

KUSCHITISCHE SPRACHSTUDIEN
CUSHITIC LANGUAGE STUDIES

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HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

Mauro Tosco
A Grammatical Sketch
of Dahalo

including texts and a glossary



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Dedicated
 To the Dahalo
 and All the "Little Peoples"
 of the World

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FOREWORD

This work originates from a two-month period of field work among the Dahalo in the Lamu District (Coast Province, Kenya), in January-March 1988. It was made possible by a scholarship granted by the Istituto Italo-Africano. The main aim of my work was to collect material on the morpho-syntax of the language, a certain amount of lexicon having already been presented by Ehret (1980), in his reconstruction of Proto-South-Cushitic, and others. The morphology had already been dealt with (in the Generative framework current in the 70s) by Elderkin (especially 1974).

My principal informant was Dawa Hamadi, at that time 30 years old, niece of one of Zaborski's (1986) informants. Although she had been living in Lamu town for many years, she was born in the area of Mkunumbi and was fluent in Dahalo. Like most Dahalo (as a matter of fact, all those I met), she was bilingual in (Amu) Swahili and spoke no other language.

The research was carried out in Lamu town and in the surrounding areas of Mokowe and Mkunumbi.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC NOTES

The sociolinguistics and the history of Dahalo lie beyond the scope of the present work. Notes on these subjects can be found in Nurse (1986) and in Tosco (1990): the latter specifically deals with the issue of Dahalo as a minority language, probably on the verge of extinction.

Dahalo is spoken in the Lamu district of Coast Province, Kenya, by former hunter-gatherers which partly turned to a sedentary existence in recent years.

Concerning the actual number of Dahalo speakers, it is calculated in "a few hundreds" by Ehret (1980: 12), while Zaborski "could estimate about 280 of them though the upper limit may be about 400" (1987: 223-4). We think that the figure of 400 cannot greatly exceed the truth: in the peripheral (for the Dahalo people) area of Mokowe we met in one occasion about 50 of them, and we were told that many more lived in the same area.

Official statistical data are unreliable: the Kenya Population Census reports the ethnic affiliation without regard to the actual language(s) spoken by the communities, and, moreover, in the case of the Dahalo the ethnic affiliation is concealed under the cover-term of "Sanye-Boni", applied for the Boni of the Lamu District, the Waata of the Tana River and Kilifi Districts and the far less numerous Dahalo.

The same confusion is found in Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977: 319), where Dahalo is considered "one of the so-called 'SANYE' dialects, spoken in coastal pockets north of Mombasa in Kenya", therefore putting the Dahalo together with the Waata, actually speaking an Oromo dialect.

Among the Dahalo themselves, while the term "Dahalo" (*d'aháálo*; Singulative M: *d'aháálotó*) is understood, it is never used, and the Dahalo pretend that it means "slave" in their own language (but my informants were not able to elaborate on this point, such as to give plural forms, etc.); they further say that "Dahalo" is a term used by the Swahili, to which they return referring to the Swahili as *kúúdzá* (Singulative M: *kúúdzeti*), which would likewise mean "slaves".

The Dahalo we met always referred to themselves as *d'áko* (Singulative M: *d'ákoto*); it is probable that this is just the name of a section of the people, as the informants were also very firm in saying that, while all the Daako are sedentary, not all the Dahalo are Daako; they furthermore demonstrated to understand the precise sociological value of the term "Sanye", applying it with preference to the little groups

of hunters which live only in the bush and do not practice the cultivation. This sharp sociological distinction between the two groups is not accompanied, we were assured, by any practical dialectal difference (which remains uninvestigated), but we have been told on many occasions that dialect variability is minimal between the D groups, involving above all the lexicon (more Southern groups having been influenced by Pokomo and Elwana). The question seems therefore to be related to the languages of the peoples with which different groups of Dahalo speakers come into contact, resulting in a partially different composition of the very mixed Dahalo lexicon, in which a great deal of Somali, Oromo, Swahili and other Bantu languages loans are found, together with ancestral words of probable Khoisan origin, as can be argued by the presence of two clicks.

The people we interviewed used occasionally for themselves the denomination of guho g'itstso "Little People"; on the other side, the denomination of guho g'arimaani ("People of the Outside") reported by Elderkin (1974: 2) was unknown. The language was called simply ʔáfo gúhooni "the language of the People".

I shall not deal here with classificatory problems: Dahalo is generally considered South-Cushitic, but a number of scholars have never considered Ehret's (1980) reconstructed Proto-South-Cushitic above suspicion. Personally, I prefer to see in Dahalo an East-Cushitic language, possibly linked with Yaaku (Tosco: 1989).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to: the Istituto Italo-Africano for the grant which made possible the research upon which this work is based; Mr. Athman Lalli, at that time Curator of the Lamu Museum, and Mr. Abeid Halfan Mtsumi, who helped me in every possible way during my stay in Lamu; Mrs. Sandra Vianello, of the Italian Embassy in Mogadishu, who enriched the vocabulary with the Baraawa Swahili forms of some Dahalo words of uncertain origin; Prof. Edward D. Elderkin (S.O.A.S., London) and Prof. Derek Nurse (M.U.N., St. John's, Canada) for the precious comments and the valuable criticisms made on earlier versions of this work on various occasions, and especially Prof. Hans-Jürgen Sasse (University of Cologne), who read the whole manuscript and proposed many corrections, both in form and content; Mr. Bernard C. Patrick, who revised the final draft and corrected the most blatant offenses against English grammar and style.

Naturally, all faults and omissions are mine.

Finally, special thanks are due to Miss Dawa Hamadi, my other informants, the people of Mokowe and Mkunumbi and all the other Dahalo I met and who always showed the greatest patience and kindness towards me.

NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

In the Dahalo texts, · | · and · | | · represent, respectively, a short and a long pause in the informant's speech; · + · stands for a morpheme boundary.

In the translation, round brackets are "emic" and contain literal translation and other material which is redundant in the target language, while square brackets are "etic" and are used for additions or other material needed in the target language and not present in the original.

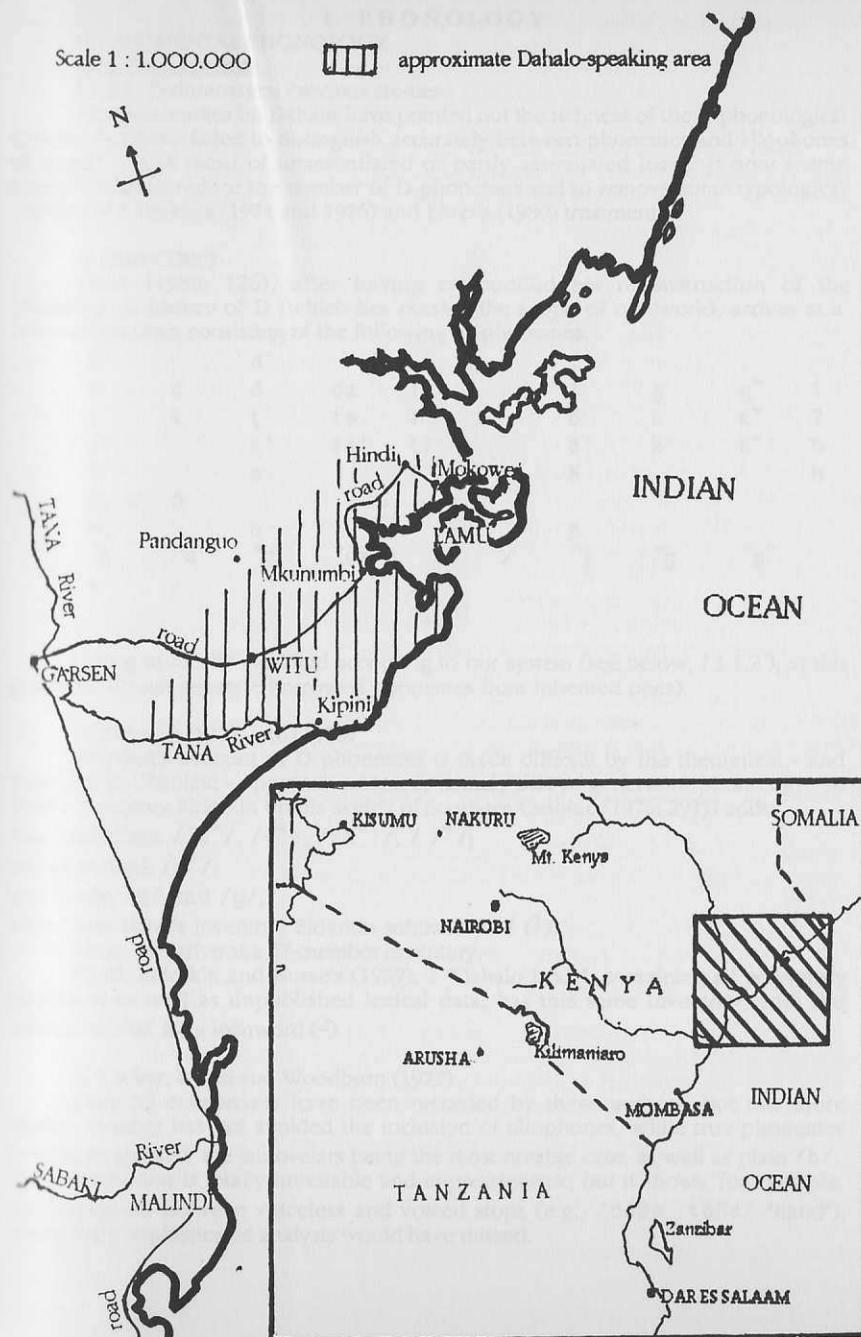
The occasional "philological" notes to the texts aim in no way to be exhaustive; I have not investigated to any depth the cultural and historical framework of the texts, which remains beyond the scope of the present work.

D material in phonetic (not phonological) transcription, or derived through the application of optional phonological rules, is put between square brackets (see also 1.1.2.1.). Archimorphemes are put between braces.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC:	accusative
AFF:	affirmative verb selector
ALL:	allative
BEN:	benefactive
Bo.:	Boni
Br.:	Barawa Swahili (Chi-Miini)
C:	consonant
COP:	copula
D:	Dahalo
F:	feminine
FOC:	focus marker
FREQ:	frequentative verbal form
GEN:	genitive
Gir.:	Giriama
HAB:	habitual action selector
ID:	ideophone
IRR:	unrealised action selector
Kr.:	Karre (: Garre) Somali dialect
LOC:	locative
LP:	Lower Pokomo
M:	masculine
Mij.:	Mijikenda
NEG:	negative selector
NSw.:	Northern Swahili dialects
O:	particle-complex marker
Or.:	Oromo
P:	plural
PAST:	remoter past selector
PERF:	perfect past selector
PR:	pronoun
RED:	reduplicated verbal stem
S:	singular
SE:	stem extension
SG:	singulative
Som.:	Somali
Sw.:	Swahili
V:	vowel
VEN:	venitive



I. PHONOLOGY

I.1. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

I.1.1 The segments

I.1.1.1. Preliminaries: Previous studies

Previous studies on Dahalo have pointed out the richness of the D phonological system, but have failed to distinguish accurately between phonemes and allophones of "pure" D and those of unassimilated or partly assimilated loans. It now seems possible both to reduce the number of D phonemes and to remove some typological oddities of Elderkin's (1974 and 1976) and Ehret's (1980) treatments.

a) Ehret (1980)

Ehret (1980: 126), after having expounded his reconstruction of the phonological history of D (which lies outside the scope of our work), arrives at a consonantal chart consisting of the following 51 phonemes:

b'		d'				j'			
b	d	d	dz	l		j	g	g ^w	ʔ
p	t	t	ts	ʈ	/	ç	k	k ^w	ʔ
p'		t'	ts'	tʂ'		ç'	k'	k ^w '	ʔ
f		s				ʃ			h
β, v	ǰ								
m		n				ɲ			
ˀb	ˀd	ˀd	ˀdz		/	ˀj	ˀg	ˀg ^w	
w									

r, dl

(typographically modified according to our system (see below, I.1.1.2.); at this point, we do not separate borrowed phonemes from inherited ones).

b) Elderkin (1974) and (1976)

Elderkin's account of D phonemes is made difficult by the theoretical - and today rather obsolete - approach adopted, namely that of generative phonology. To Ehret's inventory Elderkin (in his sketch of Southern Cushitic (1976: 291)) adds:

four labiovelars: /^hd^w/, /^ht^w/, /^hts^w/, /^hʔ^w/;

one glottalized: /g' /;

and, finally, /ŋ/ and /y/;

while from Ehret's inventory Elderkin subtracts /v/ (1).

Thus, we arrive at a 57-member inventory.

Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse's (1989), a "Dahalo Lexis", containing all previously published as well as unpublished lexical data, has this same inventory, with the addition of /v/ for a loanword (2).

c) Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977)

Only 39 consonants have been recorded by these authors, but this more modest number has not avoided the inclusion of allophones, while true phonemes have been ignored, the labiovelars being the most notable case, as well as plain /b/. The transcription is totally unreliable and impressionistic, but it shows, for example, the fluctuation between voiceless and voiced stops (e.g., /dábα, tábα/ "hand"), which more sophisticated analysis would have missed.

Leaving aside Tucker, Bryan and Woodburn (1977), the most notable feature of the other inventories is their extraordinary richness: similar arrays of consonants are always suspicious (cf. Sasse (1981: 204) about the proposed consonant charts for Proto-South Cushitic and Proto-Cushitic) and this impression is further strengthened on closer examination:

1) in Ehret's account, D has both a bilabial (/β/) and a labiodental (/v/) fricative, which would make D a unicum in the languages of the world (cf. Maddieson: 1984: 46); it is possible to get rid of /β/ and /ʃ/, by considering them allophones (derived by an apposite PR; see below) of the occlusives /b/ and /d/. Nothing in our data seems to counter this solution.

2) D is described as possessing both dental (transcribed by these authors as /ɖ/, /ɗ/) and alveolar (/d/, /t/) stops, which, especially when coupled with other phones produced in the same area with a manner difference (such as the alveolar implosive /d'/ and ejective /t'/, and the dental fricative /ʃ/), makes the D system at least unusual (cf. Maddieson: 1984: 32).

Ehret (1980) reconstructs PSC phonemes for both the alveolar and the dental occlusives (in our transcription, /ɖ/, /ɗ/ and /d/, /t/, respectively; note that we mark (with /_ɹ/) alveolarity, and not dentality (as both Ehret and Elderkin do): this both on the basis of the larger diffusion of dental vs. alveolar occlusives in the languages of the world (3) and of the status of the alveolars in D as minority loan-phonemes. Moreover, only dentals have a role in the morphology of D).

Without entering into the reconstruction of PSC proposed by Ehret, it suffices to note that to reconstruct an alveolar articulation for PSC plain /d/, /t/ does not seem justified (Cushitic as a whole knows dentals rather than alveolars); then, in order to account for the real situation of D (in which overwhelmingly more dentals than alveolars are found; indeed, only dentals occur in derivation), Ehret proposes a rule (n. 22, Fig. 6b) that changes PSC alveolars to D dentals. A preliminary, maybe simplistic counter-solution could instead be: PSC had only dentals, which changed to alveolars owing to Bantu influence in all SC languages except D (which has never been totally surrounded by Bantu); then, alveolars crept into D, again through Bantu influence (even if we cannot always trace back today the origin of loans), with the result that we have today both dentals and alveolars. This may also permit us to eliminate PSC */dʲ/ and */tʲ/ (Ehret admits that */dʲ/ is doubtful). Naturally, this solution undermines the suggested PSC origin of those D words containing the alveolars.

Other phonemes reported in previous accounts have not been met with: /^hd/ (one item in Ehret, Elderkin, Nurse (1989)), /g' (in medial position), /t s' (one item), /^hg' (one item), /^hj (five items), /^hw' (four items).

By saying that phonological systems such as those proposed for D are typologically implausible, we do not imply that they are impossible; we just mean to suggest that the "stranger" a proposed phonological system is (both in terms of its size and of its internal arrangement), the more it must be looked at suspiciously and be justified.

Now, the phonological system of D is indeed rich and asymmetrical, and these characteristics are a function of the mixed nature of its lexicon, in which the multiple borrowings have not (yet) been equally absorbed. In other words, it is simply unrealistic to look at the "sounds" of D as constituting a system: they do not, because different systems are always present in any utterance of a

D-speaker. As is probably the case in any bi- or multilingual community, the boundaries between the systems, initially strongly perceived by the speakers, gradually fade away, as one of the systems conquers new communicative fields: while in the first phase the loans are adapted to the phonological system of the target-language, gradually, as more and more loans creep in, they are simply stored, unanalyzed. In other words, when looking at D phonology one has to distinguish between Lehnwörter and Fremdwörter, and their respective phonological systems. The fact that many "D phonemes" have a very low phonological weight (see below, I.1.2.2.1.) is, in our opinion, to be ascribed to the loan origin of a large part of D vocabulary; while it is not always possible to separate true phonemes from allophones and phones occurring only in foreign, unnativized material, it is interesting to note that a much more reduced inventory is attained by considering only those phonemes which can occur in final position in verbal stems (see below, I.1.2.2.2.) (4).

Other differences between ours and Derek's and Elderkin's systems can surely be ascribed to the different localization of the field work, which enabled them to record borrowings from foreign languages which are totally unknown to our informants (at least Giryama and the Orma dialect of Oromo, maybe Pokomo). If, on the one hand, these languages reduce the impact of Swahili on D, on the other they add new phonemes to an already rich inventory.

I.1.1.2. The phonemes

The phonemic inventory of the variety of D described is made up of 50 consonants and 10 vowels.

The following chart states the pronunciation of consonantal phonemes where no phonological rule operates:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
STOPS:								
implosives	b'	d'						
voiced	b	d	ɖ		g	g ^w		
voiceless	p	t	t̥		k	k ^w		ʔ
ejectives	p'	t'			k'	k' ^w		
clicks		/						
nasals	m		n	ɲ				
prenasal.	^h b	^h d, ^h /	^h ɖ		^h g	^h g ^w		
AFFRICATES								
implosive				j'				
voiced		dz	dɪ	j				
voiceless		ts		ç				
ejective		ts'		ç'				
prenasal.		^h dz		^h j				
FRICATIVES								
voiced	v						ʃ	
voiceless	f		s	ʃ			ħ	h
TRILL								
			r					
LATERALS								
voiced			l					
voiceless			l̥					
ejective			l l'					
GLIDES								
	w			y				

Notes:

a) columns are arranged according to the following articulation points:

- I. bilabials/labiodentals
- II. dentals
- III. alveolars
- IV. (alveo)palatals
- V. velars
- VI. labialized velars
- VII. pharyngeals
- VIII. glottals

b) phonemes separated by a comma have the same articulation point;

c) for typographical reasons, both ejective and implosive articulation are marked by / ' / following the symbol of the corresponding plain phoneme, though a more correct transcription would be /'C/ for implosives and /C' / for ejectives (the timing

of the release of the glottal and the oral occlusions being the opposite in the two series);

d) /^hC/ marks a prenasalized consonant, the nasal element being homorganic with the following C; thus, /^hb/ is properly [ᵐb]. To consider the /^hC/ phones as sequences N + C would entail the loosening of the constraint which prohibits long vowels before consonant sequences (see I.1.3.4.): long vowels do occur before /^hC/'s, as in the (Northern) Swahili loans çaa^hda "finger", çii^hdano "needle", ruu^hgu "club"; /oo^hC/ sequences are missing.

e) /dɪ/ is a voiced lateral alveolar affricate (more properly it should be transcribed [ɖɪ]).

The vowel system of D is made up of 10 elements: short /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, and long /aa/, /ee/, /ii/, /oo/, /uu/, realized as follows:

- /a/ : short central open; neutral posture of the lips [a];
- /e/ : short half-open front vowel; spread lips [e];
- /i/ : short close front vowel; spread lips [i];
- /o/ : short half-open back vowel; rounded lips [o];
- /u/ : short close back vowel; rounded lips [u];
- /aa/ : long central open; neutral posture of the lips [aː];
- /ee/ : long half-open front vowel; spread lips [eː];
- /ii/ : long close front vowel; spread lips [iː];
- /oo/ : long half-open back vowel; rounded lips [oː];
- /uu/ : long close back vowel; rounded lips [uː].

I.1.1.2.1. Free allophones and foreign phonemes

A few Bantu words have retained a syllabic nasal: mfállume "king", mkullima "farmer", msúúzo "food stirring stick".

[z] occurs only in unassimilated Bantu words, and is optionally nativized as /d/: kásikadi ~ kásika[z]i "dry season" (< Sw. kaskazi). We do not consider it phonemic.

/^hɖ/ - which occurs only in loans from Northern Swahili - freely alternates in our informants' speech with [^hɖr] and [^hr] (as it does in Amu and Baraawa dialects of Swahili).

I.1.1.2.2. Gemination

Sequences of two identical (either original or derived through assimilation rules) segments are articulated as a single geminate phone; they are nevertheless phonologically two phonemes (i.e., they do not violate the phonotactic rules, cf. I.1.2.2.).

Most D consonants can be geminated, and gemination plays an important role in verbal morphology.

Gemination is excluded for some phonemes of limited occurrence (cf. I.1.2.2.1.) and for others whose absence as geminates is probably accidental (due to incompleteness of the data); in particular, the following phonemes have not been observed as geminates:

/b'/ (which occurs mainly in initial position), /č/, /kʷ' /, /ŋ/, /j/, /dl/, /ts' /, /y/.

For some phonemes gemination is attested only in those paradigms where consonant gradation in 3M applies (see II.2.3.4.2.1.), as:

/s/ (last stem-consonant in las- "to pull"),
/v/ (last stem consonant in hagv- "to mention"),
/t l' / (last stem-consonant in vatl'- "to return" and huntl'- "to chew"),

or in frequentative (reduplicated) stems (see II.2.2.2.6.), as:

/f/ in faffaaŋ- (from faaŋ- "to break"),
/ / / in zu//uuk- (from uuk- "to fill"),
/h/ in hahhagavit- (from hagav- "to mention"),
/p' / in p'upp'uŋud- (from p'uŋud- "to pierce").

Geminate /č' / is attested only in the probable loan hač'č'a "only". Finally, prenasalized consonants do not occur as geminates.

Geminates are transcribed by doubling the sign of the single phoneme, but note that geminate sequences of phonemes for which gemination shows up as prolonged articulatory posture of a stop element are transcribed by doubling the sign of the stop only; therefore:

a) affricates:

dz + dz ----> ddz, ts + ts ----> tts, t l' + t l' ----> tt l' ;

b) labialized velars:

gʷ + gʷ ----> ggʷ, kʷ + kʷ ----> kkʷ ;

c) implosive and ejective stops and affricates:

č' + č' ----> čč', d' + d' ----> dd', k' + k' ----> kk', p' + p' ---->

pp',

t' + t' ----> tt'.

I.1.2. Phonotactics

I.1.2.1. Introduction

Under the heading of phonological rules, both the rules of allophonic realization and fully automatic rules of phonemic substitution are covered. As only exceptionless rules (which operate whenever the requirements of their structural description are met) link surface and underlying forms, all the rich morphology of D will be accounted for by morphophonemic, i.e. morphologically- or lexically-governed rules. When comparing this approach (which is, roughly speaking, that of Natural Phonology) to the one adopted by Elderkin (1974) in his description of verbal and nominal morphology of D (the approach of "standard" Generative Phonology),

one can note that in our approach many insights and generalizations inevitably get lost, but the transcription remains sufficiently close to phonetic form and phonemic psychological reality to be readable, and all imaginative and arbitrary reconstruction is avoided.

Whenever adherence to the phonetic output of the rules is required, we shall put the relevant linguistic material between square brackets (if necessary with reference to the relevant rule and a morphophonemic transcription between oblique strokes) (č).

I.1.2.2. Phonotactics

In the following, "word" stands for "phonological word" (graphically, everything which is separated by blanks in transcription):

- all words begin with one and only one consonant;
- all words end in (one short) vowel;
- the only consonant clusters admitted are those made up of a nasal and an unvoiced following element;
- no sequences of non-homorganic vowels occur.

In D words, a sequence of two non-homorganic vowels is found in d'au "pot" and in léé "path".

Exception to the above must also be made for the Bantu unassimilated loans with long final vowel (iamaa "family"), syllabic nasal-initial clusters (cf. I.1.1.2. above) and non-homorganic sequences of vowels (such as in au "or", muji "town").

Clusters N + C (where N is homorganic to C) are found both in patent loans and in "D vocabulary". The following clusters have been met:

/nf/ ; ex.: ŋunf- "to chew"

/mp/ ; ex.: ɬimpid- "to blow one's nose"

/nk/ ; ex.: ninka "clitoris"

/nkʷ / ; ex.: ŋankʷid- "to bend"

/nt/ ; ex.: ɬentid- "to show"

/ntʃ / ; ex.: muntʃa "farm"

/nt' / ; ex.: font'- "to breathe"

/nʔ / ; ex.: ɬinʔeed- "to empty"

/nts / ; ex.: tsintso "vagina"

/nt l' / ; ex.: huntl'- "to chew"

As predicted by PR 4 (I.1.3.4.), the vowel preceding the cluster is always short, and this is a major difference from the prenasalized consonants.

I.1.2.2.1. Positional restrictions on phonemes

As all D words end in a vowel, only initial and medial positions can be taken into consideration for consonants; final position may be taken into consideration for verbal stems.

The following phonemes, of very limited occurrence, are found in initial position only:

/dl / (three items)

/č' / (four items, all Sw. loans)
 /j' / (three items, two Sw. loans)
 /k' / (four items)
 /ts' / (three items)

The following phonemes are not found in initial position:

/d /
 /b / (the only voiced bilabial stop in initial position being /b' /)

The following phonemes are of very limited occurrence:

/č' / (found in two items in initial position - probably as free realization of /č / - and in one item medially)

/č / (found only in a few items in initial position and medially in one item - probably a reduplicated stem: čikočik- "to saw")

/t' / (one item: t'ah- "to pinch")

/p' / (found only in initial position - except in one instance in a reduplicated stem and stem-finally in k'arap'- "to cut" and t'up'- "to leak")

/š / (ten items, all of them loans, mainly from Sw., but also from Som.)

/t l' / (found in six items in initial position and stem-finally in uat l'- "to return" and hunt l'- "to chew")

the labialized velars (probably all of loan origin) are for the most part of limited occurrence; in particular, /^hg' / occurs only in há^hg'ara^hg'ára "centipede" and /^hj' / in kípu^hju "place where the maize is seasoned", /^hdz' / in three items, /^h / in five.

/y / (found only in yááyo "mother (alive)")

/^hd / (two items)

The status of glides is somehow problematic: Ehret has /w / but not /y /, Elderkin both glides; two glides appear in our informants' speech too, but with a very limited occurrence (/w / appears stem-internally in a few words only, and in the stem-extension -Vw; almost all instances of /w / found in other sources are replaced by /v / in my data).

Moreover, we could not find instances of opposition between voiced and voiceless dentoalveolar affricates (/dz / and /ts /): Ehret, however, records both dzaaʔ- and tsaaʔ- "to die" and their derivatives dzeʔed- (= dzeeʔed-) and tseʔed- (= tseeʔed-) "to kill". In our informants' speech, the voiced greatly outnumbers the voiceless.

I.1.2.2.2. Consonants in stem-final position

Taking into consideration only the consonants which can appear in verbal stem-final position, and which can therefore be considered the "core system", we find that only 27 consonants can occur, while 23 are excluded.

The chart proposed above would be reduced to:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.
STOPS:								
implosives		d'						
voiced	b	d			g			
voiceless	p	t			k	k ^w		ʔ
ejectives	p'(2 i.)	t'			k'			
clicks								
nasals	m							
AFFRICATES								
voiced				j				
FRICATIVES								
voiced	v (1 item)						ʃ	
voiceless	f (3 items)		s (1 item)				ħ	h
TRILL								
			r					
LATERALS								
voiced			l					
voiceless			ɬ					
ejective			t l' (2 items)					
GLIDE								
	w							

All the columns (articulatory points) are represented, but alveopalatals only by /k/. Several rows, however, are eliminated or else suffer great reduction; the only prenasalized consonant is the click /^h / (in the stem ʃa^h /- "to lick"; note the presence of Cushitic /ʃ /) and the only labiovelar is /k^w /. Alveolar stops are absent, and affricates are represented, again, only by /j / (/j / in stem-final position is subject to metaphony, and its presence here is due, in reality, to the convention by which stems are indicated by 1S forms minus the vowel ending; see II.2.3.4.2.4.).

Not only is the size of such an inventory much more "acceptable", it is also more regular and it is interesting to note that, from a historic point of view, this consonant chart is much less "exotic", and much more "common Cushitic", than the "full" chart of I.1.1.2. and the Proto-South-Cushitic system proposed by Ehret (1980).

I.1.2.2.3. Vocalic patterns and vowel harmony

Taking into consideration bisyllabic nouns only, we find the following vocalic patterns and figures:

	a	e	i	o	u
a (81)	ʔáára "white hair" (30)	t'át'e "small ant" (13)	dabi "animal" (13)	ʔaddo "sun, day" (20)	ʔáábu "leaf" (5)
e (19)	ʔééga "fire" (5)	"béne "glans of the penis" (7)	hééri "goat" (2)	heddo "evening" (4)	"/éénu "python" (1)
i (36)	ʔila "eye" (13)	híbe "baboon" (6)	g ^w iʔi "thirst" (8)	gimpo "carpus" (7)	---
o (26)	mála "mead" (7)	/óóke "breast" (5)	"góowi "rainbow" (4)	tsoolo "nail" (8)	lóóbu "sheath" (2)
u (30)	ʔunt'a "branch" (12)	gudde "bush" (5)	tumpi "horn" (1)	gúho "person" (7)	ʔuʔtu "kind of mat" (5)
totals:	(67)	(36)	(32)	(46)	(13)

(rows for first vowel; columns for second; figures in brackets give the number of items attested; an example for each pattern is given; figures are calculated, again trying to eliminate loans, but some probable loans of unknown origin have been included)

All patterns are attested (i - u would be attested considering the deictics: ʔíʔu "that (F)"), but disharmonic sequences are disfavoured, esp. high front --- high back, high back --- high front; disharmonic sequences of mid --- high are also rare. With all vowels, harmonic sequences have the highest score, except when the second vowel is /a/, which emerges as the unmarked vowel of the system. /u/ is also quite rare in the morphology: as paradigmatic vowels and person markers in the verb, for example, all the vowels are attested except /u/ (cf. II.2.3.2. and II.2.3.3.2.).

I.1.2.2.4. Syllabic structure

Allowed syllabic structures are:

CV :	/wá\$ra\$ha	"spear"
CVV :	/óó\$ke	"nipple"
CVC :	ʔá\$gadz\$dzo	"ear"

CVVC syllables are not allowed; if a long vowel is followed by a consonant cluster (most often for affixation), the vowel is shortened (cf. PR 4 below).

I.1.3. Phonological rules

As nouns always end in a vowel, the rules involving the verbal stem and the affixes are taken as phonological rules (PRs), unless counter-evidence permits them to be assigned to a morphologically or lexically established subset of verbs (morphophonological rules: MPRs).

I.1.3.1. LENITION (PR 1)

Voiced stops /b, d/ are spirantized between vowels:

PR 1: [b, d] ---> [β, ǰ] / U__U

Examples:

lú[β]a "I beat" (/lub- o/)

dzééʔe[ǰ]a "I kill" (/dzeeʔed- o/)

/g/ never spirantizes (6).

This rule eliminates /β/ and /ǰ/ of the preceding sources; contrary to Elderkin's data, in our informants' speech [β] never occurs initially; e. g., βuddaǰ- of Elderkin (1974: 81) is b'uǰǰad- "to ask". The following grade of lenition is /w/ and /z/, as is demonstrated by the inverse process, in which /z/ of Sw. loans is, when nativized, hardened to /d/, e.g. in:

<u>fukidad-</u>	"to smoke"	< Sw. <u>-fukiza</u>
<u>kásikádi</u>	"drought"	< Sw. <u>kaskazi</u>
<u>páándi</u>	"grasshopper"	< Sw. <u>panzi</u>

However, /w/ of Sw. loans changes to /v/, while, in some (older?) loans, Sw. /v/ changes to /b'/ in initial position and to /b/ in medial position; these are precisely the words in which Ehret and Elderkin have /β/ initially: βuddaǰ- (= b'uǰǰad-) "to ask" (cf. Bajuni -vuǰa) and βuunaaǰ- (= b'uunad-) "to harvest" (cf. NSw. -vuuna), and ʔiibu (= ʔibu) "ashes" (cf. NSw. iuvu).

I.1.3.2. REGRESSIVE DENTAL ASSIMILATION (PR 2)

/d, d', t/ undergo complete assimilation to a following oral or nasal stop (actually, before /t/ and /n/, which only occur as affixes):

PR 2: {d, d', t} ---> [t, n] / ___ [t, n]

Examples:

hónne+[ǰ]a "we tell to (him/her/them)" /hood' - ne - da/(PR 2; PR 1)

hótto "you tell" /hood' - to/

súúbitto "she does" /suubid - to/

ránni "we walked" /rat- ni/

Alveolar stops do not undergo this rule, as they are never stem-final.

I.1.3.3. NASAL ASSIMILATION (PR 3)

Nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of a following stop (again, only /t/ and /n/ are involved as affixes). If the stop is nasal, the result is complete assimilation, yielding a geminate:

PR 3: N ---> [t, n] / ___ [t, n]

Examples:

jónto "you speak" / joom - to/

jónno "we speak" / joom - no/

I.1.3.4. VOWEL CONTRACTION (PR 4)

A vowel contracts by one mora before a consonant cluster or a geminate consonant:

PR 4: VV ---> V / ___ CC

Examples:

jónto "you speak" / joom - to/ (PR 3; PR 4)

jónno "we speak" / joom - no/ (PR 3; PR 4)

The following rules are optional, occurring in allegro speech only.

The result of their application will be written throughout between square brackets.

I.1.3.5. GLOTTAL STOP DELETION (PR 5)

Intervocally, the glottal stop optionally undergoes deletion (in practice, only in slow, careful speech is the glottal stop preserved in this position):

PR 5: ʔ ---> (opt.) 0 / V ___ V

Example:

b'ááb'a+suʔ+u ---> (opt.) /b'ááb'asu/ "his father"

I.1.3.6. VOWEL LOWERING (PR 6)

A high vowel (/i/, /u/) can be lowered to mid (/e/, /o/) in two cases:

- in word-final position;
- when the preceding vowel is low or mid:

PR 6: [i, u] ---> (opt.) [e, o] / (___ ≠)
(a, e, o) X ___

(where X is any segment)

Cf. the verbal phrase gét e+kí+ka+i[é]+ʔa "let me bring it to you", where /i/ of the selector -ji is lowered to /e/ following /a/; or kééjik[o] "I was born" for kééjiku in final position; or still the deictic ʔúku "that (M)", which frequently shifts to ʔúk[o].

I.1.3.7. VOWEL RAISING (PR 7)

A final /a/ can be raised to /e/ in final position; this seems to happen especially with some particles, such as na "and", ʔuk'a "this (M)":

PR 7: a ---> (opt.) e / ___ ≠

I.1.3.8. VOWEL ASSIMILATION (PR 8)

As a result of GLOTTAL STOP DELETION (PR 5), two vowels can be found in sequence; in this case, a sequence [ai] (< /aʔi/) can pass to [ee]:

PR 8: ai ---> (opt.) ee

A frequent case is:

b'á+ʔi+va lube ---> b'[éé]+va lube "I did not beat"

I.2. TONOLOGY

I.2.1. Preliminaries

It must be stressed that a lot of work remains to be done in this field, especially for what concerns the tonology of particles and sentence intonation.

D has two phonological tones: high (H) and low (L). In our transcription, while H tone is marked by ' _ , L tone is left unmarked. On the contrary, L will be marked by ` _ in the affixes (where L shifts back one syllable according to the TONAL REGRESSION RULE (TR 3, cf. I.2.2.3.)).

We propose that D be considered as a pitch-accent language (like many East Cushitic languages, e.g., Somali, Oromo and Arbore), because surface tonal patterns can be derived from the tone of the penultimate syllable plus the application of the tonal rules (cf. *infra*). Nevertheless, D tone is somewhat different from "typical" pitch-accent languages: H tone shows a tendency to fall on the first syllable (while pitch-accent is generally limited to final or penultimate syllables).

As in East Cushitic languages, tone generally accompanies other features of grammatical marking, while it is seldom the sole carrier of a grammatical distinction, and practically never of a lexical one; cf.:

gúho "person" P: guho "persons; people"

Elderkin (1974: 11) also reports gát'a "beard" and gat'a "wind", but we have not recorded this last item.

Again, as in East Cushitic languages, more function is carried by the tone in verbal paradigms, where tone alone often distinguishes two forms:

lúbo 1) "I am beating" (Non-Past General)
2) "I was beating" (Imperfective General Past)

versus:

lubo "beat" (Perfective Imperative Plural)

1.2.2. Tonal rules

In Elderkin's (1974) generative approach, tones are derived through the ordered application of various rules. In our approach, one tone per word (that on the penultimate syllable) is specified lexically, and a small set of tonal rules apply - whenever their domain is found - yielding the surface tones of both lexical words and morphologically complex forms.

The following tonal rules operate in D:

1.2.2.1. UNMARKED LOW RULE (TR 1)

TR1: \$ → ` \$

(where "\$" is a tonally unspecified syllable)

i.e.: H is marked, L unmarked; a tonally unspecified syllable takes an L tone. This rule is called "Other Tones Low rule" by Elderkin (1974: 31).

1.2.2.2. INITIAL HIGH RULE (TR 2)

TR 2: \$ → ` \$ / ___ \$

i.e.: "the tone of a word-initial syllable [is] high, unless the following syllable is already specified as High" (Elderkin (1974: 37), who calls it "Initial Tone H rule").

1.2.2.3. TONAL REGRESSION RULE (TR 3)

TR 3: \$ + ° \$ → ° \$ + \$

(where "+" is a morpheme boundary and "°\$" a tonally specified - High or Low - syllable)

i.e.: the tone of an affix is shifted one syllable back (leftwards). Elderkin's "Tonal Regression rule" states: "The tone of a syllable is the tone proper to the next element capable of carrying tone at one point in the morphology. More simply, there is a rule which moves tones back one place" (1974: 30). In Elderkin's view, the rule is operative even without the presence of a boundary, and contributes to the make-up of the tonal pattern of lexical items.

1.2.2.4. FINAL LOW RULE (TR 4)

TR 4: \$ → ` \$ / ___ # #

i.e.: final syllables always have L tone (this is true as far as phonological tones are concerned; in the domain of sentence stress, a final syllable can take an H tone with suspensive intonation).

This rule predicts that when a monosyllabic particle with H tone appears in isolation it loses its H.

1.2.2.5. HIGH TONE LOWERING RULE (TR 5)

TR 5: HH → HL

i.e.: two consecutive H tones are excluded, and from the two underlying consecutive H tones the second changes to L. Both the rule and its name are from Elderkin (1974: 31).

1.2.3. Tonal patterns

In order to obtain the surface tonal pattern of a word, one needs to specify the tone of the penultimate syllable only (which is assigned lexically); the other tones will be derived from the application of the TRs.

If we take bisyllabic nominals into consideration, we note that only the patterns LL and HL are allowed:

LL

dobi "animal"

HL

zóóke "nipple"

but LH and HH are excluded (LH because of TR 4, and HH because of TR 5).

With trisyllabic nominals we get the following two possible sequences:

HLL

zútunu "wound"

LHL

zílímá "tear"

while all of the other six theoretical possibilities are excluded. The penultimate syllable can be L (as in zútunu), or H (as in zílímá). In the first case TR 2 applies, while in the second, the constraint on TR 2 excludes the initial H. H on the last syllable is everywhere excluded by TR 4, while TR 1 transforms the tonally unspecified syllables into Ls.

With four-syllable nominals, we get the following patterns:

HLLL

b'ábaʔaane "topi"

HLHL

áárakána "shyness"

Surface tonal patterns of both are derived through the application of TR 2 and of TR 1.

There are, nevertheless, some tonally irregular words, such as d'id'íjímá 'thunder', perhaps originally composed with an affix or a nominal formative (cf. II.1.1.1.).

More-than-four-syllable words are always polymorphemic, such as nímankaláli "leopards" (from nímankalo with reduplication pattern -áCi), or reduplicated words, such as há"q"ara"q"ára "centipede".

If we consider the behaviour of polymorphemic words (such as nouns when followed by a plural affix), we note that the H of the affix is shifted back one syllable:

kiri "giraffe" + -íma ---> kíríma "giraffes"
 unless this slot is already H-toned:
náñe "hippopotamus" + -údda ---> náñudda "hippos"

Verbal forms are likewise subject to the effects of the TRs, after which relevant endings, with their specified tone, are affixed to the stem (which, not being a word, is not toned):

lub- "to beat" + -ó ---> lúbo "I am beating" (Non-Past) (TR 3)
lub- " " + -o ---> lubo "I beat/I was beating" (Imperfective Past) (TR3)
lub- " " + 0 ---> lúbu "I beat" (Perfective Past; a vowel identical to the stem vowel is copied, and then TR 2 applies)

Let us now consider a verbal form with affixed verbal particles, such as:

géte+kí+ka+i[é]+?a
 send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN
 "let me bring to you (SF)"

composed of the verbal form géte "let me bring" (1S of Iussive Positive of the verb get- "to send, bring"), to which are affixed:

-kí "you (singular feminine)" (cf. II.1.5.1.2.)
-ká "IRR" (unrealised action selector) (cf. II.3.2.6.)
-jí "HAB" (habitual action selector) (cf. II.3.2.4.) - the meaning is one of habituality in the future: "let me continue to provide you"
-?á "VEN" (venitive) (cf. II.3.3.1.)

The overall surface tones are given by the following tonal shifts:

-ká shifts its H to preceding -kí; -jí (lowered to [e] by PR 6) shifts its H to -ká, which, since it immediately follows an H-toned syllable (-kí) - is turned into L by TR 5 (HH ---> HL); and -?á shifts its H to preceding -jí. This shows that tones shift leftwards, but not from the element furthest to the right: instead, each element is affixed after the tones of the previous element(s) have already adjusted to the TRs of the language. This is in accordance with the fact that the tones of the verbal forms (or of nominals, for that matter) never change under the influence of suffixed elements.

The same happens in the particle complex (cf. II.3.1.), where the serialization of tones applies leftwards, but with each element to the right adjusting to the preceding one, as in:

?á+ka+i[é]+ji
 0+IRR+HAB+ALL

where the H tone of -ká is shifted onto -?a; -jí shifts its H onto -ká, but TR 5 (HH ---> HL) turns it into an L tone; finally, the second -jí (the allative particle "ALL", homophonous with the habitual action marker; cf. II.3.3.2.) shifts its H onto the first -kí.

NOTES TO PART I

(1) Actually, in Elderkin (1976) /n'/ and /ʒ'/ have been misprinted instead of /j'/ and /ʒ'/ (E. D. Elderkin, personal communication, 11.1.1990).

(2) Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse's phonological inventory (1989: 6) does not contain /ʒ'/, which is nevertheless present in the lexicon.

(3) Cf. Canepari (1983: 22, 30), who advocates the use of simple «d, t» for dentals; however, we do not follow his use of modified signs for the alveolars, preferring the subscript /_ɾ/ for typographical reasons.

Nurse (1985) has suggested that dentality is an areal feature in North-eastern Kenya, possibly spreading from Dahalo and Boni into North-eastern Bantu (Northern Swahili, Pokomo, Elwana); this on the basis that "a series of dental stops occurs in a minority of languages worldwide" (Nurse: 1985: 243). Nurse takes this suggestion from Ruhlen's Guide to the Languages of the World (Stanford: Stanford U.P.: 1976), but more recently Maddieson (1984) - who works on a better designed database - does not commit himself to any generalization on the relative frequency of dental and alveolar stops.

(4) Loaned vowel-final stems (mainly from Swahili) are always nativized through the suffixation of the morpheme -d (see II.2.2.2.1.3.). Concerning the impact of foreign material (mainly Swahili) on D grammar, see Tosco (1990).

(5) These principles of transcription are the same as those of Hayward (1984), whom we also follow in the general account of phonology along the lines of Natural Generative Phonology.

(6) Tucker, Bryan, and Woodburn (1977: 320) note the presence of a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, but offer only one example, in pre-glide position. Given the numerous errors of transcription in this phonological sketch of D, we think that this new phoneme can be dismissed altogether.

II. MORPHOLOGY

D morphology, both inflectional and derivational, is suffixal, at least as far as segments are concerned (with the exclusion of the tonal patterns and reduplicated-stem verbs, which can be said to be partially prefixal): this accords well with the general SOV word order of the language. Therefore, nothing remains in D of the putative Proto-Cushitic prefix conjugation.

In this chapter, only the morphology of the categories will be analyzed, syntactic frames being discussed in part III.

II.1. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

II.1.1. Preliminaries

In this chapter we shall refer to the following categories: nouns (comprising substantives, adjectives and numerals; II.1.2. to II.1.4.), pronouns (under which deictics are also dealt with; II.1.5.).

The categories of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns display formal variability, namely:

- substantives display variability according to number;
- adjectives display variability according to number and gender;
- numerals - to the limited extent to which D numerals have survived - are not variable, with the exception of "one" (for gender);
- pronouns can display variability according to number, gender, person, and to the syntactic role of the pronominalized entity.

II.1.1.1. Nominal shapes and formatives

A basic problem in morphology is to recognize how words may be divided into morphemes; in the case of nouns, an obvious possibility is a treatment based on a stem, to which derivational and inflectional morphs are affixed. Now, the final vowel of the basic form of nouns is dropped when an affix of number is suffixed, and a shifting back of the H tone of the affix occurs: one could therefore interpret the final vowel of the basic form as a morphological marker. The fact that no semantic regularity is observable in the final vowels (they cannot be interpreted as gender or number morphemes) does not by itself rule out this possibility: in spite of the traditional definition of morphemes as the smallest meaningful elements of the language, we can still recognize a morpheme without being able to assign a specific meaning to it; the "morphemic" analysis could be saved by postulating that the final vowel is phonologically determined by the root (by some kind of vowel harmony). But even this possibility is ruled out by facts: we have seen that, while a certain tendency to vowel harmony is indeed present, no regularity occurs (at least synchronically).

In the present analysis, we shall treat nouns in their basic shape as monomorphemic. Plurals and singulatives will likewise be written without "+" (morpheme boundary) between stem and affix.

All D nouns have at least two syllables. Bisyllabic nouns (including substantives in their basic form, adjectives, numerals, independent pronouns, with the exclusion of evident loans) account for about 60 % of all nouns.

Monomorphemic nominals recur frequently with the shape CV(V)CV:

<u>/úʃe</u>	"brown ant"
<u>?áfo</u>	"mouth"

<u>?ila</u>	"eye"
<u>/óóke</u>	"nipple"
<u>/óóne</u>	"breast"

A certain number of trisyllables (less than 35 %) occurs (shape CV(V)CV(V)CV):

<u>?ágaddzo</u>	"ear"
<u>?álite</u>	"knife"
<u>?irífa</u>	"eyelash"
<u>?útobo</u>	"anus"
<u>d'ááʃeero</u>	"neck"
<u>fád'ak'e</u>	"fire stick"

Few four-syllabic and very few five-syllabic nominals occur (about 6 %); it is likely that at least some of them are made up of formatives (singulatives), or involve some kind of reduplication or composition; this analysis is supported by the fact that these nouns can show two high tones, a feature which never appears on (other) monomorphemic nouns.

four-syllabic:	<u>/úbubuʃe</u>	"moth"
	<u>b'ábaʃaane</u>	"topi"
	<u>d'aḥániite</u>	"pestle" (stem + <u>-te</u> singulative?)
five-syllabic:	<u>/i'birik'itte</u>	"gecko" (stem + <u>-te</u> singulative?)
	<u>há'g'ara'g'ára</u>	"centipede"
	<u>múkumpilo</u>	"ankle"
	<u>nímankalo</u>	"leopard"
	<u>níʃaapiʃe</u>	"thick"

We may note that a formative -ʃV often occurs in names of animals; apart from /úbubuʃe "moth", cited above, we have: /untáʃe "cicada", b'eeʃa "buffalo", ḥélléʃa "zebra", k'ánaʃa "scorpion"; but also mánaʃe "newborn", /i'gilíʃe "star", and others.

A formative in -mV (frequently -ma) occurs in some nominals (all recorded items are reported below):

<u>?ilíma</u>	"tear"
<u>b'áhama</u>	"hard"
<u>b'ágama</u>	"belly"
<u>d'id'isííma</u>	"thunder"
<u>díírama</u>	"morning"
<u>dokóómi</u>	"elephant"
<u>dzááʃama</u>	"dead" (cf. <u>dzaaʃ-</u> "to die")
<u>fílime</u>	"comb"
<u>gárima</u>	"outside"
<u>gúrume</u>	"old (of persons)"

<u>hómome</u>	"frog"
<u>iúúfume</u>	"air" (cf. <u>iuuf-</u> "to blow")
<u>k'úúhuma</u>	"white"
<u>káŋime</u>	"many"
<u>tááhame</u>	"sweet"
<u>pa+taʔámo</u>	"glade; shelter" (cf. <u>pa+-</u> "to put aside" ?)
<u>ragáma</u>	"grave"
<u>t'éeŋema</u>	"soft"
<u>t'ókkoome</u>	"cold"
<u>táŋame</u>	"how?"

(bisyllabic nouns, such as hííma "night", are excluded, as well as obvious loanwords).

From the above, one may conclude that -ma, and, less frequently, -me, are adjective-formatives. For some nouns ending in -me the semantics seems to point to an origin as singulatives. The nominals in -mi and -mo (one item each) may be of no relevance here.

With a very few (quadrisyllabic) nouns an -inna formative occurs:

<u>ʔáámininna</u>	"little"
<u>b'írik'inna</u>	"lightning"

A lot of nominals (tri- and polysyllabic) end in -te and -ne; while it is tempting to interpret them as singulatives, they are, at least synchronically, basic forms from which regular plurals are formed:

<u>ŋálite</u>	"knife",	plural: <u>ŋálitúmu</u>
<u>ḡíkine</u>	"eyebrow",	plural: <u>ḡíkinuuta</u>

One may note that, in words of sure comparison with EC languages, -o is frequently associated with nouns which are masculine in other languages, while -a is frequently associated with nouns feminine in other languages.

II.1.2. Nouns

II.1.2.1. Gender

Nouns do not have any affix which can be interpreted, at least synchronically, as gender-marking. Given the existence of separate masculine (3M) and feminine (3F) forms of the determinants and of the 3 singular verbal forms, an obvious possibility is that nouns are sub-categorized according to gender. Now, only semantically feminine subject nouns (i.e., nouns whose referent has female sex) do govern feminine forms of the determinants and, as subjects, of 3S verbal forms; this seems to have been recognized by Elderkin (1976: 292): "Gender in Dahalo is natural". All evidence seems to indicate that the category of gender is dying out in D (influence from neighboring Bantu languages is the first cause that comes to mind).

II.1.2.2. Number

As in other Cushitic languages, the great majority of D nouns display number variability. This may take the form of plural marking or of singulative marking with respect to the basic form. Not all the nouns have three forms: while the majority of nouns have a plural affix, "collective" nouns have a singulative affix, and some have both plural and singulative affixes. It must also be said that, as in other Cushitic languages, plurals tend to be used only when number cannot be conveyed otherwise; thus, nouns take their basic forms in association with numerals (but plural forms with "quantifiers" such as "all, many").

Number marking of nouns and adjectives in D has already been the subject of a separate chapter in the monography by Zaborski on nominal number marking in Cushitic languages (Zaborski: 1986: 203-215). Zaborski does not try to associate basic and plural/singulative patterns, nor, it seems, is he conscious of the existence of basic forms, distinct from number-marked ones: he just associates "singulatives" (either singulative-marked nouns or basic forms) and plurals.

II.1.2.2.1. Plural marking

As is common in Cushitic, there are a lot of different plural patterns; no single criterion for the assignment of a plural pattern can be established, as the selection of the plural depends upon phonological, morphological and lexical factors, and certainly involves a high degree of idiosyncrasy.

In addition to nouns without a plural, there are nouns that can have more than one plural form, without change in meaning (and differences will be noted between ours and previous authors' data). The use of specific plurals for different semantic fields can occasionally be noted, but never as an exclusive criterion. The absence of gender-categorization of nouns implies, naturally, the absence of the "polarity" typical of some East Cushitic plural formations.

Plural marking can take the form of:

- partial reduplication
- reduplication plus suffixation
- suffixation alone
- change of final vowel
- change of tonal pattern (without change in segments)
- irregular formation

It is possible to distinguish, at least tentatively, between productive and fossilized plural formations on the basis of the number of items associated with each of them, and, also, of the plurals the informants tend to use or "create" for recent loanwords. It seems clear that the patterns d., e. (and, naturally, f.) are no longer productive: nouns pluralized by e./f. often have another plural by affixation or reduplication; obvious loanwords never build their plural by e./f., while many nouns with plural types e./f. are part of the basic vocabulary; the few "true" adjectives of D may also be identified by their almost exclusive plural marking by -i.

The following plural affixes reported by Zaborski (1986) are missing from our corpus:

-aCe, -uCa, -utta, -atti, -uté, -to, -uka, -aiju, -agqi, -agge.

Instead of -uCa we have an item pluralized with -uCCa and one with -eCCa. The plurals in -aCanne, in -'dde, and in -agáame were hitherto unrecorded.

II.1.2.2.1.1. Plural by reduplication (type a.)

This plural formation, which is fully productive, is often also used for recent loanwords from Sw. Nouns using this plural formation can end in any vowel; on the whole, reduplication seems to be used mostly with nouns of more than two syllables.

This type of plural formation is used for 75 items, accounting for 32.75 % of all plurals.

Reduplicated plurals involve the reduplication of the last consonant of the basic form, with dropping of the final vowel. Different sub-types are given by the consonant quantity (simple or geminate) and by the vowel quality.

Reduplication does not behave as an affix, as it does not involve the shifting back of the H tone (TR 3):

<u>ʔútunu</u>	"wound"	--->	<u>ʔútunáni</u>	"wounds"
<u>ʔilíma</u>	"tear"	--->	<u>ʔilímámi</u>	"tears"
<u>ʔaare</u>	"arrow-notch"	--->	<u>ʔaarári</u>	"arrow-notches"
<u>ʔáádi</u>	"scar"	--->	<u>ʔáádaddi</u>	"scars" (HH ---> HL; TR 5)

This suggests that, while affixation takes place before surface tones are assigned, reduplication operates on surface forms. Thus, ʔaarári can surface as such, while *ʔilímámi is realized as ʔilímámi (LHH ---> HLH) and *ʔáádaddi as ʔáádaddi (TR 5). On the contrary, plural affixes always conform to TR 3, by which the H of the affix is shifted back (cf. *kíríma > kíríma, from kírí plus the affix -íma).

In the following, the left-hand column reports the basic form of the nominals whose number-marked form (plural or singulative) is given in the right-hand column.

Simple consonant reduplication
(35 items; 15.28 % of all plurals, and 46.67 % of all plurals by reduplication)

a.1. -áCj plurals

(33 items; 14.41 % of all plurals, 44 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 94.29 % of the plurals by simple consonant reduplication)

<u>ʔaare</u>	"arrow-notch"	<u>ʔaarári</u>
<u>ʔáfitete</u>	"shadow (of an object)"	<u>ʔáfitáti</u> (SG?; no basic form recorded)
<u>ʔilíma</u>	"tear"	<u>ʔilímámi</u>
<u>ʔirídi</u>	"string of beads around the neck"	<u>ʔiridádi</u>
<u>ʔirífa</u>	"eyelash"	<u>ʔirifáfi</u> (and <u>ʔirifamunte</u>)
<u>ʔútunu</u>	"wound"	<u>ʔútunáni</u>
<u>ʔút aat̩i</u> (< NSw. <u>ut̩at̩i</u>)	"ugali"	<u>ʔút aat̩áti</u>
<u>d'áhanite</u>	"pestle"	<u>d'áhanitáti</u> (SG?; cf. the verb <u>d'ah-</u> "to pound")
<u>d'uuko</u>	"deaf"	<u>d'uukáki</u>
<u>dokóomi</u>	"elephant"	<u>dókoomámi</u>
<u>dóoro</u>	"shoulder"	<u>dóorarí</u>
<u>duura</u>	"bowels"	<u>duurári</u>

<u>dokóomi</u>	"elephant"	<u>dókoomámi</u>
<u>dóoro</u>	"shoulder"	<u>dóorarí</u>
<u>duura</u>	"bowels"	<u>duurári</u>
<u>fád'ak'e</u>	"fire stick"	<u>fád'ak'ák'i</u>
<u>góra</u>	"piece of cloth"	<u>góorarí</u>
<u>ʔáala</u>	"bow"	<u>ʔáálali</u> (and <u>ʔááluke</u>)
<u>ʔírani</u> (< Sw. <u>իրանի</u>)	"neighbor"	<u>ʔííranáni</u>
<u>ʔekete</u>	"shoulder extremity"	<u>ʔékeláli</u>
<u>k'áreete</u>	"not poisoned arrow-head"	<u>k'áreetáti</u>
<u>kónkoolo</u>	"leg (lower part)"	<u>kónkooláli</u>
<u>káaniki</u>	"black dress (of women)"	<u>káánikáki</u>
<u>kamba</u>	"rope"	<u>kámbaki</u> (and <u>kámbaúke</u>)
<u>kámpore</u>	"testicle"	<u>kámporári</u>
<u>kibuuro</u>	"den"	<u>kíbuurári</u>
<u>kíe'ba</u>	"turban"	<u>kíe'bábi</u>
<u>kíiviko</u>	"wrist"	<u>kíívikáki</u>
<u>kíra'gati</u>	"quiver"	<u>kíra'gatáti</u>
<u>kíisiri</u>	"string of beads around the waist"	<u>kíisírári</u>
<u>kítevi</u>	"paralytic"	<u>kítevúvi</u>
<u>ʔáabu</u>	"sheath"	<u>ʔáábabi</u>
<u>níankalo</u>	"leopard"	<u>níankaláli</u> (and <u>níankaluuta</u>)
<u>ʔópe</u>	"door"	<u>ʔúpapi</u>
<u>ʔá'gule</u>	"hare"	<u>ʔsú'guláli</u>
<u>mfállume</u> (cf. Sw. <u>mfalme</u>)	"king"	<u>mfállumámi</u>

a.2. -áCq plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 2.67 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 5.71 % of the plurals by simple consonant reduplication)

<u>k'áavatí</u>	"freeman"	<u>k'áávatáta</u>
<u>rááfiki</u> (< Sw. <u>rafiki</u>)	"friend"	<u>rááfikáka</u>

Geminate consonant reduplication

(40 items; 17.47 % of all plurals, and 52.70 % of the plurals by reduplication)

a.3. -áCCi plurals

(31 items; 13.60 % of all plurals, 41.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 77.50 % of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

<u>ʔáádi</u>	"scar"	<u>ʔáádaddi</u>
<u>ʔááli</u>	"elder brother"	<u>ʔáájáii</u> (and <u>ʔááíini</u>)
<u>b'áád'aani</u>	"big not poisoned arrow-head"	<u>b'áád'aanáni</u>
<u>b'áoku</u>	"hole"	<u>b'áókakki</u>
<u>b'áoma</u> (< Sw. <u>boma</u>)	"fenced-in place"	<u>b'áómammi</u>

<u>d'éeé^waqni</u>	"man's shadow"	<u>d'éeé^waanánni</u>
<u>fílime</u>	"comb"	<u>fílimámmi</u>
<u>fúú^wba</u> (< Sw. <u>fumba</u>)	"mat"	<u>fúú^wbabbi</u>
<u>gát'a</u>	"beard"	<u>gát'at't'i</u> (Zaborski (1986: 209) has <u>gát'uka</u>)
<u>i'áá^wbi</u>	"mat"	<u>i'áá^wbabbi</u>
<u>kíkoddzi</u>	"hawk"	<u>kíkoddzáddzi</u>
<u>kiṭá^wḍa</u> (< Sw. <u>kitanda</u>)	"bed"	<u>kiṭa^wḍáḍḍi</u>
<u>kípu^wiu</u>	"place where the maize is seasoned"	<u>kípu^wiáííi</u>
<u>múganka</u>	"dance"	<u>múgankággí</u>
<u>múkibe</u>	"widow"	<u>múkibábbi</u>
<u>mútsunki</u>	"waterpot"	<u>mútsunkággí</u>
<u>nínka</u>	"clitoris"	<u>nínkaggí</u>
<u>rúpa^wga</u>	"panga"	<u>rúpa^wgággí</u>
<u>síí^wḍano</u> (< Sw. <u>sindano</u>)	"needle"	<u>síí^wḍanánni</u>
<u>túntumu</u>	"fist"	<u>túntumámmi</u>
<u>támpo</u>	"trap"	<u>támpabbi</u>
<u>tumpi</u>	"horn"	<u>tumpáppi</u>
<u>vááli</u> (< Sw. <u>váli</u>)	"cooked rice"	<u>váálalli</u>
<u>^w/éénu</u>	"python"	<u>^w/éénnani</u>
<u>^wbattsi</u>	"fragment"	<u>^wbattsáttsi</u>
<u>^wdéégi</u>	"canine tooth"	<u>^wdéégaggí</u>
<u>^wdzóne</u>	"spleen"	<u>^wdzónanni</u>
<u>^wbííte</u>	"bad; ugly"	<u>^wbííjajii</u>

(the plural is probably derived from the theme *^wbííí-, upon which the feminine ^wbíííattsa is also based)

<u>msúúzo</u>	"food stirring stick"	<u>msúúzaddzi</u>
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(the foreign phoneme /z/ is geminated upon its assimilation to /dz/)

a.4. -áCCe plurals

7 items; 3.06 % of all plurals, 9.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 17.50 % of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

<u>/óóke</u>	"nipple"	<u>/óókakke</u>
<u>daba</u>	"hand; paw"	<u>dábabbe</u>
<u>hééri</u>	"sheep"	<u>héérrare</u>
<u>šóóka</u> (< Sw. <u>shoka</u>)	"axe"	<u>šookákke</u>
<u>^wbéne</u>	"glans of the penis"	<u>^wbenáanne</u>
<u>^wḍáála</u>	"bag"	<u>^wḍaaaláalle</u>
<u>^wdzááje</u>	"jaw"	<u>^wdzaaiájje</u>

a.5. -éCCo plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 1.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 2.50 % of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

<u>kálati</u>	"tooth"	<u>kálatétto</u> (Elderkin (1974: 43) has <u>kalátetto</u> ; Zaborski (1986: 208) <u>kalatííto</u>)
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a.6. -úCCa plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 1.33 % of the plurals by reduplication, and 2.50 % of the plurals by geminate consonant reduplication)

<u>táhara</u>	"heel"	<u>táharúrra</u>
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II.1.2.2.1.2. Plural by reduplication and suffixation (type b.)

The plural pattern under this heading is made by simple consonant reduplication, to which a bilabial nasal marker is affixed; two plural markers of this type reported by Zaborski (1986: 206-207), namely -Cama and -Cemu, have not been found, while we recorded the previously unknown -aCanne marker. The -agamme plurals (see below, c.18) may correspond to Zaborski's -Cama.

As for simple reduplication, the H tone of the plural does not shift back one place.

Only two items using this type of plural marking have been discovered, accounting for 0.68 % of all plurals.

b.1. -áCanne plurals

<u>kápu</u> (< Sw. <u>kapu</u>)	"basket"	<u>kápapáanne</u>
<u>táfi</u>	"lung"	<u>táfafáanne</u>

II.1.2.2.1.3. Plural by suffixation (type c.)

While vowel patterns show great variability, consonants used as plural markers are restricted to nasals, dental stops, velar stops, palato-alveolar affricates, and combinations of these. Apart from the affricates - which seem to be secondary developments and which are rarely used - all others are well known Cushitic and even Afro-Asiatic gender/number markers (but velars are restricted to a few languages; cf. Zaborski: 1986).

It is the most commonly used type of plural marking: 105 plurals by suffixation have been recorded, i.e., 45.85 % of all plurals; it is also used for unassimilated Sw. loans.

Nasal affixes

Final vowel of the basic form is always dropped in affixes beginning with a vowel. The syllable before the affix takes H tone.

A nasal plural marker has been found with 43 items, accounting for 18.78 % of all plurals, and 40.95 % of the plurals by suffixation.

c.1. -éma plurals

(11 items; 4.81 % of all plurals, 10.48 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 25.58 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>b'ááre</u>	"big calabash"	<u>b'áárema</u>
<u>híbe</u>	"baboon"	<u>híbema</u> (and <u>hibe</u>)

<u>íame</u>	"warthog"	<u>íámema</u>
<u>íara</u>	"porcupine"	<u>íárema</u>
<u>radda</u>	"feather; arrow-fletching"	<u>ráddema</u>
<u>t'áŋa</u>	"poison; poisoned arrow-head"	<u>t'áŋema</u>
<u>t'eede</u>	"elbow"	<u>t'éédema</u> (and <u>t'éédudda</u>)
<u>t'óóŋo</u>	"wildcat"	<u>t'óóŋema</u>
<u>t'úúto</u>	"antelope"	<u>t'úútema</u>
<u>t'oŋo</u> (< NSw. <u>tongo</u>)	"blind"	<u>t'óŋema</u>
<u>ŋúpa</u> (cf. NSw. <u>hupa</u>)	"bottle"	<u>ŋúpema</u>

c.2. -íma plurals

(8 items; 3.49 % of all plurals, 7.62 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 18.60 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>b'áŋi</u>	"lion"	<u>b'áŋima</u>
<u>b'úb'wi</u>	"dumb"	<u>b'úb'wima</u>
<u>dabi</u>	"animal"	<u>dábima</u>
<u>kiri</u>	"giraffe"	<u>kírima</u>
<u>lanki</u>	"bat"	<u>lánkima</u>
<u>páá'di</u> (< Sw. <u>panzi</u>)	"grasshopper"	<u>páá'dima</u>
<u>t'át'e</u>	"small ant"	<u>t'át'ima</u>
<u>tsúnke</u>	"soldier ant"	<u>tsúnkima</u>

(Zaborski (1986: 212) reports for the two last items plurals with change of the final vowel to /i/).

c.3. -úma plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 4.65 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>paapó</u>	"baby"	<u>páápuma</u>
<u>pefu</u> (NSw.)	"incense"	<u>péfuma</u>

c.4. -me plurals

In this plural formation the affix is added to the noun without dropping the final vowel.

(2 items; see c.3. for the percentages)

<u>ruuŋu</u> (< Sw. <u>rungu</u>)	"club, knobbed stick"	<u>rúúŋume</u>
<u>ŋini</u>	"cow tail"	<u>ŋínime</u>

c.5. -úmu plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals; .95 % of the plurals by suffixation and 2.33 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>ŋálite</u>	"knife"	<u>ŋálitúmu</u>
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c.6. -(ó)ma pluralsc.6. -(ó)ma plurals

Some nouns ending in /o/ form their plural by adding this affix, sometimes without dropping the final vowel.

(5 items; 2.19 % of all plurals, 4.76 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 11.63 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>gimpo</u>	"carpus; malleolus"	<u>gímpoma</u>
<u>kidzo</u>	"old (of persons)"	<u>kídzoma</u> (Zaborski has <u>kídzoma</u> , which seems to be an error; Elderkin (1974: 42) also has /oo/)
<u>hááo</u>	"bow-string"	<u>háásooma</u>
<u>léáo</u> (< Sw. <u>leso</u>)	"shawl"	<u>léésooma</u>

c.7. -ne plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 0.95 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 2.33 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>gigi</u>	"arm"	<u>míggine</u>
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c.8. -ni plurals

Zaborski (1986: 211-212) was the first to record this marker, noting that "It is remarkable that only relationship terms have been found making plural forms with -ni" (but note our last two items, below) (1).

(13 items; 5.68 % of all plurals, 12.38 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 30.23 % of the plurals by suffixation of a nasal element)

<u>ŋáábo</u>	"grandmother"	<u>ŋááboni</u>
<u>ŋááii</u>	"elder brother"	<u>ŋááíini</u> (and <u>ŋááiaíi</u>)
<u>ŋááma</u>	"mother's brother"	<u>ŋáámani</u>
<u>ŋááno</u>	"father's sister"	<u>ŋáánoni</u>
<u>ŋáárago</u>	"brother-in-law"	<u>ŋááragoni</u>
<u>ŋáánumasa</u>	"mother-in-law"	<u>ŋáánumáseni</u>
<u>ŋáááb'a</u>	"father"	<u>ŋáááb'ani</u>
<u>ŋááto</u>	"sister-in-law"	<u>ŋáátoni</u>
<u>ŋááta</u>	"elder sister"	<u>ŋááatani</u>
<u>ŋááábe</u>	"fish"	<u>ŋááábéni</u>
<u>ŋááúfu</u> (< Sw. <u>nguvu</u>)	"strong"	<u>ŋááúfuni</u>

and with change of the final vowel to /e/:

<u>ŋááasa</u>	"wife"	<u>ŋááaséni</u>
<u>ŋáálesi</u>	"friend"	<u>ŋááleséni</u>

Dental affixes

44 items have been found using a nasal element as their plural marker, accounting for 19.21 % of all plurals, and 41.90 % of the plurals by suffixation.

c.9. -uuta plurals

The syllable before the affix takes high tone.

(13 items, accounting for 5.68 % of all plurals, 12.38 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 29.55 % of the plurals by suffixation of a dental element)

<u>ʔaamína</u>	"small"	<u>ʔáámamuuta</u> (irregular!)
<u>b'áb'aʔaane</u>	"topi"	<u>b'áb'aʔaanuuta</u>
<u>d'iibe</u>	"buttock"	<u>d'íibuuta</u>
<u>gák'ane</u>	"chin"	<u>gák'anuuta</u>
<u>há'g'ara'g'ára</u>	"centipede"	<u>há'g'ara'g'áruuta</u>
<u>hómoome</u>	"frog"	<u>hómoomuuta</u> (Zaborski (1985: 207) has <u>húmuúta</u> , but suggests * <u>húmumúúta</u>)
<u>ʕani</u>	"head"	<u>ʕánuuta</u>
<u>jáʔawo</u>	"jackal"	<u>jáʔawuuta</u>
<u>nímankalo</u>	"leopard"	<u>nímankaluuta</u> (and <u>nímankaláli</u>)
<u>nú'gunú'gu</u> (< Sw. <u>nyungunyungu</u>)	"worm"	<u>nú'gunú'guuta</u>
<u>rágama</u>	"grave"	<u>rágamuuta</u>
<u>wáraaba</u>	"hyena"	<u>wáraabuuta</u>
<u>ʔgíkine</u>	"eyebrow"	<u>ʔgíkinuuta</u>

c.10. -áddi plurals

Many words for which we got this plural affix had been collected by others with different plurals. Final vowel of the basic form is dropped. The syllable preceding the last consonant before the affix has H tone.

(12 items, accounting for 5.24 % of all plurals, 11.43 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 27.27 % of the plurals by suffixation of a dental element)

<u>ʔáádi</u>	"scar"	<u>ʔáádaddi</u>
<u>ʔunt'a</u>	"branch"	<u>ʔúnt'addi</u>
<u>b'úúba</u>	"chest"	<u>b'úúbaddi</u>
<u>ʕééna</u>	"tongue"	<u>ʕéénaddi</u>
<u>k'ók'o</u>	"throat"	<u>k'ók'addi</u>
<u>k'úúba</u>	"cheek"	<u>k'úúbaddi</u>
<u>ként'e</u>	"bag to be carried on the head"	<u>ként'addi</u>
<u>k'óbe</u> (< Sw. <u>kobe</u> ?)	"tortoise"	<u>k'óbaddi</u>
<u>léé</u>	"street, path"	<u>léaddi</u>
<u>ʔgoma</u> (< Sw. <u>ngoma</u>)	"drum"	<u>ʔgómaddi</u>
<u>sína</u>	"nose"	<u>sínaddi</u>
<u>ʔdád'i</u>	"thumb"	<u>ʔdád'addi</u>

c.11. -udda plurals

(12 items; see c.9 for the percentages)

<u>ʔáfo</u>	"mouth"	<u>ʔáfudda</u>
<u>b'ággama</u>	"belly"	<u>b'ákamudda</u> (note the /gg/ ~ /k/ alternation)
<u>ǂ'aa'da</u>	"finger"	<u>ǂ'áá'dudda</u> (Zaborski has <u>ǂáá'duka</u>)

<u>d'ááʕeero</u>	"neck"	<u>d'ááʕoorudda</u>
<u>d'íime</u>	"bee"	<u>d'íimudda</u>
<u>hábe</u>	"armpit"	<u>hábuudda</u>
<u>kíbo</u>	"calabash"	<u>kíbuudda</u>
<u>páhe</u>	"hippo"	<u>páhuudda</u>
<u>l'aede</u>	"elbow"	<u>t'éédudda</u> (and <u>t'éédema</u>)
<u>l'í'ááʕa</u>	"river; lake"	<u>l'í'ááʕudda</u>
<u>ʕaolo</u>	"nail; claw"	<u>ʕsóóludda</u> (and <u>ʕsóóle</u> , reported also by Zaborski (1986: 214))
<u>ʕóone</u>	"breast"	<u>ʕóonudda</u> (and <u>ʕoonu</u> , as Elderkin (1974:35))

c.12. -'dde plurals

The final vowel of the singular form does not drop in the plural. Note the use of this affix with unassimilated Swahili loans.

(7 items; 3.06 % of all plurals, 6.67 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 15.91 % of the plurals by suffixation of a dental element)

<u>ʕakáʕa</u>	"foot"	<u>ʕakáʕadde</u>
<u>kinu</u> (Sw.)	"mortar"	<u>kínudde</u>
<u>kiima</u> (Sw.)	"well (n.)"	<u>kísimadde</u>
<u>muna</u>	"heart"	<u>múnadde</u>
<u>sína</u>	"nose"	<u>sínadde</u>
<u>sufuria</u> (Sw.)	"saucepan"	<u>sufuriadde</u>
<u>ʕálo</u>	"wrist"	<u>ʕáladde</u>

Velar affixes

Only 8 items have been found using a velar element as their plural marker, accounting for 3.49 % of all plurals, and 7.62 % of all plurals by suffixation.

c.13. -uuke plurals

(5 items; 2.18 % of all plurals, 4.76 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 62.50 % of the plurals by suffixation of a velar element)

<u>ʕáala</u>	"bow"	<u>ʕáaluuke</u> (and <u>ʕáalali</u>)
<u>dzaaʔáta</u>	"wild animal; enemy"	<u>dzaaʔátuuke</u>
<u>ká'ba</u>	"rope"	<u>ká'bauuke</u> (and <u>ká'baki</u> ; note that the final vowel of the singular form is not dropped in this Swahili loan)
<u>ʕáilalla</u>	"hawk"	<u>ʕáilalluuke</u>
<u>wáraha</u>	"spear"	<u>wárahuuke</u>

c.14. -eka plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 25 % of the plurals by suffixation of a velar element)

<u>fíit'a</u>	"wall"	<u>fíit'eka</u>
<u>múnt'a</u>	"farm, shamba"	<u>múnt'eka</u>

c.15. -eki plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 0.95 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 12.50 % of the plurals by suffixation of a velar element)

gunia (Sw.) "sack" gúnieki

Affricate affixes

Only 3 items have been found using a velar element as plural marker, accounting for 1.31 % of all plurals, and 2.86 % of all plurals by suffixation.

c.16. -ajju plurals

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 66.67 % of the plurals by suffixation of an affricate element)

b'eeʔa "buffalo" b'éeʔajju (and b'éeʔamunte)
gave "snake" gávajju

c.17. -ie plurals

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, 0.95 % of the plurals by suffixation, and 33.33 % of the plurals by suffixation of an affricate element)

d'au "pot" d'áuje

c.18. "composed" affix -munte

We call this affix "composed" since it is the only bisyllabic and contains both the nasal and the dental elements; only 5 cases have been recorded (fewer than by Zaborski), accounting for 2.18 % of all plurals, and 4.76 % of the plurals by suffixation; the variant -mutte has not been encountered.

ʔirifa "eyelash" ʔirifamunte (and ʔirifáfi)
b'eeʔa "buffalo" b'éeʔamunte
k'ánaʔa "scorpion" k'ánaʔamunte
mákko "liver" mákkomunte
tóoyoyo "butterfly" tóoyoyomunte

c.19. -agáame plurals

Since the two items (0.68 % of all plurals, and 1.90 % of the plurals by suffixation) found to use this plural suffix have as last consonant /k/ and /k' /, respectively, this suffix could also be seen as an instance of reduplication plus suffix (type b. above), with gradation of the stem consonant to voiced stop. In this case, a good parallel could be found in the -Cama plurals reported by Zaborski (1986: 206), but such a consonant gradation would be isolated in the grammar of D.

b'onko (< Nsw. bongo) "brain" bónkagáame
lúk'a (< Som. lug?) "leg (upper part)" lúk'agáame

II.1.2.2.1.4. Plural by change of the final vowel (type d.)

Elderkin (1974) and Zaborski (1985) agree on describing the change of final vowel as vowel alternation, and not as the suffixation of a vocalic morpheme of plural to a stem, which would involve some kind of vowel deletion.

38 items have been found with this type of plural formation, i.e., 16.59 % of all plurals.

d.1. -a ---> -e

(1 item; 0.44 % of all plurals, and 2.63 % of the plurals by vowel change)

dééla "girl" deele

Zaborski (1985: 214) has déélu - without tone shift; our data are in agreement with those of Elderkin (1974: 35).

d.2. -a ---> -o

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

g'ittsa "child" g'ittso

nat'a "woman" nat'o

d.3. -a ---> -i

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

rúk'úma "sick" rúk'úmi

t'éeʔema "soft" t'éeʔemi

d.4. -e ---> -á

(7 items; 3.06 % of all plurals, and 18.42 % of the plurals by vowel change)

ʔávak'e "dour palm" ʔávak'a

gólóbe "vervet" gólóba

híddibe "bird" híddiba

kónke "fibre" kónka

t'ilíʔe "ember" t'ilíʔa

úbubúʔe "moth" úbubúʔa

l'ígíliʔe "star" l'ígíliʔa

The tone pattern of gólóba and úbubúʔa suggests that -a is inherently H-toned (H shifting onto the preceding syllable). In the other nominals, the H of the affix does not surface, as the nominal is already H-toned.

d.5. -e ---> -i

This pattern of vowel change is the most common, being used for many adjectives.

(12 items; 5.24 % of all plurals, and 31.58 % of the plurals by vowel change)

gúbaalaae "hunter" gúbaalaa*i*

(a de-nominal adjective; cf. II.1.3.1.)

gúrume "old (of persons)" gúrumi

ʔééme "thorn" ʔéémi

k'awe "egg-shell" k'awi

<u>tákane</u>	"sharp"	<u>tákani</u>
<u>dláátune</u>	"slim"	<u>dláátuni</u>
<u>mánaŋe</u>	"new-born baby"	<u>mánaŋi</u>
<u>rúúmate</u>	"tall; deep"	<u>ruumáti</u>
<u>t'ílale</u>	"witch"	<u>t'ílaŋi</u>
<u>ts'íraraŋe</u>	"red"	<u>ts'íraraŋi</u>
<u>túme</u>	"bush"	<u>túmi</u>
<u>mpókome</u>	"Pokomo"	<u>mpókomi</u>

d.6. -e ---> -o

This pattern is absent from Elderkin's corpus (substituted by -e ---> -u).
(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

<u>náŋeete</u>	"dog"	<u>náŋeeto</u>
<u>víne</u>	"good; beautiful"	<u>vino</u>

d.7. -e ---> -u

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

<u>kábaŋe</u>	"baobab"	<u>kábaŋu</u>
<u>/óóne</u>	"breast"	<u>/oonu</u> (and <u>/óónudda</u>)

d.8. -o ---> -á

(3 items; 1.31 % of all plurals, and 7.89 % of the plurals by vowel change)

<u>gaano</u>	"grown-up person"	<u>gáána</u>
<u>hoad'o</u>	"arrow"	<u>háád'a</u>
<u>mito</u>	"body"	<u>míta</u>

d.9. -o ---> -é

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

<u>k'oro</u>	"tree"	<u>k'óre</u> "woods"
<u>tsoolo</u>	"nail; claw"	<u>tsóóle</u> (and <u>tsóóludda</u>)

d.10. -o ---> -i

(2 items; 0.68 % of all plurals, and 5.26 % of the plurals by vowel change)

<u>ŋágaddzo</u>	"ear"	<u>ŋágaddzi</u>
<u>b'ággo</u>	"dress"	<u>b'ággi</u>

d.11. -o ---> -ú

(3 items; 1.31 % of all plurals, and 7.89 % of the plurals by vowel change)

<u>iaago</u>	"cow"	<u>jáágu</u>
<u>gúúko</u>	"chicken"	<u>gúúku</u>
<u>dúugo</u>	"kinsman"	<u>dúúgu</u>

The following alternations reported by Zaborski are missing from our data:

-a ---> -u, -u ---> -i, -i ---> -o.

Our 10 alternations are the same reported by Elderkin, with just the addition of -e ---> -o, whose absence Elderkin considered "accidental" (Elderkin: 1974: 34) and of -a ---> -i.

It may be observed that the high vowels /i, u/, when involved in these alternations, occur only in the plural, while mid and low vowels occur both in singulars and plurals.

II.1.2.2.1.5. Plural by change of tonal pattern (type e.)

While Zaborski recorded eight cases, we recorded the same two bisyllables reported by Elderkin (1974: 39), which change their H tone of the basic form into an L tone:

<u>gúho</u>	"person"	<u>guho</u>
<u>híbe</u>	"baboon"	<u>hibe</u>

plus the three trisyllables:

<u>afíkima</u>	"dull"	<u>siikíma</u>
<u>ŋogohi</u>	"egg"	<u>ŋogóhi</u> (Elderkin (1974: 35) has singular <u>ŋogóhe</u>)

/untáŋe "cicada"

(totally 5 items, accounting for 2.18 % of all plurals)

II.1.2.2.1.6. Irregular plurals

Four cases (1.75 % of all plurals) of irregular plurals have been recorded; to the following three already recorded by Zaborski and Elderkin:

- 1) mini "house" míddzi
(Zaborski (1986: 215) suggests that the final nasal of the basic form drops (*min-dzi ?); but the dental affricate remains unexplained)
- 2) hááio "man; person" háŋi
- 3) ŋila "eye" ŋílla

we add:

- 4) gilli "knee" gíllibe

One could interpret this as a (unmotivated) shift of a nasal stop (gíllibe is reported by Zaborski (1986: 210)) to an oral stop; it seems more likely that D has kept in the plural the triconsonantal shape of the Cushitic root for "knee" (PEC *gilib- /gulib- (Sasse: 1982: 81)), losing /b/ only in the singular. The form recorded by Zaborski is therefore secondary. This is a strong case against the putative PSC reduction of many triconsonantal roots to biconsonantal.

II.1.2.2.2. Singulative marking

Formally simpler than plural marking, the singulative makes use of suffixes only; the exponents are partly the same Afro-Asiatic markers we have already seen for plural: nasals and dental stops (velars are not used). Zaborski (1986: 204) and Elderkin

(1974: 42) mention an affricate singulative: ʔóʔoje "frond of palm", basic form ʔóʔo; we have not recorded the singulative of this noun.

Notwithstanding the use of the same consonants as markers, no confusion is possible between singulative and plural affixes: the final vowel in singulatives (except in ethnic names, see below) is always /e/; plural has bilabial nasal affixes, singulative only a dental nasal affix (we have not recorded the singulatives in -ne of Zaborski).

1. -ne singulatives

Elderkin (1974: 41) notes that "there is a tendency for Sg -ne to be associated with the idea of longness and thinness".

<u>ʔáára</u>	"white hair"	<u>ʔáárane</u>
<u>ʔítta</u>	"louse"	<u>ʔíttone</u>
<u>ʔúmuʔgu</u>	"beetle of the maize"	<u>ʔúmuʔgune</u>
<u>gínnaʔda</u>	"pubic hair"	<u>gínnaʔdáne</u>
<u>ʔínta</u>	"housefly"	<u>ʔíntone</u>
<u>ʔaabu</u>	"leaf"	<u>ʔáábune</u>
<u>t'átta</u>	"hair"	<u>t'áttane</u>
<u>táámi</u>	"grass"	<u>táámine</u> "blade of g."

2. -(é)éte singulatives

The fact that it is used with recent unassimilated Sw. loans suggests that it is a productive singulative marker. We could not find any rule governing the choice between /é/ and /éé/ of the affix.

<u>b'óóra</u>	"boy"	<u>b'óóreete</u>
<u>gúbaga</u>	"young people"	<u>gúbagééte</u>
<u>kónta</u>	"dry fish"	<u>kóntete</u>
<u>mángoʔba</u>	"banana (plant)"	<u>mángoʔbéete</u>
<u>máve</u> (<Sw. <u>mawe</u>)	"stone"	<u>mávete</u>
<u>mazu</u> (Sw.)	"banana (fruit)"	<u>má[z]ute</u>

(the final vowel of this unassimilated loan is preserved and /éé/ of the suffix is dropped)

<u>mísikita</u>	"cut meat"	<u>mísikíteete</u> "portion of meat"
<u>sóóʔe</u>	"song"	<u>sóóʔómeete</u>

(sóóʔe is the infinitive of sóoʔ- "to sing"; a noun *sóóʔome from which the singulative sóóʔómeete seems to be derived has not been recorded)

<u>úʔe</u>	"brown ant"	<u>úʔite</u>
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(the change of final /e/ to /i/ remains unexplained)

3. "ethnic names" singulatives

As noted by Ehret (1980: 54), a -to suffix is used for deriving singulatives from "ethnic" names, i.e., names used to refer to whole peoples, and therefore collective in their basic form. These names display in any case great variability in the form of the singulative suffix they use: besides -to, -ééte and -ti have been found. As in adjectives, two forms, one for males and the other for females, are derived.

collective		masculine	feminine
<u>ʔíjidi</u>	"Somali"	<u>ʔíjideto</u>	<u>ʔíjidittsi</u>
<u>ʔógoɔa</u>	"Boni"	<u>ʔógoɔééte</u>	<u>ʔógoɔééttsi</u>
<u>d'áko</u>	"Dako"	<u>d'ákoto</u>	<u>d'ákottsi</u>
<u>d'aháalo</u>	"Dahalo"	<u>d'aháaloto</u>	<u>d'aháalottsi</u>
<u>gúuna</u>	"Bajuun"	<u>gúúneto</u>	<u>gúúnettisi</u>
<u>kárijedi</u>	"Oromo"	<u>kárijedito</u>	<u>kárijedittsi</u>
<u>kúúza</u>	"Swahili"	<u>kúúdzeti</u>	<u>kúújittsa</u>
<u>vánika</u>	"Giriama"	<u>vániketo</u>	<u>vánikettsi</u>

but:

<u>mpókomi</u>	"Pokomo"	<u>mpókome</u>	<u>mpókomettsi</u>
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It seems possible to create a true plural from the basic form; we recorded:

d'ákotapi "Dako men/women"

The -ʔittsa suffix is freely used for deriving other feminines from nouns of living beings: apart from nát'ettsa "female" (used also for "woman", but more often for specifying the female sex of an animal), we recorded jámettsa "female warhog". In any case, a P form originating out of the F is excluded.

II.1.2.2.3. Invariable nouns

Apart from such mass-nouns as maʔa "water" or wonga "earth", which do not display number-variability, we include in this category such words as monno "much, very", gírígiri "quickly", méʔate "slowly", and some others, which behave syntactically as nouns (unlike particles, they cannot enter in the verbal phrase nor in the particle complex, see II.2.1. and II.3.1.), and morphologically show the same shape and pattern of formation of "true" nouns (in particular, méʔate is perhaps an old singulative).

II.1.3. Adjectives

Adjectives have M, F and P forms.

As in other Cushitic languages, adjectives in D play only a marginal role; they function as a subset of nouns having the peculiarity of gender-sensitivity, but one can note that the F ending of adjectives, -VttisV, appears in nouns too, when the meaning allows couples of M and F nouns (cf. the "ethnic names").

The only pluralization device possible with adjectives is the change of the final vowel. Especially frequent is the ending -e for MS, with the change -e ---> -i in the plural (cf. II.1.2.2.1.4., d.5).

Adjectives borrowed from Sw. are invariable, or the Sw. plural class may be used, as in the following sentence:

- 1) ʔaddókʔa mambo ʔákkale mapya
 day-this-M things all new-P
 "everything is new, today"

in which mapya is the Sw. plural of mpya "new", and is in agreement with the Sw. word mambo "things, affairs".

II.1.3.1. De-nominal adjectives

A few cases of de-nominal adjectives with the meaning "having X" have been recorded.

From a noun like g^wittsa "child" it is possible to derive:

<u>g^wittsattse</u>	"having child (M)"
<u>g^wittsattsittse</u>	" " " (F)"
<u>g^wittsattsi</u>	" " " (P)"

(from *g^wittsaattse, etc., with application of Vowel Contraction (PR 5)).

After some hesitation, the informant produced a similar (irregular) form after an unassimilated Swahili word:

gilasi "glass" (< English glass) ---> gilasattsittse "having glass (F)"

Elderkin (1974: 46) recorded other instances of derivation of adjectives from nouns, all with the meaning "having X".

In some cases, the meaning of such a derivative adjective seems to have been lexicalized:

gubaalid-"to hunt" ---> gubaalale "hunter", P: gubaalali
b'agama "belly" ---> b'agamaamittse "pregnant" ("having belly")

II.1.4. Numerals

D numerals have been recorded up to "5" only; from "6" onwards the Sw. numerals are used.

The numerals are invariable, except for "1", which has a F form.

one: vattúk^we (M), vatték^we (F)

two: líma

three: k'aba

four: saŋála

five: dáwatte

In some cases, M vattúk^we has also been used for F: nát'ettsa vattúk^we "one woman" (cf. II.1.2.1. on the decay of the category of gender in D).

Actually, Sw. numerals are often used also for "1" to "5", as in the following casual sentence:

- 2) háŋi saŋála ŋamma tanu rattsi gudde
 men 4 or 5 walk-C1-3P bush
 "Four or five men went into the bush"

in which Sw. tano "5" has been used instead of D dáwatte, even in the presence of the D numeral for "4".

II.1.5. Pronouns

II.1.5.1. Personal pronouns

There are two series of personal pronouns, independent and bound. Some persons have a special reduced form of the independent pronouns when a postposition is affixed to them.

	Independent pronoun	Reduced form	Bound pronoun
1S	ŋáŋi	ŋan-	-ŋi
2S	ŋááta		-ku (M) -ki (F)
3SM	ŋúdu	ŋu- *	-du
3SF	ŋídi	ŋi- *	-di
1P	ŋáŋi	ŋan-	-ni
2P	ŋatta		-kunná (M) -kinná (F)
3P	ŋummámu		-ŋiŋá

* plus gemination of the following consonant.

Elderkin (1974: 47) proposes as underlying forms for 3 *ŋud, *ŋid; from *ŋud and *mámu would be derived 3P ŋummámu; as the assimilation of dentals is found among the processes of D, Elderkin's proposal also explains the reduced forms and the gemination of the following consonant.

The H tone on final /a/ of -kunná, -kinná, and -ŋiŋá is shifted back by TR 3.

II.1.5.1.1. Independent personal pronouns

These may be used in any syntactic role, but only as subjects of nominal sentences are they compulsory: subjects of verbal sentences can be syntactically absent, as the verb is normally inflected for the person of the subject, and the pronoun may be added for emphasis or clarity. For the same reason, independent personal pronouns are sometimes added with the same referent as bound pronouns in various syntactic roles (object and adpositional phrases, etc.), and may take their reduced form. This occurs most frequently with kúsi "self" and the accusative marker kabe, which is optionally used with the independent pronouns to enforce bound pronouns functioning as object.

Reflexive pronouns are constructed with the affix -máni "self".

Examples of the use of the bound forms are seen in the following sentences:

- 3) ŋán+kusi ŋílla páta
 I+too eyes get-C2-1S

"I too have got my eyes (back)" (from text No. 3: the speaker was pretending to be blind, and now he says that he can see again)

- 4) ʔápi+na ʔuk^watta háʔa ʔú+kabe vahe+ʔ[e]
 I+PERF here come-C2-1S he+ACC see-I+ALL
 "I came here in order to see him"

II.1.5.1.2. Bound personal pronouns

These are affixed to various elements, both before and after the verb.

As may be seen from the preceding chart, 2S forms distinguish M and F affixes. This may well be a new formation (based on the similar 3S forms), rather than a preservation of an Afroasiatic "rare archaism", as Hetzron believes (1980: 71).

3 forms are always facultative, a transitive verb without expressed object implying a 3 one (cf. the same situation in various Eastern Cushitic languages):

- 4) ʔápi te ʔélejo
 I AFF know-A-1S
 "I know him/her"

or:

- 4') ʔápi te ʔélejo ʔú+kabe
 I AFF know-A-1S he+ACC

Bound pronouns can have both H and L tone. They have L tone when direct objects, and H tone for oblique/benefactive (cf. Elderkin: 1974: 30 and 1976: 293). Examples are given in the relevant paragraphs of the syntax (cf. III.2.2.-3.).

According to Elderkin (1974:93), -du and -di are subject to a "devoicing rule", whereby their /d/ changes to /t/ after /n/ of 2P and 3P verbal forms. Our data do not give examples of such a devoicing.

II.1.5.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns show variability according to both the possessor and the possessed entity; they can be analyzed as composed of a possessive affix and of a final vowel which reflects the gender/number of the possessed element (masculine and plural *versus* feminine).

Possessive pronouns can occur as independent words (following the noun they refer to) or as suffixes; when independent, they prefix the empty morph ʔa- (cf. the PCM in the verbal phrase). Exceptions are: the 1S possessive, which, being vowel-initial, does not need this ʔa-, and occurs mostly as an independent word; and the 3P form, which can occur only as an affix.

	masculine and plural forms	feminine forms
1S "my"	ʔitts+i	ʔitts+a
2SM "your (SM)"	-kuʔ+u	-kuʔ+a
2SF "your (SF)"	-kiʔ+i	-kiʔ+a
3SM "his"	-suʔ+u	-suʔ+a
3SF "her"	-siʔ+i	-siʔ+a
1P "our"	-piʔ+i	-piʔ+a
2P "your (P)"	-kunuʔ+u	-kunuʔ+a
3P "their"	-mámuʔusuʔ+u ~ -ʔipiʔ+i	-mámuʔusuʔ+a ~ -ʔipiʔ+a

It is evident that the vowel which shows the gender of the possessed element merely copies the last vowel of the possessive for masculine/plural forms (/i/ or /u/), while feminine forms are constantly marked by /a/.

To the possessives, provided with the gender-vowel, other elements can be affixed, such as the deictics:

nat'a+suʔ+a "his woman"

nat'á+suʔ+á+t[o] "that woman of his"

3P possessive pronouns -ʔipiʔ- (the forms reported by Elderkin (1976: 293)), which parallel the bound pronoun -ʔipá, are less often used than

-mámuʔusuʔ-.

II.1.5.3. Deictic pronouns

Deixis in D distinguishes two grades: NEAR (:proximity to the speaker) and FAR (:remoteness from the speaker) deixis.

Like the possessive pronouns, deictics can occur as independent words or as suffixes. When independent, they are preceded by ʔu- (for masculine and plural deictics) or ʔi- (feminine deictics).

	masculine	feminine	plural
NEAR ("this")	(ʔu)k ^w a	(ʔi)t ^a	(ʔu)k ^w ammámu
FAR ("that")	(ʔú)ku	(ʔí)tu	(ʔú)kummámu

Masculine markers are {k} and the initial vowel {u}; feminine markers are {t} and the initial vowel {i}.

The near deixis marker is {a}, the far deixis marker is {u}. Plural deictics are clearly made up of masculine forms plus the pluralizing element -(m)mamu.

From these are formed the adverbs ʔuk^watta "here" and ʔukotta "there" (both movement and state), probably derived from ʔuk^wa and ʔúku and the LOC adposition -da (and also used as postpositions meaning "in(side)", cf. II.3.4.2.4.). Cf. also the adverb of time ʔuk^watti "now".

At the end of a noun phrase, only two deictics occur: -kú for masculine and plural nouns, -tú for feminine nouns, mainly realized as -k[ó], -t[ó] because of VOWEL LOWERING (cf. I.1.3.6.); the H tone shifts back according to TR 2 (cf. I.2.2.3.).

Their presence seems to be compulsory in relative clauses, but they frequently occur in genitive constructions, too; more rarely in the other types of noun phrases (see III.1. for examples). This suggests that the NEAR deictics are marked, unlike the FAR deictics which are unmarked.

In the form without an initial vowel, the deictics enter the particle complex.

II.1.5.4. Indefinite and interrogative pronouns

WH-Words for "who?" and "what?", used both as interrogatives in main sentences and as indefinite heads of subordinate sentences, can have the gender-markers -tu (M), -ttsi (F), -mamu (P) suffixed:

jíko "who?"

(perhaps derived from -íí "allative marker" (cf. II.3.3.2.) and ʔúku "that"):

- 5) hááio ʔúku ʔíni jíkotu
man that FOC who-M
"who is that man?"
- 6) mááka ʔúúno kali jíkotu gʷíttso ʔúk[o]
what do-A-1P harsh who-M little that
"what shall I do to that little one?"
- 7) dééla ʔítu ʔíni jíkottsi
girl that-F FOC who-F
"who is that girl?"

mááka "what?":

- 8) ʔukʷa ʔíni máákatu
this FOC what-M
"what is this?"

kééke "where?" (movement):

- 9) yááyo ʔááta kééke rátto
mother you where walk-A-2S
"mother, where are you going?"

kééda "where?" (state):

- 10) kééda láva+kí+k[o]
where home+you(SF)+that
"where is your home?"

(but the distinction between "where?" of movement and of state is not strictly observed; cf. III.2.4.1.).

méék'a "how many?":

- 11) gʷíttso méék'a tɬ'ááto
children how-many have-A-2S
"how many children do you have?"

With mááka and the postpositions, other interrogative words are built:

- 12) mááka+ani ʔína h́t'uto
what+GEN them follow-A-2S
"why are you following them?"
- 13) mááka+dá+na roʔóto
what+LOC+PERF go-C1-3F
"where has she gone?"
- 14) mááka+b'ara+va háʔati ʔamu
what+before+PAST come-C1-2S L.
"when did you come to Lamu?"

For "why?" often the Sw. loan "bona (more rarely kʷani) is used:

- 15) "bona hoodi b'á+ku+na pañe
why hoodi NEG+you+PERF beat-I
"why haven't you asked 'may I come in?'"

II.2. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

II.2.1. Preliminaries

There is no doubt that verbal morphology is the most interesting and most difficult area of D grammar. The categories for which D verbs inflect are quite familiar, and even most of their exponents are typical Cushitic; another tract of the verb phrase which D shares with a lot of Eastern and Southern Cushitic languages is the quasi-obligatory presence of a number of particles, among which the selectors stand out (see II.3.2.); we shall call "verbal phrase" the syntactic complex constituted by:

1. one or more particles;
2. the verbal form.

While the verbal form is obligatory, the particle(s) can be missing, be clustered together in the "particle complex", be suffixed to the verb or to a preceding nominal, or even be partly preposed to the verb and partly suffixed.

The verbal form is made up of a stem and an affix. This in turn can be made up of a subject marker and a paradigmatic vowel.

The tonal pattern often distinguishes among verbal forms which are segmentally homophonous.

From a semantic point of view, the following categories find expression in the verbal form:

1. person of the subject: 1 (speaker), 2 (addressed), 3 (other entity(ies)). This finds expression in the subject marker.
2. number of the subject: S(ingular), P(lural). Number is expressed in the subject marker, but P may also involve the use of a different stem and in this case the corresponding singular subject markers are used (for 3P the 3M form is used); 3P can also be expressed by the reduplication of the stem, and in this case too the corresponding 3M ending is used. A 2S can be addressed with a 2P form "if a relationship of respect is involved" (Elderkin: 1976: 294).
3. gender of the subject (in 3S only): M(asculine), F(eminine); expressed in the subject marker.
4. tense: Past/Non-past, expressed through various paradigmatic vowels, tonal patterns and selectors.
5. aspect: Perfective/Imperfective (neutralized in the Non-past), expressed through modifications of the stem; finer tense/aspect distinctions are supplied by the selectors.
6. diathesis: affirmative, negative. This is expressed through various selectors and/or various subject markers and paradigmatic vowels.
7. mood: General (indicative), Habitual, Subjunctive, Imperative, Iussive, Infinitive. Expressed through the selectors, and various paradigmatic vowels and endings.

Formally, both syncretism of some categories in a single morph and expression of the same category in different morphs occur.

Stems never occur as words, i.e., D verbal forms are never monomorphemic (with the exceptions of stem-truncating verbs; see below); moreover, given the suffixal nature of D morphology, the stem is always the first morph of the verbal form.

This applies as far as inflectional morphology is concerned; derivation affects the stems, which can thus be primitive or derivate. But to draw a line between inflection and derivation is hardly possible, since the latter involves categories, such as the person/number of the subject of the verb, which are traditionally dealt with in inflectional morphology. The problem will be tackled in the discussion of the stem extensions.

II.2.2. Derivational morphology of verbs

Stems can be simple or augmented through stem extensions (:SEs). Since these same extensions can change the conjugational class of the verb, the problem arises as to whether we are dealing here with derivational or inflectional morphology. We shall treat all stem extensions in this section, but to draw a clear-cut line seems difficult.

Stems always end in one and only one consonant.

Since stems are not words, and since they come under the effect of several PRs and/or MPRs, another problem is to know which form of the stem has to be considered basic. We follow Elderkin (1974) in taking as stem (and citation form) the 1S, deprived of subject marker, paradigmatic vowel, and tone.

II.2.2.1. Simple stems

Simple stems most frequently occur in the shape CV(V)C; less frequently also CV(V)CVC occurs. Longer stems are almost always extended, either through

productive or fossilized stem extensions. The borrowed verbs are generally extended, too.

II.2.2.1.1. Plural stems

A few verbs use a different stem in the plural; the recorded ones are:

"to run": S stem: k'at-; P stem: kit-

"to sleep": S stem: b'om-; P stem: giit-

For 3P subjects, plurality - already signaled in the stem - is no longer expressed in the subject marker, and the 3M ending is used:

kiti "they run"

Other verbs accept only plural subjects, such as ieem- "to live, inhabit".

II.2.2.2. Stem extensions

Both productive and fossilized SEs occur in D: the only fully productive SEs are the Transitive/Causative, the Passive and the Frequentative/Plural (which can be realized in three different ways). The most widely used markers of stem extensions are the dentals {d} and {t} (subject to the idiosyncracies discussed in II.2.3.5.2.2.); {m} is also used, and, more rarely and never alone, the velar {k}. It seems that the Cushitic causative marker {s} has become {d} through a regular sound shift.

II.2.2.2.1. Stem extensions in {d}

II.2.2.2.1.1. Transitive/Causative

An extension whose basic exponent is {d} is used with the general function of adding a syntactic "place" to the base it is suffixed to.

This stem extension corresponds to the D reflex of the general EC causative in {s}; as a matter of fact, with transitive verbs, D uses this marker as a causative and the same marker can also make a transitive out of an intransitive verb. Thus, it has assumed in D the general value of "place-adder": it makes transitives out of intransitives/reflexives (from 1 to 2 places), and causatives out of transitives (from 2 to 3 places).

Many simple stems have been lost (or simply have not been recorded yet), and the {d}-extended verb has no counterpart it can be derived from; there are many examples, but some of them may just be simple stems ending in -d:

ʔubad- "to investigate"

kokkod- "to remember"

ʔgaasid- "to explain"

In other cases, verbs ending in -id and -it seem to have a denominal origin (but often the original noun has not been recorded):

mamiit- "to think"

milaak'it- "to dream" (cf. milaak'ani "dream")

Nevertheless, the "place-adding" function is demonstrated in a high number of cases:

a) from intransitive to transitive (1 ---> 2 places):

The suffix here is -Vd, but the dental affix can also be reduplicated, as in the causatives (see below), assuming the form -Vdid; V copies the last vowel of the simple stem. The basic stem can also have a reflexive value.

<u>/aʔ-</u>	"to be puzzled"	<u>/aʔad-</u>	"to puzzle, astonish"
<u>ʔot'-</u>	"to enter"	<u>ʔot'od-</u>	"to make enter"
<u>dir-</u>	"to pass"	<u>dirid-</u>	"to make pass"
<u>dzaaʔ-</u>	"to die"	<u>dzeeʔed-</u>	"to kill" (in one case we have recorded <u>dzaaʔad-</u>)
<u>ʔiin-</u>	"to get well"	<u>ʔiinid-</u>	"to cure"
<u>vatl'-</u>	"to return (intr.)"	<u>vatl'id-</u>	"to return (tr.)"
<u>gʷaḥ-</u>	"to stay"	<u>gʷaḥadid-</u>	"to make stay"
<u>i'eer-</u>	"to be shy"	<u>i'eeredid-</u>	"to make shy"
<u>laaʔ-</u>	"to hide oneself"	<u>laaʔat-</u>	"to hide"

b) from transitive to causative (2---> 3 places):

In this function the reduplication of {d} seems to be the normal and productive case (that with simple {d} being relegated to a few instances):

<u>ʔag-</u>	"to eat"	<u>ʔaadid-</u>	"to feed"
<u>ʔaʔ/-</u>	"to lick"	<u>ʔaʔʔadid-</u>	"to make lick"
<u>vaḥ-</u>	"to see"	<u>vaḥid-</u>	"to show"

This recalls the double causatives of many Eastern Cushitic languages, where the SE assumes the form -sîs, -isîs, etc. (Hayward: 1984 bis: 79 foll.).

II.2.2.1.2. Frequentative {d} ~ {t}

Always preceded by -i, {d} and, more rarely, {t}, have a frequentative meaning ("to do X many times"), and the resulting verbs are always imperfective (the frequentative meaning often being superseded by the change of conjugational class).

In the following couples of verbs, the first is perfective, the second is imperfective and frequentative in meaning.

<u>mantah-</u>	"to vomit"	<u>mantahid-</u>	"to vomit repeatedly"
<u>mukk'ur-</u>	"to bind"	<u>mukk'urid-</u>	"to bind repeatedly"
<u>mukkanad-</u>	"to take by force"	<u>mukkaanadid-</u>	"to take by force repeatedly"
<u>mut'uʔud-</u>	"to pull down the foreskin"	<u>mut'uʔudid-</u>	"to pull down the foreskin many times"
<u>reeb-</u> (< Som. <u>reeb</u>)	"to stop, prevent"	<u>reebid-</u>	"to stop repeatedly"

Sometimes the suffix is repeated (as for the causatives) and takes the form

<u>-adid-</u>			
<u>nik'id-</u>	"to wink at s.o."	<u>nik'idadid-</u>	"to wink at s.o. repeatedly"

In a few cases this suffix has a resultative meaning:

<u>daba paḥ-</u>	"to clap hands"	<u>daba paḥad-</u>	"to clap hands in time (to music)"
<u>p'uʔ-</u>	"to prick"	<u>p'uʔud-</u>	"to pierce" (i.e., to prick until a hole results)
<u>mat'-</u>	"to wake up"	<u>mat'at-</u>	"to be awake"

In other cases the semantic relation between the simple and the extended stem is not clear (if it exists at all):

<u>jaar-</u>	"to become old"	<u>jaarid-</u>	"to convince"
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In a few cases the suffix in {d} carries a reflexive/medial meaning (as with similar suffixes in East Cushitic languages):

<u>paah-</u>	"to wash"	<u>paahat-</u>	"to bathe"
<u>gub-</u>	"to burn"	<u>gubit-</u>	"to burn oneself"

We think that, in this last case, at least, we are dealing with a Som. loan: the extended stem could also have been borrowed from Som. reflexive-middle (third conjugation) guba (2).

II.2.2.1.3. {d} in vowel-final stems

D stems are always consonant-final; however, all Sw. loans, many of which are verbs, are always vowel-final. In order to provide a suitable basis to which exponents can be affixed, a {d} is suffixed to the borrowed stem. It can be affixed directly, especially when the loan ends in /a/:

<u>ʔandad-</u>	(< Sw. <u>-anda</u>)	"to begin"
<u>ʔisad-</u>	(< Sw. <u>-isha</u>)	"to finish"
<u>ʔdikad-</u>	(< NSw. <u>-ḏika</u>)	"to bury"
<u>ʔaminid-</u>	(< Sw. <u>-amini</u>)	"to believe"

When the loan ends in a vowel other than /a/, the inserted segment is often =

<u>ʔad-</u>		
<u>b'akiʔad-</u>	(< Sw. <u>-baki</u>)	"to remain"
<u>tukiʔad-</u>	(< Sw. <u>-tuki</u>)	"to hate"

but -ʔad can also be added to /a/-ending loans:

<u>paʔaʔad-</u>	(and <u>paʔad-</u> , < Sw. <u>-pata</u>)	"to get"
<u>peelaad-</u>	(from <u>*peelaʔad-</u> ?, < Sw. <u>-peleka</u> ?)	"to sweep"

In at least one case, {d} is added to a Som. root (3):

<u>suubid-</u>	(< Som. <u>suubbi</u>)	"to make"
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In our view, also ʔunneed- "to swallow" belongs here, as a possible loan from Som. ʔun- "to eat", via Boni/Karre un-; Nurse (1986: 303), however, hypothesizes a D loan in Bo. In this case, {d} is not lost in Perfective General Past 1S and Imperative 2S.

II.2.2.2.1.4. Perfectivizer -eed

Some perfective verbs are formed with an extension -eed, which is subject to the same idiosyncracies of the other {d}-extended verbs (cf. II.2.3.5.2.2.).

II.2.2.2.2. Passive -ikud

A productive passive extension appears in the form -ikud; Ehret (1980: 64) considers it as formed by a velar suffix, occurring also in Ma'a, which he reconstructs for PSC as *-VX-, plus the causative -Vd, but he cannot determine the original meaning of Proto-South-Cushitic *-VX-. As a matter of fact, a marker {k} is not always linked to {d} in D: it appears with {m} in luttukum- "to fall", historically connected with luttid- "to knock down" (no simple stem has been recorded; cf. Elderkin: 1974: 72); it seems that /k/ of luttukum-, originally an extension - maybe the passive marker - has been reanalyzed as part of the stem; in 3Pl úttukaakumummi "they fall", a "new" passive extension -akud- (cf. II.2.3.5.2.1., c. and II.2.3.5.2.2. for the idiosyncratic changes of the root extension) is added to the root luttuk-. A similar case is turukum- "to enter quickly".

In still other cases, a formal passive has a reflexive, rather than passive, meaning:

kʷ'at'ikud- "to wash hands" (simple stem kʷ'at' - "to wash")
filikud- "to comb one's hair" (cf. filime "comb")

or even a general intransitive meaning:

sonkoʔikud- "to fall in love" (Elderkin records sonkod- "to be troubled").

It is therefore better to consider -iku as the passive extension, which is then further extended by /d/ in order to have a consonant-final stem. As for borrowed stems, /d/ gets lost when no exponent is suffixed:

kaaj- "to bear a child", passive: kaajikud- "to be born"
1S: ʔapi+va+te kaajiku "I was born"

Sometimes the passive value seems to be missing; we could not define the difference between kar- and karikud-, both meaning "to be able to, can" (but the latter is less frequently used than the former).

II.2.2.2.3. Intransitive/Perfectivizer -eem / -anim

Ehret (1980: 62) calls this stem extension "stative/intransitive"; Elderkin too (1974: 72) suggests a stative meaning, but notes that some verbs in -eem include

"bodily actions" as well as states. The intransitive use of these verbs, too, is not an indication of the meaning of this SE, since the simple stems are also often intransitive, though it is true that verbs extended by -eem are always intransitive. Elderkin (1974: 71) also suggests that these verbs are always perfective (and their simple stem - if present - imperfective), but in our texts, verbs extended by -eem are, occasionally, imperfective.

The basic form of the exponent, -eem, formally recalls the Cushitic passive *-am (Hayward: 1984 bis: 96); in the plural the affix takes the form -anim:

tippeemo "I come out"
tippanimummi "they come out"

As with verbs extended by -d, many verbs end in -eem without a corresponding basic form:

ruppeem- "to land"
sereem- "to move, change position"
suukeem- "to set down"

Pairs of verbs occurring in the simple stem and with this SE are:

<u>tipp-</u>	"to come out"	<u>tippeem-</u>	"to come out"
<u>b'irik'-</u>	"to turn (tr.)"	<u>b'irik'eem-</u>	"to turn into, to become"

II.2.2.2.4. Frequentative -ameemit

The nasal and the dental elements occur together with a frequentative meaning in the compound suffix -ameemit, which is formed by the plural morpheme {am} plus the Intransitive {eem} and the element {it} (itself having a frequentative meaning; cf. II.2.3.1.2.2.):

<u>ʔag-</u>	"to eat"	<u>ʔaameemit-</u> (< <u>ʔa[g]ameemit-</u>)	"to eat many times"
<u>ʔuʔt' -</u>	"to chew"	<u>ʔuʔt'ameemit-</u>	"to chew many times"
<u>loom-</u>	"to speak"	<u>loomameemit-</u>	"to speak continuously"
<u>lub-</u>	"to hit"	<u>lubameemit-</u>	"to hit continuously"
<u>maʔaw-</u>	"to drink"	<u>maʔameemit-</u>	"to drink many times"

This suffix has the same meaning as the reduplication plus {t} (see below II.2.2.2.6.). Frequentative verbs are conjugated as Imperfectives.

II.2.2.2.5. Fossilized stem extensions

Ehret (1980: 63) notes the presence in D of a "consequentive extension" marker *-aw which builds verbs from nouns or adjectives, and cites: maʔaw- "to drink" from maʔa "water". We may add:

gurumaw- (= gur+um+aw ?) "to grow" from gúrume "old (of persons)"
p'uʔatw- "to rot" from p'óʔate "rotten"
hut'uw- "to look like, to resemble" (from hut' - "to follow" ?)

The form of this extension seems rather -Vw, in which V copies the last stem vowel (but a few exceptions do exist).

That we are dealing here with a true affix is demonstrated by the fact that final -Vw is dropped when a derivational affix is added: maqaw- "to drink" ---> maqameemit- "to drink continuously, repeatedly" (see II.2.3.2.4.) and 1S Perfective: maqawu. Moreover, verbs ending in -Vw occur without a corresponding nominal: lituw- "to carry the game hung to the bow"; teevaw- "to build" (Ehret (1980: 63) has qajuw-); hajow- "to yawn"; laaw- "to pick up" (does this last example belong here?). To call this a "consequentive" obscures the simple fact that this is the D reflex of the well-known Eastern Cushitic denominal (and de-adjectival) marker *-aw ~ *-aw (Hayward:1984 bis: 99).

A few verbs end in -ii, which can be interpreted as a fossilized stem-extension on the basis of the deletion of the segment in 1S Perfective and 2S Imperative:

qaalii- "to go home": qaali "I went home; go home!"

Perhaps we have also a fossilized stem extension in the final /b/ of such verbs as qidib- "to fetch", qiddzab- "to climb", and k'ad'ab- "to taste", which drop their final /b/ in 1S Perfective and 2S Imperative, and assimilate it (as if it were a dental) to a C-affix (see II.2.3.5.2.3. for examples).

II.2.2.2.6. Reduplicated stems

Partly reduplicated stems convey a frequentative or intensive meaning; as other frequentative stem formations, they can be used for 3P subjects, which then take 3M exponents.

qaggaalii- "to go home", reduplicated form of qaalii-, is used for all plural subjects.

Reduplication involves the first consonant and vowel of the simple stem, and can be formalized as:

CV(V)X ---> CVCCV(V)X

(where X is any following segment or string of segments). Examples are:

<u>/uuk-</u>	"to fill"	--->	<u>/u//uuk-</u>
<u>haab-</u>	"to cut"	--->	<u>hahhaab-</u>
<u>keek-</u>	"to look"	--->	<u>kekkeek-</u>
<u>p'uʔud-</u>	"to pierce"	--->	<u>p'upp'uʔud-</u>
<u>haav-</u>	"to mention"	--->	<u>haḥhaav-</u>

In its frequentative meaning, reduplication can co-occur with {t):

kool- "to fly" ---> kokkoolit- "to fly about; to hop"

An irregular reduplication (in which the whole stem is doubled) is found in d'uk'ud'uk'ud- "to spoil, to destroy" from d'uk'ud- "to break".

II.2.3. Inflectional morphology of verbs

II.2.3.1. Conjugations: Perfective and Imperfective

Verbs are conjugated in D according to two different sets of endings. While for most verbs the set is idiosyncratic, the fact that some verbs can be conjugated with both sets, and that the affixation of stem extensions can lead to a change in the conjugation, supports the opinion that we are dealing here with meaningful classes. Elderkin (1972) spoke of Perfective and Imperfective, but he did not associate labels and endings; in his later work (1974), in coherence with the theoretical framework adopted - which discouraged semantic labels and viewed morphology as a purely formal study - he just called the classes "alpha" and "beta". But later, in his 1976 overview of Southern Cushitic, he spoke of "two 'Aspects', unmarked and intensive/ continuous/ frequentative" (Elderkin: 1976: 293).

According to our data, while it is true that for most verbs the conjugational class is just given once and for all, analysis of the semantic shift between the two classes, where this is possible, suggests that the labels Imperfective and Perfective can be used with reasonable accuracy. Taking the verb lub- (one of the few which admit both sets without intervening extension, and which has been used by Eldekin too), we find that, when used with the Imperfective set of endings, it means just "to hit", while with the Perfective endings it conveys rather the meaning "to hit once (or just a part of the body), to give a blow". On the other hand, when from an intrinsic Perfective verb one creates (through an extension) an Imperfective, this comes to mean "to do X many times". It is true that this shade of meaning seems to be conveyed principally by the stem extension, with the change of conjugation as an auxiliary device, but it is a fact that intensive or repetitive stem extensions are always associated with Imperfective conjugation. This association of meaning and conjugational class has been greatly lexicalized, so that we find both primitive stems and extended stems without a primitive root used only as Imperfectives, without a corresponding "imperfective" meaning.

About the markedness relationship which is implied in Elderkin's (1976) definition of Perfective as (semantically) "unmarked", it seems rather that in terms of frequency the opposite is true: Imperfective conjugated verbs are more numerous and in any case more frequent in connected speech. One must also note that, although non-past (either present or future) paradigms are aspect-indifferent, i.e., the Imperfective/Perfective opposition is neutralized, they are conjugated with the same set of person markers as the Imperfective; this is in accordance with the well-known fact that, when an association between aspect and tense is present, the Perfective is often associated with past actions, and the Imperfective with present actions: "Since the present tense is essentially used to describe, rather than to narrate, it is essentially imperfective" (Comrie: 1976: 66). As often happens when an aspect distinction does not cover all the tenses of a language, the aspect system of D is restricted to the past ("It appears that the tense that most often evinces aspectual distinctions is the past tense"; Comrie (1976: 71)).

II.2.3.2. Affixes

Verbal forms which show subject agreement have seven-fold person marking: following the common Cushitic pattern, masculine and feminine forms are distinguished in 3S in most paradigms. The overall system follows the interlocking pattern (Tucker: 1967): 2S and 3F have the same exponent, but 1S and 3M are always differentiated.

Again following a (Eastern) Cushitic pattern, the vowel which accompanies most exponents - and which we call a paradigmatic vowel - is determined by other categories. The situation in Dahalo seems very similar to that stated by Hayward for Arbore:

"Although they occupy the same morphological 'slot', terminal vowels certainly do not constitute a single system in terms of the grammatical categories they signal, which include categories of aspect, mood [...]. Moreover, certain segmentally identical vowels mark a variety of categories, and specificity requires reference to other elements" (Hayward: 1984: 255).

In D paradigmatic vowels concur in indicating mood, tense and aspect, interacting with tonal patterns and selectors. They will be analyzed together with the paradigms (II.2.3.3.).

As in many other Cushitic languages, certain verbal forms (infinitive, past negative) do not show person marking, or show it in a reduced form (imperative); as for fully inflected paradigms, the following endings are found (irrespective of tones):

1S	-V ~ 0
2S	-tV
3M	-V ~ -:V ~ -i
3F	-tV
1P	-nV
2P	-ten ~ teenV ~ -tin ~ tinV
3P	-am- + 3M ~ -:en ~ -:eenV ~ -ani ~ -in ~ -inV

The vowel found in all paradigms in 1S, 2S/3F, 1P and, occasionally, in the other persons too, is the paradigmatic vowel. 3M, 2P and especially 3P show great variation; as can be expected, more basic (and frequent) paradigms display greater inner variation.

Elderkin (1974: 54, 80) has suggested that the 3M exponent is "underlying" {y}, which surfaces as /i/ or as /:/ (gemination of the final consonant of the stem) depending on the morphological context. Our theoretical framework does not allow such underlying entities, which nowhere surface as such (even if an underlying {y} is very tempting in historical Cushitics! - cf. Elderkin (1972:6)).

3M is marked by the gemination of the final consonant of the stem (and by gradation for certain consonants, see II.2.3.4.2.1.) in all paradigms except Perfective Past General and Non-past Subjunctive (respectively, paradigms C2 and B; see II.2.2.3.). In the General mood the vowel which accompanies gemination is -i, but in the other moods the relevant paradigmatic vowel of the mood occurs. In Perfective Past General and Non-past Subjunctive only the paradigmatic vowel (without gemination) acts as the 3M marker.

3P has a double set of endings: while some paradigms allow two different endings, others permit only one.

A first type of 3P marking is the plural extension -am- (alternating with -amum- for certain verbs) to which the 3M exponent is affixed, eventually resulting in gemination of /m/ and the same final vowel (either /i/ or the paradigmatic vowel) of 3M.

The second set of endings displays the typical Cushitic parallelism of the 2P and 3P endings -tVn and -Vn; in Perfective paradigms the vowel is /i/, in Imperfective and aspect-indifferent paradigms /e/, giving the following endings:

	IMPERFECTIVE (and aspect-neutral)	PERFECTIVE
2P	<u>-ten, -teenV</u>	<u>-tin, -tinV</u>
3P	<u>:-en, :-eenV, -ami</u>	<u>-in, inV</u>

(V being the paradigmatic vowel).

As may be seen, the parallelism is only partial, as /e/ is subject to lengthening when the paradigmatic vowel follows, while /i/ is not.

A morphophonological rule deletes /n/ when it is word final (i.e., when no affix, selector, etc., is attached):

n ---> 0 / __*#

When an affix follows, /n/ is not dropped, and can assimilate to the following consonant.

The 1S marker of Perfective Past General is problematic: the vowel which stands as its exponent is neither a person marker nor a paradigmatic vowel, but simply a copy of the last vowel of the stem. It is therefore correct to think of 0 as its marker. With certain stem extensions, such as the passive and other verbs extended with -d, the 1S Perfective results in deletion of -d, which surfaces only when an affix follows; the same happens with unproductive extensions such as -aw and -ai, with the final consonant of other verbs (which is deleted), even when a selector follows and the final consonant of the stem can assimilate to it:

- 1) ʔáni+va+te ʔiddza (root: ʔiddzab-)
I+PAST+AFF climb-C2-1S
"I climbed"
- 2) ʔáni tún+na (for: /tuum- + ná/, instead of *tuumú+na)
I get-angry-C2-1S+PERF
"I got angry"

Leaving aside the problematical 3 persons, the person markers, once deprived of the paradigmatic vowels, are:

1S	0	1P	n
2S/3F	t	2P	tVn

These are the same markers reconstructed by Elderkin (1974: 53).

II.2.3.3. The system of D paradigms

The tense/aspect/mood oppositions presented in II.2.1. produce the following set of paradigms:

A. General Non-past

B. Subjunctive Non-past

- C1/2. General Past (Imperfective/Perfective)
 D1/2. Subjunctive Past (Imperfective/Perfective)
 E1/2. Habitual Past (Imperfective/Perfective)
 F1/2. Positive Iussive (Imperfective/Perfective)
 G1/2. Negative Iussive (Imperfective/Perfective)
 H1/2. Imperative (Imperfective/Perfective)
 I. Infinitive

These tags will be used in the glosses throughout; e.g.:

roʔóte will be glossed as "go-D1-3F", i.e.: "third person feminine, Past Subjunctive Imperfective" of the verb roʔ- "to go".

II.2.3.3.1. Vowel Insertion Rule

Before presenting the verbal paradigms it is necessary to introduce a very general morphophonological rule to accommodate between the stem and the consonant-initial affixes. Since specific MPRs may account for specific types of stems (and will be presented in II.2.6.), this can be viewed as the default rule of exponent affixation. It states that C-initial exponents are affixed through an epenthetic vowel, which copies the last vowel of the stem.

This MPR has the same form as Elderkin's Vowel Inserting Rule (1974: 51):

VOWEL INSERTION RULE (C-EXPONENTS AFFIXATION DEFAULT RULE)

MPR 1: 0 ---> V_X / V_X C__C

with the specification of the morphological domain "between verbal stem and affix".

Examples:

<u>ráto</u>	"I walk"	
<u>rátato</u>	"you walk/she walks"	/rat - to/
<u>kéeko</u>	"I look"	
<u>kéeketo</u>	"you look/she looks"	/keek - to/
<u>díko</u>	"I leave"	
<u>díkito</u>	"you leave/ she leaves"	/dik - to/
<u>róʔo</u>	"I go"	
<u>róʔoto</u>	"you go/she goes"	/roʔ - to/
<u>lúbo</u>	"I hit"	/lub - o/
<u>lúbuto</u>	"you hit/she hits"	/lub - to/

As can be seen in e.g., kéeketo above, the inserted vowel is always short; cf.

also:

<u>háasoobo</u>	"I speak, converse"
<u>háasooboto</u>	"you speak/she speaks" /haasoob - to/

II.2.3.3.2. The paradigms

In the following, the left-hand column is the paradigm pattern: X is any preceding segment or string of segments; V the last stem vowel; C the last stem consonant; subscript x means that the affix vowel copies the last stem vowel. The right-hand column shows the corresponding paradigm for the "regular" (which means that no morphophonological rule is needed in order to account for its forms, except the Vowel Insertion Rule) verb lub- "to hit". As the stem is monosyllabic, an H tone on the first syllable may be required by the tonal pattern of the relevant paradigm, or may result from the application of the Initial H Rule (cf. I.2.2.2.).

II.2.3.3.2.1. General Non-past (A)

A present or future meaning is conveyed by the Non-past; in no case is the future formally distinct from the present in the verb. Non-past is marked, in statements not depending on other verbs, by {o} vowelising.

The fact that Non-past is based upon the Imperfective is shown by 3M and 3P forms (with reduplication of the last consonant of the stem); H tone on the first syllable (as a result of TR 2, the Initial High Rule) distinguishes this paradigm from the Imperfective General Past (C1).

1S	XVC _o	lúbo
2S	XV _x CV _x t _o	lúbuto
3M	XVCC _i	lúbbi
3F	XV _x CV _x t _o	lúbuto
1P	XV _x CV _x n _o	lúbuno
2P	XV _x CV _x t _{en}	lúbuten
3P	XVCC _{en} ~ XVC _{ammi}	lúbben ~ lúbammi

In the negative, the same paradigm is preceded by b'á+ka (NEG+IRR).

II.2.3.3.2.2. Subjunctive Non-past (B)

The Non-past tense of subordinate verbs is marked by {a}-vowelising; as this is a Non-past paradigm, aspect opposition is neutralized. 3M does not have gemination of the stem-consonant, and is distinguished from 1S through a different tonal pattern; while initial H in all the other persons is the result of TR 2 (the Initial High Rule), 3M affix is -á, which shifts to the penultimate after the application of TR 3 (the Tonal Regression Rule).

1S	XV _x Ca	lúba
2S	XV _x CV _x t _a	lúbuta
3M	XVC _á	luba
3F	XV _x CV _x t _a	lúbuta
1P	XV _x CV _x n _a	lúbuna
2P	XV _x CV _x t _{eena}	lúbuteena
3P	XVC _{amma}	lúbamma

As for paradigm A., the negative forms are preceded by b'á+ka. The 2S and 2P forms of paradigm B are also used for the negative imperative.

Some sentences are:

- 3) ʔápi ʔéleio hááio ʔúk[o] káádi ʔuk^wa falá+i[e]+k[o]
I know-A-1S man that work this do-B-3M+HAB+that
"I know the man who [can] do this work"
- 4) ʔápi (ʔína+)te ʔéleio dáákotápi ʔuk^watta g^wáhammá+i[e]+k[o]
I them+AFF know-A-1S D-P here stay-B-3P+HAB+that
"I know the Daako who live here"
- 5) b'á+ka ʔéleio dééla ʔit[o] háásoobota ʔintó+t[o]
NEG+IRR know-A-1S girl that-F converse-B-2S with+that-F
"I do not know the girl you are speaking with"

II.2.3.3.2.3. General Past (C1/2)

Past is often, but not always, accompanied by the selectors -uá (PAST) or -ná (PERF) and has different paradigmatic vowels in Perfective and Imperfective verbs. Perfective Past is marked by the paradigmatic vowel [i], Imperfective Past by the paradigmatic vowel [o].

Imperfective has H tone on the affix in 2S, 3F, 1P and 2P, and L tone in 1S, 3M, and on "short" 3P (lubben); tones are shifted back by TR 3. The presence of tone on the affixes ensures opposition with the Non-Past in all persons except 3P lúbammi (where the Initial High rule applies).

Perfective receives an initial H by TR 2 on all persons, except in 2P and 3P, where the, respective, H and L tones of the affix are shifted back by TR 3.

Perfective 1S receives a vowel which copies the last stem vowel (except in the verbs which undergo stem truncation). Attention is directed to the idiosyncracies of Imperfective 3P (cf. II.2.3.5.2.).

Imperfective (C1)

1S	XVCò	lubo
2S	XV _x CV _x t ó	lubúto
3M	XVCCì	lubbi
3F	XV _x CV _x t ó	lubúto
1P	XV _x CV _x n ó	lubúno
2P	XV _x CV _x t én	lubúten
3P	XVCCèn ~ XVCammi	lubben ~ lúbammi

Perfective (C2)

1S	XVC	lúbu
2S	XV _x CV _x t í	lúbut í
3M	XVCì	lúbì
3F	XV _x CV _x t í	lúbut í
1P	XV _x CV _x n í	lúbuní
2P	XV _x CV _x t ín	lúbút í (n)
3P	XVCìn	lúbì (n)

Negative past sentences make use of the infinitive, preceded by the selector b'a- (NEG), followed by the affix pronouns and the selector (see II.2.3.3.2.9.).

II.2.3.3.2.4. Subjunctive Past (D1/2)

In subordinate past sentences, a paradigm marked by the paradigmatic vowels, (e) for Imperfective and (i) for Perfective, is used.

Imperfective has, as the Non-Past, no specified tone on the affixes, and receives initial H by TR 2.

The Perfective follows the pattern of C1 (except in 3P), i.e.: H on the affix in 2S, 3F, 1P, 2P and 3P; L in 1S and 3M. The tones are shifted back by TR 3.

Imperfective (D1)

1S	XVCE	lúbe
2S	XV _x CV _x t e	lúbute
3M	XVCCe	lúbbe
3F	XV _x CV _x t e	lúbute
1P	XV _x CV _x n e	lúbune
2P	XV _x CV _x t eene	lúbuteene
3P	XVCamme	lúbamme

Perfective (D2)

1S	XVCì	lúbì
2S	XV _x CV _x t í	lúbút í
3M	XVCCì	lúbì
3F	XV _x CV _x t í	lúbút í
1P	XV _x CV _x n í	lúbúnì
2P	XV _x CV _x t íne	lúbút íne
3P	XVCíne	lúbìne

Some sentences containing examples of these forms are:

- 6) ʔídi háájio+k[o] safari róʔʔe+uá+ʔi+k[o] | ʔá+te tóóto
 she man+that journey go-D1-3M+PAST+by+that 0+AFF love-C1-3F
ʔduugo+siʔ+i kae
 friend+her+M ACC
 "when the husband had set out on a journey, she loved her friend (:her lover)"
- 7) ʔatta safari róʔʔoteene+uá+ʔi+k[o]
 you-P journey go-D1-2P+PAST+by+that
 "when you (P) had set out on a journey"

Paradigm D is used both in positive and, with the selector b'a- (NEG), negative sentences:

- 8) háájio ʔisi+ni+ke b'a+uá+ʔi róʔʔe+k[o]
 man her+FOC+ACC NEG+PAST+by go-D1-3M+that
 "even if (her) husband had not set out on a journey"

II.2.3.3.2.5. Habitual Past (E1/2)

The presence of the Habitual selector -íí entails, only in the Past tense, a paradigm characterized by {a} vowelling, tones and endings being otherwise the same of those of the Past Subjunctive (D) above. In a few rare cases the selector is absent.

The tonal pattern of the Imperfective is, again, the same as the Non-Past (no tone specified, initial H by TR 2).

The Perfective follows the pattern of C1 and D2: H on the affix in 2S, 3F, 1P, 2P and 3P; L in 1S and 3M. The tones are shifted back by TR 3.

Imperfective (E1)

1S	XVCa	lúba
2S	XV _x CV _x t a	lúbuta
3M	XVCCa	lúbba
3F	XV _x CV _x t a	lúbuta
1P	XV _x CV _x t a	lúbuna
2P	XV _x CV _x t eena	lúbuteena
3P	XVCamma	lúbamma

Perfective (E2)

1S	X`VCa	luba
2S	XV _x C`V _x t a	lubúta
3M	X`VCCa	lubba
3F	XV _x C`V _x t a	lubúta
1P	XV _x C`V _x t a	lubúna
2P	XV _x C`V _x t ina	lubúta ina
3P	XVCina	lúbina

This paradigm is used both in positive and, with b'a- (NEG), in negative sentences:

- 9) nat'a+ta+ke ʔa+uá+ii+te tágga | háájio+k[o]
 woman+this-F+ACC 0+PAST+HAB+AFF love-E1-3M man+that
b'á+ka+uá+ii tágga
 NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB love-E1-3M
 "he loved his daughter, [but] he did not love his son"
- 10) b'á+ka+uá+ii váhina suura+su[ʔ]+u típpemma+uá+ii
 NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB see-E2-3P manner+his+M come-out-E1-3M+PAST+HAB
 "they could not see how he came out"

II.2.3.3.2.6. Positive Iussive (F1/2)

The endings are the same as the Past Subjunctive (D) above, but the tonal pattern is different.

The tonal patterns are the same as in D and E.

Imperfective (F1)

1S	XVCe	lúbe
2S	XV _x CV _x t e	lúbut e
3M	XVCCe	lúbbe
3F	XV _x CV _x t e	lúbut e
1P	XV _x CV _x n e	lúbun e
2P	XV _x CV _x t eene	lúbuteene
3P	XVCamme	lúbamme

Perfective (F2)

1S	X`VCe	lube
2S	XV _x C`V _x t e	lubúte
3M	X`VCCe	lubbe
3F	XV _x C`V _x t e	lubúte
1P	XV _x C`V _x n e	lubúne
2P	XV _x C`V _x t ine	lubúte ine
3P	XVCine	lúbine

This paradigm is used in both main and subordinate sentences as a iussive ("let me hit, etc.):

- 11) kila kinto géte+kí+ka+i[é]+ʔa
 every thing send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN
 "let me provide you (F) (with) everything"

- 12) hóód'i róʔoté+ʔa
say-H1-S go-F2-3F+VEN
"tell her to come"
- 13) hóód'i+da lééso+ku káddze+ʔi
say-H1-S+LOC cloth+that keep-F2-3M+me-BEN
"tell him to keep the (piece of) cloth for me"

II.2.3.3.2.7. Negative Iussive (G1/2)

The endings and the tonal patterns are the same as the Iussive Positive (F) above, but with final /a/ (thus paralleling the difference between paradigms D and E)

Imperfective (G1)

1S	X`VCa	luba
2S	XV _x C`Vxt a	lubúta
3M	X`VCCA	lubba
3F	XV _x C`Vxt a	lubúta
1P	XV _x C`Vxna	lubúna
2P	XV _x C`Vxteena	lubúteena
3P	XVCamma	lúbamma

Perfective (G2)

1S	XvCa	lúba
2S	XV _x CVxt a	lúbuta
3M	XVCCA	lúbba
3F	XV _x CVxt a	lúbuta
1P	XV _x CVxna	lúbuna
2P	XV _x C`Vxt ina	lubútina
3P	XVCína	lubína

The Iussive Negative negates both paradigms F and H (Imperative):

- 14) ʔuk`á+ʔi b'á+ka d'iríta
this+by NEG+IRR pass-G1-2S
"do not pass through here!"

II.2.3.3.2.8. Imperative (H1/2)

The Imperative has only 2S and 2P forms; different endings are used for Perfective and Imperfective verbs.

The singular is tonally unspecified (and receives Initial H by TR 2); plural affixes have L tone, shifted back by TR 3.

Perfective 2S shares with Perfective General Past 1S the characteristic of being marked by a 0 affix; the same rules (copying of the last stem vowel) and exceptions (in stem truncating verbs) apply.

Imperfective (H1)

2S	XVCi	lúbi
2P	XVCè	lube

Perfective (H2)

2S	XV _x CV _x	lúbu
2P	XVCò	lubo

The Imperfective imperative of roʔ- "to go" is ró[ʔ]i (/ʔ/ is normally dropped, cf. PR 5); addition of the particle -ʔá (VEN) gives ró[ʔ]i+ʔa "come here!" (cf. Elderkin: 1974: 69).

The Imperative is used in main sentences only; in subordinate and/or negative sentences the paradigms F and G are used:

- 15) ʔaddo+k`a ʔáni ʔakk`o+ʔi
day+this I leave-H2-P+me
"today, leave me!"

- 16) ʔuk`a róʔi+nto b'á+ka ʔéntitta b'áába+ku[ʔ]u kae mpaka
this go-H2-S+with NEG+IRR show-G2-2S father+your+M ACC until
te háddurá+ʔi+ko iúko kotta púhu
AFF sleep-B-3M+by+that navel in sting-H2-S
"go with this (needle, and) do not show it to your father; [until], (when) he is sleeping, stab him with it in the navel"

II.2.3.3.2.9. Infinitive (I)

Different endings are used in what seems to be morphophonological alternation. Elderkin (1974: 69) has suggested that the Infinitive ending is a true suffix, not a verbal ending. In our framework, the fact that the stem may undergo modification during the Infinitive-affixation rules out this hypothesis: the Infinitive shall be viewed as an inflectional formation.

Elderkin (1974: 70) has proposed the following generalizations:

- è for C₁VC₂ stems ending in any consonant with the exception of glides and /g/, and V ≠ /e/;
- á the same as the above for stems with V = /e/;
- mè for C₁VC₂ stems ending in glide and /g/, and V ≠ /e/;
- má the same as the above for stems with V = /e/;
- ò for C₁VC₂(V)C₃ stems ending in any consonant with the exception of nasals, dental stops, glides, /b/ and /g/;
- nì for C₁VC₂(V)C₃ stems ending in nasals, dental stops, glides, /b/ and /g/;
- 0 for stems with more than three consonants (as in the other cases with a 0 affix, a vowel copying the last vowel is suffixed; stem truncating verbs suffix -l).

Examples include:

<u>dzaaʔ-</u>	"to die"	--->	<u>dzaaʔe</u>	/dzaaʔ - e/;
<u>joom-</u>	"to speak"	--->	<u>joom</u>	/joom - e/;
<u>lub-</u>	"to beat"	--->	<u>lube</u>	/lub - e/;
<u>haʃ-</u>	"to come"	--->	<u>haʃe</u>	/haʃ - e/;
<u>paħ-</u>	"to hit"	--->	<u>paħe</u>	/paħ - e/;

(in all five preceding verbs, the stem ends in C ≠ glide, /g/ and V ≠ /e/);

get- "to send" ---> geta /get - a/

(the same, but with V = /e/);

ʃag- "to eat" ---> ʃaame /ʃag - me/

(the stem ends in /g/, which assimilates to the preceding vowel before consonants)

ʔeetit- "to hear" ---> ʔeetini /ʔeetit - ni/

(the stem ends in C₂; /t/ assimilates to following /n/)

suubid- "to make" ---> suúbitti /suubid - ni/

(the same)

ʔiddzab- "to climb" ---> ʔiddzabi /ʔiddzab - 0/

(triconsonantal stem, ending in /b/);

d'uk'ud'uk'- "to spoil" ---> d'úkk'ud'uk'u

/d'uk'ud'uk'- 0/ (more-than-three-consonants stem)

(in the last four verbs, initial H tone is due to TR 2)

The Infinitive is a verbal noun, used with main "modal" verbs such as "to be able to, can", "to want".

Being a noun, it behaves syntactically as an object: it precedes the main verb, but can also be shifted into postverbal position (see III.2.1.) and can also be determined.

In some cases, the infinitive replaces an empty object (in expressions corresponding to "to speak a speech", "to eat food").

- 17) íko iommi ioom ʔúk[o]
who speak-C1-3M speak-I that
"Who told you this [speaking]?"
- 18) hímane káro haʃe
tomorrow can-A-1S come-I
"I can come tomorrow"
- 19) b'á+ka k'óóbo ʔááta ʔúk^watta haʃe
NEG+IRR want-A-1S you (S) here come-I
"I don't want you (S) to come here"
- 20) ʔápi ʔuk^watta háʃa ʔú+kabe vaħé+ʔ[e]
I here come-C2-1S he+ACC see-I+VEN
"I came here in order to see him"
- 21) vákati dzaaʔé+éni+k[o] ʔá+va+k^wa k^wáʃi
time die-I+GEN+that 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M
"instead of dying, he ran away"

- 22) rattsi ʃaga ʃamme+da
walk-C1-3P food eat-I+LOC
"they went to eat [food]"

The infinitive preceded by b'a-, the affix pronouns (0 for 3 persons), and a past selector is used in order to negate past sentences. For the verb lub-, and with the selector va-, the paradigm is:

1S	b'á+ʔi+va (~ b'[éé]+va)	lube
2SM	b'á+ku+va	"
2SF	b'á+ki+va	"
3M	b'á+va	"
3F	b'á+va	"
1P	b'á+ni+va	"
2PM	b'a+kúnna+va	"
2PF	b'a+kínna+va	"
3P	b'á+va	"

("I did not beat, you did not beat", etc.)

The same affixes can be object-oriented (the subject then being expressed by the independent pronouns); in this case, for a 3P object the affix pronoun -ʔípa is used:

- 23) b'a+ʔípa+va lube (ʔúkummámu kabe) "I did not beat them"
- 24) ʔááta b'á+ni+va lube (pán+kabe) "you (S) did not beat us"
- 25) ʔúdu b'á+ku+va lube (ʔááta kabe) "he did not beat you (SM)"
- 26) pápi b'á+ku+va lube (ʔááta kabe) "we did not beat you (SM)"

But the object can be expressed only after the verbal phrase, the affix retaining its subject meaning:

- 27) ʔááta b'á+ku+va lube ʔúkummámu kabe "you (S) did not beat them"

II.2.3.4. Alternations

Alternation can result either from the application of a fully automatic phonological rule (PR), of a category-governed rule (MPR), or from an idiosyncrasy of a verb or a verb class.

It may be difficult to decide whether an alternation results from the application of a morphophonological rule or is just an idiosyncrasy: this is true of both the -aw verbs and of the -Vb verbs; but while the first case is treated under the MPRs (as there is some phonological rationale to the change aw ---> u involved), the deletion of

-Vb in some forms is considered idiosyncratic (i.e., historically determined, cf. II.2.2.2.5.).

In some cases, where assimilation prevents the application of the Vowel Insertion Rule (MPR 1), homophony between paradigms A. (General Non-past) and C.1. (Imperfective General Past) may result; only the use of the selectors will therefore disambiguate the sentence.

II.2.3.4.1. Phonologically determined alternations

With specific types of stems, the Vowel Insertion Rule does not operate and, instead, various PRs occur between the stem and the affix.

II.2.3.4.1.1. REGRESSIVE DENTAL ASSIMILATION (PR 2)

With dental-ending stems (either primitive or derived) assimilation of the final dental and a following consonant affix is observed:

<u>hónno+da</u>	"we tell [to] him"	/hood' - no - da/
<u>hóttö</u>	"you tell"	/hood' - to/
<u>súúbitto</u>	"she does"	/suubid - to/
<u>gínno</u>	"we sleep"	/giit - no/

II.2.3.4.1.2. NASAL ASSIMILATION (PR 3)

With nasal-ending stems (either primitive or derived) assimilation of the nasal to the point of articulation of a following consonant affix is observed:

<u>iónto</u>	"you speak"	/joom - to/
<u>iónno</u>	"we speak"	/joom - no/

II.2.3.4.1.3. VOWEL-CONTRACTION (PR 4)

It occurs by assimilating stems before consonantal affixes; the same two verbal forms cited above are instances of the application of this rule:

<u>iónto</u>	"you speak"	/joom - to/
<u>iónno</u>	"we speak"	/joom - no/

II.2.3.4.2. Category-governed alternations

Under this heading we shall deal with the morphophonological rules (MPRs) which apply between specific types of stems and the affixes, and which are not the result of automatic phonological rules. The default rule of II.2.2.3.1. will be repeated here for convenience:

VOWEL INSERTION RULE (C-EXPONENTS-AFFIXATION DEFAULT RULE)

MPR 1: 0 ---> V_x / V_x C_{__} +C

with the specification of the morphological domain "between verbal stem and affix".

II.2.3.4.2.1. FINAL CONSONANT GRADATION IN 3M (MPR 2)

With some consonants, the gemination entailed by the 3M marker in paradigms A, C1, D1/2, E 1/2, F 1/2, G1/2 results in alternation:

final stem	/t' /	--->	/ts' /
"	/t, d/	--->	/ts/
"	/d', j/	--->	/dz/
"	/w/	--->	/g' /

Elderkin adds 0 ---> /h/ and /β/ ---> /b/; actually, no verb ending in 0 (i.e., in a vowel) has been found, while /β/ ---> /b/ is misleading, given the allophonic status of [β].

To the result of alternation, the gemination is then applied, resulting in such forms as:

<u>ʔóttts'i</u>	"he enters"	/ʔot' - :i/
<u>ratttsi</u>	"he walked"	/rat - :i/
<u>hoddzi</u>	"he said"	/hood' - :i/
<u>máʔagg'w'i</u>	"he drinks"	/maʔaw - :i/

It is apparent here that some kind of consonant gradation is involved. In three of the four cases, this is realized through the change of stops to affricates; for the glide /w/, it shows up as the change to a stop.

II.2.3.4.2.2. FINAL /w/ and /g/ STEM ASSIMILATION (MPR 3)

Stem final /w/ and /g/ assimilate to a preceding vowel before a consonantal affix (see Elderkin: 1974: 84):

MPR 3: V_x (w, g) ---> V_xV_x / ___+C

Examples:

from ʔaw- "to love, like":

<u>ʔóóto</u>	"you love/she loves" (see below MPR 4 for the metaphony of the vowel)
--------------	---

from ʔug- "to do":

<u>ʔúúto</u>	"you do" /ʔun - to/
<u>ʔúunno</u>	"we do" /ʔun - no/

from tl'ag- "to have":

<u>mini tl'ááto</u>	"you have / she has a house" /tl'ag - to/
<u>mini tl'ááno</u>	"we have a house" /tl'ag - no/
<u>b'á+ka tl'ááte mini</u>	"you (P) do not have a house" /tl'ag - te/

II.2.3.4.2.3. FINAL -aw STEM ALTERNATION (MPR 4)

Stem-final -aw changes to /u/ before a C-suffix and 0:

MPR 4: $V_x aw \rightarrow u / _\{+C, 0\}$

from maʔaw- "to drink":

maʔuto "you drink/she drinks" /maʔaw - to/

maʔuno "we drink"

maʔute "you (P) drink"

3P of Non-Past and Imperfective General Past behaves as [d]-extended verbs and /b/-final verbs in eliding the final consonant and taking the affix -amummi:

maʔumummi "they drink"

1S General Past Perfective and Imperative S Perfective: maʔu

II.2.3.4.2.4. METAPHONY (MPR 5)

Verbs ending in /j, w/ have a rule whereby a central stem vowel is metaphonized to a mid vowel when the stem-ending consonant is dropped according to the assimilation rule or the stem-truncation rule.

MPR 5: $a \rightarrow \{e, o\} / _\{j, w\}$

with the specification of the morphological domain: "in stems subject to assimilation and/or truncation"

Examples:

from kaaj- "to put":

kééto "you put/she puts"

from ʔaw- "to love, like":

ʔóóto "you love/she loves"

II.2.3.4.2.5. STEM TRUNCATION (MPR 6)

The final consonant of the stem of verbs ending in -i is dropped before a C-suffix and O:

MPR 6: $-j \rightarrow \emptyset / _\{+C, 0\}$

Example:

from gaalij- "to go home":

gááto "you go/she goes back home" /gaalij - to/

1S Perf Past General and S Perf Imperative: gááli

II.2.3.5. Idiosyncratic alternations

Many verbs, both simple and extended, show idiosyncratic alternations; a first group of these irregularities (idiosyncracies of the stem) consists in the failure to conform to MPRs to which, on the basis of their phonological structure, they would be expected to submit; a second group (idiosyncracies of the person affixes) is linked to the behaviour of specific verbs and verb classes when certain person markers are affixed to them. Under this heading fall the idiosyncracies of the plural.

II.2.3.5.1. Idiosyncracies of the stem

II.2.3.5.1.1. EXCEPTION TO DENTAL ASSIMILATION

The final /t/ of the verb get- "to send" does not undergo assimilation to a following C-suffix:

géteto "you send / she sends" /get - to/

Elderkin (1974: 83) mentions the verb rud'- "to heap up" ("to bury, cover up" in Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989: 41)) as an instance of a non-assimilating /d' /-stem. We did not record this item.

II.2.3.5.1.2. EXCEPTION TO FINAL /w/ and /g/ STEM ASSIMILATION

The verb sug- "to wait" does not conform to MPR 3: its final /g/ never assimilates:

súgo "I wait"

súguto "you wait/she waits"

It is possible that the failure to assimilate goes back to the loan- origin (from Somali ?) of this verb.

II.2.3.5.2. Idiosyncracies of the person affixes

Idiosyncracies of the person affixes have been found for 3P of Non-Past and General Past paradigms of Imperfective verbs, and for 1S General Past and 2S Imperative of Perfective verbs.

II.2.3.5.2.1. IDIOSYNCRATIC PLURAL STEMS

a) apart from the verbs which use a suppletive stem in the plural (cf. II.2.2.1.1.) the verbs g^wah- "to stay" and b'eh- "to be silent" make all their plural forms with the 3P extension -am-:

g^wáhanno "we stay" /g^wah- am- no/

g^wáhante "you (P) stay" /g^wah- am- ten/

g^wáhhami "they stay"

b'éhanno "we are silent" /b'eh- am- no/

b'éhante "you (P) are silent" /b'eh- am- ten/

b'éhhami "they are silent"

b) the verb raʔ- "to go" does not possess 3P forms; relevant 3M forms of the verb rat- "to walk" are used instead: ráttsi "he goes, walks; they go, walk". This seems to have been recognized already by Elderkin (1973: 2), who spoke of "partial suppletion" between the two stems.

c) some simple or extended verbs, in which /k/ or /k'/ precedes an extension (-V(V)d/t, -Vm), make their plural forms with an unusual and complex pattern, by which the velar is reduplicated and followed by /aa/ (in one case, -d is also reduplicated):

from pak'eed- "to uncover":
pák'ak'aadide "uncover!" (Imperative 2P)
pák'ak'aadimumi "they uncover"

from milaak'it- "to dream":
mílaak'aak'ite(n) "you (P) dream"

from taarikud- "to join together":
táárikaakude(n) "you (P) join together"

from luttukum- "to fall":
lúttukaakumumi "they fall"

As can be seen from the examples above, the reduplicated syllable -Caa- can either follow (in /k'/ verbs, pak'eed-, mílaak'it-), or, it would seem, precede the last stem consonant, which would constitute a unique case of infixation. Further research is needed, also on the possible productivity of the phenomenon.

d) as already mentioned in II.2.2.2.3., the Intransitive/Imperfective extension -eem changes to -anim in the plural.

e) in some cases, a reduplicated stem is used for plural subjects (cf. II.2.2.2.6.).

II.2.3.5.2.2. STEM TRUNCATION IN {d}-EXTENDED VERBS

a) final /d/ of {d}-extended verbs (whatever the meaning of the extension) is elided in Perfective General Past 1S and Imperative 2S:

from keeikud- "to be born", passive of keei- "to give birth":
kééjiku "I was born"

from suubid- "to do":
súúbi "do it!" (cf. the 2P form: súúbido)

from pak'eed- "to uncover":
pák'e "uncover!"

The extension surfaces again when an affix follows the verbal form:

kééjikudo+va "I was born"

b) {d}-extended verbs (whatever the meaning of the extension) reduplicate the 3P affix -am in the form -amum-, after which gemination of final /m/ and the -i ending is then applied, giving -amummi; final /d/ is elided (verbs extended by -did elide only the second /d/); examples:

from mantahid-, frequentative of mantah- "to vomit":
mántahimumi "they are vomiting continuously"

from g'ahadid- "to make stay", causative of g'ah- "to stay":
g'áhadimumi "they make it stay"

Verbs extended through -t are likewise subject to this idiosyncrasy:

from maʔameemit-, frequentative of maʔaw- "to drink":
máʔameemimumi "they drink continuously"

Where the extension takes the form -eed, 3P is likewise built with -amum-, before which the whole extension is elided:

from fúʔʔeed- "to tear":
fúʔʔamumi "they tear"

When the 3P affix is different from -am, /d/ is not elided; e.g., from suubid- "to do":

súúbimumi+va "they did" (Imperfective)
súúbidin+k'a "they did" (Perfective)

II.2.3.5.2.3. STEM TRUNCATION AND ASSIMILATION IN /b/-FINAL STEMS

Some plurisyllabic /b/-final verbs, such as k'ad'ab- "to taste", ʔidib- "to fetch", ʔiddzab- "to climb", lose final /b/ in Perfective General Past 1S and Perfective Imperative 2S. When located before a consonant-initial person marker, they behave as {d}-extended verbs, to the extent that they assimilate their final stem-consonant to the following suffix.

from k'ad'ab- "to taste":
k'ád'a "taste!"
k'ád'abo "I taste"
k'ád'atto "you taste/ she tastes"
k'ád'attsí "he tastes" (cf. ráttsi "he goes, walks" from rat- "to walk")
k'ád'anno "we taste" /k'ad'at - no/

from ʔidib- "to fetch":
ʔiditto "you fetch"
ʔidimummi "they fetch"

from ʔiddzab- "to climb":
ʔiddza "I climbed" (Perfective Past 1S), "climb!" (Perfective Imperative S)

As for /d/ of [d]-extended verbs (cf. II.2.3.5.2.2.), final /b/ surfaces again when an affix follows the verbal form.

Elderkin (1974: 82) treats /b/ before C-affixes separately, considering it an instance of assimilation, though noting that "assimilation seems typewise the exception rather than the rule". Naturalness for a rule assimilating /b/ before dental affixes is scanty, and in any case many verbs do not conform to such a rule (as all monosyllabic verbs and some polysyllabic ones, such as hagsoob- "to converse"). It seems preferable to treat all the irregularities of /b/-final stems together and to consider -Vb- a frozen verb formative (see II.2.2.2.5.).

II.3. PARTICLES

II.3.1. Generalities

We reserve the term "selectors" for those particles which contain a general verb modifying meaning and which can govern the choice among different verbal forms; other particles, while frequently occurring in the same positional slots as the connectors, may still theoretically occur in other positions in the sentence. These are: the adpositions, the affix pronouns and the deictics. This distinction is useful in order not to inflate the category of selectors with elements whose use in the verbal phrase is clearly secondary.

As a cover-term, "particle" will be used both for the selectors and others; particles can cluster together in a phonological word which we call "particle complex".

II.3.2. Selectors

As has become apparent from II.3.1., many different semantic and grammatical categories find their expression, exclusively or partly, through what have been labelled "selectors". As we have already noted (cf. II.2.1.), D selectors do not signal person/number of the subject (as is the case in other languages), but only have an aspect/tense- (and possibly focus-) marking function.

It is probable that this is an archaic tract of D syntax: the main use of the selectors in other languages is to help to distinguish between verbal forms which have become partly or totally undifferentiated with reference to the subject. Since D has well preserved the Cushitic subject-marking system on the verb, it has not encountered the need to acquire this type of selector.

Distinct from the selectors, we find the two "directional particles" -ʔá and -íí, which, though not verbal in character, are only used in connection with verbs (either suffixed or in the particle complex).

Selectors are not words, in the sense that they are almost always suffixed, either to the verbal form or to a preceding nominal, or else clustered together or with other particles in the particle complex. The reasons governing the choice between the two solutions are not clear (if they exist at all): surely, the more are the selectors which a verbal form requires, the more probable is their clustering in preverbal position, but serial suffixation of selectors to the verb is also possible. Still another possibility is to place them partly before and partly after the verb.

The analysis of selectors is further hampered by a certain degree of homophony among them, and by the multiple functions that many of them have, and which can be seen in the sentences below. It is therefore clear that, while future research will certainly improve our knowledge in this field, the tags we use in glossing the selectors are little more than a mnemotechnic device, based on that function which seems basic, or most common.

II.3.2.1. -va: remoter past (PAST)

We call this selector "remoter" past (following Elkderkin: 1972 and 1976), in the sense that it can be contrasted with the perfect past and always expresses an action whose effects do not persist in the present.

After the final /p/ of 2P and 3P, va- takes the form -kʷa; after other consonants it takes the form -gʷa. Elderkin (1972: 3) reconstructs *-ɣʷa as the common underlying form. This morphophonological rule takes the form:

$-va \rightarrow kʷa / n_$
 $gʷa / C_ \text{ (except /n/)}$

The tonal behaviour of this selector is complex; on the whole, it seems to be tonally unmarked. Elderkin (1974: 30-33) suggests that it can have H or L tone, without specifying the conditioning rationale.

II.3.2.2. -ná: perfect (PERF)

While "perfect" generally "indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie: 1976: 52), the D perfect is more specifically a perfect of result, by which "a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation" (Comrie: 1976: 56; 56-61 for a general survey of the different uses of the perfect); cf. the following sentences, in which the first is PERF-marked, the second PAST-marked:

- 1) kíbo+kú+na te /úúkikúdi
 gourd+that+PERF AFF fill-PASS-C2-3M
 "the gourd is full"
- 2) kíbo+ku+va te /úúkikúdi
 gourd+that+PAST AFF fill-PASS-C2-3M
 "the gourd was full"

(more literally: "the gourd has been filled (and it is now full)" and "the gourd was filled (and presumably it is no longer full)"; note the passive verbs).

Other:

- 3) b'á+ki+na dzaa?e
NEG+you(SF)+PERF die-I
"haven't you died (yet)?"

The selectors -va and -ná are mutually exclusive.

II.3.2.3. te: affirmative action (AFF)

In contrast with other selectors, this never seems obligatory, being used rather as a kind of optional "emphasizer" of the verb; verbal forms in isolation are generally provided with this selector, while its presence is excluded in negative, interrogative, and subordinate sentences; these two facts seem to indicate that te is a verbal focus marker:

- 4) ?á+ki+vá+ji+te luba
0+you-F+PAST+HAB+AFF beat-E1-1S
"I used to beat you (F)"
(H tone on ?a- for the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)
- 5) b'á+ka+ki+vá+ji[e] luba
NEG+IRR+you-F+PAST+HAB beat-E1-1S
"I did not use to beat you (F)"

This particle is always placed before the verb and can occur isolated. In the verbal complex, it occupies the final position.

II.3.2.4. -jí: habitual action (HAB)

This expresses habituality of the action, both in the past and non-past. In the past it requires the verb to be in the paradigm "E".
/i/ is often lowered to [e] (PR 6).

In the following pairs of sentences, the first sentence is aspectually unmarked (and, being in the non-past, implies a progressive action), while the second gives expression to a habitual action:

- 6) ?ápi te ?ágo
I AFF eat-A-1S
"I am eating"
- 7) ?ápi+ji[e] ?ágo
I+HAB eat-A-1S
"I eat (habitually)"
- 8) ?ápi nkunumbi ráto
I N. walk-A-1S
"I'm going to Nkunumbi"

- 9) ?ápi+ji[e] nkunumbi ráto
I+HAB N. walk-A-1S
"I go (habitually) to Nkunumbi"

Other sentences:

- 10) gúño ?úk[o]+vá+ji rúúmate
person FAR+PAST+HAB wall
"he was a big man"
- 11) b'á+ka+vá+ji tágga
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB love-E1-3M
"he did not love him"
- 12) ?a+vá+ji kinu kammá+ji ?a+vá+ji hábe+da
0+PAST+HAB mortar hold-E1-3M+HAB 0+PAST+HAB armpit+LOC
?ót'odiddza
enter-CAUS-E1-3M
"he used to take a mortar and put it under his armpit"
- 13) ?ummámu+vá+ji[e]+?a te fálamma
they+PAST+HAB+VEN AFF do-E1-3P

equivalent to:

- 13') ?ummámu fálamma+vá+ji[e]+?a
"they used to do it"
- 14) ?a+vá+ji[e]+?a nkunumbi g'áha
0+PAST+HAB+VEN N. stay-E1-1S
"I used to live in Nkunumbi"
- 15) kínto ?údu dzéé?eda+dú+ji+k[o]
thing he kill-B-3M+him+HAB+that
"the thing that can make him die"

In the last example, the abituality is one of "possibility": "the thing that is able (normally, habitually) to kill him".

II.3.2.5. b'a-: negative (NEG)

This is obligatorily followed by -ká (IRR) in the non-past negative; in the remote or perfect past negative it is followed by the clitic pronouns of the subject and by the remote or perfect past selector; the verb is then in the infinitive form. But if the verb is further specified by a HAB selector, the syntax of the non-past negative is followed (i.e., both b'a- and -ká occur, and precede all other particles; the verb is fully inflected in the (a)-paradigm). Another characteristic that sets b'a- apart from the other selectors - except te - is the fact that it is never suffixed to the verbal form; moreover, it always occupies the first position in the particle complex.

- 16) b'á+va lube
NEG+PAST beat-I
"he did not beat (him)"
(b'a- is H-toned for TR 2)
- 17) b'á+ka+?i+vá+i[e] lúbba
NEG+IRR+me+PAST+HAB beat-E1-3M
"he did not use to beat me"

II.3.2.6. -ká: unrealised action (IRR)

The general meaning of this selector is that the action expressed by the verbal form has not occurred (yet), and it is thus un-real (the tag "IRR" - from *irrealis* - has been chosen, quite arbitrarily). It occurs very often in the negative compound particle b'á+ka. When used alone, it often has a conditional or concessive meaning; in some cases, it can even assume a future nuance (cf. sentence 22).

- 18) ?áni+ka kíbo k'óóbo kíbo te hóód'o
I+IRR gourd want-A-1S gourd AFF tell-A-1S
"if I want a gourd I'll ask you (for) [a gourd]"
- 19) mpaka q'íttsa ka+vá+?i+te táábu monno+va vañhi+k[o]
until child IRR+PAST+by+AFF distress very+PAST see-C1-3M+that
"until the boy saw that he was in great distress"
- 20) ro?í+ka há?i+ka+da ?a+vá+ji fitina ?ot'óta
go-C1-3M+IRR come-C2-3M+IRR+LOC 0+PAST+ALL quarrel enter-C1-3F
"that he went (or) that he came, she (always) started a quarrel"
- 21) híima d'ú?i+ka ?a+vá+ji+k'a b'ommi
night set-C2-3M+IRR 0+PAST+ALL+this sleep-C1-3M
"when the night had set, he went to sleep there"
- 22) kila kínto géte+kí+ka+i[é]+?a
every thing send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN
"let me provide you (F) (with) everything"

II.3.2.7. The particle-complex marker ?a- (0)

When particles cluster in the particle complex, they are preceded by the particle-complex marker ?a-, which we tag "0" and which seems to have no other function than to mark the beginning of the complex itself (as in sentence 23)). In many cases it has the function of carrying the H tone of a following particle, which would otherwise be lost in initial position.

- 23) ?á+va+k'a rattsi
0+PAST+this walk-C1-3P
"they went"

(H tone on ?a- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

- 24) ?á+?i+ji+da te loommi
0+me-BEN+HAB+LOC AFF speak-C1-3M
"he said it to me"

(H tone on ?a- shifted from ?í- (benefactive))

In the following sentences, the presence of ?a- distinguishes the benefactive from a possible direct object interpretation:

- 25) ?údu ?á+?i+na+te d'akki
he 0+me+PERF+AFF cook-C1-3M
"he cooked (it) for me"
- 26) ?údu ?í+na+te d'akki
he me+PERF+AFF cook-C1-3M
"he cooked me"

Without ?a-, the underlying sequence /?í+ná+te/ would give, after the application of the tonological rules: ?í+na+te. ?í- would be interpreted as underlyingly L and its surface H as the H of the following ná-, therefore entailing an object interpretation of ?í-. ?a- carrying H, however, can be interpreted only as the surface realization of a following H-toned (benefactive) affix pronoun.

Only the affirmative selector te and the negative b'a- can precede the verb without being preceded by ?a-.

II.3.3. Directional particles

Under this heading we shall treat the two particles -?á and -íí, which indicate movement toward and away from the centre of attention or the speaker respectively (cf. the Northern Somali particles with similar function soo and sii).

II.3.3.1. -?á: venitive (VEN)

We tag this particle "VEN" (venitive). It has the general meaning "towards the centre of attention or the speaker, here". It often accompanies the bound pronouns and the verbs of motion.

- 27) rattsi+dá+?a mpaka ?a+te ?ukotta há?i
walk-3M+LOC+VEN until 0+AFF in come-C2-3M
"he went until he arrived"
- 28) ?ááta+na ?uk'atta há?ati ?án+kabe vañe+?í+?a
you(S)+PERF here come-C2-2S I+ACC see-I+me+VEN
"you have come here in order to see me"
(underlying tones: /vañe+?í+?á)

- 29) maʔa heeʔó+ʔi+ʔa
 water give-H-2P+me+VEN
 "give me water!"
 (underlying tones: /heeʔo+ʔi+ʔá/)

II.3.3.2. -jǐ: allative (ALL)

We tag this particle "ALL" (allative). Its general meaning is "away from the centre of attention or the speaker, there". It can also replace a third person pronoun.

More frequently used than the preceding -ʔa, and not only with verbs of motion, it sets the action of the verb away from the speaker or the current centre of attention. It is often used, however, in narration to imply that the speaker himself did not witness the event he is speaking of, but merely "reports" the information.

-jǐ is subject to a morphonological rule, whereby /j/ changes to /ts/ after a consonant (actually, after /n/ of 2P and 3P verbal forms); /j/ further changes to /dz/ after a vowel, but, it seems, only if ALL precedes other selectors (normally ALL is put at the end of the particle complex):

-jǐ ---> -tsǐ / C__
 -dzǐ V__+selector

(Examples of the application of this rule are given in sentences 32), 33), and 34) below).

Elderkin (1974: 93) suggests this should be treated as a devoicing rule, alongside the shift /v/ ---> /kʷ/ of the past selector -uǎ (II.3.2.1) and others. This does not seem phonologically plausible (natural), and we prefer to treat all these facts with separate morphonological rules.

- 30) fálammi+ji
 do-A-3P+ALL
 "they are going to do it there"
- 31) fálammi+ji[e]+ji
 do-A-3P+HAB+ALL
 "they usually go and do it there"
- 32) gʷittso b'áʔimá+áni+da kaaiín+tsi
 youngs lions+GEN+LOC put-C2-3P+ ALL
 "they put her where lion cubs lived" (lit.: "in [a place] of young lions")
- 33) kínto ʔúdu dzééʔedá+dzi+i[é]+k[o]
 thing he kill-B-3M+ALL+HAB+that
 "the thing that will kill him"
- 34) ʔúku+dzi+te dakkʷi
 that+ALL+AFF run-C1-3M
 "he ran there"

II.3.4. Non-verbal particles

Under this heading we shall treat the adpositions and their use in the verbal complex of the deictics -k[ó] ("that"), -t[ó] ("that-F"); -kʷa ("this"), -ta ("this-F").

II.3.4.1. Deictics

The deictics, normally affixed to the noun (cf. II.1.5.3.), can be suffixed to the verbal form or inserted in the particle complex in order to connect the verbal phrase to the nouns; in their bound form, they occur as the final elements in the particle complex or the verbal form, and the adpositions often precede them (while in the noun phrase the adpositions occur as final elements). They can also be used in the verbal complex in their independent form; in this case, they take initial position and the particle complex does not need the PCM ʔa-.

- 35) ʔá+ji+kʷa ʔéékadimumi
 0+ALL+this look-C1-after-3P
 "they looked after him there" (from text No. 5 "Fumo Alongwe"; here the soldiers look after Fumo in the bush)

followed in the text by:

- 36) ʔinto+kʷa roʔʔi
 with-this go-C1-3M
 "he went with this"

II.3.4.2. Adpositions

D possesses a limited set of elements which most often occur as postpositions and/or as suffixes. Certain verbs require a specific adposition, while, conversely, the use of an adposition is avoided when the semantics of the verb contains among its "deep" cases the function that would be carried by the adposition; thus, hood' - "to say" requires the locative adposition -da, while puh- "to sting" does not require -ʔi of the instrument.

Apart from their use in nominal phrases, adpositions can signal the relative "position" of the sentences, thus becoming markers of subordination and building up the real skeleton of a D text.

Also the accusative marker kabe (and its variants), the focus marker ʔini, and the copula -sú behave like particles, since they can enter the particle-complex. They will be treated in the relevant sections of the syntax.

II.3.4.2.1. -da: locative (LOC)

This indicates both movement and state, and often only the dative; we tag it "LOC".

Its presence seems to be obligatory with some verbs, the most frequent being hood'- "to say (to)", but also "gqasid- "to explain (to)", tuum- "to get angry (with)", and others:

- 37) hoddzi+da
say-C1-3M+LOC
"he said (to)"
- 38) ʔápi te t́un+ku+na+da
I AFF be-angry-C2-1S+you(SM)+PERF+MOV
"I am angry with you"

The movement and static meanings of -da can be seen in the following sentences:

- 39) roʔʔa+vá+i | límani+da | ʔa+vá+i láva+da ʔákk'a
go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB work-H+LOC 0+PAST+HAB home+LOC leave-E1-3M
"he went to work and left (him) at home"
- 40) múnta+da límamumni
farm+LOC cultivate-3P
"they work on the farm"
- 41) múnta+da ʔú+kusi+na te h́ut'i
farm+LOC he+too+and AFF follow-C2-3M
"he too followed him to the farm"
- 42) rattsi ʔaga ʔamme+da
walk-C1-3P food eat-I+LOC
"they went to eat" (or: "into the eating-place")

The nominal governed by the adposition can be stated or implicit:

- 43) ʔá+va+da+k'a roʔʔi
0+PAST+LOC+this go-C1-3M
"he went there"
(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

The use of -da seems to be excluded when the static/movement meaning is already implied in the verb:

- 44) ʔáata kééke+va kééjikútti
you(S) where+PAST bear-PASS-C2-2S
"where were you born?"

or:

- 44') ʔáata+va kééke kééjikútti

- 45) ʔápi+va nkunumbi kééjiku
I+PAST N. bear-PASS-C2-1S
"I was born in Mkunumbi"
- 46) ʔáata kééke i[é]+ʔa g'áħato
you where HAB+VEN live-A-2S
"where do you live?"
- 47) ʔápi i[é]+ʔa ʔamu g'áħo
I HAB+VEN L. live-A-1S
"I live in Lamu"

-da is subject to the following morphological rule, whereby its /d/ is devoiced to /t/ when following a consonant (actually, when following /n/ of 2P and 3P verbal forms). Elderkin (1974: 93) suggests that this should be treated with the same devoicing rule as the shift of -íj (ALL) to -táj (see above, II.3.3.2.). But too few cases have been recorded to allow any generalization.

-da ---> -ta / C__

The application of this rule can be seen in:

- 48) g'ittso ʔúkummámu hoddzen+ta
youngs these say-C1-3P+LOC
"these young (snakes) said to her"

II.3.4.2.2. -ʔí: instrumental ("by")

Frequently used as a verbal particle, this has an instrumental meaning. It can also be used as a subordination marker, however, assuming a temporal/causal meaning and setting the action of the verb in temporal or logical connection with that of the following (main) verb; in the following sentence the two uses occur together:

- 49) dába ʔuk'á+ʔi páħħe+vá+ʔi+k[o]
hand this+by beat-D1-3M+PAST+by+that
"as he beat him with this (other) hand"

The following sentences expound the adpositional use of -ʔí; for its use as a subordination marker, see III.1.4.2.

- 50) ʔá+va g'ittsa lubo sí"bo+ʔi
0+PAST child hit-C1-1S stick+by
"I hit (past) the boy with the stick"
- 51) ʔá+va dabi dzééʔe ħaad'ó+ʔi
0+PAST animal kill-C2-1S arrow+by
"I killed the prey with the arrow"
(in both 50) and 51), H tone on ʔa- is determined by the INITIAL HIGH RULE,

TR 2)

In some cases -ʔí is used with verbs of movement with the meaning "through":

- 52) lé+k[ó]+ʔi vátl'ati
 path+that+by return-C2-3F
 "she came back by that way"

II.3.4.2.3. ʔinto ~ -nto: comitative ("with")

The independent and bound form are mutually exchangeable:

- 53) ʔúdu+va nat'a+su+ʔu ʔinto gʷaḥḥi
 he+PAST woman+his+M with live-C1-3M
 "he lived with his wife"

- 54) ʔá+va+te háʔa ali+nto
 0+PAST+AFF come-C2-1S A.+with
 "I came with Ali"

(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

-da and -nto can be combined in -da+nto with the meaning "from":

- 55) ʔá+na muntá+da+nto háʔa b'ura ʔukʷa
 0+PERF farm+LOC+with come-C2-1S morning this
 "I have come from the farm this morning"

This adposition - glossed as "with" - can also be used in order to indicate a temporal simultaneity with the action of the main verb; examples are given in III.1.4.2.

II.3.4.2.4. -kʷatta "here" / -kotta ~ -kutta "there": state

Deprived of initial ʔu-, the adverbs ʔukʷatta "here" and ʔukotta "there" (especially the second) can be used as postpositions with a locative meaning:

- 56) iúko+kotta púhu
 navel+there sting-H2-S
 "sting him in the navel!"

Being bound words, they must affix to any preceding element, even part of a different NP:

- 57) ʔá+va+kʷa ʔinto+kotta dzááʔi
 0+PAST+this with+there die-C2-3M
 "he died there with this (the bow)"

(H tone on ʔa- from the INITIAL HIGH RULE, TR 2)

II.3.4.2.5. hollo "(together) with"

This only occurs as an independent word, put between the two nouns it links together, and is more of a conjunction than an adposition:

- 58) ʔúdu+va nat'a+su+ʔu ʔinto gʷaḥḥi | hollo gʷíttsa ʔa+su+ʔa
 he+PAST woman+his+M with live-C1-3M with child his+F
 "he lived with his wife and with his she-baby"

II.3.5. Syntax of the particles

The following serialization of selectors and other particles in the particle complex can be proposed:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
ʔa (PCM)	ʔi ("me")	va	jí (HAB)	jí (ALL)	da	k[ó]
te	ku	ná	ʔá (VEN)	nto		t[ó]
b'a	ki			ʔí ("by")		kʷa
	du					ta
	di					kʷatta
	ni					kotta
	kunná					
	kinná					
	ʔiǰá					

NOTES TO PART II

(1) Elderkin suggests this to be not a plural morpheme, but rather a suffix meaning "and others"; therefore, b'ááb'ani would not mean "fathers", but "father and (the) others" (as in Elderkin: 1974: 11). An analogous suffix is found in Sandawe (E.D. Elderkin, personal communication, 11.1.1990). Our analysis of -ni as a plural morpheme follows Zaborski (1986).

(2) Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989: 32) consider gub- to be the reflection of a Proto-South-Cushitic root. The only possible South Cushitic cognate I am aware of is Iraqw gufa "firebrand" (Ehret: 1980: 238).

(3) Again, Ehret, Elderkin and Nurse (1989: 25) consider suubid- to be the reflection of a Proto-South-Cushitic root. This remains unproven, while the hypothesis of a Somali-Boni loan would explain even the final -d affix in D. Other Somali verbs borrowed in D basic vocabulary are kar- "to be able to, can" and probably gub- "to burn" (cf. note 2), above).

III. SYNTAX

D syntax follows the general Cushitic basic SOV word order at the sentence level, while in the noun phrase the modifiers follow the noun, in accordance with a VO word-order.

In the following we shall treat the noun phrase (the verbal phrase having been handled in II.3., under the particles), then the sentence, ending with notes on the complex sentences and the build-up of a D text.

III.1. THE NOUN PHRASE

The head noun always occurs as first member and can be modified by following adjectives, numerals, nouns, determinatives, and relative clauses (the last one treated under "Subordination", III.1.4.).

III.1.1. Genitival construction

The modifying noun follows its head and is provided with the postposition

-ni (GEN) (with lengthening of the final vowel of the preceding word and shifting back of the H tone); it is suffixed only to the last member of the construction, but can be followed by other particles, especially by the deictics -k[ó] (M/P) and -t[ó] (F) (see sentences No. 4) and 5) below).

- 1) ʃánuta káʔime guhó+óni
heads many persons+GEN
"many human skulls"
- 2) q'ittso b'áʔimá+áni+da
children lions+GEN+LOC
"to a lion-cubs' (den)"
- 3) háát'i miní+íni+da ʃírri
near house+GEN+LOC be-there-A-3M
"he is near the house"
- 4) káádi miní+íni+k[o]
work house+GEN+that
"the house-work"
- 5) nat'a mfallumé+éni+t[o]
woman king+GEN+that-F
"the king's wife"
- 6) ʔúk[o] ʔíni léé nkunumbí+íni
that FOC path N.+GEN
"that is the way to Nkunumbi"

Head and modifier can also be separated by extra-phrasal words:

- 7) súmma šírri miní+íni
front be-there-A-3M house+GEN
"He is in front of the house"

The head-noun can be omitted when it has a general meaning:

- 8) ʔávak'í+íni
doum-palm+GEN
"(the place of) the doum-palm"

Expressions of position and others are often rendered with a genitival construction:

- 9) dába luá+áni
hand right+GEN
"to the right"

- 10) dába šóoto+oni
hand left+GEN
"to the left"

- 11) máka+ani
what+GEN
"why?"

- 12) b'ára+ani
before+GEN
"old"

Infinitives behave like nouns in that they can be members of genitival constructions:

- 13) kulla sampuli dzeeʔení+íni
every system kill-I+GEN
"every system of killing"

III.1.2. Adpositional phrases

The adpositions were treated in II.3.4.2. Their use as subordination markers will be expounded in III.1.4.2.

Adpositions are always suffixed to the last member of the noun phrase (see III.1.1., sentences 2) and 3)), but can also appear in the particle complex or suffixed to the verbal form:

- 14) ʔééga kammi ʔa+vá+ii+nto+kʷa gúbi
fire hold-C1-3M 0+PAST+ALL+with+this burn-C2-3M
"he caught the fire and with it he set fire"

(where: -ii+nto "with that (:the fire)", -kʷa "this" (:the hare, protagonist of the text No. 1 and subject of the sentence)

- 15) ʔukʷa rói+nto
this go-H1-S+with
"go with this !"

III.1.3. Adjectival and numeral phrases

Adjectives and numerals follow the head-noun. The adjective agrees in number (and gender) with the head-noun.

In numeral phrases, the head-noun occurs in the singular preceding the numeral, but in its plural form preceding such quantifiers as káʔime "many".

- 16) ʔukʷa ʔíni mini vīne ali ʔéévaaggʷi+vá+k[o]
this FOC house big A. build-C1-3M+PAST+that
"this is the beautiful house which Ali built"

- 17) ʔukʷa ʔíni mini lííma vīno alí+íni
this FOC house 2 beautiful-P A.+GEN
"these are Ali's two beautiful houses"

- 18) mui ʔukʷatta middzi káʔime tli'ággi
town there houses many have-A-3M
"there are many buildings in the town"

- 19) ʔápi+na kíbo k'aba váha
I+PERF gourd 3 see-C2-1S
"I have seen three gourds"

III.1.4. Subordination

III.1.4.1. Relative phrases

The relative phrase follows the head noun, and is followed in turn by the determinative of the head.

- 20) ʔéleto dééla ʔita ʔukʷatta gʷáhatá+i[e]+t[o]
know-A-2S girl this-F here live-B-3F+HAB+that-F
"do you know the girl who lives here?"

- 21) ʔááta ʔéleto dáákotani ʔukʷatta gʷáhammá+i[e]+k[o]
you know-A-2S D.-P here live-B-3P+HAB+that
"do you (S) know the Daako who live here?"

- 22) ʔááta ʔéleto dééla muhammadi hoovaaddzi+vá+t[o]
you know-A-2S girl M. marry-C1-3M+PAST+that-F
"do you (S) know the girl Muhammadi has married?"

- 23) ʔá+va+te vaħo muhammadi láva ʔítts+i+da háʔi+vá+k[o]
0+PAST+AFF see-C1-1S M. home my+M+LOC come-C2-3M+PAST+that
"I saw Muhammadi while he was coming to my house"

III.1.4.2. Adverbial sentences

Subordinate sentences are built on the same pattern, with the use of various adpositions; as was mentioned in II.3.2.2., a very common way of linking sentences with a temporal-consecutive meaning is with -ʔí "by", followed by the determinative of the head-noun:

- 24) safari róʔe+uá+ʔi+k[o]
journey go-D1-3M+PAST+by+that
"when he had gone out on a journey"
- 25) ʔídi róʔote+uá+ʔi ʔeeto+uá
she go-D1-3F+PAST+by get-lost-C1-3F+PAST
"having gone away, she got lost" ("because/after she had gone away,...")
- 26) tume+ke rata+uá+i[e]+ʔi+k[o] | ʔa+uá+ii+nto ali kulumo
bush+ACC walk-1S+PAST+HAB+by+that 0+PAST+there+with A. meet-C1-1S
"while going to the bush I met Ali"
- 27) dába ʔukʷá+ʔi kúsi páhhe+uá+ʔi+k[o] ʔa+uá+kʷ[e] kammi
hand this+by too hit-D1-3M+PAST+by+that 0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M
"when he hit him with this other hand, he held him"

(in the last sentence -ʔí appears with a twofold meaning: in the first instance, it is a nominal adposition: dába ʔukʷá+ʔi "with this hand"; in the second it behaves like a "subordinative particle": páhhe+uá+ʔi+k[o] "as he hit him").

A temporal action taking place at the same time as the principal sentence can be expressed by -nto ("with"):

- 28) ʔa+uá+i[e]+nto tume+ke rattsa ʔá+ji ʔéekadimummi
0+PAST+HAB+with bush+ACC walk-E1-3P 0+ALL look-for-C1-3P
"and while going into the bush, they looked for him"
- 29) háʔi+uá+ii+nto suurúki sínd'ano
come-C2-3M+PAST+ALL+with hide-C2-3M needle
"he arrived there (: at home) and hid the needle"

(here -nto "with" modifies the verbal phrase and signals the temporal proximity of the two sentences: "as soon as he arrived..."; see below II.4.3.2.)

A more conditional meaning is given by -ká (IRR):

- 30) ʔá+ka+ii mini+ke háʔa | ʔá+ji guño ʔíttsi+nto ʔágo
0+IRR+ALL house+ACC come-B-1S 0+ALL people my+with eat-A-1S
"when I am home, I'll eat there with my family"

III.2. THE SENTENCE

III.2.1. Word-order

III.2.1.1. Unmarked word-orders

While the NP-VP and SOV word orders are basic, many alternative orders are possible, again conforming to the picture familiar in Eastern Cushitic, in which word order is dominated by pragmatic factors.

While adverbial phrases precede the subject, at least in the basic word order, and are thus the farthest from the verb, the complement phrases are interposed between the subject and the verb:

Adverbial Phrase-Subject-Object-Verb:

- 1) múnta+da guño b'urú+i[e] líímamummi
farm+LOC people maize+HAB work+3P
"They cultivate maize in the farm"

Subject-Complement Clause-Verb:

- 2) ʔápi+i[e] ali+nto háásoobo
I+HAB A. +with speak-A-1S
"I converse (habitually) with Ali"

Imperative sentences exclude the presence of an expressed subject:

- 3) ʔákkʷa+ʔi
leave-H2-S+me
"leave me!"
- 4) gʷáha ʔukʷatta súgi+ni
stay-H2-S here wait-H1-S+us
"stay here [and] wait for us!"

III.2.1.2. Marked word-orders

III.2.1.2.1. Object fronting

A focussed object noun phrase can be preposed to the subject:

- 5) gʷíttsa ʔúku ʔíni gaanó+ku lúbbi
child that FOC man+that hit-A-3M
"the child, the man beats him"
- 6) gʷíttsa ʔúku+na gaanó+ku lubbi
child that+PERF man+that hit-C1-3M
"the child, the man has beaten him"

As can be seen from the examples, when a noun is fronted, its position in the original SOV sentence is recalled by a deictic (in the examples above, affixed to the subject noun).

III.2.1.2.2. SVX permutation

A much more commonly used possibility is that of placing one or more constituents after the verb (SVX). This violation of the SOV basic word order basically serves a topical function.

An SVX word order is moreover the only possibility in most of the complex sentences; in this case, the order SVX (where X is here a dependent sentence) serves the classical purpose of avoiding center-embedding.

The object normally follows the verb in imperative sentences:

- 7) hééʔ[eʔ ?]+í+ʔa kíbo+k[o]
give-H2-S +me+VEN gourd+that
"give (S) me the gourd"

The same permutation of the basic word order can also be used - under the influence of Sw. syntax - in non-imperative sentences:

- 8) ʔá+na+te vaño dééla
0+PERF+AFF see-C1-1S girl
"I have seen the girl"
- 9) ʔídi ʔí+na+te ʔéétitti ʔápi
she me+PERF+AFF hear-C2-3F I
"she has heard me"

The positioning of the object clause after the verb in imperative sentences is in itself just a subcase of the general rule by which dependent clauses follow the main sentence:

- 10) hóód'i+da mááka k'óóboto
tell-IMPV-S+LOC what want-A-2S
"say what you want"

The subject too can be switched after the verb:

- 11) b'á+ka+ʔína ʔélejo ʔápi
NEG+IRR+them know-A-1S I
"I do not know them"

III.2.1.2.3. Focus

A nominal phrase can be focalized with the use of ʔíni or its bound variant -ni. The focalized nominal phrase can be either subject or object, as the following examples show:

- 12) nát'ettsa ʔít[o] ʔíni d'aháálottsi
female that-F FOC D.-F
"that woman is Dahalo"
- 13) nat'á+t[o] ʔíni te lúbuto
woman+that-F FOC AFF beat-A-2S
"you are going to beat the woman"

- 14) g'ítsa ʔúku ʔíni gááno+ku lúbbi
child that FOC old-that beat-A-3M
"the child, the man beats him"

The use of ʔíni is possible in positive, negative, and interrogative sentences; in the last case, it is also used with simple phrases, which would be unmarked in positive sentences:

- 15) ʔuk'a ʔíni k'óóbo
this FOC want-A-1S
"I want this one"
- 16) ʔápi b'á+ka+ni ali | ʔápi abedi
I NEG+IRR+FOC A. I A.
"I am not Ali, I am Abedi"
- 17) b'á+ka+ni+uá+ʔa háʔi
NEG+IRR+FOC+PAST+VEN men
"they were not men"
- 18) ʔááta ʔíni dáákottsi
you FOC D.-F
"are you (SF) Daako?"
- 19) háájo ʔúku ʔíni jíkotu
man that FOC who-M
"who is that man?"
- 20) dééla ʔít[o] ʔíni jíkottsi
girl that-F FOC who-F
"who is that girl?"
- 21) ʔuk'a ʔíni máákatu
this FOC what-M
"what is this?"

III.2.2. The object

Objects follow the subject in basic word order; they can be, and often are, marked by kabe. The use of kabe is especially frequent when the object follows the verb, and its syntactic function cannot therefore be deduced from word order.

While the absence of an expressed object implies a 3 one (see), pronominal objects are expressed through the bound pronouns with L tone (cf. II.1.5.1.2.) and, eventually, with the (bound-) independent pronouns followed by kabe. The following sentences are an attempt to illustrate all the possibilities of object expression:

- 22) ʔá+va dabi dzééʔe
0+PAST animal kill-C2-1S
"I killed the prey"

- 23) ʔááta ʔéleto dawa kabê
you know-A-2S D. ACC
"do you know Dawa?"
(cf. III.2.4.2. for rising-falling intonation in YES-NO questions)
- 24) ʔáni te ʔélejo gúho+k[o]
I AFF know-A-1S person+that
"I know that man"
- 25) ʔáni ʔélejo+ki
I know-A-1S+you(SF)
"I know you (SF)"
- 26) náni ʔéleto+ni
we know-A-2S+us
"you know us"
- 27) ʔááta ʔéleto+ni nání
you know-A-2S+us we
"do you know us?"
- 28) ʔááta ʔéleto+ʔi ʔán+kabê
you know-A-2S+me I+ACC
"do you know me?"

kabe can be reduced to kae and to -ke; the latter is a postposition, suffixed to the last member of the object noun phrase (while the alternation between kabe and kae seems to be a matter of rhythm of speech).

kabe and its alternants have a general accusative meaning (and are glossed by "ACC") and they can indicate the direction of movement (instead of the more generic -da). -ke is found in kééke "to where?, whither?", contrasting with kééda "where?" (of state; cf. II.1.5.4.); there are, however, some apparent irregularities, where kééke is used without motion being involved.

III.2.2. The indirect object (benefactive)

Indirect object (or benefactive: "for, on behalf of...") phrases involve a difference from the object phrase only as far as the bound pronouns are concerned (indirect object having H tone, object L tone; see II.1.5.1.2.). Bound pronouns are often followed by ʔá- "VEN". When a noun or an independent pronoun is used, these phrases make use of the same kabe accusative marker, or of just the same word order, found in object phrases. We label this phrase "indirect object" (tag: IND) since "benefactive" would logically exclude sentences such as the following:

- 29) ʔá+ni+ʔ[e] kíbodda kúsi fáffaʔʔi
0+us-IND+VEN gourds too smash-A-3M
"He is breaking our gourds, too"

Other examples:

- 30) hééʔe+ní+ʔa maʔa
give-H2-S+us-IND+VEN water
"give us water!"
(underlying tones: /hééʔe+ní+ʔá/)
- 31) ʔáni+va maʔa hééʔe ʔú+kabe
I+PAST water give-C2-1S he+ACC
"I gave him water"
- 32) ʔáni+va dééla hééʔe maʔa
I+PAST girl give-C2-1S water
"I gave the girl water"

III.2.3. The nominal sentence

"True" nominal (i.e., verbless) sentences occur only in unmarked (affirmative and non-past) sentences of the type "X is Y", and when the noun phrase is simple, consisting of the simple noun, perhaps with a modifier, or a pronoun:

- 33) ʔáni d'aháálottsi
"I (F) am Dahalo"
- 34) ʔááta d'aháálotso
"you (SM) are Dahalo"
- 35) náni dáákatapi
"we are Daako"
- 36) ʔáttu dáákatapi
"you (P) are Daako"
- 37) nát'ettsa ʔít[o] d'aháálottsi
"this woman is Dahalo"
- 38) dééla ʔíta vínattsa
"this girl is beautiful"

Past affirmative nominal sentences use the past marker -va:

- 39) ʔúdu+va gúbaalgaale
he+PAST hunter
"he was a hunter"
- 40) ʔá+va gúbaalgaali
0+PAST hunters
"they were hunters"

Negative nominal sentences make use of the verb ʔeek- "to be":

- 41) b'á+ka ʔééketo víne
NEG+IRR be-A-2S good
"you (SM) are not good"
- 42) b'á+ka ʔéékeno "bííajiji
NEG+IRR be-A-1P bad-P
"we are not bad"
- 43) b'á+va ʔeeka háájio
NEG+IRR be-I man
"he was not a man"

III.2.3.1. The copula

A true copula is -sú (COP); the H tone is shifted back (according to TR 3). The use of -sú remains to be investigated in detail; in particular, it is difficult to state why -sú is used instead of the simple nominal sentence in the following:

- 44) ʔúdu+su dáákotu
he+COP D.-M
"he is a Daako"
- 45) ʔááta sááre+ku[ʔ]ú+su jíko
you name+your(SM)+COP who
"what is your name?"
- 46) ʔápi sááre+tts+[ʔ]su abedi
I name+my+M+COP A.
"my name is Abedi"
- 47) káádi+su[ʔ]ú+su ʔá+i+k" a guho+ke báña
work+his+M+COP 0+HAB+this people+ACC kill-I
"his work was to kill people"
- 48) ʔuk" a gettsi+ki ʔa+vá+su jíko
this bring-C1-3M+you-F O+PAST+COP who
"who was to bring you here?"

As may be seen, the copula can be used in affirmative and interrogative sentences, and also in the past, but no instances of its use in negative sentences have been found.

All informants agreed that the two constructions (with and without -sú) have the same meaning.

III.2.4. Questions

III.2.4.1. WH-Questions

Fronting of the interrogative word is optional, i.e., the interrogative word can occupy the same position as a noun with the same syntactic function in non-interrogative sentences:

- 49) ʔááta kééke+va kééjikútti
you where+PAST bear-PASS-C2-2S
"where were you born?"

or:

- 49') ʔááta+va kééke kééjikútti

Cf. the answer:

- 50) ʔápi+va nkunumbi kééiiku
I+PAST N. bear-PASS-C2-1S
"I was born in Mkunumbi"

- 51) ʔááta kééke i[é]+ʔa q"áñata
you where HAB+VEN live-A-2S
"where do you live?"

(note the use of kééke for a state, instead of kééda)

or, being inherently focussed, the interrogative word can be fronted at the beginning of the sentence:

- 52) mááka+b'ara+va háñati ʔamu
what+before+PAST come-C2-2S L.
"when did you come to Lamu?"

- 53) mááka+dá+ʔi+na háñati ʔuk"atta
what+LOC+by+PERF come-C2-2S here
"why have you come here?"

- 54) ʔápi+na ʔuk"atta háña ʔááta kabe vañe+kú+ʔ[e]
I+PERF here come-C2-1S you ACC see-I+you(SM)+VEN
"I have come here in order to see you (SM)"

or:

- 54') ... háña ʔa+kú+ʔ[e] ʔááta kabe vañe

III.2.4.2. YES-NO questions

D has no neutral interrogative word; in the absence of a "wh-word", the interrogative meaning is rendered by a rising-falling intonation on the final syllables (here marked /~/ on the last syllable); cf. the following statement and question:

- 55) ʔááta ʔéleto+ʔi
you know-A-2S+me
"you (S) know me"
- 56) ʔááta ʔéleto+ʔi
you know-A-2S+me
"do you (S) know me?"

III.3. THE TEXT

In a text, the verb which has just presented a new piece of information is often repeated, in the subordinative mood and followed by -ʔí ("by") or -ká (IRR) and the determinative, thus building a subordinate which constitutes the logical premise to the information which follows:

- 1) ʔuk^wa kééki | kééke+uá+ʔi+k[o] hoddzi+da
this look-C2-3M look-D1-3M+PAST+by+that say-C1-3M+LOC
"he looked; as he had looked, he said to him"
- 2) ʔaddo lííma+ani háʔettsi+da | háʔettsi+uá+ʔi+k[ó]+ka
day 2+GEN come-C1-3P+LOC come-C1-3P+PAST+by+that+IRR
ʔá+uá+te d'úʔikakuddzi
0+PAST+AFF untie-PASS-C1-3M
"the following day they came to it; after they had come to it, it was untied"

APPENDIX 1

TEXTS

Introduction

The five texts which follow were all produced by Dawa Hamadi.

The reason for choosing these, and not others, is essentially linguistic, as they are richer in vocabulary and syntax. Others would have been perhaps more interesting from an ethnological point of view.

The same abbreviations and tags used in the grammar are used; for convention, different words have been glossed differently in the infra-linear translation: so, hood- is constantly translated by "say", ʔibed- by "tell", and loom- by "speak". "P" after the gloss of a verbal stem means that the verb is inherently plural.

The English translation aims at reproducing as far as possible the original, even at the expense of the style.

TEXT No. 1

"The Story of the Astute Hare and the Drought"

Version recorded on 10.2.1988

1. dábima ʃírammi+uá | tsú^wgule hollo dokóómi ʔá+uá ieema
animals be-there-C1-3P+PAST hare with elephant 0+PAST live-P-E2-3M
- rááfiki || uákati ʔúk[o] ʔa+uá+te[e] kásiká[z]i || dokóómi
friend time that 0+PAST+HAB drought elephant
- tsú^wgule+da hoddzi+da | roʔóne kisima faat'áne+ji |
hare+LOC say-C1-3M+LOC go-F1-1P well dig-F1-1P+ALL
- tsú^wgule ʔá+uá+k^wa náʔi | hoddzi+da | ʔáni b'á+ka
hare 0+PAST+this refuse-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC I NEG+IRR
5. k'óóbo || dokóómi hollo dábima ʔaddje+su+ʔa rattsi
want-A-1S elephant with animals companion+his+F walk-C1-3P
- ʔa+uá+te kisima fáát'ammi | mpaka maʔa ʔá+uá+k^wa+da
0+PAST+ALL well dig-C1-3P until water 0+PAST+this+LOC
- tippéemi || ʔaddo lííma+ani ʔa+te gúño ʔákk^wi | wáraaba
go-out-C2-3M day 2+GEN 0+AFF person leave-C2-3M hyena
- || ʔibemummi+da | ʔááta ʔuk^wáttá g^wáha | tsú^wgule ʔuk^wá+ʔi
tell-C1-3P+LOC you here stay-H2-S hare this+by
- b'á+ka+ka d'irra | ʔummámu ʔá+uá+k^wa rattsi | ʃaga ʃaame+da
NEG+IRR+IRR pass-G1-3M they 0+PAST+this walk-C1-3P food eat-I+LOC

10. || wáraaba g^oañhi | kékke+va+k^o[e] tsú^ogule+ku ká+?a+te
hyena stay-C2-3M look-D1-3M+PAST+this hare+that IRR+VEN+AFF
- ratta || hoddzi+da | tsú^ogule | ?uk^oá+?i b'á+ka d'iríta ||
walk-G1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC hare this+by NEG+IRR pass-G1-2S
- hoddzi+da | héé | k^oani ?áni ?uk^oá+?i d'ire k'óóbo | ?áni
say-C1-3M+LOC ID why I this+by pass-I want-A-1S I
- manní+ku kabe ráto || rattsi+da tsú^ogule ?á+va+dá+j+k^oa
there+that ACC walk-A-1S walk-C1-3M+LOC hare 0+PAST+LOC+ALL+this
- hañfi | hoddzi+da | ?uk^oatta ma?a hoddzi+na dokóómi b'á+ka
come-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC here water say-C1-3M+PERF elephant NEG+IRR
15. ?éditta || hoddzi+da | ?áni ma?a b'á+ka k'óóbo | ?á+na+k^oa
fetch-B-2S say-C1-3M+LOC I water NEG+IRR want-A-1S 0+and+this
- te kééko | ma?a+kúnu+k^oa k'úúhuma au híimate || ?áá
AFF look-A-1S water+your(P)+this white or black ID
- kééki b'asi ró?ine ?uk^oattá+?i | ?á+va+k^oa kekki |
look-H1-S just go-F2-1P here+by 0+PAST+this look-C1-3M
- kékke+vá+?i+k[o] hoddzi+da víne ma?a ?uk^oa || hoddzi+da |
look-D1-3M+PAST+by+that say-3M+LOC good water this say-C1-3M+LOC
- hela | ?á+ku+?i kinto ?á^o/adido || nala+k^oa kammi ?á+va+k^oa
come-on! 0+you+by thing make-taste-A-1S honey+this hold-C1-3M 0+PAST+this
20. ?á^o/adidi || ?a+te tááhame vañhi || hoddzi+da | ?áá |
make-taste-C2-3M 0+AFF sweet see-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC ID
- nala+k^oa víne | kinto ?uk^oa víne | hoddzi+da | ?áá b'asi
honey+this good thing this good say-C1-3M+LOC ID just
- k'óóboto | ?áá k'óóbo || hoddzi+da | b'asi d'ú?aje+ku |
want-A-2S ID want-A-1S say-C1-3M+LOC just tie-F1-1S+you
- ?uk^oa d'ú?addzi | ?á+va+te ma?a+su+?u ?ídi bbi
this tie-C1-3M 0+PAST+AFF water+his+M fetch-C1-3M
- ?uk^oéémi+vá+?i+k^oa ro??i | ?addo lííma+ani hásettsi+da |
wake-C2-3M+PAST+by+this go-C1-3M day 2+GEN come-C1-3P+LOC
25. hásettsi+vá+?i+k[o]+k^oa ?a+te d'ú?ikakuddzi | jíko+kú+na
come-C1-3P+PAST+by+that+this 0+AFF untie-PASS-C1-3M who+you+PERF

- d'ú?addzi | ?íbetsi+da | tsú^ogule || ?addo lííma+ani kúsi
tie-C1-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC hare day 2+GEN too
- k'óóbe hoddzi+da | ?áni ?addo+k^oa ?áni ?akk^oo+?i || dokóómi+ku
tortoise say-C1-3M+LOC I day+this I leave-H2-P+me elephant+that
- hoddzi+da | ?áá | wáraaba b'á+na kare ?ááta karáto | ?áni
say-C1-3M+LOC ID hyena NEG+PERF can-I you can-A-2S I
- ?addo+k^oa ?akk^oo+?i | ?uk^oatta g^oañhe | ?á+va+k^oa ?ákk^oi ||
day+this leave-H2-P+me here stay-F1-1S 0+PAST+this leave-C2-3M
30. k'óóbe g^oañhi | kékke+va+k^oe tsú^ogulé+ku ká+?a+te ratta
tortoise stay-C1-3M look-D1-3M+PAST+this hare+that IRR+VEN+AFF walk-G1-3M
- ?údu te kisima kotta ?ót'i | té+j+k[o] g^oañhi | rattsi+?a
he AFF well in enter-C2-3M AFF+ALL+that stay-C1-3M walk-C1-3M+VEN
- kékkekki b'aadu gúño | hoddzi+da | háye | ?addo+k^oa
look-RED-C1-3M without person say-C1-3M+LOC go-on! day+this
- ki+íten+na | b'a+kúnnava jeema || hañfi ?uk^oa ?ót'i |
run-P-C1-2P+PERF NEG+your(PM)+PAST live-I come-C1-3M this enter-C2-3M
- ?ót'i+k[o] ma?a+k^oa ?ídi bbi | /u//úkke+va+k^o[é]+?i+k[o]
enter-C2-3M+that water+this fetch-C1-3M fill-RED-D1-3M+PAST+this+by+that
35. kíbođđá+k[o] | ?uk^oa+te d'úk'udd'uk'u k'obbi ||
gourds+that this+AFF spoil-RED-I want-C1-3M
- hoddzi+va+k^o[é]+?i+k[o] ?a+te+k^oa kammi | daká?a ?ukotta |
say-C1-3M+PAST+this+by+that 0+AFF+this hold-C1-3M leg there
- ?ákk^oa+?i ?ákk^oa+?i | ?ákk^oa+?i | daká?a lííma+ani páño+kú+ka
leave-H2-S+me leave-H2-S+me leave-H2-S+me leg 2+GEN beat-A-1S+you+IRR
- | ?a+te dzáá?ado || daká?a lííma+ani+k^oa páñhe+vá+?i+k[o]
0+AFF kill-A-1S leg 2+GEN+this beat-D1-3M+PAST+by+that
- ?á+va+k^oa kammi | ?ákk^oa+?i ?ákk^oa+?i | dába+k^oá+?i kúsi
0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M leave-H2-S+me leave-H2-S+me hand+this+by too
40. páño+ku | dába ?uk^oá+?i | dába ?uk^oá+?i páño+ku kúsi |
beat-A-1S+you hand this+by hand this+by beat-A-1S+you too
- ?á+va+k^oa kammi | dába lííma+ani ?uk^oá+?i kúsi
0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M hand 2+GEN this+by too

- páhhe+uá+?i+k[o] ?á+uá+k"á kammi || dokóómi heddo
beat-D1-3M+PAST+by+that 0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M elephant evening
- ?ekki+uá+k"é+?i+k[o] háfammí+?a | ha?ettsi+uá tsú"gule+ku
be-C1-3M+PAST+this+by+that come-C1-3P+here come-C1-3P+PAST hare+that
- b'oma ma?a ?uk"atta | ?á+uá+k"á kammi dokóómi ?á+uá+k"á
sleep-B-3M water here 0+PAST+this hold-C1-3M elephant 0+PAST+this
45. gúdi gárima ?uk"atta | iamaa ?a+du+uá+k"á pa?ádi | mááka
remove-C2-3M outside here group 0+him+PAST+this get-C2-3M what
- ?úúno kali i?kotu g"íttsa ?úk[o] || dokóómi ?uk"á hoddzi+da |
do-A-1P harsh who little that elephant this say-C1-3M+LOC
- ?uk"á ?áni hee?ó+?i | ?uk"á kammi | hoddzi+da kali i?kotu
this I give-H2-P+me-BEN this hold-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC harsh who
- g"íttsa ?úk[o] mááka+du ?úno | ?áámininna ?amma ?uk"á |
little that what+him-BEN do-A-1P little like this
- ?íbettsi+da ko?e ?áni | ?áni kínto fálo+du || kammi+uá
tell-C1-3M+LOC wait-H1-P I I thing make-A-1S+him-BEN hold-C1-3M+PAST
50. rik'a+k"á ?á+uá+te ví?avit'édi | ví?avit'édi mpaka rik'a+k"á
tail+this 0+PAST+AFF rotate-C2-3M rotate-C2-3M until tail+this
- ?á+uá+k"á po?éémi | tsú"gule ?á+uá+k"á k"á?i || k"á?i+uá |
0+PAST+this be-consumed-C2-3M hare 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M run-C2-3M+PAST
- ?áfiteda g"áñhí+ka rik'á+k[o] ?a+te va+addzi || [2 times] ||
shadow live-C1-3M+IRRtail+that 0+AFF pain-C1-3M
- g"áñhi vañhi+uá+k"é+?i saa ?uk"á+na+te qíiti
stay-C1-3M see-C1-3M+PAST+this+by time this+PERF+AFF sleep-P-C2-3M
- ?ume+mámusu?+u ?ukotta | ?uk'éémi ?ééga+su?+u ?uk"á kammi |
bush+their+M there get-up-C2-3M fire+his+M this hold-C1-3M
55. ?ípa+uá+i+nto ?uk"á gúbi | ?ákkale ?á+uá+k"á láñi ||
them+PAST+ALL+with this burn-C2-3M all 0+PAST+this finish-C2-3M
- képpa ?á+uá+k"á vátl'a ||
finish-C2-1S 0+PAST+this return-C2-1S

Free Translation

1. Once upon a time there were the animals; the hare and the elephant lived as friends. At that time there was a drought. The elephant said to the hare: "Let's go to dig a well", but the hare refused, saying: "I don't want to!"
5. The elephant, together with his fellow-animals, went and dug a well, until water came out.
- The following day he appointed as guard the hyena; they said to it: "Stay here, you, and don't let the hare pass by here!". And they went to eat food.
10. The hyena stayed, and it saw the hare walking in its direction. It said: "Hare! Don't pass by here!". The hare said: "Hey! Why should I want to pass by? I just want to go there".
- The hare went and came there. [The hyena] said: "The elephant said that you should not fetch water". It said: "I don't want water. I am just looking [to see] if your water is black or white". "O.K., come on". It looked, and after that it said: "This water is good!", and it said: "Let me make you taste a thing". It took some honey and let [the hyena] taste it. [The latter] saw that it was sweet, and said: "Ah! This honey is good; this thing is good!". [The hare] said: "Do you want it?"
- [The hyena] said: "Yes, I want it" - "I [must] just tie you up". It tied [the other], then it fetched water, and afterwards it rose and went away.
25. The following day [the elephant] came, and after the hyena was untied [said]: "Who tied you?" - [The hyena] said: "The hare".
- And the following day the tortoise said: "Let me stay here today!". The elephant said: "The hyena could not [prevent the hare from fetching water], how could you?" - "Today, leave me, let me stay here!". [The elephant] left it there.
30. The tortoise stayed and watched until the hare came: he [the tortoise] entered the well and stayed there; [the hare] went and looked: nobody! It said: "Ehi! Have you run away today? Aren't you here?" It came and entered. It entered, fetched the water and filled its containers, and after that it wanted to foul the water.
35. It said that, and then [the tortoise] caught its leg.
- "Leave me! Leave me!". "I'll beat (you) your other leg too! I'll kill you!". It hit [the hare] on its other leg and caught it. "Leave me! Leave me!". "I'll 40. beat you on your other paw too! I'll beat you on your other paw too! On your other paw too!". It caught [the hare]; after having beaten it on its other paw, it held it.
- When evening had fallen, the elephant came. They came and the hare was lying in the water. The elephant got hold of it and removed it from
45. underneath [the water]. The group [of the animals] got hold of it: "What harm shall we do to this little one?"
- The elephant said: "Leave it to me!" It took it. [The elephant] said: "What harm shall I do to this little one, to a little thing like this?". [Then] it said: "Wait! I, I'll do something to it". It took it by its tail and swung it
50. round. It swung it round until the [hare's] tail was all consumed, and the hare ran away.
- It ran away and stayed in the shadow, while its tail was hurting. It stayed and watched until they were sleeping in their bush.
55. [Then] it got up and took its fire, and with it, it burned them. They all died. I finished and came back.

Note:

We have here a Dahalo version of a well-known tale, very abridged in comparison with the Swahili version given by Knappert (1970: 154 foll.); e.g., here only the hyena and the tortoise act as guards of the well (in Knappert's version, the giraffe, the buffalo, the lion, the elephant itself, and, finally, the tortoise act as guards). In the final scene, here, it is the hare who burns the animals, while in Knappert's text the hare takes its vengeance, by persuading the hyena to take its place. The animals then burn the hyena believing they are burning the hare.

It will also be observed that our informant politely avoided elaborating on how the tortoise caught the hare (in the Swahili text, by holding it fast with its anus).

The beginning of the story (here *dábima šírammi+va* "there were animals", more often *guho g'áhammi+va* "there were people") recurs in the other Dahalo texts. The end, too, is a stereotype: *képpa ?á+va+k'a vát'l'a* "I finished and came back" (see also texts No. 2 and 3).

TEXT No. 2

"The Story of the Two Brothers"

Recorded on 29.1.1988

1. *guho g'áhammi+va || ?á+va h́áájo kúsi širri | hollo g'ittsa*
 persons stay-C1-3P+PAST 0+PAST man too exist-C1-3M with youngs
- ?a+su[?]+u | g'ittsa ?a+su+[?]+u+va lííma | ?á+va nat'a hollo*
 0+his+M youngs 0+his+PAST 2 0+PAST woman with
- h́áájo || nat'a+ta+ke+uá+ji+te tágga | h́áájo+k[o]*
 man woman+this-F+ACC+PAST+HAB+AFF love-E1-3M man+that
- b'á+ka+uá+ji tágga || h́áájo+k'a+ke ?a+uá+ji monno lúbba ||*
 NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB love-E1-3M man+this+ACC 0+PAST+HAB very hit-E1-3M
5. *síku[z]ote lubbi | b'ura ?uk'éémi+ka+k'[é]+na+te lubbi |*
 always hit-C1-3M morning get-up-C2-3M+IRR+this+by+PERF+AFF hit-C1-3M
- kínto ?ugge kínto b'á+ka ?ugga || g'ittsa ka+va raha*
 thing do-F1-3M thing NEG+IRR do-G1-NEG-3M young IRR+PAST rest
- b'á+ka t'l'aggi || ?á+va g'áhammi | mpaka g'ittsa+k[o] vañhi*
 NEG+IRR have-C1-3M 0+PAST stay-C1-3P until young+that see-C1-3M
- mááte | táábu monno vañhi+k[o] | g'ittsa+k[o] manni ?á+va*
 what distress very see-C1-3M+that young+that far 0+PAST
- k'akk'áfi | ?á+va gúdde+da k'áfi || ?á+va ?into nat'á+to*
 run-RED-C2-3M 0+PAST forest+LOC run-C2-3M 0+PAST with woman+that-F

10. *b'áki?ádi | te tava+t[o] || g'ahhi+nto g'ittsa ?a+su+?a |*
 remain-C2-3M AFF love-B-3M+that-F stay-C1-3M+with young 0+his+F
- g'ittsa h́áájo+k'a b'á+ka+i[e] bugdáttsa || h́áájo tippéemi+da*
 young man+this NEG+IRR+HAB ask-E1-3M man come-out-C2-3M+LOC
- ?á+va+k'a hóovgati+di || ?ít[o] kúsi+na h́áájo+sí[?]+ni*
 0+PAST+this marry-C2-3M+her that-F too+and man+her+FOC
- ró?ote+uá+?i+k[o] | ?ídi "duugo+si+ke tóoto || g'ahatá+ji*
 go-D1-3F+PAST+by+that she kinsman+her+ACC love-A-3F stay-A-3F+ALL
- ?árasa kúsi+n[é]+?i | lófikútti | mini vattúk'e jéemi ||*
 wife too+and+by bring-PASS-C2-3F house 1 live-C2-3P
15. *g'áhammi | ?árasá+to+ká+i[e] kééta | ?ídi*
 stay-C1-3P wife+that-F+IRR+HAB bear-child-E1-3F she
- ha?áti+uá+ji+k[ó]+i[e] g'ittsa lo?ítto || ?árasá+to ?inááfa*
 come-D2-3F+PAST+HAB+that+ALL youngs bring-C1-3F wife+that-F jealousy
- faláto || b'á+ka+ji tóota ?árasá+ta kabe | h́áájo+k'a há?i+ka*
 do-C1-3F NEG+IRR+HAB love-E2-2S wife+this-F ACC man+this come-C2-3M+IRR
- ?a+uá+ji fitina ?ot'óto | ro??i+ka há?i+ka+da*
 0+PAST+ALL discord enter-C1-3F go-C1-3M+IRR come-C2-3M+IRR+LOC
- ?a+uá+ji fitina ?ot'óto | há | nat'a+ku+?á+ta g'ittsa*
 0+PAST+ALL discord enter-C1-3F ID woman+your+F+this-F child
20. *b'á+ka+ji kééketo | nat'a+ku+?á+ta b'á+ka+ji súúkento |*
 NEG+IRR+ALL look-A-3F woman+your+F+this-F NEG+IRR+ALL settle-A-3F
- h́áájo+k[o] b'á+ka kamme || g'áhammi hata ?addó+k[o] |*
 man+that NEG+IRR take-H stay-C1-3P until day+that
- h́áájo+k[o] te safari ro??i | safari ró??e+uá+?i+k[o] | ?ídi*
 man+that AFF voyage go-C1-3M voyage go-D1-3M+PAST+by+that she
- dabara+k'a kae | ?á+va há?ate+da rááfiki+si+da hootto+da |*
 behind+this ACC 0+PAST come-D1-3F+LOC friend+her+LOC say-C1-3F+LOC
- h́áájo+ni | ?ibetto+da ?addo+k'a | ?árattsá+to vaddánne |*
 man+FOC tell-C1-3F+LOC today co-wife+that-F carry-F1-1P
25. *?áttaháne+ji | "duugo vaddati hííma || rattsi+nto | ?a+uá+ji*
 throw-F2-1P+ ALL kinsman carry-C2-3F night walk-C1-3P+with 0+PAST+ALL

g^wittso gávajú+úni+da kááji || ?íbemummi+da | g^wáha ?uk^watta
youngs snakes+GEN+LOC put-C2-3P tell-C1-3P+LOC stay-H2-S here

súgi+ni || g^wáhatí+ii | hollo naano ?a+si+?a || g^wáháto
wait-H1-S+us stay-C2-3F+ALL with baby 0+her+F stay-C1-3F

g^wittso gávajú+k[o] ?into | t'ooŋóto mééši+n[e] to+da d'áratí
youngs snakes+that with collect-C1-3F place+FOC that-F+LOC put-C2-3F

|| míída yááyo ?ummámu+su+?u háŋati | háŋati+vá+?i+k[o] |
at-once mother they+his+M come-C2-3F come-C2-3F+PAST+by+that

30. há | túnti yááyo ?ummámu+su+?á+to || g^wittso ?úkummámu
ID be-angry-C2-3F mother they+his+F+that-F youngs these

hoddzen+ta | yááyo | b'á+ka túnta ?íta+ni+na ?á+na kutta
say-C1-3P+LOC mother NEG+IRR be-angry-G2-2S this-F+us+and 0+PERF there

gínne ká+na káragne ?ík^wa+ke ?iddzabi | ?á+na+k^wa
sleep-I IRR+and can-D1-1P here+ACC climb-I 0+PERF+this

ʔdóʔadító+?i+ni ?uk^watta d'áratí+?a || ?íta guho vínaddza
approach-C1-3F+by+us here put-C2-3F+VEN this-F person good-F

monno | há || gííti ?ukotta ?ídi hollo gave hollo
very ID sleep-C2-3F there she with snake with

35. g^wittso+si[?]+i mpaká+su b'ura || b'ura ?árasa háŋati+da |
youngs+her+M until+COP morning morning wife come-C2-3F+LOC

?uk^watta mááka ?úúto | b'á+ki+na dzaaʔe | kééketo | ha |
here what do-A-2S NEG+you-F+PERF die-I look-A-3F ID

?úk'e roʔóne | há | váddati || rattsi+nto mpaka g^wittso
get-up-H1-P go-F1-1P ID carry-C2-3F walk-C1-3P+with until youngs

b'áʔimá+áni+da kaaiín+tsi || ?ukotta ?agáddati ?ukotta |
lions+GEN+LOC put-C2-3P+ ALL there spend-the-day-C2-3F there

?agáddati mpaká+su hííma | hííma ?ééki+vá+?i+k[o]
spend-the-day-C2-3F until+COP night night be-C2-3M+PAST+by+that

40. háŋettsi+vá+di k'át'ammi k'át'ammi+?a |
come-C1-3P+PAST+her-BEN go-and-look-C1-3P go-and-look-C1-3P+VEN

?uk^watta mááka ?úúto | b'á+ki+na dzaaʔe | ha | ?úk'e ?úk'e
here what do-A-2S NEG+you-F+PERF die-I ID get-up-H2-P get-up-H2-P

roʔóne | váddati || mpaká+ii+k^wa rattsi mpaka kábaʔe+da |
go-F1-1P carry-C2-3F until+ALL+this walk-C1-3P until baobab+LOC

ŋánuta káŋime guhá+áni || ?íbemummi+da | ?ukotta g^wáha+ii |
heads many persons+GEN tell-C1-3P+LOC there stay-H2-S+ALL

?ummámu ?uk^watta b'á+ii+ke ranni | ?a+vá+?i+k^wa rattsi ||
they here NEG+ALL+ACC walk-I 0+PAST+by+this walk-C1-3P

45. róʔoto g^wáható+ji | mpaka hííma ?ekki+vá+k^wé+?i+k[o] | guho
go-A-3F stay-A-3F+ALL until night be-D2-3M+PAST+this+by+that person

?á+va+k^wa háŋi | haŋŋi+vá+?i+k[o] guho | guho ?a+ta
0+PAST+this come-C2-3M come-D2-3M+PAST+by+that person person 0+this-F

g^wáhata || kekki+di || g^wittsattsittse | roʔ?i b'ómi+ii
stay-B-3F look-C1-3M+her child-having-F go-C1-3M sleep-C2-3M+ALL

mpaká+su b'ura | b'ura ?á+va+k^wa ŋíi | háŋati+da |
until+COP morning morning 0+PAST+this call-C2-3M come-C2-3F+LOC

?íbettsi+da | ?ááta ?uk^watta íko kí+na géti || ?íbettoda |
tell-C1-3M+LOC you here who you-F+PERF send-C2-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC

50. ?uk^watta ?i+na ?árattsa géti | mááka+dá+na roʔáto |
here me+PERF co-wife send-C2-3F what+LOC+PERF go-C1-2S

?íbetto+da | b'á+ka+?i +óto | ?údu kekki ?á+va+k^wa
tell-C1-3F+LOC NEG+IRR+me love-A-3F he look-C1-3M 0+PAST+this

b'ári | hoddzi+da | ?ááta ?áni ?életo+?i | ?íbetto+da | ?á
recognize-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC you I know-A-2S+me tell-C1-3F+LOC ID

b'á+ka+ku ?élejo | ?íbettsi+da | ?áni+su ʔuugo+kí+k[o] ?íni
NEG+IRR you know-A-1S tell-C1-3M+LOC I+COP kinsman+your-F+that FOC

| b'ááb'a monno lúbba+?i+vá+i[e]+k[o] || ?éé | ?á+va+k^wa
father very beat-E1-3M+me+PAST+HAB+that ID 0+PAST+this

55. b'áratí | ?íbetto+da | ʔona ?uk^watti ?uk^waddzi guho+ke
recognize-C2-2S tell-3F+LOC why now nowadays persons+ACC

ŋááto | ?íbettsi+da | ?éé | váák'a ?i+na ?ammé+k^wa falli |
eat-A-2S tell-C1-3M+LOC ID god me+PERF this-way do-C1-3M

?uk^watti ?uk^wa || ?á+ii guho+ke ŋágo | ?ááta kúsi g^wáha |
now this 0+HAB persons+ACC eat-A-1S you self stay-H2-S

- kila kinto géte+kí+ka+i[é]+?a || ?a+vá+ii+k" a g"áhati
every thing send-F2-1S+you-F+IRR+HAB+VEN 0+PAST+ALL+this stay-C2-3F
- "duugo+si[?]+i+nto | háájo+si[?]+i+k[o] háŋŋe+vá+?i+k[o]
kinsman+her+M+with man+her+M+that come-D1-3M+PAST+by+that
60. nat'a+su+?á+to búđđattsí | ?íbettoda | b'á+ka ?éleio | ?ídi
woman+his+F+that-F ask-C1-3M tell-3F+LOC NEG+IRR know-A-1S she
- ró?ote+vá+?i ?éeto+va || b'á+ka+vá+ji b'omma hííma |
go-D1-3F+PAST+by get-lost-C1-3F+PAST NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB sleep-E1-3M night
- ?addo ?a+vá+ji nat'a+su+?a ?éekadiddza || rí"qaddzi kutta
day 0+PAST+HAB woman+his+F look-for-E2-3M go-around-C1-3M there
- hííma d'ú?i+ká+ii+k" a b'ommi | b'ura b'árittsí+ka na te
night set-C2-3M+IRR+ALL+this sleep-C1-3M morning rise-C1-3M+IRR and AFF
- ?antádi | rá"qaddzí+ji mpaka ?addo+k" a ?á+ji+k" a vahhi
begin-C2-3M go-around-C1-3M+ALL until day+this O+ALL+that see-C1-3M
65. nat'a+su+?á+to hóllo g"íttsa+su[?]+u || hoddzi+da | ?uk" a
woman+his+F+that-F with young+his+M say-C1-3M+LOC this
- gettsi+ki ?a+vá+su iko || ?íbetto+da | ?árattsa "dó?ate
bring-C1-3M+you-F 0+PAST+COP who tell-C1-3F+LOC co-wife approach-D1-3F
- ?áttahati || rattsi g"áhhi mpaka ?árago+su[?]+ú+k[o]
throw-C2-3F walk-C1-3M stay-C1-3M until brother-in-law+his+M+that
- ?á+va+dá+?i+te háŋi || ?áragó+su[?]+ú+k[o] hoddzi+da |
0+PAST+LOC+by+AFF come-C2-3M brother-in-law+his+M+that say-C1-3M+LOC
- "bona "duugo+si[?]+i+ta nat'a+ke ?áttahati | hoddzi+da |
why kinsman+her+M+this-F woman+ACC throw-C2-3F say-C1-3M+LOC
70. ?áni b'á+ka+va ?íro | safari ?íro | ?árasa "dó?ate
I NEG+IRR+PAST be-there-A-1S voyage be-there-A-1S wife approach-D1-3F
- ?áttahati || ?ína ?á+va+k" a pa?a ?ántantídi | pa?a |
throw-C2-3F them 0+PAST+this agreement begin-RED-C2-3M agreement
- ?ántamni | ?á+va+k" a gággalitti || ?íbetsi+da |
begin-C1-3P 0+PAST+this go-home-P-C1-3P tell-C1-3M+LOC
- ?ít[o]+?i+na háŋatí+ka+dá+ii hííma+ka jaagú+k[o]
that-F+by+and come-C2-3F+IRR+LOC+ALL night+IRR cows+that

- ?éetití+ka+te búđdu?edimummi | hóód'i+da | ró?i | jaagú+k[o]
hear-C2-2S+IRR+AFF rush-C2-3P say-G1-S+LOC go-G1-S cows+that
75. kéeki+ii || ?á+va háŋettsí+ii | gettsi+vá+?i+k[o] ?íni hííma
look-H1-S+ALL 0+PAST come-C1-3P+ALL send-D2-3M+PAST+by+that FOC night
- ?á+va jaagú+k[o] ?éetití+ka+te búđdu?edimummi || hoddzi+da |
0+PAST cows+that hear-C2-3F+IRR+AFF rush-C2-3P say-C1-3M+LOC
- ró?i | ró?i | jaagu ?itts+í+ku kéeki+ii | ?árasá+to típpenti
go-H1-S go-H1-S cows my+M+that look-H1-S+ALL wife+that-F go-out-C2-3F
- ?a+vá+ii+k" a ?ágikútto || ?údu+va nat'a+su+?a+nto g"áhhi |
0+PAST+ALL+that eat-PASS-C1-3F he+PAST woman+his+F+with stay-C1-3M
- hóllo g"íttsa ?a+su+?a || képpa ?á+va+k" a vátl'a ||
with young 0+his+F finish-C2-1S 0+PAST+this return-C2-1S
- Free Translation
1. There were people, and there was also a man with his children. His children were two, a girl and a boy. As for the girl, he loved her, but the boy, he did not love him. He beat the boy very much, always he beat him. In the morning, when he woke up, he beat him, whether he had done or had not done anything. The boy did not find peace; they stayed until the boy found himself in great distress, and ran away, into the forest.
5. The man was left with the girl, whom he loved: he stayed with the girl and he did not bother asking about the boy. A man came and married the girl, and she went with her husband, though loving her brother. She stayed and another wife was brought, and they lived together in a single house. They stayed so, and the [other] wife did not bear children; she, after she came, bore children. The other wife became jealous, and did not love the girl. She quarrelled with the husband when he came: whether he went or he came, she [always] quarrelled with him: "Hey! This wife of yours does not look after the child! She won't be quiet!". The man did not care. They stayed, until one day the man went on a journey. After he had left (on the journey), and the [other] wife [had stayed] there, [the co-wife] went and said to her friend - her lover -: "Today let's take my co-wife, and get rid of her".
10. She took her relative [: her co-wife], by night. They went away and left her in a place [where] young snakes [lived]. They said to her: "Remain here, wait for us". She stayed there, with her child. She stayed with the young snakes, collected them and put them in [their proper] place. Suddenly, their mother arrived, and, after she had arrived, she got angry, their mother. The young ones said to her: "Mum! Don't be angry! This [woman], while we were sleeping and could not climb up [to our place], came close to us and put us straight. She is a very good person!" - "Ah!". [So] she stayed there with the snake and her child until the morning. In the morning, the [other] wife came: "Here, what has happened? Haven't you died?" - she looked - "Hey! Get up, let's go!" - "O.K.". She took her.
15. She stayed and another wife was brought, and they lived together in a single house. They stayed so, and the [other] wife did not bear children; she, after she came, bore children. The other wife became jealous, and did not love the girl. She quarrelled with the husband when he came: whether he went or he came, she [always] quarrelled with him: "Hey! This wife of yours does not look after the child! She won't be quiet!". The man did not care. They stayed, until one day the man went on a journey. After he had left (on the journey), and the [other] wife [had stayed] there, [the co-wife] went and said to her friend - her lover -: "Today let's take my co-wife, and get rid of her".
20. She took her relative [: her co-wife], by night. They went away and left her in a place [where] young snakes [lived]. They said to her: "Remain here, wait for us". She stayed there, with her child. She stayed with the young snakes, collected them and put them in [their proper] place. Suddenly, their mother arrived, and, after she had arrived, she got angry, their mother. The young ones said to her: "Mum! Don't be angry! This [woman], while we were sleeping and could not climb up [to our place], came close to us and put us straight. She is a very good person!" - "Ah!". [So] she stayed there with the snake and her child until the morning. In the morning, the [other] wife came: "Here, what has happened? Haven't you died?" - she looked - "Hey! Get up, let's go!" - "O.K.". She took her.
25. She took her relative [: her co-wife], by night. They went away and left her in a place [where] young snakes [lived]. They said to her: "Remain here, wait for us". She stayed there, with her child. She stayed with the young snakes, collected them and put them in [their proper] place. Suddenly, their mother arrived, and, after she had arrived, she got angry, their mother. The young ones said to her: "Mum! Don't be angry! This [woman], while we were sleeping and could not climb up [to our place], came close to us and put us straight. She is a very good person!" - "Ah!". [So] she stayed there with the snake and her child until the morning. In the morning, the [other] wife came: "Here, what has happened? Haven't you died?" - she looked - "Hey! Get up, let's go!" - "O.K.". She took her.
30. She took her relative [: her co-wife], by night. They went away and left her in a place [where] young snakes [lived]. They said to her: "Remain here, wait for us". She stayed there, with her child. She stayed with the young snakes, collected them and put them in [their proper] place. Suddenly, their mother arrived, and, after she had arrived, she got angry, their mother. The young ones said to her: "Mum! Don't be angry! This [woman], while we were sleeping and could not climb up [to our place], came close to us and put us straight. She is a very good person!" - "Ah!". [So] she stayed there with the snake and her child until the morning. In the morning, the [other] wife came: "Here, what has happened? Haven't you died?" - she looked - "Hey! Get up, let's go!" - "O.K.". She took her.
35. She took her relative [: her co-wife], by night. They went away and left her in a place [where] young snakes [lived]. They said to her: "Remain here, wait for us". She stayed there, with her child. She stayed with the young snakes, collected them and put them in [their proper] place. Suddenly, their mother arrived, and, after she had arrived, she got angry, their mother. The young ones said to her: "Mum! Don't be angry! This [woman], while we were sleeping and could not climb up [to our place], came close to us and put us straight. She is a very good person!" - "Ah!". [So] she stayed there with the snake and her child until the morning. In the morning, the [other] wife came: "Here, what has happened? Haven't you died?" - she looked - "Hey! Get up, let's go!" - "O.K.". She took her.

- They went on until they put her in a lion-cubs' [den]. There she spent the day (, there she spent the day), until night. When night had fallen, they [: the co-wife and her lover] came in, looking around.
40. "What has happened here? Haven't you died? Hey! Get up, get up, let's go!" She took her. And they walked until [they came to] a baobab, where many human skulls were lying.
- They said to her: "Stay here". They did not go in, [but] went away.
45. She went in and stayed, until, as night had fallen, a man came. As the man came in, she stood up. He looked at her, and she had her child. He went to sleep until morning. In the morning he called her and, after she had come, he said to her: "Who brought you here?". She said to him: "[My] co-wife brought me here" - "Why has she gone away?" - "She does not love me". He looked and recognized her, and said: "Do you know me?". She said to him: "I do not know you". He told her: "I am your brother whom father beat a lot" - "Ah!" - she recognized him, and said: "Why do you now eat people?".
50. He said to her: "Well! God has done this to me, that I now eat people; [but] you, stay here. Let me provide you [with] everything".
- [So] she stayed there with her brother, [while] her husband, having come back, asked his wife [about his other wife]. She said: "I do not know; she went away, and then she got lost". He could not sleep, and day and night he went looking for his wife. He roamed, going to sleep when night had fallen, and beginning [to look around again] in the morning. He went around until one day he saw his wife with his child.
60. He said to her: "Who was it who brought you here?". She said: "[My] co-wife came and threw [me] out".
- He walked in and stayed there until his brother-in-law came; his brother-in-law [: the girl's brother] said to him: "Why has her relative [: the co-wife] thrown the woman out?". He said: "I was not there, I was on a journey: the co-wife came in and threw her out". [The brother] began to settle the matter among them, they (began to) settle[d] it and then went back home. The brother had said: "When you have come back to her [i.e., the co-wife] and you hear the cattle rushing, say [to your co-wife]: 'Go and look at the cattle'".
65. They came back [home] and when she [i.e., the co-wife] heard the rushing of cows, he said [to his co-wife]: "Go! Go and look at my cattle!". She went out and was eaten [by the other wife's brother]. He [i.e., the husband] stayed with his wife and with her son. I finished and came back.

Note:

That the story was not born out of a traditional hunting-gatherer setting is made clear by the reference to cattle; moreover, no reference is made to any role played by the clan in the wedding: the man just comes, asks for the girl and marries her. An agricultural-pastoral setting (and Islamic culture ?) is therefore to be assumed as its origin.

TEXT No. 3

"The Story of Ahmadi and Ishe"

Recorded on 4.2.1988

1. guho g'áhammi | guho g'áhammi | ?íše kúsi+n[é]+?i ?á+va+te
persons stay-C1-3P people stay-C1-3P I. too+and+by 0+PAST+AFF
- širri | hollo g'íttsa ?a+su?+u ?ahmádi || uááyo+su?+á+to
exist-C1-3M with child 0+his+M A. mother+his+F+that-F
- ?a+vá+?i+te dzáá?ati | uááyo+su?+a ?ahmádi+iní+ta | g'áhammi
0+PAST+by+AFF die-C2-3F mother+his+F A.+GEN+this-F stay-C1-3P
- na b'ááb'a+su?+ú+k[o] na ?íše+k" a+vá+ji mkullima | ?a+vá+ji+te
and father+his+M+that and I.+this+PAST+HAB farmer 0+PAST+HAB+AFF
5. líimattsa || sasa g'íttsa ?a+su?+u+k" a b'ura ró??a+vá+ji
work-E1-3M now child 0+his+M+this morning go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB
- líimani+da | ?a+vá+ji láva+da ?ákk" a || líimattsi+ji | kisa
work-H+LOC 0+PAST+HAB home+LOC leave-E1-3M work-C1-3M+ALL then
- g'íttsa ?a+su+[?]u+k" á+ji ma?a b'ú??a | mini+kotta péélaagiddzi
child 0+his+M+this+HAB water fetch-E2-3M house+there sweep-C1-3M
- | ?aga d'akki | ?a+vá+ji b'ááb'a+su+[?]u+ke gettsa ||
food cook-C1-3M 0+PAST+HAB father+his+M+ACC send-E2-3M
- b'ááb'a+su+[?]u ?aggí+ka+da ?ísakúdi+ka ?ákkale b'úhi
father+his+M eat-C1-3M+IRR+LOC finish-C2-3M+IRR all go-(P)-C2-3M
10. múnta+da ?a+k" a líimamummi || mpaka heddo ?ahmádi+k" á+ji[e]
farm+LOC 0+this work-C1-3P until evening A.+this+HAB
- ?ééga+su?+u d'ú??a ?a+vá+ji[e]+?a+k" a g'áálittsa ||
fire+his+M close-E1-3M 0+PAST+HAB+VEN+this go-home-E1-3M
- láva+mámusu?+u+kotta ?a+vá+ji j'íirani+mámusu?+a t'l'áámumma
home-their+M+there 0+PAST+HAB neighbour+their+F have-E1-3P
- nát'etsta | ?ílakini kúsi+né+?i gaano g'íttsa || ?ukotta
woman but too+and+by old young there
- ?a+vá+ji[e]+da hatá+ji gaano g'íttsa+ani+kotta g'áhhi |
0+PAST+ALL+LOC until+ALL old young+GEN+there stay-C1-3M
15. hoddzi+da | b'ááb'a ?ítts+iku híima+katte b'ómni |
say-C1-3M+LOC father my+M+that night+IRR+AFF sleep-A-3M

ʔá+ki+i+kʷa ʔááta+ke háhhaavittsi ki monno tággʷi |
0+you-F+HAB+this you+ACC mention-RED-A-3M you-F very love-A-3M

ʔááta+kúsi+n[e] b'á+ka ʔa+ki hóovaattsi b'ááb'a ʔíttsi+iku
you+too+and NEG+IRR 0+you-F marry-A-3M father my+M+that

b'á+ka léénte b'á+ka vintitte ʔan+kabe | hotto+da | b'á+ka
NEG+IRR live-A-2P NEG+IRR look-after-A-2P I+ACC say-C1-3F+LOC NEG+IRR

kú+i[e]+da iommi ioome ʔúk[o] | [2 times] | há ʔí+i[e]+da te
you+ALL+LOC speak-C1-3M speak-I that ID me+ALL+LOC AFF

20. iommi | gʷahhi háásobbi | kisá+ʔi+kʷa roʔʔi | | b'ááb'a+suʔ+u
speak-C1-3M stay-C1-3M converse-C1-3M then+by+this go-C1-3M father+his+M

kúsi+ne háʔi+ka hííma ʔámummi+ka+kʷe giití+ka+kʷe
too+and come-C2-3M+IRR night eat-C1-3P+IRR+this sleep-P-C1-3P+IRR+this

ú+kusi+da b'ááb'a+suʔ+u+kotta iommi | b'ááb'a gaano gʷíttsa
he+too+LOC father+his+M+there speak-C1-3M father old young

ʔíto monno tóoto+ku | hótto+ji ʔá+ka lééso hééʔeti te
that-F very love-A-3F+you say-A-3F+ALL 0+IRR cloth give-C2-2S AFF

hóovatto gaano ʔí[o]+kabe | | b'ááb'a hoddzi+da ʔáata iíko
marry-A-2S old that-F+ACC father say-C1-3M+LOC you who

25. kú+i[e]+da iommi ioome ʔúk[o] | ʔídi ionto ʔí+i[e]+da |
ou+ALL+LOC speak-C1-3M speak-I that she speak-C1-3F me+HAB+LOC

gʷáhammi | | ʔaddo lííma+ani kúsi b'áalaʔi hoddzi+da
stay-C1-3P day 2+GEN too again say-C1-3M+LOC

b'ááb'a+suʔ+u+kotta | b'ááb'a+suʔ+ú+k[o] hoddzi+da | ʔaddo
father+his+M+there father+his+M+that say-C1-3M+LOC day

híímane+kʷa róʔotó+ka+da hóód'i róʔoté+ʔa | | roʔʔi ʔaddo
tomorrow+this go-A-2S+IRR+LOC say-H1-S go-F2-3F+VEN go-C1-3M day

lííma+ani | | róʔʔe+va+dá+ʔi+k[o] gaano+to+da hoddzi+dá+ji |
2+GEN go-D1-3M+PAST+LOC+by+that old+that-F+LOC say-C1-3M+LOC+ALL

30. b'ááb'a hoddzi+ki+na+da ʔáata+k[o] róʔi+da | ʔá+ki+i | lééso
father say-C1-3M+you-F+PERF+LOC you+that go-G1-S+LOC 0+you-SF+ALL cloth

héʔʔe ʔá+ki hoova hoovádze | | ʔíbetto+da | hóód'i+da
give-F2-3M 0+you-SF marriage marry-F2-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC say-H1-S+LOC

lééso+ku káddze+ʔi ʔá+ka+i[e]+ji te hoovádze | | kááji+di |
cloth+that keep-F2-3M+me 0+IRR+HAB+ALL AFF marry-A-3M keep-C2-3M+her

róʔoté+va+dá+ʔi+k[o] | ʔá+di+va+kʷa hoováádi | | gʷáhammi |
go-D1-3F+PAST+LOC+by+that 0+her+PAST+this marry-C2-3M stay-C1-3P

sasa ʔú+kusi+né+ʔi ʔa+te nafasi paʔádi ʔaʷga múnʔa+ku+ke
now he+too+and+by 0+AFF chance get-C2-3M so-that farm+that+ACC

35. rata+ná+ni | káá[z]i miní+íni+k[o] ʔa+te díki+ʔi | |
walk-B-3M+and+GEN work house+GEN+that 0+AFF leave-C2-3M+by

b'ááb'a+suʔ+ú+k[o] roʔʔi+ka múnʔa+da ʔú+kusi+na te hót'i |
father+his+M+that go-C1-3M+IRR farm+LOC he+too+and AFF follow-C2-3M

ʔídi ʔukʷá+ke b'ákiʔátto | b'ááb'a+suʔ+u+nto líímamummi+i
she this+ACC remain-C1-3M father+his+M+with work-C1-3P+ALL

heddo vát'i+ka kisa ʔídi sqa síta ʔééki+ka+kʷe | ʔaga+siʔ+i
evening return-C2-3P+IRR then she noon be-C2-3M+IRR+this food+her+M

t'óófoto | ʔa+kʷa gééto | múnʔa+ku kae | | háʔato+dá+ji
collect-A-3F 0+this send-A-3F farm+that ACC come-A-3F+LOC+ALL

40. ʔinto+kʷa hééʔeto | ʔámummi kisa t'óófoto dóʷbo+siʔ+i
with+this give-A-3F eat-A-3P then collect-A-3F utensil+her+F

ʔa+kʷa gáálito mui kae | hata ʔaddó+k[o] ʔahmádi na ʔíše+ku
0+this go-home-A-3F town ACC until day+that A. and I+that

ʔíbettsi | ʔá | ʔaddo+kʷa yááyo+ke súgo léé+kutta | roʔʔi
tell-C1-3M ID day+this mother+ACC wait-A-1S path+there go-C1-3M

ʔa+vá+ji+kʷa gʷahhi | kééki+va+kʷe ka ʔá+te ratta | na
0+PAST+ALL+this stay-C1-3M look-C2-3M+PAST+this IRR 0+AFF walk-D1-3F and

kápu+siʔ+i | rattó+ʔa hata ʔukʷá+ʔi léé paʔa+kotta ʔa+kʷa
basket+her+M walk-C1-3F+VEN until this+by path get+there 0+ this

45. kééti kápu vattúkʷe | vattúkʷe ʔinto léé+k[ó]+ʔi vát'i+ati | |
put-C2-3F basket 1 1 with path+that+by return-C2-3F

kééki+dí+ka+kʷá+ji+te ratta ʔíji+di | yááyo | kééke
look-C2-3M+her+IRR+this+ALL+AFF walk-B-3F call-C2-3M+her mother where

rátto | gítenti | kʷáʔatí+ʔa | há ʔá+na+te ʔaio |
walk-A-2S be-scared-C2-3F run-C2-3F+VEN ID 0+PERF+AFF get-lost-C1-1S

tsáákak^wa tákane | ?á+na+te ?aio | b'á+ka vá?o hata
hot(n.)+this strong 0+PERF+AFF get-lost-C1-1S NEG+IRR see-A-1S until

léé+?í+k[o] ?ílla ?into hímmami+?í+na | "doo ?úk[o]+ke
path+by+that eyes with be-black-C1-3P+me+PERF well! that+ACC

50. raté+na || hoddzi+da | héla kápu+k^wa héla t'l'áata mááka
walk-G1-1S+and say-3M+LOC come-on! basket+this come-on! have-B-2F what

šírri | kééki+va | vááli ntéé+ni dabi "guukó+óni |
be-there-A-3M look-C2-3M+PAST cooked-rice mchele+GEN meat chicken+GEN

?ukotta kúsi+n[e]+?i ?u?ááti hollo kóntete | ?áá yááyo |
there too+and+by ugali with dry-fish ID mother

?addó+k^wa monno fúrehi kákuttí+na | [2 times] | ?á+na kóntete
day+this very joy give-C2-2S+PERF 0+PERF dry-fish

d'ákati | ?u?ááti+?i ?á+na vááli d'ákati | dabi "guukó+óni |
cook-C2-2S ugali+by 0+PERF cooked-rice cook-C2-2S meat chicken+GEN

55. "bona ?á+va léé+k[o] kúsi+n[e] ?into ?u+ke rátte | ?á ?á
why 0+PERF path+that too+and with he+ACC walk-D1-2S ID ID

?á+na te ?aio | héé?i+?i+?a gete b'ááb'a kae ||
0+PERF AFF get-lost-C1-1S give-H1-S+me+VEN send-G1-1S father ACC

ro?i+nto | ?áámummi ?ídi g^wáhato kééketo || b'asi kééketo
go-C1-3M+with eat-C1-3P she stay-A-3F look-A-3F just look-A-3F

i'íirani+si+?i líímani b'á?a | b'úrune || ?íbettoda | ?áá
neighbour+her+M work-I hard dust tell-C1-3F+LOC ID

?aga+k^wa ?ákkale tá?ame ?ááte na i'íirani+kunu?+u te
food+this all how eat-A-2P and neighbour+your-P+M AFF

60. líímatssi | b'ááb'a+su?+ú+k[o] hoddzi+da | ?ahmádi ?úk'e
work-A-3M father+his+M+that say-C1-3M+LOC A. get-up-H2-S

ró?i ?ííi+ji | háye ?agge ?ú+kusi || ro?i+da ||
go-H2-S call-H2-S+ALL go-on! eat-F1-3M he+too go-C1-3M+LOC

ro?i+va+da ?u+te líímatssi+da suumá+k[o]+?i dirri |
go-C1-3M+PAST+LOC he+AFF work-C1-3M+LOC in-front+that+by pass-C1-3M

hoddzi+da | gáána g^wittso g^wáhammi+k^we b'á+ka ?áámummi
say-C1-3M+LOC big-P little-P stay-A-3P+this NEG+IRR eat-A-3P

?aga víne ?ímame kínto víívu kéékeekammi | hoddzi+da | mááka
food good how thing jealousy look-RED-A-3P say-C1-3M+LOC what

65. lónito | hoddzi+da b'á+ka+ni b'ááb'a hollo yááyo ||
say-A-2S say-C1-3M+LOC NEG+IRR+FOC father with mother

víívu ?ááta+da hoddzi+na+ku síí"bo+?i páhhi |
jealousy you+LOC say-C1-3M+PERF+you stick+by beat-A-3M

?éétittsi+va+k^w[é]+?i+k[o] iéémpe ?á+va táfaji ?á+va+k^wa
hear-D2-3M+PAST+this+by+that hoe 0+PAST abandon-C2-3M 0+PAST+this

k^wa?i || hoddzi+da "bona ?úku+dzi+te dak^wi | hoddzi+na |
run-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC why that+ALL+AFF run-C1-3M say-C1-3M+and

?úk[o]+k^w[e] rátsi kisa ?á+te vát'i || b'ááb'a+su?+u+kotta
that+this walk-A-3M then 0+AFF return-A-3M father+his+that+M+there

70. hoddzi+da | ?ááne ?ááta+kúsi k^wani ?uk^wa šíí"ddaddzi+ni |
say-C1-3M+LOC eat-G1-1P you+too because this defeat-A-3M+us

?áámummi ?á+va+k^wa gággalittsi || nát'ettsá+to ?á+va+k^wa
eat-C1-3P 0+PAST+this go-home-P-C1-3M woman+that-F 0+PAST+this

túnti | ?íbetto+da | váák'a to "go héé?i+d[o] | g^wittsa ?úk[o]
be-angry-C2-3F tell-C1-3F+LOC God blind give-H1-S+him+VEN little that

tabia+su?+u karáama "bííte | hááio ?itts+i+ku ?á+na ?aga gete
character+his manners bad man my+M+that 0+PERF food send-D2-1S

| ?údu+náji te réébi || ?údu+ji mááte+da ?ót'i kába?e+da |
he+PERF+ALL AFF stop-C2-3M he+ALL what+LOC enter-C2-3M baobab+LOC

75. hoddzi+da | ?amína ?amína || ?amína ?amína | hata kába?e
say-C1-3M+LOC amen amen amen amen until baobab

?í+na te póke?ádo [2 times] || rattsi+va | há?ettsi+vá+?e]+k[o]
me+PERF AFF receive-C1-3M walk-C1-3P+PAST come-D2-3P+PAST+by+that

| hoddzi+da | sasa ?ááta+ka | kába?e+k^wa hoddzi+da | sasa
say-C1-3M+LOC now you+IRR baobab+this say-C1-3M+LOC now

?ááta+ka te k'óóboto há?i to "go ?éékammi mpaka kó"do
you+IRR AFF want-A-2S men blind be-A-3P until sheep

híimaté+k[o] hát'a+?ína ?áámummi dabi+k[o] | ?ááta b'á+ka
black+that slaughter-H2-S+them-BEN eat-A-3P meat+that you NEG+IRR

80. ʔááta | hoddzi+da | háʔate+ji+k[o] ʔahmádi na ʔíʂe+k[o]+ke
eat-G2-2S say-C1-3M+LOC come-D1-3F+ALL+that A. and I.+that+ACC
váhati ʔá+va+kʷé+ʔi+k[o] | ró+ʔa ró+ʔa ʔahmádi
see-C2-3F 0+PAST+this+by+that go-H1-S+VEN go-H1-S+VEN A.
ró+ʔa || ʔá+va+kʷ[e] roʔʔi | róʔi ʔááta+ʔi
go-H1-S+VEN 0+PAST+this go-C1-3M go-H1-S you+me-BEN
kóndoo+kʷa hat'ó+k[o] | [2 times] | hát'i ʔísaʔádi+da dabi
sheep+this slaughter-H2-P+that slaughter-C2-3M finish-C2-3M+LOC meat
káánkaʔádimummi | háʔi b'ááb'a+suʔ+u haʔʔi+va+dá+ʔi+k[o] |
roast-C2-3P come-C2-3M father+his+M come-D2-3M+PAST+LOC+by+that
85. b'ááb'a ʔaddo+kʷa ʔukʷatti kóndoo hát'ani ʔááne
father day+this now sheep slaughter-C2-1P eat-G1-1P
dabí+k[o] | iemi ʔáámummi kisa hodzdzi+da | b'ááb'a
meat+that live-C2-3P eat-C1-3P then say-C1-3M+LOC father
ʔáni hóód'a+ku ʔááta+kúsi hóód'i | ʔíbetstsi+da | hay | konka
I say-B-1S+you you+too say-G1-S tell-C1-3M+LOC yes fibre
ʔa+kʷa kammi ʔá+va+kʷa hééʔi | ʔíbetstsi+da | kamba
0+this take-C1-3M 0+PAST+this give-C2-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC rope
sakaʔa | hay | ka kamba sakáʔi | hodzdzi+da | ʔáni
sew-H2-S yes IRR rope sew-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC I
90. hood'o+ka | b'ááb'a ʔáni+na tongo falo | ʔááta+kúsi hóód'i
say-C1-1S+IRR father I+PERF blind do-C1-1S you+too say-H1-S
| ʔan+kúsi+na tongo falo || ʔáámummi fúúran+na+kʷ[é]+ʔi+k[o]
I+too+and blind do-C1-1S eat-C1-3P be-satiated-C1-3P+PERF+this+by+that
| ʔáá ʔila+kʷa p'úʔummi+na | ʔúku+kúsi hodzdzi+da | ʔáá
ID eye+this prick-C1-3P+PERF that+too say-C1-3M+LOC ID
ʔan+kúsi ʔila+kʷa p'úʔummi+na || ʔídi tippenti roʔóto |
I+too eye+this prick-C1-3P+PERF she come-out-C2-3F go-C1-3F
roʔóto+ji keekéto | rááfiki+si[ʔ]+ʔi+k[o] váhati |
go-C1-3F+ALL look-C1-3F friend+his+M+that see-C2-3F

95. hááio+ní+k[o] | vááli gete k'óóbote+va | ka ʔá+te rata
man+FOC+that cooked-rice send-I want-D1-3F+PAST IRR 0+AFF walk-B-3M
ʔíbetto+da | ʔót'o | [2 times] | ʔdani b'á+k[e]+nto+ku
tell-C1-3F+LOC enter-H2-S inside NEG+IRR+with+you
b'á+ka váʔammi gúho kae || ʔót'i | ʔots'ts'i+vá+ʔi+k[o] ||
NEG+IRR see-A-3P person ACC enter-C2-3M enter-D2-3M+PAST+by+that
díriditto mpaka ʂumba+ke kitandá+kotta gʷaʔhi | ʔídi+dú+ji
pass-CAUS-C2-3F until room+ACC bed+there stay-C1-3M she+him+ALL
ʂááhi d'akáto | muhammedi na ʔíʂé+k[o] hodzdzi+da |
tea cook-C1-3F M. and I.+that say-C1-3M+LOC
100. b'ááb'a+kʷe ʔíkʷe ʔuk'éémi ʔuk'éémi | b'ááb'a ʔáʔi ʔáʔi
father+this now get-up-H1-S get-up-H1-S father cry-C2-3M cry-C2-3M
ʔa+vá+ji+ntó+k[o] ʔót'i ʔdani+ku kae | ʔots'ts'a+i+k[o]
0+PAST+ALL+with+that enter-C2-3M inside+that ACC enter-E2-3M+HAB+that
ʔúdu kitandá+kotta b'ommi+ka ʔú+kusí+na+dá+ji te b'ommi |
he bed+there sleep-C1-3M+IRR he+too+PERF+LOC+ALL AFF sleep-C1-3M
ʔuk'éémi+kʷa kʷáʔi | ʔukʷá+ʔi ʂóó+ni+ke ʔót'i+ji |
get-up-C2-3M+this run-C2-3M this+by toilet+GEN+ACC enter-C2-3M+ALL
ʔót'i+ji ʔinto | ʔíbetto+da | ʔááta+kúsi b'á+ka súúkento |
enter-C2-3M+ALL with tell-C1-3F+LOC you+too NEG+IRR be-still-A-2S
105. hata gúho+ka tongo ʔééki+ji ʔamme+kʷa ráʔgadzdzi |
even-if person+IRR blind be-A-3M+ALL this-way go-around-A-3M
b'á+ka+ji mééʂi+da b'ommi | ʔa+kʷa monno t'óʔʔi ʔila+kʷa |
NEG+IRR+ALL place+LOC sleep-C1-3M 0+this very pain-A-3M eye+this
[2 times] | siʔo ʔót'i+ka ʔots'ts'i+nto | tippémmi+ka
store enter-C2-3M+IRR enter-C1-3M+with go-out-A-3M+IRR
tippémmi na ʔinto | hóroridzdzi mpaka te
go-out-A-3M and with chase-C1-3M until AFF
laffi+va+ʔi+k[o] ʔa+vá+ji máate+da ʔót'i |
get-tired-D2-3M+PAST+by+that 0+PAST+HAB what +LOC enter-C2-3M
110. fumba máate b'urú+úni+da | ʔukotta lááʔati || ʔahmádi na ʔíʂe
mat-sack what maize+GEN+LOC there hide-C2-3M A. and I.

ʔúku+ni roʔʔi+ʔa | b'ááb'a+su+ʔu+kotta kambakʷa kammi+da |
that+FOC go-C1-3M+VEN father+his+M+there rope+this take-C1-3M+LOC

roʔʔi+ji ʔukotta gʷahhi | hodzdzi+da | ʔukʷatti ʔukʷatta
go-C1-3M+ALL there stay-C1-3M say-C1-3M+LOC now here

ʔílla páʔa || hodzdzi+da | b'ááb'a+su+ʔu hodzdzi+da
eyes get-C2-1S say-C1-3M+LOC father+his+M say-C1-3M+LOC

| ʔukʷatti ʔán+kusi ʔílla páʔa | hodzdzi+da | ʔá | fumba
now I+too eyes get-C2-1S say-C1-3M+LOC ID mat-sack

115. ʔukʷa ʔíni ʔúmungu monno tli'ággi | ʔíbetstsi+da | hééʔe+ʔi
this FOC beetles very have-A-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC give-G2-S+me-BEN

ʔá+ji ʔáttáhe | roʔʔi ʔinto roʔʔi | mpaka lée+dá+ji+nto
0+ALL throw-G-1S go-C1-3M with go-C1-3M until path+LOC+ALL+with

mfállume kúlummi | mfállume+kʷa hodzdzi+da | ʔúkʷa mááka
king meet-C1-3M king+this say-C1-3M+LOC this what

váddatto | hodzdzi+da ʔúkʷa b'uru | ʔíbetstsi+da | ʔáá b'asi
carry-A-2S say-C1-3M+LOC this maize tell-C1-3M+LOC ID just

b'uru ʔúku+nto ʔuuku ʔitstsi fáhhi | róʔi b'oamá+k[o]+ke
maize that+with chickens my+M be-useful-A-3M go-H1-S open-place+that+ACC

120. ké+ʔi+ji || roʔʔi+nto | haʔʔi+vá+ji+k[o] nat'a
keep-G1-S+me-BEN+ALL go-C1-3M+with come-D2-3M+PAST+ALL+that woman

mfállumé+éni+t[o] kusi háájo vatte tli'aato | háájo+si[ʔ]+i+k[o]
king+GEN+that-F too man other have-C1-3F man+her+M+that

vahhi+vá+ʔi+k[o] ʔíni muhammadí+ku kae ʔá+vákʷ[e] kʷáʔi+ji
see-D2-3M+PAST+by+that FOC M.+that ACC 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M+ALL

mútsunki+da ʔót'i | ʔúdu kínto b'á+vada hoome | roʔʔi
waterpot+LOC enter-C2-3M he thing NEG+PAST+LOC say-I go-C1-3M

fúmba+su[ʔ]+u kááji+ʔi+kʷa gʷahhi | mfállume+ke sugge
mat-sack+his+M keep-C2-3M+by+this stay-C1-3M king+ACC wait-G1-3M

125. háʔi+ka séénti+su[ʔ]+u hééʔe+dá+ʔi b'uru+kʷa ʔakʷkʷi ||
come-C2-3M money+his+M give-G2-3M+LOC+by maize+this leave-C1-3M

mfállume nat'á+to kʷáʔati ʔdani+ku kae | mfállume
king woman+that-F run-C2-3F inside+that ACC king

háájo+si[ʔ]+i kʷáʔati mfállume+kʷa hotto+da | ʔáá muhammadí na
man+her+M run-C2-3F king+this say-C1-3F+LOC ID M. and

ʔiše karáama | hata míiri b'á+ka tli'ággi | gʷitstsa ʔbíite
I. behaviour until manners NEG+IRR have-A-3M young bad

monno | héla gúho+oni+da róʔoto na b'á+ka+i[e] hoodi páhato
very come-on! person+GEN+LOC go-A-2S and NEG+IRR+ALL hoodi beat-A-2S

130. | taʔame+kʷe te róʔoto hollo ʔot'e mééʔi+kotta | kééki
how+this AFF go-A-2S with enter-H place+there look-H1-S

ʔá+na+ji ʔúku ríngadi ʔan+kúsi+ʔa b'ággio b'á+ka+na
0+PERF+ALL that+ALL go-around-C2-3M I+too+VEN dress NEG+IRR+PERF

tli'agge | háʔi+na+kʷe te váhi ʔi+na+kʷe
have-H come-C2-3M+PERF+this AFF see-C2-3M me+PERF+that

l'ééredídi || ʔáá | mfállume te taʔgʷi nat'a+su+ʔa kae
make-shy-C2-3M ID king AFF love-C1-3M woman+his+F ACC

túúmi roʔʔi+da | rúfanga+su[ʔ]+u háʔi+dá+ji || ʔéé
be-angry-C2-3M go-C1-3M+LOC panga+his+M come-C2-3M+LOC+ALL ID

135. ʔbona ʔááta ná'tetstsa+ke háʔati na+kʷa+te ʔót'oti
why you woman+ACC come-C2-2S and+this+AFF enter-C2-2S

ʔúkʷatta | ʔbona hoodi b'a+kú+na pahe | mááka šarria |
here why hoodi NEG+you+PERF beat-I what law

kama+ní+ka b'uru+kuʔ+ú+k[o]+ni | ʔá+vada ʔápi háhhaabo
if+FOC+IRR maize+your+M+that+FOC 0+PAST+LOC I smash-RED-A-1S

tembe+kʷá+ʔi | ʔíbetstsi+da | háába ʔán+kusí+ji
sword+this+by tell-C1-3M+LOC smash-H2-S I+too+ALL

mútsunki+kuʔ+ú+ku páho | roʔʔi+ʔa ʔukotta
waterpot+your+M+that beat-A-1S go-C1-3M+VEN there

140. fúmba+su[ʔ]+ú+kuʔ+ʔi+kʷa háábi tembé+ʔi | ʔú+kusi+n[e]
mat-sack+his+M+that+by+this smash-C2-3M sword+by he+too+and

ruungu+su+ʔu kamma+ji mútsunki+k[o] paʔhi ʔá+vákʷa
panga+his+ M take-E1-3M+ALL waterpot+that beat-C1-3M 0+PAST+ALL

85. that we have slaughtered the sheep, let's eat the meat". They stayed and ate, and then he said: "Father, say what I say, you too. [The father] said: "O.K.". He took up a fibre and gave it to him, and he said: "Plait the fibre" - "O.K."
90. He plaited the fibre. He said: "When I say: 'Father, I have become blind', you too say: 'I too have become blind!'. They ate, and when they were satiated [Ahmadi] said: "Ah! They have pricked my eyes!". He [his father] too said: "Ah! me too, they have pricked my eyes!".
95. She came out and went looking around; and she saw her friend, her lover, to whom she wanted to bring the rice. When he walked, she said: "Enter! Inside, nobody except you can see anyone!". He entered; after he had entered, she let him pass into the room where the bed was. She made tea for him, and Ahmadi [son] of Ishe said: "Father, now get up, get up!". The father cried, and entered with him inside. [Everywhere] he [the lover] entered, if [for example] he was lying in the bed, [Ahmadi] too went to bed. He [the lover] rose up and ran away. And as he entered the toilet, [Ahmadi] too entered with him. She said: "But you [Ahmadi], are not still! A person who is blind, cannot roam this way and sleep there!" - "My eye hurts too much!". If [the lover] entered the store, he too entered with him. If he went out, he too went out. He chased him until [the lover] got tired and entered the sack of the maize, and hid there.
100. Also Ahmadi [son] of Ishe went there, and his father brought the rope. He went and stayed there and said: "Just now, here, I have got my eyes back" - he said. His father said: "Now I too have got my eyes back". He said: "This matting [of the maize-sack] has a lot of beetles inside!", and said: "Give it to me, [so] that I [might] throw it away!".
105. He went with that [sack], and went until, on the road, he met the king. The king said to him: "What are you carrying?". He said: "This is maize". [The king] said: "Well, this maize could be good for my chickens. Go and keep it for me".
120. He went with this [sack], but, after he had come [to the king's house], [he found that] the king's wife too had another man. As this lover (of hers) had seen Ahmadi, he ran away and got into a [big] waterpot. He [Ahmadi] did not say anything; he went and kept his maize, and stayed, waiting for the king to come and give him his money and leave him the maize. The woman ran to the king; his wife went to the king and said to him: "Ha! Ahmadi [son of] Ishe's behaviour! He does not have manners! He is a very bad boy! How can you enter a person [s room] without asking for permission? How can you go and enter a place in such a manner? Look! He went around while I had nothing on (me)! He came and saw me and made me shy!" - "Ha!". The king loved his wife, and got angry. He went and took his *panga*: "Hey! Why have you gone to [my] wife and have entered there? Why didn't you ask for permission? That is not the way! And if that is your maize, I'll destroy it with this sword!". [Ahmadi] said: "Destroy it, and I too shall hit your waterpot!".
130. [The king] went and stabbed the mat with the sword, while [Ahmadi] took his *panga* and hit the waterpot, smashing it to pieces. [The king] looked, and here there was a man, and there too he saw a man.
135. The following day he called them, him [Ahmadi], with his father and the woman. And when they had come, he asked: "How did it happen that in the mat there was a man, and when I stbbed it a person came out?". [Ahmadi] said: "Well! This is my mother's lover, whom she secretly had. And as for this woman too, the man I killed in the waterpot, he was the man whom this woman [the king's wife] secretly had".
140. So I finished and came back.

Note:

Islamic culture and an agricultural way of life must be assumed as the origin of the story: the protagonists are farmers and there is a king (and therefore towns). The wicked roles played by women (both Ahmadi's stepmother and the king's wife) and Ahmadi's cunning (which reminds us of well-known Islamic tricksters, like Abu Nuwas) fit well into the cliché of Islamic folk-tales. Other African examples can be found in the Swahili tales edited by Knappert (1970), in the chapters "The wiles of women" and "Stories of wit and wisdom".

Toward the end of the story, the informant changed Ahmadi into Mohammadi by mistake.

TEXT No. 4

"The Story of Fumo Aliongwe"

Recorded on 10.2.88

1. fumo ?alio "g"e g"áñha+vá+ji | gúño ?úk[o] ?íni ?a+vá+ji
 F. A. live-E1-3M+PAST+HAB man that FOC O+PAST+HAB
- rúúmate | b'á+ka+vá+ji t|'agga kiyáási || b'uru+su[?]+u
 tall NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB have-E2-3M size maize+his+M
- d'añe k'óbba+vá+[e] | ?a+vá+ji kinu kammá+ji
 grind-I want-E1-3M+PAST+HAB O+PAST+HAB mortar take-E2-3M +HAB
- ñábe+da ?ót'odiddza | ?a+vá+ji b'uru d'áñha gunia mzima |
 armpit+LOC enter-CAUS-E2-3M O+PAST+HAB maize grind-E1-3M sack entire
5. ñábe ?ukotta || ?uk"á+da+nto te rattsi || ?agga ?a+su?+u
 armpit there this+LOC+with AFF walk-C1-3M food O+his+M
- d'ákka+vá+[e] gunia lííma ?a+vá+ji te ?ágga | holla
 cook-E1-3M+PAST+HAB sack 2 O+PAST+HAB AFF eat-E1-3M with
- b'ába?aaani vattúk"e | mzima ?údu káá?i+su[?]+u+ni ?aggi ||
 antelope 1 entire he alone+his+M+FOC eat-C1-3M
- kisa+va g"íttsa ?a+su+?u vattúk"e kááji hačč'a | g"íttsa ?úku
 then+PAST young O+his+M 1 hold-C2-3M only young that
- ?a+k"á viintídi mpaka ?á+va gaano ?aamina ?ééki | pantə
 O+this look-after-C2-3M until O+PAST grown-up small be-C2-3M around
10. kipiní+íni || sasa kúúdzá ?úkumámmu b'á+ka+ji távamma fumo
 K.+GEN now Swahili those NEG+IRR+HAB love-E1-3P F.
- ?alio "g"e kae | kisa ?a+vá+ji hííla+?i ?éékadi kulla sampuli
 A. ACC then O+PAST+HAB trick+by look-after-C2-3P every system

dzéé?ení+íni | | ?a+vá+ji g^wítsa+ku+ke pátdadza
kill-I+GEN 0+PAST+HAB young+that+ACC get-E1-3M+PERF

g^wítsa+ku+ke mui+ke ró?íi hóddzen+ta | b'ááb'a+ku[?]+ú+k[o]
young+that+ACC town+ACC go-A-3M say-C1-3P+LOC father+your+M+that

mááka+?í+ji dzaa?a | | ?íbettsida | ?áá b'á+ka ?élejo | kínto
what+by+HAB die-B-3M tell-C1-3M+LOC ID NEG+IRR know-A-1S thing

15. ?údu dzéé?edá+dz+i[é]+k[o] | | buđđádummi | [2 times] |
he kill-B-3M+ALL+HAB+that ask-C1-3P

ró??a+vá+i[e] láva+su[?]+u kae ?ummámu saa vatte+vá+ji
go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB home+his+M ACC they time other+PAST+HAB

?ásakári t'óó?amma | | ?a+vá+ji ?into túme+ku+ke ráttsa
soldiers collect-E1-3P 0+PAST+HAB with bush+that+ ACC walk-E1-3M

?a+vá+ji+k^wa ?éékadimummi [2 times] | | ?éékadimummi+ka
0+PAST+ALL+this look-for-C1-3P look-for-C1-3P+IRR

rí?gamummi kékkeekammi túme+kú+?i ?údu+va ?ína+na
go-around-C1-3P look-(RED)-C1-3P bush+that+by he+PAST them+and

20. b'árqa+vá+?i | ?ááq+su[?]+u kammi | hollo h'áád'a | ?ína+da
know-E2-3M+PAST+by bow+his+M catch-C1-3M with arrows them+LOC

haad'o ?attáhi | haad'o ?attáhi+ka+da ?ummámu ?ákkale kí+í
arrow throw-C2-3M arrow throw-C2-3M+IRR+LOC they all run-(P)-C2-3M

?ásakári+k[o] hollo kúúdzak[o] | mui kae | mpaka ?á+va+k^wa
soldiers+that with Swahili+that town ACC until 0+PAST+this

šii?dádi kábisa | mpaka ?addo ?úk[o] ?á+va síí'd'ano hee?i
defeat-C2-3M totally until day that 0+PAST needle give-C2-3P

g^wítsa+su[?]+ú+k[o] kae ?íbemummi+da | ?uk^wa ró?i+nto b'á+ka
child+his+M+that ACC tell-C1-3P+LOC this go-H2-S+with NEG+IRR

25. ?éntitta b'áába+ku[?]+u kae | mpaka te háddurá+?i+k[o]
show-G2-2S father+your+M ACC until AFF sleep-B-3M+by+that

iúko+kotta púhu | | g^wítsa ?uk^wa ?into+k^wa ró?íi | há?i+va+ji
navel+there sting-H2-S young this with+this go-C1-3M come-C2-3M+PAST+ALL

?into suunúki síí'd'anó+k[o] | mpaka b'ááb'a+su[?]+u ?addo
with hide-C2-3M needle+that until father+his+M day

ró??e+vá+?i+k[o] ró??í+ji ?uk^wa púhi | iúko+kotta | |
go-D1+3M+by+PAST+by+that go-C1-3M+ALL this sting-C2-3M navel+there

vákati dzaa?é+éni+k[o] ?á+va+k^wa k^wá?i | mpaka ?a^wde
time die-I+GEN+that 0+PAST+this run-C2-3M until outside

30. mui+kotta | | ?a+vá+ji+k^wa gilli vaddzúhi | ?a+va
town+there 0+PAST+ALL+this knee bend-C2-3M 0+PAST

haad'o+su[?]+ú+k[o] ?át'odídi | ?ááq+kotta ?á+va+k^wa
arrow+his+M+that enter-CAUS-C2-3M bow+there 0+PAST+this

?agg^wídi | | ?á+va+k^wa ?into+kotta dzáá?i | na mééši ?ukotta
bend-C2-3M 0+PAST+this with+there die-C2-3M and place there

mpaka ?addó+k^wa guhó+ji ma?a ?ídimummi gilli+su?+ú+k[o]
until day+this people+ALL water fetch-A-3P knee+his+M+that

d'á?i+vá+k[o] | | ?á+va b'ooku ?ééki | |
put-down-C2-3M+PAST+that 0+PAST hole be-C2-3M

Free Translation

1. [Once upon a time] there was [a man called] Fumo Aliongwe, and he was a big man: no one else had a similar size. When he wanted to grind his maize, he took a [big] mortar and he put it under his armpit; and he ground an entire sack of maize under his armpit, and with it he went along.
5. When he cooked his food, he ate two sacks [of maize], together with an antelope, and he ate it all alone. He had only one child, and he looked after him until he was almost grown up, [and all this happened] around Kipini.
10. Now, the Swahili people did not love Fumo Aliongwe, and they looked for any way to kill him by trickery. When the child was going to the town, they caught him, and they said to him: "Your father, by what will he die?". He said: "Ah! I do not know the thing which will make him die".
15. They asked him and they asked him, while other times, as he [Fumo] was going home, they gathered soldiers, and, as he was walking in the bush they looked for him. They looked for him roaming and looking [around], and he noticed them. So he took up his bow, and his arrows, and he shot arrows at them. And when he shot arrows at them, they all ran away, the soldiers and the Swahili, to the town, until he defeated them completely.
20. Until, one day they gave his child a needle, saying to him: "Go with this, and do not show it your father. Then, when he is sleeping, prick him in the navel". The child went along with this [needle].
25. After he had come [home] with it, he hid the needle away. Until one day, when his father had gone to sleep ?, he went and pricked him in the navel. While he was dying, he ran away until [he was] out of town.
30. And he bent his knee, took up his arrows and bent his bow, and with it [in his hand] he died. And in the very place [where he died], until today people fetch water, because, where he put down his knee, a [water-] hole resulted.

Note:

Might this story refer in a legendary fashion to episodes of wars between Swahili and hunter-gatherers?

TEXT No. 5

"The Story of Jaro and His Son Avadi"

Recorded on 12.2.1988

1. ʔá+va jaro ʃirri | jaro maʔaká+áni | ʔá+va g'ittsa+su[ʔ]+u
0+PAST J. exist-C1-3M J. M.+GEN 0+PAST young+his+M
- kááji sááre+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔá+ji ʔavadi || jaro kúsi+né+ʔi
hold-C2-3M name+his+M+COP 0+HAB A. J. too+and+by
- káádi+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔá+ji+k' a guho+ke báhha | ʔa+vá+ji
work+his+M+COP 0+HAB+this people+ACC kill-E1-3M 0+PAST+HAB
- ʔumi+da g'áhha | gúho+ni+da ká+ji típpemmi || ʔásakári
bushes+LOC stay-E1-3M person+FOC+LOC IRR+ALL come-out-C1-3M soldiers
5. ráttsa+vá+ji kammi+da | b'á+ka+du+vá+ji pá+amumi ||
walk-E1-3M+PAST+HAB catch-C1-3M+LOC NEG+IRR+him+PAST+HAB get-C1-3P
- saa vatte ʔa+vá+ji lé+da váfina ʔúku rattá+ji |
time other 0+PAST+HAB path+LOC see-E2-3P that walk-D2-3M+HAB
- rattsi+ka+da kammi+da | ʔuk' a kékkeekammí+ka ʔáámininna |
walk-C1-3P+IRR+LOC hold-C1-3P+LOC this look-RED-C1-3P+IRR a-bit
- kékkeekammí+ka ʔá+na góogo te ʔéeki+ka+da lé+da ʔampalla+kotta
look-RED+3P+IRR 0+PERF log AFF be-C2-3M+IRR+LOC path beside+there
- saad'a | ʔummámu ʔi+k' a dírammi | hóóni ʔéekammí+ka+ji
stand-B-3M they by+this pass-C1-3P far be-C1-3P+IRR+HAB
10. ʔáámininna | ʔípa+ná+ʔa haad'ó+ʔi púhi | kisa ʔásakári+k[o]
a-bit them+PERF+VEN arrow+by sting-C2-3M then soldiers+that
- ʔákkale ʔá+va+k' a kíti | na ʔa+vá+ji+te kámmikuddzá+ji
all 0+PAST+this run-P-C2-3M and 0+PAST+HAB+AFF hold-PASS-E2-3M+ALL
- d'úʔikúdi+ka | híma ʔa+vá+ji+te típpemmi | valla
close-PASS-C2-3M+IRR night 0+PAST+ALL+AFF come-out-C1-3M by-god
- b'á+ka+vá+ji váfina suura+su[ʔ]+u típpemmu+vá+ji || kisa
NEG+IRR+PAST+HAB see-E2-3P manner+his+M come-out-E1-3M+PAST+HAB then

ʔá+va g'ittsa+su[ʔ]+u kááji sááre+su[ʔ]+ú+su ʔavadi || ʔavadi
0+PAST young+his+M hold-C2-3M name+his+M+COP A. A.

15. kúsi+né+ʔi ʔá+va g'ittsa+su+ʔa ná't'ettsa vattúk'e kááji
too+and+by 0+PAST child+his+F woman 1 hold-C2-3M

sááre+si[ʔ]+i+su heʃa | na ʔúdu kúsi+ne b'ááb'a+su[ʔ]+u+da
name+her+F+COP H. and he too+and father+his+M+LOC

ʔuk' a ʔúdu vattúk'e káájikúdi b'á+ka t'l'ággi 'duugó+su[ʔ]+u |
this he 1 bear-PASS-C2-3M NEG+IRR have-A-3M kinsman+his+M

lakini kímó+su[ʔ]+ú+k[o] yááyo+oni paʔádi | 'guufu+k' a
but height+his+M+that mother+GEN get-C2-3M strenght+this

b'ááb'a+su+ʔ+ú+ni || róʔʔa+vá+ji mpaka mini gúho+oni+da+ke
father+his+M+GEN go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB until house person+GEN+LOC+ACC

16. ʔá+ka nat'a+ke k'obbi | háfi+da háálo ʔukotta | hoddzi+da
0+IRR woman+ACC want-C1-3M come-C2-3M+LOC man there say-C1-3M+LOC

| ʔúk'e ʔúk'atta nat'á+ta ʔi+k'óóbo | na ʔú+kusi+ka+da
get-up-H2-S here woman+this me-BEN+want-A-1S and he+too+IRR+LOC

te t'úumi | ʔa+k' a kammi ʔa+k' a lubbi | d'úʔaddzi+k' a
AFF be-angry-C2-3M 0+this hold-C1-3M 0+this hit-C1-3M close-C1-3M+this

kaddzi nat'a+su+[ʔ]á+to paʔaddzi || ʔinto+k' a roʔʔi | ʃirri+ji
put-C1-3M woman+his+F+that get-C1-3M with+this go-C1-3M exist-C1-3M+ALL

ʔinto kisa ʔa+k' a vattl'a | vátl'iddzi+da ʔúk'eemi+k' a
with then 0+this return-E2-3M return-(tr.)-C1-3M+LOC get-up-C2-3M+this

17. roʔʔi nat'a+su+ʔa || mpaka ʔaddó+k[o] ʔá+va gúho ʃirra
go-C1-3M woman+his-F until day+that 0+PAST person exist-E1-3M

kúsi+ji muinga | síku[z]ote róʔʔa+vá+ji ʔa+dá+ji+ji
self+HAB stupid always go-E1-3M+PAST+HAB 0+LOC+HAB+ALL

nat'a+su[ʔ]+a kámma || t'úumi+ka+da na te lubbi |
woman+his+F hold-E1-3M be-angry-C2-3M+IRR+LOC and AFF hit-C1-3M

nat'a+su+ʔa+ke paʔádi+ka | nat'a+su+ʔa muingá+k[o] ʔíni+ni
woman+his+F+ACC get-C2-3M+IRR woman+his+F stupid+that FOC+GEN

ʔá+na+te váddati | saa vatte ʔa+vá+ji+k' [e]+da ʔinto+kotta
0+PERF+AFF carry-C2-3M time other 0+PAST+ALL+this+LOC with+there

30. b'ommi | mpaká+su b'ura | ?údu gárima+kotta b'ommi i'áá"bi+da
 sleep-C1-3M until+COP dawn he outside+there sleep-C1-3M mat+LOC
|| ?addó+k[o] ?íni ?á+va+k"á há?fi+va+dá+ji+?í+k[o] ?ína+k"á
 day+that FOC 0+PAST+this come-D2-3M+PAST+LOC+ALL+by+that them+this
sa?áni | b'ommi b'áriddzi b'ura ?ína+k"á sa?áni |
 greet-C2-3M sleep-C1-3M leave-at-dawn-C1-3M dawn them+this greet-C2-3M
?á+va+k"á ro?fi | lé+da ?ééki+va+k"á[e] vátli+ji |
 0+PAST+this go-C1-3M path+LOC be-C2-3M+PAST+this+by return-C2-3M+ALL
mpaka ?ávak'i muingá+k[o] ?íni+ini | ?a+vá+ji+k"á ?iddzábi |
 until doum-palm stupid+that FOC+GEN 0+PAST+ALL+this climb-C2-3M
35. má?agg"i | t'e"bo+su[?]+u ?a+va+da+nto kíboddá+k[o] fá?fa?fi
 drink-C1-3M beer+his+M 0+PAST+LOC+with containers+that smash-RED-C1-3M
|| nat'a+su+?á+t[o] hotto+da | ro?óne ?ávak'i+ini | ?á+va+k"á
 woman+his+F+that say-C1-3F+LOC go-G1-1P doum-palm+GEN 0+PAST+this
rattsi | rattsi+va ?údu k'át'amna+va | kíboddá+k[o] te
 walk-C1-3P walk-C1-3P+PAST he go-and-look-E1-3P+PAST containers+that AFF
má?agg"i ?isádi+ka kíbo+k"á te fa?fi | má?agg"i
 drink-C1-3M finish-C2-3M+IRR container+this AFF smash-C1-3M drink-C1-3M
?isádi+ka kíbo+k"á te fa?fi || ?íbetto+da |
 finish-C2-3M+IRR container+this AFF smash-C1-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC
40. váhatí+na háájo ?íttsi+ | hotto+da ?addó+ji+dá+k[o]+ka ?uk"á
 see-C2-2S+PERF man my+M say-C1-3F+LOC day+ALL+LOC+that+IRR this
?a+ni+te b'áñhi | mpaka ?addo+k"á ?á+ni+?[e] kíbodda kúsi
 0+us+AFF kill-A-3M until day+this 0+us-BEN+VEN containers too
fáffa?fi || ?íbetto+da | na ?úku ?uk"á+da+te ró?oto "bóori+da
 smash-REP-C1-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC and that this+LOC+AFF go-A-2S fight+LOC
b'á+ka kárato | ?uk"atti ?áála vádda+ddzi láva kae |
 NEG+IRR can-A-2S now bow carry-H2-S+ALL home ACC
b'óód'aani púhu dzéé?e || ro?fi+?a | ?áála+su[?]+u váddatí+?i
 arrow sting-H2-S kill-H2-S go-C1-3M+VEN bow+his+M carry-C2-3M+by
45. hollo b'óód'aani | b'óód'aani+k[o] ?á+va+k"á púhi
 with arrow arrow+that 0+PAST+this sting-C2-3M

- b'oatí+k"atta | rohéédi ?á+va+k"á ?attáhi | hoddzi+da |
 thigh+here remove-C2-3M 0+PAST+this throw-C2-3M say-C1-3M+LOC
ko?e+kunna d'ídd'i?isémo b'árate+?i || kéékammi ?uk"á+ka+te
 wait-H1-P+you-P go-down-FREQ-A-1S know-A-2P+me look-C1-3P this+IRR+AFF
d'i?isémi | ?íbetto+da | ?uk"á+ka+te d'i?isémi mpaka
 go-down-C2-3M tell-C1-3F+LOC this+IRR+AFF go-down-C2-3M until
giri+k"atta ?a+ni kabisa b'áñhi || haad'ó+k[o]+?i púhu
 below+here 0+us totally destroy-A-3M arrow+that+by sting-H2-S
t'á?a+?í+k[o] | ?á+va haad'o t'á?a+?í+k[o] ?uk"á kammi
 poison+by+that 0+PAST arrow poison+by+that this hold-C1-3M
?á+va+k"á púhi | ?á+va b'idii falli mpaka ?uk"á d'i?isémi ||
 0+PAST+this sting-C2-3M 0+PAST hard do-C1-3M until this go-down-C2-3M
háfi+da | háfi mpaka háát'i+kotta ?uk"á kammi falli ?úk"á
 come-C2-3M+LOC come-C2-3M until near+there this hold-C1-3M do-C1-3M this
?álite gúdi || ?álite gúdi || puho k'obbi+vá+?i+k[o]
 knife remove-C2-3M knife remove-C2-3M sting-I want-C1-3M+PAST+by+that
?íni ?ílakini háfi ?ákkalé+?i lahe | ?uk"á dzáá?i na
 FOC but men all+by be-finished-C1-3P this die-C2-3M and
?álite+su[?]+u || nat'a+su+?á+to b'ura+va+k"á ?éékatti |
 knife+his+M woman+his-F+that dawn+PAST+this look-after-C2-3F
há?ati+va+da | lé+da kúlumummi | ?íbetto+da | "bajoni
 come-C2-3F+PAST+LOC path+LOC meet-C1-3P tell-C1-3F+LOC let's-go
?ávak'i+ini+k[o]+ke | ?án+kusi+né+?i | t'e"bo hee?ó+?i |
 doum-palm+GEN+that+ACC I+too+and+by beer give-G2-P+me-BEN
lommi+da | ?áá b'á+ka ?írri gúho | rattsi mpaka
 speak-C1-3P+LOC ID NEG+IRR exist-A-3M person walk-C1-3P until
lé+da ?á+va+te g"íttsa+si[?]+i kúlungo hááio+ni |
 path+LOC 0+PAST+AFF young+her+M meet-C1-3F man+FOC
?íbettsi+da | yááyo ?ááta kééke ráto | ?íbetto+da |
 tell-C1-3M+LOC mother you where walk-A-2S tell-C1-3F+LOC
?uk"ammámu+ke hót'o | ?íbettsi+da | ?úkummámu mááka+ani
 these+ACC follow-A-1S tell-C1-3M+LOC those what+GEN

ʔina hūt'uto na b'ááb'a+na ʔummámu dzééʔedi ʔaddo+k" a k'aba
 them follow-A-2S and father+PERF they kill-C2-3P day+this 3

| ʔa+kutta b'ómni || roʔʔi | ʔa+vá+i i ripot i pahhi |
 VEN+there sleep-A-3M go-C1-3M 0+PAST+ALL report beat-C1-3P

ʔa+vá+i+i+k" a kámmikúdi+ʔa | ʔa+vá+i+i+k" a d'úʔikúdi ||
 0+PAST+ALL+this hold-PASS-C2-3M+VEN 0+PAST+ALL+this close-PASS-C2-3M

65. tú+kusi nat'a+suʔ+á+to ʔá+va+k" a qááliti láva+siʔ+i |
 this-F+too woman+his+F+that 0+PAST+this go-home-C2-3F home+her+M

ʔú+kusi+va+k" a váddakúdi | ʔá+va ʔamu+k" a+ke ʔjgakúdi ||
 he+too+PAST+this return-PASS-C2-3M 0+PAST L.+this+ACC bury-PASS-C2-3M

Free Translation

1. There was [a man called] Jaro, (Jaro) [son of] Mataka. And he had a son, whose name was Avadi. As for Jaro, his work was killing people. He stayed in the bush, and nobody [could] come out [alive].
5. The guards went to catch him, but they could not get hold of him. Sometimes they saw him walking on the path, and went to catch him; as soon as they saw him, he transformed into a log lying beside the path; they
10. passed by and as they were a little far away, he shot arrows at them, and all the guards ran away. And whenever they got hold of him, at night he got out, and, by God!, none could see the manner [in which] he had escaped.
15. Then, he had a child, whose name was Avadi; Avadi, too had a daughter, whose name was Heshá; [Avadi] alone was born to his father, he had no brother. He had taken his size from his mother, but his strength was that of his father.
20. [Jaro] used to go along until he came to a house, and, if he desired a woman, he came and said to the man: "Get up, I want this woman!"; and if that one got angry, he got hold of him, hit him, tied him there, and took the woman. He went with her, stayed with her, and then came back. He sent her back,
25. got up and went back to his wife. Until one day [he found that] there was a stupid man; he always went to him and took his wife, and if [the stupid man] got angry, he beat him, and took the stupid man's wife. Other times he slept there with her until morning, while the man slept outside on the mat.
30. One day, he came and greeted them, slept, and in the morning said good-bye and went. When he was on the path he came back until [he reached] the doum-palm of the stupid [man]; he climbed it and drank his [: the stupid man's] beer and smashed the [beer] containers.
35. The wife said [to her husband]: "Let's go to the doum-palm". They went and looked around for him: he was drinking [from] the beer-containers; he finished one, and smashed it, he finished one and smashed it.
40. [The woman] said: "You have seen, my husband, what I told you, that he was going to kill us: to ruin us! Today even the containers, he smashed!". She said: "And if you go to him, you cannot [bear] the fight! Now, bring the bow from home, hit him with a b'ood'aani [:big arrow without poison], and kill him!".

45. He went, brought the bow with the b'ood'aani and hit him with the b'ood'aani in the thigh. [Avadi] removed it, threw it away and said: "Wait [until] I come down, and you will know me!". They looked as he was coming down, and [the woman] said: "If he comes down to the ground he will kill us completely! Hit him with the poisoned arrow!". He took the poisoned arrow and hit him, but [Jaro] made an effort to come down. He came down until he was near. He took his knife. He took the knife and wanted to hit him [: the stupid man] with that, but they all [together] finished him. He died with his knife.
55. In the morning, his wife looked for him and came along, [until] they [: the killers] met her on the way. She said: "Let's go to the doum-palm, I too [shall] come and you will] give me beer". They said: "Eh! Nobody is there". They walked, until along the way she met her son. He said to her: "Mum! Where are you going?". She said: "I am following these people" - "Why are you following them, as they killed father, and he has been lying there for three days!". He went and reported [to the police] and that one [:the killer] was caught and arrested.
65. His woman went back to her home, and he [:Jaro] was brought back and buried in Lamu.

APPENDIX 2

GLOSSARY

Foreword

Items in the Dahalo-English part are arranged in the following order:

ʔ, a	l
b'	ɬ
b	m
ɕ'	n
ɕ	ɲ
d'	o
d	p'
dz	p
dʌ	r
ɖ	s
e	ʂ
f	t'
g	t
h	ts'
ħ	ts
ɣ	tl'
i	t
j'	u
j	v
k'	w
k	y
kʷ'	z
kʷ	/

Prenasalized consonants follow in the same order.

The same abbreviations are used as throughout the text; in addition, perfective verbs are indicated by "(perf.)" and imperfective verbs by "(impf.)."

All bound forms have a following dash, whether occurring as prefix, suffix, or infix.

The sources of loanwords are not intended to be exhaustive.

The following sources have been used: Möhlig (1984/85) and Nurse (1982) for Northern Swahili; Nurse (1986) for Mijikenda and Lower Pokomo; Stroomer (1987) for Southern Oromo. We have followed the spelling of the sources. Somali loans are reported in the national Somali orthography, while Boni and Garre loans are given in phonemic transcription.

DAHALO-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

ʔ	
ʔd(d)	ah! (ID)
ʔa-	particle-complex initial marker (0)
ʔd-	venitive marker (VEN)
ʔáábo, P ʔááboni	grandmother
ʔáádi, P ʔáádadidi	scar
ʔááji, P ʔáájajji ~ ʔáájini	elder brother
ʔááma	here
ʔááma, P ʔáámani	mother's brother
ʔaamina	small
ʔaaminid - (< Sw. -amini)	believe, to
ʔáámininna, P ʔáámamuuta	little; few; a bit of
ʔáára, SG ʔáárane	white hair
ʔaare, P ʔaarári	nock, notch of arrow
ʔááta	you (2S; INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔaddo	sun; day
ʔaddókʷa (= ʔaddo + -kʷa)	today
ʔáfitete (SG ʔ), P ʔáfitáti	shadow (of an object)
ʔáfo, P ʔáfudda	mouth
ʔagad-	spend the day, to
ʔágaddzo, P ʔágaddzi	ear
ʔaggʷid-	weave, to
ʔákkale	all
ʔákkid-	spread out, to
ʔákkʷ-	leave, to; let go, to
ʔallah-	trade, to; buy, to; sell, to
ʔáti	fat, oil
ʔáwani saaʔ-	greet, to
ʔamína	amen!
ʔamma	as, like
ʔammékʷa (= ʔamma + kʷa)	so, thus
ʔaapalla	aside
ʔan-	I (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔaʷdad- (< NSw. -anda)	begin, to
ʔaʷje (cf. Br. ʷde)	outside
ʔaʷga	so that
ʔáanno, P ʔáannoni	father's sister
ʔáni	I (INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔárago, P ʔáragoni	brother-in-law
ʔáraka	greed
ʔárasa, P ʔárasáni	wife

ʔárattsa	co-wife
ʔatta	you (2P; INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔávak'e, P ʔávak'a	doum palm
ʔéé	eh! (ID)
ʔééga	fire
ʔeek- (1P; ʔeekam-)	be, to; become, to
ʔeekadid-	look after, to
ʔeetit-	hear, to
ʔeevaw-	build, to
ʔelead- (< Sw. -elea)	understand, to
ʔelej-	know, to
ʔéno, P ʔénama	father-in-law
ʔentid-	show, to
ʔénumasa, P ʔénumaséni	mother-in-law
ʔídi	she (INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔígira	meat-eating place (of hunters in bush)
ʔí-	she (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔí-	by, with
ʔi-	me (BOUND PR.)
ʔibed-	tell, to
ʔidib-	fetch, to
ʔiddzab-	climb, to
ʔíívu	ash
ʔíjidi, M-ééto, F-ittsi (cf. W. jiiduu)	Somali
ʔílla, P ʔílla	eye
ʔílakini (< Sw.)	but
ʔílima, P ʔílimámi	tear
ʔinááfa (< Sw.)	jealousy
ʔinááfa fal-	become jealous, to
ʔíni	focus marker (FOC)
ʔinto	with; from
ʔiná-	them (BOUND PR.)
ʔiná?-	their (BOUND PR.)
ʔíre	truth
ʔírídi, P ʔírídádi	string of beads (worn around the neck)
ʔírifa, P ʔírifamunte ~ ʔírifáfi	eyelash
ʔisad- (< Baj. -isa)	finish, to (tr.)
ʔisakud- (< Baj. -isa)	finish, to (intr.)
ʔita	this (F)
ʔíttsa	my (F)
ʔíttsi	my (M)
ʔítta, SG ʔíttone	louse

ʔitu	that (F)
ʔógoḡa, M ʔógoḡééte, F ʔógoḡééttsi	Boni
ʔo'boleʔad- (< Sw. -omba)	pray, to
ʔot'-	enter, to
ʔot'od-	make enter, to
ʔo'ḡoʔad- (< NSw. ḡoo)	approach, to
eu (Sw.)	or
ʔá-	he (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔádu	he (INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔug-	do, to
ʔujid-	annoy, to; bother, to
ʔuk'eem-	stand up, to
ʔókotta	there
ʔóku	that (M)
ʔókummámu	those
ʔuk'a	this (M)
ʔuk'addze	nowadays (?)
ʔúk'ammámu	these
ʔúk'atta	here
ʔúk'atti	now
ʔummámu	they (INDEPENDENT PR.)
ʔúmu'gu (cf. Br. munjo), SG ʔúmu'gune	maize beetle
ʔunt'a, P ʔúnt'addi	branch
ʔútobo	anus
ʔútunu, P ʔútunáni	wound
ʔúʔaaʔi (< NSw. utati), P ʔúʔaaʔáʔi	ugali
b'-	
b'a-	negative selector (NEG)
b'aʔad-	dry, to (obj.: meat)
b'ááb'a, P b'ááb'ani	father
b'aab-	carry a child on the back, to
b'aabit-	carry a child on the back, to (FREQ)
b'aadomíiri (< b'aadu + míiri ?)	crazy
b'aadu	without
b'dʔi, P b'áʔima	lion
b'dáre, P b'áárema	calabash (big)
b'dabaʔaane, P b'ábaʔaanuuta	topi
b'dagama, P b'ágamudda	belly
b'dagama kantid-	pregnant, to make
b'dagamaamíttse	pregnant
b'daggo, P b'ággi	dress

b'ággo d'uh-	dress o.s., to
b'áha	hard (adv.)
b'áhama, F -iddza, P b'áhami	hard
b'ah-	kill, to (plural object)
b'akiʔad- (< Sw. -baki)	remain, to
b'akk-	lit fire, to
b'álaʔi	again
b'alak-	move house, to
b'aneed-	boast, to
b'ar- (< Som. bar- ?)	recognize, to
b'ána	before; (+ GEN) old
b'arij- (cf. Or. barii)	depart on dawn, to
b'áriti (cf. Or. barii)	dawn
b'asi (Sw.)	well!
b'avaʔ-	burn, to (intr.)
b'eeʔa, P b'éeʔamunte ~ b'éeʔajju	buffalo
b'eh- (P: beham-)	silent, to be
b'er-	touch, to
b'idii (Sw.)	hard (adv.)
b'inadamu (Sw.)	man, human being
b'irik'- (cf. Br. inviringe "round")	turn, to (tr.)
b'irik'eem-	turn into, to; become, to
b'irik'inna	lightning
b'om-	sleep, to
b'onko (< NSw. bongo), P b'ónkagáame	brain
b'óód'aani, P b'óód'aanáni	not poisoned big arrow-head
b'óóhi	nostril
b'óóku, P b'óókakki	hole
b'óóma (< Sw. boma), P b'óómammi	fenced open place
b'óóra, SG b'óóreete	boy
b'ooti, P b'óótime	thigh
b'uʔ-	put into, to; plant, to
b'uʔud-	enter, to (P)
b'ub'wi (< Sw. bubu), P b'úb'wima	dumb
b'uđđad- (< NSw. -uʕa ?)	ask, to
b'uđđuved-	rush, to (subj.: animals)
b'ura	morning
b'uru (cf. NSw. (m)buru)	maize
b'úrune	dust
b'ut'uʔ- (impf.)	spit, to
b'úúba, P b'úúbaddi	chest
b'uukul-	fill a hole, to

b'uunad- (< Sw. -vuna)	harvest, to
b'uuvad- (cf. Br. wata ?)	shine, to (subj.: sun)
b'uyad- (< NSw.; cf. Br. vuya)	leak, to
ɛ:	
ɛ'aa'da (variant of ɛaa'da)	
ɛ'émpe (< Sw. jembe), P ɛ'émpabbi	hoe
ɛ:	
ɛaa'da (< NSw. chanda), P ɛ'áá'dudda ~ ɛ'áánduka	finger
ɛikoʕik- (< Sw. -siki ?)	saw, to
ɛóo (< Sw. choo), P ɛ'óovadde ~ zoo	toilet
ɛúú'ba (< Sw. chumba), P -abbi ~ zu'be	room
d:	
d'aaʔ-	go out in a hurry, to
d'ááʔeero, P d'ááʔoorúdda	neck
d'add'at'-	tread on, to (FREQ)
d'ága	waist
d'aháalo, M -to, F -ttsi	Dahalo
d'aʔ-	put down, into, to
d'ah-	pound, to
d'áhanite, P d'áhanitáti	pestle
d'ahikud-	pounded, to be
d'ak- (perf.)	cook, to
d'ak''-	keep walking, to
d'atid-	tear, to
d'anmo	yesterday
d'anmo summa	day before yesterday
d'anmo summéeni	third day before today
d'ar- (< Som. dar- ?)	put together, to; collect, to
d'at'-	tread on, to
d'au, P d'áuje	pot
d'eek''áani, P d'eek''áananni	shadow (of a man)
d'íibe, P d'íibuuta	buttock
d'idd'iʔeem-	go down, to (FREQ)
d'id'iʔíima	thunder
d'iʔ-	strip away, to; peel off, to
d'iʔeem-	go down, to
d'íime, P d'íimudda	bee
d'ir-	pass, to
d'irid-	pass, to make

d'ód'oʔa (cf. Br. totope ?)	mud
d'uʔ-	set, to (subj.: sun, night)
d'uʔaj-	tie, to; close, to
d'uʔikakud-	be untied, to
d'uʔikud-	tied, to be
d'uk'-	broken, to be
d'uk'ud'uk'ud-	spoil, to; destroy, to (FREQ)
d'uk'ud-	break, to
d'uuko (cf. Br. duuko), P d'úúkaki	deaf

d

da-	in, at (LOC)
dááko, M -to, F -ttsi, P dáákotani	Daako
dába, P dábabbe	hand; paw
dába lua	right (hand)
dába pañ-	clap hands, to
dába pañad-	clap hands in time of music, to (FREQ)
dába šoto (< Sw. -shoto)	left (hand)
dabara (< Som. ?)	behind
dabi (cf. Br. daaba), P dábima	animal, game
dakáʔa, P dakáʔadde	leg, foot
dakáʔa kiʔaʔga	sole of the foot
dánnabe (cf. Bor., Orma dannabaa)	elephant (female)
dáwatte	five
dééla, P dééle	girl (young woman not married)
di-	her (BOUND PR.)
díírama (< Or.)	morning
dik-	depart, to; leave, to
dokóómi, P dókoomámi	elephant
doʔbo (< Baj. zombo)	utensils, kitchenware
dook-	take away, to; kidnap, to (obj.: woman)
dóóminto	behind (?)
dóoro, P dóórari	shoulder
du-	him (BOUND PR.)
dumaar-	wander, to
dúúra, P dúúrari	bowels

dz

dzaaʔ-	die, to
dzaaʔad-	kill, to
dzááʔama, F dzááʔamittse, P -i	dead
dzaaʔáta, P dzaaʔátuuke	wild animal; enemy

dzeeʔed-	kill, to
dl	
di dáʔune, F dlááʔunittse, P dlááʔuni	slim
di aggʔid-	masturbate, to
di appanad-	sting, to

f

faah- (Sw. -faa)	useful, to be
faaʔ- (impf.)	destroy, to
faat'-	dig, to
fád'ak'e, P fád'ak'ák'i	fire stick
faffaaʔ-	crack down, to (FREQ)
fai-	do, to; work, to
fálaʔe	morning star
falikud-	made, to be
fiiir- (impf.)	remove, to
fíit'a, P fíit'eka	wall
fílikud-	comb o.s., to
fílime, P fílimámmi	comb
fitina (Sw.)	discord
fóófoone	light (adj.)
fook'-	rest, to
fuʔʔeed-	tear, to; rend, to
fukidad- (< Sw. -fukiza)	smoke, to
fuko (Sw.)	bag
fumo (Sw.)	javelin
fuʔdi (Sw.), P fúʔdime	craftsman
furehi (< Sw. -furahi) kakud-(?)	happy, to be
fuʔad- (< Sw. -futa)	rub, to
fuuʔad- (< Sw. -fua)	wash, to
fuur-	satiated, to be
fúúʔba (< Sw. fumba), P fúúʔbabbi	mat
funt'-	breathe, to
fúnt'oono	sweat; warm

g

gaad-	spend the day, to
gaaliʔ- (< Or. gala)	go home, to
geano, P gáána	large, big; grown-up person
gaano gʔittsa, P gáána gʔittso	young man
gaano lábaani	village elder
gábbo	above, upon

gaggaalij- (< Or. gala)	go home, to (P)
gák'anē, P gák'anúúta	chin
gáríma	outside
gát'a, P gát'att'i	beard
gáve, P gávajju	snake
get-	bring, to; send, to
gínaa`da, SG gínaa`dáne	pubic hair
gídda	sperm
gilli, P gíllibe	knee
giteem-	scared, to be
gimpo, P gímpoma	carpus; malleolus
giri	under, below
gírígíri	quickly, fast
git-	sleep, to (P)
gólóbe, P gólóba	monkey
gomm- (cf. Br. inamma)	bend down, to
góógo (< Sw. gogo)	log
góóra, P góórari	piece of cloth
gúbaalaale, P gúbaalaali	hunter
gúúna, M gúúneeto, F gúúneettsi	Bajuun
gub- (< Som. gub ?)	burn, to (tr.)
gubaalid-	hunt, to
gúbaga, SG gúbagééte	young (n.)
gubit-	burn, to (intr.)
gud-	remove, to
gudde	bush
gúño, P guño	person; pl.: people
guño g`ittso	Sanye (coll.; lit.: "the Little People")
gu`teed-	untie, to; open, to; undress, to
gunia (Sw.), P gúníeki	sack
gúrume, F gúrúmidze, P gúrúmi	old (of persons)
gurumuw-	grow, to
g`	
g`aň- (P: g`aňam-)	stay, to; live, to
g`aňadid-	stay, to make
g`at'-	chew, to
g`i?i	thirst
g`i?i kam-	thirsty, to be
g`ittsa, P g`ittso	child
g`ittsa patad-	give birth to a baby, to

b	
há	ah! (ID)
haab- (impf.)	cut, to
hááli	dance (kind of women!)
hááso, P háásooma	bow-string
haasoob-	talk, to; converse, to
háát'i	near
haaw-	understand, to
háčč'a	only
háddur-	sleep, to
háđe	moon; month
háhhaab-	cut, to (FREQ)
háŋ-	come, to
hájow-	yawn, to
hámaad'e	ripe
há-	slaughter, to
háta (Sw.)	until
hátkud-	slaughtered, to be
háy	yes
háye (< Sw. haya)	go on!
há`g`ara`g`ára, P há`g`ara`g`áruuta	centipede
háddo	evening
háé	yes (ID)
háe?-	give, to
háéri, P háéarrie	goat
háéla (< Sw.)	come on!
hábe, P hábe ~ hábema	baboon
háima	night
háimane (SG of háíma ?)	tomorrow
háimanesú[?]u	day after tomorrow
háimate	black
hágid-	pant, to
hálo	with, and
háome, P háomóúta	frog
háod'- (cf. Br. kood ?)	say, to
háodi (Sw.)	may I come in ?
háóni	far
háova (< NSw.)	marriage
háovaad- (< NSw. -o(w)a)	marry, to (subj.: man)
háovaakud-	get married, to (subj.: woman)
hárok'- (< Sw. -koroga ?)	stir, to
háror- (perf.)	chase, to

hororid- (impf.)	chase, to
hubat- (< Som. hubso ?)	know, to
huk'-	have sexual intercourse, to
hul-	stink, to
hut'-	follow, to
hut'uw-	look like, to; resemble, to
huud-	sew, to
huufud-	blow, to (subj.: man)
h	
ħaad'o, P ħáád'a	arrow
ħaad'o t'áfa?i	arrow with poison on the head
ħáájo, P ħáfi	man
ħaav-	mention, to
ħábe, P ħábudda	armpit
ħahħaavit-	mention, to (FREQ)
ħéllefa	zebra
ħíd'aade	heavy
ħíddibe, P ħíddiba	bird
ħiik'-	grind, to
ħííla (< Som.)	trick
ħiir-	shave, to (tr.)
ħiirikud-	shave, to (intr.)
ħot'-	scratch, to
ħuntl'-	chew, to
ħuntl'ameemit-	chew continuously, to (FREQ)
ɿ	
ɿaadid- (< ɿa[g]did-)	feed, to
ɿáála, P ɿááluuke ~ ɿáálali	bow
ɿaameemit-	eat continuously, to (FREQ)
ɿag-	eat, to
ɿaga	food
ɿagikud-	eaten, to be
ɿaŋ-	cry, to
ɿaj-	lost, to get
ɿálite, P ɿálitúmu	knife
ɿam-	take, to
ɿameedid-	stroll, to
ɿani, P ɿánuuta	head
ɿank'id-	bend, to (tr.)
ɿank'ikud-	bent, to be

ɿant'id-	scratch, to
ɿattaħ-	throw, to
ɿa^-	lick, to
ɿa^-/adid-	lick, to make
ɿééme, P ɿéémi	thorn
ɿééna, P ɿéénaadi	tongue
ɿi?-	push, to
ɿi?ed-	scatter, to
ɿij-	call, to
ɿik-	scream, to
ɿínta, SG ɿíntone	housefly
ɿin?eed-	empty, to
ɿógóhi, P ɿogóhi	egg
ɿofo?id	cough, to
ɿot-	put in, to
ɿunneed- (< Som. cun- "to eat"?)	swallow, to
ɿunf-	chew, to
ɿ	
ɿingawa (Sw.)	although
ɿ	
j'dá'bi (cf. Br. ijanbi), P j'ád'babbi	mat
j'eer- (cf. Br. jera)	shy, to be
j'eeridid-	shy, to make
j'íirani (< Sw. jirani), P j'ííranáni	neighbour
ɿ	
já?awo, P já?awuuta	vervet
jádgo, P jáágu	cow
jádjo	mother (after death)
jáálesi (< Som. jaalle ?), P jááleséni	friend
jaar-	old, to become
jaarid-	convince, to
jabi (cf. Sw. ajabu) kantid-	astonish, to
janaa (Sw.)	family; group
jáne, P jámema	warthog
jara, P járema	porcupine
járibu	fish (sp. of)
jeen-	live together, to (P)
jeémpe (variant of ɿ'éémpe)	
jékkele, P jékkeláli	shoulder extremity
ji-	allative marker (ALL)

ji-	habitual action selector (HAB)
jíko	who?
jíkoto, F jíkottsi, P jíkommámu	who?
joka	which?
joom-	speak, to
joomameemit-	speak continuously, to (FREQ)
jufeed-	extinguish, to (obj.: fire)
jufeem-	burn, to (subj.: fire)
júko (cf. Br. židhuku)	navel
juuf-	blow, to
júúfume	air
júúfune (SG ?)	wind
<u>k'</u>	
k'aatad-	divide, to
k'áavati, F -ettsa, P -áta	freeman
k'aba	three
k'ad'ab-	taste, to
k'ad'atid- (< k'ad'a[b]tid-)	taste, to make
k'añ-	bite, to
k'akk'aatad-	divide, to (FREQ)
k'áraare (cf. Br. haraari-si)	bitter
k'arap'-	cut, to
k'áreete, P k'áreetáti	not poisoned arrow-head
k'at'-	go and look, to
k'attsid-	circumcise, to
k'attsikud-	circumcised, to be
k'awe, P k'awi	egg-shell
k'eer-	chop, to
k'éere	hunger
k'éere kam-	hungry, to be
k'iik'-	laugh, to
k'óbe (< Sw. kobe ?), P k'óbaddi	tortoise
k'ok'o, P k'ók'addi	throat
k'o'go	giant
k'oob-	want, to
k'oro, P k'óre	tree; P: woods
k'úúba, P k'úúbaddi	check
k'úúhuma	white
<u>k</u>	
ká-	unrealised action selector (IRR)

káádi (< Sw. kazi)	work (n.)
kaaɸ-	shout, to
kaaj-	put, to; set, to; keep, to
kaajikud-	put, to be
kááka	as
kaamad- (< Sw. -kama)	milk, to
káániki, P káánikáki	dress (black, of women)
káázi (variant of káádi)	
kaa'gad- (< Sw. -kaanga)	roast, to
kábaʔe, P kábaʔu	baobab
kabe	accusative marker (ACC)
kabisa (Sw.)	completely
kad'aɸ-	bite, to (P)
kada	if
káe (variant of kábe)	
kaɸ- (+ POSS. DET.)	alone
káɸime	many
kakkad-	remember, to
kálati, P kálatétto	tooth
kálati suumani	incisor tooth
kali (Sw.)	harsh, fierce
kan-	hold, to; take, to; marry, to
ká'ba (< Sw. kamba), P ká'baki	~ -uuke rope
kanikud-	caught, to be
kámpore, P kámporári	testicle
kapu (< Sw. kapu), P kápapánne	basket
kar- (< Som. kar-)	can, to
karama (Sw.)	manner
kárijedi, M -to, F kárijeditti	Oromo
karikud-	can, to
karri	dress (kind of -?)
kárikadi (< Sw. kaskazi)	drought; dry season; Northern wind
ke (variant of kábe)	
kéeda	where?
keej-	give birth, to
keejikud-	born, to be
keek-	look at, to; provide, to
kééke	whither?
keekikud-	looked, to be
keer-	come near, to; approach, to
kekkeek-	look around, to (FREQ)

kéñte, P kénṭaddi	bag (for carrying -exp. meat- on the head)
keppad-	finish, to (tr.; at end of a story only)
ki-	you (2SF; BOUND PR.)
kiasi (Sw.)	moderation
kíbo, P kíbudda	calabash, gourd
kíbuuro, P kíbuurári	den
kíe ^h ba (< Sw. kilemba), P kíe ^h babi	turban
kíidzo, P kíídzooma	old man
kíidzo lábaani	village elder
kíímo (< Sw. kimo)	height
kiir-	go and come back, to
kíiviko, P kíivikáki	wrist
kíkoddzi (cf. Sw. kozi), P kíkoddzáddzi	hawk
kila (Sw.)	every
kiṭ-	run away, to (P)
kinná-	your (2PF; BOUND PR.)
kínṭo (< Sw kitu ?; cf. Br. Žiinču)	thing
kinu (< Sw.), P kínuḍde	mortar
kípu ^h ju, P kípu ^h jájjí	place where the maize is seasoned
kíra ^h gáti, P kíra ^h gatáti	quiver
kiri, P kírima	giraffe
kisa (Sw.)	then
kísiiri, P kísiirári	string of beads (worn around the waist)
kísima (Sw.), P kísimagge ~ -adde	well (n.)
kitogo	dance (kind of _)
kíṭa ^h ḍa (<Sw. kitanda), P kíṭa ^h ḍáḍḍi	bed
kíṭevi, P kíṭevávi	paralytic
ko?-	wait, to (only imperative)
ko?eed-	put an end to, to
kokkoolit-	fly about, to; hop, to (FREQ)
ko ^h doo (Sw.)	sheep
kónke (< cf. Sw. ukonge), P kónka	fibre
kónkoolo, P kónkooláli	leg (from knee to foot)
kónṭa, SG kónṭeete	dry fish
kool-	fly, to
kotta-	in, inside
ku-	you (2SM; BOUND PR.)
kub'aalid- (< Sw. -kubali)	agree, to
kulla (Sw.)	every, any
kulum- (< Som. kulmi)	meet, to; come across, to
kunná-	you (2PM; BOUND PR.)
kupid-	cover, to

kúsi	self; too
kutad-	wrap, to
kutta (variant of kotta)	
kúúḍza, M kúúḍzeeti, F kúújittsa	Swahili
kwani (Sw.)	why?
k ^h	
k ^h 'allid-	erection, to have an
k ^h 'ánaṭa, P k ^h 'ánaṭamunte	scorpion
k ^h 'at'-	wash, to
k ^h 'at'ikud-	wash hands, to
k ^h	
k ^h ah-	slash, to
k ^h aḥ-	run away, to
k ^h arak ^h arikud-	roll, to (intr.)
ḷ	
laaf-	tired, to be
laágu	news
laaḥ-	hide, to (intr.)
laaḥat-	hide, to (tr.)
laaw-	pick up, to
ladda	penis
laáḍima (< Sw. lazima)	necessity
lah-	finished, to be
lakini (Sw.; variant of ḥilakini)	
lanki, P lánkima	bat
laa-	pull, to
láva	settlement, village
lée, P léaddi	street, path
lééso (< Sw. lesa), P léésoma	shawl
líima	two
líimad- (< Sw. -lima)	work, to; cultivate, to
lik- (< Sw. -likiza)	send away, to
loḥ-	bring, to
loḥikud-	brought, to be
lókome (SG ?)	lip
lóóbu, P lóóbabi	sheath
lub- (perf., impf.)	hit, to; beat, to
lubameemit-	hit continuously, to (FREQ)
lubikud-	beated, to be
lúk'a (< Som. ?), P lúk'agáame	leg (from thigh to knee)

luttid-	knock down, to
luttokum-	fall, to
†	
†áábu, SG †áábune	leaf
†ááñame	sweet
†áfi, P †áfafáñne	lung
†añ-	put on fire, to
†añaj-	leave off, to; abandon, to
†ákane, P †ákani	sharp
†akkʷ- (?)	burn, to (intr.)
†aʷgadad-	puzzle, to; astonish, to
†aw-	love, to; like, to
†eeʃ-	smell, to
†iin-	get well, to
†iinid-	cure, to
†impid-	blow one's nose, to
†uub-	sip, to
†uum-	upset, to get; angry, to get
†ʷañ-	pinch, to
ᄀ	
maʔa	water
maʔa lub-	rain, to
maʔameemit-	drink continuously, to (FREQ)
maʔaw-	drink, to
mááte	what
máágoʔba (<Sw. mgomba), SG -ééte	banana (plant)
máágoʔe	thorn
mááka(-to)	what?
máákaani (= mááka + ní- (GEN))	why?
mákabára	when?
mákko, P mákkomunte	liver
mákʷaju	sesame
málata	hunting
mamiit-	think, to
mamusuʔ-	their (BOUND PR.)
mánaʔe, P mánaʔi	baby (new-born)
máni	self
manni	there (very far)
mantañ- (< Bo.?)	vomit, to
mantañid-	vomit, to (FREQ)

ndpi ʷgáni (P ?)	string of beads (worn around the wrist)
ndpuka (< Sw. mpunga)	rice before husking
nat'-	wake up, to
nat'at-	awake, to be
ndve (< Sw. mawe), SG máveete	stone
ndvi ʷgu (< Sw. mawingu)	clouds
nazu (NSw.), SG názute	banana (fruit)
néék'a (< Som. meeqa)	how many, how much?
nééʃi (< Som. meeshi)	place
néʷ/ate (SG ?)	slowly
mfállume (cf. Sw. mfalme), P -ámi	king
míggi, P míggine	arm
milda	suddenly, at once
mífri	manners, behaviour
milaak'it-	dream, to
milaʃ-	stick out the tongue, to
míto, P míta	body
míni, P míddzi	house
mísikíta, SG mísikitéte	meat (dried; SG: portion of)
akullima (Sw.)	farmer
móla, P mólalle	mead
monno	very
mpaka (Sw.)	until
mpia (Sw.)	new
mpókome, F mpókomettsi, P mpókomi	Pokomo
msúúzo, P msúúzaddzi	food stirring stick
múganka, P múgankággi	dance
múganka (cf. NSw. mganga)	sorcerer
múganka ʃeeʃ-	dance, to
mui (NSw.)	town, village
muinga (Sw.)	stupid
mukk'ur-	bind, to
múkibe, F múkibettsa, P múkibábbi	widow
mukkaanad-	take by force, to
mukkaanadid-	take by force, to (FREQ)
mókumpilo	ankle
nummukud-	smile, to
nuna, P núnadde	heart
núnʷa, P núnʷeka	farm, <u>shamba</u>
nút'uʃud-	pull down the foreskin, to
nút'uʃudid-	pull down the foreskin, to (FREQ)
nútaunki (< LP/Mij.), P mútsunkággi	waterpot

múño (< NSw. munyu) salt
mzima (Sw.) all, complete

ñ

na (Sw.) with, and
ná- perfect past selector (PERF)
nááto, P náátoni sister-in-law
nafáási (< Sw. nafasi) chance
nafáási paṭad- get a chance, to
naŋ- refuse, to
náŋeete, P náŋeeto dog
nala honey
nat'a, P nat'o woman
nát'ettsa female
ni- us (AFFIX PR.)
ni- focus marker (affix form)(FOC)
ní- genitive affix (GEN)
nik'id- wink at, to
nik'idadid- wink at, to (FREQ)
nímankalo, P -uuta ~ -áli leopard
nínka, P nínkaggi clitoris
no?- suck, to
noʔodid- milk, to
nóma language
núʔgunúʔgu (< Sw. nyungungu), P -uuta worm
nusu (Sw.) half
ntée (< NSw. mtee) rice after husking (Sw. mchele)

o

oaaṇo, P oááṇuma baby
oáḥe, P oáḥudda hippopotamus
oan- we (BOUND INDEPENDENT PR.)
oapánt'e leech
oáṇi we (INDEPENDENT PR.)
oáŋaṇiŋe thick
oáʔgora happiness
oak'- rub, to
oauk'ut- (impf.) rub, to

p'

p'óʔate rotten
p'uʔatuw- rotten, to get
p'uŋ- prick, to

p'uŋud- pierce, to
p'upp'uŋud- wound, to (FREQ)

q

qaah- wash, to
qaahat- bathe, to
qáána (< Sw. -pana) wide
qáá'di (< Sw. panzi), P qáá'dima grasshopper
qah- beat, to
qak'eed- uncover, to
qat- (impf.) shift, to; put aside, to
qáttáʔámo glade; shelter, hiding-place
qanṭu around
qata (< Sw. pata) ʔantad- reach an agreement, to
qata(ʔa)d- (< Sw. -pata) get, to
qeelaad- (cf. NSw. -pea) sweep, to
qéelaadiini (SG ?), P qeelaádiide broom
qefu (NSw.), P qéfuma incense
qit- (impf.) lay open, to
qoʔeem- consumed, to be; burnt up, to be
qokeʔad- (< Sw. -pokea) receive, to
quh- sting, to
quruŋ- burn, to (intr.)

r

rádfiki (< Sw. rafiki), P rááfikáka friend
raaŋ- hang, to
raaŋraaŋ- hang, to (FREQ)
raaŋ[a]kud- hung, to be
radda, P ráddema feather; arrow-fletching
ragáma, P rágamuuta grave
raha (Sw.) rest
raha tl'ag- have peace, rest, to
raid- (< Sw. -rai) flatter, to
raʔgad- (variant of riʔgad-)
rat- walk, to
reeb- (< Som. reeb) stop, to; hold tight, to
riip- pull, to
rik'- afraid, to be
rik'a tail
riʔgad- go around, to; roam, to
ripoṭi (Sw. < English) report
riuid- (< Sw. -riithi) inherit, to

roʔ-	go, to
roheed-	remove, to
rubat-	fish with spear, to
rúfa ^ˆ ga (variant of rúpa ^ˆ ga)	
ruh-	despair, to be in
ruk'o	sickness
ruk'úma, F ruk'úmiddze, P ruk'úmi	sick
rúpa ^ˆ ga (cf. NSw. upanga), P -ággi panga	
ruppeem-	land, to
rúúmate, F rúúmatiddze, P ruumáti	tall; deep
ruu ^ˆ gu (< Sw. rungu), P rúú ^ˆ gume	club, knobbed stick

š

saa (Sw.)	time, hour
saa sita (Sw.)	noon
saa vatte	sometimes
saad'-	stand, to
sááre	name
saattid-	stand up, to make
safari (Sw.)	voyage
saħan-	greet, to
saħid-	forget, to
saǰála	four
sakaʔ-	twist, to
sálaama (< Sw. salama) git-	have a good night, to (in greetings)
sampuli (Sw.)	system
sarakána	shyness
sarakána kantid-	shy, to make
sáre	back (n.)
sasa (Sw.)	now
séébo, P sééboma	whetstone
sélle	now
senti (Sw.)	money
sereem-	move, to; change position, to
síikima, P siikíma	dull
síini (< Sw. siri)	secret
síi ^ˆ bo (< NSw. simbo)	stick
síi ^ˆ dano (< Sw. sindano), P -ánni	needle
síku[z]ote (Sw.)	always
sína, P sínadde	nose
sínt'a	urine
sínt'a darat-	urinate, to

sínt'a lik-	urinate, to
síto (< Sw. sitoo < English)	store
sonkoʔikud-	fall in love, to
sooʔ-	sing, to
soóʔe, SG sooʔómeete	song
soobad-	make a mistake, to
soko (< Sw. soko)	market
sool-	catch, to
soor-	give, to
sú-	copula (COP)
sufuria (Sw.), P sufuriádde	saucepan
summa	in front of; before
surúggo	brother
suubid- (< Som. suubbi)	make, to
suug- (< Som. suug)	wait, to
suukeem-	be still, to
suura (< Sw. sura)	system
suuruk-	hide, to (tr.)

š

šahi	tea
šaa ^ˆ da (variant of š(')aa ^ˆ d'a)	
ša ^ˆ gadad- (< Sw. -shangaza)	astonish, to
šaría (< Sw. sharia)	law
šaruti (< Sw. sharuti)	necessity
šii ^ˆ dad- (< Sw. -shinda)	win, to; overcome, to
šir- (< Gar. šir-)	stay, to; exist, to
šitahid- (< Sw. -stahi)	respect, to
šóóka (< Sw. shoka), P šóókakke	axe

t'

t'aʔ-	poison, to
t'áʔa, P t'áʔema	poison; arrow with poison (= <u>ħaad'o t'áʔaʔi</u>)
t'ar-	bewitch, to
t'át'e, P t'át'ima	ant (small ⌋)
t'átta, SG t'áttane	hair
t'eb-	find, to
t'eede, P t'éédudda ~ t'éédema	elbow
t'ééʔe	body hair
t'ééʔema, F -iddze, P t'ééʔemi	soft
t'igad-	oath, to
t'ilale, P t'ilalji	witch

t'ilííhe, P t'ilííha	embers
t'ílo	witchcraft
t'oŋ-	pain, to; cut, to (?)
t'ókkoome	cold
t'óóʔo, P t'óóʔema	wildcat
t'ooŋ-	collect, to; gather, to
t'uggʷa	smoke
t'up'-	leak, to
t'úpe, P t'úpapi	door
t'uub-	squeeze, to
t'úúto, P t'úútema	waterbuck
t	
taabu (Sw.)	distress
táájiri (< Sw. tajiri) (M, F, P)	rich
táámi, SG táámine	grass (SG: a blade of)
taarik-	join together, to
tááta, P táátani	elder sister
tabáda	lie
tabia (Sw.)	character
tada	right, good
táhara, P táharúrna	heel
tañ-	cross, to
táñame	how?
tamanid- (< Sw. -tamani)	desire, to; long for, to
tanatanadid-	smash to pieces, to
tar-	mix, to
tarar-	tremble, to
tattavaanad- (< Sw. -tavanya)	scatter, to
te	affirmative selector (AFF)
tem-	try, to; taste, to
te ^h be	sword
tipp-	come out, to; rise, to (subj.: sun)
tippeem- (perf.)	come out, to
tirid-	move restlessly, to
tohííni	fourth day after today
tóóyoyo, P tóóyoyomunte	butterfly
to ^h go (< NSw. tongo), P tó ^h gema	blind
to ^h go fal-	blind, to become
tukiʔad- (< NSw. -tuki)	hate, to
tumpi, P tumpábbi	horn
túntumu, P túntumámmi	fist

turukum-	enter quickly, to
túúri (< Som. tuur- "to throw" ?), 2P túúrane	go away!
ta'	
ta'ínaraʔe, F -ittse, P -i	red
ta'ííŋ-	pick lice, to
ta'ííid-	pick lice, to (FREQ)
la	
laááka	hot season; hottest part of the day
laílalla, P tsílalluuke	hawk
laintso	vagina
laob-	draw blood from a hematoma, to
laoolo, P tsóóle ~ tsóóludda	nail; claw
laú ^h gule (< Gir. ts ^h ungula), P -áli	hare
laúnke, P tsúnkima	ant (soldier)
li'	
li'ááña, P li'ááñudda	river; lake
li'aañaj-	let go, to
li'ag-	have, to
li'ak'eed-	distribute, to
li'oŋ-	tired, to get
ɬ	
ɬámbo (< NSw. ɬambo), P ɬámpabbi	trap
ɬámbo maʔááni	spring, pool of water
ɬámbo k ^h aŋ-	trap, to
ɬánu	halo around the moon
ɬe ^h bo (NSw.)	beer (local)
ɬúme, P ɬúmi	bush
ɬúmpo	tobacco
ɬúmpo	only
ɬuɬtu	mat for drying the meat
ɣ	
va-	remoter past selector (PAST)
vaaf-	abuse, to
váák'a	sky; God
vááli (< Sw. vali), P váálalli	rice (cooked)
vad-	carry, to
vaddakud-	brought back, to be
vaddat-	make carry, to

vaddzud-	kneel down, to
vañ-	see, to
vañid-	show, to
vakati (Sw.)	time
val-	play, to
valla (< Sw. wallahi)	by God!
vał-	hurt, to (intr.)
vánika, M váníkééto, F váníkééttsi	Giriama
vatl'-	return, to (intr.)
vatl'id-	return, to (tr.); bring back, to
vátte (M, F, P)	other
vatték ^w e	one (F)
vattúk ^w e	one (M)
víívu (< Sw. wivu)	jealousy
vintid-	look after, to
víne, F vínaddza, P vino	good; beautiful
vitavited-	rotate, to (tr.)
w	
waala	rhinoceros
wáraaba, P wáraabuuta	hyena
wáraña, P wárañuuke	spear
wongo (NSw.)	earth
y	
yááyo	mother (alive)
yááyo ?ááma	mother's sister
z	
zíva (< Sw. maziva)	milk
Ł	
/a?-	dry, to be
/a?id-	puzzle, to; astonish, to
/aani	saliva
/añadid-	ponder, to; think, to
/i ^w birik'itte (SG ?)	gecko
/i ^w giliŋe, P /i ^w gilíŋa	star
/ituw-	carry the game hung to the bow, to
/o?-	pick (from a tree), to
/óóke, P /óókakke	nipple
/óóne, P /oonu ~ /óónudda	breast
/u?u	excrements

/u?u lik-	defecate, to
/úbubuŋe, P /úbubúŋa	moth
/uŋ-	strip, to; peel, to
/úŋe, SG /úŋite	ant (brown ♂)
/útu	waist
/utuw- (?)	fill, to
/uuk-	fill, to
/uukikud-	full, to be; filled, to be
/u//uuk-	fill, to (FREQ)
/untáŋe, P /untaŋe	cicada
b	
^w bajóni	let's go!
^w balábe, ^w bálabéni	fish
^w battsi, P ^w battsáttsi	potsherd
^w béne, P ^w bénanne	glans of the penis
^w bííte, P ^w bííjajji	bad, ugly
^w blni, P ^w blnime	cow tail (symbol of manhood)
^w bona (Sw. mbona)	why?
^w bóóni	fight, war
d	
^w dáragi	mantis
^w déégi, P ^w déégaggi	canine tooth
dz	
^w dzááje, P ^w dzáájajje	jaw
^w dzóne, P ^w dzónanni	spleen
^w dzóóme	honey (kind of ♂)
ǰ	
^w ǰáála, P ^w ǰáálalle	bag
^w ǰani (NSw.)	inside
^w ǰigad- (cf. NSw. -ǰika)	bury, to
^w ǰigakud-	buried, to be
^w ǰóǰi, P ^w ǰóǰaddi	thumb
^w ǰoo (NSw.)	come!
^w ǰóóŋo	sand
^w ǰo?ad- (variant of ?o ^w ǰo?ad-)	
^w ǰupa (cf. NSw. thupa), P ^w ǰúpema	bottle
^w ǰuugo (< Sw. ndugu), P ^w ǰúúgu	kinsman

^h g	
^h gaasid-	explain, to
^h gálo, P ^h gáladde	wrist
^h gíkine, P ^h gíkinuuta	eyebrow
^h goma, P ^h gómaddi	drum
^h goowi	rainbow
^h gúmine (SG), P mávi ^h gu (< Sw.)	cloud
^h gúúfu (< Sw. nguvu), F-uniddze, P-uni	strong
^h gúúko (cf. NSw. khuku), P ^h gúúku	cock

^h /	
^h /aba	forest
^h /éénu, P ^h /éénnani	python
^h /ó?o	palm frond

ENGLISH-DAHALO GLOSSARY

A	
above, upon	gábbo
abuse, to	vaaŋ-
accusative marker (ACC)	kabe
affirmative selector (AFF)	te
afraid, to be	rik'-
again	b'ála?i
agree, to	kub'aalid- (< Sw. -kubali)
ah! (ID)	?á(á)
ah! (ID)	há
air	júúfume
all	?ákkale
all, complete	mzima (Sw.)
allative marker (ALL)	ji-
alone	kaŋ- (+ POSS. DET.)
although	ingawa (Sw.)
always	síku[z]ote (Sw.)
amen!	?amíina
animal, game	dabi (cf. Br. daaba), P dábima
ankle	múkumpilo
annoy, to; bother, to	?ujid-
ant (brown \hookrightarrow)	/úŋe, SG /úŋite
ant (small \hookrightarrow)	t'át'e, P t'át'ima
ant (soldier \hookrightarrow)	tsúnke, P tsúnkima

anus	?útobo
approach, to	?o ^h do?ad- (< NSw. nŋoo)
arm	miggi, P míggine
armpit	hábe, P hábudda
around	paŋtu
arrow	haad'o, P háád'a
arrow with poison on the head	haad'o t'áŋa?i
as	kááka
as, like	?amma
ash	?íívu
aside	?ampalla
ask, to	b'uđđad- (< NSw. -uŋa ?)
astonish, to	jabi (cf. Sw. ajabu) kantid-
astonish, to	ša ^h gadad- (< Sw. -shangaza)
awake, to be	mat'at-
axe	šóóka (< Sw. shoka), P šóókakke

B	
baboon	híbe, P hibe ~ híbema
baby	mánaŋe, P mánaŋi
baby	naano, P náánuma
back (n.)	sáre
bad, ugly	?bííte, P ?bííjajji
bag	fuko (Sw.)
bag	?dáála, P ?dáálalle
bag (for carrying -exp. meat - on the head)	kéŋte, P kénŋaddi
bajun	gúúna, M gúúneeto, F gúúneettsi
banana (fruit)	mazu (NSw.), SG mázute
banana (plant)	mággo ^h ba (< Sw. mgomba), SG -ééte
baobab	kába?e, P kába?u
basket	kapu (< Sw. kapu), P kápapánne
bat	lanki, P lánkima
bathe, to	paaŋat-
be, to; become, to	?eek- (1P: ?eekam-)
be still, to	suukeem-
be untied, to	d'u?ikakud-
beard	gát'a, P gát'att'i
beat, to	paŋ-
beaten, to be	lubikud-
become jealous, to	?inááfa fal-
bed	kiŋa ^h da (< Sw. kitanda), P kíŋa ^h đáđđi
bee	d'íime, P d'íimudda

beer (local)	ʔe ^h bo (NSw.)
before; (+ GEN) old	b'ára
begin, to	ʔa ^h dad- (< NSw. -anda)
behind	dabara (< Som. ?)
behind (?)	dóómino
believe, to	ʔaaminid - (< Sw. -amini)
belly	b'ágama, P b'ágamudda
bend, to (tr.)	ʔank ^h id-
bend down, to	gomm- (cf. Br. inamma)
bent, to be	ʔank ^h ikud-
bewitch, to	t'ar-
bind, to	mukk'ur-
bird	híddibe, P híddiba
bite, to	k'añ-
bite, to (P)	kad'añ-
bitter	k'áraare (cf. Br. haraari-si)
black	hímmate
blind	to ^h go (<NSw.tongo), P to ^h gema
blind, to become	to ^h go fal-
blow, to	juuf-
blow, to (subj.: man)	huufud-
blow one's nose, to	timpid-
boast, to	b'aneed-
body	mito, P mita
body hair	t'éeñe
Boni	ʔógoḡa, M ʔógoḡéeete, F ʔógoḡéettsi
born, to be	keejikud-
bottle	^h ḡupa (cf. NSw. thupa), P ^h ḡupema
bow	ʔáála, P ʔááluuke ~ ʔáálali
bow-string	hááso, P háásooma
bowels	dúúra, P dúúrari
boy	b'óóra, SG b'óoreete
brain	b'onko (< NSw. bongo), P b'ónkagáame
branch	ʔunt'a, P ʔunt'addi
break, to	d'uk'ud-
breast	/óóne, P /oonu ~ /óónudda
breathe, to	funt'-
bring, to	loñ-
bring, to; send, to	get-
broken, to be	d'uk'-
broom	peélaadiini (SG ?), P peelaádiide
brother	surúggo

brother-in-law	ʔárago, P ʔáragoni
brought back, to be	vaddakud-
brought, to be	loñikud-
buffalo	b'eeña, P b'éeñamunte ~ b'éeñajju
build, to	ʔeevaw-
buried, to be	^h ḡigakud-
burn, to (intr.)	gubit-
burn, to (intr.)	puruñ-
burn, to (intr.)	takk ^h - (?)
burn, to (intr.)	b'avaʔ-
burn, to (subj.: fire)	juñeem-
burn, to (tr.)	gub- (< Som. gub ?)
bury, to	^h ḡigad- (cf. NSw. -ḡika)
bush	ʔúme, P ʔúmi
bush	gudde
but	ʔílakini (< Sw.)
butterfly	tóóyogo, P tóóyogomunte
buttock	d'ííbe, P d'ííbuuta
by, with	ʔí-
by God!	valla (< Sw. wallahi)
G	
calabash (big)	b'ááre, P b'áárema
calabash, gourd	kíbo, P kíbuuda
call, to	ñij-
can, to	kar- (< Som. kar-)
can, to	karikud-
canine tooth	^h deégi, P ^h deégaggi
carpus; malleolus	gimpo, P gimpoma
carry, to	vad-
carry a child on the back, to	b'aab-
carry a child on the back, to (FREQ)	b'aabit-
carry the game hung to the bow, to	/ituw-
catch, to	sool-
caught, to be	kamikud-
centipede	há ^h ḡara ^h ḡára, P há ^h ḡara ^h ḡáruuta
chance	nafáási (< Sw. nafasi)
character	tabia (Sw.)
chase, to	hororid- (impf.)
chase, to	horor- (perf.)
cheek	k'úúba, P k'úúbaddi
chest	b'úúba, P b'úúbaddi

chew, to	ħuntl'-
chew, to	ʃunf-
chew, to	gʷat'-
chew continuously, to (FREQ)	ħuntl'ameemit-
child	gʷittsa, P gʷittso
chin	gák'ane, P gák'anúúta
chop, to	k'eer-
cicada	/untáʃe, P /untáʃe
circumcise, to	k'attsid-
circumcised, to be	k'attsikud-
clap hands in time, to (FREQ)	dába paħad-
clap hands, to	dába paħ-
climb, to	ʔiddzab-
clitoris	nínka, P nínkaggi
cloud	ʔgúmine (SG), P máviʔgu (< Sw. mawingu)
club, knobbed stick	ruuʔgu (< Sw. rungu), P rúúʔgume
co-wife	ʔárattsa
cock	ʔgúúko (cf. NSw. khuku), P ʔgúúku
cold	t'ókkoome
collect, to; gather, to	t'ooʃ-
comb	filime, P filimámmi
comb o.s., to	filikud-
come near, to; approach, to	keer-
come on!	héla (< Sw.)
come out, to	tippeem- (perf.)
come out, to; rise, to (subj.: sun)	tipp-
come!	ʔdoo (NSw.)
come, to	haʃ-
completely	kabisa (Sw.)
consumed, to be; burnt up, to be	poʃeem-
convince, to	jaarid-
cook, to	d'ak- (perf.)
copula (COP)	sú-
cough, to	ʃoʃoʔid
cover, to	kupid-
cow	jáágo, P jáágu
cow tail (symbol of manhood)	ʔbini, P ʔbínime
crack down, to (FREQ)	faffaaʃ-
craftsman	fuʔdi (< Sw. fundi), P fúʔdime
crazy	b'aadomíiri (< b'aadu + míiri ?)
cross, to	taħ-
cry, to	ʃaʃ-

cure, to	tiinid-
cut, to	k'arap'-
cut, to	haab- (impf.)
cut, to (FREQ.)	hahhaab-
D	
Daako	dááko, M -to, F -ttsi, P dáákotani
Dahalo	d'aháálo, M -to, F -ttsi
dance	múganka, P múgankággi
dance (kind of women')	hááli
dance (kind of)	kitogo
dance, to	múganka ʃeeʔ-
dawn	b'áriti (cf. Or. barii)
day after tomorrow	híímanesú[ʔ]u
day before yesterday	d'ammo summa
dead	dzááʔama, F dzááʔamittse, P -i
deaf	d'uuko (cf. Br. duuko), P d'úúkaki
defecate, to	/uʔu lik-
den	kíbuuro, P kíbuurári
depart on dawn, to	b'arij- (cf. Or. barii)
depart, to; go out, to	dik-
desire, to; long for, to	tamanid- (< Sw. -tamani)
despair, to be in	ruh-
destroy, to	faaʃ- (impf.)
die, to	dzaaʔ-
dig, to	faat'-
discord	fitina (Sw.)
distress	taabu (Sw.)
distribute, to	tl'ak'eed-
divide, to	k'aatad-
divide, to (FREQ)	k'akk'aatad-
do, to	ʔug-
do, to; work, to	fał-
dog	náʃeete, P náʃeeto
door	t'úpe, P t'úpapi
doum palm	ʔávak'e, P ʔávak'a
draw blood from a hematoma, to	tsoob-
dream, to	milaak'it-
dress	b'ággo, P b'ággi
dress (black, of women)	káániki, P káánikáki
dress (kind of -?)	karri
dress o.s., to	b'ággo d'uh-

drink continuously, to (FREQ)	maʔameemit-
drink, to	maʔaw-
drought; dry season; Northern wind	kásikadi (< Sw. kaskazi)
drum	ʔgoma, P ʔgómaddi
dry fish	kónʔa, SG kónʔeete
dry, to (obj.: meat)	b'aʔad-
dry, to be	/aʔ-
dull	sííkima, P siikíma
dumb	b'ub'wi (< Sw. bubu), P b'úb'wima
dust	b'úrune
E	
ear	ʔágaddzo, P ʔágaddzi
earth	wongo (NSw.)
eat, to	ʔag-
eat continuously, to (FREQ)	ʔaameemit-
eaten, to be	ʔagikud-
egg	ʔógohi, P ʔogóhi
egg-shell	k'awe, P k'awi
eh! (ID)	ʔéé
elbow	t'eede, P t'éédudda ~ t'éédema
elder brother	ʔááji, P ʔáájajji ~ ʔáájini
elder sister	tááta, P táátani
elephant	dokóómi, P dókoomámi
elephant (female)	dánnabe (cf. Bor., Orma dannabaa)
embers	t'ilííhe, P t'ilííha
empty, to	ʔinʔeed-
enter quickly, to	turukum-
enter, to	ʔot'-
enter, to (P)	b'uʔud-
erection, to have an	k"allid-
evening	heddo
every	kila (Sw.)
every, any	kulla (Sw.)
excrements	/uʔu
explain, to	ʔgaasid-
extinguish, to (obj.: fire)	juʔeed-
eye	ʔíla, P ʔílla
eyebrow	ʔgíkine, P ʔgíkinuuta
eyelash	ʔínifa, P ʔínifamunte ~ ʔínifáfi
F	
fall, to	luttokum-

fall in love, to	sonkoʔikud-
family; group	jamaa (Sw.)
far	hóóni
farm, <u>shamba</u>	múnʔa, P múnʔeka
farmer	mkullima (Sw.)
fat, oil	ʔáʔi
father	b'ááb'a, P b'ááb'ani
father's sister	ʔánno, P ʔánnoni
father-in-law	ʔéno, P ʔénama
feather; arrow-fletching	radda, P ráddema
feed, to	ʔaadid- (< ʔa[g]did-)
female	nát'ettsa
fenced open place	b'óóma (< Sw. boma), P b'óómammi
fetch, to	ʔidib-
fibre	kónke (< cf. Sw. ukonge), P kónka
fight, war	ʔbóóri
fill a hole, to	b'uukul-
fill, to	/uuk-
fill, to	/utu- (?)
fill, to (FREQ)	/u//uuk-
find, to	t'eb-
finger	ʒaa"da (< NSw. chanda), P ʒáá"dudda ~ ʒáá"duka
finish, to (intr.)	ʔisakud- (< Baj. -isa)
finish, to (tr.)	ʔisad- (< Baj. -isa)
finish, to (tr.; at end of a story only)	keppad-
finished, to be	lañ-
fire	ʔééga
fire stick	fád'ak'e, P fád'ak'ák'i
fish	ʔbalábe, ʔbálabéni
fish (sp. of _)	járibu
fish with spear, to	rubat-
fist	túntumu, P túntumámmi
five	dáwatte
flatter, to	raid- (< Sw. -rai)
fly, to	kool-
fly about, to; hop, to (FREQ)	kokkoolit-
focus marker (FOC)	ʔíni
focus marker (affix form) (FOC)	ni-
follow, to	hut'-
food	ʔaga
food stirring stick	msúúzo, P msúúzaddzi
forest	ʔaba

forget, to	saħid-
four	sařála
fourth day after today	toħííni
freeman	k'áávuati, F -ettsa, P -áta
friend	rááfiki (< Sw. rafiki), P rááfikáka
friend	jáálesi (< Som. jaalle ?), P jááleséni
frog	hómome, P hómomúúta
full, to be; filled, to be	/uukikud-
G	
gecko	/i'birik'itte (SG ?)
genitive affix (GEN)	ní-
get, to	pařa(?a)d- (< Sw. -pata)
get a chance, to	nafáási pařad-
get married, to (subj.: woman)	hoovaakud-
get well, to	tiin-
giant	k'o'go
giraffe	kiri, P kírima
Giriama	vánika, M vánikééto, F vánikééttsi
girl (young woman not married)	dééla, P dééle
give birth to a baby, to	g'íttsa patad-
give birth, to	keej-
give, to	soor-
give, to	hee?-
glade; shelter, hiding-place	páttářámo
glans of the penis	ńbéne, P ńbénanne
go, to	ro?-
go and come back, to	kiir-
go and look, to	k'at'-
go around, to; roam, to	ri'gad-
go away!	túúri (< Som. tuur- ?), 2P túúrane
go down to (FREQ)	d'idd'iřeem-
go down, to	d'iřeem-
go home, to	gaalij- (< Or. gala)
go home, to (P)	gaggaalij- (< Or. gala)
go on!	háye (< Sw. haya)
go out in a hurry, to	d'aař-
goat	hééri, P hééranre
good; beautiful	víne, F vínaddza, P vino
grandmother	řáábo, P řááboni
grass (SG: a blade of)	táámi, SG táámíne
grasshopper	páá'di (< Sw. panzi), P páá'dima

grave	ragáma, P rágamuuta
greed	řáraka
greet, to	řámani saař-
greet, to	saħan-
grind, to	ħiik'-
grow, to	gurumuw-
H	
habitual action selector (HAB)	ji-
hair	t'átta, SG t'áttane
half	nusu (Sw.)
halo around the moon	řánu
hand; paw	dába, P dábabbe
handkerchief	kíe'ba (< Sw. kilemba), P kíe'babi
hang, to	raař-
hang, to (FREQ)	raařraař-
happiness	ló'gora
happy, to be	furehi (< Sw. -furahi) kakud-
hard	b'áhama, F -iddza, P b'áhami
hard (adv.)	b'áha
hard (adv.)	b'idii (Sw.)
hare	tsú'gule (< Gir. tshungula), P -áli
harsh, fierce	kali (Sw.)
harvest, to	b'uunad- (< Sw. -vuna)
hate, to	tukiřad- (< NSw. -tuki)
have, to	tl'ag-
have a good night, to (in greetings)	sálaama (< Sw. salama) git-
have peace, rest, to	naha tl'ag-
have sexual intercourse, to	huk'-
hawk	kíkoddzi (cf. Sw. kozi), P kíkoddzáddzi
hawk	tsířlalla, P tsířlalluuke
he (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	řú-
he (INDEPENDENT PR.)	řúdu
head	řani, P řánuuta
hear, to	řeetit-
heart	muna, P múnadde
heavy	ħíd'aade
heel	táhara, P táharúrra
height	kířmo (< Sw. kimo)
her (BOUND PR.)	di-
here	řúk'atta
here	řáama

hide, to (intr.)	laaŋ-
hide, to (tr.)	suuruk-
hide, to (tr.)	laaŋat-
him (BOUND PR.)	du-
hippopotamus	náŋe, P náŋudda
hit continuously, to (FREQ)	lubameemit-
hit, to; beat, to	lub- (perf., impf.)
hoe	č'émpe (< Sw. jembe), P č'émpabbi
hold, to; take, to; marry, to	kam-
hole	b'óóku, P b'óókakki
honey	nala
honey (kind of)	˚dzóóme
horn	tumpi, P tumpábbi
hot season; hottest part of the day	tsááka
house	mini, P míddzi
housefly	ŋínta, SG ŋíntone
how?	táŋame
how many, how much?	méék'a (< Som. meeqa)
hung, to be	raaŋ[a]kud-
hunger	k'ére
hungry, to be	k'ére kam-
hunt, to	gubaalid-
hunter	gúbaalaale, P gúbaalaali
hunting	málata
hurt, to (intr.)	vaŋ-
hyena	wáraaba, P wáraabuuta

I

I (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔan-
I (INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔáni
if	kada
in front of; before	summa
in, at (LOC)	da-
in, inside	kotta-
incense	pefu (NSw.), P péfuma
incisor tooth	kálati suumani
inherit, to	risid- (< Sw. -rithi)
inside	˚đani (NSw.)

I

javelin	fumo (Sw.)
jaw	˚dzááje, P ˚dzáájajje
jealousy	wíívu (< Sw. wivu)

jealousy	ʔinádáfa (< Sw.)
join together, to	taarik-
K	
keep walking, to	d'ak˚-
kill, to	dzeeʔed-
kill, to	dzaaʔad-
kill, to (plural object)	b'aŋ-
king	mfállume (cf. Sw. mfalme), P -ámi
kinsman	˚đuugo (< Sw. ndugu), P ˚đuúgu
knee	gilli, P gíllibe
kneel down, to	vaddzud-
knife	ŋálite, P ŋálitúmu
knock down, to	luttid-
know, to	hubat- (< Som. hubso ?)
know, to	ʔelej-
L	
land, to	ruppeem-
language	nóna (SUFF.)
large, big; grown-up person	gaano, P gáána
laugh, to	k'íik'-
law	šaría (< Sw. sharia)
lay open, to	piŋ- (impf.)
leaf	táábu, SG táábune
leak, to	b'uyad- (< NSw.; cf. Br. vuya)
leak, to	t'up'-
leave off, to; abandon, to	taŋaj-
leave, to; let go, to	ʔakk˚-
leech	naŋánt'e
left (hand)	dába šoto (< Sw. -shoto)
leg, foot	dakáŋa, P dakáŋadde
leg (from knee to foot)	kónkoolo, P kónkooláli
leg (from thigh to knee)	lúk'a (< Som. ?), P lúk'agááme
leopard	nímankalo, P -uuta ~ -áli
let go, to	tl'aaŋaj-
let's go!	˚bajóni
lick, to	ŋa˚/-
lick, to make	ŋa˚/adid-
lie	tabáda
light (adj.)	fóófoone
lightning	b'írik'inna
lion	b'áʔi, P b'áʔima

lip	lókome (SG ?)
lit fire, to	b'akk-
little; few; a bit of	ʔáámininna , P ʔáámamuuta
live together, to (P)	jeem-
liver	mákkó, P mákkomunte
log	góógo (< Sw. gogo)
look at, to; provide, to	keek-
look after, to	vintid-
look after, to	ʔeekadid-
look around, to (FREQ)	kekkeek-
look like, to; resemble, to	hut'uw-
looked, to be	keekikud-
lost, to get	ʔaj-
louse	ʔítta, SG ʔittone
love, to; like, to	ʔaw-
lung	ʔáfi, P ʔáfafánne

M

made, to be	falikud-
maize	b'uru (cf. NSw. (m)buru)
maize beetle	ʔúmu ^h gu (cf. Br. munjo), SG ʔúmu ^h gune
make, to	suubid- (< Som. suubbi)
make a mistake, to	soobad-
make carry, to	vaddat-
make enter, to	ʔot'od-
man	háájo, P hááfi
man, human being	b'inadamu (Sw.)
manner	karama (Sw.)
manners, behaviour	míiri
mantis	ʔddragi
many	káʔime
market	sooko (< Sw. soko)
marriage	hoova (< NSw.)
marry, to (subj.: man)	hoovaad- (< NSw. -o(w)a)
masturbate, to	dlagg'id-
mat	j'áá ^h bi (cf. Br. ijanbi), P j'áá ^h babbi
mat	fúú ^h ba (< Sw. fumba), P fúú ^h babbi
mat for drying the meat	ʔutʔtu
may I come in?	hoodi (Sw.)
me (BOUND PR.)	ʔi-
mead	móla, P mólalle
meat (dried; SG: portion of)	mísikíta, SG mísikitéete

meat-eating place (of hunters in the bush)	ʔígira
meet, to; come across, to	kulum- (< Som. kulmi)
mention, to	haav-
mention, to (FREQ)	haḥhaavit-
milk	ziva (< Sw. maziva)
milk, to	kaamad- (< Sw. -kama)
milk, to	noʔodid-
mix, to	tar-
moderation	kiasi (Sw.)
money	sentí (Sw.)
monkey	gólóbe, P gólóba
moon; month	háge
morning	dírama (< Or.)
morning	b'ura
morning star	fálaʔe
mortar	kinu (< Sw.), P kínudde
moth	/úbubuʔe, P /úbubúʔa
mother (after death)	jáájo
mother (alive)	yááyo
mother's brother	ʔááma, P ʔáámani
mother's sister	yááyo ʔááma
mother-in-law	ʔénumasa, P ʔénumaséni
mouth	ʔáfo, P ʔáfudda
move house, to	b'alak-
move restlessly, to	tirid-
move, to; change position, to	sereem-
mud	d'ód'oʔa (cf. Br. totope ?)
my (F)	ʔíttsa
my (M)	ʔíttsi

N

nail; claw	tsoolo, P tsóóle ~ tsóóludda
name	sáare
navel	júko (cf. Br. židhuku)
near	háát'i
necessity	šáruti (< Sw. sharuti)
necessity	ládima (< Sw. lazima)
neck	d'ááʔeero, P d'ááʔoorúdda
needle	síí ^h dano (< Sw. sindano), P -ánni
negative selector (NEG)	b'a-
neighbour	j'íirani (< Sw. jirani), P j'ííiránáni
new	mpia (Sw.)

news	láágu
night	hííma
nipple	/óóke, P /óókakke
nock, notch of arrow	?aare, P ?aarári
noon	saa sita (Sw.)
nose	sína, P sínadde
nostril	b'óóhi
not poisoned arrow-head	k'áreete, P k'áreetáti
not poisoned big arrow-head	b'óód'aani, P b'óód'aanánni
now	sélla
now	sasa (Sw.)
now	?úk ^w atti
nowadays (?)	?uk ^w addze

Q

oath, to	t'igad-
old (of persons)	gúrume, F gúrumiddze, P gúrumi
old man	kiidzo, P kíidzooa
old, to become	jaar-
one (F)	vatték ^w e
one (M)	vattúk ^w e
only	ṭúmpo
only	hačč'a
or	au (Sw.)
Oromo	kárijedi, M -to, F kárijedittsi
other	vátte (M, F, P)
outside	?a ^w de (cf. Br. ^w de)
outside	gárima

P

pain, to; cut, to (?)	t'oŋ-
palm frond	^w /ó?o
<u>panga</u>	núpa ^w ga (cf. NSw. upanga), P -ággi
pant, to	hogid-
paralytic	kíṭevi, P kíṭevávi
particle-complex initial marker (0)	?a-
pass, to	d'in-
pass, to make	d'inid-
penis	ladda
perfect past selector (PERF)	ná-
person; pl.: people	gúho, P guho
pestle	d'áhanite, P d'áhanitáti
pick (from a tree), to	/o?-

pick lice, to	ts'iŋ-
pick lice, to (FREQ)	ts'iŋid-
pick up, to	laaw-
piece of cloth	góóra, P góórari
pierce, to	p'uŋud-
pinch, to	t ^w aḥ-
place	mééši (< Som. meeshi)
place where the maize is seasoned	kípunju, P kípunjájji
play, to	va -
poison, to	t'aŋ-
poison; arrow with poison (= <u>haad'o t'áŋa?i</u>)	t'áŋa, P t'áŋema
Pokomo	mpókome, F mpókomettsi, P mpókomi
ponder, to; think, to	/aḥadid-
porcupine	jara, P járema
pot	d'au, P d'áuje
potsherd	^w battsi, P ^w battsáttsi
pound, to	d'aḥ-
pounded, to be	d'aḥikud-
pray, to	?o ^w bole?ad- (< Sw. -omba)
pregnant	b'ágamaamittse
pregnant, to make	b'ágama kantid-
prick, to	p'uŋ-
pubic hair	gínaa ^w da, SG gínaa ^w dáne
pull down the foreskin, to	mut'uŋud-
pull down the foreskin, to (FREQ)	mut'uŋudid-
pull, to	las-
pull, to	riip-
push, to	ŋi?-
put an end, to	ko?eed-
put down, into, to	d'aŋ-
put in, to	ŋo -
put into, to; plant, to	b'u?-
put on fire, to	t'aḥ-
put together, to; collect, to	d'ar- (< Som. dar- ?)
put, to; set, to; keep, to	kaa-j-
put, to be	kaajikud-
puzzle, to; astonish, to	/a?id-
puzzle, to; astonish, to	t'a ^w gadad-
python	^w /éénu, P ^w /éénnani

Q

quickly, fast	gínigiri
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quiver	kíra ^h gáti, P kíra ^h gatáti
R	
rain, to	maʔa lub-
rainbow	^h goowi
reach an agreement, to	paʔa (< Sw. pata) ʔa ^h dad-
receive, to	pokeʔad- (< Sw. -pokea)
recognize, to	b'ar- (< Som. bar- ?)
red	ts'ínaraʔe, F -ittse, P -i
refuse, to	naʔ-
remain, to	b'akiʔad- (< Sw. -baki)
remember, to	kakkad-
remoter past selector (PAST)	va-
remove, to	fiir- (impf.)
remove, to	roheed-
remove, to	gud-
report	ripoʔi (Sw. < English)
respect, to	ʃitahid- (< Sw. -stahi)
rest	raha (Sw.)
rest, to	fook'-
return, to (intr.)	vatl'-
return, to (tr.); bring back, to	vatl'id-
rhinoceros	waala
rice (cooked)	uááli (< Sw. vali), P uáálalli
rice after husking (Sw. <u>mchele</u>)	ntée (< NSw. mtee)
rice before husking	mápunka (< Sw. mpunga)
rich	táájiri (< Sw. tajiri) (M, F, P)
right (hand)	dába lua
right, good	tada
ripe	hámaad'e
river; lake	tl'ááʔa, P tl'ááʔudda
roast, to	kaa ^h gad- (< Sw. -kaanga)
roll, to (intr.)	k ^h arak ^h arikud-
room	ʃúú ^h ba (< Sw. chumba), P -abbi ~ zu ^h be
rope	ká ^h ba (< Sw. kamba), P ká ^h baki ~-uuke
rotate, to (tr.)	vitavited-
rotten	p'óʔate
rotten, to get	p'uʔatuw-
rub, to	nuuk'ut- (impf.)
rub, to	fuʔad- (< Sw. -futa)
rub, to	nuuk'-
run away, to	k ^h aʔ-

run away, to (P)	kiʔ-
rush, to (subj.: animals)	b'uđđuvud-
S	
sack	gunia (Sw.), P gúnieki
saliva	/aani
salt	múúno (< NSw. munyu)
sand	^h đóóʔo
Sanye (coll.; lit.: the Little People)	guho g ^h ittso
satiated, to be	fuur-
saucepan	sufuria (Sw.), P sufuriádde
saw, to	ʃikoʃik- (< Sw. -siki ?)
say, to	hood'- (cf. Br. kood ?)
scar	ʔáádi, P ʔáádaddi
scared, to be	giʔeem-
scatter, to	tattavaanad- (< Sw. -tavanya)
scatter, to	ʔiʔed-
scorpion	k ^h 'ánaʔa, P k ^h 'ánaʔamunte
scratch, to	hot'-
scratch, to	ʔant'id-
scream, to	ʔik-
secret	síiri (< Sw. siri)
see, to	vaʔ-
self	máni
self; too	kúsi
send away, to	lik- (< Sw. -likiza)
sesame	mák ^h aju
set, to (subj.: sun, night)	d'uʔ-
settlement, village	láva
sew, to	huud-
shadow (of a man)	d'eeek ^h ááni, P d'eeek ^h áánanni
shadow (of an object)	ʔáfitete (SG ?), P ʔáfitáti
sharp	ʔákane, P ʔákani
shave, to (intr.)	hiirikud-
shave, to (tr.)	hiir-
shawl	lééso (< Sw. lesa), P léésoma
she (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔí-
she (INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔídi
sheath	lóóbu, P lóóbabi
sheep	kondoo (Sw.)
shift, to; put aside, to	paʔ- (impf.)
shine, to (subj.: sun)	b'uuvad- (cf. Br. waʔa ?)

shoulder	dóoro, P dóorari
shoulder extremity	jékkele, P jékkeldli
shout, to	kaaŋ-
show, to	ʔentid-
show, to	vañid-
shy, to be	j'eer- (cf. Br. jera)
shy, to make	j'eeredid-
shy, to make	sarakána kantid-
shyness	sarakána
sick	ruk'úma, F ruk'úmiddze, P ruk'úmi
sickness	ruk'o
silent, to be	b'eh- (P: beham-)
sing, to	sooʔ-
sip, to	ʔuub-
sister-in-law	nááto, P náátoni
sky; God	váák'a
slash, to	kʷah-
slaughter, to	hat-
slaughtered, to be	hatikud-
sleep, to	haddur-
sleep, to	b'om-
sleep, to (P)	git-
slim	dláátune, F dláátunittse, P dláátuni
slowly	méʔ/ate (SG ?)
small	ʔaamina
smash to pieces, to	tanatanadid-
smell, to	teeŋ-
smile, to	mummukud-
smoke	t'uggʷa
smoke, to	fukidad- (< Sw. -fukiza)
snake	gáve, P gávajju
so that	ʔaʷga
so, thus	ʔammékʷa (= ʔamma + kʷa)
soft	t'éeéŋema, F -iddze, P t'éeéŋemi
sole of the foot	dakáŋa kiŋaʷga
Somali	ʔíjidi, M-ééto, F-istsi (cf. Waata jiiduu)
sometimes	saa vatte
song	sóóŋe, SG sooʔómeete
sorcerer	múganka (cf. NSw. mganga)
speak continuously, to (FREQ)	joomameemit-
speak, to	joom-
spear	wáraña, P wárañuuke

spend the day, to	gaad-
spend the day, to	ʔagad-
sperm	gídida
spit, to	b'ut'uŋ- (impf.)
spleen	ʔdzóne, P ʔdzónanni
spoil, to; destroy, to (FREQ)	d'uk'ud'uk'ud-
spread out, to	ʔakkid-
spring, pool of water	ʔámpo maʔááni
squeeze, to	t'uub-
stand up, to	ʔuk'eem-
stand, to	saad'-
stand up, to make	saattid-
star	/íʔgiliŋe, P /íʔgiliŋa
stay, to; live, to	gʷaŋ- (P: gʷaŋam-)
stay, to make	gʷaŋadid-
stay, to; exist, to	ʃir- (< Gr. ʃir-)
stick	sííʔbo (< NSw. simbo)
stick out the tongue, to	milaŋ-
sting, to	dl appanad-
sting, to	puh-
stink, to	hul-
stir, to	horok'- (< Sw. -koroga ?)
stone	máve (< Sw. mawe), SG máveete
stop, to; hold tight, to	reeb- (< Som. reeb)
store	siŋo (< Sw. sitoo)
street, path	lée, P léaddi
string of beads (worn around the neck)	ʔirídi, P ʔirídádi
string of beads (worn around the waist)	kísiini, P kísiinári
string of beads (worn around the wrist)	mápiʔgáni (P ?)
strip away, to; peel off, to	d'íiŋ-
strip, to; peel, to	/uŋ-
stroll, to	ʔameedid-
strong	ʔgúúfu (< Sw. nguvu), F -uniddze, P -uni
stupid	muinga (Sw.)
suck, to	noʔ-
suddenly, at once	miida
sun; day	ʔaddo
Swahili	kúúdzá, M kúúdzeeti, F kúújittsa
swallow, to	ʃunneed- (< Som. cun- "to eat" ?)
sweat; warm	fúnt'oono
sweep, to	peelaad- (cf. NSw. -pea)
sweet	ʔááŋame

sword	te ^h be
system	sampuli (Sw.)
system	suura (< Sw. sura)
T	
tail	rik'a
take, to	ʔam-
take away, to; kidnap, to (obj.: woman)	dook-
take by force, to	mukkaanad-
take by force, to (FREQ)	mukkaanadid-
talk, to; converse, to	haasoob-
tall; deep	rúúmate, F rúúmatiddze, P ruumáti
taste, to	k'ad'ab-
taste, to make	k'ad'atid- (< k'ad'a[b]tid-)
tea	ʒaahi
tear	ʔilíma, P ʔilímami
tear, to	d'aʔid-
tear, to; rend, to	fuʔfeed-
tell, to	ʔibed-
testicle	kámpore, P kámporáni
that (F)	ʔítu
that (M)	ʔúku
their (BOUND PR.)	ʔiɲiʔ-
their (BOUND PR.)	mamusuʔ-
them (BOUND PR.)	ʔiɲá-
then	kisa (Sw.)
there	ʔúkotta
there (very far)	manni
these	ʔúk ^w ammámu
they (INDEPENDENT PR.)	ʔummámu
thick	ɲíʒaaniʒe
thigh	b'ooti, P b'óótime
thing	kínʒo (< Sw kitu ?; cf. Br. čiinču)
think, to	mamiit-
third day before today	d'ammo summééni
thirst	g ^w iʔi
thirsty, to be	g ^w iʔi kam-
this (F)	ʔíta
this (M)	ʔuk ^w a
thorn	mágoʔe
thorn	ʔééme, P ʔéémi
those	ʔúkummámu

three	k'aba
throat	k'ok'o, P k'ók'addi
throw, to	ʔattañ-
thumb	ʔdóǵi, P ʔdóǵaddi
thunder	d'id'iʔííma
tie, to; close, to	d'uʔaj-
tied, to be	d'uʔikud-
time	vakati (Sw.)
time, hour	saa (Sw.)
tired, to be	laaf-
tired, to get	ti'oʔ-
tobacco	ʔúmpo
today	ʔaddók ^w a (= ʔaddo + k ^w a)
toilet	čoo (< Sw. choo), P čóvadde ~ zoo
tomorrow	híímane (SG of hííma ?)
tongue	ʔééna, P ʔéénaddi
tooth	kálati, P kálatétto
topi	b'ábaʔaane, P b'ábaʔaanuuta
tortoise	k'óbe (< Sw. kobe ?), P k'óbaddi
touch, to	b'er-
town, village	mui (NSw.)
trade, to; buy, to; sell, to	ʔallah-
trap	ʔámbo (< NSw. ʔambo), P ʔámpabbi
trap, to	ʔámbo k ^w aʔ-
tread on, to	d'at'-
tread on, to (FREQ)	d'add'at'-
tree; P: woods	k'oro, P k'óre
tremble, to	tarar-
trick	hííla (< Som.)
truth	ʔíre
try, to; taste, to	tem-
turn into, to; become, to	b'irik'eem-
turn, to (tr.)	b'irik'- (cf. Br. inviringe "round")
twist, to	sakaʔ-
two	lííma
U	
ugali	ʔúʒaʔi (< NSw. utati), P ʔúʒaʔáʔi
uncover, to	pak'eed-
under, below	giri
understand, to	ʔelead- (< Sw. -elea)
understand, to	haaw-

unrealised action selector (IRR)	ká-
untie, to; open, to; undress, to	guʔeed-
until	hata (Sw.)
until	mpaka (Sw.)
upset, to get; angry, to get	tuum-
urinate, to	sínt'a lik-
urinate, to	sínt'a darat-
urine	sínt'a
us (BOUND PR.)	ni-
useful, to be	faah- (Sw. -faa)
utensils, kitchenware	doʔbo (< Baj. zombo)

V

vagina	tsintso
venitive marker (VEN)	ʔá-
vervet	jáʔawo, P jáʔawuuta
very	monno
vidow	múkibe, F múkibettsa, P múkibábbi
village elder	gaano lábani
village elder	kiidzo lábani
vomit, to	mantah- (< Bo.?)
vomit, to (FREQ)	mantahid-
voyage	safari (Sw.)

W

waist	/útu
waist	d'ága
wait, to	suug- (< Som. suug)
wait, to (only imperative)	koʔ-
wake up, to	mat'-
walk, to	rat-
wall	fiit'a, P fiit'eka
wander, to	dumaar-
want, to	k'oob-
warthog	jáme, P jámema
wash hands, to	kʷ'at'ikud-
wash, to	fuuʔad- (< Sw. -fua)
wash, to	kʷ'at'-
wash, to	paah-
water	maʔa
waterbuck	t'úúto, P t'úútema
waterpot	mútsunki (< LP/Mij.), P mútsunkággi
we (REDUCED INDEPENDENT PR.)	nan-

we (INDEPENDENT PR.)	nan-
weave, to	ʔaggʷid-
well (n.)	kisima (Sw.), P kísimagge ~ -adde
well!	b'asi (Sw.)
what	mááte
what?	mááka(-to)
when?	mákabára
where?	kééda
whetstone	séébo, P sééboma
which?	joka
white	k'úúhuma
white hair	ʔáára, SG ʔáarane
whither?	kééke
who?	jíko
who?	jíkoto, F jíkottsí, P jíkommámu
why?	máákaani (= mááka + ni- (GEN))
why?	ʔbona (Sw.)
why?	kwani (Sw.)
wide	páána (< Sw. -pana)
wife	ʔárasa, P ʔáraséni
wild animal; enemy	dzaaʔáta, P dzaaʔátuuke
wildcat	t'óóʔo, P t'óóʔema
win, to; overcome, to	ʃiiʔdad- (< Sw. -shinda)
wind	júúfune (SG ?)
wink at, to	nik'id-
wink at, to (FREQ)	nik'idadid-
witch	t'ílale, P t'ílali
witchcraft	t'ílo
with, and	hollo
with, and	na (Sw.)
with; from	ʔinto
without	b'aadu
woman	nat'a, P nat'o
work (n.)	káádi (< Sw. kazi)
work, to; cultivate, to	liimad- (< Sw. -lima)
worm	núʔgunúʔgu (< Sw. nyungunyungu), P -uuta
wound	ʔútunu, P ʔútunáni
wound, to (FREQ)	p'upp'uʃud-
wrap, to	kutad-
wrist	kííviiko, P kíívikáki
wrist	ʔgálo, P ʔgáladde

Y	
yawn, to	hajow-
yes	hay
yes (ID)	héé
yesterday	d'ammo
you (2P; INDEPENDENT PR.)	?atta
you (2PM; BOUND PR.)	kunná-
you (2S; INDEPENDENT PR.)	?ááta
you (2SF; BOUND PR.)	ki-
you (2SM; BOUND PR.)	ku-
young (n.)	gúbaga, SG gúbagééte
young man	gaano g'ittsa, P gáána g'ittso
your (2PF; BOUND PR.)	kinná-

Z

zebra	hélleṯa
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