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NEGATION IN NŌMAANDÉ

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The NŌmaándé language of Central Cameroon has only tɛ/ti as the negative marker in the indicative mood. The location of this marker in the verb phrase varies, however, according to the aspect of the verb. The presence of the negative marker provokes a variety of segmental and tonal changes within the verb phrase. In addition, negation causes a neutralisation of tense forms as well as a reduction in the number of degrees of remoteness for the tenses in both the perfective and imperfective aspects. The imperative mood is also presented in both its affirmative and negative forms.

Le nŌmaándé, langue bantou du Cameroun, a tɛ/ti comme marque du négatif au mode indicatif. L'emplacement de cette marque dans le syntagme verbal varie selon l'aspect du verbe. La présence de la marque du négatif occasionne plusieurs changements segmentaux et tonaux dans le syntagme verbal. En plus, la négation cause une neutralisation des formes temporelles aussi bien qu'une réduction du nombre des degrés d'éloignement sur le plan temporel pour les aspects perfectif et imperfectif. La forme des verbes à l'impératif fait aussi partie de cette étude, aussi bien à l'affirmatif qu'au négatif.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper¹ gives the results of a study of the negative verbal forms in NŌmaándé for the various tenses and aspects found in the language. The verbal tense system in NŌmaándé² is characterized by grammatical tones both on the verb itself as well as on the pronominal complex.³ In addition, segmental morphemes in the pronominal complex help in marking not only tense but also aspect.

In this paper we examine the segmental and suprasegmental changes that occur when the negative marker is present in the verb phrase. Section 2 will focus on the perfective aspect in its negative forms. The following section will then examine the imperfective aspect in the negative. Section 4 contains a discussion of the affirmative and negative forms of the verb in the imperative mood.

2. PERFECTIVE ASPECT

In order to give a brief but necessary summary of the affirmative forms of the verb in the perfective aspect, the following paradigms of two NŌmaándé verbs (the high tone verb ɔ́lɔ́ɔ 'to

call' and the low tone verb *o-keti* 'to measure, to believe'), conjugated in the perfective aspect for all the tenses occurring in the language, is reproduced from Wilkendorf (1987:21). It should be noted that the pronominal complex, which agrees in vowel harmony⁴ with the following verb, carries grammatical tone as does the verb stem. The first person plural form of the pronoun is used in (1). The designations P3, P2, P1 and P0⁵ represent the different degrees of remoteness within the past tense in Nɔmaa'ndé, just as F1, F2 and F3 represent the different degrees of remoteness within the future tense.

(1) Verb paradigms in the affirmative (perfective aspect)

Tense		<u>ɔ́lɔ́ŋɔ́</u> 'to call'	<u>o-keti</u> 'to measure, to believe'
P3	tɔ- ɲa- sɔ́ lɔ́ŋɔ́-(kɔ)	1pl P3 1pl call (DUR) 'We called (long ago).'	tu- ɲe- sú kɛ́!tí-(ki) 1pl P3 1pl measure (DUR) 'We measured (long ago).'
P2	tɔ́- ɲa- sɔ lɔ́ŋɔ́-(kɔ)	1pl P2 1pl call (DUR) 'We called (yesterday).'	tú- ɲe- su kɛ́ti-(ki) 1pl P2 1pl measure (DUR) 'We measured (yesterday).'
P1	tɔ- ɲá- sɔ lɔ́ŋɔ́-(kɔ)	1pl P1 1pl call (DUR) 'We called (earlier today).'	tu- ɲé- su keti-(ki) 1pl P1 1pl measure (DUR) 'We measured (earlier today).'
P0	tɔ́- ma- sɔ lɔ́ŋɔ́-(kɔ)	1pl P0 1pl call (DUR) 'We just now called.'	tú- me- su keti-(ki) 1pl P0 1pl measure (DUR) 'We just now measured.'
PR	tɔ- ɲa- sɔ́ lɔ́ŋɔ́	1pl PR 1pl call 'We call (now).'	tu- ɲe- sú kɛ́ti 1pl PR 1pl measure 'We measure (now).'
F1	tɔ- ɲa- sɔ́ lɔ́!ŋɔ́-kɔ	1pl F1 1pl call FIS 'We will call (later today).'	tu- ɲe- sú kɛ́ti- ki 1pl F1 1pl measure FIS 'We will measure (later today).'
F2	tɔ- ká- sɔ lɔ́ŋɔ́-(kɔ)	1pl F2 1pl call (DUR) 'We will call (tomorrow).'	tu- ké- su keti-(ki) 1pl F2 1pl measure (DUR) 'We will measure (tomorrow).'
F3	tɔ- ka- sɔ́ lɔ́ŋɔ́-(kɔ)	1pl F3 1pl call (DUR) 'We will call (some day).'	tu- ke- sú kɛ́ti-(ki) 1pl F3 1pl measure (DUR) 'We will measure (some day).'

The morphemes in parentheses represent the durative/iterative suffix (-kV) which is added to the verb root stem under the following conditions: a) when the action is done to a plural direct object, b) when the action is repeated more than once, and c) when the action takes place over a certain period of time (this latter usage of the -kV suffix in the perfective is limited to verbs which have an inherent durative quality). The -kV suffix on the F1 verb stem, while being homophonous with the

durative/iterative suffix, has a different function. Basically, this **-kV** suffix is only present in the near future (F1) tense and it serves to distinguish this tense from the otherwise identical present tense which never carries the durative/iterative suffix, **-kV**.

2.1 THE PRONOMINAL COMPLEX

The basic form of the negative pronominal complex in the perfective aspect has the same three elements of the affirmative form plus the negative marker **-tε-/-ti-** (the vowel used will depend on the vowel harmony). This negative marker has an inherent low tone and is inserted before the tense marker. In (2), the other segments are not marked for tone (except for the 3pl initial pronominal element which always carries a high tone) since the tonal pattern varies according to the tense of the verb.

(2) Pronominal complex in the affirmative and negative (perfective aspect - with **-ηa-** tense marker)

Person	Initial PE	AFFIRMATIVE			
		TM*	Final PE		
1sg	ε-	-ηa-	-ame	-->	εηame
2sg	ɔ-	-ηa-	-ɔɔ	-->	ɔηɔɔ
3sg	u-	-ηa-	-aa	-->	uηaa
1pl	tɔ-	-ηa-	-asɔ	-->	tɔηasɔ
2pl	nɔ-	-ηa-	-anɔ	-->	nɔηanɔ
3pl	bá-	-ηa-	-abɔ	-->	báηabɔ

Person	Initial PE	NEG	NEGATIVE			
			TM*	Final PE		
1sg	ε-	-tε-	-ηa-	-ame	-->	εtεηame
2sg	ɔ-	-tε-	-ηa-	-ɔɔ	-->	ɔtεηaa
3sg	u-	-tε-	-ηa-	-aa	-->	utεηaa
1pl	tɔ-	-tε-	-ηa-	-asɔ	-->	tɔtεηasɔ
2pl	nɔ-	-tε-	-ηa-	-anɔ	-->	nɔtεηanɔ
3pl	bá-	-tε-	-ηa-	-abɔ	-->	bátεηabɔ

Note: * = The tense markers vary according to the time of the action being talked about. The tense marker **-ηa-** is used with P3, P2, P1, PR, and F1 tenses; **-ka-** is used with F2 and F3 tenses; and **-ma-** is used with the P0 tense. The first vowel of the final pronoun (a for all persons except 2sg) elides with the vowel of the preceding tense marker. This first vowel will reappear when the tense marker is absent (see section 3 below).

The presence of the negative marker causes certain tonal changes within the pronominal complex as well as morphological changes for the past tenses. The following examples of perfective clauses will show a comparison between the affirmative and negative forms of the pronominal complex with low and high tone verbs.

- low tone verb

- (3) PR:AFF tɔ- ɣa- sɔ́ fána (4) PR/NEG: tɔ- tɛ- ɣá- sɔ́ fana
 1pl PR 1pl read 1pl NEG PR 1pl read
 'We read.' 'We do not read.'

-high tone verb

- (5) P2/AFF: í- ɣé- mi búme (6) P2/NEG: i- ti- ómo- bume
 1sg P2 1sg hunt 1sg NEG P2 hunt
 'I hunted (yesterday).' 'I did not hunt (yesterday).'

In order to give a general overview of the negative verb phrase, (7) below will give the same verb paradigms as were given in (1) above, but this time in the negative. Once again the first person plural pronoun will be used for these examples.

(7) Verb paradigms in the negative (perfective aspect)

<u>Tense</u>	ɔ́lɣɔ́ 'to call'	o-keɓi 'to measure, to believe'
P3	tɔ́- tɛ- ɣá- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG P3 1pl call 'We did not call (long ago)'	tú- ti- ɣé- sú kɛ́ti 1pl NEG P3 1pl measure 'We did not measure (long ago)'
P2	tɔ- tɛ- ɔ́mɔ- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG P2 1pl call 'We did not call (yesterday)'	tu- ti- ómo- su kɛ́ti 1pl NEG P2 1pl measure 'We didn't measure (yesterday)'
P1	tɔ- tɛ- mɔ- ɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG P1 PE call 'We did not call (earlier today)'	tu- ti- mo kɛ́ti 1pl NEG P1 measure 'We did not measure (earlier today)'
P0	tɔ- tɛ- ɔ́mɔ- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG P0 1pl call 'We did not call (just now)'	tu- ti- ómo- su kɛ́ti 1pl NEG P0 1pl measure 'We did not measure (just now)'
PR	tɔ- tɛ- ɣá- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG PR 1pl call 'We do not call.'	tu- ti- ɣé- su kɛti 1pl NEG PR 1pl measure 'We do not measure.'
F1	tɔ- tɛ- ɣá- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́- kɔ 1pl NEG F1 1pl call F1S 'We will not call (later today)'	tu- ti- ɣé- su kɛti- ki 1pl NEG F1 1pl measure F1S 'We will not measure (later today)'
F2	tɔ- tɛ- ká- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG F2 1pl call 'We will not call (tomorrow)'	tu- ti- ké- su kɛti 1pl NEG F2 1pl measure 'We will not measure (tomorrow)'
F3	tɔ́- tɛ- ká- sɔ́ lɔ́ɣɔ́ 1pl NEG F3 1pl call 'We will not call (ever).'	tú- ti- ké- sú kɛti 1pl NEG F3 1pl measure 'We will not measure (ever).'

The past tenses P2, P1, and P0 undergo morphological changes in the pronominal complex when the negative marker is present.

The tense markers which had been present in the affirmative (-**ma-** for P0 and -**na-** for P1 and P2) are replaced by a negative past tense marker, -**ɔmɔ-**/**-omo-** (for P0 and P2) or simply -**mɔ-**/**-mo-** (for P1). Of all the past tenses, only the distant past (P3) retains its same tense marker, -**na-**, as in the affirmative. All of these tense markers have unspecified tone because the tone designation depends on the person (sg or pl). Since the tonal patterns for the past tenses P0 and P2 are identical in the negative, there is a neutralization of these two tense forms in Nɔmaándɛ for negative clauses. The determining of the tense of the phrase is thus dependent on the context. For example:

- low tone verb

- (8) PERF-P0/2: tu- ti- ómó- sú híte
 1pl NEG P0/2 1pl take
 'We did not take (it).' (just now/yesterday)

- high tone verb

- (9) PERF-P0/2: i- ti- ómo- ó bume
 1sg NEG P0/2 PE hunt
 'I did not hunt (just now/yesterday).'

For all singular persons in negative clauses denoting the past tenses P0, P1, and P2, the final pronominal element becomes -**ɔ**/**-ó**, but only if the verb in the clause is a lexically high tone verb. With low tone verbs this final pronominal element is dropped for singular persons although the high tone appears to remain and to attach itself to the verb stem. For example:

- high tone verb

- (10) PERF-P0/2: u- tɛ- ɔmɔ- ɔ taŋa
 3sg NEG P0/2 PE speak
 'He/She did not speak (just now/yesterday).'

- low tone verb

- (11) PERF-P0/2: ɔ- tɛ- ɔmɔ fána
 2sg NEG P0/2 read
 'You did not read (just now/yesterday).'

In the plural, the final pronominal element retains its usual plural forms for the P0/2 tenses (see example 8 above). However, the P1 tense in the negative employs the final pronominal element -**ɔ**/**-ó** for all persons, not just the singular ones. For example:

- high tone verb

- (12) PERF-P1: nɔ- tɛ- mɔ- ɔ taŋa
 2pl NEG P1 PE speak
 'You (pl) did not speak (earlier today).'

As was stated above for the P0/2 and P1 tenses, verb phrases containing a lexically low tone verb drop the final pronominal element -**ɔ**/**-ó** in the pronominal complex for all singular persons.

As this same pronominal element is present for all persons in the negative P1 tense, we find that it also disappears for plural persons in this tense with lexically low tone verbs (see (17) below). For example:

- low tone verb

- (13) PERF-P1: tɔ- tɛ- mɔ námba tabɔkɔ
 1pl NEG P1 hide nothing
 'We did not hide anything (earlier today).'

There is another morphological change within the negative verb phrase that needs to be described, although it involves a verbal suffix rather than a morpheme within the pronominal complex itself. As was seen in (1) above, Nɔmaándɛ makes use of two homophonous verbal suffixes which have the form -kV. The function of the first of these suffixes is to denote an iterative or durative action, or an action with a plural direct object. The second suffix is employed exclusively by verbs in the near future (F1) tense to distinguish that tense from the otherwise identical present (PR) tense with low tone verbs. In the negative, the durative/iterative suffix never appears in the perfective aspect with any tense, whereas the F1 suffix consistently remains attached to the verb in its negative form. For example:

- low tone verb

- (14) PERF-F1: u- ti- ɲé- e keti- ki
 3sg NEG F1 3sg measure F1S
 'He/She will not measure (later today).'

- (15) PERF-PR: u- ti- ɲé- e keti
 3sg NEG PR 3sg measure
 'He/She does not measure.'

2.2 TONAL PATTERNS IN NEGATIVE VERB PHRASES

The following chart (16) will show the tonal patterns that exist within perfective verb phrases. This chart is given for the purpose of orienting the reader to the standard tonal patterns in the affirmative before going on to a description of the changes which occur in the negative. The second person singular and first person plural pronouns will be used in this chart by way of illustration.

(16) Tonal patterns in the affirmative (perfective aspect)

Tense	Person	Pronominal complex	Verb stem	
			H tone	L tone
P3	2sg	၁- ဣ- ခ L L H	H H	L H
	1pl	တ- ဣ- ခ L L H	H H	H!H
P2	2sg	၁- ဣ- ခ H L L	H H	L H
	1pl	တ- ဣ- ခ H L L	H H	H L
P1	2sg	၁- ဣ- ခ L H L	H H	L H
	1pl	တ- ဣ- ခ L H L	H H	L L
P0	2sg	၁- မ- ခ H L H	H H	L L
	1pl	တ- မ- ခ H L LH	H L	L L
PR	2sg	၁- ဣ- ခ L L H	H L	L L
	1pl	တ- ဣ- ခ L L H	L L	H L
F1	2sg	၁- ဣ- ခ L L H	H H	L L
	1pl	တ- ဣ- ခ L L H	H!H	H L
F2	2sg	၁- က- ခ L H L	H H	L L
	1pl	တ- က- ခ L H L	H H	L L
F3	2sg	၁- က- ခ L L H	H H	L H
	1pl	တ- က- ခ L L H	H H	H L

All the tenses can be distinguished from one another on the basis of the segments and the complete tonal pattern (pronominal complex plus verb stem) with the exception of the present (PR) and near future (F1) tenses for low tone verbs. This ambiguity is avoided by the mandatory presence of the F1 suffix (-kV) on the verb stem. It will be remembered that the verb stem in the present tense never carries the -kV suffix (with its durative/iterative function). Before discussing in detail the tonal patterns in negative verb phrases, we give an overview of the negative tonal patterns for all the tenses in the perfective aspect.

(17) Tonal patterns in negative verb phrases (perfective aspect)

Tense	Person	Pronominal complex	Verb stem	
			H tone	L tone
P3	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- ɲɔ- ɔ H L H L	H L	L L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- ɲa- sɔ H L H H	H L	H H
P0/2	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- ɔmɔ- ɔ * L L H L H	L L	H L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- ɔmɔ- sɔ L L H H H	L L	L L
P1	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- mɔ- ɔ * L L L H	L L	H L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- mɔ- ɔ * L L L H	L L	H L
PR	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- ɲɔ- ɔ L L H L	H L	L L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- ɲa- sɔ L L H L	L L	L L
F1	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- ɲɔ- ɔ L L H L	H H	L L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- ɲa- sɔ L L H L	L L	L L
F2	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- kɔ- ɔ L L H L	H L	L L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- ka- sɔ L L H L	L L	L L
F3	2sg	ɔ- tɛ- kɔ- ɔ H L H L	H L	L L
	1pl	tɔ- tɛ- ka- sɔ H L H H	H L	L L

(* = final pronominal element -ɔ dropped for low tone verbs)

2.2.1 Present and near future tenses (PR and F1)

As in the affirmative, the present and near future tenses have identical tonal patterns on the pronominal complex in the negative. This pattern is LLHL for all persons. Although the tones and segments within the pronominal complex of these two tenses are identical, we have already seen that they are distinguishable on the basis of the -kV verbal suffix which is obligatory in the F1 tense and absent in the PR tense. Thus the tone patterns on the verb stems do not play a major role. Lexically high tone verbs carry a tonal pattern of HL in the singular for the present tense and a tonal pattern of HH in the singular for the near future tense. In the plural these same verbs carry a LL tonal pattern for both the present and the near future tenses. Low tone verbs carry a tonal pattern of LL throughout both tenses. For example:

- low tone verb

(18) PERF-PR: u- tɛ- ɲá- a fana
3sg NEG PR 3sg read
'He/She does not read.'

(19) PERF-F1: u- tɛ- ɲá- a fana- ka
3sg NEG F1 3sg read F1S
'He/She will not read (later today).'

2.2.2 Tomorrow Future Tense (F2)

The F2 tense has a tonal pattern of LHL in the affirmative on the pronominal complex. The high tone on the tense marker (-ká-/-kɔ́-) is retained in the negative which, with the low tone of the negative marker, gives the tonal pattern of LLHL. It is interesting to note that the tone patterns on the verb stem parallel those for the PR and F1 tenses in the negative (see (17) above). The following phrases illustrate the F2 tense in the negative.⁶

- high tone verb

(20) PERF-F2: ɔ- tɛ- kɔ́- ɔ námba
2sg NEG F2 2sg cook
'You will not cook (tomorrow).'

- low tone verb

(21) PERF-F2: ɔ- tɛ- kɔ́- ɔ namba tabɔkɔ
2sg NEG F2 2sg hide nothing
'You will not hide anything (tomorrow).'

2.2.3 Distant future (F3)

The tonal pattern for the F3 tense on the pronominal complex in the negative differs from that of the F2 tense only on the first syllable. In the distant future this initial pronoun carries a high tone, resulting in a HLHL tonal pattern for the singular pronouns. However, in the plural the tonal pattern becomes HLHH. The tone patterns found on the verb stem remain the same regardless of the person. Lexically high tone verbs carry a HH tone pattern on the verb stem and lexically low tone verbs consistently carry a LL tonal pattern. For example:

- high tone verb

(22) PERF-F3: nú- tɛ- ká- nɔ́ námbá
2pl NEG F3 2pl cook
'You (pl) will never cook.'

- low tone verb

(23) PERF-F3: ú- tɛ- ká- a fana
3sg NEG F3 3sg read
'He/She will never read.'

2.2.4 Distant past tense (P3)

Due to the pronominal complex tonal pattern similarities between the P3 tense and the PR and F1 tenses in the affirmative as well as its similarities to the F3 tense in the negative, we will examine this P3 tense before the other past tenses in the negative. In (17) above we can see the tonal pattern has changed considerably from both its affirmative form (see (16) above) and from the pattern which the PR and F1 tenses have in the negative. In the singular the negative tonal pattern on the pronominal complex is HLHL and in the plural it is HLHH (with the first low tone being on the negative marker in each case). The tonal pattern on the pronominal complex in addition to the segmental tense marker fully distinguishes this tense from all others in the negative. The tonal pattern on lexically high tone verbs is always HL for the P3 tense and for low tone verbs the pattern is LL in the singular and HH in the plural. For example:

- high tone verb

- (24) PERF-P3: é- tɛ- ɣá- mɛ táɣa
 1sg NEG P3 1sg speak
 'I didn't speak (long ago).'

- low tone verb

- (25) PERF-P3: bé- ti- ɣé- bú kɛ́tí
 3pl NEG P3 3pl measure
 'They didn't measure (long ago).'

2.2.5 Immediate and yesterday past tenses (P0/2)

In the negative of the past tenses there is a neutralization of tense distinctions. The morphological changes within the pronominal complex have already been discussed above (section 2.1). We therefore describe the tonal pattern that exists on the verb phrase for the P0/2 tenses in the negative.

The initial pronominal element in the complex and the negative marker are both marked with low tone whereas the negative P0/2 tense marker -ɔmɔ-/ -omo- has different tone markings depending on the person. For singular persons this P0/2 marker carries a HL pattern and for plural persons a HH pattern. This holds for all verbs. A further distinction occurs, however, in the final pronominal element -ɔ/-o- for all single persons. This final element always carries a high tone but it disappears with lexically low tone verbs. However, the high tone from this pronominal element is realized on the first syllable of the low tone verb stem. For lexically high tone verbs the verb stem carries a LL tone pattern. For example:

- high tone verb

- (26) PERF-P0/2: i- ti- ómo- ó bume
 1sg NEG P0/2 PE hunt
 'I did not hunt (just now/yesterday).'

On the other hand, for lexically low tone verbs in the singular the final pronominal element disappears, nonetheless leaving the high tone to become a floating tone which attaches itself to the first syllable of the following verb stem. This results in a HL tone pattern on low tone verb stems. In the plural, however, the final pronominal element does not disappear and the verb stem carries a LL tone pattern. For example:

- low tone verb

- (27) PERF-PØ/2: o- ti- ómo kėti
2sg NEG PØ/2 measure
'You did not measure (just now/yesterday).'
- (28) PERF-PØ/2: tu- ti- ómó- su keti
1pl NEG PØ/2 1pl measure
'We did not measure (just now/yesterday).'

2.2.6 Near past tense (P1)

The P1 tense is a variation on the theme just discussed in section 2.2.5. In fact the similarities are so great that these three tenses (PØ, P1, and P2) could really be discussed together. However, to avoid confusion the minor differences which occur in the P1 tense will be discussed separately. As was mentioned above in section 2.1 the negative P1 tense marker is -mɔ-/-mo-. The tone on this marker is low for all persons and all verbs. The final pronominal element is -ǎ/-ó for all persons with lexically high tone verbs, whereas with low tone verbs this final element is dropped for all persons. Once again in this case (as with the PØ/2 tense for singular low tone verbs) the high tone from this final -ǎ/-ó becomes a floating tone which attaches itself to the first syllable of the verb stem. For example:

- low tone verb

- (29) PERF-P1: bǎ- tɛ- mɔ námba tabɔkɔ
3pl NEG P1 hide nothing
'They did not hide anything (earlier today).'

The tone pattern on lexically high tone verbs is LL for disyllabic verb stems as shown in the following example:

- high tone verb

- (30) PERF-P1: ɛ- tɛ- mɔ- ǎ taja
1sg NEG P1 PE speak
'I did not speak (earlier today).'

3. IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT

To begin discussion of the imperfective aspect in the negative we must focus first on a feature of this aspect which occurs in the affirmative as well, that is, the repeated pronouns. These appear after the standard pronominal complex and the auxiliary verb *bá* 'to be' and they come before the main verb. For example:

- (31) P2: u- ḡá bá w- aá yáamba- ka tuúnyí
 3sg P2 SUX 3sg 3sg look for DUR wood
 'He/She regularly looked for wood.' or
 'He/She was looking for wood.'

These repeated pronouns (represented by w-aá in (31), which have no intervening tense marker (see (2) above), are used in phrases denoting habitual actions or states in the present and past tenses as well as in some phrases denoting progressive actions in the past tenses. The following chart (32) shows the pronominal elements which we have already seen in the pronominal complex and then the resulting repeated pronoun form when the tense marker is absent.

(32) Repeated pronouns in the affirmative

Person	Initial PE	Final PE		Repeated pronouns
1sg	ε-	-amε	-->	yamε
2sg	ɔ-	-ɔ́	-->	ɔ́
3sg	u-	-aá	-->	waá
1pl	tɔ-	-asɔ́	-->	tɔasɔ́
2pl	nɔ-	-anɔ́	-->	nɔanɔ́
3pl	bá-	-abɔ́	-->	bábɔ́

Negation is marked within these repeated pronouns rather than in the pronominal complex when a negative habitual action or state is being talked about in the present or past tenses. Chart (33) below shows the form these repeated pronouns take in the negative. Note the tonal differences as well as the placement of the negative marker.

(33) Repeated pronouns in the negative

Person	Initial PE	NEG Marker	Final PE		Repeated pronouns
1sg	ε-	-tε-	-ámε	-->	ε tεámε
2sg	ɔ-	-tε-	-ɔ́	-->	ɔ tεɔ́
3sg	u-	-tε-	-aá	-->	u tεá
1pl	tɔ-	-tε-	-asɔ́	-->	tɔ tεasɔ́
2pl	nɔ-	-tε-	-anɔ́	-->	nɔ tεanɔ́
3pl	bá-	-tε-	-ábɔ	-->	bá tεábɔ

The negative marker -tε- acquires a high tone in the third person plural of these repeated pronouns. This is the only occurrence of a high tone on the negative marker.

3.1 HABITUAL ACTIONS AND STATES IN THE NEGATIVE

An habitual action can be defined as a regularly occurring action that can, but not necessarily so, be happening at the moment of speech. In order to negate an habitual action or state in Nɔmaándé, it is only necessary to add the negative marker -tε-/-ti- to the verb phrase without changing any other morpheme in the pronominal complex. However, a change does occur on the verb stem. The durative/iterative suffix -kv, which is an obligatory feature in certain tenses in the affirmative forms of the

imperfective aspect, is dropped in the negative. This disappearance of the durative suffix in the negative follows what was found to be true as well in the perfective aspect (section 2.1). The following chart (34) gives an overview of the verb phrase and the various markers present in it to denote habitual actions or states in the affirmative and the negative.

(34) Habitual markers in the affirmative and negative

AFFIRMATIVE

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Pronominal complex</u>	<u>AUX</u>	<u>Repeated pronouns</u>	<u>VERB</u>
PAST	PE- η a- PE	bá	PE - PE	()-kV
PR	PE- na- η a		PE - PE	()-kV
FUT 1	PE- η a- bule- PE	bá		()
2/3	PE- ka- bule- PE	bá		()

NEGATIVE

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Pronominal complex</u>	<u>AUX</u>	<u>Repeated pronouns</u>	<u>VERB</u>
PAST	Pe- η a- PE	bá	PE- -tɛ- PE	()
PR	PE- na- η a		PE- -tɛ- PE	()
FUT 1	PE- -tɛ- η a- bule- PE			()
2/3	PE- -tɛ- ka- bule- PE			()

(Note: The - η a suffix in the PR tense is the IMPF/PR marker)

3.1.1 Negative habitual actions and states in the present tense

The pronominal complex for negative habitual actions and states is identical to the one in the affirmative. The initial pronoun is followed by the present habitual marker -na- which is then followed by the present imperfective marker - η a (this suffix also appears in the pronominal complex in progressive phrases). For example:

(35) HAB/PR: tu- na- η a
1pl HAB/PR IMPF/PR

The negative marker is located only with the repeated pronouns which appear after the pronominal complex. A change occurs on the verb stem in that the durative/iterative suffix -kV is dropped in the negative and there is evidence of a floating tone after the verb stem as seen in the tone perturbation (which is marked in the data by !) on direct objects following the verb. For example:

- high tone verb

(36) HAB-PR: nu- na- η a nu- ti- enú léné bá!násé a báabé
2pl HAB/PR IMPF/PR 2pl NEG 2pl like children bad
'You (pl) don't like bad children (habitually).'

- low tone verb

- (37) HAB-PR: u- na- ŋa u- tɛ- a ká!tá écike
 3sg HAB/PR IMPF/PR 3sg NEG 3sg destroy forest
 'He/She doesn't regularly destroy the forest.'

High tone verbs retain their lexical tone in the negative present habitual. Lexically low tone verbs have a tonal pattern of LH for first and second persons singular only. For all other persons the tone pattern on low tone verb stems is H!H.

3.1.2 Negative Habitual Actions and States in the Future Tenses

The habitual marker in the future tenses is **-bule-**. This marker is placed between the tense marker and the final pronominal element in the pronominal complex. The negative marker **-tɛ-/-ti-** is located between the initial pronominal element and the tense marker. Thus, the following schema for the negative habitual pronominal complex in the future results: PE-tɛ-TM-bule-PE. This pronominal complex is followed by the verb stem with its lexical tone (for high tone verbs) with no floating tones present. Lexically low tone verbs remain low tone for first and second persons singular only. All other persons carry a verbal tone pattern of HL. For example:

- high tone verb

- (38) HAB-F1: i- ti- ŋé- búle émi léné banásé a báabé
 1sg NEG F1 HAB/F 1sg like children bad
 'I will not like bad children (later today).'

- low tone verb

- (39) HAB-F2: tu- ti- ké- búl- asó káta ecike
 1pl NEG F2 HAB/F 1pl destroy forest
 'We will not habitually destroy the forest (as of tomorrow).'

Between the HAB/F marker **-bule-** and the final pronominal element there is elision of the final vowel **-e** of this future habitual marker. In addition, there is no separate form for the distant future tense (F3) in the negative habitual. The form given as F2 above would be used to describe even a distant future event in this case.

3.1.3 Negative habitual actions and states in the past tenses

As might be expected there is no immediate past habitual form, neither in the affirmative nor in the negative. On the other hand, there are three distinct past tense distinctions in the habitual which occur even in the negative. The affirmative forms of the past habitual have the following schema: PE-ŋa-PE AUX PE-PE VERB.

The tone pattern on the pronominal complex determines whether P1, P2, or P3 is being talked about. These tone patterns are identical to those present in the perfective aspect (see (16))

above). The pronominal complex is followed by the auxiliary verb **-bá** 'to be' and then the repeated pronouns. As was true for the negative present habitual the negative marker appears with the repeated pronouns. The verb stem follows these pronouns, once again retaining its lexical tone for high tone verbs. Low tone verbs have a tonal pattern of LH for first and second persons singular whereas the other persons require a tonal pattern of H!H on the verb stem. The same tone perturbation which applied to the negative present habitual (section 3.1.1) occurs on a following direct object. The following phrases are examples of the negative past habitual:

- high tone verb

- (40) HAB-P1: ɔ- ηó ɔ bá o- ti- ó léné bá!násé a báabé
 2sg P1 2sg AUX 2sg NEG 2sg like children bad
 You used not to like bad children (earlier today).

- low tone verb

- (41) HAB-P2: ú- ηá bá u- ti- e ké!tí ékɔndɔ
 3sg P2 AUX 3sg NEG 3sg measure melon seeds
 'He/She used not to measure melon seeds.'

- low tone verb

- (42) HAB-P3: bá- ηa- bó bá bá- tɛ- ábo ám!bá tú!únyí túeηi
 3pl P3 3pl AUX 3pl NEG 3pl look for wood a lot
 'They used not to look for a lot of wood (long ago)'

Whereas the affirmative forms of the past habitual make use of the durative/iterative suffix **-kV** on the verb stem, in the negative this suffix is absent (since the action is not repeated habitually).

3.2 Progressive actions in the negative

The grammatical construction which characterizes progressive actions in Nɔmaándé for both affirmative and negative phrases, is the locative construction. This consists of a locative marker which is a vowel identical to the following vowel in the construction. In a progressive verb phrase the locative marker is always followed by the infinitive of the verb. Since infinitives in Nɔmándé always carry the prefix ɔ-/o- (according to the vowel harmony), the locative marker in these phrases will also be ɔ/o. The locative marker has a low tone but it is followed by a floating high tone which attaches itself to the infinitive in the following manner (for this schema, low tones have been marked):

- | | | Verb
stem | | |
|------|--------------|--------------|-----|-----------|
| (41) | ɔ̂ + H + ɔ̂ | + L L | --> | ɔ̂ɔ̂ H L |
| | LOC INF | | | |
| | ɔ̂ + H + ɔ̂ | + H L | --> | ɔ̂ɔ̂ !H L |
| | LOC INF | | | |

It should be noted that, in general, the second syllable of a disyllabic verb carries a low tone in its infinitival form. The floating high tone of the locative marker shifts over the infinitival prefix in the case of low tone verbs in order to attach itself to the first syllable of the verb stem. In the case of high tone verbs, the floating high tone is realized on the infinitival prefix so that the low tone of the prefix becomes displaced and causes the following high tone of the verb stem to become downstepped.

Before discussing negative progressive actions and the way they are marked in Nǝmaándǝ, we briefly overview the most common forms of the progressive in the affirmative and the negative for all the tenses.

(44) Progressive markers in the affirmative and negative

AFFIRMATIVE

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Pron. complex</u>	<u>AUX</u>	<u>LOC construction</u>
P1/P1/P3	PE- ŋa -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
P0	PE- ma -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
PR	PE-PE- ŋa		ɔ + INF
F1	PE- ŋa -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
F2/3	PE- ka -PE	bá	ɔ + INF

NEGATIVE

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Pron. complex</u>	<u>AUX</u>	<u>LOC construction</u>
P3	PE- tɛ - ŋa -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
P0/P1/P2	PE- tɛ - ɔmɔ -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
PR	PE- tɛ -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
F1	PE- tɛ - ŋa -PE	bá	ɔ + INF
F2/3	PE- tɛ - ka -PE	bá	ɔ + INF

Note: The suffix **-ŋa** in the present tense is the present imperfective marker. The P1, P2, and P3 tenses are distinguished by their tonal patterns on the pronominal complex, which are identical to their perfective aspect tonal patterns.

3.2.1 Negative progressive actions in the present tense

All progressive actions mark negation within the pronominal complex. In the case of present progressive actions, the present imperfective marker **-ŋa** is dropped in the negative and the negative marker **-tɛ-** appears between the two remaining pronouns of the pronominal complex. Thus the resulting negative pronominal complex is identical in form to the repeated pronouns found in negative habitual phrases (see section 3.1.1). The auxiliary verb **-bá** 'to be' appears in the negative present progressive

whereas it is not present in the affirmative form (due to the presence of the IMPF/PR marker?). For example:

- high tone verb infinitive

- (45) PROG-PR: nɔ- tɛ- anó bá o- ó- !búme ɛnyama
2pl NEG 2pl AUX LOC INF hunt animals
'You (pl) are not hunting animals (now).'

- low tone verb infinitive

- (46) PROG-PR: ɛ- tɛ- áme bá ɔ- ɔ- wáamba tuúnyí
1sg NEG 1sg AUX LOC INF look for wood
'I am not looking for wood (now).'

3.2.2 Negative progressive actions in the future tenses

Nɔmaándé distinguishes between three future tenses in the negative for progressive actions: F1, F2, and F3. The form of the pronominal complex for all three of these future tenses in the negative progressive is identical to that for the negative perfective future tenses (see (17) above). The pronominal complex is followed directly by the auxiliary verb -bá 'to be' and then the locative construction (LOC + INF). For example:

- high tone verb infinitive

- (47) PROG-F1: u- tɛ- ɲá- a bá ɔ- ó- !nyía
3sg NEG F1 3sg AUX LOC INF eat
'He/She will not be eating (later today).'

- low tone verb infinitive

- (48) PROG-F2: bá- tɛ- ká- bɔ bá ɔ- ɔ- kóca bitoli
3pl NEG F2 3pl AUX LOC INF pick up prunes
'They will not be picking up prunes (tomorrow).'

- high tone verb infinitive

- (49) PROG-F3: tó- tɛ- ká- sɔ bá o- ó- !wéende ibíle
1pl NEG F3 1pl AUX LOC INF press palm nuts
'We will not ever be pressing palm nuts.'

3.2.3. Negative progressive actions in the past tenses

There is a neutralization in the forms for the P0, P1, and P2 tenses when expressing a negative progressive action. The form of the pronominal complex for these three past tenses in the negative progressive is identical to that for the negative perfective in the P0/2 tenses (see (17) above). Because the following verb in the progressive construction is always the high tone verb -bá 'to be', the rule about the final pronominal element -ɔ/-o being dropped for low tone verbs never comes into play here. For example:

- high tone verb infinitive

- (50) PROG-P0/1/2: ɔ- tɛ- ɔmɔ- ɔ bá o- ó- !búme
2sg NEG P0/1/2 PE AUX LOC INF hunt
'You were not hunting.'

- low tone verb infinitive

- (51) PROG-PØ/1/2: nɔ- tɛ- ʒmɔ- nɔ́ bá ɔ- ɔ- wáamba tabɔkɔ
 2pl NEG PØ/1/2 2pl AUX LOC INF look for
 nothing
 'You (pl) were not looking for anything.'

The distant past tense (P3) in the negative progressive also makes use of the same pronominal complex form as in the negative perfective aspect. For example:

- high tone verb infinitive

- (52) PROG-P3: tɔ́- tɛ- ɲá- sɔ́ bá ɔ- ɔ́- !náamba afényɛ
 1pl NEG P3 1pl AUX LOC INF cook corn fufu
 'We were not cooking corn fufu (long ago).'

4. IMPERATIVE MOOD

In order to profit from a study of negation in the imperative mood, an initial overview of the affirmative forms is given. Three imperative forms exist in Nɔ́maámɛ́: second person singular (2sg), first person plural (1pl), and second person plural (2pl). The verbs will be divided into the two categories of high and low tone verbs.

4.1 AFFIRMATIVE

The pronouns that precede the verb in the imperative mood in the affirmative are as follows:

- (53) Pronouns in the affirmative imperative

PRONOUNS

Person	with H tone verbs	with L tone verbs
2sg	-----	-----
1pl	túá	túá
2pl	ánɔ	ánɔ

The second person singular form requires no pronoun, whereas the first person plural form requires the pronoun **túá** for all verbs. The second person plural pronoun in the imperative is **ánɔ** for high tone verbs and **ánɔ́** for low tone verbs.

The tone on the verb stem itself is shown on the following chart:

- (54) Verbal tone in the imperative mood (affirmative)

Person	H tone verbs	L tone verbs
2sg	H H	L H
1pl	H L	L H
2pl	H H	L H

Lexically high tone verbs carry a tone pattern of HH for second persons singular and plural but HL for first person

plural. Low tone verbs always carry a LH tonal pattern. Before showing examples of verbs in the imperative mood, we must mention the presence of the durative/iterative suffix **-kV** in the affirmative imperative for all verbs with the exception of verbs of motion, such as **ɔfaya** 'to come', **osúéte** 'to leave', and **ɔɔba** 'to go'. For example:

- high tone verb - low tone verb
 (55) 2sg: **súéte** 'Leave!' (56) 2sg: **faáya** 'Come!'

The following verbs will illustrate the standard forms of the imperative in the affirmative:

- high tone verb - low tone verb
 (57) 2sg: **tájáka** 'Talk!' (58) 2sg: **nyiókɔ** 'Work!'
 - high tone verb - low tone verb
 (59) 1pl: **túá tafaka** (60) 1pl: **túá lɛláka**
 'Let's choose!' 'Let's cry!'
 - high tone verb - low tone verb
 (61) 2pl: **ánɔ námbáka** (62) 2pl: **ánɔ cakónáka**
 'Cook (pl)!'
 'Play (pl)!'

4.2 NEGATIVE

Negation in the imperative mood includes the negative marker **tɛ-/ti-** which is affixed to the pronouns in the following manner (the forms are identical for both high and low tone verbs):

(63) Pronouns in the negative imperative

Person	Pronoun	Negative marker		
2sg	a-	-tɛ	→	atɛ
1pl	tɔ-	-tɛ	→	tɔtɛ
2pl	nɔ-	-tɛ	→	nɔtɛ

The tone on the verb stem in the negative for high tone verbs is always HH and for low tone verbs the tone pattern is always LH.

The durative/iterative suffix **-kV** does not totally disappear in the negative imperative as one might expect from its disappearance in the negative indicative mood. When **-kV** is not used in the negative imperative, it can be assumed that the action being prohibited has not yet begun. If the action has already begun and the desire is for the particular action to cease, the **-kV** suffix is employed (except in the case of verbs of action as seen in examples (55) and (56) above). For example:

- low tone verb
 (64) 2sg: **a- tɛ lɛla'- ka** (65) 2sg: **a- tɛ lɛlá**
 2sg NEG cry DUR 2sg NEG cry
 'Stop crying!' 'Don't (start to) cry!'

The following negative imperative verb forms will be given without the **-kV** suffix for easier identification of the tonal patterns.

- high tone verb	- low tone verb
(66) 2sg: a- tɛ táfá 2sg NEG choose 'Don't choose!'	(67) 2sg: a- tɛ laɣóna 2sg NEG undress 'Don't undress!'
- high tone verb	- low tone verb
(68) 1pl: tu- ti ééndé ibíle 1pl NEG press palm nuts 'Let's not press palm nuts!'	(69) 1pl: tɔ- tɛ nɔ́á 1pl NEG fight 'Let's not fight!'
- high tone verb	- low tone verb
(70) 2pl: nu- ti súéte 2pl NEG leave 'Don't leave!'	(71) 2pl: nɔ- tɛ cakóna 2pl NEG play 'Don't play!'

5. CONCLUSIONS

We have seen that Nɔ́maándé makes use of a single negative marker **-tɛ-/-ti-** which has an inherent low tone. This negative marker is consistently located within the pronominal complex in the perfective aspect, between the initial pronoun and the tense marker. However, in the imperfective aspect the negative marker is located in the pronominal complex only for progressive actions (all tenses) and for future habitual actions and states. For all other habituals, the negative marker is located between the two repeated pronominal elements which appear after the pronominal complex and the auxiliary verb **-bá** 'to be'.

There are two segmental changes of note in the perfective aspect when the negative marker is present. The first involves the replacing of the P0, P1, and P2 affirmative tense markers in the pronominal complex with the negative tense marker **-ɔ́mɔ-** for P0 and P2 tenses and with **-mɔ-** for the P1 tense. Thus there is a neutralization of the P0 and P2 tenses. In addition to this tense marker change, there is a modification in the final pronominal element of the complex for these tenses.

The second change of note concerns the durative/iterative verbal suffix **-kV** which appears regularly in the affirmative. In the negative it disappears altogether, leaving the F1 tense suffix (which is homophonous with the durative suffix) to continue to function as the distinguishing mark of the near future tense even in the negative.

In the imperfective aspect the durative suffix also disappears (it is used in the affirmative imperfective for past and present habitual actions). A further segmental change occurs in the negative for progressive actions in the present tense. The present imperfective marker **-ɲa** is dropped when the negative

marker is present. The resulting negative pronominal complex is identical in form to the repeated pronouns found in negative habitual phrases. The difference is that in the progressive these pronouns are followed by the auxiliary verb *-bá* 'to be' and the locative construction LOC + INF, whereas in the habitual it is the verb stem of the main verb which follows the repeated pronouns.

In the P0, P1, and P2 tenses for progressive actions in the negative, the forms are neutralized with the pronominal complex being identical in form to that for the negative perfective in the P0 and P2 tenses. Thus a second neutralization of verb tenses occurs in the negative, this time in the imperfective aspect.

In the imperative mood the durative/iterative suffix *-kV* has the distinction of appearing in the negative but only if the action has already been going on and the speaker is requesting that the action cease.

NOTES

¹This present study is based on language data collected between 1984 and 1988 in the village of Tchekos. This research was carried out under the agreement of cooperation between the Ministry of Higher Education, Computer Services and Scientific Research (MESIRES) and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The principal dialect studied is that of Tchekos. The data paper includes conjugations furnished by two language assistants as well as texts recorded on tape. This data was reviewed, corrected and translated by ATOKO Emmanuel and BABOUAKEN Cosmas. I would like to thank these men in particular for their assistance in carrying out this study and my colleagues Robert HEDINGER and Carolyn TAYLOR for their help and comments in the course of preparing this paper which was presented at the 18th WALS Congress in Niamey, Niger, March 20-25, 1988.

²The Nɔmaándé language is spoken by between 4,000 and 5,000 speakers, and commonly known as 'Lemande'. This group is found in Cameroon, Center Province, Mbam Division, Bokito Sub-division. The Lemande live in 7 villages in addition to a neighborhood in the town of Bokito and they understand one another without difficulty. Nɔmaándé is a Narrow Bantu language, classified as A.46 by GUTHRIE (1971:32) and as No. 512 in the ALCAM (DIEU and RENAUD 1983:53). Vowel harmony, long vowels, diphthongs and two contrasting tones (H and L) as well as a downstepped high tone (!H) are present in this language.

³The tones are marked on the vowels in the following manner: high tone (H) = ' ; low tone (L) = no marking; and downstepped high tone (!H) = !'.

⁴For a description of the vowel harmony system in Nɔmaándé, see SCRUGGS (1983:72). The vowels in the pronominal complex are of the same series as the vowels of the verb which follows. The only exception to this rule occurs when an object pronoun intervenes. In this case, the vowels in the pronominal complex agree with those of the object pronoun.

⁵The following abbreviations are used in the paper:

AFF	affirmative	LOC	locative marker
AUX	auxiliary verb	NEG	negative
DUR	durative/iterative suffix	PØ	immediate past
F1	near future (later today)	P1	Near past (earlier today)
F2	future (tomorrow & after)	P2	past (yesterday & up to 2 weeks ago.
F3	distant future (uncertain)	P3	distant past (more than 2 weeks ago.
H	high tone	PE	pronominal element
!H	downstepped high tone	PERF	perfective aspect
HAB	habitual	PR	present
IMP	imperative mood	PROG	progressive
IMPF	imperfective aspect	TM	tense marker
INF	infinitive	sg	singular
pl	plural		

⁶These two verbs ɔ-námba 'to cook' and ɔ-namba 'to hide' require certain tonal modifications in the negative which do not occur for other verbs in the negative. These modifications help avoid ambiguity of forms between the two verbs and thus facilitate identification of the verb that is being used in the negative phrase.

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