22
Zande
(Ubangi)

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22.1 General

Zande is spoken in the far north of Orientale Province in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and also in the southern Sudan and the Central African Republic. It forms a long semi-circle, based on the River Uele, with most speakers in the DRC. It is reported as being of a remarkable uniformity throughout the whole region (Tucker and Hackett 1959:109). It is also an important trade language, spoken not only by native speakers but also by large numbers of bilinguals in the same three countries. The total number of speakers is estimated at 1,142,000.

The language has eight vowel phonemes, using the following symbols (Tucker and Hackett 1959:21): / i̧, i, e, ä, a, o, u, ų /. Vowels that are heard long are probably disyllabic, from the evidence of tones and of the contraction of short vowels in juxtaposition (Tucker and Hackett 1959:25). Boyd sometimes differs from Tucker and Hackett in representing the vowel length of the pre-stem markers. Readers should be aware that the two sources also represent tones differently. Tucker and Hackett (1959:50) say Zande appears to have three tones but really has only two, the mid-tone being only a "variant" of the high. We therefore mark their high and mid as high (´), and leave the low unmarked. Boyd, on the other hand, represents three tones, high (acute accent), mid (macron), low (grave accent). It is also possible that differences in tonal transcription may reflect dialect differences in Zande. There are nasal vowels, indicated in the spelling by an <n> in syllable final position.

There are prenasalized plosives [mb, nd, nj, ŋg, nz, nv, ny, ngb] typical of the whole Niger-Congo spectrum, and also the plosives /kp, gb/ with double articulation that are typical of the West African region. There are also minimal pairs with ř/r, which suggest that ř, which is accompanied by nasalization, may be a surface form of /mr/.

22.2 Word Order

The canonical word order is S V O Other as in (1), except that in certain circumstances subject inversion may occur in subordinate clauses. Nothing can intervene between the subject and the verb with its pre-stem markers. Subject markers are required by all verbs, including imperatives, except the infinitive, which is preceded by pre-stem marker **kà-**, as in (1)[1].

(1) **mì-ná-ídà   kà-kpárá   pásyó**
    1s-PM-want.IS   to-divide.IPFV   meat
    'I want to divide the meat.'

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[1] Abbreviations unique to this chapter include: PM = pre-stem marker, INT = Intensive (Boyd's term).

22.3 Verb description and structure

22.3.1 The two verb classes

There are two classes of disyllabic verbs, with different tonal patterns: Class 1 H-H and Class 2 H-M; all monosyllabic verbs have H tone: **rí** 'eat', **ndú** 'go'. Minimal pairs, representing the two contrastive classes, are quite common:

(2)   Class 1   **kpárá** 'divide' (h)**ímá**[2] 'stay' **zúngá** 'swear' **ziá** 'be pure'
           Class 2   **kpára** 'weep' (h)**íma** 'suffer' **zúnga** 'join'   **zi̜à** 'seize'

There are also two grammatical variants of every verb: a basic or "infinitive" stem, and a "perfect" stem (Tucker and Hackett 1959:50), labelled *inaccompli* "Incompletive" and *accompli* "Completive" by Boyd (1995:165-6). Monosyllabic and Class 1 verbs do not change in forming the "perfect stem". Class 2 verbs, however, add a high tone suffix showing vowel copying of the root vowel, when these are high and mid. When the root vowel is /a/, the suffix is /i̜/ (with /u̜/ after labial consonants) as in (3).

     Of these two stems the Incompletive is the unmarked form, and in what follows we refer to it as an Imperfective. The Completive will also be referred to as a Performative, as its usage (examples (7)-(10) below) shows it to be.

(3)   Imperfective   Performative

     bíta 'climb'   **bítí** 'climbed'
     zúnga 'join'   **zúngú** 'joined'
     ngéra 'look at'   **ngéré** 'looked at'
     óra 'flee'   **óró** 'fled'
     pása 'cook'   **pási̜** 'cooked'
     sápa 'share'   **sápu̜** 'shared'

The distribution here suggests that /i̜/ may be the reflex of a suffix that originally replaced Final Vowel /-a/ in Class 2 verbs, and then underwent vowel harmony with high and mid vowels, and velar assimilation to preceding labials.

     This picture is complicated by the fact that there are many derivations formed by compounding, and most verbs can take certain common derivational suffixes (Extensions).[3] The derived form does not necessarily belong to the same class as the original stem, as the new accentual pattern shows. Tucker and Hackett (1959:60) give the following example of derivations from /fú/ "speak" which, as a monosyllable, belongs to Class 1, but in derived forms follows the class of the derivational suffix, which then forms frequentatives on a different pattern.

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[2] [h] is not phonemic, but may be used epenthetically to separate vowels.

[3] Although the sources mention several extensions (Causal, Neutral, Intensive, Frequentative, Pluractional, etc.), only the following are really illustrated: Causative (-**si** with Class 1, -**sa** with Class 2), Transitive (-**di** Class 1, -**da** Class 2), -**pa** Frequentative, **-rá** Pluractional. As seen in (4), Frequentative can also be represented by reduplication. Boyd also has –**nga** 'Emphatic'.

(4)   Basic stem   Frequentative

      fú   speak   **fúka**   Class 2
      fúda   excite   **fúfuda**   Class 2
      fúga   warn   **fúfuga**   Class 2
      fúrá   chat   **fúfúrá**   Class 1

Monosyllabic **fú** becomes a Class 2 verb when the frequentative suffix /-ka/ is used to create the frequentative form **fúka**, but a Class 1 verb with the pluractional suffix /-rá/.

22.3.2   *Verbal paradigms*

The following paradigms show the verb **pása** "to cook" in both its Imperfective (unmarked) and Performative (marked) paradigms.

(5)   Imperfective   Performative

      mị̀ pás-a   'I cook'   **mị̀ pás-ị**   'I cooked'
      mò pás-a   'you cook'   **mò pás-ị**   'you cooked'
      ụ̀ pás-a   '3s cooks   **ụ̀ pás-ị**   '3s cooked'
      ànì pás-a   'We cook'   **ànì pás-ị**   'we cooked'
      ànì pás-a   'you cook'   **ànì pás-ị**   'you cooked'
      àmí pás-a   'they cook'   **àmí pás-ị**   'they cooked'

As well as the 3s **ụ̀** and 3p **àmí** (non-human), the following pronouns are used for humans: Masculine **kō**, Feminine **rị,** Indef **nị,** with 3pl **ị.**

22.3.3   *Verb Structure*

The structure of the verb may be outlined as follows:

(6)   SM (-) TAM - ROOT - (EXT) – FV - OM

The root is the beginning of the Stem which ends with FV. Tense is marked tonally at TAM, and there are some aspect and mood markers in this position, but there are also many adverbial and discourse elements in pre-stem position: Tucker and Hackett (1959:63-70) list twenty-four pre-stem affirmatives, plus two Subjunctive and six Negative forms. Boyd has a shorter list, with only sixteen, of which six are said to be infrequent.[4]

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[4] Tucker and Hackett's twenty-four include five relatives, about which Boyd says that virtually all absolutives can also occur as relatives, so Tucker and Hackett's distinction between absolute and relative may be artificial. Because it is longer and probably more inclusive, we give Tucker's list here (although Tucker and Hackett admit to having omitted several forms they found in earlier sources). Readers should keep in mind that the morphemes in this list may not correspond exactly to what Boyd shows in our text, because the two authors sometimes differ in their labeling and their representation of vowel length and tone:

22.3.4   *The two different verb stems*

The Imperfective stem is used for the representation of incomplete events, but is never used without a pre-stem marker, the most common being **na**. The Performative stem, on the other hand, is frequently used without pre-stem markers to represent past events, as in (7) and (8) below, except with stative verbs, where it represents the ongoing present, as in examples (9) and (10), the typical distribution of meanings of a Performative (examples from Boyd 1995:169).

This situation leads to an unusual clash of marked and unmarked forms. Morphologically, the Performative is the marked form, since it adds a suffix that the Imperfective does not have, but this affects only Class 2 verbs; it does not affect Class 1 verbs or monosyllables. It appears that in order to distinguish Imperfective from Performative elsewhere than Class 2 the pre-stem marker **na** is used with the Imperfective stem, which thus becomes a marked form. The Performative, by contrast, is frequently found without any pre-stem marker.

Since the Performative stem is the form on which tones may change according to context, this form when used alone without a pre-stem marker is found with mid tone format. It is one of the most frequent forms of the language, and is used to represent events just completed as in (7) and (8), or ongoing states as in (9) and (10)[5].

(7)   **į**   **yāmbų-rò**   **ngbángà**   **yó,**   **mó**   **ʼyá**
     3p   call.PFM-2s   tribunal.LOC   LOC   2s   come.SBJ
     'Come, you're summoned to the tribunal.'

(8)   **mį**   **dįn**   **gā-kò** **ngbáyá**
     1s   steal.PFM   of-him maize
     'I stole his maize.'

(9)   **į**   **sōgō**   **à-bòrò´**   **àné**   **gbè**
     3p   hate.PFM   3p-people   here   much
     'They are very nasty to people here.

With the IPFV FV:
Absolutives: -**ná**- IPFV, -**ní-tá**- 'Present subordinate', -**áá**-/-**aá**- 'Future HAB', -**ní-ná**- HAB, -**a**-/-**á**- 'Future', -**ní-káá**- IMM FUT, -**ná-náá**- Past HAB, -**náá**- IMM Past PRG, -**áá**- Past PRG, -**áá-tá**- Past PRG subordinate, -**á**- Pres Indef (how different from HAB?), -**áá-náá**- Past HAB PRG.
Relatives: -**náá**- REL Past PRG, -**náá-náá**- REL Past HAB.

With PFM FV:
Absolutives: Ø Present PFT, -**ní**- "always", -**a-ní**- IMM FUT, -**á**- Past, -**ní**- IMM Past, - **ná**- "Pluperfect", -**áá-ní**- Pluperfect PRG.
 Relatives: -**níí**- REL Recent Past, -**náá**-/-**náa**- REL Past, -**náá-ní**- REL Past HAB.

[5] It will be noted that there are differences between French and English transcription practices. Tucker and Hackett use hyphens where Boyd uses periods, and he hyphenates the subject to the verb. Boyd follows the usual French and Belgian practice of separating the subject from the other verbal elements. There is a certain justification for doing this in that pre-stem elements are usually dependent on the verb, whereas the verb is dependent on its subject; the slight difference of transcription for the PMs and the subject underline this difference.

(10) **ànì** **īnī-rį̀** **à.į̀nà**
2p know.PFM-her INT.know
'You know her well.'

Boyd uses a present tense in the French translation of (7): *on t'appelle au tribunal* 'they are calling you to the tribunal', but it could, in fact be interpreted as a past event: 'They've called you to the tribunal'. It certainly represents an event that has already taken place. Example (8) is clearly a past reference, whereas (9) is equally clearly present, but a generic present, a stative, a usage that is impossible for a Perfective. Because of this apparent discrepancy, Boyd comments (1995:169): "Cette forme très fréquente exprime le sens absolu du verbe, sans précision temporelle ni aspectuelle". ('This very frequent form expresses the absolute sense of the verb, without any precise tense or aspect').

It is this distribution of meanings (past completive with present stative) which shows that the completive stem of Zande is a Performative (Welmers' (1973:345-6) "Factative"), which in this language is a marked form morphologically, but the unmarked form when used without a pre-stem marker, as noted above. The use of the Performative with the verbs 'to hate' in (9) and 'to know' in (10) puts the issue of its status beyond doubt: such usage is not possible with Perfectives, but is normal everyday usage with Performatives.

These two major Zande aspectual forms, markers of an important aspectual contrast (Imperfective vs. Performative), are not marked for tense in (7)-(10), but as finite forms with a personal subject marker, they are exponents of the Vast Present, the single universal tense that is a typical element of Niger-Congo languages.

22.4   The pre-stem markers

The numerous pre-stem markers of Zande, which operate in a position which in other Niger-Congo languages is typically used to mark tense and aspect, mostly appear to be discourse particles and other adverbial markers, that indicate, for example, the clausal status of the verb, such as whether it is relative or consecutive, and whether the action is contemporaneous, about to take place, or habitual.

Tucker and Hackett (1959:62ff) list 24 of these pre-stem markers (see footnote 4), with several instances of two markers in this position, and he also gives the names used by Gore and Lagae to describe the function of these forms, but the use of such a long atomistic list is simply confusing. Boyd points out that part of the reason for this lack of clarity is the addition of syntactic markers, such as those which mark subordination or other relationships. He reduces it to a list of 15, which includes markers of modality. He then divides them into two categories which he labels Definite and Indefinite, on the basis of a purely formal distinction. Indefinite includes all verbal constructions with any pre-stem marker of the form /n-V/, and Definite any construction where the only prefix is /á-/, the tones on the prefixes being determined by other criteria.

22.4.1 Pre-stem marker *ná* (Imperfective)[6]

One pre-stem marker of great frequency is */ná-/*, which is used all the time with the Imperfective stem, and seems to have been considered by Tucker and Hackett as an Imperfective marker. Boyd, however, notes that "this form expresses a presumption": its use depends on the discourse context which provides the sources of the consequences of this presumption. It is only used with the Imperfective stem, which in turn is never used without a pre-stem marker, but it adds to the context, and does not mark the Imperfective sense which is inherent to the Imperfective stem. It regularly occurs, for example, in the main clause after a conditional subordinate clause, as in (11).

(11) **kà mò mángi̧ úé-'hé   mò   ná-ndú   kìná   kú   kángà yó**
      if   2s do.PFM two-of that   2s   PM-go.IPFV exactly to   prison LOC
      'If you do that again, you're going straight to prison!'

The marker **na**- appears to be the prototype of the Indefinite category of pre-stem markers.

22.4.2 Pre-stem marker *á* Future [7]

By contrast, the marker **á**- appears to be the prototype of the Definite category of pre-stem markers: it can turn the Imperfective forms into futures. After a low tone the H of the PM becomes L, as in (12), from Tucker and Hackett (p. 67), and (13) from Boyd (p. 172)

(12) **mì-à-kpárá   pásyó   mì-à-pásà   pásyó**
      1s-PM-divide.IPFV   meat   1s-PM-cook.IPFV   meat
      'I shall divide the meat.'   'I shall cook the meat.'

(13) **mò   à-ímá   à-ímá**
      2s   PM-last.IPFV INT-last
      'You will live a long life.'

It appears that the form in (13) is reduplicated in order to create the effect of an intensifier.

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[6] The complete set of **na**-forms given by Tucker and Hackett is: -**ná**- IPFV, -**ní-ná**- HAB, -**ná-náá**- Past HAB, -**náá**- IMM Past PRG, -**áá-náá**- Past HAB PRG, -**náá**- REL Past PRG, -**náá-náá**- REL Past HAB, -**ná**- "Pluperfect", -**náá**-/-**náa**- REL Past, -**náá-ní**- REL Past HAB. We only discuss some of these. **Na** probably derives from **na** 'and, with, have'. It can be seen that double forms, especially reduplicated forms of -**na**(**a**)- frequently represent habitual or iterative situations.

[7] The complete set of **a**-forms given by Tucker and Hackett is: -**á**- FUT, -**áá**- Future HAB, -**aa**- Past PRG, -**aá-tá**- Past Simultaneous', -**á**- Present Indef, -**aa-náá**- Past HAB PRG, -**a-ní**- IMM FUT, -**á**- Past, -**áá-ní**- Pluperfect PRG.

22.4.3 Pre-stem *ní* [8]

This marker, with its high tone, gives the impression of being a marker of the Habitual and Iterative. It is consequently used with the Performative, but may also be used with the Imperfective stem. Examples from Tucker and Hackett (p. 68) are given in (14) and (16), and from Boyd (p. 173) in (15):

(14) **mì-ní-kpárá**   **pásyó**   **mì-ní-pásį̀**   **pásyó**
      1s-PM-divide.PFM   meat   I-PM-cook.PFM   meat
      'I always divide the meat.'   'I always cook the meat.'

(15) **páí ní-dù**   **kìná**   **wò**
      thing PM-be.PFM   exactly thus
      'It always happens like that.'

Tucker and Hackett (p. 65) also give examples of /ní-/ with the Imperfective stem, as in (16):

(16) **mì-ní-ná-kpárá**   **pásyó**   **mì-ní-ná-pásà**   **pásyó**
      1s-PM-PM-divide.IPFV   meat   1s-PM-PM-cook.IPFV   meat
      'I habitually divide the meat.'   'I habitually cook the meat.'

It appears that the use of /ní-/ with the Imperfective stem can only occur if the PM /ná-/, which is frequently required elsewhere with the Imperfective, is also used. The use of two different PMs is quite common, but there are no examples of more than two in the literature. There may, however, be elements that are either combined, or extended expressively: single elements with a combination of meanings, as will be investigated later.

      The contrast of (14) and (16) quite nicely corresponds to the usage of the English Performative and Progressive (the latter overlapping here with the Imperfective usage of Zande). Thus "I always divide the meat" is slightly different from "I'm always dividing the meat", the latter indicating what is a common habit rather than a general rule. A similar contrast is in the second pair: "I always cook the meat" vs. "I'm always cooking the meat".

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[8] The complete set of **ni**-forms given by Tucker and Hackett is: -**ní-tá**- Present PRG subordinate', -**ní-ná**- HAB, -**ní-káá**- IMM FUT, -**ni**- "always", -**a-ní**- IMM FUT, -**ní**- IMM Past, -**áá-ní**- Pluperfect PRG, -**níí**- REL Recent Past, -**náá-ní**- REL Past HAB. Ni is probably derived from **ni** 'be'.

22.4.4 Pre-stem *tá* *'as', simultaneous, subordinate'* and *ni* *'immediate'*[9]

Such adverbial markers may correspond to common English conjunctions such as *when*, *while*, *as*, etc. /tá-/ appears to be one of these, since the translations use "while" and Gore describes one of its usages as *Simultaneous action*. There are no examples in the data of this element being used on its own; it is always used with other PMs, as in (17) and (18)

(17)   **mì-ní-tá-kpárá**   **pásyó**   **mì-ní-tá-pásà**   **pásyó**
       1s-PM-PM-divide.IPFV   meat   1s-PM-PM-cook.IPFV   meat
       'While I am/was dividing the meat.'   'While I am/was cooking the meat.'

(18)   (Simultaneous action: As I was...?)

       mí-aá-tá-kpárá pásyó   **mí-aá-tá-pásà pásyó**
       1s-PM-PM-divide meat   1s-PM-PM-cook meat
       'I was dividing the meat.'   'I was cooking the meat.'

The /ni-/ in (17) is manifestly not the /ní-/ "always" of (12)-(14), but a /ni-/ that otherwise shows up with M tone and the meaning "immediate", obviously relevant to the notion of simultaneity in (17), which as a form of the Vast Present carries no tense marking and may be used for either past or non-past reference, depending on the context.

The /ni-/ indicating immediacy is found with the Performative stem to indicate immediacy of completed action, as in (19) contrasting with the bare form of the Performative, repeated here with Tucker and Hackett's examples (1959:68) of the same simple Performative form in (19).

(19)   **mì-kpárá pásyó**   **mì-pásí pásyó**
       1s-divide.PFV meat   1s-cook.PFM meat
       'I have divided the meat.'   'I have cooked the meat.'

(20)   **mì-ni-kpárá pásyó**   **mì-ni-pásí pásyó**
       1s-PM-divide.PFM meat   1s-PM-cook.PFM meat
       'I just now divided the meat.'   'I just now cooked the meat.'

This /ni-/ also shows up with the Imperfective stem, with future reference (Gore's *Immediate Future*), as shown in (21), so that /ni-/ with the Performative stem gives an immediate past as in (20), and with an Imperfective stem gives an immediate future (21).

(21)   **mì-ní-káá-kpárá pásyó**   **mì-ní-káá-pásá pásà**
       1s-PM-PM-divide.IPFV meat   1s-PM-PM-cook.IPFV meat
       'I shall divide the meat.'   'I shall cook the meat.'

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[9] The complete set of **ta**-forms given by both authors is: -**ní-tá**- 'Present PRG subordinate', -**áá-tá**- Past PRG subordinate, -**tá**- "concomitative", -**tá-ka**- similar to preceding, "inceptive".

This immediate future is also reported by Boyd (p. 177) as **níkà ~ nákà** + IPFV, who comments that the form is probably derived from **ná.yá kà**- 'come.IPFV for (to)'. If this is correct, the form is a Prospective representation of the near future.

But /ni-/ apparently also shows up in an *Immediate Future* with a Performative stem, cited by Tucker and Hackett (p. 69), where it is postposed to the /á-/ marker cited in (12) and (13) above.

(22) **mì-à-ní-kpárà pásyó**   **mì-à-ní-pásì pásyó**
      1s-PM-divide.IPFV meat   1s-PM-cook.IPFV meat
      'I will divide the meat right away.'   'I will cook the meat right away.'

It will be noted that with an Imperfective stem **ni**- represents simultaneous action, as in (18). With a Performative stem it represents (a) the complete event as immediate, just completed as in (20), or (b) with the Prospective marker **à** it represents an immediate fuuture, as in (22). None of these are tense distinctions; the only tense contrast is that between Past and Non-Past, marked entirely by tone, as reported in §22.5 below.

22.4.5 Pre-stem marker **nàá**

It is also possible that the PM /nàá-/ noted by Boyd (1995:175) as "très rare" and listed by Tucker and Hackett (p. 66) as /naá/ is in fact a combination of /ni-/ "immediate" and some other marker. The example given by Boyd is in (23), and Tucker and Hackett's examples of the "Immediate Past Imperfect" are in (24).

(23) **mị̀ rámè   yó 'té,   mị̀ nàá.bērà   gù páí mị̀ nì.ídí   kà.gùmbá.'há**
      1s sleep.PFM LOC NEG, 1s PM.think.IPFV DEM thing 1s PM.want.PFM for.say.that
      'Je ne dors pas, j'étais en train de penser à ce que je voulais dire.'
      'I'm not asleep, I was just thinking about what I was intending to say.'

If our analysis is right, /ni-/ occurs in both clauses (*thinking* and *intending*). The French translation has been added to show Boyd's use of a French progressive in order to render the sense of immediacy.

(24) **mí-nàà-kpárá   pásyó**   **mí-nàá-pásà   pásyó**
      1s-PM-divide.IPFV   meat   1s-PM-cook.IPFV   meat
      'I was dividing the meat.'   'I was cooking the meat.'

The representation of the past here is achieved here by the HLH sequence on the 1s subject marker and the following PM in both (23) and (24). We now examine the question of a tense contrast marked by a sequence of tones.

22.5 Tense distinctions

We have already seen how the aspectual contrasts of Performative and Imperfective are used to represent (i) time that is already complete and in the memory, time that has already gone by (Performative), and (ii) time that is still incomplete, still to be completed

(Imperfective). In the Vast Present, these two aspectual forms represent what elsewhere may be found as tense contrasts, where a minimal binary tense contrast is often that between Past and Non-Past, time that is in the memory, and time that is not yet in the memory.

Zande appears to have two different ways of representing the Past vs. Non-Past contrast: (i) the aspectual distinction between Performative and Imperfective (marked by an inflection), and (ii) the tense distinction whereby the Past is marked tonally by a HLH sequence, which enables the representation of past states, as in (25). Both systems are augmented by the variety of pre-stem markers, representing adverbial and discourse values. None of these latter appear to mark either tense or aspect by themselves.

(25) **mí à-ídí**   **kà-rūpà-kōò** **à-rūpà**
      1s PM-want.PFM   to-pierce-him INT-pierce
      'J'eus envie de le poignarder.'
      'I wanted to stab him right there and then.'

Boyd (1995:169) gives a detailed description of the tonal requirements for the past, which we present here in translated form.

> We call 'past' any verbal syntagma in which a L tone on a prefix is preceded and followed by a H tone. In particular, if the subject is a pronominal element which has no lexical H tone, its first tone becomes H. If the verb is in the *inaccompli* (Imperfective), a high tone on its prefix will immediately precede it; if the verb is in the *accompli* [Performative], the whole verb (as well as the first tone of any object pronoun from the second group) will be H.

The example in (25) from Boyd (p.175) shows the past tense with pre-stem definite marker /á-/, the H of which is reduced to L after the H on the 1s subject pronoun (normally L), and likewise after the changed 1p subject pronoun (normally **ànì**), and before the H tones of the verbal stem, all as described above. In this way the sequence or pattern of H (subject), L (PM), H (stem) is achieved. The punctual French version of (25) is presented to show the justification for the English translation.

The past tense is also found with the Imperfective stem, as already seen in Tucker and Hackett's examples in (24).

22.6   Subjunctive and Imperative

The marking of past tense is complicated by the fact that there are minimal forms of the Performative form of the verb (i.e. without PMs) which are modal, and are also marked with a H on the subject marker. These are Subjunctive forms which represent possible events, as in (26). These Subjunctive forms which are marked with a H tone subject may be compared with the minimal forms of the Performative stem with L tone subjects in (19), which aspectually represent a recent past.

(26) **mí-kpárá**   **pásyó**   **mí-pásí**   **pásyó**
      1s-divide.PFM.SBJ   meat   1s-cook.PFM.SBJ   meat
      'Que je divise...'   'Que je cuise...'
      'that I divide the meat'   'that I cook the meat'

The French translations are given by Tucker and Hackett to show the Subjunctive sense of these forms, which are used in the second person for Imperatives, as in (27) from Boyd, which also gives a further example of Habitual /ni-/.

(27) **mó ní.síná**   **bòrò⁄ nzù.nzù**
      2s PM.interrogate.PFM.SBJ person truly
      'Interrogate each person correctly!'

22.7 Negation

Negation is expressed by adding **-nga** (/-ngāà/ after a L) after the verb and a clause final particle[10]. Tucker and Hackett write this **-nga** independently after the verb, while Boyd has it as a suffix. The clause final particle is **te** in most contexts but **ya** with subordinate clauses, including Subjunctives. Negative contrasts are far fewer than the affirmatives. By contrast with the nineteen absolutives above (see footnote 4), Tucker and Hackett show only six negatives. A subset of the same pre-stem markers is used, but tonally different from what is show above. Boyd notes that with one exception, all negative forms are based on the Imperfective. The Imperfective in (29), with pre-stem -**na**-, for example, is used for general statements.

(29) **bòrò⁄ nà.īdà.ngāà**   **ngbá.nì**   **yò té**
      person PM.want.NEG   mouth+LOC.his LOC NEG
      'You don't admit your own crime.'

22.8 Relativization

Both sources mention relativization briefly and agree that it is indicated by head noun and relative clause being bracketed by demonstratives. Boyd (1995:194) says that virtually all absolutive forms can appear in relative clauses, as in (30):

(30) **ko ná-gúmb-á**   **gu**   **pái**   **ré …**
      3s IPFV-say-IPFV   DEM   thing   DEM
      'He says that thing which …'

The addition of **ká** 'if' adds a potential component to the meaning, as in (31):

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[10]The very same -**nga** occurs in what appears (?) to be a second use. Boyd shows several examples of this suffixal -**nga**, in affirmative sentences and glossed as 'emphasis'. Other than this, neither source has any mention of focus or emphasis.

(31)   **gu   súngé ká   mó   mángí-hé ré**
         DEM   work   if   you   do-that   DEM
         'The work that you can do…'

As can be seen in footnote 4 above, Tucker and Hackett show many of the TAM markers in relatives with long or lengthened vowels.

22.9 Conclusion

The tense and aspect systems of Zande are actually quite simple, but complicated by markedness factors, and by the existence of a number of adverbial markers of various kinds, which may appear singly, or in combinations in pre-stem position. The number of combinations is not clear: there are no more than two in the accessible data, but even here some of these formatives may already be contracted combinations. These pre-stem markers consequently deserve a more extended study than is possible in this brief survey.

There is one clear aspectual contrast, between an inflectionally unmarked Imperfective, marked by a pre-stem element when used as a finite form, and a Performative marked with a suffix /-i/ which undergoes vowel harmony shifting with all mid and high vowels, so that only stems with /a/ show the original phonological value /-i/ of the suffix on Performatives. This suffix is only found on verbs of Class 2, since verbs of Class 1 are not marked for difference of aspect, so that only Performative forms are found as bare stems, without pre-stem markers, when used as finite forms.

There is also one clear tense contrast between past and non-past, where the non-past appears to be unmarked for tense, and the past is marked tonally, with an HLH pattern in which the final H represents the tone on the first syllable of the verb stem, and the first H the initial syllable of the subject marker. The intervening low is found either on the second syllable of a subject marker, or on pre-stem markers.

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