

A Sketch of Iraqw Grammar

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List of abbreviations

1	first person, first degree deixis (for demonstratives)	INCHOA	inchoative
		INDEF	indefinite
		INDEP	independent
2	second person, second deixis (for demonstratives)	INF	infinitive
		INSTR	instrumental
		INT	interrogative
1/2	first or second person	M, (m)	masculine
3	third person, third deixis (for demonstratives)	M1	subgroup of masculine nouns
4	fourth deixis (for demonstratives)	MIDDLE	middle voice
		P, (p)	plural gender
ABL	ablative	NEG	negative
BGND	background	n.pr.pers.	nomen proprium personalis (personal name)
CAUS	causative		
CONCES	concessive	O	object
COND	conditional	PAST	past
CSEC	consecutive	PF	perfect
CON	construct case	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DEM	demonstrative	PRES	present
DEP	dependent	proh	prohibitive
DIR	directive	ques	questioning
DUR	durative	RESPRO	resumptive pronoun
EXPEC	expectational	REAS	reason
F, (f)	feminine	S	subject
F1	subgroup of feminine nouns	SBJV	subjunctive
		SG	singular
HITH	hither	Sw	Swahili
IMP	imperative	V	vowel
IMPRF	imperfective	VOC	vocative
IMPS	impersonal subject		
< >	infix boundary	:	separates glosses of different morphemes fused
-	affix boundary		into one
()	optional		
.	separates glosses that are part of a single morpheme		

List of morphemes

a	S1/2, O.F, O2.F, PF, INF, P	-ka	INDEF.F, DEM1:P
-á'	PL	-ká	NEG
-aak	IMP.O.PL	-kaariyá'	INDEF.P
alé	RESPRO	-ko	INDEF.M, INDEP.M/P
-aan	1PL	-ku	M1, INDEP.M/P
-ang	IMP.HITH.SG	-m	DUR
ar	INSTR, INDEP.CON.F	m-	PROH, QUES
-aar	NEG.IMP	-n	EXPEC
<ar>	DUR	-na	PAST
-ara'	NEG.IMP.PL	n(d)i	PL, HITH, DEP.1.SG
-aré'	IMP.HIT.PL	n(d)u	O2.PL
awa	INDEP.CON.P	-o	BGND
bar-	COND	oo	INDEP.CON.M
-dá'	DEM4	-ók	2SG.POSS
-ee	BGND	-ós	3SG.POSS
-é'	PL:PAST, IMP.PL	-qá'	DEM3
-'ée'	1SG.POSS	-r	F
-'éen	1SG.POSS	-rén	1PL.POSS
-eek	IMP.O.SG	-ri	CONSEC
-ees	verbalizer	-s	CAUS
g-	O3	-sa	REAS
-(g)a	PF	-sínɡ	DEM2
-hee	BGND	-t	MIDDLE, 2SG, 3SG.F
-húng	2PL.POSS	-ta	F1
-i	DIR, 3, O.P, O1.SG, INF:PAST, 3:INF	ta	DEP.BE, DEP.1/2, IMPS
-í	DEM1	tam-	CONCES
-iim	DUR:1SG	-ti	O1.PL
-iin	DUR:2SG, DUR:3SG.F	-u	O.M, O2.SG.M, M
-in	DUR:3SG.M	-uus	VERBALIZER
-'ín	3PL.POSS	-uut	VERBALIZER
-ir	3PL	-uw	INCHOA:1SG
-iya'	3PL	-wa	ABL
		high tone	CON, PAST, TR, VOC

The language and its speakers

Iraqw is spoken in northern Tanzania, on the high plateau between Lake Manyara and Lake Eyasi by roughly half a million speakers. It is the largest Southern Cushitic language and its closest relatives are Gorwaa, Alagwa, Burunge which by contrast have each about fifteen thousand speakers or less. These four languages form the southern most group of Cushitic languages, a language family that extends north to the Sudanese-Egyptian border. Most languages in the family are spoken in Ethiopia. The geographical variation within Iraqw is negligible.

Swahili, the official and national language of Tanzania, is a second language for the vast majority of Iraqw speakers. Swahili is used in dealings with the administration, in school, and in writing. Iraqw is used in all other domains, and occasionally in the formal domains as well. The protestant churches use Iraqw more than the Catho-

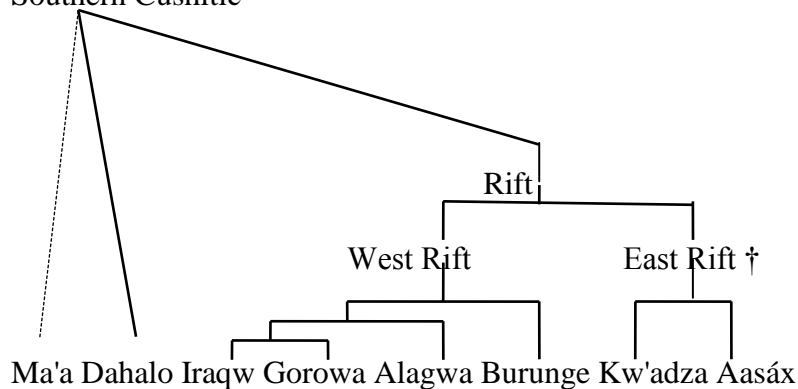
lics do; very few Iraqw are Muslim. Iraqw is hardly used in written communication. The written material available in Iraqw is religious in nature (the Bible); in addition some stories, riddles and other specimens of the rich Iraqw verbal art are available in writing.

Iraqw is surrounded by speakers of languages of different language phyla: Hadza (an isolate click language), Mbugwe (Bantu, Niger-Congo), and Datooga (Southern Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan), see map. Iraqw are experienced farmers and grow a variety of grains. Most people have cattle and its economic value is largely the dung which is used as fertilizer. Cattle and cow products are culturally salient, Rekdal (1999). One of the key concepts in Iraqw culture is purity. A number of situations can cause (ritual) uncleanness which requires avoidance of contact with others. Borders are crucial in the Iraqw view on their environment and traditional border posts in the form of ritually drawn exist, see Thornton (1980).

Classification

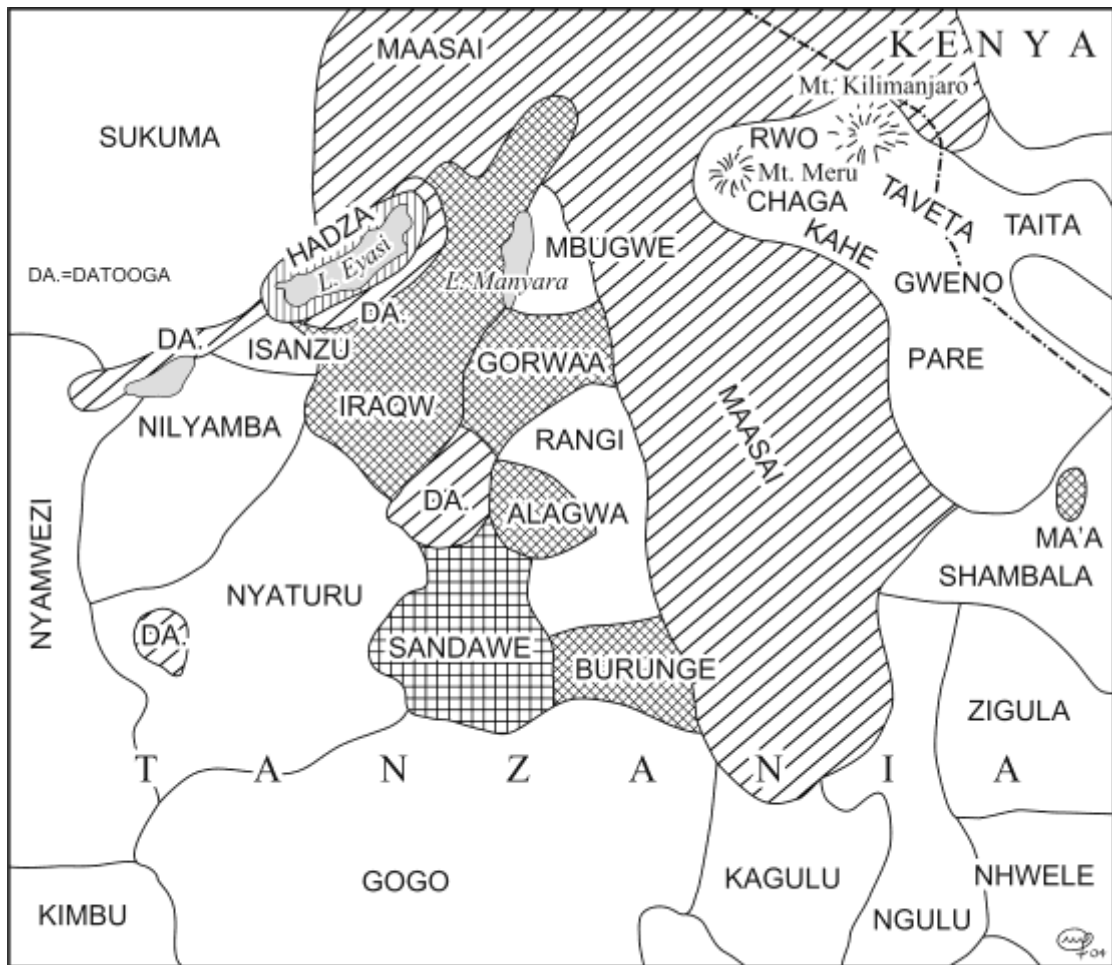
Afroasiatic > Cushitic > Southern Cushitic

Southern Cushitic



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Map 6-1. The Tanzanian Rift Valley area.

The gender of a noun is not predictable; not by the shape of the noun, nor by its meaning. The singular and the plural of a noun are in general different in gender. Words for male beings or intities can be feminine and the other way around, (4).

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------------|
| (4) | barisee (f) | elders, older men |
| | /atlaráy (m) | old cows |
| | awee (f) | bulls |
| | dasu (m) | girls |
| | hayda (f) | bull |
| | tlaway (m) | wives |
| | isaangw (m) | nipple, breast |
| | na/ani (f) | penis |

From the shape of the noun one can guess its gender, but not predict it. There are two kind of gender indications: Number suffixes have their inherent gender; thus, the number suffix tells you which gender the noun has. But not all nouns contain a number suffix. A second kind of gender indication is that noun roots ending in **e** or **i** tend to be feminine, and those in **u** masculine. Loan words from Swahili follow this pattern. Nouns ending in **a** or **o** can have any gender. Swahili loans in **a** are feminine. Most nouns end in a vowel. Nouns ending in a **r** or **l** are masculine, those in **t** are feminine.

2.2. Number of nouns

There are many different suffixes to form a plural, and it is unpredictable which plural suffix a certain noun will take. Not every noun has a singular and a plural form. Some nouns have no plural form, and this is not always evident from the meaning. Some nouns have several plural forms, sometimes with a difference in meaning, sometimes not. The gender of the plural noun is often different from the gender of the singular noun. These characteristics make that plural formation is derivational.

- (5) **guhuláy** | **guhuli'i** 'stick, club'
kukumáy | **kukumaawee** 'sling'
sori 'a redish bird'
poqi | **poqa** 'red or yellow bishop's bird'
mashoot | **masoodu** or **mashootma** 'leather bag'
hhamhhamo 'one eyebrow', **hhamhham'i** 'eyebrows, -lashes, -lids of one person', **hhamhheemo** 'of many people', **hhamhhami** 'one hair'.
gongoxi 'elbow', **gongoxay** 'elbows, esp. a pair', **gongoxmo** 'one particular elbow', **gongoxma** 'many elbows'

There is just a two way distinction in number, singular and plural. Evidence for this comes from agreement in adjectives. Adjectives modifying plural nouns have a plural form, (6). The most common plural form of adjectives is with the suffix **-en**. Some nouns, especially those with a suffix **-ay** or **-angw**, can be singular and plural (distributive reading), (7).

- (6) **garmó úr** | **daaqóo urén** 'a big boy | big boys'
hhaysó tleer | **hhaysér tlet** 'a long tail | long tails'

- (7) **notay** ‘notes, paper money’
notóo úr ‘a lot of notes’
notóo urén ‘500 shilling notes’

The various plural and singulative suffixes are displayed in (8). The first column contains the form of the suffix. The number suffix imposes a gender value (second column) on the noun which may be different from the gender of the underived noun (third column). It is not predictable which plural suffix a certain noun takes, but is not random either. Some patterns can be distinguished on the basis of the gender of the singular (fourth column) and the suffixes of the singular (fourth column). The numbers in the third column indicate the approximate number of examples for each case. Plural suffixes that make a noun feminine are by and large used with masculine singular nouns. This phenomenon is not uncommon among Cushitic languages and it is often referred to as “polarity of gender”. In Iraqw there is no strict polarity of gender. P plural suffixes are used with masculine and feminine singular nouns. And there are numerous examples of nouns that are masculine in both singular and plural or feminine in singular and plural. Some suffixes seem to have been added to other plural suffixes, e.g. **-eema'**, **-ee** and **-ma'** which is a sign of old plurals that have become singular and the basis of a new plural.

(8) Table of number suffixes

form	gender	gender base	suffixes of sg
ee	f	m	base 55, mo 20
awe	f	m	base 13, ay 9, angw 5
i'i	p	m	base 9, ay 28
eeri	p	m	base 4, angw 18, mo 4
<ee> i	p		
ma'	p	m	base 2, mo 29
eema'	p	m	7
adu	p	f	base 77
u	p	f	base 50
o	p	f	base
eemo	p	f	16
<ee> o	p		
iya'	p		
a	f	f	i
ay	m		i 85, mo 14, ito'o 3 'i 28, awe 9
angw	m		7 eeri 25, awe 5
mo	m		
ito'o	f		
o'o	f		
i	f		

The P gender is in three ways related to plurality of number. (i) The subject agreement on the verb for P nouns is that of the third person plural, (2). (ii) All p number suffixes have multiple reference, (8), but not all plural suffixes are P, (8) and P singular nouns do exist, (2c)-. (iii) Coordinated nouns take P agreement on the verb, (9).

- (9) kitangw nee mesa i gwarangwarimit-iyá' asmá kunseeli
 chair and table BE shake-PL because earthquake
 'The chair and the table shake because of the earthquake.'

2.3. Modifying noun suffixes

Possessive, demonstrative, indefinite and case markers are suffixed to the noun, (11). The suffixes are in most cases preceded by a linker which agrees in gender with the noun, (10). Some suffixes agree themselves with the gender of the noun.

- (10) M F P
 u r -

- (11) Demonstrative: **í (ká), síng, qá', dá'**
 Possessive: **'ée', ók, ós, rén, húng, 'ín**
 Indefinite: **ko (m), ka (f), kariya' (p)**
 Case: High T CON, **o** BGND, **i** DIR, **wa** ABL, **ar** INSTR, **sa** REASON

There are four degrees in deixis in the demonstratives: 1. near me, 2. near you, 3. near him, but visible, 4. far away. Number 3 and 4 can reduplicated. Number 4 is used for referential meaning.

(12) Demonstratives

	hiima (m) 'rope'	hhasam (f) 'dilema'	gi'i (p) 'ghost'
DEM1	hiimuwí	hhasamarí	gi'iká
DEM2	hiimusíng	hhasamasíng	gi'isíng
DEM3	hiimuqá'	hhasamarqá'	gi'iqá'
DEM4	hiimudá'	hhasamadá'	gi'idá'

The demonstrative pronouns are used if the head noun is already modified by another (possessive) suffix, (54), or if the head noun is obvious from the context. The demonstrative suffixes are preceded by a stem agreeing in gender with the head noun, **ku** for M and P nouns, and **ti** or **ta** for f nouns.

(13) Independent demonstratives

	m	f	p
DEM1	kwí	tí	kuká
DEM2	kwisíng	tisíng	kusíng
DEM3	kuqá'	taqá' (tiqá')	kuqá'
DEM4	kudá'	tidá'	kudá'

The possessive suffixes distinguish person and number, but not gender. The suffixes are presented in (16) and (17). The possessive suffixes all have a high tone. The possessive suffixes are preceded by a linker agreeing in gender. No other suffix can precede the possessive suffix. The possessive suffixes make no sex distinctions in third and second person.

- (16) **-'ée'** 1SG **-rén** 1PL
-ók 2SG **-húng** 2PL
-ós 3SG **-'ín** 3PL

(17) Possessive suffixes

1SG	guru'ée'	hhasamar'ée'	hhafeeto'ée'
2SG	guruwók	hhasamarók	hhafeetowók

3SG	guruwós	hhasamarós	hhafeetowós
1PL	mururén	hhasamarén	hhafeetorén
2PL	muruhúng	hhasamarhúng	hhafeetohúng
3PL	muru'ín	hhasamar'ín	hhafeeto'ín
	gura' (m) 'stomach', mura' (m) 'things'	hhasam (f) 'dilemma'	hhafeeto (p) 'mats'

The possessive suffixes have independent forms, pronouns, (18). The possessive pronouns consist of the possessive suffix preceded by **ko** if referring to a noun of the genders M or P, and by **to** if referring to F. The vowel of the first person singular suffix extends to the left through the glottal stop and the round vowel of the gender marker is realized as rounding of the **k** and elides in case of the feminine marker **to** because rounding of **t** is not an option. The possessive pronouns are used in sentences like (19).

(18) Independent possessives

	M, P	F
1SG	kwe'ée'	te'ée'
2SG	kók	tók
3SG	kós	tós
1PL	korén	torén
2PL	kohúng	tohúng
3PL	ko'ín	to'ín

- (19) hiimuwí a kwe'ée' This rope is mine.
dasirqá' a tós That girl is his.
hhafetodá' a kohúng Those mats are yours.

The indefinite suffixes are used only if the speaker considers it important to mark that the noun is not specific. Nouns can be indefinite without the indefinite suffix. The indefinite suffixes have a low tone. The indefinite pronouns are used if the noun is already present in the sentence, for example when the noun is already suffixed with a possessive suffix, **hiimu'ée' kooko** 'a certain rope of mine'.

(21) Indefinite suffixes and pronouns

indef sfx	gender	example	meaning	pronoun
ko	M	hiim-u-ko	a rope	koo-ko
ka	F	hhasama-r-ka	one or other dilemma	too-ka
kaariya'	P	hhafeeto-kaariya'	some mats	koo-kaariya'

The directional case suffix is **i**, (23). For M (and P) nouns the suffix is not preceded by a gender linker. As a consequence noun+directional and noun+demonstrative1 can be distinguished. The meaning of the directional is motion towards the noun, (24). The ablative case suffix has the form **wa**. The meaning of the suffix is separation, (25).

(23) Directional and Ablative Case

gender	word	meaning	directional	word	meaning	ablative
m	hiima	rope	hiimi	tsatse/	stars	tsate/uwa
f	waahla'	python	waahlari	Arusha		Arusharwa
p	lohu	roads	lohi	gi'i	ghost	gi'iwa

(24) tsir/i i gawá daandú awi iwiiwít
 bird BE top:of back:of bull:DIR sit:DUR:3SG.M
 ‘The bird is on top of the bull.’

(25) tlakway ina húu gawá hhar-ta-wa alé
 bag BE:PAST fall:3SG.M top:of stick-F1-ABL RESPRO
 ‘The bag fell from the stick.’

The instrumental case suffix **(a)r** indicates that the noun is used as an instrument, (27)
 The form of the reason case suffix is **sa**, (28).

(26) Instrumental and Reason Case

gender	word	meaning	instrumental	word	meaning	reason
M	duguno	thumb	dugunor	tsatse/	stars	tsatse/usa
F	kopo	cup	koporar	hhasama	dilemma	hhasamarsa
P	gi'i	ghost	gi'ir			gi'asa

(27) i duguno-r loloqoos
 BE.3 thumb-INSTR push:3SG.M
 ‘He pushes with (his) thumb.’

(28) i-na basi-r-ar daqay-ká tluwo-sa alé
 3-PAST bus-F-INSTR leave:3SG.M-NEG rain:M-REAS RESPRO
 ‘He didn't go by bus because of the rain.’

Nouns that are followed by a modifier are in the so-called construct state. The construct state consist of adding a high tone and a gender agreeing suffix which is similar to the gender linker but **a** and not zero for P nouns (32, 33). Any modification requires the head noun to be in construct state: modification by another noun, an adjective, a numeral, or a relative clause, (34). Interestingly, the noun is also in the construct case if it precedes the verb, (35).

(32) M F P
 ú ´r á

(33) tsaxwel (m) trap tsaxwelú daangw elephant trap
 waahla (f) python waahlár ur a big python
 gi'i (p) ghost gi'á heedá' the ghost of that man

(34) daaqóo tsár two boys daaqaay (m) boys
 gár ni hláa' the thing that I want ga (f) thing

(35) aná hiimú urúux
 1SG:BE rope:CON pull:1SG
 ‘I pull the rope.’

The construct state suffixes have independent forms, anaphoric pronouns, (37). The anaphoric pronouns are used following a suffixed noun in careful speech, **dasu'ée' oo tsár** ‘my two girls’ or instead of the noun if the noun is mentioned earlier.

(37) M F P
 oo ar awa

The form of the background case suffix is **-o**, with low toned nouns. It is preceded by a linker agreeing in gender with the noun, (38). Following high tone nominals, the form of the suffix is **-ee** and it is not preceded by a linker; this form has an allomorph **-hee** after vowels and semivowels. The function of the suffix is to indicate that some-

thing is set apart as an undivided whole, (39). For example, the negative suffix **-ká** is always preceded by the background suffix when applied to a noun phrase, (40).

(38) Background suffix

word	gender	meaning	background case
taxwel	M	trap	tsaxweluwo
waahla	F	python	waahlaro
gi'i	P	ghost	gi'iwo
mamáy	M	uncle	mamayhee

(39) hhasaangw u qáas gawá daandú do' | do'o
 sand O.M put top:of back:of house | house:M:BGND
 'He puts sand on top of the roof | he makes the roof of sand.'

(40) hhiyó baabá a mamay-hee-ká
 brother:of father COP uncle-BGND-NEG
 'The brother of father is not uncle.'

Nouns in the vocative, i.e. addressing a person, have a high tone on the penultimate syllable, **Hlahlángay** 'Chameleon!', **xáygan** 'hé you', **áako** 'sir!, old man!.

2.4. Special types of nouns

The personal (pro)nouns are presented in (41). A cross-linguistically rare phenomenon is that a sex distinction is made in the second person (singular) but not in the third person. Note that the possessive suffixes show no sex distinction at all. In the object pronouns we will encounter sex distinction both in third and second person (singular). The personal (pro)nouns in (41) are in fact nouns and different from real pronouns. These personal (pro)nouns occur in the same syntactic environments as other nouns whereas pronouns have limited syntactic positions. The full forms can receive nominal suffixes, but the short forms cannot. The personal (pro)nouns are used for contrast or emphasis only.

(41) Personal pronouns

meaning	full form	short form
1SG	aníng	án
2SG.M	kúung	kú
2SG.F	kíng	kí
3SG	inós	ís
1PL	atén	át
2PL	kuungá'	-
3PL	ino'ín	inín

The numerals are:

(42) **wák** (f) 'one'
tsár (f) 'two'
tám (f) 'three'
tsiyáhh (f) 'four'
koo'án (f) 'five'
lahhóo' (f) 'six'
fáanqw (f) 'seven'
dakáat (f) 'eight'

gwaléel (f) ‘nine’
mibangw (m) | **mibeeri** (f) ‘ten’
tsiiru (m) | **tsiiree** (f) ‘hundred’
kuma (m) | **kume** (f) ‘thousand’

All numerals under ten are feminine and have a high tone. The numerals for 10, 100, and 1000 are masculine and have low tone. They form the basis for higher numbers and therefore have plural forms. The base of the numeral system is ten. Higher numbers are made by addition of one of the lower numbers and multiplications of ten, hundred and thousand. Multiplication is by juxtaposition, addition by **nee** ‘and’ which is used only once in a numeral expression. Multiplication by one is not expressed for ten, but it is for hundred and thousand. Construct state is not compulsory for the head noun that is modified by a numeral, (44).

- (43) **mibangw nee wák** ‘eleven’
kume tsár tsirú wák mibeeri tsár nee faanqw ‘2127’
- (44) **kudá' lahhóo'** or **kudú lahhóo'** ‘those six’
daaqóo tsár or **daaqaay tsár** ‘two boys’

Names are another special set of nouns. They can be modified by demonstrative suffixes, indefinite and case suffixes, but not by possessive suffixes. Names are masculine or feminine in gender according to whether they refer to a male or a female person. Names are often based on other nouns; they are identical to this noun, (45), or differ from it by adding a high tone on the final syllable, (46).

- (45) hhooki (f) ‘dove’ Hhookí (m/f) n.pr.pers.masc./fem.
boo/ (adj) ‘black’ Boo/í (f) n.pr.pers.fem.
qwari (f) ‘hunger’ Qwarí (m) n.pr.pers.masc.
- (46) buura (f) ‘beer’ Buura (m) n.pr.pers.masc.
tluway (m2) ‘rain’ Tluway (m/f) n.pr.pers.masc./fem.

The following words are question words. Most of them are based on nouns and formed by the addition of a suffix **-má** or **-lá**. They are all high in tone.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------------|-----------|----------|
| (47) | question word | | base | |
| | diimá | ‘where’ | di (f) | ‘place’ |
| | aamá | ‘where’ | aamo (f) | ‘place’ |
| | heemá | ‘who’ | hee (m) | ‘man’ |
| | adoomá | ‘how’ | adoo (f) | ‘manner’ |
| | idoomá | ‘how’ | idoo (f) | ‘manner’ |
| | daqmá | ‘at what time’ | daqa (f1) | ‘moment’ |
| | gaalá | ‘which’ | ga (f) | ‘thing’ |
| | xaylá | ‘when’ | | |
| | milá | ‘what’ | | |
| | magá' | ‘how many’ | | |
| | gaalay | ‘where, why not’ | | |

3. Adjectives

Adjectives follow the noun. Adjectives agree in gender with the noun they modify. The agreement in gender is purely tonal. Adjectives following a (m) noun are high, i.e. have a high tone in the final syllable. Adjectives following (f) or (p) nouns have a low

final syllable. Gender is also marked in the relative linker that is suffixed to the modified noun. Used predicatively, adjectives follow the adjectival copula which also agrees in gender with the head noun, (49).

- (48) garmóo niiná; dasír níina
 boy:CON:M small:M girl:CON:F small
 ‘a small boy’; ‘a small girl’
- (49) na/ii ki ququmat hhayso ki ququmaar
 children BE.P short:P:PL tail BE.P short:P
 ‘The children are short.’ ‘The tail is short.’

Adjectives show singular-plural agreement with nouns on a purely semantic basis, (7). Nouns that are plural in number take the plural form of the adjective, even if the noun itself is (f) or (m), and not (p), in gender (50). Plural formation is by a suffix **-en** or by a suffix **-t** that shortens the preceding syllable.

- (50) duunga' (p) duungáa ur big nose
 /ameena (f) /ameenár uren big women

4. Ideophones

Ideophones are often used as complement of verbs ‘to say’. Verbs can be formed on the basis of some ideophones by adding one of the verbal derivational suffixes, (51).

- (51) ta-na óo': xáhl; ta-na xahlmít
 IMPS-PAST say:3SG.M xahl IMPS-PAST keep:silent:DUR:3SG.M
 ‘They said: **xahl** (sound of silence); they kept silent.’

5. The noun phrase

The noun phrase is structured as in (52), see for example (53). The possessive suffix can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun (54). The other order, demonstrative suffix followed by a possessive pronoun is not possible. The possessive suffix can be followed by an indefinite pronoun. Nouns with an indefinite suffix and a possessive pronoun following are not possible. Indefinite suffixes and pronouns cannot combine with demonstratives.

- (52) noun-poss/dem/indef pro.dem/indef num/adj/adv/relclause

- (53) bará tlaw-t-í ur-wa alé
 in:CON lake-F1-DEM1 big-ABL RESPRO
 ‘in this big lake’

- (54) hiikwa-'ée' kudá koo'an ló'wa hhoo' i amá
 cattle-1.SG.POSS DEM4.PRO.P five very nice BE where
 ‘Where are those five nice cows of mine?’

Nouns can be coordinated by the preposition **nee** ‘and, with’. A nominal suffix refers only to the noun it is suffixed to and the suffix has to be repeated if it refers to both as in (55). Adjectives too can refer to the last noun only, (56).

- (55) dasi-r-í nee garma-w-ú Buura k-i hlahla/ar-en.
 girl-F-DEM1 and boy-M-DEM1:M:CON Buura S3-O.P ugly-PL
 ‘The girl and the boy of Buura are ugly.’

- (56) kitangw nee kabatí-r úr g-i tleehhiit
 chair and cupboard:CON-F big S3-O.P make:3SG.M:PRES

‘He is making a chair and a big cupboard (not: a big chair and cupboard).’

6. Verbal conjugation

There are two types of verbs, the verbs “to be” and other verbs. Every sentence has to contain a verb “to be”, whether the complement is nominal or verbal, (57, 58). The verbs “to be” are discussed in the next chapter.

- (57) tlee/usee a Manda
 potterists BE Bantu
 ‘Potterists are Bantu.’
- (58) aníng a goo'-íim
 1.SG BE write-DUR:1.SG
 ‘I am writing.’

This chapter is about the inflection of main verbs. There are three conjugation classes: Verbs ending in a nasal, verbs ending in a short vowel and **w**, and the others. The first class contains verbs with the durative suffix **-iim**, the second contains verbs with the inchoative suffix **-uw**. These suffixes will be discussed later, in the chapter on verbal derivation. The third class is the most numerous.

Verbs are inflected for person and gender of the subject. The third person singular feminine form is always identical to the second person singular form. There are two third person plural forms for verbs of the third class, **-ir** and **-iyá'**. There is no difference in meaning.

Verbs are also inflected for tense (present or past) and for mood (indicative or subjunctive). The paradigms for the three verb classes in the indicative present are given in (59).

(59) indicative present

person	‘ask’	‘leave’	‘hoe’
1SG	a firíim	a tláw	a dóohl
2SG	a firín	a tléer	a dóhl
3SG.M	i firín	i tláy	i doohl
3SG.F	i firín	i tléer	i dóhl
1PL	a firíimáan	a tlawáan	a doohláan
2PL	a firiindá'	a tleerá'	a dohlá'
3PL	i firiná'	a tlayá'	i doohliyá'
3PL			i doohlír

Note that all forms end in a high tone, except the 3SG.M form of verbs like **doohl**, i.e. those of the third class. The indicative past is characterized by high tone, so also even for the 3SG.M form of verbs like **doohl** and by **-é'** in 2PL and 3PL in stead of **-á'**. The past tense is also marked on the verb “to be”. The subjunctive present is characterized by low tone and a suffix **-i** for the 3SG.M form of verbs like **doohl**. The past of the subjunctive is identical to the indicative past.

The second person singular ends in a long vowel plus **n** for verbs like **firiim** ‘to ask’, in a long vowel plus **r** for verbs like **tlaw** ‘to get up’, in a short vowel plus a stop for verbs ending in a glide, in a short vowel plus **t** for verbs ending in **h**, in a short vowel plus the final consonant for other verbs, (60).

(60) 2SG forms

1SG	2SG	meaning
-----	-----	---------

1SG	2SG	meaning
firiim	firiin	to ask
tlaw	tleer	to get up
tsa'uw	tsa'uur	to get better
/aay/	ak	to eat
laaw	lab	to go to cultivate
loh	lot	to move (house)
eehar	eehat	to follow
doohl	dohl	to cultivate, dig
dog	dog	to increase

The second and third person plural forms are based on their corresponding singular forms, e.g. **firin-a'** 3SG.M-PL. The first person plural forms of some verbs have a short vowel in the stem final syllable. This is an indication that the first person singular is marked by vowel lengthening.

Infinitive suffixes can follow the verb form. These suffixes are **a** for present tense and **i** for past tense. The present tense infinitive suffix for verbs of the third class in the third person singular masculine is **i** instead of **a**. These infinitive suffixes are used for (i) yes/no questions with a question intonation, (62), (ii) before the negative suffix **-ka**, (61), (iii) after conditional and concessive clauses for general statements, (63), (iv) after subordinate clauses to add the meaning “before”. The infinitive suffix is homophonous to the verb “to be”, and takes the whole sentence as its argument to make it negative, a question, a condition, etc. Yes/no questions involve question intonation which is realised by a rise on the penultimate (indicated here by a circumflex on the vowel) and a slight fall on the ultimate.

(61) aning a doohl-a-ka
 1SG BE cultivate:1SG-INF.PRES-NEG
 ‘I don't cultivate.’

(62) ma'ay i koond-a ?
 water O.P have:2SG:INT-INF.PRES
 ‘Do you have water.’

(63) aning qaymo tam doohl-a, bu'uungw u hlaw-a-ka
 1SG field CONCES:O.F cultivate:1SG-INF.PRES, harvest O.M get-INF.PRES-NEG
 ‘Even if I cultivate the field, I don't get a harvest.’

(64) Verb forms in yes/no questions, present:

1SG	a firima	a tlawa	a doohla
2SG	a firinda	a tleera	a dohla
3SG.M	i firna	i tlaya	i doohli
3SG.F	i firinda	i tleera	i dohla
1PL	a firimana	a tlawana	a doohlana
2PL	a firiinda'a	a tleera'a	a dohla'a
3PL	i firna'a	i tlaya'a	i doohli'a
3PL			i dohli'a

The questioning verb forms for the past differ from these present tense questioning forms by changing all word final **a**'s into **i**. The negative forms are arrived at by removing the intonation, by lengthening the final vowels and adding **-ka**; the subordinate forms by removing the intonation and making the forms low tone. Due to a pho-

nological rhythmic rule, short vowels that are preceded and followed by short syllables are deleted.

The simple imperative is just the verb stem with a high tone; no verb “to be” is used for the positive imperatives. Other imperative forms are the plural (of addressee), the transitive forms (with an object), the hither forms (towards me or to my benefit). For the negation of the imperative the only distinction is singular vs. plural. Sentences with a negative imperative (or prohibitive) verb form also require a prohibitive mood morpheme on the verb “to be”.

(65) Imperative forms

Form	Meaning	suffix	gloss
dóohl	dig!		
doohl-é'	dig! (to many)	-é'	IMP.PL
doohl-eek	dig it!	-eek	IMP.O.SG
doohl-aak	dig it! (to many)	-aak	IMP.O.PL
doohl-áng	dig for me!	-áng	IMP.HITH.SG
doohl-aré'	dig for me! (to many)	-aré'	IMP.HITH.PL
huw-ang	bring it to me!	low tone	O
huw-are'	bring it to me! (to many)	low tone-aré'	O-IMP.HITH.PL
ma doohl-aar	don't dig	-aar	NEG.IMP.SG
ma doohl-ara'	don't dig (to many)	-ara'	NEG.IMP.PL

In passive sentences the verb form is the third person singular masculine, (66). More about passives in the chapter on the impersonal verb “to be”.

(66)	aníng ti mùux	‘I am beaten’	INDIC.PRES
	kúung tu múux	‘you were beaten’	INDIC.PAST
	atén ti muxi	‘let us be beaten’	SUBJ.PRES
	kuungá' tam tundu muxi	‘even if you are beaten’	CONCES.PRES
	inoín tam ki muxi	‘even if they were beaten’	CONCES.PAST

7. The verbs “to be” (“selectors”)

The verbs “to be” are used with nominal and verbal complements. With nominal complements four different types can be distinguished. The first type is copulative. The sentence is an equation. The form of “to be” is **a**.

(67) iraqw a doohlitee
 Iraqw BE farmers
 ‘Iraqw are farmers.’

The second type is locative. The complement is a locative expression. The form is **a** for first and second person subjects and **i** for third person subjects.

(68) inós i bará qaymo
 s/he BE in field
 ‘S/he is in the field.’

The third type is temporal. The complement is the state into which the subject enters or has been. The form is **ta**. The suffix **-wa** in (69) is an aspect marker indicating simultaneous actions.

(69) án ta-wa na/ay
 I BE-BGND child
 ‘When I was a child.’

- (70) ta-y dí-r af-kú tlawi
 BE-DIR place:CON-F mouth-M1:CON lake
 ‘They get at the edge of a lake.’

The fourth type is adjectival. The complement is an adjective. The verb “to be” agrees with the subject in person and gender.

- (71) inós ku hhóo' inós ka hhoo'
 3SG BE.M nice 3SG BE.F nice
 ‘He is nice.’ ‘She is nice.’

The verbs “to be” can have a verbal complement, i.e. a complement containing a verb. The main verb inflects for subject and tense, which makes the complement verbal. Every verbal sentence has to contain one of the four types of “to be”. The copulative “to be” is used in the perfect, with a perfect aspect marker **-(g)a** suffixed to “to be”, (72). The locative “to be” is used in the present tense (73), in the expectative “tense” with an aspect marker **-n** and in the imperfective past with an aspect marker **-na** suffixed to “to be”. The temporal “to be” is used for subjunctive mood (74), simultaneous aspect **-wa**, and consecutive aspect **-ri**. The adjectival “to be” is used in “passive” sentences, (75).

- (72) inós a-a /áay
 3SG BE-PF eat.3SG.M:PAST
 ‘He has eaten’

- (73) inós i /ét gawá xa'ano-wa alé
 3SG BE.3 fall:3SG.F on tree-ABL RESPRO
 ‘She falls from the tree.’

- (74) ta dohl
 BE.2SG dig.2SG:SBJV
 ‘You should dig.’

- (75) qaymo ka doohl
 field BE.F dig
 ‘The field is cultivated.’

The temporal or dependent verb “to be” with a verbal complement inflects for subject. The form is **ta** for second person singular and first or second person plural, **i** for third person subjects and **ni** for first person singular. With a nominal complement the temporal “to be” is **ta** for all subjects. The locative “to be” differentiates third person subjects against first and second person subjects, irrespective whether the complement is verbal or nominal. The copulative “to be” is the same for all subjects.

(77) Table of verbs “to be” with a verbal complement

Subject	Copulative	Locative	Temporal
1SG	a	a	ni
2SG	a	a	ta
3SG	a	i	i
1PL	a	a	ta
2PL	a	a	ta
3PL	a	i	i

If the object does not follow the verb “to be” it is represented by an object pronoun. This object pronoun replaces the verb “to be”. The object pronouns agree in gender

and person with the object. In addition some object pronouns have a prefix consisting of a consonant. The forms of the object pronouns are presented in tables (78, 79).

(78) (locative and copulative) object pronouns for independent “be”

SUBJ	COP	LOC	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.F	MASC	FEM	1PL	2PL	P
1/2	a	a	i	u	i	u	a	ti	nu	i
3	a	i	i	u	i	g-u	g-a	ti	nu	g-i

(79) object pronoun for dependent “be”.

SUBJ	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.F	MASC	FEM	1PL	2PL	P
1SG	i	u	i	ngu	ngi	ti	nu	ngi
1/2	i	u	i	ku	ka	ti	nu	ki
3	i	u	i	ngu	ngi	ti	nu	ngi

The object pronouns for independent “be” have a prefix **g-** for third person subject and object. The object pronouns for dependent “be” also have a velar prefix for third person objects, but for all subjects, and the form of the prefix varies according to the person of the subject, **ng-** for third persons and for 1SG, **k-** otherwise.

7.1 Impersonal “to be” for “passives”

Another type of “to be” is used in impersonal sentences. The subject is human but not specific, like English **one**, or German **man**. This construction is used if the subject is irrelevant and therefore translates as a passive in English. The form is **ta** and the main verb has the third person singular masculine subject form, see end of chapter 6. If a person (pro)noun is expressed, it is the third person plural noun **ino’in**. If an object precedes the impersonal “to be”, an object pronoun is suffixed to it; a third person subject/object has an initial consonant **k-**. These forms are identical to the adjectival “to be” above.

(80) Impersonal “to be” with object pronouns/adjectival “to be”

NO OBJ	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.F	MASC	FEM	1PL	2PL	P
ta	ti	tu	ti	ku	ka	ti	tundu	ki

(81) ta-na haníis tsat'i
 IMPS.BE-PAST give:3SG.M:PAST knives
 ‘They gave knives.’

(82) tsat'i ki-na haníis
 knives O3:IMPS.BE:O.P-PAST give:3SG.M:PAST
 ‘Knives were given.’

(83) ti tlaahh nee fiisuuse
 IMPS.BE:O1SG/2SG.F/1PL beat:3SG.M by thieves
 ‘I/you(fem)/we are beaten by thieves.’

7.2. The hither

ni (for all subjects) as form of “to be” is used to indicate motion towards the speaker, HITHER (in Africanist literature usually called ventive). compare (84) and (85). The hither is often used with verbs like **hardah** ‘arrive’, **xaw** ‘come’, **kii/** ‘return’.

(84) inós ni xaxээр dír doo-ren-ee
 3SG HITH come:IMPRF:3SG.F to:F:CON house-1PL.POSS-BGND
 ‘She comes to our house.’

- (85) inós i xaxээр дír doo-dá'
 3SG 3 come:IMPRF:3SG.F to:F:CON house-M:DEM4
 ‘She comes to that house.’

The hither on the impersonal “to be” is **tindi** which consists of **ta+ni**. The vowel **a** assimilates to the next vowel and **ni** becomes **ndi** if it is not word initial.

- (86) Hither with object pronouns.

	no object	M object	F object	P object
	ni	ngu	ngi	ngi
impersonal	tindi	kungu	kingi	kingi

7.3. The reciprocal

For reciprocal objects (REC), **ti** is used irrespective of the subject. It is also used for reflexive objects, in which case the noun **kilá** ‘just’ with the appropriate possessive suffix is added between the **ti** and the verb.

- (87) na/ii ti al-ti'in-á'
 children REC together-run-DUR:3-PL
 ‘The children run after each other.’

- (88) ti-na kil-'ée' tsáat; ti-na kil-ók tsát
 REC-PAST just-1SG.POSS cut:1SG; REC-PAST just-2SG.POSS cut:2SG
 ‘I cut myself; You cut yourself.’

7.4. The affixes to “to be”

The table of possible affixes to the verbs “to be” and the object pronouns, i.e. to all the forms introduced in this chapter is given in (89). In the scheme these basic forms are represented by BE.

- (89) Table of affixes.
 MOOD-BE-ASPECT-ADVERBIAL-TENSE
- | | | | |
|------------|-------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| bar- | -n | -ar | -a |
| tam- | -na | -as | |
| m- | -(g)a | -i | |
| m- | -ri | | |
| | -wa | | |
| bar | conditional | n expectational | r instrumental a past |
| tam | concessive | na past | s reason |
| m | questioning | (g)a perfect | i directional |
| m | prohibitive | ri consecutive | |
| | | wa background | |

The perfect suffix is **-ga** if suffixed to a vowel only, **a** if suffixed to consonant plus vowel, but in the third person singular subject forms the suffix is **-a** despite the fact that the verb “to be” is only a vowel. Other changes occur as well. The perfect forms of “to be” are given in the following table:

(90) The independent perfect forms

SUBJ\OBJ	-	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.F	MASC	FEM	1PL	2PL	P
1SG	aga	iga	ugwa	iga	ugwa	aga	taa	naa	iga
2SG	aga	iga	ugwa	iga	ugwa	aga	taa	naa	iga
3SG	aa	iga	ugwa	iga	gwa	gaa	taa	naa	gaa
1PL	aga	iga	ugwa	iga	ugwa	aga	taa	naa	iga
2PL	aga	iga	ugwa	iga	ugwa	aga	taa	naa	iga
3PL	naa	iga	ugwa	iga	ngwa	nga	taa	naa	nga

(91) The dependent perfect forms

	-	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.F	MASC	FEM	1PL	2PL	P
1SG	na	iga	ugwa	iga	ngwa	nga	ta	naa	nga
2SG	ta	iga	ugwa	iga	kwa	ka	ta	naa	ka
3SG	aa	iga	ugwa	iga	ngwa	nga	ta	naa	nga
1PL	ta	iga	ugwa	iga	kwa	ka	ta	naa	ka
2PL	ta	iga	ugwa	iga	kwa	ka	ta	naa	ka
3PL	naa	iga	ugwa	iga	ngwa	nga	ta	naa	nga

(92) The impersonal perfect forms.

-	1SG	2SG.M	2SG.F	MASC	FEM	1PL	2PL	P
ta	ta	ta	ta	kwa	ka	ta	tunda	ka

The imperfective past **-na** differs from the perfect or general past in the emphasis on duration of the action. The suffix can follow the locative verb “to be”, the impersonal “to be”, the hither and the reciprocal (independent forms), but not the copulative, or the temporal “to be”. For 3PL subjects the prefix **n-** precedes the base, **nina**.

- (93) *kitabu-w-í u-na soomûus-i*
 book-M-DEM1 O.M-PAST read:INT-INF.PAST
 ‘Did you read this book? (You can see from the book that it has been read.)’

The expectational tense **-n** is suffixed to the locative “to be” and expresses expectation or obligation to the subject. In (94) **-n** indicates that the boy is responsible for buying the hoe. The expectational has the same distribution as the imperfective past.

- (94) *garma kurmo g-u-n tlaaxw*
 boy hoe S.3-O.M-EXPEC buy
 ‘The boy is to buy a hoe.’

The consecutive **-ri** is never used in a first sentence, but very frequent in stories once the time has been set or in a sentence following one with the background tense marker **-wa**. The consecutive is used for subsequent actions. The tense marker **-wa** is used to indicate that a certain action occurs at the same time as the action of the verb in the following or preceding clause. Both **-ri** and **-wa** are only to be suffixed to the temporal verb “to be” or the impersonal verb “to be”. The background tense can also be used for indirect commands (97) and for the prohibitive.

- (95) *tla/ano u-na tatáahh; ng-u-ri dayshimo-r tsaxáar; i-ri gwáa'*
 stone O.M-PAST take:IMPRF HITH-O.M-CSEC snake-INSTR hit 3-CSEC die
 ‘I took a stone and hit the snake with it; it died.’

- (96) *aníng ni-wa hardáh /isá, inós i barwadá tsár go'-ín*
 1SG HITH-BGND arrive yesterday 3SG 3 letters:P:CON two write-DUR:3SG

‘When I arrived yesterday he was writing two letters.’

(97) baabá g-a hlaa' ni-wa doohl
 father O3-O.F want S1.DEP-BGND cultivate
 ‘Father wants me to cultivate’

(98) atén mi-ti-wa múux
 1PL PROH-O1.PL-BGND beat
 ‘He is not to beat us.’

There are four mood prefixes: The conditional **bar-**, the concessive **tam-**, the questioning **m-**, and the prohibitive **m-**.

(99) ino'ín bir-na hamtlin'i, a tlaw-aan
 they COND:3-PAST bath:3PL:INF 1/2 leave-1PL
 ‘If they have bathed, we will go.’

(100) atén tam-ta-wa gilaaliim-áan, ta baló wakaawak-aan-ii-ká
 we CONCES-DEP-BGND fight:IMPRF-1PL DEP ever hate:IMPRF-1PL-INF.PAST-NEG
 ‘We may be fighting, we never hated each other.’

(101) laarí m-a /ay-áan
 today QUES-1/2 eat-1PL
 ‘What are we eating today?’

(102) án m-i babáy
 1SG QUES-O1.SG say:3SG
 ‘What does he tell me?’

(103) mi-ti-sa hla'-é'
 QUES-REC-REAS like-3PL:SBJV
 ‘Why do you like each other? (implying you should not)’

(104) kurmo mu-ng-u huw-ar
 hoe PROH-S3-O.M bring-IMP.NEG
 ‘Don't bring the hoe.’

The “adverbial case” clitics are directional **-i**, instrumental **-r**, and reason **-s**. Only the past tense suffix **-a** can follow these clitics. These adverbials are clitics in a position immediately before the verb. If there is a noun between the main verb and the verb “to be”, it is attached to it. If there is no material between the adverbial case clitic and the object pronoun suffixed to the verb “to be”, the clitic is suffixed to it.

(105) inós na/ay g-u xwaytsi-r-ar táahh
 3SG child O3-O.M stick-F-INSTR beat
 ‘He will beat the child with a stick.’

(106) huutli-wós ngi-na hanís ngi-wa-rar huuriim
 pots-3SG.POSS HITH:O.P-PAST give:3SG.F DEP:O.P-BGND-INSTR cook:1.SG
 ‘She gave me her pots to cook with them.’

If there is a questioning prefix **m-**, the reason case morpheme **s** precedes rather than follows the verbs “to be” that have an initial consonant, like the hither, 1PL, and 2PL object pronouns. This does not hold for the other case suffixes.

(107) mu-s-tu-nd-a-y haniis
 QUES-REAS-IMPS-O2.PL-PAST-DIR give
 ‘Why are you (PL) given to?’

8. Verbal derivational morphemes

8.1. Verbal compounds

Nouns can be incorporated into the verb (next chapter) and from this construction noun-verb compounds arise. Such compounds are not very frequent except for a number of nouns or other pre-verb lexical elements that are listed here.

(108) Pre-verbal elements

pre-verb	meaning	source	meaning	productivity
al	together			Productive
gee	in front of	geera	front	Productive
hara	close to			Productive
har				
ad		ado	manner	
alee	on behalf of	? alé	RESPRO	
in				
ii				
waa	up	gawa	top	
amo		amo	place	
af'		afa	mouth	
ila		ila	eye	
iia		iia	ear	
gur		gura	stomach	
sa		saga	head	

(109) atén a al-doohl-áan
 1PL 1/2 together-cultivate-1PL
 'We cultivate together.'

8.2. Derivational suffixes

The verbal derivational morphemes include a durative suffix **-m**, a durative infix <**ar**>, reduplication of the penultimate stem consonant for imperfective, reduplication of the initial root consonant for frequentative, middle suffix **-t**, causative suffix **-s**, inchoative suffix **-w**. The durative and stative morphemes exclude each other. The inchoative suffix can combine with reduplication but not with a durative suffix. Only one of the two types of reduplication is possible at a time. The causative suffix has to occur at the end of the verb. The restrictions on the order of morphemes hold even in cases of frozen suffixes. The vowel preceding the final derivational suffix, whether **-m**, **-t**, or **-s**, is **ii**. Verbalizing suffixes include the causative, durative, stative and inchoative derivation but preceded by **uu** or **ee** rather than **ii**.

For verbs with the causative suffix, the subject is the cause of the action of the verb; not necessarily the causer, i.e., the subject need not be animate. Intransitive verbs become transitive and the subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the causative verb.

- (110) wa/aari i aníng tiq-m-iis-iyá'
vomitting.P 3 1SG be:ill-DUR-CAUS-P
'Vomitting is making me ill.'
- (111) hiimér tlét gajéet g-a inslahh-ís
ropes:F.CON long.PL work S3-O.F be:easy-CAUS:3SG.F
'Long ropes make the job easy.'

For transitive verbs the causer becomes the new subject of the causative verb, the object remains object like **basoro** in (112) and the earlier subject is no longer expressed (or as an oblique object); or the subject is the new object and the object becomes an oblique object, (113, 114). A causative verb can be intransitive in those rare instances that the subject is the causer and also undergoes the action, as in (115).

- (112) basoro hleem-is-ang. basoro k-a hleem-iis
millet get:DUR-CAUS-IMP.HITH millet O3:IMPS-O.F get:DUR-CAUS
'Get the millet for me. They get (him) the millet.'
- (113) án kúung u-n inhlawtum-iis /ayto'o qayta-r-o
1SG 2SG.M O.M-EXPEC remind:CAUS maize inspecting-F-BGND
'I remind you to inspect the maize.'
- (114) inós baynu g-i-na /ay-m-íis
3SG pigs O3-O.P-PAST eat-DUR-CAUS
'He fed the pigs'
- (115) aa Babati-r-i saw-ees
3:PF Babati-F-DIR go:far-CAUS
'He has gone far to Babati.'

The verbalizing causative suffix **-ees** is used to derive verbs from adjectives. The verb has the meaning 'to make X' with X the quality of the adjective.

- (116) ur 'big' urees 'to make big'
boo/ 'black' boo/ees 'to make black'

The verbalizing causative suffix **-uus** is used to derive verbs from nouns, and also to render Swahili verbal loans Iraqw. Again, the resulting verb is not always transitive.

- (117) gadyeet (f) 'work' gadyuus 'to work'
ilatleeri (f) 'greed' ilatleeruus 'to have a greedy nature'
- (118) Sw.: kuanza 'to begin' /aansuus 'to begin'
Sw.: kupasi 'to pass' paasuus 'to pass'
Sw.: kusoma 'to read, study' soomuus 'to read'

The inchoative suffix **-aw** is used to derive verbs from adjectives giving it the meaning "to become", entry into a state, inchoative. Most adjectives take **-uw**, some take **-aw**.

- (119) ur 'big' uraw
boo/ 'black' boo/aw
gawid 'difficult' gawduw
niina 'small' niinawuw

The durative suffix **-m** expresses duration, (120). It precedes verb final **s** or **t** whether these are derivations, frozen derivations or simply a lexical root final consonant, (121).

- (120) tutuuw ‘to open a new farm’ tutuuwiim ‘to be opening a new farm now’
- (121) haniis ‘to give s.th.’ hanmiis ‘give s.b.’
 alee/iis ‘to help’ alee/iimiis ‘to be helping’
 lakiit ‘to wait’ lakmiit ‘to be waiting’
 hlaqaat ‘to be tired’ hlaqamiit ‘to get tired’

Verbs with the middle suffix **-iit** are often used for verbs which have a subject that does not control the action, and for verbs that cannot have a person as subject, but the body itself, e.g. **yuqumiit** ‘to be cold’ (subject is the body, not the person). The meaning of the suffix can also be durative, habitual or stative; the suffix has a overlapping meaning with the durative suffix **-iim**.

- (122) xahl ‘quiet’ xahliit ‘to keep quiet’
 siiq ‘to cut’ siiqiit ‘to be cutting’

A variant of the middle suffix has the form **-uut**. It is used to derive verbs from other word classes.

- (123) deer ‘to be present’ deeruut ‘to come to being’
 naa/ari (f1) ‘damp soil’ naa/aaruut ‘to be damp (of soil)’

First and second imperfective: The first derivation is durative, the second is habitual. It is not the actual form that determines whether a resultant form is durative or habitual, but the fact whether this form constitutes a first or a second derivation. A second derivation is always built on an existing first derivation and consists of reduplication of the penultimate stem consonant. If there is no second derivation, the first derivation covers the entire domain of imperfective aspect. The various ways to arrive at a first imperfective derivation are presented in (124).

(124) The first imperfective

stem	1st imperfect	meaning	process
al/aay	al/agiim	deceive	durative -m
/akuut	/akwmiit	jump	infixated DUR
aahh	aahhiit	hate	middle -t
ya/aam	ya/a/aam	agree	reduplication of penultimate
goo'iim	goo'ii'iim	write	reduplication and ii
waa/	wa/aamiim	vomit	-aamiim
huu'	huuhu'uum	fall	durative -m and reduplication
dah	darah	enter	infixation of <ar>

There is a distinction between a distributive reduplication of the first root consonant (NB root, thus disregarding first elements of compounds) and a reduplication of the penultimate stem consonant (NB stem, thus including derivational suffixes). The differences between these two reduplications can be shown in verbs such as **ka'aas** ‘tear into pieces’, first imperfective: **ka'amiis**, second imperfective: **ka'amaamiis**, distributive: **kak'aas** ‘tear into many pieces’.

9. Syntax

Every sentence needs an inflectional element that is a word category on its own, the verb “to be”, termed “selector” by Whiteley. This phenomenon is not unusual among Cushitic languages. The lexical base of these INFL-words can be characterised as verbs “to be” since the various bases occur with nominal complements, as well as in verbal

sentences, see chapter 7. The core of an Iraqw sentence consists of a verbal complex which is a brace with this “to be” as the left edge and the verb as the right edge. Within this brace the following phrases occur in any combination and in any order: the object (O), an adverbial case clitic with its complement (Oblique Object or OO), a verbal adverb (Adv), as is characterised in (125). In a typological sense, the structure of the Noun Phrase is not in line with the OV basic word order as modifiers follow the head noun.

(125) verbal complex: Infl O/Adv/OO Verb

(126) inós i hhartá hhawati malé hanmiis
 s/he BE:3 stick:F1:CON man:DIR again give:DUR:PRES:he
 INFL O OO Adv Verb
 ‘He is giving a stick to the man again.’

Subject and tense are obligatory marked on the verb. Subject is also marked on “to be” but here the distinction is only between speech participants (1st and 2nd person) versus third persons. Tense is marked both on the verb and on “to be”. Tense marking on the verb is marginal but obligatory, see chapter 5. Objects can be moved leftwards and often are. The semantic motivation of the leftward movement of the object is foregrounding. This movement is very common in past or perfect tenses, (127), and rare in present tenses. This statistical observation of correlation with tense/aspect can be explained by the fact that in the present tense the focus is on the progressive aspect rather than on the affected object. Present is not marked and thus actually non-past and future or intention is the unmarked interpretation for non-past sentences with a foregrounded object, (128). The same reasoning explains why sentences that focus on simultaneous action do not show object foregrounding, (129). Objects of negative sentences tend to be foregrounded, obligatory in (130), and inherent objects, (131) and objects in general statements are not foregrounded, (132). The object is preferably external and sentence-initial in sentences with impersonal subjects; the object is naturally the theme if the subject is not to be mentioned, (133). In (134) it is more fit for the object to be external because otherwise the meaning would be that “work” in general is “finished” once and for all which is hard to conceive.

(127) baynu g-i-na /aymís
 pigs O.3-O.P-PAST feed:3SGF
 ‘She fed the pigs.’

(128) aníng kasíis (0-)a huuríim aníng a kasíir huuríim
 1SG potatoes (BE-)O.F cook:1SG 1SG BE1/2 potatoes:F:CON cook:1SG
 ‘I’ll cook potatoes.’ ‘I cook potatoes.’

(129) kar ís i hikwá dáaf, dasi i-n /akmamít
 well 3SG BE3 cattle:CON return girl BE3-EXPEC run:3SGF
 ‘While he returns the cattle, the girl is running.’

(130) dóo úr gwa tleehh-ii-ká
 house:CON big:M O.3:O.M:PREF build-INF:PAST-NEG
 ‘He didn’t build a big house.’

(131) a fa/ár huuriind-a-ká fa/a a huuriind-a-ká
 BE1/2 porridge:F:CON cook:2SG-INF-NEG porridge O.F cook:2.SG-INF-NEG
 ‘You are not going to cook.’ ‘You don’t cook porridge.’

- (132) a kahawú wáh kahawa u wáh
 BE1/2 coffee:CON drink:1.SG coffee O.M drink:1SG
 ‘I use coffee.’ ‘I drink coffee.’
- (133) yaamu ki-na piimúus
 land:P O.3:IMPS:O.P-PAST measure:PAST
 ‘The land was measured.’
- (134) gadyéet ga faak
 work O.3:O.F finish:3SGM:PRES
 ‘He finishes the work.’

Complements of adverbial case clitics are fronted for foregrounding and just like with objects such a movement requires an “object” pronoun in the INFL-word. The case clitic itself is not fronted and stays behind in the verbal complex, cliticising to its leftmost element. This can lead to iconicity violations if the clitic is attached to the object of the verb rather than to the complement of the case clitic, (135). Such iconicity violations are not tolerated when the stranded case particle cliticises to the “object” pronoun, (136, 137). An additional restriction is the following: if the complement of the case clitic is fronted and the object of the verb is still in the verb complex than the case clitic cannot cliticise on the pronoun (which refers to its complement) but it has to cliticise on the object of the verb, e.g. (138). Thus the position of the case clitic is immediately before the verb, rather than before the object of the verb.

- (135) buura a-n sumi qaas-áan
 beer O.F-EXPEC poison:DIR put-1PL
 ‘Let's put poison into the beer.’
- (136) kurmo u qamá-r dôhla ?
 hoe O.M fields:CON-INSTR hoe:2SG:INT:INF
 ‘Do you hoe the fields with a hoe?’
- (137) * (kurmo) qaymo a-r dôhla
 (138) * kurmo u-r qamá dôhl-a.

Adverbs and Oblique objects (i.e. noun phrases with an adverbial case clitic) can be moved to the right of the verb in which case the moved constituent must be followed by the resumptive pronoun **alé**. The adverbial clitic moves along with its complement in this rightward displacement:

- (139) i-na basi-r-ar daqay-ká tluwo-sa alé
 BE3-PAST bus-F-INSTR leave:3SGM rain-REAS RESPRO
 ‘He didn't go by bus because of the rain.’

Bare noun objects (no construct case) can incorporate into the verb to form a noun-verb compound, (140).

- (140) anága hee-gaas
 1SG:1/2-PF man-kill ‘I comitted man-slaughter.’

10. Text: Kwa/aangw nee Koonkomo

¹My friend Martin, listen carefully to my story. ²This story is in Iraqw. ³This story, father and mother told to us long time ago, when we were small children, at (the edge of) the fire. ⁴This story is about a hare and a cock. ⁵In former days cock and hare lived together. ⁶Every man has his wife. ⁷Every day at night when the cock goes to sleep, he

hides his head in his wing ⁸and every day the hare sees the cock that way. ⁹One day the hare says to the cock: “Well you, my brother, ¹⁰if you go to sleep at night your head is absent. ¹¹Where does your head go?” ¹²The cock tells the hare: ¹³“At night my head goes on journey. ¹⁴Every night if I want to go to sleep ¹⁵I tell my wife: ‘Cut my head.’” ¹⁶My wife cuts my head and she puts it in a box, ¹⁷and it goes on a journey. ¹⁸Afterwards, in the morning, when the sun has risen, ¹⁹my head brings big news from far away places ²⁰and my wife returns it (the head) to my body.” ²¹The hare is very afraid; he thinks; he says: ²²“This head, is this head possible to be removed from the body? ²³If the head is cut, a man doesn't die?” ²⁴The cock says: “A man never dies.” ²⁵The hare said: “If mine is cut by my wife, is it possible?” ²⁶The cock says: “It is possible.” ²⁷He said: “Well, today in the evening I'll tell my wife: ²⁸‘Cut me my head ²⁹because I will return with news from a far land in the morning.’” ³⁰The cock said: “Well that is OK.” ³¹When the night arrived the hare had his head cut by his wife. ³²When his head was cut, the wife put it in a box ³³and he died. ³⁴The morning of the next day the hare was already dead. ³⁵The wife tried to return the head somewhat, the head does not return, the head falls on the ground. ³⁶But the one of the cock, the next morning, his head is in that house. ³⁷What this story teaches, its meaning is: ³⁸even if you are smart there is somebody who wins over you. ³⁹In Swahili it is said *ujanja huzidiana*. ⁴⁰My friend Martin, I finish this story of mine here.

¹mulqumo-'ée' Martíni ti'ita-r-'ée' to-ka, ii'a-r-i qaas-eek waay.
 friend:M-1.SG.POSS Martini story-F-1SG.POSS F-INDEF ear-F-DIR put-IMP.SG.O well

²ti'ita-r-í a bará iraqw.
 story-F-DEM1 COP in:CON Iraqw

³ti'ita-r-í aayí nee baabá ngi-n alkii/aa/iit-íya bál geera,
 story-F-DEM1 mother and father S3PL:O.F-EXPEC recount:IMPFV1-3PL day:CON first

atén ta-wa na/áa nakw dír afée ahla-r-wa alé.
 1PL DEP.BE-BGND children:P:CON small:PL place:F:CON mouths:CON fire-F-ABL RESPRO

⁴ti'ita-r-í a daandú kwa/aangw nee koonkomo.
 story-F-DEM1 COP back:M:CON hare and cock

⁵bál geera koonkomo nee kwa/aangw ta dinkwár hootatín.
 day:CON first cock and hare IMPS together:F:CON live:IMPFV2:DUR:3SG.M

⁶umúu-go hée-w-o i qo hare-r-ós kón.
 every-EMPH man-M-BGND 3 EMPH wife-F-3SG.POSS have:3SG.M

⁷umúu déelo koonkomo xweera-wo bir qaat,
 every day cock night-BGND COND:3 lie:3SG.M

sag-ós ng-u-n loo/ bará hhaampu.
 head:M-3SG.POSS O.3-O.M-EXPEC hide:3SG.M in:CON wing

⁸nee kwa/aangw umúu-go déelo-r-o koonkomo g-u ado-r-dí
 and hare every-EMPH day-F-BGND cock 3-O.M manner-F-DEM4:DIR

ara'ar.
 see:IMPFV2:3SG.M

⁹bala-r-ka wak-ee kwa/aangw i-na oo' dír koonkomo: karr, kúung,
 day-F-INDEF one-BGND hare 3-PAST say:3SG.M place:F:CON cock well 2SG.M

¹⁰hhiya-'ée', baré, xweera-wo bar qát; sagi káahh.
 brother-1SG.POSS SURPRISE night-BGND COND:1/2 lie:2SG head:3 be:absent:3SG.M

- ¹¹sag-ók amór k-u-r kaakeer
head:M-2.SG.POSS place:F:CON O.3:DEP1/2-O.M-INSTR go:IMPFV2:2SG
- ¹²koonkomo kwa/aangw g-u-ri báy:
cock hare O.3-O.M-CONSEC call:3.SG.M
- ¹³saga-'ée' xweera-wo i-n a'áa kaakáy.
head-1.SG.POSS night-BGND 3-EXPEC journey:P:CON go:IMPFV2:3SG.M
- ¹⁴án umúu xweera-wo bar qatú hlaa',
1SG every night-BGND COND:1/2 lying:M:CON like:1SG
- ¹⁵hara-r-'ée' a-n báy: sagu-'ée' tsat-eek.
wife-F-1SG.POSS O.F-EXPEC tell:1SG head:M-1SG.POSS cut-IMP.SG.O
- ¹⁶hare sag-u-'ée' tsát; g-w-ay báts bará sandukumo,
wife head-M-1SG.POSS cut:3SG.F O.3-O.M-CSEC2 put:3SG.F in:CON box
- ¹⁷i-ri aa'áa káy.
3-CSEC journey:P:CON go:3SG
- ¹⁸alú matlatlee-r-o loo'a bir-a tléer,
afterwards morning-F-BGND sun COND:3-PRED get:up:3SG.F
- ¹⁹sag-u-'ée' iidúg úr amór saaw ng-u-na huúw
head-M-1SG.POSS news:M:CON big place:F:CON far O.3:HITH-O.M-PAST bring:3SG.M
- ²⁰nee hare ng-u-n kii/-is bará hlaqwa-t-éen-i alé
and wife O.3:HITH-O.M-EXPEC return-CAUS:3SG.F in:CON body-F1-1SG.POSS-DIR RESPRO
- ²¹kwa/aangw i-na ló'wa da'ayuuta hhe'ées; i-ri fiikrúus iri óo':
hare 3-PAST very fearing finish:3SG.M 3-CSEC think:3SG.M 3-CSEC say:3SG.M
- ²²sag-w-í, sag-i-qo ya/ân-a
head-M-DEM1 head-3-EMPH agree:INT-INF:PRES
- k-u-wa hhengees-i bará hlaqwa-t-o alé
O3:IMPS-O.M-BGND remove-3SG.M:SBJ in:CON body-F1-BGND RESPRO
- ²³aha saga bur-ka tsát, hee i gwa'-i-kêe.
aha head COND:O.M-O3:IMPS:PAST cut:3SG.M:PAST man 3 die-INF:PAST-NEG:BGND:INT
- ²⁴koonkomo i-na óo': hee baló gwa'-i-ká.
cock 3-PAST say:3SG.M man ever die-INF:3-NEG
- ²⁵kwa/aangw i-na óo': kwe-'ée' burk-u tsát
hare 3-PAST say:3SG.M M-1SG.POSS COND:O.M-O.3:IMPS-O.M cut:PAST
- nee aama-r-'ée', i ya/ân-a
by grandmother-F-1SG.POSS 3 agree:INT-INF
- ²⁶koonkomo i-na óo': i ya/an.
cock 3-PAST say:3SG.M 3 agree:3SG.M
- ²⁷i-na óo': gimáy, laarí tsiindo án a aamár báy
3-PAST say:3SG.M well today evening 1SG 1/2 grandmother:F:CON tell:1SG
- ²⁸sag-w-'ée' tsat-ang
head-M-1SG.POSS cut-IMP.HITH
- ²⁹as gídabá axwa'iisantá ar bará ayá saaw ngi-wa-r
because meaning news:CON CON.F in:CONland:CON far O3:1SG.DEP:O.F-BGND-INSTR
- kii/ matlee-r-o.
return:1SG tomorrow-F-BGND

³⁰koonkomo i-na óo': gimáy ado-r-síng k-a hhóo'.
cock 3-PAST say:3SG.M well manner-F-DEM2 O.3:IMPS-O.F nice

³¹xweera ni-wa xáy-e, kwa/aangw sag-ós k-u-na
night 3PL-BGND come-PL:PAST hare head-M:3SG.POSS O.3:IMPS-O.M-PAST

tsáat nee aama-r-ós.
cut:PAST by grandmother-F-3SG.POSS

³²ságw kwa/aangw tsato k-u-wa hhe'ées,
head:M:CON hare cutting O.3:IMPS-O.M-BGND finish:PAST

aama g-u-ri báts bará sandukumo.
grandmother O.3-O.M-CSEC put:3SG.F in:CON box

³³gwa'ai-ri gwa'.
dying 3-CSEC die:3SG.F

³⁴matlatléer loo'a i-wa tléer kwa/aangw aa qaró gwáa'
morning:F:CON sun 3-BGND get:up:3SG.F hare 3:PF already die:3SG.M

³⁵aama sagudá' ng-u-na mak kii/isár éer,
grandmother head:M-DEM4 O.3-O.M-PAST somewhat returning:F:CON go:3SG.F

sagi kii/-ii-ká; saga i hu'uun yaam-i.
head:3 return-3:INF-NEG head 3 fall:3SG.M land-DIR

³⁶ala oo koonkomo matlatlee-r-o loo'a ni-wa tléer
but CON.M cock morning-F-BGND sun HITH-BGND get:up:3SG.F

sagós i-qo doo-dí diri'.
head:M-3.SG.POSS 3-EMPH house:M-DEM4:DIR be:3.SG.M

³⁷hadithirí gár-i intsahatmis a tí gidaba-r-ós
story-F-DEM1 thing:F:CON-3 teach:3SG.F COP INDEP.DEM1 meaning-F-3SG.POSS

³⁸tam aklír komkakoon; hée u ba/ i-qo déer.
even cleverness:F:CON have:IMPFV2:2SG man:CON O2.SG.M win 3-EMPH be:present

³⁹bará kiswahili-r-o k-a-n babáy: ujanja huzidiana.
in:CON Swahili-F-BGND O.3:IMPS-O.F-EXPEC call:IMPFV1

⁴⁰mulqumo-'ée' Martíni án ti'íta-r-'ée-ti a-ga di-r-í.
friend:M-1SG.POSS Martíni 1SG story-F-1SG.POSS-INDEP.DEM1 O.F-PF place-F-DEM1

al-hhe'ees
together-finish:1SG

