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Negative Participles in Kambaata

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An introductory example

Negative participle

- is marked by the morpheme *-umb*
- agrees in case and gender with the head noun (here: *láag-at* ‘voice’)
- carries a subject index

- (1) *mát-it* [*maccooc-i-níi* *kas-∅-úmb-ut*] *láag-at*_{Head noun}
one-fNOM hear-1sPCO-ADD do_ever-1s-NEG.PTC-fNOM voice-fNOM
- gisan-áachch* *báqq=át-t* *ke'-is-soo'-é* *j-áata* (...)
sleep-fABL wake=do-3fPCO rise-CAUS1-3fPFV-1sO.REL time-fACC
- ‘When a voice [(that) I had never heard before] woke me up from (my) sleep (...).’

Some background on Kambaata

CLASSIFICATION, SPEAKER AREA, TYPOLOGICAL PROFILE ...

Some background on Kambaata

- Afro-Asiatic > Cushitic > ... > Highland East Cushitic
- Speaker Area: Southwest Ethiopia
- Number of speakers: > 600,000 (acc. to 2007 census)
- Medium of instruction in primary schools
- Official orthography (used here with minimal modifications)
- Works on related languages contain no information on negative participles
- Treis (2012): preliminary analysis of negative participles

Typological profile I

- **Suffixing**, agglutinating-fusional with many portmanteau morphemes
- Head- and dependent-marking
 - 9 nominal cases
 - subject indexing on verbs
- **Strict head-finality**
 - dependent clauses before main clauses
 - main verb or copula = last constituent in a sentence
 - all modifiers (incl. relative clauses) before head noun
- **Phonemic stress**, but no lexical, only grammatical minimal pairs, e.g. *ánganne* (NOM) - *angánne* (ACC) - *anganné* (GEN) ‘(of) our hands’

Typological profile II

Parts of speech

- 4 large sets with open membership: nouns, **adjectives**, **verbs**, ideophones
- Several small (closed) sets: various sets of pronouns, numerals and quantifiers, demonstratives, ...

Structure of this talk

1. Form

- Morphology of (relative) verbs
- Morphology of adjectives
- Negative participles = hybrids of adjectives and verbs

2. Use

- As attribute
- As predicate
- As argument

3. Summary

Terminological caveat

In Cushitic linguistics, the term “participle” is occasionally not used in the sense of “verbal adjective” but in the sense of “converb” (subordinate, semi-finite/infinite verb form in adverbial function).

See e.g. Owens (1985) on Harar Oromo, Banti & Vergari (2005) on Saho and Hayward (1980) on Afar.

(NB: Kambaata also has several types of converbs, but they are formally and functionally clearly distinct from the participle.)

1. Forms

(RELATIVE) VERBS, ADJECTIVES, PARTICIPLES

1. Form: Verbs

Kambaata makes a distinction between

- Fully finite main verbs/final verbs:
subject indexes (5-7), aspect (4), mood (4), polarity (2)

- Subordinate verbs with reduced inflectional potential

- Relative verbs (only indicative mood, only affirmative)

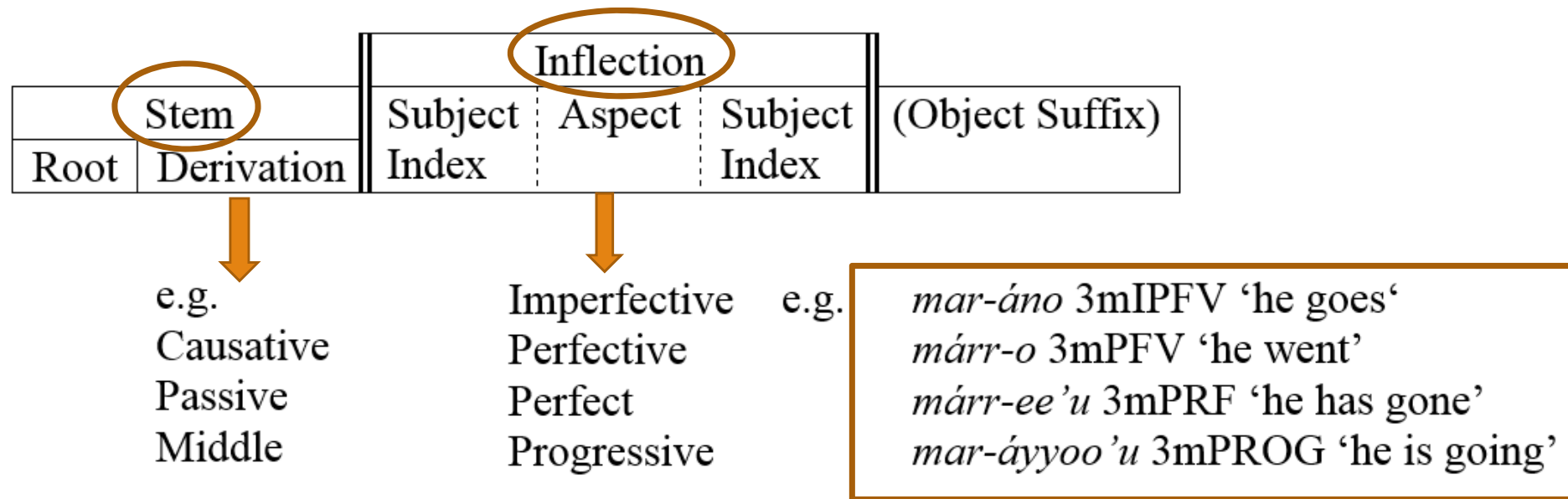
- Converbs (only indicative mood, only 2 aspects)

- Verbal nouns (infinite)

→ Negative counterpart: Negative participle

1. Form: Main verbs

Figure 1. Structure of indicative affirmative main verbs



1. Form: Relative verbs

- Stress shift in the imperfective and perfective (not in perfect and progressive)
- Loss of “glottal appendices” (e.g. 'u) *

mar-áno 3mIPFV ‘he goes’
márr-o 3mPFV ‘he went’
márr-ee'u 3mPRF ‘he has gone’
mar-áyyoo'u 3mPROG ‘he is going’

Main verb forms

mar-anó 3mIPFV.REL + N ‘[the N where] he goes [to]’
márr-ó 3mPFV.REL + N ‘[the N where] he went [to]’
márr-ee 3mPRF.REL + N ‘[the N where] he has gone [to]’
mar-áyyoo 3mPROG + N ‘[the N where] he is going [to]’

Relative verb forms

*Heard in careful speech on certain main verb forms.

1. Form: Relative verb [Example]

(3) *Tiin* [gall-ó=r-a
P_DEM1.fNOM stay_overnight-3mPFV.REL=NMZp-mACC
it-eennó] Relative clause *jeechch-úta* Head noun *agúd-dee-'e*
eat-3honIPFV.REL time-fACC seem-3fPRF-1sO

‘I think, it’s time for breakfast (lit. This seems to me the time at which one eats what has stayed overnight).’

1. Form: Relative verb [Example]

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‘I think, it’s time for breakfast (lit. This seems to me the time at which **one eats** what has stayed overnight).’



No case/gender agreement between
relative verb and head noun

*Corresponding main verb form: *it-éenno* ‘one eats’

1. Form: Relative verbs

- Stress shift
- Loss of “glottal appendices” (e.g. 'u)
 - Leads to ungrammatical relative forms if applied to **negative** main verbs

mar-áno-ba'a 3mIPFV-NEG ‘he does not go’

mar-im-bá'a 3mNON.IPFV-NEG ‘he did not go/hasn't gone/isn't going’

→ **mar-ano-bá* 3mIPFV-NEG.REL + N

intended meaning: ‘[the N where] he does not go [to]’

→ **mar-im-bá* 3mNON.IPV-NEG.REL

intended meaning: ‘[the N where] he did not go/hasn't gone/isn't going [to]’

Negative counterpart: Negative participle

1. Form: Adjectives

- As modifiers in the NP: case/gender-agreement with head noun, 3-case system ACC, NOM, OBL
- As NP heads: full case-marking potential, 9-case system like nouns ACC, NOM, GEN, DAT, ABL, ICP,* LOC, OBL, PRED
- Adjectives fall into 5 declensions

Table 1. Case/gender morphemes on adjectives in *-ú(-ta)* (Declension A2)

	ACC	NOM	OBL
M	<i>-ú</i>	<i>'-u</i>	<i>'-o ~ '-u-a</i>
F	<i>-ú-ta</i>	<i>'-u-t</i>	<i>'-o ~ '-u-ta</i>

*ICP = instrumental-comitative-perlative

1. Form: Adjectives

- Case/gender-agreement agreement of adjectives

(2) *muccur-ú* *wo'-á*
clean-mACC water-mACC

muccúr-u *wó'-u*
clean-mNOM water-mNOM

muccúr-o *wo'-íin*
clean-mOBL water-mICP*

‘(with) clean water’

muccur-úta *bu'leechch-úta*
clean-fACC spring-fACC

muccúr-ut *bu'lléechch-ut*
clean-fNOM spring-fNOM

muccúr-o *bu'leechch-óochch*
clean-fOBL spring-fABL

‘(from a) clean spring’

*ICP = instrumental-comitative-perlative

1. Form: Participles

Figure 2. Structure of negative participles

= final verb in a negative relative clause

		Verbal Inflection		Adjectival inflection	
Stem		Subject Index	<i>-umb</i>	Case/Gender	(Object Suffix)
Root	Derivation				

1. Form: Participles

Figure 2. Structure of negative participles

= final verb in a negative relative clause

Stem		Verbal Inflection		Adjectival inflection	
Root	Derivation	Subject Index	-umb	Case/Gender	(Object Suffix)

Figure 1. Structure of indicative affirmative main verbs

= base for the final verb in an affirmative relative clause

Stem		Inflection			
Root	Derivation	Subject Index	Aspect	Subject Index	(Object Suffix)

Table 2. Inflection of negative participles
(Subject index-NEG.PTC-Case/gender)

	-mACC	-mNOM	-mOBL*	-fACC	-fNOM	-fOBL*
1s	<i>-∅-umb-ú</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-u</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-o</i>	<i>-∅-umb-úta</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-o</i>
2s	<i>-t-umb-ú</i>	<i>-t-úmb-u</i>	<i>-t-úmb-o</i>	<i>-t-umb-úta</i>	<i>-t-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-t-úmb-o</i>
3m	<i>-∅-umb-ú</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-u</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-o</i>	<i>-∅-umb-úta</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-∅-úmb-o</i>
3f/p	<i>-t-umb-ú</i>	<i>-t-úmb-u</i>	<i>-t-úmb-o</i>	<i>-t-umb-úta</i>	<i>-t-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-t-úmb-o</i>
3hon	<i>-een-umb-ú</i>	<i>-een-úmb-u</i>	<i>-een-úmb-o</i>	<i>-een-umb-úta</i>	<i>-een-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-een-úmb-o</i>
1p	<i>-n-umb-ú</i>	<i>-n-úmb-u</i>	<i>-n-úmb-o</i>	<i>-n-umb-úta</i>	<i>-n-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-n-úmb-o</i>
2p/hon	<i>-teen-umb-ú</i>	<i>-teen-úmb-u</i>	<i>-teen-úmb-o</i>	<i>-teen-umb-úta</i>	<i>-teen-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-teen-úmb-o</i>

*Only one of two alternative oblique forms is given.

1. Form: Participles

While affirmative relative verbs can be marked for four aspects (like indicative main verbs), these aspectual categories are **neutralised** in negative participles.

A negative participle can have an imperfective meaning:

- (4) [*reh-een**umb**-ú*]=*bb-a* *iill-áamm* *y-ít (...)*
die-3hon**NEG.PTC**-mACC=place-mACC reach-1sIPFV say-3fPCO

‘Assuming that she would reach a place where one does not die, (...).’
(Excluded in the context: ‘where one hasn’t died/did not die’)

Corresponding affirmative relative verb: *reh-eennó* die-3hon**IPFV**.REL ‘(where) one dies’

1. Form: Participles

A negative participle can also have a non-imperfective, e.g. a perfect, meaning:

- (5) *Mexx-uhú-u* [af-**umb**-ú] *mat-ú* *daqayy-á*
single-mNOM-ADD take-3m**NEG.PTC**-mACC one-mACC pasture-mACC
- daqq-itoontíichch* *hítt* *úull-at* *kii-taa*
find-2sPFV.ABL A_DEM2.fNOM land-fNOM 2sGEN-fCOP2

‘When you discover a pasture that nobody has (yet) taken then this land is yours.’
(Excluded in this context: ‘that nobody will take’)

Corresponding affirmative relative verb: *áff-ee* take-3m**PRF**.REL ‘(that) he has taken’

1. Form: Participles

In the same way as the affirmative relative verb, the negative participle can carry an object suffix (position after case/gender morpheme).

- (6) [*héechch-at* *bajig-is-s[□]umb-u-sí* *manch-ú*
life-fNOM become_happy-CAUS1-3f[□]NEG.PTC-mACC+3mO man.SG-mACC
sáz-u *baréed-a-a*
advise-mNOM good-mPRED-mCOP2

‘Advising a man [(whom) life does not make happy] is good.’

2. Uses

ATTRIBUTE, PREDICATE, ARGUMENT

2.1. Negative participles as attributes

- Negative participles in noun-modifying (relative) clauses
- see all examples so far!
- Negative participles in *all* relative-based adverbial and complement clauses – see e.g. the purpose clause marked by =*g-a* (diachronic source: noun ‘manner’)

(7) (...) *barg-í* *zákk-o* *ka* *xah-á*
 add-3mPCO later-mOBL A_DEM1.mACC word-mACC

hab-úmb-o=g-a.

forget-3m**NEG.PTC**-mOBL=PURP-mOBL

‘(...) he repeated (what he had said) so that he wouldn’t forget the words later.’

2.2. Negative participles as non-verbal predicates

- Negative participles can function as non-verbal predicates > combine with a copula (‘[Subject] is (someone who) never Vs’; verb-focus construction)

(8) *Gorréekk* *té* *sagább*
become_hungry.3mPCO or become_thirsty.3mPCO
kas-úmb-u-a
do_ever-3m**NEG.PTC**-mPRED-mCOP2
‘He has never been either hungry or thirsty.’

NB: Negative participles are not used in other complex predicates.

2.3. Negative participles as arguments

- Recall: Adjectives can simply become the head of an NP if the head noun is dropped.
- The same is true of negative participles.*

(9) [*Aass-ú* *dag-umb-ii*]
give-mACC know-3mNEG.PTC-mDAT
aaqq-ú *áy* *ros-ishsh-o-s?*
take-mACC who.mNOM learn-CAUS1-3mPFV-3mO

‘Who has taught taking [to the one who doesn’t know giving]?’
(Alemayehu & Alemu f.c.)

*Common for nominative or accusative, less common for other cases (then often nominalised).

3. Summary

- Negative participles are verbal
 - contain verbal derivational morphemes (passive, causative, middle etc.)
 - carry subject indexes (= identical to those in other verb forms)
 - carry pronominal object suffixes
 - retain verbal argument structure
 - govern subordinate clauses
- Negative participles are adjectival
 - agree in case/gender with the head noun
 - can (often) simply be used as heads of NP if head noun is dropped
 - (are aspectually unmarked)

To be continued...

- Analysis of stress marking on negative participles (verbal vs. adjectival stress patterns)
- Possible historical scenario – necessary: study of relative clauses in regional variants of Kambaata
- Comparison with participles in related languages – difficult, as no other East Cushitic languages seems to have participles; but see (affirmative) participles in Xamtanga (Central Cushitic; Darmon 2015) and Burunge (South Cushitic; Kießling 1994)

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The slides of this presentation will be uploaded to <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/>

Abbreviations

A_DEM = adjectival demonstrative, ABL = ablative, ADD = additive, CAUS = causative, COP = copula, DAT = dative, f = feminine, GEN = genitive, hon = honorific/impersonal, ICP = instrumental-comitative-perlative, IPFV = imperfective, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, NMZ = nominalizer, NOM = nominative, NON.IPFV = non-imperfective, O = object, OBL = oblique, p = plural, P_DEM = pronominal demonstrative, PCO = perfective converb, PFV = perfective, PRED = predicative, PRF = perfect, PTC = participle, REL = relative, s = singular, SG = singulative, SIM = simulative