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Negation in Kambaata (Cushitic)

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1. Introduction

1.1. The language

The Kambaata language (iso-code: [ktb](#), glottolog code: [kam1316](#)) is spoken by the Kambaata, Xambaaro and Donga people, who settle around the Hambarrichcho mountain massif in southern Ethiopia, about 300km southwest of the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa. According to the last census, Kambaata has more than 600,000 speakers (Central Statistical Agency 2007: 74), the large majority of whom live in the Kambaata-Xambaaro Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. Kambaata belongs to the Highland East Cushitic branch of the Cushitic family (Afroasiatic phylum). There are possibly slight regional differences in prosody, grammar and lexicon (whose exact nature is still to be explored) across the Kambaata-speaking area, which do, however, not impact mutual intelligibility. The immediate neighbors of the Kambaata are speakers of other Highland East Cushitic languages (Hadiyya and Alaaba) and Omoto languages of the Omotic family (Wolaitta and Dawro). Amharic, the Ethiopian lingua franca, is the most important second language of Kambaata speakers. The language is used as a medium of instruction in public primary schools and is taught as a subject up to grade 12. In 2018, Wachamo University started a Kambaata language BA program on its Duuraame campus. Despite having been taught in schools since 1997, Kambaata has remained an overwhelmingly oral language, while Amharic is the written language in private and official contexts. Overall, Kambaata is still vital. Intergenerational transmission seems stable in rural areas yet threatened in towns. Amharic is dominant in certain communication contexts, such as social media, TV, religious services, political meetings, offices, courts, schools, and part of the retail industry and gastronomy. Kambaata is more and more becoming restricted to communication within the family, with friends and neighbours.

The official Kambaata orthography is based on the Roman script (Treis 2008: 73-80, Alemu 2016) and follows the spelling conventions of the Oromo Qubee orthography. The official Kambaata orthography is adopted in this contribution with one important adaptation: Phonemic stress is marked by an acute accent. The following Kambaata graphemes are not in accordance with IPA conventions: <ph> /pʰ/, <x> /tʰ/, <q> /kʰ/, <j> /dʒ/, <c> /tʃ/, <ch> /tʃ/, <sh> /ʃ/, <y> /j/ and <'> /ʔ/. Geminate consonants and long vowels are marked by doubling, e.g. <shsh> /ʃ:/ and <ee> /e:/. Nasalisation is marked by a macron, e.g. <ā> /ã/. The data for this paper comes from the author's recorded corpus of narratives and conversations (marked by initials of recorded speakers name, date, and file number or name), her field notes of volunteered or elicited data as well as a corpus of locally published written Kambaata texts.

1.2. General typological profile

Kambaata is agglutinating-fusional and strictly suffixing. Its constituent order is consistently head-final; hence all modifiers precede the noun in the NP, and all dependent clauses precede independent main clauses. The last constituent in a sentence is usually

a fully finite main verb or a copula. The following open word classes are defined on morphosyntactic grounds: nouns, adjectives, verbs, ideophones, and interjections.

Kambaata is a nominative-accusative language; the nominative is the subject case; the accusative marks direct objects and certain adverbial constituents, it also serves as the citation form of nouns and adjectives. Nouns are marked for gender (masculine vs. feminine); the assignment of grammatical gender is mostly arbitrary, with the exception of nouns referring to human beings and higher animals, where it is sex-based. Nouns distinguish nine case forms (nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, instrumental, locative, oblique, predicative), all of which are marked by a segmental suffix and a specific stress pattern. The case marking of constituents in a clause is not affected by negation. Adnominal adjectives, numerals and demonstratives agree with their head noun in case and gender. The case system of adnominals is reduced to three forms, namely nominative, accusative and oblique, with the oblique form marking agreement with non-nominative/non-accusative head nouns.



Figure 1a. Affirmative declarative main verb with bipartite subject marking

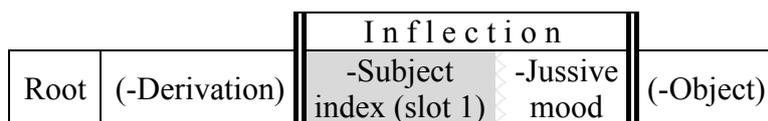


Figure 1b. Jussive main verb with simple subject marking

All verbs, with the exception of verbal nouns, carry simple or bipartite subject indexes, as illustrated by the structures of an affirmative declarative main verb and a jussive main verb in Figure 1. Furthermore, verbs inflect for aspect (imperfective, perfective, perfect, and progressive), mood (declarative, imperative, jussive, benedictive, and apprehensive), polarity (affirmative, negative) and dependency status (main verbs, relative verbs, converbs). Inflectional morphemes tend to fuse into inseparable portmanteau morphemes and are therefore often not segmented in the examples. Direct and indirect objects can be expressed by suffixed pronouns at the right edge of the inflected verb. The use of these pronominal object suffixes is partly pragmatically determined and depends on the referential prominence of the object. If a declarative verb is marked for past tense, the marker *ikke* is the last element of the verbal complex. Derivational morphemes (passive, causative, middle morphemes or combinations of these) are found between the root and the inflection. The inflectional potential of dependent clause verbs is less rich than that of main verb forms: certain person/gender and aspectual distinctions are neutralized, they cannot be marked for mood, and only some of them allow for object suffixes. Ideophones and interjections are morphologically invariant. Interjections constitute utterances of their own. Ideophones are integrated into the clause through light verbs, *y-* ‘say’ or *ih-* ‘be(come)’ in intransitive clauses and *a’-* ~ *ass-* ‘do’ in transitive clauses.

1.3. Earlier works on negation

Borelli’s linguistic data appendix (1890: 463-482) constitutes the earliest source on the Kambaata language. Though the section on negative verbs remains empty in his questionnaire, there are five negative verb forms in his list of common phrases (*phrases usuelles*), e.g. the negated imperfective *ossaamba* [ossa’aambá’a] ‘I don’t sleep’, the

negated non-imperfective *amé timba* [ameetimbá'a] 'I did not go, have not gone, am not going', and the negated imperative *agoti* [ággooti] 'don't drink'.¹ Leslau (1952) gives the first coherent presentation of the negative paradigms. Some relevant examples in Korhonen et al. (1986: 90-108) demonstrate slight morphological differences in the non-imperfective negation of Kambaata (proper) and Xambaaro as well as the closely related language Alaaba. As far as more recent publications are concerned, Treis (2012a) analyses clausal negation in Kambaata from a comparative Highland East Cushitic perspective, negative converbs are dealt with in Treis (2012b: 86-90), and Treis (2012c) is a detailed discussion of the negation of relative verbs.

2. Clausal negation

As in many languages in the world, the affirmative and negative verb forms and paradigms do not neatly match each other in a one-to-one relation; rather, paradigmatic and constructional asymmetries (Miestamo 2008) can be observed: Not all affirmative paradigms have dedicated negative counterparts, aspectual and modal distinctions are neutralized, and negation may trigger changes in the morphological makeup of verb forms. Kambaata has five inflectional negation suffixes (Table 2), which will be treated in the following subsections of §2. Negative morphemes are always located after the subject indexes and aspectual morphology, and before tense marking; their position relative to mood and object marking depends on the type of verb they combine with. Information on the order of morphemes will be given in the respective sections below.

<i>-ba('a)</i>	NEG1	Negator of declarative main verbs, existential verb <i>yoo-</i> , non-verbal predicates
<i>-oot</i>	NEG2	Negator of imperatives
<i>-ka</i>	NEG3	Negator of jussives
<i>-ú'nna</i>	NEG4	Negator of converbs
<i>-umb</i>	NEG5	Negator of relative verbs

Table 2. Inflectional negation morphemes

2.1. Standard negation

Standard negation is marked with the standard negator *-ba('a)* (NEG1).

- (1) *Af-óon áff-ee waas-á it-áno-ba'a,*
 mouth-mLOC grab-3mPRF.REL enset_food-mACC eat-3mIPV-NEG1
tú=y-i agúrr=ke'éechch waal-áno
 spit.IDEO=say-[3m]PCO leave.[3m]PCO=SEQ come-3mIPV
 (Context: Somebody hears about the death of a loved one.) 'He does not swallow (lit. eat) the food that he has in his mouth, spits it out (and) then comes (to the house of the deceased).' (EK2016-02-23_003)
- (2) *Hikkanneeni-i teesuuhá-a bajig-g-im-bá'a*
 P_DEM2.mICP-ADD again-ADD be(come)_happy-3f-NIPV-NEG1
 [corresponding affirmative: *bajig-gee'u*
 be(come)_happy-3fPRF
 '(But) even with this, she was still not happy.' (TD2016-02-11_001)

¹ English translation mine.

Affirmative						
	Imperfective ²	Perfective ³		Perfect	Progressive	
1s	-Ø- áa -m(m)-[OBJ]	-C ^{PAL/GEM} :	-Ø- óo -m(m)-[OBJ]	-C ^{PAL/GEM} :	'-Ø- ee -m(m)-[OBJ]	-Ø- áyyoo -m(m)-[OBJ]
		-CC:	-Ø- éé -m(m)-[OBJ]	-CC:	-Ø- éé -m(m)-[OBJ]	
2s	-t- áa -nt-[OBJ]	-t- óo -nt-[OBJ]		'-t- ee -nt-[OBJ]	-t- áyyoo -nt-[OBJ]	
3m	-Ø- á -no-[OBJ]	-C ^{PAL/GEM} :	'-Ø- o -[OBJ]	-C ^{PAL/GEM} :	'-Ø- ee -('u)-[OBJ]	-Ø- áyyoo -('u)-[OBJ]
		-CC:	-Ø- éé -('u)-[OBJ]	-CC:	-Ø- éé -('u)-[OBJ]	
3f/3p	-t- áa -('u)-[OBJ]	-t- óo -('u)-[OBJ]		'-t- ee -('u)-[OBJ]	-t- áyyoo -('u)-[OBJ]	
3hon	- éen -Ø-no-[OBJ]	- éem -Ø-ma-[OBJ]		- éem -Ø-maa('u)-[OBJ]	- éen-áyyoo -mma-[OBJ]	
1p	-n- áa -m(m)-[OBJ]	-n- óo -mm-[OBJ]		'-n- ee -mm-[OBJ]	-n- áyyoo -m(m)-[OBJ]	
2p/2hon	- téen-á -nta-[OBJ]	- téen -Ø-nta-[OBJ]		- téen -Ø-ntaa('u)-[OBJ]	- téen-áyyoo -nta-[OBJ]	

Negative		
	Imperfective	Non-Imperfective
1s	-Ø- áa -m-[OBJ]-ba 'a	-Ø- im -bá('a)-[OBJ]
2s	-t- áa -nti-[OBJ]-ba 'a	-t- im -bá('a)-[OBJ]
3m	-Ø- á -no-[OBJ]-ba 'a	-Ø- im -bá('a)-[OBJ]
3f/3p	-t- áa -[OBJ]-ba 'a	-t- im -bá('a)-[OBJ]
3hon	- éen -Ø-no-[OBJ]-ba 'a	- éen - im -bá('a)-[OBJ]
1p	-n- áa -m-[OBJ]-ba 'a	-n- im -bá('a)-[OBJ]
2p/2hon	- téen-á -nta-[OBJ]-ba 'a	- téen - im -bá('a)-[OBJ]

Table 3. Affirmative and negative declarative endings

Order of morphemes: subject marker 1, aspect morpheme in bold, (if present:) subject marker 2, negator; 1s and 3m may vary depending on whether verb stem ends in a single consonant (C) or cluster (CC); object marking is optional

² Elements in round brackets are dropped or occur dependent on what follows.

³ The CC-forms in the 1s and 3m perfective and perfect look identical but can be shown to be distinct and to follow different stress rules.

Two standard declarative negation constructions need to be kept apart: negative imperfective and negative non-imperfective. As seen in Table 3, affirmative declarative main verbs distinguish four aspectual categories: imperfective, perfective, perfect and progressive, all of which are marked by an aspect morpheme wedged between the bipartite subject index. In the negation, the aspectual distinctions are partly neutralized and reduced to two: imperfective (1) vs. non-imperfective (2). In the imperfective aspect, the affirmative and negative paradigms are largely symmetrical; they only differ in the presence of the standard negator.⁴ In contrast, we observe paradigmatic and constructional asymmetry in negative non-imperfective verbs: (i) the second subject slot of the affirmative counterpart is dropped in the negation, which leads to a reduction of the number of distinct subject indexes from seven to five, with 1s=3m and 2s=3f/3p; (ii) a dedicated aspect morpheme, the non-imperfective suffix *-im*,⁵ is used in the negation but not found in any affirmative verb form, (iii) the palatalization and gemination of stem-final consonants in certain 1s and 3m affirmative verb forms is absent in the negation, and (iv) the stress patterns of the negative non-imperfective verb forms are unlike those found on their affirmative counterparts.

If one compares the two declarative negative paradigms in Table 3 with each other, differences in the relative position of the object morpheme [OBJ] and the negator become apparent: The negator follows the object in the imperfective (3) but precedes the object in the non-imperfective (4).

- (3) (...) *isso'óot kaa'll-itáa xa'mm-úta hór-a-n*
 3pNOM help-3fIPV.REL question-fACC all-mOBL-N
xa'mm-ita-a-nne-ba'a
 ask-3fIPV-2pO-NEG1
 '(...) they never ask you any essential (lit. helping) questions.' (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 19)
- (4)⁶ (...) *teesuuhá-a hikkuuni-i duus-im-bá-se*
 again-ADD P_DEM2.mNOM-ADD satisfy-[3m]NIPV-NEG1-3fO
 '(But) this, too, did still not satisfy her.' (TD2016-02-11_001)

2.2. Negation of non-declaratives

Main verbs in non-declarative sentences are marked for imperative, jussive/benedictive or apprehensive mood. Imperatives and jussives/benedictives have dedicated negation strategies. The apprehensive, a paradigm of main verb forms expressing warnings and threats (Treis 2018), has no corresponding negative paradigm and can only be negated periphrastically with the verb *hoog-* 'not do'.

2.2.1. Negation of imperatives

	Imperative	
	Affirmative: V-[IMP]-[OBJ]	Negative: V-[SBJ1]-[NEG2]-[IMP]-[OBJ]
2s	'-i-[OBJ]	'-t-oot-i
2p/2hon	-C ^{PAL/GEM.} :	-é-[OBJ]
	-CC:	-iyyé-[OBJ]
		~ -téen-oochch-e-[OBJ]
		~ -téen-oochch-iyye-[OBJ]

⁴ Matters are here a bit simplified: Phonological changes triggered by the standard negator are ignored.

⁵ In the Xambaaro-variant of Kambaata, the respective aspect marker is *-um* (Korhonen et al. 1986: 101).

⁶ Subject indexes that are realized as \emptyset are glossed in [square brackets] in the examples.

Table 4. Affirmative and negative imperative endings

The affirmative imperatives are the simplest verb forms in Kambaata, as they lack the expected first slot of subject indexes. In the negation (Table 4), however, the subject indexes 2s *-t* and 2p *-teen* “resurface”.⁷ After the subject slot follows the imperative negator *-oot* (NEG2) – which is realized palatalized and geminate (*-oochch*) in the plural –, the respective singular (5) or plural (6) imperative morpheme, and, if present, an object suffix.⁸

- (5) “*Bux-ichch-i min-i aag-ís-s-oot-e-’e*”
 poor-SG-mGEN house-mACC enter-CAUS1-2s-NEG2-2sIMP-1sO
y-ée’u buur-i hoof-íchch-u
 say-3mPFV butter-mGEN wrapping_material-SG-mNOM
 [Proverb] “‘Don’t make me enter a poor man’s house!’ said the butter wrapping.” (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 33)⁹
- (6) *Mikk-mill=y-itéen-oochch-e*
 move-move.IDEO=say-2p-NEG2-2pIMP
 (Police to robbers:) ‘Don’t you (p) move!’ (Volunteered 2016)

Kambaata has a handful of indexical imperative-only verbs (7), which can neither be negated nor be inflected in a non-imperative mood. The completely invariant directive interjections, of which Kambaata has several dozens (8), cannot be negated either.

- (7) *ám-i* (2s) – *amm-é* (2p) ‘Come (to me for an instant)!’
ī (2s) – *i-yyé* (2p) ‘Take (what I have in my hands)!’
mée (2s) – *mee-yyé* (2p) ‘Give (to me what you have in your hands, with you)!’
ashshám-i (2s) – *ashshamm-é* (2p) ‘Hang in there!’ (Greeting to people working)
kárag-i (2s) – *káragg-e* (2p) / *híkkarag-i* (2s) – *híkkaragg-e* (2p) ‘Listen up!’
- (8) e.g. *ná’a* (to children:) ‘Eat!’, *gá’a* (to children:) ‘Drink!’, *sá* ‘Shush!’ *hág* (to donkeys:) ‘Go (on/away)!’, *kút* (to chicken:) ‘Go away!’, *háa* (to cattle): ‘Stay calm!’, *hirká* (to cattle:) ‘Go into the pen!’, *sú* (to dogs:) ‘Catch!’

2.2.2. Negation of jussives and benedictives

	Affirmative Jussive	Affirmative Benedictive ¹⁰	Negative Jussive/Benedictive
1s	’-Ø-u-[OBJ]	Ø-ó	-Ø-ún-ka-[OBJ]
3m	’-Ø-un-[OBJ]	’-Ø-u-[OBJ]	-Ø-ún-ka-[OBJ]
3f/3p	’-t-un-[OBJ]	’-t-u-[OBJ]	-t-ún-ka-[OBJ]
3hon	-éen-un-[OBJ]	-éen-u	-een-ún-ka-[OBJ]
1p	-n-ó ~ ’-n-u ~ ’-n-un-[OBJ]	(n.a.)	-n-ún-ka-[OBJ]

Table 5. Affirmative and negative imperative endings

The jussive is used for first and third person directives and expresses what should be done or is permitted to be done. The first person singular jussive is only used in questions, e.g. *áag-u* ‘Can I come in?’. Whereas the imperative (§2.2.1) can be used to

⁷ As in other verb forms, the subject indexes of the first slot undergo regular morphophonological changes (Treis 2008: 60-72).

⁸ In the Xambaaro-variant of Kambaata, the negative 2p imperfective form is *-tóon-oochch-e* (Korhonen et al. 1986: 99).

⁹ I have segmented, glossed and translated examples from published sources and added stress marks.

¹⁰ Only two benedictive forms are attested with object pronouns in the database.

bless and curse second persons, e.g. *lé'-oot-i át* grow-[2s]NEG2¹¹-2sIMP 2sNOM ‘Don’t grow!’, blessings and curses of first and third persons are expressed by a dedicated verb form, the benedictive; see, for instance, the self-curse *án moog-am-ó* 1sNOM bury-PASS-1sBDV ‘May I be buried!’. In the negation, the distinction between jussive and benedictive is neutralized. The morpheme *-ka* (NEG3) is the negator of jussive/benedictive verbs; it follows the subject index and mood morpheme *-un* and precedes the object suffix (9).

- (9) *Lankaann-i* *hiil-u,* *land-i* *kotim-u*
 paternal_uncle-mGEN bad-mNOM leather_dress-mGEN short-mNOM
Laadd-i *gid-u* *gambá=y-ún-ka-he!*
 PN-mGEN cold-mNOM encounter.IDEO=say-[3m]JUS-NEG3-2sO
 (Blessing:) ‘May a bad uncle, a too short leather dress and the cold of Laadda (= windy place) not catch up with you!’ (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 101)

As Table 5 shows, the negative jussive/benedictive is almost entirely based on the affirmative jussive (with the exception of the 1s form). However, the addition of the jussive negator triggers a shift of the stress from the stem to the mood morpheme.

2.2.3. Negation of questions

Negated polar questions are built on negative declarative main clauses and marked by the interrogative suffix *-ndo*; see the negated non-verbal and verbal predicates in (10) and (11), respectively. The speaker suspects the answer to their question to be affirmative and asks the addressee to confirm this expectation.

- (10) *Hikkíun* *qaláall-a-a* *xáh-a-ba-ndo?*
 P_DEM1.mNOM easy[Amh.]-mPrED-mCOP2 issue-mPRED-NEG1-Q
 ‘Isn’t this an easy problem?’ (EK2016-02-12_003)
- (11) *Cii'-áta* *sharr-itaanti=g-a* *ik-k-im-bá-ndo?*
 birds-fACC chase-2sIPV.REL=G-mACC/OBL be(come)-2f-NIPV-NEG1-Q
 ‘Haven’t you reached the bird-chasing stage (yet) (lit. haven’t you become like you chase birds)?’ (EK2016-02-23_001)

Kambaata has another construction that is regularly rendered by speakers as a negative question in the English translation. The construction is marked by question intonation and the morpheme *-bay* (12).

- (12) *Ayichch-é=b-a* *mán-n* *shaf-an-tóo*
 Mum-fGEN=PLC-mACC go-1pPCO churn-PASS-3fPFV.REL
az-úta *angim-báy?*
 milk-fACC drink<1p>NIPFV-BAY
 (Context: S1 asks S2 to explain to her what “churned milk” is. S2 is surprised by the question and says:) ‘Didn’t we drink churned milk when we went to Mum’s place?! / Remember, we drank churned milk when we went to Mum’s place!’ (Volunteered 2019)

Questions marked by *-bay* are not intended to solicit an answer; they are possibly best characterized as rhetorical questions and are, as such, also found in the middle of monologues. They can express (i) a strong expectation on the side of the speaker that the addressee fully agrees, (ii) the speaker’s surprise that the addressee has expressed

¹¹ The 2s subject index *-t* is regularly deleted after a glottal stop.

the opposite, forgotten about something or not realized something obvious (12), or (iii) the speaker’s comment on a surprising encounter or discovery (13). So even though the construction comes in the form of a negative question, it is a strongly non-negative assertive statement.

- (13) S1: *Xáh-u* *waal-áyyoo-bay?* S2: *Āā* (...).
 issue-mNOM come-3mPROG-**BAY** yes

(Comment from the audience during a recording of a narrative:) S1: ‘Oh, (here/now) comes the problem!’ – S2 (Narrator): Yes, (...). (S2 explains the turning point of the story again.) (EK2016-02-12_003)

The morpheme *-bay* is probably segmentable into the standard negator *-ba* plus an undetermined *-y*. However, even though speakers tend to translate it as a negative interrogative in English or provide it as a rough equivalent of the *-bando*-form in (10)-(11), the categorization of *-bay* as a negator is not entirely certain. On the hand it is attested after the non-imperfective morpheme *-im* (12), which is an aspect category exclusive to negative polarity (recall Table 3), and thus this combination is an argument in favour of interpreting *-bay* as a negator. On the other hand, *-bay* is also attached to progressive verbs (13), where the standard negator never occurs. Furthermore, *-bay* can combine with an already negated verb; the result is a double negative question (lit. ‘Wasn’t it not by chance?’), which serves as a strongly assertive negative statement (14), often after a surprising discovery (e.g. ‘Oh, it was not by chance!’). If the standard negator (NEG1) in (14) were dropped, the sentence would again be an assertive affirmative statement (lit. ‘Wasn’t it by chance?’ for ‘Oh, it was by chance!’).

- (14) (...) *qée’rr-aa=bb-aan* *maran-táni-yan*
 far-mOBL=PLC-mLOC walk-2sICO-DS
 gambá=y-inoommi-i(hu) *áda dangitt-a-ne-eb-ba-bay?*
 meet=say-1pPFV.REL-NMZ1.mNOM DM chance-mOBL-L-COP3-**NEG1-BAY**
 (Speaker realizes that he was mistaken:) ‘So it was *not* by chance that you were walking along in this remote place (...)?!’ (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 82)

There are two possible positions of *-bay*: It can be suffixed to the main predicate (12)-(14) or to a focused constituent (15). In the latter case, the sentence-final predicate undergoes final vowel-lengthening whose functional motivation is not yet clear.

- (15) *Ta* *abbabbáann-uta* *mann-aakk-á=g-a-bay*
 A_DEM1.fACC grown_up-fOBL people-PL2-fGEN=G-mACC/OBL-**BAY**
 haasaaww-itáyyoonti-i?
 talk-2sPROG-VV

(Speaker surprised:) ‘You talk *just like grown-ups!*’ (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 28)

2.3. Negation of stative predications

The standard negator *-ba* (‘a’) (NEG1) is used with all types of non-verbal predicates, irrespective of whether the predicate expresses equation, proper inclusion, attribution, location or possession, and irrespective of whether, and if yes, which of the non-verbal copulas (Treis 2008: 297-436) is used. It is positioned after the copula (16) or, if the copula is zero or has been shifted to a modifier, it directly follows the predicative case suffix (17). The following examples differ from their affirmative counterparts only in the presence of the negator.

- (16) *Od-éet asúss-a-ta-ba'a*
 tree_sp-fNOM seedling-fPRED-fCOP2-NEG1
 (Speaker correcting interlocutor's word choice:) 'Sycamore fig trees are not "seedlings".' (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 21)
- (17) (...) *hittiin íi-taa líus-a-ba'a*
 P_DEM2.fNOM 1sGEN-fCOP2 fault-fPRED-NEG1
 'This is not my fault.' (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 12)

The standard negator is also used for the negation of the defective existential, locative and possessive verb *yoo-* (glossed: COP1) 'exist, be (located), be (for a P'OR)' (18); in possessive constructions it follows the object suffix referring to the possessor.

- (18) [S1:] *Qenéf-u me'-íqqi-a bár-i?*
 birth_ceremony-mNOM how_many-ORD-mCOP2 day-mPRED
 [S2:] *Bár-u yoo-si-ba'a, isíi*
 day-mNOM COP1.3-3mO-NEG1 3mDAT
 [S1:] 'The *qenefa*-ceremony is (on) which (lit. the how-manieth) day?' –
 [S2:] 'It doesn't have a (fixed) day (lit. A day is not for him (= *qenefa* m.)).'
 (EK2016-02-23_002)

At first sight, the negation of stative predications thus does not seem to differ from standard negation (§2.1). However, it is shown in §2.4.2 – see (24) – that negative existential predicates do not follow the relativization strategy of other verbal predicates.

2.4. Negation in non-main clauses

In complex sentences usually only the last verb is a fully finite main clause verb (or a copula),¹² while verbs in preceding clauses are either based on converbs, relative verbs, purposives or verbal nouns. Negation strategies in non-main clauses differ significantly from those in main clauses (§§2.1-2.3): A dedicated negative converb is used for converb clauses (§2.4.1), a negative participle for relative and purposive clauses (§§2.4.2., 2.4.3), and a periphrastic strategy for the negation of verbal nouns (§2.4.4).

2.4.1. Negation of converb clauses

	Perfective converb (PCO)		Imperfective converb (ICO)	Negative converb (NEG4)
1s/3m	-C ^{PAL/GEM} :	'-Ø-[DS-[OBJ]]	-Ø-án-[DS-[OBJ]]	-Ø-u'nnáachch [<OBJ> or -OBJ]
	-CC:	-Ø-í-[DS-[OBJ]]		
2s/3f/3p	'-t-[DS-[OBJ]]		-t-án-[DS-[OBJ]]	-t-u'nnáachch [<OBJ> or -OBJ]
3hon	-éen-[DS-[OBJ]]		-een-án-[DS-[OBJ]]	-een-u'nnáachch [<OBJ> or -OBJ]
1p	'-n-[DS-[OBJ]]		-n-án-[DS-[OBJ]]	-n-u'nnáachch [<OBJ> or -OBJ]
2p/2hon	-téen-[DS-[OBJ]]		-teen-án-[DS-[OBJ]]	-teen-u'nnáachch [<OBJ> or -OBJ]

Table 6. Affirmative and negative converb endings

¹² Exceptions to this rule are sentences with coordinated final main verbs and with non-final main verbs in embedded reported speech. Furthermore, contrastive clauses with *bagáan* 'but' and the apodosis of hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses contain main verb forms.

- (21) *Kank-áta j-eechch-úta barg-ám-m he'-nnáni-yan*
 that_much-fACC time-SG-fACC add-PASS-1pPCO live-1pICO-DS
*káan dag-g-ú'nna fa'-oontí-ihu*¹⁷
 P_DEM1.mACC know-2s-NEG4 remain-2sPFV.REL-NMZ1.mNOM
íi luus-áane-et
 1sGEN mistake-fICP-COP3
 'It is by my fault that you have not known this all the while that we are living together.' (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 34)

2.4.2. Negation of relative clauses

Affirmative relative verbs are based on declarative main verbs and differ from them, as far as the segmental realization is concerned, only minimally, e.g. if the inflectional complex ends in *-u* (see e.g. *-táa-'u* 3fIPV in Table 3), this element is dropped. There are regular stress differences between perfective and imperfective main vs. relative verbs; in contrast, the stress pattern is identical for perfect and progressive main and relative forms (see Treis 2012c for details). Relativisation is ubiquitous in Kambaata. Many subordinate clauses, e.g. temporal (30), causal, conditional (24), concessive (25), similitive (11) clauses, are relative-based. Cleft sentences are a common focusing device; here, the focused information is expressed in a non-verbal predicate, the backgrounded information in a headless relative clause (21). While affirmative relative verbs – like declarative main verbs – distinguish between four aspectual values (imperfective (3), perfective (12), perfect (22), progressive), these values are neutralized in the negation. The relative negator is *-umb* and its position in the verb is illustrated in Figure 2. To be noted here is the absence of an aspect morpheme.

		Verbal Inflection	Adjectival inflection	
Root	(-Derivation)	-Subject index (slot 1) <i>-umb</i>	Case/Gender	(-Object)

Figure 2. The structure of negative relative verbs

Unlike affirmative relative verbs, which only have verbal morphology, negative relative verbs are almost textbook cases of verb-adjective hybrids with their combination of verbal and adjectival morphemes (Treis 2012c, Treis 2017). They index the person, gender, number and honorificity of their subject, and agree in case and gender with their head noun. The case/gender variation is shown in Table 6.

	-mACC	-mNOM	-mOBL
1s/3m	<i>-Ø-umb-ú</i>	<i>-Ø-úmb-u</i>	<i>-Ø-úmb-o ~ -Ø-úmb-ua</i>
2s/3f/3p	<i>-t-umb-ú</i>	<i>-t-úmb-u</i>	<i>-t-úmb-o ~ -t-úmb-ua</i>
3hon	<i>-een-umb-ú</i>	<i>-een-úmb-u</i>	<i>-een-úmb-o ~ -een-úmb-ua</i>
1p	<i>-n-umb-ú</i>	<i>-n-úmb-u</i>	<i>-n-úmb-o ~ -n-úmb-ua</i>
2p/2hon	<i>-teen-umb-ú</i>	<i>-teen-úmb-u</i>	<i>-teen-úmb-o ~ -teen-úmb-ua</i>
	-fACC	-fNOM	-fOBL
1s/3m	<i>-Ø-umb-úta</i>	<i>-Ø-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-Ø-úmb-o ~ -Ø-úmb-uta</i>
2s/3f/3p	<i>-t-umb-úta</i>	<i>-t-úmb-ut</i>	see (23): <i>-t-úmb-o ~ -t-úmb-uta</i>
3hon	<i>-een-umb-úta</i>	see (22): <i>-een-úmb-ut</i>	<i>-een-úmb-o ~ -een-úmb-uta</i>

¹⁷ The morphologically negated verb equivalent of *daggú'nna fa'oontíhu* in (21) would be *dag-g-umb-úu* /know-2s-NEG5-NMZ1.mNOM/.

1p	-n-umb-úta	-n-úmb-ut	-n-úmb-o ~ -n-úmb-uta
2p/2hon	-teen-umb-úta	-teen-úmb-ut	-teen-úmb-o ~ -teen-úmb-uta

Table 6. Endings of negative participles (negative relative verbs)

In (22), the nominative head noun is modified by a numeral and two juxtaposed relative modifiers; the first relative clause ends in a negative participle, the second in an affirmative relative verb. The negative participle agrees in nominative case and feminine gender with the head noun; it is indexed for an honorific/impersonal subject. The affirmative relative verb does not agree with the head noun; it is indexed for a third person masculine subject (referring to the unexpressed stimulus of confusion), marked for perfect aspect and carries an object suffix (referring to the target of confusion, i.e. the grammatically feminine beetle).

- (22) [[*mát-it*] one-fNOM [*hann-óochch waal-tóo-ndo* where-fABL come-3fPFV-Q [*dag-een-úmb-ut*]_{Relative 1} know-3hon-NEG5-fNOM
 [*zahn-ée-se*]_{Relative 2} confuse-[3m]PRF-3fO.REL [*boomb-éechch-ut*]_{Head noun} (...)
yaaran-áta loud_sound-fACC [*gaffár-ti-yan* (...)]_{Head noun} release-3fPCO-DS
 ‘(...) when a confused beetle (f.), which came from goodness knows where, released a loud noise (lit. when a beetle, (of) which one does/did not know where she came from and which (something) had confused, released a loud noise) and (...).’ (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 45f)

In (23), the locative noun *hixéen* ‘over grass’ is modified by a negative participle, which agrees with it in feminine gender and case – note that the oblique case of modifiers shows agreement with non-nominative and non-accusative head nouns. As in this particular example the head noun is coreferent with the subject of the participle clause, the 3f subject index of the participle also points to the grass.

- (23) [[*Kaa'll-it-úmb-o-ssa*]_{Relative clause modifier} help-3f-NEG5-fOBL-3pO [*hix-éen*]_{Head noun} grass-fLOC
ba'án-t quarrel(.PASS)-3fPCO [*goof-fóo'u*] finish-3fPFV
 ‘They¹⁸ quarreled over grass that had no use for them (i.e. it was a needless fight).’ (Voluntereed 2019)

Example (23) shows that negative participles, like affirmative relative verbs (22), can carry object morphology, which is here *-ssa* ‘them’ (3pO). Interestingly, the (verbal) object morphemes are located at the right edge of the participle, still after the adjectival case/gender morphology.

Only a single verb follows a different negative relative strategy: The defective existential verb *yoo-* ‘exist, be (located), be (for a P’OR)’ (§2.3) uses the standard negator *-ba('a)* in relative clauses. The negator is realized *-ba'i* in its relative form (24).

¹⁸ Recall that Kambaata does not make a distinction between 3f and 3p subject indexes. So the 3f forms of *ba'ánt gooffóo'u* are translated here as ‘they’ (rather than ‘she’).

- (24) *Mateemínn-it* *yoo-ba'í=dda*
 shortage_of_manpower-mNOM COP1.3-NEG1.REL=COND
shool-uhá-a *iill-itáa'u*
 four-mACC-ADD reach-3fIPV
 'If there is no shortage of manpower, she (= the young mother) stays even up
 to (lit. reaches) four months (in childbed).' (EK2016-02_23_002)

2.4.3. Negation of purposive clauses

Kambaata has two purposive paradigms, i.e. dependent verb forms used in purpose and certain complement clauses and marked for switch-reference (Treis 2010). The verb forms in *-óta* are used in SS contexts, e.g. *hab-óta* forget-[3m]PURP.SS 'so that he (= SS) forgets'; the verb forms in *-unta* in DS contexts, e.g. *bá'-unta* spoil-[3m]PURP.DS 'so that he (= DS) is spoilt'. There is no negative purposive paradigm. Instead negative purpose clauses are based on negative relative clauses (§2.4.2) plus the simulative marker =*g* 'manner; like' (see Treis 2017 on the multifunctionality of =*g*). The distinction between SS and DS purposive is neutralized in the negation – see (25)-(26), where the same verb form is used in same and different subject contexts.

- (25) “(...)” *y-ée'u* *qakk-íchch-u* *láah-u,* *barg-í*
 say-3mPFV small-SG-mNOM prince-mNOM add-[3m]PCO
zákk-o *ka* *xah-á*
 later-mOBL A_DEM1.mACC words-mACC
hab-úmb-o=g-a
 forget-[3m]NEG4-mOBL=G-mOBL
 “(...)", said the Little Prince again so that he (= SS) wouldn't forget these
 words later.' (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 74)

- (26) *Zuug-gaa-sí=r-u* *boq-o-ssá* *múumm-u*
 scrape-3fIPV-DEF.REL=NMZ4-mNOM head-fGEN-3pPOSS hair-mNOM
hoog-óon *ba'-úmb-o=g-a* *shom-úta*
 enset_juice-fICP spoil-[3m]NEG4-mOBL=G-mOBL headgear_sp-fACC
wo'rr-itée'u
 put_on.MID-3fPRF
 'Those of them who are scraping (the enset sheaths) are wearing headgear
 (made from enset leaves) so that their hair (= DS) is not damaged by the
 (acidic) enset juice.' (Volunteered 2003)

2.4.4. Negation of verbal noun clauses

Verbal nouns consist of a verbal stem plus a case/gender marker *-ú* (mACC) in the citation form; they inflect like any other noun in the language (Treis 2012c). Verbal nouns may function as arguments and as adverbial constituents, and are thus, e.g., used as final verbs in purpose, manner and complement clauses. Verbal nouns cannot be morphologically negated but require a periphrastic negation with *hoog-* 'not do'; the negative verb takes the verb to be negated as a direct object (27).

- (27) *Mát-e* *Kambaata-iss-á* *laag-á* *goof-óon*
 one-fOBL Kambaata-GLOT-fGEN word-fGEN end-mLOC
i-hé *tá'mm-uhu-u* *ta'mm-ú* *hóog-uhu-u*
 i-fGEN use-mNOM-ADD use-mACC not_do-mNOM-ADD

waayy-ít *af-fáant*
probably_not_do-2sPCO grab-2fIPV

‘We are going to be in trouble (lit. lost) if it rains today. You probably don’t have an umbrella with you either.’ (Volunteered 2019)

(32) *Kám,* *waayy-áno*
 oh_no! **probably_not_do-3mIPV**

(Context: S1 states that Duuballa is not as rich as Handiso. S2, however, thinks that they are equally rich. He replies:) ‘Come on, this is probably not (true).’ (Volunteered 2014)

3. Non-clausal negation

3.1. Negative replies

Positive questions are answered positively with *āā* ‘yes’ or, as seen in (33), negatively with *ā’á’ā* ‘no’.

(33) S1: *Át núr Ameerik-a-a*
 2sNOM last_year.mOBL PN-mPRED-mCOP2
mar-toontí-ihu? S2: *Ā’á’ā, Jermán-a-a*
 go-2sPFV.REL-NMZ1.mNOM **no** PN-mPRED-mCOP2

S1: ‘Did you go to Amerika last year?’ – S2: ‘No, to Germany.’ (Elicited 2019)

The negative interjection *ā’á’ā* ‘no’ is not attested as polarity-reversing particle in replies to negative questions. Interestingly, the positive interjection *āā* ‘yes’ is found both in replies that confirm (34) or disconfirm negative questions (35). In (34), *āā* ‘yes’ signals agreement with the (negative) polarity of the question, in (35), in contrast, it signals agreement with the speaker’s implicit assumption of the negative question (§2.2.4), namely that the addressee can see the people on the horizon.

(34) S1: *Shariif-á dag-gáanti-ba-ndo?*
 PN-mACC know-2sIPV-**NEG1-Q**
 S2: *Āā, án waayy-í márr kas-áamm*
 yes 1sNOM probably_not_do-[1s]PCO go.[1s]PCO do_ever-1sIPV

S1: ‘Don’t you know Shariifa (= a place)?’ – S2: ‘No (lit. yes), (I don’t know it,) I have probably never been there.’ (Volunteered 2019)

(35) S1: *Kóo, (...) ká’e qée’rr-a lall-itim-bá-he-ndo?*
 2mVOC P_DEM3.mOBL far-mOBL occur-3fNIPFV-**NEG1-2sO-Q**
 S2: *Āā, hikkada xishsh=á’nn maram-moommi=da*
 yes then strongly.IDEO=do.1pPCO walk-1sPFV.REL=COND

iill-ináan-sa
 reach-1pIPV-3pO

S1: ‘Hey, (...) can’t you see them (lit. don’t they occur to you) far over there?’ – S2: ‘Yes, (I can see them,) then we can (still) catch up with them if we walk fast (lit. strongly).’ (Volunteered 2016)

A frequent negative reply to questions in natural conversation is *kám* ‘oh no, come on, far from it, forget it, don’t worry’.²⁰ It is used to disconfirm, or maybe better: refute, positive questions (36) as well as the implicit assumption in negative questions, e.g. the assumption in (37) that the addressee has just eaten.²¹

- (36) S1: *Mat-e-’ée uull-áta Sabir-óochch ker-á*
 one-fGEN-ASC.fGEN land-fACC PN-mABL lease-mACC
aphph-íti-ndo, núr?
 take.MID-2fPCO-Q last_year.mOBL
 S2: *Kó kám, m-á aphph-ámmi-la?*
 2sVOC **oh_no!** what-mACC take.MID-1sIPV-PRAG1
 S1: ‘Did you lease one of Sabiro’s (plots of) land last year?’ – S2: ‘Far from it! What do I take? (Message: Don’t even think that I could have leased anything.)’ (Volunteered 2015)
- (37) S1: *Téma abb-am-a-kki=b-aan hooshsh-ú ít-t*
 now great-mother-fGEN-2sPOSS=PLC-mLOC lunch-mACC eat-2sPCO
ke’-im-bá-ndo? S2: Kám, ít-im-bá-be,
 do_completely-[2f]NIPV-NEG1-Q **oh_no!** eat-[1s]NIPV-NEG1-PRAG5
m-á ít-ámmi-la, ít-íi ih-eenáni-yan
 what-mACC eat-1sIPV-PRAG1 eat-mDAT be(come)-3honICO-DS
Shaaméeb sókk-i-ya’nne mar-im-bá-ndo?
 PN.mNOM send-3mPCO-DS<1sO> go-[1s]NIPV-NEG1-Q
 (Mother (S1) sees that her son (S2) serves himself in the kitchen.) S1: ‘Haven’t you just eaten lunch at your grandma’s place?’ – S2: ‘Far from it! I didn’t eat (anything). What do I eat? Didn’t I (have to) go (where) Shaameebo sent me when (people) were just about to eat?’ (Volunteered 2019)

Ex. (36)-(37) demonstrate another common Kambaata strategy to give negative replies, namely by a rhetorical question of the type ‘What do(es) [SBJ] V?’, with V being a copy used in the preceding question. Finally, instead of using ‘yes’, ‘no’, ‘far from it!’ as answers, speakers also often simply repeat the final verb of the question (in the same or opposite polarity) to (dis)confirm a question (38).

- (38) S1: (...) *agan-áan agan-áan ma-mmat-é áa’ll-u*
 month-mLOC month-mLOC RED-one-MULT wash-mNOM
ih-áno-ba-ndo? S2: Ih-áno-ba’a
 be(come)-3mIPV-NEG1-Q be(come)-3mIPV-NEG1
 S1: ‘Isn’t it enough to wash once a month?’ – S2: ‘No (lit. it isn’t).’ (Kambaatissata 1989: 4.118)

For another negative reply see §4.4.

3.2. Negative indefinites and quantifiers

Kambaata does not have any inherently negative indefinites. Instead any interrogative pronoun can be combined with the additive suffix -V and thus be used in negative

²⁰ The word class categorization of *kám*[-i] is difficult. It is the 2s imperative of the full verb *kam*- ‘hold back, not give, forbid, remove, protect from, deprive of’. However, it is about to lose its number agreement and thus fossilizing into an invariant interjection.

²¹ Note that *kám* can also signal disagreement with a previous statement, recall (32).

clauses to express ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, ‘nowhere’, ‘never’ etc.; see the additive-marked interrogative phrases in (39)-(40) (see also Treis 2015).

- (39) *Fanqashsh-ú-s ay-í-i dag-áno-ba’a*
 answer-mACC-DEF **who-mNOM-ADD** know-3mIPV-NEG1
 ‘Nobody (lit. even who) knows the answer.’ (Elicited)
- (40) (...) *háтта j-aatá-a méxx-o min-í*
which.fACC time-fACC-ADD single-mOBL house-mGEN
aaz-éen gag-á iitt-uhú-u gar-ití-i
 interior-mLOC self-mACC love-mNOM-ADD truth-fNOM-ADD
hanqaphph-án-t he’-íiha dand-itáa-ba’a
 embrace.MID-PASS-3fPCO live-mDAT be_able-3fIPV-NEG1
 ‘(...) self-love and truth (i.e. selfishness and justice) can never live together in one and the same house (lit. cannot live together even what time).’ (Kambaatis-sata 1989: 6.124)

Alternatively, additive-marked noun phrases with *mexx-ú* (m) / *mexx-íta* (f) ‘single’ as the head or the modifier express ‘nothing, nobody, no N etc.’ under negation; cf. (19) and (41). See also *mexx-e-níi* single-MULT-ADD ‘never (lit. and not a single time)’.

- (41) (...) *ka heess-á méxx-o man-ch-iihá-a*
 A_DEM1.mACC story-mACC **single-mOBL people-SG-mDAT-ADD**
ku’ll-im-bá’a
 tell.MID-[1s]NIPV-NEG1
 ‘(...) I have not told this story to anybody (lit. to even a single man).’ (Saint-Exupéry 2018: 91)

3.3. Negative derivation

Kambaata has a privative derivational morpheme *-beel*, which generates denominal adjectives with the meaning ‘[N]-less, [not having] N’. It either attaches to the nominal stem or the genitive form; it is followed by the case and gender markers *-ú* (m) / *-íta* (f) in the citation form (accusative). In Treis (2008: 277), the privative derivation was too hastily characterized as “seldom used”, whereas Alemu’s (2016) dictionary shows that it is in fact fairly productively applicable – at least in a certain genre, namely written texts (incl. the Kambaata schoolbooks).²² See, for instance, *bonx-beel-ú(ta)* ‘leafless, without leaves’ (< *bonx-á* ‘leave(s)’), *mum-beel-ú(ta)* ‘hairless, without hair’ (< *muumm-í* ‘hair’) and *seer-beel-ú(ta)* ‘illegal, without rules’ (< *seer-á* ‘rule, law’).

The use of the privative derivation in oral speech remains little attested, though; here, clausal constructions of the type ‘which does not have N’ are preferred to privative adjectives. Furthermore, most privative adjectives attested in the written corpus are best considered semantically transparent adhoc-creations and the result of the generalization of a hitherto only weakly productive derivational schema. Lexicalised privatives that are not adhoc creations and widely shared across the speech community are, for instance, *wol-beel-ú(ta)* ‘countless’ < *woll-íta* ‘counting, number’, *wozan-beel-ú(ta)* ‘forgetful (lit. heartless)’ < *wozan-á* ‘heart’, *su’mm-beel-é*²³ ‘first week of July (lit. nameless)’ < *su’mm-á* ‘name’, *maq-ee-beel-íta* ‘pregnant (lit. powerless)’ < *maq-ée*

²² Alemu (2016) alone contains 128 different privative adjectives, most of which are used in the monolingual definitions.

²³ The case/gender-morpheme *-é* is the accusative morpheme of the largest declension of feminine proper names (Treis 2008: 103).

fGEN ‘of power’, *hagar-beel-ú(ta)* ‘indescribable, uncategorisable, ugly’ < *hagar-á* ‘type’, *man-beel-(ch)-ú(ta)*²⁴ ‘foreign, without relatives in the area’ < *mann-á* ‘people’. Note that many of these established privatives are lexically idiosyncratic derivations.

Kambaata does not have a privative adposition or a case marker ‘without’. Hence absence is expressed in a negative converb or circumstantial relative clause, as ‘not having grabbed N’ (42) or as ‘not being present’.

- (42) *Meqqéerr-at úull-a úb-b huur-á af-f-ú’nna*
 afterbirth-fNOM ground-fOBL fall-3fPCO dirt-mACC **grab-3f-NEG4**
ke’-áa-ba’a
 get_up-3fIPV-NEG1
 [Proverb] ‘When the afterbirth falls to the ground, it does not get up without dirt (lit. without having grabbed dirt).’ (Alamu & Alamaayyo 2017: 113)

4. Other aspects of negation

4.1. The scope of negation

The negation of a final main or relative verb generally has scope over a preceding same subject general converb – e.g. *beeqq-am-éen* in (43).

- (43) (...) *nugguss-áan-ch-u he’-áni-yan maal-á*
 circumcise-AG-SG-mNOM exist-[3m]ICO-DS meat-mACC
beeqq-am-éen it-éenno-ba’a
 share.MID-PASS-3honPCO eat-3honIPV-NEG1
 ‘(...) if there is a (newly) circumcised (boy in the household), one (does not) share the meat among (the family members) and does not eat it (together).’
 (EK2016-02-23_001)

The scope of negation can (and is) often narrowed down to a specific constituent (an NP, a clause etc.) through a cleft construction (44).

- (44) *Got-íchch-u-a-ba’a woyj-ó-o(hu),*
 hyenas-SG-mPRED-mCOP2-NEG1 bark-3mPFV.REL-NMZ1.mNOM
wosh-íchch-u-a
 dogs-SG-mPRED-mCOP2
 (Context: S1 tells how he got a shock last night on the way home when a hyena barked close to him. – S2: Come on, don’t exaggerate!) ‘It wasn’t a hyena that barked, it was a dog.’ (Elicited)

4.2. Reinforcing negation

Negation is reinforced by the adverbials *hór-a(-n)* (45) or *hór-a-nii* (46), which are oblique case forms of the adjective *hor-á* (m) / *hor-áta* (f) ‘all’. The bracketed *-n* is a focus morpheme whose range of function is still to be investigated; the *-nii* is an additive morpheme. The adverbials are used in positive contexts to express ‘all, completely’; under a negative verb they are translatable as ‘not at all, really not, definitely not, never’. Alternatively, the synonymous *hinát-e-n* totality-mOBL-N ‘at all’ can be used (29).

²⁴ The *-ch*-morpheme marks the singulative.

- (45) *Hór-a-n dag-g-im-bá'a* (...) **all-mOBL-N** know-2s-NIPV-NEG1
Hór-a hór-a dag-g-im-bá'a **all-mOBL all-mOBL** know-2s-NIPV-NEG1
 (One player to another in a riddling session:) ‘You have no clue (...), so so wrong (lit. you don’t know at all, at all)!’ (TH2003-06-04_xinkuta)
- (46) *Aat-teenantá=r-u hór-a-nii kot-ún-ka-’nne*
 give-2pPFV.REL=NMZ4-mNOM **all-mOBL-ADD** lack-[3m]JUS-NEG3-2pO
 (Blessing on the *masaala*-holiday:) ‘May you never/not at all lack the means to give (to others)!’ (Volunteered 2003)

There is one context in which the adverbial *hór-a-nii* is attested to be inherently negative, namely as a one-word answer to a question (47).

- (47) S1: *Hoosáan-u Halaab-íichch qée’rr-a-a-ndo?* S2: *Hór-a-nii!*
 PN-mNOM PN-mABL far-mPRED-mCOP2-Q **all-mOBL-ADD**
 S1: ‘Is Hosaina more distant than Alaaba?’ – S2: ‘Not at all!’ (Volunteered 2015)

Kambaata has an experiential perfect constructions (Treis 2020: §5) expressing ‘have (n)ever (once) V-ed’. The construction consists of a perfective converb plus a phonologically independent, non-inflecting element *kása* ‘ever’ or plus an inflected verb *kas-* ‘do ever’. The converb and the adjacent ‘ever’ constitute a periphrastic verb form that cannot be separated by an intervening constituent. The positive construction is rarely used outside questions (‘Has [S] ever [V]-ed?’) – but see (34) above; the negative construction is most common in declarative clauses (‘[S] has never/not once [V]-ed’) (48). The time in which the subject never V-ed is usually the time of subject’s existence (‘never (in subject’s life time)’) (48), but may also be a period from a given starting point onwards, e.g. the time when the addressee in (49) promised to call.

- (48) *Hítt gaararéemat kará xúud-d kása-ba’a*
 A_DEM1.fNOM chameleon-fNOM P_DEM1.mpACC see-3fPCO **ever-NEG1**
 ‘The chameleon had never seen these (animals).’ (TD2016-02-11_001)
- (49) *Mexx-é dawwal-tóont, dawwal-áamm y-ít ba’-óont*
 single-MULT call-2sPFV call-1sIPV say-2fPCO disappear-[2s]PFV
hikkanniichch ka=b-á dawwál-t kása-ba’a
 P_DEM2.mABL P_DEM1.mACC=PLC-mACC call-2fPCO **ever-NEG1**
 ‘You called (me) once; (then) you said “I will call (again)”, (but) you disappeared, and up to now you have never called (again).’ (Volunteered 2017)

4.3. Negation through inference

There are (at least) two constructions which regularly invite a negative inference although an overt negative morpheme is missing. The first construction contains the equative demonstrative (and by extension: intensifier) *kank-á* ‘that much/many; very much/many’. If used predicatively (lit. ‘it is that/very much’), the demonstrative often invites a negative interpretation (‘it is *not* that/very much’) (see also Treis 2020a: §6.3).

- (50) *Giír-at katam-í mann-ti aass-itáa tám-it*
 fire-fNOM town-mGEN people-mDAT give-3fIPV.REL use-fNOM

kánk-a-anta

that_much-fPRED-fCOP2<N>

‘The use that fire has (lit. gives) for townspeople is not that much (lit. is that much).’ (Kambaatissata 1989: 4.56)

The apprehensive verb form (Treis 2018) is a fully grammaticalized main verb paradigm that is used in warnings of looming dangers and in threats; see, e.g., *bumbókkoomm* burn<1pAPPR> ‘(take care, otherwise) we might burn’, *ag-ókkoo-kke* drink-[3m]APPR-2sO ‘(take care, otherwise) (it) might drown (lit. drink) you’. Similarly, with a second person apprehensive, the speaker can warn the addressee of an imprudent, unintentional realization of an event, e.g. *eeb-bókkooont* bring-2sAPPR ‘(take care, otherwise) you might bring/cause (something)’. There is, however, a strong tendency to interpret the second person apprehensive straightforwardly as a reinforced negative command and thus as synonymous to the negative imperative (§2.2.1). See, e.g., (51), where the apprehensive and negative imperative occur in the same context.

- (51) *Bookk-íta it-téen-oochch-e; [...] resh-á-ssa-n*
 pig-fACC eat-2p-NEG2-2pIMP carcass-mACC-3pPOSS-N

ul-teenókkooonta

touch-2pAPPR

(Literal translation:) ‘Don’t eat pork; (...) don’t touch their carcasses.’ (Draft version of Deuteronomy 14, 8)

4.4. Metalinguistic negation

For metalinguistic negation, Kambaata makes use of a construction that is unusual from a language-internal perspective. Speaker S2, who wants to correct S1’s word choice, quotes the relevant section in a question and provides the preferred wording in a clause marked by the contrastive conjunction *bagáan* ‘but, rather’ (52), whose exact function remains to be investigated. The construction ending in a conjunction rather than a finite main verb clearly violates the head-finality rule.

- (52) *Árr-u fúll-ee’u y-áano-ndo?*
 sun-mNOM come_out-3mPRF say-3mIPV-Q

Hór-a buss-áyyoo bagáan
 all-mOBL burn-3mPROG CNTR

(Context: S1 says: ‘The sun is shining (lit. has risen).’ – S2 corrects the word choice:) ‘The sun is not shining but really burning (lit. Does one say “The sun has come out”? Rather “(It) really burns”).’ (Elicited)

4.5. Diachronic notes and observations

The diachrony of the Kambaata negative morphology is still unexplored. A study of verbal negation in Highland East Cushitic (Treis 2012a) has shown that the languages apply fairly divergent means of standard negation. There are four non-cognate standard negators: (i) *-yyo* Hadiyya, *-ssho* Libido, (ii) *-ba* (a) Kambaata, Alaaba, *-ba* K’abeena, *-baa* and *-bo* Gedeo, (iii) *dí*= Sidaama, and (iv) *-ey’i* Burji. Given that the HEC languages are closely related, some standard negators must be fairly recent innovations. Negators in *b* are found in the standard negation of Kambaata, Alaaba, K’abeena and Gedeo and well as in Hadiyya and Libido, which have a dedicated negative existential

verb *bee'e* ‘not exist’, which is probably cognate to Kambaata *-ba'(a)* NEG1. Sasse (1982: 22) expresses the tentative hypothesis that the HEC negators in *b* are “borrowed from Omotic” – however, without giving any supporting evidence.

5. Summary

Kambaata has five negative inflectional suffixes, which are used for the negation of (a) declarative main verbs and non-verbal predicates, of (b) imperatives, of (c) jussives/benedictives, of (d) converbs and of (e) relative and purposive verbs. Non-morphological means, i.e. periphrases with a lexically negative verb, are needed to negate verbal nouns and apprehensives. As shown in §2, only negated imperfective main verbs and non-verbal predicates are fully symmetrical to their affirmative counterparts. Everywhere else the following paradigmatic asymmetries can be detected:

- Reduction or neutralization of aspectual distinctions – see non-imperfective main verbs (§2.1), converbs (§2.4.1) and relative verbs (§2.4.2),
- Reduction of the set of subject indexes – see non-imperfective main verbs (§2.1) and relative verbs (§2.4.2),
- Neutralization of a modal distinction – see jussive/benedictives (§2.2.2)
- Neutralization of the same subject/different subject distinction – see converbs (§2.4.1) and purposive verbs (§2.4.3)

The following constructional asymmetries are observed:

- Different means of subject indexing:
 - o Type 1: Bipartite subject indexing is reduced to simple subject indexing – see non-imperfective main verbs (§2.1) and relative verbs (§2.4.2)
 - o Type 2: Covert subject indexing in the affirmation vs. overt subject indexing in the negation – see imperatives (§2.2.1)
- Optional object marking in the negation, but incompatibility of object marking in the affirmation – see converbs (§2.4.1)
- Fully verbal morphology in the affirmation, but verb-adjective hybrids in the negation – see relative verbs (§2.4.2)
- Neutralization of the distinction between relative-based and purposive-based purpose verb forms (§2.4.3)

Apart from inflectional means of negation, Kambaata has a privative derivation that generates adjectives on the basis of nouns. No inherently negative polarity items could be found, instead interrogatives and quantifiers occur in negative contexts to express ‘nobody, nothing, nowhere etc.’.

Abbreviations

A_	adjective	NEG1	standard negator
ABL	ablative	NEG2	imperative negator
ACC	accusative	NEG3	jussive negator
ADD	additive (‘also’, ‘and’)	NEG4	converb negator
AG	agentive	NEG5	relative negator
Amh.	Amharic	NIPV	non-imperfective
APPR	apprehensive	NMZ1	nominalizer -V
ASC	associative	NMZ4	nominalizer =r
BAY	negative rhetorical question	NOM	nominative
BDV	benedictive	O / OBJ	object
C	consonant	OBL	oblique

CAUS1	simple causative	ORD	ordinal number
CNTR	contrast	p	plural
COND	conditional	P_	pronoun
COP1	existential copula <i>yoo-</i>	PAL	palatalization
COP2	<i>-(h)a(a)-/-ta(a)-</i> copula	PASS	passive
COP3	<i>Vt-</i> copula	PCO	perfective converb
DAT	dative	PFV	perfective
DEF	definite	PL1	plurative –C
DEM1	proximal demonstrative	PL2	plurative – <i>aakk</i>
DEM2	medial demonstrative	PLC	place nominalizer = <i>b</i>
DEM3	contrastive demonstrative	PN	proper noun
DM	discourse marker	POSS	possessive
DS	different subject	PRED	predicative
f	feminine	PRF	perfect
G	manner nominalizer, simulative = <i>g</i>	PRAG1	pragmatic verb suffix <i>-la</i>
GEM	gemination	PRAG5	pragmatic verb suffix <i>-be</i>
GEN	genitive	PROG	progressive
GLOT	glottonym	PST	past, hypotheticality
hon	honorific, impersonal	PURP	purposive
ICO	imperfective converb	Q	question
ICP	instrumental-comitative-perlative	RED	reduplication
IDEO	ideophone	REL	relative
IMP	imperative	s	singular
IPV	imperfective	SBJ1	first subject index slot
INTJ	interjection	SBJ2	second subject index slot
JUS	jussive	SEQ	sequential
L	linker	SG	singulative
LOC	locative	SS	same subject
m	masculine	V	verb
MID	middle	VOC	vocative
MULT	multiplicative	VV	vowel lengthening
N	pragmatically determined morpheme (function as yet unclear)		

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