

QUANTIFICATION AND POLARITY: NEGATIVE ADVERBIAL INTENSIFIERS (‘NEVER EVER’, ‘NOT AT ALL’, ETC.) IN HAUSA *

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1. Introduction

Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic) has a number of time and degree adverbs which can be pragmatically added to express various kinds of quantification in clause structures, both verbal (usually) and non-verbal. Although they are not themselves negative in form, they are used to intensify the force of a negative expression, equivalent to English ‘(never) once, (never) ever, etc.’ (quantifying time frequency), and ‘(not) at all, (not) a bit, (not) in the least, (not) in any way, etc.’ (quantifying degree/extent). (Quirk et al. 1985: 785ff. refer to their function (in English) as “negative intensification”.) These adjuncts do not contain an overt negator but require a negative context, and it is their co-occurrence with a negative TAM [tense/aspect/mood] which supplies these intensive readings (in verbal clauses), i.e., in environments where the negation marker associates syntactically with the head verb. (For the sake of clarity, however, I am including a parenthesized negative ‘(never, not)’ operator in the text glosses.) Some of these morphologically complex adverbial intensifiers, e.g.,¹ (time frequency) **dàdai** ‘(never) once’, **fàufau** ‘(never) ever’, (degree) **kō kàdan** ‘(not) even a bit’, **sam(sam)** ‘(not) at all’, are moderate/high-frequency modifiers which occur (optionally) in negative clauses in both

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¹ Transcription: **à/â** = low tone, **á** = falling tone (on heavy CVV or CVC syllable), high tone is unmarked; **ā, ī**, etc. = long; **a, i**, etc. = short; **ɓ, ɗ** = laryngeal implosives, **ɛ** = ejective, **ɸ** = apical tap/roll, **c** and **j** = palato-alveolar affricates, **ʔ** = glottalized palatal glide. Abbreviations: F = feminine; FOC-IMPFV = focus (relative) imperfective; FOC-PFV = focus (relative) perfective; FUT = future; HAB = habitual; IMPER = imperative; IMPFV = imperfective; IO = indirect object; M = masculine; NEG = negative; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; S = singular; SJN = subjunctive; VN = verbal noun; 1/2/3/4 = first/second/third/fourth person.

spoken and written Hausa (especially the degree adverbs). Most, but not all, are listed and partially exemplified in the two large Hausa dictionaries (Bargery 1934; Abraham 1962), and the two more recent (smaller) dictionaries together include many of them (Newman & Newman 1977; R. Newman 1990).

Despite their relatively wide distribution and pragmatic significance, however, these negative intensifiers have received surprisingly little (or no) coverage in the three major (Standard Kano) Hausa reference grammars Wolff (1993), Newman (2000), and Jaggat (2001) though Parsons (1981: 248-49, 593ff.) describes some of the Hausa equivalents of absolutive ‘never’, including the use of adverbial intensifiers (see below).² The aim of this paper, therefore, is twofold: (1) to provide a unified semantic account of a larger (though not exhaustive) range of these negative quantificational intensifiers, including a previously undocumented form; (2) to elaborate their functional distribution, e.g., the TAMs they can co-occur with and their position in the sentence.

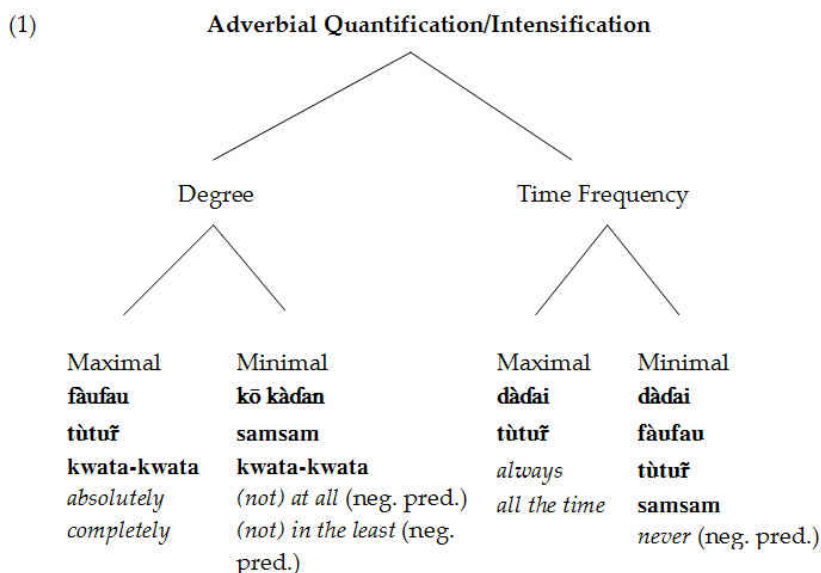
Although the focus is on adverbial intensifiers of time and degree which occur exclusively or primarily in *negative* environments—so called “NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS”—a number of patterns emerge following closer investigation of the interplay between their syntactic distribution and semantics.

A typologically interesting (and probably unusual) fact is that these intensifiers locate at different points on the polar negative:positive spectrum (on polarity and polarity-sensitive elements in English, see Quirk et al. 1985: 775ff., and Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 822ff.). Most of the degree adjuncts are exclusively negative polarity items, licensed in negative environments only, e.g., **kō kàdān**, **samsam** ‘(not) even a bit, (not) at all’ (excluded from positive contexts). (Quirk et al. 1985: 597ff. use the term “minimizer” to characterize these reinforcing degree adverbs.) Others are what I term “BIPOLAR” in the sense that *the same* adverbial lexemes express opposite (polar) quantificational values depending on the syntactic context, i.e., in contrast to English which would obligatorily switch to distinct, sometimes polarity-sensitive adverbs. **Fàufau**, for example, which encodes absolute temporal zero ‘(never) ever’ in negative environments,

² McConnell-Ginet (1982: 182) writes of the general class of adverbs that: “We could omit them, and LF [logical form] would not suffer. In another sense, adverbs contribute virtually everything—not only to LF, but to pragmatic structure as well. They modify not only expressions, but the interpretive logic and pragmatic model that provides a basis for an explicit account of natural-language meaning in use.”

can also occur in positive clauses with covert negative verbs like **fi** 'refuse', in which case it functions as a maximal degree adverb equivalent to 'utterly, absolutely, etc.', at the same time retaining its lexicosemantic quantificational force. (Quirk et al. 1985: 589ff. refer to such degree adjuncts as "maximizers".) Others, e.g., **dàdai**, which is equivalent to '(never) once' in negative clauses, are used to mean universal 'always, (very) often' in positive clauses, i.e., they behave as bipolar time frequency adverbs marking the extreme negative and positive poles on the temporal gradient. Some intensifiers, e.g., **atàbau**, are even more versatile and can express all the above ('(never) ever', '(very) often', 'absolutely') context-determined quantificational meanings, undergoing a time \leftrightarrow degree semantic shift in the process.

Taken together, these data indicate that the semantic notion of "intensification" can be realized by modifiers which map and emphasize a point which is either *low* on the polar scale of intensity (e.g., 'never ever', 'not at all'), and where the minimizers could in fact be said to function as negative maximizers, or *high* on the scale (e.g., 'always', 'absolutely'). The same adverbial lexemes, moreover, often participate in positive: negative constructions at both polar extremes. Looked at another way, within each of the time-frequency and degree adverb subclasses the facts fall out nicely and allow a semantic cut between *maximal* items such as (time) 'always' and (degree) 'absolutely' which quantify a value at the top of the scale, and *minimal* items such as (time) 'never' and (degree) '(not) at all', which quantify a value at the bottom of the scale. It is these absolute zero *minimal* group adverbs, moreover, which cluster around the negative pole and participate as intensifiers in negative constructions. Figure (1) summarizes the distributional facts with a selection of the more important intensifiers (including those with dual degree/time membership):



These related intensive/absolute usages constitute a natural functional class, and are all covered in order to provide a more comprehensive and coherent account of the syntax and unified semantics of these poorly-understood quantificational adverbs.³

2. Negative intensifiers of time

To express the equivalent of the absolute zero adverb ‘never’, Hausa uses the (quasi-) aspectual verb **taɓà** ‘ever do something, do something once’ (lit. ‘touch’), normally with a (negative) perfective TAM, followed by a nonfinite VP complement (e.g., ex. 4). (Although this quantificational construction has less of a negative intensifying force than those containing the time adverbs considered below, it can combine with them so is

³ A search of the *Studies in African Linguistics* title index [www.ling.ohio-state.edu/sal/titleindex.htm], produced only two titles in nearly 35 years with a reference to “adverbs/adverbial types” for *any* African language, and I suspect that this neglect is partly attributable to the (universal) fact that the heterogeneous syntax and semantics of adverbs are often notoriously difficult to elucidate with any precision. Cf. too Jackendoff’s (1972: 47) comment some years ago that: “the adverb is perhaps the least studied and most maligned part of speech . . . maltreated beyond the call of duty.”

included here for comprehensiveness.) With an affirmative perfective TAM, **taḅà** expresses the corresponding ‘ever (do), once (do)’ reading, i.e., where English would use the time frequency adjuncts ‘ever’ or ‘once’, e.g. (declarative and interrogative main clauses),

- (2) **nā taḅà azùmi à Kanò**
1S.PFV once do fasting in Kano
‘I once fasted in Kano’
- (3) **kā taḅà shān tāḅà?** (= positive *yes-no* ‘ever’ question)
2M.PFV ever do drink.VN.of tobacco
‘have you ever smoked?’
- (4) **ā’ā, bàn taḅà shān tāḅà ba**
no NEG.1S.PFV ever do drink.VN.of tobacco NEG
‘no, I have never smoked’
(= ‘never’ response with negated perfective TAM)

Though not usually noted in grammars, dictionaries and pedagogical works, **taḅà** is licensed to occur with a future (5, 6) or even subjunctive (7) TAM, with both a positive (= ‘ever’) and negative (= ‘never’) construal, e.g.,

- (5) **zā tà taḅà yàrdā?**
FUT 3F ever do agree.VN
‘will she ever agree?’
- (6) **matsalōli bà zā sù taḅà kārèwā ba**
problems NEG FUT 3PL ever do end.VN NEG
‘the problems will never end’
- (7) **nā sō nà taḅà ganinsà** (cf. Abraham 1959: 150)
1S.PFV wish 1S.SJN ever do see.VN.of.3M
‘I feel I’ve seen him before’

To express the semantic equivalent of ‘never’ in a verbal clause with a (negative) habitual-durative interpretation, **taḅà** cannot be used (it is restricted to indicating temporal frequency). Instead a negative imperfective TAM is used with a minimum degree adverb like **sam(sam)** ‘(not) at all’ (see § 3 for details), e.g.,

- (8) **samsam bā yā sallā**
 at all NEG 3M.IMPFV pray
 'he doesn't pray at all = he never prays'

To further amplify the zero-frequency temporal force of a negative construction, one of several (near) synonymous minimal adverbs can be added, e.g., **dādai** '(never/not) once', **fāufau** '(never) ever' (where English can juxtapose the two adverbs for emphatic effect). (Both are also bipolar and can occur in positive clauses, see ex. 17 and following.) The time adverb **dādai**, glossed here as '(never/not) once', is a composite made up of the preposition **dā** 'with' and **dai**, a clipped variant of the numeral **daya** 'one' (cf. the corresponding English cognates 'one' and 'once'). The absolute intensifier **fāufau** '(never) ever' is a lexicalized reduplicated form, probably related, on phonosemantic grounds, to the expressive ideophones **fau** (indicates bright flash of light) and **fau** (indicates intensity/extremeness), where the inherent intensifying lexico semantics generalize to all functions. (Cf. the (optionally) reduplicated ideophonic degree adverb **samsam** '(not) at all' exemplified in (8) above and described in § 3.) Both **dādai** and **fāufau** can (and usually do) occur in sentence-initial position with a range of negative TAMs (perfective, imperfective, future, etc.), though it should be noted that speaker judgements vary regarding the acceptable positions of these and other intensifiers and I have generally gone with the majority verdicts. Examples:

- (9) **dādai/fāufau bàn gan shì ba**
 once/ever NEG.1S.PFV see 3M NEG
 'I've never once/ever seen him'
- (10) **dādai/fāufau bā nà yārdā!**
 once/ever NEG 1S.IMPFV agree.VN
 'I will never ever agree!' (lit. 'I am never ever agreeing')
- (11) **dādai/fāufau bà zān yāfè masà ba**
 once/ever NEG FUT.1S forgive 3M.IO NEG
 'I will never ever forgive him'
- (12) **yā cijè fāufau 'yārsà bà zā tà jē jāmi'ā ba**
 3M.PFV be adamant ever daughter.of.3M NEG FUT 3F go
 university NEG
 'he was adamant that his daughter would never ever
 go to university'
 (with a mandative verb in the higher clause, see also below)

Some speakers regularly use minimal degree intensifiers such as **sam(sam)** ‘(not) at all’ (above), and **kō kàdān** ‘(not) even a bit’ in contexts corresponding to English temporal ‘never ever/never once’, i.e., in preference to such time adverbs as **dàdai** ‘(never) once’, **fàufau** ‘(never) ever’, e.g., (9) **samsam bàn gan shì ba** ‘I haven’t seen him at all = I’ve never (ever) seen him’, (10) **kō kàdān bā nà yārdā!** ‘I will not agree one bit = I will never (ever) agree!’, etc. Cf. too the polarity-sensitive temporal ‘(never) ever’ and degree ‘absolutely’ intensive semantics of **fàufau**, **atàbau** etc. described below.

Fàufau (but not ***dàdai**) can also occur in end position for some speakers, and both minimal intensifiers can combine with the aspectual verb **tabà** ‘ever/once do’, e.g.,

- (13) **bàn ga gīwā ba fàufau (*dàdai)**
NEG.1s.PFV see elephant NEG ever
‘I’ve never ever seen an elephant’
- (14) **Mūsā bāi tabà tàfiyà Lēgàs ba fàufau (*dàdai)**
Musa NEG.3M.PFV ever do go.VN Lagos NEG ever
‘Musa has never ever been to Lagos’
- (15) **dàdai/fàufau bàn tabà shān tábà ba**
once/ever NEG.1S.PFV ever do drink.VN.of tobacco NEG
‘I have never once/ever smoked’

Dàdai can also combine with the noun **dūniyà** ‘world’ (for some speakers) to form the absolute zero phrase **dàdai dūniyà** ‘(never) once in the world’, e.g.,

- (16) **dàdai dūniyà bà tà tabà tàfiyà Lēgàs ba**
once world NEG 3F.PFV ever do go.VN Lagos NEG
‘she has never once in the world been to Lagos’

Bipolar **dàdai** can be used to emphasize the positive as well as negative polarity of a clause. When occurring in positive clauses it has an assertive/factual ‘always, (very) often’ quantificational force and is positionally more versatile than it is in negative clauses, e.g.,

- (17) **dàdai hakà hāinsà yakè**
 very often thus character.of.3M 3M.FOC-IMPV
 ‘his character is very often like that’
- (18) **yanà cikin ruwā dàdai**
 3M.IMPV in water always
 ‘it’s always in water’

Although the time-frequency adverb ‘always’ is not usually classified as an intensifier in English at least—Quirk et al. (1985: 782ff.) simply consider ‘always’ to be the “assertive” counterpart of negative ‘never’—the distributional facts for **dàdai** strongly support extension of the cover-term “intensifier” to characterize its semantic role in (17-18). Because ‘always’ encodes universal quantification, therefore, **dàdai**, in addition to **atàbau** and **tùtuř** below, is simply behaving here as a top-of-the-scale, maximal intensifier, in line with its inherent lexical semantics.

Faufau, on the other hand, is only licensed to occur in positive clauses which contain semantically negative head verbs like (19) **fi** ‘refuse’ and (20) **tsàná** ‘hate’, in which case it conveys the emphatic maximal meaning ‘utterly, absolutely, etc.’ When used in such (partly collocational) contexts, therefore, **faufau** behaves as a maximizing degree adverb, preserving its function as an adverbial intensifier, e.g.,

- (19) **faufau yā fi zuwà**
 utterly 3M.PFV refuse come.VN
 ‘he utterly refused to come’
- (20) **tā tsàni m̀aganàř faufau**
 3F.PFV hate topic.the absolutely
 ‘she absolutely hated the topic’

Both intensifiers can be used in isolation to emphatically answer a *yes-no* question in the negative (as a strong denial or refusal), with ellipsis of the negative clause, e.g.,

- (21) **zā kà tūba?—dàdai/faufau!**
 FUT 2M repent never
 ‘will you apologize?—never!’

or a rhetorical question, e.g.,

- (22) **dà nī dà yīn hakà?—dàdai/faufau!**
and 1S and do.VN.of that never
'I do that?—never!'

Another relatively common adverbial intensifier which is close in meaning and distribution (though not recorded in dictionaries/grammars) is **atàbau** = **atàfau** '(never) ever' (a more archaic variant **atàtau** is recorded in Bargery 1934: 42 and Abraham 1962: 41 however, and is recognized by some speakers). It usually occurs in initial position, often with a communication verb in the matrix clause, and with a range of negative TAMs, especially the future, e.g.,

- (23) **atàfau bàn ga giwā ba**
ever NEG.1S.PFV see elephant NEG
'I have never ever seen an elephant'
- (24) **atàbau yā cē shī bài fādī hakà ba**
ever 3M.PFV say 3M NEG.3M.PFV say this NEG
'he said he never ever said this'

Notice that even though the intensifier **atàbau** in (24) occurs in sentence-initial position before the matrix reporting verb **cē** 'say', its pragmatic/semantic scope unambiguously falls on the VP 'never ever said this' in the embedded indirect reported speech clause. Example (25) also has a main clause followed by an indirect reported speech clause as the complement of **cē** 'say', each of which contains a negative TAM and an intensifier modifying and scoping its VP:

- (25) **sam bà tà cē atàbau bà zā tà àurē shī ba**
at all NEG 3F.PFV say ever NEG FUT 3F marry 3M NEG
'she never said she would never ever marry him'

Like **faufau**, **atàbau/atàfau** is bipolar and is licensed in affirmative contexts with a typically negative verb expressing the highest possible pragmatic intensification, e.g.,

- (26) **atàfau yā ki yàrdā**
 absolutely 3M.PFV refuse agree.VN
 ‘he absolutely refused to agree’

Like **dàdai/faufau** it can occur by itself to emphatically answer a *yes-no* question in the negative, e.g.,

- (27) **zā kà tūba?—atàbau!**
 FUT 2M repent never
 ‘will you apologize?—never!’

Atàbau can also, like **dàdai**, take on a context-sensitive temporal ‘always’ interpretation in positive frames, e.g.,

- (28) **atàbau yanà cikin rìgimà**
 always 3M.IMPFV in quarrelling
 ‘he’s always quarrelling’

Another adverbial modifier with a similar syntactic distribution and contextual negative:positive meanings is **tùtuř**, e.g.,

- (29) [intensive temporal ‘(never) ever’ with matrix mandative verb and complement negative TAM]
tā dāgè tùtuř bà zā tà àurē shì ba
 3F.PFV insist ever NEG FUT 3F marry 3M NEG
 ‘she insisted she would never ever marry him’
- (30) [maximal degree ‘absolutely’ with covert negative verb and positive TAM]
àbīn yā fàskarà tùtuř
 thing.the 3M.PFV be impossible absolutely
 ‘the task has become absolutely impossible’
- (31) [maximal temporal ‘always’ with positive TAM]
yanà cikin fushī tùtuř
 3M.IMPFV in anger always
 ‘he’s always in a bad mood’

The low time-frequency adverb **kàsàfai** and its reduced variant **sàfai** ‘(not) very often, seldom, hardly ever, rarely’ are negative-polarity items

restricted to occurrence in negative sentences (I have not been able to confirm the other reported variant **kàsàì**). If the sentence is verbal, **(kà)sàfài** typically co-occurs with a negative habitual (and occasionally imperfective) TAM. If the negative habitual is used, **(kà)sàfài** normally follows either the first **bà** (preferred) or final **ba** negative marker, e.g.,

- (32) **sunà zuwà kullum?—bà kàsàfài ba**
 3PL.IMPFV come.VN often NEG very often NEG
 ‘do they come often?—not very often/hardly ever’
- (33) **bà sàfài yakàn zō ba**
 NEG very often 3M.HAB come NEG
 = **bà yakàn zō ba sàfài**
 NEG 3M.HAB come NEG very often
 ‘he does not come very often’
- (34) **bà kàsàfài nakàn gan shì bà tàrè dà yārin yàrsà ba**
 NEG very often 1S.HAB see 3M NEG with girl.of.3M NEG
 ‘I seldom/don’t often see him without his girlfriend’

(Kà)sàfài can also occur with an imperfective TAM to express, like the negative habitual, the low frequency of an activity/event, e.g.,

- (35) **bà sàfài nakè wàsan kwallō ba**
 NEG very often 1S.FOC-IMPFV football NEG
 ‘I don’t often/hardly ever play football’
- (36) **bà kàsàfài akè zāfi à wannàn lōkàcîn ba**
 NEG very often 4PL.FOC-IMPFV heat at this time.the NEG
 ‘it’s not often/hardly ever hot at this time’

In (35-36) **(kà)sàfài** is in the focus (front) position (cf. the *it*-cleft in the English equivalent in ex. 36), so the neutral imperfective is replaced by a focus imperfective TAM, together with wrap-around negative **bà ... ba** bracketing of the entire clause.

To complete this account of time adverbs favouring negative contexts, mention should be made of the adjunct **tùkùna** (negative) ‘(not) yet’, (positive) ‘first (of all)’, where both the ‘(not) yet’ and ‘first of all, before that/then’ readings denote a relationship between two time points, sig-

nalling a temporal sequencing prior to a specified later time point.⁴ Although not a quantificational intensifier in the sense used above, **tùkùna** is bipolar. It characteristically occurs (finally) in negative verbal sentences, i.e., it is negative-oriented, with the non-assertive aspectual meaning ‘(not) yet’ e.g.,

- (37) **bà tà tǎshì ba tùkùna**
 NEG 3F.PFV get up NEG yet
 ‘she hasn’t got up yet’

Tùkùna is also admissible in positive contexts, corresponding to ‘first (of all), before then/that’, e.g.,

- (38) **bàri in gamà tùkùna**
 let.IMPER 1S.SJN finish first
 ‘let me finish first’

3. Negative intensifiers of degree

Hausa has a number of negative-polarity degree adverbs which are licensed to be used exclusively in negative constructions to express the absolute zero intensive meanings ‘(not) at all, (not) even a bit, (not) in the least/slightest, etc.’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 782 include quantificational ‘at all’ etc. in the category of non-assertive items which do not function to assert a positive proposition (alongside *any* formations), but which reinforce the pragmatic impact of the clause). The speakers I consulted adjudged these minimal degree adjuncts to be basically synonymous and interchangeable without any real meaning difference, so I have grouped the various glosses together for convenience (the English equivalents are also largely synonymous and substitutable, with ‘in the least/slightest’ probably more emphatic). Some of the more common (the list is non-exhaustive) are phrasal adverbs formed with **kō** ‘even’, e.g., (all = ‘(not) even a bit, (not) in the least/slightest, (not) at all’) **kō ɗaya** (lit. ‘even one’), **kō kàɗan** (lit. ‘even a little/bit’), **kō kusa** (lit. ‘even close’). (**Kō** regularly combines with *wh*-words to express meanings equivalent to non-assertive ‘any X’ in

⁴ The corresponding assertive, positive-oriented ‘already’ notion is syntactically expressed with the lexical verb **riɗā** ‘to have already done s’ting’, in a co-ordinate structure with matching perfective TAMs, e.g., **sun riɗā sun ga sābon watā** ‘they have already seen the new moon’ (3PL.PFV already do 3PL.PFV see new.of moon).

negative clauses.)⁵ Other common synonymous negative intensifiers include **sam(sam)**, a reduplicated (more emphatic) form of the ideophonic adverb **sam**, with even further reduplication possible for additional effect, i.e., **samsamsam**. (**Sam** is recorded by Bargery 1934: 892 and Abraham 1962: 772 as occurring in **shèkarà sam** ‘(for) a complete year’ (lit. ‘year complete’ [with a maximal value in the positive context note]), though I have not been able to verify this collocational usage with any speaker.) There is also a lexicalized (ideophonic) reduplicate **kwata-kwata**, which is bipolar unlike the above negative-oriented items, and so can occur in both negative (meanings as above) and positive (= ‘totally, completely, utterly’) constructions (cf. Yoruba **kpatakpata** with a similar terminal meaning and distribution).⁶ As minimal degree adjuncts, these modifiers are free to co-occur with any (negative) TAM, falling within the scope of the clausal negation. Positional norms are illustrated in the negative declarative main clauses below (some speakers consider the clause-initial position to be marginally more emphatic):

- (39) **bàn gānè ba kō dāya**
 NEG.1S.PFV understand NEG even one
 ‘I don’t understand at all’
- (40) **àmmā kō kàdān wannàn bàì karyà zūcìyārsà ba**
 but even a bit this NEG.3M.PFV break heart.of.3M NEG
 ‘but this didn’t discourage him even a bit’
- (41) **bàì kai ba kō kusa**
 NEG.3M.PFV reach NEG even close
 ‘it doesn’t reach anywhere near’

⁵ Another set of morphologically complex **kō**-formed process adverbs includes the (near) synonymous **ta kōwàcè hanyà** (lit. ‘through every/any way’) = **ta kō yàyà** (lit. ‘through even how’) = **kō ta yàyà** (lit. ‘even through how’) = **ta kōyàyà** (lit. ‘through even how’) = **ta kōwànè hālì** (lit. ‘through any circumstance’). Unlike the negative-polarity **kō dāya**, **kō kàdān** etc. adjuncts, these are functionally bipolar lexemes, regularly used in both positive and negative clauses, equivalent to (positive) ‘somehow, by whatever means’ and (negative) ‘in any way, by any means’ respectively. Cf. **zān kammàlā aikin kō ta yàyà** ‘I’ll finish the work somehow’ and **àbinci bàì isa ba kō ta yàyà** ‘the food wasn’t in any way sufficient’ (where the adverb intensifies the pragmatic impact of the positive and negative predicates).

⁶ Elders (2000: 450ff.) reports a similar ‘(not) at all’ and ‘completely’ distribution for a subset of ideophones in Mundang (Niger-Congo, Chad, Cameroon).

- (42) **bàn san shì ba sam**
 NEG.1S.PFV know 3M NEG at all
 ‘I don’t know him at all’
- (43) **sam bābù ruwā** (= non-verbal existential)
 at all there is not water
 ‘there’s no water at all’
- (44) **àshē sū mā samsam bā sà sôn à bugà shi**
 well 3PL too at all NEG 3PL.IMPFV want.VN.of 4PL.SJN publish 3M
 ‘well they too didn’t want it published at all’
- (45) **sun cê samsamsam kadà sù bā dà tallàfi gà manòmā**
 3PL.PFV say at all NEG 3PL.SJN give subsidies to farmers
 ‘they said under no circumstances should they give subsidies to farmers’
- (46) **bàn dāmu ba kwata-kwata**
 NEG.1S.PFV be bothered NEG in the least
 ‘I’m not bothered in the least’

Bipolar **kwata-kwata** can also occur in positive clauses to convey the maximally emphatic meaning ‘completely, entirely, totally, etc.’, with a variety of verbs (semantically positive and negative), e.g.,

- (47) **kudī yā fārè kwata-kwata**
 money 3M.PFV finish completely
 ‘the money is completely finished’
- (48) **nā mântā kwata-kwata**
 1S.PFV forget totally
 ‘I totally forgot’
- (49) **tā warkè kwata-kwata**
 3F.PFV recover completely
 ‘she recovered completely’

4. Summary

This paper has taken a detailed look at a typologically interesting class of adverbial intensifiers of time frequency and degree which has been largely ignored in standard descriptions of negative constructions and

adjuncts in Hausa (and probably other African languages), and in doing so opens up clear avenues of linguistic research. Although the data are varied and complex, a distributional examination reveals a cluster of functionally homogeneous lexemes whose related meanings are explicable in terms of their inherent quantificational semantics and the polar positive: negative syntactic contexts in which they occur. A fuller account would confront an even larger corpus of negative intensifiers, including determiners such as 'not one', 'not a single', and idiomatic negative-polarity phrasal verbs such as '(not) say a word', '(not) sleep a wink', etc., in addition to linearization principles determining the ordering restrictions on these adjuncts in relation to other clausal constituents.

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