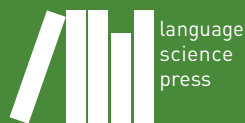# The Negative Existential Cycle from a historical-comparative perspective

Edited by

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Contents

Chapter 1

The negative existential cycle in Chadic

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Chadic languages, like languages of West and Central Africa more generally, are known to e[...]typologically rare negation strategies. Not only do many Chadic languages e[...] bi-partite negation, there is also a tendency for the second of these two verbal negators to occur after the verb, in contrast to a cross-linguistic preference for pre-verbal negation. This particular study examines the extent to which Croft's 1991 Negative Existential Cycle (NEC) may be demonstrated across Chadic languages. Furthermore, the study explores the use of the NEC as an explanatory framework in determining sources and pathways of verbal negation in Chadic languages. An important implication of this study is that identification of the B~C stage of the NEC elucidates the relationship between verbal negation and negative existential predication, as well as the relationship between these domains and other domains of the grammar such as aspect.

1 Introduction

In this paper, I consider the applicability of the types and stages of Croft's (1991) Negative Existential Cycle (henceforth NEC) to the Chadic language family – a family which already exhibits a cross-linguistically unusual negation system. In Croft's framework, there are three types of languages, A, B, and C that form a diachronic cycle. The direction of change is A~B, B~C, and C~A, where a special negative existential form arises, subsequently comes to be used as a verbal negative, and is then supplemented by a positive existential so that it is restored to a regular negative + existential construction. In brief, these internally variable stages represent historical changes in process as negative existential predication comes to mark verbal negation. Croft's types and stages are summarized here:

> Type A: There is no special negative existential predicate. The affirmative existential predicate is negated by the ordinary verbal negator.

A~B: A special negative existential predicate is found in addition to the regular negative existential form.

Type B: There is a special negative existential marker that is distinct from the ordinary verbal negator.

B~C: The negative existential predicate begins to be used for ordinary verbal negation, but is restricted to specific contexts.

Type C: The negative existential predicate is identical in form and position to the verbal negator.

C~A: The negative-existential- cum-verbal-negator is in the process of being re-analyzed as only a negative marker and a regular positive existential verb begins to be used with it in negative existential constructions.

I find examples of most – though not all – of these types and stages in the Chadic family. However, while some languages fit neatly into given stages, this work follows previous scholarship (e.g. Veselinova 2016) in suggesting that languages sometimes exhibit overlap between types or stages. Beyond identification of the NEC in Chadic, a goal of this paper is to suggest that an exploration of the NEC is illuminative in identifying sources of verbal negation, taking the Chadic family as an example. In Chadic, there is great variation in the expression of negation in terms of phonological and morphological form as well as the number of markers used in negative constructions. Existential predication appears to be one pathway through which new forms come to serve as verbal negators.

All data included in this paper comes from published grammars. According to Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2018), there are roughly 200 Chadic languages. These are spoken across Northern Nigeria, Southern Niger, Southern Chad, the Central African Republic, and parts of Northern Cameroon. Of these, there exist an approximate 60 published grammars or grammatical sketches. Following Newman (2000), these languages can be divided into four subgroups: Western, Central, Eastern, and Masa. There is an unequal distribution of languages across the family with the largest numbers belonging to the Western and Central sub-families and a mere ten languages belonging to Masa. Scholarship has largely favored Western and Central languages and these comprise the majority of languages presented in this paper. The languages included herein were selected primarily through convenience. Upon perusal of the approximate 30 grammars available to me, I was able to determine evidence of the cycle in 12 of these languages, three from the Western branch, eight from Central, one from East, and none from Masa. Some grammars were published several decades ago, meaning the level of description and inclusion of evidence fell below contemporary

standards; namely, some grammars included glossless examples with little to no accompanying contextual information. In cases where there are no glosses, I have reconstructed them myself.

The organization of the paper is as follows. I begin with a brief introduction of interesting issues within the Chadic negation system. This is followed by a presentation of examples of languages within each of the types and stages of the NEC. I then submit some examples of languages that do not fit neatly into any one type or stage. This is followed by a discussion of the implications of the data as a whole. In the final section, I propose common sources for verbal negators in Chadic and discuss the merits of including existential predication as one of these sources.

2 Negation in Chadic languages

Before addressing the NEC, it should be acknowledged that the verbal negation system itself is quite unusual in Chadic. In a study on the distribution of negative word order, Dryer (2009) finds that VO& V_{NEG} languages – those where the negative marker follows the verb – are a typological phenomenon unique to Central Africa (Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan,and Chadic) and, to a lesser extent, to New Guinea. Though there are isolated cases of VO& V_{NEG} languages around the world, there is nowhere with such a concentration of examples as is found in these two regions. It has been observed as early as Jespersen (1917) that there is a cross-linguistic preference for negators to occur directly before the verb, yet in Chadic languages, which are primarily SVO, the negative marker occurs not only after the verb, but in the final position of the phrase. In the great majority of cases, the verb may be followed only by time adverbials and interrogatives.

Additionally, many Chadic languages employ bi-partite negation markers, though Proto-Chadic negation appears to have been single-marked in clause-final position (Newman 1977). In his classic study of negation, Dahl (1979) finds that where there is bi-partite negation in his sample, the two negators nearly always surround the verb. He takes this to suggest a general tendency for negatives to occur as close to the finite element of the phrase as possible. Yet this rarely what happens for Chadic, as the first negator in Chadic often occurs before the subject and the second negator often occurs after the object where the dominant word order is SVO. Indeed, Dahl (1979) cites West African languages as typologically unusual among his sample.

There is still much to be discovered regarding negation in Chadic, including the sources and pathways behind the various forms that occur.

li- b... ng not ideal here due to long words

t... en- tence is missing some- thing

3 The negative existential cycle across Chadic languages

In Chadic languages, given the sparsity of resources and examples provided grammar in individual languages, it is difficult to get a sense of language change over a long period of time. Thus, rather than focusing on the evolution of negation within individual languages, the focus of this study is on evidence of the stages of NEC across the Chadic language family.

The NEC, as an explanatory framework, illuminates the relationship between the domain of negative existentials and of verbal negation. Negative existential predicators differ from verbal negators by virtue of the fact that they indicate a state rather than an action or a process; they serve to indicate the absence of an entity and to pragmatically remove a referent from the scene (Veselinova 2013). Verbal negation, on the other hand, refers to the negation of a declarative phrase with a verbal predicate in the sense of Dahl (2010) and Miestamo (2005). Given the differing functions, these domains are constantly distinguished, though also interact closely. In this section, I present examples of Chadic languages that fit each of the types and stages of the NEC.

3.1 Type A

In Type A languages there is no special negative existential predicator, but the negation of the affirmative existential is performed by the verbal negator. This is common in Chadic languages. In Pa'anci, a West Chadic language, the affirmative existential *ani* occurs with the regular verbal negator *wa* to negate existence as in (1a). The negator *wa* also occurs in final position in utterances with verbs and is post-posed only by a sentence-level emphatic particle *na* as in (1b). Skinner (1979: 102) notes that *ani* is derived from a "locative verb feature bundle" *ánà*, followed by an associative preposition *i*. (1c) is an example of an affirmative existential utterance.

(1)   Pa'anci (Skinner 1979: 102, 150)

   a. ***ani***   *ambi* ***wa***
      one.CONT.ASSC water NEG
      'There is no water.'[1]

   b. *ná munde na dava* ***wa*** *na*
      3SG say   3SG come NEG EMPH
      'He said he didn't come.'

---

[1]All Pa'anci glosses were constructed by the author

c. ***ani***   *aci*   *aɦari pangwa*
    one.CONT.ASSC guinea.corn inside corn.bin
    'There is guinea corn in the bin.'

It should be noted that *ani* and *wa* occur at opposite ends of the phrase. The distance of the verbal negator from the existential predicate suggests the separate functional domains of negation and existential predication, making the frequency of Type A understandable.

In Gidar, a Central Chadic language, the affirmative existential verb *tà* (from the copula) must co-occur with the verbal negator *ɓà* in order to mark negative existence as in (2a). The marker *tà* is purely existential and does not code existence in a location. All negative clauses in Gidar are marked by the clause final particle *ɓà* as in (2b). (2c) is an example of an affirmative existential utterance.

(2)   Gidar (Frajzyngier 2008: 208, 261)

     a. *ɗə́f* ***tà-*y*** *án də̀-dàw*   *kàyí-t*   ***ɓà***
       man be-3M REL 3M-D.PROG want-3F NEG

       'There is no man who wants her.'

     b. *mə́ɓlìy də̀-dàw*   *dáw sá*   ***ɓà***
       chief   3M-D.PROG walk even NEG

       'The chief didn't even walk.'

     c. *ɗíi* ***tà-*N** *də́-dà(w)*   *káí-tə́-nì*
       men be-3PL 3M-D.PROG want-3F-PL

       'There are many men who desire her.'

As there is no special negative existential form in Gidar, it is clearly a Type A language.

3.2 A~B

In this synchronically variable stage, there is a special negative existential form in addition to the regular negative existential form. Croft (1991: 7) describes the special negative existential as "usually but not always a contraction or fusion of the verbal negator and the positive existential form".

In Hausa, a West Chadic language, there are two negative existential forms, *bâ* and *bābù*, shown in (3a), which are distinct in quantity and tone from the verbal negator *bà...bà* used in tense, aspects, and moods other than continuous and subjunctive, as in (3b). In negative continuous utterances, the verbal negator is *bā*. Generally, the two negative existentials may be used interchangeably, though the

former occurs more frequently when there is a nominal predicate. When there is no overt object, only *bābù* can be used. The word *bābù* is also sometimes used colloquially to mean 'no', often as an elliptical response or as a sign of disagreement. The affirmative existentials in Hausa, *àkwai* and *dà*, as in (3c) and (3d) bear no resemblance to the negative existentials nor to the verbal negators. However, like the negative existential predicator, both occur in phrase-initial position. [2]

(3)   Hausa (Newman 2000: 178–179, 357)

    a.   ***bābù*/*bâ** *sauran àbinci*
        NEG.EX   other   food
        'There is no food remaining.'[3]

    b.   ***bà** *zā mù biyā sù* **ba**
        NEG FUT 3PL pay 3PL NEG
        'We will not pay them.'

    c.   ***àkwai*** *wani bằkō   à   kōfằ*
        EXIST   INDEF stranger PREP door
        'There is a stranger at the door.'

    d.   ***dà***   *kudɪ*
        EXIST money
        'There is money.'

In Hausa, then, there is a second negative existential form, but there is no evidence that this is the result of fusion with an affirmative existential. Newman (2000) addresses the dispute regarding the relation between *bābù* and *bâ*. Some, such as Eulenberg (1971) take *bābù* as the original and *bâ* to be a phonologically reduced form. Newman (1971), however, proposes that the source for this alternate form *bābù* is a fusion *bâ* 'NEG' + *ābù* 'thing', a change attested in other Chadic languages as well. As evidence against *bābù* as basic, he cites the fact that it takes independent rather than object pronouns as its complement. Additionally, Newman notes that *bâ* might have been borrowed from Kanuri, as the negative existential therein is of the same shape.

It is possible that *bâ* is losing its distinction as a negative existential, given its resemblance to the clause-initial verbal negator *bà,* lending to the fusion of a

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[2] *dà* shares the same morpheme as the preposition 'with'. While *dà* is only followed by an independent, *àkwai* makes use of weak object pronouns. Furthermore, *dà*, unlike *àkwai*, can never be expanded unless it is followed by *àkwai*; indeed, in some dialects, *dàkwai* has fused into a single word.

[3] All Hausa glosses have been constructed by the author

new form *bābù* to be preferred in certain areas of the grammar as a solution to ambiguity. Evidence for this lays in the use of *bābù* in emphatic utterances, as in dispute and disagreement. Croft (1991) discusses the "close diachronic association" between negative existentials, negative interjections and verbal negators in connection with this stage. Hausa is of A~B because there is a second negative existential form which has some restricted uses.

In Lele, an East Chadic language, the locative anaphora, *màní*,[4] used to mark affirmative existence, as in (4a and 4b). This form can be negated by the verbal negator, *ɗé*, as in (4c), in accordance with Type A. Additionally, there is a form *wíléŋ* 'lack' which serves as a negative existential, as in (4d).

(4) Lele (Frajzyngier 2001: 196)

    a. *kùmnó **màní***
         God   there
         'God exists'

    b. *ɗíglè káŋ kàsà **màní***
         year DEM corn there
         'there is corn this year'

    c. *kùmnó **màní ɗé***
         God   exist NEG
         'God does not exist'

    d. *kùmnó **wíléŋ***
         God   not.exist
         'God does not exist'

Given that the form *màní…ɗé* can be substituted for *wíléŋ* in the same utterance, there does not appear to be restriction of these forms.

3.3 Type B

In Type B there is a special negative existential marker which is distinct from the verbal negator. Muyang, a Central Chadic language, is exemplary of this type. Here, the negative existential *bī* differs from the affirmative existential, as in (5a), and the existential *bù*, as in (5b) differs from the verbal negator *dò*, as in (5c).

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[4] It should be noted that the primary role of *màní* is locative anaphora, though it is used on occasion to mark affirmative existence as in the examples given.

(5)   Muyang (Smith & Gravina 2010: 27, 118)

    a.   *ā-**bī***
        3SG-NEGEX

        'He/she is not there.' or 'there isn't any.'

    b.   *ā-**bù***
        3SG-EXIST

        'He/she is there.' or 'there is some.'

    c.   *kā-ẑāx*   ***dò***
        2SG-roar NEG

        'You do not cry out.'

A perhaps less obvious example of a language belonging to Type B is Mina, a Central Chadic language where the negative existential construction appears to be diachronically young. Verbal negation in Mina is marked by a clause final particle *skù* as in (6a). The verbal negator has scope over the entity immediately preceding it. The affirmative existential *dáhà* (often shortened to *dá*) must co-occur with the verbal negator *skù* to create a negative existential predicate as in (6b). Mina differs from other Chadic languages in that the existential predicate and the verbal negator neighbor one another. It may be that this fact contributes to the clipped *dà* existential form in negative existential predicates that is typically in its full form in affirmative existentials as in (6c).

(6)   Mina (Frajzyngier & Johnston 2005: 55, 79, 234, 269)

    a.   *á*   *tì-y-á-h*   *hà nék* ***skù***
        3SG see-GO-2SG 2SG good NEG

        'He does not see you as a good person.'

    b.   *kó*   *mà láɓ-yîi* ***dá***   ***skù***
        QUANT REL wet-PL EXIST NEG

        'Not even one [page] was wet.'

    c.   *tèbéŋ*   *tá*   *ndìr*   ***dáhà***
        granary GEN sorghum EXIST

        'There is a granary of sorghum.'

    d.   *mɔ́ mbɔ́ɗ*   *zɔ́ v-yîi*   ***dà***   *skù*
        REL surpass EE who-PL exist NEG

        'Who is superior? Nobody.'

It appears from the available data that *dá skù* is coming to serve as its own lexical unit. Evidence for this is provided by (6d) where *dá skù* can constitute

a complete clause. Haspelmath (1997) finds that it is not uncommon for negative existentials to perform the function of indefinite pronouns in many Oceanic languages.

Though the negative existential form here is transparent, it appears to be stable.

3.4 B~C

Croft (1991: 9) calls this synchronic variable stage "the most important step in support of our hypothesis" and it certainly seems to generate the most interesting questions. Here, the negative existential predicator begins to be used for ordinary verbal negation. The negative existential may compete with the verbal negator, sometimes being used instead of it.

Hdi, a Central Chadic language, is probably the best example of this stage. Here, verbal negation is typically marked by *á … wà/wù* as in (7a). The forms *wà* and *wù* are free variants though some speakers show preference for one or the other. The affirmative existential is *màmú* (sometimes reduced to *màá*) and cannot occur with the verbal negator as in (7b). In order to negate existence, the form *xàɗú* 'lack' is used with a single negative marker at the end of the clause, as in (7c).

Additionally, there is evidence that *xàɗú* is coming to replace the first verbal negator, not just in existential utterances, but in verbal utterances as well. Frajzyngier & Shay (2002) note that *xàɗ* codes negative subjunctive in imperfective as well as negative imperfective in the indicative mood as in (7d). These authors also state that the *xàɗ … wà* frame codes "pragmatically dependent negative clauses" such as negative relative clauses, negative conditional protases, and negative conditional and temporal apodoses (p. 463), as in (7e).

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(7)   Hdi (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 71, 124, 194, 458, 476)

    a. *ɗvà ˈá   xdí-xà tá l'école   wù, ká-ˈá*
       like NEG Hdi-PL OBJ school (Fr.) NEG COMP-3SG

       '"Hdi do not like school," he said.'

    b. *índà dimanche   ná   màmú marriage ndánà*
       every Sunday (Fr.) COMP EXIST   marriage now

       'Every Sunday there is a marriage now.'

    c. *xàɗú ìmí   wà*
       lack   water NEG

       'There are no rains.'

d. ***xàɗ**-ká   kà   ǹghá tsá   **wà***
   lack-2SG SEQ look   DEF NEG
   'You should not look at it.'

e. ***xàɗ** xə̀ŋ tà   ksá-f-tà   dágálá **wà***
   lack 3PL IMPF catch-UP-REF many   NEG
   'They do not catch many.'

There may be something similar beginning to happen in Wandala, though this is underdeveloped. Wandala is a Central Chadic language where verbal negation is marked by *k* (clause-internally) or *kà* (when in phrase final position). The negator is placed after the verb and before the nominal subject or object as in (8a). Only when the verb is not followed by an argument does the negative particle occur clause finally. Negative existential clauses are formed through the use of *ɓákà* or *ɓáakà* in clause-initial or clause-final position, depending on whether the information presented is old or new, as in (8b).

Generally, the negative existential and the verbal negator do not co-occur, though there are some rare instances in which they do, as in (8c). It is unclear what function is served by combining these elements, but it is possible that the final *kà* here is simply a clipped form of the negative existential, as there are cases where the negative existential is repeated, as in (8d).

(8)   Wandala (Frajzyngier 2012: 208, 327, 464, 583)

a. *tsà-n-á   **k**   nábbà*
   stop-3SG-GO NEG Nabba
   'He did not stop Nabba.'

b. *á   yà-wá ə́ə́lvà-á-rwà   **ɓákà***
   well 1SG-COM word-GEN-1SG NEGEX
   'Well, I have no words.'

c. *ŋán kínì sé   à   hàyà bà dó   nə̀ ŋánnà **ɓákà** pédà-á-r*
   3SG C.FOC only 3SG like   FOC man DEM DEF   NEG.EX means-GEN-3SG
   *nà   **kà***
   DEM NEG
   'She, she likes only the man that does not have any means.' [or 'only useless men']

d. ***ɓákà**   ùrà   tà   tàttàyà à   j-ú   g-íyà   **ɓákà***
   NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG NEG.EX
   'One does not look for a person to surpass me.'

The important question that emerges from the data from Hdi (and, to a lesser extent, from Wandala) is what purpose is served by the enforcement of the verbal negator by the negative existential.

3.5 Type C

In this type, the negative existential is identical in form and position to the verbal negator, demonstrating "polysemy between negative existential meaning and verbal negation" (Croft 1991: 12). This occurs rarely in Chadic languages, but appears in Gude, a Central Chadic language.

In all TAM in Gude, the verbal negator, *pooshi,* exactly resembles the negative existential, *pooshi*, as exhibited by the negated verbal phrase in (9a) and the negative existential utterance in (9b). The negative existential does not appear related to the affirmative existential *tə'i*; rather, Hoskison (1983) suggests that *pooshi* is formed from the *pə* used in phrases of refusal and *uushi* 'thing', as also attested in Hausa above. In the completive aspect, there is an alternative verbal negation strategy which uses *ma...mə* surrounding the verb stem as in (9c).

(9)   Gude (Hoskison 1983: 71, 90, 91)

    a. ***pooshi*** *Musa kii   faara*
       NEG   Musa threw stone

       'Musa did not throw a stone.'

    b. ***pooshi*** *nwanwu də Gyala*
       NEG.EX chief   at Gyala

       'There is a no chief at Gyala.'

    c. ***ma****-ka-****mə***   *Musa faara*
       NEG-throw-NEG Musa stone

       'Musa did not throw a stone.'

This negative completive strategy is rare and exists alongside the more typical strategy of marking verbal negation through use of the negative existential.

3.6 C~A

I do not have strong evidence for a synchronically variable C~A stage in Chadic where the negative-existential-cum-verbal-operator comes to be reanalyzed as an ordinary verbal negator and begins to occur with the affirmative existential in negative existential clauses. As noted by Croft (1991: 19), this is perhaps unsurprising given that Type C is relatively unstable and typologically uncommon.

He reasons that the lack of an existential predicate is anomalous in the minds of speakers, leading to the introduction of a positive existential relatively quickly, thus returning a given language to Type A.

4 Overlap between types and stages

Veselinova (2016) has pointed out that overlap between types occurs to a greater extent than perhaps conceded by Croft (1991). In this section, I consider a few examples of Chadic languages where the data available does not warrant easy placement in any one type or stage.

4.1 Overlap of Type A and Type B

As mentioned early in the paper, in Chadic it is common for there to exist two options to negate existence within the same language. In the first, a negative existential predicate is formed through a positive existential and a verbal negator (Type A). In the second, there is a distinct negative existential predicator (Type B). Often these forms of negation are used interchangeably, though sometimes the negative existential serves additional functions. The presence of additional functions suggests that the negative existential in these languages is newer than the verbal negator. However, it is not the case in all languages that a clear line can be drawn between what functions are performed by each of these types.

In Ngizim, a West Chadic language, the negative existential *góo* as in (10a) differs from the verbal negator *bái* as in (10b). Consistent with Type B, the two may not co-occur. The form *góo* can additionally mean 'without', but is not limited to this meaning. However, consistent with Type A, the affirmative existential *naa* may also co-occur with the verbal negator *bai* to form a negative existential predicate as in (10c).[5]

(10) Ngizim (Schuh 1972: 84, 455)

   a. *zaaman Mai Maadi dá-bənci* **goo**   *ža*
       time   king Madi   STAT-PASS without war

       'The time of King Madi passed without war.' [6]

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[5] It is quite common for negative existentials to have an additional 'without' meaning (Veselinova 2013).

[6] All Ngizim glosses constructed by the author

b. *dee ii   Ngwajin **bai***
3SG LOC Ngwajin NEG
'He didn't come to Ngwajin.'

c. ***naa**   mərak **bai***
EXIST oil   NEG
'There is no oil.'

In Makary Kotoko, a Central Chadic language, the negative existential *dalá* in (11a) differs from the verbal negator *wa* in (11b) and the two may not co-occur, consistent with Type B. The negative existential occurs in the same position of the phrase as the verbal negator. However, the locative copula *nda* 'be at'[7] may also co-occur with the verbal negator to produce a negative existential phrase of Type A as in (11c). Allison (2012: 347) writes, "The locative copula construction is primarily used in affirmative contexts, though I have a half-dozen examples in the corpus where it occurs in a negative clause."

(11)   Makary Kotoko (Allison 2012: 21, 357, 363)

a. *ɲyi   ro   m-ú gə re   əl   **ɗalá***
thing:ABSTR MOD:F IRR-1SG say 2PL:IO NEUT:3SG:F not.exist
'I don't have anything to say to you.' (lit. thing that I say to you doesn't exist)

b. *n-gɔ̀-dan   dó   he **wa***
MOD:M-POSS-3PL DET:F L.P. NEG
'His father was sick.' (lit. he didn't attend his father's sickness)

c. *wáādə **nda**   lə **wa** ɗe halâs*
trust   be.at:M PRO NEG S.R. okay
'If you don't trust me then okay (never mind).'

It is unclear whether these languages should belong to the A~B stage. An argument against including them there is that there is no evidence that the special negative existential forms are contextually restricted.

4.2 A~B and B~C

Buwal, a central Chadic language, does not fit neatly into any one variable stage. Viljoen (2013: 293) is the only Chadic a███r to directly address the NEC, noting that Buwal is somewhere between Typ██ ░nd Type C.

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[7] There are examples in Allison (2012) where this marker is purely existential

In Buwal, the verbal negator is *kʷáw* as in (12a) and the affirmative existential marker is *akā* as in (12b). These two forms have fused to create the negative existential *áskʷāw/ákʷāw* in (12c). The combination *aká skʷāw*[8] is still found with the same meaning as *áskʷāw/ákʷāw*, but the former occurs with less frequency than the latter. The emergence of this special negative existential form is consistent with the stage A~B.

Buwal also exhibits aspects of stage B~C where the negative existential is gradually substituted for the verbal negator in parts of the grammatical system. In Buwal, the verbal negator represents denial of a corresponding positive assertion and is pragmatically dependent, whereas the negative existential is a simple negative assertion that is not pragmatically dependent – it need not be understood in reference to an affirmative clause as in (12d). Viljoen (2013: 293) notes that Buwal is clearly not a Type C language as she has 22 examples of a 765 example corpus of verbal clauses demonstrating that the combination *aká skʷāw* can also be used for verbal negation, as in (12e).

(12)   Buwal (Viljoen 2013: 167, 293, 454, 477, 490)

    a. *sā-ndā   āká á   dámāw **kʷáw***
       1SG.SBJ-go ACC PREP1 bush   NEG

       'I didn't come back from the bush.'

    b. *béǯē   nxʷā-jé **ákā***
       enclosure goat-PL EXIST

       '… there is a goat enclosure.'

    c. *fāgʷālākʷ zēnéj **ákʷāw***
       leprosy   again NEG.EXIST

       'There is no more leprosy (lit. Leprosy again didn't exist)'

    d. Buwal (V   2013)
       *sā-ká-zàn̄   wdā **ákʷāw***
       1SG.SBJ-PFV-eat food NEG.EXIST

       'I haven't eaten food.' [The speaker does not want food]

    e.   *-ndā.   á   dámāw **ákʷāw***
       3SG.SBJ-IPFV-go.to bush NEG.EX

       'She is **not** going to the bush.'

---

[8] The form *aká kʷāw* is never found

5 Discussion

The findings of this paper are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: The NEC cycle forms in Chadic

Language	Affirmative existential	Verbal negator	Negative existential(s)	Type or Stage
Pa'anci [pqa-NGA]	ani	wa	ani…wa	Type A
Gidar [gid-CMR]	tà	ɓà	tà…ɓà	Type A
Hausa [hau-NGA]	àkwai/dà	bà…ba, bā	bâ and bābù	A~B
Lele [lln-TCD]	màní	ɗé	màní…ɗé/wíléŋ	A~B
Mina [hna-CMR]	ɗáhà/ɗá	skù	ɗá…skù	Type B
Muyang [muy-CMR]	bù	bī	dò	Type B
Hdi [xed-CMR]	màmú/màá	á…wù; xàɗú	xàɗú	B~C
Wandala [mfi-CMR]	áŋkwè/áŋk	kà/k	ɓákà	B~C
Gude [gde-NGA]	tə'i	pooshi	pooshi	Type C
Ngizim [ngi-CMR]	naa	bai	⁧…bai and goo	A and B
Makary Kotoko [mpi-CMR]	nda	wa	ɗalá	A and B
Buwal [bhs-CMR]	akā	kʷáw	áskʷāw/ákʷāw	A~B and B~C

I have noted in this paper that Type A languages are common in Chadic; indeed, there are a fair number of examples of Type A languages beyond those included herein. Languages of this type are likely to exist for a considerable period of time due to the high level of productivity where the verbal negator applies to the existential predicate in a similar manner as it applies in negating other features of a clause. Because of the period of time that this stage is likely to endure, it is understandable that there are several examples of this type. There are also a number of examples of Type B, some of which (as in Mina) appear to be diachronically young. Due to the continued presence of a positive existential predicate, it is difficult to find languages that are purely Type B, as the Type A strategy endures.

Given constraints on time and resources, I have not addressed every Chadic language, but from the available evidence, Type C certainly appears to be uncommon. Croft (1991: 18) observes that the rarity of this type "is due to the special status of the existential situation ⁧⁧⁧ 'nonverbal' predication, and to the association of negation and emphasis. Where this type does appear, it is unlikely to endure for long before a distinct existential form crops up alongside the negative existential-cum-verbal negator.

Generally, it is more common to find evidence of variable stages in Chadic languages than non-variable stages, which is unsurprising given that languages are not restricted to any one stage of the NEC at a given time; as new methods for negating existential predicates emerge, old forms are not necessarily lost, though often become restricted to certain domains of speech. The B~C stage is perhaps the most interesting in that it sheds the most light on the functions of negation and negative existential predicates, particularly the issue of which domains of the grammar begin to make use of the negative existential to perform verbal functions. Among the languages included in this paper, relevant domains include pragmatic dependence and aspect. For instance, in Hdi, the negative existential is beginning to be used to code negative subjunctive in imperfective as well as negative imperfective in the indicative mood. In Gude, though a Type C language, the negative existential performs negation in all aspects, but completive aspect has an alternative strategy in the negative. Miestamo & van der Auwera (2011) find that the restriction of aspectual categories under negation is especially apparent in African languages, most notably those grouped in Nigeria (Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan and Chadic). Additional cross-linguistic evidence suggests that certain aspects, such as perfective, are less compatible with negation (e.g. Schmid 1980; Matthews 1990, though see and van der Miestamo & van der Auwera 2011 for counter evidence). The question of the relationship between negation and aspect, as well as the role of pragmatic dependence, merits future study in Chadic.

6 Existentials as a source for verbal negation

Finally, an exploration of a synchronic and diachronic cycle such as the NEC has additional merit in identifying sources of verbal negators. Newman (1977) reconstructs the Proto-Chadic negative marker as **wa* in phrase final position. The verbal negative particles of many Chadic languages differ significantly from this proto-form. Some forms are predictable through regular sound change, whereas other forms seem to have come about through different pathways.

In this section, I address some potential sources of Chadic verbal negators.

Cross-linguistically, negation and interrogatives are known to share a close relationship. Interrogatives are far less direct than negation and provide a face-saving strategy with which to express negation. In Daba, a Central Chadic language, for instance, one strategy of coding negation is through the use of the interrogative *vú* as in (13). In Mina too negation may be coded by the aspectually dependent habitual marker *ra* and the interrogative *vù* in clause final position

as in (14). Here, not only is negation coded, but also the emotional state of the speaker, such as displeasure or astonishment.

(13) Daba (Lienhard & Giger 1975: 86)
     dàlà   dà vú
     money 1SG Q
     'Je n'ai pas d'argent' (Lit: 'Est-ce qu'il y a d'argent')

(14) Mina (Frajzyngier & Johnston 2005: 242)
     ngùl   ǹɔ́ zɔ̀m skɔ̀n ǹɔ́ r   vù
     husband 1SG eat   thing 1SG D.HAB Q
     'My husband, he does not eat my food!'

Table 2 presents the similarities between the form of the verbal negator and the form of the interrogative within the same language.

Table 2: Verbal negators and interrogative forms

Language	Verbal Negator	Interrogative form
Pévé	tsú…mi	mi and su
Goemai	môu	mmoe
Buwal	kʷaw / skāw	kwá/skwá
Pero	á…m	á

An additional source for negation, the lexical item 'thing', was noted earlier in this paper with Ha   This lexical item often combines with a lesser used negative form to create an emphatic negative form. Often, these forms may be used as independent expressions and need not be followed by an object or a complement. These are represented in Table 3.

The fusion of a negator and 'thing' can lead to a negative existential or to a verbal negator, though if a verbal negator, it has likely become semantically bleached. An examination of the processes involved in the NEC is informative regarding the relationship of these 'nothing' forms to negative existence.

There remain several negative markers unaccounted for by these findings. Some of these appear to come from existential sources. In Wandala, the negative existential *ɓákà* has come to occur in the same clause final position as the verbal negator which is *kà*. It may well be that *kà* is a clipped form of *ɓákà*. In Buwal, there is a clear relationship between the affirmative existential *akā*, the verbal negator *kʷáw,* and the negative existential predicator *áskʷāw/ákʷāw*.

Table 3: Verbal negators and 'thing'

Language	Verbal Negator	Lexical item 'thing'
Daba	ɗakun/kun	kɔ́n
Gude	pooshi	ooshi
Mina	skù	skɜ̀n
Kanakuru	woi...u	wói
Ngizim	bai	bài

Many existential forms – both positive and negative – also contain d(v) particles which occur in mostly bisyllabic form. Table 4 lists some examples.

Table 4: Verbal negators and negative existentials

Language	Verbal negator	Negative existential
Daba	ɗakun/kun	ɗaha
Zoɗi	ɗi:...ndi	aɗa
Baraïn	dō	díjò

In Daba, the negative existential is *ɗaha,* which is nearly identical in form to the affirmative existential in the neighboring language, Mina, which is *ɗáhà.* Lamang, which is to the West of these languages, has the existential form *hà*/*xà* and Wandala to the Northeast has the affirmative existential *xàɗú.* It may be that this h(v) or x(v) form is related to the stative locative/general locative form *á* that is attested in so many languages (Uldeme, Gidar, South Giziga, Makary Kotoko, Zaar, Hona, etc.). This d(v) form, which frequently surfaces in East Chadic and some Central Chadic languages as verbal negators, is not entirely clear, but may have been borrowed from outside the family. In any case, verbal negative forms are found in affirmative existentials which supports the notion in NEC that existential forms come to take on and lose negative functions in a cyclical manner.

7 Conclusion

In this paper I have identified most of the types and stages of Croft's (1991) Negative Existential Cycle in Chadic languages. Additionally, I have followed Veselinova (2016) in observing that not all languages fit neatly into a type or a stage

and therefore it is also useful to consider overlap of types and stages. I have found that negative existentials may sometimes be sources of verbal negators in Chadic, though interrogatives and the lexical item 'thing' appear more often to provide pathways to verbal negators in this particular family. I suggest that Croft's (1991) framework – especially identification of the B~C stages – sheds light on processes of negation and the relationship between negation and negative existential predication, as well as their relationship to other domains in the grammar. In Chadic, two domains of interest are aspect (especially imperfective and perfective) and pragmatic dependence.

ISO 693-3 codes for languages included

Mina	hna-CMR
Pa'anci	pqa-NGA
Gidar	gid-CMR
Ngizim	ngi-CMR
Makary Kotoko	mpi-CMR
Hausa	hau-NGA
Lele	lln-TCD
Muyang	muy-CMR
South Giziga	giz-CMR
Buwal	bhs-CMR
Hdi	xed-CMR
Wandala	mfi-CMR
Gude	gde-NGA
Pévé	lme-TCD
Goemai	ank-NGA
Pero	pip-NGA
Daba	dbq-CMR
Kanakuru	kna-NGA
Zoɗi	dot-NGA
Baraïn	bva-TCD

Abbreviations

1	First person	M	Masculine
2	Second person	MOD	Non noun modification marker
3	Third person		
ABSTR	Abstract	NEG	Negative
ACC	Accomplishment	NEG.EX	Negative existential
ASSC	Associative	NEUT	Neutral aspect
C.FOC	Focus	OBJ	Object
COMP	Complementizer	PASS	Passive
CONT	Continuous	PFV	Perfective
D	Dependent (aspect)	PL	Plural marker
DEF	Definite marker	POSS	Possessive
DEM	Demonstrative	PREP	Preposition
DET	Determiner	PRO	Non-human/locative pronoun
D.PROG	Dependent progressive		
EE	End of event marker	Q	Question
EMPH	Emphatic	QUANT	Quantifier
EXIST	Affirmative existential	REF	Referential
F	Feminine	REL	Relative marker
FUT	Future	SBJ	Subject
GEN	Marker of modification	SEQ	Sequential
GO	Goal orientation	SG	Singular
HAB	Habitual	S.R.	Switch reference marker
IMPF	Imperfective	STAT	Stative
INDEF	Indefinite particle	TO	Destinative preposition 'to'
IO	Indirect object	UP	Verbal extension indicating movement upward
IRR	Irrealis		
LOC	Locative	VENT	Ventive
L.P.	Locative particle		

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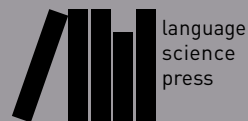
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