



**NEGATION IN DAWUROTSUWA**

**BY**

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS  
AS PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DOCTOR OF  
PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS**

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**JUNE, 2024**

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This is to certify that the dissertation prepared by Akililu Abera Naba entitled *Negation in Dawurotsinya* and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards concerning originality and quality.

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## Acknowledgment

I believe that without the help of You, Almighty God, a human being, I, is nothing to achieve my destiny. Everything: wisdom and stamina are from You. Thus, above all, I would like to thank You. Under You, there were a lot of people beside me during my studies.

I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of people who contributed to the completion of this thesis in many different ways, at different levels. Without the academic, emotional, administrative, and material support of these good people, this study would never have seen the light of the day. All remaining errors in this thesis, however, are my own.

I extend my utmost gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Binyam Sisay for his constructive academic and moral support.

I am also especially grateful to the Dawuro people who not only furnished me with all the necessary data but also for their hospitality. My principal informants: Abayneh, Dolango Dogisa, Abaata Abbitsa, and Desta Ermias.

I thank my friend and Ph.D. student at Addis Ababa University Alebachew Badge for sharing ideas and materials in Ometo Clusters. My gratitude also goes to Firew Elias for helping me during the collection of the data. I am also thankful to the English Language and Literature Department at Wolaita Sodo University, especially Dr. Solomon for cooperating and arranging periods and courses since I was reinstated to see my dissertation completed successfully.

Last but not least, my family deserves credit for being my power and great love. My great debt and gratitude go to my daughters Manuela Aklilu and Eliana Aklilu, and I dedicate this thesis to them. Manu, you were too little to understand what I was doing but when I asked you to let me alone to concentrate on my study at home you willingly sacrificed your right to play with me. You used to say “*Read my dad!*” with your sweet tongue and did not come back to bother. This always surprised and energized me to carry on. I also express my appreciation to my father Abera Naba, my mother Ribika Geta, and my sisters Adanech, Amarech, Alemitu, Shewaye, and Konjit for their uninterrupted prayers, love, and encouragement.

Praise to the Lord, the Almighty!

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## Abstract

This study explores the negation of Dawurotsuwa and provides an exhaustive description of its structure. Dawurotsuwa is an Omoto language that belongs to the Omotic language family of the Afroasiatic phylum spoken in Ethiopia. Dawurotsuwa marks negation morphologically by suffixing *-nn-/-kk-* to the verb in the verbal declarative main clause and interrogative clauses. The imperative and optative is negated by *-opp-*. The hortative is negated by *-kk-/-pp-*. Ellipsis can be formed by attaching morpheme *-kka* to the pronouns or nominal by omitting all other elements to form elliptical construction for both negative and positive antecedents. The single negative replies are given using *cii* 'no' which is inherently negative, even though very rare in the language, and most of the time it is replaced with *gíd-enna* 'no' which is auxiliary suffixed with negative morpheme *-nn-*. Indirect negation is also used by making affirmative interrogative. In Dawurotsuwa, there is an interaction between negation and aspect. In the co-subordination clause, it is marked by using the negative marker *-nn-*. In coordinated clauses, the negative marker *-nn-/-kk-* is used for negation. In the subordination, there is a restriction of the negative markers where only *-nn-* is attached. When optative is changed into negatives, the negative marker *-(o)opp-* is employed. In modality, the negative morpheme *-nn-/-kk-* is used. When the degree of certainty gets lesser and lesser, the auxiliaries come to existence and the negative marker *-nn-/-kk-* is attached to these auxiliaries. N-words in Dawurotsuwa are formed by suffixing morphemes *-nn-/-kka* to content question words and numeral one. Dawurotsuwa belongs to strict negative concord language and can be licensed by both stronger and weaker licensors. Although the Dawurotsuwa is a strict negative concord language, it still allows the expression of negation in situations such as fragmented short answers, disjunction, and conjunctions. The n-words which are considered as carrying negative features are noted when they are grammatical in a non-veridical context where there is no licensor.

## Abbreviations

1	First person	INDF	Indefinite
2	Second person	INF	Infinitive
3	Third person	INS	Instrumental
ABL	Ablative	IPFV	Imperfective
ABS	Absolutive	JUSS	Jussive
ACC	Accusative	LF	Logical Form
ADM	Admonitive	Lit	Literal
AFF	Affirmative	LOC	Locative
AG	Agent	NC	Negative Concord
AGR	Agreement	NEG	Negative
ALL	Allative	NMZ	Nominalizer
CAUS	Causative	NP	Noun Phrase
CER	Certainty	NPIs	Negative Polarity Items
CN	Common Nouns	OPT	Optative
COM	Comitative	PAS	Past
COMP	Complementizer	PASS	Passive
COMPL	Completive	PERM	Permissive
COND	Conditional	PFV	Perfective
CONJ	Conjunction	PL	Plural
CVB	Converb	PPI	Positive Polarity Item
DAT	Dative	PROG	Progressive
DE	Downward Entailing	PROP	Proprietary
DECL	Declarative	PRS	Present
DEV	Deverbalizer	PSIs	Positive Polarity Items
DISJ	disjunction	PURP	Purposive
DN	Double Negation	Q	Question
EMP	Emphatic	REFL	Reflexive
F	Feminine	RELZ	Relativizer
FC	Free Choice	SBJV	Subjunctive
FCIs	Free Choice Items	ScalarP	Scalar Presupposition
FUT	Future	SFS	Scalar Focus Suffix
GEN	Genitive	SG	Singular
HORT	Hortative	SNM	Sentential Negation Marker
IMP	Imperative	VOC	Vocative

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## Chapter-1

### General Introduction

Negation is a necessary element in all worlds' languages. Non-human means of exchanging information do not use negation in their complicated communication methods (Horn, 1989:1; 2010:1). Negation is marked in a certain way across languages. So far, there is no language known for not having a negative marker, although there is variation from language to language in the way they express it (Miestamo, 2017:405; Zeijlstra, 2020: 426).

Scholars from various fields have been studying negation for many years. Logicians, philosophers, psychologists, and linguists have been interested in negation (Joshi, 2020: 75). "It relates to a whole set of notions, that include opposition, falsity, absence, non-existence, denial, rejection, refusal, correction, avoidance, disappearance, prohibition, and the like" (Déprez & Espinal, 2020:1). The fundamental function of negation is to reverse truth-value (Lee, 2016: 1).

Aristotle identifies four kinds of opposition such as *contradiction*, *contrariety*, *privation*, and *correlation* of which except the last all others incorporate inherent negation. They are semantic opposition and mirrored in world languages morpho-syntactically (Horn, 2020: 7-8). Moeschler (2020: 26) also adds that morph-syntactic items are the principal prevalent means for making negation across natural languages. These items do have exactly defined syntactic orders.

Scholars and thinkers have been interested in the functional domain of negation for a long time, for a variety of reasons. In linguistics, negation is considered a universal phenomenon that is found in all languages, and in recent years, linguistics has focused on the typological aspects of negation (Nyberg, 2012:1). Christensen (2005: 36-37) states that even when there is no visible negative marker exists; there is a certain way to express negation like lexical negative words.

The declarative verbal clause has been the main concern in the typological investigation. Negation in this type of clause has gotten wide coverage universally. And we can get the data easily in most languages all over the world. Nevertheless, there are a lot of characteristics of negation that have been uncovered (Nyberg, 2012:1).

Not only are many aspects of negation we still know little about, but many languages lack a detailed investigation. In Ethiopia, the negation system of many languages is getting more attention. This phenomenon even gets better in Omotic languages. According to Azeb (2012:423), all Omotic languages are only spoken in Ethiopia, and are mostly clustered in south-central and western Ethiopia. She also mentions that Omotic is mostly populated in the Southern Ethiopian Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS), which is currently separated into four regions: the South Ethiopia Region, the South West Ethiopia Region, the Central Ethiopia Region, and the Sidama Region.

Azeb (2017: 815) mentions languages which are spoken outside of this region (SNNPRS). For instance, Ganza is spoken in the border areas between Ethiopia and Sudan. In addition, Hozo-Sezo, Northern Mao, Shinasha, and Yemsa are languages of the Omotic family but are found outside of SNNPRS. The first two are located in Benshangul-Gumuz and the following are found within Amhara and Oromiya Regional States respectively (see map in Fig-1. ).

Thus, the current study is conducted on one of the Omotic languages, namely Dawurotsuwa. This language is spoken by Dawuro people who live in the recently formed South West Ethiopia People's Region. In this study, negation in Dawurotsuwa is described in detail. The reason for selecting this language is due to the fact that it is one of the inadequately documented and described Omotic languages in Ethiopia. Moreover, the studies available on Dawurotsuwa, in general, and that of its negation in particular, are both limited in number and sketchy in nature.

This introductory chapter is organized as follows. The immediately following Section 1.1 will discuss the speech community and their area. Then in Section 1.2, the overview of the language will be given. The objectives of the study and its significance will also be described in Sections 1.3 & 1.4 respectively. Then a review of the related literature will take up in Section 1.5. Section 1.6 will provide a conceptual and methodological framework. Under the conceptual framework, negation, clausal and non-clausal negations are explained.

### **1.1. The Speech Community and its Area**

Dawuro is found in the recently formed South West Ethiopia People's Region, which is formed following Sidama has got its separate regional state. The name Dawuro refers to both the place and the people. While referring to the place, it means that the administrative zone is where the majority of Dawuro people live.

The Dawuro zone is located in the southwestern direction of the country. It is situated between  $6^{\circ}52'N$   $7^{\circ}00'N$  latitude and  $37^{\circ}07'E$   $37^{\circ}26'E$  longitude. Its total size is 446,082 hectares (i.e. 4403 sq. km) (Dawit, 2017:15).

The zone shares borders in the west with Konta, which is a special district, in the north with Oromiya region (Jimma zone), in the northeast with Kambaata, in the east with Wolaita, and in the south with the Gamo Gofa zones. In addition, the Gojeb and Omo rivers surround the majority of its area. The following map shows the location of the study area:

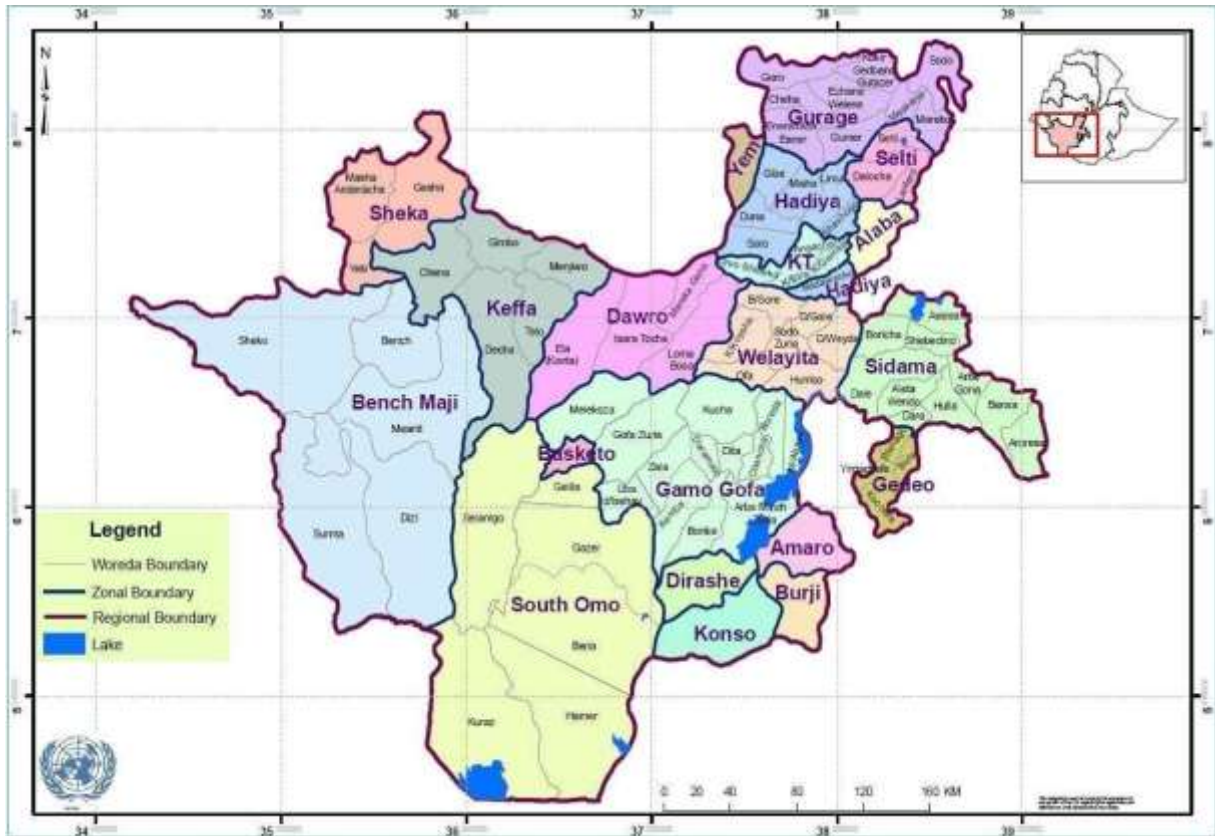


Fig-1. Map of the SNNPR (Source: Hanserud, 2018: 2)

The 2007 census of Ethiopia shows that the total ethnic population of Dawuro is 543,148. The greater numbers of speakers live in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State of Ethiopia in the Dawuro zone.

Dawuro is a self-governing administrative zone with 4403 km<sup>2</sup> total area (Dawit, 2017:15). Currently, there are five districts; namely, Esara, Tocha, Loma, Genabosa, and Marak'a. Amhara, Oromo, Wolaita, Tigre, Gurage, etc also live in Dawuro. Many moved there for trade and government employment, and lived peacefully together with Dawuro, creating relationships; for instance, through marriage.

The city which is serving as the seat of administration is Tarcha which is 505 km away from Addis Ababa in Southwest of Ethiopia. It is 282 km away from Hawasa. Tarcha is also the seat for various non-governmental offices. According to the information from the zone, before advancing Tarcha as capital in 1993 E.C, it was Waka that played this role.

Tarcha was believed to be conducive to social and economic activities. Tarcha is located in Marek's district fourteen kilometers east of Waka town.

## **1.2. The Language**

Dawuro people call their language Dawurotsuwa or Dawuro language and write as Dawurotsuwa in Latin orthography. The people do not accept and want to be called by the name given by Fleming (1976: 300). Dawuro is found in the South West Region of Ethiopia.

Dawurotsuwa has contacts with nearby languages such as Wolaita, Gamo, Gofa, and Konta which are mutually intelligible (Hirut, 2004:110). Consequently, their speakers understand each other without considerable difficulty when they meet each other. The relationship between these people goes back a long time, according to my language consultant. Thus, people have been moving from one area to another looking for jobs, marriage, etc. Today's better infrastructure such as roads, means of transportation, mass media, social media, and mobile telephone has increased contact even more than ever.

Dawurotsuwa is serving as a medium of instruction in grade 1-4 in which all subjects are taught by it, and it is offered as a subject in addition to serving as a medium of instruction in grades 5-12. Students' textbooks, teachers' guides, and secular and spiritual reading materials are being produced by aiming to develop the language.

The regional variations of Dawurotsuwa are Gene, Waka, and Jimma. Apart from a few pronunciation differences, it is not difficult for the people to understand each other from these three locations (Allan, 1976: 324). On the other hand, Hirut (2007:72) mentioned only Mes'a and Gok'a as regional variations and indicated that the dialects consist of lexical variations as well. The former is spoken by a majority of the people. Similarly, Tariku (2010:5) identified two regional variations by naming a dialect spoken by Highlanders and another variety spoken by Lowlanders. All the data contained in the present work were

collected and elicited from Mes'a. They live in Marak'a district. Mes'a speakers are also found in lowland areas such as Essara and Tocha (Dawit, 2017:35).

It seems that the variation of Dawurotsuwa needs more study. There are variations that are not mentioned in the above studies. There is a mixed variety from Mes'a and Gok'a, which I label as Mes'agok'a just to show a mixture of the two. Even there is variation within Mes'a such as Gurs'atso, Gadatso, and Daletso. The Gurs'atso is a variant from which data for this study was collected and the majority of the people speak this variant within Mes'a. This Variation needs further profound study.

Regarding family classification, Dawurotsuwa belongs to the Omotic language family, itself a member of the Afroasiatic phylum. Köhler (2020) says that Omotics are solely located in the southwest part of Ethiopia. The map below shows the location of Omotic languages in Southwestern Ethiopia.



Fig-2: Omotic languages <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Azeb (2017: 817)

The internal classification of the Omotic language family is continually debated, and more than seven groupings have been suggested. During these proposals, three points were raised: the first question was fitting some members to the Omotic in particular and Afroasiatic in general. The second one is its relation with languages that are out of its family. The third is the debate on whether it should be placed under Afroasiatic or not. These points are interrelated to each other (Azeb, 2012:426).

The current study language is found within North Omotic (Bender, 1976:4; Fleming, 1976: 299). This classification divides the Omotic language family into South and North. Dawurotsuwa goes to North groups under the Ometo cluster as we can see in the family tree below.

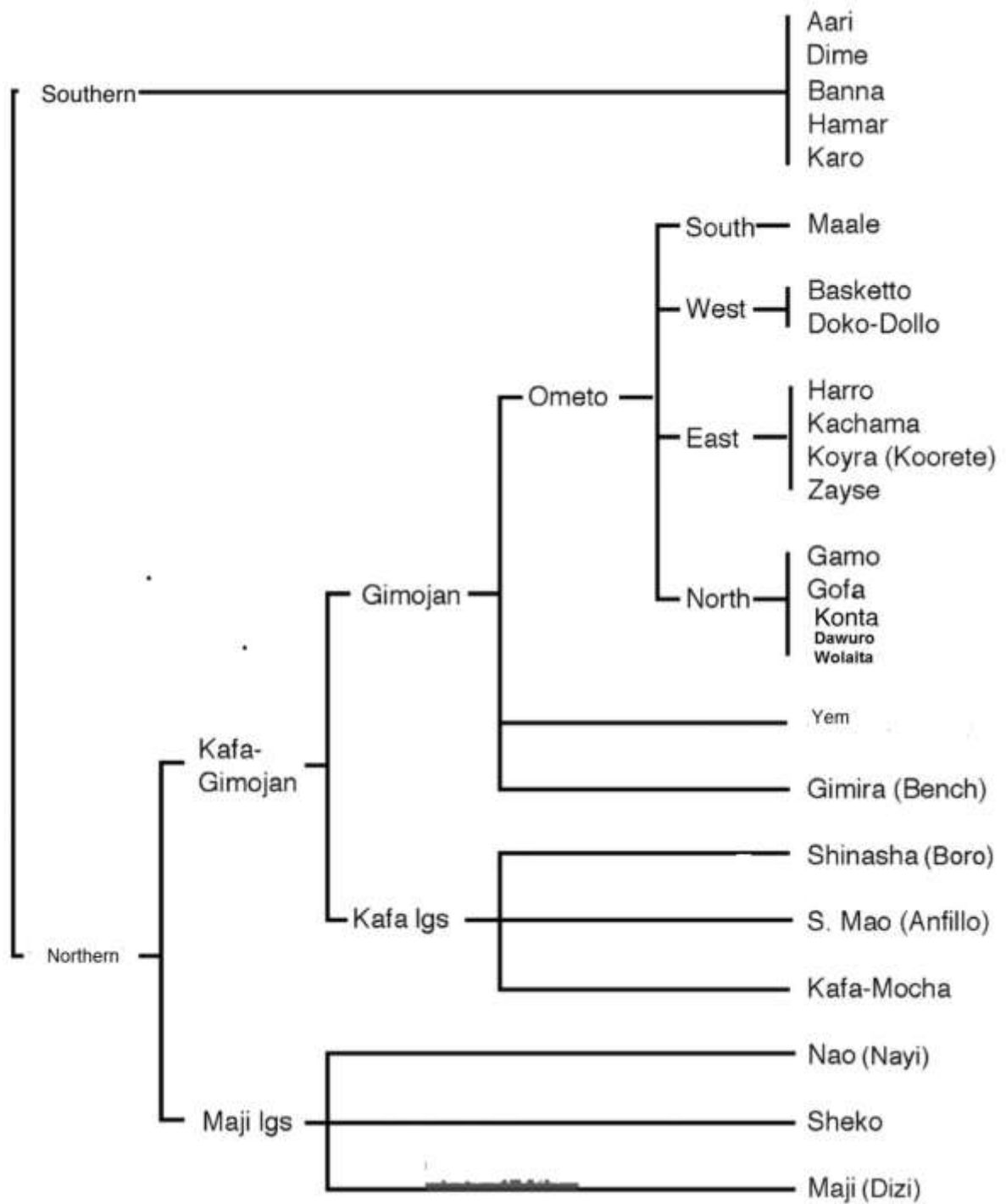


Figure 3. Orotic family overview <sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> It is adapted from [Azeb \(2012:421\)](#)

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of the study is to provide a linguistic description of negation in Dawurotsuwa.

The specific objectives are the following:

1. To identify negation markers in verbal predictions, non-verbal predication, and clausal linkages.
2. To describe sentential negation and constituent negation
3. To describe the interaction of negation, aspect, and subject-agreement
4. To describe n-words and their negativity
5. To identify free choice items

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

This study will make the following practical contributions:

1. It will serve for the preparation of dictionaries, teaching materials, and other related pedagogical materials. In these languages, preparing teaching materials can be based on properly studied language facts. As negation is an aspect of morphology and syntax, it will add scientific findings to this endeavor of the preparation of materials.
2. It will help as a springboard for further research.
3. It will expand the knowledge of negation in the language.
4. It will contribute to the refinement of the classification of Omotic languages which is still controversial. Azeb (2012: 433) says that the division of Omotic is still in debate. There is a major controversy in internal classification surrounding the Ometo cluster. This can be seen from the classification of Ometo by Fleming (1976: 300) and Bender (2000: 2). The former classifies Ometo into four groups:

south, west, east, and north as is presented in the family tree above, and the latter argues that Ometo consists of three branches: North, South, and Chara.

### **1.5. Review of Literature in Dawurotsuwa**

Dawurotsuwa is one of the inadequately documented and studied Ometo languages; the studies available on Dawurotsuwa, in general, and that of its negation in particular, are both very limited in number and sketchy in nature. It is hoped that the present study will move the study of negation a step forward and will encourage future investigation of the language. In this section, previous studies made in the language will be reviewed.

Phonology was studied by Allan (1976) and Tariku (2010). The first one has a section on phonology, while the latter is totally committed to the phonology of the language for his MA thesis. They give coverage to the discussion of some phonological aspects of the language, focusing on features of consonants and vowels. They also attempt to identify the syllable structure, the way the language syllabifies its words, phonotactic restrictions on segments, and consonant clusters.

Negation was studied by Allan (1976), Hirut (2007), Hansured (2018), and Alebachew (2019). They have given a section dealing with the morphology of Dawurotsuwa. Among these studies, only Hirut (2007) segments negative markers from co-occurring morphemes, while others state them in the fused form. These studies propose negation markers for the present, non-past, past, and future. I will briefly discuss each one's point to show deviation and similarity with current work.

Allan's (1976) presented a twenty-six pages overview of the language covering from phonology to clauses. The article has a section on negation. He shows that there are two finite verb tenses in the negative which are past and non-past. The verb stem is suffixed with negative markers that distinguish persons and tenses as follows:

**Table-1: Verb Stem Suffixes (324-350)**

<b>Persons</b>	<b>Negative past</b>	<b>Negative non-past</b>
<b>1SG</b>	<i>-abeke</i>	<i>-ike</i>
<b>1PL</b>	<i>-abeko</i>	<i>-oko</i>
<b>2SG</b>	<i>-abek<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>-aka</i>
<b>2PL</b>	<i>-ibekita</i>	<i>-ikita</i>
<b>3SG.F</b>	<i>-abeku</i>	<i>-iku</i>
<b>3SG.M</b>	<i>-ibenna</i>	<i>-enna</i>
<b>3PL</b>	<i>-ibekino</i>	<i>-ikino</i>

He also mentions that negative imperatives are formed by attaching *-op-* between the verb stem and the suffix marking affirmative imperative. The negative morpheme is single *-k-* as in the table which is geminated in the current study.

Hirut (2007) also conducted a study on Dawurotsuwa which is entitled '*Some Aspects of Phonology and Morphology of Dawuro*'. This article deals with various aspects of the language especially focusing on the morphology of the language. She gives a very brief explanation for negation under the general title 'Mood'.

Regarding her treatment of negation under this heading, I scarcely support it. Negation is not a speech performance, but a mood is a speech act that a speaker intends to transfer in conversation like interrogative, declarative, and imperative. On the other hand, modality also can be positive or affirmative. Negation is not limited to one category, i.e. mood or modality. Thus, negation does not belong to mood only or modality only (Baybee, 1985:176). This study treats negation in both mood and modality.

She states in this study that negative verbs in the language are used "to negate a fact or an event". The elements *-nn-* and *-kk-* are mentioned as a marker of negation for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular masculine and other persons respectively (p.100). She mentions also that the negative morpheme *-kk-* comes after the tense morpheme *-bey-*. This tense morpheme did not

exist in corresponding positive verbs as in (1). She mentions *-úú-kk-u* a present and future negative marker which can be implied from the English translation, as in (2b), but the same element can be used in the past without having the past tense marker that she proposes as in (3). And this past marker can be used in the future as in (4).

This example confirms that *úú-kk-u* can be used in the past, present, and future. On the other hand, the element *-béí-* as in (1) which is suggested for marking past tense can also appear in a future situation as in (4) below. These examples are taken from my own fieldwork notes which help to show that the marker which was identified as a tense marker in Hirut's work is found as an aspect marker in the present study. This will be described in detail in Chapter 3 where the interaction of negation and aspect markers is examined.

1) *itúntú k'úma m-í-bé[í]-kk-ino* (Hirut, 2007: 100 (68))

3PL.NOM food eat-3PL-PAS-NEG-3PL

'They did not eat food.'

2) *á k'úma m-úú-kk-u* (Hirut, 2007: 100 (68))

3SG.F.NOM food eat-3FS-NEG-3FS

'She does not eat food/she will not eat food.'

3) *naʔá-tétsa-n máátsa-a ʔuš-ú-kk-u*

child-hood-LOC milk-ACC drink-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F

'In childhood, she did not drink milk.'

4) *yunubérest-ía-ppe láytsí hánn-oode ʔanj-étt-áá-dd-i*

university-ACC-ABL year this-when bless-PASS-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG

'Next year this time, I will have been graduated from university'

The auxiliary *dig-* ‘forbid or remove’ which Hirut entitles for expressing present perfect tense is a completive marker in the present study (p.106). The perfective aspect in Dawurotsuwa describes a situation that has reached the endpoint, but it is not necessarily the natural one that would signify the accomplishment. We see that the presence of *PFV* in the accomplishment sentences as in (5) does not necessarily indicate completions because it is grammatical to have an assertion of the incomplete event following this perfective marker. On the other hand, it is not possible to follow an assertion that the event is incomplete after an accomplishment sentence that carries the completive marker *-dig-* as in (6). Table-2 below displays the inflection of the verb *dig-* ‘complete/took’ for all persons. A detailed analysis of aspects and their interaction with negation is presented in Section (3.2).

- 5)        *táání*            *dabidaab-ía*    *s’aaf-áá-dd-i-šín*  
 1SG.NOM   letter-ACC    write-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG-but

*wurss-á-béí-kk-e*  
 finish-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I have written a letter but not finished it’

- 6)        \**táání*            *dabidaab-ía*    *s’aaf-á-dig-áá-dd-i-šín*  
 1SG.NOM   letter-ACC    write-CVB-COMPL-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG -but

*wurss-á-béí-kk-e*  
 finish-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 Intended: ‘I have finished writing a letter but still I have to do some more things like editing or some parts. Thus, I have not completed.’

**Table-2: Completive Marker**

Persons	Completive form	Gloss
1SG	<i>m-á-dig-áá-dd-i</i>	‘I have eaten’
2SG	<i>m-á-dig-áá-dd-a</i>	‘You have eaten’
3SG.F	<i>m-á-dig-áá-dd-u</i>	‘She has eaten’
3SG.M	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-a</i>	‘He has eaten’
1PL	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-o</i>	‘We have eaten’
2PL	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-ite</i>	‘You (PL) have eaten’
3PL	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-ino</i>	‘They have eaten’

Hansrud (2018) also investigated negation for an MA thesis entitled ‘Dawuro verb morphology and syntax: A description’. In this work, negation was briefly discussed by dividing it into present negation and past negation, as in the paradigm below.

**Table-3: Negative Makers**

Persons	Present Declarative Negative	Present Interrogative Negative	Past Declarative Negative	Past Interrogative Negative
1SG	<i>-ikke</i>	<i>-ikketa</i>	<i>-abikke</i>	<i>-abikki</i>
2SG	<i>-akka</i>	<i>-ikki</i>	<i>-abeykke</i>	<i>-abeykki</i>
3MSG	<i>-enna</i>	<i>-enne</i>	<i>-ibeenna</i>	<i>-ibeenne</i>
3FSG	<i>-ukku</i>	<i>-ekke</i>	<i>-abeykku</i>	<i>-abeykke</i>
1PL	<i>-okko</i>	<i>-okkoo</i>	<i>-ibookko</i>	<i>-ibookko</i>
2PL	<i>-ikkita</i>	<i>-ikkite</i>	<i>-ibeekketa</i>	<i>-ibeekketa</i>
3PL	<i>-ikkino</i>	<i>-ikkino</i>	<i>-ibeekkino</i>	<i>-ibeekkino</i>

Hansrud (2018: 59&60)

Hansrud also gives the fused morpheme for present declarative and interrogative negatives. The past declarative and interrogative negative morphemes are also given as we can see in the table above. However, the current study identifies negative markers from the fused morpheme: *-kk-* and *-nn-*. The morphemes which are proposed for past and present

tense are analyzed as an aspect marker in the current study. Thus, they are used in the past, present, and future in my analysis.

Alebachew (2019) conducted a study on Dawurotsuwa for his Ph.D. dissertation entitled ‘Morphology of Dawuro’. In this work, a section is given for negation in which *-ópp* is mentioned as a negative marker for imperative and jussive. The lexical negative existential verb *bawa* is also mentioned as a lexical negative verb. In declaratives and interrogatives, the negative marking element is not separated into a segment; instead, the negative marker is found in composition with other markers.

He proposes, as we can see below, fused morphemes for declarative negatives. For example, morpheme *-enna* stands for 3MSG: PRS: DECL: NEG. This morpheme serves for declarative negatives, and when it is used in the interrogative negatives, the last vowel changes as in *-enné*. From this, we can easily understand the need for segmenting. The researcher does not prefer to separate the negative marking segment in the fused morpheme.

**Table-4: Declarative Negatives**

Persons	Present	Past	Future	Progressive	
				Present	Past
1SG	<i>-ikki</i>	<i>-abeekki</i>	<i>-ikki</i>	<i>-ikki</i>	<i>-ikki</i>
2SG	<i>-akka</i>	<i>-abeekka</i>	<i>-akka</i>	<i>-akka</i>	<i>-akka</i>
3MSG	<i>-enna</i>	<i>-ibeenna</i>	<i>-enna</i>	<i>-enna</i>	<i>-enna</i>
3FSG	<i>-ukku</i>	<i>-abeekku</i>	<i>-ukku</i>	<i>-ukku</i>	<i>-ukku</i>
1PL	<i>-okko</i>	<i>-ibeekko</i>	<i>-okko</i>	<i>-okko</i>	<i>-okko</i>
2PL	<i>-ikkita</i>	<i>-ibeekkita</i>	<i>-ikkita</i>	<i>-ikkita</i>	<i>-ikkita</i>
3PL	<i>-ikkino</i>	<i>-ibeekkino</i>	<i>-ikkino</i>	<i>-ikkino</i>	<i>-ikkino</i>

Alebachew (2019:179)

As we can see in the paradigm above, Alebachew provides the same morphemes for the future, the present declarative negative, and different markers for the past. However, the one that he proposes for the present serves the past progressive at the same time. It is difficult to say he proposes negative forms based on the classification of past and non-past because we

can see the contradiction in the given paradigm above. In the current study, the fused morphemes that Alebachew proposes for negative present and future declarative are considered morphemes for negative imperfective aspects, and the past is entitled to perfective aspects, unlike Alebachew. Moreover, the negation marking element is separated from the rest of the other markers, such as person, number, sentence type markers, and aspect, unlike Alebachew's fused form.

Dawit (2017) conducted a study on Dawurotsuwa entitled 'The Lexical Study of Dawuro'. This work concentrates on documenting and analyzing the lexeme in Dawurotsuwa. Audio data was gathered for the purpose of documentation. The data included in the audio were stories, fables, sayings, and songs. In addition, lexeme was given an account in the study. The words described were those that were used in the long past in Dawuro, such as words related to folklore, administration, income generation, and various social tasks. However, the study did not consider negation.

Hiwot (1988) and Azeb (1994) also conducted studies on inflections and the derivation of the verb. Hiwot (1988), in her senior essay on the topic of 'Kullo Verb Morphology', tried to account for aspects such as inflection, derivation, compounding, and morphophonemic changes that take part in the verb phrases of the language. She displays that inflections involve person, number, gender, aspect, tense, and mood. She also indicates that derivations from verb stems include causatives, passives, intensives or frequentatives, intensive-passives, and reciprocals.

Azeb (1994: 1121-29) in her article entitled, 'Ometo Verb Derivation: the Case of Basketo, Male, Korete and Kullo' provides a brief analysis concerning verb stems of the languages derived from verb roots such as passives, causatives, intransitive, frequentatives, and reciprocals. She also concisely describes result nominals, agentives, and adjectives which are derived from verb roots.

Alebachew (2010) conducted studies on clauses and phrases that serve as verb complements. In his MA thesis under the title ‘Verb Complements of Dawuro’, Alebachew tries to examine aspects concerning verb complements. In his finding, he indicates that Dawuro verbs can be classified into phrasal complements, and clausal complements and identifies four complement markers. The study discusses tense differentiation, which the current work considers an aspect marker in complement clauses. The work does not give room for dealing with negation in the complement clauses.

There are also studies on the mutually intelligibility of the language with neighboring languages such as Wolaita, Gofa, Dawuro, and Gamo. Hirut’s (1998:3-4) article on the topic ‘Problems of WOGAGODA Orthography’ depicts mutually intelligible of Dawuro with Gamo, Gofa, and Wolaita. This means that except for some differences, its speakers can communicate without difficulty with speakers of the neighboring languages. Hirut’s (2004) study entitled, ‘Notes on the North Omoto Dialects: Mutual Intelligibility Tests and Structural Variations’ also shows mutual intelligibility through vocabulary count, different mutually intelligible tests, and comparison of some aspects of the linguistic structures of the four North Omoto dialects (Wolaita, Gofa, Dawuro, and Gamo) that these dialects show variation in about 20 percent of their vocabularies. And Dawuro is more divergent from the other variants. Concerning the degree of closeness, its speakers understand Wolaita better than any other dialect and also share much more vocabulary items with it than others. Yet the reverse is not true.

The above works are not comprehensive and not all are concerned with negation. The works which have given a brief description of negation, such as Hirut (2007) and Allan (1976), are not comprehensive and have not dealt with the subject in depth. For example, they do not discuss topics like standard negation, non-declarative, non-verbal clauses, negation in dependent clauses, constituent negation, and n-words. The semantic status of n-words has not

also been covered by any work so far. Furthermore, negative- sentence type marker and modality interaction of the given language have remained uncovered too. Negation-aspect interaction is also not covered in the studies. Thus, this work fills this gap and covers a lot of other features which are related to negation in Dawurotsuwa.

## **1.6. Conceptual and Methodological Preliminaries**

### ***1.6.1. Methodology***

This study investigates negation in Dawurotsuwa, focusing on firsthand data collected from the Dawuro zone, particularly Marak'a district, where the Mes'a dialect is spoken. This choice of location and dialect aims to avoid any confusion arising from the language's variations. Before conducting fieldwork, I engaged with native speakers, Abayneh and Desta, BA and PhD students at Addis Ababa University, respectively, for preliminary preparations. They aided in understanding the language's structure and its people and facilitated the collection of extensive data. The data was gathered during two field trips, with the second trip refining and completing the findings from the first one. Throughout the analysis, I kept in touch with the initial informants and two additional native speakers who were students at Wolaita Sodo University.

Various tools were employed for the collection of the data. The appropriate paradigm of words, phrases, and clauses was prepared in English and Amharic for the elicitation of the data. In addition, texts of different genres, like tales and religious or moralizing sermons, were recorded. In this process of data collection, paradigmatic approaches and grammaticality judgments were used as data collection techniques (Vaux and Cooper, 2003: 104, 115). The data collection questions were also based on works such as Dahl (1985), Haspelmath (2002), and Payne (1997), although the list is not exhaustive.

The data that is gathered is transcribed phonemically and translated on-site before being used in the analysis. Every piece of data obtained is carefully noted and documented.

The evidence supporting my findings and analysis is derived from meticulously recorded data that has been verified by native speakers.

During the course of writing and discussion, I encountered numerous challenges that made me realize the importance of collaborating closely with native speakers of the languages being studied. Thankfully, I was able to connect with a highly experienced Dawurotsuwa speaker who is pursuing studies at Addis Ababa University. Upon returning to Soddo, I also engaged with informants who are students at Wolaita Soddo University and are native speakers of Dawurotsuwa. The researcher partnered with these informants in both Addis Ababa and Wolaita Soddo.

The dissertation analysis considered different approaches to describing language. It draws on Shopen's (1985) work "Language typology and syntactic description: Clause structure (Vol. I-VIII)" among others. Concepts by Comrie (1976), Haspelmath (2002), and Dahl (1985) are utilized for aspects and tenses. The analysis of indefinite pronouns primarily relies on Haspelmath (1997) and Giannakidou (2006). Mood and modality are discussed with reference to Palmer (2001). The data collection questions were also based on works such as Dahl (1985), Haspelmath (2002), and Payne (1997), although the list is not exhaustive.

### **1.6.2. Conceptual Framework**

#### ***1.6.2. Negation***

Negation is represented mostly by visible elements when compared to that affirmative (Greenberg, 1966:50; Swart, 2010:3, 4). It changes the truth value of a sentence, and if an affirmative is 'true' then the negative will be immediately 'false'. Conversely, if the negative is 'true', then the affirmative will be 'false' (Miestamo, 2007:552). When it occurs with other items such as aspect, tense, etc, they influence one another. In addition, changing an affirmative into a negative counterpart by inserting a negative marker is not the whole task in

the process. There are a lot of activities which are done in addition to adding negative markers (Miestamo, 2007:552).

Negation is one of those classes which appear in all world languages. It is impossible to find a language that lacks a certain way of expressing negation. Languages in the world have various ways of marking it (Miestamo, 2005:5). In languages, negation is inherently deeply intricate and delicate, but the analysis of negative markers in propositions to change affirmative into the corresponding negative has simplified the characteristics of negation. Excess markers of negation have been identified such as adverbs, verbs, copulas, quantifiers, and affixes (Horn, 2010:1).

Payne (1985:201, 222, 207) presents the four types of negative construction focusing on the status of negative markers as we can see below. The first three are proposed by Dahl (2010:14, 19, 20) as well. Of course, they both do not use exactly similar terminology. The fourth one is mentioned by Payne (1985:228). Dawurotsuwa is a stock example for using a morphological negative marker which is suffixed to the verb and auxiliary (see example 1b in Chapter 3; where negative marker *-kk-/-nn-* suffixed to the main verb along with aspect, gender, and number markers).

1. Morphological (affixal) negatives. In this type of negation, a suffix or prefix is attached to a verb or an auxiliary (Dahl, 2010:14).
2. Negative particles: These show two characters: i) they are independent words rather than affixes; ii) they are uninflected (Dahl, 2010:19).
3. Negative verbs (negative auxiliaries and higher negative verbs). These can be inflected for numbers, persons, and gender depending on the language. In addition, the lexical verb is either morphologically modified or not according to the system of the language. Higher negative verbs are matrix verbs that take a clausal complement (Dahl, 2010:20).

4) Negative nouns. These are stated as rare by Payne. But we can find languages with such expressions. Evenki is a good example. In this language there are two main elements for expressing negation. Negative noun *āchin* ‘no’ is one of these expressions. This negative noun inflects for a case, number, and possession. This is not one word negative reply; there is another form that is used for this purpose (Nedyalkov, 1994: 3; 28-29).

According to Dahl (1979:81) if a negative is expressed morphologically, then the negation is classified under the inflectional category of the verb. Inflectional items can be a prefix, suffix, circumfixal, prosodic modification, or null modification. Dahl also points, although uncertain and not found in the sample languages, that negation might be expressed by a change of word order (1979: 82). As it is mentioned above, Dawurotsuwa is a suffixal. Of course, this character serves not only for the negative markers, but also for other markers too, such as aspect, number, gender, cases, etc. Generally, the language is suffixal.

In addition, there can be languages with double or discontinuous negative markers, both in morphological circumfixal and syntactic negation (Miestamo, 2017: 430). He describes discontinuous negative strategies as negative constructions where negation is expressed by (at least) two negative markers appearing on opposite sides of the verb.

Furthermore, it is worth showing that the types of negative markers mentioned above can operate at different levels. They can negate the whole clause/sentence or they can negate a constituent: only a verb, a noun, or an adjective. Christensen (2005:38) describes the following three types of negation based on the level the negative marker operates:

1. Sentential negation: This negates the whole clause.
2. Constituent negation: This does not negate the whole clause instead it negates only constituents such as noun phrases, verb phrases, and adverbial phrases, adjectival phrases.

3. Meta-negation: this is wider in scope than the above two. It scopes over complement clauses which can be declarative or interrogative.

The range of operation of the negative marker in a sentential negation lies in the entire sentence. On the other hand, the negation of a constituent of a sentence lies not on an entire proposition; rather it is confined to some members of a sentence (Miestamo, 2005:4). In Dawurotsuwa, in constituent negation, the negative marker can be attached to an auxiliary that has not existed in the corresponding affirmative though the negative marker is the same for all types.

Moreover, it is necessary to see similarities and differences between affirmative and negative constructions. Miestamo (2005:7) calls it 'symmetric' when the difference between negative and affirmative construction is only in the existence of negative morphemes and all other elements remain the same. On the other hand, if there are dissimilarities between the two in addition to the negative morpheme, then he calls it 'asymmetric'. Dawurotsuwa finds itself in the latter classification.

Further, irrealis is the main character of Dawurotsuwa negation. Although the language does not have a separate irrealis marker, the situation expressed by negative construction is unrealistic. Irrealis which appears in an affirmative one does not reappear with negative construction. According to Mithun (1999: 173), irrealis show events that are unfulfilled (see Chapter 7 for more details).

### ***1.6.3. Clausal Negation***

A clause is a construction that consists of a subject and can have a verb with or in absence of objects, complements, or adverbial modifiers (Radford, 2004: 9). Dryer (1988:93) indicates the word order position of negative markers with respect to clause-level constituents. He discusses negation in simple clausal negation. In this study, simple and

complex clauses, as well as semantically expressing negative items, will be included.

Miestamo (2017) deals with negation by giving the following main headings:

1. Clausal negation

1. Standard negation
2. Non-declarative
3. Non-verbal predication
4. Non-main clause
5. Lexical negatives

2. Non-clausal negation

1. Negative indefinites
2. Negative replies

(The above headings are found in Miestamo (2017: 408-427))

#### ***1.6.4. N-words***

Giannakidou (2006:328) proposes two conditions for considering an item as N-words and classifies them as a 'weaker' and 'stronger': The first condition is that the item entitled to N-word can be employed in construction that consists of a sentential negative marker or another element of the same category but only result in single negation meaning whatever their number is. The second condition is that they can give negative meaning in incomplete reply construction.

Haspelmath (1997: 2-3) calls these classes indefinite pronouns and identifies nine functions: The first one is indefinite pronouns that can be used to represent somebody or something that the speaker knows but the listener does not know which/whom specifically it represents. The second one is the opposite of the first one. At this time the speaker does not know whom/which the indefinite pronoun is expressing but the listener knows it. Thirdly, for both the speaker and the listener, it is not specific to whom/which the indefinite pronoun is expressed. In this case, it is not known or unknown to the speaker or the listener. The fourth function is that they can be used in the yes-no question. The other function is its usage in the

subordinate part of if-clause. The remaining functions are its usage in the standard of comparison, direct negation, indirect negation, and free choices.

#### ***1.6.5. Negative Concord***

When more than one negative marker in a sentence gives a single negative meaning instead of expressing multiple negations, it is called negative concord (NC) (Penka, 2011:14). The way negative concords are expressed is not the same across languages. Some languages do not allow negative indefinites to appear in a clause without the existence of the negative marker of the clause. In this case, they are ‘strict’ languages. On the other hand, some languages do not rigidly need the sentential negative markers to accompany indefinite pronouns. The indefinite pronoun can appear in the absence of sentential negative markers which is called ‘non-strict’(Penka, 2011:14,17; Giannakidou, 2000:458).

## **Chapter-2**

### **Grammatical Sketch**

In this chapter, an overview of some aspects of the grammar of Dawurotsuwa which are relevant for the discussion of negation will be presented. The phonology of the language will also be discussed briefly just to familiarize the reader with the transcription and pronunciation of data from the language.

The chapter is structured as follows: In Section (2.1) phonology will be discussed. In Section (2.2) morphology will be discussed. Under morphology, noun and verb morphology will be discussed in Sections (2.2.1) and (2.2.2) respectively. Then, the description of the pronoun will follow in Section (2.3). Then, pronouns will be given a brief discussion in Section (2.5). The syntax will be treated in Section (2.4). Under syntax, phrases, sentences, and clauses will be discussed in Sections (2.4.1), (2.4.2) and (2.4.3) respectively.

## 2.1. Phonology

### 2.1.1. Consonant Phonemes

According to Tariku (2010:12) Dawurotsuwa has 26 consonant phonemes and five short vowel phonemes.

**Table-5: Dawurotsuwa Consonant Phonemes** (Tariku, 2010:26)

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	Voiced	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
	Ejective	<i>P'</i>				<i>k'</i>	
	Implosive			<i>d'(d')</i>			
Affricates	voiceless			<i>ts</i>	<i>c</i>		
	Voiced				<i>ʃ</i>		
	Ejective				<i>c'</i>		
Fricative	Voiceless		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>h</i>
	Voiced			<i>z</i>			
	Ejective			<i>s'</i>			
Nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			
Trill				<i>r</i>			
Lateral	Voiced			<i>l</i>			
Approximant		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

### 2.1.2. Vowel Phonemes

**Table-6: Dawurotsuwa Vowel Phonemes (Tariku, 2010:28, 31-32)**

<b>Monophthongs</b>						
	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	ii	...	...	u	uu
Mid	e	ee	...	...	o	oo
Low			a	aa		
<b>Diphthongs</b>						
	Short			Long		
	<i>oa, au, oi, ia, ai, ua, ui, ao</i>			<i>aai, uaa, oaa, iaa, aaui</i>		

The above vowels which are given in Table 5&6 are used for representing data in this work, but I could not have data on long diphthongs.

## 2.2. Morphology

This section offers a brief discussion on the inflections of nouns and verbs. In fact, there are adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, quantifiers, auxiliaries, conjunctions, and postpositions in the language. Due to the concern of the study, much detail will not be given to these classifications. It gives major inflection on verbs and nouns as the negative marker is directly attached to the verb as a suffix.

### 2.2.1. Noun Morphology

#### 2.2.1.1. Noun Inflections

##### 2.2.1.1.1. Plurality.

Hirut (2007: 82–83) mentioned that singular nouns are unmarked, and plurality is marked by *-tuu*:

**Table 7: Number Marker**

3a)	Singular	Gloss	plural	Gloss
	<i>dorsa</i>	‘sheep.SG’	<i>dorsa-tuu</i>	‘sheep.PL’
	<i>dešsa</i>	‘goat’	<i>dešsa-tuu</i>	‘goats’
	<i>kana</i>	‘dog’	<i>kana-tuu</i>	‘dogs’
	<i>ʔasa</i>	‘person’	<i>ʔasa-tuu</i>	‘persons’
	<i>mara</i>	‘calf’	<i>mara-tuu</i>	‘calves’
	<i>kafo</i>	‘bird’	<i>kafo-tuu</i>	‘birds’

Hirut (2007: 83)

This plural morpheme is employed for the nominative case, and in the accusative case *-a* is added to the morpheme as in (b).

b) *c'ora soha-tu deʔ-iino*

many place-NOM.PL exist-3PL.IPFV.AFF

‘Many places exist.’

c) *itti soh-u deʔ-ee*

many place-NOM exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘A place exists.’

d) *ʔi c'ora sohatu-a-n deʔ-iino*

3SG.M.NOM many place.PL-ACC-LOC exist-3PL.IPFV.AFF

‘He lives in many places’

### 2.2.1.1.2. Cases.

There is a relation between a noun and a verb in a clause. There is also a relation between noun and preposition or noun with postpositions. In a clause, arguments and heads have various kinds of relations. These relations are known as case. Case marking does not

cause meaning change (Blake, 1994:1).Dawurotsuwa nouns are inflected for the following cases:

#### 2.2.1.1.2.1. Nominative case.

This refers to a noun which is used as the subject of a sentence. It is expressed by using either *-ú*, *-o*, *-e*, or *-i* as in (4). The use of one of the allomorphs depends on the ending of the noun itself which I share with Hanserud (2018) but I could not perceive the length of *-uu*. Hanserud (2018: 21) mentions nominative case markers such as *-i*, *-a*, and *-u*. Hirut (2007: 84) also mentions nominative markers such as *-i* and *-a*.

4a) *gaamm-ú gud-ee*

lion-NOM roar-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘A lion roars.’

b) *ʔir-o<sup>3</sup> y-ee*

ʔiro-NOM come-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘Iro comes.’

c) *kana-i m-ee*

dog-NOM eat-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘The dog eats.’

d) *kac'e-e gadi-a bulʔʔ-ee*

Kache-NOM farm-ACC eat-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘Kace digs the farm.’

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<sup>3</sup> Similar example:*otoor-o* (Otooro-NOM); its accusative is *otoor-a* (Otooro-ACC)

d) *hewantu* *ʔaaw-u* *ʔaatt-a* *naatt-a-nne*  
 those father-NOM mother-NOM daughter-NOM-and

*naʔa-i* *deʔ-iino*  
 son-NOM exist-3PL.IPFV.AFF

‘They were father, mother, daughter and son.’

e) *maarot-a*<sup>4</sup> *minj-áú*  
 Marote-NOM save-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘Marote saves.’

#### 2.2.1.1.2.2. Accusative case.

This refers to a noun that is used as the direct object of a sentence. It is expressed by using either *-a* or *-o* as in (5). The use of one of the vowels depends on the stem. For instance, *-a*, can be used after words ending in *-ú* or *-a*.

5a) *ʔi* *gaammú-a* *beʔ-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM lion-ACC see-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He sees a lion.’

b) *ʔi* *ʔir-a* *dos-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM Iro-ACC love-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He loves Iro.’

c) *ʔi* *kana-a* *beʔ-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM dog-ACC see-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He sees the dog.’

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<sup>4</sup>*marot-o*(ACC)

d) *táání mác'c'a-nn-ó mitsaa bolla-n beʔ-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM female-F-ACC tree over-LOC see-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 'I saw the female in the tree.'

e) *ʔi gollí-a šamm-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM house-ACC buy-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'He buys a house.'

f) *ʔi goll-i ʔubba wode košat-ee*  
 3SG.F.POSS house-NOM all time starve-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'Her house all the time starves.'

g) *goll-e mehe-tu*  
 house-GEN animal-NOM.PL  
 'endemic animals'

Ferguson (1970:73) treats cases as postpositions and mentions some words or endings which follow immediately after nouns and have meanings such as 'in, on, outside, near, before, after, with, without, between, until'. Cases are not only postpositions in Dawurotsuwa, but also they are suffixed to nominal. In example (6) below *-ppe* 'from' which is ablative is categorized under 'peripheral' cases. The term 'peripheral' is taken from Blake (1994) and includes Dative, Instrumental, Locative, Ablative, Directive, Comitative, and Vocative. The following are some examples in Dawurotsuwa:

6a) *ʔi mas'aaf-á bare lág-ía-ppe*  
 3SG.M.NOM book-ACC his friend-ACC-ABL

*talʔ-éé-dd-a*

borrow-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

'He borrowed a book from his friend.'

- b) *ʔi*                    *golli-n*            *deʔ-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM    home-LOC    exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He is at home’
- c) *ʔi*                    *ʔaabbu-nna*    *ʔoots-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM    father-COM    work-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He works with his father.’
- d) *ʔaaw-u*            *bare*            *naana-u*            *baaʔeela-a*  
 father-NOM            his            child.PL-DAT<sup>5</sup>    barley-ACC

*ʔimm-ee*

give-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He gives barley to his children.’

- e<sub>i</sub>) *maadd-aa,*            *hamett-a*  
 Maadda-VOC    walk-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Mada! Walk: Hurry up!’

- e<sub>ii</sub>) *maarot-ee,*            *hamett-a*  
 Maarote-VOC    walk-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Marote! Walk: Harry up!’

- f) *ʔi*                    *bare*            *ʔaabbu-kko*    *b-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM    his            father-ALL    go-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He goes to his father.’

- g) *wora-a*                    *doʔa-tu-a*  
 forest-GEN            animal-PL-ACC  
 ‘Non-endemic animals’

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<sup>5</sup>Benefactive and purpose cases are expressed by similar case markers to dative.

### 2.2.1.1.2.3. Genitive case.

The genitive as in (6g) is expressed by ordering two nouns consecutively. The genitive marking morpheme varies with variations of lexical noun stems. The objects/action expressed by the second noun belongs to or are possessed by the first one in the order. The last vowels of the first noun are mostly similar to that of the accusative case and the second noun in the sequence can inflect for any case according to a function it is intended to serve.

In order to express vocative as in 6(e), the last vowel of the addressee gets longer; and the vowel varies according to the variation of ending of the nouns as *-aa* & *-ee* as in (e<sub>i</sub>) & (e<sub>ii</sub>) respectively. Vocative does not have a single marker like ablative which serves for any nouns.

### 2.2.1.1.3. (In) definiteness

Lyons (Lyons, 1999:1) considers grammaticalization of semantic and pragmatic definiteness as a base for grammatical definiteness. This semantic and pragmatic definiteness deal with an extent of familiarity and the addressee can easily differentiate the referent. Definiteness which is based on pragmatic situations is common among languages. Grammatically unmarked definiteness also exists largely in languages (Lyons, 1999:12).

The way definiteness is marked varies from language to language. Some of them are articles and word orders. Morphologically also definiteness can be expressed in some languages when the semantic stimulus does not exist. Grammaticalization of definiteness can be a source for the existence of morphologically represented definiteness which is activated by syntax just like person and number in a clause (Danon, 2009:2). In Dawurotsuwa, definiteness is identified pragmatically. Hirut (2007:81) mentions that in masculine nouns the difference between definite and indefinite is not visible while in the feminine it is visible.

As we can see, definite nominative *kan-ai* as in (7a) has an identical form to indefinite nominative *kan-ai* as in (7c). For (7a) both I and my informant have common knowledge of

the dog. We both stand in front of the barking dog. When we went into my informant's house, their dog started barking at us, as if I was a stranger. So the dog is specific for both of us. However, in (7c) a dog barked far away from the house where we were sitting together. I and my informant both did not know the dog specifically. It is other than the one which was now sitting beside us. We only listened to the barking from far away. The indefinite accusative noun *kan-á* in (7b) has a similar form to definite accusative *kan-á* as in (7d). The suffixed vowels are the same for both definite and indefinite forms. Examples (8-10) are given with different vowel ending nouns. The example in (10) shows femininity. This shows that (7-10) Dawurotsuwa marks definite and indefinite noun phrases with identical forms regardless of the end vowels.

- 7a) *kan-ai*            *boc'c'-ee*  
 dog-M.NOM    bark-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'The dog barks'
- b) *ʔi*            *kan-á*            *beʔ-éé-dd-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM    dog-ACC            see-3SG.M-PFV-AFF.3SG  
 'He saw a dog.'
- c) *kan-ai*            *bóc'c'-ee*  
 dog-M.NOM    bark-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'A dog barks.'
- d) *ʔi*            *kan-á*            *beʔ-éé-dd-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM    dog-ACC            see-3SG.M-PFV-AFF  
 'He has seen the dog.'
- 8a) *gaamm-ú*            *gud-ee*  
 lion-M.NOM    roar-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'A lion roars.'

- b) *ʔi*                      *gaamm-ua*    *beʔ-ée-dd-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM    lion-M.ACC    see-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG  
 ‘He saw a lion.’
- c) *gaamm-ú*              *gud-ee*  
 lion-M.NOM    roar-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘The lion roars.’
- d) *ʔi*                      *gaamm-ua*    *beʔ-ée-dd-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM    lion-M.ACC    see-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘He saw the lion.’
- 9a) *der-í*                      *woggaa*  
 mountain-M.NOM    big  
 ‘A mountain is big.’
- b) *táání*                      *der-ía*              *beʔ-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM    mountain-ACC    see-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I saw a mountain.’
- c) *der-í*                      *woggaa*  
 mountain-M.NOM    big  
 ‘The mountain is big.’
- d) *táání*                      *der-ía*              *beʔ-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM    mountain-ACC    see-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I saw the mountain.’
- 10a) *mác’c’a-wé*              *mas’aaf-a*    *nabbáb-au*  
 female-F.NOM    book-.ACC    read-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘A female reads a book.’

b) *táání*            *mác'c'a-nn-ó*    *beʔ-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM    female-F-ACC    see-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 'I saw a female.'

c) *mác'c'a-wé*            *mas'aaf-a*        *nabbáb-au*  
 female-F.NOM        book-M.ACC    read-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  
 'The female reads a book.'

d) *táání*                    *mác'c'a-nn-ó*    *beʔ-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM                female-F-ACC    see-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 'I saw the female.'

Thus, in Dawurotsuwa definiteness is decided on the context. Look at the following indefinite pronouns when they are used as accusative as in (11a) and nominative as in (11b) where *-a* and *-i* are accusative and nominative case markers respectively.

11a) *ʔi*                      *ʔóón-a-nne/-kka*    *ʔer-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM        who-ACC-INDF    know-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'He knows everybody.'

b) *ʔóón-i-nne/-kka*    *ʔá*                      *ʔer-ee*  
 who-NOM-INDF    3SG.M.ACC        know-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'Anybody knows him.'

### 2.2.2. Verbs

In Dawurotsuwa, any verb form can be divided into two parts: a lexical stem and a grammatical ending. For example *m-* and *y-* are lexical stems as shown in (12a&b)), whereas *-áá-dd-i* and *-éé-dd-a* are grammatical endings respectively. In (12c) *deʔ-*, *d'ay*, *dendd-*, *gaabb-*, and *doomm-* are verbs and suffixed with various morphemes. The first *deʔ-* is found

in a subordinate form whereas the other one is found toward the end of the sentence acting as nominal.

12a) *táání*                      *m-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM                      eat-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I have eaten.’

b) *ʔi*                              *m-éé-dd-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM                  eat- 3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG  
 ‘He has eaten.’

c) *deʔ-ia*                      *saʔa-i*                      *d’ay-o-wa-ppe*  
 exist-RELZ    land-NOM                  extinct-RELZ-NMN-ABL

*dendd-o-wa-n*                      *ʔoog-ia*                      *doona-n*  
 stand-RELZ-NMN-CAUS    street-ACC                  mouth-LOC

*gaabba-a*                      *gaabb-iide*                      *deʔ-ua*                      *doomm-éé-dd-ino*  
 shelter-ACC    make-CVB                  life-ACC                      start-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL

‘They made shelter along a road side and started living because the life which had been fulfilled once disappeared.’

A content stem is a central part of the verb. It can be *simple* or *complex*. The simple one (*m- ‘eat’*) is not derived from and cannot be broken down into further pieces, whereas the *complex* (*miz- ‘make eat’*) is derived one. Payne (1997: 24) defines the simple one as an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word. The stems cannot stand on their own to form independent words.

These suffixes do not change parts of speech of the verbs, i.e. **they are** inflectional. Person, number, and gender are contained in these grammatical suffixes which are attached to simple or complex stems. In the following section, these inflections which are made in the verb are briefly discussed. Firstly, one of these suffixes which are attached to the verb is an



three-LOC                      classify-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He classifies means of transportation into three’

b) *gats-ia-ba-tu-a*                      *heezua-n*  
 link-RELZ-PROP-PL-ACC      three-LOC

*Šaak-ett-iino*  
 classify-PASS-3.PL.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Means of transportations are classified into three’

A relativizer is also attached to the verb. In the example (15), the morpheme *-ia-* is a relativizing morpheme. The subordinating conjunctions such as relativizer, complementizer, and adverbializers are suffixed to the verb and discussed in their respective sections.

There are also converbs in Dawurotsuwa. I will follow Azeb and Dimmendaal (2006: 394) in discussing it in this work. They suggest two basic conditions to consider an item as a converb. The first one is that they are morphologically different from main verbs and dependent clauses verbs. The second is they serve as the expression of adverbial modification of manner or express actions that precede action in the main verb and or to express events which are coincident with the main verb (Azeb and Dimmendaal, 2006: 394).

The main verb in Dawurotsuwa comes at the end of a sentence. Dependent verbs are sequenced before the main verb. For example (16) *dóór-á/ádá* is an infinite dependent verb that is labeled as converb based on the condition given by Azeb and Dimmendaal above while *ʔakk-ááddi* is a finite main verb. These converbs cannot create an independent sentence by themselves. The main verb *ʔakk-ááddi* is, for instance, attached with an aspect marker *-ááddi* but it is impossible to do so for the converb. The converb can be *-ádá/-ídí* or the short form *-á/í* as in (16). As we can see in the table below *-á/ádá* is used only with singulars: 1, 2 & 3F, while *-í/ídí* is used with all plurals and 3M. Both short and long-form can be used for the same situation for the same meaning. In Dawurotsuwa, converbs can be negated by attaching

the negative morpheme *-nn-* to the verb form (for more details look at Chapter-6). This negative morpheme serves all persons and numbers.

**Table 10: Converbs**

16	1SG	<i>dóór-á/ádá</i>	<i>ʔakk- ááddi</i>	‘I have taken by choosing’
	2SG	<i>dóór-á/ádá</i>	<i>ʔakk-éédá</i>	‘You <sub>SG</sub> have taken by choosing’
	3FSG	<i>dóór-á/ádá</i>	<i>ʔakk- ááddu</i>	‘She has taken by choosing’
	3MSG	<i>dóór-í/ídí</i>	<i>ʔakk-éédá</i>	‘He has taken by choosing’
	1PL	<i>dóór-í/ídí</i>	<i>ʔakk-éédó</i>	‘We have taken by choosing’
	2PL	<i>dóór-í/ídí</i>	<i>ʔakk-éédíta</i>	‘You <sub>PL</sub> have taken by choosing’
	3PL	<i>dóór-í/ídí</i>	<i>ʔakk-éédino</i>	‘They have taken by choosing’

There are also auxiliaries in Dawurotsuwa. They carry various inflections, and derivational morphemes. For instance, *deʔ-* as in (17a), *gid-(become)* as in (17b) are auxiliaries. This usage is common in progressive, subordinated and non-verbal clauses.

- 17a) *ʔí*                      *y-íiddí*                      *deʔ-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM      come-PROG              exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He is coming.’
- b) *ʔí*                      *keek’a*      *gíd-é-nn-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM      kind      be-3SG.M-NEG-3SG  
 ‘He is not kind.’

The grammatical part of the verb carries various markers such as agreement, aspect, sentence type (declarative, imperative, and interrogative) markers, passive, and negative markers. In addition, nominalizers, postpositions, relativizers, adverbializers, complementizers, and causatives are attached to the verb root. That is the reason for considering the verb as a central element in the analysis of negation.

### 2.3. Pronouns

Table-11 below summarizes pronouns in Dawurotsuwa. There are 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, singular, and plural pronouns. Possessive pronouns are realized by adding a morpheme *-w-* to the personal pronouns and the final vowel depends on whether the case is nominative or accusative. Demonstrative pronouns come in four sets depending on the distance from the speaker and/or listener.

**Table 11: Pronouns**

	NOM	ACC	POSS <sup>6</sup>	POSS <sup>7</sup>	REFL
1SG	<i>táání/tá</i>	<i>taana</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta-w-e</i>	<i>taana</i>
2SG	<i>néení/né</i>	<i>neena</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne-w-e</i>	<i>neena</i>
3FSG	<i>ʔá/ʔizu</i>	<i>ʔo/ʔiza</i>	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>ʔi-w-e</i>	<i>barena</i>
3MSG	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>ʔa</i>	<i>ʔa-w-e</i>	<i>barena</i>
1PL	<i>núúní/nú</i>	<i>nuuna</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu-w-e</i>	<i>nuuna</i>
2PL	<i>hínténtú/hínté</i>	<i>hínténta</i>	<i>hínte</i>	<i>hínte-w-e</i>	<i>hínténta</i>
3PL	<i>ʔúntúntú</i>	<i>ʔúntúnta</i>	<i>ʔuntu</i>	<i>ʔuntu-w-e</i>	<i>barenta</i>

Demonstrative pronouns are also found in Dawurotsuwa. As we can see in (18) below, Dawurotsuwa has four modifying demonstratives based on the physical closeness of an object/person to an addresser/addressee. They are *há*, *hé*, *yá*, and *híni*. In *há*, the specified object/person is close to the speaker. In *hé*, the specified object/person is close to the addressee, and in the case of *yá* & *híni*, the specified object/person is far away from both the addresser and addressee; *híni* expresses less distance than *yá*. These four modifying demonstratives are changed into nominal demonstratives by adding the nominalizer *-w-*. The final *-ee* & *-aa* stands for nominative and accusative cases respectively. For instance, a person who lives in Dawuro that wants to go to Addis Ababa will say *ya baana* ‘I will go there’ to his relative who lives in Addis.

<sup>6</sup> Possessive adjectives

<sup>7</sup> Possessive pronouns. The last vowel *-e* marks the nominative case. It changes into *-a* for accusative case. The morpheme *-w-* is a nominalizer.

Hirut (2007:115) makes the number of deictic six adding more such as *hirki* and *killi* for expressing a lower position and higher position respectively. Hanserud (2018: 35) mentions *ha* and *he* for expressing a referent which is closer to the speaker and closer to the listener respectively.

**Table 12: Demonstratives**

18 <b>Modifying demonstratives</b>			
<i>há</i> ‘this’	<i>hé</i> ‘that’	<i>yá</i> ‘that away’	<i>híni</i> ‘far away’
<i>há mitsa</i>	<i>hé mitsa</i>	<i>yá mitsa</i>	<i>híni mitsa</i>
‘this tree’	‘that tree’	‘that away tree’	‘that tree’
<i>há wora</i>	<i>hé wora</i>	<i>yá wora</i>	<i>híni wora</i>
‘this forest’	‘that forest’	‘that away forest’	‘that forest’
<i>há golle</i>	<i>hé golle</i>	<i>yá golle</i>	<i>híni golle</i>
‘this house’	‘that house’	‘that away house’	‘that house’
<b>Nominal demonstrative</b>			
<i>há-w-a</i>	<i>hé-w-a</i>	<i>ya-w-a</i>	<i>híní-w-a</i>
‘this one’	‘that one’	‘that away’	‘that one, far away’
<i>há-w-e</i>	<i>hé-w-e</i>	<i>ya-w-e</i>	<i>híní-w-e</i>
‘this one’	‘that one’	‘that away’	‘that one, far away’

- 19a) *s’oossa-i há-w-a Šiik’-ee-dd-a ʔasa-a*  
 God-NOM this-NMN-ACC gather-3PL-PFV-RELZ:3PL people-ACC

*dos-ee*

love-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘God loves those who are gathered here’

- b) *s’oossa-i há sohua-n yaag-ee*  
 God-NOM this place-LOC say-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘God says in this place’

There are also interrogative pronouns in Dawurotsuwa. The pronouns *ʔáy-* and *ʔóón-* have nominative and accusative forms as in (19). In the example (19b&c) *ʔóón-ee* and *ʔóón-á* are serving as nominative and accusative respectively.

**Table 13: Interrogative Pronouns**

19)	NOM	ACC
	<i>ʔáyee</i> ‘what’	<i>ʔáyáá</i> ‘what’
	<i>ʔóónee</i> ‘who’	<i>ʔóóná</i> ‘whom’
	<i>ʔáwúdé</i> ‘when’	<i>ʔáwúdé</i> ‘when’
	<i>hák’á</i> ‘where’	<i>hák’á</i> ‘where’

19a) *henttena dos-ia-wa-nttu s’alaala dos-ooppe*  
 3PL.ACC love-RELZ-NMZ-PL only love-COND

*ʔaya galata-i deʔ-ii*

what thank-NOM exist-3SG.M.IPFV.Q

‘If you love only those who love you then what thanks would it have?’

b) *maakina-n duʔʔ-ett-i kund-o-we ʔóón-ee*  
 Car-INS Bamp-PASS-CVB fall-RELZ-NMN who-NOM.Q

‘Who is the one who is bumped by a car and fell?’

c) *ʔiŠal-i ʔaabb-u suntsa-i ʔóón-á*  
 Ishale-GEN father-GEN name-NOM who-ACC

*geet-ett-ii*

say-PASS-3SG.M.IPFV.Q

‘Who is Ishale's father's name?’

## 2.4. Syntax

According to Ferguson (1970: 72), the normal word order of a declarative main clause that has nouns as subject and object is Subject + Object + Verb. He adds that in many languages the order of words is fairly free, i.e. a sentence may be said in various ways with essentially the same meaning, except for variations in emphasis. What he meant by "normal word order" is the usual, ordinary order without any special emphasis. In his studies, eleven languages were selected of which one language belongs to Omotic family.

In Dawurotsuwa, a verb comes at the end of a sentence; it is one of the languages whose verbs occupy the end position of the sentence. The subject comes at the beginning of the sentence; while the object follows it and precedes the verb, i.e., Subject-Object-Verb order as the example in (20). The subject is marked for the nominative case and the object is suffixed with the accusative case. There is freedom of ordering, mostly in speaking, subject, and object. In (20b) the subject does not occur in the sentence but it is marked in the verb.

20a) *bang-u*        *haats-a*        *?uš-ee*  
Bonga-NOM    water-ACC    drink-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
'Banga drinks water'

b) *kuttatt-i*    *?uluwa-n*        *?itti*    *work'i-nne*  
hen-GEN    stomach-LOC    one    gold-INDF

*d'ay-éé-dd-a*  
Disappear-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG  
'He could not get any gold inside the hen'

### 2.4.1. Phrases

#### 2.4.1.1. Noun Phrases.

The determinant element in the phrase is the noun. This noun can be modified by an article, adjective, demonstrative, and numerals. The noun phrases can serve as a subject, a

direct object, or an indirect object. It can also serve as a complement (Kroeger, 2005:87). Azeb (2012: 484) states that the noun phrase in Omotic may comprise a single head noun or a head noun and one or more modifiers. The reported modifiers include demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, various quantifiers, and, in possessive constructions, nouns, pronouns, and the question word equivalent to ‘who’ in English. In Dawurotsuwa, noun phrases can be formed by using the adjective, demonstratives, nouns, and numerals. In (21) *woggá* ‘big’ modifies the head noun *goll-i* ‘house’. In Dawurotsuwa nouns modify nouns to express possession as in (21b).

21a) *há wóggá goll-í*  
 this big house-NOM  
 ‘this big house’

b) *bang-u pol-a malaam-a ?er-ee*  
 Bonga-NOM Pola-GEN Malaamo-ACC know-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Banga knows Pola’s Malaamo’

d) *laa??ú wóggá gollí-tu*  
 two big house-NOM.PL  
 ‘two big houses’

c) *?adussa bitaní-a*  
 tall person-ACC  
 ‘this big house’

Azeb (2012: 440) mentions that adjectives share morpho-syntactic properties with both nouns and verbs in Omotic. Adjectives in Dawurotsuwa can take suffixes by modifying themselves which are attached to the verb. Hirut (2007:111) states, “Adjectives in Dawuro are not simple words but morphologically complex derived words.” They can be derived

from a noun or verb base. In (21c) *ʔadussa* is serving as an adjective, but here in (22a) by deleting the last vowel *-a*, it is suffixed with *-ee* and functioning as a verb does. In (21b), *ʔadussa* is serving as an adverb by adding the morpheme *-n*.

22a) *bang-u*            *haasay-a*            *ʔaduss-ee*  
 Bonga-NOM    speech-ACC    long-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Bonga makes the speech long’

b) *bang-u*            *ʔadussa-n*            *ʔod-ee*  
 Bonga-NOM long-LOC            tell-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Bonga tells wordily’

#### 2.4.1.2. Verb Phrase.

Allan (1976: 345) considers *ta k’uma doysadi* ‘I cooked food’, as a verb phrase. A verb phrase has a verb as its head element. The head comes at the end of a sentence, *demm-iino*, *ʔufayett-iino*, and *gis-ee*, as in (23) where the verb phrase is enclosed in a square bracket. The verb phrase may have a complement (23a) or not (23b&c). The structure of the verb phrase in the language includes an obligatory verb and other constituents depending on the nature of the verb. Some examples of verb phrases are provided below:

23a) *ʔúntúntú*    [*loʔʔo muruta-a demm-iino*]  
 3PL.NOM    good    fruit-ACC    find-3PL.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘They have got good production.’

b) *ʔúntúntú*    [*ʔufayett-iino*]  
 3PL.NOM    delight-3PL.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘They are happy’

c) *daan-i*            [*gis-ee*]  
 Dana-NOM    sleep-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘Dana sleeps’

The above examples illustrate verb phrases in Dawurotsuwa. In some cases, the verb phrase is composed of only the head verb (23b&c). In other cases, it may include a verb, an auxiliary or a verb, a noun and an adverb.

#### 2.4.2. Types of sentences

The normal word order of the eleven languages considered in the study is Subject + Object + Verb (Ferguson, 1970: 72). A sentence in Dawurotsuwa is ordered in the SOV pattern. This sentence can be declarative, interrogative, exclamative, and imperative. The following paradigm is given to show them by using imperfective aspect inflection. As we can see in the paradigm the classes have their own differentiating inflections. All persons and numbers have their own morpheme for marking the types. And they are inflected for the negative.

**Table 14: Sentence Type Markers**

	AFF	Q	IMP
1SG	<i>dos-ai</i>	<i>dos-áítá</i>	-
2SG	<i>dos-aa</i>	<i>dos-ái</i>	<i>dos-a</i>
3FSG	<i>dos-áu</i>	<i>dos-ái</i>	-
3MSG	<i>dos-ee</i>	<i>dos-íí</i>	-
1PL	<i>dos-éétto</i>	<i>dos-ééttó</i>	-
2PL	<i>dos-úíta</i>	<i>dos-úíté</i>	<i>dos-ite</i>
3PL	<i>dos-úíno</i>	<i>dos-úínó</i>	-

Some examples are given below. Dawurotsuwa does not have a copula so the non-verbal predicate and subject simply come side by side in the absence of any linking element as in (25d).

- 25a) *goob-i-nne togg-i daro wode kaass-a*  
 Goba-NOM-and Togga-NOM many time play-ACC

*dos-iino*

like-3PL.IPFV.AFF

‘Goba and Toga many times like playing.’

- b) *ʔi*                    *laas'-a*            *m-íiddí*            *deʔ-íí*  
3SG.M.MOM lunch-ACC eat-PROG exist-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
‘Is he eating lunch?’
- c) *wots-a*  
run-2SG.IMP  
‘run’
- d) *gaamm-u*            *k'ara*            *tamaar-e*  
Gammo-NOM intelligent student-ACC  
‘Gaammo is an intelligent student’

In addition, in Dawurotsuwa questions can be formed by using content question words. Content word questions are formed by using interrogative pronouns.

The root forms which are used for creating content question words are very few. These few root forms of content question words are suffixed or prefixed or infixes with person and case markers in order to produce lexical question words. The same element which is used for expressing a case in a noun is used in a few content question words as well. In a question, word order does not change rather all members in a sentence remain where they are whether it is a polar or a content word question. The verb is attached with a question marker in both types of questions (Azeb, 2012:480)

For example, Dawurotsuwa’s content word interrogative is formed in a similar way as in (26). The interrogative pronouns are listed in (19) above. Example (26) illustrates the use of the interrogative pronoun *ʔóón*-‘who/whom’ for asking a question. The content question can take either nominative or accusative cases. The morpheme *-ee* in (26), for example, is

used for representing the nominative case. The verb *y-*‘come’ is suffixed with the nominalizer and nominative marker.

- 26) *ʔóón-éé y-ía-w-éé*  
 who-NOM come-IPFV.RELZ-NMZ-NOM  
 ‘Who comes?’

When there is no content question word, the question marker is attached to the verbs, nominals. As we can see in the example below, the question marker *-éé* (27b) replaces the affirmative marker *-a* (27a) to construct a question. The morpheme *-éé* has been attached to the content question word above in (26) as a nominative case marker too. The question marker is just attached to the adjective. But the negative marker cannot be attached to the adjective when it serves as a predicate as in (27) instead an auxiliary carries the negative marker (For details look at Chapter 4).

- 27a) *ʔi keek'-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM kind-AFF  
 ‘He is kind’

- b) *ʔi kéék'-éé*  
 3SG.M.NOM kind-Q  
 ‘Is he a kind?’

It is possible to form a question by attaching a question marker at the end of the verb as in (28b). It is enough to add a question marker at the end of the verb to form polar questions in Dawurotsuwa (For more details look at Chapter 4).

- 28a) *ʔi laats-a m-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM lunch-ACC eat-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He eats lunch’

- b) *ʔi*                      *laats-a*                      *m-íí*  
 3SG.M.NOM    lunch-ACC                      eat-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Does he eat lunch?’

### 2.4.3. Subordinate Clauses

In Omotic, dependent clauses such as the conditional, concessive, adversative, and converb are morphologically distinguished from main clauses by special endings attached to the verb of the dependent clause (Azeb, 2012:497). In Dawurotsuwa, the dependent clause verb has different morphological endings and loses its finiteness. Subordinate clauses function as modifiers of nouns and modifiers of verbs. The noun modifiers are relative clauses. The verb modifiers are adverbial clauses. These classes will be discussed briefly in this section.

#### 2.4.3.1. Relative Clauses.

A relative clause is a noun modifier, and it precedes the head noun. The verb in a relative clause can take two forms, namely, with the participle *-iya* signaling simultaneity to the matrix clause, or it may be in the past tense, with *-eedda*, then signaling anteriority to the matrix clause. The verb in a relative clause does not inflect for person (Hansured, 2018: 105). Alebachew (2019: 205) proposes the morpheme *-eedda* for the past affirmative, *-ija* for the non-past affirmative, *-ibeenna* (*-abeenna*) for the past negative, and *-enna* for the non-past negative. The current study relates these morphemes to aspects, not tense.

The relative clauses in (29) are enclosed inside a square bracket. They occur as part of a noun phrase modifying a head noun, i.e. *kana-i* and *šalu-a*. The relative clauses are suffixed with the verbal inflectional markers *-eeddá* & *-ia* indicating perfective and imperfective respectively as in (29a&b). The most frequent position of the relative clause is preceding the head element; yet reversing the order may not lead to ungrammaticality.

29a) [košatt-ee-dd-á] kana-i saʔaa-ppe ʔašu-a  
 starve-3SG.M-PFV-RELZ:3SG.M dog-NOM ground-ABL meat-ACC

*demm-ée-dd-a*<sup>8</sup>

find-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG

‘The dog which is hungry has got a meat from the ground’

b) ʔasaa naana-i [bare-w de'-ia]  
 human child-NOM his-DAT exist-IPFV.RELZ

Šalu-a dumma dumma sa-n  
 money-ACC different different place-LOC

*minj-ee*

save-3SG.M-IPFV.AFF

‘People save their money which they have in various places’

## 2.4.3.2 Adverbial Clauses

### 2.4.3.2.1 Temporal Clauses.

The temporal clause is one of the adverbial clauses in Dawurotsuwa. In Dawuro, temporal clauses are expressed by the morpheme *-odde*, which is glossed as TMP. The morpheme is attached to the main verb of the subordinate clause. The dependent clause is not marked for agreement, tense, mood, or polarity (Alebachew, 2019: 214). This morpheme occurs as the free word *wode* ‘when’ independently, as in (30a).

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<sup>8</sup>The form of 3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG (*ée-dd-a*) is similar to 3SG.M-PFV-RELZ:3SG.M (*ee-dd-á*). These two morphemes are homophones and identify a characteristically associated aspect of the same state, i.e., perfectiveness. But distributionally, they occur in different places: the former in finite form for 3SG.M, and the latter in relativized verb form for all persons. Thus, the latter reduces the agreement and stands for all numbers and persons.

The verb is marked by subordinating grammatical morpheme *-ía* which is not used in an independent clause. In addition to the inflection of the verb, lexical grammatical morpheme *wode* is used as in (30). It is also common to attach this temporal marker to the verb as in (30b). This lexical subordinate morpheme comes at the end of the temporal clause, look at bracketed clauses.

30a) *táání*            [*k'uma-a*    *m-ía*                    *wode*]    *darí*  
 1SG.NOM    food-ACC    eat-IPFV.RELZ<sup>9</sup>    when    much

*haatsa-a*        *ʔuš-ai*  
 water-ACC    drink-1SG.IPFV.AFF

‘When I eat food, I drink much water’

[*ʔótóóró*        *kuttatt-o*            *ʔoikk-i*            *s'eell-oode*]

b)

Otooro.NOM    Hen.PL-ACC        carry-CVB    see-time

*dees'ua*        *Šuca*  
 weight        stone

‘When Otooto checks the hen by carrying it, it is too heavy’

In *kase* ‘before’ clause, as in (31), the action expressed by the verb takes *-anaa* to show that the event has not been fulfilled yet. The clause in (32) is *simmiide* clause that is bracketed. Here the verb is suffixed with *-i* which is one of the converbs in the language, and shows that there is a sequence of an event that follows it.

31a) *ʔi*                *nabbab-anaa-ppe*    *kase*            *ʔek'k'-ee*  
 3M.NOM    read-SBJV-ABL    before        stand-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

<sup>9</sup>RELZ (relivitizer) is glossed to show that the verb loses its finiteness and independent status and becomes dependent. All verbs in subordinate clauses are relativized. This is not given specifically to the relative clauses. Instead, the verb in dependent clauses in locative, reason, or else is relativized.



- b) [ʔi                      pitt-ia                      giššau]      goll-i      geešša  
 3SG.M.NOM      clean- IPFV.RELZ      because      house-NOM      neat'  
 'The house is neat because he cleans it.'

- c) ʔoykk-o-wa-ppe                      dendd-o-wa-n                      ʔiša-i  
 catch-RELZ-NMN:ACC-ABL      Stand-RELZ-NMN:ACC-CAUS      brother-NOM  
  
 barekka    wolk'k'a-a    ʔoosu-a    ʔoots-i    y-ee  
 himself    power-GEN    work-ACC    work-CVB    come-3SG.M.IPFV-AFF  
 'Because he was sick, his brother started labor work by himself.'

**2.4.3.2.5. Purpose Clauses.**

Purpose is expressed by the infinitive morpheme *-ana*, followed by the complementizer *-w* (*ana-w*) (Alebachew, 2019: 213).

- 33) ʔi                      kare      kaaʔ-ana-u      b-ee  
 3SG.M.NOM      outside      play-SBJV-PURP      go-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 'He goes outside to play.'

The purpose clause marker is *-u* which is attached to the verb after the subjunctive marker *-ana* which shows the event in subordinate is unfulfilled.

**2.4.3.2.6. Simultaneous Clauses.**

In Dawurotsuwa, the simultaneous clause is explicitly signaled by the morpheme *išiin* as in (34).

- 34) [laʔʔatu-kka    barenttu    ʔaawaa      gollia-n                      deʔ-išiin]    ʔúnttúttú  
 two-SFS      their      father:GEN    house:ACC-LOC    exist-while    3PL.NOM  
  
 deʔ-ia                      goll-i                      wodiš-éé-dd-a  
 exist-IPFV.RELZ    house-NOM    fell-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 'While they were living, the house they were living fell down.'

#### 2.4.3.2.7. Conditional Clauses

In Dawuro, two types of morphemes are employed to show two types of conditional clauses. The two morphemes are *-oppe* and *-intto/-antto*. The morpheme *-oppe* is used for reality conditional clauses, and *-intto/-antto* is used for unreality conditional clauses (Alebachew, 2019: 209). In (35), the morpheme *-ooppe* marks the if-clause, which is attached to the verb.

- 35) [henttena dos-ia-wa-nttu s'alaala dos-ooppe]  
 2PL Love-IPFV.RELZ-NMZ:ACC-PL only love-COND  
 ?aya galata-i de?-ii  
 what thank-NOM exst-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 'If you love only those who love you then what thanks would it have?'

#### 2.4.3.2.8. Concessive Clauses.

In Dawurotsuwa, concessive clauses are formed by attaching the additive marker morpheme, *-ka* to a conditional verb (Alebachew, 2019: 211). The *-k-* in this study is geminated, and *-kka* is attached to the verb as in (36). This morpheme has multiple functions in the language which will be discussed in detail in chapter-8.

- 36) [k'uuk'ulli-a k'uukilli-n m-aana-u ?amottina-kka] kuttatta  
 egg-ACC lay-CVB eat-SBJV-PURP want-even/ hen  
 k'uuk'ulli-a ?is's'ina zal?-ana g-iide mal-ée-dd-a  
 egg-ACC reluctant sell- SBJV say-CVB think-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 'Although he was eager to eat the eggs when she laid, the hen  
 could not lay any egg; so he thought to sell her'

#### 2.4.3.3. Complement Clauses

Dawuro has the complementizers *-w*, *-wa*, *-dá*, and *-entto*, which are clause-final clitics (Hansured, 2018:88; Alebachew, 2019: 211). The verb *dem-ee* in (36a) has two arguments: the nominalized complement [*bayrabonc-ia-w-e*] and [*lo??-o k'aadaa*]. The

nominalizer *-w-* is added following subordinating marker *-ia*. In Dawurotsuwa, the nominalized verb is inflected for nominative and accusative cases.

- 36a) *bayra bonc-ia-w-e lo??-o k'aada-a*  
 elder.ACC respect-IPFV.RELZ-NMZ-NOM good luck-ACC

*demm-ee*

find- 3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘The one who respects an elder finds/gets a good luck.’

- b) *lo??o k'aada-i bayra bonc-ia-w-a-n*  
 good luck-NOM elder.ACC respect-RELZ-NMZ-ACC-by

*demm-ett-ee*

find-PASS-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘The one respects eldersfinds/gets good luck.’

- 37) *Ta [taan-i zizoni ush-eedda-wa], amanett-ay*  
 1SG.NOM 1SG.NOM yesterday drink-PAST-O.COMP believe-1SG.PRES  
 ‘I believe I drank yesterday.’ (Hansurd, 2018: 88 (152))

## Chapter-3

### Verbal Predication Negation

Different languages employ different means of expressing negation. “In very general terms, the negative marker can be a non-inflecting element, bound or free (i.e. a particle, a clitic or an affix), or it can be an inflecting element – a negative verb” (Miestamo, 2005: 5). Payne (1985:175) presents the four types of negative construction focusing on the status of negative markers. Morphological negative markers can be expressed by affixes (prefix, suffixes, and circumfix), rhythmic and intonational aspects of a language, and repeating the

negative markers (Miestamo, 2005:18). Cross-linguistic studies made on negation marking among the languages of the world reveal that the use of negative particles is the most common strategy, but it is not the only type (Dixon, 1997: 118). Dawurotsuwa marks negation by means of suffix morphemes *-nn-/-kk-*. It is observed in languages like Turkish which is marked by means of *-mV-* (Dahl, 2010:14), and Japanese by means of *-na-*(Nyberg, 2012: 13).

Dawurotsuwa marks negation in the same way in declarative and interrogative clauses as Koorete (Binyam, 2008: 137) and Wolaita (Wakasa, 2008: 748), while other related languages have different means for declarative and interrogative clauses. For instance, in Maale (Azeb, 2001:233) different negative marking elements are used for declarative and interrogative structures. Moreover, in Dawurotsuwa, the same negative morpheme is used for past, present, and future negative interrogative unlike Zargulla which expresses past and non-past interrogative by using different morphemes, i.e. *b-* and *-ikk-* respectively according to Azeb (2009: 209). Thus, Dawurotsuwa marks negation in both declarative and interrogative clauses with identical morphemes unlike some of the related languages but that of the imperative is different from both of them.

In this Chapter, negation in a verbal predication will be presented. Dawurotsuwa's declarative verbal main clause is negated by adding a suffix to the verb. The non-declarative verbal clause has the same negative marker as the declarative verbal main clause. There is also indirect negation in the language which is formed by asking the positive question which does not consist of any negative marker in the construction. Negation in Dawurotsuwa is asymmetric, i.e., it is not merely adding the negative morpheme to the corresponding affirmative. There are more differences between the affirmative and negative sentences in addition to adding the negative morpheme. Negation also interacts with aspect and sentence type markers.

In Section (3.1) aspect and tense markers will be discussed. The declarative verbal main clause will be discussed in Section (3.2) under the heading standard negation. The position of the negative marker will be explained in Section (3.2.1). The interaction of negation with imperfective and perfective aspects will be discussed in Sections (3.2.2.1) and (3.2.2.2) respectively. Then negation in ellipsis, negative single word replies, double negation, strengthening of negation, and lexicalized negation will be discussed in Sections (3.3), (3.4), (3.5), (3.6), and (3.7) respectively. In the last section, implicit negation will be treated.

### **3.1. Aspect and Tense**

Before discussing the standard negation right away, it is important to explain aspects and tenses in Dawurotsuwa briefly as they are necessary to discuss interaction with negation. Negation in Dawurotsuwa is attached along with other elements to the base; thus, although it is not easy to draw a one-to-one correspondence between the morphemes within the suffix, it is better to identify easily detected items. Comrie (1976: 1-4) states that aspect and tense both deal with time although the way they look at is different. The former considers ‘situation-internal time’ while the latter is concerned with ‘situation-external time. Hewson (2012: 511) also says, “...aspect is concerned with the representation of time contained in the event, and tense with the representation of the time that contains the event.” These definitions share that they both are concerned with time though they perceive it from different angles.

If we see how Dawurotsuwa distinguishes the aspect based on these definitions and Dahl’s (1985: 24, 25) minimal pair proposal which is adapted here (1a&b), it is the morphemes *-aidde* and *-ááddi* that are used for expressing progressive and perfective respectively. The progressive morpheme *-aidde* is attached to the verb *ʔoots-*. In addition, the basic meaning of the imperfective aspect can be observed in (2) which is expressed by *-áu* as

in (2). The verb *mec'* in the dependent clause is infinite while the main clause is finite. The paradigm for the perfective and imperfective is given in the next sections.

2a *táání zino nééni y-ía wode so ʔoosua*  
 1SG.NOM yesterday 2SG.NOM come-RELZ when home work

*ʔoots-aidde deʔ-ai*  
 work-PROG exist-1SG.IPFV.AFF

‘When you came home yesterday, I was working on homework.’

b *táání zino nééni y-ía wode so ʔoosua*  
 1SG.NOM yesterday 2SG.NOM come-RELZ when home work

*ʔoots-áá-dd-i*  
 work-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG

‘When you came home yesterday, I worked/finished homework.’

2 *táání meec'-ia wode ʔizá mic'-áu*  
 today wash-IPFV.RELZ when 3SG.F.NOM hang\_out-1SG.IPFV.AFF

‘While I was washing, she was hanging out to dry.’

On the other hand, as we can see in example (3), Dawurotsuwa does not express tense morphologically; instead it describes syntactically by using time adverbs such as *hace* and *zino*. Let us see the following minimal pair to display how the tense is distinguished in the language. The morpheme *-ee* is not the marker of the tense instead it is an imperfective aspect marker. The paradigm for all persons is given in the next section.

3a *hace iray bukk-iidde deʔ-ee*  
 today rain:NOM com-PROG exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘Today it is raining.’

- b    *zino*        *iray*        *bukk-iidde*    *deʔ-ee*  
 yesterday rain.NOM com-PROG exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Yesterday it was raining.’

### 3.2. Standard Negation

Miestamo (2005:39) defines ‘standard negation’ (SN) as “the basic way (s) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses” and acknowledges Payne (1985) as the source of the term. Payne (1985: 197) uses the term ‘standard’ for negation “...that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences”; it is also mentioned that such sentences are made of one predicate in the main clauses. Dahl (1979: 81) also deals with such a phenomenon implicitly without using the term ‘Standard negation’ directly. Likewise, Van der Auwera and Krasnoukhova (2020:91) define ‘standard negation’ as “...the non-emphatic negation of a lexical main verb in a declarative main clause; negation in all other functions is referred to collectively as non-standard negation.” In non-standard such as *imperatives*, *existential*, *non-verbal*, and *negative indefinite*, negative markers which are different from the standard negative marker are developed (Miestamo, 2005: 217). In their respective sections, we will discuss negation in non-standard clauses. In this section, we will focus on standard negation.

The clause in the example in (10a) has a single verbal predication and an argument. It is the main clause (independent clause) that has full meaning when standing alone and which is not dependent on any other clause. It is this type of construction that we will label as standard negation in Dawurotsuwa. Standard negation structure will serve as a reference when other types are discussed.

Dawurotsuwa is one of the languages which use negative suffixes to express negation in the standard clause. The negative marker is found at the end of the sentence and suffixed to the verb before the 3SG.M affirmative marker *-a* as in (4b). Look at the paradigm below for perfective declarative and perfective interrogative clause markers.

Example (4a) is a declarative main clause sentence with a single verbal predicate, i.e. *géya-a b-éé-dd-a*. Its negative counterpart (4b) is suffixed with negation marker *-nn-* along with other elements such as agreement, number, person, aspect, and sentence status marker to the verb *b-*. In (5a) we have similar construction except for the change of the person *tá* (1SG). Dawurotsuwa does not use the same negation suffix for both 3SG.M (4b) and 1SG (5b) which are suffixed with *-nn-* and *-kk-* respectively. The evidence for segmenting morphemes after the stem is that *bá* and *bí* which are the first syllable of the word are independent converbs. This gives a clue to segment the first vowel. Then the *-béí/-béé-* remain the same across all persons across the paradigm which makes it visible to segment it. The negative marker *-kk-/nn-* is clearly seen across all persons. The final morphemes after these negative markers stand for person marking. All persons except 3SG.M employ the same negative marker *-kk-*. Look at the following paradigm.

**Table 15: Perfective Declarative Markers**

Persons	Affirmative	Negative	Interrogative <sup>10</sup>
1SG	<i>b-áá-dd-i</i>	<i>b-á-béí-kk-e</i>	<i>b-áá-dd-ítáá</i>
2SG	<i>b-áá-dd-a</i>	<i>b-á-béí-kk-a</i>	<i>b-áá-dd-í</i>
3SGF	<i>b-áá-dd-u</i>	<i>b-á-béí-kk-u</i>	<i>b-áá-dd-é</i>
3SGM	<i>b-éé-dd-a</i>	<i>b-í-béé-nn-a</i>	<i>b-éé-dd-é</i>
1PL	<i>b-éé-dd-o</i>	<i>b-í-béí-kk-o</i>	<i>b-éé-dd-ó</i>
2PL	<i>b-éé-dd-ite</i>	<i>b-í-béí-kk-ita</i>	<i>b-éé-dd-íté</i>
3PL	<i>b-éé-dd-ino</i>	<i>b-í-béí-kk-ino</i>	<i>b-éé-dd-ínó</i>

<sup>10</sup>These are affirmative perfective interrogatives. They are presented here just to show the differences in affirmative declarative and interrogative clause ending.

- 4a) *dos-í géya-a b-éé-dd-a*  
 Dos-NOM market-ACC go-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘Dosa has gone to the market.’
- b) *dos-í géya-a b-í-béé-nn-a*  
 Dos-NOM market-ACC go-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Dosa has not gone to the market.’
- 5a) *táání géya-a b-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM market-ACC go-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I have gone to the market.’
- b) *táání géya-a b-á-béí-kk-e*  
 1SG.NOM market-ACC go-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I have not gone to the market.’
- 6a) *núúni géya-a b-éé-dd-o*  
 2PL.NOM market-ACC go-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘We have gone to the market.’
- b) *núúni géya-a b-í-béí-kk-o*  
 2PL.NOM market-ACC go-1PL-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘We have not gone to the market.’
- 7a) *nééni géya-a b-áá-dd-a*  
 2SG.NOM market-ACC go-2SG-PFV-AFF:2SG  
 ‘You have gone to the market.’
- b) *nééni géya-a b-á-béí-kk-a*  
 2SG.NOM market-ACC go-2SG-PFV-NEG-2SG

- ‘You have not gone to the market.’
- 8a) *hinténttu géya-a b-ée-dd-ite*  
 2PL.NOM market-ACC go-2PL-PFV-AFF:2PL  
 ‘You have gone to the market.’
- b) *hinténttu géya-a b-í-béi-kk-ita*  
 2PL.NOM market-ACC go-2PL-PFV-NEG-2PL  
 ‘You have not gone to the market.’
- 9a) *ʔá géya-a b-áá-dd-u*  
 3SG.F.NOM market-ACC go-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F  
 ‘She has gone to the market’
- b) *ʔá géya-a b-á-béi-kk-u*  
 3SG.F.NOM market-ACC go-3SG.F-PFV-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘She has not gone to the market.’
- 10a) *ʔúntúnttú géya-a b-ée-dd-ino*  
 3PL.NOM market-ACC go-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL  
 ‘They have gone to the market.’
- b) *ʔúntúnttú géya-a b-í-béi-kk-ino*  
 3PL.NOM market-ACC go-3PL-PFV-NEG-3PL  
 ‘They have not gone to the market.’

**Table-16: Negative Markers**

Persons	Verb Paradigm	Negative morpheme
1SG	<i>b-á-béi-kk-e</i>	<i>-kk-</i>
2SG	<i>b-á-béi-kk-a</i>	<i>-kk-</i>
3SGF	<i>b-á-béi-kk-u</i>	<i>-kk-</i>
3SGM	<i>b-í-béé-nn-a</i>	<i>-nn-</i>
1PL	<i>b-í-béi-kk-o</i>	<i>-kk-</i>
2PL	<i>b-í-béi-kk-ita</i>	<i>-kk-</i>
3PL	<i>b-í-béi-kk-ino</i>	<i>-kk-</i>

Regarding the position of these negative suffixes, they are close to the verb but before them, as we can see in Table 16 above, there are perfective markers and agreement markers. There are elements that follow negative suffixes like nominalizers, ablatives, affirmative statement markers, and interrogative markers as in (11). In this type of construction negative marker *-nn-* is used for all persons.

11a) Nominative

<i>laagg-ia-w-e</i>		<i>b-éé-dd-a</i>
drive-IPFV.RELZ-NMZ-NOM	see-3SG.M-PFV-AFF: 3SG.M	
the one who drives		
‘The one who drives has gone.’		

b) Accusative

<i>ʔi</i>	<i>laagg-ia-w-a</i>	<i>b-éé-dd-a</i>
3SG.M.NOM	drive-IPFV.RELZ-NMZ-ACC	see-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M
‘He has seen the one whom drives.’		

c) <i>ʔi</i>	<i>laagg-énnaa<sup>11</sup>-w-a-ppe</i>	<i>ʔek-éé-dd-a</i>
3M.NOM	like-NEG-NMZ-ACC-ABL	take-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M
‘He has taken from the one who does not drive.’		

On the other hand, when it is seen from the structural point of view, Dawurotsuwa’s affirmative and negative sentences show differences. Negative construction (4b) and 5b) differ from their affirmative counterparts (4a) and (5a) structurally. The difference lies in the perfective marker, sentence type marker, and agreement marker. This shows that the difference is more than one, i.e. negative marker. For example for 1SG, the perfective marker *-dd-* in affirmative declarative is replaced by another perfective marker *-bei-* in the corresponding negative. The 3SG.M marker *-i* in affirmative is also replaced by another

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<sup>11</sup>In this type of nominalized construction only *-nn-* is used for negating all persons. The vowels */-é-/* and */-aa-/* before and after this negative morpheme *-nn-* do not stand for only 3SGM rather they are used for all other remaining persons. We remember that */-é-/* and */-a-/* are agreement marker in finite verb for 3SGM.

marker *-e* in the corresponding negative. In all other persons replacement exists as we can see in the table above.

Miestamo (2005: 72) calls this type of language whose negative and affirmative sentences differ structurally in more than the existence of negative marker *asymmetric* language, whereas those whose difference is only in a negative marker *symmetric*. As we can see in the paradigm below the vowels *-áá-* and *-éé-* in the affirmative are replaced by *-á-* and *-í-* respectively in the corresponding negatives. The former has been lengthened and the latter is totally changed. The perfective marker *-dd-* which uniformly served all persons in affirmative is also substituted by *-bei-* except for 3SGM which is marked by *-béé-*. In addition, the final vowel is also changed for 1SG and 2PL while it remains the same for the rests. Hence, the difference is more than one, i.e., not only the negative marker *-nn/-kk-*. Thus, Dawurotsuwa is categorized under asymmetric.

**Table-17: Affirmative and Negative Perfective**

Persons	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>b-áá-dd-i</i>	<i>b-á-béí-kk-e</i>
2SG	<i>b-áá-dd-a</i>	<i>b-á-béí-kk-a</i>
3SGF	<i>b-áá-dd-u</i>	<i>b-á-béí-kk-u</i>
3SGM	<i>b-éé-dd-a</i>	<i>b-í-béé-nn-a</i>
1PL	<i>b-éé-dd-o</i>	<i>b-í-béí-kk-o</i>
2PL	<i>b-éé-dd-ite</i>	<i>b-í-béí-kk-ita</i>
3PL	<i>b-éé-dd-ino</i>	<i>b-í-béí-kk-ino</i>

One-to-one correspondence means that the elements in affirmative construction are transferred to the negative counterpart without changing their forms as they are in an affirmative one, except for negative suffix which was already absent from an affirmative one. In Dawurotsuwa, for instance, in (5a&b), both affirmative and negative sentences have an agreement marker, and a perfective marker but the markers are not identical in both clauses. This phenomenon puts Dawurotsuwa in the class A/category under *asymmetry* class.

Miestamo (2005: 73) further divided asymmetry (A): A/Finite which concerns the reduction or loss of finiteness of the verbal element, A/NonReal which refers to marking off a non-realized category in addition to a negative marker, A/Emphasis which contains marking that expresses emphasis in non-negatives, and A/Categories which involves changes in the marking of grammatical categories like tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) or person, number and gender (PNG) in the negative vis-à-vis the positive. Dawurotsuwa is categorized under the last class as is mentioned in the previous paragraph.

### **3.2.1. Position of the Negative Marker**

Dryer (1988: 93) proposes the order of the negative marker in a relation to other elements in taking a sample of 345 languages. According to this study, the languages vary in the way they order subject, object and verb simultaneously. Negative operator sequencing also varies. Dawurotsuwa belongs to the SOV language classification according to this study. In this group, the negation marker comes after the verb. Nevertheless, what makes Dawurotsuwa different from this group is that in Dawurotsuwa the negative marker is suffixed to the verb though it does not immediately follow the root. In the sequence, the negative marker comes after the aspect marker, specifically the perfective marker.

**IPPFV:            Verb-Agreement- Negative marker-Sentence type: Agreement**

**PFV:             Verb-Agreement-Aspect-Negative marker-Sentence type: Agreement**

### **3.2.2. Interaction of Negation and Aspect**

In this section, the interactions between aspect markers and the negative markers are examined. The term *interactions* refer to the results that may occur because of the co-occurrence of the negative and the aspect markers. In describing the interactions between the negative markers and an aspect marker, the terms *compatible* and *incompatible* are used. The term *compatible* is used when the same aspect marker is used in both affirmative and

negative aspectual sentences. When the negative aspectual sentence selects another aspectual marker that did not exist in the corresponding affirmative, then the term *incompatible* is used. The occurrence of these aspectual markers, irrespective of their appropriate place, will result in ungrammaticality. Thus, the term *interaction* refers to changes of aspect marker in the affirmative and negative aspectual sentences.

### 3.2.2.1. Imperfective Aspect and Negation.

Dawurotsuwa does not mark imperfective aspects morphologically. For instance, the 3M affirmative perfective statement in (12e) is suffixed with *-ee-dd-a*, while the corresponding 3M affirmative imperfective is suffixed with *-ee*. The non-existing element in the 3M affirmative imperfective statement appears in the corresponding perfective, i.e. *-dd-*. Thus, we do not see any morpheme which specifically belongs to the imperfective aspect. The absence of the perfective marker represents the imperfective aspect. The remaining elements stand for a number, gender, and sentence type as in the paradigm below.

**Table-18: Perfective and Imperfective Affirmative**

Persons	Imperfective	Perfective
1SG	<i>minj-ai</i>	<i>minj-áá-dd-i</i>
2SG	<i>minj-aa</i>	<i>minj-áá-dd-a</i>
3SG.F	<i>minj-au</i>	<i>minj-áá-dd-u</i>
3SG.M	<i>minj-ee</i>	<i>minj-éé-dd-a</i>
1PL	<i>minj-éétto</i>	<i>minj-éé-dd-o</i>
2PL	<i>minj-íta</i>	<i>minj-éé-dd-ite</i>
3PL	<i>minj-íno</i>	<i>minj-éé-dd-ino</i>

All persons in imperfective statements have their respective agreement markers. The imperfective aspect is expressed in the absence of perfective marker; it has a zero marker. The person markers of imperfective aspect which are found in fused forms are interrupted with insertion of the morpheme *-dd-* in the corresponding perfective statement. In some, the

vowel in imperfective is maintained (1SG, 3SG.F, 2SG) despite the insertion of the perfective marker, and in some persons, it is changed like (3PL, 1PL, 2PL, 3SG.M). The reason for the change of the vowel in some perfective statements is linked to morphological conditioning. For example, the change of *-e* to *-a* in 3SG.M cannot be connected to any phonological conditioning as the same vowel is found in 2SG perfective statement. So the vowels before and after the perfective marker are considered the agreement marker because they are the agreement markers in fused form in the imperfective statement.

When the imperfective aspect is changed into a negative, the negative marker *-kk-* or *-nn-* is inserted between the vowels as in (16b) *-á-kk-a*. But in 1SG, 2PL, 3SGM, and 3SGF, it is not merely inserting the negative marker in the middle; there is also a change of vowels before and after the negative markers. The same imperfective aspect form in affirmative does not appear in corresponding negative imperfective along with a negative morpheme as the paradigm shown below.

**Table-19: Affirmative, Negative, and Interrogative Imperfective**

Persons	Affirmative	Negative	Interrogative
1SG	<i>minj-ai</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-e</i>	<i>minj-áíta</i>
2SG	<i>minj-aa</i>	<i>minj-á-kk-a</i>	<i>minj-ái</i>
3SG.F	<i>minj-au</i>	<i>minj-ú-kk-u</i>	<i>minj-ái</i>
3SG.M	<i>minj-ee</i>	<i>minj-é-nn-a</i>	<i>minj-úi</i>
1PL	<i>minj-éétto</i>	<i>minj-ó-kk-o</i>	<i>minj-ééttó</i>
2PL	<i>minj-úíta</i>	<i>minj-é-kk-ita</i>	<i>minj-úíté</i>
3PL	<i>minj-úino</i>	<i>minj-ó-kk-ino</i>	<i>minj-úínó</i>

Affirmative imperfective aspect morphemes in the above paradigm are presented in infused form but negative imperfective morphemes are segmented. For example, affirmative markers clearly contrast with interrogative for all singular persons and 2PL but two persons, i.e., 1PL and 3PL are marked by similar morphemes in affirmative and interrogative with only a difference in pitch. All persons are marked with different morphemes for their

affirmative sentence endings. Although the morphemes are fused, they clearly contrast for imperfective statement and interrogative.

The negative morpheme of imperfective aspect is segmented. The negative counterpart is easier to segment than the affirmative. The negative morpheme *-kk-/-nn-* expresses negation. The morpheme *-kk-* is identical in its form for all persons except 3SG.M. The stem before these negative markers such as *minji* ‘root with converb’, *minja* ‘imperative’, *minju* ‘jussive’, and *minjo* ‘jussive’ can stand independently. Only an example with short *-e* is not found. The last vowel (s) expresses their respective person and number in collaboration with the vowel with before the negative morpheme.

Why *-kk-* is used for all persons except 3SG.M? As we can see in the paradigm above phonological environment is not a reason for using *-nn-* because both can occur in the same environment. Hence, it is not phonologically motivated; rather it is a lexical choice or *suppletive* according to Burquest (1993: 86). I consider *-kk-* as the basic underlying representation because it occurs in larger environments than *-nn-* following Burquest (1993: 86). The morpheme *-kk-* is used with all persons except 3M which has a wider scope than *-nn-*.

12a) *bení*                    *ʔítí*                    *gollé-n*                    *ʔoyddú*  
 long time back    one                    house-LOC                    four

*ʔasa-i*                    *deʔ-ee*  
 person-NOM                    exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘Once upon a time, there were four people in a family.’

b) *ʔótóóró*                    *ʔúbbá*                    *wodébaré*  
 Otoro                    all                    time    their

*ʔaabbú-nná*                    *gatsó*                    *ʔoots-ee*

father-COM farm work-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘Otoro always does farming with his father.’

c) *ʔi wóntó y-ee*

3SG.M.NOM tomorrow come-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He will come tomorrow.’

d) *ʔi wóntó y-án-á*

3SG.M.NOM tomorrow come-FUT-AFF:3SG.M.

‘He will come tomorrow.’

e) *ʔi laatsa-a m-íddí deʔ-ee*

3SG.M.NOM lunch-ACC eat-PROG exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He is eating lunch.’

e) *ʔi laatsa-a wurs-éé-dd-a*

3SG.M.NOM lunch-ACC finish-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘He has finished his lunch.’

The imperfective aspect in (13a-15a) and their corresponding imperfective negative in (13b-15b) are presented for some persons. As we mentioned above, in the absence of a perfective marker, the remaining suffixes express the imperfective aspect in (13-15) in both negative and positive imperfective. The indicator for this is the appearance of all elements in imperfective construction in corresponding perfective construction. A good example is *-ee* which stands for imperfective ending for the third person singular masculine appears in perfective *-éé-dd-a*. Thus, these imperfective endings stand for number, person, gender, and sentence status.

The negative marking morpheme of an imperfective aspect is *-kk-* except for third-person singular masculine which is marked by *-nn-*. In the presence of the morpheme, the affirmative sentence and person marker is changed for some persons. The paradigm for

declarative and interrogative at the end of this chapter displays this. For example, the affirmative sentence and person marker *-ai* of first-person singular as in (13a) becomes *-i..e* for first singular imperfective negative, and the affirmative statement marker *-éétto* for first-person plural (14a) changes to *ó...o* as in (14b). The third masculine affirmative marker *-ee* changes into *é...a* for negative as in (15a). Thus, there is an interaction between negative morphemes and imperfective forms in Dawurotsuwa. The fused person and number marker in the affirmative changes into another co-occurring vowel pairs in corresponding negatives negative statement.

- |      |                         |               |                     |
|------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 13a) | <i>táání</i>            | <i>Šalu-a</i> | <i>minj-ai</i>      |
|      | 1SG.NOM                 | money-ACC     | save-1SG.IPFV.AFF   |
|      | 'I save money.'         |               |                     |
| b)   | <i>táání</i>            | <i>Šalu-a</i> | <i>minj-í-kk-e</i>  |
|      | 1SG.NOM                 | money-ACC     | save-1SG-NEG-1SG    |
|      | 'I do not save money.'  |               |                     |
| 14a) | <i>núúní</i>            | <i>Šalu-a</i> | <i>minj-éétto</i>   |
|      | 1PL.NOM                 | money-ACC     | save-1PL.IPFV.AFF   |
|      | 'We save money.'        |               |                     |
| b)   | <i>núúní</i>            | <i>Šalu-a</i> | <i>minj-ó-kk-o</i>  |
|      | 1PL.NOM                 | money-ACC     | save-1PL-NEG-1PL    |
|      | 'We do not save money.' |               |                     |
| 15a) | <i>ǀí</i>               | <i>Šalu-a</i> | <i>minj-ee</i>      |
|      | 3SG.M.NOM               | money-ACC     | save-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF |
|      | 'He saves money.'       |               |                     |
| b)   | <i>ǀí</i>               | <i>Šalu-a</i> | <i>minj-é-nn-a</i>  |

3SG.M.NOM money-ACC save-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘He does not save money.’

### 3.2.2.2. *Perfective Aspect and Negation.*

Unlike imperfective, perfective is marked in both affirmative and negative sentences in Dawurotsuwa. The negation and perfective aspects are compatible with each other, but it is not a similar perfective marker that is used for both affirmative and negative perfective aspects.

For example, the perfective aspect is marked by *-dd-* as in (16a & 17a). In negative counterparts as in (20b & 21b), the perfective aspect is marked by *-béí/-béé-*. Thus, Dawurotsuwa perfective does not have compatibility clashes with negation but it changes the morphemes which stand for expressing perfectiveness in a negative sentence. If we use the positive aspect marker *-dd-* in place of *-béí-* in negative perfective construction, the sentence is totally unacceptable and vice versa. There is also a change in the person marker as in (20a) *áá ..i* to *á...e* as in (20b). Person and number markers change with the change of aspects and sentence status markers. For example, the person marker for 1SG imperfective (*-ai*), for 1SG negative imperfective (*i...e*), for 1SG affirmative perfective (*-á...i*), and 1SG negative perfective, (*a...e*) are not the same. This change is connected with morphological conditioning. This shows that there is an interaction of the perfective aspect and negation in Dawurotsuwa.

**Table-20: Declarative Perfective Paradigm**

Persons	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>minj-áá-dd-i</i>	<i>minj-á-béí-kk-e</i>

2SG	<i>minj-áá-dd-a</i>	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-a</i>
3SGF	<i>minj-áá-dd-u</i>	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-u</i>
3SGM	<i>minj-éé-dd-a</i>	<i>minj-í-béé-nn-a</i>
1PL	<i>minj-éé-dd-o</i>	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-o</i>
2PL	<i>minj-éé-dd-ite</i>	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-ita</i>
3PL	<i>minj-éé-dd-ino</i>	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-ino</i>

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- 16a) *táání*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM    money-ACC    save-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I have saved money.’
- b) *táání*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-á-béi-kk-e*  
 1SG.NOM    money-ACC    save-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I have not saved money.’
- 17a) *ʔí*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-éé-dd-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM    money-ACC    save-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘He has saved money.’
- b) *ʔí*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-í-béé-nn-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM    money-ACC    save-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘He has not saved money.’

The above data shows that there is an interaction between an aspect and a negation marker. The interaction is displayed in terms of change of a number, person, and sentence status marker in both imperfective and perfective. There is also a change of aspect marker in a corresponding negative construction, especially in the perfective aspect which is morphologically marked in the language. The aspect marker in the language, i.e., the perfective marker, is compatible with a negative marker as they co-occur even though it is substituted by other markers in negative perfective construction. The following table gives

the imperfective and perfective paradigm in negative and questions for all persons to give a general overview.

**Table-21: Imperfective and Perfective Markers**

Person			<i>Affirmative</i>	<i>Negative</i>
	<i>Affirmative</i>	<i>Negative</i>	<i>Interrogative</i>	<i>Interrogative</i>
Imperfective				
1SG	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-í-kk-e</i>	<i>-áítá</i>	<i>-í-kk-ítá</i>
2SG	<i>-aa</i>	<i>-á-kk-a</i>	<i>-áí</i>	<i>-í-kk-íí</i>
3SG.F	<i>-au</i>	<i>-ú-kk-u</i>	<i>-áí</i>	<i>-é-kk-éé</i>
3SG.M	<i>-ee</i>	<i>-é-nn-a</i>	<i>-íí</i>	<i>-é-nn-éé</i>
1PL	<i>-éétto</i>	<i>-ó-kk-o</i>	<i>-ééttó</i>	<i>-ó-kk-óó</i>
2PL	<i>-ííta</i>	<i>-é-kk-ita</i>	<i>-ííte</i>	<i>-í-kk-íté</i>
3PL	<i>-ííno</i>	<i>-ó-kk-ino</i>	<i>-íínó</i>	<i>-í-kk-ínó</i>
Perfective				
1SG	<i>-áá-dd-i</i>	<i>-á-béí-kk-e</i>	<i>-áá-dd-ítáá</i>	<i>-á-beí-kk-íta</i>
2SG	<i>-áá-dd-a</i>	<i>-á-béí-kk-a</i>	<i>-áá-dd-í</i>	<i>-á-beí-kk-í</i>
3SG.F	<i>-áá-dd-u</i>	<i>-á-béí-kk-u</i>	<i>-áá-dd-é</i>	<i>-á-beí-kk-éé</i>
3SG.M	<i>-éé-dd-a</i>	<i>-í-béé-nn-a</i>	<i>-éé-dd-é</i>	<i>-í-béé-nn-éé</i>
1PL	<i>-éé-dd-o</i>	<i>-í-béí-kk-o</i>	<i>-éé-dd-ó</i>	<i>-í-beí-kk-ó</i>
2PL	<i>-éé-dd-ite</i>	<i>-í-béí-kk-ita</i>	<i>-éé-dd-íté</i>	<i>-í-beí-kk-íté</i>
3PL	<i>-éé-dd-ino</i>	<i>-í-béí-kk-ino</i>	<i>-éé-dd-ínó</i>	<i>-í-beí-kk-ínó</i>

### 3.3. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is a process whereby elements of a sentence that are predictable from a context are omitted. Antecedent substitution and ellipsis have a certain likeness in point that both help to repeating of words (Quirk et al, 1985: 82). Ellipsis in Dawurotsuwa can be formed by attaching morpheme *-kka* to the pronouns or nominal by omitting all other elements in the antecedent clause as in (27&28) below where Aelbrecht & Harwood (2018: 1) name such ellipsis as ‘predicate ellipsis’ in which the main predicate is omitted. For

instance, the bracketed verb phrase is omitted in (24b), and this omission is represented by suffixing this morpheme to the pronoun.

In each of these examples, there are two clauses. The first clauses both in (18a & 19a) are complete, free-standing clauses that can occur in isolations. The second clauses (18b & 19b) are deficient in some way where there are some elements missing (notably a predicate and a compliment). Still, the meanings derived from them are not deficient in any way - the word *táání-kka* gives the meaning *táání-kka laas'aa m-ááddi*. This is an example of ellipsis in Dawurotsuwa, in which meaning is recovered from silence via identity with some antecedent clause in the case of (18), this antecedent is *gújjí laas'aa méédá*.

When the sentence is an affirmative as in (18a) and the ellipsis is negative as in (18c), the ellipsis part consists of the noun or pronoun and a verb that carries the negative marker -*kk-*. Otherwise, the ellipsis consists of the subject and -*kka* as in (18b). The reverse is also true i.e., when the sentence is negative as in (19a), for sharing the same situation the ellipsis is *táání-kka* 'I too' as in (23b) and for contrasting it becomes *tá mááddi* 'I have eaten' as in (19c) below:

18a)        *gújj-í*                    [*laas'a-a*        *m-éé-dd-a*]  
               Gujj-NOM            lunch-ACC        eat-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
               'Gujja has eaten lunch.'

b)            *táání-kka*  
               1SG.NOM-too  
               'I do too.'

c)            *táání*                    *m-á-béi-kk-e*  
               1SG.NOM            eat-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
               'I have not eaten.'

- 19a) *gújj-í*                      *laas 'a-a*                      *m-í-béé-nn-a*  
 Gujj-NOM                      lunch-ACC                      eat-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Gujja has not eaten the lunch.’
- b)                      *táání-kka*  
 1SG.NOM-too  
 ‘Neither have I.’
- c)                      *táání*                      *m-áá-dd-i*  
 1SG.NOM                      eat-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I have eaten.’

Here what is interesting is that ellipsis both in (18b & 19b) are suffixed with the same morpheme *-kka*, which serves for both affirmative and negative ellipsis. Is it because of the differences in antecedent clause or more justification can be proposed?

### 3.4. Negative Single word Reply

Dawurotsuwa is one of the languages which use a one-word negative reply. One word reply is a negative form in Dawurotsuwa which corresponds to English *no* which Kahrel (1966: 10) labels *term negation*. It is a one-word reply to a polar question or a statement. It stands by itself as a complete expression and is syntactically independent of the rest of the sentence. It is not inflected with any item and does not necessarily need other words or clauses to appear in the sentence. For example, in (20b&21b) *cíí* ‘no’ even though very rare in Dawurotsuwa, is inherently negative, most of the time replaced with *gíd-enna* ‘no’ which is auxiliary suffixed with negative morpheme *-nn-*. This negative reply has a positive form as in (20c&21c). These morphemes are frequently employed in metalinguistic negation which Martins (2020: 1) explains as the negation which negates how a proposition is asserted rather than its content.

- 20a) *néení*                    *bíra-a*                                    *dem-áá-dd- íí*  
 2SG.NOM                    money-ACC                                    find-2SG-PFV-Q:2SG  
 ‘Have you found the money?’
- b) *gíd-énna!/cíí*    [*tááníhé-w-a*                                    *démm-á-béí-kk-e*]  
 become-not    1SG.NOM that-NMN-ACC                                    find-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘No (I have not got that money)’
- c) *ʔee!*                    *táání*                    *hé-w-a*                                    *demm-áá-dd-i*  
 yes                    1SG.NOM                    that-NMN-ACC                                    find-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘Yes!’ (I have got it)
- 21a) *néén- í*                    *bíra-a*                    *demm-áná*                                    *danday-á-béí-kk-íí*  
 2SG-NOM                    money-ACC                    find-SBJV                                    can-2SG-PFV-NEG-2SG  
 ‘Have you not found the money?’
- b) *gíd-énna!/cíí*    [*táání*                    *hé-w-a*                                    *demm-áá-dd-i*]  
 become-not                    1SG.NOM                    that-NMN-ACC                                    find-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG]  
 ‘No (I have got it).’
- c) *ʔee!*    [*táání*                    *hé-w-a*                                    *demm-á-béí-kk-e*]  
 yes!    1SG.NOM                    that-NMN-ACC                                    find-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘Neither do I!’ (I have not got it)

Dawurotsuwa is a language in which a negative reply disagrees with the positive polarity question as in (29a); thus a negative reply to a positive polar question as in (20a) would be [*tá hé-w-a darí demm-á-béí-kk-e*] ‘I have not got it’ as in (20b), but the positive reply to a negative polar question, as in (21b) [*táání hé-w-aa demm-áá-dd-i*] ‘I have got it’ can be answered using *gíd-énna!/cíí*. While Dawurotsuwa belongs to languages of the

‘yes/no’ system, *ʔee* ‘yes’ can be constructed with both negative and positive forms unlike the languages of its category.

### 3.5. Double Negation within a Clause

Swart calls the phenomenon where two negation markers, one of which usually occurs in a preverbal position, and the other one in a postverbal position, *discontinuous negation* because there is only one negation in the semantics. When there are two negative marking elements that occur separately being interrupted by a linguistic item, it is double structurally but carries one meaning (Swart, 2020: 2).

In this section, the term *double negation* is not used in line with this Swart’s description. Dawurotsuwa does not employ double negative markers for a sentential negation. Two negative marking elements are not found in a single sentence. As we have seen above, the affirmative main verb clause is negated by using a single negative morpheme *-nn-* /*-kk-*. If two negative markers are found in a single sentence, the two negative morphemes cancel each other and give an affirmative sentence.

For example, in the sentence (22a) lexically negative verb *d’ay-* ‘lack’ is attached with the negative morpheme *-kk-* where they both cancel each other and give affirmative interpretation *tá-u bira-i deʔ-ee* ‘I have money’ in (22b). If two negative morphemes *-nn-* and *-kk-* as in (22c) appear in their respective clauses, they convey their respective interpretation. The negative of one clause does not have scope over the other, so they cannot cancel one another. In (22c), (the verb *ʔer-enna-ni* is not inflected for an agreement which is the same for all people, unlike the latter *ʔak-ú-kk-u* which stands for 3SG.F. The suffix *-ni* is suffixed as converb verb *ʔer-* ‘know’ in (22c).

22a)	<i>táání</i>	<i>bira-a</i>	<i>d’ay-á-béí-kk-e</i>
	1SG.NOM	birr-ACC	lack-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG
	‘I do not lack money.’		

- b) *tá-u*                      *bira-i*                      *deʔ-ee*  
 1SG.ACC-DAT              birr-NOM              exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘I have money.’
- c) *ʔá*                      *ʔer-e-nn-a-ni*                      *yewúwa*  
 3SG.F.NOM              know-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F-CVB              something
- ʔak-ú-kk-u*  
 take-3SG.F.-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘She does not take unknowingly.’
- d) *ʔá*                      *ʔer-aaddé*                      *yewúwa*  
 3SG.F.NOM              know-CVB                      something
- ʔak-áá-dd-u*  
 take-3SG.F.-PFV-AFF: 3SG.F  
 ‘She has taken knowingly.’

It is common to find such a phenomenon in many languages where two negatives make an affirmative if both are special negatives attached to the same word (Jespersen, 1917: 52). Nevertheless, Dawurotsuwa does not allow two negatives in a single clause. If the lexicalized negative *d’ay-* ‘lack’ is suffixed with overt negative morphemes, *-kk-/nn-*, then the interpretation can be an affirmative as in (22a). These kinds of lexicalized negative verbs carry covert negative meanings. When these covert negative verbs take a complement, they carry the meanings that negates the meaning (process/action) of the complement clauses. Jespersen (1917) calls this type of negation *paratactic* negation.

### 3.6. Strengthening of Negatives

The negation is supported with an additional element to place more effect on it or make it more visible. One of the elements is expressions of the minimum amount such as never, frequent adverbial like not at all, not a bit, and repeated intensifiers. These expressions strengthen negation (Jespersen, 1917: 14).

The following examples (22-25) show how negatives are strengthened in Dawurotsuwa. In example (22), *ɖubbá* (literally ‘all’) is used to strengthen the negative; in (23), *ɖubbá* is repeated to do the strengthening. In (24), *ɖittúá-nne/-kka* ‘not (even) one’ gives heightening alternatives, and in (25) idiomatic expression *ged-ía-kka šodd-* ‘lit. to take off a foot or raise foot: the very first step that is taken in starting walking’ is giving the emphasis (25).

22) *táání*            *ɖa*            *ɖubbá* *ɖer-í-kk-e*  
 1SG.NOM    3SG.M.ACC    all        know-1SG-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I never know him.’

23) *táání*            *ɖa*            *ɖubbá* *ɖubbá* *ɖer-í-kk-e*  
 1SG.NOM    3SG.M.ACC    all        all        know-1SG-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I never know him.’

24) *táání*            *ɖittúá-nne/-kka* *ɖer-í-kk-e*  
 1SG.NOM    one-SFS            know-1SG-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I do not know even one.’

25) *gedia-kka*        *Šodd-í-kk-e*  
 leg-SFS        raise-1SG-NEG-1SG  
 ‘To mean I will go nowhere.’

A negative statement can also be emphasized by repeating the verb that carries the negative and agreement marker as in (26a) or by attaching the morpheme *-ttenne* as in (26b).

This morpheme is not limited to only negative statements; instead, it also emphasizes affirmative sentences.

26a) *núúní*            *c'órá-baa*    *ʔer-ó-kk-o*  
 1PL.NOM        many-PROP    know-1PL-NEG-1PL

*ʔer-ó-kk-o*

know-1PL-NEG-1PL

‘We do not know many things, do not know, do not know’

b) *núúní*            *c'órá-baa*        *ʔer-ó-kk-ó-ttenne*  
 2PL.NOM        many-PROP        know-1PL-NEG-1PL-EMP

‘We do not know many things.’

The special negative marker which is mentioned above can be strengthened by just repeating it: *gídenna, gídenna* ‘no, no’, or *cii, cii* ‘no, no’. In addition, the above intensifying morpheme *-ttenne* is used in both affirmatives and negatives, which Martins (2020: 6) calls ‘Emphatic affirmation’ and ‘Emphatic negation’. There are also indefinite expressions that are drawn from a relatively small stock of items with a characteristic range of meanings that intensifies the negation. These strengthen the force of negation quantitatively by making it stricter. Emphasized indefinite words that express a very insignificant amount most of the time exist in the negation, which is emphasized. Horn (2001: 400) calls them either a minimizer or a generalizer. This minimal amount of expression can be nominal or adverbial in form.

### 3.7. Lexicalized Negatives

We have been discussing negative markers in a phrase or a sentence. These negative markers have the quality of producing plenty of structures instead of being restricted to a single phrase or clause. In addition to this, negation can also be expressed by lexically

negative expressions (Miestamo, 2017: 424). In lexicalized negatives, the negation meaning is incorporated in the lexical items such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Zeshan (2013: 560) calls these classes ‘irregular negatives’ where negation is expressed by other than negative markers which are used in the declarative verbal main clauses, i.e, *-nn-/-kk-* in Dawurotsuwa. Look at example (27) where (a) has standard negation marker *-nn-* which is attached to the existential predicate *deʔ-* ‘exist’, whereas (27b) has lexical negative *baawa* ‘not exist’. The lexical negative serves all persons; an example is given 3SG.M.NOM.

27a)	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>soo-ni</i>	<i>deʔ-é-nn-a</i>
	3SG.M.NOM	home-LOC	exist-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M
	‘He is not at home.’		
b)	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>soo-ni</i>	<i>baawa</i>
	3SG.M.NOM	home-LOC	not_exist
	‘He is not at home.’		

### 3.8. Implicit Negation

We do not always see negative markers overtly; it can be ‘implicit or pragmatic’. It can be expressed by bringing linguistic and prosodic devices together, such as tone, accent, etc. In addition, body movement and discourse meaning are also additional strategies for linguistic items to express negation. Sarcastic use of language is also used to express negation implicitly (Joshi, 2020: 4). Jespersen (1917: 23) uses the term ‘indirect negation’ for describing those negations which are not directly marked by a standard negative marker or lexical negatives. This is when an affirmative question serves as a negative reply. For example, for the question (28a), a person can reply by asking a positive question *ne ʔiṣ-aa táání naag-áítá* as in (28b) to transfer negative meaning which is equivalent to *ne ʔiṣ-aa táání beʔ-á-béi-kk-íta* as in (28c). There is no visible negative operator but it transfers a negative interpretation covertly.

- 28a) *táání*      *ʔiŠa-a*      *baʔ-áá-dd-í*  
 1SG.POSS    brother-ACC    see-2SG-PFV-Q:2SG  
 ‘Have you seen my brother?’
- b) *ne*      *ʔiŠa-a*      *táání*      *naag-á-íta*  
 2SG.POSS    brother-ACC    1SG.NOM    keep-1SG.IPFV-Q:1SG  
 ‘Do I keep your brother?’
- c) *ne*      *ʔiŠa-a*      *táání*      *beʔ-á-béi-kk-íta*  
 2SG.POSS    brother-ACC    1SG      see-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I have not kept your brother.’

Jespersen (1917: 23) states, “Inversely a negative question means positive assertion”. The example in (29a) is the negative question though it asserts that *ʔi ʔeeyya* ‘he is a fool’ as in (29b) which is its equivalent. The question is not asked to get a confirmation of whether the person is a fool or not. Instead, the speaker asserts that the person is a fool by asking the negative question.

- 29a) *ʔi*      *ʔééyyá*      *gíd-é-nn-éé*  
 3SG.M.NOM    fool      be-3SG.M-NEG-Q:3SG.M  
 ‘Is he not a fool?’
- b) *ʔi*      *ʔeeyya*  
 3SG.M.NOM    fool  
 ‘He is a fool’

In addition, the special questions in (30a) and (30b) below can be good examples of indirect negation in Dawurotsuwa. Instead of answering by using ordinary negative construction *ʔóóninné ʔer-é-nn-a* ‘No one knows’ as in (30b), the speaker prefers positive special question *ʔóóní ʔer-íí* ‘Who knows?’ as in (30a) to transfer the message of the ordinary negative construction of (30b). As we can see there is no negative marker in the

positive special question. Similarly, a person sitting at home finding no place to go has replied with a positive special question *hák'á b-oo* as in (30c) to tell ordinary negative construction *b-ia sooy baawa* 'no place to go' as in (30d).

- 30a) *ʔóóní ʔer-í*  
 who know-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 'Who knows?'
- b) *ʔóóní-nné ʔer-é-nn-a*  
 who-SFS know-3SG.M-NEG-3SG  
 'No one knows.'
- c) *hák'á b-óó gollí-n ʔutt-áá-dd-i*  
 where go-Q home-LOC sit-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 'Where shall I go? Just I am at home.'
- d) *b-ia soy baawa*  
 go-RELZ place not\_exist  
 'I have nowhere to go'

In addition, a person can transfer a negative imperative *kaaʔ-ooppa* 'Do not play' by saying the positive statement *ʔané kaaʔa* 'Let me see you play' which has no negative marker inside the construction. Moreover, a construction with *kééhi* 'too' can give negative meaning even while there is no negative marker in the construction as in (31a). The positive consists of *kééhi* 'too' from which the negative is implied to its equivalent in (31b).

- 31a) *ʔí núná maadd-áná-w kééhi híyyeesa*  
 3SG.M.NOM 1PL.ACC help-SBJV-PURP too poor  
 'He is too poor to help us.'
- b) *ʔí maadd-áná danddáy-é-nn-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM help-SBJV able-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 'He cannot help.'

## Chapter-4

### Negation in Non-Declaratives

This chapter discusses negation in non-declarative clauses. Zuber (1983: 67) mentions three main types of non-declarative: imperatives, exclamations, and interrogatives. Imperatives and interrogatives in Dawurotsuwa can have a clear category. Both imperative and interrogative are morphologically marked. The exclamative does not have its specific morphology; whose word order and morphological markers are identical to that of interrogatives.

#### 4.1. Negation in Interrogatives

Dawurotsuwa expresses interrogatives in two ways: polar interrogatives and content interrogatives. Both types involve inflectional ways of showing interrogation. Like affirmative statement verbs, interrogative verbs in Dawurotsuwa show affirmative and negative polarity.

Affirmative polar interrogative verbs in Dawurotsuwa can be either informative or permissive. The informative is used in order to give information about something, whereas the permissive is used to ask permission in order to do something. In simple verb stems, polar interrogative verbs have similar forms as the declarative ones but differ only in their intonational pattern and last inflectional morphemes. In the polar questions, the intonational pattern associated with the verb and even with the whole proposition is rising, which is not the case in declarative clauses.

Consider example affirmative perfective declarative in (1a) and affirmative perfective interrogative (1c) below to see the difference clearly. Their only difference is the affirmative statement marker in which they are marked by *-a* and *-éé* respectively. Similarly, the affirmative negative declarative (1b) and negative interrogative (1d) differ only by their last

affirmative statement marker which is marked by *-a* and *-ée* respectively. Even their word order is not changed. They are changed into negative interrogative by using the negative marker *-nn-* which is compatible with 3SG.M.

**Table-22: Perfective Interrogative Paradigm**

Persons	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>minjáá-dd-ítá</i>	<i>minj-á-béí-kk-ítá</i>
2SG	<i>minj-áá-dd-ítí</i>	<i>minj-á-béí-kk-ítí</i>
3SG.F	<i>minj-áá-dd-éé</i>	<i>minj-á-béí-kk-éé</i>
3SG.M	<i>minj-ée-dd-éé</i>	<i>minj-í-bée-nn-éé</i>
1PL	<i>minj-ée-dd-óó</i>	<i>minj-í-béí-kk-óó</i>
2PL	<i>minj-ée-dd-íté</i>	<i>minj-í-béí-kk-íté</i>
3PL	<i>minj-ée-dd-ínó</i>	<i>minj-í-béí-kk-ínó</i>

- 1a) *dós-í*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-ée-dd-a*  
 Dosa-NOM    money-ACC    save-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘Dosa has saved the money’
- b) *dós-í*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-í-bée-nn-a*  
 Dosa-NOM    money-ACC    save-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Dosa has not saved the money’
- c) *dós-í*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-ée-dd-éé*  
 Dosa-NOM    money-ACC    save-3SG.M-PFV-Q:3SG.M  
 ‘Has Dosa save the money?’
- d) *dós-í*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-í-bée-nn-éé*  
 Dosa-NOM    money-ACC    save-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-Q:3SG.M  
 ‘Has Dosa not saved the money?’

The following are examples of interrogative negatives for persons that are not mentioned in the example as in (1) above. The sentences (2a-8a) give interrogative affirmative perfective aspect and agreement markers for each person and number. And the

sentences (2b-8b) are the corresponding negative interrogatives. The negative morpheme *-kk-* is used for all persons in (2b-8b). The perfective marker is the same for all persons and numbers. The perfective morpheme *-dd-* in the affirmative perfective interrogative is not maintained in the corresponding negative construction which is substituted by *-béí-*.

2a) *táání*            *Šalu-a*            *minjj-áá-dd-ítá/dos-áá-dd-íí*  
 1SG.NOM        money-ACC        save-1SG-PFV-Q:1SG  
 ‘Have I saved money?’

b) *táání*            *Šalu-a*            *minjj-á-béí-kk-ítá*  
 1SG.NOM        money-ACC        save-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 ‘Have I not saved money?’

3a) *nú*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-éé-dd-óó*  
 1PL.NOM        money-ACC        save-1PL-PFV-Q:1PL  
 ‘Have we saved money?’

b) *nú*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-í-béí-kk-óó*  
 1PL.NOM        money-ACC        save-1PL-PFV-NEG-1PL  
 ‘Have we not saved money?’

4a) *né*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-áá-dd-íí*  
 2SG.NOM        money-ACC        save-2SG-PFV-Q:2SG  
 ‘Have we saved money?’

b) *né*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-á-béí-kk-íí*  
 2SG.NOM        money-ACC        save-2SG-PFV-NEG-2SG  
 ‘Have we not saved money?’

- 5a) *hínté*            *Šalu-a*            *minjj-ée-dd-íté*  
 2PL.NOM            money-ACC            save-2PL-PFV-Q:2PL  
 ‘Have you saved money?’
- b) *hínté*            *Šalu-a*            *minjj-í-béi-kk-íté*  
 2PL.NOM            money-ACC            save-2PL-PFV-NEG-2pL  
 ‘Have you not saved money?’
- 6a) *ǀí*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-ée-dd-ée*  
 3SG.M.NOM            money-ACC            save-3SG.M-PFV-Q:3SG.M  
 ‘Has he saved money?’
- b) *ǀí*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-í-bée-nn-ée*  
 3SG.M.NOM            money-ACC            save-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Has he not saved money?’
- 7a) *ǀá*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-áá-dd-ée*  
 3SG.F.NOM            money-ACC            save-3SG.F-PFV-Q:3SG.F  
 ‘Has she saved money?’
- b) *ǀá*                *Šalu-a*            *minjj-á-béi-kk-ée*  
 3SG.F.NOM            money-ACC            save-3SG.F-PFV-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘Has she not saved money?’
- 8a) *ǀúntúnttú*            *Šalu-a*            *minjj-ée-dd-ínó*  
 3PL.NOM            money-ACC            save-3PL-PFV-Q:3PL  
 ‘Have they saved money?’
- b) *ǀúntúnttú*            *Šalu-a*            *minjj-í-béi-kk-ínó*  
 3PL.NOM            money-ACC            save-3PL-PFV-NEG-3PL  
 ‘Have they not saved money?’

The following examples demonstrate negation in imperfective interrogatives. The

examples (9a-15a) are affirmative imperfective interrogative for each person and number. And Examples in (9b-15b) are the negative counterparts for each. The negative morpheme *-kk-* is used for all persons to negate the imperfective aspect, except for the 3SG.M which is negated by *-nn-*. The negative morphemes which are used here are similar to that of declarative verbal predication negation except for the difference in agreement markers and intonation.

**Table-23: Imperfective Interrogative Paradigm**

Persons	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>minj-áítá</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ítá</i>
2SG	<i>minj-ái</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-íí</i>
3SG.F	<i>minj-ái</i>	<i>minj-é-kk-éé</i>
3SG.M	<i>minj-íí</i>	<i>minj-é-nn-eé</i>
1PL	<i>minj-éétt-óó</i>	<i>minj-ó-kk-óó</i>
2PL	<i>minj-ííté</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ité</i>
3PL	<i>minj-íínó</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ínó</i>

The paradigm above shows that polar interrogatives let it be perfective or imperfective in Dawurotsuwa, have a similar negation pattern with standard negation except for the interrogative marker. The negative morpheme for both the standard and interrogative is the same. Interrogative markers are the same for both affirmatives and negatives in perfective, unlike the imperfective which shows a little variation. This shows that in this language the negative marker and interrogative marker do not interact, unlike the perfective aspect.

**Table-24: Question Negative Paradigm/Imperfective**

Persons	Declarative clause	Interrogative
1SG	<i>minj-í-kk-e</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ítá</i>
2SG	<i>minj-á-kk-a</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-íí</i>
3SG.F	<i>minj-ú-kk-u</i>	<i>minj-é-kk-éé</i>

3SG.M	<i>minj-é-nn-a</i>	<i>minj-é-nn-eé</i>
1PL	<i>minj-ó-kk-o</i>	<i>minj-ó-kk-óó</i>
2PL	<i>minj-é-kk-ita</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ité</i>
3PL	<i>minj-ó-kk-ino</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ínó</i>

**Table-25: Question Negative Paradigm/Perfective**

Persons	Declarative	Interrogative
1SG	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-e</i>	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-ítá</i>
2SG	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-a</i>	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-íí</i>
3SG.F	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-u</i>	<i>minj-á-béi-kk-éé</i>
3SG.M	<i>minj-í-béé-nn-a</i>	<i>minj-í-béé-nn-éé</i>
1PL	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-o</i>	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-óó</i>
2PL	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-ita</i>	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-ité</i>
3PL	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-ino</i>	<i>minj-í-béi-kk-ínó</i>

9a)	<i>táání</i>	<i>Šalu-a</i>	<i>minj-áítá</i>
	1SG.NOM	money-ACC	save-1SG.IPFV.Q
	‘Do I save money?’		
b)	<i>táání</i>	<i>Šalu-a</i>	<i>minj-í-kk-ítá</i>
	1SG.NOM	money-ACC	save-1SG-NEG-Q:1SG
	‘Do not I save money?’		
10a)	<i>nú</i>	<i>Šalu-a</i>	<i>minj-éétt.óó</i>
	1PL.NOM	money-ACC	save-1PL.IPFV.Q
	‘Do we save money?’		
b)	<i>nú</i>	<i>Šalu-a</i>	<i>minj-ó-kk-óó</i>
	1PL.NOM	money-ACC	save-1PL-NEG-Q:1PL
	‘Do not we save money?’		

- 11a) *né Šalu-a minj-ái*  
 2SG.NOM money-ACC save-2SG.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Do you save money?’
- b) *né Šalu-a minj-í-kk-íí*  
 2SG.NOM money-ACC save-2SG-NEG-Q:2SG  
 ‘Do not you save money?’
- 12a) *híntté Šalu-a minj-ítté*  
 2PL.NOM money-ACC save-2PL.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Do you save money?’
- b) *híntté Šalu-a minj-í-kk-ité*  
 2PL.NOM money-ACC save-2PL-NEG-Q:2PL  
 ‘Do not you save money?’
- 13a) *ǎí Šalu-a minj-íí*  
 3SG.M.NOM money-ACC save-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Does he save money?’
- b) *ǎí Šalu-a minjj-é-nn-éé*  
 3SG.M.NOM money-ACC save-3SG.M-NEG-Q:3SG.M  
 ‘Does not he save money?’
- 14a) *ǎá Šalu-a minj-ái*  
 3SG.F.NOM money-ACC save-3SG.F.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Does she save money?’
- b) *ǎá Šalu-a minj-é-kk-éé*  
 3SG.F.NOM money-ACC save-3SG.F-NEG-Q:3SG.F  
 ‘Does not she save money?’

- 15a) *ʔúntúnttú*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-ínó*  
 3PL.NOM      money-ACC save-3PL.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Do they save money?’
- b) *ʔúntúnttú*      *Šalu-a*      *minj-í-kk-ínó*  
 3PL.NOM      money-ACC save-3PL-NEG-Q:3PL  
 ‘Do not they save money?’

Content questions as in (16) also follow the same pattern of the ‘yes/no’ interrogative negation. The content question words in Dawurotsuwa are *ʔóóní* ‘who’, *ʔóóná* ‘whom’, *ʔáyáá* ‘what’, *hák’á* ‘where’, *ʔáwúdé* ‘when’. These classes of interrogative do not have a special negative form which is different from the polar interrogative. For instance, when a question begins with *ʔóóní* ‘who’, it is negated by attaching *-nn-* to the verb, as in (16b). This content question form is in accusative form the verb agrees with its subject.

The words *šalu-a* (15b) and *miišša-a* (16a) can be used for representing the meaning ‘money’. The first literally means bundle of thread or wick, which is used to generate light in oil lamps in rural areas, but it is also used for ‘money’. The second is used to represent various meanings, such as properties, instruments, or tools. For example, *oosuwa miiššaa* ‘tools for working’, *yetsaa miiššaa* ‘music instrument’, *olaa miiššaa* ‘war weapons’, *ammanuwa miiššaa* ‘religious artifacts’, and others can be described by a single word *miiššaa.*, and this same word is used for representing ‘money’.

- 16a) *ʔóón-í*      *miišša-a*      *ʔakk-í*  
 who-NOM      money-ACC      take-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Who takes the money?’
- b) *ʔóón-í*      *miišša-a*      *ʔakk-é-nn-éé*  
 who-NOM      money-ACC      take-3SG.M-NEG-Q:3SG.M

‘Who does not take the money?’

In the case of *ʔóóná* ‘whom’, the negative morpheme *-kk-* or *-nn-* is used according to the type of persons with which it appears just as standard negation.

17a) *ʔóón-á*      *ʔá*                      *dos-ái*  
who-ACC      3SG.F.NOM      love-3SG.F.Q  
‘Whom does she love?’

b) *ʔóón-á*      *ʔá*                      *dos-é-kk-ée*  
who-ACC      3SG.F.NOM      love-3SG.F-NEG-Q:3SG.F  
‘Whom does not she love?’

Similarly, when a question begins by *ʔó* ‘whose’, the negative morpheme *-kk-* is used for all persons as in (18b) except for third-person singular masculine that is marked by *-nn-*.

18a) *ʔó*              *golli-a*                      *ʔer-ái*  
whose      house-ACC      know-2SG.IPFV.Q  
‘Whose house do you know?’

b) *ʔó*              *golli-a*                      *ʔer-í-kk-íí*  
whose      house-ACC      know-2SG-NEG-Q:2SG  
‘Whose house do not you know?’

But when a verb does not exist, like (19a), the question marker is attached to the noun *met-* ‘problem’. However, the negative marker is not suffixed to the noun as in the affirmative rather an auxiliary *gid-* ‘be’ comes to carry the negative marker just as non-verbal predication.

19a) *há-w-ée*                      *ʔó*      *mét-ée*  
this-NMN-NOM      whose      problem-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
‘Whose problem is this one?’

- b)      *há-w-éé*                      *ʔó*      *mét-ó*                      *gid-é-nn-éé*  
           this-NMN-NOM      whose    problem-ACC      become-3SG.M-NEG-Q:3SG.M  
           ‘Whose problem is not this?’

## 4.2. Negation in Directives

According to Lyons (1977: 53) directives impose, or propose some course of action or pattern of behavior and indicate that it should be carried out. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994: 179) include commands, demands, requests, entreaties, and warnings, exhortations, and recommendations in directives. In this section negation in imperative, hortative, optative, and admotive in Dawurotsuwa will be discussed.

### 4.2.1. The Negative Imperatives (Prohibitive)

There are two main types of commands: those directed at the addressee or addressees, which are typically considered imperatives, making them essentially second-person imperatives. Commands directed at others are usually classified as jussives, although they may also be referred to as 'hortative' (Palmer, 2001: 179). According to Miestamo (2017: 418), imperatives are the clause types where we most commonly find negative strategies different from declarative.

In Dawurotsuwa, the imperative is negated by morpheme *-oopp-/opp-* as in the paradigm below. The long *-oo-* is for a single-segment verb like *b-* ‘go’ but it is short *-o-* as in *-opp-* for other verbs like *wots-* ‘wear’ as in (20d). This negative morpheme of the imperative is different from the declarative. Imperative in Dawurotsuwa can omit subjects; it consists of simply a predication with an imperative verb as in (20).

**Table 26: Imperative Paradigm**

Person	Affirmative	Negative
2SG	<i>b-a</i>	<i>b-oopp-a/dog-opp-a</i>
2PL	<i>b-ite</i>	<i>b-oopp-ite/dog-opp-ite</i>
2SG	<i>wots-a</i>	<i>wots-opp-a</i>

	2PL	<i>wots-ite</i>	<i>wots-opp-ite</i>
20a)	<i>goll-é</i> home-ACC	<i>b-á/dog-a</i> go-2SG.IMP/forget-2SG.IMP	
	‘Go/forget home’		
b)	<i>goll-é</i> home-ACC	<i>b-oopp-á/dog-opp-a</i> go-NEG.IMP-2SG.IMP/forget-NEG.IMP-2SG.IMP	
	‘Do not go home’/ ‘Do not forget home’		
c)	<i>c’aamm-a</i> shoes-ACC	<i>wots-á</i> wear-2SG.IMP	
	‘Wear the shoes’		
d)	<i>c’aamm-a</i> shoes-ACC	<i>wots-opp-á</i> wear-NEG.IMP-2SG.IMP	
	‘Do not wear the shoes’		

The morpheme *-opp-* negates the imperative construction in both singular and plural imperative as in (21b&c). In Dawurotsuwa, the referential subject is normally absent, and singular and plural are marked by *-á* and *-íte*, respectively, but the negative marker is still the same

21a)	<i>c’aamm-a</i> shoes-ACC	<i>wots-á</i> wear-2SG.IMP
	‘Wear the shoes’	
b)	<i>c’aamm-a</i> shoes-ACC	<i>wots-opp-á</i> wear-NEG.IMP-2SG.IMP
	‘Do not wear the shoes’	
c)	<i>c’aamm-a</i> shoes-ACC	<i>wots-opp-ite</i> wear-NEG.IMP-2PL.IMP
	‘Do not wear the shoes’	

- 22a) *gollí-a*                      *naag-íte*  
 home-ACC                      keep-2PL.IMP  
 ‘Keep the house’
- b)     *gollí-a*                      *naag-opp-íte*  
 home-ACC                      keep-NEG-2PL.IMP  
 ‘Do not keep the house’

#### 4.2.2. Negation in Optative

Optative is a wish or hope of a speaker; it represents the proposition of the speaker’s will (Palmer, 2001: 142). Optative in Dawurotsuwa is expressed by *-a* (23a&b) or *-ite* (21 c & d) for singular and plural respectively. In Dawurotsuwa, the imperative and optative are marked with similar morphemes. The intonation is also similar to that of imperative. Most of the time, the addressee is omitted as in (23). The negative morpheme which is used for negating both singular and plural blessing is the same, i.e. *-opp-* which is identical to the negation of *non-declarative*.

- 23a) *dic ‘c’-a*  
 grow up-2SG.IMP  
 ‘May you grow up!’
- b)     *dic ‘c’-opp<sup>12</sup>-a*  
 grow up-NEG-2SG.IMP  
 ‘May you not grow up!’
- c)     *dic ‘c’-ite*  
 grow-2PL.IMP  
 ‘May you grow up!’

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<sup>12</sup>The vowel before *-pp-* is long vowel after single segment stem like *b-* ‘go’ and short after others.

- d) *dic'c'-opp-ite*  
 grow-NEG-2PL.IMP  
 'May you not grow up!'

Desire in Dawurotsuwa can be formed by attaching the vowel *-o* as in (24a). The negative is formed by using the negative morpheme *-opp-* for all persons in this construction. The optative marker *-o* is also the same for all persons.

- 24a) *s'ooss-i*      *neena*      *dic'c'-o*  
 God-NOM      2SG.ACC      grow-3SG.M.OPT  
 'May God make you grow'

- b) *s'ooss-i*      *neena*      *dic'c'-opp-o*  
 God-NOM      2SG.ACC      grow-NEG-2SG.OPT  
 'May God not make you grow'

- c) *s'ooss-i*      *?á*      *dic'c'-o*  
 God-NOM      3SG.M.ACC      grow-3SG.M.OPT  
 'May God make him grow'

- d) *s'ooss-i*      *?á*      *dic'c'-opp-o*  
 God-NOM      3SG.M.ACC      grow-NEG-2SG.OPT  
 'May God not make him grow.'

When a desire or a wish occurs in a sequence, the negative marker *-opp-* is used for all the desires in the sequence as in (25b). In the following sentence (25), the person is blessed to grow up, and achieve great success, like completing college, etc. Both the first and the last verbs are attached with the second person singular optative form *-a*.

- 25a) *dic'c'-a*                      *?as-í*                      *gakk-ó*  
 grow-2SG.OPT                      person-NOM                      reach-RELZ
- saa*                                      *gakk-a*  
 place                                      reach-2SG.OPT

‘You may grow up and reach where successful people achieve’

b)     *dic 'c '-opp-a*             *ʔas-í*             *gakk-ó*  
grow-NEG-2SG.OPT    person-NOM        reach-RELZ

*saa*                             *gakk-opp-a*  
place                         reach-NEG-2SG.OPT

‘You may not grow up and reach where successful people do’

In imperative also there are sequences of imperatives as in (26a), the pre-final imperative *ʔakk-* ‘take’ is suffixed with the morpheme *-aadde*, and only the last verb *y-* (*come*) appears to be marked for an imperative. The negation of this verb preceding the final imperative verb is marked by *-nn-* which is the same for all persons, and in this case, negative morpheme *-kk-* is not used.

There is also an emphatic imperative in Dawurotsuwa which expresses a stronger command than the one made with the ordinary imperative form as in (27b). The ordinary one is expressed by *-a* and *-ite* for the second person singular and plural respectively. When the referent is not obeying the command or not properly obeying, the emphatic form is used in order to get the addressee to accomplish the order. This emphatic form is distinct from the ordinary imperative form.

This emphatic form is marked by the element *-iikkii-* and *-iikkitee* as in (27b) & (27d) for both second person singular and plural markers respectively. The element marks strong command if only the pre-vowel and post-vowel carry a low tone otherwise it marks negation of second person singular and plural interrogatives. This and ordinary imperative forms do not have a common element in their suffix. For example, the suffix for affirmative imperative as in (27a) and affirmative emphatic imperative as in (27b) are *-a* and *-iikkii* respectively for the second person singular. But both are negated by the same negative marker *-oopp-*. The number distinction is marked on the emphatic forms too. In both singular and plural cases,

the emphatic marker does not disappear when the negative morpheme appears as in (27c&e).

- 26a) *miiššá-a*      *ʔakk-ááddé*      *y-a*  
 money-ACC      take-CVB      come-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Take the money and come!’
- b) *miiššá-a*      *ʔakk-énná-n*      *y-a*  
 money-ACC      take-NEG-CVB<sup>13</sup>      come-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Come without taking the money!’
- 27a) *laatsa-a*      *m-a*  
 Lunch-ACC      eat-2SG.IMP  
 ‘Eat lunch’
- b) *laatsa-a*      *m-iikkii*  
 Lunch-ACC      eat-2SG.EMP.IMP  
 ‘Eat lunch’
- c) *laatsa-a*      *m-oopp-íkkii!*  
 Lunch-ACC      eat-NEG-2SG.EMP.IMP  
 ‘Do not eat lunch!’
- d) *laatsa-a*      *m-iikkitee!*  
 Lunch-ACC      eat-2PL.EMP.IMP  
 ‘Eat lunch!’
- d) *laatsa-a*      *m-oopp-ikkitee*  
 Lunch-ACC      eat-NEG-2PL.EMP.IMP  
 ‘Do not eat lunch!’

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<sup>13</sup>This is converb because the existence of this morpheme *-n* suggests the action happens before the coming. In Dawurotsuwa, converbs are used to express action which comes before or happens in the same time as that of main verb. It is based on this understanding that all morphemes in this work glossed as converb.

### 4.2.3. Negation in Hortative

Imperatives for the first and third person that do not directly point toward a receiver or receivers are categorized under jussives; hortative sometimes represents it (Palmer, 2001: 81,161). The following paradigm shows hortative markers for 1&3 persons in Dawurotsuwa. Their negative marker is *-pp-/-kk-* as we can see below. The vowel before this morpheme can be long for single-segment verb like *b-* ‘go’, and becomes short for verbs more than the single segment like *pilg-* ‘investigate’.

**Table-27: Hortative**

	Affirmative	Negative
1SG	<i>b-ai/ pilg-ai</i>	<i>b-ii-kk-e/ pilg-i-kk-e</i>
3SG.F	<i>b-u/ pilg-u</i>	<i>b-uu-pp-u/ pilg-u-pp-u</i>
3SG.M	<i>b-o/ pilg-o</i>	<i>b-oo-pp-o/ pilg-o-pp-o</i>
1PL	<i>b-oytte/pilg-oytte</i>	<i>b-oo-kk-o/ pilg-o-kk-o</i>
3PL	<i>b-iino/ pilg-ino</i>	<i>b-oo-pp-ino/ pilg-o-pp-ino</i>

28a)	<i>b-u</i> go- 3SG.F.HORT ‘Let her go!’	b)	<i>b-uu-pp-u</i> go-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F ‘Let her not go!’
29a)	<i>b-o</i> go-3SG.M.HORT ‘Let him go!’	b)	<i>b-oo-pp-o</i> go-3SG.M-NEG-3SG ‘Let him not go!’
30a)	<i>b-iino</i> go-3PL.HORT ‘Let them go!’	b)	<i>b-oo-pp-ino</i> go-3PL-NEG-3PL.HORT ‘Let them not go!’
31a)	<i>b-oytte</i> go-1PL.HORT ‘Let us go’	b)	<i>b-oo-kk-o</i> go-1PL-NEG-1PL ‘Let us not go’
32a)	<i>b-ai</i>	b)	<i>b-ii-kk-e</i>

go-1SG.HORT

‘Let me go’

go-1SG-NEG-1SG

‘Let me not go’

Hortative can be emphasized in Dawurotsuwa. For example in (33a), the morpheme *-eennee* is stressing the hortative. The corresponding negative in (33b) is suffixed with the negative marker *-oopp-*. Similarly, in (34a), the morpheme *-eekkee* is stressing the hortative. The corresponding negative in (34b) is suffixed with the negative marker *-oopp-*.

**Table-28: Emphatic Hortative**

	Affirmative emphatic	Negative emphatic
3SG.M	<i>m-eennee</i>	<i>m-oopp-ennee</i>
3SG.F	<i>m-eekkee</i>	<i>m-oopp-ekkee</i>
3PL	<i>m-iikkino</i>	<i>m-oopp-ikkiinoo</i>

33a) *laatsa-a m-eennee*  
 lunch-ACC eat-3SG.M.EMP.HORT  
 ‘Let him eat.’

b) *laatsa-a m-oopp-ennee*  
 lunch-ACC eat-NEG-3SG.F.EMP.HORT  
 ‘Let him not eat lunch.’

34a) *laatsa-a m-eekkee*  
 lunch-ACC eat-3SG.F.EMP.HORT  
 ‘Let her eat lunch.’

b) *laatsa-a m-oopp-ekkee*  
 lunch-ACC eat -NEG-3SG.F.EMP.HORT  
 ‘Let her not eat lunch.’

34a) *laatsa-a m-iikkino*  
 lunch-ACC eat-3PL.EMP.HORT  
 ‘Let them eat.’

- b) *laatsa-a m-oopp-ikkiinoo*  
 lunch-ACC eat-NEG-3PL.EMP.HORT  
 ‘Let them not eat lunch.’

#### 4.2.4. The Admonitive

In Dawurotsuwa, when a warning to a second person is given or a command to someone who ignored a prior command is issued, the element *-áákká* is attached to a verb root. If the construction has a pre-verb like *b-* ‘go’ as in (36), it is suffixed with converb marker *-ááddé* but does not carry admonitive marker which is attached to the final verb *ʔah-* ‘bring’ as in (36a). When it is changed into a plural *-úkkítá* in (33b), the converb marker becomes *-údí*. Since admonitive is negative by itself, it does not have a negative counterpart.

- 36a) *b-ááddé miišša-a ʔah-áákká!*  
 go-2PL.CVB money-ACC bring-2SG.NEG.ADM  
 ‘Do not you go and bring the money!’

- b) *b-údí miišša-a ʔah-úkkítá*  
 go-2PL.CVB money-ACC bring-2PL.NEG.ADM  
 ‘Do not you go and bring the money!’

#### 4.2.5. Permissive Polar Interrogative

The negative permissive interrogative is used in a situation where the speaker has already raised the case but could receive neither a positive nor a negative response. The example given in (37a) is a polar permissive interrogative. It is formed by attaching the suffix *-óó* to the verb for the first person singular. Its negative counterpart is formed by attaching *-ópp-* to the verb as in (37b) which is different from the standard negation marker but similar to a non-declarative one.

- 37a) *tá miišša-a ʔakk-óó*  
 1SG.NOM money-ACC take-1SG.JUSS.Q  
 ‘May I take the money?’

- b)        *tá*                *miššá-a*        *ʔékk-ópp-óó*  
 1SG.NOM    money-ACC    take-NEG-JUSS.Q  
 ‘May I not take the money?’

#### 4.2.6 Negation in Exclamative Sentences

In Dawurotsuwa exclamatives are most of the time formed by using content question words like *ʔáídee* ‘when’. It is also possible to form in absence of content question words. The negative element does not produce semantically negative exclamation. Portner and Zanuttini (2000: 193) state that the negative which occurs in the exclamative does not carry its lexical meaning and is termed ‘expletive negation’.

The affirmative exclamative sentence in (38a) and the corresponding negative exclamative sentence in (38b) have the same meaning. For instance, the negative marker *-nn-* in (38b) below does not change the meaning of (38a) to have the opposite meaning. The negative marker in exclamative does not play its role as it does in the above declarative and non-declarative. This means that although the negative marker appears in the sentence, the negative (38b) has the same meaning as (38a). Thus, (38b) is not the negative counterpart of the affirmative (38a). The negative marker *-nn-* is used for all persons and numbers because the verb turns into infinite. When exclamatives permit the presence of negation, its value turns out to be expletive which means the negative marker does not contribute negative meaning to the sentence (38b).

- 38a)    *táání*            *ʔó*                *béʔ-oo-de-ppé*        *ʔáíd-ee!*  
 1SG.NOM    3SG.ACC    see-RELZ-when-ABL    when-Q  
 ‘How far ago since I have seen her!’
- b)        *táání*            *ʔó*                *béʔ-énnaa-de-ppé*    *ʔáíd-ee!*  
 1SG.NOM    3SG.ACC    see-NEG-when-ABL    when-Q  
 ‘How far since I have not seen her!’

The possibility of negation is severely limited in exclamatives. It is impossible altogether with adjective wh-exclamatives (39), and generally strange with nominal wh-exclamatives (40) in Dawurotsuwa:

39a) *ʔi ʔáy-á ʔádúss-ee!*  
 3SG.M what-ACC tall-Q  
 ‘What a ll he is!’

b) \**ʔi ʔáy-á ʔaduss-á gíd-e-nn-ee!*  
 3SG.M what-ACC tall-ACC be-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
*Intended: ‘How much he is short!’*

40a) *ʔa-ú ʔáy-á goll-í deʔ-ii!*  
 3SG.M.AC what-ACC house-NOM exist-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 C-DAT  
 ‘What a house he does have!’

b) \**ʔa-ú ʔáy-á goll-í déʔ-e-nn-ee!*  
 3SG.M.AC what-ACC house-NOM exist-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 C-DAT  
*Intended: ‘He lacks any type of house!’*

Moreover, within non-wh-exclamatives the presence of negation is highly restricted as in (41b):

41a) *tá Šámm-ééddá/ó goll-ii!*  
 1SG.NOM buy- RELZ.PFV house-Q  
 ‘The house I have bought!’

b) \**tá Šámm-á-béé-nna goll-ii!*  
 1SG.NOM buy-1SG-PFV-NEG house-Q

The language marks interrogative negatives by morphemes *-nn-/-kk-*, while the permissive polar interrogative is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-ópp-*. The imperative

and optative are negated by using the morpheme *-oopp-/-opp-* which serve for both emphasized and non-emphasized imperatives. The language has a morpheme for emphasizing directives. The hortative and admontive are formed by using the negative morphemes *-pp-/-kk-* and *-áákká/ííkkítá* respectively. Exclamatives are negated by the morpheme *-nn-/-kk-* but it does not change the truth value condition. This area of study and the language, in particular, are scarcely studied areas; thus, it needs further studies.

## Chapter-5

### Non-verbal Predication Negation

As we discussed in verbal predication, negation in Dawurotsuwa is morphological, and this morphological element is suffixed to the verb along with other markers such as a person, number and sentence function markers. What will be the host for this negation marker which cannot stand by itself in non-verbal predications? Is it the identical morphemes or different morphemes from that of verbal predication negation which appear to negate non-verbal predications? These questions and related issues will be answered in this chapter.

When a predicate lacks a main verb, it is categorized under ‘non-verbal predication’. The existence of linking verbs even cannot let the construction escape from classifying under non-verbal predication. A non-verbal predicate can be defined negatively as a predicate that is not a verb (Hengeveld, 1992: 26). Veselinova (2013: 111) gives the name ‘Stative predication’ for an ascriptive, locative, existential, and possessive predication, and labels negative operator in this predication ‘Stative negator’. In many languages, it is formed by special negative operators that have different negative markers from verbal standard negation. In Dawurotsuwa, stative predication negation and standard negation have similar negative morphemes. Thus, categorizing as ‘non-declaratives’ is more appropriate than stative predication because of this similarity. We will describe this phenomenon in Dawurotsuwa.

Dawurotsuwa does not have a copula as in (1a), thus non-verbal predicate is placed side by side with the subject without any linking verb or copulas. In affirmative predicate clauses, the subject is obligatory, for instance, *k'ar-a* as in (1) is used for both 3F.SG

&3M.SG and the subject is not marked in the non-verbal predicate. However, the auxiliary *gid-* which has not occurred in the affirmative comes to exist in the negative. This auxiliary carries person, number, and sentence type markers so in this time the subject is not obligatory because it is marked in morphemes that are attached to the auxiliary. The negation of this clause is made by suffixing the negative morpheme *-nn-/-kk-* to the auxiliary *gid-* .

The chapter is organized as follows: In Section (5.1) ascriptive predication negation will be discussed. Then in Section (5.2) locative predication will be described. In Sections (5.3) and (5.4) existential and possessive predication negations will be treated respectively.

### 5.1 Ascriptive Negation

‘Ascriptive negation’ is “the strategy used in sentences with a nominal & adjectival predicate” (Veselinova, 2013:110). Hengeveld (1992:102) classifies *bare* and *relational* predication under ascriptive predication types. Examples (1a) & (2a) have neither verb nor copula in their construction, and are adjectival and nominal predicate, respectively. In these two examples, *k’ara* and *mínó gošša-nca* are used predicatively. When these two sentences are changed into negative counterparts as in (1b) & (2b), they both need copula in order to carry the negative morpheme. We find copula *gid-* ‘be’ in both (1b) & (2b) which carry negative marker *-nn-* .When person and number change, the negative markers change to compatible morphemes as in (1c), i.e., *-kk-*.

- 1a) *dalg-í*                      *k’ar-a*  
 Dalga-NOM                      intelligent-ACC  
 ‘Dalga is intelligent.’
- b) *dalg-í*                      *k’ar-a*                      *gid-é-nn-a*  
 Dalga-NOM                      intelligent-ACC      be-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Dalga is not intelligent.’

- c) *dalgít-á*            *k'ar-a*            *gid-ú-kk-u*  
 Dalgite-NOM        intelligent-ACC    be-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘Dalgite is not intelligent.’

- 2a) *ʔambóóm-í*        *mínó*        *gošša-nca*  
 Amboom-NOM    strong    farm-AG  
 ‘Ambooma is a strong farmer.’

- b) *ʔambóóm-í*        *mínó*        *gošša-nca*    *gid-é-nn-a*  
 Amboom-NOM    strong    farm-AG    be-3SG.M-NEG-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘Ambooma is not a strong farmer.’

## 5.2 Locative Predication Negation

“The negation strategy in sentences with a locative predicate and a definite subject” is termed ‘Locative negation’ (Veselinova, 2013:110). Example (3a) & (3c) is locative predication construction in Dawurotsuwa. Similarly to the above bare predicate, there is no copula or verb in the construction. The locative predicate is marked with *-n-* in both examples. When these are changed into negative construction as in (3b) & (3d), negative carrying auxiliary *gid-/deʔ-* comes into existence. In this case, there is a possibility to use *deʔ-* ‘exist’ for hosting the negative marker.

- 3a) *dálgít-á*            *gólle-n-a*  
 Dalgita-NOM    home-LOC-AFF.  
 ‘Dalgite is at home’

- b) *dálgít-á*            *gólle-n*  
 Dalgita-NOM    home-LOC

*gid-ú-kk-u/ deʔ-ú-kk-u*  
 be-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F /exist-3SG-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘Dilgite is not at home’

c) *kana-i karee-n-a*  
 dog-NOM outside-LOC-AFF.  
 ‘The dog is outside’

d) *kana-i káre-n*  
 dog-NOM outside-LOC

*gid-é-nn-a/ deʔ-é-nn-a*  
 be-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M /exist-3SG-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘The dog is not outside.’

### 5.3 Existential Predication Negation

In a lot of languages existential and locative predication form overlaps (Hengeveld, 1992: 96). Some languages might have the same negative marker for both existence and standard negation, while some might have different (Van der Auwera & Krasmoukhova, 2020: 110). This similarity is true for Dawurotsuwa but a little difference exists here. In existential predication, the locative marker *-n* is absent as in (4a), and it describes just the existence of something without linking to a certain location. There is always the verb *deʔ-* ‘exist’. Consider the following example (4a). This example expresses the existence of a person a long time ago from a reference point *now*. Its corresponding negative construction is given in (4b).

4a) *béní ʔittí wode ʔittí ʔasa-í deʔ-ee*  
 past one time one person-NOM exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘There was a person in the old days.’

b) *béní ʔittí wode ʔittí ʔasa-í deʔ-é-nn-a*  
 past one time four person-NOM exist-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘There was no person in the old days.’

## 5.4 Possessive Predication Negation

This refers to “sentences which express negated predicative possessive” (Veselinova, 2013:110). The possessive predicate clause is constructed with the dative case marker *-ú* and the verb *deʔ-* ‘exist’ as in (5a). It is also possible to form this predication in absence of this verb *deʔ-* as in (6a). When something exists for someone, then that expresses possession as in (6a). In (6a) *kúttá-ttú* exists for *ta-ú* whose corresponding negation is expressed by suffixing the negative marker *-kk-* to the verb as in (5b). The verb agrees with the possessed, i.e., *kúttá-ttú*. The lexical verb *baawa* ‘not\_exist’ in (5c) is also used to negate such construction.

- 5a) *kúttá-ttú*                      *ta-ú*                      *deʔ-úno*  
 chicken-PL.NOM      I-DAT                      exist-3PL. IPFV.AFF  
 ‘I have chickens.’
- b) *kúttá-ttú*                      *ta-ú*                      *deʔ-ó-kk-íno*  
 chicken-PL.NOM      I-DAT                      exist-3PL-NEG-3PL  
 ‘I do not have chickens.’
- c) *kúttá-ttú*                      *ta-ú*                      *baawa*  
 chicken-PL.NOM      I-DAT                      not.exist:AFF  
 ‘I do not have chickens.’
- 6a) *kúttá-ttú*                      *ta-w-a*  
 chicken-PL.NOM      1SG-NMZ-ACC  
 ‘The hens are mine.’
- b) *kúttá-ttú*                      *ta-w-a*                      *gid- ó-kk-íno*  
 chicken-PL.NOM      1SG-NMZ-ACC      be-3PL-NEG-3PL  
 ‘The hens are not mine.’

There is also possessive predicate which does not consist of the verb as in (6) above. In this example *ta-w-a* ‘mine’ is the possessive predicate. For negation of such predication,

the auxiliary *gid-* ‘be’ comes to an existence that did not exist in the corresponding affirmative in order to carry the negative marker *-kk-* as in (6b). The negative marker *-nn-* that serves for 3SG.M is attached to the copula. The following table summarizes the above discussions:

**Table-29: Stative Predication Negation Paradigm**

Types	Negative Operator	Auxiliary	Lexical	SN
Ascriptive	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>	<i>gid-</i>	-	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>
Locative	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>	<i>de?</i>	<i>baawa</i>	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>
Existential	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>	<i>de?</i>	<i>baawa</i>	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>
Possessive	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>	<i>de?-/gid-</i>	<i>baawa</i>	<i>-kk-/-nn-</i>

As we can see in the table above, Dawurotsuwa does not use special negative markers in non-verbal predication negation/stative predication negation because the negative operator in stative and SN are the same in the morphological shape. Their difference lies in the appearance of the auxiliary in the corresponding negative construction. There is also a lexical negative element in the language.

## Chapter-6

### Negation in Clause linkages

Clause linkage devices are classified into subordination and coordination (Cristofaro, 2003: 15). Miestamo (2017:422) states that a declarative verbal main clause and a subordinate clause have a dissimilar negative marker in certain languages. This difference can be a change of a verb from finite to infinite and mood.

In Dawurotsuwa, cosubordination is combining dependent clause with converbs and a main clause with a finite verb. The morpheme *-nn-* negates the clause with the converbs. Converbs, as defined by Haspelmath (1995: 3), are non-finite verbs mainly used to indicate adverbial subordination. Azeb & Dimmendaal (2006: 396), in their research focusing on African converbs, note that converbs are unable to create a clause independently, lack aspect inflection, and do not incorporate markers for illocutionary force or epistemic modality.

In cosubordination the negative marker can have scope over the dependent clauses. However, in coordination, the linked clauses are negated by suffixing the negative morphemes *-nn-/-kk-*, and the verbs are finite. The negative marker operates in its respective clause in coordination, i.e. negative in one part of a clause does not scope over a clause on another side of the coordination. On the other hand, in subordination only the negative marker *-nn-* is employed hence subordination restricts the negative marker but still, it operates in its respective clause. The negative marker and subordinate clause markers do not co-occur.

This chapter is organized as follows: In Section 6.1 negation in cosubordination will be discussed. Then in Section 6.2 coordination will be discussed. Section 6.3 describes

negation in subordination. Under subordination, adverbial clause, relative clause, complement clause, and adverse consequence clauses will be described.

### 6.1 Negation in Cosubordination

Bickel (2010: 52) calls this construction a ‘medial form’ or ‘converb construction. This construction is very common in Dawurotsuwa. When cosubordination is formed, the main clause with one main verb occurring in sentence-final position, for instance, *šamm-éé-dd-a* as in (1a) is used, preceded by dependent clauses containing finite verbs which are formally distinct from the main verb *zalʔ-íide* which is converb. This kind of preceding converb can be more than one in the language. Unlike the main verb, these converbs cannot form a sentence and do not inflect for aspect, whereas main verbs do.

Subordinate clauses and cosubordinate clauses are both dependent structurally but the clauses in the latter one have equal status in meaning, unlike the subordinate. The cosubordinate is not linked by a coordinator to show the equal status of the clauses. The example below has cosubordination construction. In Dawurotsuwa, although the imperative lies in the last clause *wots-*, it spreads to the dependent clause as can be seen from the translation. The coordinator does not exist in Dawurotsuwa as in (1).

- 1)     *ʔakk-aade*         *wots-a*  
       tak-CVB         run-2SG.IMP  
       ‘Take and run’

It should be clear that this converb verb form and dependent clause verb do not have the same form. A dependent clause, for instance, temporal clause, verb is relativized by using a morpheme which is different from converb marker in the language. They are both different in form but both take the same negative morpheme. In addition, the subordinate verb inflects for aspect but the converb does not.

**Table-30: Short and Long Converbs**

Person	Short	long
1SG	-a	-aade
2SG	-a	-aade
3SG.F	-a	-aade
3SG.M	-i	-iide
1PL	-i	-iide
2PL	-i	-iide
3PL	-i	-iide

Consider examples of corresponding negative construction in (2b). Dawurotsuwa converb constructions do not constrain the scope of negation, and sentences like (2b) can be understood with either disjunct or conjunct scope as in (1b<sub>i</sub> or 1b<sub>ii</sub>). The converb can be positive as in the *first gloss (i)* in (2b) keeping only the main verb negative or the converb can be negative without attaching the negative morpheme as in the *second gloss (ii)* in (2b). This shows that in cosubordination construction the main verb clause negative marker can have scope over the converb clause. This section can be based on context. The other thing which is bought should be mentioned after the main clause to determine either one easily. It is difficult to determine structurally but easy in a conversation. There is also an alternative way of making negative construction as in (2c) which is not in cosubordination construction. In (2c) dependent converb clause is negated. It is possible to attach the negative marker directly to auxiliary *gid*-‘be’ which appears to carry the negative marker *-nn-* as in (2c). It is a constituent negation pattern in this form.

2a) *ʔótoor-ó k’aší-a zalʔ-íídé kuttó marattó*  
 Otoro-NOM Share-ACC sell-CVB hen chick

*šamm-ée-dd-a*

buy-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘Having sold share Otoro bought a chick.’

- b)    ʔótoor-ó       k’aší-a       zalʔ-íídé    kuttó    marattó  
Otoro-NOM   share-ACC   sell-CVB   hen     chick

*šamm-í-béé-nn-a*

buy-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M

*i.* ‘Having sold his share Otoro did not buy a chick.’ (Other) Or

*ii.* ‘Otoro did not sell his share and did not buy a chick’

- c)    ʔótoor-ó       k’aší-a       zalʔ-íídé    gid-é-nn-á  
Otoro-NOM   share-ACC   sell-CVB   be-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

*kuttó marattó*

hen   chick

*šamm-éédda-w-e*

buy-RELZ.PFV-NMN-NOM

‘It is not having sold his share that Otoro did buy a chick.’

## 6.2 Negation in Coordination

When two or so items with equal status are united to form a more wide string, it is named ‘coordination’. The combined elements are in an equal status where there is no subordination. There is a connection in meaning between the combined items. The partisans in the combinations can be words or more than words (Haspelmath, 2007:1). The following examples are conjunctive and adversative which are coordinated by *-nne* ‘and’ (3a), *Šin* ‘but’ (3b) respectively. These show that Dawurotsuwa is categorized under *syndetic* coordination, i.e., it uses an overt linking device. And the coordinators follow the second coordinand.

In Dawurotsuwa, coordinated structures have equal rank; and they are coordinated by morpheme *-nne*. Both main verbs are finite, being inflected for number, person, aspect, and sentence type, and negated by *-kk-/-nn-*. In contrast, infinite uses the negative marker *-nn-* for all persons and numbers without showing inflections for number, person, aspect, or sentence

type. In the corresponding negative coordination (3b), the verb does not lose its finiteness and inflect for number, person, aspect, and sentence type. Here negative marker is local and operates in its own clause, unlike the above cosubordination. Similarly, in (3c), the negative marker *-kk-* is local. The negative marker *-nn-* is suffixed to both coordinated main verbs. In this case, it is similar to that of standard negation which we discussed in the previous chapter.

- 3a) *dáán-í*                      *m-éé-dd-á-nné*                      *ʔuš-éé-dd-a*  
 Daana-NOM            eat-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M-and drink-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘Dana ate and drank’
- b) *dáán-í*                      *m-í-béé-nn-á-nné*                      *ʔuš-í-béé-nn-a*  
 Daana-NOM            eat-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M-and drink-3SG-PFV-NEG-3SG  
 ‘Dana did not eat and did not drink’
- c) *ʔá*            *ʔáš-óm-úú-kk-u-šín*                      *dos-au*  
 3SG.F    meat-ACC eat-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F-but            like-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘She does not eat meat but she likes it’

In (3b) above, each negative sentence can stand alone as independent grammatical utterances, and they are each specified independently for their illocutionary force. Both are declarative. In each case, the locus of negation is the main clause and the scope of negation is local to the clause in which it is found. For instance, the scope of negation in the first clause in (1c) does not (and cannot) extend to the second clause. That means in both clauses the negative marker should be placed.

Coordination of verb phrases can also be achieved with the disjunctive coordinator *woykko* ‘or’. In example (4) below, the two affirmative coordinands are considered to be mutually exclusive. However, when clauses coordinated by *woykko* are in the scope of negation, *woykko* has a conjunctive function, such that both coordinands are considered

separately. One negative marker cannot scope over the second clause so in Dawurotsuwa both clauses are marked with a negation marker as in (4).

- 4)     *anjór-á*             *saaní-a*             *meeç'c'-á-béí-kk-u*  
 Anjore-NOM     plate-ACC     wash-3SG.F-PFV-NEG-3SG.F
- woykko*     *gollí-a*                     *pit-á-béí-kk-u*  
 or             house-ACC                     clean-3SG.F-PFV-NEG-3SG.F
- ‘Anjore has not washed the plates or cleaned the house.’

In emphatic coordinate, the coordinator disappears, and emphasizing elements *-kka* are attached as in (5b). It is suffixed to both coordinands.

- 5a)     *dálgít-á-nné*             *dálg-í*             *y-éé-dd-ino*  
 Dalgita-NOM-and     Dalga-NOM     come-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL
- ‘Dalgite and Dalga have come’
- b)     *dálgít-á-kka*                     *dálg-í-kka*  
 Dalgita-NOM-and.EMP     Dalga-NOM-and.EMP
- y-í-béí-kk-ino*  
 come-3PL-PFV-NEG-3PL
- ‘Both Dalgite and Dalga have not come.’

Haspelmath (2007:17) states that in some languages scalar focus marker which has the meaning of ‘not even’ or ‘neither’ can be expressed by using the element of emphatic coordination. Dawurotsuwa also uses the emphatic coordinator *-kka* for expressing scalar focus items. This will be discussed in Chapter 8.2

### 6.3. Negation in Subordination

Many languages do not use the same negative markers for the main clauses and subordinate clauses. Yoruba uses *kò* for main clause negation and *mà* for subordinate clause negation (Payne, 1985: 240). In subordination, there is a dependency of sentences on each other. The completeness of one sentence depends on the other. Hence, there are dependent and independent clauses. The subordinate clauses may serve as complements or relative clauses or adverbial clauses (Thompson, Longacre, & Hwang, 2007: 237-238). Dependency is manifested in presence of a specific conjunction, reduction of a morphosyntact such as removing tense, aspect, mood, or agreement markers from the verb in dependent clause (Cristofaro, 2003: 15).

Subordination in Dawurotsuwa is constructed using grammatical morpheme with lexical meaning such as *wodé* ‘time’ as in (6a). This subordinating morpheme occurs after the clause at the end. This is not enough for subordinate clauses; the verb has also a subordinate verb pattern. The verb is suffixed either with imperfective or perfective subordinator *-ía* and *-ééddá*. Look at the following paradigm.

**Table-31: Relativizers**

Persons	Relativizer (Imperfective)	Relativizer (Perfective)
1SG	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>
2SG	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>
3SG.F	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>
3SG.M	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>
1PL	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>
2PL	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>
3PL	<i>m-ia</i>	<i>m-ééddá</i>

In Dawurotsuwa, subordinate structures, the main and dependent clause can be independently negated, but the scope of negation is restricted to the clause in which it is marked. When the main clause is negated, the dependent clause may not, whereas the

opposite situation can hold in which the subordinate clause is negated and the main clause is affirmative.

### 6.3.1 Negation in Adverbial Clause

#### 6.3.1.1 Temporal Clause

Consider Dawurotsuwa time adverbial clause example in (6a) inside the bracket. It has the time clause marker *wodé* ‘time’ at the end of the dependent clause. In addition, the verb in this clause is suffixed with imperfective relativizer *-ía*. The verb is infinite in this adverbial time clause.

The corresponding negative adverbial clause is given in (6b) in the bracket. In this clause, the negative construction is formed by suffixing *-éénná* along with negative operator *-nn-*. The different thing here is that only this negative morpheme is used for all persons and numbers unlike the standard negation. As it is mentioned in standard negation, the morpheme *-nn-* is employed for only 3SGM and *-kk-* for all the remaining persons. But here as in (6c), if we try to use negative marker *-kk-*, then would be ungrammatical as in (6c). It is this negative marker which should have been used with 1SG according to our discussion in Chapter-3. Hence, Dawurotsuwa dependent clause restricts negative operator. It restricts one negative marker from being used in dependent clause as in (6c). The verb also remains infinite in negative counterpart as in (6b), but the relativity marker disappears when the negative marker is attached. This shows that negative marker and relativizer do not occur together.

6a) [táání      k'úma-a      m-ía                      wodé]      darí  
 1SG.NOM    food-ACC    eat-RELZ.IPFV    when      much

haatsa-a      ʔuš-ai  
 water-ACC    drink-1SG.IPFV.AFF

‘When I eat food, I drink much water.’

- b) [táání k'úma-a m-éénná wodé] dari  
 1SG.NOM food-ACC eat-NEG when much

haatsa-a ʔuš-ai  
 water-ACC drink-1SG.IPFV.AFF

‘When I do not eat food, I drink much water’

- c) \*[tááník'úma-a m-íkkita wodé]  
 1SG.NOM food-ACC eat-NEG when

*Intended: ‘When I do not eat food’*

Regarding the locus of the negative operator, in Dawurotsuwa all linked clauses can carry a negative marker. The possibility of the scope of the negative operator in linked clauses can be dependent clause alone, or both dependent and independent clause, or independent clause alone.

### 6.3.2 Negation in Relative Clauses

Dawurotsuwa relative clauses can be easily identified by their suffixes *-ía* which are attached to the verb in the relative clause. It is also known that Dawurotsuwa is head-final language that the modified comes at the end of a string as *worai* ‘forest’ which is being modified as in (7a). There are no separate relative pronouns like time adverbial clause. The verb is infinite. Subjective relative clause [kásé deʔ-ía] as in (7a) can be identified by its morphological unit *-ía*.

When this relative clause is changed into a negative counterpart, it is suffixed with morpheme *-énná* along with negative operator *-nn-* which serves for all persons and numbers. The verb is still infinite in the negative, and the relative clause restricts the negative marker,

i.e., it allows only negative marker *-nn-*. The negative marker only operates in its local dependent clause. As we can see in (7b), the relativizer morpheme *-ía* disappears in the corresponding negative. This shows that the relativizer of the relative clause and negative marker in this clause do not co-occur in Dawurotsuwa.

7a) [kásé deʔ-ía] woggá wora-i  
 before exist-RELZ big forest-NOM

wur-ee

decrease-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘The big forest that existed before became extinct.’

b) kásé deʔ-énná woggá wora-i deʔ-ee  
 before exist-NEG big forest-NOM exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘The big forest which did not exist before now exists.’

When the relative clause is perfective, the same negative morpheme *-nn-* is used for negation for all persons and numbers as in (8a). The morpheme *-éé-dd-a* is attached to the verb *c’aan-* which is found inside relative clause for perfective relative construction as in (8a). This perfective relative clause is also negated by *-nn-* as in (8b). The perfective marker *-dd-* is substituted by *-béí-* in the corresponding negative construction as in (8b).

8a) [ʔá maakíná-n c’aan-étt-í-béí-nn-á  
 1SG.F.NOM car-LOC load-PASS-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M

miiššá-á] dog-áá-dd-u

property-ACC forget-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F

‘She has forgotten the property which has been not loaded the car’

b) [ʔá                    maakína-n    c'aan-étt-ééddá  
 1SG.F.NOM    car-LOC    load-PASS-RELZ.PFV

*miiššá-á]*        *dog-á-beí-kk-u*  
 property-ACC    forget-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F

‘She has not forgotten the property which has been loaded the car.’

Dawurotsuwa does not use distinct markers for subject and object relative clause form. As we can see in the examples (9a&b) both are relativized by the same *-ía*. Likewise, the perfectives are also marked with *-ééddá* (9c&d).

9a) [ʔisára-n        deʔ-ía            genn-í]        góššá-nca  
 Isara-LOC    exist-RELZ    Genn-NOM    farmer-AG.AFF

‘Genna who lives in Isra is a farmer’

b) [ʔittí    baattála            g-ía            naʔá-í]        deʔ-ee  
 one    Baattal-ACC    say-RELZ    child-NOM    exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘There is a child who is called Baattala.’

c) [ʔúntúnttú        m-ééddá]            k'umá-í        malʔ-ee  
 3PL.NOM    eat-RELZ.PFV    food-NOM    delicious-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘The food they have eaten is delicious.’

d) [*maakína-a    togg-ééddá]*        ʔasa-a  
 car-ACC        load-RELZ.PFV    person-ACC

*ʔi*                    *ʔer-ee*  
 3SG.M.NOM    know-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He knows persons who have got into the car.’

The perfective and imperfective pattern does not affect the operation of the negative marker. In both aspects, the negative marker *-nn-* is used for negating the clauses in dependent clauses. The independent clause follows the negation of the standard clause pattern.

### 6.3.3 Negation in Complementation

The complement clause serves as an argument of a predicate. It does not mean that all subordinate forms are arguments because they may or may not be an argument (Noonan, 2007: 52-53). Dawurotsuwa marks complement clause with *-w* (11), *-w-*(12), *-dan* (13), and *-ento* (10 & 14). It should be noted that *-w*, *-w-*, and *-dan* can be used for the dative cases when attached to nouns, nominalizer, and purpose markers/comparing respectively. Thus, it does not mean that the usage in complementation is exclusive.

Example (10a) is constructed with a complement clause in the bracket. The complementizer *-ento* is similar to that of the relative clause. For changing this complement clause into negative as in (10b), the negative morpheme marker *-énnáá* is used for all persons. Hence the complement clause also restricts using negative markers.

- 10a) *táání*            [*néení*            *ʔái*    *nabbab-íá-ento*]  
 1SG.NOM    2SG.NOM    what    read-RELZ-COMP

*ʔer-ai*  
 know-1SG.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘I know what you read.’

- b) *táání*            [*néení*            *ʔái*            *nabbab-énnáá-ento*]  
 1SG.NOM        2SG.NOM        what            read-NEG-COMP

*ʔer-í-kk-e*  
 know-1SG-NEG-1SG

‘I do not know what you are not reading.’

- 11a) *ʔá* [doz-aa naag-ana-w]  
3SG.F.NOM plant-ACC keep-SBJV-COMP

*k'aal-aa gel-áá-dd-u*  
word-ACC enter-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F

‘She has promised to keep plant’

- b) *ʔá* [doza-a naag-e-nn-a-g-a-w]  
3SG.F.NOM plant-ACC keep-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F-NMN-ACC-COMP

*k'aala-a gel-áá-dd-u*  
word-ACC enter-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F

‘She has promised not to keep plant’

- 12a) *ʔá* [ʔi šalu-a]  
3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.NOM money-ACC

*wuk'-ee-dd-a-w-a]* *ʔer-au*  
steal- 3SG.M.-PFV-RELZ:3SG.M- NMN-ACC know-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She knows that he has stolen the money’

- b) *ʔá* [ʔi šalu-a]  
3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.NOM money-ACC

*wuk'- i-bee-nn-a<sup>14</sup>-g-a]* *ʔer-au*  
steal-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M-NMN-ACC know-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She knows that he has not stolen the money.’

---

<sup>14</sup>This verb is infinite and the negative morpheme -nn- serves for all persons in this form



15a) *ʔasa-i nuuna kaall-i ʔoots-anaa-dan*  
 person-NOM 1SG.PL.ACC follow-CVB work-SBJV-PURP

*mitsa-a tokk-oytte*

tree-ACC plant-1PL. IPFV.AFF

‘We plant tree in order to make people plant tree following us’

b) *ʔasa-i nuuna kaall-i*  
 person-NOM 1SG.PL.ACC follow-CVB

*ʔoots-e-nn-aa-dan*

*mitsa-a tokk-oytte*

work-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M -PURP tree-ACC plant-2PL. IPFV.AFF

‘We plant tree in order to make people not plant tree following us’

c) *ʔi wonti Dawuro gakk-an-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM tomorrow Dawuro arrive-FUT-AFF:3SG.M

‘He will arrive at Dawuro tomorrow’

d) *ʔi wonti Dawuro gakk-e-nn-a*  
 3SG.M.NOM tomorrow Dawuro arrive-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘He will not arrive at Dawuro tomorrow’

16a *hari-a toga-w goʔ-ett-etto*  
 donkey-ACC ride-PURP use-PASS-1PL.IPFV.AFF

‘We use donkey for riding.’

b) *nú hari-a goʔ-ett-ia toga-w gide-e-nn-a*  
 1PL.NOM donkey-ACC use-PASS- ride-PURP be-3.SG.M-NEG-3.SG.M  
 RELZ

‘We use donkey not for riding.’

- c) *nú hari-a toga-w goʔ-ett-ó-*kk*-òò*  
 1PL.NOM donkey-ACC ride-PURP use-PASS-1PL-NEG-1PL  
 ‘We do not use donkey for riding.’

### 6.3.5 Adverse Consequence Clauses

In Dawurotsuwa, as in (17a), adverse consequence clauses require the use of a negative morpheme *-énnáá* for all persons and numbers. The subjunctive marker *-ánáá* as in (17b) does not appear in negative construction. These clauses are expressed through the use of the purposive ‘postposition’ *-dán* preceded by the negative marker *-énnáá-* as in (17a). The locus of negation is local and the scope of negation in this construction is conjunct.

- 17a) *káysó-í miišša-a wúúk'k'-énnáá-dán*  
 thief-NOM money-ACC steal-SBJV.NEG-PURP  
  
*k'ott-áá-dd-i*  
 hide-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG  
 ‘I have hid the money that the thief shouldn’t steal’

- b) *káysó-í miišša-a wúk'k'q-ánáá-dán*  
 thief-NOM money-ACC steal-SBJV-PURP  
 ‘so that the thief should steal.’

The following table summarizes the negative markers in a clause linkage. Dawurotsuwa uses morpheme *-énná-* only for negation in dependent clauses for all persons. We remember that this morpheme stands for 3SG.M according to our previous discussion. The negative marker *-kk-* is not used here unless the verb is finite. The dependent verb is infinite. The coordination follows the standard negation operator.

**Table-32: Clause Linkage Negative Markers**

	Negativ Marker	Main Verb Form	Dependent Verb Form
Cosubordination	<i>-nn-</i>	Finite	Infinite

Coordination	<i>-nn/-kk-</i>	Finite	-
Adverbial clause	<i>-nn-</i>	Finite	Infinite
Relative clause	<i>-nn-</i>	Finite	Infinite
Complementation	<i>-nn-</i>	Finite	Infinite
Purpose	<i>-nn-</i>	Finite	Infinite
Adverse consequence	<i>-nn-</i>	Finite	Infinite

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## Chapter -7

### Modality and Negation

The use of the terms mood and modality is not the same among scholars, and different writers have different approaches to mood and modality (Ziegeler, 2006: 259). There is by no means uniformity or an agreement on what exactly is meant by the term modality; even within its subdivisions, there is much room for terminological confusion (DeHaan, 1997:3). In order to handle this variation and for ease of description of negation in this clause in Dawurotsuwa, the elements included in this study will be briefly described here.

This chapter is organized as follows: in the immediately following Section, 7.1 modality expressions will be given. In Section (7.2) interaction of negations with modality will be discussed. Under this modality, in Section 7.2.1, negation in epistemic modality will be discussed. Then in Section (7.2.2) negation and deontic modality will be described. In Section (7.2.3), negation in dynamics will be discussed.

### 7.1. Modality Expression in Dawurotsuwa

There are propositional and event modalities. The former is concerned with a speaker's level of certainty toward the factuality of the proposition and includes *epistemic* and *evidential* modalities, while the latter deals with unactualized only potential events and includes *deontic* and *dynamic* modalities (Palmer, 2001: 8). Based on Palmer's (2001: 86) classifications the following modality expressions are summarized in Dawurotsuwa:

**Table-33: Modality Expressions in Dawurotsuwa**

			Dawurotsuwa	
Modality classification	Types	Meaning	Representation (auxiliary)	Main verb suffix
Proposition	epistemic	Possibility	<i>danday-</i>	<i>-áná</i>
		Probability	<i>bess-</i>	<i>-áná</i>
Event	Deontic	Permission	<i>danday-</i>	<i>-áná</i>
		Obligation	<i>bess-</i>	<i>-áná</i>
	Dynamic	Ability	<i>danday-</i>	<i>-áná</i>
		Willingness	<i>danday-</i>	<i>-áná</i>

As we can see in the table above, modality is encoded in Dawurotsuwa by using auxiliaries *bess-* & *danday-*. These auxiliaries are suffixed with person and number markers and the main verb is attached with *-áná* which expresses that the event or proposition has not happened. The suffixes serve as an imperfective aspect. In addition, Dawurotsuwa grammaticalizes both propositional and event modalities with the same element.

## 7.2 Interaction of Negation and Modality

In literature, we find two typologically based ways of discussing modality and negation interaction. De Haan (1997: 13) mentions two strategies such as *Negation Modal Verb* and *Modal Negation Verb* which have a wider scope and narrow scope, respectively. These are both based on the scope of negation. De Haan (2006:58) names these strategies as “Modal Suppletion Strategy (MSS)”, which employs different modal expressions for narrow scope and wide scope. The shape and place of the negative operator remain the same. The following formalization is given for this strategy:

- 1) a. Neg Mod<sub>1</sub>V<sub>main</sub> (MOD (NEG) (P))
  - b. Neg Mod<sub>2</sub> V<sub>main</sub> (NEG (MOD (P)))
- (De Haan, 2006: 58)

The second strategy for discussing the interaction between negation and modality is “Negation Placement Strategy (NPS)”. In this strategy, the position of the negation operator plays necessary role. The narrow and wide scope is determined by the position of the negation marker. The following formalization is given:

- 2) a. (Neg Mod)V<sub>main</sub> (NEG (MOD) (P))
  - b. Mod (Neg V<sub>main</sub>) (MOD (NEG (P)))
- (De Haan, 2006: 86)



subjunctive marker *-áná* which was suffixed previously to the main verb in the corresponding affirmatives. The modality marker is the same in both propositional negation (narrow-scope) and modality negation (wide-scope), so it does not belong to MSS of De Haan's (2006) classification which has been discussed above.

In addition, the negative markers are not the same in both propositional negation as in (4e) and modality negation (4f) although they occupy different positions. This different position is accompanied by also a change in morphological elements of negations. As it is mentioned above, the narrow scope only takes *-nn-*, while the wide is attached with *-nn-/-kk-*. The morpheme *-nn-* only serves for 3SGM according to our discussion of standard negation; in this time propositional and modality negation have the same negative morpheme. So it does not fit also to NPS because the negative morpheme is not completely the same. Thus, the mixture of MSS & NPS categories is preferable to consider Dawurotsuwa although it does not fit it satisfactorily.

4a) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-ía-wá-dan*            *han-au*  
 home-LOC        exist-RELZ-PROP-COMP    might-3SG.F. IPFV.AFF  
 'She might be at home.'

b) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-ía-wá-dan*            *han-ú-kk-u*  
 home-LOC        exist-RELZ-PROP-COMP    might-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F  
 'She might not be at home.'

c) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-énnáá-wá-dan*            *han-au*  
 home-LOC        exist-NEG-thing-COMP    happen-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  
 'She might not be at home.'

d) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-áná*            *danday-au*

home-LOC exist-SUBJ can/might-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She may be at home.’

e) *sóó-n deʔ-énnáá-n ʔatt-áná danday-au*

home-LOC exist-NEG-CVB absent-SUBJV may/can-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She may not be at home.’

*‘Propositional negation’*

f) *sóó-n deʔ-áná danday-ú-kk-u*

home-LOC exist-SUBJ can/might-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F

‘She cannot be at home.’

*‘Modality negation’*

#### **7.2.1.2 Negation and Probability.**

As it is described in example (5) probability is expressed using an auxiliary like *bess-* ‘must’. In (5b) proposition is negated which is narrow in scope, while in (5c) the modality is negated and wider in scope. The negative morpheme for the former and latter is *-nn-* for all persons and *-nn-/-kk-* for all persons, respectively. In addition, the auxiliary *ʔatt-* appears to carry the subjunctive marker *-áná* which was suffixed previously to the main verb in the corresponding affirmatives. The modality marker is the same in both propositional negation (narrow scope) and modality negation (wide-scope), so it does not go to MSS of De Haan’s (2006) classification which has been discussed above.

In addition, the negative markers are not the same in both propositional negation as in (5b) and modality negation (5c) although they occupy different positions. This different position is accompanied by also a change in morphological elements of negations. As it is mentioned above, the narrow scope only takes *-nn-*, while the wide is attached with *-nn-/-kk-*. The morpheme *-nn-* only serves for 3SGM according to our discussion of standard negation;

it is at this time only the propositional and modality negation have the same negative morpheme. So it does not fit also to NPS because the negative morpheme is not completely the same. Thus, the mixture of MSS & NPS categories is preferable to consider Dawurotsuwa although it does not fit it satisfactorily.

5a) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-áná*            *bess-au*  
 home-LOC        exist-SUBJ        must-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She must be at home.’

b) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-énnáá-n*        *ʔatt-áná*            *bess-au*  
 home-LOC        exist-NEG-CVB    absent-SUBJV        must-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She must not be at home.’

*‘Propositional negation’*

c) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-áná*            *bess-ú-kk-u*  
 home-LOC        exist-SUBJ        must-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F

‘She need not be at home.’

*‘Modality negation’*

As we can see above, in both possibility and probability, the modality elements do not change, but the change in position and shape will bring a change in the interpretation of the modality. In this language, the scope of epistemic modal interpretation is determined by the position of the negative marker.

### **7.2.1.3 Negation and Certainty.**

When somebody is totally sure about what is being said, the proposition is said without using any of the above epistemic modal auxiliaries as in (6a). The person is completely certain about her existence at home in this time. The negative marker *-kk-/-nn-* is

used as in (6b). When the certainty is a little less than total commitment, and the speakers provide with good reasons for truthfulness of what is being said, the auxiliary *bess*-is used as in (6c). The corresponding negative is formed by attaching the negative marker *-kk-/-nn-* to the auxiliary as in (6d).

- 6a) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-au*  
 home-LOC    exist-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘She is at home.’
- b) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-ú-kk-u*  
 home-LOC    exist-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘She need not be at home.’
- c) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-ána*            *bess-au*  
 home-LOC    exist-SBJV    must-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘She must be at home.’
- d) *sóó-n*            *deʔ-ána*            *bess-ú-kk-u*  
 home-LOC    exist-SBJV    must-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F  
 ‘She must not be at home.’

### 7.2.2. Negation in Deontic Modalities

This is an agent-oriented modality that describes the existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate. The most common notions in this set are obligation, necessity, and ability (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, 1994:177-178).

### 7.2.2.1 Negation and Obligation.

The obligation auxiliary in the language is either *bess-* (lit. ‘one shows’) or *košš-* (lit. ‘something or someone is needed’), and the main verb preceding this verb is attached with *-áná* as in (7a). The negative morpheme *-nn-* or *-kk-* is suffixed to auxiliary as in (7c) for modality negation while propositional negation or narrow scope as in (b) is negated by *-nn-*. The interaction between the negative markers and modality are discussed in a similar way as it is discussed in (7.1.).

- 7a) *miišša-a*      *demm-áná-ú*      *ʔoots-áná*  
money-ACC      find-SBJV-PURP      work-SBJV

*bess-ee*

must-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘You must work to find money.’

- b) *miišša-a*      *demm-áná-ú*      *ʔoots-énnáá-n*      *ʔatt-áná*  
money-ACC      find-SBJV-PURP      work-NEG-CVB      absent-SBJV

*bess-ee*

must-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘You must not work to find money.’

‘Propositional negation’

- c) *miišša-a*      *demm-áná-ú*      *ʔoots-áná*  
money-ACC      find-SBJV-PURP      work-SBJV

*bess-é-nn-a*

must-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘You need not work to find money.’

‘Modality negation’

### 7.2.2.2 Negation and Necessity

Necessity in Dwurotsuwa is expressed by either *bess-* or *košš-*, and the main verb preceding this verb is attached with *-áná* as in (8a).

- 8a) *ʔi*                      *b-áná*      *košš-ee*  
3SG.M.NOM    go-SBJV    need-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
'He has to go.'

- b)    *ʔi*                      *b-áná*      *košš-é-nn-a*  
3SG.M.NOM    go-SBJV    need-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
'He has to go.'

### 7.2.2.3 Negation and Permission.

The permission auxiliary in the language is *dandday-* (lit. able), and the main verb preceding this verb is attached with *-áná* as in (9a). The negative morpheme *-nn-* or *-kk-* is suffixed to permission auxiliary as in (9c) for modality negation, while propositional negation or narrow scope as in (9b) is negated by *-nn-*. The interaction between the negative markers and modality are discussed in a similar way as it is discussed in (7.1.).

- 9a)    *miišša-a*              *demm-áná-ú*              *ʔoots-áná*  
money-ACC    find-SBJV-PURP    work-SBJV

*dandday-ee*

can-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

'He can work to find money.'

b) *miišša-a demm-ána-ú ʔoots-é-nn-áá-n*  
 money-ACC find-SBJV-PURP work-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M-CVB

*ʔatt-ána dandday-ee*  
 absent-SBJV must-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘He cannot work to find money.’  
 ‘Propositional negation’

c) *miišša-a demm-ána-ú ʔoots-ána*  
 money-ACC find-SBJV-PURP work-SBJV

*dandday-é-nn-a*  
 able-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘He cannot work to find money.’

### 7.2.3. Negation in Dynamic Modality

Dynamic modality expresses willingness (Volitive) and ability (Abilitive). The modality elements which are used here can be used in other modality, which is discussed above (Palmer, 2001: 76-77).

#### 7.2.3.1 Negation and Ability.

According to Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994:177) ability is the existence of internal enabling conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action. The auxiliary *dandday-* ‘able’ is used to form this clause as in (10a). When it is changed into negative as in (10b), the negative markers *-nn-* and *-kk-* for third-person singular masculine and for the rests are attached to the auxiliary *dandday-* ‘able’ respectively. The main verb is attached with *-ána* as in (10). The ability modality element *dandday-* is used in possibility and permission modalities as we discussed above.

10a) *ʔí wos’s’-ána dandday-ee*

3SG.M.NOM run-SBJV able-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF

‘He can run.’

b) *ʔi* *wos's'-ána* *danday-é-nn-a*

3SG.M.NOM run-SBJV able-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘He cannot run.’

### 7.2.3.2 *Negation and Willingness.*

In Dawurotsuwa, willingness is expressed by attaching the morpheme *-ána* to the main verb as in (11a). Its corresponding negative is formed by attaching the negative morpheme *-kk-/-nn-* to the verb. Here we do not see any auxiliaries unlike the above modals.

11a) *ʔi* *héwa* *ne-w* *ʔoots-ána*

3SG.M.NOM that 2SG-DAT work-SBJV

‘He will work that for you.’

b) *ʔi* *héwa* *ne-w* *ʔoots-é-nn-a*

3SG.M.NOM that 2SG-DAT work-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘He will not work that for you.’

In general, we have seen that Dawurotsuwa’s epistemic modality and deontic modality are expressed by the same modality elements. The interaction pattern is also the same in both modality systems of the language.

## Chapter-8

### N-words in Dawurotsuwa

In previous chapters, the negative marker which changes whole affirmative sentences into corresponding negatives has been dealt with. In this section, the discussion will be shifted to ‘n-words’ which does not change an affirmative sentence into corresponding

negatives rather the negativity is motivated by the members of a sentence (Miestamo, 2017: 425).

It is Laka who created the term for the first time. It is used in the work to label those expressions in Romance that are allowed to occur with a standard negative marker or express negation by themselves even in the absence of the standard negative marker. And most of them begin with *n-*; hence, Laka (1990: 106) gives the name ‘*n-words*’. The equivalent name in Dawurotsuwa could be *nne/kka-words* as these morphemes are suffixed to the base to form *n-words*. Haspelmath (1997: 31) uses ‘negative indefinite pronoun’ for special indefinite pronouns that are only used in negative sentences and always express negation; in some languages, these indefinite pronouns are sufficient to express sentential negation by themselves. The term ‘negative polarity items’ is also used for those indefinite pronouns which are closely associated with negative environments but are not restricted to the expression of non-existence, but also can be used within conditionals and interrogatives (Haspelmath, 1997: 33).

*N-words* in Dawurotsuwa are formed by attaching morpheme *-nne/-kka* to content questions words like *ɔ́yáá* ‘what’. There are similar examples in the world’s languages like Polish which marks by means of suffixes such as *-s*, *-kolwiek* (Haspelmath, 1997: 271).

This chapter is organized as follows: in Sections (8.1) and (8.2) various occurrences of *-nne/-kka* and *scalar* function will be given respectively. In (8.3) types of *n-words* in Dawurotsuwa will be discussed. The relation between the focus marker and the negative operator will be discussed in Section (8.4.). In the last section, a brief etymological source discussion will be given.

## **8. N-Words**

It is not easy to describe the occurrences and meaning of *n-words* because they are diverse in the world's languages. This makes it difficult to formulate structural or meaning

features in order to identify them although there are some points that are related to their occurrence (Giannakidou, 2006: 328). Thus, in this chapter, n-words that convey negative interpretation in collaboration with an essential negative marker and offer negative replies to both negative and positive questions are identified based on the following explanation by Giannakidou (2006):

(1) **N-word**

An expression  $\alpha$  is an n-word iff:

- (a)  $\alpha$  can be used in structures containing sentential negation or another  $\alpha$ -expression yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation; and
- (b)  $\alpha$  can provide a negative fragment answer (Giannakidou, 2006: 328)

Penka (2006: 32) says n-words consist of both negative and indefinite meanings. When a negative marker and n-words in a clause result in a negative interpretation, it is named ‘Negative Concord’ (NC) (Giannakidou & Zeijlstra, 2017: 8).

In (2a) morpheme *-nn-* is a sentential negative marker that is used for 3SG.M as we discussed in a previous chapter. There is no other element found in this sentence that expresses negation. In (3) *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka* ‘nothing’ functions as a negative reply to an affirmative interrogative. However, this item, i.e., *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka* ‘nothing’, which is expressing negation in fragment fails to express negation when it occurs with sentential negation as in (4), which functions as a negative reply in (3). It should be noted that the negative indefinite used in the gloss ‘nothing’ is not the equivalent of the Dawurotsua *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka* version, because the English one is always negative but the Dawurotsuwa’s is not.

- 2a) *dáán-í*                      *laatsa-a*              *m-éé-nn-a*  
 Dáána-NOM              lunch-ACC              eat-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Daana does not eat lunch’

3) Q: *dáán-í*                      *ʔáyáá*      *m-íí*  
 Dáána-NOM                      what              eat-3SG.M.IPFV.Q  
 ‘What does Dana eat?’

A: *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka*  
 what-INDF  
 ‘Nothing’

4) *dáán-í*                      *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka*      *m-éé-nn-a*  
 Dáána-NOM      what- INDF              eat-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Dana does not eat anything.’

### 8.1 Functions of *-nne/-kka* Morpheme

Before going into details, we should have an opportunity to observe various occurrences of the morpheme *-nne/-kka* in the language. In Dawurotsuwa *-nne/-kka* has multiple meanings. In glossing, these various functions cannot be represented with a single marker; thus, its indefinite aspect will be glossed in n-word functions.

One of the functions of this morpheme is that it is used as a coordinating suffix. Only *-nne* is used to serve this function; *-kka* is not employed for this use. In (5a), *-nne* serves as a connecting suffix while the use of *-kka* makes it unacceptable, as in (5b).

5a) *dáán-í-nne*                      *ʔánjóór-á*              *deʔ-iino*  
 Dana-NOM-and      Anjore-NOM              exist-3PL.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Dana and Anjore are students’

b) \**dáán- í-kka*                      *ʔánjóór-á*              *deʔ-iino*  
*Intended:* ‘Dana and Anjore exist’

The morpheme *-kka* also serves for emphasizing coordination to positive context, as in (6a). When the coordinates are more stressed than other elements of the sentence, the morpheme *-kka* is attached to both nominals in the coordination. The morpheme *-nne* is not

used in this context because it is not attached to two coordinates at the same time and it's not emphatic as in (6b). (See Chapter-6.2 for emphatic coordination).

- 6a) *dáán-í-kka*                      *ʔánjóór-á-kka*                      *ʔá*  
 Dana-NOM-and.EMP      Anjore-NOM-and.EMP      3SG.M.ACC

*ʔer-ée-dd-ino*

know-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL

‘Both Dana and Anjore have known him’

- b) \* *dáán-í-nne ʔánjóór-á-nne ʔáʔer-í-kk-ino*

*Intended:* ‘Both Dana and Anjore do not know him’

In Dawurotsuwa the morpheme *-kka* also describes emphatic negative coordination as in (7). Although the nominals that are attached with this morpheme, i.e., *dáán-í* and *ʔánjóór-á* in the example (7) below are negative alternatives that none of them knows the person referred to, the standard negative marker *-kk-* is suffixed to the main verb.

- 7) *dáán-í-kka*                      *ʔánjóór-á-kka*                      *ʔá*  
 Daana-NOM-and.EMP      Anjore-NOM-and.EMP      3SG.M.ACC

*ʔer-í-kk-ino*

know-3PL-NEG-AFF:3PL

‘Neither Dana nor Anjore knows.’

In addition, *-kka* morpheme is used to represent omitted elements that may agree or disagree with an antecedent. In (8a) the sentence is affirmative. The second speaker in (8b) attaches *-kka* to 1SG.NOM by omitting the predicate to express that he shares the same situation as in (a).

- 8a) *gújj-í*                      *laas 'a-a*                      *m-ée-dd-a*  
 Gujj-NOM      lunch-ACC      eat-3SG.M-PFV-AFF: 3SG.M  
 ‘Gujja has eaten lunch.’

- b) *táání-kka*  
 1PL.NOM-also  
 ‘Me too’

On the other hand, the same morpheme *-kka* is used to represent the omitted negative antecedent predicate. In (9a) the sentence is negative. The second speaker in (9b) attaches *-kka* to 1SG.NOM by omitting the negative predicate to express that he shares the same situation as in (a). The same morpheme is used for affirmative and negative predications.

- 9a) *gújj-í laas’a-a m-í-béé-nn-a*  
 Guj-NOM lunch-ACC eat-3SG.M-PFV-3SG.M  
 ‘Gujja has not eaten the lunch.’

- b) *táání-kka*  
 1PL.NOM-also  
 ‘Neither me’

There is another morpheme *-kko* which is similar to the *-nne/-kka* phrase morpheme *-kka* in element *-kk-* but different in its final vowel *-o* and *-a*. This morpheme *-kko* is used to express vocative. It describes a direction in which something or someone heads on as in (10)

- 10) *dugé-kko*  
 down-VOC  
 ‘in down word direction’

Moreover, morpheme *-kka* is used to express addition to what is already available. In example (11), Guja is just an additional person to those who are already in the house. In this usage, it is not possible to use *-nne*. This shows that *-nne* and *-kka* overlap functionally to a certain extent but they are not synonymous.

- 11a) *gújj-í-kka soo-n deʔ-ee*  
 Gujja-NOM-also home-LOC exist-3SG.M.AFF  
 ‘Gujja also exists at home’

b) \**gújj-í-nne*      *soo-n*      *deʔ-ee*

*Intended:* ‘Guja also exists at home’

Furthermore, *-kka/-nne* is used for forming indefinite pronouns which serve for both affirmative and negative. Morpheme *-nne/-kka* combines with content question words or numeral *ʔittúú* ‘one’ to form the negative indefinite pronoun *ʔittú-nne/-kka*<sup>15</sup> ‘no one’ as in (12) below. This will be discussed in detail in the following section. So, *-nne/-kka* serves as scalar focus suffixes in addition to the functions listed above.

It is this scalar function of this morpheme that is represented as n-words in this chapter. This type of n-word is formed by attaching *-nne/-kka* to a nominal. Haspelmath (1997: 157) labels this usage as a negative scalar focus suffix; however, n-words in Dawurotsuwa are not inherently negative; thus, it is glossed as INDF in this work. This suffix is attached to the word *ʔittú/ʔittí* or nominals to offer this scalar interpretation. Its meaning is that its interpretation involves comparison with a set of contextually-specified alternative propositions that are ordered in terms of ranking order. *Scalar -nne/-kka*’ can also be used alternatively where the interpretation is actually scalar, as this morpheme can be displayed in various interpretations in this language.

12) *ʔittú-nne/-kka*      *y-í-béé-nn-a*  
 one- INDF              come-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Not even one came.’

The above discussion shows that multiple functions of the morpheme can be found in a single clause. It is difficult to propose a single gloss for all those morphemes with identical elements, but it is easier to gloss over the functions consistently. In (13), the first *-nne* which is attached to *marota* is functioning as a connector while the second *-nne* which is suffixed to *galla* is serving as a scalar focus suffix. The scalar *-kka* which can substitute scalar *-nne* in

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<sup>15</sup>This has scalar implicature

(13), cannot take the place of the first *-nne* which is used as a conjunctive. In scalar position, *-nne* and *-kka* substitute each other as they are presented:

- 13) *marota-nne*            *dar-i*            *?itti*  
 Marota.NOM-and    Dari.NOM    one
- galla-nne/-kka*            *?att-i-kk-ino*  
 day-INDF                    work-3PL-NEG-3PL
- ‘Marote and Daro do not miss class even for one day.’

## 8.2 Scalar Morpheme

Indefiniteness in a lot of languages is expressed by an item that intends to convey ‘even’ which is a ‘scalar focus particle’ (Haspelmath, 1997: 157). The meaning of ‘also’ and ‘even’ is the same to the extent of even impossible to distinguish the two. If the indefiniteness marking element is similar to an element that carries the meaning of ‘also’, then the root cause for this indefiniteness is the scalar function ‘even’ (Haspelmath, 1997: 157).

In the above, we mentioned that scalar usage of *-nne/-kka* which is one of the functions of this morpheme. This is used to form indefinite pronouns as well. These indefinite pronouns, which are formed by combining this morpheme and the interrogative pronoun, always co-occur with verbal negation in Dawurotsuwa, as in (13) above. This scalar meaning is used for forming indefinite pronouns, which is one of the n-words.

For example (14) *-kka* is used as the focus even in the affirmative. In this example, Dánsa is the least likely person to eat the honey among persons who are expected to eat it. The scalar *-kka* is suffixed to the person named ‘Dánsa’. This element shows a hierarchy of persons in numbers who are expected to eat from the most likely to the least likely person. In this usage, *-nne* is not used. It shows that all people have eaten the honey. In the negative, as in (14b), the pragmatic scale is reversed. In (14b), the most expected person to eat is Dánsa, unlike (14a) in which Dánsa is the least expected person.

14a) *Dáns-í-kka laafa ʔeessa-a m-éé-dd-a*  
 Dansa-NOM-SFS small honey-ACC eat-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘Even Dansa has eaten some honey.’

b) *Dáns-í-kka laafa ʔeessa-a m-í-béé-nn-a*  
 Dansa-NOM-SFS small honey-ACC eat-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Even Dansa has not eaten some honey.’

In example (15) the one who has the greatest probability of being helped in Pola’s family is *ʔaatto* ‘the mother’. This utmost expected candidate to be helped in the family is not being helped. If this utmost person is not helped, then no one is going to be supported in the family. This means that the whole members of the family are not supported by Pola. Haspelmath (1997) calls this most likely alternative ‘low endpoints of the relevant pragmatic scale’; when this is accompanied by a sentential negative marker, it gives ‘universal negation’.

15) *pol-i bare ʔaatto-kka maadd-é-nn-a*  
 pola-NOM himself mother-SFS help-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Pola does not help even his mother’

Likewise, for example (16), the most expected person to drink alcohol is ‘he’ among his friends, but he has not drunk alcohol. So the scalar focus suffix *-nne/kka* is attached to the 1SG.NOM in order to show the most likely alternative, but the most likely person has not done it, which is expressed by the sentential negative marker. If the most expected one is not doing it, then no one else is doing the event.

16) *táání-nne/-kka matsoy-ia ʔuŠša-a*  
 1SG.NOM-SFS intoxicate-RELZ drink-ACC  
  
*ʔuŠ-á-béí-kk-e*  
 drink- 1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG

‘Even I have not drunken alcohol’

As we can see above, the Dawurotsuwa *-nne/-kka* phrase expresses the most likely alternative in the presence of a sentential negative marker, but it expresses the least likely alternative in the absence of a sentential negative marker. At (17), the least likely person to drink is *táání* but he has drunk it.

17) *táání-nne/-kka matsoy-ia ʔušša-a*  
1SG.NOM-SFS intoxicate-RELZ drink-ACC

*ʔuš-áá-dd-i*

drink- 1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG

‘Even I have drunk alcohol’

When the morpheme *-nne/-kka* is attached, the meaning it conveys is based on the members in sequence to be compared. The members do not have an equal likelihood of accomplishing an event or a situation. The members are sequenced according to their hierarchy from most likely to the least likely status. The most or the least is determined by the presence or absence of a sentential negative marker. If there is the sentential negative marker, the morpheme gives the most likely alternative and vice versa.

On the other hand, *-nne/-kka* can be used to express an unspecified item, as in (18a). In this example, there is no ranking interpretation. Rather, it expresses the number of elements of the referents. The number can be one, two, three, or more, but *deešš-* ‘goat’ can be any one of the considered referents. There is no ‘the most or the least’ expected item among the members. All have equal chances, i.e. *deešš-*, to be taken by Pola in the example (18a). When the morpheme is suffixed to plural nouns, it is unacceptable, as in (18b).

18a) *pol-i ʔítí deešš-a-nne/-kka ʔakk-i-bee-nn-a*  
Pola-NOM one goat-ACC-INDF take-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M  
‘Pola has not taken even one goat’

- b) \**pol-i*      *ʔittí* *dees̃sa-tua-nne/-kka*    *ʔakk-i-bee-nn-a*  
 Pola-NOM one    goat-PL.ACC-INDF    take-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M

In the sentence (19a), morpheme *-nne/-kka*, which expresses negation in (2, 6, and 12b) independently above, does not play that role here in collaboration with the sentential negative marker. It is the sentential negative marker that plays the role of expressing negation. The phrase of *-nne/-kka* contributes to negation. If the morpheme is expected to contribute to negation as in (19a), it is accompanied by the sentential negative marker. This contribution is made irrespective of its place of occurrence in a clause. The place where they appear does not make any difference in its contribution. Whether in the subject as in (19b), or temporal adverb like (19b) or object as in (19a), they require a sentential negative marker to contribute to negation. In this respect, *-nne/-kka-* phrases have a strict pattern in the language. The places where they are located in a clause do not make them omit licenser. The morpheme can also occur in the absence of the sentential negative marker but does not contribute negation as in (19c-f).

- 19a) *pol-i*            *ʔittí*    *ʔisaa-nne/-kka*        *maadd-é-nn-a*  
 Pola-NOM    one    brother.ACC-INDF    help-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Pola does not help even one person.’

- b) *ʔittí*    *ʔiṢaa-nne/-kka*            *pol-i*            *maadd-é-nn-a*  
 one    brother.ACC-INDF    Pola-NOM    help-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘Pola does not help even one person.’

- c) *pol-i*            *ʔittí*    *balay-nne/-kka*        *baynnan*  
 Pola.NOM one    mistake-INDF        not.exist

*saaf-ee-dd-a*

write-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘Pola has written without making even one mistake’

- d) *táání*      *ʔáyáá-ppe-nne/-kka*      *kaset-ááddé*  
 1SG.NOM      what-ABL-INDF      before-CVB

*woos-ai*

pray-1SG.IPFV.AFF

‘I pray before doing anything’

- e) *ʔáyá*      *ʔasi-nne/-kka*      *yeekk-ia-wee*  
 what      person.NOM- INDF      mourn-RELZ-NMN

*dig-étt-eeddá-wa*

prohibite-PASS-RELZ.PFV-TOP

‘It is prohibited to any person to mourn’

- f) *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka*      *m-ia-wa*      *ʔess-a*  
 what- INDF      eat-RELZ-NMN      stop-2PL.IMP

‘Stop eating anything’

Look at the example in (20a) where *-nne/-kka* expresses negation. In (20a) *-nne/-kka* is not accompanied by a sentential negative marker but it expresses negation.

- 20a) *táání*      *ʔaʂu-a*      *m-áná*      *wóíkkó*      *hárá*  
 1SG.NOM      meat-ACC      take-FUT      or      other

*ʔaya-nne/-kka*

who- INDF

‘I will eat meat or nothing else’

- b) *néení*      *darua*      *ʔakk-áá-dd-a*  
 2SG.NOM      a lot      take-2SG-PFV-AFF:2SG

*poli*      *ʔáyá-nne/-kka*

Pola.NOM      what- INDF

‘You have taken a lot, and Pola nothing!’

### 8.3 Types of N-words

In Dawurotsuwa, n-words are negative indefinite pronouns, mule, and minimizers. They serve as a single negative reply for both positive and negative questions according to the definition (1). These are discussed in the following sections.

#### 8.3.1 Negative Indefinite Pronouns

In Dawurotsuwa, negative indefinite pronouns are formed by attaching the morpheme *-nne/-kka* to the content question pronouns and *ɔ́ttí* ‘one’. Look at table-33 below for their formation. It should be noted that Dawurotsuwa indefinite pronouns are not inherently negative because the same form is used for both affirmative and negatives. The language does not have different markers for negatives and affirmatives.

**Table-34: N-Word Formation in Dawurotsuwa**

No.	Item	Pronouns	Negative indefinite pronouns
1	One	<i>ɔ́ttí</i> ‘one’	<i>ɔ́ttú-nne, ɔ́ttú-kka</i>
2	Person	<i>ɔ́ón-</i> ‘who/whom’	<i>ɔ́óní-nne, ɔ́óní-kka</i>
3	Thing	<i>ɔ́áyáá</i> ‘what’	<i>ɔ́áyáy-nne, ɔ́áyáy-kka</i>
4	Time	<i>ɔ́áídé</i> ‘when’	<i>ɔ́áídé-nne, ɔ́áídé-kka</i>
5	Place	<i>hák’á</i> ‘where’	<i>hák’á-nne, hák’á-kka</i>
6	Scalar	Proper noun + <i>-kka</i>	<i>Example: Dááná-kka</i>
7	Conjunction	<i>-kka....-kka</i> ‘Neither...nor’	<i>Dááná-kka.....</i>

As we can see in the table above, each negative indefinite pronoun is suffixed either with *-nne* or *-kka* and forms n-word class together in Dawurotsuwa. It should be noted that it is not the content question pronoun alone or the suffix *-nne* or *-kka* solely form n-words; it is the combination of both that makes up n-words.

As we can see in the examples, Dawurotsuwa n-word forming morpheme consists of the element of negation morpheme. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the standard negation in Dawurotsuwa is made by using the negative operator *-nn/-kk-*, consider examples in (21b&22b) below. On the other hand, here we observe that the suffix *-nne/-kka* is used to form n-words in Dawurotsuwa. As we can see, both negative morphemes and n-word forming morphemes have *-nn/-kk-* in common. This needs thorough investigation if there is any connection with each other.

- |      |                             |                 |                     |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 21a) | <i>dáán-í</i>               | <i>laas'a-a</i> | <i>m-ee</i>         |
|      | Dáána-NOM                   | lunch-ACC       | eat-3SG.M. IPFV.AFF |
|      | 'Dana eats lunch'           |                 |                     |
| b)   | <i>dáán-í</i>               | <i>laas'a-a</i> | <i>m-éé-nn-a</i>    |
|      | Dáána-NOM                   | lunch-ACC       | eat-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M |
|      | 'Dana does not eat lunch'   |                 |                     |
| 22a) | <i>ʔánjóór-á</i>            | <i>laas'a-a</i> | <i>m-áú</i>         |
|      | Anjore-NOM                  | lunch-ACC       | eat-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF  |
|      | 'Anjore eats lunch'         |                 |                     |
| b)   | <i>ʔánjóór-á</i>            | <i>laas'a-a</i> | <i>m-úú-kk-u</i>    |
|      | Anjore-NOM                  | lunch-ACC       | eat-3SG-NEG-3SG     |
|      | 'Anjore does not eat lunch' |                 |                     |

The Dawurotsuwa n-word suffix *-nne/-kka* is attached to question words. For instance, in (23), the question word *ʔáyáá* 'what' in (23Q) is suffixed with *-nne/-kka* in (23A) to occur as a negative fragment answer: *ʔáyáá-nne/ʔáyáá-kka*.

- |     |    |              |                     |
|-----|----|--------------|---------------------|
| 23) | Q: | <i>ʔáyáá</i> | <i>beʔ-áá-dd-íí</i> |
|     |    | what         | see-2SG-PFV-Q:2SG   |

‘What have you seen?’

A: *ʔáyáá-nne/-kka*

what-INDF

‘Nothing’

Why are the n-word forming morpheme *-nne/-kka* and negative morpheme *-nn-/-kk-* do they have a common element in Dawurotsuwa? This needs detailed study, though we won’t try to answer this question now. Is the n-word morpheme developed from the negative morpheme or vice versa? Of course, it hints at any way n-words can partially express negation. I hope it will not be arbitrary.

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation; the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and in its turn may be felt like the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word (Jespersen, 1917:4).

### 8.3.2 Mule

This is the second type of n-word in Dawurotsuwa. This is represented in Dawurotsuwa by *mulokka*, *mule*, *ʔubbakka* as we can see in (24). According to my informant, they prefer *ʔubbakka* to *mulokka*. And they use *mule* without adding *-kka* too. They are categorized under the n-word because they function as a negative reply for both negative and positive questions; they can be used to express negation in a sentence fragment, as in (25&26).

24) *mule*, *mulokka*, *ʔubbakka* ‘never, not at all’

25) Q: *salu-a*            *laamoti-ssi*            *ʔáidé*    *ʔimm-aní*  
money-ACC    Lamote-DAT            time            give-2SG.IPFV.Q

‘When will you give the money to Lamote?’

A: *mule/mulo-kka/ʔáidé-kka*  
 all/all- INDF /when- INDF  
 ‘Never’

26) Q: *laamot-a*            *ʔuša-a*            *ʔuš-ái*  
 Laamote-NOM        alcohol-ACC    drink-3SG.F.IPFV.Q  
 ‘Does Lamote drink alcohol?’

A: *mule/mulo-kka/ʔáidé-kka*  
 all/all- INDF /when- INDF  
 ‘Never’

As *-nne/-kka* phrases need the sentential negative marker to offer negative interpretation, *mule* also needs sentential negative to convey negative interpretation as in (27a&b). In addition, the place where the *mule* is located in a clause does not affect its interpretation as in (27b). If there is no sentential negative marker, it does not mean the clause is unacceptable. The clause turns positive, as in (28).

27a) *ʔas-i*            *ʔogi-a*            *ʔer-e-nn-a*            *mule*  
 person-NOM    road-ACC    know-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M    all  
 ‘No one knows the road’

b) *mule* *ʔas-i*            *ʔogi-a*            *ʔer-e-nn-a*  
 all    person-NOM    road-ACC    know-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘No one knows the road’

28) *ʔas-i*            *ʔogi-a*            *mule* *ʔer-ee*  
 person-NOM    road-ACC    all    know-3SG.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘All persons know the road’

In this language, preceding the verb or appearing at the beginning cannot be an excuse to omit the licensing element in the sentence as the absence of the element will make the sentence positive, as in (27-28) above.

In Dawurotsuwa, if *mule* is needed to convey a negative interpretation, there must be a sentential negative marker irrespective of its place where it is located; otherwise, it is changed to positive, as we have discussed above. Giannakidou (2006: 328) categorizes such languages as ‘strict negative concord’ languages which need the sentential negative marker without overpassing in any place they occur. Dawurotsuwa goes into this strict category.

In negative interpretation, *mule* and *-nne/-kka* phrases share meaning. The difference lies in that the former does not carry a meaning of ranking, while the latter has a ranking. For example, in (29a) there is a variation in the expected amount of falls in the car, i.e. once, twice, three times, etc. Once is the last one in the ranking. When this ranking is accompanied by a sentential negative marker, it results in a ‘not at all’ interpretation. On the other hand, the *mule* as in (29b) conveys the meaning of ‘at all’ which intensifies the grammatical negation at the main verb. *Mule* is not semantically negative; it can be used in both affirmative and negatives as in (29b) and (29c) respectively. It does not have a ranking from most to the least; rather it generally expresses complete absence of the instance of the fall of the car as in (29b), without mentioning specific frequency or order.

29a)    *ta*            *kaam-i*    *ʔittituu-nne/-kka*    *kund-i*  
           1SG.POSS car-NOM    once- INDF            fall-CVB

*ʔer-e-nn-a*  
 know-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
 ‘My car not fell even once.’

b)        *ta*            *kaam-i*    *mule*    *kund-i*    *ʔer-e-nn-a*  
           SG.POSS    car-NOM    all    fall-CVB    know-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘My car has not fallen at all.’

- c) *dáán-í mule wursi šalua imm-ée-dd-a*  
Dáána-NOM all complete-CVB money save-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
‘Dana has given the money at all.’

Furthermore, both positive and negative questions are replied to using the same form of *mule*. When the question is positive, it is answered with *mulo-kka* as in (30), which gives a negative interpretation. In the negative question also, the same *mulo-kka* is used as a reply as in (31) gives a negative interpretation as well. In both questions, *mulo-kka* conveys a negative meaning.

- 30) Q: *néení gaammu-a beʔ-á ʔer-ái*  
2SG.NOM lion-ACC see-CVB know-2SG.IPFV.Q  
‘Have you ever seen a lion?’

A: *mulo-kka/ʔáidé-kka*  
at all- INDF /when- INDF  
‘Never’ (i.e., ‘I have never seen a lion’)

- 31) Q: *gaammu-a néení beʔ-á-béi-kk-ii*  
lion-ACC 2SG.NOM see-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
‘Have you not seen a lion?’

A: *mulo-kka/ʔáidé-kka*  
at all- INDF /when- INDF  
‘Never’ (i.e., ‘I have never seen a lion’)

On the other hand, in (32) the morpheme *-kka* is used in the positive sentence and conveys the meaning of ‘completely/altogether’. This morpheme has been used to transfer negative interpretation in sentences above (30&31) for both positive and negative questions.

This shows that the contribution of either negative or positive meaning depends on whether there is a sentential negative marker or not.

- 32)     *pol-i*         *mulo-kka*     *geešša*  
           Pola-NOM   all- INDF     neat  
           ‘Pola is completely clean’

The above discussion shows that *mule* functions as negative replies to both negative and positive questions. It also needs a sentential negative marker irrespective of its location of occurrence in order to convey a negative interpretation. When *mule* is used, there is no ranking unlike *-nne/-kka* expressions.

### 8.3.3 Minimizers

Minimizers indicate the smallest amount in the ranked items. This gives them even-reading interpretation (Tubau, 2020: 1; Giannakidou & Zeijlstra, 2017: 6). Indefinite pronouns in certain languages not only occur in collaboration with sentential negative markers but also occur within positive clauses in the absence of the negative morpheme. They are not limited to the negative context. Questions and if-clauses are one of those contexts in which indefinite pronouns occur in the absence of the sentential negative marker. Indefinite pronouns with such features are termed as ‘negative polarity item’. Under this negative polarity item, expressions which are used for representing the smallest amount are also included (Haspelmath, 1997: 117).

Minimizers in Dawurotsuwa are suffixed with *even* marker *-nne/-kka* explicitly as in (33) and (34). These express the tiniest quantity and when they are accompanied by the sentential negative marker, they represent something/someone that does not exist. For example *ʔittí k’aala-nne* lit. ‘one-word’ is an expression of the tiniest quantity expression as in (33). The last small thing one can say in a speech is a word; one cannot speak less than a word; sometimes one may say a single letter or single sound.

- 33) *ʔitti k'aala-nne/-kka haasay-a-bei-kk-e*  
 one word- INDF speak-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 'I have not spoken a word.'

In example (34), *kušia wotsa* 'lit to put hand' in a scene of beating someone is assumed to be the least incident. If it is less than touching the person beaten, i.e., no contact at all, then one has not been beaten. Touching smoothly with the hand is the first most and least movement in the process of beating. They use this phrase when they want to express they did not even touch a person. As we can see in the example below, the negative marker *-kk-* is attached to the verb.

- 34) *kušia wots-á-béi-kk-e*  
 hand put-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG  
 'Lit. I have not put my hand'

For example (35) *c'uccai mel-* 'Lit. saliva dries' is used as a reference when they want to get something done soon. They spit saliva on the floor and order somebody to come back or do something before that saliva dries. If something is done after that saliva dries, then they think it is done late. Hence, the saliva is a deadline they give for accomplishing a task.

- 35) *c'uccai mel-énnaa-ni y-a*  
 saliva dry-NEG-CVB come-2SG.IMP  
 'Lit. Come before saliva dries'

In example (36) *sebberee* is related to having money. One cannot have less than this amount of money. It is the last minimum amount of money you can have.

- 36) *sebberee baawa*  
 single penny not.exist  
 'Lit. a penny does not exist'

*c'ucca haatsi* in example (37) is used when people want to express a lack of water in a pot. They use this minimum reference: single saliva. For liquid, especially water, there cannot exist less than single saliva. The last and minimum amount of water that is assumed to be

available is saliva.

- 37) *c'ucca haats-i soo-ni baawa*  
saliva water-NOM home-LOC not.exist  
'Lit. saliva water does not exist at home'

*kafú* for example (38) serves for the existence of people or other animals in certain places. For instance, when there is no one in a field, use a bird as the least minimum entity which can serve as a reference. Then, it is expressed whether the bird is flying or not.

- 38) *kafú baawa/paal-é-nn-a*  
bird not.exist/fly-3SG-NEG-3SG  
'Lit. a bird does not fly; no one is there'

In example (39) *ɖuduts-ia* expresses the minimum to assume somebody is beaten. In a process of beating a person, the minimum thing that can be done is to remove a fly that is sitting on somebody literally. Beyond this, a lot of things can be done such as kicking, pushing, etc.

- 39) *ɖuduts-ia laagg-a-kk-a/dents-á-kk-a*  
fly-ACC drive-2SG-NEG-2SG/remove-2SG-NEG-2SG  
'Lit. you do not take off fly from me'

In the above sentences, minimal unit expressions are *ɖittí k'aala* 'one/single word', *c'ucca* 'saliva', *sebberee* 'a penny', *kafú* 'a bird', *ɖuduts-ia* 'a fly'.

#### 8.4 Focus and Negation

In this chapter, we discussed how indefinite pronouns are formed in Dawurotsuwa. We have noticed that these negative-forming morphemes are functioning differently in different places. In this section more points that will help to see these morphemes in the general patterns will be discussed.

“Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions (Krifka, 2007: 30). There are pragmatic and semantic focuses, where the former deals with communicative purposes of the focus, and the latter offers factual

information and affects the truth value. The focus evoking semantic elements such as only, also/too, or even can be a cause for change of truth values when the focus varies on the alternatives. When the focus which is placed on alternatives changes, the assertion also changes (Falaus, 2020: 1, 2).

In a similar way, a sentential negation can operate on alternatives. It is assumed that negation is the total exclusiveness of an alternative in the set just like only. Both sentential negation and focus markers are sometimes represented with a similar marker. On the other hand, the scalar element even shows the alternatives are put in order in comparison with others hierarchically. In this case, both negation and even are a scale-reversing items in which they both are related to one another in this regard (Jackendoff, 1972: 255).

Furthermore, Falaus says, “Some of these focus-sensitive particles also function as coordinating particles and can even introduce negation by themselves in a certain context,” (2020: 11). This phenomenon is prevalent in Dawurotsuwa. Let us consider the following examples:

**Table 35: Functions of -kka/-nne**

NO	Marker	Function
1	-nne	Coordinating (Non-emphatic)
2	-kka	Coordinating (Emphatic)
3	-kka	Coordinating (Emphatic negation)
4	-kka	Focus particle (even)-scalar
5	-kka/nne	Indefinite marker
6	-kka/nne	Minimizer
7	-kk-/-nn-	Standard negation
8	-kka	Additive
9	-kko	‘some’

This is an interesting occurrence in Dawurotsuwa, where all these functions are represented by the same morpheme with very few differences. Haspelmath (2007: 17) states that the element which is used for marking emphatic negation coordination is at the same time employed to express focus particles. In Dawurotsuwa, emphatic negation coordination -kka is used at the same time to mark scalar focus status. Haspelmath (2007: 17) also adds that the markers of indefiniteness are most of the time the same as those of negative focus particles, like not even or neither, even though they are not the same as the sentential negative marker, unlike Dawurotsuwa, where even they are similar to sentential negation. Watanabe (2004: 562) mentions that there is a tight relationship in morphology between focus markers and negative polarity items. In Dawurotsuwa (as stated in Table-35), the indefiniteness forming morpheme is *-nne/-kka*, which is identical to the focus morpheme *-nne/-kka*.

### **8.5 Etymological Source of the Negative Marker**

Poletto presents the following elements as sources of sentential negative markers by conducting various reviews:

1. Negative auxiliary
2. A negative copula
3. Marker of focus
4. Verbal or adverbial elements originally related to verbs that contain lexical negation
5. an adverb originally related to the non-animate negative quantifiers corresponding to 'nothing'
6. Elements derived from sentential tags
7. Minimizers
8. Possessives
9. Modality markers

(Poletto, 2020: 137)

In Dawurotsuwa, the sentinel negative marking element has similarities with other functions as we have seen in the table above. What connection do these elements have with each other? Among these elements, the focus marker is the best candidate for the source of the negation marker of Dawurotsuwa.

## **Chapter-9**

### **Free Choices**

In the last chapter, we discussed that Dawurotsuwa n-words carry negative features even though they require predicate negation to license them in full clauses. On the other hand, there are some contexts in which these n-words appear in a clause where there is even no flavor of negativity, let alone a sentential negative operator. Thus, this chapter will identify these contexts in which n-words do not need a sentential negation marker as their licenser.

## 9.1 Free Choice Items (FCIs)

Vendler (1967:80) recorded this situation for the first time as *'freedom of choice'* with example *any* in which it expresses an item irrespective of its 'how' and 'which'. Haspelmath (1997: 154) says that free-choice indefinite is semantically similar to universal quantifiers like 'every\*' ('everyone', 'everything', etc.). In many environments, free-choice indefinites can be replaced by universal quantifiers without a noticeable change in the truth conditions.

*Free choice items* (FCIs) are classified under polarity items (PIs, definition at 1). They appear in environments where a negative operator is absent and usually need the green light of modal and quantificational to occur grammatically. They are formed from a combination of content question words like wh-question words and supplementary focus elements, volitional elements, or disjunction items (Giannakidou, 1998: 17). Look at the paradigm for Dawurotsuwa in (2) below.

(1) (Giannakidou & Zeijlstra, 2017:6).

Polarity item

- (i) A polarity item  $\alpha$  is an expression whose distribution is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property  $\beta$ .
- (ii)  $\beta$  is at least non-veridical.

Giannakidou (2001: 660) also employs the FCIs in order to refer to distinct morphological paradigms of items. In some languages, this class has a separate morphological class from those n-words which are discussed in the last chapter. There are also languages that have the same form for both negative polarity item or n-word and the FCIs. Dawurotsuwa is one of the languages whose FCIs are similar in shape to negative polarities which were discussed in a previous chapter; they are not different from them in morphological representation and formation. Dawurotsuwa does not exhibit a lexical paradigm of FCIs which is distinct from (NPIs) as in (2).

(2) **Table 36: Free Choice Items**

	<i>Negative Polarity Item (NPI)</i>	<i>Free choice item (FCIs)</i>
Person	<i>ʔóóní-nne, ʔóóní-kka</i>	<i>ʔóóní-nne, ʔóóní-kka</i> who-FCI, who-FCI
Thing	<i>ʔáyáy-nne, ʔáyáy-kka</i>	<i>ʔáyáy-nne, ʔáyáy-kka</i> what-FCI, what-FCI
Time	<i>ʔáidé-nne, ʔáidé-kka</i>	<i>ʔáidé-nne, ʔáidé-kka</i> when-FCI, when-FCI
Place	<i>hák'á-nne, hák'á-kka</i>	<i>hák'á-nne, hák'á-kka</i> where-FCI, where-FCI

Dawurotsuwa *ʔáyá tamaarii-nne/-kka* ‘any student’ has a twin appearance as in (3a&b) where both have the same form of *ʔáyá-nne/-kka*: *ʔáyá* + *common noun-nne/-kka* for both negative indefinite pronoun as in (3a) and for the free choice item (3b), respectively.

3a) *ʔi ʔáyá tamaarii-nne/-kka ʔer-é-nn-a*  
3SG.M.NOM what student- INDF know-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M  
‘He does not know any student.’

b) *ʔáyá tamaarii-nne/-kka ʔa ʔer-ee*  
what student- INDF 3SG.ACC know-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
‘Any student knows him.’

If the distributions of these items remain uncovered, the previous discussion concerning n-words will remain incomplete. In the previous chapter, we mentioned repeatedly that licensing environment for n-words is a predicate negation. In this chapter, the same element is occurring in the absence of the predicate negation operator. These contexts will be identified in order to make the description complete. As we discussed in the previous section, n-word construction *ʔáyá* + *-nne/-kka*, (4a) and (4b) below are licensed by predicate negation *-kk-* or *-nn-*, while (4c)& (4d) are found in the context where there is no negative flavor at all.

4a) *táání*      *ʔáyá*      *miya-nne/-kka*      *ʔis's'-i-kk-e*  
 1SG.NOM    what    cow- INDF      hate-1SG-NEG-1SG  
 ‘I do not have any cow.’

b) *néení*      *ʔáyá*      *miya-nne/-kka*      *heemm-ia-u*  
 2SG.NOM    what    cow- INDF      keep-RELZ-thing

*gid-oppe*      *lóʔʔó*      *maatsa-a*      *ʔimm-án-á*  
 be-if          good    milk-ACC      give-FUT-AFF:2SG  
 ‘If you keep any cow, it will give good milk’

c) *ʔáyá*      *miyai-nne/-kka*      *maat-aa*      *m-ee*  
 what    cow- INDF      grass-ACC    eat-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
 ‘Any cow eats grasses’

d) *hak'a-waa-nne/-kka*      *door-aade*      *ʔakk-ana*      *dandday-aa*  
 which-NMN-INDF    choose-CVB    take-SBJV    can-2SG.AFF  
 ‘You can take any one you choose’

Thus, Dawurotsuwa *ʔáyá* + *-nne/-kka* shows dual quantificational force and restricted licensing environments. In FCIs use as illustrated in (4a) and (4b), *ʔáyá* + *-nne/-kka* is interpreted existentially based on Giannakidou & Zeijlstra’s (2017) indefinite approach. It is non-specific.

Generally, nonveridical environment is conducive to the occurrence of FCIs but a veridical is not fine for them. Episodicity also does not allow the grammatical occurrence of FCIs (Giannakidou, 2001: 668). “A veridical context is one that allows the speaker to infer the truth of a sentence; a non-veridical context is one where truth inference seems to be suspended” (Giannakidou, 1997:21). We will describe how FCIs hold for Dawurotsuwa based on the environment discussed by Giannakidou (1997, 1998, 2001, and 2017) in the following examples:

5a) Generic

*há k'á ʔadania-u-nne/-kka dufi deʔ-ee*  
what cat-DAT- INDF tail exist-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
'Any cat has a tail'

6) Possibility

*dáán-í ʔáyáá ʔašua-nne/-kka m-ááná dandday-ee*  
Daana-NOM what meat- INDF eat-SBJV able-3SG.M.IPFV.AFF  
'Daana can eat any meat'

7) *ʔáyáá Šiik'ua-ni-nne/-kka kaaʔ-ana dandday-ai*  
what team-LOC- INDF play-SBJV can-1SG.IPFV.AFF  
'I can play in any team'

8) Necessity

*ʔáyáá mas'aafa-nne/-kka nabbab-áná košš-ee*  
what book-INDF read-SBJV need-3SG.M. IPFV.AFF  
'You must read any book.'

*Imperative:* "Free-choice indefinites are allowed in imperatives if the imperative is interpreted as permission rather than as a command" Haspelmath (1997: 49) as in (9).

9) *ʔáyáá mas'aafa-nne/-kka nabbab-a*  
what book-INDF read-2SG.IMP  
'Read any book'

10) Interrogative

*ʔáyáá ʔasi-nne/-kka ʔer-íí*  
what person-INDF know-3SG.IPFV.Q  
'Does any person know?'

11) Future

*ʔáyáá ʔasaa-nne/-kka wonto ʔá maadd-án-á*  
 what person-INDF tomorrow 3SG.F.NOM help-FUT-AFF:3SG.F  
 ‘She can help any person tomorrow.’

12) Habitual

*ʔá ʔubbá gédé ʔáyá mat'aafa-nne/-kka*  
 3SG.F.NOM all leg what book-INDF

*nabbab-au*

read-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘She always reads any book.’

13) Superlative degree

*ʔánjóórá heera-n deʔ-ia ʔáyá*  
 Anjore.NOM neighbor-LOC exist-RELZ what

*naana-ppe-nne/-kka loʔʔ-au*

child-ABL-INDF beautiful-3SG.F.IPFV.AFF

‘Anjore is the most beautiful among her neighbor children’

14) Conditionals

*ʔáyá ʔasay-nne/-kka y-óóppé ta-ú ʔod-a*  
 what person-INDF come-COND 1SG-DAT tell-2PL.IMP

‘If anyone comes, tell me’

On the other hand, free choice items are ungrammatical in veridical sentences, e.g. positive episodic sentences like (15) and existential sentences., FCI is taken to be ungrammatical in an episodic sentence, regardless of whether the sentence is affirmative as in (15a) or negative as in (13b).

15a) \**ʔáyá ʔasay-nne/-kka ʔek'k'-éé-dd-a*

what person-INDF stand-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

Intended: 'All have taken'

b) \*ʔáyá ʔasay-nne/-kka ʔek 'k'-í-béé-nn-a

what person-INDF stand-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M

Intended: 'All have not taken'

The discussion above shows that non-veridical contexts are the licensors for Dawurotsuwa FCIs in absence of their predicate negative licensor. They are summarized in the table-36 below:

**Table-37: Summary of FCI of Dawurostuswa**

	Nonveridical	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
1	Generic	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
2	Possibility	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
3	Imperative	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
4	Interrogative	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
5	Future	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
6	Habitual	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>
7	Superlative	<i>noun-nne/kka</i>

## 9.2 Conceptual Space for Indefinite Pronouns

The following figure displays conceptual space for indefinite pronouns. It shows the nine uses of indefinite pronouns. They are semantically connected. These meaning connections are based on the function they offer. Definiteness, the existence of hierarchy, turnabout of the hierarchy, and the range of operation of negation are used to map these meaning regions (Haspelmath, 1997: 2, 64). In the figure, the scalar meaning is carried after (3) 'Irrealis non-specific' which all express non-specificity. The 'free choice'(9) is not scalar. The indirect (5) and direct negations (6) reverse the hierarchy and scope over the referent (Croft, 1990:138).

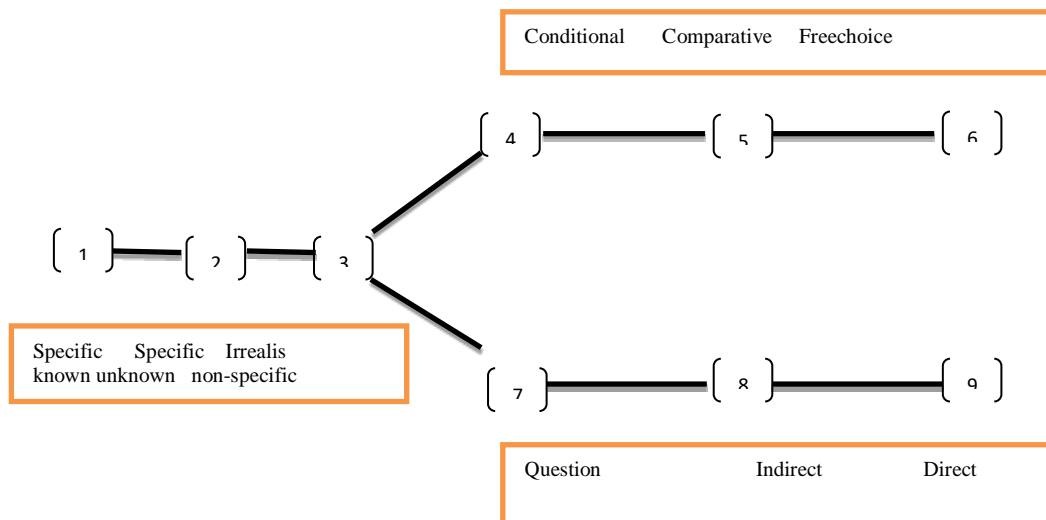


Fig.4: Conceptual space for indefinite pronouns

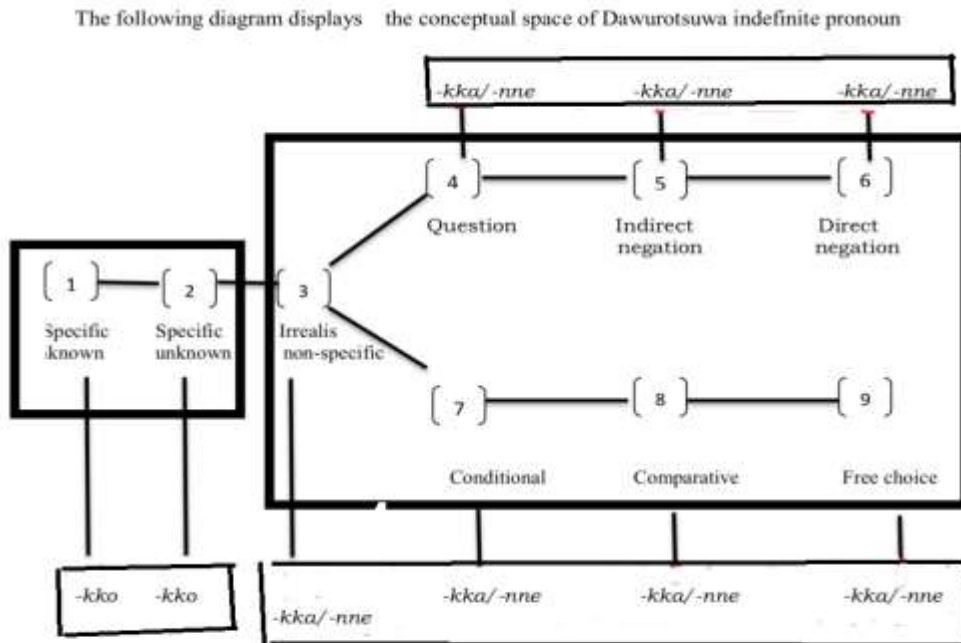


Fig 5: Conceptual space for indefinite pronouns of Dawurotsuwa

## Chapter-10

### Conclusions

As a final section, this chapter summarizes and recapitulates the main findings of this dissertation. It has been stated in the introductory chapter that the main goal of the present study is to provide a grammatical description of the negation in Dawurotsuwa. The work is done according to the set main goal.

Dawurotsuwa represents negation morphologically by suffixing to the verb. The standard negation, i.e., verbal declarative main clause negation, is formed by suffixing *-nn-/-kk-* to the verb. The former is only attached to the third person singular masculine while the latter is used for all the remaining persons. When an affirmative is changed into a negative, it is not merely inserting the negative morpheme. There are changes in some elements like persons, aspects and sentence type markers. Thus, an affirmative and negative are asymmetric in constructions in Dawurotsuwa.

In non-declarative verbal predication, the negative morpheme is different from the standard one. Especially in imperative *-oopp-* is used for negative construction which is attached to the verb. In exclamatives the negative morpheme is similar to that of standard negation but the difference is that the negative in exclamatives is expletive, i.e., the meaning is lost. The negative and positive exclamatives have a similar meaning. The negative morpheme does not change the truth value of the positive exclamatives.

The morpheme *-kka* is attached to the nominal to form elliptical construction for both negative and positive antecedents. There are also negative replies in the language that can stand independently without the help of other parts of the clause. These are *cii/gidenna* 'no'. The former is inherently negative and less common in the language. Dawurotsuwa also forms double negatives which cancel each other using lexical negative verbs and negative morphemes. Dawurotsuwa also strengthens negation by using *ʔubbá* 'all', repeating it, or using negative minimizers.

Moreover, indirect negation is also used. Indirect negation is transferring the meaning of negative construction using a special question that does not consist of a negative morpheme or lexicalized negative verb in its construction. They are positive questions but the equivalent of negative assertions

Dawurotsuwa, there is an interaction between negation and aspect. When there is a negative morpheme, the aspect marker which was used in the corresponding affirmative is not maintained specially in the perfective aspect. It is substituted with a compatible aspect marker for negative morpheme. Persons and indicative markers are substituted with other ones which did not exist in corresponding affirmatives too.

Negation in cosubordination clause is marked by using the negative marker *-nn-*. The verb is infinite in both negative and affirmative strings. The negative marker of the main verb can have scope over the converb. Without suffixing the negative marker to the converb, there can be a negative meaning which can be transferred by the negative marker of the main verb.

In coordinated clauses, the negative marker *-nn-/-kk-* is used for negation. The verb in all coordinated clauses is finite. The negative marker is local. Coordinated clauses do not restrict negative markers. In this regard, it has similarities with standard negation, but in subordination, there is a restriction of the negative markers where only *-nn-* is attached to the infinite negative marker. The negative marker operates on its own clause. The negative marker and subordination marker are not compatible. When the negative marker appears, the subordination marker disappears.

A negative interrogative is formed by attaching the negative morpheme *-nn-/-kk-* to the verb. The interrogative marker in affirmative and negative interrogative is almost the same except 3SG.M and 3SG.F. These negative morphemes serve for both 'yes/no' and content questions.

When optative is changed into negatives, the negative marker *-pp-* is employed. Hortative also uses this negative morpheme for negation. Hortative markers are not the same for all persons. Admonitive is formed by negative interrogative, but the interrogative morpheme is different from that of an ordinary one, for instance, ordinary and admontive

interrogative is formed by *í-kk-íí* and *áá-kk-á* respectively. Their similarity lies in the negative morpheme *-kk-*.

When epistemic modality is changed into negatives using *-nn/-kk-*, the modal marker disappears. When the degree of confidence gets lesser even from the above, the auxiliary such as *han-* or *dandday-* comes into existence. The morpheme *-áná* can be attached to the main verb and the auxiliary can be finite. On the other hand, deontic modality is formed by attaching the morpheme *-áná* to the main verb and the auxiliaries such as *danday-* and *bess-* can be finite. The negative marker *-nn/-kk-* can be attached to these auxiliaries.

N-words in Dawurotsuwa are formed using morpheme *-nn/-kka* with content question words and numeral one. This morpheme is not only used for this purpose, but it functions as a coordinator, additive, emphatic and disjunctive. When it functions for forming n-words, it serves as negative scalar focus suffixes. This function helps to form negative indefinite pronouns. These negative indefinite pronouns are used as negative fragment answers alone without help of any sentential negative marker, but they need a verbal negative marker in full clauses.

The other group of n-words is *mule/ mulokk/gidenna* 'never'. In this type as we can see there are no content question words like *ʔáyáá* 'what'. The n-word *mule* can stand itself or suffixed with *-kka* or can be substituted with *gidénna*. This is also used as a negative fragment answer alone without help of any sentential negative marker, but they need a verbal negative marker in full clauses.

This is also negative polarity items express minimal units of expressions. Moreover, it serves as a negative fragment answer alone without the help of any sentential negative marker, but they need a verbal negative marker in full clauses. These are not suffixed with *-nne/-kka*.

N-words that are giving negative fragment answers fail to give a negative contribution in a full clause. The sentential negative marker becomes licenser, and the n-word gives up its negative meaning which it had in fragment answer to sentential negative marker. Dawurotsuwa does not have an excuse for licensing n-words in any place in a clause: beginning, middle, or an end of a clause. Thus, it is a strict negative concord language and can be licensed by both stronger and weaker licenses.

Although Dawurotsuwa is a strict negative concord language, it is not prevented from expressing negation in situations such as fragment short answers, disjunction, and conjunctions. In addition, the negative indefinite pronouns consist of negative retroflex *-nn-/-kk-* which is the same as the sentential negative marker *-nn-/-kk-* but they are not inherently negative. The reason is they are not used for sentential negation in the absence of a sentential negative marker. They have neither a negative quantifier nor a negative polarity item. They do have their own feature; they carry negative features.

The n-words which are considered as carrying negative features are seen when they are grammatical in a certain context. These n-words are free-choice items. Non-veridical contexts are the licensers for Dawurotsuwa free choice items in absence of their predicate negative licenser. These include generic, possibility, necessity, imperative, interrogative, future, habitual, and comparatives (phrasal and clausal). These are not exhaustive lists of the licensing condition.

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## **Appendices**

### **Appendix-1: Paradigm**

#### **1. Completeness Marker:-dig-**

1SG:	<i>m-á-dig- áá-dd-ii</i>	‘I have eaten’
1PL:	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-o</i>	‘We have eaten’
2SG:	<i>m-á-dig- áá-dd-a</i>	‘You have eaten’
2PL:	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-itta</i>	‘You have eaten’
3SG.F:	<i>m-á-dig-áá-dd-u</i>	‘Se has eaten’
3SG.M	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-a</i>	‘He has eaten’
3PL:	<i>m-í-dig-éé-dd-ino</i>	‘Theyhave eaten’

## 2. Definiteness

Definite Subjective		Indefinite Subjective	
<i>kan-ai</i>	‘the dog’	<i>kan-ai</i>	‘a dog’
<i>der-í</i>	‘the mountain’	<i>der-í</i>	‘a mountain’
<i>gaamm-ú</i>	‘the lion’	<i>gaamm-ú</i>	‘a lion’
<i>mac’c’a-wé</i>	‘the female’	<i>mac’c’a-wé</i>	‘a female’
Definite Objective		Indefinite Objective	
<i>kan-á</i>		<i>kan-á</i>	
<i>der-ía</i>		<i>der-ía</i>	
<i>gaamm-ua</i>		<i>gaamm-ua</i>	
<i>mác’c’a-nn-ó</i>		<i>mác’c’a-nn-ó</i>	

## 3. Finite verbs inflect for person, number, and gender.

a)	1SG	<i>m-ái</i>	‘I eat’
	1PL	<i>m-éétto</i>	‘We eat’
	2SG	<i>m-aa</i>	‘You <sub>sg</sub> eat’
	2PL	<i>m-iita</i>	‘You <sub>pl</sub> eat’
	3SG.F	<i>m-áu</i>	‘She eats’
	3SG.M	<i>m-ee</i>	‘He eats’
	3PL	<i>m-iino</i>	‘They eat’

## 4. Converbs

-a/-aade groups

1SG	<i>door-a/-aade</i>
2SG	<i>door-a/-aade</i>
3SG.F	<i>door-a/-aade</i>
<i>-i/-iide</i>	
1PL	<i>door-i/-iide</i>
2PL	<i>door-i/-iide</i>
3SG.M	<i>door-i/-iide</i>
3PL	<i>door-i/-iide</i>

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## 5. Pronouns

No.	Types	Pronouns	
1	Personal	<i>táání</i>	‘I’
		<i>núúní</i>	‘we’
		<i>nééńí</i>	‘you <sub>sg</sub> ’
		<i>híntéńttú</i>	‘you <sub>pl</sub> ’
		<i>ʔá/ʔízá</i>	‘she’
		<i>ʔí</i>	‘he’
		<i>ʔúńtúńttú</i>	‘they’
2	Possessive	<i>ta</i>	‘my’
		<i>na</i>	‘our’
		<i>hinte</i>	‘your’
		<i>ʔi</i>	‘her’
		<i>ʔa</i>	‘his’
		<i>ʔuntu</i>	‘their’

		<i>há</i>	‘this’
		<i>hé</i>	‘that’
<b>3</b>	<b>Demonstrative</b>	<i>héwaa</i>	‘that one’
		<i>híni</i>	‘that far’
		<i>híníwaa</i>	‘that one, far away’
		<i>ʔáyáá</i>	‘what’
		<i>ʔóóní</i>	‘who’
<b>4</b>	<b>Interrogative</b>	<i>ʔáwúdé</i>	‘when’
		<i>ʔóóná</i>	‘whom’
		<i>hák’á</i>	‘where’
		<i>hák’awaá</i>	‘which’

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### 5. Imperfective Aspect and Negation

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<i>dos-ai</i>	love-1SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).AFF
<i>dos-í-kk-e</i>	love-1SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-AFF:1SG
<i>dos-éétto</i>	love-1PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).AFF:1PL
<i>dos-ó-kk-o</i>	love-1PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-AFF:1PL
<i>dos-úno</i>	love-3PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-AFF:3PL
<i>dos-í-kk-ino</i>	love-3PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-3PL
<i>dos-aa</i>	love-2SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).AFF
<i>dos-á-kk-a</i>	love-2SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-2SG
<i>dos-iita</i>	love-2PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).AFF
<i>dos-í-kk-ita</i>	love-2Pl.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-2PL
<i>dos-ee</i>	love-3SG.M.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).AFF
<i>dos-é-nn-a</i>	love-3SG.M.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-3SG.M
<i>dos-áú</i>	love-3SG.F.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).AFF
<i>dos-ú-kk-u</i>	love-3SG.F.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-3SG.F

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### 6. Perfective Aspect and Negation

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<i>dos-áá-dd-i</i>	love-1SG-PFV-AFF:1SG
<i>dos-á-béi-kk-e</i>	love-1SG-PFV-NEG-1SG
<i>dos-áá-dd-u</i>	love-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F
<i>dos-á-béi-kk-u</i>	love-3SG.F-PFV-NEG-3SG.F
<i>dos-éé-dd-o</i>	love-1PL-PFV-AFF:1PL
<i>dos-í-béi-kk-o</i>	love-1PL-PFV-NEG-1PL
<i>dos-áá-dd-a</i>	love-2SG-PFV-AFF:2SG
<i>dos-á-béi-kk-a</i>	love-2SG-PFV-NEG-2SG
<i>dos-éé-dd-ita</i>	love-2PL-PFV-AFF:2PL
<i>dos-í-béi-kk-ita</i>	love-2PL-PFV-NEG-2PL
<i>dos-éé-dd-ino</i>	love-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL
<i>dos-í-béi-kk-ino</i>	love-3PL-PFV-NEG-3PL
<i>dos-éé-dd-a</i>	love-3SG.M-PFV-3SG.M
<i>dos-í-béé-nn-a</i>	love-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-3SG.M

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### **7. Perfective Aspect Interrogative and Negation**

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<i>dos-áá-dd-ítá</i>	love-1SG-PFV-Q:1SG
<i>dos-á-béi-kk-ítá</i>	love-1SG-PFV-NEG-Q:1SG
<i>dos-éé-dd-ó</i>	love-1PL-PFV-Q:1PL
<i>dos-í-béi-kk-óó</i>	love-1PL-PFV-NEG-Q:1PL
<i>dos-áá-dd-í</i>	love-2SG-PFV-Q:2SG
<i>dos-á-béi-kk-íí</i>	love-2SG-PFV-NEG-Q:2SG
<i>dos-éé-dd-íté</i>	love-2PL-PFV-Q:2PL
<i>dos-í-béi-kk-íté</i>	love-2PL-PFV-NEG-Q:2PL
<i>dos-éé-dd-é</i>	love-3SG.M-PFV-Q:3SG.M
<i>dos-í-béé-nn-é</i>	love-3SG.M-PFV-NEG-Q:3SG.M
<i>dos-áá-dd-é</i>	love-3SG.F-PFV-Q:3SG.F
<i>dos-á-béi-kk-éé</i>	love-3SG.F-PFV-NEG-Q:3SG.F
<i>dos-éé-dd-ínó</i>	love-3PL-PFV-Q:3PL
<i>dos-í-béi-kk-ínó</i>	love-3PL-PFV-NEG-Q:3PL

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### **8. Imperfective Interrogative and Negation**

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<i>dos-áítá</i>	love-1SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-í-kk-ítá</i>	love-1SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:1SG
<i>dos-ééttó</i>	love-1PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-ó-kk-óó</i>	love-1PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:1PL
<i>dos-ái</i>	love-2SG.IPF( <sub>vφ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-í-kk-íí</i>	love-2SG.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:2SG
<i>dos-ítté</i>	love-2PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-í-kk-íté</i>	love-2PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:2PL
<i>dos-íí</i>	love-3SG.M.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-é-nn-éé</i>	love- 3SG.M.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:3SG.M
<i>dos-ái</i>	love- 3SG.F.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-é-kk-éé</i>	love-3SG.F.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:3SG.F
<i>dos-íínó</i>	love-3PL.IPFV( <sub>vφ</sub> ).Q
<i>dos-í-kk-ínó</i>	love-3PL.IPFV( <sub>φ</sub> )-NEG-Q:3PL

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## 9. N-words Formation

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Indefinite pronouns	N-word form	Remark
<i>ʔittí</i> ‘one’	<i>ʔittú-nne</i>	
	<i>ʔittú-kka</i>	
<i>ʔóón-</i> ‘who/whom’	<i>ʔóóní-nne</i>	
	<i>ʔóóní-kka</i>	
<i>ʔáyáá</i> ‘what’	<i>ʔáyáy-nne</i>	
	<i>ʔáyáy-kka</i>	
<i>ʔáidé</i> ‘when’	<i>ʔáidé-nne</i>	
	<i>ʔáidé-kka</i>	

<i>háak'á</i> ‘where’	<i>háak'á-nne</i>	
	<i>háak'á-kka</i>	
Proper noun + <i>kka</i>	Example:	Scalar usage
	<i>Dááná-kka</i>	

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## Appendix-2: Text 1 ?agizetossayhanuwa, hanuwa Agize’s practicality

Story told by Dogiso Dolango; age 40

1. *beni ?itti golle-n ?oyddu ?asaide ?-ee*  
ago one house-LOC four person exist-3SG.M.IPFV(<sub>φ</sub>).AFF

‘Once upon the time there were four people in a family’

2. *hewanttu-kka ?aawu, ?aatta, naatta-nne na?ai de?-iino.*

those-too father, mother, daughter-and boy exist-3PL.IPFV(<sub>φ</sub>).AFF  
 ‘They were father, mother, daughter and boy’

3. *yaat-oode deʔ-iina deʔ-iina ʔaawu-nne ʔaatta-nne*  
 as-when exist-while exist-while father-and mother-and die  
 ‘While they were living, father and mother died.’

4. *yaat-oode laaʔʔu naanatuwa s’alaalay ʔatt-oyino*  
 as-when two children only remain-3PL.IPFV(<sub>φ</sub>).AFF  
 ‘Then two: brother and sister were left.’

5. *laʔʔatu-kka barenttu ʔaawaa golliya-n deʔ-išiin ʔúnttúttú*  
 two-even their father-ABL house-LOC exist-while their  
  
*deʔ-ia golli wodiš-éé-dd-a*  
 exist-RELZ house fell-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M  
 ‘While they were living, the house they were living fell down.’

6. *deʔ-ia.saʔai d’ayowaa-ppe dennd-owaa-n ʔoog-ia*  
 exist-REL\_land extinct-ABL stand-NMN-by street-ACC  
  
*doona-n gaabbaa gaabb-iide deʔ-ua doomm-éé-dd-ino.*  
 mouth-LOC shelter-ACC make-CVB life-ACC start-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL  
 ‘Then they made shelter a road side and started living.’

7. *doomm-i simm-oode m-ia-bai d’ay-owaa-ppe*  
 tart-CVB after-when eat-RELZ-thing extinct-NMZ-ABL

*dennd-owaa-n barentto heeraa ʔasa-u wolk’k’-aa*  
 start-NMN-by their neighbor person-DAT power-ACC

*ʔoosua ʔoots-i ʔoots-i ʔah-i*  
 work work-CVB work-CVB bring-CVB

*ʔah-i m-iino.*

bring-CVB eat-3SG.IPFV(<sub>φ</sub>).AFF

‘When they lacked something to eat, they started working for their neighbors.’

8. *ʔahi ʔahi m-ina ʔitti gallassi miccatto sakuu*  
bring bring eat-while one day sister disease

*ʔoikk-ée-dd-a.*

catch-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘Once his sister got sick when they lived in this way’

9. *ʔoykk-owaa-ppe dendd-owaa-n ʔišai barekka*  
catch-NMZ-ABL start-NMZ-by brother himself

*wolk'kk'aa ʔoosua ʔoots-i ʔoots'i ʔakk-i*  
power work work-CVB work-CVB take-CVB

*yi-nne y-iinne, 'ta miccee ta miccattee ʔifits'aa*  
come-and come-and my sister my sister door-ACC

*dooyy-iina gel-áná, ' g-oode ʔifitsaa dooyy-a*  
open-CVB enter-SBJV,' say-when door open-IMP

*dooyy-a gell-iss-au*

open-IMP enter- CAUS-3SG.F.AFF

‘When his sister got sick, brother worked alone and brought food for himself and his sister. When he arrived at the door, he used to chant, “My sister, my sister open the door”. Then his sister opened the door soon and he entered.’

10. *hewa-daani ʔahi ʔahi deʔ-iʃiin ʔitti gallassi ʔaho*  
 that-as bring bring exist-while one day bring

*waaʃini, “ta micce ta miccate ʔifitsaa doyy-ina gel-ána,”*  
 cry my sister my sister door open-CNV enter-SBJV,”

*g-iina g-iina doy-e-nn-aa-n*  
 say-CVB say-CVB open-AGR-NEG-AGR-by

*ʔis’s’aaʔagg-áá-dd-u.*

prohibit leave-3SG.F-PFV-AFF:3SG.F

‘When they lived in this manner, one day her came and chanted as usual, “My sister, my sister, open the door I would enter,” but his sister did not open the door.’

11. *ʔišai ʔifitsaa mentsi gel-oode babarkkii gollia*  
 brother door break-CVB enter-when himself house

*lukuwa-nna geli moowaʃiin huup’-enne s’alaala*  
 hole-COM enter-CVB see head only

*ʔaʃʃi dig-éé-dd-o*

left remove-1PL-PFV-AFF:1PL

‘When the brother broke through and entered the shelter, only the head of her sister was remaining.’

12. *yaato ʔišai ʔutt-i yekk-i yekkowa-ʃiin*  
 that because sit-CVB cry-CVB cry-PROG

*ʔaawu-nne ʔaatta mog-ett-o*  
 father-and mother buried-PASS-RELZ

*d'uufua b-oowe ?aawu mata gakkowašin,*  
 tomb good-REL father near arrive-while,

“*?abbo ?abbušeé né ta-u*  
 “dad, dad you I-DAT

*s'eessina koy-ikki,” ?aatti-kko bowaššin*  
 call-CVB respond-EMP” mother-VOC go-NOM,

“*?immo immaamme ne ta-u s'eessina*  
 “mam, mam you I-DAT call-CVB

*koy-ikki” g-i yeekk-i yeekk-owašin ?awuwa-ppe*  
 respond-EMP say-CVB cry-CVB cry-RELZ.PFV father-ABL

*?aatti-ppe-nne gidduwaa-n sulttiš-éé-dd-a.*  
 mother-ABL-and middle-LOC hung-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘After crying for so long, he went to tomb of his parents. Turning to the tomb of his father he said, “Why you did not answer when I called you?” and then turned to his mother and asked similar question. Finally, he hung himself in a tree between his father’s and mother’s tomb.’

### Appendix-3: Text 2?otooroKuttatto

Grade-4 Students’ book

#### Otoro’s Hen

- genni lootama-nne daanna kac’e na?a-tetsaa-ppe*  
 Mrs. Lootama-and Mr. Kac’ee child-hood-ABL



6. *ʔaawuu-kka ʔotoora dari dos-iino*  
 father-too Otoro very love-3PL.IPFV(ϕ).AFF  
 ‘His father loves him too much’

7. *ʔitti wode ʔotooro-nne daanna kac’e ʔittippe baaʔeelaa*  
 one when Otoron-and Mr. Kache together corn

*bukk-iidde peeš-ée-dd-ino*  
 beat-PROG stay-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL

‘One day Otoro and his father separating the seed of bean from its hull’

8. *ʔaawu bare naana-u heezoo-kka baaʔeelaa k’ašia g-iide*  
 father his son-DAT three-even bean share say-CVB

*ʔimm-ée-dd-ino*  
 give-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL

‘Father gave his three sons their share’

9. *ʔotooro bare k’aš-ia baaʔeelaa zalʔ-iide ʔitti k’eeri kutto*  
 Otoro his share bean sell-CVB one Saturday hen

*maratto šamm-ée-dd-a*  
 chick buy-3SG.M.PFV.AFF

‘Otoro sold his share and bought chick on a Saturday.’

10. *kutto maratto katsaa muz-iidde dic-i*  
 hen chick food eat-PROG grow-CVB

*dar-iss-éé-dd-a*

multiply-CAUS-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘He made the chick grow faster by giving food’

11. *k'uuk'ullia k'uukilli-n m-aana-u ʔamottina-kka kuttatta*  
egg lay-CVB eat-SBJV-to want-even hen

*k'uuk'ullia ʔis's'ina zal'-ana g-iide mal-éé-dd-a*

egg reluctant sell- SBJV say-CVB think-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘Although he was eager to eat the eggs when she laid, the hen could not lay any egg; so he thought to sell her.’

12. *ha k'ofa-n deʔ-išin k'opp-e-nna-n ʔitti gallassa*  
this thought-in exist-while thought-AGR-NEG-CVB one day

*ʔotooro kuttatta work'aa kuuk'ullia k'uuk'ull-aa-dd-u*

Otoro hen gold egg lay-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘When he was thinking to sell, his hen incidentally laid a golden egg.’

13. *sooʔ asaa bess-inaʔ ubbai-kka našecani k'uuk'ulia*  
home people show-CVB all-even surprise egg

*work'a keetsa ʔaf-i daro biraani zalʔʔ-éé-dd-ino.*

gold house take-CVB many money sell-3PL-PFV-AFF:3PL

‘All his families got surprised, and got a lot of money by selling to goldsmith.’

14. *ʔotooro kuttatta-kka ʔagenaa-ni ʔagenaa-ni ʔitti ʔitti k'uuk'ullia*  
Otoro hen-too month-LOC month-LOC one one egg

*k'uuk'ulli-na he soo asa-u k'opp-e-nn-a*  
 Lay-CVB that house people-DAT think-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

*duria ?imm-áá-dd-u*  
 wealth give-3SG.F-PFV.AFF

‘The hen laid one golden egg per month and the family became a rich.’

14. *hawa dem-o ?otooro ?aabbuyawunia daruwan ?itti gallassa*  
 that find-CVB Otoro father many one day

*?asaa ?ubbai kiita-u b-ee-dd-a wodia-n ?otooro kuttatto*  
 People all order-DAT go-PFV-RELZ season-in Otoro hen

*?oikk-i s'eell-oode dees'ua Šucca gid-ina, ha kuttatta*  
 carry-CVB see-when weight stone be-CVB this hen

*kumetsa-n-kka work'a gid-e-nn-a-n ?att-ukku g-ia*  
 full-LOC-even gold be-3SG.F-NEG-3SG.F-CVB left-NEG say-RELZ

*k'ofaa-ni kuttatto Šukk-i ?agg-éé-dd-a*  
 thought-LOC hen Slaughter-CVB leav-3SG.M-PF-AFF:3SG.M

‘Once his families were not existed, he carried the hen; she was too heavy and thought she was full of golden eggs, and slaughtered her.’

15. *kuttatti ?uluwa-n ?itti work'i-nne d'y-éé-dd-a.*  
 hen stomach-LOC one gold-even not.exist-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘But he could not get any gold inside the hen’

16 *soy* *ʔasai* *ʔubbai* *kayyuwa-n* *gel-i.*  
house people all disappointment-LOC enter-CVB

*ʔatt-ée-dd-a*

leave-3SG.M-PFV-AFF:3SG.M

‘All the family got sad.’

## Appendix 4: MorkkiawanttaDossite

### ‘Love Your Enemy’

Name of the Preacher: Abaata Abbitsa

District: Marak’a Orthodox Church

Kebele: Daaka

1. *s’oossaa k’aala tamaaru-waa-nne tamar-iss-ua wogaa dawurootsuwan*  
God word learn-NMZ-and teaching-CAUS culture Dawurotsuw-INST  
‘God’s word teaching and learning in Dawurotsuwa.’

2. *ʔubba ʔasatuu-kka s’oossaa naagua-dan ʔai mala hawaa*  
all persons-even God keeping-as what like here

*y-éé-dd-ítée g-aidde sarotaa ʔubbato-kka šiišš-ai*  
come-2PL-PFV-Q say-PROG greeting all-even present-1SG.IPFV.AFF  
‘I greet everybody who are able to come here in help of God.’

3. *nag-ee-dd-a s’oossa sunt<sup>s</sup>ai ʔanj-ett-o ʔamenʔʔi g-iite*  
keep-RELZ God name bless-PASS-ADM amen say-2PL.IMP  
‘The name of God who have kept us safe may be blessed.’

4. *s’oossai hawaa barena koyy-ii dešiiik’-ee-dd-a ʔasaa k’aalaa*  
God here Himself seek-CVB love-RELZ.PFV people word

*tamaaru-iss-áná-w dandday-ee*  
teach-CAUS-SBJV-DAT able-3SG.M.AFF

‘God can teach His people who came here by loving and seeking Him.’

5. *s’oossa-u ʔane galataigido yag-ite*  
God-DAT which praise deserve say-2PL.IMP

‘Say praise God’

6. *gujaani-kka s'oossai nuuna tamaar-iss-áná-u s'oossa-u*  
 addition-too God us teach-CAUS-SBJV-DAT God-DAT

*kaalaideʔ-ee*

wordexist-3SG.M.AFF

‘In addition, God has words to teach us.’

7. *s'oossai nuuna tamaar-iss-áná-u Luk'aasa mas'aafa 6:27-36*  
 God us teach-CAUS-SBJV-PURP Luke book 6:27-36

*gakk- áná-u deʔiak'aalaa.*

arrive-SBJV-to exist-RELZ word

‘God wants to teach us from His word in Luk. 6:27-36’

8. *ha sohuwa s'oossaa k'aalaa-ppe huup'e kaara*  
 this place God word-ABL main topic

*kes-oode hinttena*

extract-when you(PI)

*ʔittiyawantta siik-ite g-ia huuphe kaara dem-éetto,*

one-another love-PL.IMP say-RELZ main topic find-1PL.AFF

‘When we give title for this verse, it can be ‘Love one another’

9. *ha so huwaa-n woykko Lukaas 6:27 s'oossaa k'aalai nu*  
 this place-LOC or LUK 6:27 God word our

*haasa-iidde morkkiya wantta dos-ite yaag-ee.*

speak-PROG enemy love-2PL.IMP say-3SG.M.AFF

‘In this verse it says love your enemies.’

10. *loʔʔua ʔoot<sup>s</sup>-ite hinttena dossia-wa-ntta s'alaala gid-e-nn-a-šiin*  
 good do-2PL.IMP you-PL love-NMZ-PL only be-3PL-NEG-3PL-but

*ʔis's'ia-waa-tto-kka loʔʔua ʔoots-ite g-ee*  
 dislike-NMN-PL-even good do-2PL.IMP say-3SG.M.AFF

‘Do good; love not only those who love you but also those who hate you’ it says.

11. *gusaani-kka ʔanjite šekiawaatta, dugešiik-oode ʔitti bagga*  
 say-too bless love down approach-when one side

*šayiya bak'-oode yekkua bessite yag-ee*  
 face slap-when another show-2PL.IMP say-3SG.M.AFF

*yuuyyi wod'd'a bak'k'og-ee-nn-a*  
 turn drop slap-ADM say-3SG.M-NEG-3SG.M

‘When you go down along this verse, even it says if one side your face is slapped, then turn the other side; it does not say give a slap for the slap.’

12. *gusaani-kka Luk'aasa 6:32 s'eell-oode s'oossaa k'aalai*  
 saying Luk 6:32 see-when God's word

*henttena dos-ia-wa-nttu s'alaala dos-ooppe ʔaya*  
 you Love-RELZ-NMZ-PL only love-COND what

*galatay deʔ-ii yaagee*  
 thanks exst-3SG.M.Q say-3SG.M.AFF

‘When we look at verse 32, ‘if you love only those who love you then what thanks would it have’ it says.

12. *hewa gid-ooppe nagara-ncca-tuu-kka bareнна*  
 that become-COND sin-er-PL-too himself

*doss-ia-wa-ntta*      *dosiino*,  
love-RELZ-NMZ-PL love

*henttetto*   *lo??uwa*   *?ootso-wa-ntto*   *lo??uwa*   *?oots-iya-wa*      *gid-ooppe*  
you-to      good      do-NMZ-PL      good      do-RELZ-NMZ      become-COND

*hewo?*   *ayaa*   *galatay*      *de?ii*      *s'oossaa*   *k'aalay*      *yaag-ee*.  
that      what      thanks      exis-Q      God's      word      say-3SG.M.AFF

If that is so, sinners also love those who love them; if you do good for those who do good for you, what thank would it have says God's word.

13. *gujaanikka*   *hintto*      *zaar-ana-u*  
addition-too      you      return-SBJV-PURP

*dendday-ia-wa-ntto*      *s'aalaalau*  
able-RELZ-NMZ-PL      only

*tal??-ooppe*      *hewo*      *?ayi*      *galatai*      *de?-ii*      *yaag-ee*  
lend-COND      that      what      thanks      exist-Q      say-3SG.M.AFF

“In addition, if you lend for those who can return back, what thanks would it have” says.

14. *bare*      *tal??owa*      *zaari*      *?akk-ána-u*      *nagara-ncca-tuu-kka*  
his      lend-NMN      back      take-SBJV-to      sin-er-PL-even

*tal??-ett-iino*      *yag-ee*      *s'oossaa*      *k'aalai*  
lend-PAS-3PL      say-3SG.M      God's      word

“Sinners also do that; they do lend to take back” says God's word.

15. *hewa*      *gid-ia*      *giššau*      *?amania*      *?asa*      *?ubbai*      *s'oossaa*  
that      become-RELZ      as      believe-RELZ      people      all      God

*k'aalaa-n ʔek'k'-áná-u košš-ee*  
 word-in stand-SBJV-PURP want-3SG.M.AFF

‘Therefore, believers should live according to the God’s word.’

16. *ta-kka hinttena hacci ʔitti-baa s'oossaa kaala-n borkkot-aadde*  
 I-too you-PL today one-PROP God word-in lean-CVB

*mak'-ana hewa-kka ʔayee g-ooppe pirddaa-ppe saluwa-n*  
 advise-SBJV that-too what say-COND judgment-ABL heaven-in

*deʔua demm-áná-u ʔubbaatu-kka košš-ee*  
 life find-SBJV-PURP all-even need-3SG.M.AFF

‘Today I would like to advise you according to the Word of God that all should get eternal life in heaven sparing from judgment obeying His word.’

17. *ʔammaniawanttu hewaa-n šiiik'a-wan-tto ʔubbato*  
 believers here-LOC gather-NMZ-PL all

*dariʔa ak-iide 100 (s'eetua)*  
 very widene-CVB 100

*laaf-ooppe-nne 60 (ʔusuppuntammua) hewa-ppe laafa*  
 decrease-COND-even 60 that-from small

*geett-ett-oppe 30 (hattamua) ʔaiʔanau nuun s'oossai maadd-o*  
 say-PASS-COND30 fruitful us God help-HORT

*ʔameniʔʔi*

Amen

‘May God help believers who are gathered here to be fruitful 100%, if less 60%, if less 30%.’