possible in both positive and negative imperatives only if this verb form is allowed in both instances to raise from the VP through the TP/IP and NegP (when relevant) head(s) to the CP head. Given Travis' (1984) head movement constraint, the movement of the verb is blocked when any of the intervening heads is filled by an overt item. Hence, when the negative marker happens to be a head in a language, the imperative verb is prevented from raising to C⁰.

The typological research carried out by Zeijlstra on this subject shows that each and every language must either allow or disallow TNIs. However, Fe?fe? both allows (74) and disallows (75) TNIs depending on which of the alternative negators is used. The conflicting patterns are illustrated below. We can see that the form of the verb found in a positive imperative (73) is extended to the negative imperative if the latter makes use of the negator *si*, as in (74). However, when the negator is *pá?* (75), the verb form of the positive imperative in (73) can no longer be used. A pre-nasalised form of the verb is used instead (75).

- (73) a. γέ ntéé
 Go market
 ‘Go to the market!’
- b. Pέ γέ ntéé
 2PL go market
 ‘Go to the market!’
- (74) a. Ó si γέ ntéé
 2SG NEG go market
 ‘Don’t go to the market!’
- b. Pέ si γέ ntéé
 2PL NEG go market
 ‘Don’t go to the market!’

- (75) a. **Pá?** *ŋgɛ* ntéé
 b. ***Pá?** *yɛ* ntéé
 NEG go market
 ‘Don’t go to the market!’
 c. **Pɛ** **Pá?** *ŋgɛ* ntéé
 d. ***Pɛ** **Pá?** *yɛ* ntéé
 2PL NEG go market
 ‘Don’t go to the market!’

It follows that these two negators are categorically different. While *pá?* is an X⁰ marker (it bans TNIs), *si* (which allows TNIs) is an XP negative marker in imperative clauses. Therefore, assuming that Zeijlstra and many other researchers who have observed a strict parametric variation across languages with respect to the ban on TNIs are right, I argue that Fe?fe? displays the characteristics of two different languages with respect to this typology. Specifically, while *pá?* patterns with the languages that disallow TNIs, *si* on its own patterns with those that allow TNIs. Fe?fe? therefore succeeds in bringing together the conflicting parameters at work in the two distinct groups of languages, namely those that allow TNIs and those that do not. This provides additional evidence supporting the diachronic approach chosen to account for the variation encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe?. With regard to our two negators, we conclude that while *pá?* is a head hosted in Neg0, *si* in imperatives is an XP hosted in a specifier position.

The role of decategorisation

Our purpose in the preceding two sections has been to find out what is peculiar to the negator *si* such that it licenses a subject marker in an imperative which would lack a subject without this negator. In this regard, we have seen that the negator *pá?* does not present us with this same surprise. Therefore, we set forth to establish the differences between the two negators. We now have two major points on the basis of which they can be considered to differ. Foremost, we have seen that *pá?* is verbal, and behaves just like other verbs in triggering pre-nasalisation and also being subject to pre-nasalisation. By contrast, *si* is not verbal, and in fact has been grammaticalised from a preposition. Moreover, the discussion in the immediately preceding paragraphs has led us to conclude that while *pá?* is a head, *si* is not. At this point, we shift back to the question that raised the need for investigating the

differences between *pá?* and *sì*. Namely, how do we account for the ability of *sì* to license a subject in an imperative which, in the presence of *pá?* or when positive, would be without a subject?

As postulated above, *sì* as a negator has grammaticalised from either the preposition or the complementiser *sì*. It is common for complementisers to be reanalysed from prepositions. We know at least of the case of *for* in the history of English. This item functions both as preposition and complementiser. In a recent paper, Van Gelderen (2010) conclusively argues that the complementiser was grammaticalised from the preposition. So it is possible that both the complementiser and the negation are reanalysed from the preposition *sì* in the case under consideration. As is well known in grammaticalisation, it often happens that the source structure that served as input for the reanalysis is analogically carried over into the new environment, at least for the initial period. Hence, when the French *pas* is first associated with the expression of negation, it continues to be used with motion verbs for quite some time, and it is only much later that it generalises to other verbs. I propose that such an analogy might be at the origin of the negator *sì?* licensing the subject in the archaic construction in (56), repeated here as (76). In the source structure, *sì?* as a preposition is always followed by a noun, as illustrated in (77a).

(76)	Sì(?)	ò	γé	kò
	NEG	2SG	go	farm

‘Don’t go to the farm!’

(77)	a.	Siani	γé	ntéé	sì	pùà
		Siani	go	market	without	bag

‘Siani has gone to the market without a bag.’

b.	Sì?	mùú	bää	γé?
	NEG	child	DEM	cry

‘That child should not cry!’

By analogy with the source structure then, *sì?* as a negator might have started in expressions like (77b), where the negator is immediately followed by a nominal in the same fashion as a nominal complement to a prepositional phrase in (77a). The structure in (77b) might have then extended to include pronouns, and we can thus

find structures like the one in (76) as the initial patterns with the negator *si?*. Later on, after the deletion of the glottal stop on the negation, another case of analogy arises. This time, the grammar constructor decides to align this subject that is already overt with other cases of overt subjects in imperatives. Hence, the subject is reanalysed in clause-initial position by analogy with a structure like the one in (78). Note that analogy is mere copying of another structure of the language without any consideration for either its logic or its underlying structure.

(78)	P <small>ɛ</small>	pá?	ŋgé	kò
	2PL	NEG	go	farm
‘Don’t go to the farm!’				

We therefore end up with the negator *si* always licensing an imperative subject, irrespective of the pre-existing principle in the language that an imperative subject is licit only when the addressee and the intended agent(s) are not totally identical.

Summing up

The purpose of the discussion in this section was to account for the word order difference between the archaic pattern *si?* + imperative subject and the more recurrent pattern imperative subject + *si* in Fe?fe?. I have argued that the former pattern was analogically copied from the prepositional construction *si* + noun, given that the negator *si* is originally grammaticalised from the preposition *si*. In the prepositional construction, *si* is always followed by the noun. This internal structure of the prepositional construction is blindly copied into the negative construction and results, in the long run, in the licensing of an imperative subject by the negator *si*. This point thus rounds up the discussion on the extensive variation in the use of the negator *si* in present-day Fe?fe?.

5.6. Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter has provided ample evidence supporting the thesis adopted in this dissertation and according to which synchronic variation is the result and reflection of language change. Starting with the variation in the use of the clause-final marker *bá* in section 5.3, I have shown that the variation in the uses and functions of this marker is the result of a series of reanalytical changes. I subsequently relied on micro-variation data in 5.4 to argue that the middle field negator *ká?* found in present-day Fe?fe? has also been the subject of reanalysis. Finally, section 5.5 has described the variation displayed in the use of the middle

field marker *si* and argued that it also finds its source in language change. Moreover, this last section has provided extensive cross-generational data supporting the major claim according to which synchronic variation is the result of language change. It follows from the data discussed that a single synchronic language state may accommodate the mutual co-existence of variable uses of the same marker as it changes over time. Furthermore, we also see that the series of reanalyses involving multiple different items may all be accommodated within one and the same language state. This raises the question of whether a single synchronic clause structure can accommodate these multiple markers of negation simultaneously. This question is taken up in chapter 7. From the empirical evidence provided in the above sections, we have seen the variation involved in the use of individual markers, and how this variation can be related to a situation of language change through the series of reanalyses involved in each case. However, nothing has been said about the possible order in which the individual markers whose internal variation was thus unveiled were introduced into the language. The next chapter is dedicated to this question.

VI The relative chronology of negators in Fe?fe?

6.1. Introduction

This chapter proposes a relative chronology for the contemporaneous negative markers of Fe?fe?. Hence, it constitutes a further step into an empirical argument in favour of the thesis that synchronic variation in a single synchronic language state is the result and reflection of language change. In this regard, Campbell (2004) states that when a language undergoes changes, traces of the changes are left behind in the language structure. In the previous chapter, I have shown how the variable uses of one and the same marker in present-day Fe?fe? can be accounted for as an instance of the changes the marker has undergone over time. A further step in this direction leads me to posit that the traces thus left behind should enable one to determine the temporal order in which the different markers, now overlapping, became a part of the linguistic system under study. In this regard, Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) state that it is possible to observe language change as it takes place by viewing some linguistic variables as either archaic or innovative. Furthermore, Hopper (1991) also provides empirical evidence supporting the view that different diachronic states may exist side-by-side within a single language state. Positing that the synchronic variation observed in the negation system of Fe?fe? is the manifestation of language change implies that there is a historical sequence in which the overlapping negative markers now available to native speakers have been introduced into the language.

This chapter aims to propose such a historical sequence for Fe?fe? on the basis of an analogy with the model of diachronic changes attested elsewhere. However, the fact that Fe?fe? has been a purely spoken language without recordings from past generations raises a problem regarding the method available for ordering the different variants under consideration. Croft (1991: 1) proposes some methods that make it possible to 'extrapolate historical processes from synchronic language states'. Among these are the socio-historical and the comparative methods. Regarding the first of these methods, Campbell (2004: 220) states that

A linguistic trait subject to social variation is investigated at one particular point in time. To the extent that the variation correlates with age, it is assumed that a change ... is under way and that the variant most characteristic of older speakers' speech represents the earlier stage and the variant more typical of younger speakers' speech shows what it is changing to.

Unlike the socio-historical method, the comparative method takes into consideration 'the synchronic states of genetically closely related languages'. In this regard, Croft (2003: 222) states that 'synchronic language states are extremely variable and include a great deal of variation' from which 'language change can be extrapolated with a good degree of confidence'. In Greenberg's (1966: 517) words, 'the method is therefore like that of producing a moving picture from successive still shots obtained from languages at various stages of the development that interests us'. Van Gelderen (2008) also makes use of micro-comparative data to argue for previous stages of negative cycles in languages without historical records. In the same spirit, Devos, Kasombo Tshibanda and van der Auwera (2010), as well as Devos and van der Auwera (2013) also state, when faced with a lack of historical records, that synchronic variability – whether language-internal or involving closely related languages – constitutes an essential tool in the reconstruction of different stages of the JC in Bantu languages. Upon reviewing the study of grammaticalization in its relation to the dichotomy between diachrony and synchrony, Lehmann (2004) reaches the generalisation that the comparative method dynamicises the relationship between chronologically synchronic variants by considering that one form is more archaic than the other. Against this background, I take socio-historical reconstruction as the main tool for present purposes, supplemented first with the comparative approach to reconstruction.

Moreover, the criterion of widest distribution proposed by Elsig (2009) and also adopted by Larrivee (2010) with regard to the historical development of negation will also be taken into account. According to these scholars, the current marker for a grammatical function is characterised by widest distribution and context independency, among other traits. Furthermore, I assume that new and old markers associate with different clause types. This is based on what has been observed in the study of variation in Indo-European languages (Germanic, Romance and Celtic) with historical records discussed in section 4.3. I think that such a generalisation that cuts across three different language subfamilies might be considered as a characteristic of natural language. Besides, Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) have also observed that the grammaticalisation of new markers always occurs in one clause type only, namely, independent main clauses. Closer to the topic of the present research, Gülderman (1996), in his study of verbal negation in Narrow Bantu

languages observes that a particular group of negative markers (preinitial, i.e., those preceding the subject slot) show the tendency to be confined to unmarked main clauses. He thus postulates the existence of a dichotomy¹ between main clauses and other clause types in the expression of verbal negation in Bantu languages. In her paper entitled ‘Main clauses are innovative, subordinate clauses are conservative’, Bybee (2002) argues that the constituents of subordinate clauses are less independent and not so likely to change. Building on the above cross-linguistic generalisation, I specifically focus on the contribution of the distinction between main clauses and dependent clauses, thus identifying some clause types or syntactic environments as more innovative or more conservative. Therefore, I postulate that the Fe?fe? markers that occur in related syntactic environments may be considered either old or new as long as this does not turn out contrary to the claims made on the basis of the socio-historical method.

The present approach to the reconstruction of language change (whether it involves internal or comparative reconstruction, or a combination of both) is considered to result in what has been labelled as an apparent-time study (cf. Labov, 1965; Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog, 1968; Campbell, 2004: 220). In apparent-time research, language variation is investigated at a single point *t* in time, unlike in real-time studies where recordings from different periods of time are taken into consideration. The combination of methodological tools thus adopted for the relative chronology of negative markers is preceded by the summary of some generational differences between teenage and elderly speakers in section 6.2. These generational differences are then used in section 6.3.1 as input to the socio-historical approach to the relative chronology. The dichotomy between main and subordinate clauses as observed in the macro-comparative data provided in chapter 4, and also argued for by Bybee et al. (1994), is used in section 6.3.2. The discussion in this section, however, provides only a distinction between a group of new and a group of old markers, and section 6.3.3 outlines the limitations of this criterion. Therefore, the criteria of widest distribution and context independency discussed by Elsig and Larrivee are used in section 6.3.4 to help distinguish specifically between the markers of the new group. Moreover, I discuss the fact that some markers specifically associate with particular clause types, such as the infinitive and the imperative, which are shared between Fe?fe? and Welsh (section 6.3.5). Section 6.3.6 brings in micro-comparative evidence refining and further supporting the proposed chronology. Finally, the chapter closes in section 6.4 with a discussion that aims to relate the emerging results to a specific case of language change well known in the diachronic study of negation.

¹However, Gülderman does not establish any correlation between clause types and chronology.

6.2. Attested changes between two generations

From the discussion in section 1.2, we have seen that there is a situation of co-existence between many negative markers in the negation system of Fe?fe?. Table 1 succinctly summarises the resulting variation. This section discusses some events of language change that have taken place in the negation system of Fe?fe? and that are identified when the speech of teenagers is compared to the speech of elderly speakers. The motivation for focusing on the variation between teenagers and elderly speakers lies in the definition I adopt for language change. I adopt M. Hale's (1998) definition of change as a set of differences between two grammars with a lineal descent relationship. Against this background, I discuss in the following paragraphs the variation observed in the use of negative markers by two different generations, namely teenage and elderly speakers².

Table 1: Current Fe?fe? negation table for adult speakers³

Tense, aspect, mood and clause types	Negation
Intterrogative clause: tag questions & other uses	bà
Conditional (protasis)	si... bà
Non-past (future, locative, progressive & habitual present)	si...bà
Past 2 & 3	sì
Past 1	kà?
Perfective present	kà?
Perspectival	lò?
Modal clause	lè
Consecutive clause	lè
Directive complement	pá?/sì
Purpose clause	pá?/si bà
Infinitive clause	mbá?/si bà
Imperative clause	pá?/sì

²The speech of adults or the middle-aged has also been taken into consideration. The choice to zoom in particularly on the differences between teenage and elderly speakers is motivated by the need to provide substantive supportive evidence for the thesis advocated in this dissertation. The differences either between elderly and middle-aged speakers, on the one hand, or between middle-aged speakers and teenage speakers on the other, appears to be more flexible. Hence, they are taken into consideration only when they contribute in showing the continual shift between the three generations.

³The speech of the average adult speaker is considered to be the default under study in this dissertation. Reference is made to both elderly and teenage speakers as a way of providing supportive evidence for the claim made regarding language change.

The discussion includes the phonetic reduction of *si* and *bá*, the deletion of *bá*, the extension of *si* to new syntactic environments, and the loss of *pá?* and *lá?* to the generation of teenagers.

6.2.1. Phonetic reduction of *si*

This section discusses the phonetic reduction of the negative marker *si*. This reduction is prevalent in the speech of teenage speakers, unlike with elderly speakers who stick to the non-reduced form of this marker. In the speech of the average adult speaker as well as in teenagers' speech, the negative marker *si* is made up of a single consonant /s/ and the vowel /i/ or /ɪ/, as seen in (1a) - (1b).

(1) Young speakers

- | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| a. | Siani | (lè) | si | (lè) | γé | kò |
| | Siani | P3 | NEG | P3 | go | farm |
| | 'Siani did not go to the farm.' | | | | | |
| b. | Siani | si | ŋgé | kò | bá | |
| | Siani | NEG | go | farm | NEG | |
| | 'Siani does not go to the farm.' | | | | | |

The P3 tense marker appears in parentheses because its linear position varies depending on whether one takes into consideration older speakers' or teenagers' speech. In the first case, the tense marker precedes the negator *si*. In the second case, the tense marker follows the negator *si*. The marker *si* however has a third phoneme /? when it occurs in the speech of elderly speakers (60+). Note however that the form *si?* is not consistent even in the speech of elderly speakers. For instance, the default form *si* occurs in past tenses. The only instances of *si?* in past tenses, as in (2a), were produced by speakers aged 80 and over. The marker *si?* however is consistently used in conditional and habitual clauses by all elderly speakers. I illustrate the latter with (2b). Some speakers even use *si?* with the future tense (2c).

(2) *Si?* in the speech of older speakers

- | | |
|----|--|
| a. | 80+ Bana speaker |
| | Mùnʒwé lè si? ndí? si ndúá mbá? |

woman P3 NEG while stay house man
 mba' [má á Nhá í wú ták? bá]
 be [that 3SG Give 3SG thing much NEG]

‘A woman didn’t stay in a man’s house because he gave her too many things.’

b. Old Bana speaker

Púu fùù sì? ncám zó fák? a bá
 Sons chief NEG hit 3PL so NEG

‘The sons of the chief don’t hit like that.’

c. Old Bankák speaker

Wèn sì? ndák? pyé yá bá
 INDF NEG REM lose it NEG

‘It will never be lost.’

The contrast between the examples in (2) and the present use (1) of the negator *sí* is an instance of language change in the domain of phonology. Example (2b), with the form *sí?* in the habitual present, is common and expected to occur even in the speech of the average adult speaker. This is not the case for examples (2a) and (2c), because neither the future nor the past tense makes use of the non-reduced form for this negator. These examples provide evidence that the form *sí?* might have been more pervasive in some previous stages of the language. Today, this form is almost lost, as it hardly occurs even in the speech of young adults.

A point of interest here is the correlation in the speech of elderly speakers between the surface word order of this negator and its phonetic form. Indeed, in the free speech of older speakers where we find numerous instances of *sí?*, we notice that this morpheme always has its non-reduced form when following the past habitual marker *lák?*. However, as seen in the contrast between example (3a) and example (3b), the glottal stop disappears on the negator when the latter precedes the past habitual marker.

(3) Old Bankà speaker

a. mbi? pú sì lă? nsi mă ndăá ſù?

Because 3PL NEG PST-HAB stay PREP house one

'Because they didn't stay in the same house.'

b. Pòh lă? sì? ŋgá băa nzànzá pànzá bá

3PL PST-HAB NEG do DEM dirty things NEG

'We didn't do such dirty things.'

Though both examples in (3) are from the same older Banka lady, the word order in (3a) is the one found in the free speech of teenage speakers. As can be seen on the first line of example (4), *sì* linearly precedes the past tense marker *lè*. The same word order is found between *sì* and the habitual past tense marker *lă?* on the second line of (4).

(4) Teenage speaker

Pà pàrā yáa sì lè pé [má á mărē pi pápá zá

DET parents 3pl-POSS NEG P3 agree [that 3SG marry with father POSS

[mbi?cú píyá sì lă? mă pú γù tă? lă? bá]]

[because 3PL NEG PST-HAB that 3PL have one land NEG]]

'Their parents did not agree with her marrying my father because they were not from the same village (EMP).'

In (4), one can observe that the last phoneme (the glottal stop) of *sì* is missing whenever *sì* precedes temporal markers. Thus, the non-reduced form of this negative marker is lost to this new generation. This may find an explanation in the simple fact that *sì* always precedes temporal markers in the speech of teenagers. This suggests that there is a correlation between phonetic reduction in this case and word order change. We therefore have *sì* linearly higher than both past tense and past habitual markers in the speech of younger speakers in (4). Moreover, this *sì* is phonologically less loaded than the *sì?* that is more common in the speech of the older generation. I have stated earlier that language change is considered to have occurred whenever two distinct knowledge states can be deduced between two generations with a lineal

descent relationship on the basis of the available data. The foregoing discussion has just described such an instance of language change between two distinct generations. We have seen that while elderly speakers stick to the non-reduced form of the negator *si/si?*, this form is lost to the generation of teenage speakers, who exclusively use the reduced form of this negator. I turn in the following section to another instance of phonetic reduction attested in the negation system of *Fε?fε?*.

6.2.2. The phonetic reduction of *bá*

This section discusses a second case of language change in the negation system of *Fε?fε?*. The discussion reports the newly innovated phonological reduction of the clause-final negator *bá*. The clause-final negator in the speech of adult speakers is made up of the consonant /b/ and a vowel /á/, as in (5). Teenagers however display two forms of this marker: the default form *bá* (5) and a second form made up only of a vowel as in (6).

- (5) Adult speech

Siani	si	ŋgé	kò	bá
Siani	NEG	go	farm	NEG

‘Siani does not go to the farm.’

- (6) Young Bakou speaker

a.	Dgá?	pápè	kà?	lé-	[é	pápè	3l	ʃá'	pù	pápá	á]
----	------	------	------------	-----	----	------	----	-----	----	------	----

No,1PL-INCL NEG say-[that 1PL-INCL know pass DET fathers NEG]

‘No, we haven’t said that we know better than our parents.’

b.	Si	kwè	yá	wá?	má	mbópsi	á
	NEG	all	it	all	that	spoil	NEG

‘It is not in every case that things go wrong.’

The reduced form of the clause-final negator as seen in (6) is found exclusively in the speech of teenagers. There is not a single instance where I found this reduced form in the speech of an adult. This might tell us that this is a case of a single

generational change. As seen in the following section, teenagers even go much further in simply deleting the clause-final marker in syntactic environments where it is required in adults' speech.

6.2.3. The deletion of *bá* in the speech of teenagers

In (6) we have seen that teenagers use a reduced form of the clause-final negator. This reduced form is made up of only a vowel. However, it is still present. This section considers cases where the clause-final negator is simply omitted by teenagers in syntactic environments (non-past tenses) where it is expected to occur. This state of affairs –when compared to the one observed in the speech of either adult or elderly speakers– constitutes another signal of language change.

In the default case in (5), all non-past tense environments require the combination of *si* and *bá* to express negation. However, teenagers freely use a standalone *si* to express negation in these environments, thus deleting the clause-final negator altogether, as illustrated in (7).

(7) Teenagers' use of *si* in non-past tenses

a. Young Bana speaker

Pú si mà nʒí [má pá? pú γú fá?]

3PL NEG PROG know [that can 3PL do so

Mūú γé māré tā? ngà?ṣùà si ʒí]

Child go marry one wizard without know]

'They don't realise that by so doing they can push the child
to marry a wizard unknowingly.'

b. Young Banwa speaker

Mò?	wènɔk	si	fi?	[mà	pú	púú
Some	human being	NEG	so	[that	INDF	mold
Ni	mă	má?	ká	yá]		

3SG DISC some kind way]

‘Some human beings have not been formed in a way
different from the norm/standard.’

Any elderly speaker would consider the sentences in (7) unacceptable because of the absence of the clause-final negator. These examples can be considered to suggest that the speaker here does not find the clause-final negator absolutely necessary for the expression of negation. This suggests that the marker *si* in (7) has been reanalysed in the mental grammar of teenagers from a marker that alone does not contribute negation at LF to one that does. This shows that the standalone *si* in the speech of teenagers is spreading to new syntactic environments. I consider this to be an early sign of the loss of the clause-final negator *bá* in non-past environments.

6.2.4. The extension of *si bá* to consecutive clauses

We have seen in section 1.2 that consecutive clauses in Fe?fe? take the negator *lè* in the standard case as illustrated in (8a). This section discusses the innovation in the speech of teenagers of *si bá* (8b) in alternation with *lè* in consecutive clauses.

(8) From *lè* to *si bá* in consecutive clauses

a. Adult speech

Siani lō syé [ă **lè** γé kò]
Siani quit ground [3SG NEG go farm]

‘Siani got up and did not go to the farm.’

b. Young Banwa speaker

Mbà pùúnìi mbé tè ntóm ká lá,
Even twins get until come out DISC
[pù **si** ŋgá mém ncá **bá**]
[3PL NEG have same heart NEG]

‘Even twins, once born, don’t have the same heart.’

Though the frequency of *si bá* in consecutive clauses as in (8b) is still very low (about 25% of occurrences) because of the persistent presence of the marker *lè*, the mere fact that it occurs in this syntactic environment shows that this marker is spreading to a new syntactic environment. This state of affairs points to a time in the decades ahead with consecutive clauses consistently displaying free variation between two different markers of negation, just as non-indicative environments in the speech of adult Fe?fe? speakers.

6.2.5. The loss of *pá?*/*mbá?* and *lá?* in the new generation

Hopper and Traugott (2003: 172) posit loss ‘at the extreme end of the history of a particular form’. Accordingly, loss occurs in the context of two or more distinctive forms being used for the same function, with the result of one of the forms being selected at the expense of the others (which, according to Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968), become obsolete). Such is the story of the negative items *pá?* and *mbá?* in the negation system of Fe?fe?. As seen in section 1.2, adult speakers use *sí* and *pá?* or *si bá* and *mbá?* in free variation in infinitive, imperative, directive complement and purpose clauses. I illustrate with the imperative in the speech of an older Bakou speaker.

(9) Old Bakou speaker

- a. **Pá?** mbôô mbà, **pá?** mbôô, **pá?** mbôô mbà
 NEG fear DISC NEG fear NEG fear DISC
 ‘Don’t fear, don’t fear, don’t fear!’
- b. Ó **sí** pôô mbà, ó **sí** pôô mbà mami
 2SG NEG fear DISC 2SG NEG fear DISC mum
 ‘Don’t fear, don’t fear dear!’

As seen from the speech of the same older speaker in (9), the same meaning is conveyed by the use of two different negative markers, namely *pá?* in (9a) and *sí* in (9b). Teenagers however do not use *pá?* in their free speech to express negation. Rather, their use of negation in non-indicative environments is restricted to *si*. This is illustrated with the imperative in (10).

(10) Young Bakou speaker

ó	sì	γ́	bí,	ó	sì	γ́	bí
2SG	NEG	do	that	2SG	NEG	do	that

‘Don’t do that, don’t do that!’

This tells us that the markers *pá?*/*mbá?* have been lost and replaced by *sì/si bá* in the speech of teenagers. This loss takes place after a period of mutual co-existence between the two items in the preceding generations, as can still be seen in the speech of the average adult speaker. This state of affairs points to a time in the decades ahead when the morphemes *pá?*/*mbá?* might become non-existent to the speech community in the expression of negation.

A second case of lexical loss with regard to the lexicon of negation when the speech of teenagers is compared to that of elderly speakers is the negator *lá?*. This sentential negator is restricted in the speech of both elderly people and the middle-aged to matrix clauses and to sentence-like complement clauses with a present perfect tense (see section 3.2.1 for the distinction between directive and sentence-like complements). Moreover, this form can be used in the relevant environments only with an interpretation related to the speaker’s temporal perspective, and is thus always interpreted as *never* rather than *not*. To illustrate this point, let us consider the contrast between (11a) and (11b).

(11) The use of *lá?* across generations

a. All speakers

Siani	kà?	kwá	pɛ?
Siani	NEG	build	house

‘Siani has not built a house.’

b. Older /middle-aged speakers

Siani	lá?	kwá	pɛ?
Siani	Never	build	house

‘Siani has never built a house.’

c. Teenage speakers

Siani	kà?	lá?	ŋkwá	pè?
Siani	NEG	REM	build	house

‘Siani has never built a house.’

The negator *kà?* in example (11a) is the canonical marker found in this environment (perfective present), with the single straightforward function of changing a positive proposition into a negative one. However, when *kà?* is replaced with *là?*, as in (11b), we still have a negative proposition, but with a perspectival interpretation, i.e., the additional meaning that the event taken into consideration has never taken place from the speaker’s temporal perspective. As seen from the contrast between (11b) and (11c), the marker *là?* is replaced in the speech of teenagers by *kà?* plus an additional morpheme. The remoteness marker *là?* combines with the canonical negator *kà?* to convey an interpretation that is associated with the speaker’s temporal perspective with the meaning *never* in the speech of teenagers. Besides the fact that the marker *là?* does not occur in the free speech of teenagers, the use of this morpheme was specifically tested during the translation tests, and all students replaced it with *kà? là?*. This indicates another case of lexical loss when the speech of teenagers is compared to that of elderly speakers.

6.2.6. Interim summary

In this section I have illustrated some changes that have taken place in the negation system of Fe?fe?. Among these are the phonetic reduction of *si?* and *bá*; the deletion of *bá* by teenagers in non-past tenses; the extension of *si bá* to consecutive clauses; and the loss of *pá?/mbá?* and *lá?* to the new generation. In order to show the resulting shift in the negation system, let us compare the negation table at the opening of this section to a new negation table (table 2) contrasting the use of negative markers between elderly speakers on the one hand and teenage speakers on the other. The second column is supplemented in bold with the additional features that occur specifically in elderly speakers’ speech. The rows in bold italic in the third column (teenagers) indicate where there has been an innovation in comparison to the negation table for adult speakers in table 1. The most striking changes observable are displayed in the lower rows of the table with the loss of free variation in non-indicative environments. As can be seen in the teenagers’ column, these environments now share the same markers (*si* and *si... bá*) with indicative main clauses. This suggests an invasion of the negation system by the marker *si / si...bá*.

The second innovation is found in the presence of free variation in consecutive clauses (*lè* and *si*... *bá*) and in non-past tenses (*si* and *si*... *bá*). These environments do not have free variation in the speech of adult speakers.

Table 2a: The contrastive use of negation between elderly and teenage speakers

	Elderly speakers	Teenage speakers
Tag questions & other uses	<i>bá</i>	<i>bá</i>
Conditional (protasis)	<i>si(?) bá</i>	<i>si bá</i>
Non-past	<i>si(?) bá</i>	<i>si bá / sì</i>
Past 2 & 3	<i>si(?)bá/ si(?)</i>	<i>sì</i>
Past 1	<i>kà?</i>	<i>kà?</i>
Perfective present	<i>kà?</i>	<i>kà?</i>
Perspectival	<i>là?</i>	<i>kà? lá?</i>
Modal clause	<i>lè</i>	<i>lè</i>
Consecutive clause	<i>lè</i>	<i>lè/ sì bá</i>
Directive complement	<i>pá?/sì</i>	<i>sì</i>
Purpose clause	<i>pá?/si bá</i>	<i>si bá</i>
Infinitive clause	<i>mbá?/si bá</i>	<i>si bá</i>
Imperative clause	<i>pá?/sì</i>	<i>sì</i>

Finally, we can observe that the marker *là?* is replaced in the speech of teenagers by the marker *kà?* used in combination with the remoteness marker. Worth noting is the observation that there is no new marker in the speech of teenagers. The generational variation thus unveiled is a strong empirical motivation to abandon a purely synchronic account and pursue a diachronic perspective. The following section constitutes a further step in this direction.

6.3. The relative chronology implemented

A relative chronology postulates a temporal order between a series of changes that a language has undergone. For this purpose, I rely, as stated in 6.1 on internal and comparative reconstructions. The discussion is organised as follows. In section 6.3.1 below, the results of the above cross- generational comparison are used as input into the first step towards our present goal, namely the socio-historical reconstruction. The dichotomy between main and subordinate clauses as observed from the macro-comparative data provided in chapter 4 is used as a further step in section 6.3.2. Then, section 6.3.3 outlines the limitations of this method. Following this, the

criteria of widest distribution and context independency discussed by Elsig and Larrivee are used in section 6.3.4 to further refine the classification resulting from the dichotomy between main and dependent clauses. Besides, the peculiarities of infinitives and imperatives which in Welsh exhibit special negative markers and thus parallel the facts observed in Fe?fe? are taken into consideration in section 6.3.5. Finally, section 6.3.6 brings in micro-comparative evidence refining and further supporting the proposed chronology.

6.3.1. The socio-historical approach to the relative chronology

Taking into consideration the generational variation presented in the previous section, this section proposes a first step toward a relative chronology of the negative markers of Fe?fe?. The variant found in older speakers' speech is considered to represent the earlier stage of the language, while the speech of the younger generation is viewed as pointing to the new direction being adopted by the language (Croft, 1991; Campbell, 2004). Against this background, I propose the following temporal sequences between the negative markers of Fe?fe?.

- (12) a. Si... bá < sì
- b. Pá?/mbá? < sì/si... bá
- c. Lé < si... bá
- d. lù? < kù?

A quick look at the contrast between teenage and elderly speakers *regarding the use* of negation as summarised in table 2 in the previous sections shows that the use of the standalone *sí* is subsequent to the use of *si...bá*. This justifies the historical sequence in (12a). Moreover, teenagers' preference for *sí/si...bá* in syntactic environments where adults alternate between *si/si...bá* and *pá?/mbá?* leads me to postulate that *si/si...bá* is more innovative than *pá?/mbá?*. We can further see from table 2 that the use of *lé* pre-dates the use of *si...bá* in consecutive clauses. This observation can be used to motivate the chronological order in (12c). Finally, we observe that while adult speakers make use of *lù?* to convey the meaning *never*, teenage speakers prefer to use the perfective present negator *kù?* in combination with the adverb *ever*.

Example (12) postulates a chronological sequence between *sì* and *si... bá*, between *si... bá* and *pá?/mbá?* or *lé*, as well as between *kà?* and *là?*. These forms are used in the same syntactic environments, thus providing the possibility to compare their use by the younger and older generations. The data discussed here, however, do not allow us to compare the use of the markers that never occur in the same syntactic environment. Hence, it is not possible to postulate a historical sequence of these markers by simply comparing the teenage and older generations. I therefore have to rely on some other criteria to propose an order between these markers. So far, the conclusion that emerges on the basis of comparison between the younger and older generations is that *si/si... bá* is more innovative than *lé* and *pá?/mbá?*, and *kà?* more innovative than *là?*. However, I cannot make any proposition with regard to the chronological order between *si/si... bá* and *kà?*, or between *kà?* and *pá?/mbá?*, *kà?* and *lé*, or *lé* and *pá?/mbá?*. This raises the need to supplement the socio-historical approach with other criteria of classification. The following sections are devoted to this task.

6.3.2. The main versus dependent clause dichotomy as a tool

Though I take the socio-historical method to be the anchor of the present proposal for a relative chronology, the results of the application of this method to the Fe?fe? data provides only a partial answer. The need therefore arises to rely on additional tools. The present section constitutes a first step in this pursuit, building on the macro-comparative data provided in chapter 4 (section 4.3). What emerges from the discussion of Germanic, Romance and Celtic languages in chapter 4 is that the co-existing markers are redistributed in different syntactic environments, with new markers occurring in independent main clauses while old markers are relegated to dependent environments and to environments associated with modality, such as imperatives and clauses with a modal verb. The empirical generalisation that emerges is that when items originating from different periods of time happen to co-occur in a particular language state, there is a tendency for natural language to redistribute them in different syntactic environments. The idea according to which items from different chronological times would be redistributed in different syntactic environments is not unprecedented. Bybee et al. (1994) already made the observation that new markers in the domain of tense, aspect and mood are always grammaticalised in independent main clauses. Building on this cross-linguistic generalisation, this section sets out to consider how the distinction between main and dependent clauses can be exploited to further the proposal of a relative chronology of negative markers in Fe?fe?.

When the distinction between independent main clauses and dependent clauses is applied to the markers of negation discussed for Fe?fe? in section 6.3.1, we obtain in table 3 below a distributional correlation in which all new markers occur in both independent main clauses and in other syntactic environments, while older markers do not occur in main clauses. Newer markers would occur beyond independent main clauses because they have spread from independent main clauses to other clauses, as seen, for instance, with the present spread of *si... bá* to consecutive clauses in section 6.2.4, or with the presence of *si* in imperatives.

Table 3: Recasting negative markers into main versus other clauses

Occur in main clauses and elsewhere	Never occur in main clauses
sí	pá? /mbá?
si... bá	lè
kà?	
là?	
bá	

The markers *sí* and *si... bá* are confirmed as new markers. With the main versus dependent clauses dichotomy, we clearly see that *kà?* falls with *si* and *si... bá* in the class of new markers. I therefore conclude that the dichotomy between main and dependent clauses takes the proposal of a relative chronology of negative markers in Fe?fe? one step further, in the sense that it was not possible on the basis of the socio-historical method alone to decide how to relate the marker *kà?*, for instance, to the markers that now feature in the second column of table 3. The presence of markers such as *là?* and *bá* in the first column of table 3, however, constitutes a problem for this methodological tool. I turn immediately below to its limitations.

6.3.3. Limitations of the main versus dependent clause dichotomy

Table 3 raises some problems which lead me to search for additional distinguishing criteria. The first of these problems lies in the fact that a sentence type such as the imperative should in fact not have its markers classified because it is characterised neither as a main nor as a dependent clause. As a consequence, the main versus dependent clause dichotomy cannot make any statement regarding the marker that occurs in the imperative. This leads me to consider the specific characteristics of the imperative with regard to old versus new markers in languages with historical records. I turn to this point in section 6.3.5 below. The second problem with table 3 is the presence of the marker *là?* in the first column. We have seen that this marker

is used by elderly speakers and does not occur in the speech of teenagers. Moreover, teenage speakers usually use the marker *kà?* in combination with the remoteness marker *lò?* to convey the same meaning. This leads me to classify this marker as belonging to the class of older markers, given the socio-historical approach. Therefore, the fact that this marker occurs among new markers also constitutes a limitation of the main versus dependent clause dichotomy as a distributional method to distinguish between older and newer markers.

The occurrence of the marker *lò?* in independent matrix clauses and in sentence-like complements may also be a signal that it is not a negative marker like the items *si*, *kà?* and *lè*, but rather a negative quantifier like *never* in English (13a).

- (13) a. John never built a house
 b. Siani lò? kwá Ø pè?
 Siani never build DET house
 ‘Siani never built a house.’

Analysing *lò?* simply as a negative quantifier would explain why it cannot follow the distributional patterns expected of pure negative markers. If on the right track, this excludes the marker *lò?* from further classificational considerations.

The third problem with table 3 has to do with the presence of the clause-final marker *bà* in column 1. We know that this marker is no longer used as a standalone marker of negation, as seen with the unacceptability of (14).

- (14) *Siani ndùo' **bà**
 Siani home NEG
 ‘Siani is not home.’

Moreover, this marker is now being dropped by teenagers in the only syntactic environments where it still contributes pragmatically to the semantics of negation. This suggests that the clause-final marker is exiting the language. Therefore, it is accounted for as an older marker in section 6.3.6.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, the main clause versus dependent clause distinction confirms the result from the socio-historical method according to which *si* and *si'... bà* are new markers. Moreover, it adds the item *kà?* to this group of new markers. The most immediate issue that needs consideration at this point lies in

providing an internal order between the marker *kà?* on the one hand and *si* and *si...bá* on the other, given that we already know from the socio-historical method that *si...bá* precedes *si* in chronological order. I rely on the criterion of widest distribution to settle this question.

6.3.4. The criterion of widest distribution as a tool

The distinction between main and dependent clauses has helped to establish that *kà?* belongs to the class of new markers, while *lè* and *pá?*/*mbá?* do not. A question that arises at this point is whether it is possible to refine the classification by providing a chronological sequence between the items in each of the columns of table 3. I have already proposed, on the basis of the difference between younger and older speakers in sections 6.2 and 6.3.1, that *si...bá* precedes *si* in the chronological sequence. So the question regarding the first columns boils down to which of *si/si...bá* on the one hand and *kà?* on the other should be considered as the newer marker. This section sets out to answer this question.

For this purpose, I adopt the criterion of widest distribution proposed by Elsig (2009) and discussed in relation to the historical development of negation by Larrivee (2010). According to this proposal, the current marker for a grammatical function is characterised by widest distribution, and also by context independency. When these criteria are taken into consideration, *si/si...bá* clearly arises as the current or new marker for negation in the language. This is because *si/si...bá* is found in indicative as well as in non-indicative environments, unlike *kà?*, which is restricted to indicative environments. Moreover, *kà?* in indicative environments is restricted to the present perfect and to past tenses preceding the speech day. *Si/si...bá* in adults' speech occurs elsewhere with the exception of consecutive clauses and complement clauses to the modal verb *pá?*. Moreover, *si...bá* has now been introduced even into consecutive clauses in the speech of teenagers. Therefore, I postulate the order *kà? < si...bá < si*, taking into consideration the order of *si* and *si...bá* already argued for in (12a). It is worth noting that the statement that *si/si...bá* is more innovative than *kà?* does not make the latter an old marker. Following table 3 above, we have stated that both *si/si...bá* and *kà?* belong to the group of new markers. The present criterion of widest distribution is simply meant to determine which of the two is more innovative on account of its extensive spread into the syntactic environments of the language. So, I conclude that even though both belong to the class of new markers, *kà?* is older within this class in comparison to *si/si...bá*.

In the following section I consider what the internal order could be between the markers in the second column of table 3.

6.3.5. Insight from imperatives and infinitives in Welsh

The distinction between main and dependent clauses in section 3.2 has resulted in the establishment of a group of new markers and a group of older markers. In the preceding section, an internal chronological order has been established between the members of the first group. The goal of this section is to propose such an internal order between the markers in the second column of table 3. As already stated in section 2 of chapter 1, *pá?* and *mbá?* are allomorphs. The question regarding the chronological sequence of the markers in the second column of table 3 therefore reduces to which of *pá?* on the one hand and *lē* on the other can be considered to be older. We have seen from the tables in section 6.2.6 that *lē* is restricted to complement clauses to the modal *pá?* and to consecutive clauses, while the marker *pá?* occurs only in imperatives, infinitives, purpose clauses and in directive complement clauses. The distribution of these two markers is reminiscent of the distribution of old markers into both subordinate clauses (*nad*) and imperatives and infinitives (*peidio*) in Informal Welsh.

- (15) a. Gwn [na ddaw Sioned hen]

Know.pres.1sg Neg come.Fut.3sg Sioned tonight

‘I know that Sioned will not come tonight.’

- b. Na symuda!

Neg move.Impv.sg

‘Don’t move!'

In Formal Welsh, both subordinate clauses (15a) and imperatives/infinitives (15b) have the marker *na(d)*. However, imperatives (16a) and infinitives (16b) also have *paid/beidio* as a second negative marker in Formal Welsh.

- (16) a. Geisiodd Gwyn [beidio ag ateb y cwestiwn]

Try.past.3SG Gwyn NEG with answer the question

‘Gwyn tried not to answer the question.’

- b. paid â symud

NEG with move
 ‘Don’t move!'

Yet in Informal Welsh, the marker *na(d)* is lost and is no longer available to infinitives and imperatives, though *na(d)* survives in subordinate clauses. So we get the following redistribution of markers from Formal to Informal Welsh:

Imperatives in Formal Welsh → *na(d)* + *peidio*

Imperative in Informal Welsh → *peidio*

Subordinate clauses in Formal Welsh → *na(d)*

Subordinate clauses in Informal Welsh → *na(d)*

One may want to postulate on the basis of the fact that *na(d)*, together with *nid* is the oldest marker in the Welsh system, one may then posit that *na(d)* is older than *peidio*. One may build on this to postulate that when we come across two different markers in imperatives and subordinate clauses, the older marker is likely to be the one that features in the subordinate clause. One could extend this to Fe?fe? to postulate that the marker *lē*, which occurs in subordinate clauses, is older than the marker *pá?*, which occurs in imperatives. It should be borne in mind, however, that making this claim about the diachronic order of these two elements does not have any particular significance for the analysis in subsequent chapters. Moreover, there is no basis other than the one based on the comparison with the possible chronological order of *na(d)* and *peidio* in Welsh (adopting the UP) for postulating a chronological sequence between *lē* and *pá?*. It should also be borne in mind that the fact that *na(d)* exists from imperatives earlier than *peidio* is no proof that it is older, given that the system, at least as presented to me by Borsley and Jones (2005) does not say anything about the order of introduction into imperative and infinitive clauses of *na(d)* and *beidio/peidio*. Moreover, there is no basis on which to determine that whenever two markers co-occur in natural language, the older one necessarily exits the language first. From the foregoing discussion, I therefore find it safer to leave unresolved the relative order between *lē* and *pá?* in Fe?fe?. The following section addresses the status of the clause-final negator *ba* in the chronological sequence of negative markers in Fe?fe?.

6.3.6. Evidence for *ba* as an autonomous marker of negation

In sections 6.3.2, 6.3.4 and 6.3.5 I have supplemented and refined the chronological sequence postulated in section 6.3.1. I have relied on comparison with the negation

systems of English, French and Welsh. These languages are all considered to have undergone the historical development standardly known as the JC (Jespersen, 1917). In the JC, an older negator is initially used as a monopartite marker, and then is reinforced in most cases by a series of new markers (see the case of French with *pas*, *point*, *gote* and *mie*). Finally, one of these new markers takes over from the others, and becomes the new monopartite marker of negation. We could relate the monopartite versus bipartite use of *si* and *si... bá* to *ne* and *ne pas* or *ne* and *ne not* in French and English, respectively. Likewise, we could relate the other Fε?fε? markers that also occur in bipartite relation with the clause-final marker *bá* to the other French markers such as *mie*, *gote* and *point*. However, the question still arises as to whether there is any evidence that *bá*, as found in *si... bá*, was ever used as a monopartite marker of negation in Fε?fε?. Though *bá* is still used as a marker that is felt intuitively to contribute some negative connotation to the sentence in which it occurs, as in (17), it is not possible to insert this marker into a positive sentence to obtain a negative one.

(17)	Yá	γɛ	tè	kwɛ	ná	bää	ndì	lú	bá,
	It	go	until	reach	on	DEM	limit	DEF	bá
[mà pù ká Kó náá si?si yòò náá yòò bá],									
[that 3PL F2 receive take rub 3PL body 3PL-POSS bá]									
tè ó ndé neyɛ? [má pu pá ñgù láhá]?									
until 2SG say now [that 3PL again do how]									
[Mà pù ká kó bá]]									
[that 3PL F2 receive bá]									

‘In case things go that far, then they will have to live with the situation of course. What else can they do? They will have to accept it of course.’

The *bá* in the first line of (17) could be considered to be a counter-expectational marker. It pragmatically conveys the message, ‘It is of course not expected for things to go that far, but if that were to be the case’ Hence, though there is no overt negative marker here, except for *bá*, there is still an unuttered negative

statement, which would be absent if the marker *bá* were not present. The *bá* in the second and third lines could be considered to be a strong positive polarity item (see Szabolcsi, 2004). It conveys a connotation of resignation on the part of the speaker; resignation as to the real course of events which the experiencer is not in a position to influence. So, the unstated message underlying the polite constructions in the second and third lines is, ‘They will not have any other choice but to accept/take things as they are’. As a strong positive polarity item then, *bá* in the second and third lines of (17) pragmatically conveys some form of negative semantics. It follows from the foregoing discussion that the semantics underlying the constructions in (17) is that of negation. Moreover, this semantics of negation would be absent if the marker *bá* were simply left out of (17). Therefore, one can safely conclude that the marker *bá* carries a negative feature which alone provides an explanation for the underlying negative statement present in the mind of the interlocutors.

Notwithstanding the negative connotation associated with the use of *bá* in (17), it is the case that *bá* never conveys the semantics of negation in a straightforward way in the Fe?fe? language as it is spoken today. Therefore, in view of the fact that this marker is also used in bipartition with other markers such as *kà?*, *pá?* and *lè* to convey emphatic negation as in (18), and given its non-negative uses discussed in examples involving comparison in (19), strong emphasis in (20), and emphasis on polarity in (21), I argue in the following paragraphs that this marker was once used as an autonomous marker of negation.

(18) Ā lè bá á nʃùà-nʃù bää ká lá **bá**

3SG NEG be CM⁴ wood-cutter that kind DEF EMP

‘He was not that kind of wood-cutter (EMP).’

(19) a. Siani ɳá ndùà lè [tè müù lè má ɳgɛ̄ ɛ]

Siani where home DEF [before child DEF PROG cry Q]

‘In which part of the house is Siani such that the baby should be crying?’

b. Siani γɛ̄ kò **bá** áà?

⁴ CM here stands for a marker of contrast.

Siani go farm bā Q

‘Isn’t it the case that Siani went to the farm?’

- (20) Pūngù pē kò ndé [ε pē ʒi nʃā yāā bā ă]?
 Girls 2PL PROG say [that 2PL know pass 1PL bā Q]

‘The fact is that you girls are claiming to be wiser than us (the mothers).’

- (21) a. Siani kwā pē?

Siani build house

‘Siani has built a house.’

- b. ɳjá bā ă

Yes NEG Q

‘Yes, of course!’

- c. ó sī ná kō? mafü bā ă?

2SG sit on stool mafü bā Q

‘Well, (I see that) you have sat on Mafü’s (queen) chair!’

Apart from the example in (17), where the clause-final marker may be given a negative reading indirectly, this marker does not contribute the semantics of negation in any of the acceptable sentences in (18) to (21). Moreover, by comparing the clause-final marker *bā* to the West Flemish marker *en*, an older marker in an altogether unrelated language with historical records, one readily realises that both markers share certain characteristic properties with regard to their respective functions, and these shared properties should not to be taken for granted.

The West Flemish negation system has preserved its older marker until today, unlike other West Germanic languages. However, Breitbarth and Haegeman (2010) argue that the marker *en* in its present use does not convey the semantics of negation any longer, but has been reanalysed for other purposes. Among other uses, *en* is used to contradict an implicit or explicit expectation as in (22b).

- (22) a. Geef me nen keer Valere zenen telefoon?
 Give me once Valere his phone
 ‘Can you give ma Valere’s phone number?’
- b. K’ (en) een-k ik Valere zenen telefon nie
 I (en) have-I I Valere his phone Neg
 ‘I don’t have Valere’s number.’

En in (22b) is used to contradict the expectation in the utterance in (22a) that the speaker of (22b) has the number of Valere. The use of *b&* in (19b) has a similar effect in the sense that this utterance comes as a reaction to a statement presupposing that Siani is in the house. *Si...b&* plays the role of what Schalderberg (2006) calls a counter-expectational marker. The use of *b&* in the comparative construction in (20) also has a counter-expectational function, in the sense that it comes as a shocking surprise to elderly women, especially mothers, when they realise that their daughters consider that there are more interesting opinions in life than what they (the elderly) have to offer. Breitbarth and Haegeman also state that *en* is used to mark emphasis on polarity in emphatic contradictions (23).

- (23) a. Hij slaapt
 He sleeps
 ‘He is asleep.’
- b. Hij/t en doet
 He en does
 ‘No, he isn’t.’

The Fe?fe? clause-final marker *b&* also marks emphasis on polarity. But, unlike in West Flemish where we are dealing with emphatic contradiction, *b&* in Fe?fe? is rather a marker of positive polarity, as illustrated in (21b) and (21c). In both examples, *b&* functions as a strong positive polarity marker.

Given that the above functional characteristics of *b&* are shared with the older West Flemish marker, it is very likely that both markers also share their chronological

properties. This implies that *bá* is also an older marker like *en* in West Flemish or *ne* in French and English. However, due to the lack of historical records in Fe?fe?, I have to rely on data from closely related languages to provide evidence for the use of the clause-final negator as a monopartite marker of negation. The following paragraphs are devoted to this.

The standalone cognates of bá in closely related languages

The goal of this section is to make use of data from closely related languages to argue that the clause-final negator *bá* was once used as an autonomous marker of negation and, as such, is the older marker in Fe?fe?. According to Greenberg (1969: 147), a fundamental purpose of the comparative method is the uncovering of constancies of structure or of developmental tendencies underlying individual variant forms. This is based on the well-accepted assumption that human languages in their surface diversity are nevertheless all cut from the same underlying pattern. Therefore, it is possible, by means of cross-linguistic comparison, to move to statements that hold of human languages in general. The strength of micro-comparison is assumed to lie in the possibility of isolating a variable from external interfering factors. This is possible only if the set of languages taken into consideration differ from one another only minimally, thus making it possible to observe the effect of changing a single variable (Kayne, 2005). Me়gaka and Ngomba, from which the data discussed below are taken, are not only Mbam-Nkam languages, but are also Bamileke (just like Fe?fe?), as opposed, for instance, to Ngemba and Nun languages. This is as close as one can get.

In the Ngomba examples in (24), one can easily identify the three stages of the JC. Example (24a) provides us with *pó*, the cognate of Fe?fe? *bá*, as a standalone marker. In (24b), we see *pó* in a bipartite construction with another marker *káa*. Finally, (24c) provides an illustration of *káa* as a standalone marker.

(24) The three stages of the JC in Ngomba⁵

a.	A	ndá	pó
	3SG	house	NEG

‘S/he is not in the house.’

⁵ The Ngomba examples are all from Sartre (1999, 2002).

- b. Geganj **káa** pǔŋ nzwé w-aa **pó**
 okra NEG please wife POSS NEG
 ‘Okra doesn’t please my wife.’
 ‘My wife doesn’t like okra.’
- c. Móo **káa** kóŋ
 child NEG crawl
 ‘The child did not crawl.’

Examples such as (24c) are pervasive in Fe?fe?. However, Fe?fe? differs from Ngomba with regard to (24b), because the co-occurrence of the clause-final negator *bá* with *kà?* as in (25b) conveys an emphatic reading.

- (25) a. À **kà?** kwá pè?
 3SG NEG built house
 ‘S/he has not built a house.’
- b. À **kà?** kwá pè? **bá**
 3SG NEG built house EMP
 ‘S/he has not built a house (EMP).’

In Menjaka, as in Ngomba, the clause-final negator *pó* occurs as a standalone marker of negation (26a).

- (26) Menjaka
- a. Mèn zó màkàbò **pó**
 1SG eat cocoyam NEG
 ‘I haven’t eaten cocoyam.’
- b. Mèn (**kà?**) zó màkàbò **pó**
 1SG kà? eat cocoyam NEG

'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

c.	*Mèn	kà?	zó	màkàbò
	1SG	NEG	eat	cocoyam

'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

Unlike in Fe?fe? and in Ngomba, the marker *kà?* cannot contribute negation as a standalone marker in Mengaka. Apparently the development of negation in the three languages considered is not at exactly the same stage. Though we can identify the same markers in (24) to (26), we can also observe that these markers do not have the same status across the three languages. While *pó/pó* contributes negation as a standalone marker in Mengaka and Ngomba, this marker (*bá*) can no longer convey negation in Fe?fe?. As illustrated with examples (18) to (21) above, and as discussed in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 of the previous chapter, *bá* in Fe?fe? has been reanalysed to serve various discourse functions. In Ngomba and Fe?fe?, *kà?/káa* contributes negation as a standalone marker. This is however not the case for *kà?* in Mengaka. This marker is still being introduced into the negation system of Mengaka and never occurs alone as a marker of negation. The main purpose of this section was to use micro-comparative data to argue that the marker *bá* in Fe?fe? has been through a stage where it could contribute negation as a standalone marker. The data from Ngomba and Mengaka have provided the necessary evidence. I therefore conclude that *bá* as seen in *si... bá* and *kà?... bá* was once an autonomous marker of negation in Fe?fe?. Hence, it can be considered as the parallel of *ne* in English and French, i.e., as the older marker in the Fe?fe? system.

6.4. Conclusion

6.4.1. Summary of findings

This chapter has proposed a chronological sequence for the negative markers of Fe?fe?. On the basis of comparison between older and younger speakers, it has been established that *sí* precedes *si... bá* in chronological sequence; that *là?* precedes *kà?* in chronological sequence; that *lé* precedes *si... bá* in chronological sequence; and that *pá?/mbá?* precedes *si/si... bá* in chronological sequence. It was however not possible to rely solely on the generational differences between older and younger

speakers to provide an order of occurrence between *si/si... bá* and *kà?*, for instance, or between *pá?/mbá?* and *kà?* or even *pá?/mbá?* and *lé*.

In order to further refine the proposed chronology, I have relied on the correlation of new versus old markers with the dichotomy between declarative main clauses and dependent clauses as illustrated in Indo-European languages with historical records. This has made it possible to group *si/si... bá* and *kà?* as new markers, unlike *pá?/mbá?* and *lé* which are considered to be older markers. In order to further distinguish within the group of new markers, the criterion of widest distribution has been used, thus allowing me to conclude that *si/si... bá* is the newer or current marker.

Macro-comparative data from Welsh has been used to postulate an order between the older markers *lé* and *pá?/mbá?*, with it being probable that the former is the oldest. Finally, the question as to whether the clause-final marker was once an autonomous marker of negation has arisen, and micro-comparative data have been used to demonstrate how this marker is still used as an autonomous negative marker in closely related languages. This has led me to posit that *bá* as found in *si... bá* as well as in other bipartite constructions such as *kà?... bá*, *lé... bá*, and *pá?... bá* is the oldest negative marker in Fe?fe? and, as such, is the counterpart of *ne* in English and French. I can therefore propose the following chronological order of the negative markers of Fe?fe?:

$$(27) \quad bá > lé \geq pá?/mbá? > kà? > si.$$

It is not possible to order *là?* in relation to other older markers such as *lé* and *pá?/mbá?*. I simply posit that *là?* is one of the old markers, but I cannot say more than that regarding its relation to *lé* and *pá?/mbá?*. Moreover, I have explored the possibility that *là?* is not a negative marker with the same status as *lé* or *kà?*, for instance, and I have posited that this marker could be a real negative quantifier like *never* in English. Given the non-postulation of a strict order between *lé* and *pá?*, on the one hand, and the exclusion of *là?* from the classification on the other, I can conclude with relative certainty that there is a group of old markers and a group of new markers, and that the oldest marker *bá* has been in the system much longer than have the other old markers. The marker *bá* can therefore be seen as the equivalent of *ne* in French and English, which is the marker that launches the system.

It is important to note here that establishing with certainty which marker of *lé* and *pá?/mbá?* is older than the other does not make the analysis proposed in the present research more valid. I maintain with equal certainty that synchronic variation is the

reflection of language change even without a fixed chronological sequence between *lέ*, *pá?*/*mbá?* and *là?*. Moreover, it is more important for the discussion in the following chapter to have more certainty regarding which is the marker that launched the system, rather than which of the reinforcing elements that enters into a bipartite relation with it came in first or last. Therefore, this chapter has not offered a complete chronological sequence of all the negative markers of the language, but a partial one that still allows us to pursue the goals of the present research. With this partial order, it is possible to account for the fine-grained synchronic variation encountered in the negation system of *Fε?fe?* as an instance of language change. Moreover, we can still pursue the goal of reconciling the discrete introduction into the language of individual items with their synchronic overlap in a single synchronic language state.

6.4.2. Looking ahead

The discussion in sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.6 has relied on macro-comparative data from Indo-European languages. The languages under consideration, namely English, French, Cairese, Welsh and West Flemish, have all undergone the historical development of negation standardly known as the JC. In the languages thus considered, the negation system displays a situation of variation similar to the one present in *Fε?fe?* today. I argue in this dissertation that synchronic variation in *Fε?fe?* is the manifestation of language change. This thesis has motivated the need to propose a relative chronology between the negative markers of *Fε?fe?*. The following three points may serve as an indication that the language change at stake in *Fε?fe?* is similar to the less familiar side of the JC, as discussed in section 4.3 of chapter 4.

*i. The reduction and deletion / loss of *bà* as found in the speech of teenagers*

We have seen that teenagers are now either leaving out the clause-final negator or rendering it in a phonetically reduced form. This is happening in syntactic environments where adult and elderly speakers would not leave out this marker. Moreover, there is no sign of reduction in the speech of elderly speakers. This state of affairs can be related to the gradual deletion and loss of *ne* in English and French, and thus corroborates the status of *bà* as the oldest marker in *Fε?fe?*.

*ii. The extension of *si...bà* to new syntactic environments*

I have discussed the spread of this marker to consecutive clauses in the speech of teenagers. This can be related to the gradual extension of new markers which, as

discussed in the cases of English, French and Welsh, are first innovated in declarative main clauses before later spreading to other syntactic environments. Moreover, we have seen that *si/si... bá* in the speech of teenagers has totally eclipsed *pá?/mbá?* in imperatives, infinitives, directive complements, etc.; to the point that *pá?/mbá?* is now being lost to the emerging generation.

iii. The loss of pá?/mbá? and ló? to the new generation

The loss of these markers in the emerging Fe?fe? found in the speech of teenagers could be related to the other markers which were once attested in the negation system of both French (*mie, gote, point*) and English (*nates, nahwar, nawiht, noghte*), but which are no longer present in these languages as they are spoken today.

In addition to the similarity in having multiple markers of negation within a single language state as well as the redistribution of these markers in different syntactic environments, the above three points clearly create a link between the variation in the negation system of Fe?fe? and the kind of variation observed in the JC as discussed in its non-standard aspect in chapter 4, section 4.3. This leads to the proposal that the situation of language change displayed in the negation system of Fe?fe? can receive a JC-based analysis. Chapter 8 considers the challenges raised by this perspective to the Fe?fe? negation data, and concludes by addressing the implications for the JC of the thesis according to which the synchronic variation observed in the negation system of Fe?fe? constitutes a slice of the JC. Prior to this, chapter 7 considers how a single synchronic clausal structure may accommodate the wealth of variation under consideration.

VII *Capturing synchronic variation structurally*

7.1. Introduction

This chapter proposes a structural account to capture the synchronic variation encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe?. In the discussion in the preceding chapters, we have seen that the JC involves a period of synchronic variation during which markers resulting from a series of discrete changes occur as co-existing variants in a single language state. It was shown in section 4.3 of chapter 4 that the markers that are standardly analysed as each belonging to different stages of the JC are also found co-existing in a single state of each of the languages involved. Therefore, the resulting synchronic co-existence, though resulting from a meeting point between markers originating from different periods of time, needs to be accounted for. Hence, whether we are dealing with Old or Middle English, Old or Medieval French, Formal or Informal Welsh, or Cairese, there is a co-existence of multiple ways of expressing negation, just like in present-day Fe?fe?. In fact, there seems to be a single way of expressing negation only at the beginning and at the end of the JC. In between these two poles, there are always at least two co-existing strategies for the expression of negation in each of the languages taken into consideration. In the history of English, for instance, there is a period in which individual English speakers make use of three synchronic variants for the expression of negation, namely *ne*, *ne not* and *not* respectively (cf. Jack, 1978a & b; van Kemenade, 2000; Wallage, 2008). A similar time frame with synchronic variation involving multiple negators from subsequent stages of the JC is found in the history of French, even if we take into consideration only Old and Medieval French to avoid getting involved with register distinctions. In present-day Welsh, we still encounter a synchronic variation between *na*, *na ddim* and *ddim* in subordinate environments. Though the stage 1 *ni(d)* has now been lost to the language, main clauses still display a remnant of stage 2 *d ddim* as a synchronic variant of the current negator *ddim*. In the Cairese data also discussed in section 4.3 of chapter 4, we encounter a variation as extensive as that displayed in the Fe?fe? negation system, if not more. In Cairese as in Informal Welsh, we clearly see a case where old and new markers are co-existent in one and the same synchronic language state. In the previous chapter, I

provided a chronological sequence of the markers found co-existing in present-day Fe?fe?. By so doing, it was shown that the situation of synchronic variation we find today in Fe?fe? may also be accounted for as resulting from a diachronic development, as if it were a replica (though not a perfect one) of the complex negation stages of the languages discussed in section 4.3.

This chapter takes the analysis one step further by answering the following question: given that old and new items co-exist in a single language state as illustrated with the cases of synchronic variation discussed in the previous chapters, how does a single synchronic clause structure succeed in accommodating multiple co-existing markers of negation? The speaker disposes of a grammatical system that is able to distinguish between these different synchronic variants. Differently stated, the language user has a clause structure that is able to accommodate the variation involved. The purpose of this chapter is to characterise such a clause structure. More specifically, the question that needs an answer is ‘What must a clause structure look like for the series of synchronic variants encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe? to enjoy a *peaceful* co-existence?’ In order to answer this question, I propose that multiple negation projections (NegPs) need to be posited in the clausal domain to accommodate co-existing markers.

Building on the argument from the preceding chapters that *si*, *si...* *bá* and *bá*, for instance, represent different discrete historical stages in Fe?fe?, I argue that they occur in different structural positions on the clausal spine. Moreover, I propose that there is a possibility for each of these items to be reanalysed upward on the clausal spine – from their introduction into the language to their exit from the language – and that this reanalytical possibility is the foundational mechanism that makes it possible for markers to come and go and for newer markers to find a place in the system while older ones are still present. This is because, as older markers move upward on the clausal spine, the slots they used to occupy become available for new items that are entering the negation system. Differently stated, an item entering the system is, in the default case, more likely to be introduced into the lower rather than the higher portion of the clause structure. It then has the possibility to move upward over the course of time as the result of the semantic changes it undergoes. We saw in section 2 of chapter 1 that different markers associate with different syntactic environments. For instance, infinitives and dependent consecutive clauses make use of different negative markers. The aim of this chapter is to capture how a single clausal environment like an independent main clause accommodates the synchronic co-existence of markers that have originated from different periods of time. More specifically, I discuss the variable positions of three items, namely, the old marker *bá*, and the two markers *kð?* and *si* which both occur in independent main clauses. In

order to fill the gaps that may occur in the Fe?fe? data with regard to the dynamism of markers over time, I rely on micro-variation data from closely related Bamileke languages. But prior to tackling the proposed dynamism of markers over time, I take up in section 7.2 the discussion introduced in section 1.2.4 about the structural relation between negation and other functional categories such as aspect and tense. Section 7.3 addresses the question of variation and reanalysis from a structural point of view. Finally, in section 7.4 I discuss the dynamism of negative markers on the clausal spine, filling the gaps that arise within the Fe?fe? data with micro-variation data. Section 7.5 concludes the chapter.

7.2. Functional categories in the Fe?fe? clause

The negation system of Fe?fe? brings together multiple markers for the expression of a single function. This dissertation sets out to account for this variation in the context of a parametric world where linguistic variation is considered to result from parameter resetting and hence implies mutually exclusive options. The position adopted in this dissertation is that the observed variation is the manifestation of language change, with the multiple markers resulting from a meeting point between items that are different in age. Notwithstanding the chronological differences thus postulated, the resulting synchronic variation still has to be accommodated within a single synchronic clausal structure. This section integrates the discussion of the structure of negation into an overall hierarchy between functional categories in the Fe?fe? clause. Section 7.2.1 discusses the structural relation between aspect and tense. Section 7.2.2 is devoted to the relation between tense and negation, while section 7.2.3 discusses the structure of the CP layer.

7.2.1. The structural relation between aspect and tense

As discussed in the section on tense and aspect in chapter 2, there are many tense markers in Fe?fe?. These tense markers occur in a position following the subject, as in (1). However, in a negative clause, a negation marker may occur between the subject and the tense marker, as in (2).

- (1) Siani **fhú** mbá ŋgé ntéé
 Siani P1 again go market

‘Siani went (again) to the market (earlier today).’

- (2) a. Siani **kà?** **fhú** ŋgé ntéé

- Siani NEG P1 go market
- ‘Siani did not go to the market (earlier today).’
- b. Siani **si** **ká** $\gamma\acute{e}$ ntéé bá
- Siani NEG F2 go market NEG
- ‘Siani will not go to the market.’

The examples in (2) show the tense markers *fhú* and *ká* in a position following the negative markers *kà?* and *si*, respectively. When (2) is compared to (3), one may be led to think that the markers *fhú* and *ká*, on the one hand, and *má* on the other occupy the same structural position because of their respective distribution with respect to negative markers.

- (3) a Siani **kà?** **má** $\eta\acute{g}\acute{e}$ ntéé
- Siani NEG PROG go market
- ‘Siani was not going to the market.’
- b Siani **si** **má** $\eta\acute{g}\acute{e}$ ntéé bá
- Siani NEG PROG go market NEG
- ‘Siani is not going to the market.’

We can observe that both tense and aspect markers in (2) and (3) immediately precede the verb. However, as seen in (4a) and in (4b), the tense markers *fhú* and *ká* occur to the left of the aspectual marker *má*.

- (4) a Siani **fhú** **má** $\eta\acute{g}\acute{e}$ ntéé
- Siani P1 PROG go market
- ‘Siani was going to the market.’
- b Siani **ká** **má** $\eta\acute{g}\acute{e}$ ntéé
- Siani F2 PROG go farm
- ‘Siani will be going to the market.’

Moreover, it is not possible as shown by the unacceptability of (5), to have the aspectual marker *má* to the left of the tense marker, be it *fhú* or *ká*.

- (5) a. *Siani **má** **fhú** **ŋgé** ntéé
 Siani PROG P1 go market
 ‘Siani was going to the market.’
- b. *Siani **má** **ká** **ŋgé** ntéé
 Siani PROG F2 go farm
 ‘Siani will be going to the farm.’

I thus posit the order Subject > Tense > Aspect to sum up the discussion so far. Further empirical evidence supporting the position that the tense markers *fhú* and *ká* are structurally to the left of the aspect marker *má* comes from the distribution of both items with respect to adverbial elements such as *njá?* (first/already) and *mba* (again/still).

- (6) a. Siani **fhú** **njá?** γé ntéé
 Siani P1 already go market
 b. *Siani **njá?** **fhú** γé ntéé
 Siani already P1 go market
 ‘Siani had already gone to the market.’
- (7) a. Siani **má** **njá?** γé ntéé
 Siani PROG first go market
 ‘Siani is first going to the market.’
- b. Siani **yá?** **má** **ŋgé** ntéé
 Siani already PROG go market
 ‘Siani is already going to the market.’

In (6) and (7), we observe that while the tense marker *fhiú* may not follow the adverbial element *njað/ya?*, the aspectual marker *má* may both follow and precede this item. This suggests that there is a position higher than the aspectual marker *má* which can host the adverbial *nja?*. The relevant position is however not higher than the tense marker *fhiú*.

It is worth noting here that when *yáʔ/njáʔ* precedes the aspect marker *má*, it receives the meaning ‘already’, while a different meaning is assigned to it (*njáʔ/yáʔ*) when it occurs in a position following the aspectual marker *má*. Following standard assumptions (Cinque, 1999) according to which adverbs have a fixed position in the clause and are hosted in the specifier of functional heads, it is possible to postulate that the *njáʔ/yáʔ* which precedes the aspectual marker differs from the one that follows the aspectual marker, and this difference is corroborated by the meaning difference associated with these linear differences. Adopting this standpoint however raises the question as to why the second of these positions would be missing in a clause with the tense marker *fhu*. To answer this question, I would say that the ungrammaticality of (6b) is no indication of the absence of the second use of *njáʔ/yáʔ* in a clause with *fhu*. Rather, the unacceptability of (6b) simply indicates that *njáʔ/yáʔ* cannot occur in a position preceding the tense marker *fhu*. However, as seen in the examples in (8), both meanings for *njáʔ/yáʔ* are available in a clause with *fhu*.

- (8) a. Siani **fhú** **njá?** Pà **ŋgé** ntéé
 Siani P1 already again go market
 ‘Siani already went to the market again.’

b. Siani **fhú** mbá **njá?** γé ntéé
 Siani P1 again first go market
 ‘Siani first went to the market (again).’

From (8), we understand that the unacceptability of (6b) is due not to the unavailability of the second position for *njá?*/*yá?*, but rather to its unavailability in a position preceding the tense marker *fhú*. So, as can be seen from (8), both positions for *njá?*/*yá?* (conveying different interpretations) are available to the right of the tense marker *fhú*. This leads me to maintain the order between tense and aspect as in (9), given that one of the positions for these adverbial elements is to the left of the aspect marker.

(9) Subject > Tense > Aspect

7.2.2. The structural hierarchy between negation and tense

Having established the hierarchy between tense and aspect markers, I now turn to the order between negative markers and tense markers. So far, we have considered only those negative markers that linearly precede the tense marker as found in (10a) and (10b). However, we also come across negative markers that occur to the right of the tense marker (10c).

- (10) a. Siani **kò?** **fhlú** *ŋgé* *ntéé*
 Siani NEG P1 go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’
- b. Siani **si** **ká** *γé* *ntéé* **bà**
 Siani NEG F2 go market NEG
 ‘Siani will not go to the market.’
- c. Siani **lè** **sí** *γé* *ntéé*
 Siani P3 NEG go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’

The examples in (10a) and (10b), on the one hand, and in (10c) on the other provide us with the two word orders negation > tense and tense > negation, thus raising the question whether one of these orders is derived from the other, or whether they represent two available structural positions in *Fε?fe?*. Prior to addressing this question, let us first consider other elements of the negative clause that may help give an overview of the full range of the variation that needs to be taken into consideration.

As a starting point, one may want to consider the rightmost portion of the two examples in (10a) and (10b). Though both clauses display the order Subject > Neg > Tense on the left portion of the clause, they differ with respect to the number of elements following these first three items. In (10a), the clause ends with the string made up of the verb and its complement. In (10b), however, the clause ends with an additional element beside the verb and its complement. Here, a negative item

features at the very end of the clause, that is, after the complement of the verb. Taking into consideration the order between tense and aspect put forward previously, we provisionally posit the following possible orders for the negative clause.

- (11) a. Subject > Neg > Tense > Aspect > Verb > Compl
- b. Subject > Neg > Tense > Aspect > Verb > Compl > Neg
- c. Subject > Tense > Neg > Aspect > Verb > Compl

For the sake of argumentation, let's label the items Aspect > Verb > Complement, which are found in the same order in all three clauses in (11), as 'X'. This allows us to focus our attention on the points of variation. We thus obtain (12).

- (12) a. Subject > Neg > Tense > X
- b. Subject > Neg > Tense > X > Neg
- c. Subject > Tense > Neg > X

Suppose we ignore the difference between the right portions of (10a) to (10c) by assuming that each negative clause may in principle end with a clause-final negation marker if the negative meaning is strengthened. Such an assumption would lead to posit an X > Neg cluster at the end of each negative clause. We then have to deal with the variation in the left portion of the clause as given in (13).

- (13) a. Neg > Tense
- b. Tense > Neg

From (13), one may want to posit two different surface positions for negation, one preceding the tense marker and the other following the tense marker. Synchronously, one could account for this variation by postulating three alternative possibilities.

- ❖ Each of the elements involved occurs in separate tense and negative phrases. This would imply that there are two tense phrases and two negative phrases present in the clause structure of the language.
- ❖ There is a uniquely dedicated tense phrase and a uniquely dedicated negative phrase. Adopting this position would imply that one of the two orders is derived from the other. That is, either the order NegP > TP is derived, or the order TP > NegP is derived.

- ❖ Either there are two NegPs, one preceding a unique TP and the other following it, or there are two TPs, one preceding a unique NegP and the other following it.

The choice between the above three options can be made on empirical grounds. For the purpose of the present research, I rely on cross-generational data to choose the first option in III, namely, that there are (at least) two NegPs at stake:

- (14) Negation > Tense > Negation > Aspect

Hence, (10b) and (10c) are illustrations of the availability of multiple positions for negation in *Fε?fe?*

Indeed, when we consider the utterance in (10c), repeated here as (15), in the speech of the three generations made up of elderly, adult and teenage speakers in the *Fε?fe?* speech community, we find a state of affairs that clearly points to the availability of more than one structural position for negation in the language. Hence, I propose that this generational difference constitutes a solid empirical point in favour of the argument that there are multiple positions for negation in the *Fε?fe?* clause. Hence let us consider generational data supporting the present proposal.

- (15) The position of *sì* in relation to *lè* in the three generations

- a. (All) elderly and most adult speakers

Siani	lè	sì	<i>γé</i>	ntéé
Siani	P3	NEG	go	market

‘Siani did not go to the market.’

- b. Some adult and (all) teenage speakers

Siani	sì	lè	<i>γé</i>	ntéé
Siani	NEG	P3	go	market

‘Siani did not go to the market.’

- (16) The position of *sì* in relation to *lă?* in the three generations

- a. (All) elderly and some adult speakers

Siani **lă?** **Si?** ŋgé ntéé bá

Siani PST-HAB NEG go market NEG

‘Siani didn’t use to go to the market.’

- b. Most adult and (all) teenage speakers

Siani **si** **lă?** ŋgé ntéé bá

Siani NEG PST- HAB go market NEG

‘Siani didn’t use to go to the market.’

The generational variation observed in (15) and (16) is typical of a situation involving the diffusion or spread of a change within the Fe?fe? speech community. With regard to word order, one obtains two different linear orders between negation and tense in (15) and (16). All elderly speakers make use of the same pattern, namely Tense > Negation in both (15) and (16). At the opposite end, all teenage speakers are consistent in using the pattern Negation > Tense in both (15) and (16). In between the two extremes we find the wavering age group that is not consistent either with the (a) or the (b) word order in (15) and (16). In this situation, there are a number of practical cases:

- ❖ Firstly, we find the group of adult speakers that invariably make use of both the elderly and the teenage speakers’ patterns, using either the former or the latter in the same types of situations.
- ❖ Secondly, we have the large group of adults that is consistent with elderly speakers’ patterns, especially with regard to the pattern in (15).
- ❖ Finally, we have the group of adults that is consistent with the teenage speakers with regard to the pattern in (16).

From the above points, I would posit that the first generation displays the order Tense > Negation in the PLD that is available to the second generation. At the end of the acquisition process, the second generation still has the pattern Tense > Negation, but also innovates the new pattern Negation > Tense. This new pattern takes time to spread in the speech community, which is why the old pattern Tense > Negation continues to be used and we end up with both Tense > Negation and Negation > Tense patterns in the second generation. In the third generation, however, new learners simply acquire the latter pattern, altogether discarding the old pattern Tense > Negation.

It follows from the foregoing discussion that both positions for negation, the first to the right and the second to the left of the tense position, are available to the F ε ?f ε ? speaker. We thus have the structural relation Negation > Tense > Negation. Taking into consideration the structural relation between tense and aspect already postulated in (9), we end up with the relative order in (17).

- (17) Negation > Tense > Negation > Aspect

Note that we would still obtain (17) even if the speech of teenagers were not taken into consideration at this point. This is because the order between the negator *kà?* and the past tense marker *fhú* is exactly the one between the negator *sì* as found in the speech of teenagers and the past tense marker *lè*. This gives *kà? > fhú / lè > sì* for adult speakers, where the tense markers feature between the two negators, with the negator *kà?* to the left and the negator *sì* to the right of tense markers. By including the speech of teenagers, we obtain two positions for *sì*. The *sì* for teenagers (*sì1*), however, shares its position with *kà?*, which doesn't vary from teenagers' speech to adults' speech; while the *sì* for adult speakers (*sì2*) occurs in a position lower than the tense markers. We thus obtain *kà? / teenagers' sì > fhú / lè > adults' sì* as in (18).

- (18) *kà? / sì1 > fhú / lè > sì2*

7.2.3. The structure of the CP layer

It is worth noting at this point that bipartite negation, and particularly the clause-final marker it involves, has not been considered in the discussion that has resulted in the word order posited in (17/18). In the discussion above, we concentrated on the leftmost portion of the negative clause. As seen in (19), the clause-final negator is found at the end of the sentence in which it occurs.

- (19) Siani **sì** **ká** $\gamma\acute{e}$ ntéé **bá**
 Siani NEG F2 go market NEG

'Siani will not go to the market.'

A clause-final negation does not only occur in F ε ?f ε ?, but has also been attested in other Bamileke languages (Nweh), and can even be found beyond Bantu in the Gbe cluster. As such, the position of the clause-final negator has been the object of previous discussions by scholars working on the relevant languages. In line with Nkemnji (1995), Bell (2004) and Aboh (2005), I argue that the clause-final negator is structurally higher in the clause and ends up clause-finally as the result of other constituents being moved to its left. Further empirical evidence backing up this

position may be found in a negative marker at clause-initial position in Bafut, a closely related Ngemba language spoken in Cameroon as described by Chumbow and Tamanji (1994). Note that Bafut has, apart from this clause-initial marker, a middle field marker just as in *Fc?fc?* and *Nweh*. Moreover, while the middle field item in all three languages is obligatory, the clause-initial marker of Bafut and the clause-final items of both *Fe?fe?* and *Nweh* are optional, and this may suggest that they share the same chronological status.

Both Nkemnji (1995) and Bell (2004) argue for a post-TP position for this item in *Nweh*. This would lead to a negation phrase that corresponds to the one preceding aspect in (17), thus leading to the order Tense > Negation > Aspect. In their account, the (second) middle field negation position in (17) is located in a lower phrase, and analysed either as the head of NegP (Bell, 2004) or as the specifier of AspP (Nkemnji, 1995). The subsequent pied-piping of the complement of the higher NegP (the one hosting the clause-final negator) to the specifier of TP brings about the linear word order with the post-TP negator occurring at the tail of the clause.

7.2.3.1. *The clause-final negator belongs to the left periphery*

Unlike Nkemnji and Bell¹, I propose that the clause-final negator be given an analysis that takes into consideration the linear characteristic shared by all elements that surface at the tail of the *Fe?fe?* clause. Among the clause-final items are the focus and the question markers. These items have standardly (Rizzi, 1997) been accounted for as belonging to the C-domain. If we stick to this analysis, the clause-final negator could belong with other clause-final items to the left periphery of the clause.²

On the basis of totally independent evidence, Aboh (2005) takes a similar standpoint regarding the structural height of the Fongbe clause-final negator. In his analysis, Aboh shows that the clause-final negator enters into an agreement relation with other C-domain items. Moreover, this agreement relation does not affect the middle field negator, thus leading Aboh to the conclusion that the middle field negator does not intervene structurally between the clause-final negator and the C layer. As a consequence, he argues that the clause-final negator is in fact a C-domain element. Though based on very different empirical support, my analysis corroborates Aboh's regarding the proposal that the clause-final negator belongs to the C-domain. I

¹ See Nchare (2012) for an implementation of Bell's position in *Shupamem*, a Nun language.

² In the variational account I offer in section 4.1.1 below, the *Nweh* clause-final marker occurs both in NegP3 (which corresponds to a post-TP slot as argued for by Nkemnji and Bell) and in NegP2, a pre-TP slot.

display in the following examples the items that tail the Fe?fe? clause in their interaction with each other.

Starting with (20) and (21), we can see the focus marker *lá* used as the only clause-final item. The (a) examples have a neutral interpretation, while the (b) examples convey emphasis.

- (20) a. Pøø mà
 Watch me
 ‘Be careful!’
- b. Pøø mà **lá**
 Watch me FOC
 ‘Be careful (EMP)!’
- (21) a. Mě yò mfà?
 Finish 2SG-POSS work
 ‘Finish your work!’
- b. Mě yò mfà? **lá**
 Finish 2SG-POSS work FOC
 ‘Finish your work (EMP)!’

In (22), we see the focus and question markers occurring together at the end of the clause. Example (23) illustrates the mutual occurrence at clause-final position of the question and negative markers, and (24) displays the concurrent use of negative and focus markers.

- (22) Ó mě yò mfà? (**lá**) **ă**
 2SG end 2SG-POSS work FOC Q
 ‘Have you finished your work (EMP)?’
- (23) Siani si ká γé kò **bá** **ă**
 Siani NEG F2 go farm NEG Q

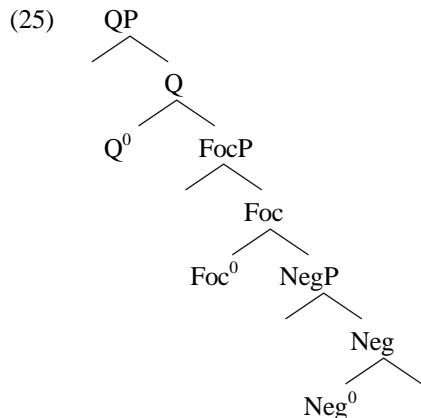
‘Won’t Siani go to the farm?’

- (24) Ó lé [má ò si ká γé kò **bá** lá]
 2SG say [that 2SG NEG F2 go farm NEG FOC]

‘You have said that you won’t go to the farm, have you?’

In (22) to (24), we have the following word orders: Foc > Q (22); Neg > Q (23); and Neg > Foc (24).

We obtain the order Neg > Foc > Q, and assuming, in accordance with Baker (1988) and Brody (2000), that the mirror order applies to these particles in the left periphery, we end up with the tree structure in (25). To obtain the linear order with the C-domain particles ending clause-finally, the TP is pied-piped to the specifier of the relevant phrase in each case (for the purpose of formal licensing with the relevant head), thus yielding the desired linear order.



However, when we consider the word order between the three particles as seen in (26), we realise that the negator *bá* may also feature at a position between the question and the focus particles.

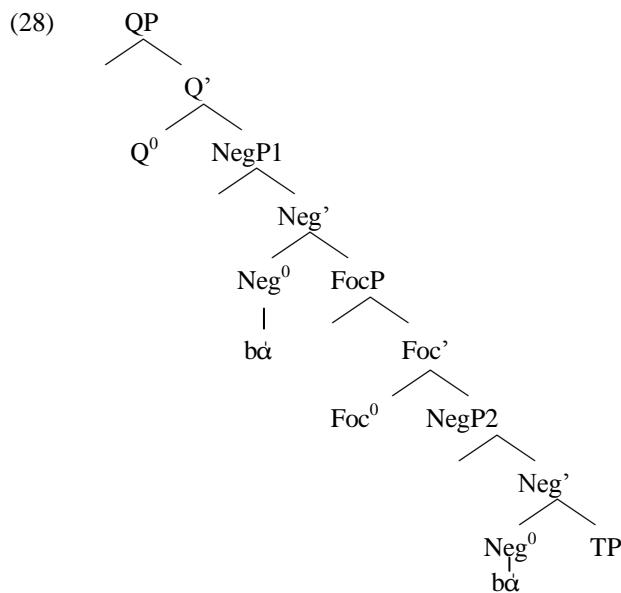
- (26) Á kà? pé lá **bá** á
 3SG NEG agree FOC NEG Q
- ‘He has agreed, hasn’t he (EMP)?’

This suggests that there may be two different positions for the negator *bá* in the C-domain. In order to provide more empirical evidence to back up the postulation of a

position for negation higher than the FocP, let us further consider the different positions of *si* in (27a) and in (27b).

- (27) a. Siani si ká γé kò **bá** **á**
 Siani NEG F2 go farm NEG Q
 ‘Won’t Siani go to the farm?’
- b. si Siani [má lè γé ntéé **bá**]
 NEG Siani [that P3 go market NEG]
 ‘It is not Siani who went to the market.’

In (27b), unlike in (27a), the negator *si* precedes the subject *Siani*. Noting the difference between the function of *Siani* in (27a) and (27b) may provide an initial clue to the observed word order difference. While *Siani* in (27b) is a contrastively focused argument (Rooth, 1999), *Siani* in (27a) is not. Example (27b) is to be understood as meaning that ‘out of the set of all possible candidates who could have gone to the market, *Siani* is singled out as the candidate who didn’t’.



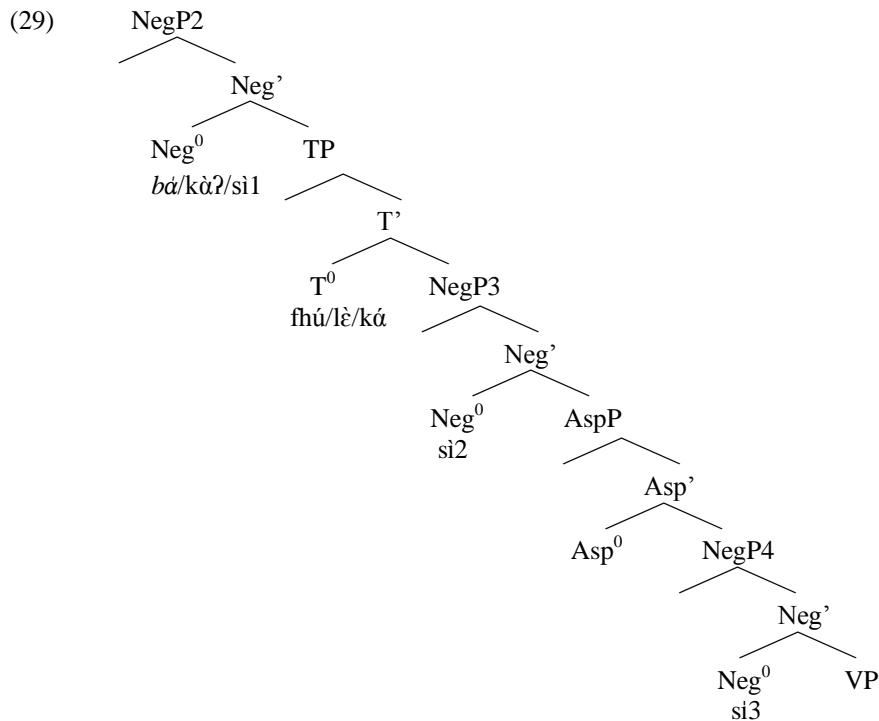
In a contrastively focused construction then, the middle field negator *si* raises to a position immediately to the left of the subject *Siani*. The negator *si* in this case does not negate the entire clause, but only the focused constituent *Siani*. In (27b), the contrastively focused element *Siani* is hosted in the specifier of the focus phrase, with *má* in the focus head. The entire focus phrase is under the scope of the negator *bá*, which is found in the head of the NegP above FocP. The negator *si* on its own originates from a lower NegP and left-adjoins directly to *Siani* via the creation of an additional specifier in the FocP. Then the entire FocP is pied-piped into the specifier of the higher negative phrase, thus yielding the surface word order. If on the right track, we then end up with a second position for the clause-final negation above FocP as in (28).

7.2.3.2. ‘Si’ in the future versus ‘si’ in a contrastively focused construction

Now we have seen that *si* in *si... bá* raises from a lower negator to the specifier of the negator *bá*. The need then arises to specify from which NegP *si* originates in (27). Given the postulation that *bá* in (27a) is different from the *bá* that we find in (27b), it is likely that the occurrences of *si* in the two clauses also originate from different NegPs. In (27b), *bá* is hosted in the NegP above the focus phrase. In (27a), however, *bá* is hosted in the NegP below the focus phrase and above the tense phrase. The question that arises is whether these two NegPs enter into a bipartite construction with a marker *si* from a single structural position. I now turn to this issue.

From the outset, I would state that the *si* that gets into a bipartite relation with *bá* in (27a) differs from the *si* that gets into a bipartite negation with *bá* in (27b). In the first case, the clause-final marker belongs to the NegP below the FocP. In the second case, the clause-final marker is hosted in the NegP above the FocP. The two occurrences of *bá*, being structurally different, are likely to associate with two occurrences of *si* from different structural positions as well. In section 7.4, I include the discussion of the different *si* in a micro-variation data set, building on the claim from chapter 6 that the *si* that conveys negation as a standalone item is chronologically different from the one that does not. Moreover, because the former is reanalysed from the latter, it is also structurally higher than it, given that semantic reanalysis goes hand in hand with structural reanalysis, and that structural reanalysis, as argued by Roberts and Roussou (2003), is always upward.

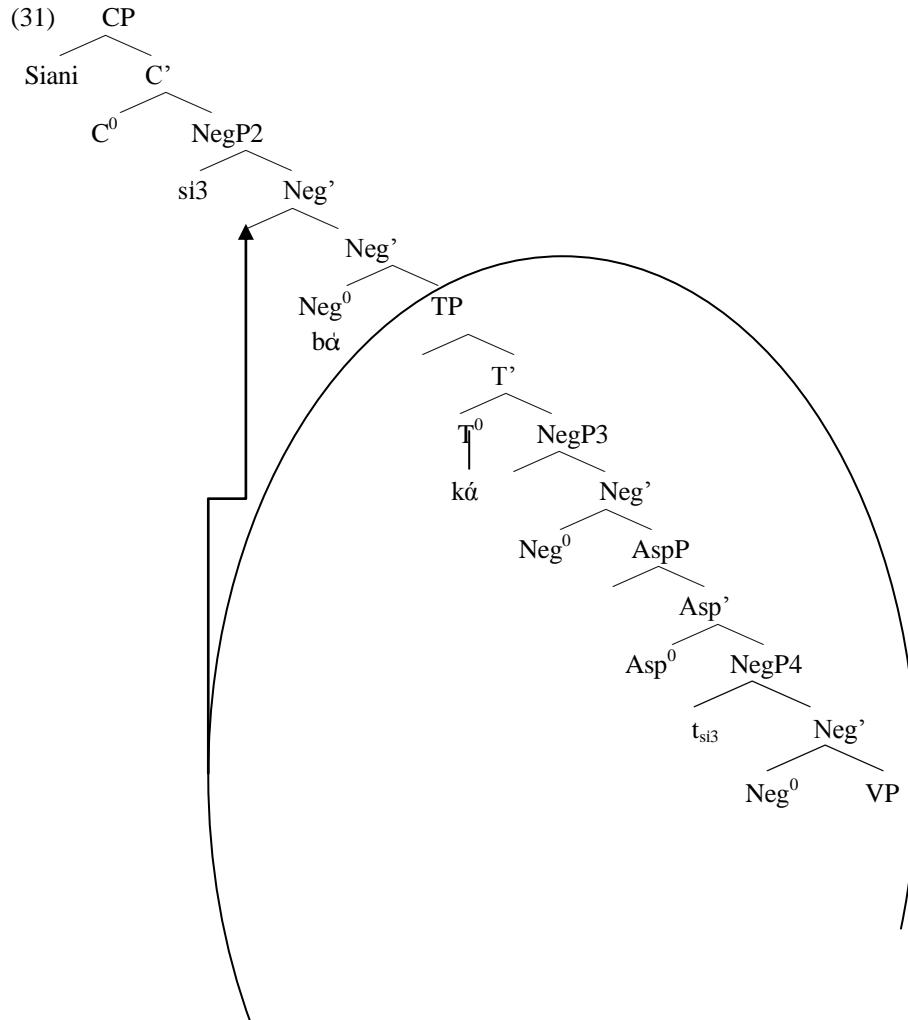
While leaving further details until the discussion in section 7.4, I postulate at this point that the *sì* that occurs in the future construction in (27a) is structurally lower than the one that occurs in the focus construction in (27b). This provides yet another position for *sì* on the structural spine, namely one lower than the standalone *sì* in adults' speech in past tenses. Therefore, I propose that *si* in the future is structurally lower than *si* in a contrastively focused construction. Moreover, I postulate that while the latter corresponds to the standalone *sì* below TP as in adults' speech in the past tense, the former occurs in a NegP below AspP. In (29), all the middle field negative markers are represented in their relation to the tense markers that are immediately adjacent to them. Hence, we get the *si* found in teenagers' speech and *kà?* that respectively occur to the left of the tense markers *lè* and *fhú* in the highest NegP in (29). In the NegP immediately below the past tense markers *lè* and *fhú*, we get the negative marker *si* as found in the past tense in adults' speech. Finally, the *si* that occurs in future environments occurs in the NegP below the aspectual phrase.



I thus posit that while *ba* in future environments, as in (27a), enters into a bipartite construction with the *si3* below the aspectual phrase and hence in the lowest NegP of (29), *ba* in a contrastively focused construction enters into bipartition with the *si2* as found in adult speakers' speech in past tenses. This *si2* is hosted in the second NegP in (29).

Having discussed the derivation of the contrastively focused construction earlier, I propose in (31) the tree structure for the future construction. I will however leave out the final Q element of (27a), thus focusing specifically on the future construction alone. Thus, I offer in (31) a tree structure for the sentence in (30), which differs from (27a) only with respect to the absence of the Q item.

- (30) Siani **si** ká $\gamma\acute{e}$ kò **bá**
 Siani NEG F2 go farm NEG
 'Siani won't go to the farm.'



We saw in section 7.2.1 that the future marker, like other tense markers, is structurally higher than the aspectual marker. The higher phrases that are not relevant for the derivation of (31), such as QP, the NegP below QP and the FocP, are left out. After all the items have been merged, the subject *Siani* raises to the highest specifier, that is, into the specifier of CP. Then the head negator *bá* attracts *si3* into its (leftmost) specifier position. Finally, the entire TP is pied-piped to the left of *bá*, thus creating yet another specifier, and resulting in the linear order in (30).

Taking into consideration the structure of the IP layer previously provided (17), and repeated here for the convenience of the reader as (32), we end up with (33) as the ordered composition of functional heads in the Fe?fe? clause.

(32) Negation > Tense > Negation > Aspect

(33) QP > NegP > FocP > NegP > NegP > TP > NegP > AspP > NegP

The highest NegP in (32) is immediately adjacent to the lowest NegP in (28). As a consequence, we end up with two NegPs immediately following the FocP and immediately preceding the TP in (33). It is most likely that we are dealing with one and the same negative phrase, given that both are immediately to the left of TP. Therefore, I modify (33) to obtain (34).

(34) QP (ForceP) > NegP1 > FocP > NegP2 > TP > NegP3 > AspP > NegP4

A point worth noting is that teenagers make use of only three structural positions for negation on the clausal spine, while adult and elderly speakers make use of all four positions in (34). This is because the item that occurs in NegP3 in the speech of adult and elderly speakers has been reanalysed into NegP2 in the speech of teenagers (see section 3 for more on structural reanalysis). Hence, their tree structure³ for negation is as in (35).

(35) QP (ForceP) > NegP1 > FocP > NegP2 > TP > AspP > NegP3

This provides further empirical evidence for the language change account provided in this thesis, given that we have here an attested difference between two grammars with a lineal descent relationship.

³ Taking into consideration the fact that teenagers are now dropping the clause-final marker in the future, one could also postulate that the negation for future has now been reanalysed into an item with the ability to convey negation as a standalone item, with the result of its upward reanalysis into NegP3. Moreover, given that the clause-final item is not dropped in all environments, the future negation *si* may now occur in NegP3 in some cases, but remain in NegP4 in instances where the clause-final item is not deleted.

7.2.4. Interim summary

The foregoing discussion has provided a hierarchical order between the functional heads in the I and C domains of Fe?fe?. More specifically, it is shown that the synchronic negative variants of Fe?fe? are not just in complementary distribution in the sense that they occupy the same structural position. Rather, they have to be accommodated in multiple negative projections. We have seen that *sì* as found preceding the past tense marker *lè* in *lè sì* is structurally higher than the *sì* that features in the future negation *sì... bá*. Moreover, we have shown that *kà?* as a negation is structurally higher than *sì* as found in *lè sì* (adult version). The marker *kà?*, however, shares the same structural height with the *sì* of *sì lè* in teenagers' speech. We thus have up to three different negation slots in the IP domain in Fe?fe?. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that the clause-final marker is structurally higher than the TP and actually occurs in two different slots, depending on whether it features in a future construction or in a contrastively focused construction. In the former, *bá* is immediately above the TP, sharing the same slot with *kà?* and with the *sì* that occurs in past tenses in teenagers' speech. In the latter, *bá* occurs above the focus phrase and is thus a C-domain item. We thus end up with up to four active negative projections for negation in Fe?fe?. The mutual co-occurrence of multiple negative markers within the same clause structure and in a single synchronic language state as in (34) and (35) may be considered marked given the implementation of the parametric theory in the structural account of negation as postulated by scholars such as Ouhalla (1991), Zanuttini (1997) and Lindstad (2006).

7.3. Variation and reanalysis from a structural perspective

The availability of multiple structural positions for negation is very widely accepted in current generative theory. For example, Ouhalla (1991), Zanuttini (1997), Cinque (1999), Lindstad (2006) and others have proposed multiple NegPs to account for cross-linguistic variation in the expression of negation. However, the multiplicity of projections thus advocated is considered by most scholars as a property of UG, and individual language states each have to choose a unique position out of the multiple positions considered to be provided by UG. I argue in this thesis that the multiplicity of projections for negation as encountered in cross-linguistic studies may not be considered as a property unique to UG such that it must be parameterised in individual language states. Rather, this property unfolds in individual languages whose speakers have access to a repository of representations enabling them to deal with the type of shifting variation that occurs as a language changes structurally.

This section confronts some of the parameter-related claims with natural language data and considers a linguistic mechanism, namely structural reanalysis, by which shifting variation is possible on the structural spine.

7.3.1. Structural variation as a language-internal property?

There has been a tremendous amount of research dedicated to the subject of negation in the past decades. Within the cartographic approach, outstanding structural accounts have postulated multiple projections for negation on the functional spine. However, most of these scholars claim that the multiplicity of projections for negation is a property of UG. In this regard, Lindstad (2006: 57-58) argues that

Universal grammar provides two positions for negation, ... language acquisition will consist in abstracting from the input the correct position of the sentential negation marker, whether it occupies 1) the specifier of Neg1, 2) the specifier of Neg2, 3) the head of Neg1, or 4) the head of Neg2... Parameter setting amounts to specifying which of the four positions the target language uses for the expression of sentential negation.

In the above quote, Lindstad clearly adopts the position according to which the multiplicity of positions for negation would be a restrictive property of UG. Hence, it is not expected that any unique language state will display such a property. A similar position with two UG-based NegPs is already taken by Ouhalla (1991), with a NegP above TP and another one below TP, and with each language having to choose one out of the two. Zanuttini (1997) increases by two the number of negative projections UG makes available, and proposes the clause structure for negation in (36) to reflect the variation on the structural spine in the domain of negation.

- (36) NegP-1>TP-1>NegP-2>TP-2>NegP-3>AspPperf>AspPgen/prog>NegP-4

Though the clause structure for negation in (36) is meant to reflect the variation attested in a group of Romance languages, Zanuttini acknowledges that a language-internal process may and often does reflect the development of the same process across closely related languages. This parallel between the historical development of negation in a single language and the same development across Romance languages is attested by the fact that the three different strategies identified by Jespersen diachronically are also found synchronically across contemporary Romance languages. As a matter of fact, closely related languages are often at different stages in the development of the same changing process. Hence, the latter can easily be

reconstructed by examining closely related languages or the dialects of one and the same language. In line with this, Zanuttini (1997: 14) argues that the historical development of sentential negation in Romance languages very closely replicates what has come to be known as the JC. Therefore, she states the following:

We can take Italian, which employs only a pre-verbal negative marker, to represent the first stage of Jespersen's cycle, standard French, which has both a pre- and a post-verbal negative marker, to represent the second stage, and central Piedmontese, which has only a post-verbal marker, to represent the third stage.

Alongside the synchronic stages of the JC thus identified across different Romance languages, Zanuttini shows that their parallel may occur in one and the same synchronic language state as illustrated by the following examples from present-day Cairese.

- (37) U **n'**importa
 s.cl NEG matters
 'It doesn't matter.'

(38) a. U **n** bugia **nen**
 s.cl NEG moves NEG
 'He doesn't move.'

b. Renata am piaz **nen**
 Renata s.cl me pleases NEG
 'I don't like Renata.'

In spite of the above discussion, Zanuttini nevertheless holds fast to the position that multiple negative projections are a property of UG alone. Therefore, a language in the default case should not be expected to have multiple neutral means of expressing negation, nor multiple structural positions for negation. In this regard, Zanuttini (1997: 100) states that

The position where a negative marker can occur is fixed within each language, though cross-linguistically we have seen that negative markers can occupy different structural positions.

Hence, while acknowledging multiple NegPs on the functional spine, Zanuttini posits that only one of these (NegP-1) hosts the syntactic feature corresponding to the expression of negation. The remaining NegPs are positions where the negative element is generated, but they do not have the syntactic feature corresponding to the expression of negation. Negative items generated in other NegPs therefore need to check their features against the syntactic feature of negation that is present in NegP-1. This is done in the syntax when the negative feature of NegP-1 is strong, in which case a negative item originating lower in the clause moves into NegP-1, thus resulting in a standalone pre-verbal negative marker. When the negative feature of NegP-1 is weak, feature checking with the head of NegP-1 is done at LF, resulting either in pre-verbal negation that cannot convey negation by itself, or in post-verbal negation. Therefore, parametric variation regarding the expression of negation lies in whether the syntactic feature of NegP-1 is strong or weak.

Hence, multiple positions for negation in a single synchronic language state would be prohibited, as there is a single fixed negative position for each language. The position thus adopted by Zanuttini entails that bipartite and monopartite negations are mutually exclusive when considered from the perspective of a single language state. This claim comes as a surprise given that (37) and (38) are provided by Zanuttini herself. Taking the above discussion into consideration, if for some reason a language happens to have multiple neutral negative markers, then, from the perspective adopted by Zanuttini, all the said negative markers will pattern either with a strong negative feature (37) or with a weak negative feature (38), so as to avoid conflicting parametric values. Yet we come across languages that express negation synchronically by means of both a pre-verbal monopartite marker (37) and bipartite markers (38a), with one of the markers in bipartition being pre-verbal. This empirical observation questions the claim made by Zanuttini in line with parametric variation and specifically with regard to the place of pre-verbal markers that can negate a clause by themselves. Moreover, still according to her account, the mutual co-existence of both pre-verbal and post-verbal markers in one and the same language should be empirically nonexistent, given that they represent two opposite parameters, namely one with a strong negative feature and the other with a weak negative feature. However, the approach to parametric variation adopted by Zanuttini is not supported by the empirical data of a language such as Cairese that synchronically displays a co-existence of the possible conflicting parametric values.

According to the claim made by Zanuttini, example (37) would have a strong negative feature, while the examples in (38) would have a weak negative feature. Adopting this position implies admitting a situation of language-internal parametric variation in cases involving language-internal variation. The problem this raises is that both the weak and the strong features postulated by Zanuttini to occur in

different languages must now be found in the same head of the single NegP-1 responsible for carrying the syntactic feature of negation in a case such as Cairese. We know however from the present state of theoretical linguistics that such a combination of contradictory parametric features in a single head is prohibited. This raises the need to provide a different structural analysis to account for the presence of all three examples in (37) and (38) in one and the same language state. The negation data of Fε?fe? provided in table 1 of chapter 1 provides a set of data very similar to that of Cairese. Moreover, the amount of variation encountered in the non-standard side of the JC, as discussed in chapter 4, also provides consistent empirical evidence against the theoretical stand taken not only by Zanuttini, but also by Lindstad (2006) and Ouhalla (1991), among others.

The position adopted in the present research is that structural variation cannot be the restrictive property of UG alone, but is rather a property shared with specific individual language states. Empirical evidence supporting this position is clearly provided from the amount of variation data available across languages. Unlike the above group of scholars, I propose that multiple projections are available to individual languages that may appropriate them whenever the need arises. Thus, a language like Cairese that happens to displays different markers originating from different periods of time will have to make use of more of these positions to be able to accommodate the multiplicity of markers synchronically available. This is what I propose to capture the situation of language change advocated to account for the synchronic negative variants of Fε?fe?. Hence, when a situation of change occurs and a single synchronic language state has to deal with multiple negators in the search for a new system, then there is no other option than appropriating these assets. For instance, if a current negative strategy is co-existent with both a decaying and an innovating one, it is unlikely that they will all share the same structural position. In section 7.4, I take the structural account for language-internal variation thus adopted beyond the postulation of multiple negative projections for negation and also argue for the dynamism of the negative items involved along the clausal spine. This is in line with a perspective in which existing markers are chronologically different and change over time, structurally and in other respects, via a process of upward reanalysis along the functional spine. Accordingly, I illustrate immediately below a case of structural dynamism over time involving a Fε?fe? marker before discussing further the notion of structural reanalysis.

7.3.2. The structural dynamism of *sì* in today's Fε?fe?

The Fε?fe? speech community displays two different word orders for the standalone marker of negation *sì*. This item linearly follows temporal markers in the speech of

elderly speakers, as illustrated in (39) and (40). By contrast, *sì* precedes temporal markers in the speech of teenagers, as illustrated in (41).

(39) Elderly speaker

Münzwe	lè	sì?	ndí?	si	ndúá	mbá?	mbá
Woman	P3	NEG	while	stay	home	man	be
[má	á	nhá	í	wú	tà?	bá]	
[That	3SG	give	3SG	thing	much	NEG]	

‘A woman did not stay in a man’s house because he gave her too many things.’

(40) Elderly speaker

Pòh	lă?	sì?	ŋgú	bää	nzánzá	pànzú	bá
3PL	PST-HAB	NEG	do	DEM	dirty	things	NEG

‘We didn’t do such dirty things.’

(41) Teenage speaker

Pà	pàrā	yáá	sì	lè	pé	[má	á
DET	parents	3PL-POSSNEG		P3	agree	[that	3SG
máré	pí	pápá	zà	[mbi?cù	píyá	sì	lă?
marry	with	father	1SG-POSS	because	3PL	NEG	PST-HAB
má	pú	γú	tà?	lá?	bá]]		
that	3PL	have	one	land	NEG]]		

‘Their parents did not agree with her marrying my father because they were not from the same village.’

Of particular interest is the fact that *sì*, in the speech of the average adult speaker, patterns with elderly speakers with regard to (39) as illustrated with (42a), but not with regard to (40). Here, adult speakers pattern with teenagers as seen in (42b).

(42) Adult speaker

a.	Siani	lè	sì	γé	kò
	Siani	P3	NEG	go	farm

‘Siani did not go to the farm.’

b.	Siani	sì	lă?	ŋgé	kò
	Siani	NEG	PST-HAB	go	farm

‘Siani didn’t habitually go to the farm.’

The variation thus observed between the generation of teenagers and the elderly generation provides empirical evidence for dynamism in the position of negation. That is, postponing until section 7.4 the discussion of more markers, we can see that even a single marker, such as the negator *si*, does not remain static in the same structural position over time. The most straightforward way of understanding this generational variation from the perspective that synchronic variation is a manifestation of change is to assume the following steps:

- I. The negator *si* is merged in a position following temporal markers during the first generation (elderly speakers).
- II. From a position following temporal markers, the negator *si* is optionally moved into a position preceding the tense marker during the second generation (adult speakers).
- III. During the third generation (teenage speakers), the negator *si* is no longer moved from a position following temporal markers to the one preceding them. Rather, the negator is merged directly into the latter position.

These three steps may be easily deduced because of the possibility of comparing the spoken language of the three generations present in the Fe?fe? speech community. However, we understand that the loss of the present generation of elderly speakers may bring about the stepwise loss of the pattern in (39) and (40). The result of this state of affairs would be a Fe?fe? speech community making use mostly, if not exclusively, of the pattern in (41). We, as researchers in search of diachronic patterns, have the responsibility of tracing or positing the pattern in (39) and (40) once the present generation of elderly speakers is gone. An available tool for this purpose lies in a comparative analysis with closely related languages. This tool we will discuss in section 7.4 as a means of filling in the gaps encountered in the data of

Fe?fe?. But before then, the natural language illustration with *si* is a case of structural reanalysis, a notion to which I now turn.

7.3.3. Reanalysis from a structural perspective

As stated in section 5.2 of chapter 5, reanalysis results in a single surface construction being given two different analyses. Reanalysis has the effect of attributing an alternative structural position to the same surface form. In this regard, Roberts and Roussou (2003) argue that ‘the different readings attributed to a single lexical item correspond to different positions in which it may be merged in the clause structure’. The result of reanalysis is therefore the availability of structural ambiguity for a single surface form (see for instance the case of both *si*... *bda* and *si* in past tenses in (39) and (42a) above). This ambiguity can be displayed in the variable uses of the same form, given that the source structure for change survives in its old form (cf. (39)) after it has been reanalysed (cf. (42a)). The result is variation between the old usages or analyses (39) and the new ones (42). To illustrate this point, let us consider the occurrence of both *si*... *bda* and *si* in past tenses, as seen in (39) and (42a). The form *si* in these two examples, when perceived from the perspective that it occurs in the same syntactic environment, is ambiguous between an item that conveys the semantics of negation by itself, as in (42a) and one that does not, as in (39). In the latter case, it occurs in a bipartite construction with the clause-final marker, thus signalling that the semantics of negation results from the contribution of both markers. In (42a), by contrast, the item *si* occurs as the only source of the negative semantics. Taking both examples into consideration in the same language state leads me to posit semantic ambiguity for the item *si* in this syntactic environment. This raises the need of structural disambiguation, and that happens in the first line of (41), where *si* no longer occurs after the tense marker, but before. Though in the same language state, we can still see that three different generations come into play to bring about the concurrence of semantic and structural reanalysis for this item.

Thus perceived, reanalysis is in fact a structural disambiguation mechanism. Hence, rather than having a single item (for instance *si*) which is only semantically ambiguous in the sense that it serves multiple semantic functions in the same syntactic slot, it is crucial to observe that it also occupies a different syntactic position related to the different interpretations or readings. This results in structural variation between the old and new usages or analyses. In order to avoid the postulation of syntactic innovations by users to handle each case of ambiguity as it arises, I follow De Smet (2009), who argues that

The explanatory value of syntactic reanalysis improves considerably if it is assumed, first, that language users have more syntactic representations than they actually implement in usage and, second, that there is some point when language users can select the representations they will implement from the options they have at hand.

For the purpose of the present research, I have therefore adopted a clause structure made up of four projections for negation as discussed in section 2 above. These projections make it possible for items to shift from one syntactic position to the other as they are subject to semantic reanalysis. I assume, following Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2007), that reanalysis is always upwards. In this respect, Roberts and Roussou (2003: 36) state that ‘the diachronic movement of a given morpheme, possibly tracked over many centuries through successive reanalyses, is always upwards in the structural hierarchy of functional categories’.

The question this raises is how to account for the upward requirement. I would personally argue, as already stated above, that this may simply be a natural consequence of the bottom-up characteristic of the derivation. As a consequence, when the system encounters an instance of ambiguity (let us say both V and Neg) in the same syntactic slot, the possibility for repair consists in displacing the newer reading into a different step of the derivation. Given that derivations are bottom up, the possibility for assigning a new slot to the new reading can only be considered in the subsequent steps of the derivation. Applying this to structural reanalysis from a lower functional head to a higher functional head, we can hypothesise the following. In an early stage of the language, a functional head— let’s say NegP to serve the goal of this dissertation— receives a single reading. This could result from the presence of an interpretable negative feature in that syntactic slot X^0 . Upon a semantic reanalysis either of this item or of some item with which it co-occurs, the item now receives two possible interpretations. The most logical possibility for disambiguation consists in keeping in X^0 the interpretation that was already assigned to this item earlier, and merging the version with the new interpretation into a different syntactic slot. Upon encountering the ambiguous reading, the system will therefore consider a new syntactic slot in the derivational steps ahead. As a consequence, the new reading will end up higher in the clausal spine than the old reading. This accounts for the situation of structural reanalysis involving both the clause-final and the middle field negotiators discussed in section 7.4 below.

Against this background, I propose that negative markers start out in the negation system from a lower position before raising to a higher position later on. I would suggest that this is due to a process of association made possible via attraction by an

already well-established negator. Differently stated, the new element (not yet a negative marker at its starting point) is attracted into the specifier of a negative marker and is thus given the opportunity to associate with the expression of negation. This is what happens, for instance, when the nominal item *pas* in French starts being associated with negation. Subsequently, this element (now a new member of the closed class of negative markers) is merged directly into a negative phrase. This constitutes the first step of reanalysis. It is worth noting, however, that the source element from which the new negative marker is reanalysed does not immediately disappear as the result of the reanalysis. Rather, it is still present in the system. Hence, after the first reanalysis, we have two surface versions of the original element. Yet the two versions associate with two different structural positions and also differ in their semantic interpretation. In section 7.4, concrete illustrations with natural language data are provided to show how structural reanalysis comes into play to have chronologically different and yet overlapping markers spread along the clausal spine.

7.4. Chronologically diverse items in a synchronic clause structure

This section considers how the multiplicity of negative projections proposed in section 7.2 can work in tandem with the process of reanalysis to handle a series of chronologically different and yet synchronically overlapping markers in a single clausal structure. The main claim is that negative markers are not structurally static over time. Rather, negative markers are dynamic on the clausal spine. I propose that overlapping markers as displayed by languages in certain stages of language change can be accommodated in a single clausal structure because they are redistributed at varying structural heights on the clausal spine. That is, they happen to be at different phases in the history of the language, or at different levels of progress in the change process under consideration. Therefore, their structural position relates very closely to their positional status in the changing system. This variation in structural position is the result of the reanalyses markers have undergone over time. Given that these markers are in fact not competing for the same syntactic slot, there can be a situation of *peaceful* co-existence between them. This proposal therefore rids the system of the unrealistic requirement of mutual exclusivity between markers of negation in a single language state and thus releases us from enforcing a parametric view in the structural description of negation.

Underlying the present proposal is the assumption that there is no negative marker which is inherently meant to be associated with a particular portion of the clause such that it could be labelled an inherently post-verbal or pre-verbal marker. Pre-

verbal or post-verbal status should result from the trajectory of markers over time. Hence, the more a marker has been subject to structural reanalysis, the more it is likely to be high on the clausal spine. On the opposite end, a marker that has not been subject to any reanalysis because of its recent integration into the closed class of negative markers is more likely to be in a structurally lower position.⁴ The major characteristic that emerges from the discussion is the dynamism of negative items along the clausal spine.

In the foregoing discussion, I consider two possible ways in which one could argue for the existence of chronologically different items in a single clausal structure. In the first case (section 4.1), I make use of micro-variation data to demonstrate how each individual marker has the potential to travel along the clausal spine. This is done by identifying the chronologically different versions of the same marker as it features across different closely related languages at different structural heights. The clause structure in (43) has emerged from the discussion in section 2 and will be used as the backbone for the present proposal.

(43) QP (ForceP) > NegP1 > FocP > NegP2 > TP > NegP3 > AspP > NegP4

By positioning each and every marker in (43) under all the NegPs as seen in (44), I hypothesise that none of the positions in (43) is dedicated to a particular marker. Rather, the clause from bottom to top constitutes an open trajectory available to all markers. This shows that the markers in (44a) to (44c) all have equal chances of getting to the top (though not at the same time). The rows in (44a) to (44c) each represent the potential trajectory of each negative marker from its introduction into the system until its exit. For the purpose of the present discussion, I have restricted my discussion to *bà*, *kà?* and *si*.

	FP	NegP1	FocP	NegP2	TP	NegP3	AspP	NegP4
a.	bà		bà		bà		bà	
b.		kà?		kà?		kà?		kà?

⁴Note also that a marker may occur at a structurally low position not because it is new in the system, but because it has served as the source for multiple reanalysis. Hence, it has kept a low position while the items which have been reanalysed from it are structurally higher, as seen above with *si* in the speech of teenagers in relation to the same item in adults'/elderly speakers' speech.

c. *sì* *sì* *sì* *sì*

The second way in which one could argue for the existence of chronologically different items in a single clausal structure would be to consider each generation of users in the Fe?fe? speech community as constituting a single language state. Then, one can take each item in the speech of a single generation and show how its chronologically different versions occur in different structural positions. By so doing, we can see even within each unique generation taken into consideration that, for each item that surfaces in more than one version, its different versions occur in different structural positions. Moreover, I postulate as above that the higher position has resulted from an upward reanalysis taking the lower position as input. This is however possible only with the markers *sì* and *ba*, which occur in variable semantic functions in all three generations. This cannot be demonstrated with the marker *kà?*, which is used in a uniform way in all syntactic environments where it occurs. Unlike *kà?*, *si* in particular displays a variation which corresponds to the chronological changes associated with its variable uses. Moreover, this holds in all three generations in the Fe?fe? speech community.

Before getting to the above two ways of postulating chronologically different items in a synchronic clausal structure, I first summarise in the immediately following lines which NegPs get into a bipartite relation with each other, as seen from the discussion in section 7.2. Then, I make use of micro-variation data in section 7.4.1 to show how chronologically different and yet synchronically overlapping versions of markers are redistributed on different NegPs in a single synchronic clausal structure. Section 7.4.2 zooms into specific generations within Fe?fe?, thus showing that the position that chronologically different items occur in different portions of the clause holds even within a restricted portion of the speech community separately taken into consideration. The discussion is summarised in section 7.4.3.

From the discussion of functional heads in section 7.2 above, we have seen that the middle field negator that must obligatorily occur with the clause-final negator occurs in the lowest NegP located below AspP. By contrast, the middle field negator that contributes negation on its own is located either on the NegP above AspP (adult speakers) or on the NegP above TP (teenage speakers). We have also seen that the clause-final negator in this case does not contribute negation, but rather emphasis, when it occurs with a middle field negator that conveys negation as a standalone item. I have argued that in such cases, this item has been reanalysed into a marker of emphasis. Hence, it no longer contributes negation semantically. I have posited, on the contrary, that the clause-final marker, when in bipartition with a middle field negator that does not convey negation as a standalone item, still contributes to the semantics of negation. In this case, we saw that it occurs in the NegP between TP

and FocP, i.e. NegP2. Given the above discussion, it follows that NegP1 gets into bipartite relation with NegP3, while NegP2 gets into bipartite relation with NegP4. Moreover, we have even seen that the clause-final negator can occur as a standalone item. As seen in the discussion to follow, all four negative projections posited on the clausal spine get to be filled.

7.4.1. Reanalytical possibilities for individual negative markers

The goal of this section is to show how each individual marker in (44a) to (44c) can be considered to have undergone multiple structural reanalyses by identifying it at different structural heights in real natural language data. For this purpose, I fill the gaps that exist in Fe?fe? by making use of data from closely related Bamileke languages. Each different structural position where a marker occurs is considered to represent a different reading and hence a chronologically different version of the said marker. For ease of reference, I label each negative projection in (44) as a projection at the level of the functional projection immediately adjacent to it. In 7.4.1.1, I discuss the different structural positions where the oldest marker *bà* occurs across the three languages Fe?fe?, Nweh, and Mengaka. The different structural positions for *kà?* across Fe?fe?, Nweh, and Mengaka are discussed in 7.4.1.2, and section 7.4.1.3 discusses the different positions of *si* in Fe?fe? and Nweh, given that Mengaka does not have this new marker. Section 7.4.1.4 recapitulates the points that have emerged from the discussion of all three markers.

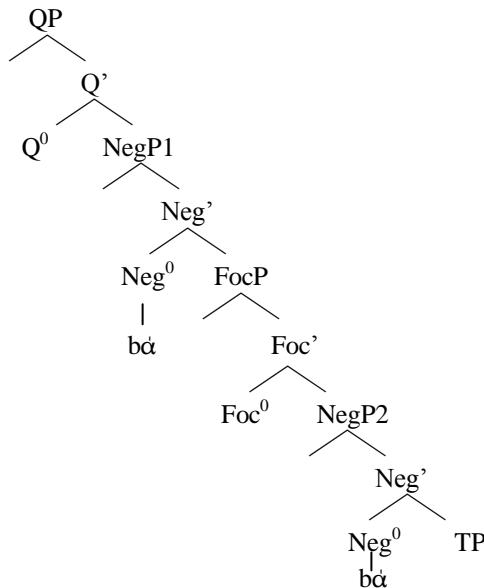
7.4.1.1. Chronologically different versions of ‘*bà*’ along the clause

The goal of this section is to identify the chronologically different versions of the marker *bà* as it features at different structural heights across three different Bamileke languages, namely Fe?fe?, Nweh and Mengaka. As seen in the preceding chapter, this marker is the oldest in the Fe?fe? system and, as such, it has now lost the ability to contribute negation as a standalone marker in most syntactic environments. Hence, it occurs in the higher portion of the clause as seen in sections 7.2.3.1 and 7.2.3.2, respectively. As seen in example (28), repeated here as (45) for the sake of convenience, the Fe?fe? clause-final marker occurs in NegP1 when it functions as a marker of emphasis or when it is used for other discourse functions, as illustrated in examples (18) to (21) in section 6.3.6 of the preceding chapter.

Moreover, I have posited that this version of the clause-final marker that does not convey negation has been reanalysed from NegP2, a position in which this item still contributes the semantics of negation while in a bipartite relation with the *si* that cannot contribute negation as an independent item. A similar bipartite relation, with

the clause-final marker still contributing negation in a bipartite relation with a marker that does not contribute the semantics of negation in the syntactic environment in which it occurs, is found in Nweh.

(45)



In Nweh, the cognate of the clause-final marker *bá* is *bó*. This language displays the cognate (*te*) of the middle field negator *sí* either in bipartition (46a) with the clause-final marker *bó* or as a standalone marker (46c), just as seen in adult speech in Fe?fe?. In (46a), we see the middle field negator *te* immediately to the left of the future tense marker, just as in the Fe?fe? future construction in (47a). Moreover, the marker *te* in this construction cannot convey the semantics of negation as an independent item, as shown by the unacceptability of (46b). In this regard, *te* in future constructions parallels the Fe?fe? *sí* in (47b), also a future construction. In the absence of the clause-final marker, both (46b) and (47b) are rejected as negative constructions in the future tense.

- (46) a. Bèsenj é - te ló pfét nzhó bó
 Birds SM NEG FUT eat palm-nutsNEG
 ‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’
- b. *Bèsenj é - te ló nzhó pfét
 Birds SM NEG FUT palm-nuts eat

‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

c.	Bèseŋ	é –	kè?	te	nzhó	pfét
	Birds	SM	PST	NEG	palm-nuts	eat

‘The birds did not eat palm-nuts.’

- (47) a. Siani **si** ká γé kò **bá**
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----|----|------|-----|
| Siani | NEG | F2 | go | farm | NEG |
|-------|-----|----|----|------|-----|
- ‘Siani won’t go to the farm.’
- b. *Siani **si** ká γé kò
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|----|----|------|--|
| Siani | NEG | F2 | go | farm | |
|-------|-----|----|----|------|--|
- ‘Siani won’t go to the farm.’

We can thus safely state that (46a) parallels (47a). As a consequence, I extend the analysis adopted for *bá* in (47a) to *bó* in (46a). This implies that the clause-final marker *bó* in (46a) is considered to be hosted in NegP2, as is the clause-final marker *bá* in (47a). This however does not provide a new position for the clause-final marker, given that the position of *bó* in (46a) is already filled by the *bá* immediately above TP in (45). Assuming the reanalytical perspective adopted in this thesis, *bá/bó* must have started from a lower position before being reanalysed upward. This raises the question whether there is any evidence for the clause-final marker having been in a lower portion of the clause.

Evidence for a lower position for this marker can still be provided from Nweh. To this end, let us compare the examples in (46a) and (46b) to the one in (48).

(48)	Bèseŋ	é –	ló	gà	pfét	nzhó	bó
	Birds	SM	FUT	NEG	eat	palm-nuts	NEG

‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

In (46a), the middle field marker *te* occurs immediately to the left of the future tense marker *ló*. Yet we can see from the unacceptability of (46b) that *te* cannot convey the semantics of negation as a standalone item in such a high position on the clause.

Meanwhile, we can see *te* conveying the semantics of negation as a standalone item when it occurs to the right of the tense marker *kè?*, as seen in (46c). It follows that *te* in Nweh can contribute the semantics of negation as an independent item when in a position lower than the tense marker, but not when to the left of the latter. In accordance with the proposal for the clause-final negator and its relation to an item with which it co-occurs in bipartite negation as discussed in section 2, *te* in (46a) is located in the specifier of the clause-final marker *bó*, which happens to be above the tense phrase, as seen in the tree structure in (45). Against this background, *gà* in (48) should also be located in the specifier position of the clause-final marker *bó*, which in this case would be hosted by the NegP to the right of the tense phrase, namely NegP3. This provides evidence for the presence of the clause-final marker in a position lower than that attested by the Fe?fe? data.

Following the reanalytical perspective adopted in this dissertation, *bó* in NegP3 should have started out in the lowest NegP4 in (44). I therefore set out at this point to find out whether there is any evidence for the clause-final marker having been in this lowest negative phrase. The data of Mengaka show the clause-final marker in an even lower NegP. A remarkable observation from the data of Mengaka in comparison to Fe?fe? and Nweh is that the clause-final marker is used regularly as a standalone marker of negation (49b), like middle field markers such as *kà?* and *si*.

(49) Mengaka

- a. Mèn zó mákàbò
1SG eat cocoyam
'I have eaten cocoyam.'
- b. Mèn zó mákàbò pò
1SG eat cocoyam NEG
'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'
- c. Mèn (kà?) zó mákàbo pò
1SG NEG eat cocoyam NEG
'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'
- d. Mèn kà? zó mákàbò*(pò)
1SG NEG eat cocoyamNEG

'I haven't eaten cocoyam.'

Moreover, we also observe that the utterance in (49b) may also be made using a bipartite negative construction as in (49c). Extending the analysis proposed for Fe?fe? to the Mengaka data set points to the chronological order *pō* > *kà?* *pō*, where the bipartite (*kà?*) *pō* would be a recent innovation in comparison to the monopartite *pō*. An observation that may lead me to choose this option rather than postulating that Mengaka should be considered altogether different from Fe?fe? comes from the fact that the clause-final marker *pō* also occurs in a bipartite relation with the cognates of the Fe?fe? markers *lē* and *pá?*.

The only marker that I have not been able to identify in Mengaka is the cognate of *si*. This receives a straightforward explanation on account of the proposal made in chapter 5, according to which *si* is the most recent innovation in the system⁵. Accordingly, Mengaka would be a more conservative language which is still innovating the second most recent marker, namely the cognate of *kà?*. If this is the right perspective on this set of data, then it is right to maintain the order *pō* > *kà?* *pō*. This is not only the chronological order between the two markers, but also indicates that the standalone *pō* is likely to be lower on the structural spine than the *pō* that occurs in bipartition with an optional *kà?*. Therefore, until a more in-depth analysis of the structure of Mengaka has been done, I extend the structural proposal made for Fe?fe? to this aspect of the negation data set of Mengaka. Given the foregoing, I propose that the standalone *pō* occurs in NegP4. This negative projection may be considered as the one where a marker first contributes negation as a standalone item. It may then be reanalysed from NegP4 into a higher negative phrase from which it can attract a non-negative item from the VP into the expression of negation. Given that the marker *kà?* is altogether optional, in the sense that it does not bring about ungrammaticality when left out of a negative construction as illustrated with (49b) and (49d), I would propose that the Mengaka version of *kà?* does not yet have the semantic contribution of the new marker that occurs in an obligatory⁶ bipartite construction, as is the case with *si* in Fe?fe?. Therefore, *kà?* may still be a VP item that is in the initial stage of its association with the expression of negation. If right, then it is attracted from the VP domain into the specifier of the negative marker hosted in NegP3. I would therefore like to postulate that the *pō* that co-occurs with this optional marker *kà?* is still a NegP3 marker, given the ban on excessively close

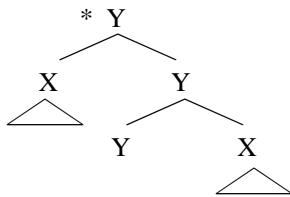
⁵An alternative analysis may consist in positing *si* as the older marker that would then be lost to the Mengaka system. For such an analysis to hold, one would also expect to find *si* as the older marker entering into bipartite relations with other markers as does *bá/bó/pō* in Bamileke and *ne* in French and English. This however does not occur and thus disqualifies a marker other than *bá/bó/pō* from consideration as the correlate of *ne* in French and English.

⁶See the following chapter for the different possible bipartite constructions.

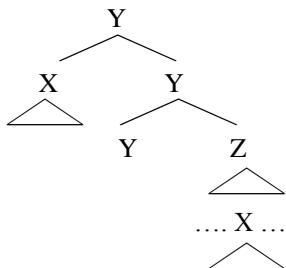
structural dependencies, and more specifically, the ban on complement-specifier dependencies postulated by Grohmann (2011).

Accordingly, ‘if Y and X bear a feature they should check against one another, the feature can be licensed right then if X is merged as the complement or specifier of Y’. In this regard, Grohmann (2011) argues that the movement step that one would posit from X to the specifier of Y in a configuration such as (50) would be ‘illicit because no feature can be licensed’ as the result of such a movement ‘that could not be licensed prior to that movement step’, while the movement step in (51) is licit because it does not violate the ban on excessively close structural dependencies or excessively short movement steps.

(50)



(51)



In (50), it is not possible to move X from the complement position of Y to its specifier position because this would bring about the violation of the ban on complement-specifier dependencies. In (51), by contrast, this problem does not arise because there is another head between X and Y. Hence, X and Y are not too local, and there is no violation of the ban on excessively short movement dependencies. This provides a structural motivation for relating NegP1 to NegP3, NegP2 to Neg4, and NegP3 to the VP domain rather than proceeding otherwise.

The result of the foregoing discussion is that the clause-final marker is not prohibited on the lower portions of the clausal spine. Rather, whether it occurs in the structurally higher slots or in the lower portions of the clause is a consequence of its status in the language change under consideration. This statement and the empirical evidence supporting it provide further support for the assumption adopted in this

research, namely that no marker is inherently made for a particular portion of the clause. Rather, the structural position of each marker involved in a system subject to change is the consequence of its trajectory over time. In (52) I summarise the synchronic redistribution of this clause-final marker as found in the three languages Fe?fe?, Nweh and Mengaka.

(52)	FP	NegP1	FocP	NegP2	TP	NegP3	AspP	NegP4
Fe?fe?		bɑ		bɑ		ø		ø
Nweh		ø		bó		bó		ø
Mengaka		ø		ø		pó		pó

In (52), we see that the clause-final marker occurs in NegP1 and in NegP2 in Fe?fe?. The Bamileke language Nweh displays this marker in NegP2 and in NegP3, while the more conservative language Mengaka has it on the lower portion of the negative clause, namely in NegP3 and in NegP4. I turn in the following paragraphs to the synchronic redistribution of chronologically diverse versions of the marker *kà?* and its cognate across these three Bamileke languages.

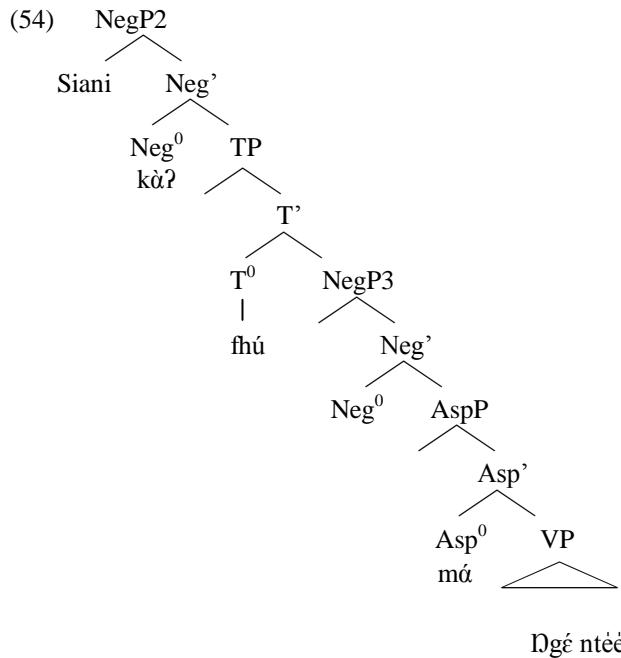
7.4.1.2. Chronologically different versions of '*kà?*' along the clause

This section identifies the chronologically different versions of the marker *kà?* as it features at different structural heights across three different Bamileke languages, namely Fe?fe?, Nweh and Mengaka. We have seen from chapter 5 that *kà?* is one of the new markers in the Fe?fe? system. This is further confirmed by the status of *kà?* in Mengaka. The latter is still being introduced into Mengaka and does not even occur as an obligatory item in bipartite negation. It follows that *kà?* is chronologically very recent in Mengaka. Hence, its status as a VP item as discussed in the above paragraphs corresponds with its chronological status. However, the structural position of *kà?* in Fe?fe? suggests that the Fe?fe? version of this item is not chronologically as recent as its Mengaka cognate. This once again backs up the position adopted here, according to which chronologically diverse items should occur at structurally diverse positions in the clause. Starting with the Fe?fe? version, let us see how this item spread across the functional spine in these three Bamileke languages.

Unlike *bɑ*, which features in both NegP1 and NegP2, the Fe?fe? marker *kà?* (53) occurs only in NegP2, as illustrated in the tree structure in (54).

- (53) Siani **kò?** fú má ŋgé ntéé
 Siani NEG P1 NEG go market
 'Siani was not going to the market (earlier today).'

Though found in NegP2, this item must have started out in a lower negative phrase, assuming that a marker in a changing system occurs on a structurally high position as the result of one or more reanalyses on the functional spine. This implies that we can find evidence from micro-variation data for the presence of this marker in a structurally lower position.



Indeed, we find the cognate of this item in a bipartite relation with the clause-final marker in Nweh as seen in (48), repeated here as (55).

- (55) Bèseŋ é – ló **gà** pfét nzhó **bó**
 Birds SM FUT NEG eat palm-nuts NEG
 'The birds will not eat palm-nuts.'

From the discussion in section 7.4.1.1 above, the *gà* that features immediately to the right of the tense marker *ló* is in fact in the specifier of the clause-final marker *bó*.

This implies that the relevant clause-final marker is the host of NegP3. Therefore, the *gà* in the specifier of this *bó* in NegP3 should stem from the VP domain if we want to avoid the violation of the ban on excessively close structural dependencies argued for by Grohmann (2011). If on the right track, then this provides evidence for the marker *gà* in a structurally very low position. Moreover, evidence for the upward reanalysis of the Nweh marker *gà* may be found in the presence of *gà* in an even higher negative projection. As illustrated by the example in (56), *gà* as a standalone marker for negation also occurs immediately below TP in Nweh.

(56)	Bèseŋ	é –	ló	gà	nzhó	pfét
	Birds	SM	FUT	NEG	palm-nuts	eat

‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

The *gà* in (56) should therefore be found in NegP3. This provides evidence for a change in the position of *gà* from its original low position to one as high as adjacent to the tense marker. From the foregoing discussion, we can safely conclude that the Fe?fe? marker *kà?* is very unlikely to have stemmed immediately from NegP2. Further evidence for the structurally lower origin of *kà?* is provided by the presence of *kà?* in the VP domain of Mengaka, as already discussed in section 7.4.1.1 above. In the relevant discussion, it was stated that the Mengaka clause-final marker *po*, which occurs as an obligatory item in an optionally bipartite construction with *kà?*, is the host of the negative projection NegP3. Hence, the marker *kà?* that optionally co-occurs with it should stem from the VP area. Before turning to *sí* in the following section, I summarise in (57) the redistribution of the marker *kà?* and its cognate across Fe?fe?, Nweh and Mengaka.

	FP	NegP1	FocP	NegP2	TP	NegP3	AspP	NegP4	VP
Fe?fe?	ø			<i>kà?</i>		ø		ø	
Nweh	ø			ø		<i>gà</i>		ø	<i>gà</i>
Mengaka	ø			ø		ø		ø	<i>kà?</i>

In the table, we can see that this middle field marker occurs in NegP2 in Fe?fe?, in NegP3 in Nweh, and in the VP layer in Nweh and in Mengaka.

7.4.1.3. Chronologically different versions of ‘sí’ along the clause

The goal of this section is to identify the chronologically different versions of the marker *sí* as it features at different structural heights in Fe?fe? and Nweh. The

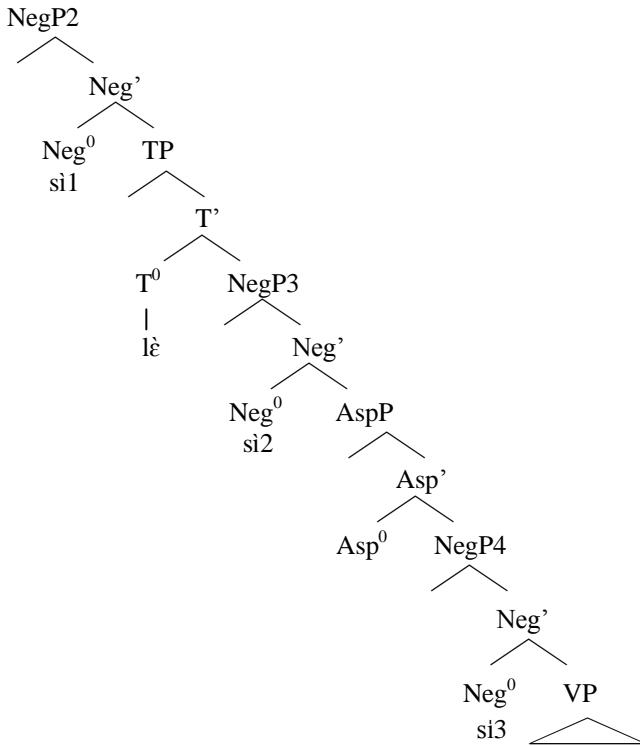
marker *sì* does not feature in Mengaka.⁷ As seen in section 2, the marker *sì* in Fe?fe? is spread from NegP2 to NegP4. This means that the only negative construction where it does not occur is the highest negative projection, namely NegP1. Building on the discussion in section 2 above and in section 6.3.1 of chapter 6, we can state that there is a correlation between the diverse structural positions and the chronological status of the different versions of this marker as it occurs in (58) to (60).

- (58) Siani **sì** **lè** γé ntéé
 Siani NEG P3 go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’
- (59) Siani **lè** **sì** γé ntéé
 Siani P3 NEG go market
 ‘Siani did not go to the market.’
- (60) Siani **sì** **ká** γé ntéé **bá**
 Siani NEG F2 go market NEG
 ‘Siani will not go to the market.’

The marker *sì* as seen in (58) occurs in the speech of teenagers and is located in NegP2, as represented in the tree structure in (61). This marker is reanalysed from an earlier version featuring in past tense environments in adult speech, as illustrated in (59). The *sì* in (59) is the host of NegP3, as represented in (61). While the *sì* in (59) conveys the semantics of negation as an independent item, it was nevertheless reanalysed from a chronologically earlier version that is semantically dependent on the presence of the clause-final marker *bá* for the expression of negation. This earlier version (*sí*) is found in NegP4, as represented in (61).

⁷Given that *sì* is the newest marker in the Fe?fe? system, I would postulate that Mengaka as a more conservative language has not (yet) innovated it.

(61)



We see from the foregoing discussion that each structural position of *si* corresponds to a different chronological version of this item. This further confirms the position according to which the more a marker has been subject to structural reanalysis, the more likely it is to be high on the clausal spine. This position is further substantiated by the redistribution of the cognate of *si* in Nweh, namely *te*. The marker *te* in Nweh occurs in NegP3, as in (62) and in NegP4, as in (63a).

- (62) Bèseŋ é – kè? te nzhó pfét

Birds SM PST NEG palm-nuts eat

‘The birds did not eat palm-nuts.’

- (63) a. Bèseŋ é - te ló pfét nzhó bó

Birds SM NEG FUT eat palm-nutsNEG

‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

- b. *Bèseŋ é - te ló nzhó pfét

Birds SM NEG FUT palm-nuts eat
 ‘The birds will not eat palm-nuts.’

In (62), *te* occurs to the right of the tense marker *kè?*. Given that *te* in this case is a standalone item, I postulate that it is hosted in the NegP at the right of the TP. As seen in (63b), *te* cannot contribute the semantics of negation as a standalone item if it occurs to the left of the tense marker. This suggests that *te* in (63a) is in fact a temporal host of the specifier of the clause-final marker located in NegP2. Hence, *te* in (63a) must be merged into a much lower NegP, which I would consider to be NegP4 so as to include cases where neither TP nor the aspectual phrase is included in the utterance, as in the Fe?fe? habitual construction in (64) below. This avoids the violation of the ban on excessively close structural dependencies.

(64) Siani **si** **ŋgé** ntéé **bá**
 Siani NEG go market NEG
 ‘Siani (habitually) doesn’t go to the market.’

(65) FP NegP1 FocP NegP2 TP NegP3 AspP NegP4
 Fe?fe? ø si si
 Nweh ø ø te te

From the foregoing discussion, I can therefore posit that the highest position of *te* in Nweh is in NegP3. Moreover, *te* in this position must have started out in a lower NegP from which it could not contribute the semantics of negation as a standalone item. From NegP4, then, *te* is later reanalysed as an item with the ability to contribute negation on its own. This semantic reanalysis is accompanied by a structural reanalysis, with the result of a new version (semantically, though not phonologically) of *te* being merged directly into NegP3. I summarise in (65) the synchronic redistribution on the clause of chronologically different versions of *si* and its cognate *te*.

We can see that the redistribution in Nweh constitutes a subset of the redistribution in Fe?fe?. Like the marker *kà?* discussed in section 7.4.1.2, *si* (and its cognate) do not occur beyond NegP2, unlike the clause-final marker (see section 7.4.1.1).

7.4.1.4. Interim summary

The goal of this section was to argue that chronologically different items may peacefully co-exist in a single synchronic clause because they are redistributed on different structural levels. For this purpose, I have gone beyond the data of Fe?fe?, which offer only a partial portion of the trajectory over time of the items involved, to include data from closely related languages. In section 7.4.1.1, I have provided evidence from three languages demonstrating that the clause-final marker may be found from the lower to the higher portion of the clause. Its cognate that still contributes negation in a wide range of environments in Mengaka (and also in Ngomba) has been shown to occur in NegP4 and in NegP3. The Nweh cognate of the clause-final marker has been shown to occur in NegP3 and NegP2, while the Fe?fe? version is restricted to NegP2 and NegP1. Unlike the clause-final marker, the middle field markers *kà?* and *si*, together with their cognates considered in sections 7.4.1.2 and 7.4.1.3 spread only from NegP2 to NegP4. Moreover, we have seen that the Mengaka cognate of *kà?* may even still be a VP area item. This thus confirms the claim that no negative marker in the languages taken into consideration is structurally static over time. The dynamism thus postulated for negative markers may not be fully perceived from the perspective of a single language, given that the latter displays only a partial portion of the trajectory a given marker has gone through over many decades or centuries. Therefore, by bringing together three different languages at different stages of the language change process under consideration, we can better see how the structural position of a marker relates to its chronological status in the system. This further helps us understand the position that there can be a situation of *peaceful* co-existence between old and new markers because they are not competing for the same syntactic slots due to their different chronological status in the system. In the following paragraphs, I show that the dynamism postulated for markers holds even when individual generations within particular speech communities are taken into consideration.

7.4.2. The dynamism of markers within specific Fe?fe? generations

In this section, I show how the structural dynamism over time postulated for negative items is at work even within each generation of speakers. For this purpose, I make use of the clause-final marker *bà* and the middle field marker *si* which exhibit some variation in their use. The marker *kà?*, which is used in a uniform way throughout the speech community, is excluded from the present discussion. The variation involving the clause-final marker is the same across all three generations and constitutes the subject of section 7.4.2.1. The structural variation involving the marker *si* in the generation of elderly speakers unfolds in section 7.4.2.2. The

structural variation involving the use of *si* in the generation of teenagers is discussed in section 7.4.2.3.

While it is possible, to some extent, to consider the generations of elderly and teenage speakers as constituting two discrete stages, especially with regard to the dynamism in the position of the standalone *si*, the picture that emerges when the generation of middle-aged speakers (section 7.4.2.4) is interposed between teenage and elderly speakers is that of a continuum that brings together old and innovative patterns. We thus have the generation of middle-aged speakers as a bridge that prevents a discontinuity within the speech community with regard to the structural distribution of the standalone marker *si*. Hence, the intermediate generation, by bringing together old and new patterns, guarantees the sameness of the linguistic system and thus enables cross-generational interactions within the speech community while the language changes. Section 7.4.2.5 summarises the discussion involving the dynamism of markers in specific generations.

7.4.2.1. The structural dynamism of ‘ba’ in the three generations

With the exception of the phonetic reduction (see section 6.2.2) and the deletion (section 6.2.3) of the clause-final marker by teenagers, the use of this marker is the same across all three generations in the Fε?fe? speech community. This marker is used in an obligatory bipartite construction with the middle field marker *si* in syntactic environments where *si* cannot yet convey the semantics of negation as a standalone item, as seen above in (64). Moreover, the clause-final marker is used to convey negative connotations in sentences where there is no other marker of negation (66).

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-------|---------|------|--------------|-------|------|------------|---------------|
| (66) | Yá | γé | tè | kwé | ná | bák | ndì | lá | bák | |
| | It | go | until | reach | on | DEM | limit | DEF | bák | |
| | [mà | pù | ká | Kó | náá | si?si | yòò | náá | yòò | bák], |
| | [that | 3PL | F2 | receive | take | rub | 3PL | body | 3PL-POSS | bák] |
| | [tè | ó | ndé | ncye? | [má | pù | pá | ngù | láhá]]? | |
| | until | 2SG | say | now | that | 3PL | again | do | how | |
| | [Má | pù | ká | kó | | bák] | | | | |

[that 3PL F2 receive **bɑ̄**]

'In case things go that far, then they will have to live with the situation of course. What else can they do? They will have to accept it of course.'

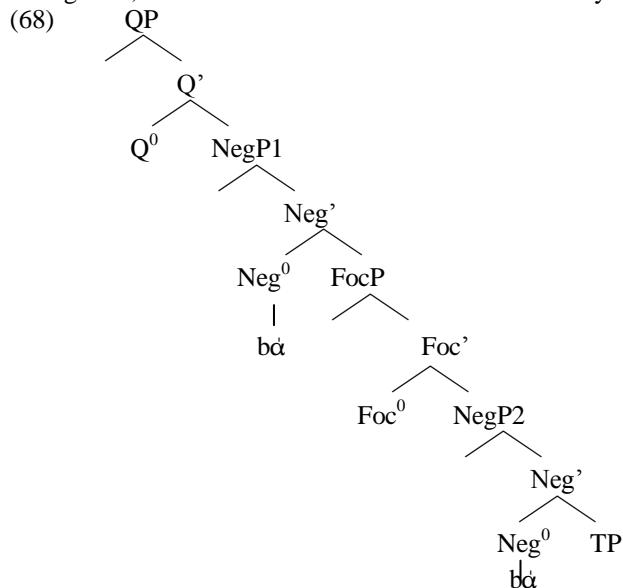
In such cases, it functions either as a counter-expectational marker in the first line of (66) or as a strong positive polarity item in the second and third lines of (66). Furthermore, the clause-final marker conveys emphasis when it occurs in a bipartite construction with middle field markers that convey the semantics of negation as independent items (67).

(67) Ngă 3i mǎʔ nū ná [ndàʔ n-dék mě **bɑ̄**]
1SG know some stories about [but 1SG- NEG end EMP]

'I know something about it but not everything (EMP).'

Finally, the clause-final marker is used for other discourse functions in tag questions, in emphatic affirmation, and in comparative constructions, as discussed in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

Semantically, I have subdivided the above functions of the clause-final item into two categories; the first in which the clause-final marker still contributes the semantics of negation, and the second in which it has been reanalysed as a pure discourse item.



In the first case, as shown in example (31) in section 7.2.3.2 above, the clause-final marker is the host of NegP2. To function as a pure discourse item, however, the clause-final item has been reanalysed from NegP2 into NegP1. Both structural positions are seen in (68). From the micro-variation perspective (see section 5.3.1), we know that the clause-final marker was in an earlier stage an independent marker of negation, as in Mengaka and Ngomba. A vestige of this usage may be found in instances where it conveys the connotation of negation as a standalone item, as in (66) above. Then, the clause-final item starts losing its strength as a negative item which may not stand alone as a marker of negation. It must therefore obligatorily co-occur with another item in a bipartite construction, as in (64). Finally, the clause-final item features in constructions where it holds an altogether different function.

Given that the vestige⁸ of the independent item and the obligatory bipartite usage, as well as the non-negative function all manifest in the speech of teenage, adult and elderly speakers, we can safely state that the corresponding structural dynamism of *bà* is present in each of the three generations as well. This provides further support for the position that chronologically different items occupy different slots on the structural spine. We thus see that each reanalysis (whether semantic or structural) changes the system. Yet, this change does not consist in the immediate disappearance of the old usage, but rather in the addition or acquisition of a new usage (on top of the older one). This also holds for the dynamism of the middle field item *sì*, to which I turn in the following paragraphs.

7.4.2.2. *The structural dynamism of 'sì' among elderly speakers*

The middle field marker *sì* occurs in two different versions in the speech of elderly speakers. Firstly, it occurs in bipartite constructions with the clause-final marker in syntactic environments where it cannot yet convey the semantics of negation as a standalone item (69); in its second version, the marker *sì* occurs as a standalone item in past tense environments (70).

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----------|-----|--------|-----------|
| (69) | Siani | sì | ŋgé | ntéé | bà |
| | Siani | NEG | go | market | NEG |
- ‘Siani (habitually) doesn’t go to the market.’

⁸ One could push the variation account further by postulating that the standalone clause-final item that conveys the connotation of negation as in (66) is a post-TP item, as proposed by Nkemnji (1995) and Bell (2004). This would provide three different positions for *bà* in each existing Fe?fe? generation.

(70)	Siani	lè	sì	$\gamma\acute{e}$	ntéé
	Siani	P3	NEG	go	market

‘Siani did not go to the market.’

We saw in section 7.2.3.2 of the current chapter that the *sì* that must obligatorily occur in a bipartite relation with the clause-final marker in order to convey the semantics of negation is located in NegP4. From NegP4, the marker *sì* is reanalysed upward to NegP3 as the consequence of its semantic reanalysis as an item contributing negation independently. Thus, the usage in (70) is chronologically more recent than the one in (69). These two semantic values with regard to the semantics of negation, as well as the corresponding variation in structural position, back up the position that chronologically different items are redistributed in different structural slots. Though the same semantic values for the marker *sì* feature in the generation of teenagers to which I turn below, we nevertheless observe a shift in the position of the standalone *sì* in the speech of these younger speakers.

7.4.2.3. *The structural dynamism of ‘sì’ among teenage speakers*

When one jumps from elderly to teenage speakers with no regard for the intermediate middle-aged speakers, one observes a situation involving both continuity and discontinuity: continuity with regard to the structural position of *sì* as in (69), and discontinuity because the usage in (70) is replaced in the speech of teenagers by the one in (71).

(71)	Siani	sì	lè	$\gamma\acute{e}$	ntéé
	Siani	NEG	P3	go	market

‘Siani did not go to the market.’

Examples (70) and (71) differ from each other in one respect. The negative marker *sì* occurs to the right of the tense marker *lè* in the former, but features to its left in the latter. As seen in section 7.4.1.3 above, the usage in (71) is reanalysed from the one in (70). Moreover, we have seen that *sì* as found in (71) is located in NegP2. This also indicates a situation of structural dynamism, with markers resulting from more recent reanalyses positioned structurally higher. The integration of the generation of middle-aged speakers below provides a bridge between elderly and teenage speakers, thus guaranteeing the sameness of the linguistic system despite its change.

7.4.2.4. The structural dynamism of 'si' among middle-aged speakers

By taking into consideration the generation of middle-aged speakers, one realises that the discontinuity between teenage and elderly speakers with regard to the independent marker *si* is preceded by a transitional stage. This transition clearly comes out in the tabular form in (72), where generation 1 stands for elderly speakers, generation 2 for middle-aged speakers and generation 3 for teenagers.

(72)	Generation 1	Generation 2	Generation 3
a.	TP > <i>si</i>	TP > <i>si</i>	
b.		<i>si</i> > TP	<i>si</i> > TP

We can see that generation 1 shares the order TP > *si* with generation 2, while generation 3 shares the order *si* > TP with generation 2. Generation 2 therefore constitutes a bridge between the elderly and the teenage generations. This kind of bridge is the missing link that has led scholars dealing with data from different periods of time to postulate discontinuities between stages in general rather than between remote stages. One should however establish a difference between the postulation of discontinuities between immediately successive stages and that of a discrete change intervening between two immediately successive generations. The former disrupts the integrity that guarantees the sameness of the linguistic system, while the latter does not. In (72), for instance, the innovation of the order *si* > TP in generation 2 is a case of discrete change from the first to the second generation. However, rather than threatening the sameness of the system, it simply expands the system. This expansion later makes it possible for the sameness of the system to be maintained as the third generation totally discards the order TP > *si*, and we can thus see a continuum from generation 2 to generation 3, or from generation 1 to generation 3 via generation 2. The idea of continuity between generations is further seen when one considers the use of *si* in example (69), given that this usage spans the three generations. We thus end up with three different structural positions for the middle field marker *si* in the second generation: namely NegP4 for the *si* in (69), NegP3 for the *si* in (70), and NegP2 for the *si* in (71). As already discussed in sections 7.4.2.2 and 7.4.2.3, we know that NegP2 is reanalysed from NegP3, and NegP3 is reanalysed from NegP4. This also provides further evidence for the position that chronologically different items are redistributed on different slots in the clause structure.

7.4.3. Interim summary

The purpose of this section was to show that chronologically different and yet synchronically overlapping markers may be accommodated in a single clausal structure because they are redistributed in different structural slots on the clause. The correlation of chronological and structural status being mediated by the process of reanalysis, I have considered how a single item may be traced along the functional spine. I have demonstrated that this holds not only with micro-variation data, but also within specific generations within the Fe?fe? speech community. By so doing, I have provided evidence supporting the claim that negative markers are not static over time with regard to their structural position. Rather, they continually evolve along the clause as they change in their semantic contribution.

7.5. Conclusion

Having observed from empirical evidence across different language families that the JC involves the co-existence of multiple markers within synchronic language states, the goal of the present chapter was to explore the media via which a single clause structure can accommodate the markers co-existing within a single language state. The discussion has shown that there are two major tools that make it possible for multiple markers from different periods of time to *peacefully* share the same clause structure. The first tool under consideration is the availability of multiple negative projections in the same clause structure and within a single language state. The second tool is the process of structural reanalysis.

We have seen that negative items are not structurally static over time. Rather, they are continually reanalysed along the clause as they change in their semantic contribution in the system. As a consequence, a marker just entering the system is very unlikely to be competing for the same structural position with an item about to exit the system. This is because the latter has climbed along the functional spine as the result of multiple reanalyses over the decades or centuries, while the former may not yet have undergone any reanalysis and may still be found in the lowest portion of the clause. This idea has been illustrated by considering specific items at different chronological periods of their life and seeing that their different chronological periods correspond to different structural statuses.

The first source of evidence for this point has been micro-variation data. The advantage provided by micro-variation data is that more historical portions than can be found in a single language state are made available. Hence, by putting a more conservative language like Mengaka side by side with Fe?fe?, it becomes possible to

perceive the cognates of the same item at different stages of the process of language change under consideration. The second source of evidence for the point that chronologically different items are redistributed on different portions of the clause has been to consider specific generations within the $F\epsilon?f\epsilon?$ speech community. Moreover, each generation has been taken to constitute the actual representation of a single language state. Even by thus restricting the sphere of investigation, it has been possible to provide evidence supporting the position that chronologically different items occur on different portions of the clause. This thus provides an explanation as to why old and new items do not only co-exist, contrary to the mutual exclusivity argument standardly adopted, but additionally turn out not to be competing for the same structural slot.

Prior to the proposed analysis to capture the variation involving negative items on a single clausal structure, an introduction to the clause structure of $F\epsilon?f\epsilon?$ has been provided in section 7.2 with the discussion of functional categories in their structural relation to each other. Section 7.3 has been concerned with variation and reanalysis. Section 7.3.1 has provided a succinct insight into the position adopted by most scholars in the cartographic approach, while considering some natural language data that motivate a different choice regarding the number of negative markers that a single language state is allowed to have. There, we have seen that adopting the mutually exclusive view of the parametric perspective compels the empirical linguist to disregard part of the data that needs to be accounted for. Then we have seen in sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 how data that could constitute parametrically antagonistic options and as a result be discarded from a parametric account may be analysed by bringing in the mechanism of structural reanalysis.

It is clear that making use of the mechanism of reanalysis so as not to discard a cross-linguistic set of complex but converging natural language data, as in the present research, raises a major question regarding the theoretical implications of such an account. Specifically, how does reanalysis relate to the parametric enterprise? Are they antagonistic or can their assets be brought together so as to enrich the present state of theoretical linguistics? Would the parametric perspective lose any essential property if reconciled with a reanalytical view? If so, would the relevant loss be too costly for the parametric enterprise in particular and for theoretical linguistics in general? Roberts (2007: 123) states that 'reanalysis is intimately bound up with parameter change' and is in fact 'a symptom of a change in the value of a parameter'. However, we have also seen that a parametric perspective imposes a choice on the grammar, and this has motivated the position adopted by scholars who posit that pre-verbal and post-verbal, or monopartite and bipartite negations, represent different antagonistic parametric options.

By contrast, we have seen that a reanalytical approach succeeds in handling the relevant variation by allowing the continuity that guarantees the sameness of the language as it changes. If reanalysis is central to syntactic change, as postulated by Harris and Campbell (1995), then there is, according to Roberts (2007), no other option but to relate reanalysis to parametric change. Therefore, our future research agenda should consist, alongside other priorities, in finding a way to reconcile a perspective that sees variation as an instance of parameter resetting and hence brings along the obligation to set parameter values and thus oppose the variants as antagonistic options (Roberts, 2007: 270), with one that brings together options that are likely to produce a situation of grammar-internal parametric variation⁹. Hopefully, this will answer some of the questions confronting the theoretical linguist of the twenty-first century.

⁹It may also be relevant to consider how Borer's (1984) claim that 'All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular items' fares with this debate.

VIII Challenges to a JC analysis for Fe?fe?

8.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses some challenges raised by a JC-based account for the synchronic variation displayed in the negation system of Fe?fe?. The relative chronology provided in chapter 6 constitutes ample evidence supporting the thesis that the synchronic variation discussed is indeed the reflection of language change. The variation involved in the variable uses of a single item, as discussed for instance with *sì* and *bā* in chapter 5, have provided additional evidence for change. Given the resemblances summed up at the end of chapter 6 between the nature of the variation observed in Fe?fe? and the type of variation observed in other instances of language change, I have postulated that the variation in the negation system of Fe?fe? is to be viewed as a slice of the JC. From this perspective, the large number of markers for negation in Fe?fe? does not constitute a problem, because we also find a richer inventory of markers in other languages which have received a JC analysis. Furthermore, the redistribution of old versus new markers in situations of overlap, as observed in languages with historical records, has helped us distinguish between conservative and innovative environments in Fe?fe?.

This chapter considers two aspects of the negation system of Fe?fe? that challenge a JC-based account for this negation system. Foremost among these (section 8.3) is the difference in linear order between Fe?fe? and the languages that have received a JC analysis. In the latter (as seen in table 2), on the one hand, the older marker linearly precedes the new one in a bipartite construction, to the point that old and new markers are usually referred to as pre- and post-verbal markers, respectively. We thus come across *ne not* in English, and *ne pas* in French. In Fe?fe?, on the other hand, the older marker occurs as a clause-final item, and hence linearly follows the new marker in the bipartite construction *sì... bā* in table 1. The similarity observed in the word order pattern between old and new in most languages that have received a JC analysis might suggest that there is a parallelism or correlation between chronological order and structural order in the JC. It follows that either Fe?fe?

should be rejected as a JC language on the grounds of its divergence regarding the word order question, or that there is some mismatch between linear order and structural order in the case of Fe?fe?. Section 8.3 addresses this question, arguing that Fe?fe? in fact patterns with other JC languages in displaying a correlation between structural and chronological orders. In this regard, I build on the discussion in the previous chapter according to which the clause-final marker is structurally much higher and features clause-finally as the result of the movement of the lower portion of the clause to its left. Section 8.4 considers the semantic properties of the markers involved in a bipartite relation (this corresponds to stages 2 to 4 in table 1) during the JC with the view of stating whether the emphatic status often ascribed to this stage is contributed by the older or the newer marker. Prior to this, I discuss in section 8.2 the relative position of Fe?fe? in the JC.

8.2. The position of Fe?fe? in the JC

From the overall set of data taken into consideration in the previous chapter, we can safely state that the variation (larger number of negative items in the table repeated for the reader's convenience) displayed by the negation system of Fe?fe? is cross-linguistically atypical, but conceptually not exceptional.

Table 1: Current Fe?fe? negation table for adult speakers

Tense, aspect, mood and clause types	Negation
Intterrogative clause: tag questions & other uses	bà
Conditional(protasis)	si... bà
Non-past (future, locative, progressive & habitual present)	si...bà
Past 2 & 3	sì
Past 1	kà?
Perfective present	kà?
Perspectival	là?
Modal clause	lé
Consecutive clause	lé
Directive complement	pá?/sì
Purpose clause	pá?/si bà
Infinitive clause	mbá?/si bà
Imperative clause	pá?/sì

Rather, we have seen from macro-variation data (sections 4.3 and 6.3.5) that Fe?fe?, in its present state, displays a situation similar to what has been observed in other languages during the diachronic process now known under the label of the JC.

Therefore, the synchronic variation encountered in Fe?fe? is to be viewed as the reflection of a diachronic process.

More specifically, we are dealing here with a non-standard case of the JC. The element that may at first sight lead us to view the negation system of Fe?fe? as different lies in the multiplicity of items that are introduced as reinforcing elements in what is standardly known as the bipartite stage of the JC. Yet we can observe from macro-variation data that reinforcing elements are introduced again and again in many negation systems without necessarily leading to the next stage of the JC. We have, for instance, *mie*, *gote*, and *point* as additional stage 2 items in the French JC. Yet these items appear to contribute nothing more than somehow prolonging the second stage of the diachronic process. The presence of additional stage 2 items in other languages (Cairese, English and Welsh in chapter 4, section 4.3) leads me to conclude that the presence of items such as *kà?*, *pá?* and *lè* as additional items that enter into bipartite negation with the clause-final marker *ba* in Fe?fe?, or even their redistribution in different syntactic environments, do not constitute a problem for a JC-based analysis for the Fe?fe? negation data set. Against this background, the most relevant question the reader may want to raise regards the position of the negation system of Fe?fe? in this diachronic process known as the JC.

We saw in chapter 4 that the JC starts with a monopartite marker that conveys negation on its own (stage 1); this marker is subsequently joined by a new marker which is sandwiched with the older marker in a single bipartite negation (stage 2); finally, once the newly introduced item becomes associated with the expression of negation, it supplants the older marker and takes over the function of negation as a new standalone marker. Moreover, I have labelled this straightforward way of going about the diachronic process under consideration as the standard approach to the JC. When considered from its non-standard perspective, the JC involves more complexity. This complexity includes the multiplicity of reinforcing items to the older marker, the redistribution of co-existing markers in a single synchronic language state and, with regard to the question of interest to us at this point, the reorganisation of the resulting complexity into a linear or historical sequence. Differently stated, how does the Fe?fe? system fit into the stage-by-stage analysis of the JC? Does the Fe?fe? data as observed throughout fit into a stage 2 slice, a stage 3 slice or into some other slice of the JC? Beyond the coarse-grained version of the JC, which takes into consideration only three stages (stages 1, 2 and 3 with pre-verbal, bipartite and post-verbal negation), there is a fine-grained version that involves either four or five stages, with the extra stages allowing a more detailed view of bipartite negation. Van der Auwera (2009) presents the following

representation of the JC in three, four or five stages for the French language. I have added the Fe?fe? markers on the rightmost part of the table for easy comparison.

The five-stage representation which I adopt here for the discussion of Fe?fe? (in the last column of table 2) comprises the old marker alone in stage 1, the new marker(s) alone in stage 5 and the bipartite marker(s) in stages 2 to 4. In stage 2, the new marker is optional in the bipartite construction. In stage 4, the old marker which is gradually being dropped is optional in the bipartite relation, while in stage 3 both old and new markers are obligatory in the bipartite construction. By putting the Fe?fe? data side-by-side with the five-stage representation for French in table 2, it becomes easy to see what the situation in Fe?fe? really is.

Table 2: The representation of the JC in three, four or five stages

Three stages			Four stages			Five stages		
			A		B		French	Fe?fe?
			1	non				
1	ne	2	ne	1	ne	1	ne	bà
				2	ne pas ¹			
						2	ne (pas)	(lè/pá?/kà?/si) ... bà
2	ne pas	3	ne pas	3	ne pas	3	ne pas	lè/pá?/kà?/si ... bà
						4	(ne) pas	lè/pá?/kà?/si ... (bà)
3	pas	4	pas	4	pas	5	pas	lè/pá?/kà?/si

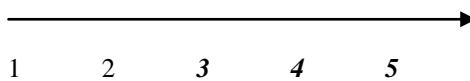
For instance, we can see by comparing the stages that are represented in the table to the overall set of data available in present-day Fe?fe? that stages 1 and 2 are no longer available in present-day Fe?fe?, while stages 3, 4 and 5 co-exist. In stage 1, the old marker alone is used for the expression of negation. It should be noted here, though, that we have seen a remnant of this stage in example (17), chapter 5. In stage 2, the new marker is optional in a bipartite construction with the older marker as an obligatory component.

From the foregoing discussion, it becomes clear that Fe?fe? has reached the final stage of the JC, that is, the stage at which the new marker(s) occur(s) alone as the marker(s) of negation. Meanwhile, we also see that there is a situation of mutual co-existence between three different stages in Fe?fe?, namely stage 3, stage 4 and stage 5. This brings us back to the difference previously established between the standard

¹ X means that *pas* at this initial stage does not carry the semantics of negation.

and the non-standard approaches to the JC. The former presents the JC stages on a linear string that can handle only a single stage at a time (discrete mapping), while the latter takes into consideration the empirical situation as encountered in real natural language situations (overlapping mapping). Both perspectives on the facts are represented in (1).

(1) a. Discrete mapping



b. Overlapping mapping

				1				
			1	2	2			
		1	2	3	3	3		
	1	2	3	4	4	4	4	
1	2	3	4	5	5	5	5	5

Both the line in (1a) and the tabular representation in (1b) should be read from left to right. Note further that the tabular representation is to be viewed as made up of two major portions: the first portion consists in the introduction into the language of the different items, and goes until the longest column in (1b). The column immediately to the right of this longest column starts the second portion of the JC, which consists in the stepwise dropping of items, starting with the older item that does not feature at all in the first column of the second portion of (1b). From the tabular representation, it is expected that the item that launches the JC still be present in the language at the time the new item is introduced into the language as a standalone marker of negation. This perception of the facts is clearly illustrated in the mutual co-existence of, for instance, *ne*, *ne* ... *pas* and *pas* or *ne*, *ne* ... *not* and *not* in French and English, respectively. In these languages, *pas* and *not* start to convey negation as standalone items when the older marker *ne* is still present as a marker of negation. From the tabular representation, we see that once all the markers are in place as seen in the middle column of (1b), the older item begins to exit the language. Hence, the present-day Fe?fe? language shows us a situation where both stage 1 and stage 2 have been dropped, and where we are left with the items represented in bold italic.

As already discussed in chapter 4, we clearly see that empirical evidence backing up the non-standard approach to the JC is prevalent across languages. It follows that Fe?fe? in its synchronic state does not constitute an exception in displaying the co-existence situation in the rightmost column of table 2. Therefore, we can conclude from the above discussion that Fe?fe? has reached the last stage of the JC, with the new markers each contributing the semantics of negation as standalone items. In response to the question regarding the reason of the persistence of the older clause-final marker in the language, I would posit, in accordance with Breitbarth & Haegeman (2010), that this item is not preserved as a marker of negation, but has been reanalysed to serve other functions, as discussed in section 3.6 of chapter 5. The following section discusses a major challenge raised by this clause-final marker with regard to a JC analysis for the negation system of Fe?fe?.

8.3. Post- versus pre-verbal status of the original marker in Fe?fe?

The goal of this section is to answer the question whether the clause-final marker *bá* constitutes a challenge for a JC analysis. This question arises because of the post-verbal status of this item which is the older marker in the Fe?fe? system. Taking into consideration the fact that older markers in each and every JC system considered so far occur pre-verbally, the post-verbal status of the older Fe?fe? marker requires an explanation. The similarity observed in the word order pattern between old and new in most languages having received a JC analysis suggests that there is a parallelism or correlation between chronological order and structural order in the JC. Building on the analysis provided for the clause-final marker in the previous chapter, I argue in this section that the linear occurrence of *bá* post-verbally does not constitute a problem for a JC analysis. The analysis of this item as a pre-TP and even a C-domain item makes it structurally higher than the newer Fe?fe? markers. Hence, the parallelism observed elsewhere between structural and chronological order also holds in Fe?fe?. Therefore, the post-verbal occurrence of the clause-final marker should be viewed as an apparent rather than a real challenge for a JC account. In section 8.3.2, I report the conclusion reached for the clause-final Afrikaans *nie*. Following Oosthuizen (1998), Biberauer (2008a, 2009, 2012) proposes that this clause-final negator be analysed as an item belonging to the left periphery. This shows that accounting for an item that occurs at the bottom of the clause as a structurally very high element, as I do for *bá*, is not unprecedented. In section 8.3.3, I report the analysis of Aboh (2005) regarding the clause-final items in the Kwa sub-branch of Niger-Kongo languages. Aboh also argues that the clause-final negators found in the Gbe languages are C-domain elements. It is this type of analysis that I

adopt for the older Fe?fe? negator *bá*. Though clause-final, it patterns with the older markers found in other languages in being structurally higher than the newer markers in the JC. Prior to this, I recapitulate the analysis of the clause-final marker as a pre-TP item in the lines immediately below.

8.3.1. The Fe?fe? clause-final marker as a pre-TP item

The linear position of the clause-final marker as a post-verbal marker (2) in the bipartite construction contrasts with original markers in most of the languages we have discussed in chapter 4.

- (2) Siani si *ŋgé* kò **bá**
 Siani NEG go farm NEG
 ‘Siani doesn’t go to the farm.’

When we consider each of the examples in (3), we clearly see that the older, original marker is consistent in being pre-verbal, unlike the clause-final marker of Fe?fe?. Hence, we have *n ... nent* with the older marker *n* preceding the verb in Cairese (3a), *ni ... ddim* and *na ddim* with the older markers *ni* and *na* as pre-verbal items in Formal Welsh (3b-c), *ne ... mie* with the older marker *ne* as a pre-verbal marker in Old French (3d), and *ne not* with *ne* also preceding the verb in ME (3e).

- (3) The older marker as a pre-verbal item in JC languages

a. Cairese

- U **n** bugia nent
 3SG NEG moves NEG
 ‘He doesn’t move.’

b. Welsh

- Ni** soniodd Sioned **ddim** am y digwyddiad
 NEG mention.PST.3SG Sioned NEG about the event
 ‘Sioned did not talk about the event.’

c. Welsh

Gwn [na soniodd Sioned ddim am y digwyddiad]

Know.PRS.1SGNEG menion.PST.3SG Sioned NEG about the event

‘I know that Sioned did not talk about the event.’

d. French

Trestuz les alters **ne** pris jo mie un guant.

‘All the others I don’t consider to be worth a glove.’

e. English

Ic **ne** seye not

I NEG say NEG

‘I do not say.’

In the above examples from three different language families (Romance, Celtic and Germanic), we see that the older marker is consistently pre-verbal, unlike the F ϵ ?f ϵ ? older marker *bā*.

Moreover, holding fast to the linear order of the markers involved as found in most Indo-European languages discussed in chapter 4, many researchers² often add to these markers a number as in the language neutral example in (4), with the pre-verbal marker being numbered 1 (old), while the post-verbal marker is numbered 2 (new).

(4) I. Neg₁ II. Neg₁... (Neg₂) III. Neg₁... Neg₂ IV. (Neg₁)... Neg₂ V. Neg_{2/3}

In (4), Neg₂ in stage V becomes the new (original) marker that potentially launches a new cycle. Hence, it is often called Neg₃. From this perspective, the post-verbal position of *bā* as the older marker could be considered problematic. However, the received view about the pre- and post-verbal status of the markers involved in the JC may not be a matter of linear order, but rather a matter of structural order. For instance, in West Flemish embedded clauses, the negative marker *en* linearly occurs after the reinforcer *nie*, as in (5a). However, we know from historical records of the

² See among others Schwenter, 2006; Biberauer, 2012; van der Auwera, 2009; etc, for this way of tagging old and new markers.

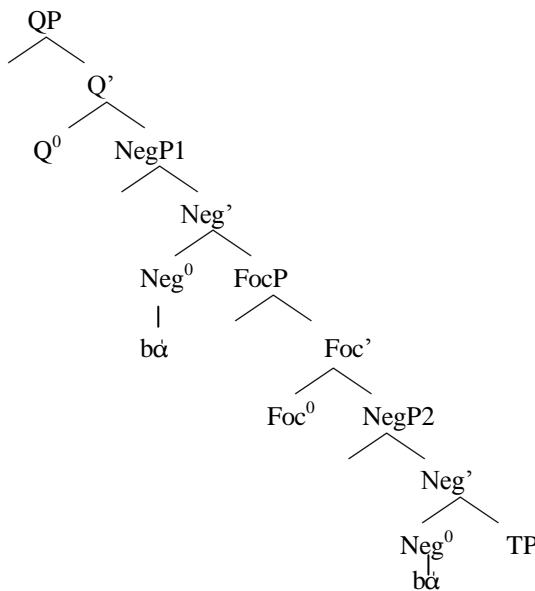
language that *en* is the original marker, and occurs pre-verbally as in the main clause in example (5b).

- (5) a. ... da Valere dienen boek nie **en**-kent.
 ... That Valere that book nie en-knows
 '... that Valere doesn't know that book.' (Haegeman, 2002)
- b. Valere (**en**) klaapt nie.
 Valere NEG talks NEG
 'Valere doesn't talk.' (Breitbarth and Haegeman, 2010)

It follows that what matters is not the linear position between the old and new markers. Rather, the structural order between old and new markers is more relevant. Regarding structural order, then, F_{e?fe?} patterns with other JC languages in having an older marker that is structurally higher than newer ones.

In the discussion of functional categories in the previous chapter, it has been shown that the clause-final negator *bá* belongs to the leftmost part of the clause structure. In fact, it belongs, with focus and question particles, to the group of items that occur sentence-finally in F_{e?fe?}. As such, it is derived in the same way that these other clause-final items are, and thus ends up clause-finally as the result of the pied-piping of the TP to its specifier. Following Rizzi (1997), the focus and question markers are standardly accounted for as C-domain elements. Moreover, Starke (2001: 137) proposes a feature hierarchy according to which the Q-feature would be complex, comprising many sub-features, among which the *wh* feature, the focus feature and the negative feature. Therefore, the negative operator, the focus operator and the *wh* operator are altogether part of the same feature class Q. Furthermore, current research on focus and question formation holds that languages that move *wh*-phrases to the C-domain in fact target the focus phrase (Grohmann, 2001; Aboh, 2007). This creates a tighter connection than was otherwise thought to exist between the two projections. Empirically, the fact that both question and negation license n-words in F_{e?fe?} (see chapter 1, section 1.2.2) also suggests that there is some link, yet to be clarified, between these two projections. For the time being, the feature hierarchy argued for by Starke (2001) appears to be the boldest attempt to bring all three items together. Given the above arguments, I would like to provide a unified account for all three clause-final particles of F_{e?fe?}. Hence the following tree exemplifies how the clause-final marker holds vis-à-vis other clause-final items in F_{e?fe?}.

(6)



From the foregoing discussion, the clause-final negator *ba*, being the oldest negative marker as argued for in chapter 6, is also structurally higher. This thus establishes a correlation between the chronological sequence and the structural sequence of older and newer markers in the JC. I now turn to Biberauer's proposal regarding the clause-final negation item *nie* in Afrikaans, thus showing that accounting for a clause-final marker in the way I do for *ba* in Fe?fe? is not at all unprecedented.

8.3.2. The clause-final Afrikaans *nie* as a C-domain element

The goal of this section is to show that the analysis of the Fe?fe? clause-final marker as a structurally very high element is not unprecedented. To this end, I discuss a clause-final item from a totally unrelated language that has also been accounted for as a C-domain item. Afrikaans patterns with Fe?fe? in having bipartite negation with a clause-final marker as seen in (7).

- (7) a. Hulle was **nie** betrokke (**nie**).

they were *nie*₁ involved *nie*₂

‘They were not involved.’ (Oosthuizen, 1998)

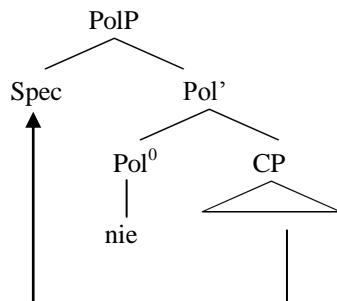
- b. Sy sluit **nooit** die deur **nie**.

she locks never the door *nie2*

‘She never locks the door.’ (ibid)

As seen in (7a), the leftmost negative marker *nie1* directly follows the tensed verb. Moreover, it may be replaced by other negative words as in (7b). The clause-final marker on its own is optional in the Afrikaans negative clause, as suggested by (7a). This means that it can be omitted without consequences for the grammaticality of the negative clause. Both Oosthuizen (1998) and Biberauer (2008, 2009, 2012) propose that the Afrikaans clause-final marker is a polarity marker that heads a polarity phrase (PolP). The polarity phrase is located above the CP, as represented in the following tree structure.

(8)



In this analysis, the CP moves to the specifier of the polarity phrase for feature checking purposes and pied-pipes the entire clause along the way. This derives the observed linear order with *nie2* ending up clause-finally. In the following section, I show that the analysis provided by Aboh (2005) for the clause-final negators in the Gbe languages also corroborates the position adopted here, in the sense that these clause-final markers are also considered to be C-domain elements.

8.3.3. The C-domain account of clause-final markers in the Gbe languages

The negation system in the Gbe languages patterns with Fe?fe? in displaying either a pre-verbal or both a pre-verbal and a clause-final negator. These languages however differ from Fe?fe? in the sense that they can also express negation by means of a clause-final marker alone. This section discusses the structural analysis provided by Aboh (2005) to account specifically for the clause-final marker. Taking into consideration the conditions under which the clause-final negator, which is otherwise left out, becomes obligatory in some of the languages, Aboh proposes that these markers, which on the surface occur at the right edge of the clause, are in fact left peripheral elements, and end up clause-finally as the result of a roll up

derivation of the predicate into their specifier position. Aboh therefore provides an analysis that is in line with other clause-final particles such as topic and interrogative markers, which are standardly analysed as left peripheral particles in cartographic approaches.

- (9) Gungbe

Kojó	má	ná	xò	kátikatí	lo
Kojo	NEG	FUT	buy	kite	DET
‘Kojo will buy the kite.’					

According to Aboh, *má* occurs between FinP and TP. *Má* is a head, because it can merge with clitic pronoun as signalled by the tonal change in (10) below. The item *má* can also merge with the future marker as in (11), and with both future marker and clitic, as seen in (12).

- (10) Ùn ðò ná Séná ðò **mă** sigán wá
1SG say PREP sena that 1SG-NEG can come
‘I told Sena that I could not come.’

- (11) Ùn ðò ná Séná ðò á **máá** yi kútònù égbè
1SG say PREP Sena that 2SG NEG-FUT go Cotonou today
‘I told Sena that you will not go to Cotonou today.’

- (12) Ùn ðò ná Séná ðò **màá** yi Kútònù égbè
1SG say PREP Sena that 1SG-NEG-FUT go Cotonou today
‘I told Sena that I will not go to Cotonou today.’

Following current assumptions in the literature according to which these merging processes typically occur with functional heads, Aboh (2005) argues that not only *má*, but other pre-verbal negative markers across Gbe are heads, because they all pattern with *má* regarding their merging possibilities with other heads.

Unlike Gungbe, which exclusively makes use of a pre-verbal marker *má* for the expression of sentential negation, Fongbe uses either the pre-verbal *má* (13) or the

clause-final *ă* (14) to express negation, and this in exactly the same context, as illustrated below.

- (13) Kòkú **má** ná xò ásón ó
 Koku NEG FUT buy crab DET
 ‘Koku will not buy the specific crab.’
- (14) Kòkú ná xò ásón ó **ă**
 Koku FUT buy crab DET NEG
 ‘Koku will not buy the specific crab.’
- (15) *Kòkú **má** ná xò ásón ó **ă**
 Koku NEG FUT buy crab DET NEG
 ‘Koku will not buy the specific crab.’
- (16) Ní Kòkú **má** xò ásón ó **ă**, é ná yì
 if Koku NEG buy crab DET NEG 3SG FUT go
 ‘If Koku did not buy the specific crab, he will leave.’

In Gengbe, both pre-verbal and clause-final markers are needed for the expression of negation, as in (17).

- (17) Kòfí **mú** dù nü ò
 Kofi NEG eat thing NEG
 ‘Kofi did not eat.’

We observe that the pre-verbal marker is found in all the languages discussed. Moreover, it can negate a clause by itself in each of these languages. Aboh therefore argues that it is the head of the negative phrase, and hence the real negator in these languages, and structurally relates it to other particles as in the word order string in (18), which includes other elements such as aspectual markers which are left out of the present discussion.

- (18) Subject > Negation >Tense > Habitual >Progressive > (XP_[object]) > V >
 (XP_[object]) >Adverb >Adjunct

In order to locate the clause-final marker with regard to the items in (18), Aboh examines its interaction with other elements that occur at the right edge of the clause, such as adverbs and clause typing morphemes. As example (19) shows, the clause-final marker must follow adjuncts.

- (19) a. Kòfi mé-do le xɔ-a mè kábá ò
 Kofi NEG-exit PREP room-DET in quickly NEG
 b. *Kòfi mé-do le xɔ-a mè ò kábá
 Kofi NEG-exit PREP room-DET in NEG quickly
 ‘Kofi did not get out of the room quickly.’

This shows that the clause-final marker does not intervene between the verb and adverbs. However, the clause-final negator is not strictly sentence-final, as one may suppose. As seen from the examples in (20) and (21), both clause typing items and the topic marker may follow the clause-final marker.

- (20) Kòfi mé- xlē àgbàlē ò à?
 Kofi NEG- read book NEG Q
 ‘Didn’t Kofi read a book?’
 (21) Né Kòfi mé- xlē àgbàlē ò lá
 If Kofi NEG-read book NEG Top
 ‘Had Kofi not read a book (i.e., as you/we know?)’

The interrogative and the topic markers have both been accounted for as C-domain elements (Rizzi, 1997). Coupled with these facts is the particular behaviour of the clause-final negator in Fongbe. While this marker does not normally co-occur with the pre-verbal marker in matrix clauses, it cannot be omitted under left peripheral conditions involving mood or evidentiality. These facts show, according to Aboh (2005), that the clause-final negator interacts with C-domain elements. Moreover, this interaction would not be possible if the clause-final negator was not itself a C-domain element. Aboh therefore concludes that the clause-final negator patterns with these elements with regard to its syntactic position. Hence, it is a left peripheral element which, just like other left peripheral elements of the Gbe languages (interrogative and topic morphemes), ends up sentence-finally as the result of

predicate fronting to the specifier of the C-domain element. Aboh therefore locates the clause-final marker in the C layer of the clause, as in (22).

- (22) Force > Q > Top > Foc > Neg > Finiteness

The foregoing discussion has provided us with cases where the clause-final negative marker is accounted for as being structurally higher than the pre-verbal marker. It is, however, clear that a changing negative system is at issue. I think that the Gbe languages in particular will provide us with a set of languages at different stages of the JC if subjected to a comparative analysis. In this regard, we observe that Gungbe has altogether lost the clause-final marker, while Ewegbe and Gengbe must have both clause-final and pre-verbal markers in a negative clause. Fongbe on its own is of particular interest because it displays variation involving co-existing strategies of the types advocated to hold at some point in a changing system.

8.3.4. Interim summary

The aim of the discussion above was to propose that the clause-final marker of Fe?fe? is, despite its linear position, a structurally high element belonging to the pre-TP area of the clause. In order to back up this claim, the data of Afrikaans has been considered, with the view of showing that accounting for a linearly clause-final marker as belonging structurally to the C-domain is not novel. Moreover, I have considered the data of the Gbe languages. Aboh (2005) also accounts for the clause-final negators of these languages as C-domain elements. We therefore see that the correlation observed between structural and chronological order in the JC also holds for Fe?fe?, whose linearly older clause-final marker patterns with other older markers in being structurally higher than the newer markers. I turn in the next section to the second challenge to a JC analysis for Fe?fe?.

8.4. The source of emphasis in bipartite negation in Fe?fe?

This section considers another challenge raised by a JC-based account for the synchronic variation displayed in the negation system of Fe?fe?. We have seen from chapters 4 and 5 that the clause-final marker contributes emphasis when it occurs in a bipartite construction with markers such as *kà?*, *pá?* and *lé*. I illustrate this point with *kà?* in (23). These markers each contribute neutral negation as monopartite markers (24). It follows that the emphatic reading that arises when they occur in a bipartite construction with the older marker is contributed by the latter.

- (23) Á **kà?** kwá pè? bá
 3SG NEG built house EMP

‘S/he has not built a house (EMP).’

- (24) Á **kà?** kwá pè?
 3SG NEG built house

‘S/he has not built a house.’

We can therefore state that the older Fε?fe? marker functions as a reinforcing emphatic element in these constructions. We also observe that the obligatory bipartite construction that brings together the older marker and the newest marker *si* conveys a neutral negation reading (25). It is worth noting, regarding this last construction, that the marker *si* in the relevant environments cannot convey negation as a standalone item (26). Example (27) shows that the clause-final marker alone does not convey negation in this construction either. This means that the newer marker in this bipartite construction does not contribute emphasis, and neither do the other markers *kà?*, *pá?* and *lé*, as illustrated with (24).

- (25) Siani **si** ñkwá mbè? bá
 Siani NEG build houses NEG

‘Siani doesn’t build houses.’

- (26) *Siani **si** ñkwá mbè?
 Siani NEG build houses

‘Siani doesn’t build houses.’

- (27) *Siani ñkwá mbè? bá
 Siani build houses NEG

‘Siani doesn’t build houses.’

This in fact implies that the source of emphasis in the Fε?fe? bipartite negation resides in the older marker *bá* alone, and in no other negative marker. These facts appear to be counter-intuitive from a standard JC perspective, because the older

marker is never considered to contribute negation at any point in the JC. Rather, whenever the word ‘reinforcer’ is used in the JC, what one has in mind is the new marker. So it is a well-accepted view that the new marker in the JC functions as a reinforcing element. However, this reinforcing function is never at any point ascribed to the older, decaying marker. Yet, this is what we see happening in Fe?fe? and this therefore constitutes a challenge for a JC analysis. This raises the question whether this peculiar characteristic of the Fe?fe? older marker increases our knowledge about the JC by either uncovering or shedding more light on some aspect of this diachronic process. I propose that this peculiarity of the Fe?fe? older marker provides empirical evidence for choosing between the different staged representations of the JC, namely between the three-stage, the four-stage and the five-stage representations. With the three-stage representation, it is not at all possible to see that either the older or the newer marker could be optional in bipartite negation. This thus excludes an important aspect of the JC, since we know by experience that the new marker is first introduced as an optional item. In the four-stage representation, the new marker may be introduced as an optional marker. Yet we are never given the opportunity to see the progressive dropping of the older marker. The five-stage representation that I adopt in this dissertation provides the ground for observing both the introduction of the new marker and the stepwise dropping of the older marker. In both cases, each marker involved is optional. As a consequence, it can contribute some additional meaning to the negative construction when it is present, thus bringing about the shift from neutral to emphatic negation in each case.

The discussion in this section is organised as follows. Section 8.4.1 launches the discussion by arguing that the situation encountered in Fe?fe? with the older marker contributing emphasis is not at all unprecedented. This position is illustrated with reference to the West Flemish older marker *en* which, as discussed by Breitbarth and Haegeman (2010), has remained in the language despite the fact that the JC has reached its last stage in West Flemish. I however do not adopt the asymmetric account proposed by Breitbarth and Haegeman (2010), because the bipartite stage extends beyond the time frame in which the older or the newer marker alone conveys negation. The bipartite stage also includes a time span with obligatory bipartite negation where it is difficult for any of the discontinuous parts to convey negation alone. Then, I show in section 8.4.2 that there are in fact three possible phases in bipartite negation. Phase 1 involves bipartite negation with an obligatory older marker and an optional newer marker, as illustrated with data from Mengaka. Phase 2 involves obligatory bipartite negation, where neither the new nor the old marker may be left out, as illustrated with the Fe?fe? data. Phase 3 displays bipartite negation with an obligatory new marker and an optional old marker, as illustrated with reference to both Fe?fe? and West Flemish. This shows that there is a missing

part of bipartite negation in the Fe?fe? data: namely, bipartite negation with the new marker contributing emphasis. Evidence for this position is provided through data from the closely related language Mengaka. This leads me to adopt a three-phase approach to bipartite negation, with the possibility of the new marker contributing emphasis when it is optional in the bipartite construction (phase 1), and with the older marker conveying emphasis when it in turn becomes optional in bipartite negation (phase 3), and with obligatory bipartite negation (phase 2) where both items concomitantly convey the semantics of negation. It follows that both the three- and four-stage representations of the JC fail to capture this extensive variation. The three-stage representation does not provide space for any optional marker in bipartite negation. The four-stage representation does not provide space for the optionality of the older marker in bipartite negation. The five-stage representation therefore emerges as the only one that can capture the variation thus displayed between the different phases of bipartite negation. This discussion concludes in section 8.4.3.

8.4.1. The asymmetric approach to JC stage 2

This section argues that the unfamiliar situation encountered in Fe?fe? with an older marker conveying emphasis, while the new marker(s) do(es) not, is not unprecedented. A similar situation is found in West Flemish, where the older marker *en* conveys emphasis, among other functions. A further similarity with Fe?fe? lies in the fact that the new marker in West Flemish is already an autonomous marker of negation. The only difference from Fe?fe? resides in the fact that the most recent marker in Fe?fe? does not yet convey negation as a standalone item in all syntactic environments. So, while it is standardly assumed that the bearer of emphasis during the JC is the new marker, we encounter a situation where the older marker conveys emphasis synchronically in both Fe?fe? and West Flemish.

Indeed, though other West Germanic languages have lost the older original marker, West Flemish still preserves it today. West Flemish thus constitutes an areal historical exception. The question this raises regards the factors that have contributed to the preservation of the older marker in West Flemish. Breitbarth and Haegeman (2010) argue that the apparent preservation of the old marker *en* cannot be used as an argument to support the position that West Flemish has not reached stage 3 of the JC. Rather, the marker *en* in its present use does not convey the semantics of negation any longer, but has been reanalysed for other purposes. Among other uses, *en* is used to mark emphasis on polarity in emphatic contradictions (28). Moreover, *en* occurs in contexts where an explicit or implicit expectation is contradicted (29).

- (28) a. Hij slaapt
 He sleeps
 ‘He is asleep.’
- b. Hij/t en doet
 He en does
 ‘No, he isn’t.’
- (29) a. Geef me nen keer Valere zenen telefoon.
 Give me once Valere his phone
 ‘Can you give me Valere’s phone number?’
- b. K’ (en) een-k ik Valere zenen telefon nie
 I (en) have-I I Valere his phoneNeg
 ‘I don’t have Valere’s number.’

In (28b), *en* is used in a fossilised construction *t en doet* to express an emphatic contradiction. In (29b), *en* is used to contradict the presupposition conveyed by the first speaker that the second speaker would know the requested phone number. These examples, among others, lead Breitbarth and Haegeman to argue that *en* has been reanalysed from its original negative meaning into a marker of polarity and emphasis.

In their analysis, the reanalysis of the older marker of negation into a particle serving other functions is simultaneous to the reanalysis of the new marker as a marker of negation. It follows that the new marker is not a bearer of the semantics of negation as long as the older marker is. This state of affairs leads Breitbarth and Haegeman to establish a distinction between a symmetric and an asymmetric approach to the second stage of the JC. They state regarding the former:

The standard approach to stage II of Jespersen’s cycle, that is, the stage at which the original and the new negation marker coexist, is that both elements are negation markers. We can call this the symmetric approach to stage II of Jespersen’s cycle.

Regarding the asymmetric approach they adopt, Breitbarth and Haegeman argue that the older marker has ceased to convey negation since Middle Dutch. Thus, despite the prolonged coexistence of both old and new markers in stage 2, they propose that the two markers in bipartite negation are always functionally different. Accordingly, there is no period of time where the two markers involved in bipartite negation are both related to the expression of negation. This entails that as long as the older marker conveys negation, the new marker does not, and from the time the new marker starts conveying negation, the old marker ceases to convey negation. Hence, the two markers in bipartite negation never conspire in the expression of negation. Rather, they are always associated with two different functional heads. This analysis is logically both coherent and convincing.

However, this raises a question related to the correspondence of the empirical data with functional interpretation. This is because we encounter three different possibilities in the empirical data, but the asymmetric approach relates them to only two functional interpretations. To be more specific, the data indicate a period where the new marker is optional in bipartite negation, and which corresponds to stage 2a or II. Following this, there is a period where the two markers (old and new) are obligatory in bipartite negation, and this would correspond to stage 2b or III. Finally, there is a period where the older marker is optional in bipartite negation, and which could be labelled stage 2c or IV. Each of these stages should receive a different interpretation. Empirical evidence for choosing the one-to-one basis for $F\epsilon?f\epsilon?$ rather than any other lies in the fact that the obligatory bipartite negation, for instance, does not allow for one or the other of the markers involved to convey negation as a standalone item. As the data of $F\epsilon?f\epsilon?$ clearly show, the obligatory bipartite negation becomes unacceptable if either the new (30b) or the older (30c) marker is left out.

(30)	a.	Siani	si	ŋgé	kò	bá
		Siani	NEG	go	farm	NEG
	b.	Siani	*(si)	ŋgé	kò	bá
		Siani	go	farm	NEG	
	c.	Siani	si	ŋgé	kò	*(bá)
		Siani	NEG	go	farm	

‘Siani does not go to the farm.’

In stage 2a/II, example (30b) with the optionality of the new marker is acceptable. I discuss a correlate of this stage as found in Mengaka (31) as an empirical argument in favour of the differentiation between three different phases in bipartite negation. In this early phase of bipartite negation, the new marker *kà?* can be optionally left out without resulting in ungrammaticality, as seen in 8.4.2 below. At this point, the new marker does not yet contribute the semantics of negation and this semantic burden rests on the older marker *pó* alone. This phase, which is available in Mengaka, combines with stage 2b/III and stage 2c/IV, which are both available in Fe?fe?, to back up the postulation of three different phases for bipartite negation in Fe?fe?, a point to which I turn below. These points therefore prevent me from embracing a purely asymmetric approach to bipartite negation in Fe?fe?; the motivation for my decision being that a purely asymmetric approach does not provide any interpretational space for obligatory bipartite negation during the second stage of the JC. The following paragraphs therefore propose a three-phase approach to bipartite negation.

8.4.2. A fine-grained version of bipartite negation for Fe?fe?

From what has emerged from the discussion above, there is a need to provide a picture of bipartite negation that covers all the different interpretational possibilities available in bipartite constructions. In this regard, I propose that the bipartite stage of the JC is better accounted for if it is subdivided into three sub-phases, as in the five-stage representation in table 2. These could be labelled stages 2a, 2b and 2c, or alternatively stages II, III, and IV, as in table 2. Stage 2b/III is illustrated above with the obligatory (30) bipartite negation *si ... bá* in Fe?fe?. Stage 2c/IV is illustrated with the surviving older West Flemish marker *en*, as well as with the older Fe?fe? marker *bá*. In stage 2c/IV, example (30c) is acceptable, with the older marker being left out without bringing about ungrammaticality. Both Fe?fe? and Ngomba exhibit this stage with the other new markers. I illustrate this with *kà?* (31a) and *káá* (31b) in Fe?fe? and Ngomba, respectively.

- (31) a. À **kà?** kwá pɛ? (**bá**)
 3SG NEG built house EMP
 'S/he has not built a house (EMP).'
 b. Móo **káá** kóŋ (pó)
 child NEG crawl EMP

‘The child did not crawl (EMP).’

Given that we have in the case of Fe?fe? both stages 2b/III and 2c/IV as seen in examples (30a) and (31a), respectively, the question raised by the postulation of a stage 2a/II is whether it is possible to provide evidence for the existence of this sub-stage. With the micro-comparative methodology in the background, I refer to the closely related language Mengaka (32)-(34) to fill this gap.

- (32) Mèn zó màkàbò **pō**
1SG eat cocoyam NEG

‘I haven’t eaten cocoyam.’

- (33) Mèn (**kà?**) zó màkàbò **pō**
1SG kà? eat cocoyam NEG

‘I haven’t eaten cocoyam.’

- (34) *Mèn **kà?** zó màkàbò
1SG NEG eat cocoyam

‘I haven’t eaten cocoyam.’

As already stated, the older marker *pō* still occurs as a standalone marker of negation in Mengaka (32). This means that Mengaka still displays stage 1 of the JC. Moreover, we can also see the marker *kà?* as an optional marker in a bipartite negation construction (33). This corresponds to the first phase of bipartite negation, which is not available in Fe?fe?. Evidence that the marker *kà?* is an optional item that does not convey the semantics of negation is found in the fact that the negative clause becomes unacceptable when the older marker *pō* is left out, as we can see from (34). We can thus find stage 2a/II in the Mengaka example (32), stage 2b/III in the Fe?fe? example (30a), and stage 2c/IV in the Fe?fe? and Ngomba examples (31a) and (31b), respectively. It follows that both stages 2a/II and 2c/IV entail some interpretational difference that fails to correspond to the interpretation associated with obligatory bipartite negation. More specifically, it appears that the optionality of the new and old markers respectively in stages 2a/II and 2c/IV shows that the semantic burden of contributing negation lies only on a single part of the discontinuous construction. However, this is not the case in stage 2b/III, where the presence of both markers is necessary to obtain a neutral negation interpretation, while optionality is simply excluded.

Given that both old and new markers obligatorily occur in the obligatory bipartite construction, it cannot be expected for this construction to convey emphatic negation, because if it did, then all negative sentences would be emphatic, since both old and new items are always present. As a consequence, this would yield a language where all negative constructions are emphatic if the language happens to have only obligatory bipartite negation. This explains in a straightforward manner why it cannot be expected for obligatory bipartite negation to be emphatic, as the data of Fe?fe? clearly show. For an obligatory bipartite negation to be emphatic in Fe?fe? it must have yet another item that conveys the emphasis, as in (35b).

- (35) a. Püu fàu **si?** ncám fǎ?a **bà**
 Sons chief NEG hit so NEG
 ‘The sons of the chief don’t hit like that.’
- b. Püu fàu **si?** ncám **z᷑** fǎ?a **bà**
 Sons chief NEG hit 3PL so NEG
 ‘The sons of the chief don’t hit like that (EMP).’

We can observe that (35a) and (34b) differ only with regard to the pronominal element *z᷑*, which occurs in (35b) but not in (35a). In the absence of this item, as in (35a), or of some other item with the same contribution, bipartite negation with *si* ... *bà* as seen in (35a) does not convey emphasis. A straightforward explanation for this state of affairs may be echoed in the words of Kiparsky and Condoravdi (2006: 5), who deny the possibility for an obligatory element to be emphatic, because this would result in emphasis on everything, and emphasising everything in reality means emphasising nothing at all. Indeed, assigning an emphatic reading to negation in clauses like (30a) or (35a) would entail that negation in such syntactic environments is always emphatic. This result however goes against natural expectations and hence should not be entertained. The data displayed in (32) to (34) shows the co-existence of JC stages 1 and 2 in Mengaka. While the marker *kà?* is already an autonomous marker of negation in Fe?fe?, its cognate in Mengaka is still dependent on the presence of the older marker for the expression of negation.

The micro-comparative method takes as a starting point the fact that the languages taken into consideration have a common ancestor, and must have developed the different realisation and distribution of negative strategies that they have in their present state from a common system. Mengaka and Fe?fe? are both Bamileke languages. Hence, we can safely refer to Mengaka to see what Fe?fe? might have

been like in an earlier period of time. Assuming the validity of the comparative method, we can therefore postulate that Fe?fe? has gone through a stage involving bipartite negation with an optional new marker, but also through a stage with monopartite negation with the older marker.

This leads me to safely posit a five-stage representation for the JC in Fe?fe?. However, the synchronic Fe?fe? data available to us display only the three stages in italic bold, namely stage 3, stage 4 and stage 5. These stages co-exist in Fe?fe?today.

From the foregoing discussion, we can see that a better understanding of the JC is possible only when the detailed time frames involving the real variation, as extensive as it may be, are taken into consideration. In this line of thought, we see how the analysis of the initially strikingly extensive variation encountered in Fe?fe? does not only benefit from an observation of the empirical situation found in other languages, but it also sheds light on the JC as a whole. I therefore adopt a

three-phase approach to bipartite negation, with the possibility of the new marker conveying emphasis when it is optional in the bipartite construction (phase 1). This is illustrated with (*kà?*) ... *po* in Meñgaka. The second phase of bipartite negation is made up of obligatory bipartite negation, as illustrated with *si* ... *bà* in Fe?fe?, while the third phase involves bipartite negation with an optional older marker. The latter in fact conveys emphasis in the relevant negative construction. Both the three- and four-stage representations of the JC fail to capture this extensive variation.

8.4.3. Interim summary

This section has considered the challenge raised by the reinforcing and emphatic role of the older marker in a bipartite construction. While the reinforcing role in bipartite negation is standardly ascribed to the new marker, we find in Fe?fe? new markers that do not convey emphasis, as well as an older marker functioning as a reinforcing element when it occurs in bipartite relation with a new marker that conveys the semantics of negation as an independent item. This has led us to wonder whether a JC analysis for the negation system of Fe?fe? should be questioned, or whether this divergence from the standard rather sheds some light on the JC. Upon examining a portion of the JC data in West Flemish, we have reached the conclusion that the view that emerges from bipartite negation in Fe?fe? with regard to the source of emphasis is not unprecedented. From the data of West Flemish discussed

Five stage representation	
Stages	Fe?fe?
1	<i>bà</i>
2	(<i>lè</i> / <i>pá?</i> / <i>kà?</i> / <i>Si</i>) ... <i>bà</i>
3	<i>lè</i> / <i>pá?</i> / <i>kà?</i> / <i>Si</i> ... <i>bà</i>
4	<i>lè</i> / <i>pá?</i> / <i>kà?</i> / <i>Si</i> ... (<i>bà</i>)
5	<i>lè</i> / <i>pá?</i> / <i>kà?</i> / <i>si</i>

by Breitbarth and Haegeman (2010), we clearly see that an older marker can contribute emphasis. I therefore conclude that the core of the debate lies in what phase of bipartite negation is at stake, and propose a fine-grained view of bipartite negation. Bipartite negation can be subdivided into three different phases: in the first phase, the new marker that cannot convey negation functions as an optional reinforcer to the older marker. In the second phase, both new and old markers are obligatory in bipartite negation, with ungrammaticality resulting from the deletion of one or the other item. In the third phase, the new marker has the full potential of a negative marker, while the older one has lost the semantics of negation. The latter therefore serves as an optional reinforcer in the bipartite relation. The analysis relies on micro-variation data to provide empirical evidence illustrating all three phases of bipartite negation. Hence, the data of West Flemish, with an older marker contributing emphasis, fall out as an integral pattern of bipartite negation, rather than being considered as an exceptional deviation. All in all, the initially challenging F_{e?fe?} patterns turn out to show that there is in fact more to the bipartite stage of the JC.

8.5. Conclusion

The general thesis upheld in this dissertation is that synchronic variation is the result and reflection of language change. In chapter 6, I proposed a chronological sequence between the overlapping items serving the function of negation in F_{e?fe?}. Toward the end of that chapter, I considered some points of similarity between F_{e?fe?} and the Indo-European languages which have provided some of the insights taken into consideration for the proposed analysis: the stepwise deletion of the clause-final marker *bá* as a parallel of the loss of *ne* in English and French; the spread of *si... bá* to new syntactic environments as a parallel of the extension of new markers from declarative main clauses to other syntactic environments in English, French and Welsh; and the loss of *pá?/mbá?* and *lá?* among teenagers as a parallel of the loss of items such as the French *mie*, *goutte*, *point*, and the English *nates*, *nahwar*, *nawiht*, *noghte*, among others, all emerge as major signposts pointing to the less familiar side of the JC discussed in chapter 4. Upon acknowledging these points of similarity between F_{e?fe?} and languages which have received a JC analysis, the goal of the present chapter has been to consider whether the points of striking contrast between F_{e?fe?} and the JC-related languages previously considered could constitute the basis for rejecting the language change under way in F_{e?fe?} as an instance of the JC. To this end, this chapter has discussed two aspects of the negation system of F_{e?fe?} that constitute major challenges to a JC-based analysis.

First of all, the reader's attention has been drawn to the difference in linear order between Fe?fe? and languages which have received a JC analysis. In the latter, the older marker linearly precedes the new one in a bipartite construction, to the point that old and new markers are usually referred to as pre- and post-verbal markers, respectively. We thus come across *ne not* in English, *ne pas* in French, *ni ddim* in Welsh and *n nent* in Cairese. In Fe?fe?, however, the older marker occurs as a clause-final item, and hence linearly follows the new marker in the bipartite construction *si...bā*. The similarity observed in the word order pattern between old and new in most languages having received a JC analysis suggests that there is a parallelism or correlation between chronological order and structural order in the JC. Building on the account provided for this marker in the previous chapter, the discussion in section 3 has led to the conclusion that there is indeed a mismatch between linear and structural order in the bipartite construction in Fe?fe?. Structurally, the linearly clause-final *bā* has been argued to belong to the C-domain, and thus to pattern with other older markers in being structurally higher than the new markers.

Secondly, I have examined the divergence between Fe?fe? and languages that have received a JC analysis regarding the source of emphasis in the bipartite stage of the JC. While it is standardly assumed that the emphasis ascribed to the bipartite construction finds its source in the new item, bipartite negation involving the newest item does not convey emphasis in Fe?fe?. Rather, an emphatic reading arises when a marker that can already contribute negation as a standalone item occurs in a bipartite construction with the older marker *bā*. From a compositional perspective, this suggests that the older marker is the bearer of emphasis. I have argued in this regard that the data of Fe?fe?, rather than contrasting with other JC-languages, instead show that there is more to the bipartite stage of the JC than usually clearly demonstrated. Accordingly, I have shown that the older marker of Fe?fe? corresponds to the surviving older marker in West Flemish, and both have been reanalysed to serve a function other than the expression of negation. Moreover, I have shown that the inability of the new marker to express emphasis in an obligatory bipartite negation is what should be expected. I have proposed that the bipartite stage of the JC should be subdivided into three sub-stages, each of which has its own specific characteristic.

All in all, the points that could constitute the basis for declaring the Fe?fe? negation system unfit for the JC pattern turn out to show that Fe?fe? is a replica of some language state that can be identified in each language that has undergone the JC. It follows that there is much more to the JC than has usually been explicitly stated in existing JC analyses. Therefore, the study of the Fe?fe? data has not only benefited from existing JC analyses, but has also shed additional light on this process.

IX General Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

This dissertation springs from the need to account for the multiplicity of ways of expressing a negative proposition in contemporary Fε?fe?, given the observation that many languages across the continents make use of a single marker for the same purpose. Taking into consideration the contrast between Fε?fe?, on the one hand, and a language such as Modern English, which makes use of a dedicated sentential negator, on the other, the central question that is raised at the entry point of this dissertation is whether there could be a road map that might lead from one of the extremes to the other. I have argued in this regard that synchronic variation is the reflection of language change. Hence, language change is the means by which the Fε?fe? type of language can be related to the Modern English type. In order to demonstrate the validity of this claim, I have made use of a broadly comparative methodology, bringing together

- ❖ cross-generational comparison within the present Fε?fe? speech community,
- ❖ micro-comparison involving closely related languages of the Bamileke area, and
- ❖ macro-comparison involving both present and previous stages of Indo-European languages with historical records, including English, which has gone from a single marker of negation in Old English to a single marker of negation in Contemporary Modern English via a stage similar to present-day Fε?fe? and displaying multiple ways of expressing negation.

This chapter summarises the major results of this dissertation (section 9.2) and indicates some areas for follow-up research (section 9.3).

9.2. Summary of the analysis

The central goal of this dissertation was to demonstrate that synchronic variation as encountered in the negation system of Fe?fe? is the manifestation of language change. Against the background of the standardly well accepted view that variation equals parameterisation, and hence mutually exclusive options, the type of synchronic variation displayed by the negation system of Fe?fe? should be altogether unexpected. However, since the Fe?fe? type of variation turns out not to be exceptional, I have argued that cross-linguistic comparison provides a better insight into generalisations pertaining to human language patterns, and should be relied upon to unveil and characterise the deeper properties of language. As a consequence, by comparing the Fe?fe? system with cross-linguistic data involving variation in the expression of negation, it turns out that this state of variation constitutes a normal state in diachrony, where chronologically different items converge while the grammar searches for a new system. Upon uncovering this natural language tendency against the backbone of both UG and the UP, I have demonstrated that there is ample empirical evidence supporting the hypothesis of language change within the present Fe?fe? speech community. For this purpose, I have relied on internal reconstruction, taking into consideration the variation involved in the use of each individual item, as well as on the socio-historical method, building on the differences between the different generations present in the speech community. Following this, two major questions have been addressed, the first regarding the order in which the items now co-existing in the Fe?fe? negation system have been introduced into the language, and the second involving the ability of a single clause structure to accommodate the resulting synchronic variants within a single language state. Finally, I have considered the points in the Fe?fe? data that could constitute a challenge to accounting for the negation system of Fe?fe? as a specific instance of language change, namely the JC. The following paragraphs provide a chapter-by-chapter report of the answers to each of the questions thus raised.

Before answering the above questions, I have introduced the reader to those categories that at first sight appear to trigger specific forms for negation. This provides a succinct description of some aspects of the Fe?fe? grammar. In this regard, chapter 2 describes the Fe?fe? verb in its forms and functions in section 2, discusses the tense system in section 3, and provides insight into the Fe?fe? aspectual system in section 3. Chapter 3 provides the basic elements regarding the clause typing systems of the language, describing different dependent clauses in the first part and unveiling the sentence types of the language in the second part.

Beyond this descriptive portion, the remainder of the dissertation focuses on providing evidence for language change. As a prelude to this task, I briefly describe in chapter 4 a set of complex negation data from Romance, Germanic and Celtic languages. The goal of this description is to display the striking resemblances that exist between the Fe?fe? system unfolded in section 1.2 and this cross-linguistic set of negation data from altogether unrelated languages. A further goal of this chapter is to provide independent evidence from multiple language families supporting the claim that synchronic variation be viewed as a meeting point between chronologically different negative markers. Via this step, I hope to prepare my reader to face the analysis of the the Fe?fe? data to follow in subsequent chapters.

In this regard, chapter 5 discusses the variation involved in the use of individual markers of negation as a reflex of language change. This chapter takes as its methodological backbone internal reconstruction, considering the traces left in the linguistic system by each event of change. Building on the simplistic Saussurean requirement of synchronic homogeneity and the resulting one-to-one correspondence between a single form and a single function in language, the variation discussed in this chapter zooms in on the interpretational import of the items used in the negation system. Differently stated, I consider whether an item conveys the semantics of negation or not, and whether it does so as a standalone item or in bipartite relation with another item. Section 3 discusses the reflexes of change that can be deduced through the variable uses of the clause-final marker. Section 4 builds on micro-variation data to show that the marker *kà?* might have gone through a stage where it could not contribute negation as a standalone item. Section 5 discusses the variations involved in the use of the marker *si*. The variations involving the use of these items are preceded by a definition of semantic reanalysis, a process by which the semantics of an item may change while its initial morpho-phonological form is preserved. Semantic reanalysis is perceived here as constituting the basis on which an apparently identical form may be considered to vary in its different uses.

Chapter 6 answers the question regarding the order in which the negative markers now present in the negation system of Fe?fe? have been introduced into the language. For this to be possible, the socio-historical method is used in combination with both macro- and micro-comparative data. The first builds on differences between elderly and teenage speakers to determine which item is older or more recent in the Fe?fe? negation system. Macro-comparative data from Indo-European languages with historical records are used to uncover natural language tendencies regarding the redistribution of old versus new markers into different syntactic environments. Finally, data from closely related Bamileke languages provide evidence that the clause-final marker was once an autonomous marker of negation.

This chapter proposes a relative chronology of negative markers in Fe?fe?, with the clause-final marker identified as the oldest marker in the system, and *si* and *kà?* as the new markers. This chapter does not, however, establish a strict chronological order between the markers *lé* and *pá?*. This does not detract from the overall account provided in the thesis.

In chapter 7, a structural account of the variation thus described is provided. Given that old and new markers converge during the same time span, the question this chapter seeks to answer regards the characteristic properties of the clause structure that can accommodate such variation. I have argued that a clause structure containing four NegPs (1) is needed, with negative projections spread along the clausal spine, thus making it possible for markers to be reanalysed upward as they change semantically.

- (1) ForceP (QP) > NegP1> FocP > NegP2> TP > NegP3> AspP > NegP4

Moreover, I propose that the reanalytical potential of markers makes it possible for markers to come and go and for newer markers to find a place in the system while older ones are still present. It follows that an item entering the negation system is more likely to be introduced from the lower part of the clause. By contrast, an item exiting the system would first be deprived of its negative semantics and acquire a purely discursive function. This semantic change is coupled with upward reanalysis. Therefore, the structurally highest items are semantically more depleted. Against this background, I have provided natural language data to show how the different NegPs in (1) are the hosts of a dynamic and hence continually changing system. What emerges from this chapter is that no marker is inherently meant to belong to a particular portion of the clause structure. Rather, a marker that starts out in the lower part of the clause may end up in the higher portion. Evidence for this claim is provided in the case of Fe?fe? with the marker *si* that occurs in three different NegPs, and data from Mengaka and Nweh provide evidence for the presence of *kà?* and *bá* on the lower portion of the clause.

Chapter 8 raises two potential challenges for a JC analysis for the negation system of Fe?fe?. The first concerns the word order difference between the Fe?fe? older marker and the older marker in languages which have received a JC analysis. This follows from the observation that older markers in the latter languages are usually pre-verbal, and hence there is a correlation between structural and chronological order in the JC. I argue that this correlation extends to Fe?fe? as well, given that the clause-final marker is in fact a pre-TP item, and hence patterns with other older markers in being structurally higher than newer markers. The second potential challenge concerns the semantic contribution of the new marker in bipartite

negation. It is often held that the source of emphasis in bipartite negation lies in the new marker. The data of present-day *Fε?fe?*, however, show that the source of emphasis in bipartite negation lies in the older marker. The question this raises is whether *Fc?fc?* deviates from JC patterns in this respect. I consider another case of apparent deviation from JC patterns to argue that *Fε?fe?* in fact sheds more light on the JC. In this regard, I discuss the case of West Flemish with an older marker that contributes emphasis, just like the *Fε?fe?* older marker. Then I argue that the core of the debate regarding whether the older rather than the newer marker contributes emphasis is the question of which phase of bipartite negation the language happens to find itself in. Accordingly, I propose that bipartite negation during the JC may be subdivided into three different phases, and that the situation involving an older marker contributing emphasis, as found in *Fε?fe?* and in West Flemish, corresponds to the third phase of bipartite negation. In its intermediate state, obligatory bipartite negation does not convey an emphatic reading. This corresponds to obligatory bipartite negation in *Fε?fe?*, with bipartite negation always conveying neutral negation, unless there is an additional item contributing emphasis within the negative clause. Moreover, it emerges that bipartite negation in its early phase finds the source of emphasis in the new marker. Evidence for this early phase of bipartite negation is provided from Mengaka, a closely related Bamileke language. Therefore, I adopt a five-stage version of the JC which provides better insight into the JC and which brings together all the variation thus considered. It follows from this chapter that the points that could have allowed us to discard a JC account for the negation system of *Fε?fe?* turn out to shed more light on the JC as a whole. All in all, I have argued that the negation system of *Fε?fe?* in its complex state displays a slice of the JC. While stages 1 and 2 are no longer available in present-day *Fε?fe?*, the language in its present state displays stages 3, 4 and 5. Moreover, some closely related languages such as Mengaka and Ngomba provide evidence for stages 1 and 2 which have already exited the negation system of *Fε?fe?*.

9.3. Avenues for future research

Accounting for the variation observed in the negation system of *Fε?fe?* as an instance of language change and, more specifically, as a slice of the JC opens the possibility to provide a JC analysis for many negation systems yet to be described, not only in the Bamileke area, but also beyond. It is very likely that such a research agenda would contribute not only to broadening research on the JC, but would also shed additional light on this language change phenomenon. The first observation that arises from the table below is that the variation in Nweh, Foto and Bafounda is considerably reduced; and the resulting negation table is more like the teenagers' table in *Fε?ε?* when the number of items present in the negation system is taken into

account. Moreover, the new marker *ti* is now the only marker of negation in the consecutive clause in Foto. While it occurs in free variation with the older marker *le* in Bafounda, the Nweh new marker (*te*) occurs with an older marker (*di*) in a bipartite construction in the consecutive clause in Nweh. Furthermore, Foto appears to be the most innovative of these languages. Its older clause-final marker, which is now a single vowel even in adults' speech, is almost lost to the language, surviving only in non-past environments. Even infinitives in Foto make use of a standalone *ti*. This extends the claim that there is a changing system under way in the Bamileke negation system as a whole.

Table 1: Bamileke negation data for adult speakers

	Bafounda	Fε?fe?	Foto	Mengaka	Ngomba	Nweh
Imperative	kə	púʔ/si	du?	dəm	kəə	mbe?
Infinitive	te	mbáʔ/si bɑ	ti	pó	mbòɔ (pó)	te bó
Modal compl	le	lé	?	mbe pó	pòɔ pó	gà
Consecutive	le/te wɔ	lé	ti	lə pó	mbòɔ	di te
Non-past	te wɔ	si..bɑ	ti a	pó	káa	te bó
Future					kéɛ pó	gà/te bó
Past	te wɔ	si	ti	pó	káa (pó)	te
Perfect	kà?	ká?	kaa	(kà?) pó	káa (pó)	te bó
Past (today)		kà?			mbòɔ (pó)	
Loc/exist/pred		si bɑ			pó	

Of particular interest is the negation system in languages that still display the older marker as a standalone item serving the function of negation. The observation that emerges is that the relevant languages are rather varied in their redistribution of negative markers across different syntactic environments. While the standalone older marker in Ngomba occurs in locative, existential and predicative constructions, the same marker in Mengaka occurs in infinitives, in non-past tenses and in past tenses. Moreover, the other older markers of Fε?fe? occur in imperative, consecutive clauses, and modal complement clauses, with the exception of *mbòɔ* in past tenses in Ngomba. From a distributional perspective, the typology of change in the negation system of Bamileke languages would be a worthwhile topic of investigation, as this would certainly shed more light on language change in general. Given that these languages display a case of language change on the spot, it would be interesting to identify the gradable trends regarding the syntactic environments that are more likely to host old versus new markers. Moreover, providing semantic, pragmatic or functional explanations underlying these correlations of diachronic shifts with synchronic reorganisations would further our understanding of those natural language tendencies already identified in the Germanic, Romance and Celtic

languages discussed in this dissertation. More specifically, what do imperatives, on the one hand, and infinitives and other dependent clauses on the other, have in common such that they host older markers in a situation of co-existence between old and new markers? What do independent main clauses have as specific characteristic properties such that new markers are innovated in them rather than elsewhere?

It is however worth stating at this point that the above research agenda can only become possible if more descriptive work on Bamileke languages is carried out. Though this raises the need for more descriptive studies of these languages, I perceive a more urgent need for work on Fe?fe? and Bamileke languages in general. There is a need for spoken archives that could help store the present states of these languages for future research on language change. It would be helpful if the linguist working on these languages 50 years or more from now could have access to all the variations available today in these languages. Though grammar writing would necessitate more time investment, spoken archives would provide faster results and would even provide a huge data set that can later be used for the description of specific constructions.

Besides the discussion above, there is a question raised in section 4.2 of chapter 4 that has not received the careful consideration it deserves, and which constitutes a concern to be explicitly addressed in future research. This regards the correlation of language change to synchronic variation between old and new forms or patterns against the background of the abruptness or instantaneity of change as advocated in most parametric studies. More specifically, how do we reconcile the empirical facts described in this dissertation with the perspective of UG as a list of parameters whose values are set as either '+' or '-'? From the parametric perspective as understood thus far, old and new forms correspond to different parametric options, given that they result from a situation of parameter resetting. If we also endorse the abruptness or instantaneity of change as a product of the acquisition process as discussed in section 4.2 of chapter 4, the question that arises is, what aspect of the parametric theory needs to be re-evaluated once we give due consideration to the empirical data by accepting them for what they really are? Addressing this question will provide further insight into the properties of grammar

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Deze dissertatie houdt zich bezig met synchrone variatie als een weerspiegeling en overblijfsel van taalverandering. De aandacht wordt gericht op de subtiele synchrone variatie die in het negatiesysteem van F_E?f_E? te vinden is, zoals samengevat in tabel 1.

Tijd, aspect, wijs&zinstypes	Negatie
Vraagzin:Aanhangselvraag&ander gebruik	bá
Voorwaardelijks(bij)zin(protasis)	si... bá
Niet-verleden(toekomend, progressieve&habituele tegenwoordige tijd)	locatief, si... bá
Verledentijd 2 & 3	sí
Verledentijd 1	kà?
Voltooidtegenwoordigetijd	kà?
Perspectivisch	là?
Modale(bij)zin	lé
Gevolgzin	lé
Directief Complement	pá?/sí
Bijzin van doel/finale bijzin	pá?/si bá
Onbepaaldewijs	mbá?/si bá
Gebiedendewijs	pá?/sí

Tabel 1:Huidige F_E?f_E? negatietafel voor volwassen sprekers

Het systeem is een buitengewoon raadsel voor een lezer meer bekend met negatie in talen zoals Modern Engels en Standaard Nederlands, talen die zinsnegatie uitdrukken door een speciale negatieve markering te gebruiken, zoals in (1) en (2) respectievelijk wordt geïllustreerd.

- (1) ‘Joseph is **not** an Egyptian.’

- (2) Jan loopt niet
John walks neg

‘John does not walk.’

De voornaamste onderzoeksraag die het contrast tussen de taal in tabel 1 aan de ene kant en de voorbeelden in (1) en (2) aan de andere kant opwerpt, is of er een manier is die de twee extremen te verbinden. Deze dissertatie geeft een positief antwoord op deze vraag door te stellen dat de variatie die in tabel 1 te zien is de synchrone manifestatie van taalverandering is. Het belangrijkste doel van deze dissertatie is de validiteit van deze beweringaan te tonen aan de hand van de speciale eigenschappen van het negatiesysteem van Fε?fe?. De belangrijkste theoretische veronderstellingen komen vanuit de Principes en Parameters - benadering. De bewijsvoering stoelt op de generatie-overschrijdende variatie binnen Fε?fe?, op gegevens over micro-variatie in aanverwante Bamileke-talen en op macro-variatie in talen waarvan er historische bronnen beschikbaar zijn.

Bezien vanuit een Saussuriaans perspectief hebben synchrone en diachrone verschijnselen niets met elkaar te maken. Terwijl de eerste de gelijktijdig aanwezige elementen van een systeem betreft, richt de tweede zich op de vervanging van het ene element door een ander terwijl de tijd voortschrijdt. De tweede heeft dus te maken met opeenvolgende elementen die niet toegankelijk zijn voor een enkel collectief bewustzijn. Labov (1965) week echter af van deze standaard en lanceerde de ‘apparent-time’benadering die uitgaat van het idee dat synchrone variatie diachrone taalverandering kan laten zien. Hierdoor wordt het mogelijk dynamische tendensen die in het synchrone systeem opgesloten zitten te ontsluiten.

De gegevens over macrovariatie die in deze dissertatie verkend worden, vormen een empirisch argument dat de zienswijze ondersteunt dat ‘de antinomie tussen synchronie en diachronie, tussen het formele en het historische, naar de periferie moet worden verbannen’. In de geest hiervan, steun ik op historische gegevens van Engels, Frans en Welsh, alsmede synchrone data van Cairese en Welsh om de stellingverder te bevestigen dat de variatie die te zien is in een enkel stadium van een taal een verzameling kan zijn van elementen die hun oorsprong hebben in verschillende tijdsperioden.

Vanuit het Fε?fe? zelf, wordt deze stelling gedemonstreerd door middel van een comparatieve analyse die rekening houdt met de bewezen variatie tussen jongeren en oude sprekers van de taal. We observeren, zie de rechterkolom van table 2, dat de markeringensien *si... b>* het negatiesysteem binnendringen en daarmee oudere markeringen verdrijven uit het zich ontwikkelende Fε?fe? negatiesysteem, zoals gedocumenteerd in de spraak van jongeren. Wanneer de huidige volwassen generatie tussen de jongeren en de oudere sprekers geplaatst wordt, observeren we

een subtiel continuüm dat de drie generaties omspan, waarin archaïsche en innovatieve patronen vreedzaam naast elkaar bestaan.

Ik borduur voort op het parallelisme tussen de data van Fe?fe? en de macrovariatie in talen waarvan historische bronnen aanwezig zijn. Ik beschouw de variatie in het negatiesysteem van Fe?fe? als gedeeltelijk overeenkomstig met het soort variatie geobserveerd in onderzochte Indo-Europees talen met beschikbare historische bronnen. Vanuit dit perspectief zijn zowel de grote hoeveelheid aan markeringen en hun verdeling over verschillende syntactische omgevingen binnen een en dezelfde taal, geen raadsel meer, aangezien we ook een rijke inventaris aan markeringen vinden in alle andere talen die onderzocht zijn. Verder overlappaal-overschrijdend gezien oude en nieuwe markeringen elkaar in verschillende syntactische omgevingen. Als gevolg daarvan stel ik voor Fe?fe? een taalveranderingsanalyse voor van hetzelfde soort als de analyse die voorgesteld is om variatie tussen taalfamilies te verklaren, namelijk een Jespersen Cycle (JC) analyse.

	Ouderen	Jongeren
Aanhangselvraag&andere gebruik	bā	bā
Voorwaardelijks(bij)zin	si(?) bā	si bā
Niet-verleden	si(?) bā	si bā / sì
Verledentijd 2 & 3	si(?)bā/ si(?)	sì
Verledentijd 1	kā?	kā?
Voltooidtegenwoordigetijd	kā?	kā?
Perspectivisch	lā?	kā? lā?
Modale(bij)zin	lē	lē
Gevolgzin	lē	lē/ Si bā
Directief complement	pá?/sì	sì
Bijzin van doel/finale bijzin	pá?/si bā	si bā
Onbepaalde wijs	mbá?/si bā	si bā
Gebiedende wijs	pá?/sì	sì

Tabel 2: Het gebruik van negatie van ouderen en jongeren gecontrasteerd.

Ondanks de geobserveerde overeenkomsten tussen *sì/si... bā* en *ne/ne ... pas* of *ne/ne ... not* uit respectievelijk Frans en Engels, is de markering *bā* niet productief voor negatie in hedendaags Fe?fe?. Dit roept de vraag op of er bewijs is dat *bā*, zoals gebruikt in *sì... bā*, ooit gebruikt is alsoen productieve, autonome, monopartite markering voor negatie in Fe?fe?. In dit opzicht, leun ik op gegevens van

aanverwante talenom bewijs te vinden voor het standpunt dat de zinsfinale markering *b>* ooit gebruikt werd als een autonome markering die de betekenis van ontkenning overbracht en als zodanig de oudste markering in Fe?fe? is. Zo maakt de inbreng van dit microvariatieonderzoek het mogelijk om een volledige JC voor Fe?fe? te reconstrueren.

Echter, ondanks dat ik een JC-type analyse voorstel, omarm ik niet de standaardversie die impliciet vereist dat de bestudeerde elementen discrete entiteiten zijn die hun oorsprong vinden in onderbroken tijdsperioden, waarbij elke tijdsperiode zijn eigen enkelvoudige markering introduceert. Ik zie generatie-overschrijdende variatie lievelangs een miniatuurweerspiegeling van verschillende tijdsperioden die deels met elkaar overlappen in de vorm van een ononderbroken continuüm. Een element kan twee of meer generaties omspannen en toevallig overlappen met andere geïnnoveerde elementen in latere generaties. Bovendien is dit in overeenstemmingen met de feiten geobserveerd in de huidige en voorbije toestanden van talen waarvan historische bronnen in overweging zijn genomen. Dit betekent een uitdaging voor de parametrische benadering taalinterne (parametrische) variatie waar taalfamilies van doordrongen zijn aan de orde te stellen te verklaren, tegen de achtergrond van het algemeen geaccepteerde standpunt dat variatie gelijkstaat aan parametrisatie.

De behoefte om naast elkaar bestaande varianten, die hun origine in verschillende tijdsperioden hebben, te vangen in een enkele synchrone zinsstructuur, is hier direct aan gerelateerd. Deze dissertatie stelt deze vraag aan de orde na hetvoorstellen van een relatieve chronologie van de naast elkaar bestaande markeringen in hedendaags Fe?fe?. Daarvoor wordt eerst het systeem van Fe?fe? ontleed en elk verschijnsel dat in twee (of meer) variabele morfosyntactische vormen boven komt drijven, of met twee verschillende semantische interpretaties, wordt eruit gepikt als bewijs voor het plaatsvinden van een of meer discrete veranderingen, elk op een uniek tijdstip in de geschiedenis van de taal.

De globaal comparatieve benadering aangenomen om de Fe?fe? data te verklaren, kan een inspiratie vormen voor de analyse van talen die geen geschreven historische bronnen hebben.
