

# An innovated prohibitive marker in Afrikaans negative imperatives

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# Introduction

According to the typological literature, there are 3 types of negative imperatives (van der Auwera & Lejeune 2013):

1. True negative imperatives (Dutch)

(1) *Koop dat boek!*

buy the book

'Buy that book!'

(2) *Koop dat boek **niet!***

buy that book not

'Don't buy that book!'

2. Suppletive/surrogate imperatives (Spanish)

(3) *Canta!*

sing.IMP.2SG

'Sing!'

(4) *No **cantes!***

not sing.SBJV.PRES.2SG

'Don't sing!'

# Introduction

According to the typological literature, there are 3 types of negative imperatives (van der Auwera & Lejeune 2013):

## 3. Prohibitives (Vietnamese)

(5) ***Không** uống rượu.*

not drink alcoholic

'You are not drinking alcohol.'

(6) ***Chó** uống rượu!*

not drink alcoholic

'Do not drink alcohol!'

- 327 of 495 languages use a dedicated prohibitive marker

# Introduction

- Afrikaans appears to follow the majority:

(7) ***Moenie*** *huil nie!*

PROH cry POL

'Don't cry!'

- Afrikaans can also use the modal verb *moet* 'must' and the sentential negator *nie* when e.g.:

- Modal particles are used
- Emphasis is needed

(8) *Moet* ***tog*** *nie huil nie!*

must MP not cry POL

'Just/please don't cry!'

(9) *Moet* ***NIE*** *huil nie!*

must not<sub>EMPH</sub> cry POL

'Do not cry!'

# Introduction

- On the one hand, Afrikaans seems to behave like a prohibitive language (*moenie*-form), but on the other hand it can also use *moet* 'must' + *nie* 'not'.
- It can be argued that this second form is a true negative imperative, but *moet* 'must' is still a dedicated form for negative imperatives in Afrikaans.
- The *moenie*-form looks like *moet* 'must' and *nie* 'not' has just been fused together.

## Goals for my talk:

- To show that *moenie* is not just *moet* + *nie* fused together, but different negative elements are used in each case;
- To propose an analysis that could account for the different forms we see in Afrikaans negative imperatives.

# Roadmap

- Introduction
- *Moenie vs moet + nie*
- Prerequisites for the analysis
- Analysis
- Conclusion

*Moenie vs moet + nie*

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## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

(10) *Die kat sit **nie**<sub>1</sub> in die boom **nie**<sub>2</sub>.*  
the cat sit not in the tree POL  
'The cat isn't sitting in the tree.'

- 2 sentential negators fulfil different roles (Oosthuizen 1998; Biberauer 2007, 2015).
  - *Nie*<sub>1</sub> – real negator
  - *Nie*<sub>2</sub> – scope-marking element (left-peripheral Pol-head)

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

Biberauer (2007, 2015) illustrates the difference between the two negators by highlighting *nie*<sub>1</sub>'s strength compared to *nie*<sub>2</sub>'s weakness (Oosthuizen 1998; Cardinaletti & Starke 1996, 1999).

1. Omissibility
2. Modifiability
3. Substitution
4. Stressability

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

### 1. Omissibility:

(11) *Hy maak nie<sub>1</sub> klaar (nie<sub>2</sub>).*

he make not finished POL

'He isn't finishing up.'

(12) \**Hy maak klaar nie<sub>2</sub>.*

he make finished POL

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

### 2. Modifiability:

(13) *Jy let glad nie<sub>1</sub> op nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
you attend altogether not up POL  
'You aren't remotely paying attention.'

(14)\**Jy let nie<sub>1</sub> op glad nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
you attend not up altogether POL

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

3. Substitution with stronger negative form:

(15) *Ons is **geensins** ryk nie<sub>2</sub>.*

us is not-remotely rich POL

'We are not remotely rich.'

(16) \**Ons is nie<sub>1</sub> ryk **geensins**.*

us is not rich not-remotely

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

### 4. Stressability:

(17) *Ek weet **NIE**<sub>1</sub> wat sy bedoel nie*<sub>2</sub>.

I know not what she mean POL  
'I DON'T know what she means.'

(18) \**Ek weet nie*<sub>1</sub> *wat sy bedoel **NIE***<sub>2</sub>.

I know not what she mean POL

# *Moenie vs moet + nie*

*nie<sub>1</sub> vs nie<sub>2</sub>*

	<i>nie<sub>1</sub></i>	<i>nie<sub>2</sub></i>
Omissability	x	✓
Modifiability	✓	x
Substitution	✓	x
Stressability	✓	x

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

(19) *Moenie*<sub>0</sub> die boek koop *nie*<sub>2</sub>.

PROH the book buy POL

'Don't buy the book!'

(20) *Moet asseblief nie*<sub>1</sub> die boek koop *nie*<sub>2</sub>.

must please not the book buy POL

'Please don't buy the book!'

- 2 types of negative imperatives use different negative elements.
- $nie_0 \neq nie_1 \neq nie_2$



## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

### 1. Omissibility:

(21) *Moenie klaar maak nie*<sub>2</sub>.

PROH    finish make POL

'Don't finish up.'

(22) \**Moe klaar maak nie*<sub>2</sub>.

must finish make POL

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

### 2. Modifiability:

(23) *Moet glad            nie<sub>1</sub> sleg voel nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
must altogether not bad feel POL  
'Don't feel bad at all.'

(24) \**<Glad>*            *moenie <glad>*            *sleg voel nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
altogether PROH            altogether bad feel POL

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

3. Substitution with stronger negative form:

(25) *Moet **nooit** sleg voel nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
must never bad feel POL  
'Don't ever feel bad.'

(26) \**Moenooit sleg voel nie<sub>2</sub>.*  
must.never bad feel POL

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*

### 4. Stressability:

(27) *Moet **NIE** huil nie<sub>2</sub>.*

Must not cry POL

'Do NOT cry.'

(28) \**Moe**NIE** huil nie<sub>2</sub>.*

PROH cry POL

# Moenie vs moet + nie

*nie<sub>0</sub> vs nie<sub>1</sub> vs nie<sub>2</sub>*

	nie <sub>0</sub>	nie <sub>1</sub>	nie <sub>2</sub>
Omissability	x	x	✓
Modifiability	x	✓	x
Substitution	x	✓	x
Stressability	x	✓	x

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*: Zwicky & Pullum (1983)

- Zwicky and Pullum (1983) use various tests to differentiate between clitics and affixes.
- I propose that *nie<sub>o</sub>* behaves more like an affix compared to the other 2 negators.

## *Moenie vs moet + nie: Zwicky & Pullum (1983)*

Morphophonology: affixes are more likely to show unexpected phonology than clitics.

- *nie*<sub>1</sub> and *nie*<sub>2</sub> undergo regular place assimilation with preceding consonant.

<i>het</i> 'to have' + <i>nie</i> 'not'	<b>hettie</b>	*hennie
<i>patat</i> 'sweet potato' + <i>nie</i> 'not'	<b>patattie</b>	*patannie

(29) *Ek hettie 'n patattie.*

I have.not a sweet.potato.not  
'I don't have a sweet potato.'

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*: Zwicky & Pullum (1983)

- *nie*<sub>1</sub> and *nie*<sub>2</sub> undergo regular place assimilation with other modal verbs as well.

<i>mag</i> 'may' + <i>nie</i> 'not'	<b>maggie</b>	*mannie
<i>sal</i> 'will' + <i>nie</i> 'not'	<b>sallie</b>	*sannie
<i>wil</i> 'want to' + <i>nie</i> 'not'	<b>willie</b>	*winnie



## *Moenie vs moet + nie*: Zwicky & Pullum (1983)

- With *moenie*, the assimilation strikingly goes in the opposite direction.

(30) *Moenie* (\**Moetie*) die boek koop nie!

PROH    the book buy    POL

'Don't buy the book!'

## *Moenie vs moet + nie: Zwicky & Pullum (1983)*

- Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitics.

(31) *Jy moet asseblief nie huis toe gaan nie.*

you must please not home to go POL

'You must not go home.'

(32) *Jy moet nie huis toe gaan (maar jy kan as jy wil).*

you must not home to go but you can if you want

'You don't have to go home, but you can if you want.'

(33) *Jy moenie huis toe gaan nie.*

you must.not home to go POL

'You mustn't go home.'

## *Moenie vs moet + nie*: Zwicky & Pullum (1983)

- Degree of selection: clitics can usually attach to any category of host; affixes are more “picky” about the hosts they choose.
- *nie*<sub>0</sub> = very picky; can only be hosted by *moe*
- *nie*<sub>1</sub> and *nie*<sub>2</sub> = not picky; can be hosted by any element

(34) *Moet toggie huilie!*  
must just.not cry.not

(35) *Moet assebliefie huilie!*  
must please.not cry.not

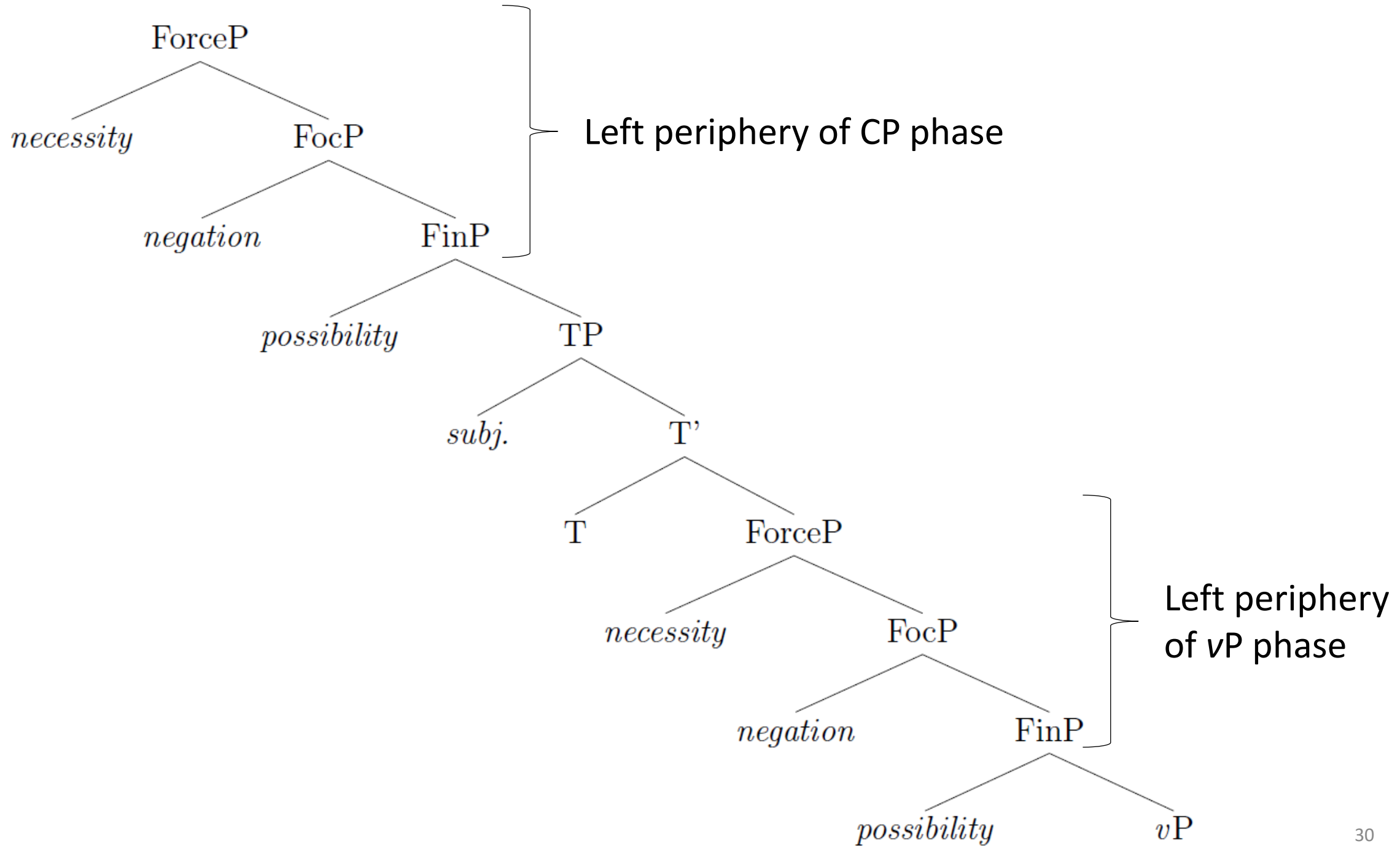
(36) *Hy issie my broerie!*  
he is.not my brother.not

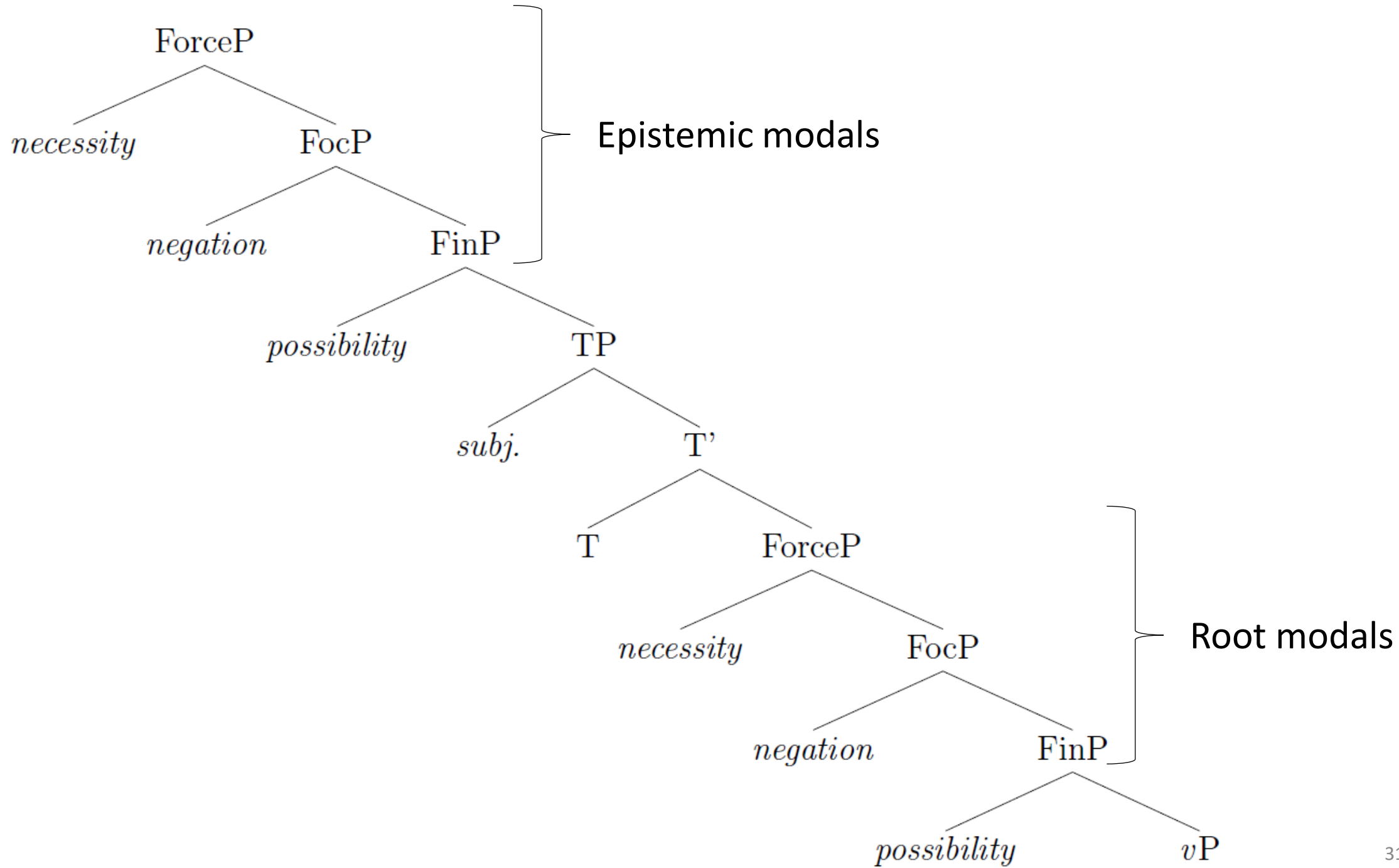
Prerequisite for the  
analysis: Butler 2003

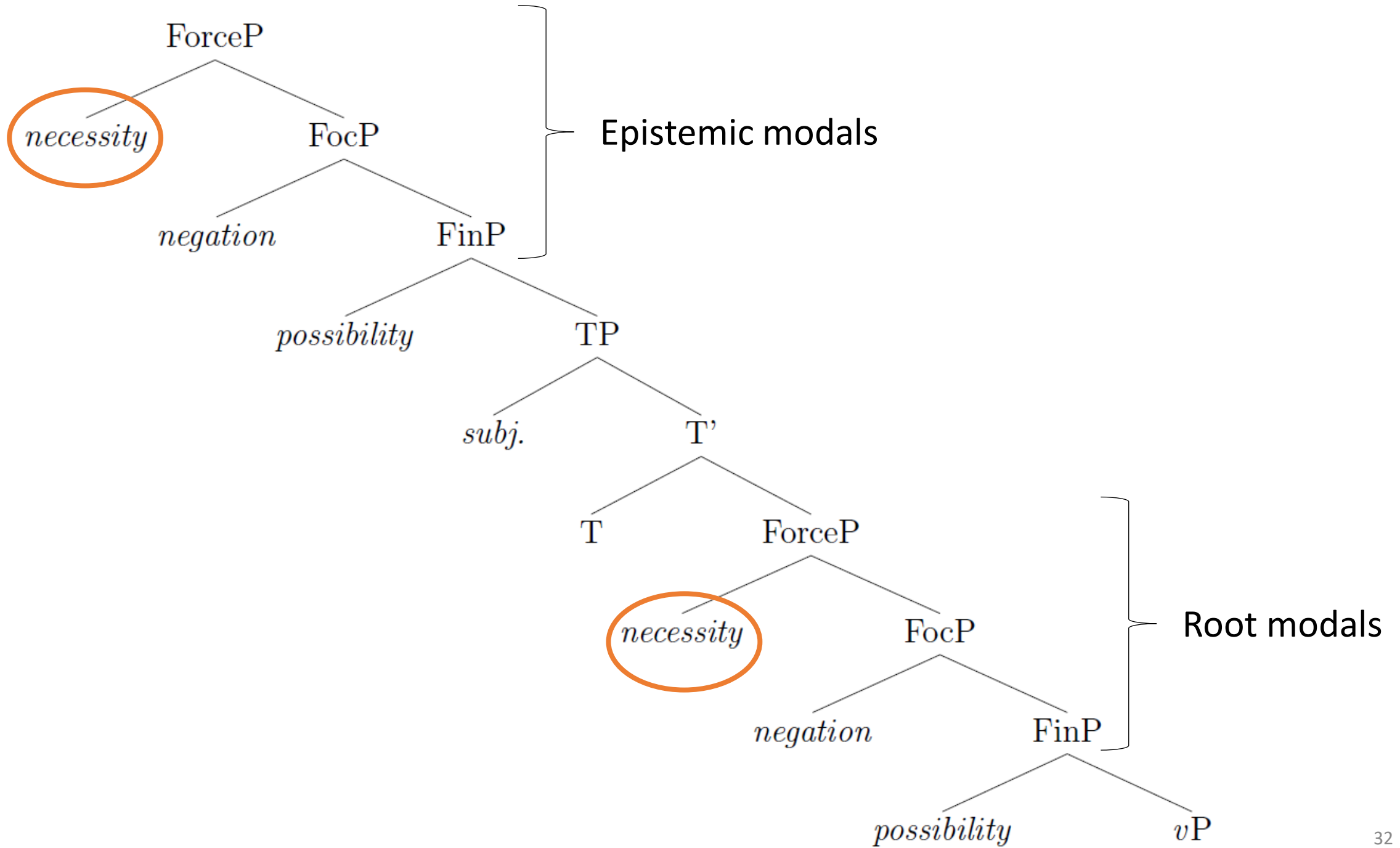
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# Modals and negation: Butler 2003

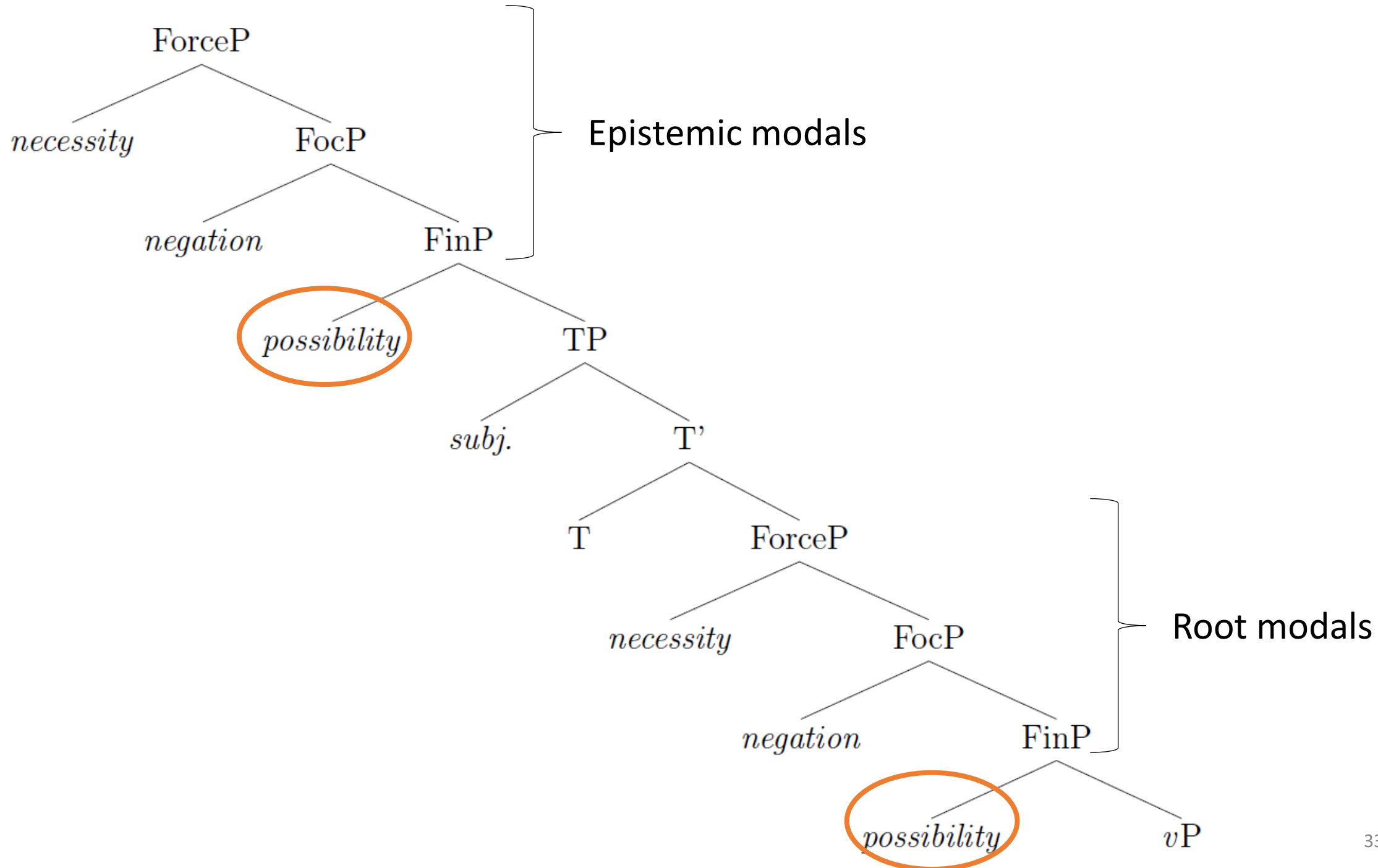
- vP- and CP-phases are constructed in parallel ways.
  - The same kind of left periphery that is found above CP, is also found above vP.
- Butler proposes positions for modals and negation in both the vP- and CP-phases.

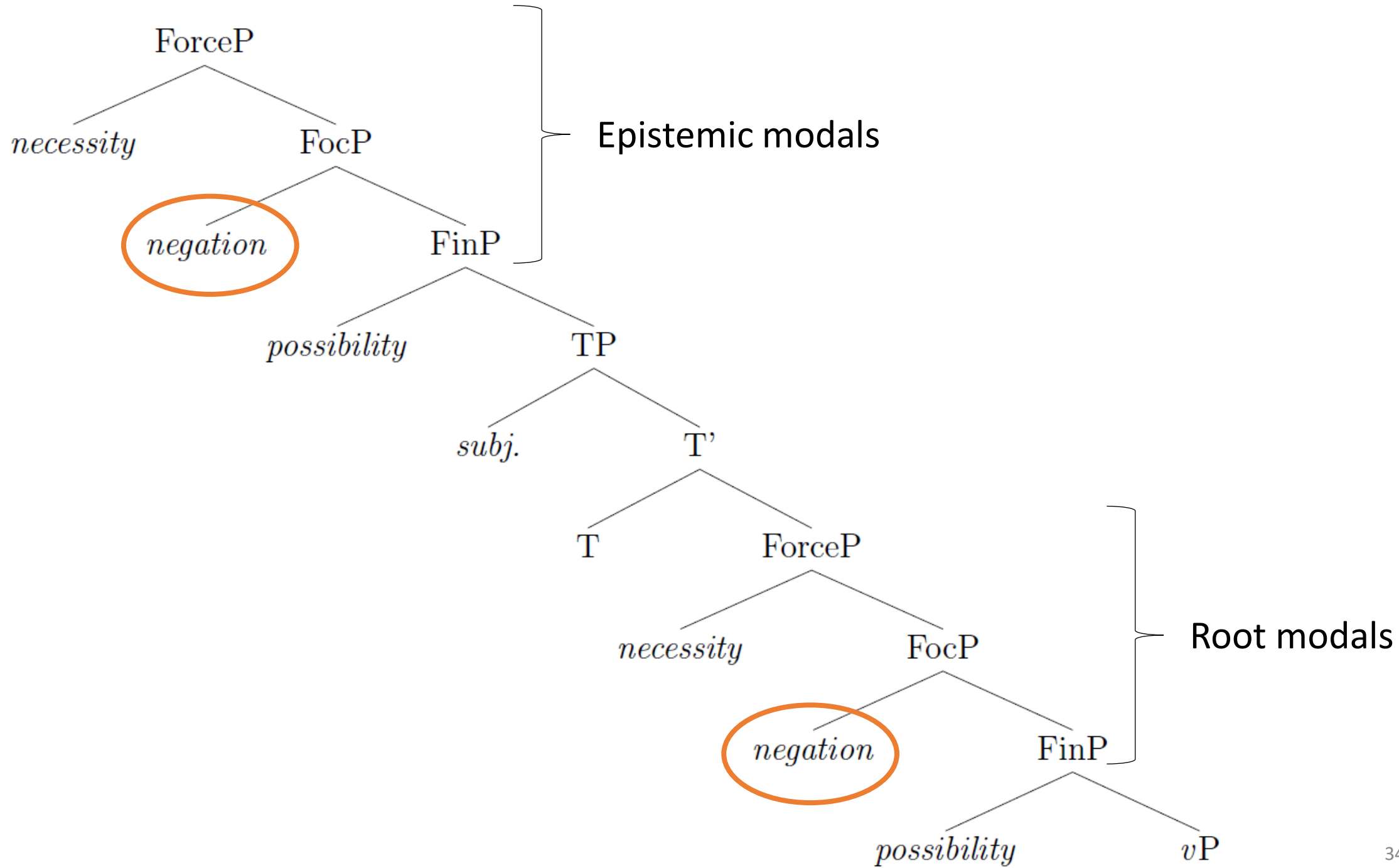












# The analysis

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# Analysis

- Negative imperatives with *moet* 'must' and *nie*<sub>1</sub>

(2) *Moet **tog** nie huil nie!*

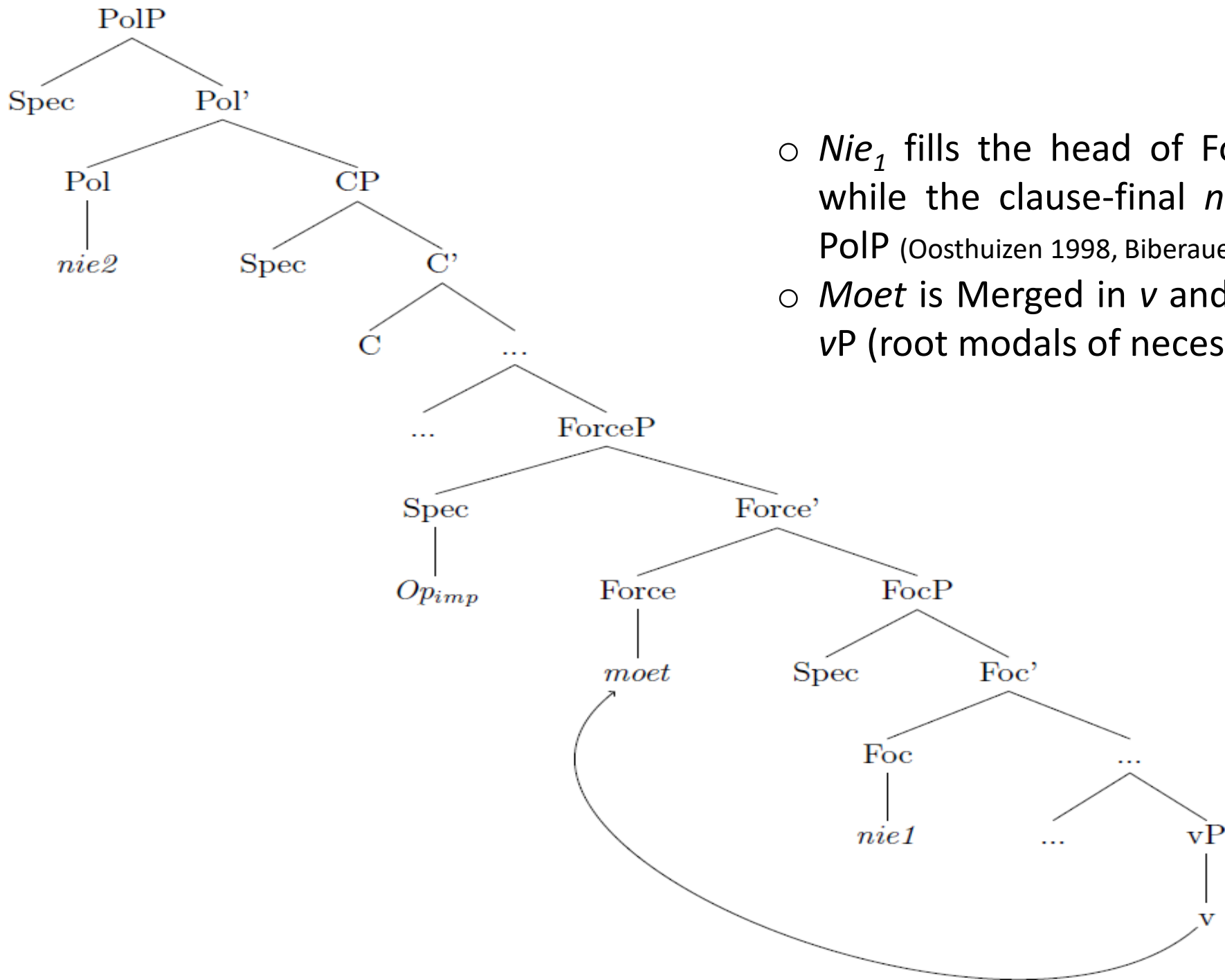
must MP not cry POL

'Just/please don't cry!'

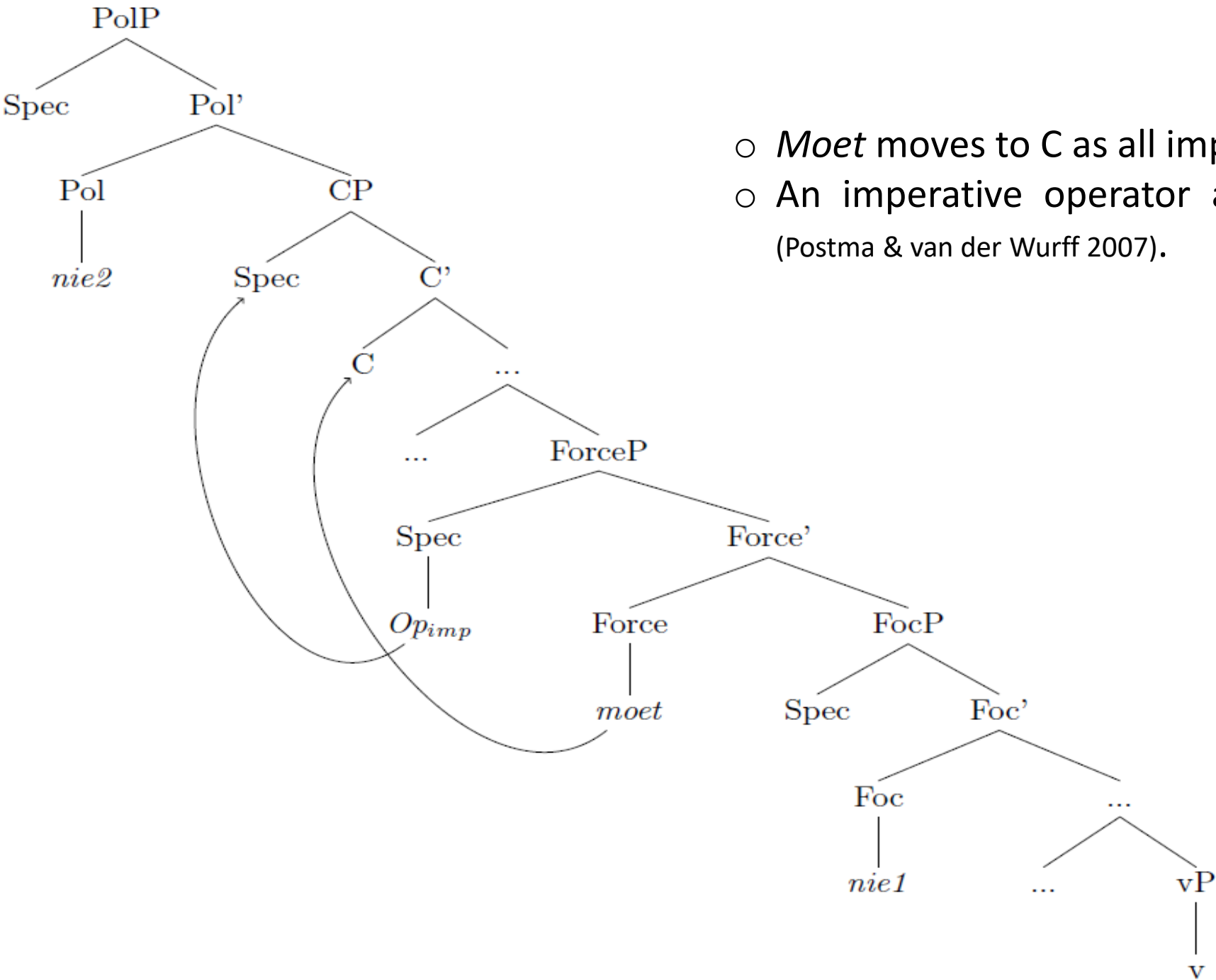
(3) *Moet **NIE** huil nie!*

must not<sub>EMPH</sub> cry POL

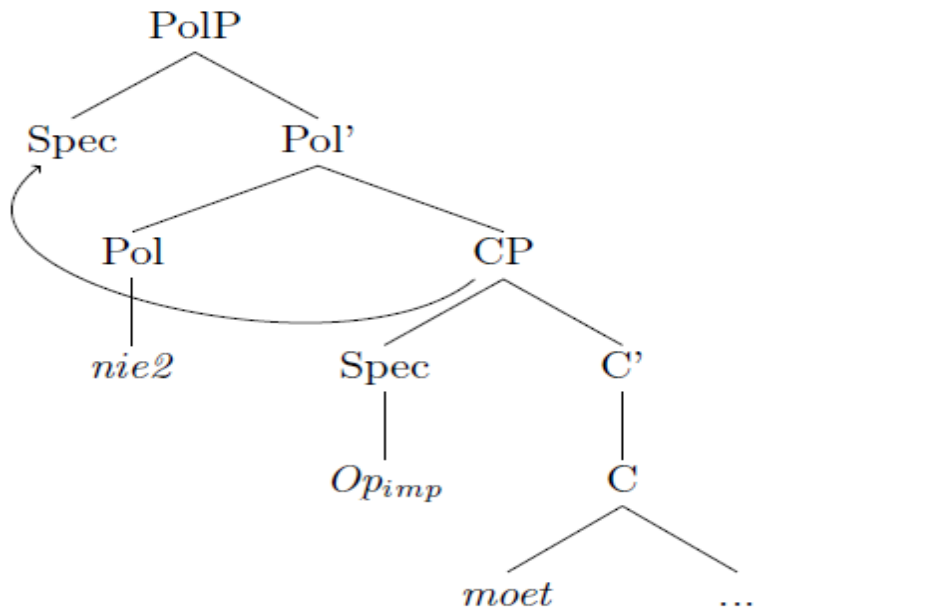
'Do not cry!'



- *Nie*<sub>1</sub> fills the head of FocP above vP (Butler 2003) while the clause-final *nie*<sub>2</sub> is Merged in a high PolP (Oosthuizen 1998, Biberauer 2007).
- *Moet* is Merged in *v* and moves to ForceP above vP (root modals of necessity) .



- *Moet* moves to C as all imperative verbs do.
- An imperative operator also moves to SpecCP (Postma & van der Wurff 2007).



- o Entire CP moves to the specifier position of a high PolP, with *nie*<sub>2</sub> in the clause-final position (Oosthuizen 1998, Biberauer 2007).

# Analysis

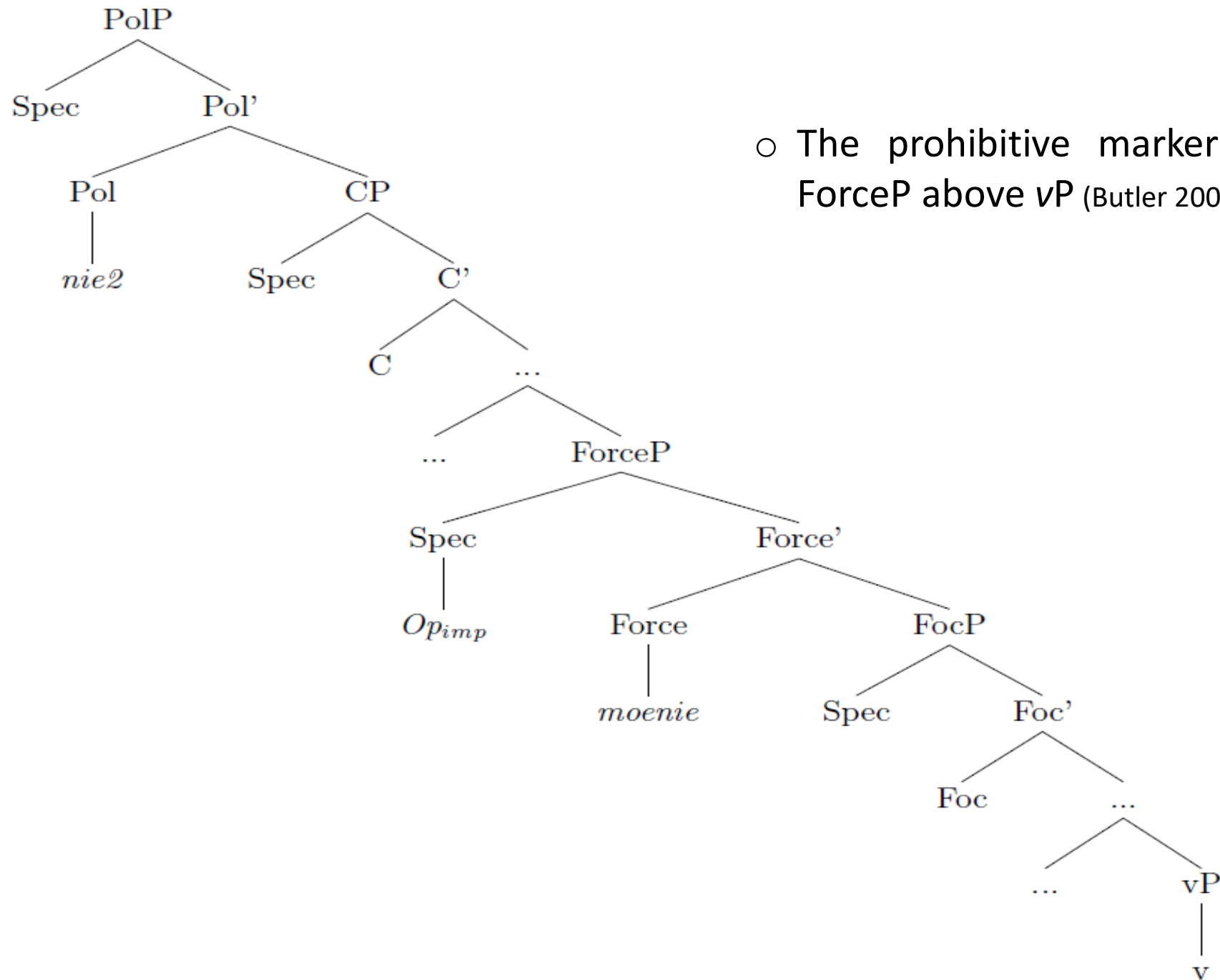
○ Negative imperatives with *moenie*

(1) *Moenie huil nie!*

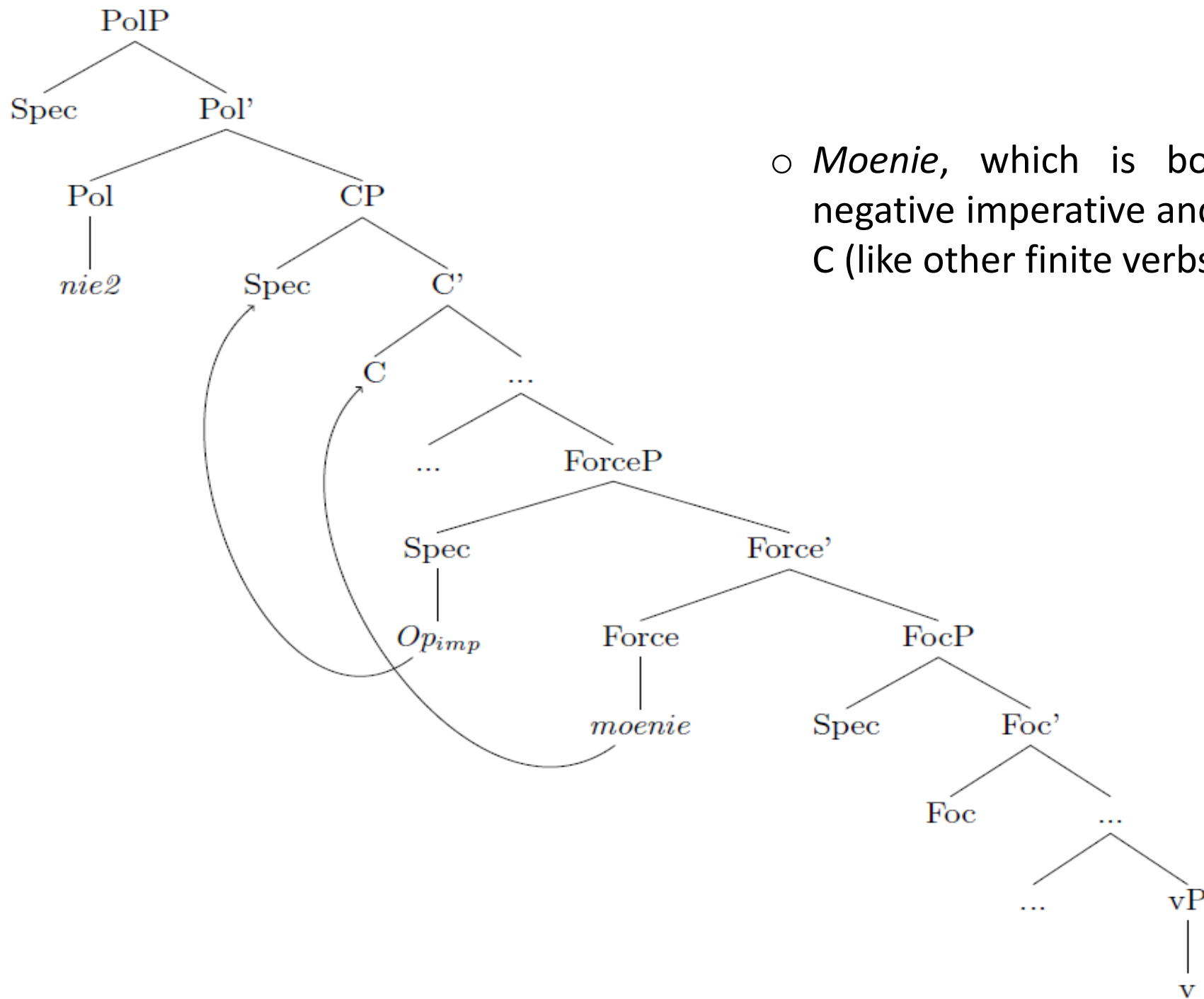
PROH cry POL

'Don't cry!'

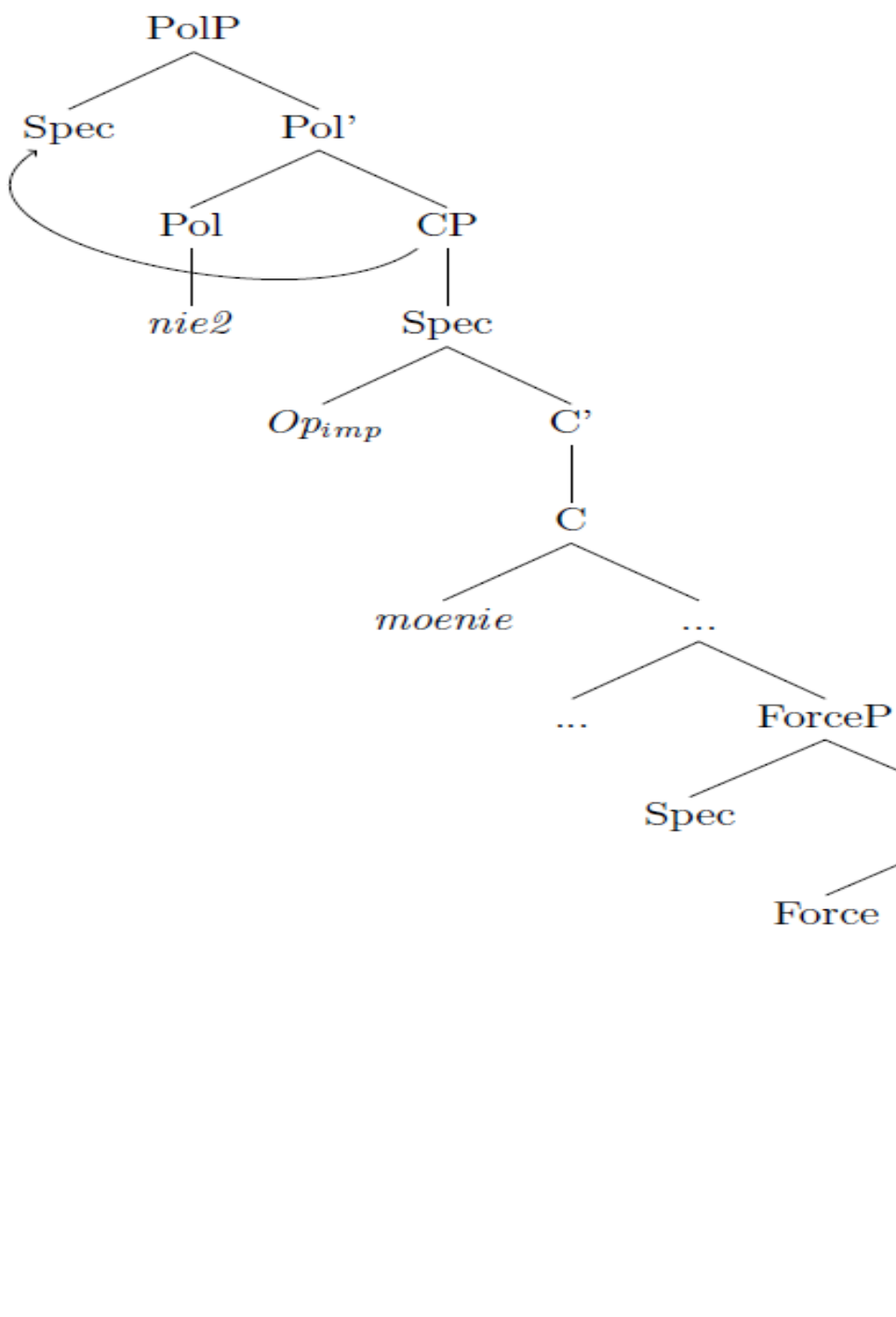




- The prohibitive marker *moenie* is Merged in ForceP above vP (Butler 2003).



- *Moenie*, which is both the negator of the negative imperative and the finite verb, moves to C (like other finite verbs).



- Entire CP moves to the specifier position of a high PolP, with *nie*<sub>2</sub> in the clause-final position (Oosthuizen 1998, Biberauer 2007).

# Conclusion

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# Conclusion

- $nie_0 \neq nie_1 \neq nie_2$ 
  - *Moenie* is not just *moet* + *nie* fused together.
- *moet* + *nie* negative imperatives =  $nie_1$ 
  - *Moet* + *nie* do not form a unit, and so other material can intervene (like modal particles).
  - This form is used when emphasis is needed, and requires the use of  $nie_1$  in FocP.
- *moenie* negative imperatives =  $nie_0$ 
  - *Moenie* is a lexicalised prohibitive marker that is both the negative element and the finite verb that moves to C.

Thank you for your time!  
Baie dankie vir u tyd!

# Appendix

# Development of Afrikaans negative imperatives



# Development of Afrikaans prohibitives

- Afrikaans negative imperatives comes from contact with Portuguese Creole *na misti* and/or Malay *jangan* (den Besten 1986, Ponelis 1993).

(1) ***Na misti dali pro mi!***  
not must hit for me  
'Don't hit me!'

(2) ***Jangan kau berkata begitu!***  
not you talk so  
'Don't talk like that!'

(Ponelis 1993:460)

# Development of Afrikaans prohibitives

- Probably also influenced by some of the Bantu languages spoken in South Africa that also use a prohibitive-type negative imperative.

(3) *Musa ukungena!*

PROH come

'Don't come!' (Zulu)

(4) *Musa ukuthetha!*

PROH talk

'Don't talk!' (Xhosa)

(van der Auwera & Leujeune 2013, Biberauer 2018)

# Development of Afrikaans prohibitives

- Child-language data: modal verbs are acquired early on (Hoekstra & Jordens 1996)
  - During early stages, modal verbs can only occur in negative contexts

# Development of Afrikaans prohibitives

- (Negative) imperatives are salient constructions for the language-learning child as they are very frequent in the input (Collberg & Häkansson 1999, Biberauer 2020).
- Afrikaans negative imperatives are the result of various influences.

A previous analysis: Postma  
& van der Wurff 2007

# Postma & van der Wurff 2007

- Negative imperatives carry different meanings from negation in declaratives.
  - Negative imperatives have a boulemaic/volitional component.
- In languages where 'no' ≠ 'not' there are two NegPs.
- In languages where 'no' = 'not' the two NegPs are collapsed.

# Postma & van der Wurff 2007

- True negative imperatives: when a language's anaphoric negator ('no') and clausal negator(s) ('not') do not have the same form.
- Dutch (*nee* 'no' and *niet* 'not')
- 2 negative projections: epistemic ( $\Sigma P$ ) and boulemaeic (BoulP) negation

(1) [- C° ... [ $\Sigma P$  Spec  $\Sigma^\circ$  [ $BoulP$  Spec Boul° ... [V ...]]]]  
                                  |                                  |  
                                  niet                              Op<sub>imp</sub>/nee

# Postma & van der Wurff 2007

- Collapsed structure of  $\Sigma P$  and  $BoulP$ : when the anaphoric and clausal negator(s) have the same form
- Portuguese (*não* ‘no’ = *não* ‘not’)

(2) [ $C^\circ$  ... [ $_{\Sigma P/BoulP}$  Spec  $\Sigma^\circ/Boul^\circ$  ... [V ...]]]

Op<sub>imp</sub>/nã | não



# Postma & van der Wurff 2007

- Escape hatch: collapsed structure; verb moves to head of  $\Sigma P$ /BoulP > combines with negator > moves as a unit
- Latin: (*non* 'no' = *non* 'not')

(3) [- C° ... [ $\Sigma P$ / BoulP Spec  $\Sigma^\circ$ /Boul° ... [V ...]]]

Op<sub>imp</sub>/non      non

# Postma & van der Wurff 2007

- Cannot be applied to Afrikaans.
- Anaphoric negator (*nee*) ≠ clausal negator (*nie*), but still Afrikaans does not have true negative imperatives.
- They consider 2 options:
  1. Afrikaans *moe* is inserted as a “dummy”-element
  2. Afrikaans *moenie* is Merged in BoudP and [imp] feature is checked through phrasal movement of BoudP

# Postma & van der Wurff 2007

- These options predict that *moet* and *nie* always have to be adjacent.
- Thus, P&W (2007) cannot account for examples like (10), and therefore cannot account for all negative imperatives in Afrikaans.

(4) *Moet **tog** nie huil nie!*  
must MP not cry POL  
'Just/please don't cry!'

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