Negation in South Mande

0. South Mande languages are spoken mainly in Côte d’Ivoire (Beng, Wan, Mwan, Gban, Guro, Yaure, Dan-Yacouba, Kla-Dan, Tura), only Dan-Gio and Mano are represented in Northern Liberia; Mano spills over the Guinean border. This study is based mainly on data collected during four field trips of 2001-2004 by the St. Petersburg team of linguists in the framework of a joint research project with the University of Zuerich.¹ Meantime, previous publications (abundant for some languages, scarce for some others) were also taken into account.

The descriptions available use different systems of tone marking. To maintain them in this survey would make understanding difficult. For this reason, the International Phonetic Alphabet marks will be used, which are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the tone</th>
<th>2-level systems</th>
<th>3-level systems</th>
<th>4-level systems</th>
<th>5-level systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extrahigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extralow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The Project was supported by a grant of Swiss National Foundation for Scientific Research SUBJ 062156.00. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Thomas Bearth whose energy made this project possible, and to Margrit Bolli from Summer Institute of Linguistics who was our main facilitator in Côte d’Ivoire.
Contour tones:

ë – rising tone, ê – falling tone. In Gban where two rising tonemes are distinguished, ë is used for the mid-rising tone. In Dan-Blo distinguishing two falling tones, ë is used for the mid-falling tone.

Regular IPA symbols will be used for the vowels, with one exception: for the languages with ATR vowel harmony, the –ATR vowels will be marked, according to established practice, as ï, ë, œ, ø, instead of i, e, o, u.

Word order in all Mande languages is SOV; it is very strictly observed, so that the absence of the direct object before the verb automatically makes the verb intransitive.² The indirect object, usually with a postposition, follows the verb. TAM markers follow either the subject or (to a smaller degree) the verb; in both positions, they tend to merge with the preceding word. As a result, a set of pronominal series developed in each language, most of them being specific to the subject position. A reconstruction of the pronominal series in the Proto-South Mande (PSM) is represented in Chart 2 (for more details and a discussion see [Vydrine, ms.a]).

Let us consider the ways of expressing negation in different languages of the group.

² It should be specified that in many South Mande languages, the 3sg object pronoun uses to be omitted at the surface level. However, it remains present at the underlying level. The presence of the direct object becomes evident if the 3sg pronominal object is replaced by any other noun phrase.
Chart 2. Personal pronoun series in Proto-South Mande

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>excl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject basic</td>
<td>*N̆</td>
<td>*i̊/e̊</td>
<td>*e̊</td>
<td>*yī/ṓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sb. optative</td>
<td>*N̆</td>
<td>*í</td>
<td>*é</td>
<td>*yī/ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sb. imperative</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>*bā́</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>*N̆</td>
<td>*i̊/e̊</td>
<td>*ā́</td>
<td>*yī/ṓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>*N̆</td>
<td>*i̊/e̊</td>
<td>*ē̊</td>
<td>*yī/ṓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focalized/</td>
<td>*mā́</td>
<td>*bī̊/yī̊</td>
<td>*yē̊</td>
<td>*yī/ṓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portemanteaux</td>
<td>*mā́</td>
<td>*bā́/yī́</td>
<td>*yā́</td>
<td>*wā́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The portemanteaux pronouns are represented in modern Mano, Guro, Yaure, Gban. They are used a) as compound forms for “subject pronoun + direct object 3sg. pronoun”, or b) as subject pronoun, if the direct object position is occupied by a pronoun whose status in the locutor hierarchy does not exceed the status of the subject. In Guro, they have evolved into an ergative series, cf. [Vydrine ms.b].

3 It may also be *bī́.
1. **Mano** is a language rather close to Dan; there is even a certain level of mutual intelligibility between both languages. It has three level tonemes and four degrees of aperture of vowels. The data on Mano are borrowed from two manuals for American students [Neal et al. 1946; deZeeuw, Kruah 1981]; as for the grammar of Etta Becker-Donner [1965], it is outdated and imprecise to the degree that using its data may result in serious mistakes of interpretation.  

Chart 3. Mano personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject basic</td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td>ï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>ÑÑ</td>
<td>ïi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>māà</td>
<td>bāà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>ÑÑ</td>
<td>ïi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>Ñ</td>
<td>ï</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>bí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two main ways to express sentence negation.

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4 So, Östen Dahl who used this grammar as the source for Mano data, failed even to figure out what was the basic word order in this language (Dahl 1979: 101).

5 Only series mentioned in this text are presented, and among these, only non-contractive variants (the same is true for the pronominal series charts of the majority of other languages in the present article). Otherwise, Mano has at least 16 series of personal pronouns.

6 The vowels of these pronouns can be contracted in fluent speech to short ones with high tone.
1.1. Negative of existence is marked by *wá*. This marker requires a special ("Autonomous") series of personal pronouns (see Chart 3):

(1a)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{yē} & \text{wá} & \text{yí} \\
3\text{sg.AUT} & \text{beNEG} & \text{there}
\end{array}
\]
‘He/she/it is not there’.

(2a)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{mā} & \text{wá} & \text{dōmì} \text{ ká} \\
1\text{sg.AUT} & \text{beNEG} & \text{chief like}
\end{array}
\]
‘I’m not a chief’.

The same construction is used for the progressive aspect (which stems in Mano from the locative existence construction, as in the great majority of Mande languages):

(3a)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{bī} & \text{wá} & \text{tàà} & \text{si} \text{ piē} \\
1\text{sg.AUT} & \text{beNEG} & \text{walking} & \text{take PROG}
\end{array}
\]
‘You (sg.) are not walking’.

The counterparts of the autonomous pronouns in the affirmative constructions are existential pronouns (see Chart 3) which do not need any extra existential verb: (1b) *lē yí* ‘he is there’, (2b) *Ná dōmì ká* ‘I am a chief’, (3b) *ī tàà sí piē* ‘you (sg) are walking’. In fact, the existential verb has the same form, *lē*, as the 3sg. pronoun of this series: *ī dāā lē dōmì ká* ‘your (sg.) father is a chief’.

The autonomous pronouns cannot be considered as negative per se; they are also used in certain affirmative contexts, such as presentative (*mā lē* ‘it’s me’, *mā gē* ‘there I am’) and as topics in the relative constructions.

1.2. Plain negation is marked by a special ("Negative") series.

1.2.1. When no other marker is used, the construction expresses the meaning of habitual. The respective affirmative meaning is expressed by the “Habitual” pronoun series (cf. Chart 3):
1.2.2. The Perfective is formed according to the formula: Negative pronoun + marker gbaa – (Direct Object) – Verb. The corresponding affirmative sentence is formed with “Subject basic” pronoun:

(5a) î kē à kēlē
  2sgSUB be 3sgOBJ hand
‘He/she had it’.

(b) î gbāa kē à kēlē
  2sgNEG PAST be 3sgOBJ hand
‘You (sg.) didn’t have it’.

1.2.3. Perfect/resultative. The affirmative form is marked by a special pronominal series (“Perfect series”). In the negative form, apart from the negative pronoun, a post-verbal particle nē ‘yet’ is employed:

(6a) â à leē sí
  3sgPRF woman take, ‘He is married’.

(b) leē leē sí nē
  3sgNEG woman take yet, ‘He is not (yet) married’.

7 It is the case mentioned by Ö. Dahl as unique in his sample of languages of negation realized as a tone change alone (Dahl 1979: 82), which was taken up by other authors of typological writings (J. Payne 1985: 229). However, the tone of the affirmative habitual pronouns indicated in his work (following Becker-Donner) is incorrect.
2. Dan is the most widely spoken South Mande language. At the same time, it is characterised by a high degree of dialectal fragmentation. In Côte d’Ivoire alone, the number of dialects reaches 40. Conventionally, three groups of dialects can be singled out: Gio in Liberia; Kla in the Prefecture of Touba (Côte d’Ivoire), surrounded by numerically predominant Mahou (a Manding language); Yacouba (the main bulk of the Ivoirean Dan) in the Man, Biankouma, and Danané Prefectures (Côte d’Ivoire). Meanwhile, in the course of a literacy campaign among Yacouba, two normative variants have been selected in Côte d’Ivoire: Eastern, based on the Gweeta dialect, and Western, based on the Blo dialect (close to Gio). Differences between those variants at all levels are important enough to make mutual intelligibility difficult. For this reason, Gweeta, Blo, Kla and Gio will be considered as separate (although closely related) languages.

2.1. Dan-Blo has three level and two modulated tones, falling and mid-falling. The vowels are represented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>ū</th>
<th>ì</th>
<th>ū</th>
<th>û</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ο</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels in the mid columns are posterior unrounded.

The data is borrowed mainly from Anna Erman (2002); Eva Flik’s publication (1978) is also taken into account.
Before we pass to the analysis of negation, let us consider the main features of the TAM system in this language. The TAM meanings are expressed by combination of a) subject pronouns belonging to different series (cf. Chart 4); b) particles following the subject or the verbal predicate; c) the tone of the verb.

*Series I* incorporates, at the underlying level, the semantics of the existential verb. Therefore, these pronouns are employed in the subject function in non-verbal sentences (locative, qualitative, equative). In verbal sentences, they appear in three types of constructions:

a) **Pron.I + (DO) + Ṣ** (the lexical tone of the verb is replaced by grammatical falling tone). This construction expresses a great range of meanings: habitual, gnomic (“eternal truths”), qualitative, and also perfective;

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In the numeration of series, I follow (Erman 2002).
b) Pron.I + (DO) + V- naï/đà (the markers are in complementary distribution) expresses the meaning of progressive;

c) Pron.I + (DO) + V- stū guì expresses the continuative sense, -stū being a verbal noun/participle marker. This construction is undoubtedly derived from the existential non-verbal one.

Past for existential constructions involves the verb kā ‘do, become’ in the function of an auxiliary: Pron.I + kā + IO.⁹ The falling tone of the auxiliary testifies to the fact that this construction belongs, by origin, to the type (a). The Past of the verbal constructions of (b) and (c) types is also formed with kā, which is yet another uncontestable evidence for their origin in the existential phrase type.

Future employs an auxiliary dơ (undoubtedly derived from the verb dơ ‘go, leave’; *-o > -ơ can be explained by the process of grammaticalization): Pron.I + dơ + (DO) + V.

Series II forms verbal constructions with the meaning of resultative perfect; the verb maintains its lexical tone.

Series IIIa and IIIb involve change of tone of the verb from high to middle, and from mid-falling to low. Both series are used for expressing non-neutral modalities: IIIa – relative constructions, narrative, purpose, focalised contexts, logophoric function; IIIb – optative meaning. In the modern language, the series have practically merged, their distinction be-

⁹ The same model is used in Mano for expressing of the Past of existential constructions (ex. 5a).
ing maintained in the 3sg. forms only; however, historically they seem to have been quite different.

*Series VI* introduces the imperative; the verb doesn’t change its lexical tone. *Series VII* is employed in subordinate clauses of purpose or intention. *Series VIII* appears in presentative phrases (“It’s X”, “X is alone”, etc.).

There are several devices to express negation in Blo: by means of three negative pronominal series (which leave lexical tone of the verb unchanged and require no supplementary marker) and by the negative particles *kû* and *kû* (it is probably one and the same particle whose tone depends on the context: the low tone of *kû* may be a result of polarization in the position of a high-tone pronoun of the Series III).

2.1.1. The negative *Series IV* corresponds to the Series I in its “existential”, habitual, gnomic and imperfective meanings, but not in the perfective:

(7a) wò ŋ bû
2pl.I 1sg.OBJ support, ‘They support me’.

(b) wáá ŋ bû
2pl.IV 1sg.OBJ support, ‘They don’t support me’.

On the other hand, this series appears also in presentative contexts, thus being in correlation with the affirmative series VIII:

(8a) bî mû
2sg.AUT this, ‘It’s you (sg.)’.

(b) háá mû
2sg.IV this, ‘It’s not you (sg.)’. 
Most probably, the Series IV is a result of a merger in Proto-Dan of the Autonomous series with the negative existential verb *waÉ (still retained in Mano).

2.1.2. Series V results from fusion of a basic subject series (reconstructed for the proto-language) with the negative marker káÉ, well attested in South Mande languages. It negates perfective (including resultative perfect) and other punctiliar meanings:

(9a) máÉ kóúÉ ðôÉ 1sg.II yams buy ‘I’ve bought yams’.

(b) nkáÉ kóúÉ ðôÉ 1sg.V yams buy, ‘I haven’t bought yams’.

To express the perfect meaning, a particle kùÉ ‘yet’ is added at the end of the sentence:

(10) gõÉ nkáÉ áÉ yéÉ kùÉ man 1sg.V 3sg.OBJ see yet ‘The man (whom) I haven’t yet seen

This series is also involved in the negation of future with the auxiliary verb ôÉ (which, according to the general rule, maintains its lexical tone):

(11a) yéÉ ôÉ tûÉ 1sg.I FUT come, ‘He’ll come’.

(b) yaaÉ ôÉ tûÉ ‘He won’t come’.

In the future construction, however, the negative marker káÉ easily detaches from the subject pronoun and remains autonomous (these are forms mentioned by Anna Erman as “Series Va”) or merges with the auxiliary; so, there are two more constructions equivalent to (11b):
(11c) yê/yê ká dê nû.

(11d) yê/yê káá nû.

2.1.3.1. The prohibitive meaning is expressed by the following construction: kê kû + Pron.III + (DO) + V (kê is a conjunctive “that”); the verb maintains its lexical tone, except for the high which is changed to middle (in other words, the tone of the verb should be different from the tone of the subject pronoun):

(12a) (6ê) kwêí pó!
    (2sg.VI) door open, ‘Open the door!”

(b) kê kû ú kwêí pó!
    NEG 2sg.III door open, ‘Don’t open the door!”

(13a) má pê á dâ yê dô
    1sg.II say 3sg.OBJ to 3sg.IIIa go

‘I told him to go’.

(b) má pê á dâ kê kû yê dô
    1sg.II tell 3sg.OBJ to NEG 3sg.III go

‘I told him not to go’.

2.1.3.2. An alternative way (cf. 8b) to form a negative presentative phrase is to combine an autonomous pronoun with a negative copula kû:

(8c) bî kû
    2sg.AUT exist.NEG, ‘It’s not you (sg.)’.

It is difficult to say whether kû the prohibitive marker, kû ‘yet’, and kû the negative presentative copula represent different functions of one and the same particle (at least from the diachronic viewpoint), or whether it is just a case of homonymy (and quasi-homonymy). Let us mention another function of kû (or yet another homonym?):
(14) yê r bà yûê dîý tô yââ kû do sû bà
1sg.I REFL POSS work finish 3sg.VII ?? going on

‘He finished his work before he left’.

2.2. The Ka dialect (Doneux 1968), pretty close to Blo, provides some interesting evidence. Let us consider its points of divergence with Blo insofar as negation is concerned. The ways of expressing affirmative TAM are practically identical to those in Blo, but there is a major divergence in the sphere of negation: to the Series IV of Blo correspond two different series in Ka.

Chart 5. Negative series in the Ka dialect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 excl.</td>
<td>1 incl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Neg.</td>
<td>máâ</td>
<td>bâá</td>
<td>yâá</td>
<td>yâá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IVa Neg.</td>
<td>máâ</td>
<td>bâá</td>
<td>yâá</td>
<td>yâá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Neg.</td>
<td>N ká</td>
<td>i ká</td>
<td>yê ká</td>
<td>yí ká</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Series IV introduces habitual, ex.: bâá yô mû ‘you (sg.) don’t drink wine’. The Series IVa covers the rest of the spectrum: negative perfective, imperfect (the verb takes the imperfect suffix -dâ), future (with the auxiliary dô), non-verbal constructions (locative, equative, qualitative). As for the Series V (whose forms do not fuse with the negation marker ká, remaining rather “autonomous”), its meaning is neutral to the TAM oppositions: N ká dó ‘I haven’t gone’, ‘I don’t go’, ‘I won’t go’ (Doneux 1968: 66). This type of negation is therefore in competition with the other negative constructions.

The particle expressing prohibitive meaning in Ka is Ñkâ:

(15) yà â pê N dâ Ñkâ á dô
3sg.II 3sg.OBJ say 1sg.OBJ to NEG 1sg.III go
‘He told me not to go’.

The negative identification copula is κū, like in Blo.

Doneux mentions also negative particles in other Dan dialects, tī (probably the same stem as imperfective negative marker in West Mande) and tō, used instead of κά.

2.3. The Gweeta dialect of Dan has 5 level tones and one falling tone. Its vowel system has 5 degrees of aperture, one more than in Blo:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{i} & \text{u} & \text{u} & \text{i} & \text{u} & \text{u} \\
\text{ɪ} & \text{ʏ} & \text{v} & \\
\text{e} & \text{r} & \text{o} & \\
\text{e} & \text{ʌ} & \text{ɔ} & \text{ɛ} & \text{ʌ} & \text{ə} & \text{ʊ} & \text{ʊ} \\
\text{ææ} & \text{a} & \text{ɑ} & \text{ææ} & \text{a} & \text{ʊ} & \text{ʊ} & \text{ʊ} & \text{ʊ} & \text{ʊ} \\
\end{array}
\]

Unfortunately, data on the TAM and pronouns of this dialect (Tcherdynsteva 2002, supplemented somehow with my field materials) have some loopholes. However, the system is known in its main lines.

The personal pronouns in Gweeta are represented in the Chart 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart 6. Personal pronouns in Dan-Gweetaa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Neg.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Like in the Blo chart, only subject and autonomous series are given, the others being not implied in the expression of negation. In the brackets, forms from my field data are given when different from Tcherdyntseva (2002). For the sake of uniformity, the series are given the same numbers as in Blo.
If we leave apart some formal differences (which are more or less predictable taking into account the difference in phonological systems of Blo and Gweetaa), there are three important points of divergence concerning negation.

1) In Gweeta, there is no “Intentional” series; there is instead an “Intentional Future” series (“X is going to…”). The negation of this category is rather unusual: the pronoun of the series VII is preceded (and not replaced!) by the pronoun of the series IV.

   (16a) yáá á dá dú guí
          3sg.VII   climb  tree   at, ‘He is going to climb a tree’.

   (b) yáá yáá dá dú guí ‘He is not going to climb a tree’.

Taking into account the fact that the series IV has incorporated the negative existential copula *wá, this unusual construction can be interpreted as polypredicative by origin.

2) Series V is functionally close to its counterpart in Blo, but it is too different morphologically. It certainly originates in a merger of one of the affirmative series (II and VIII being most probable candidates) with a negation marker, probably tí mentioned by Jean Doneux (although, in this case the high tone of the pronouns is yet to be explained).
In what concerns their functions, the negative series in Gweetaa manifest some specific features in relation to their counterparts in Blo. Series IV is used in verbal constructions with habitual meaning:

(17a) **káá** wúu **piàà**
2pl.IV meat roast, ‘You don’t grill meat’ (because it is your taboo).

Series V expresses the past meaning (irrespective of apectual characteristics):

(17b) **kíí** wúu **piàà**
2pl.V meat grill, ‘You didn’t grill meat’, ‘You haven’t grilled meat’, ‘You were not grilling meat’.

Both negative series of pronouns can combine with the past auxiliary **kóó**. In this case, their opposition is neutralized:

(17c) **káá** kóó wúu **piàà** = (17d) **kíí** kóó wúu **piàà** ‘You (pl.) didn’t grill meat’, ‘You haven’t grilled meat’, ‘You were not grilling meat’.

3) Prohibitive is expressed by a special pronominal series, IVa, in combination with the auxiliary verb **¢óó** (by origin, ‘to go’; in other context used as future auxiliary). The content verb acquires an extra-low floating tone:

(18) **Wá** **dóó** bëáā **súú**
3pl.IVa AUX running take-PREF, ‘Let them not run’.

The same series is also used in some other contexts (yet to be investigated), modally non-neutral. Ex.:

(19) **kwà** pà bë bëë-sëë, **kéé** **kwáá** guú wëë
1incl.VI thing eat first so.that 1incl.IVa yet palm.wine
drink-PREF

‘Let us eat first, before we drink palm wine’.

2.4. In what relates to the negation, Kla is similar to Gweeta, which relieves us of the necessity to consider its data specially.

3. Tura is spoken in an area adjacent to that of Dan, so that linguistic influence of the latter is important. Tura has 4 level tonemes and 5 degrees of aperture of vowels. An exhaustive description of the grammatical system of this language is represented in numerous publications by Thomas Bearth, especially (Bearth 1971; Bearth 1986), which are the sources for my exposition below.

As in the languages dealt with above, the TAM meanings of Tura are expressed jointly by predicative markers (PM) following the Subject and those following the verb. If the subject is pronominalized, the pronoun merges with the marker.11 So, the series of pronouns are in direct correspondence with PM (those being often of suprasegmental nature). The subject series of Tura are represented in the Chart 7; in the second column, PMs corresponding to each series are given. The numbers of the types and of the series are borrowed from Bearth (1986); at the same time, I replaced some of his labels for aspects with others, which seem to me more in agreement with the mainstream trend of the TAM studies.

11 The IIb series (for the Prospective) must always be present, even if the subject is expressed by a noun.
### Chart 7. Subject series of Tura

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Predic. Marker</th>
<th>1 Singular</th>
<th>2 Singular</th>
<th>3 Singular</th>
<th>3 log. Singular</th>
<th>1 Plural</th>
<th>2 Plural</th>
<th>3 Plural</th>
<th>3 log. Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>̀</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>í</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>wò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 indic.</td>
<td>kè</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>í</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>wò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 opt.</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>í</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>kò, dupl. kò</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>wò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>í</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>kò</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>wò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### IIa perf.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>̀</th>
<th>Må</th>
<th>bá/yà</th>
<th>à/yà</th>
<th>yà/yè</th>
<th>kwèè</th>
<th>káá</th>
<th>wà</th>
<th>wà/wè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### IIb prosp.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>̀</th>
<th>màà</th>
<th>bèè/yèè</th>
<th>yèè</th>
<th>kwèè</th>
<th>káá</th>
<th>wòò</th>
<th>wèè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### IIIa neg. imperf.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>̀</th>
<th>Måå</th>
<th>bàà/yàà/àà</th>
<th>yàà/àà</th>
<th>yàà</th>
<th>kwàà</th>
<th>kåå</th>
<th>wàà</th>
<th>wàà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### IIIb neg. perf.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>̀</th>
<th>M55</th>
<th>bòò/yòò/wòò/òò</th>
<th>yòò/wòò/òò</th>
<th>yòò</th>
<th>kòò</th>
<th>kåò</th>
<th>wòò</th>
<th>wòò</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### IIIc prohib.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>̀</th>
<th>m55</th>
<th>bòò/yòò/wòò/òò</th>
<th>yòò/wòò/òò</th>
<th>–</th>
<th>kòò</th>
<th>kåò</th>
<th>wòò</th>
<th>–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### IV imperative

|   | – | – | bè/Ø | – | – | kwàà, dupl. kwà | kà | – | – |
It turns out that the TAM system of Tura, in spite of its external pecu-
liarity, is structurally very similar to that of Dan.

In the affirmative verbal sentences, it is the PM \textit{kei} and the series I.2
that cover the same meanings as the series I in Dan: all the imperfective
spectrum (habitual, progressive, continuative, resultative), and also the per-
fective (punctual) meaning – depending on the post-verbal PMs:

- \textit{habitual}: the final syllable of verb changes its tone to high, if this
  syllable has a short vowel (CV $>$ C\'V$'$), or to low-low, if the syllable (or,
  rather, foot) has a long vowel (CVV $>$ C\'V\'V$'$);

- \textit{progressive}: the verb has the suffix \textit{-i\'a};

- \textit{prospective} (Bearth’s “projectif”): the verb has suffix \textit{-\'a}. If the sub-
  ject is followed by the retrospective operator \textit{n\'ui}, the meaning of the con-
  struction is “continuous past”;

- \textit{resultative} (Bearth’s “permansif”): the verb has suffix \textit{-\'e\'a/\-\'e\'a}.

- \textit{perfective} (Bearth’s “accompli statique”): the final syllable of the
  verb undergoes changes as follows: CV $>$ C\'V$'$, CVV $>$ C\'V\'V$'$.

The same PM \textit{kei} appears in the non-verbal existential sentences (loca-
tive, equative, qualitative).

The meaning of the \textit{perfect} (Bearth’s “résultatif”) is expressed by the
PM \textit{-\'i12} or the Ila pronoun series, without any PM in the post-verbal posi-
tion (cf. the series II in Dan and V in Mano).

\footnote{12 By a tone mark above a dot, Bearth designates operator morphemes (very much
present in Tura) that consist in duplicating of the final vowel of the stem and at-
taching of the tone in question to the resulting final vowel.}
The series IIb expresses the meaning of *intentional prospective* (Bearth’s “ingressive”), although the plain prospective sense “be on the point of” is also possible (cf. the series VII in Dan-Gweeta).

The *optative* (Bearth’s “injonctif-désidératif”) is expressed by the post-subject PM ˘ or by a I.3 subject pronoun; the verb acquires no morpheme (cf. the series IIIa in Dan).

The post-subject PM ˘ or a 1.4 subject pronoun, in combination with an extra-low tone for the final syllable of the verb, expresses focalization of the circumstant.

The *imperative* is marked by the pronoun series IV.

The negative TAM system is also organized very similar to Dan: in the indicative, one negative series (IIIa) and post-subject PM ˘ are reserved for the imperfective meanings, and the other (IIib, ˘) for the perfective one. There is a certain correlation between the affirmative I.2 and the negative IIIa series, but, like in Dan, there is a divergence in the perfective.

The *negative habitual* is formed by the PM ˘ or a IIIa pronoun, the verbal stem remains in its lexical form:

(20a) \( nādō \) kē sūō (< sūō) ḫtšī bī

children IND fear.HAB   doctor of,

‘Children are afraid of the doctor’.

(b) \( nādō \) aí sūō ḫtšī bī

children IMP.NEG fear doctor of,

‘Children are not afraid of the doctor’.

The *negative imperfect* (Bearth’s “inaccompli ponctuel négatif”) aspect has the following formula: IIIa pronoun/Subj.-˘ – (DO) – Verb-˘. The
form corresponds directly to the affirmative progressive, but there is a neutralization of semantic nuances: in the negative, there is no more difference between the progressive and the prospective (the difference being maintained only in rhetorical negative questions – personal communication by Th. Bearth).

The form including the verbal suffix -ǎ appears in the negative past continuous (Bearth’s “accompli dynamique négatif”): IIIa pronoun/Subj.-ǎ nuú – (DO) – Verb-ǎ, which is in direct correspondence to the affirmative form.

Another aspect representing a direct correspondence between affirmative and negative forms is the resultative: the formula of the negative is IIIa pronoun/Subj.-ǎ – (DO) – Verb-yè/è.

IIIa pronouns appear also in the non-verbal existential sentences:

(21) ǎá  peé
3sg.IIIa village.LOC, ‘He’s not in the village’.

The main difference from the IV series in Dan is that the IIIa series/PM -ǎ in Tura are compatible with the retrospective marker, while in Dan-Blo any reference to the past requires the use of the series V (the data for Dan-Gweeta are insufficient).

Negative perfective is formed by PM -ó or pronouns of the IIIb series; the verb is represented by unmodified lexical stem. To express the meaning

13 All Bearth’s examples have intransitive verbs; it is not clear whether Tura verb in resultative aspect can be transitive or not. It is known from the typology that in many languages only intransitive resultative construction is possible (Nedjalkov 1988).
of the negative perfect, an “existential adverb” bě/bè is added at the end of the sentence:

(22) ... òó nu bè
      3sg.IIIb come be, ‘He hasn’t yet come’.

The Prohibitive is formed according to the formula: PM ó / Subject pronoun IIIc – (DO) – V-ã, so that no formal parallelism with the optative is attested. Semantically, there is no full correlation either: prohibitive corresponds to the imperative as well, only for the 3sg. of negative imperative there is a special form: miáaí + (DO) + Verb. Thomas Bearth derives miáaí from mú, an archaic and rare form for “man, person” (today, mëë is a more used form) + ã (the negative imperfective marker).

It is highly probable that the negative imperfective marker -ã should be traced back to the negative existential copula *wá, of which it was spoken above. As for the negative markers -ó and -ô, at least one of them (most probably, -ô) might ascend to the negative marker *tô, whose reflex was mentioned by Jean Doneux for some Dan dialects as an equivalent of ká.

4. Guro, an important language of Côte d’Ivoire (more than 300,000 speakers), has not been neglected by linguists. Unfortunately for the current study, the main attraction point remained the phonology, so that only one grammatical description of Guro is available (Benoist 1969), whose phonological notation leaves much to be desired: b and b are not distinguished, vowel and tones markings are sometimes incorrect… Materials collected by others (Le Saout 1979; Irina Jouk’s unpublished data; my field data) allow to correct most of the flaws in the data borrowed from this
source, but some of these may have remained unnoticed, for which I must apologize. Illustrative examples that come from my field data are given without further reference.

The Guro vocalic system is characterized by a nasal and ±ATR harmony. It has three level and two modulated (rising and falling) tonemes. There is a complementary distribution of level tones in the content words (only high and mid tone in words with initial voiceless and “resonant” consonants; only low and mid tone in words with initial voiced consonants) which made Le Saout postulate two level tonemes. However, analysis of grammatical functions of the tones testifies for the phonologization of the three level tones (Vydrine 2003). It is possible also that the rising and falling tones should be rather interpreted as variants of high and low tonemes on feets with initial voiced and unvoiced consonants respectively.

Within the South Mande group, Guro (together with Yaure) is the closest relative of the Western subgroup (Dan-Tura-Mano). However, in what concerns negation, this language follows quite different ways: it has a double particle negation, and it is the sentence-final element that is constant.

There are three morphologically different types of negation.

1) *Indicative standard negation*, ká ... dô, the first particle follows immediately the subject.

The Basic Subject series can optionally merge with the marker ká to produce the Subject Negative series (see Chart 8).

14 The Guro phoneme which is represented by two main allophones, [l] and [f], is
transcribed everywhere as $d$.
Chart 8. Personal pronouns in Guro (Maa and Nya dialects; forms in the brackets belong to Mëë and Yasua dialects)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>1 incl.</th>
<th>1 excl.</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjective basic</td>
<td>kà (gà)</td>
<td>kô</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject. imperfective</td>
<td>kà (gà)</td>
<td>kû</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative and reflexive</td>
<td>kà (kà)</td>
<td>wò (wó ~ ó)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject series</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focalized</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective negative</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wà (wàà)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topicalized negative</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative basic</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative imperfective</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative optative</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wò’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractive ergative basic</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractive ergative imperfective</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>bē</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>kāā ~ kāā (gāā, gāā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractive ergative</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>bē</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>kāā ~ kāā (gāā, gāā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractive reflexive</td>
<td>mā/ā</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>kāā/kāā (gāā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basic</td>
<td>mā/ā</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>kāē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractive reflexive</td>
<td>mā/ā</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>kāē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>mā/ā</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>kāē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractive reflexive</td>
<td>mā/ā</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>kāē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optative</td>
<td>mā/ā</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>́</td>
<td>kāē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the *existsential sentences*, negative construction differs from the affirmative one only by the presence of the negative marker.

(23a) E á zimá
3sg. be beautiful, ‘He/she/it is beautiful’.

(b) E ká á zimá dô
3sg. NEG be beautiful NEG, ‘He/she/it is not beautiful’.

There are just some cases of a rather mechanical fusion of the first negative element with auxiliary words, like in the following example:

(24) Fôlîbôzâ zû ñáa (â ká á ã yã) dô
smith good NEG be 1sg. as NEG
‘I’m not a good smith’.

The *imperfective construction* (expressing habitual and future meanings) has the following formula: Subject + é – DO – verb (imperfective stem). Subject + é can be replaced by a pronoun of the Imperfective series. The imperfective stem of the verb is derived from the basic stem through adding of the suffix |-â| which sometimes merges with the verbs changing their vowel and tone (jë ‘kill’ – Imp. jà, vô ‘leave, abandon’ – Imp. vî, dô ‘know’ – Imp. dû, zû ‘wash’ – Imp. zû-ó), sometimes does not influence visibly the verbal stem (gû ‘separate’ – Imp. gû-û, pâ ‘put’ – Imp. pà-á) – very much like in Yaure (see below).

Negation brings forth the elimination of the predicative marker é in the position after the subject. If the subject is pronominal, the Imperfective series is replaced by the Subject Basic (cf. Chart 8). At the same time, the verbal imperfective suffix changes its tone from mid to low:

(25a) Fôlîbôzâ è blêë bala-á
The smith uses to beat the dog.

The smith doesn’t (usually) beat the dog.

Some types of verbs change their stem tone to low which is undoubtedly an influence of the low tone of the suffix [-ã]:

You use to wash it/him/her.

You don’t use to wash it/him/her.

The same rule works for the “remote future” construction, where an imperfective form of the verb ðà ‘to come’ (cf. the change of its tone from mid to low) is used as auxiliary, and the content verb is introduced by the postpositive marker ðè:

You (sg.) will eat rice.

You (sg.) will not eat rice.

Perfective.

The affirmative form of the perfective is marked by the basic series of subject pronouns (nominative or ergative). In addition, those verbs who have mid lexical tone change it to rising.15

15 Some low-tone verbs (such as zûrû ‘wash’) also change their tone to rising.
The negative perfective construction is marked by ká (optionally merging with the subject pronouns into the negative pronominal series); verbs appear in their lexical form. Apart from this, an extra element appears after the verb, dē: Iςùlù ‘You (sg.) have washed yourself’ – I káςùlù dē dò ‘You (sg.) haven’t washed yourself’. Benoist interprets it as a suffix (p. 67), but further on (p. 70) he wonders whether it might be considered rather as a postposition. At the same time, he identifies it with the morpheme marking sentential complement to the verbs of movement expressing the purpose:

(28) È sì yí tò-dè
3sg. leave water draw-MRPH, ‘She went to draw water’.

It is undoubtedly the same morpheme as in (27). It can be easily traced back to the postposition dē ‘for’ whose semantics makes such grammaticalization quite predictable. Not so clear is the absence of parallelism between the affirmative and the negative perfective forms. It looks as if ká would assume the function of verb and govern the content verb (zùrù), although its behavior in other contexts does not reveal such a capacity. It is clear, anyway, that the negative perfective construction is not formally derived from the affirmative one; otherwise, a modified (and not lexical) tone of the content verb would be appropriate.

Benoist mentions forms kana and ana that may appear instead of ká, and their contracted forms with 3sg. (yànà) and 3pl. (wànà) pronouns. Unfortunately, only one phrase example is given (Benoist 1969, 67):

(29) È kànà fè bìlt le à và dò
3sg. NEG thing eat MRPH 1sg. at NEG
‘He hasn’t eaten at my home’.

According to my informants, the element na expresses the cunctative meaning (“not yet”, cf. [Plungian 2000, 305-308]). When combined with this element, the negative marker has high tone in some contexts, mid tone in some other (the rule is yet to be established):

(30) E kā nā toē wīī dē dō
3sg. NEG yet gourd break MRPH NEG
‘(S)He hasn’t yet broken a/the gourd’.

(31) À nā kā nā fe dēē dē dō
3sg. wife NEG yet thing cook MRPH NEG
‘His wife hasn’t yet cooked’.

2) **Topicalized pronominal negation** is formed by a Negative Topic pronoun (cf. Chart 8) in the initial position, and particle dō at the end of the sentence. The subject pronoun remains in its affirmative form:

(32) Biāā bē bālā dō
2sg.NEG.TOP 2sg.3sg. beat NEG, ‘It’s not you who beat him’.

It is self-evident that that series is derived from the focalized one. At the same time, it would be wrong to consider it as a negative counterpart of the focalized series: the latter goes well together with the “standard” negation, kā ... dō:

(33) Kōnū kā â dā-nā dō
1pl.EXCL NEG be come-PROG NEG
‘We (excl.) are not coming’.

(34a) Bī dē
2sg.FOC here, ‘It’s you (sg.)’.

(b) Bī kāā (= kā â â yā) dō
2sg.FOC    NEG be 3sg.OBJ as    NEG, ‘It’s not you (sg.)’.

Phrase (34b) gives the key to the origin of the Negative Topic series: these pronouns undoubtedly result from a further contraction of the focalized pronouns with the expression kāā ‘It’s not …’, which is itself a contraction of the negative equative construction.

3) *Prohibitive* negation is tē … dō. Its peculiarity is that the first particle appears before the subject, and not after it, as in the other types of negation:

(35) Tē    ī    mī    nā         mùnî    dō
NEG 2sg.OPT man wife search NEG

‘Don’t covet other’s wife’ (Benoist 1969: 26).

The initial particle optionally merges with the optative subject pronouns, except the plural locutors (1 and 2 pl.): tāā = tē ā 1 sg., tīī (< tē ī 2 sg., tēē = tē ē 3 sg., tōō = tē wō 3 pl. Ex.:

(36) Tīī    mī    jē    dō
NEG.2sg.OPT man kill NEG

‘Don’t kill the man’ (Benoist 1969: 22).

(37) … tōō    yīLī    bēyī    dō
NEG.3pl.OPT tree cut NEG

‘… so that they may not fell the tree’.

The prohibitive particle also merges (optionally) with the contractive ergative 2 sg. pronoun bē:

(38) Tē    bē    pā    dō    =    Tēē    pā    dō
NEG 2sg.3sg. put NEG

‘Don’t put it/him/her’.
It seems that the teh-negation is used only for the direct prohibition, and not for the indirect one, cf. example (37).

Let’s note that in Dan-Blo the prohibitive marker also precedes the subject.

There are also attested differences in tonal realizations of some verbs in imperative and prohibitive: Imperative pa – Prohibitive pâ ‘put’; Imperative dâ – Prohibitive dâ ‘taste’; Imperative bê – Prohibitive bê ‘wait’. It is interesting that the tones of Prohibitive seem to be the lexical ones (contrary to the general trend in South Mande languages, where tones in Imperative do not usually differ from lexical).

* * *

The common element for all the negation types in Guro is the final particle dô. Its normal position is sentence-final, however long may be the sentence:

(39) È kâ à búí gî dô
3sg. NEG be wilderness in NEG, ‘He’s not in the wilderness’.

(40) Wô kâ nê fáá yââ é cê và yî dô dô
3pl. NEG child all bear REFL REC on day one NEG
‘One doesn’t give birth to all children in one day’ (Benoist 1969, 93).

In a complex sentence, negation is postposed to the dependent clause:

(41) È kâ à dê í sàà bhî dô
3sg. NEG be that 2sg.OPT rice eat NEG,
‘You shouldn’t eat the rice’.

However, in some cases, when a verb has two circonstants, dô may be placed after the first of them:
then 3sg.NEG go field-in NEG this matter.in
‘… it's for that reason that he doesn’t go to the field’ (Benoist 1969: 98).

If a question is asked to a negative sentence, ãô precedes the interrogative particle:

(43) Ì ká gô-dê dô ô?
2sg. NEG leave-MRPH NEG QUE
‘Haven’t you (sg.) gone?’ (Benoist 1969: 80)

These “exceptions” can be explained in a way that ãô marks the limit of the scope of the negation. In fact, the circonstant bè wì ‘for this reason’ in (42) is not negated, and therefore it is placed to the right of ãô. The interrogative modality in (43) is not negated either.

Cf. an example from my data going in the same direction:

(44) Tíí gô dô ê bô ì mä
NEG.2sg. leave NEG 3sg. meet 2sg. with
‘Don’t leave, so that he may meet you’.

5. Yaure, spoken by about 25,000 people, is closely related to Guro; both languages are even mutually intelligible to a certain extent. The main divisive line between both languages lies in the sphere of phonology: in the majority of cases, voiced consonants of Guro correspond to the unvoiced in Yaure. This shift broke the complementary distribution of tones, which resulted in phonologization of four level tones in Yaure. Apart from this, Yaure has numerous rules of contextual changes of tones (which are not presented here because of lack of space), while in Guro they are very few.
The pronoun system and TAM in Yaure are pretty similar to those in Guro. Let us consider the features which are meaningful for the understanding of the negation in both languages. The data are borrowed from (E. Hopkins 1987) and (B. Hopkins 1987), whose transcription seems to be accurate.16

Negation in Yaure is marked by particle pairs. The final particle, dùØ, is always the same, it is placed at the end of the sentence. It changes its tone to extrahigh if preceded by the tonal sequences “low-extrahigh” or “extralow-high” (which is a general rule in Yaure), and loses its consonant in rapid speech (dùØ → ì).17

(45) YaØaÉ      naÛ     yùØ-lÿØ         ùØ
3sg.NEG place see-MRPH NEG
‘He didn’t see the arrival of day’ (B. Hopkins 1987: 76)

There are three different initial negation markers, whose distribution is very much like in Guro.

1) ká ... dù. The first particle follows the subject. If the latter is represented by a personal pronoun, it merges with the marker ká to form the Negative series of pronouns (cf. Chart 9). In the Negative series, the difference between the Subject Basic and the Ergative series is neutralized; so, māā may correspond to either “I – NEG – him/her/it” or “I – NEG”. How-

16 Meantime, tone modifications rules formulated by these authors do not reflect all the reality of the language, which seems to be even more complicated. For this reason, even in the examples given in their publications one can find cases which contradict their rules.
17 In (B. Hopkins 1987) it appears sometimes as dê, which is probably a result of misprints.
ever, this distinction remains in the “hidden” form: in their nominative function, the Negative pronouns change their tone to low-low if followed by a high or extrahigh tone, and in the ergative function, their tone remains unchanged:

(46) Yiá ló-lè kú ló dì
2sg.NEG.3sg. buy-MRPH 1pl.excl. from NEG

‘You (sg.) didn’t bought it from us’.

Chart 9. Some pronominal series in Yaure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ліцо</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Basic</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>máá</td>
<td>yiá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Optative</td>
<td>ál</td>
<td>í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Reflexive</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>màà</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focalized</td>
<td>mëë</td>
<td>yëë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Negative pronouns change their tone to low-low if followed by a high or an extrahigh tone (which is a regular rule in Yaure). Apart from this, they often lose their final vowel (yàá → yaá, kàá → kà, etc.), so that the difference between the subject basic and negative 2pl. pronouns vanishes:

(47) Kà (< kàà) kwë tûû-lë (< lë) yëërë dì (< yëërë dì)
2pl.NEG stone throw-MRPH 3sg.to NEG

‘You (pl.) didn’t throw him stones’.

(48) Kwë̀mò kà pá-lè và (< à và) dì (< dì)
man NEG help-MRPH 3sg.with NEG

‘The man didn’t help him/her’.
This negation is used in existential sentences (locative, qualitative). The negative marker \textit{kaÉ} replaces the existential copula \( \dot{a} \sim \dot{y} \) without further influence on the structure of the sentence:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(49a)] \( \grave{a} \) \( \text{blê} \) \( \dot{a} \)  
  1sg. sister be, \textquoteleft I have a sister\textquoteright .
  \item[(b)] \( \grave{a} \) \( \text{blê} \) \( \text{kaÉ} \) \( \text{dûØ} \) 
  1sg. sister NEG NEG, \textquoteleft I have no sister\textquoteright .
\end{itemize}

The only exception is the presentative construction, where appears the second type of negation (cf. below).

Verbal negation, like in Guro, behaves in a less standard way.

\textit{Perfective.} The affirmative is formed by rather complex modifications of the lexical tones of the verb:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item monosyllabic verbs of the \( \text{CVÎ} \) type maintain their lexical tones;
  \item the majority of monosyllabic verbs of the \( \text{CV} \) type maintain their tone too, but about a quarter of such verbs modify it: \( \text{CV} \rightarrow \text{CV} \);
  \item monosyllabic low tone verbs do exactly the contrary: \( \text{CV} \rightarrow \overline{\text{CV}} \);
  \item all disyllabic verbs change their tones to low: \( \text{CVÎVî}, \text{CVÎVî}, \overline{\text{CVÎVî}}, \overline{\text{CVÎVÎ}}, \text{CVÎVî}, \text{CVÎVî}, \text{CVÎVî} \rightarrow \overline{\text{CVÎVÎ}} \). There are three exceptions: \textit{siáaÉ} \textquoteleft take\textquoteright , \textit{tûÉùÉ} \textquoteleft leave\textquoteright , \textit{wuÛýÛ} \textquoteleft cry\textquoteright , whose tones remain unchanged.
\end{enumerate}

The negative perfective formula is analogous to that in Guro: Subject + \( \textit{kaÉ} \) – (DO) – V-\( \text{le} \) (Indirect Object/Circumstant) \( \textit{dû} \). If the Subject is pronominal, it is represented by the Negative series: \( \text{I} \text{ yûô} \) \textquoteleft You hid yourself\textquoteright  – \( \text{Yîá} \text{ yûô-} \text{le} \textit{dû} \) \textquoteleft You didn’t hide yourself\textquoteright .

Verbs maintain their lexical tones. \( \text{Lê} \), a counterpart of \( \text{dê} \) in Guro, changes to \( \text{Rê} \) after the extralow tone, and to \( \text{le} \) after the verbs of the
C¥KL¥ type (which is in agreement with general rules of contextual tone change in Yaure).

*Imperfective* (expressing mainly habitual and general future meanings) is formed according to even more intricate rules:

a) monosyllabic verbs with t and v vowels in the stem change them into e and o. If the lexical tone is high, it changes to extrahigh. There are at least four disyllabic verbs deriving their perfective form according to the same or similar model: *tví ‘leave’ → tóë, bóLu’ ‘press, squeeze’ → bóLo, dërë ‘make’ → dàrà, kélè ‘touch’ → kàlà;

b) other monosyllabic verbs add suffix -a whose tone is two levels higher than the tone of the verbal stem, if the latter is low or extralow (C¥V → C¥V-ã, C¥V → C¥V-á). If the lexical tone of the stem is high, the tone of the imperfective follows another model: C¥V → C¥V-ã. There are also some disyllabic verbs which take suffix –a;

c) the great majority of disyllabic verbs takes suffix -mã. Lexical tones of their stems do not change, with the exception of the tone combinations “extralow-high”: C¥V, C¥KL¥ → C¥V-mã, C¥KL¥-mã.

The negative imperfective is marked both by the pair of particles ká ... dî and by the change of tone of both the stem and the suffix to low. However, if the verb is preceded by a high or extrahigh tone element, the tone of the stem and, optionally, the suffix changes to high.

*Progressive* is formed according to the formula: Subject + à ~ yà – (DO) – V-nã (tone of the suffix -nã depends on the tone of the stem in a rather complicated way). The negative progressive is formed by ká ... dî,
without any influence on the tones of the verb; ká replaces the predicative marker à/yà and does not merge with the pronouns of the Subject Basic series:

(50a) È yà é flí sèpá-nà
3sg. be 3sg.REFL self deceive-PROG’, ‘He is mistaking’.

(b) È ká é flí sèpá-nà dù
3sg. NEG 3sg.REFL self deceive-PROG NEG
‘He is not mistaking’.

Recent past has the following formula: Subject + sî-á – (DO) – V-nâ; tone of the suffix -nâ follows the same rules as in progressive; sî-á is an irregular form of the verb sî-á ‘arrive’. In the negative form, the first particle of the frame ká ... dù merges with the subject pronoun, and the tone of the auxiliary verb changes to high: Subject + ká sî-á – (DO) – V-nâ – (IO/Circumstant) dù.

There are two ways to express TAM affirmative meanings adjacent to the future with the means of auxiliaries. The prospective aspect (B. Hopkins’ “Immediate future”, “to be on the point of…”): Subject + tâ – (DO) – V-a/ma (the tone of the verb like in imperfective; tâ is irregular form of the verb ‘come’), and the Intentional future (B. Hopkins’ “Close future”): Subject + tâ-kô (DO) V-lè (tâ-kô is the Immediate future of the verb kô ‘go’) or Subject + tâ- dâã (DO) V-lè (dâã seems to be a special form of the postposition meaning ‘on’; tones of the auxiliary and the postverbal morpheme change in some contexts). The auxiliary tâ is by origin,
most probably, verb “come” (corresponding to dā in Guro), and lè can be traced back to the postposition with an adresative meaning.

With negation, the difference between both forms is neutralised: there are in fact two negative forms, Subject + ká tá-nà – (DO) – V-na – (IO/Circumstant) dù and Subject + ká kú-nà – (DO) – V-na – (IO/Circumstant) dù, but, according to B. Hopkins, their meaning is the same, they are in free variation. These forms reproduce the model of the Recent past, therefore the Subject Basic pronoun do not merge with the negative marker ká.

2) According to Elisabeth Hopkins, Focalized pronouns (cf. Chart 9) go together with a special negative marker, cēē ... dù:

(51) Këëë cēē ů sōō-mà dù
1excl.FOC NEG 2sg.OBJ insult-IMP NEG
‘It’s not we (excl.) who will insult you (sg.).’

However, a negative marker in a similar, but not identical form, appears in other focalized contexts as well:

(52) á bó cē dù
1sg.OBJ self NEG NEG, ‘Not me!’

Bradley Hopkins supposes (1987: 18) that this marker might be a result of fusion of the negative marker ká with the identification copula nè.

3) The imperative negative marker is tē ... dù, similarly to Guro:

(53a) Kā drē tā
2pl.OPT music plant, ‘Dance!’ (to several persons).

(b) tē kā drē tā dù
NEG 2pl.OPT music plant NEG, ‘Don’t dance!’
6. Wan is spoken by about 22,000 people in the Kounahiri subprefecture of Côte d’Ivoire, just to the North from the Guro area. There are two dialects: Myammu, spoken by the majority of Wan, and Kemmu, spoken in the eastern villages near the Bandama river. So far, few publications concerning this language are available: after the pioneer publication of André Prost (1953: 21-25), there appeared another short wordlist and grammar sketch by Philip Ravenhill (1982) presenting the Kemmu data. In 2001 Tatiana Nikitina collected data of the Myammu dialect, and I collected some more data in 2002. Wan has a 7-vowel system and 3 level tones.

The negation in Wan is the simplest in all the group: in the Myammu dialect, it is introduced by a sentence-final particle ʒ:

(54) nà à ē ʒ
 1sg. 3sg.OBJ see NEG, ‘I didn’t see him’.

If preceded by a nasal vowel or the syllabic sonorant ŋ, it can be nasalized:

(55) Lā pō ʒ pō yā bàjō gō, ē pàlà ʒ ʒ
 2sg. thing DIST thing put bag in 3sg. tear FUT NEG

‘Whatever you put in the bag, it won’t burst’.

If preceded by -a, the negative morpheme can be optionally assimilated by the latter:

(56) Bâlë ē ē bī̄ş yā ā (~ ʒ)
  rope ART with long with NEG, ‘The rope is not long’.

In Kemmu, the negation particle has two variants, wā and á. On the other hand, A. Prost (1953, 24) gives three phonetic variants of the particle: wa (the most current one), wā (for future: yā po lōn ‘he will eat’, e
zon po lonwā ‘he won’t eat’) and gba for “perfect” (em po lo ‘he has eaten’, em po lo gba ‘he hasn’t eaten’). The nasalized form, wā, certainly result from the preceding nasal marker of future, and gba is a particle meaning ‘first, first of all’ (in affirmative sentences) or ‘(not) yet’ (in negative sentences, cf. in Myammu [Nikitina 2002]:

(57) mánglō či trē gba ó
    mango ART PRF ripen yet NEG, ‘Mango is not yet ripe’.)

The syntactical behavior of ó seems to be very similar to that of the final negative particle in Guro and Yaure: it marks the end of the scope of negation. So, in a sentence including an embedded object clause, the negation of the main clause closes the entire sentence:

(58) ayá ya á go dóó yí é wò à é dàrò
    3sg.IMPF sit 3sg.OBJ in that water ART become be with cold
    ya ó, ‘He doesn’t think that water is cold’.

At the same time, in a conditional sentence, the negative particle follows the clause which is negated:

(59) Kè lá srēj ó sō yērē yá ó, nāà á
    if 2sg. play end now stick with NEG, 1sg.PROG 3sg.OBJ
    glide-lé lá ó nē
take-PROG 2sg. hand place
‘If you don’t stop immediately playing with a stick, I’ll take it from you’.

7. Mwan has about 17,000 speakers who live to the West of the Wan area. It is often regarded as a close relative to Wan, but in fact the difference between both languages is important enough to make any mutual intelligibility impossible. It has 7 vowels and 3 level tones plus one modu-

Negation is expressed in Mwan through combination of three devices.

7.1. The negative marker laá is positioned after the subject. Its tone changes to high when the marker is preceded by a low or high tone. If the subject is pronominalized, it is represented by special “negative series”, which can be considered as contracted forms “affirmative subject pronoun + laá” (in fact, in 1 excl. and 2 pl. forms remain non-fused). The negative pronominal series, just like the affirmative, merge with copula ō and subsequently with the DO 3 sg. pronoun, which results in two more negative series.

Chart 10. Subject pronouns in Mwan (according to Perekhvalskaya 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Series</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirmative</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>è</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aff. + copula</td>
<td>ūō</td>
<td>ūō</td>
<td>ūō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>nāá</td>
<td>yāá</td>
<td>yāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative + copula</td>
<td>nāō</td>
<td>yāô</td>
<td>yāô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative + copula + object pronoun</td>
<td>nāa</td>
<td>yāā</td>
<td>yāa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In non-verbal constructions, laā merges with the existential verb ō:

---

18 I.e., in the majority of occurrences in the text, which made Caroline Fleming regard the high tone of the negative marker as lexical.
‘You have no hair, you have nothing…’ (Fleming 1995: 61).

In constructions with converbs, the merger does not take place:

(61) Mëë kéðô láá ô gë-lë bé tá yè
  person none NEG be go-MRPH this to there

‘No one went to him there’ (Fleming 1995: 18).

7.2. In Negative Perfective, Prohibitive and Negative Optative, the verb takes suffix -lë.

In Future, this suffix appears both in affirmative and negative constructions, for which reason it is interpreted by Caroline Fleming as an “irrealis suffix”. However, this interpretation is contravened by the fact that this suffix is not used in negative Present and Progressive. In fact, the suffix -lë interpreted by Fleming as an “irrealis marker”\(^{19}\) is practically identical, by form and by function, to the suffixes lë in Yaure and dë in Guro. It can be, most probably, traced back to a postposition introducing a verbal noun (cf. in Mwan: lë ‘before’, and analogous postpositions in other South Mande languages\(^{20}\)). If so, the negative marker laá could be interpreted as originally a negative existential verb (“not to be”) governing the notional verb.

7.3. Like in other South Mande languages of the central zone, the contrast between affirmative and negative constructions is reinforced by subtle play of tones on the verbs (cf. in detail: Perekhvalskaya, 2004). Verbal

\(^{19}\) In fact, -lë has no more reasons to be considered as an “irrealis marker” then the infinitive marker to in English: it does not assume most of prototypical functions of irrealis (contrafactive), cf. (Urmanchieva 2003: 152).

\(^{20}\) Cf. also English to which is both a preposition and the infinitive marker.
stems in this language belong to four types: a) CV; b) CVV or CvLV; c) CV + suffix -LA; d) Preverb + CV (the preverbs in Mwan are by origin names of body parts or other nouns with locative meaning). Each of the types may differ in its tonal behavior. Apart from this, the verbal stems of the CV type whose lexical tone is mid or low are divided into two subtypes, “stable” and “mobile”. The tone of the “mobile” verbs undergo modifications in the conjugation. One more factor is the influence of the preceding word which can, in some cases, assimilate the tone of the verb.

7.4. The combination of the negative devices is individual for each TAM category. Here are the formulae of each construction, in comparison with the formulae of affirmative constructions.

Present: The lexical tone of the verb is replaced by the mid tone. The negative construction differs from the affirmative only by the marker lāā postposed to the noun group of Subject.

Perfective: the affirmative form is marked by a special suffix on the verb, -ā/-lā/-nā (depending on the type of the verbal stem). The vowel of the final syllable of the verb is most often assimilated by the suffix or reduced to the sonant. The tone of the verbal stem is changed to low if preceded by the 3 pers. subject pronoun, or to high or low (depending on the tonal class of the verb) after the 1 and 2 pers. subject pronoun.

The negative perfective construction is formed according to the following formula: S – lāā – (DO) – V-le. The verb maintains its lexical tone, except for the CV “mobile” type. The latter change their tones for high if
preceded by 1 or 2 pers. subject pronoun. Apart from this, the tone of the verbs is subject to influence of the direct object.

*Progressive:* The formula of the affirmative construction is as follows:

\[ S (\tilde{o}) - (DO) - V-\text{zi}. \]

The post-verbal marker (a locative postposition by origin) is \( \text{zi} \) if preceded by high tone, \( \text{zi} \) in all other cases. \( \tilde{o} \) (an existential copula by origin) may be omitted in certain contexts. The verbs of CV “mobile” type change their lexical tones to high if preceded by a high or a low tone. The same happens to the verbs of the type “CV + suffix -LA”.

In the negative construction, \( \text{làà} \) is inserted between the subject and the copula, and the latter cannot be omitted. If the subject is expressed by pronoun, it merges with both the negative marker and the copula (cf. Chart 10). Unlike in the affirmative construction, the lexical tones of verbs do not undergo modifications.

*Future:* \( S \text{ nu} - (DO) - V-\text{le}. \) The auxiliary \( \text{nu} \) is by origin verb “to come”. The lexical tone of verb is maintained in all cases, except one: low-tone “mobile” verbs acquire a high tone after high or low tone of the DO, and keep their low tone after mid.

For negation, \( \text{làà} \) is inserted between the subject and \( \text{nu} \). The verb does not modify its tone.

*Imperative:* a special series of subject pronouns is used (in fact, the only segmental form is 2 pl., cf. Chart 10). Verbs maintain their lexical tone, with the only exception of the type CVV whose final vowel is marked by mid tone \( (\text{C}\text{V} \rightarrow \text{C}\text{V}, \text{C}\text{V} \rightarrow \text{C}\text{V}) \).
Optative: The subject is expressed by the “standard” subject pronominal series. The tonal model of the verb is the same as in the Imperative.

Prohibitive, the negative counterpart of both Imperative and Optative, has almost the same form as the negative perfective. The only difference is in the tonal behavior of one type of verbs, CýVý: in the Prohibitive, these verbs maintain their high tone, and in the Negative Perfective, they undergo tonal influence of the direct object according to the “semi-mobile” model [Perekhvalskaya 2004].

(62) La gbëtë bâà, yáá yé-lë ëë?
   rain large rain-PST 2sg.NEG see-MRPH QUE
   ‘A lot of rain fell, didn’t you see?’ (Fleming 1995: 25).

This author mentions dò ‘know’ as an irregular verb which does not take the “irrealis suffix”:

(63) Náá bé tó dò, ‘I don’t know this one’s name’.
   1sg.NEG this name know

8. Gban is spoken by about 37 thousands speakers to the south of the Guro area. It has 7 vowels, 4 level and 2 modulated tones (both are rising). A compact review of the Gban pronominal and verbal system is given in (Zheltov 2002); unfortunately, it contains very few phrase examples. Data from (Howard, ms.) allowed to fill some loopholes.

There are two main morphological means to express negation: particle ke/kee (whose tone depends on the TAM characteristics) and the prohibitive particle ã. Let us consider their functioning.
8.1.1. The basic tone of \textit{ke}, which appears in the Negative Present and Future, is low (\textit{kè}). In all the past forms (Immediate, Recent, and Remote) its tone changes to extra-high (\textit{kē}). It should be noted that in the affirmative sentence, it is the tone of the subject pronoun that is modified in a similar way to distinguish between the Present and the Past (cf. Chart 11). In the negative constructions, tones of the pronouns in the Past are like in the Present. One could say that in the negative form, it is the negation marker that assumes the modification of the tone to express the switch from the Present to the Past.

Chart 11. Some pronominal series in Gban

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. Present/Future</td>
<td>ì èë è</td>
<td>ù àà 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj. Past</td>
<td>ì èë è</td>
<td>ù àà 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>– bè/Ø</td>
<td>– ùì/ààù àà –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
<td>– nàà –</td>
<td>wàà àà wà àà –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-subject</td>
<td>ì èë â</td>
<td>ù àà 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative stem</td>
<td>mi ni ye</td>
<td>wu ae wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg. erg. (portemanteau: Subj. + neg. marker + 3sg. Obj.)</td>
<td>màà nàà yàà wàà àà àà wàà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Negative Conditional marker is \textit{kèè}, which is probably derived from the same stem.\textsuperscript{21}

The negative marker \textit{kè} optionally merges with the direct object pronoun: \textit{è kè èè bè = è kèè bè} ‘he takes you’ (Zheltov 2002: 53). When

\textsuperscript{21}Seemingly the same marker, with different tones, is used to express the affirmative conditional forms: \textit{kè} in the Present Conditional, \textit{kê} in the Past Conditional.
direct object is represented by the 3sg. pronoun, the entire sequence “subject pronoun + negative mark + 3sg. object pronoun” can optionally merge into a single form (portemanteau). These forms can be interpreted as ergative (in this case, we should speak rather of the omission of the 3sg. object pronoun, and not its merger; such an omission is very frequent among the South Mande languages), cf. Chart 11.

1sg. and 2pl. subject Present pronouns optionally produce contractive forms according to the model “Subj. + neg. + object” even when the object is represented by persons other than 3sg., cf. the complete paradigm at the Chart 12 (from Zheltov 2002: 54).

Chart 12. Contractive forms “Subject + neg. + object”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1sg.</th>
<th>2sg.</th>
<th>3sg.</th>
<th>1pl.</th>
<th>2pl.</th>
<th>3pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>màià í</td>
<td>mèè</td>
<td>màià</td>
<td>màià ù</td>
<td>màià àà</td>
<td>mèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wàà èè/wèè</td>
<td>wàà</td>
<td>wàà</td>
<td>wàà</td>
<td>wùù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chart demonstrates the importance of the “locutors’ hierarchy” in Gban: higher is the status of the subject pronoun in the hierarchy, and lower is the status of the direct object pronoun, easier is the merger.

Yet another modification accompanying the negation is related to the focalization particle (Zheltov 2002: 47): in an affirmative sentence, subject focus marker is lí. In a negative sentence, it is lé.22 The object focus marker is the same in both types of sentences, ëì.

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22 The focus marker has the same form, lé, in combination with the Conditional mark kë.
In the correlation between affirmative and negative forms, there are some cases of asymmetry, which will be discussed below.

8.1.2. By the negation of a locative construction, the existential copula (defective verb) is replaced by the verb tā ‘go’:

(64a) Sākā yè bì. – (b) Sākā kè tā²³ bì.
rice be there rice NEG go there
‘Rice is there’ – ‘There is no rice there’ (Howard ms.: 19).

In the negative presentative construction, the copula yỳ seems to be incorporated into the negative particle:

(65a) Wî yỳ. – (66a) Yî lè kè nì.
wine be water FOC be.NEG PP (?)
‘It’s wine’. – ‘It’s not water’.

The focus particle can merge with the negation marker:

(66b) Yî lè nì ‘It’s not water’.

It seems that the negative presentative construction is built according to the model of the equative construction, cf. (Howard ms.: 17):

(66) Zezu yè Kwênè nî, ‘Jesus is God’.
Jesus be God PP

Unfortunately, the available data are not sufficient to clarify the situation.

8.1.3. In the verbal phrase, there are two cases of asymmetry.

8.1.3.1. Gban formally distinguishes three past times in the affirmative form. All of them require past subject pronouns (cf. Chart 11), and differ in tones of the verbs. In the “Immediate Past”, the verb maintains its inherent

23 In Pesence, verb is assimilated tonally by the preceding element.
tone; in the “Recent Past” its tone changes to extra-low (for the verbs CVV, to extra-low – low), and in the “Remote Past” it changes to mid-rising.

In the negative form (where the basic subject pronouns are used, the extra-high tone being assumed by the negative marker, kā), the distinction between the Immediate Past and the Recent Past is neutralized in favor of the Recent Past form (extra-low tone of the verb, or extra-low – low for the verbs of the CVV type):

(67a) ेง ภ่ ‘He fell (today)’.
(67b) ेง ภ่ ‘He fell (yesterday)’.
(67c) ेง ภ่ ‘He fell (today or yesterday)’.

The negative Remote Past form is regular.

8.1.3.2. The other case of asymmetry concerns the Continuous form: Subj. Present pronoun + lé + verb (low tone). The negative counterpart of this forms expresses a phasal cuncative meaning24 (“not yet”), rather than continuous:

(68a) ḳ lé ย่ ‘I’m going’.
(68b) ḳ lé ย่ ‘I haven’t yet gone’ (Howard, ms.: 9).

It is notable that the negative marker bears an extra-high tone, which is a formal indication of its belonging to the plane of the past.

8.2. The negative form of the imperative is formed with a special marker, ḳ. It merges with subject pronouns into a special prohibitive series,

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24 This term is proposed by Plungian (2000: 305-308); an alternative term is “tardative”.
whose forms are not mechanically derivable from the imperative pronouns (cf. 2sg. forms), they can be rather put into relation with ergative (porte-manteau) stems: Naá yá ‘Don’t go’

Otherwise, the prohibitive marker can be taken by a noun in the contexts like the following (Howard, ms: 64):

(69) Lè-á èè bè zi kë
woman-NEG 2sg.POSS friend husband watch

‘Woman, do not go after your friend’s husband’.

9. Beng is spoken by about 17,000 people in the M’Bahia and Pri-kro subprefectures, to the East of Bouaké. Data on this language was collected by W. Paesler who wrote of the tonal morphology of verbs and the negative sentence-final particle (Paesler 1989). A more comprehensive study of the Beng verbs and pronouns can be found in Denis Paperno’s writings, which represent the main source of the current study.

There are three main means to express negation in Beng: special sets of pronouns (see Chart 1325); tones on the verbs; sentence-final negative particle ̀ë (which is nasalized to ̀ê if preceded by a nasal vowel of -ŋ).

Chart 13. Subject pronouns in Beng

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>1 sg.</th>
<th>2 sg.</th>
<th>3 sg.</th>
<th>1 pl.</th>
<th>2 pl.</th>
<th>3 pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focalised</td>
<td>māŋ</td>
<td>mjā</td>
<td>ānyā  ~</td>
<td>āŋnyāŋ ~</td>
<td>kānyāŋ ~</td>
<td>ŋōnyāŋ ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>māŋ</td>
<td>mjī</td>
<td>ājē</td>
<td>kā</td>
<td>ŋō</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential negative</td>
<td>māŋ</td>
<td>mjī</td>
<td>ŋō ~ ō</td>
<td>ŋō</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ŋō</td>
<td>mjō    ~</td>
<td>ōō ~ ō</td>
<td>ŋōō</td>
<td>kāō ~ kā</td>
<td>ŋōō ~ ŋō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 Only those series are given which are involved in the opposition of polarity
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative negative</th>
<th>ɲà</th>
<th>m̩à</th>
<th>wà</th>
<th>ːɲà</th>
<th>kàà</th>
<th>ɲà ːwà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative contractive (+3Sg. OD)</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
<td>m̩à //</td>
<td>àà</td>
<td>ːɲà</td>
<td>kàà</td>
<td>ɲà ːwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative contractive (+3Sg. OD) negative</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
<td>m̩à</td>
<td>wàà</td>
<td>ːɲà</td>
<td>kàà</td>
<td>ɲà ːwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>ɲ̣̃, m̩à</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>à •</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual contractive (+3Sg. OD)</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>à •</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual/Conditional negative (both simple and contractive)</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td>à •</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ɲ̣̃H, ṃ̃H</td>
<td>ṃ̃H</td>
<td>ɔ̣̃H, ɛ̣̃H</td>
<td>ːɲ̣̃H</td>
<td>kàH</td>
<td>ɲòH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past/Perfect contractive (+3Sg. DO)</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>ːɲà</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past negative (both simple and contractive)</td>
<td>ṃ̃H</td>
<td>ṃ̃H</td>
<td>wàH</td>
<td>ːɲ̣̃H</td>
<td>kàH</td>
<td>ɲàH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>ɲ̣̃, ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>ɔ̣̃, ɛ̣</td>
<td>ːɲ̣̃</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect negative (both simple and contractive)</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>wà</td>
<td>ːɲ̣̃</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>ɲ̣̃, ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>ɔ̣̃, ɛ̣</td>
<td>ːɲ̣̃</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional contractive</td>
<td>ɲ̣̃, ṃ̃</td>
<td>ṃ̃</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>ːɲ̣̃</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>ɲà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Index H following a form stands for a floating high tone.

9.1. In non-verbal sentences of the locative type, negation is expressed by the “Locative” negative pronouns and the negative sentence-final particle:

\[(70a) \text{ɲó} \ w\tilde{l}à \]

1SgLoc home, ‘I am at home’.

\[(b) \text{ɲà} \ w\tilde{l}à \ ɛ \]

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26 This sentence type is used to express, apart from the locative, many other meanings derived from the latter (comitative, possessive, etc.).
1sg.-NEG home NEG, ‘I am not at home’.

The pronominal series in question is undoubtedly a result of a merger of the corresponding affirmative series with the negative copula verb \( \text{wa} \), which becomes even more evident in a slow speech (cf. the alternative variants of 2sg. and all plurals pronouns).

The same series of negative pronouns is used in constructions with predicative adjectives. It is noteworthy that the subject of the corresponding affirmative construction is expressed by a non-locative series of pronouns:

(71a) \( \text{ð} \quad \text{gēŋ} \)
1Sg:Hab beautiful, ‘I am beautiful’.

(b) \( \text{ñā} \quad \text{gēŋ} \quad \text{ē} \)
1Sg:LOC.NEG beautiful NEG, ‘I am not beautiful’.

9.2. In existential sentences, negation is expressed in a triple way: by the negative copula \( \text{wa} \), by the sentence-final particle \( \text{ē} \), and optionally by a special pronoun form (in 3sg. only):

(72a) \( \text{mī} \quad \text{wē} \)
2Sg.EX exist, ‘You exist’.

(b) \( \text{mī} \quad \text{waē} \)
2sg.EX exist.NEG NEG, ‘You don’t exist’.

(73a) \( \text{õ} \quad \text{wē} \)
3Sg:EX exist, ‘He/she exists’.

(b) \( \text{õ} \quad \text{~ ä} \quad \text{wā} \quad \text{ē} \)
3Sg:EX ~ 3Sg:Ex.NEG exist.NEG NEG, ‘He/she does not exist’.

9.3. In non-verbal sentences of the “presentative” type, the situation is different: the only means of negation is a negative copula \( \text{nī} \), and the sub-
ject is expressed by the same focalized series as in the affirmative sentence:

(74a) mişæa e
2Sg:Foc be, ‘It’s you’.
(b) mişæa ní
2Sg:Foc be.NEG, ‘It’s not you’.

9.4. In verbal sentences, negation is expressed by the corresponding negative series of subject pronouns (see Chart 13), by the sentence-final particle ë and, in conditional and imperative/optative, by the change of the verbal tone to low.27

Special case is represented by Perfect where affirmative and negative constructions are characterized by different verbal suffixes:

(75a) ni u-nā
1Sg.PF come-PF, ‘I have come’.
(b) mā nū-sà ë
1Sg.:PF.NEG come-PF.NEG NEG, ‘I haven’t come’.

The only verbal sentence where the sentence-final particle is absent is the habitual:

(76a) ū nū
1Sg:Hab come+LOW TONE, ‘I come’ (usually).
(b) mā nū
1Sg:Hab.NEG come+LOW TONE

10. When answering a negative question, negative and affirmative interjections in South Mande languages are used in a way opposite to the
English. So, in Mano gbààò is ‘no’, and màm is ‘yes’. Gbààò is used if the answer is positive (i.e., the negation included into the question is rejected), and màm if the answer is negative (i.e., the negation is accepted):

(77) Ò wá yí? – Gbààò, ò yí. / Màm, ò wá yí. ‘They aren’t there? – No, they are there. / Yes, they aren’t there’.

11. Let us recapitulate the ways of expression of negation in the languages of the group (Chart 14; roman numbers stand for pronominal series; syntactic groups are indicated whenever position of the negative marker needs to be specified).28

27 In the Past and Habitual, verbs have low grammatical tone in both affirmative and negative sentences; in the Future, they have their lexical tone in both cases.
28 Because of the format of the chart, I have to omit some important details, such as modifications of verbal tones, asymmetry of affirmative and negative subsystems of TAM, etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“Unmarked” verbal sentence</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Prohibitive</th>
<th>Focalized</th>
<th>Existential (negative verb)</th>
<th>Presentative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dan-Blo</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>kë kú – Subj.</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>IV ser./kű</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan-Ka</td>
<td>IV + IVa + V</td>
<td>IVa, V</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>IVa</td>
<td>kű</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan-Gweeta</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>V ~ V kũ ~ IV kũ</td>
<td>IVa dó – V~</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tura</td>
<td>Subj –á/IIIa</td>
<td>Subj-ō/ IIIb</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
<td>IIIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guro</td>
<td>Subj.-ká/ neg.pron.... dô</td>
<td>tê Subj ... dó</td>
<td>Foc.neg.pron. ... dó</td>
<td>ká ... dó</td>
<td>ká ... dó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaure</td>
<td>Subj.-ká/ neg.pron. ... dû</td>
<td>tê Subj ... dû</td>
<td>cêé ... dû</td>
<td>ká ... dû</td>
<td>ká ... dû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wam</td>
<td>... /wá/á</td>
<td>... /wá/á</td>
<td>... /wá/á</td>
<td>... /wá/á</td>
<td>... /wá/á</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwan</td>
<td>Subj.-láá/ neg.pron.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gban</td>
<td>Subj.-kè</td>
<td>Subj.-â</td>
<td>... lè kê</td>
<td>Subj.-kè tà</td>
<td>Subj.lè kê nì</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beng</td>
<td>Neg.pron. – V ... é</td>
<td>Neg.pron. – V-sà é</td>
<td>Neg.pron. – V+low tone é</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>wá</td>
<td>ní</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

ART – article
AUT – autonomous series
DIST – distributive marker
DO – direct object
ERG – ergative case
EX – copula of existence
EXCL – exclusive 1pl. pronoun
FOC – focalization, focalized pronoun
FUT – future
HAB – habitual
IMP – imperfective
IND – indicative marker
IO – indirect object
LOC – locative morpheme
MRPH – morpheme (not specified)
NEG – negative
NOM – nominalization suffix
OBJ – non-subject series
OPT – optative
PAR – participle marker
PFT – perfective
PM – predicative marker
POSS – possessive marker
PP – postposition
PRF – perfect
PROG – progressive
QUE – interrogative particle
REFL – reflexive pronoun
Subj. – subject
TAM – tense, aspect, mood
TOP – topicalized
V – verb

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