Phasal Negation in Zande

Helma Pasch, University of Cologne

Standard negation in Zande is bipartite, the first negator nga, probably derived from the homophonous copula, directly following the verb, the second, te, identical with the negator of Lingala, being in clause-final position (1). In subordinate clauses and commands, the second negator is ya (2).

(1) Ani a-kpi nga nyamu ko te ...
   1p.1 III-covet NEG1 love 3m NEG2
   We do not like him ...

(2) 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.

Eliciting examples of phasal negation of the not yet and no longer type causes problems just like eliciting examples of the already and the still type. And in texts there are no really clear examples. Many examples may also be understood in a non-phasal reading and speakers are reluctant to give equivalents of single short clauses. In most examples phasal notion is evident only from context.

Already is indicated by ta (< taa 'stretch, extend') (3) or ima (< ima 'dwell, remain') (4) preceding the verb. Note that ta which also has the notion finally (5) (cf. van der Auwera 1993: 618ff) functions quite generally as a marker of similitude. The specific notion reveals from context. While ta is found with all verbs, including those describing states and change of states, ima is found with only with action verbs.

(3) rago ki ta gira ...
   place SEQ yet shine
   when it was already morning ...

(4) bakure-mi nga Ngbia ima fu a-ge fe-re.
   blood.brother-1s.1 cop Ngbia already give pl-termite for-me
   ‘My friend Ngbia as given me termites.’

(5) Gbara ki fu a-fu kindii, si ki ta wi,
   yam SEQ stew III-stew continually INAN.1 SEQ yet cooked
   When the yam had boiled and was cooked
Not yet is likewise indicated by *ta*, now in combination with the negators *nga* and *te* (6, 7)

(6)  
ko a-ta ye nga te  
3m III- come NEG NEG  
He has not yet come

(7)  
Gomoro na-manga re kindi, mbiko mi ta ri nga he te.  
hunger II-make 1s.2 continually because 1s.1 eat NEG thing neg  
I am still hungry, because I have not eaten yet.

When opposed to **not yet**, **already** is always expressed by *ima*, not by *ta* (8).

(8)  
Petro ima ndu na gara ue ku dumo waraga yo,  
go year two DIR house learning there  
ono ku ta ino nga ka ke pai te  
but 3m know NEG SUB write thing NEG  
but he does not yet know, how to write

No longer is indicated by the adverb *berewe*, which also has the notion 'again'. It follows the predicate but precedes the negator in clause final position.

(9)  
Ka Petro ngbisi nga gu bus re berewe te.  
SUB P meet.PERF NEG DEF.D bus DEM again NEG  
Peter will not catch the bus.

(10)  
Wa mi a-na a-gude bisue boti sa,  
like 1s.1 III- PL-child five on.top one  
be  
When I had six children  
mi a-ida nga ka batika berewe te.  
1s.1 III- NEG SUB beget again NEG  
want  
I did not want to have more children.

Still is likewise indicated by the adverb *kindi(i)* (11, 12) the basic notion of which is 'longtime, continually'. In combination with action verbs and in complex structures containing several verbs, it is expressed by *ta* (13.)
(11) Gomoro na-manga re kindi ...
    hunger II-make 1s.2 longtime
    I am still hungry ...

(12) rago na-bira kindii
    place II-black continually
    it is still dark

(13) ta mbira-ha mi ga a-ga
    drink-INAN.2 1s.1 go.home III-go.home
    I went home [e.g. driven out of a bar] while still drinking