The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32793 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Wal Anonby, Christina van der

**Title:** A grammar of Kumzari: a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman

**Issue Date:** 2015-04-22
10 Negation

The negative particle in Kumzari is na. Normally it follows the constituent being negated.

10.1 Verb negation

10.1.1 Post-constituent negation

When the verb is negated, the negative particle follows the verb in every aspect, mood, and mirativity:

(647) G992
xānāg-ō y’ā... qēṭīl-ē. sā ḥubbō yē tumr-a na ā?
house -the DEM =SUB deadly-a now grandmother 3s die:IMPF-3s NEG INTERR
‘This house, it’s deadly. Now won’t his grandmother die?’

The following pair of examples contrasts positive and negative, from the same section of text:

(648) B275
bap-ō kōr wābur.
father -the blind become:3sREAL
‘The father became blind.’

(649) B281
mām-ō kōr bur na.
mother -the blind become:3sREAL NEG
‘The mother did not become blind.’

Arabic and Iranian languages have pre-constituent negation. Post-constituent negation occurs in Shihhi and in the South Arabian languages Mehri, Jibbali, Harsusi, Bathari, and Hobyot. Watson and Eades (2012:3) note that this word order has been suggested as an innovation in the South Arabian languages, and that it is “an issue of typological interest for research on grammaticalisation and negation.”

In Kumzari, the object is not negated when the verb is negated:

(650) S105
šū tāt-um na.
husband want:IMPF-1s NEG
‘I don’t want a husband.’

Even complex objects as full nouns (not pronouns) do not take the negative particle:

(651) R1388
mā brār xō jīr-im na.
1p brother REFL see:REAL-1p NEG
‘We didn’t see our brother.’
However, when the object is a pronoun and not a whole noun, it follows the verb, and the negative particle then follows the object pronoun as it is part of the verb phrase\textsuperscript{96}:

(652) P503
\[
mēš-\text{um} \ yē \ na \ wa \ bāss.\]
see:IMPER-1s 3s NEG and finished
‘May I \textbf{not} see him, ever.’

(653) P630
\[
tēl-\text{ī} \ mē \ na!\]
leave:IMPF-2s 1s NEG
‘You’re \textbf{not} leaving me!’

This is also the case with compound verbs. Preverbs are not negated; rather, compound verbs are treated as a whole, taking the negative particle once:

(654) R864
\[
\text{bard} \ \text{gid-iš} \ yē \ na.\]
stone do:REAL-3s 3s NEG
‘He didn’t turn him into stone.’

(655) S293
\[
sā \ ḥasa \ ēnar \ gis-in \ na.\]
now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG
‘Now they hadn’t put henna on yet.’

The following pair of examples contrasts negated clauses with a full noun object and a pronoun object, from the same section of text:

(656) S771
\[
\text{dar-ō} \ twākš-\text{um} \ na.\]
door –the open:IMPF-1s NEG
‘I will \textbf{not} open the door.’

(657) S775
\[
twākš-\text{um} \ yē \ na.\]
open:IMPF-1s 3s NEG
‘I will \textbf{not} open it.’

This rule includes relative and interrogative pronouns:

(658) A281
\[
\text{bağa} \ muxx \ kas \ dān-a \ yē \ kī \ na.\]
without head PERS know:IMPF-3s 3s who NEG
‘Without a head \textbf{no one} knew \textbf{who he} was.’

\textsuperscript{96} Note that this is the regular syntax of verb phrases; the full noun precedes the verb and the pronoun follows the verb (see similar syntax in Mehri: Rubin 2010:265). Thus the rule for negation is no different; the negative particle follows the verb phrase including its object. See §4.3.
Mehri, a South Arabian language of Oman, also varies negation syntax depending on whether the subject is in the form of a noun or pronoun. In Mehri, pronoun subjects of nonverbal clauses take the negative particle әl before the item, and noun subjects take it after the negated constituent. As in Kumzari, “the result is that the nominal subject is essentially fronted” (Rubin 2010:265).

10.1.2 Double marking of negation

Because normative word order in Kumzari is verb-final, negation is obligatorily marked on each complement following a negated verb, including indirect objects, verb goals, modifiers, and post-posed nominal direct objects. Two contrasting examples below, from the same section of text, demonstrate this rule. In the first example, the direct object is post-posed to an unusual position after the verb, so it must be additionally negated. In the second example below, the direct object is in its usual place and is not negated, because it shares the negation of the verb:

(660) S511  [post-posed nominal direct object]

mē  tāt-um  na  dit  āmu  xō  na.
1s  want:IMPF-1s  NEG  daughter  uncle  (paternal)  REFL  NEG
‘As for me, I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.’

(661) S516  [nominal direct object in usual position]

mē  dit  āmu  xō  tāt-um  na.
1s  daughter  uncle  (paternal)  REFL  want:IMPF-1s  NEG
‘As for me, I do not want [to marry] my uncle’s daughter.’

Following are examples with double marked negation of complements:

(662) K117

mēy-ō  fōśnīs-um  ba  šmā,  jō’ar-ō  fōśnīs-um  na  ba  šmā  na.
fish–the  sell:PERF-1s  to  2p  pearl–the  sell:PERF-1s  NEG  to  2p  NEG
‘I sold the fish to you; I did not sell the pearl to you.’

(663) B734

mē  č-um  na  xāna  na.
1s  go:IMPF-1s  NEG  marriage  NEG
‘I am not going to marry.’

(664) B488

wana  kardīd-ī  yē  na  inda  yē  na,  tumr-ī.
if  drop:REAL-2s  3s  NEG  in  3s  NEG  die:IMPF-2s
‘If you do not drop him into it, you will die.’
raft-ē na wā brār-an xō na!
go:PERF-3s NEG with brother -PL REFL NEG
‘He hadn’t gone with his brothers!’

mē dit xō dō-um na ba yē na.
1s daughter REFL give:IMPF-1s NEG to 3s NEG
‘I am not giving my daughter to him.’

Multiple complements of a negated verb must also be additionally negated:

raft na muẓgit na āntē na.
go:3sREAL NEG mosque NEG there NEG
‘He didn’t go there to the mosque.’

sā tany-um na wā tō na xān tō na.
own stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG house 2s NEG
‘Now I will not stay with you in your house.’

In Persian and Arabic, negation is only marked once per clause. However, cases of double-marked negation are attested in Oman’s South Arabian languages Mehri, Jibbali, and Hobyot; the grammatical context for these is yet unclear (Rubin 2010:32, 129, 134; Simeone-Senelle 1997:406-7,414). Miestamo (2007:555) lists typological studies of non-circumfixal double negation.

10.1.3 Negative interrogative

In negative questions, the interrogative clitic ā follows the negative particle:

dān-ē mē na ā?
know:IMPF-2p 1s NEG INTERR
‘Don’t you know me?’

10.1.4 Prohibitive (negative imperative)

Prohibitive is not morphologically distinct from the negated Imperative, so it is formed the same as Realis negation, with the negative particle after the verb:

tikš-a tō! inča gaw na!
kill:IMPF-2s 2s like this say:2sIMPER NEG
‘He will kill you! Don’t talk like that!’

As in realis negation, prohibitive must have the negative particle on each complement following the verb:
(671) P336
ūny-a na kwēt na.
stay:IMPER-3s NEG Kuwait NEG
‘May he not stay in Kuwait.’

but not on objects preceding the verb:

(672) G937
lûmû mē k-ê na.
blaming 1s do:IMPER-2p NEG
‘Don’t blame me.’

10.2 Verbless clause negation

10.2.1 Negation of existentials

Existential enclitics for all persons and numbers are negated in the same manner as are verbs; that is, they are followed by the negative particle na:

(673) P664
sā šmā kōî=ê ā, ĕšinan=in na.
now 2p mountain.bedouin=EX:2p SUB these.ones=EX:3p NEG
‘Now you are mountain bedouins, these ones are not.’

(674) R117
tō wā šan=î na.
2s with 3p=EX:2s NEG
‘You are not with them.’

(675) B144
bazza-ê=Ø na. šāhar-ê=Ø.
beggar-a=EX:3s NEG sorcerer-a=EX:3s
‘He was not a beggar; he was a sorcerer.’

(676) G538
mē xābr=um na ba yē na.
1s in.the.know=EX:1s NEG of 3s NEG
‘I am not in the know about it.’

(677) K558
urtut-ê=Ø na. čō-ô jārī=Ø, ġēla azala=Ø.
trace --a=EX:3s NEG well -the finished=EX:3s grain separated=EX:3s
‘There was not a trace. The well was finished, the grain was separated.’

(678) G325
ʒānk-ô a, xaykē rāfî=Ø na. lakin martk-ô rāfî=Ø.
woman -the SUB very agreeing=EX:3s NEG but man -the agreeing=EX:3s
‘The woman, she was not really in agreement, but the man was in agreement.’

This is the case whether existentials occur with predicate nominatives or predicate adjectives:
They were not royalty. They were commoners.

[Its] construction was not good.

Each complement following the existential additionally takes the negative:

You are not better than my daughter.

The boy was not in the know about it.

The possessive construction consisting of the preposition wā ‘with’ + the possessor noun is negated by inserting the negative particle clause-finally:

He didn’t have any water. He didn’t have any matches. He didn’t have any knife.

This one, he does not have means.

In rejection, the negative particle precedes its referent:

‘You came [with] neither question nor answer.’
Chapter 10 - Negation

(686) K764
yā  na  xō  ādamī  ā?!
DEM  NEG  REFL  person  INTERR
‘These are no humans, are they?!’

(687) B851
na  bāẓā  wa  na  bīdar!
NEG  beggar  and  NEG  peasant
‘Neither beggar nor peasant!’

Pre-posed, the negative particle differs from its meaning when following the verb, as illustrated by the following two examples:

(688) G100
na  wa’b  gid-īš
NEG  field  make:REAL-3s
‘He made no field’

To say ‘He didn’t make a field’, the negative particle would follow the verb:

(689)
wa’b  gid-īš  na
field  make:REAL-3s  NEG
‘He didn’t make a field’

For emphasis, the negative particle can be pre-posed for a meaning like ‘not at all.’ In one case, a woman with her face completely veiled coming from the port greeted a group of women who knew her, but a few didn’t recognise her because of the veil. One said:

(690)
na  danus-um  yē!
NEG  know:PERF-1s  3s
‘I didn’t even recognise her!’

10.3.2 Subject negation

As in the marked syntax of rejection, the negative particle is fronted when a subject is particularly emphasised as being negative:

(691) R1362
šmā  na  wās-ē  mā  ar  wās-ē  mā,  yēē.
2p  NEG  bring:PERF-2p  lp  that/which/who  bring:PERF-3s  lp  3s.EMPH
‘It was none of you who brought us. The one who brought us was him.’

10.4 Negation compounds

10.4.1 Absolute existential negation iš na ‘there is no’

The occurrence of both an absolute quantifier (e.g. iš ‘any’) and a negative signals absolute existential negation, i.e. ‘there is no’:
(692) G139
\[iš \, ģēla \, na.\]
any grain NEG
‘There isn’t any grain.’

(693) G12
\[mām, \, bap, \, iš-ē \, na.\]
mother father any-a NEG
‘Mother, father, he hadn’t [lit. there weren’t] any.’

Qualifications following iš ‘any’ must also be negated:

(694) R25
\[xalafa \, gid-iš \, aft \, tā \, kōrk-an. \, iš \, na \, dikt-an \, na.\]
begetting do:REAL-3s seven COUNT boy–PL any NEG daughter–PL NEG
‘Seven sons he had. He hadn’t [lit. there weren’t] any daughters.’

A stated object can also take the quantifier iš ‘any’, in which case the verb is followed by the negative particle na:

(695) R291
\[iš \, ġāz \, tāt-um \, na.\]
any money want:IMPF-1s NEG
‘I don’t want any money.’

10.4.2 Personal negation kas na ‘no one, not there’

The personal negative compound kas na uses the personal particle kas as a subject pronoun, with the negative particle na following the verb or existential:

(696) P800
\[kas=Ø \, na.\]
PERS=EX:3s NEG
‘There’s no one.’

(697) R458
\[kas \, ġār \, ka \, na.\]
PERS making noise do:3sIMPER NEG
‘No one should make noise.’

(698) R939
\[kas \, nasaxa \, tk-a \, na.\]
PERS breathing do:IMPF-3s NEG
‘No one was breathing.’

(699) R1523
\[kas-ē \, ma’r-ē \, ba \, kūn \, yē \, na.\]
PERS-a tattoo –a on bottom 3s NEG
‘Not one has a tattoo on his bottom.’

It can be specified by adding a full noun phrase subject:
The rule of negating multiple complements following the verb applies in this case too:

No one knew about her except the father.'

It is possible to combine negative compounds \textit{iš} and \textit{kas}:

No one was saying anything.'

10.5 Complex clause negation

10.5.1 Subordinate clause negation

In the case of a negated verb with an embedded clause, since the embedded clause falls after the verb, the whole embedded clause must be additionally negated by the negative particle following the whole embedded clause:

He didn't tell him, "My brothers and your daughters have done this".'

A negated verb followed by a relative clause must also have the additional negative particle following the whole relative clause:

You were not amazed at the one who brought the talking horses?’
However, a subordinate clause preceding a negated verb phrase does not take the negative particle:

(706) S517
yē ar č-um ba yē xāna ā, tāt-um yē na.
3s that/which/who go:IMPF-1s with 3s marriage SUB want:IMPF-1s 3s NEG
‘The one whom I am to marry, I don’t want her.’

10.5.2 Auxiliary verb negation

Auxiliary verbs such as rāy ‘to be able to’ may act as the main verb, taking the negative particle themselves, while the second verb acts as a complement, also taking na:

(707) S191
rāy-in na ābaša yē tk-in na.
can:IMPF-3p NEG catching 3s do:IMPF-3p NEG
‘They cannot catch it.’

(708) R1453
mē rāy-um na dug-um 3ān na ēšinan na. mē bazza=um.
1s can:IMPF-1s NEG take:IMPF-1s 3p NEG these.ones NEG 1s beggar =EX:1s
‘I cannot take them, these ones. I am a poor person.’

In other cases the verb rāy ‘to be able to’ and other preverbs act as auxiliary verbs, pairing with the main verb to form a verb phrase, which takes a single negative particle to encompass the whole phrase:

(709) R194
sātē rāyis-im raft-im na. ništ-im.
now can:PERF-1p go:PERF-1p NEG sit:PERF-1p
‘We haven’t been able to go now. We have stayed.’

(710) A240
yē tāt-a tār-a yē bāla na.
3s want:IMPF-3s bring:IMPF-3s 3s up NEG
‘He did not want to bring him up.’

(711) K687
wayda ād yē na.
hold:2sIMPER give:2sIMPER 3s NEG
‘Don’t keep giving her!’

10.6 Evidential negation

Since evidentials occur before the verb and apply to the whole proposition, the evidential itself does not take the negative particle, but the proposition takes it, following rules as above:
10.7 Negation in poetics

The mirror image property of the negative is exploited in Kumzari’s poetically-structured language. Several texts juxtapose negative and positive in successive lines, with the same grammatical structure and parallel semantics:

(715) P635

dgō ba yē, “ḥā, tēlī mē na!”

dgō ba yē, “sā tō! rēsīdī.”

ḥasa na majma gidī,
wa ḥasa na šaw wābur,
wa ḥasa maxluq-an ći-in wā= bāla,
wa ḥasa maxluq-an tā’-in wā= zēran.”

“tēlī mē na!”

She said to him, “Oh, don’t leave me!”

He said to her, “Now, you! You arrived!
Still no word have you spoken,
And still no night has come,
And still many people are going up there,
And still many people are coming down there!”

“Don’t leave me!”

In the text above from the tale Pačaxčēō, the prohibitive clause tēlī mē na! is repeated in the frame at the beginning and end. In the list section between the lines of the frame, the four lines beginning with ḥasa mirror each other, with two negative clauses and two positive clauses.

A different pattern using negative clauses occurs in this section of text from the tale Bāğ al-Mowž:

(716) B7

yak-ē mardk-ē na,
yak-ē mardk-ē na,
ẓank-ē wā yē,
iś wā yē rōr na;
mardk-ē wā zank-ē bass.
tāt-a rōr-ē bīyār-a,
tāt-a rōr-ē bīyār-a,
iś wād-iš na.
bīyō, yak-ta zank-ē dgur gid-iš.
mād sāl-ē, di-sāl,
iś wād-iš na.
wā yak-ē dgur gid-iš.
lumrād, aṭī kas gid-iš.
afta zank-an,
iś wād-iš rōr na.
pē aṭī kas-an,
ēśīna na,
aflā iś dās-ē ba ša’n na.

There was a certain man who,
There was a certain man who had a wife,

He hadn’t any children;
A man had just a wife.
    He tried to have children,
    He tried to have children,
    **He didn’t have any.**

So he went and married another wife.
    Time went by,
    One year, two years,
    **He didn’t have any.**

Then he married another wife.
    In all, he married seven of them.
    Seven wives,
    **He didn’t have any children.**

Even with all seven [wives],
    That are these ones,
    **God hadn’t given them any.**

In the text above, the pattern of positive-negative parallels its semantic content. A man makes repeated attempts, but then always experiences setbacks. In the text structure, this collocation is substantiated in two or three positive lines followed by a negative clause (highlighted above), with the pattern repeated five times.