

(Expletive) negation in clause combining: African languages and beyond

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1. Introduction

❖ Crosslinguistically, there are a number of adverbial clause types that are semantically negative



‘Instead of V-ing’ clauses or substitutive clauses

‘Instead of eating vegetables, he ate junk food’
lit. ‘He ate junk food and did **NOT** eat vegetables.’



Negative concomitance clauses or ‘without V-ing’ clauses

‘The woman kept talking without getting tired’
lit. ‘The woman kept talking, she was **NOT** tired.’



‘Before’ clauses

‘Before he left, I ate my vegetables’
lit. ‘I ate my vegetables and he had **NOT** left yet.’

- In this talk, I will explore ‘instead of V-ing’, ‘without V-ing’, and ‘before’ clauses in a convenience sample of 12 African languages

These adverbial clauses tend to be marked with conjunctions (1)
or converbs (2)

Konso (Afro-Asiatic/Cushitic)

- (1) *an sookad-u kapaá, oha in an-a.*
NEG go.to.field-NEG CONJ fodder 1SG go-IPFV
‘Instead of going to the farm (as I originally planned it), I will cut the grass.’ (Mous and Oda Orkaydo 2009: 353)

Sidaama (Afro-Asiatic/Highland East Cushitic)

- (2) *keeš-i-tto-kki-nni amo.*
stay.long-PFV-2SG.M-NEG-CVB come.IMP.2SG
‘Come without staying long.’ (Kawachi 2007: 382)

- Even when languages employ a clause-linking device for expressing ‘instead of V-ing’, ‘without V-ing’, and ‘before’, standard negative markers may appear in the dependent clause

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‘Instead of going to the farm (as I originally planned it), I will cut the grass.’ (Mous and Oda Orkaydo 2009: 353)

Sidaama (Afro-Asiatic/Highland East Cushitic)

- (2) *keesh-i-tto-kki-nni amo.*
stay.long-PFV-2SG.M-NEG-CVB come.IMP.2SG
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This type of negative marker is known as expletive. It is semantically empty (Espinal 1992: 49)

Is this expletive negation?



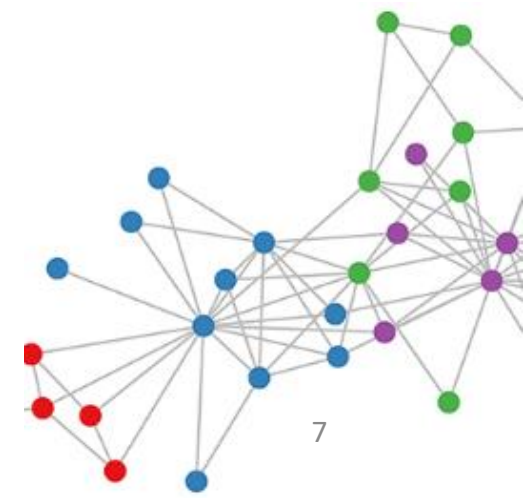
❖ Main claim:

Negative markers in these complex sentence constructions (i.e. semantically negative adverbial clause-linkage) may not always be expletive

e.g. Sometimes they show negative import as an effect of compositional interpretation

In this scenario, the clause-linking device and the standard negative marker jointly determine the adverbial relation

From a Construction-Grammar perspective (Croft 2001), the clause-linking device and the standard negative marker are ‘Gestalt Features’ that work in concert in the expression of ‘instead of V-ing’, ‘without V-ing’, and ‘before’.



Outline

2. Expletive negation from a crosslinguistic perspective



3. Sample

4. Case studies

4.1 'Instead of V-ing'

4.2 'Without V-ing'

4.3 'Before'

5. What does it all mean?

2. Expletive negation from a crosslinguistic perspective

❖ Expletive negation is characterized by the fact that “a negative item, which lexically contributes to negation, does not modify the truth value of the proposition in which it occurs” (Espinal 1992: 49)

Put another way, expletive negation refers to the presence of a negative marker that does not give a negative sense to the utterance (Ramat 2022: 2)

Jin and Koenig’s survey of 722 languages reports (2021: 40) that 74 languages show examples of expletive negation

Complement clauses of verbs of fear often contain an expletive negation marker (see Dobrushina 2021)

Russian (Indo-European/Slavic)

(3) *boj-u-s' kak by syn ne zabolet.*
fear-1SG-REFL COMP SUBJ son NEG fall.ill-PST
'I fear that my son might get ill.' (Dobrushina 2021: 121)

➤ Jin and Koenig (2021: 40)

	Context
1	X fears P
2	X worries P
3	there is danger P
4	X doubts P
5	X denies P
6	X regrets P
7	X criticizes P
8	X complains P
9	X blames P
10	X forgets P
11	X delays P
12	X misss P
13	X refuses P
14	X gives up/stops P
15	X avoids P
16	X prevents P
17	X forbids P
18	Q before/untils P
19	a long time since P
20	X almost P
21	Q-er than P
22	Q without P
23	Q unless P

← Expletive negation-triggering contexts

Spanish (Indo-European/Romance)

el hombre no dormirá,
 DET man NEG sleep.FUT.3SG

‘The man will not sleep,

hasta que la fiesta no comience.
 until that DET party NEG start.PRS.SUBJ.3SG
 until the party starts.’

Is expletive negation always semantically empty?



□ Mirative negative markers (DeLancey 1997: 36)

They serve to express whether the status of the ‘let alone’ proposition is expected or unexpected with respect to the speaker’s overall knowledge

Papantla Totonac (Totonacan/Totonacan)

(4) *kin-amank wi: x-paxtún kin-palhka’.*
1SG.POSS-pot be 3SG.POSS-side 1SG.POSS-hot.plate
‘My pot was next to the hot plate.’

pero ni: ci’ci tawa, menos ni: fi’fi tawa.
but NEG warm food CONJ NEG hot food
‘However, the food was not warm, let alone hot.’

(5) *ni: k-ka:najlá la:ta tu ma:laknú,*
NEG 1SG-trust everything something offer
‘(My husband is a liar) I don’t trust him,

menos k-ka:najla tu ki-wan-ni-hl.
CONJ 1SG-truth something 1SG.OBJ-tell-BEN-COMPL
let alone believe what he told me.’

□ Compositional function

Negative markers may show a negative import as an effect of compositional interpretation

This is in line with other studies that have shown that expletive negatives can have meaning, and this meaning is (weakly) negative

For instance, Wälchli (2018: 190) shows that in a number of languages ‘until’ clauses may occur with negative markers that contribute to the adverbial meaning of the construction

He mentions that when the ‘until’ clause does not occur with a negative marker in these languages, the interpretation is that of ‘as long as’


This suggests that expanded negation in ‘until’ clauses might originate from a paraphrase ‘as long as not’

In a nutshell:

1. There are cases in which negative markers are semantically empty or expletive
2. There are cases in which negative markers show a mirative function
3. There are cases in which negative markers show a compositional function

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3. Sample

- This is primarily an explorative study that seeks to characterize three constructions that have been traditionally neglected

The sample of the present study strikes a balance between variety sampling following the Genus-Macro-area method proposed by Miestamo (2005) on the one hand, and necessary elements of what is known as ‘convenience sampling’ on the other (Cysouw 2005: 555)

Accordingly, it cannot be assumed to make the kinds of crosslinguistic predictions that a balanced variety sample would (see Mauri 2008: 12)

However, the results obtained in the present study should serve as a reasonable proof of the theoretical importance of analyzing the interaction of negative markers in the three types of constructions addressed in the present study

Africa

Amharic (Abdu Ahmed, pers. comm.)

Central Morocco Tamazight (Said Barguigue, pers. comm.)

Eton (van de Velde 2008)

Hausa (Bagari 1976; Newman 2000; Jaggar 2001; Yusuf Baba Gar and Ines Fiedler, pers. comm.)

Konso (Oda Orkaydo 2013)

Koyra Chiini (Heath 1999)

Lele (Frajzyngier 2001)

Ma'di (Blackings and Fabb 2003)

Makary Kotoko (Allison 2000)

Sidaama (Kawachi 2007)

Supyire (Carlson 1994)

Wolof (Diouf 2001; Izabela Jordanoska, pers. comm.)

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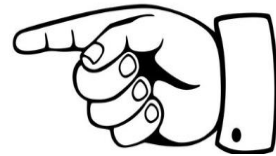
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5. What does it all mean?

4.1 ‘Instead of V-ing’

- ❖ ‘Instead of V-ing’ construction involves two competing alternatives; only one of them takes place, while the other one does not (Olguin Martinez 2022a)

The relation holding between the two situations in ‘instead of V-ing’ constructions, means that one element is replaced by another (Silvennoinen 2020a: 46)

Put another way, substitution involves the “moving out” of Y (rejected situation) followed by the “moving in” of X (Schwenter and Traugott 1995: 245)

- ❖ The fact that this alternative is rejected in favor of the other may be expected or not. This is inferred from the discourse context

In (6), it is not clear whether the ‘instead of V-ing’ clause encodes an expected situation that did not take place. On the other hand, in (7), the ‘instead of V-ing’ involves an expected situation that did not take place

Ik (Eastern Sudanic/Kuliak)

(6) *akilo* *bi* *ibéle-ési* *kijá-^e*,
 instead.of 2SG.OBL change-INF land-GEN
 ‘Instead of you changing the world,

ibéle-a *kij-á* *bi-k^a*.
 change-REAL land-NOM 2SG-ACC
 the world changes you.’ (Schrock 2014: 45)

Kakataibo (Pano-Tacanan/Panoan)

(7) *tsata=ri* *pi-tibi*, *ka=na* *'atsa=ishi* *pi-a-n*.
 fish.species.ABS=CF eat-instead.of NARR=1SG manioc=only eat-PFV-1/2
 ‘Unfortunately, instead of eating fish (as expected), I ate only manioc.’ (Zariquiey 2018: 452)

□ The definition adopted here excludes other semantically similar constructions:

1. preference clauses (e.g. ‘it is better to go to the field than to go to the market’)
2. adversative ‘but’ constructions (e.g. ‘Peter is intelligent, but he does not work’)

In preference clause constructions, one of the alternatives is suggested as more suitable than the other (Dixon 2009: 30)

As for adversative ‘but’ constructions, the two conjoined clauses are arguments for different conclusions (Silvennoinen 2020b: 224). The relationship between clauses is not a case of substitution.

- The African languages of the sample contain ‘instead of V-ing’ constructions marked with conjunctions or converbs

The clause-linking device may be semantically monofunctional

In these cases, the standard negative marker is forbidden

Ik (Eastern Sudanic/Kuliak)

(8) *akɪɔ* *bi* *ibélé-ési* *kíjá-^e*,
instead.of 2SG.OBL change-INF land-GEN
‘Instead of you changing the world,

ibélé-a *kíj-á* *bi-k^a*.
change-REAL land-NOM 2SG-ACC
the world changes you.’ (Schrock 2014: 45)

- ❖ There are African languages in the sample in which ‘instead of V-ing’ clauses must be marked with a clause-linking device and a standard negative marker

The clause-linking device is semantically polyfunctional

Konso (Afro-Asiatic/Cushitic)

(9) *an sookad-u kapaá, oha in an-a.*
 NEG go.to.field-NEG CONJ fodder 1SG go-IPFV
 ‘Instead of going to the farm, I will cut the grass.’ (Mous & Oda Orkaydo 2009: 353)

(10) *urmalaa-opa an-iya kapaa dila-oppupa an-iya-i woyy-i*
 market-to go-VN CONJ field-into go-VN-3SG be.good-PFV
 ‘It is better to go to the field than to go to the market.’ (Oda Orkaydo 2013: 245)

Ts'ixa (Khoe-Kwadi/Khoe-Kwadi)

(11) *súka=mà kyũũ-tã-sè, ?ési nè kũũ-a gyiráá kyũũ.*
sugar=SG.M buy-IPFV.NEG-CVB SG.F SEQ go-J dress buy

‘Instead of buying sugar, she went to buy a dress.’ (Fehn 2014: 279)

(12) *nyúú-nà-sè, tí tè íí=sà ?à kyeékyeè.*
be.sitting-STAT-CVB 1SG PST song=SG.F ACC listen

‘I listened to the song while sitting.’ (Fehn 2014: 273)

Crosslinguistic picture



- ‘Instead of V-ing’ clauses tend to be marked with conjunctions or converbs (Olguin Martinez 2022a)

Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation (negation inherent in the connective)

Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation (compositional function)

Monofunctional clause-linking device and optional negation (mirative function)



- ❖ Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation
(negation inherent in the connective)

Basque (Isolate)

- (13) *gaur goiz-e-an, laister egin beharre-an, ibili naiz*
 today morning-LV-LOC run do instead.of-INSTR walk-PFV AUX
 ‘This morning, instead of running, I walked.’ (Iker Salaberri, pers. comm.)

- ❖ Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation
(compositional function)

Korean (Koreanic/Koreanic)

- (14) *Mia ka nolayha-ci an-h-ko, Kiho ka chwumchwu*
 Mia INTRANS.SBJ sing-NMLZ NEG-do-CVB Kiho INTRANS.SBJ dance-POL
 ‘Instead of Mia singing (as originally planned), Kiho will dance.’
 (Sohn 2009: 303)

- (15) *Mia-nun ay-lul pay-ko, kyelhonha-yss-ta*
 Mia-TOP baby-OBJ bear-CVB marry-PST-SE
 ‘Mia became pregnant and then got married.’
 (Chang 1996: 137)

- ❖ Monofunctional clause-linking device and optional negation (mirative function)

San Gabriel Huastec (Mayan/Mayan)

(16) *en lugar jab ?in=tsi?-θ-a?-Ø* *?an θi?*
 in place NEG 3SG.ERG=come-CAUS-TRANS-COMPL DEF wood
 ‘Instead of bringing (more) wood,

pero na Maria ?in=k’a:k’-θ-a?-Ø *?an ha?*
 but HUM Maria 3SG.ERG=boil-CAUS-TRANS-COMPL DEF water
 Maria boiled the water (to prepare coffee).’

(17) *en lugar* *?in=k’a?i:l,*
 in place 1SG.ABS=be.hungry
 ‘Instead of being hungry,

pero ?in=tsike:l.
 but 1SG.ABS=be.thirsty
 I (the old man) was thirsty.’

In a nutshell:

So far, the following are the patterns attested in the African languages of the sample.

1. Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation
(negation inherent in the connective)

2. Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation
(compositional function)

Not attested in the current sample:

Monofunctional clause-linking device and optional negation (mirative function)

Outline

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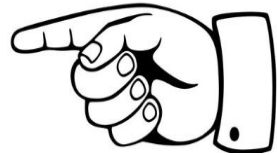
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5. What does it all mean?

4.2 ‘Without V-ing’

- ❖ In ‘without V-ing’ constructions, one situation is characterized as not being followed by another situation, usually contrary to expectation (Olguin Martinez 2022b)

The main clause indicates a situation that obtains, while the other asserts that another situation that might or should have obtained with it, does or did not, in fact, take place (Lichtenberk 2008: 737)

Whether the realization of the ‘without V-ing’ situation was expected or not is inferred from the discourse context

(18) Udmurt (Uralic/Permic)

šɨd-ez odig pol=no sura-tek pežt-i.

soup-ACC one times=ADD stir-without cook-PST

‘I cooked the soup without stirring (it) even once.’ (Georgieva 2018: 89)

- The African languages of the sample contain ‘without V-ing’ constructions marked with conjunctions or converbs

The clause-linking device may be semantically monofunctional

In these cases, the standard negative marker is forbidden

(19) Koyra Chiini (Songhay/Songhay)

ay n̄atu goron̄go dɪ, bilaa nda ay ma marey ga.

1SG.SBJ seize chicken DEF without that 1SG.SBJ SUBJ wound 3SG.OBJ

‘I grabbed the chicken without hurting it (in the process).’ (Heath 1999: 297)

There are three African languages in the sample in which ‘without of V-ing’ clauses must be marked with a clause-linking device and a standard negative marker

- (20) Sidaama (Afro-Asiatic/Highland East Cushitic)
keeš-i-tto-kki-nni *amo.*
stay.long-PFV-2SG.M-NEG-CVB come.IMP.2SG
‘Come without staying long.’ (Kawachi 2007: 382)

The remaining
languages are:
Amharic and Wolof

- (21) *sagalé* *ra'-is-i-d-d-a-nni...*
food become.cooked-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-3SG.F-CVB
‘While she was cooking...’ (Kawachi 2007: 381)

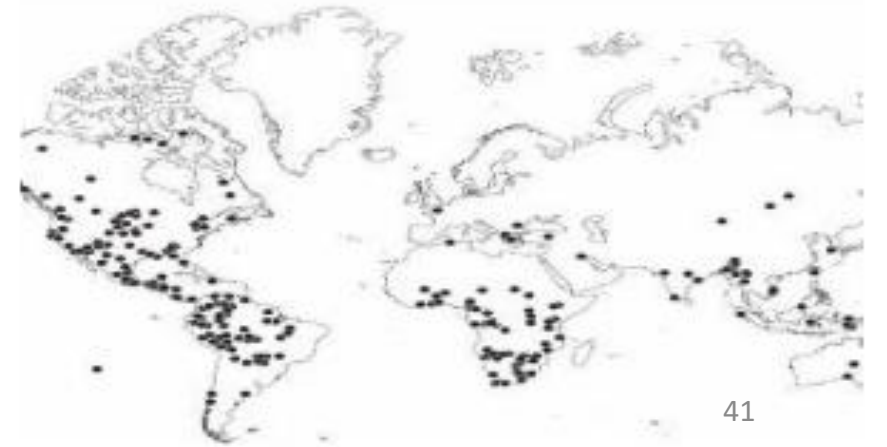
Crosslinguistic picture



- ‘Without V-ing’ clauses tend to be marked with conjunctions or converbs (Olguin Martinez 2022b)

Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation (negation inherent in the connective)

Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation (compositional function)



- ❖ Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation (negation inherent in the connective)

(22) Kashmiri (Indo-European/Indic)

asni *varə:y* *von* *Nəsi:man*
laugh.INF.ABL without say.PST Nasim.ERG

‘Nasim said (it) without laughing.’ (Koul and Wali 2006: 44)

(23) Haida (isolate)

Bill *ga* *taa-gaa-raadaan-uu* *'la* *qaayd-an.*
Bill INDEF eat-EVID-without-FOC 3SG leave-PST

‘Bill left without eating.’ (Enrico 2003: 1030)

(24) Iquito (Zaparoan/Zaparoan)
nuu=iikwà-ø-ki kaa kuwasiiñi=hata.
 3SG=go-PFV-NON.PST NEG speak.NMLZ=CONJ
 ‘She went without speaking.’

(25) *quí=jimati-rii iini=hata.*
 1SG=leave-MOM fly.NMLZ=CONJ
 ‘I will leave flying.’ (Michael 2009: 164)

(26) Georgian (Kartvelian/Kartvelian)
amocana-s ise a-v-xsn-i,
 puzzle-DAT such PREV-1SG.SBJ-explain-FUT.IND
 ‘I shall explain the puzzle,

rom sul ar da-v-xr-i dabla tval-eb-s.
 that at.all not PREV-1SG.SBJ-lower-FUT.IND low eye-PL-DAT
 without lowering my eyes at all.’
 (Hewitt 1995: 580)

(27) *ik iset-i mgl-eb-i da t'ur-eb-i*
 there such-AGR wolf-PL-NOM and jackal-PL-NOM
 ‘There are such wolves and jackals there

ar-i-an rom še-g-č'am-en
 be-PRS-they that PREV-2SG-devour-they
 that they will devour you.’
 (Hewitt 1995: 578)

❖ Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation (compositional function)

In a nutshell:

So far, the following patterns are attested in the African languages of the sample

1. Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation
(negation inherent in the connective)

2. Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation
(compositional function)

Not attested in the current sample:

Monofunctional clause-linking device and optional negation (mirative function).

NOTE. Crosslinguistically, not languages with mirative negative markers in ‘without V-ing’ clauses (Olguin Martinez 2022b)

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4.1 'Instead of V-ing'

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4.3 'Before' 

5. What does it all mean?

4.3 'Before'

- ❖ Temporal constructions expressing precedence (a.k.a. ‘before’ constructions) consist of a sequence of two clauses in which the situation of the main clause happens before the situation expressed in the dependent clause (Kortmann 1997: 84-85)

That is, a dependent clause involves a situation that has not yet been realized when the main clause situation takes place (Hetterle 2015: 48; Thompson et al. 2007: 247)

Kukama-Kukamiria (Tupian/Tupi-Guarani)

- (28) *anan tua eyu-ari-n, n=yapana ichari ra=tu.*
before spirit eat-PROG-NMLZ 2SG=run leave 3SG.M=AUGM
‘Before the spirit eats (you), you run and leave him.’ (Vallejos 2016: 646)

- The African languages of the sample contain ‘before’ constructions marked with conjunctions or converbs

The clause-linking device may be semantically monofunctional

In these cases, the standard negative marker is forbidden

Tommo So (Dogon/Dogon)

- (29) *àn-sáará yèlé-mɔ=nɛ, ògɔ̀ pèlù kúlóy tààndú-go sígè=nɛ.*
AN-white.person come-before-OBL Hogon ten six three-ADV more=OBL
‘Before the white people came, the Hogons (were) at (the number of) 63.’ (McPherson 2013: 476)

- There are African languages in the sample in which ‘before’ clauses must be marked with a clause-linking device and a standard negative marker

Bangime (Isolate)

(30) *gilāā* ∅ *màà* *pújé* ∅ *bè* ∅ *twáá-rà* *ɲúj*,
 CONJ 3SG POSS wife 3SG NEG 3SG arrive-PFV there
 ‘Before his wife arrived there,

∅ *kóó* ∅ *nìṅà*...
 3SG PFV 3SG say.PFV
 he (had) said...’ (Heath and Hantgan 2018: 515)

Bangime (Isolate)

(31) *gilāā* *nē* *ī̄* *būrà*,
 CONJ 1PL.SBJ 1PL.SBJ come.out.PFV
 ‘As soon as we came out,

à *yòwⁿ* ∅ *kóó* *í̄* *tìindà* ∅ *yú-wⁿò*.
 DEF rain 3SG.SBJ PFV 3SG.SBJ begin.PFV 3SG.SBJ rain.fall.IPFV
 it started to rain.’ (Heath and Hantgan 2018: 514)

Lele (Afro-Asiatic/East Chadic)

(32) *kur wèl kay dé bey ná,*
CONJ pass finish NEG still ASSOC
'Before the day ended,

tamá na du è sógú ni.
woman HYP 3SG.F go toilet LOC

the wife pretended that she was going to the toilet.' (Frajzyngier 2001: 266)

Lele (Afro-Asiatic/East Chadic)

(33) *kur ro gúnyé ágì-ì jè na-ì è jéèé-ì dà kama-ŋ,*
CONJ REF spider take.FUT-3SG VENT HYP-3SG go throw-3SG LOC water-DEF
'When the spider was about to take him to throw him into the water,

ni dài kàyo-ŋ se an ná galmbó kíin-dì...
LOC 3SG squirrel-DEF INCEP leave ASSOC bag hole-3SG

the squirrel left through the hole in the bag...' (Frajzyngier 2001: 266)

Lango (Eastern Sudanic/Nilotic)

- (34) *dákô òcèmò àmê pé ro òlwòkéréê*
woman 3SG.eat.PFV CONJ NEG yet 3SG.wash.MID.PFV
'The woman ate before she washed.' (Noonan 1992: 243)

Lango (Eastern Sudanic/Nilotic)

- (35) *dákô òlwòkéréê àmê òcèmò*
woman 3SG.wash.MID.PFV CONJ 3SG.eat.PFV
'The woman washed after she ate.' (Noonan 1992: 243)

Crosslinguistic picture



- ‘Before’ clauses tend to be marked with conjunctions or converbs (Olguin Martinez, In press)

Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation (negation inherent in the connective)

Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation (compositional function)



- ❖ Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation
(negation inherent in the connective)

Baure (Arawakan/Bolivia-Parana)

- (36) *ši ha vi=ponoek-pa-po moena' to sowon ro=koviko=vi.*
 HORT HES 1PL=sow-go-PFV.REFL before ART rain 3SG.M=reach=1PL
 ‘Let’s go and sow before the rain catches up with us.’ (Danielsen 2007: 396)

Bilua (Solomons East Papuan/Bilua)

- (37) *puliako nioqa tada=o nio, o ol=a...*
 before 3.DU depart=NOM FOC 3SG.M go=PRS
 ‘Before they departed, he went...’ (Obata 2003: 225)

Eastern Lawa (Austro-Asiatic/Palaungic)

- (38) *kay sam hew ja? take, ?aprvh k^hua te?*
 before FUT go to headman change clothes SBJ
 ‘Before going to the headman, (I) changed my clothes a little.’ (Blok 2013: 104)

Tzeltal (Mayan/Mayan)

(39) *te k'alal ma=to ay-uk s-k'op yos=a=e,*
DET CONJ NEG=still EXIS-IRR 3SG-word God=ADV=DET
'Before we knew the word of God,

ya j-xi'-tik awil xal te mut-etik=e.
INCL 1SG-afraid-PL EVID DISC DET bird-PL=DET
we were afraid of birds.' (Polian 2013: 889)

❖ Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation (compositional function)

Tzeltal (Mayan/Mayan)

(40) *te k'alal la jk-il a k'ajk' te templo=e...*
DET CONJ COMPL.TRANS 1SG-see COMPL.INTR burn DET temple=DET
'When I saw that the temple was burning...' (Polian 2013: 889)

Apinajé (Macro-Ge/Ge-Kaingang)

(41) *kət paj ič-wər ket ri, amñĩ=kĩ gregreri.*
IRR 1PL.IRR 1PL-bathe.NON.FIN NEG CONJ REFL=hair rub.oil.on
'Before I bathe, I will rub oil in my hair.' (Cunha de Oliveira 2005: 290)

Apinajé (Macro-Ge/Ge-Kaingang)

(42) *kət paj kagə n-ipeč pa ri kətmə apku.*
IRR 1PL.IRR mark RELAT-make.NON.FIN CONCL CONJ still eat.INTR
'I am going to study and then I will eat.' (Cunha de Oliveira 2005: 290)

In a nutshell:

So far, the following are the patterns attested in the African languages of the sample.

1. Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation
(negation inherent in the connective)

2. Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation
(compositional function)

Not attested in the current sample:

Monofunctional clause-linking device and optional negation (mirative function).

NOTE. Crosslinguistically, not languages with mirative negative markers in ‘before’ clauses (Olguin Martinez, In press)

Outline

2. Expletive negation from a crosslinguistic perspective

3. Sample

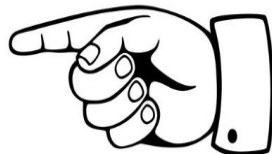
4. Case studies

4.1 'Instead of V-ing'

4.2 'Without V-ing'

4.3 'Before'

5. What does it all mean?





5. What does it all mean?

1. African languages seem to align with crosslinguistic tendencies regarding the interaction of negative markers in semantically negative adverbial clause-linkage:

1. 1 Monofunctional clause-linking device and forbidden negation
(negation inherent in the connective)

1. 2 Polyfunctional clause-linking device and obligatory negation
(compositional function)

2. A more genetically and areally balanced sample is needed for African languages

3. The present research has hopefully shown that this is a research domain that requires close attention

THANK YOU!

DANKE SCHÖN!

