

Phasal Negation in Zande

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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) Мо di parapluie tipa ka 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 imderstood 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 Ngbia ima fu fe-re. nga a-ge blood.brother-1s.1 cop Ngbia already pl-termite for-me give '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 Peter has been (going) to school now for two years

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) Ка ngbisi Petro nga qu 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,
du
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