

A Grammar of Konso

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A Grammar of Konso

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geboren te Konso, Ethiopië

in 1976

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List of structure morphemes

Morpheme	Gloss	Function/name
-ʔ	DAT	dative
-ʔ	NOM	nominative
-ʔ	LOC	locative
-ʔ	GEN	genitive
-ʔ	plus	plus
-ay	PF	perfective (3SGM)
-i	PF	perfective
-i	IMP.SG	imperative singular
-a	IMP.PL	imperative plural
-a	IPF.FUT	imperfective future
-ni	IPF.PRES	imperfective present
-ad	MID	benefactive, middle
-aad	INCH	inchoative
-ʃ	DCAUS	direct causative
-acciiis	ICAUS	indirect causative
-am	PAS	passive
-t	3F; 2	third person feminine; second person
-n	P	plural gender marker
-siʔ	DEF.M/F	definite feminine/masculine (gender)
-siniʔ	DEF.P	definite plural (gender)
-asiʔ/-osiʔ	DEM.M/F	demonstrative feminine/masculine
-osiniʔ	DEM.P	demonstrative plural (gender)
in =	1	first person affirmative subject clitic
in =	3NEG	third person negative subject clitic
iʔ =	2	second person affirmative subject clitic
i =	3	third person affirmative subject clitic
an =	1NEG	first person negative subject clitic
an =	1	first person nominal subject clitic
aʔ =	2NEG	second person negative subject clitic
aʔ =	2	second person nominal subject clitic
-n(n)	INST	instrumental
-n(n)	PATH	path
-awu	1SG.POSS.M/F	1SG possessive (gender)
-ayyu	1SG.POSS.P	1SG possessive plural (gender)
-aynu	1PL.POSS.M/F	1PL possessive (gender)
-annu	1PL.POSS.P	1PL possessive plural (gender)
-ayti	2SG.POSS.M/F	2SG possessive (gender)
-atti	2SG.POSS.P	2SG possessive plural (gender)
-ayʃin	2PL.POSS.M/F	2PL possessive (gender)
-assin	2PL.POSS.P	2PL possessive plural (gender)
-adi	3SG.POSS.M/F/P	3SG possessive M/F/P (gender)

-aysu?	3PL.POSS.M/F	3PL possessive M/F (gender)
-assu?	3PL.POSS.P	3PL possessive plural (gender)
-n	NEG	negative
-y	VOC.P	vocative plural (gender) addressee
-u	VOC.M/F	vocative (gender) addressee
-a(?)	M/F	gender (adjectives)
-aa?	P	plural gender (adjectives)
-e	F/M	gender (in relative clauses)
-ee?	P	plural gender (in relative clauses)
-(tt)eeta	DIM	diminutive

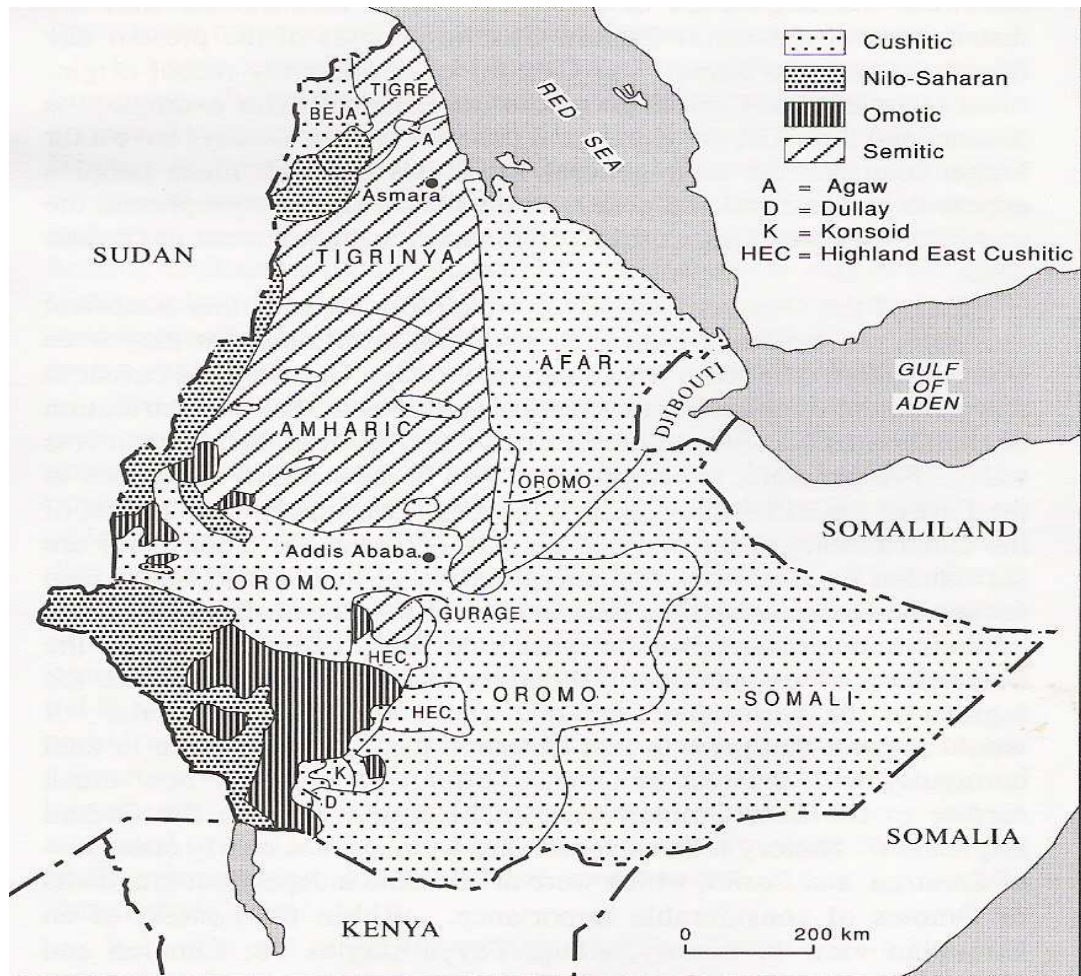
List of symbols and abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1SG	first person singular
1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular
2PL	second person plural
3M	third person masculine
3F	third person feminine
3PL	third person plural
'	high tone
*	ungrammatical form
.	more than one morpheme is involved
◦	devoiced sound
//	phonemic representation
ABST	abstract
ACC	accusative
AGENT	agentive
ASS	associative
BKGRD	background
C	consonant
CEXPEC	contrary to expectation
DAT	dative
DCAUS	direct causative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DP	dependent
F	feminine
FREQ	frequentative
GEN	genitive
ICAUS	indirect causative
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INCH	inchoative
INDEF	indefinite
INST	instrumental
INSIS	insistive
INTENS	intensive
INTERJ	interjection
IPF.FUT	imperfective future
IPF.PRES	imperfective present

x

LOC	locative
M	masculine
MID	middle
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
P	plural (as a value of gender)
PAS	passive
PF	perfective
PL	plural (as a value of number)
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun
RDP	reduplication
RECIP	reciprocal
REL	relative
SG	singular (as a value of number)
sp.	species
V	vowel
VN	verbal nominal
VOC	vocative

Map



Source: Hayward (1995:7) as cited in Mulugeta Seyoum (2008:ix)

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1. Introduction

This work is a grammar of Konso. So far, the language has not been intensively studied. In this chapter, I introduce the people and the language, review previous linguistic works, and outline the nature and organisation of this study.

1.1. The people

The Konso live in the southwest of Ethiopia in the Segen Area Peoples' Zone in the state of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR). They number about 250,000 (Central Statistical Agency 2009), and call themselves *χonsitta*; they call their land *χonso* and their language *?afaa ?a χonsó?* 'language of Konso'.

The Konso are organised in nine exogamous clans: **Keertitta**, **Arkaamayta**, **Sawdatta**, **Paasanta**, **Tookmaleeta**, **Eelayta**, **Ifalayta**, **Tikissayta** and **Mahalayta**. I belong to the **Keertitta** clan. Except for the Keertitta clan, each clan has its own chief. There are two clan chiefs for the Keertitta: *ǵuufa* (in Kenaa) and *Kala* (in Karatte). Males of the same clan consider themselves as brothers, and the females as their sisters. This prohibits Keertitta men from marrying women from their own clan. A clan chief does not marry from the land he administers. This makes the marriage of clan chiefs different from that of the common people. Konso villages are not clan-based.

The Konso have an age grading system, called **Kataa**, which is similar to the well-known **Gada** system of Oromo. The **Kataa** system has become less important in the past few decades. The Konso are socially divided into two classes, the **Etanta** and the *χawǵaa*. The former comprises farmers who hold a high social profile while the latter comprises traders and craftsmen.

The Konso are hard-working people who make a living in the mountainous hills of their land. They are predominantly farmers and are known for their indigenous terracing system, which allows them to make use of even the most precipitous slopes while preventing erosion. With the efforts of many scholars and organisations, UNESCO inscribed the Konso Landscape as a World Heritage in June 2011. The inscription of the Konso Landscape was celebrated in Karatte in April 2012.

The Konso produce maize, wheat, barley, different types of beans and sorghum, and cotton, among other things. Their staple foods are **ǵamaa** and *χarǵa*. **ǵamaa** is prepared from sorghum, maize, wheat and/or barley flour, while *χarǵa* is prepared from beans. *ǵaǵaa* is a locally brewed drink and has different varieties.

Most Konso villages are established on hilltops and are densely populated. The villages are surrounded by high walls of piled stones for protection against attacks. Each family compound traditionally consists of an upper part, called the *oytaa*, and a lower part, called the *arɣatta*. The former is used for living and the latter for storage and keeping animals.

1.2. The language

Konso belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic languages of the Afroasiatic phylum. Within the Lowland East Cushitic family, it belongs to the Oromoid group, and further to the Konsoid group. The language has four dialects: Faafe, Karatte, Tuuro and *ɣolme* (see also Black 1973). Data for this study come from the Faafe dialect, which I speak.

Though attempts have been made to develop an alphabet, there is still no standard alphabet for Konso. Two scripts have been proposed for a standard alphabet: Fidäl script (the script used for writing Amharic and Ge'ez, among others) and the Roman alphabet. The first scholar who made the attempt to establish the alphabet for Konso is Haile Eyesus Engidashet (1986). He proposes the Fidäl script after studying the phonology of the language very briefly. The other script, Latin, was first proposed by the Konso Orthography Committee in 1997. The most recent decision to adopt the Latin script was made in April 2012. On 29 April 2012, the Bureau of Culture, Tourism and Government Communications Affairs organised a one-day Language and Culture symposium in which four papers that dealt with script selection were presented. The first paper was presented by me. In my presentation, I focussed on comparing and contrasting the adoption of Fidäl and Latin scripts. The second paper proposed a modified version of the Fidäl script. The third paper dealt with the report of the 1997 Konso Orthography Committee, and the reasons why the Committee adopted the Latin script. The fourth paper was about an attempt made by a Konso native to invent a new script for writing in Konso. Interestingly, this presenter trained some children from his village on how to use the script and demonstrated that to the participants. After the paper presentations, group discussions were held to make a decision on the adoption of either the Fidäl or Latin script. After the group discussions, group representatives presented the script they proposed and the reasons why they made the choice. Except for one group that could not make a clear decision, the rest adopted Latin script for the language. The adoption was directed to the Konso Wereda Administration Council to officially endorse the adoption of Latin script. The symposium was concluded by setting up Konso Language Promotion Committee.

Although there is no standard alphabet for Konso, some written materials have been produced. The Evangelical Church of Makane Yesus has produced quite a number of materials in Konso using the Fidäl script. These materials include

the translation of both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, religious short stories, arithmetic booklets and so on. So far, little has been produced in Latin script. Korra Garra published two storybooks at the department of African Languages and Cultures, Leiden University. The arithmetic booklets produced by Mekane Yesus Church are also available in Latin version.

1.3. Previous linguistic works

Though Konso does yet not have a comprehensive grammar, there have been some linguistic works written on the language. As the review below shows, most of the works are unpublished B.A. and M.A. theses.

Paul Black (1973) studies the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. In the phonology part, he presents the phonemic inventory of the language and identifies twenty-one consonant phonemes and five short vowels, each with a long counterpart. He also discusses the allophonic distribution, the phonemic and phonotactic rules of consonants. In the morphology section, he deals with nominals, including nouns and pronouns, and with adjectives. In the syntax section, he describes predicate and nominal phrases as well as the formation of conditional clauses.

Ronald J Sim (1977) provides a phonemic sketch of the segmental phonemes; he discusses the phonemic status of gemination and vowel length, and presents suprasegmentals and distinctive features. He also discusses nouns, verbs and adjective categories.

Getahun Amare (1999), in his published article, deals with the structure of the noun phrase. He examines nominal positions, interrogatives, and independent personal pronouns. He also presents complements, modifiers and specifiers of the noun phrase.

In his unpublished BA thesis, Mehamed Ahmed (1999) describes the relativisation of subjects, direct objects and objects of postpositions. He claims that Konso does not have a relative pronoun like English *who*. His claim is not correct. Konso has a relative pronoun ?a, which does not appear when the subject head noun is definite.

In his unpublished BA thesis, Beniam Mitiku (2000) presents the noun inflections for number, gender, person and case. He also examines the derivation of nouns from verbs and adjectives, and discusses noun-deriving affixes.

Daniel Damtew's (2000) thesis presents compounding in nouns, adjectives and postpositions. His examples are based on compounds in Amharic and English, and are not natural compounds in Konso (see 4.12).

Ongaye Oda (2000) writes in his unpublished BA thesis about the structure of simple sentences. He analyses the structure of declaratives, interrogatives (of yes–no questions and wh-questions), and imperatives. He also attempts to show the basic transformational rules operating on simple sentences, such as an insertion rule, optional and obligatory subject deletion rules, substitution transformation, and movement rules of object, verb and the wh-word.

In his unpublished MA thesis, Ongaye Oda (2004) presents an overview of complex sentences and complement clauses in Konso. He presents simple sentences, compound sentences and (compound-)complex sentences. He also treats result clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses, purpose clauses, and temporal clauses. He additionally discusses complement clauses, syntactic and semantic analysis of complementisers, the derivation of subject and object complement clauses and syntactic variations in complement clauses. Finally, he deals with higher predicates and complement clause modalities.

In his (2004) article, Maarten Mous describes middle and passive in Konso. Here he identifies the suffixes that mark these two voices. He also discusses the fact that the middle derivation is occasionally used with the passive meaning.

Maarten Mous (2005) analyses conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination and adversative coordination. He identifies lexical and clitic conjunctive and disjunctive coordinations.

Maarten Mous and Ongaye Oda (2009) analyse clause linking in temporal (succession) clauses and conditional clauses. They also analyse (possible) consequences of clause linking.

Daudey, H and A.C. Hellenthal (2004) study some morphosyntactic aspects of the Konso language. They discuss the structural and semantic functions of the suffixes *-eeyye*, *-n(n)*, and *-ʔ*. They also present the locational, directional, elevational and distance adverbs.

In his unpublished MA thesis Gallo Aylatte (2008) treats the verbal system, the relationship between tense and aspect and the inflection of the verb in the context of the past, present, and future tenses. He also describes the inflection of the verbs in relative clauses.

In her unpublished BA thesis Tizita Getahun (2003) discusses the inflection of the verb for person, number, gender, aspect, tense, mood and voice. She also deals with the derivation of the verb stem in the passive, causative, intensive, reciprocal, benefactive, gerundive and singulative. Finally, she presents morphophonemic processes such assimilation, consonant insertion (though there is no such thing in the language, as far as I know), vowel length, and epenthesis.

Alemayehu Dereje (2003) discusses the simple and complex constituency of a noun phrase. He further analyses agreement between modifiers and the head noun. He also describes the patterns of noun phrase constituents, and finally the functions of a noun phrase as a subject, object and complement.

Anna Vähäkangas's (2009) grammatical sketch of Konso (45 pages) is published by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. The booklet presents a description of the consonant as well as vowel phonemes, nouns, noun phrase modifiers, pronouns and possessives, subjects and predicates, verbs, transitive and intransitive verbs, non-final verbs and verb derivation and (some) cases. The booklet has many descriptive problems, as well as some analytical ones. For example, the uvular consonants /ɢ/ and /χ/ are described as velar consonants. The glottal stop that marks the nominative case is missing. The middle derivation is not discussed in the work. Subject clitics are poorly analysed. I have not made any use of the material in the booklet. In other words, my work is an independent research based on my own data.

1.4. The present study

This study has developed out of contact professor Mous made with me in 2000 in Ethiopia. During the summer of 2003, professor Mous invited me to Leiden University where I met scholars (Azeb Amha, Christian Rapold, Anne-Christie Hellenthal and Graziano Savá) working on Ethiopian languages. During this visit, professor Mous and I started working on Konso. I also did library work for my MA research. He again invited me to Leiden University during the summer of 2004. This time, I gave a talk at the Colloquium on African Languages and Cultures and then started writing my PhD proposal ("A Grammar of Konso"). With his and Dr Azeb Amha's support, I wrote my project proposal and submitted a couple of applications in the subsequent years. It was in 2007 that my project proposal was selected for a fully funded PhD position at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). The research project was supervised by both professor Mous and Dr. Azeb Amha.

As there is no standard alphabet for Konso, the transcription employed in this study closely adheres to the IPA; the exceptions include the use of *y* instead of *j* for the palatal glide, doubling letters instead of using a colon (:) to represent geminate consonants as well as long vowels.

In the next chapter, I describe phonology and morphophonemics (Chapter 2). In chapter 3, I discuss the basics of simple sentences to orient the reader on the syntactic structure before dealing with morphology in subsequent chapters. In chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, I analyse nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives, respectively. Postpositions, adverbs and conjunctions are discussed in chapter 8. In chapter 9 I discuss syntax and in chapter ten interrogative clauses. In chapters

11 and 12 I present negation and complex sentences, respectively. Ideophones and interjections are discussed in chapter 13. Chapters 14 and 15 contain list of nouns and stories, respectively.

1.5. Fieldwork

I conducted fieldwork during two trips to Ethiopia. The first field trip took place from end of April to mid August 2008. During this period, I recorded stories and checked my preliminary analyses on phonology with native speakers. I also conducted library research at Addis Ababa University and participated in a conference organised by the Ethiopian Language Research Centre at Addis Ababa University.

I carried out fieldwork on the second trip from September 2009 to January 2010. During this period, I recorded more stories and transcribed some of these. I checked my preliminary analyses on morphology and syntax with several Konso native speakers and developed the chapters on these topics.

2. Phonology and morphophonology

This chapter deals with the inventory of the speech sounds as well as the morphophonology of Konso. After the identification and description of the consonant and vowel phonemes, (near) minimal pairs are provided. Phonotactic constraints, syllable structure, phonological and morphophonemic processes and tone are also treated in this chapter.

2.1. Consonant phonemes

The inventory of consonant phonemes in Konso includes labial, alveolar, (alveo)-palatal, velar, uvular and glottal places of articulation. Along these places of articulation, 21 consonant phonemes are recognised (see also Black 1973; Sim 1977). The consonants at a systematic phonemic level are given in table 1.

	Labial	Alveolar	(Alveo)- palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plain stops	p	t	c	k		ʔ
Implosives	ɓ	ɗ	ɟ		ɠ	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ			
Fricatives	f ¹	s	ʃ		χ	h
Liquids		l, r				
Glides	w		y			

Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Konso

From table 1, we observe that Konso does not make a phonemic voice distinction in stops. Some voiceless stops are realised voiced in certain conditions (cf. Section 2.7.2). The absence of voice contrast in stops has also been reported for Diraytata (Black 1974; SIL 2002; Wondwosen 2007), Muusiye (SIL 2002:6) and Gawwada (Black 1974, Geberew 2005). Diraytata and Muusiye [Bussa], together with Konso, are Konsoid languages within the Oromoid subgroup, whereas Gawwada is a member of the Dullay group spoken to the west of Konso. Other neighbouring Cushitic languages do make a voice distinction: Oromo (see among others Andrzejewski 1957:25; Black 1974:64, Bender et. al 1976:132; Owens 1985:10; Stroemer 1995:7), Burji (Sasse 1982:15) and Ts'amakko (Savá 2005:9). Thus, the absence of a voice opposition seems to be a Konsoid innovation within the Lowland East Cushitic language family. That Gawwada does not have a voice opposition (Geberew 2005) may be attributed to language contact with the Konsoid languages (see also Sasse 1986). Moreover, all the neighbouring languages have ejectives and, in varying degrees, implosives in their inventories. However, unlike the neighbouring languages,

¹ Labio-dental fricative.

Konso does not have any ejective at all; instead, it has a series of four implosives (shown in table 1).

Ejectives in borrowed words change to implosives (1a), plain stop (1b) or fricative (1c). The systematic correspondence is as follows: the labial ejective /p'/ changes to labial implosive /b/; palatal ejective /c'/ changes to palatal implosive /ɟ/. A velar ejective /k'/ changes to uvular implosive /ɣ/. The alveolar ejectives /t'/ and /s'/ change to an alveolar plain stop /t/ and a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, respectively. The following illustrative lexical items are borrowed from Amharic.

(1a)	/p' / > /b/	t'ərəp'p'ezza lap'p'is	tarabbeessaa laabbiseeta	'table' 'eraser, rubber'
	/c' / > /ɟ/	c'ərək' mac'id	ɟarɟeeta maafireeta	'textile' 'sickle'
	/k' / > /ɣ/	k'es k'era	ɣeesitta ɣeeraa	'priest, pastor' 'slaughterhouse'
(1b)	/t' / > /t/	seyt'an t'iyyit ɟiggut'	seetana tiyyiteeta ɟukkuteeta	'Satan' 'bullet' 'pistol'
(1c)	/s' / > /s/	s'əlot	salootita	'prayer'

Amharic does not have implosive consonants, but Oromo has the alveolar /d/, and Diraytata has the bilabial and alveolar implosives /b/ and /d/. Oromo and Diraytata lexical items with the alveolar implosive retain the alveolar implosive in Konso pronunciation. For instance, a Konso native would pronounce the Oromo word *haada* 'mother' as it is, although in Konso the word for 'mother' is *aayyaa*. Thus /d/ is not an example of an implosive replacing an ejective in loan words from Oromo, Diraytata or Ts'amakko.

2.1.1. Description of consonant phonemes

Below, I present the description of consonant phonemes and give illustrative examples. Allophonic variants are discussed in Section 2.7. The order of the consonant phonemes is based on the place of articulation.

- (2) /p/ is a bilabial voiceless plain stop.
- | | |
|--------|---------------|
| pifaa | 'water' |
| pora | 'road, place' |
| hapura | 'spirit' |
| torpaa | 'week' |

- (3) /b/ is a bilabial implosive. It is very rare in word-initial position.

baɓɓaɗa	‘well-fed (impolite for humans)’
hiɓta	‘lip’
saraɓta	‘calf (of leg)’

- (4) /m/ is a bilabial voiced nasal.

mura	‘forest’
makla	‘handle of a pot’
kusumta	‘navel’
kumanta	‘antelope’

- (5) /f/ is a labio-dental voiceless fricative.

furaa	‘key, padlock’
foola	‘steam’
kuufa	‘cow dung pile’
kafa	‘clan’

- (6) /w/ is a labio-velar voiced glide.

waɗfa	‘God’
kawsa	‘beard’
tawna	‘bell’

- (7) /t/ is an alveolar voiceless plain stop.

tika	‘house’
talteeta	‘she-goat’
kuta	‘dog’
harta	‘pond’

- (8) /ɗ/ is an alveolar implosive.

ɗakaa	‘stone’
ɗikla	‘elbow’
hiɗana	root crop species
tandɗa	‘drink prepared without malt’

- (9) /n/ is an alveolar nasal voiced.

nama	‘person, man’
nessa	‘soul’
soonaa	‘nose’
ɗinda	‘side’

for the nominals χ accumaa ‘stinking, smelling bad’ and hoccoa ‘work’ derived from the verb roots χ accad- ‘to stink, smell bad’ and hoccad- ‘to work, do’, respectively, I could not find any other nouns with a geminate /c/. The following is an exhaustive list of the proper names I know of with geminate /c/.

- (15) **kaccanna** a woman’s personal name
kaccitti a woman’s personal name
kaccuunu a man’s personal name
kaccaawwa a woman’s personal name
paacca a male or female person’s name

- (16) /ʃ/ is a palatal implosive.

ʃolta	‘blind person’
ʃaʒaa	‘local beer’
kaaʃaa	‘money’
marʃaa	‘hip flesh (human)’

- (17) /ɲ/ is a palatal nasal voiced.

ɲaɲɲaa	‘tomato’
ɲaapa	‘enemy’
kuɲnata	‘gnat’

- (18) /ʃ/ is a palatal voiceless fricative.

ʃehta	‘grass snake’
ʃaabʒaa	‘stretcher’
piʃaa	‘water’
χarʃa	‘beans’

- (19) /y/ is a palatal glide voiced.

yaaya	type of bead
yooyta	‘jackal’
taahayta	‘sand’
torrayta	‘locust’

- (20) /k/ is a velar voiceless plain stop.

keraa	‘thief’
kirra	‘river’
raaka	‘old woman’
maakaa	‘snake’

(21) /ɢ/ is a uvular implosive.

ɢayranta	‘leopard’
ɢapaleeta	‘monkey’
telɢayta	lizard species
feɢerta	tree species

(22) /χ/ is a uvular voiceless fricative.

χolaa	‘hot drink made mainly from coffee leaves’
χala	‘yesterday’
moχna	‘rocky place’
?arχatta	‘lower part of homestead’

(23) /ʔ/ is a glottal stop.

daʔta	‘butter’
paʔatta	tree species
ifuʔ	‘also’

(24) /h/ is a glottal voiceless approximant.

harreeta	‘donkey’
hotaarta	acacia tree species
laha	‘ram’
oha	‘fodder’

2.1.2. (Near) minimal pairs

Below I show place and manner opposition between plain stops and implosives. I refrain from providing evidence for opposition in manner of articulation between plain stops and fricatives, plain stops and nasals, etc., but such oppositions can be found in the language.

Opposition in place of articulation

Plain voiceless stops /p, t, c, k, ʔ/

From the series of the plain stops, /p, t, k/ are found contrastive in word-initial and medial positions as shown in (25a) and (25b), respectively.

(25a)	paka	‘half’
	taka	‘small birds that fly together and eat crops’
	kakaa	‘comb (of honey)’

(25b)	kapaa	‘near, beside’
	kataa	‘age grading system’
	kaka	‘comb (of honey)’

Implosives /b, d, f, ɓ/

(26)	/b/ and /d/	haabuta haadita	a children’s game ‘load, burden’
	/b/ and /f/	kaabaa kaafaa	man’s name ‘money’
	/b/ and /ɓ/	lebi leɓi	‘kick (many times/things)!’ ‘smear (many times)!’
	/d/ and /f/	ɗakara ɗakara	‘old coin token’ ‘piece of old cloth’
	/d/ and /ɓ/	ɗarta ɗarta	‘lie (untruth)’ ‘firstborn son’
	/f/ and /ɓ/	foraa ɓoraa	‘coin purse’ ‘trees’

Nasals /m, n, ŋ/

(27)	/m/ and /n/	maalaa naalaa	‘cutting crops randomly’ ‘spoilt behaviour’
	/m/ and /ŋ/	maraa ɲaraa	‘hillside’ ‘contention, threat’
		irma irɲa	‘wheat/barley stalk’ ‘gum’
	/n/ and /ŋ/	napa ɲaapa	‘soot’ ‘enemy’

Plain voiceless stops and implosives

(28)	/p/ and /b/	kapa kaba	‘near’ ‘canal’
------	-------------	----------------------------	-------------------

/t/ and /d/	tankaa	sorghum species
	ɗankaa	‘pharynx’
	tuuta	‘festival after crop harvest’
	tuuda	‘pillar’
/c/ and /ʃ/	caattaa	‘life, living’ < caad-taa >
	ʃaatta²	‘thorn’
/k/ and /g/	lekaa	‘congested sprouts’
	leḡaa	‘loan (of money)’

2.1.3. Gemination

All consonants may appear geminate. Geminate consonants occur only in word-medial position. In addition to geminate consonants in lexical roots, gemination can arise grammatically. As we shall see shortly, a substitution of a non-geminate consonant for a geminate counterpart may bring about a semantic difference in lexical items. Grammatically, geminate consonants may mark plural number (see 4.2.3.)

Geminate consonants function as ambisyllabic segments, appearing as a coda of a preceding syllable and the onset of the following syllable (see 2.4.2). As mentioned in the introduction, geminate consonants are written by doubling the symbol (e.g. consonant /t/ in **apitta** ‘fire’).

Below I provide (near) minimal pairs consisting of geminate and non-geminate consonants. Where I lack nominal examples, I provide imperative verbs or simple sentences with intransitive verbs.

(29)	/p/ and /pp/	kapaa	‘near’
		kappaa	‘wheat’
	/t/ and /tt/	aataa	‘culture’
		aattaa	form of address for an elder sibling
	/k/ and /kk/	hikaa	‘art of building huts’
		hiikkaa	‘stars’
	/ʔ/ and /ʔʔ/	iʔanti	‘She went.’
		iʔʔanti	‘You (SG) went.’
	/ɗ/ and /ɗɗ/	hiɗana	root crop species

² **ʃaatta** has a variant with glottal stop /ʔ/: **ʃaʔatta**.

	hiddana	‘bundle’
/f/ and /ff/	kaafaa kaaffaa	‘money’ a children’s game
/G/ and /GG/	peeGaa peeGGaa	‘metal or clay plate for baking’ ‘quarrel, dispute’
/m/ and /mm/	kamaa kammaa	‘hillside’ ‘behind, after’
/n/ and /nn/	mana manaa	‘hut’ ‘huts’
/f/ and /ff/	tafaa taffaa	type of game played by males ‘thighs’
/s/ and /ss/	pisa pissa	‘flower’ ‘complexion (of a sick person)’
/h/ and /hh/	mehi mehhi	‘Shake (many times) to dry!’ ‘Shake (once) to dry!’
/ʃ/ and /ʃʃ/	haafaa haaffaa	as in haafaa haafi ‘Get lost!’ ‘leaf, leaves’
/l/ and /ll/	dfilaa dfillaa	‘charcoal’ ‘fields, farms’
/r/ and /rr/	χara χarra	‘shivering, trembling’ ‘door, gate’
/w/ and /ww/	dfawiyaa dfawwiyyaa	‘hitting (something)’ ‘herding’
/y/ and /yy/	χaaya χaayyaa	‘labour (childbirth)’ ‘labour’ (for clan chief, landlord)’

2.1.4. Distributions of consonant phonemes

Except for the glottal stop, all consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position underlyingly. As we shall see later, the glottal stop is inserted word initially to avoid onsetless syllables. All consonant phonemes occur in word-medial and intervocalic positions. Only a few lexical items, mainly numerals,

contain consonants in word final position. However, all the consonant phonemes occur in word final position in ideophones (Chapter 13). In what follows, the distributions of consonants in word-initial, word-medial (i.e., in consonant clusters), in intervocalic and word-final positions are discussed. Examples of geminate consonants are also provided. C stands for “consonant” and V for “vowel”.

Plain stops /p, t, k, ʔ, c/

All the plain stops occur word-initially. /t/ and /c/ occur only as a second member of a consonant cluster, while /ʔ/ occurs only as a first member in a consonant cluster. The rest of the plain stops occur in word medial position preceding or following another consonant. All the plain stops occur as geminate and intervocalically. These distributions are shown in table 2.

	Initial	Medial			
	-C	C-	V-V	Geminate	
/p/	poorta 'barley'	χapnaa ³ 'forest'	kilpa 'knee'	tapayta 'rat'	tappa 'seven'
/t/	tawna 'bell'	-----	farta 'horse'	ditiitaa 'sweat'	χottooma 'fist'
/k/	karitta 'belly'	mikta 'right hand'	karkaa 'beehive'	saka 'blessing'	takka 'one'
/ʔ/	-----	yoʔmatta 'millstone'	-----	χolaʔitta 'sp. of cactus'	iʔʔanti 'You (SG) went.'
/c/	caattaa 'life'	-----	incaa 'I exist'	icaa 'He exists.'	χaccumaa 'bad smell'

Table 2: Distribution of plain stops

Implosives /b, d, ɟ, ɠ/

All implosive consonants occur in word initial position. /b/ is the rarest in this position. Except for /ɟ/, they also occur in word medial position either preceding or following another consonant. All of them occur intervocalically as well as geminate. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for the distributions of these phonemes.

³ χapnaa is a forest that belongs to the clan chief's family, mainly around their homestead.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/b/	baalbaala 'big-bellied'	hibta 'lip'	kolba 'water reservoir in the field'	kaba 'canal'	fibboota 'sin'
/d/	dakaa 'stone'	mudkahanta sp. of plant	sindaa 'urine'	kodaa 'work'	noodduta 'bribe'
/ʃ/	ʃabbaa 'weed'	-----	furʃaa 'baby's faeces'	paafuta 'sideburns'	paraʃʃaa crop species
/g/	goyra 'tree'	poɣla 'chief, king'	marɣinaa 'intestine'	paacɣa 'disease'	laacɣuta 'bread'

Table 3: Distribution of implosives

Nasals /m, n, ŋ/

All the nasal phonemes occur in word initial, word medial and intervocalic positions. In word medial position, /m/ and /n/ can precede or follow other consonants, but /ŋ/ occurs only as a second member. All nasals can appear geminated. /ŋ/ as a non-geminate consonant is very rare. Examples that show these distributions of the nasal phonemes are given in table 4.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/m/	matta 'head'	taamta 'branch'	arma 'weed'	ama 'breast'	daammaa 'flour'
/n/	nama 'man'	kansaata 'yam'	tawna 'bell'	kutanaa 'hunting'	ɣannatta 'lizard sp.'
/ŋ/	ŋirfaa 'hair'	-----	irŋa 'gum'	kuuŋata 'gnat'	fiŋŋitta 'pimple'

Table 4: Distribution of nasals

Of the three nasal phonemes, only /n/ occurs in a word final position in (two) cardinal numbers given in (30).

- (30) **ken** 'five'
 kudan 'ten'

Fricatives /f, s, ʃ, x, h/

All fricative consonants occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. Except /h/, all fricatives may precede or follow other consonants. /h/ occurs only as a first member in a consonant cluster. They all appear geminate,

though geminate /h/ is very rare in lexical items. There is one word containing /h/ in word final position: **leh** ‘six’. Other fricatives are not attested in word final position.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/f/	farta ‘horse’	lafta ‘bone’	konfa ‘shorts’	kafa ‘clan’	χoffaa ‘groin’
/s/	saka ‘blessing’	koskorta ‘partridge’	kawsa ‘beard’	piisa ‘all’	nessa ‘breath’
/ʃ/	ʃaaβʒaa ‘stretcher’	koʃkoʃa ‘(chicken’s) comb’	teʔʃaa ‘elephantiasis’	piʃaa ‘water’	χaʃʃitta ‘shoulder’
/χ/	χolmaa ‘neck’	moχna ‘rocky area’	malχaa ‘flood’	oχinta ‘fence’	maχχa ‘name’
/h/	harreeta ‘donkey’	pohmayta ‘chameleon’	----	taahayta ‘sand’	pondahdo- hhaata plant species

Table 5: Distribution of fricatives

Liquids /l, r/

Both liquids occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. In a consonant cluster, they can precede or follow other consonants. Rarely, they occur in word final position, and the existing instances are cardinal numbers. These distributions are illustrated in table 6.

Sound	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate	Final
		-C	C-			
/l/	lakki ‘two’	olsaa ‘dream’	hawla ‘grave’	ɖila ‘farm’	tolloʔta ‘hump’	sakal ‘nine’
/r/	roopa ‘rain’	marɕinaa ‘intestine’	ɕayranta ‘leopard’	para ‘year’	kirra ‘river’	afur ‘four’

Table 6: Distribution of liquids

Glides /w, y/

Both glides occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. In consonant clusters, they occur only as a first member; they do not occur in word-final position in lexical items. Both glides may occur as geminate. Illustrative lexical examples are given in the following table.

	Initial	Medial		V-V	Geminate
		-C	C-		
/w/	waacfa 'God'	tawna 'bell'	-----	Ḡaawa 'hole'	kawwatta 'terrace'
/y/	yaakata 'bead'	Ḡimayta 'old man'	-----	muutiya 'worm'	tuuyyata 'pig'

Table 7: Distribution of glides

2.2. Vowel phonemes

Konso has five short vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and five corresponding long vowels /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/. For the production of the vowel phonemes, we identify three heights of the tongue (high, mid and low) and three places of articulation or parts of the tongue: front, centre and back. Table 8 presents the vowel phonemes of the language.

	Front		Centre	Back	
High	i	ii		u	uu
Mid	e	ee		o	oo
Low			a	aa	

Table 8: Konso vowel phonemes

Both the short and long vowels occur in word-medial and final positions. Short vowels are phonetically realised with a whisper in utterance-final position. All vowels occur word initially. Most nouns end in the vowel /a/.

2.2.1. Description of vowels

Vowels approximate cardinal vowels. The following is the description of the vowel phonemes.

(31) /i/ high, front vowel

ilta 'eye'
Ḡinaʔitta 'rib'
tiraa 'liver'

/e/ mid front vowel

ekerta 'olive'
parre 'tomorrow'
kereʔta 'thieves'

/a/ low central vowel

para	‘year’
ada	‘chick’
toola	‘family’

/u/ high back vowel

unta	‘grain, crop’
punitta	‘coffee’
tulluppaata	‘wood-boring beetle’

/o/ mid back vowel

oxinta	‘fence’
toma	‘bowl’
monta	‘sky, heaven’

2.2.2. Contrast of short vowels

Short vowels may occur in a contrastive distribution as the (near) minimal pairs in (32) show. Contrast in word-final position is limited. Final vowels in verbs have a grammatical function, and nouns end in *a*.

(32)	/i/ and /e/	kiraa keraa	‘daily labour for money’ ‘thief’
	/i/ and /u/	tiraa turaa	‘liver’ ‘in front of’
	/i/ and /a/	hiβta haβta	‘lip’ ‘border; foreign country’
	/i/ and /o/	χaʔnaa χoʔnaa	‘rise, ascension’ ‘favourite’
	/e/ and /a/	ferta farta	‘small metal tool’ ‘horse’
	/e/ and /u/	feraa furaa	‘harvesting’ ‘padlock, key’
	/e/ and /o/	ekta oktaa	‘tail’ ‘pot’

/a/ and /u/	faroota furoota	‘omen, fortune, luck’ type of bead
/a/ and /o/	daʔayta doʔayta	tree species ‘cattle skin for carrying things’
/u/ and /o/	utaa otaa	‘faeces, droppings (of birds)’ ‘insult, curse’

2.2.3. Contrast of long vowels

Like the short vowels, long vowels occur in a contrastive distribution as the following pairs show.

(33) /ii/ and /ee/	miila meela	‘runny honey’ ‘animal body part (e.g. leg)’
/ii/ and /uu/	diika duuka	‘blood’ ‘yoghurt’
/ii/ and /aa/	piisa paasa	‘all’ plant species
/ii/ and /oo/	fiifaa foofaa	‘cursing’ ‘roughly ground grain’
/aa/ and /uu/	ḡaaddfaa ḡuuddfaa	‘cow/ox cage, barn’ type of grain store
/aa/ and /ee/	yaala yeela	‘labour, toiling’ ‘field along a river bank’
/aa/ and /oo/	kaattaa koottaa	‘shade’ ‘anus, bottom’
/uu/ and /ee/	kuur- keer-	‘to choke’ ‘to run [SG]’
/uu/ and /oo/	puulluta poolluta	‘dough (fermented flour)’ ‘hole in the ground’
/ee/ and /oo/	needfuta noodfuta	‘hatred’ ‘bribe’

2.2.4. Vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic. Below, I show the phonemic status of vowel length by providing minimal pairs for short vowels and their corresponding long vowels.

(34)	/i/ and /ii/	pisa piisa	‘flower’ ‘all’
	/e/ and /ee/	χela χeela	‘age mate’ ‘border, boundary’
	/u/ and /uu/	furaa fuuraa	‘pad lock, key’ ‘fear’
	/o/ and /oo/	foraa fooraa	‘jumping’ ‘thin stick to punish children with’
	/a/ and /aa/	saraa saaraa	‘plunder, looting’ ‘poem’

In word final position, we find vowel length contrast of /a/ and /aa/ as shown in (35).

(35)	/a/ and /aa/	dfla dflaa	‘field, farm’ ‘charcoal’
		moora mooraa	‘fat’ ‘public meeting place’
		χoora χooraa	‘gathering’ ‘appointment’

2.2.5. Vowel co-occurrences

In the following table, I present the possible sequences of vowels in lexical items: the vowels on the left-most column occur preceding the vowels on the top row. The vowels may occur short or long.

	a	e	i	o	u
a	nama 'person'	ma χ eena 'barren cow'	karitta 'stomach'	aakkootita 'female animal'	paafuta 'sideburns'
e	seyta 'plant sp.'	sereeruta 'diarrhoea'	seettitaa 'upper part of foot'	-----	eetuta 'dinner'
i	mikta 'right hand'	pileeta 'insect that feeds on moistened leather'	irritta 'upper arm'	silpoota 'hoe'	-----
o	toma 'bowl'	pokkeeta type of shorts	sookitta 'salt'	po ϕ oota 'mandible'	-----
u	kuma 'thousand'	kulleeta 'hat'	ϕ upitta 'finger'	-----	muukuta 'frog'

Table 9: Possible sequences of vowels in lexical items

2.3. Phonotactics

We have already seen that consonant clusters do occur, but only in word-medial position. As we will see in 2.5 below, syllable onsets and codas can be filled by one consonant, and therefore consonant clusters can only occur when a closed syllable is followed by another syllable. Onsets and codas can be filled by any consonant but not all consonant sequences are allowed. The restrictions are discussed in this section. Moreover, the epenthetic vowel *i* is inserted as part of the general constraint against a sequence of three consonants, including a sequence of a geminate consonant and a non-geminate consonant. In what follows, I will present permissible sequences of consonants.

Plain stops may be followed by nasals, fricatives or the liquid /l/ or another plain stop. In this latter case, the first member is either a glottal stop or a bilabial plain stop and the second member is the alveolar plain stop. Plain stops do not precede implosives, glides, or the liquid /r/. Table 10 contains example words in which a plain stop is a first member of the cluster.

	Plain stop	Nasal	Fricative	Liquid
Plain stop	sataʔta 'lung'	ʒapnaa 'possession'	ipsaa 'light'	sipla 'metal'
	apteenta 'snow'	ʒaʔnaa 'rising'	ʒepʒi 'Break (it)!	dikla 'elbow'
		takma 'honey'	teʔʒaa 'elephantiasis'	
		yoʔmaa 'grindstone'	kiʔsaa 'fireplace'	

Table 10: Plain stop as a first member of a consonant cluster

Implosives may be followed by a plain stop or a liquid or by the fricatives /ʒ/ and /s/. Clusters with fricatives as second members only arise from suffixation: /ʒ/ is a causative suffix (see Section 6.1.1) while /s/ is part of a demonstrative suffix -siʔ (see Section 4.8). Illustrative examples are given in table 11.

	Plain stop	Liquid	Fricative
Implosive	saraβta 'calf (leg)'	poβla 'chief'	siiβʒi 'Hang!'
	mudkahanta plant species	ʒoloβloβitta 'claw'	maβʒi 'Divert!'
			saraβsiʔ 'this calf (of the leg)'
			loβsiʔ 'this leg'

Table 11: Implosive as a first member of a consonant cluster

Nasals may be followed by a plain stop (except for the glottal stop), an implosive (except for the bilabial implosive) or a fricative (only the labio-dental, alveolar and palato-alveolar fricatives). The palatal nasal never occurs as a first member a consonant cluster. Note that the bilabial nasal need not be homorganic with the stop (plain or implosive).

	Plain stop	Implosive	Fricative
Nasal	kanta 'neighbour'	sinda 'urine'	komfa 'shorts (cloth)'
	kaanjita 'mule'	falajfalleeta plant species	tansa 'dance'
	ɣampirteeta 'bird'	fanaɣala 'splinter'	kurruumfaa 'droppings (of goats, sheep)'
	taamta 'branch'	ɗumɗuma 'from elbow to fin- gertip'	

Table 12: Nasal as a first member of a consonant cluster

Fricatives may be followed by a fricative, plain stop, implosive or nasal. A liquid or glide does not follow a fricative. And as can be seen from the following table, not all fricatives, plain stops, implosives or nasals follow a fricative. There are no *ʃn* or *sn* clusters.

	Fricative	Plain stop	Implosive	Nasal
Fricative	kurruufaa 'goat/sheep drop- pings'	lafta 'bone'	pondohɗohhaata plant species	moɣna 'rocky area'
		koskorta 'partridge'	fehfeha tree species	pahnaa 'example'
		koʃkoʃa 'chicken comb'		pohmayta 'chameleon'
		napahta 'ear'		

Table 13: Fricative as a first member of a consonant cluster

In some Amharic loan words, plain stops preceding /t/ in a cluster become /f/ as in (36).

- (36) **taftara** < Amh. **ɗəbtər** 'exercise book' >
toftoritta < Amh. **doktər** 'doctor' >

A liquid may be followed by a plain stop, implosive, nasal or a fricative as shown in table 14.

	Plain stop	Implosive	Nasal	Fricative
Liquid	kilpa ‘knee’ tulta ‘back’ alkitta ‘sisal’ arpa ‘elephant’ kaharta ‘ewe’ murkufaa ‘fish’	baalbaala ‘potbel- lied’ ipaldi ‘It is wide.’ telɣayta ‘lizard’ sarbaa ‘leg calves’ pardoota mon- goose species tardaa ‘ash’ marfaa ‘hip flesh’ marɣinaa ‘intes- tine’	χolmaa ‘neck’ urmalaa ‘market’ irɲa ‘gum’	χolfa ‘earring’ olsaa ‘dream’ malχaa ‘flood’ ɲirfaa ‘hair’ marsaa ‘but- tocks’ karsatta tree species χarχarayta ‘warthog’

Table 14: Liquid as a first member of a consonant cluster

Glides do not form a second member of a consonant cluster containing implosives or fricatives or liquids. Similarly, liquids do not follow nasals or fricatives in a consonant cluster. These can be seen from the examples in table 15.

	Plain stop	Implosive	Nasal	Fricative	Liquid
Glide	kawpa ‘beside’ kawkawa ‘jaw’ aykitta grass species	sawɗatta ‘clan name’ hayɗaa ‘meat fried with butter’	tawna ‘bell’ χaynaʔtaa ‘thread’ ɗeymatta ‘irony’	yewsi ‘this year’ kawsa ‘beard’	ɗawraa ‘prohibition’ sayleeta ‘mane’ aylaa ‘sowing (seeds)’ ɗoyra ‘tree’ hawla ‘grave, tomb’

Table 15: Glide as a first member of a consonant cluster

2.4. Lexical variations

There is a remarkable but ill-understood lexical variation for a limited number of lexemes. Both consonant as well as vowel phonemes occur in lexical variation, but there is no phonological rule for their distribution. The phenomenon is not productive and may involve phonemes that belong to different categories. Probably it is a result of double reflexes of the same original root, a historical accident. Below I present an exhaustive list of lexical items that involve lexical variations of consonants. The variation involves both non-geminate consonants (table 16) and geminate consonants (table 17).

/ʃ/ and /dʒ/	fooʒʒita dooʒʒita	‘mud’
/t/ and /dʒ/	ɗarta ɗardaa	‘lie, untruth’
/t/ and /n/	taakite taakine ⁴	‘otherwise’
/r/ and /l/	haaruta haaluta ʔarʒuuʒaa ʔalʒuuʒaa	‘revenge’ type of bean
/f/ and /k/	furtaa kurtaa	‘(woman’s) cotton belt’
/ʃ/ and /h/	ʃiparaata hiparaata	‘bat (animal)’
/f/ and /m/	kurruufʒaa kurruumʒaa	‘droppings (of sheep or goats)’
/b/ and /f/	χorroobita χorroofita	cockroach species
/y/ and /w/	payraa pawraa	type of farm tool
/r/ and /y/	ʔare ʔaye	‘here’
/k/ and /χ/	kompalta χompalta	‘cactus’
/k/ and /ʃ/	kiwwayta ʃiwwayta	‘calabash with cord’

Table 16: Lexical variations involving single consonants

⁴ taakine or taakite also involves vowel variation in the first syllable: tookine or tookite.

/ʃʃ/ and /cc/	ḡoraʃʃa ḡoraacca	‘medicine’
/ʃʃ/ and /ʔʔ/	leeʃʃuta leeʔʔuta	type of dance
/dd/ and /nn/	helaadda helaanna	‘earlier this day’
/tt/ and /nn/	paraatta paraanna	‘next year’
/tt/ and /ʃʃ/	laaḡitta ⁵ laaḡiʃʃa	‘ram’

Table 17: Lexical variation involving geminate consonants

Certain lexical items also involve variation in gemination. These are given in table 18.

/p/ and /pp/	teepaa teppaa	‘rope’
/x/ and /xx/	deexa deexxaa	‘lawsuit’
/r/ and /rr/	diiraa diirraa	‘men’
	tuparaa tuparraa	‘girls’

Table 18: Lexical variations involving gemination

No variation involving alternation between short and long vowels was found. Table 20 presents the list of lexical items involving variation for short vowels.

⁵ The other form for ‘ram’ is **laha**. Notice that **laha** is irregular and that the **itta** of **laaḡitta** cannot be considered to be suffix here (but see 4.2.1). The **iʃʃ** of the form **laaḡiʃʃa** is not a suffix at all.

/i/ and /u/	fiḅḅoota fuḅḅoota	‘sin’
/i/ and /e/	inanta enanta	‘girl’
/i/ and /a/	fiwwayta ḵawwayta	‘calabash with strip to sling on the shoulder’
	innayyaa inniyyaa	‘young animal, bird’
/e/ and /a/	ḵelḵaa ḵalḵaa	‘young animals, birds’

Table 20: Lexical variations involving short vowels

There are also certain lexical items in which we find lexical variation that involves long vowels as shown in the following table.

/aa/ and /oo/	taakite tookite	‘otherwise’
/aa/ and /ee/	pottaata potteeta	‘pumpkin’
/oo/ and /ii/	soonaa siinaa	‘nose’

Table 21: Lexical variation involving long vowels

2.5. Syllable Structure

Konso has both open and closed syllables. The onset and coda cannot be occupied by more than one consonant phoneme. All syllables begin with a consonant. This means that the onset is always filled. All consonant phonemes may occur in the coda position. Geminate consonants function as ambisyllabic segments, appearing as a coda of a preceding syllable and as an onset of a following syllable. The nucleus position of a syllable may have a short vowel or a long vowel.

We can formulate the following four possible syllable structures.

- (37) CV
CVV
CVC
CVVC

The object pronoun form of the second person singular **ke** is the only independent word with a CV syllable structure. Similarly, except for the numerals **ken** ‘five’ and **leh** ‘six’ with a CVC structure, an independent word consists minimally of two syllables.

2.5.1. Syllable patterns in nouns

Noun roots always add a suffix or a terminal vowel (a, aa). All noun roots are monosyllabic. Below, I show the syllable patterns of nominal stems, since the addition of a suffix or a terminal vowel alters the canonical shape of the syllable patterns. Nominal stems may have disyllabic (38a), trisyllabic (38b) or four syllabic (38c) canonical patterns.

(38a)	C ₁ V.C ₂ V	pora tika	'road' 'house'
	C ₁ VC ₂ .C ₃ V	dahta harka tawna χolfa	'firefly' 'hand' 'bell' 'earring'
	C ₁ V.C ₂ VV	taraa dilaa kosaa tiraa	'ash' 'charcoal' 'granary' 'liver'
	C ₁ VC ₂ .C ₃ VV	karmaa kandaa karkaa jirfaa	'lion' plant species 'beehive' 'hair'
	C ₁ VC ₂ .C ₂ VV	fa6baa kappaa	'weed' 'wheat'
	C ₁ VV.C ₂ V	miira kuufa moora	'anger' 'manure, pile of cow dung' 'fat'
	C ₁ VVC ₂ .C ₃ V	moonta poorta tookta	'sky' 'barley' 'profit'
	C ₁ VVC ₂ .C ₂ V	mootta teetta	'friend' 'threshing ground'
	C ₁ VV.C ₂ VV	maakaa mooraa tooraa	'snake' 'public place' 'opposition'

	$C_1VVC_2.C_{2,3}VV$	aappaa aakkaa paankaa waakkaa aannaa	'father' 'grandfather' 'machete' 'wooden grave monument' 'milk'
(38b)	$C_1V.C_2VC_3.C_{3,4}V$	ḡupitta apitta ilkitta ḡakinta sataʔta kollatta	'finger' 'fire' 'tooth' 'body, skin' 'heart' 'hide'
	$C_1V.C_2VV.C_3V$	mukuuka ḡukeeta	'wooden tool for weaving' 'wood dust produced by wood-boring insects'
	$C_1VC_2.C_{2,3}VV.C_4V$	silpoota talteeta pottaata kulleeta	'hoe' 'she-goat' 'pumpkin' 'cape'
	$C_1VV.C_2V.C_3V$	ḡuusuta muukuta paafuta	'fart' 'frog' 'sideburns'
	$C_1VVC_2.C_2V.C_3V$	poolluta maammata laaḡḡuta	'a hole in the ground' 'aunt' 'bread'
	$C_1VC_2.C_3VC_3.C_4V$	partupta parnanta	'September' 'split between buttocks'
	$C_1VC_2.C_3VVC_4.C_4V$	halkeetta	'night'
	$C_1V.C_2VVC_3.C_3VV$	pakaannaa	edible tuber species
(38c)	$C_1C_2V.C_3VC_4.C_4V$	ḡinaʔitta maraʔitta χolaʔitta	'rib' grass species cactus species

2.5.2. Syllable patterns in verb roots

Except a handful of verb roots (see (47) below), verbal roots are closed syllables with monosyllabic (the majority) or disyllabic templates. I could not find an underived trisyllabic verb root. In (39), I provide the canonical shapes of the verb roots arranged in their frequency of occurrence, from most to least frequent.

- (39) CVC-
 CVVC-
 CVCC-
 CVVCC-
 CVCV(V)C-
 CVCCV(V)C-
 CVVCCVVC-
 CVC[i]-

Below, I give illustrative examples for the canonical shapes presented in (39). The verb roots in (40a) have the CVC- structure whereas those in (40b) have the CVVC- structure.

- | | | | |
|-------|--------|-------|----------------|
| (40a) | C1VC2 | ɖam- | ‘to eat’ |
| | | muk- | ‘to sleep’ |
| | | ɕal- | ‘to slaughter’ |
| | | ɕot- | ‘to dig’ |
| (40b) | C1VVC2 | fiif- | ‘to curse’ |
| | | ɖaaʃ- | ‘to give’ |
| | | keer- | ‘to run[SG]’ |
| | | puuf- | ‘to spray’ |
| | | pooy- | ‘to cry’ |

The verb roots in (41) have the CVCC- structure. The CC of the verb root structure can be a geminate consonant (41a) or a cluster of consonants (41b).

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|-------|--------------------------------|
| (41a) | C1VC2C2 | mitt- | ‘to sever, pick (a fruit)[SG]’ |
| | | kull- | ‘to enter’ |
| | | pidɖ- | ‘to buy[SG]’ |
| | | ɕiff- | ‘to destroy, demolish’ |
| (41b) | C1VC2C3 | tarp- | ‘to cross, bypass’ |
| | | teym- | ‘to forget’ |
| | | kirp- | ‘to sing, dance’ |
| | | erk- | ‘to send’ |
| | | ɖink- | ‘to kiss’ |
| | | hawl- | ‘to bury’ |

The verb roots in (42) have the CVVCC- syllable pattern. The CC is a geminate consonant. CVVCC verb root structures in which CC is a cluster of consonants have not been attested.

(42)	C1VVC2C2	kaa66-	‘to be jealous’
		needf-	‘to hate’
		puull-	‘to ferment’
		paayy-	‘to start’
		tuull-	‘to cross over’

The verb roots in (43a) have the CVCVC- structure while those in (43b) have the CVCVVC- structure.

(43a)	C1V.C2VC3	opay-	‘to give light’
		ɗakay-	‘to hear’
		ɗeham-	‘to advise’
		ɲapal-	‘to spoil’
(43b)	C1V.C2VVC3	oraap-	‘to fetch water’
		malaal-	‘to be unable to’
		aɣaaw-	‘to roast’
		padaaw-	‘to add, increase’
		ɣaniin-	‘to bite’
		suraaw-	‘to hurt’

The verb roots in (44) have the CVCCVC- structure where the CC is a consonant cluster (44a) or a geminate (44b):

(44a)	C1VC2.C3VVC4	anɣal-	‘to cook’
		marmad-	‘to deny, betray’
(44b)	C1VC2.C2VVC3	immak-	‘to fill’
		ullup-	‘to cry for help’
		faɣɣal-	‘to stick to’
		ɣadɗaap-	‘to catch up with’
		tuɣɣuur-	‘to push’
		hadɗuun-	‘to hold (a child)’
		ɣappaaf-	‘to swell’

The following verb root has a canonical shape CVV.CVVC.

(45)	C ₁ VV.C ₂ VVC ₃	tiitaaw-	‘to return’
------	---	----------	-------------

The verb roots in (46) have the shape CVVCCVVC-. This canonical shape of verb roots is the longest, and, as we can see from the examples below, it seems

that the verb root is a full reduplication of CVVC. However, the CVVC- does not occur alone to give the meaning of the whole verbal root.

- (46) C1VVC2.C3VVC4- **ɠaarɠaar-** ‘to help, assist’
 ɠaatɠaat- ‘to chase closely’
 taaltaal- ‘to stagger’

So far, all the canonical shapes of the verb roots that we have seen are C final. However, a small set of verb roots have an optional final V. The optional final vowel is always [i]. In (47), I give a near-exhaustive list of such verb roots.

- (47) **as[i]-** ‘to wait’
 ɖaʔt[i]- ‘to smear, paint’
 pir[i]- ‘to finish’
 pal[i]- ‘to ripen; ready to eat’
 ker[i]- ‘to grow old’
 par[i]- ‘to sunrise; day break’
 faʔ[i]- ‘to pack a load’
 heer[i]- ‘to buy[PL]’
 raaʔ[i]- ‘to hang down’
 sooh[i]- ‘to twist together (e.g. thread)’
 keeʔ[i]- ‘to belch’
 kaaʔ[i]- ‘to tear, split’

The above exceptional set of verb roots acquire the canonical shape CVCV when an affix which is, or which begins with, a consonant follows the verb root. For example, in (48), the verb root **ker-** ‘grow old’ gains a CVCV structure because it is followed by the third person feminine gender agreement maker **-t** in (48a) and the present imperfective suffix **-ni** in (48b). When the verb root is followed by an affix that is, or begins with, a vowel, the canonical shape of the verb root becomes CVC as in (49).

- (48a) **alleetasiʔ ʔikeriti**
 alleeta-siʔ *i = ker-i-t-i*
 hut-DEF.M/F 3 = grow.old-3F-PF
 ‘The hut got old.’
- (48b) **ɠoroosiniɖ ɖettow ikerini**
 ɠoraa-osiniʔ *ɖettow* *i = ker-ni*
 trees-DEM.P quickly 3 = be.old-IPF.PRES
 ‘These trees grew old quickly.’
- (49a) **namasiʔ ʔikeray**
 nama-siʔ *i = ker-ay*
 man-DEF.M/F 3 = be.old-PF[3M]
 ‘The man grew old.’

- (49b) *okkattoosid dettow ?inkeru*
okkatta-osi? dettow in = ker-u
 cow-DEM.M/F soon 3NEG = be.old-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘This cow will not be old soon.’

In the following examples, I show the opposition between the verb roots *ker[i]*- ‘to grow old’ and *fer-* ‘to harvest’. The examples show that the [i] of the verb root *ker[i]* cannot be regarded to be an epenthetic vowel (see 2.6).

- (50a) *ifeenna? ?ikeriti*
ʃeenna-ʔ i = ker-i-t-i
 3SGF.PRO-NOM 3 = grow.old-3F-PF
 ‘She grew old.’
- (50b) *ifeenna? ?unta-si? ?iferti*
ʃeenna-ʔ unta-si? i = fer-t-i
 3SGF.PRO-NOM crop-DEF.M/F 3 = harvest-3F-PF
 ‘She harvested the crops.’

The verb root *c-* ‘to be, exist’ seems to be an example of a verb root consisting of a single consonant. This is the only example I found. However, when I questioned the phonemic status of /c/ in 2.1.2, I also pointed out that underlyingly *c-* has the CVC- verb root *kiy-* or *kit-*. Thus, I argue that there are no verb roots consisting of single consonants in Konso.

2.6. Epenthesis and syllable sequences

An epenthetic vowel *i* is inserted as a resolution of a general constraint against a sequence of three consonants. The insertion of the epenthetic vowel is mainly observed in verbal roots with CC (geminate or consonant cluster) to which verbal suffixes are added. In the following examples, the epenthetic vowel is shown in the phonetic forms (first line) but not in the underlying forms (second line).

- (51a) *Apittu? ?akalasi? ?ikullifay*
Apittu-ʔ akala-si? i = kull-f-ay
 Apittu-NOM sack-DEF.M/F 3 = enter-DCAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘Apittu put the sack in the house.’
- (51b) *inantasik kutasi? ?i?akkiti*
inanta-si? kuta-si? i = akk-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F dog-DEF.M/F 3 = see-3F-PF
 ‘The girl saw the dog.’

- (51c) *ifinaχ χala kirpa ikkirpitin*
ifina-ʔ *χala* *kirpa* *iʔ = kirp-t-i-n*
 2PL.PRO-NOM yesterday song 2 = sing-2-PF-P
 ‘You (PL) sang a song yesterday.’
- (51d) *namasiʕ tiltilaasiniʕ ʕaran intarpini*
nama-siʕ *tiltilaa-siniʕ* *ʕara-n*
 man-DEF.M/F rope-DEF.P on-PATH
- in = tarp-n-i*
 3NEG = cross-NEG-PF
 ‘The man did not cross the bridge.’

The strategy of inserting the epenthetic vowel *i* to prevent a sequence of three consonants is also attested in other Cushitic languages such as Oromo (Owens 1985:22), Diraytata (Wondwosen 2007:13), Gawwada (Geberew 2005:11), Ts’makko (Savá 2005:36) and Dhaasanac (Tosco 2001:53).

2.7. Phonological processes

In this section, I treat the phonological processes of inserting /ʔ/ to prevent onsetless syllables, as well as devoicing, assimilation, spirantisation and labialisation. These processes occur independently of the morphemes involved and independently of morphological structure. Phonological processes that are restricted to certain morphemes are discussed separately as morphophonological processes. The phonological process of inserting the epenthetic vowel *i* to avoid clusters of three consonants was already discussed in 2.6.

2.7.1. Insertion of /ʔ/

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted to the initial position of words that begin with vowels to avoid syllables with empty onsets. This can be seen from the following examples in (52).

- (52a) *antiʔ ʔapittu inʔakkay*
anti-ʔ *Apittu* *in = akk-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM Apittor 1 = see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw Apitto.’
- (52b) *ifeennaʔ ʔideʔti*
ifeenna-ʔ *i = dey-t-i*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM 3 = come-3F-PF
 ‘She came.’

2.7.2. Devoicing

Short vowels as well as implosives can occur devoiced. The devoicing of short vowels occurs when they appear utterance final and have low tone, as shown in (53a-c). High-toned short vowels in utterance final position are not devoiced, as in (53d).

- (53a) **raakasiʔ ʔimukti**
raaka-siʔ *i = muk-t-i*
 old.woman-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-3F-PF
 ‘The old woman slept.’
- (53b) **antik kulin aana**
anti-ʔ *kuli = in* *aan-a*
 1SG.PRO-NOM later = 1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will go later.’
- (53c) **indammj**
in = d̥am-ni
 1 = eat-IPF.PRES
 ‘I eat (it).’
- (53d) **indammí**
in = d̥am-n-í
 3NEG = eat-NEG-PF
 ‘He/she/they did not eat (it).’

The phenomenon of devoicing short vowels in utterance final position has been reported for Oromo (Bender, et al. 1976:132, Stroomer 1995:15).

In Konso, implosives are devoiced when they occur as geminate, as shown in (54a). Remember that consonant clusters and geminate consonants occur only in word medial position. Single implosives do not occur devoiced, as the data in (54b) show.

- (54a) /jaʔʔaa/ [jaʔʔaa] ‘weed’
 /hadʔʔaa/ [hadʔʔaa] ‘venom’
 /peeʔʔaa/ [peeʔʔaa] ‘quarrel’
 /piʔʔita/ [piʔʔita] crop species
- (54b) ɕoyra ‘tree’
 koda ‘work’
 hanfua ‘saliva’
 saraʔta ‘calf (of a leg)’
 daʔta ‘butter’

Except in the remainder of this chapter, I will not mark devoiced sounds in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

2.7.3. Assimilation

As we shall see below, we find both progressive (anticipatory) and regressive assimilation. The sounds that involve phonological assimilation include the alveolar nasal /n/ and the plain stops /k/ and /p/.

The alveolar nasal as part of a lexical root or a grammatical morpheme shows progressive or regressive assimilation in place as well as voice. The assimilation may be partial or complete. Phoneme /n/ assimilates progressively in place of articulation to following plain stops, implosives and fricatives. In (55), I first give the allophones and the phonetic environments that trigger the assimilation of the phoneme /n/ in (55), and then provide illustrative examples in (56).

- (55) [ŋ] before /k/
 [N] before uvulars /χ, ɣ/
 [m] before /f/
 [ɲ] before palatals /c, ʃ, ʒ/
 [m] before /p/ and /b/ in verbs
- (56a) /dankaa/[dangaa] ‘throat’
 /paankaa/ [paangaa] ‘sword’
 /ponkora/ [pongora] ‘young man’
- (56b) /funχaa/ [funχaa] ‘dense (e.g. forest)’
 /fanɣala/ [fanɣala] ‘splinter’
 /ɣoonɣita/ [ɣoonɣita] ‘throat’
- (56c) /konfa/ [komfa] ‘pocketless shorts’
 /finfoota/ [fimfoota] ‘stick with metal end’
- (56d) /hanfufaa/ [hanfufaa] ‘saliva’
- (56e) impanni
in = pan-n-í
 3NEG = open-NEG-PF
 ‘He/she/they did not open the door.’

The alveolar nasal /n/ as a morpheme (for example, marking the first person plural) or part of a morpheme (for example, part of the present imperfective morpheme (-ni)) regressively and completely assimilates in place and manner

of articulation to one of these verb root final sounds *m*, *l*, *r* as can be seen from the following illustrative examples.

- (57a) *χarfasi? ʔindammj*
χarfsa-si? *in = dām-n-i*
 beans-DEF.M/F 1 = eat-1PL-PF
 ‘We ate the beans.’
- (57b) *attik kappasit tummj*
atti-ʔ *kappaa-si? = i?* *tum-ni*
 2SG.PRO-NOM wheat-DEF.M/F = 2 thresh-IPF.PRES
 ‘You (SG) are threshing the wheat.’
- (58a) *tikupa kalla*
tika-opa *kal-n-a*
 house-to return.home-1PL-OPT
 ‘Let’s go home.’
- (58b) *ʕoyraasil luukkata idallj*
ʕoyra-asi? *luukkata* *i = dāl-ni*
 tree-DEM.M/F fruit 3 = bear-IPF.PRESS
 ‘This tree bears fruit.’
- (59a) *ʕoyraasim murrə*
ʕoyra-asi? *mur-n-a*
 tree-DEM.M/F cut[SG]-1PL-OPT
 ‘Let’s cut this tree.’
- (59b) *inantasi? ʔixarri*
inanta-si? *i = χar-ni*
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = shiver-IPF.PRES
 ‘The girl is shivering.’

As can be seen from the above examples, /n/ regressively assimilates completely to a verb root final bilabial nasal as in (57) or liquid as in (58-59).

The plain stops /k/ and /p/ assimilate in voice to preceding voiced obstruents. /k/ has a voiced velar variant [g] when preceded by a voiced consonant as the data in (60a) show. /p/ has a voiced bilabial variant [b] when preceded by nasal consonants as the data in (60b) illustrate. The other plain stops /t/ and /c/ do not show voicing assimilation.

(60a) /k/ > [g]/ C- where C is a voiced phoneme

/ilkitta/	[ilgitta]	‘tooth’
/dankaa/	[daŋgaa]	‘throat’
/aykitta/	[aygitta]	grass species
/alkitta/	[algitta]	‘sisal’

(60b) /p/ > [b]/ C- where C is a nasal consonant

/rumpatta/	[rumbatta]	‘foam (of saliva)’
/tampoota/	[tamboota]	‘tobacco’
/dompolta/	[dombolta]	‘chunk of soil’
/haampata/	[haambata]	‘calabash to drink from’
/timpaa/	[timbaa]	‘drum’

2.7.4. Spirantisation

The phonemes /p/ and /b/ are spirantised and have the voiceless bilabial fricative variant [ɸ] between two vowels as in (61a), preceding or following a resonant consonant as in (61b) or following a vowel in a consonant cluster with t as a second non-sonorant as in (61c). The spirantisation of the phonemes does not take place when they occur word initial or as geminate as in (61d).

(61a)	/tapayta/	[taɸayta]	‘rat’
	/apitta/	[aɸitta]	‘fire’
	/hapura/	[haɸura]	‘spirit’
	/ɸapara/	[ɸapara]	‘rag’
	/kaba/	[kaɸa]	‘canal’
	/hiiɸa/	[hiiɸa]	‘meat soup’
(61b)	/ɸolpa/	[ɸolɸa]	‘he-goat’
	/kilpa/	[kilɸa]	‘knee’
	/ɸapna/	[ɸaɸna]	‘side of the face, temple’
	/arɸa/	[arɸa]	‘elephant’
	/silpa/	[silɸa]	‘metal, iron’
(61c)	/saalɸataa/	[saalɸataa]	‘belt’
	/kayɸaata/	[kayɸaata]	‘(skin) rash’
	/hiɸta/	[hiɸta]	‘lip’
	/saraɸta/	[saraɸta]	‘calf (of leg)’
	/ɸoɸta/	[ɸoɸta]	‘shoe’
(61d)	paala	[paala]	‘feather’
	ɸuɸɸaa	[ɸuɸɸaa]	‘egg (Karatte dialect)’
	tappa	[tappa]	‘seven’
	ɸaaɸɸaa	[ɸaaɸɸaa]	‘stretcher’

2.7.5. Labialisation

Labialisation of the initial consonant takes place when the glottal stop /ʔ/ is elided between /o/ and /a(a)/ vowels. The elision of the glottal stop results in the vowel sequence /oa(a)/. Since the language does not have diphthongs, it appears that /o/ is raised, yielding a labialised consonant. Illustrative examples are given in (61).

(61)	soʔaayta	[s ^w aayta]	‘witch doctor’
	doʔayta	[d ^w ayta]	‘hide for carrying things’
	soʔaa	[s ^w aa]	‘meat’
	loʔaa	[l ^w aa]	‘cow’

We also find labialisation when such verb roots as toʔ- ‘die [SG]’, χoʔ- ‘like very much’, doʔ- ‘to jump’ are followed by the [3M] perfect aspect marker -ay or the future imperfective aspect marker -a. For example, in (62a) t and χ are labialised because the verb roots toʔ- ‘to die’ and χoʔ- ‘to like very much’ (62b) are followed by -ay and -a, respectively. On the other hand, in (63), t and χ are not labialised because the verb roots are followed by the third person feminine gender marker -t, which does not result in the context that triggers labialisation.

- (62a) ʒimaytasiʔ ʔit^way
ʒimayta-siʔ *i = toʔ-ay*
 old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = die-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man died.’
- (62b) hamiyaasiʔ luukkata ʔiχ^wa
hamiyaa-siʔ *luukkata* *i = χoʔ-a*
 boy-DEF.M/F fruit 3 = like.very.much-IPF.FUT
 ‘The boy likes fruit very much.’
- (63a) raakasiʔ ʔitoʔti
raaka-siʔ *i = toy-t-i*
 old.woman-DEF.M/F 3 = die-3F-PF
 ‘The old woman died.’
- (63b) inantasil luukkata iχoʔta
inanta-siʔ *luukkata* *i = χoʔ-t-a*
 girl-DEF.M/F fruit 3 = like.very.much-IPF.FUT
 ‘The girl likes fruit very much.’

2.8. Morphophonemic processes

In this section, I treat the morphophonemic processes of eliding the glottal stop, and also replacing it with the palatal glide (2.8.1), metathesis (2.8.2), assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation (2.8.3), assimilation involving verb root final *t* (2.8.4), assimilation involving *n* in subject clitics (2.8.5), assimilation involving the glottal stop in cliticisation (2.8.6), vowel coalescence (2.8.7) and haplology (2.8.7). I consider processes that are restricted to certain lexemes or morphemes as morphophonemic processes.

2.8.1. Elision of /ʔ/

The glottal stop is optionally elided when it is a first member of a consonant cluster in nominals. After the elision, the vowel preceding it is lengthened. The following are illustrative examples:

(64)	/yoʔmatta/	[yoomatt̩]	‘millstone’
	/daʔta/	[daata̩]	‘butter’
	/χaʔtiya/	[χaatiya̩]	‘fly’
	/kupaʔtaa/	[kupaataa]	‘tortoise’
	/sataʔta/	[sataata̩]	‘heart’
	/toʔta/	[toot̩]	‘death’
	/kalaʔta/	[kalaata̩]	‘spider’
	/χaʔnaa/	[χaanaa]	‘waking up; resurrection’

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is optionally replaced by the glide *y* when it occurs between two vowels, of which the one following the glottal stop is a high front vowel /i/. The available examples have the singulative suffix *-itta* as in (65a). The pluralive forms of the singulatives, however, occur only with the glottal stop rather than with the palatal glide as shown in (65b); (also see Section 4.2.1).

(65a)	ɕinaʔitta	ɕinayitta	‘rib’
	χolaʔitta	χolayitta	cactus species
	maraʔitta	marayitta	grass species
	saʔitta	sayitta	‘seed corn for root crops’
	riwwaʔitta	riwwayitta	‘the Milky Way’
(65b)	ɕinaʔitta	ɕinaʔiyyaa	‘rib’
	χolaʔitta	χolaʔiyyaa	cactus species
	maraʔitta	maraʔiyyaa	grass species
	saʔitta	saʔiyyaa	‘seed corn for root crops’
	riwwaʔitta	riwwaʔiyyaa	‘the Milky Way’

2.8.2. Metathesis

The phenomenon of metathesis is limited to certain lexemes and may take place in consonant clusters or across syllables. Lexemes that allow metathesis in consonant clusters require the alveolar lateral liquid /l/ to be either the first or the second member in a consonant cluster. In some cases speakers show preference to one or the other of the forms, but in other cases no such preference is expressed. For instance, the variants listed in the left column in (66a) are preferred to those in the right column, while with the variants in (66b) no such preference is expressed.

(66a)	kilpa	~ kipla	‘knee’
	ilkitta	~ iklitta	‘tooth’
	dikla	~ dilka	‘elbow’
	poɕla	~ polɕa	‘clan chief’
	siklaa	~ silkaa	‘(poison from) bee or wasp sting’
	ɕolfaa	~ ɕoflaa	‘bark (of tree)’
(66b)	sipla	~ silpa	‘mental’
	siploota	~ silpoota	‘hoe’

Consonant clusters containing glides as a first member followed by the alveolar lateral liquid /l/ as a second member do not allow metathesis as shown in (67).

(67)	kaylaa	~ *kalyaa	‘tassel’
	pawlaa	~ *palwaa	‘old Ethiopian coin’
	hawla	~ *halwaa	‘grave, tomb’

In the following words, metathesis takes place after vowel deletion in the second syllable.

(68)	ɕosalaa	~ ɕolsaa	‘laughter’
	afuratta	~ arfatta	‘fourth’

There are certain Amharic loan words that exhibit metathesis. The first two also show metathesis in Amharic, but the last one does not undergo metathesis in this language.

(69)	kipriteeta	~ kirpитеeta	‘match’ (Amh. kibrit ~ kirbit)
	iskiriptoota	~ iskipirtoota	‘pen’ (Amh. iskiripto ~ iskipirto)
	taaksita	~ taaskita	‘taxi’ (Amh. taksi)

It is difficult to formulate a general rule for metathesis across syllables. Below, I give an exhaustive list of the nouns that show metathesis across syllables.

(70)	katipayta	~ kapitayta	plant species
	arasaa	~ asaraa	'local drink made for sale'
	punsukkayta	~ punkussayta	'owl'
	hinkaaffata	~ hinfaakkata	'ant' ⁶
	moŋoŋoŋoriŋŋa	~ moroŋoŋoŋiŋŋa	weed species

For the first three nouns, the variants on the left are preferred, while for the last two the variants do not show any preference.

As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of metathesis is limited to certain lexemes. In the following data in (71), we find that the lexemes contain consonant clusters /lp/ or /pl/, but they do not allow metathesis. Notice that in the majority of the instances, the consonant cluster is /lp/.

(71)	saalpaŋa	*saaplaŋa	'belt'
	ŋolpa	*ŋopla	'he-goat'
	saalpuuŋaa	*saapluuŋaa	'skunk'
	palpalayta	*paplalayta	'joker.M'
	ŋalpeeta	*ŋapleeta	'good manner'
	talpooti	*taplooti	woman's name
	tulpeeta	*tupleeta	'hippopotamus'
	eplaa	*elpaa	'season when ripening begins'
	ŋalpa	*ŋapla	'seventy-five cents'
	kulpa	*kupla	'gourd for carrying water'

2.8.3. Assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation

The (direct) causative suffix -ŋ and the middle suffix -ad also involve assimilation with certain morphemes. See Section 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 for details of causative derivation and middle derivation, respectively.

The causative suffix is realised as /s/ when followed by other derivations. For example, in (72a), the causative suffix is followed by the middle derivational suffix -ad, in (72b) by the passive derivational suffix -am, and in (73) by the voiceless alveolar stop /t/. The voiceless alveolar stop may be a 3F marker (73a), second person marker (73b) or part of the verbal nominal derivational suffix -taa (73c). In fact, the voiceless alveolar stop also becomes a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/. Thus, we may argue that there is double assimilation when we have the sequence *ŋt* becoming /ss/: voiceless alveopalatal fricative *ŋ* becomes voiceless alveolar fricative *s*, and a voiceless alveolar stop /t/ also changes to a voiceless alveolar fricative *s*.

⁶ Notice that in the word *hinkaaffata* 'ant', the non-geminate consonant /k/ becomes geminate when it is relocated in the position of the geminate /j/, and the geminate /j/ becomes single when relocated in the position of the non-geminate /k/.

- (72a) **namasit tika iharmisafay**
nama-si? *tika* *i = harm-f-af-ay*
 man-DEF.M/F house 3 = prepare-DCAUS-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘The man prepared a house for his benefit.’
- (72b) **tomasi? ?ikullisamay**
toma-si? *i = kull-f-am-ay*
 bowl-DEF.M/F 3 = enter-DCAUS-PAS-PF[3M]
 ‘The bowl was moved into the house.’
- (73a) **ifeennat talaasini? ?ikalissa**
ifeenna-? *talaa-sini?*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM goats-DEF.P

i = kal-f-t-a
 3 = return.home-DCAUS-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘She will bring the goats back home.’
- (73b) **attit taloosini? ?ikkalissa**
atti-? *talaa-oosini?*
 2SG.PRO-NOM goats-DEM.P

i? = kal-f-t-a
 2 = return.home-DCUAS-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) will bring the goats back home.’
- (73c) **anti? ?innaasinil luukkata damissaa immalaalay**
anti-? *innaa-sini?* *luukkata*
 1SG.PRO-NOM child-DEF.P fruit

dām-f-taa *in = malaal-ay*
 eat-DCAUS-VN 1 = be.unable.to-PF[3M]
 ‘I could not feed the child fruit.’

The voiceless palatal fricative ʃ at the end of verb roots may or may not be affected by derivational morphemes, and this calls for further investigation. If we take, for example, the verb root **diʃ-** ‘to plant’, we do find that the final consonant remains the same despite being followed by a 3F morpheme (74a), a middle derivation (74b) or present imperfective suffix (74c). On the other hand, if we take the verb root **diif-** ‘to stop, leave’, we find that the verb root’s final ʃ is affected when followed by a 3F morpheme as in (74d) or when followed by a middle derivation as shown in (74e).

- (74a) *inantasip poɕollootasi? ʔidiʃti*
inanta-si? poɕolloota-si? i = diʃ-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F maize-DEF.M/F 3 = plant-3F-PF
 ‘The girl planted the maize.’
- (74b) *attip poɕollootasi? ʔidiʃatta*
atti-ʔ poɕolloota-si?
 2SG.PRO-NOM maize-DEF.M/F

i = diʃ-ad-t-a
 3 = plant-MID-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) planted the maize for your benefit.’
- (74c) *antim muusitan diʃanni*
anti-ʔ muusita = in diʃ-ni
 1SG.PRO-NOM banana = 1 plant-IPF.PRES
 ‘I plant bananas.’
- (74d) *inantasi? ʔanta idiʃsi*
inanta-si? an-ta i = diʃ-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F go-VN 3 = stop-3F-PF
 ‘The girl stopped going.’
- (74e) *innaasinik kammaa deſa idiʃamin*
innaa-sini? kamma-a deſa i = diʃ-am-i-n
 child-DEF.P after-LOC from.side 3 = stop-PAS-PF-P
 ‘The child was abandoned.’

A verb root final *d* does not change its features when followed by vowel-initial (derivational) suffixes as in (75). However, it becomes *ʔ* when followed by consonant-initial inflectional suffixes as in (76).

- (75a) *ɣarʃasid diluppan deſa ifid-am-ay*
ɣarʃa-si? diſa-opa-n deſa
 beans-DEF.M/F field-DEST-PATH towards

i = fiʔ-am-ay
 3 = scatter-PASS-PF[3M]
 ‘The beans were scattered over the field.’
- (75b) *namasiɕ ɕoraasini? ʔihaadanni*
nama-si? ɕoraa-sini? i = haad-ad-ni
 person-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = carry.PL-MID-IPF.PRES
 ‘The person carries the trees for his benefit.’

- (76a) **namasik kodaasi? ?iko?ni**
nama-si? *kodaa-si?* *i = kod-ni*
 person-DEF.M/F work-DEF.M/F 3 = do-IPF.PRES
 ‘The person does the work.’
- (76b) **inantsiyχ qarʃasi? ?ifi?ti**
inanta-si? *qarʃa-si?* *i = fid-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F beans-DEF.M/F 3 = scatter-3F-PF
 ‘The girl scattered the beans.’

It is interesting to see that causative and middle behave differently in that they have allomorphs in s and t, respectively, when followed by other derivations.

The causative suffix -ʃ also completely and progressively assimilates to the alveolar nasal that marks the first person plural as in (77a) or is part of the present imperfective marker -ni as in (77b).

- (77a) **indaminni**
in = dam-f-n-i
 1 = eat-DCAUS-1PL-PF
 ‘We fed (it).’
- (77b) **antih hellaan kollinni**
anti-ʔ *hella = in* *koll-f-ni*
 1SG.PRO-NOM children = 1 teach-DCAUS-IPF.PRES
 ‘I teach children.’

Concerning the assimilation of the alveolar implosive of the middle derivation, we find that there is a complete regressive assimilation of the implosive when followed by /n/ of the first person plural marker -n as in (78a) or the one which is part of the present imperfective marker -ni as in (78b).

- (78a) **χormasin katanna**
χorma-si? = in *kat-ad-n-a*
 ox-DEF.M/F = 1 sell-MID-1PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘We will sell the ox for our benefit.’
- (78b) **orrası? ?untaa ipohanni**
orra-si? *?untaa* *i = poh-ad-ni*
 people-DEF.M/F crops 3 = collect-MID-IPF.PRES
 ‘The people are harvesting crops.’

The alveolar implosive of the middle suffix is also realised as *t* when it is followed by /*t*/ that marks second person as in (79a), third person feminine as in (79b) or the /*t*/ of the verbal nominaliser *-taá* as in (79c).

(79a) *luukkatasi? ʔimmittatta*

luukkata-si? *i? = mitt-ad-t-a*
fruit-DEF.M/F 2 = pick.SG-MID-IPF.FUT
'You (SG) will pick the fruit for your benefit.'

(79b) *aturraatasiḡ ʔoyrasi? ʔiḡapatti*

aturraata-si? *ʔoyra-si* *i = ḡap-ad-t-i*
cat-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = catch-MID-3F-PF
'The cat held the tree for its benefit.'

(79c) *alleeta ḡupattaá ipaḡaari*

alleeta *ḡup-ad-taá* *i = paḡaar-i*
house build-MID-VN 3 = be.good-PF
'Building a house is good for oneself.'

2.8.4. Assimilation involving verb root final *t*

The alveolar voiceless stop *t* in verb final position assimilates completely in manner of articulation to the next *n*, as the following examples show.

(80a) *okkattasil lekaytan ipanni*

okkatta-si? *lekaytan* *i = pat-ni*
cow-DEF.M/F many.times 3 = disappear-IPF.PRES
'The cow disappears many times.'

(80b) *iʔoonnaχ ʔarʔasi? ʔinkanni*

iʔoonna-ʔ *ʔarʔa-si?* *in = kat-n-í*
3PL.PRO-NOM beans-DEF.M/F 3NEG = sell-NEG-PF
'They did not sell the beans.'

2.8.5. Assimilation involving *n* in subject clitics

The alveolar nasal in subject clitics (*in =*, *an =*) assimilates partially or completely in place of articulation to the initial consonant of the verb root or noun to which a subject clitic is encliticised. It has the allomorphs listed in (81). I provide illustrative examples in (82-86).

- (81) /n/ [m] before a verb root initial bilabials / p, b, m/, as in (61)
 [l] before a verb root initial /l/, as in (62)
 [r] before a verb root initial /r/, as in (63)
 [w] before a verb root initial /w/, as in (64a)
 [y] before a verb root initial /y/, as in (64b)
 [ŋ] before a verb root initial /f/, as in (65a)
 [ŋ] before a verb root initial /k/, as in (65b)
 [N] before a verb root initial /G, ɣ/, as in (65c)
- (82a) kodaasi? ʔimpira
kodaa-si? *in = pir-a*
 work-DEF.M/F 1 = finish-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will finish the work.’
- (82b) ammukni
an = muk-n-i
 1NEG = sleep-NEG-PF
 ‘I did not sleep.’
- (83a) illella
in = lel-n-a
 1 = tell-1PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘We will tell.’
- (83b) illaa66ini
in = laa66-n-i
 1 = cross.over-1PL-PF
 ‘We crossed over.’
- (84a) irroopni
in = roop-n-i
 3NEG-rain-NEG-PF
 ‘It did not rain.’
- (84b) irrakkay
in = rakk-ay
 1 = hung.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘I hung (it).’
- (85a) poɕollootasi? ʔiwwaanni
poɕolloota-si? *in = waat-n-i*
 maize-DEF.M/F 1 = roast-1PL-PF
 ‘We roasted the maize.’

- (85b) *kappaasi?* *ʔiyyooGʔay*
kappaa-si? *in = yooGʔ-ay*
 wheat-DEF.M/F 1 = grind-PF[3M]
 ‘I ground the wheat.’
- (86a) *inʔfurʔu*
in = fur-t-u
 3NEG = untie-3F-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘She will not untie.’
- (86b) *tikupa inʔkala*
tika-opa in = kal-a
 house-to 1 = return.home-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will go home.’
- (86c) *ʔampirteetasi?* *ʔinʔʔaptay*
ʔampirteeta-si? *in = ʔapt-ay*
 bird-DEF.M/F 1 = throw-PF
 ‘I threw the bird.’

2.8.6. Assimilation of a glottal stop in encliticisation

The glottal stop that marks a certain grammatical function or is a final consonant of certain suffixes or words assimilates completely in place of articulation as well as manner of articulation to a following consonant. Below, I provide an exhaustive list of the suffixes or words in which the glottal stop occurs in final position.

The glottal stop that marks nominative case assimilates completely to the initial consonant of a following word as shown in (87).

- (87a) *inuʔ diluppan anni*
inu-ʔ dila-oppa = in an-n-i
 1PL.PRO-NOM field-in = 1 go-1PL-PF
 ‘We went into the field.’
- (87b) *iʔat tikaayye iʔa*
iʔa-ʔ tika-ayye i = kiy-a
 3SGM.PRO-NOM house-LOC 3 = be-IPF.FUT
 ‘He is at home.’

The suffixes that mark definiteness in Konso have a final glottal stop. This glottal stop assimilates completely to the initial consonant of a following constituent as shown in (88). For the details on definite reference, see Section 4.7.

- (88a) **attif faʒaasinip pirtj**
atti-ʔ *faʒaa-siniʔ* *iʔ=pir-t-i*
 2SG.PRO-NOM local.beer-DEF.P 2 = finish-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) finished (drinking) the local beer.’

- (88b) **antit tomasik kutta injaʒay**
anti-ʔ *toma-siʔ* *kutt-a*
 1SG.PRO-NOM bowl-DEF.M/F be.big-M/F
- in=faʒ-ay*
 1 = wash-PF[3M]
 ‘I washed the big bowl.’

The glottal stop that is the final consonant of the plural gender agreement marker *-aaʔ* in attributive adjectives also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent. For example, the singular object noun *filaasiniʔ* ‘the comb’ in (89a) and the plural object noun *ʔokkayyaasiniʔ* ‘the cows’ (89b) have a plural gender value marked by *-aaʔ*. In these examples, we can see that the glottal stop assimilates completely to the initial consonant /p/ of the word *patta* ‘only’ (89a) and /l/ of the word *lakki* ‘two’ (89b).

- (89a) **filaasinik kuttaap pattan akkay**
filaa-siniʔ *kutt-aaʔ* *patta=in* *akk-ay*
 comb-DEF.P be.big-P only = 1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw only the big comb.’
- (89b) **okkayyaasinik kukuttaal lakkin akkay**
okkayaa-siniʔ *ku-kutt-aaʔ* *lakki=in* *akk-ay*
 cows-DEF.P PL-be.big-P two = 1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the two big cows.’

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the plural gender agreement marker *-eeʔ* in relative clauses also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent. In example (90a), we have the singular object noun *inantasiʔ* ‘the girl’ which has a singular gender value; in example (90b) and (90c) we have the singular object noun *innaasiniʔ* ‘the child’ and the plural object noun *kaharraasiniʔ* ‘the sheep’, respectively. These nouns have a plural gender value marked by suffix *-eeʔ*. See 4.1 on plural *gender* agreement which may include numerically singular nouns.

- (90a) **inantasit tikupa deʔti pattan akkay**
inanta-siʔ *tika-opa* *dey-t-i* *patta=in*
 girl-DEF.M/F house-to come-3F-PF only = 1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw only the girl who came home.'

- (90b) *innaasinit tikupa d̥eyayeep pattan akkay*
innaa-sini? tika-opa d̥ey-ay-ee? patta = in
child-DEF.P house-to come-PF[3M]-P only = 1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw only the child who came home.'

- (90c) *kaharraasinik kakkatamayeeep pattan akkay*
kaharraa-sini? kak-kat-am-ay-ee? patta = in
sheep-DEF.P PL-sell-PAS-PF[3M]-P only = 1

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]
'I saw only the sheep that were sold.'

The glottal stop that is the final consonant of the third person possessive suffixes (-ayfu? and -ssu?) also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent as demonstrated in (91). For details see Section 5.3.

- (91a) *okkattaayfux̣ χala it^way*
okkatta-ayfu? χala i = to?ay
cow-3PL.POSS.M/F yesterday 3 = die[SG]-PF[3M]
'Their cow died yesterday.'

- (91b) *okkayyaassux̣ χala ileyin*
okkayaa-ssu? χala i = ley-i-n
cows-3PL.POSS.P yesterday 3 = die[PL]-PF-P
'Their cows died yesterday.'

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the demonstrative suffixes -asi?/-oosi?/-oosini? also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent as shown in (92).

- (92a) *kahartaasip piʃaasini? ʔiʔikti*
kaharta-asi? piʃaa-sini? i = ʔik-t-i
ewe-DEM.M/F water-DEF.P 3 = drink-3F-PF
'This ewe drank the water.'

- (92b) *kaharoosinip piʃaasini? ʔiʔikɨn*
kaharraa-osi? piʃaa-sini? i = ʔik-i-n
 sheep-DEM.P water-DEF.P 3 = drink-PF-P
 ‘These sheep drank the water.’

The glottal stop that marks the locative case also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following word as shown in (93).

- (93a) *dakaasik kirra kapax ʃaayi*
dakaa-si? kirra kapa-ʔ ʃaay-i
 stone-DEF.M/F river near-LOC put-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Put the stone near the river!’

- (93b) *antis silpootasi? ʔintikaʔ diifay*
anti-ʔ silpoota-si? in = tika-ʔ
 1SG.PRO-NOM hoe-DEF.M/F 1 = house-LOC

diif-ay
 leave-PF[3M]
 ‘I left the hoe at home.’

The glottal stop that marks the genitive case also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following word (94).

- (94) *antit taamta ʒoyram muriya inheena*
anti-ʔ taamta a ʒoyra-ʔ
 1SG.PRO-NOM branch GEN tree-GEN

mur-ya in = heen-a
 cut-VN 1 = want-IPF.FUT
 ‘I want to cut a branch of a tree.’

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the words *ifuʔ* ‘and’, *iniʔ* ‘this one’, *sedifʔ* ‘this’ and *seniʔ* ‘these’ also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent, as illustrated in (95).

- (95a) *ana ifuk Kappooli indeʔni*
ana ʔifuʔ Kappooli in = dey-n-i
 1SG.PRO.ACC and Kappooli 1 = come-1PL-PF
 ‘I and Kappoole came.’

- (95b) *init tikaawu*
iniʔ tika-awu
 this house-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘This is my house.’

(95c) *sedim maana*
sedɪ? maana
 this what
 ‘What is this?’

(95d) *senid dillaayyu*
seni? dillaa-yyu
 these fields-1SG.POSS.P
 ‘These are my fields.’

2.8.7. Vowel coalescence

There are two instances of vowel coalescence that I have discovered. Neither instance occurs with other morphemes, but both only involve the postpositions *opa* ‘to’ and *oppa* ‘in’. The first instance involves the combination of adverbials with a final /e/ (e.g., *parre* ‘tomorrow’, *partaane* ‘after tomorrow’) and the postposition *opa* ‘to, towards’. When the words are combined, the glottal stop of the postposition is elided, resulting in the sequence /eo/. Since diphthongs are not allowed, the sequence /eo/ becomes /i/ as demonstrated in (96). The combination of such adverbials and the postposition *opa* requires such verbs as *muk-* ‘to sleep’, *ɣaay-* ‘to put, lay’, *tuukk-* ‘to push.SG’ to indicate a postponement of an appointment.

(96a) *kodoosip parripa mukinna*
kodaa-oosi-? parre-opa muk-f-n-a
 work-DEM.M/F tomorrow-to sleep-CAUS-1PL-OPT
 ‘Let’s postpone the work until tomorrow.’

(96b) *antoosip partaanipa tuukkina*
antoosi? partaane-opa
 after tomorrow-to
 ‘for the day after tomorrow’

We do not get vowel coalescence when the postposition *opa* occurs with the adverbs *aye* ‘here’ and *awwi* ‘today’. We rather get *aypa* ‘here (lit. to here)’, and *awwipa* ‘for today’, respectively.

The second instance involves the postposition *oppa* ‘in’ or *opa* ‘to, towards’ when it is attached to singulative nouns that have a final short vowel *a*. In this case, the sequence /ao/ of the final vowel of the noun and the initial vowel of the postposition produces the vowel /u/. In (97a) the vowel coalescence involves the postposition *opa* whereas (97b) shows coalescence involving the postposition *oppa*.

- (97a) *hemittaasip paraannupa tuukka*
hemitta-asi? *paraanna-opa* *tuukk-n-a*
 marriage-DEM.M/F next.year-to push.SG-1PL-OPT
 ‘Let’s postpone this wedding until next year.’
- (97b) *inud diluppan annj*
inu-? *dila-oppa = in* *an-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM field-in = 1 go-1PL-PF
 ‘We went into the field.’

Furthermore, when the postpositions *kapa* ‘beside, near’ and *opa* ‘to’ are combined, we get *kapupa* ‘to’ as in (98a). The combination of the postpositions also yields *kawpa* in fast speech by eliding the first *p* of *kapupa* and changing /u/ to /w/ to avoid the vowel sequence /au/ as in (98b).

- (98a) *ana kapupa xooyi*
ana *kapa-opa* *xooy-i*
 1SG.PRO.ACC near-to come-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Come to me!’
- (98b) *ana kawpa xooyi*
ana *kapa-opa* *xooy-i*
 1SG.PRO.ACC near-to come-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Come to me!’

2.8.8. Haplology

The suffix *-ay*, which marks perfective aspect for third person singular masculine, is optionally elided when it is attached to a verb root that has a final *ay*. The sequence of *ay-ay* is reduced to one *ay*. Verb roots with a final *ayy* or *aay* or *aayy* do not qualify for haplology. In (99a), I provide illustrative verb roots with the final *ay*; in (99b), verb roots which end in *aay*, *ayy* and *aayy* are given for comparison.

- (99a) *kay-* ‘to reach, arrive’
tay- ‘to leave, desert’
d̥ay- ‘to hit’
d̥akay- ‘to hear’
- (99b) *xaay-* ‘to put’
kayy- ‘to jump and touch’
paayy- ‘to start’

The following are illustrative sentential examples. The examples in (100a-b) occur with the reduced *-ay* while the equivalent examples in (100c-d) occur with the full verb root plus the 3M perfective suffix *-ay*.

- (100a) *if*at tikuppa ikay
ifa-ʔ *tika-oppa* *i=kay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM house-in 3 = reach.PF[3M]
 ‘He arrived at home.’
- (100b) antiʔ ʔotootasiʔ ʔindakay
anti-ʔ *otoota-siʔ* *in = dakay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM news-DEF.M/F 1 = hear.PF[3M]
 ‘I heard the news.’
- (100c) *if*at tikuppa ikayay
ifa-ʔ *tika-oppa* *i=kay-ay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM house-in 3 = reach-PF[3M]
 ‘He arrived at home.’
- (100d) antiʔ ʔotootasiʔ ʔindakayay
anti-ʔ *otoota-siʔ* *in = dakay-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM news-DEF.M/F 1 = hear-PF[3M]
 ‘I heard the news.’

The sentential example in (101a) has the verb root *kayy-* ‘to jump and touch’. It ends in *ayy* and has the third person masculine perfective suffix *-ay*. And as mentioned above, such verb roots do not allow the reduction of the perfective *-ay* suffix as shown in (101b).

- (101a) Kappoolit taamtasiʔ ʔikayyay *i=kayy-ay*
Kappooli-ʔ *taamta-siʔ* 3 = jump.and.touch-PF[3M]
 kappoole-NOM branch-DEF.M/F
 ‘Kappoole jumped and touched the branch.’
- (101b) *kappoolit taamtasiʔ ʔikayy
kappooli-ʔ *taamta-siʔ* *i=kayy*
 kappoole-NOM branch-DEF.M/F 3 = jump.and.touch
 (intended: ‘Kappoole jumped and touched the branch.’)

2.9. Tone

Konso has low and high tone levels which do not have a lexical role, but rather a grammatical role. In this work, only high tone is marked with an acute stroke (´). Despite my countless efforts, and the many efforts I made with colleagues like Constance Kutsch Lojenga and Anne-Christie Hellenthal, the full account

of tone (or maybe pitch-accent) of the language still remains ill understood. The grammatical roles of tone that I am able to identify include making a distinction between the nominative and the accusative (cleft construction) and indicating contrasts in person-marking between some affirmative and negative paradigms.

The tonal distinction between nominative and accusative case is that a noun in the nominative has a low tone as in (102a) while the same noun has a high tone in the accusative case as in (102b). The sentence in (102b) is a cleft construction (details appear in Section 3.5).

- (102a) *oraaytaa kuta ɕaniinay*
oraayta=i kuta ɕaniin-ay
 hyena = 3 dog bite-PF[3M]
 ‘A hyena bit a dog.’

- (102b) *oraaytaá kuta ɕaniinay*
oraayta=í kuta ɕaniin-ay
 hyena = 3.ACC dog bite-PF[3M]
 ‘It is a dog that bit a hyena.’

Another grammatical role that tone plays is that it distinguishes first person singular present imperfective (103a) from third person perfective negative, as in (103b). It also distinguishes first person singular in the present imperfective (103a repeated as 104a) from first person plural in the perfective as in (104b). In this case, the final vowel of the sentence with the first person singular carries a low tone whereas the third person or first person plural has a high tone as illustrated in (103). The distinction between the first person plural and the third person negative is made only on the basis of a discourse context.

- (103a) *inanni*
in = an-ni
 1 = go-IPF.PRES
 ‘I go/I am going.’

- (103b) *in = an-n-í*
 3NEG = go-NEG-PF
 ‘He/She/They did not go.’

- (104a) *inanni*
in = an-ni
 1 = go-IPF.PRES
 ‘I go/I am going.’

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(104b) in = an-n-í
1 = go-1PL-PF
'We went.'

3. Simple sentences

This chapter describes the basic structure of simple sentences. It presents simple verbal sentences, adjectival sentences, subject clitics, nominal sentences and cleft sentences.

3.1. Verbal simple sentences

Verbal simple affirmative declarative sentences may contain overt subjects, verb roots with (affirmative or negative) subject clitics and inflectional suffixes. There is no marking to show that a sentence is declarative. They are only characterised by a sentence-final falling intonation (Ongaye 2000). The basic word order in simple sentences is SOV. This is shown in (1):

- (1a) *atti*χ *χarfa* *iddammi*
atti-? *χarfa* *i?*=*dām-ni*
2SG.PRO-NOMbeans 2 = eat-IPF.PRES
'You (SG) eat beans.'
- (1b) *antik* *kulleetasi?* *ʔincfeeda*
anti-? *kulleeta-si?* *in = cfeed-a*
1SG.PRO-NOMhood-DEF.M/F 1 = take-IPF.FUT
'I will take the hood.'

As is apparent in the above examples, (1a) contains the overt subject *ʔatti* 'you (SG)', the overt object *χarfa* 'beans', the second person subject clitic *i?*=, the verb root *dām-* 'eat', and the aspect marker *-ni*. Similarly, (1b) contains the overt subject *anti* 'I', the overt object *kulleetasi?* 'the hood', the first person subject clitic *in*=, the verb root *cfeed-* 'take' and the imperfective future aspect marker *-a* on the verb.

Overt subjects, such as *anti* 'I' and *atti* 'you (SG)' in (1) can be optionally left out because they are understood from the type of the subject clitics and the gender agreement markers on the verb. For instance, example (2a) and (2b) are such versions of the example in (1a) and (1b), respectively.

- (2a) *χarfa* *iddammi*
χarfa *i?*=*dām-ni*
beans 2 = eat-IPF.PRES
'You (SG) eat beans.'
- (2b) *kulleeta-si?* *in = cfeed-a*
hood-DEF.M/F 1 = take-IPF.FUT
'I will take the hood.'

A simple verbal sentence with transitive verb roots may also occur with covert subjects and objects. As mentioned earlier, covert subjects are understood from the type of subject clitics and the gender agreement markers on the verb. For covert objects, there are no such clues. They are understood only from an earlier mention in a discourse. For instance, if we omit the subject and object of the examples in (1), we get the sentences in (3):

(3a) **iddammi**
iʔ =dam-ni
 2 = eat-IPF.PRES
 ‘You (SG) eat (it).’

(3b) **in =ceed-a**
 1 = take-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will take (it).’

In the literature on Konso, various terms have been used for subject clitics: preverbals (Black 1973; Ongaye 2000, 2004), person indices (Sim 1977, Daudey & Hellenthal 2004). In this work, I choose the term “subject clitics” because they are clitics and always indicate the person value of the subject.

Most sentences contain one subject clitic. The position of subject clitics in the sentences is mainly with the verb of the sentence. However, they can be procliticised or encliticised to other constituents of a sentence, as we shall see below. The subject clitics do not distinguish gender or number; they only distinguish person. Gender (and person/number) is marked by the inflectional suffix on the verb. Without an overt subject, it is only the subject clitics that distinguish between second person singular and third person singular feminine, which have the same verb form, as shown below.

(4a) **iʔʔanti**
iʔ =an-t-i
 2 = go-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) went.’

(4b) **iʔanti**
i =an-t-i
 3 = go-3F-PF
 ‘She went.’

We identify different forms of affirmative and negative subject clitics for various persons depending on the sentence/clause type. The following table presents these forms.

Sentence/Clause type	Affirmative			Negative		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Verbal/Adjectival	in =	iʔ =	i =	an =	aʔ =	in =
Nominal	an =	aʔ =	-	-	-	-
Optative/Imperative	-	-	-	-	in =	in =

Table 1: Forms of subject clitics

With explicit subject and object, the subject clitics may occur in any of the following four positions: as a proclitic to the verb as in (5a), as an enclitic to the object as in (5b), as a proclitic to the object as in (5c), or as an enclitic to the subject as in (5d).

- (5a) **inuk kuufa inhaaʔni**
inu-ʔ *kuufa* *in = haac-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM cow.dung.pile 1 = carry-1PL-PF
 ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’
- (5b) **inuk kuufan haaʔni**
inu-ʔ *kuufa = in* *haac-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM cow.dung.pile = 1 carry-1PL-PF
 ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’
- (5c) **inuʔ ʔinkuufa haaʔni**
inu-ʔ *in = kuufa* *haac-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM 1 = cow.dung.pile carry-1PL-PF
 ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’
- (5d) **inun kuufa haaʔni**
inu = in *kuufa* *haac-n-i*
 1PL.PRO = 1 cow.dung.pile carry-1PL-PF
 ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’

In the following examples, the subjects are implicit and the subject clitics are negative.

- (6a) **akkaltu**
aʔ = kal-t-u
 2NEG = return.home-2-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) will not go home.’
- (6b) **ʔarfasiʔ ʔandammi**
ʔarfsa-siʔ *ʔan = dam-n-i*
 beans-DEF.M/F 1NEG = eat-NEG-PF
 ‘I did not eat the beans.’

- (6c) *ɣarʃasiʔ ʔindammi*
ɣarʃa-siʔ *in = dām-n-i*
 beans-DEF.M/F 3NEG = eat-NEG-PF
 ‘He/She/They did not eat the beans.’
- (6d) *aʔʔanni akkittu*
aʔ = ʔan-ni *aʔ = kit-t-u*
 2NEG = go-IPF 2NEG = be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) do not go.’

3.2. Adjectival sentences

Adjectives differ from verbs in that both number and gender are marked on the former (see 4.1.4). Adjectives are like verbs with regard to hosting subject clitics. Like the independent verbal sentences, affirmative adjectival sentences occur with the same subject clitics: *in=* for first person, *iʔ=* for second person, and *i=* for third person. Singular subjects are not marked but plural subjects are marked by reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$. Adjectival sentences, like nominal sentences (see 3.4), have no copula. Both nominal and adjectival sentences have subject clitics, but these differ in form. Moreover, adjectival sentences may occur with overt or covert subjects. For example, the example in (7a) has the overt subject *inantasiʔ* ‘the girl’ and the one in (7b) has *hellaasiniʔ* ‘the children’. The adjectival root in both examples is *d̥er* ‘be tall’.

- (7a) *inantasiʔ ʔideri*
inanta-siʔ *i = d̥er-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = be.tall-PF
 ‘The girl is tall.’
- (7b) *hellaasiniʔ ʔid̥ed̥deri*
hella-siniʔ *i = d̥ed̥-d̥er-i*
 children-DEF.P 3 = PL-be.tall-PF
 ‘The children are tall.’

First person plural and second person plural take the suffixes *-nna* and *-ttan*, respectively, in addition to reduplication on the adjectival roots as shown in (8).

- (8a) *inuʔ ʔind̥ed̥derinna*
inu-ʔ *in = d̥ed̥-d̥er-i-nna*
 1PL.PRO-NOM 1 = PL-be.tall-PF-1PL
 ‘We are tall.’

- (8b) *ifina?* *ʔideddferittan*
ifina-ʔ *i = dɛd-dɛr-i-ttan*
 2PL.PRO-NOM 3 = PL-be.tall-PF-2PL
 ‘You (PL) are tall.’

Adjectival sentences may occur without an overt subject. We can show this by omitting the overt subjects *inantasi?* ‘the girl’ and *hellaasini?* ‘the children’ in the above examples. With the absence of an overt subject we only know the number of the implicit subject from reduplication and also from the suffixes *-nna* and *-ttan* for first person and second person plural. Examples:

- (9a) *i = dɛr-i*
 3 = be.tall-PF
 ‘She/He/It is tall.’
- (9b) *i = dɛd-dɛr-i*
 3 = PL-be.tall-PF
 ‘They are tall.’
- (9c) *in = dɛd-dɛr-i-nna*
 1 = PL-be.tall-PF-1PL
 ‘We are tall.’

Negation in adjectives is marked by negative subject clitics as well as by negative suffixes on the verb ‘be, exist’.

- (10a) *andereen co*
an = dɛr-i = an *kiy-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF = 1NEG be-NEG
 ‘I am not tall.’
- (10b) *dɛrin kittu*
dɛr-i = in *kit-t-u*
 be.tall-PF = 3NEG be-3F-NEG
 ‘She is not tall.’

Negative adjectival sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates differ from adjectival affirmative sentences in the following ways:

- They require the existential verb *kit-* ‘to be, exist’ in addition to the adjectival predicate;
- Except third persons, the other persons do attach negative subject clitics on the adjectival predicates;
- All persons have negative subject clitics on the verb ‘be, exist’;
- Except for second person plural and third person plural, negation is also marked on the verb *kit-* ‘to be, exist’.

The following are illustrative examples of negative adjectival sentences.

- (11a) **anderi anco**
an = d̥er-i *an = kiy-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF 1NEG = be-NEG
 ‘I am not tall.’
- (11b) **addedd̥feri akkittan**
aʔ = d̥ed̥-d̥er-i *aʔ = kit-t-a-n*
 2NEG = PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG = be-2-PF-P
 ‘You are not tall.’

The negative subject clitics of the verb *kit-* ‘to be, exist’ mainly occur as enclitics with the adjectival predicate. This leftward movement omits the glottal stop for all persons. This in turn causes vowel coalescence for first and second persons: *i + a = ee*. For third persons, the vowel *i* is elided, and negation is marked only by the suffix *-n*. Below I provide some illustrative examples.

- (12a) **andereen co**
an = d̥er-i = an *kiy-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF = 1NEG be-NEG
 ‘I am not tall.’
- (12b) **addereek kittu**
aʔ = d̥er-i = aʔ *kit-t-u*
 2NEG = be.tall-PF = 2NEG be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) are not tall.’
- (12c) **d̥ed̥ferin can**
d̥ed̥-d̥er-i = in *kiy-a-n*
 PL-be.tall-PF = 3NEG be-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘They are not tall.’

The position of subject clitics is restricted in content questions and conditional clauses when the conditional conjunctions are not expanded with the suffix *-n*, for which I could not find the grammatical function or semantic content (but see 12.2.1 for details on conditional conjunctions). In content questions, subject clitics are attached only to the content-question word as shown in (13). The examples in (14) are unacceptable because the subject clitics have moved to the verbs.

- (13a) **maanan iʃad d̥aaʃa**
maana = in *iʃa-ʔ* *d̥aaʃ-a*
 what = I him-DAT give-IPF.FUT
 ‘What shall I give him?’

- (13b) *ayjaak kitta*
ayfaa = iʔ kit-t-a
 where = 2 be-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘Where are you?’
- (14a) **maana ifaʔ ʔindaafa*
maana ifa-ʔ in = daaf-a
 what him-DAT 1 = give-IPF.FUT
 (intended: ‘What shall I give him?’)
- (14b) **ayfaa iʔ = kit-t-a*
 where 2 = be-2-IPF.FUT
 (intended: ‘Where are you?’)

The position of subject clitics is also restricted in conditional clauses that contain conjunctions that are not expanded with suffix *-n*. For instance, in (15), we have the unexpanded conditional conjunction *kandɛ* ‘if’. Accordingly, the subject clitic must occur with this conjunction. This is shown in (15a) where the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction *kandɛ*. The example in (15b) is unacceptable because the first person subject clitic has moved from the conditional conjunction *kandɛ* to the verb root.

- (15a) *kandɛn urmalaapa aanay lahan pidɔfa*
kandɛ = in urmala-a-ɔpa an-ay laha = in
 if = 1 market-to go-PF[3M] ram = 1

pidɔf-a
 buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I went to the market, I would buy a ram.’
- (15b) **kandɛ urmalaapa inaanay, lahan pidɔfa*
kandɛ ʔurmala-a-ɔpa in = an-ay,
 if market-to 1 = go-PF[3M]

laha = in pidɔf-a
 ram = 1 buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
 (intended: ‘If I went to the market, I would buy a ram.’)

Subject clitics are also restricted in their position of occurrence when the adverb *amma* ‘now’ follows the discourse marker *asu* ‘just’. The adverb *amma* ‘now’ has an inherent emphasis and as a result only hosts subject clitics when followed by *asu* ‘just’ as in (16a). The example in (16b) is unacceptable because the subject clitic has moved from the adverb to the verb.

- (16a) **amma asu kodaasid dikkiɣay**
amma = in asu kodaasi? dikkiɣ-ay
 now = 1 just work-DEF.M/F finish-PF[3M]
 ‘I have just finished the work.’
- (16b) ***amma asu kodaasi? ɣindikkiɣay**
amma asu kodaasi? in = dikkiɣ-ay
 now just work-DEF.M/F 1 = finish-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘I have just finished the work.’)

So far, I have discussed about the presence of subject clitics in sentences. Now, I return to presenting cases where subject clitics are absent. Subject clitics are absent in affirmative imperatives and optative sentences. They are also absent in cleft sentences. Since various sections are dedicated to each of these sentence types in this work, here, I only provide illustrative examples to show that subject clitics are absent in these sentence/clause types.

The examples in (17) illustrate imperatives (see imperatives in 6.4.1). They, however, differ in the presence or absence of subject clitics. The example in (17a) does not have a subject clitic because it is an affirmative imperative. In contrast, the example in (17b) has a subject clitic because it is a negative imperative. Notice that the form of the negative subject clitic of the negative imperative is identical to that of the first person affirmative subject clitic in affirmative verbal sentences.

- (17a) **alleesip poota**
alleeta-si? poot-a
 hut-DEF.M/F demolish-IMP.PL
 ‘(You (PL)) Demolish this hut!’
- (17b) **alleesi? ɣimpootan**
alleeta-si? in = poot-a-n
 hut-DEF.M/F 2NEG = demolish-IMP.PL-NEG
 ‘(You (PL)) Do not demolish this hut!’

Optative sentences are illustrated in (18) (see also Section 6.4.2). The affirmative optative in (18a) does not have subject clitics whereas the negative optative in (18b) has a subject clitic. Again, notice that the form of the negative subject clitic of the negative optative is identical to that of the first person affirmative subject clitic in affirmative verbal sentences.

- (18a) **a kal-u**
 REL return.home-OPT
 ‘Let him return home.’

- (18b) **in = kal-i-n**
 3NEG = return.home-OPT-NEG
 ‘Let him not return home.’

In non-cleft verbal sentences, the subject pronoun has a nominative suffix, and the verb has the subject clitic, gender suffix and aspect marker as in (19a). On the other hand, in cleft sentences, the subject occurs in the form of an accusative pronoun followed by a cleft sentence marker. Moreover, the verb has no subject clitic and gender/person marker. It only has the verb root and invariable aspect marker as shown in (19b-c).

- (19a) **ifeenna? ?ikalti**
ifeenna-? *i = kal-t-i*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM return.home-3F-PF
 ‘She returned home.’
- (19b) **ifeenna-á kal-ay**
 3SGF.PRO[ACC]-CLF return.home-PF[3M]
 ‘It’s her who returned home.’
- (19c) **ke-é kal-ay**
 2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF return.home-PF
 ‘It’s you (SG) who returned home.’

In the preceding sections, I have presented the forms of affirmative as well as negative subject clitics in various sentence/clause types. In these sentence/clause types, subject clitics are flexible with regard to their placement in most verbal sentences. This flexibility in the placement of the subject clitics renders subtle differences in meaning. Further research should be done in order to understand these differences. It seems that the explanation lies in information structure.

Content question words host subject clitics as in (20a) (see also Section 10.3). The example in (20b) is ungrammatical because the subject clitic has moved from the content question word.

- (20a) **anti? ?aynun χonsupa erka**
anti-? *aynu = in* *χonso-opa* *erk-a*
 1SG.PRO-NOM who = 1 Konso-to send-IPF.FUT
 ‘Whom shall I send to Konso?’
- (20b) ***anti? ?aynu χonsupa inerka**
anti-? *aynu χonso-opa* *in = erk-a*
 1SG.PRO-NOM who Konso-to 1 = send-IPF.FUT
 (intended: ‘Whom shall I send to Konso?’)

Inherent emphasis can be obtained from the adverb **amma** ‘now’ when followed by **asu** ‘just’ as in (21).

- (21) *anti?* *ʔamma* *asu* *kodaasid* *dikkifay*
anti-ʔ *amma=in* *asu* *kodaa-si?*
 1SG.PRO-NOM now = 1 just work-DEF.M/F
- dikkif-ay*
 finish-PF[3M]
 ‘I have just finished the work now.’

3.3. Nominal sentences

A citation form of a noun serves as a base for a nominal sentence for third person singular as in (22a). When the first person singular or second person singular is the subject of such nominal sentences, the nouns occur with subject clitics as in (22b-c). The forms of the subject clitics are: **an=** and **aʔ=** for first person and second person, respectively. Notice that the forms of the nominal subject clitics for first and second persons are identical to the negative subject clitics of the verbal sentences. For first and second person plurals, however, overt pronouns are mandatory in addition to the subject clitics, as illustrated in (22d-e).

- (22a) *χorma*
 ‘(a) bull’ or ‘It is a bull.’
- (22b) *an=χorma*
 1 = bull
 ‘I am a bull (i.e. I am brave.)’
- (22c) *aχχorma*
aʔ=χorma
 2 = bull
 ‘You (SG) are a bull (i.e. You are brave.)’
- (22d) *inu?* *ʔanχormadaa*
inu-ʔ *an=χormadaa*
 1PL.PRO-NOM 1 = bulls
 ‘We are bulls (i.e. We are brave.)’
- (22e) *ifina?* *ʔaχχormadaa*
ifina-ʔ *aʔ=χormadaa*
 2PL.PRO-NOM 2 = bulls
 ‘You (PL) are bulls (i.e. You (PL) are brave).’

Derived nominals such as the agentive also form nominal sentences. Such nominal sentences occur with subject clitics for first and second persons. Examples:

- (23a) **an = akim-itta**
 1 = treat-AGENT.M
 ‘I am a physician.’
- (23b) **aʔ = akim-itteeta**
 2 = treat-AGENT.F
 ‘You (SG.F) are a physician.’
- (23c) **akim-iyyaa**
 treat-AGENT.PL
 ‘They are physicians.’

Nominal sentences do not have negative subject clitics. Rather they have a negative nominal suffix **-n(nin)**.

- (24a) **ifaχ χormannin**
ifa-ʔ *χorma-nnin*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM bull-NEG
 ‘He is not a bull (i.e. He is not brave).’
- (24b) **ifinaʔ ʔaʔʔoraayaannin**
ifina-ʔ *aʔ = oraayaa-nnin*
 2PL.PRO-NOM 2 = hyenas-NEG
 ‘You (PL) are not hyenas (i.e. You are not greedy).’

3.4. Cleft sentences

As mentioned in the preceding section, cleft sentences do not take subject clitics. Furthermore, they are characterised by not having gender markers on the verb. The forms of the aspect markers do not vary. In cleft sentences, all nouns with short final vowels lengthen the final vowel. When personal pronouns are used, they occur in the object form.

Below, I provide paradigms to show the above characteristics of cleft sentences, using the verb root **dam-** ‘eat’. Interlinear glossing and translation are given for the first person singular in each of the paradigm.

- (25a) **anaa dammi**
ana-a *dam-ni*
 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF eat-IPF.PRES
 ‘It is me who eats (it).’

inoo dammi	‘It is us who eat (it).’
kee dammi	‘It is you (SG) who eat (it).’
ifinaa dammi	‘It is you (PL) who eat (it).’
ifeennaa dammi	‘It is her who eats (it).’
ifaa dammi	‘It is him who eats (it).’
ifoonnaa dammi	‘It is them who eat (it).’

(25b) anaa damay	
ana-a	dām-ay
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	eat-PF[3M]
‘It is me who ate (it).’	

inoo dammay	‘It is us who eat (it).’
kee damay	‘It is you (SG) who ate (it).’
ifinaa dammay	‘It is you (PL) who ate (it).’
ifeennaa damay	‘It is her who ate (it).’
ifaa damay	‘It is him who ate (it).’
ifoonnaa damay	‘It is them who ate (it).’

(25c) anaa dama	
ana-a	dām-a
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	eat-IPF.FUT
‘It is me who will eat (it).’	

inoo dama	‘It is us who will eat (it).’
kee dama	‘It is you (SG) who will eat (it).’
ifinaa dama	‘It is you (PL) who will eat (it).’
ifeennaa dama	‘It is her who will eat (it).’
ifaa dama	‘It is him who will eat (it).’
ifoonnaa dama	‘It is them who will eat (it).’

With transitive verbs, the object is marked with a high tone (see also 4.12.1 for nominative-accusative case distinction).

(26a) ana-a	karmaá	iff-a
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	lion	kill[SG]-IPF.FUT
‘It is me who will kill a lion.’		

(26b) ke-e	keraá	Ɔap-a
2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF	thief	catch-IPF.FUT
‘It is you (SG) who will catch a thief.’		

Verbless cleft sentences are marked by the suffix **-Vn** as shown in the following illustrative examples:

- (27a) **ineen** **Goyraawu**
ini-en *Goyra-awu*
 this-CLF tree-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘It’s this one which is my tree.’
- (27b) **ifeema-án** **akimi-tteeta**
 3SGF.PRO[ACC]-CLF treat-F
 ‘It’s her who is a physician.’
- (27c) **helloosineen kere?ta**
hella-oosini?-en *kere?ta*
 children-DEM.P-CLF thieves
 ‘It’s these children who are thieves.’

4. Nouns

This chapter is about nominal morphology. Here, I describe gender, number, plurality in adjectives, semantic gender distinction, diminutive, indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes and definite reference. I also deal with demonstrative suffixes, numerals, nominal derivation, case and compounding.

4.1. Gender

4.1.1. Gender of nouns

There are three interacting notions with regard to gender in nouns. First, we have the notion of plural gender versus non-plural (masculine and feminine) gender; secondly, we have the notion of semantic plurality; and thirdly, pluralive versus singulative. The distinction plural gender versus non-plural masculine and feminine gender is based on the concord between a noun in the subject function and the verb of the same sentence. As will be shown later, the distinction of gender agreement markers on the verb is realised only when nouns serve as non-focused subjects. With regard to semantic plurality, we see that plural gender does imply semantic plurality in some cases but not in all, and that the non-plural genders can have plural interpretations. To avoid the confusion that might arise from the use of terms, I use the term ‘plural’ in the context of agreement on the verb whether the subject is numerically single or multiple. I also use the terms “singulative” and “pluralive” for derived forms of nouns, and “base” for the form on which the derivation (singulative or pluralive) is based. Moreover, I use the terms “single” and (following Hayward (1981)) “multiple” for the number values of nouns, and the terms, “masculine”, “feminine” and “plural” for the values of gender.

Like other Cushitic languages, Konso shows gender, not number, agreement in the subject inflection on the verb. And gender has the values M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural), as is not uncommon for Cushitic languages. The third value for gender agreement is P(lural) because that is the ending on the verb. I use the abbreviation M/F in those gender agreement markers that do not distinguish between M and F. The head noun may be either M or F.

Thus, according to gender agreement on the verb, we have nouns that trigger the same agreement as the third person male subject (marked by the suffix -ay), those that trigger the same agreement as the third person female subject (marked by suffix -t) and those that trigger the same agreement as the third person plural subject (marked by the suffix -n).

Most nouns which are semantically specified for sex as female trigger the third person feminine gender agreement marker -t on the verb as shown in (1):

- (1a) **inantasi? ?ide?ti**
inanta-si? *i = dɛy-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = come-3F-PF
 ‘The girl came.’
- (1b) **talteetasi? ?ipi?ti**
talteeta-si? *i = pi?-t-i*
 she-goat-DEF.M/F 3 = fall-3F-PF
 ‘The she-goat fell.’

Certain nouns that are semantically female have masculine gender agreement. Her is an example:

- (2a) **okkattasi? ?ipi?ay**
okkatta-si? *i = pi?-ay*
 cow-DEF.M/F 3 = fall-PF[3M]
 ‘The cow fell.’
- (2b) **arpasi? ?idalay**
arpa-si? *i = dɔl-ay*
 elephant-DEF.M/F 3 = give.birth-PF[3M]
 ‘The elephant gave birth.’

Nouns that are semantically specified for sex as male trigger third person masculine gender agreement on the verb as in (3).

- (3a) **χormasi? ?ipatay**
χorma-si? *i = pat-ay*
 ox-DEF.M/F 3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
 ‘The ox got lost.’
- (3b) **hamiyaasi? ?ideyay**
hamiyaa-si? *i = dɛy-ay*
 boy-DEF.M/F 3 = come-PF[3M]
 ‘The boy came.’
- (3c) **lahai? ?ipatay**
laha-si? *i = pat-ay*
 ram-DEF.M/F 3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
 ‘The ram got lost.’

All nouns with plural suffixes have the plural gender agreement -n on the verb. For example, the suffix -wwaa in **harreewwaa** ‘donkeys’ in (4a), -ɗaa in **χormadaa** ‘oxen’ in (4b) and -ɗɗaa in **lahadɗaa** ‘rams’ in (4c) are plural suffixes and, thus, impose the plural gender agreement marker -n on the verb.

- (4a) **harreewwaasini? ?ipatin**
harreewwaa-sini? *i = pat-i-n*
 donkeys-DEF.P 3 = get.lost-PF-P
 ‘The donkeys got lost.’
- (4b) **χormadaa-sini? ?ipatin**
χormadaa-sini? *i = pat-i-n*
 oxen-DEF.P 3 = get.lost-PF-P
 ‘The oxen got lost.’
- (4c) **lahadfaasini? ?ipatin**
lahadfaa-sini? *i = pat-i-n*
 rams-DEF.P 3 = get.lost.PF-P
 ‘The rams got lost.’

There are certain nouns which are semantically plural but have a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb. For instance, *iskatta* ‘women’ in (5a) is semantically plural but occurs with a masculine gender marker on the verb. In the same fashion, *kuyleeta* ‘the Ts’amakko’ in (5b) is semantically plural but occurs with a feminine gender agreement -t on the verb.

- (5a) **iskatta-si? ?idey-ay**
iskatta-si? *i = dey-ay*
 women-DEF.M/F 3 = come-PF[3M]
 ‘The women came.’
- (5b) **kuyleetasi? ?ide?ti**
kuyleeta-si? *i = dey-t-i*
 Ts’amakko-DEF.M/F 3 = come-3F-PF
 ‘The Ts’amakko came.’

Most nouns that are semantically undetermined for sex require masculine gender agreement, feminine gender agreement or plural gender agreement. The gender assignment cannot be predicted by the semantics of the nouns. Here are some examples:

- (6a) **çoyrasi? ?içepay**
çoyra-si? *i = çep-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = break-PF[3M]
 ‘The tree was broken.’
- (6b) **harreetasi? ?içepti**
harreeta-si? *i = çep-t-i*
 donkey-DEF.M/F 3 = be.broken-3F-PF
 ‘The donkey was broken.’

- (6c) **filaasini?** ?iʕepin
fīlaa-sini? *i = ʕep-i-n*
 comb-DEF.P 3 = be.broken-PF-P
 ‘The comb was broken.’

From our discussion so far, it is apparent that nouns fall into three groups based on their subject agreement on the verb: those with M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural) gender agreement. The three gender values to some degree follow the semantics of nouns but for quite a number of nouns the gender value cannot be predicted by semantics. Semantically plural nouns may trigger M, F or P agreement, and semantically singular nouns may trigger P agreement. Singular and plural pairs of nouns can have different gender values.

Agreement on the adjective shows that gender and number are separate agreement systems. On the adjective number is marked by reduplication (for plural), see 3.2 above, and P(lural) gender is marked by a suffix, see 4.1.4. Nouns that are plural in number need not be P(lural) in gender and nouns that are P(lural) in gender are not always plural in number. This state of affairs is confusing for those not acquainted with Cushitic languages. Using a different term for the third value of gender would be misleading because the agreement does coincide with that of third person plural ‘they’.

When there are suppletive verb roots for singulative and pluractional (see 6.2.5 for pluractionality), nouns that have a singulative notion occur with singulative verb roots, and those that have a plurative notion occur with pluractional verb roots. Nouns with plurative notion may differ in their gender agreement on the verb. For example, if we take, as in (7), the nouns **kawwaadaa** ‘the Gawwada’, **kaahuta** ‘Kaaho villagers’ and **χoyraa** ‘the Burji’ and the suppletive verb roots **keer-** ‘to run[SG]’ and **hir-** ‘to run[PL]’, we see that all the nouns have a plurative notion, and hence occur with the suppletive pluractional verb root **hir-** ‘to run[PL]’ rather than the singulative verb root **keer-** ‘to run[SG]’. However, they differ in gender agreement: **kawwaadaa** ‘the Gawwada’ in (7a) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person masculine subject, **kaahuta** ‘Kaaho villagers’ in (7b) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person feminine subject, and **χoyraa** ‘the Burji’ in (7c) triggers the same gender agreement as plural subject.

- (7a) **kawwaadaasi?** ?ihiray
kawwaadaa-si? *i = hir-ay*
 kawwada-DEF.M/F 3 = run[PL]-PF[3M]
 ‘The Gawwada ran.’

- (7b) kaahutasi? ?ihirti
kaahuta-si? *i = hir-t-i*
 kaaho-DEF.M/F 3 = run[PL]-3F-PF
 ‘The kaahuta ran.’
- (7c) ?oyraasini? ?ihirin
?oyraa-sini? *i = hir-i-n*
 burji-DEF.P 3 = run[PL]-PF-P
 ‘The Burji ran.’

There are some nouns with M~F gender values. The alternative use of the M~F does not bring any difference in meaning. For instance, the singulative *raaka* ‘old woman’ is semantically feminine but it may occur with the indefinite F *takka* in (8a) or with the M counterpart *tokka* in (8b), the former is preferred.

- (8a) raaka takka? ?ipi?ti
raaka *takka-?* *i = pi?-t-i*
 old.woman INDEF.F-NOM 3 = fall-3F-PF
 ‘A certain old woman fell down.’
- (8b) raaka tokkan akkay
raaka *tokka = in* *akk-ay*
 old.woman INDEF.M = 1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw a certain old woman.’

4.1.2. Gender agreement in definiteness marking

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of definite marking on nouns: nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the masculine or feminine subject assign the definite suffix *-si?* as illustrated in (9).

- (9a) ?imaytasi? ?ikuti?ay
?imayta-si? *i = kuti?-ay*
 old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = sit.down-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man sat down.’
- (9b) orra-si? ?ikal-ay
orra-si? *i = kal-ay*
 people-DEF.M/F 3 = return.home-PF[3M]
 ‘The people returned home.’
- (9c) alleetasi? ?ipi?ti
alleeta-si? *i = pi?-t-i*
 hut-DEF.M/F 3 = fall-3F-PF
 ‘The hut fell.’

Nouns that trigger the same agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the definite suffix *-sini?*. For example, the nouns *innaa* ‘child’ in (10a) and *filaa* ‘comb’ in (10b) are semantically singular. However, they add the plural gender agreement marker *-n* on the verb just like the noun *lahadfaa* ‘rams’ in (10c). This clearly shows that *-n* is a gender agreement marker, not a number marker.

- (10a) *innaasini?* ?imukin
innaa-sini? *i = muk-i-n*
 child-DEF.P 3 = sleep-PF-P
 ‘The child slept.’
- (10b) *filaasini?* ?i?epin
filaa-sini? *i = ?ep-i-n*
 comb-DEF.P 3 = be.broken-PF-P
 ‘The comb was broken.’
- (10c) *lahadfaasini?* ?ikataman
lahadfaa-sini? *i = kat-am-a-n*
 rams-DEF.P 3 = sell-PAS-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘The rams will be sold.’

4.1.3. Gender agreement in demonstratives

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of demonstrative marking on nouns. In other words, nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as masculine or feminine subject assign the demonstrative suffix *-asi?* or *-osi?* as illustrated in (11). For the distribution of the demonstrative suffixes, see Section 4.8.

- (11a) *kahartaasi?* ?idalti
kaharta-asi? *i = dal-t-i*
 ewe-DEM.M/F 3 = give.birth-3F-PF
 ‘This ewe gave birth.’
- (11b) *?oyroosi?* ?i?epay
?oyra-osi? *i = ?ep-ay*
 tree-DEM.M/F 3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
 ‘This tree was broken.’
- (11c) *orraasi?* ?ikalay
orra-asi? *i = kal-ay*
 people-DEM.M/F 3 = return.home-PF[3M]
 ‘These people returned home.’

Nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the demonstrative suffix *-osini?*. In the following examples, the semantically singular noun *innaa* ‘child’ (12a) and the plurative noun *pottaawwaa* ‘pumpkins’ (12b) add the plural gender agreement suffix *-osini?*.

- (12a) *innoosini? fatanaappaa ipi?in*
innaa-osini? fatanaa-oppaa i=pi?-i-n
 child-DEM.P exam-in 3 = fall-PF-P
 ‘This child failed the exam.’

- (12b) *pottaawwoosini? ?ijnapalin*
pottaawwaa-osini? i=napal-i-n
 pumpkins-DEM.P 3 = be.spoiled-PF-P
 ‘These houses were spoiled.’

4.1.4. Gender agreement in adjectives

When adjectives serve as attributes, gender is marked in addition to number. Plural number is expressed by reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$. Gender agreement is marked by suffixes *-a* for M/F gender and by the suffix *-aa?* for plural gender. For example, in (13a), the modified noun *χormasi?* ‘the ox’ is semantically singulative and [M] in gender and it has an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13b), the modified noun *filaasini?* ‘the comb’ is semantically singulative but requires a plural gender suffix *-aa?* on the adjectival root. In (13c), the modified noun *?orrasini?* ‘the people’ is semantically plural and [M] in gender and requires a plural number agreement marked by reduplication but an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13d), the object *χormadaasini?* ‘the oxen’ is semantically plural and [P] in gender and has a plural number agreement marked by reduplication and a plural gender agreement suffix *-aa?* on the adjectival root. Notice that the subject of each sentence in (13) is the first person singular.

- (13a) *χormasik kappa in?akkay*
χorma-si? kapp-a in = akk-ay
 ox-DEF.M/F be.fat-M/F 1 = see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the fat ox.’
- (13b) *filaasinip pooraa? ?in?akkay*
filaa-sini? poor-aa? in = akk-ay
 comb-DEF.P be.black-P 1 = see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the black comb.’
- (13c) *orrasik kakappa in?akkay*
orra-si? ka-kapp-a in = akk-ay
 people-DEF.M/F PL-be.fat-M/F 1 = see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the fat people.’

- (13d) χ ormadaasinik kakappaa? ?in?akkay
 χ ormadaa-sini? *ka-kapp-aa?* *in = akk-ay*
 ox-DEF.P PL-be.fat-P 1 = see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the fat oxen.’

From the foregoing discussions, it is clear that gender as a morphological category has the M, F and P values in subject agreement marking on the verb, and M/F and P values in the noun phrase agreement, namely in definite nouns, demonstratives and adjectives.

4.2. Number

Number in nouns is derivational rather than inflectional (see Ongaye (in print)). The derivation of number in nouns involves the derivation of pluratives, and, to a much lesser degree, the derivation of singulatives. As I mentioned earlier, I use the terms “singulative” and “plurative” for derived forms of nouns, and “base” for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms “single” and (following Hayward (1981)) “multiple” for the number values of nouns. “Single” nouns refer to semantically individual entities while “multiple” nouns refer to semantically plural entities. In what follows, I first present the derivation of pluratives and then the derivation of singulatives.

Plurative is marked by the following ways:

- A. attaching plurative suffixes
- B. reduplicating the base-final consonant
- C. geminating the last consonant of the base

Pluratives derived by any one of the above strategies are plural semantically and also trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb. As we shall see later, there are also suppletives in Konso. Singular suppletives express single reference, while plural suppletives express multiple reference.

4.2.1. Number suffixes

There are five number suffixes used to mark plurative in nouns. The number suffixes are arranged from the most to the least frequently occurring suffix with a sample of about 470 nouns (see Chapter 15).

Form of number suffix	Base
A. - <i>dfaa</i> (27%)	stem
B. - <i>wwaa</i> (22%)	root- <i>ta</i> (F)
C. - <i>daa</i> (16%)	stem
D. - <i>ayaa</i> (7.5%)	root- <i>atta</i> (M)
E. - <i>iyjaa</i> (5.5%)	root- <i>itta</i> (M)

From the correlation between the number suffixes and their bases, we can see that some plurative suffixes are added to bases while others replace singulative suffixes. Thus, the plurative suffix of each noun has to be learned lexically. Furthermore, a lexeme may occur with more than one plurative suffix. In some cases, nouns with plurative suffixes may serve as bases to further derive pluratives. In fact, sometimes it is only the singulative that is derived. In other words, the system has both singulatives and pluratives, and both can be basic.

Below, I discuss each of the number suffixes. In the illustrative examples, I only indicate the gender values of the bases because plurative suffixes impose a plural gender value.

Plurative suffix **-ɖɖaa**

The plurative suffix **-ɖɖaa** is added to a base. Base final **aa** is shortened when **-ɖɖaa** is added. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender values. The bases are either underived, or derived singulatives in **-ta**. The following are illustrative examples:

(14)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	ɖaʔta (M)	'butter'	ɖaʔtadɖaa	'butters'
	kittayyaa (M)	'bedbug'	kittayyadɖaa	'bedbugs'
	maakaa (M)	'snake'	maakadɖaa	'snakes'
	mahanta (F)	'grass'	mahantadɖaa	'grasses'
	oxinta (F)	'fence'	oxintadɖaa	'fences'
	fiiɖaa (P)	'curse'	fiiɖadɖaa	'curses'
	kaariyyaa (P)	'evil spirit'	kaariyyadɖaa	'evil spirits'
	kosaa (P)	'granary'	kosadɖaa	'granaries'
	marɖinaa (P)	'intestine'	marɖinadɖaa	'intestines'

Plurative suffix **-wwaa**

The plurative suffix **-wwaa** replaces the singulative suffix **-ta**. Except **apuyyaata** 'maternal uncle (M)' and **kawkawa** 'lower jaw (M)', all such singulative nouns trigger a feminine gender agreement. Examples:

(15)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	hinɖaakkata (F)	'ant'	hinɖaakkawwaa	'ants'
	kaankita (F)	'mule'	kaankiwwaa	'mules'
	fooɖɖita (F)	'mud'	fooɖɖiwwaa	'muds'
	noodɖfuta (F)	'bribe'	noodɖfuwwaa	'bribes'
	muukuta (F)	'frog'	muukuwwaa	'frogs'
	fillayyaata (F)	'flea'	fillayyaawwaa	'fleas'
	landɖeeta (F)	'liver'	landɖeewwaa	'livers'

Plurative suffix -*daa*

Like the suffix -*dfaa*, plurative suffix -*daa* is added to its bases. The bases have either a consonant cluster or geminate consonants preceding the suffix with the short *d*. Although degemination in the context of geminate consonants or clusters of consonants has been attested elsewhere in the language, we cannot posit the suffix -*daa* as an allomorph of the suffix -*dfaa* because the suffix -*dfaa* also occurs after clusters of consonants, as in *oxintadfaa* ‘fences’ and *hawladdfaa* ‘graves’. Base final *aa* is shortened. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value, but the majority have a masculine gender value. The following are illustrative examples. Notice that the plurative suffixes -*dfaa* and -*daa* are not allomorphs of the same plurative suffix.

(16)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	<i>arpa</i> (M)	‘elephant’	<i>arpadaa</i>	‘elephants’
	<i>ipsaa</i> (P)	‘light’	<i>ipsadaa</i>	‘lights’
	<i>dalta</i> (F)	‘seed’	<i>daltadaa</i>	‘seeds’
	<i>farta</i> (F)	‘horse’	<i>fartadaa</i>	‘horses’
	<i>maxxa</i> (M)	‘name’	<i>maxxadaa</i>	‘names’
	<i>kirra</i> (M)	‘river’	<i>kirradaa</i>	‘rivers’
	<i>kappaa</i> (M)	‘wheat’	<i>kappadaa</i>	‘wheat’
	<i>karmaa</i> (M)	‘lion’	<i>karmadaa</i>	‘lions’
	<i>karkaa</i> (M)	‘beehive’	<i>karkadaa</i>	‘beehives’
	<i>jaajnaa</i> (P)	‘tomato’	<i>jaajnaadaa</i>	‘tomatoes’
	<i>paankaa</i> (P)	‘machete’	<i>paankadaa</i>	‘machetes’

The base noun *jaajnaa* ‘tomato’ can have plural interpretation in the absence the plurative suffix -*daa*. Plural or singular interpretation is understood not from the gender agreement on the verb, as both trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb, but rather from the singulativity or pluractionality of the action: when the verb root is a singulative suppletive or the verb root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$ is not reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has a singular interpretation. However, when the verb root is a plurative suppletive or the verb root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$ is reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has plural interpretation.

Plurative suffix -*ayaa*

The plurative suffix -*ayaa* replaces the singulative suffix -*atta* as can be seen from the data in (17). The majority of the bases have a masculine gender agreement.

(17)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	<i>oypatta</i> (M)	tree species	<i>oypayaa</i>	tree species
	<i>arpatta</i> (M)	grass species	<i>arpayaa</i>	grass species

karsatta (M)	tree species	karsayaa	tree species
dittatta (M)	plant species	dittayaa	plant species
hoppatta (M)	‘gut’	hoppayaa	‘guts’
kollatta (M)	‘hide, skin’	kollayaa	‘hides, skins’
okkatta (M)	‘cow’	okkayaa	‘cows, cattle’
karratta (M)	‘squirrel’	karrayaa	‘squirrels’
massatta (M)	‘crocodile’	massayaa	‘crocodiles’
kawwatta (F)	‘terrace’	kawwayaa	‘terraces’

There is one instance of a nominal root with a singulative suffix *-etta* and a plural suffix *-eeyyaa*: *kupeetta* (M) *kupeeyyaa* ‘lower bone of hind leg’.

Plurative suffix *-iyyaa*

The plurative suffix *-iyyaa* is added to roots by replacing the singulative suffix *-itta*. All the bases trigger a masculine gender agreement. Here are some examples:

(18)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	<i>alkitta</i> (M)	‘sisal’	<i>alkiyyaa</i>	‘sisals’
	<i>fijjitta</i> (M)	‘pimple’	<i>fijjiyyaa</i>	‘pimples’
	<i>ḡupitta</i> (M)	‘finger’	<i>ḡupiyyaa</i>	‘fingers’
	<i>ilkitta</i> (M)	‘tooth’	<i>ilkiyyaa</i>	‘teeth’
	<i>karitta</i> (M)	‘belly’	<i>kariyyaa</i>	‘bellies’
	<i>orritta</i> (M)	‘devil’	<i>orriyyaa</i>	‘devils’
	<i>apitta</i> (M)	‘fire’	<i>apiyyaa</i>	‘fires’
	<i>ḡinaʔitta</i> (M)	‘rib’	<i>ḡinaʔiyyaa</i>	‘ribs’

4.2.2. Reduplicating the base final consonant

Reduplicating the base final consonant is another strategy that marks plurative. In this number derivation strategy, a base final consonant /l/ or /n/ in a consonant cluster is reduplicated and subsequently geminated/lengthened. The plurative forms have a final long *aa*. Most often the consonant clusters containing /l/ undergo metathesis (cf. 2.7.6.). The bases may have a short *a* or a long *aa*. A base final *-aa* is shortened in the plurative. The bases trigger either masculine or plural gender agreement, the majority triggering masculine gender agreement. The following is an exhaustive list:

(19)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	<i>hawla</i> (M)	‘tomb, grave’	<i>hawllallaa</i>	‘tombs, graves’
	<i>fanaḡala</i> (M)	‘splinter’	<i>fanaḡallaa</i>	‘splinters’
	<i>tawna</i> (M)	‘bell’	<i>tawnannaa</i>	‘bells’
	<i>moḡna</i> (M)	‘rocky place’	<i>moḡnannaa</i>	‘rocky places’
	<i>ḡolfaa</i> (P)	‘park, pod’	<i>ḡolfallaa</i>	‘parks (of tree), pods’

ɖikla (M)	‘elbow’	ɖiklallaa	‘elbows’
silpa (M)	‘metal’	silpallaa	‘metals’
kilpa (M)	‘knee’	kilpallaa	‘knees’
kulpa (M)	‘big calabash’	kulpallaa	‘big calabashes’
ɕolpa (M)	‘he-goat’	ɕolpallaa	‘he-goats’
ɖapna (M)	‘temple (body)’	ɖapnannaa	‘temples’

The bases in (20a) have the same phonological pattern as those in (19) but they do not reduplicate the final consonant in the plurative. The correct plurative forms are given in (20b).

(20a)	Base	gloss	plurative
	talpa (M)	‘lentil’	*talpallaa
	hupna (M)	‘strength’	*hupnannaa
	haynaa (P)	‘remains after sucking cane’	*haynannaa
(20b)	talpadāa (P)	‘lentils’	
	hupnannāa (P)	‘strengths’	
	haynadāa (P)	‘remains after sucking cane’	

4.2.3. Plurative marking by gemination

This plurative marking strategy geminates the onset of the last syllable. The short vowel /a/ of the bases is lengthened in the plurative forms. The majority of the bases trigger masculine gender agreement. The following are illustrative data.

(21)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	tika (F)	‘house’	tikkaa	‘houses’
	raaka (F)	‘old woman’	raakkaa	‘old women’
	ɖila (M)	‘field’	ɖillaa	‘fields’
	kaba (M)	‘canal’	kaɓɓaa	‘canals’
	kafa (M)	‘clan’	kaffaa	‘clans’
	mura (M)	‘forest’	murraa	‘forests’
	pora (M)	‘road, route’	porraa	‘roads, routes’
	paagā (M)	‘disease’	paaɕɕaa	‘diseases’
	paala (M)	‘feather’	paallaa	‘feathers’
	kaasa (M)	‘horn, gun’	kaassaa	‘horns, guns’
	tuudā (M)	‘pillar’	tuuddāa	‘pillars’
	hoofa (M)	‘hole’	hooffaa	‘holes’

The pluratives of the following bases are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable but the singulative is marked by suffix *-ta*.

(22)	Base	gloss	plurative	gloss
	kaharta (F)	'ewe'	kaharraa	'sheep'
	loḡta (F)	'leg'	loḡḡaa	'legs'
	hiḡta (F)	'lip'	hiḡḡaa	'lips'

4.2.4. Double plurative derivation

Certain plurative forms serve as bases for further derived pluratives. Double pluratives are derived by adding the plurative suffix *-ḡaa* when the plurative bases are formed by reduplicating the base final consonant as in (23a). They are also derived by adding the plurative suffix *-ḡḡaa* when the plurative bases are formed by geminating the base final consonant as in (23b).

(23a)	Base (plurative)	plurative (double derived)	
	tikkaa	tikkadaa	'houses'
	raakkaa	raakkadaa	'old women'
	dillaa	dilladaa	'fields'
	kaḡḡaa	kaḡḡadaa	'canals'
	kaffaa	kaffadaa	'clans'
	murraa	murradaa	'forests'
	porraa	porradaa	'roads, routes'
	paaḡḡaa	paaḡḡadaa	'diseases'
	paallaa	paalladaa	'feathers'
	kaassaa	kaassadaa	'horns, guns'
	tuudḡaa	tuudḡadaa	'pillars'
	hooffaa	hooffadaa	'holes'
(23b)	silpallaa	silpalladḡaa	'metals'
	diklallaa	diklalladḡaa	'elbows'
	kilpallaa	kilpalladḡaa	'knese'
	kulpallaa	kulpalladḡaa	'big calabashes'
	ḡolpallaa	ḡolpalladḡaa	'he-goats'
	hawlallaa	hawlalladḡaa	'tombs, graves'
	fangallaa	fangalladḡaa	'splinters'
	tawnannaa	tawnannadḡaa	'bells'
	moḡnannaa	moḡnannadḡaa	'rocky places'
	ḡapnannaa	ḡapnannadḡaa	'temples'
	ḡolfallaa	ḡolfalladḡaa	'parks (of tree), pods'

4.2.5. Irregular pluratives

Certain pluratives do not fall into the patterns discussed above. For example, the plurative *ildaa* 'eyes', which is derived from the nominal root *il-* 'eye' (singular *ilta* (F) 'eye'), does not conform to the pattern I discussed earlier for the plurative suffix *-ḡaa*. That is, in my earlier analysis, I showed that *-ḡaa* is added to bases, not roots. But in *ildaa* 'eyes', it is added to a root. The other

pluratives that do not fall into our earlier patterns include *Ḡoraa* ‘trees’, *harkaa* ‘hands’ and *kereʔta* ‘thieves’. The plurative *Ḡoraa* ‘trees’ has the singulative *Ḡoyra* (M) ‘tree’. The derivation of the plurative *Ḡoraa* ‘trees’ involves the deletion of the consonant *y* in the singulative, and lengthening the final vowel of the singulative. The plurative *harkaa* ‘hands’ is derived from the base by lengthening only the final vowel of the base. With regard to the derivation of the plurative *kereʔta* ‘thieves’ and its singulative *keraa* (M) ‘thief’, both have a root *ker-* to which *-eʔta* and *-aa* are added to derive the plurative and singulative, respectively.

In fact, the pluratives *harkaa* ‘hands’ and *kereʔta* ‘thieves’ can alternatively be used as stems to derive the plurative *harkadaa* and *kereʔewwaa*, respectively. Similarly, the singulative *Ḡoyra* may serve as a stem to derive the plurative *Ḡoyradaa*. This derivation fits into our analysis for the derivational pattern of the number suffix *-daa*.

4.2.6. Suppletive plurals

Certain single-reference nouns have suppletive multiple reference counterparts. An exhaustive list is given in (24). The single-reference forms may trigger masculine, feminine or plural gender agreement; on the other hand, the plurals may trigger masculine or plural gender agreement.

(24)	Single	gloss	multiple	gloss
	<i>innaa</i> (P)	‘child’	<i>hellaa</i> (P)	‘(human) children’
	<i>nama</i> (M)	‘man, person’	<i>orra</i> (M)	‘people’
	<i>saallaa</i> (M)	‘cow dung’	<i>kuufa</i> (M)	‘pile of cow dung’
	<i>inanta</i> (F)	‘girl’	<i>tupar(r)aa</i> (P)	‘girls’
	<i>innayyaa</i> (P)	‘young animal’	<i>jelḠaa</i> (P)	‘young animals/birds’

4.2.7. Pluratives without corresponding singulative forms

In the preceding sections, we discussed the derivation of pluratives from singulative bases. The roots of the bases carry the semantics of singulative. However, there are instances in which there is only one number form which is plurative and not singulative. Such nouns are listed below.

(25)	<i>horeeta</i> (F)	‘livestock’
	<i>sawwaa</i> (M)	‘people (formal setting)’
	<i>ikkaamaa</i> (P)	‘seed corn’

Our evidence for claiming that the above nouns are plurative comes from agreement. For instance, the examples in (26) are acceptable because the nouns *horreta* ‘livestock’ and *sawwaa* ‘people’ occur with the pluractional verb root *hir-* ‘run[PL]’. On the other hand, the examples in (27) are unacceptable be-

cause the same nouns *horeeta* and *sawwaa* occur with a singulative verb root *keer-* ‘run[SG]’.

- (26a) *horeetasi?* ?ihirti
horeeta-si? *i = hir-t-i*
 livestock-DEF.M/F 3 = run[PL]-3F-PF
 ‘The livestock ran.’
- (26b) *keraasi?* ?apiyas *sawwaasi?* ?ihiray
keraa-si? *ʒap-iyā-?* *sawwaa-si?*
 thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F

i = hir-ay
 3 = run[PL]-PF[3M]
 ‘The people ran in order to catch the thief.’
- (27a) **horeetasi?* ?ikeerti
horeeta-si? *i = keer-t-i*
 livestock-DEF.M/F 3 = run[SG]-3F-PF
 (intended: ‘The livestock ran.’)
- (27b) **keraasi?* ?apiyas *sawwaasi?* ?ikeeray
keraa-si? *ʒap-iyā-?* *sawwaa-si?*
 thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F

i = keer-ay
 3 = run[SG]-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The people ran in order to catch the thief.’)

4.2.8. Derivation of singulatives

Singulatives are derived from underived pluratives by deleting final vowels and adding the suffixes *-ayta* (M) as in (28a), *-ta* (M/F) as in (28b), *-itta* (M) as in (28c) or *-teeta* (F) as in (28d).

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (28a) | Plurative | singulative | gloss |
| | <i>daʔayaa</i> | <i>daʔayta</i> (M) | plant species |
| | <i>karayaa</i> | <i>karayta</i> (M) | ‘gorge’ |
| | <i>keltayaa</i> | <i>keltayta</i> (M) | ‘baboon’ |
| | <i>ottayaa</i> | <i>ottayta</i> (M) | tree species |
| | <i>ʒimayaa</i> | <i>ʒimayta</i> (M) | ‘old man’ |
| (28b) | <i>kumaanaa</i> | <i>kumaanta</i> (M) | ‘antelope’ |
| | <i>maskahanaa</i> | <i>maskahanta</i> (M) | tree species |
| | <i>pinaanaa</i> | <i>pinanta</i> (M) | ‘animal’ |

	hotaaraa	hotaarta (M)	acacia tree species
	kolalaa	kolalta (M)	acacia tree species
	lafaa	lafta (F)	‘bone’
	koromaa	koromta (F)	‘heifer’
	kusumaa	kusumta (F)	‘navel’
	oxinaa	oxinta (F)	‘fence’
	koskoraa	koskorta (F)	‘partridge’
(28c)	ḡinaʔaa	ḡinaʔitta (M)	‘rib’
	ʃalaḡḡaa	ʃalaḡḡitta (M)	‘flat stone’
	ilkaa	ilkitta (M)	‘tooth’
	χolaʔaa	χolaʔitta (M)	cactus species
	ḡinaʔaa	ḡinaʔitta (M)	‘rib’
	lukkala	lukkallitta (M)	‘chicken’
(28d)	ikkiraa	ikkirteeta (F)	‘louse’
	χampiraa	χampirteeta (F)	‘bird’
	talaa	talteeta (F)	‘she-goat’

The singulative **okkatta** (M) ‘cow’ is derived from the plurative **okkaa** ‘cows’. The singulative **apitta** (M) ‘fire’ may also serve as a stem to derive the plurative **apittadfaa**.

4.2.9. Associative plural

Associative plural is marked by the particle **opa** followed by the noun it modifies.⁷ Associative plural expresses that the noun which the associative particle modifies has an associate(s) whose name(s) is (are) not mentioned. The associative plural may be a subject as in (29a) or an object as in (29b).

(29a)	opa	χampiruʔ ʔideyin	
	<i>opa</i>	<i>χampiru-ʔ</i>	<i>i = dey-i-n</i>
	ASS	χampiro-NOM	3 = come-PF-P
		‘χampiro and his associates came.’	

(29b)	antiʔ ʔopa Apittun akkay		
	<i>anti-ʔ</i>	<i>opa</i>	<i>Apitto = in</i> <i>akk-ay</i>
	1SG.PRO-NOM	ASS	Apitto = 1 see-PF[3M]
	‘I saw ʔapitto and his associate(s).’		

⁷ The associative particle and the postposition indicating destination (see Section 8.2.1) have the same form **opa** but occur in different positions with regard to the noun they modify. I consider them to be distinct, homophonous morphemes.

4.3. Plurality in adjectives

Plural number agreement in adjectives is marked by reduplicating the root initial C_1V when there is a geminate consonant in the root as in (30), otherwise, C_1VC_1 as in (31). For example, in (30a), the initial C_1V of the adjectival root $\text{ɕalla}?$ - ‘to be thin, slim’ is not reduplicated because the subject *inanta* ‘girl’ is singular. In (30b), it is reduplicated because the subject *tuparaa* ‘girls’ is plural. In the same fashion, in (31a), the initial C_1VC_1 of the adjectival root *der*- ‘to be long’ is not reduplicated because the subject *ɕoyrasi?* ‘the tree’ is singular. In (31b), the initial C_1VC_1 of the adjectival root is reduplicated because the subject *ɕoraasini?* ‘the trees’ is plural.

- (30a) *inantaasi?* *ʔiɕallaʔi*
inanta-asi? *i = ɕallaʔ-i*
 girl-DEM.M/F 3 = be.slim-PF
 ‘This girl is slim.’
- (30b) *tuparoosini?* *ʔiɕaɕallaʔi*
tuparaa-sini? *i = ɕa-ɕallaʔ-i*
 girls-DEM.P 3 = PL-be.slim-PF
 ‘These girls are slim.’
- (31a) *ɕoyrasi?* *ʔideri*
ɕoyra-si? *i = der-i*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = be.tall-PF
 ‘The tree is tall.’
- (31b) *ɕoraasini?* *ʔidedferi*
ɕoraa-sini? *i = ded-der-i*
 tree-DEF.P 3 = PL-be.tall-PF
 ‘The trees are tall.’

We should note that reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$ shows only plural interpretation, and not plural gender agreement.

4.4. Semantic gender distinction

Names referring to certain domestic animals make a lexical semantic distinction between males and females. The lexical items that refer to ‘sheep’ are listed in (32a); those that refer to ‘cow, ox, bull’ are listed in (32b); and those that refer to ‘goat’ are listed in (32c).

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| | Male | | Female |
| (32a) | <i>laha</i> (M) ‘ram’ | | <i>kaharta</i> (F) ‘ewe’ |
| | | | <i>sukeenta</i> (F) ‘female lamb’ |

(32b)	Male		Female	
	χorma (M)	‘ox, bull’	okkatta (M)	‘cow’
	mirkoota (M)	‘young bull’	koromta (F)	‘heifer’
			tullatta (M)	‘old cow’

(32c)	χolpa/χolpayta (M)	‘he-goat’	talteeta (F)	‘she-goat’
			ritta (F)	‘young she-goat’

From the data in (32), we see that all the lexical items that are semantically male trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb. But lexical items such as **χokkatta** ‘cow’ and **tullatta** ‘old cow’, which are semantically female, trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb as shown in (33).

(33a)	okkattasi? <i>χidalay</i>	
	<i>okkatta-si?</i>	<i>i = dāl-ay</i>
	cow-DEF.M/F	3 = give.birth-PF[3M]
	‘The cow gave birth.’	

(33b)	tullattasi? <i>χipiχay</i>	
	<i>tullatta-si?</i>	<i>i = piχ-ay</i>
	old.cow-DEF.M/F	3 = fall-PF[3M]
	‘The old cow fell.’	

Lexical semantic gender distinction is also made in kinship terms. In the following table, I give the lexical items that refer to males in the first column, and their corresponding female names in the second column.

Male	Female
aappaa ‘father’	aayyaa ‘mother’
aappaa ‘husband’	ahta ‘wife’
apuyyaata ‘maternal uncle’	maammata ‘aunt’
aakkaa ‘grandfather’	okkooyyita ‘grandmother’
oopaa ‘grandson’	oopta ‘granddaughter’
aχuma ‘nephew’	aχumta ‘niece’
alawa ‘male sibling’	alawta ‘female sibling’
hamiya ‘baby boy’	inanta ‘baby girl’

Table 1: Semantic gender distinction in kinship terms

Certain proper names also distinguish gender. In most instances, the female names are derived from male names by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the male name. One instance (last example) shows that when the penultimate syllable of a male name has a closed syllable, the coda of that syllable is geminated for the female name rather than the onset of the final syllable (i.e.

orɣayto/orɣayya). Most of the male names end in -o and the female counterparts end in -a.

(34a)	Male	female	source noun	meaning of source
	proper name	proper name		
	Katano	Katanna	katana	‘season for sowing’
	Roopo	Rooppa	roopa	‘rain’
	ɣampiro	ɣampirra	ɣampirteeta	‘bird’
	Kappino	Kappinna	kappina	‘bush’
	Urmale	Urmalla	ʔurmalaa	‘market’
	Teykane	Teykanna	teykantaa	‘morning’
	ɕudaado	ɕudaadda	ɕudaadaa	‘late morning’
	Kuyyawa	Kuyyanna	kuyyaʔta	‘noon, day’
	Kallapo	Kallappa	kallapta	‘late afternoon’
	Halkeeyo	Halkeeyya	halkeetta	‘midnight’
	Orɣayto	Orɣayya	orɣayta	‘adopted child’
(34b)	Male	female	source noun	meaning of source
	proper name	proper name		
	Oraapo	Oraappa	oraap-	‘to fetch water’
	Kutano	Kutanna	kut-	‘to hunt’
	Kalfo	Kalisso ⁸	kalf-	‘to make go home’

4.5. Diminutives

Diminutive is marked by the suffix *-(tt)eeta*. The diminutive suffix is added to nouns that show third person masculine gender value. The diminutive suffix renders a third person feminine gender value to the noun it is added to. The diminutive suffix implies that the addresser has a low opinion of the noun in question. For example, in (35a), the addresser has a high opinion of the noun *ɕimaytasiʔ* ‘the old man’, as it has no diminutive suffix; however, in (35b), it occurs with the diminutive suffix, implying that the addresser has a low opinion of the referent. In the translations of the examples below, I use the adjective ‘little’ to denote diminutive.

- (35a) *ɕimaytasiʔ Goyrasiʔ ʔihaadɔy*
ɕimayta-siʔ Goyra-siʔ i = haad-ay
 old.man-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = carry-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man carried the tree.’
- (35b) *ɕimayteetasiʔ Goyrasiʔ ʔihaaʔti*
ɕimayta-eeta-siʔ Goyra-siʔ i = haad-t-i
 old.man-DIM-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = carry-3F-PF
 ‘The little old man carried the tree.’

⁸ *kalisso* is underlyingly *kalifto*.

Diminutive does not seem to occur with nouns that trigger plural gender agreement. The only exception that I noted is *innaa* ‘child’ but even then, the form of the diminutive is different: *-innaata* as shown in (36b).

- (36a) *innaasini?* *?ipi?in*
innaa-sini? *i = pi?-i-n*
 child-DEF.P 3 = fall-PF-P
 ‘The child fell.’

- (36b) *inninnaatasi?* *?ipi?ti*
innaa-nnaata-si? *i = pi?-t-i*
 child-DIM-DEF.M/F 3 = fall-3F-PF
 ‘The little child fell.’

The female lexical items *okkatta* ‘cow’ and *tullatta* ‘old cow’ that trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb acquire third person feminine gender agreement on the verb when the diminutive suffix is added to them. This is shown in (37).

- (37a) *okkateetasi?* *?ito?ti*
okkatta-eeta-si? *i = toy-t-i*
 cow-DIM-DEF.M/F 3 = die[SG]-3F-PF
 ‘The little cow died.’

- (37b) *tullateetasi?* *?ipi?ti*
tullatta-eeta-si? *i = pi?-t-i*
 old.cow-DIM-DEF.M/F 3 = fall-3F-PF
 ‘The little old cow fell.’

In the following examples, we have the noun *ḡoyra* ‘tree’. This noun has third person masculine gender agreement without the diminutive as in (38a). However, with the diminutive suffix, it acquires third person feminine gender agreement on the verb, as illustrated in (38b).

- (38a) *ḡoyrasi?* *?ikupaḡay*
ḡoyra-si? *i = kup-aḡ-ay*
 tree.M-DEF.M/F 3 = burn-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘The tree was burnt.’

- (38b) *ḡoyritteetasi?* *?ikupatti*
ḡoyra-tteeta-si? *i = kup-aḡ-t-i*
 tree.F-DIM-DEF.M/F 3 = burn-MID-3F-PF
 ‘The little tree was burnt.’

When the performance of a referent in question excels the expectation of the addresser, the diminutive suffix expresses a surprise of the addresser. The following are illustrative examples:

- (39a) *raakitteetasi?* *?ifapaatti*
raaka-tteeta-si? *i=fapaad-t-i*
 old.woman-DIM-DEF.M/F 3 = be.strong-3F-PF
 ‘Wow! The old little woman became strong.’
- (39b) *aappitteetasi?* *Ɔoyrasi?* *?iha?ti*
aappaa-tteeta-si? *Ɔoyra-si?* *i=had-t-i*
 father-DIM-DEF.M/F tree/wood-DEF.M/F 3 = carry-3F-PF
 ‘Wow! The little man carried the log.’

Some nouns seem to have frozen diminutive suffix: *talteeta* ‘she-goat’, *lammitteeta* ‘second wife’.

4.6. Indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes

Indefinite reference is not morphologically marked both in subject and object function. This can be seen from the nouns *laha* ‘ram’, *?appitta* ‘fire’, *Ɔimayaa* ‘old men’ and *χormadaa* ‘bulls’ with indefinite reference which appear in their citation forms as the following sentences demonstrate.

- (40a) *antil laha impidfa*
anti-? *laha* *in=pidfa*
 1SG.PRO-NOM ram 1 = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will buy a ram.’
- (40b) *inantasi?* *?apitta i?opassi*
inanta-si? *apitta* *i=opay-f-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F fire 3 = build.fire-DCAUS-3F-PF
 ‘The girl built fire.’
- (40c) *Ɔimayaa dise caa*
Ɔimayaa *dise* *kiy-aa*
 old.men there be-IPF.PRES
 ‘There are old men over there.’
- (40d) *ifoonnaχ χormadaa heerin*
ifoonna-? *χormadaa=i* *heer-i-n*
 3PL.PRO-NOM bulls = 3 buy[PL]-PF-P
 ‘They bought bulls.’

Specific-indefinite reference may be marked by *tokka* ‘one.M’ or *takka* ‘one.F’ or *takkan* ~ *takka-n* ‘one-P’. In the following examples, *tokka*, *takka* and *takkan* specify the nouns *hamiya* ‘boy’, *ʔinanta* ‘girl’ and *χormadaa* ‘oxen’, respectively. These nouns have an inherent gender value: masculine, feminine and plural, respectively.

- (41a) *hamiya tokka?* *ʔideyay*
hamiya tokka-ʔ *i=dēy-ay*
 boy INDEF.M-NOM 3 = come-PF
 ‘A certain boy came.’
- (41b) *inanta takka?* *ʔideʔti*
inanta takka-ʔ *i=dēʔ-t-i*
 girl INDEF.F-NOM 3 = come-3F-PF
 ‘A certain girl came.’
- (41c) *χormadaa takka-n=in* *akk-ay*
 oxen INDEF-P=1 see-PF
 ‘I saw a certain oxen.’

Sex-unspecific singulative nouns that have a specific-indefinite reference may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value. For instance, the singulative *alleeta* ‘house (F)’ requires a feminine gender specific-indefinite reference marker *takka* in (42a). The singular *ʔoyra* ‘tree (M)’ requires a masculine gender specific indefinite reference marker *tokka* in (42b). The singulative *filaa* ‘comb (P)’ requires a plural gender specific-indefinite reference marker *takkan* in (42c).

- (42a) *alleeta takkan pidɸaday*
alleeta takka=in *pidɸ-ad-ay*
 house INDEF.F=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘I bought a certain house for myself.’
- (42b) *ʔoyra tokkan pidɸaday*
ʔoyra tokka=in *pidɸ-ad-ay*
 tree INDEF.M=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘I bought a certain tree for myself.’
- (42c) *filaa takka-n=in* *pidɸ-ad-ay*
 comb INDEF-P=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘I bought a certain comb for myself.’

It should be noted that the specific-indefinite reference *takka*, but not *tokka*, is used in the numeral system, meaning ‘one’ (see Numerals in 4.8).

4.7. Definite reference

Definite reference is marked by suffixes *-siʔ* and *-siniʔ* on nouns. Inherently definite entities such as proper names may also appear with the definite suffix *-siʔ*.

Nouns which trigger masculine or feminine gender agreement add the definite suffix *-siʔ*. For instance, in (43), the singulative nouns *ʕimayta* ‘old man’ and *raaka* ‘old woman’ and the plurative noun *orra* ‘people’ occur with the M/F definite reference *-siʔ*.

- (43a) *ʕimaytasiʔ ʔimukay*
ʕimayta-siʔ *i = muk-ay*
 old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man slept.’
- (43b) *raaka-siʔ ʔimukti*
raaka-siʔ *i = muk-t-i*
 old.woman-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-3F-PF
 ‘The old woman slept.’
- (43c) *orrasiʔ ʔimukay*
orra-siʔ *i = muk-ay*
 people-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-PF[3M]
 ‘The people slept.’

Nouns that trigger plural gender agreement add the definite suffix *-siniʔ*. For instance, in (44), the singulatives *furaa* ‘comb’ and *aannaa* ‘milk’ and the plurative *karmadaa* ‘lions’ occur with the plural definite reference suffix.

- (44a) *furaasiniʔ ʔipatin*
furaa-siniʔ *i = pat-i-n*
 key-DEF.P 3 = disappear-PF-P
 ‘The key disappeared.’
- (44b) *aannaasiniʔ ʔinapalin*
aannaa-siniʔ *i = napal-i-n*
 milk-DEF.P 3 = be.spoiled-PF-P
 ‘The milk went bad.’
- (44c) *karmadaa-siniʔ ʔihirin*
karmadaa-siniʔ *i = hir-i-n*
 lions-DEF.P 3 = run[PL]-PF-P
 ‘The lions ran.’

Nouns derived from verb roots occur with the M/F definite suffix *-siʔ* as can be seen from the following examples.

- (45) *keeritaasiʔ ʔiʔana kaftiʃay*
keer-taa-siʔ *i = ʔana*
 run[SG]-VN-DEF.M/F 3 = 1SG.PRO.ACC

kafaʃ-f-ay
 tire[MID]-CAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘The running made me tired.’

Proper names can occur with the M/F definite suffix *-siʔ*. The definite suffix is added to a proper name when there is shared knowledge between the interlocutors about the person. Examples:

- (46a) *Katannasiʔ ʔiʔaakta*
Katanna-siʔ *i = aak-t-a*
 Katanna-DEF.M/F 3 = be.well-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘The Katanna is well (recovering from illness).’
- (46b) *kappoolesiʔ ʔayyee ca*
kappoole-siʔ *ayye = i* *kiy-a*
 Kappoole-DEM.M/F here = 3 be-IPF.FUT
 ‘The Kappoole is here.’

The shared knowledge between the interlocutors in (46a) is about Katanna’s health situation while in (46b), it is about Kappoole’s whereabouts.

When definite suffixes are followed by the dative or instrumental suffix, the definite suffixes have the forms *-sit* for M/F (47) and *-sinit* for P as shown in (48).

- (47a) *okkattasitip piʃaa ɖaaʃi*
okkatta-sit-ʔ *piʃaa* *ɖaaʃ-i*
 cow-DEF.M/F-DAT water give-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Give water for the cow!’
- (47b) *iskatteetasiʔ ʔorrasitiʔee ʃaʒaa katti*
iskatteeta-siʔ *orra-sit-ʔ = i* *ʃaʒaa*
 woman-DEF.M/F people-DEF.M/F-DAT = 3 local.beer

kat-t-i
 sell-3F-PF
 ‘The woman sold the people local beer.’

- (47c) *kaasaitinin karmaasi? ʔiʃʃay*
kaasa-sit-n = in *karmaa-siʔ* *ʔiʃʃ-ay*
 gun-DEF.M/F-INST = 1 lion-DEF.M/F kill-PF[3M]
 ‘I killed the lion with the gun.’

- (48a) *anti? ʔinnaasinitiʔin ʒopaa piɖɖay*
anti-ʔ *ʔinnaa-sinit-ʔ = in* *ʒopaa*
 1SG.PRO-NOM boy-DEF.P-DAT = 1 shoes

piɖɖ-ay
 buy[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘I bought shoes for the boy.’

- (48b) *teepaasinitin ʒormaasih hidfi*
teepaa-sinit-n ʒorma-asiʔ hidfi-i
 rope-DEF.P-INST ox-DEM.M/F tie.SG-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Tie this ox with the rope!’

Definite reference does not obligatorily require definite marking. In stories and conversations, for instance, it is quite customary to encounter entities that have been mentioned before used without definite suffixes later in the story or conversation. For example, in sentence (49), taken from a story about a lion that lived in a jungle, the noun *karmaa* ‘lion’, which has been mentioned a couple of times earlier in the story, appears without a definite marker.

- (49) *karmaa ka ʒapaleesiʒ ʒaraa kaassumaa kaassafay*
karmaa ka ʒapaleeta-asiʔ ʒaraa
 lion and monkey-DEM.M/F on

kaassuma = i kaassaf-ay
 question = 3 ask-PF[3M]
 ‘And, [the] lion asked this monkey [the] question.’

4.8. Demonstrative suffixes

There are four demonstrative suffixes that express proximity. These are: *-oosiʔ*, *-asiʔ*, *-siʔ* and *-oosiniʔ*. The suffixes *-oosiʔ*, *-asiʔ*, and *-siʔ* occur with nouns that trigger an M/F gender. The suffix *-oosiniʔ* occurs with nouns that trigger a plural gender. Among *-oosiʔ*, *-asiʔ*, and *-siʔ*, the suffix *-oosiʔ* is added to any nominal root. Examples:

- (50a) *kut-oosiʔ*
 dog-DEM.M/F
 ‘this dog’

- (50b) **karm-oosi?**
lion-DEM.M/F
'this lion'
- (50c) **orr-oosi?**
people-DEM.M/F
'these people'

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

- (51a) **kutoosis s^waa ihatay**
kut-oosi? *so?aa* *i = hat-ay*
dog-DEM.M/F meat 3 = steal-PF[3M]
'This dog stole meat.'
- (51b) **ḍakoosi? ?i?ulsi**
ḍak-oosi? *i = ?uls-i*
stone-DEM.M/F 3 = be.heavy-PF
'This stone is heavy.'
- (51c) **orroosi? ?ileki**
orr-oosi? *i = lek-i*
people-DEM.M/F 3 = be.many-PF
'These people are numerous.'

The demonstrative suffix *-asi?* is added to nominal roots that have the nominaliser *-a* (but not *-aa*) or the singulative suffix *-ta*, as shown in the following illustrative phrases.

- (52a) **kuta-asi?**
dog-DEM.M/F
'this dog'
- (52b) **nama-asi?**
person-DEM.M/F
'this person'
- (52c) **tuuyyata-asi?**
pig-DEM.M/F
'this pig'
- (52d) **tapayta-asi?**
rat-DEM.M/F
'this rat'

The following are illustrative sentential examples:

- (55a) *ɕimaysiʔ ʔipaaɕni*
ɕimay-siʔ *i = paaɕ-ni*
 old.man-DEM.M/F 3 = be.sick-IPF.PRES
 ‘This old man is sick.’
- (55b) *ɕamsiʔ ʔakataa meʔawni*
ɕam-siʔ *akata = i* *meʔaw-ni*
 food-DEM.M/F very = 3 be.sweet-IPF.PRES
 ‘This food is quite delicious.’
- (55c) *harreesiʔ ʔideepoodti*
harree-siʔ *i = deep-ood-t-i*
 donkey-DEM.M/F 3 = be.thirsty-MID-3F-PF
 ‘This donkey is thirsty.’

Nominal roots with a final CC (e.g. *moott-* ‘friend’, *hark-* ‘hand’) do not allow the demonstrative suffix *-siʔ*.

The demonstrative suffix *-oosiniʔ*, as mentioned earlier, is added to nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb. For instance, the nouns *innaa* ‘child’, *piʃaa* ‘water’, *harreewwaa* ‘donkeys’ and *ɕillaa* ‘fields’ in the following examples occur with *-oosiniʔ*.

- (56a) *innoosiniʔ ʔipiʔin*
innaa-oosiniʔ *i = piʔ-i-n*
 child-DEM.P 3 = be.thin-PF-P
 ‘This child fell.’
- (56b) *piʃoosiniʔ ʔipooraawin*
piʃaa-oosiniʔ *i = pooraaw-i-n*
 water-DEM.P 3 = be.impure-PF-P
 ‘This water became impure.’
- (56c) *harreeww-oosiniʔ ʔi = ka-kapp-i*
harreewwaa-oosiniʔ *i = ka-kapp-i*
 donkeys-DEM.P 3 = PL-be.fat-PF
 ‘These donkeys are fat.’
- (56d) *ɕilloosiniʔ ʔipappaldi*
ɕillaa-oosiniʔ *i = pap-pald-i*
 fields-DEM.P 3 = PL-be.wide-PF
 ‘These fields are wide.’

Using the nominal root *por-* ‘road’ or the singulative noun *pora* ‘road’, in (57) we show the occurrence of the demonstrative suffixes and the definite reference suffix:

- (57) *por-si?* ‘this road’
por-oosi? ‘this road’
pora-asi? ‘this road’
pora-si? ‘the road’

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a noun with a demonstrative suffix. The following are illustrative examples:

- (58a) *namsid dīsee co moottaawu*
nam-si? *dīsee = i* *kiy-o*
 person-DEM.M/F there = 3 be-3M

moottaa-wu
 friend-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘That man is my friend.’

- (58b) *kaharroosini? ?irre ca ileki*
kaharr-oosini? *irre* *kiy-a* *i = lek-i*
 sheep-DEM.P up.there be-IPF.FUT 3 = be.many-PF
 ‘Those sheep up there are numerous.’

4.9. Numerals

4.9.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number system is decimal. The cardinal *kuma* ‘thousand’ is the highest basic unit of the numeral system. The basic cardinal numbers are the following:

- (59) *takka* ‘one’
lakki ‘two’
sessaa ‘three’
afur ‘four’
ken ‘five’
leh ‘six’
tappa ‘seven’
settee? ‘eight’
sakal ‘nine’
kudan ‘ten’
dippa ‘hundred’

kuma 'thousand'

The cardinal numbers **dippa** 'hundred' and **kuma** 'thousand' can occur with the basic cardinal units from one to nine as shown in (60a-b). Moreover, **kuma** 'thousand' may occur with the basic cardinal unit **kudan** 'ten' and **dippa** 'hundred', as demonstrated in (60c-d).

(60a) **dippa takka**
hundred one
'one hundred'

(60b) **kuma lakki**
thousand two
'two thousand'

(60c) **kuma kudan**
thousand ten
'ten thousand'

(60d) **kuma dippa**
thousand hundred
'hundred thousand'

The cardinal numbers **kudan** 'ten', **dippa** 'hundred' and **kuma** 'thousand' may take plural suffixes, as in (61). Note that there is metathesis when **kudan** 'ten' is plural: **kunda**. The plural suffixes indicate 'many tens/hundreds/thousands'.

(61a) **kundadfaa**
'tens'

(61b) **dippadaa**
'hundreds'

(61c) **kumadfaa**
'thousands'

Cardinals between eleven and nineteen are formed from the base ten (**kudan**), the conjunction **ka** 'and' and the lower cardinals (one to nine). Literally, the combination means 'ten and X', where X stands for a lower cardinal. The combinations are as follows:

(62)	kudan ka takka	'eleven'	(lit.: ten and one)
	kudan ka lakki	'twelve'	(lit.: ten and two)
	kudan ka sessaa	'thirteen'	(lit.: ten and three)
	kudan ka afur	'fourteen'	(lit.: ten and four)

kudan ka ken	‘fifteen’	(lit.: ten and five)
kudan ka leh	‘sixteen’	(lit.: ten and six)
kudan ka tappa	‘seventeen’	(lit.: ten and seven)
kudan ka settee	‘eighteen’	(lit.: ten and eight)
kudan ka sakal	‘nineteen’	(lit.: ten and nine)

Multiples of ten, hundred or thousand are formed from base *kundā* <*kudan*> ‘tens’, *dippa* ‘hundred’ or *kuma* ‘thousand’ and the unit cardinals from one to nine. The following are illustrative examples.

- (63)
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| <i>kundā</i> afur | ‘forty’ |
| <i>dippa</i> sessaa | ‘three hundred’ |
| <i>dippa</i> ken | ‘five hundred’ |
| <i>kuma</i> leh | ‘six thousand’ |
| <i>kuma</i> sakal | ‘nine thousand’ |

It is possible to say *kundā takka* ‘ten’ (lit. ‘one ten’).

Addition is expressed by *ka* after the unit ten, but by *ka* or *?* otherwise. The *?* appears as a gemination of the initial consonant of the following cardinal. Addition of single digits to the multiples of ten, hundred or thousand requires base ten, hundred or thousand followed by the unit cardinal of the multiple of ten, hundred or thousand. The cardinals occur in descending order from left to right. Here are some examples:

- (64a)
- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>kundā</i> | <i>lakkī-?</i> | <i>sessaa</i> |
| ten | two-plus | three |
| ‘twenty-three’ | | |
- (64b)
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>dippa</i> | <i>sessaa-?</i> | <i>kundā</i> | <i>ken</i> |
| hundred | three-plus | tens | five |
| ‘three hundred fifty’ | | | |
- (64c)
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>dippa</i> | <i>lakkī?</i> | <i>kundā</i> | <i>lakkī-?</i> | <i>sessaa</i> |
| hundred | two | ten | two-plus | three |
| ‘two hundred twenty-three’ | | | | |
- (64d)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>dippa</i> | <i>ken</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>kundā</i> | <i>afur-?</i> | <i>sessaa</i> |
| hundred | five | and | ten | four-plus | three |
| ‘five hundred forty-three’ | | | | | |

- (64e) *kuma afur ka dippa sessak kunda ken*
kuma afur ka dippa sessa-ʔ
 thousand four and hundred three-plus
- kunda ken*
 ten five
 ‘four thousand three hundred and fifty’

The addition of digits of hundred expressed by ʔ in (64c) can be replaced by *ka* ‘and’. Likewise, *ka* ‘and’ in (64d) can be replaced by the suffix ʔ ‘plus’.

Single digits after the multiples of hundred are expressed by a multiple of hundred followed by conjunction *ka* ‘and’, postposition *ɣaraa* ‘on’ and the single unit. Similarly, single units or multiples of ten after the multiples of thousand are expressed by multiple of thousand followed by the conjunction *ka* ‘and’, postposition *ɣaraa* ‘on’ and the single unit or multiple of ten. Examples:

- (65a) *dippa lakki ka ɣara-a sessaa*
 hundred two and on-LOC three
 ‘two hundred and three’
- (65b) *kuma tappa ka ɣara-a sakal*
 thousand seven and on-LOC nine
 ‘seven thousand and nine’
- (65c) *kuma ken ka ɣara-a kudfan leh*
 thousand five and on-LOC ten six
 ‘five thousand and sixty’

4.9.2. Mathematical operations

Two arithmetic exercise booklets (booklet I (2001) and booklet II (2004)) have been written in Konso by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. With very little adaptation, I use the terminology used for mathematical operations in booklet II. The terminology is derived from verb roots or verb stems: the mathematical operation for addition is derived from the verb root *padaaw-* ‘add, increase’, subtraction from *ɣaʔʃ-* ‘to cause to rise, lift’, multiplication from *lek-* ‘to be many’, division from *ɣoot-* ‘to divide’. The expressions are given in (66a). In (66b), I provide the glossed versions of some of the expressions.

- (66a) *padaawtu* addition (+)
ɣaʔʃissu /ɣaʔʃtu/ subtraction (-)
lekissu /lekʃtu/ multiplication (×)
ɣoottu division (÷)

minakkittu / <i>mina?kittu</i> /	equal to	(=)
ɓara ɓaptu	greater than	(>)
kelpa ɗata kittu	less than	(<)
ɓara ɓaptu taakkite minakkittu	greater than or equal to	(≥)
kelpa ɗata kittu taakkite minakkittu	less than or equal to	(≤)

(66b) ɓara ɓap-t-u
 on exceed-3F-DP
 ‘greater than (>)’

kelpa ɗata kittu
kela-pa ɗata kit-t-u
 under-to down be-3F-DP
 ‘less than (<)’

ɓara ɓaptu taakkite minak kittu
ɓara ɓap-t-u taakkite mina-? kit-t-u
 on exceed-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST be-3F-DP
 ‘greater than or equal to (≥)’

kelpa ɗata kittu taakkite minak kittu
kela-pa ɗata kit-t-u taakkite mina-?
 under-DEST down be-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST

kit-t-u
 be-3F-DP
 ‘less than or equal to (≤)’

Note that all the expressions of mathematical operations have the third person feminine gender agreement marker -t.

Expressions of mathematical operations are introduced by conditional conjunctions. In addition, for the operation of addition the conjunction ɓara ‘on’ is required. The suffix -? ‘plus’ is added to the conjunction. The following is an illustrative example.

(67) oo lakki ɓaral lakki padaawan, afure kodɗini
oo lakki ɓara-? lakki padaaw-a-n
 if two on-plus two add-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i kodɗ-ni
 four=3 become-IPF.PRES
 ‘If two is added to two, it becomes four.’ (2 + 2 = 4)

The operation of addition may also be expressed by the conjunction *ka* ‘and’ as shown below:

- (68a) *lakki ka sassaa kenee koddfini*
lakki ka sassaa ken=i koddf-ni
 two and three five=3 become-IPF.PRES
 ‘Two and three become five.’

- (68b) *sessaa ka afur tappaa koddfini*
sessaa ka afur tappa=i koddf-ni
 three and four seven=3 become-IPF.PRES
 ‘Three and four become seven.’

Like that of addition, the operation of subtraction requires the conjunction *gara* ‘on’ to which the locative suffix *-a* is attached. The following is an illustrative example.

- (69) *oo leh garaa lakki xaʔʃan, afure kelaa hasini*
oo leh gara-a lakki xaʔʃ-a-n
 if six on-LOC two lift-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i kela-a hasi-ni
 four=3 under-LOC remain-IPF.PRES
 ‘If two is taken away from six, four remains.’ (6 – 2 = 4)

The following is an example of the operation of multiplication:

- (70) *oo sessaan leh kidan, kudān ka setteeʔe koddfini*
oo sessaa-n leh kid-a-n,
 if three-times six say-IPF.FUT-P

kudān ka setteeʔ=i koddf-ni
 ten and eight=3 become-IPF.PRES
 ‘If six is said three times, it becomes eighteen.’ (6 × 3 = 18)

The following is an example of the operation of the division.

- (71) *oo kudān pora lakkiʔ gootan, kene koddfini*
oo kudān pora lakki-ʔ goot-a-n
 if ten place two-DAT divide-IPF.FUT-P

ken=i koddf-ni
 four=3 become-IPF.PRES
 ‘If ten is divided into two places, it becomes five.’ (10 ÷ 2 = 5)

The examples in (72a) and (72b) are illustrative examples for the operations of greater than and less than, respectively.

- (72a) *tappak ken ġaraa ġapta*
tappa-ʔ ken ġara=i ġap-t-a
 seven-NOM five on=3 exceed-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘Seven is greater than five.’ (7 > 5)

- (72b) *sakalik kudān kelpa χataa kitta*
sakali-ʔ kudān kela-opa χata=i
 nine-NOM ten under-to down=3

kit-t-a
 be-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘Nine is less than ten.’ (9 < 10)

4.9.3. Ordinals

All ordinal numerals, except for ‘first’, are formed by adding the suffix *-atta* to the cardinal numerals. The ordinal numeral ‘first’ is formed from the verb root *paayy-* ‘to start, begin’. The ordinal number ‘second’ is formed from the older Cushitic root *lamm-* ‘two’ (cf. the cardinal *lakki* ‘two’) and the suffix *-atta*. It is also important to point out: that the final vowel in *sessaa* ‘three’ is shortened in the ordinal, that there is metathesis in the ordinal numeral *arf-atta* ‘fourth’ (cf. *afur* ‘four’), that there is vowel deletion in *saklatta* ‘ninth’ (cf. *sakal* ‘nine’), and that /t/ replaces the glottal stop in the cardinal number *setteeʔ* ‘eight’.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (73) | <i>paayyuta</i> | ‘first’ |
| | <i>lammatta</i> | ‘second’ |
| | <i>sessatta</i> | ‘third’ |
| | <i>arfatta</i> | ‘fourth’ |
| | <i>kenatta</i> | ‘fifth’ |
| | <i>lehatta</i> | ‘sixth’ |
| | <i>tappatta</i> | ‘seventh’ |
| | <i>setteetatta</i> | ‘eighth’ |
| | <i>saklatta</i> | ‘ninth’ |
| | <i>kundatta</i> | ‘tenth’ |
| | <i>kudān ka takkatta</i> | ‘eleventh’ |
| | <i>kudān ka sessatta</i> | ‘thirteenth’ |
| | <i>kunda kenatta</i> | ‘fiftieth’ |
| | <i>dippatta</i> | ‘hundredth’ |

4.10. Nominal derivation

4.10.1. Denominal/adjectival abstract nominals

Abstract nominals may be derived from nominal or adjectival roots (not from derived stems) by the suffix **-um**. The abstract suffix is followed by the suffixes **-a** or **-aa**. Abstract nominals derived from nominal roots occur with **-a** (M) while those derived from adjectival roots occur with **-aa** (P). For example, the abstract nominal **innuma** ‘childhood (M)’ in (74a) is derived from **innaa** ‘child (P)’ while the abstract nominal **kappumaa** ‘fatness (P)’ in (74b) is derived from the adjectival root **kapp-** ‘be fat’.

- (74a) **innumasi?** *ʔiʔiʃa diifay*
innaa-um-a-si? *i = ifa* *diif-ay*
 child-ABS-NMZ-DEF.M/F 3 = 3SGM.PRO[ACC] leave-PF[3M]
 ‘He does not behave like a child any longer.’
 (lit.: The childhood left him.)

- (74b) **okkattasik kappumaa ipaayyay**
okkatta-si? *kapp-um-aa* *i = paayy-ay*
 cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-NMLZ 3 = start-PF[3M]
 ‘The cow started to get fat.’
 (lit.: The cow started fatness.)

An abstract noun referring to ‘childhood’ is also derived from the suppletive multiple reference noun **hellaa** ‘children (P)’: **helluma** ‘childhood (M)’

4.10.2. Deverbal agentive nominals

Deverbal agentive nominals are derived from verb roots by the suffix **-aamp**. The agentive suffix is followed by the nominal gender suffixes **-ayta** for masculine, **-ayt-eeta** for feminine and **-ayaa** for plural. The feminine suffix is a serial derivation in that it is built on the masculine agentive. From the verb roots **ʃot-** ‘dig’, **kod-** ‘work’ and **pol-** ‘joke’, we derive the masculine agentive nominals (75a), the feminine agentive nominals (75b) and the plural agentive nominals (75c).

- (75a) **ʃotaamp-ayta** ‘farmer.3M’
kodaamp-ayta ‘worker.3M’
polaamp-ayta ‘joker.3M’
- (75b) **ʃotaamp-ayt-eeta** ‘farmer.3F’
kodaamp-ayt-eeta ‘worker.3F’
polaamp-ayt-eeta ‘joker.3F’

- (75c) *ḡotaamp-ayaa* ‘farmer.3P’
 kodaamp-ayaa ‘worker.3P’
 polaamp-ayaa ‘joker.3P’

In the following examples, I show the nominal gender agreement with various subjects. In (76a), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix *-ayta* for the semantically singular subject *nama* ‘man’. In (76b), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix *-ayta* for the semantically plural subject *ḡonsitta* ‘the Konso’. In (76c), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal feminine gender suffix *-ayteeta* for the semantically plural subject *kuyleeta* ‘the Ts’amakko’. Lastly, in (76d), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal plural gender suffix *-ayaa* for the semantically singular subject *innaa* ‘child’.

- (76a) *namoosiḡ ḡotaampayta*
 nama-osi? *ḡot-aamp-ayta*
 man-DEM.M/F farm-AGENT-3M
 ‘This man is a (hard-working) farmer.’
- (76b) *ḡonsitta ḡot-aamp-ayta*
 Konso.PL farm-AGENT-3M
 ‘The Konso are (hard-working) farmers.’
- (76c) *kuyleeta ḡot-aamp-ayt-eeta*
 Ts’amakko.PL farm-AGENT-3M-3F
 ‘The Ts’amakko are (hard-working) farmers.’
- (76d) *innoosiniḡ ḡotaampayta*
 innaa-osini? *ḡot-aamp-ayaa*
 child-DEM.P farm-AGENT-3P
 ‘This child is a (hard-working) farmer.’

4.10.3. Denominal ethnic nominals

Nationals or individuals of ethnic groups or place of residence (e.g. village) may be derived from nominal roots by means of gender suffixes: *-itta* (M) for male, *-itteeta* (F) for female and *-itta* (M), *-aa* (P) or *-eeta* (F) for plural. The plural form is the one used to refer to the name of the ethnic group or residents of a place. Table 2 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to nationalities or ethnic groups. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages.

Male	Female	Plural	
χons-itta Konso man	χons-itt-eeta Konso woman	χons-itta (M) Konso people	Konso
χoyr-itta kawwaad-itta	χoyr-itt-eeta kawwaad-itt-eeta	χoyr-aa (P) kawwaad-aa (M)	Burji Gawwada
firaat-itta	firaat-itt-eeta	firaat-aa (M)	Diraafē
kuyil-itta	kuyil-itt-eeta	kuyil-eeta (F)	Ts'amakko
ɕaww-itta	ɕaww-itt-eeta	ɕaww-eeta (F)	Amhara

Table 2: Examples of derived nominals referring to nationality or ethnic group

Male	Female	Plural	Village name
kuum-itta (male) person from Kuume	kuum-itt-eeta (female) person from Kuume	kuuma (M) people from Kuume village	Kuume
mafaɕ-itta	mafaɕ-itt-eeta	mafaɕaa (M)	Mafaɕe
dekatt-itta	dekatt-itt-eeta	dekattoota (F)	dekatto
sawkam-itta	sawkam-itt-eeta	sawkamaata (F)	Sawkama
kaaɕal-itta	kaaɕal-itt-eeta	kaaɕalaa (M)	Kaaɕale

Table 3: Examples of derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages

4.10.4. Denominal nouns with indication of characteristic

Persons with certain characteristic are derived from nouns with the suffix **-ool** which is followed by the nominal gender marking suffixes **-ayta (M)**, **-ayt-eeta (F)** and **-ayaa** for male, female and plural, respectively. The derivation is productive mainly occurring with plural nouns and has a semantic specialisation indicating large quantity of the entities in question. With singulatives, it indicates that the noun in question has a large size. For example, from the singulative **matta** 'head', **kessa** 'chest' and plurative **dillaa** 'fields', we may derive the masculine nominals in (77a), feminine nominals in (77b) or plural nominals in (77c).

- (77a) **matt-ool-ayta** 'one (M) with a big head'
kess-ool-ayta 'one (M) with a broad chest'
dill-ool-ayta 'one (M) with many fields'
- (77b) **matt-ool-ayt-eeta** 'one (F) with a big head'
kess-ool-ayt-eeta 'one (F) with a broad chest'
dill-ool-ayt-eeta 'one (F) with many fields'
- (77c) **matt-ool-ayaa** 'ones with big heads'
kess-ool-ayaa 'ones with broad chests'
dill-ool-ayaa 'ones with many fields'

With the noun χ olmaa ‘neck (P)’, the derivation χ olm-ool-ayta means ‘a man who uses force to obtain something’; χ olm-ool-ayt-eeta ‘a woman who uses force to get something’ and χ olm-ool-ayaa ‘people who use force to obtain something’. With the noun hoppatta ‘guts (M)’ the derivation indicates greed: hoppatt-oolayta ‘a greedy man’; hoppatt-ool-ayt-eeta ‘a greedy woman’ and hoppatt-ool-ayaa ‘greedy people’.

4.10.5. Deadjectival individual entities

Deadjectival nominals are derived from adjectival roots with the nominal gender suffixes -ayta, -ayteeta and -yaa for third person masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. Plural deadjectival nominals are also characterised by having the adjectival root based on the plural adjective and hence containing initial $C_1V(C_1)$ reduplication. For instance, from the adjectival roots der- ‘be tall, long’, kapp- ‘be fat’ and ɕalla? ‘be thin’, we can derive the masculine deadjectival nominals (78a), third person feminine deadjectival nominals (78b), singulative deadjectival nominals with plural gender (78c) or plural deadjectival nominals (78d).

(78a)	derayta kappayta ɕalla?ayta	‘tall one.3M’ ‘fat one.3M’ ‘thin one.3M’
(78b)	derayteeta kappayteeta ɕalla?ayteeta	‘tall one.3F’ ‘fat one.3F’ ‘thin one.3F’
(78c)	derayaa kappayaa ɕalla?ayaa	‘tall one.P’ ‘fat one.P’ ‘thin one.P’
(78d)	dedderayaa kakappayaa ɕacɕalla?ayaa	‘tall ones’ ‘fat ones’ ‘thin ones’

The nominal gender suffixes added to deadjectival individual entities can be used not only to refer to persons but also to other entities.

4.10.6. Deverbal action nouns

Deverbal action nouns are derived from verb roots by using various suffixes as illustrated below. The list of the suffixes is not exhaustive.

(79a) -anta (F)

hatanta	‘stealing’	hat-	‘to steal’
palanta	‘ripening’	pal-	‘to ripen’
keranta	‘ageing’	ker-	‘to be old’
faranta	‘crack’	far-	‘to crack’

(79b) -antaa (M)

χaʔantaa	‘flying’	χaʔad-	‘to fly’
ɕaʔantaa	‘standing’	ɕaʔad-	‘to stand’
hirantaa	‘running[PL]’	hir-	‘to run[PL]’

(79c) -oota (F)

ɖaloota	‘birth’	ɖal-	‘to give birth’
ɕaloota	‘slaughtering’	ɕal-	‘to slaughter’

(79d) -eeta (F)

ɕoteeta	‘digging’	ɕot-	‘to dig, farm’
piddeeta	‘buying[SG]’	pidɖ-	‘to buy[SG]’
ɖiipeeta	‘washing’	ɖiip-	‘to wash’

(79e) -naa (P)

ɕahnaa	‘fleeing’	ɕah-	‘to flee’
pahnaa	‘example’	pah-	‘to resemble’
ʔupnaa	‘knowledge’	ʔup-	‘to know’
sahnaa	‘capacity’	sah-	‘to be able to’

(79f) -a (M)

ɖeeχa	‘peace making’	ɖeeχ-	‘to make peace’
ɖiika	‘blood’	ɖiik-	‘to bleed’
χarʃa	‘beans’	χarʃ-	‘to cook beans’

(79g) -aa (P)

fataa	‘vomit’	fat-	‘to vomit’
ɖamaa	‘food’	ɖam-	‘to eat’

(79h) -uta (F)

noodfuta	‘bribe’	noodf-	‘to push’
needfuta	‘hatred’	needf-	‘to hate’
paakkuta	‘span’	paakk-	‘to measure with span’
puussuta	‘writing, line’	puuss-	‘to draw a line’
moossuta	‘piece of bread’	mooss-	‘to break (bread)’

4.11. Case

Konso has nominative–accusative case alignment. The core cases nominative and accusative are rarely distinguished, see 4.11.1. Genitive constructions are marked with a genitive particle following its head noun. Dative and Instrumental nouns are marked with a suffix. The dative suffix is homophonous with one of the locative suffixes, both consisting of a glottal stop. The other locative suffix is similar to the background suffix, both ending in -yye. When addressing people, a vocative ending can be used. These phenomena do not form a coherent system within the language but are discussed here under the heading Case.

4.11.1. The nominative and accusative cases

Proper names, pronouns and days of a week are marked for the nominative case with the suffix -ʔ. For example, the proper names **Kappoole** and **Apitto** occur in the subject positions as in (80a) and (80b), respectively. Both also occur unmarked in the object position as in (80b) and (80a), respectively. In (80c), the subject pronoun **ʔinu** ‘we’ occurs with the suffix -ʔ, and in (80d), the week day **palawwa** ‘Saturday’ occurs with the suffix -ʔ.

Nominative marking by glottal stop is limited to the above cases. Common nouns do not distinguish nominative and accusative case (except in cleft constructions, see below). The items that do show nominative marking have in common that they are inherently specific. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that demonstrative and definite suffixes end in a glottal stop while possessive suffixes do not.

(80a) **Kappooliʔ ʔapittu ʔiGoffay**
Kappooli-ʔ Apittu i = Goff-ay
 Kappoole-NOM Apitto 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘Kappoole pinched Apitto once.’

(80b) **Apittuk Kappooli iGoffay**
Apittu-ʔ Kappooli i = Goff-ay
 Apitto-NOM Kappoole 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘Apitto pinched Kappoole once.’

(80c) *inut toman piddfini*
inu-ʔ *toma=in* *piddf-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM bowl=1 buy[SG]-1PL-PF
 ‘We bought a bowl.’

(80d) *palawwap partaane*
palawwa-ʔ *partaane*
 Saturday-NOM day.after.tomorrow
 ‘Saturday is the day after tomorrow.’

With regard to pronouns, only first person singular and second person singular make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases: *anti* ‘I’ vs. *ana* ‘me’ and *atti* ‘you (SG)’ and *ke* ‘you (SG)’ (see Chapter 5 for details of pronouns). All pronouns in the subject position are also marked for nominative by the suffix *-ʔ*. For example, the pronoun *anti* ‘I’ and *ke* ‘you (SG)’ in (81a) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively. Similarly, the pronouns *atti* ‘you (SG)’ and *ana* ‘me’ in (81b) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively.

(81a) *antik ke inGoffay*
anti-ʔ *ke* *in=Goff-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM 2SG.PRO.ACC 1 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘I pinched you (SG) once.’

(81b) *attiʔ ʔana iGoffiti*
atti-ʔ *ana* *iʔ=Goff-t-i*
 2SG.PRO-NOM 1SG.PRO.ACC 2 = pinch.SG-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) pinched me once.’

Pronouns that do not make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative are still marked by the suffix *-ʔ* for nominative as shown in (82).

(82a) *inuʔ ʔifoonna indaanni*
inu-ʔ *ifoonna* *in=daan-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM 3PL.PRO[ACC] 1 = chase-1PL-PF
 ‘We chased them.’

(82b) *ifoonnaʔ ʔinu idaanni*
ifoonna-ʔ *inu* *i=daan-n-i*
 3PL.PRO-NOM 1PL.PRO[ACC] 3 = chase-3PL-PF
 ‘They chased us.’

Tone is used to make the nominative and accusative case distinction in cleft sentences in such a way that the nominative case is marked by a low tone whereas the accusative case is marked by a high tone. For example, in (83a-b),

we have the nouns **harreeta** ‘donkey’ and **χorma** ‘ox, bull’. In both examples, **harreeta** ‘donkey’ precedes **χorma** ‘ox, bull’. The lengthened final vowel of the noun **harreeta** ‘donkey’ in (83a) has a low tone; final vowel lengthening is one of the characteristic features of clefting (as discussed in Section 3.5). In (83b), however, the lengthened final vowel of **harreeta** ‘donkey’ has a high tone which marks the accusative case.

(83a) **harreeta-a** **χorma** **diit-ay**
 donkey-CLF[NOM] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘It is a donkey that kicked an ox.’

(83b) **harreeta-á** **χorma** **diit-ay**
 donkey-CLF[ACC] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘It is a donkey that an ox kicked.’

Now, when we exchange the positions of the two nouns **harreeta** ‘donkey’ and **χorma** ‘ox, bull’ in (84a-b), we find that the final vowel of **χorma** ‘ox, bull’ is lengthened. Moreover, in (84a), the lengthened final vowel carries a low tone, thus, marking nominative case while in (84b), the lengthened final vowel carries a high tone, thus, marking an accusative case.

(84a) **χorma-a** **harreeta** **diit-ay**
 ox-CLF[NOM] donkey kick[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘It is an ox that kicked a donkey.’

(84b) **χorma-á** **harreeta** **diit-t-i**
 ox-CLF[ACC] donkey kick[SG]-3F-PF
 ‘It is an ox that a donkey kicked.’

4.11.2. The genitive case

The genitive is expressed with the genitive particle **?a** for human possessors, and **?a...?** for non-human possessors. The final syllable of the possessor has a high tone.

The distribution of the genitive suffixes in accordance with whether the possessor is human or non-human is clear from the example in (85a) the noun **locʔa** ‘leg’ is possessed by a human possessor **Kappoole** but by a non-human possessor **tulpeeta** ‘hippo’ in (85b). Similarly, in the examples in (85c), the noun **tika** ‘house’ is possessed by the human possessor **Anto** while the noun **napahta** ‘ear’ in (85d) is possessed by the non-human possessor **arpa** ‘elephant’. In (85e), the noun **taamta** ‘branch’ is possessed by the non-human possessor **Goyra** ‘tree’.

- (85a) *logʔa a kappoolíʔ ʔakkiti*
logʔa a kappoolí=iʔ akk-t-i
 leg GEN kappoole=2 see-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) saw Kappoole’s leg.’
- (85b) *logʔa a tulpeetáʔiʔ ʔakkiti*
logʔa a tulpeetá-ʔ=iʔ akk-t-i
 leg GEN hippo-GEN=2 see-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) saw hippopotamus’s leg.’
- (85c) *tika a Antú i=pald-i*
 house GEN Anto 3=be.wide-PF
 ‘Anto’s house is wide.’
- (85d) *napahta a arpá-ʔ i=pald-i*
 ear GEN elephant-GEN 3=wide-PF
 ‘The ear of an elephant is wide.’
- (85e) *inantasiit taamta a ʕoyraʔ ʔimurti*
inanta-siʔ taamta a ʕoyra-ʔ
 girl-DEF.M/F branch GEN tree-GEN

i=mur-t-i
 3=cut[SG]-3F-PF
 ‘The girl cut a branch of a tree.’

Proper names with a final *aa* also have *ʔ* in the genitive construction as in (86).

- (86a) *okkatta a Oynaá-ʔ=in akk-ay*
 cow GEN Oynaa-GEN=1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw Oynaa’s cow.’
- (86b) *ifeennat tika a kaabaáʔ ʔiʔupta*
ifeenna-ʔ tika a kaabaá-ʔ
 3SGF.PRO-NOM house GEN kaabaa-GEN

i=up-t-a
 3=know-IPF.FUT
 ‘She knows Kaabaa’s house.’

Nouns possessed by associative plural are expressed with the genitive particle followed by the associative particle *opa* and the name, as illustrated in (87).

- (87a) *tika a opa kappoolí i=sek-i*
 house GEN ASS kappoole 3 = be.far-PF
 ‘Kappoole (and his associate)’s house is far.’
- (87b) *díla a opa kintilí i=pald-i*
 field GEN ASS kintile 3 = be.wide-PF
 ‘Kintile (and his associate)’s field is wide.’

The genitive particle may occur after nouns with possessive suffixes, as illustrated below.

- (88) *hellaa-nno a χonsú-ʔ i=dɛy-i-n*
 children-1PL.POSS.P GEN Konso-GEN 3 = come-PF-P
 ‘Our Konso fellows came.’
 (lit.: ‘Children of our Konso came.’)

In fast speech, the glottal stop that occurs at the end of the genitive construction is elided, resulting in a complete assimilation to the initial vowel of the possessor noun if the possessor begins with a (glottal stop plus) vowel as in (89a-b). If the possessor begins with another consonant, the affix may be elided as in (89c).

- (89a) *χorma aantú ʔipoori*
χorma a Antú i=poor-i
 ox GEN Anto 3 = be.black-PF
 ‘Anto’s ox is black.’
- (89b) *aannookkattáʔ ʔinʔikay*
aannaa a okkattá-ʔ in=ik-ay
 milk GEN cow-GEN 1 = drink-PF[3M]
 ‘I drank cow milk.’
- (89c) *hoofa karrattáʔ ʔinakkini*
hoofa a karrattá-ʔ in=akk-n-i
 hole GEN squirrel-GEN 1 = see-P-PF
 ‘We saw a squirrel’s hole.’

4.11.3. The dative case

The dative is marked with the suffix -ʔ. The dative suffix differs from the nominative suffix in that it is not limited to pronouns and names but also occurs on common nouns. The main role of the dative is to denote the beneficiary. The following are examples:

- (90a) *attiŋ ɔolpasiŋ ʔifaŋ ʔippidditi*
atti-ŋ *ɔolpa-siŋ* *ifa-ŋ*
 2SG.PRO-NOM he-goat-DEF.M/F 3SGM.PRO-DAT
- iŋ = pidd-t-i*
 2 = buy[SG]-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) bought him a he-goat.’
- (90b) *inatasiŋ ʔanap piŋaa idaassi*
inata-siŋ *ana-ŋ* *piŋaa* *i = daaf-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT water 3 = give-3F-PF
 ‘The girl gave me water.’
- (90c) *antin nama tokkaŋin ɣapaa pidday*
anti-ŋ *nama* *tokka-ŋ = in* *ɣapaa*
 1SG.PRO-NOM person one.M-DAT = 1 shoes
- pidday*
 buy[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘I bought shoes for someone.’
- (90d) *tuparaasiniŋ ʔokkayaaŋe oha ohin*
tuparaa-siniŋ *okkayaa-ŋ = i*
 girls-DEF.P cows-DAT = 3
- oha* *oh-i-n*
 fodder cut.fodder-PF-P
 ‘The girls cut fodder for the cows.’

First and second person beneficiaries are always marked with the dative suffix. However, it is possible for third person beneficiaries not to be marked. In this case, the dative suffix occurs at the end of the verb. This results in the final vowel of the verb having a high tone. For example, in (91a), there is no dative suffix, and as a result the final vowel of the verb occurs with a low tone. In (91b), there is a dative suffix at the end of the verb, and the preceding vowel has a high tone.

- (91a) *in = daaf-a*
 1 = give-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will give (it).’
- (91b) *in = daaf-á-ŋ*
 1 = give-IPF.FUT-DAT
 ‘I will give (it) for him/her/them.’

The example in (91b) can also be used to mean ‘I will give (it) on behalf of him/her/them.’

4.11.4. The instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix *-n(n)*. The suffix appears single before consonants (92a), and geminate before vowels (92b). It indicates that the noun it is added to is used as an instrument by an agent. For example, the nouns *faasita* ‘pick axe’ and *ulayta* ‘stick’ are used as instruments to accomplish the actions of cutting and hitting, respectively.

- (92a) *attif faasitan ɣoyrasi? ʔimmurti*
atti-ʔ *faasita-n* *ɣoyra-siʔ*
 2SG.PRO-NOM pickaxe-INST tree-DEF.M/F

iʔ = mur-t-i
 2 = cut-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) cut the tree with a pickaxe.’

- (92b) *antiʔ ʔulaytannin pinantasid ɗayay*
anti-ʔ *ulayta-nn = in* *pinanta-siʔ*
 1SG.PRO-NOM stick-INST = 3 animal-DEF.M/F

ɗay-ay
 hit-PF[3M]
 ‘I hit the animal with a stick.’

The instrumental suffix also indicates manner as in (93).

- (93) *malannil lukkalittasiɣ ɣaptin*
mala-nn = iʔ *lukkalitta-siʔ* *ɣap-t-i-n*
 wisdom-INST = 2 chicken-DEF.M/F catch-3F-PF-P
 ‘You (PL) caught the chicken skillfully.’

4.11.5. The vocative case

The vocative is marked by the suffixes *-u/o* and *-y*. The former occurs with nouns that trigger M/F gender agreement on the verb, as in (94), and the latter with nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb, as in (95).

- (94a) *namu, maanaʔ ʔaye koʔni*
nama-u *maana = iʔ* *aye* *kod-ni*
 man-VOC.M/F what = 2 here do-IPF.PRES
 ‘You guy, what are you doing here?’

- (94b) *karru, okkattaayti ka ḡormaawu kulee dālay*
karraa-u, okkatta-ayti ka
 squirrel-VOC.M/F cow-2SG.POSS.M/F and
- ḡorma-awu kuli=i dāl-ay*
 ox-1SG.POSS.M/F also=3 give.birth-PF[3M]
 ‘Squirrel, your cow as well as my ox gave birth.’
- (95a) *tuparraa-y ḡooy-a*
 girls-VOC.P come-IMP.PL
 ‘You girls, come!’
- (95b) *ḡinnaa-y ḡooy-i*
 boy-VOC.P come-IMP.SG
 ‘You boy, come!’

In kinship terms, we may find the vocative suffixes *-u/o*, *-i/e* and *-a*. The distribution is lexically determined as can be seen from the following examples.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (96) | Vocative form | | source | |
| | <i>aapp-u/o</i> | ‘daddy!’ | <i>aappaa</i> | ‘father’ |
| | <i>okkooyy-u/o</i> | ‘grandma!’ | <i>okkooyyita</i> | ‘grandmother’ |
| | <i>aayy-i/e</i> | ‘mamma!’ | <i>aayyaa</i> | ‘mother’ |
| | <i>aatt-i/e</i> | ‘elder sibling!’ | <i>aattaa</i> | ‘elder sibling’ |
| | <i>aakk-a</i> | ‘grandpa!’ | <i>aakkaa</i> | ‘grandfather’ |
| | <i>maamm-a</i> | ‘(paternal) aunt!’ | <i>maammata</i> | ‘aunt’ |

Proper names with a final *-o* in the base form attach the vocative suffix *-u/o* as in (97a); those with a final *-e* attach the vocative *-e/i* as in (97b); those with a final *-a* attach the vocative suffix *-a* as in (97c).

- (97a) *Antu/o* ‘Anto!’
Katanu/o ‘Katano!’
Paritu/o ‘Parito!’
- (97b) *Kappoole/i* ‘Kappoole!’
Kanaase/i ‘Kanaase!’
- (97c) *ḡalaalla* ‘ḡalaalla!’
Orkeeta ‘Orkeeta!’

4.11.6. The locational markers *-Vyye* and *-ʔ*

The suffixes *-Vyye* and *-ʔ* mark location (see locational adverbs in 8.2.1). The V of *-Vyye* is the lengthening of the final vowel of the noun). The locational

marker -Vyye occurs mainly with the verb root *kiy-* ‘be, exist’ whereas -ʔ occurs with action verbs such as *χaay-* ‘put’, *diif-* ‘leave’. The following are illustrative examples.

- (98a) *sakooyaf faafeeyye ca*
sakooyya-ʔ faafe-eyye=i kiy-a
 sakooyya-NOM faafe-LOC=3 be-IPF.FUT
 ‘Sakooyye is at Faafe.’
- (98b) *inantisit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti*
inanta-siʔ toma-siʔ tika-ʔ i=χaay-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
 ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational markers do not replace each other. This can be seen from the examples in (99), which are modified versions of the examples in (98).

- (99a) **sakooyaf faafiʔ ʔica*
sakooyya-ʔ faafe-ʔ i=kiy-a
 sakooyya-NOM faafe-LOC 3=be-PF.FUT
 (intended: ‘Sakooyye is at Faafe.’)
- (99b) **inantisit tomasit tikaayye iχaayti*
inanta-siʔ toma-siʔ tika-ayye i=χaay-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
 (intended: ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’)

The locational suffixes differ with respect to optionality: It is possible to leave out -Vyye but not -ʔ. For example, in (100a), -Vyye occurs with the noun *tika* ‘house’ but it does not occur with the same noun in (100b). On the other hand, -ʔ is obligatory. To demonstrate this, example (100b) is repeated with and without the suffix in (100c) and (100d).

- (100a) *ɕimaytasit tikaayyee ca*
ɕimayta-siʔ tika-ayye=i kiy-a
 old man-DEF.M/F house-LOC=3 be-IPF.FUT
 ‘The old man is at home.’
- (100b) *ɕimaytasit tikaa ca*
ɕimayta-siʔ tika=i kiy-a
 old man-DEF.M/F house=3 be-IPF.FUT
 ‘The old man is at home.’

- (100c) *inantasit tomasit tika? Yiɣaayti*
inanta-si? toma-si? tika-? i = ɣaay-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3 = put-3F-PF
 ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’
- (100d) **inantasit tomasit tika Yiɣaayti*
inanta-si? toma-si? tika i = ɣaay-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house 3 = put-3F-PF
 ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational suffix -Vyye can be used as ablative, as in the following examples:

- (101a) *inantaasiɣ ɣonsooyyee de?ti*
inanta-asi? ɣonso-eyye = i dey-t-i
 girl-DEM.M/F Konso-LOC = 3 come-3F-PF
 ‘This girl came from Konso.’
- (101b) *urmalaayyeeɛn laha pidɕay*
urmala-eyye = in laha pidɕ-ay
 market-LOC = 1 ram buy[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘I bought a ram from the market.’

4.11.7. The background marker

The background is marked by the suffixes -eyye or -yye. The former has an allomorph -e. The distribution is phonologically determined: nouns with a short terminal -a occur with -eyye or -e, and nouns with a terminal vowel -aa occur with -yye. The background marker has the meaning ‘person-wise’ or ‘entity-wise’.

- (102a) *ifan nameeyye ideri*
ifa-? nama-eyye i = der-i
 3SG.PRO-NOM person-BKGRD.M/F 3 = be.tall-PF
 ‘Person-wise, he is tall.’
- (102b) *ɕoyraasiɕ ɕoyre ɕoyra a kokay*
ɕoyra-asi? ɕoyra-e ɕoyra a
 tree-DEM.M/F tree-BKGRD.M/F tree REL
kok-ay
 dry-PF[3M]
 ‘Tree-wise, this tree is dry.’
 (lit.: ‘Tree-wise, this tree is a tree which is dry.’)

- (102c) *filoosinif filaaayye itiimi*
filaa-osini? *filaa-yye* *i = tiim-i*
 comb-DEM.P comb-BKGRD.P 3 = be.red-PF
 ‘Comb-wise, this comb is red.’
- (102d) *tikkaa-yye* *i = pap-pald-i*
 houses-BKGRD.P 3 = PL-be.wide-PF
 ‘House-wise, they are wide.’

Deadjectival nominals that modify head nouns also occur with the background suffix *-eye*. For instance, the deadjectival nominal *ɕallaʔayta* ‘thin one’ in (103a) occurs with the head noun *ɕoyra* ‘tree’ which, in the example, has the background suffix *-eye*. However, head nouns that have the definite suffix *-siʔ* do not allow deadjectival nominals to occur with the background suffix, as shown in (103b). Similarly, deadjectival nominals do not occur with subject clitics, as illustrated in (103c).

- (103a) *ɕoyreeyye ɕallaʔayta*
ɕoyra-eyye *ɕallaʔ-ayta*
 tree-BKGRD.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
 ‘Tree-wise, it is a thin one.’
- (103b) **ɕoyreeyyesiɕ ɕallaʔayta*
ɕoyra-eyye-siʔ *ɕallaʔ-ayta*
 tree-BKGRD-DEF.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
 (intended: ‘Tree-wise, the tree is thin.’)
- (103c) **iɕallaʔayta*
i = ɕallaʔ-ayta
 3 = be.thin-NMLZ.M
 (intended: ‘It is thin one.’)

4.12. Compounding

Compounding is not really productive; I disagree with Daniel (2000) on this point. The following are the compound nouns I was able to find. Most of them have the genitive particle *a*. The words are compounds because, for example, the first two have reduced first parts which do not exist in this form independently. The rest of the compound words have a specialised, non-predictable meaning and thus are lexicalised.

- (104a) *kurɕakkayta*
kurra + ɕakkayta
 ear + deaf.M
 tree species

- (104b) **kuttimpira**
kuttumaa-pir-a
 growth-finish-NMLZ
 ‘molar tooth’
- (104c) **duusutakaarayyaá?**
duusuta-a-kaarayyaá-?
 fart-GEN-devil-GEN
 mushroom species
- (104d) **akalaparaffaá?**
akala-a-paraffaá-?
 sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN
 ‘centipede’
- (104e) **χormawaagá?**
χorma-a-waagá-?
 ox-GEN-God-GEN
 grasshopper species
- (104f) **keraawaagá?**
keraa-a-waagá-?
 thief-GEN-God-GEN
 ‘witchdoctor’

The above compound words may form their pluratives by replacing the singulative suffix with a plurative suffix, adding a plurative suffix in the end or to the initial part. The first compound forms its plurative by replacing the singulative suffix *-ta* with *-aa*. The the second three compound words form their pluratives by adding the plurative suffix *-dāaa*. The last two compound words form their pluratives based on the pluratives of the first words. Notice that the final genitive marker *?* in the singulatives appears after the plurative suffix. Below, I give the plurative of each of the above compound words to show that these words are one word and a noun.

	Singulative	plurative
(105a)	kurđakkayta <i>kurra + dakkayta</i> ear + deaf.M tree species	kurđakkayaa <i>kurra + dakkayaa</i> ear + be.deaf.P tree species

⁹ Also *ussukkaarayyaa*.

- | | | | |
|--------|---|--|--|
| (105b) | kuttimpira
<i>kuttumaa-pir-a</i>
growth-finish-NMLZ
‘molar tooth’ | | kutimpiradfaa
<i>kuttumaa-pir-a-dfaa</i>
growth-finish-NMLZ-P
‘molar teeth’ |
| (105c) | duusutakaarayyaá?
<i>duusuta-?a-kaarayyaá-?</i>
fart-GEN-devil-GEN
‘mushroom (species)’ | | duusutakaariyyadfaá?
<i>duusuta-a-kaariyyaa-dfaa-?</i>
fart-GEN-devil-P-GEN
‘mushrooms’ |
| (104d) | akalaparaffaá?
<i>akala-a-paraffaá-?</i>
sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN
‘centipede’ | | akalaparaffadfaá?
<i>akala-a-paraffadfaa-?</i>
sack-GEN-cereal.species.P -GEN
‘centipedes’ |
| (104e) | χormawaagá?
<i>χorma-a-waaGá-?</i>
ox-GEN-God-GEN
‘grasshopper (species)’ | | χormadawaagá?
<i>χormadaa-a-waaGá-?</i>
oxen-GEN-God-GEN
‘grasshoppers’ |
| (104f) | keraawaagá?
<i>keraa-a-waaGá-?</i>
thief-GEN-God-GEN
‘witchdoctor’ | | kere?tawaagá?
<i>kere?ewwa-a-waaGá-?</i>
thieves-GEN-God-GEN
‘witchdoctors’ |

5. Pronouns

In this chapter I discuss personal pronouns, demonstratives and possessives. I also treat reflexive and reciprocals. Personal pronouns distinguish number for all persons, but gender only for third person singular. With regard to case distinctions, it is only the first person singular and the second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases.

5.1. Personal pronouns

The following table presents the personal pronouns.

	Singular		Plural
	Nominative	Accusative	Nominative / Accusative
1	anti	ana	inu
2	atti	ke	ifina
3F	ifeenna		ifoonna
	ifeet(t)a		ifoot(t)a
	ifeed(d)a		ifood(d)a
3M	ifa		

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

As can be seen from the table, it is only the first and second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases. In (1a), the personal pronoun *ifa* ‘he’ and *ana* ‘me’ are marked for their respective cases morphologically and lexically. However, in (1b), the nominative case distinction with the personal pronouns *anti* ‘I’ is made morphologically while the accusative case for the personal pronoun *ifa* ‘him’ is neither morphologically marked nor lexically expressed. It is understood only from the word order.

(1a) *ifa?* *?ana* *i?akkay*
ifa-? *?ana* *i = akk-ay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM 1SG.PRO.ACC 3 = see-PF
 ‘He saw me.’

(1b) *anti?* *?ifa* *in?akkay*
anti-? *ifa* *in = akk-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM 3SGM.PRO[ACC] 1 = see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw him.’

Second person plural accusative pronoun form occurs without a final vowel when it occurs as an object of a postposition as in (2a). Otherwise, it occurs with the final vowel as in (2b-c).

- (2a) *ɕolpa-si?* *ʔiʃin kapa ica*
ɕolpa-si? *ʃin* *kapa*
 he-goat-DEF.M/F 2PL.PRO.ACC near

i = kiy-a
 3 = be-IPF.FUT
 ‘The he-goat is with you (PL).’
- (2b) *antil luukkawwaasinin ʃinaɗ dadɗaaʃay*
anti-? *luukkawwaa-sini? = in*
 1SG.PRO-NOM fruits-DEF.P = 1

ʃina-? *ɗad-ɗaaʃ-ay*
 2PL.PRO.ACC-DAT PL-give-PF[3M]
 ‘I gave you (PL) the fruits.’
- (2c) *ʃinaa tikupa kalay*
ʃina-á *tika-opa* *kal-ay*
 2PL.PRO-CLF[ACC] house-to return.home-PF[3M]
 ‘It is you (PL) who returned home.’

The alternants for third person feminine and third person plural pronoun forms differ only in the vowels in the second syllable. Except with the nasal consonant, which is always geminate, the forms of these pronouns can occur in free variant forms: with a single or geminate final consonant.

Personal pronouns can be used not only for humans but also for non-human entities agreeing in gender to the gender of the noun they refer to.

5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are *sedɪ?* and *seni?*. The former is used with nouns that trigger an M/F gender agreement on the verb, whereas the latter is used with nouns that trigger a P gender agreement on the verb. Like the demonstrative suffixes (see 4.8), the demonstrative pronouns express proximity. No distal distinction is made. Here are some examples:

- (3a) *sedɪɕ ɕoyra*
sedɪ? *ɕoyra*
 this.M/F tree[M]
 ‘This is a tree.’
- (3b) *sedɪt tikaayti*
sedɪ? *tika-ayti*
 this.M/F house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘This is your house.’

(3c) *senif filaa*yyu
seni? filaa-yyu
 this comb[P]-1SG.POSS.P
 ‘This is my comb.’

(3d) *seni? Goraa*
seni? Goraa
 these trees.P
 ‘These are trees.’

The word *ini?* ‘this one’ is used as demonstrative pronoun as well. It is used with nouns that are semantically singular and may trigger a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb.

(4a) *init tikaawu*
ini? tika-awu
 this.M/F house-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘This is my house.’

(4b) *inim maakaa*
ini? maakaa
 this.M/F snake[M]
 ‘This is a snake.’

It is interesting to see that some numerically singular nouns which trigger a plural gender agreement occur with *ini?*, and some do not. For example, the nouns *filaa* ‘comb[P]’ and *innaa* ‘child [P]’ trigger plural gender agreement in possessives. However, the nouns show a difference in their distribution with regard to the demonstrative pronoun *ini?*: *innaa* ‘child[P]’ does occur with *ini?*, as in (5a), whereas *filaa* ‘comb[P]’ does not (5b).

(5a) *ini? ?innaayyu*
ini? innaa-yyu
 this.M/F child[P]-1SG.POSS.P
 ‘This is my child.’

(5b) **inif filaa*yyu
ini? filaa-yyu
 this.M/F comb[P]-1SG.POSS.P
 (intended: ‘This is my comb.’)

There is also the demonstrative pronoun *ossini?* ‘this thing’ which is used with reference to (non-)animate entities as illustrated in (6).

- (6a) **ossinim maana**
ossini? maana
 this.thing what
 ‘What is this thing?’
- (6b) **ossini? ?ineeɣ-i**
ossini? i = neeɣ-i
 this.thing 3 = be.bad-PF
 ‘This thing is bad.’

The glottal stop of the demonstrative pronouns may be elided in fast utterances. This can be seen from the examples in (7).

- (7a) **sedi tikaayti**
sedi tika-ayti
 this.M/F house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘This is your house.’
- (7b) **ini maakaa**
ini maakaa
 this.M/F snake[M]
 ‘This is a snake.’
- (7c) **ossinineeɣ-i**
ossini i = neeɣ-i
 this.thing 3 = be.bad-PF
 ‘This thing is bad.’

The glottal stop is not elided from *ossini?* ‘this thing’ with such question words as *meeɣaa* ‘how much?’ (8a) and *maana* ‘what?’ (8b). It is elided with the question word *ayfa* ‘where?’, as shown in (8c).

- (8a) ***ossini meeɣaa**
 this.thing how.much
 (intended: ‘How much is this thing?’)
- (8b) ***ossini maana**
 this.thing what
 (intended: ‘What is this thing?’)
- (8c) **ossini ayfa?id dākayti**
ossini ?ayfa-? = i? dākay-t-i
 this.thing where-LOC = 2 hear-2-PF
 ‘Where did you hear this thing from?’

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a demonstrative pronoun as can be seen from the following examples:

- (9a) *sedid dīsee co Ǵoyraawu*
sedid? dīsee=i kiy-o Ǵoyra-awu
 this.DEM.M/F there=3 be-3M tree-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘That is my tree.’
 (lit: ‘This tree there is my tree.’)
- (9b) *senix ǵatee caaǵ Ǵoraayyu*
seni? ǵate=i kiy-aa? Ǵoraa-yyu
 these down=3 be-P trees-1SG.POSS.P
 ‘Those are my trees.’
 (lit: ‘These trees down there are my trees.’)

5.3. Possessives

Possessives may be marked by suffixes or independent pronouns. I first present possessive suffixes. Except for the third person singular, all possessive suffixes that occur with nouns not only distinguish the number of the possessor but also the gender of the possessum. The third person singular has the same possessive suffix for all (F/M/P, S/PL) possessums. Table 2 presents the possessive suffixes.

Possessor	Possessum (M/F)	Possessum (P)
1SG	-awu	-yyu
1PL	-aynu	-nnu
2SG	-ayti	-tti
2PL	-ayjin	-ssin
3SG.M/F	-adi	-adi
3PL	-ayju?	-ssu?

Table 2: Possessive suffixes

In the following examples, the nouns *tika* ‘house’, *karkaa* ‘beehive’ and *orra* ‘people’ in (10) occur with M/F possessum suffixes because of the M/F gender agreement on the verb. On the other hand, the nouns *tikkaa* ‘houses’, *filaa* ‘comb’ and *pifaa* ‘water’ in (11) occur with plural possessum suffixes because of the plural gender agreement on the verb.

- (10a) *tika-awu* *i = sek-i*
 house-1SG.POSS.M/F 3 = be.far-PF
 ‘My house is far (from here).’

- (10b) **karkaaayju?** *ʔipatay*
karkaa-ayju? *i = pat-ay*
 beehive-3PL.POSS.M/F 3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
 ‘Their beehive got lost.’
- (10c) **ʔorra-ayʃin** *i = dey-ay*
 people-2PL.POSS.M/F 3 = come-PF[3M]
 ‘Your (PL) people came.’
- (11a) **tikkaa-nnu** *i = lek-i*
 houses-1PL.POSS.P 3 = be.many-PF
 ‘Our houses are numerous.’
- (11b) **filaa-tti** *i = ɲapal-i-n*
 comb-2SG.POSS.P 3 = be.spoiled-PF-P
 ‘Your (S) comb got spoiled.’
- (11c) **piʃaassu?** *ʔitugmadin*
piʃaa-ssu? *i = tug-am-ad-i-n*
 water-3PL.POSS.P 3 = spill-PAS-MID-PF-P
 ‘Their water got spilt.’

Kinship terms such as **aappaa** ‘father’, **aayyaa** ‘mother’, **aakkaa** ‘grandfather’, **maammata** ‘paternal aunt’, **okkooyyita** ‘grandmother’ and **apuyyaata** ‘maternal uncle’ are used with plural possessive suffixes even when used by an only child. It indicates a relation that cannot be possessed individually. Table 3 contains the suffixes used with kinship terms.

Noun	Possessive suffixes added to the noun to indicate person and number distinction of the possessor		
	1 person	2 person	3 person
aappaa	-aynu	-ayʃin	-ayju?
aayyaa	-nnu	-ssin	-ssu?
aattaa	-nnu	-ssin	-ssu?
maammata	-aynu	-ayʃin	-ayju?
aakkaa	-aynu	-ayʃin	-ayju?
okkooyyita	-aynu	-ayʃin	-ayju?
apuyyaata	-aynu	-ayʃin	-ayju?

Table 3: Possessive suffixes with kinship terms

Kinship terms such as **afuma** ‘sister’s/(grand)aunt’s son’, **afumta** ‘sister’s/(grand)aunt’s daughter’, **oopaa** ‘grandson’ and **oopta** ‘granddaughter’ need not have plural possessive suffixes. Examples:

- (12a) **oopaa-wu** **i = dɛy-ay**
 grandson-1SG.POSS.M/F **3 = come-PF[3M]**
 ‘My grandson came.’
- (12b) **ooptaawu ideʔti** **i = dɛy-t-i**
oopta-awu **3 = come-3F-PF**
 granddaughter-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘My granddaughter came.’

Interestingly, the term **aappaa** may mean ‘father’ or ‘husband’ depending on the type of possessive suffix added to it. When it occurs with suffix **-aynu** it refers to father: **aappaaynu** ‘our father’. However, with suffix **-wu**, it means ‘husband’: **aappaawu** ‘my husband’.

Independent possessive pronouns are formed from the noun space filler **χa** and the possessive suffixes. The noun space filler **χa** does not have any meaning. It just replaces the noun. In my dialect, not all the possessive suffixes I presented above may occur with **χa** as can be seen from the following table. First person singular, the second persons and the third person plural possessors have variant forms that do not occur with nouns. The pronouns indicate number distinction in the possessor but not in the possessum.

1SG	χayyu/χayya/*χawu	‘mine’	
1PL	χannu/*χaynu		‘ours’
2SG	χaayti/χatti		‘yours’
2PL	χaayfin/χassin/χaffin	‘yours’	
3SG.M/F	χaadi		‘his/hers’
3PL	χaayfu/χassu/χaffu		‘theirs’

Table 4: Independent possessives

The unacceptable forms in table 4 are acceptable in **χolme** and in some parts of **Faaʃe** dialects.

Table 4 shows that independent possessives do not distinguish the gender of the possessum. As the examples in (13) illustrate, independent possessives like **χayyu** ‘mine’ in (13c) may have a singular possessor interpretation like ‘It is mine’ or a plural possessor interpretation like ‘They are mine’ based on whether the possessum is singular as in (13a) or plural as in (13b).

- (13a) **init tika a aynu**
ini? tika a aynu
 this house GEN who
 ‘Whose house is this?’

- (13b) *senit tikkaa a aynu*
seni? tikkaa a aynu
 these houses GEN who
 ‘Whose houses are these?’
- (13c) *χayyu*
 1SG.POSS.SG/PL
 ‘It’s mine/They are mine.’

5.4. Reflexive

Reflexive anaphoric reference is expressed by *isi* ‘self’. It has the variant *?issi* when followed by dative or instrumental suffixes. Sometimes, the body part *harka* ‘hand’ may also be used to express reflexive. The reflexive pronoun *isi* is not inflected for number, gender or person. In a clause, the reflexive pronoun follows the subject as shown in (14).

- (14a) *anti? ?isin faƒay*
anti-? *isi* *in = faƒ-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM self 1 = wash-PF[3M]
 ‘I washed myself.’
- (14b) *raakasi? ?isi imurti*
raaka-si? *isi* *i = mur-t-i*
 old.woman-DEF.M/F self 3 = cut[SG]-3F-PF
 ‘The old woman cut herself.’
- (14c) *keltaytasim mattuppa isi iχooƒƒay*
keltayta-si? *matta-oppa* *isi*
 baboon-DEF.M/F head-in self
- i = χooƒƒ-ay*
 3 = scratch.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘The baboon scratched itself on the head once.’

In the following examples, the reflexive pronoun has the form *issi* because there is the dative in (15a) and instrumental in (15b).

- (15a) *issip pidƒi*
issi-? *pidƒ-i*
 self-DAT buy[SG]-IMP.SG
 ‘Buy it for yourself.’
- (15b) *issi-n* *χoooy-i*
 self-INST come-IMP.SG
 ‘Come by yourself!’

With the verb roots *up-* ‘to know’ and *ɗakay-* ‘to hear’ and the postposition *ɗara* ‘on’, the reflexive pronoun *ʔisi* yields the meaning of ‘self-consciousness’. It is mainly used in negative sentences to express that someone is deeply asleep or seriously sick and unconscious of themselves. The examples in (16) may have either interpretation depending on the discourse setting.

- (16a) *isɗara inuptu*
isi-ɗara in=up-t-u
 self-on 3NEG = know-3F-NEG
 ‘She is unconscious.’
 (lit.: ‘She does not know on herself.’)
- (16b) *isɗara ɗakayin co*
isi-ɗara ɗakay=in kiy-o
 self-on hear = 3NEG be-NEG
 ‘He is unconscious.’
 (lit.: ‘He does not hear on himself.’)

With the verb root *ɗaɗ-* ‘to wash’, such nouns as *piɗaa* ‘water’ and *ɗakinta* ‘body’ may be used instead of the reflexive pronoun *ʔisi*. The use of these nouns, however, requires the verb to contain the middle suffix as can be observed from the examples in (17).

- (17a) *piɗaan ɗaɗanni*
piɗaa=in ɗaɗ-aɗ-n-i
 water = 1 wash-MID-1PL-PF
 ‘We washed ourselves.’
 (lit.: ‘We washed water (for our benefit).’)
- (17b) *attiʔ ɗakintaɗ ɗaɗatti*
atti-ʔ ɗakinta=iʔ ɗaɗ-aɗ-t-i
 2SG.PRO-NOM body = 2 wash-MID-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) washed yourself.’
 (lit.: ‘You (SG) washed your body.’)

The reflexive pronoun and the middle suffix *-aɗ* do not co-occur in a sentence as shown in (18).

- (18a) **antiʔ ʔisin ɗaɗaɗay*
anti-ʔ isi=in ɗaɗ-aɗ-ay
 1SG.PRO-NOM self = 1 wash-MID-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘I washed myself for my benefit.’)

- (18b) *iʃeenna? ʔisi iʃaʃatti
iʃeenna-ʔ *isi* *i=ʃaʃ-ad-t-i*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM self 3 = wash-MID-3F-PF
 (intended: ‘She washed herself for her benefit.’)

In addition to the reflexive pronoun *isi*, the body parts *matta* ‘head’ and *harka* ‘hand’ may be used to express reflexivity. The body part *matta* occurs with possessive suffixes and the dative. This is illustrated in (19).

- (19) *namasim mattaadiʔ ʔurmalaapa ʔiʔaanay*
nama-siʔ *matta-adi-ʔ* *urmala-a-opa*
 person-DEF.M/F head-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT market-to
- i = aan-ay*
 3 = go-PF[3M]
 ‘The man went to the market for himself.’
 (lit.: ‘The man went to the market for his head.’)

The use of the body part *harka* ‘hand’ to express reflexive meaning is contextually limited. It is used when someone takes a risk to do something and it yields a negative consequence. The instrumental suffix and the verb *kod-* ‘to do, work’ are required in using *harka* to express reflexive. Examples:

- (20a) *harkanne kodaday*
harka-nn=i *kod-ad-ay*
 hand-INST=3 do-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘He caused the trouble for himself.’
 (lit.: ‘He made it with his hand for himself.’)
- (20b) *harkanne kodatti*
harka-nn=i *kod-ad-t-i*
 hand-INST=3 do-MID-3F-PF
 ‘She caused the trouble for herself.’
 (lit.: ‘She made it with her hand.’)

5.5. Reciprocity and ‘each’

Reciprocity is expressed by the pronoun *oli*. The following are illustrative examples.

- (21a) *olin upna*
oli=in *up-n-a*
 RECP=1 know-P-IPF.FUT
 ‘We know each other.’

- (21b) *hellaasiniχ xālaa ?oli ǧīfin*
hella-sini? *xāla=i* *?oli* *ǧīf-i-n*
 children-DEF.P yesterday=3 RECP beat-PF-P
 ‘The children beat each other yesterday.’

The reciprocal pronoun *oli* has the variant *olli* when followed by the dative (22a) or instrumental suffix (22b).

- (22a) *harka lakkee ollip piḡaa ǧāḡin*
harka lakki=i olli-? *piḡaa ǧāḡ-i-n*
 hand two=3 RECP-DAT water wash-PF-P
 ‘Two hands wash each other.’
 (lit.: Two hands wash water for each other.)

- (22b) *inu? ?ollinnin dīluppupa sookanni*
inu-? *olli-nn=in* *dīla-oppupa*
 1PL.PRO-NOM RECP-INST=1 field-into

sookad-n-i
 go.to field-1P-PF
 ‘We went to the field together.’
 (lit.: We went to the field with each other.)

The example in (22a) is a proverb. It is used to express the situation where someone offers help to someone else who has offered them help before.

The reciprocal is expressed by the pronoun *oli* and the (locative–directional) compound *minaadesa* (*minaa* ‘in front of’ *desa* ‘toward (facing)’) when many participants are involved in the reciprocal action and when there is no one-to-one relationship among the actors in the event. The following is an illustrative example.

- (23) *orrasim minaadesaa oli ǧīday*
orra-si? *minaadesa=i* *oli* *ǧīd-ay*
 people-DEF.M/F toward=3 RECP beat-PF[3M]
 ‘The people beat one another.’

Notice the number agreement between the subject and the verb root. Sentences with the reciprocal pronoun require plural subjects and plural verb roots. For example, in sentence (24a) the reciprocal subject *harreewwaasini?* ‘the donkeys’ occurs with a corresponding plural verb root *ǧom-* ‘bite[PL]’. Sentence (24b) is unacceptable because of the incongruence between the plural subject and the singulative verb root *ǧaniin-* ‘to bite[SG]’.

- (24a) **harreewwaasini? ʔolee ɣomin**
harreewwaa-sini? *oli=i* *ɣom-i-n*
 donkeys-DEF.P RECP=3 bite[PL]-PF-P
 ‘The donkeys bit each other.’

- (24b) ***harreewwaasini? ʔolee ɣaniinin**
harreewwaa-sini? *oli=i* *ɣaniin-i-n*
 donkeys-DEF.P RECP=3 bite[SG]-PF-P

Finally, ‘each (of)’ is expressed by **matta matta** ‘head head’ followed by the instrumental suffix **-n(n)**. This is demonstrated below.

- (25) **hellaasinim matta mattanee ɣoradin**
hella-sini? *matta* *matta-nn=i* *ɣorad-i-n*
 children-DEF.P head head-INST=3 be.fined-PF-P
 ‘Each of the children was fined.’

6. Verbs

In this chapter verbal derivations such as the causative, middle, passive, inchoative, pluractionals and punctuals are discussed. I also present verb inflections including the perfective and imperfective aspects. The last section treats imperative and optative mood.

As we shall see in detail below, when a verb form contains both derivational and inflectional affixes, they occur in the following order: Verb root-derivational suffix-inflectional suffix

6.1. Verb derivation

6.1.1. Causative

Causative derivation is productive and applies to transitive as well as intransitive verb roots. The forms of the causative are *-ʃ*, *-acciiis*, and *-(n)ayʃ/-(n)af*. The causative suffix *-acciiis* underlyingly has the frozen middle suffix *-ad* (see also Mous 2004). However, it is not clear whether the part of the suffix after the frozen middle is *siis* or *ciis*. In this work, I do not commit myself to accounting for the underlying form and hence use only *-acciiis*.

The causative suffix *-ʃ* marks direct causative in verbs. The causative forms *-(n)ayʃ/-(n)af* also mark direct causative in certain adjectival roots. The causative form *-acciiis* marks indirect causative. Indirect causative is also occasionally marked by the suffix *-siis*.

In the direct causatives, we may have only two participants: the subject which can be agentive or non-agentive causes the action, and the object is the affected entity as illustrated below:

- (1a) *namasiʔ ʔoyraʃiʔ ʔiʔepʃay*
nama-siʔ ʔoyra i = ʔep-ʃ-ay
man-DEF.M/F tree 3 = be.broken-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'The man broke a tree.'

- (1b) *roopasiʔ ʔunta iʔapalʃay*
roopa-siʔ unta i = ʔapal-ʃ-ay
rain-DEF.M/F crop 3 = be.destroyed-DCAUS-PF[3M]
'The rain destroyed crops.'

In the above examples, the direct causative suffix *-ʃ* is added to the verb roots *ʔep-* 'to be broken' and *ʔapal-* 'to be destroyed'. In (1a), the subject *namasiʔ* 'the man' is an agent causing the action of breaking to affect the object *ʔoyra*

‘tree’. Likewise, in (1b), the subject *roopasi?* ‘the rain’ is non-agentive causing the action of destroying the object *?unta* ‘crops’.

A direct causative may have three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity. For example, in (2), the subject *Apitto* is the causer, the object *hellaasini?* ‘the children’ is the causee and *muusita* ‘banana’ is the affected entity.

- (2) *Apittuh hellaasinim muusita idamʃay*
Apittu-? *hella-sini?* *muusita*
 Apitto-NOM children-DEF.P banana

i = dām-f-ay
 3 = eat-DCAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘Apitto fed the children banana.’

As mentioned earlier, causatives may be derived from intransitive verb roots such as *muk-* ‘to sleep’ in (3a) and *kal-* ‘to go home’ in (3b).

- (3a) *inantasi? ?innaasini? ?imukissi*
inanta-si? *innaa-sini?* *i = muk-f-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F child-DEF.P 3 = sleep-DCAUS-3F-PF
 ‘The girl made the child sleep.’

- (3b) *hellaasini? talaasini? ?ikalʃin*
hella-sini? *talaa-sini?* *i = kal-f-i-n*
 children-DEF.P goats-DEF.P 3 = return.home-DCAUS-PF-P
 ‘The children brought the goats home.’

In the above examples, the intransitive verb roots occur with the direct causative suffix *-ʃ*.

Mous (2004, 4-5) analyses the form of the causative as *-iʃ* after the alveolar consonants *t*¹⁰, *d* and *s* and the palatal consonants *ʃ*, *c* and *ʃ* as in (4a).

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------|-----------------|
| | base | | causative |
| (4a) | <i>waad-</i> | ‘to hurry’ | <i>waad-iʃ-</i> |
| | <i>pas-</i> | ‘to loose’ | <i>pas-iʃ-</i> |

¹⁰ There are also cases where the *t* of the verb root becomes *ʃ* when the causative *-ʃ* is added to the verb root. The following are examples:

<i>fat-</i>	‘to vomit’	<i>faff-</i>	‘to cause to vomit’
<i>pat-</i>	‘to disappear’	<i>paʃʃ-</i>	‘to destroy; lose’
<i>ʃit-</i>	‘to collapse’	<i>ʃiʃʃ-</i>	‘to cause to collapse’

However, not all verb roots with *t* and *ʃ* form the causative with *-iʃ*. Rather, they are formed by the suffix *-acciis* (4b) or using a syntactic causative construction as in the case of the verb *afaf-* ‘to order’ discussed below.

	base		causative	causative
(4b)	<i>dot-</i>	‘to stab’	* <i>dot-iʃ-</i>	<i>dotacciis</i>
	<i>daaf-</i>	‘to give’	* <i>daaf-iʃ-</i>	<i>daafacciis</i>
	<i>afaf-</i>	‘to order’	* <i>afaf-iʃ-</i>	(syntactic causative)

As Mous (2004) showed, with some verb roots that end in *h*, e.g. *sah-* ‘sweep’, *peeh-* ‘to scatter’, *mooh-* ‘to have more’, *poh-* ‘to collect’, only the indirect causative form can be used to derive the causative. However, in other verbs ending in *h* the causative with *-ʃ* rather than *-Vʃ* is preferred. Examples:

	base		causative
(5)	<i>ʒah-</i>	‘to flee, run away’	<i>ʒahʃ-</i>
	<i>nah-</i>	‘to be good hearted’	<i>nahʃ-</i>
	<i>miih-</i>	‘to be spoilt’	<i>miihʃ-</i>

Some verb stems with frozen middle suffix have *t* before the causative *-ʃ*. The *i* vowel before the causative suffix is an epenthetic vowel. Here are some examples:

	base		causative
(6a)	<i>ʒap-</i>	‘to catch’	<i>ʒaptiʃ-</i> ‘to make catch (snare)’
	<i>kam-</i>	‘to be stubborn’	<i>kamtiʃ-</i> ‘to force to do something’
	<i>dap-</i>	‘to miss’	<i>daptiʃ-</i> ‘to make miss’
(6b)	<i>kafad-</i>	‘to be tired’	<i>kafti-</i> ‘to make tired’
	<i>ʒorad-</i>	‘to be fined’	<i>ʒortij-</i> ‘to make fined’

With the verb root *piifad-* ‘to have lunch’ the causative marker can be either *-ʃ* or *-tiʃ*, i.e. *piifʃ-* or *piiftiʃ-* ‘to make eat lunch’.

The form of the direct causative with certain adjectival roots is *-ayʃ* as in (7a), and *-nayʃ* with other adjectival roots as in (7b). It is difficult to formulate rules for the distribution of the forms.

(7a)	<i>awl-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make yellow’	
	<i>der-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make tall, long’	
	<i>lek-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make many’	
	<i>deh-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make near’	
	<i>sek-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make far’	
	<i>att-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make white’	< ?at-t- >
	<i>nukkull-ayʃ-</i>	‘to make weak, soft’	

	kummaʔ-ayf-	‘to make short’	
	ʃollaʔ-ayf-	‘to make light’	
(7b)	poor-nayf-	‘to make black’	
	tiip-nayf-	‘to make red’	
	ilaaw-nayf-	‘to make green’	
	ʒah-nayf-	‘to make thin’	< ʒaah- ‘to be thin’ >
	kokkon-nayf-	‘to make strong’	< kokkook- ‘to be strong’ >
	paʒaar-nayf-	‘to make good, beautiful’	
	neeʒ-nayf-	‘to make bad, ugly’	

The following are sentential examples:

- (8a) *namasiʒ ʒalittasiʔ ʔikummaayʒay*
nama-siʔ ʒalitta-siʔ i = kummaʔ-ayf-ay
 man-DEF.M/F stick.DEF.M/F 3 = be.short-DCAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘The man shortened a stick.’
- (8b) *roopasip piita iʔilaawnayʒay*
roopa-siʔ piita i = ʔilaaw-nayf-ay
 rain-DEF.M/F land 3 = be.green-DCAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘The rain made the land green.’
- (8c) *tikasip paʒaarnassi*
tika-siʔ = iʔ paʒaar-naf-t-i
 house-DEF.M/F = 2 be.good-DCAUS-3F-PF
 ‘You (SG) made the house look good.’
- (8d) *napasiʔ ʔoktaasiʔ ʔipoornani*
napa-siʔ oktaa-siʔ i = poor-naf-ni
 soot-DEF.M/F pot-DEF.M/F 3 = be.black-DCAUS-IPF.PRES
 ‘The soot blackens the pot.’

As already mentioned, the indirect causative is marked by *-acciiis*. In indirect causatives, the subject of the sentence is not directly involved in performing the action, and hence, has no direct control over the action. The subject lets someone/something else do the action (see also Mous 2004). Many transitive verb roots attach the indirect causative form rather than the direct causative form. The following are illustrative sentences:

- (9a) *antin namasin dilaʒiʒ ʒotacciiisay*
anti-ʔ nama-siʔ = in dila-siʔ
 1SG.PRO-NOM person-DEF.M/F = 1 field-DEF.M/F

ḡot-acciiis-ay
 dig-ICAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘I made the person work on the field.’

- (9b) *antuḡ ḡoyrasi? ?imuracciisay*
 antu-? *ḡoyra-si?* *i = mur-acciiis-ay*
 ?anto-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-ICUAS-PF[3M]
 ‘?anto had the tree cut.’

In example (9a), we find three explicit participants: the indirect causer of the action of working on the field *anti* ‘I’ which is the subject, and the direct agent *namas?i* ‘the person’, which is an object, and the affected entity *dila* ‘field’ which is also an object. In (9b), we only find two explicit participants: the indirect causer *Anto* which is the subject, and the affected entity *ḡoyrasi?* ‘the tree’.

Mous (2004: 9-13) reports the indirect causative marker *-siis*. However, this morpheme is very rare, used for example in deriving *ḡap-siis* ‘to make hold, make catch someone (say, a thief)’ from *ḡap-* ‘to hold, catch’. In contrast, the verb root *muk-* ‘to sleep’ in (10) requires only a direct causative form *ʃ* as in (10b).

- (10a) ? *dinoote innaa muk-siis-ay*
 dinoote boy sleep-ICAUS1-PF[3M]
 ‘dinoote made a boy sleep by using a sleeping pill.’

- (10b) *dinoote innaa muk-ʃ-ay*
 dinoote boy sleep-DCAUS1-PF[3M]
 ‘dinoote made a boy sleep by using a sleeping pill.’

Indirect causative is also expressed by the verb *kod-* ‘to make’ and a subordinate clause which contains the action done by the direct actor. Mous (2004: 2) calls this a syntactic indirect causative construction. The construction involves three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity as shown in (11a). Moreover, the verb *kod-* may attach the indirect causative *-acciiis* as in (11b).

- (11a) *?akkaa dam-t-u i = kod-ay*
 that.3 eat-3F-DP.IPF 3 = make-PF[3M]
 ‘He made her eat (something).’

- (11b) *akkaa damtu ikodacciisay*
 akkaa dam-t-u i = kod-acciiis-ay
 that.3 eat-3F-DP.IPF 3 = make-ICAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘He let someone make her eat (something).’

Causerless or impersonal causatives exist but they are fixed expressions in that they are based only on the verb stem *parpaacciis-* ‘make want, need’. The verb stem *parpaacciis* is derived from the Oromo verb root *barbaad-* ‘look for’ and the causative suffix *-ciis*. The verb stem *parpaacciis-* is a transitive verb stem but it does not add an external causer. In other words, the constructions are without an explicit causer. Moreover, they always occur in the order Patient—Agent and the agent is human. Only the present imperfective aspect is allowed in causerless causatives. The examples in (12a) and (12b) are without overtly stated causers. In these examples, neither *kaasa* ‘gun’ nor *okkatta* ‘cow’ is an agent. Both *kaasa* ‘gun’ and *okkatta* ‘cow’ are patients and *ana* ‘me’ and *ke* ‘you (SG)’ are the causee.

- (12a) *kaasaa ana parpaacciisni*
kaasa-a ana parpaadciis-ni
 gun-CLF 1SG.PRO.ACC make.need-IPF.PRES
 ‘I need a gun.’
 (lit.: ‘It makes me need a gun.’)

- (12b) *okkattaa ki parpaaccisni*
okkatta-a ki parpaadciis-ni
 cow-CLF 2SG.PRO.ACC make.need-IPF.PRES
 ‘You (SG) need a cow.’
 (lit.: ‘It makes you (SG) need a cow.’)

The dative suffix may occur in the above constructions as shown in (13).

- (13) *kaasa anap parpaacciisni*
kaasa ana-? parpaadciis-ni
 gun 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT make.need-IPF.PRES
 ‘A gun is needed for me.’

Tolemariam (2009) also reports causerless causatives for Oromo. The following (adapted) illustrative examples are taken from his work (2009:17).

- (14a) *ibsaa isa barbaacc-is-a*
 light.ABS him.ABS look.for -CAUS1-3M.IMPF
 ‘He needs light.’
 (lit.: ‘It makes him look for light.’)
- (14b) *inni isaan ibsaa barbaacc-is-e*
 he.NOM him.INST light.ABS look.for-CAUS1-3M.PF
 ‘He made him look for light.’

6.1.2. Middle

The middle derivation is marked by the suffix *-ad*. The most productive meaning of the middle derivation is to render the verb auto-benefactive, that is, the action is done for one's own benefit. In (15a), for example, the subject *namasi?* 'the man' does the cutting for his benefit. Likewise, in (15b), the subject *parkasi?* 'the workteam' does the slaughtering for the benefit of its members. The middle has a wider semantic range of functions (see Mous 2004).

- (15a) *namasi?* *Ɔoyrasi?* *Ɔimuraday*
nama-si? *Ɔoyra-si?* *i = mur-ad-ay*
 person-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
 'The man cut the tree for himself.'

- (15b) *parkasi?* *Ɔormasi?* *ƆiƆaladay*
parka-si? *Ɔorma-si?* *i = Ɔal-ad-ay*
 workteam-DEF.M/F ox-DEF.M/F 3 = slaughter-MID-PF[3M]
 'The work team slaughtered the ox for themselves.'

The verb roots *mur-* 'cut[SG]' and *Ɔal-* 'to slaughter' with which the middle derivation suffix occurs in the above examples are transitive.

There are many verb stems with the frozen middle suffix. The following are illustrative examples.

- (16) *kollad-* 'to learn'
Ɔaalad- 'to choose, love'
ampad- 'to babysit'
kaassad- 'to ask'
Ɔinsad- 'to beg'
kaassad- 'to ask, request'
Ɔullad- 'to bend down'

With the verb stems *kallaad-* 'to live' and *akkaad-* 'to be seen', the frozen form of the middle suffix has a long vowel: *-aad*.

With the verb roots given in (17), the middle suffix has a passive meaning (see also Mous 2007). But the agent cannot be expressed. As we shall see below, passive derivation is marked by a separate suffix *-am*. The agent cannot be expressed.

- (17) *Ɔal-* 'to give birth' *Ɔalad-* 'to be born'
kup- 'to burn' *kupad-* 'to be burnt'
Ɔor- 'to fine' *Ɔorad-* 'to be fined'

The following are illustrative sentential examples with the derived verb stems above:

- (18a) **kallappa** **parpalee** **dalatti**
kallappa *parpali?*=*i* *dāl-ad-t-i*
 kallappa last.year = 3 give.birth-MID-3F-PF
 ‘Kallappa was born last year.’
- (18b) **harka-awu** *i* = **kup-ad-ay**
 hand-1SG.POSS.M/F 3 = burn-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘My hand was burnt.’
- (18c) **ḡimaytasi?** **ḡiḡoraday**
ḡimayta-si? *i* = **ḡor-ad-ay**
 old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = fine-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man was fined.’

The substitution of the passive suffix for the middle suffix in the above examples yields unacceptable sentences as shown in (19).

- (19a) ***harka-awu** *i* = **kup-am-ay**
 hand-1SG.POSS.M/F 3 = burn-PAS-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘My hand was burnt.’)
- (19b) ***ḡimaytasi?** **ḡiḡoramay**
ḡimayta-si? *i* = **ḡor-am-ay**
 old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = fine-PAS-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The old man was fined.’)

6.1.3. Passive

Passive derivation is marked by the suffix **-am**. Both transitive and intransitive verb roots can be passivized. First, I present passives with transitive verbs. The form of the passive derivation is illustrated in the following transitive verbs.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (20) | mur- | ‘to cut[SG]’ | mur-am- | ‘to be cut[SG]’ |
| | ḡid- | ‘to beat’ | ḡid-am- | ‘to be beaten’ |
| | dām- | ‘to eat’ | dām-am- | ‘to be eaten’ |
| | kat- | ‘to sell’ | kat-am- | ‘to be sold’ |
| | ḡup- | ‘to build’ | ḡup-am- | ‘to be built’ |
| | fur- | ‘to untie’ | fur-am- | ‘to be untied’ |

A sentence with a transitive verb root without a passive suffix may occur with an agent and patient as in (21a). When such verb roots acquire the passive suffix, the sentence cannot have an expressed agent as shown by the ungram-

matical form in (21b). The passive sentence in (21c) is acceptable because it does not have an overt agent.

- (21a) *ifaʕ ɢoyrasiʔ ʔimuray*
ifa-ʔ *ɢoyra-siʔ* *i = mur-ay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘He cut the tree.’
- (21b) **ɢoyra siʔ ʔiʃan ʔimuramay*
ɢoyra-siʔ *ifa-n* *i = mur-am-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3SM.PRO-INST 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The tree was cut by him.’)
- (21c) *ɢoyrasiʔ ʔimuramay*
ɢoyra-siʔ *i = mur-am-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘The tree was cut.’

When objects are used as instruments to accomplish certain actions, the instrumental suffix is added to the overtly expressed instrument. The sentence in (22) with a passive verb is acceptable for two reasons. First, there is no overt agent; secondly, *faasita* ‘axe’ is an instrument used for performing the action of cutting.

- (22) *ɢoyrasif faasita-n imuramay*
ɢoyra-siʔ *faasita-n* *i = mur-am-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F axe-INST 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘The tree was cut with an axe.’

As it is possible with transitive verbs not to have an explicit subject, it is also the case with intransitive verbs that the passive has no explicit subject. However, the implied subject of a passive clause with an intransitive verb, is always the first person singular or plural. The context makes the distinction whether the subject is first person singular or plural. In passives of intransitive verbs the gender agreement on the verb is always the third person feminine. In other parts of the grammar, including passives of transitive verbs, the impersonal verb form is that of third person masculine, which is zero-marked. It seems that the speaker has no subject in mind as referent to the third person feminine inflection. The passive derivation in intransitive verb roots mainly expresses having difficult circumstances. Here are some examples:

- (23a) *i = muk-am-t-i*
 3 = sleep-PAS-3F-PF
 ‘We spent the night.’

- (23b) *i = kal-am-t-i*
 3 = return.home-PAS-3F-PF
 ‘We returned home.’

In example (23a), the speaker implies that they had a very difficult night. In the same fashion, in (23b), the speaker implies that they had difficulty when returning home, maybe due to danger, accident, etc. on the way.

With the verb root **hem-** ‘marry’, there is a lexical passive marking: a masculine subject always occurs in the active as in (24a) but a feminine always occurs in the passive as in (24b). The example in (24c) is unacceptable because the subject is masculine while the verb has a passive derivation.

- (24a) *nama-si? ?inantasi? ?ihemay*
nama-si? inanta-si? i = hem-ay
 man-DEF.M/F girl-DEF.M/F 3 = marry-PF[3M]
 ‘The man married the girl.’
- (24b) *inantasin namasiti? ?ihemamti*
inanta-si? nama-sit-? i = hem-am-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F man-DEF.M/F-DAT 3 = marry-PAS-3F-PF
 ‘The girl was married to the man.’
- (24c) **namasi? ?inantasiti? ?ihemamay*
nama-si? inanta-siti-? i = hem-am-ay
 man-DEF.M/F girl-DEF.M/F-DAT 3 = marry-PAS-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The man was married to the girl.’)

In the *χolme* dialect, two separate verb roots are used: **hem-** ‘to marry’ when the subject is male and **taw-** ‘to marry’ when the subject is female. The verb root **taw-** does not require a passive derivation. The passive reading is entailed in the meaning of the verb root. Examples:

- (25a) *namasi? ?ihemay*
nama-si? i = hem-ay
 man-DEF.M/F 3 = marry-PF[3M]
 ‘The man married.’
- (25b) *inanta-si? ?itawti*
inanta-si? i = taw-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = be.married-3F.PF
 ‘The girl was married.’

There are certain verb roots which inherently entail passive reading: the two verb roots that refer to breaking **ǵep-** ‘to be broken [long objects]’ and **paǵ-** ‘to

be broken [round objects]’ and the verb root *fap-* ‘to be infested with weevil; be soaked; be rotten’ are such verb roots. The use of the passive suffix with these verb roots yields unacceptable constructions, as exemplified by the unacceptable forms in (26).

- (26a) **ḡoyra-si?* *ʔiḡepamay*
ḡoyra-si? *i = ḡep-am-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = be.broken-PAS-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The tree was broken.’)
- (26b) **untasi?* *ʔifapamti*
unta-si? *i = fap-am-t-i*
 grain-DEF.M/F 3 = be.infested.with.weevils-PAS-3F-PF
 (intended: ‘The grain was infested with weevils.’)

The correct versions are given in (27):

- (27a) *ḡoyra-si?* *ʔiḡep-ay*
ḡoyra-si? *i = ḡep-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
 ‘The tree was broken.’
- (27b) *untasi?* *ʔifapti*
unta-si? *i = fap-t-i*
 grain-DEF.M/F 3 = be.infested.with.weevils-3F-PF
 ‘The grain was infested with weevils.’

6.1.4. Inchoative

The inchoative is marked with derivational affixes. Inchoative suffixes may be derived from adjectival or nominal roots. In adjective roots, the suffixes *-ad*, *-aad* or *-naad* are used to derive inchoative. Notice that the first of the inchoative suffixes is identical to the middle derivation marker.

The distribution of the inchoative suffixes in adjectival roots is as follows: adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a consonant cluster add *-ad* as in (28a); those that have the CVC- template add *-aad* as in (28b); those with a long vowel in the root add *-naad* as in (28c). It is difficult to formulate rules on the basis of phonological shapes or semantic categories to capture the distribution of these suffixes. For this reason, below, we provide the adjectival roots with the type of inchoative form that they require.

- (28a) *kapp-* ‘to be fat’ *kapp-ad-* ‘to become fat’
kutt- ‘to be big’ *kutt-ad-* ‘to become big’
pald- ‘to be wide’ *pald-ad-* ‘to become wide’

	apɗ-	‘to be skinny’	apɗ-aɗ-	‘to become skinny’
	ʃakk-	‘to be small’	ʃakk-aɗ-	‘to become small’
	ɠoyy-	‘to be wet’	ɠoyy-aɗ-	‘to become wet’
	kummaʔ-	‘to be short’	kummaʔ-aɗ-	‘to become short’
	ʃollaʔ-	‘to be light’	ʃollaʔ-aɗ-	‘to become light’
	kord-	‘to be thick’	kord-aɗ-	‘to become thick’
	pald-	‘to be wide’	pald-aɗ-	‘to become wide’
(28b)	ɗer-	‘to be tall, long’	ɗer-aad-	‘to become tall, long’
	ɗeh-	‘to be near’	ɗeh-aad-	‘to become near’
	sek-	‘to be far’	sek-aad-	‘to become far’
	at-	‘to be white’	at-t-aad-	‘to become white’
	awl-	‘to be yellow’	awl-aad-	‘to become yellow’
	lek-	‘to be many’	lek-aad-	‘to become many’
	nukkull-	‘to be weak’	nukkull-aad-	‘to become weak’
(28c)	ilaaw	‘to be green’	ilaaw-naad-	‘to become yellow’
	paɠaar-	‘to be good’	paɠaar-naad-	‘to become good’
	poor-	‘to be black’	poor-naad-	‘to become black’
	neeɠ-	‘to be bad, ugly’	neeɠ-naad-	‘to become bad, ugly’
	tiim-	‘to be red’	tiip-naad-	‘to become red’
	ɠaah-	‘to be thin’	ɠah-naad-	‘to become thin’
	kokkook-	‘to be strong’	kokkon-naad-	‘to become strong’

It seems that adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a cluster of consonants tend to occur with the inchoative suffix **-aɗ**. Note that when the inchoative suffix is added to the adjectival roots **ɠaah-** ‘to be thin’ and **kokkook-** ‘to be strong’, the long vowels are shortened.

From the distributions of the inchoative and causative suffixes in adjectival roots, we can draw the following distributional parallels:

- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix **-aɗ** occur with the causative suffix **-ɠ**;
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix **-aad** occur with the causative suffix **-ayɠ**; and,
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix **-naad** occur with the causative suffix **-nayɠ**;

Exceptionally, the following adjectival roots require the inchoative suffix **-aad**.

(29)	uls-	‘to be heavy’	uls-aad-	‘to become heavy’
	nukkull-	‘to be weak’	nukkull-aad-	‘to become weak’

Inchoative of nominal roots is derived by suffixes **-ood** and **-um**. The inchoative suffix **-ood** is added to nominal roots to express physical or mental state of becoming (30a). The suffix **-um** is added to nominal roots to express social status, such as becoming a father (30b).

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (30a) | χas-ood | ‘become happy’ | χasa | ‘happiness’ |
| | maaʃʃ-ood | ‘to become drunk’ | maaʃʃaa | ‘drunkenness’ |
| | deep-ood | ‘to become thirsty’ | deeputa | ‘thirst’ |
| | miir-ood | ‘to become angry’ | miira | ‘anger’ |
| | teʔʃ-ood | ‘to have elephantiasis’ | teʔʃaa | ‘elephantiasis’ |
| (30b) | aapp-um- | ‘to become a father’ | aappaa | ‘father’ |
| | mooʔt-um- | ‘to become a friend’ | mooʔta | ‘friend’ |
| | aakk-um- | ‘to become a grandfather’ | aakkaa | ‘grandfather’ |

6.1.5. Pluractionals and punctuals

Pluractionals and punctuals can be expressed by pairs of (lexical) suppletive verb roots or by means of derivational marking. Below, I first present the suppletive verb roots for pluractional and punctual. The pluractional and punctual suppletive verb roots can be either transitive (31a) or intransitive (31b). Lexical punctuals may express single events or single actions.

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| (31a) | iff- | ‘to kill[SG]’ | leyʃ- | ‘to kill[PL]’ |
| | pidɔf- | ‘to buy[SG]’ | heer- | ‘to buy[PL]’ |
| | put- | ‘to uproot[SG]’ | huuɓ- | ‘to uproot[PL]’ |
| | mur- | ‘to cut[SG]’ | ɣuur- | ‘to cut[PL]’ |
| | χapt- | ‘to throw[SG]’ | ɔakk- | ‘to throw[PL]’ |
| | ɔay- | ‘to hit[SG]’ | ɣid- | ‘to hit[PL]’ |
| | ɣaniin- | ‘to bite[SG]’ | ɣom- | ‘to bite[PL]’ |
| (31b) | keer | ‘to run[SG]’ | hir- | ‘to run[PL]’ |
| | toy- | ‘to die[SG]’ | ley- | ‘to die[PL]’ |
| | piʔ- | ‘to fall[SG]’ | seh- | ‘to fall[PL]’ |
| | χaʔaɔf- | ‘to fly[SG]’ | paɔaɔf- | ‘to run/fly[PL]’ |

In intransitive suppletive verbs, the choice of pluractional or punctual suppletive verb is determined by the number of the subject. For example, in (32a), the subject **inantasiʔ** ‘the girl’ is singular and hence **keer-** ‘to run[SG]’. In (32b), the subject **hellaasiniʔ** ‘the children’ is plural and hence **hir-** ‘to run[PL]’. The examples in (33) are unacceptable because of the mismatch between the number of the subject and the suppletive verb: in (33a) the subject is singular but the verb root is pluractional; in (33b), the subject is plural but the verb root is punctual.

- (32a) *inantasi?* *?ikeerti*
inanta-si? *i = keer-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = run[SG]-3F-PF
 ‘The girl ran.’
- (32b) *hellaasini?* *?ihirin*
hella-sini? *i = hir-i-n*
 children-DEF.P 3 = run[PL]-PF-PL
 ‘The children ran.’
- (33a) **inantasi?* *?ihirti*
inanta-si? *i = hir-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = run[PL]-3F-PF
 (intended: ‘The girl ran more than once.’)
- (33b) **hellaasini?* *?ikeerin*
hella-sini? *i = keer-i-n*
 children-DEF.P 3 = run[SG]-PF-PL
 (intended: ‘The children ran.’)

In transitive suppletive verbs, the choice of the pluractional or punctual is determined by the number of the object rather than the subject. This is illustrated in the examples in (34), where we have the same singular subject but a singular object and punctual suppletive verb in (34a), and a plural subject and pluractional suppletive verb in (34b).

- (34a) *namasik karmaa i?iʃʃay*
nama-si? *karmaa* *i = iʃʃ-ay*
 man-DEF.M/F lion 3 = kill[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘The man killed a lion.’
- (34b) *namasik karmadaa ileyʃay*
nama-si? *karmadaa* *i = leyʃ-ay*
 man-DEF.M/F lions 3 = kill[PL]-PF[3M]
 ‘The man (has) killed lions.’

As stated earlier, pluractionality and punctual are also marked by means of derivation apart from the lexical suppletives. From underived (punctual) verb roots we derive pluractional verb stems, and from underived pluractional verb roots we derive punctual verb stems. From derived punctual stems we may also derive pluractionality. In what follows, I first discuss the derivation of pluractionals from singulative verb roots, then discuss the derivation of punctuals from pluractional verb roots. Then I return to the derivation of pluractionals, but this time, to their derivation from punctual verb stems. Since the marking of pluractionality is obligatory, the unmarked verb is interpreted to be punctual.

Pluractional derivation is marked by reduplicating the singulative verb root's initial C_1V when there is a geminate consonant in the verb root as in (35a), otherwise C_1VC_1 as in (35b). Notice that long vowels following the verb root's initial consonant appear short in the reduplicated $C_1V(C_1)$.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (35a) | tuɔɔuur- | 'to push[SG]' | tu-tuɔɔuur- | 'to push.PL' |
| | faɔɔal- | 'to stick to[SG]' | fa-faɔɔal- | 'to stick to.PL' |
| | moddoor- | 'to twist[SG]' | mo-moddoor- | 'to twist.PL' |
| | | | | |
| (35b) | dot- | 'to stab[SG]' | dod-dot- | 'to stab.PL' |
| | toom- | 'to hit with fist[SG]' | tot-toom- | 'to hit with fist.PL' |
| | torp- | 'to shoot with spear[SG]' | tot-torp- | 'shoot with spear.PL' |

Some pluractionals are derived by repeating the verb root. The following are illustrative:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| (36) | dām- | 'to eat' | dāmām- | 'to chew a bit' |
| | pul- | 'to scatter' | pulpul- | 'to dismantle' |
| | sar- | 'to loot, plunder' | sarsar- | 'to loot quickly' |
| | fap- | 'to decay' | fapfap- | 'to rot completely' |
| | fur- | 'to untie' | furfur- | 'to untie quickly' |

Punctual derivation is different from pluractional derivation in that in punctual derivation, it is the verb root's final part that is involved. Precisely, punctual is derived by geminating the final consonant of verb roots (see also Ongaye 2010). The derivation is quite productive and expresses that the action is done once. Here are some examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| (37) | ɔɔf- | 'to pinch[PL]' | ɔɔff- | 'to pinch.SG' |
| | rak- | 'to hung[PL]' | rakk- | 'to hung.SG' |
| | leɓ- | 'to kick[PL]' | leɓɓ- | 'to kick.SG' |
| | ɕud- | 'to pierce[PL]' | ɕudd- | 'to pierce.SG' |
| | tuuk- | 'to push[PL]' | tuukk- | 'to push.SG' |
| | moof- | 'to break[PL]' | mooff- | 'to break.SG' |

From the above examples, we can notice that the pluractional verb roots from which punctual stems are derived may have a CVC- or CVVC- template. It is not possible to have a pluractional root ending in CC.

In Ts'amakko, Savá (2005:186) reports the derivation of punctual from the CVCVC verb root by geminating the second consonant of the verb root. Evidence of comparable material in Konso would probably be the verb root χosal 'to laugh' which optionally derives the verb stem χossal -. It may also be argued that possibly the verb roots **tuɔɔuur-** 'to push[SG]', **faɔɔal-** 'to stick

to[SG]’ and **modfoor-** ‘to twist[SG]’ in (35a) are examples of frozen punctuals. The adjectival roots **ilaaw-** ‘to be green’ and **paɕaar-** ‘to be good, beautiful’ have free variant forms: **ilaaʔ-** ‘to be green’ and **paɕaar-** ‘to be good, beautiful’. The intensive form of **paɕaar-/paɕaar** is formed by geminating the middle consonant: **paɕɕaar-/paɕɕaar** ‘to be very good, beautiful’. No punctual form is derived from the verb roots with CVC[i] structure.

The object of punctual verb stems has to be singular. Unless the object requires the efforts of many people who act as a team, the subject of punctual verb stems has to also be singular. For instance, in (38a), both the subject **namasiʔ** ‘the man’ and the object **inantasiʔ** ‘the girl’ are singular. In (38b), the subject **orrasiʔ** ‘the people’ is plural but the object **ɕakaasiʔ** ‘the stone’ is singular, implying that the single pushing required the effort of more than one person. The example in (38c) is unacceptable because the subject is singular but the object is plural. Likewise, the example in (38d) is unacceptable because the subject is plural and the object singular, implying that the action of pinching once does not require the effort of more than one person.

- (38a) **namasiʔ ʔinantasiʔ ʔiɕoffay**
nama-siʔ inanta-siʔ i = ɕoff-ay
 person-DEF.F/M girl-DEF.M/F 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘The person pinched the child once.’
- (38b) **orrasiʔ ɕakaasiʔ ʔituukkay**
orra-siʔ ɕakaa-siʔ i = tuukk-ay
 people-DEF.M/F stone-DEF.M/F 3 = push.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘The people pushed the stone once.’
- (38c) ***namasih hellasiniʔ ʔiɕoffay**
nama-siʔ hellaa-siniʔ i = ɕoff-ay
 person-DEF.F/M children-DEF.P 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The person pinched the children once.’)
- (38d) ***orrasiʔ ʔinnaasiniʔ ʔiɕoffay**
orra-siʔ innaa-siniʔ i = ɕoff-ay
 people-DEF.M/F child-DEF.P 3 = pinch.SG-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The people pinched the child once.’)

Apart from signalling the performance of an action being just once, some punctual verb stems also imply the use of extra force/energy compared to their underived verb roots. For instance, the punctual verb stems **ɕoff-** ‘to pinch.SG’ and **leɕɕ-** ‘to kick.SG’ imply the use of more force than their corresponding underived pluractional verb roots **ɕof-** ‘to pinch[PL]’ and **leɕ-** ‘to kick[PL]’.

For the pairs, *fad-* ~ *fadd-* ‘to look for[SG/PL]’ and *ik-* ~ *ikk-* ‘drink[SG/PL]’, they have the same meaning and both are used as equal alternatives for punctual and pluractional.

The verb root *χoo66-* ‘to take a sip’ is also a suppletive form for *ik(k)-* ‘to drink’.

The verb root *muk-* ‘to sleep’ is an instance of intransitive verb root with a punctual derivation: *mukk-* ‘to take a nap; lie on something’.

The derivation of pluractionals from derived punctual verb stems are characterised by having a C_1V reduplication of the punctual verb stem’s initial because the last consonant of all derived punctual verb stems is geminate. Pluractionals derived from punctual verb stems express the performance of an action more than once but less than many times. Examples:

- (39a) *raakasi?* *?inantasi?* *?iGogoffiti*
raaka-si? *inanta-si?* *i = Gog-offi-t-i*
 old.woman-DEF.M/F girlDEF.M/F 3 = PL-pinch.SG-3F-PF
 ‘The old woman pinched the girl a few times.’

- (39b) *Kappoolik k^waasitasi?* *?ilele66ay*
Kappooli-? *k^waasita-si?* *i = le-le66-ay*
 Kappoole-NOM ball-DEF.M/F 3 = PL-kick.SG-PF[3M]
 ‘Kappoole kicked the ball a few times.’

The derivation of pluractional is also possible from the underived pluractional verb root. Since underived pluractional verb roots do not have geminate consonants, the derivation of pluractionals from the underived pluractional verb roots involves the reduplication of the verb root’s initial C_1VC_1 . With an individual entity, it expresses event plurality. That is, it indicates the performance of the action in question many times during more than one event. With plural entities, it expresses either event plurality (performing the action during each event on one individual many times) or the plurality of both the action and entities during an event.

- (40) *Gimaytasih hellaasini?* *?iGogGofay*
Gimayta-si? *hella-sini?*
 old.man-DEF.M/F children-DEF.P

i = Gog-Gof-ay
 3 = PL-pinch[PL]-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man pinched the children many times.’

6.2. Verb inflection

6.2.1. Aspect

Konso makes a morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The imperfective aspect is further distinguished in present imperfective and future imperfective. I use the term “perfective” because the distinction is primarily aspectual, but in fact all perfective marked verbs refer to the past. The imperfective present *-ni* is used for general truth statements. It is primarily imperfective and it can in fact be used for past reference, (54). The Imperfective Future is again primarily imperfective and is used for present tense with certain verbs, (47-48). Below I discuss the perfective and imperfective aspects in detail.

6.2.1.1. The Perfective

Except for first person singular and third person masculine, the perfective aspect is marked by suffix *-i*. Perfective aspect for the first person singular and third person masculine singular is marked by *-ay*. In Karatte dialect, perfective aspect is marked by suffix *-e* for all persons (Black (1973), Bliese and Sokka (1986)). Third person feminine and second person singular and first person plural have person marking before the perfective marker. For second person plural and third person plural, the perfective aspect marker occurs before the plurality marker on the verb.

The perfective aspect expresses actions/events completed before or at the moment of speaking. The actual time difference between the completion of an action/event and the speech time does not affect the form of the perfective aspect suffix. However, adverbs such as *amma* ‘now’ and *χala* ‘yesterday’ locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking. The word *asu* ‘just’ is used with the adverb *amma* ‘now’ to give more emphasis to the completion of the action/event at the moment of speaking. Here are some examples:

- (41a) *antiχ χarfasi? ?indamay*
anti-? *χarf-a-si?* *in = dām-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM beans-DEF.M/F 1 = eat-PF[3M]
 ‘I ate the beans.’
- (41b) *inantasix χarfasi? ?idamti*
inanta-si? *χarf-a-si?* *i = dām-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F beans-DEF.M/F 3 = eat-3F-PF
 ‘The girl ate the beans.’
- (41c) *amma asu kodfaasid dikkissi*
amma = i asu kodfaa-si? *dikkif-t-i*
 now = 3 just work-DEF.M/F finish-3F-PF
 ‘She has just finished the work.’

- (41d) *ifinaχ χalad diluppupa antin*
ifina-ʔ *χala = iʔ* *dila-oppupa* *an-t-i-n*
 2PL.PRO-NOM yesterday = 2 field-into go-2-PF-P
 ‘You (PL) went to the field yesterday.’
- (40e) *inuχ χarfasiʔ ʔindammi*
inu-ʔ *χarfasi-ʔ* *in = dam-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM beans-DEF.M/F 1 = eat-1PL-PF
 ‘We ate the beans.’

In cleft constructions, the perfective aspect is invariably marked by the suffix *-ay* for all persons since the verb has the default 3M form in the cleft construction (see also 3.5). The examples in (42a-b) are non-cleft sentences but those in (42c-d) are equivalent clefts.

- (42a) *inantasiχ χarfasiʔ ʔidamti*
inanta-siʔ *χarfasi-ʔ* *i = dam-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F beans-DEF.M/F 3 = eat-3F-PF
 ‘The girl ate the beans.’
- (42b) *ifinaχ χalad diluppupa antin*
ifina-ʔ *χala = iʔ* *dila-oppupa* *an-t-i-n*
 2PL.PRO-NOM yesterday = 2 field-into go-2-PF-P
 ‘You (PL) went to the field yesterday.’
- (42c) *inantasiʔeé χarfasiʔ ʔidamay*
inanta-siʔ-é *χarfasi-ʔ* *i = dam-ay*
 girl-DEF.M/F-CLF beans-DEF.M/F 3 = eat-PF[3M]
 ‘It is the girl who ate the beans.’
- (42d) *ifinaá χala diluppupa aanay*
ifina-á *χala* *dila-oppupa* *aan-ay*
 2PL.PRO[ACC]-CLF yesterday field-into go-PF[3M]
 ‘It is you (PL) who went to the field yesterday.’

6.2.1.2. The Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is further distinguished into the present imperfective and the future imperfective. Below, I treat each of them in turn.

The present imperfective is marked by suffix *-ni* for all persons. Except for first person plural and second person plural, there is no person marking on the verb. The present imperfective may be used to refer to situations taking place the same time the speech event takes place, as in (43a); it may also refer to habitual actions, as in (43b), or to general truth (43c).

- (43a) **amman tikupa anni**
amma = in tika-opa an-ni
 now = 1 house-to go-IPF.PRES
 ‘I am going home now.’
- (43b) **toolaasi? ?awtapiisa diluppupa isookanni**
toola-asi? awtapiisa dila-oppupa
 family.DEM.M/F always field-into

i = sookad-ni
 3 = go.to.field-IPF.PRES
 ‘This family goes to the field every day.’
- (43c) **karamadaa s^waa pattaa dammi**
karamadaa so?aa patta = i dam-ni
 lions meat only = 3 eat-IPF.PRES
 ‘Lions only eat meat.’

The first person plural and second person plural also add *-nna* and *-ttan*, respectively, to *-ni*. This is shown in (44):

- (44a) **inu? ?urmalaapan anninna**
inu-? urmalaapa = in an-ni-nna
 1PL.PRO-NOM market-to = 1 go-IPF.PRES-1PL
 ‘We are going to the market.’
- (44b) **ifinat tikupa idde?nittan**
ifina-? tika-opa i? = dey-ni-ttan
 2PL.PRO-NOM house-to 2 = come-IPF.PRES-2PL
 ‘You (PL) are coming home.’

The present progressive suffix *-nna* for the first person plural is added to the perfective form of the first person plural as illustrated in (45a).

- (45a) **inu? ?urmalaapan anninna**
inu-? urmalaapa = in an-ni-nna
 1PL.PRO-NOM market-to = 1 go-IPF.PRES-1PL
 ‘We are going to the market.’
- (45b) **inu? ?urmalaapan anni**
inu-? urmalaapa = in an-n-i
 1PL.PRO-NOM market-to = 1 go-1PL-PF
 ‘We went to the market.’

In the imperfective aspect, third persons may also occur with the additional suffixes *-tta*, *-ya* and *-yan* for feminine subject (46a), masculine subject (46b) and plural subject (46c), respectively. These suffixes are optional and are used to add meaning such as contrary to expectation (see Section 12.4).

- (46a) *inantasi? ?ikallitta*
inanta-si? i = kal-ni-tta
 girl.DEF.M/F 3 = return.home-IPF.PRES-3F.CEXPEC
 ‘Hey! The girl is going home!’
- (46b) *hamiyasi? silpootasi? ?i?eenniya*
hamiya-si? silpoota-si? i = ?eed-ni-ya
 boy-DEF.M/F hoe-DEF.M/F 3 = take-IPF.PRES-3M.CEXPEC
 ‘Hey! The boy is taking the hoe!’
- (46c) *hellaasini? ?ihirriyan*
hella-sini? i = hir-ni-yan
 children-DEF.P 3 = run[PL]-IPF.PRES-3PL.CEXPEC
 ‘Hey! The children are running!’

In the above examples, the addresser reports that in (46a) the addresser reports that the girl is going home but she is not expected to go home and in (46b), the boy is taking the hoe but he is not expected to take it. In (46c), the addresser reports that the children are running but they are not expected to run.

There are certain verb roots (listed in (47)) that require suffix *-a* rather than *-ni* to mark the present imperfective. The suffix *-a* marks the future imperfective to be discussed shortly. Thus, in the glossing, I maintain the use of IPF.FUT despite the present imperfective reference.

- (47) *up-* ‘to know’
pah- ‘to look like, resemble’
heen- ‘to want’
sah- ‘to be able to’
ʕap- ‘to have’
χoʔ- ‘to like something very much’

The following are sentential examples.

- (48a) *iʃan namoosi? ?iʔupa*
iʃa-ʔ nama-osi? i = up-a
 3SGM.PRO-NOM person-DEM.M/F 3 = know-IPF.FUT
 ‘He knows this person.’

- (48b) *inantaasi? ʔaappaayfu? ʔipahta*
inanta-asi? aappaa-ayfu?
 girl-DEM.M/F father-3PL.POSS.M/F

i = pah-t-a
 3 = resemble-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘This girl resembles her father.’

- (48c) *ifoonnal luukkawwaasinid damiyaa iheenan*
ifoonna-ʔ luukkawwaa-sini? dam-iyaa
 3PL.PRO-NOM fruits-DEF.P eat-INF

i = heen-a-n
 3 = want-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘They want to eat the fruits.’

The formation of the future imperfective from the above verb roots requires the inchoative suffix *-naad*. The examples in (49a) and (49b) are the future imperfective versions of the examples in (48a) and (48b), respectively.

- (49a) *ifan namoosi? ʔiʔupnaada*
ifa-ʔ nama-osi? i = upnaad-a
 3SGM.PRO-NOM person-DEM.M/F 3 = know.INCH-IPF.FUT
 ‘He will know this person.’

- (49b) *inantaasi? ʔaappaayfu? ʔipahnaatta*
inanta-asi? aappaa-ayfu?
 girl-DEM.M/F father-3PL.POSS.M/F

i = pahnaad-t-a
 3 = resemble.INCH-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘This girl will resemble her father.’

The verb roots do not occur with the present imperfective suffix *-ni* except when the verb is marked with inchoative suffix *-naad* as shown in (50). But this later use is not frequent.

- (50) *dilaasi? ʔawtapiisa ʃabbaa iʃapnaanni*
dila-asi? awtapiisa ʃabbaa
 field-DEM.M/F always weed

i = ʃapnaad-ni
 3 = have.INCH-IPF.PRES
 ‘This field always has weeds.’

Now, I return to the future imperfective of the imperfective aspect. As mentioned above, the future imperfective is marked by the suffix *-a* for all persons. It expresses actions that have not started yet at the moment of speaking. Positionally, the future imperfective suffix occurs after the subject marker on the verb. For second person plural and third person plural, it is followed by the plural person marker *-n* on the verb. The following are illustrative examples.

- (51a) *antik konfa parre impidfa*
anti-? *konfa* *parre* *in = pidfa*
 1SG.PRO-NOM shorts tomorrow 1 = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will buy shorts tomorrow.’
- (51b) *hekere ḡoyroosi? ḡideraada*
hekere *ḡoyra-oosi?* *i = der-aad-a*
 future tree-DEM.M/F 3 = be.long-INCHOA-IPF.FUT
 ‘This tree will become long in the future.’
- (51c) *inantasip piḡaa? ḡiḡanta*
inanta-si? *piḡaa-?* *i = an-t-a*
 girl-DEF.M/F water/DAT 3 = go-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘The girl will go to fetch water.’
 (lit.: ‘The girl will go for water.’)
- (51d) *attix ḡonsoḡa iḡanta*
atti-? *ḡonso-ḡa* *iḡ = an-t-a*
 2SG.PRO-NOM Konso-to 2 = go-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) will go to Konso.’

6.2.1.3. Continuative constructions

In this section, I discuss bounded and unbounded continuative constructions. I begin with the unbounded continuative constructions. Unbounded continuative constructions that express ongoing actions/events at the time of speaking without reference to the time of start are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root *kit-* ‘to be, exist’ and the postposition *ḡaraa* ‘on (top of)’. Here are some examples:

- (52a) *inuk kirpa dawiya ḡaraan kinna*
inu-? *kirpa* *daw-ya* *ḡaraa = in*
 1PL.PRO-NOM song sing-VN on = 1

kit-n-a
 be-P-IPF.FUT
 ‘We are singing a song.’
 (lit.: ‘We are on (top of) singing a song.’)

- (52b) *inuh hiranta ɢaraan kinna*
inu-ʔ *hir-anta* *ɢaraa = in*
 1PL.PRO-NOM run[PL]-VN on = 1

kit-n-a
 be-P-IPF.FUT
 ‘We are running.’
 (lit.: ‘We are on (top of) running.’)

Bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events that started before the moment of speaking but still in progress at the time of speaking are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root *kit-* ‘to be, exist’ and the postposition *ɢudaa* ‘on (side)’ as demonstrated in (53).

- (53a) *inuk kirpa dawiya ɢudaa kinna*
inu-ʔ *kirpa* *daw-iyā* *ɢudaa = in*
 1PL.PRO-NOM song sing-INF on = 1

kit-n-a
 be-P-IPF.FUT
 ‘We have been singing a song.’
 (lit.: ‘We are on (the side of) singing a song.’)

- (53b) *inuh hiranta ɢudaa kinna*
inu-ʔ *hir-anta* *ɢudaa = in*
 1PL.PRO-NOM run[PL]-VN on = 1

kit-n-a
 be-P-IPF.FUT
 ‘We have been running.’
 (lit.: ‘We are on (the side of) running.’)

Similarly, bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events done over a certain period of time before the time of speaking are expressed by the present imperfective suffix *-ni* and the adverb *ɣatta* ‘in the past, long time ago’. The word *pora* ‘road, place’ is also commonly used in this context but most often it implies that the action is not approved by the speaker. In the following illustrative examples, I use the label IPF.PRES for the suffix *-ni* despite its past reference.

- (54a) *namsiɣ ɣatta horeetaa dawwini*
nama-asiʔ *ɣatta* *horeeta = i*
 man-DEM.M/F long.ago cattle = 3

dāwwi-ni

tend-IPF.PRES

‘A long time ago this man used to tend cattle.’

- (54b) ifax χatta dillaa pora ikatanni
ifa-ʔ *χatta* *dillaa* *pora*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM long.ago fields road

i = kat-ad-ni

3 = sell-MID-IPF.PRES

‘A long time ago he used to sell fields for his benefit.’

6.2.2. Mood

6.2.2.1. Imperative

The affirmative imperative is marked by suffixes *-i* and *-a* for singular and plural addressee, respectively. (See Section 11.1.6 on negative imperatives.) This can be seen in (55a) and (55b). The second person plural may also be used with first person plural, as shown in (55c).

- (55a) tika kara sah-i
 house in sweep-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Sweep the house!’
- (55b) tika kara sah-a
 house in sweep-IMP.PL
 ‘(You (PL)) Sweep the house!’
- (55c) tika kara sah-n-a
 house in sweep-1PL-IMP.PL
 ‘Let us sweep the house!’

The form of the imperative for singular addressee is *-u* when verb stems end in the (frozen) middle or inchoative suffixes. Here are some examples:

- (56a) pidɔf-ad-u
 buy[SG]-MID-IMP.SG
 ‘(You(SG)), Buy for yourself!’
- (56b) kutt-ad-u
 be.big-INCH-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Become big!’

Polite insistent expression is constructed on the basis of the imperative. It is formed by using the word *ata* and by attaching the suffix *-n* after the imperative

morpheme. The word *ata*, which is obligatory and has the meaning ‘please’ in this context, may occur initially as in (57a-b) or finally as in (57c-d).

- (57a) *ata* *dam-i-n*
 please eat-IMP.SG-INSIST
 ‘(You (SG)) Eat, please!’
- (57b) *ata* *dam-a-n*
 please eat-IMP.PL-INSIST
 ‘(You (PL)) Eat, please!’
- (57c) *dam-i-n* *ata*
 eat-IMP.SG-INSIST please
 ‘(You (SG)) Eat, please!’
- (57d) *dam-a-n* *ata*
 eat-IMP.PL-INSIST please
 ‘(You (PL)) Eat, please!’

There is some level of overlap between imperative and optative.

6.2.2.2. Optative

Optative is marked on the verb by suffix *-u* for first persons and third person singular, and by *-i* for third person plural. In addition to the verbal suffixes, first person independent personal pronouns and the morpheme *-a* are used. As might be expected, there is no optative form for second persons. For third persons, the optative expresses an indirect order or wish. Note that there is some level of overlap between optative and imperative.

- (58a) *ana-a* *tika* *sah-u*
 1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-OPT
 ‘Let me sweep the house.’
- (58b) *inoo tikasahnu*
ino-a *tika* *sah-n-u*
 1PL.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-1PL-OPT
 ‘May we sweep the house.’
- (58c) *a-tika* *sah-t-u*
 OPT-house sweep-3F-OPT
 ‘Let her sweep the house.’
- (58d) *a-tika* *sah-i-n*
 OPT-house sweep-OPT-P
 ‘Let them sweep the house.’

Negative optative for first and third persons is expressed using the verb root *diif*- ‘to stop’ and a predicate nominal as in (59).

- (59a) *ana-a* *keer-intaa* *diif-u*
 1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT run[SG]-VN stop-OPT
 ‘Let me not run.’
 (lit.: ‘Let me stop running.’)
- (59b) *keerintaa adiissu*
keer-intaa *a = diif-t-u*
 run[SG]-VN OPT = stop-3F-OPT
 ‘Let her not run.’
 (lit.: ‘Let her stop running.’)

For third persons, the optative negative can be formed by affixing negative subject clitics directly to the verb root rather than using *diif*- ‘stop’. Here are some examples:

- (60a) *ifaʔ ?inkeerin*
ifa-ʔ *in = keer-in*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
 ‘Let him not run.’
- (60b) *ifeennaʔ ?inkeerin*
ifeenna-ʔ *in = keer-in*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
 ‘Let her not run.’
- (60c) *ifoonnaʔ ?inkeerin*
ifoonna-ʔ *in = keer-in*
 3PL.PRO-NOM 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
 ‘Let them not run.’

Without the overt subjects, it is impossible to identify the number of the subject in the above sentences. This can be seen from the translation of the following example:

- (61) *in = keer-in*
 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
 ‘Let him/her/them not run.’

Verbal negative conjugations are discussed in chapter 11.

7. Adjectives

7.1. Adjectival root classes

Konso has a limited number of adjectival roots (Black 1973; Mous and Ongaye 2009). Below I give an exhaustive list of the adjectival roots by grouping them into certain semantic categories: those in (1a) are colour adjectives, those in (1b) are height/size adjectives, those in (1c) are quality adjectives and those in (1d) are distance/location adjectives.

(1a)	at-	‘to be red’
	awl-	‘to be brown (+ non-human)’
	room-	‘to be brown (+ human)’
	poor-	‘to be black’
	tiim-	‘to be red’
	ilaaw-	‘to be green’
	makaal-	‘to be brown’
	pudfayyays-	‘to be yellow’
	pufaffars-	‘to be multi-coloured’
	purpurrays-	‘to be spotted’
(1b)	der-	‘to be tall, long’
	kummaʔ-	‘to be short’
	kapp-	‘to be fat’
	ɕallaʔ-	‘to be thin (length)’
	ɕaah-	‘to be thin (width)’
	kord-	‘to be thick’
	kutt-	‘to be big’
	lek-	‘to be many’
	killlaʔ-	‘to be narrow’
	pald-	‘to be wide’
	fakk-	‘to be small’
	apd-	‘to be skinny’
(1c)	kokkook-	‘to be strong, hard’
	nukkull-	‘to be weak, soft’
	paɕaar-	‘to be good, beautiful’
	neecɕ-	‘to be bad, ugly’
	ɕoyy-	‘to be wet’
	uls-	‘to be heavy’
	ʃollaʔ-	‘to be light’
	woyy-	‘to be better’ ¹¹

¹¹ The adjectival root *woyy-* ‘to be better’ does not form a plural number agreement by reduplication, possibly because of the notion of comparative degree (as opposed to simple degree of comparison).

- (1d) **deh-** ‘to be near, shallow’
sek- ‘to be far, deep’

Adjectival roots behave like verbs in the sense that they occur with subject clitics as well as aspect markers except when they are used as attributives. Gender agreement markers occur after the adjectival root, see below (7.4).

7.2. Reduplication in adjectives

As is the case with verbs, adjectival roots also show two types of reduplication: full reduplication and partial reduplication. The reduplication of an adjectival root has a distributive connotation (i.e. the meaning of the adjectival root in question applies to every single member of the group).

Not all adjectival roots show full reduplication of the root. The adjectival roots that reduplicate the full root are listed below.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------|------|--------------|---------------|
| (2) | tiimtiim- | ‘to be red.PL’ | from | tiim- | ‘to be red’ |
| | poorpoor- | ‘to be black.PL’ | from | poor- | ‘to be black’ |
| | atʔat¹²- | ‘to be white.PL’ | from | at- | ‘to be white’ |

The above adjectival roots also have partial reduplication of the root as discussed below.

Partial reduplication in adjective roots may be either C_1V or C_1VC_1 . The C_1V reduplication is a variant of the C_1VC_1 reduplication with subsequent degemination conditioned by a geminate consonant in the following syllable. That is, C_1V applies only to adjectival roots with geminate consonants. The following are illustrative examples.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|----------------|
| (3) | ka-kapp- | ‘to be fat.PL’ | from | kapp- | ‘to be fat’ |
| | ku-kutt- | ‘to be big.PL’ | from | kutt- | ‘to be big’ |
| | ʃa-ʃakk- | ‘to be small.PL’ | from | ʃakk- | ‘to be small’ |
| | ɕo-ɕoyy- | ‘to be wet.PL’ | from | ɕoyy- | ‘to be wet’ |
| | ki-killatʔ- | ‘to be narrow.PL’ | from | killatʔ- | ‘to be narrow’ |

The C_1VC_1 reduplication applies to adjectival roots that do not have geminate consonants. Interestingly, long vowels in the adjectival roots appear short in the reduplicated part. Below are illustrative examples.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------|------|--------------|-----------------|
| (4) | dɛd-dɛr- | ‘to be tall, long.PL’ | from | dɛr- | ‘be tall, long’ |
| | pap-pald- | ‘to be wide.PL’ | from | pald- | ‘to be wide’ |
| | uʔ-ʔuls- | ‘to be heavy.PL’ | from | uls- | ‘to be heavy’ |

¹² **atʔat-** ‘to be white.PL’ is also pronounced with a geminate glottal stop: **aʔʔat-** ‘to be white.PL’

kok-kord-	‘to be thick.PL’	from	kord-	‘to be thick’
nen-neeɣ-	‘to be bad, ugly.PL’	from	neeɣ-	‘be bad, ugly’
tit-tiim-	‘to be red.PL’	from	tiim-	‘to be red’
pop-poor-	‘to be black.PL’	from	poor-	‘to be black’

Banti (1986) reports that the plurals of adjectives in Konso are ‘like [in] Oromo but always without consonant doubling’. However, from the above examples we note that adjectival plurality in Konso also involves consonant doubling, (i.e. the C₁VC₁ reduplication (see also below for more examples).

The following are instances that do not follow the above mentioned patterns of reduplication:

(5)	kur-kutt-/kut-kutt-	‘to be big.PL’	from	kutt-	‘to be big’
	ɕal-ɕallaʔ-	‘be thin.PL’	from	ɕallaʔ-	‘to be thin’
	kap-kapp-	‘to be fat.PL’	from	kapp-	‘to be fat’
	ʃak-ʃakk-	‘to be small.PL’	from	ʃakk-	‘to be small’

7.3. Intensity

Intensity in some adjectives is expressed by alternating adjectival roots. For some adjectival roots the variation may involve gemination of the middle consonant if there is one in the root, as in the case of **paɕaʔaar-** in example (6).

(6)	tiffiim-	‘to be very red’	from	tiim-	‘to be red’
	puɕɕuur-	‘to be very black’	from	poor-	‘to be black’
	paɕaʔaar-	‘to be very good’	from	paɕaʔaar-	‘be good’

The other way of expressing intensity in adjectives is reduplicating the whole phrase. Intensity of a situation can be expressed in relation to an individual entity or a group of entities. For instance, the example in (7a) expresses intensity of **dɛr** ‘be tall’ of the individual entity **ɕoyra** ‘tree’, whereas the example in (7b) expresses the same in relation to a group of entities **ʔorra** ‘people’. Note that the subject clitics occur only once.

(7a)	ɕoyrasiʔ ʔideri dɛri		
	<i>ɕoyra-siʔ</i>	<i>i = dɛr-i</i>	<i>dɛr-i</i>
	tree-DEF.M/F	3 = be.tall-PF	be.tall-PF
	‘The tree is very very tall.’		

(7b)	orrasiʔ idedɕɕeri dɛɕɕeri		
	<i>orra-siʔ</i>	<i>i = dɛɕɕ-ɛr-i</i>	<i>dɛɕɕ-ɛr-i</i>
	people-DEF.M/F	3 = PL-be.tall-PF	PL-be.tall-PF
	‘The people are very very tall.’		

7.4. Predicative adjectives

The adjectival verb roots may occur in affirmative or negative sentences as predicates that describe a state of being or becoming. When used to describe a state of being, they require subject clitics and aspect marking. For the plurals of all persons, the adjectival root initial C_1V or C_1VC_1 is reduplicated. First person plural and second person plural also have the suffixes *-nna* and *-ttan*, respectively, on the adjective. The following are illustrative examples:

- (8a) *anti?* *inderi*
 anti-? *in = d̥er-i*
 1SG.PRO-NOM 1 = be.tall.PF
 ‘I am tall.’
- (8b) *iʃina?* *ʔidd̥ed̥derittan*
 iʃina-? *iʔ = d̥ed̥-d̥er-i-t-tan*
 2PL.PRO-NOM 2 = PL-be.tall-PF-2-2PL
 ‘You (PL) are tall.’

In the following paradigm, the adjectival root *d̥er-* ‘be tall, long’ is used to show the use of adjectival predicates with the various persons to describe the state of being.

- (9) *anti?* *ʔinderi* ‘I am tall.’
 inu? *ʔind̥ed̥derinna* ‘We are tall.’
 atti? *ʔid̥deri* ‘You (SG) are tall.’
 iʃina? *ʔidd̥ed̥derittan* ‘You (PL) are tall.’
 iʃa? *ʔideri* ‘He is tall.’
 iʃeenna? *ʔideri* ‘She is tall.’
 iʃoonna? *ʔid̥ed̥deri* ‘They are tall.’

Adjectival roots form verb forms by adding derivational suffixes such as the inchoative and the causative. The inchoative forms are *-ad̥*, *-aad̥* and *-naad̥* (see 6.1.4). The following are sentential examples.

- (10a) *id̥eraatti*
 i = d̥er-aad̥-t-i
 3 = be.tall-INCH-3F-PF
 ‘She became tall.’
- (10b) *i = ka-kapp-ad̥-a-n*
 3 = PL-be.fat-INCH-IPF.FUT-PL
 ‘They will become fat.’

- (10c) **ikkappatti**
iʔ = kapp-ad-t-i
 2 = be.fat-INCH-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) became fat.’
- (10d) **indedderaanna**
in = ded-der-aad-n-a
 1 = PL-be.tall-INCH-PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘We will become tall.’

The causative derivation that renders adjectival roots verbs has three forms: -ʃ, -ayʃ and -nayʃ (see 6.1.1). Examples:

- (11a) **χormasiʔ ʔikkappissan**
χorma-siʔ iʔ = kapp-f-t-a-n
 ox-DEF.M/F 2 = be.fat-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) will fatten the ox.’
- (11b) **kokaasiʔ ʔinnukkullayʃay**
kokaa-siʔ in = nukkull-ayʃ-ay
 skin-DEF.M/F 1 = be.soft-DCAUS-PF[3M]
 ‘I softened the skin.’
- (11c) **oktoowwaasiniʔ ʔinenneeʃnayʃin**
oktoowwaa-siniʔ i = nen-neeʃ-nayʃ-i-n
 pots-DEF.P 3 = PL-be.bad-DCAUS-PF-P
 ‘They made the pots bad.’

So far, we have considered affirmative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates. Next, we examine negative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates.

Negative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates differ from their counterpart affirmative sentences in the following ways:

- They require the existential verb *kit-* in addition to the adjectival predicate;
- Except for third persons, the other persons do attach negative subject clitics on the adjectival predicates;
- All persons have negative subject clitics on the existential verb;
- Except for second and third person plurals, all persons attach a negation marker on the existential verb.

The above features of negative sentences in which adjectival roots are predicates can be observed from the following examples.

- (12a) **anderi anco**
an = d̄er-i *an = kiy-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF 1NEG = be-NEG
 ‘I am not tall.’
- (12b) **addfedferi akkittan**
aʔ = d̄ed-d̄er-i *aʔ = kit-t-a-n*
 2NEG = PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (SG) are not tall.’

The examples in (12) are obtained only in careful speech. In fast speech, however, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb *kit-* occur as enclitics to the adjectival predicate. This leftward cliticisation suppresses the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn causes vowel coalescence for first and second persons: *i + a = ee*. For third persons, the vowel *i* is deleted and negation is marked only by *-n*. The following are illustrative examples.

- (13a) **andereen co**
an = d̄er-i = an *kiy-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF = 1NEG be-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I am not tall.’
- (13b) **addereek kittu**
aʔ = d̄er-i = aʔ *kit-t-u*
 2NEG = be.tall-PF = 2NEG be-2NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) are not tall.’
- (13c) **d̄edferin can**
d̄ed-d̄er-i = in *kiy-a-n*
 PL-be.tall-PF = 3NEG be-PF-P
 ‘They are not tall.’

For a complete structure, I provide the following paradigm with the same adjectival root *d̄er-* ‘be tall, long’ as a predicate.

- (14) **andereenco** ‘I am not tall.’
andedd̄ereenkinnu ‘We are not tall.’
addereekkittu ‘You (SG) are not tall.’
addfedd̄ereekkittan ‘You (PL) are not tall.’
d̄erinco ‘He is not tall.’
d̄erinkittu ‘She is not tall.’
d̄edd̄erincan ‘They are not tall.’

In the following table, I present both the affirmative and negative subject clitics that occur with adjectival predicates.

Person	Affirmative subject clitics with adjectival root	Negative subject clitics realized with adjectival roots or with the cooccurring verb <i>kit-</i> 'be'
1SG	<i>in =</i>	<i>an =</i>
1PL	<i>in =</i>	<i>an =</i>
2SG	<i>iʔ =</i>	<i>aʔ =</i>
2PL	<i>iʔ =</i>	<i>aʔ =</i>
3SGM	<i>i =</i>	<i>in =</i>
3SGF	<i>i =</i>	<i>in =</i>
3PL	<i>i =</i>	<i>in =</i>

Table 1: Subject clitics that occur with adjective predicates

Approximation of the prototype meaning of the adjective can be expressed by using the instrumental suffix on the subject as illustrated in (15).

- (15a) *ifanne poori*
ifa-nn=i *poor-i*
 he-INST=3 be.black-PF
 'It's blackish.'
- (15b) *ifanne tiimi*
ifa-nn=i *tiim-i*
 he-INST=3 be.red-PF
 'It's reddish.'
- (15c) *ifannik kappi*
ifa-nn=iʔ *kapp-i*
 he-INST=2 be.fat-PF
 'You (SG) are a bit overweight.'
- (15d) *ifa-nn=in* *ʒallaʔ-i*
 he-INST=1 be.thin-PF
 'I'm a bit thin.'

7.5. Attributive adjectives

Adjectival roots that serve as attributives do occur neither with subject clitics nor with aspect markers. Rather, they occur with terminal vowels *a* and *aaʔ*. These terminal vowels are gender agreement markers in that those head nouns that show the third masculine or third feminine gender agreement require *a*, while those head nouns that trigger the third person plural gender agreement require *aaʔ*. Number agreement is shown by reduplication. Indefinite head nouns also require a genitive particle *a*, which has not been recognised in the

earlier works on the language. The genitive particle occurs between the head noun and the adjective. Definite head nouns do not require the genitive particle.

The following examples contain the adjectival roots *kutt-* ‘to be big’. The distribution of number-gender agreement with this adjectival root can be seen in the examples in (16). In (16a), we have the semantically singular noun *ḡoyra* ‘tree[M]’ for which the adjectival root has only the singular gender agreement marker on the adjective. In (16b), we have the semantically singular noun *innaa* ‘child[P]’ for which the adjectival root has only the plural gender agreement marker on the adjective. In (16c), we have the semantically plural noun *orra* ‘people[M]’ for which the adjectival root has a plural number agreement and a singular gender agreement on the adjective. In (16d), we have the semantically plural noun *dillaa* ‘fields[P]’ for which the adjective has plural number and gender agreement markers.

- (16a) *namasiḡ ḡoyra a kuta imuray*
nama-si? *ḡoyra* *?* *kutt-a*
 person-DEF.M/F tree GEN be.big-3M/F

i = mur-ay

3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]

‘The person cut a big tree.’

(lit.: ‘The person cut a tree which is big.’)

- (16b) *iskatteeta-si? ?innaa a kuttaa? ?iḡap-t-a*
iskatteeta-si? *innaa* *a* *kutt-aa?*
 woman-DEF.M/F child GEN be.big-P

i = ḡap-t-a

3 = have-3F-IPF.FUT

‘The woman has a grown up child.’

(lit.: ‘The woman has a child who is big.’)

- (16c) *anti? ?orra a kukuttan akkay*
anti-? *orra* *a* *ku-kutt-a = in*
 1SG.PRO-NOM people GEN PL-be.big-3M/F = 1

akk-ay

see-PF[3M]

‘I saw big people.’

(lit.: ‘I saw people who are big.’)

- (16d) *attif dillaa a kukuttaa?iG G̃apta*
atti-ʔ *dillaa* *a* *ku-kutt-aaʔ=iʔ*
 2SG.PRO-NOM fields GEN PL-be.big-P=2

G̃ap-t-a

have-2-IPF.FUT

‘You (SG) have big fields.’

(lit.: ‘You (SG) have fields which are big.’)

Banti (1986:242) reports that Konso is the only language within Oromoid with adjectival words preceding the nouns they modify. His claim holds true only when agentive suffixes are added to adjectival roots (see 7.6 below). Otherwise, the opposite order [N Adj] is the case in Konso, as can be seen from the preceding examples. We can further look at the examples in (17a) and (17b), in which the head noun *kutasiʔ* ‘the dog[M]’ and *hellaa* ‘children[P]’ are modified by the adjectival roots *kutt-* ‘to be big’ and *fakk-* ‘be small’, respectively.

- (17a) *kutasik kutta it^waay*
kuta-siʔ *kutt-a* *i=toy-ay*
 dog-DEF.M/F be.big-3M/F 3 = die-PF
 ‘The big dog died.’

(lit.: ‘The dog which was big died.’)

- (17b) *hellaa a fafakkaaʔ ?ideyin*
hellaa *a* *fa-fakk-aaʔ* *i=d̃ey-i-n*
 children GEN PL-be.small-P 3 = come-PF-P
 ‘Small children came.’

(lit.: ‘Children that are small came.’)

7.6. Deadjectival derivation

7.6.1. Nominal derivation and gender marking

Adjectival roots may combine with agentive suffixes which trigger gender marking: *-ayta*, *-ayteeta* and *-ayaa* for masculine, feminine and plural gender respectively. They give the reading ‘X one’ where X contains the semantics of the adjective. In the following examples, we observe that the adjectival root *d̃er-* ‘be tall’ has the agentive suffix *-ayta* in (18a), *-ayteeta* in (18b) and *-ayaa* in (18c). In (18c) we also observe that in addition to the plural gender agreement, the adjective root is reduplicated for number marking. The same suffixes are used for deverbal agentives, see 4.10.2.

- (18a) *d̃er-ayta*
 be.tall-AGENT.M
 ‘tall one’

- (18b) **der-ayt-eeta**
be.tall-AGENT.F
'tall one'
- (18c) **ded-der-ayaa**
PL-be.tall-AGENT.P
'tall ones'

Adjectival roots that have agentive suffixes occur in relativised or non-relativised phrases. When they occur in relativised phrases, the head noun occurs phrase final as in (19a). On the other hand, in non-relativised phrases, the head noun occurs phrase-initially, as in (19b). The examples in (20) are unacceptable because in (20a) the genitive particle is missing between the agentivised adjective and the head noun; (20b) is unacceptable because a genitive particle is inserted between the head noun and the agentivised adjective.

- (19a) **kutt-ayteeta** **a** **tika**
be.big-AGENT.F GEN house
'a house which is big'
- (19b) **tika** **kutt-ayteeta**
house be.big-AGENT.F
'a big house'
- (20a) ***kutt-ayteeta** **tika**
be.big-AGENT.F house
- (20b) ***tika** **a** **kutt-ayteeta**
house GEN be.big-AGENT.F

Earlier we saw the gender agreement when the adjectives are used attributively. We have seen that plural nouns such as *orra* 'people' and *iskatta* 'women' trigger the same gender agreement as the third person singular masculine or feminine subject. However, with the background suffix *-eyye* added to nominal roots, all nouns that are semantically plural occur with the plural agentive suffix *-ayaa*. Singular nouns that trigger plural gender agreement also occur with the agentive plural suffix *-ayaa*. The following are illustrative examples.

- (21a) **tikeeyye kuttayteeta**
tika-eyye *kutt-ayteeta*
house-BKGRD be.big-AGENT.F
'House-wise, it is a wide one.'

- (21b) *ḡoyreeyye dērayta*
ḡoyra-eyye dēr-ayta
 tree-BKGRD be.tall-AGENT.M
 ‘Tree-wise, it is a tall one.’
- (21c) *innaayye ḡallaʔayaa*
innaa-eyye ḡallaʔ-ayaa
 child-BKGRD be.thin-AGENT.P
 ‘Child-wise, he is a thin one.’
- (22a) *orreeyye deddērayaa*
orra-eyye ded-dēr-ayaa
 people-BKGRD PL-be.tall-AGENT.P
 ‘People-wise, they are tall ones.’
- (22b) *iskatt-eyye ḡaḡallaʔayaa*
iskatta-eyye ḡa-ḡallaʔ-ayaa
 women-BKGRD PL-be.thin-AGENT.P
 ‘Women-wise, they are thin ones.’
- (22c) *dillaayye pappaldayaa*
dillaa-eyye pap-pald-ayaa
 fields-BKGRD PL-be.wide-AGENT.P
 ‘Fields-wise, they are wide ones.’

7.6.2. Deadjectival action nominals

Deadjectival action nominals are derived from adjectival stems by adding the suffix *-taá*. The inchoative suffix is required before attaching *-taá* as shown in (23).

- (23a) *paldattaá*
pald-ad-taá
 be.wide-INCH-NML
 ‘widening’
- (23b) *kappattaá*
kapp-ad-taá
 be.fat-INCH-NML
 ‘getting fat’

Below are sentential examples:

- (24a) **sukeentasik kuttattaa ipaayyiti**
sukeenta-si? *kutt-ad-taá* *i=paayyi-t-i*
 lamb.F-DEF.M/F be.big-INCH-NMLZ 3 = strat-3F-PF
 ‘The lamb has started to grow.’
 (lit.: ‘The lamb started to become big.’)
- (24b) **okkattasik kappattaa ipaayyay**
okkatta-si? *kapp-ad-taá* *i=paayy-ay*
 cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-INCH-NMLZ 3 = start-PF[3M]
 ‘The cow has started to get fat.’

8. Postpositions, adverbials and conjunctions

8.1. Postpositions

Postpositions occur either with a final *-a* or *-aa*. When they occur with a short final *-a*, they indicate the reference object (e.g. a container). When they occur with a final long *-aa*, they indicate the located object (e.g. a contained object). Earlier works (e.g. Black 1973; Bliese and Sokka 1986; Getahun 1999; Daudey and Hellenthal 2004) did not recognise both the difference in the quantity of the final vowel and the semantic distinction between the reference and located object. In table 1, I give the list of the postpositions in the language.

final -a	final -aa	Gloss
ɕara	ɕaraa	‘on’
kapa	kapaa	‘near’
ɕuda	ɕudaa	‘on (non-horizontal plane)’
tupa	tupaa	‘behind’
tura	turaa	‘in front of’
kela	kelaa	‘under’
kara	karaa	‘in(side)’
mina	minaa	‘in front’
oppa	oppaa	‘in (centre)’
ɕuta	ɕutaa	‘behind (a bit far)’
tula	tulaa	‘in front of (a bit far)’
kamma	kammaa	‘behind’

Table 1: Konso postpositions

The following sentences illustrate how the short and long final vowels on the postposition indicate reference object (ground) or the located object:

- (1a) tika kara sah-i
house in.REF sweep-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Sweep the (inside of the) house!’
- (1b) tika kara-a sah-i
house in-LOC sweep-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Sweep it out of the house!’
- (2a) kannootasiɕ ɕudan faɕay
kannoota-si? *ɕuda = in* *faɕ-ay*
calabash-DEF.M/F on.REF = 1 wash-PF[3M]
‘I washed (the exterior of) the calabash.’

- (2b) **kannootasiŋ ġudaan faġay**
kannoota-si? *ġuda-a = in* *faġ-ay*
 calabash-DEF.M/F on-LOC = 1 wash-PF[3M]
 ‘I washed (the exterior of) the calabash.’

In examples (1a) and (2a) above, the postpositions end in *-a* while those in (1b) and (2b) end in *-aa*. It is this difference in the quantity of the final vowel that accounts for the difference in the interpretation of the sentences: sentences (1a) and (2a) with postpositions ending with *-a* indicate that the sweeping and washing affects a specific part of the house and the calabash, respectively; the sentences in (1b) and (2b) with postpositions ending with *-aa* indicate that the nouns 'house' and 'calabash' are used as ground or reference points for something else that is swept and washed, respectively.

The postpositions also occur with the locative suffix *-?*. The final *-aa* and the locational suffix make a semantic distinction with such verb roots as *ġeed-* ‘to take’, *pidf-* ‘to buy[SG]’ and *kat-* ‘to sell’. The semantic distinction is that postpositions ending with the long vowel have the meaning of ‘taking something away from something else’ while the locative suffix renders the meaning of ‘adding something to something else’. The following are illustrative examples.

- (3a) **ġoroosiniŋ ġudaa ġeedi**
ġoraa-osini? *ġudaa* *ġeed-i*
 trees-DEM.P on.LOC take-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Take (some trees) from these trees!’
- (3b) **ġoroosiniŋ ġudaŋ ġeedi**
ġoraa-osini? *ġuda-?* *ġeed-i*
 trees-DEM.P on-LOC take-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Add (some trees) to these trees!’
- (3c) **punittaasiŋ ġudaa pidfi**
punitta-asi? *ġuda-a* *pidf-i*
 coffee-DEM.M/F on-LOC buy[SG]-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Buy (some coffee) from this coffee!’
- (3d) **punittaasiŋ ġudap pidfi**
punitta-asi? *ġuda-?* *pidf-i*
 coffee-DEM.M/F on-LOC buy[SG]-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Buy (some coffee) in addition to this coffee!’

The postposition equivalent to the English preposition ‘until, up to’ is expressed by the locational head noun *haka* and the genitive particle *a*, and the object noun of the postposition occurs with the specifier suffix *-ti?* as shown in

(4). Mous suggested to me that the locational head noun **haka** could be a loan word from Swahili through some intermediate languages, as it is a word for ‘border’ which is used as a preposition for ‘until’.

- (4) **haka a** *χarratit tikaasis sahi*
haka a χarra-ti? tika-asi?
 until GEN gate-SPEC house-DEM.M/F

sah-i
 sweep-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Sweep this house up to the gate!’

Similarly, the postposition equivalent to the English preposition ‘about’ is expressed by the noun **ḡoota** ‘concerning’, the genitive particle **ʔa** and the specifier suffix **-te** and the directional adverb **desa** (see 8.2.2 below). The following is an illustrative example:

- (5b) **attiḡ ḡoota-awo desa maana? ʔupta**
atti-ʔ ḡoota-awo desa
 2SG.PRO-NOM concerning-1SG.POSS.M/F towards

maana = i? up-t-a
 what = 2 know-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘What do you know about me?’

Note that the postposition **turaa** ‘in front of’ is used to express detrimental action as in (6a-b). Moreover, with the same detrimental meaning, **turaa** ‘in front of’ may occur with the background suffix **-yye** as in (6c).

- (6a) **kaafaan inantasit turaa ḡeeday**
kaafaan = in inanta-si? turaa ḡeed-ay
 money = 1 girl-DEF.M/F in.front.of take-PF[3M]
 ‘I took money away from the girl.’

- (6b) **ifāt namasit turaa ḡoraa ʔimuray**
ifā-ʔ nama-si? turaa
 3SGM.PRO-NOM man-DEF.M/F in.front.of

ḡoraa i = mur-ay
 trees 3 = cut-PF[3M]
 ‘He cut the trees away from the man.’

- (6c) **ḡoyra-si = in ifā turaa-yye**
 tree-DEF.M/F = 1 3SGM[ACC] in.front.of-BKGRD

mur-ay
 cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘I cut the tree to his detriment.’
 (lit.: ‘I cut the tree in front of him.’)

8.2. Adverbs

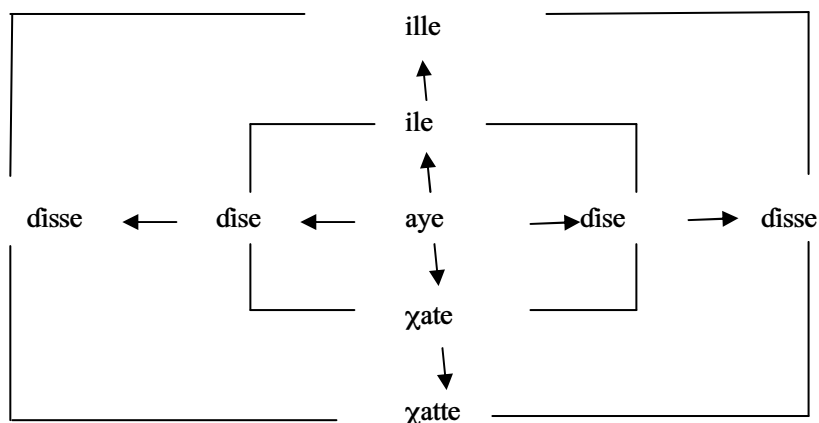
In this section, I discuss locative adverbs (8.2.1) and directionals (8.2.2), combination of locative adverbs and directionals (8.2.3), time adverbs (8.2.4) and conjunctions (8.3).

8.2.1. Locative adverbs

Both underived and derived locative adverbs exist. There are four underived locatives in Karatte dialect (7a), but three in my dialect. In my dialect the underived locative *ile* ‘up there’ is not used. Instead, the derived locative *irre* ‘further up there’ is used. Derived locatives are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the underived locative (7b). Derived locatives show location further away from the deictic centre.

- (7a) *ile* ‘up there’
aye ~are ‘here’
dise ‘there (horizontal plane, sideways)’
χate ‘down there’
- (7b) *ille/irre* ‘further up there’
disse ‘further there (sideways)’
χatte ‘further down there’

In the following diagramme, I attempt to show the parallel between the horizontal and vertical planes for the underived and derived locatives. The arrows show the direction of the location. The deictic centre is the locative *aye* ‘here’.



Consider the following illustrative examples:

- (8a) *χormasi? ʔirree ca*
χorma-si? *irre=i* *kiy-a*
 ox-DEF.M/F up.there=3 be-IPF.PRES
 ‘The ox is up there.’
- (8b) *ifeennad dissipa iʔanti*
ifeenna-ʔ *disse-opa* *i=aan-t-i*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM there.further-DEST 3=go-3F-PF
 ‘She went further there.’
- (8c) *orsix χate maanaa koʔni*
orra-si? *χate* *maana=i* *kod-ni*
 people-DEF.M/F down what=3 do-IPF.PRES
 ‘What are the people down there doing?’

The locative adverb *dise* and its derived form *disse* mostly involve finger pointing (by the addresser) in the direction of the located object to make it clear for the addressee that the located object is placed in the direction being pointed in. The object could be located on the right or left side.

When individuals are positioned on a higher elevation (say, in a tree) and on a lower elevation (say, on the ground), the words *moonta* ‘sky’ and *piita* ‘earth, ground’ also serve as locatives meaning ‘up’ and ‘down’, respectively, as demonstrated in (9).

- (9) *antim moonteen cama ifap piitee ca*
anti-ʔ *moonta=in* *kiy-a-ma*
 1SG.PRO-NOM sky=1 be-IPF.FUT-but
- ifa-ʔ* *piite=i* *kiy-a*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM earth=3 be-IPF.FUT
 ‘I am up here but he is down there (on the ground).’

The adverb *opa* is used to indicate destination as in (10).

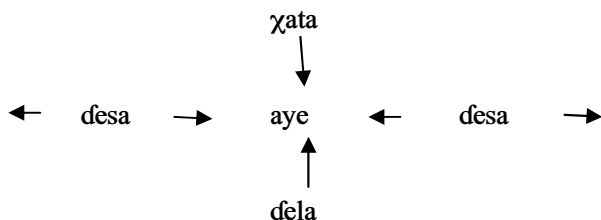
- (10a) *kuntix χonsupaa tay*
kunte-ʔ *χonso-opa=i* *tay-ay*
 kunte-NOM Konso-DEST=3 leave-PF[3M]
 ‘Kunte went to Konso.’
- (10b) *inantasit tikupa ideʔti*
inanta-si? *tika-opa* *i=dɛy-t-i*
 girl-DEF.M/F house-DEST 3=come-3F-PF
 ‘The girl came home.’

8.2.2. Directional adverbs

There are three directional adverbs. These are given in (11).

- (11) **χata** ‘downwards—from a higher altitude to a lower altitude’
deła ‘upwards—from a lower altitude to a higher altitude’
desa ‘sideways—on a horizontal plane’

The deictic centre is the locative **aye** ‘here’, as shown in the following diagramme.



8.2.2. Combining locative adverbs and directional adverbs

The locative adverbs and the directional adverbs can combine. When we combine the locative adverb **irre** ‘up there’ with the directional adverbs, we obtain the combinations in (12a). When we combine the locational **aye** ‘here’ with the directionals, we get the combinations in (12b).

- (12a) **irreχata** ‘from up there towards the speaker’
irredesa ‘from up there horizontally’
irredela ‘from up there downwards’
- (12b) **ayexata** ‘from up there to here/from here downwards’
ayedesa ‘from here to somewhere on a horizontal plane’
ayedela ‘from down up to here/from here downwards’

Below are illustrative examples:

- (13a) **keraasi?** ?irreχataa lekkaday
keraa-si? *irreχata=i* *lekkad-ay*
 thief-DEF.M/F up.there.downwards=3 climb.down-PF[3M]
 ‘The thief climbed down from up there downwards.’
- (13b) **mottoogaasi?** ?ayedesa itarpay
mottoogaasi? *aye*
 car-DEF.M/F here

dɛsa
from.here.on.a.horizontal.plane
'The car passed across here.'

i = tarp-ay
3 = cross-PF[3M]

Most often, utterances like those in (13) are accompanied by finger-pointing.

The word *asse* used with the locative *aye* combines with the directionals generating a meaning like 'straight, along this' along the direction mentioned.

The locatives and directionals may combine with the destination adverb *opa*. The placement of the destination adverb with locatives differs from its placement with directionals: with locatives it is suffixed to the locatives (14a), but with directionals it occurs before the directional (14b).

- (14a) *aypa* /*aye* + *opa*/ 'to here'
ilipa /*ile* + *opa*/ 'to up there'
disipa /*dise* + *opa*/ 'to there (horizontal)'
χatipa /*χate* + *opa*/ 'to down there'
irripa /*irre* + *opa*/ 'to up further there'
dissipa /*disse* + *opa*/ 'to further there (horizontal)'
χattipa /*χatte* + *opa*/ 'to down further there'
- (14b) *opafela* 'one step up from there'
opafesa 'one step from there (horizontal)'
opaxata 'one step down from there'

The directionals can be cliticised to the locatives as presented in the following table.

Locative	Directional	Combination
<i>irre</i>	<i>χata</i>	<i>irreeχaa</i> <? <i>irreeta</i> > 'from there down here'
<i>irre</i>	<i>dela</i>	<i>irreela</i> 'from up there upwards'
<i>irre</i>	<i>dɛsa</i>	<i>irreesa</i> 'from up there on the horizontal plane'
<i>aye</i>	<i>χata</i>	<i>ayeeχaa</i> <? <i>ayeeta</i> > 'from here downwards'
<i>aye</i>	<i>dela</i>	<i>ayeela</i> 'from here upwards; from down up here'
<i>aye</i>	<i>dɛsa</i>	<i>ayeesa</i> 'xxx'
<i>dise</i>	<i>χata</i>	<i>diseeχaa</i> < <i>diseeta</i> > 'from there on the horizontal plane downwards'
<i>dise</i>	<i>dela</i>	<i>diseela</i> 'from there on the horizontal plane upwards'
<i>dise</i>	<i>dɛsa</i>	<i>diseesa</i> 'from there on the horizontal plane onwards'
<i>disse</i>	<i>χata</i>	<i>disseeχaa</i> < <i>disseeta</i> > 'from further there downwards'
<i>disse</i>	<i>dela</i>	<i>disseela</i> 'from further there upwards'

Locative	Directional	Combination
disse	desa	disseesa 'from further there horizontally'
χate	χata	χateeχaa <?χateeta> 'from down there downwards'
χate	dela	χateela 'from down there upwards'
χate	desa	χateesa 'from down there on the horizontal plane'
χatte	χata	χatteeχaa <?χatteeta> 'from further down there downwards'
χatte	dela	χatteela 'from further down there upwards'
χatte	desa	χatteesa 'from further down there on horizontal plane'

Table 3: Directionals cliticising to locatives

The following table contains the (im)permissible combinations of locatives, the destination adverb and directionals.

Locative	destination	directional	combination
aye	opa	dela	aypadela
aye	opa	desa	aypadesa
aye	opa	χata	aypaxata
irre	opa	dela	irripadela
irre	opa	desa	*irripadesa
irre	opa	χata	*irripaxata
dise	opa	dela	*disipadela
dise	opa	desa	disipadesa
dise	opa	χata	*disipaxata
disse	opa	dela	*dissipadela
disse	opa	desa	dissipadesa
disse	opa	χata	*dissipaxata
χate	opa	dela	χatipaxata
χate	opa	desa	*χatipadela
χate	opa	χata	*χatipadesa
χatte	opa	dela	?χattipadela
χatte	opa	desa	χattipadesa
χatte	opa	χata	χattipaxata

Table 4: Combining locatives, destination adverb and directionals

8.2.3. Time adverbs

In this subsection I present time adverbs. I begin with the discussion of parts of a day. A day can be decomposed into various adverbial time frames given in (15).

(15)	teykantaa	‘morning’
	ɕudaadaa	‘midmorning’
	kuyyaʔta	‘midday’
	kallaptaa	‘(very) late afternoon’
	kalaakala(yta)	‘evening’
	otumalaa	‘midnight’
	paraa minaa	‘dawn (lit.: in front of sun rising)’
	halkeetta	‘night’

The following time adverbs refer to time frames within the day of conversation. The reference is the moment of conversation **amma** ‘now’.

(16)	amma	‘now’
	ɕaari/helaanna¹³	‘a moment ago’
	kuli	‘latter’
	amma sede	‘right now’
	amma dehate	‘just a moment ago’

Using the time adverb **awwi** ‘today’, the day of conversation, as a reference point we have the following time adverbs.

(17)	awwi	‘today’
	awtapiisa	‘always’ (awta ‘when’ piisa ‘all’)
	ɕala	‘yesterday’
	ɕallakkali	‘the day before yesterday’
	ɕattakkali	‘three days ago [the day before the day before yesterday]’
	ɕatta	‘in the past, long time ago’
	parre	‘tomorrow’
	partaane	‘the second day after the day of conversation’
	namakule	‘the third day after the day of conversation’
	setikule	‘the fourth day after the day of conversation’
	itturpa	‘in the future’ (isituraaopa ‘in front of self’)
	hekere	‘remote future’

The time adverbs in (18) refer to nights. Except the night of the day of conversation, the rest refer to past nights. In Konso, one cannot use the night of the day of conversation **raawwa** ‘tonight’ after sundown. The day ends at sundown and the preceding night is considered to be part of the 24-hour cycle: night + day, not day + night.

(18)	raawwa	‘tonight’
	ɕallapo	‘last night’
	ɕalakallape	‘the second night before the day of conversation’
	ɕattakkallape	‘the third night before the day of conversation’

¹³ **helaanna** has a variant form **helaadda**.

A week is **tappaa** or **torpaa** from **tappa** ‘seven’ or **torbaa** ‘seven’.

A recent past or a near future is expressed by the adverb **yensi** ‘these days’. The reading of past or future depends on the aspect of the sentence. In (19), for example, we have the time adverb **yensi** and the verb root **roop-** ‘to rain’. (19a) is different from (19b) in that it contains a perfective aspect, which, together with the time adverb, shows that the event of raining is a completed event. (19b) contains a future imperfective, which, together with the time adverb, indicates that the event of raining is not a completed event but an event expected to happen soon. With the present imperfective, the adverb **yensi** expresses an event that has been going on for some time, as in (19c).

- (19a) **yensi** **i = roop-t-i**
 these.days 3 = rain-3F-PF
 ‘It rained recently.’
- (19b) **yensi** **i = roop-t-a**
 these.days 3 = rain-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘It will rain sometime.’
- (19c) **yensi** **i = roop-ni**
 these.days 3 = rain-IPF.PRES
 ‘It is raining these days.’

We also have time adverbs that refer to a year. These are given in (20). The reference is the year of conversation.

- (20) **yeswi** ‘this year’
parpali? ‘last year’
partura? ‘the year before last year’
partussa ‘the third year before the year of conversation’
paraanna ‘next year’
parkeettu ‘the years to come (after next year)’

Adverbs referring to a day following the day of an event are marked by the dative suffix as in (21a). When reference is made to a day preceding the day of an event, the postposition **tura** ‘in front of’ is used with the time adverbs as in (21b).

- (21a) **faasika parraytaa?e de?ti**
faasika **parreyta-? = i** **dey-t-i**
 Easter next.day-DAT = 3 come-3F-PF
 ‘She came the day after Easter.’

- (21b) *faasika tura xalaa de?ti*
faasika tura xala=i dey-t-i
 Easter in.front.of yesterday=3 come-3F-PF
 ‘She came on the day before Easter.’

The division of the year into months is closely associated with agricultural cycle. The year is divided into twelve months. The first month of the year is January (see, also Yohannes and Gemechu 1996:9). A month is broadly classified into two weeks of moonshine and two weeks of dark nights. The twelve months of the year are the following:

- (22)
- | | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>oypa</i> | ‘January’ |
| <i>sakaanukama</i> | ‘February’ |
| <i>murano</i> | ‘March’ |
| <i>peelalta</i> | ‘April’ |
| <i>harta</i> | ‘May’ |
| <i>tela</i> | ‘June’ |
| <i>olxolafa</i> | ‘July’ |
| <i>sessayfa</i> | ‘August’ |
| <i>partupta</i> | ‘September’ |
| <i>kifa</i> | ‘October’ |
| <i>ollindala</i> | ‘November’ |
| <i>poorinka</i> | ‘December’ |

A week has seven days, most of which are named after the different places where market is held. Thus, the names of the days of the week differ from place to place. Below I give the days of the week as they are called in my area.

- (23)
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| <i>ompakku</i> | ‘Monday’ |
| <i>lankayya</i> | ‘Tuesday’ |
| <i>oypattaali</i> | ‘Wednesday’ |
| <i>paɣawli</i> | ‘Thursday’ |
| <i>paɣawli parrayta</i> | ‘Friday’ |
| <i>palawwa</i> | ‘Saturday’ |
| <i>saampata</i> | ‘Sunday’ |

Some people, particularly old people, use the name *ɕommoossa* instead of *lankayya* for Tuesday, suggesting that in the past markets were held in *ɕommoossa*. Alternatively, *lankayya* is called *palawwa a jakka?* ‘the small *palawwa*’ as a small number of people hold market in the same place where a very large number of people hold market on *palawwa* ‘Saturday’. The reason why the small market is held on Tuesday in *palawwa* is because *lankayya* is far from my area. Another remark is that if market is not held on the day following a market day, then the name of the previous market day and the time adverb *parrayta* ‘the following day’ are used, as in *paɣawli parrayta* ‘Friday’.

8.3. Conjunctions

The following is the list of the conjunctions:

(24)	oo/ootoo/kande	‘if’	conditional
	awta/etee	‘when’	temporal
	akkaa	‘that’	complement
	kasu/kuli	‘also, even’	inclusive
	ka/ifu?	‘and’	coordination/consecutive
	maa/umma	‘but’	contrast
	taakine	‘or/otherwise’	alternative

The conjunctions listed above are discussed in the chapter on Complex sentences in this study. See also Mous and Ongaye (2009). Below, I give brief remarks and illustrative examples.

Conditional conjunctions mark support clauses in conditional sentences as can be seen from the example in (25). For details of conditionals, see 12.1.1.

(25)	ifa? oodeyo, konfasi? ?iteyyada		
	<i>ifa-?</i>	<i>oo dey-o,</i>	
	3SGM.PRO-NOM	if come-DP.IPF.FUT	
	 <i>konfa-si?</i>	 <i>i = teyyad-a</i>	
	shorts-DEF.M/F	3 = receive-IPF.FUT	
	‘If he comes, he will receive the shorts.’		

The temporal conjunctions **awta** and **etee** ‘when’ mark temporal clauses as shown in (26). The conjunction **awta** also serves as a conditional conjunction (see details in 12.1.2).

(26)	awtak konfasit teyto, ?anal leli		
	<i>awta = i?</i>	<i>konfa-si?</i>	<i>tey-t-o,</i>
	when = 2	shorts-DEF.M/F	find-2-DP.IPF.FUT
	 <i>ana-?</i>	 <i>lel-i</i>	
	1SG.PRO[ACC]-DAT	tell-IMP.SG	
	‘When you find the shorts, let me know.’		

The conjunction **ka** marks not only coordinated nouns as in (27a) but also conjoined consecutive clauses as in (27b).

(27a)	silpoota	ka	akaafa
	hoe	and	spade
	‘hoe and spade’		

- (27b) *ifad diluppupaa anay ka unta pohay*
ifa-ʔ *dila-oppupa=i* *an-ay* *ka*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM field-into=3 go-PF[3M] and
- unta* *poh-ay*
 crops harvest-PF[3M]
 ‘He went to the field and harvested crops.’

The conjunction *ifuʔ* conjoins only nouns as in (28a). The example in (28b) is unacceptable because the conjunction *ifuʔ* is used to conjoin consecutive events.

- (28a) *kappooli ifuy yoonasin akkay*
kappooli *ifuʔ* *yoonasi=in* *akk-ay*
 Kappole and Yoonasi=1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw Kappole and Yoonase.’
- (28b) **χooya ifuʔ dakadoosinih haada*
χooy-a *ifuʔ* *dakadaa-osiniʔ* *haad-a*
 come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
 (intended: ‘Come and carry these stones!’)

The conjunctions *maa* and *umma* express counter-expectation or contrast, as shown in (29):

- (29a) *urmalaapa iʔanti maa kappaasiʔ ʔidapti*
urmala-a-opa *i=an-t-i* *maa* *kappaa-siʔ*
 market-to 3=go-3F-PF but wheat-DEF.M/F
- i=dap-t-i*
 3=not.find-3F-PF
 ‘She went to market but could not find the wheat (to buy).’
- (29b) *kodaasin koʔni umma dikkanninco*
kodaa-siʔ=in *kod-ni* *umma*
 work-DEF.M/F=1 work-IPF.PRES but
- dikkad-ni=in-kiy-o*
 finish-IPF.PRES=3NEG-be-NEG
 ‘I do the work but it does not get finished.’

Alternatives are expressed by the conjunction **taakine** ‘or, otherwise’. Example:

- (30) **diluppupa sookadu taakine urmalaapa aani**
dila-oppupa sookad-u taakine
 field-into go.to.field-IMP.SG or
- urmala-opa aan-i*
 market-to go-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Go to the field or market!’

The suffix **-m** is also used to mark an alternative, as shown in (31).

- (31) **tikaa-si? in = sah-a-m**
 house-DEF.M/F I = sweep-IPF.FUT-or
- in = diif-a**
 I = leave-IPF.FUT
 ‘Shall I sweep the house or leave it?’

9. Basic syntax

This chapter presents word order in noun phrases and simple sentences. It also treats verbless sentences and contains information on both comparatives and equative sentences. The comparative sentences are first discussed, followed by the discussion about equatives. Finally, we examine relative clauses.

9.1. Word order

9.1.1. Word order in noun phrases

A noun phrase may consist of just a noun. The following are illustrative examples:

(1a) **kumayta**
stick
'a stick'

(1b) **tapayta**
rat
'a rat'

(1c) **iskatta**
women
'women'

(1d) **çimayaa**
old.men
'old men'

A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and a definite suffix as shown in (2).

(2a) **kuta-si?**
dog-DEF.M/F
'the dog'

(2b) **orra-si?**
people-DEF.M/F
'the people'

(2c) **kaharraa-sini?**
sheep-DEF.P
'the sheep'

- (2d) **ɕforaa-sini?**
trees-DEF.P
'the trees'

A noun phrase can also be formed from a noun and a demonstrative suffix. For instance, the demonstrative suffix **-osi?** occurs with the noun **tika** 'house' in (3a), and the demonstrative suffix **-osini?** occurs with the noun **dillaa** 'fields' in (3b).

- (3a) **tikoosi?**
tika-osi?
house-DEM.M/F
'this house'

- (3b) **dilloosini?**
dillaa-osini?
fields-DEM.P
'these fields'

A noun phrase may contain a head noun with possessive suffixes, as shown in (4).

- (4a) **tika-awu**
house-1SG.POSS.M/F
'my house'

- (4b) **fillaa-ssu**
comb-3PL.POSS.P
'their comb'

- (4c) **ɕormadaassin**
oxen-2PL.POSS.P
'your oxen'

Indefinite head nouns modified by attributive adjectives contain a relative particle **a**, as in (5a-b). Such noun phrases may be followed by a quantifier, as in (5c-d).

- (5a) **nama a ɕer-a**
person REL be.tall-SG
'a tall person'
(lit.: 'a person who is tall')

- (5b) **hellaa a dɛd-dɛr-aaʔ**
 children REL PL-be.tall-P
 ‘tall children’
 (lit.: ‘children who are tall’)
- (5c) **ɕoyra a dɛr-a tokka**
 tree REL be.tall-S one
 ‘a tall tree’
 (lit.: ‘a tree which is tall’)
- (5d) **ɕoraa a dɛdɛraal lakki**
ɕoraa a dɛd-dɛr-aaʔ lakki
 trees REL PL-be.tall-P two
 ‘two tall trees’
 (lit.: ‘two trees which are tall’)

In noun phrases composed of a head noun and a quantifier, the word order is head noun followed by quantifiers. When numerals higher than one are used as quantifiers, singulative nouns are used in the noun phrases, as in (6a-b). In noun phrases, plurative nouns may occur with numerals higher than one as in (6c-d).

- (6a) **tika lakki**
 house two
 ‘two houses’
- (6b) **nama ken**
 person five
 ‘five people’
- (6c) **ɕorma-daa leh**
 ox-PL six
 ‘six oxen’
- (6d) **kahar-raa afur**
 sheep-PL four
 ‘four sheep’

The use of the singulative noun **nama** ‘person’ in the context of noun phrases quantified with numerals higher than one is special in that its suppletive plural form **orra** ‘persons, people’ is never used with numeral quantifiers, as the ungrammaticality of (7b) illustrates.

(7a) **nama ken=in akk-ay**
 person five=1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw five people.’

(7) ***orra ken=in akk-ay**
 people five=1 see-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘I saw five people.’)

Interestingly, both **nama** ‘person’ and **orra** ‘persons, people’ may occur with such quantifiers as **lamayta** ‘some.M’ as shown in (8).

(8a) **nama lamaytaa aytulaa ca**
nama lamayta=i aytulaa kiy-a
 person some.M=3 out.there be-IPF.FUT
 ‘There are some people out there.’

(8b) **orra lamaytaa aytulaa ca**
orra lamayta=i aye-tulaa kiy-a
 persons some.M=3 out.there be-IPF.FUT
 ‘There are some people out there.’

The quantifier **piisa** ‘all’ may occur together with numerals in noun phrases. The order is that the numeral precedes the quantifier. Here is an example:

(9) **antih hellaasinik ken piisan akkay**
anti-? hellaa-sini? ken
 1SG.PRO-NOM children-DEF.P five

piisa=in akk-ay
 all=1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw all five children.’

9.1.2. Word order in simple sentences

In simple sentences with intransitive verbs and overt subjects, the word order is that the subject precedes the verb as in (10a-b). In simple sentences with overt subject and overt object, the word order is subject—object—verb as in (10c-d).

(10a) **ifeennaχ χala ide?ti**
ifeenna-? χala i=dey-t-i
 3SGF.PRO-NOM yesterday 3=come-3F-PF
 ‘She came yesterday.’

- (10b) *inu?* *ʔinhirra*
inu-ʔ *in = hir-n-a*
 1PL.PRO-NOM 1 = run[PL]-1PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘We will run.’
- (10c) *ifaʕ* *ʕoyrasi?* *ʔimuray*
ifa-ʔ *ʕoyra-si?* *i = mur-ay*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘He cut the tree.’
- (10d) *attil* *lahasi?* *ʔikkatti*
atti-ʔ *laha-si?* *iʔ = kat-t-i*
 2SG.PRO-NOM ram-DEF.M/F 1 = sell-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) sold the ram.’

The above simple sentences may occur without the overt subjects, in which case the subjects are understood from the type of the subject clitic and the gender agreement marker on the verb. The sentences in (10a) and (10c) are repeated below as (11a) and (11b) without the subject noun.

- (11a) *ʕala* *ideʔti*
ʕala *i = dey-t-i*
 yesterday 3 = come-3F-PF
 ‘She came yesterday.’
- (11b) *ʕoyrasi?* *ʔimuray*
ʕoyra-si? *i = mur-ay*
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘He cut the tree.’

Below, I show different word orders that are possible, without discussing the meaning differences. For example, the SV word order in (10a), repeated here as (12a), has the VS order in (12b). The examples in (12c-f) have the same constituents but differ in the order of those constituents: (12c) has SOV word order, (12d) has SVO word order, (12e) has VSO word order, and (12f) has OVS word order. VOS and OSV word orders are also possible, though I do not show them here. Further research is needed to determine the functional differences of these word order variants.

- (12a) *ifeenna* *ʕala* *ideyti*
ifeenna-ʔ *ʕala* *i = dey-t-i*
 3SGF.PRO-NOM yesterday 3 = come-3F-PF
 ‘She came.’

- (12b) *ide?ti ifeennaχ χala*
i = dey-t-i ifeenna-? χala
 3 = come-3F-PF 3SGF.PRO-NOM yesterday
 ‘She came.’
- (12c) *ifaϕ Goyrasi? Yimuray*
ifa-? Goyra-si? i = mur-ay
 3SGM.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘He cut the tree.’
- (12d) *ifa? Yimuray Goyrasi?*
ifa? i = mur-ay Goyrasi?
 3SGM.PRO-NOM 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M] tree-DEF.M/F
 ‘He cut the tree.’
- (12e) *imuray ifaϕ Goyrasi?*
i = mur-ay ifa-? Goyra-si?
 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M] 3SGM.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F
 ‘He cut the tree.’
- (12f) *Goyrasi? Yimuray ifa?*
Goyra-si? imur-ay ifa-?
 tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M] 3SGM.PRO-NOM
 ‘He cut the tree.’

Simple sentences may occur with temporal adverbs such as *χala* ‘yesterday’ and *parre* ‘tomorrow’. Such temporal adverbs are not restricted in their position. They may occur sentence initially as in (13a), between the subject and object as in (13b), between the object and the verb as in (13c) or sentence final as in (13d).

- (13a) *χala Gimaytasik karmaa i?iffay*
χala Gimayta-si? karmaa i = iff-ay
 yesterday old.man-DEF.M/F lion 3 = kill-PF[3M]
 ‘Yesterday the old man killed a lion.’
- (13b) *Gimaytasiχ χala karmaa i?iffay*
Gimayta-si? χala karmaa i = iff-ay
 old.man-DEF.M/F yesterday lion 3 = kill-PF[3M]
 ‘Yesterday the old man killed a lion.’
- (13c) *Gimaytasiχ karmaa χala i?iffay*
Gimayta-si? karmaa χala i = iff-ay
 old.man-DEF.M/F lion yesterday 3 = kill-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man killed a lion yesterday.’

- (13d) *ǧimaytasiχ karmaa iʔiʃʃay χala*
ǧimayta-si? karmaa i = ʔiʃʃ-ay χala
 old.man-DEF.M/F lion 3 = kill-PF[3M] yesterday
 ‘The old man killed a lion yesterday.’

9.2. Verbless sentences

The predicate of a sentence can be a verb, noun, adjective or adverb. Verbless sentences may contain nouns that express a profession as in (14a) or a place of origin as in (14b-c).

- (14a) *anti? ʔanʔakimitta*
anti-ʔ an = akim-itta
 1SG.PRO-NOM 1 = treat.patient-3SGM
 ‘I am a physician.’
- (14b) *namasif ʔiraatitta*
nama-si? ʔiraat-itta
 man-DEF.M/F Dirashe-3SGM
 ‘The man is a Dirafitta.’
- (14c) *ifeena? ʔakimtteeta*
ifeena-ʔ akim-tteeta
 3SGF.PRO-NOM treat.patient-3SGF
 ‘She is a physician.’
- (14d) *ifina? ʔaʔʔakimiyyaa*
ifina-ʔ aʔ = akim-iyyaa
 2PL.PRO-NOM 2 = treat.patient-P
 ‘(You (SG)) are physicians.’
- (14e) *orroosik kawwaadfaa*
orra-osi? kawwaadfaa
 people-DEM.M/F Gawwada
 ‘These people are Gawwada.’

Verbless sentences may also be formed from temporal adverbs. The nominative suffix *-ʔ* is added to names of the days of the week. Here are some examples:

- (15a) *awwi palawwa*
 today Saturday
 ‘Today is Saturday.’
- (15b) *χala lankayya*
 yesterday Tuesday
 ‘Yesterday was Tuesday.’

- (15c) **palawwa?** **?awwi**
palawwa-? *awwi*
 Saturday-NOM today
 ‘Today is Saturday.’

Temporal adverbs and question words such as **ayfa** ‘where?’ and **aytamu** ‘when?’ also form verbless sentences, as shown in (16).

- (16a) **awwi ayfa**
 today where
 ‘What is the day today?’
 (lit.: Where is today?)

- (16b) **palawwa?** **?aytamu**
palawwa-? *aytamu*
 Saturday-NOM when
 ‘When is Saturday?’

Verbless sentences can also be formed from numerals with possessor nouns, as shown below.

- (17a) **hellaa-ssu** **lakki**
 children-3PL.POSS.P two
 ‘They have two children.’
 (lit.: ‘Their children are two.’)

- (17b) **dillaa-yyu** **sessa**
 fields-1SG.POSS.P three
 ‘I have three fields.’
 (lit.: ‘My fields are three.’)

Furthermore, verbless sentences may be formed from demonstrative pronouns and other nominals, as illustrated in (18).

- (18a) **sedi tika-awu**
 this house-1SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘This is my house.’

- (18b) **seni pinaanaa**
 these wild.animals
 ‘These are wild animals.’

9.3. Comparative and equative sentences

A comparative construction is expressed by the postposition *ɣara* ‘on’ and the verb root *ɣap-* ‘to have’. *ɣara ɣap-* is a phrase used for ‘to exceed’. The following are illustrative examples.

- (19a) *Apittuɗ ɗerumaak Kappooli ɣara iɣapa*
Apittu-ʔ ɗer-umaa-ʔ Kappooli
 Apittu-NOM be.tall-ABS-DAT Kappooli

ɣara i = ɣap-a
 on 3 = exceed-IPF.FUT
 ‘Apittu is taller than Kappooli.’
 (lit.: ‘Apittu exceeds Kappooli for tallness.’)

- (19b) *lahasik kappumaaɗ ɗolpasiɗ ɣara iɣapa*
laha-sik kapp-umaa-ʔ ɗolpa-siʔ
 ram-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-DAT he-goat-DEF.M/F

ɣara i = ɣap-a
 on 3 = exceed-IPF.FUT
 ‘The ram is fatter than the he-goat.’
 (lit.: The ram exceeds the he-goat for fatness.)

Equative sentences are expressed by a construction in which the equated element is the subject, the entity to which it is equated receives the postposition *minaʔ* ‘in front of (facing)’ and the value of comparison is expressed in a predicative adjective or a (derived) abstract noun plus the dative and a verb ‘to be’. The equated element may be a pronoun (20a), an independent possessive pronoun (20b) or a noun preceded by a genitive (20c).

- (20a) *inantasiʔ ʔiʃa minaʔe ɗerumaak kitta*
inanta-siʔ ʔiʃa minaʔ=i ɗer-umaa-ʔ
 girl-DEF.M/F he in.front.of=3 be.tall-ABS-DAT

kij-t-a
 be-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘The girl is as tall as he is.’

- (20b) *inantasiɣ ɣayya minaʔe ɗeri*
inanta-siʔ ɣayya minaʔ=i ɗer-i
 girl-DEF.M/F mine in.front.of=3 be.tall-PF
 ‘The girl is as tall as I am.’

- (20c) *simmintoosi?* *?a* *dakaam* *mina?ee* *kokkooki*
simmintoota-asi? *?a* *dakaá-?* *mina?=i*
 cement-DEM.SG GEN stone-GEN in.front.of=3

kokkook-i
 be.strong-PF
 ‘This (mixed) cement is as strong as stone.’

A noun may precede the genitive particle which, in turn, is followed by a possessive pronoun as in (21).

- (21) *inantaasi?* *?a* *χayya* *mina?e* *deri*
inanta-asi? *a* *χayya* *mina?=i* *der-i*
 girl-DEM.SG GEN mine in.front.of=3 be.tall-PF
 ‘The girl is as tall as I am.’

9.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow their head noun. Except for a definite head noun in subject relative clauses, the head noun is marked by the relative particle *?a*. In subject relative clauses in which the head noun is definite, there are no subject clitics. The head noun is never represented in the relative clause by a pronoun. Moreover, there is no marking of the end of the relative clause. Special verb forms are used in relative clauses. These special forms mark gender and/or number and vary with respect to aspect. For example, in the present imperfective, first person singular and third person singular masculine add *-yo*; plurals of all persons and single nouns with plural gender value add *-yaa?*; second person singular, third person singular feminine and nouns that show third feminine gender agreement marker on the verb add *-ttu*. These forms are added after the present imperfective suffix *-ni*. The special forms are followed by the cleft construction marker (see also Section 3.5). The following are illustrative examples:

- (22a) *ana* *a* *urmalaapa* *anniyoo* *ifa* *akkay*
ana *a* *urmalaá-opa*
 1SG.PRO.ACC REL market-to

an-ni-yo-ó *ifa*
 go-IPF.PRES-1SG/3SGM-CLF 3SGM.PRO.ACC

akk-ay
 see-PF[3M]
 ‘It’s me who was going to the market who saw him.’

In the perfective, except the second person singular and third person singular feminine, the remaining persons have the third person masculine perfective suffix *-ay*. All plural persons add *-eeʔ* after *-ay*. The second person singular and third person singular feminine have the perfective marker *-i*. The following are demonstrative examples.

- (24a) *hellaasiniχ χala hirayeeʔin akkay*
hella-siniʔ χala hir-ay-eeʔ=in
 children-DEF.P yesterday run[PL]-PF[3M]-P = 1

akk-ay
 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the children who ran yesterday.’

- (24b) *innaasiniχ χala deyyayeeʔin akkay*
innaa-siniʔ χala deyy-ay-eeʔ=in
 children-DEF.P yesterday come-PF[3M]-P = 1

akk-ay
 see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw the child who came yesterday.’

- (24c) *inanta a deʔti ideri*
inanta a deyy-t-i i=der-i
 girl REL come-3F-PF 3 = be.tall-PF
 ‘The girl who came is tall.’

In the subsequent subsections, I discuss word order in relative clauses, subject relative clauses, non-subject relative clauses and headless relative clauses.

9.4.1. Word order in relative clauses

In relative clauses with indefinite antecedent, the word order is that the head noun is followed by the relative particle *ʔa*. The relative particle is followed by the object, which, in turn, is followed by the verb as in (25a). With definite subjects, the head noun is followed by the object, which is, in turn, followed by the verb as in (25b). Note that despite the English translation in (25a), the head noun is indefinite.

- (25a) *nama a sawwi ɢaarɢaar-ay i=deyy-ay*
 person REL Sawwe help-PF[3M] 3 = come-PF[3F]
 ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’

- (25b) *nama-siʔ sawwi ɢaarɢaar-ay*
 person-DEF.M/F Sawwe help-PF[3M]

i = dɛy-ay
 3 = come-PF[3M]
 ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’

In subject relative clauses, the word order is strict. For example, any reordering of the constituents of the example in (25a) yields unacceptable sentences, as in (26): (26a) is unacceptable because the relative particle occurs clause-initially. Similarly, sentence (26b) is unacceptable because the relative particle comes after the object noun *sawwe* (proper name); (26c) is unacceptable since the verb is moved from its clause-final position; (26d) is unacceptable because the object of the relative clause precedes the definite head noun.

(26a) **a nama sawwe ɔ̄aarɔ̄aar-ay i = dɛy-ay*
 REL person Sawwe help-PF[3M] 3 = come-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’)

(26b) **nama sawwe a ɔ̄aarɔ̄aar-ay i = dɛy-ay*
 person Sawwe REL help-PF[3M] 3 = come-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’)

(26c) **a ɔ̄aarɔ̄aar-ay nama sawwe i = dɛy-ay*
 REL help-PF[3M] person Sawwe 3 = come-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’)

(26d) **sawwe namasiɔ̄ ɔ̄aarɔ̄aaray idɛyay*
 **sawwe nama-si? ɔ̄aarɔ̄aar-ay*
 sawwe person-DEF.M/F help-PF[3M]

i = dɛy-ay
 3 = come-PF[3M]
 (intended: ‘The person who helped sawwe came.’)

In object relative clauses, the reordering of the subject and object is needed. In (27a), we have a subject relative clause but an object relative clause in (27b).

(27a) *hellaasiniɔ̄ ɔ̄olpasi? ʔiʃʃayee? ʔiɔ̄aɔ̄ɔ̄apamin*
hella-sini? ɔ̄olpa-si?
 children-DEF.P he-goat-DEF.M/F

ʔiʃʃ-ay-ee? i = ɔ̄aɔ̄-ɔ̄ap-am-i-n
 kill-PF[3M]-P 3 = PL-catch-PAS-PF-P
 ‘The children who killed the he-goat were caught.’

- (27b) *ḡolpaytasee a hellasini? ḡiḡḡin iḡalamay*
ḡolpayta-si=i ḡa hellaa-sini? ḡiḡḡ-i-n
 he-goat-DEF.M/F=3 REL children-DEF.P kill-PF-P

i = ḡal-am-ay

3 = slaughter-PAS-PF[3M]

‘The he-goat that the children killed was slaughtered.’

9.4.2. Subject relative clauses

In subject relative clauses, the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. Subject relative clauses can be headed by a definite head noun (28a-b) or an indefinite head noun (28c-d).

- (28a) *filaasinip patayee? ḡiteyadin*
filaa-sini? pat-ay-ee?
 comb-DEF.P be.lost-PF[3M]-P

i = teyad-i-n

3 = find.MID-PF-P

‘The comb that went missing was found.’

- (28b) *orrasig ḡoraa ḡuuray idēyay*
orra-si? ḡoraa ḡuur-ay
 people-DEF.M/F trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]

i = dēy-ay

3 = come-PF[3M]

‘The people who cut trees came.’

- (28c) *tika a pald-a? i = paḡaar-i*
 house REL be.wide-M/F 3 = be.good-PF
 ‘A house that is wide is good.’

- (28d) *orra a ḡoraa ḡuur-ay i = dēy-ay*
 people REL trees cut[PL]-PF[3M] 3 = come-PF[3M]
 ‘People who cut trees came.’

9.4.3. Non-subject relative clauses

In non-subject relative clauses, the head noun is not the subject of the clause. In such relative clauses, the object of the verb can be relativised. In (29) the object *ḡokkatta* ‘cow’ is relativised as a definite object head noun (29a) and as an indefinite head noun in (29b).

- (29a) *anti?* *ʔokkattasik* *katamayin* *akkay*
anti-ʔ *okkatta-si?* *kat-am-ay=in* *akk-ay*
 1SG.PRO-NOM cow-DEF.M/F sell-PAS-PF[3M]=1 see-[3M]
 ‘I saw the cow that was sold.’
- (29b) *anti?* *ʔokkatta a* *katamayin* *akkay*
anti-ʔ *okkatta* *a* *kat-am-ay=in*
 1SG.PRO-NOM cow REL sell-PAS-PF[3M]=1

akk-ay
 see-[3M]
 ‘I saw a cow that was sold.’

In non-subject relative clauses, the object of the dative can also be relativised. In (30a), object noun in the dative phrase *konfa* ‘shorts’ is relativised. In (30b), (irrespective of the English translation) the indefinite dative object *ohta* ‘blanket’ is relativised.

- (30a) *konfaseen* *kappoolip* *pidɖay* *ikeray*
konfa-si? *a=in* *kappoole-ʔ*
 shorts-DEF.M/F REL=1 kappoole-DAT

pidɖ-ay *i=ker-ay*
 buy[SG]-PF[3M] 3=be.old-PF[3M]
 ‘The shorts that I bought for Kappoole got worn out.’
- (30b) *ohta ak kantoolid* *ɖaassi* *ʔbaldi*
ohta *a=i?* *kantoole-ʔ* *ɖaaf-t-i* *i=bald-i*
 blanket REL=2 kantoole-DAT give-2-PF 3=be.wide-PF
 ‘The blanket that you (SG) gave to Kantoole was wide.’

In non-subject clauses, the object of the postposition can be relativised, as in (31).

- (31) *ɖoyraseen* *ɖaraa* *luukkata* *pohay* *imuramay*
ɖoyra-si?=in *ɖaraa* *luukkata*
 tree-DEF.M/F=1 on fruit

poh-ay *i=mur-am-ay*
 harvest-PF[3M] 3=cut[SG]-PAS-PF[3M]
 ‘The tree that I picked the fruits from was cut.’

9.4.4. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are characterised by not having overt head nouns. This is shown in the following examples:

- (32a) **an ifa akkinu male ande?nu**
a=in ifa akki-n-u
 REL = 1 3SGM.PRO[ACC] see-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

male an=dey-n-u
 without 1NEG = come-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’

- (32b) **aa inun akkin male indeyan**
a=i inu=in akk-n
 REL = 3 1PL.PRO[ACC]=3NEG see-P

male in=dey-a-n
 without 3NEG = come-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘Unless they see us, they will not come (back).’

10. Interrogative clauses

In this chapter I analyse the morphological, syntactic and lexical properties of polar interrogatives. I also describe tag questions and content questions.

10.1. Polar interrogatives

Polar questions which elicit ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers are marked by lengthening a final *o* or *a* of the questioned word or by adding the suffix *-e* when a final constituent in a sentence has a final *-i* or a consonant. They are also characterised by having a rising intonation. When a sentence final nominal ends in a long vowel, polar interrogatives are marked only by the rising intonation (Black 1973; Ongaye 2000). The polar interrogatives in (1) are formed from single nouns, those in (2) are formed from proper names, and those in (3) are formed from cardinal numerals.

(1a) **tikaa**
tika-a
house-Q
‘Is it a house?’

(1b) **piḡaa**
piḡaa-a
water-Q
‘Is it water?’

(2a) **Orḡaytoo**
Orḡayto-o
Orḡayto-Q
‘Is it Orḡayto?’

(2b) **ḡasootee**
ḡasoote-e
ḡasoote-Q
‘Is it ḡasoote?’

(2c) **Okittaa**
Okitta-a
Okitta-Q
‘Is it Okitta?’

(3a) **ken-e**
five-Q
‘Is it five?’

- (3b) **lakkee**
lakki-e
 two-Q
 ‘Is it two?’

The following are sentential examples. The examples in (4) are affirmative declarative sentences while those in (5) are their polar interrogative counterparts.

- (4a) **Antut tikupa ideya**
Antu-ʔ tika-opa i=dɛy-a
 Anto-NOM house-to 3 = come-IPF.FUT
 ‘Anto will come home.’
- (4b) **χormasiʔ ʔikatamay**
χorma-siʔ i=kat-am-ay
 ox-DEF.M/F 3 = sell-PAS-PF[3M]
 ‘The ox was sold.’
- (5a) **Antut tikupa ʔideyaa**
Antu-ʔ tika-opa i=dɛy-a-a
 Anto-NOM house-to 3 = come-IPF.FUT-Q
 ‘Will Anto come home?’
- (5b) **χormasiʔ ʔikatamaye**
χorma-siʔ i=kat-am-ay-e
 ox-DEF.M/F 3 = sell-PAS-PF[3M]-Q
 ‘Was the ox sold?’

As can be seen from the examples in (4) and (5), polar interrogatives are formed from declaratives either by lengthening the final vowel (in this case, vowel a) of the declarative as in (5a) or by adding the suffix -e when the declarative has a final consonant as in (5b). The following are additional sentential interrogative examples with the suffix -e:

- (6a) **hellaasiniʔ ʔideʔnee**
hella-siniʔ i=dɛy-ni-e
 children-DEF.P 3 = come-IPF.PRES-Q
 ‘Are the children coming?’ or
 ‘Do the children come?’
- (6b) **namasiʔ ʔideree**
nama-siʔ i=dɛr-i-e
 person-DEF.M/F 3 = be.tall-PF-Q
 ‘Is the person tall?’

Responses to polar interrogative may be *aa* ‘yes’ or *inna?*(a) ‘no’, as illustrated respectively in (7b) and (7c), which are responses to (7a). The ‘yes’ or ‘no’ responses may be followed by explanatory sentences.

- (7a) *antut tikupa ideyaa*
antu-? *tika-opa* *i = dey-a-a*
 ?anto-NOM house-to 3 = come-IPF.FUT-Q
 ‘Will ?anto come home?’
- (7b) *aa* (*i = dey-a*)
 yes (3 = come-IPF.FUT)
 ‘Yes. (He will come.)’
- (7c) *inna?*(a) (*in = dey-u*)
 no (3NEG = come-NEG.IPF.FUT)
 ‘No. (He will not come.)’

Polar interrogatives are also very common in conversational discourse and are mostly found in greetings (see also Section 13.3). The following are illustrative examples.

- (8a) *nakaytaa*
nakayta-a
 health-Q
 ‘How are you?’
- (8b) *iffapaannee*
i? = fapaad-ni-e
 2 = be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
 ‘Are you getting strong?’

Note that confirmation or echo-questions are also formed by lengthening the final vowel *o* or *a* of the declarative or by adding suffix *-e* when the final constituent of a sentence has a final *-i* or a consonant. The following are illustrative examples.

- (9a) *aynoo*
ayno-o
 who-Q
 ‘Who(, did you say)?’
- 9b) *anaa*
ana-a
 1SG.PRO.OBJ-Q
 ‘(Did you mean) me?’

(9c) **ayno-o kal-ay-e**
 who-Q come.home-PF-Q
 ‘Who came(, did you say)?’

(9d) **a de?too**
?a de?-t-u-u
 PT come-3F-OPT-Q
 ‘Let her come(, did you say)?’

10.2. Tag questions

Tag questions are marked by suffix **-n(n)**. This suffix appears single when a consonant follows it as in (10a) or as a geminate when followed by a vowel as in (10b). Sometimes, tag questions appear with the verb root **kid-** ‘say’.

(10a) **inantasi? ?ide?tin kid-a**
inanta-si? i = dey-t-i-n kid-a
 girl-DEF.M/F 3 = come-3F-PF-TAG say-IPF.FUT
 ‘The girl came, didn’t she?’

(10b) **ikalayinne**
i = kal-ay-nn-e
 3 = return.home-PF-TAG-Q
 ‘He returned home, didn’t he?’

The suffixes that mark tag question and the instrumental (see Section 3.2.4) are homophonous. The rules that apply to add single **(-n)** or geminate **(-nn)** are also identical in these two cases.

10.3. Content questions

In (11), I list the content question words.

(11)	maana	‘what?’
	aytam(u)	‘when?’
	aynu	‘who?’
	ayjaa	‘where?’
	meeɕaa	‘how many?’
	atta	‘how?’
	maana?i	‘why?’
	maana malla	‘why?/for what reason?’
	a ?aynu	‘whose?’
	aɕaamu	‘which one?’
	?aɕaamane?	‘which ones?’

In the above list, the content question word **maana?i** ‘why?’ is formed from **maana** ‘what?’ and the dative suffix **-?i**. In fast utterances, **maana?i** ‘why?’ is

also pronounced as *maani?* ‘why?’. The content question word *a aynu* ‘whose?’ is formed from the genitive particle *a* and *aynu* ‘who?’. It seems that the content question words *axaamu* and *axaamane?* are formed by the same strategy, but *xaamu* and *xaamane?* do not exist on their own.

The following are examples containing content questions.

- (12a) *aytamud de?ti*
aytamu = i? *dey-t-i*
 when = 2 come-2-PF
 ‘When did you (SG) come?’
- (12b) *Apittu? ?ayfaa ca*
Apittu-? *ayfaa = i* *kiy-a*
 Apitto-NOM where = 3 be-IPF-FUT
 ‘Where is Apitto?’
- (12c) *orrasi? ?attaa karmaasi? ?iffjay*
orra-si? *?atta = i* *karmaa-si?* *iff-ay*
 people-DEF.M/F how = 3 lion-DEF.M/F kill[SG]-PF[3M]
 ‘How did the people kill the lion?’
- (12d) *maana? = in* *dey-a*
 why = 1 come-IPF.FUT
 ‘Why should I come?’

The associative particle *opa* occurs with the content question word *aynu* ‘who?’ to mark a plural subject. This is demonstrated in (13).

- (13) *opa aynoo deyay*
opa aynu-o dey-ay
 ASS who-Q come-PF[3M]
 ‘Who (and their associates) came?’

The content question word for ‘how much?’ is formed from the particle *a*, the content question word *atta* ‘how’ and the verb root *kit-* ‘to be’. Gender is marked on the verb root. The following are illustrative examples.

- (14a) *aannaa a atta caa?ih heenta*
aannaa a atta kiy-aa? = i? *heent-a*
 milk GEN how be-P = 2 want-IPF.FUT
 ‘How much milk do you (SG) want?’

- (14b) *daammaa a atta coo pidfiti*
daammaa a atta kiy-o=i pidf-t-i
 flour REL how be-3M=3 buy[SG]-3F-PF
 ‘How much flour did she buy?’
- (14c) *alleetaasid dooGgita a atta kitto pirta*
alleeta-asi? dooGgita a atta kit-t-o
 hut-DEM.M/F mud which how be-3F-IPF.FUT
pir-t-a
 finish-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘How much mud will this hut consume (to build it)?’

The dative suffix is attached to *aynu* ‘who?’ to express an indirect object. With *meeGfaa* ‘how many?’, the dative suffix shows a specific amount/number. With *aytam(u)* ‘when’, it marks a specific temporal adverb. The following are illustrative examples.

- (15a) *aynu-? = in daaf-a*
 who-DAT = 1 give-IPF.FUT
 ‘Who shall I give (it) to?’
- (15b) *meeGfaa?in xormasik kanna*
meeGfaa-? = in xorma-si? kat-n-a
 how.many-DAT = 1 ox-DEF.M/F sell-1PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘For how much (money) shall we sell the ox?’
- (15c) *aytamu?e xooraa Gapti*
aytamu-? = i xooraa Gap-t-i
 when-DAT = 3 appointment hold-3F-PF
 ‘For when did she arrange an appointment?’

From the question word *ayfaa* ‘where?’, it is possible to form questions that elicit a person’s place of birth/residence or nationality. Such questions are derived by the singulative suffixes *-itta* for masculine (16a), *-itteeta* for feminine (16b) and *-ta* for plural (16c).

- (16a) *ayfitta*
ayfaa-itta
 where-M
 ‘Where is he from?’
- (16b) *ayfritteeta*
ayfaa-itta
 where-F
 ‘Where is she from?’

- (16c) *ayfaa-ta*
 where-P
 ‘Where are they from?’

In the following examples, the subjects are first person (17) and second person (18). In these cases subject clitics *an=* for first person and *aʔ=* for second person are required.

- (17a) *anʔayfitta*
an = ʔayfaa-itta
 1 = where-M
 ‘Where am I from?’
- (17b) *anʔayfiteeta*
an = ʔayfaa-iteeta
 1 = where-F
 ‘Where am I from?’
- (18a) *aʔʔayfitta*
aʔ = ʔayfaa-itta
 2 = where-M
 ‘Where are you (SGM) from?’
- (18b) *aʔʔayfiteeta*
aʔ = ʔayfaa-iteeta
 2 = where-F
 ‘Where are you (SGF) from?’

First and second person plurals require independent personal pronouns, (19).

- (19a) *inon ayfaata*
inu-ʔ = ʔan *ayfaa-ta*
 1PL.PRO-NOM = 1 where-P
 ‘Where are we from?’
- (19b) *ifinnaʔ ʔayfaata*
ifinna-ʔ = aʔ *ayfaa-ta*
 2PL.PRO-NOM = 2 where-P
 ‘Where are you (PL) from?’

The ordinal suffix *-atta* is added to the content question word *meeɕaa* ‘how many?’ to elicit information about the rank of someone in a group. This can be seen from the example in (20).

- (20) *meeɣattaa sookti*
meeɣaa-atta=i sook-t-i
 how.many-ORD=3 exit-3F-PF
 ‘What did she rank?’

The genitive particle *a* occurs with question words and assigns various meanings: with *meeɣaa* ‘how many?’, it yields a specific quantity (21).

- (21) *faɣaa a meeɣaaʔin pidɗa*
faɣaa a meeɣaaʔ=in pidɗ-a
 local.beer GEN how.many-GEN=1 buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
 ‘How many birrs worth of local beer should I buy?’

In the examples that we have seen so far, there is only one question word per sentence. However, it is possible to have two or more question words in the same sentence when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants. For instance, each of the following sentences has two question words.

- (22a) *ayno-o maana pidɗ-ay*
 who-CLF what buy-PF[3M]
 ‘Who bought what?’
- (22b) *ayno-o aynu ɣid-ay*
 who-CLF who.OBJ beat-PF[3M]
 ‘Who beat whom?’
- (22c) *aynoo aynuɣ ɣiday*
ayno-o aynu-ʔ ɣid-ay
 who-CLF.OBJ who-NOM beat-PF[3M]
 ‘Who beat whom?’
 (lit., ‘Who is it that who beat?’)

Each of the following examples contains three question words.

- (23a) *ayoo aynum maana ɗaaɣay*
ayo-o aynu-ʔ maana ɗaaɣ-ay
 who-CLF who-DAT what give-PF[3M]
 ‘Who gave what to whom?’
- (23b) *ayoo ayɣam maana akkay*
ayo-o ayɣa-ʔ maana akk-ay
 who-CLF where-LOC what see-PF
 ‘Who saw what where?’

11. Negation

In this chapter, I analyse negation. The chapter has three sections. Section 11.1 treats verbal negation in declarative clauses. Section 11.2 deals with negation in nominal sentences. Section 11.3 presents lexical negation.

11.1. Negation in declarative sentences

Negation in declarative sentences is marked by subject clitics and/or negative suffixes on the verb. The forms of negative subject clitics are **an=** for first persons, **aʔ=** for second persons and **in=** for third persons. Note that the form of the negative subject clitic for third persons and the form of the affirmative subject clitic for first persons are homophonous. The forms of the negative suffixes on the verb vary according to aspect as discussed below.

11.1.1. Negative Perfective

The negative marker in the perfective is the suffix **-n**. This morpheme precedes the perfective aspect marker **-i**. Except for the first person plural and second person plural, subject personal pronouns are optional. In other words, first person plural and second person plural require subject personal pronouns. Number and gender is not marked on the negative perfective verb.

- (1a) *anti*ʔ *ʕoyrasi*? *ʔammurri*
anti-ʔ *ʕoyra-si*? *an = mur-n-i*
1SG.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 1NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF
'I did not cut the tree.'
- (1b) *iʃinat tikupa addeʔni*
iʃina-ʔ *tika-opa* *aʔ = dey-n-i*
2PL.PRO-NOM house-to 2NEG = come-NEG-PF
'You (PL) did not come home.'
- (1c) *inantasip piʃaasini*? *ʔinʔoraapni*
inanta-si? *piʃaa-sini*? *in = ʔoraap-n-i*
girl-DEF.M/F water-P 3NEG = fetch-NEG-PF
'The girl did not fetch the water.'

Without overt subjects, the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular is segmentally identical to that of the perfective negative for third persons. The affirmative and negative distinction for these persons is made by tone: a low tone marks the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular as in (2a), while a high tone marks perfective negative for third persons as in (2b).

(2a) **immukni**
in = muk-ni
 1NEG-sleep-IPF.PRES
 ‘I sleep.’

(2b) **immukní**
in = muk-n-í
 3NEG = sleep-NEG-PF
 ‘He/She/They did not sleep.’

The paradigm in (3) is an additional example. The optional subject pronouns are left out in the paradigm. The verb root used in the paradigm is **muk** ‘sleep’. Note that the alveolar nasal of the first person and third person subject clitics, and the glottal stop of the second person subject clitic are realised as **m** due to assimilation.

(3)	ammukni	<i>an = muk-n-í</i>	‘I did not sleep.’
	inom mukni	<i>ino = an muk-n-i</i>	‘We did not sleep.’
	ammukni	<i>aʔ = muk-n-i</i>	‘You (SG) did not sleep.’
	iʃinam mukni	<i>iʃin = aʔ muk-n-i</i>	‘You (PL) did not sleep.’
	immukni	<i>in = muk-n-i</i>	‘He/she/they did not sleep.’

Sometimes, the lexeme **nama** ‘person’ is used instead of the first person plural subject pronoun in negative verbs in all aspects. For example, in (4a) we have an interrogative sentence for which a negative answer is given with the first person subject pronoun in (4b), and with the lexeme **nama** ‘person, man’ in (4c). The latter renders the sentence impersonal.

(4a) **χormasip patay itteytinee**
χorma-siʔ pat-ay iʔ = tey-t-i-n-e
 ox-DEF.M/F lose-PF 2 = find-2-PF-P-Q
 ‘Did you (PL) find the lost ox?’

(4b) **inon teyni**
ino = an tey-n-i
 1PL.PRO.NOM = 1NEG find-1PL-PF
 ‘We did not find it.’

(4c) **naman teyni**
nama = in tey-n-i
 person = 3NEG find-NEG-PF
 ‘We did not find it.’
 (lit.: ‘A person did not find it.’)

Bliese and Sokka (1986:22) provide an example (adapted here) from the Karatte dialect in which the negative for first person plural occurs without either an overt personal subject pronoun or the lexeme *nama* ‘person’. In my dialect, the example must have the first person singular as the subject and example (5) would be ungrammatical.

- (5) **andámmi*
an = dám-n-i
 1NEG = eat-NEG-PF
 ‘I/We did not eat.’

11.1.2. Negative future imperfective

In the future imperfective, negation is marked by the subject clitic for all persons, and, except for second person plural and third person plural, also by the negative suffix *-u* on the verb. The second person plural and third person plural do not have the negative suffix *-u* on the verb. All subject personal pronouns can be left out. The following are illustrative examples.

- (6a) *dettow an = xaʔ-u*
 early 1NEG = wake.up-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not wake up so early.’
- (6b) *ʒoyrasiʔ ʔammurtu*
ʒoyra-siʔ aʔ = mur-t-u
 tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-2-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘You (SG) will not cut the tree.’
- (6c) *inantasif fatanaappa impiʔtu*
inanta-siʔ fatanaa-oppa
 girl-DEF.M/F exam-in
- in = piʔ-t-u*
 3NEG = fail-3F-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘The girl will not fail in the exam.’

The sentences in (7) are equivalent affirmative forms of the examples in (6):

- (7a) *dettow in = xaʔ-a*
 early 1 = wake.up-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will wake up so early.’
- (7b) *ʒoyrasiʔ ʔimmurta*
ʒoyra-siʔ iʔ = mur-t-a
 tree-DEF.M/F 2 = cut[SG]-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) will cut the tree.’

- (7c) *inantasif fatanaappa ?ipi?ta*
inanta-si? fatanaa-oppa i=pi?-t-a
 girl-DEF.M/F exam-in 3NEG = fail-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘The girl will fail in the exam.’

Consider the paradigms in (8) as well.

- (8a) *ammuku* < *in=muk-u* ‘I will not sleep.’
ammuknu < *an=muk-n-u* ‘We will not sleep.’
ammuktu < *a?=muk-t-u* ‘You (SG) will not sleep.’
ammuktan < *a?=muk-t-a-n* ‘You (PL) will not sleep.’
immuku < *in=muk-u* ‘He will not sleep.’
immuktu < *in=muk-t-u* ‘She will not sleep.’
immukan < *in=muk-a-n* ‘They will not sleep.’
- (8b) *immuka* < *in=muk-a* ‘I will sleep.’
immukna < *in=muk-n-a* ‘We will sleep.’
immukta < *i?=muk-t-a* ‘You (SG) will sleep.’
immuktan < *i?=muk-t-a-n* ‘You (PL) will sleep.’
imuka < *i=muk-a* ‘He will sleep.’
imukta < *i=muk-t-a* ‘She will sleep.’
imukan < *i=muk-a-n* ‘They will sleep.’

From the examples in (6) and (7), as well as the paradigms in (8), we can see that negation in the future imperfective is marked by the suffix *-u* while affirmative future imperfective is marked by the suffix *-a*.

11.1.3. Negative present imperfective

Generally, the negative present imperfective is characterised by a main and auxiliary verb construction plus a set of (negative) subject clitics and, depending on the person/number of the subject, an additional negation marker *-u/o*. In the negative present imperfective of the verbs *up-* ‘know’, *sah-* ‘be able to’, *pah-* ‘resemble, look like’ and *heen-* ‘want’, the auxiliary verb is not used (see below in the present section). When the subject is first or second person, the subject clitics are attached to both the main and auxiliary verb (9a-d). When the subject is third person, the subject clitics are attached only to the existential verb (9e-g). In addition, when the subject is singular or first person plural, a negation marker *-u/o* is affixed at the final slot of the existential verb, but when the subject is second person plural or third person plural, the negation marker *-u/o* is not affixed to the existential verb (compare example (9d) and (9g) to the other examples in (9)). The negative suffix is realised as *-o* when the form of the existential verb has a final palatal consonant. It occurs as *-u* when the existential verb has a final alveolar consonant. The following are illustrative examples:

- (9a) **ankeerri anco**
an = keer-ni *an = kiy-o*
 1NEG = run[SG]-IPF.PRES 1NEG = be-NEG
 ‘I do not run.’
- (9b) **anhirri ankinnu**
an = hir-ni *an = kit-n-u*
 1NEG = run[PL]-IPF.PRES 1NEG = be-1PL-NEG
 ‘We do not run.’
- (9c) **akkeerri akkittu**
aʔ = keer-ni *aʔ = kit-t-u*
 2NEG = run[SG]-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) do not run.’
- (9d) **ahhirri akkittan**
aʔ = hir-ni *aʔ = kit-t-a-n*
 2NEG = run[PL]-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) do not run.’
- (9e) **keerri inco**
keer-ni *in = kiy-o*
 run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-NEG
 ‘He does not run.’
- (9f) **keerri inkittu**
keer-ni *in = kit-t-u*
 run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-3F-NEG
 ‘She does not run.’
- (9g) **hirri incan**
hir-ni *in = kiy-a-n*
 run[PL]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘They do not run.’

In fast speech, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb are often encliticised to the main verb. This encliticisation deletes the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn results in vowel coalescence for first and second persons: *i+a=ee* as shown in (10a). For third persons, the final vowel of the present imperfective suffix and the initial vowel of the negative subject clitic become a short vowel (*i+i=i*) as illustrated in (10b).

- (10a) **kawwattasiʔ ʔaddawneek kittu**
kawwatta-siʔ *aʔ = daw-ni = aʔ* *kit-t-u*
 terrace-DEF.M/F 2.NEG-build-IPF.PRES = 2NEG be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) are not building the terrace.’

- (10b) *ifaχ χarfa dammin co*
ifa-ʔ *χarfa* *dām-ni=in* *kiy-o*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM beans eat-IPF.PRES = 3NEG be-NEG
 ‘He does not eat beans.’

With overt objects, it is possible to have three negative subject clitics for first and second person: one occurs with the object as a prefix, the second one with the main verb and the third one with the existential verb. Compare (11a-b) with (11c-d).

- (11a) *aʔɔyɾasiʔ ʔammurri*
aʔ = ɔyɾa-siʔ *aʔ = mur-n-i*
 2NEG = tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF
 ‘You (SG) did not cut the tree.’
- (11b) *anχormoosiʔ ʔanpidɖu*
an = χorma-osiʔ *an = pidɖ-u*
 1NEG = ox-DEM.M/F 1NEG = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not buy this ox.’
- (11c) *anχarfa andamni anco*
an = χarfa *an = dām-ni* *an = kiy-o*
 1NEG = beans 1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES 1NEG-be-NEG
 ‘I do not eat beans.’
- (11d) *aɖfillaa ʔaɔɔonni akkittu*
aʔ = dillaa *aʔ = ɔot-ni* *aʔ = kit-t-u*
 2NEG = fields 2NEG-dig-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) do not work on fields.’

The negative subject clitics that occur with overt objects are optional, (12).

- (12a) *ɔyɾasiʔ ʔammurri*
ɔyɾa-siʔ *aʔ = mur-n-i*
 tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF
 ‘You (SG) did not cut the tree.’
- (12b) *χormoosiʔ ʔanpidɖu*
χorma-osiʔ *an = pidɖ-u*
 ox-DEM.M/F 1NEG = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not buy this ox.’
- (12c) *χarfa andamni anco*
χarfa *an = dām-ni* *an = kiy-o*
 beans 1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES 1NEG-be-NEG
 ‘I do not eat beans.’

The verb roots in (13a) do not require the existential verb for negation in the present imperfective as shown in (13b-d). In 6.2.1.2, we also saw that these verb roots differ from other verb roots in that they do not attach the present imperfective aspect marker *-ni*.

- (13a) up- 'know'
 sah- 'be able to'
 pah- 'resemble, look like'
 heen- 'want'
- (13b) *χ*o^opoosini?anheenu
*χ*o^opaa-osini? an = heen-u
 shoes-DEM.P 1NEG = want-NEG
 'I do not want these shoes.'
- (13c) ifak kawwatta dawiya insahu
ifa-? kawwatta daw-*iya*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM terrace build-VN

in = sah-u
 3NEG-be.able.to-NEG
 'He is not able to build a terrace.'
- (13d) ifina? ?oli a?uptan
ifina-? oli
 2PL.PRO-NOM each.other

?a? = ?up-t-a-n
 2NEG = know-2-IPF.FUT-P
 'You (PL) do not know each other.'

11.1.4. Negative dependent

Negative dependent in conditional clauses and temporal clauses is marked by negative subject clitics, as well as negative suffixes. Here are some examples:

- (14a) oon ankalin kikawpan deya
oo-n an = kal-in ke
 if-N 1NEG = return.home-NEG 2SG.PRO.ACC

kapa-^opa = in dey-a
 near-to = 1 come-IPF.FUT
 'If I do not return home, I will come to you.'

- (14b) *kanden urmalaapa anaanin kodaasi? ?inki? ?iyyada*
kandē-n urmala-a-ōpa an = aan-in
 if-N market-to 1NEG = go-NEG

kodaa-si? in = ki-? iyyad-a
 work-DEF.M/F 1 = 2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I did not go to the market, I will help you with the work.’
- (14c) *an ifa akkinu male ande?nu*
a = in ifa akki-n-u
 REL = 1 3SGM.PRO[OBJ] see-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

male an = dey-n-u
 without 1NEG = come-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’
- (14d) *kandee punu de?ta ohtaisi? ?ifeenna? ?andaaso*
kandē = i punu dey-t-a ohta-si?
 if = 3 even come-3F-IPF.FUT cloth-DEF.M/F

ifeenna-? an = daaf-o
 3SGF.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1.NEG = give-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.’
- (14e) *awtan ankeerin, ifa an?ad?daapu*
awta-n an = keer-in ifa
 when = N 1NEG = run-PF 3SGM.PRO[ACC]

an = ?ad?daap-u
 1NEG = catch.up.with-NEG
 ‘When I do not run, I don’t catch up with him.’

For additional examples and details, see conditional clauses in Section 12.1.1 and temporal clauses in Section 12.1.2.

11.1.5. Prohibitives with opa

Prohibition is expressed by *opa* (or its short form *o*) and negative subject clitics on the existential verb. The sentences in (15a and 16a) are interrogatives and those in (15b and 16b) are responses expressing prohibition. The responses may occur with *inna?* ‘no’ as in (16c).

- (15a) *tikaayfupa iʔannee*
tika-ayfu-opa *i = an-ni-e*
 house-POSS.M/F.3PL-to 3 = go-IPF.PRES-Q
 ‘Is it possible to go to their house?’
- (15b) *opa annin can*
opa ʔan-ni = in *kiy-a-n*
 PROH go-IPF.PRES = 3.NEG be-IPF.PRES-P
 ‘It is forbidden to go (in).’
- (16a) *kupalaata idammee*
kupalaata i = dam-ni-e
 rabbit 3 = eat-IPF.PRES-Q
 ‘Is rabbit eaten?’
- (16b) *opa dammin can*
opa dam-ni = in *kiy-a-n*
 PROH eat-IPF.PRES = 3.NEG be-IPF.PRES-P
 ‘It is forbidden to eat (rabbit).’
- (16c) *innaʔ ʔopa dammin can*
innaʔ opa dam-ni = in
 no PROH eat-IPF.PRES = 3.NEG

kiy-a-n
 be-IPF.PRES-P
 ‘No! It is forbidden to eat (rabbit).’

11.1.6. Negative imperative

As discussed in Section 6.4.1, the affirmative imperative verb is marked by *-i* when the addressee is singular and by *-a* when it is plural, but it is not marked with subject clitics. Negative imperatives, on the other hand, have negative subject clitics. In addition, the negative imperative verb is marked by the suffix *-an*, for both singular and plural addressee. Consider the following examples:

- (17a) *in = aan-an*
 2NEG = go-NEG.IMP.SG/PL
 ‘(You (SG/PL)) Do not go!’
- (17b) *ʔoyraasiʔ ʔimmuran*
ʔoyra-asiʔ iʔ = mur-an
 tree-DEM.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG.IPM
 ‘(You (SG/PL)) Do not cut the tree!’

11.1.7. Negative optatives

Negative optative is marked on the verb by the negative subject clitic **in=** and the negative suffix **-in** on the verb. These morphemes do not distinguish number; both third person singular and plural are marked by these morphemes, as illustrated in (18a and 18b). Number is sometimes expressed in the lexical root if the root is inherently plural, as is the case in (18b).

(18a) **in = ?aan-in**
 3NEG = go-NEG.OPT
 ‘Let him/her/them not go.’

(18b) **in = hir-in**
 3NEG = run[PL]-NEG.OPT
 ‘Let them not run.’

11.1.8. Negation in adjectival clauses

Negation in adjectival clauses requires an adjectival root and the existential verb. Negative subject clitics occur with the adjectival root for first and second persons but not for third person subject. Likewise, negative suffixes do not occur with the adjectival root for all persons. The existential verb in adjectival clauses contains negative subject clitics for all persons. Moreover, except for second person plural and third person plural, the remaining persons occur with negative suffixes on the existential verb. (See Section 11.1.3, where similar restrictions are observed in non-adjectival lexical verbs). The negative suffixes are **-u/o**. Plural subjects require the reduplication of the adjectival root’s initial **C₁V(C₁)** for number agreement. Subject personal pronouns are optional. The following are illustrative examples:

(19a) **anderi anco**
an = d̥er-i *an = ki-y-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF 1NEG = be-NEG
 ‘I am not tall.’

(19b) **ad̥d̥ed̥d̥eri akkittan**
aʔ = d̥ed̥-d̥er-i *aʔ = kit-t-a-n*
 2NEG = PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) are not tall.’

(19c) **d̥er-i** **in = kit-t-u**
 be.tall-PF 3NEG = be-3F-NEG
 ‘She is not tall.’

Inchoative adjectival clauses contain the suffix **-aad̥**. Furthermore, all persons have negative subject clitics. Except for second person plural and third person

plural, the remaining persons occur with a negative suffix on the adjectival root. In (20a-b) are sentential examples with the adjectival root *dër-* ‘be tall, long’. In (20c), I give the surface form of the complete paradigm.

- (20a) *anderaadu*
an = dër-aad-u
 1NEG = be.tall-INCH-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I will not become tall.’
- (20b) *addedderaattan*
a? = ded-dër-aad-t-a-n
 2NEG = PL-be.tall-INCH-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) will become tall.’
- (20c) *anderaadu* ‘I will not become tall.’
andedderaannu ‘We will not become tall.’
adderaattu ‘You (SG) will not become tall.’
addedderaattan ‘You (PL) will become tall.’
inderaadu ‘He will become tall.’
inderaattu ‘She will not become tall.’
indedderaadan ‘They will not become tall.’

11.2. Negation in nominal clauses

Negation in nominal clauses is marked by the clause final clitic *-nnin*. The following are illustrative examples:

- (21a) *senit tuuyyawwaanimma* *χarχarayaa*
seni? *tuuyyawwaa-nnin-ma* *χarχarayaa*
 DEM.PL pigs-NEG-but warthogs
 ‘These are not pigs, but warthogs.’
- (21b) *an = akim-itta-nnin* < *hakim* ‘physician’ Amh. >
 1 = physician-AGENT.SGM-NEG
 ‘I am not a physician.’

In the future imperfective, nominal clauses require the verb root *kodf-* ‘become’ to which negative subject clitics and a negative suffix are added. Here are some examples:

- (22a) *akim-itta* *an = kodf-u*
 physician-AGENT.SGM 1NEG = become-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not become a physician.’

- (25) *nama a de?naá diifu i?oradá*
nama a dey-naá diif-u i=?orad-a
 person REL come-VN stop-IPF.FUT.DP 3 = be.fined-IPF.FUT
 ‘A person who stops coming will be fined.’

The other lexical item with a negative meaning is **male** ‘without’, which stands in lexical contrast with the word **olle** ‘with’. This is shown below.

- (26a) *ifa olleen aana*
ifa olle=in an-a
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] with = 1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will go with him.’

- (26b) *ifa maleen aana*
ifa male=in an-a
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] without = 1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will go without him.’

Each of the above clauses may occur with negative markers rendering the opposite meaning.

- (27a) *ifa olle anaanu*
ifa olle an=aan-u
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] with 1NEG = go-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I will not go with him.’

- (27b) *ifa male anaanu*
ifa male an=aan-u
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] without 1NEG = go-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I will not go without him.’

Still another lexical item with a negative meaning is **malaal-** ‘be unable to’. The following is an illustrative example:

- (28) *ifak keerinta imalaalay*
ifa-? keer-inta i=malaal-ay
 3SGM.PRO-NOM run[SG]-VN 3 = be.unable.to-PF
 ‘He was unable to run.’

11.4. Movement of subject clitics and emphatic negation

Unlike their affirmative counterparts, negative subject clitics cannot be separated from the verb and do not occur with overt subjects. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical forms in (29).

(29a) *atteek keraa ġapni

atti = a? *keraa* *ġap-n-i*
 2SG.PRO = 2NEG thief catch-NEG-PF
 (intended: ‘You (SG) did not catch thief.’)

(29b) *anten mottooġaa akkini anco

anti-? = *an* *mottooġaa* *akki-ni*
 1SG.PRO-NOM = 1NEG car see-IPF.PRES

an = key-o
 1NEG = be-NEG
 (intended: ‘I do not see a car.’)

(28c) *kutaasin karraa ġapu

kuta-asi = in *karraa*
 dog-DEF.M/F = 3NEG squirrel

ġap-u
 catch-IPF.FUT.NEG
 (intended: ‘The dog will not catch a squirrel.’)

Negation is emphasised by using the lexeme *apare* ‘somewhere’. It renders a meaning equivalent to the English adverb ‘never’. Here are some examples:

(30a) *kussitu?* ?*apare* *toġupa* *inanní*

kussitto-? ?*apare* *toġa-opa* *in = an-n-í*
 kussitto-NOM somewhere Toġa-to 3NEG = go-NEG-PF
 ‘Kussitto has never been to Toġa.’

(30b) *anti?* ?*apare* *koommaytipa* *an?anní*

anti-? *apare* *koommayte-opa* *an = an-n- í*
 1SG.PRO-NOM somewhere koommayte-to 1NEG = go-NEG-PF
 ‘I have never been to Koommayte.’

(30c) *iġa?* ?*apare* *dila* *inkanní*

iġa-? *apare* *dila* *in = kat-n-í*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM somewhere field 3NEG = sell-NEG-PF
 ‘He never sold a field.’

(30d) *iġoonna?* ?*apare* *incán*

iġoonna-? *apare* *in = kiy-á-n*
 3PL.PRO-NOM somewhere 3NEG = be-IPF.FUT-NEG
 ‘They are nowhere.’

12. Complex sentences

This chapter deals with complex sentences and has five sections. The first section, 12.1, deals with adverbial clauses. Section 12.2 discusses purpose clauses. Section 12.3 treats complement clauses. Section 12.4 presents other clause linking. Section 12.5 is concerned with quotative clauses.

12.1. Adverbial clauses

Various strategies are used to mark adverbial support clauses. They are:

1. conjunction plus clause
2. head noun plus relative clause plus postposition
3. headless relative clause plus postposition
4. clause marked with conjunction plus postposition
5. head noun plus relative clause
6. headless relative clause

12.1.1. Conditional clauses

In the normal order of conditional clauses the supporting clause precedes the focus clause. The term “focus clause” is used for the clause that denotes the crucial and resulting state or activity; the term is taken from Dixon and Aikhenvald (2009) (see also Mous and Ongaye Oda (2009)). Affirmative supporting conditional clauses appear with various conjunctions. These conjunctions are *oo/ootoo*, *ka/kande* and *awta*. All these conjunctions occur with suffix *-n*, whose semantic value is not yet known to me (see also Ongaye (in press)). What is clear to me about this suffix, however, is that its occurrence with conjunctions makes subject clitics flexible. Furthermore, it does not allow the occurrence of the dependent clause marker *-o*. In the glossing, I use *N* to represent suffix *-n*. Negative conditionals are marked with the relative pronoun *a* and the conjunction *male* ‘without’ while concessive conditionals are marked with the conjunction *kande* ‘if’ and the adverb *punu* or *nefu* ‘even’.

Focus (main) clauses do not have conjunctions or any particular suffixes that set them apart from supporting conditional clauses. However, a pause is required after the supporting clause when it precedes the focus clause, and when the subject clitic of the focus clause does not move to the supporting clause.

In the subsequent discussions, I present conditional sentences that express events that are likely to happen, events that are likely but not certain to happen, and events that are unlikely to happen. Furthermore, concessive conditionals are treated.

I begin with the discussion of conditional sentences which show the likelihood of the events in the focus clauses. Let us look at the examples in (1). In (1a), the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction *oo*. In both (1b) and (1c), the conjunction *oo* occurs with suffix *-n*. As a result of this suffix, the dependent clause marker *-o* disappears. The distinction between (1b) and (1c) is that in (1b) the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction whereas in (1c) it occurs with the verb. In all the examples, the dependent/support clauses precede the focus clauses. The example in (1d) is unacceptable because the subject clitic *in=* can only move to the verb if the conjunction contains the suffix *-n* in the support clause.

- (1a) *oon deyo, piifaasi? ?indama*
oo=in dey-o piifaa-si?
 if=1 come-DP.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in = dām-a
 I = eat-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’

- (1b) *oonin deya, piifaasi? ?indama*
oo-n=in dey-a piifaa-si?
 if-N=1 come.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in = dām-a
 I = eat-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’

- (1c) *oon indeya, piifaasi? ?indama*
oo-n in=dey-a piifaa-si?
 if-N I = come.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in = dām-a
 I = eat-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’

- (1d) **oo indeyo, piifaasi? ?indama*
oo in=dey-o piifaa-si?
 if I = come-DP.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

in = dām-a
 I = eat-IPF.FUT
 (intended: ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’)

Conditional sentences in which the speaker expresses that the event is likely but not certain to happen require the conditional conjunctions, except *kandē(n)*,

to occur with the suffix *-n*. The aspect in the support clause may be present imperfective (2a) or perfective (2b).

- (2a) **oonin tikupa anni, inkil lela**
oo-n=in tika-opa ?an-ni,
 if-N=1 house-to go-IPF.PRES
- in=ki-?* *lel-a*
 I=you-DAT tell-IPF.FUT
 ‘It is not yet certain to me whether I will go home, but if I decide to do so, I will let you know.’
- (2b) **oonin urmalaapa aanay, sookittasin pidfa**
oo-n=in urmala-opa an-ay,
 if-N=1 market-to go-PF[3M]
- sookitta-si?=in pidfa*
 salt-DEF.M/F=1 buy-IPF.FUT
 ‘I’m not yet sure whether to go to market, but if I do go, I will buy the salt.’

Conditional clauses that express unlikely events occur with the conjunction **kandē(n)** and perfective aspect in the support clause. Here are some examples:

- (3a) **kandee nama piisa deyay, kodaasi? ?idikkada**
kandē=i nama piisa dey-ay, kodaa-si?
 if=3 person all come-PF work-DEF.M/F
- i=dikkad-a*
 3=finish.MID-IPF.FUT
 ‘If everybody came, the work would get finished.’
- (3b) **kanden xormasin katay, kuuraaytin oorja**
kandē-n xorma-si=in kat-ay,
 if-N ox-DEF.M/F=1 sell-PF
- kuura-ayti=in oor-f-a*
 debt-2.SG.POSS.SG=1 return-CAUS-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I sold the ox, I would pay your debt.’

Conditional clauses that express unlikely events may also occur with a present imperfective aspect in the if-clause. In this case, only the conjunction **kanden** is used, as in (4).

- (4a) **kanden piisantee de?ni kawwattasi? ?idikkatta**
kande-n piisante=i dey-ni
 if-N everyone=3 come-IPF.PRES
- kawwatta-si? i=dikkad-t-a*
 terrace-DEF.M/F 3=be.finished-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘It is certain that all of them are not coming, but if they did come,
 the terrace would get finished.’
- (4b) **kanden tikupan kalay, ifeenna in?akka**
kande-n tika-opa=in kal-ay,
 if-N home-to=1 return.home-PF[3M]
- ifeenna in=akk-a*
 3SGF.PRO[ACC] 1=see-IPF.FUT
 ‘It is certain that I won’t go home, but if I did, I would see her.’

Nominal conditionals that express unlikely events (contrary to facts) are marked with the conjunction **kanden** and the nominal subject clitics **an=** for first persons, **a?** second persons and \emptyset for third persons, as in any other nominal clause. First and second person plurals require personal object pronouns in addition to the subject clitics. Some examples:

- (5a) **kanden akkarmaa, keltaytasi? G?apta**
kande-n ?a?=karmaa, keltayta-si?=i?
 if-N 2=lion baboon-DEF.M/F=2
- G?ap-t-a*
 catch-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘If you (SG) were a lion, you (SG) would catch the baboon.’
- (5b) **kanden karmaa, keltaytasi? ?iG?apa**
kande-n karmaa, keltayta-si? i=G?ap-a
 if-N lion baboon-DEF.M/F 3=catch-IPF.FUT
 ‘If he were a lion, he would catch the baboon.’
- (5c) **kanden inoon xampiraa, moontannin hirra**
kande-n ?ino=in xampiraa,
 if-N we=-1 birds
- moonta-nn=in hir-n-a*
 sky-INST=1 fly[PL]-PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘If we were birds, we would fly in the sky.’

So far I have discussed affirmative conditionals. Below I discuss negative conditionals. Negative conditionals occur with the same conjunctions as the affirmative conditionals. A negative conditional with the meaning ‘unless’ has a different form, shown below. Negative conditionals require negative subject clitics, as in (6).

- (6a) **oon urmalaapa ananneen kinnin kodaasin ki? ?iyyada**
oo-n urmalaapa an = an-ni = an kit-in
 if-N market-to 1NEG = go-IPF-NEG be-NEG
- kodaa-si? = in ke-? iyyad-a*
 work-DEF.M/F = 1 2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT
 ‘I am not yet certain whether I go to market or not but if I do not go, I will help you with the work.’
- (6b) **kanden urmalaapa anaanin kodaasi? ?inki? ?iyyada**
kandē-n urmalaapa an = aan-in
 if-N market-to 1NEG = go-NEG
- kodaa-si? in = ki-? iyyad-a*
 work-DEF.M/F 1 = 2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I do not go to the market, I will help you with the work.’

A negative conditional with the meaning ‘unless’ has the relative pronoun *a* and the postposition *male* ‘without’. The relative pronoun introduces headless relative clauses. Here are some examples:

- (7a) **an iʃa akkinu male ande?nu**
a = in iʃa akk-n-u
 REL = 1 3SGM.PRO[ACC] see-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT
- male an = dey-n-u*
 without 1NEG = come-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’
- (7b) **aa inun akkin male indeyan**
a = i inu = in akk-n
 REL = 3 1PL.PRO[ACC] = 3NEG see-P
- male in = dey-a-n*
 without 3NEG = come-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘Unless they see us, they will not come (back).’

Concessive conditionals are marked with the conjunction *kandē* ‘if’ and the adverb *punu* or *nēfo* ‘even’. Subject clitics are attached to *kandē*. The conces-

sive conditional conjunction **kandē punu** may appear as discontinuous. This same conjunction and adverbs are also used to mark concessive clauses. The following are illustrative examples.

- (8a) **kandē punu deʔta ohtaisiʔ ʔifeennaʔ ʔandaafu**
kandē=i punu dey-t-a ohta-siʔ
 if=3 even come-3F-IPF.FUT cloth-DEF.M/F

ifeenna-ʔ an=daaf-o
 3SGF.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.’

- (8b) **kandēep punu deʔtan anaaʔ ʔakkitan**
kandē=iʔ punu dey-t-a-n ana=aʔ akk-t-a-n
 if=2 even come-IPF 1SG.PRO.ACC=2NEG see-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘Even if you (PL) come, you (PL) will not see me.’

- (8c) **kandē punu amma indēyin kuliʔ ʔiχoratta**
kandē=i punu ʔamma in=dey-i-n
 if=3 even now 3NEG=come-PF-NEG

kuliʔ i=χorad-t-a
 latter 3=be.fined-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘Even if she has not come now, she will be fined latter.’

A concessive clause is marked by the conjunction **kandē** ‘if’ and the adverbs **nefu/punu** ‘even’. Subject clitics occur with **kandē** part of the conjunction. Here are some examples:

- (9a) **kandēen nefu kaafaasiniʔ ʔapa ifoonnaʔ ʔandaafu**
kandē=in nefu kaafaa-siniʔ ʔap-a
 if=1 even money-DEF.P have-IPF.FUT

ifoonna-ʔ an=daaf-u
 3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
 ‘Even if I have the money, I will not give it to them.’

- (9b) **namasik kandē punu deyay χawwaʔteen aana**
nama-siʔ kandē=i punu dey-ay
 person-DEF.M/F if=3 even come-PF[3M]

χawwaʔte=in an-a
 alone=1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘Even if the person came, I would go alone.’

The concessive adverb *nefu* is different from *punu* in that the former may occur clause-finally. For example, in (10a), *kandē* and *nefu* occur contiguously while in (10b) *nefu* occurs clause-finally. This positional shift does not alter the semantics of the sentence. *kandē* and *nefu* do not exchange their positions, as doing so yields an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in (10c).

- (10a) *kandēn nefu kaafaasiniḡ ḡapa iḡonna? ḡandaafu*
kandē=in nefu kaafaa-sini?
 although = 1 although money-DEF.P

ḡap-a iḡonna-? an=dāaf-u
 have-IPF.PRES they-DAT 1NEG = give-NEG
 ‘Although I have the money, I will not give it to them.’

- (10b) *kandēn kaafaasiniḡ ḡapa nefu iḡonna? ḡandaafu*
kandē=in kaafaa-sini? ḡap-a
 if = 1 money-DEF.P have-IPF.PRES

nefu iḡonna-? an=dāaf-u
 even 3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG = give-NEG
 ‘Even if I have the money, I will not give it to them.’

- (10c) **punon kandē kaafaasiniḡ ḡapa iḡonna? ḡandaafu*
punu=in kandē kaafaa-sini? ḡap-a
 if = 1 if money-DEF.P have-IPF.FUT

iḡonna-? an=dāaf-u
 3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG = give-NEG
 (intended: ‘Even if I have the money, I will not give it for them.’)

12.1.2. Temporal clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are introduced by *awta* ‘when’, *oo* ‘when, if’, *ee/etee* ‘when’, or *a*.

The temporal adverbial conjunction *awta* ‘when’ may occur in the perfective as in (11a) or the imperfective as in (11b).

- (11a) *awtan keeray, iniḡa ḡadḡaapay*
awta=in keer-ay in=iḡa ḡadḡaap-ay
 when = 1 run-PF 1 = 3SGM.PRO.ACC catch.up.with-PF
 ‘When I ran, I caught up with him.’

- (11b) *awtaa paritun oli akkina*
awta=i par-it-u=in oli akk-n-a
 when=3 sunrise-3F-DP.IPF.FUT=1 REC see-PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘We will see each other when the sun rises.’

In temporal clauses, the conjunction *oo* may occur in the imperfective as in (12). Remember that this conjunction is basically a conditional conjunction, as discussed earlier.

- (12a) *oon kaafaasinit teyun kid daafa*
oo=in kaafaa-sini? tey-u=in
 when=1 money-DEF.P obtain-DP.IPF.FUT=1

ki-? daaf-a
 2SG.PRO.AC-DAT give-IPF.FUT
 ‘When/if I will obtain the money, I will give it to you (SG).’
- (12b) *oo atoota feyya? ?awditee dehootaasi? ?ikokti*
oo=i atoota feyya-? awdi-t-i,
 when=3 sun very.well-DAT shine-3F-PF

dehoota-asi? i=kok-t-i
 malt-DEM.M/F 3=dry-3F-PF
 ‘This malt dried when the sun shone very well.’

In the following examples, the conjunction *ee/etee* is used. It occurs only in the perfective as shown in (13).

- (13a) *een aanay ?ormasin akkay*
ee=in ?an-ay, ?orma-si?=in akk-ay
 when=1 go-PF ox-DEF.M/F=1 see-PF
 ‘When I went there, I saw the ox.’
- (13b) *etee de?ti maanaa ko?ti*
etee=i dey-t-i maana=i kod-t-i
 when=3 come-3F-PF what=3 do-3F-PF
 ‘What did she do when she came?’

The relative pronoun *a* also serves as a temporal clause marker. The following are illustrative examples.

- (14a) *a Goyra murriyon ifa akkay*
a=i Goyra mur-niyo=in
 REL=3 tree cut[SG]-IPF.PRES.3SGM=1

ifa *akk-ay*
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw him while (he was) cutting a tree.’

- (14b) *aχ χormasip pidfinittun ki akkay*
a=i? *χorma-si?* *pidfi-ni-ttu=in*
 REL = 3 ox-DEF.M/F buy[SG]-IPF.PRES-2 = 1

ki *akk-ay*
 2SG.PRO.ACC see-PF[3M]
 ‘I saw you (SG) while (you (SG) were) buying the ox.’

Temporal adverbial clauses may also occur with the relative pronouns *a* and the postposition *kammaa* as in (15a) or the conditional conjunction *oo* and the postposition *kammaa* as in (15b).

- (15a) *an tika kayni kammaa roopa ipaayti*
a=in *tika* *kay-n-i* *kammaa*
 REL = 1 house reach-PL-PF after

roopa *i=paay-t-i*
 rain 3 = start-3F-PF
 ‘It started to rain after we arrived home.’

- (15b) *oon heeriya dikkifu kammaan faḡaa ika*
oo=in *heer-iya* *dikkif-u*
 if = 1 buy[PL]-NML finish-DP.IPF.FUT

kammaa=in *faḡaa* *ik-a*
 after = 1 local.beer drink-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will drink *faḡaa* after I finish buying.’

12.1.3. Reason and result clauses

In this section, I discuss reason and result clauses together because of semantic relationships. Reason and result clauses are semantically related in that result (effect) is the outcome of reason (cause). Both reason and result clauses occur with the (possessive) noun *ḡoota* ‘concerning/about’ and *malla* ‘because (of)’ or the relative pronoun *a*. The morpheme *malla* occurs in the final position of the support clause. Here are some examples:

- (16a) *attiḡ ḡootaap paaḡti malla antaa immalaalti*
atti-? *ḡoota=i?* *paaḡ-t-i*
 2SG.PRO-NOM concerning = 2 be.sick-2-PF

malla an-taa i? = malaal-t-i
 because go-INF 2 = be.unable.to-2-PF
 ‘You (SG) could not go because you (SG) were sick.’

- (16b) *alleetasi? ?a tuuda kelaan kinnin mallaa pi?ti*
alleeta-si? a = i tuuda kela = in
 hut-DEF.M/F that = 3 pillar under = 3NEG

kit-ni-n malla = i pi?-t-i
 be-IPF.PRES-NEG because = 3 fall-3F-PF
 ‘The hut collapsed because there is no pillar under it.’

The following are additional examples:

- (17a) *hellaasini? ?ootaa farin mallaa ?idamin*
hella-sini? ?oota = i far-i-n
 children-DEF.P concerning = 3 be.late-PF-P

mallaa ?id-am-i-n
 because flog-PAS-PF-P
 ‘The children were flogged because they were late.’

- (17b) *a pi?ay mallaa harkaadi ?epay*
a pi?-ay malla = i harka-adi ?ep-ay
 REAS fall-PF REAS = 3 hand-3SG.POSS.M/F break-
 PF[3M]
 ‘He broke his hand because he fell (down).’

12.1.4. Purpose clauses

Purpose is expressed by the conjunction *akkaa* and the postposition *malla* as in (18a) or the relative pronoun *a* and the postposition *malla* as in (18b).

- (18a) *?anti? ?akkaan ?orma pid?u mallan kaafaa kattanni*
anti-? akkaa = in ?orma
 1SG.PRO-NOM that = 1 ox

pid?-o malla = in kaafaa
 buy[SG]-DP-IPF.FUT because = 1 money

katt-af-ni
 collect-MID-IPF.PRES
 ‘I am saving money in order to buy an ox.’

- (18b) *anti?* ?an *χorma* *pidfu* *mallan* *kaafaa* *kattanni*
anti-? *a = in* *χorma*
 1SG.PRO-NOM that = 1 ox
- pidfu* *malla = in* *kaafaa*
 buy[SG]-DP.IPF.FUT because = 1 money
- katt-af-ni*
 collect-MID-IPF.PRES
 ‘I am saving money in order to buy an ox.’

Purpose can also be expressed by using an infinitive or verbal noun with or without the dative case marker instead of a support clause. The following are illustrative examples.

- (19a) *χimaytasi?* ?alleeta *χupiya* *mallaa* *χoraa* *χuuray*
χimayta-si? *alleeta* *χup-iya* *malla = i*
 old.man-DEF.M/F hut build-NMLZ because = 3
- χoraa* *χuur-ay*
 trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man cut trees in order to build a hut.’
- (19b) *χimaytasi?* ?alleeta *χupiya?*e *χoraa* *χuuray*
χimayta-si? *alleeta* *χup-iya-? = i*
 old.man-DEF.M/F hut build-VN-DAT = 3
- χoraa* *χuur-ay*
 trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]
 ‘The old man cut trees in order to build a hut.’
 (lit.: The old man cut trees for building a hut.)

12.2. Complement clauses

Complement clauses occur with the complementisers *ine*, *sedē* and *akkaa*. The complementisers *ine* and *sedē* occur in the position after an overt subject, while the complementiser *akkaa* occurs in the object position. Details of higher predicates and their modality interpretations are examined in Ongaye (2004). The following are illustrative examples.

- (20a) *Kussittus* *sedē* *χorma* *pidfaye* *ana* *χasayfay*
Kussittu-? *sedē = i* *χorma*
 Kussitto-NOM that = 3 ox

pidf-ay=i *ana* *χas-ayf-ay*
 buy[SG]-PF=3 1SG.PRO.ACC please-CAUS-PF
 ‘The fact that Kusitto bought an ox pleased me.’

- (20b) *akkaan anti? ųurmalaapa aanay ifeenna? ųidakayti*
akkaa = in *anti-?* *urmala-opa*
 that = 1 1SG.PRO-NOM market-to

an-ay *ifeenna-?* *i = dakay-t-i*
 go-PF[3M] 3SGF.PRO-NOM 3 = hear-3F-PF
 ‘She heard that I went to the market.’

- (20c) *akkaa? ųantin inupa*
akkaa = i? *aan-t-i-n* *in = up-a*
 that = 2 go-2-PF-P 1 = know-IPF.FUT
 ‘I know that you (PL) went.’

12.3. Other clause linking

12.3.1. Conjoined consecutive clauses

Conjoined consecutive clauses are marked by the conjunction *ka*, which is followed by an intonation break. This is shown below.

- (21a) *inuų ųoyrasim murri ka ifan kalli*
inu-? *ųoyra-si?=in* *mur-n-i*
 1PL.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F = 1 cut[SG]-1PL-PF

ka *ifa-n* *ka!-n-i*
 and 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST come.home-1PL-PF
 ‘We cut down the tree and brought it home.’

- (21b) *ifad diluppupaa anay ka ųunta pohay*
ifa-? *dila-oppupa = i* *an-ay* *ka*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM field-into = 3 go-PF[3M] and

unta *poh-ay*
 crops harvest-PF[3M]
 ‘He went to the field and harvested crops.’

Conjoined consecutive clauses that involve imperatives are also joined by the conjunction *ka*. Examples:

- (22a) *χooya ka dākadoosinih haadā*
χooy-a ka dākadaa-osini? haad-a
 come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
 ‘Come and carry these stones!’
- (22b) *aani ka ḡayrasim muri*
an-i ka ḡayra-si? mur-i
 go-IMP.SG and tree-DEF.M/F cut[SG]-IMP.SG
 ‘Go and cut the tree!’

In chapter 4, I discussed that coordinated nouns can be combined with the conjunction *ka* or *ifu?*. However, the use of the conjunction *ifu?* instead of *ka* in consecutive clauses is not allowed, as demonstrated in (23).

- (23a) **inuḡ ḡoyrasim murri ifu? ?ifan kalli*
inu-? ḡoyra-si?=in mur-n-i
 1PL.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F = 1 cut[SG]-PL-PF
- ifu? ifa-n kal-n-i*
 and 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST return.home-1PL-PF
 ‘We cut down the tree and brought it home.’
- (23b) **χooya ifud dākadoosinih haadā*
χooy-a ifu? dākadaa-osini? haad-a
 come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
 (intended: ‘Come and carry these stones!’)

12.3.2. Contrast

Contrast is expressed by *maa* or *umma*. The conjunction *maa* is most often adversative. The following are illustrative examples.

- (24a) *i?anti maa idapti*
i = an-t-i maa i = dāp-t-i
 3 = go-3F-PF but 3 = not.find-3F-PF
 ‘She went (there) but could not find it.’
- (24b) *ipi?ay maa immiidḡammj*
i = pi?-ay maa in = miidḡ-am-n-i
 3 = fall-PF but 3NEG = hurt.SG-PAS-NEG-PF
 ‘He fell but he is not hurt.’
- (24c) *kahartanim maa lahaa patay*
*kaharta-*nnin* maa laha-a pat-ay*
 ewe-NEG but ram-CLF disappear-PF[3M]
 ‘It is not a ewe but a ram that went missing.’

In the following example, the conjunction **umma** is used.

- (25) *ifan asni umma de?ninco*
ifa = in as-ni umma
 him = 1 wait-IPF.PRES but

dey-ni-in = kiy-o
 come-IPF.PRES-3NEG = be-NEG [3M]
 ‘I am waiting for him but he does not come.’

In the following proverb, the coordinating conjunction **ka** expresses contrast rather than addition. The proverb is used when someone who is afraid of a stronger person (likened here with acacia species **kolalta**) threatens another less strong person (likened here with a thin plant species **seyta**).

- (26) *kolal fuurfaa ka seyta put*
kolalta fuur-f-aa ka seyta-n
 acacia.species fear-DCAUS-VN and plant.species-INST

put-a
 win-VN
 ‘Fearful of kolalta but victorious over seyta.’

12.3.3. Alternatives

Alternatives are expressed by **-m** (27a) or the conjunction **taakine** ‘or, otherwise’ (27b).

- (27a) *pilliyaasi? incfeedam ayi*
pilliyaa-si? in = geed-a-m ?
 knife-DEF.M/F 1 = take-IPF.FUT-or here

in = dif-f-a
 1 = leave-IPF.FUT
 ‘Shall I take the knife or leave it here?’

- (27b) *urmalaapa? ?anta taakine diluppupan olin sookanna*
urmalaa-opa = i? an-t-a taakine
 market-to = 2 go-2-IPF.FUT otherwise

dila-oppupa = in olin sookad-n-a
 field-into = 1 together go.to.field-1PL-IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) will go to market. Otherwise we will go to the field together.’

A rejection type of alternative expression ‘instead of/rather than’ is marked by forms *a...kapaa* or an infinitive with *kapaa* or a verbal nominal with *kapaa*. With the conjunction *a...kapaa*, the subject clitic must occur with the *a*. The morpheme *kapaa* occurs in the final position of a dependent clause. There is a pause after the dependent clause. Here are some examples:

- (28a) *an piʃaaʔ ʔaanu kapaa, ohaʔin aana*
a=in piʃaa-ʔ ʔan-u kapaa,
 instead.of=1 water-DAT go-DP.IPF instead.of
oha-ʔ=in an-a
 fodder-DAT=1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘Instead of going to fetch water, I will go collect fodder.’
- (28b) *aʔ ʔessi ʔantu kapaa, aye muki ka parree paraan kedi*
a=iʔ essi an-t-u kapaa, aye
 instead.of=2 this.time go-2-DP.IPF instead.of here
muk-i ka parree paraa-n
 sleep-IMP.SG and tomorrow morning-INST
ked-i
 go.in.the.morning-IMP.SG
 ‘Instead of going home at this time (of the day), spend the night here and go (there) tomorrow early in the morning.’

The alternative clause which is expressed by the use of the infinitive/verbal noun and *kapaa* requires the word *woyy-* ‘be preferable’ in the main clause. The verb root in the illustrative example in (29a) occurs with the infinitive suffix *-iya*, while the one in (29b) occurs with a verbal nominal suffix *-taa*.

- (29a) *urmalaapa aaniya kapaa diluppupa aaniyaa woyyi*
urmala-opa an-ya kapaa dila-oppupa
 market-to go-VN instead.of field-into
an-ya=i woyy-i
 go-INF=3 be.good-PF
 ‘It is better to go to the field than to go to the market.’
- (29b) *urmalaapa antaa kapaa diluppupa ʔaantaa woyyi*
urmala-opa an-taa kapaa dila-oppupa
 market-to go-VN instead.of field-into
an-taa=i woyy-i
 go-VN=3 be.good-PF
 ‘Going to the field is better than going to the market.’

It is possible for an infinitive and a verbal nominal to interchangeably occur in either clause. For example, in (30a), the first clause has an infinitive form while the second clause has a verbal nominal form. In (30b), the verbal nominal form occurs in the first clause while the infinitive form occurs in the second clause.

- (30a) *urmalaapa aaniya kapaa diluppupa aantaa woyyi*
urmala-opa an-iya kapaa dila-oppupa
 market-to go-INF instead.of field-into

an-taa=i woyy-i
 go-VN=3 be.good-PF
 ‘To go to the field is better than going to the market.’

- (30b) *urmalaapa aantaa kapaa diluppupa aaniyaa woyyi*
urmala-opa an-taa kapaa dila-oppupa
 market-to go-VN instead.of field-into

an-iyaa=i woyy-i
 go-INF=3 be.good-PF
 ‘Going to the field is better than to go to the market.’

12.4. Quotative clauses

Quoted clauses occur within the focus clause. They are headed by the verb *kid-*‘say’. The example in (31a) uses direct reporting whereas the one in (31b) has an indirect report.

- (31a) *inatasi? ?inkalaye ki?ti*
inata-si? in=kal-ay=i kid-t-i
 girl-DEF.M/F 1 = return.home-PF[3M]=3 say-3F-PF
 ‘The girl said, “I came home.”’

- (31b) *ifeenna? ?ifa? ?ikalayee ki?ti*
ifeenna-? ifa-? i=kal-ay=i
 3SGF.PRO-NOM 3SGM.PRO-NOM 3 = return.home-P=3

kid-t-i=i
 say-3F-PF=3
 ‘She said that he had come home.’

13. Ideophones and interjections

This chapter describes the phonological and morphological characteristics as well as the metaphoric use of ideophones. It also presents the description and classification of interjections. Finally, it presents a brief description of greetings and leave-taking expressions.

13.1. Ideophones

All ideophones have closed syllables. Only short vowels occur in ideophones. Moreover, except for one instance (**ɠumaf**), all disyllabic ideophones have the same vowel in both syllables. In utterances, ideophones require the verb root **kiɖ** ‘say’ to which inflectional as well as derivational suffixes are attached. For example, some ideophones occur only with the verb stem **kiʔf** ‘cause to say’ <**kiɖ-f**-say-DCAUS-> (see sentential examples in (5)). Ideophones denote a verbal action as well as the manner in which the action is done. In the following sub-sections, I present the phonological templates of ideophones, reduplication in ideophones, verbal and nominal derivations in ideophones and the metaphoric use of ideophones.

13.1.1. Phonological templates

Konso ideophones fall into CVC or CVCVC templates. The ideophones in (1) have a CVC template. Note that the lexical meanings of some ideophones appear similar but that in use there is subtle differences that distinguish their meanings.

- (1)
- | | |
|------------|--|
| pas | ‘to detach, break away; scatter’ |
| pos | ‘to break into two pieces; emit light suddenly’ |
| poʃ | ‘to break (e.g. head, calabash with water)’ |
| pap | ‘to hit with a flat thing’ |
| piw | ‘to disappear’ |
| pup | ‘to blow’ |
| paɖ | ‘to hit slightly’ |
| paʃ | ‘to crash’ |
| paʃ | ‘to break (e.g. calabash); bite into fatty meat’ |
| peɖ | ‘to hit slightly’ |
| peɠ | ‘to explode’ |
| paw | ‘to fire a gun’ |
| niʃ | ‘to hit heavily’ |
| niɠ | ‘to choke’ |
| maʃ | ‘to bite or smash a fatty thing’ |
| moʃ | ‘to bite or smash a fatty thing’ |
| maʃ | ‘to step heavily on something’ |
| moɣ | ‘to give a knock on the head’ |

miʃ	‘to urinate little due to fear, etc.’
moɣ	‘to knock on the head with the hand’
faʃ	‘to splash’
ful	‘to run away suddenly from a hideout’
fud	‘to swell lightly’
ʃaʃ	‘to kiss’
ʃim	‘to stand firmly’
ʃir	‘to get out, shoot fast (e.g. snake, spear)’
ʃir	‘to slide’
ʃul	‘to give sharp smoke; have a sharp cough’
kir	‘to shock; shiver’
kaʃ	‘to have a feeling of sudden fear’
koʃ	‘to drop or step into dry fallen leaves’
kaʃ	‘to bite little; cut little’
kiw	‘to be stunned’
hin	‘to buzz’
lus	‘to insert easily; enter quickly’
las	‘to insert easily’
liʃ	‘to extinguish’
ʃaʃ	‘to kick’
ʃir	‘to become erect (e.g. penis); protrude from overeating (of the belly)’
ʃar	‘to break a piece of cloth at once’
tul	‘to fire a gun’
til	‘to hit with a fist’
tiw	‘to hit with a fist; fire a gun’
toʃ	‘to drip’
tuʃ	‘to pour fluid’
tiw	‘to gunshot; drop something heavy’
ɕaw	‘to hit with something hard’
ɕeɲ	‘to be naughty’
wax	‘to hit something dry with a stick or piece of stone’
wad	‘to hit something’
wag	‘to hit with stone or a small stick’
wah	‘to slap’
war	‘to slap’
waf	‘to hit with a thin stick’
wax	‘to open wide (e.g. legs)’
was	‘to open eyes widely and suddenly’
das	‘to cut/break into two pieces’
duʃ	‘to lash’
duʃ	‘to shrink slowly’
diʃ	‘to give a mild but quick pain’
daʃ	‘to give a mild but quick pain’
daʔ	‘to shoot with a stone; hit with stick’

The following ideophones have the CVCVC template.

(2)	kalaw	‘to roll over’
	kafar	‘to bite little’
	kiliw	‘to roll over’
	koʃor	‘to clink’
	kosob	‘to hop’
	makal	‘to slip through hand’
	micfir	‘to be difficult to catch’
	muʒur	‘to be difficult to crush with the teeth’
	medek	‘to become weak after being stiff’
	moʒod	‘to become lame’
	ʃiʒir	‘to change position swiftly’
	ʃipir	‘to twist; wind quickly’
	ʃakar	‘to jump/run lightly’
	piʃiw	‘to clink’
	piliʃ	‘to flash light’
	pikir	‘to faint and drop on the ground’
	ʒalaw	‘to become pale’
	ʒumaf	‘to become crooked’
	ʃapaʒ	‘to splash’
	ʃopoʒ	‘to dip into water’
	ʃoʒor	‘to kick on the buttocks’
	fuoʒur	‘to pull out tooth, piece of rock’
	futuʒ	‘to overflow’
	futuk	‘to suddenly run out in an ambush’
	ʒakar	‘to scratch with claws; shallow bite by animals’
	tukur	‘to snatch; take with force’
	hapar	‘to jump into a conversation’

A prolonged act of the ideophones with the CVC template is expressed by prolonging the articulation of the final consonant of the ideophone. The final consonants are continuants. Examples:

(3)	hurrr	‘to make a continuous sound (e.g. by a thrown stone)’
	forrr	‘to flow (pour) uninterruptedly’
	duʃʃʃ	‘to shrink slowly’
	lusss	‘to get inserted steadily’
	fulll	‘to blow sharp smoke continuously’
	hinnn	‘to buzz around’

There are also ideophones with CV₁C₂C₂V₁C₂C₂V₁C₂C₂.... template. These ideophones show motion of many people or things. Also, sometimes the flow of floods is expressed with these ideophones.

- (4) **mudfudfudf** ‘to rush or gash’
 tittittitt ‘to rush’
 χidfidfidfidf ‘to rush; thunder’
 tuttuttutt ‘to rush’
 puppuppupp ‘to rush; strom’

13.1.2. Reduplication in ideophones

The ideophones we have seen in (1) and (2) show two types of reduplication: full and partial. Reduplication in ideophones expresses the intensity or repetition of the action expressed.

Both the CVC (5a-b) and CVCVC (5c-d) templates may show full reduplication.

- (5a) **moχ moχ kiʔʃi**
 moχ moχ kid-f-i
 IDEO IDEO say-DACUS-IMP.SG
 ‘Knock on it a couple of times!’
- (5b) **timpaasinit tiw tiwee kiʔni**
 timpaa-sini? tiw tiw=i kid-ni
 drum-DEF.P IDEO IDEO=3 say-IPF.PRES
 ‘The drum is being beaten.’
- (5c) **ʃalootaasik kalaw kalaw kiʔʃi**
 ʃaloota-asi? kalaw kalaw kid-f-i
 thread-DEM.M/F IDEO IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
 ‘Roll this thread!’

The following ideophone occurs only in the reduplicated form:

- (6) **kuʃ kuʃ** ‘to murmur’

Partial reduplication is found only in disyllabic ideophones. There are two interesting aspects of partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones: first, the part of the ideophone that is reduplicated and, second, the direction of reduplication. In disyllabic ideophones, it is the CVC syllable of the CVCVC that is reduplicated, and the direction of reduplication is rightwards. This rightward reduplication is in opposition to the reduplication pattern in verbs (6.1.5) and adjectives (7.2). Below are demonstrative examples:

(7)	kalawlaw	from	kalaw	‘to roll over’
	miḡirḡir	from	miḡir	‘to be difficult to catch’
	medekdek	from	medek	‘to become weak after being stiff’
	piḡiwḡiw	from	piḡiw	‘to clink’
	ḡumafmaḡ	from	ḡumaf	‘to become crooked’

Dhoorre and Tosco (1998:127) have also reported the rightward reduplication of the CV part of the second syllable in Somali ideophones.

Disyllabic ideophones make semantic distinctions when they are derived or underived. These are shown below:

- Simple (underived) disyllabic ideophones indicate a single (punctual) action (8a);
- Full reduplication of disyllabic ideophones indicates that the action is done randomly or at a longer duration due to the size (big) or weight (heavy) of an object (8b);
- Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones indicates that the action is done very quickly. It shows a sense of urgency or small size or light weight (8c).

(8a) **kalaw**
IDEO
‘Roll over’

(8b) **kalaw kalaw**
IDEO IDEO
‘roll over and over’

(8c) **kalaw-law**
IDEO-RDP
‘roll over and over very quickly’

The following ideophone makes four semantic distinctions on the basis of reduplication and gemination.

(9)	piliḡ	‘a spark of light (e.g. lightning, gunfire)’
	piliḡ piliḡ	‘a few sparks of light or at some intervals’
	piliḡḡiliḡ	‘sparks of light at a fast rate’
	piliḡḡiḡ	‘a spark of light for a brief duration’

13.1.3. Verbal derivation in ideophones

Some ideophones can be transitivity by adding the causative suffix *-ʃ*. The addition of the causative suffix geminates the final consonant of the ideophone. The following are illustrative examples:

- | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>tiwwiʃ</i> | ‘to drop something heavy; fire a gun’ |
| | <i>niʃʃiʃ</i> | ‘to hit drop something heavy’ |
| | <i>niʃʃiʃʃ</i> | ‘to hit very hard’ |
| | <i>wahhiʃ</i> | ‘to slap’ |
| | <i>waffiʃ</i> | ‘to hit with a small stick’ |
| | <i>ʃaʃʃiʃ</i> | ‘to hit heavily’ |
| | <i>fulliʃ</i> | ‘to make leave a hideout’ |

Ideophones can also be transitivity by adding the causative suffix to the accompanying verb *kid-* ‘say’. This is exemplified in (11).

- (11a) *tiw kiʃʃi*
tiw kid-ʃ-i
 IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
 ‘Drop it (on the group)!’
 ‘(You (SG)) Shoot it!’
tiw ‘to drop something heavy; gunshot’

- (11b) *kalaw kiʃʃi*
kalaw kid-ʃ-i
 IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Make it roll!’
kalaw ‘to roll over’

The verb root *kid-* ‘to say’ may occur with more than one derivational suffix. For instance, in the following example, it occurs with the causative and the middle suffixes.

- (12a) *tul kiʃʃadu*
tul kid-ʃ-ad-u
 IDEO say-DCAUS-MID-IMP.SG
 ‘(You (SG)) Smoke it for yourself!’
tul ‘to fire a gun’

13.1.4. Nominal derivation in ideophones

Nominals may be derived from ideophones. For disyllabic ideophones, the nominal derivation involves the reduplication of the CVC before adding a nominal suffix. The nominal suffixes are *-a* (M/F) and *-aa*(P). The following are illustrative examples.

- (13) *tofaa* ‘water droplets’ < *tof* ‘to drip’
ʃakarkara ‘careless person’ < *ʃakar* ‘to carelessly do’
haparpara ‘care free’ < *hapar* ‘to be care free’>
miʃirʃira ‘one with unpredictable personality’ < *miʃir* ‘to be unpredictable’

13.1.5. Metaphoric use of ideophones

Some ideophones are also used metaphorically in Konso. Below, I give some illustrative examples:

- (14a) *inantaasiw waa a ʃakkaagʻ ʒudaa ʒumaf kiʔni*
inanta-asiʔ waa a ʃakk-aaʔ ʒudaa=i
 girl-DEM.M/F thing REL be.small-P on=3
ʒumaf kid-ni
 IDEO say-IPF.PRES
 ‘The girl gets angry with anything small.’
ʒumaf ‘to crook’
- (14b) *ʒimaytasik kalawee kiday*
ʒimayta-siʔ kalaw=i kid-ay
 old.man-DEF.M/F IDEO=3 say-PF
 ‘The old man died suddenly.’
kalaw ‘to roll over’
- (14c) *ʒimaytasit torraasinee a feyyaaʔe ʃipir kiʔʃay*
ʒimayta-siʔ torraa-sine a
 old.man-DEF.M/F discussion-DEF.P REL
feyyaa-ʔ=i ʃipir kid-f-ay
 well-DAT=3 IDEO say-DCAUS-PF
 ‘The old man spoiled a healthy discussion.’
ʃipir ‘to twist quickly’
- (14d) *waasiniʔ ʔipof kiʔʃay*
waa-siniʔ i=poʃ kid-f-ay
 thing-DEF.P 3=IDEO say-DCAUS-PF
 ‘He disclosed the secret.’
poʃ ‘to break’
- (14e) *sereerutaa kamman ʃir kiʔni*
sereeruta-a kamma-n ʃir kid-ni
 diarrhoea behind-PATH IDEO say-IPF.PRES
 ‘He is having explosive diarrhoea.’
ʃir ‘to get out fast’

The following are illustrative examples:

- (16a) *uu inansi? ?ikokkooki*
uu inanta-asi? i=kokkook-i
 INTERJ girl-DEM.M/F 3 = be.strong-PF
 ‘Wow, this girl is strong!’

- (16b) *uu aappoosi? ?ineegfi*
uu aappaa-osi? i=neeg-i
 INTERJ father-DEM.M/F 3 = be.bad-PF
 ‘Oh, this man is dangerous!’

The following is a phrasal expressive interjection:

- (17) *awwee de?ta (ha)*
awwi=i dey-t-a (ha)
 today=3 come-3F-IPF.FUT (INTERJ)
 ‘I’m telling you that I did not do it.’
 ‘It’s unbelievable.’
 (lit.: It will come today.)

13.2.2. Conative interjections

The conative interjection used as a response to calls is *ee* ‘yes!’. It is used equally by all people irrespective of age, gender and social status.

Conative interjections that demand an action from the hearer are expressed by the verb root *diif-* ‘to stop’. They are like imperatives, distinguishing singular hearer and plural hearer.

- (18) *diifi* ‘You (SG) stop what you are doing!’
diifa ‘You (PL) stop what you are doing!’

The following interjections are used to present something to someone:

- (19) *hindfo* ‘You (SG), here you are!’
hindfa ‘You (PL), here you are!’

The verb root *ɣap-* ‘hold, catch’ is also used as a presentational expression as shown below:

- (20) *aypa desa ɣapi*
aye-opa desa ɣap-i
 here-to there hold-IMP.SG
 ‘You (SG), here you are!’

The other type of conative interjection is that used to summon or disperse animals. The following are used to summon animals:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|
| (21) | heej | call to a dog |
| | tuktuktuk | call to chicken |
| | me?e?e? | call to a goat |
| | ma?a?a? | call to a sheep |
| | aturr | call to a cat < aturraata 'cat' > |
| | ump^waaa | call to a cow/ox/bull |

The following conative interjections, in contrast, are used to disperse or chase animals:

- | | | |
|------|--------------|---|
| (22) | saay | to disperse birds |
| | enaŋ | to chase away a sheep |
| | laŋ | to chase away a ram |
| | usuk | to chase away a goat |
| | uss | to chase away goats/sheep |
| | heecc | to chase away cows/oxen |
| | jok | to chase away (a) donkey(s) |
| | luk | to disperse chickens < lukkallitta 'chicken' |
| | tapay | to chase away (a) rat(s) < tapayta 'rat' |
| | kut | to chase away a dog < kuta 'dog' |

13.2.3. Phatic interjections

The following expression is used to welcome someone who arrives from the field, a market or a trip.

- | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|
| (23) | okaadu | 'welcome!' |
|------|---------------|------------|

The following phatic interjection is used to reject what someone has said and indicate that the addressee is expected to stop talking about the subject.

- | | | |
|------|-----------|---|
| (24) | ej | 'I am disgusted by what you said and I want you to stop talking about this' |
|------|-----------|---|

13.3. Greetings and leave-taking expressions

13.3.1. Greetings

In this section, general greetings and leave-taking expressions are discussed. General greetings, greetings used in the morning, during the daytime, in the evening and greetings used upon entering someone's compound/house are presented.

The interrogative word *atta* ‘how?’ is used in most greetings.

General greetings are expressed with the words *nakaytaa* ‘health, peace’ and *atta* ‘how?’. These words may be used separately or in combination. The verb root *fapaad-* ‘be strong’ is also used in general greetings. Interrogative suffixes are added to *nakaytaa* or to *fapaad-*. Moreover, rising intonation is used. There are two words that are used as a polite form of greeting between men: *innayti* and *sakni*. These words are used only with *nakaytaa* ‘health, peace’ or *atta* ‘how?’.

The following are the most common/general greetings in Konso:

- (25a) *nakaytaa*
health.Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Is it peace/health?)
- (25b) *nakaytaa-wwee*
health-only.Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Is it only peace/health?)
- (25c) *atta nakaytaa*
how health.Q
‘How are you?’
- (25d) *atta nakaytaa-wwee*
how health-only.Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Is it only peace/health?)
- (25e) *iffapaanee*
iʔ=fapaad-ni=e
2 = be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
‘How are you?’
(lit.: Are you (SG) strong?)
- (25f) *atta iffapaanee*
atta iʔ=fapaad-ni=e
how 2 = be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
‘How are you?’
- (25g) *nakaytaa sakni*
health my.friend.M
‘How are you doing, my friend?’

- (25h) **atta innayti**
 how my.friend.M
 ‘How are you doing, my friend?’

Proper names may also occur in greetings. They may occur sentence-initially as in (26) or finally as in (27).

- (26a) **kappooli atta**
 kappoole how
 ‘Kappoole, how are you?’
- (26b) **kappooli nakaytaa-wwee**
 kappoole health-only.Q
 ‘Kappoole, how are you doing?’
- (26c) **kappooli atta nakaytaa-wwee**
 kappoole how health-only.Q
 ‘Kappoole, how are you doing?’
- (27a) **atta Kappooli**
 how Kappoole
 ‘How are you, Kappoole?’
- (27b) **nakaytaa-wwee Kappooli**
 health-only.Q Kappoole
 ‘How are you doing, Kappoole?’
- (27c) **atta nakaytaa-wwee Kappooli**
 how health-only.Q Kappoole
 ‘How are you doing, Kappoole?’

Greetings used when entering someone’s compound/house are expressed using the noun **halla** ‘children’. The plural gender vocative suffix **-y** is added to **halla**. The word **hellaay** may be used alone as in (28a) or with the greeting forms of the time of the day of conversation, as in (28b-d).

- (28a) **hellaay**
 children-VOC.P
 ‘Hi everyone!’ (i.e. Is there anybody there?)
- (28b) **hellaay iχχaʔtinee**
hellaay *iʔ = χaʔ-t-i-n-ee*
 children-VOC.P 2 = stand.up-2-PF-P-Q
 ‘Hi everyone! Good morning.’

- (28c) **hellaay iʔʔooltinee**
hellaay *iʔ = ʔool-t-i-n-ee*
 children-VOC.P 2 = spend.day-2-PF-PL-Q
 ‘Hi everyone! Good afternoon/evening.’
- (28d) **hellaay attaʔ ʔooltin**
hellaay *atta = iʔ* *ool-t-i-n*
 children-VOC.P how = 2 spend.day-2-PF-PL
 ‘Hi everyone! Good afternoon/evening.’
 (lit.: Hi Children! How did you (PL) spend the day?)

In the above examples, **hellaay** occurs initially. However, it is equally possible to have it finally, as in (29).

- (29a) **iχχaʔtinee hellaay**
iʔ = χaʔ-t-i-n-ee *hellaay*
 2 = stand.up-2-PF-PL-Q children-VOC.P
 ‘Good morning everyone.’
- (29b) **iʔʔooltinee** **hellaay**
iʔ = ʔool-t-i-n-ee *hellaay*
 2 = spend.day-2-PF-PL-Q children-VOC.P
 ‘Good afternoon/evening everyone.’

The following greeting expression is also used when entering someone’s compound/house. It usually implies that the person entering the compound/house has not visited the addressee(s) for some time.

- (30) **hellaay maanak koʔnittan**
hellaay *maana = iʔ* *kocʔ-ni-ttan*
 children-VOC.P what = 2 do-IPF.PRES-PL
 ‘Hello! What are you doing?’
 (lit.: Hi, children! What are you in?)

Greetings in the morning involve the verb root **χaʔ**- ‘rise’. The following are illustrative examples.

- (31a) **iχχaʔtinee**
iʔ = χaʔ-t-i-n-ee
 2 = rise-2-PF-PL-Q
 ‘Good morning.’
 (lit.: Did you (PL) rise?)

- (31b) *attax* *χaʔtin*
atta=iʔ *χaʔ-t-i-n*
 how = 2 rise-2-PF-P
 ‘Good morning.’
 (lit.: ‘How did you (PL) rise?’)
- (31c) *iχχaʔtee* *innayti*
iʔ=χaʔ-t-i-ee *innayti*
 2 = rise-2-PF-Q my.friend.M
 ‘Good morning, my friend.’
 (lit.: ‘Did you (SG) rise, my friend?’)
- (31d) *attax* *χaʔti* *?innayti*
atta=iʔ *χaʔ-t-i* *innayti*
 how = 2 rise-2-PF my.friend.M
 ‘Good morning, my friend.’
 (lit.: How did you (SG) rise, my friend?)

Greetings require knowledge of social relationships for addressing people. These terms appear in their vocative form and may occur sentence-initially or finally.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------|---------------|
| (32) | <i>aappu</i> | ‘father’ | < | <i>aappaa</i> | ‘father’ |
| | <i>apuyya</i> | ‘uncle’ | < | <i>apuyyaata</i> | ‘uncle’ |
| | <i>maamma</i> | ‘aunt’ | < | <i>maammata</i> | ‘aunt’ |
| | <i>aakka</i> | ‘grandfather’ | < | <i>aakkaa</i> | ‘grandfather’ |
| | <i>?aayyi</i> | ‘mother’ | < | <i>aayyaa</i> | ‘mother’ |
| | <i>okkooyyu</i> | ‘grandmother’ | < | <i>okkooyyita</i> | ‘grandmother’ |
| | <i>aappula</i> (M) | ‘cousin (maternal aunt)’ | < | <i>aappulayta</i> | |
| | <i>afumu</i> | ‘nephew (sister’s son)’ | < | <i>afuma</i> | |
| | <i>afumta</i> | ‘nephew (sister’s daughter)’ | < | <i>afumta</i> | |

The following are illustrative examples:

- (33a) *aappu* *atta* *nakaytaa*
 father.VOC.M/F how health
 ‘How are you doing, daddy?’
- (33b) *atta* *nakaytaa-wee* *aappu*
 how health-only.Q father.VOC
 ‘How are you, daddy?’
- (33c) *aappu* *atta* *nakaytaa-w-ee*
 father.VOC how health-only-Q
 ‘Daddy, how are you?’

Both *inanta* ‘girl’ and *tuparaa/tuparraa* ‘girls’ may be used as vocatives when addressing a girl that someone does not know by name. However, the use of *inanta* ‘girl’ implies impoliteness or contempt, as in (34a), whereas *tuparaa/tuparraa* ‘girls’ carries with it politeness, as in (34b). When the addressee is plural (girls), then, the plural vocative marker *-y* is added to *tuparaa/tuparraa* ‘girls’, as shown in (34c).

- (34a) *inanta, tika a Ongayi aɣaamu*
 girl house POSS Ongaye which
 ‘Hey, girl! Which house is Ongaye’s?’
- (34b) *tuparaa, tika a Ongayi aɣaamu*
 girls house POSS Ongaye which
 ‘Hey, girl! Which house is Ongaye’s?’
- (34c) *tuparaa-y tika a Ongayi aɣaamu*
 girls-VOC.PL house POSS Ongaye which
 ‘Hey, girls! Which house is Ongaye’s?’

The plural *tuparradɗaa* <*tuparraa* ‘girls’> is used to praise a girl who has done a good job. Similarly, *hamiyyadɗaa* <*hamiya* ‘male child’, *hamiyyaa* ‘male children’> is used to praise a boy who has done something very well. In both cases, the plural morpheme *-ɗaa* does not express plurality in these uses. In the following example, after hearing the report of the daughter that she fetched water twice (35a) the mother praises her daughter as in (35b).

- (35a) *aayyee! piɗaasinil lakkin ooray*
aayyee! piɗaa-siniɓ lakki=in oor-ay
 mammy! water-DEF.P two=1 return-PF[3M]
 ‘Hi Mammy! I fetched the water twice.’
- (35b) *tuparradɗaa*
 girls
 ‘Well done!’

When entering into somebody’s house, the use of the plural vocative suffix *-y* is added to *hellaa* ‘children’ <*hellaa-y* ‘children-VOC.PL’> ‘Hey! Anybody there?’ is the most common form to ask if there is anybody there in the house or to let a family member(s) know that you are coming in. The word *toola* ‘family’ is also common in this context but it does not occur with the vocative suffix.

13.3.2. Leave-taking

We distinguish a short and long/indefinite time leave-taking. The short time leave-taking is for the day of conversation or a few days after that. Such leave-taking can further be divided into a daytime and an evening/night time of the day of conversation. The verb root *ool-* ‘spend day(s)’ is used in leave-taking. The word *nakaytaa* ‘health, peace’ is used with the instrumental case suffix *-n(n)* accompanying the verb root *ool*.

The following are examples of leave-taking during the daytime:

- (36a) *oolla*
ool-n-a
 spend.day-1PL-OPT
 ‘Have a good day.’
 (lit.: ‘May we have a good day.’)

- (36b) *nakaytan oolla*
nakayta-n ool-n-a
 health-INST spend.day-1PL-OPT
 ‘Have a good day!’
 (lit.: ‘May we spend the day with health/peace!’)

The following are examples of leave-taking in the evening/night:

- (37a) *muk-n-a*
 sleep-1PL-OPT
 ‘May we sleep.’
- (37b) *nakayta-n muk-n-a*
 health-INST sleep-1PL-OPT
 ‘May we sleep in peace!’
 (lit.: ‘May we sleep with health!’)

The following are leave-taking for a longer period:

- (38a) *oppa oolla*
oppa ool-n-a
 in spend.day-1PL-OPT
 ‘May you have a good day.’
- (38b) *oppa ɕaaʔi-n-a*
 in sit.down-1PL-OPT
 ‘May you stay in peace.’

Enquiring the well-being of somebody else is expressed by mentioning the name of the person whose well-being is requested, followed by the postpositional phrase *maanaappaa* <*maana-oppaa* what-in> and the existential verb root *kiy-*. Examples:

- (39a) *kappoolim maanaappaa ca*
kappooli-? *maana-oppaa=i* *kiy-a*
 kappoole-NOM what-in = 3 be-IPF.PRES
 ‘How is kappoole doing?’
 (lit.: What is kappoole in?)

- (39b) *hellaatti maanaappaa can*
hella-tti *maana-oppaa=i*
 children-2SG.POSS.P what-in = 3

kiy-a-n
 be-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘How are your children?’
 (lit.: What are your children in?)

14. Texts

In this chapter, I provide two transcribed and glossed stories. The first text is the story Teekoole's son's bag, and the second is a story about a second wife. In both texts I use a four-line transliteration: in the first line I represent the Konso sentence as it is recorded, in the second line I indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line I give translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes, in the fourth line I give a free translation of the whole sentence. Both stories were told by my grandmother.

14.1. Text 1: *jolaa a innaá Teekoolí?*¹⁴ Teekoole's Son's Bag

001 *ɣattaa kiʔni ka innaa Teentooli ifuʔ ʔinnaa Teekooli ka olin okkaa dawwini.*

ɣatta=i *kid-ni* *ka* *innaá*
long.time.ago=3 say-IPF.PRES and child.GEN

a *Teentooli* *ifuʔ* *innaa* *a* *Teekooli*
GEN Teentoole and child.GEN GEN Teekoole

ka *okkaa=i* *olli-n* *daww-ni.*
and cattle.ACC=3 together-INST herd-IPF.PRES

'It is said that long time ago, a child of a rich family and a child of a poor family herded cattle together.'

002 *innaá Teekooli jolaá ɕapanee kiini.*

innaá *a* *Teekooli* *jolaá=3*
child.GEN GEN Teekoole bag.ACC=3

ɕap-a-n=i *kid-ni.*
have-IPF.FUT-P=3 say-IPF.PRES

'It is said that the poor family's child had a bag.'

003 *oo kayti kuyyaʔta takkaayye, innaá Teentooli ka innaá Teekoolik kidaye, 'aani ka okkayaa oorji!'*

oo *kay-t-i* *kuyyaʔta* *takka-ayye,*
when reach-3F-PF day one.F-BKGRD

innaá *Teentooli* *ka* *innaá*
child.GEN Teentoole and child.GEN

¹⁴ The major characters in this story are Teekoole's son and Teentoole's son. The word *teekoole* is derived from the verb root *teek-* 'to be poor' whereas the word *teentoole* is derived from the noun *teenta/teyanta* 'wealth'.

Teekooli-? *kid-ay-e,* *'aan-i* *ka*
Teekoole-DAT say-PF[3M]-BKGRD go-IMP.SG and

okkayaa *oor-f-i!'*
cattle return-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'One day, Teentoole's boy ordered Teekoole's boy, saying, "Go and drive the cattle back!"'

004 *innaá* Teekooli ka kiinee 'in?oorfama hindo ka jolaayyu asseyig' çapi
anka aano oorfu.'

innaá *a* *Teekooli* *ka*
child.GEN GEN Teekoole and

kid-ni-e *'in = oor-f-a-ma*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1 = return-DCAUS-IPF.FUT-but

hind-o *ka* *jolaa-yyu*
here.you(SG).are-VOC.SG and bag-1SG.POSS.M/F

assi-aye-? *çap-i* *an = ka* *aan-o*
like.this-here-LOC hold-IMP.SG 1 = and go-DP

oor-f-u.'
return-DCAUS-OPT
'Then Teekoole's son said to Teentoole's son, "I will drive the cattle back but hold my bag and let me go and drive [them] back."'

005 *innaasineé* Teekooli ka okkayaasini? ?oorissa? ?aanin.

innaa-sini?-é *a* *Teekooli* *ka*
child-DEF.P-BKGRD.GEN GEN Teekoole and

okkayaa-sini? *oor-f-ta-?* *aan-i-n.*
cattle-DEF.P return-DCAUS-VN-DAT go-PF-P
'And the child of the poor family went to drive the cattle back.'

006 oo tiitaaway i?innaá Teekoolik kiinee 'jolaayyu ðaafi!'

oo *tiitaaw-ay* *i = innaá* *Teentooli-?*
when return-PF[3M] 3 = child.GEN Teekoole-DAT

kid-ni-e *'jolaayyu* *ðAAF-i!'*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag-1SG.POSS.M/F give-IPM.SG
'When Teekoole's boy returned, he said to the rich family's child, "Give my bag back!"'

- 007 *ikiine innaá Teentooli ka kiinee ‘ayen can.’*
i=kid-ni-e *innaá* *a* *Teentooli*
 3 = say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD child.GEN GEN Teentoole

ka *kid-ni-e* *‘aye=in*
 and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD here = 3NEG

kiy-a-n.’
 be-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘It is said that Teentoole’s boy said, ‘It is not here.’’
- 008 *ikka kiinee ‘ayfupaa tayin?’*
ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘ayfa* *ʔopa=i* *t” ay-i-n?”*
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD where to=3 go.away-PF-P
 ‘And [Teekoole’s son] said, “Where has it gone?’’
- 009 *innaá Teentooli ka ayen can*
innaá *a* *Teentooli* *ka*
 child.GEN GEN Teentole and

kid-ni-e *‘aye=in* *kiy-a-n.’*
 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD here = 3NEG be-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘And Teekoole’s child said, “It is not here.’’
- 010 *ooree innaasineé Teekooli imiiroodfin ka a Orrotá? ʔopa keerinee kiini.*
ooree *innaa-sini?-é* *a* *Teekooli*
 then child-DEF.P-BKGRD.GEN GEN Teekoole

i=miirood-i-n *ka* *a* *Orrotá-ʔ*
 3 = be.angry-PF-P and GEN Orrota-GEN

opa *keer-i-n=i* *kid-ni.*
 to run[PL]-PF-P = 3 say-IPF.PRES
 ‘Then, Teekoole’s son got angry and ran to Orrota’s house.’
- 011 *‘Orrota! Orrota!’*
Orrota! Orrota!
 ‘[And he said,] Orrota! Orrota!’
- 012 *ikka kiinee ‘Ooy!’*
ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘Ooy!’*
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ‘yes!’
 ‘And [the Orrota] said “Yes!’’

- 013 ikka kiinee ‘χooyee talaá Teentooli poki poki.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘χooy-i-e
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMP.SG-BKGRD
- talaá a Teentooli pok-i*
 goats.GEN GEN Teentoole shoot.PL-IMP.SG
- pok-i.*
 shoot.PL-IMP.SG
 ‘And he said, “Come and shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats!”’
- 014 Orrotak kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?’
Orrota-? kid-ni-e ‘opa Teentooli
 Orrota-NOM say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole
- maanaa kod-i-n?’*
 what do-PF-P
 ‘Orrota said, “What have Orrota and his mates done?”’
- 015 ikka kiinee ‘jolaá innaá Teekoolee pafin.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘jolaá a innaá
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN child.GEN
- Teekooli=i paf-i-n.*
 Teekoole=3 lose-PF-P
 ‘And he said, “He has lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’
- 016 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘in=tiit-ay.’
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
 ‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’
- 017 ikiinee ikka a Apitta? ?opa keeray ka ‘Apitta! Apitta!’ kiday
i=kid-ni-e ikka a Apitta-?
 3=say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD and.3 GEN fire-LOC
- opa keer-ay ka ‘Apitta! Apitta!’ kid-ay*
 to run[SG]-PF[3M] and Fire! Fire say-PF[3M]
 ‘And he ran to Fire’s house and said, “Fire! Fire!”’
- 018 ikka kiinee ‘Ooy. Ooy.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Ooy. Ooy.’
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Yes! Yes!
 ‘And [the fire] said, “Yes! Yes!”’

- 019 ikka kiinee ‘χooyi ka mana Orrootak kupi kupi!’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘χooy-i ka
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMP.SG and

mana Orroota-? kup-i kup-i!’
 house Orroota-GEN burn-IMP.SG burn-IMP.SG
 ‘And he said, “Come and burn Orroota’s house!”’
- 020 ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa ko?ti?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Orroota maana=i
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3

kod-t-i?’
 do-3F-PF
 ‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’
- 021 ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘talaá
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.’
 GEN Teentooli shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
 ‘And he said, “They refused to shoot Teentooli’s goats.”’
- 022 ikka kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘opa Teentooli
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentooli

maana=i kod-i-n?’
 what=3 do-PF-P
 ‘And he said, “What have Teentooli and his mates done?”’
- 023 ikka kiinee ‘jolinnaá Teekoolee passin.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘jolaá a
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá Teekoole=i pass-i-n.’
 child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
 ‘And he said, “He lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’
- 024 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘in=tiit-ay.’
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
 ‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

270

025 ikiine ikka a piḡaa? ḡopa keerayew.
i = kid-ni-e ikka a piḡaa-ʔ
3 = say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD and.3 GEN water-LOC

opa keer-ay-ew.
to run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
'And again, he ran to Water.'

026 'Piḡaa-y! Piḡaa-y!'
water-VOC.P Water-VOC.P
'Water! Water!'

027 ikka kiinee 'Ooy.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'Ooy!'
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
'And the water said "Yes!"'

028 innaá Teekooli ka kiinee 'ḡooyi ka Apitta liḡḡiḡi liḡḡiḡi!'
innaá a Teekooli ka
child.GEN GEN Teekoole and

kid-ni-e 'ḡooy-i ka
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMP.F.SG and

Apitta liḡḡ-f-i
fire extinguish-DCAUS-IMP.SG

liḡḡ-f-i!'
extinguish-DCAUS-IMP.SG
'And Teekoole's son said, 'Come and extinguish Fire!''

029 ikka kiinee 'Apitta maanaa koday?'
ikka kid-ni-e 'Apitta maana = i
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD fire what = 3

kod-ay?'
do-PF[3M]
'And the water said, "What has the fire done?"'

030 ikka kiinee 'tikoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'tika a
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD house GEN

Orrootá-ʔ kup-ya = i tiit-ay.'
Orroota-GEN burn-VN = 3 refuse-PF[3M]

‘And he said, “He refused to burn Orroota’s house.”’

- 031 *ikka kiinee* ‘Orroota maanaa ko?ti?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Orroota *maana=i*
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3

kod-t-i?

do-3F-PF

‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’

- 032 *ikka kiinee* ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘talaá
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.
 GEN Teentooli shoot-INF refuse-3F-PF

‘And he said, “He refused to shoot Teentooli’s son’s goats.”’

- 033 *ikka kiinee* ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘opa *Teentooli*
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS rich

maana=i kod-i-n?

what=3 do-PF-P

‘And he said, “What have Teentole and his mates done?”’

- 034 *ikka kiinee* ‘jolinnaá Teekoolee passjin.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘jolaá *a*
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá Teekooli=i pass-i-n.
 child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P

‘And he said, “They have lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

- 035 *ikka kiinee* ‘intiitay.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘*in=tiit-ay.*’
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
 ‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

- 036 *ikka keerew.*
ikka keer-ay-ew.
 and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
 ‘And he ran again.’

- 037 ‘Arpa! Arpa!’
Elephant! Elephant!
- 038 ikka kiinee ‘Oooy.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Oooy.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
‘And he said, “Yes!”’
- 039 ‘χooyi ka sirkan piḡaaḡ siiḡḡi siiḡḡi!’
χooy-i ka sirka-n Piḡaaḡ
come-IMP.SG and trunk-INST Water.ACC

siiḡḡ-i siiḡḡ-i!
take.a.sip-IMP.SG take.a.sip-IMP.SG
‘Come and sip up Water at once!’
- 040 ikka kiinee ‘Piḡaaḡ maanaa kodin?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Piḡaaḡ maana = i’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what = 3

kod-i-n?
do-PF-P
‘What has Water done?’
- 041 *ikka kiinee* ‘Apitta liḡḡissaa tiitin.’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Apitta’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

liḡḡ-f-ta = i *tiit-i-n.*
extinguish-DCAUS-INF = 3 refuse-PF-P
‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’
- 042 ‘Apitta maanaa koday?’
Apitta maana = i kod-ay?
Fire what = 3 do-PF[3M]
‘What has Fire done?’
- 043 ‘manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.’
mana a Orroota-? kup-ya = i tiit-ay.
house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN = 3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.’
- 044 ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa koḡti?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Orroota maana = i’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what = 3

kod-t-i?

do-3F-PF

‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’

045 ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’

ikka kid-ni-e ‘talaá

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.’

GEN Teentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF

‘And he said, “He has refused to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.”’

046 ikka kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?’

ikka kid-ni-e ‘opa Teentooli

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maana=i kod-i-n?’

what=3 do-PF-P

‘And he said, “What have Teentoole and his mates done?”’

047 ikka kiinee ‘jolinnaá Teekoolee passjin.’

ikka kid-ni-e ‘jolaá ?a

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá Teekooli=i pass-i-n.’

child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P

‘And he said, “They lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

048 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’

ikka kid-ni-e ‘in=tiit-ay.’

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]

‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

049 ikka a Kolalta? ?opa keerayew ka kiinee ‘Kolalta! Kolalta!’

ikka a Kolalta-? opa keer-ay-ew

and.3 GEN Acacia-LOC to run[SG]-PF[3M]-again

ka kid-ni-e ‘Kolalta! Kolalta!’

and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Acacia! Acacia!

‘And he ran to Acacia’s house, and said, “Acacia! Acacia!”’

050 ikka kiinee ‘ee!’

ikka kid-ni-e ‘ee!’

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes

‘And he said “Yes!”’

- 051 ‘*χooyi ka Arpa ġarap piʔi piʔi.*’
χooy-i ka Arpa ġara-ʔ
 come-IMP.SG and Elephant on-LOC

piʔ-i piʔ-i.
 fall-IMP.SG fall-IMP.SG
 ‘Come and fall on Elephant!’
- 052 *ikka kiinee ‘Arpa maanaa koday?’*
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Arpa maana=i
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant what=3

kod-ay?’
 do-PF[3M]
 ‘And he said, “What has Elephant done?”’
- 053 *ikka kiinee ‘sirkan piʃaa siiḅḅiyaa tiitay.’*
ikka kid-ni-e ‘sirka-n
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD trunk-INST

piʃaa siiḅḅ-ya=i tiit-ay.’
 water.ACC sip-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
 ‘He said, “He refused to sip up Water.”’
- 054 *ikka kiinee ‘Piʃaa maanaa kodin?’*
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Piʃaa maana=i kod-i-n?’
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what=3 do-PF-P
 ‘What has Water done?’
- 055 *ikka kiinee ‘Apitta liḅḅissaa tiitin.’*
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Apitta
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

liḅḅ-f-ta=i tiit-i-n.’
 extinguish-DCAUS-VN=3 refuse-PF-P
 ‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’
- 056 *ikka kiinee ‘Apitta maanaa koday?’*
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Apitta maana=i
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire what=3

kod-ay?’
 do-PF[3M]
 ‘And he said, “What has Fire done?”’

- 057 'manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.'
'mana a Orroota-? kup-iyaa=i tiit-ay.'
 house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
 'He has refused to burn Orroota's house.'
- 058 ikka kiinee 'Orroota maanaa ko?ti?'
ikka kid-ni-e 'Orroota maana=i kod-t-i?'
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3 do-3F-PF
 'And he said, "What have the Orroota done?"'
- 059 ikka kiinee 'talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'talaá'
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN
- a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.'*
 GEN Teentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
 'And he said, "He refused to shoot Teekoole's son's goats."'
- 060 ikka kiinee 'opa teentooli maanaa kodin?'
ikka kid-ni-e 'opa Teentooli'
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole
- maana=i kod-i-n?'*
 what=3 do-PF-P
 'And he said, "What have Teentoole and his mates done?"'
- 061 ikka kiinee 'jolinná Teekoolee passjin.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'jolaá a'
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN
- innaá Teekooli=i pass-i-n.'*
 child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
 'And he said, "They lost Teekoole's son's bag."'
- 062 ikka kiinee 'intiitay.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'in=tiit-ay.'
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]
 'And he said, "[Sorry] I am not coming."'
- 067 ikka keerayew.
ikka keer-ay-ew.
 and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
 'And he ran again.'

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068 'Kurfa! 'Kurfa!
Rat! Rat!'

069 ikka kiinee 'ee'
ikka kid-ni-e 'ee'
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 'yes!'
'And the rat said, "Yes!"'

070 'χooyi ka Kolalta kela hittinnaa ɕuuri ɕuuri!
'χooy-i ka Kolalta kela-a hittinnaa
come-IMP.SG and Acacia under-LOC roots

ɕuur-i ɕuur-i!
cut[PL]-IMP.SG cut[PL]-IMP.SG
'Come and cut roots from Acacia!'

071 ikka kiinee 'Kolalta maanaa koday?
ikka kid-ni-e 'Kolalta maana = i
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Acacia what = 3

kod-ay?
do-PF[3M]
'And he said, "What has Acacia done?"'

072 ikka kiinee 'Arpa ɕarap pi?iyaa tiitay.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'Arpa ɕara-?
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant on-LOC

pi?-iya = i tiit-ay.'
fall-INF = 3 refuse-PF[3M]
'And he said, "He has refused to fall on Elephant."'

073 ikka kiinee 'Arpa maanaa koday?
ikka kid-ni-e 'Arpa maana = i
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant what = 3

kod-ay?
do-PF[3M]
'And he said, "What has Elephant done?"'

074 ikka kiinee 'sirka Piɕaá siiɕɕiyaa tiitay.'
ikka kid-ni-e 'sirka-n
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD trunk-INST

- Piſaa* *ſii66-ya=i* *tiit-ay.*
water.ACC sip-INF = 3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He said, “He refused to sip Water.”’
- 075 *ikka kiinee ‘Piſaa maanaa kodin?’*
ikka kid-ni-e *‘Piſaa maana=i* *kod-i-n?’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what = 3 do-PF-P
‘What has Water done?’
- 076 *ikka kiinee ‘Apitta li66issaa tiitin.’*
ikka kid-ni-e *‘Apitta*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

li66-f-ta=i *tiit-i-n.*
extinguish-DCAUS-INF = 3 refuse-PF-P
‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’
- 077 *ikka kiinee ‘Apitta maanaa koday?’*
ikka kid-ni-e *‘Apitta maana=i kod-ay?’*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire what = 3 do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Fire done?”’
- 078 *‘manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.’*
‘mana a Orroota-? kup-iyaa=i *tiit-ay.’*
house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN = 3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.’
- 079 *‘Orroota maanaa ko?ti?’*
‘Orroota maana=i *kod-t-i?’*
Orroota what = 3 do-3F-PF
‘[And he said,] “What has Orroota done?”’
- 080 *ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’*
ikka kid-ni-e *‘talaá*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.
GEN Teentoole shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “He refused to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.”’
- 081 *ikka kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodin?’*
ikka kid-ni-e *‘opa Teentooli*
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maana=i kod-i-n?
 what=3 do-PF-P
 ‘And he said, “What have Teentoole and his mates done?”’

082 *ikka kiinee ‘jolinnaá Teekoolee paffin.’*
ikka kid-ni-e jolaa a
 and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innaá Teekooli=i paff-i-n.’
 child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
 ‘And he said, “They lost the Teekole’s son’s bag.”’

083 ‘intiitay.’
 ‘in=tiit-ay.’
 I=refuse-PF[3M]
 ‘[And he said,] “I refuse to come.”’

084 *ikka keer-ay-ew.*
 and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
 ‘He ran again.’

085 *Alla?itta! Alla?itta!*
 Vulture! Vulture!

086 ‘*χooy-i ka Kurja day-i day-i!*’
 come-IMP.SG and rat hit-IMP.SG hit-IMP.SG
 ‘Come and hit Rat!’

087 *oore alla?ittasi? ʔa olkela ankaassadin male Tapaytasid dawtaf dʷay.*
oore alla?itta-si? a ol-kela
 then crow-DEF.M/F concerning each.other-under

in=kaassad-in male Tapayta-si?
 3NEG=ask-NEG without Rat-DEF.M/F

daw-ta-ʔ dɔy-ay
 hit-VN-DAT jump-PF[3M]
 ‘Then, without asking what happened, the Vulture flew to hit Rat.’

088 *Tapayta ka χaʔaday ka Kolalta kelaa hittinnaa ʕuuriyaa paayyay.*
Tapayta ka χaʔad-ay ka Kolalta
 Rat and run-PF[3M] and Acacia

kela-a hittinnaa ʕuur-iyaa=i
 under-LOC roots cut[PL]-INF=3

paayy-ay.

start-PF[3M]

‘[Then] the rat ran and started cutting the Acacia’s roots.’

- 089 **Kolalta tammaḡay ka Arpa ḡarpa.**
Kolalta tammaḡ-ay ka Arpa
 Acacia be.afraid-PF[3M] and Elephant
ḡara-opa.
 on-to
 ‘Acacia was afraid and began falling on Elephant ’
- 090 **ikiinee Arpa ka Piḡaa siiḡḡiyaapa.**
i = kiḡ-ni-e Arpa ka Piḡaa
 3 = say-IPF.PRES Elephant and Water
siiḡḡ-iyaa-opa.
 sip-VN-to
 ‘It is said that Elephant began going to sip Water.’
- 091 **Piḡaa ka Apitta liḡḡissaapa.**
Piḡaa ka Apitta liḡḡ-f-taa-opa
 Water and fire extinguish-DCAUS-to
 ‘And Water [ran] to extinguish Fire.’
- 092 **Apitta ka manoorrootak kupiyaapa.**
Apitta ka mana a Orrootá-? kup-iyaa-opa
 Fire and house GEN Orrota-GEN burn-VN-to
 ‘And Fire [ran] to burn Orrota’s house.’
- 093 **Orrootak ka tallaá Teentooli pokiyaapa.**
Orroota-? ka tallaá Teentooli
 Orrota-NOM and goats.GEN Teentoole
pok-iyaa-opa
 shoot[PL]-VN-to
 ‘[Then] Orrota [ran] to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.’
- 094 **maanaa hasay oore?**
maana = i has-ay oore?
 what = 3 remain-PF[3M] then
 ‘What is left, then?’
- 095 **jolaá innaá Teekooli.**
jolaa a innaá Teekooli
 bag GEN child.GEN Teekoole
 ‘Teekoole’s son’s bag.’

096 oore innaá Teentooli ka jolaasinee innaá Teekooli daafin.

oore innaa a Teentooli ka
then child GEN Teentoole and

jolaa-sini? a innaa Teekooli daaf-i-n.
bag-DEF.P GEN child Teekoole give-PF-P
'Then, Teentoole's son gave back Teekoole's son's bag.'

097 oore innaá Teekooli ka jolaadi gfeedadin.

oore innaa a Teekooli ka
then child GEN Teekoole and

jolaa-di gfeed-ad-i-n.
bag-3SG.POSS.M/F take-MID-PF-P
'Then Teekoole's son took back his bag.'

098 ayi gara?ee dikkanni torroosini.

aye gara-?=i dikkad-ni torraa-oosini?.
here on-LOC=3 finish-IPF.PRES story-DEM.P
'It is here that this story ends.'

14.2. Text 2: Ahta a Lammootá? A Second Wife

- 001 *χ*attaa kiini ka, aappaa tokkakka ahawwaa lakkii faday.
*χ*atta=*i* *kid-ni* *ka,* *aappaa*
 long.time.ago=3 say-IPF.PRES and husband
- tokka-ikka* *ahawwaa* *lakki=i fad-ay.*
 one.M-and.3 wives two=3 marry-PF[3M]
 ‘A long time ago, there was a man who took two wives.’
- 002 oo ahawwaa lakki faday, ahta paayyutaa ito?ti.
oo *ahawwaa* *lakki* *fad-ay,* *ahta*
 when wives two marry-PF[3M] wife
- a* *paayyuta* *i=toy-t-i.*
 GEN first 3 = die-3F-PF
 ‘Of the two wives, the first wife died.’
- 003 oo to?ti ooreeyye, ahta lammattak kuyya?ta takkaayye
oo *toy-t-i* *oore-eyye* *ahta* *a*
 when die-3F-PF then-BKGRD wife GEN
- lammatta-?* *kuyya?ta* *takka-eyye* *luGǵisa=i*
 second-GEN day one-BKGRD leather.skirt=3
- pidǵ-t-i.*
 buy-3F-PF
 ‘When she [the first wife] died, one day the second wife bought a leather skirt.’
- 004 luGǵisa kideeta uwwaa parraa χattaayyee a χattaateeyyee akata kokkookaa.
luGǵisa *kid-eeta uwwaa* *parraa*
 leather.skirt say-INF skirt years
- a* *χatta-ayyee* *akata* *kokkook-aa?*
 GEN long.time.ago-BKGRD very strong-P
 ‘Many years ago leather skirt meant an expensive skirt.’
- 005 ee luGǵisasip pidǵiti oorineeyye, maanaa ko?ti, tuparraa maanaa ko?ti, tuparraa lakkee piǵaa? ǵerkiti.

ee luggisa-si? pidde-t-i oore-neeyye
 when leather.skirt-DEF.M/F buy-3F-PF then-BKGRD

maana=i kod-t-i tuparraa
 what=3 do-3F-PF girls

lakki=i pifaa-? erk-t-i
 two=3 water-DAT send-3F-PF
 ‘When she bought the leather skirt, “what did she do?” She sent two girls to fetch water.’

- 006 *takka? ?enanta yaadi.*
takka-? enanta yaadi.
 one.F-NOM girl 3SG.POSS.M/F
 ‘One was her daughter.’

- 007 *takka? ?enanta aayyaasinit to?te.*
takka-? enanta a aayyaa-sini?
 one.F-NOM girl GEN mother-DEF.P

toy-t-i-?
 die-3F-PF-GEN
 ‘[And] one was a daughter of the deceased mother.’

- 008 *ee pifaa? ?anniyaaneeyye, maanaa ko?ti enantaadik kulpa a feyyaa?*
?erkti ka enantase aayyaasinit to?te, maanaa ko?ti ?igeetti kaa kulpaadi
diddiptannee diddiptanne oppa gu?ti.

ee pifaa-? an-ni-yaan-eyye maana=i
 when water-DAT go-IPF.PRES-3PL-BKGRD what=3

kod-t-i enanta-adi-? kulpa
 do-3F-PF girl-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT calabash

a feyy-aa ? erk-t-i ka enanta-se
 GEN well-P send-3F-PF and girl-DEF.M/F

a aayyaa-sini? toy-t-i maana=i
 GEN mother-DEF.P die-3F-PF what=3

kod-t-i i=gheed-t-i ka=i
 do-3F-PF 3=take-3F-PF and=3

kulpa-adi diddipta-nn=i
 calabash-3SG.POSS.M/F needle-INST=3

oppa cfud-t-i.

into pierce.PL-3F-PF

‘When they [the girls] were to go to fetch water, what she [the second wife] did was give her daughter a calabash without holes but she pierced holes in calabash of the daughter of the deceased mother.’

- 009 oo kulpallaasiniḡ ḡuḡti kammaayyee, enantase a lammitteetak kirrup-pupa iḡanti iḡanti ka piḡaasini? ḡoraapni ka oo immaktu ka ela ḡeetto, kammannee allit tuttuḡmanni.

oo kulpallaa-sini? cfud-t-i kammaa-yyee,
when calabashes-DEF.P pierce-3F-PF after-BKGRD

enanta-si a lammitteeta-? kirra-oppupa
girl-DEF.M/F GEN second.wife-GEN reiver-into

i = an-t-i ka piḡaa-sini oraap-ni
3 = go-3F-PF and water-DEF.P fetch-IPF.PRES

ka oo immak-t-u ka dēla ḡeed-t-o,
and when fill-3F-DP and up take-3F-DP

kamma-nn = i alli? tut-tuḡmad-ni.

behind-PATH = 3 away PL-spill-IPF.PRES

‘The girl fetched the water and when she filled the calabashes and took them up, the calabashes leaked water from underneath.’

- 010 inansiḡ ḡaadi ooreeyye kulpallaadi iḡimmakatti ka ḡaḡatti ka tayti.

inanta-si? ḡaadi oore-eyye
girl-DEF.M/F 3SG.POSS.M/F then-BKG

kulpallaa-adi i = immak-ad-t-i ka
calabashes-3SG.POSS.M/F 3 = fill-MID-3F-PF and

ḡaḡad-t-i ka tay-t-i
run[SG]-3F-PF and go.away-3F-PF

‘Her daughter [however] filled her calabashes and ran and went away.’

- 011 ataakka? ḡikiitee ‘attan assi patta kala ka luḡḡisoosid dapa?’

ataakka-? i = kiḡ-t-i ‘atta = in assi
the.other.one-NOM 3 = say-3F-PF how = 1 like.this

patta kal-a ka luGʕisaa-osi?
only return.home-IPF.FUT and skin.skirt-DEM.M/F

dap-a?

lose-IPF.FUT

‘[And] the other said: “How can I go home without [fetching] water like this and lose the skin skirt?”’

- 012 Ka immakni inanta laʔayyuk ka yaalti yaalti ka ooreeyye kamma? ʔikka ʕarah halkeetaawti.

ka immak-ni inanta a laʔayyu-ʔ
and fill-IPF.PRES girl GEN someone’s-GEN

ka yaal-t-i yaal-t-i ka oore-eyye
and toil-3F-PF toil-3F-PF and then-BKGRD

kamma-ʔ ikka ʕara-ʔ halkeetaaw-t-i.
then-LOC and.then.3 on-LOC be.dawn-3F-PF
‘And the girl filled the calabashes again and again until it was dawn.’

- 013 ee halkeetaawti maanaa koʔti?

ee halkeetaaw-t-i maanaa kod-t-i?
when be.dawn-3F-PF what do-3F-PF

‘When it was dawn, what did she do?’

- 014 hotaarta a kirra kapad dehaye ca.

hotaarta a kirra kapa-ʔ deh-ay=i
acacia.sp REL river near-LOC sprout-3M=3

kiy-a.

be-IPF.FUT

‘There was an acacia tree near the river.’

- 015 hotaarsi? ʔoppaayye karkadaa ca.

hotaarta-si? oppaa-aayye karkadaa=i
acacia.sp-DEF.M/F BKGRD beehives=3

kiy-a

be-IPF.FUT

‘In the acacia tree there were beehives.’

- 016 ikka ʕoyrasi? ʔoppupa feyyatti ka karkaa ʕaraa kaysaa ela ʕapti.

ikka *ḡoyra-si?* *oppupa* *feyyad-t-i*
and.then.3 tree-DEF.M/F into climb.up-3F-PF

ka *karkaa* *ḡara-a* *kaysaa* *dēla*
and beehive on-DEST beehive.cover upward

ḡap-t-i.

hold-3F-PF

‘And then, she climbed the tree up and pulled the cover of one of the beehives up.’

017 *Ka otanta karkaa? ḡifu? ḡa kaysaak karam mukti.*

ka *otanta* *a* *karkaa-?* *ḡifu?*
and centre GEN beehive-GEN and

a *kaysaa-?* *kara-?* *muk-t-i.*
GEN beehive.cover-GEN in-LOC sleep-3F-PF

‘And then, she lay between the beehive and beehive cover.’

018 *ata a hotaartasi? ḡoppupa feyyannittooyee feyyannittooye karmaa ifeenna akkay.*

ata *a* *hotaarta-si?* *oppupa*
by.the.way when acacia.sp-DEF.M/F into

feyyad-ni-kit-t-o-yyee

climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-3F-IPF.FUT.DP-BKGRD

karmaa *ifeenna* *akk-ay.*
lion 3SGF.PRO[ACC] see-PF[3M]

‘A lion saw her when she was climbing up the tree.’

019 *ee mukteeyye, karmaasik ka aanay ka kiinee ‘Kela dēla karkaa ḡaraa dēla kaysaa. kaysaa. Maanaa otante poori poori? anaa ela dēnim kee ḡaa dēni?’*

ee *muk-t-i-eyye,* *karmaa-si?* *ka*
when sleep-3F-PF-BKGRD lion-DEF.M/F and

aan-ay *ka* *kid-ni=i* *‘kela-a*
go-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES=3 ‘under-LOC

dēla *karkaa* *ḡara-a* *dēla*
upward beehive on-LOC upward

kaysaa. *Maanaa* *otanta-e*
 beehive.cover what middle-BKGRD

poor-i *poor-i?*
 be.black-PF be.black-PF

ana-a *dēla* *dēy-ni-m*
 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF up.there come-IPF.PRES-or

ke-e *χaa* *dēy-ni?*
 2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF downward come-IPF.PRES
 ‘When she was asleep, the lion came and said, “Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you climb down?”’

- 020 *inantasi? ʔoppa oorinnin kittu.*
inanta-si? *oppa* *oor-f-ni=in*
 girl-DEF.M/F into return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES = 3NEG

kit-t-u.
 be-3F-NEG
 ‘[And] the girl does not respond.’

- 021 *karmaasikka amma oppa? ʔooray ka kiinee ‘Kela dēla karkaa ɕaraa dēla kaysaa. kaysaa. Maanaa ʔotante poori poori? anaa ela dēʔnim kee χaa dēʔni?’*

karmaa-si? *ka* *amma* *oppa-ʔ*
 lion-DEF.M/F and now into-LOC

oor-ay *ka* *kid-ni=i* *‘kela-a*
 return-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES = 3 ‘under-LOC

dēla *karkaa* *ɕara-a* *dēla*
 upward beehive on-LOC upward

kaysaa. *manaa* *otanta-e*
 beehive.cover what middle-BKGRD

poor-i *poor-i?*
 be.black-PF be.black-PF

ana-a *dēla* *dēy-ni-m*
 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF up.there come-IPF.PRES-or

ke-e *χaa* *dēy-ni?*
 2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF downward come-IPF.PRES
 ‘And the lion repeated saying, “Underneath is a beehive, above is a
 beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or
 you come down?”’

022 *inantasi?* *ʔumma oppa oorinnin kittu.*
inanta-si? *umma* *oppa*
 girl-DEF.M/F at.all into

oor-n-ni = in *kit-t-u.*
 return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES = 3NEG be-3F-NEG
 ‘The girl does not respond at all.’

023 *oore karmaasi?* *ʔiʔela feyyanniya inantasi? Gēediya ka dāmtaʔi*

oore *karmaa-si?* *i = dēla*
 then lion-DEF.M/F 3 = upward

feyyad-ni-kiy-a *inanta-si?* *Gēed-iyā*
 climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-IPF.FUT girl-DEF.M/F take-INF

ka *dām-ta-ʔ*
 and eat-VN-DAT
 ‘Then, the lion started climbing up in order to catch the girl and eat
 her.’

024 *inantasi?* *ʔoorinee ikiine ‘anaa χata dēʔni.’*
inanta-si? *oorine* *i = kid-ni*
 girl-DEF.M/F then 3 = say-IPF.PRES

‘ana-a *χata* *dēy-ni.’*
 ‘1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF down come-IPF.PRES
 ‘Then the girl said, “It’s me who is coming down.”’

025 *ee lekkatti oore karmaasi?* *ʔikiine ‘kin dāmam ana? Gēetta ka*
aʔʔektaawu piitan akkayin male irroota sakal ana haʔta ka a kundattati?
ʔana lekkissa?’

ee *lekkad-t-i* *oore* *karmaa-si?*
 when climb.down-3F-PF then lion-DEF.M/F

i = kid-ni *‘ke = in* *dām-a-m*
 3 = say-IPF.PRES 2SG.PRO.ACC = 1 eat-IPF.FUT-or

ana = i? *geed-t-a* *ka*
 1SG.PRO.ACC = 2 take-2-IPF.FUT and

a? = ekta-awu *piita-n*
 2NEG = tail-1SG.POSS.M/F ground-PATH

a? = kay-in *male* *irroota* *sakal*
 2NEG = reach-NEG REAS mountain nine

ana *haad-t-a* *ka* *a*
 1SG.PRO.ACC carry-2-IPF.FUT and GEN

kudan-ttati-? *ana*
 ten-ORD-GEN 1SG.PRO.ACC

lekkif-t-a?

step.down-2-IPF.FUT

‘When she climbed down, the lion said to the girl, “Shall I eat you (SG) or will you (SG) carry me over nine mountains without letting my tail touch the ground, and set me down on the tenth?”’

026 *ikka kiine ‘a? ?ana damtu kapaa irroota sakalin ki ki haada ka a kundattatik ki lekkiḥa.’*

ikka *kid-ni* *‘a = i?’* *ana*
 then.3 say-IPF.PRES concerning = 2 1SG.PRO.ACC

dam-t-u *kapa-a* *irroota* *sakal = in*
 eat-2-DP near-LOC mountain nine = 1

ke *haad-a* *ka* *a*
 2SG.PRO.ACC carry-IPF.FUT and GEN

kudan-ttati-? *ki*
 ten-ORD-GEN 2SG.PRO.ACC

lekkif-a.’

step.down-IPF.FUT

‘And then she said, “Instead of you (SG) eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and set you (SG) down on the tenth mountain.”’

027 *iḥeedḥaá ha?ti ha?ti ?inantasik ka irroota sakal tuullissi ka a kundattateeyye ḥila tokka kapa kayin karmaasi? ?ikiinee ‘ayikka tikaawoy ana lekkiḥi.’*

ifeedda=i *haad-t-i* *haad-t-i* *inanta-si?*
 then = 3 carry-3F-PF carry-3F-PF girl-DEF.M/F

ka *irroota* *sakal* *tuull-f-t-i* *ka*
 and mountain nine cross-DCAUS-3F-PF and

a *kudan-ttat-eeyye* *fila* *tokka* *kapa-a*
 GEN ten-ORD-BKGRD rock one.M near-LOC

kay-i-n *karmaa-si?* *i=kid-ni*
 reach-PF-P lion-DEF.M/F 3 = say-IPF.PRES

'ayikka *tika-awo-y*
 here.DEST house-1SG.POSS.M/F-BKGRD

ana *lekkif-i.'*
 1SG.PRO.ACC step.down-PF

'Then, the girl carried and carried the lion over nine mountains and on the tenth one near a rock, the lion said, "Let me down as my house is here."'

- 028 *ikka lekkissi.*
ikka lekkif-t-i
 and.3 step.down-3F-PF
 'And she let him down.'

- 029 *oo lekkisseeyye, karmaasii paayyay ka kiine 'filaaynu passannaa pas.'*

oo *lekkif-s-i-eeyye,* *karmaa-si?=i*
 when step.down-3F-PF = BKGRD lion-DEF.M/F = 3

paayy-ay *ka* *kid-ni* *'fila-aynu*
 start-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES rock-3PL.POSS.M/F

passad-naa *pas.'*
 detach-NMLZ IDEO

'When she let him down, the lion started saying, "O rock of ours be opened!"'

- 030 *filasik ka olkelaa 'pas' kiday.*
fila-si? *ka* *ol-kela=i* *'pas'* *kid-ay.*
 rock-DEF.M/F and together-under = 3 IDEO say-PF[3M]
 'And the rock opened at once.'

031 ikka kullin.

ikka kull-i-n

and.3 enter-PF-P

'And they went in.'

032 oo kullin kammaa ikka ifeenna dehammi ka kiinee "oon kutu ka kal-liyo, ikkiita?e 'xuutti xuutte xuutte xutte. ildaa xurpannaa xuutte xuutte. Mattan xuttaytoo xuutte, xuutte. Kuyyanta Gudaa ropa, ropa.'

<i>oo</i>	<i>kull-i-n</i>	<i>kammaaik</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ifeenna</i>
when	enter-PF-P	after-LOC	and.3	3SGF.PRO[ACC]

<i>deham-ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kid-ni</i>	<i>'oo = in</i>
advise-IPF.PRES	and	say-IPF.PRES	when = 1

<i>kut-u</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kal-ni-kiy-o,</i>
hunt-DP	and	enter-IPF.PRES-be-DP

<i>i? = kid-t-a-?</i>	<i>'xuutti xuutte xuutte xutte.</i>
2 = say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT	xuutti xuutte xuutte xutte.

<i>ildaa</i>	<i>xurpannaa</i>	<i>xuutte xuutte.</i>
eyes	logs	xuutte xuutte.

<i>Matta-n</i>	<i>xutt-ayt-oo</i>	<i>xuutte, xuutte.</i>
head-INST	be.big-AGENT-VOC	xuutte xuutte

<i>Kuyyanta</i>	<i>ɕudā = i</i>	<i>rop-a,</i>	<i>rop-a.'</i>
day	on.side = 3	rub-IPF.FUT	rub-IPF.FUT

'After entering, the lion advised her and said to her, "When I go hunting and come home, you should say [sing] 'xuutti xuutte xuutte xutte. Big-eyed xuutte xuutte. Big-headed xuutte xuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.'"

033 anti? ?anka kidaa 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fangallaa faayo, faayo. Kasaraa faffaanaa faayo faayo. Soysa faffajaa faayo faayo.'

<i>anti-?</i>	<i>an = ka</i>	<i>kid-a</i>	<i>'Faayu</i>
1SG.PRO-NOM	1 = and	say-IPF.FUT	'Faayu

<i>faayo, faayo, faayo.</i>	<i>ildaa</i>	<i>fangallaa</i>
faayo, faayo, faayo.	eyes	splinters

<i>faayo, faayo.</i>	<i>Kasaraa</i>	<i>faffaanaa</i>	<i>faayo</i>
faayo, faayo.	braids	handful	faayo

faayo. Soysa faffaf-aa faayo faayo.
 faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ faayo, faayo

‘And I will say, “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo.”’

034 *ka assi olli kidin ka olli kalin.*
ka assi olli-? kid-i-n
 and like.this e ach.other-DAT say-PF-P

ka olli-? kal-i-n
 and each.other-DAT agree-PF-P
 ‘They said this to each other, and agreed with each other.’

035 *oo olli kalin kammaayye, karmaasik kutaymaasiniti?ee aanay.*
oo olli-? kal-i-n
 when each.other-DAT agree-PF-P

kamma-a-yye, karmaa-si?
 after-LOC-BKGRD lion-DEF.M/F

kut-anaa-siniti?=i ?aan-ay
 hunt-NMLZ-DEF.PL=3 go-PF[3M]
 ‘After making the agreement, the lion went hunting.’

036 *Ka oo kutanaasinik kela kalliyo karmaasik ka tika kapa kayay, ipaayyay ka kiinee ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fang’allaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faffafaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faffaanaa faayo faayo’.*

ka ?oo kut-anaa-sin? kela
 and when.3 hunt-NMLZ-DEF.P under

kal-ni-kiy-o karmaa-si? ka
 return.home-IPF.PRES-be-DP lion-DEF.M/F and

tika kapa kay-ay, i=paayy-ay ka
 house near reach-PF[3M] 3=start-PF[3M] and

kid-ni ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo.
 say-IPF.PRES ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo.

ildaa fang’allaa faayo, faayo. Kasaraa faffaanaa
 eyes splinters faayo, faayo. braids handful

faayo faayo. Soysa faffaf-aa faayo faayo.
 faayo faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ faayo, faayo
 ‘And when the lion was coming from hunting, and reached near the house, he started saying, “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo.”’

- 037 *kamma?* *ʔinantasik ka tika karaa desa paayyitew ka kiine* ‘*χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. ildaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɕudaa ropa, ropa*’.

kamma-ʔ inanta-siʔ ikka tika kara-a
 after-LOC 3SGF.PRO-DEF.M/F and.3 house in-LOC

desa paayy-t-i-w ka kid-ni ‘*χuutti*
 from start-3F-PF-again and say-IPF.PRES χuutti

χuutte χutte χuutte ildaa χurpannaa
 χuutte χuutte χutte. eyes logs

χuutte χuutte. Matta-n χutt-ayt-o
 χuutte χuutte. head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC

χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɕuda=i
 χuutte χuutte day on.side=3

rop-a, rop-a.
 rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT

‘And after that from inside the house, the girl started saying, “χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.”’

- 038 *Kammak karmaasij* ‘*ʔilaaynu passannaa pasee*’ *kiday.*

kamma-ʔ karmaa-siʔ ‘*ʔila-aynu*
 after-LOC lion-DEF.M/F rock-1PL.POSS.M/F

passad-naa pas=i ‘*kid-ay.*
 detach-NMLZ IDEO=3 say-PF[3M]
 ‘After that, the lion said “O rock of ours be opened!”’

- 039 *ʔilasikka panamay ikka kullay.*

ʔila-siʔ ikka pan-am-ay ikka kull-ay
 rock-DEF.M/F and.3 open-PAS-PF[3M] and.3 enter-PF[3M]
 ‘And the door opened and then he went in.’

- 040 oo kullay kammaa ?ikidaye ‘jilaaynu lu66anna lu6!’
oo kull-ay kamma-a i=kid-ay-e
 when enter-PF[3M] after-LOC 3 = say-PF[3M]-BKGRD
 ‘*jila-aynu lu66-anna lu6!*’
 rock-1PL.POSS.M/F IDEO-NMLZ IDEO
 ‘After entering, he said, ‘O rock or ours be closed!’’
- 041 Oore filasikka dufamay
oore fila-si?-ikka duf-am-ay
 then rock-DEF.M/F-and.3 shut-PAS-PF[3M]
 ‘Then the rock closed.’
- 042 ka oore waasinee kutaye ka leyfaye ka ifan kalaye seni laatak ko?ni ka dammi.
ka oore waasini? a kut-ay-e
 and then thing REL hunt-PF[3M]-BKGRD
ka leyf-ay-e ka
 and kill[PL]-PF[3M]-BKGRD and
ifa-n kal-ay-e
 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST return.home-PF[3M]-BKGRD
seni laata-? kod-ni ka dam-ni.
 these food-DAT do-IPF.PRES and eat-IPF.PRES
 ‘And then, she prepares the things he hunted and brought home for food and they eat.’
- 043 kuyya?ta takkaayye, oo ifak kutaymaa? ?aanayeeyye, innaasuk ka ?irroosiG Garpa horeeta dawwin.
kuyya?ta takka-ayye, oo
 day one.M-BKGRD when.3
ifa-? kut-aymaa-? aan-ay-eeyye,
 3SGM.PRO-NOM hunt-NMLZ-DAT go-PF[3M]-BKGRD
innaa-su? ka irroota-si? Garpa
 child-3POSS.P and mountain-DEF.M/F onto
horeeta daww-i-n
 cattle herd-PF-P
 ‘One day, after he [the lion] went hunting, her [girl’s] brother herded cattle onto the mountain.’

- 044 innaasinik ka oorine filasiχ χaayfuG ɕaraaxaa ɕeeday ka sindaa sindaaway.

innaa-sini? *ka* *oorine* *fila-si?* *χaayfu?*
child-DEF.P and then rock-DEF.M/F their

ɕaraaxa=i *sindaa* *sindaaw-i-n.*
from.top.donwards=3 urine urinate-PF-P
'And then, the boy urinated on top of the rock [and the urine flowed down].'

- 045 oore inantasi? ?ipaayyitee kiini ka kiine 'Maanaa sindaa innaanno? ?innaanno? ?alaawni alaawni?'

oore *inanta-si?* *i=paayy-t-i-e* *kid-ni*
then girl-DEF.M/F 3 = start-3F-PF-BKGRD say-IPF.PRES

ka *kid-ni* *'Maana=i* *sindaa* *a*
and say-IPF.PRES what = 3 urine GEN

innaa-nnó-? *a* *innaa-nnó-?*
child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN

alaaw-ni?
smell-IPF.PRES
'And then the girl started saying, "What is it that smells like my brother's urine?"'

- 046 inatasik ka oppa? ?oorri ka kiinee 'Maanaa sindaa innaanno? innaanno? alaawni, alaawni, alaawni?'

inata-si? *ka* *oppa-?* *oor-ni* *ka*
girl-DEF.M/F and into-LOC return-IPF.PRES and

kid-ni-e *'Maana=i* *sindaa* *?a*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what = 3 urine GEN

innaa-nnó-? *a* *innaa-nnó-?*
child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN

alaaw-ni, *alaaw-ni,* *alaawni?'*
smell-IPF.PRES smell-IPF.PRES smell-IPF.PRES
'And the girl repeats saying, "What is it that smells like my brother's urine?"'

- 047 ifak ka lokkoote filasiɓ ɓaraaya dakkaysanee kiini ka kiinee
‘inim maanaa nesa ɓarooti ɣannok kiini kiini?’
- ifa-ʔ* *ka* *lokkoote* *fila-siʔ*
3SGM.PRO-NOM and slowly rock-DEF.M/F
- ɓaraaya* *dakkaysad-ni-e*
from.on.downwards listen-IPF.PRES-BKGRD
- kid-ni* *ka* *kid-ni-e* ‘*iniʔ*
say-IPF.PRES and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD this
- maana = i* *nessa* *ɓarooti* *ɣanno-ʔ*
what = 3 voice ɓarooti 1PL.POSS-GEN
- kid-ni* *kid-niʔ*
say-IPF.PRES say-IPF.PRES
‘He [the boy] was listening carefully from the rock downwards and
then said “What is it that sounds like our ɓarootee’s voice?”’
- 048 ikka filasiɓ ɓudaaya lokkoo lekkaday ka nessesid dakkaysanni.
ikka *fila-siʔ* *ɓudaaya* *lokkoo*
and.then.3 rock-DEF.M/F from.side.downwards slowly
- lekkad-ay* *ka* *nessa-siʔ*
climb.down-PF[3M] and voice-DEF.M/F
- dakkaysad-ni.*
listen-IPF.PRES
‘Then, he slowly climbed down the rock and listened to the voice.’
- 049 oo dakkaysanniyo asu nesa ɓarootee pahta.
oo *dakkaysad-ni-yo* *asu* *nessa* *a*
when.3 listen-IPF.PRES-3SGM just voice GEN
- ɓarooti = i* *pah-t-a*
ɓarootee = 3 resemble-3F-IPF.FUT
‘While he was listening, it was just like ɓarootee’s voice.’
- 050 ikka paayyay ka kiinee ‘ɓarootee! Kee ay karaa caa?’
ikka *paayy-ay* *ka* *kid-ni-e*
and.then.3 start-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

- 'Garooto! Ke-e aye kara-a kiy-a-a?'*
 ġarooto! 2SG.PRO.ACC here inside-CLF be-IPF.FUT-Q
 'And then, he started saying "Ġarootte! Is it you inside here?"'
- 051 *ifeennak ka kiine 'Haa? ?innaannu anaa aykara ca.'*
ifeenna-? ka kid-ni-e
 3SGF.PRO-NOM and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

'Haa? innaa-nnu ana-a
 you.know child-1PL.POSS.P 1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF

aykara kiy-a.'
 herein be-IPF.FUT
 'She then said, "You know our son, it is me who is in here."'
- 052 *ikka 'filaaynu passanna pas' kiiti*
ikka 'fila-aynu passad-na pas'
 and.then.3 rock-1PL.POSS.M/F detach-NMLZ IDEO

kid-t-i
 say-3F-PF
 'And then, she said "O rock of ours be opened!"'
- 053 *filasikka 'pas kiday'*
fila-si?-ka 'pas kid-ay'
 rock-DEF.M/F-and IDEO say-PF[3M]
 'And the rock got open.'
- 054 *ikka karaa sookti.*
ikka kara=i sook-t-i
 and.then.3 in = 3 exit-3F-PF
 'And the she came out.'
- 055 *ikka kiine 'maana? ?aye kooni?'*
ikka kid-ni-e 'maana=i?'
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what = 2

aye kod-ni?'
 here say-IPF.PRES
 'And then, he said "What are you doing here?"'
- 056 *ikka kiine 'Ha awsee aayyaag Ġeetti ka luġĠisa pidditeeyye anka piġaa? ?anninnooyye, ifeenna? ?iĠeetti ka kulpaawuppah hooffaa Ġu?ti ka inantaadi? a feyyaád daassi.*

ikka *kid-ni-e* *'Ha*
and.then.3 say-IPF.FUT-BKGRD you.know

awsee *aayyaa-?* *ɕeed-t-i ka* *luɕɕis a*
that.time mother-NOM take-3F-PF and skin.skirt

pidɕ-t-i-eyye *anka* *pifaa-?*
buy[SG]-3F-PF-BKGRD and.then.1 water-DAT

aan-ni-nno-eyye, *ifeenna-?*
go-IPF.PRES-1PL-BKGRD 3SGF.PRO-NOM

i = ɕeed-t-i *ka* *kulpa-awu*
3 = take-3F-PF and calabash-1SG.POSS.M/F

oppa-? *hooffaa* *ɕud-t-i* *ka*
into-LOC holes pierce-3F-PF and

inanta-adi-? *a* *feyy-aa?* *ɕaaf-t-i.*
girl-3POSS.M/F-DAT REL be.well-P give-3F-PF
'And she said, "You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition."'

057 *ifeettaá ?inantaadi ɕeetti ka dettow ?oraapatti ka tayti.*

ifeettaá *inanta-adi* *ɕeed-t-i* *ka*
then girl-3SG.POSS.M/F take-3F-PF and

dettow *oraap-ad-t-i* *ka* *tay-t-i*
on.time fetch-MID-3F-PF and go.away-3F-PF
'That is why her daughter fetched water quickly and headed home soon.'

058 *ɕayya anka oraapni ka oraapni umma immakaannincan.*

ɕayya *anka* *oraap-ni* *ka*
mine and.then.1 fetch-IPF.PRES and

oraap-ni *umma*
fetch-IPF.PRES INTENSF.NEG

immak-aad-ni = in-kiy-a-n.

fill-INCH-IPF.PRES = 3NEG-be-IPF.FUT-P

'And I was pouring water into my calabashes again and again but they were not filling up.'

058 anka issik kiine ‘Kaata maanin assi patta kala ka luḡḡisoosid dāpa?’

anka *issi-ʔ* *kiḡ-ni-e*
and.then.1 self-DAT say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘*Kaata* *maanaʔ=in* *assi* *patta*
but why=1 like.this only

ka-l-a *ka* *luḡḡisa-siʔ*
return.home-IPF.FUT and skin.skirt-DEF.M/F

dāp-aʔ

lose-IPF.FUT

‘And, I said to myself “But why should I go home without the water and lose the skin skirt?”’

059 anka oraapni ka oraapni umma immakaannincan.

anka *oraap-ni* *ka* *oraap-ni*
and.then.1 fetch-IPF.PRES and fetch.water-IPF.PRES

umma *immak-aad-ni=in-kiy-a-n.*

INTENSF.NEG fill-INCH-IPF.PRES = 3NEG-be-IPF.FUT-P

‘And I was pouring water into my calabashes but they would not fill up’

060 oore letta ka oppad dumti.

oore *letta* *ka* *oppa-ʔ* *dum-t-i*
then sky and into-LOC sun.down-3F-PF

‘Then, the sun went down.’

061 anka ḡeeday ka hotaartuppupa feyyaday.

anka *ḡeed-ay* *ka* *hotaarta-oppupa*
and.then.1 take-PF[3M] and acacia.sp.-into

feyyad-ay.

climb.up-PF[3M]

‘And the I climbed up acacia tree.’

062 Ka kaysaa ela ḡapay ka karkaa ifuk kaysaasini? ʔotanta karam mukay.

Ka *kaysaa* *dēla* *ḡap-ay* *ka* *karkaa*
and beehive.cover upward hold-PF[3M] and beehive

ifuʔ *kaysaa-siniʔ* *otanta* *kara-ʔ*
and beehive.cover-DEF.P middle inside-LOC

muk-ay

sleep-PF[3M]

‘And I pulled a beehive cover up and was lying between a beehive and the cover.’

- 063 ifeeddaa oorine karmaa ana akkay ka deyyay ka kiine ‘Kin damam irroota sakali? ?anan anta ka a kundattati? ?ana lekkissa?’

ifeeddaa *oorine* *karmaa* *ana*
then then lion 1SG.PRO.ACC

akk-ay *ka* *deyy-ay* *ka*
see-PF[3M] and come-PF[3M] and

kid-ni-e ‘*Ke=in*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 2SG.PRO.ACC=1

dām-a-m *irroota* *sakali=i?*
eat-IPF.FUT-or mountain nine=2

ana-n *aan-t-a* *ka* *a*
1SG.PRO.ACC-INST go-2-IPF.FUT and GEN

kudan-ttati-? *ana*
ten-ORD-GEN 1SG.PRO.ACC

lekkif-t-a?’
step.down-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT

‘And then a lion saw me and came and said: “Shall I climb up or you come down and carry me over nine mountains and let me down on the tenth?”’

- 064 anka kidee ‘a? ?ana damtu kapaa irroota sakalin kin aana ka a kundattatik ki lekkija.’

an=ka *kid-ay-e* ‘*a?* *ana*
1=and say-PF[3M]-BKGD that.2 1SG.PRO.ACC

dām-t-u *kapa-a* *irroota* *sakal=in*
eat-2-DP near-LOC mountain nine=1

ke=in *aan-a* *ka* *a*
2SG.PRO.ACC=1 go-IPF.FUT and GEN

kund-atta-ti-? *ki* *lekkif-a.’*
ten-ORD-?-LOC 2SG.PRO.ACC put.down-IPF.FUT

‘And then, I said, “Instead of you eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and put you (SG) down on the tenth.”’

- 065 oore ifeeddaa awsitee desa paayatte olin aye kalan.
oore ifeeddaa awsitee desa paay-ad-t-i
 then that from.that.day start-MID-3F-PF

ollin aye kal-a-n
 togetherhere live-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘It was then from that day onwards that they began living together here.’

- 066 ikka kiine ‘Kuli? ?inantaaynu aytamut tikupa de?ta ka inu tooyita?’
ikka kid-ni-e ‘Kuli?’
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD later

inanta-aynu aytamu = i? tika-opa
 girl-1PL.POSS.M/F when = 2 house-to

dey-t-a ka inu tooy-t-a?’
 come-3F-IPF.FUT and 1PL.PRO[ACC] look-3F-IPF-FUT
 ‘And he said, “So, sister, when will you come home and visit us?”’

- 067 ifeeddaa ollix ?ooraa ?apin ikka pottaata ifad daassi ika ifan kalay.
ifeeddaa oll-i-? ?ooraa ?ap-i-n
 that.3 together-DAT appointment hold-PF-P

ikka pottaata ifa-?
 and.then.3 pumpkin 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-DAT

daaf-t-i ikka ifa-n
 give-3F-PF and.then.3 3SGM.PRO.[ACC]-PATH

kal-ay.
 return.home-PF[3M]
 ‘So they made an appointment, and then she him a pumpkin and then he went home with it.’

- 068 innaasini? ?aayfu? ?oo tika kayin itoolak kiine ‘Ha? ?awwi ?arooti ?annun akkay.’

innaa-sini? ?aayfu? oo tika kay-i-n
 child-DEF.P 3PL.POSS when house reach-PF-P

i = toola-? kid-ni-e ‘ Ha?’
 3 = family-DAT say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD you.know

awwi *ɕarooti* *ɕannu = in* *akk-ay.*
 today ɕarooti 1PL.POSS.SG/PL = 1 see-PF[3M]
 ‘When her brother arrived home, he said to his family, “You know,
 today, I saw our ɕarooti.”’

069 *aappaayfuk ka kiinee ‘eeɟ! ɕarootiɕ ɕattaw to?tey ayjaayyee*
kitta akka ɕarooti maanat torrini.’

aappaa-ayfu? *ka* *kid-ni-e*
 father-3PL.POSS.M/F and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘eeɟ! ɕarooti-? *ɕatta-w*
 IDEO ɕarooti-NOM long.time.ago-already

toy-t-i-y *ayfa* *a-yye = i* *kit-t-a*
 die-3F-PF-BKGRD where -LOC = i be-3F-IPF.FUT

akka ɕarooti ? *a* *maanaá = i?* *torr-ni.’*
 that.2 ɕaroot GEN what = 2 speak-IPF.PRES
 ‘His father said, “Keep quiet! ɕarooti passed away a long time, [and]
 where is she that you are talking about?”’

070 *ikka kiine ‘awwin iɕeenna akkayin kiini.’*

ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘awwi = in*
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ‘today = 1

iɕeenna *akk-ay = in* *kid-ni.’*
 3SGF.PRO[ACC] see-PF[3M] = 1 say-IPF.PRES
 ‘And he said, “I am saying that I saw her today.”’

071 *ikka kiine ‘ayfa?i?’*

ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘ayfa-?i?’*
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD where-LOC
 ‘And they said “Where?”’

072 *ikka kiine ‘ɕila tokka ɕaraaɕan sindaa sindaawin ka ikka kiine*
‘Maanaa sindaa ?innaannó? ?innaannó? ?alaawin alaawin?’

ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘ɕila tokka*
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD rock one.M/F

ɕaraaɕa = n *sindaa* *sindaaw = in* *ka* *ikka*
 on.downwards = 1 urine urinate = 1 and and.then.3

kid-ni-e *‘Maanaa* *sindaa* *a*
 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what urine GEN

- 076 Ka ‘jilaaynu passannaa pas’ kiiti.
Ka ‘*jila-aynu* *passad-na* *pas’ kid-t-i*.
 and rock-1PL.POSS.M/F detach-NMLZ IDEO say-3F-PF
 ‘And ‘O rock of ours be opened!’ she said.’
- 077 filasik ka panamay ikka karaa sookti ka akkaa aypa anti piisa
 ant torrity ka anka kuyya?taa oppaayye tikupa de?tu kuli ollig
 c?apni.’
- jila-si?* *ka* *pan-am-ay* *ikka*
 rock-DEF.M/F and open-PASS-PF[3M] and.then.3
- kara-a* *sook-t-i ka* *akka=i*
 in.LOC exit-3F-PF and.that=3
- aye-opa* *an-t-i* *piisa* *an-?*
 here-to go-3F-PF all 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT
- torr-t-i* *ka* *anka* *kuyya?ta=i* *a*
 speak-3F-PF and and.then.1 day=3 that
- oppaa-yye* *tika-opa* *dey-t-u* *kuli* *olli-?*
 in-BKGRD house-to come-3F-DP also together-DAT
- c?ap-n-i.*
 hold-1PL-PF
 ‘And the rock got opened and she came out of hiding and told me how
 she ended up there. And then we set an appointment for her to come
 over and visit us here.’
- 078 oore kuyya?tasik kayti ka toolasik ka tikaayfuh harmisa?ay.
oore *kuyya?ta-si?* *kay-t-i* *ka*
 and.then day-DEF.M/F reach-3F-PF and
- toola-si?* *ka* *tika-ayfu?*
 family-DEF.M/F and house-1PL.POSS.M/F
- harmif-ac-ay*
 prepare-MID-PF[3M]
 ‘When the appointment day came closer, the family prepared their
 house [to receive their girl].’
- 079 c?arootig c?ootaa aappaadi ayen kinnin malla a de?na? xa?nittooyye
 ipaayyiti ka kiine ‘attan tika patta ayid diifa?’

ɕarooti-ʔ *ɕoota=i* *aappaa-adi* *aye=in*
 ɕarooti-NOM that=3 husband-3POSS.MF here=3NEG

kit-ni-n *malla* *a* *dɛy-na-ʔ*
 be-IPF.PRES-NEG reason when come-NMLZ-DAT

ɕaʔ-ni-tto-oyye *i=paayy-t-i*
 rise-IPF.PRES-PROG-BKGRD 3=start-3F-PF

ka *kid-ni-e* *'atta=in* *tika*
 and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD how=1 house

patta *aye-ʔ* *diif-a-ʔ*
 only here-LOC stop-IPF.FUT

'ɕarooti's husband was not at home and when she was about to start going to her parent's house, she said "How can I leave the house without anybody inside?"'

- 080 *Ka* *ɕeetti* *ka* *sookti* *ka* *raaka* *takka* *ɕilasix* *ɕaayɕuk* *kapaayye* *ɕoraa*
 ɕoroonnitu akkiti *ka* *anti* *ka* *dɛhamti*.

Ka *ɕeed-t-i* *ka* *sook-t-i* *ka* *raaka*
 and take-3F-PF and exit-3F-PF and old.woman

takka *ɕila-si-ʔ* *ɕaayɕu-ʔ* *kapa-ayye*
 one.F rock-DEF.M/F 3PL.POSS.M/F near-LOC

ɕoraa *ɕorood-ni-t-u* *akk-t-i*
 firewood collect.firewood-IPF.PRES-3F-DP see-3F-PF

ka *an-t-i* *ka* *dɛham-t-i*
 and go-3F-PF and advise-3F-PF

'And then she went out and found an old woman who was collecting firewood near their rock, and and she went over and advised her.'

- 081 *Ka* *oo* *aappaawu* *kalliyooyye* *ka* *kiiniyo* 'Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fangallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faffafaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa fajaanaa faayo faayo,' ikkiitaaʔe 'ɕuutti ɕuutte ɕuutte ɕutte. ildaa ɕurpannaa ɕuutte ɕuutte. Mattan ɕuttaytoo ɕuutte, ɕuutte. Kuyyanta ɕudaa ropa, ropa' kidi.

Ka *oo* *aappaawu*
 and when.3 husband-1SG.POSS.M/F

kal-ni-yo-oyye *ka*
 return.home-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD and

kid-ni-yo *'Faayo, faayo, faayo*
say-IPF.PRES-3SGM faayo, faayo faayo.

ildaa fanġallaa *faayo, faayo. Kasaraa*
eyes splinters faayo, faayo. braids

faffaanaa *faayo faayo. Soysa faffaf-aa*
handful faayo faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ

faayo faayo, ' *i?'=kid-t-a-?*
faayo, faayo 2 = say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT

'χuutti *χuutte χutte χuutte* *ildaa*
χuutti χuutte χutte χuutte eyes

χurpannaa *χuutte χuutte.* *Matta-n*
logs χuutte χuutte. head-INST

χutt-ayt-o *χuutte,* *χuutte.*
be.big-AGENT-VOC χuutte χuutte

Kuyyanta *ċudā=i* *rop-a,* *rop-a.'*
day on.side=3 rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT

'When my husband comes and says "Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo," you (SG) should say, "χuutti χuutte χuutte χutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the the daytime.'"

082 oo annittooyye, iġeetti ka hinkiikkataa pohatti ka pohatti ka poruppan
dela luukiyan hakaa tikasee χatta oppaa dalatti kaynittu?e Ġoffallaa is-
kamman dakkiti.

oo *aan-ni-tto-oyye,* *i = ċeed-t-i*
when.3 go-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGRD 3 = take-3F-PF

ka *hinkiikkata* *poh-ad-t-i* *ka*
and *hinkiikkata* pick-MID-3F-PF and

poh-ad-t-i *ka* *pora-oppa-n* *dela*
pick-MID-3F-PF and road-into-INST upwards

luuk-iyā-n *haka* *tika-se* *a*
eat.fruit-VN-PATH until house-DEF.M/F REL

χatta *oppa-a* *dal-ad-t-i*
 long.time.ago into-LOC beget-MID-3F-PF

kay-ni-ttu-ʔ=i *ɕoffallaa*
 reach-IPF.PRES-3SGF-LOC=3 skins

is-kamma-n *dakk-t-i.*
 self-after-PATH throw.PL-3F-PF
 ‘While she was going to her parents’ place, she picked lots of *hinkiik-
 kta* fruits and until she reached the place where she was born, she ate
 the fruits and dropped the skins behind her.’

083 oo tikan sookteeyee, toolaayfu? ʔalleeta kelapaa ifeenna kullifay ka
 kanta dāmtah haliyay.

ʔoo *tika-n* *sook-t-i-eyee,*
 when.3 house-PATH exit-3F-PF-BKGRD

toola-ayfu? *alleeta* *kela-opa=i*
 family-3PL.POSS.M/F hut under-to=3

ifeenna *kull-f-ay* *ka*
 3SGF.PRO[ACC] enter-DCAUS-PF[3M] and

kanta *dāmta-ʔ* *haliy-ay.*
 neighbours food-DAT call-PF[3M]
 ‘When she arrived, her parents had her enter into the hut and called the
 neighbours for food.’

084 Karmaasi? ʔoorine ikalay ka kiine ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa
 fanɕallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faffafaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faffaanaa
 faayo faayo.’

Karmaa-si? *oorine* *i=kal-ay*
 lion-DEF.M/F then 3 = return.home-PF[3M]

ka *kid-ni* *χuutti*
 and say-IPF.PRES χuutti

χuutte *χutte* *χuutte* *ildaa* *χurpannaa*
 χuutte χuutte χutte. eyes logs

χuutte *χuutte.* *Matta-n* *χutt-ayt-o*
 χuutte χuutte. head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC

χuutte, *χuutte.* *Kuyyanta* *ɕuda=i*
 χuutte χuutte day on.side=3

rop-a, rop-a.
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT

‘And then, the lion came home from hunting and said, “χουutti χουutte χουutte χutte. Big-eyed χουutte χουutte. Big-headed χουutte χουutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the the daytime.’

- 085 *Kammaayye, raakasik ka paayitew ka kiine* ‘χουutti χουutte χουutte χutte. *ildaa χurpannaa χουutte χουutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χουutte, χουutte. Kuyyanta* ḡudaa ropa, ropa.’

Kammaa-ayye raaka-si? ka
after-BKGRD old.woman-DEF.M/F and

paayy-t-i-ew ka kid-ni ‘χουutti
start-3F-PF-again and say-IPF.PRES χουutti

χουutte χutte χουutte ildaa χurpannaa
χουutte χουutte χutte. eyes logs

χουutte χουutte. Matta-n χutt-ayt-o
χουutte χουutte. head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC

χουutte, χουutte. Kuyyanta ḡuda=i
χουutte χουutte day on.side=3

rop-a, rop-a.
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT

‘And after that the old woman started saying [with a coarse voice], “χουutti χουutte χουutte χutte. Big-eyed χουutte χουutte. Big-headed χουutte χουutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.”’

- 086 *ikka paayyay ka kiine* ‘ee! awwi maanaa ki paayyay ka nessaayti ka assi paha?’

ikka paayy-ay ka kid-ni-e
and.then.3 start-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘ee! awwi maanaa ki paayy-ay
Wow! today what 2SG.PRO.ACC start-PF[3M]

ka nessa-ayti ka assi
and voice-2SG.POSS.M/F and like.this

pah-a
resemble-IPF.FUT

‘And then, he started saying, “Wow! What has happened to you (SG) today that your voice is like that?”’

- 087 *ċeedi ka ġoġtaayti kara harmisadu!*
ċeed-i ka ġoġta-ayti kara harmf-ad-u!
 take-IMP.SG and throat-2SG.POSS.M/F in prepare-MID-OPT
 ‘And clear you throat!’
- 088 *ikka harmisatti.*
ikka harmf-ad-t-i
 and.then.3 prepare-MID-3F-PF
 ‘And then she prepared herself.’
- 089 *ikka paayyayew ka kiine ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fancallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faffafaa faayo faayo. Kasaraa faffaanaa faayo faayo.’*
ikka paayy-ay-ew ka
 and.the.3 start-PF[3M]-again and
- kid-ni-e ‘Faayu faayo, faayo,*
 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD faayu faayo faayo
- ildaa fancallaa faayo, faayo. Kasaraa*
 eyes splinters faayo, faayo. braids
- faffaanaa faayo faayo. Soysa faffaf-aa*
 handful faayo faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ
- faayo faayo’*
 faayo, faayo
 ‘And again he said, “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo.”’
- 090 *Raakasik ka nessasee paayyutatinnew kiiti.*
Raaka-si? ka nessa-se a
 old.woman-DEF.F and voice-DEF.M/F GEN
- paayy-uta-tinn-ew kid-t-i.*
 start-ORD-INST-again say-3F-PF
 ‘And the old woman welcomed the lion with the same voice as before.’
- 091 *ikka miiroodfay ka ‘ġilaaynu passanna pas’ kiday ka ela kullay.*
ikka miirood-ay ka ‘ġila-aynu
 and.then.3 be.angry-PF[3M] and rock-1PL.POSS.M/F

passad-na pas' kid-ay ka ela kull-ay.
 detach-NMLZ IDEO say-PF[3M] and up enter-PF[3M]
 'And then he got angry and said, "O rock of ours be opened. And went into the rock house.'

- 092 *oo kullay raaka kokeettitaa aye ca.*
oo kull-ay raaka kokeettita=i
 when enter-PF[3M] old.woman skinny=3

aye kiy-a.
 here be-IPF.FUT
 'When he entered, he found a skinny old woman.'

- 093 *Ka ġeeday ka apittuppad dela raakasik katay ka ġeeday ka jaġaw ki?ġay.*
Ka ġeed-ay ka apitta-oppa-?
 and take-PF[3M] and fire-into-LOC

dela raaka-si? kat-ay ka
 upward old.woman-DEF.F throw-PF[3M] and

ġeed-ay ka jaġaw kid-f-ay.
 take-PF[3M] and IDEO say-DCAUS-PF[3M]
 'And then he threw the old woman into the fire, [and after a while] took her out of the fire and put her in his mouth and then swallowed her'

- 094 *Ka sookay ka ahtasiġ ħaadi fadiya paayyay.*
Ka sook-ay ka ahta-si? ħaadi
 and exit-PF[3M] and wife-DEF.M 3POSS.M

fad-iyā paayy-ay
 find-NMLZ start-PF[3M]
 'And he went out and started to look for his wife.'

- 095 *oo faddniyooyye ġolfaa a hinkiikkatá? ?a poruppan dela olkammaġ firfaye?e ?akkay ka ollew aanay aanay.*

oo fadd-ni-yo-oyye ġolfaa a
 when.3 find.SG-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD skin GEN

hinkiikkatá-? a pora-oppa-n dela
 tree.sp.-GEN REL road-into-PATH upward

ol-kamma-? firf-ay-e?=?i akk-ay ka
 together-after-LOC line.up-PF[3M]-P=3 see-PF[3M] and

olle-w *aan-ay* *aan-ay.*
 together-again go-PF[3M] go-PF[3M]
 ‘While he was looking for her, he saw *hinkiikata* peels which were lying in a long row and he followed them.’

- 096 **Ka olle aanay ka tikasee ahtaadi karpa kulliti kapan sookay.**
Ka *olle* *aan-ay* *ka* *tika-se*
 and together go-PF[3M] go-PF[3M] and house-DEF
- a *ahta-adi* *kara-opa* *kull-t-i*
 that wife-3SG.POSS.M in-to enter-3F-PF

kapa-n *sook-ay.*
 near-PATH exit-PF[3M]
 ‘And then he followed the *hinkiikata* peels and reached the house into which his wife had entered.’

- 097 **Ka karpa kullay.**
Ka *kara-opa* *kull-ay.*
 and in-to enter-PF[3M]
 ‘And he went in.’

- 098 **oo kullay kammaa orra lakaytaa ?akkay ka kiine ‘ahtaawu daafa!’**
oo *kull-ay* *kammaaorra* *lekayta=i*
 when.3 enter-PF[3M] after people many=3
- ?akk-ay* *ka* *kid-ni-e*
 see-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘ahta-awu *daaf-a!’*
 wife-1SG.POSS.M give-IMP.PL
 ‘After he entered, he saw many people and said, “(You (PL)) Give me my wife!”’

- 100 **ikka kiine ‘ahtaayti ayen kittu.’**
ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘ahta-ayti*
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD wife-2SG.POSS.M

aye=in kit-t-u.’
 here=3NEG be-3F-NEG
 ‘And they said, “Your wife is not here.”’

- 101 **ikka oppa? ?ooray ka kiine ‘ahtaawu daafa!’**

ikka oppa-ʔ oor-ay ka
and.then.3 into-LOC repeat-PF[3M] and

kid-ni-e ‘ahta-awu daaf-a!’
say-IPF.PRES.BKGRD wife-1SG.POSS.M give-IMP.SG
‘And then he repeated and said ‘(You (PL)) Give my wife back!’”

102 *ikka kiine ‘ahtayti ʔayen kittu.’*

ikka kid-ni-e ‘ahta-ayti
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD wife-2SG.POSS.M

aye=in kit-t-u.’
here=3NEG be-3F-NEG
‘And they said, “Your wife is not here.”’

103 *ikka kiine ‘ayɣaykittaay kutiʔi ka damta dami ka kuliʔin torriyaannay.’*

ikka kid-ni-e ‘aʔ=ɣaykitta-ay
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 2=guest-BKGRD

kutiʔ-i ka damta dam-i ka
sit.down-IPM.SG and food eat-IMP.SG and

kuliʔ=in torriy-aaf-n-a-y.’
later=1 speak-MID-1PL-IPF.FUT-BKGRD
‘And then they said, “Since you (SG) are a guest, sit down and have some food, and we shall discuss later!”’

104 *ikka kiine ‘anheenu. ahtaawow anaf daafa!’*

ikka kid-ni-e ‘an=heen-u.
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRESBKGRD 1NEG=want-NEG

ahta-awu-w ana-ʔ
wife-1SG.POSS.M/F-only 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT

daaf-a!’
give-IMP.PL
‘And then he said, “I do not want [to sit down]. (You (PL)) just give my wife back!”’

105 *ikka Geedin ka ahsiɣ ɣaadi ɕudap palatteewwaa hidin ka napan ifeenna daʔtin.*

ikka ka ɕeed-i-n ka ahta-siʔ
when.3 and take-PF-P and wife-DEF.M/F

ɣaadi *ɕuda-ʔ* *palatteewwaa*
3POSS.M/F on-LOC pieces.of.cloth.for.holding.pot

hid-i-n *ka* *napa-n* *ijeenna*
tie-PF-P and soot-INST 3SGF.PRO[ACC]

daʔt-i-n.

paint-PF-P

‘And then, they put rags on his wife and also painted her with soot.’

- 106 *oore ikka ɕeedin ka tuparraa alleeta kelaa ca takka takkaa sookinni ka kiine ‘iniʔe?’*

oore ikka ɕeed-i-n ka tuparraa alleeta
then and.then.3 take-PF-P and girls hut

kela=i kiy-a takka takka
under=3 be-IPF.FUT one one

sook-f-ni ka kid-ni-e ‘iniʔ-e?’
exit-DCUAS-IPF.PRES and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD this.one-Q

‘And then, they started bringing the girls inside the hut out one by one and for each girl they said, “Is this one her?”’

- 107 *ikka kiine ‘ininninn.’*

ikka kid-ni-e ‘ininninn.’
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD not.this.one

‘And then he said, “Not this one.”’

- 108 *opan ka amma apliyaas sookin ka kiine “iniʔee?”*

opan ka amma apliyaaʔ
and and now another

sook-f-i-n ka kid-ni-e
exit-DCAUS-PF-P and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘iniʔ-e?’

this.one-Q

‘And they made another [girl] come out and asked him “Is this one her?”’

- 109 *ikka kiine ‘ininninn.’*

ikka kid-ni-e ‘ini-inninn.’
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD this.one-not

‘And then he said, “Not this one.”’

- 110 oo iskatta atooka sookay kammaayye iḡeedin ka ahsix ḡaadi sookjin ka kiine ‘ini?e?’
oo *iskatta* *atooka* *sook-ay*
 when.3 women other exit-PF[3M]
- kammaa-ayye* *i=ḡeed-i-n* *ka* *ahta-si?*
 after-BKGRD 3 = take-PF-P and wife-DEF.M/F
- ḡaadi* *sook-f-i-n* *ka*
 3POSS.M/F exit-DCAUS-PF-P and
- kid-ni-e* ‘*ini?-e?*’
 say-IPF.PRES.BKGRD this.one-Q
 ‘After the other women came out of the hut, they had made his wife come out of the hut and asked him, “Is this one her?”’
- 111 ikka kiine ‘aa.’
ikka *kid-ni-e* ‘*aa.*’
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
 ‘And he said, “Yes!”’
- 112 oorine ikka ifak kidine ḡaykumak kuti?i.
oorine *ikka* *ifa-?*
 then and.then.3 3SGM.PRO-NOM
- kid-i-n-e* *ḡaykuma-?* *kuti?-i.*
 say-PF-P-BKGRD guest.ABS-DATsit.down-IMP.SG
 ‘And then they asked him and said, “(You (SG) Sit down as a guest!”’
- 113 ikka kuti?ay.
ikka *kuti?-ay.*
 and.then.3 sit.down-PF[3M]
 ‘And then he sat down.’
- 114 Sikkammaa ooree meertaa ḡalin ka uupeeyye ḡeedin ka oktaappap paltittaa ḡarfjin.
Sikkammaa *ooree* *meertaa* *ḡal-i-n*
 after.that then fattened.ox slaughter-PF-P
- ka* *uupe-eyye* *ḡeed-i-n* *ka* *okta-oppa-?*
 and knowingly-BKGRD take-PF-P and pot-into-LOC
- paltittaa ḡarf-i-n.*
 white.rock cook[beans]-PF-P

‘After that they brought a fattened ox and slaughtered it but instead of the meat, they knowingly put a piece of white rock in the pot.’

- 115 Ka paltittasiḡ ḡeedin ka kiine ‘apuyya apuyya kee kokkookeey ḡooyi ka ḡaraa naḡi!’

Ka paltitta-si? *ḡeed-i-n* *ka*
and white.rock-DEF.M/F take-PF-P and

kid-ni-e ‘*apuyya apuyya*
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD uncle uncle

ke-e *kokkook-i-ey*
2SG.PRO[ACC]-CLF be.strong-PF-BKGRD

ḡooy-i *ka ḡara-a naḡ-i!*
come-IMP.SG and on-LOCdish.out-IMP.SG
‘And then, they said [to the lion] “Uncle, uncle, come and dish out the stuff from the pot as it is you who is strong enough to do so!”’

- 116 ikka oowsaday.

ikka oowfad-ay
and.then.3 agree-PF[3M]
‘And then he agreed.’

- 117 oo naḡniyooyye, oktaasik ka paḡti ka piḡaasinikka ḡarap tuḡmadin.

oo naḡ-ni-yo-oyye, *okta-asi?*
when dish.out-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD pot-DEF.M/F

ka paḡ-t-i *ka piḡaa-sini?* *ikka*
and break-3F-PF and water-DEF.P and.then.3

ḡara-pa tuḡmad-i-n.
on-to be.spilled-PF-P
‘When he was dishing out, the pot broke, and then the [hot] water spilled all over him’

- 118 ikka akata male luḡḡay.

ikka akata male luḡḡ-ay.
and.then.3 very much scald-PF[3M]
‘And then he was very badly scalded.’

- 119 Paltitasik ka iḡa ḡarap pi?ayew.

Paltitasi? *ka iḡa ḡara-?*
white.rock-DEF.M/F and 3SGM.PRO[ACC] on-LOC

piʔ-ay-ew.
 fall-PF[3M]-again
 ‘And again, the white rock fell on him.’

- 120 Karmaasiʔ ʔoo toʔniyooye sakaa sakay ka kiine ‘oo kokaawu issaltan ʔikka kokooye ɢarooti pattaa issalmaa ʔoppaayye huuʔa diifeeyye nama a piliya inhuubu.’

Karmaa-siʔ oo toy-ni-yo-oyye
 lion-DEF.M when.3 die-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD

saka=i sak-ay ka kid-ni-e
 will=3 will-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘oo=iʔ kokaawu issal-t-a-n
 when=2 skin-1SG.POSS.M/F peg-2-IPF.FUT-P

ikka kok-o-oyye ɢarooti patta=i
 and.then.3 be.dry-DP-BKGRD ɢarootie only=3

issalmaa oppa-a-ayye huuʔ-a
 pegs in-LOC-LOC pull.PL-IPF.FUT

diife-eyye nama ʔa piliya
 otherwise-BKGRD person REL other

in=huuʔ-u.’
 3NEG=pull.PL-NEG.
 ‘While the lion was dying, he pronounced his last wishes and said,
 “After you (P) spread my skin to dry, nobody except ɢarootie must pull
 the pegs.”’

- 121 oo karmaasiɢ ɢalin ka kokaasiɣ ʔaadi issalin ikka kallaptaawnittooye roopaa ayee deʔni.

oo karmaa-siʔ ɢal-i-n ka
 when.3 lion-DEF.M/F slaughter-PF-P and

koka-siʔ ʔaadi issal-i-n ikka
 skin-DEF.M 3SG.POSS.M/F peg-PF-P and.then.3

a kallapta-aw-ni-tto-oyye roopa
 when late.evening-VL-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGR rain

ka aye=i deʔ-ni.
 and here=3 come-IPF.PRES

‘When they slaughtered the lion and spread its skin to dry and when it was becoming a late afternoon, rain was coming.’

- 122 *ikka kiine* ‘aana ka kokaase a appaase ġarooti huu66a!’
ikka *kid-ni-e* *aan-a* *ka*
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD go-IMP.PL and

kokaa-se *a* *appaa-se* *ġarooti*
 hide-DEF.M GEN husband-DEF.M/F ġarooti

huu66-a!’

pull.SG-IMP.PL

‘And they said, “(You (PL)) Go and pull the hide of ġarooti’s husband!”’

- 123 *ikka aanin ka issalmaa huu6in ka huu6in ka a oppaa caa huu6in ma issalmitta tokkaa orra malaalay.*

ikka *aan-i-n* *ka* *issalmaa* *huu6-i-n*
 and.then.3 go-PF-P and pegs pull.PL-PF-P

ka *huu6-i-n* *ka* *a* *oppaa* *kiy-a*
 and pull.PL-PF-P and REL into be-IPF.FUT

huu6-i-n *ma* *issalmitta* *tokka=i* *orra*
 pull.PL-PF-P but peg one = 3 people

malaal-ay.

be.unable.to-PF[3M]

‘And then they went and [started] pulling the pegs from the skin but one peg refused to be pulled out.’

- 124 *opa ka ekkayfin ka ekkayfin ka malaalin.*
opa *ka* *ekkeyf-i-n* *ka* *ekkeyf-i-n* *ka*
 and.then and try-PF-P and try-PF-P and

malaal-i-n.

be.unable.to-PF-P

‘And then they tried and tried but were unable to pull it.’

- 125 *ikka kiine* ‘Nammay! aana ka ahsix ħaadī haliya ikka de?tu ka huu66itu.’

ikka *kid-ni-e* *‘Nammay!’*
 and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD guys

an-a *ka* *ahta-si? xaadi*
 go-IMP.PL and wife-DEF.F 3SG.POSS.M

haliy-a *ikka* *dēy-t-u* *ka*
 call-IMP.PL and.then.3 come-3F-OPT and

huu66-t-u.'

pull.SG-3F-OPT

'And they said, "Men! Go and call upon his wife and let her come and pull it [the peg] out"'

126 oore ḡarootesik ka de?ti ka takkan tafti issalimittasi.

oore *ḡarootē-si?* *ka* *dēy-t-i*
 then ḡarootē-DEF.M/F and come-3F-PF

ka *takka-n* *taf-t-i* *issalimitt-asi*
 and one-FREQ grab-3F-PF peg-DEF.M/F
 'Then ḡarootē came and pulled the peg at once.'

127 issalimittasi? ?ittura?ee iḡeenna ḡeeday ka kokaasi? ?ollin moontupa tayin.

issalimittā-si? *is-tura-? = i* *iḡeenna*
 peg-DEF.M/F self-in.front-LOC = 3 3SGF.PRO[ACC]

ḡeed-ay *ka* *kokaā-si?* *olli-n*
 take-PF[3M] and skin-DEF.M/F together-INST

moonta-opa *tay-i-n.*
 sky-to depart-PF-P

'The peg took her straight away and together with the skin they departed to the sky.'

128 awsite deṣa paayyatte ini dūutiniyo anka ḡa?awwaa kiininno, kokaase a aappaase ḡarooti.

awsite *deṣa* *paayy-ad-t-i* *ini*
 that.time from start-MID-3F-PF this.one

dūut-ni-yo *anka* *ḡa?awwaa*
 thunder-IPF.PRES-3SGM that.1 thunder

kiid-ni-nno, *kokaā-se* *a* *aappaā-se*
 say-IPF.PRES-1PL skin-DEF.M GEN husband-DEF.M

a *ḡarooti.*
 GEN ḡarootē

‘From that day onwards this thing that thunders and that we call it thunder is the skin of Ġarootē’s husband.’

- 129 akkamsim mina?ew, awsitee đesa paayyatte hankaadoosip ‘pilliif’ ki-
iniyo ka hankaa?niyo, iniĠ ĠarĠarootasee Ġarootí.

akkama-si? *mina?-ew,* *awsite* *đesa*
like.that-DEF.M/F like.that-again that.time from

paayy-ađ-t-i *hankaada-osi?* ‘*pilliif*’
start-MID-3F-PF lightning-DEM.M/F IDEO

kiđ-ni-yo *ka* *hankaad-ni-yo,*
say-IPF.PRES-3SGM and lighten-IPF.PRES-3SGM

ini? *ĠarĠaroota-se* *a* *Ġarootí-?*
this.one hair.pin-DEF.F GEN Ġarootē-GEN

‘Similarly, since that day, the lightning that flashes [in the storm] is Ġarootē’s hairpin.’

15. List of nouns

In this chapter, I provide a wordlist of nouns. I give the gender values for the single nouns because the gender value for nouns with plurative suffixes or P gender impose a plural gender value. For matters of space, I provide glosses only for single references.

Single	Multiple and (P)	gloss
aannaa (P)	aannadaa	‘milk’
aannata (F)	aannawwaa	‘limestone’
aataa (P)	aatadfaa	‘culture’
apuyyaata (M)	apuyyaawwaa	‘maternal uncle’
ada (M)	adfaa	‘cheek’
afaa (P)	afadfaa	‘mouth, language’
alkitta (M)	alkiyyaa	‘sisal’
ama (M)	amadfaa	‘breast’
ammaʔitta (M)	ammaʔiyyaa	‘breakfast’
apteenta (M)	apteena, ~dafa	‘snow’
apuyyaata (M)	apuyyaawwaa	‘maternal uncle’
arasaa (P)	arasadfaa	‘local beer made for sale’
armayta (M)	armayaa	‘cold, flu’
arpa (M)	arpadaa	‘elephant’
arpatta (M)	arpattadfaa	grass species
arrapa (M)	arrappaa	‘tongue’
aḡawuta (F)	aḡawuwwaa	‘roasted grain (for food)’
aykitta (M)	aykiyyaa	grass species
ayleennata (F)	ayleennawwaa	bean species
eennaa (P)	eennadaa	‘field without huts in a town’
eetuta (F)	eetuwwaa	‘dinner, supper’
ekerta (M)	ekeraa (P)	‘olive’
ekta (F)	ekaa (P), ~dafa	‘tail’
ela (F)	ellaa	‘(water) well’
elalaa (P)	elaladfaa	‘cowrie’
ellaa (P)	elladaa	‘spirit (e.g. of a well)’
erkanaa (P)	erkanadfaa	‘message’
ikkaamaa (P)	ikkaamadfaa	‘selected seeds’
ikkirteeta (F)	ikkiraa, ~dafa	‘louse’
ilillaa (M)	ililladfaa	cockroach species
ilkitta (M)	ilkaa (P), ~iyyaa	‘tooth’
ilmaamaa (P)	ilmaamadfaa	‘tear’
ipsaa (P)	ipsadaa	‘light’

irna (M)	irnaadaa	'gum'
irroota (F)	irroowwaa	'mountain'
ohta (F)	ohawwaa	'cloth (worn in the night)'
okkatta (M)	okkaa, ~yaa	'cow'
olla?ta (F)	olla?awwaa	'leaf'
olsaa (P)	olsadaa	'dream'
oraaraa (P)	oraaradfaa	'cloud (in the sky)'
oraayta (M)	oraayaa	'hyena'
orritta (M)	orriyyaa	'devil'
oxinta (F)	oxinaa, ~dfaa	'fence'
oytaa (P)	oytadaa	'upper part of homestead'
uffaata (F)	uffaawwaa	'gull bladder, balloon'
ukkajfa (M)	ukkajfadfaa	'husk'
ukukka (P)	ukukkadfaa	'egg'
unɠulaa (P)	unɠuladfaa	'grain store from bamboo'
urmalaa (P)	urmaladfaa	'market'
urratta (M)	urrattadfaa	'mist'
utaa (P)	utadfaa	'faeces'
utturayta (M)	utturayaa	'front apron of woman's skirt'
uusa (M)	uussaa, ~dfaa	'undigested food'
uufaa (P)	uufadfaa	'little rain'
uwwaa (P)	uwwadaa	'dress'
fa6baa (M)	fa6badaa	'weed'
fa6beerna (P)	fa6beernadfaa	'cartridge belt'
falanfalleeta (F)	falanfalleewwaa	plant species
falaɠgitta (M)	falaɠgaa, ~iyyaa	'flat stone'
fapara (M)	faparraa	'rig'
fifeeta (F)	fifeewwaa	'ring'
fiifaa (P)	fiifadfaa	'curse'
fileeta (F)	fileewwaa	'stick used by old women'
finfoota (F)	finfoowwaa	'stick with a sharp end'
firitta (M)	firiyyaa	'bracelet'
fooɠgita (F)	fooɠgiwwaa	'mud'
forroogaa (P)	forroogadfaa	'eye discharge'
fureeta (F)	fureewwaa	'dirt'
furka (M)	furkadaa	'milk during pregnancy'
furuɠaanta (M)	furuɠaanaa	bird species
fuub6bata (F)	fuub6bawwaa	cactus species
da?ta (M)	da?tadfaa	'butter'
daamma (M)	daammadfaa	'flour'
dahannaata (F)	dahannaawwaa	'gourd'

dakaa (M)	daka(d)daa	'stone'
dalta (F)	daltadaa	'seed'
daltayta (M)	daltayaa	'relative'
damayta (M)	damayaa	'wind'
dankaa (M)	dankadaa	'throat'
dapna (M)	dapnannaa, ~daa	'temple'
dardaa (P)	dardadaa	'lie, untruth'
deeputa (F)	deepuwaa	'thirst'
dehamtaa (M)	dehamtadfaa	'advice, consultation'
diika (M)	diikkaa	'blood'
dikla (M)	diklallaa	'elbow'
dila (M)	dillaa	'field'
ditiitaa (M)	ditiitadfaa	'sweat'
do?ayta (M)	do?ayaa	'hide for carrying things in'
dompolta (F)	dompolaa	'chunk of dry soil'
dooffaa (P)	dooffadaa	'sarcasm'
dukayta (M)	dukayaa	'hedge'
dumaata (M)	dumaatadfaa	'sunset, sundown'
duttana (M)	duttannaa	'belly'
duukaamaa (P)	duukaamadfaa	'boil (swelling)'
duusuta (F)	duusuwwaa	'fart'
fana?ala (M)	fana?allaa	'splinter'
faroota (F)	faroowwaa	'omen, luck'
farta (F)	fartadaa	'horse'
filaa (P)	filadfaa	'comb'
fillayyaata (F)	fillayyaawwaa	'flea'
fira (M)	firraa	'guest, relative'
fulaa (P)	fuladfaa	'gate, door'
funna (M)	funnadfaa	'water outlet (e.g. pond)'
furaa (P)	furadfaa	'padlock, key'
furfaa (P)	furfaadfaa	'baby's faeces'
furoota (F)	furoowwaa	'type of bead'
furtaa (P)	furtadaa	'cotton cord for women'
fuuraa (P)	fuuradfaa	'fear'
haadita (F)	haadiwwaa	'load, burden'
haaruta (F)	haaruwaa	'revenge'
habta (M)	habtadaa	'border, foreign country'
hakalaa (M)	hakallaa	'cabbage'
hakayta (F)	hakayaa	'second round of harvest'
hallaka (M)	hallakkaa	'fat'
hanfufaa (P)	hanfufadfaa	'saliva'
hankaada (M)	hankaadadfaa	'lightning'
hankaalta (M)	hankaalaa	tree species

hankoolayta (M)	hankoolayaa	weed species
hangaraara (M)	hangaraarraa	'caterpillar'
harka (M)	harkaa	'hand'
harpoorissa (M)	harpoorissadfaa	tree species
harraabatta (M)	harraabattadfaa	'cobweb'
harreeta (F)	harreewwaa	'donkey'
haaffullaa (P)	haaffulladfaa	'leaf'
hawla (M)	hawlallaa	'grave, tomb'
herkiya (M)	herkadfaa	'axe'
hibta (F)	hibbaa, ~daa	'lip'
hidana (M)	hidannaa	root crop species
hiiba (M)	hiibbaa	'meat soup'
hiippaa (P)	hiippadaa	'riddle'
hikkitta (M)	hikkiyyaa	'star'
hildeeta (F)	hildeewwaa	'sycamore tree'
hinkaaffata (F)	hinkaaffawwaa	'ant'
hinkiikkata (F)	hinkiikkawwaa	plant species
hiparaata (F)	hiparaawwaa	'bat (animal)'
hirriibaa (P)	hirriibadfaa	'eyelash'
hirta (M)	hirtadaa	'man's special knife'
hittina (M)	hittinnaa	'root'
hoofa (M)	hooffaa	'hole'
hoollata (F)	hoollawwaa	'sheep skin'
hoppatta (M)	hoppayaa	'guts (for food)'
hoffa (M)	hoffadaa	'cliff'
hotaarta (M)	hotaaraa	tree species
kaabtuta (F)	kaabtuwwaa	'farm tool'
kaafaa (P)	kaafadfaa	'money'
kaaffata (F)	kaaffawwaa	'teff'
kaarayyoota (F)	kaarayyoowwaa	'concubine'
kaariyyaa (P)	kaariyyadfaa	'devil'
kaasa (M)	kaassaa	'horn, gun'
kaawwata (F)	kaawwawwaa	'mirror, glass'
kaba (M)	kabadfaa	'canal for irrigation'
kafa (M)	kaffaa	'clan'
kaharta (F)	kaharraa	'ewe'
kahitta (M)	kahiyyaa	tree species
kala?ta (F)	kala?awwaa	'spider'
kana?ta (F)	kana?awwaa	'palm'
kandaa (P)	kandadfaa	grass species
kaankita (F)	kaankiwwaa	'mule'
kannoota (F)	kannoowwaa	'calabash to drink from'
kanta (M)	kantadaa	'sub-village'
kajjatta (M)	kajjattadfaa, ~yaa	'mud from/around well'

kappaa (M)	kappadaa	‘wheat’
karayta (M)	karayaa	‘tributary’
karissa (M)	karissadfaa	‘guts’
karitta (M)	kariyyaa	‘belly’
karakaa (M)	karkadaa	‘beehive’
karmaa (M)	karmadaa	‘lion’
karratta (M)	karrayaa	‘squirrel’
kasaraa (P)	kasaraa	‘dreadlocks’
kasirayta (M)	kasirayaa	‘tick (parasite)’
katipayta (M)	katipayaa	plant species
kawkawa (M)	kawkawwaa	‘jaw’
kawlaa (P)	kawlallaa, daa	‘metal tool for ginning’
kawsa (M)	kawsadaa	‘chin; beard’
kawwatta (F)	kawwayaa	‘terrace’
kaylaa (P)	kayladaa	‘tassel’
kayyaha (M)	kayyahhaa	‘lawn (chief’s compound)’
keeʔuta (F)	keeʔuwwaa	‘belching’
kehayta (M)	kehayaa, ~ dfaa	kind of musical instrument
kela (M)	kellaa	‘vagina’
keltayta (M)	keltayaa	‘baboon’
keraa (M)	kereʔta	‘thief’
kessa (M)	kessadaa	‘bosom, chest’
kiʔsaa (P)	kiʔsadfaa	‘fireplace; cricket (insect)’
killootaa (F)	killooowwaa	‘ritual’
kilpa (M)	kilpallaa	‘knee’
kirra (M)	kirradaa	‘river’
kittayyaa (M)	kittayyadfaa	‘bedbug’
kodaa (M)	kodadfaa	‘work’
kokaa (M)	kokadfaa	‘skin, hide’
kolalta (M)	kolalaa	‘acacia’
kolkaa (P)	kolkadaa	‘food without cabbage’
kollatta (M)	kollayaa	‘animal skin’
konfa (M)	konfadaa	‘short’
koobta (F)	koobtadaa	tree species
koofinaa (P)	koofinadfaa	‘lung’
koorita (F)	kooriwwaa	‘type of cloth’
kootaara (M)	kootaarraa	‘(small) granary’
koromta (F)	koromaa	‘heifer’
kosaa (P)	kosadfaa	‘big granary’
koʔkoʔa (M)	koʔkoʔjaa	‘comb (of chicken, bird)’
koskorta (F)	koskoraa	‘partridge’
koylaata (F)	koylaawwaa	bird species
kulilta (M)	kulillaa	‘guinea fowl’
kulleeta (F)	kulleewwaa	‘hood; cap’
kupaʔtaa (P)	kupaʔtadfaa	‘tortoise’

kuppoota (F)	kuppoowwaa	‘cotton thread’
kurra (M)	kurradaa	‘ear’
kurruuffaa (M)	kurruuffadfaa	‘droppings (sheep or goats)’
kusa (M)	kussaa	‘penis’
kufilaa (M).	kufillaa	‘maggot (as parasite)’
kussitta (M)	kussiyyaa	‘second-born son’
kusumta (F)	kusumtadfaa	‘navel’
kuta (M)	kuttaa	‘dog’
kuufa (M)	kuuffaa	‘pile of cow dung’
kuyyaalayta (M)	kuyyaalayaa	‘dust’
kuupata (F)	kuupawwaa	‘gnat’
laakaanta (M)	laakaanaa	plant species
laallata (F)	laallawwaa	plant species
lafta (F)	lafaa	‘bone’
laha (M)	lahadfaa	‘ram’
landeeta (F)	landeewwaa	‘spleen’
lawafeeta (F)	lawafeewwaa	‘mouse’
leemmuta (F).	leemmuwwaa	‘bubble’
leḡaa (P)	leḡadfaa	‘loan’
leya (M)	leyadfaa	‘month’
loḡta (F)	loḡḡaa	‘leg, foot’
lukkallitta (M)	lukkaliyyaa, ~ aa	‘hen, chicken’
maakaa (M)	maakadfaa	‘snake’
maancaa (M)	maancaadaa	‘fresh edible grain seeds’
maancafirayyaata (F)	maancafirayyaawwaa	plant species
maacḡayta (M)	maacḡayaa	plant species
mahanta (F)	mahanaa, ~ dfaa	grass species
makkaa (P)	makkadaa	‘sickness’
mala (M)	maladfaa	‘system, wisdom, strategy’
malḡaa (M)	malḡadaa	‘flood’
marḡaa (P)	marḡadaa	‘hip’
marḡinaa (P)	marḡinadfaa	‘intestine’
masarta (F)	marsaa	‘buttock’
masaanaa (P)	masaanadfaa	‘autumn’
maḡannaata (F)	maḡannaawwaa	‘roof top made from clay’
maskahanta (M)	maskahanaa	tree species
massatta (M)	massayaa	‘crocodile’
mateḡta (F)	mateḡtadfaa, ~ ewwaa	‘upper millstone’
matta (M)	mattadaa	‘head’
meelaala (M)	meelaallaa	‘mould (of snake)’
mehadfaa (P)	mehadfaa	‘belongings’
midaa (P)	midadfaa	‘cabbage leaves’
miirra (M)	miirraa	‘anger’

misinta (F)	misinaa, ~ dfaa	‘clitoris’
moohaa (M)	moohadfaa	‘family spirit’
mookkaa (P)	mookkadaa	‘cassava’
mooluta (F)	mooluwvaa	‘bald’
moona (M)	moonnaa	‘mound of soil’
moonta (F)	moontadaa	‘sky’
mooraa (M)	mooradfaa	‘public square’
moossuta (F)	moossuwvaa	‘piece of bread’
mootta (m/f)	moottadaa	‘friend’
mooyyileeta (F)	mooyyileewvaa	‘chigger, sand flea’
moʒorʒorissa (M)	moʒorʒorissadfaa	grass species
mottooʒfaa (M)	mottooʒʒfaa	‘car, vehicle’
moʒna (M)	moʒnanna	‘rocky place’
mudkahanta (M)	mudkahanaa	tree species
mura (M)	murraa	‘forest’
murkufaa (M)	murkufadfaa	‘fish’
muukuta (F)	muukuwvaa	‘frog’
muuʒa (M)	muuʒʒfaa	‘ladle’
muutiya (M)	muutiyaadfaa	‘worm’
naalaa (M)	naaladfaa	‘spoiled behaviour’
nahtitta (M)	nahtiyaa, ~ dfaa	‘centre of the head’
napaalayta (M)	napaalayaa	bird species
napahta (F)	napahawvaa, nappaa	‘ear’
naplatta (M)	naplattadfaa	bird species
nessa (M)	nessadaa	‘soul, breath’
nooddfuta (F)	nooddfuwvaa	‘bribe’
jaaʒnaa (P)	jaaʒnadfaa	‘tomato’
jairfaa (P)	jairfadfaa	‘hair’
jupuraa (P)	jupuradfaa	‘component of loom’
paafuta (F)	paafuwvaa	‘sideburns’
paakkuta (F)	paakkuwvaa	‘span (measurement)’
paala (M)	paallaa	‘feather’
paallata (F)	paallawvaa	‘clay plate to fetch fire with’
paankaa (P)	paankadfaa	‘machete’
paacʒa (M)	paacʒʒfaa	‘disease, sickness’
paarkaala (P)	paarkaalaadfaa	‘enemy’
paasa (M)	paassaa	plant species
pafta (F)	paftadaa	‘house made from stones’
pahnaa (P)	pahnadfaa	‘example’
pakaannaa (P)	pakaannadfaa	root crop species
pakaʒeeta (F)	pakaʒeewvaa	‘mumps’
pakataa (P)	pakatadfaa	‘wide shield’

palla (M)	palladaa	'v-shaped thing'
palta (M)	paltadaa	'white basalt'
para (M)	parraa	'year'
paraffaa (M)	paraffadāa	'finger millet'
parappaḡaa (P)	parappaḡadāa	'heartburn'
parfuma (M)	parfummaa	'stool (to sit on)'
parka (M)	parkadaa	'work team'
payraa (P)	payradaa	'type of farm tool'
peeḡaa (M)	peeḡadāa	'metal or clay dish for baking'
peeḡaa (P)	peeḡḡaa	'quarrel, dispute'
piiffitta (M)	piiffiyyaa	grain species
piirtuta (F)	piirtuwaa	'sun'
pinanta (M)	pinaanaa	'animal'
pirpirta (M)	pirpiraa	'juniper tree'
piḡaa (P)	piḡadāa	'water'
pofa (M)	pofadāa	'serpent'
pohaa (P)	pohadāa	'contribution, tribune'
pohmayta (M)	pohmayaa	'chameleon'
pokkeeta (F)	pokkeewaa	'shorts (with pockets)'
pondohdohhaata (F)	pondohdohhaawaa	plant species
poolluta (F)	poolluwaa	'hole in the ground'
poorta (M)	poortadaa	'barley'
pooyta (F)	pooytadaa	'mourning, crying'
poḡaffa (M)	poḡaffadāa	'back door'
poḡallaa (M)	poḡalladāa	'clan chief'
poḡoota (F)	poḡoowaa	'lower jaw'
pora (M)	porraa	'road'
poroḡḡaata (F)	poroḡḡaawaa	'component of <i>payraa</i> '
pottaata (F)	pottaawaa	'pumpkin'
punitta (M)	puniyyaa	'coffee'
punsukkayta (M)	punsukkayaa	'owl'
purkaayyata (F)	purkaayyawaa	bird species
pussayyaata (F)	pussayyaawaa	lizard species
puukkaa (M)	puukkadāa	'corpse'
puulluta (F)	puulluwaa	'fermented dough'
putteena (M)	putteenna	'enjera'
ḡaawa (M)	ḡaawwaa	'hole'
ḡaawuta (F)	ḡaawuwaa	'coughing'
ḡannatta (M)	ḡannayaa	lizard species
ḡapaleeta (F)	ḡapaleewaa	'monkey'
ḡapoota (F)	ḡapoowaa	'local beer'
ḡarratta (M)	ḡarrayaa	'cheese'
ḡarta (M)	ḡartadaa	'firstborn son'
ḡawre?ta (F)	ḡawre?ewwaa	tree species

ɕayranta (M)	ɕayranaa	‘leopard’
ɕayya (M)	ɕayyadaa	‘smoke’
ɕimayta (M)	ɕimayaa	‘old man’
ɕinaʔitta (M)	ɕinaʔaa, ~ iyyaa	‘rib; spring (of car)’
ɕinda (M)	ɕindaddaa	‘side’
ɕitiɕɕoota (F)	ɕitiɕɕoowwaa	‘sneezing’
ɕolfaa (P)	ɕolfallaa, ~ daa	‘pod, bark (of tree)’
ɕolpa (M)	ɕolpallaa, ~ yaa	‘he-goat’
ɕoola (M)	ɕoolllaa	‘cow/ox hide for sleeping on’
ɕoonɕita (M)	ɕoonɕiwaa	‘throat’
ɕooɕa (M)	ɕooɕɕaa, ~ ddaa	‘skin disease’
ɕoyra (M)	ɕoraa	‘tree’
ɕupitta (M)	ɕupiyyaa	‘finger’
ɕurrupayta (M)	ɕurrupayaa	‘crow’
ɕussa (M)	ɕussadaa	‘wall’
raaka (F)	raakkaa	‘old woman’
rafayta (M)	rafayaa	‘fallow land’
raɕaa (M)	raɕaddaa	‘type of hut’
riifa (M)	riifaddaa	‘pubic hair’
rikaa (M)	rikaddaa	‘toothbrush’
ritta (F)	rittadaa	‘young she-goat’
riwwaʔitta (M)	riwwaʔiyyaa	‘milky way’
roopa (M)	rooppaa, ~ ddaa	‘rain’
rukkatta (M)	rukkayaa	tree species
ruuffata (F)	ruuffawwaa	‘big intestine (of animals)’
saallaa (M)	saalladaa	‘cow dung’
saalpuuɕaa (M)	saalpuuɕaddaa	‘skunk’
saaraa (P)	saaraddaa	‘poem’
saayaa (P)	saayaddaa	‘rectum’
saalilikoota (F)	saalilikoowwaa	‘rumen, first stomach of ruminant’
saalpataa (M)	saalpataddaa	‘belt’
sankaylitta (M)	sankayliyyaa	‘component of <i>payraa</i> ’
sajneeta (F)	sajneewwaa	‘species, type’
sapanta (F)	sapanaa	acacia species
saraɕta (M)	sarɕaa	‘calf (of leg)’
sataʔta (M)	sataʔawwaa	‘heart’
sayleeta (F)	sayleewwaa	‘mane’
seettitaa (M)	seettiyyaa	‘upper foot’
seyyitta (M)	seyyittaddaa	‘hawk’
sindaa (P)	sindaddaa	‘urine’
sipla (M)	siplallaa	‘metal, iron’
sitaa (P)	sitaddaa	‘tail (of an animal)’
solaa (P)	soladdaa	‘tail (of a bird)’

sookitta (M)	sookiyyaa	‘salt’
soroora (M)	soroorraa	‘rainy season’
sukeenta (F)	sukeenaa	‘female lamb’
surraa (M)	surradaa	‘waist’
suuma (M)	suummaa	‘witch doctor’s revelation’
s ^w aa (P)	s ^w aadfaa	‘meat’
jaabbaa (P)	jaabbadaa	‘stretcher’
jahaa (P)	jahadfaa	‘honeycomb’
jaɣɣaa (M)	jaɣɣadaa	‘calabash cup’
jaloota (F)	jalooowwaa	‘cotton thread’
jehta (F)	jahtadfaa	‘grass snake’
jenɣera (M)	jenɣerraa	‘long stick with hook’
jila (M)	filallaa	‘rock’
jipiritta (M)	jipiriyyaa	‘spin’
joloɣloɣitta (M)	joloɣloɣiyyaa	‘claw’
jonka (M)	jonkadfaa	type of hut
fooraa (M)	fooradfaa	‘thin stick to flog with’
juulayta (M)	juulaytadfaa	type of sorghum
taahayta (M)	taahayaa, ~ dfaa	‘sand’
taaltaallata (F)	taaltaallawwaa	‘giraffe’
taammata (F)	taammawwaa	‘desert bee’
taaɣa (M)	taajɣaa	plant species
taata (M)	taattaa	‘residue’
tafa (M)	taffaa	‘thigh’
takala (M)	takallaa	‘valley’
talteeta (F)	talaa	‘she-goat’
tampoota (F)	tampoowwaa	‘tobacco’
taamta (F)	taammaa, ~ dfaa	‘branch’
tankaajɣata (F)	tankaajɣawwaa	‘hedgehog’
tawna (M)	tawnannaa, ~ dfaa	‘bell’
teʔɣaa (P)	teʔɣadfaa	‘elephantiasis’
teeka (M)	teekkaa, ~ dfaa	‘preying mantis’
teepaa (P)	teepadfaa	‘rope’
teetta (M)	teettadaa	‘threshing field’
telɣayta (M)	telɣayaa	‘lizard’
tiiruta (F)	tiiruwwaa	‘circular object’
tika (F)	tikkaa	‘house’
timpiliɣiɣaa (M)	timpiliɣiɣadfaa	tree species
tinnayta (M)	tinnayaa	tree species
tirmaama (M)	tirmaammaa	‘bruise’
tiraa (P)	tiradfaa	‘liver’
tiyyaa (P)	tiyyadaa	‘dispute’
tofaa (P)	tofadfaa	‘water droplet’

tokkayta (M)	tokkayaa	‘porcupine’
tollo?ta (F)	tollo?owwaa	‘hump’
toma (M)	tomadfaa	‘bowl’
tooraa (P)	tooradfaa	‘opposition’
torraa (P)	torradfaa	‘speech, talk’
tokufoota (F)	tukudoowwaa	‘nape’
tullatta (M)	tullayaa, ~ dfaa	‘old cow’
tulluppaata (F)	tulluppaawwaa	‘wood-boring beetle’
tulpeeta (F)	tulpeewwaa	‘hippopotamus’
tuubuta (F)	tuubuwwaa	‘false banana bread’
tuuda (M)	tuuddfaa	‘pillar’
tuuma (M)	tuumadfaa	‘onion, garlic’
tuuyyata (F)	tuuyyawwaa	‘pig’
tuyyuuraa (M)	tuyyuurraa	‘airplane’
waakkaa (P)	waakkadfaa	‘wooden statue’
wataroota (F)	wataroowwaa	‘rope made from sisal fibre’
χa?tiya (M)	χa?tiyadfaa	‘fly’
χaallita (F)	χaalliwwaa	bird species
χaafaa (P)	χaafadfaa	‘reed’
χaayyata (F)	χaayyawwaa	‘nightmare’
χalitta (M)	χaliyyaa	‘stick’
χallaa (P)	χalladfaa	‘kidney’
χallaffa (M)	χallaffadfaa	‘rhinoceros horn’
χammayta (M)	χammayaa	‘fallow land’
χampirteeta (F)	χampirraa	‘bird’
χapnaa (P)	χapnadfaa	‘forest (of clan chief)’
χarinta (F)	χarinaa	‘horizontal fence bar’
χarra (M)	χarradfaa	‘door, gate’
χarχarayta (M)	χarχarayaa	‘warthog’
χaffitta (M)	χaffiyyaa	‘shoulder’
χawlo?ta (F)	χawlo?owwaa	‘molar’
χaylaa (P)	χayladfaa	plant species
χayna?ta (M)	χayna?tadfaa	‘strongly cotton thread’
χeela (M)	χeellaa	‘boundary’
χoffaa (P)	χoffadfaa	‘groin’
χola?itta (M)	χola?aa, ~ yyaa	cactus species
χolaa (P)	χoladfaa	‘hot drink made from coffee leaves’
χolmaa (M)	χolmadfaa	‘neck’
χommaata (F)	χommaawwaa	‘vengeance’
χompalta (F)	χompalaa	‘cactus’
χopta (F)	χopaa (P); ~ dfaa	‘shoe’
χoraa (P)	χooradfaa	‘fine, punishment’
χorma (M)	χormadfaa	‘ox, bull’

χottooma (M)	χottoommaa	‘fist’
yaakata (F)	yaakawwaa	‘bead’
yaaya (M)	yaayyaa	‘type of bead’
yeela (M)	yeellaa	‘field along the river bank’
yoʔmatta (M)	yoʔmayaa	‘grindstone’
yoʔta (F)	yoʔtaddaa	‘greed’
yooyta (M)	yooytadaa	‘jackal’

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Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Het proefschrift *A grammar of Konso* is een beschrijvende grammatica van het Konso, gebaseerd op veldwerk en introspectie van de auteur.

In de inleiding (hoofdstuk één) wordt kort ingegaan op de cultuur en sociale structuur van de Konso die in zuidwest Ethiopië wonen. Het hoofdstuk beschrijft hun intensieve landbouw en hun traditionele methodes om erosie tegen te gaan. Het hoofdstuk bevat ook de belangrijkste algemene informatie over de Konsotaal: de klassificatie, de situatie rond erkenning van een orthografie en keuze voor een schrift en de beperkte omvang van geschreven literatuur in het Konso. Alle voorgaande taalkundige werken die betrekking hebben op het Konso worden genoemd en kort besproken en de dataverzameling wordt uitgelegd.

Hoofdstuk twee behelst de fonologie van het Konso met analyse van fonemen, klinkers en medeklinkers, en uitleg over hun fonetische realisatie in context. De implosieven verliezen hun stemhebbendheid als ze lang (geminaat) zijn. Alle consonanten kunnen als geminaat optreden. Voor de bewijsvoering voor fonemische status wordt gebruikt gemaakt van (bijna-)minimale paren. De vijf klinkers kunnen lang en kort voorkomen. Ik behandel de distributie en beperkingen daarop van klinkers en medeklinkers. Toon kan contrastief zijn in het Konso (Lage tegenover Hoge toon) maar de functie van dit onderscheid is uiterst beperkt. Het hoofdstuk bevat een overzicht van de kenmerken van de lettergreep. Ik presenteer ook een aantal gevallen van opmerkelijke lexicale variatie die niet fonologisch van aard lijken te zijn. De fonologische regels van het Konso komen aan bod, inclusief die die beperkt zijn tot specifieke morfemen, de morf fonologie.

Hoofdstuk drie geeft een kort en bondig overzicht van de basisstructuur van de zin. Dit hoofdstuk is op deze plaats nodig om de voorbeeldzinnen in de volgende hoofdstukken te begrijpen. De meeste Konso zinnen hebben een clitisch element dat naar het subject verwijst maar los van het werkwoord en vóór het werkwoord op verschillende plaatsen in de zin kan staan, zich hechtend aan het woord ervoor of erachter. Deze subjectclitica worden hier behandeld. De basisstructuur van verbale zinnen, nominale zinnen, adjectivale zinnen en cleft zinnen komen aan bod.

Hoofdstuk vier gaat over het naamwoord. Het naamwoord in het Konso onderscheidt onder andere geslacht en getal. De beide dimensies geslacht en getal zijn zeer interessant en in het bijzonder hun interactie, zoals ook het geval is in verscheidene andere Koesjitische talen. Het hoofdstuk begint met een uiteenzetting over geslacht en laat zien dat deze categorie zijn bestaansrecht ontleent aan de concordantie op het werkwoord (subject) en op de modificeerders van

het naamwoord. Het geslacht van naamwoorden is een lexicaal gegeven en alleen in een beperkt aantal gevallen te relateren aan de sexe van de bezielde referent. Na de introductie van geslacht komt getal aan de orde. Het Konso kent een aantal verschillende meervoudsvormingen waarvan de distributie in het lexicon aangegeven dient te worden. Naast meervoudsvorming kent het Konso ook enkelvoudsvorming van naamwoorden. Allerlei combinaties van afleiding voor getal voor dezelfde nominale wortel zijn geattesteerd: singulatief, of pluratief, of beide, of geen van beide. De categorie van getal vereist ook concordantie en wel op het adjectief, waar zij onafhankelijk is van de concordantie naar geslacht die ook op het adjectief gemarkeerd is. Interessant en op het eerste gezicht onverwacht voor de lezer die niet vertrouwd is met Koesjiti-sche talen is het feit dat één van waardes van geslacht “meervoud” is, maar los staat van “meervoud” als waarde voor getal. Naast deze onderwerpen komen in dit hoofdstuk ook aan bod: markering van definietheid, van (specifieke) indefinietheid, en van demonstrativa. Ik leg in dit hoofdstuk uit hoe er geteld wordt, en hoe de basale rekenkundige operaties worden uitgedrukt. Het hoofdstuk bevat een inventaris van de verschillende mogelijkheden van afleiding naar en vanuit de categorie van naamwoord. Ook casus komt aan bod. Ik sluit het hoofdstuk af met enkele woorden over samenstellingen.

Hoofdstuk vijf gaat over voornaamwoorden: persoonlijke, aanwijzende en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden. Ik behandel hier ook de uitdrukking van wederkerigheid (reflexieven en reciproken).

Hoofdstuk zes is gewijd aan het werkwoord. Allereerst behandel ik de werkwoordsafleidingen causatief, mediaal, passief, inchoatief, pluractioneel en punctueel. De laatste twee zijn buitengemeen interessant omdat ze in feite een werkwoordelijk getalsysteem (getal van de gebeurtenis) vormen met inflectionele eigenschappen, zoals de verplichtheid tot uitdrukking, maar ook met derivationale eigenschappen zoals lexicale bepaaldheid voor welke vormen, pluractioneel en/of punctueel, er zijn. Punctueel behelst dat de actie één keer of ten dele of intensief plaats vindt. Het tweede onderdeel van hoofdstuk zes gaat over de werkwoordsinflectie. Het basisonderscheid is tussen perfectief en imperfectief aspect maar binnen het imperfectieve aspect is er een speciale vorm die ik continuative noem. Op het modale vlak worden ook de optatief uitgedrukt en de gebiedende wijs. De negatieve vormen komen aan bod in hoofdstuk elf.

Adjectieven zijn het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 7. Reduplicatie van adjectieven kan meervoudigheid aanduiden maar ook intensiteit. De verschillende nominalisaties van adjectieven komen ter sprake.

Hoofdstuk acht behandelt de resterende lexicale categoriën zoals postposities, bijwoorden en conjuncties. Dit laatste morfologische hoofdstuk heeft een inventariserend karakter.

Vanaf hoofdstuk negen komt de syntaxis aan de orde, hoewel ook in de voorafgaande hoofdstukken al syntactische zaken zijn aangekaart. Ik behandel woordvolgorde binnen de naamwoordgroep en de volgorde van woordgroepen binnen de zin, inclusief de nominale zin. Ik duid aan hoe vergelijking in Konso uitgedrukt wordt en ik besteed aandacht aan de syntactische eigenschappen van bijzinnen.

Hoofdstuk tien behandelt vraagzinnen: inhoudsvragen, ja/nee vragen en zogenaamde tag questions. Hoofdstuk elf behandelt negatie. Er zijn speciale negatieve werkwoordsvormen om negatie uit te drukken, maar negatie wordt ook uitgedrukt in het subjectcliticum en met lexicale middelen waardoor een zin verscheidene uitdrukkingen van negatie kan bevatten. In hoofdstuk twaalf behandel ik complexe zinnen waaronder conditionele zinnen. Complementzinnen worden hier behandeld maar ook bijwoordelijke zinnen van tijd, reden en doel. Het hoofdstuk inventariseert de verschillende manieren om zinnen te verbinden.

Hoofdstuk dertien gaat over ideofonen, waarin de klank intrinsiek betekenis uitdrukt, en over interjecties. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met de vaste uitdrukkingen die gehanteerd worden bij begroeting en het nemen van afscheid. Met deze paragraaf nemen we afscheid van de grammatica en zijn we in staat de twee teksten van hoofdstuk veertien te doorgronden. Deze teksten zijn tot in detail geglost. Hoofdstuk vijftien tenslotte is een lijst van naamwoorden met hun getal en geslachtsvormen. Deze lijst vormde de basis voor hoofdstuk vier.

Curriculum Vitae

Ongaye Oda Orkaydo was born on 8 March 1976 at Kuume village in Konso, Ethiopia. In June 1997, he completed his high school education at Konso Junior and Senior High School. In November 1997 he began his studies at Addis Ababa University and obtained his B.A. degree in Linguistics in 2000. From November 2000 to August 2003 he was employed as a graduate assistant at Dilla University, then at Dilla College of Teacher Education and Health Sciences. In September 2003 he began the graduate programme at Addis Ababa University and received his M.A. degree in Linguistics in 2004. From September 2004 to August 2007, he was a lecturer at Dilla University. Apart from teaching linguistics and English courses, he served as an assistant coordinator for the Continuing Education Programme, coordinator for the Distance Education Unit, and vice dean to the Teacher Education Faculty. From September 2007 to August 2011, he was employed as a PhD researcher at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), Department of African Languages and Cultures. He is married and has two sons and a daughter.