

**A
GENERATIVE GRAMMAR
OF
AFAR**

Loren F. Bliese

SIL



**SUMMER
INSTITUTE OF
LINGUISTICS**

**UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS AT
ARLINGTON**



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SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Publication Number 65

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A PUBLICATION OF

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

and

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

1981

ISBN 0-88312-083-6

Library of Congress Catalog Card No.: 78-66036

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the Summer Institute of Linguistics may be obtained
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Summer Institute of Linguistics
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Rd.
Dallas, TX 75236

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

acc(us)	accusative	inf(in)	infinitive
adv	adverb	impera	imperative
aux	auxiliary	imp(er)f	imperfect
ben(ef)	benefactive	inten	intensive
bk	back	intrans	intransitive
C	consonant	irreg	irregular
caus	causative	juss	jussive
cns	consonantal	Lk	Luke
cnt	continuant	masc	masculine
comp	complement	Mat	Matthew
comp(d)	compound	mod	modified genitive (modifier, Ch. 1)
cond	conditional		
consul	consultative	nas	nasal
cont	continuous	neg	negative
cor	coronal	Nom	nominative
dem	demonstrative	nom	nominalizer m (or nominative)
epen	epenthetic	NP	Noun Phrase
fem	feminine	obj	object
freq	frequentative	P	Phonological Rule
gem	geminate	PS	Phrase Structure
gen	genitive	part	participle
hi	high		

partic	particular	o	(subscript o) -- any number of repetitions
pass	passive		
perf	perfect	1,2, etc.	(subscript) identity
pers	person	()	optional
pl	plural	/	in the environment of
phr	phrase	_____	at this place
postp	postposition(al)	→	becomes
pred	predicate	{ }	Braces are used to specify choices. If environments are specified, the top choices must be applied where possible before any lower ones.
pro(n)	pronoun		
quest	question		
reg(u|)	regularizer		
rel pron	relative pronoun	[]	Brackets containing features go together in one segment.
ret	retroflex		
rnd	round		
S	sentence	< >	Angle brackets signify that the occurrence of the enclosed features are optional and that if one angle bracket is chosen, the corresponding angle bracket in the rule must also apply.
SC	structural change		
SD	structural description		
sing	singular		
son	sonorant		
str	strident	$\alpha, \beta, \gamma,$	The Greek letters in the formal rules indicate a convention that the plus-
subj	subject	$\delta, \epsilon, \zeta,$	minus nature of any two
subj(un)	subjunctive	$\eta, \theta, \kappa,$	same Greek letters in a rule must be equal. If
syl	syllable (as a feature, syllabic)	λ, ν, μ	one letter is marked minus, then the features must be opposite.
T	transformation		
trans	transitive		
unsp	unspecified		
V	vowel		
vce	voiced		
VN	verbal noun		
*	unacceptable form		
+ or -	morpheme boundary		
#	word boundary		

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Afar informants who have worked with me in collecting data are Ahmed Ali, Ala Dawd, Ali Duba, Adana Koloyta, and Mengela Ali of the Aussa dialect, and Alo Aydaahis and Guto Wuddo of the She-wa dialect. Numerous others have contributed during short acquaintances.

The Red Sea Mission Team has given an invaluable service to Afar scholarship in data collection and analysis. I wish to especially acknowledge Enid Parker and Ann Gallagher who have given special help and encouragement to me. Richard Hayward, Janet van Riel, and James Colby have also been a help through their Afar studies.

Robert Harms, the chairman of this dissertation committee has given much technical guidance, especially in the treatment of Afar phonology.

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Orthography

The orthography in this paper basically follows that which had been agreed upon between Ali Arif, the former president of the Territory of the Afar and Issas (Djibouti), and Miss Enid Parker, then of the Afar Literature Project under the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa. Their purpose was to standardize one form which could be used on normal typewriters. Other systems represent the pharyngeals and retroflex *d* differently. I have made one variation in using *d* for the retroflex *d* rather than their digraph *dh*. This change avoids confusion with *d* and *h* as separate phonemes. The purpose of the following chart of Afar phonemes is to facilitate reading the examples in the text. Phonological details will be discussed below. The examples in the text are given in phonemic script unless otherwise indicated. Two phonetic rules should also be mentioned to help read examples. A sentence-final stressed vowel is aspirated, a'beh *he did*; and consonants which close syllables are released, akh'me *I eat* (see 11.2.16.a and e below).

0.2 Chart of Afar (ca'far) Phonemes

<u>Vowels</u>	long	short	short	long
	ii	i	u	uu
	ee	e	o	oo
		short		
		a (as in 'was')		
		long		
		aa (as in 'far')		

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<u>Consonants</u>	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stops voiceless			t				k		
voiced	b		d		ɖ		g		
Nasals	m		n						
Fricatives voiceless		f		s				x	h
voiced								c	
Lateral			l						
Flapped/Rolled				r					
Glides	w					y			

Stress is marked at the beginning of the stressed syllable. 'a duy'ye na'ba *this stuff is big*. Syllables are of the form (C)V(V)(C). One exception was found with the three-consonant sequence str (istraa'xa *well-being*).

0.3 Parts of Speech

A brief listing of the parts of speech with examples of their morphological type and relationship is given here as an overview to help read the examples in the text. Morphological details will be worked out in the following chapters.

1. Noun

- Feminine, stressed vowel final: ca'le *mountain*.
- Masculine, unstressed vowel final: 'awka *boy*.
- Masculine, consonant final: mu'tuk *butter*.

2. Pronoun

Nominative, (only) a'nu *I*, a'tu *you*, 'usuk *he*, 'is *she*, na'nu *we*, 'isin *you(pl)*, 'oson *they*. The Genitive, Objective, Anaphoric, and Question forms are discussed under pronouns below.

3. Demonstratives

'a or 'ta *this or these*, 'woo or 'too *that, those*.
When not attributive 'ah or 'tah *this, these*, 'woh
or 'toh *that, those*.

4. Verb

Prefixing, t-ok'me *she ate*.
Suffixing, ab-'t-e *do-she-perfect, she did*.
Irregular, kin'ni *he, she is (something)*.
Adjectival, cus'ba *he, she is new*.
Auxiliaries, en *be*, le *has*, way *negation*,
sug *be (wait)*, -inni *been*.

5. Adjective (derived from modifying class of irregular verbs)

ca'sa *red*, me'ce *good*.

6. Adverb (except for a few with a nominal base, most are derived from modifying verbs)

'sarra *afterwards*, 'duma *before* (both nominals)
kad'dam *very* (from kad'da *be great*)

7. Conjunction

-k 'sa(rra) *after* (sentence)
-k 'duma *before* (sentence)
-y, -ki, -hi *and or* (sentence)
'kee *and* (noun phrase)

8. Postposition

-k *from*, -t *at*, -h *for*, -l *on*, (-f)'fan *toward*,
a'mol *on* (noun a'mo *head* plus l *on*)

The other members found in the closed categories
"conjunction" and "postposition" will be discussed
below. The fact that most forms in both groups
are clitics and that some forms are identical
indicate their similarity.

9. Interjection

hi *ah* (pause)
waâ *Wow!*
'may *Really!*
'hay *Well then!*

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0.4 Roots

Afar roots are basically three types: (1) verbs, (2) nouns, and (3) affixes. Nouns and verbs have from one to many syllables (five is not uncommon), with two and three consonant roots most common. Verbs of the prefixing class are mainly three-consonant roots. Prefixing class verbs have non-a basic vowels which are normally identical (and therefore lexically predictable) except for length. The other verb classes and nouns normally (but with many exceptions) have the same non-a vowel throughout the word and may also have a vowels. Both verbs and nouns have basic stress, while affixes either may or may not have basic stress. Affixes, except for the negative prefix 'ma- and the conjunction markers, are treated as part of the word in assimilation, syllable reduction, and stress rules. Conjunctions and 'ma- have apparently been added to the word historically after such rules.

CHAPTER 1

THE SENTENCE

1.1 Sentence Types

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overall view of the Afar sentence. The basic categories and their usual order in the sentence will be introduced along with examples. Later chapters will develop these categories to show relationships and variations in greater detail.

The two obligatory categories in the underlying Afar sentence are the subject noun phrase and the verb. The verb in sentences with only these two elements will be intransitive.

- (1) NP Verb
 subj intrans

aw'ki yusuu'le *boy laughed*
i'na tamaa'te *mother comes*
'rob ra'da *rain is falling*
'lee xadit'ta *water flows*

Sentences without surface subjects are common, but since person and number agreement is required, these forms are derived from sentences with underlying subjects (see T 47 Subject Deletion*). For example, 'is tusuu'le *she laughed* and 'oson yusuulee'ni *they laughed* may be reduced to the verb alone since person and number are carried in verbal affixes.

- (2) Verb

t-usuu'le *she laughed* (*she* indicated by t-)
y-usuulee-'ni *they laughed* (third person indicated by
y- and plural by the -'ni suffix)

*See the Appendix "Base and Transformational Rules" for the various rules referred to in the text.

6 A Generative Grammar of Afar

The intransitive verbs include a group which forms the base of adjectives and derived adverbs in Afar. These verbs with the feature "modifier" (see subcategorization rules 6 and 7) are members of the third conjugation (which also includes several defective verbs).

- (3) NP Verb
 subj mod

'rob me'ce *rain is good*
sa'ga ca'do *cow is white*
na'nu cundi'no *we are small*
'isin cusbitoo'nu *you(pl) are new*

To illustrate the verbal characteristic of modifiers better, sentence (4) with a verb stem, a negative prefix 'ma, the second person suffix t, and the present tense suffix o may be compared to the suffix class of verbs ('ma-ab-'t-a *you are not doing*).

- (4) Neg Verb
 mod

'ma-cadi-'t-o *you are not white (dry skinned)*

The only difference is that the regular verbs take the imperfect a instead of the present o, which is the only aspect for adjective stems. Although there are other restrictions besides aspect, modifiers may be compared with regular verbs in other structures such as in their taking conjunctions. There are also no sentences like "He is good" with the copula *is* a separate verb from the verb form *me'ce is good*.

Transitive verbs have an object noun phrase between the subject and final verb, giving Afar the subject-object-verb type of sentence order.

- (5) NP NP Verb
 subj obj trans

amoy'ti 'sara eaa'me
the-chief clothes bought, The chief bought clothes.

baar'ra a'la tibbi'de
woman camel seized, The woman seized the camel.

Some verbs which can take objects are often found without-- indicating that they must be listed in the lexicon as both transitive and intransitive, or that an understood object may be deleted.

- (6) NP Verb
 subj trans

aw'ki ('xan) na'ke *boy drank (milk)*
a'ti (a'kah) taggi'feh *you kill (something)*

The three irregular verbs *kin'ni to be*, its negative *'hinna not to be*, and *'le has* are exceptional in that they take complements in the objective case in spite of being members of the third conjugation of verbs, which includes all the stative modifier roots. (As noted above, the conjugation is distinguished by the use of "present" aspect or *-o*, while the aspect system for regular verbs has perfect *-e* and imperfect *-a*). That these three irregular verbs do not take the nominative case ending in predicate identity constructions is to be expected from the general process that the first noun phrase of each underlying sentence is in the nominative case while others are base form (see S 1). (This is not the case in related languages such as Amharic which takes nominative with these three forms. In Afar these three verbs take predicate complements in the same form as regular direct objects.)

- (7) NP NP Verb
 subj pred irregular

hantuu'ti 'af 'le
rat mouth (obj., base form) has

kit'ab ma'lab 'hinna
book honey is not, The book is not honey.

a'li ra'kub kin'ni
animal camel is, The animal is a camel.

aw'ki 'num kin'ni
child man is, The child is a man.

The copula *kin'ni* is often deleted (see T 52), and a final vowel is added to consonant-final nouns, giving the same form as that used in independent citation or before clitic postpositions.

duy'ye 'sana *the thing (is) a nose*

Although this is a derived form, it will be listed here as a common Afar sentence type. It is called a nominal equivalence sentence type in other descriptions.

- (8) NP NP
 subj pred

a'li ra'kuubu (base ra'kuub) *the animal is a camel*

ba'di ma'canda
son younger brother, The son is a younger brother.

li'yom ki'taaba (base ki'taab) *what I have (is) a book*

Support for positing kin'ni deletion as the derivation for surface sentences consisting of only two noun phrases is found in the negative. When the construction is negativized the negative form of kin'ni is obligatory.

- (9) NP NP Neg-Verb
 subj pred irregular

'num 'abba 'hinna
man father is not, The man is not a father.

aw'ki sa'cal 'hinna
child older brother is not, The child is not an older brother.

(Since the modifier-irregular verb conjugation has only present aspect with nonderived stems, and the regular root *sug* *be, wait* is substituted for perfect and future, no other aspect comparisons can be made.)

Subject deletion presents some interesting surface sentence types in connection with kin'ni *to be*. The sentence a'nu 'yoo kinni'yo *I me I-am, I am he* is more common with the subject deleted, giving the surface sentence the appearance of a predicate case subject (which in the masculine vowel-final noun class is identical to the object).

- (10) NP Verb
 pred irregular

'yoo kinni'yo
me I am, It's me.

'num kin'ni
man (pred) he is

'awka kin'ni
child (predicate same as object) he is

When kin'ni deletion applies, only the predicate noun phrase remains as follows:

(11) NP
pred

'kaa
him It's him.

'yoo
me It's me.

'num-u
man (pred) It's a man.

(The similarity of these predicate forms to English objective case answers as seen in the translations does not imply identical derivations. Neither subject deletion nor *is* deletion are found in English. However, both processes are found in a variety of constructions in Afar, thereby giving independent support to this explanation.)

The predicate noun phrase is also the answer for "Who ('iyyay) is it?" or "What (ma'xay) is it?" questions. It is interesting to note that even these question words are predicate case nouns which may be derived in the same way from underlying sentences such as 'usuk ma'xa kin'ni *he what is?* The final *y* may be interpreted as a remnant of kin'ni (see T 52 and section 6.42).

'iyya-y *Whom?* ca'fartu *the Afar (Dankali)*

The underlying form of both question and answer is 'usuk 'iyya kin'ni *he whom is?*, 'usuk ca'fartu kin'ni *he the Afar is*. Support for this analysis comes from a comparison of the various uses of 'iyya *Who?*. The closest parallel to kin'ni complements is the regular object of a postposition in answers to questions like 'iyya-l ra'deê *on-whom did-he fall?*, 'num-u-l (ra'de) *on a man (pred)* (the verb is optionally deleted, being understood from the question). In questions like 'iy'y-i yemee'teê *Who came?*, where iy'y-i has the nominative suffix -'i, the answer must also be in the nominative case.

cafar-'t-i (yemee'te) *the-Afar-nom came*

Similarly, questions about a direct object are put in the objective base form rather than in the predicate form: 'iyya taagu'reê *Whom are you hitting?*, 'num man (not 'num-u with a predicate suffix).

The fact that nouns given out of sentence context (for example in listing words or in eliciting vocabulary) are always given with predicate case endings, even though these suffixes are not part of

the base form for the consonant-final class of verbs, may also be interpreted as an application of the subject and kin'ni deletions. 'usuk 'san kin'ni *it nose (pred) is* becomes 'san-a *nose* with the predicate suffix -a, in spite of the fact that the base form has no final vowel ('san *nose*). On this basis, single nouns in the predicate case (whether answers to identity questions or simply nouns given independently) may be considered a common derived sentence type in Afar (ra'kuub-u *camel*, si'naam-a *people*, 'lax-a *cattle*, 'af-a *language*, 'xan-a *milk*--all from the noun class with predicate forms marked by a suffixed vowel).

Postpositional phrases are found after the direct object but before the optional adverb or verb in the underlying Afar sentence.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| (12) | NP | NP | Postp | Verb |
| | subj | pred | | intrans |
| | a'bur | da'caar-a-k | | yemee'te |
| | <i>ox</i> | <i>river-epenthetic</i> | <i>V-from</i> | <i>came</i> |
| | <i>An ox came from the river.</i> | | | |

(An epenthetic vowel separates a stem-final consonant and a clitic consonant; see 11.2.2.b and 11.2.4.c.)

'num arkay'to-l 'dayih inaaci'ta
man the bed-on quickly lies down
 baar'ra ra'kuub-u-l 'negay daffey'ta
woman camel-V-on well sits

A few verbs take two objects and thereby form a special sentence type. (This is to be distinguished from compound objects derived from two sentences identical except for the objects; see T 19.)

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| (13) | NP | NP | NP | Verb |
| | subj | obj | obj | trans |
| | a'tu | 'iyya | 'is ab'ta | (John 8:53, United Bible Societies, 1975) |
| | <i>you</i> | <i>who</i> | <i>you make,</i> | <i>Who do you make yourself?</i> |
| | 'isin | 'ni | 'yalla 'kak intaa'na | (John 8:54) |
| | <i>you</i> | <i>our</i> | <i>god someone you say,</i> | <i>You call him our god.</i> |
| | 'raysa | 'kaa | kalla'x-e | (Mat. 27:58, Ethiopian Bible Society) |
| | <i>corpse</i> | <i>him beg-he,</i> | <i>perf,</i> | <i>He begged him for the corpse.</i> |
| | kul'lunta | 'kaa | esse'r-e-k | (Matthew 7:9 and 10) |
| | <i>fish</i> | <i>him ask-he,</i> | <i>perf-if,</i> | <i>if he asks him for a fish</i> |

Transitive verbs with postpositional phrases are illustrated by 'bey *take*, 'hay *put*, and e'xey *give* (which may be translated with an English indirect object).

- (14) NP NP NP -postp Verb
 subj obj pred trans
- a'nu duy'ye 'dabc-a-k 'bee
I things cow pen-V-from took
I took the things from the cow pen (or house).
- baar'ra 'lee 'num-u-h te'xe
woman water man-V-to gave
The woman gave the man water.
- 'yi macan'da gal'bo 'wokkel hay'te
my sister hide there put
My sister put the hide there.

Variations in word order where postpositional phrases precede direct objects or even subjects will be presented in chapter four below.

nam'ma ay'ro-k 'sa cadaa'ga-k da'ro daa'me-le
two days-after market-from grain buy-he will
After two days he will buy grain from the market.

The adverb is an optional category which precedes the verb and its negative, or follows the optional direct object and postpositional phrase in the underlying sentence.

- (15) NP Adverb Verb
 subj trans
- na'nu 'negay nan
we well are, We are well.
- (16) NP NP Adverb Verb
 subj obj trans
- 'laa cay'so 'dayih yak'me
cow grass quickly eats
- (17) NP NP NP Postp Adverb Neg Verb
 subj obj pred trans
- 'usuk moo'tar 'gita-l sis'sikuk (or ka'd'am) 'ma-be'ya
he car road-on quickly (greatly) not-drives
He does not drive quickly on the road.

Interjections are also found but have not been included in the rules because of their irregularity.

- (18) NP NP Interjection Verb
 subj obj intrans
- 'usuk cammu're hi yub'le
he cloud ah (pause) saw

Other interjections are the expressions of emotions such as amazement waâ *Oh!* or displeasure 'hac *Ugh!*

Since many of the above sentence illustrations are duplications of the same processes such as subject or kin'ni deletion, the following summary of sentence types is added.

1. NP Verb
 subject { intransitive }
 { modifier }
2. NP NP Verb
 subject object { transitive
 { irregular *has, (not) to be* }
3. NP NP NP Verb
 subject object object transitive
4. NP NP
 subject predicate
 (May be considered a derivation of number 2.)
5. NP Postpositional phrase Verb
 subject intrans
6. NP NP Postp phrase (Adverb) Verb
 subject object trans
 (Adverb may be added to any of the above before the verb.)

The basic sentence types which have been illustrated above may be reduced to the following underlying categories before any deletions: an obligatory subject noun phrase and final verb with an optional direct object noun phrase, postpositional phrase, adverb, and negative intervening. This may be diagrammed as follows in order to show underlying order (see PS 1).

NP #(NP#) (Postp phr#) (Adv#) (Neg+) Verb
 subj obj

(19) faatu'ma (ba'xo) (i'na-h) ('negay) ('ma-) bah'ta
Fatuma (wood) (mother-for) (well) (does-not) bring
Fatuma does not bring wood well for mother.

1.2 Embedded Sentences

The following listing is given as an introduction to the various types of embedded sentences in Afar and their phonological markers--all of which will be discussed in detail below.

<u>Designation</u>	<u>Type of marker</u>	<u>Characteristics</u>
1. Noun phrase complement	-Vm is added to end of sentence	Finite verb
2. Relative sentence	No marker	Finite verb
3. Sentence or verb phrase complement	Different verbs select different modals:	
	(a) No complementizer:	(a) Aspect is lost but person and number are retained
	1. Subjunctive -u	
	2. Jussive -ay	
	(b) Infinitive complementizer:	(b) Aspect, person, and number are lost
	1. -i	
	2. -'e	
(1) ged-'d-e-m ob'be <i>go-you-perf-nom I heard, I heard that you went.</i>		
(The V of the nominalizer -m may be considered an epenthetic vowel; see 11.2.2.b.)		
(2) y-e-mee'te ab'ba t-u-b'le <i>he-perf-came father you-perf-saw</i> <i>You saw the father who came.</i>		
(3,a,1') ged-'doo-n-u t-a-adigee-'ni <i>go-you-pl-subj you-impf-know-pl</i> <i>You saw the father who came.</i>		
y-ab'loo-n-u-h ged-aa-'na <i>they-see-pl-subj-for go-impf-pl</i> <i>They go in order to (for to) see.</i>		
(3,a,2') ged-ay 'kaa a-d'xe <i>go-juss him I, impf-say</i> <i>I permit him to go.</i>		
(3,b,1') a'kam-i -tet 'he-e <i>eat-comp her put-he, perf</i> <i>He let her eat.</i>		
(3,b,2') xaa'b-e 'koo ka'l'-e <i>leave-comp you stop-I, perf</i> <i>I prevented you from leaving.</i>		

The embedded sentence marker is considered to be a suffix on the sentence rather than a verbal affix. This is significant in the *that which belongs to* -i-im construction, which may be derived as a combination of a genitive -'i and a nominalizer -Vm (see 8.3.2.4 below). The genitive deletes the verb of the sentence (see T 11), but the nominalizer -Vm is still suffixed to the sentence subject.

makaaban't-i-m that which belongs to the chief
 bac'l-i-m that which belongs to the husband

Additional evidence that the embedded sentence markers (nominalizer -Vm or the complementizers -i and -'e) are suffixed to the sentence rather than to the verb is found in derived verb forms which always have the markers on the auxiliary. The auxiliary follows the main verb and is therefore the last word in the sentence.

(1) Continuous

a-k'tab-u-k su'g-e-m t-o-ob'be
impf-write-impf-part was-he,perf-nom she-perf-heard
She heard that he was writing.

'wec-a-k su'g-e 'koo ka'l-e
cry-impf-part was-comp you stop-I,perf
I stopped you from having been crying.

(2) About to

'ab-u 'wa-a-m me'ce
do-I,subj about to-I,imperf-nom good
That I am about to do (something) is good.
 (The first person singular subject is not marked.)

(3) Progressive

y-ab'le-h y-a-'ni-m n-a-ami'ne
he-see-part he-impf-is-nom we-impf-believe
We believe he is seeing.

n-a-r'deh na'n-e 'nee kal-'t-e
we-impf-run are-comp us stop-she-perf
She stopped us from being running.

(4) Engaged in

yab-'n-a-am-at n-a-'ni-m y-oob'be
say-we-impf-nom-in we-impf-are-nom he-heard
He heard that we are engaged in talking.

'usuk tak'me-em-it 'an-i 'koo 'he-e
he eat-nom-in are-comp you permit-he,perf
He permitted you to be engaged in eating.

(5) Future (no infinitive)

a-k'me-le-m a-adi'ge
impf-eat-fut, 3rd, sing-nom I, impf-know
I know that he, she will eat.

CHAPTER 2
NOUN PHRASE

2.1 Noun

The category noun phrase in its simplest form develops as a noun (see PS 3).

NP	NP	NP	-Postp	Verb
subj	obj	pred		trans
Noun	Noun	Noun		Verb

macan'da 'lee ra'kuub-ut bah-'t-a
sister water camel-by brings-she-impf
A younger sister brings water by camel.

ma'rub cay'so boo'da-l y-a-k'me
sheep grass plain-on he-impf-eats
A sheep eats grass on the plain.

'usuk xere'ya ru'saas-at y-i-ggi'fe
he warthog bullet-by he-perf-killed
He killed a warthog by a bullet.

2.2 Demonstrative Plus Noun

The demonstrative modifiers are 'a (nearby), a'ma (slightly distant) *this, these*, and 'woo *that, those* (distant). A particular prefix t- is prefixed for a demonstrative already referred to, giving 'ta, ta'ma, and 'too. Demonstratives precede the noun they modify (see PS 3). The demonstratives have no plural markers. No definite or indefinite articles are found in Afar, although the demonstratives are often translated as the definite *the* in the Gospel of John ('fiirik 'yab su'geh, 'woo 'yab 'yalla 'luk su'geh *in the beginning was (the) word; that word was with God*, John 1:1 [see verse 9 for the same use with *this*]).

NP	NP	Verb
subj	obj	
Dem Noun	Dem Noun	

'woo ma'rub 'a cay'so wak'ta
that sheep this grass looks at

a'ma 'num 'too 'tiya-l dig'be
this man that particular one-with married

The demonstrative may also stand alone, in which case it is treated as a pronoun (see 9.4 below). This form has a final -h, and the resulting closed syllable has a short vowel.

'a-h fa'da I want this one.

'wo-h yar'deh yan That one is running.

Demonstratives never stand after adjectives or genitives (including the -k genitive) when they modify the same noun. However, they may either stand before or after relatives (see T 56 and 6.5.6 below).

*'kay 'a koc'so rad'de becomes 'a 'kay koc'so rad'de
his this ball fell this his ball fell

*'yi 'woo xa'da ub'le becomes 'woo 'yi xa'da ub'le
my that tree I saw that my tree I saw

*i'b-i 'ta fe'ra 'yo-k biyaakit-'t-e becomes
foot-gen this toe me-of hurt-fem-perf

'ta i'bi fe'ra 'yo-k biyaakit'te
This toe of my foot hurt.

*ca'sa a'ma sa'ro sar'te becomes
this red clothing I put on

a'ma ca'sa sa'ro sar'te I put on this red clothing.

*ni'cin 'woo 'xan 'maḍagin becomes 'woo ni'cin 'xan 'maḍagin
that hot milk don't touch

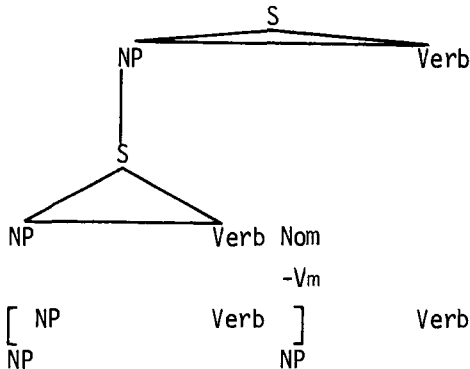
rad'de 'woo xa'da ub'le OR 'woo rad'de xa'da ub'le
fell that tree I saw that fell tree I saw
I saw that tree which fell.

a'nu a'mo 'kaak oogo're 'too 'num yer'de OR
I head him-off hit that man ran

'too a'nu a'mo kaak oogo're 'num yer'de
that I head him-off hit man ran
That man whom I hit on the head ran.

2.3 Noun Phrase Complement

The noun phrase may be a sentence, e.g. NP S, called a noun phrase complement. The nominalizer is -Vm, which is added at the end of the embedded sentence, usually as a suffix to the verb or auxiliary. (See T 16.) The vowel is a nonmid (i and u after e and o respectively, otherwise identical) vowel in harmony with its preceding vowel (see 11.2.2.b and 11.2.4.c).



'oson y-a-maa'tee-n-im me'ce
they they-imperf-come-pl-nom good, That they come is good.

The -Vm nominalizer is suffixed to the embedded sentence 'oson yamaa'tee'ni *they come*. The verb in the noun phrase complement carries the person, number, and tense markers of the underlying verb, differing only by the addition of the nominalizing suffix -Vm and loss of the final stressed vowel from the plural suffix -n'V (see T 40). (*y-a-kmee-'ni they imperf-eat-plural* becomes *y-a-k'mee-n-im that they eat*.)

na'nu gen-'n-a-m fan-'n-a
we go-we-impf-nom want-we-impf, We want to go.

(from the matrix sentence 'na 'nu fan'na *we want* and the embedded object noun phrase sentence na'nu gen'na *we go*)

'is (a'kah) ab-'t-a-m t-a-aði'ge
she (something) do-she-impf-nom she-impf-knows
She knows what she does.

(from the matrix sentence 'is taði'ge *she knows* and the embedded object noun phrase sentence 'is (a'kah) ab'ta *she does (something)*. (a)'kah or (a)'kak *something* is the unspecified object which is usually deleted in Afar.)

'isin (a'kah) t-u-b'lee-n-im eede'ge
you,pl (something) you-perf-saw-pl-nom I,knew

(from the matrix sentence a'nu eede'ge *I knew* and 'isin (a'kah) tublee'ni *you saw (something)*, the embedded object noun phrase sentence)

karaa'rat 'bagul t-a-m-mulle-m 'yi xe'lo
mirror in it-impf-pass-see-nom my resemblance
That which is seen in the mirror is my resemblance.

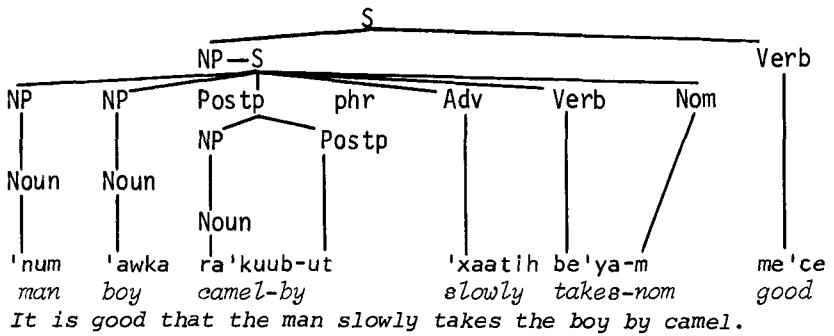
'isin taamit-'t-ee-n-im taamit'e
you,pl work-you-perf-pl-nom work-I,perf
I worked what you worked.

'isin yab-'t-ee-n-im oo-b'be
you say-you-perf-pl-nom I,perf-heard
I heard what you(pl) said.

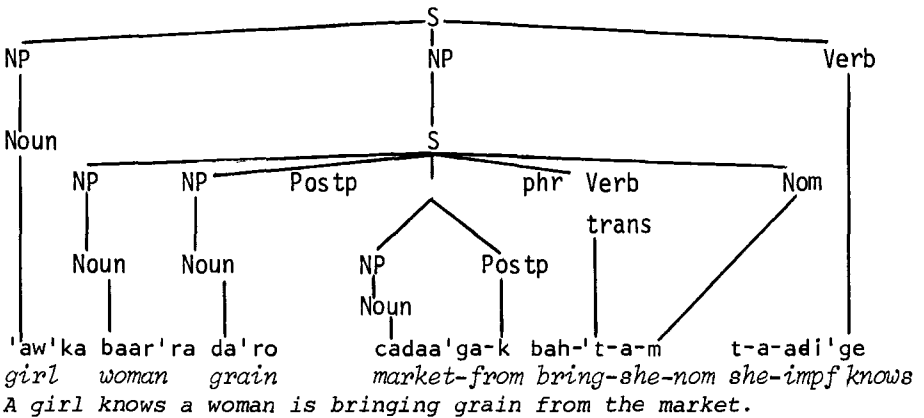
u'ma-m me'ce-em-ik ba'dis
bad-nom good-nom-from separate,impera
Separate the bad from the good.

'af bar'te 'wa-a-n-am 'ma-me'ce
language learn lack-3rd,impf-pl-nom not-good
That they lack learning the language is not good.

The above noun phrase sentences have been kept to a minimum number of categories in order to simplify the description of embedded noun phrase sentences. However, all the categories of the basic sentence may also be included in the embedded sentence.

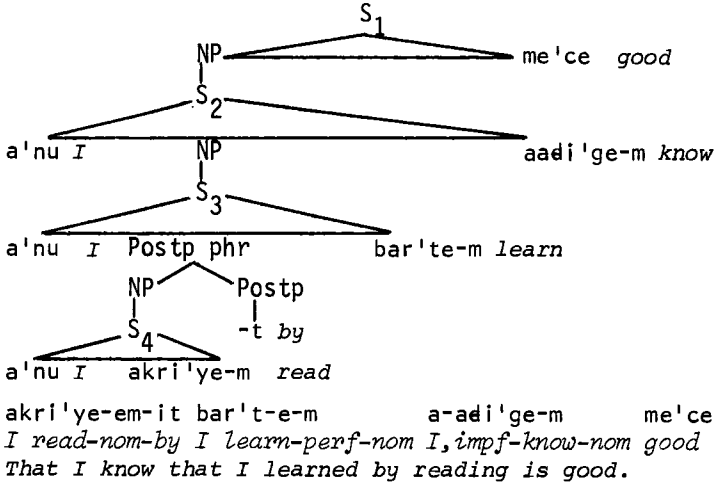


(The sentence "the man slowly takes the boy by camel" is the embedded noun phrase subject of "is good".)

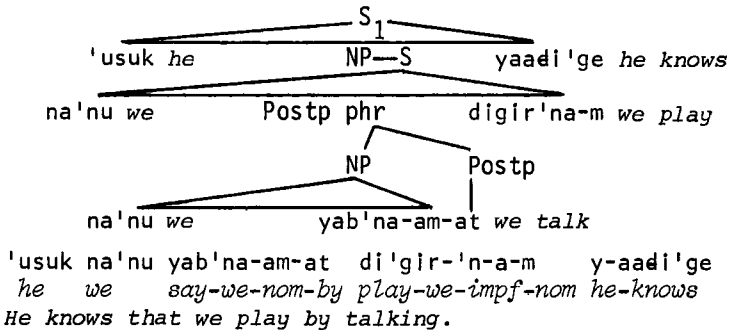


(The sentence "the woman is bringing grain from the market" is the object noun phrase of "the girl knows".)

The sentence element in the noun phrase is recursive, allowing a further expansion of any of its noun phrase nodes into similar gerund or subjunctive constructions.



The following sentence shows a sentence expansion of the direct object of a transitive matrix verb.

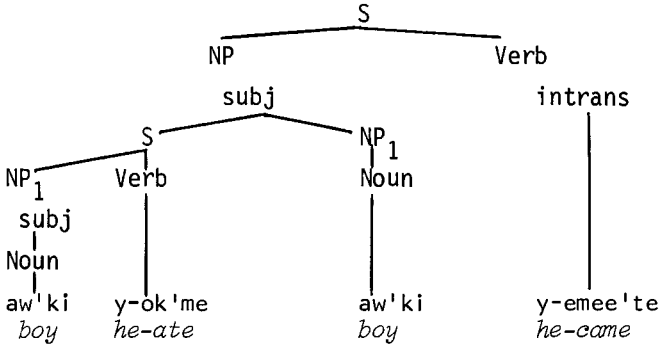


2.4 Sentence Plus Noun Phrase--Relatives

The relative construction in Afar is developed from the expansion of the noun phrase to a sentence plus a noun phrase (see PS 3). The sentence is ordered before the noun phrase because of the normal surface order with the relative sentence preceding the head noun. There is no marker for regular relatives, so the sentence has the same form except that it stands before a noun. This is true also in a series of relatives; even the first has no final -h or any other marker (see 11.2.16.e).

The relative construction is illustrated in the branching diagram below, which has the matrix sentence aw'ki yemee'te *boy*

came and the relative sentence *aw'ki yok'me boy ate* modifying *boy*, the subject of the matrix sentence.



The first of the identical noun phrases will be deleted, giving the following (see T 12 Relative and T 46 Identical NP deletion).

y-o-k'me aw'ki yeme'e'te
he-perf-ate-nom boy came, The boy who ate came.

The Afar relative construction is similar to English relatives except for the word order of relative before head noun in Afar. The rationale of a relative transformation is the same as in English in that the meaning of the basic sentences is not changed. For example, the above sentences may be reversed and still mean the same thing, *the boy came; the boy ate*.

y-emee'te aw'ki y-ok'me
he-came boy he-perf,ate, The boy who came ate.

The form of the relative with a direct object noun phrase has the same form as the above subject noun phrase example.

Irregular ("stative") verbs in relatives have only the basic form of third person singular no matter what person or number the head noun may happen to be. (See Hayward 1976:147, 304-5.) If a predicate noun complement is the head of a relative with a pronoun subject, the verb agrees only with that noun irregardless of the person and number of the coreferential subject. For example, a vocative noun which is the head of a relative does not have second but third person agreement, unlike English (see Mat. 6:9, and see I Cor. 9:1 for first person).

Pronouns of any person or number take third person singular agreement when they are the head of a relative (see Eph. 2:17 and T 40). However, if the person is named in an appositive following the pronoun, the relative keeps agreement with the person of the name. Although the pronoun can come between the relative and name, it must be derived with the pronoun first and the relative modifying the name (see the Rom. 1:1 type below).

ca'raan-al 'y-an 'ni 'abba-w (Matthew 6:9)
heaven-in he-is our father-vocative
our father, who is in heaven

a'nu y-Infiddi'ge 'num 'h-inni-yo (I Cor. 9:1)
I he-free man not-am-I
Am I not a free man?

'sliniy y-eddee'reh su'g-e-hiyya-h ... 'daagu war's-e
you,pl he-far was-he-who-to news told-he
He told the news to you who were far. (Eph. 2:17)

'a far'mo rub-'t-a-m 'yalla a-adi'ge 'yoo ba'wulu
this letter send-fem-impf-nom God I-know me Paul
He who is sending this letter is I, Paul who knows God.

(Adapted from Rom. 1:1 and James 1:1. The underlying order of the appositive is 'yoo 'yalla aadi'ge ba'wulu. If *Paul* is deleted, agreement is deleted, y-aadi'ge 'yoo *he-knows me, I who know.* If a modifying verb is used, there is no agreement, 'sin kix'n-i 'yoo ba'wulu *you love-he me Paul, I Paul, who love you.*)

'ne-h y-um-bul'le ba'y-e 'wa-a 'rooxi
us-to he-pass-saw lose-inf lack-he,impf life
the life which appeared to us which is not lost
(I John 1:2, Ethiopian Bible Society)

gaaboy-'s-a u'm-a 'num kinn-i-'to (two relatives)
gather-(caus)-he bad-he man .see-you (Mat. 25:24)
You are an evil man who gathers.

'usuk a'tu bah-'t-e duy'ye 'be-e
he you bring-you-perf things took-he,perf
He took the things which you brought.

'is ('usuk) 'yo-h y-e-x'e kabel'la bey-'t-e
she (he) me-to he-perf-gave shoe took-she-perf
She took the shoe which he gave me.

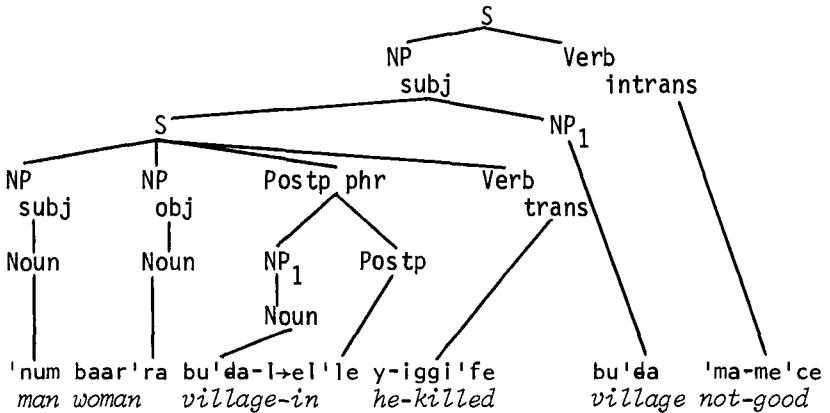
'oson ba'da dal-'t-e baar'ra y-a-adi'gee-'ni
they daughter bore-she-perf woman they-impf-know-pl
They know the woman who bore a daughter.

2.5 Relatives of Noun Phrases in Postpositional Phrases

When the relative is the noun phrase of a postpositional phrase, the noun is deleted as in subject and direct object positions. However, the postposition is moved to the position immediately before the verb and is changed to e'l'le for locative constructions such as -l to (or at for time), -k from, 'fana toward, a'mo-l on, and 'laka-l behind. For other postpositions the relativized form is ed'de, replacing nonlocatives such as -t by, about, sab'batah because of, -k 'sa(rra) after, and -k 'duma

before. (See T 12 Relative.) In some cases the unspecified noun phrase (a)'kak or (a)'kah stands in the position before the relative verb instead of e'l'le or ed'de as the representative of an underlying postposition. Gallagher has defined the use of a'kah as *referential* and a'kak as *source* as over against e'l'le *locative* and ed'de *state* (Afar Pedagogical Grammar, Appendix).

The postpositional phrase relative construction is illustrated below with a branching diagram combining the two basic sentences bu'da 'ma-me'ce *village not-good* and 'num baar'ra bu'da-l y-iggi'fe *man woman village-in he-killed*. These two sentences may be combined in the relative construction without changing their meaning since the deleted noun phrase has a required identical surface noun phrase in the matrix sentence, and the postposition is maintained in a relativized form.



becomes 'num baar'ra el'le yiggi'fe bu'da 'ma-me'ce
The village in which the man killed the woman is not good.

'num baar'ra gille-t y-iggi'fe gille 'ma-me'ce
man woman sword-by he-killed sword not-good

becomes 'num baar'ra ed'de y-iggi'fe gille 'ma-me'ce
man woman by which he-killed sword not-good
The sword by which the man killed the woman is not good.

The following surface level examples also illustrate this postpositional phrase relative:

'is el'le t-e-mee'te cadaa'ga u-b'le
she from she-perf-came market I,perf-saw
I saw the market from which she came.

a'nu ed'de daa'm-a 'maalu 'ma-y-yu
I with buy-I,impf money neg-have-I
I don't have money with which to buy (something).

a'nu el'le ge'd-a da'car 'lee 'l-e
 I to go-I,impf river water has-it
 The river to which I go has water.

na'nu ed'de taamin-n-a sa'ga biyaakit-'t-a
 we because-of (on) work-we-impf cow sick-she-impf
 The cow because of (on) which we are working is sick.

el'le iy-'y-e-h sug-'e saa'cat-al (John 4:53)
 at say-he-perf-part had-he,perf hour-at
 at the hour at which he said

a'tu a'nu a'kah (or el'le) ge'd-e bu'da t-a-adi'ge
 you I about (or to) go-I,perf village you-impf-know
 You know about the village to which I went.

el'le in the sense of *there* and ed'de with nonlocative postpositional phrases is also used in constructions which are not relatives as an anaphoric pronoun replacing a postpositional phrase (see T45, and 9.2 below).

'usuk 'wokke-l 'ken 'luk daffe'ye-h si'nam
 he that-place-at them with he sat-having people

el'le acim'miduk su'ge (John 3:22)
 there baptising he was
 Having stayed at that place he was baptising people there.

yu'xanna 'kaadu sa'llim baa'do-l 'nuun
 John also Salim country-in Aenon

'kak iyyen 'lee-t acim'miduk su'geh
 of it they say water by baptising he was

lel'wa el'le man'gok sug'te-k'sa, si'nam
 waters there many were-since people

'kaa-l a'maatuk sug'teh 'ken el'le acim'miduk su'ge (John 3:23)
 him-to coming were them there baptising were.
 John was also baptising by water in the country of Salim which they call Aenon; since much water was there, he was baptising them there.

a'nu ruu'b-a 'num oggo'l-a 'num 'yoo ed'de
 I send-I,impf man receive-he,impf man me by (him)

oggo'l-a (John 13:20)
 receive-by him.

A man who receives a man whom I send receives me by him.

Constructions in which sentences joined by conjunctives have postpositional phrases which modify the same noun will have their postpositions reduced to el'le or ed'de even though the first construction loses its relative structure because of the conjunctive.

'woo gacam'bo el'le y-okmee-'ni-h 'yaasus yal'la-h
that bread at they-ate-pl-perf,part Jesus God-to
 'xamdu el'le gax's-e a'raxa-k da'cil...dowaa'nik
thanks at brought-he,perf place-from near boat
 y-eme'e'te (John 6:23)
it-came

A boat came near the place where they ate that bread and where Jesus offered thanks to God.

Locative and temporal constructions, which may either have or not have postpositions, may also either have or not have el'le (or (a)'kah) when relativized.

'usuk a'nu (el'le) ged-a baado y-a-adi'ge
he I to which go-I,impf country he-impf-knows
He knows the country to which I go.

(from a'nu 'woo baa'do(-h) ge'da
I that country(-to) I go)

'is (el'le) digir-'t-e ay'ro n-a-adi'ge
she (in which) play-she-perf day we-impf-know
We know the day (in which) she played.

(from 'is 'woo ay'ro(-l) digir'te
she that day (-in) played)

2.6 -iyya Relative Pronoun When Relative Follows Its Head Noun

When a noun is modified by more than one modifier of which the one to the right is a relative clause with a surface noun phrase, that relative clause is moved behind the noun with a conjunction between them (see T 58 and 6.5.7). (A pronoun cannot be modified, so it is not involved in this movement; see S 5.) The marker for this construction is a relative pronoun -iyya which is suffixed to the relative. The final vowel of the verb and -iyya are kept separate by an -h. The -iyya clause takes the case markers and postpositions, leaving the head noun of the relative clause in its base form. An exception to this occurs when the -iyya clause is further moved to a position beyond the matrix verb (see John 7:39 below). In many cases this construction resembles an appositive (as noted in discussion with Ann Gallagher); however the obligatory movement when the relative has a surface noun phrase, and the loss of case and postpositions to the -iyya clause speak for this relative construction. In the Shewa dialect the -iyya is sometimes deleted.

yal'l-ih ma'ruiy-uy, si'nam 'dambi ka'l-a-h-iyya
God-gen lamb-and people sin take-he,impf-h-pro

wa'g-it-a (John 1:29)

look-benef-impera,pl

Look at the lamb of God who takes away people's sin.

'aa ya'l'i 'cari moroo'tom 'kee la'xa kar'ma-t
this God-gen house forty and six year-in

dis-sii'm-e-h-iyya (John 2:20 not disiimih-iyya)

build-pass-perf-h-pro

*this God's house, which was being built for forty-six years
 ('cari-y preferred)*

'oson num'ma dal'xu-y 'garca-h y-ani-n (Mat. 7:15)

*they true wolves thief-for they-are-pl (Shewa, no -iyya)
 They are true wolves, which are thieves.*

nam'ma malay'kaytu ca'do 'sara sar-i't-e-h-iyya...

two angel (base) white clothes wear-benef-perf-h-pro...

daffe'y-a (John 20:12)

sit-he, impf

Two angels who wore white clothes...sit.

'a ki'taab-al an-kuttu'be 'we-e 'gersi able'waynu

this book-in pass-write neg-perf other miracle (base)

'yaasus 'isi dar'sa can'sal a'be-h-iyya man'go (John 20:30)

*Jesus his disciple before do-h-pro many
 There are many other miracles which are not written in
 this book, which Jesus did before his disciples.*

sidi'xa ki'taab-ay 'a mis'sila el'le y-ikri'ye-h-iyya

three book-and this parable in he-read-h-pro

fa'd-a

want-he, impf

He wants the three books in which he read this parable.

'a yaa'b-a

these words (OR this who speaks) spirit-from say-he-perf

'kaa t-eeme'ne-m og'gol-t-u way-'t-a-h-iyya

him she-believed-nom receive-fem-subj about-fem-impf-h-pro

(John 7:39)

*He spoke these words from the spirit (OR, he spoke from this
 spirit which speaks and) which those who believed on him
 were about to receive.*

2.7 Constructions with -h qi'de amount which and -h wac'di time which

Constructions with *gi'de amount, how many, how much, how long* (distance or time) and in Shewa *-h wac'di (wak'ti, way) time which* may be considered relative constructions with an *-h* suffixed to the sentence. (*gi'de* and the *time* words are defective as nouns in that they require a modifier such as a demonstrative or relative; the *-h* may be derived as a retroflex of this modifier.) For example, the two sentences *a'nu ('woo)*

gi'de aadi'ge I (that) amount know and 'usuk ('woo) gi'de yak'me he (that) amount ate may be joined as relatives by deleting the embedded noun phrase object.

a'nu 'usuk y-a-k'me-h gi'de aadi'ge
I he he-impf-eats-h amount I know
I know the amount he eats.

y-ud-udd-uree-'ni-h 'way (Mat. 17:22 and see 20:6,
they-return-freq-root-pl-h time 29; 21:18)
while going about

(wakti was found alone in a few places, although in Mat. 8:29 the translation reviewers invented a modifier *the time which God says*.)

da'ro-k daa'm-e-h gi'de bu'da-l be'ya
grain-of buy-he,perf-h amount home-to he takes
He takes the amount of grain he bought home.

The use of el'le or ed'de as a reduced postposition in a relative construction is also found with gi'de. The two base derivations na'nu 'kimal 'woo gi'de-k neme'e'te we yesterday (that) amount-from we came and 'beera ('woo) gi'de-l ge'denno tomorrow (that) amount-to we will go may be combined in the relative construction.

na'nu 'beera 'kimal el'le n-eme'e'te-h gi'de-l ge'denno
we tomorrow yesterday from we-came-h amount-to we will go
Tomorrow we will go the amount we came yesterday.

'sin 'cari el'le y-acusbusee-'ni-h gi'de
your house until they-will repair-pl-h how long

taadi'gee (Parker 1974b:42)
you know

Do you know how long it takes them to repair your house?

Similarly, a nonlocative postposition such as -t about in sentences such as ('a) gi'de ub'le I saw this amount and ('a) gi'det uktu'be I wrote about this amount would have the reduced postposition ed'de when relativized.

a'nu ed'de uktu'be-h gi'de ub'le
I about I wrote amount I saw
I saw the amount about which I wrote.

2.8 Constructions with (a)'kah some (Reason, As, Where, Name)

Several constructions involving (a)'kah some have structures which also seem best derived as relatives. The main difference from relatives is that (a)'kah is not deleted from the first (relative) sentence. (The proposed derivation marks unspecified noun phrases for reason, manner, or place in the

subcategorization rules and has the relative transformation T 12 specify the correct form in the head of the relative.)

2.8.1 Reason for Which

The construction *reason for which* has (a)'kah in the relative and the nominalizer -Vm suffixed to the verb (or sentence). (See T 12, where (a)'kah is deleted from the second sentence, which in turn makes it apply to T 16 Nominalization and get the -Vm suffix.) This construction stands as the subject of an *is* sentence. (Since kin'ni *is* is usually deleted [see T 52], the deletion of the matrix verb may have influenced the deletion of (a)'kah from the matrix also rather than from the relative sentence.) (An indefinite *something* in a nominalized sentence has this same shape with verbs other than *is* and should not be confused with reason clauses:

'is (a)'kah tub'le-m 'teetih e'xe *I gave her something she saw; a'kah iy-'y-e-m 'ta-nna (Matthew 22:32) that which he said is like this)*

'siinik 'kah ed'xe-m 'wohu (John 8:24) *the reason I said it to you (is) that*

a'nu (a)'kah emee'te-m 'koo ab'leggidah *the reason I came (was) in order to see you*

gar'ci 'garc-ay us'gud-da ig'gif-fa 'he-e
thief steal-juss slaughter-comp kill-comp do-inf

we-e-'ki 'kah y-a-maa'te-m 'ma-li (John 10:10)
*neg-perf-cond unsp NP he-impf-come-nom neg-he, has
A thief having stolen, if he does not slaughter and
kill, does not have a reason to come.*

'kay da'leena 'woh 'kah in'te-m ya'huud mey'si
*his parent that unsp NP said-nom Jews fear
The reason his parents said that was fear of the Jews.
(John 9:22, see 9:23 for same construction)*

'a 'num in'ti 'ma-li-h 'kah y-o-obo'ke-m
this man eye neg-he,has-for unsp NP he-perf-bore-nom

'dambi ab-'t-e-m 'iyya-y (John 9:2)
*sin do-fem-perf-nom who-is
Who is it who did sin that this man was born blind?*

2.8.2 Like, As, Manner Which

The construction *as, manner which* also has the unspecified noun phrase (a)'kah or the pro form e'l'le in the initial sentence before the verb. The head of the construction is the suffixed

clitic -nnah on the verb (note the noun in'na *likeness*).

a'tu (a)'kah (or e'l'le) tew'ce-nnah xu'le *I entered in the manner in which (as) you went out.*

ab'ba 'daa (a)'kah (or e'l'le) cammi'se-nnah ba'di cammi'sa
As the father threw stones, the son throws.

'usuk 'kah 'oobak su'ge-nnah 'kaah taami'ta ma'ri 'kaat
garayee'ni (John 4:51) *The people who work for him will meet him in the way which he descended.* (See 5.2.3(3) below for more examples.)

2.8.3 Place Which

The construction *place which, where* has the unspecified noun phrase (a)'kah in the first sentence, the same as *reason* and *as* above. The head of the construction is the clitic -ikke (note the noun ak'ke *place*). -ikke assimilates its initial vowel to aspect vowels (see 11.2.5.a).

The derivation via the proposed relative transformation T 12 leaves -ikke at the head of the relative and optionally leaves (a)'kah in the relative clause, although it may be deleted the same as the identical noun phrase in regular relatives. For example, (a)'kah (or -ikke) taadigee'ni *you know someplace* and a'kah a'ni *I am present somewhere* would become (a)'kah a'ni-ikke taadigee'ni *you (pl) know where I am*. The final-stressed vowel of the plural suffix (-n'V) is lost before -ikke (as before the nominalizer -Vm), leaving stress on the tense marker (see 12.1.19). This deletion is obligatory for relatives and also causes the shortening of the aspect vowel. However, for suffixes the aspect vowel remains long. This explains dialect variations of a long aspect vowel when -ikke is derived as a nominalizer instead of the short vowel with relatives.

'oson (a)'kah y-inniki'se-n-ikke t-ub'le (or yinniki'seenikke)
they unsp NP they-fell-pl-place you-saw
You saw the place where they fell.

a'tu (a)'kah t-ak'me-kke aadi'ge
you unsp NP you-eat-place I, know
I know the place where you eat.

When the first unspecified noun phrase is followed by the postposition -k *from* (a)'kah becomes (a)'ka-k indicating *source*.

'lee 'ka-k t-eme'e'te-kke 'ma-adag-in'n-a (John 2:9)
water unsp NP-from fem-came-place not-know-perf-he
He did not know from where the water came.

'a yaa'lo 'ka-k y-a'ni-kke 'nanu 'kaa-k
this so and so unsp NP-from he-is-place we him-of

n-aadi'ge (John 7:27)

we-know

We know concerning this so and so where he is from.

'ka-k emee'te-kke 'may t-aadigee-'nii (John 7:28)

unsp NP-from I,came-place really you-know-pl

Do you really know where I came from?

When the first unspecified noun phrase is followed by the locative postposition -l to, in, at, (a)'kah-l becomes e'l'le (the regular replacement for locative postpositions in relative clauses).

a'nu e'l'le a'ni-kke t-amaa'too-n-u

I to I,am-place which you-come-pl-just

'ma-dud-d-a-n (John 7:34,36)

neg-able-you-impf-pl

You are not able to come to where I am.

ba'd-i 'dumaak e'l'le su'g-e-kke-l

son-nom formerly to was-he-perf-place-to

ko'r-a (John 6:62)

ascend-he,impf

The son ascends to the place where he was formerly.

A postposition on -ikke in the matrix sentence is not disturbed.

'aa 'yo-h t-e'xee ma'r-i a'nu e'l'le a'n-innaann-ikke-l
this me-to you-gave people-nom I at am-whenever-place-to

'yo-l'luk ga'x-aa-n-am fa'd-a (John 17:24)

me-with proceed-impf-pl-nom want-I,impf

I want these people whom you gave to me to proceed with me

to whatever place I am at. (Note the wherever which is restricted to relatives and nominalized sentences; see T 10.)

e'l'le kob'd-ee-n-ikke-l ba'r-is-ak y-en (John 6:59)

in gather-perf-pl-place-in teach-caus-part he-was

He was teaching in the place in which they were gathered.

The unspecified noun phrase may optionally be deleted from the relative clause leaving only the head of the noun phrase -ikke.

a'nu ge'd-a-kke 'isin t-amaa'too-n-u

I go-impf-place you you-come-pl-just

'ma-dud-d-a-n (John 8:21-22)

neg-able-you-impf-pl

Where I am going you are not able to come.

2.8.4 Named

The unspecified noun phrase plus *-k concerning, of* is used in the identification of a proper name. (a)'ka-k stands after the proper name and before the verb *say iy'ye*. If the subject of *iy'ye* is not specified, the third person plural *iy'ya'na* is used in a passive sense (see T 23). (The relative derivation in the sense of *which they say to be, or call, or name* is proposed for this construction in line with the above uses of (a)'ka-k. As in those constructions, the name and (a)'ka-k are both retained in their respective sentences.

nikodii'mus 'ka-k iyyan 'num su'ge (John 3:1)
Nicodemus unsp NP-of they say man was
There was a man who was called Nicodemus.

bee'tanya 'ka-k iyyan baa'do-h 'num laka'misak
Bethany unsp NP-of they say country-in man sick
 yen (John 11:1)
was
A man was sick in the country which is called Bethany.

2.9 Pro Replacement of Postpositions in Complements

When an equivalence *kin'ni* sentence has a complement subject in which there is a noun identical to the predicate, that noun is obligatorily deleted (see T 29). This occurs when this noun is in a postpositional phrase. The postposition is then replaced with the appropriate *pro* forms *a'kak source, el'le locative; and ed'de instrument, etc.* (see 2.5 and T 61). For example, [na'nu 'kaa-t waar'na-m] 'kaa (*kin'ni*) [we *him-by live-nom*] *him (is)* has the embedded 'kaa *him* deleted and *-t* replaced by *ed'de*, leaving *na'nu ed'de waar'na-m 'kaa* (I Cor. 8:6) *that which we live by is him.*

'ah-ay el'le t-ak'ke-m 'idu (I Cor. 15:23)
this-and by it-becomes-nom turn
And the way this will happen is in turn.

kurus'tos a'kak y-eme'e'te-m ca'raana (I Cor. 15:47)
Christ from he-came-nom heaven
That from which Christ came is heaven.

ed'de n-aaci'te-m i'maana ikka'lah mab'la 'hinna
by we-walk-nom faith contrastive sight not is
 (II Cor. 5:7)
That by which we walk is faith, not sight.

CHAPTER 3
SENTENCE (VERB PHRASE) COMPLEMENT

3.1 Intransitive Sentence Complementation

Verbs such as *duud* and *dic* *be able*, *eedeg* *know how*, *kal* *prevent*, and *way* *lack doing* take a complement which is not a noun phrase. This is clear from the change in meaning when a verb phrase sentence stands before *eed'ge* *know* rather than a noun phrase object.

a'kam-u aadi'ge
I, eat-subjunctive I know how
I know how to eat.

ak'mem aadi'ge
I eat-nom I know
I know I am eating.

It may also be demonstrated from the distribution of modifiers that the complements of the above verbs are not verbal nouns which can stand in the same position with transitive matrix verbs. Verbal nouns (as any other nouns) take modifiers such as genitive case pronouns, while the sentence complement rejects modifiers. They may also be transformed from active objects to passive subjects, which cannot be done to sentence complements.

'kay m-ak'm-o y-aadi'ge
his eating he-knows
He knows his eating.

*'kay y-a'kam-u y-aadi'ge
his he-eat-subjunctive he-knows how
**He knows how his to eat.*

'kay m-ak'm-a t-aadig-i'me
his eating it-know-pass
His eating is known.

*y-aa'kam-u t-aadig-i'me
**he-eat-subj it-know-pass*

The different surface forms in which these sentence complements occur have been noted above in the outline of embedded sentence types (see 1.2 and T 29). They are found without a complementizer with the subjunctive -u or with the jussive -ay (both of which lose aspect), or with either the complementizer -i or -'e as an infinitive. This, too, distinguishes sentence complements from noun phrase complements which all have the nominalizer -Vm regardless of the matrix verb. In contrast, each matrix verb which takes a complement must also be marked as to which complementizer it takes. For example, duud and *dic* *be able* select the subjunctive on their embedded sentences in the Wollo dialect but prefer the nominalized sentence in -Vm in Shewa dialects.

y-ak'tab-u di'c-a
he-write-subj able-he, impf
He is able to write. (other dialects, y-aktu'be-m di'ca)

a'maat-u duu'd-a
come-subj able-I, impf
I am able to come. (other dialects, amaa'te-m duu'd-a)

The transitive verb *hay* *permit* selects the complementizer -i on its embedded infinitive.

'xan 'nak-i 'yoo 'he-e
milk drink-comp me permit-perf
He permitted me to drink milk.

The irregular verb class does not have mood or infinitive forms, so the derived regular verb forms are used in sentence complements (see 12.3.2). However, noun phrase complements, including the irregular verb class, use the base (non-derived) form before the -Vm nominalizer.

sa'xan nicin-'noow-u duu'd-a (root nici'ni)
plate hot-regul-subj able-it, impf
The plate is able to be hot.

yal'li t-a-a'dic-ay 'tet y-ed'xe
God she-impf-regul, pregnant-juss her he-said
God permitted her to be pregnant.

'yi ab'ba aa'gam-i 'yoo 'ma-ha-an'na
my father regul, ignorant-inf me neg-put-he, perf
My father did not permit me to be ignorant.

'usuk day-yoo'w-e 'kaa ka'l'-e
he near-regul-inf him prevent-he, perf
He prevented me from being near.

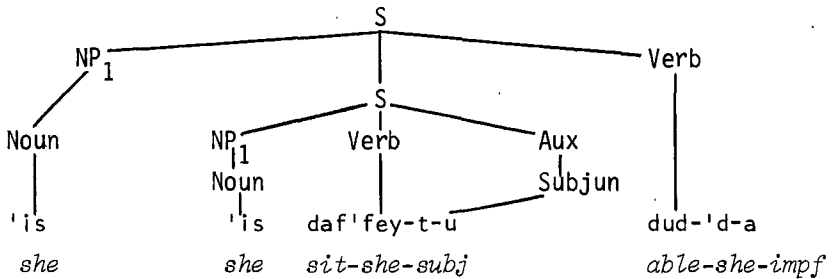
Another difference which distinguishes sentence complements from noun phrases is that there is no identity restriction between the subject of the matrix and noun phrase complements.

The sentence complement subject, however, must be identical to the matrix subject and is also obligatorily deleted (see next section).

The sentence complement is dealt with here as a sentence derived directly from the matrix sentences. (This type is the same as a verb phrase complement in descriptions which include a verb phrase.)

3.1.1 Intransitive Complements with Subjunctive

The following diagram illustrates the derivation for intransitive verbs which take the subjunctive -u in their embedded sentences.



The matrix sentence is 'is dud'da she is able, and its complement is the sentence 'is daf'fey't-a she sits. The aspect marker, -a *imperfect* or -e *perfect*, is deleted, and the embedded verb is put in the subjunctive mood (see T 30). It will be noted that the subject noun phrase in each sentence must be identical and that the equivalent noun phrase is deleted, similar to English (see T 46).

na'nu 'cari 'dis-n-u dud-'n-a
we house build-we-subj able-we-impf
We are able to build a house.

'usuk da'nan 'xat-u 'ma-di'c-a
he donkey help-he,subj neg-able-he,impf
He is not able to help the donkey.

The subjunctive is marked by a final -u, penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a and b), and changing of stem vowels to a in the prefix verb class (see 12.1.3). The subjunctive carries person and number but not aspect on its verb. (The imperfect -'aa used in the derivation T 30 has no semantic value but is necessary for a natural derivation of the 'oo before plural -na; see 11.2.6.a.3.)

t-a'kam-u
she-eat-subjun
She may eat.

ged-'doo-n-u
 go-you-pl-subjun, You may go.
 (from ged-d-'aa-na-u)

The differences in aspect between noun phrase complements with the nominalizer -Vm and sentence complements with subjunctive, jussive, or infinitive are illustrated below with sentences with the perfect and imperfect stem with -Vm and the neutral aspect with subjunctive -u.

ged-'d-a-m a-adi'ge
 go-you-imperf-nom I, imperf-know
 I know you are going.

ged-'d-e-m a-adi'ge
 go-you-perf-nom I, impf-know
 I know you went.

(The matrix verb tense may be perfect eede'ge I knew with no change in meaning for the aspect of the noun phrase complement.)

'ged-d-u t-aadi'ge
 go-you-subjun you-know
 You know how to go.

'ged-u e-ede'ge
 go-I, subjun I, perf-knew
 I knew how to go.

The complement in this case does not indicate aspect, and the change in matrix verb does not produce a change in the complement either.

The verb eedeg know was noted also in 2.3 above taking direct object noun phrase complements with the nominalizer -Vm. However, when eedeg has the meaning know how, as in the above examples, it is an intransitive verb which may take a sentence complement. The complement is put in the subjunctive with -u, the same as with duud or dica be able.

'usuk ga'ba kac'lis-u y-a-adi'ge
 he hand wash-he, subjun he-impf-know
 He knows how to wash his hands.

'oson y-akra'yoo-n-u y-e-edegee-'ni
 they they read-pl-subjun they-perf-know-pl
 They knew how to read.

kimmi'ro 'haad-d-u 'ma-t-a-adi'ga
 bird fly-she-subj neg-she-impf-know
 The bird does not know how to fly.

ca'ran xe'lo bad-'s-oo-n-u t-aadigee-'ni
 sky sign separate-caus-imperf-pl-subj you-know-pl
 You know how to distinguish the signs of the sky.
 (Matthew 16:13)

Another intransitive verb which takes sentence complements in the subjunctive is *kalbis long to*.

'woh yaab'boo-n-u kalbis-ee-'ni
that hear-pl-subjun long-perf-pl
they long to hear that

(Matthew 13:17, Ethiopian Bible Society, 1977)

'woh yab'loo-n-u kalbis-ee-'ni (Matthew 13:17)
that see-pl-subjun long-perf-pl
they long to see that

macaa'ne 'ab-u 'ma-kalbi's-a
peace do-subjun neg-long-he,impf
He does not long to make peace.

The verb *takk ought, should* (from *ekk become*) when negative in the sense of *ought not* also takes subjunctive complements.

'yim 'y-akk-u 'ma-takk-a (Matthew 10:37)
mine he-become-subjun neg-ought-impf,he
He ought not become mine.

The verb *illiiil dare* also takes a subjunctive sentence complement.

'usuk 'ged-u y-illii'le
he go-he,subj he-dared
He dared to go.

'oson giir-i's-oo-n-u y-alliilee-'ni
they swim-caus-impf-pl-subj they-dare-pl
They dare to swim.

'num 'iy-y-u 'm-alliil-in'n-a (see John 21:12)
man say-he-subj neg-dare-perf-he
No one dared to say.

The verb *effer fail, not succeed*, also takes a subjunctive complement, as do *dic* and *duud be able*.

a'maat-u effe're *I did not succeed in going.*

taami't-oo-n-u y-a-ffaree-'ni
work-impf-pl-subj they-impf-fail-pl
They failed to work.

y-aami'n-oo-n-u y-effer-ee-'ni
they-believe-impf-pl-subj they-fail-perf-pl
They failed to believe.
 (John 12:39; cf. 21:6)

The verb *xin refuses* in the Northern dialect may take a subjunctive complement (in the Aussa dialect it takes the 'e infinitive used with other verbs of negation).

ba'ɗ-i 'yab 'y-abb-u xi'n-e 'num
son's word he-hear-subj refuse-he,perf man

'waar 'ma-y-ab'l-a (John 3:36)
life not-he-see-impf

*A man who refused to hear the son's word does not see life.
 (In the Aussa dialect ab'b-e would be used instead of
 'y-abb-u.)*

The verb *uxsub* (North) *think* in the sense of *plan to do* also takes a subjunctive complement.

'tet 'xab-u y-asxu'be (Matthew 1:19)
her leave-subj he-thought
He planned to divorce her.

3.1.2 Negation with 'e Infinitive Complementation

Verbs which express negation take their complements as infinitives with the suffix 'e. One verb which has intransitive sentence complementation is *way lack* in the sense of *lack doing* or negation. (*way* may also have a noun phrase object as a transitive verb: a'nu siraagi'le 'wee *I lacked gas*. See 12.1.17 for deletion of the final y.) The embedded verb with *way* takes the infinitive plus the complementizer -'e rather than the subjunctive complement. The imperfect stem with its initial a- (see 12.1.1) and mid vowels e, o raised to i, u (see 12.1.5) is found with the prefix verb class, but the suffix class has only a stressed -'e complementizer (the imperfect 'aa is deleted before a word-final 'e [see 12.1.20]. 'e is also the marker for perfect in the suffix class). The 'e complementizer sentence marker is suffixed to the infinitive, which has no person or number markers (which subjunctive forms have), and the imperfect stem has no semantic value.

'buuna aa-cu'b-e wa-'e (assimilates to 'wee;
coffee impf-drink-comp lack-I,perf see 12.1.17)
I lacked drinking coffee. (I didn't drink coffee.)

'laa cay'so a-k'm-e 'wa-a
cattle grass impf-eat-comp lack-impf
Cattle lack eating grass. (Cattle aren't eating grass.)

'isin baa'do-l ge'ɗ-e way-t-ee-'ni
you-pl ground-on go-comp lack-you-perf-pl
*You lacked going on the ground.
 (You didn't go on the ground.)*

'oson goroy'ya 'ge-e wa-a-'na
they ostrich get-comp lack-impf-pl
*They lack getting the ostrich.
 (They aren't getting the ostrich.)*

When embedded and conjoined sentences (nominalized, complementized, relativized, adjectival, conditional, and sentences with the various forms of conjunction [see T 18]) are negative, the -way form of negation is obligatory (rather than the 'ma- prefix found in regular sentence types such as 'ma-fa'da I don't want and 'ma'ged-in don't go-impera).

a'be 'waa-m me'ce
do lack-nominal good
It is good not to do (something).

'oson ak'me we-e-ni-'ki na'nu ak'me-n-no
they eat lack-they-pl-if we eat-fut-we
If they don't eat, we will eat.

aacu'b-e way-'t-a-n 'sin tek'kek ra'be-t-to-n
drink-comp neg-you-impf-pl you if die-fut-you-pl
If you do not drink, you will die.

bar't-e 'wa-a-m-al a-a'dag-uk 'ma-yyu
learn-comp neg-impf-nom-if impf-know-part neg-I,am
If I had not learned, I wouldn't know.

bar't-e wa-nni-'to a-'kam-uk 'm-antu
work-comp neg-if-you impf-eat-part neg-you,are
If you do not work, you do not eat.

a'be 'way-i 'tet 'hee-y-yo
work lack-comp her permit-fut-I
I'll permit her not to work.

'usuk 'ab-u duu'd-e 'we-e 'yoo ka'l-e
he do-I,subj be able-inf lack-inf me prevent-he,perf
He prevented me from not being able to do (something).

ak'm-e 'way-n-u dud-'n-a
eat lack-we-subj able-we-impf

A nominalized imperfect way followed by the postposition -k from (which gives a double negative sense) is used to express certainty--often translated of course.

'usuk ge'd-e 'wa-a-m-a-k 'akkel 'mi-y-ana
he go-inf lack-impf-nom-V-from here neg-he-is present
Of course he went; he is not here.

'is ru'ga aggi'g-e way-'t-a-am-a-k gal'bo
she calf kill-inf lack-she-impf-nom-V-from hide

t-a'ni
it-is-present
She certainly killed the calf; the hide is present.

kimmir'ro haa'd-e way-'t-a-am-a-k ga'le 'le
bird fly-inf lack-it-impf-nom-V-from feather it has
Of course a bird flies; it has feathers.

Negative consultative, jussives, and subjunctives when not embedded regularly take the expected 'ma- negative form. However, they may also take the way form even when not embedded. A derivation of way as the matrix verb with a Mood suffix and a sentence complement offers a straightforward explanation for this dual form. The same equivalence is found in forms without mood which were described above with the derivation of way as a matrix verb.

akri'y-e way-n-oô (or 'ma-n-akri'y-oô)
read-inf lack-we-consul (or neg-we-read-cons)
Shall we not read?

bar't-e 'wo-o-n-ay (or 'ma-bar't-oo-n-ay)
learn-inf lack-they-pl-juss (or neg-learn-they-pl-juss)
Don't let them learn.

The verb lall or rarr (Aussa) or daad (Coastal, Asgaffen) *almost, nearly (do)* also uses the 'e infinitive. The action of the verb is negated in not quite being fulfilled. The geminate consonant is reduced before consonant suffixes (see 11.2.13).

anniki's-e lall-e-n (or rarren, daaden)
fall-inf almost-perf-they, They almost fell.

ak'm-e lal-'t-e (or rar'te)
eat-inf nearly-she,you-perf
You (or she) nearly ate.

'lee doo'nik buu'l-e daad-'t-e (Matthew 8:24)
water boat cover-inf nearly-it-perf
Water nearly covered the boat.

soo'l-e lal'l-e (or rar're)
stand-inf almost-he,I,perf
I (or he) almost stood.

xa'b-e lal-'t-e-h (or rar'teh) suk-'t-e-h
let go-inf nearly-you,she-perf-part had-you,she-perf
You (or she) had nearly let go.

Another verb which takes the 'e infinitive complement is xin *refuse* (in the Northern dialect it sometimes takes the subjunctive [see 3.1.1]). The special meaning of negation associated with the 'e infinitive is obvious here as in kal *prevent* below (see 3.2.3).

'is 'kaa-lluk ge'd-e xin-'t-a
she him-with go-inf refuse-she-imperf
She refuses to go with him.

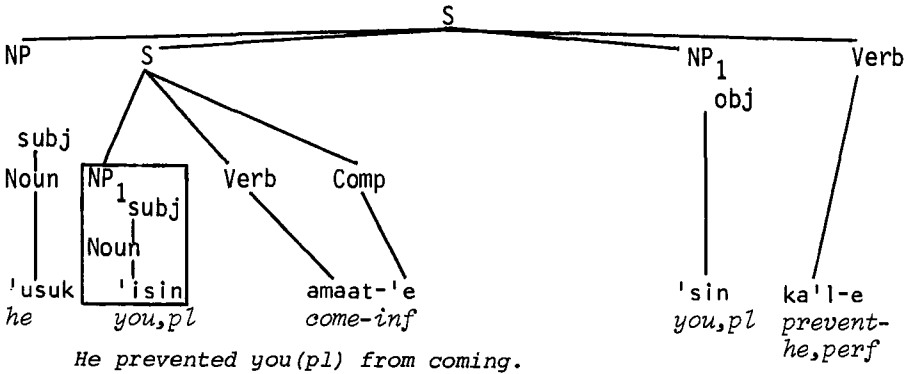
'oson ba'saltu ak'm-e xin-ee-'ni
they onions eat-inf refuse-they,perf-pl
They refused to eat onions.

'kaa aami'n-e xi'n-ee-n-im-ih (John 12:37)
 him believe-inf refuse-perf-pl-nom-because
 because they refused to believe him

3.2 Transitive Sentence Complementation

3.2.1 Structure

Verbs which select an underlying object as well as an underlying sentence complement are illustrated by the following diagram:



In transitive verb sentence complementation, the object of the matrix sentence must be identical to the embedded sentence subject which is deleted ('isin you above). This contrasts with identity of subjects which is required for intransitive complements as illustrated above and identity of postpositional noun phrases and embedded subjects as illustrated below in 3.3. The matrix object may optionally stand before the sentence complement in the place where the embedded subject was deleted (see 6.5.5).

ab'ba ur'ra ba'rit-u-h xa'b-a
 father children,accus learn-subj-for leave-he,impf
 The father let the children learn.

3.2.2 Subjunctive Transitive Complements

The complement with subjunctive -u (as used with *duud* be able, *eedeg* know, and *effer* fail) plus an optional final -h is used with transitive constructions when the object of the matrix verb is the same as the subject of the complement, which is therefore deleted. The subjunctive, as described above, has penultimate stress, the changing of stem vowels, and loss of aspect. A common use of this construction is found with *xab* leave with the sense of *let*. The addition of -h reinforces the idea of

for, the same as the use of subjunctive plus -h in *in order to* clauses (which may be used to derive xab clauses also).

'gedd-u 'tet xa'b-e
go-subjun her let-I,perf
I let her go.

a'saal-u(-h) 'yoo 'xab
laugh-subjun(-for) me leave, Let me laugh.

y-adaa'roo-n-u(-h) 'ken 'xab-a
they-return-pl-subjun(-for) them leave-impera,pl
Let them return.

3.2.3 Transitive Infinitive Complements with -'e

Besides the subjunctive sentence complements, some transitive verbs take an infinitive with a suffixed *i* or *'e* on their embedded verb which loses aspect and person and number agreement (as with *lack*, and *xin refuse* above).

t-o-kmee-'ni *you-perf-ate-pl (you-pl ate) becomes*
 a'kam-i or aku'm-e *eat-infinitive*

The *'e* infinitive is the same as the imperfect stem in the prefixing class (initial *a-*, mid vowels becoming high, [see 12.1.1 and 5] and final *-'e*) and the same as the perfect stem (final *-'e* [see 3.1.2]) in the suffixing class. *kal stop* is a transitive verb which takes the *-'e* infinitive.

ab'ba ge'd-e 'bada ka'l-ele
father go-infin son prevent-fut,3 sing
The father will prevent the son from going.

a-k'm-e 'kaa ka'l-e
impf-eat-inf him stop-I,perf
I stopped him from eating.

dig'r-e 'yoo kal'-t-e
play-infin me prevent-she-perf
She prevented me from playing.

The semantic similarity of "negation" for the matrix verbs which take the *-'e* infinitive in their sentence complements is also evident here (see 3.1.2). The transitive verb *kal stop*, in its meaning *prevent from doing*, can be considered a transitive negativizer.

anniki's-e 'tet kal-aa-'na
fall-inf her prevent-impf-pl
They prevent her from falling.

The infinitive plus a clitic *kal* has developed into an interesting construction in Afar. *-kal without* is suffixed to

the -'e infinitive the same as in sentence complementation.

'xan na'k-e-kal y-eme'e'te
milk drink-inf-without he-came
He came without drinking milk.

ab'l-e-kal t-a-adi'ge
see-inf-without you-impf-know
You know without seeing.

When the matrix verb is the negative *rac* *remain*, it is translated into English as a strong positive (the same as *qar* in Amharic).

ge'd-e-kal 'ma-rac-a
go-inf-without neg-remain-impf,I,he
I will not remain without going. (I will certainly go.)

a'b-e-kal 'ma-rac-in'na
do-inf-without neg-remain-he,she perf
He certainly did it.

kal might be considered a postposition except that it does not take noun phrases--only the -'e infinitive. (An idiom meaning *except for* has a noun phrase followed by the postposition -*k* plus *ka'lah yan* which is not: 'tah-ak ka'lah yan 'gita 'm-an-nu *this-from not is way neg-is-we, We have no way except for this, I Cor. 11:16* [see also *hirik-'t-ee-ni-m-ik ka'lah yan ger'si other than that which you received, Galatians 1:9*].)

Another possibility is to derive the -'e infinitive plus *kal* as a sentence complement to the matrix sentence. This solution also has problems in that *kal* would be the only verb with this form of infinitive (a clitic root with no suffix), and the usual situation of restricted matrix verb does not exist--instead the embedded verb is restricted to *kal*. However, the fact that the subject noun phrases are all identical and embedded subjects are deleted supports the derivation as a series of sentence complements.

The morpheme 'sinni is the negative relative of 'le *has* instead of the expected 'le 'way combination. It may be translated *which does not have* or simply *without*. 'sinni is found with the 'e infinitive (as is to be expected from its meaning of negation). It is also used as an irregular verb taking direct object noun phrases (*ma'ko 'sinni 'num man without deceit, John 1:47; 'yoo 'sinni-m without me nominalized, John 14:6, cf. John 5:3; missilla 'sinn-uk without parables imperfect participle, John 16:19*).

amba'd-e 'sinni 'waar (John 5:24)
end-inf without life, eternal life

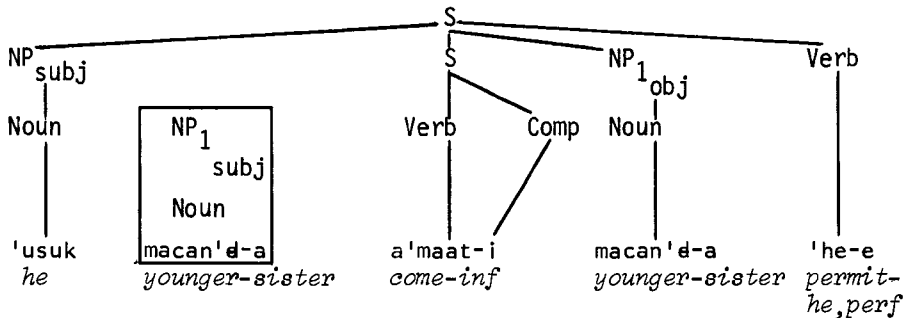
'ku taa'ma ak'k-e 'sinni taa'ma-t 'ma-taamit-in
your work become-inf without work-by neg-work-impera
Don't work by work without becoming (which has not become)
your work. Don't do anything which is not your duty.
 (Parker, 1974b:50)

'tu all'e 'sinni 'num a'b-a-m 'ma-li
nothing have-inf without man do-he,impf-nom neg-has
A man without having anything does not have what he does.
(A person who has nothing can do nothing.)
 (Parker, 1975:325)

'bada ak'k-e 'sinni (John 14:22)
son become-inf without, who is not the son of. . .

3.2.4 Infinitive Complements with -i

With the transitive matrix verb *hay* *permit*, the complementizer is an *-i* at the end of the embedded sentence. (See 12.1.17 for deletion of *y* from *hay*.) As noted above, person and number markers are lost with this infinitive. All stem vowels become *a* in the prefix class (see 12.1.3). Stress for this form is penultimate (see 11.2.1.a and b).



He permitted the younger sister to come.

As with other transitive sentence complements, the subject of the complement is lost, being identical to the object of the matrix verb (*macan'da sister*).

i'na 'xan 'bah-i 'ken hay-'t-a
mother milk bring-inf them permit-she-impf
Mother permits them to bring milk.

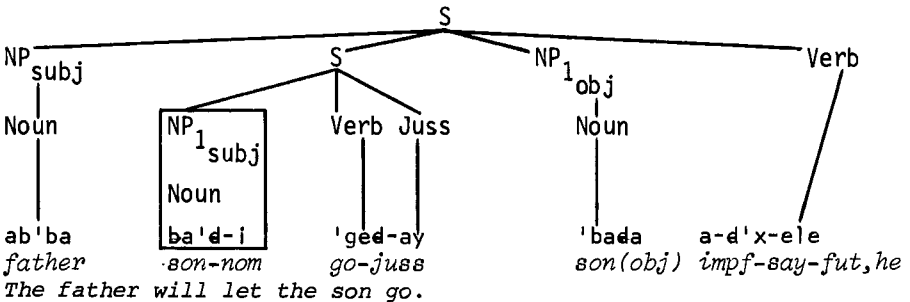
yal'li cad'dooy-i 'koo 'he-e
God become white-inf you permit-he,perf
God permitted you to become white (diseased).

yal'li 'gax-i si'laytu 'he-e
God blow-comp wind(obj) permitted
God permitted the wind to blow.

The word order 'gaxi si'laytu may be reversed to si'laytu 'gaxi, with si'laytu keeping its objective case (see 6.5.5).

3.2.5 Jussive Complement

The jussive complement construction is used with *edx* say which means *let, permit* when it is the matrix verb. For example, the matrix sentence *ab'ba 'bada ad'xele the father permits the son* may take the embedded complement *ba'di ge'da the son goes*, as in the following branching diagram:



The embedded subject, being identical to the matrix direct object, deletes as in other transitive sentence complements. *edx* say selects the jussive marked by the suffix *-ay* on the embedded verb. The jussive is also used independently in forms like *'rab-ay let him die* and *t-ak'tab-ay (she-impf write-let) let her write*. The jussive (see T 30) is similar to the subjunctive discussed above in having penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a,b), no semantic aspect, and only *a-* stem vowels in the prefix verb class (see 12.1.3).

cad'doow-t-ay 'koo e-d'xe
become white-you-juss you I₁perf-said
I let you become white (dry, scaly skinned).

'is y-a-'kam-ay 'kaa in-'t-e
she he-impf-eat-juss him say-she-perf
She let him eat.

edx say is irregular in its stem, having the stem *in-* for second and third persons with the *n* assimilating to person markers (*y* *he* in the Aussa dialect [see 11.2.10.b] and *t* *you/she* as well as *y* in Ba'adu and Asgaffen dialects, which would have *it'te she said* in the above example, as well as *iy'ya he says* below. The base is best listed as *itt* in the *t* dialects.)

idal'ti xere'ya n-ag'gaf-ay 'nee iy-'y-a
elder warthog we-kill-juss us say-he-impf
The elder lets us kill warthog.

A common use of this construction is with the imperative of *edx* in the sense of *let*. . . .

aa-'cab-ay 'yoo in-ɖix
I, impf-drink-juss me say, impera
Let me drink.

'gen-n-ay 'nee in'ɖix-a
go-we-juss us say, impera-pl
Let (pl) us go.

3.3 Infinitive -'e Plus -h me'ce ought

The verb *me'ce* may take the -'e infinitive plus -h in the meaning *it is good for* or *ought*. This is different from the negative use of the -'e infinitive complement in structure because of the obligatory -h. Since only the -'e infinitive is used, which does not appear in other structures than sentence complements and future, it is best derived as a sentence complement.

'tassa 'yoo 'he-e-h me'ce seeha'da (II Cor. 2:3)
joy me cause-inf-h good people
people who ought to make me happy.

ɖay'lo-h lak'co gaaboy's-e-h me'ce-m ɖaleyna
children-for money gather-inf-h good-nom parents
It is parents who ought to gather money for children.
 (II Cor. 12:14)

aduu'r-e-h me'ce seeha'da rac-'t-e
return-inf-h good people stay-fem-perf
The people who should have returned stayed away.

CHAPTER 4
POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE

4.1 Postpositions on Nouns

Afar, as is usual for SOV languages, has postpositions rather than prepositions (see PS 2). When a consonant-initial clitic postposition is suffixed to a consonant-final stem, an epenthetic nonmid vowel intervenes which will be in harmony with the last stem vowel (see 11.2.2.b and 11.2.4.c).

i'na-h
mother-for, for mother

'yo-k 'sa(rra)
me-after, after me

a'nu 'sara saa'buun-u-t kacli's-e
I clothes soap-even V-by washed-I,perf
I washed the clothes with soap.

a'li xa'da-ffana y-a-r'deh 'y-a-n (Shewa, see below)
animal tree-toward he-impf-running he-impf-is
The animal is running toward the tree.

kimmi'ro 'laa-'hamol nok-'t-e ('laa-'hamol, see 11.2.1.e)
bird cattle-gen head on landed-fem-perf
The bird landed on the cow.

The Aussa and coastal dialects limit clitic forms to one-consonant morphemes, except the contracted variant of -k 'sarra which becomes -k'sa. The Shewa dialects, such as Asgaffen and Ba'adu, also treat -ffan as a clitic, giving it an initial vowel after consonant-final nouns as well as the geminate initial f everywhere. In Wollo the forms coincide with the Shewa dialect when a modified noun (see 8.3.2.2) precedes. The -ih fan becomes V-ffan with the V having vowel harmony.

'a kitaa'b-af fan *this book-mod toward* (Shewa and Wollo)

a'moyta-ffan *ruler-toward* (a'moyta 'fan Northern)

Similarly, *lih* and *luk* (the participles of *'le has* meaning *with*) which in Shewa (and optionally in Wollo and generally after vowel-final pronouns) are treated as clitics taking the connecting vowel after consonant-final forms and the geminate *l* everywhere. Structurally the difference is that *-lih* and *-luk* lost an initial geminate *ll* (cf. *aal'le* regularized) except in Shewa and also in the North with the vowel-final pronouns *'kaa him*, *'yoo me*, *'koo you*, and *'nee us*.

'keen-i-lluk with them ('ken 'luk assimilating to 'kel 'luk in Eritrea and optionally in Wollo)

'mayram-a-llih with Mary ('mayram 'lih assimilating to 'mayral'lih in Eritrea and optionally in Wollo)

a'gabū-lluk with women (a'gabū 'luk Northern)

'kaa-lluk with him, 'yo-llih with me (everywhere)

The postpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a postposition. The noun phrase is developed most often as a noun or pronoun with an optional demonstrative (see PS 3).

xa'loos-at

ox-by, by an ox

'a cammur're-k

this cloud-from, from this cloud

'woo 'gita-l

that road-on, on that road

'yo-k 'af-al

me-of(gen) mouth-V-at, before me

'keen-i-h

them for, for them

Several nouns in their usage resemble postpositions, although the derivation is a genitive noun (the main noun in the translation) plus the position or reason noun, which may in turn take a postposition. The same construction is common in English as in *on top of*. The *-k* genitive may also be used (see 8.3.2.3).

a'mo head, on

xa'da-h (or xa'da-k) 'amo-l daffey-'t-a
tree-gen head-on sit-it, impf

It is sitting on a tree.

'fan(ah) midst, toward

ca'r-i 'fan 'ged

house-gen toward go, Go to the house.

'guba bottom, under

duy-ye arkay'to-g 'guba-l tan

stuff bed-gen under is, The stuff is under the bed.

in'na likeness
 y-eme'e ba'd-i-h nab'na-h in'na-h
he-came son-gen-mod glory-modified genitive likeness-for
for the likeness of the glory of the son who came
 (John 1:14)

'af mouth, front
 nun-'tin 'af-a-l 'sol
man-gen mouth-at stand, Stand in front of the man.

'fooxa face, front
 baar'ra-f 'fooxa-l y-an
woman-gen fact-at he-is, He is in front of the woman.

(see Parker 1975:x-xiii for extensive lists of both postpositions and nominals acting as postpositions.)

The number one in'ki plus the noun in'na *likeness*, as plus the postposition -h *for* has the idiomatic adverbial use of *only, never (with negative), completely*, and with na'bam or kad'dam *very much* (see Gallagher 1976).

in'ki-nna-h ur'ri y-a'ni-†
one-like-for children he-is-quest
Are there only children?

in'ki-nna-h ba'saltu 'm-akm-a
one-like-for onion neg-eat-I, impf
I never eat onions.

in'ki-nna-h sel-'n-e (sel-'le)
one-like-for finish-we-perf
We are completely finished.

na'bam in'kinnah *very much*

4.2 Postpositions on Nominalized Sentences

When the noun phrase is developed as a sentence, the nominalizer -Vm is suffixed to the last element in the sentence--the verb or auxiliary--and the postposition is suffixed to the -Vm with an epenthetic vowel if the postposition is a clitic.

a'b-a-am-a-t
do-I, impf-nom-epen V-by, by my doing

a'tu xa'do t-a-k'mee-m-ih taa'ga biyaakit-'t-a
you meat you-impf-eat-nom-for because-of sick-you-impf
You are sick because of eating meat.

'oson digl'r-ee-n-im-i-k'sa taan-ee-'ni
they play-perf-pl-nom-V-after tired-perf-pl
They are tired after playing.

'usuk 'yoo y-o-ogo're-em-i-k 'duma inniki's-e
he me he-perf-hit-nom-V-before I, fell-perf
I fell before his hitting me.

ge'd-aa-nam 'fanah (ged-aa-'n-af 'fanah Aussa, Shewa)
go-impf-pl-nom toward
until they go (used for conjunction)

na'nu n-ok'me-em-i-h 'ma-xay-in-'no
we we-ate-nom-V-though neg-be, satisfied-perf-we
Even though we ate, we aren't satisfied.

(*Even though* is a common idiomatic use of the nominalized verb plus the postposition -h.)

'xaati ge'd-e-em-i-t gu'f-e
slowly go-he, perf-nom-V-by arrived-he, perf
He arrived by going slowly.

(For further examples of nominalized sentences in postpositional phrases and their relation to conjunctions see 5.1.2 and 5.7.)

4.3 Postpositions in Relative Sentences

When the relative construction, NP→S NP, is developed in a postpositional phrase, no changes from the regular relative occur (see 2.5 above). The relative precedes the noun as usual (except as noted below with -iyya), and the postposition follows the head noun. This relationship between the postposition and head noun is the same as in English, which also connects the preposition to the head noun rather than to the relative (He came *by the car* which I bought). In Amharic, which Bach (1970) suggests has been influenced by Cushitic SOV languages to change the Semitic SVO pattern, the preposition is attached to the relative verb, evidencing language interference.

ine ba-gazza-uh mekina mett-a
I by which-bought-I car came-he
He came by the car which I bought.

This sentence in Afar attaches the postposition to the noun.

a'nu daa'm-e makii'na-t y-eme'e'te
I buy-perf car-by he-perf-came
He came by the car I bought.

a'nu sol-'t-a xaloo's-a-t buc're xo't-e
I stand-fem-impf oxen-V-by field plow-I, perf
I ploughed the field by the oxen which are standing.

'usuk ra'kub y-a-bbi'de 'awka wa'dir-ik soo'l-a
he camel he-impf-hold boy behind-from stand-he, impf
He is standing behind the boy who is holding the camel.

a'tu ed'de t-e-mee'te moo'tar-a-t gen-'n-a
you by which you-perf-came car-V-by go-we-impf
We are going by the car by which you came.

a'nu el'le i-nniki'se boo'do ad'da-l t-i-nniki'se
I in which I,perf-fell hole in-to you-perf-fell
You fell into the hole into which I fell.

The above two examples illustrate the use of the pro forms of postpositions which were discussed under relatives above (see 2.5). The embedded postposition is not deleted (as its noun phrase) because of identity in the matrix postpositional phrase but is reduced to *el'le* for locatives and *ed'de* for other postpositions and is moved immediately in front of the relative verb. *a'kah* for referential and *a'kak* for source may be substituted for *ed'de*, as noted by Gallagher (1976).

Another variation of postpositions in relative clauses is found when the relative is moved behind the head noun (see 2.6 above). The verb takes a suffixed *-h* plus the relative pronoun clitic *-iyya*. If the noun phrase is in a postpositional phrase, the postposition comes on *-iyya* instead of on the head noun unless the *-iyya* clause follows the matrix verb.

'mayrama-y na'ba su'ruiy 'l-e su'kati duy'ye-k 'kibuh
Mary-and much scent has-it ointment value-of great

y-e'ne-h-iyya-k in'ki da'la y-ak'ke su'bax
it-was-rel pron-from one gourd it-become butter

bey-ya hay-'t-e (John 12:3)
take-comp put-she-perf

*Mary took about one gourd of butter from an ointment
 which has much scent and which was of great value.*

'wara-h 'rac-t-u way-'t-a maa'co-y num-'tin
life-for remain-it-subj about-it-impf food-and man-gen

ba'd-i 'siini-h y-a'xay-u 'waa-h-iyya-h
son-nom you-to he-give-subj about-rel pron-for

taa'mit-a (John 6:27)
work-pl, impera

*Work for the bread which is about to remain for eternal life
 and which the son of man is about to give you.*

Note John 7:39, where the relative is moved behind the matrix verb and the postposition remains on the head noun.

'a yaa'b-a 'rooxi-k iy-'y-e 'kaa
this speak-he, impf spirit-from say-he-perf him

t-eeme'ne-m og'gol-t-u way-'t-a-h-iyya (John 7:39)
she-believed-nom receive-she-subj about-she-impf-rel pron

He spoke concerning the Spirit who says this (OR, he spoke words concerning the Spirit) and whom those who believed on him were about to receive.

4.4 Order of Postpositional Phrase in the Sentence

The order of the postpositional phrase in relation to the other elements of the sentence is often variable. Verbs such as *exey give*, *hay put*, and *bah bring*, which require both an underlying direct object and an indirect object postpositional phrase, except in cases of emphasis or topicalization have been found consistent in the surface order of subject-object-postpositional phrase (15 times in the first 46 pages of Parker's 'Afar/English Dictionary, Part IV, 1975). Unlike English *put*, surface sentences with these verbs may delete understood or known indirect objects:

ki'tab (taa'ce-l) 'hee *He put the book on the table.*
 ki'tab ('koo-h) e'xe *I gave (you) a book.*

'usuk 'xan 'yo-h ye'xe
he milk me-to gave, He gave me milk.

'usuk fa'da-m 'kaa-l 'baah
he wants-nom him-to bring, Bring him what he wants.

Other than indirect object postpositional phrases are found in various positions as illustrated below from examples from the fourth part of Parker's 'Afar/English Dictionary and the United Bible Societies' St. John's Gospel in Afaraf, 1975. (Care has been taken to exclude forms which likely were influenced by translation.) A common position for postpositional phrases is at the front of the sentence. The examples indicate a preference for temporal designations in sentence-initial position, but others also occur.

affa'ra 'alsa-k 'sarra bucu're ga'ruc amaa'te-le (John 4:35)
four month-of after field harvest come-will
After four months the field's harvest will come.

'wohii la'kala yaa'sus urusa'liim 'fan yew'ce (John 5:1)
that after Jesus Jerusalem toward went up
After that Jesus went up toward Jerusalem.

'woo wac'di...do'ri su'ge (John 5:2)
that time pool was
At that time there was a pool.

(The lack of postpositions in temporal phrases is common; see see T 54.)

'a wak'tih ad'da-t cun'da ma'ri ka'da 'mara
this time inside-on young men old men

'ma-y-aynaba-n (IV, 39)
neg-they-respect-pl
 At this time young men do not respect old men.

ak'ke-l man'go taa'ma 'tan (IV, 19)
here-at much work is
 There is much work here.

'bada-t alaa'hum man'go (IV, 19)
sea-in sea urchin many
 There are many sea urchins in the sea.

ga'ba-l al'bo 'yo-k t-e-w'ce (IV, 20)
hand-on blister me-from it-perf-came out
 A blister sprouted on my hand.

'ceela-t acan't-i su'ge (IV, 33)
well-in frog-nom was
 A frog was in the well.

'woo silaa'loh 'gubal man'go ma'ri...su'gen (John 5:3)
that porch under many people were
 Many people were under that porch.

ak'ke-l...'num su'ge (John 5:5)
here-at man was
 At this place was a man.

'woo a'raxa-l man'go ma'ri sugee'ni (John 5:13)
that place-at many people were
 Many people were at that place.

'wohu-k geel'aaamah (John 5:16) following from that and 'wohih
 taa'gah (John 5:18) because of that refer to preceding discourse
 and are sentence initial.

Examples with other elements before the temporal post-
 positional phrase are also common.

'a 'num 'woo wac'di-k u'reh (John 5:9)
this man that time-from was healed
 This man was healed from that time.

'num a'dooba-k 'afal ga'ba kacali'sa-m me'ce (IV, 10)
man eating-of before hand wash-nom good
 It is good that a man wash his hands before eating.

al's-i xa'wal 'beera 'gee-t-to (IV, 24)
month-gen salary tomorrow get-fut-you
 You will receive your monthly salary tomorrow.

'ninni bu'da-k arba-ca-h gen'de (gen'ne) (IV,34)
our home-from Wednesday-on went,we
 We went from our home on Wednesday.

a'tu aday'yu sa'r-i asma'diyya nam'ma
you nowadays clothes-gen wearing out two

'alsa-l ab'-t-a (IV, 38)

month-in do-you-impf

Nowadays you do the wearing out of clothes in two months.

Another variation involves the order of direct object and postposition. As noted above, indirect objects normally follow the direct object. However, postpositional phrases other than indirect objects seem to be able to stand either before or after the direct object. (In Parker's dictionary sample, 11 followed and 17 preceded the direct object.)

il'li 'afa-h 'garil koo'na silaa'lo 'le do'ri
sheep gate-gen near-at five porches has pool

su'ge (John 5:2)

was

There was a pool near the sheep gate which had five porches.

'a do'r-i-h 'addat 'yoo oobi'sa 'num
this pool-gen-mod inside-at me bring down man

'mayyu (John 5:7)

not I have

I don't have a man to bring me down into this pool.

'wohuk wa'dirih yaa'sus yal'li 'cari-l 'kaa 'gee (John 5:14)
that after Jesus God's house-at him found

After that Jesus found him at God's house.

a'nu 'ken 'fanat am'ca a'b-e (IV, 28)

I them toward reconciliation do-I,perf

I brought reconciliation between them.

Some examples with the direct object first follow:

assi'ma 'a 'saaku bu'da-l a'b-d (IV, 38)

nonparticipation this day home-at do-I,perf

I did nonparticipation today at home.

daa'hi ay'ma 'yo-t xa'b-e (IV, 41)

stone scar me-on left-it,perf

The stone left a scar on me.

'woo aw'ka baa'da 'filla-t 'le (IV, 45)

that girl necklace neck-on has

That girl has a necklace on her neck.

Topicalization is proposed for the solution to the above changes from basic word order, which is considered to be subject-object-postpositional phrase (see T 49 and 6.5.2). When sentence examples are requested for vocabulary lists, a tendency to have the elicited noun early, or even first, in the sentence is normal in spite of its construction. In an effort to elicit nouns in postpositional phrases, one informant even gave a number of indirect objects topicalized to the position before the direct object.

a'nu nu'gusu-h duy'ye e'xe
I king-to things I-gave
I gave things to the king.

a' sa'ro-l xu'sul 'hee
this cloth-on meter he-did
He did (measured) meters on this cloth.

4.5 Multiple Postpositional Phrases in a Sentence

Postpositions of several kinds are found in one sentence (this may be noted by a zero subscript on "postpositional phrase" in PS 1). (Multiple noun phrases conjoined by 'kee and in a postpositional phrase are best derived from two sentences identical except for the noun phrases; see T 19 and 5.1.5 above.)

'kimal moo'tar-at 'bilu-k y-eme'e'te
yesterday car-by Bilu-from he-came
Yesterday he came by car from Bilu.

yalli 'rob 'ne-h cammu're 'kee si'llytu-t ruu'b-a
God rain us-to cloud and wind-by send-he, imperf
God sends us rain by cloud and wind.

4.6 -h en is and -k sug was Idioms for Identification

Besides the verb kin'ni *is*, the postposition -h plus the verb en *is* or sug *was* (for perfect), or the postposition -k plus the feminine gender, are commonly used for generic identification. The feminine sug'te suggests a derivation via a nominalized and therefore feminine kin'nim *is* which has been deleted.

gad'dali-h y-an 'num
rich person-for he-is man
a man who is rich

'ni 'abba-h 'y-an 'yalla
our father-for he-is God, God our father

'a 'num num'mah yal'l-ih 'bada-k suk-'te
this man truly God-gen son-of was-fem,perf
This man was truly a son of God.
 (Mark 15:39, Ethiopian Bible Society)

makaa'bantu-h su'g-e (Luke 2:2, Ethiopian Bible Society)
ruler-for was-he,perf, He was ruler.

in'ki-h y-an 'num (John 7:23)
one-for he-is man, a single man

'kay in'na-h y-an 'num (John 9:17)
his likeness-for he-is man, a man like him

'woh 'bar-ak t-en (John 13:30)
that night-of it-was, that was night

4.7 -k comparison

No declension for comparison exists in Afar. The postposition *-k than, from* is the means used to convey comparison as in other Afro-Asiatic languages. Verbs which refer to amount, distance, size, or value are especially common with *-k comparison*. The subject of the sentence is in such cases *greater (less, etc.) than* the object of the *-k (greatest if all is added for superlative)*. When the verb does not imply comparison, the nominal adverbials such as *'muḍḍi more, bi'so front, and 'gaxti less* are added (see 10.5). For emphasis, the main verb is only a general *more* or *less*, and the specific dimension which is compared is made into a verbal noun of the modifying verb class plus the postposition *-h for* which stands after the *-k compared* phrase. (See Parker, Afar Pedagogical Grammar, Lesson 21.)

'usuk 'yo-k y-ay'se (Matthew 3:11, and see 6:25)
he me-than he-is-great, He is greater than I.

a'tu 'ku i'na-k ded'daara-h nab-i't-o (or deeri-'t-o)
you your mother-than height-for big-you-are (or tall-you-are)
You are taller than your mother.

fa'ras ba'kili-k 'muḍḍi y-ar'de
horse mule-than more he-runs
A horse runs greater (faster) than a mule.

'is bu'da-m 'mara-k in'kih uddaa'ne gax-'t-a
she village-gen people-than all shortness be less-she-impf
She is the shortest person in the village.

yai'l-ih ḍin'to-l 'kulli-m-ik t-ay'se-m 'miyya-y
God-gen kingdom-in all-nom-than fem-great-nom who-is
Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?
 (Matthew 18:1; cf. John 7:38)

'dambi 'ko-h xab-bii'm-e iy-'y-aa-n-am
sin you-for leave-pass-it, perf say-they-impf-pl-nom

'kee u'gu-t-ay 'ged iy-'y-aa-n-am-ak 'manni
and arise-benef-and go say-they-impf-pl-nom-from what

'tiya dabxi'ni (Matthew 9:5)
thing cool
Which is easier (cool) to say, "Your sins are forgiven for you," or "Arise, go"?

'a 'num a'b-a able'waynu-k bi'so a'b-e-l-e
this man do-he, impf miracle-from front do-inf-fut-he
Will he do greater miracles than this man?
 (John 7:31)

a'nu addun'ya-k ay'se-h-ikkalah 'ma-gax-a (John 16:33)
I world-than great-h-but neg-reach-I, impf
I am greater, not less, than the world.

4.8 -l Plus en must

The use of the postposition *-l for* on the person plus the verb *'en be* is idiomatic for the idea of *must, ought*. The obligatory activity is put in a nominalized imperfect sentence subject which takes feminine agreement *t-an she is*.

ge'd-a-m 'yo-l t-an (Matthew 16:21)
go-impf-nom me-for she-is, impf, I must go.

ma'go 'kaa-h xab-'t-a-m 'ko-l
debt him-for forgive-you-impf-nom you-for

'ma-t-ana (Matthew 18:33)
neg-she-is, impf, Ought you not forgive the debt for him?

dii'ba duud-u's-a-m 'kaa-l t-a'ni (Mat. 23:16,18)
oath able-caus-impf-nom him-for she-is, impf
He must fulfill the oath.

t-aabu'kee-n-im 'siin-il t-a'ni (John 3:7; cf. 4:4)
you born-pl-nom you-for she-is, impf
you must be born

4.9 -Vm -k Plus sug should have

The use of the postposition *-k after* an imperfect nominalized verb followed by *sug have* gives the meaning *should have*.

'ahim ab-'t-aa-na-m-ak suk-'t-e (Matthew 23:23)
this do-you-impf-pl-nom-postp had-you-perf
You should have done this.

t-a'xe-em-ik suk-'t-e (Matthew 25:27)
you-give-nom-postp had-you-perf
You should have given.

4.10 Fear -k from

The verb *meesit fear, be afraid* has the cause of fear in a postpositional phrase with *-k from*. If that which is feared is a verbal action, it is put in a nominalized construction before *-k*.

bey-'t-a-am-ak 'ma-meesit-in (Matthew 1:20)
take-you-impf-nom-from neg-fear-impera
don't be afraid to take

ge'd-a-am-ak meesi't-a (Matthew 2:22)
go-impf-nom-from fear-he,impf, He was afraid to go.

'rooxi cid-'d-a-m di'c-e way-t-a-'hiyya-k
life kill-it-impf-nom able-inf neg-it-impf-verbal

'ma-messit-in-a (Matthew 10:28)
noun-from neg-fear-impera-pl
Don't be afraid of him who cannot kill life.

'yalla-k mee'sit-a (Matthew 10:28)
God-from fear-impera,pl, fear God

4.11 Decide on, t or l

The verb *irgi*, literally *cut*, is used idiomatically for *decide*. The action decided on is put as a verbal noun or nominalized sentence followed by either of the postpositions *t* or *l on*. In the South, *kal remove* is preferred.

ge'd-o-l (or ge'd-a-am-al) t-irgi'ce (South kal't-e)
go-VN-on (or go-impf-nom-on) you-decided
You decided to go.

'ard-a-t (or ar'd-iyya-t) y-argi'ce
run-VN-on (or run-VN-on) he-decides
He decides to run.

'is a'nu ak'm-e-y-y-o-om-ul t-irgi'ce
she I eat-inf-fut-I-pres-nom-on she-decided
She decided that I will eat.

CHAPTER 5 CONJUNCTIVES

5.1 Conjunctives

Sentences may be joined in Afar by conjunctions, subjunctive, jussive, participles, or conditionals (see T 2-6).

5.1.1 True Conjunctions

Only a few true conjunctions are used in Afar in the sense of joining sentences derived independently. The coordinating conjunction *and*, *but* is basically a suffixed vowel and is discussed below. The true subordinating conjunctions are: -k 'sa(rra) *after, because* (except with negative), -k 'duma (or -k 'afal) *before*, and in some dialects -k alone meaning *lest*. These morphemes also are used with nominalized sentences (along with a number of similar morphemes), in which case they are best derived as postpositions on sentence noun phrases. Since the use of these nominalized sentences in postpositional phrases is the way Afar expresses relationships commonly associated with conjunctions, details are described here rather than under postpositions in chapter four. The sentence with the subordinating conjunctions usually precedes the main sentence, although the order may be reversed (as is often the case in the Gospel of John translation from English).

5.1.2 Morphemes Taking Either Regular or Nominalized Sentences

These morphemes begin with -k.

- (1) -k 'sarra or -k 'sah *after, because* (except with negative).
The regular perfect verb is preferred to the nominalized form.
'is t-o-k-'me (-em-i)-k 'sa(rra) 'usuk culu'le
she she-perf-ate (-nom-V)-after he hungered
After she ate (her eating), he became hungry.

'oson ab-ee-'ni-k 'sah (or a'baanamak-'sa) dig 'r-e-l-o-n
they do-they,perf-pl-after play inf-fut-pres-pl
After they do (it), they will play.

ba'di ab'ba a'ba-m ab'l-e 'wee-k 'sah 'isi-h
son father does-nom see-inf lack-except himself-by
 'ab-u duu'd-a-m 'ma-l-i (John 5:19)
do-subj able-he,imperf-nom neg-has-he
The son does not have the ability to do anything by himself
except what he sees that the father does.

'isin 'kaadu 'yoo wa'de-t-to-n 'fiiri-k
you also me witness-fut-you-pl beginning-from
 'yo-l'l-u-k sug-t-ee-'ni-k 'sa (John 15:27)
me-with-impf-part were-you-perf-pl because
You also will witness about me because you were with me
from the beginning.

'ah-aa 'fiiri-k 'siini-l'luk 'kah yaa'b-e
this-but beginning-from you,pl-with reason speak-inf

'we-e-m-i 'siini-l'luk su'g-e-k 'sarra (John 16:4)
neg-I,perf-nom-is you-with remain-I,perf-because
But the reason I did not speak this with you from the
beginning is because I remained with you.

- (2) -k 'duma (or -k 'afal Northern) *before* (The regular perfect verb is preferred.)

'oson na'nu yaab-'n-e(-em-i)-k 'duma y-eeedegee'ni
they we spoke-we-perf(-nom-V)-before they-knew
They knew before we spoke.
 (see T 48 matrix subject to front)

'num akme-'le-k 'duma ga'ba kacli'se-le
man eat-fut,he-before hand wash-fut,he
Before the man will eat he will wash (his) hands.

- (3) -k *lest*

-k *lest* is normally used with nominalized sentences (as Amharic *ka-ma-hed from going, lest I go*), but sometimes the regular verb is used. Because of the uncompleted action, only imperfect aspect is used with *lest*.

'usuk ge'd-aa-m-ak a'nu amaa'teyyo
he go-he,impf-nom-V,lest I will come
Lest he go, I will come.

'tet ab'le-em-i-k 'cari xu'l-e
her I saw-nom-I-lest house enter-I,perf
Lest I see her, I entered the house.

Some dialects use the regular imperfect verb as an alternative to the nominalized sentence to express *lest*, although Aussa dialect informants generally reject nonnominalized forms.

'a taama a'ba-k i'rol su'g-a-m t-ay'se
this work do-lest outside stay-I, imperf-nom it-is better
It is better that I stay outside lest I do this work.
 (Parker 1973:27)

(4) -k *because*

In Eritrea and Shewa the conjunction -k also has the meaning *because* (not used in Yeju Wollo and Tigray). It may even follow the *and* conjunction of -Vh and has no restrictions on aspect. It can also stand on noun phrases in nominal (*kin'ni is* deleted) sentences.

tacab-'t-a-h t-a'ni-k 'kee 'yo-h
trouble-it, impf-prog it-is-because oh me-for
 du'waw (Matthew 15:22)
sympathize
Because it is troubling (her), oh! sympathize with me.

'sin 'm-aadiga-k um-eyn-it'te 'wonnah
you neg-I, know, impf-because evil-doers-pl there

'yo-k 'eesa (Matthew 25:41)
me-from depart
Depart from me evildoers, because I don't know you.

'sin ab'ba fad-'d-aa-n-am kalla'x-e-kal-ak 'duma
your father need-you-impf-pl-nom ask-inf-stop-because
 y-aadi'ge
he-previously knows
(It is) because your father knows what you need before you ask.
 (Mat. 6:8; cf. 2:20 for the same construction after the question "Why?")

'yoo ka'taya a'nu-y seeha'da y-abbi'de
me follow I-and people he-catch

'mara 'sin a'b-e-y-yo-k (Matthew 4:19)
people you make-inf-fut-I-because
Follow me, because I will make you people who catch people.

mattax'xo na'ba-h t-a'ni-k na'ba-m 'ruffa
gift great-prog it-is-because great-ly joy

in'dix-a (Matthew 5:12)
Because the gift is great, rejoice greatly.

es'ser-ay 'ko-h a'xe-e-y-yo-k (Matthew 14:7)
ask-impera you-to give-inf-fut-I-because
Ask, because I will give you.

'kee 'yoo-k 'ma-meesi't-in-a
well me-because neg-fear-impera-pl
Well, because (it's) me, don't fear.

'mara-h t-a'ni-hi-k cun'da ur'r-i
people-for it-is-conj-because little children

'yo-ffanah y-amaa't-oo-n-ay 'dix-a
me-to they-come-impf-pl-juss say-pl,impera
Let the little children come to me, because it is
for people.

(Matthew 19:14; cf. 19:20,27)

5.1.3 Morphemes with Initial Geminate Consonants

Four conjunctions which do not allow nominalized sentence structure have geminate initial consonants, suggesting that they may have a history of being used with nominalized forms in which the -m was assimilated to the initial consonant of the conjunction.

(1) -kkal, -kkalah *but, for*

a'nu ge'd-e-kka(la)h a'tu 'ma-ged-it'to
I go-perf-but you neg-go-perf-you
I went, but you didn't go.

'isin 'xaati t-a-maatee-'ni-kka(la)h 'usuk yar'de
you,pl slowly you-impf-come-pl-but he runs
You come slowly, but he runs.

na'nu daffey-'n-a-kka(la)h 'isin sol-t-aa-'na
we sit-we-impf-but you,pl stand-you-impf-pl
We sit, but you(pl) stand.

(2) 'ggidah, -ggidih, -ngidah, -ngidih, -ggid *in order that*

The conjunction -ggidah, -ggidih, -ngidah, -ngidih, or -ggid *in order that* is used for purpose clauses, some of which may be translated as indirect discourse or *that* clauses in English. Evidence that the form included the nominalizer -m is found in the variant form in Northern dialects noted by Parker with an initial -n. (A regular assimilation of m to ŋ before g occurs in Afar [see 11.2.10.d]. However, no loss of plural stress occurs before this conjunction.) The root is probably gi'de, which as a noun means *amount*. 'ggidah, -ih, -ngidah, -ih, or -ggid is restricted to imperfect aspect verbs.

'usuk taa'ma a'b-a-ggidih 'kaa baris-'s-e
he work do-he,impf-that him teach-you-perf
You teach him in order that he does work.

a'nu 'sara kacli's-a-ggidih saa'bun daa'm-e
I clothes wash-impf-in order that soap bought-I,perf
I bought soap in order to wash clothes.

'isin da'ro bah-t-aa-'na-ggidah ra'kub
you,pl grain bring-you-impf-pl-in order that camel
 gorris-s-aa-'na
search-you-impf-pl
 You(pl) search for a camel in order to bring grain.

'lee n-aa-cu'be-ggidah 'saara 'bah
water we-impf-drink-in order that water bag bring
 Bring the water bag in order that we drink water.

Purpose clauses may also be expressed by the subjunctive as described in 5.2 below.

The suffix -ggidah, -ih, -ngidah, ih, -ggid is also used with its nominalized meaning of *that* or *whether* when the matrix verb is one of cognition such as *eedeg know* and *ilaalis inspect*, or indirect discourse such as *amris order*.

'is gey-'t-a-ggidah a-adi'ge
she got-she-impf-whether I, impf-know
 I know whether she got (it).

taami'ta se'l-a-ggidah ilaa'lis
work finish-he, impf-whether inspect
 Inspect whether he finished the work.

mekl-aa-'na-ggid bix-e-n (Matthew 27:1)
judge-impf-pl-that agree-perf-pl
 They agreed to judge him.

ged-'d-a-ggid amri's-e
go-you-impf-that order-he, perf
 He ordered you to go.

(3) -ffan(ah) (-m fanah Northern) *until*

The noun 'fanah *midst* (toward as a postposition) is used as a conjunction with the meaning *until*. The Northern dialect has a nominalized verb with -m, which in the South and optionally in the North assimilates to the following f. Imperfect aspect is used.

ab-'t-a-m 'fan(ah) (ab-'t-affan(ah) Southern)
do-you, she-impf-nom until, until you do (she does)

t-awcee-'ni-ffanah (Matthew 10:11)
you-go out-pl-until, until you go out

see'x-aa-n-am 'fanah (Coastal)
call-impf-pl-nom until, until they call
 (John 9:18; cf. 9:4-5, and 12:36)

(4) -nnaah *like, as, manner which*

The morpheme -nnaah *like, as, manner which* has the indefinite object e'l'le or (a)'kah before the verb as well as -nnaah at the

end of the sentence. (A proposed derivation for this construction is described under relatives in 2.7.2 above.)

sa'ga (a)'kah (or el'le) t-a-k'me-nnah gaa'l-i
cow thus she-impf-eat-as camel-nom

y-a-k'me
he-impf-eats
As the cow eats, the camel eats.

'usuk (a)'kah (or el'le) yaa'b-a-nnah a'tu 'yaab
he thus speak-impf-as you speak
Speak as (like) he speaks.

5.1.4 wac'di wak'ti, 'way when

The noun *wac'di wak'ti*, 'way time is used to express *when* or *time which* by placing the sentence involved before *wac'di*, etc. as a relative. The Shewa dialect may optionally have an -h before the noun (similar to *gi'de amount*; see 2.8). Perhaps this is also tied to the almost complete restriction that a modifier precede the time noun.

a'nu see'xe wac'di 'oson yerdee'ni
I called which time they ran
They ran when I called.

'is t-inniki'se(-h) 'way 'xan xad-'t-e (Optional -h)
she she-perf, fell which time milk poured-she-perf in Shewa.)
When she fell, she spilled the milk.

Evidence that this is a relative construction is found in the acceptability of the reduced postposition marker *elle* at *which*.

a'nu el'le ge'da wak'ti (or li'co) yaadi'ge
I at which I go time (or day) he knows
He knows the time (or day) at which I go.

5.1.5 Coordination of Sentences

Afar suffixes a nonmid vowel, *i*, *u*, or *a* (in harmony with the preceding vowel [see 11.2.4.c]) to the first word or phrase of the sentence or to the end of the first sentence (see following paragraph) to express connection *and* or contrast *but* with preceding material (similar to the *de* of Greek or the *waw* consecutive of Hebrew). For emphasis, the vowel may be long. If the word already ends in a vowel, a -y is suffixed. Even though the additional vowels cause preceding syllables to open, they are not lengthened (see 11.2.5.b). The following examples are taken from the Gospel of John. Aussa dialect informants reject or hesitate on many forms, indicating that this form of conjunction is not used as freely as in Northern dialects.

'woo 'mara farasiyiin 'ken rub-'t-e-h t-en
those people Pharisees them send-she-perf-part she-had
 'oson-uu 'kaa esser-ee-'ni (John 1:24-25; cf. 6:34)
they-and him ask-perf-they
Those people, the Pharisees had sent them. And they
asked him.

'koo-y yahuu'diita-h y-a'ni 'yoo-y sa'mir bar'ra-h
you-and Jewish-for it-is me-and Samaritan woman-for
 y-a'ni-k annin'nah 'yoo e'fec it-'t-a (John 4:9)
it-is-if how me give drink say-you-impf
And how do you say, "Give me a drink," if it is that
you are a Jew and I am a Samaritan woman?

'wohim 'fana-t-a dar'sa 'kaa-t daacin-'t-e
that among-on-and disciples him-by ask-she-perf
And meanwhile, the disciples asked him.
 (John 4:31)

a'nu-y 'wadu si'naam-ak 'm-oggo'l-a 'ah-ay 'isin
I-but witness people-from neg-receive-impf this-but you
 xatt-in-t-aa-'na-ggidah ad'xe-h an (John 5:34)
save-pass-you-impf-pl-that I,say-part I,am
But I do not receive evidence from people, but this I
am saying that you be saved.

'kaadu-y 'kaa y-a-bbi'dee-n-im fad-e-n
also-and him they-impf-seize-pl-nom want-perf-pl
And also, they wanted to seize him.
 (John 10:39; cf. 40)

. . .am-bal'lay-u-k 'ged-a-k 'm-ana-nn-a
pass-see-impf-part go-impf-part neg-be-perf-he

'wokke-k-i. . . (John 11:54)
there-from-but

He was not going openly. . . .But from there. . .

The following example from the Shewa dialect uses *y* but for contrast, with rising tone on *y*.

'keen-ih dex's-aa-n-am fad-a-n 'isi'n-iy. . .
them-for call-impf-pl-nom want-impf-pl you-but
They want to call them (master). But you. . .
 (Matthew 23:7-8)

The suffixed nonmid vowel (*i*, *u*, or *a* in harmony with its preceding vowel) may also be added to the end of a sentence (including the kinni *is* deleted nominal sentences) as a coordinating conjunction, connecting the material with its following sentence. Vowel-final sentences take one of the following forms: -*y*, -*yV*, -*k*, -*kV*, -*h*, -*hV*, -*hVyV*, -*hVkv* and, but, however.

Some informants reject the two-syllable forms, indicating dialect restrictions on which forms are acceptable. The addition of these conjunctions does not cause the expected lengthening of a preceding aspect vowel. The variant -h is often found at the end of finite verbs in a series. It differs from the *as* participle which has penultimate stress (see 5.5.3). The form is the same as the -h in the perfect participle, but there is no requirement for identical auxiliaries (see 5.5.1). The -h conjunction is not restricted to short, simple sentences as is sentence-final aspiration (see 11.2.16.e).

a'nu 'ginni 'ma-y-yu-yu 'inni 'abba a-yna'be
I demon neg-have-I-but my father I,impf-honor
I do not have a demon, but I honor my father.
 (John 8:49)

a'nu 'inni nab'na 'ma-gonni's-a-ya yi nab'na
I my glory neg-look for-impf-but my glory
 gonnis-'s-a-m t-an (John 8:50)
look for-she-impf-nom she(it)-is
I do not look for my own glory, but there is one who
looks for my glory.

'usuk a'la y-idiggi'le-h na'nu 'xan nak'n-e
he camel he-perf,milked-conj we milk drank-perf
He milked the camel, and we drank the milk.

magaa'la 'ged-d-a in-'t-e-hi si'naam-ak
city go-compd-impf say-she-perf-and people-to
 in-'t-e-m 'l-e (John 4:28)
say-she-perf-nom has-she
she went to the city and said to the people

addun'ya 'mara akk-inni-'too-nu-y-u addun'ya 'sin
world people become-had-you-pl-if-but world you
 ak'xin-u-k t-en (John 15:19)
love-impf-part it-would
If you were people of the world, the world would love you.

nab-uw'wa 'kaadu rab-'t-e-hiki a'tu 'iyya 'is
prophet-pl also die-fem-perf-and you who yourself
 ab-'t-a (John 8:53)
make-you-impf
The prophets also have died, and who do you make yourself?

il'li 'kay a'nay y-ab'be-hiyi 'isih ikoy'ta-h 'l-e
sheep his voice he-hears-and his gift-for has-he
 il'li-h migaac-iyo'wa-l see'x-a (John 10:3)
sheep-to name-pl-by call-he,impf
The sheep hear his voice, and he calls the names of
the sheep which he has for his own.

'yo-k 'duma t-eme'e'te-m in'kih garooc-it'te 'kee
me-before she-came-nom all thief-pl and

umeen-it'te-k t-e'nee-m-i-hi il'li 'ken 'm-abb-in'n-a
evil-pl-from she-was-nom-is-and sheep them neg-hear-perf-he
All who came before me were thieves and evildoers,
but the sheep did not hear them.
 (see in'te-hi John 4:28)

A strong contrast between sentences (usually with a negative in one) is introduced in Afar by im'may(a), -'ikkalah, 'ikkah or ikkalaa'na (or i'kal Shewa) *however* standing at the end of the first sentence (which may be a nominal sentence). The initial *i* usually assimilates to a preceding vowel but may be separated by an *h* (see 11.2.16.d). It is also used to translate *however* at the beginning of a sentence by attaching it to 'hinna or 'takkay when a contrast is pointed out with a preceding sentence. (See T 7.)

dam'bi 'l-u-k 'sug-a-k 'm-ana-nno-n
sin had-impf-part have-impf-part neg-is-perf-pl

'h-inna-m'maya 'away 'isinni dam'bi-h 'tu-t
neg-is-however now their sin-for nothing-on

'taaga 'm-alo-n (John 15:22)
excuse neg-have-they

They would not have had sin; however, now they do not have an excuse in anything for their sin.

'yalla in'kinnah t-ub'le-m 'ma-t-an im'maya
God ever she-saw-nom neg-she-is however

ab'ba-h a'llil-it. . . (John 1:18)
father-gen chest-in

There is no one who has ever seen God; however, in the father's chest . . .

'anu 'kaa aa'dig-u-k 'ma-sug-iy-'yo 'h-inna-m'may
I him know-impf-part neg-had-perf-I neg-is-however

isra'yil-ih . . . (John 1:31)
Israel-for

I had not known him; however, for Israel . . .

'ifu 'fan 'ma-y-amaa'ta 'h-inna-m'maya . . .
light to neg-he-come neg-is-however

He does not come to the light. However, . . .
 (John 3:21)

addun'ya-h 'ma-daacim-(am)'maya 'keen-ih daaci'm-a
world-for neg-pray-however them-for pray-I,impf
I do not pray for the world; however, I pray for them.
 (John 17:9)

ra'b-e-y-yo-'kal in'ki-nnah 'koo 'm-angadda (Mat. 26:33)
die-inf-fut-I-but all-as you neg-deny, I
I will die but I will never deny you.

'woo ka'bu-l ay'ro-kkah 'a ka'bu-l 'mi-yan
that region-in sun-however this region-in neg-is
There is sun in that area but not this area.

't-akk-ay 'immay
it-become-juss however
even so, however (as a contrast with a preceding sentence)

ma'xadu-kkalah macaa'ne 'hinn-a (Title Matthew 10:34)
sword-however peace not-it is
It is war, not peace.

saddu'ka-b barit'to-k 'ikkalah maa'co-l lee'mo
Sadducees-gen teaching-about however food-gen yeast

ak'k-e way-'t-e-m xubbu's-e-n (Matthew 16:12)
become-inf lack-it-perf-nom note-perf-pl
They noted that it was about the Sadducees and not
about edible yeast.

'ab-a-kka'lah di'rab yab-t-ee-'ni-h
do-impera,pl-however lie speak-you-perf-pl-perf part

'ma-diibit-in-a (Matthew 5:33)
neg-swear-impera-pl
Do (it); however, don't swear speaking lies.

'to-nnah a'b-e-(h-i)mmy ba'y-e
this-like do-I,perf-(h-)however lose-perf, I
I did like this, but I was lost.

roo'xi 'bixa-t ya'n-immay xadoy'ta taan'-t-e
spirit preparation-in is-but flesh weak-she-perf
The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.
 (Matthew 26:41 and see I John 2:17)

5.1.6 Combination of Sentences with Identical Subjects

Two sentences with identical subjects may be combined by deleting all identical elements (except the verb and its auxiliary as noted below) from the second sentence. This combining of sentences does not cause the loss of sentence-final aspiration on vowels (see 11.2.16.e). (Since there is no conjunction and the process is restricted to sentences with identical and therefore understood elements, it is derived as a deletion rather than from the category conjunctive; see T 55 and 6.4.7 below.)

'beera 'isin ar'de-t-t-on dig're-t-t-on
tomorrow you run-fut-you-pl play-fut-you-pl
Tomorrow you will run and play.

'usuk moo'tar-at 'ged-u 'w-aa-h y-a-maat-u 'w-aa
he car-by go-subj about-impf-asp he-come-subj about-impf
He is about to go and come by car.

'is ki'tab t-akri'ye-h t-aktu'beh t-an
she book she-reads-asp she-writes she-is
She is reading and writing a book.

When the compound verb auxiliaries *edx* or *hay* are part of the verb, all but the last verb's auxiliary may also be deleted. (This does not work for other auxiliaries such as future *le* or immediate *way*.)

'yi xado-y'ta u'kum-mu 'yi ca'bala a'cub-bu 'h-aa
my flesh-part eat-compd my blood drink-compd put-he,impf

'num-u 'yo-t waa'r-a (John 6:56; cf. 54 and 40)
man-and me-by lives-he,impf
A man who eats my flesh and drinks my blood lives in me.

(For *Aussa* dialect *a'kum-ma* and *a'cub-ba* are preferred.)

5.1.7 Coordination of Noun Phrases

The coordinating conjunction for noun phrases is *'kee* *and*. *'kee* is not used as the *and* in English to coordinate verbs or sentences (unless nominalized or with conditional suffixes), so the above conjunctives or following participles, or no connective at all, are found when these categories are conjoined in translated material (see John 1:1, 10-11, 14 with no connectives).

In a series, the conjunction *-y* takes every second position in Eritrean dialects and optionally in the South. Only the last noun takes case, postpositions, or vocative markers; the earlier nouns are all in the basic form. When the coordinated nouns are subjects, both become accusative and take feminine agreement unless the last one is modified by a sentence (relative or genitive). (See 6.4.4.)

'yoo 'kee 'ku 'fan-at ma'xa t-an (John 2:4)
me,acc and you,gen midst-in what it-is
What do you and I have to do with each other?

yac'gub 'kee 'yuusuf-uy sim'can 'kee 'yuuda*, ** (Matthew 13:55)
James and Joseph-and Simon and Judas

l'maan aall-it-'t-oo-n-yu 'kee bolo'le wee-nni-'t-oo-n-uy
faith have-had-you-impf-pl-if and doubt lack-had-you-pl-if
if you have faith and do not doubt
 (Matthew 20:21)

* ('*kee* preferred in South)

** (*-y* in the South has high tone.)

mu'sa-c ca'da 'kee nab-uw'wa-b bar's-i 'tu
Moses-gen law and prophet-pl-gen teaching-nom thing

'ma-duu'd-a (Matthew 5:17)

neg-able-impf

Moses' law and the prophets' teaching achieve nothing.

inti-i'ta aal'l-e 'w-aa 'mara 'kee i'b-i a'kak
eye-pl have-inf lack-impf people and foot-nom source

angay'y-e 'w-aa ma'r-i 'kaa-ffan y-emeetee-'ni
move-inf lack-impf people-nom him-to they-came-pl

*Blind people and people whose feet lacked movement
 came to him.*

(Matthew 21:14; cf. 21:9)

ax'med 'kee 'adan t-emme'te

Ahmed and Adan fem-came

labaa'tanna 'kee nam'maya

twenty and two, twenty-two

'usuk da'car 'kee buc're(-l) yer'de

he river and field(-on) ran

'mu-tuk 'kee xa'da es'gel-la 'hee (John 19:39)

ointment and wood mix-compd he did

He mixed ointment and wood (myrrh).

The above coordinations may be considered to be two sentences coordinated by 'kee *and*, in which identical elements have been deleted (see T 19).

When the joined noun phrases are a contrast such as a negative and positive contrast, the usual English translation is *whether*.

'usuk y-amaa-te-m 'kee amaa'te 'w-aa-m 'm-aadi'ga

he he-come-nom and come neg-impf-nom neg-I, know

I don't know whether he comes or not.

de'ri-m 'kee ad-de'r-e 'waa-m i'llaalis

long-nom and reg-long-inf neg-nom see, impera

See whether he is long or not.

sel-'t-e-m se'l-e way-'t-e-m ab'be-t-to

finish-she-perf-nom finish-inf neg-she-perf-nom hear-fut-you

You will hear whether she finished or not.

'yalla-k t-a'ni-m 'kee in'ni amo-k yaa'b-a-m

God-from it-is-nom and my head-from speak-I, impf-nom

aadi'g-e-l-e (John 7:17)

know-inf-fut-he

He will know whether it is from God, or whether I

speak from my head.

5.2 Subjunctive In Order to Conjunction

The use of subjunctive plus an -h (h optional in Eritrea) with *in order to* purpose clauses is another form of sentence conjunction (see T 5). The difference between these forms and the use of subjunctive in sentence complementation discussed above in chapter three is that identity restrictions for verbs with sentence complements do not exist in this *in order to* subjunctive construction (nor in the following jussive *after* construction). For example, duud *be able* or eegeg *know how* constructions are ungrammatical if the sentences have different subjects.

*(a'nu) a'tu ta'maat-u duu'da *I am able you come-subj
 *('is) 'usuk daf'fey-u t-e-ede'ge
 she he sit-subj she-perf-knew
 *She knew how he to sit.

In order to constructions with the subjunctive may have different subjects in each sentence or may have the same (see the last examples below).

a'nu daf'fey-u(-h) 'usuk soo'la
 I sit-subj(-for) he stands
 He stands in order that I sit.

xa'do y-a-'kam-u(-h) wa'dar us'gud
 meat he-impf-eat-subj(-for) goat slaughter, impera
 Slaughter a goat in order that he eat meat.

'xan 'nak-n-u(-h) sa'ga bah-'t-e
 milk drink-we-subj(-for) cow brought-she-perf
 In order that we drink milk, she brought a cow.

'isin dak-'t-oo-n-u(-h) 'oson ged-aa-'na
 you,pl dig-you-impf-pl-subj(-for) they go-impf-pl
 They go in order that you dig.

aw'ka ka'tay-u(-h) ma'rub baris-'s-e
 girl follow-subj(-for) sheep taught-she-perf
 The girl taught the sheep to follow.

buc're 'xot-u(-h) y-e-mee'te
 field plow-he, subj(-for) he-perf-came
 He came to plow the field.

'is 'kaa-h ga'ray-t-u ged-'d-eh (John 11:20)
 she him-with meet-she-subj go-she-perf
 She went to meet him.

'usuk y-as'gaad-u(-h) ge'd-e
 he he-slaughter-subj(-for) go-he, perf
 He went to slaughter (something).

y-a'duuru-h ge'd-e (Matthew 21:18)
 he-return-for go-he, perf, He went in order to return.

Subjunctive *in order that* constructions are also used with indirect object verbs like *exe give*.

'usuk day'lo y-ak'k-oo-n-u dic'to 'keeni-h
he children they-become-impf-pl-subj power them-to
 y-e'xe (John 1:12)
he-gave
He have them power to become children.

a'nu ab'ba y-ak'ray-u-h ki'tab 'urru-h e'xe
I father he-read-subj-for book children-to I gave
I gave the children a book that the father read.

The identity restriction for subjunctive transitive sentence complementation, such as with *xab permit*, that the matrix object be identical to the embedded subject, which is deleted, is also not held with *in order to* subjunctives.

'usuk 'cali taa'mit-u(-h) 'adan xa'b-e
he Ali work-subj Adan left-he,perf
**He permitted Adan that Ali work.*

This sentence can only be interpreted as *in order to*: *He let go of Adan in order that Ali work.*

'is na'nu n-a-'maat-u(-h) 'koo xab-'t-a
she we we-impf-come-subj you leave-she-impf
**She permitted you that we come. (But good as,*
She left you in order that we come.)

5.3 Subjunctive or -i Whether and Because Subjunctive

The subjunctive or -i infinitive (see T 4b) is also used to join sentences with the meaning of *whether*. In *whether or not* contrasts, a conjunction may be added after the first sentence. Also in some cases subjunctive is used for *because*. The use of *ak'ke become* is common in either the subordinate or matrix sentence, giving the meaning *either--or*.

a'nu 'beera 'ged-i-y 'beexa 'ged-i
I tomorrow go-inf-conj day after tomorrow go-inf
 ak'ke-y-yo
become-fut-I
I will be going either tomorrow or the next day.

er'miyas 'akk-i-y 'kaa ak'k-e way-'t-e-k (Mat. 16:14)
Jeremiah become-inf-conj him become-inf lack-fem-perf-if
if he is either Jeremiah or one who is not him

'is t-a'maat-u ab'le-t-to
she she-come-subj see-fut-you
You will see whether she will come.

a'cusb-u acus'b-e 'way-u 'keen-ih 'ma-waxarri'y-a
I, new-subj new-inf neg-I, subj them-for neg-shy-impf
Whether I am new or not, I shall not be shy with them.
 (Parker, 1974b: 42)

'num kin'ni-m y-aa'dag-u . . . ku'd-a (John 10:13)
man is-nom he-know-subj flee-he, impf
Because he knows he is a man, he flees.

5.4 Jussive After, Since Conjunction

The jussive -ay is used for conjunction meaning *immediately after, since*, similar to the use of subjunctive -u for *in order to* (see T 4a). The use of jussive for *permit* sentence complementation with the matrix verb *edx say*, as noted above, requires identity of matrix object and embedded subject, which is deleted. The use of jussive as a conjunctive with the meaning *immediately after, since*, however, has no identity requirements and no restrictions to specific verbs. The jussive (as the subjunctive) has penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a), imperfect stem (see T 30), and changing of stem vowels to a in the prefixing verb class (see 12.1.3). It should also be noted that regular conjunctions as described above are also used for comparable semantic categories: -k 'sa(rra) *after* and -ggidah *in order to* (see 5.1).

'a taa'ma 'ab-t-ay 'cari-h ge'de-t-to
this work do-you-juss home-to go-will-you
After doing this work, you will go home.

(a'nu) 'koo t-a-a'gar-ay 'kaa u-b'le
(I) you she-impf-hit-juss him I,perf-saw
I saw him since she hit you.

'is t-a-'maat-ay a'kah 'ko-h y-e-'xe
she she-impf-come-juss something you-to he-perf-gave
After she came, he gave something to you.

'kaa y-a-b'loo-n-ay 'isin t-e-meetee-'ni
him they-impf-see-pl-juss you you-perf-came-pl
You(pl) came since they saw him.

5.5 Participles

5.5.1 Perfect Participle, -h

The perfect participle is marked by a final -h on the perfect verb stem (see T 3). (This -h has semantic value and is therefore derived differently than sentence-final aspiration on stressed vowels; see 11.2.16.) The perfect participle joins two sentences with identical auxiliaries which represent consecutive time by

having the tense of the first in the perfect plus the participle -h. Aspect, mood, conjunction, and question, all being part of the auxiliary, are replaced by the perfect participle (see PS 4). The subjects of the two sentences must be identical, with the second subject obligatorily deleting (see Hayward 1976:141). This follows with the person and number agreement markers being part of the auxiliary (see T 40). Third person plural passivizer subjects (see 7.5.4) may be used in perfect participles in which the object (underlying subject) is identical to the following sentence subject. This requires ordering the participle rule (T 3) before third person plural agreement rule for passive (T 23). The identity in *your eyes* and *your ears* explains Matthew 13:16.

a'nu ge'd-e-h a-k'me-y-yo
I go-perf-part imperf-eat-fut-I
Having gone, I will eat.

dif-ee-'ni-h kummaa't-a-m 'kaa-h
throw-perf-pl-part submersed-he-nom him-for

'aysu-k t-en (Matthew 18:6)
best-part it-be
It would be best for him that having thrown him, he drown.

inti-i'ta 'siin-ik t-ub'le-h ayti-i'ta 'siin-ik
eye-pl you-gen you-saw,perf-part ear-pl you-gen

t-aab'bee-m-ih taa'ga-h 'ruffa 'le 'mara
you-hear-nom-for reason-for joy have people

kinni-t-o-n (Matthew 13:16)
are-you-pres-pl
Because your eyes see and your ears hear, you are a people with joy.

'wo-kke-l 'yaasus ac'ra-t y-ibbidee-'ni-h
that-place-at Jesus secret-in they-seize,perf-pl-part

'kaa ci'd-aa-na-m mals-e-n (Matthew 26:4)
him kill-impf-pl-nom consult-perf-pl
At that place they consulted about arresting Jesus in secret and killing him.
(loss of underlying conjunction)

5.5.2 Imperfect Participle, -uk, -ak

The imperfect participle (see T 3) joins two sentences which are simultaneous (as compared to the perfect participle in which the sentences are consecutive). The imperfect participle is an infinitive with penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a), a suffixed -u for prefixing verbs and modifiers, and -a for suffixing verbs, plus a final -k. Stem vowels become a in the prefixing verb class (see 12.1.3). (This participle, except for loss of person and

number, resembles the subjunctive with its final -u, penultimate stress, and stem vowels becoming a in the prefixing verb class.)

'is a-'kam-uk yaa'be-le
she impf-eat-impf,part talk-fut,she
She will talk while eating.

'oson a-nna'kas-uk a'kat y-u-blee-'ni
they impf-stumble-impf,part rope they-perf-saw-pl
While stumbling, they saw the rope.

'is a-k'ray-uk 'isin t-o-obbee-'ni
she impf-read-impf,part you you-perf-hear-pl
While she was reading, you heard.

Imperfect Participle on Modifying Verbs:

'usuk 'der-uk y-um-mul'le
he far-impf,part he-pass-see
He being far away was seen.

na'nu 'igm-uk 'sin n-inci'be
we ignorant-impf,part you we-hated
Being ignorant, we hated you.

Note should be made of the variation in that the suffixing verb class has an -a instead of -u marker in the imperfect participle. (This may be interpreted as an assimilation of the -u to an -a similar to the imperfect -'aa in subjunctive; if for example, 'ab-a-u-k goes to 'ab-a-a-k [see 11.2.5.a] and finally to 'ab-a-k *doing* [see 11.2.5.b].) The prefixing class has the imperfect -a before instead of after the stem and therefore retains the -u with no assimilation to -a, as seen in the above examples (see 12.1.1). The subjunctive, which also has a suffixed -'aa, does not have this -u. a variation because of the 'aa deleting in the singular (see 12.1.20). This same process is found in the variation between the word-final -i infinitive being the same in both verb classes while changing to -a in the suffixing verb class when the -h participle is added for *as, while* forms, as described in 5.5.3.

kimmi'ro 'haad-a-k seex-'t-a
bird fly-impf-part call-she-impf
The bird calls while flying.

'num 'sool-a-k taami't-e
man stand-impf-part work-perf,he
The man worked while standing.

na'nu ba'rit-a-k 'usuk bar'se-le
we learn-impf-part he teach-fut,he
While we are learning, he will teach.

5.5.3 -ih, -ah as, while

The -i infinitive plus -h participle is used for *as, while* conjunction of sentences when the time of the two sentences is the same (see T 3). The suffixed vowel is -i in the prefixing and modifier verb class and -a in the suffixing verb class. (A derivation of -i the same as the -u of imperfect participles above allows for generalization in these two forms by having the vowels controlled by low vowel assimilation; see 11.2.5.a and 12.1.20.) Stem vowels in the prefixing verb class are a (see 12.1.3). The penultimate stress of *as* (see 11.2.1.a) is the only difference between *as* and imperfect indicative forms in the suffixing class --'ab-a-h *as I do*, a'b-a-h *I do* (see 11.2.16.e for sentence-final aspiration for stressed vowels).

a'nu a-k'raay-i-h 'oson taamit-ee-ni
I impf-read-as-part they work-perf-pl
As I read, they worked.

'xasan 'xot-a-h 'kay cam'mi daxri's-a
Hasan plows-as-part his uncle guards-impf
As Hasan plows, his uncle guards.

'oson a-'maat-i-h 'isin inaaci'te-t-to-n
they impf-come-as-part you lie down-fut-you-pl
Will they come, you will lie down.

i'na gacam'mo a'lays-a-h daffey-'t-e
mother bread bake-as-part sat-she-perf
As mother baked bread, she sat.

As, While on Modifying Verbs:

cay'so ka'fin-ih ta'b-e
grass dry-while cross-he, I
I (or he) crossed while the grass was dry.

'usuk i'gim-ih bar's-e
he ignorant-while taught-he, perf
He taught while being ignorant.

5.5.4 'luk or 'lih having, with

The two participles of the irregular verb 'le *has* are used with the special meaning (*together*) *with, having* (see T 21). The imperfect participle 'luk is favored, but the *as* participle 'lih is equally acceptable. When preceded by a stressed vowel-final noun or pronoun, the initial l is geminated in Eritrea the same as in a genitive construction. In the Shewa dialect and usually in Wollo, the l is always geminate (note the geminate -'e infinitive aal'le), so a preceding consonant-final noun will have an epenthetic connecting vowel. This is also normal for other dialects with pronouns. The construction is used with 'siita,

'sitta, 'hitta (or 'titta, 'itta Northern) *togetherness* when the subject is plural or compound, for forms with the meaning *being together*. (See Gallagher (1976) for extensive lists of 'hitta with various postpositions.) When luk is used as a perfect tense followed by an auxiliary sug or en *having had*, there is no gemination; see 7.2.10.

'kaa-l 'l-uk n-eme'e'te (or better, 'kaa 'lluk; see 4.1)
him-gem hav-ing we-came
We came with him.

'ah 'siini-l 'l-uk yaa'b-e (see John 16:1,4)
this you,pl-gem hav-ing spoke-he,I,perf
He (OR I) spoke this with you.

'ken 'l-ih 'sool-ak su'g-e (John 18:5)
them hav-ing stand-ing was-he,perf
He was standing with them.
 (to 'kel 'lih; ken-i-llih in Shewa)

'oson 'sitta 'l-uk digr-aa-'na (or 'hitta)
they togetherness hav-ing play-impf-pl
They play together.

'xasan 'kee si'him 'siita-l 'l-ih ged-'d-e
Hasan and Sihim togetherness-gem have-as go-fem-perf
Hasan and Sihim went together.

na'nu 'siita-l l-uk daf'fe-n-no
we togetherness-gem hav-ing sit-fut-we
We will sit together.

'hitta-l 'l-uk ged-ee-'ni (John 12:22)
togetherness-gem hav-ing go-perf-pl
They went together.

aw'ka-l 'l-uk 'yab-ba iy-'y-e (John 18:16)
girl-gem hav-ing speak-compound say-he-perf
He spoke with the girl.

'iba ka'fan-at a'daw-uh 'l-uk 'nef ban'diil-it
feet grave cloth-by tying-for hav-ing face scarf-with
 xi'bim-ih 'l-uk y-ew'ce (John 11:44)
wrapping-for hav-ing he-came out
He came out having his feet tied by the grave cloth
and his face wrapped by a scarf.

5.6 Conditionals

5.6.1 Potential Conditionals

Conditional constructions may be divided into two types,

potential and nonpotential (or contrary to fact). Aspect is lost on all types except the special tekkek form of potential conditions (see T 2).

5.6.1.1 Potential Conditionals with -k('i)

The simplest and most common conditional used with potential sentences is marked with a final -k('i) suffixed to the perfect stem of the verb. The perfect stem, however, has no semantic value and may be translated by any tense. The additional vowel does not cause the preceding aspect syllable to remain long (see 11.2.5.b).

a'tu ra'kub t-u-b'le-k('i) ma'xa ba'he way-'t-a-â
you camel you-perf-see-if why bring not-you-impf-?
If you saw (see, will see) the camel, why are you
not bringing it?
 (tub'lek or tuble'ki)

'is t-e-mee'te-k('i) 'oson raa'ce-lo-n
she she-perf-come-if they remain-fut, they-pl
If she comes (come, will come), they will remain (away).

sa'ga rab-'t-e-k('i) 'tet xa'do 'm-akm-in
cow die-she-perf-if her meat neg-eat-impera
If a cow dies (died, will die), don't eat her meat.

'gita bays-ee-'ni-k('i) cay'so-l diin-ee-'ni
road lost-perf, they-pl-if grass-on slept-perf-pl
If they lost the road, they slept on the grass.

An idiom meaning *however, as for (him) or if it is pertaining to* has the noun referred to plus the postposition -h followed by *tu anything* and the verb *gax-t-e-'ki(-y) proceed-fem-perf-if-and*.

seeha'da-yti 'baða ku'rustos-uh 'tu gax-t-e-k
man-partic son Christ-for anything proceed-fem-perf-cond
 a'mo ed'de inaaci's-a el'le silaali's-a a'rax 'ma-li
head on lie-impf in rest-impf, he place neg-has he
However, as for the son of man, Christ, he has no place
on which to lie his head in which to rest.
 (Matthew 8:20, Ethiopian Bible Society)

A similar use of the conditional with the feminine of the verb *ekke become* is used without the subject *tu*. (See also 5.6.1.3 below.)

'woo ma'rüb t-ekke-'ki-y ðaa'm-e-y-yo
that sheep she-become-if-and buy-inf-fut-I
If it is pertaining to that sheep, I'll buy (it).

An example of -'ki on a present perfect instead of the normal perfect was found, but seems to be rare.

bey-'t-e-h t-an-i-'ki (John 20:15)
take-you-perf-part you-have-pres-if
if you have taken

5.6.1.2 Potential Conditionals with -h a'nih

According to Parker (1973, 1974a, b), the Northern dialect has an alternate marker for potential conditionals besides the general -k('i). An -h plus a'nih is added to the regular perfect aspect verb. (The form was not observed elsewhere.)

ab-'t-ee-ni-h a'nih 'ma-ab-a
do-you-perf-pl-part if neg-do-I,impf
If you(pl) do (it), I won't.

a'b-e 'wee-h a'nih ab-'t-a (see Parker 1974a, 19)
do-inf not-part if do-you-impf
If I didn't do (it) you will.

5.6.1.3 Potential with Aspect, tek'kek

A special conditional construction is found with the verb *ekke* *become* with perfect aspect in the feminine singular (the feminine singular is normal for unspecified *something* constructions). The -k('i) conditional marker is suffixed to this matrix verb, giving t-ekke-k('i) *it-became-if*. The construction resembles that discussed in chapter three above on sentence complements, in that the object of *tekkek if it become* is the logical subject of the embedded verb when the nominative subject is deleted.

('usuk) y-a-k'me 'kaa t-e-k'ke-k raa'ce-y-yo
(he) he-impf-eat him it-perf-become-if stay-fut-I
If he is eating, I'll stay away.

('is) inaacit-'t-e 'tet t-e-k'ke-k xubbus-'s-e
(she) sleep-she-perf her it-perf-become-if guard-you-perf
If she slept, you guarded.

It will be noted, however, that the verb embedded in the *tek'kek* conditional is finite, with no aspect, person, or number deletions which were found in sentence complements. The *tek'kek* conditional may be considered a finite variant of the -k *if* conditional, which only takes the perfect aspect in form but has no semantic aspect. The variation between -k with no aspect and *tek'kek* with aspect is illustrated below.

('usuk) daf'f-a 'kaa tek'kek a'nu soo'll-ey-yo
(he) sit-he,impf him if I stand-will-I
If he sits, I will stand. (or daf'f-e perf, If he sat...)

'usuk daf'fee-l-e 'kaa tek'kek a'nu soo'l-ey-yo
he sit-future-he him if I stand-will-I
If he will sit, I will stand.

All of the above (and any other) tenses which are formally specified with the tekkek conditional are not distinguished in the -k conditional.

'usuk daf'f-e-k a'nu soo'l-ey-yo
he sit-perfect-if I stand-will-I
If he sat (sits, will sit), I will stand.

As illustrated in the above examples, the potential conditionals k('i) and tek'kek allow any tense in the second clause. This distinguishes them from nonpotential contrary-to-fact conditionals described below, which require the pluperfect -k en tense in the second clause.

5.6.2 Nonpotential Conditionals

Nonpotential or contrary-to-fact conditionals are found in two forms. Both forms require the *would have* construction in the second sentence (apodosis) similar to English. In Afar *would have* is the imperfect participle (as described above in 5.5.2 with loss of person and number, recessive stress, a stem vowels in prefixing verbs, suffixed -u assimilating to -a for suffixing verbs, and the suffix -k) plus the perfect stem of the finite form of *en be*. Hayward (1976:159) notes a use of *raaḍ* (or *ḍaad*) *intend* for *would*. The first sentence (protasis) may have two forms, as follows.

5.6.2.1 Nonpotential Conditionals with Nominalized Verb Plus -l

The first option is a nominalized imperfect stem verb with the suffix -Vm plus a final -l (with an epenthetic vowel in harmony with the preceding vowel separating the two consonants [see 11.2.2.b]).

na'nu 'a 'saaku gen-'n-aa-m-a-l bakaa'rit-a-k n-en
we this day go-we-impf-nom-V-if thirst-impf-part we-would
If we had gone today, we would have thirsted, OR
If we would be going, we would be thirsting.

'isin t-a-maa'tee-n-im-il a'nu 'tet 'aabb-u-k
you you-impf-come-pl-nom-if I her hear-impf-part

en
I would be
If you had come, I would have heard her, OR
If you would be coming, I would be hearing her.

'usuk 'duma ra'b-aa-m-a-l 'kaa ay'nab-u-k
he before die-impf-nom-V-if him honor-impf-part

yenen

they would be

If he had died before, they would have honored him.

'a 'num al'fi 'sana-t bar-t-aa-m-a-l 'tu
this man 1,000 year-for learn-impf-nom-V-if nothing

aa'dig-u-k m'ananna
know-impf-part neg-would

If this man would learn 1,000 years, he would know nothing.

In the Shewa (Southern) dialect the restriction of the apodosis to imperfect participle is not strictly held for nonpotential conditions. The postposition after the nominalized imperfect condition may also be *h* instead of *l*.

'siin-ih war's-aa-m-ah 'yoo 'ma-t-aamina-n (Luke 22:67)
you-to tell-impf-nom-had me neg-you-believe-pl
Had I told you (even if I told you), you wouldn't believe me.

aktu'bee-m-ih 'ma-t-akriye-n
write-nom-had neg-you-read-pl
Had I written, you wouldn't read.

in'kih 'koo y'anged'dee-m-ih a'nu in'ki-nnah 'koo
all you they-deny-nom-had I all-as you

'ma-anged'da (Matthew 26:33)
neg-I, deny
Though everyone deny you, I will never deny you.

5.6.2.2 Nonpotential Conditionals with -innay

The other possibility for contrary-to-fact conditionals is with the defective pluperfect auxiliary -'inna *had* (-'in'ni for first and second person) plus person markers, present -'oo (which shortens in closed syllables [see 11.2.5.b] and deletes in third person singular, but not plural which has -'oo and not -a [see 12.1.8]), the plural -nu, and the conditional marker -y. An epenthetic *y* separates the *i-o* sequence in first person singular (see 12.1.9). The auxiliary is suffixed to the infinitive stem. The form has penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a,b) with present 'o (as well as plural 'nu) losing stress before -y. All stem vowels in the prefixing verb class are *a* (see 12.1.3). With nominal sentences the verb *ekke becomes* is used before -innay.

cadaa'ga-l ged-in'n-in-o-y 'rob 'nee 'gey-a-k
market-to go-had-we-pres-if rain us got-impf-part

y-en

it-would

If we had gone to market, rain would have gotten us.

ab'ba aada'g-inn-a-y ba'd-i aa'daag-u-k y-en
father know-had-pres-if son-nom know-impf-part he-would
If the father had known, the son would have known.

ab'ba aad'g-inn-a-y ba'd-i aa'daag-u-k y-en
 father know-had-pres-if son-nom know-impf-part he-would
 If the father had known, the son would have known.

'isin dal-inn-i't-oo-nu-y na'nu 'xan 'siini-h
 you bear-had-you-pres-pl-if we milk you-to

a'xay-u-k n-en
 give-impf-part we-would
 If you had (have, will have) borne children, we would
 have given (give) you milk.

'usuk um'ma 'num ak'k-inna-y 'yoo 'xat-a-k
 he bad man be-had-if me help-impf-part

'm-anann-a
 neg-would-he
 Had he been a bad man, he would not have helped me.

A suppletive form in which the *k* of *kiyo* assimilates to the first and second person markers is preferred in the Aussa dialects. (The same kind of suppletion is found with *-inn* in the perfect negative and in the future tense with the auxiliary, *le*; see 12.1.15.) The *-inna* and *-kiyo* conjugations for *if I had done* are as follows:

	with <i>-inniyo</i>	with <i>-kiyo</i>
<i>I</i>	ab-in'ni-yo-y	a'b-iyy-o-y
<i>you</i>	ab-in'ni-t-o-y	a'b-itt-o-y
<i>he, she</i>	a'b-inn-a-y	a'b-inn-a-y
<i>we</i>	ab-in'ni-n-o-y	a'b-inn-o-y
<i>you</i>	ab-inni-'t-oo-nu-y	ab-it't-oo-nu-y
<i>they</i>	ab-in'n-oo-nu-y	ab-in'n-oo-nu-y

5.7 Series of Conjunctives

The above conjunctives (with the exception of *tek'kek* conditionals which must be next-to-final in a series) may be strung together in an infinite combination with no apparent restrictions on order. When such a series includes a nonpotential condition, the final verb must be in the imperfect participle (*-k* plus the perfect of *en would be*).

'adan da'ro 'daam-u ge'dek 'sarra a'maat-uk
 Adana grain buy-subj go after come-impf,part

y-aku'me-em-i-l 'gita bay's-e-h anna'kas-uk
 he-eat-nom-V-if road lose-he,perf-part fall-impf,part

yen('i)
 he would

If Adana had eaten while coming after going to buy grain,
 having lost the road, he would have fallen.

Other Connectors

Some constructions not discussed above which are used to translate conjunctions are noted below:

- (1) *because* (a) nominalized verb -m plus -ih plus sabba'tah or taa'gah;
 (b) second sentence begins with ma'xay in'te-k (plural intee'ni-k or -'ki) *if you ask "why?"*;
 (c) second sentence begins with ta'maha-k ge'daa'mah *this-from going*;
- (2) *or* noun phrase, 'wo-nna 'h-inna-y *and if not like that*;
- (3) *be that as it may* noun phrase plus -h 'tu gax-'t-e-k.

CHAPTER 6
OTHER CONSTRUCTION TYPES
(QUOTATIONS, NEGATION, QUESTIONS, DELETIONS, MOVEMENTS)

6.1 Quotations (Direct Speech)

A quotation in Afar is found in the normal sentence form with no change except a mid to low glide on the first syllable of the final phrase and low pitch on all succeeding syllables (see Janet van Riel, forthcoming). The matrix sentence has the verb *edx* (or its variant root *in*) *say*, usually in the simple indicative. The person addressed is indicated by the postpositional *-k to* (*-k in* other constructions means *from*). (See T 1.)

a'dan 'amay wa'git 'kaa-k iy'ye
Adan come see him-to he said
Adan said to him, "Come and see."

ataa'le 'aba ed'xe wac'di 'yok xi'ne
work (noun) work (impera) I said when me refused
He refused me when I said, "Get to work."

aami'na 'usuk uk'te-l-e-m aadi'geh in'te
Amina he arise-fut-he-nom I know he said
Amina said, "I know that he will get up."

When another verb such as *gaxis* *answer*, *esser* *ask*, or *seex* *call* introduces a quotation, Afar usually follows the Afro-Asiatic pattern of requiring a *say* verb (*edx*). One of the participles (perfect with *-h*, imperfect with *-uk*, or *as* with *-ih* [see T 3]) or a nominalized *-m* plus postposition *-h* introduces the quotation and the indicative verb closes the quotation. *Say* may optionally precede but must follow even when the other speech word follows.

a'nu gax's-e-h a'tu moo'tar 'bey 'kaak ed'xe
I answer-perf-part you car drive him-to I said
I answered him, saying, "You drive the car."

da'habu 'seex-ak (or 'seex-ah) 'cali yemee'teh in'te
 Dahab called-impf part Ali came she said
 Dahab calling said, "Ali came."

aw'ki iyy'ee-m-i-h 'anke ged'daâ iy'ye-h
 boy said-nom-V-part where are you going he said-part

esse're
 he asked

The boy asked saying, "Where are you going?"

'kaa esse'r-ee-n-im-i-h 'iyya kinni'to iy'ye
 him ask-perf-pl-nom-V-part who are you they said
 Asking him, they said, "Who are you?"

In narration, quotations are often found introduced with the nominalized participle of *edx* (or *in*) *say* with no finite verb following.

'usuk xamaa'ma 'daamak su'ge 'mara-k iy'yee-m-i-h
 he dove sell were people-to say-nom-V-part

'ah 'akke-k 'kalay 'isin 'yi-'abbah 'cari cadaa'ga-
 this here-from take you my father's house market

'cari 'maabina
 house don't do

He saying to the people who were selling doves, "Take this out of here; don't make my father's house a market house."

(John 2:16; see 2:19 and 3:3 which has both a participle and a nominalized postpositional phrase introducing the quotation but no finite verb *gax'se-h iy'ye-em-i-h answer-part say-nom-V-part*, answered saying.)

The *-Vm* nominalized form of *edx* followed by *le has* (both verbs being conjugated) is also a common way to introduce discourse.

iy-'y-ee-n-im l-oo-'nu (John 19:21)
 say-they-perf-pl-nom has-they-pl, They said.

iy-'y-e-m 'l-eh gî't-i yoo-y (John 14:6)
 say-he-perf-nom has-he way-nom me-am
 He said, "I am the way."

si'naama-k in-'t-e-m 'l-eh 'am-a-ya (John 4:28)
 people-to say-she-perf-nom has-she come-pl-and
 She said to the people, "Come and . . ."

Other variations of the *say* verb for introducing a quotation, either alone or when the main verb is some other discourse word, are *'annah iy'ye thus he said* (Southern) before the main verb or *iyye'miî saying* after the main verb. (In the latter case, *say* has a short aspect vowel and a long *iî* suffix with high to falling tone.)

'oson 'annah iyy-ee-'ni-h gaxs-e-n . . .
they thus said-perf-pl-part answer-perf-pl
They answered, saying thus . . .

'usuk see'x-a-h iyy-e-'m-iŋ . . .
he call-he,impf-h say-perf-nom-quote
He calls, saying . . .

'kaa-l gaxs-ee-'ni-h iy-'y-ee-n-i'm-iŋ . . .
him-to answer-perf-pl-part say-they-perf-pl-nom-quote
They answered him, saying . . .
 (Matthew 20:7)

6.2 Negation (Matrix 'ma, Embedded way)

Negation in Afar is indicated by the stressed prefix 'ma- on the matrix verb (see T 38) and the auxiliary way after an embedded verb (see T 18).

soo'l-e 'w-aa-m 'ma-fa'd-a
stand-inf neg-I,impf-nom neg-want-I,impf
I don't want to not stand.

dig'r-e 'way-t-u 'ma-taadi'ga
play-inf neg-you-subj neg-know
You don't know how not to play.

'ma stands unchanged before all consonants. Before vowels, the a of 'ma harmonizes with the next vowel to the right according to the rule of vowel harmony in prefixes (see 11.2.4.b). However, in spite of being a prefix, it never loses its stress by the rule of one stress per word (see 11.2.1.b) and applies in liaison stress reduction as a word (see 11.2.1.c). The assimilated vowels also reduce to one short vowel before a consonant cluster (see 11.2.5.b).

'ma-sool-in'n-a
neg-stand-perf-he,she, he,she didn't stand

'ma-t-akma
neg-you-eat, you are not eating

(stress lost by liaison reduction on final 'a)

'ma-n-aadi'ga
neg-we-know, we don't know

'ma-ugut-'t-a to 'mu-ugut-'t-a *you won't get up*

'ma-esser-in'no to 'me-esser-in'no to 'messenger-in'no
we didn't ask

'ma-ilaali's-a to 'miilaali'sa *I,he won't look for*

'ma-oggol-aa-'n-a to 'mo-oggol-aa-'n-a to 'moggolaa'na
they aren't accepting (it)

'ma-aktab-in to 'maktabin *don't write*

'ma-aadag-in-'no to 'maadagin'no *we didn't know*

'ma-axey-in to 'ma-axe-in (y deletion) to 'maaxeen
(assimilation, to 'maaxen (closed syllable reduction)
don't give)

Negatives are morphologically either imperfect or perfect. Imperfect covers both the imperfect and future tenses of positive verbs. The negative imperfect is the same as the positive imperfect plus the 'ma- prefix, except that in the prefixing verb class the final root vowel is a rather than e, as in the positive imperfect.

ab-'t-a *you, she are doing* (suffixing)

'm-ab-t-a *you, she are not doing, or will not do*

t-akmee-'ni *you(pl) are eating*

'ma-t-akmaa-'na *you(pl) are not eating, or will not eat*

Perfect aspect negatives are formed on an infinitive base plus the clitic auxiliary -inna (inni for first and second person [see 12.1.8]). The infinitive is the base form for the suffixing verb class, but in the prefixing verb class all vowels become a before -inn (see 12.1.3). -inn takes person affixes and the present aspect marker -oo (which shortens in closed syllables [see 11.2.5.b] and deletes in third person singular but not plural, which has -oo and not a [see 12.1.8]) and the plural -nu. An epenthetic y separates the i-o sequence in first person singular (see 12.1.9). Besides the regularly stressed 'ma, the last syllable of the auxiliary is stressed. -inn in first and second persons is usually replaced by a gemination (from kiyo suppletion of the following person marker and epenthetic y in first person singular) in the Aussa dialect the same as in nonpotential conditionals (see 12.1.15 and 5.6.2.2). Optionally, in some dialects there is no -inn in the perfect (see Colby, Parker, Gallagher 1975:11). The full form with the prefixing verb *iggif kill*, the kiyo geminated form with the suffixing verb *kat leave*, and *oobb hear* without inn are as follows:

<i>I</i>	'm-aggaf-inni-'y-o	'ma-kat-iy'y-o	'ma-abb-iy'o
<i>you</i>	'm-aggaf-inni-'t-o	'ma-kat-it't-o	'ma-abb-i'to
<i>he, she</i>	'm-aggaf-in'na	'ma-kat-in'na	'ma-ab'b-o
<i>we</i>	'm-aggaf-inni-'n-o	'ma-kat-in'n-o	'ma-abb-i'no
<i>you</i>	'm-aggaf-inni-t-oo-'nu	'ma-kat-itt-oo-'nu	'ma-abb-iton
<i>they</i>	'm-aggaf-inn-oo-'nu	'ma-kat-inn-oo-'nu	'ma-abbon

Vowel-final stems (after y deletion, see 11.2.3) of the suffixing verb class have the e or a final vowel instead of the i of inn in the perfect conjugation (see 11.2.5.a). The Shewa dialect has i instead of a with *hay* and *way*.

'ma-be-en'no *we did not take*

'ma-daffe-et'to *you did not sit*
 'ma-ge-en'na *we did not get* (cf.
 'ma-gen-'na *we will not go* Aussa)
 'ma-ha-atto-n *you did not put(pl)* ('ma-hi-itto-n Shewa)
 'ma-wa-ay'yo *I did not lack*
 ('ma-wi-iy'yo Aussa and Shewa)

The prefixing vowel-final forms *exe* and *ede*, however, keep the *i*, since *y* deletion for these two verbs results from previous second-syllable syncope (see 11.2.2.a): 'ma-axay-in'na to 'ma-axy-in'na to 'ma-ax-in'na *he, she didn't give*

'ma-ad-in'na (*he*), 'ma-ad-iy'yo *I didn't tie*
 'ma-ax-it'to (*you*), 'ma-ax-inno *we didn't give*

When the verb has one of the nonclitic auxiliaries *sub*, *en* or *way*, the negative is transferred to it instead of prefixed to the main verb (see T 37).

a'kam-uk 'ma-sug-it'to
eating neg-were-you, You were not eating.

da'g-a-h 'ma-an(a)
dig-impf-h neg-progress, I am not digging.

'gin-t-u 'ma-way-'t-a
braid-she-subj neg-about to-she-impf
She is not about to braid.

The negative of the imperfect *an*('i), used in negating the progressive tense (see 7.2.5), should be noted in that the optional final *-i* becomes *'a* in the negative (as does the *'e* in regular prefixing verbs). However, this *i* is retained in second and third person plural before the plural suffix *-na* (see 12.1.18). This is exceptional in that the plural vowel is otherwise predictable as *a* after *a* and *i* after *e*. The imperfect negative final *-a* in this case supercedes the vowel harmony rule.

not present

1st 'ma-an(-a)

2nd -ma-t-an(-'a)

3rd 'mi-y-an(-'a)

(plural)

'ma-n-an(-'a)

'ma-t-ani(i)-n(-'a)

'mi-y-ani(i)-n(-'a)

The clitic auxiliaries, *-inn* and *-le*, do not take the negative when clitics, although when they are matrix verbs they have independent negative forms ('hinna *it is not*, 'mali *he does not have*) conjugated as follows:

'hinn-i-'y-o

'hinn-i-'t-o

'hinna

'mayyu

'mantu

'mali

'hinn-i-'n-o	'mannu
'hinn-i-t-oo-'nu	'man-t-o(o)-n('u)
'hinn-oo-'nu	'mal-o(o)-n('u)

As noted above, the future aspect which uses the auxiliary *le* is covered by the imperfect negative. The only place the future negative is found is in question form, where the nonclitic forms above follow the 'e infinitive of the main verb.

a'be 'mayyu-û *Shall I not do it?*

ak'me 'man-t-oo-nu-û *Shall you(pl) not eat?*

The nonpotential conditionals which have the auxiliary *-inn*, suffix *-inn* to *wa* (or *wee wa*) to form the negative, the same as in other sentences joined to a matrix sentence by the category Mood (including conditionals [see S 12 and T 18]) as discussed above.

a'b-e wa-n'ni-y-o-y (or a'be 'wee wan'niyoy)
do-inf neg-had-y-pres-if, had I not done (it)

ak'm-e wa-n'ni-t-o-y (or ak'me 'wee wan'ni toy)
eat-inf neg-had-you-pres-if, if you had not eaten

Syllable structure restrictions have caused variations in negatives of the prefixing class. Since a root-initial series of three short open syllables is not allowed unless the second is stressed, the second vowel is normally deleted in this circumstance (see 11.2.2.a). However, the prefixing verb class offers an alternative by the gemination of the second stem vowel in the perfect negative.

'm-aw(ac)cinni'yo *I didn't go out*

'm-am(ac)cinni'to *you weren't good*

'm-ab(al)linni'no *we didn't see*

The verb *emeet* also has a geminate alternate.

'm-amattiy(y)'o *I didn't come* (or 'ma-amaatiy'yo)

All embedded sentences (nominalized sentences, relatives, adjectives, and sentence complements) and those joined to another via jussives, subjunctives, conditionals, and conjunctions take the auxiliary way instead of the prefix 'ma- when negative (see T 18). The main verb becomes an infinitive with the suffix 'e before way (as noted above in sentence complementation, where way is derived as a matrix verb [see 3.1.2]). The prefixing verb class forms its infinitive on the imperfect stem with an initial -a (see 12.1.1) and mid vowels raised (see 12.1.5). In the suffixing class the 'e infinitive is identical to the perfect aspect verb first or third person singular.

asuu'l-e way-'t-a-m 'ma-mece
laugh-inf neg-you-impf-nom neg-good
That you are not laughing is not good.

haa'd-e way-'t-a kimmi'ro ra'b-e-l-e
fly-inf neg-she-impf bird die-inf-fut-she
 A bird which does not fly will die.

'usuk amaa't-e 'wayt-i 'tet 'hee
he come-inf neg-inf her permit
 He permitted her not to come.

aw'ki fi'l-e 'way-t-ay macan'da y-ed'xe
boy comb-inf neg-she-juss sister he-permitted
 The boy permitted his sister to not comb.

'xan fa'x-e 'way-uh bo'xo bey-'t-e
milk boil-inf neg-subj wood took-she-perf
 She took the wood (away) in order that the milk not boil.

'usuk-uy num'ma 'rooxi addun'ya oggol-'t-a-m duu'd-e
he-and true spirit world receive-it-impf-nom able-inf

way-'t-a-hiyah 'woh 'kah t-ak'ke-m-i 'kaa ab'l-e
neg-it-impf-which that reason it-become-nom-and him see-inf

w-aa-'nah aadi'g-e 'w-aa-n-am-a (John 14:17)
neg-impf-pl know-inf neg-impf-pl-nom-is
 And he is the true spirit, whom the world is not able to receive; the reason for this is that they do not see him; they do not know (him).

'is 'da'l-e way-'t-e-k biyaak-it't-a
she bear-inf neg-she-perf-cond hurt-benef-she-impf
 If she doesn't give birth, she is in pain.

'oson ak'm-e w-ee-'ni-k-'sa seel-ee-'ni
they eat-inf neg-perf-pl-except finish-perf-pl
 Except for not eating, they finished.

Negative modifiers must take the derived form, making them into regular verbs (see 12.3.2) since the modifier form does not have an -'e infinitive which is required for embedded negative sentences (see the derivation of adjectives as embedded sentences in T 12).

cad-doo'w-e 'w-aa 'bisu me'ce (*ca'do 'waa)
white-derived-inf neg-he, impf complexion is good
 A non-white (non-scaly) complexion is good.

a-cusbi'y-e way-'t-a moo'tar 'ma-fad-a (*cus'ba way'ta)
impf-new-inf neg-fem-impf car neg-want-I, impf
 I do not want a non-new car.

tu anything (feminine gender) is often found with negative sentences (as *minim anything* in Amharic). When tu is the subject, the English translation becomes *nothing* or *no one*.

'tu 'matana *nothing is present*

'is 'tu 'mafadda *she doesn't want anything*

6.3 Questions

A question is marked in Afar by lengthening the final vowel which has falling tone (see PS 4 and T 39) or by the choice of an interrogative pronoun (see S 4 and 6.3.2 and 9.3 below).

- sel-'t-e-ê (falling tone)
finish-you-perf-question, Did you finish?
- y-a-aǰgee-'ni-î
they-impf-know-pl-quest, Do they know?
- 'num kin'ni-î
man is-quest, Is it a man?
- ki'tab li-'to-ô
book have-you-quest, Do you have a book?
- 'ah ma'xa
this what, What is this?
- iy'y-i yaa'b-a
who-nom speak-he, impf, Who speaks?

6.3.1 Questions Marked by Lengthened Vowel and Falling Tone

The word-final stress of aspect and plural has high tone, so the high to falling tone of question on regular verbs may be interpreted as falling from this high tone. Consultative can be derived as a question form of subjunctive in which an underlying o is not raised to u because of the addition of the question length and tone marker (see 11.2.6.b).

- 'ab-u *that I do it* (subjunctive from ab'aa-o)
 a'b-oô *shall I do it?* (consultative from ab'aa-oô)

When kin'ni *is* deletion occurs (see T 52), the verb is lost, so a noun stands last in the sentence. The lengthened vowel with falling tone which marks the question is then suffixed to this noun. Feminine nouns with their final stress (high tone) resemble regular verbs with question, in that tone falls from high to low.

- 'a duy'ye da'ro-ô
this stuff grain-question
Is this stuff grain?
- 'woo xa'da sub'la-â
that tree fig-question
Is that tree fig?

Masculine nouns standing last in the sentence have penultimate stress, since consonant-final nouns add a vowel in this position by kin'ni deletion. The question tone then continues the high penultimate stress, falling only on the end of the lengthened syllable.

This is also true of nominalized verbs with the plural suffix which have penultimate stress. Words with antepenultimate stress have a second stress on the final vowel from high to low tone (such as nominalized plurals in nominal *is* sentences).

'usuk y-abbi'de-m ki'taab-a-â (from ki'tab)
he he-holds-nom book is quest
Is that which he is holding a book?

(tone continues high through 'taab-a, falling on the last -â)

t-amaa'te-m ge'd-e 'num-u-û (all high 'num-'u-û)
it-come-nom go-he,perf man-is-quest
Is he who is coming the man who went?

t-ub'le-m 'iba-â ('i'ba-â)
you-saw-nom foot-quest
Is what you saw a foot?

e'l'le gen-'n-a-m 'gita-â ('gi'ta-â)
by it go-we-impf-nom road-quest
Is what we are going on a road?

yaa'b-ee-n-im y-a-ab'bee-n-im-iî ('m-iî)
speak-perf-pl-nom they-impf-hear-pl-nom-is
Is that which they spoke that which they hear?

6.3.2 Rhetorical Questions, in'naâ

A special question marker is found with rhetorical questions. The word in'naâ *do we say?* is added at the end (see T 39). This is also used for English *or* when the choice is between two nouns (or nominal sentences). Unless separated by -h, the *i* of in'naâ assimilates to preceding vowels and the resulting syllable is shortened before the double *n*. (See 11.2.16.d.)

t-abl-ee-'ni-ggida-n'na-â
you-see-perf-pl-in order that-we-say-quest
Is it in order that you see?

a'tu fad-'d-a-m ma'rubu-n'na-â wa'dara
you want-you-impf-nom sheep-we say quest-or goat
Do you want a sheep or goat?

'foyya y-ek'ke-h raa'c-e-h in'na
empty it-became-perf part remain-it,perf-h quest
It became useless, didn't it?
 (Galatians 3:4; cf. 2:17; 3:2,5)

6.3.3 Questions Marked by Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun for things in Afar is ma'xa *what?* for both nominative and accusative cases.

ma'xa rad-'d-e
what fell-fem-perf, What fell?

ma'xa fad-'d-a
what want-you-impf, What do you want?

'usuk ma'xa iy-'y-e
he what say-he-perf, What did he say?

ma'xa deeris-'s-a
what call-fem-impf, What calls?

When used with postpositions, it takes the following English equivalents:

ma'xa-h *for what, why?*

ma'xa-h esser'te *Why did you ask?*

ma'xa-t *by what?*

ma'xa-l *on what?*

When ma'xa stands as the complement in a kin'ni *is* sentence, the kin'ni normally reduces to -y (see T 52).

ma'xa kin'ni *What is it?* becomes ma'xa-y

'ah ma'xa-y
this what-is?, What is this?

The genitive of ma'xa before nonlocative nouns is 'ma *what*, which may be used with nouns in questions such as 'ma wac'di *what time?* and *what day?*, and with -nna as for *how*: 'ma-nnah and 'ma-nni wac'di.

Either 'ma or its base form 'max may also be prefixed to ti or tiya *one* as follows:

'ma-ti(ya) or 'max-ti(ya) *which one* (see Luc 1967:41)

When an interrogative pronoun is used, the final lengthening with falling tone is only optional in the Aussa dialect and is not found at all in the Northern dialects (indicating that sentences with interrogative pronouns are derived independently of PS 4 and T 39 by choosing a question word in the lexicon).

'ma lo'co t-amaa'te-(ê) *What day are you coming?*

a'tu num'ma 'sin fa'ke-l-e 'ma-nnah 'ne-k
you truth you release-fut-it what-as us-to

it-'t-a (John 8:33)

say-you-impf

How do you say to us, "The truth will free you"?

'akke 'ma-nni wac'di t-e-mee'te (John 6:25)

here what-as time you-perf-came
What time did you come here?

The interrogative pronoun an'ni *what place, where?* is a genitive form used with locative nouns such as 'gabū region, ('kabu, Shewa) and noun particles such as -kke *place*, and with the *as* noun particle -nna. Its counterpart for nonlocatives is the genitive 'ma described above. Both forms are used for -nna, which is the only nonlocative use found for an'ni.

an'ni 'gabū-l t-a'ni
what region-in she-is
Where is she?

an'ni-kke ged-'d-a
what-place go-you-impf
Where do you go?

'an-ke-l daf'f-e
what-place-in sit-he,perf
Where did he sit?

an'ni-nna-h t-a'ni
what-as-for you-are
How are you?

The interrogative pronoun for persons is 'iyya (or 'miyya) *who*, which follows the pattern of unstressed vowel-final nouns in changing the final vowel to -'i in the nominative. The genitive adds an -n to give iy'yin *whose*.

'iyya t-ab'le(-ê) *Who do you see?*

iy'yi y-amaate(-ê) *Who comes?*

iy'yin ba'eda ta'ni(↑) *Whose daughter is present?*

'usuk iy'yin da'nān y-abbi'de(-ê)
he whose donkey he-holds-quest
Whose donkey is he holding?

'oson a'tu 'miyya-y 'kaa-k iyy-e-n
they you who-are him-to say-they-pl
They said to him, "Who are you?"

The question word for *where?* is 'anki (or an'nikke) which may also be used with postpositions as follows:

'anke(-l) ge'd-e-lon *Where will they go?*

'anke-k t-uduu're(-ê) *From where did you return?*

'anke-l ya'ni (-↑) *Where is it at?*

an'nikke-k t-eme'e'te(-ê) *From where did you come?*

6.3.4 Future Negative Questions

As noted above, the negative future is found only in question

form (see 6.2). The future auxiliary *le* is a free-standing form when the negative prefix 'ma- is added, so the clitic form is not found in the negative. The main verb takes the -'e infinitive form before the future auxiliary.

gir-i's-e 'mantu-û *Will you not cause (it) to burn?*
 ra'b-e 'mali-t̂ *Will he not die?*
 a-ami'n-e 'mannu-û *Shall we not believe?*
 atku'b-e 'maloo-nu-û *Will they not write?*

6.3.5 Didn't he? Negative Questions

Besides the regular negative verb and lengthened final vowel noted above, a question in the negative which expects a positive answer may also have one of the following options (see T 39(a)):

- (a) The addition of 'may instead of the negative 'ma.
 (The best derivation is to consider 'may as the interrogative pronoun 'ma *what?* plus the *y* reflex of a deleted *kin'ni is*.) The sense is *what he did was (go), isn't it?*

'ma-ge'd-a-â becomes 'ma-y ge'd-a-h (Mat. 18:12)
neg-go-he, impf-quest *what-is go-he, impf*
He goes, doesn't he?

'ma-xab-in'nâ becomes 'ma-y xa'b-e-h
neg-let go-perf-I *what-is let go-I, perf*
He let go, didn't he?

'usuk 'kaadu 'sin 'ma-y ducr-u's-e
he also you what-is lie-caus-he, perf
Did he also deceive you?
 (John 7:47; cf. John 4:33)

'yoo 'ma-y kin'n-i-t̂ (Mat. 26:22,25; cf. John 1:21)
me what-is is-he-quest
It isn't me, is it?

- (b) The addition of the accusative pronominal form of the subject, plus 'hinna *it is not*, after the verb, instead of the negative prefix 'ma-. 'hinna is also used alone with the expected positive answer, "Is it not?"

ab-'t-a 'koo 'hinna
do-you-impf you(acc) it is not
You do it, don't you?

y-inniki'se 'kaa 'hinna
he-fell him it is not
He fell, didn't he?

'kay i'na 'mayram 'h-inna-â
his mother Mary not-is-quest
Is not his mother Mary?
 (Mat. 13:55; see the same verse for plural
 'hinnoonuû *are they not?*)

'sitta-k bad-s-i'm-a-m 'h-inna
togetherness-from separate-caus-pass-impf-nom neg-is
Are they not divided against each other?
 (Matthew 12:26)

yal'ih din'to 'sin 'fan t-eme'e-te-m 'h-inna
God-gen kingdom you among it-came-nom neg-is
Is it not that the kingdom of God came among you?
 (Matthew 12:28)

6.4 Deletions

6.4.1 Subject Deletion

The subject noun phrase is often deleted in Afar (see T 47). This deletion does not cause a loss in meaning, since person, number, and gender (in third person singular of regular verbs) are carried by the verb affixes (see T 40 Agreement). However, since some person affixes overlap, ambiguity results by subject deletion. When two sentences with identical subjects are joined, the second subject must delete.

bu'da-h ge'd-e-y-yo
village-to go-inf-fut-I
I will go to the village.

a'nu uk't-e-h taami't-e (not a'nu taami'te; obliga-
I got up-perf-part work-I,perf tory deletion)
I got up and worked.
 obligatory deletion)

gacam'mo ala-s-'s-a (gacam'bo non-Wollo)
bread bake-caus-she(or you)-impf
She is (or you are) baking bread.

kað'dam bakaar-i't-e
very thirst-benef-I(or he),perf
I am (or he is) very thirsty.

6.4.2 kin'ni is Reduction

The verb *kin'ni is* may be deleted from the sentence, in which case a final vowel on the predicate object is required (see T 52 and sentence type 11 in chapter one). The consonant-final noun class, including nominalized -Vm forms, therefore has a suffixed

nonmid vowel in harmony with the preceding vowel (see 11.2.4.c). A final -y may also be added when kin'ni is deleted. Words in independent citation also take the form with the final vowel, which suggests a kin'ni deletion derivation. It should be noted that kin'ni does not correspond to the "is present" covered by English "is" in sentences like "The boy is in the house." This requires the verb *en be present* which is not deleted in Afar. kin'ni is also restricted to present aspect, so identification in any other time is expressed by the verbs *sug* or *en* plus the postpositions -k or -h on the noun of identification (see 4.6). No deletion is allowed for *sug* or *en*. As Hayward (1976:119-120) notes, this -k may be interpreted as the relic of the participle -uk on 'kinnuk *su'ge* after kin'ni has been deleted.

a'li ra'kub kin'ni becomes
 a'li ra'kuubu *the animal is a camel*

ra'kuubu *camel* (independent citation)

'iyya-y *who is it?*

'ah sa'ro *this is cloth* (feminine noun)

'yo-k biyaaki't-a-m 'iba
me-from hurt-I, impf-nom foot
That which hurts me is (my) foot.

a'tu t-aadi'ge-m t-ub'lee-m-i
you you-know-nom you-saw-nom-V
That which you know is what you saw.

6.4.3 Identical Noun Phrase Deletion

Relatives, adjectives (see T 12), genitives (see T 11), causatives (see T 25), benefactives (see T 26), and sentence complements (see T 29) lose an identical noun phrase in the sentence associated with the noun phrase (see T 46).

('num) taami't-e 'num taa'n-e (first 'num deleted)
(man) work-he, perf man tired-he, perf
The man who worked was tired.

(sa'ro) ca'sa sa'ro sar-it-'t-e
(cloth) red cloth wear-benef-you-perf
You wore red cloth.

ku'ti (la'fa 'le) la'fa ka'da
dog (bone has) bone big
The dog's bone is big.

'is ('is) su'bax dan-sii's-e
she (she) butter buy-causative-perf
She caused butter to be bought (OR sold).

a'tu (a'tu) bar-it-'t-e
you (you) learn-benef-you-perf
You learned.

ab'ba (aw'ka) di'gir-i aw'ka 'h-ee
father (girl) play-inf girl permit-he,perf
The father permitted the girl to play.

6.4.4 Noun Phrase Conjunction as Deletion

The use of 'kee alternating with -Vy and to conjoin noun phrases may be considered a deletion of the identical parts of two sentences leaving only the different noun phrases joined by 'kee or Vy (see T 19 and 5.1.7). Everything but the noun phrase is deleted, including the postposition when two noun phrases are conjoined in a postpositional phrase. Conjoined subjects take feminine singular agreement and the accusative case unless the last noun is modified by a sentence (see T 20). In long series 'kee alternating with -y is normal in Eritrea, while Southern dialects usually have a series all joined by repeated 'kee.

fil'lib 'kee barto'lom-uy 'tooma 'kee maa'tiyo-y
Philip and Bartholomew-and Thomas and Matthew
(Matthew 10:3)

way'dedda 'kee 'gaala t-ar'de
gazelle,acc and camel,acc she-runs
The gazelle and camel run.

gu'cul be'y-a 'mara 'kee dal'wa a'b-a
tax take-impf people,acc and adultery do-impf

ag'b-i 'kaa y-oobbe-n (Matthew 21:32)
women-nom him they-heard-pl
The tax collectors and adulterous women heard him.

'oson bu'da 'kee 'cari-k y-ewcee-'ni
they village and house-from they-came out-pl
They came out of the villages and houses.

dam'catu 'kee wa'gac y-iggi'fe
baboon and monkey he-killed
He killed baboons and monkeys.

y-usgu'de-m 'kee asgu'de 'wee-m t-aadi'ge
he-slaughtered-nom and slaughter neg-nom you-know
You know whether he slaughtered or not.

6.4.5 Repetitive Time

Temporal nouns like 'bar *night*, 'saaku *morning*, and li'co *day* when repeated give the meaning of repetitive time. A derivation of two sentences with all other elements deleted (similar to noun phrase conjunction with 'kee *and*) is recommended (see T 42). This construction is also common in Amharic: maataa maataa yaanabaa*l evening, evening he reads.*

'usuk 'bar 'bar y-a-kri'ye
he evening evening he-impf-reads
He reads every evening.

'laa ay'ro ay'ro-l 'lee-h ge'd-a
cattle sun sun-on water-for go-he,impf
Cattle go for water every day.

sa'ga li'gida li'gida-l da'le-l-e
cow year year-on bear-fut-she
The cow will give birth every year.

6.4.6 Frequentative

Frequentative or repetitious activity is expressed in the prefixing verb class by duplicating the first root consonant and anything in front of it, and adding the nominalizer -am. The regular verb then follows. The process resembles the regular suffixing class frequentative except for the shortened stem (see next paragraph and T 15 and 12.3.8). Another form used by some dialects is to have the full nominalized verb first without shortening.

t-ok'mee-n-im t-okmee-'ni (or t-o'k-a-m t-okmee-'ni)
you-ate-pl-nom you-ate-pl
You(pl) ate and ate.
 (or *You ate what you ate,* as object for long form)

'yalla-h y-a-cbu'de-m y-a-cbu'de
God-to he-impf-worship-nom he-impf-worship
He worships and worships God.
 (or *He worships him who worships God,* as object)

y-ucru'fe-h su'g-e-m y-ucru'fe-h
he-rested-part has-he,perf-nom he-rested-part

su'g-e (or y-u'c-a-m y-ucru'fe)
has-he,perf
He has rested and rested.

a-'r-am-ar'gac-uk y-en (Mark 5:5, Ethiopian Bible Society)
impf-C-nom-cut-part he-was
He was cutting repeatedly.

In the suffixing and modifier verb classes frequentative (intensive for modifiers) is formed by the unconjugated base (without focus affixes) followed by -am and the regular conjugated verb.

ma'k-a-m mak-'t-e
turn-impf-nom turn-you-perf
 You turned and turned.

kimmi'ro haa'd-a-m haad-'d-a
bird fly-impf-nom fly-it-impf
 The bird flies and flies.

'isin ge'd-a-m ge'de-t-to-n
you go-impf-nom go-fut-you-pl
 You(pl) will go and go.

u'mam u'ma He is very bad. (Hayward 1976:306)

'guur-u 'w-aa-m 'guur-u 'w-aa
move-subj about-impf-nom move-subj about-he,I,impf
 He (OR I) is (am) about to move and move.

'hitta wa'g-a-m wag-it-'t-e (cf. John 13:22)
together look-impf-nom look-ben-fem-perf
 (The disciples) looked and looked at each other.

ba'd-a-m bad-i's-ah (John 10:12)
separate-impf-nom separate-caus-perf
 He scatters.

A derivation of two identical sentences in which all but the verb of one sentence is deleted (that verb then becoming nominalized and standing before the other) is recommended because of the completely conjugated prefixing class construction. The suffixing class with its infinitive root (excluding especially focus affixes) could be derived as another focus construction (see 7.5 and S 9). In fact, in the Aussa and Shewa dialect the "repetitive" focus construction (intensive in Northern dialects [see 7.5.1]) is semantically equivalent to "frequentative."

cam'm-a-m camm-is-'s-e
throw-impf-nom throw-caus-you-perf
 You threw and threw.
 (The repetitive variant is cam-cam-m-is-'s-e
throw-throw-root-caus-you-perf, You threw and threw, Aussa)

biyaa'k-a-m biyaa-k-it-'t-e
hurt-impf-nom hurt-ben-you-perf
 You hurt repeatedly.
 (The repetitive variant is biya-yyaa-k-it-'t-e *hurt-*
hurt-repetitive-root-ben-you-perf, Aussa, Shewa)

y-a'm-am y-amaatee-'ni
they-come-nom they-come-pl, They come and come.
 (The repetitive variant is y-am-amm-aatee-'ni
they come-inten-come-pl, Aussa and Shewa)

Repetitive action in compound verbs may follow the above methods of either (1) repeating the whole initial particle, or of (2) repeating the first syllable and the initial consonant of the second syllable which is then followed by -am. (3) A third possibility resembling the intensive construction is to repeat up to several times the second syllable of the particle. (See Parker 1967, Lesson 26.)

ti'fic ti'fic 'kaa 'hee (or)
 ti'f-am ti'fic 'kaa 'hee (or)
 tifi-fi-fi-'fic 'kaa 'hee *he caused it to drip*

6.4.7 Deletion of Identical Elements from Combined Sentences with Identical Subjects

When sentences have identical subjects, they may be combined by deleting all identical elements from the second sentence except the verbs and their auxiliaries, which also keep sentence-final aspiration even when combined (see T 55, 11.2.16.3, and 5.1.6). The compound verb auxiliary *edx* or *hay* of the first sentence may also be deleted when identical to that of the second sentence.

'is 'cari-l t-a-'suul-u way-'t-a-h
she room-in she-impf-laugh-subj about-she-impf-asp
 di'gir-t-u way-'t-a-h
play-she-subj about-she-impf-asp
She is about to laugh and play in the room.
 'usuk bu'da ge'd-e-h su'g-e-h ge'de-l-e
he village go-perf-part had-perf-asp go-fut-he
He had gone to the village and will go.
 'bada u'bul-la ee'men-na 'ha-nnaan 'num
son see-comp believe-comp put-whoever man
whoever sees and believes the son
 (John 6:40; cf. 54, 56)

6.4.8 Deletion of Postpositions

Specific temporal nouns such as 'beera *tomorrow*, 'kimal *yesterday*, 'saaku *today*, kar'ma *rainy season*, kay'ra *September*, and place of destination used with verbs such as *ged go*, *guf arrive*, and *emeet come*, are found without

postpositions (see T 54). For temporal nouns this deletion is obligatory; for place of destination the deletion of the postpositions -h or -l to is normal but does not occur with the nouns bu'da *home* and 'cari *house* in the Shewa dialect.

'beera bu'da(-h) gu'fe-y-yo (-h in Shewa)
tomorrow village(-to) arrive-fut-I
I'll arrive at the village tomorrow.

'kimal da'car ge'd-e
yesterday river went-he,perf
He went to the river yesterday.

wa'dar 'saaku 'saaku cay'so ge'd-a
goat morning morning grass go-he,impf
The goats go to pasture every morning.

'rob kar'ma ca'far baa'do(-l) y-a-maa'te
rain rainy season Afar country it-impf-come
Rain comes to the Afar country in the rainy season.

gaa'li gu'ra ca'le 'kayra gu'f-e
camel left mountain September arrive-it,perf
The camels arrived at Gura Ale in September.

6.4.9 -Vy'yen even (Shewa and Wollo)

A noun phrase, including numerals, or postpositional phrases may have -Vy'yen added to it with the meaning *even, even though*. The suffix suggests the word iy'yen *they said*, which has been used in the derivation as a parenthetic *it is said* (see T 59). Case markers are not changed, as is evident from the assimilated vowel which is not shortened (see i vowel harmony in the last paragraph of 11.2.4.c). Stress on 'yen is lost if the preceding syllable is stressed (see 11.2.1.c). The form is common in Shewa and Wollo but is not used in Eritrea. The vowel -V follows vowel harmony when a consonant intervenes (see 11.2.4), the same as if assimilated (see 11.2.5.a).

'woo ma'ri-yyen y-eme'e'te *Even those people came.*

'woo 'mara-ay-yen fa'da *I want even those people.*

'woo 'mara-k-ay'yen *even from those people*

ga'ba-ayyen *even a hand*

in'kittu-h-uy'yen *for even one(acc)*

inkit'ti-iiyyen *even one(nom)*

si'daxo-oy-yen *even three*

fi'reyi-k-iy'yen *from even four*

ge'do-t-oy'yen even by going (Verbal Noun)
 a'b-iyya-ay'yen even doing (Verbal Noun)

6.5 Word Order Movement

6.5.1 Matrix Subject to the Front

When sentences are joined in such a way that the subject of the final verb is not first in the sentence, this subject may move to first position (see T 48). This situation occurs with all forms of participles, conditionals, and conjunctions (including subjunctive and jussive conjunction).

a'nu a'maatih 'usuk 'koo yub'le or

'usuk a'nu a'maat-ih 'koo y-ub'le
he I come-as you he-saw
He saw you as I was coming.

na'nu yaab'nek 'duma 'oson yeedegee'ni or

'oson na'nu yaab-'ne-k 'duma y-eedegee-'ni
they we speak-we-perf-before they-knew-pl
They knew before we spoke.

ur'ri 'leeh ad'dat di'girak a'nu daxri'se or

a'nu ur'ri 'leeh ad'dat di'gir-a-k daxri's-e
I children water in play-impf-part guard-I,perf
I guarded while the children were playing in the water.

aw'ki wee'ce-k i'na 'xan 'kaah ta'xe or

i'na aw'ki wee'ce-k 'xan 'kaa-h t-a'xe
mother boy cry-if milk him-to she-gives
If the boy cries, the mother gives him milk.

a'tu ta'kamuh sac'la gacam'mo bah'te or

sac'la a'tu t-a'kam-u-h gacam'mo bah-'t-e
sister you you-eat-subj-for bread bring-she-perf
The sister brought bread in order that you eat.

cay'so taa'kabay si'nam in'kih temee'te or

si'nam in'kih cay'so t-aa'kab-ay t-eme'e'te
people all grass it-sprout-juss they-came
After the grass sprouted, all the people came.

ka'da da'nan ya'niimil cun'da da'nan 'rabak 'maanna or

cun'da da'nan ka'da da'nan ya'nii-mil 'raba-k 'maanna
small donkey large donkey is present-if die-would neg-be
If there had been a large donkey, the small donkey would not have died.

ak'meyyo 'yoo t-ek'ke-k 'is xa'do 'yo-h a'xee-l-e OR
 'is ak'me-y-yo 'yoo t-ek'ke-k xa'do 'yo-h a'xee-l-e
she eat-fut-I me it-is-if meat me-to give-fut-she
If I will eat, she will give me meat.

6.5.2 Topicalization

Any element of the sentence (except postpositions and conjunctions) may be moved to or toward the front of the sentence to give emphasis or focus (see T 49 and 4.4 above). Temporal phrases are especially normal in first position. Verb-initial sentences have only been found when limited to short sentences (see next paragraph).

na'nu 'beera amaa'tenno OR 'beera na'nu amaa'te-n-no
tomorrow we come-fut-we
We will come tomorrow.

'oson 'a ki'tab 'mafadaa'na OR
 'a ki'tab 'oson 'ma-fad-aa-'na
this book they neg-want-they, impf-pl
This book they don't want.

tamaa'ri sif'ra 'maged'da OR
 sif'ra tamaa'ri 'ma-ged-'d-a
Chifra student neg-go-fem-impf
To Chifra the students will not go.

'a ma'rih taa'ga 'dibuk daaci'mah 'maana OR
 'dibuk 'a ma'rih taa'ga daaci'mah 'maana (John 17:20)
only this people because I pray not
I am not praying only because of this people.

na'nu i'daltu naadi'ge OR
 i'daltu na'nu naadi'ge
elder we know, The elder, we know.

The verb or adverb plus verb may come sentence initially in short sentences such as those of only a simple surface subject or object besides the verb (or adverb plus verb).

'nak 'xan drink milk
 'ma-kma a'nu
neg-I, impf-eat I, I won't eat.
 ka'ddam t-a-adi'ge a'tu
greatly you-impf-know you, You really know.
 y-a-ggi'fe 'tet
he-impf-kill her, He is killing her.

n-ub'le 'ken
we-saw them

6.5.3 Movement of First Verb Away from Second

When two verbs stand side by side such as when a main verb has an auxiliary, as in compound forms with *edx* or in *say*, *hay put* and *le*, and *way*, or with sentence complements, the first verb may precede the postpositional phrase or the direct object (see T 50).

'rob cammur'rek 'radda iy'ye or
 'rob 'radda cammur're-k iy-'ye
rain fall cloud-from say-he,perf
Rain fell from the cloud.

furray'ni kab'ci ig'giffa 'hee or
 furray'ni ig'giffa kab'ci 'h-ee
youth kill leopard put-he,perf
The youth killed the leopard.

'is ki'tab takri'yem 'le or
 'is t-akri'ye-m ki'tab 'l-e
she she-read-nom book has-she
She reads a book.

'oson xa'da a'mol 'soolak sugee'ni or
 'oson 'sool-a-k xa'da a'mol sug-ee-'ni
they stand-impf-part tree on were-perf,they-pl
They were standing on a tree.

ur'ri 'kuta 'geerat abbi'dele or
 ur'ri 'kuta abbi'de 'geerat 'le or
 ur'ri abbi'de 'kuta 'geera-t 'l-e
children seize dog tail-by fut-he
The children will seize the dog by the tail.

aw'ka a'mo fil't-a-h tan or
 aw'ka fil-'t-a-h a'mo t-an
girl comb-she,impf-prog head she-is
The girl is combing her hair.

a'nu 'tet 'abu 'w-aa or
 a'nu 'ab-u 'tet 'w-aa
I do-subj it about-I,impf
I am about to do it.

'usuk xe'reya aggi'fe 'w-ee or

'usuk aggi'fe xe'reya 'w-ee
he kill warthog neg-he,perf
He didn't kill a warthog.

bakke'li cay'so yak'mem fad'a or

bakke'li y-ak'me-m cay'so fa'd-a
rabbit she-eat-nom grass want-she-impf
A rabbit wants to eat grass.

ra'kub 'num 'beyu duu'da or

rakub 'bey-u 'num duu'd-a
camel take-subj man able-it,impf
A camel is able to take a man.

6.5.4 in'kih all Movement

in'kih *all* may follow the noun it modifies (see T 51) as well as precede (the only position acceptable for other modifiers). This is a unique rule in Amharic also that *hullu all* can stand either before or after the noun it modifies. This does not work for *kul'li all*, which must precede in Afar. The combination 'nammay *two* followed by in'kih means *both*; following other numerals in'kih gives the meaning *the three*.

a'gabu in'kih aadi'ge or in'kih a'gabu aadi'ge but only

kul'li a'gabu a-adi'ge
all women I,impf-know, I know all the women.

gal'bo in'kih daamee'ni or in'kih gal'bo daamee'ni but only

kul'li gal'bo daam-ee-'ni
all hide buy-they,perf-pl
They bought (or sold) all the hides.
(or as passive) All the hides are bought.

goroy'ya in'kih tar'de or

in'kih goroy'ya t-a-r'de
all ostriches she-impf-run
All ostriches run.

When the noun is part of a postpositional phrase, in'kih comes after the postposition even when the postposition is not just a clitic but has a nominal base.

ba'gi ad'dal in'kih dara'ya tan or

in'kih ba'gi ad'dal dara'ya t-an
all abdomen inside-at worm it-is
There are worms in every abdomen.

da'car 'caadal in'kih 'deet y-an or

in'kih da'car 'caḁal 'ḁeet y-an
all river beside rocks it-is
Beside all rivers are rocks.

6.5.5 Movement of Matrix Object before Subordinate Sentence

When sentence complements occur in which the subject of the complement is identical to the object of the matrix verb, this subject is deleted (see T 46). This leaves the word order of subject, complement, object, verb. However, the object also occurs optionally before the complement in surface sentences (see T 29). This is evident when the vowel-final masculine class with a nominative-accusative distinction is the noun.

ax'mad yak'riyuh 'awka xa'ba or
 ax'mad 'awk-a y-ak'riy-u-h xa'b-a
Ahmed child-acc he-read-subjun-part let-he,impf
Ahmed lets the child read.

sac'la duu'ge ma'canda kal'te or
 sac'la ma'cand-a duu'g-e kal-'t-e
big sister little brother-acc wipe-inf prevent-she-perf
Big sister prevented little brother from drying.

yal'li 'uri 'iba 'hee or
 yal'li 'ib-a 'ur-i 'h-ee
God foot-acc heal-inf permit-he,perf
God permitted the foot to heal.

idal'ti di'girnay 'nee iy'ye or
 idal'ti 'nee di'gir-n-ay iy-'ye
elder us play-we-juss say-he,perf
The elder let us play.

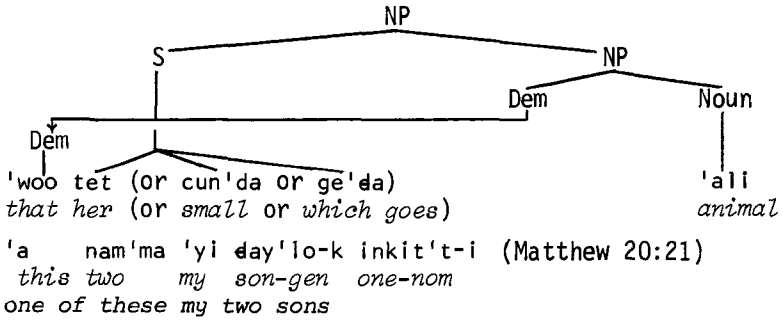
Similarly, when two sentences are joined by imperfect participles or -ggidah *in order to*, if the deleted subject of the first is identical to the object of the second, this object may stand at the front of the first sentence. (Although this process probably works for other conjunctives as well, my Asgaffen informant only accepted these two.)

'awka inaa'cit-ak 'g-ee-t-ton
child sleep-impf part find-inf-fut-you,pl
You will find the child sleeping.
 (Luke 2:12, Ethiopian Bible Society)

'taa'ma a'ba-ggidah 'kaa ba'ris or
 'kaa taa'ma a'ba-ggidah ba'ris
him work do-in order that teach
Teach him to do work.

6.5.6 Optional Movement of Demonstratives before Relatives and Obligatory Movement before Genitives or Adjectives

When a demonstrative modifies a noun which is also modified by a relative, the demonstrative may be moved to the position in front of the other modifier. When an adjective or genitive (including the -k genitive) modifies a noun modified by a demonstrative, the demonstrative must be first (see T 56 and 2.2 above).



*ka'da 'woo ca'le becomes 'woo ka'da ca'le
big that mountain that big mountain

ab'le a'ma 'sara may become a'ma ab'le 'sara
I see this cloth this I see cloth
this cloth which I see

*da'ta 'a dum'mu becomes 'a da'ta dum'mu
black this cat this black cat

*'kay 'woo la'fa becomes 'woo 'kay la'fa
his that bone that his bone

*'ken 'ta ki'tab becomes 'ta 'ken ki'tab
their this book this their book

*ma'rub a'ma 'cari becomes a'ma ma'rub 'cari
sheep's this house this the sheep's house

(note that if a'ma modifies ma'rub it takes the -ih modified modifier marker, a'ma maru'b-ih 'cari this sheep's house)

*amoy't-i 'woo baar'ra becomes 'woo amoy'ti baar'ra
leader-gen that wife that leader's wife

6.5.7 Movement of Relative behind Head Noun

No modifier (adjective, relative, genitive, including the -k genitive, nor a demonstrative which regularly moves to the position in front of a relative [see T 56 and 6.5.6]) may stand in front of a noun phrase in a relative (see T 57 and 2.6 above).

(If it did so, the meaning would change so that this relative noun phrase would be modified instead of the head noun.) This combination may occur with transitive relative clauses from which one identical noun phrase has been deleted, leaving the other noun phrase intact, or with relative clauses with postpositional phrases or with two modifying sentences with a noun in the second. (Since pronouns have selectional restriction S 5 preventing them from being modified, they never cause this movement.) Such relative clauses are moved behind the head of the relative when the head is also modified by a demonstrative, genitive, or relative. The moved relative clause takes a final -h plus the relative pronoun -iyya. It also takes case markers and postpositions, leaving the head noun in the base (accusative form). An exception occurs if the -iyya clause is further moved to a position behind the verb (see T 49), in which case the head noun keeps its markers (see John 7:39). The moved clause is introduced by one of the coordinating conjunctions (extra vowel, y, etc. [see 5.1.5 above]). Occasionally the moved clause does not have the iyya pronoun, especially in the Ba'adu dialect.

man'go 'mara-y 'ciidi-h y-eme'e'te-h-iyya. . .
many people(acc)-and celebration-for he-came-who

y-ob'be (John 12:12)

he-heard

Many people who came to the celebration heard.

ya'huudu-k 'kibu-yu 'yaasus a'b-e-m y-ub'le-h-iyya
Jews-from(gen) many-and Jesus do-perf-nom he-saw-who

'kaa y-eeme'ne (John 11:45)

him he-believed

Many of the Jews who saw what Jesus did believed on him.

ab'ba 'ruub-u 'w-aa kud'si roo'xi-y xa'te-ena
father send-subj about-he, impf holy spirit help-er

'kak iy-y-aa-'na-h-iyya (John 14:26)

him say-they-impf-pl-who

*The holy spirit whom the father is about to send,
 whom they call "helper". . .*

mayra'may na'ba su'ruiy 'le su'kati(-y) duy'ye-k 'kibu-h
Mary much scent has ointment, stuff-of much-for

y-e'ne-h-iyya-k . . . bey-'t-a (John 12:3)

it-was-which-of . . . took-she-impf

*Mary took . . . from an ointment which has much scent
 and which is great in value.*

'yi 'abba-y 'isin 'ni 'yalla 'kak in-t-aa-'na
my father-and you our God about say-you-impf-pl
my father, whom you call our God (no iyya)
 (John 8:54)

A nominalized verb which is modified by a relative sentence takes *iyya* movement whether it has an interfering noun phrase or not.

me'ce-em-iy dor-in-'t-e-h t-a'ni-hiyya
good-nom-and chose-pass-fem-perf-part fem-is-which

'kuta-h 'm-aax-in-a (Matthew 7:6)
dog-to neg-give-impera-pl
Don't give that which is good, which has been chosen,
to dogs.

a'ki-im-iy rac-'t-e-hiyya in'kih 'siin-ih
other-nom-and remain-fem-perf-which all you-to

os-i'm-e-l-e (Matthew 6:33)
add-pass-inf-fut-it
Everything else which remains will be added to you.

Some dialects or idiolects do not always shift the relatives with interfering noun phrases. The Shewa dialect informants who worked on Matthew would often omit the shift but consider it an improvement when included later. The following example stood revision--perhaps because the particular semantic features of the nouns and verbs involved exclude confusion. I Cor. 12:23 stood because of different genders.

'cari 'isi-k 'deet a'mo-l di's-e 'kas
house his-gen rock head-on build-he,perf intelligence

'le 'num xel-'t-a (Matthew 7:24)
has man resemble-fem-impf
(He) resembles a wise man who built his house on a rock.

6.5.8 Movement of -k Genitive Pronouns behind Noun

The -k genitive pronouns (personal and anaphoric) usually stand behind their head noun in contrast to -k genitive nouns and all regular genitives which always precede their head (see T 58, and 8.3.2.3).

'kaa-k kabel'la to kabel'la 'kaa-k *your shoe*

'sinni-k 'cari to 'cari 'sinni-k *your house*

(Compare 'sin 'cari *your house* (anaphoric) with regular genitives which must precede. Also note gut'co-k gi'ra ub'le *I saw Guto's gun*, which cannot be gi'ra gutco-k ub'le.)

6.6 Probability

A sentence which is likely or probably true may be expressed

by one of two ways. The first is to have the whole sentence as the subject of the imperfect verb *tak'ke* *it may happen*. The sentence is usually nominalized with *-Vm* but may be jussive. A second possibility is to have the sentence followed by an accusative pronominal repeat of the subject. (See T 8, and Parker 1967, Lesson 19.)

'yi 'bada y-as-kaad'dee-n-im (or y-ay-na'b-oo-n-u)
my son they-caus-great-pl-nom (or *they-caus-great-*

t-akke (Matthew 21:37)

impf-pl-jussive) *it-become*

They will probably honor my son.

a'nu ge'd-a-m t-ak'ke

I go-I, impf-nom it-become, I may go.

gacam'bo guf-'t-e-m t-ak'ke

bread arrive-she-perf-nom it-become

The bread has probably arrived.

gut'co dii'n-a 'kaa

Guto sleep-he, impf him, Guto is probably sleeping.

'lee xad-it-'t-e 'teeti

water pour-ben-it-perf her

The water probably is poured out.

a'tu t-oob'be 'koo

you you-heard you, acc, You probably heard.

CHAPTER 7
VERBALS

Insofar as the Afar verb alone can form a complete surface-level sentence, the description of the verb is placed first in this section on morphology in order to show the importance of the Afar verb. Matrix sentence verbs carry three obligatory categories--person, tense, and number. Gender is also obligatory in third person singular. These obligatory categories will be described first and will be followed by the numerous optional categories such as focus and mood. Derived verbal forms and verb class variations will then be dealt with.

7.1 Person

The person affixes in Afar are zero for first person singular, n for first person plural, t for all forms of second person and for third person singular feminine in regular verbs, and y for third person in all forms except feminine singular (see T 40 Agreement). y deletes in the suffixing verb class (see 11.2.3) except in the verb in, where apparently an assimilation of n to y preserved it, giving iy'ye *he said* and iyjaa'na *they say* (see 11.2.10.b).

	okom (ate) prefixing	ab (do) suffixing
1st	ok'me	a'b-e
2nd	t-ok'me	ab-'t-e
3rd masc	y-ok'me	a'b-e
3rd fem	t-ok'me	ab-'t-e
1st pl	n-ok'me	ab-'n-e
2nd pl	t-okmee-'ni	ab-t-ee-'ni
3rd pl	y-okmee-'ni	ab-ee-'ni

The feminine third person singular form must be noted as being equivalent to second person singular (in contrast to the irregular class of verbs where it is the same as third person singular masculine). Nominalized sentences (in spite of the final -m which would put it phonologically in the masculine noun class), m-initial verbal nouns, and 'tu *anything, nothing* all take feminine

agreement. Compound subjects also have feminine third person singular agreement, even if the nouns are masculine (see T 20).

y-eme'e'te-m t-ay'se
he-came-nom she(it)-is greater
It is better that he came.

m-ak'mo t-ay'se
nom-eat she-is greater
It is better to eat.

'tu 'ma-t-a-m-bul'la (Aussa 'matammul'la)
nothing neg-she-impf-pass-see
Nothing is visible.

'num 'kee 'laa t-eme'e'te
man and cattle she-came
A man and cattle came.

Beside the regular person affixes described above, Afar has another set for irregular verbs which include all modifiers and *le has* (including future aspect with *ki* based gemination), *kin'ni is*, *'hinna is not*, and the clitic *-inna* used in perfect negatives and contrary-to-fact conditions (and its *ki* gemination alternate). This set of affixes has a basic difference in that it has no gender distinction. Third person feminine singular agrees with third person masculine instead of with second person singular as in regular verbs.

'is ba'xo 'le <i>she wood has</i>	'usuk ba'xo 'le <i>he wood has</i>
a'tu ba'xo li'to <i>you wood have</i>	

The conjugation of irregular verbs is also marked by an unpredictable final vowel in third person singular. In the regular verbs, the aspect vowel, which is predictable, is found here. The irregular verbs must therefore be listed in the lexicon with the final vowel.

ca'd-o *it is white* kin'n-i *he, she is*

'hinn-a *it is not* ca's-a *he, she is red*

This final vowel is lost in all other persons. In first and second persons, the vowel following the last stem consonant is *i*, and in third person plural it is *oo* (see 12.1.8). The person suffix follows the *i*, and what has been termed the "present tense marker" 'oo follows the person suffix. The present tense marker 'o is not found in third person singular.

In first person singular, the *i* and *o* are separated by *y*, which may be considered a glide between the vowels (see 12.1.9), so it need not be generated as a person suffix. However, with

reduced forms of *ki*, which alternates with *le* and *inni*, the person suffixes become geminate, and this *y* follows the pattern in becoming geminate (see 12.1.15). The *y* has apparently become identified as a first person singular suffix in this case. The irregular class conjugation is as follows:

	<i>cus'b-a new</i>	<i>'le has</i>	<i>kin'ni is</i>
1st	<i>cusb-i-'y-o</i>	<i>l-i-'y-o</i>	<i>kinn-i-'y-o</i>
2nd	<i>cusb-i-'t-o</i>	<i>l-i-'t-o</i>	<i>kinn-i-'t-o</i>
3rd	<i>cus'b-a</i>	<i>'l-e</i>	<i>kin'n-i</i>
1st	<i>cusb-i-'n-o</i>	<i>l-i-'n-o</i>	<i>kinn-i-'n-o</i>
2nd	<i>cusb-i-t-oo-'nu</i>	<i>l-it-oo-'nu</i>	<i>kinn-i-t-oo-'nu</i>
3rd	<i>cusb-oo-'nu</i>	<i>l-oo-'nu</i>	<i>kinn-oo-'nu</i>

The clitics *le* and *inni* alternate with geminate consonants (*ki* assimilated to person suffixes) as follows:

	<i>do-will</i>	full form	<i>do-if</i>	full form
1st	<i>a'be-yy-o</i>	- <i>abe li'yo</i>	<i>a'bi-yy-oy</i>	- <i>abin'niyoy</i>
2nd	<i>a'be-tt-o</i>	- <i>a'be li'to</i>	<i>a'bi-tt-oy</i>	- <i>abin'niyoy</i>
3rd	<i>a'bele</i>	- <i>a'be-'le</i>	<i>a'binay</i>	- <i>a'binay</i>
1st	<i>a'be-nn-o</i>	- <i>a'be li'no</i>	<i>a'bi-nn-oy</i>	- <i>abin'niyoy</i>
2nd	<i>a'be-tt-o-n</i>	- <i>a'be liton</i>	<i>abi-t't-oonuy</i>	- <i>abinni'toonuy</i>
3rd	<i>a'belon</i>	- <i>a'be-lon</i>	<i>abin'noonuy</i>	- <i>abin'noonuy</i>

	<i>neg-do-perf</i>	full form
1st	<i>'ma-abi-'y-'y-o</i>	- <i>'maabinni'yo</i>
2nd	<i>'ma-abi-'t-'t-o</i>	- <i>'maabinni'to</i>
3rd	<i>'ma-abin'na</i>	- <i>'maabin'na</i>
1st	<i>'ma-abi-'n-'n-o</i>	- <i>'maabinni'no</i>
2nd	<i>'ma-abi-tt-on</i>	- <i>'maabinniton (or too'nu)</i>
3rd	<i>'ma-abinnon</i>	- <i>'maabinnon (or oo'nu)</i>

7.2 Aspect

7.2.1 Perfect

The aspect or tense system in regular verbs in Afar is based on a perfect or imperfect dichotomy (see T 36). Perfect is used for completed action and is marked by the suffix *-'ee* in the suffixing class of regular verbs. Stress is lost when followed by the stressed plural suffix *-n'V* (see 11.2.1.b). Length is lost in closed syllables and word finally (see 11.2.5.b).

<i>sool-ee-'ni</i>	
<i>stand-perfect-pl, they stood</i>	
<i>mak-t-ee-'ni</i>	
<i>turn-you-perfect-pl, you turned</i>	

ab-'t-e
do-you(or she)-perf you(or she) did

In the prefixing verb class, perfect is distinguished by the unchanged root vowels. Since the imperfect is predictable from the perfect but not vice versa, the perfect vowels are considered part of the base.

iggi'fe I killed (root iggif)
n-ub'le we-saw (root ubul) (unstressed short open vowels are deleted in the second root syllable when followed by another syllable; see 11.2.2a)
t-ok'me you (or she) ate (root okom)
y-eemenee-'ni
they-believed-pl, they believed (root eemen)

The perfect negative is formed by the prefix 'ma- (which assimilates by vowel harmony to stem-initial vowels in the suffixing class [see 11.2.4.b] and is reduced before vowels in closed syllables [see 11.2.5.b]) and the suffix -in'na attached to the infinitive (see 6.2). The infinitive is the verb root in the suffixing class, but the prefixing class has all stem vowels change to a before inn (see 12.1.3). Some dialects optionally have only the irregular verb suffixes without inn.

'ma-fak-in'n-a (or 'ma-fa'k-o)
neg-open-perf-he(or she), He, she did not open.
'm-akm-inn-i'yo (or 'makmiy'yo) (or 'makmi'yo)
neg-eat-perf-I, I did not eat. (root okom)
'm-esser-inn-itoo-'nu (or 'messengeritton)
neg-ask-perf-you-pl, You did not ask.

The perfect participle, which has the same form as the perfect aspect verb plus the participle -h, indicates previously completed action in relation to the various tenses of the main verb (see T 3 and 5.5.1).

sol-'t-e-h yab-'t-a
stand-you-perf-part speak-you-impf
Having stood, you speak.
'bar y-ek'ke-h dii'ne-l-e
night it-became-part sleep-fut-he
When it becomes night he will sleep.

7.2.2 Imperfect

In the suffixing class of regular verbs, the imperfect is marked by the suffix -'aa (without stress when followed by the

stressed plural suffix [see 11.2.1.b] and shortened in closed syllables [see 11.2.5.b]).

ab-t-aa-'na
do-you-imperfect-plural, You do.

rab-aa-'na
die-imperfect-pl, You die.

dig'r-a
play-imperf, I play (or he plays).

giin-'n-a
pull-we-imperf, We pull.

The prefixing verb class changes the initial stem vowel to a (see 12.1.1) and raises the mid vowels e and o to i and u for other stem vowels (see 12.1.5). The verb *come* *emeet* has an irregular imperfect stem *amaat* instead of the expected raised vowels *ii*. The meaning of the imperfect is time which is incomplete or in progress.

a-ggi'fe
imperfect-kill, I kill (root iggi'f)

y-a-blee-'ni
they-impf-see-pl, they see (ubul)

t-a-k'me
you-impf-eat, you eat (okom)

y-a-ami'ne
he-impf-believe, he believes (eemen)

The imperfect negative is based on the imperfect stem plus the prefix 'ma-, which undergoes prefix vowel harmony before vowels (see 11.2.4.b). These vowels undergo liaison and, if followed by two consonants, are shortened (see 11.2.1.c and 11.2.5.b). The final vowel of the prefixing class imperfect stem is -'aa (instead of positive -'ee) in the negative (see 12.1.1).

'ma-ra'd-a
neg-fall-impf, it does not fall

'ma-uk-t-a to 'mu-ukta to 'mukta
neg-rise-you-impf, you, she will not rise

'm-aggi'f-a
neg-kill-impf, I do not kill

'ma-t-aagu'r-a
neg-you-hit-impf, you do not hit

The imperfect participle illustrates the incomplete or *in progress* meaning of the imperfect in relation to the main verb (see T 3 and 5.5.2). The imperfect participle has a final -k and penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a). The suffixing class of regular

verbs has the -a imperfect suffix, but in the prefixing class all stem vowels become a (see 12.1.3), and a u precedes the -k (see 12.1.1).

taa'mit-a-k oob'be
work-impf-part I,heard, While working, I heard.

'ged-a-k ab'le-y-yo
go-impf-part see-fut-I, While going, I will see.

'is a'kam-u-k daxari's-a
she eat-impf-part guard-I(or he),impf
While she eats, I guard.

ba'xo ar'gac-u-k yaa'b-a-h 'y-an
wood cut-impf-part speak-impf-part he-is
While cutting wood, he is speaking.

7.2.3 Present (Irregular Verb Aspect)

The conjugation of irregular verbs, which includes all modifiers and the verbs 'le *has*, kin'ni *is*, its negative 'hinna *is not*, the clitic auxiliary -in'na, and ki (person geminates), is restricted to one aspect system which is here termed "present" (see T 36). The characteristic marker of the system is the suffix -'oo. (In third person singular the final stem vowel is found instead of 'oo; see 12.1.8). In word-final positions 'oo is reduced to 'o (see 11.2.5.b). Before the stressed plural suffix -'nu, the present suffix loses its stress (see 11.2.1.b). Modifiers are negativized by adding the prefix ma-. (See 6.2 for negatives 'mali for le, and 'hinna for 'kinni.)

	<i>is</i>	<i>be small</i>	<i>not-be big</i>
1st	kinni'y-o	dagi'y-o	'ma-nab-i'y-o
2nd	kinni't-o	dagi't-o	'ma-nab-i't-o
3rd	kin'ni	da'go	'ma-na'ba
1st pl	kinni'n-o	dagi'n-o	'ma-nab-i'n-o
2nd	kinnit-oo-'nu	dagit-oo-'nu	'ma-nab-it-oo-'nu
3rd	kinn-oo-'nu	dag-oo-'nu	'ma-nab-oo-'nu

7.2.4 Future Tense

Future tense is marked by the 'e infinitive plus the conjugated auxiliary le (see T 34). The 'e infinitive (as was noted in 3.1.2 and 3.2.3 above in sentence complements with negation) is formed on the root for regular suffixing verbs, but on the imperfect stem for the prefixing verb class (see 12.1.1 and 20). The infinitive is not conjugated, so the person and number markers are suffixed to the auxiliary. The auxiliary may stand alone or may be a clitic in a reduced form of ki'yo realized as doubled person markers for first and second person (see 7.1 above and

12.1.15).

xa'b-e li'yo	xa'b-e-yyo	<i>I will leave</i>
xa'b-e li'to	xa'b-e-tto	<i>you will leave</i>
xa'be 'le	xa'b-e-le	<i>he, she will leave</i>
xa'be li'no	xa'b-e-nno	<i>we will leave</i>
xa'be litoo'nu	xa'b-e-tton	<i>you(pl) will leave</i>
xa'be loo'nu	xa'belon	<i>they will leave</i>

Future of prefixing verb okom eat

ak'm-e li'yo	ak'm-e-yyo	<i>I will eat</i>
ak'm-e li'to	ak'm-e-tto	<i>you will eat</i>
ak'm-e 'le	ak'm-e-le	<i>he, she will eat</i>
ak'm-e li'no	ak'm-e-nno	<i>we will eat</i>
ak'm-e litoo'nu	ak'm-e-tton	<i>you(pl) will eat</i>
ak'm-e loo'nu	ak'm-e-lon	<i>they will eat</i>

As was noted above in 6.2, the future negative is defective in that it is used only in question form. In nonquestion form the imperfect negative also serves for the future negative. The negative future does not contract with the infinitive but rather with the negative particle ma-.

doo'r-e 'ma-yyu-û	<i>shall I not choose?</i>
doo'r-e 'ma-ntu-û	<i>will you not choose?</i>
doo'r-e 'ma-li-î	<i>will he, she not choose?</i>
doo'r-e 'ma-nnu-û	<i>shall we not choose?</i>
doo'r-e 'ma-ntoo'nu-û	<i>will you not choose?</i>
doo'r-e 'ma-loo'nu-û	<i>will they not choose?</i>

Future aspect is also defective in not having a future infinitive (other derived tenses take the infinitives on their auxiliaries). The regular infinitive of the main verb fills in the gap since no infinitive is formed on the future auxiliary le (the irregular verb class including le has no infinitive except in regularized form).

a'kam-i (not ak'meli) 'sin 'hee-l-e	<i>eat-inf (not future) you(pl) permit-fut-he, she</i>
	<i>He, she will permit you to eat.</i>
aami'n-e (not aami'nele) 'kaa ka'le-l-e	<i>believe-inf (not future) him prevent-fut-he, she</i>
	<i>He, she will prevent him from believing.</i>
at'kab-u (not atku'belu) bar'te-y-yo	<i>write-inf (not future) learn-fut-I</i>
	<i>I will learn to write.</i>

Future aspect is also defective in not being used in relatives (see Hayward 1976:187). The imperfect form is used instead.

7.2.5 Progressive Tense

The progressive tense, a'b-a-h an *I am doing*, is formed by the imperfect aspect verb plus -h (which can be translated as the participle *-ing*) and the auxiliary en in the imperfect. Both the main verb and the auxiliary are conjugated with person and number affixes (see T 33).

<i>playing</i>	<i>is</i>
1st dig'r-a-h an('i)	<i>play-impf-ing I,am</i>
2nd digir-'t-a-h t-an('i)	<i>play-you-impf-ing you-are</i>
3rd dig'r-a-h y-an('i)	<i>play-impf-ing he-is</i>
1st digir-'n-a-h n-an('i)	<i>play-we-impf-ing we-are</i>
2nd digir-t-aa-'na-h t-ani(i)	<i>play-you-impf-pl-ing you-are-pl</i>
3rd digr-aa-'na-h y-ani(i)-n('i)	<i>play-impf-pl-ing they-are-pl</i> (for second vowel syncope see 11.2.2)

<i>drinking</i>	<i>is (root oocob)</i>
1st aa-cu'be-h an('i)	<i>impf-drink-ing I,am</i>
2nd t-aa-cu'be-h t-an('i)	<i>you-impf-drink-ing you-are</i>
3rd y-aa-cu'be-h y-an('i)	<i>he-impf-drink-ing he-is</i>
1st n-aa-cu'be-h n-an('i)	<i>we-impf-drink-ing we-are</i>
2nd t-aa-cubee-'ni-h t-ani(i)-n('i)	<i>you-impf-drink-pl-ing</i> <i>you-are-pl</i>
3rd y-aa-cubee-'ni-h y-ani(i)-n('i)	<i>they-impf-drink-pl-ing</i> <i>they-are-pl</i>

The negative of the progressive tense is formed by negating the auxiliary an (see T 37).

da'g-a-h 'ma-an(a)	<i>I am not digging.</i>
dak-'t-a-h 'ma-t-an('a)	<i>You are not digging.</i>
da'g-a-h 'mi-y-an('a)	<i>He is not digging.</i>
dak-t-aa-'na-h 'ma-t-ani(i)-n('a)	<i>You(pl) are not digging.</i>
dag-aa-'na-h 'mi-y-ani(i)-n('a)	<i>They are not digging.</i>

The auxiliary en is also used with the irregular verb class after its present tense (see Hayward 1976:305).

li-'t-o-h 't-an	<i>have-you-pres-ing you-are, you have</i>
cundi-t-oo-'nu-h t-an-in	<i>you(pl) are small</i>

7.2.6 Immediate

The immediate tense is used for that which is about to happen. The construction has the main verb in the subjunctive followed by the auxiliary way in the imperfect (see T 35). Both the subjunctive and auxiliary are conjugated. The marker of the subjunctive is penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a) and a final -u. All stem vowels in the prefixing class become a in the subjunctive (see 12.1.3). (For intervocalic y deletion from way see 12.1.17.)

'yoo 'xat-t-u way-'t-a-â
me help-you-subj about-you-impf-quest
Are you about to help me?

'isin ob-'t-oo-n-u way-t-aa-'na
you(pl) descend-you-impf-pl-subj about-you-impf-pl
You(pl) are about to descend.

cay'so t-aa'kab-u way-'t-a (root ookob)
grass it-sprout-subj about-it-impf
The grass is about to sprout.

aw'ki y-anda'fall-u 'w-aa (root undufull)
boy he-stumble-subj about-he,impf
The boy is about to stumble.

The immediate tense is also used in an idiom together with the *say* verb *edx* (in) in the perfect tense with the meaning *expected to...* for a planned action which didn't happen. The literal translation is *I said, 'I am about to...'*

bey-'t-oo-n-u way-t-aa-'na in-t-ee-'ni
take-you-impf-pl-subj about-you-impf-pl say-you-perf-pl
You(pl) planned to take.

n-a'kam-u way-'n-a in-'n-e
we-eat-subj about-we-impf say-we-perf
We expected to eat.

t-a'bal-u way-'t-a in-'t-e
you-see-subj about-you-impf say-you-perf
You expected to see.

7.2.7 Past Perfect

The past, present, and future perfect form a unit covering the temporal categories referring to action completed before some following event. They have the perfect participle (the regular conjugated perfect aspect verb plus -h) as their base and the conjugated auxiliaries *sug* or *en* in perfect, imperfect, and future respectively (see T 31). Since these forms can be produced in the perfect participle rule, there is duplication in listing them separately as tenses. The justification is that the auxiliaries have a different meaning in these perfect forms than they have as matrix verbs. *sug* means *wait* as a matrix verb and *'en be*, but both of them become *had* in the past perfect. The past perfect has the perfect participle plus either of the conjugated perfect auxiliaries *sug* or *en had*. *sug* is more widely used in the Aussa dialect, although both auxiliaries are acceptable. The final-stressed vowel of *en* is usually dropped.

gaxis-'s-e-h suk-'t-e (or t-en('e))
answer-you-perf-part had-you-perf
You,she had answered.

rab-t-ee-'ni-h suk-t-ee-'ni (or t-ene(e)-n('i))
die-you-perf-pl-part had-you-perf-pl
You(pl) had died.

y-idxidee-'ni-h sug-ee-'ni (or y-ene(e)-n('i))
they-sewed-pl-part had-they,perf-pl
They had sewed.

t-ef'ce-h suk-'t-e (or t-en('e))
you-gave drink-part had-you-perf
You,she had given drink.

7.2.8 Present Perfect

The present perfect tense a'beh ya'ni *he has done* is formed by the perfect participle plus the conjugated imperfect aspect auxiliary an *have* (root en).

ko'r-e-h an('i)
ascend-I,perf-part I,have
I have ascended.

ob-t-ee-'ni-h t-ani(i)-n('i)
descend-you-perf-pl-part you-have-pl
You(pl) have descended.

sa'ro y-ifiii'le-h y-an('i)
clothes he-picked up-part he-has
He has picked up the clothes.

'maalu t-oogo'ce-h t-an('i)
money you(or she)-buried-part you(or she)-has
You have (OR she has) buried the money.

7.2.9 Future Perfect (Northern)

Northern dialects have a future perfect using the perfect participle plus the conjugated future tense of the auxiliary sug. The Aussa dialect does not use this form, so the combination is interpreted as a perfect participle followed by a matrix verb sug with the meaning *wait* instead of *will have*.

inaaci't-e-h su'ge-l-e
lie down-perf-part have-fut-he
He will have lain down. (Northern)
Having lain down, he will wait. (Aussa)

mak-t-ee-'ni-h su'ge-t-to-n
turn-you-perf-pl-part have-fut-you-pl
You(pl) will have turned. (Northern)

y-er'de-h su'ge-l-e
he-ran-part have-fut-he
He will have run.

t-esxes'se-h su'ge-t-to
you-showed-part have-fut-you
You will have shown.

7.2.10 Past Continuous

The continuous tenses are used for activity which is continuing or in progress at the indicated time (as compared to the perfect tenses which describe completed activity). Since the progressive tense (see 7.2.5) covers present continuous, only past continuous and future continuous are found in Afar. As with perfect and infinitive forms, the Aussa dialect is defective in not having a future continuous. The continuous tenses are formed with an infinitive base with penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.2) and have the suffix -uk (the u becoming a in the suffixing verb class [see 12.1.1 and 11.2.5.a]). All stem vowels become a in the prefixing verbs (see 12.1.3). The construction is identical to the imperfect participle (see T 3), and as in perfect participles, the justification for deriving these as tenses is in the variation in meaning with sug and en when they are auxiliaries instead of matrix verbs (see 7.2.7). 'luk, the past continuous for 'le *has* does not have a geminate l when used as a tense with auxiliary. This distinguishes it from the imperfect participle -'luk meaning *with*. The past continuous may have either sug or en plus perfect aspect as its conjugated auxiliary.

'is bi'yaak-ak suk-'t-e (or tan('i)
she hurt-cont was-she-perf
She was hurting.

'oson 'dag-ak sug-ee-'ni (or yani(i)n('i))
they dig-cont were-perf-pl
They were digging.

'isin ak'kac-uk suk-t-ee-'ni (or tani(i)n('i)) (root ukkuc)
you honor-cont were-you-perf-pl
You were honoring.

This form is also used with the irregular verb class, always with -uk.

'cad-uk y-en-en
white-cont they-were-pl
they were white

na'nu am'lak-uk sug-'n-e (or nan('i)) (root imlik)
we rule-cont were-we-perf
We were ruling.

'kel 'l-uk 'ma-sug-in'n-a (John 20:24) ('ken becomes 'kel
them hav-ing neg-was-perf-he before 1)
He was not with them.

'hitta 'l-uk sug-e-n (John 21:2)
togetherness hav-ing were-perf-pl
They were together.

7.2.11 Future Continuous (Northern)

Northern dialects, which have a full future tense structure, use the auxiliary *sug* with the continuous participle to form the future continuous tense. The Aussa dialect treats this combination as an imperfect participle with the matrix verb *sug wait*.

'is gor'ris-ak su'ge-l-e
she search-cont be-fut-she
She will be searching. (Aussa, She will wait while searching.)

'oson a'katta 'gin-ak su'ge-l-on
they rope braid-cont be-fut-pl
They will be braiding rope.

'usuk a'maat-uk su'ge-l-e (root eemeet)
he come-cont be-fut-he
He will be coming.

'isin an'dac-uk su'ge-t-to-n
you swallow-cont be-fut-you-pl
You will be swallowing.

7.2.12 Past Immediate

The immediate tense when in past time is followed by the present perfect auxiliary verb *en* with the meaning of *was about to*. The person and number markers are transferred to *en* and the immediate auxiliary *way* becomes the imperfect participle *'waak*.

'kaa t-ays-a'xaw-u 'w-aa-k t-e'ne-m
him fem-caus-give-subj about-impf-part fem-was-nom
It was he who was about to deliver him over.
 (John 6:71)

7.2.13 Engaged in

The construction *engaged in* is a postpositional phrase in which the noun phrase is a nominalized sentence (see T 16) or a

verbal noun (see 12.3.7). The postposition is -t and the main verb is *en be*. (A possible generative derivation is from a sentence noun phrase in the postpositional phrase, which is channeled as above [see T 9]. The matrix and embedded sentences must have identical subjects with the embedded subject deleting [see T 46].) The verbal nouns which may be used are (1) the suffixing class 'o form, a'b-o *doing*; (2) the prefixing class m- form, m-ab'la *seeing*; (3) the modifying (and regular) verb class form with -iyya, ca'diyya *whiteness*; and (4) the restricted form with an -a suffix, 'arda *running*. These four verbal nouns and the imperfect tense of the nominalized sentence are used when the activity engaged in is simultaneous with the matrix verb. If not, the nominalized sentence form is required to allow for other tenses. The -'eyna instrument-agent form is only used when a verb does not have one of the other verbal nouns.

'usuk se'l-o-t y-an('i)
he finish-verbal noun-in he-is
He is engaged in finishing.

na'nu m-ab'la-t n-en('e)
we verbal noun-see-in we-were
We were engaged in seeing.

'oson acus'b-iyya-t y-ani(i)-n('i)
they new-verbal noun-in they-are-pl
They are engaged in becoming new.

'is 'rab-a-t t-an('i)
she die-verbal noun-in she-is
She is engaged in dying.

ab-'t-aa-m-at t-en('e)
do-you(OR she)-impf-nom-in you(OR she)-were
You were (OR she was) engaged in doing.

ab-'t-ee-n-im-it t-ani(i)-n('i)
do-you-perf-pl-nom-in you-are-pl
You(pl) are engaged in what you were doing.

daf'f-eyna-t an('i)
sit-agent-in I am
I am engaged in sitting.
 (No other verbal noun exists for daffey.)

7.3 Number

Number in Afar verbs is only differentiated in connection with pronouns and human nouns. Nonhuman nouns only take singular agreement since plural and compound subjects regularly agree with feminine singular verbs (see T 20 and 7.4 below). Even in pronouns, the plural marker is only found with second and third person.

First person plural has no special suffix other than the *n* which differentiates it from the zero of first person singular. This *n* is not the plural *-nV* since it stands before the tense marker in suffixing verbs and before the root in prefixing verbs, while the plural *-nV* of second and third person verbs is always last even in the prefixing class.

Sing <i>do</i>	P1 <i>do</i>	
1st a'b-a	ab-'n-a	<i>do-we-impf</i>
2nd ab-'t-a	ab-t-aa-'na	<i>do-you-impf-pl</i>
3rd a'b-a	ab-aa-'na	<i>do-they, impf-pl</i>
Sing <i>won</i>	P1 <i>won</i>	
1st ooko'me	n-ooko'me	<i>we-won</i>
2nd t-ooko'me	t-ookomee-'ni	<i>you-won-pl</i>
3rd y-ooko'me	y-ookomee-'ni	<i>they-won-pl</i>

The plural suffix causes the underlying long aspect vowel to surface as compared to the short vowel in closed syllables (see 11.2.5.b). The final vowel of the plural suffix *-nV* is predictable (see suffix vowel harmony 11.2.4.c). If preceded by an *a*, it is *a* (in the imperfect tense of the regular suffixing verb class); if preceded by an *e*, it is *i* (in the perfect of the suffixing verb class and in the prefixing verb class); if preceded by an *o*, it is *u* (in the irregular verb class). The final vowel is optionally deleted if no following conjunctions occur on the verb, especially when another verb precedes in the same sentence. This then closes the preceding syllable, causing it to shorten in spite of the plural suffix. Before suffixes which are not conjunctions, the final vowel always deletes (see 12.1.19).

'oson ab-aa-'na
they work-impf-pl, They work.
 (Note 'abba 'kee 'awka ab-'t-a
father and child work-fem-impf
The father and child work.
 feminine singular instead of plural [see T 20].)

'isin t-ani-n (or t-anii-'ni)
you you-are-pl
You are present.

kacl-aa-'na (or kacl-a-n)
wash-impf-pl, They wash.

sol-t-ee-'ni (or sol-t-e-n)
stand-you-perf-pl, You stood.

y-uktubee-'ni (or y-uktube-n)
they, wrote-pl

t-ocobee-'ni-h
you-drunk-pl-part, you having drunk

(no short form with perfect participle or other conjunctives)

kinni-t-oo-'n-um

is-you-pres-pl-nom, that you are

Loss of Final Vowel of Plural before a Following Suffix

(a) The subjunctive -u and jussive -ay suffixes cause the loss of the final vowel in the plural suffix in second and third person plural (see 12.1.19 and 20). The vowel before the plural in these cases is oo, which may be derived as an a dissimilation from an imperfect stem (see 11.2.6.a.3).

let turn

Plural

'mak-t-u *-you-subj*

mak-'t-oo-n-u *-you-impf-pl-subj*

'mak-u *-he-subj*

ma'k-oo-n-u *-impf-pl-subj*

let be happy

Plural

t-af'rax-ay *-you-juss*

t-afra'x-oo-n-ay *-you-impf-pl-juss*

y-af'rax-ay *-he-juss*

y-afra'x-oo-n-ay *-they-impf-pl-juss*

(b) When the plural suffix -'nV is followed by the nominalizer -Vm or the construction -ikke *place which*, the final vowel of the plural suffix is deleted. Verification of this analysis comes from the stress on the aspect vowel before the plural suffix rather than on the vowel after the plural -n.

yaa'b-ee-n-im

y-a-ab'bee-n-im-i

spoke-they, perf-pl-nom they-impf-hear-pl-nom-is

That which they spoke is what they hear.

a'ka-k

t-eme'e'tee-n-ikke kas-'s-aa-n-am-a

somewhere-from you-came-pl-place remember-you-impf-pl-nom-is

The place you came from is what you remember.

a'kah y-a'nii-n-ikke a'kah raa'c-aa-n-ikke

place they-are-pl-which place remain-impf-pl-which

The place they are is the place in which they remain.

The plural on the verb *ani* has a final a instead of i which the rules would predict. (The i is also irregular for a prefixing verb; see 12.1.18.)

'ma-t-anii-'na

neg-you-be-pl, You(pl) are not present.

'mi-y-anii-'na

neg-they-be-pl, They are not present.

7.4 Gender

Gender is significant only in third person singular of the regular verb classes where feminine person suffixes align with the t of second person singular rather than with third person singular

masculine. (Although this is a common pattern in the Afro-Asiatic family, Afar does not follow through in differentiating feminine in plural or in second person as some Afro-Asiatic languages do.)

na'k-e	<i>drink milk(I,he)-perf</i>		
nak-'t-e	<i>drink-you, she-perf</i>		
nak-'n-e	<i>drink-we-perf</i>		
nak-t-ee-'ni	<i>drink-you-perf-pl</i>		
nak-ee-'ni	<i>drink-(they) perf-pl</i>		
ek'ke	<i>(I) became</i>	n-ek'ke	<i>we-became</i>
t-ek'ke	<i>you, she-became</i>	t-ekkee-'ni	<i>you-became-pl</i>
y-ek'ke	<i>he-became</i>	y-ekkee-'ni	<i>they-became-pl</i>

The irregular verb class (modifiers; irregulars *le has*, *kinni is*, *'hinna is not*, the auxiliary *-in'na*; and *ki*-based person gemination) does not have gender differences. This means that the normal association of third person feminine singular with second person singular is broken, and the association is with third person masculine. Since the irregular verb conjugation includes the future auxiliary *le* and the perfect negative and nonpotential auxiliary *-in'na* (and *ki* suppletion for both auxiliaries), the same main verb may have either gender system according to which auxiliary is used.

da'ta *he, she is black*
 dati'to *you are black*

ab-'t-a
do-you, she-impf, You do, she does (it).

a'b-e-l-e
do-inf-fut-he, she, He, she will do. (aux)

t-ooko'me
you, she-won (regular prefixing verb).

'm-aakam-in'n-a
neg-won-aux-he, she, He, she didn't win. (with auxiliary)

t-ekke'le
you, she-suppose (regular)

akka'l-inn-a-y
suppose-aux-he, she-if, if he, she supposed

As noted above, plural and compound subjects take feminine singular rather than plural agreement (see 7.3). Masculine nouns modified by numerals greater than one also take feminine agreement. (See Mark 2:3 *affa'ra 'num t-ukku'ce four men fem-carried.*) The general gender is feminine, as is evidenced by the feminine nominalized verbs for general or unknown subjects (see Ephesians 1:17 *'sin ab-'t-a-m that which makes you*).

'kuta 'kee 'illi t-eme'e'te
dog(acc) and sheep(acc) fem-came
The dog and sheep came.

laa'dina 'kee a'wiita t-ak'me
porcupine(acc) and eagle(acc) fem-eat
The porcupine and eagle eat.

als-it'te t-emme'de (from 'alsa masculine)
month-pl fem-finish, The months are finished.

nacoo'b-a kud-'d-e (from nacob masculine)
enemy-pl flee-fem-perf, The enemies fled.

(The plural suffixes all have a final-stressed vowel, which puts the forms phonologically in the feminine group.)

7.5 Focus

The Afar verb stem may be modified to give variations in meaning. The left to right sequence for these focus suffixes when more than one is found on a single verb is (1) intensive (Aussa repetitive), (2) causative, (3) benefactive, and (4) passive. When a compound verb form is formed by doubling the final consonant (see T 13), the consonant of the focus affix is doubled if it stands last in the stem. To differentiate this from person and number affixes which are not doubled, the focus affixes are best considered part of the verb stem (see S 6), while person and number may be considered part of the auxiliary along with tense and mood (see PS 4 and T 40).

ba'r-is-sa 'h-ee
learn-caus-compd put-he,perf, He taught.

u'g-ut-ta iy-'y-e
rise-benef-compd say-he-perf, He rose.

xa'b-im-ma in-'t-a
leave-pass-compd say-she-impf, She is being left.

In the prefixing verb class, many focus affixes are still prefixed, although in the Aussa dialect many have switched to suffixes. The various prefixing verbs must be lexically marked as to which focus affixes are prefixed or suffixed in any dialect (see 12.1.2). In some cases, both prefix and suffix markers for the same focus category are found on the same verb.

t-is-ki're
you-caus-read, You caused to read. (North)

t-ikriy-sii's-e
you-read-caus-perf (Aussa)

e-y-redd-i's-e

I-caus-run-caus-perf, I caused to run.
(or e-y-red'de regular prefix only)

u-s-cundu-y's-e

I-caus-small-caus-perf, I caused to shrink.
(or u-s-cundu'ye regular prefix only)

i-s-kikkic-i's-e

I-caus-harass-caus-perf, I harassed.
(or i-s-kikki'c-e regular prefix only)

u-y-futtuxu's-e

I-caus-escape-caus-perf, I escaped.
(or u-y-futtu-xe regular prefix only)

ma-t-an-fiil-i'm-a

neg-it-pass-pick up-pass-impf, It is not being picked up.

o-n-toxoowi-'me

I-pass-gave,perf-pass, I was given (Ba'adu)

The irregular verb class does not take the focus affixes (see S 5). The modifiers must first take the derived affix to become regular verbs and then may also take focus affixes (see 12.3.2).

cad-doo-w-i's-e (not cad-i's-e)

white-regularizer-caus-I,he,perf
I,he caused to be white.

nicin-noow-it-'t-a (not nicini-ti-'to)

warm-regularizer-benef-you-impf
You are warming yourself.

wa-wax-xoo'w-e-l-e (not wa-wa'xi)

cold-intensive-regularizer-inf-fut-he,she
He will be very cold.

y-igdib-i'se (not gidib-i's-e)

he-strong-caus, he strengthened

For a detailed analysis of focus affixes, see Hayward's dissertation on Afar radical extensions (1976), which was not available until after this description was written.

7.5.1 Intensive (Aussa Repetitive)

Intensive activity may be expressed by duplicating the syllable before the final consonant of the verb stem and doubling the duplicated syllable's initial consonant if the preceding syllable is not consonant final. Although descriptions of Northern dialects only give intensive glosses for this construction, the Aussa dialect informants give repetitive or frequentative glosses equivalent to the repetition of the nominalized verb root described in 6.4.6 above (see T 16).

- t-usu-ssuu-'le (root usuu'l)
you-laughed-inten-root
 You laughed heartily. (North) (or repeatedly Aussa)
- y-iggi-ggi-'fe (root iggif)
he-killed-inten-root
 He killed brutally. (North) (or repeatedly Aussa)
- t-idigi-ggi-lee-'ni (root idigil)
you-broke-inten-root-pl
 You smashed. (North) You broke repeatedly. (Aussa)
- baka-kkaa-r-i't-e (root bakaar)
thirst-inten-root-benef-I,he,perf
 I (or he) was very (or repeatedly Aussa) thirsty.
- biya-yyaa-k-it-'t-a (root biyaak)
hurt-inten-root-benef-you-impf
 You hurt intensively. (North) (or repeatedly Aussa)
- cam-cam-m-is-'n-e (root camm)
throw-inten-root-caus-we-perf
 We threw hard. (North) (or repeatedly Aussa)
- y-udu-dduu-ree-'ni (root uduur) (Matthew 17:22)
they-return-frequentative-root-pl
 They went around.

7.5.2 Causative

The common Afro-Asiatic causative verb variation is normally formed in Afar with the suffix *-is* for intransitive verbs and *-siis* for transitive verbs (with the *i* in harmony with a preceding *u*; *i* following *i*, *e*, *a* and *o*; and *u* following *u* [see 11.2.4.d]). A possible derivation would be to have a matrix verb with the feature "causative" take a sentence complement of the verb which carries the basic meaning (see T 25). Support for this derivation is found, in that objects of both verbs may be found in the surface sentence. The object of the matrix causative verbal and the subject of the embedded verb must be identical with the embedded subject deleting (see T 46). (Also note Hayward's definitive analysis of *-siis* as two transitivizers, *-is* plus *-is*, in his dissertation. He also points out the obligatory movement of the embedded subject ("proximal goal") behind the embedded object ("distal goal") when pronominalized and optional movement when not pronominalized (1976:323-328).

intii-'ta 'ken way-sii's-e (John 12:40)
eye-pl them lack-caus(trans)-he,perf
 He caused them to lack eyes.

from: *('usuk) [_S'oson intii'ta wa-a'ne]_S 'ken sii's-e
 he they eyes lacked them cause-he,perf

a'nu da'ro 'kaa baah-sii's-a
I grain him bring-caus(trans)-he, impf
I cause him to bring grain.

from: *a'nu ['usuk da'ro baa'h-a] 'kaa sii's-a
I he grain bring-he, impf him cause-he, impf

'usuk 'yoo kac'i-s-a
he me wash-caus(intran)-he, impf
He causes me to wash, OR He washes me.

from: *'usuk [a'nu kac'l-a] 'yoo i's-a
he I wash-I, impf me caus-he, impf

a'tu 'gita bay-is-'s-e
you road lose-caus(intran)-you-perf
You lost the road.

from: *a'tu [gi't-i ba'y-e] 'gita is-'s-e
you road-nom lose-it, perf road caus-you-perf

Many transitive causatives do not have the agent (the object of the causative matrix verbal) specified. This follows from the use of the unspecified noun phrase (a)'kah *someone*, which is normally deleted in causative constructions.

'usuk 'a duy'ye (a'kah) xab-sii's-e
he this stuff (someone) release-caus(trans)-perf
He caused this stuff to be released,
OR He caused someone to release this stuff.

from: *'usuk [_S(a)'kah 'a duy'ye xabe] _S (a)'kah sii's-e
he someone this stuff released someone caus-he, perf

'isin ki'tab fað-siis-s-aa-'na
you book want-caus(trans)-you-impf-pl
You(pl) cause books to be wanted.

from: *'isin [a'kah ki'tab fa'da] a'kah siis-aa-'na
you someone book wants someone caus-impf-pl

'oson 'garca gey-siis-ee-'ni
they thief find-caus(trans)-they, perf-pl
They caused the thief to be found.

from: *'oson [a'kah gar'ca 'gey] a'kah siis-ee-'ni
they someone thief found someone caus-perf-pl

The Aussa dialect deletes the vowel from the intransitive causative -is (as well as from benefactive -it [see 11.2.2.a, second vowel deletion] in monosyllabic roots when the vowel is unstressed and the suffixed voice consonant is followed by a vowel. This occurs in first person singular and third person singular and plural of the regular verb (except when "mood"--jussive, subjunctive or imperative--causes the vowel to be stressed in the singular), and in the entire future conjugation. The Northern dialect has this second vowel deletion process blocked for focus

suffixes.

bar-'s-e *learn-caus-I, he, perf, I, he taught.*
 (Northern bar-is'e) cf. bar-is-'s-e *you taught,*
 ba'r-is-ay *let him teach.*

fax-s-aa-'na *boil-caus-they, impf-pl, They boil (water).*
 cf. fax-is-s-aa-'na *You(pl) boil water.*

as-'s-e-y-yo *spend day-caus-inf-fut-I*
You will cause to spend the day.

rad-'s-e-lo-n *fall-caus-inf-fut, they-pl*
They will cause to fall.

Glide (w and y)-final stems cause the deletion of an initial voice vowel, including the intransitive causative -is. When the glide and i vowel stand before two consonants, both are deleted (see 11.2.14 and 11.2.5.b).

ala-s's-e (from alay-is-'s-e)
bake-caus-she-perf, She baked (something).
 (cf. alay'se *he baked*)

daffe-s-'s-a (from daffey-is-'s-a)
sit-caus-she-impf, She seated.
 (cf. daffey'sa *he seated*)

Similarly, the modifiers which double the final consonant and add -oow to form regular verbs change -oow-is to -oy-s before the causative (see 11.2.14), and when the causative suffix is followed by the second person suffix or compound verb suffix giving two other consonants in a row, the glide is dropped, leaving only o (see 11.2.5.b).

cad-do-s-'s-e (from cad-doow-is-'s-e)
white-regul-caus-you-perf, You made clear.
 (cf. cad-doy-'s-e *He made clear.*)

cad-'do-s-sa 'h-ee (John 11:14)
white-regul-caus-compd put-he, perf
He made clear.

cas-soy-'s-e
red-regul-caus-perf, He made red.

cas-so-s-s-ee-'ni (from cas-soo'w-is-s-ee-'ni)
red-regul-caus-you-perf-pl, You made red.

Although in the Aussa dialect the majority of causatives are formed by suffixes, in the Northern and coastal dialects many still have prefixes. The marker for causative in those verbs of the prefixing class which take causative prefixes is either -Vs, -Vy, or -Vys (see 12.1.2), with the V in harmony with the next vowel (see 11.2.4.b). There is no distinction between transitive -siis and intransitive -is as in suffixing verbs. The variation in

prefixes is phonologically determined, with stem-initial long vowels always taking *ys*, those with the first consonant back (*k*, *g*, *x*, and *c*) taking *s*, and others (minus back consonants) taking *y*. However, some words take either *y* or *s* as exceptions to the back consonant rule. Some words also have variations in gemination and vowel length between base and causative stems. For example, the addition of a causative prefix before a geminate first consonant causes that consonant to shorten (see 11.2.13), and short stems of one or two consonants double the final consonant with a focus prefix (see 12.1.12). In many words with a root-initial long mid vowel (*e* or *o*), the stem vowels may optionally be raised to *i* and *u* respectively (see 12.1.5), in which case the long vowel is shortened. This raising and shortening is restricted to words of two or more root consonants, as is the shortening of geminate initial consonants.

Root	Causative
eece'te <i>I stepped on</i>	eys-eece'te OR iysici'te
t-oo'me <i>it spoiled</i>	t-oys-om'me (no <i>u</i> form)
y-oogo'ce <i>he-buried</i>	y-oys-oogo'ce OR yuysugu'ce
t-ee'de <i>she-sucked milk</i>	t-eys-ee'de (no <i>i</i>)
t-ee'de <i>she-stayed</i>	t-eys-ee'de (no <i>i</i>)
n-ooko'me <i>we-won</i>	n-oys-ok'o'me OR nuysuku'me
eeme'ne <i>I believed</i>	eys-eeme'ne (no <i>i</i>)
eede'ce <i>I became pregnant</i>	eys-eede'ce OR iysidi'ce
y-eeedegee'ni <i>they knew</i>	y-eys-eddegee'ni OR yiyiddigee'ni
t-ootokee'ni <i>you-hit-(pl)</i>	t-oys-otokee'ni (no <i>u</i>)
eer're <i>I loaded</i>	eys-er're
(er're, see 11.2.5.b)	
(o)ob'be <i>I heard</i>	oys-(o)ob'be

Root	Causative	Aussa
ikri'ye <i>I read</i>	is-kiri'ye	ikriy-sii's-e
(For second vowel syncope see 11.2.2.a.)		
t-ugdu'be <i>you-fulfilled</i>	't-us-gudube	
y-ixdi're <i>he-spent the night</i>	y-is-xidi're	
n-ucbu'de <i>we-worshipped</i>	n-us-cubu'de	
t-ifridee-'ni <i>you-judged-(pl)</i>	t-iy-firidee-'ni	tifrid-sis-see'ni
y-ibbidee-'ni <i>they-held</i>	y-iy-bidee-'ni	yibid-siis-ee'ni

Root	Causative	Aussa
ew'ce <i>I went out</i>	ey-yee'ce (see 11.2.14) (note caus. long ee)	
t-imli'ke <i>you-ruled</i>	t-iy-mili'ke	timlik-sii's-e
y-inniki'se <i>he-fell</i>	y-iy-niki'se	yinki-sii's-e
y-itci'te <i>it-sound</i>	y-iy-tici'te	yitcit-sii's-e
uduu're <i>I returned</i>	uy-duu're	udur-suu's-e
ub'le <i>I saw</i>	uy-bul'le	
isissi'ke <i>I hurried</i>	iy-sissi'ke	
t-er'de <i>you-ran</i>	t-ey-red'de (no i raising)	
en'ge <i>I increased</i> (see 11.2.2.a and 11.2.10.d for vowel deletion and nasal assimilation, from emeg)	ey-meg'ge	

Some causative forms which do not follow the general pattern in determining ys, s, and y variations are listed in Northern dialect sources. Since Aussa dialect informants use suffixes, many of these exceptions have not been verified; a few are regular in Aussa.

Root	Caus Prefix	Aussa
idiggi'le <i>I milked</i>	iys-idiggi'le	idiggil-sii's-e
irxi'de <i>I slaughtered</i>	iys-irixi'de	irxid-sii's-e
ittikii'ye <i>I dressed</i>	is-tikii'ye	itkii-sii's-e
uxussu'le <i>I measured</i>	uy-xussu'le	uxussu'le
ixli'le <i>I adapted</i>	iy-xili'le	ixxili'le

7.5.3 Benefactive

Regular verbs may take a benefactive affix indicating personal involvement or benefit (see T 26). The suffix is a high vowel plus -t. (The vowel is i except after a stem u, in which case it is u;

see 11.2.4.d. The vowel deletes when in an unstressed open syllable after monosyllabic roots in the Aussa and Shewa dialects; see second vowel syncope 11.2.2.a).

bar-i't-e

learn-benef-I, he, perf, I, he learned.

(Northern), bar-'t-e (Aussa, Shewa)

The derivation of a benefactive matrix taking a sentence complement with identical noun phrase deletion (see T 46) is supported by the fact that, instead of a sentence complement, nouns can also take the benefactive suffix and become verbs. A vowel-final noun will lose its vowel to the voice vowel (see 12.2.3, which in turn deletes after monosyllabic roots in unstressed open syllables in the Aussa dialect).

ca'so malaria, cas-it-'t-e you have malaria

cas-'t-e

malaria-benef-I, he, perf, I have (he has) malaria.

A matrix of the benefactive verbal -it taking either a sentence complement or a noun results in sentences like the following:

*a'nu [a'nu kac'la] -i't-e becomes a'nu kac'i't-e
I I wash-benef-I, perf I bathe (myself).

*'usuk [ay'ro] -i't-e becomes 'usuk ayr-i't-e
he sun-benef, I, perf he sun-benef-I, perf
He was involved with (struck by) the sun.

*'oson ['oson da'ro daam-aa-'na] -it-aa-'na becomes
they they grain buy-impf-pl-benef-impf-pl

'oson da'ro daam-it-aa-'na
they grain buy-benef-impf-pl
They buy grain for themselves.

'isin [as'kuur] -ut-t-ee-'ni (not in Aussa)
you servant-benef-you-perf-pl
You(pl) had a habit.

Some benefactive forms must be translated in English by words different than the root.

'lee xad-it-'t-a
water flow-benef-fem-impf, The water flows.

cf. 'lee xad-'d-a
water pour-she-impf, She pours water.

The use of the benefactive with nouns is a very productive form of constructing verbs (see Parker's Afar/English Dictionary, Part I, 1973 and Part IV, 1975).

Noun

alba'ho *panting*
 amo'tala *sinus*
 ba'kaar *thirst*
 bir'ro *flower*
 di'do *surprise*
 dubuu'kiya *loneliness*
 du'cur *fool*
 duk'mi *strength*
 fat'ta *gratitude*
 'gandi *overwork*
 go'son *a cold*
 habuubu'go *rushing*
 xa'mi *gossip*
 xee'na *depth*

Benefactive

albah-i't-e *he panted*
 amotal-i't-e *he had sinus trouble*
 bakaar-i't-e *he was thirsty*
 birr-i't-e *it blossomed*
 did-i't-e *he suffered from shock*
 dubuukiy-'t-e *he was alone*
 ducuur-u't-e *he was a fool*
 dukum-u't-e *he pressed*
 fatt-i't-e *he thanked*
 gand-i't-e *he was burdened*
 goson-i't-e *he had a cold*
 habuubug-u't-e *it roared (fire)*
 xam-i't-e *he gossiped*
 xeen-i't-e *he crowded*

The benefactive prefixing class remnants which have not leveled with the suffixing class are preserved, especially in Northern dialects (see 12.1.2). They have the prefix Vtt-, with the vowel the same as the stem-initial vowel (see prefix harmony 11.2.4.b). In the Aussa dialect, the stem-final consonant is also doubled unless preceded by a long vowel (see 12.1.12). The tt assimilates to s before s or y (and some other consonants probably by analogy). There is also a similar pattern of doubling the initial stem consonant as the marker for a number of benefactives. Before gg, the benefactive prefix is Vdd-, with the gg reducing to g. High vowels i and u may be optionally lowered to e and o, respectively, as in the causatives of the prefix verb class.

Regular Vtt- Benefactive Prefix:

oogo're	<i>I hit</i>	ott-oogor're
ok'me	<i>I ate</i>	ott-okom'me OR utt-ukum'me
ooco're	<i>I hid</i>	ott-oocor're
t-o(o)b'be	<i>you-heard</i>	t-ott-o-(o)b'be
y-eeme'ne	<i>he-believed</i>	y-ett-eeme'ne
n-ee'de	<i>we-sucked milk</i>	n-ett-ee'de
t-eedegee-'ni	<i>you-knew-pl</i>	t-ett-eedegee'ni
y-efcee-'ni	<i>they-watered-pl</i>	y-ett-efeccee'ni
undu'ce	<i>I swallowed</i>	utt-udu'ce OR ott-odo'ce

(with loss of n and optional lowering in Northern dialects, but unducu'te in Aussa)

isi-h itt-i'kiy-ya in-'t-e-hi (John 21:18)
you-for benef-gird-compound say-you-perf-and
You girded yourself. (also regular future akti'yeele)

Benefactives with the Stem-Initial s Doubled:

Root		Benefactive	Aussa
usguu'de	<i>I slaughtered</i>	us-sugud'de	
iski're	<i>I got drunk</i>	is-sikir're	
esxes'se	<i>I pointed out</i>	es-sexes'se	essexsii'se

A few words have a similar Vss- benefactive, although the stem begins with another consonant than s. y causative forms especially favor this form (suggesting an earlier more regular causative of s for these words also).

ey-me'ce	<i>I repaired</i>	ess-emec'ce
ey-deb'be	<i>I returned (it)</i>	ess-edeb'be
ey-ye'ce	<i>I took out (caus)</i>	ess-ec'ce

(this forms the base of intensive ess-ess-ee'ce *I escaped*)

ey-ne'be	<i>I raised</i>	ess-eneb'be	
ukku'ce	<i>I carried</i>	uss-ukkuc'ce	(cf. John 5:14)
emeg'ge	<i>I increased</i>	ess-emeg'ge	
oo'me	<i>I was spoiled</i>	oss-oom'me	<i>I was uncomfortable</i>

Benefactives with Doubled Initial Consonant:

itki'le	<i>I planted</i>	it-tikil'le
irxi'de	<i>I slaughtered</i>	ir-rixid'de
ed'xe	<i>I said</i>	ed-dex'xe
ub'le	<i>I saw</i>	ub-buu'le
idiggi'le	<i>I milked</i>	id-digil'le (g lost, l added)
ifri'de	<i>I judged</i>	if-firid'de
e'de	<i>I tied</i>	ed-'de

Benefactives with Vdd- Marker:

iggi'fe	<i>I killed</i>	idd-igif'fe or eddegef'fe
		Aussa: iggif-i'te
iggi'le	<i>I broke</i>	idd-igil'le or eddegel'le
ibbi'de	<i>I held</i>	id(d)-ibid'de

7.5.3.1 Polite Imperative Benefactive

A polite or nondirective imperative is formed by the benefactive affix on the stem, with its last consonant geminated. The prefixing class also adds the expected -iy imperative after a geminate consonant.

In the suffixing class, the derivation is the same as the compound particle (with gemination of the final consonant of the imperative stem plus a) followed by a (causative?) -s and a

benefactive -it. The prefixing verb *emeet come* also follows this pattern, as evidenced by its exceptional imperative *am*.

ott-oogur-'r-iy
benef-hit-C-impera, hit, if you want to

ott-okom-'m-iy
benef-eat-C-impera, eat, please

ott-oocob-'b-iy
benef-drink-C-impera, drink, if you wish

otto-x-'x-iy
benef-give-C-impera

ged-da-'s-it
go-dimin-caus-benef, go as you like

xab-ba-'s-it
let go-dimin-caus-benef, let go please

am-ma-'sit
come-dimin-caus,benef, come, if you will

7.5.4 Passive

The passive voice affix is *im*. In the regular suffixing class, the vowel is always *i* except after *u* stems, when it becomes *u* (see 11.2.4.d). In the prefixing verb class, the vowel is a duplicate of the first stem vowel (see 11.2.4.b). A monosyllabic root with a short vowel doubles its final consonant and in the suffixing class has a long vowel in the passive marker -CVVm (see 12.1.13). The traditional transformational derivation of passive from active will put the active subject as the agent with the postposition -*t* (or *h* or *k* depending on dialects) and have the active object the subject. Although such constructions are acceptable, when the agent is expressed it is almost always put as the subject of an active sentence. (This feature was noted in discussion with Dick Hayward, who pointed out that it is a general characteristic in the Afro-Asiatic family.)

a'nu 'saar fa'k-e
I skin bag open-I,perf, I opened the skin bag.

'saar 'yo-t fak-kii'm-e
skin bag me-by open-pass-it,perf, The skin bag was opened by me.

'usuk wa'dar y-e'de
he goat he-tied, He tied the goat.

wa'dar 'kaa-t t-em-ed'de
goat him-by she-pass-tied, The goat was tied by him.

When the passive -*m* is immediately followed by other than labial consonants, it assimilates to that consonant's point of articulation

(see 11.2.10.d). In the conjugation of the suffixing class, *m* becomes *n* before *t* in second person and third person singular feminine, and before *n* in first person plural.

	<i>help</i> (singular)	(plural)
1st	xat-tii'm-e	xat-tiin-'n-e
2nd	xat-tiin-'t-e (and 3 f.)	xat-tiin-t-ee-'ni
3rd	xat-tii'm-e	xat-tiim-ee-'ni

Other examples of suffixing class passives follow.

wagr-i'm-e *I was reconciled (at peace)*
 wad-din-t-e *she was confirmed (witness)*
 waageed-i'm-e *he was swung back and forth*
 ruub-un-'n-e *we were sent*
 seex-in-t-ee-'ni *you(pl) were called*
 tukc-um-ee-'ni *they were rubbed*
 tafc-i'm-e *he was smashed*
 tab-bii'm-e *he crossed (forded)*
 taag-i'm-e *it was stored*
 sir-rii'm-e *he was advised*
 sel-iii'm-e *it was finished*
 cuuk-u'm-e *it was carried*

Other examples of prefixing class passives follow.

um-bul'le *I was seen (root ubul) (um-mul'le Aussa)*
 t-un-dullu'me *you were harmed (root udulum)*
 y-in-dixi'de *it is sewed (idixid) (yidixidi'me Aussa)*
 n-um-futtu'xe *we escaped (ufutux)*
 t-om-oogocce-'ni *you were buried(pl) (oogoc)*
 y-um-ugguree-'ni *they were struck (oogor)*
 em-xey'ye *I was given (ex) (oxowwu'me Aussa)*
 in-kixxi'ne *I was loved (ikixin) (ikxini'me Aussa)*
 um-ukku'ce *I was carried (ukkuc)*
 on-kom'me *I was eaten (okom) (for mm see 12.1.12)*
 y-un-kuttu'be *it was written (ukutub)*
 i-n-neece'be *I was hated (incib) (incibi'me Aussa)*
 om-booco're *I was covered (bucur) (ommooco're Aussa)*
 y-id-digi'le *it is broken (idigil)*
 y-ig-giri'ce *it was cut (irigic)*

As the above examples illustrate, many variations exist between the root and the passive stem in the prefixing class. The tendency to double the next-to-final consonant resembles the intensive rule and may be a combination of passive and intensive. Sometimes an added consonant appears along with the nasal prefix. In the Northern dialects, an *nd* sequence suggests a benefactive stem which has become the normal passive.

end-egeege'fe *I was killed* (iggif) (iggifi'me Aussa)
 ind-ibi-de *I was held* (ibbid) (ibbiidi'me Aussa)

The indefinite third person plural subject with an active verb is often preferred instead of passive (see T 23). The logical subject is the object of this construction. Note its use in perfect participles (see 5.5.1).

allu'we ru'saas-at cid-din-'t-a or
animals bullets-by kill-pass-fem-impf

allu'we ru'saas-at cid-a-n
animals bullets-by kill-they,impf-pl
Animals are killed by bullets.

'yaasus beetan'ya-l y-a-skut-u'm-e or
Jesus Bethany-in he-impf-annoint-pass-stem

'yaasus beetan'ya-l y-a-skutee-'nih (John 12:1)
Jesus Bethany-in they-impf-annoint-pl
Jesus was annointed in Bethany.

(Note that the third person plural active verb is chosen even when a woman annointed him.)

a'kat 'libu-k gin-nii'm-a or
rope palm leaves-from weave-pass-it,impf

a'kat 'libu-k gin-a-n
rope palm leaves-from weave-impf-pl

'laa xab-bii'm-e or 'laa xab-ee-'ni
cattle left-pass-it,perf cattle left-they,perf-pl
The cattle were left.

caydi'dd-i 'maalu-t xat-tii'ma or
poor-nom money-by help-pass-he,impf

cay'diddu 'maalu-t xat-aa-'na
poor money-by help-they,impf-pl
The poor are being helped by money.

see'nan xib-bii'm-e or see'nan xib-ee-'ni
mat roll-pass-it,perf mat roll-they,perf-pl
The mat is rolled up.

Hayward in his dissertation (1976:338) notes that a group of verbs involving "social activities" does not take the passive extension since they are "really intransitives" in spite of their "cognate objects" (*digir play, yaab speak, walal chat*).

7.5.5 Combinations of Focus Affixes

Although actual use is limited, no restriction exists against using combinations of any or all focus affixes on one verb (see

Colizza 1887:40-43 for causative, passive, benefactive). The lexicon must determine which combinations are acceptable on any verb.

abbed-s-i'm-e-kkalah (John 3:24)
seize-caus-pass-inf-without, not seized

iman-s-it-t-aa-'na (John 5:45)
believe-caus-ben-you-impf-pl, you hope

ged-da-ys-it-'t-aa-n-am (John 6:67; see 7.5.3.1 above)
go-intens-caus-benef-you-impf-pl-nom
(do you also want) to go

abbar-s-i'm-e (John 7:49)
curse-caus-pass-he,perf, he is cursed

7.6 Mood

Categories developed under mood in this description are imperative, jussive, subjunctive, and consultative (see S 11). Absence of the category mood produces the indicative, which has no special marker (the final -h on indicative verbs with final stress is best treated as low-level phonetic aspiration [see 11.2.16.e]).

7.6.1 Imperative

The imperative stem is normally the same as the imperfect stem without a final vowel (see T 28). Mid internal stem vowels (e and o) become high (i and u) in the prefixing class (see 12.1.5). The initial vowel in the prefixing class may be either a- (as in the imperfect) or the same as the other stem vowels (see 12.1.6). The plural marker in the imperative is the suffix -a without stress, which remains on the last syllable of the stem. Negative imperatives have the normal 'm(a)- prefix but also have a suffix -in added to the stem. In the prefixing class, all vowels become a when -in is added (see 12.1.3). The imperative singular 'hay *put* may be added for emphasis after either a singular or plural imperative. The verb *emeet* *come* has an irregular imperative 'am, and the verb *edx* *say* the irregular in'dix. By phonological processes, a stem-final geminate consonant is reduced (see 11.2.13) in dialects which do not add the iy noted below, and long vowels are usually shortened in closed syllables formed by the absence of any vowel suffix in singular imperatives (see 11.2.5.b). In the positive imperative of the prefixing class, all long vowels are shortened unless also stressed.

'ab ('hay) *do*, 'ab-a ('hay) *do-pl*
 'ma-ab-in ('hay) *don't do*
 'ma-ab-in-a ('hay) *don't-do-pl*
 a'kum or u'kum ('hay) (root okom) *eat*
 'm-akam-in *don't eat*, 'm-akam-in-a *don't-eat-pl*

'sol ('hay) *stand*, 'sool-a ('hay) *stand-pl*
 'ma-sool-in(-a) ('hay) *don't stand (-pl)*
 uɛ'mum *wring*, uɛ'muum-a *wring-pl*
 'm-aɛmaam-in(-a) *don't-wring(-pl)*
 '(o)ob ('hay) *hear*, '(o)obb-a *hear-pl* (Northern;
 Southern oob'biy)
 'm-aabb-in(-a) *don't-hear(-pl)* (In Northern dialects
 the long VV is shortened before bb.)
 'ma-deexi's-im-in-a (Matthew 23:8)
neg-call-pass-impera-pl, *don't be called*
 'gey *get*, 'gey-a *pl*, 'ma-ge-en(-a) *don't get(-pl)*
 'way *lack*, 'way-a *pl*, 'ma-wi-in(-a) *don't lack(-pl)*

Two ey-final words in the prefixing class are exceptional in taking a u vowel in the positive imperative before the y (see 12.1.4). They also take an i in the negative before -in and have a long vowel in the prefix ma-. These alternations come from second vowel syncope (see 11.2.2.a), which conditions y deletion (see 11.2.3), 'ma-axey-in to 'ma-axy-in (syncope) to 'ma-ax-in (y deletion) *don't give*.

a'xu-y *give*, a'xu-y-a *pl*, 'ma-axi-in(-a) *neg*
 a'du-y *tie*, a'du-y-a *pl*, 'ma-adi-in(-a) *neg(-pl)*

Verbs with a final geminate (or double in Shewa) consonant add -iy (-'ay for suffixing verbs) in the imperative. This is probably a relic of the Proto Lowland East Cushitic i imperative (see 12.1.13). 'iy is also found on forms with derived gemination (see 12.1.12).

(o)ob'b-iy(-a) *hear (pl)* (John 16:32)
 uy-bul-'l-iy(-a) *cause-to see (pl)* (derived 'l)
 lig'g-ay(-a) *go without supper (pl)*
 ir'd-iy(-a) *run* (Shewa) (i'red(-a) North)
 cf. oys-o'xoww-ey *cause to give* (John 13:2)

The imperative root forms the base for the compound form using *edx* and *hay* (see T 13), as is noted by the following y final and exceptional imperative stems.

'bey-ya 'h-aa
take-impera-compd put-I, impf, *I take*
 ('bey-yi preferred in Asgaffen, Shewa)
 'hay-ya hee-'ni
put, impera-compd put, perf-pl, *they put*
 a'xuy-ya 'h-ee
give, impera-compd put-I, perf, *I gave*
 a'duy-ya 'ha-aa
tie, impera-compd put-I, impf, *I tie*

'am-ma in-'t-e
go(impera)-compd say-you-perf, you came

in'dix-xa ed'xe
say(impera)-compd said, I said

A familiar or derogatory imperative is formed by adding -ey to the singular imperative stem. The meaning is similar to adding *now* or *then* in English imperatives.

'daam-ey buy now or buy then (John 13:29)
'am-ey come now (root emeet)

'hay 'is 'xat-ey . . . 'oob-ey (Matthew 27:40)
well yourself save-then . . . descend-now
Well, save yourself then . . . come down now.

'miyya-y 'koo t-ooto'ke-m 'hay 't-akk-u
who-is you it-hit-nom well fem-become-subj

way-'t-aa-m-at 'yaab-ey (Matthew 26:68)
about-fem-impf-nom-about speak-then
Who is it who hit you? Well, speak about that which
is about to happen (prophesy).

7.6.2 Jussive

The jussive is used in the sense of *let*, *may*, or *permit* when suffixed on the main verb (see T 30). It is also used in sentence complements with *edx*, meaning *permit* (see T 29), for sentence conjunction meaning *after* or *when* (see T 4), and in lists of *either-or* (see T 46). The marker for jussive is penultimate stress (see 11.2.1.a.2) and the suffix -ay. The -ay replaces the final vowel on the plural suffix -nV (see 12.1.19). The imperfect 'aa vowel before the plural dissimilates to oo (see 12.1.14 and 11.2.6.a.3). In the prefixing verb class, all stem vowels become a in the jussive (as well as in the subjunctive and consultative; see 12.1.3). The imperfect marker 'aa dissimilates to 'oo before plural in jussive, subjunctive, and consultative; however, no aspect variations exist in these categories. Person, gender, and number are regular. Voice vowels, which are deleted in the Aussa dialect in open unstressed second syllables, are retained when mood penultimate stress falls on them (see 11.2.2.a). It is interesting to note that by modifying the present rules to have final cluster reduction precede closed syllable reduction (see 11.2.5.b), jussive, subjunctive, and consultative may be given an underlying vowel marker o, which in jussive has a further y suffix and in consultative a further 'o suffix. The jussive -y closes the syllable -oy, delaying reduction and causing the preceding imperfect 'aa to dominate so that o is lost to a (see 11.2.5.a) before vowel shortening (see 11.2.5.b). Subjunctive has no

additional suffix, leaving the o in a final open syllable from which preceding vowels delete (see 12.1.19 and 20). Unstressed o is raised to u word finally (see 11.2.6.n). Consultative has an additional length and stress added to o, yielding 'oô, which blocks raising.

Derivations: on ab do

	Subjunct	Plural	Jussive	Plural	Consult
Base	'ab-'aa-o	ab-'aa-'na-o	'ab-'aa-o-y	ab-'aa-'na-o-y	ab-o-ô
Dissimilation		ab-'oo-'na-o		ab-'oo-'na-o-y	
Word-Final Reduction	'ab-o	ab-'oo-n-o			ab-oô
Assimilation			'ab-'aa-a-y	ab-'oo-'na-a-y	
Closed Syllable Reduction			'ab-a-y	a'b-oo-n-a-y	
Raising o to u	'ab-u	ab-'oo-n-u			

Suffixing Verb Class Jussives:

- 'nak-ay
drink milk-I, juss, let me drink milk
- 'kur-t-ay
divide-you, she-juss, let her divide
- 'mud-ay
stab-I, he-juss, let him stab
- 'kas-n-ay
remember-we-juss, let us remember
- kat-'t-oo-n-ay
leave-you-impf-pl-juss, may you leave(it)
- ku'd-oo-n-ay
flee-they, impf-pl-juss, let them flee

ba'r-is-ay
teach-caus-I,he,juss, let me, him teach
 (cf. bar-'s-e *teach-caus-perf I,he taught*)

Prefixing Verb Class Jussives:

a'bal-ay
see-I,juss, let me see (root ubul)

t-a'kam-ay
you,she-eat-juss, let her eat (okom)

y-aa'man-ay
he-believe-juss, let him believe (eemen)

n-ar'gac-ay
we-cut-juss, let us cut (irgic)

t-af'c-oo-n-ay
you-water-impf-pl-juss, may you irrigate (efec)

y-agga'f-oo-n-ay
they-kill-impf-pl-juss, let them kill (iggif)

Jussive for Permit, Complement of edx:

ged-'d-oo-n-ay 'sin ed'xe
go-you-impf-pl-juss you I said
I permitted you(pl) to go.

yafta'x-oo-n-ay 'ken iy-'y-e
escape-impf-pl-juss them say-he-perf
He permitted them to escape.

Jussive in Sentence Conjunction Meaning When:

'saar 'rad-ay 'lee xad-it-'t-e
skin bag fall-juss water pour-benef-it-perf
When the skin bag fell, the water ran out.

'isin t-ar'd-oo-n-ay ur'r-i wee'ce-l-e
you you-run-impf-pl-juss children-nom cry-fut-he
When you(pl) run, the children will cry.

Jussive in Either--or Lists:

o'lo 't-akk-ay nam'ma sa'ro-y 't-akk-ay
bag it-become-juss two clothing-and it-become-juss

kabel'la-y 't-akk-ay xad'da-y 't-akk-ay
shoes-and it-become-juss stick-and it-become-juss

'fula-h 'm-abbad-in-a
extra-for neg-hold-impera-pl
Don't take an extra bag, or two garments, or shoes, or staff.
 (Matthew 10:10; cf. 10:9 for a list in subjunctive)

7.6.3 Subjunctive

The subjunctive mood is usually found in subordinate clauses but can be used in matrix sentences meaning *may* or *wish*. The marker for subjunctive is penultimate stress and the suffix -u (see T 30). The -u replaces the final vowel on the plural suffix -nV (see 12.1.19), and the vowel before the plural is oo rather than the expected aa (see 12.1.14 and 11.2.6.a.3). In the prefixing verb class, all stem vowels become a (see 12.1.3). No aspect variations exist, but person, gender, and number are regular.

The subordinate use of subjunctive is (1) in sentence complements with words such as *eedeg know how*, *duud be able*, and *effer fail* (see T 29 and 3.1.1 and 3.2.2), and (2) in sentence conjunction meaning *in order to* (see T 6 and 5.2), *whether (or not)*, and *either-or* (see T 5).

Suffixing Verb Class Subjunctives:

'rab-u
die-I, he subj, may I, he die

'guf-t-u
arrive-you, she-subj, may you, she arrive

'hod-u
miss-I, he subj, may I, he miss

'fil-n-u
comb-we-subj, may we comb

daan-'t-oo-n-u
buy-you-impf-pl-subj, may you(pl) buy

doo'r-oo-n-u
choose-impf-pl-subj, may they choose

xu'l-us-u
enter-caus-I, he, subj, may I, he put in
 (cf. xul-'s-e *enter-caus-I, he, perf, I, he put in*
 with loss of voice vowel, see 11.2.2.a)

Prefixing Verb Class Subjunctives:

'aabb-u
hear-I, subj, may I hear (root oobb)

t-ab'baɛ-u
you-hold-subj, may you hold (ibbiɛ)

y-aa'bak-u
he-sprout-subj, may it sprout (oobok)

n-a'bal-u
we-see-subj, may we see (ubul)

t-aada-g-oo-n-u
you-know-impf-pl-subj, may you(pl) know (eedeg)

y-aɛ'x-oo-n-u
they-say-impf-pl-subj, may they say (edx)

Subjunctive in Sentence Complementation:

y-acba'doo-n-u y-aadigee-'ni
they-worship-pl-subj they-know-pl
They know how to worship.

digir-'t-oo-n-u dud-d-ee-'ni
play-you-impf-pl-subj able-you-perf-pl
You were able to play.

ba'r-it-u effe're
learn-benef-I, subj I, failed
I failed to learn.

Subjunctive in Sentence Conjunction and *Either--or* Lists:

ag'b-i ba'xo 'gey-u(-h) ge'd-e
women-nom wood get-subj(-for) go-imperf
The women went in order to get wood.

'oson y-aaca'boo-n-u-h 'is 'lee bah-'t-e
they they-drink-pl-subj-for she water bring-she-perf
She brought water in order that they drink.

'usuk buu'kak 'geɛ-u-y ba'xakku 'geɛ-u y-ak'ke
he down go-subj-conj up go-subj he-becomes
He either went down or up. ('geɛ-i-y . . . 'geɛ-i
infinitives are preferred in Asgaffen)

da'hab 't-akk-u lak'co 't-akk-u 'garsɪ
gold it-become-subj silver it-become-subj money

't-akk-u 'm-abbæ-in-a (Matthew 10:9)
it-become-subj neg-hold-impera-pl
Don't take gold, or silver, or money.
*(Cf. Matthew 10:10 for a jussive *either-or* list.)*

7.6.4 Consultative

Consultative is a question form of mood used only in matrix sentences of first person with the meaning *shall I* or *shall we*. The marker for consultative is a final long oô with high to falling tone suffixed to the verb. In the prefixing verb class, all stem vowels become a (as in jussive and subjunctive [see 12.1.3]). No aspect variations exist, but first person singular and plural have their regular markers of zero and n. The question marker -innaa (see 6.3.1 Rhetorical Questions) may also be added as in I Cor. 11:22 'sin fayli'so-h in'naâ (or fayli'so-*nnaâ*) *shall I praise you?*

- a'b-oô
do-I, *consul*, shall I do (it)?
- ab-'n-oô
do-we-*consul*, shall we do (it)?
- soo'l-oô
stand-I,*consul*, shall I stand?
- sol-'n-oô
stand-we-*consul*, shall we stand?
- ak'm-oô
I, *eat-consul*, shall I eat?
- n-ak'm-oô
we-*eat-consul*, shall we eat?
- abba'ð-oô
I,*hold-consul*, shall I hold?
- n-abba'ð-oô
we-*hold-consul*, shall we hold?

A derivation of an imperfect stressed -'aa plus -o before non-imperative mood suffixes has been used to explain the initial a in mood and pre-plural -'oo subjunctive and jussive. The addition of question length and high to falling tone on the o of mood preserves the o from raising to u as in the subjunctive (see 11.2.6.b). By this derivation, consultative is simply a question form of subjunctive.

- ab'l-oô *shall I see?* (from ubl-'aa-oô)

7.7 Compound Verbs

Compound verbs are formed by doubling the final consonant of the imperative stem or its voice suffix when present. The verb becomes an infinitive with the suffix -a (or -i in Asgaffen Shewa for the suffixing class) and penultimate stress [see 11.2.1.a.2]. In the Northern and Shewa dialects, the a may become u for

prefixing verbs with *u* stems [see 12.1.6].) Transitive verbs take the auxiliary *hay* *put*, and intransitive verbs take the auxiliary *edx* *say* (see T 13). The auxiliary is deleted when sentences with identical subjects are combined and the last sentence has the same auxiliary (see T 55). The compound form offers a stylistic method of emphasizing the verb. The irregular verb class must be regularized before being made into compound stems.

'fak-ka hay-'t-e (meaning fak-'t-e with emphasis)
open-compd put-you,she-perf, you,she opened

in'dix-xa in-'t-e (meaning in-'t-e) (John 11:28)
say-compd say-you,she-perf, she said

'bada u'bul-la ee'men-na 'ha-nnaan 'num (John 6:40)
*son see-compd believe-compd put-whoever person
 whatever person sees and believes the son (see T 55)*

cad-'do-s-sa 'h-ee (John 11:14)
*white-regularizer-caus-compd put-he,perf
 he made clear (understandable)*

'am-ma ad'xe-t-t-o-n
*come-compd say-fut-you-pres-pl
 You(pl) will come.*

taami't-e 'way-ya in't-e
*work-inf neg-compd say-you-perf
 You did not work. (also John 6:53)*

ba'r-is-sa h-aa-'na (ba'r-is-si Asgaffen)
*teach-caus-compd put-they,imperf-pl
 They teach.*

aa'gur-ra 'h-ee (aa'gur-ru Asgaffen)
hit-compd put-I,he,perf, I, he hit

'oobb-u 'hee *hear* (Asgaffen, note long 'oo not
 raised: cf. 'obba 'hee Northern, John 12:47)

day-'yow-wa iy-'y-e-hi (John 13:25)
*near-reg-compd say-he-perf-and
 And he came near.*

'lee xa'd-it-ta in-'t-a (xa'd-it-ti Asgaffen)
*water flow-benef-compd say-she-impf
 Water flows.*

nab'si fae-'dim-ma iy-'y-a
*food want-pass-compd say-it-impf
 Food is wanted.*

'yi xadoy'ta u'kum-mu 'yi ca'bala a'cub-bu 'haa 'num
*my flesh eat-compd my blood drink-compd put man
 a man who eats my flesh and drinks my blood
 (John 6:54 and 56) (a'kum-ma and a'cub-ba Aussa)*

7.8 Verbal Nouns

Six types of verbal nouns are used, all of which are infinitives without aspect or agreement (see 12.3.7). They may take the position of noun in any sentence (see T 53), and, except for the agent instrument form, may be selected as an alternative to the nominalized -Vm verb in the construction *engaged in* (see T 9). The agent-instrument form is only used here when no other verbal noun exists.

7.8.1 Suffix Class -'o Verbal Nouns

The suffixing verb class forms a verbal noun by suffixing a stressed 'o to the root of the verb. This verbal noun takes feminine agreement. Monosyllabic γ -final verbs add a t before the 'o (see 12.1.11).

a'b-o *doing*, ma'k-o *turning*, *deceit*
da'g-o *digging*, bar-'s-o *teaching* (with caus)

xaa'd-o-k 'iba-h ge'd-o t-a-y'se
fly-VN-from foot-by go-VN fem-impf-better
Going by foot is better than flying.

'usuk sa'ro doo'r-o-t γ -a-n
he clothes choose-VN-in he-impf-is
He is engaged in choosing clothes.

'oson bar-'t-o-t γ -a-ni-n
they learn-benef-VN-in they-impf-are-pl
They are engaged in learning.

hay-'t-o *placement*
way-'t-o *lack*
gey-'t-o *finding*

7.8.2 Prefix Class m- Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns of the prefixing class take an m- prefix. All stem vowels become a (see 12.1.3), and a stressed 'a is word final. In a few words, there is a final 'o instead of 'a (probably a case of analogy with the larger suffix group). This verbal noun also takes feminine agreement.

m-ab'l-a *seeing*, m-aab'b-a *hearing*
m-ak'm-o *eating*, m-ada'x-o *saying*

'kay m-assaa'la m-aska'ra xel-'t-a
his VN-laugh VN-drunken resemble-fem-impf
His laughing resembles drunkenness.

'is m-aaka'mo-t t-en
she VN-win-in she-was
She was engaged in winning.

7.8.3 Verbal Noun -'iyya for Modifiers and Optionally for Regular Verbs

The class of modifiers forms its verbal noun by suffixing -'iyya. Modifiers which form their derived regular verb counterpart by prefixing a vowel (see 12.3.2) use this regularized form with the -'iyya verbal noun. The initial vowel may be optionally a rather than the regular vowel. When regular verbs take the -'iyya verbal noun, the regular root is used, except that stem vowels become a in the prefixing verb class (see 12.1.3). Focus affixes may be included in the stem.

The form is masculine, and, as regular unstressed vowel-final masculine nouns, has a final -'i instead of a in the nominative-genitive case.

ca'd-iyya (or cad-doo'w-iyya) *being white*

la'b-iyya (or lab-boo'w-iyya) *masculinity*

acus'b-iyya (or ucus'biyya) *being new*

akad'd-iyya *being great*

'is agid'b-iyya-t t-an

she difficult-VN-in she-is

She is engaged in being selfish.

fak-'s-iyya *open-caus-VN, causing one to open*

ant-ab'b-iyya *pass-hear-VN, being heard*

ab'l-iyya *seeing (abl-iy-'i nom-gen)*

amaa't-iyya *coming*

soo'l-iyya *standing*

ra'b-iyya-k kud-iy'y-i y-ay'se

die-VN-from flee-VN-nom masc-better

It is better to flee than to die.

7.8.4 -a Verbal Noun

A restricted number of verbs may form a verbal noun by adding a suffix -a to the root or the root plus focus affixes. In the prefixing class, the stem vowel also becomes a. This verbal noun takes masculine agreement and changes -a to 'i for nominative-genitive, the same as regular unstressed vowel-final nouns. Verbs must be marked lexically as to whether they take this form of verbal noun.

'bar-s-a-l (John 7:14)

teach-caus-VN-in, in teaching

'rab-a (ra'b-i nom-gen) *death, dying*

ba'rug-a (bar'g-i nom-gen) *extinguishing*

baa'h-i 'bey-a-k y-ay'se

bring-nom take-VN-than masc-is better

Bringing is better than taking.

na'nu 'dir-a-t n-an
we depart-VN-in we-are
We are engaged in departing.

an'gaara (angaa'r-i *nom-gen*) *meeting*
 'ard-a (ar'd-i *nom-gen*) *race, running*
 'aabk-a (aab'k-i *nom-gen*) *sprouting*
 anda'fal-a (andafa'l-i) *stumbling*

'lee aydad'dar-a-t t-an
water settle-VN-in she-is
The water is in the process of settling.

Note also: rub-'sus far'mo *send-caus letter*, a letter causing sending (I Cor. 16:3).

7.8.5 Instrument-Agent Verbal Noun

In the suffixing class, an instrument-agent verbal noun may be formed by suffixing -'eyna to the root. There is no comparable form in the prefixing verb class. The -'eyna noun form takes masculine agreement, with the final a becoming -'i in the nominative-genitive case.

da'g-eyna (dag'ey'ni *nom-gen*) *pick, digger*
 da'l-eyna (dal'ey'ni *nom-gen*) *parent*
 'be-eyna (be-ey'ni) (note loss of y between e-e of
 bey-eyna, see 11.2.3) *tongs, taker*
 xa'd-eyna (xad'ey'ni) *pitcher, pourer*
 ku'd-eyna (kud'ey'ni) *escape*
 cemmi's-eyna (cemmis-ey'ni) *beginner*
 wa'd-eyna (wad'ey'ni) *witness*
 uk't-eyna (ukt'ey'ni) *one who gets up*
 wag'r-eyna (wagr'ey'ni) *arbitrator, peacemaker*

dis-ey'ni ka'l-eyna-k y-ay'se
build-VN take-VN-than masc-is better
A builder is better than a remover.

daf'f-eyna-t an *I am engaged in sitting.* (used since
 no other verbal nouns exist for daffey)

7.8.6 Agent -i Verbal Noun

Verbs of any class form an agentive verbal noun by suffixing an *i*. In the prefixing class, the person markers *y-* for masculine and *t-* for feminine are also added, and the first vowel becomes a (see 12.1.3) and mid vowels are raised (see 12.1.5), the same as with the imperfect and -'e infinitive. A *t* is added before the -*i* with *y*-final monosyllables, as in 'o verbal nouns (see 12.1.12).

'y-ardi runner (masc)
 't-ardi runner (fem)
 y-aa'digi knower (masc)
 t-aa'digi knower (fem)
 't-aaaxi giver (fem) (Matthew 26:46)
 'kas-li
sense-have, sensible person
 ge'd-e 'way-t-i
go-inf lack-t-VN, non-goer

7.9 -in'naanih whatever, whoever

The construction for *whatever* or *whoever* is the clitic in'naanih (in'naanni in the Northern dialect) suffixed to verbs in sentences embedded in noun phrases. The verb becomes an infinitive, losing person and tense affixes. The form is used either as a relative (see T 12) or a nominalization with the suffix -m (see T 16) and therefore precedes both of these transformations (see T 10). The infinitive has all vowels a in the prefixing verb class (see 12.1.3) unless the first vowel is long, in which case only it becomes aa, while other vowels are the same as in the imperfect (mid vowels raised [see 12.1.5]). The final syllable of the *whatever* marker may be deleted in relative clauses (-in'naan). When preceded by a vowel (from y deletion [see 12.1.17 and 11.2.3]), the initial i assimilates to the preceding vowel (see 11.2.5.a), and then the syllable shortens before -nn (see 11.2.5.b): ha-n'naanih put *whatever*, be-n'naanih take *whatever*.

'oson ab-in'naanih taa'ma me'ce (relative)
they do-whatever work good
Whatever work they do is good.

adx-in'naanni-m 'ab-a (John 2:5; cf. 18:31) (nominal)
say-whatever-nom do-pl, impera
Do whatever he says.

aamin-in'naan (Aussa aamin-in'naanih) 'num (relative)
believe-whomever man
anyone who believes
 (John 3:16)

aabuk-in'naan (Aussa aakub-in'naanih) 'num (relative)
born-whomever man
whoever is born
 (John 3:8)

aacub-in'naan ma'ri (or aacub-in'naanih) (relative)
drink-whomever person
whoever drinks
 (John 4:13; cf. 14)

amaat-in'naan wac'di (John 4:25) (relative)
come-whatever time
whenever he comes

'lee angayy-in'naan wac'di (root engeyy) (relative)
water move-whatever time
whenever the water moves
 (John 5:4)

ab-in'naanni-m-i ba'd-i 'kaadu 'to-nnah a'b-a (nominals)
do-whatever-nom-but son-nom also this-as do-he,impf
But whatever he does, the son likewise also does.
 (John 5:19 and 20 abin-naanim)

u'bul-la ee'men-na ha-n'naan 'num-u (relative)
see-compd believe-compd put-whoever man-and
and whoever sees and believes
 (John 6:40)

ha-n'naanni-m (John 12:6) (nominal)
put-whatever-nom
whatever was put

a'nu 'usuk akxin-in'naanni-m a'b-a (root ikxin) (nominal)
I he love-whatever-nom do-I,impf
I do whatever he loves.
 (John 8:29)

'kah daacim-in'naanni-m (John 16:23 and 11:22)
unspecified obj beg-whatever-nom
whatever you request

a'nu a'b-a-m ab'ba 'yoo 'kah amris-in'naanni-m-i
I do-I,impf-nom father me unsp NP order-whatever-nom-is
What I do is whatever the father orders me.
 (John 14:31)

abb-in'naanni-m-it yaa'be-l-e (John 16:13)
hear-whatever-nom-about speak-fut-he
He will speak about whatever he hears.
 (nominal in postpositional phrase)

a'nu el'le an-in'naann-ikke-l (relative with -ikke)
I at am-whenever-place-to
to whatever place I am at
 (John 17:24; cf. 21:18)

asxab-in'naanih *whoever thinks* (root usxub)
 andafal-in'naanih *whoever stumbles* (root unduful)
 adaggal-in'naanih *whoever milks* (idiggil)
 adxad-in'naanih *whoever sews* (idxid)
 afrax-in'naanih *whoever rejoices* (ifrix)
 ax-in'naanih *whoever gives* (exey, syncope and y deletion)
 angadd-in'naanih *whoever denies* (engedd)

atxat-in'naanih *whoever chews* (etxete)
 angaaraw-in'naanih *whoever assembles* (ongoorow)
 assakaat-in'naanih *whoever rejoices* (ossokoot)

7.10 Infinitives

7.10.1 -'e Infinitive

The 'e infinitive suffixes a stressed 'e to the imperfect stem. The imperfect 'aa marker is only retained in the prefixing class, with the initial vowel becoming a (see 12.1.1) and mid vowels raised (see 12.1.5). In the suffixing class, the 'aa is lost before the final 'e (see 12.1.20).

The 'e infinitive is found in the future tense, in sentence complements which negate the action of the infinitive, and in the *ought* construction followed by -h me'ce (see 3.3).

a'b-e-y-yo
do-inf-fut-I, I will do

aaku'm-e-t-to
imperf, win-fut-put-you, you will win

soo'l-e way-'t-a
stand-inf lack-she, you-impf, she doesn't (you don't) stand

aami'n-e 'yoo ka'l-e
impf believe-inf me stop-he, perf
He prevented me from believing.

ak'm-e-h me'ce
impf, eat-inf-h good
It is good (one ought) to eat.

7.10.2 -i Infinitive

The i infinitive is marked by an unstressed final i on the base, leaving stress on the final stem syllable. In the prefixing class, all stem vowels change to a (see 12.1.3).

The i infinitive is found in sentence complements and, in the Asgaffen dialect, with *either-or* constructions as an alternative to the subjunctive. (For a derivation of the -i-h versus -a-h *as* participle from the i infinitive, see 11.2.5.a and b.)

'ged-i 'yoo 'h-ee
go-inf me put-perf, he
He permitted me to go.

a'bal-i 'koo hay-'n-e (root ubul)
see-inf you put-we-perf
We permitted you to see.

'sool-i-y soo'l-e 'way-i ak'k-e-t-to
stand-inf-conj stand-inf lack-inf become-inf-fut-you
You will either stand or not stand.

7.11 Participles (see 5.5 above for details)

7.11.1 Imperfect Participle

The imperfect participle is marked by a final unstressed -uk in prefixing verbs and -ak in suffixing verbs (see 11.2.5.a and b). Stress remains on the root-final syllable (see 11.2.1.a). In prefixing verbs, all root vowels are a (see 12.1.3). No person, number, or aspect variations are found.

a'kam-uk ge'd-e (root okom)
eat-impf part go-I, he, perf
I, he went eating.

aa'dag-uk xawwee'n-e (root eedeg)
know-impf part forget-I, he, perf
While knowing, I, he forgot.

'haad-ak rad-'d-e
fly-impf part fell-you, she-perf
While flying, you, she fell.

7.11.2 As Participle

The *as, while* participle (semantically equivalent to the above imperfect participle) is formed by a suffixed -ih in the prefixing class and -ah in the suffixing class. The prefixing class also has all stem vowels a (see 12.1.2). Stress remains on the final syllable of the root (see 11.2.1.a). The form is infinitive, with no conjugation of aspect, person, or number. (See 11.2.5.a for a derivation from the *i* infinitive with an explanation of the -ah variant.)

a'bal-ih inniki'se (root ubul)
see-while I, fell, While seeing, I fell.

'usuk 'ged-ih oob'be
he go-as I, heard, As he went, I heard.

7.11.3 Perfect Participle

The perfect participle is the perfect aspect plus an obligatory -h. It indicates time preceding the matrix (or following) verb. The participle replaces all elements in an identical auxiliary in the matrix verb.

a'tu ged'd-e-h ab'l-e-t-to
you go-you-perf see-inf-fut-you
Having gone, you will see.

7.12 Verb Classes

As a summary, the variations between the three classes of Afar verbs are noted below.

7.12.1 Suffixing Verbs

The largest and most productive class of Afar verbs is distinguished by suffixes for person, aspect, and mood markers. This class includes all consonant- and a-initial stems and a few non-a vowel initials. (This dichotomy suggests positing a deleted initial glottal stop for the a initials and possibly the other vowel initials in this class; see Bliese, 1973.) The stem vowels in this class are constant. Since this is the productive class, the generative rules have normally been described on the basis of this class, with the other classes having the more complicated reconstruction rules (see 12.1.1 and 2).

ab-'t-e
do-you-perf, you did
 sool-'i's-a
stand-caus-I, he, impf, I, he caused to stand
 esser-'n-e
ask-we-perf, we asked

The suffixing class has the following other characteristics, most of which may be interpreted as phonological variations from the normal forms.

- (1) Loss of the third person marker *y* (see 11.2.3).

soo'l-e
stand-perf, I, he stood
 ab-aa-'na
do-impf-pl, they do

- (2) Loss of benefactive (-it) and causative (-is) vowel when in an open syllable after short monosyllabic roots in the Aussa dialect (see 11.2.2.a).

bar-'s-a
learn-caus-impf, I teach (or he teaches)
 bar-t-ee-'ni
learn-benef-perf-pl, they learn

- (3) a instead of i in *as*, and a instead of u in the imperfect participle (see 11.2.5.a and b).

'ab-a-h

do-as, as (he, etc.) does

(cf. a'kam-ih *as (he) eats*, prefixing)

'kat-ak *leaving*

(cf. a'bal-uk *seeing*, prefixing)

- (4) Only -'e suffix on negativized infinitive (see 12.1.1)

fi'l-e way-'t-a

comb-impf neg-you-impf

You aren't combing.

(Cf. a-kri'ye way-'t-a *impf-read neg-you-impf*,

you aren't reading, with an a- (imperfect) infinitive marker in the prefixing class.)

- (5) The suffixing class verbal noun suffixes a stressed 'o to the stem (see 12.3.7).

soo'l-o *standing*

xa'b-a *leaving*

- (6) An instrument-agent verbal noun is formed by suffixing -'eyna (-ey'ni *nominative*) to the stem (see 12.3.7).

da'l-eyna *parent*

al'f-eyna *closer*

7.12.2 Prefixing Verbs

A small number of verbs are distinguished by prefixes for person markers (see 12.1.1) and most mood markers (causative, benefactive, and passive, especially in Northern dialects, see 12.1.2). Perfect aspect is distinguished by non-a stem vowels and imperfect by the first stem vowel and other which precede it (with person and mood prefixes) becoming a and other mid (e or o) stem vowels becoming high (i or u). All verbs in this class are nonlow vowel initial in their basic form (i, e, u, o).

y-ooko'me *he-won*

t-a-aku'me *she-imperf-wins*

usuu'le *I laughed*

y-a-suulee-'ni

they-imperf-laugh-pl, they laugh

n-ey-s-eeme'ne (imperf naysaami'ne)

we-caus-believed, we caused to believe

t-a-tt-akumee-'ni

you-impf-benef-eat-pl, you eat

y-a-m-bul'le

he-impf-pass-see, it is visible

The prefixing verb class has the following other characteristics differentiating it from suffixing verbs:

- (1) Stem vowels become a before mood (jussive, subjunctive, and consultative), -inn (perfect negative, nonpotential conditionals, and *whatever*--although initially long vowels become aa while others are raised for *whatever*), the -i infinitive (*as* and *hay* complements), the -u infinitive (imperfect participles and continuous tense), and the verbal noun with the m- prefix or -'iyya suffix (see 12.1.3).

y-aa'gar-ay (root oogor)
he-hit-juss, *let him hit*

t-a'xay-u (root exey)
you-give-subj, *that you give*

andafa'l-oô (unduful)
stumble-consul, *shall I stumble*

'm-akxan-in'n-a (ikxin)
neg-love-perf-he, *he didn't love*

adaa'r-inn-a-y (uduur)
return-had-he-if, *if he had returned*

andac-in'naanih (unduc)
swallow-whoever, *whoever swallows*
but note aacub-in'naanih (oocob) *whoever drinks*

aa'car-ih (oocor)
hide-as

aa'man-i 'yoo 'h-ee (eemen)
believe-inf me permit-he,perf
he permitted me to believe

a'kam-u-k (okom)
eat-imperf-part, *eating*

ac'ruf-u-k su'g-e (ucuruf)
rest-impf-part was-I,he,perf, *I,he was resting.*

m-annaka'sa *falling* (verbal noun), (innikis)

anca'b-iyya *hating* (verbal noun), (incib)

- (2) The negative prefix 'ma is reduced before vowels in closed syllables in the prefixing class (see 11.2.5.b). Vowels are in stem-initial position in the first person singular imperfect, the imperative, and in all persons of the perfect.

'm-akma *I'll not eat* (see 'ma-t-ak'ma *you won't eat*)

'm-aktab-in *don't write* (see 'ma-abin *don't do*,
suffixing class vowel initial with an open syllable)

'm-andafal-in'na *he, she didn't stumble*

(see 'm-aadag-it'ta *you didn't know* with long stem-initial vowel and open syllable)

- (3) Raising of mid vowels e and o to i and u is regularly found in the prefixing class in the imperfect, imperative (including compounds formed on the imperative stem), the -'e infinitive (future and complements before negativizers such as way, rarr, kal, and xin), and optionally in causatives of the prefixing class which have an initial long o or e (the long vowel being shortened) (see 12.1.5).

y-aa-gu're (root oogor)
he-impf-hit, he hits

aag'gim or iig'gim (eegeem)
be ignorant

u'kum-ma or a'kum-ma 'hee (okom)
I, he ate

aadi'ge-y-yo (eedeg)
know-fut-I, I will know

anguuru'we way-'t-a
meet lack-you-impf
You are not meeting.

i-ys-ici'te or e-ys-eece'te (ecete)
I-caus-tread
I caused to step on

- (4) The initial vowel of most prefixing class imperatives and their related compound forms may be either a or the raised stem vowel as in (3) above (see 12.1.6).

ag'gif or ig'gif *kill* (root iggif)
a'suul or u'suul *laugh* (usuul)
aa'dig or ii'dig *know* (eedeg)
a'kum-ma or u'kum-ma 'h-ee *he ate* (compound of okom)

(but only ee'mec, not aamic or iimic *prepare*; ee'men, not aamin or iimin *believe*)

- (5) The verbal noun of the prefixing class is formed by an initial m- with all other vowels becoming a (although a few forms have a final 'o instead of 'a) (see 12.3.7).

m-aag'ra *hitting*
m-ak'mo *eating*

7.12.3 Irregular Verb Class (Modifiers)

The modifiers and a few irregular verbs such as 'le *has*, kin'ni *is*, and 'hinna *is not* form an unusual class with many unique features.

- (1) There is no gender distinction in the irregular verb class, so third person feminine takes the same agreement as third person masculine (instead of with second person as in regular verbs [see T 40]).

'le *he, she has*
ca'sa *it, he, she is red*

- (2) The final vowel in third person singular is not predictable (see 12.1.8).

ca'do *it is white*
kulxi'ni *it is blue*
ca'sa *it is red*
'le *it has*

- (3) Other than third person singular forms have a stressed 'o(o) where regular verbs have tense markers (see T 36). First and second person also have an i before the person markers (see 12.1.8). The first person singular marker is y, which may also be derived as an epenthetic y to separate the i and o (see 12.1.9).

li'yo <i>I have</i>	li'no <i>we have</i>
li'to <i>you have</i>	litoo'nu <i>you(pl) have</i>
'le <i>he, she has</i>	loo'nu <i>they have</i>

- (4) Irregular verbs do not have the perfect-imperfect aspect variation, having only the equivalent of present tense (see T 36). 'le *has* has the alternate forms aal'le for other than present tense and sin'ni for negative (see end of 3.2.3).

kinni'to *you are*
ka'da *he, she is big*
aal'le-le *he, she will have* (Matthew 6:23)

- (5) Modifiers may be made into regular verbs by adding Coow for roots which select the suffixing class, or an initial vowel, usually identical to the vowels in the root, for those which select the prefixing class. The regularized verb form is required for imperative, jussive, consultative, conjunctions, conditionals, perfect participles, and for tenses other than present (see 12.3.2). (The imperfect participle with -uk and *as* with the suffix -ih may be formed on either stem with penultimate stress.)

i-k'xin love (kix'na)
 day-'yoow-ay let him be near (dayi)
 t-a-g'dib-u that she be difficult (gidba)
 n-a-kad'ē-oō OR n-a-kid'ē-oō shall we be great (kaēda)

lab-bow-'t-e-k'sa
 male-regul-you-perf-except
 except you are male (not la'b-ek'sa)

t-ēede'c-e-k
 you-pregnant-perf-if
 if you are pregnant (not idca-k)

dat-toow-ee-'ni-h sug-ee-'ni
 black-regul-perf-pl-part had-perf-pl
 they had become black (not datoo'nu sugee'ni)

a-cil's-ē-l-e
 regul-heavy-inf-fut-3rd pers
 he, she will be heavy (not cilisele)

a-cun'duy-u-k (or 'cund-u-k) su'g-e
 regul-small-impf-part was-he, perf
 he has been small

cad-doo'w-e-h biyaaki't-a
 white-regul-perf-part sick-he, impf
 Having become white, he is sick.
 (the aspirated base form ca'do-h biyaaki'ta does not
 give the perfect participle sense of consecutive
 time)

andarin-'noow-ah (or anda'rin-ih) 'laa y-am'be
 green-regul-as cattle it-grows
 While it is green the cattle grow.
 (not anda'rin-ah 'laa yam'be)

However, note the imperfect participles on modifiers.

ki'xin-uk y-en (or ak'xin-uk yen with regularizer)
 love-part he-was
 he was loving
 (John 11:5)

'day-uk t-e'ne (or day-'yoow-ak t-e'ne with regularizer)
 near-part she-was
 she was (being) near
 (John 11:18)

- (6) The verbal noun for modifiers has the suffix 'iyya. Those with the regularizers -Coow may use either the regularized or the base form. Those modifiers which take prefixes are required to have the initial regularizing vowel or an initial a- (see 12.3.7 and 7.8.3).

a-kxi'n-iyya or i-kxi'n-iyya *loving*
a-adi'c-iyya or i-idi'c-iyya *pregnancy*
day-yoo'w-iyya or da'y-iyya *nearness*
dat-too'w-iyya or da't-iyya *blackness*

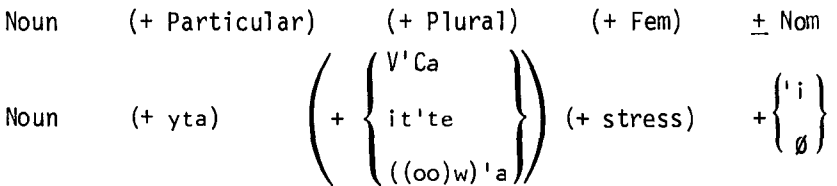
CHAPTER 8
NOMINALS

8.1 Morphology of Noun Roots

Afar noun roots are divided morphologically into (1) stressed vowel-final, (2) unstressed vowel-final, and (3) consonant-final roots. Stressed vowel-final forms take feminine agreement (*baar'ra woman, xa'do meat, ca'le mountain, cat'ri perfume*). Consonant-final and unstressed vowel-final roots take masculine agreement (*'af mouth, mu'tuk butter, a'rax place, xu'sul meter, a'lil heart, and unstressed vowel-final 'bara night, 'gita road, 'naafi dew, 'caku thinness, 'horra men's song*).

8.2 Order of Noun Affixes

The Afar noun consists of a stem followed by optional particular, plural, and feminine markers, and a nominative marker when in subject position. This can be diagrammed as follows:



8.3 Case

The only obligatory feature is case--meaning that while particular, plural, and feminine are optionally chosen, nominative is assigned to every subject and accusative (minus nominative) to all other nouns (see S 1).

8.3.1 Nominative Case

The subject of the Afar sentence takes the nominative case.

The subject may be identified as the first noun of the underlying sentence (see S 1).

ba'd-i xa'do yak'me
son-nom meat eats

aw'k-i ca'r-i a'mo-l 'daa cammi'se
boy-nom house-gen top-on stone threw
The boy threw a stone on top of the house.

Since the subject may be a relative clause, the environment for nominative being first in the sentence must be qualified in that an S may intervene. This occurs with the derivation which rewrites a noun phrase as sentence plus noun phrase (see PS 3).

a'nu ub'le aw'k-i 'daa cammi's-e
I saw boy-nom stone threw-he,perf
The boy whom I saw threw a stone.

It follows that the subject of the relative clause (a'nu I) is nominative, as it also is when the relative is in the direct object noun phrase.

aw'k-i a'nu 'g-ee 'daa cammi's-e
boy-nom I,nom found-I,perf stone threw-he,perf
The boy threw the stone which I found.

Except for compound subjects which take the accusative case (see T 20), other complex sentences keep both the matrix and subordinate subjects in the nominative.

a'nu a'maat-ih 'usuk 'yoo y-ub'le
I,nom came-as he,nom me he-saw
As I came, he saw me.
(but 'yoo 'kee 'koo a'maat-ih 'usuk 'yoo y-ub'le
As you and I came, he saw me.)

Even though the matrix subject may be moved to the front (see T 48), the nominatives do not change.

'usuk a'nu a'maat-ih 'yoo y-ub'le
he I came-as me he-saw
He saw me as I came.

The optional processes of subject deletion (see T 47) and movement of the matrix object before the embedded verb (see T 46) in transitive sentence complements (see T 29) and imperfect participle bring about surface sentences with accusative case nouns in first position, but these are all underlying direct objects.

'kaa aadi'ge (from underlying a'nu 'kaa aadi'ge
him I know I him know

'tet a'bal-i 'h-ee
her see-inf permit-he,perf

(from 'usuk a'bal-i 'tet 'h-ee
he see-inf her permit-he,perf
He permitted her to see.)

'awka inaa'cit-ak 'ge-et-to-n (Luke 2:12)
child,acc sleep-impf part find-fut-you-pl
You will find the child sleeping.

The marker for nominative is (1) stressed -'i for unstressed vowel-final masculine nouns (gi't-i *road* from 'gita, bi's-i *color* from 'bisu, buu't-i *pot* from 'buuti) and (2) zero for consonant-final masculine nouns and stressed vowel-final feminine nouns.

ru'sas <i>bullet</i> (masc)	nac'na <i>candy</i> (fem)
ma'rub <i>sheep</i> (masc)	cammu're <i>cloud</i> (fem)
'xan <i>milk</i> (masc)	ti'ro <i>liver</i> (fem)

The stressed vowel-final and consonant-final nouns are identical in base and nominative forms. The final vowel of the masculine noun class is lost before the nominative -'i (see 12.2.3).

'iba becomes i'b-i *foot* (nom)
 'filla becomes fill'i *neck* (nom)
 a'yuf'ta becomes ayuf-'t-i *leaf* (particular nom)
 'tammu becomes tam'm-i *taste* (nom)

The lack of case marker for consonant-final masculine nouns and stressed vowel-final feminine nouns may lead to ambiguity as to whether a noun is a subject or object (or whether or not subject deletion T 47 has applied).

'num y-aagu're	(1) <i>a man</i> (nom) <i>hit</i> OR (2) <i>he hit a man</i> (obj)
ra'kub y-ak'me	(1) <i>a camel</i> (nom) <i>eats</i> OR (2) <i>he eats a camel</i> (obj)
i'na t-ub'le	(1) <i>mother saw</i> OR (2) <i>she saw (OR you saw) mother</i>
macan'da t-aadi'ge	(1) <i>little sister knows</i> OR (2) <i>she knows (OR you know) little sister</i>

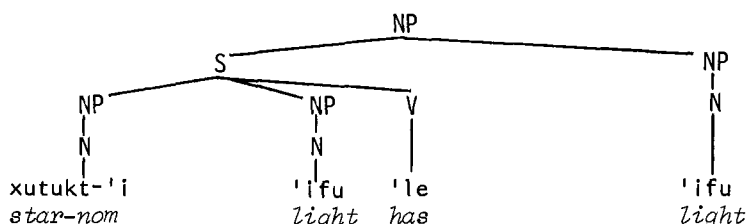
8.3.2 Genitive Case

8.3.2.1 Regular Genitive

The genitive case is used for nouns and pronouns when they have a relationship of possession or ownership of a following noun. The markers for masculine nouns are the same as the nominative described above in 8.3.1 (stressed -'i for unstressed vowel-final masculine nouns and zero for consonant-final masculine nouns). Stressed vowel-final (feminine) genitives take an -h before a vowel-initial noun and a duplication of the first consonant before consonant-initial nouns (see 12.3.5).

aw'k-i ki'taaba a boy's book
 'num ki'taaba a man's book
 sa'ga-h 'iba a cow's foot
 bu'da-m 'mara village's people, villagers

The derivation for genitive (see T 11) in this grammar depends on the "relative" expansion of noun phrase to sentence plus noun phrase (see PS 3). The derivation may be illustrated by the following branching node diagram:



The transformation then deletes 'ifu 'le light has, leaving the genitive construction xutukt-'i 'ifu the star's light. Since the first noun of any sentence will already have been assigned the feature "plus nominative" (see S 1), the correct nominative-genitive marker will be derived with no further change in masculine forms. Feminine genitive markers require rules for the -h or -C (see 12.3.5 and 11.2.11.b). In the vowel-final masculine noun class, the stressed -'i nominative-genitive replaces the final stem vowel (see 12.2.3).

i'b-i sa'ro foot's cloth, sock (root 'iba)
 ayuf't-i 'lee leaf's water, sap (root a'yuf-ta)
 cam'm-i 'bada uncle's son, nephew (root 'cammi)
 awii't-i gala'lo eagle's egg (root a'wiġta)

In the consonant-final masculine noun class, no case distinction is made, so the nominative, genitive, and accusative are all the same base form (see 12.3.5).

ma'rub da'gur sheep's hair, wool
 ki'tab 'gali book's page
 da'nan a-'mo donkey's head
 sa'bun su'ruiy soap's scent

An exception occurs with monosyllable nouns with a short vowel. The suffix -ti, which is identical to the particular suffix -t plus its regular genitive -'i, is used instead of the monosyllable base form (see 12.2.1). This is probably a reflex of the t genitive found in other Cushitic languages (see Black 1974:95).

bar-'t-i 'wax night's cold
 rob-'t-i cammu're rain cloud
 xan-'t-i 'bisu milk's color

bad-'d-i 'bagul *sea's belly* (t to d after d)
(Matthew 14:25)

This same process of adding the suffix -t is obligatory for the genitive of the consonant-final names of weekdays (only the following four) even when not monosyllabic. (In the Northern dialect, other proper names also take a t in the genitive.) This use of -t does not apply with genitive nouns with a modifier [see 8.3.2.2 below].)

gumcat-'t-i ay'ro
Friday-part-gen day, the day of Friday

(a)xad-'d-i 'maaxa (for t to d see 11.2.9.a)
Sunday-part-gen morning, Sunday morning

kamis-'s-i 'xarra (for t to s see 11.2.9.a)
Thursday-part-gen evening, Thursday evening

itlen-'t-i 'bar
Monday-part-gen night, Monday night

xasan-'t-i sa'ro (Northern only)
Hasan-part-gen clothes, Hasan's clothes
(In Aussa and Southern dialects, xa'san sa'ro.
The addition of t would be slanderous in some areas.)

Another relic of the Cushitic t genitive is found in some noun plus noun compounds in the Aussa dialect when two underlying vowels meet at the boundary.

bado-'t-ala *land-animal, snake*
(bado-'h-ala with a regular h genitive in Shewa)

daro-'t-ala *grain-animal, weevil*
(daro-'h-ala in Shewa)

In the stressed vowel-final feminine noun class, although no nominative versus accusative case distinction is made, the genitive is marked. When two vowels come together at the genitive boundary, an -h is added which keeps them from assimilating. (Since this is obligatory, it has been derived as lexical suppletion [see 12.3.5] rather than as the similar but optional glottal stop or h at pause borders [see 11.2.16.d].) The Sandhi stress liaison rule (see 11.2.1.c), which causes the movement of stress from the second to the first syllable of the head noun, operates in spite of the -h separating the vowels. When the following noun is consonant initial, that consonant is geminated in place of the genitive -h (see 11.2.11.b).

baa'do-h ullul'lu *country's slope*
sa'ga-h 'ayti (base ay'ti) *cow's ear*
diidaa'le-h 'amo (base a'mo) *bee's head*
boo'da-c cay'so *meadow's grass*

baar'ra-b bi'la *woman's necklace*
 rugaa'ge-g gal'bo *calf's hide*

Three genitive forms which must be marked lexically have been found with a final -n besides the genitive -'i.

- (1) nun-'t-i-n *man-t-genitive-n*, *man's human*
 (the -m of 'num assimilates to -n before
 t [see 11.2.10.d])
 nun-'t-i-n la'fa *human bone*
- (2) (m)iy'y-i-n *who-genitive-n*
 (from the interrogative pronoun '(m)iyya *who*)
 (m)iy'y-i-n 'laa bey'ta *Whose cattle are you taking?*
- (3) sit't-i-n *together* (hit'tin, (t)it'tin)
 'isin sit't-i-n ibat'te 'hittak kaclis-s-aa-'na
you your-gen-n feet each other wash-you-impf-pl
You will wash each other's feet.
 (John 13:14)

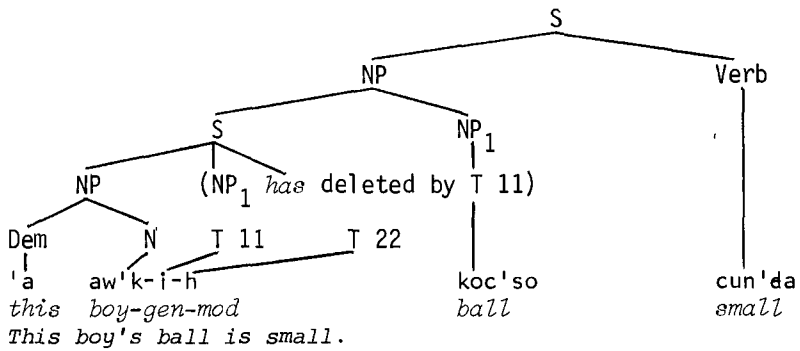
As with nominative forms, genitive forms which are not distinguished from objective (or nominative) may produce ambiguous sentences.

aw'ki ma'rub y-ab'le (1) *A boy sees a sheep*, OR
 (2) *A boy's sheep sees.*

xaa'kim ra'kub y-a-k'me
doctor camel he-impf-eats
 (1) *A doctor's camel eats*, OR
 (2) *A doctor eats a camel.*

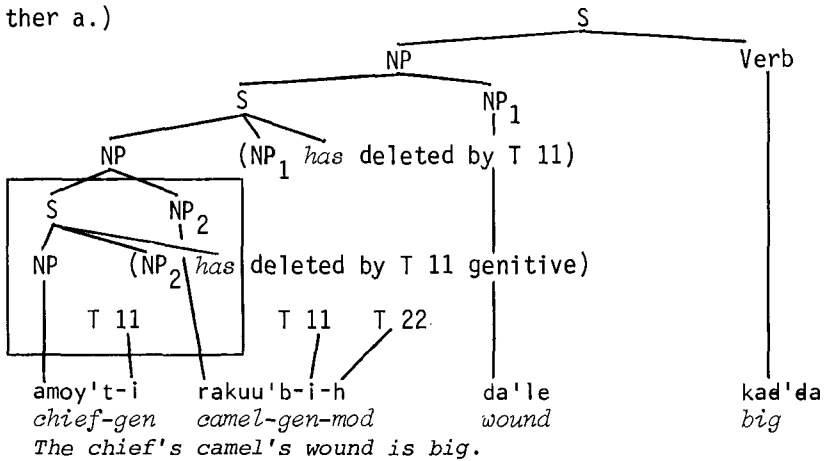
8.3.2.2 Genitive Nouns with Modifiers

Afar has an interesting construction by which genitive nouns with modifiers have an added suffix -h besides the regular genitive. With the added -h, the genitive 'i is not deleted after consonant-final nouns (see 12.3.5). This -h does not assimilate to nonfricatives as does the feminine genitive -h (see 11.2.11.b). The derivation for this is illustrated by the following branching diagrams. In the first, the modifier of the genitive noun is a demonstrative.

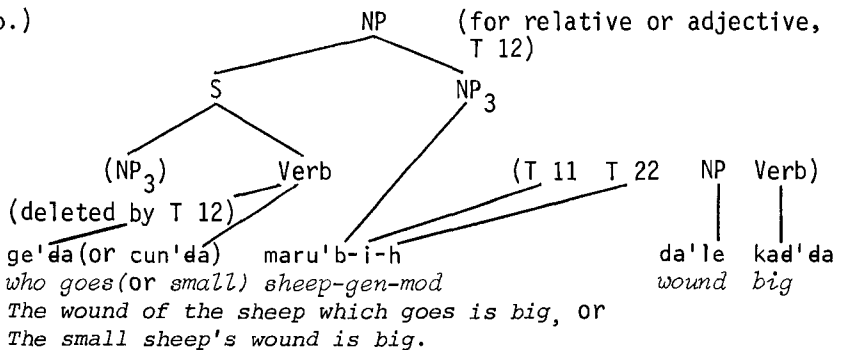


The second possible derivation is for the genitive noun, which is itself derived from a *has* sentence, to be modified by another sentence (a genitive, relative, or adjective).

(either a.)



(or b.)



idal't-i ca'r-i-h a'rax me'ce
 elder-gen house-gen-mod place good
 The elder's place is good.

'kay i'na-h sa'ro fa'd-a
 his mother,gen-mod clothes want-he,impf
 He wants his mother's clothes.

'yi bu'da-h ma'r-i-h 'laa man'go
 my village,gen-mod people-gen-mod cattle many
 My village's people's cattle are many.

ka'l-e-n lud'd-i-h in'na-h (John 15:6)
 cut-perf-pl branch-gen-mod likeness-for
 as a branch which they cut
 (note the nominal base of in'na as)

rad'd-e gille-h 'af y-iddig'le
 fell-fem-perf knife,gen-mod mouth it-broke
 The mouth of the knife which fell broke.

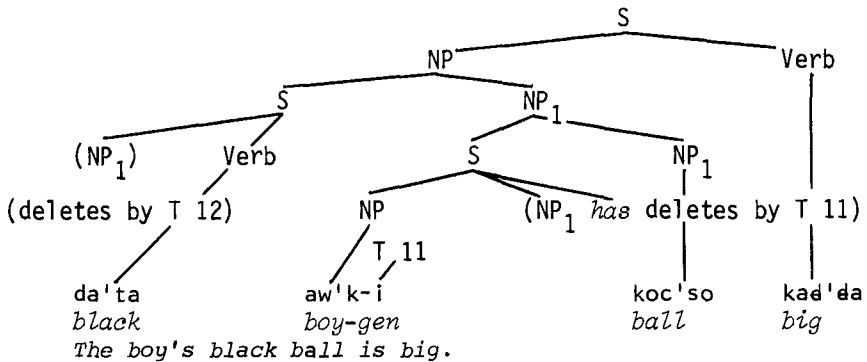
As noted above, when the consonant-final noun class is used in the modified genitive position, it has the genitive -i separating the final consonant from the -h marker. This -i gives the two masculine noun classes the same form in this genitive construction, although the nominative-genitive -i is only found here and with -'i-m that which belongs to constructions (see 8.3.24) in the consonant-final class. The stress on monosyllabic consonant-final nouns was found to remain on the root (see 12.2.1), but other nouns have the -i-h suffix stressed. In Shewa and Wollo -ih changes to -Vh before fan toward, with the V the same as the preceding vowel.

'yi 'san-ih bi'si ca'do
 my nose's complexion is-white

'a 'raat-ih bi'si da'ta
 this path's color is-black

'a suba'x-ih bi'si wolci'ni
 this melted-butter's color is-brown

It must be noted that a sentence daughter of the head noun phrase, which would have the same surface position as a daughter of the sister sentence, does not take the -h. The genitive noun itself must be modified.



Compare: da'ta aw'k-i-h koc'so kad'da
 black boy-gen-mod ball big
 The black boy's ball is big.

8.3.2.3 Genitive Use of Postposition -k

The postposition *-k* of, from may also be used to express a genitive relation between nouns. In the feminine stressed vowel-final noun class, the *-k* assimilates to a following consonant in this construction (see 11.2.11.b) unless in the above modified genitive position (see 8.3.2.2), the same as the *-h* genitive marker.

da'nan-a-k ca'bal
 donkey-of blood, blood of a donkey
 cudu'r-eyna-k arra'ba a liar's tongue
 a'mo-k in'ti a head's eye
 rey'ta-m moy'ya a goat's skull
 xa'da-b ba'da tree's daughter, fruit
 tayya'ra-g ga'li airplane's wing

'yi rey'ta-k moy'ya (not rey'ta-m when modified)
 my goat's skull

ka'bri-k ad'da-t (functionally postpositional noun ad'da)
 grave-of inside-at, inside the grave
 (John 12:17)

When the *-k* genitive is a pronoun (personal or anaphoric), it usually stands behind the head noun instead of in front (the obligatory position for both regular and *-k* genitive nouns). This variation suggests a relationship with the Southern Lowland East Cushitic possessive pronominal suffixes noted by Black (1974:239). The *-k* genitive pronoun also follows a postposition on the head noun (see T 58 and 6.5.8).

a'mo 'yo-k biyaakit-'t-a or 'yok a'mo biyaakit'ta
head me-of hurt-fem-impf, My head hurts.

bu'da-'ffan 'ko-k gen-'n-a
home-to you-of go-we-impf
We are going to your home.

ki'tab 'teeti-k ikri'ye
book her-of I,read, I read her book.

moo'tar-al 'ninni-k n-eme'e'te
car-by our(anaphoric)-of we-came
We came by our car.

8.3.2.4 That Which Belongs to, Genitive Plus Nominalizer

Nouns and pronouns (including demonstratives which do not take the regular genitive) may take a combination of the genitive marker and the nominalizer -im (see T 11 and 16) to produce forms meaning *that which belongs to* or literally *that which he has* (see T 17). As with regular genitives, the basic genitive suffix is 'i for masculine nouns and h for feminine stressed vowel-final nouns (see 12.3.5). A t is added in short monosyllables of the consonant-final class (see 12.2.1). The genitive 'i of unstressed vowel-final nouns causes a preceding unstressed vowel to delete (see 12.2.3). In these masculine vowel-final nouns, the syllable before the nominalizer is a long -iim when open in predicate position and before postpositions. The demonstratives keep the final -h of their nonmodifying form ('ah, 'woh) and along with other consonant-final nouns keep root stress, leaving -im unstressed. In this case, the i of -im is not lengthened in open syllables, indicating that the regular genitive for consonant-final nouns is used (without the extra -i which only shows in the -i-h of modified genitives). An underlying long vowel is also not lengthened by the addition of -im on consonant-final nouns, suggesting treating -im as a clitic rather than a suffix. The i with -im is always i. This may be derived with a T rule (see T 17) or by having the underlying vowel of the nominalizer -Vm an i.

aw'k-i-m, aw'k-i-im-i
that which belongs to the boy or
that which the boy has ('awka)

aw'ka-h-im, aw'ka-h-im-i
that which belongs to the girl (aw'ka)
(final -i is predicate is)

li'co-h-im, li'co-h-im-i
that which belongs to the day (li'co)

- 'y-i-m, 'y-i-im-i
that which belongs to me
 ('yi is the genitive of 'yoo me)
- ra'kub-im (not ra'kuub-im)
that which belongs to camels
- 'ah-im, 'ah-im-i *that which belongs to this*
 'woh-im, 'woh-im-i *that which belongs to that*
 'rob-tim, 'rob-tim-i *that which belongs to rain ('rob)*
 'xan-tim, 'xan-tim-i *that which belongs to milk ('xan)*
- 'raat-im, 'raat-im-i
that which belongs to the path ('raat)
- a'rax-im, a'rax-im-i
that which belongs to the place (a'rax)
- moo'tar-im, moo'tar-im-i
that which belongs to the car (moo'tar)
- ca'r-i-m, ca'r-i-im-i
that which belongs to the house ('cari)
- ba'g-im, ba'g-i-im-i
that which belongs to the abdomen ('bagu)
- ma'xa-h-im, ma'xa-h-im-i
that which belongs to what? (ma'xa)
- 'a duy'ye 'yi cam'm-i-im-i
this stuff my uncle-gen-nom-is
This stuff is my uncle's.
- amoy't-i-im-il y-usuulee-'ni
ruler-gen-nom-on they-laughed-pl
They laughed about that which belongs to the ruler.
- 'is macan'da-h-im fad-'d-a
she younger sister-gen-nom want-she-impf
She wants that which (her) younger sister has.
- 'woo sa'ro aboy'ya-h-im-i
that cloth grandmother-gen-nom-is
That cloth is grandmother's.
- 'y-i-m 'k-u-um-u-y 'k-u-m 'y-i-im-i
my-gen-nom you-gen-nom-is-and you-gen-nom my-gen-nom-is
Mine is yours and yours is mine.
- 'a la'fa kimmi'ro-h-im-i
this bone bird-gen-nom-is
This bone is a bird's.

The natural derivation of '-im *that which belongs to* is to have the noun the subject of a *has* sentence dominated by a noun phrase (see PS 3, NP → S). The genitive transformation will

delete the *has* and add the genitive marker (see T 11). The sentence will further apply to the nominalization transformation (see T 16), where it will receive the *-im*. It is interesting to note that the *-im* is suffixed to the sentence, not the verb which has already been deleted (see 1.2 above).

8.3.3 Accusative Case

Those nouns which are not nominative-genitive may be grouped together as accusative (direct objects, postpositional objects, and predicate complements). They all take the base form with no marker. In masculine nouns, since the *-i* of the nominative-genitive case can be predicted while the final vowel cannot be predicted, the base form must be the accusative. As noted above, the only noun class with marked nominative-accusative case distinctions is the unstressed vowel-final masculine class. Feminine stressed vowel-final nouns and consonant-final masculine nouns are identical whether nominative or accusative.

a'fa t-a'ni
door(nom,fem) it-is present
There is a door.

a'fa a'l'f-e
door(acc,fem) close-he,I,perf
He(OR I) closed the door.

ma'rub kin'ni
sheep(nom,masc) it is
It is a sheep.

ma'rub y-usguu'de
sheep(acc,masc) he-slaughtered
He slaughtered a sheep.

gi't-i me'ce
road-nom is good
The road is good.

'gita ab'le
road(acc,masc) I,see
I see a road.

'ah malay'kaytu-t war-'s-e
this angel-by tell-caus-he,perf
He told this by an angel.

malaykay't-i 'yalla 'hinna
angel-nom God is not
An angel is not God.

yal'l-i cammu're-k 'rob ruu'b-a
God-nom cloud(fem)-from rain send-he,impf
God sends rain from the clouds.

'lee ba'xo 'woo a'rax-a-k bah-'t-e
water wood, fem that place-V-from bring-fem-perf
Water brought wood from that place.
 (For the vowel before the postposition, see 11.2.2.b.)

wa'dar sa'ga 'hinna
goat cow, fem is not
A goat is not a cow.

sa'ga wa'dar 'hinna
A cow is not a goat.

Besides the normal uses of the accusative or base form noted above, the following should also be noted.

(1) Compound subjects in base form:

Compound subjects have the base accusative form rather than the expected nominative. When nouns, they also take feminine singular agreement (see T 20).

'yoo 'kee 'koo n-aadi'ge
me and you we-know, You and I know.

'kaa 'kee 'tet ged-a-a'na
him and her go-impf-pl, He and she go.

i'na 'kee 'baada digir-'t-a
mother and son, acc play-fem-impf
Mother and son play.

i'daltu 'kee a'moyta yab-'t-a-h t-an
elder, acc and leader, acc speak-fem-impf-part fem-is
The elder and leader are speaking.

(2) Head of relatives in base form when followed by an -iyya clause:

A relative clause is in the base accusative form even when a subject is followed by a moved relative with the relative pronoun -iyya between it and the matrix verb.

ka'da a'moyta-y moo'tar 'le-h-iyya y-eme'e'te
big leader, acc-conj car has, he-who he-came
A great leader who has a car came.

sidi'xa 'urru-y 'laa be'y-a-h-iyya ge'd-a
three children, acc-conj cattle take-he, impf-who go-he, impf
Three children who are taking cattle go.

y-inniki'se 'awka-y 'abba ge'd-a-h-iyya wee'c-e
he-fell child, acc-conj father go-he, impf-who cry-he, perf
The child who fell, who is going to his father, cried.

8.4 Particular Noun Suffix

The particular noun suffix is -yta. If the noun root is feminine with a word-final stressed vowel, the particular suffix is stressed; if the root is masculine, the syllable before the particular suffix is stressed in the accusative base form. If the root is consonant final, the y deletes from -yta (see 11.2.3).

Root	Particular	Gloss
gacam'bo	gacambo-y'ta	<i>particular bread</i>
ca'le	cale-y'ta	<i>particular mountain</i>
di'yi	diy-i-y'ta	<i>particular charcoal</i>
dum'mu	dummu-y'ta	<i>particular vixen</i>
'dummu	dum'mu-yta	<i>particular tomcat</i>
wa'kali	waka'li-yta	<i>particular companion</i>
xu'tuk	xu'tuk-ta	<i>particular star</i>

When the vowel in the syllable before the particular suffix is a, the particular vowel dissimilates to -o (see 11.2.6.a.2).

gaal'la	gaalla-y'to	<i>particular female Oromo</i>
xaaba'sa	xaabasa-y'to	<i>particular female Ethiopian</i>
baar'ra	baarra-y'to	<i>particular woman</i>
macan'da	macanda-y'to	<i>particular younger sister</i>
sac'la	sacla-y'to	<i>particular older sister</i>

When the dissimilated suffix -yto is masculine without final stress, it becomes -yту by unstressed mid vowel raising in word-final syllables (see 11.2.6.b).

seeha'da	seeha'da-ytu	<i>particular person</i>
gaal'la	gaal'la-ytu	<i>particular male Galla, Oromo</i>
xaaba'sa	xaab'sa-ytu	<i>particular male Abyssinian, Ethiopian</i>
a'naya	a'nay-tu	<i>particular locust</i>
cas'kar	cas'kar-tu	<i>particular servant</i>
'sara	sa'ra-ytu	<i>particular clothes</i>
'bara	ba'ra-ytu	<i>particular evening</i>

Masculine nouns in the nominative-genitive case follow the pattern of unstressed vowel-final nouns in taking a stressed -'i in place of the final -u or a vowel of the particular suffix.

Accusative	Nom-Gen
a'mo-yta	amo-y't-i <i>particular chief</i>
(note the meaning change from a'mo head)	
a'yuf-ta	ayuf-'t-i <i>particular leaf</i>
seeha'da-ytu	seehada-y't-i <i>particular man</i>
i'dal-tu	idal-'t-i <i>particular elder</i>

The relation between particular and plural seems to be almost mutually exclusive. Forms with both a particular and a plural suffix are best described as lexicalized particular stems

(usually there is no extant base, although plural forms are often formed on the base without the particular suffix verifying that the base is not tV final). The order is particular-plural.

- aakamin'no-yta (*particular*) *winner*,
 aakaminno-yt-it'te *winners* (cf. Parker 1975: IV,1)
- ad'da-ytu (*particular*) *skin*,
 addaa'y-a OR adda-yt-it'te *skins* (Parker 1975: IV,9)
- aligge-y'ta (*particular*) *bridesmaid*,
 aligge-yt-it'te OR aliggee-'ga *bridesmaids*
 (Parker 1975: IV,9)
- arkay-'to (*particular*) *bed*,
 arkay-too-'ta *beds*
- makaa'ban-tu (*particular*) *chief*,
 makaaban-t-it'te OR makaaboo'nu *chiefs* (Parker 1975: IV,9)

In my MA thesis (1967:38-39, 85,87) the tentative designation "singular" with "definite" connotations was used for "particular." However, examples like 'a nam'ma darsay-'ti *these two disciple-particular* (John 1:37) lead me to designate the use of the ta suffix as "particular" instead of "singular." Tucker and Bryan (1966:526) define this suffix in cognate languages as follows: "The Particularizing Determinatives are used to indicate a *single individual* (e.g., of a species), . . . (in the Plural, *several single individuals*)."

Monosyllables with a short vowel in the consonant-final noun class and consonant-final weekday names even when not monosyllabic use an identical -t suffix as a regular part of the genitive (see 12.2.1 and 8.3.2.1). (In Northern Afar, a t may also be used for genitive proper names.) The t suffix in this case has no semantic value as particular and is best considered a relic of a genitive marker. The modified genitive, however, is regular with only -ih and no -t suffix.

- lax-'t-i ga'so *cattle fence*
 (but 'a la'x-ih ga'so *this cattle fence*)
- rob-'t-i sa'ro *rain clothes*
 (but 'woo ro'b-ih sa'ro *those rain clothes*)
- itlen-'t-i 'xarra *Tuesday evening*

8.5 Noun Plural Affixes

Although many plurals cannot be classified and must be listed lexically, the following three types are predictable for most words in each respective noun class (see Bliese 1967).

8.5.1 Plural of Nouns with a Final Stressed Vowel

Feminine nouns (with final vowel stress) form the plural by reduplicating the last consonant and adding a stressed -'a. The stem-final vowel is long before this suffix. This is probably the same process of an underlying long vowel shortening in word-final position (see 11.2.5.b). The final 'a of the feminine plural suffix dissimilates to 'i after a stem-final a, and a stem with the two last vowels a will also dissimilate the last stem a to o (see 11.2.6.a.1 and Bliese 1975).

a'mo amoo-'ma *heads*
 gi'le gilee-'la *knives*
 an'gu anguu-'ga *breasts*
 di'yi diyii-'ya *charcoal*

i final forms:

bu'da buđ aa-'di *villages*
 abee'sa abeesaa-'si *vipers*
 aboy'ya aboyyaa-'yi *grandmothers*
 boo'da boodaa-'di *meadows*
 boos'ta boostaa-'ti *letters*
 kobbo'ya kobboyaa-'yi *tin cans*
 daari'ya daariyaa-'yi *worms*
 dik'ka dikkaa-'ki *boundaries*
 maree'ta maree'taa-'ti *lovers*
 wasaxe'la wasaxelaa-'li *cloths*

i final forms with o dissimilation:

cadaa'ga cadaagoo-'gi *markets*
 arra'ba arraboo-'bi *tongues*
 car'sa carsoo-'si *foreheads*
 baas'ta baastoo-'ti *spaghetti*
 la'fa lafoo-'fi *bones*
 kac'da kacdoo-'di *chairs*
 da'la daloo-'li *gourds*
 nac'na nacnoo-'ni *candies*
 wassaa'ka wassaakoo-'ki *biers*
 tayya'ra tayyaroo-'ri *airplanes*
 caa'da caadoo-'di *rules*

8.5.2 Plural of Nouns with a Final Unstressed Vowel

Unstressed vowel-final (masculine) nouns take the plural suffix -it'te. The stem-final vowel deletes before the i (see 12.2.3).

'alsa	als-it'te	<i>moons</i>
'cammi	camm-it'te	<i>uncles</i>
'bagu	bag-it'te	<i>abdomens</i>

'daagu	daag-it'te	<i>news</i>
'koori	koor-it'te	<i>saddles</i>
cuda'reyna	cudareyn-it'te	<i>liars</i>
'cuwka	cuwk-it'te	<i>loads</i>
'saaku	saak-it'te	<i>mornings</i>

8.5.3 Plural of Consonant-Final Nouns

Consonant-final (masculine) nouns normally take one of the expansions of the suffix -((oo)w)'a. Although many exceptions occur in this group, the following pattern predominates.

8.5.3.1 -a alone is the normal plural when the last stem vowel is underlyingly long. The underlying long vowel surfaces when the -a suffix puts it in an open syllable. If the last two stem vowels are a, the last one will dissimilate to oo.

Non-a underlyingly long last vowels:

ra'kub	rakuu'b-a	<i>camels</i>
a'lib	alii'b-a	<i>tendons</i>
ca'rum	caruu'm-a	<i>belts</i>
ban'dug	banduu'g-a	<i>rifles</i>
xu'tuk	xutuu'k-a	<i>stars</i>
li'fic	lifii'c-a	<i>nails, claws</i>
maco'lim	macolii'm-a	<i>teachers</i>
mu'tuk	mutuu'k-a	<i>butters</i>
na'dur	naduu'r-a	<i>glasses</i>
dus'kum	duskuu'm-a	<i>bracelets</i>

Double a stems with underlying long last vowel:

ca'bal	caboo'l-a	<i>bloods</i>
ca'far	cafoo'r-a	<i>Afars</i>
a'kat	akoo't-a	<i>ropes</i>
da'ban	daboo'n-a	<i>ages</i>
da'hab	dahoo'b-a	<i>golds</i>
da'car	dacoo'r-a	<i>rivers</i>
ki'tab	kitoo'b-a	<i>books</i>
ma'gac	magoo'c-a	<i>graves</i>
ra'gad	ragoo'd-a	<i>thongs</i>
xa'las	xaloo's-a	<i>oxen</i>

8.5.3.2 -'wa is normally chosen when the underlying last vowel is short.

Base	With Postp	Plural	Gloss
a'bal	a'bal-at	abal-'wa	<i>game</i>
a'gur	a'gur-ut	agur-'wa	<i>young steer</i>
a'lib	a'lib-ik	alib-'wa	<i>tendon</i>
a'rax	a'rax-al	arax-'wa	<i>place</i>
as'tur	as'tur-uk	astur-'wa	<i>cricket</i>
bad'di ka'bur		bad'di kabur-'wa	<i>evil spirit</i>
bu'lul	bu'lul-uk	bulul-'wa	<i>flour</i>
'bus	'bus-uk	bus-'wa	<i>vagina</i>
'buuxus	'buuxus-uk	buuxus-'wa	<i>mid-back</i>
'diiron	'diiron-uk	diiron-'wa	<i>loin</i>
da'gar	da'gar-ak	da'gar-'wa	<i>body</i>
mi'dan	mi'dan-at	mi'dan-'wa	<i>scale</i>
mi'nin	mi'nin-ik	minin-'wa	<i>eyebrow</i>
mi'sil	mi'sil-ik	misil-'wa	<i>chief</i>
moo'tar	moo'tar-ak	mootar-'wa	<i>car</i>
see'tan	see'tan-at	seetan-'wa	<i>Satan</i>
xaa'gid	xaa'gid-il	xaagid-'wa	<i>business</i>

Some exceptions which take -'wa follow.

Base	With Postp	Plural	Gloss
lu'bak	lu'baak-at	lubak-'wa	<i>lion</i>
di'rar	di'raar-ak	dirar-'wa	<i>supper</i>
'kis	'kiis-ik	kis-'wa	<i>quintal</i>
a'lil	a'lil-il	alil-'wa	<i>chest</i>
'diil	'diil-it	diil-'wa	<i>stripe</i>
taa'riik	taa'riik-ik	taariik-'wa	<i>history</i>
bak'kela	bak'kel-at	bakkel-'wa	<i>rabbit</i>
da'beela	da'bel-al	dabel-'wa	<i>buck goat</i>
'ceela	'ceel-ak	cel-'wa	<i>well</i>
kabel'la	kabel'la-t	kabel-'wa	<i>shoe</i>

8.5.3.3 -oo'wa is normally chosen in the Aussa dialect when the noun is a monosyllable with a short a. (In Northern dialects the suffix is only -wa).

Base	With Postp	Plural	Gloss
'xan	'xanat	xan-oo'wa	<i>milk</i>
'lak	'lak-ak	lak-oo'wa	<i>thigh</i>
'af	'af-ak	af-oo'wa	<i>language</i>
'xad	'xad-ak	xad-oo'wa	<i>Sunday</i>

(Northern, a'xada, axadit'te)

'san	'san-at	san-oo'wa	<i>noses</i>
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Two words with a long aa base also take -oo'wa in the Aussa dialect.

'raat	'raat-ak	raat-oo'wa	<i>path</i>
'kaay	'kaay-at	kaay-oo'wa	<i>noise</i>

8.6 Gender of Nouns

Each noun base takes either feminine or masculine agreement in third person singular subject position for regular verbs. Stressed vowel-final nouns are feminine (except for monosyllables such as 'laa *cattle* and 'daa *stone*, which are also unique in having long final surface vowels).

a'mo t-an
head fem-is, There is a head.

ay'ti biyaakit-'t-a
ear hurt-fem-impf, The ear hurts.

ullul'lu t-a-m-mul'le
slope fem-impf-pass see, The slope is visible.

abee'sa t-a-k'me
vipers fem-impf-eat, The viper eats.

rugaa'ge t-er'de
calf fem-ran, The calf ran.

Masculine gender is regular for almost all consonant-final and nonstressed vowel-final nouns. (A few exceptions in the Aussa dialect which take feminine agreement are moo'tar *car*, ban'dug *rifle*, si'nam and um'mat *people*.)

xa'gid y-an
business masc-is, There is business.

ki'tab y-a-m-mul'le
book masc-impf-pass-see, The book is visible.

badee's-i y-a-b'le (root ba'deesa)
snake-nom masc-impf-see, The snake sees.

ba'g-i biyaaki't-e
abdomen-nom hurt-masc,perf, The abdomen hurt.

dam'm-i y-em'be (root 'dammi, 'dambi non-Aussa)
sin-nom masc-increased, Sin increased.

A process which changes unstressed mid vowels (e, o) to high (i, u) is evident in the distribution of vowels in the noun classes (see 11.2.6.b noted above with particular feminine nouns which become u from o). All final o and e nouns are feminine. (Most u- and i-final nouns are masculine, but this is not significant since the merger was from mid to high, which already included both stressed (feminine) and unstressed (masculine) forms: ay'ti *ear*, an'gu *breast*.)

Masculine

'saaku *morning*
 'tammu *taste*
 'bagu *abdomen*
 xaaba'saytu *Abyssinian*
 man
 gaal'laytu *Galla man*
 'alfi *thousand*
 'cammi *uncle*
 ba'xari *meadow*
 'buuti *pot*
 'dammi *sin*
 ger'sittu *another*

 nahar'sittu *first one*
 in'kittu *only one*
 nam'may 'hay-tu *second*
 man

Feminine

daa'xo *urine, feces*
 bir'ro *flower*
 da'ro *grain*
 xaabasay'to *Abyssinian woman*

 gaallay'to *Galla woman*
 cammu're *cloud*
 bulaa'ce *ground*
 da'le *wound*
 ataa'le *work*
 duy'ye *stuff*
 gersit'to *another* (John 2:6,
 Matthew 24:40-41)
 naharsit'to *first* (John 2:11)
 inkit'to *only one* (Mat. 24:40-41)
 nam'may hay'to *second woman*
 (Matthew 22:26, 39)

Derived gender is restricted to animate nouns (see S 1). The marker is stress difference on vowel-final nouns (the final vowel is stressed on feminine nouns, the same as on feminine base forms; and the penultimate vowel is stressed on masculine forms, the same as in the unstressed vowel-final masculine nouns). The difference may therefore be predicted both ways. Plural suffixes in some cases follow the masculine it'te group and in other cases follow the feminine -V'Ca group, so it is necessary to list the base lexically according to the plural marker. The majority have a feminine base, which also has support as the original base in that a stress loss also causes the vowel change (rather than an introduction of stress preserving it [see 11.2.6.b]). The -le forms below are compound nouns formed by a noun plus 'le *has*. They still retain the verbal quality of accepting the relative pronoun -iyya (dirab'le-h-iyya *who is a liar* I Cor. 15:72).

Fem	Masc	Plural	Gloss
dum'mu	'dummu	dummu-u'ma	<i>cat</i>
addu'ru	ad'duru	adduruu-'ra	<i>cat</i>
gaddaa'le	gad'dali	gaddaale-e'la	<i>rich person</i>
abaaro'le	abaa'roli	abaarole-e'la	<i>evil person</i>
dirab'le	di'rabli	dirable-e'la	<i>liar</i>
xabu'le	xa'buli	xabule-e'la	<i>insane person</i>
macan'da	ma'canda	macandii'di	<i>younger sibling</i>
katay'sa	ka'taysa	kataysoo-'su	<i>friend</i>
sa'cala	sac'la	sacoo'la	<i>older sibling</i>
'ba'la	ba'la	(day'lo)	<i>offspring</i>
'awka	aw'ka	'urru	<i>child</i>
a'moli	amo'le	amolit'te	<i>clever person</i>
kax'nuli	kaxnu'le	kaxnulit'te	<i>lover</i>

in'kittu	inkit'to	-----	one
'kuta	ku'ta	kuu'ta	dog
ma'reyta	marey'ta	mareytit'te	lover

Derived gender difference is not marked in the consonant-final noun class, so the same form may sometimes take either masculine or feminine agreement.

wa'dar t-a'ni	<i>There is a female goat.</i>
wa'dar y-a'ni	<i>There is a male goat.</i> (The gender difference for <i>goat</i> is not acceptable in Ba'adu.)
da'nan t-ak'me	<i>The female donkey eats.</i>
da'nan y-ak'me	<i>The male donkey eats.</i>

The feminine noun *al'sa moon* has a masculine counterpart *'alsa month*. The masculine *'af(a) mouth* has a feminine counterpart *a'fa door*.

When the particular marker *-(y)ta* (see 8.4 above) precedes the gender marker, it takes the gender stress shift instead of the root. When *-ta* is dissimilated to *-to*, it becomes *tu* in the masculine (see 11.2.6.a and b).

Masc	Fem	Gloss
gaal'la-ytu	gaalla-y'to	<i>particular Oromo (Galla)</i>
xaaba'sa-ytu	xaabasa-y'to	<i>particular Ethiopian (Abyssinian)</i>
dum'mu-ta	dummu-'ta	<i>particular cat</i>
i'dal-tu	idal-'to	<i>elder</i>
he'belu	hebel-to-y'ta	<i>whoever</i>
da'hal-tu	dahal-'to	<i>heifer</i>
	(pl. dahal-t-it'te)	
gib'day-tu	gibda-y'to	<i>hard person</i>
	(pl. gibda-yt-it'te)	
ma're-yta	mare-y'ta	<i>mistress</i>
	(pl. mare-yt-it'te)	

8.7 Vocative

Vocative forms in Afar are formed by suffixing *-ow* on masculine nouns, *y* on vowel-final feminine nouns, and *-ey* on consonant-final feminine nouns. The assimilation reduction rules apply with the *-ow* suffix for vowel-final nouns (see T 44, 11.2.5.a and b and 12.2.2, and see 11.2.14 for *w* to *y* change).

(1) *-ow* on masculine consonant-final nouns:

'dardar-ow	'dardar'
a'xamad-ow	Ahamad
'xasan-ow	Hasan
ka'biir-ow	teacher (John 3:2)
sim'caan-ow	Simon (John 21:15)

- (2) -ow on masculine vowel-final forms, with the stem vowel deleting. However, since a dominates o in assimilation rules, a-final stems remain a. Since o dominates all non-a vowels, they are all lost to o (see 11.2.5.a):

cundaa'neyta-w *little ones* (John 21:5)
 'bada-w *son* (John 21:16)
 'abba-w *father* (John 17:5,11)
 'yalla-w *god*

Note that when compound vocatives are used for the same person, only the last one receives the marker (as with postpositions). 'yi 'rabbi (not 'rabb-ow) 'kee yi 'yalla-w *my Lord and my God* (John 21:28).

a'moyta-w *ruler* (John 19:3)
 na'cas-ow *slave* (from na'casu)
 i'maan 'mel-ow *faithless* (from 'meli)

- (3) -y on feminine vowel-final nouns.

a'mina-y *Amina*
 bar'ra-y *woman* (John 4:21)
 um-eyn-it'te-y
bad-agent-pl-voc, evildoers
 afca'ro-y *spider*
 dum'mu-y *cat*
 tamaa'ri-y *student*

- (4) -ey on feminine consonant-final nouns:

'mayram-ey *Mary*
 um'mat-ey *people*

Vocative pronouns are also used with a vocative ending, giving '(m)akkaw *hey you* (masc), '(m)attay *hey you* (fem) either alone or before the vocative proper name (see 9.5).

'akkaw (men'gela-w) *Hey you (Mengela)*.
 'attay ('fatuma-y) *Hey you (Fatima)*.

When the vocative pronoun stands before a common noun (versus a proper name), the pronoun is reduced to (mak)'kee *you* (masc) or (mat)'tee *you* (fem).

'kee ka'taysa *you companion*
 'kee 'kuta *you dog*
 'tee baar'ra *you woman* (John 2:4, 19:16)
 mat'tee aw'ka *you child*

If a vocative noun is modified by a relative, the verb is in third person (masculine or feminine) rather than second.

iy-'y-a 'mara-w
say-he-impf people-voc, people who say

a'tu ged-'d-a aw'ka-y
you go-she-impf girl-voc

8.8 Abstract Nouns

The suffixes 'iinu, -ii'no, -ii'na, -in'na, and -aa'ne are added to nominal roots and to a less extent to modifiers and a few other verb roots (or perhaps to their verbal nouns). No pattern has been observed except that the human masculine noun base seems to prefer the -'iinu masculine suffix as over against the others which are all feminine (see 12.3.6). As for origin, the noun in'na *likeness* is likely. (Most of the following examples were found in Parker's dictionary IV, 1975.)

ab'biinu or abba'tiinu *responsibility*
 (root 'abba *father*) (Matthew 9:6)
 abbat badiinu *patriotism* (abba 'bada *father son,*
 with genitive t)
 amoy't-iinu *authority* (a'moyta *ruler*)
 loy'n-iinu *ownership* ('loyna *herdsman*)
 katay's-iinu *friendship* (ka'taysa *friend*)
 sooni'b-iinu *pregnancy* (sooni'ba *pregnant woman*)
 toobo'k-iinu *brotherliness* (toobo'ko *brother*)
 ink-ii'no *singularity* (in'ki *one*)
 kadda mar-ii'no *pride* (kad'da 'mara *large people*)
 cun'da mar-iin'o *smallness* (cun'da 'mara *small people*)
 madl-ii'no *compensation*
 gaddal-ii'no *affluence* (gad'dali *rich person*) (Mat. 13:22)
 cibnayt-ii'no *hospitality* (cib'naytu *stranger*)
 mal-ii'no *lack* (ma'li *one who doesn't have, from verb*
 'ma-li *he doesn't have*)
 man-ii'no *life* (a'ni *I am, ma'no life*)
 midr-ii'no *ranching* (mi'dir *cattle*)
 num-ii'no *virtue* (num *man*)
 ahl-ii'no *family relationship*
 budamar-ii'no *family loyalty* (bu'da 'mara *house people*)
 all-ii'no *bravery* (illii'le *be brave*)
 labhayt-ii'no *manliness* (lab'ha *male*)
 an-ii'no *existence* (e'ne *be, ma'no verbal noun being*)
 bad-ii'no *patriotism* ('bada *son*)
 furrayn-ii'no *youthfulness* (fur'raynu *strong young man*)
 cund-ii'na *smallness* (cun'da *small*)
 intil-ii'na *eloquence* (in'ti'le *eye has*)
 nab-ii'na *honor* (na'ba *big*)
 abbawt-in'na *responsibility* ('abba *father*)
 saccool-in'na *brotherliness* (sa'cal *older brother*)
 af beex-in'na *joking* (af'fee'xa *intertribal understanding*)
 agiir-in'na *bravery* (a'giru *hero*)
 ducuur-in'na *foolishness* (du'cur *fool*)

idcin-aa'ne pregnancy (idci'no being pregnant)
 inkitin-aa'ne association (in'ki one)
 nibd-aa'ne awakeness (iybi'de arouse)
 anfacin-aa'ne usefulness (infi'ce be useful)

8.9 Numerals

Afar numerals fit best as nominal base rather than verbal (see S 1). Evidence for this is found in ordinal numbers, where the verbal noun of hay *put* is added to the cardinal root which puts the numeral in an object relation to a verb (see 10.2, T 14, and 59). This is also noted in the base i'niki *one*, which becomes in'ki as a genitive modifier the same as vowel-final masculine nouns (the second vowel deletes when genitive stress moves to the final syllable [see 11.2.2.a and note also numerals 8, 9, and 10 below]).

Other base versus modifier changes must be listed lexically. The system has a ten-digit base and a form for each multiple of ten to 100. Units are added to the ten multiples by the connector 'kee *and*. All numerals are masculine.

Base	Modifier
1. i'nik-i	in'ki
2. nam'may-a	nam'ma
3. si'dox-u	sidii'xa
4. fi'rey-i	affa'ra
5. ko'noy-u	koo'na
6. li'xey-i	li'xa
7. mal'xiin-i	mal'xi'na
8. ba'xaar-a	bax'ra
9. sa'gaal-a	sag'la
10. 'taban-a	tab'na
11. 'taban 'kee i'niki	'taban 'kee in'ki
20. labaa'tanna	labaatan'ni
30. sod'dom-u	sod'dom
40. moroo'tom	morro'tom
50. kon'tom	kon'tom
60. lax'tama	lax'tam
70. malxii'na 'tabana	malxii'na tab'nih
80. bax'ra 'tabana	bax'ra tab'nih
90. sag'la 'tabana	sag'la tab'nih
100. 'boolu	'bool
1000. 'alfi	al'fi

When numerals greater than one modify a subject, they cause feminine agreement. Ordinal numbers are formed by the base numeral plus the verbal noun of hay *put* hay'to, or the imperfect participle 'haak may be used instead of hay'to. If hay'to is genitive, the regular feminine genitive -h before vowels and gemination of the first consonant of the following word is found

(see 11.2.11.b). If it is masculine, it becomes 'haytu (see 8.6 and Mat. 22:26). Two other methods of forming ordinal numbers are to suffix -'ye or the particular -ta to the base numeral (see Colby 1961: Lesson 8). An -h is added when adverbial, and to the -ta suffix generally, in the sense of *for the second, etc.*

nam'mey hay-'to-h (or 'ha-aa-k) y-amaa'te
two put-verbal noun-for (or put-impf-part) he-comes
He comes secondly.

si'dox hay-'to-h 'alsa
three put-verbal noun-gen month
the third month

fi're hay-'to-b 'bada
four put-verbal noun-gen son
the fourth son

nam'may hay-'to-m m-amaa'ta (Matthew 24:29)
two put-verbal noun-gen verbal noun-come
second coming

si'dox 'h-aa-k sa'lat a'b-e (Matthew 26:44)
three put-impf-part prayer do-he,perf
He prayed a third time.

8.10 Noun Classes

As a summary of the variations in nouns, the following listing according to the three noun classes is presented.

8.10.1 Feminine Nouns

- (1) Marked by a final stressed vowel (includes all final e and o nouns [see 11.2.6.b]).
- (2) Only genitive case marker (nominative and accusative are the same).
- (3) The particular marker yta takes the feminine stress and retains the initial y because of the stem-final vowel. When the a dissimilates to o (see 11.2.6.a.2) and feminine stress is applied, the particular suffix becomes -y'to.
- (4) The plural marker is -V'Ca (lengthening of the last stem vowel, reduplication of the last stem consonant, and a final stressed 'a). When the last stem vowel is a, the plural suffix dissimilates to i, and when the last two stem vowels are a, the last one also dissimilates to oo (see 11.2.6.a.1).
- (5) The vocative marker is the suffix -y when vowel final and -ey when consonant final (see 12.2.2).
- (6) Animate nouns may be made masculine by shifting stress to the penultimate syllable.

8.10.2 Masculine Vowel-Final Nouns

- (1) Marked by final unstressed vowel (no mid vowels, e or o [see 11.2.6.b]).
- (2) The nominative-genitive case marker 'i replaces the final vowel of the accusative base form (see 12.2.3).
- (3) Regular particular -yta dissimilating to -ytu following a (see 11.2.6.a and b).
- (4) The plural marker is -it'te, before which the final stem vowel deletes (see 12.2.3).
- (5) The vocative marker is the suffix -w (basic -ow), with the preceding vowel changing to o unless it is a, in which case it remains a (see 11.2.5.a).
- (6) Animate nouns may be made feminine by shifting stress to the final syllable.

8.10.3 Masculine Consonant-Final Nouns

- (1) Marked by a final consonant in the base form.
- (2) No case distinctions except for the i before h in the modified genitive position, which may be considered a reflex of genitive marker (see T 22). Short monosyllable roots take the particular suffix -ti in the genitive. In independent citation, in predicate position when kin'ni is deletes (see T 52), and before clitic postpositions a nonmid vowel is suffixed to the stem (see 11.2.4.c).
- (3) Particular marker -ta dissimilating to -tu after an a- stem vowel (see 11.2.6.a,b). (The initial y of -yta is lost after a consonant; see 11.2.3.)
- (4) The normal plural marker is one of the following expansions of -((oo)w)'a.
 - (a) When the stem has an underlying long last vowel, the suffix is 'a. If the last two stem vowels are a, the last one dissimilates to oo before the plural 'a (see 11.2.6.a.1). The underlying long vowel surfaces when its syllable becomes open before the plural 'a.
 - (b) If the underlying last vowel is short, the plural suffix is -'wa.
 - (c) If the underlying final vowel is a short a in a monosyllabic root, an oo is added before the plural -'wa in Aussa.
- (5) The vocative marker is the suffix -ow.

- (6) Animate nouns may take either masculine or feminine agreement, with no change on the base.

CHAPTER 9

PRONOUNS

Afar has personal, anaphoric, interrogative, demonstrative, and vocative pronouns, and a relative pronoun when the relative clause is moved. Personal, interrogative, and demonstrative pronouns are derived under the subcategorization of nouns (see S 2). Relative, vocative, and anaphoric pronouns are derived in the transformational component (see T 57, T 44, and T 45).

9.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are obligatory in first and second person, and are optional in third person as alternatives to nouns (see S 4 and 5). The personal pronouns take case (nominative, accusative, and genitive) as follows:

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
1st	a'nu	'yoo	'yi
2nd	a'tu	'koo	'ku
3rd masc	'usuk	'kaa	'kay
3rd fem	'is	'tet ('teeti)	'tet
1st pl	na'nu	'nee	'ni
2nd	'isin	'sin ('siini)	'sin
3rd	'oson	'ken ('keeni)	'ken

Pronouns have greater case distinction than nouns in that genitive is distinct from nominative, in contrast to those nouns which mark nominative versus accusative but have the same form in nominative and genitive. In fact, the genitive in pronouns is morphologically closer to the accusative than to the nominative. Nominative is used for subjects, genitive for modifiers of nouns, and accusative for direct objects and objects of postpositions, the same as in nouns (see discussion on case above at 8.3).

The accusative vowel-final variants 'teeti *her*, 'sinni *you*, and 'keeni *them* bring to the surface an underlying long vowel in these forms, the same as in the consonant-final noun class. The long forms are found in predicate position when sentence final (described above as sentences from which kin'ni *is* has been deleted

[see T 52]] and before clitic postpositions. Pronouns have agreement in person, gender, and number with the verbs of which they are subjects. However, when a pronoun is the head of a relative, it has no agreement with the verb of the relative. This verb is always third person singular (see 2.4).

Although it involves several adjustments to derive the genitive from an accusative base, the relationship is still clear. The genitive derivation adds an '-i (see T 11). Note first person 'y-i *my*, 'ni *our*, and third person masculine 'ka-y (or 'ka-i) *his*. Consonant-final forms drop the 'i, as in nouns (see 12.3.5), having no distinction between genitive and accusative. Note 'tet *her*, 'sin *your(pl)*, and 'ken *their*. The exception is with second person singular 'ku *you*, which seems to be a raising of the accusative 'koo vowel to *u* because of the suffixed -i.

When 'koo *you* and 'yoo *I* come in closed syllables because of the addition of a clitic postposition, they are shortened. They are also shortened before -luk and -lih participles of *le has*, which geminate their initial -l similar to the regularized form aal'le (see 11.2.5.b).

'ko-t	<i>by you</i>	'ko-h	<i>for you</i>
'yo-l	<i>in me</i>	'yo-k	<i>from me</i>
'yo 'lluk	<i>with(having) me</i>	'ko 'llih	<i>with(having) you</i>
'kaa	<i>however is not reduced</i>		
'kaat	<i>in me</i>	kaa-h	<i>for me</i>

a'nu 'kaa 'ko-h ruu'b-e
I him you-to send-I,perf
I sent him to you.

'is 'nee 'siin-ih bah-'t-e
she us you(pl)-to bring-she-perf
She brought us to you.

'oson 'tet duy'ye 'ne-h y-exee-'ni
they her stuff us-to they-gave-pl
They gave her stuff to us.

na'nu 'ken 'sin 'cari-l hay-'n-a
we them your(pl) house-in put-we-impf
We put them in your house.

'ku ba'ð-i 'yi ki'tab 'kaa-l 'b-ee
your son-nom my book him-to took-he,perf
Your son took my book to him.

'teet-i *her-is, It is she.*

'keen-i *them-is, It is they.*

9.2 Anaphoric Pronouns

A noun or pronoun preceded by its sentence subject which is also its identical counterpart, will become an anaphoric pronoun (see T 45). The transform applies within both matrix and embedded sentences but not across them. Unlike English, anaphoric pronouns also replace possessive pronouns and, when followed by the postposition -h *for*, serve for reflexive and retroflexive pronouns. The preceding identical counterpart may appear to be in a preceding sentence because of subject deletion, for example, when a person is discussed but his name is only mentioned once while the anaphoric pronoun continues through several sentences. Since anaphoric pronouns are restricted to those identical to the subject of the sentence, unlike English pronouns, intervening noun phrases are possible. No form distinction is made between second and third person. The second-third person singular form is 'isi when genitive and 'is when independent. Others make no distinction in genitive.

Singular	Plural
1st 'inni	'ninni
2nd 'is ('isi when gen)	'sinni
3rd 'is ('isi when gen)	'sinni

(Some Shewa dialects have 'issi instead of 'isi and have no plural form different from singular in second and third persons.)

mar'ta 'isi macan'da mayra'ma-h sex-'t-e (John 11:28)
Martha her sister Mary-for call-she-perf
Martha called her sister Mary.

('usuk) 'ah-a 'isi a'mo-k 'm-adx-in'-na (John 11:51)
(he) this-but his head-from neg-say-perf-he
But he did not say this from his (own) head.

(The *he* which is deleted from the surface sentence refers to Caiaphas from verse 49.)

'sinni 'kee 'sinni-h 'adx-u-k y-ene-n
them and them-to say-impf-part they-were-pl
they were saying to each other
 (John 11:56; cf. 7:35)

'isi 'nabsi kixi'n-a 'num 'is bay-'s-a (John 12:25)
his body love-he man it lose-caus-he,impf
He who loves his body (self), loses himself.

(Note the lack of the genitive *i* in the second anaphoric pronoun. The first 'isi refers to the deleted subject 'num of the relative clause, and the second 'is to the matrix subject 'num.)

a'nu . . . si'nam in'kih 'inni-l hir'ge-y-yo (John 12:32)
I myself people all me-to draw-fut-I
I will draw all people to me.

a'nu 'inni-h 'ifu kinn-i'yoo-m-ih addun'ya emee'te
I myself-for light be-I-nom-for world I,came
I came to the world that I myself be light.
 (John 12:46)

'sinni ki'tab ik'riy-a
your book read-pl, Read your book.

(Note that the anaphoric pronoun comes in spite of--
 or before in rules--subject deletion.)

na'nu 'ni 'laa 'ninni-h gax-s-in-'n-e
we our cattle us-to return-caus-ben-we-perf
We returned our cattle to us.

(If the subject is *he*, the personal pronoun is required
 instead of the anaphoric, even when *ni* *our* precedes it.)

'usuk 'ni 'laa ne-h gax'se, *He returned our cattle to us.*)

'isin 'sinni 'sara 'sinni-h rub-t-ee-'ni
you(pl) your clothes yourselves-to sent-you-perf-pl
You sent your clothes to yourselves.

(If the subject is different than later pronouns,
 personal pronouns are required, even if the later two
 are identical.)

'is 'isiin-ih 'sin 'sara rub'te, *She sent you your clothes.*)

(a'nu) 'is 'isi a'mo-h t-a-sxu'be-m a-adi'ge
(I) she her head-of she-impf-think-nom I,impf-know
I know that she thought (it) herself.

a'tu 'isi-h ab-'t-e ay'ni tiddigille
you yourself-for did-you-perf milk pot it-broke
The milk pot you yourself made broke.

The postpositions *e'l'le* locative, *ed'de* nonlocative, (a)'kah referential, and (a)'kak source, discussed above in relation to relative clauses from which the noun phrase has been deleted from a postpositional phrase (see 2.5), are also used as anaphoric pronouns. The noun phrase which is lost in relative constructions precedes the identical noun phrase and is therefore dealt with in the relative deletion (see T 12). In the case of the anaphoric pronoun, the pronominalized noun phrase comes after the one which remains unchanged (see T 45). *e'l'le* is often parallel to the English *here, there, where*. *ed'de* may refer to a preceding clause as a whole instead of just to a noun phrase, in which case it parallels the English *by this, that* or *likewise*.

'oson 'isinni-h mab'lo-h 'ma-xul-inno-n
they themselves-for court-for neg-enter-perf-they

'isinni 'nabsi ed'de aylay'ye w-a-'na-ggidah
their body by this spoil neg-impf-pl-in order that
They themselves did not enter the court in order that
their bodies would not be defiled by this.
 (John 18:28)

'seefi hi'rig-ga 'h-ee-h mucullii'ma-h ab'ba-h
sword lift-compd put-he,perf-part priest-gen father-gen
 na'casu ed'de y-oogo're (John 18:10)
slave with it he-hit
He lifted the sword and struck the slave of the chief
priest with it.

da'gar adoob-i's-a-h a'kah agdi't-a
body eat-causative-he,impf-conjunction it care for-he,impf
He nourishes the body and cares for it.
 (Ephesians 5:29)
 (The anaphoric use with a'kah is rare.)

'yoo biyaak-ee-'ni-k 'sin ed'de biyaa'ke-l-on
me harm-perf-they-if you likewise harm-fut-pl
If they harmed me, they will likewise harm you.
 (John 15:20)

kin'ni-m 'udih aadi'ge 'w-ee-n-im-ih ed'de
is-nom not yet know neg-perf-pl-nom-because by this
 'ma-rad-inno-n (John 20:9)
neg-understand-perf-pl
Because they did not know yet what it is, by this they
did not understand.

a'nu amaa'te 'fana-h 'usuk el'le raa'c-a-m 'yi
I come toward-for he here remain-he,impf-nom my
 fay'di kin'n-i wac'di ma'xa ed'de way-'t-ah (John 21:22, 23)
will is-it time what by it lack-you-impf
When it is my will that he remain here until I come, what
do you lack by that? (what is that to you?)

'woh el'le t-ek'ke-m beet'cabra decsit't-a magaa'la-y
that there it-happen-nom Bethabara call-fem-impf city-and
 ur'dun wee'caytu-k 'wonnah t-a'nih yu'xan-na el'le
Jordan river-from beyond fem-is John there
 acim'mid-u-k su'g-e (John 1:28)
baptise-impf-part was-he,perf
Where that happened is beyond the Jordan River in a city
called Bethabara; John was baptising there.

'ken esse'r-eh 'ma saa'cata 'cafu el'le 'g-ee-m
them ask-he,perf what hour health at which got-he,perf-nom
He asked them the hour at which he got well.
 (John 4:52)
 (The nominalization also explains the el'le.)

9.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns have already been described in 6.3.2 under "Questions" above and are only listed here for reference.

- (1) ma'xa *what* (nominative, accusative, and with clitic postpositions such as ma'xa-h *what for, why?*)
 'ma *what* (genitive for nonlocatives)
- (2) 'iyya *who* (accusative)
 iy'y-i *who* (nominative)
 iy'y-i-n *whose* (genitive)
- (3) 'miyya *who* (accusative)
 miy'yi *who* (nominative)
 miy'yi-n *whose* (genitive)
- (4) an'ni *what* (genitive used with locative nouns and noun particles such as an'ni-kke, (m)'an-ke or an'ni-'gabu *what place, where, an'ni-nna how, and an'ni-h where*)

9.4 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are 'ah *this, these* (near), a'mah *this, these* (slightly distant), 'woh *that, those* (distant). If the demonstrative has already been referred to, a particular marker t- is prefixed, giving 'tah, ta'mah, and 'toh. All demonstratives take feminine agreement; no plural variations exist. They are related in form and meaning to the demonstrative modifiers discussed in 2.2 above (see PS 3): 'a, 'ta, 'ama *this, these* and 'woo, 'too *that, those*. The final -h closes the syllable and shortens the vowels (see 11.2.5.b). Instead of being modifiers, the h-final forms are used as pronouns referring to *that which is here* and *that which is there*.

They are similar to nouns in their restriction to third person (as over against personal pronouns, which are also used in first and second person).

The pronominal form may take the genitive -i and nominalizer -m to form the *that which belongs to this* (or *that*) construction, the same as consonant-final nouns (see 8.3.2.4).

'ah t-eme'e'te *this one fem-came*
 'woh t-ay'se *that one fem-is better*

't-ah y-aadi'ge
particular-this one he-knows, he knows this particular one

't-oh n-oogo're
particular-that one we-hit, We hit that particular one.

a'mah-ah ruu'b-e
this one-to send-he,perf
He (OR I) sent (it) to this (slightly distant) one.

'woh-ut 'b-ee
this one-by took-he,perf
He (OR I) took (it) by this one.

ged-'d-a-m 'ah-a
go-fem-impf-nom this one-is, This is the one who goes.

rac-'t-e-m 't-oh-u
remain-fem-perf-nom partic-that one-is
That is the one who remained.

'ah-i-m man'g-o
this one-gen-nom many-he, That which this one has is many.

'woh-i-m baa'h-e
that one-gen-nom brought-he,perf
He (OR I) brought that which belongs to that one.

'ah-i-im-ik ra'd-e
this one-gen-nom-from fell-it,perf
It fell from that which belongs to this one.

'a duy'ye 'woh-i-im-i
this stuff that one-gen-nom-is
This stuff is that which that one has.

t-a'mah gu'fe-l-e
partic-this one arrive-fut-she
This particular (slightly distant) one will arrive.

9.5 Vocative Pronouns

The masculine vocative pronoun is 'akkaw or 'makkaw and the feminine is 'attay, 'mattay, or 'attaw *Hey you!* (see T 44). The name of the person with vocative markers may also follow (see 8.7 below). When the vocative pronoun stands in a modifying relation to a common noun, it is reduced to 'kee or mak'kee for masculine and 'tee or mat'tee for feminine. The following noun is then in base form rather than vocative case.

'akkaw *Hey you! (masc)*
 'kee 'awka *You, boy!*
 (m)'attay (OR 'attaw) a'mina-y *Hey you, Amina!*
 'tee bar'ra *You, woman! (John 2:4)*
 mak'kee 'num *You, man!*

9.6 Relative Pronoun -iyya

A relative clause which is moved behind its head noun takes the pronoun -iyya as a suffix on its verb. An -h separates the final vowel of the verb and -iyya. (See T 58 and 2.6 and 6.5.7 above.)

'woo gi'ra-y aw'k-i y-abbi'de-h-iyya tiddigille
that gun-and boy-nom he-holds-h-which broke
That gun, which the boy holds, is broken.

nam'ma sa'ga-y da'car ged-'d-e-h-iyya dal'te
two cows-and river go-fem-perf-h-pro bore
Two cows which went to the river gave birth.

'kay gille-y macan'da to-d'de
his knife-and sister that-by ('too ed'de)

t-usgu'de-h-iyya bay'te
she-slaughtered-h-pro lost
His knife by which the sister slaughtered is lost.

Although -iyya has no stress, it does not change its final a to i in the nominative (as does the verbal noun -'iyya, -iy'yi). It may therefore be assumed to have an underlying final stress lost by liaison stress reduction (see 11.2.1.c).

CHAPTER 10
ADVERBS

10.1 Manner Adverbs

There is no separate "adverb" marker. Instead, the nominalizer -Vm, the imperfect participle -uk, the marker for *as* or *while* -ih, or a jussive infinitive -ay are used to form adverbs. The various forms used by any modifier verb must be lexically marked. Other "adverbs" are time, place, and quantity nouns also used as adverbs.

Manner or *how* adverbs in Afar are derived from the irregular or modifier verb class from which adjectives are also derived (see 7.12.3 and T 12). (The -it or -ut and extended length constructions of regular verbs are also listed below in 10.1.5 and 10.1.6 because of their adverbial character.)

The adverb derivation is distinguished by the modifying aspect on the main sentence as over against the parallel activity expressed by any of these constructions when derived from an independent sentence. For this reason, the category "adverb" is listed as an optional part of the "sentence" in PS 1. The difference can be seen by comparing sentences like kad'ɛa-m 'b-ee *that which is big he took*, where kad'ɛa-m is a direct object derived from an independent sentence with kad'ɛa-m 'b-ee *he took greatly*, where kad'ɛa-m is an adverb modifying the sentence 'bee *he took*. The difference is more obvious when both forms are used in the same sentence.

ca'sa-m kad'ɛa-m y-aadi'ge
red-nom big-adv,nom he-knows
He knows that which is red very much.

Since ca'sa-m *that which is red* is itself a sentence, it can also take an adverbial modifier similar to adverbs which modify adjectives in English.

a'nu cun'ɛa-m ca'sa-m kad'ɛa-m aadi'ge
I small-adv,nom red-nom big-adv,nom I know

ka'da-m dee'ri xa'da fa'd-a
big-adv, nom tall tree want-I, impf
I want a very tall tree.

Adverbs may also modify other adverbs (which may be derived by a recursive rule [see PS 5]).

a'tu ka'da-m 'xaat-ih ged-'d-e
you big-adv, nom slow-adv, as go-you-perf
You went very slowly.

na'ba-m me'ce-m barit-'t-e
great-adv, nom good-adv, nom learn-you-perf
You learned very well. (me'ce-nnah preferred)

da'go-m cee'din-uk yaa'b-e
small-adv, nom rude-adv, part spoke-he, perf
He spoke slightly rudely.

na'ba-m 'nega-y 'n-an
great-adv, nom good-adv, juss we-are
We are very well.

10.1.1 Adverbs Which Take the Nominalizer -m

Modifiers indicating quantity take the nominalizer -m when adverbs (see S 16). The final vowel of the base form is retained before the -m (see 11.2.2.b and 11.2.4.c).

ka'da-m biyaaki't-a
big-adv, nom hurt-I, he, impf, I am (OR he is) very sick.

na'ba-m me'ce
great-adv, nom good, (It is) very good.

cun'da-m ma'k-e
small-adv, nom turn-I, he, perf, I (OR he) turned slightly.

da'go-m u'r-e
small-adv, nom heal-I, he, perf, I am (OR he is) slightly healed.

man'go-m taa'n-e
many-adv, nom tired-I, he, perf, I am (OR he is) very tired.

10.1.2 Adverbs Which Take the Imperfect Participle -uk

The imperfect participle (with the suffix -uk and penultimate stress) is used on a few irregular or modifying verbs as an adverbial form (see T 3 for the regular -uk participle). This form is the normal way of expressing *with, having, accompanying* by using the verb 'le has (see 5.5.4 above).

'mac-uk ab-'t-e
good-adv, part do-you-perf, You did well.

'cusb-uk dal-'t-e
new-adv, part bore-she-perf
She newly (OR recently as 'cusbih) bore.

'dib-uk 'a ma'r-i-h taa'ga daaci'm-a-h 'ma-anna
only this people-gen-mod because pray-I, impf-h neg-am
I am not praying only because of this people.
 (John 17:20)

'ko-'ll-uk ge'de-y-yo
you-hav-ing go-fut-I, I will go with you.
 ('luk becomes l'luk after a stressed vowel)

10.1.3 Adverbs with the Suffix -ih as

Other modifiers take the suffix -ih and penultimate stress to form adverbs. (This form is also used as an equivalent to the imperfect participle [see T 3]. Often this *as* construction may be interpreted as either an adverb or as a participle which has the same subject as the matrix sentence.)

'day-ih 'ged *quick-adverb, as go, go quickly*

'is 'cusb-ih t-eme'e'te
she new-adv, as she-came, She came recently.

'gibd-ih taamit-'t-e
heavy-adv, as work-you (OR she)-perf
You (OR she) worked with difficulty.

'xaat-ih (or 'xaati-'lih) t-amaa'te-h t-an
slow-adv, as you (OR she) come-prog you-are
You are (OR she is) coming slowly.

10.1.4 Adverb with the Suffix -ay

The modifier na'ga *be well* is used as an adverb with penultimate stress and the suffix -ay. The form resembles the jussive except for lack of person and number (see S 17).

'nag-ay t-a'ni-t̄
well-adv you-are-quest, Are you well?

'nag-ay n-an
well-adv we-are, We are well.

ur'r-i 'ko-k 'nag-ay y-ani-t̄
children-nom you-of well-adv he-is-quest
Are your children well?

'isin 'nag-ay t-anii-'ni-t̄
you well-adv you-are-pl-quest, Are you(pl) well?

'nagay aa'dig-uk y-e'nee-m-ih taa'gah (John 18:15)
well know-impf part he-was-nom-for because
because he has known well

'woo ku't-i 'nag-ay 'mi-y-ana
that dog-nom well-adv neg-it-is, That dog is not well.

'nag-ay 'rac
well-adv remain (without going), Stay behind well.

The *y* may be lost before the *a* of *as spend the day in greetings*.

'neg-a(y) as-'s-e-ê
well-adv spend the day-you-perf-quest
Did you spend the day well?

'neg-a(y) a's-e
well-adv spend the day-I,perf, I spent the day well.

10.1.5 -it or -ut Adverbs

The suffix *-it* or *-ut* may be added to the root of regular verbs to form a construction resembling a manner adverb.

afoo-'fi a'lif-it sug-'t-e (John 20:19)
door-pl close-adv were-fem-perf, The doors were closed.

afoo-'fi a'lif-ut 't-en (John 20:26)
door-pl close-adv fem-were, The doors were closed.

10.1.6 Extended Duration or Intensified Adverbs

Extended duration may be expressed by lengthening the vowel before the last consonant of an adverb or imperfect or *as* participle (see T 43). For adverbs of "smallness" the idea of intensification or shortened duration is conveyed by the vowel lengthening.

a'tu a'kam-uu-uk as-'s-e
you eat-length-impf part spent day-you-perf
You spent the day ee-eating.

a'nu man'g-oo-om dii'n-e
I much-length-nom spent night-I,perf
I slept m-uu-uch.

i'fi da'go-o-m 'siinil lih su'g-e-l-e (John 12:35)
light little-length-nom you with remain-inf-fut-it
The light will remain a li-i-ttle with you.

cun'du-u-m 'sug-ga ad'xe (John 7:33)
little-length-nom was-compd I say
I remain a li-i-ttle.

'usuk ak'ray-ii-ih dii'n-e
he read-length-as slept-he,perf
He spent the night re-ee-ading.

'is di'gir-aa-ak t-amaa'te-h t-an
she play-length-impf part she-comes-h she-is
She is coming while pl-aa-aying.

'kaa 'xaa-a-t-ih baa'h-e
it slow-length-root-as bring-he,perf
He slowly brought it.

'lee bu'kaa-a-k xad-it-'t-a-h t-an
water down-length-root flow-ben-fem-impf-prog it-is
The water is flowing do-own.

deeri'k-ee-ek t-a-m-mul'le
far-length-from it-impf-pass-see
It is visible from fa-a-ar.

10.2 Adverbs of Time

Adverbs of time have no marker and will be listed lexically as temporal nouns which function as adverbs. They are often moved forward before other underlyingly preceding elements in the sentence (see T 49, 4.4 and 6.4.8). *wac'di 'way* and *'wak time* regularly take demonstratives. The roots function both as nouns and adverbs (*'beera tomorrow*, *'kimal yesterday*, *'saaku today*, *'sarra afterwards*, *'duma before*).

a'lo cadda'ga 'kimal ge'd-e
Alo market yesterday went
Alo went to the market yesterday.

'beera 'mengela-h ma'xo ab-'n-a
tomorrow Mengela-to gift do-we-impf
Tomorrow we will give a gift to Mengela.

na'harat 'cali yooko'me
formerly Ali preceded

na'harak xan'naana-l 'b-ee-n (John 18:13)
first Annas-to took-perf-pl
First they took (him) to Annas.

'sarra ax'mad yemee'te
afterwards Ahmed came
 (Compare the genitive nominal in
sar'r-i 'awka the latter boy, Matthew 21:31.)

'woo wac'di taa'ma 'l-uk sug-'n-e
that time work had-impf part was-we,perf
At that time we had work.

'too wac'di gaa'l-i y-er'de
that time camel-nom he-ran
 At that time the camel ran.

'a 'wak y-eme'e'te
this time he-came, He came now.

'awwal 'koo ub'le
previously you I,saw, I saw you previously.

'isa 'bilu ge'd-e-h uduu're
earlier Bilu went-I,perf-part I,returned
 Earlier I went to Bilu and returned.

'xasan ma'rub 'kimal 'xarra daa'm-e
Hasan sheep yesterday evening bought-he,perf
 Hasan bought the sheep yesterday evening.

nac's-i bu'da-l in'ki 'ma-daffe'y-a 'ba'da-h 'tu
slave-nom house-in always neg-sit-he,impf son-for anything
 gax-'t-e-k in'ki el'le su'g-a (John 8:35)
happen-it-perf-if always there remain-he-impf
 The slave never sits in the house; the son, however,
 always remains there.

'usuk in'ki ge'da (Northern)
he always goes

'fiirik (or 'fiiruk) 'yab su'g-e (John 1:1)
first word was-it,perf
 In the beginning was the word.

'duma 'xan nak-'t-e
earlier milk drink-she-perf, She drank milk earlier.
 (Compare nominal genitive du'm-i da'ban former era.)

'udih 'ken ays-iddi'ge-y-yo
still them cause-know-fut-I
 I will still cause them to know.

'kaadu ak're-y-yo (or akri'yeyyo)
also(OR again) read-fut-I
 I will also read, OR I will read again.

'abba-k in'kittuh y-eme'e'te (John 1:14)
father-from only he-came
 He only came from the father.

si'dox hay'toh ay'ro 'kaa sool-i's-e-y-yo (John 2:19)
three putting day it stand-caus-inf-will-I
 I will cause it to stand on the third day.

10.3 Ordinal Adverbial Numbers

Ordinal adverbial numbers are formed by the cardinal root followed by the verb *hay* with either an imperfect participle *-ak* or a verbal noun suffix *-i* to plus *-h* for. The literal meaning is *putting secondly*. When the verbal noun *hay-i* modifies another noun, it has the modified genitive *-h* before vowels, which assimilates to a following fricative (f, s, c, x) (see 11.2.11.a).

bi'laatos 'kaadu mab'lo 'cari 'namm-ey 'ha-a-k
Pilate also judgment house second-ly put-impf-part

xu'l-e (John 18:33)

enter-he,perf

Pilate also entered the court room a second time.

si'dox 'h-aa-k 'kaa-k iy'y-e (John 21:17)

three put-impf-part him-to say-he,perf

He said a third time.

li'xey hay-'to-h a'kat y-iggiri'ce

six put-VN-gen rope it-broke

The sixth rope broke.

'namm-ey hay-'to-h ya'huud 'mara 'fanah y-em'ce

second-ly put-VN-for Jewish people to he-went out

He went out to the Jews a second time.

(John 18:38)

si'dox hay-'to-h 'saaku (to hay't-o-s 'saaku) (John 2:1)

three put-VN-for day, the third day

fi're hay-'to-h y-inniki'se

four put-VN-for he-fell, He fell a fourth time.

ko'noy hay-'to-h cemmi's-e

five put-VN-for began-he,perf, He began a fifth time.

saa'cat ta'ban hay-'to-h saa'cata-k t-en (h to s) (John 1:39)

hour ten put-VN-for hour-of it-was

The hour was the tenth of the hours.

Another option is to have the cardinal number followed by the imperfect participle of *le have*. When the number is vowel final, the underlying geminate *l* of *luk* surfaces as with other vowel-final nouns.

nam'maya l-luk

'sool-ak

su'g-e

two-gem have-impf part stand-impf part was-he,perf

He was standing a second time.

10.4 Adverbs of Place of Destination

Locative adverbs are basically locative place nouns which fill the category adverb. Verbs such as *'ged go*, *emeet come*,

guf *arrive*, uduur *return*, and kor *ascend* normally do not take postpositions for the place of destination and may be derived as taking locative adverbs. In Southern dialects, bu'da *village* and 'cari *house* take an -h with ged *go*, while other nouns have no postposition. An -l is rare but possible with these verbs and also for the noun of destination. (An alternative solution to calling these "adverbs" is to delete the postposition with these verbs, as well as from the temporal phrases described in 10.2; see T 54 and 6.4.8). All verbs require postpositions in other locative constructions, and ged and emee also require postpositions for other than place of destination, such as -l for persons of destination.

bu'da(-h) gen-'n-a (-h for Southern)
village(-to) go-we-impf
We go (OR let's go) to the village (OR home).

'bilu y-eme'e'te
Bilu he-came, He came to Bilu.

'akke ma'xa-t t-eme'e'te
here what-by you-came, By what did you come here?

ca'ran kor-'t-e-m 'ma-t-an (John 3:13)
heaven ascend-fem-perf-nom neg-fem-is
No one ascended to heaven.

'cari(-h) ged-'d-e (-h for Southern)
house(-to) go-she-perf, She went to the house.

casgaf'fan ge'de-l-e
Asgafan go-fut-he, He will go to Asgafan.

magaa'la gu'f-e
town arrive-he,perf, He arrived at the town.

'is irag'den t-uduu're
she Iragaden she-returned, She returned to Iragaden.

But note the following postpositional phrases:

ca'le-k ged-'d-a
mountain-from go-she-impf, She is going from the mountain.

ca'raan-ak y-eme'e'te
sky-from he-came, He came from the sky.

'wo-kke-l n-uduu're
that-place-to we-returned, We returned to that place.

bilaa'tos-ul 'ged-da iy'-y-e-hi (John 19:38)
Pilate-to go-comp say-he-perf-and
And he went to Pilate.

(Note that with persons, a postposition -l is required; destination adverbs must be place nouns.)

10.5 Quantity Adverbs in Comparisons

Quantity nouns such as 'muddi *more* and 'gaxti *less* are used as adverbs in comparisons (see 4.7 above). The derivation as adverb is obvious in intransitive sentences where the noun cannot be a direct object.

'usuk 'yo-k 'muddi ge'd-e
he me-from more go-he,perf, He went more than I.

bakel'i-i wa'dar-ak 'gaxti kac-'t-a
rabbit-nom goat-from less jump-ben-he,impf
A rabbit jumps less than a goat.

fa'd-innaan gi'de-k 'muddi ge'y-a (John 10:10)
need-whatever amount-from more get-he,impf
He gets greater than the amount that he needs, or
He gets a greater amount of what he needs.

CHAPTER 11

PHONOLOGY

This treatment of Afar phonology presents a distinctive feature matrix for the phonemes of Afar and discusses the phonological alternations in the language.

11.1 Distinctive Feature Matrix

Afar segments as listed on the following distinctive feature matrix are made up of 27 phonemes, consisting of 17 consonants and five vowels, each with long and short counterparts (see Table 11.1). In the transcription used, both long vowels and geminate consonants are indicated by repeating the single symbol. However, in the feature matrix, only long vowels are indicated by the feature "long", while geminate consonants are not designated. The justification for considering geminate consonants as two single consonants is that in syllable structure, geminate consonants both close and open syllables the same as two different contiguous consonants. Long vowels, however, do not extend across syllable boundaries. Furthermore, the constraint in the base forms that only two vowels ever come together is important in final double vowel reduction where the first (not the second) is deleted, whether either is long or short. To list such sequences as three vowels would complicate the process of selecting which one (or two) would delete (see 12.1.19, 20; 12.2.3). The vowel assimilation and reduction rule also would be complicated by having a series of three instead of two, since any combination of long-short or short-short vowels results in one long vowel (See 11.2.5.a). However, the similarity of glide loss and vowel reduction in closed syllables could be stated in one rule if long vowels were listed as two short vowels (the only rule speaking for double short vowels).

The feature "syllabic" distinguishes vowels and consonants. This feature is especially significant in determining verb and noun classes where the consonant or nonsyllabic-initial verbs (including w, y, and h) are all members of the suffixing verb class.

TABLE 11.1 AFAR DISTINCTIVE FEATURE MATRIX

	aa	a	uu	u	if	i	oo	o	ee	e	n	m	r	l	c	x	g	k	s	d	t	f	b	w	y	h	
syll	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	syllabic
cons	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	consonantal
son	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	sonorant
nas	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	+	+	+	+	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	nasal
bk	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)					+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	back
cor											+	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-				coronal
low	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					(+)	(+)											low
hi	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	(-)	high
rnd	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	rounded
cont											(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(+)	(+)	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	continuant
str															+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+					strident
ret																				+	-						retroflex
vce															+	-	+	-	(-)	(+)	+	(-)	+	+	+	-	voiced
long	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-																	long

Note: c is the voiced and x the voiceless pharyngeal in this transcription.

Similarly, consonant-final nouns are in a different class than vowel-final nouns.

The feature "consonantal" separates the true consonants from the glides *w*, *y*, and *h* (see 11.2.4, 11.2.6.c, 11.2.11, 11.2.14, 11.2.15.a, and 11.2.16.b).

The feature "sonorant" separates the resonants *m*, *n*, *l*, and *r* from the oral obstruents (see 11.2.9.b, 11.2.10, and 11.2.16.c).

"Nasal" designates *m* and *n* in contrast to the liquids *l* and *r*. This feature is important in the nasal assimilation rules (see 11.2.9.b and 11.2.10).

"Back" is distinctive among the consonants in determining *s* for the causative prefix before back consonants in contrast to *y* elsewhere (see 12.1.2). Although "round" is chosen as being more distinctive for the rules, round vowels are also back, as noted in the matrix. A back consonant also determines a more back allophone of *a* (see 11.2.15.c).

The feature "coronal" is basic to the consonant assimilation processes, where the coronal obstruents *t*, *d*, *s*, and *ʃ* assimilate to each other and to their nasal counterpart *n* (see 11.2.9 and 11.2.10.a).

The feature "low" separates the vowels *aa* and *a* from all others. This feature is basic in the vowel assimilation rules (see 11.2.5.a) where *aa* and *a* dominate all other vowels. It is also important in *a--a* dissimilation (see 11.2.6.a) and allophonic changes (see 11.2.15.a and c). "Low" designates the pharyngeals *c* and *x* among consonants (see 11.2.15.e and 11.2.16.d).

"High" designates *i*, *ii*, *u*, and *uu*, which is important in vowel harmony of suffixes (see 11.2.4), in mid vowel raising connected with lack of stress (see 11.2.6.b), in assimilation of high to mid vowels (see 11.2.5.a), and in allophones with pharyngeals (see 11.2.15.e).

"Round" designates *u* and *o* in front to back (rounding) assimilation (see 11.2.5.a), in *u* harmony in voice suffixes (see 11.2.4.d), in allophones before *w* and *y* (see 11.2.15.b) which are therefore marked for rounding distinctness, and possibly in allophones of *a* (see 11.2.15.c).

"Continuant" separates *r* from *l* (see 11.2.16.c).

"Strident" (or fricative) is distinctive for *f*, *s*, *x*, and *c* in that *h* assimilates to them (see 11.2.11.a). It also separates *s* from the coronal consonants (see 11.2.9.c), and the pharyngeals *x* and *c* from *k* and *g*.

"Retroflex" (or minus distributed) designates *ɖ* in contrast to the other coronal (or all other) consonants (see 11.2.9.b, *d* and 11.2.15.f).

The feature "voiced" is important for the devoicing of obstruents (see 11.2.12) and in designating h in contrast to w and y (see 11.2.11).

"Long" is important in long vowel shortening (see 11.2.5) and syllable structure vowel syncope (see 11.2.2.a).

11.2 Phonologically Determined Phonemic Processes

11.2.1 Stress and Intonation

a. Basic Stress

Stress has been derived in this grammar with a lexical rule determining root stress and various suffixes being introduced either with or without stress. Stress is distinguished by high tone and lack of stress with regular tone.

(1) Root Stress (Obligatory)

The root stress rule has word-final long vowels stressed, roots with final short vowels taking penultimate stress, and consonant-final roots taking stress on the last syllable. The few exceptions must be listed lexically.

P 1. $V \rightarrow [+ \text{stress}] / C_0 \left(\left[\begin{array}{l} V \\ \text{- long} \end{array} \right] \right)$
Noun, Verb

This rule avoids marking stress on nouns in the lexicon by listing the stressed final vowel as long in the feminine class. Under this analysis, final long forms (feminine) and consonant-final (masculine) nouns have the last syllable stressed, while masculine nouns with short final vowels have penultimate stress. This approach also handles stress in verb roots, since the stressed suffixes will cause the loss of the root stress and provide correct final stress where there is no stressed surface suffix. This solution is further supported by the fact that the underlying long vowels are retained when a plural suffix is added: da'ro *grain*, daroo-'ra *grains*.

Verbs: (all regular verbs have consonant-final roots)

cundu'gul *be drowsy* (from cundugul) (singular imperatives)
a'bal-ak, a'bal-ih *seeing* (impf and *as* part)
'fak-ka iy-y-'e *he opened* (root fak) (compound verbs)
'ab-u, 'ab-ay *to do* (subjunctives and jussives)
cad'oo *white* (from irregular root cadoo, pl. cadoo'nu)

Nouns:

amoo *to* a'moo *head* (a'mo see 11.2.5.b)

gita to 'gita *road*
 marub to ma'rub *sheep*
 (but 'taban *ten*, 'danan *donkey* are exceptions)

Loss of Stress on Auxiliary Verbs (Optional)

Auxiliary verbs usually lose stress. These are way (negative and immediate), sug (perfect tenses), en (perfect and progressive), eex and hay (compounds).

a'maatu 'waa to a'maatu waa *I am about to come*
 a'beh su'ge to a'beh suge *I had done*
 a'kamuk 'yan to a'kamuk yan *he is eating*
 'solla iy'yen to 'solla iyyen ('sollayyen, see 11.2.5)
 they stood ('sollu iyyee'ni to 'sollu iy'yen
 ('solluyyen) *Shewa*)
 a'baluk sug'ten to a'baluk sugten *you were seeing*
 a'be 'ween to a'be ween *they didn't do it*

(2) Suffix Stress

Suffixes must be marked with or without stress. Noun suffixes which are stressed are plurals and nominative-genitive '-i. Stress itself is the marker for feminine in animate nouns. Unstressed noun suffixes are the particular -yta and citation-final vowel.

amoo-'ma *heads*
 git-it'te *roads*, git-'i *road-nom,gen*
 marub-'wa *sheep(pl)*
 macan'da *younger sister* (cf. ma'canda *younger brother*)

Verbal suffixes which are stressed are plural -n'V and aspect (imperfect 'aa, perfect 'ee, and present 'oo). Unstressed verb suffixes are subjunctive -u, jussive -ay, imperative -a, iy, and -ay, nominalizer -Vm, infinitive -i, compounds -ca, imperfect participle -uk, *as* participle -ih, and whatever vowel falls before the nonpotential conditional -y. (An alternative to marking stress on roots and suffixes in verbs is to make this list into a rule for penultimate stress, with all other verbs being stressed on the ultima.)

rad-'aa-n'a *fall-impf-pl*, *they fall*
 ab-'ee-n'i *do-perf-pl*, *they do*
 cad-'oo-n'u *white-pres-pl*, *they are white*

b. Word Stress (Obligatory)

The word-level stress rule deletes all but the last stress in any word, including compounds. Since the negative 'ma is a separate word at this level, it does not lose its stress.

P 2. V → [- stress] / X $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ + \text{ stress} \end{array} \right]$ Y #

Condition: Y does not contain plus stress.

- la'foo-'fi to lafoo-'fi *bone-s*
 ra'kuub-'a to rakuub-'a *camel-s*
 xu'tuk-t-'i to xutuk-t-'i *star-particular-nom,gen*
 baa'do-h-'al-'i to baado-h-'al-'i *ground-gen-animal-nom,*
snake (compound noun)
 da'ro-t-'al-'i to daro-t-'al-'i *grain-gen-animal-nom-gen,*
weevil (compound noun)
 'sool-'aa-n'a to sool-aa-n'a *stand-impf-pl, they stand*
 (Cf. 'ma#soolaa'na *they don't stand*)
 y-aa'kam-'oo-n-ay to y-aaka'm-'oo-n-ay *they precede-impf-*
pl-juss, let them precede
 bi'yaak-it-'ee-n'i to biyaak-it-ee-n'i *sickness-ben-perf-*
pl, they are sick (noun plus verbal suffixes)
 a'kum eat (imperative, only base stress)

Two other processes beyond word level cause stress reduction: liaison of words which both have vowels at the common boundary and sentence intonation.

c. Liaison Stress Reduction (Obligatory)

When vowels meet at word boundary, they normally have liaison, indicating a weakened word boundary. Besides stress reduction, liaison also involves vowel assimilation and reduction (see 11.2.5.a), with the effect that a whole sequence of vowel-connected words is run together in a continuum. Assimilation (but not stress loss) may be blocked by a pausal -h or glottal stop introduced to keep words separated (see 11.2.16.d). When vowels meet at word boundary, if the first vowel is stressed, the stress of the next syllable beyond the juncture is lost if it is not also long. (A right to left application will keep stress loss on a series from blocking succeeding applications.) The 'ma negative proclitic also conditions liaison stress reduction in the following root and therefore is treated as separated from the root by # boundary. (Later the # boundary is downgraded after 'ma and the proclitic undergoes prefix vowel harmony; see 11.2.4.b.)

$$P\ 4. \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{ long} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [- \text{ stress}] / \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{ stress} \end{array} \right] + VC(C)$$

a'nu ur-'e to a'nuure
I got well-I,perf, I got well.

gacam'mo ok'me to gacam'mookme (gaca'mokme, see 11.2.5.b)
bread I ate, I ate bread.

a'nu ab-'a to a'na-aba *I do (John 14:12)*

cis'se a'be to cis'sa-abe *I,he made a hill*
 (plain Shewa and Eritrea)

cawii'ti in'ki a'mo 'le to cawii'tiin'kaamo 'le
an eagle has one head (cawii'tin'kaamo, see 11.2.5.b)

in those words which do have an underlying (C)VCVCVX pattern, the vowel which is second from the left is deleted to break them into (C)VCCVX. An exception occurs when the consonants which would come together after the deletion are identical; see discussion and examples below, where no syncope occurs. (This rule does not include the 'ma negative proclitic which is not considered as part of the word stem at the time this rule applies:

'ma#t-ak'ma from 'ma#t-aku'ma *neg-you-eat, you don't eat.*

Compound nouns also, in spite of losing stress, do not have syncope across their original word boundaries:

daro-'h-ala *grain animal, weevil.*)

This rule must follow nonfinal word stress deletion so as not to have the root stress block the deletion:

a'kum-'e to akum-'e to akm-'e *I eat.*

It must also precede liaison stress deletion, so that the deleted stress will fall in the required second syllable:

da'ro ubu'le to da'ro ub'le (syncope) to da'rooble
(liaison) to da'roble (closed syllable shortening)
I saw grain.

P 3.	SD:	#(C)	[	V	]	C	[	V	]	C	V
			[-	long	]		[-	long]		
							[-	Stress]		
			1	2		3	4			5	6
	SC:		1	2		3	∅			5	6
	Condition:		3 does not equal 5.								

In the unstressed vowel-final (masculine) class, the nominative-genitive stressed suffix leads to loss of the root stress (by deletion of all but the last stress [see 11.2.1.b]). This yields a (C)VCVCV sequence, in which syncope takes place.

Base(Acc)	Nom-gen	Gloss
xa'mila	xam'l-i	<i>swamp grass</i>
ca'gara	cag'r-i	<i>scabies</i>
ka'xanu	kax'n-i	<i>love</i>
da'ragu	dar'g-i	<i>watered milk</i>
da'xari	dax'r-i	<i>going out to pasture</i>
a'gabū	ag'b-i	<i>women</i>
ba'ca-la	bac'l-i	<i>husband</i>

dig're (from digi're) *he played*; compare
 di'gir-ay *let him play* (no syncope)
 dig'be *I married*, digib-'t-e *she married*
 alf-ee-'ni *they closed*, alif-t-ee-'ni *you(pl) closed*
 gut'ce *he pushed*, gu'tuc-a *push(pl)*
 mat're *I overtook*, ma'tar-u *that I overtake*
 kub'ce *he swelled*, ku'buc-ak *swelling*
 xatf-ee-'ni *they snatched*, xa'taf-ah *while snatching*
 xaw'lele *she will tire*, xawai-'t-e *she tired*
 wag-'re *he reconciled*, wager-'n-e *we reconciled*
 mec-'ra *he kills the calf*, mecer-'ta *you kill the calf*

This rule also applies in the Aussa and Shewa dialects when benefactive and causative suffixes are added to monosyllable roots, yielding the syllable structure (C)VCVCV. Coastal and Northern dialects do not delete the vowel from voice suffixes, so the rule is blocked by a minus rule feature.

bar-'t-e (from bar-it-'e) *I learned*; compare
 bar-it-'t-e *you learned*
 (Note Northern bari'te *I learned*.)
 bar-'s-e *he taught* ba'r-is-ay *let him teach*
 (Note Northern bari'se *he taught*.)
 xan-'t-e *I gossiped*, xam-it-'te *she gossiped*
 ab-'se *I caused to do*, ab-is-'ne *we caused to do*

The few verbs with identical second and third consonants are also blocked from this deletion. (Since the language accepts geminates, it is not obvious why they are avoided here.) No examples were found in the prefixing class. The following were found in the suffixing class.

xara'r-e *I, he burned*
 calal-ee-'ni *they competed, argued*
 gona'n-a *I, he searched for*
 ada'de *I, he trembled* (ara're Ba'adu)
 adu'de *I, he was wet*
 dana'ne *I, he hurt*
 modo'de *I, he collected animals to bring home*
 cala'le *I, he raced*
 calu'le *it soured*
 wala'le *I, he conversed*
 wara're *I, he attacked*

Blocking is also found in some y -final roots, which prevents the occurrence of C plus y clusters which otherwise don't occur. Other y -final verbs do undergo syncope in first person singular and some also in third person singular and plural, but these require vowel reduction and subsequently postconsonantal y deletion. (See 11.2.3.)

dara'ya *worm* (no syncope)
 gara'y-e to gar'y-e (syncope) to ga'r-e (y deletion)
I, he met (gara'ye without syncope in Ba'adu and Eritrea)
 katay-ee-'ni to katy-ee-'ni (syncope) to
 kat-ee-'ni (y deletion) *they followed*

b. Vowel Epenthesis between Consonant-Final Nouns and Consonant-Initial Clitics (Obligatory)

When a clitic postposition follows a consonant-final noun (including nominalized verbs), the two consonants are separated by a vowel which is in harmony with the preceding vowel, a after a, i after i or e, and u after u or o (see 11.2.4.c). This rule saves writing a vowel with each clitic postposition in the lexicon. The same process also places the vowel before the nominalizer -m when it follows the short form of plural -n.

P 5.	SD:	V	C	+	C
					+ clitic
		1	2		3
	SC:	1	2 1		3

a'b-aa-m-a-k (from ab-'aa-m-V-k) *from his doing*
 'xan-a-k (from xan-V-k) *from milk*
 soo'l-ee-n-im-i-t (both -Vm and -Vt) *by their standing*
 mi-nin-i-l *on the eyebrow*

xa'b-ee-m-i-k
release-perf-nom-V-from, from his releasing

moy'dur-u-h *for the rifle*
 dii'ron-u-l *on his loin*

li-'t-oo-n-um-u-t
have-you-pres-pl-nom-V-by, by your having

ra'kuub-u-ffan(ah) *toward the camel* (Shewa; elsewhere
 not a clitic ra'kub 'fan)

11.2.3 y Deletion after Consonants and between Front Vowels
 (Obligatory)

(1) A y deletes after consonants. This is seen in the third person (masculine singular and common plural) marker, which is -y for prefixing verbs but zero for suffixing verbs. It is also seen in the particular suffix, which is -yta after vowel-final nouns but only -ta after consonant-final nouns. (Also note 11.2.5.b for loss of glides before consonant clusters.) Alternations without y are also caused by second-vowel syncope,

bringing a root-final *y* together with the second root consonant. When both a final *y* and a third person *y* follow a C (after second-syllable vowel syncope, see 11.5.2.a), both *y*'s delete.

P 6. $y \rightarrow \phi / C \underline{\quad}$

- ab-'*y*-e to a'b-e *he did* (from *do-he-perf*)
 sool-y-aa-'na to sool-aa-'na *they stand*
 (Compare y-ub'le *he saw*, y-okmee'ni *they ate*.)
 a'yuf-yta to a'yuf-ta *leaf*
 makaa'ban-ytu to makaa'ban-tu *chief*
 (Compare a'mo-yta *leader*.)
 garay-'e to gary-'e (see 11.2.2.a) to ga'r-e *I met*
 (Compare garay-'t-e *you met*.)
 garay-y-'e to gary-y-'e to ga'r-e *he met*
 exey-'e to exy-'e (see 11.2.2.a) to e'x-e *I gave*
 (cf. a'xay-u *that I give*, without syncope)
 edey-e to edy-'e to e'd-e *I tied* (o'de Shewa and Eritrea)
 (cf. a'day-u *that I tie*, without syncope)

(2) A single *y* deletes when preceded by an unstressed *e* and followed by *e* or *i*. The preceding vowel also deletes when the following vowel is long. (Not to delete the vowel would create a word-final two-vowel cluster which is always reduced before vowel assimilations [see 12.1.19, 12.1.20, and 12.2.3] way and hay becoming 'wee *I, he lacked*, and 'hee *I, he put* in the perfect may also be related to this rule by a minor assimilation rule of *a* to *e* before *y-ee* in these two exceptions [see 12.1.17].)

P 7.	$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -back \\ -long \\ -stress \end{bmatrix}$	y	$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -bk \\ <+long> \end{bmatrix}$
	1	2	3
SC:	2 $\Rightarrow \phi$		
	<1 $\Rightarrow \phi$ >		

- be'y-ee to 'b-ee *I took*
 gey-ee-'ni to g-ee-'ni *they got* (Note that the third person marker *y* must first be deleted as noted above: gey-'y-ee to ge'y-ee (by P 5) to 'gee *he got*.)
 'ma-bey-in to 'ma-be-in to 'mabeen (see 11.2.5.a)
don't take

daffe'yee to daf'f-ee *I, he sat* (to
 daf'f-e by final-cluster reduction)
 hay-'ee to hey-'ee (see 12.1.17) to 'h-ee *I, he put*
 (but 'bey-i or 'bey-u to *take* without
 deletion when stressed)

11.2.4 Vowel Harmony

a. Root Harmony

Afar roots show vowel harmony in that, except for a, the other vowels are usually identical. The low vowel a is neutral and is found in roots with any vowels.

duddub *to swell*
 soloolox *to tumble down*
 kimbi'ro *bird* (final V not predictable)
 deben *beard*
 ikriy *read*
 usxub *think*

Combinations with a:

xi'saab *worry*
 xeemaa'ki *measles*
 gum'cata *Friday*
 dooba'caytu *black head scarf*

b. Prefix Harmony (Obligatory)

Vowels of the various focus affixes in prefixing verbs agree in all features except length with the first root vowel.

P 8.	SD:	V	C ₀	-	X	[	V
						]	Verb
		1	2	3	4		5
	SC:	[	5	2	3	4	5
]					
			-long				

The 'ma- negative prefix also has full agreement with a vowel-initial suffixing class verb. (Most suffixing class verbs are consonant initial and have no assimilation of 'ma-.) This is possible to derive by having the word boundary for -ma# which was included in the stress rule reduced to a morpheme boundary with liaison (see 11.2.1.e) before prefix harmony. (The regular non-low vowel-initial class always has a with 'ma- since the initial

stem vowel always changes to a in both imperfect and perfect negatives.)

ott-o'komm-iy

benef-eat-impera, eat please

t-eys-eeme'ne

you-caus-believe, you caused to believe

n-uy-duu're

we-caus-return, we caused to return

y-in-dixi'de

it-pass-sew, it is sewed

'ma-elee'la to 'me-elee'la *I do (he does) not reach*

'ma-inaacit-'t-a to 'mi-inaacit'ta

you do (she does) not sleep

'ma#ugut-in'na to 'ma#ukt-in'na (by syncope) to

'mu-ukt-in'na to 'muktin'na (closed syllable)

he, she didn't get up

'ma#ifi'sa to 'ma#if'sa (by syncope) to

'ma-ifsa (by liaison) to 'mi-ifsa to

'mifsa (closed syllable) *it won't shine*

Note that the consonant-initial forms all remain 'ma:

('ma-soo'la *I won't stand*, 'ma-ge'da *I won't go*, 'ma-t-ab'la

you won't see). Regular prefixing verbs have a-initial vowels,

which bring no change whether or not prefix harmony applies

('ma-aggafin to 'ma-ggafin [by closed syllable reduction] *don't*

hit, 'ma-aktabin'na to 'ma-ktabin'na *he didn't write*, 'ma-aadi'ga

to 'ma-adi'ga [by assimilation reduction] *I don't know*).

c. Harmony in Suffixes Which Raise e and o to i and u
(Obligatory)

Five suffixes have vowels which agree with the preceding vowel in all features except that e and o condition i and u respectively.

- (1) The vowel between consonant-final nominals and clitic postpositions (see 11.2.2.b).
- (2) The vowel(s) of the clitic coordinating conjunction (see 5.1.5 above).
- (3) The suffixed vowel with kin'ni reduction and citation (see T 52).
- (4) The final vowel of the verb plural suffix (see T 40).
- (5) The vowel of the nominalizer -Vm (see T 16).

The mid to high vowel pattern is the same as raising unstressed final syllable e and o in regular alternations such as inkIt'to (fem) and in'kittu (masc) *one* (see 11.2.6.b). All of

these suffixes are unstressed except the verb plural -n'i (which also has a short form -n when followed by another suffix). This suggests introducing vowels identical to the last root vowel (as in the prefix harmony rule) and then raising the unstressed e and o suffixes. The plural, however, will have to be specially marked for this raising rule in spite of its stress. Vowels identical to the last stem vowel are already introduced for the clitic postpositions and nominalizer as an epenthetic vowel between two consonants (see 11.2.2.b). However, for coordinating conjunctions, kin'ni reduction, and the plural -n'i, some base vowel must be chosen for the lexicon. An underlying o or u would violate rounding dominance in the language. An unstressed e could be posited naturally. However, since e never appears in the surface forms of these suffixes and has the complication of stress in the plural -n'i (which is never n'e), these suffixes are posited with underlying i. Since other i suffixes do not undergo harmony, (1) coordinating conjunctions, (2) kin'ni reduction, and (3) verb plural must be marked to undergo this minor rule of harmony. Other final -i suffixes which are not marked for harmony are (1) the three focus suffixes discussed below, (2) the imperative -iy, (3) the negative imperative -in, (4) the -i infinitive, (5) the -it'te plural suffix, (6) the auxiliary -inn (perfect negative and nonpotential conditions, and in-naanih *whatever*, and (7) the -i agentive verbal noun.

P 9. (minor)	SD:	V	X	<div style="text-align: center; padding: 5px;"> V + hi -rnd + P 9 </div>
		1	2	3
	SC:	1	2	1

Condition: X does not include V.

Postpositions (V before -C):

a'b-aa-m-a-l (from a'b-aa-m-i-l)
do-impf-nom-V-post, if I do (he does)

ra'kuub-u-t
camel-V-by, by camel

'woh-u-t (John 6:43)
that-V-by, by that

so|-t-ee-m-i-t (from soo|-t-ee-m-i-t)
stand-you, she-perf-nom-V-by, by her, your standing

esse'r-ee-n-im-i-h (from esse'r-ee-n-im-i-h) (John 5:12)
ask-perf-pl-nom-V-for, asking

Conjunctions (Final -(h)V(y)(V)):

'wo-kkel-i (John 4:6)
that-place-and, and there

'hinna-mma'y-aa (from 'hinna-mma'y-ii) (John 4:23)
not-however-but, but however

'num-u *man-and* (John 4:35)

'sinnii-'m-iy (from 'sinnii-m-'iy) (John 5:3)
without-nom-and, and without

'oson-u *they-and, and they*

Citation or *is* Deletion (Final V):

ma'ruub-u *sheep-is*

'af-a *mouth-is*

'rob-u *rain-is*

da'beel-i *noise-is*

a'lib-i *tendon-is*

Plural (n'V):

ab-ee-'ni (from ab-ee'ni)
do-perf-pl, they did

sarit-t-aa-'na
dress-you-impf-pl, you dress

kinn-oo-'nu
is-they-pl, they are

Nominalizer (-Vm):

ge'd-e-loo-n-um (from ge'd-e-loo-n-im)
go-inf-fut-they-nom, that they will go

ab-'t-aa-n-am
do-you-impf-pl-nom, that you do

irgi'c-em (possibly from irgi'cee-im if -im rather than
 -m base) *that I cut* (See T 16.)

Harmony with -iy'yen and -ih fan (Obligatory)

The suffix -iy'yen *even, even though* (literally *they said*) also has the *i* harmonizing with its preceding vowel (see 6.4.9). However, this harmonized vowel does not raise *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* as those discussed above. The difference is that the *V* of -Vy'yen is not in the final syllable of the word. Since the base is obviously with an *i* (from the verb *iyye say*), the analysis of underlying *i* above has this independent support.

'bar-ak-iy'yen to 'bara-k-ay'yen
night-from-even, even from night

mak'mo-t-iy'yen to mak'mo-t-oy'yen
eating-by-even, even by eating

The same is true of the -ih modified genitive marker before fan *towards*. The i becomes V with vowel harmony, and the h assimilates to f giving -Vf-fan.

'yi 'san-ih-fan to 'yi sa'n-af-fan
towards my nose

d. "Focus" Suffix Harmony with i (Obligatory)

Focus (benefactive, causative, and passive) suffixes in unstressed i are assimilated for the features round and back to a preceding u (but not o) in a second minor rule. The i suffixes noted in (c) above do not assimilate, so focus suffixes will be marked plus P 10.

$$P\ 10. \text{ (Minor)} \quad \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ hi} \\ + \text{ P } 10 \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ hi} \\ + \text{ rnd} \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ rnd} \\ + \text{ hi} \end{bmatrix} \quad C_0 + \text{---}$$

/i to u after u for it, (si)is, iim/

duud-u's-e

be able-caus-I,he,perf, I,he enabled

urruug-u't-e

diarrhoea-ben-I,he,perf, I,he had diarrhoea.

ged-da-'s-it

go-compound-caus-ben, go (as you like)

soo'l-is

stand-caus, cause to stand

abaar-i'm-e

curse-pass-I,he,perf, I,he was cursed

digib-sii's-e

marry-caus-he,perf, he gave in marriage

11.2.5 Vowel Reduction

a. Vowel Reduction with Assimilations (Obligatory)

Vowels which come together either at word or morpheme boundaries assimilate in a hierarchical order. Front vowels i and e assimilate to rounded (or back) u and o, high vowels i and u

assimilate to nonhigh, and all vowels assimilate to low a. This means that

i goes to e, u, o, and a,
 e goes to o and a, and
 u goes to o and a.

All the combinations involve complete assimilation of the less dominant vowel to the more dominant, except eu combinations which become long o, preserving the height of e and the rounding of u. Vowel length or sequential order do not affect the assimilations. This allows for a mirror image rule to both generate the above assimilations and bring sequences of two vowels (short or long) together as one long vowel.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{P 11.} \\
 \text{SD:} \\
 \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \text{ back} \\ + \text{ round} \end{array} \right\} \\ < - \text{ high} > \end{array} \right] \text{V} \\
 \\
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 & 1 & 2 & \text{/mirror image/} \\
 \text{SC:} & \phi & \left[\begin{array}{c} 2 \\ + \text{ long} \\ < - \text{ high} > \end{array} \right] &
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

The rule expands as follows (where vowels in the SD may be either long or short):

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(a-i)} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{ bk} \\ - \text{ hi} \end{array} \right] \text{V} : \left. \begin{array}{l} e + \text{V}_1 \\ \text{V}_1 + e \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V}_1 \\ - \text{ hi} \\ + \text{ lng} \end{array} \right] \\
 \text{(a-ii)} \quad \text{V} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ - \text{ bk} \\ - \text{ hi} \end{array} \right] : \\
 \text{i.e.:} \quad \begin{array}{l} e-e, e-i \text{ to long e} \\ e-o, e-u \text{ to long o} \\ e-a \text{ to long a} \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

'lee e'xe to 'leexe *I gave water* (stress 11.2.1.e)
 'ma-bey-in to 'ma-be-in to 'ma-be-en *don't take*
 cis'si eede'ge to cis'seede'ge *I knew the hill*
 ca'le irgi'ce to ca'leergi'ce to ca'lergi'ce
 (see 11.2.5.b) *I cut a mountain*
 da'ro e'xe to da'rooxe *I gave grain*
 diidaa'le oob'be to diidaa'loobbe *I heard a bee*

(b-i)
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ - bk \end{array} \right] V : i + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \\ a \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \\ a \end{array} \right\}$$

(b-ii) mirror image of (b-i)

tamaa'ri ur'te to tamaa'rurte (see 11.2.1.3 and 11.2.5.b)
student got well
 a'nu irgi'ce to a'nurgice *I cut*
 'rabbi-ow to 'rabbo-ow ('rabb-ow 11.2.5.b) *master*
 'mahay-in'na to 'maha-in'na to 'maha-an'na (Yeju, Wollo)
 to 'mahan'na (Coastal) *he didn't put*
 aw'k-i 'ard-u-k su'ge to aw'karduk *boy was running*
 aw'ka ilaalis'se to aw'kaalaalis'se *girl watched*

(c-i)
$$\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + rnd \\ - hi \end{array} \right] V_1 : o + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \\ a \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow \text{long} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} o \\ a \end{array} \right\}$$

(c-ii) mirror image of (c-i)

kimmi'ro ur'te to kimmi'roorte to kimmi'rorte (see
 11.2.1.3 and 11.2.5.b) *the bird got well*
 'urru-ow to 'urr-ow *children* (John 13:33)
 'anu ok'me to a'nookme to a'nokme *I ate*
 'bada-ow to 'bada-aw to 'bada-w *son-vocative*
 da'ro ak'me to da'rakme *I eat grain*

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{(d-i)} \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{ rnd} \end{array} \right] \quad V_1 \quad : \quad u \quad + \quad a \quad \left. \vphantom{\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{ rnd} \end{array} \right]} \right\} \Rightarrow \text{long } a \\
 \text{(d-ii)} \quad \text{mirror image of (d-i)}
 \end{array}$$

'sool-a-u-k to 'soolaak to 'soolak *standing*
 (Compare o'kom-a-u-k to a-'kam-u-k [see 12.1.1]
eating of the prefixing class; and 'sool-'aa-u
 to 'sool-u *stand-subjunctive*, where the 'aa is
 deleted, 12.1.20.)

'rad-a-i-h to 'radaah to 'radah *while descending*
 (cf. u'bul-a-i-h to a-'bal-i-h, 12.1.1, *while*
seeing; and 'rad-a-i to 'rad-i *to descend*)

kukur'ru ab'le to kukur'rab'le *dove I see*
 a'deena ub'le to a'deenab'le *toothbrush I saw*

$$\text{(e)} \quad V \quad + \quad V \quad : \quad a \quad + \quad a \quad \Rightarrow \text{long } a$$

'awka aadi'ge to 'awkaadi'ge *I know the boy.*
 baar'raa aadi'ge to bar'raadi'ge *I know the woman.*

b. Closed Syllable Vowel Shortening and Glide Loss (Obligatory)

(1) Long vowels (either basic or from the addition of a vowel affix) are shortened in closed syllables (i.e., before two consonants or a word-final consonant). Also in Sandhi assimilation, two vowels at word boundary (made into one long vowel by liaison assimilation [see 11.2.5.a]) are reduced to one short vowel before a consonant cluster in the second word. However, a few long vowels (especially aa roots and optionally the long vowel aa or oo in oobb *hear*) are not reduced and must be marked lexically. No exceptions occur in consonant-final nouns and the structurally parallel nominalized verbs. In word-final position, long vowels are shortened except in monosyllables which remain long.

$$\text{P 13.} \quad V \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / \langle VC \rangle \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \langle \# \rangle \\ C \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ C \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

Closed Syllable:

- 'koo-t to 'ko-t *by you*
 (But note 'kaa-t *by him*, oob'be *I heard*, and
 silb'na *we uproot*, which must be lexically
 marked minus reduction.)
- 'ma-akuma to 'ma-akma (see 11.2.2.a) to
 'm-akma *I don't eat* (and all negative 'ma's
 before VCC either basic or from 11.2.2.a
 [see 6.2 for other examples])
- haad-'d-e to had-'d-e *she, you flew* (not reduced in
 Eritrea or Shewa) (But note maad-'d-e *she,*
you arrived.)
- ruub to rub *send*
- hawween-'t-a to hawwen-'t-a *she forgets (you forget)*
- ra'kuub to ra'kub *camel* (and all other consonant-
 final nouns with a basic long final syllable
 [see 8.5.3.1 for lists])
- a'b-aa-m to a'b-a-m *that I do* (and all other singular
 nominalized verbs in any tense)
- daffe-is-'s-e to daffe-s-'se (from daffey-is-'s-e)
she, you caused to sit
 (Note that the second vowel, the causative i,
 has assimilated to e; see 11.2.5.a.)
- a'tu ab-'t-e to a'taabte (by liaison assimilation) to
 a'tabte *you did*
- 'urru oggol-'t-e to 'urroggol'te (by liaison) to
 'urroggol'te
children met-you-perf, you met the children

Word-Final Vowels:

- da'roo to da'ro *grain* (and all feminine nouns, basic
 long vowel) (See 8.5.1 for lists.)
- ab-'ee to ab-'e *he did* (and all perfect aspect)
- rad-'aa to rad-'a *I fall* (and all imperfects)
- cad-'oo to cad-'o *it is white* (and all present aspects)
- daffey-'ee to daff-'ee (see 11.2.3) to daf'f-e *I, he sat*

Monosyllabic Long Surface Vowels:

- 'b-ee *I have (he has)* (imperative 'bey)
- 'h-aa *I, he put* (imperative 'hay)
- 'g-ee *I, he found* (imperfect ge'y-a)
- 'w-ee *I, he lost* (way-'t-e *you, she lost*)
- 'yoo *me, 'kaa him*
- 'woo *that*
- 'kee *and, well!*

'lee *water* (but no nonmonosyllabic long vowel-final nouns; compare the largest noun class, stressed vowel-final feminine nouns, which have the stem-final vowel long when the plural reduplication is added: ca'le; pl, calee-'la *mountains*.)

'yoo-y *me-and* (I Cor. 15:8) (Conjunctions do not cause closed syllable reduction.)

(2) Glides are also deleted before consonant clusters (but not word finally). Although the process is similar to that with vowels above, the result is different in that a glide deletes while a long vowel only shortens. (This gives support to considering long vowels to be two short vowels, allowing a deletion instead of shortening. However, to do so would complicate the assimilation reduction rule which applies as a mirror image in any two (not three) vowel combinations [see 11.2.5.a].)

P 14. [cns] → φ / V _____ C $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ C \end{array} \right\}$

oys-s-oo'me to os-s-oo'me

caus-benef-spoil, I caused to spoil for my benefit
(see oys-oo'me I caused to spoil)

dayyoy-s-'s-e to dayy-os-'se (from day-yoow-is-s-'e)

near-reg-caus-you, she-perf, you, she brought near
(and all regularized modifier roots with voice suffixes [see 11.2.14 for wi to y, which must precede closed syllable loss])

Short Vowels in Open Syllables before Conjunctions or -im (Obligatory)

The process of shortening long vowels in closed syllables applies in spite of the syllables opened by conjunctions or -im *that which belongs to*. The -k(i) conditional also does not lengthen a preceding perfect 'ee and may be considered a conditional -k plus the conjunction 'i. One solution is to consider the conjunctions as separate morphemes, thereby making the shortening process regular.

ged-e-'k-i (not ged-ee-'k-i)

go-perf-if-and, and if I go (he goes)

iy-y-e-'m-i (not iy-y-ee-'m-i)

say-he-perf-nom-and, and saying (introduction to quotations)

num'ma-ha (not num'maa-ha) *truly-and* (John 6:32)

a-dxe-'m-i (not adxee-'m-i) (John 6:47)

I, impf-say-nom-and, and saying

'ma-gonni's-a-ya (not 'magonni'saaya) (John 8:50)

neg-look for-impf-conj, but I am not looking for

y-eme'e-te-hih (Matthew 15:6)

he came-conj, and he came

ra'kub-im (not ra'kuub-im)

that which belongs to a camel

'yoo-k (Matthew 14:27)

me-because

(Compare with 'yo-k from me.)

Unshortened Vowels in y-Final Verbs (Obligatory)

When a root-final *y* is deleted from a prefixing class verb, the resulting long vowel never reduces. In the South (Yeju and Shewa), the same blocking of vowel shortening also takes place in all verbs from which *y* is deleted, but in the North (Eritrea and Tigre), only *inna* negatives cause reduction in suffixing verbs.

a'xeetto *you will give* (no reduction of *ee* in closed syllable, root *exey*)

daf'feenno *we will sit* (root *daffey*)

'madaffeen'na *he didn't sit* ('madafen'na North)

y-a'dee-ggid *in order that he tie* (root *odey*)

'geetto *you will get* (but 'magen'na North versus 'mageen'na South)

'mahaan'na *he didn't put* (Yeju) ('mahan'na North, Eritrea, and Tigre; Shewa has 'mahiin'na.)

11.2.6 Vowel Quality Changes

a. a- -a Dissimilation (Obligatory)

In several morphological classes, a series of *a*'s in consecutive syllables shows a qualitative dissimilation of one of the *a*'s. This does not occur with a series of *a*'s within stems or with imperfect *-aa* plus plural *-na* except as noted with Mood below, so the process must include morphological marking.

(1) Noun Plural a Dissimilation

When the addition of an *-a* in the noun plural suffix (see 12.3.1) leads to a series of two or more *a*'s, dissimilation takes place. In the feminine noun class, the plural *-a* becomes *-i* when preceded by a stem *a* (*budaa-'da* to *budaa-'di* *villages*), and if this stem *a* is preceded by another *a*, the stem-final *a* also dissimilates to *o* (*lafaa-'fa* to *lafoo-'fi* *bones*). This double process of dissimilation involves a problem in linear ordering. If the final *-a* to *-i* is first, the fact that the plural suffix

in 'a triggered the dissimilation is obscured by its having changed to i (the base la'faa does not dissimilate). On the other hand, if the a to o dissimilation is first, basic a- -o forms interfere which do not have the plural in -i (amoo-'ma *heads*). This requires a transformational rule changing both a vowels at the same time (see Bliese 1967 and 1975).

P 15.	SD:	< a >	C	a	+	C	a
		1	2	3	4	5	6
	SC:	1	2	$\left. \begin{array}{c} 3 \\ < o > \end{array} \right\}$	4	5	6

a- -a to a- -i

abeesaa-'si *vipers* (from abeesaa-'sa)
 bilaa-'li *necklaces* (bilaa-'la)
 dariyaa-'yi *worms* (dariyaa-'ya)
 aboyyaa-'yi *grandmothers* (aboyyaa-'ya)
 kutaa-'ti *dogs* (kutaa-'ta)

a- -a- -a to a- -o- -i

cadaagoo-'gi *markets* (cadaagaa-'ga)
 daloo-'li *gourds* (dalaa-'la)
 nacnoo-'ni *candies* (nacnaa-'na)
 taamoo-'mi *works* (taamaa-'ma)
 carsoo-'si *foreheads* (carsaa-'sa)

a to o dissimilation is also found in masculine a stems. Nouns with the last two vowels a dissimilate the last to oo (from underlying long aa) before the plural -'a.

cafoor-'a *Afars, Danakil* (from cafaar-'a)
 cabool-'a *bloods* (cabaal-'a)
 dagoor-'a *bloods* (dagaar-'a)
 kitoob-'a *books* (kitaab-'a)
 ragood-'a *thongs* (ragaad-'a)

The oo in the plural -oo'wa of monosyllabic a-base nouns may also be derived as a dissimilation from -aa'wa.

xan-oo'wa *milks* (possibly from xan-aa'wa)
 lak-oo'wa *thigh* (possibly from lak-aa'wa)

(2) Particular -yta Dissimilation

The particularizing suffix -yta (birro-y'ta *particular flower*) dissimilates after nouns with an a in the final syllable. If the form is masculine, -yta becomes -ytu and, if feminine, -yto.

Since the dissimilation of a to o is found elsewhere, the -yta morpheme is marked for dissimilation to o after a, and masculine forms are later raised to -ytu when no feminine stress maintains the 'o (see following section, and 8.4).

P 16. a → o / a C + $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{————} \\ + \text{ particular} \end{array} \right]$

xaaba'sa-yta to xaabasa-y'to *female Ethiopian* to
 xaba'sa-ytu *male Ethiopian*
 i'dal-ta (y deletes after C) to idal-'to *old woman* to
 i'dal-tu *elder*
 seeha'da-yta to seehada-yto to seeha'da-ytu *human being*

(3) Mood Imperfect 'aa Dissimilation

a to o dissimilation is also found in the imperfect aspect marker -'aa when followed by plural -na and a subjunctive or jussive mood suffix. The 'aa imperfect does not dissimilate elsewhere. (Since the a of the plural 'na is determined by vowel harmony, the dissimilation rule must be ordered after vowel harmony and the deletion of plural a after dissimilation [see 12.1.19]. This abstract derivation may be avoided by changing 'aa to 'oo by a PR rule [see 12.1.14].)

ged-'aa-na-u to ged-'oo-na-u to ged-'oo-nu (see 12.1.19)
go-impf-pl-subj, that I, he go

y-akm-'aa-na-ay to y-akm-'oo-na-ay to y-akm-'oo-n-ay
 (by closed syl reduction)
they-eat-impf-pl-juss, let them eat

sool-'t-oo-n-u
stand-you-impf-pl-subj, that you(pl) stand

hirik-'t-oo-n-ay
lift-you-impf-pl-juss, that you(pl) lift

b. Stressed Mid, Unstressed High Final Syllables (Obligatory)

The mid vowels e and o never occur in word-final position unless they are stressed. Many animate roots have an alternation between a feminine form in stressed 'e or 'o and a masculine form in unstressed i or u (see 8.6). Since a few basic stressed final 'i and 'u forms are found, but no nonstressed e and o-final forms, the direction of the process is a raising of unstressed e and o. The final -'oo in consultative, as contrasted with the unstressed u of subjunctive, may also be involved with this process. The addition of final length and high to low falling tone for "question" would preserve the basic o of mood, while the unstressed

subjunctive is raised to u. The contrast is also seen in the infinitives, where the negativizer has a final stressed 'e, while other sentence complement infinitives have a final unstressed i. All the unstressed suffixes dealt with in vowel harmony (see 11.2.4.c) also follow this pattern by not having e or o, while i, u, and a are identical to the last stem vowel. The plural -n'i suffix must be marked plus this raising in spite of its stress. Since the double vowel conjunctions -hV_yV and -hV_kV follow this same pattern, the designation "plus suffix" has been added to the rule which otherwise applies to the last syllable of the word. The alternations where e and o root vowels are raised to i and u in the imperfect of the prefixing verb class are dealt with in 12.1.5.

$$P\ 17. \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} +\ \text{syl} \\ -\ \text{low} \\ -\ \text{stress} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+hi] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{---}(C)\# \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{array} \right] \\ +\ \text{suffix} \end{array} \right\}$$

caydi'do *poor woman*, cay'diddu *poor man*
 gaalla-y'to *Galla woman*, gaal'la-ytu *Galla man*
 gersit'to *another(fem)* ger'sittu *another(masc)*
 (John 2:6, Matthew 24:40-41)
 nam'may hay'to *second(fem)* nam'may 'haytu *second(masc)*
 (Matthew 22:26, 39)
 abaaro'le *evil woman (base le has)*, abaa'roli *evil man*
 dirab'le *liar, fem*, di'rabli *liar, masc*
 (see also 'le *he has*, but 'ma-li *he does not have*)
 'ab-'aa-o to 'ab-o (see 12.1.19) to 'ab-u
do-subj, that I do(he does)
 'ab-'aa-o-ô to ab-oô *do-consultative, shall I do (it)*
 (where stress preserves the o)

From the Vowel Harmony Rule:

ge'd-ee-n-im (from ged-'ee-n-em)
go-perf-pl-nom, that they went
 cad-oo-'nu (from cadoo'no in spite of stress)
white-pres-pl, they are white
 ab'ee-hi(yi) (from ab-'ee-he(ye))
do perf-and, and I, he did

c. a to i before y (Obligatory Aussa, Optional Shewa)

In the Wollo Aussa dialect and optionally in Shewa, a becomes i before y, for example, when a negative 'ma- precedes third person y or a y-initial root.

P 18. a → i / _____ y

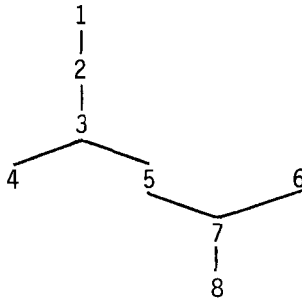
'ma-y-aktu'ba to 'mi-y-aktu'ba *he will not write*
 'ma-y-ambul'la to 'mi-y-ammul'la *it is not visible*
 'ma-yaa'ba to 'mi-yaa'ba *I, he won't speak*
 'ma-yacaad-aa-'na to 'mi-yacaad-aa'na *they don't sit*

11.2.7 Ordering Restrictions

The following is a list of the ordering restrictions needed for the correct application of the above rules.

1. Root Stress (see P 1 section 11.2.1.a.1)
2. Word Stress (Deletion of Nonfinal Stress, P 2, 11.2.1.b)
3. Second Syllable Vowel Syncope (P 3, 11.2.2.a)
4. Liaison Stress Reduction (P 4, 11.2.1.e)
5. y Deletion (P 5 and 6, 11.2.3)
6. Prefix Harmony (P 8, 11.2.4.a)
7. Assimilation (P 11, 11.2.5.a)
 (for P 12, see wi to y 11.2.1.14 which precedes P 13)
8. Closed Syllable (P 13, 11.2.5.b)

Crucial ordering relationships are shown below.



Derivations to illustrate the ordering are as follows:

- 1 to 2 ab-'aa to (1) 'ab-'aa to (2) ab-'aa *I do*
 (or root stress would have to be restricted to forms without suffix stress such as 'ab-a *do-impera,pl*)
- 2 to 3 a'kum-'ee to (2) akum-'ee to (3) akm-'ee *I eat*
- 3 to 4 'ma#akum'a to (3) 'ma#akm'a to (4) 'ma-akma
 to (7) 'm-akma *I won't eat*

- 3 to 5 a'lay-'ee to (2) alay-'ee to (3) aly-'ee
to (5) al-'ee to (8) al-'e *it baked*
- 5 to 7 and 8 daffey-is-'s-e to (5) daffe-iss-'se
to (7) daffe-es-'s-e (8) daffe-s-'s-e
you, she caused to sit
- 6 to 7 'ma-ura to (6) 'mu-ura (not (7) ma-ara)
I won't get well
- 7 to 8 (e'l'le) ged-'ee-inna to (7) ged-'ee-nna
to (8) ged-'e-nna (*as*) *I, he went*

11.2.8 Consonant Assimilation Charts

The following two charts point out the positions in which consonants assimilate--the first word internally and the second in Sandhi position at word boundaries. The word-internal chart has places where no change takes place marked with -. If no evidence was found, it is left blank. Examples of Sandhi assimilation were only found with word-final m, n, or h. The Sandhi evidence is straightforward, but some of the word-internal evidence may be colored by morphological and dialect problems, especially with the m passive marker.

TABLE 11.2.a WORD-INTERNAL CONSONANTAL ASSIMILATIONS

		Second Consonant																
		m	n	w	y	r	l	k	g	ɛ	x	c	f	b	s	t	d	h
First Consonant	m	-	nn		-	-	-	nk	ng	-	-	-	-	m̄n	ns	nt	nd	
	n	mm	-	-	yy			-	-	-	-	-	-	mb	-	-	-	
	w			-		-	-	-				-			-	-	-	
	y	-	-	yy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	r	-	rr	-	-	-		-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	l	-	ll	-			-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-				-	-		
	g	-	-			-	-		-					-	ks	kt	-	
	ɛ	-	(nn [*])					-	-	-	-			-	-	(ɛɛ ⁽)		
	x	-	-	-	-	-	-		-		-			-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-					-			-	-	-	
	f	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	b		-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-		-	-	pt	-	
	s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(ss ⁽)		
	t		nn			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-		
	d	-	(nn ⁽)			-	-	-	-	ɛɛ		-		-		dd	-	
	h	-	-	-	-		-									-	-	-

*Aussa, (1) elsewhere mb, which also occurs in Aussa from nb assimilation of enebe to embe.

(2) nd has metathesis in Eritrea instead of nn.

() parentheses mark affixes n *we*, t *you, she*, and -t particular and genitive which have different patterns than root sequences.

TABLE 11.2.b SANDHI CONSONANTAL ASSIMILATIONS

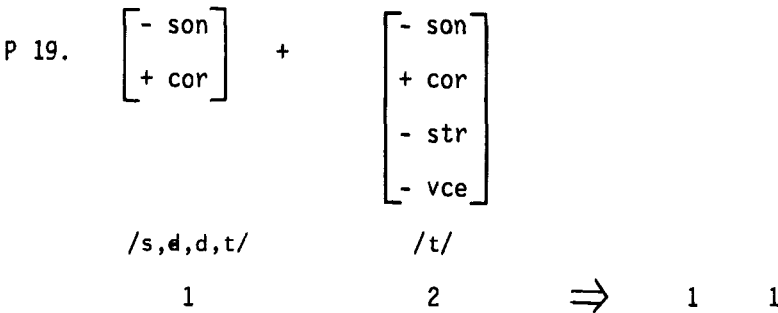
		Second Consonant																
		m	n	w	y	r	l	k	g	ɖ	x	c	f	b	s	t	d	h
First	m			ww	yy	rr	ll											
	n	mm		ww	yy	rr	ll					*mf	mb					
	h										xx	cc	ff		ss			

*nf may also become a labiodental nasal instead of mf.

11.2.9 Coronal Consonantal Assimilations

a. t Assimilation to d, ɖ, and s (Obligatory)

When a t is suffixed to an acute consonant, d, ɖ, or s, as with the second person singular and plural and feminine third person singular suffixes, the t assimilates to them, resulting in their gemination. The assimilation also occurs with the -t of noun particular and of monosyllabic and weekday name genitives (see 8.3.2.1). This process does not occur in roots where the coronal consonants are found before t (*wes'to meander, embedti'ma end*). The process also has the opposite direction of most other assimilations in the language, such as devoicing before voiceless obstruents (sonorant to first person plural -n also has regressive assimilation).

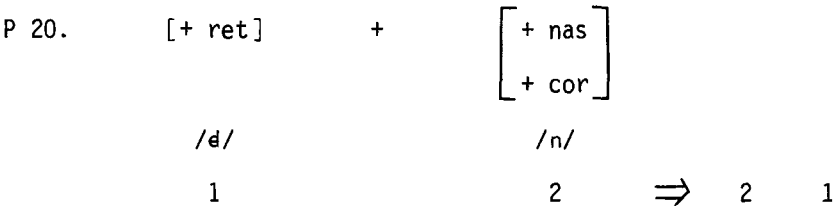


- rad-'t-e to rad-'d-e *you, she fell*
- xad-'t-e to xad-'ɖ-e *you, she poured*
- baris-'t-e to baris-'s-e *you, she taught*
- haad-t-aa-'na to haa-d-d-aa-'na *you(pl) fly*

ged-t-aa-'na to ged-d-aa-'na *you(pl) go*
 faxis-t-ee-'ni to faxis-s-ee-'ni *you(pl) boiled*
 bad-'ti to bad-'di *sea-genitive*
 ay'did-tu to ay'did-du *poor-particular, poor man*
 Kamis-'ti to Kamis-'si *Thursday's*

b. Metathesis of d-n (Obligatory Northern Coastal but not Aussa or South)

(1) In the Northern Coastal dialect suffixing verbs ending in d have metathesis of this d with the n of first person plural. The sequence dn does not occur elsewhere--only a few d-final suffixing verbs have been found, but both ged *go* and fad *want* are very high frequency. The n also becomes retroflex before retroflex d (see 11.2.10.c).



(2) Metathesis has also taken place between various consonants of several roots, as is evidenced in dialect variations of these roots. (They are noted here for information but must be listed separately lexically.)

- (1) daad-'n-e to dan'de *we almost did* (or raar)
- xad-'n-e to xande *we poured*
- ged-'n-a to genda *we go*
- fad-'n-a to fanda *we want*

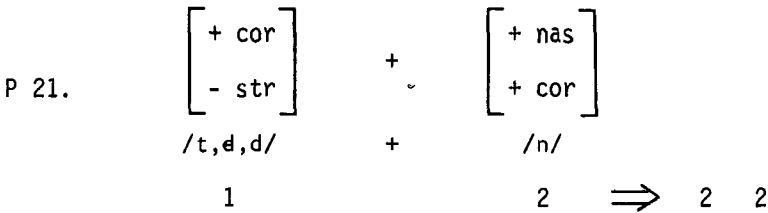
(In the Aussa dialect, d-n assimilates to n-n in all the examples above, fan'da to fan'na; see 11.2.9.c.)

- (2) uk'tub Northern and Southern, ut'kub Wollo, *write*
- 'migda Northern, 'midga Aussa, *right (hand)*
- ib'ra Assab, ir'ba Aussa, Eritrea, Shewa, *needle*
- took'o bo Asgaffen (Shewa), toobo'ko elsewhere, *brother*
- uxsu'be Assab, usxu'be Shewa *I thought*

c. t, d (d) Assimilation to n (Obligatory)

When the first person plural suffix -n follows a t or d they assimilate to the n. (In Northern Afar a d-n sequence results in metathesis, see (b) above.) Assab does not have this rule. Some ideoflects also add d but the majority of informants do not assimilate d to n. Those d's which do not assimilate must be lexically marked minus this rule. Root sequences of coronals and

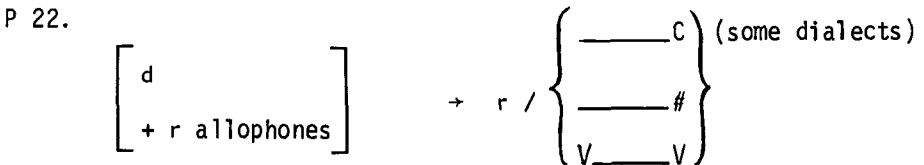
n do not assimilate (idni *permission*).



- barit-'n-e to barin-'n-e we *learned*
- wagit-'n-a to wagin-'n-a we *look*
- fad-'n-e to fan-'n-e we *wanted* (Aussa)
- ged-'n-a to gen-'n-a we *go* (Aussa)
- cid-'n-e or cin-'n-e we *killed*

d. Loss of Retroflex ɖ (Obligatory, Ba'adu)

The Ba'adu and some Aussa dialects have lost the retroflexed ɖ. As Hayward (1974) describes it, ɖ has become d word initially and before a consonant or when geminate, and has become r word finally and when intervocalic. Other dialects have variations including ɖ in some positions, or r instead of d before a consonant. Hayward notes that although ɖ is lost to r in some positions, these dialects do not assimilate this r-n (ɖ-n in other dialects) to r-r (see 11.2.10.a). This requires an underlying form which does not apply in rn to rr assimilation, such as in feer-'n-a to feer-'r-a to fer-'r-a we *climb on* with basic r. Instead, the underlying form in this dialect assimilates to the -n, the same as t, d, ɖ in regular dialects (see 11.2.9.b), xat-'n-a to xan-'n-a we *help*. Because of these problems with r, the lexical listing for these roots must be d, which is marked for r allophones in a low-level rule after the -n assimilation rules.

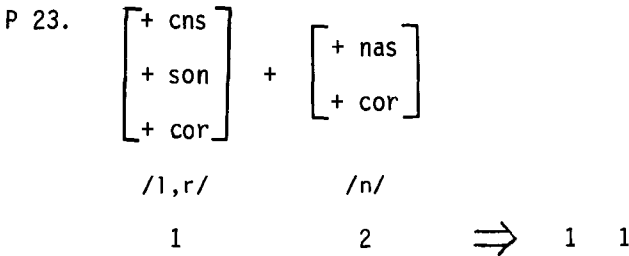


Standard	Ba'adu	All Dialects
'ged	'ger <i>go</i>	gen-'n-e we <i>went</i>
fa'd-a	fa'ra <i>I want</i>	fan-'n-a we <i>want</i>
dii'ne	dii'ne <i>I slept</i>	
fad'da	fad'da <i>you want</i>	
ad'xe	ar'xe <i>I said</i> (or ad'xe some dialects)	

11.2.10 Nasal Assimilations

a. n Person Assimilation to l and r (Obligatory)

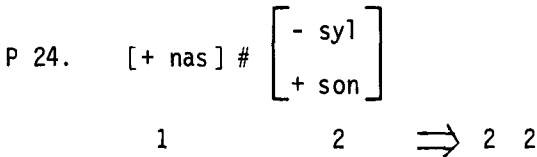
Regressive assimilation of first person plural -n to r and l has the same right to left direction of third feminine and second person t to d, d, s (see 11.2.9).



kal-'n-e to kal-'l-e we removed
 kor-'n-e to kor-'r-e we climbed
 sool-'n-a to sool-'l-a to sol-'l-a
 (by closed syllable reduction) we stand

b. Nasal Assimilation to Sonorants (Obligatory)

The nasals m and n assimilate to r, l, y, or w across word boundaries. (The verb in *say* has preserved its y third person suffix, probably because of nasal assimilation.)



(Also Mirror Image)

xaa'kim ya'ni to xaa'kiy-ya'ni there is a doctor
 lax'tam wa'dar to lax'taw wa'dar sixty goats
 sod'dom ra'kuubu to sod'dor ra'kuubu thirty camels
 sod'dom li'yo to sod'dol li'yo I have thirty
 'xan ya'ni to 'xay-ya'ni there is milk
 yusgu'den ra'kuubu to yusgu'der ra'kuubu slaughtered camel
 da'naw 'wonnah to da'naw 'wonnah donkey there
 yusgu'den 'laa to yusgu'del 'laa slaughtered cow
 (cf. in-'y-e to iy-'y-e he said,
 in-y-aa-'na to iy-y-aa-'na they say)

c. b to m Assimilation (Aussa, Wollo Obligatory)

In the Wollo Aussa dialect, when word-internal *b* follows *m* they become a geminate *m*. This occurs with the passive prefix *m*. (Historically, this is also evidenced with root-internal *mm*, versus *mb* in other dialects. In the Aussa dialect, the sequence of *mb* in *embe* *I grow* comes from the root *eneb*. After second vowel syncope, *m* becomes *n* when contiguous to *b* by nasal assimilation to point of articulation [see *d* below].)

P 25.	+ nas - cor		- son - bk - cor - str		/m/	/b/		1	2	⇒	1	1
-------	----------------	--	---------------------------------	--	-----	-----	--	---	---	---	---	---

North and Shewa

yu-m-bul'le to
a-m-baraara'ka to
gacam'bo
tembe'de (passive?)
cambaa'le

Aussa

yu-m-mul'le *it was seen*
a-m-maraara'ka *I rolled around*
gacam'mo *bread*
temme'de *it wore out*
cammaa'le *he waited*

d. Nasal Assimilation to Point of Articulation (Obligatory)

The nasals *m* and *n* assimilate to the point of articulation of the following obstruent. When a nasal assimilates to a back consonant, it becomes a velar nasal [ŋ], and when a nasal precedes a retroflex *d*, the nasal becomes retroflex. Since there is no need to list a phonemic velar nasal or retroflex nasal, they are treated as allophones of *n*. However, the process is the same as with a phonemic alternation between *m* and *n*. When *n* precedes *f* at word boundaries, it is either *mf* or a labiodental nasal [ɱ] with the same point of articulation as *f*.

'ab-ah sool-t-aa-'na to 'ab-as sool-t-aa-'na
do-as stand-you-impf-pl
As you do (it) you stand.

i'na-h sumaaci't-e to i'na-s sumaaci'te
mother-for witness-I,he,perf
I (OR he) witnessed for the mother.

'tamahih sabba'tah to 'tamahis sabba'tah
because of this

'yi macan'da-h 'cari to 'yi macan'da-c 'cari
my sister's house

'yi maru'wi-h 'xayla to 'yi maru'wi-x 'xayla
my sheep's strength

yal'li-h 'feera to yal'lif 'feera
God's finger

'yi i'na-h fi'leyna to 'yi ina-f fi'leyna
my mother's comb

si'doox hay'to to si'doox xay'to *third*

b. Genitive -h and -k Assimilate to Following Consonant
 (Obligatory)

When a stressed vowel-final (feminine) noun stands in a genitive relation to a consonant-initial following noun via the regular genitive -h or the postposition -k, the -h or -k assimilates, causing the gemination of that initial consonant (see 8.3.2.1 and 8.3.2.3). This assimilation does not occur with the modified genitives -h and -k (see T22) or with the exceptional genitive -h on 'yalla *God*. h always assimilates to a following fricative f, s, c, x at word boundaries (see 11.2.12.a).

P 28. $\left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ syl} \\ + \text{ genitive} \end{array} \right] \#C$
 /h,k/
 1 2 \Rightarrow 2 2

rey'ta-m moy'ya a *goat's skull* (no rey'ta-h moy'ya or
 rey'ta-k moy'ya unless the genitive is also
 modified, 'yi rey'ta-h (or -k) moy'ya)

xa'da-b ba'da a *tree's child, fruit*
 (cf. xa'da-'h amol *tree top* and
 xa'da-k ay'yuf *tree leaves*)

(Note *yal'l-ih* 'baəa *God's son* but *yal'l-ic* 'cari *God's house* by P 27, in the same pattern of 'yi i'na-h 'baəa *my mother's son* and 'yi i'na-c 'cari *my mother's house*.)

This process of gemination is also found in verb plus noun-particle relatives acting as conjunctions. The particles *gid(ah)*, *gidih* *in order to*, *fan(ah)* *until*, *kalah* *however*, and the Coastal dialect *kal* *without*, have initial gemination when used as clitic conjunctions. In contrast, the vowel-initial clitic *-iyya* used with moved relatives requires an *-h* separating it from its verb, *a'be-h-iyya* *which I did*, as does the nonclitic *gi'de* *amount* and optionally *wak'ti*, *wac'di*, *'way* *time*, which usually require modifiers, suggesting that their preceding *-h* is a modified genitive marker which is never reduced:

a'be(-h) 'way (*wak'ti*, *wac'di*) *when I did*. (See 5.1.4.)
ak'me-g *gid(ah)*, *ih*) *in order that I eat* (See 5.1.3.)
t-ab'le-f *fan(ah)* *until you see, she sees*
a'be-kkal *without doing* (*a'be-kal* in Wollo and Shewa)
soo'le-kkalah *I stood, however* (followed by negative)

11.2.12 Devoicing (Obligatory)

The obstruents *b*, *d*, *ɗ*, *g*, and *c* lose voice before voiceless consonants and when word final.

P 31. [-son] → [-vce] / _____ { [-vce] }
 { # }

xab-t-e to *xap-t-e*
let go-she, you-perf, *she, you let go*

'oob to 'oop *descent*

haad-'sis to *haat-'sis*
fly-caus, *cause to fly*

'kud to 'kut *flee*

xad-'sis to *xaɗ-'sis*
pour-caus, *cause to pour*

'ged to 'geɗ *go*

dag-'sis to *dak-'sis*
dig-caus, *cause to dig*

'duug to 'duuk *wipe*

wec-'t-e to wex-'t-e (The x is used here for voiceless c, although the degree of constriction varies, with c greater than x.)

cry-you, she-perf, you, she cried

gu'tuc to gu'tux *push away* (Final c also has glottal closure; see 11.2.16.d.)

11.2.13 Reduction of Geminate Consonants Contiguous to a Consonant Affix or Word Boundary (Obligatory)

Underlying geminate consonants are reduced to single consonants when a consonant affix or word boundary is contiguous to them.

P 29. C C $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} + C \\ \# \end{array} \right\}$

 1 2 3 → 2 3

Condition 1 = 2

lall-'t-e to lal-'t-e (Wollo)
almost do-you, she-perf, you, she almost did

iy-nniki'se to iy-niki'se
I, caus-fell, I caused to fall

'oobb to 'oob *hear* (Eritrea, Wollo; ob'biy Shewa and Assab)

11.2.14 w to y Assimilation and Loss of i after Glides (Obligatory)

w becomes y when next to a y or i. When a focus suffix with initial -i is added to a w- or y-final verb root, the w-i or y-i sequence becomes a single y. When a causative y precedes w, the result is a geminate yy. (The masculine -ow versus feminine -ey vocative variation may be traced historically to a w to y change after the front vowel.) (The loss of i after glides must precede closed syllable glide loss [see 11.2.5.b] for forms like cas-so-s-'se from cas-soow-is-s-'e *you made red.*)

P 12.

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{SD: } \left[\begin{array}{l} - \text{ syl} \\ - \text{ cns} \\ + \text{ vce} \end{array} \right] \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} y \\ \left\langle \left[\begin{array}{l} i \\ + \text{ focus} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right\} \\
 /w,y/ \\
 \\
 \text{SC: } \left[\begin{array}{l} 1 \\ - \text{ bk} \\ - \text{ rnd} \end{array} \right] \quad \begin{array}{l} 2 \\ \langle \phi \rangle \end{array} \\
 /-y/
 \end{array}$$

cad-'doow-i to cad-'dooy-i
white-regularizer-infinitive, to become white

gaabow-is-'e to gaaboy-s-'e *I, he gathered*

dayyoow-is-'e to dayyooy-s-'e to dayyoy-s-'e
 (by closed syllable) *he brought near* (This
 y also deletes when a person suffix is added
 [see 11.2.5.b]:

day-yoow-is-'n-e to day-yo-s-n-'e *we brought near.*

These alternations are found in all the regularized modifiers with voice suffixes, such as
 dag-goo'w-e to dag-goy-'s-e *cause to decrease*,
 cas-soo'w-e to cas-soy-'s-e *cause to be red.*)

alay-is-'e to alay-s-'e
bake-caus-I, he perf, I, he baked

ey-wee'ce to ey-yee'ce *I caused to go out* (the only
 example found with a y causative before a prefixing
 verb with the first C a w; the long ee is not in the
 noncausative base ewec)

'mayram-ey *Mary-vocative* (cf. 'xasan-ow *Hasan-voc, masculine*)

11.2.15 Vowel Allophones

a. Word-Medial Short a to Mid Shwa (Obligatory)

A word-internal short a is raised to mid shwa (ə). This phonetic variation means that short a and long aa are differentiated not only by length but also by quality. The other four vowels have only a length variation with very similar quality

for long and short forms. This process does not occur with word-initial and final a's. All nonmonosyllabic word-final vowels lose length (see 11.2.5.b). However, final a does not become central. (This gives support to the hypothesis that final stressed vowels are basically long in the feminine noun class and verbal aspect markers--both of which have long alternations in nonfinal open syllables.)

P 30: $\left[\begin{array}{l} a \\ - \text{long} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [ə] / _ \text{C} _ \text{C}$

a'bam fa'da to a'bam fə'da I want to do (it)
 aw'ka 'a 'gaala 'mataadi'ga to . . . 'mataadi'ga
 the girl doesn't know these camels
 'tah 'makma to təh 'makma I won't eat this
 ga'ba 'kala to gə'ba 'kəla hand remove(pl), finish
 'ged-ah ab'la to 'ged-əh ab'la I see while going

(Note that the derived -h in *while* closes the syllable, while the phonetically similar aspiration at the end of the sentence [see 11.2.16.e], ablah, and fədah in the first example, does not close the syllable to raise the a.)

b. Vowels with y and w (Obligatory)

Hayward (1974) notes that (1) unrounded vowels have close allophones in the environment of y, (2) rounded vowels have close allophones in the environment of w, and (3) rounded vowels have centralized allophones in the environment of a following y.

- (1) eyyee'ce I caused to go out
- (2) gaaboow-ee-'ni they met together
- (3) caddoy'se I caused to become white

c. a in Unrounded Roots and before Back Consonants (Obligatory)

Hayward (1974) notes that allophones of a in roots with unrounded vowels tend to be much more fronted than those occurring in roots with rounded vowels. Gallagher and Bliese have not been able to verify this, but note a more back a before back consonants.

aami'ne I believe (fronted aa)
 aaku'me I precede (not fronted) (because of k,
 Bliese, Gallagher)

d. Centralization of e and i before ɗ (Obligatory)

A short e or i in an initial open syllable before ɗ is centralized in Wollo, and i is also centralized in Shewa.

ge'ɗe to gə'ɗe *I went*, fiɗiɗise to fɪɗiɗise *I scattered*
(Contrast with ged'ɗe *you went* with no centralization.)

e. Pharyngealization (Obligatory)

Vowels immediately after, and to a lesser degree before, the pharyngeal consonants c and x also become pharyngealized.

Front vowels i and e have centralized allophones when they precede pharyngeals in some words such as me'ce *good*.

Long high vowels, ii and uu, have a shwa glide before pharyngeals (see van Riel, forthcoming).

me'ce to mə'ce *good* (pharyngealization is underlined)
a'wacu to a'wacu *that I go out*
xa'ɗa to xa'ɗa *tree*
a'xuy to a'xuy *give*
la'co to la'co *day* (or lo'co)
fiɗ'ma to fiɗ'ma *people of equal age*
ɗic'to to ɗiɗ'to *power*
'ɗixɗa to 'ɗixɗa *sewing*
fi*i*ə'ci to fi*i*ə'ci *forearm*
fuuə'co to fuuə'co *soaking up*

(My Shewa dialect informant did not verify the glide in x pharyngeals such as 'diixa *sweet bark*.)

f. r Coloring before ɗ (Obligatory)

Vowels and glides preceding (and to a lesser extent following) ɗ take the r coloring of the retroflex tongue position.

ge'ɗe to ge^r'ɗe *he went*
wayɗed'ɗa to wa^ryɗed'ɗa *gazelle*

11.2.16 Consonant Allophonesa. Release of Consonants in Transition before Nonhomorganic Consonants (Obligatory)

Nonhomorganic consonants have an audible transition when contiguous. The sound of the release precedes that of the onset of the following consonant. Between fricatives and voiced consonants, and after voiced consonants, the release is a shwa ("voiced lenis mid open central vocoid" [see van Riel, forthcoming, for details]). After other voiceless consonants, the release can be heard by the escaping of the oral air trapped behind the closure before the beginning of the next closure.

- ab'le I *see* (when lips are separated after the b, a shwa precedes the l contact)
- utku'be I *wrote* (the oral air trapped behind the t closure is released before the k closure)
- bar-'t-e I *learned* (r shwa release before t)
- xam'l-i *swamp grass* (m shwa release before l)
- rix'm-e I *married* (x shwa release before m)
- bah-'sis *cause to bring* (h voiceless vocoid release before s) (Fast speech bas-'sis; see 11.2.11.a.)

b. Gemination of y and w (Obligatory)

Hayward (1974) notes that geminate y and w are marked by friction during articulation.

- eyyee'ce I *caused to go out*
baɬuw'wa *girl*

c. Trilled Initial and Geminate r (Obligatory)

A word-initial r is trilled as a geminate rr (which is used for trilled r in the examples below).

- 'rob ra'de to 'rrob rra'de *rain fell*
ra'si raa'ce to rra'si rraa'ce *people stayed away*
bir'ro *flower*
kor're we *climbed*

d. Glottal Stop (Obligatory and Optional)

(1) A glottal stop is regular after word-final voiced pharyngeals and as part of the lengthening of a geminate voiced pharyngeal. (It is signified here by ?.)

(2) Vowel-initial words regularly have an initial glottal stop if not in liaison with a preceding word (Mahaffy 1962). A glottal stop or /h/ is used optionally on pause borders, for example, to separate contiguous vowels in order to clarify normally assimilated combinations.

(Although they have not been found in the South, Colby (1970) reports glottal stops in the Northern dialect between the doubled consonants of verb compounds: bu'tuk-ka 'hee to bu'tuk-ʔ-ka 'hee *he smashed violently.*)

- (1) ee'mec to ʔee'mecʔ *prepare*
e'wec to ʔe'wecʔ *go out*
ir'gic to ʔir'gicʔ *cut*
ʔe'wec-ʔ-ca eɬ'xe I *went out*
ʔir'gic-ʔ-ca 'hee I *cut*
- (2) magaa'la emee'te to magaa'la ʔemee'te
I *came to the town*
u'ma a'moyta to ʔu'ma ʔu'ma ʔa'moyta *bad ruler*
'biilu oo'be to 'biilu ʔoo'be I *went down to Bilu*

e. Sentence-Final Aspiration (Obligatory)

A stressed (high tone) open syllable at the end of a sentence receives aspiration. (Question length with falling tone does not take aspiration.) In Northern dialects negatives are not aspirated. Because of sentence intonation where final tone is lowered, nonemphasized words lose both stress tone and aspiration even when sentence final.

P 32. $\left[\begin{array}{c} V \\ + \text{ stressed} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+ \text{ aspirated}] / \text{_____} \S$

(where § = sentence-final position)

abaa'na to abaa'na^h *they do*

li'yo to li'yo^h *I have*

'mataadi'ga to 'mataadi'ga^(h) *you don't know*

(Not aspirated in Northern dialects.)

'ah 'yi buda^h *this is my home*

ak'moô *Shall I eat?* (No aspiration with falling tone.)

buc're 'a addun'ya^h *the field is this world* (Matthew 13:38)

CHAPTER 12
MORPHOLOGICALLY DETERMINED ALTERNATIONS

A number of changes from the regular or expected patterns have been noted in the discussion of Afar morphology in the preceding chapters. These are listed here in relation to their phonological processes. Although they are now morphologically determined, the processes in some cases are also valuable information as relics of previously general phonological processes. Although a few processes involve both nouns and verbs, the rules have been grouped with verbal readjustments first, followed by nominal readjustments. The few "lexical" rules are also listed at the end of this chapter.

12.1 Verbal Readjustment Rules

12.1.1 Pronominal and Aspect Prefixes on Verbs (Obligatory)

Afar has an interesting characteristic in that all consonant and a-initial verb roots take suffixes, while most of the verbs with root-initial vowels i, e, o, and u take prefixes (see Bliese 1973). This division separates the two main classes of regular verbs in Afar (see 7.1 and 2, and Hayward, nd. and Zaborski). Prefixing verbs are also distinguished by variable vowels in contrast with stable vowels in the suffixing class (see 12.1.3, 4, 5, and 6).

o, e, u, i Initial Prefixing Verbs

ooko'me *I preceded*, aaku'me *I precede* (with base o vowels becoming aa initial and u medial in the imperfect)

t-eeede'ge *you, she knew*, t-aadi'ge *you, she know(s)*
(with prefixed person marker t and base e vowels becoming initial aa and medial i in the imperfect)

y-ub'le *he saw*, y-ab'le *he sees* (y- person prefix, a imperfect first vowel)

n-irgi'ce *we cut*, n-argi'ce *we(impf) cut* (n- person prefix, a imperfect first vowel)

Compare with Suffixing Verbs, a and C Initials:

ab-'t-e

do-you, she perf, you, she did
(suffixed -t person marker and -'e perfect marker)

fa'k-a

open-I, he, impf, I open (he opens) (suffixed imperfect)

sol-'l-a

stand-we-impf, we stand (person and imperfect suffixes)

ged-ee-'ni

go-they, perf-pl, they went (perfect suffix)

The imperfect stem (used in imperatives, infinitives, mood, and verbal nouns) in the prefixing class has initial a in all constructions. However, the final stem vowel has e ('e) except in negatives, mood, and verbal nouns, all of which have a final as well as initial a-. (This is derived by leaving a ('a) in final position except when an imperfect 'aa has neither negative, mood, nor verbal noun connected with it. In the regular forms, the 'aa is replaced by 'ee after 'aa becomes prefixed.)

'ma-aduu'r-a *I won't return*

'ma-aduur-aa-'na

neg-return-impf-pl, They won't return.

m-adaa'r-a *the return* (aduu're *I return*, aduur-ee-'ni
they return, and uduur-ee-'ni *they returned*)

'ma-t-ak'm-a *you, she won't eat* (t-ak'me *you eat*)

m-aaca'b-a *drinking* (aacu'be *I drink*)

Many of the suffix-class non-a vowel-initial verbs appear to be the result of defective and derived stems on original prefixing stems for which the base has been lost from the lexicon (no *ilaale* but a causative *ilaali'se he watched*, no *uge* but a benefactive *ug'te he rose*). Most prefixing verbs are in a process of leveling with the larger suffixing class in derived forms, so this is a natural development. It is also possible that s, t, and m-final prefixing verbs were regularized because of association with causative, benefactive, and passive suffixes.

'mi-ilaal-'i's-a *I do not watch* (not in Shewa)

'mu-kt-a (from 'mu-ukt-a) *he does not rise*

Two verbs which support this explanation are *uduu're I returned* (a regular base form) and *uduur're I waited* (which is not found). However, in the benefactive both roots are used, the regular a-prefixing verb with variable vowels (*aduuru'te I return*) and the irregular root a suffixing verb with stable vowels (*uduurru'ta wait*). The double rr suggests a derived intensive form. The pattern follows through in the causative, where *aduuru'se I cause to return* has variable vowels, while *uduurru'sa*

I cause to wait has stable vowels as in the suffixing class. The perfect negative, with all stem vowels becoming *a* in the prefixing class, illustrates the difference also:

'maadaaritiy'yo *I didn't return* but
'muduurrutiy'yo *didn't wait*.

A defective verb with *i* is *idooli-'te I became old*. It is formed on a nominal base, as are many other derived verbs (see Bliese 1973), by the benefactive suffix. It also takes suffixes and has stable vowels ('miidoolit-iy'yo *I did not become old*).

The situation is not entirely predictable, since several of these suffix verbs do have regular base forms with no connection with derived affixes. For example, *u're I got well* is a good base form but still is a member of the suffixing class ('muuriy'yo *I didn't get well*).

12.1.2 Causative, Passive and Benefactive Prefixes (Obligatory)

The verbs which take person and aspect prefixes also take prefixes for causative and passive, and for some benefactives. The trend to use only suffixes in these three forms is causing a leveling with the suffixing verb class. The Northern dialects have retained more prefixation than the Aussa and Southern dialects. Prefixing verbs which have leveled with the suffixing class for these three affixes must be marked so as not to apply to this shift. (See 7.5.)

ik're *I read*, i-s-ki're *I caused to read*
(Aussa has ikri'ye, ikriy-sii's-e)

y-oogo'ce *he buried*, yo-m-oogo'ce *he was buried*
oogo're *I hit*, o-tt-oogo're *I hit for myself*

The causative -sVVs of transitive verbs contrasts with the -Vs of intransitives in that the former is not found in the prefixing class. Instead, the causative variants are phonologically determined, with *ys-* before root-initial long vowels, *s-* before back consonants, and *y-* before nonback consonants (see 7.5.2). The benefactive -V_t of the suffix class becomes a geminate V_{tt-} in the prefix class (see 7.5.3). The voice vowels of the prefix class are in harmony with the first root vowel (see 11.2.4.b). In contrast, there are only high vowels in the suffix class (see 11.2.4.d). Mahaffy (1952:12-20) discusses the many exceptions and variations in the Northern dialect, and Hayward (1976) has a detailed discussion of voice affixes in his dissertation.

y-ooko'me *he won*, yo-ys-ookome *he caused to win*
t-ucbu'de *she worshipped*, tu-s-cubu'de *she caused to worship* (not in Shewa)
n-uduu're *we returned*, nu-y-duu're *we caused to return*

12.1.3 Root Vowels to a in Prefix Class (Obligatory)

Root vowels in the prefixing verb class are replaced by a before Mood (jussive, subjunctive, and consultative), -inn (perfect negative, nonpotential conditionals, and *whatever* with restrictions noted in T 10), the -i infinitive (*as, while*, and *hay* complements), the -u infinitive (imperfect participles and continuous tense modified in Shewa), and the verbal nouns with -'a, -a, or -iyya. (In order to note the fact of a suffixes which cause root vowels to change to a in prefixing verbs, an (-'a)a, -inna, or -iyya is derived by the various T rules in the aspect position, and the readjustment process noted in 12.1.1 determines the root a's. Imperatives and 'e infinitives only cause the first vowel to become a, while following root vowels are i or u as in the imperfect aspect.)

ukun *plant*, t-ab'kan-ay *let her plant* (jussive)
 ab'kun imperative, abku'n-e infinitive
 oogor *hit*, y-aa'gar-u *that he hit* (subjunctive)
 aa'gur imperative, aagu'r-e infinitive
 unduful *stumble*, andafa'l-oð *shall I stumble* (consul)
 (Shewa andufu'l-oð without following a's)
 emeet *come*, 'ma-amaat-in'na *he didn't come* (neg,perf)
 uduur *return*, adaa'r-inna-y *had he returned* (cond)
 eedec *be pregnant*, aa'dac-ih *while pregnant*
 eemen *believe*, aa'man-i 'yoo 'hee *he permitted me to believe* (sentence complement)
 okom *eat*, a'kam-uk *coming* (impf part or continuous)
 innikis *fall*, m-annaka'sa *fall* (verbal noun)
 edder *to keep many cattle*, adda'r-iyya *ranching* (verbal noun)
 Only first a for imperatives a'kum *eat* and 'e infinitives
 aakum-'e-le *he will win*, aadig-'e *to know*

12.1.4 e to u before y in Imperative of Prefixing Verbs
(Obligatory)

The ey-final prefixing verbs change e to u before the y in the imperative in Wollo and Eritrea. In Shewa the e becomes o followed by w with exey and uw with oday. Eritrea uses an initial u (see 12.1.6). (This readjustment of e to u must precede e to i raising noted in 12.1.5.)

exey to a'xuy(-a) (Wollo), u'xuy(-a) (Eritrea),
 a'xow(-a) (Shewa) *give (-pl)*
 oday or edey (Wollo) to a'duy(-a) (Wollo), u'duy(-a)
 (Eritrea), a'duw(-a) (Shewa) *tie (-pl)*

12.1.5 Mid Vowel Raising in the Prefix Class (Obligatory)

Prefixing vowel-initial verbs in o and e have stem vowels raised to u and i respectively in the imperfect (see 7.2.2) and imperative stems (see 7.6.1) (including compounds formed on the imperative stem [see 7.7], the -'e infinitive (future [see 7.2.4], and complements before negativizers such as way, eadd, xin, and kal [see 3.1.2 and 3.2.3], and optionally in causatives of the prefixing class which have an initial long o or e (the long vowel is also shortened). (See 11.2.6.b for the same raising in unstressed word-final syllables.)

eeme'ne *I believed*, aami'ne *I believe*
 ok'me *I ate*, a'kum *eat*
 eede'ge *I knew*, i'digga (i'diggi) '*hee I knew*
 y-oogo're *he hit*, aagu'rele *he will hit*
 ooko'me *I won*, aaku'me '*wee I didn't win*
 e-ys-eece'te (*may become*) i-ys-ici'te *I caused to step on*
 o-ys-oogo'ce (*may become*) u-ys-ugu'ce *I caused to bury*

Exceptions to the above rule must be marked, such as:

eme'e'te *I came*, amaa'te *I come*
 enge'le *joined*, en'gel *join*

12.1.6 Imperative Stem-Initial Vowel Variation in Prefix Class (Optional)

The initial vowel of the imperative (see 7.6.1) and imperative based compounds (see 7.7) in the prefixing verb class may have either an a or the stem vowel as raised from e or o to i or u (see previous section). In the Northern dialect, some compound roots also take a u instead of a as the final vowel. Verbs with only one form of imperative will be lexically marked: ee'mec (not aa'mic) *prepare*.

a'suul or u'suul from usuul *laugh*
 a'kum or u'kum from okom *eat*
 ab'bid or ib'bid from ibbid *hold*
 aa'dig or i'dig or ee'deg from eedeg *know*
 a'kum-ma or u'kum-ma 'haa (or u'kum-mu Northern,
 John 6:54) *he eats* (compound)
 a'cubba or a'cubbu (Northern, John 6:56) '*haa*
he drinks (from oocob)

12.1.7 Addition of an Initial Nasal in Prefixing Verb Roots with CC or VV (Obligatory)

In the prefixing verb class, a root with a consonant cluster or geminate consonant, or a three-consonant root with a long vowel in the second or third syllable often takes a nasal n or m

before the first root consonant. Most examples are with t, d, k, g, and s, which all take a preceding n. (Two other examples of other consonants are found in Parker's Dictionary (1974a), both taking m: u-m-xugguy *befriend* and e-m-beerek *be blessed, besiege* (not known in Aussa) which are probably passive or stem -m rather than an epenthetic nasal.) The nasal does not occur when a causative, benefactive, or passive prefix makes a normal consonant cluster, and it never occurs when the root already has an initial consonant cluster. This loss distinguishes the epenthetic nasal from a root-initial nasal, as does the fact that a root-initial nasal may be separated from the second root consonant by a vowel, which does not happen with the epenthetic nasal. Hayward (1976:252) discusses these as passive forms for which the base is not extant.

endeb'be *return* (cf. e-y-deb'be *cause to return*)
 cf. inki'le *copulate*, iyniki'le *cause to copulate*
 ungurru'be *knit (bone)* (cf. usgurru'be *causative*)
 t-onkonoono'xe *glow* (cf. oskonoono'xe *causative*)
 ongooro'we *meet* (cf. osgooro'we *causative*)
 ingiixi'le *wrestle* (cf. isgiixi'le *causative*)
 (Shewa ingixil'le)
 unsukku'ce *be cursed (loaded, passive Shewa)*
 (cf. uysukku'ce *causative*)
 untullu'ke *lose* (not Aussa) (cf. uytullu'ke *causative*)

Some exceptions which must be marked are:

undufu'le *stumble* (basic VV lost; cf. oydofofo'le
 causative) (Shewa unduful'le)
 enge'le *join* (basic CC lost; cf. esgelle *causative*)
 eked'de *be old* (mixed prefix, suffix form; cf. esked'de
 or kaddiini'se *causative*, or Shewa eyked'de)

12.1.8 Modifying Verbs Third Person Singular (Obligatory)

Modifiers (including the irregular verbs kin'ni *is*, 'hinna *is not*, 'le *has*, the particle -inna, and defective -kio) have an unpredictable final vowel in third person singular. This may be derived by listing this as the final stem vowel, adding the -i of first and second person and deleting the final stem vowel before -i. The present -o must also be deleted in third person singular to preserve the stem vowel. (See 7.2.3 and 7.12.3.)

cus'ba <i>he, she is new</i>	kin'n-i <i>he, she is</i>
cusb-i-'y-o <i>I am new</i>	kinn-i-'n-o <i>we are</i>
cusb-i-t-oo-'n-u <i>you are new(pl)</i>	
kinn-oo-'nu <i>they are</i>	
ca'do <i>he, she is white</i>	man'go <i>it is much</i>
me'ce <i>he, she is good</i>	'le <i>he, she has</i>
cun'da <i>he, she is small</i>	la'bi <i>he is male</i>

12.1.9 y First Person Singular Person Marker for Modifying Verb Class (Obligatory)

The modifying verb class has a y marker for first person singular which is zero in both the regular suffixing and prefixing verb classes. The expected suffixes would give an i (see 12.1.8) followed by the zero person position followed by the present aspect marker -o. For example: cas-i- ϕ -^o *I am red* in the pattern of cas-i-'t-o *you are red* and cas-i-'n-o *we are red*. Since no other word-internal i-o sequence stands in the way, the rule can be described as an epenthesis between i and o. Evidence that this is now interpreted as a marker for first person singular is found in the reduction of *le* and *-inn* to a gemination of person markers in optional (*kiyo*) conjugations of the future, perfect negatives, and nonpotential conditions (see 12.1.15), since the y is geminated the same as t and n in these conjugations. (The y in this position may be a reflex of a glottal stop first person singular marker.)

cas-i-'yo *I am red*, l-i-'y-o *I have*
 a'be-y-y-o *I will do* (cf. a'be-t-t-o *you will do*)
 'ma-ged-i-y-'y-o *I didn't go* (cf. 'ma-gedinn-i-'y-o
 ab'l-i-y-y-o-y *had I seen* (cf. abl-in'n-i-y-o-y)

12.1.10 Suffix Class -a Participles and Imperatives (Obligatory, Alternative)

The -i and -u infinitive markers are replaced by -a in the suffix class when followed by -h or -k in participles (see 5.5.2 and 3). (The suggested derivation with an abstract -(^a)a will make the variation determined by the vowel assimilation rule [see 11.2.5.a].) A similar alternation is found with imperatives after a geminated consonant. Prefixing verbs add -iy, while suffixing verbs add -'ay (see 12.1.15).

'ab-a-k *doing* (cf. a'kam-u-k *eating* and 'ab-u *subjunctive*)
 'sool-a-h *standing* (cf. a'kam-i-h *eating* and 'sool-i
 as a complement without the -h or -k)
 ba'ris-ak su'ge *he was teaching*
 'haad-ah *while flying*
 gaa'boow-ak yanin *they have gathered*
 lig'g-ay *go without supper* (cf. emeg'g-iy *increase*)

12.1.11 t Addition on y-Final Monosyllables (Obligatory)

y-final monosyllabic roots in the suffixing verb class and most particles used to form compound (emphasized) verbs add a t after the final y before the ^o verbal noun and for true verbs before the passive and some causative suffixes. (This use of t to lengthen a root reminds one of the use of t to fill in for

lost consonants in Amharic verbs: qere to qer-t-o *remaining*.)

Verbal Nouns:

ge'y-o to gey-'t-o *finding* (cf. ge'd-o *going*)
 be'y-o to bey-'t-o *taking* (cf. waasi'y-o *obstruction*)
 wa'y-o to way-'t-o *lack*
 ha'y-o to hay-'t-o *placement* (hay'ti Shewa)
 'way-i to way-'t-i *one who lacks*
 'bay-i to bay-'t-i *loss* (baa-'t-i in Shewa)

Passives:

gey-t-i'me *it was found* (gey-t-i'm-iyya passive verbal noun)
 bey-t-i'me *it was taken*
 way-t-i'me *it was lacking* (passive verbal noun way-t-i'm-iyya)

Causatives: (from Parker 1973)

way-t-oo's-e *he caused to lack* (waysii'se Shewa)
 be-tt-isi't-e *he caused to take*

Noun forms of Compound Particles:

ruf-'t-o *joy* (from ruffa)
 tific-'t-o *drop* (from tific)
 dub-'t-o *hit* (from dub)
 kos-'t-o *limp* (from kos)

12.1.12 Gemination of Short Roots with Voice Affixes (Obligatory)

One- or two-consonant roots with a short vowel double the final consonant in the passive (see 7.5.4). In the suffixing class, the passive marker after short stems has a long vowel -CVVm. Passive and causative two-consonant roots both geminate the last consonant in prefixing verbs, and if only one base consonant exists, the vowel may also be long as in oom *spoil*. Prefixing benefactives double the final consonant in all roots unless preceded by a long vowel.

xa'b-e *I, he left*, xab-bii'm-e *I, he was left*
 da'g-e *I, he touched*, dag-gii'm-e *I, he was touched*
 a'r-e *I, he bit*, ar-rii'm-e *I was bitten*
 ka'l'e *I, he stopped*, kal-lii'm-e *I am (he is) stopped*
 y-edē *he tied*, y-em-ed-'de *he is tied* (Aussa), ode,
 om-od-'de (Coastal), ondoo'we (Shewa) (The
 lexical root is edey or oday, which requires that
 this gemination follow y deletion (see 11.2.3).
 However, since the following word exey *give* keeps
 its y, the rule is best left here and edey marked
 lexically with a passive root ed.)

e'xey *give*, em-xey'ye *I was given* (ontoxow'we Shewa)
 tok'me *you, she ate*, t-on-kom-'me *you were (she was) eaten*

ub'le *I saw*, um-bul-'le *I was seen* (gemination has extended to the causative also: uy-bul-'le)

12.1.13 'iy or 'ay on Geminate Final Imperatives (Obligatory)

Prefix class verbs with a final geminate consonant form their imperative by adding -'iy. Suffixing verbs take -'ay, resembling the a suffixes in participles in contrast with i and u in prefixing verbs (see 12.1.10). 'iy is probably a relic of the Proto-Lowland East Cushitic imperative suffix i (see Black 1974:130) which has become zero elsewhere in Afar (see 7.6.1).

Prefixing	Plural
emeg'g-iy <i>increase</i>	emeg'g-iy-a
ob'b-iy <i>hear</i>	ob'b-iy-a
er'r-iy <i>load</i>	er'r-iy-a
uybul'l-iy <i>show</i>	uybul'l-iy-a (caus of ubul)
eked'd-iy <i>become old</i>	eked'd-iy-a
umxug'g-iy <i>befriend</i>	umxug'g-iy-a

Suffixing:

lig'g-ay *go without supper* lig'g-ay-a

12.1.14 Jussive and Subjunctive Plural with 'oo (Obligatory, Alternative)

The long vowel before plural -n in jussive and subjunctive is 'oo. The suggested derivation via an 'aa in aspect position for Mood (which has no semantic aspect) would result in aa dissimilation to oo as in noun plurals, with a derivation as follows: ged-'aa-n'a-u to ged-'oo-n'a-u (by 11.2.6.3) to ge'd-oo-n-u (by 12.1.19). This process may simply be stated here as an insertion of 'oo to avoid the abstract derivation.

y-ak'm-oo-n-ay
they-eat-VV-pl-juss, let them eat

t-aaga'f-oo-n-u
you-kill-VV-pl-subjun, that you kill

ab-'t-oo-n-u
do-you-VV-pl-subjun, that you(pl) do

soo'l-oo-n-ay
stand-VV-pl-juss, let them stand

12.1.15 ki Reduction to Gemination or le or inn (Obligatory)

The two auxiliaries 'le (future) and in'na (perfect negative and nonpotential condition) may be replaced by a doubling of

their person marker in first and second persons (see 6.2). This alternative derivation historically was from *ki'o* as the auxiliary. *ki'o* is still the main future marker in the sister language, Saho. The *-k* assimilated to the following consonant as in the genitive rule (see 11.2.11.b). The short forms are preferred in the Aussa dialect. The reduction of *ki'o* produces the same consonants for both forms. However, there is a variation in the preceding vowel *--e* for the future, as with *le* which takes the *-e* infinitive, and *i* for negative perfect and conditionals, the same as with *inn* which retains its *i* after its infinitive. (This readjustment follows *y* epenthesis [see 12.1.9], since the *i* plus *o* sequence in first person singular is divided by a *y* which takes gemination as if it were the person marker which stands in the same position. This produces the antithesis that *y*, which is the normal third person marker, becomes in effect the first person singular marker for the modifiers and irregular verbs, including those used as auxiliaries.) Since *ki* is introduced as lexical suppletion for several transformations, this readjustment rule must change it to *le* or *in'na* for third person and reduce *ki* to gemination of the person suffixes in first and second person.

a'be li-'y-o or *a'be-yyo* *I will do* (from *a'be ki'yo*)
ab'le li-'t-o or *ab'le-tto* *you will see*
fa'ke le (no *ki* form in third person) *he, she will open*
soo'le li-'n-o or *soo'le-nno* *we will stand*
aggi'fe li-t-on or *aggi'fe-tton* *you(pl) will kill*
'marad-inni-'y-o or *'marad-i-'y-'y-o* *I didn't fall*
'maagar-inni-'t-o or *'maagar-i-'t-'t-o* *you didn't hit*
'makm-in'na (no *ki* in third person) *he, she didn't eat*
'maduug-inni-'n-o or *'maduug-i-'n'no* *we didn't wipe*
'maabb-inni-t-oo'nu or *'maabb-i-tt-oo'nu* *you(pl) didn't hear*
ruub-in'ni-'y-oy or *ruu'bi-'yy-oy* *had I sent*
aktub-in'ni-t-oy or *aktu'bi-tt-oy* *had you written*
ur-in'ni-n-oy or *u'r-i-nn-oy* *had we gotten well*
aacab-inni-'t-oo-nu-y or *aacab-i-'t-'t-oo-nu-y*
had you(pl) drunk

12.1.16 Imperfect Participle Leveling from -uk to -ak (Shewa Dialect, Obligatory)

In the Shewa (Southern) dialect, the imperfect participle (also used in continuous tenses) for prefixing verbs has an *-ak* like the larger suffixing class, instead of an *-uk*, when the root does not end in a long vowel. (Other dialects have *-uk* for all prefixing roots, indicating a past stage of regular *-uk* in this dialect also.) The imperfect participle does not change other than the first vowel to *a* in the Shewa dialect, in contrast to other dialects which have all vowels *a* before *-uk*. In Shewa the other vowels remain basic except for the raising of

mid vowels to high (see 12.1.5).

a'duur-ak *returning* (elsewhere a'daar-uk)
 aa'min-ak *believing* (elsewhere aa'man-uk)
 a'fiil-ak *picking up* (a'faal-uk)
 aa'dig-ak *knowing* (aa'dag-uk elsewhere)
 ab'bid-ak *holding* (ab'bad-uk)
 ar'gic-ak *cutting* (ar'gac-uk)
 a'xuw-ak *giving* (a'xay-uk)
 a'kum-ak *eating* (a'kam-uk)

No leveling when previous vowel is long:

'aad-uk *knowing*
 'aabb-uk *hearing*
 a'maat-uk *coming*

12.1.17 y Deletion from way and hay (Obligatory)

way *lack* and hay *put* delete y in intervocalic positions, unlike other ay base verbs (thirteen in Parker's dictionaries, including a monosyllable bay *lose*). It is likely that this is a case of analogy with the ey base verbs (see 11.2.3). The Shewa dialect does not have closed-syllable reduction nor assimilation of i to a after y deletion, suggesting a later loss than Northern dialects. The perfect -'ee also does not assimilate to the root a in any dialect. This may be dealt with as a minor assimilation rule of the root a to e before the perfect suffix 'ee (see also a to i before y in 11.2.6.c), which would have these two roots meet the regular (e)y deletion rule.

'ma-hay-in'na to 'ma-ha-in'na to 'ma-ha-an'na
 (Yedju dialect, see 11.2.5.a) to 'ma-ha-n'na
 (Northern, see 11.2.5.b) (Shewa has 'ma-hi-in'na)
 he, she *didn't put (it)* (same with way, 'ma-wi-it'to
 you *didn't lack*)
 way-'ee to wa-'ee to 'w-ee *I, he lacked*
 (cf. way-'te *you, she lacked*)
 hay-'aa to 'h-aa *I, he put*
 (cf. hay-'ta *you, she put-impf*)
 way-aa'na to wa-aa'na to waa'na *they lack*
 (cf. way-t-aa'na *you(pl) lack*)
 'way-innay to 'wa-innay to 'wa-annay *if it were lacking*
 (Matthew 13:15) ('wi-innay in Shewa)

12.1.18 en Drops Final Vowel (Optional) and in Imperfect Takes i (Obligatory)

The verb an *is present* has a final -'i (underlyingly long 'ii) instead of the usual -e in the imperfect of the prefixing

class. The final *-i* is often deleted together with its accent unless followed by a conjunction or question (see 12.1.19 for the same optional deletion on the final vowel of the verb plural suffix). This *ii* is also found in the negative before the plural marker, which remains *na* in spite of the preceding *ii*. This requires marking the negative plural *a* so as not to become *ni* after *ii* by suffix harmony.

	Singular	Plural
1st	an('i)	n-an('i) <i>be present</i>
2nd	t-an('i)	t-ani(i) -n('i)
3rd	y-an('i)	y-ani(i)-n('i)
1st	'ma-an(a)	'ma-nan(a) <i>not be present</i>
2nd	'ma-tan(a)	'ma-tani(i)-n('a)
3rd	'ma-yan(a)	'ma-yani(i)-n('a)
	('mi-yan(a)	'mi-yani(i)-n('a), Aussa, Shewa)

12.1.19 Loss of Verb Plural Final Vowel (Obligatory before Relatives and Nonconjunction Suffixes, Optional when Sentence Final)

-n'V always deletes when followed by another suffix, i.e., subjunctive *-u*, jussive *-ay*, nominalizer *-Vm*, and *ikke* *place which*. (The conjunctives *-hV* and, *-k('i)* *if*, and *-ggidah* *in order that* plus its variations [see 5.13.2] are best treated as nonsuffixes since they neither close nor open syllables for vowel reduction, nor cause the loss of the plural vowel.)

In discourse style, a series of sentences requires the full plural marker after nonfinal sentences (as with the conjunctives noted above and the perfect participle which is conjugated). However (as Gallagher notes), the final sentence prefers the short plural without a vowel. In relatives, the plural always shortens (including some derivations with *ik'ke* *place* which have a long aspect vowel rather than short as with suffix deletion). In single sentences, the final vowel of plural is preferred, but is optionally deleted. (In the Pedagogical Grammar, the full form is interpreted as verbal emphasis.)

ab-'ee-n'i-u to ab-'ee-n-u
do-perf-pl-subjunctive, that they do

t-ak'm ee-n'i-ay to t-ak-mee-n-ay
you-eat-pl-jussive, may you eat

ged-'aa-n'a-am to ged-'aa-n-am
go-impf-pl-nom, that they are going

ab-t-'ee-n'i-ikke to ab-t-'ee-n-ikke
do-you-perf-pl-where, where you did (it)
 (or ab-'t-e-n ik'ke as a relative)

Full Plurals:

t-ublee-n'i-k *you-saw-pl-if, if you see*
 ged-aa-n'a-ha *go-impf-pl-and, and they go*
 ab-t-aa-'na OR ab-'t-a-n *do-you-impf-pl, you do*
 (long form preferred in single sentences)

y-emeetee-n'i-h war's-e-n
they-came-pl-part tell-perf-pl
having come they told

12.1.20 Deletion of a('a) from Infinitives and Mood Singular, and Stress before the Nonpotential Conditional -y (Obligatory)

The imperfect -'aa must be deleted in the singular for mood (subjunctive -u, jussive -ay, and consultative ô) so as not to complicate the word stress and assimilation rules. (In the plural, it dissimilates to 'oo; see 11.2.6.a.3.) (The vowel of plural -nV will be deleted by this rule also when followed by Mood, thereby duplicating the more general plural rule; see 12.1.19.)

An a vowel was also introduced to condition prefixing verb-initial a in infinitives and, if deleted here, will make the vowel assimilation process regular (see 11.2.5.a). (These processes may also be organized as final vowel cluster reduction with the first vowel deleting, since consonant-final vowel clusters apply to the assimilation rule.)

'ab-'aa-u to 'ab-u *do-subj, that I do, (he does)*
 'xat-'aa-ay to 'xat-ay *help-juss, let him help*
 (Jussive would have the same result by assimilation and closed syllable reduction.) (Mood plural keeps the dissimilated vowel: ab-'oo-n-u *that they do* and xat-t-'oo-n-ay *may you(pl) help.*)
 ged-'aa-oô to ged-oô *go-consult, shall I go?*
 'sool-a-i to 'sool-i *stand-inf, to stand*
 rad-'aa-'e to rad-'e *fall-inf, to fall*
 (Note the similar wa-'ee (from way-'ee), which becomes 'w-ee *I, he lacked*, as well as 'h-ee *I, he put.*)

A similar readjustment rule deleting just stress before the nonpotential conditional -y is necessary for the correct application of the stress rule (see 5.6.2.2).

ab-'inn-a-y *do-aux-he-if, if he does*
 ab-inn-'oo-nu-y *do-aux-pres-pl(unstressed)-if, if they do*

12.1.21 Unstressed Vowels Shortened in Prefix Class Imperatives

Besides closed syllable shortening, all basic long vowels are shortened in the positive (but not negative) imperative in the prefixing verb class unless they are stressed.

i'dig *know* (eēdeg), i'cit-a *step on-pl* (eecet) but
u'duur *return* (stressed), 'ma-amaat-in *don't come-neg*

12.2 Nominal Readjustment Rules12.2.1 Loss of Genitive Stress and Addition of t in Short Vowel Monosyllables of the Consonant-Final Noun Class (Obligatory)

Monosyllabic genitives with a short vowel have two variations from the rest of the consonant-final noun class.

- (1) A regular genitive (as distinguished from a modified genitive with -ih) adds a t before the i. This -t is probably a relic of the Proto Lowland East Cushitic genitive t found in a few other forms (see 8.3.2.1).
- (2) Stress remains on the monosyllabic root instead of on the genitive -i (which is normally stressed) with -i-h and -i-m forms without the added t, such as the demonstratives which do not have a genitive. (The regular pattern is that root stress is lost to a following stressed suffix; see 11.2.1.)

'woh-i-m, 'ah-im *that which belongs to that, this*
'a 'san-i-h 'bisu *this nose's color*
(cf. 'a raa't-i-h (or gi't-i-h) 'daa *this*
path's (or road's) stone)
xan-'t-i-m *that which belongs to milk*
xan-'t-i mu'tuk *milk's butter*
san-'t-i 'xadda *nose wood (cattle control)*
nun-'t-i-n 'bada *man's son* ('num also has a final
-n in the genitive; see 8.3.2.1)

12.2.2 Feminine Vocative y and ey (Obligatory)

Feminine vocatives take a suffixed -y when vowel final and -ey when consonant final (see T 44, and 8.7). This distinguishes feminine forms from masculine, which have the suffix -ow as modified by vowel assimilation rules. It is not possible to list only -ey, because e dominates and would wrongly lower both i and u by the assimilation rules. Therefore a y with no vowel is listed after vowel-final feminine nouns.

um'mat-ey *people*
 'mayram-ey *Mary*
 a'mina-y *Amina*
 um-eyn-it'te-y *evildoers*
 afca'ro-y *tarantula*
 addu'ru-y *cat*, attur'ru-y (*Shewa*)
 tamaa'ri-y *student*

12.2.3 Root-Final Vowel Deletion before -i (Obligatory)

The final unstressed vowel of masculine nouns deletes before other vowel-initial suffixes, i.e., nominative-genitive -'i, modified genitive -'ih, the plural suffix -it'te, and benefactive -it. The benefactive also causes deletion of a stressed final vowel in the feminine noun class. This deletion must occur before assimilation rules, since the final stem vowel may be the dominant o, e, u, or a. The process is similar to the change of irregular verb-final vowels before -i (see 12.1.8), except that the i in verbs has no independent justification to be previously introduced as a morpheme, while with nouns the -i is also found in modified genitives of the consonant-final noun class (e.g., mutuk-'ih *butter's*), and the benefactive -it has i in almost all positions.

'awka-'i to 'awk-'i (to awk-'i by word stress)
 (Note that if assimilation precedes this readjustment, the incorrect awk-'a would be derived.)
 'saaku-'ih to saa'k-'ih *of day* (modified gen)
 ba'deesa-'ih to badee's-'ih *of snake* (modified gen)
 lig'gida-it'te to liggid-it'te *years*
 cas'oo-it-'t-e to cas-it-'t-e
malaria-benefactive-you-perf
You have malaria. (See 7.5.3.)

12.3 Lexical Rules

The following morphological variations govern those affixes which vary according to the classes of nouns or verbs to which they are attached. They have been discussed in detail in their respective sections on morphology above and are listed here only as a reminder that they are part of the irregularities of the language.

12.3.1 Noun Plural Suffixes (Obligatory)

Noun plurals are generally determined as follows (see 8.5):

1. Final stressed vowel (feminine) nouns take a lengthening of the last vowel plus a reduplication of the last consonant plus a stressed 'a. (The last two vowels are dissimilated in sequences of a-a; see 11.2.6.a.1.)
a'mo *head*, amoo-'ma *heads*
2. Final unstressed vowel (masculine) nouns take -it'te with the loss of the last stem vowel.
'bagu *abdomen*, bag-it'te *abdomens*
3. Consonant-final nouns with an underlying long last syllable take a final stressed 'a. (The last stem vowel dissimilates to oo when aa; see 11.2.6.a.1.)
ra'ku(u)b *camel*, rakuu'b-a *camels*
ca'fa(a)r *Afar*, cafoo'ra *Afars*
4. Consonant-final nouns with an underlying short last syllable take a final -'wa.
ɗa'gar *body*, ɗagar-'wa *bodies*
5. In the Aussa dialect, a consonant-final short monosyllabic noun takes -oo'wa.
'xan *milk*, xan-oo'wa *milks*

12.3.2 Modifiers Made into Regular Verbs (Obligatory)

When a modifier is selected in the lexicon for a verb which has other than the possible present tense and imperfect participles, the verb must be regularized. This is done in two ways as to whether the modifier takes prefixes or suffixes (see 7.10.3).

1. Prefixing forms prefix a vowel, usually identical to the first stem vowel.
cus'ba *new*, u-cus'be *I became new*
2. Suffixing forms double the stem-final consonant and add the suffix -oo'we. In the Eritrean dialect in-final forms do not double the n.
ca'do *white*, cad-doo'we *it became white*
kux'lin *blue*, kuxlin-noo'we *it became blue*
kuxlin-oo'we (Eritrea)

12.3.3 Verb Classes (Obligatory)

Verb classes may be determined by a lexical rule to save either marking each verb in the lexicon or marking each rule which differentiates classes by the specified environment for prefixing versus suffixing verbs. The environment, as has been

noted previously, is that all consonant and a-initial regular verbs take suffixes and most non-a vowel initials take prefixes. The few non-a vowel-initial suffixing verbs must be lexically marked.

Suffixing	Prefixing	Marked Suffixing
sool <i>stand</i>	okom <i>eat</i>	ur <i>get well</i>
xat <i>save</i>	ubul <i>see</i>	esser <i>ask</i>
ab <i>do</i>	eedeg <i>know</i>	inaacit <i>sleep</i>
abal <i>play</i>	ibbid <i>seize</i>	oob <i>descend</i>

12.3.4 Suppletion with Verb Roots ewec, ered, and indix (Obligatory)

The verbs e'wec *go out*, ered *run*, and in'dix *say* have loss of medial vowel in some forms, even when that vowel would be predicted to have stress. Since the syncope rule does not delete stressed vowels, these forms suggest lexical suppletion in that certain grammatical structures such as imperfect participles have a lexically apocopated root with root stress on the initial vowel.

'awc-ih option to the regular a'wac-ih *going out*
'ard-uk *running* (no a'rad-uk)
'adx-uk *saying* (no a'dax-uk)

The imperative, and compound forms based on the imperative, always have the full forms (e'wec-ca ed'xe *I went out*, in'dix-xa ed'xe *I said*)

12.3.5 Nominative-Genitive 'i and Zero, and Feminine Genitive -h (Obligatory)

The nominative-genitive marker is -'i with unstressed vowel-final roots. It is zero after stem-final consonants unless followed by the -h modifier marker (see T 22), where it appears in the -'ih of forms such as maru'b-i-h. In stressed vowel-final (feminine) nouns, an -h separates a genitive noun's final stressed vowel from a following vowel. (This -h and the genitive -k both become a gemination of a following consonant; see 11.2.11.b.) The genitive variations may be described as suppletion, where masculine genitives have a basic -'i while the feminine genitive marker is -h.

awk-'i ki'tab *the boy's book* (V-final 'awka)
ma'rub da'gur *sheep's hair* (C-final)
bu'da-m 'mara *village's people* ('V-final from bu'da-h)
'laa-h 'amo *cow's head* (for stress shift from a'mo after 'V-final genitives, see 11.2.1.e)

'yi rakuu'b-i-h 'geera *my camel's tail* (C-final)
 'a sa'ga-h 'ayti *this cow's ear* (from ay'ti [see 11.2.1.e])

12.3.6 Abstract Nouns (Obligatory)

No pattern for predicting which suffix any abstract noun may choose has been found, so the various options must be lexically marked for any base which takes an abstract form (see 8.8). The forms are 'iinu (especially with human masculine roots) ii'no, ii'na, in'na, and aa'ne.

ab'b-iina *responsibility* ('abba *father*)
 man-ii'no *life* (ma'no *life*, verbal noun)
 nab-ii'no *honor* (na'ba *big*)
 ducuur-in'na *foolishness* (du'cur *fool*)
 idcin-aa'ne *pregnancy* (idci'no *being pregnant*, verbal noun)

12.3.7 Verbal Nouns (Obligatory)

Five types of infinitive verbal nouns may be used to fill the category "noun" (see 7.8).

1. Suffixing verbs take a stressed 'o on the root.

fa'k-o *opening*

2. Prefixing verbs take an m- prefix plus a stressed -'a suffix. A few select a final -'o instead of -'a.

m-ab'l-a *seeing*
 m-ak'm-o *eating*

3. Modifiers (with the prefixing forms taking the initial regularizing vowel) take -'iyya. Regular verbs may also take this suffix. Prefixing verbs may change vowels to a with this suffix.

ca'd-iyya *being white*
 acus'b-iyya (or ucus'b-iyya) *being new*
 amaa't-iyya *coming*
 soo'l-iyya *standing*

4. Some verbs in both classes of regular verbs add an unstressed -a, with internal vowels changing to a in the prefixing class, to form another noun.

'ard-a *race* (from erd *run*)
 'rab-a *death* (from rab *die*)

5. An agent or instrument may be formed in the suffixing class by adding 'eyna to the root.

da'g-eyna *pick, digger*

12.3.8 Frequentative (Obligatory from T 15)

As was noted in 6.4.6, the variations in frequentative are determined by verb classes. These variations are therefore best derived after the lexical rule defining these classes (see 12.3.3).

The prefixing class in some dialects has a simple nominalized verb (as listed in T 15), but most dialects prefer a shortened form with everything after the first root consonant deleted and the suffix -am added. Since person and aspect markers are prefixed, they do not delete.

The suffixing class has the full root without any affixes (focus, person, or number) and the suffix -am. The a of -am may be considered a change to imperfect aspect before the nominalizer -m. Both classes have the regular verb following unchanged.

tu'b-am t-ublee-'ni *you(pl) saw repeatedly*
 y-aab'b-am y-aab'be *he hears repeatedly*
 a'b-am ab-'te *you did repeatedly*
 soo'l-am sool-aa-'na *they stand repeatedly*

APPENDIX

BASE AND TRANSFORMATIONAL RULES

The following rules are presented with the understanding that this is only the beginning toward writing an adequate formal grammar of Afar. Some areas, such as the lexicon, have not been touched and others, such as subcategorization, have only been scratched. It is hoped that the phrase structure, transformational, and phonological components present as complete and integrated a view of Afar as the present level of linguistic analysis would expect. (Phonological rules are included in Chapter 11 when formalized.)

A.1 Phrase Structure Rules

PS 1. $S \rightarrow NP \#(S\#) (NP\#) (Postp\ Phr\#)_0 (Adv\#) (Neg\#) Verb + Aux$

PS 2. $Postp\ Phr \rightarrow NP + Postposition$
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (Demonstrative\#) Noun \\ S (\#NP) \end{array} \right\}$

PS 3. $NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (Demonstrative\#) Noun \\ S (\#NP) \end{array} \right\}$

PS 4. $Aux \rightarrow Aspect \left(+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Mood \\ Conjunction \\ Question \end{array} \right\} \right)$

PS 5. $Adv \rightarrow (Adv\#) Adv$

A.2 Subcategorization Rules

A.2.1 Noun Subcategorization

S 1. [+ Noun] → $\left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Particular} \\ \pm \text{ Plural} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Nominative} / \# \# \text{ ---} \\ - \text{ Nominative} \end{array} \right\} \\ \pm \text{ Third Person} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Animate} \\ \pm \text{ Specified} \\ \pm \text{ in'kih all} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Temporal} / \text{ Locative} \\ \pm \text{ Numeral} \\ \pm \text{ Agent, Instrument} \\ \pm \text{ Abstract} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$

S 2. $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Third Person} \\ + \text{ Animate} \\ - \text{ Plural} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Feminine} \\ \pm \text{ Human} \end{array} \right]$

S 3. [- Specified] → + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{That which} \\ \text{Reason} \\ \text{Manner} \\ \text{Place} \\ \text{Name} \\ \text{Amount} \\ \text{Something} \end{array} \right]$

S 4. [+ Numeral] → [± Ordinal]

A.2.2 Noun to Pronoun Subcategorization

S 5. [+ Third Person] → [± Pron] / $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Noun} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$ / $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Noun} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]$ / meaning no modifier/

S 6. [- Third Person] → $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ Pron} \\ + \text{ Second Person} \end{array} \right]$

A.2.3 Verbal Subcategorization

S 7. [+ Verb] → $\left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Irregular} \\ + [(S)_\alpha (NP)_\beta \text{ (Postp Phr)}_\gamma \text{ ______}] / \#\#NP(S)_\alpha \\ (NP)_\beta \text{ (Postp Phr)}_\gamma X \text{ ______} \\ \pm \text{ Probability} \end{array} \right]$

S 8. [+ Irregular] → $\left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Modifier} \\ - \text{ Focus} \end{array} \right]$

S 9. [- Irregular] → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Focus} \\ \pm \text{ Speech} \\ \pm \text{ Vocative} \end{array} \right\}$

S 10. [+ Focus] → $\left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{ Frequentative} \\ \pm \text{ Intensive-Diminutive} \\ \pm \text{ Causative} \\ \pm \text{ Benefactive} \\ \pm \text{ Passive} \end{array} \right]$

S 11. [+ Aspect] → $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ Perfect} \\ \text{ Imperfect} \\ \text{ Future} \\ \text{ Immediate} \\ \text{ Progressive} \\ \text{ Past Progressive (Northern)} \\ \text{ Past Perfect} \\ \text{ Present Perfect} \\ \text{ Future Perfect (Northern)} \\ \text{ Past Continuous} \\ \text{ Future Continuous} \\ \text{ Past Immediate} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right]$

$$S\ 12.\ [+ \text{Mood}] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Subjunctive} \\ \text{Jussive} \\ \text{Consultative} \ /##[\text{First Person}] \ X_ \\ \text{Imperative} \ /##[\text{Second Person}] \ X_ \end{array} \right\}$$

$$S\ 13.\ [+ \text{Imperative}] \rightarrow \left[\pm \text{Familiar} \ /##[-\text{Plural}] \ X_ \right]$$

A.2.4 Postposition Subcategorization

$$S\ 14.\ [+ \text{Postposition}] \rightarrow \left[\pm \text{Locative} \right]$$

$$S\ 15.\ [- \text{Locative}] \rightarrow \left(\left[+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Source} \\ \text{Referential} \end{array} \right\} \right] \right)$$

A.2.5 Adverb Subcategorization

$$S\ 16.\ [+ \text{Adverb}] \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \pm \text{Quantity} / _ \text{Adverb} \\ \pm \text{Quantity} \\ \pm \text{Duration} \end{array} \right]$$

$$S\ 17.\ [- \text{Quantity}] \rightarrow \left[+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Well} \\ \text{Temporal} \\ \text{Destination} \\ \text{Numeral} \end{array} \right\} \right]$$

A.3 Transformational Component

Phonological realizations are added in slashes /___/ after or below grammatical terms. Since the lexicon is not a part of this description, the last time a grameme is introduced the phonological elements are included.

T1. Direct Speech (Obligatory)

SD: ## NP X	[S] X	Verb	Aspect X ##
	NP NP	[+Speech]	
1 2 3	4 5	6	7 8 9
SC: 1 2 3	4 5	6	7 8 9
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#edx \\ \alpha <6> \\ a(nna)h\#edx \\ \beta \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 7 \\ Imperf Part \\ /-uk/ \\ As /-ih/ \\ +h \\ nom \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + 'i\hat{u} \\ \#te + 7 \end{array} \right\} \\ /-m/ \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 \\ Imperf Part \\ As \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 7 \\ 8 \\ \#edx + \\ <\#edx> \\ \alpha, \beta \end{array} \right.$

Note: *annah* is not used in Eritrea because of the idiom meaning *come with index*. The intonation pattern of direct speech is noted in 11.2.1.d.

T 2. Conditional Sentence Conjunctions (Optional)

SD: [_S NP X Aspect 1 2 3	Conjunction] _S 4	[_S X Aspect X] _S 5 6 7																																					
SC: { <table style="margin-left: 20px; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;"><1 2</td> <td style="width: 10%;">φ +</td> <td style="width: 10%;">{inna ki}</td> <td style="width: 10%;">+ Pres</td> <td style="width: 10%;">φ + a+y></td> <td rowspan="4" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle; padding: 0 10px;">}</td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">5<φ+Impf-Part#an+Perf φ></td> <td style="width: 10%;">/-'oo/</td> <td style="width: 10%;">/-uk/</td> <td style="width: 10%;">/-e/</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;"><1 2</td> <td>φ +</td> <td>Impf</td> <td></td> <td>φ+nom+I></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">1 2</td> <td>φ +</td> <td>Perf</td> <td></td> <td>{φ + k ('i) h#a'nih (Northern)}</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">{1 φ} 2</td> <td></td> <td>3</td> <td></td> <td>φ # [1 -Nom] # tek'kek</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	<1 2	φ +	{inna ki}	+ Pres	φ + a+y>	}	5<φ+Impf-Part#an+Perf φ>	/-'oo/	/-uk/	/-e/	<1 2	φ +	Impf		φ+nom+I>					1 2	φ +	Perf		{φ + k ('i) h#a'nih (Northern)}					{1 φ} 2		3		φ # [1 -Nom] # tek'kek						
<1 2	φ +	{inna ki}	+ Pres	φ + a+y>	}		5<φ+Impf-Part#an+Perf φ>	/-'oo/	/-uk/	/-e/																													
<1 2	φ +	Impf		φ+nom+I>																																			
1 2	φ +	Perf		{φ + k ('i) h#a'nih (Northern)}																																			
{1 φ} 2		3		φ # [1 -Nom] # tek'kek																																			

Condition: The tekkek form may only occur once in a compounded sentence; the other forms are not restricted.

Note: The angle brackets are for nonpotential (contrary to fact) conditions.

T 3. Participles (Optional)

(a) Imperfect and As (Time Same as Following S)

SD:	X	Aspect							
				{	Conjunction	}			
				α	<Impf Part>				
				β	<As>				
				3					
	1	2							
SD:	1	φ	+ a	{	<+uk>	}			
				α					
				β	<+ih>				

Note: Derivations from T 1 and T 2, marked in angle brackets, are obligatory; other "conjunction" derivations are optional and may choose any participle, etc. For a discussion of 'a (or 'aa) in aspect position, also in T 4-7, see 11.2.5.a and 12.1.3.

(b) Perfect Participle (Time Preceding Following S)

SD:	[_S ^X Aux ₁	]S	[_S ^X Aux ₁	]S
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1	φ + perfect + h	3	4
		/-'ee/		

Note: All categories of the auxiliary (Aspect, Mood, Conjunction, or Question) are implicit in the perfect participle and are identified by the following identical Aux.

T 4. (a) When Jussive Sentence Conjunction (Optional)

SD:	Aspect	Conj
	1	2
SC:	φ+Imperf	φ+Jussive
	/-'aa/	/-'ay/

(b) Whether Subjunctive, Jussive, or -i Infinitive Sentence Conjunction (Optional)

SD:	Aspect	Conj
	1	2
SC:	φ+Imperf	φ+ {
	/-'aa/	Subjunctive /-u/ }
		Jussive /-'ay/ }
		i /-inf/ }

T 5. In Order That Sentence Conjunction (Optional)

SD:	Aspect	Conj
	1	2
SC:	{ φ+Imperf	φ+Subjunctive
	/-'aa/	/-'u/ }
	1	φ+ ggidah (-ggidih, Shewa) }

T 6. Without -kal Sentence Conjunction (Optional)

SD:	[_S NP ₁	X	Aspect	Conj	]S		[_S NP ₁	X	]S
	1	2	3	4			5	6	
SC:	φ	2	φ+a+e	φ+	}		5	6	
				{ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> kal kak kah kkal (Eritrea) }					

Note: The Identical Noun Phrase Deletion may be left to T 46. Any "Conjunction" not developed in T 2-6 will receive a conjunction directly from the lexicon.

T 7. However Positive-Negative Contrast (Optional)

SD:	[_S X	<Neg> _α	Verb	Aspect	([_S Mood -Consul])	[_S X<Neg>+Verb X	]S
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8 9
SC:	1	2	3	4	5 + { 'ikkalah im'may }	6	7 8 9

Note: Nouns or postpositional phrases are found before -'ikkalah or -im'may by kin'ni is deletion T 52.

T 8. Probability (Obligatory from S 7)

SD:	##	NP	X	[Verb + Probability]
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1	2	3	4
				}
			+ { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> nom /-Vm/ Juss /u/ } # tekkek	
			# [<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 + Pro - Nom]	

T 9. Engaged in (Optional)

SD:	#NP ₁	X	[_{NP} pp	NP ₁	X	Verb	Aspect	X] _{NP}	Postposition	Verb	Aspect
			S				< α >	S	Postp Phr		<-α >
	1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
SC:	1	2		φ	4	5	<6+Nom/-m/>		φ+ t	φ#en	10
							φ+ { Impf+Nom/-m/ }				
							{ Verbal Noun }				
							φ				

Note: The five lexically determined types of Verbal Nouns are developed in 12.3.7. The agent-instrument -'eyna choice is only used when a verb has no other Verbal Noun, as *daf'f-eyna sitting*. (See identical noun phrase deletion T 46.) When Aspect or Imperfect remain in SC 6, the outcome will apply to T I6 Nominalization. This is obligatory when Aspects are different. The process of identical noun phrase deletion is verified by the use of a subject noun plus *en*, meaning "noun is present." While "here," the subject is an actor with the action having the postposition *t* "he is in the action of the noun."

T 10. Whatever (Optional)

SD:	[_{NP}	[_S	X	Verb Aspect	X] _S	(NP)] _{NP}
		1 2	3		4	5
SC:		1 2	φ +	{ in'naani } { in'naanni }	φ (Eritrea)	5

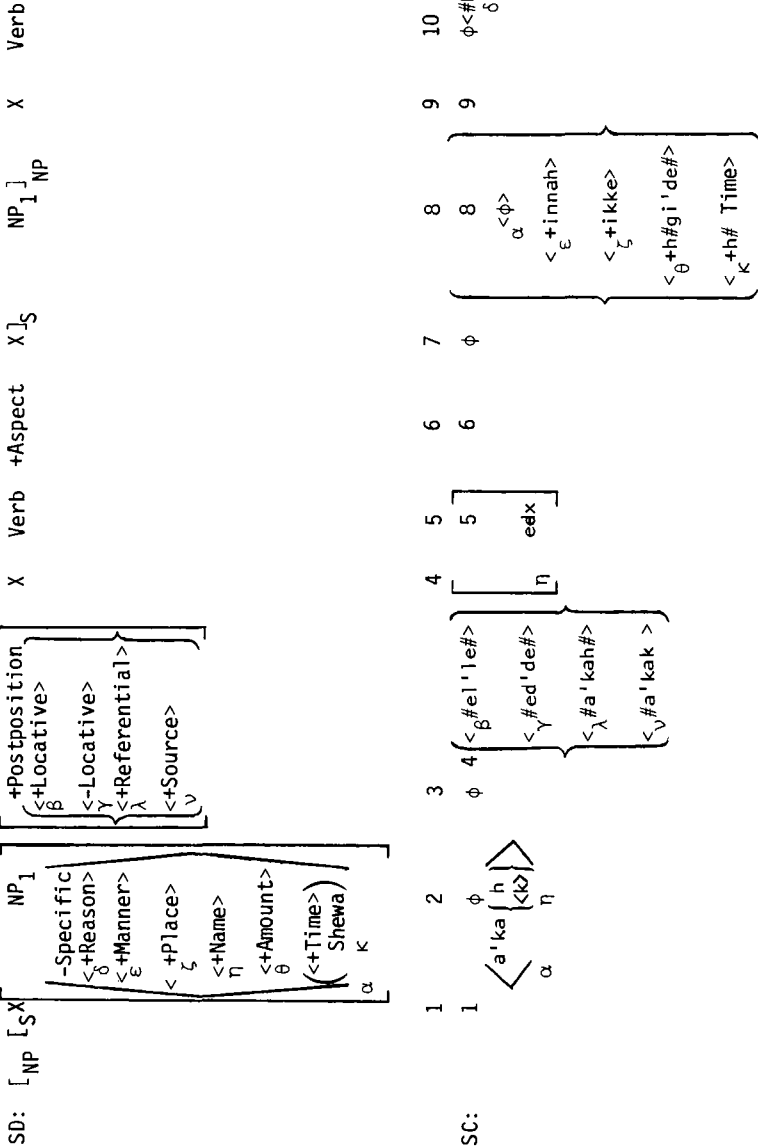
Note: This rule must precede T 12 Relatives and T 16 Nominalization.

T 11. Genitive (Obligatory)

SD:	[_{NP}	[_S	NP ₁	Verb] _S	(S) NP ₁] _{NP}
		1 2	3	4	5
SC:		1+Gen	φ	φ	4 5
		/-'i, -k, -h, φ/			

Note: -'i is lost with unmodified consonant-final nouns, and genitive becomes h or a geminated consonant with stressed vowel-final nouns. The -k is a post-position, but since it shares in several genitive rules, it is best considered a genitive here (see T 56, 57, 8.3.2, and 11.2.11.b). For identical NP deletion of SD 2, see T 46.

T 12. Relatives, Adjectives, and Some (Obligatory)



Note: The above rule which is complicated by *some* and "postposition" irregularities may be reduced to the basic relative rule of no change except identical NP deletion of SD 2; see T 46 and T 61.

T 13. Verb Compounding (Optional)

SD:	##	NP	(S)	<NP>	X	Verb	Aux
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SC:	1	2	3	4	5	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 6 + \text{Imperative} + \text{Ca} \\ \phi + \text{Particle} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \phi\# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{edx} \\ \langle \text{hay} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \\ \langle 1 \rangle \end{array} \right\} 7$

Note: Particles will be lexically marked to fill this slot. The $C_{<1}$ is to be interpreted as a duplication of the preceding consonant.

T 14. Derived Adverbs (Obligatory)

SD:

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{l} <_{\alpha} +\text{Quantity}> \\ <_{\beta} +\text{Well}> \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{l} +\text{Temporal} \\ +\text{Destination} \end{array} \right\rangle \\ <_{\delta} +\text{Ordinal}> \\ <_{\epsilon} -\text{Quantity}> \end{array} \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$
--

SC:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} [+Verb] \\ <_{\alpha} \text{nom} /-m/> \\ <_{\beta} \text{Juss} /-ay/> \\ \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{Imperf Part} /-uk/ \\ <_{\epsilon} \text{As} /-ih/ \end{array} \right\rangle \\ <_{\gamma} [+Noun]> \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{#hay} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Impf Part} /'ha-a-k/ \\ \text{Verbal Noun} + h /'hay'to-h/ \end{array} \right\} \\ + 'ye-h \\ + ta-h \end{array} \right\rangle$
--	---

δ

T 15. Frequentative (Optional)

SD:	[_{S₁}	X	Verb	X] _S	[_{S₁}	X	Verb	X] _S
	1	2	3		4		5	6
SC:	φ	φ	φ		4 2 +nom		5	6
					/-Vm/			

Note: This is the simplest form for the prefixing class in some dialects; for other variations see 12.3.8.

T 16. Nominalization (Obligatory)

SD:	[	S]
	NP	NP	
	1		
SC:	1	+	[im]
			[+P 9]

Note: If T 17 is included introducing i, the i may be omitted here and put in by vowel epenthesis after consonants (see 11.2.2.b).

T 17. That Which Belongs to (Optional, Alternative)

SD:	[	[_S NP + Gen] _S	[	NP]]
	NP	/'i, h/	[	+Something	]	NP
	1	2	3			
SC:	1	2	3	+	im	

Note: This rule may be written as an optional part of T 16 by angle brackets in order to show its similarity to the regular nominalization process. The nominalizer i of -im is never lost. The genitive has zero, h, and t surface forms as any genitive (see 12.3.5).

T 18. Embedded Negative Becomes way (Obligatory, Plus Optional for Consultative, Jussive, and Subjunctive When Not Embedded)

SD:	{	[_S X	[_S X Neg + Verb	X	]_S	X	]_S	}
		X	X Neg + Verb	X	Conjunction			
		X	X(Neg + Verb	X	{ Consultative			
					{ Jussive			
					{ Subjunctive			
		1	2 3	4	5	6		
SC:		1	2 φ	4+impf+'e /'aa+inf/	#way	5	6	

Note: If a rule moving the [_Smarker following a conjunction to the front of its preceding sentence were introduced, a greater generalization would be achieved by treating the first of joined sentences as embedded in the second.

T 19. Noun Phrase Conjunction kee or -Vy (Optional)

SD:	[_S X ₁	NP	X ₂] _S	[_S X ₁	α<S>	Noun	X ₂	]_S
	1	2	3 4 5	6	7	8	9		
SC:	φ	φ	φ φ φ	6#	[3 -Nom]	{ #' kee } {-Vy}	7	[8 <-Nom> α]	9

Note: The -Vy option is preferred in Eritrea for every second noun in a series. In the South, 'kee is preferred always. Number seven excludes relatives and genitives.

T 20. Conjoined Third Person Subjects Take Feminine (Obligatory)

SD:	##	[NP + Third Person]	'kee	[Noun + Third Person]	X	Aspect
	1	2	3	4	5	6
SC:	1	2	3	4	5	6 + Fem

Note: Follows T 19. T 20 could be combined with T 40 Verb agreement. No sentences can stand before number 4.

T 21. Together 'siita, 'sitta, 'hitta, '(t)itta (Optional)

SD:	##	{ NP 'kee NP X Adv }	
		{ [NP + Plural] }	
		1	2 3
SC:		1	2 φ # { 'siita 'sitta 'hitta '(t)itta } (Northern, Shewa) (Northern)

Note: This may also be treated as a selectional restriction.

T 22. Genitive Noun with a Modifier (Obligatory)

SD:	[NP { [S X]S } NP + Gen X] _{NP}
	[Dem /-'i, h/]
	1 2 3
SC:	1 2 +h 3

Note: A series of genitives with modifiers will all receive -h, so 3 must be X rather than NP. This h does not assimilate to nonfricative consonants, as does the feminine genitive -h; see 11.2.11.b.

T 25. Causative (Obligatory from S 10)

SD:	[_S NP	[_S NP ₁ <NP>	X	Verb	X] _S	NP ₁	[Verb	+Causative]	X] _S
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
SC:	1	φ	3	4(7)5	φ	φ	φ+	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{is} \\ \langle \text{siis} \rangle \\ + \text{P 10} \end{array} \right]$	9

Note: The identical noun phrase may be deleted by T 46, but since the object, number 7, may also be optionally deleted, it is simpler to delete both here. The i in voice suffixes goes to u after u (see P 10 at 11.2.4.d).

T 26. Benefactive (Obligatory from S 10)

SD:	[_S NP ₁	{	[_S NP ₁	X	Verb	X] _S	[Verb	+ Benefactive]	X] _S
	1		2	3	4	5	6		7
				Noun					
SC:	1	φ	3	4	φ	φ +	[it	+ P 10]	

Note: For identical NP deletion see T 46.

T 27. Passive (Obligatory from S 10)

SD:	##NP	NP	X	[Verb	+ Passive]	X		
	1	2	3	4		5		
SC:	φ	[² + Nom]	([¹ - Nom] + { _t })	3	4 +	[iim	+ P 10]	5

Note: Although postpositional agents are possible, agents are preferred in nominative and therefore active sentences, so the underlying subject is almost always deleted. See also T 23 for preference for active, even when the agent is indefinite.

T 28. Imperative (Obligatory from S 12 and 13)

SD:	Verb	α +Benefactive>	+ Aspect	+	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Imperative} \\ \langle \beta \text{+ Familiar} \rangle \end{array} \right]$
	1	2	3	4	
SC:	1	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ \alpha \end{array} - C \right\rangle$	/or Impf 'aa/	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ \langle -ey \rangle \end{array} \right\}$	/or 'iy/

Note: Although the zero marker for imperative is the obvious surface form, the a-initial prefixing verbs and perhaps the a plural marker suggest an imperfect 'aa before the imperative marker as in the other forms of Mood (Jussive, Subjunctive, and Consultative). The -'iy after final geminate consonants is also a likely relic of an original imperative marker which has been lost elsewhere (see 12.1.13). The -C with benefactives is the polite form. In the suffixing class -as is also added.

T 29. Sentence Complementation (Obligatory)

SD:	##NP ₂	[_S NP _{<1>}]	X	Verb	X] _S		$\langle \text{NP}_1 \rangle$
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SC:	1	2	ϕ	4	5	$\phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Subjunctive /'aa -u/} \\ \text{Jussive /'aa-ay/} \\ \text{a + i /Infinitive/} \\ \text{Impf + 'e / 'aa-'e/} \end{array} \right\}$	7

Note: The ('a)a before the complements shows in the initial a of prefixing verbs and in the 'oo (hypothetically dissimilated from imperfect 'aa) before plural in subjunctive and jussive.

T 30. Subjunctive, Jussive, and Consultative (Obligatory from S 12)

SD: Aspect $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Subjunctive} \\ \alpha <\text{Jussive}> \\ \beta <\text{Consultative}> \end{array} \right\}$

1
SC: $\phi + \text{Imperfect}$ $\phi + o$ 2
/-'aa/ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} <y> \\ \alpha \\ <\hat{V}> \\ \beta \end{array} \right\}$

Note: The Subjunctive, Jussive, and Consultative will eventually become u, -ay, and -'oo respectively, which may be introduced lexically, avoiding a basic o.

T 31. Past Perfect, Present Perfect, and Future Perfect (Obligatory from S 11)

SD: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Past Perfect} \\ \alpha <\text{Present Perfect}> \\ \beta <\text{Future Perfect}> \end{array} \right\}$ (Northern only)

1
SC: $\phi + \text{Perfect} + h \#$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sug} \\ \text{en} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Perfect} /-'ee/ \\ \alpha <\text{en} + \text{Imperfect} /-'aa/> \\ \beta <\text{sug} + \text{Future} /-'e-le/> \end{array} \right\}$

T 32. Past Continuous and Future Continuous (Obligatory from S 11)

SD: { Past Continuous
 { <Future Continuous> (Only Northern) }
 1

SC: $\phi + a + u + k \# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sug} \\ \text{en} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Perfect} \\ \text{<sug + Future /-'e-le/>} \end{array} \right\} /-'ee/$

Note: In the prefixing verb class, -a moves to the front of the verb; in the suffixing class, u assimilates to -a, leaving the suffix -ak. In the Shewa dialect, the -ak suffix has extended to the prefixing verb class unless the last root vowel is long.

T 33. Progressive (Obligatory from S 11)

SD: { Progressive
 { <Past Progressive> (Northern) }
 1

SC: $\phi + \text{Imperfect} + h \# \text{en} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Imperfect} \\ \text{<Perfect>} \end{array} \right\} /-'aa/$

T 34. Future (Obligatory from S 11)

SD: $\alpha \begin{array}{ccc} \text{<Neg +>} & X & \text{Future} & & \text{<Question>} \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & & 4 \end{array}$

SC: $1 \quad 2 \quad \phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'aa + 'e \# \left[\begin{array}{l} \{ki\} \\ \{le\} \\ + \text{Irreg} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{<Imperfect> /-'aa/} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Present} \quad 4$

Note: If Negative but no Question occurs, Future changes to Imperfect. If both occur, negative will shift to the future auxiliary by T 37. ki later reduces to a gemination of the person suffixes.

T 35. Immediate and Past Immediate (Obligatory from S 11)

SD: <Past> Immediate
 1 2

SC: ϕ $\phi + \text{Imperf} + u \# \text{way} + \text{Imperfect} \langle +k\#en+perf \rangle$
 / $- 'aa$ / / $- 'aa$ /

Note: Imperfect plus -u is the same as subjunctive and may be so derived (see T 30).

T 36. Perfect, Imperfect (and Present) Aspect (Obligatory from S 11 and Various T Rules Above)

(a) SD: Perfect
 1

SC: $\phi + 'ee$

(b) SD: <[+ Irregular]> Imperfect
 1 2

SC: 1 $\phi + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'aa \\ <'oo> \end{array} \right\}$

Note: When tenses other than imperfect (called present to distinguish the 'oo from the imperfect 'aa) come with an irregular verb, it is regularized (see 12.3.2).

T 37. Negative Shift to Auxiliaries (Obligatory)

SD: Neg + Verb + X # X + Aux
 1 2 3 4 5 6
 SC: ϕ 2 3 4 1+5 6

T 38. Negative (Obligatory)

SD:	Neg	+	Verb	<+	'ee	/Perfect/>
	1		2		3	
SC:	φ	'ma	+	2	$\left\langle \phi \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{inna} \\ + \text{Irreg} \end{array} \right] + 'oo \right\rangle$	

Note: The other two possible aspects, imperfect 'aa and present 'oo, are not changed when negative.

T 39. Question (Obligatory from PS 4)

(a) Negative Didn't he? (Optional)

SD:	##	[NP	X	Neg	Verb	+	Question
		α features]					
	1	2	3	4	5		6
SC:	1	2	3	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \phi \text{ 'may} \\ 5 \left[\begin{array}{l} 2 \\ + \text{Pro} \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right] \# \text{ 'hinna} \end{array} \right\}$			$\left. \begin{array}{l} \phi + \hat{V} \\ \phi \end{array} \right\}$

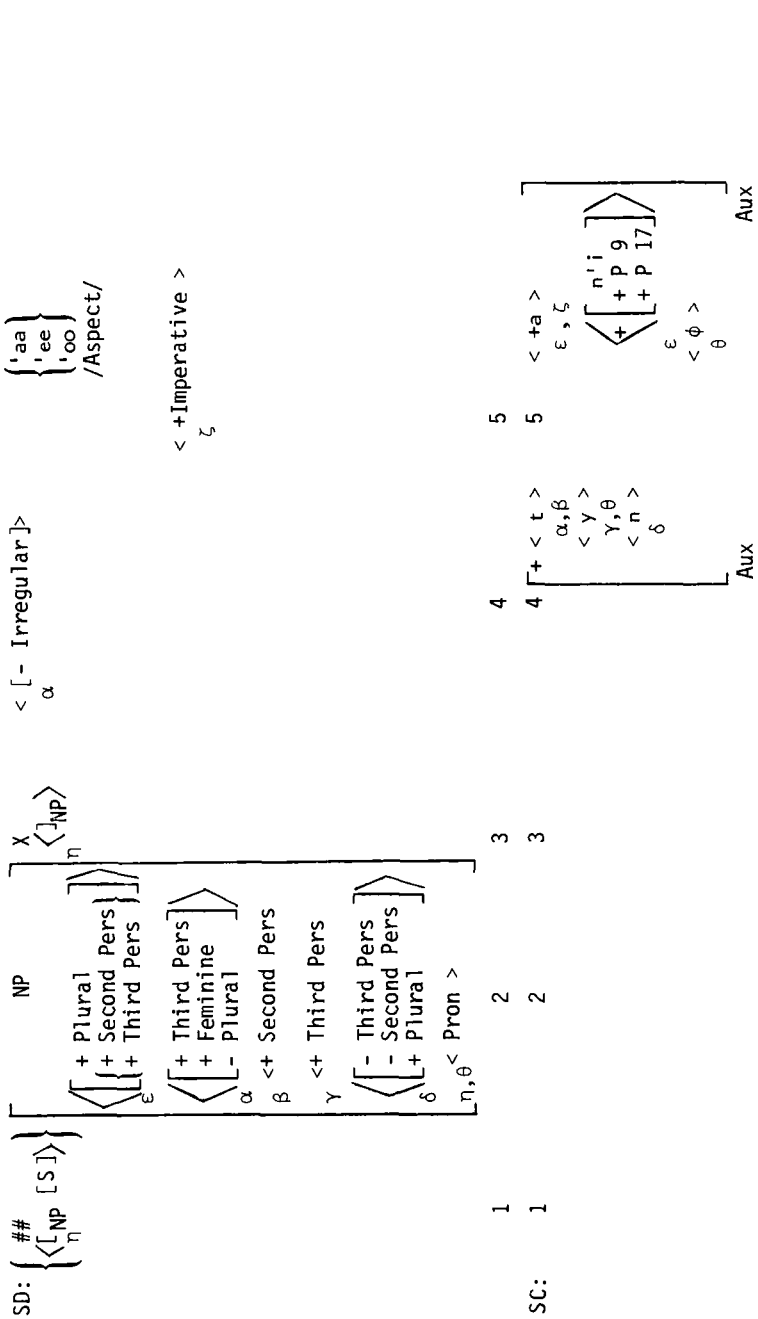
Note: The 'may can also be derived as 'ma *what*, and -y *is* as a reflex of 'kinni deletion.

(b) Regular (Obligatory)

SD:	(([+ Irregular]))	X	Question
	1	2	3
SC:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1 \\ \phi \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \\ \phi \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \phi + \hat{V} \\ \phi \text{ in'naâ} \end{array} \right\}$		

Note: The angle brackets are for kin'ni *is* deletion; the change to in'naâ could be introduced in T 52.

T 40. Agreement, Verbal Affixes (Obligatory)



Note: In forms where Aspect has been deleted (Infinitives, Imperfect participles, Verbal nouns, Compound verbs, etc.), only a short unstressed a has been derived blocking other verbal affixes. Plural -n'i has vowel harmony (P 9) and mid vowel raising in spite of stress (P 17). The ϵ and θ angle brackets refer to relatives.

T 41. Noun Affixes (Obligatory from S 1 and 2)

SD: Noun

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \alpha <- \text{Particular}> \\ \beta <- \text{Plural}> \\ \gamma <- \text{Feminine}> \\ \delta <- \text{Nominative}> \end{array} \right]$$

1

SC: 1 $\alpha^{<+ \text{ta}>}$ $\beta^{<+ \text{Plural}>}$ $\gamma^{<+ \text{Stress}>}$ $\delta^{<+ 'i>}$

Note: Plural forms are lexically determined by noun classes (see 12.3.1). Nominative is zero after C and 'V (see 12.3.5).

T 42. Repetitive Time (Optional, from S 16)

SD: ## X₁ [+Temporal]₂ X₃ ## X₁ [+Temporal]₂ X₃ ##

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

SC: 1 2 3 $\phi \ \phi \ \phi$ 7 8 9

T 43. Extended Duration (Obligatory from S 15)

SD: [Adverb] ($\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -uk \\ -ih \end{array} \right\}$) /Imperfect participle/
 [+ Duration] /As participle/

1 2

SC: 1 -VV / _____ C $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ - \end{array} \right\}$ 2

Note: The change is a lengthening of the vowel before the last root consonant which will be realized after the lexical form is introduced.

T 44. Vocative (Obligatory from S 8)

SD:	##	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ + \text{ First Person} \\ - \text{ Plural} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ + \text{ Second Person} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Verb} \\ + \text{ Vocative} \end{array} \right]$	
	1	2	3	4	5
SC:	1	ϕ	3 -ow	ϕ	5

Note: Feminine nouns will take -y or -ey when consonant final (see 12.2.2).

T 45. Pro (Anaphoric) (Obligatory)

SD:	##	NP ₁	X	NP ₁		X	##
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
SC:	1	2	3	$\left[\begin{array}{l} 4 \\ + \text{ Anaphoric Pro} \end{array} \right]$	5	6	

T 46. Identical Noun Phrase Deletion (Obligatory)

		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} X \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{NP}_1 \end{array} \right] \quad X \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{NP} < \text{NP}_1 > \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$		/Imperf Part/
		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{NP}_1 \end{array} \right] \quad X \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ < \text{NP}_1 > \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$		/Trans Comp, Caus, Benef/
SD:	##	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_1 \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \text{NP}_1 \end{array} \right] \quad X \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ X \end{array} \right] \quad X \end{array} \right\}$		/Intrans Comp/
		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ X \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_1 \\ \text{a Person} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \quad X \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_1 \\ +\alpha\text{Pers} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$		/Relative, Adj, Gen/
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1	$\phi(<+4>)$	3	4
			(< ϕ >)	

Note: The angle brackets are used to show the optional shift of the matrix object to the front of the embedded complement or imperfect participle.

T 47. Subject Deletion (Optional Alone, Obligatory after a Con-
junctive When a Preceding Identical Subject Stands)

SD:	##	([_S NP _{< 1 >}	X	Conjunctive])	NP _{< 1 >}
	1	2	3	4	5
SC:	1	2	3	4	{ (φ) }
					< φ >

T 48. Subject of Last of Conjoined Sentences Shifts to
Front (Optional)

SD:	##	X	Conjunction	##	NP
	1	2	3	4	5
SC:	1	5 2	3	4	φ

Note: Must follow Conjunction rules and all rules describ-
ing subject as ##NP in their SD.

T 49. Topicalization (Optional)

SD:	##	(NP)	X	{ NP (Neg) Verb Aux Postpositional Phrase }
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1<4> α	2<4> -α	3	φ

Note: Postpositional phrases, when topicalized, readily
stand either before or after the subject; verbs only
rarely are topicalized and then usually with short
sentences or when a complicated relative is in
apposition after the verb (see T 57).

T 50. Shift of Root Verb away from Auxiliary (Optional)

SD:	$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right)$	(Postp Phr)	X	Verb	[# X #]
					Aux Aux
	1	2	3	4	5
SC:	$\left\{ \begin{array}{cc} 4 & 1 \\ & 1 \quad 4 \end{array} \right\}$	2	3	ϕ	5

T 51. in'kih all Shift to behind Noun (Optional)

SD:	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Noun} \\ + \text{in'kih} \end{array} \right]$	NP	(Postposition)	
	1	2	3	
SC:	ϕ	2	3	1

T 52. kin'ni is Reduction (Optional)

SD:	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right]$	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Verb} \\ + \text{Irregular} \end{array} \right]$	X	<Question>
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1 + $\left[\begin{array}{c} i \\ + P \ 9 \end{array} \right]$	ϕ	ϕ	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \phi \text{ <+y>} \\ (+y) \end{array} \right\}$

Note: The final y is normal when a question and optional when not a question. The SD excludes negative.

T 53. Verbal Nouns (Optional)

SD:	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Noun} \\ <\alpha\text{features}> \end{array} \right]$
	1
SC:	ϕ Verb + $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Verbal Noun} \\ <\alpha\text{features}> \end{array} \right]$

Note: The Verbal nouns are lexically determined; see 12.3.7.

T 56. Demonstrative Movement before Genitive (Obligatory) and before Relative or Adjective (Optional)

SD:	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Noun} \\ \langle S \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'i \\ k \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right] \text{Dem} \quad \text{Noun} \quad \left. \vphantom{\left[\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Noun} \\ \langle S \rangle \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 'i \\ k \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right]} \right]_{\text{NP}}$			
	<table style="margin: 0 auto; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">1</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">2</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">3</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3
1	2	3		
SC:	$\left\{ \left\langle \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \phi \\ 1 \\ \phi \end{array} \right\} \right. \right. \quad \left. \left. \begin{array}{l} 2 \quad 1 \\ 2 \quad 1 \end{array} \right\} \right\}$			

T 57. Relative Movement with -iyya (Obligatory)

SD:	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ \alpha \langle \text{Dem} \rangle \end{array} \right\} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right] X \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \alpha \langle \text{Noun} \rangle \\ \langle \beta \text{features} \rangle \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]_{\text{NP}} \quad \text{(Postposition)}$					
	<table style="margin: 0 auto; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">1</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">2</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">3</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">4</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5
1	2	3	4	5		
SC:	<table style="margin: 0 auto; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">1</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">ϕ</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">ϕ</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">$\left[\begin{array}{c} 4 \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} 2 \quad 3 \end{array} + \left[\begin{array}{c} iyya \\ \langle \beta \text{features} \rangle \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} 5 \end{array}$</td> </tr> </table>	1	ϕ	ϕ	$\left[\begin{array}{c} 4 \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} 2 \quad 3 \end{array} + \left[\begin{array}{c} iyya \\ \langle \beta \text{features} \rangle \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} 5 \end{array}$	
1	ϕ	ϕ	$\left[\begin{array}{c} 4 \\ - \text{Nom} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} 2 \quad 3 \end{array} + \left[\begin{array}{c} iyya \\ \langle \beta \text{features} \rangle \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} 5 \end{array}$			

Note: The Demonstrative-Noun combination derives from T 56. Minus Nominative is added in SD 2 to identify a relative (versus a genitive).

T 58. -k Genitive Pronoun Movement behind Noun (Optional)

SD:	$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Pro} \\ + \text{Gen} \end{array} \right] \quad -k \quad \text{Noun}$					
	<table style="margin: 0 auto; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">1</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">2</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">3</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3		
1	2	3				
SC:	<table style="margin: 0 auto; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">ϕ</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">ϕ</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">3</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">1</td> <td style="padding: 0 1em;">2</td> </tr> </table>	ϕ	ϕ	3	1	2
ϕ	ϕ	3	1	2		

Note: Pro stands for both anaphoric and personal pronouns.

T 59. -Vy'yen even (Optional)

SD:	## X NP ₁ (Postposition)	X ## X NP ₁ edx	+y+'eet+'ni##
		/+Speech/	/3-Perf-P1/
	1 2 3 4	5 6 7 8 9	10 11
SC:	1 2 3 4+ [i + P 9]	y+'y+e+n	5 φ φ φ φ φ φ φ

Note: The reduction of plural -'ni to -n is the same as in 12.1.19. edx, from T 1, in third person plural becomes iy(e)n(i). The initial vowel i is identical to its preceding vowel, even when -yyen follows a consonant (see 11.2.4c).

T 60. Ordinal Numerals (Obligatory)

SD:	+ Ordinal
	1
SC:	1 { # hay'to + 'ye + ta(h) }

T 61. Pro Forms for Postpositions from Which NP Was Deleted (Obligatory)

SD:	[{ α<Source> β<Locative> Postposition }]
	Postp Phr Postp Phr
SC:	{ α<a'kak> β<e'l'le> ed'de }

Note: This general rule replacing stranded postpositions by their Pro forms will simplify T 12 by having the Pro forms a'kak, e'l'le, and ed'de introduced here. a'kah *some* must remain in T 12. The rule is independently required because of identical NP deletions in complements (see 2.9).

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