

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUTE STUDIES

NEGATION IN AFAN OROMO

BY

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ADDIS ABABA

NEGATION IN AFAN OROMO

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the structure of negation in Afan Oromo. There are morphological and lexical negations in the language. The morphological negation is used with finite verbs and the lexical negation is used with non-finite verbs and nominals.

The verbal negative markers are used in perfective and imperfective clauses. In perfective clauses, **hin -n-** mark negation, and in imperfective clauses, **hin -u-** mark negation. In copular clauses, the form **miti** is used to mark negation. In nominals, the form **malee** is used to mark negation.

There are also inherently negative verbs in the language which may occur with the morphological negative marker and render affirmative reading. In addition to these, there are indefinite pronouns that may render negative readings. Negation interacts with functional categories such as aspect, agreement, focus and mood.

ABBREVIATIONS

- 1sg - first person, singular
- 2p - second person
- 3sgf - third person, singular, feminine
- Agr -agreement
- Asp - aspect
- Aux- auxiliary
- ben - benefactive
- cau - causative
- con - concessive
- conj - conjunction
- emp - emphatic
- Foc -focus
- Imp - Imperative
- IMP - Imperfective
- Inf - Infinitive
- Int - Interrogative
- Lit - Literal
- NAUX- negative auxiliary
- neg - negative
- NOM - nominative
- Pass - Passive
- PER - perfective
- Pl - plural
- Prg - progressive
- Rel - relativizer

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Afan Oromo is one of the languages of the Low-land East Cushitic group within the Cushitic family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum (Baye 1986; Wako 1981; Griefenow-Mewes 2001). The people call themselves ‘Oromo’ and their language Afan Oromo ‘language of Oromo’ literally ‘mouth of Oromo’. Afaan Oromoo is the name of the language eventhough some people call it ‘Oromiffaa’ or ‘Oromiñña’.

Stoomer (1995:7) says, “Oromo is, both in terms of geographical extension and in terms of number of speakers, an important African language”. He also mentions that, the language is spoken in almost all parts of the country. Accordingly, in the southern part, except Ogaden and Omo River, the language is spoken in all other parts (ibid). Baye (1986: 3) also states, “Within Ethiopia it [Afaan Oromoo] is spoken over a vast area of land stretching from the mid North to the far South and from the far-East to the Western border of the country”. The language is also spoken in neighboring countries like Kenya and Somalia (Griefenow-Mewes 2001, Gumii K’ormaata Afaan Oromoo 2003).

Different Scholars and researchers classify Afaan Oromoo into different dialect groups. Among these scholars, the following are some:

1. Bender et al. (1976), classify the language into the following dialect groups:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mačča (Western) | 5. Eastern |
| 2. Tulama (Central) | 6. ¹ Arusi |

¹ Nowadays the name Arsi is used.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| 3. Wollo (Northern) | 7. Guji |
| 4. Rayya (Northern) | 8. Borana |

These scholars add that the dialects are categorized as mutually intelligible (Bender et al.1976: 130).

2. In relatively similar manner, Baye (1986) mentions the following five dialects.

1. Mačča (Western Ethiopia)
2. Tulama (Central Ethiopia)
3. k'ottu (Eastern Ethiopia)
4. Rayya (Northern Ethiopia)
5. Borana (Southern Ethiopia)

3. Gragg (1976) puts the dialects into three groups.

1. Western (including Wollega)
2. East (especially Harar)
3. Southern (Borana)

4. In the same manner, Lloret (1994) classifies the dialects into just two, Western and Eastern groups.

Despite certain lexical and sound differences, the dialects are mutually intelligible, as Bender et al. have indicated (ibid).

Currently Afaan Oromoo is used as an official language in the Oromiya Regional State. In this region, it is used as a medium of instruction for grades 1 to 8 and also for training in Teachers Training Colleges. It is also taught at undergraduate and graduate levels in different universities. In the universities of Haromaya, Wollega, Jimma and Mada Wolabu, Afaan Oromoo is taught as a major course and in Addis Ababa University, it is taught at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. The university is also pioneering in

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introducing Afan Oromo into its programs as minor area course of studies in the Faculty of Language Studies.

According to the 2008 Ethiopian Population and Housing Census of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the number of Oromo in Ethiopia is 27,300,000.

Oromiya shares boundaries with Somali, Afar, Amahara, Benishangul-Gumuz, Gambela and the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional State.

1.2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

From the early 19th century, different scholars have developed different materials on Afan Oromo. The materials written focused on creating smooth relations between foreigners and speakers of the language. There were also materials on the language prepared for commercial purposes (Baye 1986:3).

Baye (1986) divided the literature written on Afan Oromo into three: (a) word list and/or dictionaries (b) pedagogical grammars and (c) descriptive sketches, whereas Gragg (1976) categorized it into two on the basis of contributions which are missionary and secular.

After discussing the works of foreigners, Gragg (1976) states that Ethiopians and the speakers of the language have been taking responsibilities in studying the language. Thus, many Ethiopians and foreigners are giving attention nowadays and the literature by both foreigners and Ethiopians is reviewed as follows.

From the 19th century onward, the works of foreigners opened the ways for the study of the language. The studies were, however, elementary produced for purposes of evangelization and literacy. The focus was not on the scientific description, but there were dictionaries and basic grammars developed.

K.Tustcheck prepared Oromo-English-German dictionary which was published in 1844, and a grammar in 1845. Tustcheck did not see the publication as he died in 1843. His brother L.Tustcheck published the books. Gragg (1976: 167) states, "More detailed information was forthcoming from K.Tustcheck tutor to the Duke of Bavaria, who accomplished his charge to the Sudan where he bought out of captivity four slaves in 1838 and brought them back to Europe". K.Tustcheck prepared the dictionary and a grammar book with the help of his informant, one of the four slaves he bought from Sudan.

Foot published an Oromo-English Dictionary in 1913 and Salt, when he came to Ethiopia, gathered some (around 130) words in Afan Oromo with English equivalents. The words were included in his book published in 1814.

Another book was that of Launhardt (1973) 'Guide to learning [Oromo] language' based on the Wollega dialect. The book was written in Ethiopian script following Onesimos Nesib's books. The book was prepared for people who want to know basic things to communicate in Afan Oromo.

Martin Nordfeldt also prepared a grammar in 1938 which was published in 1947. This book also gives general overview on the language. Hodson and Walker's (1922) is an elementary grammar book designed to teach the language for communication. Griefenow-Mewes (2001) prepared a general grammar of Afan Oromo entitled 'A Grammatical Sketch of Written Oromo'. The book covers phonology, morphology, and syntax. Compared to the other grammar books, this book is complete as a pedagogical material and gives general linguistic information about the language. In relation to negation she said, "The Oromo language has one negative particle **hin** which is used to negate all conjugated verbs" (Griefenow-Mewes 2001: 105).

B.W Andrzejewski studied mostly the Borana dialect. In 1957, he did the phonology and in 1966, he analyzed the tone of the dialect. E.J. Webster, who participated in the

translation of some gospels into Afan Oromo, published a study of certain prefixes and particles on the same dialect (Gragg 1976).

The works of Bender and Mulugeta (1976) is what many researchers on Afan Oromo used as reference. The material gives general linguistic information about the language. It covers phonology, morphology and syntax. They mentioned negation with examples like da abuu 'be unable', iisuu 'leave', diduu 'refuse' ooluu, hafuu 'remain' but no detail was given. Gragg (1976) also mentioned negation in his discussion of sentence structures.

When we come to Ethiopians, the first to be mentioned is Onesimous Nesib. He has written different materials and translated others from different languages into Afan Oromo. Tesgera (1999) lists some of his works as follows:

- Galata Waak'k'ajjo Gooftaa Maččaa 'Praise of the almighty God'	1887
- New Testament	1893
- Jalk'aba dubbisaa 'First reader'	1894
- Holly Bible	1899
- Catechism	1899
- Si'a lama oduu 52 'Twice 52 folktales'	1899

The other studies are senior essays, theses and dissertations produced for academic purpose. These are the main works used as backbone for the study of Afan Oromo. In 1980's Baye and Eshetu carried out research on the language. Eshetu (1981) in his work 'The verb to be in Oromo' deals with auxiliary verbs in Afan Oromo. He showed some aspects of negation eventhough he did not identify the interaction negation has with other categories. Baye (1981) also describes the morphology of Oromo nouns and adjectives.

Abera Nefa in (1982) did a thesis on verb inflections and in 1988 on vowels in Oromo. In the same year, Abera produced an article on negation. The article is an independent material with paradigms of inflection. It differs from the present study in its content, as the present study is much broader and syntactic in presentation.

Taha Yasin (1990) studied the focus system of Oromo which includes negation. He claimed that 'hin-' is used as a focus marker as well as a negative marker with varying pitch patterns. It is used as a negative marker with high pitch. Gemeda Hunde (2006) deals with negation briefly. He mentioned that negative elements in the language are: 'hin -n-', 'hin-' and 'miti'. He did not treat them exhaustively as his focus was on general functional categories.

A grammar of Afan Oromo is prepared by Abdulsamad Mohammad in 1994 and by Gumii k'ormaata Afaan Oromoo 'Oromo language committee' in 2003. The two books seem the same in their contents eventhough the nomenclature they use is different. For instance, Abdulsamad says 'fi'iila' for verb and Gumii k'ormaata Afaan Oromoo says 'gočča'. Nowadays, the book by 'Oromo language committee' is used as a teaching material in colleges and universities.

1.3. THE PRESENT STUDY

As observed from the review, only few researchers have dealt with negation. Even those do not focus on the topic; but raised it in passing. Those who have discussed it have different ideas. Griefenow-Mewes says that there is only one particle '*hin-*' whereas Gemeda says there are '*hin -n-*', '*hin-*' and '*miti*'. The present study focuses on negation in general and attempts to fill in some gaps.

1.4. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Despite the fact that the language is spoken by a large number of people over a large area, little has been done on its structure. There are various reasons for this. One of these is the inconvenient situation before 1991. Since 1991, many researchers have been working on the language. Especially Ethiopians are giving attention to the phonology and morphology of the language but little attention is given to the syntax. As mentioned in the review, no work has been done on negation as an independent issue. This thesis attempts to treat the topic independently.

1.5. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The following are the general and specific objectives of the study:

1.5.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study is to describe the syntax of negation in Afan Oromo and its interaction with other categories.

1.5.2. Specific Objective

The specific objectives are the following

- (a) To identify the negative markers in the language
- (b) To show the effect of negative elements on other constituents in a clause
- (c) To show the interaction of negation with aspect, tense, agreement and other functional categories

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study may:

- (a) provide useful information on the property of negation in related languages
- (b) help language teachers
- (b) serves as resource material for future research

1.7. SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The present study is limited to the syntax of negation as manifested in the Mačča dialect. Thus, data was collected from native speakers of the Mačča dialect through elicitation. The researcher's native intuition of the language is also used, as she is a native speaker of the same dialect. The collected data are described, analyzed; and transcribed phonemically.

CHAPTER TWO

FORMS AND TYPES OF NEGATION

2.1. NEGATION

Negation as defined by Radford (2004:237) is, “A process or construction in which some proposition is said to be false”. It is an operation used to falsify an idea, which is believed to be true. The definition given in Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics (2006:560) also supports this; it says, “The negation operator is a function that maps truth to falsity and falsity to truth.” According to (Horn 1978: 127) negation has a central position in communication. It is a universal feature of language which is overtly marked in all languages (Dahl 1979:79, Lindstad 2007: 3).

Different forms can express negation in different languages. Three of these are mentioned in Dahl (1979:96) and Lindstad (2007: 4). They are: (a) morphological elements on verbs (b) auxiliary verbs (c) adverb like particles. In addition, Lindstad (2007) mentioned a variety which he calls bipartite or embracing negation. He did not give details about it since it is not common in the languages he described. He says, “Negation expressed by two different markers in tandem, alternatively one discontinuous marker” (Lindstad 2007:5). One can argue that in Afan Oromo negation is bipartite since the free negative particle **hin** occurs with **-n-/-u-** with the same verb.

In Afaan Oromoo, a verbal negative marker is attached to finite clauses whereas in non-finite clauses inherently negative lexemes are used. The negative marker is pre- and post-verbal. In (Payne 1985: 224), it is stated that, in addition to negative particles, a further particle can be added elsewhere in a sentence which forms a pair of linked negatives. French is given as an example in which a negative marker surrounds the verb as in, *je ne chante pas* ‘I do not sing’ where *ne* and *pas* are pairs of a negative marker in the language (ibid). In Afaan Oromoo too, the negative marker surrounds the verb as in the French

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example. The first particle of the negative pair **hin** always comes before the root verb and no affix is found between it and the root verb. However, the second negative pair **-n/-u-**, which is post verbal, is not always attached immediately to the root verb. There is a case where the person marker is attached to the root verb and **-n/-u** comes following it.

In perfective clauses, the negative marker is **hin -n-** and in the imperfective clauses it is **hin -u-**. Gemeda (2006) and Hawine (2007) state that **-u** is an imperfect aspect marker in negative constructions. However, one can argue that there is an imperfective marker **-a** in negative verbs and **-u** is the negative marker. The aspect marker **-a** is deleted since the two vowels cannot co-occur in the language. The order is *neg- V- neg -Asp* in both imperfective and perfective verbs. The first pair of the negative marker **hin** is free whereas the second element **-n/-u** is an affix.

2.2. TYPES OF NEGATION

2.2.1. Verbal negation

Verbs are lexemes that express action and/or event and they can be in different aspectual forms.

2.2.1.1. Perfective Verbs

A perfective verb shows completed action and such a verb shows the perfective aspect marker **-e**. The imperfective marker is **-a**, as will be shown later.

Examples are given here with the verb **fiig-** 'run'

1(a) Ani fiig - e

I run - PER

'I ran.'

- (b) Ati fiig - t - e [fiigde]
 you run - 2p- PER
 'You ran.'
- (c) Inni fiig - e
 he run - PER
 'He ran.'
- (d) Iŝeen fiig - t - e [fiigde]
 she run - 3sgf- PER
 'She ran.'
- (e) Nu?i fiig - n - e [fiinne]
 we run - Pl - PER
 'We run.'
- (f) Isin fiig - t - an [fiigdan]
 you run - 2p- Pl
 'You ran.'
- (g) Isaan fiig - an
 they run - Pl
 'They ran.'

The examples (1a-g) show that the perfective marker is *-e* and it shows that the action is completed. Except the second person and third person plural, the aspect marker follows the person affixes. In the second and third person plural (1f&g), the perfective aspect marker is not overtly marked.

The negative counterparts of the above perfective clauses are the following.

2. (a) Ani hin fiig - n - e [finne]

I neg run - neg - PER

'I did not run.'

(b) Ati hin fiig- n - e [finne]

you neg run- neg- PER

'You did not run.'

(c) Inni hin fiig- n- e [finne]

he neg run - neg- PER

'He did not run.'

(d) Iſeen hin fiig - n - e [finne]

she neg run - neg- PER

'She did not run.'

(e) Nu?i hin fiig - n - e [finne]

we neg run - neg- PER

'We did not run.'

(f) Isin hin fiig - n - e [finne]

you neg run - neg - PER

'You did not run'

(g) Isaan hin fiig - n - e [finne]

they neg run- neg - PER

'They did not run.'

These examples show that the verb, which inflects for person and number in the affirmative perfective form, does not show the agreement affixes overtly in the negative counterpart.

The negative marker in the perfective clause is the particle **hin** and the suffix **-n-**. The first particle is free whereas the second element is an affix attached to the verb. The affix ²**-n-** is attached immediately to the root verb **fiig-**.

The absence or the misplacement of any one of the negative elements lead to ungrammaticality or renders a different sense as in the following.

3. * (a) Hin išeen fiig- n – e [fiinne]
neg she run- neg- PER
'Not she ran.'

(b) Išeen hin fiig - t – e [fiigde]
she foc run- 3sgf- PER
'She ran.'

As the above sentences show, the second element of the negative marker is immediately attached to the verb in (3a) but the first pair is not in a proper place, in such cases, the sentences become ungrammatical. In (3b), there is only the element **hin**, and there is no suffix **-n-**, in these cases, the meaning becomes affirmative rather than negative, since **hin** is also used as a focus marker in the language. As a focus marker, it has low pitch (see Taha 1990).

² It does not mean that Afaan Oromoo has an infix, because the suffixes in this verb come one after the other. /-n-/ is not within the root verb, but between the verb and the other affix.

2.2.1.2. Imperfective Verb

The imperfective forms of verbs indicate incomplete action. The following are examples of affirmative imperfective clauses.

4. (a) Ani na- n fiig - a
I 1sg- foc run - IMP
'I will run.'
- (b) Ati hin fiig - t - a [fiigda]
you foc run -2p- IMP
'You will run.'
- (c) Inni hin fiig - a
he foc run - IMP
'He will run.'
- (d) Iſeen hin fiig- ti [fiigdi]
she foc run- 3fsg
'She will run.'
- (e) Nu?i hin fiig- n - a [finna]
we neg run- Pl- IMP
'We will run.'
- (f) Isin hin fiig - t- u [fiigdu]
you foc run- 2p- Pl- IMP
'You will run.'
- (g) Isaan hin fiig - u [fiigu]
they foc run - Pl - IMP
'They will run.'

From the above examples, it is observed that the imperfective marker is **-a**. As shown in the perfective paradigm earlier, in the imperfective paradigm too, the aspect marker in the second and third person plural as well as in the third person singular feminine is not overtly marked. Furthermore, the plural marker for second and third person plural is **-u**. One can argue that, the aspect marker is underlingly there in (4d and 4f-g) , but when the aspect marker and the vowel of the feminine marker **-ti** (4d) or the plural marker **-u** (4f-g) come in sequence, the aspectual vowel **-a** disappears, because the language does not allow two different vowels in a sequence. In imperfective clauses, the focus marker occurs before the verb, and the agreement marker, which is immediately attached to the root verb, appears before the aspect marker, so the order is *loc- V- Agr- Asp* where aspect could be covert.

In perfective clauses, the focus marker **hin** is optional whereas in imperfective clauses it is obligatory with some verbs. Only kids use imperfective verbs without the focus marker **hin** as in the following.

5 *(a) Ani fiig- a

I run- IMP

‘I run.’

*(b) Nu?i fiig- n- a [fiinna]

we run- pl- IMP

‘We run.’

*(c) Isaan fiig- u

they run- Pl

‘They run.’

In imperfective clauses the negative marker **hin -u-** is attached to the verb. The first negative element is free and is found before the root verb and the second is an affix attached to the verb as in (6 a & c), after the person and number marker as in (6 b& d) and (6 e- g), respectively.

6 (a) Ani hin fiig - u

I neg run - neg

‘I will not run.’

(b) Ati hin fiig - t - u [fiigdu]

you neg run- 2p- neg

‘You will not run.’

(c) Inni hin fiig - u

he neg run- neg

‘He will not run.’

(d) Iŕeen hin fiig - t - u [fiigdu]

she neg run -3sgf - neg

‘She will not run.’

(e) Nu?i hin fiig- n- u [fiinnu]

we neg run- Pl- neg

‘We will not run.’

(f) Isin hin fiig- t- an - u [fiigdanu]

you neg run -2p- Pl - neg

‘You will not run.’

(g) Isaan hin fiig - an- u

they neg run- Pl- neg

‘They will not run.’

In affirmative clauses **-u** is used as a plural marker, whereas in negative clauses it serves as a negative marker, the plural marker in such clauses is **-(a)n-**.

As stated before, the particle **hin** has a different pitch in affirmative and negative clauses. In affirmative clauses, it has low pitch and it shows focus, whereas in negative clauses, it has high pitch and it shows negation.

2.2.1.3. Negation in modals and tense auxiliaries

Modals

As Radford (2004:236) states, modals are those elements which show modality. Modality induces “Notions such as possibility, futurity or necessity” (ibid). In Afan Oromo, modals include forms like; /*danda?*-/ /*ta?*-/, /*k’ab-*/. Except /*ta?*-/ all inflect for person, number, gender and aspect. The modals and auxiliaries can also be used as main verbs in the language. Consider the following examples.

7. (a) Inni barsiisaa ta?- a
he teacher be- IMP
‘He will be a teacher.’
- (b) Nu?i mana k’ab- n- a
we house have- pl- IMP
‘We have a house.’
- (c) Iſeen mana barumsaa j̣ir- ti
she school exist- 3sgf
‘She is at school.’
- (d) Isaan mana keessa tur- an
they house in exist- pl
‘They were in the house.’

As observed from (7a-d), the modals are used as main verbs. The main concern here is to describe the forms when they are used as modal or auxiliary verbs.

Danda?- 'can' / 'be able'

Affirmative	Negative
8 (a) Ani fiig- uu na- n danda?- a I run-Inf 1sg- foc can - IMP 'I can run.'	(a') Ani fiig- uu hin danda?- u I run -Inf neg can-neg 'I cannot run.'
(b) Ati fiig- uu danda? - t- a [dandeessa] You run- Inf can - 2p - IMP 'You can run.'	(b')Ati fig- uu hin danda? -t- u[dandeessu] you run- Inf neg can -2p- neg 'You cannot run.'
(c) Inni fiig -uu danda? - a he run- Inf can - IMP 'He can run'	(c') Inni fiig - uu hin danda? - u he run -Inf neg can - neg 'He cannot run.'
(d) Iŕeen fiig - uu danda?- ti [dandeessi] she run -Inf can - 3sgf 'She can run.'	(d')Iŕeen fiig - uu hin danda?- t- u[dandeessu] ³ she run - Inf neg can- 3sgf- neg 'She cannot run.'
(e) Nu?i fiig- uu danda?- n- a [dandeeña] we run-Inf can- Pl- IMP 'We can run.'	(e')Nu?i fiig- uu hin danda?- n- u [dandeeņu] we run- Inf neg can - Pl - neg 'We cannot run.'
(f) Isin fiig - uu danda? - t - u [dandeessu] you run-Inf can- 2p -IMP 'You can run.'	(f')Isin fiig -uu hin danda?- t- an-u[dandeessanu] you run- Inf neg can- 2p -Pl -neg 'You cannot run.'

³ When the glottal stop/?/ occurs with /t/ and /n/ it is softened.

(g) Isaan fiig - uu danda?- u
 They run - Inf can - Pl
 'They can run.'

(g') Isaan fiig- uu hin danda?- an- u
 they run- Inf neg can - Pl - neg
 'They cannot run.'

As illustrated in examples (8a-g), **fiig-** 'run' is infinitive and **danda?-** 'can' occur as a main verb inflecting for person, number, gender or aspect. The verbal negative marker, **hin -u-** is attached to it. If a negative marker is attached to the infinitive, the structure becomes ungrammatical as the following examples shown.

9 *(a) Inni hin fiig- u danda?- a
 he neg run- neg can- IMP

* (b) Isaan hin fiig-an- u danda?- u
 they neg run- Pl- neg can- Pl

ta? - 'may'

ta?- 'may' is an auxiliary that does not show any inflection. The affirmative and negative structures are given below.

10(a) Ani na- n fiig- a ta? - a
 I 1sg- foc run- IMP may- IMP
 'I may run.'

(a') Ani hin fiig -u- n ta?- a
 I neg run- neg- foc may- IMP
 'I may not run.'

(b) Ati hin fiig - t- a [fiigda] ta?- a
 you foc run - 2p- IMP may- IMP
 'You may run.'

(b') Ati hin fiig -t- u [fiigdu] ta? - a
 you neg run -2p- neg may - IMP
 'You may not run.'

(c) Inni hin fiig - a ta?- a
 he foc run- IMP may- IMP
 'He may run.'

(c') Inni hin fiig -u [fiigu] ta? - a
 he neg run- neg may - IMP
 'He may not run.'

- (d) Iṣeen hin fiig - ti [fiigdi] ta? - a (d') Iṣeen hin fiig - t- u [fiigdu] ta? - a
 she foc run-3sgf may- IMP she neg run-3sgf- neg may- IMP
 'She may run.' 'She may not run.'
- (e) Nu?i hin fiig- n-a [fiinne] ta? - a (e') Nu?i hin fiig- n- u [fiinnu] ta? - a
 We foc run-Pl-IMP may - IMP we neg run - Pl- neg may - IMP
 'We may run.' 'We may not run.'
- (f) Isin hin fiig- t- u [fiigdu] ta? - a (f') Isin hin fiig- t-an -u [fiigdan] ta? - a
 You foc run - 2p - Pl may-IMP you neg run-2p - Pl -neg may- IMP
 'You may run.' 'You may not run.'
- (g) Isaan hin fiig - u ta? - a (g') Isaan hin fiig - an- u [fiiganu] ta? - a
 they foc run - Pl may- IMP they neg run - Pl- neg may - IMP
 'They may run.' 'They may not run.'

In these examples, the auxiliary **ta?**- 'may' shows no inflection, it is the main verb **fiig-** that inflects for person, number, gender or aspect. The negative marker **hin** and the suffix **-u** also occur with it. However, in perfective clauses, the main verb inflects in affirmative clauses and the negative clauses show no change as discussed before.

- 11(a) Inni hin fiig- e ta? - a (a') Inni hin fiig - n - e [fiinne] ta? - a
 he foc run- PER may - IMP he neg run - neg - PER may- IMP
 'He might run.' 'He might not run.'
- (b) Isaan hin fiig- an ta? - a (b') Isaan hin fiig - n - e [fiinne] ta? - a
 they foc run - Pl may - IMP they neg run - neg - PER may - IMP
 'They might run.' 'They might not run.'

The auxiliary show the imperfective marker **-a**.

If the auxiliary **ta?** - shows the negative elements, the structure would be unacceptable as in (12) below.

12*(a) Inni fiig- e hin ta?-n- e
 he run- PER neg aux- neg- PER

* (b) Inni fiig- a hin ta?- u
 he run- IMP neg aux- neg

ta?- can be used as a main verb and it behaves like any other such verbs with regard to negation and agreement. Consider (13) for example.

13 (a) Yaad- ni kun hin ta?- a. (a') Yaad -ni kun hin ta?- u -a [ta?u]
 idea-NOM this foc be - IMP idea- NOM this neg be- neg- IMP
 'This idea is okay.' 'This idea is not okay.'

(b) Yaad- ni kun hin ta?- e (b') Yaad- ni kun hin ta?- n- e [taane]
 idea- NOM this foc be-PER idea- NOM this neg be- neg- PER
 'This idea was okay.' 'This idea was not okay.'

k'ab- 'must'

k'ab- 'must' can occur with a negative marker and also inflects for person, number, gender or aspect. In such contexts, the infinitive shows no inflection. Below are affirmative and negative clauses with the modal verb **k'ab-**.

14 (a) Ani fiig- uu- n k'ab- a (a') Ani fiig - uu hin k'ab - u
 I run- Inf- foc must - IMP I run- Inf neg must- neg
 'I must run.' 'I must not run.'

- (b) Ati fiig- uu k'ab - t - a [k'abda] (b') Ati fiig - uu hin k'ab - t - u [k'abdu]
 you run-Inf must- 2p- IMP you run - Inf neg must - 2p- neg
 'You must run.'
- (c) Inni fiig - uu k'ab- a (c') Inni fig- uu hin k'ab- u
 he run- Inf must- IMP he run- Inf neg must - neg
 'He must run.'
- (d) Iŕseen fiig- uu k'ab- ti [k'abdi] (d') Iŕseen fiig - uu hin k'ab - t -u [k'abdu]
 she run - Inf must 3sgm she run - Inf neg must - 3sgf - neg
 'She must run.'
- (e) Nu?i fiig - uu k'ab- n-a (e') Nu?i fiig -uu hin k'ab- n- u
 we run- Inf must - Pl -IMP we run -Inf neg must - Pl - neg
 'We must run.'
- (f) Isin fiig - uu k'ab- t - u [k'abdu] (f') Isin fiig- uu hin k'ab -t- an -u[k'abdanu]
 you run - Inf must - 2p - Pl you run -Inf neg must - 2p- Pl - neg
 'You must run.'
- (g) Isaan fiig - uu k'ab - u (g') Isaan fiig - uu hin k'ab- an - u
 they run - Inf must - Pl they run - Inf neg must- Pl - neg
 'They must run.'

As can be observed from the above examples, the modal **k'ab-** 'must' inflects for person, number, gender or aspect and shows the negative element.

There is no perfective form for the modal **k'ab-** 'must'. There is however a perfective form **k'ab-e** which is a main verb for the meaning 'hold'. As a modal verb, **k'ab-** takes the auxiliary **tur-** for past tense. In such structures, both **k'ab-** and **tur-** may inflect for

person, number, aspect or gender and the negative marker is attached to **k'ab-**. Here are examples.

15(a) Ani fiig- uu- n k'ab- a tur- e (a')Ani fiig- uu hin k'ab- u- n tur- e
 I run- Inf-foc must- IMP aux- PER I run- Inf neg must- neg- foc aux- PER
 'I had to run.' 'I must have not run.'

(b)Ati fiig- uu k'ab-t- a [k'abda] tur- t- e (b')Ati fiig- uu hin k'ab-t- u tur- t- e [k'abdu]
 you run- Inf must- 2p- IMP aux- 2p- PER you run- Inf neg must- 2p- neg aux- 2p- PER
 'You must have run.' 'You must not have run.'

(c)Inni fiig- uu k'ab- a tur- e (c')Inni fiig- uu hin k'ab- u tur- e
 he run- Inf must- IMP aux- PER he run- Inf neg must- neg aux- PER
 'He must have run.' 'He must not have run.'

(d)Isaan fiig- uu k'ab- u tur- an (d')Isaan fiig- uu hin k'ab- an- u tur- an
 they run- Inf must- Pl aux- Pl they run- Inf neg must- Pl- neg aux- Pl
 'They must have run.' 'They must not have run.'

The examples (15a-d) illustrate that the imperfective main verbs **k'ab-** and the auxiliary **tur-** inflect for person, number, gender or aspect in negative and in affirmative clauses. However, when the main verb **k'ab-** is in the imperfective aspect **tur-** is in the perfective aspect, and the negative marker is **-u-** and not **-n-**.

Tense Auxiliaries

Radford (2004: 220) defines auxiliary as "A term used to categorize items such as will/would/ can/could/ shall/should/ may/might/ ought and some uses of have/be/do/need/done". In Afan Oromo, **jir-** and **tur-** are auxiliaries used for marking non-past and past tenses, respectively.

ǰir-/

The non-past tense is expressed by the auxiliary **ǰir-** as in the following examples.

Present

16 (a) Nu?i sirb-aa ǰir- n- a
we dance-prg aux-Pl-IMP
'We are dancing.'

(a') Nu?i sirb- aa hin ǰir- n - u
we dance - prg neg aux- Pl- neg
'We are not dancing.'

(b) Išeen sirb-aa ǰir- ti
she dance -prg aux- 3sgf
'She is dancing.'

(b') Išeen sirb- aa hin ǰir- t - u
she dance -prg neg aux -3sgf - neg
'She is not dancing.'

(c) Ati sirb-aa ǰir-t-a
you dance-prg aux-2p-IMP
'You are dancing'

(c') Ati sirb -aa hin ǰir- t- u
you dance-prg neg aux- 2p- neg
'You are not dancing.'

As observed from the above examples, the main verb attaches the progressive aspect marker **-aa** and the auxiliary **ǰir-** inflects for number, person or gender, and occurs with the negative marker **hin -u-**

Future

17(a) Nu?i sirb-uu-f ǰir-n-a
we dance-Inf- for aux- pl- IMP
'We are going to dance.'

(a') Nu?i sirb- uu- f hin ǰir-n-u [iirru]
we dance- Inf- for neg aux-pl-neg
'We are not going to dance.'

(b) Išeen sirb-uu-f ǰir-ti
she dance- Inf- for aux- 3sgf
'She is going to dance.'

(b') Išeen sirb- uu- f hin ǰir- t- u
she dance- Inf- for neg aux-3sgf-neg
'She is not going to dance'

(c) Inni sirb-uu-f ĵir-a
 he dance-Inf-for aux-IMP
 'He is going to dance.'

(c') Inni sirb-uu-f hin ĵir- u
 he dance-Inf-for neg aux-neg
 'He is not going to dance.'

Example (17) shows that, **ĵir-** is in the non-past tense. In this case, the clause is infinitival and is followed by **-f** which is a postpositional complementizer (see Baye 1986). The negative marker occurs with the verb. As a main verb **ĵir-** inflect for person, number or gender. Here are examples.

18 (a) Inni ņaat-ee ĵir - a
 He eat-PER aux-IMP
 'He has eaten'

(a') Inni ņaat-ee hin ĵir-u
 he eat-PER neg aux-neg
 'He has not eaten.'

(b) Nu?i ņaat- n-ee ĵir-n-a
 we eat-Pl-PER aux-Pl-IMP
 'We have eaten.'

(b') Nu?i ņaat-n-ee hin ĵir- n- u
 we eat-Pl-PER neg aux-Pl-neg
 'We have not eaten.'

(c) Isaan ņaat -an[ņaatanii] ĵir- u
 they eat-Pl aux-IMP
 'They have eaten.'

(a) Isaan ņaat-an[ņaatanii] hin ĵir- an- u
 they eat-Pl neg aux-Pl-neg
 'They have not eaten.'

tur-

As stated before, this is an auxiliary that shows an action which happened in the past as in the following examples.

19(a) Nu?i sirb- aa tur-n-e
 we dance-prg aux-Pl-PER
 'We were dancing.'

(a) Nu?i sirb-aa hin tur- n- e
 we dance-prg neg aux-neg-PER
 'We were not dancing.'

(b) Iṣeen sirb-aa tur-t-e (b') Iṣeen sirb-aa hin tur-n-e
 she dance -prg aux-3sgf-PER she dance -prg neg aux -neg -PER
 'She was dancing.' 'She was not dancing.'

(c) Ati sirb-aa tur-t-e (c') Ati sirb-aa hin tur-n-e
 you dance-prg aux-2p-IMP you dance-prg neg aux-neg-PER
 'You were dancing.' 'You were not dancing.'

As the above examples show, the auxiliary shows the perfective aspect marker and the main verb is in the progressive aspect marked by **-aa**. The negative marker is attached to the auxiliary verb which shows no agreement.

tur- can be used with the non-past marker auxiliary **ǰir-** to show an action which takes place in the remote past as the following examples shown.

20(a) Inni fiig-aa ǰir-a tur-e (a') Inni fiig-aa hin ǰir-u tur-e
 he run-prg aux-IMP aux-PER he run-prg neg aux-neg aux-PER
 'He had been running.' 'He had not been running.'

(b) Iṣeen fiig-aa ǰir-ti tur-t-e (b') Iṣeen fiig-aa hin ǰir-t-u tur-t-e
 she run-prg aux-3sgf aux-3sgf-PER she run-prg neg aux-3sgf-neg aux-3sgf-PER
 'She had been running.' 'She had not been running.'

(c) Isin fiig-aa ǰir-t-u tur-t-an (c') Isin fiig-aa hin ǰir-t-an-u tur-t-an
 you run-Inf aux-2p-Pl aux-2pl-Pl you run-Inf neg aux-2p-pl-neg aux-2pl-Pl
 'You had been running.' 'You had been not running.'

In examples (20a-c), both auxiliaries inflect for person, number and gender and the negative marker is attached to only **ǰir-**, the negative marker used in this case is **hin -u-** as the aspect is imperfective. Note that the main verb shows only aspect here.

2.2.1.4. Negation in Nominals

Nouns are negated with '**malee**' 'without'.

21 (a) muka tree	muka malee tree without 'Without tree'
(b) hoolaa sheep	hoolaa malee Sheep without 'Without sheep'
(c) nama man	nama malee man without 'Without man'
(d) hojii job	hojii malee job without 'Without job'

The above examples show that the negative marker is **malee** 'without' in nouns.

Below are examples which show the postposition **malee**.

22(a) Tolasaa - n sibiila- n tolč- e Tolasa-NOM steel- with make- PER 'Tolasa made (it) with Steel.'	(a') Tolasaa- n sibiila malee tolč- e Tolasa- NOM steel without make- PER 'Tolasa made (it) without Steel'
(b) Inni ñaata- n ĵiraat- a He food - with live- IMP 'He lives with food.'	(b') Inni ñaata malee ĵiraat- a he food without live- IMP 'He lives without food.'

- (c) *Isaan nama wajjin hojjet - an* (c') *Isaan nama malee hojjet- an*
 they man with work- PI they man without work- PI
 'They worked with somebody.' 'They worked without somebody.'

As observed from (22 a-c), **malee** 'without' negates the nouns in the clauses. **miti** cannot substitute **malee** in the above case.

Malee is also used as a concessive marker in concessive clauses and as a conjunction as in the following examples.

- 23(a) *Inni kana malee hin k'ab- u*
 he this other than neg has- neg
 'He does not have other than this.'
- (b) *Ana malee nam- ni hin tur- n- e [turre]*
 me other than man- NOM neg exist- neg- IMP
 'There was nobody other than me.'
- (c) *Inni kana malee k'ab- a*
 He this other than has- IMP
 'He has other than this.'
- (d) *Ana malee nam- ni jir- a*
 me other than man- NOM exist- IMP
 'There is somebody other than me.'

2.3. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND NEGATION

Indefinite negative pronouns are "[W]ords and phrases which are morphologically marked for negation but do not act as if they were negative in all languages since they

can occur with the sentential negation marker without giving rise to more than one reading of semantic negation” Lindstad (2007: 4).

In Afan Oromo, the indefinite negative pronouns are derived from interrogative pronouns by suffixing **-ijjuu** and an indefinite pronoun **tokko** ‘one’. The meaning of the indefinite pronouns is controversial since they can render affirmative or negative readings in sentences as the following examples demonstrate.

24 (a) Eeñujjuu deem- uu hin danda?- u
nobody go- Inf neg can - IMP
‘Nobody can go.’

(b) Eeñujjuu deem- uu danda?- a
anybody go- Inf can- IMP
‘Anybody can go.’

In the above examples, the indefinite pronoun **eeñujjuu** is derived from the interrogative pronoun **eeñu** ‘who’ with the morpheme **ijjuu**. It can be used with an affirmative or negative verb. When it appears with a negative verb as in (24a), it means ‘nobody’ but when it occurs in an affirmative clause as in (24b), it means ‘anybody’.

In Afan Oromo, indefinite pronouns are not inherently negative. They have a negative reading when used in negative clauses. However, there are exceptional indefinite pronouns which cannot occur in an affirmative clause as the following examples show.

25 (a) Homtuu mana keessa hin j̣ir- u
nobody house in neg exist- IMP
*‘Nobody is not in the house.’

(b) Homtuu na- f hin bilbil- n- e [bilbille]
 nobody me- for neg call- neg- PER

*‘Nobody did not call me.’

(c) Nam- ni tokko-ijjuu hojii manaa hin t’umur- n- e [t’umurre]
 man- NOM nobody > work house neg finish- neg- PER

*‘Nobody did not finish his homework.’

Other indefinite pronouns **homtuu**, **namni tokkojjuu**, **eeñujjuu**, **namni kamijjuu**, **eeñu tokkojjuu** are used interchangeably. Nevertheless, only **namni kamijjuu** and **eeñujjuu** can be used for affirmative or negative readings. The others are used only in negative readings.

The indefinite pronouns in (25) cannot be used in affirmative clauses like the following.

26 *(a) Homtuu mana keessa jir- a
 Nobody house in exist- IMP

*(b) Nam- ni tokkojjuu na- f bilbil- e
 Man- NOM nobody me- for call- PER

The affirmative counterparts of (25) are shown in (27).

27 (a) Namni ta?e mana keessa jir- a
 someone house in exist- IMP

‘Someone is in the house.’

(b) Nama ta?e- tu na- f bilbil- e
 someone- foc me- for call- PER

‘Someone called me.’

Negative quantifiers are derived from interrogative pronoun and from the indefinite pronoun **tokko** 'one' with the morpheme **ijjuu**; **waanta** is added to the indefinite pronoun derived from the interrogative pronoun.

28 (a) Ani waanta tokko hin ilaal- n- e [ilaalle]

I thing one neg see- neg- PER

'I saw nothing.'

(b) Ani waanta tokko- n ilaal- e

I thing one- foc see- PER

'I saw something.'

29 (a) Ani homaa hin ñaat- n- e [ñaanne]

I nothing neg eat- neg- PER

'I ate nothing.'

(b) Inni waanta tokkojjuu na- tti hin him- n- e

he thing nothing me- to neg tell- neg- PER

'He told me nothing.'

Waanta tokko can be used for affirmative or negative reading as in (28), but the negative indefinite pronouns in (29) cannot be used for affirmative reading. When the clause in (29) is affirmative, the indefinite pronoun is changed to the indefinite pronoun **waanta ta?e** 'something'.

30 (a) Iŕeen waanta ta?e ñaat- t- e

She something eat- 3sgf- PER

'She ate something.'

- (b) Inni waanta ta?e na-tti him- e
 he something me- to tell- PER
 'He told me something.'

A morpheme **ijjuu** can be attached to **homa** to show emphasis as in 31.

31. Homaajjuu hin barbaad- u.
 nothing:emp neg want- neg
 'I do not want nothing.'

The indefinite negative pronouns, **homa**, **waanta tokkojjuu**, **homaajjuu**, **waanta tokko**, **homa tokkojjuu** are interchangeably used. Except **waanta tokko** all are used with negative verbs.

There is a locative indefinite pronoun **eessaajjuu** derived from the interrogative pronoun **essa** 'where' with the morpheme **ijjuu**. It is used for negative or affirmative readings as in the following.

- 32 (a) Isaan eessaajjuu bit- uu danda?- u
 they anywhere buy- Inf can- Pl
 'They can buy it from anywhere.'

- (b) Isaan eessaajjuu argač- uu hin danda?- n- u
 they nowhere get- Inf neg can- neg- Pl- neg
 'They cannot get it from nowhere.'

In the above examples, **eessaajjuu** means 'anywhere' in (32a) where it occurs in an affirmative clause and 'nowhere' where it occurs in negative clauses as in (32b).

2.4. INHERENTLY NEGATIVE VERBS

In Afan Oromo, there are free lexemes that are inherently negative. These are :ool- ‘be absent’, haf- ‘remain’, lab- ‘lose’, iis- ‘leave’, did- ‘refuse’, da lab- ‘be unable’. A sentence is negative if it contains any of these verbs. The verbs can occur with the negative marker and give affirmative readings. All such lexemes inflect for person, number, gender and/or aspect.

⁴Ool- ‘be absent’

Ool- ‘absent’ is a free negative lexeme which renders an affirmative reading when it occurs with the negative markers. Examples are the following.

33 (a) Tolaa- n mana barumsaa ool- e
Tola- NOM school absent - PER
‘Tola did not go to school.’ Lit. ‘Tola was absent from school.’

(b) Leensaa-n uf- uu ool -t- e
Lensa-NOM come- Inf absent- 3sgf - PER
‘Lensa did not come.’ Lit. ‘Lensa was absent from coming.’

(c) Isaan deem-uu ool- an
they go-Inf absent -Pl
‘They did not go.’ Lit. ‘They were absent from going.’

The reading of the sentences (33a-c) is negative because of the lexeme ool- ‘be absent’. The negative counterparts of (33) are the following.

⁴The root verb ool- has two meanings: ‘to stay the whole day’ and ‘be absent’. Here the second meaning is discussed.

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Lensa-NOM come- Inf absent- 3sgf - PER
 'Lensa did not come.' Lit. 'Lensa was absent from coming'
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⁴The root verb ool- has two meanings: 'to stay the whole day' and 'be absent'. Here the second meaning is discussed.

34 (a) Tolaa-n mana barumsaa hin ool-n-e [oolle]
 Tola-NOM school neg absent-neg-PER
 ‘Tola go to school.’ Lit. ‘Tola was not absent from school.’

(b) Leensaa- n ɔuf-uu hin ool- n- e [oolle]
 Lensa- NOM come- Inf neg absent- neg- PER
 ‘Lensa came.’ Lit. ‘Lensa was not absent from coming.’

(c) Isaan deem-uu hin ool- n- e [oolle]
 they go- Inf neg absent-neg- PER
 ‘They went.’ Lit. ‘They were not absent from going.’

As observed from examples (34a-c), when a negative marker is attached to such negative lexemes the reading is affirmative.

In its imperfective form, the inherently negative lexeme inflects for person, number and gender. Here are examples in the imperfective aspect.

35 (a) Leensaa-n ɔuf-uu hin ool -t- u
 Lensa- NOM come- Inf neg absent- 3sgf- neg
 ‘Lensa will come.’ Lit. ‘Lensa will not absent from coming.’

(b) Isaan deem- uu hin ool-an-u
 they go- Inf neg absent- Pl-neg
 ‘They will go.’ Lit. ‘They will not be absent from going.’

Haf- ‘remain’ is an inherently negative lexeme which is similar to **ool-** discussed above. **ool-** can be replaced by **haf-** as in sentences (36 a-b) without change of meaning.

36 (a) Leensaa-n mana barumsaa haf- t- e
 Lensa- NOM school remain-PER
 'Lensa did not go to school.'

Da ab- 'be unable'

Daḍab- is a negative lexeme used in structures like the following.

37 (a) Tolaa- n fiig- uu daḍab- e
 Tola- NOM run-Inf unable-PER
 'Tola is not running.' Lit. 'Tola is unable to run.'

(b) Meetii-n barreess- uu daḍab- t- e [daḍabde]
 Meti- NOM write- Inf unable- 3sgf -IMP
 'Meti is not writing.' Lit. 'Meti is unable to write.'

(c) Isaan raf- uu daḍab- an
 they sleep- Inf unable- Pl
 'They are not sleeping.' Lit. 'They are unable to sleep.'

When the negative marker is attached to the negative verb, we get structures like the following.

38 (a) Tolaa-n fiig-uu hin daḍab- n- e
 Tola- NOM run-Inf neg unable- neg- PER
 'Tola can run.' Lit. 'Tola is not unable to run.'

(b) Meetii-n barreess- uu hin daḍab- n- e
 Meti-NOM write- Inf neg unable- neg- PER
 'Meti can write'. Lit. 'Meti is not unable to write.'

- (c) Isaan raf-uu hin daḏab- n-e
 they sleep-Inf neg unable- neg- PER
 ‘They can sleep.’ Lit. ‘They are not unable to sleep’

In the above structures, the negative verb does not show affixes for person, number or gender. The presence of the negative marker makes the sentence affirmative. In its negative imperfective form, the verb inflects for person, number or gender as in earlier examples.

39. (a) Meetii-n barreess- uu hin daḏab- t - u
 Meti- NOM write- Inf neg unable- 3sgf- neg
 ‘Meti can write.’ Lit. ‘Meti will not be unable to write.’

- (b) Isaan raf- uu hin daḏab- an- u
 they sleep- Inf neg unable- Pl- neg
 . ‘They can sleep.’ Lit ‘They will not be unable to sleep.’

ḏiis- ‘leave’

ḏiis- ‘leave’ is also inherently negative. It behaves like the other negative lexemes. It occurs with infinitive clause, shows the negative marker, and has affirmative reading. It also inflects for person, number or gender except when it is in the perfective aspect. Here are examples.

- 40 (a) Fayyisaa- n raf- uu ḏiis-e
 Fayisa- NOM sleep-Inf leave-PER
 ‘Fayisa is not sleeping.’ Lit. ‘Fayisa leaves sleeping.’

- (b) Meetii- n raf- uu ɖiis- t- e
 Meti- NOM sleep- Inf leave- 3sgf-PER
 ‘Meti is not sleeping.’ Lit. ‘Meti leaves sleeping.’
- (c) Isaan raf-uu ɖiis-an
 they sleep-Inf leave- Pl
 ‘They are not sleeping.’ Lit. ‘They leave sleeping.’
41. (a) Fayisaa-n raf- uu hin ɖiis- n- e
 Fayisa- NOM sleep-Inf neg leave- neg- PER
 ‘Fayisa can sleep.’ Lit. ‘Fayisa did not leave sleeping.’
- (b) Meetii-n raf-uu hin ɖiis- n- e
 Meti-NOM sleep- Inf neg leave- neg- PER
 ‘Meti can sleep.’ Lit. ‘Meti did not leave sleeping.’
- (c) Isaan raf- uu hin ɖiis- n- e
 they sleep- Inf neg leave- neg- PER
 ‘They can sleep.’ Lit. ‘They did not leave sleeping.’
- 42 (a) Meetii- n raf- uu hin ɖiis- t- u
 Meti- NOM sleep- Inf neg leave- 3sgf- neg
 ‘Meti will sleep.’ Lit. ‘Meti will not leave sleeping.’
- (b) Isaan raf-uu hin ɖiis-an-u
 they sleep- Inf neg leave- Pl- neg
 ‘They will sleep.’ Lit. ‘They will not leave sleeping.’

As observed in the above examples, the perfective verb inflects for person, number and/or gender. In the cases of (41a-c) the form is again perfective and renders a negative reading; here the negative auxiliary does not inflect but in (42a-b), the negative lexeme

which attaches a negative marker, inflects for person, number and gender in an imperfective aspect.

Did- 'refuse'

Did- is a negative verb of refusal. If somebody is ordered or requested and he refused, the verb **did-** 'refuse' is used as in the following.

- 43 (a) Fayisaa-n deem-uu did- e
Fayisa-NOM go-Inf refuse - PER
'Fayisa is not going.' Lit. 'Fayisa refused to go.'
- (b) Televiiĵinii-n hojĵeč- uu did- e
TV-NOM function-Inf refuse - PER
'The TV is not functioning.' Lit. 'The TV refused to function.'
- (c) Meetii-n deem- uu did- t- e [didde]
Meti- NOM go- Inf refuse -3sgf - PER
'Meti is not going.' Lit. 'Meti refused to go.'
- (d) Isaan deem-uu did-an
they go- Inf refuse - Pl
'They are not going.' Lit. 'They refused to go.'
44. (a) Fayisaa- n deem- uu hin did-n-e [dinne]
Fayisa-NOM go- Inf neg refuse- neg-PER
'Fayisa is willing to go.' Lit. 'Fayisa did not refuse to go.'
- (b) Televiiĵinii-n hojĵeč- uu hin did- n- e [dinne]
TV- NOM function- Inf neg refuse -neg- PER
'The TV is functioning.' Lit. 'The TV did not refuse to function.'

(c) Meetii-n deem-uu hin did-n-e [dinne]
 Meti- NOM go-Inf neg refuse - neg- PER
 'Meti is willing to go.' Lit. 'Meti did not refuse going.'

(d) Isaan deem- uu hin did- n- e [dinne]
 they go- Inf neg refuse - neg- PER
 'They are willing to go.' Lit. 'They did not refuse to go.'

45 (a) Fayisaa- n deem- uu hin did-u
 Fayisa-NOM go- Inf neg refuse- neg
 'Fayisa will go.' Lit. 'Fayisa will not refuse to go.'

(b) Televij̃nii- n hoj̃ječ- uu hin did-u
 TV- NOM function- Inf neg refuse -neg
 'The TV can function.' Lit. 'The TV will not refuse to function.'

(c) Meetii- n deem- uu hin did- t- u [diddu]
 Meti- NOM go- Inf neg refuse - 3sgf- neg
 'Meti will go.' Lit. 'Meti will not refuse to go.'

(d) Isaan deem- uu hin did- an- u
 they go- Inf neg refuse - Pl- neg
 'They will go.' Lit. 'They will not refuse to go.'

In (43 a, c and d) *Fayisa*, *Meti* and *they* are expected to go somewhere, but they did not accept or refused to go, so another person who heard their refusal is reporting to somebody else. In (43b) the person who is trying to switch on the TV is reporting that the TV cannot be on. In (44 a-d) somebody is reporting that *Fayisa*, *Meti* and *they* accepted the order and the *TV* could be switched on. In (45 a- d), it is an expectation that the person or the material expected should not refuse to do what is ordered.

CHAPTER THREE

CONSTITUENT NEGATION

3.1. SENTENTIAL NEGATION

Sentence is a structure that expresses a complete idea/proposition (Radford 2004, Baye 2000). A Sentence can be divided into two on the basis of its constituents. If a sentence has one verb only, its structure is simple. If it has more than one verb as predicates, it is complex (Baye 2000).

3.1.1. Simple Sentences

Simple sentences contain only a predicate and a non-clausal complement. Its mood can be declarative, interrogative, imperative, and jussive (ibid).

3.1.1.1. Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentence is a sentence that declares a state of affair. It can be negative or affirmative in its mood. The negative markers in Afan Oromo are **hin -n-**, **hin -u-miti**, **malee** and the inherently negative verbs. The following are examples of structures with negative markers.

1. Tolaa-n gabaa deem-e.
Tola-NOM market go-PER
'Tola went to market.'

The above structure can be negated in the following manner.

Negation of the nominative (subject NP)

- 2.(a) [Tolaa miti] kan gabaa deem- e
Tola not Rel market go- PER
'It is not Tola that went to the market.'

Negation of the locative noun

- (b) Tolaa- n [gabaa miti] kan deem- e
Tola-NOM market not Rel go- PER
'It is not to market that Tola went.'

Negation of the verb

- (c) Tolaa- n gabaa [hin deem- n- e] [hin raf- e malee]
Tola-NOM market neg go- neg- PER foc sleep- PER rather
'Tola did not go to market, rather he slept.'

In (2a) the subject of the clause is negated, here the nominative marker disappears and a relativizer 'kan' is added to the structure. In (2b) where the locative noun is negated, again the relativizer 'kan' is added to the structure, but here the nominative marker does not disappear from the noun. In both cases, the copular negative marker '**miti**' appears following the nouns it negates. In (2c) the verbal negative marker is attached to the verb.

In (2a & b) the presence of the relativizer **kan** is obligatory.

- * 3(a). Tolaa- n gabaa miti deem- e
Tola-NOM market not go- PER

Sentence (3a) is not acceptable because of the absence of the relativizer. In other words, the presence of **kan** is obligatory when a negative copula **miti** is used to negate a constituent. The verb in the sentence is not affected by the addition of **miti**.

In imperfective clauses, when the copular negative marker '**miti**' is used, the aspect marker **-a** is replaced by **-u**, and the verb attaches the imperfective negative marker **hin -u-** as in (5).

4. Malkaa- n bišaan ɖug- a
 Malka- NOM water drink- IMP
 'Malka will drink water.'

The constituents in (4) can be negated as follows:

Negation of the nominative (NP)

5(a). [Malkaa miti] kan bišaan ɖug- u
 Malka not Rel water drink- IMP
 'It is not Malka who will drink water.'

Negation of the noun 'bišaan'

(b). Malkaa- n [bišaan miti] kan ɖug- u
 Malka- NOM water not Rel drink- IMP
 'It is not water that Malka will drink.'

Negation of the verb

(c). Malkaa- n bišaan [hin ɖug- u] garuu [foon hin ñaat- a]
 Malka- NOM water neg drink- neg but meat foc eat- PER
 'Malka will not drink water but eats meat.'

Declarative sentences can show change of state as in (6).

6 (a). Tolaa- n barsiisaa ta?- e
Tola-NOM teacher be- PER
‘Tola becomes a teacher.’

(b) Tolaa- n barsiisaa hin ta?- n- e [taane]
Tola- NOM teacher neg be- neg- PER
‘Tola did not become a teacher.’

(c) Tolaa- n barsiisaa hin ta?- u [ta?u]
Tola- NOM teacher neg be- neg
‘Tola will not be a teacher.’

The clause shows a change of state, from not being a teacher to becoming one. In this clause, the negative marker is attached to the inchoative verb **ta?-** as shown in example (6b&c). The negative verb does not show agreement affixes as stated before. Therefore, a subject is obligatorily used in such clauses. Here are examples.

7 (a) Ani barsiisaa hin ta?- n- e [taane]
I teacher neg be- neg- PER
‘I did not become a teacher.’

(b) Iŕeen barsiistuu hin ta?- n- e [taane]
she teacher neg be- neg- PER
‘She did not become a teacher.’

The negative marker in causative clauses is attached to the causative stem as the following examples show. Its imperfective aspect is the same as that discussed before.

8. Tolaa- n man dig- sis- e
 Tola- NOM house destroy- cau- PER
 'Tola caused the house to be destroyed.'

In passive clauses, the negative marker **-n-** comes following the passive stem as in the following.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 9(a) Fayyisaa- n hin waam- am-n- e
Fayisa- NOM neg call- pass- neg- PER
'Fayisa was not called' | (a') Fayyisaa- n hin waam- am-u
Fayisa- NOM neg call- pass- neg
'Fayisa will not be called' |
| (b) Meetii- n hin waam- am- n- e
Meti- NOM neg call- pass- neg- PER
'Meti was not called.' | (b') Meetii- n hin waam- am- t- u
M- NOM neg call- pass- 3sgf-neg
'Meti will not be called.' |
| (c) Nu?i hin waam- am- n- e
we neg call- pass- neg- PER
'We were not called' | (c') Nu?i hin waam- am- n- u
we neg call- pass- Pl- neg
'We will not be called' |

The negative counterpart of the passive causative is shown in (10) below.

- 10 (a) Fiilmii-n arg - siis- am- e [argisiifame]
 film- NOM see - cau- pass- PER
 'The film was made to be seen.'
- (b) Fiilmii- n hin arg - siis- am- n- e [hin argisiifamne]
 film- NOM neg see - cau- pass- neg- PER
 'The film was not made to be seen.'

11 (a) Fiilmii- n arg - siis- am- a [argisiifama]

film- NOM see - cau- pass- IMP

‘The film will be shown’

(b) Fiilmii- n hin arg- siis- am- u- a [hin argisiifamu]

film- NOM neg see- cau- pass- neg- IMP

‘The film will not be seen.’

3.1.1.2. Negating Interrogative Clauses

In different languages, negative interrogative is marked by word order, tone or intonation. In Afan Oromo, interrogative is marked by lengthening the terminal vowel of verbs. In the language, different particles like *ree* ‘really’, *laataa* ‘perhaps’ and *mitii* ‘is that not’ are used to emphasize the question (Griefenow-Mewes 2001). The particles are found at the end of the sentence, and except *mitii*, the rest are followed by a verb which terminates in a lengthened vowel. Here are some examples.

12. (a) Ati hin ʃuf- t- a- a ree?
you foc come- 2sg- IMP- Int really

‘Do you come really?’

(b) Inni hin ʃuf- a- a laataa?
he foc come- IMP- Int perhaps

‘Does he come perhaps?’

(c) Isaan hin ʃuf- u miti- i?
they foc come- Pl not- Int

‘They will come, is that not?’

The emphatic question particles do not inflect for person number and gender and they do not carry a negative marker. The negative marker is attached to the main verb. When the

imperfective negative marker is attached to the verb, the negative bound morpheme - **u** is lengthened as in the following.

13 (a) Ati hin \int uf- t- u- u ree?
you neg come- 2sg- neg- Int really
'Do not you really come?'

(b) Inni hin \int uf- u- u laataa?
he neg come- neg- Int perhaps
'Does not he come perhaps?'

(c) Isaan hin \int uf- an- u miti- i ?
they neg come- Pl- neg not- Int
'They will not come, is that not?'

3.1.1.4. Yes-no questions

In Afan Oromo, a question is responded to in different ways. If the answer to a question is affirmative, the response starts with *eeyyee* 'yes', if the response is negative, it starts with *lakki* 'no'. However, there are other expressions like **hiŋi** and **waawuu** used alternatively as in the following examples.

Question

14. Iŋeen har?a deem- ti- i?
she today go- 3sgf - Int
'Will she go today?'

Answer

15 (a) Eeyyee, iŕeen har?a deem- ti
Yes, she today go- 3sgf
'Yes, she will go today.'

(b) Lakki, iŕeen har?a hin deem- t- u
No she today neg go- 3sgf- neg
'No, she will not go today'

Alternatives are given bellow for (15b)

16 (a) Hi?ii, iŕeen har?a hin deem- t- u
No she today neg go- 3sgf- neg
'No, she will not go today'

(b) Hi?ii- yoo iŕeen har?a hin deem- t- u
No- emp she today neg go- 3sgf- neg
'No, she will not go today;

(c) Hi?ii- koo iŕeen har?a hin deem- t- u
No- my she today neg go- 3sgf- neg
'No, she will not go today'

(d) waawuu, iŕeen har?a hin deem- t- u
No she today neg go- 3sgf- neg
'No, she will not go today'

The alternatives in (16a-d) are used without any difference in meaning. Eventhough the particles are exchangeable, (16 b&c) are used with the emphatic particles **yoo** and **koo**,

respectively. *yoo* is a general particle which can be used with anybody, but *koo* is used with *hi?ii* to mean, 'as to me I do not accept' or to say 'I refused to accept'.

(15&16) show that affirmative questions are followed by affirmative response and negative questions are followed by negative responses. But this is not always the case, because if the respondent tells the exact day of going, the structure in (15b) becomes like(17).

17. Lakki, iŕeen bor deem- ti
No, she tomorrow go- 3sgf
'No, she will go tomorrow.'

Here in (17), an affirmative clause follows a negative particle **lakkii**.

There is also the adverb *gonka* 'never' which expresses denial. *Gonka* 'never' has the synonym *takkaa*. There is also '*tasa*' which is used for 'never'. *Takkaa* can also be used as an adverb for 'ever'. Examples are given below.

- 18 (a) Bishooftuu deem- t- ee beek- t- a- a
Bishoftu go- 2sg- PER know- 2sg- IMP- Int
'Have you ever been to Bishoftu?'

- (b) Gonka, deem - ee hin beek- u
never go- PER neg know- neg
'I have never gone there.'

- (c) Tasa, deem - ee hin beek- u
never go- PER neg know- neg
'I have never gone there.'

- (d) Takkaa, deem - ee hin beek- u
 never go- PER neg know- neg
 'I have never gone there.'

Gonka, *tasa* and *takkaa* 'never' are free variants used in response to a question like (18a); however, *takkaa* is mostly used in the Mačča dialect. These adverbs are used in questions where the verb *beek-* 'know' is used in the imperfective aspect.

The negative adverbs and *lakki* 'no' can be used together in response to a question when *takkaa* serves as 'ever' as in the following examples.

- 19 (a) Takkaa Bishooftuu deem- t- ee beek- t- a- a
 Ever Bishoftu go- 2sg- PER know- 2sg- PER- Int
 'Have you ever gone to Bishoftu?'

- (b) Lakki, takkaa/tasa/gonka hin deem- n- e
 no, never neg go- neg- PER
 'No I have never gone'

3.1.1.4. Mood

Mood is a category that shows whether an action is necessary, possible or impossible. In Afan Oromo, there are two types of mood; the first one is imperative that is giving an order and the other is jussive that expresses permission.

Imperative

In imperative mood, the communication is between a first person and a second person singular or plural. In the second person singular imperative is marked by a suffix **-i**, and by **-aa** for second person plural or polite. Here are examples.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 20 (a) Ati deem- i
You go- Imp
'You go!' | (b) Isin deem- aa
you go- Imp
'You go!' |
|--|---|

The negative counterpart uses a negative marker **hin -in-**, and the singular and plural imperative markers **-i** and **-aa** remain in their place.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 21 (a) Ati hin deem- in- i
You neg go- neg- Imp
'Do not go!' | (a') Isin hin deem- in- aa
you neg go- neg- Imp
'Do not go!' |
|--|--|

Jussive/optative

Jussive is marked by a morpheme **haa** in the affirmative in the dialect under study. Its negative counterpart is shown by **hin -in-** ; **haa** is not used with the negative marker in the jussive. Examples are given below.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 22(a) Ani haa deem- u
I let go- IMP
'Let me go.' | (a') Ani hin deem- in
I neg go- neg
'Let me not go.' |
| (b) Ati haa deem- t- u
You let go- 2sg- IMP
'Let you go.' | (b') Ati hin deem- in
You neg go- neg
'Let you not go.' |
| (c) Inni haa deem- u
he let go- 2sg- IMP
'Let him go.' | (c') Inni hin deem- in
he neg go- neg
'Let him not go.' |
| (d) Iŕseen haa deem- t- u
she let go- 2sg- IMP
'Let her go.' | (d') Iŕseen hin deem- in
she neg go- neg
'Let her not go.' |

(e) Nu?i haa deem- n- u
 we let go- Pl- IMP
 'Let us go.'

(e') Nu?i hin deem- in
 we neg go- neg
 'Let us not go.'

(f) Isin haa deem- t- an- u
 you let go- 2pl-Pl- IMP
 'Let you go.'

(f') Isin hin deem- in
 you neg go- neg
 'Let you not go.'

(g) Isaan haa deem-an- u
 they let go- pl- IMP
 'Let them go.'

(g') Isaan hin deem- in
 they neg go- neg
 'Let them not go.'

For all persons, the negative form of the verb is the same; thus in negative jussive, the subject has to be overt. The negative jussive shows no **haa**.

3.1.2. Complex Sentences

A complex sentence has a main verb and a subordinate clause or two co-ordinated clauses. A subordinate marker introduces a subordinate clause and coordinators tie the co-ordinated clauses. In subordinate clauses, the terminal vowel of the verb is lengthened. Syntactically, a subordinate clause appears before the main clause in the language. Here are examples of coordinating clauses.

23 (a) Iŕeen biŕaan waraab- t- ee, uffata miičč- t- e
 she water fetch- 3sgf- PER clothes wash- 3sgf- PER
 'She fetched water and washed clothes.'

(b) Iŕeen biŕan waraab- t- e malee uffata hin miičč- n- e
 she water fetch- 3sg- PER without clothes neg wash - neg- PER
 'She fetched water but did not wash cloth.'

- (c) Iṣeen biṣaan hin waraab- n- e uffata miičč - t- e
 she water neg fetch- neg- PER cloth wash - 3sgf- PER
 'She did not fetch water, she washed clothes.'

An affirmative clause like (23a) is negated in a manner as in (b) and (c). In (b) the conjunction **malee** and the verbal negative marker are used. In (c) only the negative marker is used to negate the second clause. In negative constructions, unlike in affirmatives, lengthening of the vowel is not observed.

A subordinate clause is introduced by a complementizer like **akka** 'that' or **-f** 'for'. The clause introduced by **akka** (akka-clause) is finite whereas the clause introduced by **-f** (f clause) is non-finite (see Baye 1986).

24. (a) Ani [akka inni na waam-u] beek- a
 I that he me call- IMP know- IMP
 'I know that he will call me.'

- (b) Margaa- n [akka ati buna jaall-at- t- u] aga?- e
 Marga- NOM that you coffee like-ben- 2p-IMP hear- PER
 'Marga heard that you like coffee.'

- (c) Ani [akka inni isa waam-e] beek- a
 I that he him call- PER know- IMP
 'I know that he called him.'

- 25 (a) Ani [akka inni na hin waam- n- e] beek- a
 I that he me neg call- neg- PER know- IMP
 'I know that he will not call me.'

(b) Margaa- n [akka ati buna hin ʔaall- at- n- e] ʔaga?- e
 Marga- NOM that you coffee neg like- ben- neg- PER hear- PER
 ‘Marga heard that you do not like coffee.’

(a) Ani [akka inni isa hin waam- n- e] hin beek- u
 I that he him neg call- neg- PER neg know- neg
 ‘I do not know that he did not call him.’

As observed from the above examples, in (24a) the akka-clause is in imperfective aspect; however, in its negative counterpart as in (25a), the negative marker is that which is found in perfective clauses. The negative counterpart of the imperfective and perfective akka- clause is the same, as observed from this example.

The f-clause is negated by inherently negative verbs, and the main verb is negated by the regular verbal negation. Consider the following examples.

26. (a) Ani [Tolaa- n hoolaa bit- uu isaa] beek- a
 I Tola- NOM sheep buy- Inf his] know- IMP
 ‘I know that Tola bought a sheep.’

(b) Ani [Tolaa- n hoolaa bit- uu did-uu isaa] beek- a
 I Tola -NOM sheep buy- Inf refuse- Inf his know- IMP
 ‘I know Tola’s refusal of buying sheep.’

As observed from the above examples, the inherently negative verb **did-** ‘refuse’ is used to negate the infinitive clause.

3.2. NEGATION IN RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clause is a modifier clause which is introduced by the element **kan** which is a relativizer. The main verb is negated by regular verb negation or by the negative copular

verb **miti**. In affirmative and negative constructions, **kan**, is not restricted to one place, it can be found initially, medially but not at the end of the clause. In negative clauses, **miti** follows the word it negates; like the relativizer **kan**, it is not restricted to one place. Examples are given below.

27 (a) Amma kan $\mathcal{d}uf$ - e [Tolaa miti].
 now who come- PER Tola not
 ‘The one who came now is not Tola.’

(b) Kan amma $\mathcal{d}uf$ - e [Tolaa miti].
 who now come- PER Tola not
 ‘Who came now is not Tola.’

(c) Warr- i amma $\mathcal{d}uf$ - an [barat- oota miti].
 the ones- NOM now come- Pl student- Pl not
 ‘The ones who came now are not students.’

(d) Gurbaa- n inni kaleessa $\mathcal{d}uf$ - e [obboleessa-koo miti].
 guy- NOM who yesterday come-PER brother- my not
 ‘The guy who came yesterday is not my brother.’

(e) Intal- ni iŕeen kaleessa $\mathcal{d}uf$ - t- e [obboleettii-koo miti]
 lady- NOM who yesterday come-3sgf- PER sister- my not
 ‘The lady who came yesterday is not my sister.’

In (27a) and (27b) the relativizer **kan** is used, in (27a) **kan** is found at initial and in (27b) following the adverb **amma** ‘now’. In (27c-e) *warra*, *inni* and *iŕee* are respectively used as pronouns heading the relative clause.

A relative clause is also negated by lexemes that are inherently negative. The construction in (27a) and (27e) can occur as follows:

28 (a) Amma kan ool-e [Tolaa miti]

now who remain- PER Tola not

‘Who did not come now is not Tola.’

(b) Intal- ni išeen sirb- uu did- t- e [didde] [obbbleettii- koo miti]

lady- NOM who dance- Inf refuse- 3sgf- PER sister- my not

‘The lady who did not dance is not my sister.’

3.3. CONDITIONAL CLAUSE

A conditional clause is a subordinate clause that consists of an if-clause and a consequent clause. According to (Debela and Mayer 2006: 69), “The protasis is indicated either by the conjunctions **yoo** or **utuu** or by the suffix - **naan**” and the apodosis is rarely marked by **silaa** in the language. In affirmative clauses, the conjunction **yoo** appears with a finite perfective verb and with a co-subordinate verb when the conjunction is **utuu** (ibid).

In negative clauses, the consequent clause is negated based on the negative paradigms of the verb in the perfective and imperfective aspects. When a negative marker is attached to the consequent clause, no change is observed in the if-clause.

The negative marker used in the perfective and imperfective form is the same; the two clauses differ in the auxiliary verb used in the perfective clause. Here are examples.

29 (a) Yoo inni uf- e ani hin deem- u

if he come- PER I neg go- neg

‘If he came, I will not go.’

(b) Utuu inni deem- ee inni hin hojjet- u tur- e

if he go- PER he neg work- neg aux- PER

‘If he had gone, he would not have work.’

- (c) Yoo inni bad- e ati isa hin barbaad- in
 if he disappear- PER you him neg search- neg
 'If he disappeared, you do not search for him.'

As observed from the above examples, the verb in the if- clause is perfective and the verb of the consequent clause is imperfective.

When a negative marker is attached to the verb of an if- clause, the auxiliary verb **ta□-**, which inflects for person, number, gender and aspect, is added to the clause. And the clause can be negated by the negative auxiliary **baat-** or by an inherently negative verb as discussed in chapter two (sec. 2.5). Consider the following examples:

- 30 (a) Yoo inni hin ʃuf- u ta?- e isaan hin deem- u
 if he neg come- neg aux- PER they neg go- Pl
 'If he does not come, they will go.'

- (b) Utuu ati deem- uu baat- t- e gaarii- ʃa
 if you go- Inf NAUX- 2sg- PER good- is
 '(It) is good if you do not go.'

- (c) Yoo ati deem- uu ʃiis- t- e gaarii- ʃa
 if you go- Inf leave- 2sg- PER good- is
 '(It) is good if you do not go.'

As observed from the given examples, the verb of the main clause in (30a) is imperfective. So in a negative construction, an auxiliary verb **ta?-** is used. When an auxiliary **baat-** is used as in (30b) or an inherently negative lexemes is used as in (30c), the verb occurs as an infinitive.

3.4. CONCESSIVE CLAUSE

“A concessive clause negates the commonly-shared assumption (between speaker and addressee) that a proposition A will yield a consequence B” (Debela and Meyer 2006:82). It is indicated by the morpheme **ijjuu** or the suffix **-s** in the language. The concessive indicator **ijjuu** does not inflect for person, number, gender and aspect.

31 (a) Tolaa-n deem-e ijjuu (Tolaa-n) nama tokko hin arg - n- e[argine]
Tola- NOM go- PER con (Tola- NOM) nobody neg see- neg- PER
‘Even if Tola had gone he would not have seen anybody.’

(b) Ati deem- t- u- s (ati) Meetii hin arg - n- e [argine]
you go- 3sgf- IMP- con (you) Meti neg see - neg- PER
‘Even if you had gone you did not see Meti.’

(c) Nu?i deem- n- u ijjuu hoolaa hin arg - n- u [arginu]
we go- Pl- IMP con sheep neg see - Pl- neg
‘Even if we go we will not see sheep.’

(d) Ati deem- t- u- s (ati) nama hin arg - t- u [argitu]
You go- 2sg- IMP- con (you) man neg see - 2sg- neg
‘Even if you go you will not find a person.’

In the above examples, it is observed that the subordinate verb can be in perfective or imperfective as in (31 a&b) respectively; the change of aspect in the subordinate clause brings no change in the meaning of the construction. Both structures state that the person did not see what he expected to see. However in (31 c&d), the clauses show an explicitly future state of affair in both the subordinate and main clauses.

The morpheme **ijjuu** can occur with a concessive clause that contains the conditional marker **yoo** or **utuu**. When it appears with the conjunction **yoo**, it shows a highly

probable condition as in (32a) and a construction with the conjunction **utuu** shows a highly hypothetical condition as in (32b).

32(a) Inni yoo fiig- e ijjuu (inni) hin k'ak'k'ab- u
 he if run- PER con he neg reach- neg
 'Even if he runs, he will not reach.'

(b) Ani utuu- n fiig- ee ijjuu (ani) hin k'ak'k'ab- u
 I If- foc run- PER con (I) neg reach- neg
 'Even if I run, I will not reach.'

3.5. REASON AND RESULT CLAUSES

Reason clauses show what causes something to happen and result clause shows what follows the thing that has happened. The result clause appears as a subordinate clause. The reason clause answers the question 'why' and the result clause answers the question 'so what'. In Afan Oromo, a reason clause is indicated by **waan** 'because/since', **sababa** 'reason' which are substitutable in the language, and a result clause is indicated by **kanaaf** 'so/therefore'. The result clause is negated by the negative paradigm of the main verb, either the perfective or imperfective aspect. However, the reason clause adds an auxiliary **ta?a-** when negated, and an imperfective verb is used in the clause. Consider the following examples.

33(a) Inni waan na Yaall- at- e- f na fuud- uu barbaad- e
 he because me love-ben-PER- for me marry- Inf want- PER
 'He wanted to marry me because he loved me.'

(b) Inni waan na hin Yaall- at- n- e- f na fuud- uu hin barbaad- n- e
 he because me neg love-ben-neg- PER- for me marry- Inf neg want- neg- PER
 'He did not want to marry me because he did not love me.'

(c) Ani sababa-n išee hin jaall-at- n- e- f išee fuud- uu hin barbaad- n- e
 I reason-foc she neg love- ben-neg- PER- for she marry- Inf neg want- neg- PER
 'I did not want to marry her for the reason I did not love her.'

(d) Inni na hin jaall-at- n- e kanaaf na fuud- uu hin barbaad- n- e
 he me neg love- ben-neg- PER so me marry- Inf neg want- neg- PER
 'He did not love me so; he did not want to marry me.'

Sentences (33b-d) are the negative counterparts of (33a).

3.6. TEMPORAL CLAUSE

In Afan Oromo, a temporal adverbial clause is introduced by ⁵yeroo 'when' erga 'after' and utuu 'before/while'. The locative adverbial clause is indicated by iddoo/bakka 'place' or lafa 'earth' which are substitutable, and the manner adverbial clause is marked by akkaataa 'manner'.

⁵ The conjunction yeroo has the morphological variants yoggaa, yennaa, yegguu, and yewuu in Mečča dialect.

In temporal adverbial clauses, the clause which is introduced by **utuu** mainly negates the clause which is introduced by **erga**. Consider the following examples.

34 (a) Yeroo inni ŋaat-e ani mana-n tur- e
 when he eat- PER I house- foc exist- PER
 'I was at home when he ate.'

(b) Yeroo inni ŋaač- uu did- e ani mana hin ĵir- u
 when he eat- Inf refuse- PER I house neg exist- neg
 'I was not at home when he refused eating.'

(c) Yeroo inni hin ŋaat- n- e iŋeen hin aar- ti
 when he neg eat- neg- PER she foc upset- 3sgf
 'When he did not eat, she will be upset.'

(d) Yeroo inni ŋaač- uu did- u iŋeen hin aar- ti
 when he eat- Inf refuse- IMP she neg upset- 3sgf
 'When he refuses to eat, she will be upset.'

In the above examples, it is observed that the temporal clause can be negated by the negative lexeme as in (34b & d) or by the negative elements of the perfective and imperfective verbs as in (34c). In (34b & d) the aspect marker **-e/-u** is attached to the negative lexeme **did-**. The main clause is negated by the negative morphemes. In example (34d) the imperfective marker is **-u**.

In example (35a) it is observed that the expression is negated as in (35b).

35 (a) Nu?i erga inni ŋaat- ee deem- n- e
 we after he eat- PER go- pl- PER
 'We went after he ate.'

- (b) Nu?i utuu inni hin ñaat- in deem- n- e
 we before he neg eat - neg go- pl- PER
 ‘We left before he ate.’

The presence of the negative marker in (35a) or the absences of the negative marker in (35b) makes the sentences ungrammatical as the following example

- 36 * (a) Erga inni hin ñaat- n- e nu?i deem- n- e
 after he neg eat- neg- PER we go- pl- PER

- * (b) Utuu inni ñaat- e nu?i deem- n- e
 before he eat- PER we go- pl- PER

In locative adverbial clauses, as in temporal clauses, the imperative negative marker or the negative marker of the perfective verbs is used whereas the negative marker of the perfective and imperfective verbs is used in the main clauses. Consider the following examples.

- 37 (a) Bakka iŕeen ɗak'- t- u hin beek- am- u
 place she go- 3sgf- IMP neg know- Pass- neg
 ‘Where she will go is not known.’

- (b) Bakka iŕeen hin ɗak'- in hin beek- am- n- e
 place she neg go- neg neg know- pass- neg- PER
 ‘Where she did not go is not known.’

- (c) Lafa iŕeen hin ɗaq- n- e hin beek- am- n- e
 earth she neg go- neg- PER neg know- pass- neg- PER
 ‘Where she did not go was not known.’

- (d) Lafa išeen ʃak'-uu did-t- u [diddu] beek- am- a- a
 earth she go- Inf refuse- 3sgf- IMP know- pass- IMP- is
 'Where she does not go is known.'

As shown in the examples (37) the main clauses are negated by the negative morphemes in (37 a-c) and the locative clause is negated by the perfective negative morpheme in (37c), by the imperative negative morphemes in (37b) or by the negative lexeme (37d).

In manner adverbial clauses, the manner clause is negated by the perfective negative morpheme (38b) or by the negative lexemes (38c), and the main clause is negated by the perfective and imperfective negative morphemes (38a) and (38b) respectively, as the following examples indicate

- 38 (a) Akkaataa isaan itti nama keessum- siis- an nama hin gammač- iis- u
 manner they with man treat- cau- pl man neg please- cau- neg
 'The way they treat people is not pleasant.'

- (b) Akkaataa isaan itti nama keessum- siis- u hin barbaad- n- e ani hin beek- u
 manner they with man treat- cau- IMP neg want- neg- PER I neg know- neg
 'I do not know the way they did not want to treat people.'

- (c) Akkaataa isaan itti nama keesum- siis- uu iis- an- u ani beek- a
 manner they with man treat- cau- Inf leave- pl- IMP I know- IMP
 'I know the way they leave to treat people.'

3.7. INTERACTION OF NEGATION WITH OTHER FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES

3.7.1. Interaction of negation with agreement

Perfective aspect is marked by **-e** and imperfective aspect is indicated by **-a** in main clauses and by **-u** in subordinate clauses. In perfective negative clauses, agreement is not realized overtly. Consider the following examples.

39. Hin bit- n- e
neg buy- neg- PER
'Did not buy'

The verb in (39) is perfective; however, there is no agreement on the verb thus the subject of the verb in (39) can be any person, hence ambiguous.

In imperfective aspect clause, however, the negated verb inflects for person, number and/or gender as the following:

40. hin bit- an- u- a [bitanu]
neg buy- Pl- neg- IMP
'They will not buy.'

The verb in (40) inflects for number. The subject here cannot be any person it is restricted to third person, plural. In (40) a morpheme **-an-** is a plural marker and **-a** is an aspect marker.

3.7.2. Interaction of negation with focus

Focus shows emphasis of information in a sentence. In Afan Oromo, it is indicated by different elements. Deferent researchers have identified deferent focus markers, and only

The focus marker **hoo** can occur with verbal and non-verbal negative markers. In the verbal negation, it is attached to nominative personal pronouns and in non-verbal negation the focus marker is attached to the accusative personal pronoun as the following examples show.

45 (a) Lalisaa-n- hoo hin deem- u
 he-NOM-foc neg go- neg
 'Lalisa does not go.'

(b) Isa- hoo miti kan deem- u
 him- foc not RP go- IMP
 'It is not him who will go.'

In (45a) the focus marker is attached to the subject with the presence of the nominative marker in (45b) it is attached to the accusative pronoun **isa** 'him'.

The emphatic marker **-uma** can be followed by **-tu** and occur with the verbal negative marker. Here are examples.

46. (a) Si- uma miti kan hin ɔuf- n- e
 you- foc not Rel neg come- neg- PER
 'You are not the one who did not come.'

(b) Si- uma- tu hin ɔuf- n- e
 you- emp- foc neg come- neg- PER
 'You did not come.'

(c) Si- uma kan hin ɔuf- n- e
 you- foc Rel neg come- neg- PER
 'It is you who did not come.'

The absence of the focus marker **-tu** from (46b) leads to ungrammaticality. The difference between (46 b & c) is that (46b) is more emphatic.

3.7.3. Interaction of negation with tense

The past tense is marked by an auxiliary **tur-** and the non-past tense is marked by an auxiliary **ǰir**. Both auxiliaries inflect for person, number, gender or aspect. The negative marker can be attached to the auxiliaries. The non-past marker auxiliary **ǰir-** occurs after the imperfective negative marker **hin -u-** whereas the past tense auxiliary **tur-** follows the perfective negative marker **hin -n-**.

47 (a) Iʃeen hin deem- t- u tur- t- e
she neg go- 3sgf- neg aux- 3sgf- PER
'She would not go.'

(b) Nu?i deem- aa hin ǰir- n- u
we go- prg neg aux- Pl- neg
'We are not going.'

(c) Nu?i deem- aa hin tur- n- e [turre]
we go- prg neg aux- neg- PER
'We were not going.'

(d) Inni deem- uu- f hin tur- n- e [turre]
he go- Inf- for neg aux- neg- PER
'He is not about to go.'

(e) Inni deem- uu- f hin ǰir- u
he go- Inf- for neg aux- neg
'He is not about to go.'

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, the major issues raised in each chapter are summarized. This thesis dealt with negation in Afan Oromo, particularly in Mačča dialect. The objective of the study was to identify the negative markers in the language and show interaction of negation with other functional categories.

The thesis has four parts including this one. In the first chapter, the background of the study, review of related literature, objective of the study, statement of the problem, significances, scope and methodology were presented.

Chapter two attempts to deal with forms and types of negation in Afan Oromo. In this chapter, the verbal and non-verbal negative markers are presented. The negative markers identified are **hin -n-**, **hin -u-**, **miti**, **malee** and inherently negative verbs like *haf-* 'remain' *did-* 'refuse' *Ḍab-* 'lose' etc. The first two are used with the verbal negative markers, **miti** is used in copular negation, **malee** in nominal negation and the inherently negative verbs are mainly used with infinitives.

The negative marker **hin -n-** is used with perfective verbs whereas in imperfective verbs **hin -u-** is used. It is shown that, eventhough many researchers describe **-u-** as an aspect marker, it is here shown that, the imperfective aspect marker is **-a** which disappears from surface forms because of co-occurrence constraints. Thus, the **-u-** in imperfective verbs is not an aspect marker rather, it is a negative marker.

The inherently negative verbs discussed in this chapter are, *ool-* 'be absent', *haf-* 'remain', *Ḍiis-* 'leave', *Ḍab-* 'lose', and *did-* 'deny'. These are verbs which have a

negative meaning in a sentence. They can attach the verbal negative markers mentioned above and their reading becomes affirmative.

In this chapter, the indefinite negative pronouns are also described. The indefinite pronouns in the language are not totally negative. The verbs with which they are used determine their readings. When the indefinite pronoun is used with a negative verb, it has a negative reading and when it is used with an affirmative verb, its reading is affirmative.

When negative verbs and negative indefinites are used together, a double negation reading is possible.

The third chapter is about constituent negation. In this chapter, negation of constituents is discussed. The constituents in sentences are negated by verbal and non-verbal means. Verbal phrases are negated by verbal means and nominal phrases are negated by the copular negative element **miti**.

In subordinate clauses, the verbal negative markers are used. However, there is a negative auxiliary **baat-** used in conditional clauses. When it is used in a clause, there is no need of using the negative markers. This auxiliary is used with the conditional clause markers **yoo** and **utuu**.

In the same chapter, interaction of negation with other functional categories is also discussed. The functional categories like aspect, agreement, focus and tense can interact with negation.

In this thesis, the objectives mentioned are met but this does not mean that all about negation in Afan Oromo are raised and discussed here. There are some questions which need further studies. Some of them are, when negation interacts with the focus marker – **tu** in the presence of an emphatic marker **-uma**, the presence of the focus marker is obligatory. The other concerns negative imperative and jussive which could be ambiguous, and which has not been fully treated.

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work, has not been presented for degree in any university and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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This thesis has been submitted with my approval as a thesis advisor.

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