

THE GRAMMAR OF NEGATION IN BEMBA

BY

DAVIES MARON MUSONDA

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DECLARATION

I, Davies Maron Musonda, declare that this dissertation:

- (a) is a representation of my own work;
- (b) has never been submitted for any degree at this or any other university; and
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APPROVAL

This dissertation by Davies Musonda, M is approved as fulfilling in part the requirements of the award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science by the University of Zambia.

Examiner 1

Name:

Signature: Date:

Examiner 2

Name:

Signature: Date:

Examiner 3

Name:

Signature: Date:

Supervisor

Name:

Signature: Date:

Chairperson: Board of Examiners

Name:

Signature Date:

ABSTRACT

Across all the languages, there are two types of negation: morphological and syntactic. The former refers to negation expressed by a morpheme while the latter is a concept referring to expression of negation by a lexical item. In principle, Bemba uses morphological negation. The study analyses the morphemes which express negation in the verbal construction of Standard Bemba, a Bantu language classified as M42 by Guthrie (1968). The concept of Standard Bemba is predicated on the idea of a dialect which the government, through the Ministry of General Education, has chosen as a Regional Official Language taught in schools in the Northern region of Zambia (Jimaima et al, 2016). According to Ohannessian & Kashoki (1978: 30) Bemba is a Niger-Congo language of the Central Narrow Bantu branch that is categorised as part of Zone M in Guthrie's (1948, 1967-71) classification of Bantu languages. It is spoken in Zambia (mainly in the Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces) and in the Southern Democratic Republic of Congo by approximately 3.3 million speakers (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013). Bemba has several dialects, though there are no systematic studies on the exact number and the differences between possible dialects. This be the case as it may, the standard Bemba dialect is spoken in Kasama and Chinsali districts of the Northern and Muchinga Provinces of Zambia, respectively (Ohannessian & Kashoki, 1978).

The formatives explored are the three basic negative markers; *ta-*, *-sh()*- and *-i-*. This study has further discussed some special cases of expressing negation such as the use of the predicative morpheme *tee-* 'it is not', the auxiliary morpheme *-kana-* 'refuse' and negation in various verbal forms of the irregular verb 'to be'. It has been indicated that the presence of the negative morpheme, more often than not, affects the tonal pattern of the entire verb form. Additionally, the presence or absence of the negative morpheme can determine the presence and/or absence of other verb morphemes. On the other hand, it has been found that there are a number of parameters which determine the shape of the negation morpheme among which are; sentence type (absolute or relative), occurrence, Tense, Aspect, Mood and grammatical Person. Standard Bemba has two positions on the verbal template on which negation is expressed. On the general Bantu verbal template, the slots on either side of the subject marker (SM) are occupied by the negative morphemes. The study has further postulated that Bemba does not allow double expression of negation, that is, one verb can take only one negation morpheme. This implies that the position of the negation morpheme, like all other verbal morphemes, is subject to constraints. The negative shape *-sh()*- takes any of the two vowels; *-a* or *-i* depending on the tense. In the present tense, it takes *-i-* while the vowel *-a-* is taken in the past and future tenses. The two NEG forms; *-i-*, and *-sh()*- always occur word - internally. The NEG *ta-* and other non-standard negation morphemes occur peri-phrastically. The form *-i-* is almost always applicable to the negation of imperatives. In the imperatives, the NEG occurs between the SM and the TA. The NEG form *-kana-* is used with infinitives and occurs word-internally. The analysis has been conducted from a phonological, morphological and syntactic point of views within the theoretical framework of Descriptive linguistics (structuralism) and 'Principles and Parameters'. These frameworks have helped in the analysis and discussion of the form, function and position of negation morphemes using the qualitative approach.

Keywords: *Grammar, Negation, pre-prefix, root, functional morpheme, mood, verb, aspect, tense*

DEDICATION

To my mother, Josephine Musonda; my wife, Idah Chanda; and children: Musonda, Mwila and Kunda.

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List of used Acronyms

1sg.	First Person singular	Aug	augment
1Pl.	First Person plural	Pre-pref	pre-prefix
2sg.	Second Person singular		
2Pl.	Second Person plural		
3sg.	Third Person singular		
3Pl.	Third Person plural		
Ext	Extension		
FV	Final Vowel		
IMP	Imperative		
INF	Infinitive		
NEG	Negator		
OM	Object marker		
PREF	Prefix		
Pre-SM	Pre-subject marker		
RAD	Radical (Root)		
ROL	Regional Official Language(s)		
SM	Subject marker		
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object		
TA	Tense and Aspect		
TAM	Tense Aspect Mood		
TM	Tense Marker		

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study brings to the fore the general information about the Bemba language as well as discussing the findings on the concept of negation in Bemba. The study is divided into five chapters namely; introduction, literature review, methodology discussion of findings and the conclusion. The first chapter highlights the geographical location of the Bemba speakers and some linguistic facts about the language. It further gives an insight into the statement of the problem, aim, objectives, research questions, rationale for the study as well as the scope of the study. Other sections of this chapter discuss the key concepts as they are used in the study. At the tail end is the theoretical framework. Chapter two actualises literature review. The third chapter shows how the data were collected and analysed (methodology). In chapter four is the presentation and discussion of findings of the study which are subdivided into phonological, morphological and syntactic areas. The final chapter draws the conclusion and gives the recommendation.

For several years, negation has been one of the most extensively discussed topics in generative grammar. In English, for instance, the scope ‘semantics of negation’ has been extensively discussed in a number of papers by Jackendoff (2002), Lakoff (1970), Carden (1970, 1973a, 1973b, 1976) and others. The study of negation and polarity has gained a significant position in linguistics lately. According to Cels (2002) most of the works on negation have centered on the various parts of linguistic theory: syntax, logic, semantics and discourse analysis.

Negation is a linguistic, cognitive, and intellectual phenomenon which is intuitively understood to show that some state of affairs does not hold. Notwithstanding how linguistically pervasive and richly diverse it is in its manifestations it is fundamentally important to all human thought. As Horn and Kato (2000: 1) put it, “Negative utterances are a core feature of every system of human

communication and of no system of animal communication. Negation and its correlates – truth-values, false messages, contradiction, and irony – can thus be seen as defining characteristics of the human species.” Cognitively (*COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS*), negation is elementary offline thinking; it involves some comparison between a ‘real’ situation lacking some particular element and an ‘imaginal’ situation that does not lack it.

In Bemba, there are available works by Kula (2015) and Kashoki (1978) - among others - which have provided significant insights into the subject of negation. Although the said works have been remarkable, there has been little attempt targeted at discussing the grammar of negation in Bemba.

1.1 Background to the Subject of negation

According to Mathews (2005: 240), negation is a principle (in a sentence, construction, form) whose basic role is in asserting that something is not the case. In English, the main negative particle is *not*. Nevertheless, there are other similar elements within words which are used in the formation of negatives. Some of the other elements are bound morphemes such as *in-* and *un-* as in *incomplete* and *unimportant* respectively. What this implies is that some negation markers are bound while others are free morphemes. In the traditional way of understanding grammar of any language, linguists have listed together all the words that are intuitively felt to have some negative meaning. That is why before the advent of the Transformational – Generative grammar, grammarians of English included such words as ‘hardly’, ‘few’, ‘none’ and ‘never’ as adverbs of modality expressing negation (Amritavalli, 1977: 1). From the foregoing, it is important to note that negation in its truest sense may not be expressed by just one word (or element) in any language. In Bemba, the main morphemes which express negation are: *-sh(-)* in the first person pronoun, *-i-* in the

imperatives and, *ta-* in all other personal pronouns. Other morphemes such as, *-kana-*, ‘refuse’, are used to express negation of infinitives.

The title of this study intuitively entails that it discusses all the four levels of linguistic analysis; phonology, morphology, syntax and, semantics to some extent or by implication. What this means, therefore, is that this study to a considerable degree considers the linguistic analysis of negation in Bemba.

1.2 The Bemba people and Language

The Bemba people are believed to have moved from the Luba - Lunda kingdom which was established in the present- day Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) during the 19th Century. It is also believed that this kingdom was a collection of people who moved from the Benue area between Cameroon and Nigeria before they ‘temporarily’ settled in the Congo. From the Luba-Lunda kingdom, and due to various reasons, many groups moved in different directions but normally southwards into the present- day Angola, Zambia, Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe. The Bemba people settled in the Northern parts of Zambia, southern regions of Tanzania and the Eastern DRC. Kashoki and Spitulniki (2001: 51-55) observe that, “the Bemba people of Zambia originated from the Kola region in present day Congo (DRC)...are an offshoot of the ancient Luba Empire.” They established a ‘kingdom’ in the area known as Chitimukulu in Kasama area.

From there, many people started moving in many directions in search of good life. As a result of coming into contact with other linguistic groupings, and many other factors, the language developed various dialects. Due to the geographical and social spaces in which it is spoken, it has a number of distinct dialects spoken in various areas of the country and across the Lake Mweru into the Democratic Republic of Congo. The ‘pure’ Bemba, as argued by the native speakers, and

let alone policy makers, is spoken in Kasama and Chinsali districts of Northern and Muchinga provinces respectively.

Further, some varieties of Bemba are present in many parts of the country which include the whole of Muchinga, Northern, Luapula and Copperbelt provinces. The language extends to some parts of Central province and spoken in many other capital cities of other provinces throughout the country. Other dialects of Bemba are spoken in the southern regions of Tanzania. The language can undoubtedly be said to be the most widely spoken language in the country. The Zambia 2010 Census of population and Housing (2012: 64) indicates that, “Bemba was the widely used language of communication spoken by 33.5 percent of the population in the country. This was followed by Nyanja at 14.8 percent. Tonga was the third at 11.4 percent. Bemba was spoken by a higher proportion of the population in five provinces, namely, Central (31.8 percent), Copperbelt (83.9 percent), Luapula (71.3 percent), Muchinga (46.9 percent) and Northern (69.2 percent) provinces.”. To back up this assertion, Kabinga (2010: 78) posits that, “since Bemba is the most widely used lingua franca, it is not strange to find that its varieties along the line of rail have a good number of vocabularies from English language.” According to Kashoki (ibid), the principal dialects of Bemba are: Aushi, Bemba, Bisa, Chishinga, Kunda and Lala. Others include; Luunda, Ng’umbo, Tabwa and Unga.

Bemba is one of the seven Regional Official Languages (ROLs) of Zambia. The official language in Zambia is undoubtedly English. However, besides it, there are seven Zambian languages: Bemba, in the Northern, Copperbelt, Muchinga, Luapula and some areas of Central provinces; Kaonde, Lunda and Luvale in North-Western province; Lozi in Western; Nyanja in Lusaka and Eastern; and Tonga in Southern and some areas of Central provinces which have been accorded the status of ROLs. According to Jimaima et al (2016), they are referred to as ROLs because they

are a representation of the many linguistic regions of Zambia. This language (also known as *Icibemba* by the native speakers) was classified as M42 by Guthrie (1968), a British Linguist, in his work entitled 'Classification of Bantu languages' (Miti, 2006: 45).

The present study adopts the standard Bemba as spoken in these areas (and let alone used in educational books and other materials).

1.2.1 Vowels

Miti (2006: 79) observes that some Bantu languages consist of seven vowels while others have the five- vowel system. However, he warns that these vowels are not phonetic but phonological. This implies that even languages which may exhibit five vowels, phonologically, may actually have seven vowels at phonetic level. That is to say that one or more of its vowels may have two or more different pronunciations. According to this classification, Bemba has a five- vowel phoneme system. These are /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/. The vowels /i/ and /e/ are front vowels while /u/ and /o/ are back vowels. The vowel /a/ is a central vowel. In terms of tongue height in their production, /i/ and /u/ are high vowels; /e/ and /o/ are mid vowels whereas /a/ is a low vowel. The back vowels are rounded while the central and front vowels are unrounded. All the vowels in Bemba are oral but become percolated with nasality when they precede a nasal complex. For instance, the /e/ before the nasal complex /-nsh-/ in *amenshi* 'water' becomes nasalised. However, it is an oral vowel elsewhere. Other than that, vowels become lengthened in such linguistic environments. The table below shows the vowels in terms of their production.

Fig1: Vowel chart

	FRONT		BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID		e	o
LOW			a

1.2.2 Consonants

Most consonants are similar to those found in other Bantu languages. As can be seen from the chart below, Bemba has both voiced and voiceless consonants. There are no aspirated phonemes. The following chart shows a number of available consonant phonemes in Bemba.

Fig 2: Bemba phonemic chart

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar
	- +	- +	- +	- +	- +	- +
Nasal	m		n			ŋ
Stop	p *b		t *d			k *g
Fricative	β	f	s	ʃ		
Affricate				tʃ *dʒ		
Lateral			l			
Approx.	w				J	

In the chart above, the asterisked phonemes represent those which only exist as pre-nasalised phoneme (preceded by a nasal). For instance, *g is always preceded by /n/.

1.3 Some phonological rules

It is imperative to provide an explanation of some phonological rules in this study because phonology has a bearing on the concept of negation as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to discussion of findings. So, this section provides an insight into some rules just so it is easy to relate the concept of negation with the behaviour of phonemes.

1.3.1 Glides

A semi-vowel or glide is defined by Mathews (2009: 337) as “a unit of sound which is phonetically like a vowel but whose place in a syllable structure is characteristically that of a consonant...”

What this means is that a semi-vowel behaves like a vowel and at the same time like a consonant in some place in the syllable structure. Due to their behaviour, the glides can be classified by both criteria used in classifying consonants and that used in classifying vowels. The criteria being referred to here are the place and manner of articulation. The phonological status of glides is ambiguous: in some cases, the glide is clearly consonantal, while in others, it is derived from an underlying vowel. Consider the following data:

(1) a. u + a = wa e.g umu + ana → umwana ‘child’

e = we umu + eni → umweni ‘visitor’

i = wi umu + inshi → umwinshi ‘doorway/cooking stick’

b. i + a = ya e.g imi + ambo → imyambo ‘earthworms’

e = ye imi + enge → imyenge (pl.) ‘kind of wild tree’

o = yo imi + ona → imyona ‘noses’

u = yu imi + ungu → imyungu ‘gourds’

The examples above show that when /a/, /e/ or /i/ are preceded by /u/, the /u/ undergoes the process of gliding and becomes /w/. On the other hand, when /i/ precedes /a/, /e/, /o/ or /u/, it becomes /y/ [j]. Miti (2006: 86) observes that where there are two different vowels following each other, and if the first of the two vowels is higher than the second, the commonest phonological process in modern Bantu languages is glide formation.

Further, the phoneme /b/ has two allophones: [b] when pre-nasalised and [β] elsewhere.

/l/ → /d/ / /n/ _____

e.g. n - le - lemb - a → ndelemba ‘I am writing’

1sg. – TM – write - FV

/n/ → /m/ _____ / {stop}

e.g. n - peel - eni → mpeeleni ‘give me’

1sg. – give – Ext (pl. / honorific)

1.3.2 Vowel length

Here are some of the rules that apply to vowel length in Bemba:

(a) V → [+long] / _____ [+nas] [+cons]

The rule above means that a vowel becomes long when it occurs before a nasal complex. Nasal complexes are a cluster formed by a nasal followed by a stop; /mp/, /mf/, /mb/, /ng/, /nt/, /nd/, /nj/, /nk/, /ns/ and /ny/ [ɲ]. The condition under which this is true is that the vowel should be word-internal.

(b) V → [+long] / [-voc, -cons] _____

The rule states that after a semi-vowel, a vowel is always long unless it is word-final.

(2) a. uku - wam - a → ukuwama ‘to be/become good’

INF – good – FV

1.3.3 Pronominal Markers

Mchombo (2004) asserts that pronominal subject concords are compulsory and are marked at the left periphery of the verb. Bemba has subject markers for persons (1, 2, and 3) singular and plural as shown in the table below. Subject marking is obligatory and must agree with the grammatical subject. While subject markers are obligatory, object markers are optional and may occur with or without an overt object (see table below). Bemba verbs can apparently take a maximum of two object markers. The indirect object precedes the direct object marker as illustrated below:

(3) Mu - ci - n - peel - e → mucimpeelee ‘you (should) give it to me’

2sg./pl - IO - 1sg.(DO) - RAD - Ext

There are a number of morphophonological processes which influence the Bemba nominal and verbal morphology. Consider the table below showing the personal pronouns and the subject markers in Bemba:

Table 1: Grammatical Person

Persons	Subject/Object Affix	Gloss
1 sg.	<i>-n-</i>	I
1 pl.	<i>-tu-</i>	We
2sg.	<i>-mu- / -u-</i>	You (pl/sg)

2 pl.	<i>-mu-</i>	You
3 sg.	<i>-a-</i>	he/she
3 pl	<i>-ba-</i>	they

1.3.4 Word order

Like many Bantu languages, Bemba has a flexible word order. The flexibility exhibited by this language is assisted by disambiguating subject and object agreement marking on the verb, but is not constrained by it; even if the subject and object belong to the same person or noun class, various word orders are possible whenever context allows. Bearth (2003: 31) observes that in many Bantu languages, word order is absolutely unrestricted by syntax in simple sentences, and is governed instead by information structuring principles. To put this argument differently, the conclusion would be that:

- i. given appropriate discourse conditions, any order of constituents is possible
- ii. this freedom of order is merely constrained by discourse pragmatic conditions and not by syntax
- iii. claims according to which grammatical agreement is the major factor licensing word order variation need to be checked against a large body of textual evidence for various languages, (Bearth, 2003: 129 - 130)

In principle, the basic sentence in Bemba has the Subject which is followed by a Verb and then an Object (SVO) even though it permits other word orders such as VOS as shown below. Like in many Bantu languages, when the verb is final, the OM is preferred. In such constructions, when the object precedes the subject, the object acts like a topic separated by a comma.

(4) a. Bwalya aleshita amacungwa ‘Bwalya is buying oranges’ **SVO**

Bwalya a - le - shit -a a - ma - cungwa

Bwalya- 3sg. -TM – RAD - FV aug. cl.6 – orange

b. Aleshita amacungwa Bwalya **VOS**

A – le – shit - a a – ma – cungwa Bwalya

3sg. – TM – RAD – FV aug – Cl.6 – orange Bwalya

c. Aleshita Bwalya amacungwa **VSO**

A – le – shit – a Bwalya a – ma – cungwa

3sg. - TM - RAD - FV Bwalya - - aug. Cl.6 – orange

1.3.5 The Infinitive

The infinitive is a term which refers to the non-finite form of the verb such as *go* and *kick*. In English, the infinitive form may be used alone or in conjunction with the particle (preposition) *to* (Crystal, 2008). The infinitive construction in Bemba is understood to have the characteristics of a noun. They belong to noun class 15 with ‘*ku-/uku-*’ as a prefix. This is prefixed to the stem of the verb. It is worthy noting that the INF and the SM are in complementary distribution, that is, they do not co-occur in the same linguistic environment [verbal construction]. However, the NEG and the OM can occur in the same infinitival construction. Consider the following examples:

(5) a. u - ku - bomb – a ‘to work’

Aug- INF- work- FV

b. u - ku - ba - bomb - a - il - a ‘to work for them’

Aug - INF- OM –work- FV- Ext- End

c. u - ku - shi - bomb - a ‘not to work’

Aug- INF- NEG- work- FV

Table 2: form of the infinitive

Positive	Negative
uKu-a 1	uKu-shi- a 2

The table above shows the formula of the infinitive in the positive and the negative forms. The positive form has the infinitive marker ‘-ku-’, and the final vowel ‘-a’. It is important to note that most, if not all, infinitives end with the low vowel ‘-a’.

Table 3: Examples of infinitives

Positive	Negative
uKu – bomb – a (ukubomba ‘to work’)	uKu – <i>shi</i> – bomb – a (ukushibomba ‘not to work’)

The examples above show that the NEG in the infinitive is placed between the infinitive marker and the root of the verb. Another salient factor to note is that the infinitive uses the form ‘-shi-’ as the NEG marker.

1.4 Key Concepts

The following concepts may have meanings which are generally understood as they are defined in the dictionaries or other pieces of literature. However, in this piece of work, the terms are assigned

meanings as they apply to this work only. It is worthy of noting, nonetheless, that some of the concepts have been adopted as they apply in the general field of linguistics, unless specified.

a. Tense

Tense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time (Schroder, 2015). It is a representation of universal time along which temporal contrasts are formulated from the deictic center. In agreeing, Lindfors (2003) has argued that tense is a systematic coding of the relationship between two points along the time axis. In addition, Nurse (2008: 80) states that, “tense is an inflectional category that locates a situation (action, state, event, process) relative to some other points in time, to a deictic center. From the forgoing, it can be deduced that it is the verb that carries tense markers showing the occurrence of an event in time. Such events are likely to be located before (past tense), after (future tense) or during the deictic center (present tense).

b. Final vowel

In Bantu languages, and in Bemba in particular, the verb is made up of many morphemes. The last phoneme is always a vowel. This vowel is what is referred to as the final vowel. In almost all cases, the FV is *-a*.

c. Extension

This is a term coined by the linguist Gutherie to refer to the verbal parts that correspond to derivational suffixes. In Bemba, they replace the FV when the verb undergoes derivation.

d. Negation

Negation is a principle (in a sentence, construction, form) whose basic role is in asserting that something is not the case (Mathews, 2005). It is a construction in grammatical and semantic analyses which typically expresses the contradiction of a sentence's meaning. According to Meeussen (1967: 108), "Bantu languages can have up to three negation markers. Some languages have negation morphemes marked in the first position of the verbal string, called primary negatives; but others are marked after [the] subject marker, and they are referred to as secondary negatives." It cannot be disputed that Bantu morphology reveals interesting interplay between tense markers and negation.

e. Types of negation

According to Mihas (2003), negation in Bantu languages is of two types namely; morphological and syntactic negation. The former refers to negation expressed by morphemes while the latter deals with negation as expressed by full lexical items.

f. Aspect

In a more general sense, aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states or it describes the state of action stated by the verb (Payne, 1997). According to William (2003: 403), "Aspect is the term that designates the internal temporal organization of the situation described by the verb." There are two common types of aspect; the perfective and the imperfective. The former refers to an indication that the situation is to be viewed as a bounded whole while the latter looks into the temporal boundaries of the situation. The imperfective may be divided into the habitual and progressive Aspects. These aspects are usually expressed by inflections, auxiliaries, or particles associated with the verb.

g. Verb

Verb is the grammatical category that includes lexemes which express the least time-stable concept. A verb in Bemba has a very complex structure comprising a number of morphemes among them, a negation morpheme. The root of the verb (Radical) constitutes the core of the word.

h. Mood

Mood relates the speaker's attitude towards the situation or the speaker's commitment to the probability that the situation is true (Schroder, 2015). And as William (2003: 81) asserts, "mood indicates what the speaker is doing with the proposition in a particular discourse situation." This refers to the status of the utterance as imperative, declarative or interrogative. The moods include possibility, probability, necessity, permission, obligation and volition among others. Asher (1994: 2535) tries to make a distinction that exists between mood and modality in English. He says that English has no mood in some sense but has a set of modal verbs; could, can, might, may, must etc whose function is similar to, or at least overlaps that of mood. However, for the purposes of this study, both mood and modality are taken to mean the same thing, mood.

i. Morphology

This is the study of the structure of words. It is a branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily through the use of the morpheme construct. According to Crystal (2008: 314) morphology is subdivided into inflectional and derivational morphology. In this study it is only relevant to the extent that negation is predicated on word formation processes.

j. Functional Morpheme

A morpheme is the smallest meaningful linguistic unit of analysis. It is the minimal distinctive unit of grammar, and the central concern of morphology. To put it differently, it is the smallest functioning unit in the composition of words. Functional morphemes thus refer to those morphemes which represent content words or lexical items.

k. Root/radical

A root is a part of a word that remains when all affixes have been removed. It comprises the core of the word and carries its meaning. It is the base form of the word which cannot be further analysed without total loss of identity. Roots are sometimes referred to as 'Radicals' and this study uses both terms interchangeably to mean one element.

l. Affirmative construction

According to Nurse (2008), an affirmative construction is a grammatical category which indicates the degree of certainty of thoughts. It is a construction that confirms the complete positive thoughts of the speaker. This idea of affirmation is in sharp contrast to negation. The idea is that if the construction is not negative then it is affirmative. Therefore, the absence of the NEG renders a construction an affirmative.

1.5 Statement of the problem

An introduction of a negation morpheme on the verb causes some phonological, morphological and syntactic variations. Some of these variations are morpheme replacement, deletion and, alternation or introduction of another morpheme such as a verbal ending (suffix). These variations occur in relation to other functional morphemes such as Tense, Mood and Aspect. Other factors

that trigger linguistic variations include the clause typology (absolute and relative) and verbal extensions. There is evidence of existing studies on negation. Nonetheless, there is little in the available literature to shed useful light on Bemba negation within the framework of Transformational – Generative grammar especially on the form or shape of the negation morpheme. To this effect, this study has provided a detailed description of negation in Bemba within the theoretical framework of Principles and Parameters, in the hope of stimulating further research within this model. The study has considered a number of phonological, morphological and syntactic variations which are triggered by the absence or presence of the negation morpheme on the verb in Bemba.

1.6 Rationale

Quite a good number of studies have been carried out on Bemba grammar but the area of descriptive grammar on negation in this language has not been explored comprehensively. Some scholars such as Kula (2002) who have endeavored to study it have only made reference to it by way of bringing it on board when discussing other aspects such as the verb structure. Therefore, this piece of literature may be very useful as it adds to the already existing body of knowledge on negation in general, and in Bemba in particular, from the perspective of descriptive linguistics. It may also be helpful to the framers of curricular in local languages at the Curriculum Development Center and other tertiary institutions of learning.

1.7 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was to take an analysis of the grammar of negation in Bemba, and the specific objectives were as follows:

- i. To establish the phonological processes affecting negation in Bemba.
- ii. To examine the morphological and syntactic status of the negative marker in Bemba.
- iii. To investigate how tense alternations characterizing the affirmative and negative constructions affect the morphology and syntax of such constructions.

1.8 Research Questions

- i. What are the phonological processes that affect negation in Bemba?
- ii. What is the morphological and syntactic status of the negative marker in Bemba?
- iii. How do tense alternations characterizing affirmative and negative constructions affect the morphology and syntax of constructions?

1.9 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The Bantu verb has a very complex structure which includes morphemes such as markers for noun class, tense, aspect and mood. These verbal categories need be handled together in the analysis of the Bantu verb structure. In this study, however, they are only discussed as they relate to the negation morpheme and the effects the latter has on them or vice versa. The study also confines itself to the standard Bemba with standardised orthography. Further, the negative markers in this study are studied in the context of their form, position, function and meaning since they altogether form a subsystem. For instance, the NEG *ta-* is discussed in the context of co-occurrence restrictions with TAM markers. The study further explores the factors or parameters which affect negation in Bemba. The study did not look at the pragmatics of negation but was restricted to phonology, morphology and syntax. The major limitation concern was the insufficiency of literature relevant to the study. Nonetheless, the teachers of Bemba in secondary schools and other native speakers played a critical part in informing this study.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

This research is informed by a combination of descriptive linguistics approach and Principles and Parameters model. The theoretical framework is a paradigm that guides a research study. It is an important aspect to any scholarly study because it provides the framework within which a study is to be carried. The theory acts as a guide so that the researcher does not stray from the study objectives. It reveals how other scholars have argued their positions. The analytical enclave in this study has been approached from the perspective of Descriptive linguistics as well as Principles and Parameters. These approaches were employed because the study is basically giving a description of how the language is used and not how it ought to be. Further, Principles and Parameters provides rules regarding the governance of occurrence of the NEG morpheme. In this respect, the NEG does not just occur arbitrarily in a well-constructed sentence. The approach of Descriptive Linguistics and Principles and Parameters are discussed in the section that follows.

1.10.1 Descriptive Linguistics

In order to contextualise the description of the phenomenon of negation in Bemba, this study employed the Descriptive linguistics as one of the approaches. Descriptive linguistics is an approach to the study of linguistics and is a part of the overall approach of structuralism. It stresses the examination of language as a system of interconnected units. By this it means that a language is a system of units which functions as one. This approach involves collecting elements of the corpus at their different levels: phonemes, morphemes, lexical categories, noun phrases, verb phrases and sentence types and, subjecting them to analyses.

The birth of descriptive linguistics entailed the cardinal departure point from the traditional way of studying languages. In the years preceding this advent, there was historical and comparative linguistics which were at the center of the study of language from the 19th century. The beginning

of structural linguistics is traced from the early 20th century or to be precise, 1916. In this year, the book entitled “*Course de Linguistique Generale*” by Ferdinand de Saussure was published which outlined the main idea of the structural theory as well as the thoughts of modern linguistics. This is believed by many linguists that it engendered the beginning of modern linguistics. The focus of Ferdinand de Saussure in his theory of structuralism was; distribution and functionalism. The former refers to the study of the positions of elements in linguistic constructions while the latter is/was concerned with the functions of these elements. The main argument held by the view of distributionalist approach is that elements should be placed in their rightful positions. It therefore implies that the occurrence of linguistic units is bound by possibilities and constraints. There is no arbitrariness in their occurrence.

Just as earlier alluded to, before the advent of this theory, historical linguistics was regarded as the queen of linguistic science, at least in the words of Koerner (1971). Descriptive linguistics remained at the core of the studies in language grammars until the advent of transformational-generative theories. In the 1970s, this kind of approach to the study of languages became increasingly out-of-fashion owing to a number of reasons. One among them was the emergence of other theories, such as linguistic typology, outside the framework of structuralism. Besides, a number of those linguists who were proponents of this theory had retired from active work. Even though it lost the center-stage during this period, structuralism has remained critical and significant to descriptive studies of languages.

Crystal (2008: 139) says that, “...the aim of descriptive linguistics is to describe the facts of linguistic usage as they are, and not how they ought to be with reference to some imagined ideal state. “It is the scientific endeavour to systematically describe the languages of the world in their diversity, based on the empirical observation of regular patterns in natural speech. The core idea

of descriptive linguistics is that each language has its own independent system. It focuses on the structural properties of languages themselves. Due to its empirical description of speakers' actual practices, it is closely allied with social sciences.

Descriptive linguistics is understood to refer to an investigation of the structure of a language through the collection of primary language data gathered through interaction with native-speaking consultants. The study of a particular language by employing descriptive linguistics entails the systematic analysis of parts of a language within a community of speakers of that language (Everett, 2001: 168). Moreover, descriptive linguistics is also understood as a study of the structure of a language and the rules as they are used in daily life by its speakers from all walks of life.

To put it differently, it is the study of a language grammar and all the syntactic rules that govern sentence and phrase constructions (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990). This kind of study is non-judgmental and does not determine what represents good or bad language, correct or incorrect structures, or grammatical and ungrammatical forms (Leech, Deuchar & Hoogenraad, 2006). This normally involves the study of a language premised on observing it as it is used and by becoming a member of the community. A good descriptive grammar involves taking into account cultural and social variables, which in many accounts, determine how language is produced and understood. In order to achieve this, the researcher should engage in interactions with speakers and ensure that language is being used in natural settings. To add to this argument, Evans and Dench (2006: 3) say that the job of descriptive linguistics is to describe individual languages as perceptively and rigorously as possible, with maximal accountability to a naturalistic corpus of data ideally collected within a broad program of language documentation [...] to ensure that the full spectrum of language structures are represented. The system of language can be established only after a language state has been established.

Description is a way of bringing out facts as they are. In the field of linguistics, it refers to the study of a language by way of describing the phonological, grammatical and semantic features of that particular language. In this manner, scholars seek to identify the general linguistic principles that also characterise other languages. It is the position of this study that concepts such as negation can only be understood within a certain system of relationships (or structure). Moreover, structuralism holds that according to the human way of understanding things, particular elements have no absolute meaning or value; their meaning or value is relative to other elements. Thus, negation morphemes could be understood to be projecting some meaning only if they are considered in relation to other functional morphemes in a verbal construction. This holds true because the morphemes may not convey any meaning if not looked at within a framework of the complete verb. This study carried out a detailed empirical survey by first collecting a number of negative constructions. These were subjected to analysis so as to identify the components of the system (Bemba language) and the principles that underlie its organisation.

1.10.2 Principles and Parameters

In addition to Descriptive linguistics, this study used the ‘Principles and Parameters’ approach to the understanding of negation in Bemba. According to William, (2003: 403), “The Principles and Parameters approach to syntax seeks to describe principles that appear to be invariant across languages – and that are by hypothesis, innate, and to characterise in a precise manner the parameters of possible variations among languages.” He adds that Principles and parameters is thus an attempt at a theory both of Universal Grammar and the structure of particular grammars. For instance, one parameter of variation of languages concerns whether a question like ‘What did Mary read?’ involves the movement of a *wh*- word to the initial position, as in English and Vata, or retains the word order characteristic of declarative sentences as in Japanese.

Apart from that, Principles and Parameters is understood as an approach to syntax which proposes that there is a set of universal principles shared by every human language, and that these are known by every human being. Chomsky (1982) postulates that “knowledge of a particular language ...consists of knowledge of the settings of a finite number of parameters which define exactly how the universal principles need to be applied to construct grammatical sentences.” In other words, if the parameters by which languages may differ could all be found then a given language could be described comprehensively by the values it assigns to each parameter. This would define each language in a manner different from others.

This idea originated in the 1980s by Chomsky. The model, which was originally known as ‘Government and Binding’, was further explored by other scholars. But the former term gained more popularity in the decade that followed. The principal idea in this theory is that there must be some systematic relation between individual lexical requirements and syntactic structure. In other words, lexical items cannot appear in arbitrary places in a well-formed sentence. The proponents of the Principles and Parameters approach to syntax argue that there is a set of universal principles shared by all human beings. The model’s guiding idea is that the constraints (or “principles”) should be as general as possible, and that they may contain open parameters (settings) which are fixed differently in different languages. The said constraints heavily rely on the ideas of Government and Binding.

Additionally, ‘Principles and Parameters’ presents the constraints with which the language is built. For evidence of this, consider the following English statement and its corresponding question:

- (7) a. Chanda will come tomorrow.
- b. Will Chanda come tomorrow?

A surface look at the above the two examples above, may lead one to draw an inference that questions in English are formed by moving the second word of the corresponding statement to the front. However, this argument cannot hold in a sentence like the one below:

(8) c. The students will come tomorrow.

d. *students the will come tomorrow?

For this question to be grammatical, it requires that the third item is moved to the front. From the foregoing, a question might arise as to what would happen to the formation of questions from these statements if speakers of English considered sentences only as sequences of words. Would they always be moving the second item in a sentence to the front in order to form a question? The answer is that knowledge of a language depends on knowledge of a deeper internal structure to the sentence. To this effect, intuition of the native speakers of English tells them that *the students* and *Chanda* are corresponding constituents, namely noun phrases which allows them to construct well-formed questions. In linguistics, this is referred to as structure-dependency. This is one of the general principles which apply to all human languages. Structure-dependency is central to the present study because functional morphemes in Bemba verbal constructions depend on one another to convey complete sense. The NEG, for instance, will have to absorb the properties of other parts such as Tense, Mood and Aspect in the verb.

It is evident therefore, that for the construction of a well-formed sentence, there should exist some principle (of Universal Grammar) guiding such constructions. In Bemba, for instance, the structure of the verb comes with constraints regarding the positions which the various morphemes should take.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the theory of Principles and Parameters is appropriate in the description of the arrangement of the functional morphemes in word and sentential construction.

Since not all languages have the same arrangement of elements, the theory was helpful in showing how, for instance, the negation morpheme affects the positions of other morphemes such as tense, subject, object and verbal ending morphemes. This is critical owing to the fact that part of what it means to know a lexical item is to know the particular restrictions that item carries with it in terms of what it can or must co-occur with. Therefore, this study has given a description of what functional morphemes occur with which ones in a verb structure in Bemba so that the various positions of negation are clearly shown (see the chapter on presentation and discussion of findings where this assertion has been exemplified).

1.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the background information to the study, the language, the statement of the problem and the objectives of the study. The chapter has also discussed the phoneme inventory, verb and noun morphology in Bemba as well as other important linguistic aspects of the Bemba language. In other words, it has put the study of negation into context, discussing a number of aspects which are related to the structure of the verb. It has been shown that Bemba is one of the tonal Bantu languages and in which morphemes are used in the construction of words. It is important to note that a morpheme is an important aspect to this study, after all, a negative marker is one of the morphemes in a verbal construction.

The approaches which were applied to the study have been explained so as to give the life to the present study. These approaches are Descriptive Linguistics and Principles and Parameters. It has been shown that Descriptive linguistics is used to explain how things are and not how they are supposed to be. And this is an appropriate approach to this study because the study has simply described the way verbal morphemes are and how they combine in construction of words.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on providing the background information and putting the study into context. It stated the specific problem for which the study was undertaken as well as pointing out the rationale for the study. The chapter also outlined the objectives on which the exercise was premised. The definitions of key concepts in the study and the theoretical framework have been discussed.

This chapter provides a review of literature in order to establish scholarly works that have been done on negation in general, and in Bemba, in particular. The process of undertaking literature review enhances understanding of any subject area thereby facilitating clarity of the research problem. It also deepens the level of appreciation between the existing knowledge on any given topic and the research problem at hand. Further, it facilitates an appreciation of the various methodologies used to look at the same problem from different perspectives. The review has been subdivided into seven parts: negation (in general), negation in English as well as studies on negation on other languages. Other parts are: aspect and tense, studies on Bemba verb inflection, studies on Bemba and literature on negation in Bemba. At the tail end of the chapter is placed a summary.

2.1 Negation

Crystal (2008: 323) defines negation as, “A process or construction in grammatical and semantic analysis which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of the sentence’s meaning. In English grammar, it is expressed by the presence of the negative particle (neg, NEG) *not*.” He

further explains that there are several possible means of expressing negation in English such as prefixes: *un-*, *non-* or words such as *deny*. He observes that some languages use more than one particle in a single clause to express negation. This phenomenon has come to be known as double negation. He puts up an important argument regarding the position of the negative marker in a sentence. He gives an instance of: *I don't think john is coming vs. I think John isn't coming*. This is quite an important aspect as it needs be tested in other languages such Bemba to see whether there is a fixed position in which negation occurs in Bemba sentential constructions. This is especially relating to non-standard negation. The question is: does the position of the NEG in a sentence matter? In other words, the proposition by Crystal (ibid) is a firm ground on which to premise discussions of negation in other languages. We have to create a firm foundation for arguing for the position of NEG in other languages.

According to Payne (1997: 182) a negative clause shows that some state of affairs does not hold. It means that the proposition as expressed by an affirmative construction is not as it is in the negative. Gray and Bwalya (2015: 14) also observe that “negation is usually indicated by adding the morpheme *ta-* in the Bemba language. They, nonetheless, do not make an attempt at describing the position that the *ta-* takes on the verbal construction. Note that the *ta-* is not the only negation morphemic shape available as other shapes are observed in other contexts. Moreover, the shape of the NEG changes basing on other factors such as Tense, Aspect, person, and sentence type (Relative or Absolute). This is true considering that in the first person, the shape taken by the NEG is *-sh(-)* and occurs after the SM. The *-sh(-)* also occurs in the relative and infinitival constructions. Consider an example of the relative construction below:

- (9) a. A - ba - bomb - a → ababomba ‘those who work’
 Aug – 3pl. - work - FV

- b. a - ba - **shi** - bomb - a → abashibomba ‘those who do not work’
 Aug. - 3pl. - NEG - work - FV

It has to be noted that in some instances and dialects, especially those in Luapula such as Chishinga, the shape *-ta-* is used instead of *-shi-*. Look at the example shown below:

- (10) a. A - ba - **ta** - bomb - a → abatabomba ‘those who do not work’
 prepref - 3pl. - NEG - work - FV

2.2 Negation in English

Kim (2000) undertook a study on the grammar of negation in a number of languages which include Korean, French, Italian and English languages by employing the Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. In this study, the negator *not* has been treated as, a modifier on the one hand, and as a complement, on another. In this view, and according to the study, a more straightforward and explicit explanation of the English negation has been provided than if looked at from an angle of head-movement and functional projections. The study has presented the negator *not* as an adverb considering that in its distribution, it exhibits properties of an adverb. According to the study, the English negator *not* can function as a modifier of an adjective, adverbial element or prepositional phrase though contrasting contexts may be required for certain cases. When considering sentential negation, the negator, *not* behaves very much like negative adverbs such as *never*. He observes that in terms of their syntactic distribution, the negator *not* and the negative adverb *never* both should precede the main verb as shown below:

- (11) a. I never left the town.
 b. I did not leave the town.

In other sections, the study discusses the negator *not* as a non-adverbial lexeme basing on its behaviour in VP ellipsis constructions. Kim argues that the rather restricted distribution of *not*

further differentiates it from the negative adverb. And according to him, the marker *not* cannot precede a finite verb as illustrated below.

- (12) a. Lee never/**not* left.
b. Lee never/**not* would leave.
c. Lee never/ **not* has left.

In essence, the book addresses three basic questions on how to express sentential negation, the distributional properties of lexically-encoded negative elements and the implications of such answers on the theory of grammar.

This study is important to the present one because it provides a basis for the analysis of negation from a constraint- based approach. The negation morpheme in Bemba is subject to constraints in its distribution in a verbal construction. Like observed on the Bantu verbal template, there are two slots on either side of the SM for the NEG. Therefore, its distribution can only be determined by the position of other elements such as Tense, Aspect, Mood and person.

2.3 Studies on Negation in other Languages

In his book entitled ‘Tonga Grammar’ Collins (1962) devotes a chapter to discussing the negative verbals. These negative verbals are an equivalent of the English sentence with *not*. He makes three very important observations:

- (i) Negatives generally end in *-i* not *-a* except for the past tenses, and the infinitive
- (ii) The ‘negativer’ is *ta-*, but the past tenses (which do not change the final *-a* into *-i*) change *ta-* into *tii-*, except in the second and third person singular
- (iii) The first person singular has various forms: in the present, *nse-*, *nsya-*, *tandii-* in the past: *tiinda-*, *teenda-*, *nsiinda-*

The above generalisations are very important in the study of any grammar of languages. The study outlines a number of conjugations noticed among the functional morphemes in a verb. It also discusses the interplay between tense, personal pronouns and nominal classes. These areas give a basis for future studies. One such area which need be explored further is the inclusion of aspect and mood in the analysis. The present study, therefore, tries to apply the concepts from his study and look at it from other areas such as aspect and mood in Bemba.

Additionally, Mihas (2009) observes that recent typological studies of clausal negation not only focus on the basic standard negation strategies that languages use to negate declarative verbal main clauses but also discuss typology of the asymmetric negation in declaratives. The study notes that asymmetric negatives may have changes in the form of the lexical verb, tense and aspect marking or other clausal modifications while symmetric negatives differ from the affirmatives only due to the addition of the negative marker. Mihas shows in her study that asymmetric negatives in Metta include modification of the perfective forms; symmetric negative constructions are prevalent. The argument in this study is that this phenomenon is cross-linguistic. Miha further argues in favour of the findings of the cross linguistic studies on negation by showing that Metta extends its negation strategy to other environments such as subordinate...and non-verbal clauses but that it uses non-standard negation strategy in imperatives.

The observations and position taken by the researcher of this study are important to the study of negation in Bemba because the introduction of the NEG on the Bemba verb causes some phonological and morphological modifications.

Amritavalli carried out a study in 1977 which he coded 'Negation in Kannada'. Kannada is a Dravidian language spoken in Karnataka of India. In this study he examined the syntax and

semantics of negation in the language in question. According to him, the theoretical framework was premised on the Transformational – Generative grammar as posited by Chomsky in Syntactic Structures of 1977. The writer discusses the variety of forms which are felt to be ‘intuitively negative’ in Kannada. The study further proposes the test for neg, where neg is defined as a semantic feature to be recognized by the syntactic and semantic consequences of its presence in the sentence. He posits that in his study, the intuitively negative forms are thus redefined in terms of whether or not they carried the feature neg. Further, the study reveals that Kannada has different forms of negation depending on whether the negation occurs in copulative, verbless sentences, tensed sentences, non-tensed sentences, and sentences with modals as opposed to English where not appears in all the above sentences.

The author posits that in English, negation is expressed in constructions which are felt to have intuitive negative meaning. He adds that such expressions carry the terms such as ‘hardly’, ‘never’ and ‘few’. According to him, negation can also be expressed in sentences with ‘too’ as in: *you are too dirty to touch me*. In this sentence is an inherent meaning of *cannot*. He calls such negation as incompletely or specially.

Amritavali’s study provides an informed background to the present study. As can be seen from the argument above, Kannada has many forms of the NEG whose uses are determined by many factors. The present study too, has shown that the shape of the NEG is largely premised upon other morphemes. It is imperative to note that this study will consider any linguistic reason for the intuitive negativeness of expressions in Bemba. It will seek to examine the systematic formalisations or the facts which form the basis for the native speakers’ intuition of relationships between linguistic forms. This is important because intuition alone cannot be relied upon to make linguistic explanations.

Nyongani (2013) studied the morphosyntax of essential negation and negative imperatives in three Bantu languages of Southern Tanzania. The languages are *Kindendeule*, *Kikisi* and *Chingoni*. The study makes an observation that the languages in question have sentential negation marked by post verbal particles. He further observes that in the said three languages, the prohibitive commands do not use the imperative morphology but what is known as the surrogate negative imperatives. In the theory which he employs, he argues that the negative particles are adverbs that do not act as barriers to movement of V- to- C. An important aspect to note is that the negation particle occurs after the verb. At first glance, it appears as if it negates the object (if compared to most other Bantu languages' syntax) but the syntactic rules that govern such languages permit that kind of arrangement. The study makes a number of other vital revelations except that it does not make any effort aimed at stating the link between nominal classes and negation. Nonetheless, the present study will try as much as possible to consider the effect or interplay between nominal class prefixes and negation morphemes.

Besides, in another study undertaken by Ngonyani (2001), there is a description of sentential negation in Kiswahili. The study was anchored on the framework of Principles and Parameters. It is important to note that the research follows Pollock's (1989) proposal to split IP into several functional categories including NegP. According to the study, there is compelling evidence showing that in relative and conditional clauses, negation blocks I-to-C movement. The main argument for this is that negation marking in Kiswahili is an instance of negation projection, NegP. He proposes the use of four strategies for expressing negation in Swahili. They are: (a) negation in tensed clauses, (b) prefix *-si-*, (c) negative copula *si*, and (d) *kuto-* in gerund and infinitival clauses.

This study resonates well with the study of negation as it has been shown that even in Swahili, like in the Bemba language, there are several morphemes that account for negation in clauses and verbal constructions. The negative verb morphology in Bemba is not uniform in all persons and tenses. For instance, the first person singular negative marker *-sh-*, occupies the second slot while the negative marker in other persons *ta-* occupies the second slot in the verb structure as opposed to the Kiswahili in which all the negative markers in the tensed sentences occupy the same initial position. The present study will consider the morphology of the negative tensed sentences besides other aspects.

The writer further raises important questions on the existence of double negation in Kiswahili. To put it in another way, he questions whether two markers of negation in declarative sentences are a single discontinuous morpheme or they are independent particles. This is imperative because from the onset, it has to be established whether double negation exists in Bemba before looking at its morphology and syntax.

Another study was undertaken by Anyanwu (2012) on the negation particles on Jukunoid. The study describes the negation particles, negation strategies and an overview of the shapes and status of the various ‘negators’ including how they are used in context. The languages he considered were found to have multiple negation systems. What this implies is that the languages he studied were found to have more than one particle which is used to express negation. In her study, she reveals that the verbal forms have either symmetrical or asymmetric negation. Miestamo (2007: 556) agrees with this study by proposing a classification of negation into symmetrical or asymmetric. According to him, structures are symmetric when the positive ones do not differ from the negative ones “...in any other way than by the presence of the negative marker” while in asymmetric structures further differences or asymmetries are noted. These include the reduction

or loss of finiteness of the verbal element, the marking of the non-realised category in addition to a negative marker, a marking that expresses emphasis in non - negatives and changes in the marking of grammatical categories.

In the study of negation in Mokpe (a Cameroonian language), Tanda (2005) undertook an investigation of the structure of negative constructions. It was found that this language employs two or more negative morphemes which are not free variants, that is, the use of any of them is constrained by the tense or aspect of the verb under consideration. The author employed a 'Principles and Parameters' theory to treat the negation. He further asserts that the negation morpheme usually stands out clearly and coexists with other functional categories including tense, aspect and mood. What is notable in this study is the argument that sometimes the form of the morpheme varies, depending on the tense of the construction in which it is found.

Therefore, he adds, it is possible to identify the negation morpheme and match them with the various tenses. One of the benchmarks worth of record is the observance of the occurrence of such negation morphemes; they are predictable. It is quite an elaborate report albeit the researcher has not provided any formal explanation for the formalisation of rules to account for the occurrence of the negation morphemes under discussion. The current study should fill the void left by the Mokpe study (the interplay between phonology and morpho-syntax). He does not explain the interplay between phonology on the one hand, and morpho-syntax on the other hand which triggers functional categories replacement by negation morphemes.

There is also another study carried out by Mpalanzi (2010) to analyse the tense and aspect systems in Ikihehe, a language spoken in Iringa district of Tanzania. In order to realize the objectives of the study, the author applies the *Linear Model* and *Cognitive Approach*. The study touches on the

morphology and syntax (location of negative markers in the verbal structure) of the negative morphemes in relation to the verbal structure. He posits that the *-si-* negative marker tends to have an effect on the other functional categories such as aspect (perfective). According to the study, the negation marker in other Bantu languages can take the pre-initial as in Chasu, post initial as in Kinyakusa or even post initial positions as in Gweno. This helps to inform the current study to see whether the negative marker takes many positions in the Bantu verbal schema.

Miestamo (2003) carried out a study in which he argues against the position taken by another scholar, Mathews (1990). He, the latter, says that in many languages, the perfective aspect is incompatible with negation. However, in some languages which the former researched on, it was found that the assertion did not hold. For instance, in Koyraboro the perfective and imperfective aspects are distinguished in both affirmatives and negatives while in Bagirmi, a distinction within the perfective aspect is lost. He further states that in Bagirmi, the imperfective aspect appears in both affirmatives and negatives. Perfective aspect itself may also appear in both affirmatives and negatives, but the completive marker that emphasises the completedness of the action in the perfective aspect is incompatible with negation.

Schmid (1980: 198-199) makes similar observations about the compatibility of the morphemes. He says that, "...[t]he negative itself [...] possesses inherent aspect: not being true essentially being viewed as an on-going state or generally the case. There is thus a resistance to the co-occurrence of the negative with aspectual forms which delimits events." These observations are very cardinal for the present study because it also considers compatibility of tense markers with the negation markers.

The study undertaken by Van der Wal (2009) on the word order in Makhuwa-Enahara of Mozambique, he makes a comprehensive analysis of its syntax. Among the aspects he discusses is the verb structure and negation. According to the study, there are two types of negation; pre- and post- Subject marker. The two slots on the (Bantu verb) template cannot be filled at the same time. In other words, there is no possibility of double negation in Makhuwa-Enahara. The study further discusses negation in relation to various tenses and the forms the NEG takes in the various tenses. Key to the present study is how Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) have been elaborated in line with negation.

2.4 Aspect and Tense

The subject of tense and aspect has been explored extensively, providing a long but rich trajectory. Examples of such studies include Jespersen (1924), Comrie (1976, 1985), Dahl (1985), Bache (1985) and Bybee et al (1994). These materials provide a variety of perspectives from which tense and aspect have been approached. These studies have revealed a number of ways in which the two concepts have been defined, which are influenced by the language or languages discussed. As for ‘aspect’, Kortmann (1991: 9) states that, “it has almost become a commonplace in studies on members of the triad ‘tense-aspect-aktionsart’...especially in those on aspect, to begin with statements deploring the terminological confusion and the uncertainty about definitions, subdivisions and delimitations in this area.”

One of the major studies on tense and aspect was undertaken by Crane (2011). The study has shown an argument that tense can be understood as a relationship between three points: Event point, Reference Point and Speech Point. Event point is the time at which the event occurred; Speech point is the time at which the utterance is made while the Reference point (although not formally defined) seems to refer to the time of the (cognitive) point of view from which the event

is perceived. Another argument put forward is that the universal characterisation of time is a linear one, with a deictically determined “now” (zero) point. Tense is deictic, usually relating to the speaker’s “now”. Aspect, on the other hand, is not deictic, but encodes “different ways of viewing the internal temporary constituency of situation” (Crane, *ibid*). The study cites Smith (1997) as having defined aspect in terms of view point, for instance, the perfective viewpoint presents a situation as a whole. These arguments are taken as they are presented in the current study, and relate them to negation in Bemba.

Even though a minority of Niger-Congo families has tense contrasts, all of them have aspect. According to the study carried out by Comrie (1976), there are five tenses which are widespread; the Factive/ Perfective, Imperfective, Perfect, Progressive and the Habitual/Iterative. Comrie (*ibid*) defines the perfect as a situation which started in the past but continues into the present or the continuing present relevance of a previous situation. The Factive, according to the study, has two characteristic features. Structurally, it has the unmarked form especially when it is in contrast with the imperfective. Functionally, when used with the non-stative or dynamic verbs, it typically represents the past, complete situations, but when used with the stative verbs, it represents the current, non-past, incomplete, states. On the other hand, the imperfective represents situations which have started but their endings are not known to the speaker. The habitual refers to situations which are repeated (an incomplete series of complete events).

Concerning aspect, Comrie (1976:5) points out that, “Aspect is not concerned with relating to the time of the situation to any other time point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation...” As regards its relationship with tense, Comrie (*ibid*) states that, “one could state the difference as one between situation- internal time (aspect) and situation-external time

(tense).” In other words, aspect refers to the time that is contained in the event while tense refers to the time that contains the event.

As can be seen from the explanations above, the perfective, perfect and factive share areas of overlap, therefore, the concept of negation is more likely to strike the structural and functional differences among them.

2.5 Studies on Bantu Verb Inflection

Lodhi (2002) makes a comparison of Nyamwezi and Swahili verbal extensions. He cites Doke (1942) in listing the verbal extensions as; passive, neuter, applicative, causative, augmentative, intensive, extensive, reciprocal, associative, reversive and perfective, among others. His study is relevant to the present study because the presence of some verbal extensions is as a result of the introduction of the negation form. In other words, negative polarity sometimes occurs with a verbal extension because the NEG is attached to the verb. For instance, the study shows that a very interesting use of the causal applicative *-isha* post-radical is with the Nyamwezi verbs ‘to be’ and ‘to have’ when expressing negation. The RAD *-gaya* ‘not to exist’ becomes *-gayiwa* (to miss, not to have), *-gayisha* (undo, cause not to exist).

Gachomo (2004) carried out a study in which he established that tense, aspect and mood are morphologically marked on the verb through prefixation, suffixation and suprafixation. She has observed that most, if not all, Bantu languages undergo a lot of inflection on the verb. Further, Mwita in Kihara (2010) asserts that the morphosyntax of Gikuyu simple sentence has different moods that are evident in the language. They include; Imperative mood (imperative sentences), infinitive mood (as in declarative sentences), the subjunctive mood, which uses morphemes to express uncertainty, wishes, desires, possibilities, and the conditional mood; tense and aspect. The

study reveals that mood in Gikuyu is achieved by inflecting the verb morphologically. This argument bears positively on the current study because it also discusses tense and aspect with respect to negation. The verb in Bemba does not seem to indicate inflection when the negation morpheme is introduced.

The study carried out by Christa (1999) analyses the formatives which express the categories of tense, aspect, mood and negation (polarity) in the verbal construction of Standard Swahili (G42). The study explores the three negative markers *ha-*, *-si-* and *-to-*; TAM markers and their position; the infinitive, the habitual marker; and the finals *-i*, *-e* and *-a*. these formatives are analysed individually and then discussed in relation to one another. A morpho-semantic point of view is employed in their analysis. The language she studied revealed that there is only one slot for both tense and aspect. She further posits that tense is only marked once (in slot 4) on the verbal template. Christa notes that there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between the negative and affirmative forms.

Another study undertaken by Timbwah (2011) also reveals that the morphosyntactic nature of verb inflection for tense and aspect in Lunyore exhibits the past, present and future tense forms. In her study, she argues that auxiliaries are used to mark tense and aspect. Her revelations are critical to the current study because it also employs the concepts of tense and aspect in the study of negation. Tense, mood and aspect morphemes in Bemba have an influence on the shape of negation morphemes. Therefore, it is important to take into account the above arguments from other studies, especially Bantu languages.

Robinson (2016), postulates that the verb structure in *Nyakusa* is structured in such a way that it has some morphemes on the left while others are on the right of the radical. According to the study,

on the pre-root affixes; the slot 3 consists of negative markers [-ka- and -ti-]. The negative marker -ka- is applied in the past construction including perfective, whereas -ti- is associated with present and future expressions. These morphemes mark polarity, that is to say the distinction between the affirmative and the negative expressions. It is evident enough that the language under question has two forms of the NEG which occupy the same slot on the verbal template. It contrasts languages like Kiswahili which has up to three NEG morphemes occupying two different slots in complementary distribution. This is to mean that the three NEG cannot occur in the same slot in one construction. It is also imperative to note that the study has made an important reference to other aspects such as tense, mood and aspect though somewhat in a lukewarm approach. Apart from describing the slots the morphemes occupy with reference to particular tenses, the study does not go any further. For instance, it does not show any verbal inflections triggered by the NEG or let alone the interplay between inflectional aspects and negation.

2.6 Studies on Bemba

Kula (2002) undertook a study on the phonology of verbal derivation in Bemba. She discusses a number of phonological aspects in her study but what is of particular relevance to this study is the structure of a verb which she has provided. She argues that Bemba is an agglutinating language which puts a number of morphemes together. Central to these morphemes is the verb root itself. According to her, the verbal structure in Bemba has a negative marker (NEG) followed by a subject marker (SM) and then a tense marker (TM). Others include: the aspect, that is, progressive or perfective, object marker (OM), ROOT, verbal extension (Ex) and the verbal ending (End). The main emphasis in her study is laid on the structure of the verb and the phonological aspects which result from morphological operations. The study neglects the existence of pre-prefix and post-ending on the verb structure. Therefore, this study will also show the full structure of a verb

including the slots as outlined above. This is critical as it will be used to show the morphological changes that occur in Bemba negation.

The report does not make an attempt aimed at discussing the morphology of the individual morphemes especially the negative marker. This would have been important as it would have laid bare the structure and types of the NEG. The study does not give any insight into the syntax and semantics of the NEG in verbal constructions. These are some of the information gaps which the current study aims at bridging.

Mwita (2006) undertook a research on the Bemba verb inflection for tense and aspect. The author used the Basic Linguistic Theory and Nurse's Conceptual Frame Work to analyse the distribution and interaction of aspect and tense on the verb phrase in Bemba. This is the appropriate theory for his study because it is mainly used by scholars for the description of languages. The study provides the template as a representation of the structure of the verb in Bantu languages. This is an important aspect because the current study (negation) rests on the verb. It also looks at the inflectional features of the verb. Further, the work considers the basic Bemba sentential structure. On negation, Mwita (ibid) reveals that, "negation is usually indicated by adding the morpheme *ta-* in the Bemba language. However, when the subject is the first personal pronoun *n-* 'I', negation is shown by inserting the morpheme '*-shi*' after the prefix of the subject." He does not provide the explanation, for instance, about the parameters that determine the various shapes which the NEG takes in different verbal constructions. He simply goes on to give a number of examples albeit not explaining anything more in terms of the linguistic analysis. Therefore, this study will fill that void left by the study in reference.

Another study undertaken by Kamfuli (2009) on the nature and character of verbal extensions in Bemba, the verbal structure is composed of morphemes. He makes a conclusion that extensions are morphemes that are suffixed to the radicals in order to express different ways that the action stated by the radical is achieved. The study suggests that an extension may indicate the reversal, intensity, extensiveness or reciprocity of the action stated by the radical. It is further stated that some verbal extensions can cause an increase in valency (the number of arguments) while others block or preserve the valency permitted by the radical. This scope therefore suggests that no serious attempt was made to describe the negation morpheme as the study was purely meant to describe the verbal extensions.

Chibwe (2015) carried out a study on the dialectological variations among some three of Bemba's dialects. In his study, he discusses the structure of the verb in Bemba. He posits that the verb in this language is composed of several morphemes. He quotes Chanda (2007) as having said that the verb is the most complex part of speech in Bantu languages. He illustrates the various morphemes that compose a verb in Bemba. He also makes mention that there is no single verb which can carry all the eleven elements at once. The other finding he mentions relates to the parts into which the past tense is divided, that is; hodiernal and prehodiernal past. To this effect, he gives a number of illustrations of how the tense and other functional morphemes conjugate. Nevertheless, he does not discuss the area of negation. In fact, it has not even been mentioned as an independent entity of linguistic analysis (as if it is non-existent). All these areas left unattended to are worthy of exploring in this study.

2.7 Literature on Negation in Bemba

The study done by Sheane (1907) explores the grammar of the Bemba language. He devotes a chapter to discussing negative conjugation. In his study, he offers a comprehensive descriptive

work of how conjugation between tense and negative markers occurs in Bemba. The study discusses such facets as mood, tense and aspect. It explains how these functional morphemes conjugate with the negative marker in the process of Bemba negation. The study further talks about the possibility of double negation in compound tenses [verbs] as in *tabali tabalepyanga* ‘they were not sweeping’. It is worthy of noting that the work also tries to look at the formation of negatives in relation to nominal class prefixes.

Nevertheless, the work does not make sufficient effort aimed at addressing the effects of phonology, morphology and syntax on negation in Bemba. For instance, there is no part in which he describes tonal variations which are triggered by the NEG. Moreover, the discussion on double negation lacks sufficient evidence to show how the first and second negation markers differ from each other (if they are not just one morpheme but occurring twice). Other than this, it does not show how sentential negation in Bemba is formed. These are some of the information gaps which the present work aims at addressing. But it is vital to note that even the areas which have been discussed in the above work have been subjected to further scrutiny as there has been substantial time which has elapsed between the time when his work was conducted and now. Languages change, they grow and it cannot be taken for granted that the same information he gathered still holds.

2.8 Chapter Summary

It is evident from the above pieces of literature that there is sufficient work on negation in other languages as opposed to Bemba. For the studies done in Bemba and other Zambian languages, they (to a large extent) barely outline the description of negation markers in respective languages without devoting sufficient effort aimed at explaining linguistic formalisations relating to form, function and occurrence of the NEG. The said studies have scantily explored the phonology,

morphology and syntax of negation. Among the read literature, none has discussed the form, function and position of the negative morpheme in the Bemba verbal construction. Most of the studies carried out in other Bantu languages have only provided the relationship that exists among tense, aspect and mood. There is no material that is elaborate enough to show how the introduction of the negation morpheme on the Bemba verb triggers phonological and morphological modifications. Most importantly, there is no material, at least among the read literature, that reveals the form, shape, function and position of the negation morpheme on the Bemba verbal structure. Other than that, there are parameters that determine the shape of the NEG in Bemba but have not been explored in the available literature. None of the studies has given an account of incorporation of the NEG into the verbal structure. These are some of the void areas which the current study is aimed at filling.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the discussions centered on the available literature as they relate to the concept of negation. The current chapter offers a detailed outline of the actual steps that were used in the process of executing the research which ultimately culminated into finding answers to the objectives. It comprises the research design and the methods; procedures, instruments and techniques used in data collection and analysis. It also provides the study area and the sample size. It firstly explains what research design is before elaborating the specific methods used.

3.1 Research Design

Every ideal research study has a systematic structure of scheme which elaborately defines the steps followed when executing the work. The research design is the framework within which a given research exercise is to be undertaken and provides the basis for the selection of appropriate research methods to be used in investigating a given phenomenon. The study at hand employed a descriptive approach as a research design. This design is largely informed by qualitative research approach. It was mainly employed to give a detailed description and explanation of the structure and occurrence of the negation morphemes within verbal constructions. Kombo and Tromp (2006: 71) observe that, “the descriptive research design’s major purpose is description of the state of affairs as they exist and the researcher’s findings.” Further, Kerlinger (1969) points out that the descriptive studies are not only restricted to findings, but may also suit information of important principles of knowledge and solutions to significant problems. A design is more than just collection of data, but it also involves measurement, classification, analysis, comparison, and interpretation

of data. And according to Orodho (2003), descriptive survey is a method of collecting information by interviewing or ministering questionnaires.

Additionally, qualitative research is a form of research that involves description as it seeks to describe and analyse the culture and behavior of humans and their groups from the point of view of those being studied (Kembo & Tromp, 2006). Corbin (1990) as quoted by Punch (2006) asserts that qualitative research is the type that produces findings by non-statistical procedures. In this kind of research, data collected may be collected by techniques such as interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires, feelings and insights. In this regard, this kind of data collection is set in flexible and sensitive social contexts.

This kind of approach is an inductive one in nature. It is flexible and sensitive to the social context which suggests that data is to be put in words and not in numbers. There is more emphasis on description and discovery as opposed to testing and verifying the hypothesis. Qualitative research begins from making observations developing towards a general pattern that emerges from specific cases being studied. In this regard, the researcher is delinked from making assumptions before observations are made. According to Yin (2011: 73) in the execution of the qualitative research, you just might want to study a real- world setting, discover how people cope with and thrive in that setting. Further, Ngalande (2015: 23) posits that, “qualitative research methods can give valuable insight into the local situation and people’s feelings and can help ascertain how local culture and beliefs affect human behavior patterns.”

It is clear from the foregoing arguments that qualitative research provides data that can be trusted and that can be used to understand the real- life situations in which people find themselves. It is about social life and how this is interpreted for rendering meaning. It follows that qualitative

approach makes use of people's interpretations and meanings in social settings. It is in this view that the research found this approach appropriate in terms of data collection and analysis.

3.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Chambishi area of Kalulushi district of the Copperbelt province in Zambia. It has to be admitted here that the Bemba spoken in Copperbelt is what Kashoki (1970) calls town Bemba. However, the main focus was on the standard Bemba as taught in the school curriculum. Besides, the study was done by a native speaker who involved five other native speakers, who at the same time were teachers of Bemba, as respondents. Only Five (5) teachers of Icibemba were drawn from Twalubuka, St Nicholas and Chambishi secondary schools in Chambishi. The researcher employed introspection, being a native speaker, as a primary source of data. Teachers and desk research were the secondary source of data. In other words, the researcher employed introspection as well as engaged in intensive and extensive study of the existing literature on negation in Bemba and other languages.

3.3 Sampling Techniques

In choosing the respondents, the researcher employed purposive sampling. All the respondents were carefully selected. As stated earlier, only teachers of Bemba at secondary school level were engaged. The rationale for selecting seasoned teachers of Bemba was to ensure collection of founded information. In fact, all of the informants were native speakers of the language under question. Each school provided two teachers except for St Nicholas where only one teacher was engaged. In addition to this number of respondents, the sample size also included diary records from unstructured interviews and other public discourses. These unstructured interviews were among gatherings such as church, other informal conversations and minibus travels.

It is indisputable that choosing the appropriate size of sample is challenging and has remained a contentious subject for some time now. A number of scholars have argued that the bigger the number of respondents is, the better and more reliable results are. However, it is not defined what the exact number of participants should be for each particular study. Further, it is quite common to hear of complaints among researchers regarding lack of resources in terms of finances, time and human resource to be able to collect data from a large sample.

In this regard, it can be inferred that there are somewhat specific rules governing the determination of the sample size in a qualitative research. Robinson (1993: 217) in Mukonde (2009) argues that a study sample in a qualitative research should be small. This argument confirms that the number of participants in this study is appropriate. It has to be noted that Bemba has an approved orthography with a fair number of written materials. Therefore, apart from reading and collecting data from other respondents, the researcher employed introspection being a native speaker of Bemba.

3.4 Data Collection Techniques and Instruments

In collecting data, three main techniques were used namely; observer participant, introspection and document analysis (desk research). Observer participation involved a researcher engaging in conversations and discourses from which he noted down the negative constructions in the diary. These extended to church and other gatherings, for instance, minibus travels. The questionnaire was used to collect data from the teachers because it required people with good linguistic minds to respond to it. Document analysis involved reading other written materials on negation in Bemba and many other languages of the world.

The researcher's diary and a questionnaire were administered as instruments in the collection of data. These were the necessary techniques and instruments for the present study. Most of the settings were natural except the meetings with teachers. Such natural settings included home gatherings, churches and minibuses.

3.4.1 Introspection

The study was premised on the phonology, morphology, syntactic and semantics of negation in Bemba. Owing to the fact that the researcher knows the language very well, it was necessary to employ introspection as the first instrument for data collection and analysis. To this effect, the researcher engaged himself in semi-vocalisation, engaging in various discourses and conversations in order to elicit the constructions with negative markers basing on Chomsky's (2006) argument that the native speaker's intuition cannot be underestimated. In support of this assertion, Radford (1997: 24) says that, "a grammar of a language is a model of the grammatical competence of the fluent native speaker of the language, and that competence is reflected in native speakers' intuitions about grammaticality and interpretation." Predicated on this linguistic revelation, as well as on Chomsky's innateness hypothesis that is based on creativity, the researcher formed generalisations about how negatives are constructed in Bemba.

What was at the center of judgment was the form, shape, function and position of the negation morpheme in Bemba. All the judgments to this effect were to be subjected to intuition of the researcher.

3.4.2 Desk Research

Most of the materials read by desk research were sourced from the main library of the University of Zambia. There were a number of materials discussing the linguistic negation in various

languages and from different perspectives. The desk research provided a great footing for an overview based on descriptive linguistics and, Principles and parameters. The information gathered from the various linguists showed that negation in Bemba has very little work on it, and that languages have different ways of reflecting negation on verbal constructions.

3.5 Data Collection Procedure and Timeline

Data collection from respondents with questionnaires took about two weeks. However, collection of the other data from other written materials took about twelve months to be read and analysed.

It has to be noted that both activities were taking place concurrently. The researcher took time to sit and discuss the questionnaire with the five respondents who were selected through purposive sampling before asking them to respond. The idea was to give proper guidance to them. Data from discussions were recorded in the researcher's diary. It is also imperative to note that data which were collected from unstructured interviews and discourses such as church assemblies were also recorded in the diary. It has to be borne in the reader's mind that Town (Copperbelt) Bemba varies from the Bemba spoken in rural areas albeit slightly. Thus, it was incumbent upon the researcher to only pick standard words from the discourses.

3.6 Data Analysis Instruments and Procedures

Data analysis began at the same time with data collection. In analysing data, a qualitative approach was used. Qualitative analysis was premised more on describing and analysing the forms, function, position and meaning of the negative marker and the possible combinations of personal pronouns, tenses, nominal classes, and other functional morphemes. Analysis of collected data was done

through the application of Principles and parameters model as well as descriptive linguistics. This involved segmenting, identifying and describing the morphemes that constitute the verbal constructions in Bemba. Both of these theories hinge on the linguistic description of elements. Evans (1973) argues for the use of descriptive linguistic theory in a study like this one. The principal argument of the Principles and Parameters is that elements do not just occur arbitrarily, their occurrence is subject to restrictions.

3.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter has discussed the design and approach that were adopted for data collection and analysis. The justification for choosing them has been provided. It has been shown how and why the study applied the descriptive research design which is informed by qualitative research approach to give an explanation of the negation forms in Bemba. The qualitative approach was the appropriate approach for the study because there was no point at which quantifying the findings was necessary. The chapter has also shown that a description of the negation morpheme requires a holistic approach. The main steps employed in the collection and analysing of data have been outlined.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings in line with the objectives of the study under the approach of Descriptive Linguistics as well as Principles and Parameters. The aim of this study was to take an analysis of the grammar of negation in Bemba, and the specific objectives were as follows:

- i. To establish the phonological processes affecting negation in Bemba.
- ii. To examine the morphological and syntactic status of the negative marker in Bemba.
- iii. To investigate how tense alternations characterizing the affirmative and negative constructions affect the morphology and syntax of such constructions.

In order to respond to these objectives, this chapter highlights the structure of the Bemba verb together with the parameters that affect its shape. It also looks at tonal changes that occur because of the presence or absence of the NEG on the verb. Take note that this is the only aspect of phonology that has been discussed in this study. The chapter also actualises the morphology and syntax of negation. The discussion on that part includes the clause types in relation to negation, it contextualises the relationship between negation and tense. The chapter further discusses negation and its relationship with other functional morphemes (tense, aspect and mood) in the Bemba verb phrase. The other findings discussed in this chapter are negation of the infinitive as well as relative clauses (under non-standard negation). The last part of the chapter talks about the parameters that determine the shape of the negator. They include, tense, grammatical person and mood among others. It also looks at an overview of the shapes and status of the various negation morphemes and how they are used in various contexts. The findings include a discussion on the occurrence of

the NEG morpheme. Irrespective of the type of the morpheme, there are a number of constraints regarding their form (shape), position and function. In other words, the morphemes do not just occur arbitrarily as guided by the Bemba and Bantu verbal templates; their occurrence is subject to a number of constraints.

It is imperative to begin an argument like this one by presenting the arguments for the existence of negation. The existence of negation is presented in the phrase structure rules of the syntactic base component. Jacobsen (1978: 97-98), outlines sixteen PS-Rules for English. Of particular interest to this study are rules 2 and 3 which are presented below:

2. $S \rightarrow (\text{presentence}) \text{Nucleus}$

3. $\text{Presentence} \rightarrow (\{Q/Imp\}) (\text{Neg}) (\text{Emp})$

Rule number 2 above shows that a sentence is made up of an obligatory nucleus and an optional presentence. The next rule (3) explains what a presentence is. A presentence is made up of an optional element of either a question or an imperative. It can also be comprised of an optional negative or an optional emphasis. Thus, all the elements that make up a presentence are optional. This is true for the existence of negation in the Bemba verb phrase. Negation is an optional unit because it is not all the verbal constructions which have a negative element in them.

4.2 Bantu Verbal Forms

In the late 1970s, Kashoki understood verb forms to refer to the state of the verb in relation to whether it is relative, infinitive, absolutive or imperative (Kashoki & Ohannessian, 1978). According to this argument, a verb is realised in various forms with regard to the above states. To further this assertion, Kula (2002) says that, “Within the verb, Bemba, like many other Bantu languages, has a robust morphology traditionally referred to as ‘agglutinative’, which allows affixation of a variety of morphemes both to the left (prefixes) and the right (suffixes) of the verbal

root”. In the Bemba language, verb forms characteristically have a number of parts or functional morphemes, which may or may not all be written as one word, but which occur in the order which is fixed. There is no arbitrariness in the manner these parts occur in a verbal construction, for instance, *ta-ba-aci-mu-peel- a* ‘they did not give him/her’. Parts, like *ba-* and *-mu-*, are pronouns. These pronouns stand for the SM and OM (see next section for the names of verbal morphemes). The part, *-aci-*, marks tense and mood and other characteristics of the verb form such as aspect. The main or obligatory part of the verb form, in this illustration *-peel-*, is called the root. With the exception of the imperative, such as *mona*, ‘see’, most verb forms have a subject pronoun, but in certain relative verb forms, the subject pronoun is substituted by an adjective like prefix as in *uw-auma nafyala* ‘he who beats his mother-in-law’ Consider the following table adapted from Kula (2002):

Table 4: The Bantu verbal template

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
PREPREF	SM	POSTPRF	TM	POSTTM	OM	RAD	EXT	PREEND	END	POST

Adapted from Kula (2002)

KEY:

PREPREF = pre-prefix

SM (SUBPREF) = Subject prefix; Subject Marker

POSTPREF = Post prefix (Post subject marker)

TM = Tense Marker

POST TM = Post Tense Marker (Aspect marker in most cases)

OM = Object Marker

RAD = Radical

EXT = Extension

PRE- END = Pre ending

END = Ending

POST END = Post ending

Some Bantu languages have eleven, or slightly over, slots on the verbal template. According to Mpalanzi (2010: 2), Ikihehe, which is classified as (G60) by Guthrie (1948), has up to 12 syntactic slots in its verbal unit. The high number is as a result of the language being able to take up to two/three negation morphemes and two SMs.

On the above template, the Pre-prefix and the Post-prefix are the ones that usually express negation, with the latter being referred to as “secondary” negative. SM is the subject marker slot and is obligatory in most tenses and aspects. The TM represents the tense marker which in some languages also accounts for aspect. The post-tense marker represents Aspect in most cases, and may also encode modality and mood (Nurse, 2008).

The Radical (RAD) is the core of the verb and hence, is obligatory. It is core in the sense that it carries the integrity of the word’s primary nuance. This is followed by various valence-changing verbal extensions and the final vowel (FV). Following the final vowel may also be a variety of markers such as the post-ending. Take note that some languages do not have the pre and post-endings. These morphemes surround the RAD in a fixed order and subject to constraints.

Following the TM is the OM (object marker) slot, where one or more object markers may occur. Typically, the OM is closest to the root. Object pronouns, also called Object Markers, regularly occur in the middle of a verb form immediately before the root or radical. There is sometimes a special reflexive pronoun used when the object is the same as the subject, for instance *-i-* in *nda-*

i-liisha ‘I feed myself’. Locative pronouns (and some secondary object pronouns) may occur at the end of the verb-form, for instance in *baacikala-po* ‘he sat on it’, and these pronouns are sometimes added to other kinds of words as well, for instance *apatali-ko* ‘at a distance from it’.

A verb root is generally followed by a suffix characteristic of the tense (exceptions are a limited number of irregular roots often including ‘to be’ and ‘to say’) additional tense markers occur before or after the subject pronoun. According to Payne (1994: 24), a root is “...a part of a word which is in an unanalysable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word, but it does not necessarily constitute a fully understandable word in and of itself.” Katamba (1993: 4) also posits that it is the irreducible core of a word, without anything else affixed to it. By this implication, the Bemba roots cannot stand on their own but require other morphemes to be affixed to them for them to carry meaning. As a consequence of this, the root normally comprises a stem and other imperative affixes. Consider the illustration below:

(13) a. n - la - li - a → ndalya ‘I eat’

1sg. – Asp – eat – FV

Take note that the alveolar lateral [l] in Bemba is realised as an alveolar plosive [d] when it is preceded by a nasal [n]. Consider these examples: *na-tu-bomb-e* ‘let us work’, *naa-tu-bomb-a* ‘we have already worked’, *tw-a-bomb-ele* ‘we worked’. Kashoki (1978:33) argues that, “Occasionally, some of these parts become fused; there seems to be one part instead of two. In the construction *nin-send-a* ‘I have already taken’, the first part corresponds to the first two parts of *naa-tu-send-a* [we have already taken]”. However, one needs to note that the part “*nin-*” comprises two separate ideas; *ni-*(present perfective Aspect ‘have’) and *-n-* (first personal pronoun ‘I’). Without doubt, this - the present perfect tense – is the only tense that precedes the subject (pronoun) in any Bemba verbal construction.

The tense suffixes in Bantu take different forms depending on the final vowel and consonant of the root; for instance in Bemba's *twapop-ele* 'we nailed', but *twamon-ene* 'we met/saw each other'; *e* in the suffix is associated with *o* or *e* in the root, and *n* with *n* or *m* in the root.

One further characteristic of the verb system in Bantu languages is the addition of parts called extensions or derivative suffixes to the root which slightly change the meaning of the infinitive verb in a regular way. In Bemba, for instance, in an extension *-il-* (subject to the same changes as the *-ile* tense suffix) which brings in someone for which the action is performed (Indirect Object), e.g. in *ukupanga* 'to make', *ukupang-ila* 'to make for'. There is a passive extension *-w-* for instance *-cen-* 'injure', *-cen-w-* 'be/get injured'. The passive always implies that the action is done by someone. This should not be confused with the stative verbs which merely record the state, as in *-pang-w-* 'made' e.g. *caapangwa ku China* 'It is made in China'.

4.2.1 The Bemba Verb Structure

The above section has described the verb structure in Bantu languages in general. It cannot be denied that some of the languages in this group do not have all the slots represented on the template. Bemba, for instance, does not have the pre-ending. Thus, in essence, Bemba has only ten verbal morphemes. Within the verb, Bemba, like many other Bantu languages, has a morphology which is traditionally referred to as 'agglutinative', which allows affixation of a variety of morphemes both to the left (prefixes) and the right (suffixes) of the verbal root. The illustration below as adapted from Kula (2015) gives all the positions available in the Bemba verb. Remember that double negation is not a possible phenomenon in Bemba. Therefore, Neg1 and Neg2 cannot both occur in one verbal construction. Consider the illustration below:

Table 5: Bemba verbal template

TAM1 -	Neg1 -	SM -	Neg2 -	TAM2 -	OM -	Verb root -	D-suffixes -	I-suffixes -
	ta-	tu-		akulaa-	ba-	bomb-	el-	-a

Ta - tw - akulaa - ba - bomb - el - a ‘we will not be working for them’

NEG - SM1PL- FUT PROG - OM2 - *work* - appl. - FV

In this illustration, the label TAM is a category for tense, aspect and/or mood. SM and OM refer to subject and object markers, respectively, that are based on a nominal classification system. TAM2 is the main slot for tense-aspect-mood while TAM1 is reserved for a specific tense that is related to focus. The two slots cannot be filled simultaneously. Similarly, the two slots for the negative cannot be occupied at the same time. Neg2 is reserved for negatives of class-1 subject markers while Neg1 caters for the other classes. Derivational suffixes and Inflectional suffixes are structurally optional. In other words, verbal extensions will only be affixed to a verb as and when they may be required to trigger semantic changes. The FV slot must always be filled. In the default case the vowel /a/ is used but the FV slot may be filled by a tense related vowel or extension such as *-ele* in *tatwabombele* ‘we did not work’.

Finally, within the complexity of the verb, emphasis in this dissertation has been placed on the investigation of phonological, morphological and syntactic processes resulting from the presence and/or absence of the negative marker in word formation operations. As seen above, the Bemba word must include at least a prefix, verb root and FV which are obligatory morphemes.

It is imperative to note that there is no verbal form which can take all the above morphemes at once. Crane (2011: 96) has revealed that, “In a typical Bantu language, a verb can consist of a root and final vowel (e.g. 2nd person singular imperatives) and can maximally fill all of these [nine]

slots, sometimes with two or more markers.” Further, the study postulates that a variety of functions are performed by morphemes at pre-prefix (pre- SM); new markers tend to grammaticalise at this or the final edge of the verb. Some common functions include ‘primary’ negative.

4.2.2 Parameters that determine the shape of the verb

This section presents the features that are pertinent in determining the shape of the verb. There are many factors that influence the shape of the verb in all languages of the world. In many languages, the factors include, but not exclusive to, mood, tense and aspect. In Bemba, however, there is the fourth parameter called absolutive as coined by Meeussen (2004). In his argument, absolutive refers to a non-relative construction.

4.2.2.1 Tense

Tense as used in linguistics is a concept that means a category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with aspect and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. While there are three tenses in English; past present and future Bemba many other subdivisions. The past tenses include the remote past; past before yesterday, past of yesterday and the recent past; past of today also known as the hordiernal past. There is the future of today and the future beginning tomorrow and the time after. Then there is the present tense. Take a look at the following illustration of the verb *ukusamba* ‘to bathe’ in various tenses.

(14) n - **aci** - samb - a → nacisamba ‘I bathed’ [earlier today]

1sg. – TM – bathe - FV

n - **ali** - samb - a → nalisamba ‘I bathed’ [yesterday]

1sg. – TM – bathe - FV

n - **ali** - samb - ile → nalisambile ‘I bathed’ [before yesterday]

1sg. – TM – bathe - **ext**

n - **a** - samb - a → nasamba ‘I have bathed’ [just now]

1sg. – asp – bathe -FV

n - **ala** - samb - a → nalasamba ‘I will bathe’ [later today]

1sg. – TM – bathe - FV

n - **ka** - samb - a → nkasamba ‘I will bathe’ [tomorrow and later]

1sg. – TM – bathe – FV

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that tense is critical in shaping the verb in Bemba. The overall structure is basically shaped by the tense in which a particular construction is.

4.2.2.2 Mood

In general linguistics, mood refers to the form of the verb which indicates whether the verb expresses a fact (indicative mood), a command (the imperative mood), a question (the interrogative mood), a condition (the conditional mood) or a wish (the subjunctive mood). According to Crystal (2008) mood is, “A term used in the theoretical and descriptive study of sentence/clause types, and especially of the verbs they contain. Mood (modality, or mode) refers to a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signaled by alternative paradigms of the verb, e.g. indicative (the unmarked form), subjunctive, imperative”. In semantics, a wide range of nuances is involved, especially those to do with attitudes of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, for instance, uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility. Syntactically, these contrasts may be signaled by alternative inflectional forms of a verb, or by using auxiliaries. English mainly uses modal auxiliaries, e.g. *may*, *can*, *shall*, *must*, but makes a little use of inflection.

In Bemba, the following shows an illustration of how a verb structure can change depending on the mood of the construction:

ukulya ‘to eat’ [infinitive]

Isa! ‘come!’ [imperative]

Baisa ‘they have come’ [declarative]

Bese ‘they should come’ [subjunctive]

4.2.2.3 Aspect

Crystal (2008) defines aspect as, “A category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with tense and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the duration or type of temporal activity denoted by the verb.” It indicates whether the action expressed is complete (perfective) or continuing (imperfective). Consider the following example using the verb *ukusamba* ‘to bathe’:

(15) n - aci - samb - a → nasisamba ‘bathed’

1sg. – TM – bathe – FV

n - a - samb - a → nasamba ‘I have [just] bathed’

1sg. – asp – bathe - FV

n - aci - **la** - samb - a → nasisasamba ‘I *was* bathing’

1sg. – TM – asp – bathe – FV

As can be seen from the above illustration, the verb changes its structure as determined by the aspect. In the first example, the aspect is not expressed overtly. In the other two constructions, the aspect is shown albeit by different allomorphs *-a-* and *-la-*.

4.2.2.4 Relative clause

Another factor on which the shape of the verb is predicated is the type of a clause. A clause may be relative or non- relative. According to Meeussen (2004), a clause which does not have a relative

pronoun is termed as absolutive. This is a concept used in grammatical description to characterise pronouns which may be used to introduce a postmodifying clause within a noun phrase, and by extension to the clause as a whole, the latter case being referred to as relative clauses. Relative pronouns in English include *who*, *which*, *whom*, *whose* and *that* as used in such relative clauses as *the man **who** went was mad* (Crystal, 2008).

While English has words for indicating ‘relativity’ of the clausal construction, Bemba uses both a morpheme and an irregular relative pronoun. It is referred to as irregular owing to its ability to change shape as determined by the nominal class prefix of the noun it modifies (refer to appendix A). In such clauses as the ones below, the shape of the pronoun changes according to the noun.

*Icimuti **ico**...* ‘a tree **which**...’

*Ifimuti **ifyo**...* ‘trees **which**...’

*Ulukasu **ulo**...* ‘a hoe **which**...’

In whichever case, the structure of the verb is informed by whether the clause is relative or absolutive. Look the following examples:

(16) a. ba - la - li - a → balalya ‘they eat’ [ABSOLUTIVE]

SM – asp - eat - FV

b. a - ba - li - a → abalya ‘those who eat’ [RELATIVE]

pre-pref – SM – eat - FV

c. abo - a - ba - li - a → abo abalya ‘those who eat’ [RELATIVE]

rel. pro – pre-pref – SM – eat - FV

This data actualises the idea that a clause type has a bearing on how the verb is shaped. This is an idea which is just specific to Bantu languages. The relative pronoun in (b) is implied while in (c) there is an overt pronoun.

4.3 TONOLOGY OF NEGATION

Phonology refers to the phonetic representation of sounds and sound patterns in a speaker's mental grammar (Fromkin, 2002: 273). The intuitive knowledge of the phonology of negation and the manner in which they put to use this knowledge is the primary concern of this section. In chapter one, the phonemic inventory of Bemba was presented and a number of phonological processes were observed from the data which were collected. One of the phonological aspects to be discussed in this section is tone.

4.3.1 Tone and negation

Miti (2006: 103) indicates that tonal languages are those that use pitch to show differences in word meaning, or to convey grammatical contrasts. Spitulnik and Kashoki (1996) state that Bemba is a tone language which has two basic tones; high (H) and low (L). In principle, the high tone is marked with an acute accent while the low tone is unmarked. According to them, tone can be phonemic and is an important functional marker in Bemba signaling semantic distinction between words. In other words, they have stated that tone can be used to distinguish words in Bemba. And according to Crystal (2008), tone is the term used in phonology to refer to the distinctive pitch level of a syllable. Spitulnik & Kashoki (1996, 1998) indicate that tonal contrasts in Bemba also exist at grammatical level. According to these studies, tonal patterns are said to be more complex; they interact with other morpho-syntactic, morpho-phonological and prosodic processes. In Bemba, the presence of the negative morpheme on the verb causes the tonal patterns to change in some persons and tenses. The following section devotes the discussion to the tonal changes. Note that all the TBUs with low or flat tones are not so represented in this study. The only tones which are shown are those with high, rising or falling pitch.

It is worthy of note that the NEG in all its forms has a high tone. However, its effect on the verb is not a predictable one because its presence does not always trigger tonal change of other functional morphemes.

Tone in verbal constructions is better understood in the context of tense, mood and aspect. Tense is primarily understood to mean a category used in the grammatical description of verbs, along with aspect and mood, referring basically to the way the grammar marks the time at which an action indicated by the verb took place. Gatumu (2014: 39), as cited in Trask (1999), states that a given language is able to express a limitless number of distinctions of time. He further posits that if such a language shows such distinctions in its time grammar, then it has tense. In agreeing with this position, Comrie (1985: 36) says that in principle, there are three tenses which include the past, present and future tenses. In the past tense, the action or situation is located before now, while in the future tense, the action is presented after now. The present is an equivalent of the now. Any action or situation placed in the present represents 'the now'.

4.3.1.1 Tone in Present progressive tense –le-

(17) a. n - le - lya → ndelya 'I am eating'

1sg. – TM – eat

b. n - shí - le - lyá → nshilelya 'I am not eating'

1sg. – NEG – TM – eat

c. mu - le - lya → mulelya 'you are eating'

2sg/pl. – TM – eat

d. tá - mu - le - lyá → tamulelya 'you are not eating'

NEG – 2sg/pl – TM - eat

- e. tu - le - lya → tulelya ‘we are eating’
1Pl. – TM - eat
- f. tá - tú - le - lyá → tatúlelyá ‘we are not eating’
NEG - 1Pl. – TM - eat

In the present progressive tense, all the syllables (morphemes) in the affirmative in all the personal pronouns have the L tones. However, the presence of the negative morpheme, which itself has a High tone, causes the vowel on the final syllable to shift the tone from L to H as shown in the above illustration.

4.3.1.2 Tone in Present habitual tense –la-

Even though, in the strict terms, the tense being referred to here is an Aspect, it is explained in the sense of tense for better understanding. It is an equivalent of the present simple tense in English. In the *present habitual tense*, the introduction of the negative morpheme does not cause any change to the tonal pattern on the entire verb. What this means is that the NEG has no effect on the verb in the habitual tense. The NEG itself has a high tone but all the other TBUs in the verb are resistant to change. The following examples illustrate this:

- (18) a. n - la - lya → ndalya ‘I eat’
1sg. – TM/Asp – eat
- b. n - shí - lya → nshílya ‘I do not eat’
1sg. – NEG – eat
- c. mu - la - lya → mulalya ‘you eat (habitually)’
2sg/pl – TM – eat
- d. tá - mu - lya → támulya ‘you do not eat’
NEG – 2sg/pl – eat

e. tu - la - lya → tulalya ‘we eat’

1pl. – TM – eat

f. tá - tu - lya → tatulya ‘we do not eat’

NEG – 1pl. - eat

4.3.1.3 Tone in Present perfect tense –na-

The present perfect tense in Bemba indicates an action which has been done. One which begins from the past and has an effect in the present. It has a completive aspect. The NEG which has a high tone triggers high tones on the other morphemes in the negative form of the verb. It is important to note that the TM *na-* changes form to *ni-* in the first personal pronoun, and it is the only TM that precedes the SM in the first personal pronoun. All other TMs occur after the SM.

Look at the tonal shift in the following examples:

(19) a. ní - n - lya → níndya ‘I have eaten’

TM – 1sg. – eat

b. n - shí - lá - lyá → nshílályá ‘I have not eaten yet’

1sg. – NEG – Asp – eat

c. ná - mu - lya → namulya ‘you have eaten’

TM – 2sg/pl – eat

d. tá - mú - lá - lyá → tamulalya ‘you have not eaten’

NEG – 2sg/pl – TM – eat

e. ná - tu - lya → natulya ‘we have eaten’

TM – 1pl – eat

f. **tá** - **tú** - **lá** - **lyá** → tatulalya ‘we have not eaten’

NEG – 1pl. – TM - eat

As can be seen from the above illustration, the NEG which has a high tone causes all the other syllables (TBUs) to bear the high tones in all the persons.

4.3.1.4 Tone in Hodiernal past –*aci-*

The hodiernal past shows that the presence of the NEG on the verb causes the high tone on the verb root to change to a low tone. For instance, the first syllable in *-laala* ‘sleep’ has a high tone in the affirmative which changes to low in the negative construction. Consider the examples shown below:

(20) a. n - **ací** - **láál** - a → nac**í**l**áál**a ‘I slept’

1sg. – TM – sleep – FV

b. n - sh - **ací** - laal - a → nshac**í**l**áál**a ‘I did not sleep’

1sg. – NEG – TM – sleep – FV

c. mu - **ací** - **láál** - a → mwacil**áál**a ‘you slept’

2sg/pl – TM – sleep – FV

d. **tá** - mu - **ací** - laal - a → **tám**wacil**áál**a ‘you did not sleep’

NEG – 2sg/pl – TM – sleep - FV

Nonetheless, the negative morpheme has no tonal effect on the overall construction in the progressive aspect of the hodiernal past. This means that all the tone bearing units bear the same tones in both the affirmative and negative verb forms. This is the case in all the persons. Consider the illustrations below:

(21) a. n - acilá - lya → nacilálya ‘I was eating’

1sg. – TM – eat

b. n - shá - acilá - lya → nshacilalya ‘I was not eating’

1sg. – NEG – TM - eat

c. mu - acilá - lya → mwacilalya ‘you were eating’

2pl. - TM - eat

d. tá - mu - acilá - lya → tamwacilalya ‘you were not eating’

NEG - 2pl. – TM - eat

4.3.1.5 Tone in Remote pre-hodiernal past

The remote pre-hodiernal past in Bemba is indicated by the verb *to be* in the past tense form *–ali-* and the verbal extension. In the remote pre-hodiernal past, the affirmative has an H tone on the part that marks the verb *to be* but the rest of the syllables have low tones. However, the introduction of the negative morpheme drifts the L tones to the H tone on all the other syllables. The effect is the same in all the personal pronouns. Look at the following examples:

(22) a. n - alí - leel - e → nalílele ‘I slept [before yesterday]’

1sg. – TM – sleep – FV

b. n - shá - léél - é → nsháléélé ‘I did not sleep’

1sg. – NEG – sleep – FV

c. mu - alí - leel - e → mwalílele ‘you slept’

2sg/pl – TM – sleep – FV

d. tá - mu - á - léél - e → támwáléélé ‘you did not sleep’

NEg – 2sg/pl – TM – sleep - FV

4.3.1.6 Tone in Pre-hodiernal past –ali-

In the past of yesterday, both TBUs in the verb root and FV in the affirmative have low tones. But all the syllables in the negative have high tones caused by the presence of the NEG. The examples below illustrate this:

(23) a. n - alí - laal - a → nalílaala ‘I slept [yesterday]’

1sg. – TM – sleep – FV

b. n - shá - léél - é → nsháléélé ‘I did not sleep [yesterday]’

1sg. – NEG – sleep – FV

c. ba - alí - laal - a → baalilaala ‘he/she/they slept’

3sg/pl – TM – sleep – FV

d. tá - bá - léél - é → tábáléélé ‘they did not sleep’

NEG – 3sg/pl – sleep - FV

4.3.1.7 Tone in Hodiernal future tense –ala-

In the immediate future tense, also known as hodiernal future tense, the tense marker together with other syllables have low tones in the affirmative. This, however, depends on the verb under consideration. Let us take the verb *ukulya* ‘to eat’ as an instance. All the three syllables have low tones in the affirmative which change to high tones in the negative construction. Look at the example below:

(24) a. n - ala - lya → nalalya ‘I will eat’

1sg. – TM – eat

b. n - shá - li - a → nshályé ‘I will not eat’

1sg. – NEG - eat - FV

c. mu - ala - li - a → mwalalya ‘you will eat’

2sg/pl – TM – eat - FV

d. tá - mu - a - li - a → tamwalyé ‘you will not eat’

NEG – 2sg/pl – asp – eat - FV

Even if the TM disappears in the negative form, the high tone from the NEG percolates to the negative verb root *–lye*.

4.3.1.8 Tone in Post-hodiernal tense –ka-

This tense refers to the time frame after today. In this tense the NEG has no tonal effect on the overall pattern of the verb. This means that the tonal pattern of the verb remains the same even after the introduction of the NEG. consider the following illustration in the first person:

(25) a. n - ka - lya → nkalya ‘I will eat’

1sg. – TM – eat

b. n - sha - ka - lya → nshakalye ‘I will not eat’

1sg. – NEG – TM – eat

c. mu - ka - lya → mukalya ‘you will eat’

2pl. TM - eat

d. ta - mu - a - ka - lya → tamwakalye ‘you will not eat’

NEG - 2pl. – asp – TM - eat

The case is the same with the future progressive tense. There is no tonal effect which is caused by the presence of the NEG on the verb.

4.4 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF NEGATION IN BEMBA

Talking about morphology and syntax refers to the word formation processes and the arrangement of such words in a sentence. As a way of putting it into context, it is important to review the verbal template of the Bantu languages.

Table 6: Bantu verbal template

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
PREPREF	SM	POSTPRF	TM	POSTTM	OM	RAD	EXT	PREEND	END	POST

As can be seen from the template, the SM occurs between the two possible negation markers. To understand it better, consider the examples below:

(26) a. n - le - ba - sung - a → ndebasunga ‘I am keeping them’

1sg. - TM - OM - RAD - FV

b. n - **sh(i)** - le - ba - sung - a → nshilebasunga ‘I am not keeping them’

1sg. - NEG - TM - OM - RAD - FV

c. **ta** - tu - le - ba - sung - a → tatulebasunga ‘we are not keeping them’

NEG - SM - TM - OM - RAD - FV

What is happening here is that the first and third slots are typically occupied by the negation markers (NEG). In the data above, the tense marker (TM) in the first personal pronoun takes the second slot in the affirmative construction, which corresponds to the third slot on the template. In all other cases, the NEG occupies the first slot which is followed by the SM. In other words, the NEG precedes the SM in all NEG constructions except in the first personal pronoun. Therefore,

Bemba has two NEG slots which are in a sense in complementary distribution. It means that Bemba does not take double negation thus the two slots cannot be filled at once.

4.4.1 Imperatives

Crystal (2008: 237) defines an imperative as, “a term used...to refer to verb forms or sentence/clause types typically used in the expression of commands”. In Bemba the second person singular imperatives are formed with the bare stem and a final *-a*. In the said imperatives, the SM is covert while in the negative constructions of the imperatives in this person, the SM is overt. The NEG takes the form *-i-* which occurs between the SM and the RAD. On the Bantu verbal template, it takes the second negation slot.

An imperative is a statement which indicates commands as opposed to requests or interrogatives. Crystal (2008: 237) states that an imperative, “...is a term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to indicative, interrogative, etc. An imperative usage refers to verb forms or sentence types typically used in the expression of commands, e.g. *go away*.”

According to the collected data, Bemba affirmative imperatives are subjectless. This means that the subjects in the affirmative imperatives are covert. However, the presence of the NEG *-i-* brings about the presence of the overt subject. In other words, the prohibitive command has an overt subject. Besides, the study notes that some imperatives can be without objects while others can show them. The TM in this kind of imperative is inherent in the verb and not overt. In other words, the tense marker is an implied one. This explains why commands are always given in the present tense (even though one can be commanded to carry out an action in the time after a command has been issued). Look at the following instances:

(27) a. -laal- a → laala ‘sleep! (right now)’

RAD - FV

b. u - i - laal - a → wilaala ‘do not sleep!’

2sg. - NEG - RAD - FV

c. -peel - a → peela ‘give!’

RAD - FV

d. u - i - peel - a → wipeela ‘do not give...’

2sg. - NEG - RAD - FV

According to Van der Wal (2009), “...the initial slot on the verb template is occupied neither by an infinitive morpheme nor by a subject marker. However, the second person is always understood as the subject of the imperative.” An imperative in the post-hodiernal tense, the SM is overt on both the affirmative and the negative polarity. Note also that the Radical takes *-e* as the final vowel instead of the normal *-a*. Similarly, the second person plural has the same morphology save for the SM (*mu-*). The case is the same even in the post-hodiernal tense except when the aspect is progressive. The negative forms, however, take the *-a* as the final vowel.

(28) a. u - is - e → wise ‘you (should/must) come’ [*later today*]

2sg. - come - FV

b. u - i - is - a → wiisa ‘do not come’

2sg. - NEG - RAD - FV

Note that the second person plural imperative takes the form of the bare stem plus the verbal extension *-eni*. Just as noted by Sheanne (1907), imperatives in Bemba have two forms: the singular and the honorific/plural. The suffix *-eni* has the inherent nuance of both respect and plural. Thus, *laaleni* ‘sleep’ can refer to one respectable person or the plural of the second person. The

verbal extension *-eni* in the affirmative is replaced by the FV *-a* in the negative form as shown in the examples below:

(29) a. *-laal - eni* → *laaleni* ‘sleep!’

RAD - Ext

b. *mu - i - laal - a* → *mwilaala* ‘do not sleep!’

SM - NEG - RAD - FV

Object markers may also be prefixed to imperative forms. In this case, the final vowel *-e* on the positive polarity appears, at least in the present tense. The same final vowel is replaced by *-a* in the negative. As in other imperative cases, the SM is implied in the affirmative; but it becomes overt in the negative. The NEG occurs between the SM and the OM, both preceding the RAD. The same morphological processes apply to the second person plural. The examples below illustrate this.

(30) a. *mu - shiik - e* → *mushiike* ‘bury him/her’

3sg. - RAD - FV

b. *u - i - mu - shiik - a* → *wimushiika* ‘do not bury him/her’

2sg. - NEG - 2sg. - RAD - FV

4.4.3 Imperatives with Objects

Sometimes, in Bemba, the imperative can take two objects; the indirect object (IO) as well as the direct object (DO). But just like in the mono-transitive verbs, the SM in the affirmative is covert. Apart from that, the SM in the negative appears in the initial position of the verb which is followed by the NEG and in turn preceding the DO. By this arrangement, the NEG takes the third slot of

the verb template occurring between the overt SM and the object. The FV *-a* replaces the extension *-eni*.

(31) a. ci - n - peel - eni → cimpeeleni ‘give it to me’

Cl.7(DO) - 1sg - RAD - Ext

b. mu - i - ci - n - peel - a → mwicimpeela ‘do not give it to me’

2pl - NEG - DO - IO - FV

The periphrastic negation of imperatives is discussed under morphological and syntactic negation later.

4.4.4 Negation in third person imperative

Negation in the third person imperative has a number of linguistic aspects observed. Among them are the vowel length and tonal variations between the affirmative and the negative constructions.

(32) a. a - is - e → ese ‘he/she should/must come’

3sg. - come - FV

b. a - is - a → eisa ‘s/he should not come’

3sg. - come - FV

The third person imperative is in the subjunctive mood of the verb. It intuitively carries the modal verb *should* or *must*. Even though morphologically it is subjunctive, it is functionally an imperative. Further, the third person SM *a-* and the vowel on the verb root are both short and hence undergo the process of coalescence. This is a process of the fusion of short vowels which occur consecutively. This argument can be evidenced by the resistance shown in a verb such as *balye* ‘they should eat’. The *-a-* on the prefix remains the same after conjugating with the root. Nevertheless, it changes in the negative. This is because the *-a-* and the NEG *-i-* coalesce to form

a long *-e-*. The presence of the NEG causes the FV to change from the front mid vowel *-e* to a low vowel *-a*. The NEG appears between the SM and the TM as is the case in all cases of the imperative. Consider the following example showing a long *-a-* which is resistant to change:

(33) ba - ka - la - is - a → bakalaisa ‘they will be coming’

3sg. – TM – Asp – come - FV

The long *-a-* on the aspect marker *-la-* and the *-i-* on the root do not coalesce because the *-a-* is a long one. But in the negative construction, the two vowels coalesce. Thus, it can be deduced that the presence of the NEG triggers the softening of the resistant *-a-*. consider the following illustration:

(34) ta - ba - ka - la - is - a → tabakaleisa ‘they will not be coming’

NEG – 3pl. – TM – asp – come - FV

4.4.5 Prohibitive Imperative in habitual Aspect

The imperative in the habitual aspect entails commands that are made so that the addressee is to be carrying out the directives habitually. It has no effect on the past times but runs from the present moment (point of speaking) into the infinite future. The examples below show this explanation.

(35) a. u - le - land - a → ulelanda ‘you must be talking (from now onwards)’

2sg. – Asp – talk – FV

b. u - i - la - land - a → wilalanda “you must not be talking”

2sg. - NEG – Asp – talk – FV

c. mu - le - land - a → mulelanda ‘you should/must be talking’

2pl. - asp - talk - FV

d. mu - i - la - land - a → mwilalanda ‘you should/must not be talking’

2pl. – NEG – asp – talk - FV

As can be seen from the four statements in the affirmative and negative, the habitual aspect marker in the affirmative takes the form *-le-* instead of the usual form *-la-* as observed in other imperatives. The NEG *-i-* occupies the third slot on the verbal template occurring between the SM and the Aspect marker *-la-*. In what looks like the opposite of things, the aspect marker *-le-* in the affirmative is realised as *-la-* in the negative.

4.4.6 Imperative Negation in Hodiernal Future tense

This refers to the action/situation which will take place later but during the course of the same day. In this tense, the imperative takes what could be understood as a compound verb (e.g. *uyeshiika*) ‘you bury, when you go’. The two verbs *go* and *bury* form one compound which expresses the two actions in a consecutive or sequential manner. First, there is the action of going and then the burying. Note that the first verb carries the SM. Further, this verb takes the FV *-e* instead of *-a*, which is usually observed on the imperative.

(36) a. u - ya - shiik - a → *uyeshiika* ‘you bury, when you go (later today)’

2sg. – go - bury - FV

b. u - i - ya - shiik - a → *wiyashiika* ‘do not go and bury/do not bury when you go’

2sg. – NEG – go – bury – FV

The negative form has two possible meanings *do not go and bury* or *do not bury when you go*. The meaning of the negation may depend on the mood of the speaker. The first meaning inhibits both actions from being executed while the second one bars the action of burying only. It is worth of noting that there is no imperative in the past tense. Ideally, one cannot make a command or request in the past tense.

4.4.7 Prohibitive and Optative

The case discussed in the last section shows the case of prohibition. Nevertheless, there are instances when one would want to express a wish or desire that something may not happen. The former is known as prohibitive while the latter is referred to as the optative. According to Van der Wal (2009: 96) “the optative expresses wishes or desires and is generally used for commands and wishes”. In the bemba language, it is only the context that tells whether the expression is a wish or a command. Again, it depends the addresser and the addressee. If, for instance, statements are made by peers, they may be understood as simply wishes. A parent telling the same statement to a child, it sounds more of a command. The morphology of the verb is exactly as the in present tense. However, in the post-hodiernal tense, the TM is overtly expressed.

(37) a. u - ka - up - e → ukope namaayo wabufi ‘marry a lying woman’

2sg. – TM – marry - FV

b. u - i - ka - up - a → wikoopa namaayo wabufi ‘do not marry a lying woman’

2sg. – NEG - TM – marry - FV

c. mu - ka - li - e → mukalye ‘you eat [in the future]’

2sg/pl – TM – eat – FV

d. mu - i - ka - li - a → mwikalya ‘you should not eat [in the future]’

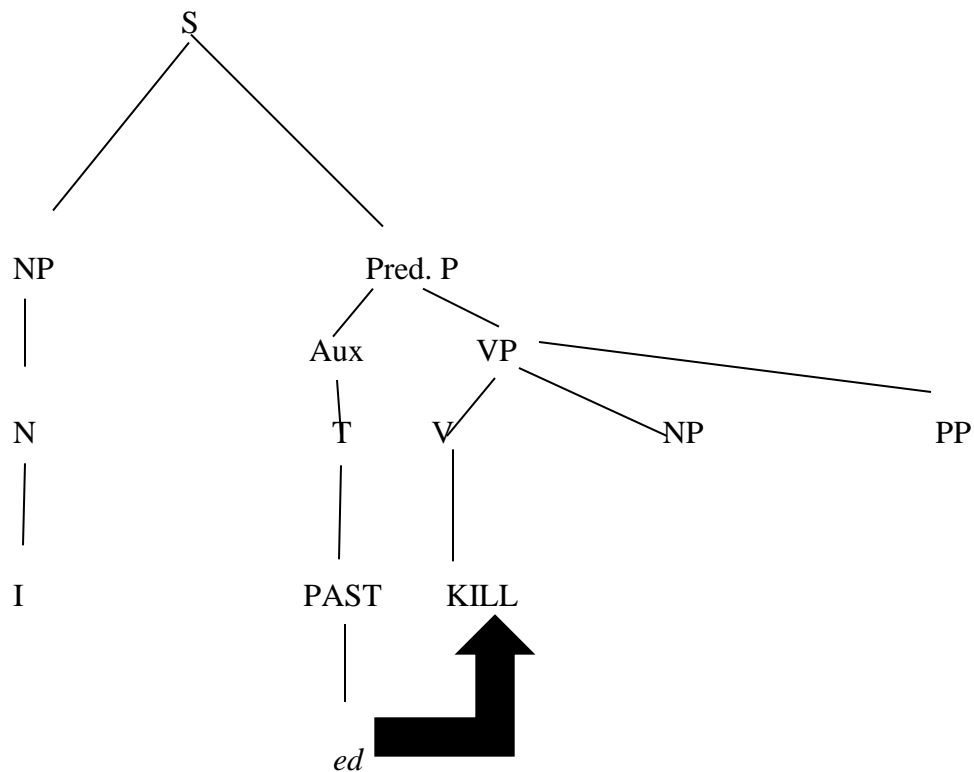
2sg/pl – NEG – TM – eat - FV

4.5 Incorporation in negation

In the discussion of the syntax of negation, it is important to make reference to standard theory. In standard theory, and in particular the phrase structure rules, there is a discussion on the movement of some elements from some positions in a construction to others. One such example is the ‘Wh-Movement. In English, there is one movement which was well propounded by Chomsky and thus

coined as Chomsky adjunction by other scholars, and not Noam Chomsky himself. Chomsky adjunction is one of the strands of the broad view of Incorporation. Incorporation, according to Matthews (1997: 173), “...is a regular process by which lexical units which are syntactically *complements of verbs can also be realised as elements within the verb itself...also of a pattern in which forms appearing only as affixes have meaning which correspond to those of forms appearing only as distinct words.” For a better understanding, we can consider the past tense morpheme in English *-ed* in both the deep structure and the surface structure.

- a. *I *kill* a snake in the morning.
- b. I *killed* a snake in the morning.



In the above illustration, the past tense morpheme was initially not part of the verb but as an auxiliary. But, its movement to the verb in the surface structure enables it to become part of the verb.

In English, however, the negator not only moves from one position to its landing site but remains an independent lexeme. Look at the examples shown below:

- a. Kim will obviously *not* be in trouble.
- b. Kim will *not* obviously be in trouble.

Nevertheless, the Bemba negation marker does not only move from its initial position in the deep structure but also becomes part of the verb in the process known as **Incorporation**. It becomes incorporated to a verb. This can be partially justified on the basis of Bemba being an agglutinating language but also because the NEG is always part of the main verb, at least in the surface structure.

Similarly, the morpheme of negation, NEG, is phonologically realised as *ta-*, *-shi-* or *-i-*. These are the three basic forms/shapes of negation in Bemba. Look at the following illustration:

NEG → *ta-*

-i-

-sh()-

After the NEG has been realised phonologically as shown above, it then moves from its original position in the deep structure to its new position and is overtly shown in the surface structure. The NEG *ta-* moves and becomes a word initial morpheme. The other two NEG forms *-i-* and *-sh()-* are infixed into the verb itself. Therefore, they occur word medially. What is important to note is that the morpheme of negation in Bemba becomes part of the verb, or is incorporated to a verb.

4.5 TENSE AND NEGATION

4.6.1 Introduction

The previous section discussed negation in the context of tone and morphological processes. This section presents discusses the various morphological realisations of the verb in relation to negation and its effects on other functional morphemes. It has to be noted here that the syntactic arrangement of morphemes in a Bemba verb is subject to constraints. It means that morphemes do not just occur anyhow and anywhere. They are subject to morphological and syntactic constraints.

4.6.2 General Overview of Tense

In a very general sense, tense is said to mean the relationship that exists between the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in a given sentence to the time of an utterance. According to Trask (1999), it is said that a given language is able to express limitless distinctions of time. According to the study, if such a language is able to express these time distinctions in its grammar, then it has tense. Comrie (1985: 36) indicates that there are three basic tenses which are; the future, the present and the past tenses. “The past tense locates the time of the situation at a time before now while the future tense puts an event or action after the now.” On the other hand, the present tense means that the time of the situation is placed at the present moment (now).

In many respects, the tense in a verbal construction depends on the Mood. The indicative Mood has more tenses than any other Mood. Similarly, the structure of the NEG depends on a number of factors which include tense, Mood, Aspect and person. As will be shown later, there is no past in the imperative mood.

4.6.3 Tense Marking in Bemba

In Bemba, like in most Bantu languages, the so- called tense sign usually denote more than tense: in addition to tense, it may characterise aspect, mood and polarity. That is why the morphemes

which express more than one concept are known sometimes referred to as cumulative morphemes. Collins (1984:36) asserts that an important feature of the Bantu languages is that in many languages the past is divided between the past of today and the past before today. "...furthermore, there are languages such as Bemba (M42) where the pre-hordiernal past is subdivided into recent pre-hordiernal past and remote pre-hordiernal past." Likewise, the Bemba tense system is a complex one. It has the three main tenses; future, present and past tenses.

In order to summarise the above argument, Mwita (2016) indicates that there are four tenses on each side of the present and he illustrates his argument as follows:

Table 7: Bemba Tense Representation

Remote past	Far past	Near past	Immediate past	present	Immediate future	Near future	Far future	Remote future
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The argument for the four tenses on each side is that, for instance, there is the past of today has two tenses; the just past time (situation) and the earlier past of today. The former refers to the situation in a few minutes just before the utterance referral time. The latter refers to some hours earlier but within the day. He further postulates that there is the past of yesterday and the times around it on the one hand, and the past in remote.

On the other hand, the study posits that the immediate future is in reference to the time immediately after the time of speaking, the near future, to minutes or/and hours after speaking. The remote future means the time ahead from a day to any other time in the future. For purposes of this study, the argument of Mwita (ibid) above is taken.

4.6.3.1 Past Tenses

The Past tense in this study is looked at from the three angles which are: the hodiernal past, the prehodiernal past [of yesterday and the time before then (remote past)]. This tense is a representation of actions, events or state of affairs that occur before the time-line of making an utterance. Shopen (1995: 204) posits that, “the past tense is used for events that occur prior to the time the speech is made.” In Bemba, the past tense is subdivided into a number of other tenses referring to different time frames.

4.6.3.1.1 Hodiernal past –*aci-*

Messeun (1967) says that the past in Bantu languages, Bemba inclusive, is divided into hodiernal (past of today) and pre-hodiernal (the past before today). The former is further divided into the immediate past and the ‘distant’ past of today. The distant past takes –*aci-* as the TM. Look at the table below showing the affirmative and negative forms of the verb *ukupyanga* ‘to sweep’ and using the hodiernal past:

Table 8: Tenses

PP	P.PREF	TM	RAD	AFFIRM	GLOSS	NEG	GLOSS
1 st Pp. Sing.	n-	-aci-	-pyang-	Nacipyanga	I swept	nshacipyanga	I did not sweep
1 st Pp. Pl	tu-	-aci-	-pyang-	Twacipyanga	we swept	tatwacipyanga	We did not sweep
2 nd Pp. Sing	u-	-aci-	-pyang-	Wacipyanga	you swept	tawacipyanga	You did not sweep

2 nd Pp. Pl	mu-	-aci-	-pyang-	Mwacipyanga	you swept	tamwacipyanga	You did not sweep
3 rd Pp. Sing.	a-	-aci-	-pyang-	Acipyanga	s/he swept	tacipyanga	s/he did not sweep
3 rd Pp. Pl	ba-	-aci-	-pyang-	Bacipyanga	they swept	tabacipyanga	They did not sweep

One important phonological aspect to note from the above data is that the NEG (-sh-) in the first personal pronoun carries the /-a-/ vowel and not the /-i-/ as observed in the present tenses. This is one of the important constraints in the NEG occurrence. As earlier observed, the first-person NEG occurs with /-i-/ but only in certain contexts (tenses). Hence, it can be concluded that the hodiernal past takes *-sha-* and not *-shi-* as the NEG in the first personal pronoun singular. In this tense, the TM is visible in both the negation and the affirmative forms of the verb. Besides, the FV remains unaltered in both the affirmative and negative. Moreover, the NEG occurs in the third slot of the verbal structure for the first person and in the first slot for all other persons.

4.6.3.1.2 Prehodiernal past simple–ali-

The past tense form *-ali-* is used for yesterday's past as well as the past before yesterday. The two are just distinguished by vowel length between the SM and the tense marker. Yesterday's past has a shorter vowel *-ali-* than for its remote counterpart *-aali-*. However, the changes caused to the verb structure (in the negative) by the two variants of the past tense are the same. It is important to note, however, that an exception exists for the final vowel in the hodiernal past which changes to an extension. It is worth of noting again that the verbal construction in the remote past ends in

an extension and not a final vowel. The extensions vary depending on the structure of the RAD.

Consider the following examples:

(38) a. n - ali - land - a → nalilanda ‘I → spoke/said’ [*yesterday*]

1sg. – TM – speak – FV

b. n - sha - land - ile → nshalandile ‘I did not speak’

1sg. – NEG – speak – Ext

c. n - ali - land - ile → nalilandile ‘I spoke’ [*remote past*]

1sg. – TM – speak – Ext

d. n - sha - land - ile → nshalandile ‘I did not speak’

1sg. – NEG – speak - Ext

e. tu – ali – land – a → twalilanda ‘we spoke’

1pl. - TM – speak – FV

f. ta – tu – a – land – ile → ‘we did not speak’

NEG – 1pl. – Asp. – RAD – Ext.

As in most cases, the NEG in the first person occurs after the SM but it precedes the SM in all other persons. Note that the negative polarity takes the *-sha-* as NEG as opposed to *-shi-*. The other phonological aspect to consider is the change of /u/ to /w/ when it occurs before a vowel. Furthermore, the presence of the NEG causes the FV in the first person hodiernal past to be replaced by an extension *-ile*.

The tense marker *-ali-* does not appear in the negative, it is deleted by the process of negation. In other words, there is asymmetry (lack of identity) between the affirmative and the negative forms.

Consider the table below showing negation in this tense and in various personal pronouns:

PP	P.PREF	TM	RAD	AFFIRM	GLOSS	NEG	GLOSS
1 st Pp. Sing.	n-	-ali-	-land-	naalilanda	I spoke	nshalandile	I did not speak
1 st Pp. Pl	tu-	-ali-	-land-	twalilanda	we spoke	tatwalandile	We did not speak
2 nd Pp. Sing	u-	-ali-	-land-	walilanda	you spoke	tawalandile	You did not speak
2 nd Pp. Pl	mu-	-ali-	-land-	mwalilanda	you spoke	tamwalandile	You did not speak
3 rd Pp. Sing.	a-	-ali-	-land-	aalilanda	s/he spoke	taalandile	s/he did not speak
3 rd Pp. Pl	ba-	-ali-	-land-	baalilanda	they spoke	tabalandile	They did not speak

4.7 NON-STANDARD NEGATION IN BEMBA

Standard negation refers to a basic way of negating a declarative verbal main clause. Mihas (2009) states that in many languages, non-standard negation is attested to be found in imperative, nominal, adjectival, existential, locative, and possessive clauses, as well as subordinate clauses. This study partially takes the view of Mihas except on imperatives which are dealt under standard negation.

4.7.1 Negation of the infinitive

The infinitive is a term which refers to the non-finite form of the verb such as *go* and *kick*. In English, the infinitive form may be used alone or in conjunction with the particle (preposition) *to* (Crystal, 2008). All infinitives in Bemba begin with the infinitive marker *uku-* ‘to’, followed by the bare root and end with *-a* as the final vowel, for instance, *ukulaala* ‘(to) sleep’. With regard to negation, it was observed that the negation form of the infinitive takes *-shi-* as the NEG. According to the data which was collected, this morpheme occurs between the INF and the verb root.

(39) a. *uku - laal - a* → *ukulaala* ‘to sleep’

INF – sleep – FV

b. *uku - shi - laal - a* → *ukushilaala* ‘to not sleep’

INF – NEG – sleep - FV

The data also showed that negation in the infinitives is expressed word internally, that is, within the infinitival construction. The NEG form *-shi-* can be used interchangeably with the morpheme *-kana-* ‘refuse’ as in the example below:

(40) *uku - kana - laal - a* → *ukukanaalaala* ‘to refuse to sleep’ [not to sleep]

INF – not – sleep – FV

Some dialects such as Chishinga spoken in Kawambwa district of Luapula province, uses the NEG *-ta-* instead of *-shi-*. Using the same verb, *-laala* the Chishinga speaking people would say *ukutalaala*. However, it has to be noted that, in both instances, the NEG occurs word-internally. For instance, the word *ukukanaba*, can also take the form *ukushiba* ‘not to be’ but both carry the same meaning irrespective of the allomorph. Note that the verb *ukukana* ‘refuse’ is a lexical verb but becomes an auxiliary when used with (in) an infinitive. The examples below show infinitival constructions using both *-kana* and *-shi-*.

Table 9: infinitive

<i>-shi-</i>	<i>-kana-</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
ukushibomba	ukukanabomba	not to work

It can therefore be concluded that in infinitival constructions, the NEG takes two different shapes. Both of them occur in word-internally. The forms (shapes) in this case are in free variation. What it means is that a speaker has a freedom of choosing either of the two morphemes but the meaning will still be the same.

4.7.2 Negation of relative clauses

In traditional grammar, a relative clause is a part of a sentence with one subject and verb. Relative clauses take the morphemes or words which correspond to *who*, *whom* and *which* in English. In Bemba, these relative pronouns can be either overt or covert in verbal constructions. Consider the following instances. Take note that the clause *abo* as used in the second illustration below is just an emphasis. Thus, whether it is there or not, the sentence will bear the same meaning.

(41) a. a - ba - le - bomb - a → abalebomba ‘those who are working’

aug – 3Pl. – TM – work – FV

b. **abo** a - ba - le - bomb - a → **abo** abalebomba ‘those who are working’

Those – Aug – 3Pl. – TM – work – FV

The negative forms of the relative clauses take *-shi-* or *-sha-* (depending on the tense). The present tense carries *-shi-* while all other tenses co-occur with *-sha-* as the examples below show:

(42) a. a - ba - **shi** - le - bomb - a → abashilebomba ‘those who **are** not working’ *present T*

aug – 3P. – NEG – Asp – work – FV

b. a – ba – sha – le – bomb – a → abash**h**alebomba ‘those who **were** not working’ *past T*

Aug- 3Pl.- NEG-TM-work-FV

c. a – ba – sha – kale – bomb – a → abash**h**kalebomba ‘those **will** not be working’ *fut T*

Aug- 3Pl.-NEG-TA-work-FV

4.7.3 Mood and Negation

Because this study also involves the semantics of tense and aspect in relation to negation, this section gives an overview of modality in Bemba. As already seen in this study the negation marker is generally the leftmost verbal prefix (except in the first person) and takes scope over some or all of the propositional content, (Crane, 2011). Mood is understood to mean the indication given by the speaker and what the speaker is doing with the proposition in a particular type of discourse (William, 2003: 81). All Bantu languages have at least three moods namely; indicative (declarative), subjunctive and the imperative (command/directive). Related to mood is the concept of modality. Palmer (1986: 16) observes that modality in language is, then, concerned with the subjective characteristics of an utterance and it could even be argued that subjectivity is an essential element criterion for modality. In other words, modality can be understood to mean the grammaticalisation of the speaker’s (subjective) attitudes and opinions.

4.7.3.1 Subjunctive mood

Subjunctive is used to refer to a term in grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to indicative, imperative, etc, moods (Crystal, 2008). It refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types used in the expression of many kinds of subordinate clause for a range of attitudes. Negation in the subjunctive mood is expressed peri-phrastically, and usually by an independent word. In fact, the morphemes which are used in the affirmative and negative

constructions are two separate words and different in their morphology. This kind of negation has a very interesting morphology on the verb. The negation morpheme does not only affect the morphology of the mood marker but also the verb itself.

(43) a. *kuti* *n - a - li - a* → *kuti nalya* ‘I can eat’

can - 1sg. - Asp - eat - FV

b. *teti* *i - n - li - e* → *teti indye* ‘I cannot eat’

cannot - aug - 1sg. - eat - FV

The negative form of the subjunctive can also be comprised of the NEG *te-* and the whole affirmative base *-kuti*. Thus, the negation forms *teti* and *tekuti* mean exactly the same thing and are used interchangeably.

(44) a. *kuti* *n - a - li - a* → *kuti nalya* ‘I can/may eat’ [possibility]

Mood 1sg. – Asp – eat – FV

b. *te - kuti* *i - n - li - e* → *tekuti indye* ‘I can/may not eat’

NEG – Mood Aug – 1sg. – eat – FV

c. *kuti* *n - a - pyang - a* → *kuti napyanga* ‘I can/may sweep’

Mood 1sg.- Asp – sweep - FV

d. *te - kuti* *- n - pyang - e* → *tekuti mpyange* ‘I can/may not sweep’

NEG – Mood – 1sg. – sweep - FV

The Aspect marker *-a-* is deleted while the final vowel changes from *-a* in the affirmative to *-e* in the negative. Examples in the second person pronoun are shown below:

(45) a. kuti - mu - a - li - a → kuti mwalya ‘you can eat’

Mood – 2Pl. – Asp – eat - FV

b. te - kuti mu - li - e → tekuti mulye ‘you cannot eat’

NEG – Mood – 2Pl. – eat – FV

4.7.3.2 Conditional Mood

A conditional mood, also called potential mood, is a grammatical mood used to express a proposition or statement whose validity or truth value is dependent on another condition. Therefore, it refers to a verb form which in itself is distinct and expresses a hypothetical state of affairs, or an uncertain event that can only be true if other circumstances are also true. In this sense, the conditional mood can also be understood to be potential mood because it uses the modal verbs such as *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *should* and *must*. In Bemba, the conditional mood does not show the tense morpheme in both the affirmative and negative constructions. Consider the conditional constructions using the verb *ukukwata* ‘to have’:

(46) a. n - kwat - a → nkwata ‘if I had...’

1sg. – have - FV

b. a - mu - kwat - a → amukwata ‘if you had...’

aug. - 2sg/pl - have - FV

All the other three persons (3rd, 2nd and 1st pl.) have an augment ‘a-’ although its presence or absence does not affect the meaning of a construction. For instance, one can say *mukwata* ‘if you had’. The affirmative comprises the personal pronoun or SM and the radical follows it.

The negative forms of the verbal constructions in the conditional mood uses *-kana-* as the negative marker. The morphology of such verbs is that they have the SM which is followed by the NEG and then ends with a radical as shown in the examples below:

(47) a. n - *kana* - kwat - a → nkanakwata ‘if I did not have’

1sg. - NEG - have - FV

b. a - mu - *kana* - kwata → amukanakwata ‘if you did not have’

aug - 2pl. - **not** - have

In principle, the potential Mood uses *-kana-* as its NEG. It is important to take note that this mood may not be expressed in present tense.

4.7.4 Existential Negation

This is a kind of negation which refers to the negation of clauses that denote the existence of a human being or non-human object. Existential sentence refers to sentences which state the plain existence of an object and typically show one or more of the following characteristics:

- i. Non-referential subject usually marked by a non-prototypical subject marking
- ii. Word order that differs from dominant word orders in language X
- iii. Special agreement or no agreement between subject and predicate
- iv. A predicate with a special morphology

Consider the following examples:

(48) a. ku - a - li - ba → kwaliba umuntu umusuma ‘there is a nice/good person’

Cl.17 - T/A - be

b. ta - ku - a - ba → takwaba umuntu umusuma ‘there is no good person’

NEG - cl.17 - TA - be

The example above denotes that the situation has been as it is at the time of speaking, and is likely to continue being like that. In the examples above the two constructions, affirmative and negative are asymmetric. They have different structures due to the introduction of the NEG morpheme on the verb. The TA disappears in the negative form of the verb. The conclusion is that the introduction of the negative morpheme on the verb expressing existence of something deletes the tense marker *-li*. It is expedient to note that in standard negation, the NEG *ta-* is used in existential sentences.

The existential sentence in the present simple tense takes another form from the one above. It has the form *kuli* as opposed to *kwaliba*. The roots in both the affirmative and negative are symmetric. The NEG is prefixed to the affirmative form. This should not be confused with the locative form. The context in which it is used defines whether it is existential or locative. Look at the following example:

(49) a. ku - li → kuli umwana ‘there is a baby’ [a baby is born/exists]

INF - be

b. ta - ku - li → takuli ‘there is no...’

NEG - INF - be

However, the existential constructions in the past tenses have symmetric structures for both the affirmative and negative except for the presence of the NEG.

(50) a. ku - aci - ba → kwaciba ‘there was’ [hodiernal]

INF – TM – be

b. ta - ku - aci - ba → takwaciba ‘there was no...’

NEG – INF – TM - be

- c. ku - ali → kwali ‘there was...’ [pre-hodiernal]
 INF – TM
- d. ta - ku - ali → takwali ‘there was no...’
 NEG – INF - TM

In the future tense, there are some important phonological aspects that occur. First of all, the future takes the form of existence as *ukuba* or simply *-ba*. The NEG introduces the phoneme /-a-/ representing aspect between the INF and the RAD. Further, the FV /-a/ in the affirmative is replaced with /e/ in the negative. Look at the illustration below:

- (51) a. ku - ka - ba → kukaba
 INF – TM - be
- b. ta - ku - a - ka - be → takwakabe
 NEG – INF – Asp – TM – be

4.7.5 Locative Negation

Locative clauses are constructions which often share features with existential constructions but, in addition to stating existence, they also specify the location of the predicated entity. Clauses of this type entail the spatial position of objects. The verb *ukuba* ‘to be’ changes its form in the locative clause. The locative form can be *pali*, *kuli* or *muli* ‘there is’ depending on the location. They take the nominal prefixes of classes 16, 17 and 18 *pa-*, *ku-* and *mu-* then attached to *-li* as the form of the verb *be*.

- (52) a. pa - li → pali umuntu pa ng’anda ‘there is a person **at** home’
 INF (at) - be
- b. ta - pa - li → tapali umuntu **pa** ng’anda ‘there is no person at home’
 NEG – at - be

- c. ku - li → kuli umuntu **kunuma** ‘there is a person behind’
INF (to) – be
- d. ta - ku - li → takuli umuntu **kunuma** ‘there is no person behind’
NEG – cl.17 – be
- e. mu - li → muli umuntu **mung’anda**
INF (in) – be
- f. ta - mu - li → tamuli umuntu **mung’anda** ‘there is no person in the house’
NEG – in - be

The negative marker *ta-*, like in all other cases where it appears, is placed sentence – initial.

4.7.6 Aspect and negation

Aspect denotes the particular temporal view of time in the narrated event. More precisely, a specific aspect denotes a particular temporal phase of the narrated event as the focal frame for viewing the event, (Botne & Kershner, 2008: 171). This focal frame depicts the status of the event in relation to the vantage point determined by Ego, by default typically the moment of speaking. By vantage point determined by ego, Botne and Kershner mean that aspect situates perspective time within a phase selected from the verb’s inherent situation type structure. In the course of this study, the definition proposed by Botne & Kershner is taken. In this definition, the aspect selects a phase, or topic time, from the situation’s event structure.

4.7.6.1 Aspect Marking

Gatumu (2014: 58), in her study on Kimbere observes that Aspect and Tense are both concerned with time albeit in different senses. It is worth of noting that tense and aspect do overlap in many instances. According to Payne (1997: 238), Aspect gives the description of the internal shape of

an event or state of affairs. In this case, the speaker has the discretion to choose how to describe the internal temporal situation of the action or event. It, therefore, has to do with the spacio-internal temporal nature of a situation in time and space which may be progressive or complete. From the foregoing, it is common knowledge that tense and aspect are commonly confused one for the other. For instance, some scholars would say, ‘present continuous tense’ instead of the present progressive aspect.

Schroder (2015: 4) observes that the imperfective describes an action which is non-completed and that within the imperfective there are different Aspects. And according to Nzioka (2007: 53), the imperfective Aspect involves the viewing of a situation from inside as an ongoing and continuing process. In this sense, the imperfective can occur with Aspects such as the progressive, habitual and iterative. In Bemba, the imperfective aspect exists in the present, past and in the future. They are all dependent on tense.

4.7.6.1.1 Punctual aspect

(53) n – li → ndi ‘I am’

1sg. – Punc. - Asp

All the other aspects, save for the persisitive, the NEG *ta-* is on the left periphery of the verb. The NEG is always on the word initial position. The habitual aspect has two asymmetric forms in the negative and positive forms. This is because the negative exhibits a deleted TM. Look at the example below:

Affirmative

(54) tu – la – lemb – a → tulalemba ‘we write’

SM - TM - RAD - FV

Negative

(55) ta – tu – lemb – a → tatulemba ‘we do not write’

NEG - SM - RAD - FV

Nevertheless, the persisitive ‘still’ aspect takes a totally different shape in the negative form.

Affirmative

(56) tu – cili tulelemba →tucili tulelemba ‘we are still writing’

SM - PERS. VERB

Negative

(57) na – tu – lek – a uku – lemb – a → natuleka ukulemba ‘we have stopped writing’

TM - SM - RAD - FV INF – RAD – FV

Or ta - tu - le - lemb - a → tatulelemba ‘we are not writing’

NEG – 1pl. – PERS. - write - FV

Here, the negative polarity takes syntactic negation by deploying a full word to negate the affirmative construction. Further, the verb takes the infinitive thus making two words in the negation.

4.7.6.1.2 The Imperfective in the Present Progressive

The imperfective Aspect in the present accounts for continuous situations within the present moment at the time of speaking. The negation, as shown below takes the forms *–shi-* and *ta-* in the first person singular and other persons respectively.

(58) a. n - le - land - a → ndelanda ‘I am talking’

1sg. – Asp – talk – FV

b. n - **shi** - le - land - a → **nshilelanda**

1sg. – NEG – Asp – talk – FV

c. tu - le - land - a → **tulelanda** ‘we are talking’

1Pl. – Asp – talk – FV

d. **ta** - tu - le - land - a → **tatulelanda** ‘we are not talking’

NEG – 1Pl. – Asp – talk – FV

4.7.6.1.3 The Imperfective in the Recent Past Progressive

This Aspect shows that an action was continuous in the recent past. The near past tense marker – *aci-* can co-occur with the Aspect morpheme –*laa-* to form –*acila-*. Again, using the examples above, we can have:

(59) a. n - **acila** - land - a → **nacilalanda** ‘I was talking’

1sg. – Asp – talk – FV

b. n - **shi** - **acila** - land - a → **nshacilalanda** ‘I was not talking’

1sg. – NEG – Asp – talk – FV

c. mu - **acila** - land - a → **mwacilalanda** ‘you were talking’

2Pl. – asp – talk – FV

d. **ta** - mu - **acila** - land - a → **tamwacilalanda** ‘you were not talking’

NEG – 2Pl. – Asp – talk - FV

4.7.6.1.4 The imperfective in the remote Past Progressive

The imperfective Aspect in the remote past in Bemba accounts for an action that was non complete (progressive) in the distant past. It is marked by the morpheme *-a-* and the progressive Aspect marker *-lee-* which form *-alee-*. Look at the examples below:

(60) a. n - a - lee - land - a → nalelanda ‘I was talking’

1sg. – asp – talk - FV

b. n - **shi** - a - lee - land - a → nshaalelanda ‘I was not talking’

1sg – NEG – asp – talk - FV

c. mu - a - le - land - a → mwalelanda ‘you were talking’

2pl. - asp - talk - FV

d. **ta** - mu - a - lee - land - a → tamwaalelanda ‘you were not talking’

NEG – 2pl. – asp - talk - FV

4.7.6.1.5 The Imperfective in the Far Future Progressive

The far imperfective Aspect shows that a situation will be on-going in the far future. This Aspect is realised by the future tense marker *-ka-* and the Aspect marker *-la-* concurrently. It refers to the action to be taken a day after or even years after the time of the utterance. In this Aspect, adverbs of time are a requirement in showing the exact time being referred to. Refer to the section on the future tenses and negation.

(61) a. n - ka - la - land - a → nalelanda ‘I was talking’

1sg. – TM - asp – talk - FV

b. N - **shi** - a - ka - lee - land - a → nshaalelanda ‘I was not talking’

1sg – NEG – asp – TM - talk - FV

c. Mu - ka - la - land - a → mwalelanda ‘you were talking’

2pl. - TM - asp - talk - FV

d. **Ta** - mu - ka - lee - land - a → tamwaalelanda ‘you were not talking’

NEG - 2pl. - asp - asp - talk - FV

4.7.6.1.6 The Perfective Aspect

The perfective Aspect deals with actions that are completed. It indicates those events or actions which have been terminated, completed or accomplished at the time of the utterance. It shows the completion of an action or situation when contrasted with an imperfective Aspect situation. Gatumu (2014: 60) asserts that “the perfective Aspect is used to contrast with imperfective Aspect and also to represent a situation as a single bounded whole, without regard to its constituent phases. Refer to the sections on the analysis of the tense markers *na-* and *a-*.

4.8 Distribution of tenses

The *-le-* is used for pre-hodiernal imperfectives, including progressive, continuous and *la-* for habitual. In normal speech, the past and future progressive negation deploys the NEG *-sha-* and not *-shi-* which is observed in the habitual aspect. The habitual aspect exhibits an asymmetric relation between the affirmative and its negative form. The aspect marker tends to be deleted with the introduction of the NEG on the verb. Besides, the NEG, causes the phonological change on the final vowel of the aspect marker in future tense. The vowel /a/ changes to /e/ in the negative polarity. The examples below show the activities in-progress during the topic time frame.

(62) a. n - a - le - lemb - a → nalelemba ‘I was writing’ *past progressive*

1sg. - Asp - TM - RAD - FV

b. n - sha - le - lemb - a → nshalelemba ‘I was not writing’

1sg. - NEG - Asp - RAD - FV

c. n - le - lemb - a → ndelemba ‘I am writing’ *present progressive*

1sg. – Asp – RAD - FV

d. n - shi - le - lemb - a → nshilemba ‘I am not writing’

1sg. – NEG – Asp – RAD – FV

e. n - la - lemb - a → ndalemba ‘I write’ *habitual*

1sg. – Asp - RAD - FV

f. n - shi - lemb - a → nshilemba ‘I do not write’

1sg. - NEG - RAD - FV

g. n - kala - lemb - a → nkalalemba

1sg. - Asp - RAD - FV

h. n - sha - kala - lemb - a → nshakalemba

1sg. NEG - Asp - RAD - FV

The aspects in the Bemba language include, among others, the punctual aspect, for instance, *tuli* ‘we are’; the progressive aspect –*lee-*, for instance, *tuleelemba* ‘we are writing’; the habitual aspect –*la-*, for instance, *tulalemba* ‘we write’; the persistive aspect (=still), for instance, *tucili tuleelemba* ‘we are still writing’; and the perfective aspect as in English *We have finished*.

4.9 PARAMETERS OF NEGATION

4.9.1 Introduction

There are a number of parameters which determine the shape or form of the negation marker on a verbal construction in Bemba. Among the factors which determine the shape are whether the construction is a relative or an absolutive clause, the grammatical person and occurrence. The other factors are whether a sentence is verbless or has a verb, as well as the type of a dialect. This section explores the idea of polarity and discusses the parameters which affect the shape of the negative morpheme.

4.9.2 Parameters that determine the NEG shape

There are a number of parameters which affect the shape of the NEG on the verbal construction. These include: sentence type, occurrence, grammatical person, dialect and verbless sentences. Consider the section below which illustrate how each of the above affects the shape of the NEG.

4.9.2.1 *Relative and non-relative sentences*

Crystal (2006: 411) defines a relative clause as a term used in grammatical description to characterise pronouns which may be used to introduce a post-modifying clause within a noun phrase, and by extension to the clause as a whole. In English, relative pronouns include *who*, *which*, *whom*, *whose* and *that* as they are used in such clauses as '*those who are sleeping*'. Relative clauses can be classified according to the function of the antecedent: subject or non-subject (object or adjunct). The subject relative marker on the verb is always overt but it is marked phrastically or periphrastically. It is important to note that relative clauses are in contrast with the absolutive clauses. Absolutive clauses are non-relative clauses. Whether the clause is a relative or an absolutive is a factor in determining the shape of the negative morpheme that it takes. Consider the following illustrations:

- (63) a. inama shilya abantu ‘RELATIVE’
 animals which eat people
- b. inama shishilya abantu
 animals which do **not** eat people
- c. inama shilya abantu ‘ABSOLUTIVE’
 animals eat people
- d. Inama *ta*shilya abantu
 animals do **not** eat people

The data above show that relative clauses take *-shi-* in the negative forms while the absolute sentences take *ta-* as their negative markers. The negative forms of relative clauses have the NEG appearing between the relative pronoun (the relative pronoun should be in concord with the class of the noun) and the verb root. However, in the absolute constructions, the NEG form is *ta-* and occurs word-initially.

4.9.2.1.1 Subject relative

Relative clauses in Bemba are expressed either within a phrase or periphrastically. Look at the examples in the present progressive Aspect below:

- (64) a. ba - le - bomb - a → balebomba ‘they are working’ [non-relative]

aug - TM – work - FV

- b. a - ba - le - bomb - a → abalebomba ‘those *who* are working’

aug – 3sg - TM - work - FV

- c. abo abalebomba ‘those *who* are working’

those – who are working

The augment in (b) above are the subject relative (REL) markers. The REL marker is *a-* which precedes the SM. In all of the cases above, the negation is expressed internally (within the phrase). The NEG takes the form *-shi-* and occurs between the TM and the RAD. Thus, you have the following resultant phrases:

(65) a. a - ba - shi - le - bomb - a → abash**ile**bomba ‘those who are not working’

aug - 3sg – NEG – TM – work – FV

b. abo abash**ile**bomba ‘those who are not working’

In the past and future tenses, the NEG morpheme takes a different vowel; *-a* instead of *-i* which is seen in the present tense. The illustrations below show this negation in the past and future tenses.

(66) a. a - ba - bomb - a → ababomba ‘those who work’ [*habitual*]

prepref. – 3sg. – work – FV

b. a - ba - shi - bomb - a → abashibomba ‘those who do not work’

prepref – 3sg – NEG – work – FV

c. a - ba - **alee** - bomb - a → abaaleebomba ‘those who **were** working’

prepref – 3sg. – TA – work – FV (*progressive*)

d. a - ba - **sha** - lee - bomb - a → abashaleebomba ‘those who were not working’

prepref. – 3sg – NEG – TM – work – FV

e. a - ba - **kala** - bomb - a → abakalabomba ‘those who will be working’

prepref. – 3sg – TA – work – FV (*progressive*)

f. a - ba - **sha** - **kale** - bomb - a → abashakalebomba ‘those who will not be working’

prepref. – 3sg – NEG – TA – work – FV

It can be deduced from the examples above that among the important aspects that determine the shape of the NEG which a particular construction takes is whether the sentence is relative or non-relative (absolute). What this implies is that the shape of the NEG is determined by the type of a sentence. Take for instance the sentences below:

(67) a. *ba - la - bomb - a* → ‘they work’

3Pl. – Asp – work - FV

b. **ta** - *ba - bomb - a* → **tababomba** ‘they do not work’

NEG – 3Pl. – work - FV

c. *a - ba - bomb - a* ‘those who work’

pref – 3Pl. – work - FV

d. *a - ba - **shi** - bomb - a* → **abashibomba** ‘those who do *not* work’

pre-pref – 3Pl. – NEG – work - FV

Both of the examples *b* and *d* above are negative. However, example *b* uses *ta-* while *d* uses *-shi-* because they are non-relative and relative clauses respectively. Note that in the relative clause the NEG occurs after SM and that is the only position it can occupy. However, in the absolute clause, the NEG appears word initial and that is the only position it can take.

4.9.2.2 Grammatical Person

Personal pronouns also play a critical role in determining the shape of the NEG. For easy understanding of this assertion, consider the following examples:

(68) a. **n** - **shi** - *bomb - a* → **nshibomba** ‘I do not work’

1sg. – NEG – work – FV

b. *ta* - mu - bomb - a → **tamubomba** ‘you do not work’

NEG – 2Pl. – work – FV

c. *ta* - ba - bomb - a → **tababomba** ‘they do not work’

NEG – 3Pl. – work – FV

d. *ta* - tu - bomb - a → **tatubomba** ‘we do not work’

NEG – 1Pl. – work – FV

Of all the examples above, only (a) has *-shi-* as the NEG while the rest of the sentences have *ta-*. Therefore, it can be inferred that only the first personal pronoun singular takes the former as its negation marker. Note also that the NEG appears after, and always after, the SM *n-*. The other persons take *ta-* which always appears word initially or before the SM.

4.9.2.3 Dialect

The other parameter which determines the shape of the NEG which a particular construction takes is the dialect. The power of a dialect cannot be underrated. While in standard Bemba and in infinitival as well as relative constructions the shape *-shi-* is the main negation marker, in some dialects the NEG takes the shape *-ta-* such as shown below:

(69) a. uku - **kana** - bomb - a → uk**kanabomba** ‘to not work’

INF – not to – work – FV

b. uku - *shi* - bomb - a → uk**shibomba** ‘to not work’

INF - NEG - work - FV

c. uku - **bula** - bomb - a → uk**bulabomba** ‘to not work’

INF - NEG - work -FV

d. uku - **ta** - bomb - a → ukut**ab**omba

INF - NEG - work - FV

e. a - ba - **ta** - bomb - a → abat**ab**omba ‘those who do not work’

Aug - 3Pl. - NEG - work - FV

As can be seen from the data above, the examples from (a) to (e) have different NEG forms but meaning the same thing. This is caused by the differences among the many dialects of the Bemba language. These are a as a result of the social or geographical differences. However, for some people it is just a matter of preference. The position of the NEG, regardless of the dialect, is the same depending on the type of the construction. For instance, in (e) above, the NEG occurs immediately after the personal pronoun just like the form *-shi-* does.

4.9.2.4 Occurrence

Occurrence refers to the position on which a particular morpheme appears in a verbal construction. Among the three basic NEG morphemes, that is, *ta-*, *-shi-* and *-i-* the positions which they take in any construction differs one from the other. Take a look at the following examples:

(70) a. **ta** - ba - le - li - a → tabalelya ‘they are not eating’

NEG – 3Pl. – TM – eat - FV

b. n - **shi** - le - li - a → nshilelya ‘I am not eating’

1sg. – NEG – TM – eat - FV

c. mu - **i** - a → Mwiya ‘do not go’

2Pl. – NEG – FV

What can be concluded from the above data is that ordinarily the NEG *ta-* appears word initial while the other two negation markers *-shi-* and *-i-* both appear word internally after the SM. Thus,

the occurrence of the NEG has a bearing on the shape of the negation morpheme taken by the verbal construction.

4.9.2.5 *Verbless sentence*

There are a number of verbless sentences such as an imperative. In Bemba, there are some of the sentences which are not imperatives but are of the stabilized forms. A stabilised form has the augment of the noun dropped while the vowel on the first syllable gets lengthened. The nouns and adjectives, which normally get stabilised are those from classes other than 1/2, 9/10 and the locatives in 16, 17 and 18. Therefore, a verbless sentence is another parameter which determines the shape of the NEG. Stabilised forms of the verb take the particle *te-* for their negation. For illustration look at the examples below:

(71) a. u - mu - shi → ‘a village’

Aug – pref – village

b. muu - shi → ‘it is a village’

Stabilised form – village

c. *te* - mu - shi → temushi ‘it is not a village’

NEG- pref – village

d. u - mu - sum - a → umusuma ‘one who is beautiful/good’

aug – pref – good - FV

e. muu - sum - a → muusuma ‘he/she is beautiful/good’ [stabilised form]

pref - good - FV

f. *te* - musuma → temusuma ‘he/she is not beautiful/good’

NEG - good

Some scholars may argue that *te-* is just an allomorph of *ta-*. However, that is a subject which can be investigated into. In this study, it has been treated as an independent morpheme.

4.9.2.6 The Declarative sentence

Mathews (2005: 86) defines a declarative as “a sentence construction whose primary role is in making statements. Thus, ‘*David has come*’ is a declarative sentence or simply a ‘declarative.’” Declaratives can in principle be differentiated from statements which are made by them. For instance, ‘*You must water the garden*’ has the features of a declarative but when it is uttered it is often an imperative (command) and not a mere statement. Some declaratives in Bemba take the particle *ni-* ‘it is’ to state their existence. It was found that their negation forms will have the particle replaced with another form of the NEG *tee-* ‘it is not’. The examples below show this argument.

- (72) a. Nimbwa ‘it is a dog’
b. Tembwa ‘it is not a dog’
c. Ni Musonda ‘it/he/she is Musonda’
d. Te Musonda ‘it/he/she is not Musonda’
e. Ni pani ‘it is a pan’
f. Te pani ‘it is not a pan’

4.10 The particle *te-*

The particle *tee-* is an equivalent of the phrase ‘it is not’ in English. Chanda [verbal communication] calls this Bantu part of speech as a predicative pronoun. The parts preceding this have shown that Bemba, like many other Bantu languages, only allows morphological negation,

thus, this predicative particle is always a bound morpheme on the verbs and nouns. Dahl (1979) postulates that morphological operations in negation may involve the following:

- i. Negative morpheme is an inflectional category which may fuse with other inflectional categories
- ii. phonological integration of the negative morpheme with the host morpheme
- iii. placement of the negative morpheme close to the verb root

Other than that, the study reveals that syntactic operations in negation usually meet the following:

- i. syntactic independence of the negative morpheme
- ii. the negative morpheme may carry inflectional materials itself and,
- iii. a syntactic treatment of a negative particle may be prompted by the orthographic convention of writing a negative marker as a separate word

Negation of clauses can be classified as morphological or syntactic. The former refers to the negation expressed by a morpheme on a verb while the latter refers to the negation expressed by a full word. While English uses both morphological and syntactic negation, Bemba employs morphological negation. The clause initial particle (morpheme) *tee*- 'it is not' is used to negate clauses in the present simple tense. Chanda [verbal communication] says that, "some words whose syllable structure are characterised by the fact that they all are monosyllabic, do not fall, both structurally and functionally in any [of the common] part of speech. For want of word to refer to them, the term particle is used."

The study reveals that affirmative constructions carry the particle '*ni*-' 'it is' which is only conjugated to the nouns in classes 9 and 10, proper names as well as with the English loan words.

All other nouns in other noun classes take their stabilised forms to inflect for ‘it is’. Take for instance the ungrammatical constructions shown below:

- (73) a. *ni muntu ‘it is it is a person’ [Cl. 1]
 b. *ni cipuna ‘it is it is a seat’ [Cl. 6]
 c. *ni lukasu ‘it is it is a hoe’ [Cl. 11]

The particle *tee-* has two shapes (*tee-* and *ta-*) which are both possible occurrences in the present tense but the former may not occur in other tenses. Thus, the other tenses carry *ta-*. Note that when *ta-* is used in the present tense, the verbal structure is different from the one in which *tee-* is used. Consider the following examples:

- (74) a. *tee – imbwa* → *tembwa* ‘it is not a dog / they are not dogs’ *present simple*
 NEG - DOG
 b. *ta – i – li – imbwa* → *tailimbwa* ‘it is not a dog’ *present simple*
 NEG. - CONCORD PREF.- TM - DOG
 c. *ta – ya – aci – ba - imbwa* → *tayaciba imbwa* ‘it was not a dog’ – *hodiernal past*
 NEG.- CONCORD PREF.- TM - AUX.- DOG
 d. *ta – ya - ali - imbwa* → *tayaali imbwa* ‘it was not a dog’ – *pre-hodiernal past*
 NEG CONCORD PREF TM DOG
 e. *ta – ya – ba- imbwa* = *tayabe imbwa* ‘it will not be a dog’ – *immediate future*
 NEG. CONCORD PREF. AUX DOG
 f. *ta – ya – ka - ba – imbwa* → *tayakabe imbwa* ‘it will not be a dog’ *post- hodiernal future*
 NEG – CONC. - PREF. TM – Aux - DOG

It is clear for the examples above that all the clauses are negated by use of a morpheme. Therefore, this is morphological negation.

4.11 Negation in compound verbs

Some verbs in Bemba take the compound form. A compound verb is formed by two elements which can either be free or bound morphemes. Sometimes the imperative takes the compound verb as in *kalaaleni* ‘go and sleep’. This is a case of blending two verbs in Bemba. *Ka-* is a bound morpheme which means *go*. Therefore, an imperative in compound verbs takes *ka-*, followed by the bare stem of the verb and then the verbal ending or extension. As usual, the imperative only has an implied subject.

(75) a. *ka - laal - e* → *kalaale* ‘go and sleep’

go - sleep - FV

b. *u - i - ya -laal - a* → *wiyalaala* ‘do not go and sleep’

2sg. - NEG - go - RAD - FV

Interestingly, the negative is formed by full negation of the bound morpheme. The SM becomes overt in the negative. This is followed by the NEG and a clipping from the infinitive *ukuya* ‘to go’. The other infinitive ends with the vowel *-a* as opposed to *-e* which is seen in the affirmative. Refer to the illustration above again.

Compound verbs of this nature may take the reverse movement. For instance, instead of *go*, the first verb can be *come*. Negation in this kind of verbs is periphrastic. The FV of the first verb *-a*, and the first vowel of the second verb *u-* fuse to form the long vowel /o/.

(76) a. *-is - a u - laal - e* → *solaale* ‘come and sleep’

come - FV - 2sg. sleep - FV

b. *u - i - sa - laal - a* → *wiisa laala*

2sg.- NEG - come - sleep - FV

On the other hand, a declarative construction with a compound verb such as *mukayalaala* ‘you will go and sleep’ takes *-i-* as the negative marker. The NEG is affixed between the SM and TM of the first verb in the imperative. The FV *-e* on the verb in the affirmative changes to *-a* when the NEG is attached to the verb. Consider the illustrations below:

(77) a. mu - ka - ye - laal - a → mukayelaala ‘you go and sleep’

2sg. - TM - go - sleep - FV

b. mu - i - ka - ya - laal - a → mwikayalaala ‘you must not go and sleep’

2sg. - NEG - TM - go - sleep - FV

In a declarative sentence, the NEG takes the *ta-* which is attached to the left of the verb.

(78) a. mu - ka - ya - laal - a → mukayalaala ‘you will go and sleep’

2sg. - TM - go - sleep - FV

b. ta - mu - ka - ye - laal - a → tamwakayelaala ‘you will not go and sleep’

NEG - 2sg. - TM - go - sleep - FV

4.12 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented and discussed the findings from a phonological, morphological and syntactic points of view. The chapter kicked off an illustration of the parameters that determine the shape of the verb in Bemba. These include tense, mood, aspect and clause type. It has been seen that negation has a bearing on the tonal pattern of a verbal construction. The presence or absence of the NEG determines the overall tonal pattern of the verb as well as the presence or absence of other morphemes. The chapter has presented the parameters which determine the shape of the NEG to be used in any construction. Such factors include, but not exclusive to, type of a sentence, dialect, occurrence, sentence type and personal pronoun. Tense

has been discussed in terms of what bearing it has in determining the shape which the NEG takes. In a nutshell, tense, aspect, mood and person have a great bearing on the expression of negation in Bemba. Further, the idea of incorporation has been discussed to show how the NEG morpheme is realised phonologically and moves to become part of the verb. A number of non-standard ways of expressing negation have been presented in this chapter. One such is how negation is expressed in sentences indicating existence and location. Negation of compound verbs has also been discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the salient characteristics of the negation markers in Bemba. It gives a description of the basic negation morphemes within the Bemba verbal construction. The chapter provides for the summary of findings in line with the study objectives. It brings to the fore both the basic and non-standard forms of negation along the axis of the levels of linguistic analysis. In the study, it is important to appreciate that the findings have been discussed premised on phonological, morphological and syntactic analyses. There are a number of theoretical questions that arise on the topic of negation. The study was approached from a Descriptive linguistics as well as Principles and Parameters perspective.

5.2 On Verb structure

The study has described the verb structure in Bantu languages in general and in Bemba in particular. It cannot be denied that some of the languages in this group do not have all the slots represented on the template. Bemba, for instance, does not have the pre-ending. Thus, in essence, Bemba has only ten verbal morphemes. Within the verb, Bemba, like many other Bantu languages, has a morphology which is traditionally referred to as 'agglutinative', which allows affixation of a variety of morphemes both to the left (prefixes) and the right (suffixes) of the verb root. There are many factors that influence the shape of the verb in all languages of the world. In many languages, the factors include, but not exclusive to, mood, tense and aspect. In this study, however, it has been shown that Bemba has a fourth parameter; sentence type. The sentence can either be relative or non-relative. Non relative clauses are also called absolute clauses as coined by Meeussen (2004).

5.3 On the phonology of negation

There are many phonological processes across languages but this study only looked at the effect that tone has on the verb in different tenses. For instance, in the hodiernal past, it is argued that shows that the presence of the NEG on the verb causes the high tone on the verb root to change to a low tone. For instance, the first syllable in *-laala* ‘sleep’ has a high tone in the affirmative which changes to low in the negative construction. Consider the examples shown below:

(16) a. n - ací - láál - a → nacílaála ‘I slept’

1sg. – TM – sleep – FV

e. n - sh - ací - laal - a → nshacílaala ‘I did not sleep’

1sg. – NEG – TM – sleep – FV

5.4 On the Negative Markers *ta-*, *-i-* and *-sh-*

There are a number of distinctive properties observed among the three negative markers on the verbal constructions. These are;

1. The three forms *ta-*, *-i-* and *-sh-* can only occur as bound morphemes. This means that they do not occur independently.
2. The form *-sh-* takes two possible vowels which are determined by the tense in which the construction is. In the present tense, the form takes *-i-* while in the past and future tenses the vowel it takes is *-a-*.
3. These morphemes cannot co-occur in the same simple verbal construction. This implies that not one of the three markers can co-occur with either of the other two in the same verbal construction because these negation morphemes are in complementary distribution, in the Bemba language.

4. They occur in different positions in verbal constructions. The formative *ta-* always occurs in word-initial positions and followed by the SM while the other two (*-sh-* and *-i-*) occur inside the verb; after the SM. In other words, the occurrence of the verb morphemes is subject to constraints.
5. There are restrictions in terms of the types of FVs they occur with. This also includes the verbal extensions which co-occur with the NEG
6. The formative *-i-* occurs only in the imperatives and just after the SM. The other two occur in other declarative constructions.

It has further been observed that there are a number of parameters which determine the shape taken by the NEG. Among them are grammatical person, occurrence, the type of a sentence (whether relative or absolute) and dialect under consideration. In the first personal pronoun singular, the form is *-sh(-)* which always occurs after the SM. The other persons take *ta-* which occurs word initially. The relative clause takes *-shi-* in standard Bemba but there are other dialects which take *-kana-*, *-bula-* and *-ta-* which all occur word internally.

5.5 On morphology and syntax

It has been discussed that in standard theory, and in particular the phrase structure rules, there is a discussion on the movement of some elements from what is termed extraction sites to landing sites. The study reveals that the Bemba negation marker does not only move from its initial position in the deep structure but also becomes part of the verb in the process known as **Incorporation**. It becomes incorporated to a verb. This study argues that it can be partially justified on the basis of Bemba being an agglutinating language but also because the NEG is always part of the main verb, at least in the surface structure. The morpheme of negation, NEG, is phonologically realised as *ta-*

, *-shi-* or *-i-*. These are the three basic forms/shapes of negation in Bemba. Look at the following illustration:

NEG → *ta-*

-i-

-sh()-

After the NEG has been realised phonologically as shown above, it then moves from its original position in the deep structure to its new position and is overtly shown in the surface structure. The NEG *ta-* joins the verb on the left while the other two NEG forms *-i-* and *-sh()-* are infixes into the verb itself. Therefore, they occur word medially.

With regard to negation of the infinitive, it was observed that the negation form of the infinitive takes *-shi-* as the NEG. According to the data which was collected, this morpheme occurs between the INF and the verb root.

a. uku - byal - a → ukubyala ‘to plant’

INF – sleep – FV

b, uku - *shi* - byal - a → ukushibyala ‘not to plant’

INF – NEG – sleep - FV

The data also showed that negation in the infinitives is expressed word internally, that is, within the infinitival construction. The NEG form *-shi-* can be used interchangeably with the morpheme *-kana-* ‘refuse’ as in the example below:

uku - **kana** - sendam - a → ukukanasendama ‘to refuse to sleep’ [not to sleep]

INF – **not** – sleep – FV

5.6 Recommendation

Having carried out the study successfully, the following is the recommendation: while morphology and syntax have been well explored in this study, there is only one area of phonology which has been studied; tone. Therefore, it is imperative that other scholars take interest and study the other phonological aspects with regards to negation. Further, such disciplines as pragmatics of negation in Bemba have no space in literature yet. Future studies on Bemba negation can be tilted towards this area.

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Appendix A

Full list of Bemba noun classes

Class	Aug	Prefix	Example
1	u-	mu-	Umuntu ‘person’
1a		Ø	Kolwe ‘monkey’
2	a-	ba-	Abantu ‘people’
2a		baa-	Baakolwe ‘monkeys’
3	u-	mu-	Umushi ‘village’
4	i-	mi-	Imishi ‘villages’
5	i-	i-/li-	Ilini ‘egg’
5a		lii-	liiBanda ‘Banda’
6	a-	ma-	Amani ‘eggs’
7	i-	ci-	Icisote ‘hat’
7a		cii-	Ciikolwe ‘huge/ugly/evil monkey’
8	i-	fi-	Ifisote ‘hats’
8a		fii-	Fiikolwe ‘huge/ugly/evil monkeys’
9	i-	n-	Inkoko ‘chicken’

9a		Ø	Kaapu ‘cup’
10	i-	n-	Inkoko ‘chickens’
11	u-	lu-	Ulukasa ‘foot’
12	a-	ka-	Akakoko ‘chick’
12a		kaa-	Kaakolwe ‘small monkey’
13	u-	tu-	Utukoko ‘small chicks’
13a		tuu-	Tuukolwe ‘small monkeys’
14	u-	bu-	Ubusuma ‘goodness/beauty’
14a		buu-	Buukafundisha ‘teaching profession’
15	u-	ku-	Ukubomba ‘to work’
16		pa-/pali-	Pamulu ‘on top’; pali Chanda ‘on/at Chanda’
17		ku-/kuli-	Kumushi ‘at/to the village; kuli Kafundisha ‘to the teacher’
18		mu-/muli-	Mumushi ‘in(to) the village’

Appendix B

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies

Department of Literature and Languages

Questionnaire: form and effect of the negation morpheme on the verb in Bemba

Introduction

Hello, I am Davies Musonda conducting a research on the form, function and effects of the negation morpheme on the verb in Bemba. I will be grateful if you will answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Rest assured that your responses will be used solely for academic purposes.

Thank you.

Part I

Fill in the tables below using the provided verb in both the affirmative and negative forms

Verb = *ukupyanga* 'sweeping'

Habitual tense *-la-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		
Second Pp. Sing.		
Second Pp. Pl		
Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Present Continuous tense *-le-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		
Second Pp. Sing.		
Second Pp. Pl		
Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Present Perfect tense *-a-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		
Second Pp. Sing.		
Second Pp. Pl		
Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Hodiernal past *-aci-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		

Second Pp. Sing		
Second Pp. Pl		
Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Pre-hordienal past *-ali-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		
Second Pp. Sing		
Second Pp. Pl		
Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Near future *-ala-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		
Second Pp. Sing		
Second Pp. Pl		

Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Distant future *-aka-*

PERSONAL PRONOUN	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE
First Pp. Sing.		
First Pp. Pl		
Second Pp. Sing		
Second Pp. Pl		
Third Pp. Sing.		
Third Pp. Pl		

Part II

1. Since there are several shapes of negation in Bemba (*-ta-*, *-sh-* and *-i-*), explain what determines the shape?

.....

2. Does the addition of a negative marker influence the internal pattern of the verb?

YES NO

3. What change, if any, occurs when a negative marker is added to a verb?

.....

.....

4. When negation is expressed morphologically or syntactically, is it the same morpheme or word which expresses it?

YES NO

5. If the answer to (4) above is 'NO', state the various morphemes and words which are used to express negation.

.....
.....

6. What are the changes, if any, expressed by the presence or absence of a negative morpheme on a verb?

.....
.....

7. What other specific changes, if any, are caused to the verb by *-ta-* and *-sh-* as negative markers?

.....

8. In Bemba, there are various tense markers: *-le-*, *-la-*, *-ala-*, *-ka-*, *-kala-*, *-aci-*, *-ale-*, *-ali-*, *-a-*. What morphological changes are brought about by the presence of various tense markers?

.....
.....
.....

9. On the verbal template, which slots do the negative markers typically occupy

.....
.....