

Negation patterns in Zande

Helma Pasch, Cologne/Germany
(paper presented by Dmitry Idiatov)

1. Introduction

Languages of the Ubangian group mark negation in clause final position like some of the neighbouring Bantu languages, which makes it an areal feature. Some Ubangian languages have in addition a negative marker adjacent to the verb. Dryer qualifies Zande as a “marginal case” even beyond the Ubangi languages because it is the only the languages with bipartite “standard” negation, i.e. negation of “declarative verbal main clauses”, which has two post verbal negators one immediately following the verb the other one standing in clause final position.

2. Structures of sentential negation of Zande

As mentioned above, in Zande finite verb clauses have bipartite negation. The first negator, *nga*, follows the verb. In main declarative clauses the second negator *te* is in clause final position (1, 2). In subordinate, subjunctive and imperative the second negator is *ya*. (3, 4, 5). In certain constructions there is only the clause final negator

- (1) *Ani a-ina nga pa-ko te, gu kpiili nga ko le.*
1p.1 III-know NEG1 matter-3m NEG2 DEF.D crocodile.man COP 3m DEM
We do not know him, the crocodile man.
(Lit.: We do not know about him, that one who is a crocodile man.)

- (2) *Mi a-ida nga mo undo-re te.*
1s.1 III-want NEG1 2s.2 help-1s.2 NEG2
I do not want you to help me.

- (3) *Kpu-yo ki ngba a-ngba sa*
home-3p SEQ good III-good one
Their home was very fine,

ka a-boro a-ina nga pa-yo ko-yo ya,
SUB PL-person III-know NEG1 site-3p DIR-there NEG2
but nobody would have much to do with them.

- (4) *Mo di parapluie tipa ka mu a-ziro nga ya.*
2s.1 take umbrella in.order SUB 2s.1 III-get.wet NEG1 NEG2
Take an umbrella so that you won't get wet.

- (5) *Ka mo a-ga nga na gu pata re ya.*
SUB 2s.1 III-go.home NEG1 with DEF.D money DEM NEG2
Do not bring the money.

- (6) *Mbata riahe a-du auru kpoto-sende te.*
before food III-be on skin-ground NEG2
Once there was no food on the earth. (FoodFromSky)

(6a) ... *a-boro ki gbata ngua rogo toma yo wa sa ya.*
 PL-person SEQ find tree inside malt there like one NEG2
 ... but the men did not find any poison [= tree] in it. (OngossiAccused)

(7) *gure du na-ngba ti re te.*
 this.one be II-be.good at 1s.2 NEG2
 This is not what I want to do.

(8) *gure du mi kpi nyamu-he te.*
 this.one be 1s.1 covet love-INAN.2 NEG2
 This is not what pleases me.

(9) *Pata dumo yo te.*
 money house there NEG
 There is no money in the house.

(10) *areme nga dimasi te.*
 today COP Sunday NEG
 Today is not Sunday.

(13) *Tule ndu wiso le, ono ku marché yo te.*
 T. go morning DEM but DIR market there NEG
 Ture went this morning, but not to the market. (Landi)

(14) *Tule ndu ku marché yo, ono ni ndu-ko te.*
 T. go DIR market there but MANNER foot-3m NEG
 Ture went to the market, but not on his feet. (Landi)

(15) *Gu posio le ni iwo-ho, awadi-awadi-he te.*
 DEF.D meat DEM COP boil-INAN.2 roast.RED-INAN.2 NEG
 The meat is boiled, not roasted. (Landi)

The behavior of the negators in these examples appears to reflect a development similar to those in French, see Table 1 and in agreement with the Jespersen cycle.

Table 1: Jespersen Cycle with regard to French, according to van der Auwera (2009)					
Stages	Strategies				Function
1	<i>non</i> = NEG			original negative adverb	neutral negation
2	<i>ne</i> = NEG			weakened from of <i>non</i>	
3	<i>ne</i> = NEG	+	<i>pas</i> = X	<i>ne</i> is strengthened by <i>pas</i> for emphatic negation	emphatic negation
4	<i>ne</i> = NEG	+	<i>pas</i> = NEG	<i>pas</i> partakes in the negative meaning, strengthening effect is lost	neutral negation
5	<i>ne</i> = X	+	<i>pas</i> = NEG	<i>pas</i> is beginning to be felt as the negative proper, <i>ne x</i> just being an additional word	"
6			<i>pas</i> = NEG	process is finished	"
	X = additional word				

Stages	Strategies				Function
1	<i>nga</i> = NEG			original negative adverb	not attested
				weakened form of <i>nga</i>	not attested
3	<i>nga</i> = NEG	+	<i>te/ya</i> = X	<i>nga</i> is strengthened by <i>te/ya</i> for emphatic negation	emphatic negation
4	<i>nga</i> = NEG	+	<i>te</i> = NEG	<i>te</i> partakes in the negative meaning, strengthening effect is lost	neutral negation
5	<i>nga</i> = X	+	<i>te</i> = NEG	<i>te</i> is beginning to be felt as the negative proper, <i>ne</i> just being an additional word	"
6			<i>te</i> = NEG	process is finished	hardly attested
	X = additional word				

3. The equative copula *nga*

(16) *A-vuru nga oni.*
 PL-subject COP 2s.1
 You are my subjects.

(17) *rimo-re nga Katawa Toussaint Hervé.*
 name-1s.2 COP K. T. H.
 My name is Katawa Toussaint Hervé.

(18) *ba-kumba nga maingba te*
 big-man COP beard NEG
 An old man is not the beard.

3.1. *nga* as a preposition

(19) *A-mara nga ga bombu Mbori ki ni-ta ngba-ru.*
 PL-metal POSS house god SEQ X-sound mouth-ANp.2
 The bells **of the church** were ringing. (Francois)

(20) *mi mbiri kere boro nga Tule ku vu-re yo, hehe!*
 1s.1 devour toxic person T. DIR belly-1s.2 there woe
 I swallowed the bad person, i.e. Ture, into my stomach there, woe!

(21) *ki ya ko na-manga-roni gegbere,*
 SEQ say 3m II-make-2p.2 bad
 and tell me that he has ill-treated you,

nga gu ka ko a-manga-roni gbebere.'
 COP DEF.D SUB 3m III-make-2p.2 bad
 and what ill he has done you." (Gangura)
 [it is/which means] that, which he has badly done to you.

(22) *Ko ki ye ra ko ti gbia nga Ndukpo.*
 3m SEQ come live DIR at noble N.
 He came to live as a follower of Prince Ndukpo. (Gangura)

3.2. Nga as a marker of emphasis

(23) *Nga a-vuru Ndukpo ka ye*
 PL-follower N. SUB come
 [it was] Ndukpo's subjects [who] came

(24) *A-nga tio ka mere na bangiri-ko te mbiko ga-ko kere mbiro.*
 ? fish SUB flee at eye-3m NEG because POSS-3m toxic ash
 No fish could escape his eye because of his toxic medicine. (EyeAsFishbait)

(25) *a-nga ri ko a-mongo-ri te*
 ?-NEG 3f 3m III-mock-3f NEG
 It is not her at whom he mocks. (Boyd 1998)

3. Hypothetical scenarios:

Scenario 1

1	COP = <i>nga</i>	+	Subject	+	Verb		+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>	
2			Subject	+	Verb	+	COP = <i>nga</i>	+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>
3			Subject	+	Verb	+	EMPH = <i>nga</i>	+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>
4			Subject	+	Verb	+	NEG1 = <i>nga</i>	+	Object/Adjunct/∅	+	NEG2 = <i>te</i>

Scenario 2

1	EMPH = <i>nga</i>	+	Subject	+	Verb		+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>	
2			Subject	+	Verb	+	EMPH = <i>nga</i>	+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>
3			Subject	+	Verb	+	NEG1 = <i>nga</i>	+	Object/Adjunct/∅	+	NEG2 = <i>te</i>

(26) *ono a-kumba-gude a-gbigbinda nga bakinde fu a-badia-yo te,*
 but PL-man-boy III-turn.FREQ NEG porridge for PL-owner-wife-3p NEG
 But the boys did not cook **porridge** for their lovers (while they would prepare any other food)

Scenario 3

1	COP = <i>nga</i>	+	Subject	+	Verb		+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>	
2	NEG1 = <i>nga</i>	+	Subject	+	Verb		+	Object/Adjunct	+	NEG = <i>te</i>	
3			Subject	+	Verb	+	NEG1 = <i>nga</i>	+	Object/Adjunct/∅	+	NEG2 = <i>te</i>

Sources:

- Auwera, Johan van der 2009. 'The Jespersen Cycles.' In: Elly van Gelderen (ed.) *Cyclical change*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 35-71, <http://webhost.ua.ac.be/vdauwera/publications.html>
- Raymond Boyd 1998. 'Le zande.' In *Les manières d''être" et les mots pour le dire dans les langues d'Afrique Centrale*, ed. by Roulon-Doko, Paulette. Munich: Lincom, pp. 37-62.
- Eid, Mushira 1983. 'The Copula Function of Pronouns.' *Lingua* 59: 197-207
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP
- Pasch, Helma 2012. 'From anaphoric pronoun to copula in Zande.' In: Brenzinger, Matthias and Anne-Maria Fehn (eds.) *Proceedings, 6th WOCAL* Cologne: Köppe, pp. 503-510.