

Aspects of negation in Otjiherero

Jekura U. Kavari*
University of Namibia

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to provide a detailed description of Otjiherero negative grammatical features; to show how negation behaves in Otjiherero expressions; the effect of negation on meaning; the concomitant phonological processes involved; and to determine whether negation reveals Otjiherero sentence structures in general. As Möhlig and Kavari (2008, p.166) put it; "...in independent tenses, negation is expressed by the prefix *hi-* for 1st person singular and by *ka-* for all other persons and classes", while *ha* negates all subordinate clauses. Double negation in Otjiherero is a matter of emphasis, although in the Kaoko dialect it is used in a normal way in certain contexts, and though it is not used at all in the central dialect of Otjiherero. As Dembetembe (1986, p. 1) states: "...linguistically affirmation or negation is a feature of the predicate, the nucleus of which is the verb, whether this is expressed overtly or latently in surface structure", investigating how negation of predicates works seems to be an appropriate descriptive approach.

1. Introduction

As is the case with the Shona language (Dembetembe, 1986), negation in Otjiherero has received very little attention so far. Booysen (1982) transforms different Otjiherero sentences into their negative forms and gives exercises at the end of each lesson, but he does not explain in detail how negation works in Otjiherero. Möhlig, Marten and Kavari (2000) give more attention to the affirmative forms but give very little attention to negation; and in some places, explanation of negative constructions seems to be inaccurate. Möhlig and Kavari (2008) give more accurate descriptions of the negatives of the main clauses, but neglect the negation of the subordinate clauses.

The *ka-* negative morpheme is exclusively meant for negating main clauses. The *hi(-)* negates main clauses in which the first person singular is the subject, while *ha* negates all subordinate clauses.

2. The *ka-* negative morpheme

The *ka-* negative morpheme that is prefixed to subject marker results in different allomorphs with or without being fused with the subject marker, i.e. *ka* (< *kau*) for noun class 1, *ke* (<*kai*) for first person singular, *ko* (<*kau*) for second person singular and *ka+*subject marker for all other noun classes. It exclusively negates main clauses while the negative morpheme *hi* negates main clauses with first person singular as subject, e.g.

(1)	a.	Ami PRN1SG 'I work.'	mbi SM1SG	ungur-a. work-FV
	b.	Ami hi PRN1SG 'I usually do not work.'	ungur-a. NEG	work-FV

*Prof. J.U. Kavari is Associate Professor in the Department of Languages at the University of Namibia.
E-mail: jukavari@unam.na

- (2) a. **Ami mé** **ungur-a.**
 PRN1SG PRS/DFUTSM1SG work-FV
 'I am working' OR 'I shall work.'
- b. **Ami hì** **ná** **ku-ungur-a.**
 PRN1SG NEG have C15-work-FV
 'I am not working.'
- (3) a. **Ami mb-á** **ungur-a.**
 PRN1SG SM1SG-RCPST work-FV
 'I worked' (today)
- b. **Ami hì** **ungur-ir-è.**
 PRN1SG NEG work-PRF-FV
 'I did not work.'

The negation marker *hì* as in *hì*, *hì ná*, *hìmbá*, *hìmbà* and *hìméé* only negates main clauses with first person singular as subject. Negation of sentences with subjects other than first person singular is shown in examples below.

2.1 Negation of sentences in habitual aspect

The examples below show that negation of sentences in habitual aspect follows two rules, i.e.

- The negative morpheme replaces the subject marker. This rule is applicable when first person singular and class 1 nouns serve as the subject as shown in example (1b) and (4b).
- The negative morpheme is prefixed to the subject marker and it is operative for all other persons as subjects. For second person singular, the *-a-* of the negation marker *ka-* merged with the subject marker *u* and the fusion results in *ko*. See the example (5b).

- (4) a. **Omuatje u vang-a oku-yenda k-o-sikore.**
 C1-child SM1 want-FV C15-go C17-C9-school.
 'The child likes going to school.'
- b. **Omuatje ka vang-a oku-yenda k-o-sikore.**
 C1-child NEG want-FV C15-go C17-C9-school.
 'Children do not like going to school.'
- (5) a. **Ove u ungur-am-otji-kunino.**
 PRN2SG SM2 work-FV C18-C7-garden
 'You work in the garden.'
- b. **Ove ko (<kau) ungur-am-otji-kunino.**
 PRN2SG NEGSM2 work-FV C18-C7-garden
 'You do not work in the garden.'

2.2 Negation of sentences in present tense

In present tense and definite future expressions, the negative morpheme is prefixed to the subject marker, a *na* 'have' is introduced and followed by the verb in its infinitive form with augment omitted. In certain dialectal speeches the *-a* of *na* 'have' is elided instead of the augment.

- (6) a. **Ova-natje ma-ve vang-a oku-yenda k-o-sikore.**
 C2-child PRS-SM2 want-FV C15-go C17-C9-school
 Lit.: 'Children are liking to go to school.'
 'Children like going to school.'
- b. **Ova-natje ka-ve na ku-vang-a oku-yenda**
 C2-child NEG-SM2 have C15-want-FV C15-go
k-o-sikore.
 C17-C9-school
 'Children do not like going to school.'

2.3 Negation of sentences in future tenses

In Otjiherero definite future tense is identical to the present tense as in (6). For indefinite future tense expressions, the negation marker is prefixed to the tense and subject marker as in (7b).

- (7) a. **Ova-natje maa-ve vang-a oku-yenda k-o-sikore.**
 C2-Child IFUT-SM2 want-FV C15-go C17-C9-school
 'Children will like going to school.'
- b. **Ova-natje ka-maa-ve vang-a oku-yenda k-o-sikore.**
 C2-Child NEG-IFUT-SM2 want-FV C15-go C17-C9-school
 'Children will not like going to school.'

This rule differs from the present and definite future tense rule in the sense that it contains tense marker that is absent in the present and future tense rule, and with the absence of *na* and the infinitive form of the verb.

2.4 Negation of sentences in past tenses

In Otjiherero we have four different past tenses.

2.4.1 Imperfect recent past tense

The negation marker is prefixed to the subject marker, and the aspect marker is optional to express specific meaning. The perfect suffix occurs in the negative expressions of all past tense except when the aspect marker *ya* 'yet' is present to convey an imperfect meaning of that expression, as shown in (8c).

- (8) a. **Tw-á màn-a.**
 SM1PL-RCPST finish-FV
 'We finished.'
- b. **Kà-tú màn-èn-è.**
 NEG-SM1PL f inish-PRF-FV
 'We didn't finish.'
- c. **Kà-tú yà man-a.**
 NEG-SM1PL yet finish-FV
 'We didn't finish yet.'
- d. **Kà-tú tji màn-èn-è.**
 NEG-SM1PL more finish-PRF-FV
 'We are not going to finish.'

The *kà- ... -ÈRè* negative pattern as shown in example (8b) and (8d) expresses the notion that the action is not executed and it is over, and its completion is indicated by the use of the perfect suffix. The aspect marker *tji* in (8d) expresses the notion that the action will not be executed any longer which forms a sharp contrast with *ya* in (8c).

The imperfect recent past tense in example (8a) has three possibilities of negation as in (8b-d), each with a slightly different meaning.

2.4.2 Imperfect remote past tense

In both remote past tenses, the *kà- yà* negative construction is meaningless as given in example (9c), because the action is completed already in the remote past, and to say ‘not yet’ does not make sense. It is unlikely for the action to be executed in the near future or for the process of executing the action to continue till the present time, e.g.

- | | | |
|--------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (9) a. | Tw-à
SM1PL-RMPST
‘We worked.’ | úngur-a.
work-FV |
| b. | Kà-tú
NEG-SM1PL
‘We didn’t work.’ | úngur-ír-é.
work-PRF-FV |
| c. | ?Kà-tú yà
NEG-SM1PL yet
‘We didn’t work yet.’ | ungur-a.
work-FV |
| d. | Kà-tú tji
NEG-SM1PL more
‘We could not work.’ | úngur-ír-é.
work-PRF-FV |

Example (9d) means that we had the intention of working but we could not work because of certain circumstances. This reading is applicable to both remote past tenses.

2.4.3 Perfect recent past tense

The negation of the two perfect past tenses is identical, but tonally different.

Perfect Recent Past	L	H (LL)LL
Perfect Remote Past	L	H (HL)HH

- | | | | | |
|---------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (10) a. | Ova-rumendu
C2-man
na-wa.
ADVPr-good.
Lit.: ‘The men worked the work well.’
‘The men have worked well.’ | v-á
SM2-RCPST | ùngùr-ìr-è
work-PRF-FV | ovi-ungura
C8-work |
| b. | Ova-rumendu
C2-man
na-wa.
ADVPr-good.
Lit.: ‘The men did not work the work well.’
‘The men have not worked well.’ | kà-v-á
NEG-SM2-RCPST | ùngùr-ìr-è
work-PRF-FV | ovi-ungura
C8-work |

2.4.4 Perfect remote past tense

- | | | | | |
|---------|--|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (11) a. | Ova-rumendu
C2-man
na-wa.
ADVPr-good
Lit.: ‘The men worked the work well.’
‘The men had worked well.’ | v-à
SM2-RMPST | ùngùr-ìr-é
work-PRF-FV | ovi-ungura.
C8-work |
|---------|--|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|

- | | | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| b. | Ova-rumendu
C2-man
na-wa.
ADVPr-good
Lit.: 'The men had not worked the work well.'
'The men had not worked well.' | kà-v-á
NEG-SM2-RCPST | ùngúr-ír-é
work-PRF-FV | ovi-ungura
C8-work |
|----|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|

3. Negation of copulative sentences

In present tense the copulative predicate is tonally expressed with a high tone. How this copulative high tone is realised depends on the class prefix system of the specific noun or adjective.

For nouns with zero class prefix (i.e. class 1a nouns), the affirmative copulative *o-* is low and the high tone falls on the first syllable of the noun stem as in (12b). In the negative form the high tone is realized on the negation marker *ka-* as in (12c).

For nouns and adjectives with V-class prefix in the affirmative form, the copulative high tone is realized on the class syllable as in (13b). In the negative form the high tone is realized on the negation marker *ka-* as in (13c).

For the VV-class and VCV-class prefix nouns in the affirmative form, the high tone falls on the first syllable of the class prefix as in (14b). In the negative form it shifts to the second syllable of the class prefix while the first syllable stays low as in (14c).

- (12) a. **Màmá**
C1mother
'my mother'
- b. **Ò-mámá.**
COP-C1mother.
'She is my mother.'
- c. **Ká-màmá.**
COP-C1mother.
'She is not my mother.'
- (13) a. **ò-ngòmbó**
C9-goat
'Goat'
- b. **Ó-ngòmbó.**
COPC9-goat
'It's a goat.'
- c. **Ká-ngòmbó.**
COPNEG-goat.
'It's not a goat.'
- (14) a. **òmù-ndù**
C1-person
'Person'
- b. **Ómù-ndù.**
COPC1-person
'It's a person.'
- c. **Kà-mú-ndù.**
NEG- COPC1-person
'It's not a person.'

The above examples illustrate that all noun class prefixes are basically low toned, and when the low tone pattern of a VV- or VCV-class prefix noun or adjective merges with the high toned copulative negation marker (*ká-*), then the augment is replaced by the negation marker but its low tone remains and floats in its slot and forces the high tone of the copulative negation marker to settle on the next syllable and consequently the low tone settles on the negation marker's syllable. This shows that the stem in V-class prefix nouns blocks this tonal inflection.

4. Negation of complex sentences

A complex sentence consists of a main clause plus one or more subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses are linked to the main clause by subordinating conjunctives. The main clauses are negated with *ka-* negative morpheme or with *hi* for first person singular subjects, as explained above, while the subordinate clauses are negated with the *ha* negative morpheme. The negation of subordinate clauses will be explained here to show how negation of one or both clauses affects the meaning of a sentence.

4.1 Negation of subordinate clauses

Like in Shona (Dembetembe 1986), the negative particle *ha* (with its allomorph *he*) exists in Otjiherero, but it differs from the Shona's negative particle *ha-* in the sense that in Shona it is used to negate main clauses, while in Otjiherero it negates subordinate clauses. In Otjiherero its tone may change according to the tone pattern of a specific tense while in Shona it always stays low. In its function it seems that the negative particle *ha* in Otjiherero resembles the Shona one *-sa-* that negates subordinate clauses, but the Otjiherero imperative and hortative are negated in different ways as discussed under section 7.

4.1.1 Negation of adverbial subclauses

An adverbial clause fulfils the function of an adverb or adverbial phrase in a sentence and may be replaced by an appropriate adverb or adverbial phrase. Therefore, an adverbial clause may express manner, concession, condition, place, purpose, reason, result or time as an additional descriptive feature to the main predicate.

(i) Adverbial subclauses (manner)

An adverbial clause of manner expresses how something is done as well as comparing "the way something is done with the way someone or something else does it" (Collins, 2005, p. 361).

An adverbial clause of manner is introduced by conjunctives such as *otja tji* 'as if', *owa* 'like', *aayo* 'as if', and *tjimuna* 'like'. *Owa* and *otja* are used to compare two entities, but they are always followed by a subordinating conjunctive such a relative marker and *tji* 'if' respectively, as in (15) and (16). *Tjimuna* may also precede a relative marker or *tji* as shown in example (17) and (18).

- Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect

- (15) a. **Omu-ungur-e** **u** **ungur-aotja** **tj-e** **sut-w-a.**
 C1-worker-AFV SM1 work-FV as if-SM1 pay-PASS-FV
 'The worker works the way s/he is being paid.'

- b. **Omu-ungur-e** **u** **ungur-aotja** **tje** **ha** **sut-w-a.**
 C1-worker-AFV SM1 work-FV as if-SM1 NEG pay-PASS-FV
 'The worker works the way s/he is not being paid.'
 The negation marker *ha* is inserted between the subject marker and the verb stem.

• *Adverbial subclause in present/future tense*

- (16) a. **Omu-rumendu** **ma** **ungur-aowa** **ngu** **ma** **sut-w-a**
 C1-man PRS work-FV like REL1 PRS pay-PASS-FV
ovi-mariva **ovi-ngi.**
 C8-money C8-many.
 'The man is working as if he is being paid much money.'
- b. **Omu-rumendu** **ma** **ungur-aowa** **ngu**
 C1-man PRS work-FV like REL1
he na ku-sut-w-a ovi-mariva ovi-ngi.
 NEG have C15-pay-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many
 'The man is working as if he is not being paid much money.'

This rule differs from the main clause negation rule with regard to the type and position of the negation marker.

• *Subclause in past tense*

- (17) a. **Omu-rumendu** **w-a** **ungur-atjimunatj-a**
 C1-man SM1-RCPST work-FV like if-RCPST
vang-a.
 want-FV
 'The man worked the way he liked.'
- b. **Omu-rumendu** **w-a** **ungur-atjimunatj-e**
 C1-man SM1-RCPST work-FV | ike if-RCPST
ha vang-er-e.
 NEG want-PRF-FV
 'The man worked as if he did not want to.'
- (18) a. **Ova-rumendu** **v-a** **ungur-atjimunamb-a**
 C2-man SM2-RCPST work-FV like REL2-RCPST
vang-a nao.
 want-FV that
 'The men worked as if they wanted it like that.'
- b. **Ova-rumendu** **v-a** **ungur-atjimunamb-e**
 C2-man SM2-RCPST work-FV like REL2-RCPST
ha vang-er-e nao.
 NEG want-PRF-FV that
 'The men worked as if they did not want it like that.'

(ii) *Adverbial Subclause (concession)*

A concessive clause contains information that contrasts the information in the main clause and it is characterized by conjunctions like *ngunda a-* 'while', *nandi* 'whereas', *pendje na (tji)* 'except' and *nangarire kutja* 'although'. To maintain the contrast between the main and subordinate clause in certain contexts, one of the two clauses must be in the negative form.

• *Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect*

- (19) a. **Ova-kazona** **ve** **ri-hong-a** **ova-zandu** **ngunda**
 C2-girl SM2 REFL-teach-FV C2-boy while
 a-ve rar-a uriri.
 SUBPr-SM2 sleep-FV only
 ‘The girls learn while boys only sleep.’
- b. **Ova-kazona** **ve** **ri-hong-a** **ova-zandu** **ngunda**
 C2-girl SM2 REFL-teach-FV C2-boy while
 a-ve ha rar-a uriri.
 SUBPr-SM2 NEG sleep-FV at all
 ‘The girls learn while boys do not sleep at all.’

Example (19b) indicates that the girls do learn with less effort while the boys learn day and night without a break. The concept *uriri* is translated as ‘only’ in the affirmative and as ‘at all’ in the negative context. This means that *uriri* is one of those Otjiherero words which do not have a fixed meaning, and its meaning depends on the particular context in which it occurs.

• *Adverbial subclause in present/future tense*

- (20) a. **Ova-kazendu** **ma-ve** **ungur-ana-vi** **pendje na tji**
 C2-woman PRS-SM2 work-FV ADVPr-bad except
ma-ve **raer-w-a** **na-wa.**
 PRS-SM2 tell-PASS-FV ADVPr-good
 ‘The women will work badly unless when they are told nicely.’
- b. **Ova-kazendu** **ma-ve** **ungur-ana-vi** **pendje na tji**
 C2-woman PRS-SM2 work-FV ADVPr-bad except
v-e **he** **na** **ku-raer-er-w-a** **na-wa.**
 SM2 NEG have C15-tell-PRF-PASS-FV ADVPr-good
 ‘The women will work badly unless when they are not told nicely.’
- c. **Ova-kazendu** **ma-ve** **ungur-ana-wa** **pendje na tji**
 C2-woman PRS-SM2 work-FV ADVPr-good except
v-e **ha** **raer-er-w-e** **na-wa.**
 SM2 NEG tell-PRF-PASS-FV ADVPr-good
 ‘The women will work nicely unless when they are not told nicely.’

Example (20b) is not a good example because there is no contrast between the two clauses in order to make the dichotomous meaning clear. Therefore, a native speaker of Otjiherero would prefer example (20c) instead.

• *Subclause in past tense*

In negation of sentences in past tenses, the perfect extension serves as a past tense marker. Therefore we find a perfect extension in the negative forms of all four past tenses, including the imperfect past tenses.

- (21) a. **Oma-panga** **we-tu** **y-a** **yakur-w-a**
 C6-friend POSSM-PRN1PL SM2-RCPST receive-PASS-FV
na-wa **e!e** **nandi** **tw-a** **ramb-w-a.**
 ADVPr-good PRN1PL whereas SM1PL-RCPST chase-PASS-FV
 ‘Our friends are well-received whereas we are chased away.’

- b. **Oma-panga** **we-tu** **y-a** **yakur-w-a**
 C6-friend POSSM-PRN1PL SM2-RCPST receive-PASS-FV
 na-wa eᵛᵛᵛ nandi tu ha
 ADVPr-good PRN1PL whereas SM1PL NEG
ramb-erw-e.
 chase-PASS-FV
 ‘Our friends are well-received whereas we are not chased away.’

The contrast in example (21b) is still maintained. Thus it indicates that, when their friends are well-received, this disqualifies them to be accepted but contrary to that they were not chased away.

(iii) *Adverbial subclauses (place)*

Adverbial clauses of place use the locative relative marker (REL) as their subordinating conjunctives. In the underlying structure of such a subordinate clause (22) the locative noun is elided and its relative clause remains and results in an adverbial clause (23a), e.g.

- (22) a. **Tu** **nyand-er-a** **p-oru-veze** **pu** **tu** **vang-a.**
 SM1PL play-APPL-FV C16-C11-place REL16 SM1PL want-FV
 ‘We play at a place where we want to.’
 (‘We play where we want.’)
 Example (23a) is a mirror of example (22) without a locative noun.

- *Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect*

In turning sentence (23a) into its negative form (23b), a negation marker is just inserted between the subject marker and the main verb.

- (23) a. **Tu** **nyand-er-a** **pu** **tu** **vang-a.**
 SM1PL play-APPL-FV REL16 SM1PL want-FV
 ‘We play where we want.’
 b. **Tu** **nyand-er-a** **pu** **tu** **ha** **vang-a.**
 SM1PL play-APPL-FV REL16 SM1PL NEG want-FV
 ‘We play where we do not want.’

- *Adverbial subclause in present/future tense*

Here the tense marker is absent, a negation marker is introduced and copulative verb *na* is introduced following the original verb in its infinitive form with the augment elided as shown in (24b). In certain dialects, the –a of *na* is elided and the augment is retained, which results in *nokuvanga*, instead of *na kuvanga*.

- (24) a. **Tu** **nyand-er-a** **pu** **ma-tu** **vang-a.**
 SM1PL play-APPL-FV REL16 PRS-SM1PL want-FV
 ‘We play where we want.’
 b. **Tu** **nyand-er-a** **pu** **tu** **he** **na** **ku-vang-a.**
 SM1PL play-APPL-FV REL16 SM1PL NEG have C15-want-FV
 ‘We play where we do not want to.’

- *Subclause in past tense*

The presence of perfect suffix is applicable to all four past tenses, but each with its own tonal pattern. The negation marker (*ha*) is low in the recent past tenses but high in the remote past tenses, and this low or high tone spreads to the perfect suffix of the verb respectively.

- (25) a. **Tw-a** **rar-a** **pu** **tw-a** **mun-u**
 SM1PL-RCPST sleep-FV REL17 SM1PL-RCPST see-FV
oru-veze.
 C11-place
 ‘We slept where we found a place.’
- b. **Tw-a** **rar-a** **pu** **ha** **mun-in-e**
 SM1PL-RCPST sleep-FV REL16 NEG see-PRF-FV
oru-veze.
 C11-place
 ‘We slept where we didn’t find a place.’

(iv) *Adverbial subclauses (purpose and result)*

In Otjiherero, the purpose and/or result is expressed by subjunctive clauses only, but not by the object clauses as indicated by Möhlig and Kavari (2008). A subjunctive clause is an adverbial clause, while an object clause is a nominal clause. In this sense an object clause may be replaced by a noun, while an adverb may replace a subjunctive clause. Therefore, an object clause is a main clause and it is negated accordingly as in (26b).

- (26) a. **V-a** **mun-u** **kútjá** **ova-natje** **ma-ve** **kotok-a**
 SM2-RCPST see-VH that C2-child DFUT-SM2 return-FV
muhuka.
 tomorrow
 ‘They realised that the children will return tomorrow.’
- b. **V-a** **mun-u** **kútjá** **ova-natje** **ka-ve** **na**
 SM2-RCPST see-VH that C2-child NEG-SM2 have
ku-kotok-a **muhuka.**
 C15-return-FV tomorrow
 ‘They realised that the children will not return tomorrow.’

Möhlig and Kavari (2008) did not make a clear distinction between object clauses and subjunctive clauses, as both are headed by a conjunctive *kutja*. To set this straight, an object clause is introduced by *kútjá* and its verb ends in –a as in (26a), while *kútjà* introduces a subjunctive clause whose verb ends in –e as in (27a).

- (27) a. **V-a** **tjit-i** **kútjà** **ova-natje** **ve** **kotok-e**
 SM2-RCPST do-VH that C2-child SM2 return-FV
muhuka.
 tomorrow
 ‘They caused the children to return tomorrow.’
- b. **V-a** **tjit-i** **kútjà** **ova-natje** **a-ve** **ha**
 SM2-RCPST do-VH that C2-child SUBPr-SM2 NEG
kotok-a muhuka.
 return-FV tomorrow
 ‘They caused the children not to return tomorrow.’

In accordance with Möhlig and Kavari (2008), it is true that a purpose is expressed by habitual, present and future tenses while a result is expressed by past tenses because a purpose is an intention or envisaged result which consequently becomes a result after the actions or events has been executed.

- *Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect*

An *a-* is prefix to the subject marker, negation marker is introduced and the verb always ends in –a, contrary to the affirmative verb stem that ends in –e.

- (28) a. **Tate** **u** **tung-a** **otj-unda** **kutja** **mu** **rar-e**
 C1afather SM1a build-FV C7-kraal that SM18 sleep-FV
ozo-ndana.
 C10-calf
 ‘My father builds a kraal for calves to sleep in.’
- b. **Tate** **u** **tung-a** **otj-unda** **kutja** **a-mu** **ha**
 C1a father SM1a build-FV C7-kraal that SUBPr-SM18
 NEG
rar-a **ozo-ndana.**
 sleep-FV C10-calf
 ‘My father builds a kraal for calves not to sleep in.’

Examples (28a&b) are elliptic sentences because of the fact that the locative noun to which the subject marker refers is elided.

- *Subclause in past tense*

Clauses that express the result of the action in the main clause are headed by *otji* ‘then’ and *okutja otji* as the subordinating conjunctives.

- (29) a. **Omu-ungur-e** **w-a** **ungur-a** **na-wa** **otj-a**
 C1-worker-FV SM1-RCPST work-FV ADVPr-nice thus-SM1
sut-w-a **ovi-mariva** **ovi-ngi.**
 pay-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many
 ‘The worker worked nicely thus he has been paid much money.’
- b. **?Omu-ungur-e** **w-a** **ungur-a** **na-wa** **otj-e**
 C1-worker-FV SM1-RCPST work-FV ADVPr-nice thus-RCPST
ha **sut-ir-w-e** **ovi-mariva** **ovi-ngi.**
 NEG pay-PRF-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many
 ‘The worker worked nicely thus he has not been paid much money.’
- c. **Omu-ungur-e** **ka** **ungur-a** **na-wa** **otj-e** **ha**
 C1-worker-FV NEG work-FV ADVPr-nice thus-RCPST
 NEG
sut-ir-w-e **ovi-mariva** **ovi-ngi.**
 pay-PRF-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many
 ‘The worker did not work nicely thus he has not been paid much money.’

Example (29b) is meaningless because it is unreasonable not to reward someone who worked hard. An Otjiherero native speaker will opt for examples (29c) instead. Here both clauses have to be negated to reflect the opposite meaning of (29a).

(v) *Adverbial subclauses (time)*

The adverbial clauses of time refer to a period of time or to another event when something happens and they are headed by *tji* ‘when’, *komurungu w-* ‘before’, *kombunda y-* ‘after’, *nga(a) tji* ‘until when’, *ngandu tji* ‘until when’, *tjazumba* ‘afterwards’, *tjazumba ... otji* ‘afterwards ... then’ and a subordinating *a-* that is prefixed to the subject marker.

- *Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect*

- (30) a. **Ova-ndu ve tumb-a tji ve ungur-a**
 C2-person SM2 become-rich-FV when SM2 work-FV
ou-kukut-u.
 C14-hard-FV
 ‘People become rich when they work hard.’
- b. **?Ova-ndu ve tumb-a tji ve ha ungur-a**
 C2-person SM2 become-rich-FV when SM2 NEG work-FV
ou-kukut-u.
 C14-hard-FV
 ‘People become rich when they do not work hard.’
- c. **?Ova-ndu ka-ve tumb-a tji ve ha**
 C2-person NEG-SM2 become-rich-FV when SM2 NEG
ungur-a ou-kukut-u.
 work-FV C14-hard-FV
 ‘People do not become rich when they do not work hard.’

Again negation of both clauses is preferred here as illustrated in example (30).

- *Adverbial subclause in present/future tense*

- (31) a. **Ozo-nyose ma-ze zeng-i tji ma-pe tji.**
 C10-star FUT-SM10 disappear-VH when FUT-SM16 dawn-VH
 ‘The stars will disappear when it will dawn.’
- b. **?Ozo-nyose ma-ze zeng-i tji pe he/hí na**
 C10-star FUT-SM10 disappear-VH when SM16 NEG have
ku-tj-a.
 C15dawn-FV
 ‘The stars will disappear when day dawns.’
- c. **Ozo-nyose ka-ze na ku-zeng-a tji pe**
 he/hí
 C10-star NEG-SM10 have C15-disappear-FV when SM16
 NEG
na ku-tj-a.
 have C15-dawn-FV
 ‘The stars will not disappear when day does not dawn.’

Negation of both clauses makes sense to the negative meaning of example (31a).

- *Subclause in past tense*

- (32) a. **O-mbwa ya-ndje y-a ukir-a tji y-a**
 C9-dog POSSM-mine SM9-RMPST bark-FV when SM9-RMPST
mun-a ova-enda.
 see-FV C2-guest.
 ‘My dog had barked when it had seen the guests.’
- b. **?O-mbwa ya-ndje y-a ukir-a tji i ha**
 C9-dog POSSM-mine SM9-RMPST bark-FV when SM9 NEG
mun-in-e ova-enda.
 see-PRF-FV C2-guest
 ‘My dog had barked when it had not seen the guests.’

- c. **O-mbwa** **ya-ndje** **ka-i** **ukir-ir-e** **tji** **i** **ha**
 C9-dog POSSM-mine NEG-SM9 bark-PRF-FV when SM9
 NEG
mun-in-e ova-enda.
 see-PRF-FV C2-guest
 'My dog had not barked when it had not seen the guests.'

(vi) *Adverbial subclauses (condition)*

A conditional clause usually begins with *tji* 'if', or *tji ... otji* 'if ... then', and says what must happen or exist in order for the information in the main clause to be true or assumed to be true. The meaning of these clauses are closer to those of the adverbial clauses of result, because a condition becomes a result when it is fulfilled.

- *Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect*

- (33) a. **Ozo-ndana** **ze** **fiun-a** **tji-nene** **tji** **ze** **nyam-a**
 C10-calf SM10 fat-FV ADVPr-big if SM10 suck-FV
 na-wa.
 ADVPr-good
 'The calves get fat nicely if they suck well.'
- b. **?Ozo-ndana** **ze** **fiun-a** **tji-nenetji** **ze** **ha** **nyam-u**
 C10-calf SM10 fat-FV ADVPr-big if SM10 NEG suck-FV
 na-wa.
 ADVPr-good
 'The calves get fat nicely if they do not suck well.'
- c. **Ozo-ndana** **ka-ze** **fiun-u** **tji-nenetji** **ze** **ha**
 C10-calf NEG-SM10 fat-VH ADVPr-big if SM10
 NEG
nyam-una-wa.
 suck-FV ADVPr-good
 'The calves do not get fat nicely if they do not suck well.'

- *Adverbial subclause in present/future tense*

- (34) a. **Ova-ungur-e** **ma-ve** **sut-w-a** **na-wa** **tji**
 C2-work-FV FUT-SM2 pay-PASS-FV ADVPr-good if
ma-ve **ungur-aou-kukut-u.**
 FUT-SM2 work-FV C14-hard-FV
 'Workers will be paid well if they work hard.'
- b. **?Ova-ungur-e** **ma-ve** **sut-w-a** **na-wa** **tji**
 C2-work-FV FUT-SM2 pay-PASS-FV ADVPr-good if
ve **he** **na** **ku-ungur-a** **ou-kukut-u.**
 SM2 NEG have C15-work-FV C14-hard-FV
 'Workers will be paid well if they do not work hard.'
- c. **Ova-ungur-e** **ka-ve** **na** **ku-sut-w-a** **na-wa**
 C2-work-FV NEG-SM2 have C15-pay-PASS-FV ADVPr-good
tji **ve** **he** **na** **ku-ungur-a** **ou-kukut-u.**
 if SM2 NEG have C15-work-FV C14-hard-FV
 'Workers will not be paid well if they do not work hard.'

• *Adverbial subclause in past tense*

- (35) a. **Ova-ungur-e** **v-a** **ungur-ana-wa** **o-tji**
 C2-work-AFV SM2-RCPST work-FV ADVPr-good OP-then
v-a **sut-w-a** **ovi-mariva** **ovi-ngi.**
 SM2-RCPST pay-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many.
 ‘Workers worked well, then they have been paid much money.’
- b. **?Ova-ungur-e** **v-a** **ungur-ana-wa** **o-tji**
 C2-work-AFV SM2-RCPST work-FV ADVPr-good COP-then
ve **ha** **sut-ir-w-e** **ovi-mariva** **ovi-ngi.**
 SM2-RCPST NEG pay-PRF-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many.
 ‘Workers did not work well, then they have not been paid much money.’
- c. **Ova-ungur-e** **ka-ve** **ungur-ir-e** **na-wa** **o-tji**
 C2-work-AFV SM2-RCPST work-PRF-FV ADVPr-good COP-then
ve **ha** **sut-ir-w-e** **ovi-mariva** **ovi-ngi.**
 SM2-RCPST NEG pay-PRF-PASS-FV C8-money C8-many.
 ‘Workers did not work well, then they have not been paid much money.’

Example (35) shows that there is no condition in past tense, because in past tenses a condition has been fulfilled and became a result. Therefore a correct translation of example (35a) will be: ‘*The workers worked well and as a result they were paid well.*’

(vii) *Adverbial subclause (reason)*

Adverbial clauses of reason indicate the reason for or of action(s) in the main clause and they are introduced by *tjinga*. Their meaning is much closer to those of the adverbial clauses of purpose.

• *Adverbial subclause in habitual aspect*

- (36) a. **Ova-ver-e** **ve** **yend-a** **k-o-nganga** **tjinga** **ovo**
 C2-ill-AFV SM2 go-FV C17-C9-doctor as PRN2
a-ve **ver-a** **tji-nene.**
 SUBPr-SM2 ill-FV ADVPr-big.
 ‘The patients go to the doctor as they get very ill.’
- b. **?Ova-ver-e** **ve** **yend-a** **k-o-nganga** **tjinga** **ovo**
 C2-ill-AFV SM2 go-FV C17-C9-doctor as PRN2
a-ve **ha** **ver-e** **tji-nene.**
 SUBPr-SM2 NEG ill-FV ADVPr-big.
 ‘The patients go to the doctor as they do not get very ill.’
- c. **Ova-ver-e** **ka-ve** **i** **k-o-nganga** **tjinga** **ovo**
 C2-ill-AFV NEG-SM2 go C17-C9-doctor as PRN2
a-ve **ha** **ver-e** **tji-nene.**
 SUBPr-SM2 NEG ill-FV ADVPr-big.
 ‘The patients do not go to the doctor as they do not get very ill.’

4.1.2 *Negation of qualifying subclauses*

A qualifying clause (or relative clause) behaves like adjective or all other qualifiers to give more information about a noun. It may occur in a main clause or in another subordinate clause in which a noun being qualified serves as a subject or object or even a noun in a prepositional phrase or possessive construction. This type of subclause is headed by the relative marker of a specific noun class to which the respective noun belongs.

(i) Qualifying subclause in habitual aspect

- (37) a. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **rar-a** **m-o-ndjuwo** **u** **kavir-a**
 C1-child REL1 sleep-FV C18-C9-house SM1 ride-FV
oka-kambe **ku** **ke** **tupuk-ana-wa.**
 C13-horse REL13 SM13 run-FV ADVPr-good.
 'The child who sleeps in a house rides a horse that canters well.'
- b. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **ha** **rar-a** **m-o-ndjuwo** **u**
 C1-child REL1 NEG sleep-FV C18-C9-house SM1
kavir-aoka-kambe **ku** **ke** **ha** **tupuk-a**
 ride-FV C13-horse REL13 SM13 NEG run-FV
na-wa.
 ADVPr-good.
 'The child who does not sleep in a house rides a horse that does not canter well.'

In example (37b) the negative particle *ha* occurs between the subject marker and the verb stem.

(ii) Qualifying subclause in present tense

- (38) a. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **ma** **rar-a** **m-o-ndjuwo** **ma**
 C1-child REL1 FUT sleep-FV C18-C9-house PRS
kavir-eoka-kambe **ku** **ma-ke** **tupuk-a**
 ride-FV C13-horse REL13 PRS-SM13 run-FV
na-wa.
 ADVPr-good.
 'The child who is sleeping in a house is riding a horse that is cantering well.'
- b. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **hi** **na** **ku-rar-a** **m-o-ndjuwo**
 C1-child REL1 NEG have C15-sleep-FV C18-C9-house
ma **kavir-eoka-kambe** **ku** **ke** **hi** **na**
 PRS ride-FV C13-horse REL13 SM13 NEG have
ku-tupuk-a na-wa.
 C15-run-FV ADVPr-good.
 'The child who is not sleeping in a house is riding a horse that is not cantering well.'

(iii) Qualifying subclause in future tense

The definite future tense has the same negative patterns as in the present tense as explained above. Here the qualifying clauses in the indefinite future tense will be discussed.

- (39) a. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **ma-a** **ka-r-ir-a** **omu-hong-e**
 C1-child REL1 FUT-INDF KAM-become-APPL-FV C1-teach-AFV
u **ri-hong-a na-wa.**
 SM1 REFL-teach-FV ADVPr-good
 'A child who will become a pastor [one day] learns well.'
- b. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **hi** **na** **ma-a** **ka-r-ir-a**
 C1-child REL1 NEG have FUT-INDF KAM-become-APPL-FV
omu-hong-e u **ri-hong-a** **na-wa.**
 C1-teach-AFV SM1 REFL-teach-FV ADVPr-good
 'A child who will not become a pastor learns well.'

- c. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **hi** **na-a** **ma** **ka-r-ir-a**
 C1-child REL1 NEG have-INDF FUT KAM-become-APPL-FV
 omu-hong-e u ri-hong-a na-wa.
 C1-teach-AFV SM1 REFL-teach-FV ADVPr-good
 ‘A child who will never become a pastor learns well.’
- d. **Omu-atje** **ngu** **hi** **na-a** **ma-a**
 C1-child REL1 NEG have-INDF FUT-INDF
ka-r-ir-a ***omu-hong-e*** ***u*** ***ri-hong-a***
 KAM-become-APPL-FV C1-teach-AFV SM1 REFL-teach-FV
na-wa.
 ADVPr-good
 ‘A child who will never ever become a pastor learns well.’

In the negative clause, the indefinite suffix (INDF) –a, as in example (39b-d), is used to emphasise the negative meaning of the sentence progressively from c - d. Therefore it is translated with ‘not’ in example (39b), ‘never’ in example (39c) and with ‘never ever’ in example (39d). Further emphasis may be added by double negation and *kaparukaze* as explained in section 8. The *na* ‘have’ in the negative constructions of the indefinite future tense is not followed by the infinitive form of the verb like in the present and definite future tenses.

(iv) *Qualifying subclause in past tense*

- (40) a. **Omu-rumendu** **ngw-á** **rànd-a** **ozo-ndana**
 C1-man REL1-RCPST buy-FV C10-calf
w-a ***sut-u*** ***ovi-mariva*** ***ovi-ngí.***
 SM1-RCPST pay-VH C8-money C8-many
 ‘The man who bought calves paid much money’
- b. **Omu-rumendu** **ngù** **há** **rànd-èr-è** **ozo-ndana** **w-a**
 C1-man REL1 NEG buy-PRF-FV C10-calf SM1-RCPST
sut-u ***ovi-mariva*** ***ovi-ngí.***
 pay-VH C8-money C8-many
 ‘The man who did not buy calves paid much money’

4.2. *Negation of the main clauses only*

In certain conditions, negation of the subordinate clauses only is not permissible, especially where the subordinate clause is completely dependent on the main clause, as the negative form does not make sense. Some sentences are marked with ? at beginning of that particular sentence, and it is followed by a second negation in which both the main clause and the subordinate clause are negated in order for the whole sentence to reflect the negative sense of the given affirmative sentence. Thus in cases where negation of the subordinate clauses only is not permissible, the negation of the main clauses only is also unacceptable.

5. *Negation of object clauses*

An object clause may be classified as the object of the main clause, and as the object of the subordinate clause, as in the following examples.

5.1 *Object clause as an object of main clause*

The negation of either the object clause or the main clause and simultaneous negation of both clauses are allowed, as in examples (41b and c). The negation of object clauses opposes the notion expressed by Möhlig and Kavari (2008) that an object clause is a subordinate clause that is syntactically structured like a main clause. Here it is argued that an object clause is a main clause as proved by the negation process.

- (41) a. **Ova-natje v-a mun-u kutja ozo-ndana ma-ze**
 C2-child SM2-RCPST see-VH that C10-calf PRS-SM10
nyam-una-wa.
 suck-FV ADVPr-good
 'The children saw *that the calves are sucking well.*'
- b. **Ova-natje v-a mun-u kutja ozo-ndana ka-ze**
 C2-child SM2-RCPST see-VH that C10-calf NEG-SM10
na ku-nyam-a na-wa.
 have C15-suck-FV ADVPr-good
 'The children saw *that the calves are not sucking well.*'
- c. **Ova-natje ka-ve mun-in-e kutja ozo-ndana ka-ze**
 C2-child NEG-SM2 see-PRF-FV that C10-calf NEG-SM10
na ku-nyam-a na-wa.
 have C15-suck-FV ADVPr-good
 'The children did not see *that the calves are not sucking well.*'

5.2 *Object clause as an object of subordinate clause*

It is puzzling that in the examples below, the object clause that serves as the object of a subordinate relative clause is a main clause. This shows that an object clause is a main clause wherever it occurs. Many written sources were consulted, but the majority classifies object clauses as subordinate clauses and a few sources are just silent about the classification of object clauses.

- (42) a. **Ova-natje mb-a mun-u kutja ozo-ndana**
 C2-child REL2-RCPST see-VH that C10-calf
ma-ze nyam-una-wa ve kar-a
 PRS-SM10 suck-FV ADVPr-good SM2 stay-FV
k-Otjomuise.
 C17-Windhoek
 'The children who saw **that** the calves are sucking well stay in Windhoek.'
- b. **Ova-natje mb-a mun-u kutja ozo-ndana**
 C2-child REL2-RCPST see-VH that C10-calf
ka-ze na ku-nyam-a na-wa ve kar-a
 NEG-SM10 have C15-suck-FV ADVPr-good SM2 stay-FV
k-Otjomuise.
 C17-Windhoek
 'The children who saw *that* the calves are not sucking well stay in Windhoek.'
- c. **Ova-natje mb-a mun-u kutja ozo-ndana**
 C2-child REL2-RCPST see-VH that C10-calf
ka-ze na ku-nyam-a na-wa ka-ve kar-a
 NEG-SM10 have C15-suck-FV ADVPr-good NEG-SM2 stay-FV
k-Otjomuise.
 C17-Windhoek
 'The children who saw *that* the calves are not sucking well do not stay in Windhoek.'

- d. **Ova-natje mb-e ha mun-in-e kutja ozo-ndana**
 C2-child REL2-RCPST NEG see-PRF-FV that C10-calf
ka-ze na ku-nyam-a na-wa ka-ve kar-a
 NEG-SM10 have C15-suck-FV ADVPr-good NEG-SM2 stay-FV
k-Otjomuise.
 C17-Windhoek
 'The children who saw **that** the calves are not sucking well do not stay in Windhoek.'

6. Negation markers as insertions

Although both *ha* and *he* are allomorphs that are used for negating subordinate clauses, the *he* is used when it is followed by an object marker, reflexive marker or certain verbs whose stems start with *kú*. This is a phonological process where the *-a* changes to *-e* under the influence of the following object or reflexive marker.

Only the negators of subordinate clauses *ha* or *he* and *hi na* or *he na* are used as insertions in negative deverbatives and in negative infinitives. The *hi na* is used to negate deverbatives from verbs in present and future tenses while the *ha-* negates deverbatives from verbs in all the other tenses.

6.1. Negation marker *ha* as an insertion, e.g.

- (43) **Omu-ha-ungur-a u vang-a ovi-ungur-a.**
 C1-NEG-work-FV SM1 want-FV C8-work-FV
- (44) **Omu-ha-nyánd-ér-é ka vang-a oku-nyanda.**
 C1-NEG-play-PRF-FV NEG want-FV C15-play
 'The person who did not play does not want play.' (From both remote past tenses)

The negative deverbative in (43) is derived from the habitual aspect, while that in (44) is from the past perfect tense.

For the present and future tenses the *he/hí na* negation marker is used as an insertion as illustrated in examples (45) and (46).

6.2. Negation marker *he/hí na* as an insertion, e.g.

- (45) **Omu-he-na-ku-ungur-a ma yaruk-ak-o-nganda.**
 C1-NEG-have-C15-work-FV PRS return-FV C16-C9-home
 'The non-worker is returning home.' (From present and definite future)
- (46) **Omu-he-naa-maa-ka-ungur-a ma yaruk-ak-o-nganda.**
 C1-NEG-have-IFUT-KAM-work-FV SM1 return-FV C16-C9-home
 'The never-ever-going-to-work one is returning home.' (From indefinite future tense)

In example (46) the *-a* of the *na* is lengthened to match with the long *-a* of the indefinite future tense subject marker and to emphasise the negative sense of that deverbative.

7. Negation without *ka-* or *ha* negative particles

The negative expressions discussed in this section are neither expressed with the negation marker *ka-*, nor *he/hi* as discussed in the preceding sections, but with other negation markers, especially when imperative and hortative expressions are negated. An imperative expression is used when the command or request is directed to the second person. When it is addressed to other persons, then the hortative aspect is used. In the affirmative sense, the imperative aspect does not use subject markers and the hortative aspect uses *nga-*, followed by the subject marker of the respective noun class, but in the negative form both imperative and hortative aspects use high toned negative particles, while similar narrative subject markers are low toned.

- (47) a. **(Mu-atje)** **tupuk-a!** (imperative)
(C1-Child) run-FV!
'(Child!) Run!'
- b. **(Mu-atje)** **ó** **túpuk-a!**
(C1-child) NEGSM2SG run-FV
'(Child!) Don't run!'
- (48) **Ove** **w-a** **ungur-a,** **o**
PRN2SG SM2SG-RCPST work-FV, NARSM2SG
tupuk-an-o and-NARSM2SG **kuram-a.** (narrative)
run-FV stand-FV
'You worked, ran and stood.'
- (49) a. **(Vanatje)** **tupuk-eye!**
(C2-child) run-IMP_{suf}
'Children! run!'
- b. **(Vanatje)** **á-mú** **túpuk-a!**
(C2-child) NEG-SM2PLrun-FV
'Children!, don't run!'
- (50) **Efie** **mw-a** **ungur-a,** **a-mu**
PRN2PL SM2PL-RCPST work-FV NAR-SM2PL
tupuk-a **n-a-mu** **kuram-a.**
run-FV and-NAR-SM2PL stand-FV
'You worked, ran and stood.'

The negative imperative expressions (47b) and (49b) differ from the narrative expressions (48) and (51) respectively, in the sense that the negative imperatives are high toned while the narrative expressions are low toned. These markers look identical on surface but, fundamentally, they are different as may be inferred from their tonal patterns.

Emphasis may be added to negative sentences by using double negation and/or emphatic negative word *kàpárùkázé* as discussed in the next section.

8. Emphatic negation

Negative emphasis in Otjiherero is expressed by double negation and *kàpárùkázé*. For extra emphasis double negation and *kàpárùkázé* are used simultaneously.

8.1. *kàpárùkázé*

In Otjiherero *kàpárùkázé* 'never', never ever', 'not at all', 'not what so ever' together with the *ka-* or *ha* negation marker expresses emphatic negative meaning, although in certain areas it is incorrectly used for emphasis in general.

8.2. Double negation in Otjiherero

Double negation is a process in which two negative particles are used in the same simple sentence. Double negation is a common phenomenon in certain languages and in Otjiherero it consists of the normal negative morpheme *ka-* or *hi* plus another negative particle *kó* at the end of a sentence which may be used together with *uriri* (51d) and sometimes accompanied by appropriate facial expressions. In general double negation highlights a strong refusal of executing the action implied by the verb in all tenses. A negative sentence expresses the strongest sense of refusal when *kàpárùkázé* is added with single or double negation. Both *kàpárùkázé* and negative particle *kó* add more negative emphasis to normal negative sentence.

- (51)
- | | | | | |
|----|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. | Má-tú
FUT-SM1PL
'We will work.' | ungur-a.
work-FV | | |
| b. | Kà-tú
NEG-SM1PL
'We will not work.' | nà
have | ku-ungur-a.
C15-work-FV | |
| c. | Kà-tú
NEG-SM1PL
'We will not work' OR 'We will not do it.' | nà
have | ku-ungur-a kó.
C15-work-FV | NEG |
| d. | Kà-tú
NEG-SM1PL
'We will just not do it.' | nà
have | ku-ungur-a kó
C15-work-FV | uriri.
NEG just |
| e. | Kà-tú
NEG-SM1PL
'We will never do it', OR: 'We will not do it at all'. | nà
have | ku-ungur-a
C15-work-FV | kó kàpárùkázé.
NEG at all. |

In these examples in the definite future, (51b) is the normal negation of (51a) while (51c) and (51d) progressively express a stronger sense of refusal while (51e) expresses the strongest sense of refusal.

8.3 Can the rhetorical *ka-* be regarded as negative morpheme or as an affirmative morpheme?

In Otjiherero emphatic verb focus is frequently provided by means of a copular infinitive when the subject is known; e.g.

- (52)
- | | | | |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| O-oku-hakaen-a
COP-C15-meet-FV
(Lit.: It is meeting with this jackal.)
'He meets the jackal. | na
with | indji
DEM9 | o-mbandje.
C9-jackal |
|--|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|

Additional emphasis may be provided by presenting a negative copulative infinitive as a rhetorical question; e.g.

- (53)
- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| Ka-oku-mun-a
NEG-C15-see-FV
(Lit.: It's not to see, isn't it?)
(He séés (doesn't he?)) | are?
NEG |
|--|--------------------|

Although example (53) is presented in the negative form, it does not provide a negative meaning at all.

A predicative negative rhetorical question can also be used for emphasis of a positive state:

(54)	Tjandje ova-ndu	ka-ve	y-er-e	rukuru	
	Just	C2-person	NEG-SM2	come-PRF-FV	long
	are?	Ve ri	mbo,	ma-ve	ndji undj-u.
	NEG	SM2 COP	DEM16	PRS-SM2	OM1SG wait-VH

'People have come already. They are there, waiting for me.'

The 'are' always occurs with the rhetorical negative morpheme *ka-*, therefore it is glossed as negative particle as illustrated in example (53) and (54). Although example (53) and (54) are presented in the negative form, they do not convey a negative meaning.

This negative rhetorical *ka-* in Otjiherero is a true negative morpheme, because it is a kind of litotes; i.e. the use of a negative statement to emphasise a positive meaning.

9. The concepts *ii*'yes' and *kákò* 'no' as answers to polar questions

Sometimes dichotomous questions are referred to as yes or no questions or polar questions. These are questions that are set in a restricted way in order to be answered with either *ii* 'yes' or *kako* 'no' only. In Otjiherero a polar question is constructed in the same way a statement is constructed, but differ in their tonal patterns only, e.g.

(56)	a.	Ko	rar-er-e?	
		NEG.SM2SG	sleep-PRF-FV	
		Lit.: 'You didn't sleep?'		
		'Didn't you sleep?'		
	b.	li,	hi	rar-er-e.
		yes	NEGSM1SG	sleep-PRF-FV
		Lit.: 'Yes, I didn't sleep.'		
		'No, I didn't sleep.'		

In Shona and Otjiherero; and probably in other Bantu languages, confirming what is said in the 'statement' of question (56a) seems to be an African way of answering the polar questions. This African mindset confuses African speakers when they speak foreign languages, because they transfer this mindset to those languages with different mindsets and this frequently leads to misunderstandings and confusions. The Africans indirectly confirm that 'yes, you are correct that I didn't sleep'.

As Dembetembe (1986) puts it "compared with, say, English, the situation is remarkably different. In English the reply to the corresponding question ... would be either 'No, I haven't' or 'Yes, I have', that is, 'no' is accompanied by a negative sentence and affirmative 'yes' is accordingly accompanied by an affirmative sentence", (p. 4). This is not the case in African languages, because the listener confirms or rejects what the speaker says.

10. Tone patterns of negative sentences

In general, Otjiherero negative sentences prefer alternating tone patterns irrespective of the tone pattern of the verb stem. Otjiherero tonal pattern is a very complicated matter, and this section needs an independent investigation that may result in a full-fledged thesis, dissertation or academic book.

11. Negation as a test criterion

It is discovered that negation would be a possible criterion for determining whether a clause is a main or subordinate clause. When a clause is negated with *ka-* then it means that that clause is a main clause and when it is negated with *ha* then it is a subordinate clause. When high toned *hi* (hi) is used with first person singular as the subject of that particular

clause then it is used to negate main clauses, but in order to negate subordinate clauses it is used in combination with the aspect marker *ya* 'yet' to mean 'not yet' in all noun classes. Another low toned *hi* (hi) that is interchangeably used with *he* is exclusively used to negate subordinate clauses in present and future tenses only.

12. Conclusion

This article shows that the negative patterns in Otjiherero reveal sentence structures in general. Thus the negative morpheme *ka-* is exclusively meant for negating main clauses while *ha-* is for negating subordinate clauses. The negative particle *hi* 'I not' and *hi ya* 'I not yet' is used to negate main clauses when the subject of a sentence is the first person singular while the negative particles ... *hi ya* 'not yet' are used to negate pluperfect subordinate clauses in all persons.

The finding also reveals that the position of the negation marker for negating main clauses is before the subject marker while that for negating subordinate clauses is after the subject marker.

After experimenting with many different subordinate clauses, it is concluded that the use of negative *hi* to negate subordinate clauses in the present tense is a matter of dialect, as some people use *he* instead. Because of the fact that the Ovaherero in the central part of Namibia were initially involved in the development of Otjiherero, they established 'standard dialect' of Otjiherero that is used in school textbooks and *hi na-* was taken as the 'standard' form, but the *he na-* negation particle seems to be grammatically correct.

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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person (e.g. 1PL = first person plural)
2	second person (e.g. 2SG = second person singular)
ADJPr	Adjective prefix
ADV	adverb
ADVPr	adverb prefix
Affirm	affirmative
AFV	agent final vowel
AM	aspect marker
APPL	applicative extension
C	noun class (or with a number e.g. C2 = noun class 2 or C10 = noun class 10 etc.)
Conj	conjunctive
COP	copulative
DEM	demonstrative
DFUT	definite future
FUT	future
FV	final vowel
H	high
HAB	habitual
IFUT	indefinite future
IMP _{Suf}	imperative suffix
INDF	indefinite suffix
INF	infinitive
KAM	ka-movendi (directive particle)
Kapa	kaparukaze
L	low
Lit.	literal translation/meaning
NAR	narrative
NEG	negative
OM	object marker
PST	past tense
PASS	passive
PRF	perfect extension
PRFS	perfect suffix (perfect extension + final vowel)
PL	plural
POSSM	possessive marker
PRS	present tense
PRN	pronoun
RC	recent
REFL	reflexive particle
REL	relative marker
RM	remote
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
SubPr	subordinating prefix
SVO	subject verb object
TM	tense marker
V	vowel
VH	vowel harmony
VV	vowel vowel
VCV	vowel consonant vowel
?	(at the beginning of a sentence) semantically illogical sentence