

**A GRAMMAR OF SIDAAMA (SIDAMO),
A CUSHITIC LANGUAGE OF ETHIOPIA**

by

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Professor Matthew S. Dryer

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Professor Jürgen Bohnemeyer

*Dedicated to my family,
especially my wife and children*

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Finally, please let me make an excuse. I would like the reader to be generous enough to take my dissertation as a rough draft of my improved future work. Even though my consultant is superb, I might have made some errors. Also, even though my brilliant advisors have given me helpful advice, there are many portions that I have not been able to revise. I have to submit this as my dissertation to the Graduate School now, because of the deadline (coming in a few minutes!) set by a newly created rule. I hope that I will be able to revise it as soon as possible. *Maganu oohe!* in advance again, Dr. Ababayehu!

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Abstract

The present study describes the grammatical structure of Sidaama, a Highland East Cushitic language spoken in the south-central part of Ethiopia. Sidaama is spoken by over 1,800,000 people, but there has been relatively little research on the language.

Chapter 1 (introduction) gives background information on the Sidaama language and the Sidaama people, briefly reviews previous studies, and discusses the methodology used in the present study.

Chapters 2-5 use basic linguistic theory (Dixon 1997, Dryer 2006) to describe the phonology and morphosyntax of Sidaama, and Chapter 6 examines the event integration patterns (Talmy 1991, 2000b) as one property of semantic structuring in this language.

Chapter 2 (phonology) lists the phonemes, the consonant clusters, and the geminates, describes suprasegmentals (syllables and moras, pitch accent, intonation, and pause), and presents morphophonemic rules.

Chapter 3 (parts of speech) describes characteristics of parts of speech. The topics discussed in this chapter include types of nouns and verbs, similarities between adjectives and nouns and between adjectives and verbs, various pronominal forms, and clitics.

Chapter 4 (morphology) discusses reduplication of verb roots, suprafixes on nouns and adjectives, and suffixes on nouns, adjectives, and verbs. It also examines the ordering relationship of the suffixes.

Chapter 5 (syntax) discusses four topics on the syntax of Sidaama. The first section looks into grammatical relations in terms of how they are coded and in what constructions they occur. The second topic of Chapter 5 is word order. The third section of Chapter 5 discusses two types of external possessor construction, the oblique possessum external possessor construction and the dative possessor external possessor construction. The fourth section examines the structures of relative clauses and the types of elements that can be relativized.

Chapter 6 (semantics) examines the semantic structure of Sidaama, which shows characteristics of a verb-framed language, in terms of how it expresses different types of events, using Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000b) typological framework of event integration. It investigates how the schematic and the non-schematic components of the five types of events (motion, state change, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating) appear morphosyntactically in this language.

Abbreviations

ABL	Ablative suffix
ABST	Abstracting suffix
ACC	Accusative
ADJVZ	Adjectivizing suffix
ALL	Allative suffix
AMH	Amharic
CAUS	Causative
CMPL	Complementizer
COM	Comitative noun
CNN	Connective
DAT	Dative
DAT.F	Dative for Unmodified feminine common nouns
DAT.M	Dative for Unmodified masculine common nouns
DAT.PROP	Dative for proper nouns
DAT.PRON	Dative for pronouns
DAT.MOD	Dative for Modified common noun
DBL.CAUS	Double causative
DEF	Definite
<i>derog.</i>	derogatory
EMPH	Emphatic
EP	Epenthesis
F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
GEN.F	Genitive for Unmodified feminine common nouns
(GEN.F)	Genitive for Modified feminine common nouns and for feminine proper nouns
GEN.M	Genitive for Unmodified masculine common nouns
(GEN.M)	Genitive for masculine proper nouns ending in <i>e</i> or <i>u</i>
GEN.PROP.M	Genitive for masculine proper nouns ending in <i>a</i>
GEN.MOD.M	Genitive for Modified masculine common nouns
IMP	Imperative
IMPERS	Impersonal
IMPRF	Imperfective
INF	Infinitive
INST	Instrumental suffix
ITER	Iterative suffix
<i>lit.</i>	literally
LT	‘let ... do,’ also ‘should I do’ in the case of the first-person
M	Masculine
MANNER	Manner/Concomitance
MID	Middle voice
MOD	Modified
N.PRED	Predicating clitic attached to modified common noun, proper noun, and pronoun

NEG	Negative
NEG.IMP	Negative imperative
NML	Nominalizing suffix
NOM	Nominative
NOM.M	Nominative for Unmodified masculine common noun
NOM.PROP.M	Nominative for masculine proper nouns ending in <i>a</i>
NOM.MOD.M	Nominative for Modified masculine common nouns
NOM.PM	Nominative for masculine proper noun ending in <i>a</i> and modified masculine common noun
NPC	Noun-phrase clitic
LOC	Locative
LOC.F	Locative for Unmodified feminine common nouns and for feminine proper nouns
LOC.M	Locative for Unmodified masculine common nouns and for masculine proper nouns
LOC.MOD	Locative for Modified common nouns
LOC.PRON	Locative for demonstrative pronouns
LOC.LOC	Locative for locational nouns
LV	Lengthened vowel
(NOM.F)	Nominative for feminine nouns
OPT	Optative
P.PRF	Present perfect
PASS	Passive voice
PERS	Person
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRED	Predicate
RCP	Reciprocal
RC	Relative clause
RFL	Reflexive
S.PRF	Simple perfect
sb	somebody
sth	something
SG	Singular
UM	Unmarked
VBLZ	Verbalizing suffix

Chapter 1 Introduction

The goal of the present study is to provide an accurate description of the grammatical structure of Sidaama, a Cushitic language of Ethiopia. Chapters 2-5 use basic linguistic theory (Dixon 1997, Dryer 2006) to describe the phonology and morphosyntax of Sidaama, and Chapter 6 examines the event integration patterns (Talmy 1991, 2000b) as one property of semantic structuring in this language.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.1 provides background information on the Sidaama language and the Sidaama people. Section 1.2. reviews previous studies on Sidaama and its related languages. Section 1.3 describes the methodology used in this study.

1.1 Background Information on Sidaama

1.1.1 Overview of the Sidaama Language

Sidaama (*sidaam-u afo* [Sidaama-GEN.M mouth] in Sidaama) is a Highland East Cushitic language spoken in the south-central part of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It is also sometimes called Sidama, Sidamigna/Sidaminya (AMH), or Sidamic (in English, using the *ic* ending of “Amharic”). It is also often called Sidamo, though that is considered by the Sidaama people to be incorrect.¹

¹ As pointed out by Teferra (2000: 12), the Sidaama people find it incorrect to use “Sidamo” to refer to themselves and their language, though they are presumably better known under this name. “Sidamo” was used around 1980 to refer to the province that includes the Sidaama zone and other neighboring zones, and that is smaller than the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples (SNNP) (discussed shortly).

According to Grimes (2000) and the internet version of *Ethnologue*, there are 84 living languages spoken in Ethiopia (25 Cushitic, 18 Nilo-Saharan, 28 Omotic, 10 Semitic, 1 Unclassified Afro-Asiatic (Birale), 1 sign language, and English). The 1994 Ethiopian Census (Hudson 1999, 2004) reports that Sidaama as an ethnic group is the sixth largest in Ethiopia (1,842,444 people) and the Sidaama language is also spoken by the fifth largest number of mother tongue speakers in this country (1,876,329 speakers).² The number of Sidaama monolingual speakers is 1,632,902 (Gordon 2005, the web version of *Ethnologue*). According to the 1994 Ethiopian Census, there are 232,060 Sidaama native speakers (12% of the total number of Sidaama native speakers) who have knowledge in a second language. Among the second languages spoken by Sidaama native speakers, the most common one is Amharic, the official national language of Ethiopia (spoken by 205,740 Sidaama native speakers); the second most common one is Oromo (spoken by 17,212 Sidaama native speakers) and the third most common one is Wolayta (spoken by 3,458 Sidaama native speakers).

Sidaama is primarily a spoken language and does not have its own writing system. However, in the mid 1970's, the Ethiopian central government started to promote the introduction of the Ge'ez-based, Ethiopic writing system into the languages spoken all

² The Ethnic groups larger than Sidaama in Ethiopia are 1) Oromo (Cushitic) (17,088,136 people), 2) Amara (Semitic) (16,010,894 people), 3) Tigraway (Semitic) (3,284,443 people), 4) Somali (Cushitic) (3,139,421 people), 5) Gurage (Semitic) (2,290,332 people). However, "Gurage" is an ethnic group of not a single language but of at least five languages (Soddo (Kestane), Chaha, Inor, Silte, and Zay) (Hudson 1999: 95, 2006). Thus, as far as the number of speakers of individual languages is concerned, Sidaama is the fifth largest: 1) Amharic (17,372,913 people), 2) Oromo (16,777,975 people), 3) Tigrinya (3,224,875 people), 4) Somali (3,187,053 people).

over the country including Sidaama.³ The literacy campaign lasted until 1991, when the current central government came to power, and instead of taking over the campaign, the new government started to permit the speakers of non-Semitic languages to develop their own writing systems. After this change, the Sidaama people chose to employ the Latin alphabet system, but the literacy rate at present still seems to be low.

As far as I know, there does not seem to be any dialectal study on Sidaama. Hudson (1976: 233) states that Sidaama is “little differentiated into dialects” and that “speakers of the different centers and Sidamo clans are identifiable by speech, but the differences are minimal”. However, according to my consultant, there are large differences among both regional and social dialects of Sidaama. In particular, there are two clans whose varieties of Sidaama differ significantly from those spoken in the other five or six clans. One of them is the *yanase* clan in the north, which is geographically separated from other clans. The other is the *haadiiččo* (Brøgger 1986: 34), whose members are considered to do potters’ jobs and seem to be despicably treated by members of other clans. Dialectal differences of Sidaama await further investigation.

Typological studies on Highland East Cushitic (HEC) languages (or Cushitic languages, for that matter) tend to be based on phonological similarities and differences of lexical items and the existence or absence of morphological categories, rather than

³ During this literacy campaign, some words were invented in Sidaama (e.g., *ros-* ‘to become educated’, *gomma* ‘tyre’, *baabba* ‘[honorific title (M)]’, *kala* ‘[honorific title (F)]’) so that it can express modern notions.

syntactic properties.⁴ The findings of previous studies of the classification of the HEC languages and their grammatical characteristics are described below.

• Classification of Sidaama as one of the Highland East Cushitic languages

The Cushitic language family belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language phylum (so called since Greenberg 1966) (also called the “Hamito-Semitic phylum” in Europe), together with Omotic, Semitic, Berber, Chadic, and Ancient Egyptian.⁵ According to Grimes (2000) and the web version of *Ethnologue*, there are 47 Cushitic languages, with the classification shown in Figure 1, where the names of the languages are in italics. The majority of Central and East Cushitic languages are spoken in Ethiopia (Fleming and Bender 1976: 34), though a small number of them are spoken also outside of Ethiopia. There are also some Cushitic languages spoken not in Ethiopia but only or mainly in other countries such as Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Tanzania; the North Cushitic language, Bedawi (also known as Beja or Bedauye) is spoken in Sudan, one of the Southern Cushitic languages, Dahalo, in Kenya, and all the other Southern Cushitic languages in Tanzania.

⁴ For example, it is not clear whether external possessor constructions, which seem to be characteristic of Sidaama (Chapter 5 section 5.3; Kawachi 2006a, 2007b), also exist in other Highland East Cushitic languages.

⁵ Omotic languages are usually treated as constituting an independent branch of the Afro-Asiatic phylum (Fleming 1969, 1976, Fleming and Bender 1976), but there are researchers who question their status. For example, Lamberti (1991) claims that Omotic languages belong to the Cushitic family, based on their morphological similarities.

Central	Eastern	<i>Xamtanga</i>	
	Northern	<i>Bilen</i>	
	Southern	<i>Awungi</i> <i>Kunfal</i>	
	Western	<i>Western Agaw</i>	
East	<i>Boon</i>		
	Dullay	<i>Bussa</i> <i>Gawwada</i> <i>Tsamai</i>	
	Highland	<i>Alaba</i> <i>Burji</i> <i>Gedeo (Darasa)</i> <i>Hadiyya</i> <i>Kambaata</i> <i>Libido</i> <i>Sidamo</i>	
	Konso-Gidole	<i>Dirasha</i> <i>Komso</i>	
	Oromo	<i>Garreh-Ajuran</i> <i>Orma</i> <i>Borana-Arsi-Guji Oromo</i> <i>Eastern Oromo</i> <i>West-Central Oromo</i> <i>Sanye</i>	
	Rendille-Boni	<i>Boni</i> <i>Rendille</i>	
	Saho-Afar	<i>Afar</i> <i>Saho</i>	
	Somali	<i>Darbarre</i> <i>Garre</i> <i>Jiiddu</i> <i>Maay</i> <i>Somali</i> <i>Tunni</i>	
	Western Omo-Tana	<i>Arbore</i> <i>Baiso</i> <i>Daasanach</i> <i>El Molo</i>	
	Yaaku	<i>Yaaku</i>	
	North	<i>Bedawi (Beja)</i>	
	South	<i>Aasáx</i>	
		<i>Alagwa</i>	
		<i>Burunge</i>	
<i>Dahalo</i>			
<i>Gorowa</i>			
<i>Iraqw</i> <i>Kw'adza</i>			

Figure 1: Cushitic Languages

The Cushitic language family is divided into four groups, Central Cushitic, East Cushitic, North Cushitic, and South Cushitic. Under one of the branches of the East Cushitic language group are the Highland East Cushitic languages. Though there are seven languages listed in Figure 1 as Highland East Cushitic languages, only five of them are usually labeled as Highland East Cushitic languages in the literature (e.g., Fleming and Bender 1976, Hudson 1976, website), where Libido is treated as a dialect of Hadiyya and Alaba as a dialect of Kambaata. Hudson (1976: 236-246) provides a summary of the debates and controversies over the classification of Highland East Cushitic languages, especially the status of Burji.

• Characteristics of the Highland East Cushitic languages

Hudson (1976) describes characteristics of the HEC languages.⁶ The characteristics that Hudson found to be common among all the five languages, or most of them, are listed in (1.1).⁷

⁶ Hudson (1981) makes a hypothesis about the diachronic development of HEC languages by examining commonalities among some of them. See this study for Sidaama's commonalities with one or some of the other HEC languages and its differences from them.

⁷ Double-quotation marks are used for those terms that are used by Hudson but instead of which the present study uses different terms or notions. They are followed by the terms or notions used by the present study, which are in parentheses. Note that the list in (1.1) is organized a little differently from Hudson's descriptions, and also that the present study uses "Gedeo", which Grimes (2000), Gordon (2005), the web version of *Ethnologue*, and Hudson (website) uses, rather than "Darasa", which Hudson (1976) uses, as the name of one of the HEC languages.

(1.1) a. Phonology

- There are five short vowel phonemes and five long counterparts.
- “Stress” (pitch accent) is used contrastively.
- Words end in vowels.
- Clusters of two consonants, but of no more, are possible.
- There are “phonological” (morphophonemic) processes such as *i*-epenthesis, nasal metathesis, and assimilations.

b. Noun morphology

- Nouns make a gender distinction in their agreement with verbs and in their choice of demonstratives.
- There is a singular suffix *-ččo* (*-čo* after a sonorant) (though it is infrequent in Burji) and a plural suffix (except in Burji).
- Gender is often reversed between the singular and plural forms of a noun.
- The nominative case on a noun is (often) indicated with a suffix consisting of *-i* or *-u*.
- Possession is expressed in a noun phrase by means of the apposition of possessor and possessum nouns in this order or the genitive case suffix.⁸
- A “suffix” (clitic) is used for “noun” (NP) coordination (except in Hadiyya, which uses apposition).
- There is an agentive suffix (SG: *-(a)ančo*, PL: *-aan(n)o*).

⁸ Hudson (1976: 254) states that in Sidaama, “the genitive of proper names is expressed by apposition only”, using (i) as an example (Hudson 1976: 254-255). However, at least in the dialect of Sidaama examined by the present study, this form is ungrammatical. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.1.3.2), the genitive suffix *-i* is used for masculine proper as well as common nouns ending in *-a*, as in (ii).

(i)	*beša	ooso	(ii)	beš-í	ooso
	Besha	children		Besha-GEN.PROP.M	children
				‘Besha’s children’	

c. Verb morphology⁹

- The Afro-Asiatic verb-prefix pattern (1SG: V-, 1PL: *n-*, 2: *t-*, 3SG.M: V-, 3SG.F: *t-*, 3PL: *n-* or *t-*) appears in the “initial segments of the HEC verb suffixes” (the pronominal subject suffix; Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.2).
- There is a negative suffix except in Sidaama, which uses a negative “prefix” (proclitic), and in Gedeo, which uses a negative infix.
- The imperative suffixes are the same or similar across the HEC languages.
- As is typical in Ethiopian languages (Ferguson 1976: 74-75), an irregular form is used for the imperative of the verb ‘to come’ (with the exception of Haddiya, which uses a regular form).
- The “jussive” (optative) suffix has the same or similar forms across the HEC languages.
- The “conjunctive” (connective) suffix is the same or similar in form across the HEC languages.
- All the HEC languages have the passive suffix *-am*, the causative suffix *-s*, and the suffix for the “factitive or second causative, or the causative of a transitive verb” (the double-causative) *-siis(s)*. They also have similar forms of the “reflexive” (middle) suffix.
- Reduplication can be used for intensified actions, but is used in Sidaama much more productively than any of the other HEC languages.
- The infinitive suffix consists of a vowel (*-a*, *-e*, or *-i*) (*-i(m)* in the case of Gedeo).

⁹ According to Hudson (1976: 267), Sidaama uses a question suffix *-ni*, as in (ia) and (iia). However, my consultant finds the use of this form ungrammatical, and uses intonation for questions, without any suffix, as in (ib) and (iib).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| (i) | a. | *it-oo-tt-o-ni ?
eat-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M-SUFFIX | b. | it-oo-tt-o ?
eat-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M
'Have you (SG.M) eaten? |
| (ii) | a. | *hee'r-a-tt-o-ni ?
live-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M-SUFFIX | b. | hee'r-a-tt-o ?
live-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
'Will you (SG.M) be present?' |

d. Closed-class forms

- Demonstratives show the Afro-Asiatic *t* (F) vs. *k* (M) contrast.
- The first-person singular pronoun is *ani*, and the second-person singular pronoun is *ati* (except in Burji, whose second-person singular pronoun is *aši*).
- There is an accusative independent pronoun (in addition to an accusative pronominal suffix in the case of Kambata and Sidaama).¹⁰
- The interrogative pronouns in the HEC languages are the same or similar in form.
- There is a relative “pronoun” (a noun-phrase clitic) or “suffix” that shows the Afro-Asiatic *t* (F) vs. *k* (M) contrast.
- There is a reflexive pronoun, though its forms are different across the HEC languages (except that Hadiyya and Kambata use similar forms).
- Numerals are the same or similar in form in the HEC languages.
- There is a “copula suffix” (the predicate form of the noun-phrase clitic), and it shows the Afro-Asiatic *t* (F) vs. *k* (M) contrast in Sidaama, Kambata, and Gedeo.

e. Open-class forms

- In addition to the verb of existence, there is a “verb of presence” (a verb that can be used as the verb of existence or presence, not only as a verb of another meaning; *heed-* ‘to live’ in the case of Sidaama).
- There are compounds containing the verb that means ‘to say’.
- There are lexical similarities among the HEC languages.¹¹

¹⁰ Hudson (1976: 258) reports that unlike Burji, Gedeo, and Hadiyya, which have an independent genitive pronoun, Sidaama and Kambata have a “genitive” (possessive) pronominal suffix and the use of an independent genitive pronoun is uncommon in these two languages. However, this does not apply to the dialect of Sidaama investigated by the present study at least. The genitive pronoun and the possessive pronominal suffix are interchangeable in many cases, though the use of the genitive pronoun can be emphatic in some cases; there are even cases where only the genitive pronoun can be used and the possessive pronominal suffix cannot (Chapter 5 section 5.4.3).

¹¹ Lexical similarities among these languages are also investigated by Bender (1971).

f. Syntax

- The basic word order is SOV.
- Adnominals such as adjectives, relative clauses, demonstratives, and genitives precede their head nouns.
- Subordinate clauses precede main clauses.
- Auxiliary verbs follow the main verb.
- “Postpositions” (suffixes and enclitics) rather than prepositions are used. Suffixes rather than prefixes are used for inflections.

- Highland East Cushitic languages vs. the rest of the East Cushitic languages

Fleming and Bender (1976: 42) report a strong influence on the HEC languages from Omotic languages due to language contact. According to them, like Omotic languages, the HEC languages have glottalized consonants but lack pharyngeals, whereas other East Cushitic languages tend to lack glottalized consonants but have pharyngeals. Hetzron (1980) also suggests a possibility of the negative proclitic *di=* and the locational noun-phrase clitic *=wa* in the HEC languages as instances of the influence from Omotic languages.

If Sidaama is compared with the most studied East Cushitic language, Somali (e.g., Saeed 1993[1986]), there seem to be many clear differences between these two languages. First, Somali has what are called “indicator particles” (Tucker 1966: 541, Andrzejewski 1975, Livnat 1983), while Sidaama lacks them. Second, Somali has definite articles, interrogatives, and demonstratives that are suffixed to nouns (Saeed 1993[1986]: 120-122, 160-165), whereas Sidaama has adnominal demonstratives, which

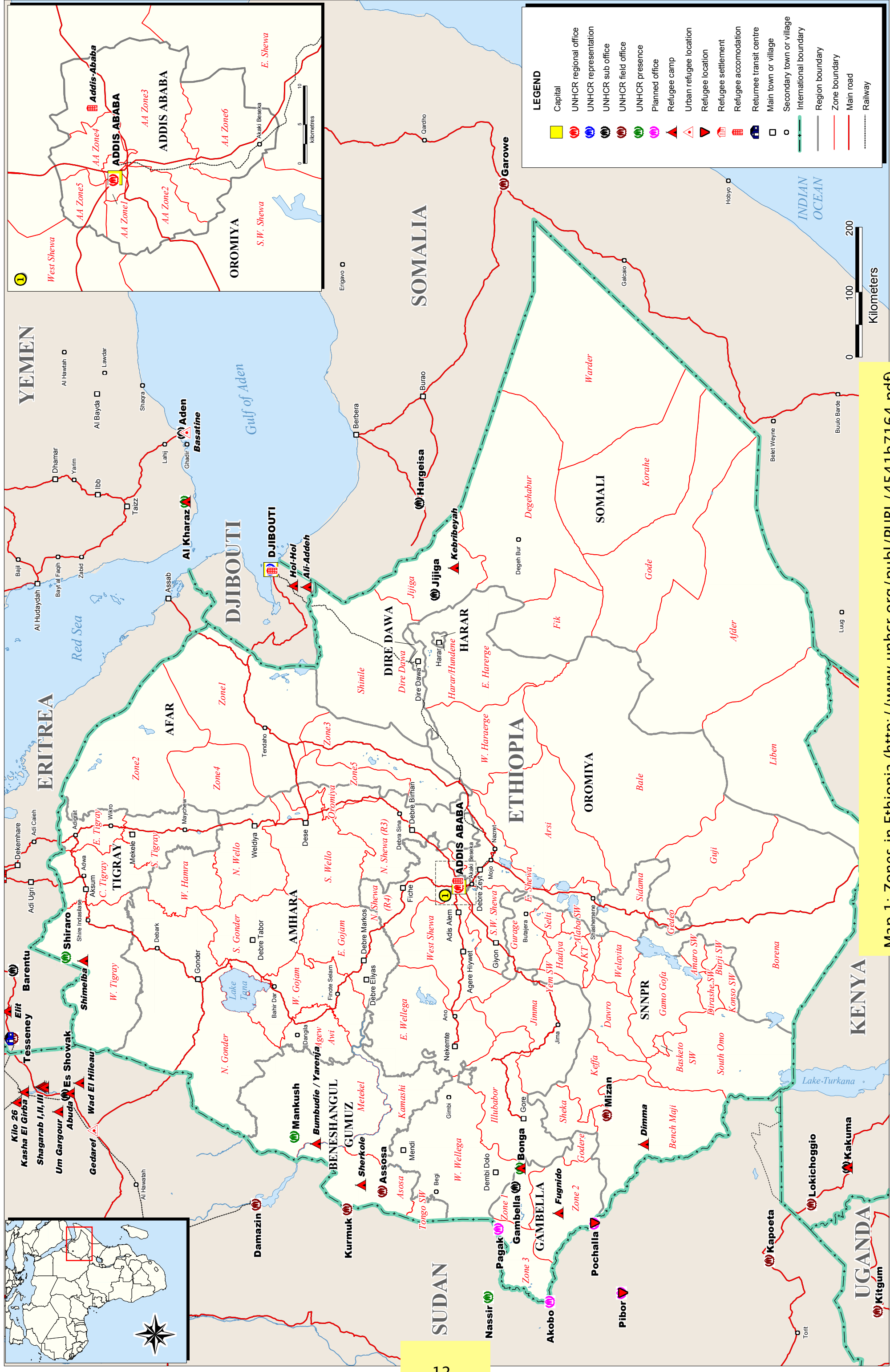
are independent words, and lacks definite articles and interrogative suffixes. Third, unlike Sidaama, Somali has prepositions (Saeed 1993[1986]: 201-214).

1.1.2 Socio-Cultural Information on the Sidaama People

Socio-cultural information on the Sidaama people (*sidaam-u manna* [Sidaama-GEN.M people]) has been described fairly well in the literature (e.g., Brøgger 1986, Hamer 1987, 2003, Teferra 2000: Chapter 1) and on websites (especially, *Sidama Nation On-line*, *The Sidama Concern*, Wansamo website a, b). Only basic information is provided below.

• Geography and climate

As shown in Maps 1 and 2, the Sidaama zone is located 273 km (170 miles) south of Addis Ababa (Addis Abeba); it ranges between 5° 45' N and 6° 45' N and between 38° E and 39° E, and has an area of approximately 10,000 km² (according to the website *The Sidama Concern*). The Sidaama zone is 4,500-10,000 feet above sea level, and is divided into three climate regions, lowlands (4,500-5,500 ft), midlands (5,500-8,000 ft), and highlands (8,000-10,000 ft) (Wansamo website a, b). Climates vary greatly depending on the elevation of the area. As in other places in Ethiopia, in any of the three regions, there are two seasons, a dry season (*arro*) (roughly, from October to March) and a rainy season (*hawado*) (roughly, from April to September). The capital of the Sidaama zone is Awaasa, which is located in the northernmost part of the zone and by Lake Awaasa.



Map 1: Zones in Ethiopia (<http://www.unhcr.org/publ/PUBL/4541b7164.pdf>)

The boundaries and names shown and the designations used on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the

Sources: UNHCR Administrative Units Database, Global Insight digital mapping - © 1998 Europa Technologies Ltd.



Map 2: Zones in South-Central Ethiopia (the south-central part of Map 1 is enlarged)

• Sidaama ethnic group

Although there is no historical record, the Sidaama people are said to have settled in the present area during the 16th century (Brøgger 1986: 24, Gasparini 1983: v-vi, Wansamo website a). The Sidaama land was incorporated into Ethiopia toward the end of the 19th century, and has been part of it since.

The Sidaama Ethnic Group (*sidaamu sirčo*) is one of the over 60 ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, it has been grouped together with about 40 other ethnic groups into “one regional state called the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples (SNNP)” by the Ethiopian government (Wansamo website a: 2), even though its language and culture are quite distinct from any of the other southern ethnic groups.

According to Wansamo (website a), the Sidaama people are geographically surrounded by the Oromo groups (Arusi, Guji/Jemjem), the Gedeo people, and the Wolaita (Wolaytta) people (Omotic, not Cushitic), as shown in Figure 2.

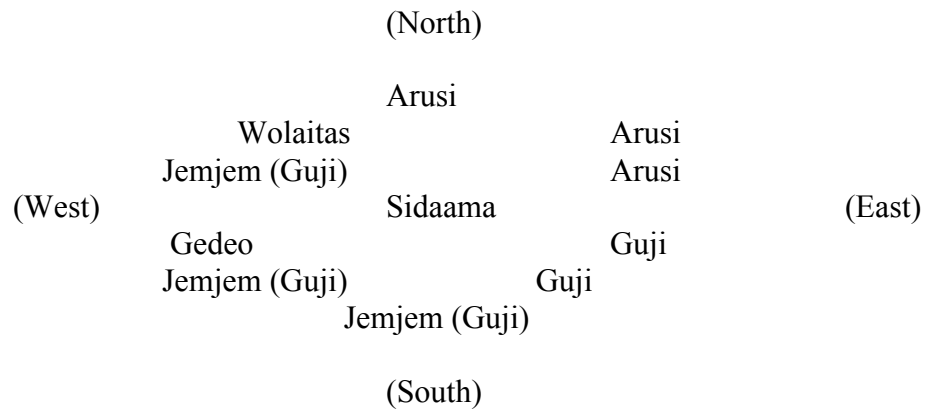


Figure 2: Sidaama Zone and Peoples in its Neighboring Zones (Wansamo website a)

There has long been a conflict between the Sidaama people and the Oromo groups over their territories. See Wansamo (website a) for details.

• Livelihood and everyday life

In the Sidaama zone, there is a strong bond among the members of local communities, and what unites them seems to be an interdependency between them (Brøgger 1986), among others, between young and old people, and between women and men.

The Sidaama society is gerontocratic (Brøgger 1986, Hamer 1970, 1987, 2003), and children are educated by their parents to respect elders. It has a generational class system called *luwa*, which is, according to Hamer (2003: 196), “a means for articulating and perpetuating a relationship between youth and their elders”, specifically, “a means by which the former provide deference and labor for the elders in return for patrimony and instruction from the latter”. The Sidaama zone is composed of different clans (*ga're*), and they are in turn divided into a few more layers of social organizations (e.g., *bosello* ‘subclan’). When there is a problem at one level of social organization, a council of elders (*songo*) at that level is called to discuss and solve the problem.

In Sidaama culture, the division of labor between women and men is rigidly defined (Brøgger 1986, Hamer 1987), and women and men are responsible for different sets of cooperative duties; there are also those jobs for which children are usually

responsible.¹² According to my consultant, (1.2a) are women's duties, (1.2b) are men's, and (1.2c) are usually children's.¹³

- (1.2) a. sagale k'iš- [food(ACC) prepare-] 'to prepare food'
 saada t'uur- [cow(ACC) milk-] 'to milk cows'
 waa dirr- [water(ACC) fetch-] 'to fetch water'
 weese hog- [weesa.plant(ACC) convert.into.waasa-] 'to convert *weese*
 plant into (edible) *waasa*'
- b. ulla hawur- [earth(ACC) plow.with.oxen-] 'to plow the earth with oxen'
 gidee gambas- [crop(ACC) gather-] 'to gather the crop'
 weese kaas- [weese(ACC) plant-] 'to plant *weese* plant'
 badala šuk'un- [corn(ACC) weed.out-] 'to weed out of a corn'
- c. wosin-u lekka haišš- [guest-GEN.M feet(ACC) wash-] 'to wash guests'
 feet'
 mine f- [house(ACC) sweep-] 'to sweep the house'
 lalo allaal- [cattle(ACC) take.care.of.cattle-] 'to take care of the cattle'

Most Sidaama men are engaged in agriculture. They produce crops such as coffee, corn, wheat, barley, sugar cane, and various kinds of vegetables and fruits (cabbages, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, beans and peas, oranges,

¹² When its order is arbitrary, gender is presented in the order in accordance with the following rules: (i) for words such as women and men and female and male, the odd-numbered chapters follow the feminine-masculine order, and the even-numbered chapters the opposite order; (ii) "s/he" is used as a gender-neutral, singular pronoun in the nominative case, and "his/her" and "him/her" are used as gender-neutral, singular pronouns in the genitive case and accusative case, respectively. Because the consultant and the author are both male, most examples that contain the first-person and second-person singular pronouns are those for masculine referents.

¹³ As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.1.3.3) and Kawachi (2004), the middle voice suffix can show that the action is performed as one of the subject's social responsibilities. The subject performs an action which he/she is expected to carry out regularly or on a particular occasion as one of his/her responsibilities in his/her family or community, and whose non-execution would get other family or community members into trouble and make himself/herself feel guilty. The verbs in (1.2) are often accompanied by the middle voice suffix to convey such a nuance.

lemons, bananas, avocados, guavas, etc.). Among other things, *weese* (*waasa* plant; *ensete*), which belongs to the banana family (but larger than banana trees), is the most important crop for the Sidaama people, and many *weese* trees are planted around any Sidaama house. *Weese* is used for various purposes. Only its root (*ha'miččo*) is edible to humans, and through a long series of processes (*hog-a* [convert.*weese*.into.*waasa*-INF]), it is converted into fermented bread called *waasa*, which is the Sidaama people's staple food. Its fiber (*haant'iččo*) is used for ropes (*t'uššo*). Its leaves (*hoga*) are used for wrapping food or cooking ingredients (for example, *bit'ee* 'flour balls' are wrapped with *weese* leaves before they are baked in ashes; *gafumma* 'dough made of corn flour' is covered with a *weese* leaf and fastened together before it is boiled), for mattresses (*hašūwa*), for pillows, for mats, and for bags; they are also fed to cattle. *Weese* leaves are also laid on a clay container for *waasa* (*t'ilte*), and *waasa* is served on the leaves.

Most Sidaama households also have cattle. The number of cattle that a family owns represents the richness of the family. Some families have barns (*lal-u mine* [cattle-GEN.M house]) outside their house, but in many cases, families keep their cattle in an area inside their house specifically designed for them (*hadiro*). The cattle area of a house is separated from the human area of the house with a wooden fence, to which the cattle are tied at night (the structure of the fenced area is called *golo*). In some Sidaama houses, there is a chicken house high up on the wall, and the chicken house is accessed by way of stairs from the ground.

A Sidaama house has one story, and its roof is covered with dry grass (*buuyyo*). The human area usually consists of two parts, a private room (*holge*), which contains beds, and a living room (*alba* 'lit., front'); a kitchen is located in one of these rooms.

- Education

As in other places in Ethiopia, primary education is provided for children of about 7-14 years old. It is divided into two phases, first-fourth grades and fifth-eighth grades, and children are expected to complete at least the first phase. High school education is given to ninth and tenth graders, and after finishing it, tenth graders take a national examination if they wish to spend the next two years in a preparatory school for college or to attend a one- or two-year vocational school.

The instruction of language at school in the Sidaama zone was Amharic until about 1994, when the new government permitted the use of local languages for education; since then, the language of instruction has been Sidaama (Alemu and Tekleselassie 2006).

- Markets

Markets take place almost every day in different locations. In each location, a market is usually held two days a week. A proper name (e.g., *k'awaado*, *k'awallanka*, *deela*) is given to each market. At a large market, a wide variety of items including cattle are sold, but at a small market, only limited types of items, especially those for immediate consumption, are sold. At any market in the Sidaama zone, money (Ethiopian *birre*) is used, and there is no bartering.

- Food and drink

As mentioned earlier, Sidaama people live on *waasa*. They also eat meat, especially beef. Chicken, which is expensive, is occasionally eaten; mutton and goat meat are also sometimes consumed. On special occasions like marriage, birth, new year, and visits of special guests, bulls, or sometimes sheep or goats, are slaughtered.

Dairy products are important in Sidaama lives. In particular, butter (*buuro*) is used not only as a food but also as an ointment; Sidaama people anoint their hair and skin with butter to prevent them from becoming dry.

Drinking water is fetched from a river or a spring (sometimes from a well), or is obtained from rain. Sidaama people also consume a large quantity of milk and coffee. They also have alcoholic beverages such as *faršo* ‘[local beer]’, *malawo* ‘[honey drink]’, *t’ajje* ‘(AMH) [honey drink] (the same as *malawo*)’, and *harak’e* ‘[local gin]’.

- Family and marriage

Sidaama is a patrilineal society. The head of a family is the father, and only his sons inherit his properties. When a couple gets married, they live close to the man’s parents, though they do not live with them. According to the website *The Sidama Concern*, the average number of children a woman gives birth to is about eight.

There are three modes of marriage in Sidaama culture. One of them is called *addawana*, in which a woman makes a proposal to a man by throwing a stick into his house, and the man responds to the proposal (usually immediately) after. In most cases, the man accepts the proposal, and his mother or sister takes the woman into their house. This traditional mode of marriage proposal is becoming less common these days.

Another one is called *aduulša*, which is persuasion used for marriage; a man or a family member of the man attempts to persuade a woman to get married to him. A third one is *diir-a* ([kidnap.for.marriage-NML]), which is the abduction of a woman by a man and/or someone or a group of people on his side for the purpose of marriage. When a woman resists *aduulša*, this method is sometimes used.

Polygamy is common in Sidaama culture; a man can have more than one wife, and the number of wives which a man has is considered to be one of the criteria for his economical power. When a man dies, one of his brothers (or his brother, if he only has one) is expected to take care of his wife (or wives) as her (or their) husband.

As in other Ethiopian cultures, there is no custom of using family names, surnames, or last names, and only names for individual persons (that is, first names) are used. In the case of Sidaama, however, one person will usually have several different names, which are used in different circumstances (e.g., at home, in the neighborhood, at school).¹⁴

- Clothing

More and more Sidaama people wear western clothing items these days, but there are Sidaama cultural clothes such as in (1.3).

¹⁴ As a Sidaama speaker, my consultant had several names when he was in the Sidaama zone. He was called *šuuure* at home and *wo'na* in the neighborhood.

- (1.3) tubba ‘[a type of women’s large dress made of thick leather with butter applied on it; worn in highlands]’
 lande ‘[a type of women’s dress made of leather put on one’s shoulder]’
 wodaare ‘[a type of women’s dress made of leather]’
 tubba ‘[female clothes]’
 goonfa ‘[men’s formal suit]’
 darbata ‘[a kind of heavy clothes worn mostly by men when it is cold]’
 diiwe ‘[a kind of heavy clothes (heavier than darbata) worn mostly by elderly men in the night]’

• Time

Sidaama uses the Ethiopian time system. According to this system, hours are counted starting from 6 o’clock in the morning and in the evening in our system. Thus, noon and 9 pm in our system correspond to 6 o’clock and 3 o’clock in Ethiopian time, respectively.

The Ethiopian time system uses the notion of a week consisting of seven days, but a year is made up of 13 months (12 30-day-months and 5 or 6 days); unlike in other places in the world, a new year starts not in January but in December (*fičče* ‘New Year’s Day’) in the Sidaama system (and on the 11th of September in the Amhara system). The year in Ethiopia is 7 years behind the year in the Christian area and in many other places in the world; the year 2007 in our system corresponds to the year 2000 in the Ethiopian system.

- Religions

The traditional Sidaama religion has been retained, though Christianity is developing rapidly nowadays (see Wansamo website b for details). Regardless of religion, the morality of the Sidaama people is based on *halaale* ‘truth’.

1.2 Literature Review

In general, only a small number of studies on Sidaama have been written in English, and not much information on this language is available in English.¹⁵ This section lists previous studies on Sidaama and other HEC languages.

There is a grammar of Sidaama written by Teferra (2000). As far as I know, this is the only grammar written in English. However, it lacks sufficient examples, and fails to discuss important aspects of Sidaama grammar.

Hudson (1976), who provides a short description of Highland East Cushitic languages, sketches some aspects of Sidaama.

There are a few dictionaries of Sidaama and the HEC languages. Gasparini (1983) is a Sidaama-English dictionary, which contains some example sentences and socio-cultural notes. Hudson’s (1989) HEC dictionary contains a Sidaama-English dictionary chapter and an English-HEC dictionary chapter, though it does not have any sentence examples.

There are also some descriptions of the phonology (Leslau 1952, 1959, Wedekind 1980, Teferra 1994, 2002) and morphophonemics (Abebe Gebre-Tsadik 1985) of

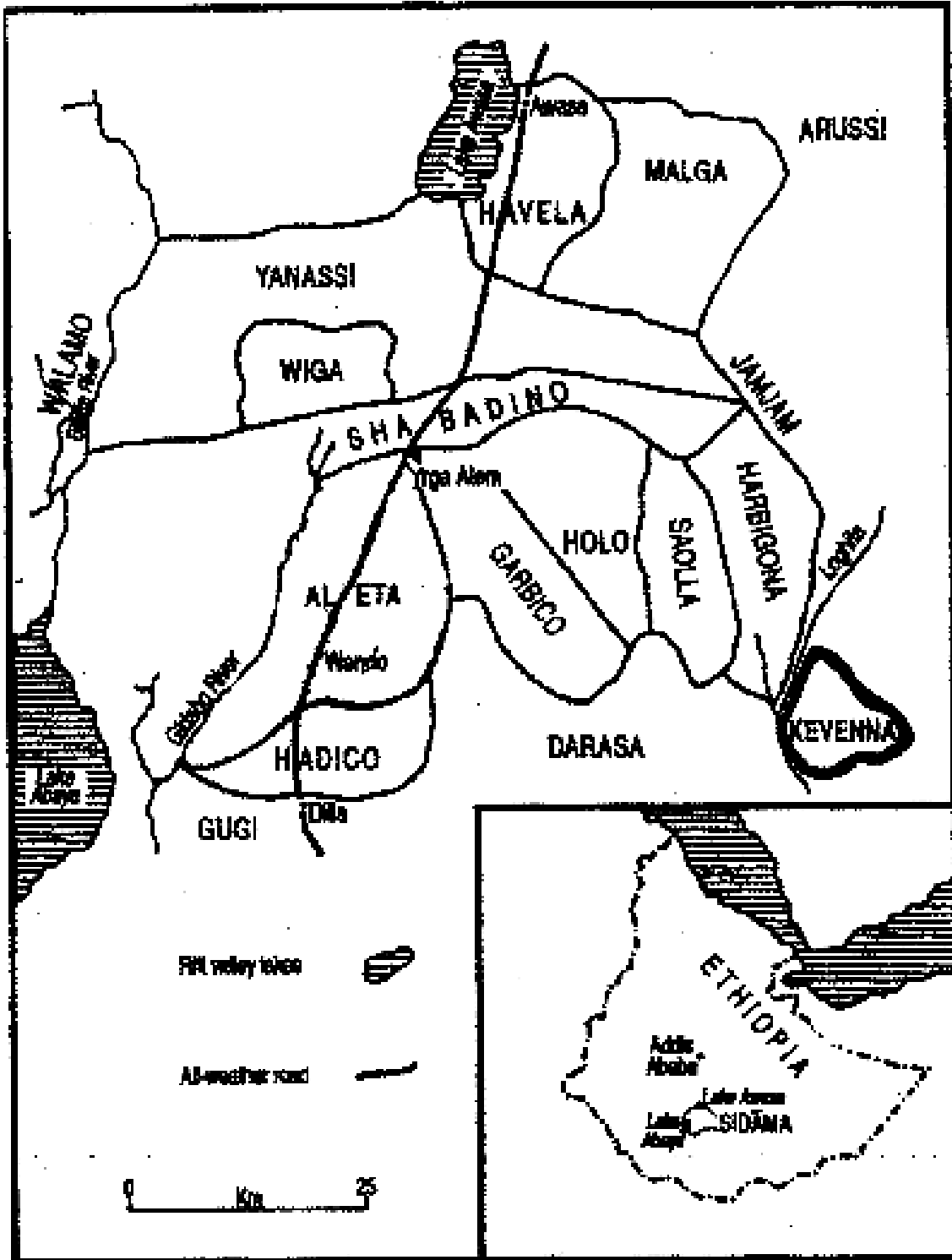
¹⁵ Nevertheless, there are a few sources written in Italian, including Moreno (1940), which contain Sidaama texts.

Sidaama. Studies on the syntax and semantics of this language do not exist, except for the present author's papers (Kawachi 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b; some discussion on the semantics of Sidaama motion verbs in Kawachi 2005). Teferra (1987) describes the taboo of a woman's use of words that refer to her in-laws and husband and words with forms phonologically similar to them. Wedekind (1990) seems to be the only study that deals with narratives in Sidaama, Gedeo, and Burji.

1.3 Methodology

The present study is based on the consultations that I have conducted with a native speaker of Sidaama over the years. My consultant is Ababayehu (Dr. Ababayehu Aemero Tekleselassie; *awawaayyo* in Sidaama). He was born in 1964 and was brought up in Daayie Village in the Baansa district of the Sidaama zone. He belongs to a clan called *k'eweena* (*k'eween-u ga're* [K'eweena-GEN.M clan]), which is located to the south-east-most part of the Sidaama zone, as shown in Map 3, which labels this clan as "Kevenna".¹⁶

¹⁶ There is a dialect of Kambaata (Bender 1971) (or an independent HEC language; Crass 2005) called "K'eweena" or "K'abeena", which is spoken in the Gurage zone, but it is not spoken in the *k'eweena* clan of the Sidaama zone.



Map 3: Clans in the Sidaama Zone (adapted from Hamer 2003: 197)

His first languages are Sidaama and Amharic. He spoke mainly Sidaama and sometimes Amharic with his family members including his twelve or so siblings, most of whose first language is Sidaama rather than Amharic, but spoke only Amharic with his grandmother. He communicated with his friends and neighbors only in Sidaama.

After Abebayehu graduated from Irga High School in 1982, he participated as an instructor in the literacy campaign promoted by the Ethiopian government (section 1.1.1), where he taught Sidaama adults how to read and write Sidaama with the Amharic writing system and to do basic arithmetic using Amharic numerals. Later, he moved to Addis Ababa to attend Addis Ababa University. After he obtained a Bachelor of Education with a major in pedagogical science and a minor in English in 1986, he moved to Baale, a southern Oromo-speaking region, where Amharic is widely spoken as a second language, to be the principal of Agarfa Secondary School. He then resigned from the job to study for his Master's degree in educational administration at Addis Ababa University. During his study for his Master's degree, he moved back to the Sidaama zone and worked for the Education Department of the Sidaama zone in Awaasa, where he developed teaching materials for Sidaama people, including a textbook of mathematics in Sidaama, as a senior researcher in curriculum and research. After finishing his Master's degree in 1995, he continued to work for the Sidaama Education Department, and at the same time, was employed as a lecturer in education at Addis Ababa University until 2000, when he moved to the United States to study at the University at Buffalo, the State University of New York.¹⁷ After he earned his PhD in educational administration in 2005, he became a

¹⁷ I met Abebayehu at a party for the Field Methods class in 2001-2002, which studied Tigrinya, an Ethio-Semitic language, under the instruction of Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald, and in which I participated as an auditor.

professor of education at Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia. His recent publications include Tekleselassie (2002, 2005, 2006), Tekleselassie and Johnstone (2004), and Alemu and Tekleselassie (2006).

I have had consultation sessions with Ababayehu regularly (usually 2-6 hours a week, sometimes longer or shorter) to collect Sidaama data. The consultations have been conducted in English. We usually met in my office at the University at Buffalo, but, since the late summer of 2005, when he left Buffalo, consultations have been done by phone.

Admittedly, the use of a single consultant for a grammatical description cannot take into account idiolectal or dialectal differences. Nevertheless, even when multiple consultants on a language are employed, it would be difficult to ask all of them exactly the same set of questions to write a grammar of the language; a bias toward the judgment of even a small number of linguistic forms by a certain speaker or speakers out of a group of consultants would be inevitable. The consultation with a single speaker makes it easy to obtain consistent data. In order to benefit from this strength, I checked almost all the examples in this dissertation with Ababayehu at least twice.

Chapter 2 Phonology

This chapter describes Sidaama phonology. Section 2.1 lists the phonemes in this language, and discusses consonant clusters and geminates. Section 2.2 describes morphophonemic rules. Section 2.3 deal with suprasegmentals: 2.3.1 syllables and moras, 2.3.2 pitch accent, 2.3.3 intonation, and 2.3.4 pause.

2.1 Segmental Phonology

2.1.1 Phoneme Inventory

2.1.1.1 Consonants

The inventory of consonants in Sidaama is shown in Table 2.1.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	b		t d			k g	'
Stop Ejective	p'		t'			k'	
Implosive			ɗ				
Affricate				č ĵ			
Ejective				č'			
Fricative		f	s z	š			h
Nasal	m		n		ɲ		
Tap/Flap			r				
Lateral Approximant			l				
Approximant	w				y		

Table 2.1: Sidaama Consonant Phonemes

This language has a series of ejectives (/p'/, /t'/, /k'/, /č'/), like other Eastern Cushitic languages (Hudson 1976) and like other Ethiopian languages (Ferguson 1976: 66-67). Although the favored place of articulation for ejectives is the back of the mouth in many languages including a number of Cushitic languages (Greenberg 1970: 127), Sidaama has /p'/. Unlike the ejectives, which are single segments, the glottalized sonorants (/ʔl/, /ʔm/, /ʔn/, /ʔr/, /ʔy/) are clusters made up of two phoneme segments consisting of a glottal stop and a sonorant (Wedekind 1980: 135, 142, Abebe Gebre-Tsadik 1985: 65-66, Teferra 1994: 1094), and are not listed in the table (see section 2.1.2). As shown in section 2.2, there is a morphophonemic rule (specifically, the epenthesis of /i/) that applies to consonant clusters including /ʔm/, /ʔn/, and /ʔl/ that would not apply to them if they were single consonants instead of consonant clusters. This rule does not apply to the ejectives because they are not consonant clusters, but single

consonants. There is no evidence from the application of any of the morphophonemic rules to /'r/ and /'y/ that they are consonant clusters. Nevertheless, /'r/ is almost always an allomorph of the middle suffix *-d'*, and /'y/ occurs only in one morpheme in this language (the first-person singular pronominal possessive suffix, *-'ya*).¹

The glottal stop is a phoneme in this language. In addition to the applicability of the above morphophonemic rule for consonant clusters to /'m/, /'n/, and /'l/, there are minimal and near-minimal pairs such as in (2.1).

- (2.1) saa 'cow' — sa'a 'to pass'²
 lee 'six' — le'e (le'-ø-e- [become.ripe-1SG/3SG.M-CNN])
 meeda 'to shave' — me'e 'how many'

A language with only one implosive usually has /ɓ/, but as noted by Greenberg (1970: 128), Eastern Cushitic languages are unusual in that although they each have only one implosive, that implosive is /ɗ/, rather than /ɓ/.

There is some asymmetry in Table 2.1. For example, Sidaama lacks /p/ and /v/. According to Ferguson (1976: 65), these two consonants are rarely used in Ethiopian languages, and in loan words, /p/ and /v/ are usually replaced by /f/ and /b/, respectively (e.g., *foletika* (AMH: *polatika*, English: 'politics'), *yunibarsite* (AMH: *yuniversity*, English: 'university')).

¹ The following words contain /'r/, but it is not an allomorph of the middle suffix: *go'ra* '[wild berry similar to blackberry and raspberry]', *ba'raa'ra* 'fine [used in greetings]' (adapted from Teferra 2000: 14).

² Verb examples in this section that are glossed with 'to ...' end with the infinitive suffix *-a*, though the suffix boundary may not be indicated with a hyphen.

The voiced dental fricative /z/ occurs only infrequently in loan words from Amharic (e.g., *muuze* ‘(AMH: *muz*) banana’) (Hudson 1976: 248, Teferra 2000: 13). In such words, /z/ is often replaced by /s/ (e.g., *saitella* ‘(AMH: *zayt*) oil’), or is sometimes found in free variation with /s/ (e.g., *t’arap’eezza* ~ *t’arap’eessa* ‘(AMH: *t’arapp’eza*) table’).

2.1.2 Vowels

Sidaama has five short vowel phonemes (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/) and their long counterparts (/ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, /uu/). Examples of minimal pairs that are in contrast in vowel length are shown in (2.2).

- (2.2) /i/ — /ii/ sinna ‘branches’ — siinna ‘coffee cups’
 dina ‘to limp’ — diina ‘enemy’
- /e/ — /ee/ tenne ‘at that time, then’ — teenne ‘flies’
 de’a ‘to neglect’ — dee’a ‘to have diarrhea’
- /a/ — /aa/ ĵawa ‘great, old’ — ĵaawa ‘to become thin’
 gala ‘to stay overnight’ — gaala ‘camel’
- /o/ — /oo/ hoga ‘to convert a *weese* plant into *waasa*’ — hooga ‘to lose’
 k’ola ‘to reply’ — k’oola ‘wing’
- /u/ — /uu/ kula ‘to tell’ — kuula ‘blackish blue’
 but’a ‘to become poor’ — buut’a ‘to become cautious’

All Sidaama words end in vowels. Generally, open-class words end in /e/, /a/, or /o/ in their citation forms, and can end in /u/ or /i/ only when followed by a suffix that consists only of or ends in one of these vowels.³

2.2 Consonant Clusters and Geminates

2.2.1 Consonant Clusters

The maximum number of consonants that can occur successively in Sidaama is two. Consonant clusters only occur intervocalically across syllables. The large majority of clusters of different consonants are of one of the following two types: (a) sonorant–obstruent or (b) glottal stop–sonorant (Hudson 1976: 249, Wedekind 1980: 141-142, Teferra 1994: 1091-1095, Teferra 2000: 15). Some examples are shown in (2.3).

(a) Sonorant–Obstruent

The nasals and the liquids can each be followed immediately by obstruents.

(2.3) /m/-obstruent:

/mb/	ambooma ‘hyena’	gimboola ‘bamboo basket’
/mf/	haramfama ‘[name of village]’	

³ An exceptions is the *i*-ending forms preceding the verbs *y-* ‘to say’ or *ass-* ‘to do’ in idiomatic compounds with one of these verbs (e.g., *šikk’i y-* ‘to approach’, *šikk’i ass-* ‘to move sth a little’) (Chapter 3 section 3.1.5).

/n/-obstruent:

/nt/	onte ‘five’	saante ‘coin’
/nd/	hando ‘ox’	danda ‘to be able to do’
/nk/	hinko ‘tooth, teeth’	dunka ‘slow’
/ng/	anga ‘hand, arm’	gongo’ma ‘to roll (<i>intr.</i>)’
/nt’/	hant’iššo ‘to sneeze’	hint’a ‘crack, to crack’
/nk’/	hank’afa ‘to hug’	honk’ook’ičča ‘greedy person’
/nč/	danančo ‘hair’	keeraančimma ‘health’
/nǰ/	waanǰe ‘[a kind of bird]’	ǰanǰama ‘Janjama People (Oromo-speaking people who are rival to the Sidaama people)’
/nč’/	č’anč’a ‘to yell’	huunč’a ‘to squeeze’
/nf/	ǰinfa ‘to attack’	goonfa ‘[a kind of clothes]’
/ns/	tunso ‘darkness’	gedensaanni ‘after ...’
/nš/	k’olčanšo ‘race’	giwanšo ‘disagreement’

/r/-obstruent:

/rb/	worba ‘smart’	darbata ‘[a kind of heavy clothes]’
/rt/	t’eerto ‘far’	amaartičča ‘male Amhara person’
/rd/	urde ‘spear, attack’	gordo ‘sky’
/rk/	barko ‘pillow’	irko ‘support’
/rg/	darga ‘place’	gargara ‘to drive away’
/rt’/	birt’e ‘top’	bart’a ya ‘to bow’
/rk’/	č’ork’a ‘to chew’	work’e ‘gold’
/rč/	geerčo ‘elderly (person)’	forarčo ‘time after rain’
/rǰ/	horǰookata ‘to lean to see sth’	
/rč’/	barč’uma ‘stool’	birč’ikk’o ‘(AMH) glass’
/rf/	turfu ya ‘to cry very much’	farfara ‘[rat that digs the ground]’
/rs/	foorarsi’ra ‘to take a walk’	sorsiisa ‘boss’
/rz/	barzaafe ‘(AMH) eucalyptus’	dorzitte ‘(<i>derog.</i>) [name of an Ethnic group]’
/rš/	t’orša ‘to pour’	faršo ‘Farsho [local alcoholic beverage]’

/l/-obstruent:

/lb/	alba ‘face’	bulbula ‘to mix sth with water to melt it’
/lt/	salto ‘liver’	t’ilte ‘waasa container’
/ld/	belda ‘rich’	k’alda ‘storage mainly for grains built outside a house’
/lk/	kilkiliččo assa ‘tickle’	balka ya ‘to break open (<i>intr.</i>)’
/lg/	holge ‘kitchen’	balguda ‘ostrich’
/lt’/	k’alt’a ‘to hang’	k’ilt’imme ‘fish’
/lk’/	wolk’a ‘strength, power’	mulk’ada ‘naked’
/lč/	k’olča ‘to outdistance’	hedeweelčo ‘sudden’
/lʃ/	gelʃejji ya ‘to do sth slowly’	awaʃjigeessa ‘[big animal that stays in the ground during the daytime]’
/lf/	k’ulfe ‘key, button’	salfata ‘shy’
/ls/	teelsa ‘to cover’	masalsa ‘to tell a story of the past’
/lš/	yawaawulša ‘to deceit’	č’ulšiša ‘to cause to rust’

(b) Glottal stop–Sonorant

/’m/, /’n/, and /’l/ can occur in open-class words; /’n/ can also appear as part of the second person plural pronoun (*ki’ne*). Each of the three clusters can occur at the end of a verb stem which the metathesis of the stem-final /m/, /n/, or /l/ and the glottal stop (an allomorph of the middle suffix *-d*) results in when the stem ending in one of these sonorants is followed by the middle suffix. As mentioned earlier, /’r/ also almost always occurs as an allomorph of the middle suffix *-d*, and /’y/ appears only in one morpheme in this language, the first-person singular pronominal possessive suffix.

(2.4)	/’m/	su’ma ‘name’	wo’ma ‘all, full’
		koro’miisa ‘grasshopper’	da’mulčo ‘worm’
		u’ma (INF of u’m-, which is MID of um- (INF: uma) ‘to plow’),	

- /ʰn/ ki'ne '[2PL]' su'nille 'smell'
 hu'na (INF of hu'n-, which is MID of hun- (INF: huna) 'to lose, make a mistake')
- /ʰl/ hala'lado 'wide' la'lama 'mother's sister'
 k'o'lante 'sacred ibis'
 k'o'la (INF of k'o'l-, which is MID of k'ol- (INF: k'ola) 'to return')
- /ʰr/ so'ro [sod-NML] 'mistake' (sod- (INF: so'ra) 'to make a mistake')
 bu'ra 'raw' (INF of bud- 'to be raw')
 afi'ra 'to have' (INF of af-i-d-, which is MID of af- (INF: afa) 'to know, find')
- /ʰy/ -'ya '[1SG.POSS]'

There are a small number of words that contain a sonorant-sonorant sequence, as in (2.5). Some of such words are loan words.

- (2.5) murmuraančo 'gossipper' galma '[name of a Sidaama village]'
 t'armuse '(AMH) bottle' furno '(Italian) loaf of bread'
 mulmu'le '[parasitic animal that goes into the mouth of a cow]'
 hulma 'to pound; make a noise that a horse would produce when eating grains'

Although they are very rare, loan words with an obstruent-obstruent sequence and with an obstruent-sonorant sequence may be found in Sidaama.

- (2.6) obstruent-obstruent: doktoričča ‘(ENG) doctor’ (SID: t’agisaančo ‘doctor, healer’)
 astamaartičča ‘(AMH) teacher’ (SID: rosisaančo)
- obstruent-sonorant: masmaara ‘(AMH) line’
 mismaare ‘(AMH) (metal) nail’
 glaase ‘(AMH) cloth placed on a saddle’

2.2.2 Geminate

Examples of Sidaama words containing geminates are shown below in (2.7). /pp’/, /tt’/, /kk’/, and /čč’/ are the geminates of the ejectives /p’/, /t’/, /k’/, and /č’/, respectively.

All the Sidaama consonants can be geminated. Although some previous studies (e.g., Teferra 2000) claim that /h/ cannot be geminated, there is one example of /hh/ (*ahahhe* ‘grandparents’). As mentioned earlier, /z/ occurs only in Amharic loan words, and the geminate /zz/ is also extremely rare (e.g., *t’arap’eezza* ~ *t’arap’eessa* ‘table’). Gemination can occur as grammatical processes (section 2.2 (iv-1), Chapter 4 sections 4.1 and 4.2.2.1.1); according to Ferguson (1976: 67-68), this is a feature found in Ethiopian languages.

Immediately after the final example listed for each geminate in (2.7), a word containing the single-consonant counterpart that forms a minimal or near-minimal pair with the final example is shown in the arrow brackets. The present study lacks minimal or near-minimal pairs for /d’-/d’d’/, /z’-/zz’/, /č’-/čč’/, and /ñ’-/ññ’/. Note that the intervocalic occurrence of /b/ and /k/ is also restricted because of lenition, which is discussed in section 2.2, and the examples that contain them are loan words. The single

occurrence of /ñ/ is limited to the word-initial position (e.g., *ñammi ñammi ya* ‘to be tasty’), and this consonant is always geminated in other positions.

(2.7)	/bb/	t’ibbe ‘hundred’ gobba ‘country’ <šurraabe ‘(AMH) sweater’>	dubbo ‘forest’ girbaabbe ‘bamboo umbrella’
	/pp’/	k’uupp’e ‘eggs’ kapp’o ‘lie’ lopp’i (lopp’-ø-i [grow-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M]) ‘He grew up.’ <itop’ia ‘Ethiopia’>	dipp’anno ‘blanket’
	/tt/	beetto ‘child’ fuutta ‘cotton’ saatte ‘[a kind of tree similar to but smaller than a palm tree, used to make products such as baskets]’ <saate ‘hour’>	sette ‘eight’
	/tt’/	hett’o ‘wish’ amatt’o ‘spear’ <wit’a ‘seed’>	hutt’a ‘fence’ fitt’a ‘to comb’
	/dd/	uddano ‘clothes’ beeddakko ‘star’ <bada ‘to separate’>	araddo ‘tobacco’ badda ‘to become bald’
	/ddf/	hagiiidfa ‘to become happy’ wodfa ‘to put (a clothing item) on oneself’	
	/kk/	rukkaššo ‘narrow’ bokko ‘stick’ <burtukaane ‘(AMH) orange’>	dikko ‘market’ sukkaare ‘sugar’

- /gg/ dugugguro ‘spine’ t’agga ‘medicine’
goggide ‘[big water tank with two handles, used for brewing beer]’
higge ‘law’
<hige (hig-ø-e [return-3SG.M-GRN])>
- /kk’/ k’aakk’o ‘baby’ hakk’e ‘wood’
hekk’o ‘hiccup’ šakk’ado ‘soft’
<hak’aak’a ‘to feed (liquid) to a baby with palms’>
- /’’/ de’’o ‘negligence’ če’’e ya ‘to sit comfortably’
ba’’a ya ‘to complain (onomatopoetic word imitating sheep)’
ka’’anni ‘on the other side’
<ka’a ‘rise, get up’>
- /ff/ afuffa ‘balloon’ daraaffusa ‘wolf’
galaaffata ‘to hurt sb’
<fafa ‘to become far’>
- /ss/ duressa ‘rich’ t’isso ‘sickness’
maasso ‘blessing’ massa ‘to take away’
<masa ‘to become shocked/concerned’>
- /zz/ t’arap’eezza (t’arap’eessa) ‘(AMH) table’
- /šš/ wošša ‘dogs’ t’uššo ‘ensete rope’
hašša ‘evening’ bušša ‘soil’
<buša ‘bad’>
- /hh/ ahahhe ‘grandparents’
<ahaahhe ‘grandmother’>
- /čč/ fiččee ‘new year’ riččo ‘thing’
duučča ‘all’ k’ačča ‘village’
<kačáččama ‘to hurry’>
- /jĵ/ saĵĵo ‘thirty’ seeĵĵo ‘advice’
hoĵĵa ‘height’ ĵaĵĵa ‘(someone’s) possession’
<ĵaĵa ‘to praise sb’>

/čč'/	gačč'o 'chin' mačč'a 'ear' <fač'a 'to cut a branch off a tree'>	huučč'atto 'prayer'
/mm/	gafumma 'boiled dough made of corn flour, wrapped with <i>waasa</i> leaves' daamma 'mill' tumma 'onion (PL)' <tuma 'onion'>	mimmito 'each other'
/nn/	tonne 'ten' yanna 'time' anni (ann-i [father-NOM.MOD.M or father-GEN.MOD.M]) <ani '[1SG.NOM]'>	manna 'people'
/ññ/	batiññe 'plenty' daañña '(AMH) judge'	diññe 'appointment at a court'
/rr/	harre 'donkey' farro 'tail' <dira 'to put sth in order'>	arrawo 'tongue' dirra 'to descend'
/ll/	uulla 'earth, land' su'nille 'smell' <ola 'to throw'>	ballo 'please' olla 'village people'
/ww/	k'awwe 'gun' gowwa 'foolish' <gowa 'to sew'>	hawwunaate 'dizziness'
/yy/	gaayya 'pipe' woyya 'better' <maaye 'all right'>	fayya 'healthy' hirbayye 'goose'

2.2 Morphophonemic Rules

There are different types of morphophonemic rules in Sidaama, (i) epenthesis, (ii) metathesis, (iii) a set of assimilation rules, and (iv) others. All of the rules operate on

verbs, and one of them concerns nouns as well. Most of them are motivated by the phonotactics of this language.

(i) Epenthesis of the vowel /i/ between a stem-final consonant cluster/geminate and a suffix-initial consonant

(ii) Metathesis

(ii-1) Metathesis of a stem-final sonorant and the glottal stop (as an allomorph of the MID suffix)

(ii-2) Metathesis of a stem-final obstruent and /n/ of the 1PL suffix *-n -mmo*

(iii) Assimilations

(iii-1) Lenition of stops (/b/, /k/, /d/) in an intervocalic position

(iii-2) Assimilation of the stem-final /m/ to the dental place of articulation of /t/ (the 3SG.F/3PL suffix *-t* or /t/ of the 2PL suffix *-tin*)

(iii-3) Assimilation of /n/ of the 1PL suffix *-n -mm* to the bilabial place of articulation of the stem-final /b/

(iii-4) Total assimilation of /t/ (the 3SG.F/3PL suffix *-t* or /t/ of the 2PL suffix *-tin*) to a stem-final obstruent

(iii-5) Total assimilation of /n/ of the 1PL suffix *-n -mm* to a stem-final sonorant

(iii-6) Palatalization of /s/ (the causative suffix *-s* or /s/s of the double-causative suffix *-siss*) due to its assimilation to a palatal consonant in the stem

(iii-7) Elision of a vowel or /h/ after the negative proclitic *di=*

(iv) Others

(iv-1) Glottalization and gemination of a root-final plosive or affricate for the formation of a middle form

(iv-2) Replacement of /d/ by /ʔ/ before /n/ of the 1PL suffix *-n -mm*

Many of these rules have been mentioned by previous researchers (e.g., Hudson 1976: 250, 1999: 783, Teferra 2000), but the following discussion addresses them in more detail.

Table 2.2 summarizes the rules that apply to the different combinations of stem endings and suffix types.

Suffix	Middle	s-initial (Caus./Dbl.Caus.)	t-initial (3SG.F/3PL, 2PL)	n-initial (1PL)	vowel- initial
Stem ending					
single stop	(i) or (iv-1)	(i)	(iii-4)	(ii-2)	none
’	(i)	(i)	(iii-4)	none	none
b	(i) and (iii-1)	(i) and (iii-1)	(iii-4)	(ii-2) and (iii-3)	(iii-1)
k	(i) and (iii-1)	(i) and (iii-1)	(iii-4)	(ii-2)	(iii-1)
ɗ	N/A	(i) and (iii-1)	(iii-4)	(iv-2)	(iii-1)
single sibilant	(i)	(i)	(iii-4)	(ii-2)	none
single sonorant	(ii-1)	none or (iii-6)	none or (iii-2)	(iii-5)	none
cons. cluster/geminate	(i)	(i)	(i)	(i)	none
’-sonorant	N/A	(i)	(i)	(i) and (iv-2)	none

Table 2.2: Sidaama Morphophonemic Rules
and Combinations of Stem-Ending Consonants and Verb Suffixes

As shown in this table, what rule is relevant to a particular combination depends on whether the stem ends in a single consonant or a consonant cluster/geminate, and if it ends in a single consonant, what type of consonant it is.

(i) Epenthesis of the vowel /i/ between a stem-final consonant cluster/geminate or a single obstruent and a suffix-initial consonant (Abebe Gebre-Tsadik 1985: 73, Teferra 2000: 17-18)

In Sidaama, a sequence of three consonants is disallowed in any environment. In order to avoid such a sequence when the stem ending in a consonant cluster or geminate

is directly followed by a suffix consisting of a single consonant or beginning in a consonant, the epenthetic vowel /i/ occurs between the stem and the suffix.⁴

(2.8) the middle suffix (- <i>d</i>)	V-EP-MID-
abb- ‘to bring’	abb-i- <i>d</i> -
faars- ‘to praise’	faars-i- <i>d</i> -
fitt’- ‘to comb’	fitt’-i- <i>d</i> -
 the causative suffix (- <i>s</i>)	 V-EP-CAUS-
dirr- ‘to descend’	dirr-i- <i>s</i> -
hank’- ‘to get angry’	hank’-i- <i>s</i> -
leell- ‘to appear’	leell-i-š-
 the double-causative suffix (- <i>siis</i>)	 V-EP-DBL.CAUS-
dadill- ‘to worry’	dadill-i-siis-
hank’- ‘to get angry’	hank’-i-siis-
haišš- ‘to wash’	haišš-i-siis- or haišš-i-šiiš-
 the 3SG.F/PL suffix (- <i>t</i>)	
e.g., - <i>t-u</i>	V-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL
gongo’ <i>m</i> - ‘to roll’	gongo’ <i>m</i> -i- <i>t-u</i> . ‘She/it/they rolled.’
hagiidd- ‘to become happy’	hagiidd-i- <i>t-u</i> . ‘She/it/they became happy.’
šorr- ‘to chase (sb/sth)’	šorr-i- <i>t-u</i> . ‘She/it/they chased (sb/sth).’
- <i>t-ino</i>	V-3SG.F/3PL-P.PRF.3
hank’- ‘to get angry’	hank’-i- <i>t-ino</i> . ‘She/they got angry.’
kaa’ <i>l</i> - ‘to help’	kaa’ <i>l</i> -i- <i>t-ino</i> . ‘She/they helped (sb).’
sunk’- ‘to kiss’	sunk’-i- <i>t-ino</i> . ‘She/they helped (sb).’
 the 2PL suffix (- <i>tin</i>)	
e.g., - <i>tin-i</i>	V-EP-2PL-S.PRF.2
add- ‘to take’	add-i- <i>tin-i</i> . ‘You (PL) took (sb/sth).’
dand- ‘to be able to do, can’	dand-i- <i>tin-i</i> . ‘You (PL) are able to do (sth).’
wi’ <i>l</i> - ‘to cry’	wi’ <i>l</i> -i- <i>tin-i</i> . ‘You (PL) cried.’

⁴ According to Ferguson (1976: 68), many Ethiopian languages use epenthesis to avoid clusters of three or more consonants.

the 1PL suffix (-*n -mm*)⁵

e.g., -*n-u-mmo*

ass- ‘to do’

füşš- ‘take out’

seekk- ‘to make, fix’

V-EP-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL

ass-i-n-u-mmo. ‘We did (sth).’

füşš-i-n-u-mmo. ‘We took out (sth).’

seekk-i-n-u-mmo. ‘We made/fix (sth).’

In Sidaama, two different obstruents cannot form a cluster, either. When the /t/-initial and /n/-initial suffixes follow a stem ending in a single obstruent (that is preceded by a vowel), another morphophonemic process like metathesis or assimilatory gemination occurs. On the other hand, the middle suffix and the /s/-initial suffixes still use epenthesis for such a stem (the middle suffix is preceded by the epenthetic vowel when the middle form is constructed by adding the middle suffix to the root; as discussed later, the middle may be formed by glottalizing and geminating the root-final consonant). (Epenthesis also usually occurs when a root ending in a sonorant is in the middle voice, as shown in (2.9) and (2.16).)

(2.9) the middle suffix (-*d*)

č’uf- ‘to close’

maat’- ‘to put away, hide’

hog- ‘to convert wasa plant into wasa’

V-EP-MID-

č’uf-i-*d*-

maat’-i-*d*-

hog-i-*d*-

the causative suffix (-*s*)

hab- ‘to forget’

it- ‘to eat’

ra’- ‘to become cooked’

V-EP-CAUS-

haw-i-s-

it-i-s-

ra’-i-s-

⁵ Note that *-n* and *-mm* in this suffix are discontinuous.

the double-causative suffix (- <i>siis</i>)	V-EP-DBL.CAUS-
ra'- 'to become cooked'	ra'-i-siis-
t'aad- 'to meet'	t'aad-i-siis-
t'iib- 'to push'	t'iiw-i-siis-

The epenthetic vowel /i/ also occurs after verb roots made up only of consonants to prevent two consonants from being in sequence word-initially after suffixation. This is illustrated with the simple perfect forms in (2.10).

(2.10)	V-EP-3SG.F/PL -S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL	V-EP-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL	V-EP-2PL-S.PRF.2
f- 'to sweep'	f-i-t-u	f-i-n-u-mmo	f-i-tin-i
y- 'to say'	y-i-t-u	y-i-n-u-mmo	y-i-tin-i

This epenthetic vowel also occurs after vowel-ending verb stems, as shown in (2.11). It is not clear what motivates this epenthesis.⁶ (The examples in (2.11) are simple perfect forms.)

(2.11)	V-EP-3SG.F/PL -S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL	V-EP-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL	V-EP-2PL-S.PRF.2
re- 'to die'	re-i-t-u	re-i-n-u-mmo	re-i-tin-i
u- 'to give'	u-i-t-u	u-i-n-u-mmo	u-i-tin-i
do- 'to move in a circle, migrate'	do-i-t-u	do-i-n-u-mmo	do-i-tin-i

⁶ Exceptions are: *da-* 'to come' (S.PRF 3SG.F/3PL: *dag-g-u*, 1PL: *da-n-g-ummo*, 2PL: *dag-gin-i*) and *so-* 'to send' (S.PRF 3SG.F/3PL: *sok-k-u*, 1PL: *so-n-k-ummo*, 2PL: *sok-kin-i*). These verb roots end in vowels, but behave as if they ended in consonants when they are followed by the consonant-initial suffixes. One could speculate that their archaic forms are *dag-* and *sok-*, respectively (Hudson 1989), and the root-final consonants still show up in those suffixed forms.

(ii) Metathesis

There are two kinds of metathesis that apply to stem-final, single consonants and do not apply to consonant clusters or geminates.

(ii-1) Metathesis of a stem-final sonorant and the glottal stop (as an allomorph of the middle suffix) (Teferra 2000: 19)

The allomorph of the middle suffix for a verb root ending in a sonorant is the glottal stop. The root-final sonorant and the glottal stop usually metathesize, with the result that the stem ends in /^ʔm/, /^ʔn/, or /^ʔl/.

(2.12)		V-MID-V-
waam- ‘to bury’		waa- ^ʔ -m-
boon- ‘to boast, brag’		boo- ^ʔ -n-
hun- ‘to destroy’		hu- ^ʔ -n-
fool- ‘to breathe’		foo- ^ʔ -l-
tum- ‘to mix (honey) with water’		tu- ^ʔ -m-

There is one condition under which this metathesis does not apply to the root-final sonorant and the glottal-stop allomorph of the middle suffix — when the first-person plural suffix *-n -mm* occurs with a stem ending in a sonorant, the glottal stop comes after the root, and the epenthetic vowel /i/ intervenes between them. This is illustrated with the first-person plural simple perfect forms in (2.13).

(2.13)		V-EP-MID-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL
boon-	‘to boast, brag’	boon-i-’-n-u-mmo
fool-	‘to breathe’	fool-i-’-n-u-mmo
waam-	‘to bury’	wam-i-’-n-u-mmo

(ii-2) Metathesis of a stem-final obstruent and /n/ of the first-person plural suffix -n -mmo

(Teferra 2000: 18-19)

When a stem ending in an obstruent (not part of a consonant cluster or geminate) occurs with the first-person plural suffix *-n -mmo*, the obstruent and the /n/ are exchanged to form the cluster, *-n-obstruent*. This metathesis is motivated by the avoidance of an illegal sequence, obstruent-sonorant, and the formation of a legal sequence, sonorant-obstruent (Teferra 2000: 19). (2.14) shows the first-person plural simple perfect forms of verbs.

(2.14)		V-1PL-V-S.PRF.1-1PL
meed-	‘to shave’	mee-n-d-u-mmo
t’ook’-	‘to flee from’	t’oo-n-k’-u-mmo
bič’-	‘to scar’	bi-n-č’-u-mmo
k’aaf-	‘to step over/walk’	k’aa-n-f-u-mmo
miš-	‘to despise’	mi-n-š-u-mmo

However, this does not apply to a verb stem ending in the glottal stop or the implosive. Examples of the first-person plural simple perfect forms of such verb stems are shown in (2.15). (As shown later, /d/ becomes /ʔ/ before /n/ of the first-person plural suffix *-n -mmo*.)

(2.15)		V-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL
	la'- 'to see, look at'	la'-n-u-mmo
	ha-d- 'to go'	ha-'-n-u-mmo
	has-i-d- 'to want'	has-i-'-n-u-mmo
	hud-i-d- 'to become hungry'	hud-i-'-n-u-mmo

(iii) Assimilations (Teferra 2000: 20-28)

(iii-1) Lenition of stops (/b/, /k/, /d/) in an intervocalic position

There are three stops that become weak, or more sonorous, intervocalically. This lenition transpires when a stem ending in one of these stops (single occurrence) is followed by a suffix starting in a vowel (e.g., infinitive, third-person singular masculine imperfect, imperative).⁷ The examples in (2.16) are the infinitive forms and the third-person singular masculine imperfect forms of verbs.

⁷ There are a few examples where lenition does not apply (e.g., *č'eeek-a* (INF of *č'eeek-* 'to become fed up with'), *akaako* 'great-grandfather' (*akaakka* 'great-grandfathers')).

(2.16)		V-INF	V-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
b -> w	buub- ‘to fly’	buuw-a	buuw-ø-anno
	gib- ‘to hate’	giw-a	giw-ø-anno
	t’iib- ‘to push’	t’iiw-a	t’iiw-ø-anno
	ub- ‘to fall down’	uw-a	uw-ø-anno
k -> h	beek- ‘to divide’	beeh-a	beeh-ø-anno
	duuk- ‘to carry’	duuh-a	duuh-ø-anno
	rak- ‘to hurry’	rah-a	rah-ø-anno
	took- ‘to make cattle drink water with salty mineral in a pond’	tooh-a	tooh-ø-anno
d -> ’r	af-i-d- [find-EP-MID-] ‘to have’	af-i-’r-a	af-i-’r-ø-anno
	ha-d- ‘to go’	ha-’r-a	ha-’r-ø-anno
	hag-i-d- ‘to become happy’	hag-i-’r-a	hag-i-’r-ø-anno
	has-i-d- [look.for-EP-MID-] ‘to want’	has-i-’r-a	has-i-’r-ø-anno

Because the intervocalic position is a preferred weakening environment (Lass 1984: 181), this process is normally interpreted as lenition, rather than fortition in non-intervocalic positions. In fact, when a stem ending in one of these consonants is followed by a /t/- or /n/-initial suffix, the consonant is treated as a stop rather than the corresponding weak consonant; in such a case, the consonant is not intervocalic, it remains as a stop. Examples of verbs in the simple-perfect aspect are shown in (2.17).

(2.17)		V-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F	V-1PL-VS.PRF.1-1PL
	daak- ‘to swim’	daak-k-u	daa-n-k-u-mmo
	ub- ‘to fall down’	ub-b-u	u-m-b-u-mmo
	has-i-d- [look.for-EP-MID] ‘to want’	has-i-d-d-u	has-i-’-n-u-mmo
	af-i-d- [find-EP-MID] ‘to have’	af-i-d-d-u	af-i-’-n-u-mmo

Lenition also applies to nouns. The forms unmarked for number and the plural forms of some nouns differ in the length of the final consonant; the unmarked form ends in a consonant followed by /e/, /a/, or /o/, and the plural ends in the geminate of the consonant followed by /a/ (e.g., unmarked: *guma*, PL: *gumma* ‘fruit’, unmarked: *meesane*, PL: *meesanna* ‘ax’, unmarked: *umo*, PL: *umma* ‘head’). When the geminated consonant of the plural form is /b/ or /k/, the final consonant of the unmarked form is weakened, as shown in (2.18).

(2.18)	unmarked	PL
duk- ‘burden’	duhaa	duk-ka
siib- ‘rope’	siiwo	siib-ba
sissib- ‘wood for cauterization’	sissiwo	sissib-ba
hoob- ‘enclosure, pen’	hoowe	hoob-ba

(iii-2) Assimilation of the stem-final /m/ to the dental place of articulation of /t/ (the third-person singular feminine/third-person plural suffix -t or /t/ of the second-person plural suffix -tin)

When a verb stem ending in /m/ (including a stem consisting of a verb root and the passive or reciprocal suffix -am) is followed by one of the /t/-initial suffixes, the /m/ changes to /n/ due to its assimilation to the dental place of articulation of the following /t/.

(2.19)	V-3SG.F/PL-P.PRF.3	V-3SG.F/PL-S.PRF.3SG.F	V-2PL-S.PRF.2
hulum- ‘to crunch’	hulun-t-ino	hulun-t-u	hulun-tin-i
rum- ‘to curse’	run-t-ino	run-t-u	run-tin-i
šam- ‘to become wet’	šan-t-ino	šan-t-u	šan-tin-i
giiram- ‘to become angry’	giiran-t-ino	giiran-t-u	giiran-tin-i
šarram- ‘to wrestle’	šarran-t-ino	šarran-t-u	šarran-tin-i

(iii-3) Assimilation of /n/ of the first-person plural suffix -n -mm to the bilabial place of articulation of the stem-final /b/

When the stem ending in /b/ is followed by the first-person plural suffix -n -mm, the /n/ of the suffix assimilates to the bilabial place of articulation of the /b/, and changes to /m/. This rule applies after the metathesis in (ii-2) does, as shown in the simple-perfect examples in (2.20).

(2.20)	V-1PL-V-S.PRF.1-1PL
buub- ‘to fly’	buu-m-b-u-mmo
dib- ‘to cover with blanket’	di-m-b-u-mmo
gib- ‘to dislike’	gi-m-b-u-mmo
t’iib- ‘to push’	t’ii-m-b-u-mmo
t’imbiib- ‘to finish up a drink’	t’imbii-m-b-u-mmo
ub- ‘to fall down’	u-m-b-uu-mmo

The only stem-final bilabial consonant relevant to this assimilation rule is /b/. Stem-finally, /p’/ does not occur by itself, but is always geminated (e.g., *kapp’* - ‘to tell a lie’). When the stem ending in /m/ is followed by the 1PL suffix -n -mm, the /n/ of the suffix changes to /m/, as shown in (iii-5), though one could regard this as an assimilation of /n/ to the bilabial place of articulation of the stem-final /m/.

(iii-4) Total assimilation of /t/ (the third-person singular feminine/third-person plural suffix -t or /t/ of the second-person plural suffix -tin) to a stem-final obstruent

When a verb root with an obstruent (a single obstruent, not part of a consonant cluster or geminate) at its end is followed by a /t/-initial suffix, the /t/ becomes totally assimilated with the obstruent and forms a geminate with it, in order to avoid a sequence of two different obstruents (Hudson 1976: 250, Abebe Gebre-Tsadik 1985: 73).

(2.21)	V-3SG.F/PL-P.PRF.3	V-3SG.F/PL-S.PRF.3SG.F	V-2PL-S.PRF.2
amad- ‘to hold’	amad-d-ino	amad-d-u	amad-din-i
k’aag- ‘to remember’	k’aag-g-ino	k’aag-g-u	k’aag-gin-i
šaš- ‘to become afraid’	šaš-š-ino	šaš-š-u	šaš-šin-i
haǰǰ- ‘to order’	haǰǰ-ǰ-ino	haǰǰ-ǰ-u	haǰǰ-ǰin-i
ba’- ‘to disappear’	ba’-’-ino	ba’-’-u	ba’-’in-i

As mentioned in (iii-1), when the stem ends in one of those stop consonants which may go through lenition, the stop rather than its weakened counterpart is geminated.

(2.22)	V-3SG.F/PL-P.PRF.3	V-3SG.F/PL-S.PRF.3SG.F	V-2PL-S.PRF.2
t’iib- ‘to push’	t’iib-b-ino	t’iib-b-u	t’iib-bin-i
daak- ‘swim’	daak-k-ino	daak-k-u	daak-kin-i
ha-d- ‘to go’	ha-d-d-ino	ha-d-d-u	ha-d-din-i

(iii-5) Total assimilation of /n/ of the first-person plural suffix -n -mm to a stem-final sonorant (Hudson 1976: 250, Abebe Gebre-Tsadik 1985: 75, Teferra 2000: 25)

When a verb stem ending in a single sonorant (not part of a geminate or consonant cluster) is followed by the first-person plural suffix -n -mm, the /n/ becomes assimilated to and changes into the sonorant to form a geminate. (2.23) shows the first-

person plural simple perfect forms of such verbs. (If the final sonorant is /n/ and it is followed by the first-person plural suffix *-n -mm*, the geminate /nn/ is formed: e.g., *boon-n-ummo* (*boon-* ‘to boast, brag’).)

(2.23)		V-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL
waam-	‘to bury’	waam-m-u-mmo
šiiim-	‘to become small, loose respect’	šiiim-m-u-mmo
fool-	‘to breathe’	fool-l-u-mmo
wor-	‘to put’	wo-r-r-u-mmo

The verb forms with the sonorant geminates contrast with those with the single sonorant (the first-person singular masculine forms). Compare the first-person singular masculine simple perfect forms in (2.24) with the first-person plural counterparts in (2.23).

(2.24)		V-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
waam-	‘to bury’	waam-u-mm-o
boon-	‘to boast, brag’	boon-u-mm-o

(iii-6) Palatalization of /s/ (the causative suffix *-s* or /s/s of the double-causative suffix *-siis*) due to its assimilation to a palatal consonant in the stem (Teferra 2000, 2002)

The causative suffix *-s* and the double-causative suffix *-siis* can, in some cases, be palatalized to become *-š* and *-šiiš*, respectively. Contrary to Teferra’s (2002) description, however, in many cases, the palatalization is not obligatory but optional.⁸ The following discussion shows that in any of the three types of conditions for the palatalization that

⁸ Ferguson (1976: 65-66) also reports that palatalization as a grammatical process is found in many Ethiopian languages including Sidaama, though he does not mention whether or not it is obligatory.

Teferra (2002) describes as obligatory, the palatalization does not necessarily have to occur.

First, the palatalization of these suffixes often occurs when the stem ends in a palatal.

(2.25)		V-EP-CAUS-
	miš- ‘to despise’	miš-i-š-
	wǎǰǰ- ‘to feel afraid, fear’	wǎǰǰ-i-š-
		V-EP-DBL.CAUS-
	bič’ - ‘to scar’	bič’-i-šiiš-
	wǎǰǰ- ‘to feel afraid, fear’	wǎǰǰ-i-šiiš-

However, there are many cases where the palatalization is optional, as in (2.26).

(2.26)		V-EP-CAUS-
	halč- ‘to desire’	halč-i-s- or halč-i-š-
	haišš- ‘to wash’	haišš-i-s- or haišš-i-š-
	aǰ- ‘to become less’	aǰ-i-s- or aǰ-i-š-
		V-EP-DBL.CAUS-
	buš- ‘to become bad’	buš-i-siis- or buš-i-šiiš-
	kaaǰǰ- ‘to become strong’	kaaǰǰ-i-siis- or kaaǰǰ-i-šiiš-
	t’orš- ‘to pour’	t’orš-i-siis- or t’orš-i-šiiš-

Second, according to Teferra (2002: 1675-1676), the feature of palatal in a non-final position of a stem may spread to the causative or double-causative suffix. However, such palatalization is unusual, and when it occurs at all, it is usually optional. The present study has no examples of stems with non-final palatal segments that obligatorily palatalize the causative or double-causative suffix.

(2.27)	č'ing- 'to drip' šaakk'- 'to become soft/kind' šalak'- 'to slip'	V-EP-CAUS- č'ing-i-s- or č'ing-i-š- šaakk'-i-s- or šaakk'-i-š- šalak'-i-s- or šalak'-i-š-
	č'uukk- 'to rub, massage' šorr- 'to chase, fire, dismiss' č'aabb- 'to become light/bright, shine'	V-EP-DBL.CAUS- č'uukk-i-siis- or č'uukk-i-šiiš- šorr-i-siis- or šorr-i-šiiš- č'aabb-i-siis- or č'aabb-i-šiiš-

Moreover, as Teferra (2002: 1676) himself notes, there are cases where the palatalization does not occur.

(2.28)	č'uf- 'to close' šaf- 'to move back and forth, agitate'	V-EP-CAUS- V-EP-DBL.CAUS- č'uf-i-s- č'uf-i-siis- šaf-i-s- šaf-i-siis-
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Finally, Teferra (2002: 1676-1677) lists types of verb stems to which the palatalization of the causative suffix applies, those ending in /l/, /b/, /ʎ/, and /m/, but all these cases are exceptions. In (2.29), -š indicates obligatory palatalization, -s/-š optional palatalization, and -s no palatalization.

(2.29) /l/-ending verbs

V(-EP)-CAUS-

-š:	ful- ‘to go out’ gal- ‘to spend all night’ leell- ‘to appear, become visible’	fuš- gal-i-š- or ga-šš- leell-i-š-
-s/-š:	šol- ‘to go bad/rotten’ hala’l- ‘to become wide/spacious’ mool-a ‘to become dry’	šol-s- or šol-š- hala’l-i-s- or hala’l-i-š- mool-s- or moo-šš-
-s:	masaal- ‘to prophesy’ maalal- ‘to become surprised’ makkal- ‘to become crazy/mad’	masaal-s- maalal-s- makkal-s-

/b/-ending verbs

V(-EP)-CAUS-

-š:	bub- ‘to burn’	buš-š- (Teferra 2002: 1677)
-s/-š:	duub- ‘to become satisfied’ ǰaab- ‘to become thin/slim’	duuw-i-s-, duuw-i-š-, or duuš-š- ǰaaw-i-s- or ǰaaw-i-š-
-s:	gangaab- ‘to move around, rotate’ hab- ‘to forget’	gangaaw-i-s- haw-i-s-

/ʔ/-ending verbs

V(-EP)-CAUS-

-š:	No examples	
-s/-š:	dee’- ‘to have diarrhea’	dee’-i-s- or dee’-i-š-š-
-s:	ra’- ‘to become cooked’ tu’-a ‘to seal’ ta’- ‘to come off, become detached’	ra’-i-s- tu-i-s- ta-i-s-

/m/-ending verbs	CAUS
-š: wo-'-m- 'to become full'	won-š-
-s/-š: č'oomm- 'to taste good'	č'oomm-i-s- or č'oomm-i-š-
šam- 'to become wet'	šan-s- or šan-š-
giw-am- 'to fight, quarrel'	giw-an-s- or giw-an-š-
-s: damm- 'to become numb'	damm-i-s-
huru-'-m- 'to squat, contract'	huru-'-m-i-s-
t'u'm- 'to become beautiful/handsome'	t'u'm-i-s-

(iii-7) Elision of a vowel or /h/ after the negative proclitic *di=*

In fast speech, when the negative proclitic *di=* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.4) immediately precedes a clause-final predicative or preverbal constituent beginning in a vowel, the /i/ of the clitic is optionally dropped, and when this clitic precedes a verb beginning in /h/, the /h/ as well as the /i/ of the clitic is dropped (Teferra 2000: 26-27). In these cases, the vowel right after the reduced clitic *d=* bears a high pitch. (2.30) shows examples where this clitic and verbs are fused.

(2.30)	NEG=V-P.PRF.1-1SG-M		
ag- ‘drink’	di=ag-oo-mm-o	dágoommo	‘I (M) did not drink (sth).’
ol- ‘throw’	di=ol-oo-mm-o	dóloommo	‘I (M) did not throw (sth).’
um- ‘dig’	di=um-oo-mm-o	dúmoommo	‘I (M) did not dig (sth).’
	NEG=V-3SG.M-IMPRF.3		
has- ‘look for’	di=has-ø-anno	dásanno	‘He does/will not look for (sth).’
hab- ‘forget’	di=haw-ø-anno	dáwanno	‘He does/will not forget (sb/sth).’
hank’- ‘get angry’	di=hank’-ø-anno	dánk’anno	‘He does/will not get angry.’
	NEG=V-3SG.F/PL-P.PRF.3		
ag- ‘drink’	di=ag-g-ino	dággino	‘She/They did not drink (sth).’
ofol- ‘sit’	di=ofol-t-ino	dófoltino	‘She/They did not sit.’
u- ‘give’	di=u-i-t-ino	dúitino	‘She/They did not give (sth to sb).’
hank’- ‘get angry’	di=hank’-i-t-ino	dánk’itino	‘She/They did not get angry.’

(iv) Others

There are a few morphophonemic processes that cannot be classified as any of the above types.

(iv-1) Glottalization and gemination of a root-final plosive or affricate for the formation of a middle form

The middle of a verb is formed by glottalizing (the voiceless counterpart of) a root-final plosive or affricate and geminating the glottalized plosive or affricate, if possible. This makes it possible to prevent a root-final plosive or affricate from being followed by the middle suffix and forming an obstruent-obstruent cluster with it.

(2.31)	V-MID-	V-MID-
gob- ‘to sew’	gop-p’-	daak- ‘to grind’
sut- ‘to hang’	sut-t’-	tug- ‘to drop’
meed- ‘to shave’	meet-t’-	hajaj- ‘to order’
		hajacč’-

(iv-2) Replacement of /d/ by /ʔ/ before /n/ of the first-person plural suffix -n -mm

The middle suffix *-d* becomes the glottal stop when followed by the first-person plural suffix *-n -mm*. As a result, the cluster /ʔn/, rather than the prohibited, obstruent-obstruent cluster */dn/, is produced. This applies not only to verbs that have both active and middle forms, but also to verbs that always contain the middle suffix and have no active forms.

(2.32)	V(-EP)-MID-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL
loos- ‘to work’	loos-i-’-n-u-mmo
la’- ‘to see, look at’	la’-i-’-n-u-mmo
hud-i-d- ‘to become hungry’	hud-i-’-n-u-mmo
hoog-i-d- ‘to become thirsty’	hoog-i-’-n-u-mmo
so-d- ‘to make a mistake’	so-’-n-u-mmo
hee-d- ‘to live’	hee-’-n-u-mmo

So far, two morphophonemic rules that cannot be categorized as any of the major three types have been discussed. Abebe Gebre-Tsadik (1985: 66-67) mentions another type of morphophonemic rule, which concerns vowel shortening. According to him, it applies to three cases — the CVVC(C) sequence in a verb root (e.g., *seejǎ*- ‘to advise’, *waam*- ‘to bury’) changes to CVC(C), (i) when a suffix of the CVVC structure (e.g., *-siis* [DBL.CAUS]) is added to the verb root (e.g., *seejǎ-išiiš*- (But this is not the correct form; The correct form is *seejǎ-išiiš*-; see below)), (ii) when a consonant cluster is formed by

suffixation (e.g., *waam-* ‘to bury’ → [MID]: *wa-’-m-*), and (iii) when the verb is in the imperative (e.g., *wam-i* ‘Bury (someone/something)!’ (But this is not the correct form; The correct form is *waám-i*, see below); Compare: *waam-í* ‘He buried (someone/something).’).

However, the present study finds his descriptions highly problematic. First, his form *sejǰ-išiiš-* in (i) is incorrect, and the form with a long vowel *seeǰǰ-išiiš-* is the correct double-causative form. In fact, there are no verbs with the CVVC(C) sequence at all that change to CVC(C) with the double-causative suffix.

(2.33)		V(-EP)-DBL.CAUS
	buur- ‘to smear/anoint’	buur-siis-
	maat’- ‘to put away, hide’	maat’-i-siis- or maat’-i-šiiš-
	hiikk’- ‘to break’	hiikk’-i-siis- or hiikk’-i-šiiš-
	moor- ‘to steal’	moor-siis-
	door- ‘to choose’	door-siis-
	seekk- ‘to make, repair’	seekk-i-siis-

Second, *waam-* ‘to bury’ is the only verb whose middle form follows the pattern (ii), and all other verbs with CVVC keep their vowel length even with the middle suffix. (In fact, verbs with CVVC whose final consonant is preceded by the glottal stop in their middle forms are not very common.)

(2.34)		V-MID-V-
	boon- ‘to boast, brag’	boo-’-n- (*bo-’-n-)
	kiil- ‘to stretch’	kii-’-l- (*ki-’-l-)
	šiiim- ‘to become small/loose respect’	šii-’-m- (*ši-’-m-)
	fool- ‘to breathe’	foo-’-l- (*fo-’-l-)

Furthermore, verbs of such a structure do not change their vowel length, either, when followed by an obstruent-initial suffix to form the sonorant-obstruent clusters, as in (2.35).

(2.35)	V-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL	V-3SG.F/3PL-IMPRF.3
giir- ‘to burn’	giir-t-u (*gir-t-u)	giir-t-anno (*gir-t-anno)
buur- ‘to smear’	buur-t-u (*bur-t-u)	buur-t-anno (*bur-t-anno)
maar- ‘to forgive’	maar-t-u (*mar-t-u)	maar-t-anno (*mar-t-anno)
roor- ‘to become better’	roor-t-u (*ror-t-u)	roor-t-anno (*ror-t-anno)
raar- ‘to cry’	raar-t-u (*rar-t-u)	raar-t-anno (*rar-t-anno)

Third, like the first case, there are no verbs with the CVVC(C) sequence whatsoever whose vowels become short in their imperative forms. Abebe Gebre-Tsadik’s (1985: 67) representation of the imperative of *waam-a* ‘to bury (someone/something)’ as *wam-i* is incorrect; it should be *waam-i*.

(2.36)	V-IMP.2SG
seekk- ‘to make, repair’	seekk-i (*sekk-i)
buur- ‘to smear/anoint’	buur-i (*bur-i)
meed- ‘to shave’	meed-i (*med-i)
giir- ‘to burn’	giir-i (*gir-i)
hiikk’- ‘to break’	hiikk’-i (*hikk’-i)
k’aaf- ‘to step over/walk’	k’aaf-i (*k’af-i)

Therefore, there are no vowel shortening rules for which Abebe Gebre-Tsadik (1985) argues (unless the Sidaama dialect that he describes is very different, with respect to vowel shortening, from that dealt in this study).

2.3 Suprasegmental Phonology

2.3.1 Syllables and Moras

The ways that my consultant taps with Sidaama words always conform either to the structure of a syllable, or to the structure of a mora, a phonological unit smaller than a syllable and larger than a segment. The identification of syllables and of moras in the present study is based only on my consultant's intuition.

The following types of syllable structures are possible in Sidaama.⁹ As mentioned in the previous section, no consonant cluster can occupy the onset or coda of a syllable, and two consonants in a row can only occur across a syllable boundary.

- | | | | |
|------------|--------|--|------------------------------|
| (2.37) (a) | V(V) | e.g., a.do 'milk'
me.aa 'woman' | aa.na 'top, to become equal' |
| (b) | V(V)C | e.g., an.ga 'hand, arm'
o.im.ba.ra 'the day after tomorrow' | iib.ba.do 'hot' |
| (c) | CV(V) | e.g., mi.ne 'house'
ka.'a 'to get up, rise' | šii.ma 'small' |
| (d) | CV(V)C | e.g., han.do 'ox'
t'im.bi'.la 'to close' | haan.ǰa 'green' |

⁹ Wedekind (1980: 140-142) claims that syllables have the structures of (C)CV(V) in Sidaama, and that there are no closed syllables in this language. However, this analysis is problematic. First, it ignores the Sonority Sequencing Principle; or otherwise it would suggest that Sidaama violates this principle systematically (the two components of a consonant cluster would be analyzed as occupying the onset of a syllable e.g., *hando* 'ox' syllabified as ha.ndo instead of *han.do*). Moreover, this analysis precludes the syllable structures in (2.37a) and (2.37b), V(V) and V(V)C, respectively, whose initial sound is a vowel rather than a consonant.

Word-finally, syllables are always open, and have to have the structure of either V(V) in (2.37a) or CV(V) in (2.37c). Syllables in other positions can be either open or closed, and can have any of the above types of structures.

As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.1), some Sidaama verbs can use reduplication to express repeated or intensified actions. The reduplication usually follows one of the two patterns in (2.38). This suggests that the syllable serves as a unit of reduplication.

- (2.38) (a) C1V(V)C2(.C2) → C1V(V)C1.C1V(V)C2(.C2)
 (b) C1VC2 → C1VC2.C1VC2

Moras have the structures in (2.39).¹⁰

- (2.39) (a) V e.g., a.do ‘milk’ me.a.a ‘woman’
 a.a.na ‘top, to become equal’
 (b) CV e.g., mi.ne ‘house’ ka.’a ‘to get up, rise’
 ši.i.ma ‘small’

¹⁰ One could describe the location of high pitch in Sidaama words as their penultimate vocalic moras, instead of their penultimate vowel segments (section 2.4). High pitch is indicated in (i) with ´ on a vowel in each of the examples in (2.39) (. shows a mora break here).

- (i) (a) á.do a.á.na me.á.a
 (b) mí.ne ši.i.ma ká.’a
 (c-1) i.i.b.bá.do re.é.š.ša ga.á.b.bo
 (c-2) ha.á.n.ĵa sá.l.to da.r.bá.ta o.i.m.bá.ra
 (c-3) t’i.m.bi.’lí.ra kí.’ne fo.o.rá.r.si.’ra

(c) C the first component of a sequence of two consonants (which occupies the coda of a syllable)

(c-1) the first component of a geminate:

e.g., i.i.b.ba.do ‘hot’ re.e.š.ša ‘corpse’
ga.a.b.bo ‘regret’

(c-2) a sonorant as the first component of a consonant cluster:

e.g., ha.a.n.ǰa ‘green’ sa.l.to ‘liver’
da.r.ba.ta ‘[a kind of clothes]’
o.i.m.ba.ra ‘the day after tomorrow’

(c-3) the glottal stop when followed by a sonorant:

e.g., t'i.m.bi.'li.ra ‘to close’ ki.'ne ‘[2PL]’
fo.o.ra.r.si.'ra ‘to take a walk’

A single consonant constitutes a mora by itself at the coda of a syllable, namely when it is not C of CV in (2.39b) but is followed directly by the same or a different consonant in the next syllable, as shown in (2.39c). Specifically, there are three types of such cases, as shown in (2.39c-1)-(2.39c-3). Because a moraic consonant is always followed by the same or another consonant, the word-final mora of any word is either V in (2.39a) or CV in (2.39b).

2.3.2 Pitch Accent

As far as I know, studies on Sidaama have all assumed that it is a stress language, where “stress” usually falls on the penultimate “syllable” of a word (Hudson 1976: 248-249, Wedekind 1980: 137-140, Abebe Gebre-Tsadik 1985, Teferra 2000: 16). However, this does not seem to be correct in two respects, and the present study makes a different analysis. First, Sidaama is actually a pitch-accent language, where prominence is

indicated by high pitch, rather than stress. The location of high pitch in a word is predictable, and high pitch is not associated with the duration of a vowel. Second, the pitch-accent patterns in Sidaama cannot be described by syllables as easily as by segments (or moras; see section 2.3.1).

In Sidaama, high pitch is normally assigned to the second to the last vowel segment of the citation form of an open-class word.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (2.40) hinč'ilállo 'mirror' | aráddo 'tobacco' | sú'ma 'name' |
| búko 'dust' | sálto 'liver' | balgúda 'ostrich' |
| la'láma 'mother's sister' | | |

Most studies on Sidaama phonology assume that the penultimate “syllable”, rather than the penultimate vowel segment, is accented in most cases. To be sure, this analysis works with words like those in (2.40). However, when the penultimate syllable is a heavy syllable, the second vowel component of it is more prominent than the first one, as shown in (2.41).

- | | | |
|--|------------------------|---------------------|
| (2.41) aiyaána 'spirit' | kuúla 'blackish blue' | daámma 'mill' |
| waánje '[a kind of bird]' | šaállo 'white pelican' | seéda 'long, tall' |
| gaábbo 'regret' | kaá'lo 'help' | uúlla 'earth, land' |
| saánte 'coin' | hedeweélčo 'sudden' | diína 'enemy' |
| burtukaáne '(AMH) orange' | maáso 'blessing' | síiwo 'rope' |
| aduúlša '[persuasion used for marriage]' | | |
| buúyyo 'grass used to cover the roof of a house' | | |

Although the geminates of the approximants, /ww/ and /yy/, can be preceded by vowels to form vowel-glide sequences (as already shown in (2.7): *k'awwe* 'gun', *hawwunaate*

‘dizziness’, *gowwa* ‘foolish’, *gaayya* ‘pipe’, *fayya* ‘healthy’, *woyya* ‘better’, *hirbayye* ‘goose’), the approximants, when not geminated, cannot serve as glides. What have been treated incorrectly as off-glides by previous researchers (e.g., Teferra’s (1994: 1090) transcriptions: *bayččo* ‘place’, *hayt’e* ‘barley’) are actually two vowels adjacent to each other (e.g., *baiččo* ‘place’, *hait’e* ‘barley’).¹¹ When such a sequence of two vowel segments occurs immediately before the word-final CV syllable, the second vowel segment, rather than the first one, has high pitch, as shown in (2.42).

(2.42) <i>baiččo</i> ‘place’	<i>hait’e</i> ‘barley’	<i>aídde</i> ‘family’
<i>tuánčo</i> ‘cover, lid’	<i>moiččo</i> ‘beast’	<i>ontáo</i> ‘fifty’
<i>haísso</i> ‘grass’	<i>aúra</i> ‘great-great-grandparent’	
<i>baí’ra</i> ‘to carry a load on the back’		

According to those previous studies that state that the penultimate syllables of Sidaama words are accented (e.g., Teferra 2000), the final syllables of certain words may be accented, as exceptions. In fact, however, such words normally contain long vowels in their final syllables — the first vowel segment of the long vowel (i.e., the penultimate vowel segment) is accented, whereas its word-final vowel segment is not.¹²

¹¹ Nevertheless, when neither of the two vowels have high pitch, the second vowel may sound like an off-glide, especially in fast speech (e.g., *awtuútta* instead of *autuútta* ‘great-great-great-grandparent’, *šoyllóo* instead of *šoilóo* ‘forty’).

¹² When such a word is a masculine noun and is in the genitive or nominative case, its final long vowel can be replaced by the genitive or nominative suffix (-*u* or -*i*: Chapter 4 sections 4.2.2.1.3.1 and 4.2.2.1.3.2).

(i) *isi-ra* *rod-úu* *no.*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON sibling-NOM.M exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘He has a brother.’ (*lit.*, ‘To him, a brother exists.’)

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| (2.43) hunkée ‘sweat’ | meáa ‘woman’ | lainkíi ‘second’ |
| šoillóo ‘forty’ | mundée ‘blood’ | olláa ‘village people’ |
| aróo ‘husband’ | rodóo ‘sibling’ | saǰǰóo ‘thirty’ |

Thus, if the location of high pitch is characterized in terms of a vowel segment rather than a syllable, such words of this type are not exceptions; high pitch occurs on the penultimate vowel segment, not on the penultimate syllable.

So far, only the citation forms of words have been discussed: as a basic pattern, high pitch falls on the penultimate vowel segment of the citation form of a word. When words are used in sentences, high pitch may or may not occur on their penultimate vowel segments. Nouns and adjectives change their pitch-accent patterns depending on how

-
- | | | | | |
|------|--|----------------------------|---|---|
| (ii) | { | (a) hunk-úu
sweat-NOM.M | } | egemm-ø-i-si.
drench-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M |
| | (b) hunk-íi-si
sweat-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS | | | |
| | (c) isí hunk-íi
3SG.M.GEN sweat-NOM.MOD.M | | | |

- (a) ‘He was drenched with sweat/his sweat.’
 (b)-(c) ‘He was drenched with sweat/his sweat.’

- | | | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| (iii) | { | (a) oll-úu
neighbor-NOM.M | } | geerčo-te
old.woman-GEN.F |
| | (b) oll-íi-se
neighbor-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS | | | |
| | (c) isé oll-íi
3SG.F.GEN neighbor-NOM.MOD.M | | | |

- mine min-ø-i.
 house(ACC) build-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘The/Her neighbors build the old woman’s house.’
 (b)-(c) ‘The/Her neighbors build the old woman’s house.’

they are used in sentences.¹³ High pitch occurs on their penultimate vowel segments when used as a predicate directly followed by the noun-phrase clitic =*ho* (M)/=*te* (F) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1), as in (2.44)-(2.46).¹⁴ Nouns and adjectives are morphologically unmarked in this environment. Therefore, the predicate position immediately preceding =*ho*/=*te* is that where nouns and adjectives are pronounced with the pitch accent pattern for their citation forms.

- (2.44) hátti meesáne=*te*.
 that.F.NOM ax=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘That is an ax.’

¹³ When nouns are suffixed, high pitch usually falls on the last vowel segment of the (basic) stem, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) gobbá-*te* [land-LOC.F] ‘on the land’
 (ii) k’aakk’ó-*ho* [baby-DAT.M] ‘for the baby boy’

However, when a suffix is attached to the genitive stem of a noun, high pitch occurs on the final vowel of the genitive stem, as in (iii)-(v) (when one of the allomorphs of the genitive suffix, *-te*, which is added to the stem, rather than replacing the final vowel of the stem, is used, high pitch occurs at the end of the stem, as in (vi) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3).

- (iii) daafurs-í-*ra* [Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP] ‘for Daafursa’
 (iv) bulé-*ra* [Bule(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP] ‘for Bule’
 (v) kinč-ú-*n*ni [stone-GEN.M-INST] ‘with a stone’
 (vi) siiwó-*te-n*ni [rope-GEN.F-INST] ‘with a rope’

¹⁴ When a common noun with a dependent or a proper noun is followed by the predicative noun-phrase clitic =*ti* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1), high pitch usually occurs on the final vowel segment of the predicate noun, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) hattí danča meesané=*ti*.
 that.F.NOM good ax=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘That is a good ax.’
 (ii) hakkú bule anná=*ti*.
 that.NOM Bule(GEN.F) father=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘That is Bule’s father.’

- (2.45) *awaás-i* *sidaamá-ho* *góbba=te*.
 Awaasa-NOM.MOD.M Sidaama-DAT.M land=NP.C.F.PRED
 ‘Awaasa is Sidaama land.’¹⁵
- (2.46) *ané* *beétt-i* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a)} \quad \textit{búša=ho.} \\ \text{bad=NP.C.M.PRED} \\ \text{(b)} \quad \textit{seéda=ho.} \\ \text{tall=NP.C.M.PRED} \end{array} \right\}$
 1SG.GEN child-NOM.MOD.M
- (a) ‘My son is bad.’
 (b) ‘My son is tall.’

High pitch also falls on the penultimate vowel segment of a noun or adjective in the nominative case, as in *búle* in (2.47), *beétt-i* in (2.48), *dureéss-u* and *mánč-i* in (2.49), and *seed-úll-u* and *mánn-i* in (2.50) (also, *awaás-i* in (2.45), *beétt-i* in (2.46)). Thus, nominative nouns and adjectives have the same pitch accent pattern as that for their citation forms.

- (2.47) *búle* *dangurá* *sunk’-i-t-ú*.
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule kissed Dangura.’
- (2.48) *bulé* *beétt-i* *dangur-í* *amá*
 Bule(GEN.F) child-NOM.MOD.M Dangura-GEN.PROP.M mother(ACC)
- sunk’-ø-í*.
 kiss-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Bule’s son kissed Dangura’s mother.’

¹⁵ As in this example, when *-ho/-te* are the dative/locative case suffixes, which are bound to nouns, high pitch occurs on the final vowel segment of the preceding noun.

(2.49) *dureéss-u* *mánč-i* *dunká* *faraššo*
 rich-NOM.M person-NOM.MOD.M slow(ACC) horse(ACC)

goww-ú *beett-í-ra*
 foolish-GEN.M child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

u-ø-í.
 give-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The rich man gave the slow horse (M) to the foolish boy.’

(2.50) *béro* *dikkó* *seed-úll-u* *mánn-i*
 yesterday market tall-PL-NOM.M person-NOM.MOD.M

sunúnni *mar-ø-í.*
 slowly go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Tall people went to the market yesterday.’¹⁶

On the other hand, high pitch occurs on the final vowels of nominal and adjectival stems as a suprafix (Chapter 4 sections 4.2.2.1.3 and 4.2.2.2.1) when they are in the genitive, accusative, or oblique case. (genitive: *bulé* and *dangur-í* in (2.47), *goww-ú* and *beett-í* in (2.49); accusative: *dangurá* in (2.47), *amá* in (2.48), *dunká* and *faraššo* in (2.49); oblique: *dikkó* in (2.50), *lekká* in (2.51))

(2.51) *íse* *isó* *lekká* *hiikk’-i-t-ú.*
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC leg(OBL) break-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She broke his leg.’ (*lit.* ‘She broke him with respect to the leg.’)

This pattern applies also to personal pronouns. As shown in Table 2.3 (and as exemplified in (2.51) above), their nominative forms have high pitch on their penultimate

¹⁶ As seen in *béro* and *sunúnni* in this sentence, adverbs usually have high pitch on their penultimate vowel segments.

vowel segments, whereas their accusative forms and genitive forms have high pitch on their final syllables.

	NOM	ACC	GEN
1SG	áni	ané	ané
2SG	áti	até	até
3SG.M	ísi	isó	isí
3SG.F	íse	isé	isé
1PL	nínke	ninké	ninké
2PL	kí'ne	ki'né	ki'né
3PL	ínsa	insá	insá

Table 2.3: Pitch Accent Patterns of Personal Pronouns

Verbs basically have high pitch on their penultimate vowel segments. However, there are those verb suffixes whose final vowel segments are always accented (or which constitute the final vowel segments of words by themselves and are always accented). Such suffixes include: simple perfect (3SG.M: *-i*, 3SG.F/3PL: *-u*, 2PL: *-i*), present perfect (3: *-ino*, 2PL: *-oonni*), imperfect (3: *-anno*, 2PL: *-anni*), and connective (*-e*: all persons/numbers/genders) suffixes (Hudson 1976: 248). Thus, a verb with the third person singular simple perfect suffix contrasts with a verb with the second-person singular imperative suffix, as in (2.52) and (2.53), and a verb with the third-person singular present-perfect suffix contrasts with a verb with the first-person plural imperative suffix, as in (2.54) and (2.55).

- (2.52) ha'r-ø-i. [leave-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M] 'He left.'
 (2.53) há'r-i. [leave-IMP.2SG] 'Leave!'

- (2.54) ofoll- \emptyset -inó. [sit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3] ‘He sat down.’
 (2.55) ofoll-íno. [sit-IMP.1PL] ‘Let us sit down.’

2.3.3 Intonation

Intonation toward the end of a sentence differentiates sentence types in Sidaama. A Sidaama sentence normally ends in a suffixed verb or the predicating noun-phrase clitic (=ho/=te or =ti). Non-WH-questions are usually only indicated by an intonation pattern in the final or semi-final word of a sentence different from that in its declarative counterpart (Greenberg 1963: universal 8).

In a declarative sentence ending in a suffixed verb, high pitch occurs on the second to the last vowel segment of the word-final, main verb, and the pitch falls down at its final vowel segment, which has low pitch, as long as the suffix has penultimate high pitch accent.

- (2.56) ani got'-oó-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM sleep-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) slept.’
- (2.57) ani di=got'-oó-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM NEG=sleep-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) did not sleep.’

However, as mentioned in section 2.3.2, the final vowel segment, rather than the penultimate vowel segment, of the main verb of a declarative sentence has high pitch when the main verb root is followed by one of the following suffixes: simple perfect (3SG.M, 3SG.F/3PL, 2PL), present perfect (3SG.M, 3SG.F/3PL, 2PL), imperfect (3SG.M, 3SG.F/3PL, 2PL), and connective (all persons/numbers/genders) suffixes. In

such cases, toward the end of the sentence, the pitch does not become lowered, but stays high.

(2.58) ise dikko mar-t-inó.
 3SG.F market go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘She went to the market.’

(2.59) ise dikko di=mar-t-inó.
 3SG.F market NEG=go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘She did not go to the market.’

(2.60) ise sagalé it-t-ú.
 3SG.F food(ACC) eat-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She ate food.’

In interrogative sentences that end in suffixed verbs, very high pitch (higher than in their declarative counterparts) occurs in a location where high pitch would occur in their declarative counterparts. The very high pitch on the penultimate vowel segment of the sentence-final word is followed by its fall at its final vowel segment in the case of penultimate-accented suffixes, whereas the very high pitch remains high at the end of the sentence-final word in the case of final-vowel-accented suffixes.

(2.61) ani got'-oó-mm-o ?
 1SG.NOM sleep-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘Did I (M) sleep?’

(2.62) ise dikko mar-t-inó ?
 3SG.F market go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘Did she go to the market?’

- (2.63) ise sagalé it-t-ú ?
 3SG.F food(ACC) eat-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Did she eat food?’

In negative questions ending in suffixed verbs, very high pitch occurs on the penultimate vowel segment and remains high in the final vowel segment, regardless of the type of suffix.

- (2.64) di=got’-oó-tt-a ?
 NEG=sleep-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-F
 ‘Didn’t you (SG.F) sleep?’
- (2.65) ise dikko di=mar-t-íno ?
 3SG.F.NOM market NEG=go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘Didn’t she go to the market?’

As mentioned earlier, in declarative sentences ending in the predicating noun-phrase clitic, =*ho* (M)/=*te* (F), high pitch normally occurs on the penultimate vowel segment of the preceding predicated noun or adjective, and the pitch is lowered toward the end of the sentence.

- (2.66) ise dánča=te.
 3SG.F.NOM good=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘She is good.’
- (2.67) ise haránčo=te.
 3SG.F.NOM short=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘She is short.’

In interrogative sentences that end in the predicating noun-phrase clitic, the penultimate vowel segment of the preceding predicated noun or adjective has high pitch,

and its final vowel segment has even higher pitch. Because the predicating noun-phrase clitic has low pitch, the pitch falls down at the end of the sentence.

(2.68) ise dánčá=te ?
 3SG.F.NOM good=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘Is she good?’

(2.69) ise haránčó=te ?
 3SG.F.NOM short=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘Is she short?’

This applies to negative questions of this type, as well.

(2.70) ise di=haránčó=te ?
 3SG.F.NOM NEG=short=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘Isn’t she short?’

In WH-questions, the word-final intonation pattern is the same as in declarative sentences where a verb with the same suffix may occur.

(2.71) ise hiik-i-ra mar-t-inó ?
 3SG.F.NOM where-GEN.MOD.M-ALL go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘Where did she go?’

(2.72) ise maá it-í-tt-o ?
 3SG.F.NOM what(ACC) eat-S.PRF.2-2SG-M
 ‘What did you (SG.M) eat?’

In questions consisting of single words, word-final vowels bear rising pitch. For example, *dikkó ?* ‘(Is that) the market?’ and *waasá ?* ‘(Is that) waasa?’ may be uttered by the speakers of the above two sentences, respectively, after saying them.

2.3.4 Pause

Sidaama often uses pauses to indicate constituent boundaries. When the sentence has SOV word order, a pause usually occurs between the constituent boundaries (Teferra 2000: 16-17), as in (2.73). (In the examples in this section, pauses are indicated with //.)

(2.73) búle // dangurá // sunk’-i-t-ú.
 Bule(NOM.F) // Dangura(ACC) // kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule kissed Dangura.’

In a sentence of OSV order such as (2.74), a long pause can generally occur after the first constituent.

(2.74) dangurá // búle sunk’-i-t-ú.
 Dangura(ACC) // Bule(NOM.F) kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule kissed Dangura.’

The constituent structure of a transcribed sentence can differ depending on the location of a pause, especially because some case forms are morphologically identical (specifically, the nominative and the accusative of a feminine noun, the genitive and dative/locative of an unmodified feminine common noun, and the genitive and nominative of a masculine noun) and the person/number/gender of the subject can be indicated by the verb suffix alone, rather than the subject being expressed as independent nouns or pronouns. For example, each pair of sentences in (2.75) and (2.76), which look morphologically identical, differ in the locations where pauses as well as high pitch accents are placed.

- (2.75) dangur-i sagale it- \emptyset -i.
- (a) dangúr-i // sagalé // it- \emptyset -í.
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M // food(ACC) // eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Dangura ate food.’
- (b) dangur-í sagalé // it- \emptyset -í.
 [Dangura-GEN.PROP.M food(ACC)] // eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He(i) ate Dangura’s(*i/j) food.’
- (2.76) betto-te birč’ikk’o hiik’- \emptyset -i.
- (a) bettó-te // birč’ikk’ó // hiik’- \emptyset -í.
 girl-DAT.F // glass(ACC) // break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He broke the glass on the girl.’
- (b) bettó-te birč’ikk’ó // hiik’- \emptyset -í.
 [girl-GEN.F glass(ACC)] // break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He broke the girl’s glass.’

Chapter 3 Parts of Speech

This chapter describes how parts of speech in Sidaama can be characterized according to their morphosyntactic properties. Section 3.1 deals with open-class categories and section 3.2 deals with closed-class categories.

3.1 Open Classes

Sidaama open classes comprise mainly nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs (as discussed later, the class of adverbs is relatively closed). Each of the categories has distinct characteristics, but a few share some in common. Morphosyntactic properties of each category are described below.

3.1.1 Nouns

3.1.1.1 Properties of Nouns

When a noun is modified by another element or elements in an NP, the noun comes at the end of the NP. NPs can serve as arguments, and it is only NPs that can be arguments.

Schachter (1985: 7) lists case, number, class or gender, and definiteness as typical categories associated with nouns. In Sidaama, case is marked with affixes on nouns, and number and gender may be so marked, which is discussed below and in the next chapter (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1). However, Sidaama nouns usually do not make a definiteness distinction morphologically (except that as seen later in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.1.5), the

suffix *-nni* can express the definiteness of the referent of a common noun used for the goal of motion and for possession). For example, the referent of any of the NPs in (3.1) and (3.2), can be interpreted as either definite or indefinite.¹

- (3.1) seeda mančo dag-g-ino.
 tall(NOM.F) person(NOM.F) come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘The/A tall woman came.’
- (3.2) dagunč-u gere’čo it-ø-i.
 leopard-NOM.M sheep(ACC) eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘The/A leopard ate the/a sheep.’

Nevertheless, as discussed shortly in the next section, a specific-generic distinction (whether the noun form denotes a specific member of the category to which it refers or refers to the category as a whole), which is a distinction similar to the definiteness distinction, can be made (the choice of one of the number forms of a noun may lead to only the generic interpretation when a verb predicate in the imperfect aspect or an adjective predicate is used, though what form bears such a generic interpretation hinges on the particular noun).

3.1.1.2 Categories Associated with Nouns and Types of Nouns

There are four dimensions of distinctions that can be made of nouns, and accordingly there are four ways of classifying nouns: (i) Common vs. Proper Nouns, (ii)

¹ Note that for the other Sidaama examples in the present study that are neutral as to the definiteness of the referents of NPs, only one of either the definite (“the”) or the indefinite article (“a”) is used in the English glosses, as opposed to both being used simultaneously as in “the/a” in (3.1) and (3.2).

Feminine vs. Masculine Nouns, (iii) Countable vs. Uncountable Nouns, and (iv) Inherently vs. Optionally Possessed Nouns.

(i) Common vs. Proper Nouns

One way in which nouns can be classified into subtypes is whether they are common nouns or proper nouns. Basically, a common noun can be modified by an NP (a common or proper noun, a personal pronoun, an interrogative pronoun, etc.) in the genitive case or an adnominal (an adnominal demonstrative, an adjective including a quantifier, an interrogative adjective, etc., a numeral, or a relative clause), each of which has to precede the common noun. It is also possible to attach the possessive pronominal suffix to a common noun, and this is the only dependent that can occur after a noun. On the other hand, a proper noun, which refers to a specific entity or a specific group of entities, cannot be modified by another form.²

² The modification of a proper noun with a numeral or an adjective as in (i) (B's utterance) and (ii) is only acceptable in contexts like these, where the speaker and the addressee cannot identify the referent from the proper noun alone (Thomas Payne 1997: 39).

- (i) A: ki'ne oll-í-ra damboowa
 2PL.GEN village.people-GEN.M.M-LOC.MOD Damboowa
- yinann-ø-i mann-i no ?
 be.called-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M people-NOM.MOD.M exist.P.PRF.3
- B: tonn-ú damboow-i no.
 ten-GEN.M Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M exist.P.PRF.3
- A: 'Are there people whose name is Damboowa among the people in your village?'
- B: 'There are ten Damboowas.'

(ii) Feminine vs. Masculine Nouns

In some morphosyntactic environments, any noun is treated as having gender, either feminine or masculine, regardless of whether the noun is a common or proper noun. As discussed shortly, the distinction between the two categories of nouns manifests itself in a difference in their morphological marking patterns of cases and in their agreement with the inflectional verb suffixes (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3) and the predicative noun-phrase clitic (section 3.2.2.1).

With the majority of common nouns, the gender distinction is largely arbitrary.³ Examples of common nouns are shown in (3.3).

(ii)	lowiidi larger	damboow-i Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M	lowó much(ACC)	sagalé food(ACC)	šimiidi smaller
		damboow-i Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M	kainni however	šiimá a.little(ACC)	sagalé food(ACC)
	it-ø-anno. eat-3SG.M-IMPRF.3				
	‘The bigger Damboowa eats a large amount of food; on the other hand, the smaller Damboowa eats a small amount of food.’				

³ The referents of some nouns (particularly, those for activities that men or women typically perform or objects that only men or women use) like (i) appear to be able to be associated with one of the genders. Nevertheless, there are counter-examples like (ii).

- | | | |
|------|------------|--|
| (i) | Feminine: | <i>sagale</i> ‘food’, <i>dikko</i> ‘market’, <i>ado</i> ‘milk’, <i>midaano</i> ‘[clay container, which women use]’, <i>wodaare</i> ‘[a type of women’s dress made of leather]’ |
| | Masculine: | <i>ereeda</i> ‘beard’, <i>looso</i> ‘work (on a field)’, <i>goonfa</i> ‘[men’s suit]’, <i>darbata</i> ‘[a type of men’s clothes (heavy clothes for protecting oneself in or for sleeping in)]’ |
| (ii) | Feminine: | <i>urde</i> ‘spear, war, attack’ |
| | Masculine: | <i>tubba</i> ‘[a type of women’s large dress made of leather]’, <i>lande</i> ‘[a type of women’s dress made of leather put on one’s shoulder]’ |

(3.3) Feminine:	anga ‘arm, hand’	kaade ‘hail’	
	araddo ‘chewing tobacco’	lekka ‘leg’	
	bank’o ‘thunder’	mada ‘wound’	
	bubbe ‘wind’	meesane ‘ax’	
	buko ‘dust’	siiwo ‘rope’	
	č’e’a ‘birds’	tullo ‘mountain’	
	dibbe ‘drum’	uddano ‘clothes, cloth’	
	doogo ‘road’	uulla ‘earth, land’	
	gobba ‘land, place’	weese ‘weese plant’	
	haisso ‘grass’	wolk’a ‘strength’	
	harak’e ‘[gin-like liquor]’	yanna ‘time’	
	heeššo ‘life’		
	Masculine:	aidde ‘family’	hurbaate ‘dinner’
		barra ‘day’	k’aale ‘voice, word’
boono ‘cliff’		k’arra ‘problem’	
buna ‘coffee’		k’uupp’e ‘egg’	
bušša ‘soil’		malawo ‘honey’	
buuro ‘butter’		mine ‘house’	
č’aale ‘shade, shadow’		moogo ‘grave’	
č’ufana ‘door’		obba ‘dung’	
dana ‘color, beauty’		sabba ‘mud’	
darga ‘place’		su’ma ‘name’	
dubbo ‘forest’		šaana ‘cabbage’	
faršo ‘[local beer]’		t’ilt’e ‘[vessel for serving waasa]’	
gide ‘grains’		umo ‘head’	
gordo ‘sky’		waa ‘water’	
guma ‘fruit’	waasa ‘waasa (as food)’		

There are a small number of common nouns whose genders correspond to the sexes of their referents. Most of them are kinship terms and animal names.

(3.4)	Feminine:	ama ‘mother’	ada ‘father’s sister’
		la’lama ‘mother’s sister’	saa ‘cow’
	Masculine:	anna ‘father’	abbo ‘mother’s brother’
		wosiila ‘father’s brother’	hando ‘ox’
		nugusa ‘king’	

Similarly, proper nouns for people’s names are also sex-based. Female names (e.g., *bule*, *buše*, *lat’o*, *kemeeme*, *bač’aro*) are feminine and male names (e.g., *garsamo*, *bassabbe*, *dangura*, *laammiso*, *busuna*) are masculine. A small number of nouns have a pair of suffixes contrastive in gender (e.g., *ogeette* (F)/*ogeessa* (M) ‘professional’, *lakkitte* (F)/*lakkičča* (M) ‘twin’, *hakimite* (F)/*hakimičča* (M) ‘doctor’).

There are common nouns that do not have their own lexical genders. Examples are shown in (3.5).

(3.5)	mančo ‘person’	rodo ‘sibling’	beetto ‘child’
	wosinčo ‘guest’	rosaančo ‘student’	faraššo ‘horse’
	wošiččo ‘dog’	aduriččo ‘cat’	lukkiččo ‘chicken’

If the gender of a noun of this type is expressed, it is determined by the sex of its referent. The gender of such a noun usually emerges only morphosyntactically, for example, with a case suffix on the noun and/or with a verb suffix, as discussed shortly.

There are also a few common nouns that are treated as masculine in some cases and as feminine in some cases, depending on the gender of the proper noun that would be able to be substituted for the common noun or on the gender of another common noun that would refer to one of the subordinate categories. For example, *k’ark’ara* ‘village,

town’ is treated sometimes as feminine and sometimes as masculine. If a particular village or town can be referred to with a proper noun (Feminine: *irga, hula, yayie, č’uuko*; Masculine: *bansa, awaasa, wondo, gunguma*), the gender of the common noun *k’ark’ara* depends on the gender of the proper noun. If the gender of the place name is not conventionalized, it can be either feminine or masculine (e.g., *baffalo* ‘Buffalo’).

There are also those common nouns whose gender depends on the gender of the noun for a subordinate category (e.g., *hakk’iččo* ‘tree’, *č’e’iččo* ‘bird’, *moiččo* ‘beast’). For example, *hakk’iččo* ‘tree’ is feminine if the name of the tree is feminine (e.g., *duuwančo* ‘[name of tree]’, *barzafe* ‘eucalyptus tree’, *weese* ‘waasa tree’), and it is masculine if the name of the tree is masculine (e.g., *č’arrič’o* ‘euphorbia’, *wajjiččo* ‘[name of tree used for lumbers]’, *hadeesa* ‘[name of tree]’).

Feminine and masculine nouns have different morphological case marking patterns. For example, in (3.6) and (3.7) below, where the subject is a noun that can be used either as a feminine or masculine noun depending on its referent (*mančo* ‘person’), the nominative case on the subject noun *mančo* is unmarked when it refers to a woman, as in (3.6), and it is marked with the suffix *-u* when this noun refers to a man, as in (3.7). The gender of a subject noun, together with its person/number, is also indicated on a suffix on the main verb, as in (3.6) and (3.7) (*-o* for 3SG.M vs. *-t* for 3SG.F; see Chapter 4 section 4.2.3.2).

- (3.6) *mančo* *sirb-i-t-u*.
 person(NOM.F) sing.and.dance-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘The woman sang and danced.’

- (3.7) manč-u sirb-ø-i.
 person-NOM.M sing.and.dance-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘The man sang and danced.’

The gender of a subject noun can also be indicated on the predicating clitic for a predicative adjective or noun (=te for feminine subject nouns and =ho for masculine subject nouns), as in (3.8) and (3.9).

- (3.8) mančo seeda=te.
 person(NOM.F) tall=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘The woman is tall.’

- (3.9) manč-u seeda=ho.
 person-NOM.M tall=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘The man is tall.’

However, when a noun of this type is in the accusative case or is used as a predicate noun followed by another predicating clitic =ti, which is for a modified common noun or a proper noun, its gender remains neutral.

- (3.10) laše duuč’a-wote dikko-te mančo
 Lashe(NOM) all-time market-LOC.F person(ACC)

t’aad-ø-anno.
 meet-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

‘Lashe always sees the person at the market.’

- (3.11) ma danča mančo=ti.
 what good person=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘What a good person he/she is!’

(iii) Countable vs. Uncountable Nouns

Some common noun forms are morphologically marked with number suffixes, either singular or plural suffixes (e.g., SG: *-iččo*, *-čo*, PL: *-Ca*, *-uwa*), whereas others are morphologically unmarked for number (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.1). As summarized in (3.12), some common nouns have all three forms, and others have only one (the unmarked one only) or two forms (singular and plural forms, unmarked and plural forms, or unmarked and singular forms); there are no common nouns that have only singular or only plural forms. Examples of each type of noun are shown in (3.13). (3.13a)-(3.13e) correspond to (3.12a)-(3.12e), respectively. Note that (some of) the forms formally unmarked for number in (3.13c) might actually be singular, though they do not contain the singular suffix. The gender, which is indicated for each form, is discussed shortly.

- (3.12) a. unmarked, singular, plural
 b. singular, plural
 c. unmarked, plural
 d. unmarked, singular
 e. unmarked

(3.13) <i>unmarked</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	
a. makiina (M)	makiin-čo (M)	makin-na (F)	‘car’
midaano (F)	midaan-čo (F)	midaan-na (F)	‘clay container’
sina (M)	sin-čo (M)	sin-na (F)	‘branch’
siwiila (M)	siwiil-čo (M)	siwiil-la (M)	‘iron’
hoga (M)	hog-iččo (M)	hog-ga (F)	‘leaf, esp. weese leaf’
burtukaane (F)	burtukaan-čo (F)	burtukaan-na (F/M)	‘orange’
kooke (F)	kook-iččo (F)	kook-uwa (F/M)	‘peach’
b. ———	kin-čo (M)	kin-na (M)	‘rock, stone’
————	woš-iččo (F/M)	woš-ša (M)	‘dog’
————	mik’-iččo (M)	mik-k’a (F)	‘bone’
————	k’oon-čo (M)	k’oon-na (F)	‘gourd’
————	t’ag-iččo (M)	t’ag-ga (F)	‘medicine’
————	gul-uččo (M)	gul-ubba (F)	‘knee’
————	dagun-čo (M)	dagun-na (F)	‘leopard’
————	daan-iččo (M)	daan-iwo (M)	‘elephant’
c. rodo (F/M)	————	rod-uwa (M)	‘sibling’
wosiila (M)	————	wosiil-la (F)	‘father’s brother’
mine (M)	————	min-na (F)	‘house’
nugusaa (M)	————	nugus-sa (F)	‘king’
su’ma (M)	————	su’m-uwa (F)	‘name’
guma (M)	————	gum-ma (F)	‘seed’
anga (F)	————	ang-uwa (F)	‘hand, arm’
lekka (F)	————	lekk-uwa (F)	‘leg, foot’
barčuma (M)	————	barčum-ma (M)	‘stool’
baak’ula (M)	————	baak’ul-la (F/M)	‘pumpkin’
d. č’ulunk’a (F)	č’ulunk’-iččo (M)	————	‘fingernail’
atara (M)	atar-čo (M)	————	‘pea’
maala (M)	maal-čo (M)	————	‘meat’
hinko (F)	hink-iččo (M)	————	‘teeth’
wosina (M)	wosin-čo (F/M)	————	‘guest’
hirbayye (F)	hirbaayy-iččo (F)	————	‘goose’
goto (M)	got-iiččo (M)	————	‘hyena’

	<i>unmarked</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	
e.	heeššo (F)	_____	_____	‘life’
	mundee (F)	_____	_____	‘blood’
	egenno (F)	_____	_____	‘knowledge’
	ado (F)	_____	_____	‘milk’
	buko (F)	_____	_____	‘dust’
	jaalimma (F)	_____	_____	‘friendship’
	moggo (F)	_____	_____	‘namesake’
	t’isso (F)	_____	_____	‘sickness’
	giwanšo (F)	_____	_____	‘hatred, disagreement’
	mančaame (F)	_____	_____	‘pig’
	haak’e (F)	_____	_____	‘dream’
	su’nille (M)	_____	_____	‘smell’
	lalo (M)	_____	_____	‘cattle’
	hagiirre (M)	_____	_____	‘joy’
	t’ena (M)	_____	_____	‘rain’
	malawo(M)	_____	_____	‘honey’
	iibille (M)	_____	_____	‘heat’
	odo (M)	_____	_____	‘news’
	mala (M)	_____	_____	‘advice’
	obba (M)	_____	_____	‘dung’
	waasa (M)	_____	_____	‘ <i>waasa</i> ’

In the case of the nouns in (3.13a)-(3.13d), the exact environments where the three forms occur often vary from noun to noun. Nevertheless, the following four generalizations apply. First, if a noun has a singular form, that form can always be used for a singular referent. Thus, it can be modified by the numeral *mitte* (F)/*mitto* (M) ‘one’ (e.g., *mitte hink-iččo* ‘one tooth’, *mitto wosin-čo* ‘one male guest’), but is incompatible with the adjective *duuča* ‘many’ (e.g., **duuča hink-iččo* [many tooth-SG], **duuča wosin-čo* [many guest-SG]). Second, if a noun has a plural form, that form can always be used for plural referents. It can be modified by a numeral larger than ‘one’ (e.g., *lame bis-sa* ‘two

swords’, *tonne woš-ša* ‘ten dogs’), and is the form that is used with the adjective *duuča* ‘many’ more commonly than any other form (e.g., *duuča bis-sa* ‘many swords’, *duuča woš-ša* ‘many dogs’). Third, the plural form cannot refer to a singular referent, and is incompatible with the numeral for ‘one’ (e.g., **mitte bis-sa* [one.F sword-PL], **mitto woš-ša* [one dogs]). Fourth, if a noun has an unmarked form, that form can be used generically as in (3.14)-(3.16).

(3.14) *makiin-u* *ǰǰǰa=ho.*
 car-NOM.M wealth=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘A car is an asset.’

(3.15) *siwiil-u* *wa-í* *giddo lit’-ø-anno.*
 iron-NOM.M water-GEN.MOD.M inside sink-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘Iron sinks in water.’

(3.16) *got-u* *mik-k’á* *it-ø-anno.*
 hyena-NOM.F bone-PL(ACC) eat-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘Hyenas eat bones.’

These four points are summarized in Table 3.1. The check indicates that the form can be used to express the type of referent.

	generic referent	singular referent	plural referent
unmarked form	√	depends	depends
singular form	depends	√	depends
plural form	depends	*	√

Table 3.1: Unmarked, Singular, and Plural Forms of a Noun and their Referents

genitive case, the gender of the referents is specified when the singular form of a noun is used, as in (3.21) and (3.22).

- (3.21)

sas-u three-NOM.M	{	(a) wosin-č-i guest-NOM.MOD.M	}
		(b) woš-ičč-i dog-NOM.MOD.M	

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘Three (male) guests came.’
(b) ‘Three (male) dogs came.’

- (3.22)

sase three(NOM.F)	{	(a) wosin-čo guest-SG(NOM.F)	}	dag-g-u. come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
		(b) woš-iččo dog-SG(NOM.F)		

- (a) ‘Three (female) guests came.’
(b) ‘Three (female) dogs came.’

On the other hand, when the plural or unmarked form of a noun is used for plural referents, their gender is not specified, as in (3.23).

- (3.23)

sas-u three-NOM.M	{	(a) wosin-i guest-NOM.MOD.M	}
		(b) woš-š-i dog-PL-NOM.M	

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘Three guests came.’ (gender-neutral)
(b) ‘Three dogs came.’ (gender-neutral)

Some common nouns are countable and others are uncountable. Countable nouns can be counted with numerals, as in (3.24), whereas uncountable ones cannot.⁵ The former is compatible with the interrogative *me'e* 'how many', as in (3.25), but the latter is not.⁶ Many uncountable nouns can occur with the interrogative phrase *maa geešš-i*

⁵ Some uncountable nouns can be counted with other countable nouns, for example, nouns for containers, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) isi lamé gamba-iččó waá
3SG.M.NOM two(ACC) [big.clay.pot]-SG(ACC) water(ACC)

dukk'-ø-ino.

lift.sth.heavy-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'He lifted two [big clay pots] full of water (on his shoulder/head).'

- (ii) isi lam-ú gamba-ičč-í geešš-ú waá
3SG.M.NOM two-GEN.M [big.clay.pot]-SG-GEN.M degree-GEN.M water(ACC)

dukk'-ø-ino.

lift.sth.heavy-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'He lifted water in the amount of two [big clay pots] (on his shoulder/head).'

⁶ When modified by a numeral larger than 'one' or by the adnominal interrogative *me'u* 'how many', countable nouns tend to take different number forms in the following order of preference: unmarked > singular > plural (many of the nouns in (3.12d) are uncountable, and their unmarked forms cannot occur with these words). Examples are shown in (i)-(v).

- (i) ise setté { wosiilá
3SG.F.NOM eight(ACC) { father's brother(ACC) } af-i-d-d-ino.
wosiil-lá } find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
father's brother-PL(ACC)

'She has eight father's brothers.' (*wosiila* is more common than *wosiil-la*.)

- (ii) doogo-te lam-u { kin-č-i
road-LOC.F two-NOM.M { rock-SG-NOM.MOD.M } no.
{ kin-n-i } exist.P.PRF.3
{ rock-PL-NOM.MOD.M }

'There are two rocks on the road.' (*kin-č-i* is more common than *kin-n-i*.)

[what degree-GEN.MOD.M] ‘how much’ (*lit.*, what degree) to ask a question about the quantity of their referents, as in (3.26).⁷

- (iii) sasé three(ACC) { daan-iččo elephant-SG(ACC) daan-iwó elephant-PL(ACC) } la’-u-mm-o. see-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I saw three elephants.’ (*daan-iččo* is more common than *daan-iwo*.)
- (iv) insa 3PL.NOM me’é how.many(ACC) { makiiná car(ACC) makiin-čo car-SG(ACC) makin-ná car-PL(ACC) } af-i-d-d-ino ? find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘How many cars do they have?’ (*makiina* is the most common.)
- (v) bulé-ra Bule(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP me’e how.many.NOM.F { midaano clay.container(NOM.F) midaan-čo clay.container-SG(NOM.F) midaan-na clay.container-PL(NOM.F) }
 no ? exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘How many clay containers does Bule have?’ (*lit.*, ‘For Bule, how many clay containers exist?’)
 (*midaano* is the most common.)

However, this is only a tendency, and there are many counterexamples to this. For example, for more than one person, the plural noun *manna* ‘people’ is more commonly used than the singular noun *mančo* ‘person’.

⁷ Countable nouns can also occur with *maa geešš-i* to form a question about the size of their referents. An example is shown in (i).

- (i) hatti that.F.NOM hakk’-iččo tree-SG(NOM.F) ma what geešš-í degree-GEN.MOD.M sin-ná branch-PL(ACC)
 af-i-d-d-ino ? find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘What size branches does that tree have?’

- (3.24) lamé
two(ACC) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kinná} \\ \text{stones(ACC)} \\ \text{kin-č-ó} \\ \text{stone(ACC)} \end{array} \right\}$ u-’e.
give.IMP.2SG-1SG

‘Give me two stones.’

- (3.25) hatti hakk’-iččo me’é
that.F.NOM tree-SG(NOM.F) how.many(ACC) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{siná} \\ \text{branch(ACC)} \\ \text{sin-čó} \\ \text{branch-SG(ACC)} \\ \text{sin-ná} \\ \text{branch-PL(ACC)} \end{array} \right\}$

af-i-d-d-ino ?
find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘How many branches does that tree have?’

- (3.26) bule ma geešš-í waasá it-t-ino ?
Bule(NOM.F) what degree-GEN.MOD.M waasa(ACC) eat-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
‘How much waasa did Bule eat?’

Sidaama uses different adjectives for ‘a large number’ and ‘a large quantity’: *duuča* ‘many’ and *lowo* ‘much’, respectively.⁸ Countable nouns can usually be modified by the former, as in (3.27), whereas some uncountable ones can be modified by the latter, as in (3.28).

- (3.27) insa duučá $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kooké} \\ \text{peach(ACC)} \\ \text{*kook-iččo} \\ \text{peach-SG(ACC)} \end{array} \right\}$ af-i-d-d-ino.
3PL.NOM many(ACC) find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘They have a large number of peaches.’

⁸ Sidaama does not have an adjective that expresses ‘a small number’, though it can express ‘a small quantity’ with *šima* ‘small’ (e.g., *šima sagale/hindiido/mundee* ‘a small amount of food/tears/blood’).

(3.28)	insa 3PL.NOM	lowó much(ACC)	}	atará pea(ACC) *atar-čó pea-SG(ACC)	}	af-i-d-d-ino. find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
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‘They have a large quantity of peas.’

Whether a particular noun is countable or uncountable cannot be predicted from what form(s) that noun has. Although uncountable nouns usually have only unmarked forms, it is not the case that all nouns that have only unmarked forms, such as the ones in (3.13e), are uncountable, nor is it the case that only such nouns are uncountable. For example, *mančaame* ‘pig’ and *haak’e* ‘dream’, which are in (3.13e), are countable.

(3.29)	bulé-ra Bule(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP	me’e how.many	mančaame pig(NOM.F)	no ? exist.P.PRF.3
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‘How many pigs does Bule have?’ (*lit.*, For Bule, how many pigs exist?)

(3.30)	bero yesterday	hašša evening	lamé two(ACC)	haak’é dream(ACC)	haak’i’r-u-mm-o. dream-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
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‘I (M) had two dreams last night.’

There are also a few cases where one form of a noun is more appropriately used as countable and another form as uncountable. In (3.26), the singular form of the noun for ‘medicine’ is used to refer to medicine as a mass, and in (3.29), its plural form is used to refer to medicine as discrete objects.

- (3.31) Bule ma geešš-í t'ag-iččó
 Bule(NOM.F) what degree-GEN.MOD.M medicine(ACC)

ač-i-t-ino ?
 take-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'How much medicine did Bule take?'

- (3.32) Bule me'é t'ag-gá ač-i-t-ino ?
 Bule(NOM.F) how.many medicines(ACC) take-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'How many medicines did Bule take?'

As in (3.33), one form of a noun can be used without the number of its referent being specified, and another form of the same noun refers to a singular entity.

- (3.33) A: ané hinkó t'iss-ø-ino-'e.
 1SG.ACC tooth(OBL) cause.sicknes-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG

B: hiittenne ?
 which.one.F

A: hatti hinkiččo.
 that.F tooth

A: 'I have a pain in my tooth/teeth.' (neutral as to number) (*lit.*,
 <IMPERS.3SG.M> causes a pain to me with respect to the tooth/teeth.)

B: 'Which one?'

A: 'That tooth.'

The grammatical category of number in Sidaama nouns is mostly independent of that of gender. As indicated in (3.13), the gender of a noun is arbitrary irrespective of whether or not the noun is morphologically marked for number. The gender of a particular number form of a noun is also unpredictable from that of another number form of the same noun, though there are many cases where the unmarked or singular form of a

masculine noun has a feminine plural counterpart, and there seems to be no noun whose unmarked or singular form is feminine and whose plural form is masculine.⁹

(iv) Inherently vs. Optionally Possessed Nouns

In Sidaama, some nouns cannot occur by themselves and have to be accompanied by a noun (in the genitive) or a pronominal (the genitive personal pronoun or the possessive pronominal suffix), which refers to the possessor of their referent. (3.34) and (3.35) show that *giddo* ‘inner part’ and *lekka* ‘leg’ are such nouns.¹⁰

- (3.34) a. *gidd-u t’ur-ø-ino.
 inside-NOM.M become.dirty-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
to mean, ‘The inner part is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The inner part became dirty.’)
- b. min-ú gidd-i t’ur-ø-ino.
 house-GEN.M inside-NOM.MOD.M become.dirty-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘The inner part of the house is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The inner part of the house became dirty.’)
- (3.35) a. *hakkó kinč-í aana lekka no.
 that.M.GEN rock-GEN.MOD.M top leg(NOM.F) exist.P.PRF.3
to mean, ‘There is a leg on that rock.’

⁹ The reversal of gender between the singular and plural forms of a noun is noted by Hudson (1976: 252) (also, Teferra 2000: 41), but there are many counterexamples (including ‘iron’, ‘rock, stone’, and ‘elephant’).

¹⁰ The locational nouns can occur without possessor nouns when the referents of the possessors are known to the conversation participants, as in (i).

- (i) A: hiikko no ?
 where exist.P.PRF.3
- B: giddo-o-nni/gobba-a-nni no.
 inside-LV-LOC/outside-LV-LOC exist.P.PRF.3
- A: ‘Where is he/she/Where are they?’
 B: ‘Inside/Outside (the house).’

- b. hakkó kinč-í aana ikk-ø-ino
 that.M.GEN rock-GEN.MOD.M top become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- manč-í lekka no.
 person-GEN.MOD.M leg(NOM.F) exist.P.PRF.3

‘There is somebody’s leg on that rock.’

On the other hand, other nouns (e.g., *mine* ‘house’, *kinčo* ‘rock’) are free from such a requirement. The difference between these two types of nouns is between inherently (or obligatorily) possessed nouns and optionally possessed nouns (Payne 1997: 40-41, 104-107) (roughly, inalienably and alienably possessed nouns). Inherently possessed nouns in Sidaama include nouns that refer to animate possessors’ body parts that are essential or are not easily removable, kinsmen, spatial relations, and inanimate possessors’ parts and spatial relations.¹¹

However, if the referent of the possessor is clear from the context, animate possessors’ body parts and kinsmen can occur without a possessor specified.¹² First, when possession is indicated with the verb of possession (*af-i-d-* [find/get.to.know-EP-MID] ‘to get, have’) or in the predicative possession construction (see section 3.1.2.3),

¹¹ Nouns that refer to relatively easily removable parts of body (e.g., *danančo* ‘hair’, *hinko* ‘tooth’, *mundee* ‘blood’) can stand alone. For example, their nominative forms can replace *lekka* ‘leg’ in (3.35b).

¹² There is another type of case where the possessor is not required to be mentioned. When the general function of a human body part is talked about, and the possessor is a person in general, it may not be expressed, as in (i).

- (i) wodan-u bu’u bu’u y-ø-anno.
 heart-NOM.M *bu’u* *bu’u* say-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘A person’s heart produces the sound *bu’u bu’u*.’

which uses the verb of existence (its third-person subject form *no*), the possessor is usually unexpressed as a modifier of the possessum noun.¹³

(3.36) ani rodó af-i-'r-oo-mm-o.
 1SG.M.NOM sibling(ACC) find-EP-MID-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) have a sibling.' (*lit.*, 'I (M) got a sibling.')

(3.37) hatté hakk'iččó-ra sinna no.
 that.F.GEN tree(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD branches(NOM.F) exist.P.PRF.3
 'That tree has branches.' (*lit.*, 'For that tree, branches exist.')

Second, the possessor of a body part may be omitted when the body part noun is an adjunct of the verb whose subject is the possessor, as in (3.38).

(3.38) { angá-te-nni
 hand-GEN.F-INST } waá k'ot-u
 angá-si-nni
 hand(GEN.F)-3SG.M-INST } water(ACC) shoulder-GEN.M

aana dukk'-ø-i.
 top lift.heavy.thing-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He lifted water (in a container) up on to his shoulder with his hands.'

¹³ If the possessor were indicated as a modifier of the possessum noun in these constructions, they bear meanings in addition to that of possession, as in (i) and (ii).

(i) ani rodó-'ya af-i-'r-oo-mm-o.
 1SG.M.NOM sibling(ACC)-1SG.POSS find-EP-MID-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I met my sibling after a long separation.'

(ii) ané-ra rod-i-'ya no.
 1SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON sibling-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS exist.P.PRF.3
 'My brother is present/alive.' or 'My brother is available (to me).'

Third, a kin term may be used without any possessor noun when the referent of the possessor can easily be identified from the previous discourse context as a third person, as in (3.39).

- (3.39) *rod-u* *da-∅-i*.
 sibling-NOM.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Her/his/their/*my/*our/*your brother came.’

The possessor of *rod-u* in this example can never be interpreted as the first or second person — the first or second person possessor of a kin term has to be specified with a pronominal (e.g., *ané rod-i* [1SG.GEN sibling-NOM.MOD.M] or *rod-i-’ya* [sibling-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS] ‘my brother’).

Fourth, there are two types of constructions that allow inherently possessed nouns to occur without possessor nouns in the same NPs. In the middle-voice construction (Chapter 5 section 5.3.3; Kawachi 2004) and the external possessor constructions (Chapter 5 section 5.3.1; Kawachi 2006a, 2007b), any possessed noun (not only optionally possessed nouns but inherently possessed nouns) does not require the possessor to be indicated as its modifier. In the middle-voice construction, where the verb is marked with the middle-voice suffix, when the possessor (animate) is the subject and the possessum is the direct object, the possessor does not have to be indicated as a modifier of the possessum noun, regardless of the type of the possessum noun.

- (3.40) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) lekká(-si)} \\ \text{leg(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)} \\ \text{(b) amá(-si)} \\ \text{mother(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)} \\ \text{(c) uddanó(-si)} \\ \text{clothes(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)} \\ \text{(d) burč'ik'ó(-si)} \\ \text{glass(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)} \end{array} \right\}$
- isi
3SG.M.NOM

haišš-i-'r-ø-i.
wash-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'He washed his own legs.'
(b) 'He washed his own mother.'
(c) 'He washed his own clothes.'
(d) 'He washed his own glass.'

This applies to external possessor constructions as well (it is not limited to animate possessors in the case of external possessor constructions). There are two types of external possessor constructions in Sidaama. In one of them, the possessor is marked with the dative, and in the other type, the possessum is oblique. In the former, there is almost no constraint on the relationship between the possessor and the possessum, but in the latter type, the possessum is usually part of the possessor. When the verb predicate of either of the construction types is transitive (in other words, in the internal possession construction counterpart, the possessum noun is the direct object; e.g., *ise lekka-si haišš-i-t-u*. [3SG.F.NOM leg(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS wash-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F] 'She washed his legs.'), the possessor does not have to be expressed as a modifier of the possessum noun. In a type of external possessor construction like (3.41), the possessor is expressed as a dative marked NP, and in another type of external possessor construction like (3.42), the possessor is expressed as an accusative noun.

(3.41) ise isí-ra
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON

{	<p>(a) lekká(-si) leg(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)</p> <p>(b) amá(-si) mother(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)</p> <p>(c) uddanó(-si) clothes(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)</p> <p>(d) burč'ik'ó(-si) glass(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS)</p>	}	<p>haišš-i-t-u. wash-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F</p>
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- (a) ‘She washed his legs.’
 (b) ‘She washed his mother.’
 (c) ‘She washed his clothes.’
 (d) ‘She washed his glass.’

(3.42) ise isó lekká(-si)
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC leg(OBL)(-3SG.M.POSS)

haišš-i-t-u.
 wash-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She washed his legs.’

3.1.1.3 Locational Nouns and Other Abstract Nouns

There are a few types of abstract nouns that show some differences from prototypical nouns.

Sidaama has approximately twenty nouns, including those in (3.43), that are used to refer to a part of something or an area in a particular relation to an entity or to express spatial relations between entities. These nouns are usually accompanied by a genitive NP or the possessive pronominal suffix. They behave differently from typical nouns when

they are used adverbially or as part of an adverbial, rather than as an argument NP (e.g.,

(3.34): ‘The inner part of the house is dirty’).

(3.43) giddo ‘inside’	bade ‘back’
gobba ‘outside’	gura ‘left’
aana ‘top’	k’iniite/k’ine ‘right’
iima ‘aboveness’	mereero ‘betweenness, middle, center’
ale ‘upperness’	mule ‘nearness’
woro ‘lowerness, belowness’	hundaa ‘near-and-under-ness’
alba ‘beforeness, front’	wido ‘direction, (the other) side’ ¹⁴
duumba ‘behindness’	

When used to express location, goal, or source, these nouns take the forms in Table 3.2.

Note that when used for location, these nouns do not take the locative suffix *-te* (F)/*-ho*

(M)/*-ra* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.4).

¹⁴ *Wido* can follow other locational nouns (e.g., *al-i wido* [upperness-GEN.MOD.M side] ‘the upper side’) and demonstrative pronouns (e.g., *hakk-i wido* [that.place-GEN.PRON.M side] ‘that side, that place’) to constitute complex forms. They are often shortened to single words with *-iido* (e.g., *al-iido*, *hakk-iido*). *Wido* can also follow common nouns. Some common nouns, especially those that refer to part of something, require the contraction with *-iido* (e.g., *lekk-iido* rather than *?lekka-te wido* [leg-GEN.F side] ‘leg part’). When such nouns refer to a portion of a house, they serve as an adverbial for location or direction (e.g., *hadir-iido* [animal.section-side] ‘in/to the direction of the animal section of the house, at or to a vicinity of the animal section’). Other common nouns disallow the fusion with *wido* into the *-iido* form (e.g., *tullo-te wido* rather than **tulliido* ‘toward the mountain’).

	Location	Goal	Source
‘inside’	giddo/giddo-o/giddo-o-nni	giddo-ra/gidd-i-ra/giddo	gidd-i-nni/giddo-nni
‘outside’	gobba/gobba-a/gobba-a-nni	gobba-ra	gobb-i-nni/gobba-nni
‘top’	aana/aana-a/aana-a-nni	aan-i-ra/aana	aan-i-nni
‘aboveness’	iima/iima-a/iima-a-nni	iim-i-ra/iima	iim-i-nni
‘upperness’	ale-e/ale-e-nni	ale-ra/al-i-ra/al-e-e	al-ii-nni
‘lowerness’	woro-o/woro-o-nni	woro-ra/woro/woro-o	wor-i-nni
‘front’	alba-a/alba-a-nni	alb-i-ra/alba-a	alb-i-nni
‘behindness’	duumba-a/duumba-a-nni	duumba-ra/duumb-i-ra	duumb-i-nni
‘back’	badē-e/badē-e-nni	badē-ra/bad-i-ra	bad-i-nni
‘left’	gura-a/gura-a-nni	gura-ra/gura-a	gur-i-nni
‘right’	k’iniite-e/k’iniite-e-nni	k’iniite-ra/k’iniite-e	k’iniit-i-nni
‘nearness’	mule/mule-e/mule-e-nni	mul-i-ra/mul-e-e	mul-i-nni
‘betweenness, middle, center’	mereero/mereero-o/mereero-o-nni	mereer-i-ra	mereer-i-nni
‘near-and- underness’	hunda/hunda-a/hunda-a-nni	hund-i-ra	hund-i-nni
‘direction’	wido/wido-o/wido-o-nni	wido-ra/wid-i-ra/wido-o	wid-i-nni

Table 3.2: Locational Nouns as Used for Location, Goal, and Source

For location expressions, some of the locational nouns can be used without any suffix. Any of the locational nouns can be used to express location with its final vowel lengthened (e.g., *giddo-o*, *ale-e*, *duumba-a*, *mereero-o*), optionally followed by the suffix *-nni* (e.g., *gobba-a-nni* ‘outside (rather than inside)’, *alba-a-nni* ‘at the front (rather than the back)’, *gura-a-nni* ‘on the left (rather than the right)’). Locational nouns with their final vowels lengthened, with or without an accompanying *-nni* can be used to

emphasize their meaning or to contrast their meaning with other locations, especially when the locational nouns can also be expressed without vowel lengthening or without the *-nni* suffix.

In order to form goal expressions, the allative suffix attaches either to the basic or genitive stems of some locational nouns (e.g., *ale-ra/al-i-ra*), only to the genitive stems of some locational nouns (e.g., *aan-i-ra/*aana-ra*), and only to the basic stems of other locational nouns (e.g., *gura-ra/*gur-i-ra*).¹⁵ Some of the locational nouns can also express goals with their final vowels lengthened without the allative suffix (e.g., *woro-o*), and the four locational nouns, *giddo*, *aana*, *iima*, and *woro*, can express goals with neither the allative suffix or the vowel lengthening.

For source expressions, the ablative suffix attaches to the basic stems of *giddo* ‘inside’ and *gobba* ‘outside’ as well as their genitive stems, but it attaches only to the genitive stems of the other locational nouns.¹⁶

¹⁵ The vowel before the allative suffix may be lengthened when the goal is expressed (e.g., *al-ii-ra*, *woro-o-ra*).

¹⁶ When the suffix *-nni* is used as the instrumental suffix rather than the ablative suffix, it can attach directly to the basic stems of the locational nouns to mean that the portion of an entity specified by the locational noun was used for the motion, as in (i), (ii), and (iii). In such a case, the vector of the path is VIA.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (i) | tulló-te
mountain-GEN.F
‘by way of the bottom of the mountain’ | hunda-nni
near.and.under.ness-INST |
| (i’) | tulló-te
mountain-GEN.F
‘from the bottom of the mountain’ | hund-í-nni
near.and.under.ness-GEN.MOD.M-ABL |
| (ii) | min-ú
house-GEN.M
‘using the front of the house’ | alba-nni
front-INST |

Examples are shown in (3.44)-(3.46). The locational nouns are usually modified by a genitive NP that expresses the Ground object. Nevertheless, a locational noun can occur by itself if it expresses a direction of motion relative to the previous location, as in (3.45), or if the Ground object is clear from the context (e.g., *ise aan-i-nni dag-g-u*. ‘She came from the top.’ for (3.46a)).

(3.44) (a) bule dangur-í k’iniite-e no.
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M right-LV exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘Bule is on the right of Dangura.’ (right from the speaker’s perspective)

(b) bule dangur-í alba-a no.
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M front-LV exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘Bule is at the front of Dangura.’

(3.45) (a) č’eiččo al-i-ra bub-b-u.
 bird(NOM.F) upperness-GEN.MOD.M-ALL fly-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘The bird flew up.’

(b) č’eiččo min-í-se giddo-ra
 bird(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS inside-ALL

bub-b-u.
 fly-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The bird flew into her nest.’ (*lit.*, ‘The bird flew to the inside of her house.’)

(ii’) min-u alb-í-nni
 house-GEN.M front-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
 ‘from the front of the house’

(iii) wa-i woro-nni
 river-GEN.MOD.M lowerness-INST
 ‘using the lower side of the river’

(iii’) wa-i wor-í-nni
 river-GEN.MOD.M lowerness-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
 ‘from under the river’

- (c) ise mul-í-si-ra
 3SG.F.NOM nearness-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS.ALL
 mar-t-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She went near him.’
- (3.46) (a) ise hakk’iččó-te aan-í-nni
 3SG.NOM tree-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
 dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She came from the top of the tree.’
- (c) ise hakk’iččó-te duumb-í-nni
 3SG.NOM tree-GEN.F behindness-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
 dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She came from behind the tree.’

Sidaama has a comitative noun, *ledo*, which shares many characteristics with the locational nouns.

- (3.47) bule daafurs-í ledo dikko
 Bule(NOM.F) Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M COM market
 ha-ǰ-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule went to the market with Daafursa.’
- (3.48) ise isí ledo no.
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN COM exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘She is with him.’

Like the locational nouns, *ledo* usually follows a genitive NP.¹⁷ Also, like most of the locational nouns (e.g., *giddo-si* ‘inside him’, *aana-si* ‘on him’, *iima-si* ‘above him’, *woro-si* ‘under him’, *gura-si* ‘on his left’, *mule-si* ‘near him’, *mereero-nke* ‘between us’), *ledo* can be accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.2). Thus, *ledo-si* [COM-3SG.POSS] can substitute for *daafurs-î ledo* in (3.47) and *isi ledo* in (3.48).

The noun that literally means ‘face’, *alba*, can be used not only as one of the locational nouns (see (3.44b) for an example), but to express ‘before’ when it is followed by the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* (used in its locative usage) to form *alba-a-nni* ‘face-LV-LOC’ (*-nni* can be omitted). *Alba-a-nni* can follow genitive NPs to form adverbials such as (3.49).¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ledo* can also be used as an adverb that means ‘together’, as in (i) and (ii). As mentioned in section 3.1.4, it is not unusual for a noun to be used as a bare-NP adverbial in Sidaama (e.g., *dikko* ‘to the market’ in (ii)).

(i) *ledo amme.*
COM come.IMP.2PL
(to plural addressees) ‘Come together.’

(ii) *bule daafurs-î-nni ledo dikko ha-d-u.*
Bule(NOM.F) Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-INST COM market go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
‘Bule went to the market with Daafursa.’

¹⁸ *Alba* ‘before’ can also serve as an adverb by itself, as in (i).

(i) *alba isi ninké=wa da-ø-anno*
before 3SG.M.NOM 1PL.GEN=place come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

hee’r-ø-i.
live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He used to visit us before.’

- (3.49) hakko alba-a-nni [that.M.GEN face-LV-LOC] ‘before that’
 mitt-u dir-i alba-a-nni [one-GEN.M year-GEN.MOD.M face-LV-LOC] ‘one year ago’
 lowo yanna alba-a-nni [much time(GEN.F) face-LV-LOC] ‘a long time ago’
 konni alba-a-nni [this.M.GEN face-LV-LOC] ‘before, before now’
 lamal-u barr-i alba-a-nni [seven-GEN.M day-GEN.MOD.M face-LV-LOC]
 ‘seven days ago’

Sentence examples are shown in (3.50) and (3.51).

- (3.50) bule dangur-í alba-a-nni dag-g-u.
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M face-LV-LOC come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule came before Dangura.’

- (3.51) lam-ú dir-í alba-a-nni ka’-ø-e
 two-GEN.M year-GEN.MOD.M face-LV-LOC start-3SG.M-CNN

 diw-am-ø-a-nni no.
 cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘Since two years ago, he has been sick.’

It can also occur at the end of a subordinate clause to indicate that the event expressed by it temporally follows the event expressed by the main clause. When used this way, it immediately follows a verb with the infinitive suffix and the subject suffix followed by the dative suffix *-ra* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.3.2).

(3.52) ninke sagalé i-n-t-a-mmo-ra alba-a-nni
 1PL.NOM food(ACC) eat-1PL-eat-INF-1PL-DAT face-LV-LOC

angá haišš-i-'-n-oo-mmo.
 hand(ACC) wash-EP-MID-1PL-P.PRF.1-1PL

‘Before eating food, we washed our hands.’

The notion opposite to that of *alba-a-nni* is expressed by the noun *gedensa* ‘last’ suffixed with *-nni*: *gedensa-a-nni* [last-LV-LOC] (*-nni* can be optionally omitted: *gedensa*). Like *alba-a-nni*, *gedensa-a-nni* can follow genitive NPs to form adverbials like (3.53).

(3.53) šiima yanna gedensa-a-nni [small time(GEN.F) last-LV-LOC] ‘after some time’
 hurbaat-u gedensa-a-nni [meal-GEN.M last-LV-LOC] ‘after a meal’
 mitt-u dir-i gedensa-a-nni [one-GEN.M year-GEN.MOD.M last-LV-LOC] ‘in one year’
 hakko gedensa-a-nni [that.M.GEN last-LV-LOC] ‘after that’

An example is shown in (3.54).

(3.54) laše mann-ú gedensa-a-nni
 Lashe(NOM) people-GEN.M last-LV-LOC

da-ø-ino mančo=ti.
 come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person=NPC.PRED.MOD

‘Lashe is the one who came last.’ (*lit.*, ‘Lashe is the one who came after people.’)

The suffixed noun *gedensa-a-nni* can also follow a verb. The verb right before it has to be in the simple perfect, regardless of the aspect of the verb predicate in the main clause.

- (3.55) haišš-i-'r-ø-i gedensa-a-nni
 wash-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M last-LV-LOC
- uddanó-si e-ǰ-ø-i.
 clothes(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS fold-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘After washing his clothes, he folded them.’

- (3.56) lat'o min-í-'ya-ra
 lat'o(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-1SG.POSS-ALL
- dag-g-u gedensa-a-nni laše
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F last-LV-LOC Lashe(GEN)
- min-í-ra ha-ǰ-a-nni no.
 house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL go-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘Lat'o is coming to my house, then she is going to Lashe's house.’

This suffixed noun may be preceded by the infinitive form of a verb followed by the person suffix (which is usually used before the dative suffix *-ra*, as used with *alba-a-nni*; Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.4 Table 4.10).

- (3.57) (a)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|---|------------------------------|
| sagalé
food(ACC) | { | it-a-mm-o
eat-INF-1SG-M
it-u-mm-o
eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M | } | gedensa-a-nni
last-LV-LOC |
|---------------------|---|--|---|------------------------------|

got'-u-mm-o.
go.to.sleep-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘After I (M) ate food, I went to sleep.’

- (b)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|---|------------------------------|
| sagalé
food(ACC) | { | it-a-mm-o
eat-INF-1SG-M
it-u-mm-o
eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M | } | gedensa-a-nni
last-LV-LOC |
|---------------------|---|--|---|------------------------------|

got'-ee-mmo.
go.to.sleep-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

‘After I (M) eat food, I will go to sleep.’

When the verb immediately preceding *gedensa-a-nni* or *gedensa* is *ka'* - ‘to finish doing sth’ (which follows the connective form of a verb), *ka'* - has to be in the infinitive and followed by the person suffix, or be in the imperfect aspect. However, it cannot be in the simple perfect aspect. This is exemplified by (3.58).

- (3.58) (a)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|---|--|---|
| sagalé
food(ACC) | it-ø-e
eat-1SG.M-CNN | { | ka'-a-mm-o
finish-INF-1SG-M
ka'-ee-mm-o
finish-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
*ka'-u-mm-o
finish-S.PRF.1-1SG-M | } |
|---------------------|-------------------------|---|--|---|

gedensa-a-nni
last-LV-LOC

got'-u-mm-o.
go.to.sleep-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘After I (M) finished eating food, I went to sleep.’

(b)	sagalé it-ø-e food(ACC) eat-1SG.M-CNN	}	ka'-a-mm-o finish-INF-1SG-M ka'-ee-mm-o finish-IMPRF.1-1SG-M *ka'-u-mm-o finish-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
	gedensa-a-nni got'-ee-mm-o. last-LV-LOC go.to.sleep-IMPRF.1-1SG-M		

‘After I (M) finish eating food, I will go to sleep.’

There is another abstract noun that literally means ‘degree, extent’: *geešša*. This noun can be preceded by a genitive NP to form oblique NPs like (3.59), which serve as adverbials. The oblique NP expresses ‘up to (a location in space)’, ‘along (a long distance)’, ‘up to, until (a point in time)’, or ‘for (an extent of time).’

- (3.59) ane geešša [1SG.GEN degree] ‘up to me (in space)’
 hatte hakk’iččo geešša [that.F.GEN tree(GEN.F) degree] ‘up to that tree’
 tullo-te birt’-i geešša [mountain-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M degree] ‘up to the top of the mountain’
 min-i-se geešša [house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F degree] ‘up to her house’
 seeda geešša [long degree] ‘along a long distance’
 t’aa geešša [now degree] ‘up to now’
 teččo geešša [today degree] ‘until today’
 lowo yanna geešša [much(GEN.F) time(GEN.F) degree] ‘for a long time’
 šiima yanna geešša [small(GEN.F) time(GEN.F) degree] ‘for a short time’
 ikk-i-t-ino yanna geešša [become-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 time(GEN.F) degree] ‘for a certain time’
 lowo dirr-i geešša [much year-GEN.MOD.M degree] ‘for long years’
 sas-u dakiik-i geešša [three-GEN.M minute-GEN.MOD.M degree] ‘for three minutes’
 sase saate geešša [three(GEN.F) hour(GEN.F) degree] ‘for three hours’
 tonn-u barr-i geešša [ten-GEN.M day-GEN.MOD.M degree] ‘for ten days’

An adverbial made up of a genitive NP and *geešša* is often used in a comparison expression of ‘as ... as NP’, as in (3.60).

- (3.60) dangur-i damboow-í geešša
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M degree

seed- \emptyset -anno.
 become.tall-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

‘Dangura is as tall as Damboowa.’

It can also be modified by an adjective to constitute such degree adverbials as *šiima* *geešša* [small degree] ‘a little’ and *lowo* *geešša* [much degree] ‘very much’.

- (3.61) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{lowo} \\ \text{large} \\ \text{(b) } \text{šiima} \\ \text{a.little} \end{array} \right\}$ geešša woiyab-b-u.
 buše Bushe(NOM.F) degree get.better-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bushe got much/a little better.’

An NP where *geešša* is modified by a genitive NP can also be in the genitive case, as in (3.62) and (3.63).

- (3.62) ma geešš-í adó ag- \emptyset -i ?
 what degree-GEN.MOD.M milk(ACC) drink-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘How much milk did he drink?’

- (3.63) dangur-í hojja damboow-í
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M height(NOM.F) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M

geešš-i=te.
 degree-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED

‘Dangura’s height is like that of Damboowa.’

This noun can also be preceded by a clause ending in a verb in the imperfect or simple perfect aspect to express ‘until ...’, as in (3.65).

- (3.64) ani insa dag-g-anno geešša
 1SG.NOM 3PL.NOM come-3SG.F-IMPRF.3 degree

got’-u-mm-o.
 sleep-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) slept until they came.’

- (3.65) wa-i t’alala ikk-ø-anno geešša
 water-NOM.MOD.M clear become-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 until

agar-oo-mm-o.
 wait-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) waited until the river became clear.’

3.1.2 Verbs

3.1.2.1 Properties of Verbs

A verb root always takes one of the following types of inflectional verb suffixes and often can take any of these suffixes: the aspectual suffixes, the connective suffix, the infinitive suffix, and the mood suffixes (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.3.2). There are two

verbs that cannot occur with most of the inflectional verb suffixes: the existential/locational verb (*lit.*, ‘to come to exist, come to be located’; *no* for a third-person subject) and *heed-* ‘to live’ as used in its non-literal sense. These verbs are discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.3.1).

The verb is the only category that does not require the predicative noun-phrase clitic when used as a predicate.

3.1.2.2 Types of Verbs

There are at least two ways in which Sidaama verbs can be classified into different types. One classification is based on the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs, which all languages make (Schachter 1985: 10), and the other classification is based on the aspectual distinction between action verbs and state-change verbs.

Transitive verbs (e.g., *mur-* ‘to cut’) must take objects, whereas intransitive verbs (e.g., *buus-* ‘to cough’) do not, as in (3.66) and (3.67).

(3.66) a. ise hakk’iččó mur-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM tree(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She cut the tree.’

b. *ise mur-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

(3.67) ise buus-s-u.
 3SG.F.NOM cough-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She coughed.’

A verb has to be transitive to be used in the passive construction (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3.3).

Sidaama verbs are either intransitive or transitive. There are almost no ambitransitive verbs like the English verb *break* that can be both.¹⁹ As shown in (3.68), Sidaama has a limited number of intransitive-transitive pairs of morphologically unrelated lexical verbs that seem to show a semantic contrast, but it is not clear whether they are contrastive only with respect to causativity.

(3.68) intransitive	transitive
re- ‘to die’	š- ‘to kill’
ub- ‘to fall’	tug- ‘to drop (sth light)’
	kaar- ‘to drop (sth heavy)’
ba’- ‘to disappear, get lost; to become destroyed/spoiled’	hoog- ‘to lose sth’
	hun- ‘to destroy, spoil’

Sidaama verb forms showing a contrast in transitivity follow one of the three patterns in (3.69). First, there are a large number of intransitive verb roots whose causative forms are transitive verbs (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3.2). Second, the passive form of a transitive verb root acts as an intransitive verb that expresses a state-change (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3.3). Third, there are many pairs of idiomatic expressions with *ass-* ‘to do’ and *y-* ‘to say’ that show a transitivity contrast (see section 3.1.5 for more details).

¹⁹ One exception is *k’ol-* ‘to return sth, turn sth (transitive); to repeat (intransitive)’, but as seen in the glosses, its meaning is slightly different depending on the transitivity.

- | (3.69) intransitive | transitive |
|--|---|
| <i>(a) the causative of an intransitive verb root vs. the intransitive verb root (non-causative)</i> | |
| ra' - 'to become cooked' | ra'-i-s- 'to cook sth' |
| it- 'to eat' | it-i-s- 'to feed sb, serve food to sb' |
| mool- 'to become dry' | mool-s- 'to dry sth' |
| e'- 'to enter' | ee-s- 'to move sth in' |
| gat- 'to become safe' | gat-i-s- 'to save sb' |
| leell- 'to become visible' | leell-i-s- 'to show sth' |
| ros- 'to learn, get used to' | ros-i-s- 'to teach' |
| ful- 'to exit' | fušš- 'to move sth out, take off clothes' |
| t'o- '(light/candle) to go off' | t'o-i-s- 'to extinguish (light/candle)' |
| dirr- 'to descend' | dirr-i-s- 'to move sth down' |
| huf- 'to become boiled' | huf-i-s- 'to boil sth' |
| do- 'to move around, in a circle' | do-is- 'to surround' |
| ta'- 'to come out' | ta-is- 'to cross' |
| ka'- 'to rise, get up' | ka'-is- 'to lift up sth, make sb stand up' |
|
<i>(b) a transitive verb root (active) vs. the passive of the transitive verb root</i> | |
| hiikk'-am- 'to get broken' | hiikk'- 'to break sth' |
| k'alt'-am- 'to become choked/hanged' | k'alt'- 'to choke, hang' |
| giir-am- 'to become burned/offended' | giir- 'to burn sb/sth, offend' |
| il-am- 'to become born' | il- 'to give birth to sb' |
| amaal-am- 'to get advise' | amaal- 'to advise sb' |
| diw-am- 'to get sick' | dib- 'to cause sickness to sb' |
| t'iss-am- 'to get sick, come to feel pain' | t'iss- 'to cause sickness/pain to sb' |
|
<i>(c) idioms ending in ass- 'to do' vs. y- 'to say'</i> | |
| dolli ass- 'to lay down' | dolli y- 'to lie sth down' |
| milli ass- 'to move' | milli y- 'to move sth' |
| bukki ass- 'to swell sth' | bukki y- 'to swell up' |
| naggi ass- 'to make sth louder' | naggi y- 'to become louder, to become up in spirit' |
| gotti gotti y- 'to cheer up' | gotti gotti ass- 'to cheer up sb' |
| gamba ass- 'to put things together' | gamba y- 'to gather' |

As in other languages, there are cases in Sidaama where the semantic valence and the syntactic (or grammatical) valence of a verb do not match (e.g., Payne 1997: 169-172,

Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 147-154). Semantically two-place predicate verbs (e.g., *it-* ‘to eat’), which require two participants, can be syntactically either transitive or intransitive, and do not always require an object to be overtly expressed.

- (3.70) (sagalé/hurbaaté) it-i-tt-a ?
 food(ACC)/meal(ACC) eat-S.PRF.2-2SG-F
 ‘Have you (SG.F) eaten (food/a meal)?’

On the other hand, there are a small number of verbs that must or can take an impersonal third-person masculine subject, which is usually only expressed with the subject suffix on the verb (Chapter 5 section 5.1.2). These verbs are syntactically transitive, though there is only one participant in the event expressed by the verb.²⁰ In constructions with the impersonal third-person masculine subject, the real participant is indicated with the object suffix on the verb or an NP in the accusative, or both, when the real participant is animate, as in (3.71); on the other hand, the real participant has to be expressed with an accusative NP but cannot be marked on the object suffix, when the real participant is inanimate, as in (3.72).

²⁰ The causative forms of many intransitive verbs involving feelings (Chapter 5 section 5.1.2, Kawachi 2006b) also take the impersonal third-person masculine subject (e.g., *k'iid-i-s-* [become.cold-EP-CAUS-], *mug-i-s-* [become.sleepy-EP-CAUS-], *waajj-i-s-* [become.worried-EP-CAUS-], *hank'-i-s-* [get.angry-EP-CAUS-]).

- (3.71) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{isé} \\ \text{3SG.F.ACC} \\ \text{bulé} \\ \text{Bule.ACC} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{d̥iw-}\emptyset\text{-i-se.} \\ \text{cause.sickness-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F} \end{array}$

‘She/Bule is sick.’ (*lit.*, ‘<IMPERS.3SG.M> caused her/Bule sickness.’)

- (a’) $\begin{array}{l} \text{d̥iw-}\emptyset\text{-i-se.} \\ \text{cause.sickness-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F} \\ \text{‘She is sick.’ (lit., ‘<IMPERS.3SG.M> caused her sickness.’)} \end{array}$

- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{isé} \\ \text{3SG.F.ACC} \\ \text{bulé} \\ \text{Bule.ACC} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{d̥iw-}\emptyset\text{-i.} \\ \text{cause.sickness-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M} \end{array}$

‘She/Bule is sick.’ (*lit.*, ‘<IMPERS.3SG.M> caused her/Bule sickness.’)²¹

- (3.72) $\begin{array}{ll} \text{bero} & \text{t’eená} \\ \text{yesterday} & \text{rain(ACC)} \end{array} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gan-}\emptyset\text{-ino.} \\ \text{hit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3} \\ \text{*gan-}\emptyset\text{-ino-si.} \\ \text{hit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M} \end{array} \right\}$

‘It rained yesterday.’ (*lit.*, ‘<IMPERS.3SG.M> hit rain yesterday.’)

Another distinction can be made on the basis of aspectual properties of the verb.

Many languages have two types of verbs that show different aspectual behaviors: dynamic verbs (those that express events involving actions or changes) and stative verbs

²¹ A construction with the object suffix like (3.71a) is preferred over one without it like (3.71b). Other than that, it is not clear whether there is any difference between the two.

The human participant of this type of construction can be in the dative case instead of the accusative case, as in (i).

- (i) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) isé-ra} \\ \text{3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON} \\ \text{(b) bulé-ra} \\ \text{Bule(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{d̥iw-}\emptyset\text{-i(-se).} \\ \text{cause.sickness-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F} \end{array}$

‘She/Bule is sick.’ (*lit.*, ‘<IMPERS.3SG.M> caused sickness to her/to Bule.’)

(those that express states) (Schachter 1985: 11). Sidaama, however, lacks a class of stative verbs; no verb roots in this language express states.²²

A vast majority of verbs in Sidaama can be classified into one of two broad types of dynamic verbs, based on their aspectual behaviors: those that express actions or those that express state-changes. Examples are shown in (3.73) and (3.74). As in (3.73), many of those dynamic verbs for actions concern self-contained motion, manners of motion, perception, and various types of activities. On the other hand, state-change verbs often express posture changes, translational motion, mental state-changes including emotions,

²² Sidaama uses state-change verbs to express temporary or non-inherent states as conditions resulting from the state changes by the state-change verbs (Kawachi 2006b). It also has adjectives or nouns, but they are restricted to inherent properties.

There are cases where recurrent or frequent state-changes are regarded as long-lasting states. As in (i)-(iv), the imperfect forms of some state-change verbs (e.g., *bat'*- 'come to like', *gib*- 'come to hate', *k'aag*- 'to recall', *hasid'*- 'come to want') can express long-lasting states including current states as recurrent or regular state changes.

- (i) *bat'*- \emptyset -anno-se.
come.to.like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-3SG.F
'He likes her.' (*lit.*, 'He comes to like her (regularly/habitually).')
- (ii) *duressa* *ikk-a* *hett'*- \emptyset -anno.
rich become-INF come.to.wish-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
'He wants to become rich.' (*lit.*, 'He comes to want to become rich (regularly/habitually).')
- (iii) *isé* *su'má* *k'aag-ee-mm-o*.
3SG.F.GEN name(ACC) recall-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
'I (M) remember her name.' (*lit.*, 'I recall her name (regularly/habitually).')
- (iv) *isi* *waasá* *it-a* *has-i-'r- \emptyset -anno*.
3SG.M.NOM *waasa*(ACC) eat-INF look.for-EP-MID-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
'He wants to eat *waasa* (all the time).' (*lit.*, 'He comes to want to eat *waasa* (regularly/habitually).')

Nevertheless, these verbs are state-change verbs. Their perfective forms express temporary states as resultative states, as in (v).

- (v) *isi* *waasá* *it-a* *has-i-'r- \emptyset -ino*.
3SG.M.NOM *wasá*(ACC) eat-INF look.for-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
'He wants to eat *waasa* (now).' (*lit.*, 'He has come to want to eat *waasa*.')

and physical state-changes, as shown in (3.74). (Verbs for mental and physical feelings are all basically state-change verbs; see Kawachi 2006b for details.)

- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------|
| (3.73) dod- | ‘to run’ | č’anč’- | to yell’ |
| bubb- | ‘to fly’ | t’on- | ‘to insult’ |
| bu-d- | ‘to crawl’ | huučč’- | ‘to pray’ |
| kubb- | ‘to jump’ | haarim- | ‘to make a joke’ |
| daak- | ‘to swim’ | kapp’- | ‘to tell a lie’ |
| k’aaf- | ‘to walk, step over’ | wi’l- | ‘to cry’ |
| gan- | ‘to hit’ | dut- | ‘to bark’ |
| heed- | ‘to live’ | hir- | ‘to buy’ |
| loos- | ‘to work’ | sirb- | ‘to sing and/or dance’ |
| foo’l- | ‘to breathe’ | godo’l- | ‘to play’ |
| haišš- | ‘to wash’ | foo’l- | ‘to breathe’ |
| gargar- | ‘to drive away with hands’ | has- | ‘to look for’ |
| amad- | ‘to hold’ | š- | ‘to kill’ |
| daak- | ‘to grind’ | loss- | ‘to raise, bring up (a child)’ |
| ag- | to drink’ | la’- | ‘to see, look’ |
| it- | ‘to eat’ | mač’iš- | ‘to listen’ |
| hasaw- | ‘to speak’ | milli milli y- | ‘to move, wiggle’ |
| (3.74) uurr- | ‘to stand up’ | got’i y- | ‘to rise, stand up’ |
| ofoll- | ‘to sit down’ | dolli y- | to lie down’ |
| gulupp’- | ‘to kneel down’ | naggi naggi y- | ‘to become larger and larger’ |
| gač- | ‘to lie down’ | šikk’i y- | ‘to approach’ |
| guluf- | ‘to ride’ | č’e’em- | ‘to become bored’ |
| ub- | ‘to fall down’ | bag- | ‘to become tired of’ |
| dukk’- | ‘to lift sth heavy’ | daafur- | ‘to get tired’ |
| gidd- | ‘to climb’ | dimb- | ‘to get drunk’ |
| e’- | ‘to enter’ | damm- | ‘to become numb’ |
| ful- | ‘to exit, move out, ascend’ | hudid- | ‘to become hungry’ |
| mar- | ‘to go’ | good- | to become thirsty’ |
| had- | ‘to leave, go’ | damuu’ m- | ‘get a headache’ |
| iill- | ‘to arrive’ | hur- | ‘to become cured’ |
| da- | ‘to come’ | iibb- | ‘to become hot’ |
| dois- | to surround’ | k’iid- | ‘to become cold’ |

hig- ‘to return’	madid- ‘to become wounded’
dirr- ‘to descend’	k’aag- ‘to recall, remember’
jaaw- ‘to lose weight’	woiyab- ‘(about health) to get better’
du’m- ‘to gain weight’	hagiid- ‘to become happy’
č’aab- ‘to become bright’	maalal- ‘to become surprised’
tuns- ‘to become dark’	waaǰj- ‘to become fearful’
mool- ‘to become dry’	mas- ‘to become shocked’
ra- ‘to become cooked’	dadill- ‘to become worried’
šišš- ‘to become sour’	šoll- ‘to become dishonored, ashamed’
duree-’-m- ‘to become rich’	hamaššid- ‘to become jealous’
hasiss- ‘to become necessary’	errab- ‘to become embarrassed’
ros- ‘to learn, get used to’	gaabb- ‘to become regretful’
got’- ‘to go to sleep’	saal- ‘to become shy’
egenn- ‘to get to know’	marar- ‘to become sympathetic, sad, disappointed, concerned’

The aspectual differences between these two types of verbs are summarized in Table 3.3.

	Actions	State-changes
Present progressive	an ongoing action	a gradual state-change
Continuous	*	a continuous state
Simple perfect or present perfect	a completed action	a completed state-change/a current state as a resultative state of the state-change

Table 3.3: Aspectual Behaviors of Two Types of Dynamic Verbs

The above differences are illustrated in (3.75)-(3.80) with the action verb *dod-* ‘to run’ and the state-change verb *uurr-* ‘to stand up’. As seen in (3.75) and (3.76), the present progressive form of *dod-* is used to express an ongoing action of running, whereas that of *uurr-* is used to describe a gradual process of standing up. Unlike *uurr-*, which can be in the continuous aspect to indicate a continuous state of standing up from a time prior to the moment of speaking, *dod-* is incompatible with this aspect. This is shown in (3.77)

and (3.78). When *dod-* is in the simple or present perfect aspect, it conveys that the action of running has been completed, as in (3.79). On the other hand, when *uurr-* is in one of these aspects, it expresses a state-change event that has already occurred, but the new state is understood to be continuing at the time of utterance, as in (3.80).

(3.75) ise dod-d-a-nni no.
 3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘She is running right now.’

(3.76) ise uurr-i-t-a-nni no.
 3SG.F.NOM stand-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘She is in the process of standing up.’

(3.77) *ise gobba-nni dod-d-e no.
 3SG.F.NOM outside-AT run-3SG.F-CNN exist.P.PRF.3

(3.78) ise gobba-nni uurr-i-t-e no.
 3SG.F.NOM outside-AT stand-3SG.F-CNN exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘She has been standing outside.’

(3.79) ise { dod-d-u.
 3SG.F.NOM { run-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F }
 { dod-d-ino.
 { run-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 }
 }

‘She ran.’

(3.80) ise { uurr-i-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM { stand-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F }
 { uurr-i-t-ino.
 { stand-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 }
 }

‘She stood up.’ or ‘She is in a the standing position now (as a result of standing up).’

Thus, as shown in (3.81), the present progressive form of an action verb and the continuous form of a state-change verb can be joined with a conjunctive clitic to contrast an ongoing action and a continuous state, both of which are continuing at the time of utterance.

- (3.81) ise t'int'a'lid-a-nni no=nso
 3SG.F.NOM think-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=or
- got-t'-e no?
 go.to.sleep-3SG.F-CNN exist.P.PRF.3
- 'Is she thinking or sleeping?'

On the other hand, in (3.82), the present progressive form of the action verb and that of the state-change verb are conjoined with the conjunctive clitic to contrast an ongoing action and a gradual state-change.

- (3.82) ise t'int'a'lid-a-nni no=nso
 3SG.F.NOM think-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=or
- got-t'-a-nni no?
 go.to.sleep-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
- 'Is she thinking or is she in the process of falling asleep?'

When state-change verbs in the imperfect aspect are used as main verbs, they usually express a habitual state-change or a state-change in the future, as in (3.83) and (3.84).

(3.83) ise yanna-te got-t'-anno.
 3SG.F.NOM time-LOC.F sleep-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 'She goes to sleep early.'

(3.84) tenné sagalé it-a-mm-o gedensa-a-nni
 this.F.ACC food(ACC) eat-INF-1SG-M last-LV-LOC

got'-ee-mm-o.
 go.to.sleep-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

'After I (M) eat this food, I will go to sleep.'

3.1.2.3 Gerunds and Nouns Derived from Verbs

Sidaama gerunds are formed by attaching the infinitive suffix *-a* to a verb stem (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.4). They constitute NPs (with their complements, if any), and serve as their heads. For example, *ha'r-a* [go-INF] 'going' forms the subject NP in (3.85) and the direct object NP in (3.86).

(3.85) min-í-ra ha'r-a
 house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL go-INF(NOM.F)

hasis-s-anno-'e.
 become.necessary-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-1SG

'I have to go home.' (*lit.*, 'Going home becomes necessary to me.')

(3.86) min-í-ra ha'r-a has-i-'r-ee-mm-a.
 house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL go-INF(ACC) look.for-EP-MID-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
 'I (F) want to go home.'

Nevertheless, they behave differently from nouns in the following respects. First, they can take verbal complements and adverbials; a genitive NP or the possessive pronominal suffix, which is their subject, can be their dependent, as in (3.87) and (3.88), but other

types of adnominals such as adjectives, adnominal demonstratives, and numerals cannot (for example, the gerund in (3.87) cannot be modified by the numeral *lame* ‘two’, nor can that in (3.88) be modified by an adjective like *rahado* ‘fast, early’).

(3.87) dangur-í k’arr-am-ø-i-kki-nni
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M problem-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-NEG-MANNER

fataná sa’-a(-si) manná wo’ma
 exam(ACC) pass-INF(NOM.F)(-3SG.M.POSS) people(ACC) all

mala’l-i-s-s-u.
 become.surprised-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘That Dangura passed the exam without any problem surprised everybody.’

(3.88) rak-k-e ha’r-a-kki di=danča=te.
 hurry-2SG-CNN leave-INF(NOM.F)-2SG.POSS NEG=good=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘It is not good that you (SG) left/are leaving early/in a hurry.’ (*lit.*, ‘Your leaving early/in a hurry is not good.’)

Second, NPs formed by gerunds always behave as (third-person singular) feminine, as in (3.85), (3.87), and (3.88), and they lack lexical gender in its real sense — their gender is predictable from their forms, and are all treated as feminine nouns.²³

²³ The third-person singular feminine is treated the same as the third-person plural (these two are treated as the same in Sidaama, but gerunds are the former because, as in (3.88), they take *-te* as their predicative noun-phrase clitic, which the third-person singular feminine subject takes (e.g., *ise/tini sagale di=danča=te/*di=danča=ho*. ‘She/This food is not good.’), rather than *-ho*, which the third-person plural pronoun subject *insa* takes (e.g., *insa di=danča=ho/*di=danča=te*. ‘They are not good.’).

However, when gerunds are subjects of clauses whose predicates are unmodified masculine common nouns, the predicative noun-phrase clitic usually takes its masculine form =*ho* (the use of its feminine form =*te* is only marginally acceptable), for example, as in (i), whose subject is the infinitive form of the verb *daak-* and whose predicate is a masculine noun *k’arra*, followed by =*ho*.

On the other hand, gerunds show a noun-like property in two constructions. One is a construction where they are accompanied by the subject suffix and followed by the dative case suffix *-ra* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.4).

(3.89) *it-a-mm-o-ra* *fǎǰǰ-i-'e*.
 eat-INF-1SG-M-DAT allow-IMP.2SG-1SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Let me (M) eat.’

(3.90) *ise* *t'ook-k'-a-ra* *ka'-'-u*.
 3SG.F.NOM run.away-3SG.F-INF-DAT try-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She tried running away.’

In the second construction, which is exemplified by (3.91) and (3.92), the infinitive form of a verb is marked with the genitive suffix for a feminine common noun accompanied by neither any modifier nor the possessive pronominal suffix, and then is followed by the ablative suffix *-nni* to form *V-a-te-nni* [V-INF-GEN.F-ABL] (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.6).

(i)

<i>ané-ra</i>	<i>daah-a</i>	{	<i>k'arra=ho.</i>	}
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON	swim-INF(NOM)		trouble=NPC.M.PRED	
			<i>(?)k'arra=te.</i>	
			trouble=NPC.F.PRED	

‘Swimming is difficult for me.’

This does not happen to clauses whose predicates are feminine common nouns, as in (ii).

(ii)

<i>daah-a-si</i>	{	<i>maala'lo=te.</i>	}
swim-INF(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS		miracle=NPC.F.PRED	
		<i>*maala'lo=ho.</i>	
		miracle=NPC.M.PRED	

‘It is a miracle that he swam.’ (*lit.*, ‘His swimming is a miracle.’)

- (3.91) buná ag-a-te-nni k'oropp'-ee-mm-o.
 coffee(ACC) drink-INF-GEN.F-ABL avoid-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) avoid drinking coffee.'
- (3.92) damboow-i bulé illé la'-a-te-nni
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M Bule(GEN.F) eye(ACC) see-INF-GEN.F-ABL
 šaš-ø-ino.
 become.afraid-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'Damboowa is afraid of looking into Bule's eyes.'

On the other hand, Sidaama has nouns derived from verbs with the nominalizing suffix (allomorphs: *-a*, *-o*, *-e*, *-anšo*, *-atto*, *-ano*, *-aančo*, *-ille*, *-imma*) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.1.1). Unlike gerunds, which are formed by attaching the infinitive suffix *-a* to verb roots, such nouns do not necessarily end in *-a*, and can end in *-o* or *-e* as well. The genders of such nouns have lexical genders; they are not necessarily feminine, but can be either feminine or masculine. Except for nouns with the allomorphs of the nominalizing suffix *-ille* and *-imma*, which express abstract concepts, nouns derived from verbs have characteristics of prototypical common nouns. Not only a genitive NP or the possessive pronominal suffix, but an adjective or a demonstrative can be their dependent. Some of such nouns have plural forms. Examples are shown in (3.93).

(3.93)	k'odo (F) 'something that one puts on by fastening it'	k'od-	'to put on sth by fastening it'
	argo (F) 'something that one borrows'	arg-	'to borrow sth'
	ago (M) 'drink (something to drink)'	ag-	'to drink'
	gurda (M) 'knot'	gurd-	'to knot'
	ga'ra (M) 'something that spreads out, esp., spread water'	ga'r-	'to lie, spread on a flat surface'
	looso (M) 'work'	loos-	'to work'
	foole (M) 'breath'	fool-	'to breathe'

There are a large number of idioms in Sidaama that are made up of verbs and either their infinitive forms or nouns derived from the verbs.²⁴ Most such idioms require the nouns to be modified by adjectives such as *danča* 'good', *buša* 'bad', *lowo* 'much, many', and *šiima* 'little'. Examples are shown in (3.94) and (3.95).

(3.94)	danča daah-a	daah-ø-i.
	good swim-INF	swim-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
	'He swam well.'	
(3.95)	danča hasaaw-a	hasaaw-ø-i.
	good talk-NML	talk-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
	'He talked nicely.'	

²⁴ Although Sidaama also has many verb-adjective cognate pairs, adjectives only rarely constitute such idioms with their verb roots from which they derive. Examples are shown in (i)-(iii).

(i)	isi	danča/buša	du'ma	du'm-ø-ino.
	3SG.M.NOM	good/bad	fat	become.fat-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
				'He gained weight nicely/badly (excessively).'
(ii)	isi	buša	busule	busul-ø-ino.
	3SG.M.NOM	bad	smart	become.smart-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
				'He thinks that he is smarter than he actually is.' (<i>lit.</i> , 'He has become smart badly.')
(iii)	ise	buša	but'ano	but-t'-ino.
	3SG.F.NOM	bad	poor	become.poor-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
				'She became poor badly.'

Although *daah-a* in (3.94) is modified by the adjective *danča* ‘good’, it is the infinitive form of *daak-* ‘to swim’. It is only in this idiomatic expression that it can be modified by an adjective, which is restricted to *danča* ‘good’ and *buša* ‘bad’. On the other hand, *hasaaw-a* in (3.95) is a noun derived from *hasaab-* ‘to talk’. Unlike the infinitive form of a verb, a noun derived from a verb can be modified by other adjectives, as in (3.96), and types of adnominals other than adjectives, as in (3.97). Notice also that, as in (3.96), *hasaaw-a* is a masculine noun, unlike the infinitive form of a verb, which is normally treated as feminine.²⁵

(3.96) *hakku* *seeda* *hasaaw-a=ti*.
 that.M.NOM long talk-NML=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘That is a long talk.’

(3.97) *ise* *oosó-te* *alba-nni* *hasaanb-a-nni-kki*
 3SG.F.NOM children-GEN.F front-LOC talk-INF-MANNER-NEG

hasaaw-a *mač’išš-a* *gib-b-anno*.
 talk-NML hear-INF(ACC) hate-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘He hates hearing a kind of talk that should not be talked in front of children.’

Examples of other idioms like these are listed in (3.98) and (3.99). (3.98) presents idioms consisting of verbs and infinitival verbs and (3.99) presents those of verbs and derived nouns. Note that the verb used in each idiom means what is indicated in the English gloss for it minus the meaning of an adverbial like *well*, *nicely*, *badly*, or *very much*, or an adjective like *good*, *nice*, or *bad*. The suffix included in the infinitival verb form is the

²⁵ Some nouns in (3.99), though relatively small in number, are also masculine (e.g., *kapp’o* ‘lie’, *galata* ‘thanks’, *č’ančo* ‘shout’).

infinitive suffix (-a) (for example, *daah-a* consists of the verb root *daah-* ‘to swim’ and the infinitive suffix -a), and that included in the derived noun is the nominalizing suffix (-a, -e, -o, -ano) (for example, *hasaaw-a* consists of the verb root *hasaab-* ‘to swim’ and the nominalizing suffix -a). It should also be noted that, as suggested earlier, the four adjectives (*danča* ‘good’, *buša* ‘bad’, *lowo* ‘much, many’, and *šiima* ‘little’) are not the only ones that can modify the nouns in idioms in (3.99) (e.g., *waǰǰ-i-š-ø-anno kiil-a kiil-* [worry-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-IMPRF.3SG.M] ‘to make a frightening prediction’). Thus, the list of adjectives cited in (3.99) is only a selection rather than an exhaustive list.²⁶

(3.98) adjective	<i>V-INF</i>	verb	
danča	daah-a	daak-	‘to swim well’
danča	ra’-a	ra’-	‘to become well cooked’
danča	ra’-a	ra’-i-s-	‘to cook sth well’ (<i>ra’-i-s-</i> [become.cooked-EP-CAUS])
danča	maar-a	maar-	‘to forgive sb nicely’
danča	hošš-a/hos-a	hos-	‘to spend the day nicely’
danča	it-a	it-	‘to eat (sth) nicely’
danča	y-a	y-	‘to say something nice’
danča	airris-a	airis-	‘to respect sb very much’
danča	le-a	le-	‘to become ripe nicely’
danča	t’alal-a	t’alal-	‘to become clear/purified nicely’

²⁶ There are a relatively small number of such idioms that do not require adjectives.

- (i) *kubb-a kubb-* [jump-INF jump] ‘to jump’
gaggaw-a gaggab- [stagger-INF stagger] ‘to stagger’
loos-o loos- [job(work-NML) work] ‘to do a job’
giir-a giir- [flame(burn-NML) burn] ‘to set a fire’
wi’l-a wi’l- [condolences(cry-NML) cry-] ‘to express condolences’
so’r-o sood- [mistake(make.a.mistake-NML) make.a.mistake] ‘to make a mistake’
geeraar-a geeraar- [boasting(boast-NML) boast] ‘to talk about a nostalgic memory about glory in the past’
šarr-o šarr-am- [wrestling(wrestle-NML) wrestle-(RCP)] ‘to wrestle’
dee’-o dee’- [excrement(defecate-NML) defecate] ‘to have a diarrhea’
maat’-anso maat’-am- [hiding(hide-NML) hide-RCP] ‘to play hide-’n-seek’

buša	yor-a	yor-	‘to make a wish about an unlikely thing’ (<i>yor-</i> ‘to wish’)
buša	makkal-a	makkal-	‘to get mad badly’
buša	airrass-a	airrass-	‘to ridicule sb badly’
buša	haarim-a	haarim-	‘to make a bad joke’
buša	arrass-a	arrass-	‘to mock sb badly’
buša	rum-a	rum-	‘to curse sb badly’
buša	t’on-a	t’on-	‘to insult sb badly’
buša	ǰaǰǰar-a	ǰaǰǰar-	‘to become confused badly’
buša	hoog-a	hoog-	‘to lose sth badly’
buša	dog-a	dog-	‘to cheat sb badly’
buša	haw-a	hab-	‘to forget sth badly’
buša	šol-a	šol-	‘to become badly rotten’
buša	galaffat-a	galaffat-	‘to hurt sb badly’
buša	fug-a	fug-	‘to suffocate sb badly’
buša	k’awad-a	k’awad-	‘to slap sb badly’
buša	yaad-a	yaad-	‘to worry badly’
buša	giw-am-a	giw-am-	‘to quarrel in a bad way’ (<i>giw-am-</i> [dislike-RCP-])
buša	hun-a	hun-	‘to make a bad mistake’
buša	hiikk’-am-a	hiikk’-am-	‘to get broken badly’ (<i>hiikk’-am-</i> [break-PASS])
danča/buša	loss-a	loss-	‘to bring up sb nicely/badly’
danča/buša	lopp’-a	lopp’-	‘to become well brought-up/ill brought-up’
danča/buša	mur-a	mur-	‘to cut sth nicely/badly’
danča/buša	diw-a	dib-	‘to cover sb/sth badly/nicely’
danča/buša	kaas-a	kaas-	‘to plant sth badly/nicely’
danča/buša	er-a	er-	‘to fold sth badly/nicely’
danča/buša	er-am-a	er-am-	‘to become folded badly/nicely’ (<i>er-am-</i> [fold-PASS])
buša/lowo	dod-a	dod-	‘to run badly/very much’
(3.99) <i>adjective</i>	<i>V-NML</i>	<i>verb</i>	
danča	hur-a	hur-	‘to recover well’
danča	hasaaw-a	hasaab-	‘to talk nicely’
buša	sunk’-a	sunk’-	‘to kiss sb badly’
lowo	galat-a	galat-	‘to thank sb very much’
danča/buša	kiil-a	kiil-	‘to make a nice/bad prediction’

lowo	kondoor-a	kondoor-	‘to snore very much’
danča	godo’l-e	godo’l-	‘to play nicely’
buša	t’aar-e	t’aar-	‘to swear at sb badly’
buša	hamuruurr-e	hamuruurr-	‘to get bruised badly’
lowo	mund-ee	mund-	‘to bleed very much’
buša	boroor-o	boroor-	‘to rebuke sb badly’
buša	daafur-o	daafur-	‘to get tired badly’
buša	dewee’l-o	dewee’l-	‘to belch badly’
danča/lowo	kaa’l-o	kaa’l-	‘to help sb nicely/very much’
buša	kapp’-o	kapp’-	‘to tell a bad lie’
lowo	č’anč-o	č’anč-	‘to shout very much’
buša	mug-o	mug-	‘to become sleepy badly’
buša	re-o	re-	‘to die badly’
danča	huučč’-ano	huučč’-	‘to say a good prayer’
danča	got’-ano	got’-	‘to have a good sleep’

Verbs with the infinitive suffix and nouns derived from verbs used in idioms like these are not direct objects of the verbs because those idioms that are transitive (those in (3.98) whose glosses contain “sb” (for ‘somebody’) or “sth” (for ‘something’)) take other NPs as their direct objects, as in (3.100)-(3.102).

- (3.100) ĵiró buša hoog-a hoog-ø-ino.
wealth(ACC) bad lose-INF lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
‘He lost the wealth badly.’
- (3.101) isó lowo galat-a galat-t-u.
3SG.M.ACC large thank-NML thank-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
‘She thanked him very much.’
- (3.102) weesé danča kaas-a kaas-ø-ino.
waasa.plant(ACC) good plant-INF plant-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
‘He planted the *weese* plant nicely.’

3.1.3 Adjectives

Setting aside numerals, Sidaama has only a limited number of true adjectives (Teferra 2000: 101), which are not derived from other parts of speech, such as (3.103), though it has many adjectives derived from verbs or nouns (see Chapter 4 sections 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.3.1), as in (3.104).

(3.103)	šiima ‘small’ lowo ‘much, many, large’ danča ‘good’ t’u’ma ‘beautiful’ faayya ‘pretty’ diime ‘deep’ dunka ‘slow’	mulla ‘empty’ dureette (F)/dureessa (M) ‘rich’ haaro ‘new’ koliššo ‘black’ haanja ‘green’ waaĵjo ‘white’ duume (F)/duumo (M) ‘red’ ²⁷
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²⁷ Verbs can be derived from the last six adjectives in (3.103) with the suffix that is identical in form with the middle suffix (Chapters 4 section 4.2.1.3.3, Chapter 5 section 5.3.3; Kawachi 2004): *duree*-’-*m*- ‘become rich’, *haaroo*-’-*m*- ‘become new’, *kolišš*-’-*d*- ‘to become black’, *haanĵ*-’-*d*- ‘to become green’, *waaĵ*-’-*d*- ‘to become white’, *duu*-’-*m*- ‘to become red’ (allomorphs: -*d*-, -’*r*-, -’-, -*p*’, -*t*’; -*i*: epenthetic vowel). There are a number of adjectives that have the same forms as the infinitive forms of their verb counterparts, and seem to have derived from them: *seeda* ‘tall, long’/*seed*-*a* ‘to become tall, become long’, *du*’*ma* ‘fat’/*du*’*m*-*a* ‘to become fat’, *moola* ‘dry’/*mool*-*a* ‘to become dry’, *buša* ‘bad’/*buš*-*a* ‘to become bad’, *šota* ‘(of weight) light, easy’/*šot*-*a* ‘(of weight) to become light’, *ĵawaata* ‘strong’/*ĵawaat*-*a* ‘to become strong’, *gowwa* ‘foolish’/*goww*-*a* ‘to become foolish’.

(3.104)	hala'l-ado 'wide'	(hala'l- 'to become wide')
	iibb-ado 'hot'	(iibb- 'to become hot')
	šakk'-ado 'soft'	(šakk'- 'to become soft')
	dees-allo 'producing much milk'	(dees- 'to produce much milk')
	řaw-aššo 'thin'	(řab- 'to become thin')
	haw-aaleette (F)/haw-aaleessa (M) 'forgetful'	(hab- 'to forget')
	duk-iweelo 'powerless'	(duka 'power')
	mikit-iweelo 'having no strength'	(mikita 'strength')
	gura-ččo 'left-handed'	(gura 'left')
	hořř-aame (F)/hořř-aamo (M) 'tall, long'	(hořřa 'height')
	goow-aame (F)/goow-aamo (M) 'having a long neck'	(goowa 'neck')

Nevertheless, these two kinds of adjectives behave the same way.

Sidaama numerals are adjectives. Some of them are shown in (3.105).²⁸

²⁸ Only the word for 'one' behaves differently from the others. As in (i)-(iii), it always agrees with the gender of the noun that it modifies. This applies to phrases for those numbers whose last digit is one (11, 21, 151, 201, 1001, etc. ...).

(i)	ise 3SG.F.NOM	<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td>(a)</td> <td>mitté</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="2">beetó</td> <td rowspan="2">af-i-d-d-ino.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>one.F(ACC)</td> <td rowspan="2">child(ACC)</td> <td rowspan="2">find-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>(b)</td> <td>mittó</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>one.M(ACC)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	}	(a)	mitté	}	beetó	af-i-d-d-ino.		one.F(ACC)	child(ACC)	find-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3		(b)	mittó					one.M(ACC)			
}	(a)	mitté		}	beetó				af-i-d-d-ino.														
		one.F(ACC)	child(ACC)			find-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3																	
	(b)	mittó																					
		one.M(ACC)																					

- (a) 'She has one girl.'
 (b) 'She has one boy.'

(ii)	ise 3SG.F.NOM	<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="3" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td>mittó</td> <td rowspan="3" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="3">handó</td> <td rowspan="3">af-i-d-d-ino.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>one.M(ACC)</td> <td rowspan="2">ox(ACC)</td> <td rowspan="2">find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>*mitté</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>one.F(ACC)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	}	mittó	}	handó	af-i-d-d-ino.	one.M(ACC)	ox(ACC)	find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	*mitté		one.F(ACC)			
}	mittó	}		handó				af-i-d-d-ino.								
	one.M(ACC)								ox(ACC)	find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3						
	*mitté															
	one.F(ACC)															

'She has one ox.'

(iii)	ise 3SG.F.NOM	toná ten(ACC)	{	mittó one.M(ACC) *mitté one.F(ACC)	}	handuwá oxen(ACC)
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af-i-ǰ-ǰ-ino.
find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She has eleven oxen.’

Words for all other numbers take the nominative or genitive suffix *-u* only when the modified noun is masculine and is in the nominative or genitive case, as in (iv)-(vi).

(iv)	ise 3SG.F.NOM	tonné ten(ACC)	{	(a) oosó children(ACC)	}	af-i-ǰ-ǰ-ino. find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
				(b) handuwá oxen(ACC)		

(a) ‘She has ten children.’

(b) ‘She has ten oxen.’

(v)	isé-ra 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON	lam-u two-NOM.M	handuw-i oxen-NOM.MOD.M	no. exist.P.PRF.3
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‘She has two oxen.’

(vi)	sett-u eight-NOM.M	mann-i people-NOM.MOD.M	ooso children(NOM.F)	dag-g-u. come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
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‘Eight people’s children came.’

(3.105)	1: mitte (F)/mitto (M)	31: saǰjina mitte (F)/saǰjina mitto (M)
	2: lame	32: saǰjina lame
	3: sase	40: šoilloo
	4: šoole	50: ontao
	5: onte	60: leao
	6: lee	70: lamalao
	7: lamala	80: settao
	8: sette	90: honsao
	9: honse	100: t'ibbe
	10: tonne	200: lame t'ibbe
	11: tona mitte (F)/tona mitto (M)	1000: kume
	12: tona lame	3000: sase kume
	19: tona honse	10000: tonne kume
	20: lemoo	50000: ontao kume
	21: lemina mite (F)/lemina mitto (M)	100000: t'ibbe kume
	22: lemina lame	600000: lee t'ibbe kume
	30: saǰjo	1000000: tunso (<i>lit.</i> , darkness)

Sidaama ordinal numerals are also adjectives. Examples are shown in (3.106).²⁹

(3.106)	1: albidi/albisa/umo	6: lenkii	11: tona mittukkii
	2: lainkii	7: lamalkii	12: tona lainkii
	3: saikii	8: settikii	19: tona honsikkii
	4: šoolkii	9: honsikkii	
	5: ontikii	10: tonnikkii	

²⁹ Only the words for 'first' (*albisa* and *umo*, but not *albidi*) change their forms correspondingly to the case of the noun that they modify, as in (i), whereas words for all other ordinal numerals always have the same forms.

(i)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a)} \\ \text{(b)} \end{array} \right.$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{albis-u} \\ \text{first-NOM.M} \\ \text{sainkii} \\ \text{third} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{beett-i-'ya} \\ \text{child-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{dangura=ti.} \\ \text{Dangura=NPC.PRED.PROP} \end{array} \right\}$
		$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(a)} \\ \text{(b)} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'My first son is Dangura.'} \\ \text{'My third son is Dangura.'} \end{array} \right\}$	

Sidaama adjectives have morphosyntactic properties distinct from those of other categories, but share some morphosyntactic properties with nouns and some with verbs; furthermore, some adjectives have all or most of the characteristics of nouns. This subsection describes morphosyntactic properties of adjectives in terms of similarities and differences between adjectives and nouns (section 3.1.3.1) and between adjectives and verbs (section 3.1.3.2).

3.1.3.1 Similarities and Differences between Adjectives and Nouns

Adjectives can normally be used either predicatively or attributively. The predicating noun-phrase clitic that follows a predicative adjective agrees in gender with the subject noun (=te for a feminine subject and =ho for a masculine subject), and an attributive adjective agrees in gender and case with the noun that it modifies. In (3.107) and (3.108), the adjective *seeda* ‘tall’, which is followed by the predicating noun-phrase clitic, is a predicate, and in (3.109) and (3.110), the nominative form of the same adjective modifies the subject noun, which is in the nominative case.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (3.107) | beetto
child(NOM.F)
‘The girl is tall.’ | seeda=te.
tall=NPC.F.PRED | |
| (3.108) | beett-u
child-NOM.M
‘The boy is tall.’ | seeda=ho.
tall=NPC.M.PRED | |
| (3.109) | seeda
tall(NOM.F)
‘The tall girl left.’ | beetto
child(NOM.F) | ha-d-u.
leave-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F |

- (3.110) seed-u beett-i ha’r-ø-i.
tall-NOM.M child-NOM.MOD.M leave-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘The tall boy left.’

However, the property of having the two uses is not limited to adjectives; nouns can also be used either as parts of predicates or as modifiers of other nouns. When nouns are used predicatively and are not modified by any morpheme, they behave the same way as adjectives; they are followed by the predicating noun-phrase clitic =te/=ho, which agrees in gender with the subject noun.

- (3.111) hatti saa=te.
that.F.NOM cow=NPC.F.PRED
‘That is a cow.’

- (3.112) hakku hando=ho.
that.M.NOM ox=NPC.M.PRED
‘That is an ox.’

Nevertheless, when predicative adjectives and predicative nouns are accompanied by modifiers, they behave differently — while modified predicative adjectives still take =te/=ho, modified predicative nouns require =ti, regardless of the gender of the subject noun, as in (3.113)-(3.116).

- (3.113)
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|--------|---|-------------------|
| beetto | lowo | geešša | { | seeda=te. |
| child(NOM.F) | large | degree | | tall=NPC.F.PRED |
| | | | } | seeda=ti. |
| | | | | tall=NPC.PRED.MOD |
- ‘The girl is very tall.’

(3.114)	beett-u child-NOM.M	lowo large	geešša degree	{	seeda=ho. tall=NPC.M.PRED *seeda=ti. tall=NPC.PRED.MOD	}
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‘The boy is very tall.’

(3.115)	hatti that.F.NOM	danča good	{	saa=ti. cow=NPC.PRED.MOD *saa=te. cow=NPC.F.PRED	}
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‘That is a good cow.’

(3.116)	hakku that.M.NOM	danča good	{	hando=ti. ox=NPC.PRED.MOD *hando=ho. ox=NPC.M.PRED	}
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‘That is a good ox.’

When adjectives modify nouns attributively, the former precede the latter, as in (3.109) and (3.110). Similarly, when nouns in the genitive modify other nouns, the former come before the latter, as in (3.117). Furthermore, both adjectives and nouns can be marked with case (in (3.110) and (3.117b), the suffixes on the subject nouns have the same form: *seed-u* and *manč-u*, respectively). However, the bases on which they are case-marked are somewhat different. The case of an attributive adjective is determined by the case of the noun that it modifies — for example, if the modified noun is in the nominative case, the attributive adjective that modifies it is also in the nominative, as in (3.109) and (3.110). On the other hand, the case of a noun that modifies another noun is genitive, as in (3.117).

(3.117)	{	(a)	mančó-te person-GEN.F	}	beett-i
		(b)	manč-ú person-GEN.M		child-NOM.MOD.M

ha'r-ø-i.
leave-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'The woman's son left.'
(b) 'The man's son left.'

In (3.117a), the possessor noun (*mančo*), which modifies the possessed noun (*beett-i*), takes the genitive suffix for an unmodified feminine common noun, *-te*. In (3.117b), the possessor noun (*manč-u*) that modifies the possessed noun (*beett-i*) has the suffix *-u*, but this is different from the suffix *-u* of the attributive adjective (*seed-u*) in (3.109) and (3.110) — the former is genitive and the latter is nominative. On the other hand, *seeda* in (3.109) is not morphologically marked because the noun that it modifies (*beetto*) is feminine and in the nominative case.

There are two other grammatical categories that adjectives have in common with nouns: number and gender.

All adjectives make a number distinction. Unlike nouns, which can have maximally three forms with respect to number (singular, number-neutral, plural), most adjectives have two forms, singular/number-neutral forms and plural forms (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.2.2).

Basically, as with the case marking on an attributive adjective, the number of a predicative adjective corresponds to that of the subject noun, and the number of an attributive adjective is subject to that of the noun that it modifies. As a general rule, the

plural form of an adjective is compatible with a plural subject noun or a plural head noun, and the singular/non-plural form of an adjective is compatible with the singular or number-neutral form of a subject noun or a modified noun. However, most adjectives (e.g., *dur-eette* (F)/*dur-eessa* (M) ‘rich (M)’, *du’ma* ‘fat’, *busule* ‘smart’) do not have to be pluralized for plural subject nouns and modified nouns, regardless of whether they are used predicatively or attributively, as shown in (3.118)-(3.121), though a limited number of adjectives (e.g., *šiiima* ‘small’, *mikitiweelo* ‘having no strength’) have to be pluralized for plural subject and modified nouns, as in (3.120) and (3.121).

- (3.118)
- | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| { | duree-ss-u
rich-SG.M-NOM.M | } | mann-i |
| { | duree-yy-u
rich-PL-NOM.M | } | people-NOM.MOD.M |
| { | du’m=ho.
fat=NPC.M.PRED | } | |
| { | du’m-ulle=ho.
fat-PL=NPC.M.PRED | } | |
- ‘Rich people are fat.’

- (3.119)
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|------------------|
| { | du’m-u
fat-NOM.M | } | mann-i |
| { | du’m-ull-u
fat-PL-NOM.M | } | people-NOM.MOD.M |
| { | duree-ssa=ho.
rich-SG.M=NPC.M.PRED | } | |
| { | duree-yye=ho.
rich-PL=NPC.M.PRED | } | |
- ‘Fat people are rich.’

- (3.120) (a) hakku busul-aadd-u hand-uw-i
 that.M.NOM smart-PL-NOM.M ox-PL-NOM.MOD.M

{ šiim-adda=ho.
 small-PL=NPC.M.PRED.
 *šiima=ho.
 small=NPC.M.PRED }

- (b) hakku busul-u hand-uw-i
 that.M.NOM smart-NOM.M ox-PL-NOM.MOD.M

{ šiim-adda=ho.
 small-PL=NPC.M.PRED.
 *šiima=ho.
 small=NPC.M.PRED }

‘Those smart oxen are small.’

- (3.121) (a) hakku { šiim-add-u
 that.M.NOM small-PL-NOM.M } hand-uw-i
 *šiim-u
 small-NOM.M } ox-PL-NOM.MOD.M

busul-aadda=ho.
 smart-PL=NPC.M.PRED

- (b) hakku { šiim-add-u
 that.M.NOM small-PL-NOM.M } hand-uw-i
 *šiim-u
 small-NOM.M } ox-PL-NOM.MOD.M

busule=ho.
 smart=NPC.M.PRED

‘Those small oxen are smart.’

Examples of plural markings on adjectives are shown in (3.122) (the morpheme boundaries of the non-plural forms show that they are derived from other parts of speech, usually verbs). Note that except for *-(a)adda*, which is exclusive to adjectives, the

allomorphs of the plural suffix on adjectives are similar to those on nouns. One of the plural suffix allomorphs for adjectives, *-(o)ota*, is also used by some nouns (e.g., *baim-oota* (*baima* ‘rascal’), *la ’lam-oota* (*la ’lama* ‘mother’s sister’), *k’ott-ota* (*k’otto* ‘small ax’)) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.1). The last five adjectives in (3.122) follow the most common plural formation pattern for nouns, by which the final consonant of the stem of the singular form is geminated and *a* is added to it.

(3.122)	<i>non-PL</i>	<i>PL</i>	
	busul-e	busul-aadda	‘smart’
	t’u’ma	t’u’m-ulle	‘beautiful’
	faayya	faayy-ulle	‘pretty’
	buš-a	buš-ulle	‘bad’
	goww-a	goww-oota	‘foolish’
	ǰawaat-a	ǰawaat-ota	‘strong’
	mool-a	mool-ano	‘dry’
	dunka	dunk-ano	‘slow’
	fiit’-iweelo or	fiit’-iweel-lo or	‘having no relatives’
	fiit’-iweela	fiit’-iweel-la	
	airr-ado	airr-ad-da	‘heavy’
	biif-ado	biif-ad-da	‘beautiful’
	kaaǰǰ-ado	kaaǰǰ-ad-da	‘strong’
	goow-aame (F)/goow-aamo (M)	goow-aam-ma	‘having a long neck’

Non-plural forms are called thus instead of singular forms because they do not have any indication of singularity. There are a few adjectives that contain allomorphs of the singular suffix, *-čo*, *-(i)ččo* and *-(i)ššo*, which are shared with some nouns (e.g., *danan-čo* ‘hair’, *gamba-iččo* ‘[large clay container]’, *fara-ššo* ‘horse’; see Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.1). Examples are shown in (3.123).

(3.123)	<i>SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	
	but'-iččo	but'-aane or but'-aano	'poor'
	kol-iššo	kol-idda	'black'
	haraan-čo	haram-ma	'short'

When used as attributive adjectives, these singular adjective forms are incompatible with the plural nouns they modify and have to be pluralized, though they do not have to be when they predicate plural subject nouns.

(3.124)	<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="4" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>ǰaaw-add-u</td> <td rowspan="4" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="4" style="padding-left: 2em;">mann-i</td> </tr> <tr> <td>thin-PL-NOM.M</td> </tr> <tr> <td>*ǰaaw-ašš-u</td> </tr> <tr> <td>thin-SG-NOM.M</td> </tr> </table>	{	ǰaaw-add-u	}	mann-i	thin-PL-NOM.M	*ǰaaw-ašš-u	thin-SG-NOM.M	<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>strength-being.without-PL=NPC.M.PRED</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td>*mikit-iweelo=ho.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td> <table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>strength-being.without=NPC.M.PRED</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	{	strength-being.without-PL=NPC.M.PRED	}	*mikit-iweelo=ho.		<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>strength-being.without=NPC.M.PRED</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </table>	{	strength-being.without=NPC.M.PRED	}	
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	thin-PL-NOM.M																		
	*ǰaaw-ašš-u																		
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{	strength-being.without=NPC.M.PRED		}																

'Thin people have no strength.'

(3.125)	<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="3" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>mikit-iweel-l-u</td> <td rowspan="3" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td rowspan="3" style="padding-left: 2em;">mann-i</td> </tr> <tr> <td>strength-being.without-PL-NOM.M</td> </tr> <tr> <td>*mikit-iweel-u</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td> <table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>strength-being.without-NOM.M</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	{	mikit-iweel-l-u	}	mann-i	strength-being.without-PL-NOM.M	*mikit-iweel-u		<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>strength-being.without-NOM.M</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </table>	{	strength-being.without-NOM.M	}		<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="5" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>ǰaaw-adda=ho</td> <td rowspan="5" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td>thin-PL=NPC.M.PRED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ǰaawado=ho.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>thin=NPC.M.PRED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ǰaaw-aššo=ho.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td> <table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>thin-SG=NPC.M.PRED</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	{	ǰaaw-adda=ho	}	thin-PL=NPC.M.PRED	ǰaawado=ho.	thin=NPC.M.PRED	ǰaaw-aššo=ho.		<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td>thin-SG=NPC.M.PRED</td> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> </tr> </table>	{	thin-SG=NPC.M.PRED	}	
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	strength-being.without-PL-NOM.M																										
	*mikit-iweel-u																										
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{	thin-SG=NPC.M.PRED		}																								

'Those people who have no strength are thin.'

There are also those adjectives that have no plural forms (e.g., *hala'lado* 'wide', *wudde* 'expensive (AMH)'). In (3.126), the subject head noun is plural, but the adjective that modifies it and the predicative adjectives are both in the non-plural forms.

- (3.126) *hala'lado* *minna* *wudde=ho.*
 wide(NOM.F) houses(NOM.F) expensive=NPC.M.PRED
 'Spacious houses are expensive.' (*lit.*, 'Wide houses are expensive.')

A limited number of adjectives have pairs of forms that are contrastive in gender, namely masculine forms and feminine forms. As a rule, the choice of the form depends on the gender of the subject noun in the case of a predicative adjective and on the gender of the modified noun in the case of an attributive adjective. Some adjectives that have the gender distinction are listed in (3.127). The two pairs of contrastive suffix forms, *-(aal)eette* (F)/*-(aal)eessa* (M) and *-(aall)itte* (F)/*-(aall)ičča* (M), also occur in some pairs of feminine and masculine nouns (e.g., *lakk-itte* (F)/*lakk-ičča* (M) 'twin'; see Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.1; as seen shortly, many words with these suffixes cannot be classified into adjectives or nouns), but the contrast in terms of *-(aam)e* (F)/*-(aam)o* (M) is restricted to adjectives.

(3.127)	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	
	duum-e	duum-o	‘red’
	dur-eette	dur-eessa	‘rich’
	haw-aaleette	haw-aaleessa	‘forgetful’
	de’aam-eette	de’aam-eessa	‘careless, negligent’
	č’all-itte	č’all-ičča	‘alone’
	bubb-itte	bubb-ičča	‘thoughtless’
	goow-aame	goow-aamo	‘having a long neck’
	hafur-aame	hafur-aamo	‘having a skin disease’

Despite the above general rule, the masculine forms of adjectives are sometimes used for feminine subject nouns or modified nouns, as in (3.128) and (3.129).

(3.128)	ise	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dur-eette=te.} \\ \text{rich-F=NPC.F.PRED} \\ \text{dur-eessa=te.} \\ \text{rich-M=NPC.F.PRED} \end{array} \right\}$
	3SG.F.NOM	
	‘She is rich.’	

(3.129)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dur-eette} \\ \text{rich-F} \\ \text{dur-eessa} \\ \text{rich-M} \end{array} \right\}$	mančo	biifaado=te.
		person(NOM.F)	beautiful=NPC.F.PRED
		‘The rich woman is beautiful.’	

So far, it has been shown that adjectives and nouns can both be used either predicatively or attributively, and that they inflect for case and may use the same derivational suffixes. Despite these similarities, the ways that adjectives and nouns utilize the three grammatical categories (case, number, and gender) are different. The case, number, and gender of adjectives depend on those of their subject nouns or the nouns that they modify. On the other hand, the case of a noun is determined by its

relation to the structure of the whole clause, and the number and the gender of a noun depends partly on both its referent and its lexical idiosyncrasy. This is mainly due to one respect in which adjectives differ substantially from nouns — unlike nouns, which can be modified by other nouns, adjectives cannot be modified by nouns. Another consequence of this difference is that unlike nouns, which can be modified by a range of modifiers (another NP in the genitive, a demonstrative, an adjective, a numeral, a quantifier, a verb, and the possessive pronominal suffix; see the previous subsection), adjectives can be modified only by adverbials.

Although adjectives and nouns in Sidaama have distinct characteristic morphosyntactic properties, many of those words that refer to a person's habitual behavior, ability, and occupation, or to a person who has them, can be used both as adjectives and as nouns. Examples of such words are shown in (3.130a) and (3.130b) below.

- (3.130) a. ogeessa 'professional' mooraančo 'thief'
 hanaat'ičča 'carpenter' t'agisaančo 'healer'
- b. geerčo 'elderly (person)'
 k'aakk'o '(being) a baby, infant'
 kapp'aančo 'lying frequently; liar'
 dimbaančo 'frequently drunk; drunkard'
 dahaančo 'being able to swim; swimmer'
 k'att'araančo 'complaining frequently; complainer'
- c. seeda 'tall' haraančo 'short'
 dunka 'slow' busule 'smart'
 buša 'bad' t'u'ma 'beautiful'
 biifado 'attractive, beautiful' hagiđaančo 'always happy'

As seen shortly, the words in (3.130a), which refer to a person who has a certain occupation, are less adjective-like than those in (3.130b). The words in (3.130b) have all the morphosyntactic properties of both adjectives and nouns, and it is difficult to decide whether they are adjectives or nouns. Many of them contain allomorphs of the singular suffix, *-aančo*, *-čo*, *-(aal)eette* (F)/*-(aal)eessa* (M), or *-(aall)itte* (F)/*-(aall)ičča* (M). The present study treats the former as nouns and the latter as words that are indeterminately adjectives or nouns, as discussed shortly (in the glosses for these words in the examples, nouns are used for the former and adjectives are used for the latter). There is another group of words that can be used to describe a person's property or ability, as shown in (3.130c). Unlike the words in (3.130a) and (3.130b), they are clearly adjectives and do not behave as nouns. Most of them are adjectives that are not derived from verbs or nouns (see (3.103)).

Words of these three types each show all the properties of adjectives. First, they can modify nouns attributively, and their cases depend on those of the nouns that they modify.

- (3.131) { (a) ogeess-u
professional.M-NOM.M
(b) geerč-u
elderly-NOM.M
(c) seed-u
tall-NOM.M } manč-i
person-NOM.MOD.M

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘The professional (M) came.’
(b) ‘The elderly man (M) came.’
(c) ‘The tall man (M) came.’

- (3.132) ise
3SG.F.NOM { (a) ogeessá
professional.M(ACC)
(b) geerčó
elderly(ACC)
(c) seedá
tall(ACC) } mančo
person(ACC)

la’-’-u.
see-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) ‘She saw the professional (M).’
(b) ‘She saw the elderly person.’
(c) ‘She saw the tall person.’

Second, they can be modified with degree adverbials, as in (3.133).

- (3.133) isi lowo/šiima geešša
 3SG.M.NOM large/small degree
- { (a) ogeessa=ho.
 professional.M=NPC.M.PRED
 (b) geerčo=ho.
 elderly=NPC.M.PRED
 (c) seeda=ho.
 tall=NPC.M.PRED }
- (a) ‘He is very/a little professional (M).’
 (b) ‘He is very/a little elderly.’
 (c) ‘He is very/a little tall.’

Third, they can be used in comparison expressions, as in (3.134).

- (3.134) isi isé-nni
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN-ABL
- { (a) geerčo=ho.
 elderly=NPC.M.PRED
 (b) seeda=ho.
 tall=NPC.M.PRED }
- (a) ‘He is more elderly than her.’
 (b) ‘He is taller than her.’

With regard to the last property, the words in (3.130a) and those in (3.130b) and (3.130c) differ as to whether or not an emphatic adverbial (e.g., *lowo geešša* [large degree] ‘very much’, *ale* [aboveness], *ale-nni* [aboveness-AT], *roore* ‘exceedingly’) has to occur between the standard and the marker of comparison on one hand and the predicate on the other in the comparison construction where they are used as predicates; the words in (3.130a) (when used as adjectives) require such adverbials in comparison constructions,

as in (3.135), unlike the words in (3.130b) and (3.130c).³⁰ Typically, adjectives do not require such adverbials in comparison expressions.

(3.135)	isi	isé-nni	{	(a)	ale/roore	}
	3SG.M.NOM	3SG.F.GEN-ABL			aboveness/exceedingly	
				(b)	lowo geešša	
					large degree	

ogeessa=ho.
 professional.M=NPC.M.PRED

- (a) ‘He is more professional than her.’
 (b) ‘He is much more professional than her.’

Thus, the words in (3.130a), which have every property of nouns, are less adjective-like in this respect than those in (3.130b) and (3.130c).

The words in (3.130a) and (3.130b) can also show properties of nouns, unlike those in (3.130c). They can be the only word in an NP, as in (3.136).

(3.136)	ise	{	(a)	ogeessá	}	la’-’-u.
	3SG.F.NOM			professional.M(ACC)		see-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
			(b)	geerčó		
				elderly(ACC)		

- (a) ‘She saw the professional (M).’
 (b) ‘She saw the elderly person.’

³⁰ When these words are used as nouns and are modified by adjectives, the adverbials are not required, as in (i).

- (i) isi isé-nni danča ogeessa=ti.
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN-ABL good professional.M=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘He is a better professional than her.’

Many of them can be modified by other words such as adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals, as in (3.137) and (3.138).³¹

- (3.137) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{busul-u} \\ \text{smart-NOM.M} \\ \text{hakku} \\ \text{that.M.NOM} \end{array} \right\}$ ogeess-i
professional.M-NOM.MOD.M

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The smart/That professional (M) came.’

- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{busul-u} \\ \text{smart-NOM.M} \\ \text{hakku} \\ \text{that.M.NOM} \end{array} \right\}$ geerč-i
elderly-NOM.MOD.M

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The smart/That elderly man came.’

- (3.138) (a) kawa-nni lame ogeeyye no.
here-AT two(NOM.F) professional.PL(NOM.F) exist.P.PRF.3
‘There are two professionals here.’

- (b) kawa-nni lam-u geer-r-i no.
here-AT two-NOM.M elderly-PL-NOM.MOD.M exist.P.PRF.3
‘There are two elderly people here.’

³¹ Some of these words are restricted in adjectival modification.

- (i) seed-u $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{??daahaanč-i} \\ \text{swimmer-NOM.MOD.M} \\ \text{*k'att'araanč-i} \\ \text{complainer-NOM.MOD.M} \end{array} \right\}$ da-ø-i.
tall-NOM.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

to mean, ‘The tall swimmer/complainer came.’

When the words in (3.130a) and (3.130b) are modified by adjectives or demonstratives, they follow the case marking pattern of nouns. As in (3.137), when they are masculine nouns and in the nominative case, the nominative suffix to be used is *-i* (as already seen in (3.131), when they are used as adjectives and modify nouns in the nominative case attributively, the nominative suffix on them is *-u*).

All the words in (3.130a) and some in (3.130b) can also be in the genitive case and modify a noun, as in (3.139).³²

- (3.139)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|---|-----|-------------------|
| ise | hakkó | { | (a) | ogeess-í |
| 3SG.F.NOM | that.M.GEN | | (b) | geerč-í |
| | | | | elderly-GEN.MOD.M |
- rodoo=ti.
sibling=NPC.PRED.MOD
- (a) ‘She is that professional’s (M) sister.’
(b) ‘She is that elderly man’s sister.’

Unlike the words in (3.130a) and (3.130b), the adjectives in (3.130c) do not show the properties of nouns. These adjectives cannot be arguments, nor can they be modified by other words, as shown in (3.140)-(3.144).

- (3.140) *ise seedá la’-’-u.
3SG.F.NOM tall(ACC) see-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
to mean, ‘She saw the tall person.’

³² Some such words cannot be used this way.

- (i) *ise hakkó daahaanč-í rodo=ti.
3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN swimmer-GEN.MOD.M sibling=NPC.PRED.MOD
to mean, ‘She is that swimmer’s sister.’

- (3.141) *busul-u seed-i da-ø-i.
 smart-NOM.M tall-NOM.MOD.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
to mean, ‘The smart tall man came.’
- (3.142) *hakku seed-i da-ø-i.
 that.M.NOM tall-NOM.MOD.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
to mean, ‘That tall man came.’
- (3.143) *kawa-nni lam-u seed-i/seedull-i
 here-LOC two-NOM.M tall-NOM.MOD.M/tall.PL-NOM.MOD.M

 no.
 exist.P.PRF.3

to mean, ‘There are two tall people here.’
- (3.144) *ise hakkó seed-í rodo=ti.
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN tall-GEN.MOD.M sibling=NPC.PRED.MOD
to mean, ‘She is that tall man’s sister.’

It should be noted that the use of adjectives *like* nouns is different from the use of adjectives *as* nouns. In Sidaama, the noun modified by an adjective can sometimes be omitted.³³ In this case, the adjective modifying the omitted noun looks as if it were serving as an argument. This happens when the referent of the omitted noun is understood by the conversation participants to be a particular entity. It also happens when the referent is compared to another entity that belongs to the category of the omitted noun that has a property different from the one expressed by the adjective. For

³³ Dryer (2004) points out that there are two types of cases where noun phrases without nouns (or pronouns) (i.e., those consisting of elements that would otherwise be optional modifiers of “head” nouns) are likely to be used: (i) “when the speaker does not know what kind of thing the thing that they are referring to is” and (ii) “when the kind will be so obvious to the hearer that it can be left out” (p.70). Dryer argues that in the case of (i), nouns do not have a privileged status in noun phrases, and proposes that all noun phrases are headless; he questions the ‘head’ of an NP as a universal notion. On the other hand, according to him, in the case of (ii), ellipsis of the noun is likely to be involved.

The use of noun phrases in Sidaama that do not contain nouns, as in (3.145) and (3.146), is an example of the latter case. Such noun phrases in Sidaama can occur only when the hearer knows what the ellipsed noun is.

example, (3.145) and (3.146) can be used when the conversation participants already know the referent of the NP ('that elderly one (M)' or 'that tall one (M)') or when the referent is compared to, for example, a young or short man if *manč-i* [person-NOM.MOD.M] is omitted after the adjectives.

- (3.145)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----|--------------------------|---|
| hakku
that.M.NOM | { | (a) | geerč-u
elderly-NOM.M | } |
| | | (b) | seed-u
tall-NOM.M | |
- dangur-í anna=ti.
Dangura-GEN.PROP.M father=NPC.PRED.MOD
- (a) 'That elderly one (M) is Dangura's father.'
(b) 'That tall one (M) is Dangura's father.'

- (3.146)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|---|-----|--------------------------|---|
| ise | hakkoé | { | (a) | geerč-ú
elderly-GEN.M | } |
| 3SG.F.NOM | that.M.GEN | | (b) | seed-ú
tall-GEN.M | |
- rodo=ti.
sibling=NPC.PRED.MOD
- (a) 'She is that elderly one's (M) sister.'
(b) 'She is that tall one's (M) sister.'

In (3.145) and (3.146), the masculine noun that *geerč-u* or *seed-u* modifies (e.g., *manč-i* [person-NOM.MOD.M] 'man') is omitted, and each of the adjectives is marked with the nominative or genitive suffix for a masculine noun *-u* to show agreement with the omitted masculine noun.³⁴ On the other hand, *geercō* can also take the nominative or

³⁴ Therefore, *geerč-u* and *seed-u* in (3.145) and (3.146) are not nouns but adjectives. According to one of the analyses of noun phrases without nouns (or pronouns) that Dryer (2004) criticizes, what appear to be the modifiers are actually nouns. This analysis does not apply to these Sidaama examples.

genitive suffix for a modified masculine noun *-i*, as already seen in (3.137) and (3.139).

Seeda, however, cannot be used this way, as in (3.147) and (3.148).

(3.147) *hakku seed-i da-∅-i.
 that.M.NOM tall-NOM.MOD.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 to mean, ‘That tall man came.’

(3.148) *ise hakkó seed-í rodoo=ti.
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN tall-GEN.MOD.M sibling=NPC.PRED.MOD
 to mean, ‘She is that tall man’s sister.’

Thus, *geerčo* acts as an adjective in (3.145) and (3.146) — although it constitutes an NP with the preceding adnominal demonstrative, the use of the suffix *-u* rather than *-i* on it for the nominative case and the genitive case, respectively, suggests that it is not modified by the adnominal demonstrative. In (3.139), it acts as a noun — it does not behave as an adjective here because the use of the genitive suffix *-i* rather than *-u* on it indicates that it is modified by the preceding adnominal demonstrative. Unlike the words in (3.130b) including *geerčo*, which have uses both as adjectives and as nouns, those in (3.130c) including *seeda* are basically adjectives, and cannot be used as nouns.

As shown so far, words that refer to a person’s property or ability or a person with that property or ability can be used as adjectives, as nouns, or like nouns. These can be classified into three types depending on whether they exhibit more noun-like or adjective-like properties. The difference between the three types of words often emerges as a difference in their order when they modify the same noun in the same NP. Although multiple adjectives only infrequently occur as modifiers of the same noun, if they do, the following ordering rule roughly applies: a pure adjective in (3.130c), which cannot be

used as a noun, comes before a word in (3.130b) that can be used as either an adjective or a noun, as in (3.149) (**geerč-u seed-u manč-i da-ø-i.*), which in turn precedes a noun for a person's occupation in (3.130a), as in (3.150) (**isi ogeessa geerčo mančo-ti.*).

- (3.149) seed-u geerč-u manč-i
 tall-NOM.M elderly-NOM.M person-NOM.MOD.M

 da-ø-i.
 come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The tall old man came.’

- (3.150) isi geerčo og-eessa mančo=ti.
 3SG.M.NOM elderly professional-M person=NP.PRED.MOD
 ‘He is an elderly professional.’

The above ordering rule applies also when an adjective in (3.130b) or a noun in (3.130a) is modified by an adjective or adjectives, as in (3.151)-(3.153). (3.130c) has to precede (3.130b) (**geerč-u seed-i da-ø-i.*), and (3.130b) has to precede (3.130a) (**isi ogeessa geerčo-ti.*).

- (3.151) seed-u geerč-i da-ø-i.
 tall-NOM.M elderly-NOM.MOD.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘The tall old man came.’

- (3.152) isi geerčo og-eessa=ti.
 3SG.M.NOM elderly professional-M=NP.PRED.MOD
 ‘He is an elderly professional.’

- (3.153) seed-u geerč-u og-eess-i
tall-NOM.M elderly-NOM.M professional-M-NOM.MOD.M
- da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘A tall elderly professional (M) came.’

3.1.3.2 Similarities and Differences between Adjectives and Verbs

Many adjectives can be used in comparison expressions such as (3.154)-(3.156)

- (3.154) buše dangur-í geešša
Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M degree
- seeda=te.
tall=NPC.F.PRED

‘Bushe is as tall as Dangura.’

- (3.155) buše dangur-í-nni
Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL
- seeda=te.
tall=NPC.F.PRED

‘Bushe is taller than Dangura.’

- (3.156) buše konní k’ark’ar-í-ra
Bushe(NOM.F) this.M.GEN village-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD
- wo’munk-ú alee seeda=te.
everybody-GEN.M aboveness tall=NPC.F.PRED

‘Bushe is taller than anybody in this village.’

Nevertheless, this is not limited to adjectives. Some verbs can also occur in such expressions.

- (3.157) buše dangur-í geešša
 Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M degree

seed-d-anno.
 become.tall-IMPRF.3SG.F

‘Bushe is as tall as Dangura.’

- (3.158) buše dangur-í-nni
 Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL

seed-d-anno.
 become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘Bushe is taller than Dangura.’

- (3.159) buše konní k’ark’ar-í-ra
 Bushe(NOM.F) this.M.GEN village-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD

wo’munk-ú alee seed-d-anno.
 everybody-GEN.M aboveness become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘Bushe is taller than anybody in this village.’

Moreover, adjectives can typically be modified by degree adverbials, such as *lowo geešša* [large degree] ‘very much’ and *šiima geešša* [small degree] ‘a little’.

- (3.160) buše { (a) lowo } geešša seeda=te.
 Bushe(NOM.F) { (b) šiima } degree tall=NP.C.F.PRED
 { (c) small }

- (a) ‘Bushe is much tall.’
 (b) ‘Bushe is a little tall.’

(3.161)

buše Bushe(NOM.F)	{	(a) lowo large (b) šiima small	}	geešša degree
----------------------	---	---	---	------------------

woiya=te.
feeling.better=NPC.F.PRED

- (a) ‘Bushe is much better.’
(b) ‘Bushe is a little better.’

However, these adverbials can modify verbs as well (contrary to Teferra’s (2000: 98) statement that they can only modify adjectives).

(3.162)

buše Bushe(NOM.F)	{	(a) lowo large (b) šiima small	}	geešša degree
----------------------	---	---	---	------------------

woiyab-b-u.
get.well-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) ‘Bushe got much better.’
(b) ‘Bushe got a little better.’

Nevertheless, adjectives differ from verbs in various ways. Unlike verbal predicates, adjectival predicates have to be followed by the predicating noun-phrase clitic =te/=ho (=te for feminine subjects and =ho for masculine subjects) (section 3.2.2.1). Second, unlike verbs, which have to be followed by at least one of the inflectional verb suffixes (Chapter 4 section 4.2), adjectives can take none of them.

3.1.4 Adverbs

The class of lexical adverbs in Sidaama is small in size compared to other open classes. Like adjectives, lexical adverbs that are not derived from other parts of speech are small in number. Examples are shown in (3.163). Many of them are time adverbs, which refer to temporal relations or points in time relative to the time of utterance or a particular reference point.

(3.163)	t'a 'now' bire 'in the past' beesso 'in the past' tenne 'at that time, then' wona 'previously, a while ago' gedena 'later' t'aano 'still, yet' bero 'yesterday' sununni 'slowly' ³⁶ kainni 'however, on the other hand' nafaa 'even' horonta/horonka/horñanka/takkonta (also, horonta-nni/horonka-nni) 'never (when used with a verb with the negative proclitic <i>di=</i> or with the negative imperative suffix), completely (when used with a verb with a negative connotation)' hawalle 'luckily ... , I am glad that ... , Congratulations'	teččo 'today' ga'a 'tomorrow' ankarro 'last night' tait'e 'this year' niro 'last year' haisseero 'two years ago' gamasseero 'three years ago' ³⁵ gedensaanni 'afterwards' č'alla 'only'
---------	---	--

Similar to the class of adjectives, there are adverbs derived with suffixes from nouns or verbs, as shown in (3.164). However, when compared to adjectives, adverbs are very much restricted in derivation from nouns and verbs; unlike adjective-deriving suffixes,

³⁵ These two adverbs, *haisseero* and *gamasseero*, contain *sseero*, but it does not mean anything.

³⁶ Although *sununni* ends in *-nni*, which is identical in form to the FROM suffix and the instrumental suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.6), this is not a suffix and *sumu* cannot stand alone.

which are relatively large in number (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.2), adverb-deriving suffixes are limited to some of the ones in (3.164) above: *-imma* ‘as ... , like ...’ and *-iweello/-iweella/-eweelčo* ‘without ... ’ (*-nka* and *-nta* in the last two words in (3.164) are used for emphasis, and do not always derive adverbs from other parts of speech; the endings of *lainkimeeššo/lainkita* do not seem to be widely used in other words).

(3.164)	č’imeesimma ‘as an arbitrator’	č’imeette (F)/č’imeessa (M) ‘arbitrator’
	galašimma ‘like a monkey’	galaššo ‘monkey’
	galt-iweello ‘without a spouse’	galte ‘spouse’
	yann-iweello ‘unusually, unseasonably’	yanna ‘time’
	hedeweelčo ‘suddenly (also, ADJ: sudden)’	hed- ‘to think, suppose’
	lainkimeeššo/lainkita ‘for the second time, again’	lainki ‘second’
	roore ‘exceedingly’ ³⁷	
	haalenka ‘truly, genuinely’	halaale ‘truth’
	hegerenta ‘forever’	hegere ‘eternity’

Lexical adverbs are constant in form under any syntactic environment. Those in (3.163) do not take any of the inflectional or derivational suffixes that are available to other open class forms, nor do those in (3.164), additionally. Unlike many adjectives and some verbs, a majority of adverbs cannot be compared.³⁸ Also, they usually do not take

³⁷ Although this adverb is derived from the verb *roor-* ‘to exceed’, and looks identical to the connective form of this verb for the first-person subject and the third-person masculine subject (*roor-ø-e* [exceed-1SG/3SG.M-CNN]), it is invariant in form and does not inflect for person.

³⁸ One of the lexical adverbs *sununni* ‘slowly’ can be used in comparison constructions, but unlike typical adjectives, it has to be accompanied by *lowo geešša* [large degree] ‘very much’, as in (i).

degree adverbials like *lowo geešša* [large degree] ‘very much’ and *šiima geešša* [small degree] ‘a little’.

In Sidaama, most lexical adverbs modify predicates (usually verbs), but there are a few so-called sentence adverbs. The last two lexical adverbs in (3.163) do not modify verbs. *Kainni* is conjunction-like and modifies a clause or phrase; this adverb is used especially when two items are compared across two clauses or phrases, and occurs right after the second item that occupies the beginning of the second clause or phrase, as in (3.165) (see also (2) in footnote 2, (3.340), and (3.341)).

- (3.165) *hakkó* *farašš-í-ra* *goowá*
 that.M.GEN horse-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD neck(ACC)
- (usur-ø-i.)
 (fasten-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M)
- konní* *farašš-í-ra* *kainni*
 this.M.GEN horse-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD however
- lekká* *usur-ø-i.*
 leg(ACC) fasten-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘He fastened that horse’s neck but fastened this horse’s leg.’

This adverb may be used when no two entities are compared but two events are contrasted, as in (3.166).

-
- (i) *ise* *isí-nni* *lowo* *geešša* *sununni*
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN-ABL large degree slowly
- y-i-t-e* *ha-d-u.*
 say-EP-3SG.F-CNN go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She went more slowly than him.’

- (3.166) lat'o sirb-a agur-t-anno-gede
 Lat'o(NOM.F)sing-INF(ACC) stop-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-so.that
- kul-oo-mm-o-se=ha
 tell-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F=NPC.M.CMPL
- ikk-ø-ino-ro-no ise kainni
 become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-if-and 3SG.F.NOM however
- sirb-i-t-a-nni no.
 sing-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘Though I (M) told Lat'o not to sing, she is singing.’

Hawalle is a sentence adverb. Examples are shown in (3.167) and (3.168).

- (3.167) aiyaan-ú darga hawalle mar-u-mm-o.
 festival-GEN.M place I.am.glad go-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) am glad that I went to the festival.’
- (3.168) hawalle fataná sa'-i-tt-o.
 I.am.glad exam(ACC) pass-S.PRF.2-2SG-M
 ‘Congratulations, you (SG.M) passed the exam.’

A few adverbs can modify another adverb, as in (3.169).

- (3.169) t'a nafaa k'aag-ee-mm-o-se.
 now even remember-IMPRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F
 ‘I (M) remember her even now.’

The positions of adverbials modifying the same verb in a clause are basically free, though they cannot intervene between components of a constituent and none of them can

occur clause-finally. In (3.170), which contains three adverbials, *bero* ‘yesterday’, *hakko* *k’ark’ar-i-ra* ‘to that village’, and *sununni* ‘slowly’, their order is flexible and can be changed in any way.

(3.170)	bero yesterday	insa 3PL.NOM	hakkó that.M.GEN	k’ark’ar-í-ra village-GEN.MOD.M-ALL
	sununni slowly	ha-d-ino. go-3PL-P.PRF.3		
	‘They went to that village slowly yesterday.’			

The class of adverbs is usually heterogeneous and consists of subclasses such as sentence adverbs, directional/locational adverbs, degree adverbs, manner adverbs, and time adverbs (Schachter 1985: 20, T. Payne 1997: 69-70). However, many Sidaama lexical adverbs are time adverbs, and there are only a small number of lexical adverbs that express directions/locations, degrees, and manners.³⁹ The remainder of this subsection looks at non-lexical adverbials in Sidaama to investigate how such adverbial meanings are expressed.

There are mainly four methods to which Sidaama can resort to express adverbial meanings without using lexical adverbs: (i) the use of a suffixed noun or a bare-NP adverbial, (ii) the use of the noun-phrase clitic for location =*wa*, (iii) the use of a phrase or clause ending in a suffix, and (iv) the use of adjectives in noun-verb cognate idioms.

³⁹ This is at odds with Thomas Payne’s (1997: 69) statement that manner “is the largest subcategory of adverbs in every language”, if the term “adverbs” is restricted to lexical adverbs.

First, nouns (with or without modifiers) followed by suffixes (e.g., *hakkó k'ark'ar-i-ra* ‘to that village’ in (3.170)) frequently serve as adverbials that express directions/locations or time. There are a small number of suffixes that can be omitted when attached to some nouns that refer to locations or periods or points in time, with the result that the NPs are bare-NP adverbials. Thus, some bare-NP adverbials result from the omission of suffixes from such suffixed nouns (e.g., in (3.170), *hakko k'ark'ara* can replace *hakko k'ark'ar-i-ra* ‘to that village’). The suffixes that can be omitted this way are the ablative-instrumental suffix used as the locative suffix for locational or temporal nouns *-nni*, the locative suffix for a majority of unmodified common nouns *-te/-ho*, the locative suffix for modified common nouns *-ra*, and the dative suffix *-ra* as used for the allative.⁴⁰ (3.171) and (3.172) show that *hawado* ‘rainy season’ can be used instead of *hawad-ú-nni* [rainy.season-GEN.M-at] ‘in the rainy season’ and that *t'awo* ‘field’ can be used instead of *t'awo-ho* [field-LOC.M] or *t'aw-ú aana* [field-GEN.M top] ‘on the field’.

(3.171)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{hawado} \\ \text{rainy.season} \\ \text{hawad-ú-nni} \\ \text{rainy.season-GEN.M-LOC} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{daak-kooti.} \\ \text{swim-NEG.IMP.2SG} \end{array} \right\}$
---------	---	--

‘Do not swim in the rainy season.’

⁴⁰ When a demonstrative pronoun is followed by the AT suffix *-nni* or the TO-suffix *-ra*, the suffix can be omitted. Contrary to the lengthening of the final vowel of a noun, however, that of a demonstrative pronoun occurs when the AT-suffix rather than the TO-suffix is omitted: e.g., *hakka-a* [there-LV] instead of *hakka-nni* [there-at] ‘there’; *hakka* instead of *hakk-i-ra* [there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL] ‘to there’.

- (3.172)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|--|---|-------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| laše
Lashe(NOM) | { | t'awo
field
t'awo-ho
field-LOC.M
t'aw-ú
field-GEN.M | } | aana
top | } | loos-ø-i.
work-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M |
|--------------------|---|--|---|-------------|---|-------------------------------------|

‘Lashe worked on the field.’

This applies to cases where such a noun is accompanied by a modifier.

- (3.173) (a)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|---|--|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | ros-ú
education-GEN.M | { | mine
house
min-í-ra
house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL | } |
|------------------|--------------------------|---|--|---|

mar-t-u.
go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She went to school.’

- (b)
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|--|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | miné-si
house-3SG.M.POSS
min-í-si-ra
house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL | } |
|------------------|---|--|---|

mar-t-u.
go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She went to his house.’

More examples are shown in (3.174). (As in the last two examples in (3.174) (*mine-e* and *gate-e*), when an unmodified noun is followed by the allative suffix *-ra*, its final vowel is lengthened.)

(3.174)	<i>noun phrase</i>	<i>adverbial consisting of noun phrase and suffix(es)</i>
	gobba	gobba-a-nni [outside-LV-at] ‘outside’
	mine	mine-nni [home-at] ‘at home’
	soodo	sood-ú-nni [morning-GEN.M-at] ‘in the morning’
	hašša	hašš-ú-nni [evening-GEN.M-at] ‘in the evening’
	arro	arr-ú-nni [dry.season-GEN.M-at] ‘in the dry season’
	alba	alba-a-nni [front-LV-at] ‘before’
	nafara	nafara-ho [compound-LOC.M] ‘in the compound’
	loos-u darga	loos-ú d a r g - í - r a [work-GEN.M place-GEN.MOD.M-ALL] ‘to work’
	mitte saate	mitté saaté-ra [one.F o’clock-LOC.MOD] ‘at one o’clock’
	wole gobba	wolé gobbá-ra [another(GEN.F) country(GEN.F)-ALL] ‘to another country’
	hakko k’ark’ara	hakkó k’ark’ar-í-ra [that.M.GEN village-GEN.MOD.M-ALL] ‘to that village’
	hatte tullo	hatté tulló-ra [that.F.GEN mountain.GEN.F-ALL] ‘to that mountain’
	mine-e	min-í-ra [home-GEN.MOD.M-ALL] ‘to the house’
	gate-e	gat-í-ra [backyard-GEN.MOD.M-ALL] ‘to the compound’

As discussed in section 3.1.1.3, abstract nouns such as locational and temporal nouns (with or without suffixes; often with suffixes optionally omitted), which often follow genitive NPs, can also be used for adverbial meanings.

There are also some NPs for points in time that do not involve the omission of a suffix from a suffixed noun but can serve as bare-NP adverbials (e.g., *duuča barra* [all day] ‘every day’, *te yanna* [this.F time] ‘this time, now’).

Second, a location or goal of motion can be expressed in constructions with the enclitic =*wa* (section 3.2.2.2), as in (3.175) and (3.176). Like goal expressions made up of nouns for locations and the dative suffix *-ra*, goal expressions containing nouns for locations and the enclitic =*wa* may be reduced to only the nouns, as in (3.176).

(3.175) konné wot'é mann-u
 this.M.ACC money(ACC) people-NOM.M

af-∅-anno-kki=wa maat'-i
 find-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-NEG=place put.away-IMP.2SG

(to a singular addressee) 'Put this money in a place where people cannot see it.'

(3.176) (a) { j̃il-ú-nni=wa
 { feast-GEN.M-DEF=place } mar-t-ino.
 ise { j̃ilá } go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 3SG.F.NOM { feast }

'She went to the feast.'

(b) { tulló-nni=wa
 { mountain(GEN.F)-DEF=place }
 ise { tulló-te=wa }
 3SG.F.NOM { mountain-GEN.F=place }
 { tulló }
 { mountain }

mar-t-ino.
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'She went to the mountain.'

(c) { hakkó wa-í-nni=wa
 { that.M.GEN river-GEN.MOD.M-DEF=place }
 ise { hakkó waá }
 3SG.F.NOM { that.M.GEN river }

mar-t-ino.
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'She went to that river.'

Third, subordinate clauses ending in verb suffixes can be used for various types of adverbial meanings. Such suffixes include *-ro* ‘if’, *-gede* ‘so that’, *-lana* ‘though’, *-daafira/-hura* ‘because’, and *-wote* ‘when’ (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8). Examples are shown in (3.177)-(3.183).

- (3.177) arriššo gan-t-u-ro ado
 sun(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-if milk(NOM.F)
- rak-k-e šiš-š-anno.
 hurry-3SG.F-CNN become.sour-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘If the sun hits, the milk becomes sour quickly.’
- (3.178) mač’išš-ee-mm-o-he-gede k’aalé-kki naggi
 hear-IMPRF.1-1SG-M-2SG-so.that voice(ACC)-2SG.POSS naggi
- ass-a-te dand-a-tt-o ?
 do-INF-GEN.F be.able.to-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
- ‘Could you (SG.M) talk louder so that I (M) can hear you?’
- (3.179) ise waǰǰ-i-t-ino-daafira
 3SG.F.NOM become.fearful-EP-P.PERF.3SG.F-because
- wodan-i-se lowo geešša
 heart-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS large degree
- gan-ø-i.
 hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Because she feared, her heartbeat beat very much.’

- (3.180) t'eena gan-anno-wote ulla
rain hit-IMPRF.3SG.M-when earth(NOM.F)
- šalak-k'-anno.
become.slippery-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘When it rains, the ground becomes slippery.’ (*lit.*, ‘When <IMPERF.3SG.M> hits rain, ...’)
- (3.181) wa-i t'alala ikk-ø-anno
water-NOM.MOD.M clear become-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- geešša agar-ee-mm-o.
degree wait-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) will wait until the river becomes clear.’ (This sentence may be said when the speaker picks up water from the river.)
- (3.182) ha'r-a-tt-o-ra alba-a-nni gobba
go-INF.2SG-M-DAT face-LV-LOC place(NOM.F)
- keere ikk-i-t-ino=ta
fine become-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL
- af-a hasis-s-anno-he.
know-INF(NOM.F) become.necessary-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-2SG
- ‘Before you (SG.M) go, it is necessary for you to know that the place is safe.’
- (3.183) balat-ø-e dikko mar-u-mm-o.
become.first-1SG-CNN market go-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- hakkó gedensa-a-nni min-í-ra
that.M.GEN last-LV-LOC house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL
- ha'r-u-mm-o.
go-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘First I (M) went to the market. After that, I went home.’

Also, the suffix *-gede* ‘like’ (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8) can follow adjectives (for example, *danča* ‘good’, *buša* ‘bad’, and *lowo* ‘large, much’) or genitive NPs to express the manners of actions.

(3.184) *isé* *ledo buša-gede* *č’oer-am-ø-i*.
 3SG.F.GEN COM bad-like quarrel-RCP-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He quarrelled with her in a bad way.’

(3.185) (*danča*) *danča-gede* *daak-k-anno*.
 good good-like swim-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 ‘She swims (very) well.’

(3.186) *laše* *ann-í-si-gede*
 Lashe(NOM) father-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-like

ikk-ø-anno.
 become-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

‘Lashe behaves like his father.’

Another way that Sidaama expresses adverbial meanings (manners, in particular) without using lexical adverbs is the use of one of two constructions (Chapter 6 section 6.2.2), the temporal sequence construction with the connective suffix (V1-PERS-CNN V2) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.3), as in (3.187), or the manner/concomitance construction with the infinitive suffix and the suffix *-nni* (V1-PERS-INF-*nni* V2) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.6), as in (3.188).⁴¹

⁴¹ The connective forms of idiomatic expressions with one of the three verbs, *y-* ‘to say’, *ass-* ‘to do’, and *ikk-* ‘to become, behave’, are often used to express adverbial meanings, especially manner, purpose, and cause. An example is shown in (i).

(i) *waalč-u* *balka y-ø-e* *fa-’n-am-ø-i*.
 door-NOM.M *balka* say-3SG.M-CNN open-MID-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘The door opened wide by itself.’ (*lit.*, ‘The door burst and opened by itself.’)

- (3.187) bule min-í giddo-ra rak-k-e
 Bule(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M inside-ALL hurry-3SG.F-CNN
 e'-'-u.
 enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule entered the house quickly (*lit.*, Bule hurried and entered the house).’
- (3.188) bule min-í giddo-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M inside-ALL
 rak-k-a-nni e'-'-u.
 hurry-3SG.F-INF-MANNER enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule entered the house quickly (*lit.*, Bule entered the house by hurrying).’

These constructions are usually interchangeable with each other when they express a manner of motion (except that the manner is slightly more emphasized in the manner/concomitance construction than in the connective construction) (Chapter 6 section 6.2.2).

Finally, in most noun-verb cognate idioms, an adjective is used to modify the noun and expresses manner, as already shown in (3.98) (e.g., *danča got'-ano got'*- [good sleep-NML sleep-] ‘to have a good sleep’, *buša daafur-o daafur-* [bad become.tired-NML become.tired-] ‘to get tired badly’, *lowo č'anč-o č'anč-* [large shout-NML shout-] ‘to shout very much’).

3.1.5 Other Open-Class Forms

There is a group of open-class forms that cannot be classified into any of the above classes. They always occur before the verbs *y-* ‘to say’ and *ass-* ‘to do’ to make up

idiomatic compounds as illustrated by *šikk'i y-* and *šikk'i ass-* in (3.189) and (3.190), where these verbs do not express their literal meanings.⁴²

- (3.189) ané=wa šikk'i y-ø-ino.
 1SG.GEN=place šikk'i say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He approached me.'

⁴² The verbs *y-/ass-* and the preceding forms are separate words because other words or phrases can intervene between them, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) šiiik'i ané=wa y-ø-ino.
 šiiik'i 1SG.GEN=place say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He approached me.'
- (ii) šiiik'i t'arap'eezá ass-ø-ino.
 šiiik'i table(ACC) do-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He moved the table a little by pushing it.'

To negate such idiomatic compounds, the negative proclitic *di=* occurs between their two components, specifically, at the beginning of *y-/ass-*. Examples are in (iii) and (iv).

- (iii) tašši di=ass-ø-ino-'e.
 tašši NEG=do-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG
 'I am not satisfied.' (*lit.*, <IMPERS.3SG.M> has not satisfied me.)
- (iv) *di=tašši ass-ø-ino-'e.
 NEG=tašši do-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG
 to mean, 'I am not satisfied.'

Nevertheless, there are a few *y-* and *ass-* expressions where the preceding element and *y-/ass-* can be contracted (e.g., *šikk'i y-* ~ *šikk'*- 'to approach', *hayye ass-* ~ *hayyeess-* 'to sing a baby a lullaby'). The negative proclitic *di=* precedes such contracted forms, as in (v), though it intervenes between their two components in their non-contracted forms, as in (vi).

- (v) ané=wa di=šikk'-ø-ino.
 1SG.GEN=place NEG=approach-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He did not approach me.'
- (vi) ané=wa šikk'i di=y-ø-ino.
 1SG.GEN=place šikk'i NEG=say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He did not approach me.'

- (3.190) t'arap'eezá šikk'i ass-ø-ino.
 table(ACC) šikk'i do-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He moved the table a little by pushing it.'

The form *šikk'i* occurs only in these expressions and never change their forms.⁴³

Examples of idiomatic expressions with *y-* and *ass-* are shown in (3.191a) and (3.191b) below, respectively. As in the above examples, expressions with *y-* and *ass-* are often paired with each other and show contrast in causativity (*y-*-versions: non-causative vs. *ass-*-versions: causative), though there are a small number of *y-* expressions that have no *ass-* counterparts (e.g., *garaĵi y-* 'to become bored', *leešši y-* 'to become dusk'). The preceding form usually ends in *i*, as in (3.191), and there are some expressions that contain reduplicated forms, as in (3.192). There are various meanings that such idiomatic expressions with *y-* and *ass-* tend to convey: posture change, self-contained motion, emotion, etc., though such meanings do not necessarily require expressions with *y-* and *ass-* to be used.

⁴³ The forms preceding *y-/ass-* may look like adverbials, but they are not. Unlike adverbials that can precede the predicating clitic =*ti* in the construction "REL.CL=*hu* ...=*ti*" (section 3.2.2.1) as in (i) and (ii), the forms preceding *y-/ass-* cannot, as shown in (iii).

- (i) šiiik'i y-ø-ino=hu ané=wa=ti.
 šiiik'i say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM 1SG.GEN=place=NPC.PRED.HUTI
 'The person who he approached is me.'

- (ii) ané=wa šiiik'i y-ø-ino=hu
 1SG.GEN=place šiiik'i say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

bero=ti.
 yesterday=NPC.PRED.HUTI

'It was yesterday that he approached me.'

- (iii) *ané=wa y-ø-ino=hu šiiik'i=ti.
 1SG.GEN=place say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM šiiik'i=NPC.PRED.HUTI

- (3.191) a. gotti y- ‘to stand up’
 hossi y- ‘to stand up straight’
 dolli y- ‘to lie down on one side’
 k’upp’i y- ‘to crouch down (and hold one’s legs)’
 šaffi y- ‘to appear suddenly (on sb’s skin)’
 milli y- ‘to move’
 baaǰji y- ‘to go here and there’
 rutt’i y- ‘to start with surprise or fright’
 k’eleǰji y- ‘to become inactive’
 tašši y- ‘to become satisfied’
 naggi y- ‘to become louder, to become up in spirit’
 garaǰji y- ‘to become bored’
 k’ulli y- ‘to think about, remember, to come to mind’
 sammi y- ‘to keep silent’
 lečč’i y- ‘to walk tiredly’
 bukki y- ‘to swell up’
 č’ullukki y- ‘to keep one’s eyes half open’
 leešši y- ‘to become dusk’
- b. hossi ass- ‘to cause sb to stand up straight’
 dolli ass- ‘to lay down (usu. one’s body) on one side’
 milli ass- ‘to move sb/sth’
 baaǰji ass- ‘to cause sb to go here and there’
 rutt’i ass- ‘to cause sb to start with surprise or fright’
 k’eleǰji ass- ‘to make sb inactive’
 tašši ass- ‘to satisfy sb’
 naggi ass- ‘to make sth louder’
 ǰalli ass- ‘to make sb feel numb’
 k’ulli ass- ‘to cause sb to think about, remember’
 sammi ass- ‘to cause sb to keep silent’
 lečč’i ass- ‘to make sb walk tiredly’
 bukki ass- ‘to swell sth’

- (3.192) a. milli milli y- ‘to hang around, wiggle’
 billi billi y- ‘to move around (negative connotation)’
 gotti gotti y- ‘to cheer up’
 k’ulli k’ulli y- ‘to have a sense that one has forgotten something; to recall
 sb/sth in a nostalgic way’
 bukki bukki y- ‘to show off’
 naggi naggi y- ‘to become louder and louder, become up in spirit’
- b. milli milli ass- ‘to move sth around, stir sth, wave (hands)’
 gotti gotti ass- ‘to cheer up sb’
 naggi naggi ass- ‘to make (voice) louder’

There are a small number of expressions with *y-* and with *ass-* where the preceding element does not end in *i*.

- (3.193) gamba y- ‘to gather’/gamba ass- ‘to put things together’
 balka y- ‘to break open’/balka ass- ‘to break sth open’
 ša y- ‘to produce the sound “ša”’/ša ass- ‘to cause (water) produce the
 sound “ša”’
 hawwu y- ‘to feel dizzy’/hawwu ass- ‘to cause sb to feel dizzy’
 bart’a y- ‘to bow’
 kilkiččo ass- ‘to tickle’

The element that precedes *y-* and *ass-* may be onomatopoeic.

- (3.194) t’ot-u hadađi y-ø-ino.
 corn-NOM.M *hadadī* say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘The corn made a popping sound (when fried) (*lit.*, The corn produced the
 sound “*hadadī*”).’

- (3.195) wuffu ass-i-t-e šaamá t'o-i-s-ø-i.
wuffu do-EP-2SG-CNN candle(ACC) go.off-EP-CAUS-IMP.2SG
 ‘Blow out the candle (*lit.*, Blow the candle with the sound “wuff” and cause it to go off).’

When used as onomatopoeic expressions, the verbs express ‘to (cause sb/sth to) produce a certain sound’ (thus, one could say that *y-* is used for its literal meaning in such cases). Examples are shown in (3.196). As in some of these examples, the element that precedes *y-* or *ass-* may not end in *i*. Some expressions contain reduplicated forms.

- (3.196) a. hadađi *y-* ‘(e.g., roasted corn) to make a popping sound’
 hat’att’i *y-* ‘to make a popping noise, be chatty’
 bu’u bu’u *y-* or bu’i bu’i *y-* ‘(of heart) to beat’
 hekk’i *y-* ‘to hiccup’
- b. hat’att’i *ass-* ‘to cause sth to make a popping noise’
 be’i *ass-* ‘to make (sb’s heart) jerk’
 be’e be’e *ass-* ‘to make sb worry’
 wuffu *ass-* or wuffi *ass-* ‘to blow sth’
 k’urči *ass-* ‘to make a grinding noise’
 bu’u *ass-* ‘to hit with the sound “bu’u”’
 dukki *ass-* ‘to make a footstep noise’

There are onomatopoeic expressions with *ass-* that are not causative and have no *y-* counterparts (e.g., *k’urči ass-* ‘to make a grinding noise’, *dukki ass-* ‘to make a footstep noise’).

3.2 Closed Classes

Closed classes, which rarely admit new members, could include suffixes, but this section deals only with closed-class words and clitics, and leaves the discussion of suffixes to Chapter 4 (section 4.2).

3.2.1 Pronouns and their Related Forms

This subsection discusses various types of pronouns (3.2.1.1 personal pronouns, 3.2.1.2 reflexive pronouns, 3.2.1.3 reciprocal pronouns, 3.2.1.4 demonstrative pronouns) and forms related to them (3.2.1.5 adnominal demonstratives, 3.2.1.6 demonstrative adverbs, 3.2.1.7 interrogative words).

3.2.1.1 Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Sidaama are listed in Table 3.4. Unlike the grammatical cases on nouns, which can be morphologically marked, the grammatical cases of pronouns are distinguished by their different forms. Many of the personal pronouns for different cases may look identical in form, but as mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.2), different pitch accent patterns also distinguish the nominative case and others on pronouns (as well as nouns) — high pitch occurs on the penultimate vowel segments of the nominative forms and on the final vowels of the other forms.

	NOM	ACC	GEN
1SG	áni	ané	ané
2SG	áti	até	até
3SG.M	îsi	isó	isí
3SG.F	îse	isé	isé
1PL	nínke	ninké	ninké
2PL	kí'ne	ki'né	ki'né
3PL	ínsa	insá	insá

Table 3.4: Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns can replace animate nouns and can occupy the same positions as their noun counterparts. Personal pronouns also assume the syntactic roles that their noun counterparts would fill. This is illustrated with (3.197) and (3.198): *ise* and *iso* in (3.197a) replace *bule* and *dangura* in (3.197b), respectively, and *isi* and *ise* in (3.198a) substitute for *dangur-i* and *bule* in (3.198b), respectively.

- (3.197) (a) *ise* *isó*
 3SG.F.NOM.F 3SG.M.ACC
- sunk'-i-t-u(-si).
 kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M)
- ‘She kissed him.’
- (b) *bule* *dangurá*
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)
- sunk'-i-t-u(-si).
 kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M)
- ‘Bule kissed Dangura.’

- (3.198) (a) *isí* *ama* *isé*
 3SG.M.GEN mother(NOM.F) 3SG.F.GEN
- beettó* *sunk'-i-t-u(-si/-se).*
 child(ACC) kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M/-3SG.F)
- ‘His mother kissed her child (with *-si*: boy/with *-se*: girl).’
- (b) *dangur-í* *ama* *bulé*
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M mother(NOM.F) Bule(GEN.F)
- beettó* *sunk'-i-t-u(-si/-se).*
 child(ACC) kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M/-3SG.F)
- ‘Dangura’s mother kissed Bule’s child (boy/girl).’

Pronouns in the nominative and accusative cases can be omitted if their referents are expressed elsewhere. The person/number/gender (or some/one of these) of the subject is always indicated with a suffix on the verb or by the predicating clitic *=te/=ho* (not *=ti*). The person/number/gender (or some of these) of an affected entity (often, a primary object) can be indicated with a suffix on the verb (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.6).⁴⁴ Genitive pronouns and the possessive pronominal suffix can also be omitted in some cases (section 3.1.1.2, Chapter 5 sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.3; Kawachi 2004, 2006a).

The referents of personal pronouns are normally animate.⁴⁵ In (3.199), the referent of *isi* has to be animate, typically human; it cannot refer to any inanimate noun even if it is masculine (e.g., *mine* ‘house’, *t’arap’eessa* ‘table’).

⁴⁴ It is more emphatic if the direct or indirect object is expressed twice (with an NP and the suffix on the verb) than only once (either an NP or the suffix on the verb).

⁴⁵ Even though they are inanimate, drinks may be referred to with personal pronouns in a context like (i).

- (3.199) *isi* *danča=ho.*
 3SG.M.NOM good=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘He is good.’

Sidaama does not have any pronoun for an inanimate noun comparable to the English *it* (or *they* as used for inanimate referents). Thus, for example, in the second sentence of (3.200) below, *burč’ik’o-’ya* ‘my glass’ may be omitted, or may be repeated from the first sentence and cannot be replaced by *ise* ‘[3SG.F.ACC]’ (**ise ai hiikk’-ø-i* ?) (nor can it be expressed with the pronominal suffix on the verb; **ai hiikk’-ø-i-se* ? [who.NOM break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F]).

-
- (i) A: *maá* *ad-i-tin-anni ?*
 what.ACC take-EP-2PL-IMPRF.2PL
- B: (a) *waá*/(b) *malawó.*
 water(ACC)/honey(ACC)
- C: *ané-ra=no* (a) *isó*/(b) *isé* *abb-i-’e.*
 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON=also 3SG.M.ACC/3SG.F.ACC bring-IMP.2SG-1SG
- A: ‘What will you (PL) drink (*lit.*, take)?’
 B: ‘(a) Water/(b) Honey drink.’
 C: ‘Bring me (a) water/(b) honey drink, too (*lit.*, Bring (a) him/(b) her to me, too).’

As in (ii), the third-person singular masculine pronoun can, though rarely, occur as the impersonal subject, which is usually indicated only on a verb suffix, as in (3.71) and (3.72).

- (ii) *isi* *barr-ø-ino.*
 3SG.M.NOM become.day-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘Day broke.’ or ‘It is (already) a daytime.’

- (3.200) burč'ik'o-'ya hiikk'-an-t-u.
 glass(NOM.F)-1SG.POSS break-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (burč'ik'o-'ya) ai hiikk'-ø-i ?
 (glass(ACC)-1SG.POSS) who.NOM break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'My glass got broken. Who broke it?'

3.2.1.2 Reflexive Pronoun

Sidaama uses the word for 'head', *umo*, as the reflexive pronoun.⁴⁶ It is always followed by the possessive pronominal suffix. As shown in Table 3.5, the reflexive pronoun morphologically behaves like a masculine common noun with a dependent or the possessive pronominal suffix — it can be marked with the nominative/genitive suffix, *-i*, and is morphologically unmarked when it is in the accusative case.

	NOM/GEN	ACC
1SG	um-i-'ya	umo-'ya
2SG	um-i-kki	umo-kki
3SG.M	um-i-si	umo-si
3SG.F	um-i-se	umo-se
1PL	um-i-nke	umo-nke
2PL	um-i-'ne	umo-'ne
3PL	um-i-nsa	umo-nsa

Table 3.5: Reflexive Pronoun with the Possessive Personal Pronominal Suffix

The possessive personal pronominal suffix on the reflexive pronoun agrees with the subject NP in many cases.

⁴⁶ The use of the word for 'head' seems to be widespread across languages (Schachter 1985: 28). Such languages include not only languages distantly related and geographically close to Sidaama (e.g., Amharic) but those both genetically and geographically distant from it (e.g., Fula [Schachter 1985: 28]). On the other hand, there are Cushitic languages that use words other than 'head' (e.g., 'bone' in Somali; Schladt 2000: 122).

- (3.201) daafurs-i umó-si
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M RFL(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS
- t'agis-i-'r-ø-i.
 cure.with.medicine-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Daafursa cured himself with medicine.’

The reflexive pronoun in the genitive case can be followed by the dative suffix *-ra* or the instrumental suffix *-nni*, as in (3.202) and (3.203).

- (3.202) laše t'awó um-í-si-ra
 Lashe(NOM) field(ACC) RFL-GEN.PRON.M-3SG.M.POSS-DAT.PRON
- mat'ar-ø-i.
 remove.weed.by.cutting-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Lashe cut weeds on the field for himself.’
- (3.203) danančó-se um-í-se-nni
 hair(ACC)-3SG.F.POSS RFL-GEN.PRON.M-3SG.F.POSS-INST
- ama-d-i-t-u.
 work.hair.into.braids-MID-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She worked her own hair into braids by herself.’

Unlike personal pronouns, which are used only for animate referents, the reflexive pronoun allows its antecedent to be inanimate.

- (3.204) hinč'ilallo um-í-se-nni
 mirror(NOM.F) RFL-GEN.PROP.M-3SG.F.POSS-INST
- hiikk'-an-t-u.
 break-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'The mirror got broken by itself.'

The reflexive pronoun has emphatic uses. The nominative form of the reflexive pronoun can be used to emphasize the referent of the subject NP.

- (3.205) daafurs-i dikko
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M market
- um-i-si ha'r-ø-i.
 RFL-NOM.PRON.M-3SG.M.POSS go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'Daafursa himself went to the market.'

When the reflexive pronoun is emphatically used in place of a personal pronoun (described in section 3.2.1.1), the antecedent of the possessive pronominal suffix following the reflexive pronoun is not the subject of the clause. In one type of external possessor construction (Chapter 5 section 5.3.1, Kawachi 2006a, 2007b), the possessor NP is marked with the dative and the possessum NP is in the nominative and modified by the reflexive pronoun in the genitive, which is coreferential with the possessor NP.

- (3.206) *lašé-ra* *um-í-si*
 Lashe(GEN)-DAT.PROP self-GEN.PRON.M-3SG.M.POSS
- mat'aaf-i* *ba'-ø-i-si.*
 book-NOM.MOD.M become.missing-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M
- ‘Lashe lost his book (not anyone else’s book but his book).’ (*lit.*, ‘To Lashe, himself’s book disappeared.’)

Also, when the genitive form of the reflexive pronoun is a predicate, the possessive pronominal suffix modifying the reflexive pronoun does not refer to the subject.

- (3.207) *min-u* *um-i-si=ho.*
 house-NOM.M RFL-GEN.PROP.M-3SG.M.POSS=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘The house is himself’s.’

In these two examples, *um-i-si* can be replaced by the genitive form of the third person singular masculine pronoun *isi* if its referent is not emphasized (*lašé-ra isi mat'aaf-i ba'-i-si./min-u isi-ho.*).

3.2.1.3 Reciprocal Pronoun

The Sidaama reciprocal pronoun *mimmito* ‘each other’, which is the reduplicated form of the numeral *mitto* ‘one (M)’, is used for the action of more than one participant (typically, two participants) on one another. This pronoun is treated as masculine and can be marked with case suffixes. For example, it is in the genitive in (3.208) and in the dative in (3.209).

- (3.208) dangur-i=nna damboow-i
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M=and Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M
- mimmit-ú lekká sarrak-k'-u.
 each.other-GEN.M leg(ACC) entangle-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
- ‘Dangura and Damboowa entangled each other’s legs.’
- (3.209) insa mimmito-ho kapp'-i-t-u.
 3PL.NOM each.other-DAT.M tell.a.lie-EP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
- ‘They told each other lies.’

Like masculine nouns, the reciprocal pronoun is morphologically unmarked when it is in the accusative case, as in (3.210), and when it is used adverbially, as in (3.211).

- (3.210) insa mimmitó la'-'-u.
 3PL.NOM each.other(ACC) see-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
- ‘They saw each other.’
- (3.211) bule=nna lat'o danančo-nsa
 Bule(NOM.F)=and Lat'o(NOM) hair(ACC)-3PL.POSS
- mimmito fitt'-i-t-u.
 each.other comb-EP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
- ‘Bule and Lat'o combed each other’s hair.’

In addition to (or instead of using) *mimmito*, reciprocity may be marked with the reciprocal suffix *-am* (*-an* before /t/) on the verb (Chapter 4 section 4.3).

- (3.212) laše=nna laalle mimmit-ú ledo
 Lashe(NOM)=and Laalle(NOM) each.other-GEN.M COM

šarr-an-t-u.
 wrestle[-RCP]-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

‘Lashe and Laalle wrestled with each other.’

- (3.213) bule=nna lat’o danančó
 Bule(NOM.F)=and Lat’o(NOM.F) hair(ACC)

(mimmito) fitt’-an-t-u.
 (each.other) comb-RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

‘Bule and Lat’o combed each other’s hair.’

3.2.1.4 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used to express locations deictically rather than specifying particular locations with open-class forms. Basically, the demonstrative pronouns make a three-way distinction in terms of three degrees of proximity of the referent to the speaker in space: *kawa* ‘here’, *hakka* ‘there’, and *ka’a* ‘over there’; the proximity of the referent to the hearer in space is irrelevant. Reduplication of *kawa* emphasizes the closeness of the location (*kawa kawa* ‘very close’), whereas reduplication of *hakka* and *ka’a* emphasizes the remoteness of the location (*hakka hakka* ‘way over there’ and *ka’a ka’a* ‘way over there’, respectively). The reduplicated forms do not necessarily have to be used contrastively with their non-reduplicated counterparts. The reduplicated forms, *hakka hakka* and *ka’a ka’a*, both indicate a remote distance, and it is not clear whether there is a difference between the remoteness expressed by *hakka hakka* and by *ka’a ka’a*. Like modified masculine common nouns and masculine proper nouns ending in *-a*, the demonstrative pronouns take the suffix *-i* for the nominative and

genitive cases. The forms of the demonstrative pronouns are shown in Table 3.6. (Glosses for the reduplicated forms and the examples containing them in this subsection are omitted.)

	ACC	NOM/GEN
(a) 'here'	kawa	kaw-i
(b) 'there'	hakka	hakk-i
(c) 'over there'	ka'a	ka'-i
(a') reduplication of (a)	kawa kawa	kaw-i kaw-i
(b') reduplication of (b)	hakka hakka	hakk-i hakk-i
(c') reduplication of (c)	ka'a ka'a	ka'-i ka'-i

Table 3.6: Demonstrative Pronouns

In (3.214), the demonstrative pronouns are the subjects and are in the nominative case, in (3.215), they modify the noun *sagale* 'food' and are in the genitive case, and in (3.216), they are the direct objects of *bat'* - 'to like' and are in the accusative case.

(3.214)	{	(a) kaw-i here-NOM.PRON.M (b) hakk-i there-NOM.PRON.M (c) ka'-i over.there-NOM.PRON.M (a') kaw-i kaw-i (b') hakk-i hakk-i (c') ka'-i ka'-i	}	kiid-∅-anno. become.cold-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
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'It is cold (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'
 'It is cold (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over over there.'

(3.215)	{	(a) kaw-í here-GEN.PRON.M (b) hakk-í there-GEN.PRON.M (c) ka'-í over.there-GEN.PRON.M (a') kaw-í kaw-í (b') hakk-í hakk-í (c') ka'-í ka'-í	}	sagale danča=te. food(NOM.F) good=NPC.F.PRED
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‘The food (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there is good.’
 ‘The food (a’) here (very close)/(b’) way over there/(c’) way over there is good.’

(3.216)	{	(a) kawaá here(ACC) (b) hakkaá there(ACC) (c) ka'á over.there(ACC) (a') kawá kawaá (b') hakká hakkaá (c') ka'á ka'á	}	bat'-ee-mm-a. like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
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‘I (F) like (a) this place/(b) that place/(c) the place over there.’
 ‘I (F) like (a’) this place (very close)/(b’) the place way over there/(c’) the place way over there.’

In many cases, the demonstrative pronouns are used adverbially, like locational nouns used for spatial relations between entities (section 3.1.1.3). Each of them is usually followed by one of the three suffixes – AT: *-nni*, TO: *-ra*, and FROM: *-nni*, as shown in Table 3.7. Like most of the locational nouns in section 3.1.1.3, the demonstrative pronouns are marked with the genitive case suffix *-i* when followed by the suffix for TO or FROM.

	AT	TO	FROM
(a) ‘here’	kawa-nni (kawa-a, kawa-i)	kaw-i-ra (kawa)	kaw-i-nni (kaw-i-i)
(b) ‘there’	hakka-nni (hakka-a, hakka-i)	hakk-i-ra (hakka)	hakk-i-nni (hakk-i-i)
(c) ‘over there’	ka’a-nni (ka’a-a, ka’a-i)	ka’-i-ra (ka’a)	ka’-i-nni (ka’-i-i)
(a’)	kawa kawa-nni (kawa kawa-a/ kawa kawa-i)	kawa kaw-i-ra (kawa kawa/ kaw-i kaw-i-ra)	kaw-i kaw-i-nni (kaw-i kaw-i-i)
(b’)	hakka hakka-nni (hakka hakka-a/ hakka hakka-i)	hakk-i hakk-i-ra	hakk-i hakk-i-nni (hakk-i hakk-i-i)
(c’)	ka’a ka’a-nni (ka’a ka’a-a, ka’a ka’a-i)	ka’-i ka’-i-ra (ka’a ka’a, ka’a ka’-i-ra)	ka’-i ka’-i-nni (ka’-i ka’-i-i, ka’a ka’-i-nni)

Table 3.7: Demonstrative Pronouns as used for AT, TO, and FROM

When used for AT, the suffix *-nni* can be omitted. In compensation for this, their final vowels are lengthened (*kawa-a* ‘AT here’, *hakka-a* ‘AT there’, *ka’a-a* ‘AT over there’). Also, when used for AT, the suffix *-nni* can be shortened to *-i* (*kawa-i* ‘AT here’, *hakka-i* ‘AT there’, *ka’a-i* ‘AT over there’). The simple forms, *kawa* ‘here’, *hakka* ‘there’, and *ka’a* ‘over there’, may be used for ‘TO here’, ‘TO there’, and ‘TO over there’, respectively, without any vowel lengthening, though their final vowels can be lengthened when the goal of the motion is compared with another location: *kawaa*, *hakkaa*, *ka’aa*. The suffix *-nni* used to mean FROM can also be shortened to *-i* (*kaw-i-i* ‘FROM here’, *hakk-i-i* ‘FROM there’, *ka’-i-i* ‘FROM over there’). These are illustrated below with AT examples in (3.217), TO examples in (3.218) and (3.219), and FROM examples in (3.220).

- (3.217) { (a) kawa-nni/kawa-a/kawa-i
here-at/here-LV/here-at
(b) hakka-nni/hakka-a/hakka-i
there-at/there-LV/there-at
(c) ka'a-nni/ka'a-a/ka'a-i
over.there-at/over.there-LV/over.there-at
(a') kawa kawa-nni/kawa kawa-a/kawa kawa-i
(b') hakka hakka-nni/hakka hakka-a/hakka hakka-i
(c') ka'a ka'a-nni/ka'a ka'a-a/ka'a ka'a-i }

godo'l-ø-a-nni no.
play-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

'He is playing (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'
'He is playing (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there.'

- (3.218) { (a) kaw-î-ra/kawa
here-GEN.PRON.M-ALL/here
(a') kawa kaw-î-ra/kawa kawaa/kaw-î kaw-î-ra }

dag-gu.
come-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

'She/They came (a) here/(a') here (very close).'

- (3.219) { (a) hakk-î-ra/hakka
there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL/there
(b) ka'-î-ra/ka'a
over.there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL/over.there
(a') hakk-î hakk-î-ra
(b') ka'-î ka'-î-ra/ka'a ka'-î-ra/ka'a ka'a }

ha-d-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

'She/They went (a) there/(b) over there.'
'She/They went (a') way over there/(b') way over there.'

- (3.220) {
- (a) kaw-í-nni/kaw-í-i
here-GEN.PRON.M-ABL
 - (b) hakk-í-nni/hakk-í-i
there-GEN.PRON.M-ABL
 - (c) ka'-í-nni/ka'-í-i
over.there-GEN.PRON.M-ABL
 - (a') kaw-í kaw-í-nni/kaw-í kaw-í-i
 - (b') hakk-í hakk-í-nni/hakk-í hakk-í-i
 - (c') ka'-í ka'-í-nni/ka'-í ka'-í-i/ka'á ka'-í-nni
- }

ha-d-u.

go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

'She/They left (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'

'She/They left (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there.'

The relative clauses made up of the demonstrative pronouns with the suffix for AT and the third-person form of the existential verb *no* are used as if they were attributive adjectives: *kawa-nni no* (*kawa-a no*, *kawa-i no*) 'that is/are here', *hakka-nni no* (*hakka-a no*, *hakka-i no*) 'that is/are there', *ka'a-nni no* (*ka'a-a no*, *ka'a-i no*) 'that is/are over there', etc.

- (3.221) { (a) kawa-nni/kawa-a/kawa-i
here-AT/here-LV/here-AT
(b) hakka-nni/hakka-a/hakka-i
there-AT/here-LV/there-AT
(c) ka'a-nni/ka'a-a/ka'a-i
over.there-AT/over.there-LV/over.there-AT
(a') kawa kawa-nni/kawa kawa-a/kawa kawa-i
(b') hakka hakka-nni/hakka hakka-a/hakka hakka-i
(c') ka'a ka'a-nni/ka'a ka'a-a/ka'a ka'a-i } no
exist.P.PRF.3

sagale danča=te.
food(NOM.F) good=NPC.F.PRED

‘The food (that is) (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.’
‘The food (that is) (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there.’

There is another set of pronouns that are related to the above demonstrative pronouns and that contain one of the allomorphs of the singular suffix *-iččo*: *kawiččo* ‘this place’, *hakkiččo* ‘that place’, and *ka'iččo* ‘the place over there’. Like the previous set of demonstrative pronouns, they have reduplicated forms (*kawiččo kawiččo*, *hakkiččo hakkiččo*, and *ka'iččo ka'iččo*).

	ACC	NOM/GEN
(a) ‘here’	kawiččo	kawičč-i
(b) ‘there’	hakkiččo	hakkičč-i
(c) ‘over there’	ka'iččo	ka'ičč-i
(a') reduplication of (a)	kawiččo kawiččo	kawičč-i kawičč-i
(b') reduplication of (b)	hakkiččo hakkiččo	hakkičč-i hakkičč-i
(c') reduplication of (c)	ka'iččo ka'iččo	ka'ičč-i ka'ičč-i

Table 3.8: Demonstrative Pronouns with *-iččo*

This set of demonstrative pronouns can replace the above set of demonstrative pronouns in (3.204)-(3.206), as shown in (3.222)-(3.224). However, the areas to which they refer are usually more limited in area or more specific than the previous set of demonstrative pronouns. For example, their referents in (3.222)-(3.224) may be houses, whereas those in (3.204)-(3.206) may be villages or countries.

(3.222)	{	(a) kawičč-i here-NOM.PRON.M (b) hakkičč-i there-NOM.PRON.M (c) ka'ičč-i over.there-NOM.PRON.M (a') kawičč-i kawičč-i (b') hakkičč-i hakkičč-i (c') ka'ičč-i ka'ičč-i	}	kiid-ø-anno. become.cold-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
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'It is cold (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'

'It is cold (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over over there.'

(3.223)	{	(a) kawičč-í here-GEN.PRON.M (b) hakkičč-í there-GEN.PRON.M (c) ka'ičč-í over.there-GEN.PRON.M (a') kawičč-í kawičč-í (b') hakkičč-í hakkičč-í (c') ka'ičč-í ka'ičč-í	}	sagale danča=te. food(NOM.F) good=NPC.F.PRED
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'The food (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there is good.'

'The food (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there is good.'

(3.224)	{	(a) kawiččo here(ACC)	}	(b) hakkiččo there(ACC)	bat'-ee-mm-a. like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
	(c) ka'iččo over.there(ACC)				
	(a') kawiččo kawiččo				
	(b') hakkiččo hakkiččo				
	(c') ka'iččo ka'iččo				

'I (F) like (a) this place/(b) that place/(c) the place over there.'
 'I (F) like (a') this place (very close)/(b') the place way over there/(c') the place way over there.'

Like the first set of basic demonstrative pronouns (*kawa*, *hakka*, *ka'a*, and their reduplicated forms), these demonstrative pronouns can also be used adverbially as in Table 3.9.

	AT	TO	FROM
(a) 'here'	kawiččo	kawičč-i-ra	kawičč-i-nni
(b) 'there'	hakkiččo	hakkičč-i-ra	hakkičč-i-nni
(c) 'over there'	ka'iččo	ka'ičč-i-ra	ka'ičč-i-nni
(a')	kawiččo kawiččo	kawičč-i kawičč-i-ra	kawičč-i kawičč-i-nni
(b')	hakkiččo hakkiččo	hakkičč-i hakkičč-i-ra	hakkičč-i hakkičč-i-nni
(c')	ka'iččo ka'iččo	ka'ičč-i ka'ičč-i-ra	ka'ičč-i ka'ičč-i-nni

Table 3.9: Demonstrative Pronouns with the Singular Suffix
Derived from Basic Demonstrative Pronouns

As shown in Table 3.9, the genitive forms of these demonstrative pronouns can occur with the suffixes for TO (*-ra*) and FROM (*-nni*). But unlike the first set of basic demonstrative pronouns, they cannot occur with the suffix for AT (*-nni*) (**kawiččo-nni*,

**hakkiččo-nni, *ka'iččo-nni*). Instead, AT is expressed when no suffix is attached.

Examples are shown in (3.225)-(3.228).

- (3.225) { (a) kawiččo
here
(b) hakkiččo
there
(c) ka'iččo
over.there
(a') kawiččo kawiččo
(b') hakkiččo hakkiččo
(c') ka'iččo ka'iččo } godo'l-ø-a-nni
play-3SG.M-INF-MANNER

no.
exist.P.PRF.3

'He is playing (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'
'He is playing (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there.'

- (3.226) { (a) kawičč-í-ra
here-GEN.PRON.M-ALL
(a') kawičč-í kawičč-í-ra } }

dag-gu.
come-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

'She/They came (a) here/(a') here (very close).'

- (3.227) { (b) hakkičč-í-ra
there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL
(c) ka'ičč-í-ra
over.there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL
(b') hakkičč-í hakkičč-í-ra
(c') ka'ičč-í ka'ičč-í-ra } ha-č-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

'She/They went (b) there/(c) over there.'
'She/They went (b') way over there/(c') way over there.'

(3.228)	{	(a) kawičč-í-nni here-GEN.PRON.M-ABL (b) hakkičč-í-nni there-GEN.PROP.M-ABL (c) ka'ičč-í-nni over.there-GEN.PROP.M-ABL (a') kawičč-í kawičč-í-nni (b') hakkičč-í hakkičč-í-nni (c') ka'ičč-í ka'ičč-í-nni	}	ha-d-u. go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL
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'She/They left (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'

'She/They left (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there.'

Like the basic demonstrative pronouns (see (3.221)), these derived demonstrative pronouns can occur with the third-person form of the existential verb *no* to create relative clauses: *kawiččo no* 'that is/are here', *hakkiččo no* 'that is/are there', and *ka'iččo no* 'that is/are over there' (their reduplicated forms are: *kawiččo kawiččo no*, *hakkiččo hakkiččo no*, and *ka'iččo ka'iččo no*, respectively). Examples are shown in (3.229).

(3.229)	{	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">(a)</td> <td>kawiččo</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>here</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(b)</td> <td>hakkiččo</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>there</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(c)</td> <td>ka'iččo</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>over.there</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(a')</td> <td>hakkiččo hakkiččo</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(b')</td> <td>hakkiččo hakkiččo</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>(c')</td> <td>ka'iččo ka'iččo</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	(a)	kawiččo			here		(b)	hakkiččo			there		(c)	ka'iččo			over.there		(a')	hakkiččo hakkiččo		(b')	hakkiččo hakkiččo		(c')	ka'iččo ka'iččo		no exist.P.PRF.3
(a)	kawiččo																													
	here																													
(b)	hakkiččo																													
	there																													
(c)	ka'iččo																													
	over.there																													
(a')	hakkiččo hakkiččo																													
(b')	hakkiččo hakkiččo																													
(c')	ka'iččo ka'iččo																													

sagale danča=te.
 food(NOM.F) good=NPC.F.PRED

'The food (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there is good.'

'The food (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there is good.'

3.2.1.5 Adnominal Demonstratives

The majority of nouns can be modified by adnominal demonstratives. They agree in gender with the nouns that they modify. They make a basic three-way distinction: *te* (F)/*ko* (M) 'this', *hatte* (F)/*hakko* (M) 'that', and *te'e* (F)/*ko'o* (M) 'over there'. Like the two sets of demonstrative pronouns discussed in the previous subsection, the adnominal demonstratives can also be reduplicated to emphasize the closeness or remoteness of the location. A distance closer than that expressed by *te* (F)/*ko* (M) is expressed by reduplicating them as *te te* (F)/*ko ko* (M), and distances farther than those expressed by *hatte* (F)/*hakko* (M) and *te'e* (F)/*ko'o* (M) are also expressed by reduplicating them as *hatte hatte* (F)/*hakko hakko* (M) and *te'e te'e* (F)/*ko'o ko'o* (M), respectively. The adnominal demonstratives have different forms for the three cases (the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative). Table 3.10 lists their forms.⁴⁷ For most of the proximity-

⁴⁷ The forms in Table 3.10 and Table 3.11 do not match those listed by Hudson (1976: 255-256) and Teferra (2000: 60-61) shown below. Only the underlined forms in (i) appear in Table 3.10 and Table 3.11.

case combinations, there is more than one form, but it is not clear whether there is any difference between them.

(i)	Hudson (1976: 255-256)		Teferra (2000: 60-61)	
	NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
this	F: <u>tini</u>	F: <u>tenne/te('e)</u>	this	F: <u>tin-i</u> F: <u>tenne</u>
	M: <u>kuni</u>	M: <u>konne/ko('o)</u>		M: <u>kun-i</u> M: <u>konne</u>
that	F: <u>tii'i</u>	F: <u>hatte(nne)</u>	that (near)	F: <u>tii'-i</u> F: <u>tee'e</u>
	M: <u>ku'u</u>	M: <u>hakko(nne)</u>		M: <u>ku'-u</u> M: <u>koo'e</u>
			that (far)	F: <u>ti''-i</u> F: <u>te''e</u>
				M: <u>ku''-u</u> M: <u>ko''e</u>
these	F: <u>tini/kuri</u>	F: <u>tenne/te('e)</u>	these	F/M: <u>kur-i</u> F/M: <u>kore</u>
	M: <u>kuni/kuri</u>	M: <u>konne/ko('o)</u>		
those	F: <u>kuu'u</u>	F: <u>hatte(nne)</u>	those (near)	F/M: <u>hakkur-i</u> F/M: <u>hakkore</u>
	M: <u>kuu'u</u>	M: <u>hakko(nne)</u>	those (far)	F/M: <u>ku''ur-i</u> F/M: <u>ko''ore</u>
			that one	F: <u>hatt-i</u> F: <u>hattee</u>
				M: <u>hakk-u</u> M: <u>hakkoye</u>

		NOM	GEN	ACC
(1) 'this'	F:	te/tini/tiyi	te/tenne/teyi	te/tenne
	M:	ko/kuni/kuyi	ko/konni/koi	ko/konne/koe
(2) 'that'	F:	hatti/hattenne	hatte/hattenne	hatte/hattenne
	M:	hakku/hakko	hakko/hakkunni/ hakkonni/hakkui/ hakkoe	hakko/hakkonne/ hakkoe
(3) 'over there'	F:	tii'i	te'e/te'enne	te'e/te'enne
	M:	ku'u	ko'o/ko'onni/ku'ui/ ko'ui	ko'o/ko'onne
(1')	F:	tee tee/tini tini	tee tee/tenne tenne	tee tee/tenne tenne
	M:	kuni kuni/ko ko	ko ko/konni konni/ koi koi	ko ko/konne konne/ koe koe
(2')	F:	hatti hatti/ hatti hattenni/ hattenni hattenni/ hatte hatte/ hatte hattenne hattenne hattenne	hatte hatte/ hatte hattenne/ hattenne hattenne/ hattenni hattenni/ hatte hattenni	hatte hatte/ hatte hattenne hattenne hattenne
	M:	hakku hakku/ hakko hakkonni/ hakko hakko/ hakkui hakkui	hakko hakko/ hakko hakkonni/ hakkui hakkui/ hakkunni hakkunni/ hakkonni hakkonni/ hakkoe hakkoe/ hakku hakkunni/ hakku hakkui	hakko hakko/ hakko hakkonne/ hakkoe hakkoe/ hakkonne hakkonne
(3')	F:	tii'i tii'i	te'e te'e/te'e te'enne	te'e te'e/te'e te'enne
	M:	ku'u ku'u/ ko'o ko'onni	ko'o ko'o/ ko'o ko'onni/ ko'oi ko'oi/ ko'o ko'oi	ko'o ko'o/ ko'o ko'onne/ ko'oe ko'oe/ ko'onne ko'onne

Table 3.10: Adnominal Demonstratives

As shown in this table, the genitive forms of the adnominal demonstratives for feminine nouns and their accusative forms are exactly the same (e.g., *te'e/te'enne* 'over there (F)'). The feminine forms ending in *-nne* are always in the genitive or the accusative, whereas the masculine forms ending in *-nne* are in the accusative and their genitive forms end in *-nni*. Some forms are used for all three cases (e.g., *te* 'this (F)', *ko* 'this (M)', *hakko* 'that (M)').

The forms in Table 3.10 can also be used when the noun that they modify is plural. On the other hand, there are also forms of the adnominal demonstratives that can only be used with plural nouns. However, as shown in Table 3.11, forms of adnominal demonstratives for plural nouns do not exist for all the distance-case-gender combinations.

		NOM	GEN	ACC
(1) 'these'	F/M:	kuri	kore/kuri/koori/kuwi	kore
(2) 'those'	F:	————	hakkuri	————
	M:	hakkuri	hakkuri	hakkore
(3) 'over there'	F:	————	ku'uri	————
	M:	ku'uri	ku'uri	————
(1')	F/M:	kuri kuri	kuri kuri/kore kore/ koori koori	kore kore
(2')	F:	hakku hakkuri	hakku hakkuri/ hakkuri hakkuri	————
	M:	hakku hakkuri	hakku hakkuri/ hakkuri hakkuri	hakko hakkore/ hakkore hakkore
(3')	F:	————	ku'u ku'uri/ ko'ri ko'ri	
	M:	ku'u ku'uri/ ku'uri ku'uri	ku'u ku'uri/ ku'uri ku'uri	ko'ore ko'ore

Table 3.11: Adnominal Demonstratives for Plural Nouns

(3.230)-(3.235) show that the gender and case of the adnominal demonstrative are determined by those of the noun that it modifies, following the patterns indicated in the above table. Only the forms for 'over there' are used with singular nouns in these examples. The modified noun is masculine (*moiččo* 'beast') in (3.230)-(3.232) and feminine (*hakk'iččo* 'tree') in (3.233)-(3.235). The modified noun is in the nominative case in (3.230) and (3.233), the genitive case in (3.231) and (3.234), and the accusative case in (3.232) and (3.235).

- (3.230) ku'u moičč-i gereččó
 over.there.M.NOM beast-NOM.MOD.M sheep(ACC)
 it-∅-i.
 eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'The beast over there ate the sheep.'
- (3.231) ise ko'ó/ko'onni/ku'uí/ko'uí moičč-í
 3SG.F.NOM over.there.M.GEN beast-GEN.MOD.M
 su'má af-i-d-ino.
 name(ACC) get.to.know-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'She knows the name of the beast over there.'
- (3.232) ise ko'ó/ko'onné moiččó
 3SG.F over.there.M.ACC beast(ACC)
 wǎǰ-i-t-u.
 become.afriad.of-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She is afraid of the beast over there.'
- (3.233) tii'i hakk'iččo seeda=te.
 over.there.F.NOM tree(NOM.F) tall=NP.C.F.PRED
 'The tree over there is tall.'
- (3.234) te'é/te'enné hakk'iččo č'aal-i
 over.there.F.GEN tree(GEN.F) shade-NOM.MOD.M
 lowo=ha ikk-∅-i.
 large=NP.C.M.CMPL become-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'The shade of the tree over there became large.'

(3.235) ga'a isi te'é/te'enné hakk'iččó
 tomorrow 3SG.M.NOM over.there.F.ACC tree(ACC)

mur-ø-anno.
 cut-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

'He will cut the tree over there tomorrow.'

(3.236)-(3.241) illustrate the plural adnominal demonstrative forms for 'those'. The modified noun is feminine in (3.236)-(3.238) and is masculine in (3.239)-(3.241). The modified noun is in the nominative case in (3.239) and (3.236), the genitive case in (3.240) and (3.237), and the accusative case in (3.241) and (3.238).

(3.236) hatti ooso dangur-i=te.
 that.F.NOM children(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=NP.C.F.PRED
 'Those children are Dangura's.'

(3.237) hakkurí/hattenné/hatté oosó
 those.F.GEN/that.F.GEN/that.F.GEN children(GEN.F)

anná af-oo-mm-o.
 father(ACC) come.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) know the father of those children.'

(3.238) hatté/hattenné oosó bat'-ee-mm-o.
 that.F.ACC children(ACC) like-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) love those children.'

(3.239) hakkuri/hakku/hakko k'aakk'u'll-i
 those.M.NOM/that.M.NOM/that.M.NOM babies-NOM.MOD.M

dangur-i=ho.
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=NP.C.M.PRED

'Those babies are Dangura's.'

- (3.240) hakkurí/hakkó/hakkuí/hakkunni/hakkonni/hakkonné
 those.M.GEN/that.M.GEN/that.M.GEN/that.M.GEN/that.M.GEN/that.M.GEN

k'aakk'ull-í anná af-oo-mm-o.
 babies-GEN.MOD.M father(ACC) come.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) know the father of those babies.'

- (3.241) hakkoré/hakkó/hakkoé/hakkonné k'aakk'ullé
 those.M.ACC/that.M.ACC/that.M.ACC/that.M.ACC babies(ACC)

bat'-ee-mm-o.
 like-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) love those babies.'

The masculine singular adnominal demonstratives (except *hakkonne* and *ko'onne* and their reduplicated forms) can be used adverbially to express AT, regardless of the gender and number of the subject noun, as in (3.242).⁴⁸ When used this way, they take the same forms as their accusative forms.

⁴⁸ The forms with the *-nne* ending can also be used adverbially.

- (i) ga' konne beetto-'ya hee-d-anno.
 tomorrow here child(NOM.F)-1SG.POSS live-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 'My daughter will be here tomorrow.'

- (ii) konne/tenne y-oo-mm-o.
 like.this.M/like.this.F say-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) said this way.'

(3.242)	insa 3PL.NOM	{	(a) konne/koo here (b) hakko there (c) ko'o over.there (a') konne konne/koo koo (b') hakko hakko (c') ko'o ko'o	}	no. exist.P.PRF.3
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'They are (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there.'

'They are (a') here (very close)/(b) way over there/(c) way over there.'

Adnominal demonstratives can also be used for the location of an event. The existential verb *no* in (3.242) can be replaced by *godo 'l-i-t-a-nni no* [play-EP-3SG.F/3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3] ('She is/They are playing here', etc.).

Like the AT forms of the two sets of demonstrative pronouns discussed earlier, the adnominal demonstratives for masculine nouns can be used in a relative clause with the existential verb, regardless of the gender and the number of the noun that they modify, as in (3.243)-(3.246).

- (3.243) { (a) koo/konne/koe
this.M
(b) hakko/hakkonne
that.M
(c) ko'o/ko'onne
over.there.M
(a') koo koo/konne konne/koe koe
(b') hakko hakko/hakko hakkonne
(c') ko'o ko'o/ko'o ko'onne } no
exist.P.PRF.3

saa lowo=te.
cow(NOM.F) large=NPC.F.PRED

'The cow (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there is large.'
'The cow (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there is large.'

- (3.244) { (a) koo/konne/koe
this.M
(b) hakko/hakkonne
that.M
(c) ko'o/ko'onne
over.there.M
(a') koo koo/konne konne/koe koe
(b') hakko hakko/hakko hakkonne
(c') ko'o ko'o/ko'o ko'onne } no
exist.P.PRF.3

hand-i lowo=ho.
ox-NOM.MOD.M large=NPC.M.PRED

'The ox (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there is large.'
'The ox (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there is large.'

- (3.245) { (a) koo/konne/koe
this.M
(b) hakko/hakkonne
that.M
(c) ko'o/ko'onne
over.there.M
(a') koo koo/konne konne/koe koe
(b') hakko hakko/hakko hakkonne
(c') ko'o ko'o/ko'o ko'onne }

no
exist.P.PRF.3

saada lowo=te.
cows(NOM.F) large=NPC.F.PRED

'The cows (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there are large.'
'The cows (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there are large.'

- (3.246) { (a) koo/konne/koe
this.M
(b) hakko/hakkonne
that.M
(c) ko'o/ko'onne
over.there.M
(a') koo koo/konne konne/koe koe
(b') hakko hakko/hakko hakkonne
(c') ko'o ko'o/ko'o ko'onne }

no
exist.P.PRF.3

hand-ull-i/hand-i lowo=ho.
ox-PL-NOM.MOD.M/ox-NOM.MOD.M large=NPC.M.PRED

'The oxen (a) here/(b) there/(c) over there are large.'
'The oxen (a') here (very close)/(b') way over there/(c') way over there are large.'

There is a set of pronoun forms that are the same or look almost the same as the adnominal demonstratives, presented in Table 3.12.

	NOM	GEN	ACC, PRED
(1) ‘this one’	F: tini	tee/tenne	tee/tenne
	M: kuni	koe/konni	koe/konne
(2) ‘that one’	F: hatti	hattee/hattenne	hattee/hattenne
	M: hakkui/hakku	hakkui/hakkoe/ hakkonni	hakkoe/hakkonne
(3) ‘the one	F: tiiyi	te’ee/te’enne	te’ee/te’enne
over there’	M: ku’ui/ku’u	ko’oe/ko’onni	ko’oe/ko’onne
(1’)	F: tini tini	tee tee/tenne tenne	tee tee/tenne tenne
	M: kuni kuni	koe koe/ konne konne	koe koe/ konne konne
(2’)	F: hatti hatti	hatte hattee/ hatte hattenne	hatte hattee
	M: hakku hakkui/ hakku hakku	hakko hakkoe/ hakko hakkonni	hakko hakkoe
(3’)	F: tiiyi tiiyi	te’e te’ee/ te’e te’enne	te’e te’ee/ te’e te’enne/ tiiyie tiiyie
	M: ku’u ku’ui/ ku’u ku’u	ko’o ko’oe/ ko’o ko’onni	ko’o ko’oe/ ko’o ko’onne

Table 3.12: Demonstrative Pronouns Derived from Adnominal Demonstratives⁴⁹

Nominative examples are shown in (3.247)-(3.248), genitive examples in (3.249)-(3.250), and accusative and predicative examples in (3.251)-(3.254).

⁴⁹ The nominative masculine pronoun *hakkii* ‘that place’ can be used instead of *hakkui/hakku* ‘that one (NOM)’ when the referent is a place.

(i) hakkii/hakku dangur-ĩ mine=ti.
 that.place.M.NOM/that.one.M.NOM Dangura-GEN.PROP.M house=NP.PRED.MOD
 ‘That one is Damboowa’s house.’

- (3.247) { (a) hatti
that.one.F.NOM } damboow-í
{ (b) tiiyi-tiiyi
the.one.way.over.there.F.NOM } Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M

ama=ti.
mother=NPC.PRED.MOD

- (a) ‘That (F) is Damboowa’s mother.’
(b) ‘The one (F) way over there is Damboowa’s mother.’

- (3.248) { (a) kuni
this.one.M.NOM } damboow-í
{ (b) hakku/hakkui
that.one.M.NOM } Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M

anna=ti.
father=NPC.PRED.MOD

- (a) ‘This one (M) is Damboowa’s father.’
(b) ‘That one (M) is Damboowa’s father.’

- (3.249) hatté su'má af-oo-mm-o.
this.one.F.GEN name(ACC) know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
‘I (M) know the name of that one (F).’

- (3.250) konní su'má af-oo-mm-o.
this.one.M.GEN name(ACC) know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
‘I (M) know the name of this one (M).’

- (3.251) ani { (a) tenné
1SG.NOM this.one(F).ACC } bat'-ee-mm-a.
 { (b) hatteé
 that.one.F.ACC } like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
 { (c) te'eé
 the.one.over.there.F.ACC }

- (a) ‘I (F) like this one (F).’
(b) ‘I (F) like that one (F).’
(c) ‘I (F) like the one over there (F).’

(3.252)	ani 1SG.NOM	{	(a) hakkoé that.one.M.ACC (b) ko'óé the.one.over.ther.M.ACC (c) ko'o-ko'o-nné the.one.way.over.ther.M.ACC	}	bat'-ee-mm-a. like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
---------	----------------	---	--	---	-------------------------------------

- (a) 'I (F) like that one (M).'
- (b) 'I (F) like the one (M) over there.'
- (c) 'I (F) like the one (M) way over there.'

(3.253)	bule Bule(NOM.F)	{	hatte=ti. that.one.F=NPC.PRED.PRON hattenne=ti. that.one.F=NPC.PRED.PRON	}
---------	---------------------	---	---	---

'Bule is that one (F).'

(3.254)	laše Lashe(NOM)	{	ko'oe=ti. the.one.over.there.M=NPC.PRED.PRON ko'onne=ti. the.one.over.there.M=NPC.PRED.PRON	}
---------	--------------------	---	--	---

'Lashe is the one over there (M).'

Similarly, a subset of the plural adnominal demonstratives can also be used as demonstrative pronouns, as shown in Table 3.13. These forms are mostly masculine, but can be used even when they can be replaced by an NP referring to the same referent whose head is feminine. For example, in (3.255)-(3.257), the referent of the demonstrative pronouns may also be expressed by an NP whose head is the feminine noun *ooso* 'children' (e.g., *tenne/te ooso* or *kore ooso* 'these children' in place of *kore* in (3.256)).

	NOM	GEN	ACC, PRED
(1) ‘these (ones)’	kuri	kuri/koori/kuwi	kore
(2) ‘those (ones)’	hakkuri	hakkuri/hakkore	hakkore
(3) ‘(the ones) over there’	ku’uri	ku’uri	ko’ore
(1’)	kuri kuri	kuri kuri/ koori koori/ kuwi kuwi	kore-kore
(2’)	hakku hakkuri	hakku hakkuri	hakkore-hakkore/ hakko-hakkore
(3’)	ku’uku’uri	ku’uku’uri	ko’o-ko’ore

Table 3.13: Demonstrative Pronouns (Plural)

- (3.255) kuri bat’-i-s-ø-anno-’e.
 these.ones.NOM like-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-1SG
 ‘I like these ones.’ (*lit.*, ‘These ones make me like them.’) (*kuni ri*
bat’-is-ø-anno-’e.)
- (3.256) ani koré bat’-ee-mm-a.
 1SG.NOM these.ones.ACC like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
 ‘I (F) like these ones.’ (*ani konne re bat’-ee-mm-a.*)

(3.257)	{	(a) kur-í-ra these.ones-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON (b) hakkor-í-ra those.ones-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON (c) ku'ur-í-ra ones.over.there-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON (a') kurí kur-í-ra/ko'orí ko'or-í-ra (b') hatte-hatte-e-ra/hatte-hatte-nne-ra/hakku hakkur-i-ra (c') ku'ú ku'ur-í-ra	}
ise			
3SG.F.NOM			

wot'é u-i-t-u.
 money(ACC) give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She gave money to (a) these ones/(b) those ones/(c) the ones over there.’
 ‘She gave money to (a’) these ones (very close)/(b’) the ones way over there/(c’) the ones way over there.’

There is another set of adnominal demonstratives that mean ‘of this geographical area’ and ‘of that geographical area’. The former makes a gender distinction, but the latter does not. Unlike the other series of adnominal demonstratives, these make only a two-way distinction, and do not have distinct case forms.

‘of this area’	F:	tewi/tewiidi
	M:	kowi/kowiidi
‘of that area’		kawi/kawiidi

Table 3.14: Adnominal Demonstratives for ‘of this/that area’

Examples of the use of these adnominal demonstratives are shown in (3.258)-(3.263). They have the same form regardless of the case of their head noun, which is in the nominative in (3.258) and (3.259), genitive in (3.260) and (3.261), and accusative in (3.262) and (3.263).

- (3.258) { (a) kowi/kowiidi
of.this.area(M) } k'aakk'ull-i godo'le
{ (b) kawi/kawiidi
of.that.area } children-NOM.MOD.M playing(ACC)

di=bat'-ø-anno.
NEG=like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

- (a) 'The children in this area do not like to play.'
(b) 'The children in that area do not like to play.'

- (3.259) { (a) tewi/tewiidi
of.this.area(F) } ooso godo'le
{ (b) kawi/kawiidi
of.that.area } babies(NOM.F) playing(ACC)

di=bat-t'-anno.
NEG=like-3PL-IMPRF.3

- (a) 'The babies in this area do not like to play.'
(b) 'The babies in that area do not like to play.'

- (3.260) ise { (a) kowí/kowiidí moičč-í
3SG.F.NOM of.this.area(M) beast-GEN.MOD.M }
{ (b) kawí/kawiidí moičč-í
of.that.area beast-GEN.MOD.M }

su'ma af-f-ino.
name(ACC)know-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

- (a) 'She knows the name of the beasts in this area.'
(b) 'She knows the name of the beasts in that area.'

- (3.261) { (a) tewí/tewiidí }
of.this.area(F) } oosó-ra
(b) kawí/kawiidí } children(GEN.F)-DAT.PRON
of.that.area }

wot'é u-i-t-u.
money(ACC) give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'She gave money to the small children in this area.'
(b) 'She gave money to the small children in that area.'

- (3.262) { (a) kowí/kowiidí }
of.this.area(M) } k'aakk'ullé
(b) kawí/kawiidí } children(ACC)
of.that.area }

bat'-ee-mm-o.
comee.to.love-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

- (a) 'I (M) love the children in this area.'
(b) 'I (M) love the children in that area.'

- (3.263) { (a) tewí/tewiidí }
of.this.area(F) } oosó bat'-ee-mm-o.
(b) kawí/kawiidí } babies(ACC) comee.to.love-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
of.that.area }

- (a) 'I (M) love the babies in this area.'
(b) 'I (M) love the babies in that area.'

3.2.1.6 Demonstrative Adverbs

Sidaama has demonstrative adverbs for distinguishing two types of deictic manners: *togo* ‘in this manner’ and *hatto* ‘in that manner’.⁵⁰

- (3.264)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| horonka
never | { | (a) togo
in.this.manner
(b) hatto
in.that.manner | } | hagid-ø-e
become.happy-3SG.M-CNN |
|------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------------------|

di=egenn-oo-mm-o.
NEG=know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

- (a) ‘I (M) have never felt happy like this.’
(b) ‘I (M) have never felt happy like that before.’

They may be repeated two or three times, especially when the utterance is accompanied by gesture.

- (3.265)
- | | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| hatto
in.that.manner
‘He beat me like that.’ | hatto
in.that.manner | gan-ø-i-’e.
hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-1SG |
|--|-------------------------|--|

⁵⁰ The final vowel of *togo/hatto* can be lengthened to form attributive adjectives, *togoo* ‘... like this’/*hattoo* ‘... like that’.

- (i)
- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------|---|
| { | (a) togoo
like.this
(b) hattoo
like.that | } | re
things(ACC) | horonka alb-í-ra
never front-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD |
|---|---|---|-------------------|---|

kul-tooti-’e.
tell-NEG.IMP-1SG

- (a) ‘Never tell me things like this from now on.’
(b) ‘Never tell me things like that from now on.’

3.2.1.7 Interrogative Words

Sidaama interrogative words can be pronouns, adnominals, or adverbs. The interrogative pronouns and the adnominal interrogatives inflect for case, as shown in Table 3.15. Only the adnominal interrogative for ‘which’ makes a gender distinction. As described below, the interrogative pronouns (*ae* ‘who’, *ma/mariččo* ‘what’) and one of the interrogative adverbs (*hiikko/mama* ‘where’) can constitute complex forms with suffixes, clitics, and nouns.⁵¹

⁵¹ As discussed shortly, ‘why’ and ‘how (degree)’, which are monomorphemic in English, are expressed in complex ways in Sidaama: *ma-î-ra/maričč-î-ra* [what-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON] and *ma geešša* [what degree], respectively.

	NOM	GEN	ACC, OBL, PRED
(a) ‘who’ (pronoun)	ai/aa	ae	ae
(b) ‘what’ (pronoun)	mai/maričči	mai/maričči	ma/mariččo
	NOM	GEN	ACC, OBL, PRED
(c) ‘which’ (adnominal)	NN.F: hiitti/hiitte/ hiittenne	hiitte/ hiittenne	hiitte/hiittee/ hiittenne
	NN.M: hiikku/hiikko/hiikkui/ hiikkonni	hiikko/ hiikkonni	hiikko/hiikkoe/ hiikkonne
	PL: hiikkuri	hiikkuri	hiikkore
(d) ‘how many’ (adnominal)	me’u	me’u	me’e/me’u
(e) ‘what kind of’ (adnominal)	hiittoo	hiittoo	hiittoo
(f) ‘how’ (adverb)	hiittoo		
(g) ‘where’ (adverb)	hiikko/mama		
(h) ‘when’ (adverb)	mamoote/mamaro		

Table 3.15: Interrogative Words⁵²

(a) ‘who’ (NOM: *ai* (short form: *aa*), GEN, ACC: *ae*)

The interrogative pronoun for ‘who’ inflects for case. Its nominative form is *ai* or *aa*, as in (3.266), and it is *ae* elsewhere, as in (3.267)-(3.270) (genitive in (3.267) and (3.268), accusative in (3.269), predicate in (3.270)).

(3.266)	bulé	ai	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) gan-t-u ?} \\ \text{hit-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F} \\ \text{(b) gan-}\emptyset\text{-i ?} \\ \text{hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M} \end{array} \right\}$
	Bule(ACC)	who.NOM	
	(a)	‘Who (F) hit Bule?’	
	(b)	‘Who (M) hit Bule?’	

⁵² *Hiikko* ‘which’ (SG.M) and *hiikko* ‘where’ are homonymous, as are *hiittoo* ‘what kind of’ and *hiitto* ‘how’.

- (3.267) bule aé min-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) who.GEN house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

 ha-d-u ?
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Whose house did Bule go to?’
- (3.268) tini sagale ae=ti ?
 this.F.NOM sagale(NOM.F) who=NPC.PRED.PRON
 ‘Whose is this food?’ (*lit.*, ‘This food is whose?’)
- (3.269) lat’o aé gan-t-u ?
 Lat’o(NOM.F) who.ACC hit-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Who did Lat’o hit?’
- (3.270) hakku manč-i ae=ti ?
 that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M who=NPC.PRED.PRON
 ‘Who is that man?’ (*lit.*, ‘That man is who?’)

As shown in (3.267) and (3.268), the genitive form of this pronoun is *ae*. Its genitive inflection is in this form even when the modified noun is in the nominative case, as in (3.271), in the accusative case, as in (3.272), or in the predicate position, as in (3.273).

- (3.271) aé rod-i bulé
 who.GEN sibling-NOM.MOD.M Bule(ACC)

 gan-ø-i ?
 hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Whose brother hit Bule?’
- (3.272) aé girbaabbé ač-ø-e ha’r-o ?
 who.GEN bamboo.umbrella(ACC) take-3SG.M-CNN go-LT.1
 ‘Whose bamboo umbrella should I take and go?’

- (3.273) hakku aé mine=ti ?
 that.M.NOM who.GEN house=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘Whose house is that?’ (*lit.*, ‘That is whose house?’)

The genitive form of the interrogative pronoun for ‘who’, *ae*, can be followed by a suffix, clitic, or noun to compose various complex forms.

- *ae-ra* [who.GEN-DAT.PRON] ‘for whom (beneficiary), to whom (recipient)’

- (3.274) laše aé-ra (y-ø-e)
 Lashe(NOM) who.GEN-DAT.PRON (say-3SG.M-CNN)
- uddanó haišš-ø-i ?
 clothes(ACC) wash-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘For whom did Lashe wash the clothes?’

- (3.275) bule aé-ra hinč’ilalló
 Bule(NOM.F) who.GEN-DAT.PRON mirror(ACC)
- u-i-t-u ?
 give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘To whom did Bule give the mirror?’

- *ae=wa* [who.GEN=place] ‘to whom (goal)’

- (3.276) aé=wa ha’r-o ?
 who.GEN=place go-LT.1
 ‘To whom should I go?’

- *ae ledo* [who.GEN COM] ‘with whom’

- (3.277) dikko aé ledo ha’r-i-tt-a ?
 market who.GEN COM go-S.PRF.2-2SG-F
 ‘With whom did you (SG.F) go to the market?’

- *ae-nni* [who.GEN-INST]/*ae=wi-nni* [who.GEN=place.GEN-INST] ‘with whom’

(3.278) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aé-nni} \\ \text{who.GEN-INST} \\ \text{ae=wi-nni} \\ \text{who.GEN=place.GEN-INST} \\ \text{aé} \quad \text{ledo/ledo-nni} \\ \text{who.GEN} \quad \text{COM/COM-INST} \end{array} \right\}$

damboow-i giw-am-ø-i ?
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M hate-RCP-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘With whom did Damboowa fight?’

- *ae-nni* [who.GEN-ABL]/*ae=wi-nni* [who.GEN=place.GEN-ABL] ‘from whom’

(3.279) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aé-nni} \\ \text{who.GEN-ABL} \\ \text{ae=wi-nni} \\ \text{who.GEN=place.GEN-ABL} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{seejǎ} \quad \text{t’a’m-o ?} \\ \text{advice(ACC)} \quad \text{ask-LT.1} \end{array}$

‘From whom should I ask advice?’

- *ae-nni* [who.GEN-ABL] ‘than whom’

(3.280) $\begin{array}{l} \text{bule} \quad \text{aé-nni} \quad \text{seeda=te ?} \\ \text{Bule(NOM.F)} \quad \text{who.GEN-ABL} \quad \text{tall=NPC.F.PRED} \\ \text{‘Who is Bule taller than?’} \end{array}$

- *ae-daaḥira* [who.GEN-because] ‘because of whom’⁵³

(3.281) $\begin{array}{l} \text{aé-daaḥira} \quad (\text{y-i-t-e}) \quad \text{da-i-tt-o ?} \\ \text{who.GEN-because} \quad (\text{say-EP-2SG-GEN}) \quad \text{come-S.PRF.2-2SG-M} \\ \text{‘Because of whom did you (SG.M) come?’} \end{array}$

⁵³ The suffix *-hura* is interchangeable with *-daaḥira* in many cases (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8), but cannot be used with *ae* (**ae-hura*).

(b) ‘what’ (NOM, GEN: *ma-i/maričč-i*, ACC: *ma/mariččo*)

The interrogative pronoun for ‘what’ also inflects for case. It has the form *mai/maričči* for the nominative, as in (3.282), and for the genitive, as in (3.283)-(3.286).

- (3.282) *ma-i/maričč-i* *hinč’ ilalló* *hiikk’-ø-i ?*
 what-NOM.PRON.M mirror(ACC) break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘What broke the mirror?’
- (3.283) *ise* *ma-í/maričč-í* *maalá*
 3SG.F.NOM what-GEN.PRON.M meat(ACC)
- bat-t’-anno ?*
 like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘What animal’s meat does she like?’ (*lit.*, ‘The meat of what does she like?’)
- (3.284) *ma-í/maričč-í* *maal-i*
 what-GEN.PRON.M meat-NOM.MOD.M
- bat’-i-s-anno-se ?*
 like-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-3SG.F
- ‘What animal’s meat does she like?’ (*lit.*, ‘The meat of what makes her like it?’)
- (3.285) *kuni* *ma-í/maričč-í* *maala=ti ?*
 this.M.NOM what.GEN.PRON.M meat=NP.PRED.MOD
 ‘What animal’s meat is this?’ (*lit.*, ‘This is the meat of what?’)
- (3.286) *kuni* *maal-i* *ma-i=ho/maričč-i=ho ?*
 this.M.NOM meat-NOM.MOD.M what.GEN=NP.M.PRED
 ‘What animal’s is this meat?’ (*lit.*, ‘This meat is of what?’)

It takes a different form, *ma/mariččo*, when it is in the accusative, as in (3.287), oblique, as in (3.288), or a predicate, as in (3.289).

- (3.287) laše má/mariččo haišš-ø-i ?
 Lashe(NOM) what(ACC) wash-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘What did Lashe wash?’
- (3.288) má/mariččo daafur-t-ino ?
 what(OBL) get.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘With respect to what (body part) is she tired?’
- (3.289) kuni maa=ti/mariččo=ti/maa=ho/mariččo=ho ?
 this.M.NOM wha=NPC.PRED.PRON/what=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘What is this?’ (*lit.*, ‘This is what?’)

Like the interrogative pronoun for ‘who’, *ma* and *mariččo* can make up complex forms with a suffix, clitic, or noun, as shown below. The two forms *ma* and *mariččo* are interchangeable with each other in many cases, but there are some phrases that require *ma* and disallow *mariččo* (e.g., *ma yanna*/**mariččo yanna* ‘what time’, *ma geešša*/**mariččo geešša* ‘to what extent (*lit.*, what degree)’).

- *ma-î-ra/maričč-î-ra* [what-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON] ‘why, for what’

- (3.290) ma-î-ra/maričč-î-ra (y-i-t-e)
 what-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON (say-EP-2SG-CNN)
- da-i-tt-o ?
 come-S.PRF.2-2SG-M
- ‘Why did you (SG.M) come?’

- *ma-i-daaſira/maričč-i-daaſira* [what-GEN.PRON.M-because] ‘why, because of what’,⁵⁴

(3.291) *ma-í-daaſira/maričč-í-daaſira* (y-i-t-e) *wot’é*
 what-GEN.PRON.M-because (say-EP-2SG-CNN) money(ACC)

fušši’r-i-tt-a ?
 spend-S.PRF.2-2SG-F

‘Why did you (SG.F) spend the money?’

- *ma-i-nni/maričč-i-nni* [what-GEN.PRON.M-INST] ‘with what, using what’

(3.292) *dangur-i* *hatté* *hakk’iččó*
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M that.F.ACC tree(ACC)

ma-í-nni/maričč-í-nni *mur-ø-i ?*
 what-GEN.PRON.M-INST cut-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘With what did Dangura cut that tree?’

- *ma-i=wa/maričč-i=wa* [what-GEN.PRON.M=place] ‘to what’ (goal)

(3.293) *ma-í=wa/maričč-í=wa* *mar-ø-ino ?*
 what-GEN.PRON.M=place go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘To what (object) did he go?’

- *ma yanna* [what time] ‘what time’

(3.294) *ma yanna ise* *dag-gu ?*
 what time 3SG.F.NOM come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘What time did she come?’

⁵⁴ The suffix *-hura*, which is interchangeable with *-daaſira* in many cases (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8), can be used with neither *ma* nor *mariččo*: **ma-í-hura/*maričč-í-hura*.

• *ma geešša* [what degree] ‘what degree, how (much)’

- (3.295) *ma geešš-í waá oo-he ?*
 what degree-GEN.MOD.M water(ACC) give.LT.1-2SG
 ‘How much water should I give you?’
- (3.296) *maa geešša airr-ø-anno ?*
 what degree become.heavy-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘How much does he weigh?’
- (3.297) *rod-i-kki maa geešša seeda=ho ?*
 sibling-NOM.MOD.M-2SG.POSS what degree tall=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘How tall is your brother?’

Ma ‘what’ can be used in exclamations, whereas *mariččo* cannot.

- (3.298) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{ma} \\ \textit{what} \\ \textit{*mariččo} \\ \textit{what} \end{array} \right\} \textit{danča sagalee=ti !}$
 good food=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘What a good food it is!’

(c) ‘which’ (NOM: *hiitti/hiitte/hiittenne* (F)/*hiikku/hiikko/hiikkonni* (M)/*hiikkuri* (PL),
 GEN: *hiitte/hiittenne* (F)/*hiikkui/hiikko/hiikkonni* (M)/*hiikkuri* (PL), ACC, PRED, OBL:
hiitte/hiitte/hiittenne (F)/*hiikko/hiikkoe/hiikkonne* (M)/*hiikkore* (PL))

Unlike the interrogatives for ‘who’ and ‘what’, the adnominal interrogative for ‘which’ is used when the conversation participants have the same set of particular choices in mind. Depending on the case and gender of the noun that it modifies, this adnominal interrogative can take different forms, as shown in Table 3.15. It is *hiitti/hiitte/hiittenne* (F)/*hiikku/hiikko/hiikkonni* (M) when the noun that it modifies is in the nominative case,

- (3.303) damboow-i hiitté/hiitteé/hiittenné
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M which.F.ACC

 mančó ad-ø-i ?
 person(ACC) take-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Which woman did Damboowa marry?’
- (3.304) sirb-ø-a-nni no=hu
 sing-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=NP.M.NOM

 hiikko/hiikkonne/hiikkoe mančo=ti ?
 which.M person=NP.PRED.MOD
 ‘Which man is singing?’ (*lit.*, ‘The one (M) who is singing is which man?’)
- (3.305) hiitte/hiittenne doogo ha’r-o ?
 which.F way go-LT.1
 ‘Which way should I go?’

In an NP where the adnominal interrogative for ‘which’ modifies a plural noun, the adnominal interrogative can still take one of the above non-plural forms according to the gender and case of the plural noun. Alternatively, it can also take plural forms (NOM: *hiikkuri*, GEN: *hiikkuri*, ACC, PRED, OBL: *hiikkore*). Examples are shown in (3.306)-(3.308).

- (3.306) hiikku/hiikko/hiikkonni/hiikkuri
 which.M.NOM/which.M.NOM/which.M.NOM/which.PL.NOM

 mann-i da-ø-i ?
 people-NOM.MOD.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Which people came?’

(3.307) hiikkó/hiikkonní/hiikuí/hiikkurí
 which.M.GEN/which.M.GEN/which.M.GEN/which.PL.GEN

mann-í ooso
 people-GEN.M children(NOM.F)

sirb-i-t-a-nni no ?
 sing-EP-3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘Which people’s children are singing?’

(3.308) hiikkó/hiikkoé/hiikkonné/hiikkoré
 which.M.ACC/which.M.ACC/which.M.ACC/which.PL.ACC

manná bule la’-’-u ?
 people(ACC) Bule(NOM.F) see-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Which people did Bule see?’

This interrogative word can be used as a pronoun. When used this way, it has forms shown in Table 3.16, which overlap to some extent with the ones in Table 3.15. Note that there is no genitive pronoun form for a non-plural feminine referent (instead, an NP that uses the adnominal interrogative for ‘which’ is used, as in (3.301b)).

	NOM	GEN	ACC, PRED
non-PL.F:	hiitti	————	hiitte/hiittee/hiittenne
non-PL.M:	hiikku	hiikkui/hikkonni	hiikko/hiikkoe/hiikkonne
PL:	hiikkui’ri/hiikkuri	hiikkuri/hiikkui	ACC: hiikkore PRED: hiikkoere/hiikkore/ hiikkui’re

Table 3.16: Pronouns for ‘which’

Examples are shown in (3.309)-(3.312).

- (3.309) { (a) hiikku
which-NOM.M } da-ø-i ?
{ (b) hiikkui'ri
which.one.PL.NOM } come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'Which one (M) came?'
(b) 'Which ones came?'

- (3.310) { (a) hiikkuí
which.one.M.GEN } beett-i
{ (b) hiikkurí
which.ones.GEN } child-NOM.MOD.M

sirb-ø-a-nni no ?
sing-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

- (a) 'Which one's (M) son is singing?'
(b) 'Which ones' son is singing?'

- (3.311) { (a) hiitté/hiitteé/hiittenné
which.one.F.ACC } la'-i-tt-o ?
{ (b) hiikkó/hiikkoé/hiikkonné
which.one.M.ACC } see-S.PRF.2-2SG-M
{ (c) hiikkoré
which.one.PL.ACC }

- (a) 'Which one (F) did you (SG.M) see?'
(b) 'Which one (M) did you (SG.M) see?'
(c) 'Which ones did you (SG.M) see?'

- (3.312) sirb-i-t-a-nni no=ri
sing-EP-3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.NOM

{ hiikkoere=ti ?
which.one.PL.PRED=NPC.PRED.PRON }
{ hiikkore=ti ?
which.one.PL.PRED=NPC.PRED.PRON }
{ hiikkoe=ti ?
which.one.M.PRED=NPC.PRED.PRON }

'Which people are singing?'

(d) ‘how many’ (NOM: *me’u*, GEN, PRED: *me’u* or *me’e*, ACC: *me’e*)

The adnominal interrogative for ‘how many’ modifies countable nouns.⁵⁶ It agrees in case with the modified noun. Its nominative form is *me’u*, as in (3.313), and its genitive/predicative form is either *me’u* or *me’e*, as in (3.314)-(3.316), and its accusative form is *me’e*, as in (3.317).

(3.313) *me’u* *mann-i*
 how.many.NOM.M people-NOM.MOD.M

da-ø-i ?
 come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘How many people came?’

(3.314) *me’ú/me’é* *mann-í* *ooso*
 how.many.GEN people-GEN.MOD.M children(NOM.F)

dag-g-u ?
 come-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

‘How many people’s children came?’

(3.315) *me’ú/me’é* *mann-í* *oosó*
 how.many.GEN people-GEN.MOD.M children(ACC)

la’-i-tt-a ?
 see-S.PRF.2-2SG-F

‘How many people’s children did you (SG.F) see?’

⁵⁶ This interrogative word cannot be used for uncountable nouns. When the quantity of the referent of an uncountable noun is asked about in interrogative clauses, *ma geešša* [what degree] ‘what degree, how (much)’, which has already been discussed, is used.

(i) *ma* *geešš-í* *adó* *ag-i-tt-o ?*
 what degree-GEN.MOD.M milk(ACC) drink-S.PRF.2SG.M
 ‘How much milk did you (M) drink?’

- (3.316) da- \emptyset -ino=ri me'u/me'e
 come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.NOM how.many
- manna=ti ?
 people=NPC.PRED.MOD
- ‘How many people came?’ (*lit.*, ‘The ones who came are how many people?’)

- (3.317) me'é saanté oo-he ?
 how.many.ACC coin(ACC) give.LT.1-2SG
 ‘How many coins should I give you?’

This adnominal interrogative can be combined with *geešša* ‘degree’ to be used to ask about the frequency of an action.

- (3.318) dikko me'e geešša ha'r-a-tt-a ?
 market how.many degree go-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-F
 ‘How often do you (SG.F) go to the market?’

(e) ‘what kind/type of’ (adnominal) *hiittoo*

This interrogative word is used as an adnominal that expresses ‘what kind/type of’. This form is invariable regardless of the case and the gender of the noun that it modifies. In (3.319)-(3.321), the noun modified by *hiittoo* is in the nominative in (3.319), the genitive in (3.320), and the accusative in (3.321).

- (3.319) hiittoo mann-i seeda heeššo hee'r- \emptyset -anno ?
 what.kind.of people-NOM.MOD.M long life live-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘What kind of people live long?’

- (3.320) hiittoó mančó ooso
 what.type.of person(GEN.F) children(NOM.F)

busule=te ?
 smart=NP.C.RPED.F

‘What type of woman’s children are smart?’

- (3.321) hiittoó sagalé bat’-a-tt-o ?
 what.kind.of food(ACC) like-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
 ‘What kind of food do you (SG.M) like?’

(f) ‘how’ (adverb) *hiittoo*

When the speaker asks about the way that someone does something, the interrogative adverb *hiittoo* is followed by the connective form of *ass-* ‘to do’ or *ikk-* ‘to become’. The construction with *hiittoo ass-*PERS-CNN may also be used to criticize the action of the referent of the subject NP. When the speaker asks with surprise about how someone manages or affords to do something, it is followed by the connective form of *y-* ‘to say’. Thus, in these uses, *hiitto* has to be followed by the connective form of one of the above verbs.

- | | | | | |
|---------|---|--|---|----------------------------|
| (3.322) | { | (a) <i>ass-i-t-e</i>
do-EP-2SG-CNN
(b) <i>ikk-i-t-e</i>
become-EP-2SG-CNN
(c) <i>y-i-t-e</i>
say-EP-2SG-CNN | } | <i>sagalé</i>
food(ACC) |
|---------|---|--|---|----------------------------|

k’itt’eess-i-tt-a ?
 prepare-S.PRF.2-2SG-F

- (a)(b) ‘How did you (SG.F) cook the food?’
 (c) ‘How did you (SG.F) manage/afford to cook the food?’

Unlike *hiittoo* and *How come*, and like *why* in English, *ma-i-ra/maričč-i-ra* [what-GEN.PRON.M-DAT.PRON] ‘why, for what’, which has been mentioned in the discussion of the interrogative word for ‘what’, is neutral as to the speaker’s attitude toward the event.

(g) ‘where’ *hiikko/mama*

There are two pairs of forms for ‘where’, *hiikko* (also, *hiikkiččo*) and *mama* (also, *mamiiččo*).

(3.327) damboow-i hiikko/hiikkiččo/mama/mamiiččo
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M where

no ?
 exist.P.PRF.3

‘Where is Damboowa?’

(3.328) damboow-i hiikko/hiikkiččo/mama/mamiiččo
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M where

loos-ø-a-nni no ?
 work-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘Where is Damboowa working?’

(3.329) hiikko/hiikkiččo/mama/mamiiččo
 where

se-ø-anno-si ?
 become.convenient-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-3SG.M

‘Where will be convenient to him?’ (*lit.*, ‘Where will <IMPERS.3SG.M> be convenient to him?’)

These interrogative words, *hiikko* and *mama*, are basically adverbs, but they can behave as masculine nominals when their genitive forms (*hiikk-i* and *mam-i*) are followed by the suffixes *-ra* ‘to’ and *-nni* ‘from’ to constitute complex forms: *hiikk-i-ra/mam-i-ra* and *hiikk-i-nni/mam-i-nni* (Note that the genitive suffix *-i* is used for masculine common nouns with a dependent or the possessive pronominal suffix, masculine proper nouns ending in *a*, or demonstrative pronouns).

- *hiikk-i-ra/mam-i-ra* [where-GEN.PRON.M-ALL] (also, *hiikka-a/mama-a*, *hiikkičč-i-ra/mamiičč-i-ra*) ‘to where’

(3.330)	{	hiikk-î-ra
		where-GEN.PRON.M-ALL
		mam-î-ra
ise		where-GEN.PRON.M-ALL
3SG.F.NOM		hiikka-a
		where-LV
		mama-a
		where-LV

mar-t-u ?
go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Where did she go?’

- *hiikk-i-nni/mam-i-nni* [where-GEN.PRON.M-ABL] (also, *hiikk-i-i/mam-i-i*, *hiikkičč-i-nni/mamiičč-i-nni*) ‘from where’

(3.331) { *hiikk-í-nni*
 where-GEN.PRON.M-ABL } *da-ø-ino ?*
 mam-í-nni
 where-GEN.PRON.M-ABL } *come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3*

‘From where did he come?’

(h) ‘when’ *mamoote/mamaro*

The interrogative forms for ‘when’, *mamoote* and *mamaro*, are interchangeable as long as they are used adverbially.

(3.332) *daafurs-i* *mamoote/mamaro* *da-ø-anno ?*
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M when *come-3SG.M-IMPRES.3*
 ‘When is Daafursa coming?’

(3.333) *daafurs-i* *mamoote*
 Daafurs-NOM.PROP.M when

da-ø-anno=ha *law-ø-anno-he ?*
 come-3SG.M-IMPRES.3=NPC.M.CMPL *appear-3SG.M-IMPRES.3-2SG*

‘When do you think Daafursa is coming?’

(3.334) *mamoote/mamaro* *seekk-ø-anno-si ?*
 when *become.convenient-3SG.M-IMPRES.3-3SG.M*
 ‘When will be convenient to him?’ (*lit.*, ‘When will <IMPERS.3SG.M>
 be convenient to him?’)

Only *mamoote* can be used as a pronoun. When it is used as a pronoun, its gender is feminine. Unlike in (3.334), where the impersonal third person masculine is subject, *mamoote* is used as the subject in (3.335).

- (3.335) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mamoote} \\ \text{when(NOM.F)} \\ \text{*mamooro} \\ \text{when(NOM.F)} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{seekk-i-t-anno-si ?} \\ \text{become.convenient-EP-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-3SG.M} \end{array}$
- ‘What time will be convenient to him?’

3.2.2 Clitics

Sidaama has clitics, one of which is a proclitic (the negative proclitic) (section 3.2.2.4) and all the others of which are enclitics (noun-phrase enclitics and conjunctive enclitics) (sections 3.2.2.1-3.2.2.3 and 3.2.2.5).

3.2.2.1 Noun-Phrase Clitic: =ta/=ha/=re

Sidaama has two types of clitics that form NPs with constituents that modify them (in other words, that might be analyzed as the heads of NPs). One type is discussed in this section, and the other type is discussed in the next section.⁵⁷

The type of noun-phrase clitic (NPC) dealt with here has the following accusative forms: =ta (F)/=ha (M)/=re (PL) (its other case forms are discussed shortly). It has three uses (i)-(iii) in Table 3.17, each of which are illustrated with the examples in (3.336)-

⁵⁷ An alternative analysis of the first type of NPC may be that it is a nominalizer that turns an open sentence into an NP and a sentence into a CP. However, when it attaches to an adjective or a non-genitive NP, it cannot form an argument NP, though it can form a predicate.

(3.338), respectively. In the case of (i), the NP of which the NP clitic is the head may be (part of) an argument NP of the main verb or part of an adjunct.

	<i>status of the NP in the main clause</i>	<i>dependent of NP clitic</i>
(i)	(part of) an argument NP or part of an adjunct	genitive NP, relative clause
(ii)	predicate	adjective, NP, genitive NP, relative clause
(iii)	clausal complement	clause

Table 3.17: Three Uses of =ta/=ha/=re

(3.336)	dangurá Dangura(ACC)	sunk'-i-t-ino=ti kiss-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM
	oso'l-i-t-ino. laugh-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	
	'The one (F) who kissed Dangura laughed.'	
(3.337)	lat'o dangurá Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)	sunk'-i-t-ino=te. kiss-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED
	'Lat'o is the one (F) who kissed Dangura.'	
(3.338)	insa lat'o dangurá 3PL.NOM Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)	sunk'-i-t-ino=ta kul-t-ino-'e. kiss-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.ACC tell-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-1SG
	'They told me that Lat'o kissed Dangura.'	

This clitic changes its forms, as shown in Table 3.18, depending on the gender and number of the referent of the NP headed by the clitic, and inflects for case. The plural forms used for (i) can be used regardless of the gender of its referents, but behave as a masculine nominal. They are identical with the forms of the plural common noun for

‘things’, *re* (SG: *riččo* ‘thing’), and serve as the noun-phrase clitic only when the referent of the NP headed by them is animate.⁵⁸ Note that, as shown in (ii) in Table 3.18, there is

⁵⁸ The common noun for ‘a person’, *mančo* and that for ‘people’, *manna*, are distinct in form from any of the forms of this noun-phrase clitic.

There are several reasons to say that *=re* is a noun-phrase clitic when the NP is animate, and the morpheme of the same form (*re*) is the common noun for ‘things’ when the NP is inanimate. First, only when the NP headed by it refers to an inanimate entity can it be modified by adnominals other than genitive NPs and relative clauses (specifically, adjectives including numerals and adnominal demonstratives). Second, like *=ta* (F)/*=ha* (M), *=re* can be used for an animate referent only when its referent is already known to the conversation participants; on the other hand, if its referent is inanimate, it is free from such a restriction. Third, *re*, whose referent is inanimate, is number-neutral, and can refer to singular as well as plural inanimate entities, whereas NPs headed by *=re* have to refer to plural animate entities.

However, there is one case where *re* can refer to animate entities. This transpires when followed by one of the predicate forms of the noun-phrase clitic *=ti* in the predicate position, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) *lat'o=nna* *bule* *dangurá* *sunk'-i-t-ino*
 Lat'o(NOM.F)=and Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) kiss-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

re=ti.
ones=NPC.PRED

‘Lat'o and Bule are the people who kissed Dangura.’

- (ii) *sirb-i-t-a-nni* *no=ri* *hakko re=ti.*
 sing-EP-3SG.F-INF-INST exist.3.P.PRF=NPC.PL.NOM that.M ones=NPC.PRED
 ‘The ones who are singing are those ones.’

Note that those NPs headed by *=ta/=ha* cannot be used this way, as in (iii) and (iv).

- (iii) *tini* *sagale-'ya=ti.* *hatti*
 this.F.NOM food-1SG.POSS=NPC.PRED.MOD that.F.NOM

 { *ate=te.*
 2SG.GEN=NPC.F.PRED
 **ate=ta=ti.*
 2SG.GEN=NPC.F=NPC.PRED.PRON }

‘This is my food. That is yours.’

no plural form of the noun-phrase clitic to be used in the predicate; plural NPs are either feminine or masculine, and show agreement in gender with the non-plural forms of the noun-phrase clitic.⁵⁹ There is no plural form of this clitic to be used as a complementizer, either; as discussed later, there is actually neither a number nor a gender distinction made for (iii), and =*ta* is used in most cases. In Table 3.18, there are two forms listed as non-plural, that is the feminine forms in (ii), =*ti* and =*te*; only =*te* contrasts solely in gender with the masculine form =*ho*, and =*ti* is has differences from =*te* and =*ho*, which are discussed shortly.

(iv)	hakku that.M.NOM	farašš-i horse-NOM.MOD.M	dangur-i Dangura-NOM.PROP.M			
	<table style="border: none; margin: auto;"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">{</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;"> usur-∅-ino=ho. fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED *usur-∅-ino=ha=ti. fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC=NPC.PRED.PRON </td> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> </table>			{	usur-∅-ino=ho. fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED *usur-∅-ino=ha=ti. fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC=NPC.PRED.PRON	}
{	usur-∅-ino=ho. fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED *usur-∅-ino=ha=ti. fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC=NPC.PRED.PRON	}				

‘That horse is the one that Dangura fastened.’

As indicated above, in cases like these, the genitive NP and the clause have to be followed by the predicative noun-phrase clitic (=te (F)/=ho (M)).

⁵⁹ A pair of examples are shown in (i) and (ii).

(i)	kuni this.M.NOM	mann-i people-NOM.MOD.M	seeda=ho. tall=NPC.M.PRED
	‘These people are tall.’		
(ii)	tini this.F.NOM	ooso children(NOM.F)	seeda=te. tall=NPC.M.PRED
	‘These children are tall.’		

		non-PL		PL
		F	M	
(i)	ACC	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ha</i>	= <i>re</i> (animate)
	NOM	= <i>ti</i>	= <i>hu</i>	= <i>ri</i> (animate)
	GEN	= <i>te</i>	= <i>hu</i>	= <i>ri</i> (animate)
(ii)	PRED	= <i>te</i>	= <i>ho</i>	—
		= <i>ti</i>		
(iii)	CMPL	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ha</i>	—

Table 3.18: Noun-Phrase Clitic =*ta*/=*ha*/=*re*⁶⁰

(i) =*ta*/=*ha*/=*re* as the head of an NP that is (part of) an argument NP of the main verb or part of an adjunct

As mentioned earlier, in usage (i), these forms are bound to either a genitive NP or a relative clause.⁶¹ When modified by a genitive NP, the use of this clitic for a human

⁶⁰ My consultant finds all these forms to be variants of the same morpheme, but to be different from the dative case suffix and the locative case suffix, though they both have the same pair of forms as the predicative forms of the noun-phrase clitic (F: =*te*, M: =*ho*).

⁶¹ Although the English pronoun *one* is used in the gloss for this noun-phrase clitic, unlike *one*, it cannot be modified by any other type of constituent such as an adjective or an adnominal demonstrative, as shown in (i) and (ii).

(i) *seed-u=hu dangur-í anna=ti.
tall-NOM.M=NPC.M.NOM Dangura-GEN.PROP.M father=NPC.PRED.MOD
to mean, ‘The tall man is Dangura’s father.’

(ii) { (a) *konne=ha
 this.M=NPC.M.ACC } bat’-ee-mm-a.
 (b) *tenne=ta like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F
 this.F=NPC.F.ACC }

(a) *to mean*, ‘I (F) like this man.’
(b) *to mean*, ‘I (F) like this woman.’

For such cases, common nouns are used instead, as in (iii) and (iv).

(iii) seed-u manč-i dangur-í anna=ti.
tall-NOM.M person-NOM.MOD.M Dangura-GEN.PROP.M father=NPC.PRED.MOD
‘The tall man is Dangura’s father.’

referent is much less preferable than that of a full noun. In the next three examples, =*ta*/=*ha*/=*re* are attached to a genitive NP. In (3.339), =*ta* is modified by a genitive pronoun and is in the accusative case, and in (3.340), =*ha* is modified by a genitive common noun and is in the nominative case. In (3.341), =*re* is modified by a genitive proper noun and is in the nominative case.

(3.339) *sagale-kki* *hakka-nni* *no*.
 food(NOM.F)-2SG.POSS there-LOC exist.P.PRF.3

ané=ta *it-ooti*.
 1SG.GEN=NP.F.ACC eat-NEG.IMP.2SG

‘Your (SG) food is there. Do not eat mine (F).’

(3.340) *lat’o* *me’-ú* *maalá* *bat-t’-anno*.
 Lat’o(NOM.F) goat-GEN.M meat(ACC) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

buše *kainni*
 Bushe(NOM.F) however

gereew-í=ha *bat-t’-anno*.
 sheep-GEN.MOD.M=NP.M.ACC like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘Lat’o likes goat meat. On the other hand, Bushe likes mutton.’

(iv) { (a) *tenné* } *riččó* *bat’-ee-mm-a*.
 { (b) *konné* } *thing(ACC)* *like-IMPRF.1-1SG-F*
 this.F.ACC }
 this.M.ACC }

(a) ‘I (F) like this thing (F).’

(b) ‘I (F) like this thing (M).’

(3.341) dangur-í farad-i
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M horses-NOM.MOD.M

dod-∅-anno=ho.
 run-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.PRED

damboow-í=ri kainni
 Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M=NPC.PL.NOM however

dunka=ho.
 slow=NPC.M.PRED

‘Dangura’s horses are fast (*lit.*, run). Damboowa’s, on the other hand, are slow.’

In (3.342)-(3.344), =*ta*/=*ha*/=*re* follow relative clauses. The noun-phrase clitic has to be the subject, direct object, or indirect object of the relative clause.⁶² In (3.342), =*ha* is in the accusative, in (3.343), =*ta* is in the genitive case and is followed by the dative suffix -*ra*, and in (3.344), =*re* is in the nominative case.

(3.342) lat’o bule bat-t’-anno=ha
 Lat’o(NOM.F) Bule(NOM.F) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.ACC

sunk’-i-t-u.
 kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat’o kissed the man who Bule likes.’

⁶² As discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.1.1.2), the nominative singular masculine form of this clitic, =*hu*, can be used in the construction, “REL.CL=*hu* ...=*ti*”, whose subject is the head of a relative clause ending in =*hu* and whose predicate ends in the predicating clitic =*ti*. In this use, the noun-phrase clitic can be either the direct or indirect object or a non-argument of the relative clause, but cannot be its subject.

- (3.343) damboow-i mat'aafá dangur-i
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M book(ACC) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

bat'-ø-anno=te-ra
 like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.GEN-DAT.NPC

u-ø-i.
 give-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Damboowa gave a book to the woman who Dangura likes.'

- (3.344) sirb-i-t-a-nni no=ri
 sing-EP-3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.NOM

dangur-i=nna damboowa=ti.
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=and Damboowa=NPC.PRED.PROP

'The people who are singing are Dangura and Damboowa.'

Notice that in this usage the clitic does not attach to an adjective or a non-genitive NP.⁶³

⁶³ An adjective may modify a common noun (e.g., *mančo* 'person', *riččo* 'thing') to form an argument NP, or some adjectives may form an argument NP without its head noun (section 3.1.3.1).

(ii) =te/=ho as the head of the NP predicate

In Sidaama, the predicate is either a verb or an NP headed by the noun-phrase clitic. There are two types of predicative forms of the noun-phrase clitic, =te/=ho (normally, =te for feminine subjects and =ho for masculine subjects) and =ti, both of which occur clause-finally. The types of constituents that can precede each of them are summarized in (3.345).⁶⁴

- (3.345) =te/=ho : adjectives,
 Unmodified common nouns,
 genitive NPs,
 verbs (in the imperfect, present perfect, progressive, or continuous aspect)
- =ti: Modified common nouns,
 proper nouns,
 pronouns,
 various types of constituents in the cleft construction “RC=*hu di*=...=*ti*”

Note that “Modified” and “Unmodified” are capitalized because these terms are used here to refer to a morphosyntactic distinction specific to common nouns in Sidaama (they are capitalized hereafter in this study whenever the distinction is relevant). Modified common nouns include not only those that have genitive NP dependents or adnominal

⁶⁴ There is a type of noun that can be followed by either =ho/=te or =ti. These are wild animal names whose genders are always feminine or masculine regardless of the animals’ biological genders.

- (i) hakku ričč-i ambooma=ti/ambooma=ho.
 that.M.NOM thing-NOM.MOD.M hyena=NPC.PRED.MOD/hyena=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘That thing is a hyena.’
- (ii) hakku ambooma=ti/ambooma=ho.
 that.M.NOM hyena=NPC.PRED.MOD/hyena=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘That is a hyena.’

dependents, but also those accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix. Unmodified common nouns are those without any of these “Modifiers” (those neither with a dependent or with the possessive pronominal suffix).⁶⁵

The first type, =*te*/=*ho*, immediately follows an adjective or an Unmodified common noun, as in (3.346)-(3.349).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The distinction between Modified and Unmodified common nouns is also relevant to the choice of some of the case suffixes. See Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.1.3).

⁶⁶ There are three cases where =*te*/=*ho* agrees in gender with the predicate noun, but not with the subject noun. First, as already discussed in footnote 23, when the subject is the infinitive form of a verb, the choice of the noun-phrase clitic that follows a predicate noun is determined by the gender of the predicate noun, as in (ia) (though a verb in the infinitive is usually treated as feminine when the predicate is a verb, as in (ib)).

- (i) (a) sagalé k’iš-a isé-ra
 food(ACC) prepare-INF(NOM) 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON

{ k’arra=ho.
 problem=NPC.M.PRED
 *k’arra=te.
 problem=NPC.F.PRED }

‘Cooking is a problem for her.’

- (b) sagalé k’iš-a isé-ra
 food(ACC) prepare-INF(NOM) 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON

{ k’arr-i-s-s-anno
 cause.problem-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 *k’arr-i-s-ø-anno.
 cause.problem-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 }

‘Cooking is a problem for her.’

Second, the choice of the predicating clitic that follows a predicate noun that expresses a certain time depends on the gender of the predicate noun, regardless of the gender of the subject noun, as in the following examples (*fīččee* is a feminine noun, whereas *aiyyaana* is a masculine noun; when *barr-i* is not mentioned, the subject is impersonal third person).

- (3.346) hakk'iččo (lowo geešša) haraančo=te.
 tree(NOM.F) (large degree) short=NPC.F.PRED
 'The tree is (very) short.'
- (3.347) gord-u (lowo geešša) tunso=ho.
 sky-NOM.M (large degree) dark=NPC.M.PRED
 'The sky is (very) dark.'
- (3.348) hatti tullo=te.
 that.F.NOM mountain=NPC.F.PRED
 'That is a mountain.'

-
- (ii) teččo (barr-i) { (a) fiččee=te.
 today (day-NOM.MOD.M) { (b) aiyyaana=ho.
 holiday=NPC.M.PRED }
 (a) 'Today is New Year's Day.'
 (b) 'Today is a holiday.'

Third, a feminine predicate noun uses =te, even when the demonstrative used in the subject is masculine, as in (iiia). As in (iv), a masculine predicate noun also has to use =ho, and requires the subject to be masculine.

- (iii) a. kuni ričč-i meesane=te/*meesane=ho.
 this.M.NOM thing-NOM.MOD.M ax=NPC.F.PRED/ax=NPC.M.PRED
 b. tini riččo meesane=te/*meesane=ho.
 this.F.NOM thing(NOM.F) ax=NPC.F.PRED/ax=NPC.M.PRED
 'This thing is an ax.'
- (4) a. kuni ričč-i barč'uma=ho/*barč'uma=te.
 this.M.NOM thing-NOM.MOD.M stool=NPC.M.PRED/stool=NPC.F.PRED
 'This thing is a stool.'
 b. *tini riččo barč'uma=ho/*barč'uma=te.
 this.M.NOM thing(NOM.F) stool=NPC.M.PRED/stool=NPC.F.PRED

- (3.349) hakku manč-i ané-ra
 that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON

rodo=ho.
 sibling=NPC.M.PRED

‘That man is my brother.’ (*lit.*, ‘That man is a brother for me.’)

The predicative noun-phrase clitic, =*te*/*ho*, can also occur right after a genitive NP (specifically, Modified common nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns in the genitive), as in (3.350).

- (3.350) kuni min-i
 this.M.NOM house-NOM.MOD.M

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| { | (a) dangur-i ann-i=ho. |
| | Dangura-GEN.PROP.M father-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED |
| | (b) ann-i-si=ho. |
| | father-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS=NPC.M.PRED |
| (c) dangur-i=ho. | |
| Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=NPC.M.PRED | |
| (d) isi=ho. | |
| 3SG.M.GEN=NPC.M.PRED | |

- (a) ‘This house is Dangura’s father’s.’
 (b) ‘This house is his father’s.’
 (c) ‘This house is Dangura’s.’
 (d) ‘This house is his.’

Unmodified common nouns in the genitive can take the predicative noun-phrase clitic =*te*/*ho*, but the suffix *-nni* has to intervene between them and the clitic, as in (3.351).

- (3.351) kuni min-i t'agisaanč-u-nni=ho.
 this.M.NOM house-NOM.MOD.M healer-GEN.M-nni=NPC.M.PRED
 'This house is the healer's.'

Another form that can be followed by =te/=ho is a relative clause ending in a verb in the imperfect, the present perfect, the progressive, or the continuous. In this construction, the NP whose head is =te/=ho is the predicate of the main clause. This is exemplified by (3.352)-(3.354): (3.352a) imperfect, (3.352b) progressive, (3.353) present perfect, and (3.354) continuous. The subject of the main clause is the subject of the relative clause in (3.352), and is the direct object of the relative clause in (3.353) and (3.354).

- (3.352) lat'o dangurá
 Lat'o(NOM.F)Dangura(ACC)
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| { | (a) bat-t'-anno=te.
like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED
(b) sunk'-i-t-a-nni no=te.
kiss-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED | } |
|---|---|---|
- (a) 'Lat'o is the one who likes Dangura.'
 (b) 'Lat'o is the one who is kissing Dangura.'

- (3.353) kuni isi it-ø-e
 this.M.NOM 3SG.M.NOM eat-3SG.M-CNN
 gat-i-s-ø-ino=ho.
 become.saved-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED
 'This is his leftover (*lit.*, This is the one that he ate and saved).'

- (3.354) wa-i dangur-i
 water-NOM.MOD.M Dangura-NOM.PROP.M
- dukk'-ø-e no=ho.
 carry.on.back-3SG.M-CNN exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED
- ‘Water is what Dangura has been carrying on his back.’

On the other hand, the clitic =*ti* occurs immediately after a Modified common or proper noun, regardless of the gender, as in (3.355)-(3.357).

- (3.355)
- | | | | | |
|------------|-------|---|--------------------|---|
| hakku | dunka | { | faraššo=ti | } |
| that.M.NOM | slow | | horse=NPC.PRED.MOD | |
| | | | *faraššo=ho. | |
| | | | horse=NPC.M.PRED | |
- ‘That is a slow horse.’

- (3.356)
- | | | | |
|------------|---|-------------------------------|---|
| hakku | { | faraššo-se=ti. | } |
| that.M.NOM | | horse-3SG.F.POSS=NPC.PRED.MOD | |
| | | *faraššo-se=ho. | |
| | | horse-3SG.F.POSS=NPC.M.PRED | |
- ‘That is her horse.’

- (3.357) su'm-i-se bulee=ti.
 name-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS Bule=NPC.PRED.PROP
 ‘Her name is Bule.’

When a pronoun is a predicate, it takes =*ti* as its predicating clitic.⁶⁷ Examples are given in (3.358) and (3.359).

⁶⁷ However, as already mentioned for (3.350e), when a pronoun in the genitive case is a predicate, it takes =*te*/=*ho* rather than =*ti* (e.g., **kuni min-i isi=ti*).

- (3.358) damboow-i iso=ti.
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M 3SG.M=NPC.PRED.PRON
 ‘Damboowa is him.’
- (3.359) hakku manč-i ae=ti ?
 that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M who=NPC.PRED.Q
 ‘Who is that man?’ (*lit.*, ‘That man is who?’)

There is a cleft construction where almost any type of constituent except Unmodified common nouns can precede =*ti* in the predicate.⁶⁸ It has the form “RC=*hu* ...=*ti*”, where the subject is the NP containing the relative clause headed by the masculine nominative form of the noun-phrase clitic, =*hu*, and the constituent preceding =*ti* is focused. Examples are shown in (3.360) and (3.361) (see Chapter 5 section 5.1.1.2 for more examples).

⁶⁸ Unmodified common nouns always take =*te*/=*ho*, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) da-ø-ino=hu
 come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| { | beetto=ho.
child=NPC.M.PRED
*beetto=ti.
child=NPC.PRED | } |
|---|---|---|
- ‘The one (M) who came is a child.’
- (ii) (a) dag-g-ino=ti
 come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| { | beetto=te.
child=NP.PRED
*beetto=ti.
child=NP.PRED | } |
|---|---|---|
- ‘The one (F) who came is a child.’
- (b) *dag-g-ino=hu
 come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| { | beetto=te.
child=NP.PRED
beetto=ti.
child=NP.PRED | } |
|---|--|---|

- (3.360) bule gan-t-ino=hu hatte
 Bule(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM that.F

mančo=ti.
 woman=NPC.PRED.HUTI

‘It is that woman who Bule hit.’

- (3.361) bule min-í-nke-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-1PL.POSS

dag-g-ino=hu
 come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| { | <p>(a) bero=ti.
 yesterday=NPC.PRED.HUTI</p> <p>(b) beett-i-se ledo=ti.
 child-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS COM=NPC.PRED.HUTI</p> <p>(c) beett-i-se-ra=ti.
 child-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS=NPC.PRED.HUTI</p> <p>(d) suununni=ti.
 slowly=NPC.PRED.HUTI</p> <p>(e) dod-d-a-nni=ti/dod-d-e=ti.
 run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER=NPC.PRED.HUTI/
 run-3SG.F-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI</p> <p>(f) mat’ine-nsa goof-f-ino-daadura=ti.
 salt(NOM.F)-3PL.POSS run.out-3PL-P.PRF.3-because=NPC.PRED.HUTI</p> | } |
|---|--|---|

- (a) ‘It was yesterday that Bule came to our house.’
 (b) ‘It was with her son that Bule came to our house.’
 (c) ‘It was for her son that Bule came to our house.’
 (d) ‘It was slowly that Bule came to our house.’
 (e) ‘It was by running that Bule came to our house.’
 (f) ‘It was because their salt ran out that Bule came to our house.’

Neither type of predicating clitic is always clause-final, and either of them can be followed by the third-person singular masculine simple-perfect form of the verb *heed-*, ‘to live’ (*hee’r-i*). This verb form is used to express an event or state in the past that is not applicable to the present (section 3.1.2.3).

(3.362) ise kapp'aančo=te hee'r-ø-i.
 3SG.F.NOM liar=NPC.F.PRED live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'She used to be a liar.'

(3.363) isi buša kapp'aančo=ti
 3SG.M.NOM bad liar=NPC.PRED.MOD

hee'r-ø-i.
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He used to a bad liar.'

(iii) =ta/=ha as a complementizer

The complementizer in Sidaama is usually =ta, which is the feminine form of the noun-phrase clitic in the accusative case. It is attached to the verb at the end of a complement clause. (3.364) shows that it can occur with various aspectual suffixes of a verb (other than the simple perfect: e.g., *kapp'-i=ta in (3.364)) in the clause with =ta as the complement.

- (3.364) lat'o dangur-i
lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M
- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| { | (a) | kapp'-ø-anno=ta | |
| | | tell.a.lie-IMPRF.3SG.M=NPC.F.CMPL | |
| | (b) | kapp'-ø-ino=ta | |
| | | tell.a.lie-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL | |
| (c) | kapp'-ø-a-nni | no=ta | |
| | tell.a.lie-3SG.M-INF-MANNER | exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL | |
- af-f-ino.
get.to.know-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
- (a) 'Lat'o knows that Dangura (habitually) tells lies/will tell a lie.'
 (b) 'Lat'o knows that Dangura told a lie.'
 (c) 'Lat'o knows that Dangura is telling a lie.'

Some of the verbs that can take =*ta* as a complementizer are shown in (3.365).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3.365) af- 'to know that ... '
kul- 'to tell that ... '
odeess- 'to announce that ... '
kiil- 'to prophesy that ... '
masaal- 'to prophesy that ... '
amman- 'to believe/admit that ... '
haak'i'r- 'to dream that ... '
kaad- 'to deny that ... '
k'att'ar- 'to complain that ... ' | k'aag- 'to remember that ... '
hab- 'to forget that ... '
gatis- 'to rescue sb from doing ... '
hool- 'to prevent sb from doing ... '
la'- 'to check that ... '
mačč'išš- 'to hear that ... '
bat'- 'to like the fact that ... '
gib- 'to dislike the fact that ... ' |
|---|--|

The complementizer clitic =*ta* can be substituted with the suffix, -*gede* ('so that'), in most cases; it goes with all the verbs in (3.365) except *kiil-* 'to prophesy' and *masaal-* 'to prophesy' (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8).

(3.366) ga'a ninké=wa
 tomorrow 1PL.GEN=place

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{da-}\emptyset\text{-anno=ta} \\ \text{come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL} \\ \text{da-}\emptyset\text{-anno-gede} \\ \text{come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-so.that} \end{array} \right\}$$

kul- \emptyset -i-nke.
 tell-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-1PL

'He told us that he would come to our place tomorrow.'

Only the verb *lab-* 'to appear' can take a different complementizer clitic, =*ha* (identical in form to the masculine form of the noun-phrase clitic in the accusative case), as well as =*ta*, at the end of a complement clause.

(3.367) ise $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{it-t-ino=ha} \\ \text{eat-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.CMPL} \\ \text{it-t-ino=ta} \\ \text{eat-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL} \end{array} \right\}$
 3SG.F.NOM

law- \emptyset -anno-'e.
 appear-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-1SG

'It appears to me that she has eaten.'

When the complementizer follows the existential verb, *lab-* can take only =*ha*, not =*ta*.

(3.368) waalč-ú mulee ikk-ø-ino
 door-GEN.M near become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

manč-i person-NOM.MOD.M	{	no=ha exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.M.CMPL *no=ta exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL	}
----------------------------	---	---	---

law-ø-anno-’e.
 appear-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-1SG

‘It appears to me that there is someone near the door.’

None of the above complementizer clitics can be omitted.

3.2.2.2 Noun-Phrase Clitic: =wa

Sidaama has another noun-phrase clitic, =*wa*, which, like the noun-phrase clitic =*ta*/=*ha*/=*re*, is bound to a genitive NP or a relative clause. This clitic is used when the referent of a nominal is treated as an object rather than a location, and a vicinity of it is the location or the source or goal of a motion; the clitic makes it possible to treat the object like a location. Because a noun phrase formed with this clitic indicates a location, the clitic is glossed as ‘place’.

When the clitic =*wa* occurs immediately after a genitive personal pronoun or common noun, and is not followed by any suffix, it expresses the location of an entity or the goal of a motion, specifically ‘at/to the location of the referent of the personal pronoun or common noun or to an area where it is located’ (The following discussion

- (3.372) ise dangur-í=wa ha-d-u.
 3SG.F.NOM Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=place go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She went to Dangura.’ (*lit.*, ‘She went to the place of Dangura.’)

When =*wa* attaches to a common noun that refers to the location of an entity or the goal of a motion, the construction takes one of the forms shown in Table 3.19, depending on the gender of the goal noun and the Modification of it by another element. As shown in this table, =*wa* basically attaches to the genitive stem of a common noun, though Unmodified masculine nouns require the suffix *-nni* to occur between their genitive stems and =*wa*. Notice that *-nni* in the forms for Unmodified common nouns, NOUN.STEM-*nni*=*wa* and NOUN.STEM-*u-nni*=*wa*, is not the ablative suffix but the definite suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.5), which indicates the definiteness of the referent of the NP.⁷⁰

	feminine noun	masculine noun
Unmodified noun	NOUN.STEM- <i>te</i> = <i>wa</i> ⁷¹	NOUN.STEM- <i>u-nni</i> = <i>wa</i>
	or	
	NOUN.STEM- <i>nni</i> = <i>wa</i>	
Modified noun	NOUN.STEM= <i>wa</i>	NOUN.STEM- <i>i</i> = <i>wa</i>

Table 3.19: Location/Goal Constructions with Common Nouns

⁷⁰ Note that as in its other uses, the suffix *-nni* can be reduced to *-i* (e.g., *buus-u-i=wa* ‘to the bridge’, *hand-u-i=wa* ‘to the ox’, *dikko-i=wa* ‘to the market’, *tullo-i=wa* ‘to the mountain’).

⁷¹ Also when the form NOUN.STEM-*te*=*wa* is used for a feminine noun, its referent is definite, though *-te* is the genitive suffix for Unmodified feminine common nouns. When the referent of the goal noun is indefinite, the noun is modified by *mitte* (F)/*mittu* (M) ‘one’ or *ikk-i-t-ino* [become-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3] (F)/*ikk-ø-ino* [become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3] (M) ‘certain’; thus, the goal is expressed as a modified noun (e.g., *mitte mančó=wa* [one.F person(GEN.F)=place] ‘to a woman’, *ikk-ø-ino k’ark’ar-í=wa* [become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 village-GEN.MOD.M=place] ‘to a certain village’).

Examples of location and goal expressions made up of Unmodified common nouns and =*wa* are shown in (3.373)-(3.376); the nouns are feminine in (3.373) (location) and (3.374) (goal) and masculine in (3.375) (location) and (3.376) (goal).

- (3.373) ise
 3SG.F.NOM
- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|
| { | (a) | tulló-te= <i>wa</i> /tulló-nni= <i>wa</i>
mountain-GEN.F= <i>place</i> /mountain(GEN.F)-DEF= <i>place</i> | } |
| { | (b) | doogó-te= <i>wa</i> /doogó-nni= <i>wa</i>
road-GEN.F= <i>place</i> /road(GEN.F)-DEF= <i>place</i> | } |
- no.
exist.P.PRF.3
- (a) ‘She is by the mountain.’ (*lit.*, She is at the place of the mountain.)
(b) ‘She is by the road.’ (*lit.*, She is at the place of the road.)
- (3.374) ise
 3SG.F.NOM
- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|
| { | (a) | dikkó-te= <i>wa</i> /dikkó-nni= <i>wa</i>
market-GEN.F= <i>place</i> /market(GEN.F)-DEF= <i>place</i> | } |
| { | (b) | mančó-te= <i>wa</i> /mančó-nni= <i>wa</i>
person-GEN.F= <i>place</i> /person(GEN.F)-DEF= <i>place</i> | } |
- ha-*č*-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL
- (a) ‘She went to the market.’
(b) ‘She went to the woman.’
- (3.375) ise
 3SG.F.NOM
- | | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|----------------------|
| { | (a) | kinč-ú-nni= <i>wa</i>
rock-GEN.M-DEF= <i>place</i> | } | no.
exist.P.PRF.3 |
| { | (b) | buus-ú-nni= <i>wa</i>
bridge-GEN.M-DEF= <i>place</i> | | |
- (a) ‘She is by the rock.’ (*lit.*, She is at the place of the rock.)
(b) ‘She is by the bridge.’ (*lit.*, She is at the place of the bridge.)

- (3.376) { (a) gambaičč-ú-nni=wa
gambaicco.container-GEN.M-DEF=place }
(b) hand-ú-nni=wa
ox-GEN.M-DEF=place }

ha-č-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

- (a) ‘She/They went to the *gambaicco* container (pot for liquid).’
(b) ‘She/They went to the ox.’

(3.377)-(3.380) are examples of location and goal expressions where =*wa* attaches to a common noun that is Modified with another element (e.g., an adjective, a possessor NP, a demonstrative, the possessor pronominal suffix); (3.377) (location) and (3.378) (goal) use feminine common nouns while (3.379) (location) and (3.380) (goal) use masculine common nouns for the goal of the motion.

- (3.377) { (a) hatté dikkó=wa
that.F.GEN market(GEN.F)=place } no.
(b) hala’ladó doogó=wa
wide(GEN.F) road(GEN.F)=place } exist.P.PRF.3

- (a) ‘She is/They are around that market.’
(b) ‘She is/They are by the wide road.’

- (3.378) {
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (a) | amá-si=wa | | | |
| | mother(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS=place | | | |
| (b) | seedá | tulló=wa | | |
| | high(GEN.F) | mountain(GEN.F)=place | | |
| (c) | isi | k'uup'é | hir-anno | dikkó=wa |
| | 3SG.M.NOM | eggs(ACC) | sell-IMPRF.3SG.M | market(GEN.F)=place |
- }

ha-ǵ-u.

go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

- (a) 'She/They went to his mother.'
 (b) 'She/They went to the high mountain.'
 (c) 'She/They went to the market where he sells eggs.'

- (3.379) {
- | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------|--|
| (a) | gambaičč-í-si=wa | | |
| | gambaicco.container-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS=place | | |
| (b) | haañj-ú | dubb-í=wa | |
| | green-GEN.M | forest-GEN.MOD.M=place | |
- }

no.

exist.P.PRF.3

- (a) 'She is/They are by his gambaicco container (pot for liquid).'
 (b) 'She is/They are by the green forest.'

- (3.380) {
- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (a) | hakkuí | buus-í=wa | |
| | that.M.GEN | bridge-GEN.MOD.M=place | |
| (b) | dangur-í | hand-í=wa | |
| | Dangura-GEN.PROP.M | ox-GEN.MOD.M=place | |
| (c) | isi | usur-ø-ino | hand-í=wa |
| | 3SG.M.NOM | fasten-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 | ox-GEN.MOD.M=place |
- }

ha-ǵ-u.

go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

- (a) 'She/They went to that bridge.'
 (b) 'She/They went to Dangura's ox.'
 (c) 'She/They went to the ox he fastened.'

There are common nouns that can be followed by the allative suffix *-ra* (NOUN.STEM-*i-ra* [NOUN.STEM-GEN.MOD.M-ALL]) or *=wa* (Unmodified:

NOUN.STEM-*u-nni=wa*, Modified: NOUN.STEM-*i=wa*) to express the goal of a motion. Such nouns usually refer to locations rather than objects. In such a case, the following difference usually applies: the goal of the motion corresponds to the referent of the goal noun (in other words, the moving object is located at or in the referent of the goal noun) when the noun takes the allative case suffix, whereas the goal of the motion is a vicinity of the referent of the noun when the noun takes *=wa*.⁷² For example, in the following three pairs of examples, (3.381)-(3.383), (a) conveys that the referent of the noun is the location where she ended up being located after the motion, and (b) means that she went to a vicinity of it.

⁷² There are a few masculine nouns that show no difference in meaning regardless of whether they are followed by *-ra* or *=wa*. Examples are shown in (i). (Note that the genitive suffix on the goal nouns in (ia) and (ib) is *-i* even though they are not Modified by any element.)

- | | | | |
|-------|-----|---|---|
| (i) { | (a) | nafar- <i>í-ra</i> /nafar- <i>ú-nni=wa</i>
compound-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/compound-GEN.M-DEF=place | } |
| | (b) | gat- <i>í-ra</i> /gat- <i>ú-nni=wa</i>
backyard-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/backyard-GEN.M-DEF=place | |
| | (c) | hakkó baičč- <i>í-ra</i> /baičč- <i>í=wa</i>
that.M.GEN place-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/place-GEN.MOD.M=place | |
| | (d) | laše nafar- <i>í-ra</i> /nafar- <i>í=wa</i>
Lashe(NOM.M) compound-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/compound-GEN.MOD.M=place | |
| | (e) | k'ark'ar- <i>í-si-ra</i> /k'ark'ar- <i>í-si=wa</i>
village-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M-ALL/village-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M=place | |
| | (f) | low- <i>ú</i> gat- <i>í-ra</i> /gat- <i>í=wa</i>
large-GEN.M backyard-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/backyard-GEN.MOD.M=place | |
| | (g) | loggit- <i>ú</i> wa- <i>í-ra</i> /wa- <i>í=wa</i>
Loggita-GEN.M river-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/river-GEN.MOD.M=place | |

ha-*f-u*.

go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (a) | ‘She/They went to the compound.’ |
| (b) | ‘She/They went to the backyard.’ |
| (c) | ‘She/They went to that place.’ |
| (d) | ‘She/They went to Lashe’s backyard.’ |
| (e) | ‘She/They went to his village.’ |
| (f) | ‘She/They went to the large backyard.’ |
| (g) | ‘She/They went Loggita River.’ |

- (3.381) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{min-í-ra} \\ \text{house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL} \\ \text{min-í-se-ra} \\ \text{house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS-ALL} \end{array} \right\}$

ha-d-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

‘She/They went to the house/to her house.’

- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{min-ú-nni=wa} \\ \text{house-GEN.M-DEF=place} \\ \text{min-í-se=wa} \\ \text{house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS=place} \end{array} \right\}$

ha-d-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

‘She/They went to the vicinity of the house/to the vicinity of her house.’

- (3.382) tulló-te $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) birt'-í-ra} \\ \text{tip-GEN.MOD.M-ALL} \\ \text{(b) birt'-í=wa} \\ \text{tip-GEN.MOD.M=place} \end{array} \right\}$
mountain-GEN.F

ha-d-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

- (a) ‘She/They went to the summit of the mountain.’
(b) ‘She/They went to the top area of the mountain.’

- (3.383)
- | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| hatté
that.F.GEN | { | (a) gobbá-ra
country(GEN.F)-ALL | } |
| | | (b) gobbá=wa
country(GEN.F)=place | |

ha-d-u.
go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL

- (a) ‘She/They went to that country.’
(b) ‘She/They went to the vicinity of that country.’

When such nouns are used for the location of an entity, they can be accompanied by either the locative suffix (-*te* (F)/-*ho* (M) for Unmodified common nouns, -*ra* for Modified common nouns) or =*wa*, and the location expression with the locative suffix and that with =*wa* usually show a difference parallel to the difference between the goal expression with the allative suffix and that with =*wa* discussed above.

- (3.384)
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|
| lowiidí
large | { | (a) kinč-í-ra
rock-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD | } |
| | | (b) kinč-í=wa
rock-GEN.MOD.M=place | |

no.
exist.P.PRF.3

- (a) ‘He is on the large rock.’ (*lit.*, ‘He is at the large rock.’)
(b) ‘He is by the large rock.’ (*lit.*, ‘He is at the place of the large rock.’)

- (3.385)
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|--|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | (a) t’arap’eesa-ho
table-LOC.M | } |
| | | (b) t’arap’ees-ú-nni=wa
table-GEN.M-DEF=place | |

no.
exist.P.PRF.3

- (a) ‘He is at the table.’
(b) ‘He is by the table.’ (*lit.*, ‘He is at the place of the table.’)

Some nouns and noun phrases, especially those that refer to locations (with the exception of **k'ark'ara* 'village', **darga* 'place'), can be used without any goal marker to express the goal of a motion, as in (3.386) and (3.387).⁷³

- (3.386)

{	(a)	tullo	}	ha-d-u.
		mountain		
	(b)	waa		
		river		
(c)	dikko	go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL		
	market			
(d)	ḵjila			
	feast			
- (a) 'She/They went to the mountain.'
 (b) 'She/They went to the river.'
 (c) 'She/They went to the market.'
 (d) 'She/They went to the feast.'

⁷³ There are a few nouns like those in (i) that express the path of a motion, rather than the goal, when used in the structures in (3.386) and (3.387).

- (i)

{	(a)	doogo	}	ha-d-u.
		road		
	(b)	hatte doogo		
	that.F road			
(c)	ṣokkado	doogo	go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL	
	crooked road			
- (a) 'She/They went along the road.'
 (b) 'She/They went along that road.'
 (c) 'She/They went along the non-straight road.'

There is also one case where the structure in (3.386) produces a specialized meaning. (ii) has the additional meaning of 'to shop', unlike (3.374a) (*dikko-nni=wa/dikko-te=wa ha-d-u.*), which solely expresses motion.

- (ii) dikko ha-d-u.
 market go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL
 'She/They went to the market (to shop).'

(3.387)	{	(a)	hatte tullo	}	
			that.F mountain		
		(b)	hakko waa		
			that.M river		
		(c)	k'awallank'-u dikko		
	K'awallanka-GEN.M market				
	(d)	jil-u darga			ha-d-u. go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL
	feast-GEN.M place				
	(e)	mine-si			
	house-3SG.M.POSS				

- (a) 'She/They went to that mountain.'
- (b) 'She/They went to that river.'
- (c) 'She/They went to K'awallanka Market.'
- (d) 'She/They went to the feast.'
- (e) 'She/They went to his house.'

However, other nouns and noun phrases, especially those that refer to objects, cannot be used this way, as shown in (3.388).

(3.388)	{	(a)	*kinčo	}	
			rock		
		(b)	*gambaiččo		
			gambaicco.container		
		(c)	*hakko kinčo		
	that.M rock				
	(d)	*hatte saa			ha-d-u. go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F/3PL
	that.F cow				
	(e)	*wosina-se			
	guests-3SG.F.POSS				

- (a) *to mean*, 'She/They went to the rock.'
- (b) *to mean*, 'She/They went to the *gambaicco* container [big clay pot for liquid].'
- (c) *to mean*, 'She/They went to that rock.'
- (d) *to mean*, 'She/They went to that cow.'
- (e) *to mean*, 'She/They went to her guests.'

same meaning as (b), but can also mean that the motion started from around the house or tree.

- (3.390) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ane} \\ \text{1SG.GEN} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{min-í=wi-nni} \\ \text{house-GEN.MOD.M=place.GEN-ABL} \\ \text{(b) } \text{min-í-nni} \\ \text{house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL} \end{array} \right\}$
- ful- \emptyset -e amâ-si=wa
exit-3SG.M-CNN mother(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS=place
- mar- \emptyset -i.
go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- (a) ‘He exited my house, and went to his mother.’ or ‘He exited a location near my house, and went to his mother.’
(b) ‘He exited my house, and went to his mother.’
- (3.391) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{hakk'iččó-te=wi-nni} \\ \text{tree-GEN.F=place.GEN-ABL} \\ \text{(b) } \text{hakk'iččó-te-nni} \\ \text{tree-GEN.F-ABL} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{kubb-}\emptyset\text{-i.} \\ \text{jump-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M} \end{array} \right\}$
- (a) ‘He jumped from on the tree.’ or ‘He jumped from the vicinity of the tree on the ground.’
(b) ‘He jumped from on the tree.’

When =*wa* comes after a relative clause, it also has two uses roughly parallel to those mentioned above.⁷⁵ First, it can be modified by the relative clause to form an

⁷⁵ It is possible to express a location, goal, or source by using a relative clause whose head is the noun-phrase clitic =*wa* and whose verb is the existential/locational verb that takes a location, goal, or source NP as its subject. It literally means ‘at/to/from a place where the ground object came to be located,’ but seems to express the same content as a genitive noun followed by =*wa*.

oblique NP that expresses a goal or location: ‘to a location where ...’ (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.5), as in (3.392).

- (3.392) ise beett-u godo’l-ø-a-nni
 3SG.F.NOM child-NOM.M play-3SG.M-INF-MANNER
- no=wa ha-d’-u.
 exist.P.PRF.3=place go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She went to the place where the boy was playing.’

Unlike the oblique NP where =*wa* is modified by a genitive noun or pronoun, that where =*wa* is modified by a relative clause can mean ‘at a location where ...’, as in (3.393).

- (3.393) ise fiit’-u no-kki=wa
 3SG.F.NOM relative-NOM.M exist.P.PRF.3-NEG=place
- hee-d’-a-nni no.
 live-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘She is living in a place where there are no relatives.’

-
- (i) ise lowiidi kinč-i no=wa
 3SG.F.NOM large rock-NOM.MOD.M exist.P.PRF.3=place
- no.
 exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘She is by the large rock.’ (*lit.*, ‘He is at a place where the large rock came to be located.’)
- (ii) hakku god-i no=wa ha’r-ø-i.
 that.M.NOM cave-NOM.MOD.M exist.P.PRF.3=place go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He went to a vicinity of that cave.’ (*lit.*, ‘He went to a place where that cave came to be located.’)
- (iii) hakk’iččo no=wi-nni kubb-ø-i.
 tree(NOM.F) exist.P.PRF.3=place.GEN-ABL jump-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He jumped from a vicinity of the tree.’ (*lit.*, ‘He jumped from a place where the tree came to be located.’)

Second, the genitive form of this clitic, =*wi*, can occur immediately after a relative clause, and in such a case, it is always followed by the ablative suffix, -*nni*.

- (3.394) ha'r-ø-ino=*wi*-nni hig-ø-e
 go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=*place*.GEN-ABL return-3SG.M-CNN

da-ø-i.
 come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He came back from the place where he went.'

- (3.395) ha-d'-anno=*wi*-nni
 go-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=*place*.GEN-ABL

gat-t-u.
 change.one's.minds-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She is not going to the place where she intended to go.' (*lit.*, 'She changed her minds from the place she was going to.')

In addition to the two uses above, when =*wa* follows a relative clause, it can also serve as an argument, as in (3.396) and (3.397).

- (3.396) ise ha-d'-ino=*wi* hakko
 3SG.F.NOM go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=*place*.NOM.MOD.M that.M

godo=*ti*.
 cave=*NPC*.PRED.MOD

'The place where she went to is that cave.'

- (3.397) ise hee-d'-anno=*wa* af-oo-mm-o.
 3SG.F.NOM live-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=*place*(ACC) get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) know the place where she lives.'

This clitic cannot be used this way when it follows a genitive NP (e.g., **dangur-i=wi hakko mine=ti*. [Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=place-NOM.MOD.M that.M house=NP.C.PRED.MOD] to mean, ‘Dangura’s place is that house.’/**ise=wa af-oo-mm-o*. [3SG.F.GEN=place(ACC) get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M] to mean, ‘I (M) know where she lives.’).

3.2.2.3 Conjunctive Enclitics

Coordinating conjunctives in Sidaama are clitics, which are attached to the second to last constituent of conjoined constituents (or the first constituent, if two constituents are conjoined). Two of the conjunctives, *=nna* and *=nso*, begin with consonant clusters, which cannot start words in Sidaama; it is clear that they are phonologically bound to their hosts.

• =nna ‘and’

The conjunctive enclitic *=nna* is used to connect more than one constituent of the same status. It can connect various types of constituents. (3.398)-(3.406) show that *=nna* can be used to conjoin proper nouns in the nominative (3.398), possessed nouns in the genitive (3.399), proper nouns in the accusative (3.400), predicative nouns (3.401), pronouns in the nominative (3.402), NPs (3.403), predicative adjectives (3.404), attributive adjectives (3.405), and adverbials (3.406).

- (3.398) t'aa busun-i=nna daafurs-i
 now Busuna-NOM.PROP.M=and Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M
- dikko-te no.
 market-LOC.F exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘Busuna and Daafursa are at the market now.’
- (3.399) buše ann-í-se=nna
 Bushe(NOM.F) father-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F=and
- amá-se seejǰó
 mother(GEN.F)-3SG.F.POSS advice.PL(ACC)
- mačč' iš-i-t-anno.
 listen-EP-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘Bushe listens to her father and mother’s advice.’
- (3.400) (a) dangurá=nna damboowá la'-oo-mm-o.
 Dangura(ACC)=and Damboowa(ACC) see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) saw Dangura and Damboowa.’
- (b) dangurá=nna kaw-í-ra
 Dangura(ACC)=and here-GEN.PRON-ALL
- dag-ø-ino mančó
 come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person(ACC)
- la'-oo-mm-o.
 see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) saw Dangura and the man who came here.’
- (c) kaw-í-ra dag-ø-ino
 here-GEN.PRON-ALL come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- mančó=nna dangurá la'-oo-mm-o.
 person(ACC)=and Dangura(ACC) see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) saw the man who came here and Dangura.’

(3.401) sirb-i-t-a-nni no=ri
 sing-EP-3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.NOM

dangura=nna damboowa=ti.
 Dangura=and Damboowa=NPC.PRED.PROP

‘The ones who are singing are Dangura and Damboowa.’

(3.402) (a) isi=nna ani roduuwa=ho.
 3SG.M.NOM=and 1SG.NOM brothers=NPC.M.PRED

‘He and I are brothers.’

(b) dangur-i=nna ani
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M=and 1SG.NOM

roduuwa=ho.
 brothers=NPC.M.PRED

‘Dangura and I are brothers.’

(c) ani=nna dangur-i
 1SG.NOM=and Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

roduuwa=ho.
 brothers=NPC.M.PRED

‘Me and Dangura are brothers.’

(d) dangur-i=nna hakku
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M=and that.M.NOM

manč-i roduuwa=ho.
 person-NOM.MOD.M brothers=NPC.M.PRED

‘Dangura and that man are brothers.’

- (e) hakku manč-i=nna ani
that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M=and 1SG.NOM

roduuwa=ho.
brothers=NPC.M.PRED

‘That man and I are brothers.’

- (3.403) hakkó farašš-í goowá=nna konné
that.M.GEN horse-GEN.MOD.M neck(ACC)=and this.M.GEN

farašš-í lekká usur-ø-i.
horse-GEN.MOD.M leg(ACC) fasten-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He fastened that horse’s neck and this horse’s leg.’

- (3.404) hakku t’arap’eez-i šiima=nna duumo=ho.
that.M.NOM table-NOM.MOD.M small=and red=NPC.M.PRED
‘That table is small and red.’

- (3.405) seed-u=nna biifad-u beett-i
tall-NOM.M=and beautiful-NOM.M child-NOM.MOD.M

dangur-í rodoo=ti.
Dangura-GEN.PROP.M sibling=NPC.PRED.MOD

‘The tall and handsome boy is Dangura’s brother.’

- (3.406) bero=nna teččo mann-u hakko darga
yesterday=and today people-NOM.M that.M place

gamba y-ø-ino.
gamba say-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘People gathered in that place yesterday and today.’

There are several idiomatic expressions for ‘whether or not ...’, where a verb and its negated form are connected with =*nna*.

(a) V-ASPECT=*ta=nna* V-ASPECT-*kki=ta*/V-ASPECT=*ha=nna* V-ASPECT-*kki=ta*

(3.407) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{damboow-i} \\ \text{Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{da-}\emptyset\text{-anno=ta=nna} \\ \text{come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL=and} \\ \text{da-}\emptyset\text{-anno=ha=nna} \\ \text{come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.CMPL=and} \end{array} \right\}$

da- \emptyset -anno-*kki=ta* t'a'm-ee-mm-o.
 come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-NEG=NPC.F.CMPL ask-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) will ask whether or not Damboowa is coming.’

(b) V-ASPECT-*ro=nna* V-ASPECT-*kki-ro*

(3.408) damboow-i da- \emptyset -anno-ro=*nna*
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-if=*and*

da- \emptyset -anno-*kki-ro* t'a'm-ee-mm-o.
 come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-NEG-if ask-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) will ask whether or not Damboowa is coming.’

(c) V-INF=*nna* V-ASPECT-*kki=ta*

(3.409) bule da-a=*nna*
 Bule(NOM.F) come-INF=*and*

dag-g-anno-*kki=ta* t'a'm-ee-mm-o.
 come-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-NEG=NPC.F.CMPL ask-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) will ask whether or not Bule is coming.’

(d) V-ASPECT=*ta=*nna V-INF *hoog*-ASPECT=*ta*

- (3.410) bule dag-g-anno=*ta=*nna da-a
 Bule(NOM.F) come-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL=*and* come-INF
- hoog-g-anno=*ta* t'a'm-ee-mm-o.
 fail-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL ask-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) will ask whether or not Bule is coming.’

(e) V-INF=*nna* V-INF *hoog*-ASPECT=*ta*

- (3.411) bule da-a=*nna* da-a
 Bule(NOM.F) come-INF=*and* come-INF
- hoog-g-anno=*ta* t'a'm-ee-mm-o.
 fail-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL ask-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) will ask whether or not Bule is coming.’

When more than two constituents are connected with *=nna*, this clitic is usually attached only to the second to the last constituent.

- (3.412) ag-ú mine t'aǰǰé harak'é=*nna*
 drinking-GEN.M house t'ajje(ACC) harak'e(ACC)=*and*
- faršo hirr-ø-a-nni.
 faršo(ACC) sell-3SG.M-INF-MANNER
- ‘A bar sells *t'ajje* [AMH: yellow local alcoholic beverage brewed with honey], *harak'e* [gin-like liquor], and *farsho* [local beer].’

When clauses are connected with =*nna*, the subjects of the verbs in the connected clauses have to be different from each other. In (3.413), the subject of the clause containing =*nna* is *laše* and that of the next clause is *lekka-si* ‘his leg’. In this example, the verb in the clause with =*nna* at its end is marked with the connective suffix, whereas the verb in the next clause is marked with an aspectual suffix. The clauses connected with =*nna* express a sequence of two events or provide the reason for the second event in the first clause.

- (3.413) *laše* *šalak’-ø-e=nna* *lekka-si*
 Lashe(NOM) slip-3SG.M-CNN=and leg(NOM.F)-3SG.M
- hiikk’-an-t-u.*
 break-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Lashe slipped, and his legs got broken.’ (‘Because Lashe slipped, his legs got broken.’)

However, two clauses that have the same subject cannot be connected with =*nna*, as in

(3.414).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ When the two connected clauses have the same subject, the connective form of the verb is used in the first clause, as in (i), or other constructions such as “V-PERSON-INF-INST” (section 3.1.4) and “V-ASPECT-*wote*” (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8) are used.

- (i) *laše* *šalak’-ø-e* *lekká*
 Lashe(NOM.M) slip-3SG.M-CNN leg(OBL)
- hiik’-am-ø-i.*
 break-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Lashe slipped and had his legs broken’ (*lit.*, ‘Lashe slipped and got broken with respect to legs.’)

- (3.414) *laše šalak'-ø-e=na lekká
 Lashe(NOM) slip-3SG.M-CNN=and leg(OBL)
- hiikk'-am-ø-i.
 break-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

As mentioned above, the clause ending in =*nna* often expresses the reason for what is described in the next clause. There is another construction with =*nna* that is devoted to this meaning. In this construction, the verb in the subordinate clause with =*nna* at its end is marked with the imperfect, present perfect, or progressive aspect suffix, and the main clause is in the imperative — the clause ending in =*nna* provides the reason for the command expressed in the main clause.

- (3.415) min-u t'iss-ø-ino-'e=na
 house-NOM.M cause.sickness-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG=and
- haissó abb-i-'e.
 grass(ACC) bring-IMP.2SG-1SG
- 'Because my house leaks (*lit.*, the house causes sickness to me), bring me grass.'

There is another construction with =*nna*, where the clitic follows a verb with the infinitive suffix, which conveys that the event expressed by the main clause occurred while the event expressed by the subordinate clause with =*nna* was happening, as in (3.416).

- (3.416) lat'o dangur-i waalčo
 Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M door(ACC)

fan-ø-a=nna la'-'-ino-si.
 open-3SG.M-INF=while see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M

'Lat'o saw Dangura while he was opening the door.'

• =*woi* 'or'

The conjunctive clitic =*woi* 'or' is used to connect more than one constituent, as in (3.417) and (3.418).

- (3.417) bule daafursá=*woi* dangurá
 Bule(NOM.F) Daafursa(ACC)=or Dangura(ACC)

bat-t'-anno.
 love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

'Bule loves Daafursa or Dangura.'

- (3.418) lasě kaw-í-ra dag-g-ino
 Lashe(NOM.M) here-GEN.PRON-ALL come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

manč-í rodó=*woi* sirb-i-t-a-nni
 person-GEN.MOD.M sibling(ACC)=or sing-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

no mančo anná la'-ø-ino.
 exist.P.PRF.3 person(GEN.F) father(ACC) see-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'Lashe saw the sister of the man who came here or the father of the woman who is singing.'

This clitic can also connect clauses, as in (3.419).

- (3.419) *insa* *min-í-nke-ra*
 3PL.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-1PL.POSS-ALL
- dag-g-anno=woi* *ninke*
 come-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=or 1PL.NOM
- min-í-nsa-ra* *ha'-n-ee-mmo.*
 house-GEN.MOD.M-3PL.POSS-ALL go-1PL-IMPRF.1-1PL
- ‘They are coming to our house, or we are going to their house.’

When more than two constituents are connected with *=woi*, this clitic is normally attached to the second to the last constituent, as in (3.420).

- (3.420) *daafurs-i* *bule=woi*
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F)=or
- dangur-i* *da-ø-anno.*
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- ‘Daafursa, Bule, or Dangura will come.’

- (3.421) *mat'aaf-ú* *dan-i* *duumo=ho*
 book-GEN.M color-NOM.MOD.M red=NPC.M.PRED
- koliššo=ho=woi* *waaǰjo=ho.*
 black=NPC.M.PRED=or white=NPC.M.PRED
- ‘The color of the book is red, black, or white.’

When an NP consisting of more than two NPs conjoined with this clitic is the subject, the verb agrees with the final component NP, as in (3.422).

- (3.422) daafurs-i=woi ani da-ee-mm-o.
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M=or 1SG.NOM come-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘Either Daafursa or I (M) will come.’

This conjunction clitic usually occurs in the declarative, but can be used in an alternative question like (3.423) and (3.424).

- (3.423) bule hitto mančo bat-t'-anno,
 Bule(NOM.F) what.kind.of person(ACC) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

harančo du'má=woi seedá mančo ?
 short(ACC) fat(ACC)=or tall(ACC) person(ACC)

‘What type of man does Bule like, a short, fat, or tall man?’⁷⁷

- (3.424) ae doo-d'-a-tt-a, ané
 who.ACC choose-MID-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-F 1SG.ACC

daafursá=woi dangurá ?
 Daafursa(ACC)=or Dangura(ACC)

‘Who will you (SG.F) choose, me, Daafursa, or Dangura?’

• =*nso* ‘or’

The conjunctive clitic =*nso* can only occur in questions, specifically alternative questions. Examples are shown in (3.425) and (3.426).

⁷⁷ In this sentence, the final noun *mančo* can be omitted to form a noun phrase without a noun (*bule hitto mančo bat-t'-anno, harančo(=woi) du'ma=woi seeda* ?) (section 3.1.3.1).

(3.425) bule daafursá=nso dangurá
 Bule(NOM.F) Daafursa(ACC)=or Dangura(ACC)

bat-t'-anno ?
 love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘Does Bule love Daafursa or Dangura?’

(3.426) aé doo-ǰ-a-tt-o, lat'ó=nso
 who.ACC choose-MID-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M Lat'o(ACC)=or

šuubaalé ?
 Shuubaale(ACC)

‘Who will you (SG.M) choose, Lat'o or Shuubaale?’

Like =*woi*, when there are more than two items to choose from, this clitic usually attaches to the second to final one, as in (3.427), (3.428), and (3.429).

(3.427) ai da-ø-anno, damboow-i
 who.NOM come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M

bule=nso dangur-i ?
 Bule(NOM.F)=or Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

‘Who is coming, Damboowa, Bule, or Dangura?’

(3.428) aé doo-ǰ-a-tt-a, ané
 who.ACC choose-MID-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-F 1SG.ACC

daafursá=nso dangurá ?
 Daafursa(ACC)=or Dangura(ACC)

‘Who will you (SG.F) choose, me, Daafursa or Dangura?’

- (3.429) ma ag-a-tt-o, t'ajjé
 what.ACC drink-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M t'ajje(ACC)
- harak'é=nso faršo ?
 harak'e(ACC)=or farsho(ACC)
- ‘What will you (SG.M) drink, *t'ajje* [AMH: yellow local alcoholic beverage brewed with honey], *harak'e* [gin-like liquor], or *farsho* [local beer]?’

When more than two choices are given in questions with =*nso*, interrogative words have to be employed, and the choices have to occur at the end of the sentence, as in (3.425)-(3.429). Thus, (3.430) is ungrammatical.

- (3.430) *daafurs-i bule=nso
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F)=or
- dangur-i da-ø-anno ?
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- to mean*, ‘Will Daafursa, Bule, or Dangura come?’

Like =*woi*, =*nso* can be used to connect types of constituents other than NPs, as in (3.431)-(3.435).

- (3.431) ise t'int'a'l-i-d-a-nni no=nso
 3SG.F.NOM think-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3=or
- got-t'-e no ?
 sleep-3SG.F-CNN exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘Is she thinking or sleeping?’

- (3.432) insá=wa=nso ninké=wa dag-g-a-nni
 3PL.GEN=place=or 1PL.GEN=place come-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

no ?
 exist.P.PRF.3

‘Is she coming to them or to us?’

- (3.433) insa min-í-nke-ra
 3PL.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-1PL.POSS-ALL

dag-g-anno=nso ninke
 come-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=or 1PL.NOM

min-í-nsa-ra ha’-n-ee-mmo ?
 house-GEN.MOD.M-3PL.POSS-ALL go-1PL-IMPRF.1-1PL

‘Are they coming to our house, or are we going to them?’

- (3.434) mat’aaf-ú dan-i hiitto=ho,
 book-GEN.M color-NOM.MOD.M how=NPC.M.PRED

duumo=ho koliššo=ho=nso
 red=NPC.M.PRED black=NPC.M.PRED=or

waaǰjo=ho ?
 white=NPC.M.PRED

‘What is the color of the book, red, black, or white?’

- (3.435) ise danča=te=nso buša=te ?
 3SG.F.NOM good=NPC.F.PRED=or bad=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘Is she good or bad?’

3.2.2.4 Negative Proclitic

The negative proclitic *di=* is phonologically bound to the beginning of a clause-final constituent or a constituent in the focus position (as discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.2, /i/ of *di=* can be elided, and this clitic and a vowel- or /h/-beginning word that

follows it can be fused). The types of constituents to which *di=* can attach are displayed in (3.436).

- | | | | | |
|---------|----|-------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| (3.436) | a. | <i>di=verb</i> | c. | <i>di=verb=te/=ho</i> |
| | b. | <i>di=... verb</i> | d. | <i>di=... verb=te/=ho</i> |
| | e. | <i>di=adj=te/=ho</i> | | |
| | f. | <i>di=noun=te/=ho</i> | | |
| | g. | <i>di=GEN.NP=te/=ho</i> | | |
| | h. | <i>di=NP=ti</i> | | |
| | i. | <i>RC=hu di=...=ti</i> | | |

Predicates in Sidaama can be either verb predicates, as in (3.436a) and (3.436b), or NP predicates (with noun-phrase clitics), as in (3.436c)-(3.436i). The clitic *di=* attaches to clause-final constituents, as in (3.436a), (3.436c), and (3.436e)-(3.436i), or to preverbal constituents, as in (3.436b) and (3.436d). Each type is discussed with examples below. In this language, focus is placed on a preverbal constituent. As indicated in the glosses for some of the examples of (3.436b) and (3.436d), when *di=* attaches to a preverbal constituent, the constituent is contrasted to other constituents that (potentially) stand in a paradigmatic relation with it.

• *di=verb*: (3.436a)

When used as a predicate, any verb in the present perfect, imperfect, progressive, or continuous aspect, can be negated by *di=*, which immediately precedes it, as in (3.437)-(3.442).⁷⁸

⁷⁸ When this clitic is attached to a verb, the verb has to be in the present perfect, imperfect, progressive, or continuous aspect, and cannot be in the simple perfect. When the progressive form of a verb, “V-PERS-INF-INST exist” (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1), is negated with the clitic *di=*, it occurs immediately before the content verb, as in (ia), rather than immediately before the existential verb, as in (ib).

(3.437) isi mann-ú su'má
 3SG.M.NOM people-GEN.M name(ACC)

di=haw-ø-anno.
 NEG=forget-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

‘He does not forget people’s names.’

(3.438) isi adó di=ag-ø-ino.
 3SG.M.NOM milk(ACC) NEG=drink-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘He did not drink milk.’

(i) a. ani di=it-ø-a-nni no-o-mm-a.
 1SG.NOM NEG=eat-1SG-INF-INST exist-P.PRF.1-1-F
 ‘I (F) am not eating.’

b. *ani it-ø-a-nni di=no-o-mm-a.
 1SG.NOM eat-1SG-INF-INST NEG=exist-P.PRF.1-1-F

When this clitic negates the continuous form of a verb, “V-PERS-CNN exist”, it occurs right before the content verb, as in (iia), rather than the existential verb, as in (iib).

(ii) a. isi gobba-a-nni di=uurr-ø-e no.
 3SG.M.NOM outside-LV-LOC.LOC NEG=stand-3SG.M-CNN exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘He has not been standing outside.’

b. *isi gobba-a-nni uurr-ø-e
 3SG.M.NOM outside-LV-LOC.LOC stand-3SG.M-CNN

di=no.
 NEG=exist.P.PRF.3

When a verb is followed by *hee’r-i*, *di=* occurs right before the preceding verb, as in (iiia), rather than right before *hee’r-ø-i*, as in (iiib).

(iii) a. dikko di=ha’r-oo-mm-o hee’r-ø-i.
 market NEG=go-P.PRF.1-1-M live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘I (M) did not go to the market.’

b. *dikko ha’r-oo-mm-o di=hee’r-ø-i.
 market go-P.PRF.1-1-M NEG=live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

For the occurrence of *di=* with expressions with *y-* ‘to say’ and *ass-* ‘to do’, see footnote 42.

- (3.439) teenn-u min-ú giddoo-nni di=no.
 flies-NOM.M house-GEN.M inside-at NEG=exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘Flies do not exist in the house.’
- (3.440) bule sagalé dangur-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) food(ACC) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M

 di=u-i-t-ino.
 NEG=give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘Bule did not give food to Dangura.’
- (3.441) ani tenné saá t’uur-u-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM this.F.ACC cow(ACC) milk-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

 hatté saá kainni di=t’uur-oo-mm-o.
 that.F.ACC cow(ACC) however NEG=milk-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) milked this cow. However, I did not milk that cow.’
- (3.442) laše gobba-a-nni di=godo’l-a
 Lashe(NOM.M) outside-LV-LOC.LOC NEG=play-INF

 bat’-ø-anno.
 like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘Lashe likes not playing outside (but doing something else outside).’

• di=... verb: (3.436b)

The negative proclitic *di=* can attach to a focused constituent in the preverbal position. In such a case, only the focused constituent is negated.⁷⁹ The negated constituent may be an argument of the verb, as in (3.443)-(3.447).

(3.443) bule sagalé di=dangur-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) food(ACC) NEG=Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘Bule gave food not to Dangura (but to someone else).’

(3.444) bule dangur-í-ra di=sagalé
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP NEG=food(ACC)

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘Bule gave Dangura not food (but something else).’

⁷⁹ When the predicate is a verb and the verb is not negated, the negated constituent has to be preverbal, and no constituent can intervene between the negated preverbal constituent and the verb. For example, sentences like (i) and (ii) are ungrammatical.

(i) *bule di=dangur-í-ra sagalé
 Bule(NOM.F) NEG=Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP food(ACC)

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

(ii) *di=teenn-u min-ú giddoo-nni no.
 NEG=flies-NOM.M house-GEN.M inside-LOC exist.P.PRF.3

- (3.445) sagalé dangur-í-ra di=bule
 food(ACC) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP NEG=Bule(NOM.F)
 u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘Not Bule (but someone else) gave Dangura food.’
- (3.446) isi di=adó ag-ø-ino.
 3SG.M.NOM NEG=milk(ACC) drink-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘He drank not milk (but something else).’
- (3.447) min-ú giddoo-nni di=teenn-u no.
 house-GEN.M inside-LOC NEG=flies-NOM.M exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘It is not flies that are in the house.’ (It is not flies but other things that are in the house.)

Adverbials can also occur in this position to be negated, as in (3.448)-(3.450).

- (3.448) ise bero di=min-í-si-ra
 3SG.F.NOM yesterday NEG=house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL
 mar-t-ino.
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘She went not to his house (but somewhere else) yesterday.’
- (3.449) ise min-í-si-ra
 3SG.F.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL
 di=bero mar-t-ino.
 NEG=yesterday go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘She went to his house not yesterday (but some other time).’
- (3.450) teenn-u di=min-ú giddoo-nni no.
 flies-NOM.M NEG=house-GEN.M inside-LOC exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘The flies are not in the house (but somewhere else).’

This clitic can also attach to a verb in the adverbial subordinate clause preceding the main verb in one of the constructions (“V1-PERS-CNN, V2” and “V1-PERS-INF-MANNER, V2”) to only negate the subordinate verb, usually without negating the main verb, as in (3.451).

- (3.451) ise god-ú giddo-ra
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ALL
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|------------|
| { | di=daak-k-e | } | ha-d'-ino. |
| | NEG=swim-3SG.F-CNN | | |
| | di=daak-k-a-nni | | |
| | NEG=swim-3SG.F-INF-MANNER | | |
- go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She went into the cave, not swimming (but in some other way).’

• di=verb=te/=ho: (3.436c)

As discussed in section 3.2.2.1, the noun-phrase clitic =te/=ho can be the head of an NP where it is modified by a relative clause (e.g., (3.352a): *lat'o dangura bat-t'-anno=te*. [Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)] like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED ‘Lat'o is the one who likes Dangura.’). Such a relative clause has to end in a verb in the imperfect, the present perfect, the progressive, or the continuous. The negative clitic *di=* can attach to the verb of a relative clause in the predicate NP, as in (3.452) and (3.453).

- (3.452) lat'o dangurá di=bat-t'-anno=te.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) NEG=like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘Lat'o is not the one (F) who likes Dangura.’

- (3.453) isi mann-ú su'má
 3SG.M.NOM people-GEN.M name(ACC)

di=haw-∅-anno=ho.
 NEG=forget-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.PRED

'He is a (type of) person who does not forget people's names.'

• di=... verb=te/=ho: (3.436d)

The negative clitic *di=* can attach to a focused constituent immediately before the verb of a relative clause that modifies the predicative noun-phrase clitic, as in (3.454) and (3.454). In parallel with the pattern of (b), *di=* only negates the preverbal constituent.

- (3.454) lat'o di=dangurá bat-t'-anno=te.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) NEG=Dangura(ACC) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED
 'Lat'o is the one (F) who likes not Dangura (but someone else).'

- (3.455) ise min-í-si-ra
 3SG.F.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL

di=bero mar-t-ino=te.
 NEG=yesterday go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED

'She is not the one who went to his house not yesterday (but some other time).'

• di=adj=te/=ho: (3.436e)

The clitic *di=* can occur before an adjectival predicate consisting of an adjective and the predicative noun-phrase clitic *=te/=ho*, as in (3.456).

- (3.456) kuni loos-i di=danča=ho.
 this.M.NOM job-NOM.MOD.M NEG=good=NPC.M.PRED
 'This job is not good.'

In such comparative constructions as in (3.457), *di=* immediately precedes the adjective.

- (3.457) isi isé-nni di=seeda=ho.
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN-ABL NEG=tall=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘He is not taller than her.’

When a degree adverbial modifies a predicative adjective, *di=* can occur either right before the degree adverbial or right before the adjective. In the former case, *di=* partially negates the degree adverbial, as in (3.458a), whereas, in the latter case, it negates only the adjective, as in (3.458b).

- (3.458) hakku darg-i
 that.M.NOM place-NOM.MOD.M
- | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----------|--------|---------------------|---|
| { | (a) | di=lowo | geešša | danča=ho. | } |
| | | NEG=large | degree | good=NPC.M.PRED | |
| | (b) | lowo | geešša | di=danča=ho. | |
| | | large | degree | NEG=good=NPC.M.PRED | |
- (a) ‘That place is not very good.’
 (b) ‘That place is very bad.’ (*lit.*, ‘That place is very not-good.’)

• *di=noun=te/=ho*: (3.436f)

The clitic *di=* can immediately precede Unmodified common nouns, which take the predicative noun-phrase clitic *=te/=ho* when they are predicates, as in (3.459) and (3.460).

- (3.459) insa di=roduuwa=ho.
 3PL.NOM NEG=brothers=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘They are not brothers.’

(3.460) min-ú giddoo-nni godo'l-i-t-a-nni
house-GEN.M inside-LOC play-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

no=ri di=ooso=te.
exist.P.PRF.3=NPC.PL NEG=children=NPC.F.PRED

‘The ones who are playing in the house are not children.’

• di=GEN.NP=te/=ho: (3.436g)

Genitive NPs also take the predicative noun-phrase clitic =te/=ho when they are predicates. They can be preceded by the clitic di=. Examples are shown in (3.461)-(3.463).

(3.461) hakku min-i di=ise=ho.
that.M.NOM house-NOM.MOD.M NEG=3SG.F.GEN=NPC.M.PRED
‘That house is not hers.’

(3.462) hatti sagale di=dangur-í
that.F.NOM food(NOM.F) NEG=Dangura-GEN.PROP.M

ann-i=te.
father-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED

rod-i-si=te.
sibling-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS=NPC.F.PRED

‘That food is not Dangura’s father’s. It is his brother’s.’

(3.463) tini bulé saa=ti.
this.F.MOM Bule(GEN.F) cow=NPC.PRED.MOD

di=dangur-i=te.
NEG=Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=NPC.F.PRED

‘This is Bule’s cow, not Dangura’s.’

The NP may contain a relative clause, as in (3.464)-(3.466).

- (3.464) hakku farašš-i di=hakk-í-ra
 that.M.NOM horse-NOM.MOD.M NEG=there-GEN.PROP.M-ALL
- mar-ø-ino manč-i=ho.
 go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED
- ‘That horse belongs to the man who went not there (but somewhere else).’
 (*lit.*, ‘That horse is the man who went not there’s.’)
- (3.465) damboow-i di=bule bat-t’-anno
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M NEG=Bule(NOM.F) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- mančo=ti.
 person=NPC.PRED.MOD
- ‘Damboowa is the man who not Bule (but someone else) likes.’
- (3.466) hakkii di=danguri
 that.place-NOM.M.PRON NEG=Dangura-NOM.PROP.M
- { hee’r-ø-anno darga=ti.
 live-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 place=NPC.PRED.MOD
 hee’r-ø-anno=wa=ti.
 live-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=place=NPC.PRED.MOD }
- ‘That is the place where not Dangura (but someone else) lives.’

• di=NP=ti: (3.436h)

As discussed in section 3.2.2.1, the predicative noun-phrase clitic =*ti* follows Modified common nouns, proper nouns, or pronouns in the predicate position (when not in the “REL=*hu* ... =*ti*” construction). The clitic *di=* can negate any of these types of NPs by attaching to it, as in (3.467)-(3.471).

- (3.467) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{di}=\text{até} \\ \text{NEG}=2\text{SG.GEN} \\ \text{(b) } \text{di}=\text{danča} \\ \text{NEG}=\text{good} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dargaa}=\text{ti.} \\ \text{place}=\text{NPC.PRED.MOD} \end{array} \right\}$
- hakku
that.M.NOM

- (a) ‘That is not your place.’
(b) ‘That is not a good place.’

- (3.468) $\text{di}=\text{damboowa}=\text{ti.}$
3SG.M.NOM NEG=Damboowa=NPC.PRED.MOD
‘He is not Damboowa.’

- (3.469) $\text{di}=\text{iso}=\text{ti.}$
Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M NEG=3SG.M=NPC.PRED.PROP
‘Damboowa is not him.’

- (3.470) $\text{t'uur-oo-mm-o}=\text{hu}$ tenne
1SG.M.NOM milk-P.PRF.1-1SG-M=NPC.M.NOM this.F

$\text{saa}=\text{ti.}$ $\text{di}=\text{hattenne}=\text{ti.}$
cow=NPC.PRED.MOD NEG=that.one.F=NPC.PRED.PRON

‘I (M) milked this cow, not that cow (It is this cow that I milked; not that one).’

- (3.471) $\text{di}=\text{lowo}$ geešša danča $\text{dargaa}=\text{ti.}$
that.place.NOM NEG=large degree good place=NPC.PRED.MOD
‘That is not a very good place.’

• RC=hu di=...=ti: (3.436i)

The predicate constituent of the cleft construction “RC=hu ...=ti” (Chapter 5 section 5.1.2.1) can be negated with *di=*, as in (3.472) and (3.473).⁸⁰ As shown in these examples, this is possible regardless of the part of speech of the predicate constituent, which can be an NP or adverbial.

⁸⁰ As discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.1.2.1), the head of the relative clause in this construction cannot be its subject.

(3.472) *bule* *hiikk’-i-t-ino=hu*
Bule(NOM.F) *break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM*

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|
| { | (a) | <i>di=midaano=ti.</i>
<i>clay.pot=NPC.HUTI</i> | } |
| | (b) | <i>di=danča midaano=ti.</i>
<i>NEG=good [clay.pot]=NPC.HUTI</i> | |

(a) ‘The one that Bule broke is not a clay pot.’

(b) ‘The one that Bule broke is not a good clay pot.’

(3.473) *bule* *min-î-nke-ra*
Bule(NOM.F) *house-GEN.MOD.M-1PL.POSS-ALL*

dag-g-ino=hu
come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|
| { | (a) | <i>di=bero=ti.</i>
<i>yesterday=NPC.PRED.HUTI</i> | |
| | (b) | <i>di=beett-i-se ledo=ti.</i>
<i>child-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS COM=NPC.PRED.HUTI</i> | |
| | (c) | <i>di=beett-i-se-ra=ti.</i>
<i>child-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS=NPC.PRED.HUTI</i> | |
| | (d) | <i>di=suununni=ti.</i>
<i>slowly=NPC.PRED.HUTI</i> | |
| | (e) | <i>di=dod-d-a-nni=ti/dod-d-e=ti.</i>
<i>run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER=NPC.PRED.HUTI/</i>
<i>run-3SG.F-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI</i> | } |

(a) ‘It was not yesterday that Bule came to our house.’

(b) ‘It was not with her son that Bule came to our house.’

(c) ‘It was not for her son that Bule came to our house.’

(d) ‘It was not slowly that Bule came to our house.’

(e) ‘It was not by running that Bule came to our house.’

As in the last two patterns, the negative clitic *di=* can attach to predicative nouns to negate them. However, when common nouns are Modified by other elements in the predicate position, the head nouns alone cannot be negated, unlike the Modifier(s). (3.467’)-(3.472’) are ungrammatical.

(3.467') *hakku até di=dargaa=ti.
 that.M.NOM 2SG.GEN NEG=place=NPC.PRED.MOD

(3.472') *bule hiikk'-i-t-ino=hu danča
 Bule(NOM.F) break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM good

di=midaano=ti.
 NEG=[clay.pot]=NPC.HUTI

3.2.2.5 Other Enclitics

• =lla '[EMPH]'

This clitic attaches to various types of constituents to emphasize their meanings.

(3.474) ha'r-a hasis-s-anno-si.
 go-INF(NOM.F) become.necessary-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-3SG.M

isi kainni=lla di=ha'r-ø-ino.
 3SG.M.NOM however=EMPH NEG=go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'He has to go. However, he has not go.'

When it follows an interrogative word, it expresses the speaker's surprise, as in (3.475) and (3.476).

(3.475) hiikka=lla ha'r-ø-ino ?
 where=EMPH go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'Where on earth did he go?'

- (3.476) maa=lla it-ø-ino ?
 what.ACC=EMPH eat-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘What on earth did he eat?’ (used e.g. when a baby gets sick after eating something)

This clitic is often bound to the end of an NP or adverbial to express the notion of ‘only’, as in (3.477)-(3.481).⁸¹

- (3.477) šiima yanna geešša=lla agar-oo-mm-o-se.
 small time degree=only wait-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F
 ‘I (M) waited for her only for a short time.’
- (3.478) mat’iné hi-d-ee-mm-o-wote=lla dikko
 salt(ACC) sell-MID-IMPRF.1-1SG-M-when=only market
- ha’r-ee-mm-o.
 go-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘Only when I (M) buy salt do I go to the market.’
- (3.479) ise isí=wa=lla ha-d-ino.
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place=only go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘She went just to him.’ (not to anyone else)
- (3.480) k’ol-ø-e k’ol-ø-e mitto aana re=lla
 repeat-3SG.M-CNN repeat-3SG.M-CNN one top thing=only
- hasaw-ø-anno.
 talk-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- ‘He talks about the same thing repeatedly.’

⁸¹ It can also be attached to an adjective in a noun-phrase without its head noun, as in (i).

- (i) kul-oo-tt-o-’e od-í giddo šiim-u-lla
 tell-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M-1SG story-GEN.MOD.M inside small-NOM.M-only
- halaale=ho.
 true=NPC.M.PRED
- ‘Only a small portion of the story you told me is true.’

- (3.481) k'aakk'o mitté hinkiččó=lla
 baby(NOM.F) one.F(ACC) tooth(ACC)=only

af-i-d'-d'-ino.
 find-EP-MID-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'The baby girl has only one tooth.'

- =no 'also'

This enclitic is attached to an NP or an adverbial, as in (3.482)-(3.483).

- (3.482) A: ga'a ani jil-ú darg-í-ra
 tomorrow 1SG.NOM feast-GEN.M place-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

ha'r-ø-a-nni no-o-mm-o.
 go-1SG-INF-MANNER exist-P.PRF.1-1-M

- B: ani=no ha'r-ee-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM=also go-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

A: 'I'm going to the feast tomorrow.'

B: 'I'm also going.'

- (3.483) A: ma ag-gin-anni/ad-i-tin-anni ?
 what(ACC) drink-2PL-IMPRF.2PL/take-EP-2PL-IMPRF.2PL

B: adó.
 milk(ACC)

- C: ané-ra=no adó abb-i-'e.
 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON=also milk(ACC) bring-IMP.2SG-1SG

A: 'What will you (PL) drink/take (=drink)?'

B: 'Milk.'

C: 'Bring milk to me, too.'

The construction, "A=no B=no", expresses 'not only A but also B', as in (3.484) and (3.485).

- (3.484) ise bero=no lamal-ú barr-í
 3SG.F.NOM yesterday=also seven-GEN.M day-GEN.MOD.M

alba-a-nni=no dag-g-ino.
 face-LV-LOC=also come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She came not only yesterday but also seven days ago.’

- (3.485) dangur-i=no ani=no
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M=also 1SG.NOM=also

do-n-d-u-mmo.
 run-1PL-run-S.PRF.1-1PL

‘Not only Dangura but I ran.’

This clitic can be combined with the subordinating suffix *-ro* ‘if’ to express ‘even if/though ...’, as in (3.486) and (3.487).

- (3.486) t’iss-ø-i-he-ro=no č’inč’-i.
 cause.sickness-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-2SG-if=even endure-IMP.2SG
 ‘Even if it is painful, endure it.’ (*lit.*, ‘Even if <IMPERS.3SG.M> causes sickness to you, endure it.’)

- (3.487) t’a umó-si haw-ø-ino-ro=no šiima
 now RFL(ACC)-3SG.M forget-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-if=even small

yanna gedensa-a-nni umó-si af-ø-anno.
 time last-LV-LOC RFL(ACC)-3SG.M know-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

‘He lost his consciousness, but after a short while, he will come to.’

3.2.3 Interjections

A number of interjections in Sidaama begin in /h/.

(3.488)hai	[exclamation of sorrow]
haššu	[exclamation of approval]
hiyyi	‘Get lost!’ ‘Get out of here!’
heri	[exclamation of disgust and contempt]
hoola	[exclamation of admiration]
hunša	[exclamation of sorrow]
ba’esiba’o	[exclamation of sorrow] (<i>lit.</i> , <i>ba’-ø-e isi ba’-o</i> [disappear-3SG.M-CNN 3SG.M.NOM disappear-OPT.3SG.M])
gimbi	[exclamation of refusal] (<i>gimbi y-</i> ‘to refuse’)
daa’e	‘welcome’ often used in <i>da-a-’e bušš-u</i> [come-INF-1SG soil-NOM.M] ‘Welcome!’ (<i>lit.</i> , ‘Let the soil come to me.’)

3.2.4 Other Closed-Class Forms

- wole ‘another, other’

This word is often used as an adjective that attributively modifies nouns (e.g., *wole re* ‘another thing’, *wole manna* ‘other people’, *wole gobba* ‘another country’).

(3.489)	<table> <tr> <td>wol-ú</td> <td>darg-í-ra</td> <td rowspan="4">}</td> <td rowspan="4">ha’r-ø-ino.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>other-GEN.M</td> <td>place-GEN.MOD.M-ALL</td> </tr> <tr> <td>wole darga</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>other place</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	wol-ú	darg-í-ra	}	ha’r-ø-ino.	other-GEN.M	place-GEN.MOD.M-ALL	wole darga		other place		go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
wol-ú	darg-í-ra	}	ha’r-ø-ino.									
other-GEN.M	place-GEN.MOD.M-ALL											
wole darga												
other place												

‘He went somewhere else.’

This word can also be used as a pronoun. In (3.489), *wol-u darg-i-ra* and *wole darga* can be replaced by *wole=wa* ‘another=place’, where *wole* is followed by the clitic =*wa*.

Another example is shown in (3.490).

(3.490) ise gib-b-e=nna-si wolé
 3SG.F.NOM hate-3SG.F-CNN=and-3SG.M another(ACC)

ad-ø-i.
 take-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘She hated him, and he married another woman.’

- duuča ‘many, much’, duuča-nta (F)/duuča-nka (M), wo’ma, wo’ma-nta (F)/wo’ma-nka (M) ‘all’

All these forms seem to modify a noun. *Duuča* basically means ‘many, much’, but all the other forms mean ‘all.’ *Wo’ma* has a constant form, whereas *duuča*, *duuča-nta* (F)/*duuča-nka* (M), and *wo’ma-nta* (F)/*wo’ma-nka* (M) inflect for the case of the noun that they seem to modify, as in Table 3.20. Except for *wo’ma*, which has to directly follow a noun, all the other forms can either immediately precede or follow the modified noun; they can mean ‘all’ or ‘many, much’ depending on the position relative to the noun, as shown in Table 3.21. The two pairs of inflecting forms, which contain the emphatic suffix (-*nta* (F)/-*nka* (M)) discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.2.3), show a gender contrast. *Duuča* is only case-marked when the head noun is masculine and in the nominative or genitive case.

ACC	NOM, GEN
duuča	duuča (F)/duuč-u (M)
duuča-nta (F)/duuča-nka (M)	duuča-nti (F)/duuču-nku (M)
wo'ma	*
wo'ma-nta (F)/wo'ma-nka (M)	wo'ma-nti (F)/wo'mu-nku (M)

Table 3.20: Different Case Forms of Words for 'all' and 'many, much'

	ACC		NOM/GEN	
	__ N	N __	__ N	N __
duuča	'many, much'	'all'(?lots of)	'many, much'	'all'
duuča-nta (F)/duuča-nka (M)	'all'	'all'(lots of)	'all'	'all'
			'many, much'	
wo'ma	*	'all'	*	*(?F)
wo'ma-nta (F)/wo'ma-nka (M)	'all'	'all'	'all'	*(?F)

Table 3.21: Meanings of Words for 'all' and 'many, much'
and their Position Relative to the Noun

Examples are shown in (3.491)-(3.496). They are in the accusative case in (3.491) and (3.492), the nominative case in (3.493) and (3.494), and the genitive case in (3.495) and (3.496).

- (3.491) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{duuča-ntá} \\ \text{all.ACC-EMP.F.ACC} \\ \text{wo'ma-ntá} \\ \text{all.ACC-EMP.F.ACC} \end{array} \right\}$ oosó la'-oo-mm-o.
 children(ACC) see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) saw all the children.'

- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{duučá} \\ \text{all.ACC} \\ \text{duučantá} \\ \text{all.ACC} \\ \text{wo'má} \\ \text{all.ACC} \\ \text{wo'ma-ntá} \\ \text{all.ACC-EMP.F.ACC} \end{array} \right\}$ oosó la'-oo-mm-o.
 children(ACC) see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) saw all the children.'

- (3.492) duučá oosó la'-oo-mm-o.
 many(ACC) children(ACC) see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) saw many children.'

- (3.493) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{duuču-nk-u} \\ \text{all-EMP-NOM.M} \\ \text{wo'mu-nk-u} \\ \text{all-EMP-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$ mann-i
 people-NOM.MOD.M

ha'r-ø-i.
 leave-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'All the people left.'

- (b) mann-u $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{duuč-u} \\ \text{all-NOM.M} \\ \text{duuču-nk-u} \\ \text{all-EMP-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$
 people-NOM.MOD.M

ha'r-ø-i.
 leave-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'All the people left.'

a masculine noun in the nominative or genitive case, they do not seem to Modify the noun because the noun takes the suffix for Unmodified nouns, *-u*.

• *ballo* ‘please’

The word for ‘please’ precedes a verb in the imperative in the same clause. It cannot occur after the verb (e.g., **bis-u waa gammuut-i-s-i-’e ballo.*).

(3.497)	{	ballo	bis-ú	waá	}
		please	body-GEN.M	water(ACC)	
	{	bis-ú	waá	ballo	}
		body-GEN.M	water(ACC)	please	

gammuut-i-s-i-’e.

(about.hot.and.cold.water)become.mixed-EP-CAUS-IMP.2SG-1SG

‘Please mix the hot and cold water for bathing for me.’

(3.498)	<i>hun-oo-mm-o=nna</i>	<i>ballo</i>	<i>maar-i-’e.</i>
	make.a.mistake-P.PRF.1-1SG-M=and	please	forgive-IMP.2SG-1SG
	‘I (M) made a mistake, so please forgive me.’		

(3.499)	<i>dangur-i</i>	"ballo	<i>ha’r-i"</i>
	Dangura-NOM.PROP.M	please	go-IMP.2SG

y-ø-e

say-3SG.M-CNN

t’a’m-ø-ino-’e.

ask-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG

‘Dangura asked me to go (*lit.*, Dangura asked me, saying “Please go”).’

• *hanni* [emphatic particle for the imperative]

This particle is used to emphasize the imperative to express ‘do ...’, ‘by all means ...’, or ‘please ...’.

- (3.500) *hanni* *amo.*
 EMPH come-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Please/Do come.’
- (3.501) *hanni* *waá* *abb-i*
 EMPH water(ACC) bring-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Please/Do bring water.’

Depending on the context, the construction with this particle expresses a negative imperative, even without the negative suffix.

- (3.502) *hanni* *waǰǰ-i.*
 EMPH become.fearful-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Do not be afraid.’⁸²

• *ee* ‘yes’/ *dee* ‘no’

The word for ‘yes’ is used when the speaker shows his/her agreement with what the other speaker has said and to answer a question affirmatively (in each of the two sets of conversations in (3.503) and (3.504), the person B can answer the person A’s question by saying *ee*).

The word for ‘no’ is used to negate what the other speaker has said, as in (3.503).

⁸² When used with *hanni*, such a verb can also be accompanied by the negative imperative suffix to express the negative command, as in (i).

- (i) *hanni* *waǰǰ-i-tooti.*
 EMPH become.fearful-EP-NEG.IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Do not be afraid.’

- (3.503) A: hatti ?
that.F.NOM
- B: dee'ni, tiji.
no over.there.F.NOM
- A: 'That?'
- B: 'No, over there.'

However, it cannot be used as a negative answer to a question. In (3.504), the second person cannot say *dee'ni* to give a negative answer.

- (3.504) A: dah-ø-a-mm-o-ra dand-ee-mm-o ?
swim-1SG-INF-1SG-M-DAT can-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- B: di=dand-a-tt-o.
NEG=can-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
- A: 'Can I (M) swim?'
- B: 'You (SG.M) cannot.'

• *baabba* [honorific title (F)]/*kala* [honorific title (M)]

These forms can precede the names of adults older than the speaker (e.g., *baabba buše*, *kala wo'na*). They have been created in Sidaama only recently, and are very formal forms that are used to show respect to older people in formal situations. These titles can be used not only when directly addressing a respected person but when referring to a respected person. They are not used for one's family members.

Chapter 4 Morphology

Sidaama is an agglutinative language, where almost all derivational morphology and all inflectional morphology involves affixation. Most affixes are suffixes, though there are case suprafixes (specifically, the accusative, oblique, and genitive case suprafixes). There are no prefixes in this language (though the negative proclitic *di=* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.4) is often treated as a verb prefix rather than a clitic in the literature; e.g., Teferra 2000). Reduplication is not uncommon in Sidaama, though not productive.

In this section, reduplication and affixation are discussed in this order.

4.1 Reduplication

Some verbs use reduplication to express repeated or intensified actions.¹ Such verbs are chiefly limited to those whose roots consist of only one syllable. The most common phonological material of a verb root involved in reduplication is C1V(V)C2 (sometimes, C1V(V)C2C2). The whole root is not simply repeated, but the first consonant replaces the second consonant at the coda (C1V(V)C1) and the root C1V(V)C2 (or C1V(V)C2C2) is added to it, with the result that the geminate of the first consonant is formed across the two portions. Thus, according to this pattern, C1V(V)C2 becomes C1V(V)C1C1V(V)C2 (sometimes, C1V(V)C2C2 becomes C1V(V)C1C1V(V)C2C2).

¹ There are those words, mainly verbs, which have the shapes of reduplicated forms, but whose components cannot stand alone (e.g., *bulbul-* ‘to dissolve’, *č’anč’an-* ‘to break into pieces’, *t’aratt’ar-* ‘to doubt’).

(4.1) šaf- ‘to shake’	šaššaf- ‘to shake repeatedly’
k’aas- ‘to sting’	k’aakk’aas- ‘to sting repeatedly’
bad- ‘to separate’	babbad- ‘to separate repeatedly’
kubb- ‘to jump’	kukkubb- ‘to jump repeatedly’
dol- ‘to cut (a tree)’	doddol- ‘to cut (a tree) repeatedly’
fač’- ‘to split (a log) into pieces’	faffač’- ‘to split (a log) into small pieces’
kis- ‘to touch’	kikkis- ‘to touch repeatedly’
dar- ‘to tear’	daddar- ‘to tear into pieces’
ga’m- ‘to bite’	gagga’m- ‘to chew’

In a less common pattern, the whole root is repeated.² In (4.2), C1VC2 is repeated to form C1VC2C1VC2.

² Repetition of a whole word is found in various fixed expressions. The connective form of a verb, which is often used as a manner adverbial, may be repeated, as in (i)-(iii).

(i)	k’ol-ø-e return-3SG.M-CNN ‘He talks about the same thing repeatedly.’	k’ol-ø-e return-3SG.M-CNN	mitto one	riččo thing	hasaw-ø-anno. talk-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
(ii)	k’ol-t-e return-2SG-CNN ‘Come again and again.’	k’ol-t-e return-2SG-CNN	amo. come.IMP.2SG		
(iii)	ise 3SG.F.NOM	led-d-e give/have.more-3SG.F-CNN	led-d-e give/have.more-3SG.F-CNN		
	il-t-u. give.birth-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F				
	‘She gave birth to more and more children.’				

There are those compounds with *y-* ‘to say’ or *ass-* ‘to do’ that contain reduplicated forms, though some of them lack unreduplicated counterparts (e.g., *aleekko aleekko y-* ‘(birds) to chirp’, *barri barri y-* ‘to be shocked’, *harragi harragi ass-* ‘to saw’, *č’akki č’akki ass-* ‘to hit lightly’). There are also adverbials containing reduplicated forms that are not verbs: e.g., *barr-u barr-u-nni* ‘day after day, every day’ (*barra* ‘day’, *barr-u-nni* ‘during the day time’), *yanna yanna-te-nni* ‘gradually’ (*yanna* ‘time’), *sununni sununni* ‘little by little’ (*sununni* ‘slowly’), *addi addi-nni* ‘(emphatic) separately’ (*addi* ‘separately’), *hašša hašša* ‘every evening’ (*hašša* ‘evening’), *t’a t’a* ‘as time goes by’ (*t’a* ‘now’).

- (4.2) mur- ‘cut’ murmur- ‘cut repeatedly’
gan- ‘to hit’ gangan- ‘to beat’

There are a small number of reduplicated verbs whose formation fit neither of the above patterns.

- (4.3) iibb- ‘to become warm’ iibbabb- ‘to become hot, have a fever’
kiif- ‘to sprinkle’ kifiif- ‘to sprinkle repeatedly’
ga’r- ‘(used for cattle) to lie down’ gargar’- ‘(used for a group of cattle) to lie down’

4.2 Affixes

This section describes affixes in Sidaama, first discussing derivational suffixes (section 4.2.1; derivational noun suffixes, derivational adjective suffixes, derivational verb suffixes) and then inflectional affixes (section 4.2.2; inflectional noun affixes, inflectional adjective affixes, inflectional verb suffixes). Section 4.2.3 examines the ordering relationships of the suffixes.

4.2.1 Derivational Suffixes

4.2.1.1 Derivational Noun Suffixes

4.2.1.1.1 Nominalizing Suffixes

4.2.1.1.1.1 Suffixes that Nominalize Adjectives

The suffixes in (4.4) derive an abstract noun from an adjective by replacing the final vowel of the adjective stem. Two of these, *-imma* and *-ina(a)te*, are not limited to adjectives; both can attach also to other nouns (section 4.2.1.1.2) and *-imma* can attach to verbs (see below) as well.

(4.4)	<i>adjective</i>	<i>noun</i>
<i>-imma</i>	lowo ‘much’ kaaḥja ‘strong’ hink-iweelo ‘having no teeth’	low-imma ‘size, greatness’ kaaḥj-imma ‘strength’ hink-iweel-imma ‘toothlessness’
<i>-ina(a)te</i>	gowwa ‘foolish’ lowo ‘much’ worba ‘young and strong’	goww-inaate ‘foolishness’ low-inaate ‘size’ worb-inate ‘bravery, gallantry’
<i>-ille</i>	lowo ‘much’ seeda ‘tall, long’ t’uma ‘beautiful’	low-ille ‘size, greatness’ seed-ille ‘height, length’ t’um-ille ‘beauty’

4.2.1.1.1.2 Suffixes that Nominalize Verbs

There are several forms of suffixes that turn verbs into nouns (Chapter 3 section 3.1.2.3), namely, *-a*, *-o*, *-e*, *-anšo*, *-atto*, *-ano*, *-ille*, *-imma*, and *-aančo*. Because the

citation form of any word in Sidaama ends in *-a*, *-o*, or *-e*, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether nouns ending in one of these vowels derive from verbs by adding a nominalizing suffix to the verb stem, or the verbs derive from the nouns. Examples are shown in (4.5).³

(4.5)	<i>verb</i>	<i>noun</i>
<i>-a</i>	gurd- ‘to knot’ wi’l- ‘to cry’ giir- ‘to burn’ galat- ‘to thank’ waaǰǰ- ‘to become fearful’	gurd-a ‘knot’ wi’l-a ‘condolences, crying’ giir-a ‘flame’ galat-a ‘thanks’ waaǰǰ-a ‘fear’
<i>-o</i>	egenn- ‘to know’ gorr- ‘to slaughter’ hank’- ‘to get angry’ kaa’l- ‘to help’ kapp’- ‘to tell a lie’ kiir- ‘to count’ lopp’- ‘to grow’ loos- ‘to work’ k’od- ‘to put on sth by fastening it’ seeǰǰ- ‘to advise’ tuns- ‘to become dark’ t’a’m- ‘to ask’ t’iss- ‘to cause sickness’ gaabb- ‘to regret’ dadill- ‘to become worried’ t’iss- ‘to cause pain’ hett’- ‘to (come to) wish’ good- ‘to become thirsty’ daafur- ‘to become tired’	egenn-o ‘knowledge’ gorr-o ‘slaughtering’ hank’-o ‘anger’ kaa’l-o ‘help’ kapp’-o ‘lie’ kiir-o ‘number’ lopp’-o ‘growth’ loos-o ‘work’ k’od-o ‘sth to put on by fastening it’ seeǰǰ-o ‘advice’ tuns-o ‘darkness’ t’a’m-o ‘question’ t’iss-o ‘sickness’ gaabb-o ‘regret’ dadill-o ‘worry’ t’iss-o ‘sickness, pain’ hett’-o ‘wish’ goo’r-o ‘thirst’ daafur-o ‘tiredness’

³ (4.5) only lists examples whose direction of derivation is relatively easy to determine.

-e	fool- ‘to breathe’	fool-e ‘breath’
	godo’l- ‘to play’	godo’l-e ‘play’
	mund- ‘to bleed’	mund-ee ‘blood’
	raar- ‘to shout’	raar-e ‘shouting’
	wiliil- ‘to emit smoke’	wiliil-e ‘smoke’
	ugaat’- ‘to go hunting’	ugaat’-e ‘hunting’

There are five other suffix forms that more clearly derive nouns from verbs, *-anšo*, *-atto*, *-ano*, *-ille*, and *-imma*. Examples are shown in (4.6). As mentioned in sections 4.2.1.1.1 and 4.2.1.1.2, *-ille* and *-imma* can also be used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives and other nouns.⁴

⁴ As in the examples in (i), it is sometimes not clear whether *-ille* and *-imma* are attached to a verb root or the final consonant of a related adjective, thus whether this suffix derives nouns from verbs or from adjectives.

(i)	seed- ‘to become long, tall’	seeda ‘long, tall’	seed-ille ‘length, height’
	gooww- ‘to become foolish’	goowwa ‘foolish’	goww-imma ‘foolishness’
	kaaǰǰ- ‘to become strong’	kaaǰǰa ‘strong’	kaaǰǰ-imma ‘strength’
	šam- ‘to become wet’	šama ‘wet’	šam-imma ‘wetness’

(4.6)	<i>verb</i>	<i>noun</i>
<i>-anšo</i>	giw- ‘to hate sb’ k’olč- ‘to outdistance sb’ gan- ‘to hit, beat, fight’ t’on- ‘to insult’	giw-anšo ‘hatred, disagreement’ k’olč-anšo ‘race’ gan-anšo ‘fighting’ t’on-anšo ‘insult’
<i>-atto</i>	ag- ‘to drink’ ha’r- ‘to go’ huučč’- ‘to pray’	ag-atto ‘drinking’ ha’r-atto ‘going’ huučč’-atto ‘prayer’
<i>-ano</i>	mug- ‘to become sleepy’ huučč’- ‘to pray, ask’ huf- ‘to steam’	mug-ano ‘sleepiness’ huučč’-ano ‘advice’ huf-ano ‘steam’
<i>-ille</i>	iibb- ‘to become hot’ su’n- ‘to smell’	iibb-ille ‘heat, fever’ su’n-ille ‘smell’
<i>-imma</i>	ged- ‘to become old’ hala’l- ‘to become wide’ kall- ‘become naked’ šakk’- ‘become soft’	ged-imma ‘old age’ hala’l-imma ‘width’ kall-imma ‘nakedness’ šakk’-imma ‘softness’

There is another type of nominalizing suffix, *-aančo*, which expresses ‘something that one uses when doing ...’ in addition to the singularity of the referent (section 4.2.2.1.1).

(4.7)	<i>verb</i>	<i>noun</i>
	ofol- ‘to sit’	ofol-aančo ‘seat’
	kubb- ‘to jump’	kubb-aančo ‘sth used for jumping over sth’
	sut- ‘to hang’	sut-aančo ‘hook’
	amad- ‘to hold’	amad-aančo ‘handle (of a pan, on a door, etc.)’
	usur- ‘to tie’	usur-aančo ‘tie, lace’

The same suffix can also derive from verbs words that refer to ‘a person who does/can do ...’ or ‘being able to do/frequently doing ...’. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section

3.1.3.1), such words have characteristics of both nouns and adjectives, and it is difficult to classify them into one of these categories. (4.8) shows examples, which are glossed only as nouns despite their adjectival properties.

(4.8) <i>verb</i>	<i>noun</i>
moor- ‘to steal, rob’	moor-aančo ‘thief’
rosis- ‘to teach’	rosis-aančo ‘teacher’
t’agis- ‘to cure sb with medicine’	t’agis-aančo ‘healer’
kiil- ‘to prophesy’	kiil-aančo ‘fortuneteller’
ra’-i-s- [become.cooked-EP-CAUS] ‘to cook sth’	ra’-i-s-aančo ‘person who can cook, cooking pot’

As discussed in section 4.2.1.2, this suffix form can also be used to derive adjectives from verbs.

4.2.1.1.2 Abstracting Suffixes

There are two suffixes that derive abstract nouns from other nouns: *-imma* and *-inate*. Both of them attach to the final consonant of a noun stem. Both can also derive abstract nouns from adjectives, and only *-imma* can derive abstract nouns from verbs as well (section 4.2.1.1.1).

(4.9)	<i>noun</i>	<i>abstract noun</i>
<i>-imma</i>	jaala ‘friend’ keeraančo ‘health’ k’aakk’o ‘baby’ rosisaančo ‘teacher’ manna ‘people’ magano ‘God’ meento ‘women’ rodo ‘sibling’ mooraančo ‘thief’ wosina, wosinčo ‘guest’ wošiččo ‘dog’, wošša ‘dogs’	jaal-imma ‘friendship’ keeraanč-imma ‘healthiness’ k’aakk’-imma ‘babyhood’ rosisaanč-imma ‘teacherhood’ mann-imma ‘personality’ magan-imma ‘divinity’ meent-imma ‘womanhood’ rod-imma ‘brotherhood’ mooraanč-imma ‘the state of being a thief’ wosin-imma ‘the state of being a guest’ wošičč-imma ‘the state of being like a dog’
<i>-inate</i>	k’ora ‘thief’ k’aakk’o ‘baby’	k’or-inate ‘the status of being a chief’ k’aakk’-inate ‘babyhood’

4.2.1.2 Derivational Adjective Suffixes: Adjectivizing Suffixes

4.2.1.2.1 Suffixes that Adjectivize Nouns

There are two types of suffixes that derive adjectives from nouns: *-aamo* (M)/*-aame* (F) and *-iweelo*.

The pair of adjectivizing suffix forms, *-aamo* (M)/*-aame* (F), which contrast in gender with each other, derive adjectives from nouns that mean having (a (positive) property of) the referent of the noun.⁵

⁵ However, there are two examples where *-aamo* (M)/*-aame* (F) derive adjectives from verbs, as in (i), and there are also some cases where it is not clear whether it is a verb or a noun from which this suffix derives adjectives, as in (ii).

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (i) | <i>awuuw-</i> ‘(about hair) to become gray’ | <i>awuuw-aamo</i> (M)/ <i>awuuw-aame</i> (F)
‘(about hair) gray’ |
| | <i>t’ur-</i> ‘to become dirty’ | <i>t’ur-aamo</i> (M)/ <i>t’ur-aame</i> (F) ‘dirty’ |

(4.10) <i>noun</i>	<i>adjective</i>
goowa ‘neck’	goow-aamo (M)/goow-aame (F) ‘having a long neck’
hamaššo ‘snake’	hamašš-aamo (M)/hamašš-aame (F) ‘jealous’
godowa ‘stomach’	godow-aamo (M)/godow-aame (F) ‘gluttonous’
wodana ‘heart’	wodan-aamo (M)/wodan-aame (F) ‘having a good memory’
diibbe ‘malintention’	diibb-aamo (M)/diibb-aame (F) ‘having malintention’
ḵiro ‘property, wealth’	ḵir-aamo (M)/ḵir-aame (F) ‘rich’
hoḵḵa ‘height’	hoḵḵ-aamo (M)/hoḵḵ-aame (F) ‘tall’
guma ‘fruit’	gum-aamo (M)/gum-aame (F) ‘producing fruits’

The other suffix, *-iweelo*, is attached to the root of a noun to express a lack of the referent of the noun.⁶

(ii)	<i>egenn-</i> ‘to know’/ <i>egenno</i> ‘knowledge’	<i>egenn-aamo</i> (M)/ <i>egenn-aame</i> (F) ‘wise’
	<i>hinaas-</i> ‘to become jealous’/ <i>hinaaso</i> ‘envy’	<i>hinaas-aamo</i> (M)/ <i>hinaas-aame</i> (F) ‘envious’
	<i>hafur-</i> ‘to have a skin disease’/ <i>hafuro</i> ‘skin disease’	<i>hafur-aamo</i> (M)/ <i>hafur-aame</i> (F) ‘having a skin disease’
	<i>t’iintall-</i> ‘to think deeply’/ <i>t’iintalla</i> ‘thoughtfulness’	<i>t’iintall-aamo</i> (M)/ <i>t’iintall-aame</i> (F) ‘careful, able to think deeply’

⁶ The form with *l* geminated, *-iweello*, derives adverbs from nouns. An example is shown in (i).

(i)	ise	yann-iweello	re-i-t-u.
	3SG.F.NOM	time-without	die-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
	‘She died young.’		

(4.11) <i>noun</i>	<i>adjective</i>
ɖuka ‘power’	ɖuk-iweelo ‘powerless’
fiit’a ‘relative’	fiit’-iweelo ‘having no relatives’
uddano ‘clothes’	uddan-iweelo ‘naked’
wodana ‘heart’	wodan-iweelo ‘forgetful’
hinkiččo ‘tooth’	hink-iweelo ‘having no teeth’
sagale ‘food’	sagal-iweelo ‘having no food’
yanna ‘time’	yann-iweelo ‘premature, unusual’
kaayyo ‘luck’	kaayy-iweelo ‘unlucky’

4.2.1.2.2 Suffixes that Adjectivize Verbs

There are a couple of suffixes that derive adjectives from verbs. The suffix *-ado* is usually added to state-change verbs to yield adjectives that refer to states.

(4.12) <i>verb</i>	<i>adjective</i>
hala’l- ‘to become wide’	hala’l-ado ‘wide’
šakk’- ‘to become soft’	šakk’-ado ‘soft’
kaaǰǰ- ‘to become strong’	kaaǰǰ-ado ‘strong’
rukk- ‘to become narrow’	rukk-ado ‘narrow’
airr- ‘to become heavy’	airr-ado ‘heavy’
biif- ‘to become beautiful’	biif-ado ‘beautiful’
iibb- ‘to become hot’	iibb-ado ‘hot’
ǰaab- ‘to become thin’	ǰaaw-ado ‘thin’
rak- ‘to hurry’	rah-ado ‘fast’

Another adjectivizing suffix *-(a)ančo*, which is also used to nominalize verbs, can derive from verbs adjectives that refer to resultative states or to tendencies to exhibit certain characteristics or enter certain mental states. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3.1) and section 4.2.1.1.1, adjectives with this suffix often have characteristics of nouns.

(4.13) <i>verb</i>	<i>adjective/nouns</i>
hiikk'- 'to break'	hiikk'-aančo 'broken'
t'ur- 'to become dirty'	t'ur-aančo 'dirty'
rak- 'to hurry'	rah-aančo 'fast'
hagid- 'to become happy'	hagid-aančo '(person who is) always happy'
dadill- 'to worry'	dadill-aančo '(person who is) always worrying'
waǰǰ- 'to fear'	waǰǰ-aančo '(person who is) becoming afraid easily'
moor- 'to steal, rob'	moor-aančo '(thief; a person who is) stealing frequently'
egenn- 'to know'	egenn-aančo '(person who is) wise'
kapp'- 'to tell a lie'	kapp'-aančo '(liar; person who is) lying frequently'
dod- 'to run'	dod-aančo '(runner; person who is) running'
muddam- 'to act too hastily'	muddam-aančo '(person who is) hasty'
hank'- 'to get angry'	hank'-aančo '(person who) gets angry easily'
daak- 'to swim'	daah-aančo '(swimmer; person who) is able to swim'
dimb- 'to get drunk'	dimb-aančo '(drunkard; person who) is frequently drunk'

A pair of suffixes that makes a gender distinction, *-(aal)eessa* (M)/*-(aal)eette* (F) (section 4.2.2.2.3), can be used to adjectivize verbs.⁷ Like adjectives with *-(a)ančo*, adjectives with these suffixes can often be used also as nouns (Chapter 3 section 3.1.3.1).

(4.14) <i>verb</i>	<i>adjective (M)/adjective (F)</i>
hank'- 'to get angry'	hank'-aaleessa/hank'-aaleette 'getting angry easily'
haw- 'to forget'	haw-aaleessa/haw-aaleette 'negligent, silly'
rak- 'to hurry'	rah-aaleessa/rah-aaleette 'swift, quick'
de'- 'to forget, neglect'	de'-aam-aaleessa/de'-aam-aaleette 'careless, negligent'
(de'-aam- 'to become careless, negligent')	
waǰǰja- 'to become fearful'	waǰǰjaleessa/waǰǰjaleetta 'always afraid'
kapp'- 'to tell a lie'	kapp'-aaleessa/kapp'-aaleette 'telling lies frequently'
čee'm- 'to become indifferent'	čee'm-aaleessa/čee'm-aaleette 'indifferent person'
yaad- 'to worry'	yaad-ameessa/yaad-ameette 'always worrying'

⁷ There is a pair of adjectives that are not derived from verbs: *soor-eessa* (M)/*soor-eetta* (F) 'first.' (These forms are not related to the verb *soor-* 'to treat sb to food after a hardship that he/she has undergone.')

There is also another adjectivizing suffix that is used for only a few verbs: *-aššo*.

(4.15) <i>verb</i>	<i>adjective</i>
jaab- ‘to become thin’	jaaw-aššo ‘thin’
rukk- ‘to become narrow’	rukk-aššo ‘narrow’
kee’m- ‘to become very fat’	kee’m-aššo ‘very fat’

There are nouns that appear to have this suffix, but it is actually one of the allomorphs of the singular suffix (e.g., *far-aššo* ‘horse’, *gal-aššo* ‘monkey’, *ham-aššo* ‘snake’).

4.2.1.3 Derivational Verb Suffixes

4.2.1.3.1 Verbalizing Suffixes

4.2.1.3.1.1 Suffixes that Verbalize Nouns

Some verbs seem to derive from nouns by the addition of a verbalizing suffix, which has the same form as the middle suffix (allomorphs: *-d*, *-’r*, *-’*, *-p*, *-t*’; see section 4.2.3). Examples are shown in (4.16) (*-i*: epenthetic vowel).

(4.16) <i>noun</i>	<i>verb</i>
osolo ‘laughter’	oso-’-l- ‘to laugh’
haak’e ‘dream’	haak’-i-d- ‘to dream’
hindiddo ‘tears’	hindaadd-i-d- ‘to shed tears’
hant’iššo ‘sneeze’	hant’išš-i-d- ‘to sneeze’
barko ‘pillow’	bark-i-d- ‘to pillow on’
fooliššo ‘rest’	foolišš-i-d- ‘to take a rest’
irko ‘support’	irk-i-d- ‘to lean on sth’
t’eeena ‘rain’	t’ee-’-n- ‘to take shelter from rain’
hagiirre ‘happiness’	hagii-d- ‘to become happy/excited’
hamaššo ‘snake’	hamašš-i-d- ‘to feel envious (like a snake)’
hemee ‘backbiting’	he-’-m- ‘to backbite’
hudee ‘hunger’	hud-i-d- ‘to become hungry’
mada ‘wound’	mad-i-d- ‘to become wounded’
maasso ‘blessing’	maass-i-d- ‘to bless’
uddano ‘clothes’	udd-i-d- ‘to put on (essential clothing item)’
guluččo ‘knee’	gulup-p’- ‘to kneel down’
sikk’iččo ‘stick’	sikk’-i-d- ‘to use a stick’

However, it is difficult to distinguish the verbalizing suffix from the middle suffix. Like some middle verb forms that lack active counterparts, the roots of these apparently derived verbs cannot be used without the verbalizing suffix (e.g., **osol-t-u* instead of *oso-’-l-i-t-u* ‘She laughed.’; **haak-k’-u* instead of *haak’-i-d-u* ‘She had a dream.’) (though the roots of some such verbs may be formed with the causative or double-causative suffix).⁸ Moreover, the nouns from which verbs with the verbalizing suffix seem to derive all end in *a*, *e*, or *o*, which could be analyzed as a nominalizing suffix, though any unsuffixed open-class forms in Sidaama end in one of these vowels. On the other hand, such nouns are sometimes clearly derived from the root with the nominalizing suffix (section 4.2.1.1.1), like the last three nouns in (4.16), which contain

⁸ Examples of forms with the causative or double-causative suffix are shown in (4.55) and (4.56).

allomorphs of the nominalizing suffix *-ano* and *-ččo*. Thus, when roots of verbs have derivationally related nouns and cannot be used as verbs by themselves without *-d'*, it is usually indeterminable whether *-d'* is the verbalizing suffix or the middle suffix.

The present study does not distinguish the verbalizing suffix (that derive verbs from nouns) and the middle suffix because there is no clear evidence for the distinction.⁹ (Also, in section 4.2.3.3, where the order of verb suffixes is discussed, the two suffixes, which occupy the same position relative to the verb root and other types of suffixes, are regarded as the same.)

Many of the noun-verb pairs in (4.16) can be used together in idiomatic expressions like (4.17)-(4.22). Some of them (e.g., ‘dream’) require the noun to be modified by an adjective. They look similar to the idioms in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.2.3), but unlike them, they do not express manners of actions.

(4.17) ise sikk'iččo sikk'-i-d-d-u.
3SG.F.NOM stick use.a.stick-EP-VBLZ-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
‘She used a stick as an aid.’

(4.18) barko bark'-i-'r-ø-ino.
pillow pillow.on-EP-VBLZ-P.PERF.3SG.M
‘He used a pillow.’

(4.19) heme he-'-m-ø-i.
backbiting backbiting-VBLZ-backbiting-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘He backbit.’

⁹ My consultant regards the two as the same morpheme. Note that *-d'* in this position is glossed as *-VBLZ* in this section, but as *[-MID]* in sections 4.2.1.3.3 and 4.2.3.

- (4.20) lowo/šiima hindiddo hindaad-i-'r-ø-i.
 much/little tears tears-EP-VBLZ-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He shed much/a little tears.'
- (4.21) danča folliššo foollīš-i-'r-i.
 good rest rest-EP-VBLZ-IMP.2SG
 'Take a good rest.'
- (4.22) danča/buša haak'e haak'-i-'r-oo-mm-o.
 good/bad dream dream-EP-VBLZ-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) had a good/bad dream.'

4.2.1.3.1.2 Suffixes that Verbalize Adjectives

There are a small number of verbs that seem to be derived from adjectives by attaching the suffix that has the same form as the middle suffix (allomorphs: *-d*, *-r*, *-'*, *-p*, *-t*'; see Chapters 4 and 6). Examples are given in (4.23). Most such adjectives are color terms. Indeterminacy similar to the above also exists between this verbalizing suffix and the middle suffix, because the roots of such words cannot be used by themselves.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (4.23) <i>adjective</i> | <i>verb</i> (-i is an epenthetic vowel) |
| koliššo 'black' | k'olišš-i-d- 'to become black' |
| waaǰjo 'white, pale' | waaǰj-i-d- 'to become white, pale' |
| duumo (M)/duume (F) 'red' | duu-'m- 'to become red' |
| bullā 'gray, brown' | bull-i-d- 'to become gray, brown' |
| haanǰa 'green' | haanǰ-i-d- 'to become green' |
| haraančo 'short' | hara-'m- 'to become short' |

4.2.1.3.2 Causative Suffix/Double-Causative Suffix**4.2.1.3.2.1 Causative Suffix**

The causative suffix is *-s*, which attaches to the verb root. Examples of the causative construction are shown in (4.24)-(4.26).

- (4.24) *bule* *damboowá*
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa(ACC)
- hank'-i-s-i-t-u(-si)*.
 become.angry-EP-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M)
- ‘Bule made Damboowa angry.’

- (4.25) *bule* *damboowá* *uddanó*
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa(ACC) clothes(ACC)
- haišš-i-s-s-ino(-si)*.
 wash-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)
- ‘Lashe made Damboowa wash the clothes.’

- (4.26) *beettó-'ya* *saaté* *wo-d'-i-s-u-mm-o*.
 child(ACC)-1SG.POSS watch(ACC) put-MID-EP-CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) made my child put on the watch.’

The caused event is intransitive in (4.24) (*hank'*- ‘to become angry’) and transitive in (4.25) and (4.26) (*haišš-* ‘to wash’, *wo-d'* [put-MID-] ‘to put sth on one’s body part’). Regardless of the transitivity of the caused event, the causer is in the nominative case, and the causee is in the accusative case.¹⁰ Thus, sentences like (4.25) and (4.26), which

¹⁰ If *damboowa* in (4.25) were in the dative case, he would be interpreted as a beneficiary, as in (i).

use the causative of a transitive verb, use two accusatives, one for the causee and the other for the object of the transitive verb that expresses the caused event.

Sidaama has many transitive verbs such as the ones on the right in (4.27), which are causative forms of intransitive verb roots.

(4.27) <i>non-causative (intransitive)</i>	<i>causative (transitive)</i>
ra'- 'to become cooked'	ra'-i-s- 'to cook sth'
it- 'to eat'	it-i-s- 'to feed sb, serve food to sb'
mool- 'to become dry'	mool-s- 'to dry sth'
e'- 'to enter'	ee-s- 'to move sth in'
gat- 'to become safe'	gat-i-s- 'to save sb'
leell- 'to become visible'	leell-i-s- 'to show sth'
ros- 'to learn, get used to'	ros-i-s- 'to teach'
ful- 'to exit'	fušš- 'to move sth out, take off clothes'
t'o- '(light/candle) to go off'	t'o-i-s- 'to extinguish (light/candle)'
dirr- 'to descend'	dirr-i-s- 'to move sth down'
huf- 'to become boiled'	huf-i-s- 'to boil sth'
do- 'to move around, in a circle'	do-i-s- 'to surround'
ta'- 'to come out'	ta-i-s- 'to cross'
ka'- 'to rise, get up'	ka'-i-s- 'to lift up sth, make sb stand up'
airr- 'to become heavy/honored'	airr-i-s- 'to respect sb'

-
- (i) bule damboow-í-ra uddanó
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP clothes(ACC)

haišš-i-s-s-ino(-si).
 wash-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

'Lashe made someone wash the clothes for Damboowa.'

On the other hand, *damboowa* in (4.24) cannot be in the dative, as in (ii).

- (ii) *bule damboow-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

hank'-i-s-i-t-u(-si).
 become.angry-EP-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M)

There are a small number of verbs like in (4.28) that contain the causative suffix, and whose root forms alone cannot be used though their middle-voice forms (or verb forms derived from nouns; see section 4.2.1.3.1) exist. There are also a few causative verb forms such as in (4.29), whose roots cannot be used as verbs, though they have noun forms that do not have the causative suffix.

(4.28) <i>causative</i>	<i>middle</i>	
bat-i-s- ‘to increase (trans.)’	bat-i-d- ‘to increase (intrans.)’	*bat-
irk-i-s- ‘to support’	irk-i-d- ‘to lean’	*irk-
lik’-ii-ss- ‘to lend’	lik’-ii-d- ‘to borrow’	*lik’-
udd-i-s- ‘to put (a clothing item) on sb’	udd-i-d- ‘to put on (a clothing item)’	*udd-
(4.29) <i>causative</i>	<i>noun</i>	
t’ag-i-s- ‘to treat sb with medicine’	t’agga ‘medicine’	*t’ag-
mačč’-i-šš- ‘to treat sb with medicine’	mačč’a ‘ear’	*mačč’-
araar-i-s- ‘to reconcile’	araara ‘reconciliation’	*araar-

4.2.1.3.2.2 Double-Causative Suffix

The suffix *-siis* is used for causative events where the causation is generally more indirect than those described with the causative suffix *-s*.¹¹ The present study calls this

¹¹ For even more indirect causative events, a construction with *...-gede ass-* [... -so.that do-], where a finite verb form is used for the caused event, may be used, as in (i) and (ii).

(i) bule damboow-i uddanó
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M clothes(ACC)

 haišš-ø-anno-gede ass-i-t-u(-si).
 wash-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-so.that do-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘Bule had Damboowa wash the clothes.’ (e.g., Bule told/asked Damboowa to wash the clothes.)

suffix the “double-causative suffix” because the causative suffix is repeated with the epenthetic vowel intervening between the two causative suffixes to prevent the two obstruents from being next to each other. Examples are shown in (4.30)-(4.32). As in the causative construction, the causer is in the nominative case, and the causee is usually in the accusative case, regardless of the transitivity of the caused event.

- (4.30) *bule damboowá (hakkó č'o-í-nni)*
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa(ACC) that.M.GEN subject-GEN.MOD.M-INST

hank'-i-siis-s-u.
 become.angry-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule provoked Damboowa (with that subject).’

- (4.31) *bule damboowá uddanó*
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa(ACC) clothes(ACC)

haišš-i-siis-s-ino(-si).
 wash-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘Bule had Damboowa wash the clothes.’

- (4.32) *beettó-'ya saaté*
 child(ACC)-1SG.POSS watch(ACC)

wo-d'-i-siis-u-mm-o(-si).
 put-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M(-3SG.M)

‘I (M) had my child put on the watch.’
 (with the object suffix *-si*: ‘I (M) had my son put on the watch.’)

-
- (ii) *beett-i-'ya saaté-si*
 child-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS watch(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS

wo-d'-ø-anno-gede ass-u-mm-o-si.
 put-MID-3SG.M-IMPREF.3-so.that do-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.M

‘I (M) had my son put on his watch.’ (e.g., I (M) told/asked my son to put on his watch.)

The causee can also be in the instrumental, as in (4.33) and (4.34).

- (4.33) *bule damboowá adá-si-nni*
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa(ACC) father's.sister(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-INST
hank'-i-siis-s-u.
 become.angry-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule had Damboowa’s father’s sister make him angry.’

- (4.34) *bule damboow-í-nni uddanó*
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-INST clothes(ACC)
haišš-i-siis-s-ino(-si).
 wash-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘Bule had Damboowa wash the clothes.’

In (4.33), the referents of the NPs in the accusative and the instrumental (*damboowa* and *ada-si* ‘his father’s sister’) could be regarded as an indirect causee and a direct causee, respectively; in (4.30), only the former is expressed (when *hakko č’oe* ‘that subject’ is mentioned, it is an instrumental because it is inanimate).

On the other hand, in (4.34), the referent of the accusative NP (*uddano* ‘clothes’) is inanimate, and only the referent of the instrumental NP (*damboowa*) can be a causee. In such a case, when the caused event is beneficial to the causer, it is possible to not mention the causee, as in (4.35).

- (4.35) *bule uddanó haišš-i-siis-s-ino.*
 Bule(NOM.F) clothes(ACC) wash-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘Bule had someone wash the clothes.’

When the caused event is transitive and beneficial to the causee, the causee can be marked with the dative, as in (4.36).

- (4.36) *beett-i-'ya-ra* *saaté*
 child-GEN.MOD.M-1SG.POSS-DAT.MOD watch(ACC)

wo-d-i-siis-u-mm-o(-si).
 put-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M(-3SG.M)

‘I (M) had my son put on his watch.’

As in (4.37)-(4.39), Sidaama can express ‘X causes₁ Y to cause₂ Z to do ...’ with the double-causative. In this construction, Y, who is the causee of causation₁ and the causer of causation₂, is marked with the instrumental suffix *-nni*. X is in the nominative case, and Z is in the accusative case. The double-causative is employed because the causal relation between X and Z is indirect.

- (4.37) *bule* *lat'ó-nni* *damboowá*
 Bule(NOM.F) Lat'o(GEN.F)-INST Damboowa(ACC)

hank'-i-siis-s-u(-si).
 become.angry-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M)

‘Bule had Lat'o make Damboowa angry.’

- (4.38) *bule* *lat'ó-nni* *damboowá*
 Bule(NOM.F) Lat'o(GEN.F)-INST Damboowa(ACC)

uddanó *haišš-i-siis-s-ino(-si).*
 clothes(ACC) wash-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘Bule had Lat'o make Damboowa wash the clothes.’

- (4.39) beettó-'ya bulé-nni saaté
 child(ACC)-1SG.POSS Bule(GEN.F)-INST watch(ACC)

wo-d'i-siis-u-mm-o.
 put-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) made my child put on the watch.'

4.2.1.3.3 Voice Suffixes

4.2.1.3.3.1 Passive Voice Suffix

The passive voice suffix is *-am* (*-an* before a dental).

- (4.40) hand-ú-nni k'as-am-oo-mm-o.
 bull-GEN.M-by pierce-PASS-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) got pierced by the bull.'

- (4.41) badala k'aadé-te-nni gan-an-t-u.
 corn(NOM.F) hail-GEN.F-by hit-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'The corn plantation was hit by hail.'

- (4.42) tini uddano danča-gede haišš-an-t-anno.
 this.F.NOM clothes(NOM.F) good-like wash-PASS-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 'These clothes wash well.' (*lit.*, 'These clothes are washed well.')

The agent can be marked with the instrumental suffix *-nni*, as in (4.40), but the passive construction with a human agent expressed as in (4.43) and (4.44) is not very common.¹²

¹² Nevertheless, an agent NP that refers to a group of people or a person who surprisingly participates in the event may be expressed in the passive construction, as in (i).

- (4.43) lašé uddano bušé-nni
 Lashe(GEN) clothes(NOM.F) Bushe(GEN.F)-by

haišš-an-t-u.
 wash-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lashe’s clothes were washed by Bushe.’

- (4.44) isi isé-nni gan-am-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN-by hit-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He was hit by her.’

There are passive forms of transitive verb roots like (4.45) that behave as intransitive state-change verbs.

- | (4.45) <i>passive (intransitive)</i> | <i>active (transitive)</i> |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| hiikk’-am- ‘to get broken’ | hiikk’- ‘to break sth’ |
| k’alt’-am- ‘to become choked/hanged’ | k’alt’- ‘to choke, hang’ |
| giir-am- ‘to become burned/offended’ | giir- ‘to burn sb/sth, offend’ |
| il-am- ‘to become born’ | il- ‘to give birth to sb’ |
| amaal-am- ‘to get advise’ | amaal- ‘to advise sb’ |
| điw-am- ‘to get sick’ | đib- ‘to cause sickness to sb’ |
| t’iss-am- ‘to get sick, come to feel pain’ | t’iss- ‘to cause sickness/pain to sb’ |
| soorr-am- ‘to become changed’ | soorr- ‘to change sth’ |

-
- (i) $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{(a)} & \text{lowo} \quad \text{mann-í-nni} \\ & \text{many} \quad \text{people-GEN.MOD.M-INST} \\ \text{(b)} & \text{bulé-nni} \\ & \text{Bule(GEN.F)-INST} \end{array} \right\}$

faars-am-ø-i.
 praise-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘Lashe was praised by many people.’
 (b) ‘Lashe was praised by Bule (a person like Bule, e.g., who never praises people).’

There are a few verbs that always contain the passive suffix and cannot be used as verbs without it, though they usually have related noun forms: *k'arr-am-* 'to be in trouble' (*k'arra* 'problem, trouble'), *araar-am-* 'to become reconciled' (*araara* 'reconciliation', *araar-s-* 'to reconcile').

4.2.1.3.3.2 Middle Voice Suffix

The middle voice suffix in Sidaama is *-d'* (allomorphs: *-d'*, *-r'*, *-'*, *-p'*, *-t'*) (*i* before *-d'* or *-r'* in the middle form of a verb is an epenthetic vowel). This suffix is used for a variety of situations (Kawachi 2004). Examples are shown in (4.46)-(4.50), where the active examples (containing a verb form without the middle voice suffix) in (a) and the middle examples in (b) are contrasted to each other. (4.46b) illustrates an event where the subject undergoes the washing action, which is typically performed by the subject (though not necessarily). (4.47b) is an example of what is often called an "indirect reflexive", "auto-benefactive", or "self-benefactive". The subject performs the action with some purpose in mind. (4.48b) has a meaning additional to that of (4.48a); it is used to show that the action is performed as one of the subject's social responsibilities. The middle construction in (4.49b) expresses an adversative event that befalls the subject. Different from its active counterparts in (4.49a), where the subject is the agent of the action of breaking the clay pot, (4.49b) is neutral as to how the clay pot broke. The middle sentence in (4.50b) emphasizes the emotion of the subject.

- (4.46) (a) hakku beett-i wosin-ú lekká
 that.M.NOM child-NOM.MOD.M guest-GEN.MOD.M leg(ACC)

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘That boy washed the guests’ legs.’

- (b) hakku beett-i { lekká }
 that.M.NOM child-NOM.MOD.M { leg(ACC) }
 { lekká-si }
 { leg(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS }

haišš-i-’r-ø-ino.
 wash-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘That boy washed his own legs/got his own legs washed.’

- (4.47) { (a) fan-t-u.
 open-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F }
 { (b) fa-’-n-t-u.
 open-MID-open-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F }
 bule waalčó
 Bule(NOM.F) door(ACC)

- (a) ‘Bule opened the door.’
 (b) ‘Bule opened the door for herself (to move into or out of the room/house, etc.).’

- (4.48) č’imeess-u giw-am-ø-ino ollá
 aribitrator-NOM.M quarrel-RCP-3SG.M-P.PRF.3neighbors(ACC)

- { (a) araars-ø-i.
 reconcile-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M }
 { (b) araars-i-’r-ø-i.
 reconcile-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M }

- (a) ‘The aribitrators reconciled the quarrelling neighbors.’
 (b) ‘The aribitrators reconciled the quarrelling neighbors as one of his social responsibilities.’

(4.49)	bule Bule(NOM.F)	midaanó clay.pot(ACC)	{	(a)	hiikk'-i-t-u. break-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F	}
				(b)	hiikk'-i-ǵ-ǵ-u. break-EP-MID-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F	

(a) 'Bule broke the clay pot.'

(b) 'Bule's clay pot got broken to her detriment.'

(4.50)	bule Bule(NOM.F)	k'aakk'ó-se-ra baby(GEN.F)-3SG.F.POSS-DAT.MOD	y-i-t-e say-EP-3SG.F-CNN
--------	---------------------	--	-----------------------------

{	(a)	dadill-i-t-u. worry-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F	}
	(b)	dadill-i-ǵ-ǵ-u. worry-EP-MID-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F	

(a) 'Bule worried about her small daughter.'

(b) 'Bule worried about her small daughter very much/for a long time.'

Sidaama verbs follow one of the three patterns in (4.51) with respect to the middle voice.

- (4.51) pattern 1: verbs that have both ACT and MID forms
 1a: ACT and MID forms have semantic differences
 1b: ACT and MID forms are interchangeable with no apparent semantic difference.

pattern 2: verbs that have only MID forms

pattern 3: verbs that have only ACT forms

First, there are those verbs that have both active and middle forms. There are two subtypes of such verbs. As exemplified in (4.46)-(4.50), the two forms of one subtype of such verbs show semantic differences.¹³ There are a small number of middle verbs

¹³ Notice that unlike the middle construction in some languages, the Sidaama middle causes no change in the valency of a verb.

whose differences from their active counterparts do not fit the above patterns, as shown in (4.52).

(4.52) <i>active</i>	<i>middle</i>
has- ‘to look for’	has-i-d- ‘to want’
af- ‘to find, get to know’	af-i-d- ‘to have, get’
soorr- ‘to change’	soorr-i-d- ‘to exchange’
la’- ‘to see’	la’-i-d- ‘to watch, look out, examine’

Another subtype has both active and middle forms, but these two forms have no apparent difference in meaning. Examples are shown in (4.53).

(4.53) <i>active</i>	<i>middle</i>	
huunč’- (also hiinč’-)	huunč’-i-d- (also hiinč’-i-d-)	‘to sneeze’
huuč’-	huuč’-i-d-	‘to pray’
č’aab-	č’aab-i-d-	‘to become light/bright’
kaaǰj-	kaaǰj-i-d-	‘to become strong’
huf-	huf-i-d-	‘to boil (intransitive)’
dink-	dink-i-d-	‘to limp’
kaaǰj-	kaaǰj-i-d-	‘to become strong’

In some cases, the use of the active and middle forms of such verbs is equally common, but in other cases, one form is more common than the other.

Note also that the middle form of a verb is always used for one of the semantic types. For example, the middle form of *haišš-* ‘to wash’, which occurs in (4.46b) (*haišš-i-r-ø-ino*), can also be used for washing guests’ legs as one of the subject’s responsibilities, as in (i).

(i)	hakku	beett-i	wosin-ú	lekká
	that.M.NOM	child-NOM.MOD.M	guest-GEN.MOD.M	leg(ACC)

haišš-i-r-ø-ino.
wash-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘That boy washed the guests’ legs as one of his social responsibilities.’

Second, there are verbs that have only middle forms and lack active forms, as in (4.54). Such verbs always contain the middle suffix and their roots cannot be used by themselves. As discussed in section 4.2.1.3.1, it is difficult to distinguish the middle suffix used in such words from the verbalizing suffix.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (4.54) rag-i-d- ‘to inherit’ | dii-d- ‘to kidnap sb for marriage’ |
| goo-d- ‘to become thirsty’ | wo-’-m- ‘to become full’ |
| gongo-’-m- ‘to roll’ | bo-d- ‘to crawl’ |
| huru-’-m- ‘to contract, squat’ | haa-d- ‘to grab and carry away, take’ |
| fooliš-i-d- ‘to take a rest’ | so-d- ‘to make a mistake’ |
| hut’-i-d- ‘to shiver’ | ha-d- ‘to leave, go’ |
| hag-i-d- ‘to become happy’ | ka-’-l- ‘to help’ |
| maass-i-d- ‘to bless’ | maass-i-d- ‘to bless’ |
| oso-’-l- ‘to laugh’ | hee-d- ‘to live’ |
| godo-’-l- ‘to play’ | |
| lik’-i-d- ‘to borrow (sth that is returned after consumption)’ | |
| arg-i-d- ‘to borrow (sth that can be returned as it is)’ | |
| gaa-d- ‘(a group of objects or mass) to float in one place’ | |

The causative forms of some such verbs are formed by attaching the causative suffix to the middle form, as in (4.55a), but those of others are formed by attaching the causative suffix to the root, rather than the middle form, as in (4.55b).

- | | | |
|------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (4.55) (a) | MID | MID+CAUS |
| | gongo-’-m- ‘to roll’ | gongo-’-m-i-s- ‘to make sth roll’ |
| | goo-d- ‘to become thirsty’ | goo-’r-i-ss- ‘to make sb thirsty’ |
| | ha-d- ‘to leave, go’ | ha-’r-i-s- ‘to make sb leave’ |

(b)	MID	root+CAUS
	hut'-i-d- 'to shiver'	hut'-i-s- 'to make sb shiver'
	udd-i-d- 'to put on clothing item'	udd-i-s- 'put clothing item on sb'
	lik'-i-d- 'borrow (sth that is returned after consumption)'	lik'-i-s- 'to lend (sth that is returned after consumption)'
	hud-i-d- 'to become hungry'	hud-i-s- 'to make sb feel hungry'

There are some middle-only verbs to which the double-causative suffix can attach but the causative suffix cannot. Examples are given in (4.56).

(4.56)	MID	DBL.CAUS	CAUS
	oso-'-l- 'to laugh'	oso-šiiš- 'to make sb laugh'	*oso-š-
	godo-'-l- 'to play'	godo-'-ššiiš- 'to make sb play'	*godo-'-šš-
	ka-'-l- 'to help'	ka-'-l-i-sis- 'to make sb help'	*ka-'-l-i-s-
	so-d- 'to make a mistake'	so-'r-i-sis- 'to make sb make a mistake'	*so-'r-i-s-
	rag-i-d- 'to inherit'	rag-i-sis- 'to make sb inherit'	*rag-i-s-

Third, a large number of verbs have no middle forms.

(4.57) ofoll- ‘to sit’	uurr- ‘to stand’
ub- ‘to fall’	da- ‘to come’
iill- ‘to arrive’	hig- ‘to return’
dod- ‘to run’	buub- ‘to fly’
hur- ‘to recover’	yor- ‘to wish’
miš- ‘to despise’	gib- ‘to hate’
tuns- ‘to become dark’	mool- ‘to become dry’
mug- ‘to become sleepy’	rak- ‘to become fast’
dand- ‘can, to be able to’	ikk- ‘to become’
ag- ‘to drink’	agur- ‘to stop’
egenn- ‘to get to know’	re- ‘to die’
buus- ‘to cough’	u- ‘to give’
bag- ‘to become sick and tired of’	rum- ‘to curse’
maar- ‘to forgive’	šol- ‘to go rotten’
tu’- ‘to seal, close’	k’eel- ‘to win’
fug- ‘to suffocate’	yaad- ‘to worry’

There are cases where the middle voice suffix occurs twice in a single verb, as in (4.58) (the two forms of the first three verbs in (4.58) have no difference in meaning like those in (4.53)).

(4.58) MID 1	MID1 & MID 2
du-’-m- ‘to become fat’	du-’-m-i-d- ‘to become fat’
lop-p’- ‘to grow’	lop-p’-i-d- ‘to grow’
hala-’-l- ‘to become wide/spacious’	hala-’-l-i-d- ‘to become wide/spacious’
wi-’-l- ‘to cry’	wi-’-l-i-d- ‘to cry very much’
meeč-č’- ‘to wash (clothes)’	meeč-č’-i-d- ‘to wash one’s clothes’ or ‘to wash (clothes) as one of one’s social responsibilities’

4.2.1.3.4 Reciprocal Suffix

The reciprocal suffix has the same form as the passive suffix: *-am* (*-an* before a dental). It is used for verbs that can take animate objects.

(4.59) V-	V-RCP-
hank'af- 'to hug'	hank'af-am- 'to hug each other'
ad- 'to marry' (<i>lit.</i> , 'to take')	ad-am- 'to marry each other'
bat'- 'to love'	bat'-am- 'to love each other'
gib- 'to fight'	giw-am- 'to fight with each other'
hasaw- 'to speak to'	hasaw-am- 'to speak to each other'
sunk'- 'to kiss'	sunk'-am- 'to kiss each other'
gan- 'to hit'	gan-am- 'to hit each other'
t'a'm- 'to visit'	t'a'm-an- 'to visit each other'
t'aad- 'to meet'	t'aad-am- 'to meet each other'

Examples are shown in (4.60)-(4.62).

(4.60) bule=nna	lat'o	danančo	mimmito
Bule(NOM.F)=and	Lat'o(NOM.F)	hair(ACC)	each.other

fitt'-an-t-u.
comb-RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

'Bule and Lat'o combed each other's hair.'

(4.61) laše=nna	bule	mimmitó
Lashe(NOM)=and	Bule(NOM.F)	each.other(ACC)

gan-an-t-u.
hit-RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

'Lashe and Bule hit each other.'¹⁴

¹⁴ (4.60) and (4.61) could be used without *mimmito* for the reciprocal meanings, but they can also be interpreted as having passive meanings without it ('Bule and Lat'o's hair was combed (by someone)' and 'Lashe and Bule were hit (by someone)', respectively).

(4.62)	laše Lashe(NOM)	{	bulé-nni Bule(GEN.F)-INST	ledo COM	}	(mimmito) each.other
			bulé Bule(GEN.F)	ledo COM		

gan-am-ø-i.
hit-RCP-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Lashe and Bule hit each other.’ (*lit.*, ‘Lashe hit each other wiith Bule.’)

The subject NPs of a clause whose main verb contains this suffix (i.e., the NPs for the entities in a reciprocal relationship) may be coordinated with the conjunctive enclitic =*nna* as in the above examples, or may be expressed as a single constituent whose referent is plural (e.g., *insa danančo fitt’-an-t-u.* [3PL.NOM hair(ACC) comb-RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL] ‘They combed each other’s hair.’). It is also possible to express only one entity (or group of entities) as the subject of a clause whose main verb contains this suffix, and marks the other entity (or group of entities) with the comitative noun *ledo* or with the instrumental suffix, as in (4.63) and (4.64).

(4.63)	bule Bule(NOM.F)	lat’ó Lat’o(GEN.F)	ledo COM	danančo hair(ACC)
--------	---------------------	-----------------------	-------------	----------------------

fitt’-an-t-u.
comb-RCP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule and Lat’o combed each other’s hair.’ (*lit.*, ‘Bule combed each other’s hair with Lat’o.’)

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| (4.64) | bule | lat'ó-nni | danančo | mimmito |
| | Bule(NOM.F) | Lat'o(GEN.F)-INST | hair(ACC) | each.other |

fitt'-an-t-u.
comb-RCP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bule and Lat'o combed each other's hair.' (*lit.*, 'Bule combed each other's hair with Lat'o.')

There is at least one verb that contains the reciprocal suffix and cannot occur without it:

šarr-am- 'to wrestle'.

The suffix of the form *-am* can also be an iterative suffix that expresses repetition of an action or self-contained motion. This use is very limited.

- | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| (4.65) | mituričč-i | ha'r-am-ø-a-nni | no. |
| | something-NOM.MOD.M | go-ITER-3SG.M-INF-MANNER | exist.P.PRF.3 |
| | 'Something is moving.' | | |
-
- | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| (4.66) | dad-am-ø-a-nni | no. |
| | run-ITER-3SG.M-INF-MANNER | exist.P.PRF.3 |
| | 'He is running here and there.' | |

4.2.2 Inflectional Affixes

4.2.2.1 Inflectional Noun Affixes

4.2.2.1.1 Number Suffixes on Nouns

As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.1.2), common nouns can have maximally three forms contrasting in number: unmarked, singular, and plural, but many common nouns have only one (unmarked only) or two forms (singular and plural forms, unmarked

and plural forms, or unmarked and singular forms). Uncountable nouns have only unmarked forms (e.g., *ado* ‘milk’ in (4.67e)), whereas countable nouns can have one, two, or all three forms (e.g., all the nouns except *ado* ‘milk’ in (4.67)).

(4.67)	<i>unmarked</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	
(a)	midaano sina	midaan-čo sin-čo	midaan-na sin-na	‘[clay container]’ ‘branch’
(b)	———— ————	woš-iččo dagun-čo	woš-ša dagun-na	‘dog’ ‘leopard’
(c)	rodo mine	———— ————	rod-uwa min-na	‘sibling’ ‘house’
(d)	č’ulunk’a goto	č’ulunk’-iččo got-iiččo	———— ————	‘fingernail’ ‘hyena’
(e)	ado mančaame	———— ————	———— ————	‘milk’ ‘pig’

Singular and plural forms of common nouns are clearly marked with the singular and plural suffixes. A problem arises with the treatment of unmarked forms, specifically whether or not the ending vowel of an unmarked form should be regarded as a suffix. All unmarked forms normally end in *-a*, *-e*, or *-o*, and could be treated as a suffix, like three of the allomorphs of the nominalizing suffix that attaches to a verb root (section 4.2.1.1.1). However, the citation form of any noun ends in one of these vowels in Sidaama. Because there is no clear evidence for or against the treatment of the ending of an unmarked form as a suffix, the present study arbitrarily excludes it from the discussion

of morphological markings of number on common nouns, and focuses on the markings of nouns with a morpheme that is clearly the singular or plural suffix.

The singular suffix has several allomorphs. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3.1), many of those words referring to a person's property or ability or a person with that property or ability can have uses both as adjectives and as nouns. Most of them end in one of the following suffix forms that derive adjectives or nouns from verbs and that express singularity (and one of the genders): *-aančo*, *-(aal)eessa* (M)/*-(aal)eette* (F), or *-(aall)ičča* (M)/*-(aall)itte* (F). Thus, these are not exclusive to nouns, but are shared with adjectives.

For two of the allomorphs of the singular suffix, there are phonological conditions on where they can occur.¹⁵

(4.68) *-čo*: stem ending in a single occurrence of a sonorant (/n/, /l/, or /r/, in particular) (which is immediately preceded by a vowel)

siwiil-čo 'a piece of iron'	atar-čo 'pea'
da'mul-čo 'worm'	danan-čo 'hair'
daraar-čo 'flower'	maal-čo 'a piece/slice of meat'
man-čo 'person' (PL: manna)	kin-čo 'stone' (PL: kinna)
dagun-čo 'leopard' (PL: dagunna)	k'oon-čo 'pumpkin' (PL: k'oonna)

¹⁵ Teferra (2000: 35) proposes that in some nouns that contain /-čč/, 'the first /-č/ is not part of the singulative but is rather a result of regressive assimilation (spreading) of the singulative /-č/ to the stem final consonant' (e.g., stem: /iwiib-/ SG: *iwiiččo*, PL: *iwiiw-e* 'lice', stem: /dagub-/ SG: *daguččo*, PL: *daguw-a* 'cedar', stem: /awaad-/ SG: *awaččo*, PL: *awaad-o* 'tanner'). However, as seen shortly, some nouns with such plural endings may not have singular forms (e.g., UM: *t'ilde*, PL: *t'ilt-uwa* 'waasa container'). Teferra (2000: 36) also applies this analysis to two more allomorphs of the singular suffix, *-aššo* and *-akko*, which contrast with *-ado/-adda/-udda* and *-ahe*, respectively (also Moreno 1940: 80) (e.g., stem: /hamas-/ SG: *hamaššo*, PL: *hamas-o* 'snake', stem: /farad-/ SG: *faraššo*, PL: *farado* 'horse', stem: /futak-/ SG: *futakko*, PL: *futah-e* 'mole', stem: /yemak-/ SG: *yemakko*, PL: *yemah-e* 'rat'). It seems to work well with words with these allomorphs.

-iččo: stem ending in an obstruent, a consonant cluster, or a geminate (of either an obstruent or sonorant)

woš-iččo ‘dog’	č’uu’-iččo ‘ring’
mik’-iččo ‘bone’	t’ag-iččo ‘medicine’
lag-iččo ‘swamp’	harr-iččo ‘donkey’
lukk-iččo ‘hen’	hink-iččo ‘tooth’
k’ubb-iččo ‘finger’	č’ulunk’-iččo ‘fingernail’
hočč-iččo ‘rag’	harr-iččo ‘donkey’
biinn-iččo ‘mosquito’	

Some allomorphs of the singular suffix occur as singular counterparts of particular allomorphs of the plural suffix. Singular forms with one of the allomorphs of the singular suffix *-iččo*, which is shown in (4.68), often contrast with plural forms with one of the allomorphs of the plural suffix *-iwo* (e.g., *daan-iččo* ‘elephant’ (PL: *daan-iwo*), *doobb-iččo* ‘lion’ (PL: *doobb-iwo*), *haad-iččo* ‘potter’ (PL: *haad-iwo*)). Analogously, *-eččo* seems to contrast with *-ewo*: *ger-eččo* ‘sheep’ (PL: *ger-ewo*). Also, another allomorph of the singular suffix *-aššo* (or *-uššo*) occurs contrastively with one of the allomorphs of the plural suffix *-ado/-adda* (or *-udda*) (e.g., *far-aššo* ‘horse’ (PL: *far-ado* or *far-adda*), *gal-aššo* ‘monkey’ (PL: *gal-ado* or *gal-adda*), *rum-uššo* ‘root’ (PL: *rum-udda*)), though it seems to occur irregularly as well (e.g., *ham-aššo* ‘snake’ (PL: *ham-aso*)). There are a small number of words whose singular forms end in *-akko* and plural forms end in *-ahe* (e.g., SG: *beedd-akko* PL: *beedd-ahe* ‘star’, SG: *fut-akko* PL: *fut-ahe* ‘mole’, SG: *yem-akko*, PL: *yem-ahe* ‘rat’, SG: *od-akko*, PL: *od-ahe* ‘[kind of tree]’, SG: *heiy-akko*, PL: *heiy-ahe* ‘[kind of bird]’).

There is also an allomorph of the singular suffix that can be used for singular nouns derived from verbs: *-aančo*. It is attached to a verb root to express ‘sth that one uses when doing ...’ (e.g., *kubb-aančo* ‘sth used for jumping over sth’ (*kubb-* ‘to jump’), *sut-aančo* ‘hook’ (*sut-* ‘to hang’)) (see (4.7) in section 4.2.1.1.1 for more examples; this suffix form is also used to derive adjectives from verbs, as mentioned earlier and discussed in section 4.2.1.2). There is also a pair of allomorphs of the singular suffix that shows contrast in gender: *-(aall)ičča* (masculine)/*-(aall)itte* (feminine). They are discussed later in section 4.2.2.2.3.

There are various allomorphs of the plural suffix in Sidaama. The most frequent way of creating plural noun forms is to repeat the stem-final consonant and add *-a* to it.

- (4.69) bis-sa (UM: bise ‘sword’)
 man-na (SG: man-čo ‘person’)
 č’ufan-na (UM: č’ufana ‘door’)
 kin-na (SG: kin-čo ‘stone’)
 doog-ga (UM: doogo ‘road’)
 k’oon-na (SG: k’oon-čo ‘pumpkin’)
 gaar-ra (UM: gaara ‘hill’)
 mik-k’a (SG: mik’-iččo ‘bone’)
 gum-ma (UM: guma ‘fruit’)
 da’mul-la (SG: da’mul-čo ‘worm’)
 hog-ga (UM: hoga ‘waasa leaf’)
 dagun-na (SG: dagun-čo ‘leopard’)
 darar-ra (UM: daraaro ‘flower’)
 min-na (UM: mine ‘house’)
 moog-ga (UM: moogo ‘grave’)
 siib-ba (UM: siiwo [stem: siib-] ‘rope’)
 gimbool-la (UM: gimboola ‘bamboo basket’)
 hoob-ba (UM: hoowe [stem: hoob-] ‘pen for animals’)

lag-ga (SG: lag-iččo, UM: laga ‘swamp’)
 siwiil-la (SG: siwiil-čo, UM: siwiila ‘iron’)
 midaan-na (SG: midaan-čo, UM: midaano ‘[clay container]’)

The next common allomorph of the plural suffix is *-uwa/-ubba*.

- (4.70) t’ilt-uwa (UM: t’ilte ‘waasa container’)
 su’m-uwa (UM: su’ma ‘name’)
 urd-uwa (UM: urde ‘spear’)
 aradd-uwa (UM: aradda ‘bush’)
 darg-ubba (UM: darga ‘place’)
 dull-uwa (UM: dulla ‘stick’)
 ar-uuwa (UM: aro ‘husband’)
 dikk-uwa (UM: dikko ‘market’)
 farr-ubba or farr-uwa (UM: farro ‘tail’)
 gul-ubba (SG: gul-uččo ‘knee’)
 k’aal-ubba (UM: k’aale ‘word’)
 gord-ubba (UM: gordo ‘sky’)
 lukk-uwa (SG: lukk-iččo ‘hen’)
 t’as-uwa (UM: t’aso ‘small river’)
 bakk’all-uwa (UM: bakk’alla ‘cheek’)
 hu’matt-uwa (SG: hu’matt-iččo ‘owl’)
 dud-ubba (UM: duduwo ‘a person who spreads rumors about other people’)
 lakk-uwa or lakk-ubba (SG: lakk-ičča (M)/lakk-itte (F) ‘twin’)
 hilleess-uwa (in addition to hill-eeyye) (SG: hill-eessa (M)/hill-eette (F) ‘hare’)
 k’ubb-uwa (SG: k’ubb-iččo, UM: k’ubbe ‘finger’)

There are other allomorphs of the plural suffix like the ones in (4.71), which are less common.

(4.71) <i>-(o)ota</i> :	baim-oota (UM: baima ‘rascal’) la’lam-oota (UM: la’lama ‘mother’s sister’) k’ott-ota (UM: k’otto ‘small ax’)
<i>-ado/-adda</i> (or <i>-udda</i>):	far-ado or far-adda (SG: far-aššo ‘horse’) gal-ado or gal-adda (SG: gal-aššo ‘monkey’) rum-udda (SG: rum-uššo ‘root’)
<i>-eeyye</i> :	č’im-eeyye (SG: č’imeessa (M)/č’imeette (F) ‘arbitrator’) og-eeyye (SG: og-eessa (M)/og-eette (F) ‘professional’) hiyy-eeyye (SG: hiyyeeyy-iččo ‘[wolf-like animal]’)
<i>-iwo/-ewo</i> :	daan-iwo (SG: daan-iččo ‘elephant’) doobb-iwo (SG: doobb-iččo ‘lion’) haad-iwo (SG: haad-iččo ‘potter’) ger-ewo (SG: ger-eččo ‘sheep’)
<i>-aasine</i> :	asal-aasine (SG: asal-aančo ‘debtor’) fir-aasine (SG: fir-aančo ‘rake’) masaal-aasine (SG: masaal-aančo ‘prophet’)
<i>-aano</i> :	moor-aano (SG: moor-aančo ‘thief’) mal-aano (SG: mal-aančo ‘advisor’) masaal-aano (SG: masaal-aančo ‘prophet’)

As mentioned earlier, some of these forms are paired with particular allomorphs of the singular suffix. The allomorphs *-aasine* and *-aano* are also the plural counterparts of one of the allomorphs of the singular suffix *-aančo*.

4.2.2.1.2 Gender Suffixes on Nouns

A relatively small number of common nouns have pairs of forms that contrast in gender with feminine and masculine suffixes. There are two pairs of such suffixes:

-(aal)eessa (masculine)/*-(aal)eette* (feminine) and *-(aall)ičča* (masculine)/*-(aall)itte* (feminine). The former pair is often used also to derive nouns or adjectives from verbs (sections 4.2.1.1.1 and 4.2.1.2), and the latter is used to derive nouns from various parts of speech. The latter are a pair of allomorphs of the singular suffix – some pairs have both number-neutral forms and plural forms (e.g., UM: *k'osorro*, PL: *k'osorr-oota* '[name of a bird]'). Examples are shown in (4.72).

(4.72)	<i>masculine</i>	<i>feminine</i>	
<i>-(aal)eessa/-(aal)eette</i>	kapp'-aaleessa	kapp'-aaleette	'liar'
	og-eessa	og-eette	'professional'
	hill-eessa	hill-eette	'hare'
	č'im-eessa	č'im-eette	'arbitrator'
	waak'al-eessa	waak'al-eette	'parrot'
<i>-(aall)ičča/-(aall)itte</i>	lakk-ičča	lakk-itte	'twin'
	babb-ičča	babb-itte	'stutterer'
	k'or-ičča	k'or-itte	'chief'
	tunt-ičča	tunt-itte	'blacksmith'
	mutt'-ičča	mutt'-itte	'a person who has protruding lips'
	hank'-aalličča	hank'-aallitte	'a person who gets angry easily'

A form with the suffix *-ičča* may not have a feminine counterpart (e.g., *k'aww-ičča* 'gun'

**k'aww-itte*).

4.2.2.1.3 Case Affixes on Nouns

Sidaama is a nominative-accusative language. Case can be morphologically marked by suprafixation (Chapter 2 section 2.3.2), suffixation, or both. The nominative, dative-locative, allative, and ablative-instrumental cases are marked with suffixes, the accusative and oblique cases are marked with suprafixes, and the genitive case is marked both with a suffix and a suprafix. The following discussion deals only with case affixes on nouns; see Chapter 3 (section 3.2.1.4) for case affixes on demonstrative pronouns.

The citation form of a noun, which occurs when it is a predicate followed by the predicating noun-phrase clitic, =*ho* (M)/=*te* (F), has high pitch on its penultimate vowel segment.¹⁶ The suprafix on a noun stem in the accusative, genitive, or oblique case emerges as high pitch on its final vowel segment.

¹⁶ When a noun is used to address a person or a group of people, its citation form is used, as in (i)-(iii).

- | | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | damboowa,
Damboowa
'Damboowa, eat the food.' | sagalé
food(ACC) | it-i.
eat-IMP.2SG |
| (ii) | manna,
people
'Guys, eat the food.' | sagalé
food(ACC) | it-te.
eat-IMP.2PL |
| (iii) | ané
1SG.GEN
'My father, please come.' | anna, ballo
father please | amo.
come.IMP.2SG |

On the other hand the vocative form of a pronoun is the same as its nominative case form, as in (iv) and (v).

- | | | | |
|------|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (iv) | duučunk-u,
everyone-NOM.M
'Everyone, eat the food.' | sagalé
food(ACC) | it-te.
eat-IMP.2PL |
| (v) | ati,
2SG.NOM
'You (SG), eat the food.' | sagalé
food(ACC) | it-i.
eat-IMP.2SG |

The nominative case suffix replaces the final vowel of the basic stem of a noun. The suffixation for the genitive case involves the replacement of the final vowel of the basic stem of a noun by the suffix or the addition of the suffix to the basic stem. The dative-locative case suffix attaches to the basic stem or the genitive stem of a noun. The allative and ablative-instrumental cases always attach to the genitive stem of a noun. The nominative, genitive, and dative-locative case suffixes on nouns can have different forms depending on three factors: (i) whether the noun is common or proper, (ii) the gender of the noun, and (iii) (in the case of a common noun) whether or not the noun is Modified by another element.

Note that “modification”, which is normally a syntactic notion, has to be used here in a sense specific to Sidaama common nouns, and it is capitalized as “Modification” (and its related forms are also capitalized whenever the distinction is relevant: Modified, Unmodified, Modify, Modifier), as is done in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2.1). Though affixation is not “modification” and nouns are not described as “modified” (in the ordinary sense) by an affix, Sidaama common nouns accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix behave the same way in the selection of the allomorphs of the nominative, genitive, and dative-locative case suffixes as those that have dependents (in other words, those “modified” (in the ordinary sense) by genitive NPs or adnominals), and these Modified common nouns behave differently from Unmodified common nouns, namely those neither with a dependent nor the possessive pronominal suffix. Thus, the use of the possessive pronominal suffix on a common noun counts as Modification of the noun. As shown below, Modified common nouns behave more similarly in some respects to proper nouns and pronouns than to Unmodified common

nouns. The distinction between Modified and Unmodified common nouns is also relevant to the selection of the predicative noun-phrase clitic when the noun is a predicate (cf. Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1).

4.2.2.1.3.1 Nominative Case Suffix

As shown in Table 4.1, only masculine nouns can be marked with the nominative case suffix, which substitutes for the final vowel of a noun stem, which is *e*, *a*, or *o*. Irrespective of the marking with the nominative case suffix, a noun in the nominative case shows the unmarked pitch accent pattern; high pitch occurs on the penultimate vowel segment.

	Unmodified common nouns	Modified common nouns	proper nouns
Masculine	<i>-u</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i> : <i>a</i> -ending unmarked: <i>e</i> - or <i>o</i> -ending
Feminine	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked

Table 4.1: Different Forms of the Nominative Case Suffix

The nominative suffix is *-u* for Unmodified, masculine common nouns (*beett-u* [child-NOM.M] in (4.73)), and is *-i* for Modified, masculine common nouns (*beett-i* [child-NOM.MOD.M] in (4.74)) and for masculine proper nouns ending in *a* (*dangur-i* [Dangura-NOM.PROP.M] in (4.75a)). Unlike other types of masculine nouns, *e*-ending and *o*-ending masculine proper nouns (e.g., *garsamo* in (4.75b) and *laše* in (4.75c)) are not marked for nominative case (for example, male names such as *laše*, *suwe*, *bassabbe*,

that are identical, their nominative and genitive forms are distinguished by the different pitch accent patterns.

	Unmodified common nouns	Modified common nouns	proper nouns
Masculine	<i>-u</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>a</i> -ending: suffix <i>-i</i> <i>e</i> - or <i>o</i> -ending: <i>-∅</i>
Feminine	<i>-te</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-∅</i>

Table 4.2: Different Forms of the Genitive Case Suffix

When Unmodified, masculine common nouns in the genitive case are marked with the suffix *-u* (*beett-u* [child-GEN.M] in (4.79)), and when Modified, masculine common nouns in the genitive case are marked with the suffix *-i* (*beett-i* [child-GEN.MOD.M] in (4.80)); in both cases the genitive suprafix occurs on the final vowel of the genitive noun, namely the genitive suffix *-u* or *-i*. As shown in (4.81), the genitive suffix on *a*-ending masculine proper nouns (e.g., *dangura*) is *-i*, whereas that on *e*-ending and *o*-ending masculine proper nouns (e.g., *garsamo*, *lašē*) is *-∅*.

- (4.79) *beett-ú* *farašš-i* *dunka=ho.*
 child-GEN.M horse-NOM.MOD.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘The boy’s horse is slow.’

(4.80)	{	(a)	hakkó	}	beett-í
			that.M.GEN		
		(b)	dangur-í		
			Dangura-GEN.PROP.M		child-GEN.MOD.M
		(c)	seed-ú		
			tall-GEN.M		

farašš-i
horse-NOM.MOD.M

dunka=ho.
slow=NPC.M.PRED

- (a) ‘That boy’s horse is slow.’
 (b) ‘Dangura’s boy’s horse is slow.’
 (c) ‘The tall boy’s horse is slow.’

(4.81)	{	(a)	dangur-í	}	farašš-i
			Dangura-GEN.PROP.M		
		(b)	garsamó		
			Garsamo(GEN)		horse-NOM.MOD.M
		(c)	lašé		
			Lashe(GEN)		

dunka=ho.
slow=NPC.M.PRED

- (a) ‘Dangura’s horse is slow.’
 (b) ‘Garsamo’s horse is slow.’
 (c) ‘Lashe’s horse is slow.’

There are a few masculine nouns that always take *-i* for the nominative and genitive suffixes, even when they are not Modified: *waa* (NOM/GEN: *wa-i*) ‘water’, *ma/mariččo* (NOM/GEN: *ma-i/maričč-i*) ‘what’. There are also a small number of nouns that take *-i* as the genitive suffix when followed by the allative suffix for TO *-ra* and the ablative suffix *-nni*: *mine* (TO: *min-i-ra*, FROM: *min-i-nni*) ‘house’, *nafara* (TO: *nafar-i-ra*, FROM: *nafar-i-nni*) ‘compound’, *gate* (TO: *gat-i-ra*, FROM: *gat-i-nni*) ‘backyard’.

As mentioned earlier, the genitive suprafix occurs as high pitch on the final vowel segment of the stem. When the genitive suffix is *-u* or *-i*, which replaces the final vowel of a noun stem, high pitch falls on the suffix (e.g., *dangur-î* in (4.83a)). When the genitive suffix is *-te*, which is added to a stem, high pitch occurs at the end of the stem, in other words, on the vowel immediately preceding the suffix (e.g., *beettó-te* [child-GEN.F] in (4.82)). When the genitive suffix is *-ø*, high pitch is placed on the final vowel segment of the stem (e.g., *beettó* in (4.83), *bulé* in (4.84)).

(4.82) *beettó-te* *farašš-i* *dunka=ho.*
 child-GEN.F horse-NOM.MOD.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘The girl’s horse is slow.’

(4.83) { (a) *hatté*
 that.F.GEN
 (b) *dangur-î*
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M
 (c) *seedá*
 tall(GEN.F) }

beettó *farašš-i*
 child(GEN.F) horse-NOM.MOD.M

dunka=ho.
 slow=NPC.M.PRED

(a) ‘That girl’s horse is slow.’
 (b) ‘Dangura’s girl’s horse is slow.’
 (c) ‘A tall girl’s horse is slow.’

(4.84) *bulé* *farašš-i* *dunka=ho.*
 Bule(GEN.F) horse-NOM.MOD.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘Bule’s horse is slow.’

- (4.87) ise ann-í-se wodaná
 3SG.F.NOM father-GEN.MOD-3SG.F.POSS heart(ACC)

hiikk'-i-t-ino.
 break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She hurt/disappointed her father.’ (*lit.*, ‘She broke her father’s heart.’)

- (4.88) ise waá hakkó beett-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM water(ACC) that.M.GEN child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She gave water to that boy.’

The oblique case is used for a non-argument NP that is not accompanied by a suffix or clitic, specifically, a possessum NP in the oblique possessum external possessor construction (Chapter 5 section 5.3), as in (4.89), or for a bare adverbial NP, as in (4.90).

- (4.89) ise dangurá wodaná giir-t-ino-si.
 3SG.F.NOM Dangura(ACC) heart(OBL) burn-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M
 ‘She irritated Dangura.’ (*lit.*, ‘She burned Dangura with respect to the heart.’)

- (4.90) damboow-i waá daah-ø-i.
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M river(OBL) swim-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Damboowa swam in the river.’

Thus, the markings of accusative case and oblique case are morphologically identical, and their only difference is that oblique NPs are always constituents not required by the valency of the verb. They could be grouped under a single case, for example, the “absolute” case, as is often done in the literature on Highland East Cushitic languages (e.g., Hudson 1976). The present study distinguishes the two, because they are used in different syntactic environments.

4.2.2.1.3.4 Dative-Locative Case Suffix

As indicated in Table 4.3, the dative-locative suffix is *-ho* for masculine common nouns (*beetto-ho* [child-DAT.M] in (4.91a), *nafara-ho* [compound-LOC.M] in (4.94a)) and is *-te* for feminine common nouns (*beetto-te* [child-DAT.F] in (4.91a), *ulla-te* [ground-LOC.F] in (4.95)) when they are Unmodified. When the noun is Modified, the dative-locative suffix is *-ra*, regardless of the gender of the noun, as in (4.92), (4.93), and (4.96). Note that *-ho* and *-te* follow the basic stem of a noun, whereas *-ra* is attached to the genitive stem of a noun. The genitive form of a Modified masculine common noun has the suffix *-i* (*hakko beett-i-ra* [that.M.GEN child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD] in (4.92a), *lašē nafar-i-ra* [Lashe(GEN) compound-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD] in (4.96)), while that of a Modified feminine common noun has no suffix (*hatte beetto-ra* [that.F.GEN child(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD] in (4.93a)).

	Unmodified common nouns	Modified common nouns	proper nouns
Masculine	<i>-ho</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra</i>
Feminine	<i>-te</i>	<i>-ra</i>	<i>-ra</i>

Table 4.3: Different Forms of the Dative-Locative Case Suffixes

- (4.91)
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------|--|
| laap'e | sagalé | { (a) beetto-ho
child-DAT.M
(b) beetto-te
child-DAT.F } |
| Laap'e(NOM.F) | food(ACC) | |

ra'-i-s-s-u.

become.cooked-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Laap'e cooked food for the boy.'
 (b) 'Laap'e cooked food for the girl.'

- (4.92)
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------|---|
| laap'e | sagalé | { (a) hakkó
that.M.GEN
(b) dangur-í
Dangura-GEN.PROP.M
(c) seed-ú
tall-GEN.M } |
| Laap'e(NOM.F) | food(ACC) | |

beett-í-ra

child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

ra'-i-s-s-u.

become.cooked-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Laap'e cooked food for that boy.'
 (b) 'Laap'e cooked food for Dangura's boy.'
 (c) 'Laap'e cooked food for a tall boy.'

- (4.93)
- | | | |
|---------------|-----------|--|
| laap'e | sagalé | { (a) hatté
that.F.GEN
(b) dangur-í
Dangura-GEN.PROP.M
(c) seedá
tall } |
| Laap'e(NOM.F) | food(ACC) | |

beettó-ra

child(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD

ra'-i-s-s-u.

become.cooked-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Laap'e cooked food for that girl.'
 (b) 'Laap'e cooked food for Dangura's girl.'
 (c) 'Laap'e cooked food for a tall girl.'

- (4.94) wošičč-u nafara-ho dut-ø-a-nni no.
 dog-NOM.M compound-LOC.M bark-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
 'The dog is barking in the compound.'

- (4.95) midaano ulla-te no.
 clay.pot(NOM.F) ground-LOC.F exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘There is a clay pot on the ground.’
- (4.96) wošičč-u lašé nafar-í-ra
 dog-NOM.M Lashe(GEN) compound-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD
- dut-ø-a-nni no.
 bark-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘The dog is barking in Lashe’s compound.’

Like Modified common nouns, the dative suffix for proper nouns is *-ra*, regardless of their gender, as in (4.97)-(4.99). It is attached to the genitive form of a noun; masculine proper nouns ending in /a/ require the genitive suffix *-i*, as in (4.98a), (4.99a), and (4.99b). Feminine proper nouns for village names, which are usually not followed by any suffix, take the genitive suffix *-te* before the dative suffix *-ra*, as in (4.99c) and (4.99d).

- (4.97) laap’e sagalé bulé-ra
 Laap’e(NOM.F) food(ACC) Bule(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP
- ra’-i-s-s-u.
 become.cooked-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Laap’e cooked food for Bule.’

- (4.98)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| laap'e | sagalé | } | (a) dangur-í-ra | } |
| Laap'e(NOM.F) | food(ACC) | | (b) garsamó-ra | |
| | | | (c) lašé-ra | |
| | | | Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP | |
| | | | Garsamo(GEN)-DAT.PROP | |
| | | | Lashe(GEN)-DAT.PROP | |

ra'-i-s-s-u.

become.cooked-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Laap'e cooked food for Dangura.'
 (b) 'Laap'e cooked food for Garsamo.'
 (c) 'Laap'e cooked food for Lashe.'

- (4.99)
- | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| } | (a) bans-í-ra | } | loos-ø-i. |
| | Bansa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP | | |
| | (b) wond-í-ra | | |
| | Wondo-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP | | |
| (c) irgá-te-ra | } | work-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M | |
| Irga-GEN.F-DAT.PROP | | | |
| (d) č'uukó-te-ra | | | |
| Ch'uuko-GEN.F-DAT.PROP | | | |

- (a) 'He worked for Bansa.'
 (b) 'He worked for Wondo.'
 (c) 'He worked for Irga.'
 (d) 'He worked for Ch'uuko.'

[(a)-(d) are the names of villages in the Sidaama zone.]

When the noun is a proper noun, the locative behaves differently from the dative — its forms are *-ho* (masculine)/*-te* (feminine) rather than *-ra*.¹⁷ This is the only difference between the dative and the locative; otherwise, they have the same forms in Sidaama.

¹⁷ Only *awaasa* '[capital of the Sidaama zone]' behaves differently from other place names. Its form with *-ra*, *awaas-í-ra*, can express the locative as well as the dative, though *awaasa-ho* can also express the locative.

(4.100)	{	(a)	bansa-ho Bansa-LOC.M	}	
		(b)	wondo-ho Wondo-LOC.M		
		(c)	irga-te Irga-LOC.F		loos-ø-i.
		(d)	č'uuko-te Ch'uuko-LOC.F		work-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'He worked in Bansa.'
 (b) 'He worked in Wondo.'
 (c) 'He worked in Irga.'
 (d) 'He worked in Ch'uuko.'

4.2.2.1.3.5 Allative Case Suffix

When common nouns are used for the goal of a motion, the pronominal clitic =*wa* is usually used, though the allative suffix can also be used in some cases with or without a difference in meaning from the clitic (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.2).

There are three types of nominals that always take the allative case suffix *-ra* and do not take the pronominal clitic =*wa* when used for the goal of a motion: masculine proper nouns for places, demonstrative pronouns, and locational nouns. All of these types of nouns involve locations.¹⁸

First, when a masculine proper noun for a place precedes *-ra*, the noun is also marked with the genitive case suffix *-i*, to form “STEM-*i-ra*”, as in (4.101a) and (4.101b). When a destination is expressed with a feminine proper noun for a place, the noun is used without any marker, and *-ra* is not used, either, as in (4.101c) and (4.101d).

¹⁸ Note that the interrogative words for ‘where’, *hiikko/mama*, also require *-ra* (*hiikk-î-ra/mam-î-ra* [where-GEN.PRON.M-ALL] ‘to where’), unlike *ae* ‘who’ and *ma/mariččo* ‘what’, which take =*wa* (*ae=wa* [who.GEN=place] ‘to whom’, *ma-î=wa/maričč-î=wa* [what-GEN.PRON.M=place] ‘to what’) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.7).

(4.101)	{	(a) wond- <i>î-ra</i> Wondo-GEN.PROP.M-ALL (b) bans- <i>î-ra</i> Bansa-GEN.PROP.M-ALL (c) irga/*irga- <i>ra</i> Irga/Irga-ALL (d) č'uuko/*č'uuko- <i>ra</i> Ch'uuko/Ch'uuko-ALL	}	ha- <i>ǰ-u</i> . go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
---------	---	--	---	--

- (a) 'She went to Wondo.'
 (b) 'She went to Bansa.'
 (c) 'She went to Irga.'
 (d) 'She went to Ch'uuko.'

Second, demonstrative pronouns, which are used to indicate locations, are compatible with *-ra* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.4). They are treated like masculine nouns and marked with the genitive suffix *-i*.

(4.102)	lat'o	kaw- <i>î-ra</i>	dag- <i>g-u</i> .
	Lat'o(NOM.F)	here-GEN.PRON.M-ALL	come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
	'Lat'o came here.'		
(4.103)	lat'o	hakk- <i>î-ra</i>	ha- <i>ǰ-u</i> .
	Lat'o(NOM.F)	there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL	go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
	'Lat'o went there.'		

Third, locational nouns (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3) can be accompanied by *-ra*. When used this way, some locational nouns must be in the genitive (e.g., *aan-î-ra* [top-GEN.MOD.M-ALL], *mul-î-ra* [nearness-GEN.MOD.M-ALL], *bad-î-ra* [back-GEN.MOD.M-ALL]), though others do not have to be (*gidd-î-ra* [inside-GEN.MOD.M-

- (4.105) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a1) wondo} \\ \text{Wondo} \\ \text{(a2) bansa} \\ \text{Bansa} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{ha-d-u.} \\ \text{go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F} \end{array}$
- (a1) ‘She/They went to Wondo/Bansa.’
 (a2) ‘She/They went to Wondo/Bansa.’
- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(b1) hakka} \\ \text{there} \\ \text{(b2) ka’a} \\ \text{over.there} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{ha-d-u.} \\ \text{go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F} \end{array}$
- (b1) ‘She/They went to there/over there.’
 (b2) ‘She/They went to there/over there.’
- (c) $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{(c1) min-ú} & \text{giddo} \\ \text{house-GEN.M} & \text{inside} \\ \text{(c2) t’arap’es-ú} & \text{aana} \\ \text{table-GEN.M} & \text{top} \\ \text{(c3) dangur-í} & \text{k’iniite} \\ \text{Dangura-GEN.M} & \text{right} \end{array} \right\}$
- ha-d-u.
 go-3SG.F/3PL-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (c1) ‘She/They went into the house.’
 (c2) ‘She/They went onto the table.’
 (c3) ‘She/They went to the right side of Dangura.’

4.2.2.1.3.6 Ablative-Instrumental Case Suffix

The ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* attaches to the genitive stem of a nominal.

Examples of this suffix as the ablative suffix are shown in (4.106) and (4.107).

- (4.106) {

(a)	buus-ú- <i>nni</i>	
	bridge-GEN.M-ABL	
(b)	hakk'iččo- <i>te-<i>nni</i></i>	
	tree-GEN.F-ABL	
(c)	farašš-ú	aan-í- <i>nni</i>
	horse-GEN.M	top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
(d)	hatté	hakk'iččo- <i>nni</i>
	that.F.GEN	tree(GEN.F)-ABL

}
- isi
3SG.M.NOM

uw-ø-*i*.
fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'He fell from the bridge.'
 (b) 'He fell from the tree (F).'
 (c) 'He fell from the horse.'
 (d) 'He fell from that tree (F).'

- (4.107) ani hinč'ilalló isí-*nni*/isi=*wi-*nni**
 1SG.NOM mirror(ACC) 3SG.M.GEN-ABL/3SG.M.GEN=place.GEN-ABL

hi-'r-u-mm-*a*.
buy-MID-S.PRF.1-1SG-F

'I (F) bought a mirror from him.'

The suffix *-nni* may be omitted from a phrase with the ablative suffix containing an Unmodified feminine noun with the genitive suffix *-te* (e.g., *hakk'iččo-te* instead of *hakk'iččo-te-*nni** in (4.106b)). The suffix *-nni* can be abbreviated to *-i* (*buus-u-i* in (4.106a), *hakk'iččo-te-i* in (4.106b), or *aan-i-i* in (4.106c), *hakk'iččo-i* in (4.106), *isi-i/isi=*wi-i** in (4.107)). The genitive form of the clitic =*wa*, =*wi*, may occur immediately before *-nni* to indicate that the motion starts from a vicinity of the entity to which the preceding noun refers, rather than exactly from the entity (e.g., *buus-u=*wi-*nni***

‘from a vicinity of the bridge’, *hakk’iččo-te=wi-nni* ‘from a vicinity of the tree’) (*-nni* can be omitted also from such an expression; e.g., *buus-u=wi, hakk’iččo-te=wi*).

This suffix often occurs with verbs that express protection or prevention, and marks a noun that refers to an entity from which someone or something is protected, or an action from the performance of which someone is prevented, as in (4.108) and (4.109). In (4.109), the gerund, *ha’r-a* [go-INF], which behaves as an Unmodified feminine noun, takes the genitive suffix *-te*.

- (4.108) t’een-ú-nni duuwančó-te giddo
rain-GEN.M-ABL [type of tree]-GEN.F inside
- t’ee’n-ø-e gat-ø-i.
take.shelter.from.rain-3SG.M-CNN become.saved-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘He took shelter from the rain in the [type of tree].’ (*lit.*, ‘He hid in the [name of tree] and became saved from the rain.’)
- (4.109) ha’r-a-te-nni hool-u-mm-o-si.
go-INF-GEN.F-ABL prevent-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.M
‘I (M) prevented him from going.’

This suffix may attach to a noun that refers to an original state prior to a state-change.

- (4.110) dıbb-ı-si-nni hur-ø-i.
disease-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ABL become.cured-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘He recovered from his disease.’
- (4.111) hank’-ı-si-nni hig-ø-i.
anger-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ABL return-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘He came back to normal from his anger.’

A noun with *-nni* attached to it may express the source or cause of an event. As in (4.112) and (4.113), it is often the source or cause of an emotive state-change.

(4.112) isi loos-í-si-nni
3SG.M.NOM job-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ABL

hagid-ø-ino.
become.happy-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘He is happy with his job.’

(4.113) bule mačč’išš-i-t-ino od-í-nni
Bule(NOM.F) hear-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 news-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

maala-’-l-i-t-u.
become.surprised-MID-become.surprised-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule got surprised with the news that she heard.’

(4.114) wolakat-u bubbé-te-nni
paper-NOM.M wind-GEN.F-by

billall-ø-i.
become.scattered-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The paper got scattered by the wind.’

(4.115) hagiirr-ú-nni kubb-ø-i.
happiness-GEN.M-ABL jump-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘He jumped with happiness.’

The suffix *-nni* can be used for the temporal origin of an action or state-change, as in (4.116) and (4.117) (the construction in (4.117) requires the emphatic suffix *-nku* (section 4.2.2.2.3) to occur between a verb in the simple perfect and the suffix *-nni*).

(4.116) beró-nni t'aa geešša
yesterday(GEN.F)-ABL now degree

it-ø-a-nni no.
eat-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘He has been eating since yesterday up to now.’

(4.117) hatté sagalé it-ø-i-nku-nni
that.F.ACC food(ACC) eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-EMPH-ABL

dīw-am-ø-e no.
cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-CNN exist.P.PRF.3

‘Since he ate that food, he has been sick.’

It is also used for ‘than’ in a comparative construction like in (4.118) and (4.119)
(see Chapter 5 section 5.4.4 for an exception).

(4.118) konní min-í harak'e hakkó
this.M.GEN house-GEN.MOD.M harake(NOM.F) that.M.GEN

min-í harak'e-nni
house-GEN.MOD.M harake(GEN.F)-than

roor-t-anno.
become.better-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘The *harak'e* [gin-like liquor] at this house is better than the one at that house.’ (*lit.*, ‘The *harak'e* at this house becomes better than the one at that house.’)

(4.119) bire-nni t'a isé-ra
 past-ABL now 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON

wodan-i-'ya
 heart-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS

kaǰǰ-ø-i-'e.
 become.hard-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-1SG

'I am less considerate of her now than in the past.' (*lit.*, 'My heart became harder to her now compared to in the past.')

When the suffix *-nni* is used as the instrumental suffix, it also follows the genitive stem. In the following examples, the preceding noun is an Unmodified feminine common noun in (4.120), an Unmodified masculine common noun in (4.121), and a Modified masculine common noun in (4.122).

(4.120) miné buuyyó-te-nni fukk-ø-e
 house(ACC) dry.grass.for.roof-GEN.F-INST thatch-3SG.M-CNN

bešš-ø-anno.
 close-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

'He thatches the house with dry grass, and closes (the roof of) the house.'

(4.121) lat'o danančó-se buur-ú-nni
 Lat'o(NOM.F) hair(ACC)-3SG.F.POSS butter-GEN.M-INST

šakk'-i-s-i-d-u.
 become.soft-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Lat'o moisturized/softened her hair with butter.'

- (4.122) laše hinč'ilalló hakkó kinč-í-nni
 Lashe(NOM) mirror(ACC) that.M.GEN stone-GEN.MOD.M-INST
- hiikk'-ø-i.
 break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Lashe broke a mirror with that stone.’

As is the case with the ablative suffix, when the noun preceding the instrumental suffix is an Unmodified feminine common noun, this suffix can be omitted (*buuyyo-te* in (4.120)).

Also in the same manner as the ablative suffix, the instrumental suffix may be abbreviated as *-i* (*buuyyo-te-i* in (4.120), *buur-u-i* in (4.121), *kinč-u-i* in (4.122)).

The instrumental suffix follows the agent noun in the passive construction, as in (4.123) and (4.124). Again, the noun with this suffix is in the genitive case.

- (4.123) laše lowo mann-í-nni
 Lashe(NOM) many people-GEN.MOD.M-by
- fars-am-ø-i.
 praise-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Lashe was praised by many people.’

- (4.124) laše angá-si wošičč-ú-nni
 Lashe(NOM) hand(OBL)-3SG.M.POSS dog-GEN.M-by
- ga'm-am-ø-i.
 bite-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Lashe’s hand was bitten by the dog.’ (*lit.*, ‘Lashe was bitten with respect to his hand by the dog.’)

The instrumental suffix can mark the causee of the action expressed by the verb root in the double-causative construction (section 4.2.1.3.2), which is usually used for

events where the causer indirectly causes the causee to perform the action. In (4.125), the action of biting Dangura is performed by the referent of the NP followed by *-nni*, Bule.

- (4.125) laše bulé-nni dangurá
 Lashe(NOM) Bule(GEN.F)-INST Dangura(ACC)
- ga'm-i-sis-ø-i-si.
 bite-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M
- ‘Lashe had Bule bite Dangura.’

The instrumental suffix may be attached to a noun for material that fills up an entity.

- (4.126) hakku k'oonč-i dančá
 that.M.NOM calabash-NOM.MOD.M good(GEN.F)
- adó-nni wo'm-ø-ino.
 milk(GEN.F)-INST become.full-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- ‘That calabash is full of good milk.’

In the reciprocal construction, the instrumental suffix can sometimes be used as a comitative suffix, instead of the comitative noun *ledo* (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3), as in (4.127a), or together with it, as in (4.127b).¹⁹

¹⁹ This use of the instrumental suffix is only possible when the reciprocal suffix is on the verb. In a sentence like (i), “GEN.NP *ledo*” or “GEN.NP-*nni ledo*” has to be used.

(4.127)	lat'o Lat'o(NOM.F)	{	(a)	daafurs- <i>í</i> -nni Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-INST		(b)	daafurs- <i>í</i> -nni Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-INST	ledo COM	}
			(c)	daafurs- <i>í</i> Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M	ledo COM				

giw-an-t-u.
fight-RCP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Lat'o fought with Daafursa.'

There is another use of the suffix *-nni*. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the locative suffix used with locational nouns (section 3.1.1.3) and demonstrative pronouns (section 3.2.1.4) is not the regular locative suffix (*-ho/-te/-ra* in Table 4.3). Instead, *-nni* is used, which is the same in form as the instrumental suffix and the ablative suffix. When one of the locational nouns occurs with *-nni* to express location, its final vowel is normally lengthened, as in (4.128a) and (4.129a). This suffixed form of the locational noun, as well as its form with the suffix *-nni* omitted, as in (4.128b) and (4.129b), are usually used contrastively or emphatically, compared to the use of the locational noun alone, as in (4.128c) and (4.129c).

(i)	lat'o Lat'o(NOM.F)	{	daafurs- <i>í</i> Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M	ledo COM	}
			daafurs- <i>í</i> -nni Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-INST	ledo COM	
			*daafurs- <i>í</i> -nni Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-INST		

dikko ha-d-u.
market go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Lat'o went to the market with Daafursa.'

- (4.131) boč'-i gananš-ú-nni lašé
 Boch'a-NOM.PROP.M fighting-GEN.M-LOC Lashe(ACC)

k'eel-ø-i.
 defeat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Boch'a defeated Lashe in fighting.'

- (4.132) boč'-i lašé dod-ú-nni
 Boch'a-NOM.PROP.M Lashe(ACC) race-GEN.M-LOC

k'olč-ø-i.
 outdistance-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Boch'a outdistanced Lashe in the race.'

The locative suffix *-nni* can also follow genitive-case marked temporal nouns. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.4), instead of the genitive noun followed by this suffix, the citation form of the noun may serve as a bare-NP adverbial.

- (4.133) sood-ú-nni 'in the morning' (soodo 'morning')
 barr-ú-nni 'during the daytime' (barra 'day')
 hašš-ú-nni 'in the evening' (hašša 'evening')
 arr-ú-nni 'in the dry season' (arro 'dry season')
 hawad-ú-nni 'in the rainy season' (hawado 'rainy season')

The use of *-nni* for the locative notion is basically limited to locational nouns, temporal nouns, demonstrative pronouns, and common nouns for events, and when *-nni* occurs with other types of nominals, it normally serves as either the ablative suffix or the instrumental suffix, as discussed below.²⁰

²⁰ There are a few exceptions to this. *Nafara* 'compound', *gate* 'backyard', and *gama* 'river bank' can take *-nni* as well as the locative suffix (*-ho/-te/-ra*). *Mine* 'house', *hadiro* '[animal section in a house]', and

There are two other uses of the suffix *-nni*, which cannot be classified into any of the above. In the first case, the suffix *-nni* can be used in three constructions that have the form “V1-PERSON-INF-*nni* V2”. One construction expresses the temporal inclusion of V2 in V1, ‘(while) doing V1, V2’, as in (4.134), and another construction expresses the manner/concomitance in V1 of the action of V2, ‘V2 with the manner/concomitance of V1’, as in (4.135) (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4, Chapter 6 section 6.2.2). Note that neither of these constructions have causal meanings. In both of these constructions, the subject

gama ‘river bank’ can also take *-nni*, but not the locative suffix (though it can take *-ho* as the dative suffix). Examples are shown in (i).

- (i) (a) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wošičč-u} \\ \text{dog-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nafara-nni} \\ \text{compound-LOC} \\ \text{nafara-ho} \\ \text{compound-LOC.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{no.} \\ \text{exist.P.PRF.3} \end{array}$
- ‘There is a dog in the compound.’
- (b) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{wošičč-u} \\ \text{dog-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mine-nni} \\ \text{house-LOC} \\ \text{*mine-ho} \\ \text{house-LOC.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{no.} \\ \text{exist.P.PRF.3} \end{array}$
- ‘There is a dog in the house.’

There are also nouns for containers that can occur with *-nni* as well as the locative suffix. Unlike the previous nouns, they have to be in the genitive case when used with *-nni*. Examples are shown in (ii).

- (ii) (a) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ado} \\ \text{milk(NOM.F)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{k'oonč-ú-nni} \\ \text{calabash-GEN.M-LOC} \\ \text{k'oončo-ho} \\ \text{calabash-LOC.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{no.} \\ \text{exist.P.PRF.3} \end{array}$
- ‘There is milk in the calabash.’
- (b) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ado} \\ \text{milk(NOM.F)} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{burč'ik'ó-te-nni} \\ \text{glass-GEN.F-LOC} \\ \text{burč'ik'o-te} \\ \text{glass-LOC.F} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{no.} \\ \text{exist.P.PRF.3} \end{array}$
- ‘There is milk in the glass.’

of the two actions has to be the same. A third construction expresses (extended) causation ‘by doing V1 (continuously), V2’, as in (4.136).

(4.134) sagalé ra’-i-s-i-ǰ-ǰ-a-nni
 food(ACC) become.cooked-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-3SG.F-INF-while

angá gii-ǰ-i-t-u.
 hand(ACC) burn-MID-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘While cooking, she burned her hand.’

(4.135) milli milli y-i-t-a-nni
milli milli say-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

ha-ǰ-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She went, wiggling.’

(4.136) kilkiččo ass-ø-a-nni k’aakk’ó
kilkiččo do-3SG.M-INF-INST child(ACC)

osǰ-šiiš-ø-i.
 laugh-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘By tickling, he made the child laugh.’

The negative versions of the manner/concomitance construction and the extended causation constructions use the simple perfect and the negative suffix, rather than the person suffix and the infinitive suffix, before the suffix *-nni*.²¹

²¹ When the subject of the negative version of the manner/concomitance construction is the impersonal third-person singular masculine subject, the subject of the main predicate is different from it, as in (i).

(4.137) keeš-i-tt-o-kki-nni amo.
 stay.long-S.PRF.2-2SG-M-NEG-MANNER come.IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Come without staying long.’

(4.138) ise god-ú giddo-ra
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ALL

 daak-k-u-kki-nni ha-ǰ-u.
 swim-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-NEG-MANNER go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

 ‘She went into the cave without swimming.’

Second, the construction “V-1PL-INF-*nni*” can precede and modify a noun to express ‘... for doing ...’ or ‘... to do ...’, as in (4.139) and (4.140).

(4.139) a-n-g-a-nni waá abb-ø-i.
 drink-3PL-drink-INF-for water(ACC) bring-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He brought drinking water.’

(4.140) loomaane i-n-t-a-nni
 [kind.of.fruit](NOM.F) eat-1PL-eat-INF-for

 re=ti.
 things=NP.PRED.MOD

 ‘[Kind of fruit] is something to eat.’

(i) arriššo sood-ø-i-kki-nni
 sun(NOM.F) become.morning-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-NEG-MANNER

leell-i-t-u.
 appear-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The sun appeared before morning.’ (*lit.*, ‘The sun appeared without <IMPERS.3SG.M> becoming morning.’)

4.2.2.1.4 Possessive Pronominal Suffix

Common nouns and abstract nouns including locational nouns (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3) can usually be accompanied by an NP in the genitive case or by the possessive pronominal suffix. Unlike a genitive NP, which precedes the noun that it Modifies, the possessive pronominal suffix follows the Modified noun.

Table 4.4 shows the possessive pronominal suffix with examples of its use with *anna* ‘father’ and *ama* ‘mother’. If the Modified noun is masculine and in the nominative or genitive, the possessive pronominal suffix follows the nominative or genitive case suffix for Modified masculine common nouns, *-i*.

		<i>anna</i> ‘father’		<i>ama</i> ‘mother’
		ACC	NOM/GEN	ACC/NOM/GEN
1SG	-’ya	anna-’ya	ann-i-’ya	ama-’ya
2SG	-kki	anna-kki	ann-i-kki	ama-kki
3SG.M	-si	anna-si	ann-i-si	ama-si
3SG.F	-se	anna-se	ann-i-se	ama-se
1PL	-nke	anna-nke	ann-i-nke	ama-nke
2PL	-’ne	anna-’ne	ann-i-’ne	ama-’ne
3PL	-nsa	anna-nsa	ann-i-nsa	ama-nsa

Table 4.4: Possessive Pronominal Suffix

The possessive pronominal suffix and the genitive pronoun are almost always interchangeable with each other, but the use of the latter is more emphatic than that of the former, as in (4.141).²²

²² When possessor NPs are contrasted to each other, the genitive pronoun has to be used, as in (i), and the use of the possessive pronominal suffix as in (ii) is inappropriate.

- (4.141) (a) ama-'ya durette=te.
 mother(NOM.F)-1SG rich.F=NPC.F.PRED
 'My mother is rich.'
- (b) ané ama durette=te.
 1SG.GEN mother(NOM.F) rich.F=NPC.F.PRED
 'My mother is rich.' (as opposed to someone else's mother)

Double-marking of possession both with the possessive pronominal suffix and with a genitive NP, as in (4.142c), is prohibited.

- (4.142) { (a) min-i-si
 house-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
 (b) daafurs-ī min-i
 Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M house-NOM.MOD.M
 (c) *daafurs-ī min-i-si
 Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M house-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS }
- šiima=ho.
 small=NPC.M.PRED
- (a) 'His house is small.'
 (b) 'Daafursa's house is small.'
 (c) *to mean*, 'Daafursa's house is small.'

4.2.2.1.5 Definite Suffix (on Unmodified Genitive Nouns)

The suffix *-nni* can mark the definiteness of the referent of the NP consisting of an Unmodified genitive noun. There are three environments in a clause where this suffix has to occur (in any of the examples below, *-nni* cannot be omitted). First, *-nni* attaches

-
- (i) tini isī saa=ti. di=ise=te.
 this.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN cow=NPC.PRED.MOD NEG=3SG.F.GEN=NPC.F.PRED
 'This is his cow, not hers.'
- (ii) *tini saa-si-ti. di=ise=te.
 this.F.NOM cow=NPC.PRED.MOD NEG=3SG.F.GEN=NPC.F.PRED

to an Unmodified noun in the genitive case in the predicate position preceding the predicative noun-phrase clitic, =*ho* (M)/=*te* (F), as in (4.143).

- (4.143) kuni min-i
 this.M.NOM house-NOM.MOD.M
- { (a) manč-ú-nni=ho
 person-GEN.M-DEF=NPC.M.PRED
 (b) mančo-nni=ho.
 person(GEN.F)-DEF=NPC.M.PRED }
 (a) ‘This house is the man’s.’
 (b) ‘This house is the woman’s.’

Second, it attaches to a genitive noun when the noun occurs as the first of a sequence of adnominals that Modify a following noun, as in (4.144).

- (4.144) wošičč-u-nni=ti
 dog-GEN.M-DEF=NPC.F.NOM
- { (a) waǰjido
 white(NOM.F)
 (b) hiikk’-an-t-ino
 break-PASS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 }
 lekka hara’ madda=te.
 leg(NOM.F) short.PL=NPC.F.PRED
- (a) ‘The male dog’s white legs are short.’
 (b) ‘The male dog’s broken legs are short.’

When the genitive noun immediately precedes the head noun, the suffix *-nni* is not used, even though the referent of the NP is definite, as in (4.145).

- (4.145) { (a) waǰǰido
white(NOM.F) } wošičč-ú lekka
{ (b) hiikk'-an-t-ino
break-PASS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 } dog-GEN.M leg(NOM.F)

hara'madda=te.
short.PL=NPC.F.PRED

- (a) 'The male dog's white legs are short.'
(b) 'The male dog's broken legs are short.'

Third, this suffix also attaches to an Unmodified common noun for an object (rather than a location) and is followed by the noun-phrase clitic =*wa* 'place'.²³ The phrase may express a location, as in (4.146), or a goal, as in (4.147).

- (4.146) lat'o buus-ú-nni=wa no.
Lat'o(NOM.F) bridge-GEN.M-DEF=place exist.P.PRF.3
'Lat'o is by the bridge.' (*lit.*, 'Lat'o is in the place where the bridge is located.')

- (4.147) lat'o buus-ú-nni=wa ha-d-u.
Lat'o(NOM.F) bridge-GEN.M-DEF=place go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
'Lat'o went to the bridge.' (*lit.*, 'Lat'o went to the place where the bridge is located.')

²³ However, the meaning of this suffix is not clear when the Unmodified common noun preceding it is feminine, though it seems to indicate that the noun has a specific referent. For example, (ia) is interchangeable without any difference with (ib).

- (i) { (a) dikkó-nni=wa
market(GEN.F)-DEF=place } amo.
{ (b) dikkó-te=wa
market-GEN.F=place } come.IMP.2SG
(a)/(b) 'Come to the market.'

4.2.2.2 Inflectional Adjective Affixes

4.2.2.2.1 Case Affixes on Adjectives²⁴

Attributive adjectives agree in case with their head nouns. The agreement is indicated with a case suprafix and/or a case suffix. The suprafix (high pitch on the final vowel) occurs on adjectives in the genitive, accusative, and oblique cases just as on nouns in these cases. Adjectives in the nominative case are not marked with the suprafix, and have high pitch on their penultimate vowel segments (like predicative adjectives, which occur before the predicative noun-phrase clitic =*ho* (M)/=*te* (F)).

When an adjective modifies a masculine noun, the adjective is marked with the nominative/genitive case suffix *-u* if the noun that it modifies is in the nominative or genitive case. For example, in (4.148) and (4.149), *seeda* ‘tall’, which modifies *manč-i* ‘person’ (in the nominative in (4.148) and in the genitive in (4.149)), is marked with the nominative suffix and the genitive suffix, respectively. The nominative and genitive case suffixes on an adjective have the same forms regardless of whether or not the adjective is modified by an adverbial like *lowo geešša* ‘very much’.

(4.148)	hakku that.NOM.NOM	(lowo geešša) (large degree)	seed-u tall-NOM.M
	manč-i person-NOM.MOD.M	biifaado=ho. attractive=NPC.M.PRED	
	‘That (very) tall man is attractive.’		

²⁴ The discussion here deals only with case affixes on adjectives. See Chapter 3 (section 3.2.1.5) for case marking on adnominal demonstratives.

- (4.149) hakkuí (lowo geešša) seed-ú manč-í
 that.M.GEN (large degree) tall-GEN.M person-GEN.MOD.M
- farašš-i dunka=ho.
 horse-NOM.MOD.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
- ‘That (very) tall man’s horse is slow.’

When the noun in the nominative case that an adjective modifies is feminine, the case suffix on the adjective is zero, as in (4.150).

- (4.150) hatti seeda mančo
 that.F.NOM tall(NOM.F) person(NOM.F)
- biifaado=te.
 attractive=NPC.F.PRED
- ‘That tall woman is attractive.’

An adjective modifying a genitive feminine noun has the genitive suprafix on its final vowel segment, and the case suffix on the adjective is zero or *-te*. Examples are shown in (4.151)-(4.154).

- (4.151) seedá/seedá-te mančo wošičč-i
 tall(GEN.F)/tall-GEN.F person(GEN.F) dog-NOM.M
- dut-ø-a-nni no.
 bark-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF3
- ‘The tall woman’s dog (F) is barking.’

- (4.152) *duretté/duretté-te* *mančó*
 rich.F(GEN.F)/rich.F-GEN.F person(GEN.F)
- rodo* *la'-u-mmo.*
 sibling(NOM.F) see-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) saw the rich woman’s sibling.’
- (4.153) *hatté* *seedá/seedá-te* *mančó*
 that.F.GEN tall(GEN.F)/tall-GEN.F person(GEN.F)
- farašš-i* *dunka=ho.*
 horse-NOM.MOD.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
- ‘That tall woman’s horse is slow.’
- (4.154) *la'-oo-mm-o=hu* *seedá/seedá-te*
 see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M=NPC.M.NOM tall(GEN.F)/tall-GEN.F
- mančó* *wošičč-i* *dut-ø-a-nni*
 person(GEN.F) dog-NOM.M bark-3SG.M-INF-MANNER
- no.*
 exist.P.PRF3
- ‘The tall woman’s dog (M) that I (M) saw is barking.’

When the masculine noun is in the accusative and is thus marked with the zero suffix and the suprafix, the adjective that modifies it is also marked with the zero suffix and the suprafix (e.g., *duumo* ‘red’ in (4.155)). When the masculine noun is marked with a case suffix other than for the nominative/genitive cases (for example, the dative case suffix) and is modified with an adjective, that case suffix is added to the genitive stem of the noun, and the attributive adjective has to be in the genitive case (e.g., *but'ičč-u* [poor-GEN.M] ‘poor’ and *danč-u* [good-GEN.M] ‘good’ in (4.155)).

- (4.155) du'm-u manč-i but'ičč-ú
 fat-NOM.M person-NOM.MOD.M poor-GEN.M
- beett-î-ra danč-ú
 child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD good-GEN.M
- dor-î-nni duumó
 red.clay-GEN.MOD.M-INST red(ACC)
- t'ilté seekk-ø-i.
 waasa.container(ACC) make-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'The fat man made a red *waasa* container with good red clay for the poor boy.'

As discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.2), adjectives, like nouns, are in their citation forms when they are in a predicate position (e.g., *biifaádo* in (4.148), *dúnka* in (4.149) and (4.153)).

4.2.2.2.2 Number Suffixes on Adjectives

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3), most adjectives make a number distinction morphologically with their singular/non-plural forms and plural forms, with the exception of a small number of adjectives that cannot be pluralized (e.g., *hala'lado* 'wide', *wudde* 'expensive (AMH)').²⁵ The plural forms of adjectives are always marked with a suffix, whereas the singular/non-plural forms of adjectives may or may not be marked with a suffix. Basically, the singular/non-plural forms of adjectives go with the singular and unmarked forms of nouns, and the plural forms of adjectives match the

²⁵ There are a few adjectives that make a three-way number distinction (e.g., SG: *jaaw-aššo*, non-PL: *jaaw-ado*, PL: *jaaw-adda* 'thin'). There is also at least one adjective that shows a singular vs. non-singular contrast: SG: *mull-ččo* (M)/*mull-itte* (F), non-SG: *mulla* 'empty, naked'.

plural forms of nouns, though there are cases where the singular/non-plural form of an adjective is used with a plural noun. Generally, the number of an attributive adjective depends on that of the noun that it modifies, and the number of a predicative adjective depends on that of the subject head noun.

The singular/non-plural adjective suffix is usually a portmanteau morpheme that not only expresses singularity/non-plurality but also derives adjectives from verbs or nouns and/or makes a gender distinction. Singular/non-plural adjectives can be classified into mainly three types according to what information their singular/non-plural suffixes convey. First, they may be derived from verbs or nouns with the singular/non-plural suffix (section 4.2.1.2).

(4.156)	-aššo:	jaaw-aššo ‘thin’	(jaab- ‘to become thin’)
	-iččo:	but’-iččo ‘poor’	(but’- ‘to become poor’)
	-aančo:	mug-aančo ‘sleepy’	(mug- ‘to become sleepy’)
	-ado:	kaaĵĵ-ado ‘strong’	(kaaĵĵ- ‘to become strong’)
	-ččo:	gura-ččo ‘left-handed’	(gura ‘left’)
	-čo:	haraan-čo ‘short’	(hara’m- ‘to become short’)
	-iweelo:	loos-iweelo ‘unemployed’	(looso ‘job’)

Second, singular/non-plural adjectives can have a gender distinction (section 4.2.2.2.3).

The suffix forms where singularity/non-plurality and gender are fused often derive adjectives from verbs or noun stems.

- (4.157) *-(aal)eessa* (M)/*-(aal)eette* (F):
 haw-aaleessa (M)/haw-aaleette (F) ‘forgetful’ (hab- ‘to forget’)
 č’oom-aleessa (M)/č’oom-aleette (F) ‘fat’ (č’oom- ‘to become fat’)
- (aall)ičča* (M)/*-(aall)itte* (F):
 hank’-aalličča (M)/hank’-aallitte (F) ‘tending to get angry’
 (hank’- ‘to get angry’)
- (aam)o* (M)/*-(aam)e* (F):
 goow-aamo (M)/goow-aame (F) ‘having a long neck’ (goowa ‘neck’)
- iččo* (M)/*-itte* (F):
 mull-ččo (M)/mull-itte (F) ‘empty, naked’ (non-singular: mulla)

Nevertheless, a few adjectives that have suffix forms with both singularity/non-plurality and gender information fused sometimes cannot be used without the suffix forms: *dur-eessa* (M)/*dur-eette* (F) ‘rich’, *duum-o* (M)/*duum-e* (F) ‘red’. These adjectives are non-derived, true adjectives that have a gender distinction (Chapter 3 section 3.1.3). Third, there are those adjectives that are singular or non-plural only because they are not plural: *šiima* ‘small’, *lowo* ‘much, many, large’, *danča* ‘good’, *t’uma* ‘beautiful’, *faayya* ‘pretty’, *diime* ‘deep’, *dunka* ‘slow’, *haaro* ‘new’, *koliššo* ‘black’, *haanja* ‘green’, *waaŋjo* ‘white’. These are non-derived true adjectives with no distinctive gender forms, listed in (3.106) (Chapter 3 section 3.1.3). The endings of such adjectives could be regarded as allomorphs of the singular/plural suffix, but there is no evidence for it.

There are various allomorphs of the plural suffix for adjectives, but their occurrence is idiosyncratic to a particular lexical item, and does not seem to be conditioned by any factor. The most common allomorphs are *-(a)adda* and *-ulle*.

(4.158)	<i>non-PL/SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	
	<i>-(a)adda</i>		
	šiima	šiim-aadda	‘small’
	busul-e	busul-aadda	‘smart’
	jaaw-aššo	jaaw-adda	‘thin’
	kol-iššo	kol-idda	‘black’
	duumo (M)/duume (F)	duum-adda	‘red’
	<i>-ulle</i>		
	danča	danč-ulle	‘good’
	t’uma	t’um-ulle	‘beautiful’
	faayya	faayy-ulle	‘pretty’
	buš-a	buš-ulle	‘bad’
	waǰjo	waǰj-ulle	‘white’
	seeda	seed-ulle	‘tall, long’
	du’m-a	du’m-ulle	‘fat’

There are also a few nouns that use *-(a)adda* for plural marking (e.g., *fara-dda* ‘horses’, *gala-dda* ‘monkeys’) (section 4.2.1.1, Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.2).

Other allomorphs are listed with examples in (4.159).

(4.159)	<i>non-PL/SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	
	<i>-ano</i>	dunka mool-a but' -iččo	dunk-ano mool-ano but' -aane or but' -aano
			'slow' 'dry' 'poor'
	<i>-uwa</i>	haaro seeda haanĵa	haar-uwa seed-uwa haanĵ-uwa
			'new' 'tall, long' 'green'
	<i>-(o)ota</i>	goww-a ĵawaat-a bulla	goww-oota ĵawaat-ota bull-oota
			'foolish' 'strong' 'gray, brown'
	<i>-eeyye</i>	dur-eessa (M)/dur-eette (F) hawaal-eessa (M)/ hawaal-eette (F) de'aam-eessa or de'emal-eessa (M)/ de'aam-eette or de'emal-eette (F)	dur-eeyye hawaal-eeyye de'aam-eeyye or de'emal-eeyye
			'rich' 'forgetful' 'careless'

The last two of these are shared with nouns (*-uwa*: e.g., *k'ubb-uwa* 'fingers', *aradd-uwa* 'bush'; *-(o)ota*: e.g., *baim-oota* 'rascals', *la'lam-oota* 'mother's sisters'; *-eeyye*: e.g., *č'im-eeyye* 'arbitrators', *og-eeyye* 'professionals') (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.1).

There are also some adjectives that exhibit the most common plural formation pattern for nouns, whereby the final consonant of the stem is geminated, followed by *a*.

(4.160)	<i>non-PL/SG</i>	<i>PL</i>	
	diime	diim-ma	‘deep’
	šota	šot-ta	‘(of weight) light, easy’
	airr-ado	airr-ad-da	‘heavy’
	biif-ado	biif-ad-da	‘beautiful’
	kaaǰj-ado	kaaǰj-ad-da	‘strong’
	haraan-čo	haram-ma	‘short’
	hafur-aamo (M)/ hafur-aame (F)	hafur-aamma	‘having a skin disease’
	fiit’-iweelo or fiit’-iweela	fiit’-iweel-lo or fiit’-iweel-la	‘having no relatives’

4.2.2.2.3 Gender Suffixes on Adjectives

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3.1), there are a small number of adjectives that have forms contrasting in gender.

(4.161)		<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	
	<i>-eessa/-eette</i>	dur-eessa hawaal-eessa de’aam-eessa	dur-eette hawaal-eette de’aam-eette	‘rich’ ‘forgetful’ ‘careless, negligent’
	<i>-ičča/-itte</i>	č’all-ičča bubb-ičča	č’all-itte bubb-itte	‘alone’ ‘thoughtless’
	<i>-iččo/-itte</i>	gooww-iččo	gooww-itte	‘foolish’
	<i>-(aam)o/- (aam)e</i>	duum-o goow-aamo hafur-aamo	duum-e goow-aame hafur-aame	‘red’ ‘having a long neck’ ‘having a skin disease’

The first three pairs of suffixes also occur with nouns (or more noun-like words)

(*-eessa/-eette*: *og-eessa* (M)/*og-eette* (F) ‘professional’; *-ičča/-itte*: *hank’aall-ičča*

(M)/*hank'aall-itte* (F) ‘a person who gets angry easily’, *lakk-ičča* (M)/*lakk-itte* (F) ‘twin’), but *-(aam)o/-(aam)e* is restricted to adjectives (see Chapter 3 section 3.1.3.1).

Another pair of suffixes that show the gender contrast, *-nka* (M)/*-nta* (F)’, can attach to certain adjectives to emphasize their meaning (e.g., *duučanka* (M)/*duučanta* (F) ‘all’, *wo'manka* (M)/*wo'manta* (F) ‘all’ in Chapter 3 section 3.2.4).²⁶ These suffixes inflect for case, as shown in Table 4.5, which contains examples of the numeral *lame* ‘two’ with these suffixes attached.

	ACC	NOM	GEN
M	<i>-nka</i> (e.g., <i>lame-nka</i>)	<i>-nku</i> (e.g., <i>lam-u-nku</i>)	<i>-nku</i> (e.g., <i>lamu-nku</i>)
F	<i>-nta</i> (e.g., <i>lame-nta</i>)	<i>-nta</i> (e.g., <i>lame-nti</i>)	<i>-nte</i> (e.g., <i>lame-nte</i>)

Table 4.5: Emphatic Suffixes *-nka* (M)/*-nta* (F)

²⁶ The masculine form of this suffix, *-nka*, can also occur in the idiomatic construction that is used in a subordinate clause for ‘since ...’: V-S.PRF-*nku-nni*.

- (i) *isi* *da-ø-i-nku-nni* *ani*
 3SG.M.NOM come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-EMPH.M.GEN-ABL 1SG.M.NOM

dure'm-u-mm-o.
 become.rich-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘Since he came, I have become rich.’

- (ii) *ninke* *min-í-ra*
 1PL.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD
- e'n-u-mmo-nku-nni* *sase* *dakiika* *ikk-ø-ino.*
 enter-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL-EMPH.M.GEN-ABL three minute become-P.PRF.3

‘It has been three minutes since we entered the house.’

- (4.162) lame-nté angá-nni it-ø-anno.
 two-EMP.F.GEN hand(GEN.F)-INST eat-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘He eats with both hands.’
- (4.163) mine-ho lam-u-nku waalč-i
 house-DAT.M two-NOM.M-EMP.M.NOM door-NOM.MOD.M
- č’ufaná af-i-’r-ø-ino.
 door(ACC) find-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- ‘Both entrances of the house have bamboo gates.’

4.2.2.3 Inflectional Verb Suffixes

4.2.2.3.1 Aspectual Suffixes, Subject Person/Number Suffixes, and Subject Gender Suffixes

Verbs can be marked with suffixes for three types of temporal aspects, the imperfect, the simple perfect, and the present perfect, together with suffixes for the person/number of the subject.²⁷ In addition, the genders of the first- and second-person singular subjects are also marked with suffixes (M: *-o*, F: *-a*); in the case of third-person singular subjects, gender information is implicitly included in the person/number suffix. The forms of these suffixes are displayed in Table 4.6. (The first-person plural suffix, *-nmmo*, is a discontinuous morpheme, and the aspectual suffixes occur between its components.²⁸)

²⁷ There are complex verb forms for two other types of temporal aspects, the progressive and the continuous, where the verb stem is followed by the connective suffix and the infinitive suffix, respectively, and then by the existential verb; see Chapter 3 section 3.1.2.3; also section 4.2.2.3.3 (connective) and section 4.2.2.3.4 (infinitive).

²⁸ The first-person plural suffix could be analyzed as *-n*, followed by the first-person singular masculine suffix, *-mmo* [-1SG-M]. (The first-person plural form of the pronominal subject suffix (before the connective suffix or the infinitive suffix) is *-n* (section 4.2.2.3.2).)

	ASPECT			PERS/NUM	GENDER	
	IMPRF	S.PRF	P.PRF		M	F
1SG: -ASPECT-PERS/NUM-GENDER	-ee	-u	-oo	-mm	-o	-a
2SG: -ASPECT-PERS/NUM-GENDER	-a	-i	-oo	-tt	-o	-a
3SG.M: -PERS/NUM-ASPECT	-anno	-i	-ino	∅		
3SG.F/3PL: -PERS/NUM-ASPECT	-anno	-u	-ino	-t		
1PL: -PERS/NUM-ASPECT-PERSON	-ee	-u	-oo	-n -mmo		
2PL: -PERS/NUM-ASPECT	-anni	-i	-oonni	-tin		

Table 4.6: Aspect Suffixes, Person/Number Suffixes, and Gender Suffixes on Verbs

As shown here, none of the aspect suffixes have an invariable form that can be used for all persons/numbers, but rather they all change their forms according to the person/number of the subject. In other words, each aspect suffix can carry additional information about the person/number of the subject, as indicated in Table 4.7.

IMPRF		S.PRF		P.PRF	
-ee:	1	-u:	1, 3SG.F/3PL	-oo:	1, 2SG
-a:	2SG	-i:	2, 3SG.M	-oonni:	2PL
-anni:	2PL			-ino:	3
-anno:	3				

Table 4.7: Person/Number Indicated on Aspect Suffixes

As indicated in Table 4.6, the aspectual suffixes follow the verb stem directly and are followed immediately by the suffix for the person and number of the subject in the case of first- and second-person singular subjects. In the case of third-person singular and second-person plural subjects, they follow the suffix for the person and number of the subject, which occurs right after the verb stem. As mentioned above, the aspectual

suffixes intervene between the two components of the suffix for the first-person plural suffix *-n -mmo*.

The forms for the three aspectual categories are illustrated below in Tables 4.8-4.10 with *haišš-* ‘to wash’ and *it-* ‘to eat’.

		<i>haišš-</i> ‘to wash’	<i>it-</i> ‘to eat’
1SG.M	-ee-mm-o	<i>haišš-ee-mm-o</i>	<i>it-ee-mm-o</i>
1SG.F	-ee-mm-a	<i>haišš-ee-mm-a</i>	<i>it-ee-mm-a</i>
2SG.M	-a-tt-o	<i>haišš-a-tt-o</i>	<i>it-a-tt-o</i>
2SG.F	-a-tt-a	<i>haišš-a-tt-a</i>	<i>it-a-tt-a</i>
3SG.M	-ø-anno	<i>haišš-ø-anno</i>	<i>it-ø-anno</i>
3SG.F/3PL	-t-anno	<i>haišš-i-t-anno</i>	<i>it-t-anno</i>
1PL	-n-ee-mmo	<i>haišš-i-n-ee-mmo</i>	<i>i-n-t-ee-mmo</i> ²⁹
2PL	-tin-anni	<i>haišš-i-tin-anni</i>	<i>it-tin-anni</i>

Table 4.8: Imperfect Forms of *haišš-* ‘to wash’ and *it-* ‘to eat’

		<i>haišš-</i> ‘to wash’	<i>it-</i> ‘to eat’
1SG.M	-u-mm-o	<i>haišš-u-mm-o</i>	<i>it-u-mm-o</i>
1SG.F	-u-mm-a	<i>haišš-u-mm-a</i>	<i>it-u-mm-a</i>
2SG.M	-i-tt-o	<i>haišš-i-tt-o</i>	<i>it-i-tt-o</i>
2SG.F	-i-tt-a	<i>haišš-i-tt-a</i>	<i>it-i-tt-a</i>
3SG.M	-ø-i	<i>haišš-ø-i</i>	<i>it-ø-i</i>
3SG.F/3PL	-C-u	<i>haišš-i-t-u</i>	<i>it-t-u</i>
1PL	-n-ummo	<i>haišš-i-n-ummo</i>	<i>i-n-t-u-mmo</i>
2PL	-in-i	<i>haišš-i-t-in-i</i>	<i>it-in-i</i>

Table 4.9: Simple Perfect Forms of *haišš-* ‘to wash’ and *it-* ‘to eat’

²⁹ The first-person plural suffix *-n -mmo* occurs after a stem ending in an obstruent (a single obstruent rather than a consonant cluster or geminate), where the *-n* and the obstruent are exchanged to form *-n-*obstruent (Chapter 2 section 2.2 (ii-2)).

		haišš- ‘wash’	it- ‘eat’
1SG	-oo-mm-o	haišš-o-mm-o	it-oo-mm-o
2SG	-oo-mm-a	haišš-o-mm-a	it-oo-mm-a
2SG.M	-oo-tt-o	haišš-oo-tt-o	it-oo-tt-o
2SG.F	-oo-tt-a	haišš-oo-tt-a	it-oo-tt-a
3SG.M	-ø-ino	haišš-ø-ino	it-ø-ino
3SG.F/3PL	-i-t-ino	haišš-i-t-ino	it-i-t-ino
1PL	-i-n-oo-mm-o	haišš-i-n-oo-mm-o	it-i-n-oo-mm-o
2PL	-tin-oonni/tin-ooi	haišš-i-tin-oonni/haišš-i-tin-ooi	it-tinoonni/it-tin-ooi

Table 4.10: Present Perfect Forms of *haišš-* ‘to wash’ and *it-* ‘to eat’

The terms for the two types of the perfect aspect, simple perfect and present perfect, are taken from Teferra (2000: 80-81). The present study uses these labels, but they do not reflect the meanings of the aspectual suffixes. When a verb is used as the main predicate of a clause, its two aspectual forms appear not to have a difference in meaning and to be interchangeable with each other in most cases.³⁰ However, there are six cases for which only the present perfect can be used, and the simple perfect cannot. First, the negative proclitic *di=* can precede the present perfect form of a verb but not the simple perfect form.

(4.164)	isi	sagalé	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} di=it-\emptyset-ino. \\ NEG=eat-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 \\ *di=it-\emptyset-i. \\ NEG=eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M \end{array} \right\}$
	3SG.M.NOM	food(ACC)	
	‘He did not eat food.’		

³⁰ The present perfect goes well with temporal expressions such as *oimbarra* ‘the day before yesterday’, *mitt-ú dir-î albaanni* [one-GEN.M year-GEN.M before] ‘one year ago’, and *lowo yanna albaanni* [much time(GEN.F) before] ‘long time ago’, but the simple perfect is not fully compatible with them. On the other hand, with the adverb *t’a* ‘now’, the simple perfect is preferred over the present perfect.

- noun-phrase clitic used as a complementizer =*ta* (=ta or =ha for *lab-* ‘to appear’)

(4.167) { hun-∅-ino=ta
 make.a.mistake-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL
 *hun-∅-i=ta
 make.a.mistake-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M=NPC.F.CMPL }

amman-∅-i.

believe-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He believed/admitted that he had made a mistake.’

- complementizer suffix -*gede*

(4.168) { k’arr-am-∅-ino-gede
 cause.problem-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-CMPL
 *k’arr-am-∅-i-gede
 cause.problem-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-CMPL }

odeess-∅-i-’e.

share.news-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-1SG

‘He shared with me the news that he had a problem.’

(4.174) lašé ledo min-í-ra
 Lashe(GEN) COM house-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

{ da-n-g-oo-mm-o=hu.
 come-1PL-come-P.PRF.1-1PL=NPC.M.NOM }
 { *da-n-g-u-mm-o=hu
 come-1PL-come-S.PRF.1-1PL=NPC.M.NOM }

faraddá gulu-n-f-a-nni=ti.
 horses(ACC) ride-1PL-ride-INF-MANNER=NPC.PRED.HUTI

‘It was by riding a horse that I (M) came home with Lashe.’

Fifth, when *af-i-d* [find/get.to.know-EP-MID] is used as the verb of possession for ‘to have, possess’, it is normally used in the present perfect. If the simple perfect were used in (4.176), it would mean that ‘I (M) have obtained cattle (just now)’ (*ani lalo af-i-’r-u-mm-o*. [1SG.M.NOM cattle(ACC) find/get.to.know-EP-MID-S.PRF.1-1SG-M]).

(4.175) mitt-ú agan-i sajjó barrá
 one-GEN.M month-NOM.MOD.M thirty(ACC) day(ACC)

{ af-i-’r-ø-ino.
 find/get.to.know-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 }
 { *af-i-’r-ø-i.
 find/get.to.know-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M }

‘One month has thirty days.’

(4.176) ani laló af-i-’r-oo-mm-o.
 1SG.M.NOM cattle(ACC) find/get.to.know-EP-MID-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) have cattle.’

Finally, for an experiential meaning, which concerns the occurrence or non-occurrence of an event before a certain point in time (e.g., English: *I have been to that village before.*), only the present perfect can be used, and the simple perfect cannot.

(4.177) t'aa geešša burá maalá lame-woyete=lla
 now degree raw(ACC) meat(ACC) two-time-only

{ it-oo-mm-o.
 eat-P.PRF.1-1SG-M }
 { *it-u-mm-o.
 eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M }

‘I (M) have eaten raw meat twice in my life (*lit.*, up to now).’

On the other hand, there are also a few cases where only the simple perfect can be used. First, in a subordinate clause ending in *gedensa-a-nni* [last-LV-LOC] (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3), the verb preceding it has to be in the simple perfect, but not in the present perfect.

(4.178) laše ullá-te-nni kinčó
 Lashe(NOM) earth-GEN.F-ABL stone(ACC)

{ haa'r-ø-i-gedensanni
 pick-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-after }
 { *haa'r-ø-ino-gedensanni
 pick-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-after }

ol-ø-e hinč'ilalló hiik'-ø-i.
 throw-3SG.M-CNN mirror(ACC) break-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Lashe picked up a stone from the ground, threw it, and broke a mirror.’

Also, when the subordinator suffix *-ro* occurs at the end of a conditional clause that expresses a realizable condition, the verb preceding the clitic is in the simple perfect, not the present perfect (section 4.2.2.3.1).

- (4.179) adó-te saá hi-d-i-tt-o-ro adó
 milk-GEN.F cow(ACC) buy-MID-S.PRF.2-2SG-M-if milk(ACC)
- ag-a-tt-o-ra dand-a-tt-o.
 drink-INF-2SG-M-DAT be.able-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
- ‘If you (SG.M) buy a milk cow, you will be able to drink milk.’

There is also one adverbial construction where the simple perfect is always used:

V-S.PRF-*kki-nni* ‘without doing ...’ (section 4.2.2.3.7).

- (4.180) sagalé { it-ø-i-kki-nni
 food(ACC) eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-NEG-MANNER }
 { *it-ø-ino-kki-nni
 eat-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-NEG-MANNER }
 ha’r-ø-ino-hura daafur-ø-i.
 go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-because get.tired-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Because he went without having food, he got tired.’

The existential/locational verb (henceforth, “the existential verb”) (*lit.*, ‘to come to exist, come to be located’), which is used to indicate the existence of an entity or the location of one entity with respect to another, is always in a present perfect form, as shown in (4.181), and is incompatible with most of the inflectional suffixes with which other verbs can usually occur. It expresses the present state of existence or locatedness as

the resultative state of a state-change, as indicated above in the gloss for this verb (nevertheless, the present study employs ‘exist’ as its gloss). Thus, this verb does not take any other aspect suffix. For example, it has no simple perfect or imperfect forms (e.g., **no-u-mm-a/*no-u-mm-o* [exist-S.PRF.1-1SG-F/exist-S.PRF.1-1SG-M] or **no-ee-mm-a/*no-ee-mm-o* [exist-IMPRF.1-1SG-F/exist-IMPRF.1-1SG-M]) (for the imperfect meaning, verbs like *heed-* ‘to live’ and *keeš-* ‘to stay’ are used instead). Because the existential verb has no forms for the first-person plural and the second person plural, the verb *heed-* ‘to live’ is used in these cases (1PL: *hee'-n-oo-mmo* [live-1PL-P.PRF.1-1PL], 2PL: *hee-din-onni* [live-2PL-P.PRF.2PL]).

(4.181)	1SG.F	noomma (no-o-mm-a) [exist-P.PRF.1-1-F]
	1SG.M	noommo (no-o-mm-o) [exist-P.PRF.1-1-M]
	2SG.F	nootta (no-o-tt-a) [exist-P.PRF.2SG-2-F]
	2SG.M	nootto (no-o-tt-o) [exist-P.PRF.2SG-2-M]
	3SG/3PL	no [exist.P.PRF.3]

Moreover, the existential verb cannot be followed by the infinitive suffix (**no-a*) or the connective suffix (e.g., **no-ø-e* [exist.P.PRF.3-1SG/3SG.M-CNN]).

This verb can also be a component of two aspectual markers; they can be used to constitute the present-progressive form of another verb with the infinitive form followed by the instrumental case suffix *-nni* (*lit.*, ‘by doing sth, came to exist’), as in (4.182); also, they can be used to constitute the present continuous verb form with the connective form of another verb (*lit.*, ‘did sth and came to exist’), as in (4.183). In each of them, the first-person and second-person plural forms are irregular. When used in either of these ways,

the subject is indicated on a suffix (1SG, 3SG.M: $-\emptyset$, 2SG, 3SG.F/3PL: $-t$, 1PL: $-n(t)$, 2PL: $-ti(n)$); the initial t of the suffix can be preceded by the epenthetic vowel i when the suffix is attached to a root ending in a consonant-cluster like *hank'*-) immediately preceding the infinitive suffix $-a$ or the connective suffix $-e$; also, the existential verb that follows either of these suffixes inflects for the person/number/gender of the subject, as indicated in (4.181) (for the second-person plural, the existential verb cannot be used in either aspect).³¹

(4.182) Progressive forms of *it-* 'to eat'

1SG.F:	(ani)	waasa	it- \emptyset -a-nni	no-o-mm-a.	'I (F) am eating waasa.'
1SG.M:	(ani)	waasa	it- \emptyset -a-nni	no-o-mm-o.	'I (M) am eating waasa.'
2SG.F:	(ati)	waasa	it-t-a-nni	no-o-tt-a.	'You (SG.F) are eating waasa.'
2SG.M:	(ati)	waasa	it-t-a-nni	no-o-tt-o	'You (SG.M) are eating waasa.'
3SG.F:	(ise)	waasa	it-t-a-nni	no.	'She is eating waasa.'
3SG.M:	(isi)	waasa	it- \emptyset -a-nni	no.	'He is eating waasa.'
1PL:	(ninke)	waasa	i-n-t-a-nni	no-o-mm-o.	'We are eating waasa.'
2PL:	(ki'ne)	waasa	it-tin-a-nni.		'You (PL) are eating waasa.'
3PL:	(insa)	waasa	it-t-a-nni	no.	'They are eating waasa.'

³¹ There is also an informal version of the present-progressive forms.

(1)	1SG.F:	it- \emptyset -a	no-o-mm-a
	1SG.M:	it- \emptyset -a	no-o-mm-o
	2SG.F:	it-t-a	no-o-tt-a
	2SG.M:	it-t-a	no-o-tt-o
	3SG.M:	it- \emptyset -ai	no
	3SG.F/3PL:	it-t-ai	no
	1PL:	i-n-t-aa	no-o-mm-o
	2PL:	it-tinai	no.

(4.183) Continuous forms of *hank'*- 'to get angry'

1SG.F:	(ani)	hank'- \emptyset -e no-o-mm-a.	'I (F) have been angry.'
1SG.M:	(ani)	hank'- \emptyset -e no-o-mm-o.	'I (M) have been angry.'
2SG.F:	(ati)	hank'-i-t-e no-o-tt-a.	'You (SG.F) have been angry.'
2SG.M:	(ati)	hank'-i-t-e no-o-tt-o.	'You (SG.M) have been angry.'
3SG.F:	(ise)	hank'-i-t-e no.	'She has been angry.'
3SG.M:	(isi)	hank'- \emptyset -e no.	'He has been angry.'
1PL:	(ninke)	hank'-i-n-e he'no-o-mm-o./ hank'-i-no-o-mm-o.	'We have been angry.'
2PL:	(ki'ne)	hank'-i-tine hee-din-oonni.	'You (PL) have been angry.'
3PL:	(insa)	hank'-i-t-e no.	'They have been angry.'

The verb *heed'*- 'to live' is restricted in its aspect in one of its uses. When not used as a verb for 'to live', this verb can follow the present perfect or the imperfect form of a verb to express an event that happened in the past and is not happening anymore or an entity's state in the past that does not apply any longer at the time of utterance. When *heed'* is used this way, it is always in the third-person singular simple perfect (*hee'r- \emptyset -i*); it is the suffixes for the preceding verb that inflect for the person/number/gender of the subject. The preceding verb may be either in the present perfect or in the imperfect. In the former case, the action is one-time, as in (4.184a), whereas in the latter case, the action is habitual or continuous, as in (4.184b).

- (4.184) isi huučč’-i-’r-ø-e
 3SG.M.NOM beg-EP-MID-3SG.M-CNN
- | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| { | (a) | it-ø-ino
eat-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 | } | hee’r-ø-i. |
| { | (b) | it-ø-anno
eat-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 | } | live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M |
- (a) ‘He ate by begging.’ (*lit.*, ‘He begged and ate.’)
 (b) ‘He used to have the habit of eating by begging.’ (*lit.*, ‘He was begging and eating regularly.’)

The verb that precedes *hee’r-i* may be the existential verb. Examples of the use of *hee’r-i* with the existential verb are shown below. (4.185) is an example of the regular use of the existential verb, and (4.186) is an example of the predicative possession construction, which always uses the third-person singular form of the existential verb.

- (4.185) ani bero tulló-te aana
 1SG.NOM yesterday mountain-GEN.F top

no-o-mm-o hee’r-ø-i.
 exist-P.PRF.1-1-M live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘I (M) was in the mountain yesterday.’

- (4.186) bušé-ra bire saa
 Bushe(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP in.the.past cow(NOM.F)

no-se hee’r-ø-i.
 exist.P.PRF.3-3SG.F live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Bushe used to have a cow in the past.’

The verb form *hee'r-i* may be preceded by an adjective and the predicating clitic =*te*/=*ho* to form “ADJ-*te*/*ho* *hee'r-ø-i*”.³² In this case, the clause conveys that the referent of the subject was in the state expressed by the adjective in the past and is no longer in that state at the time of utterance. The predicating clitic =*te*/=*ho*, not *heed-*, agrees in gender with the subject.

- (4.187) *bero* *hakku* *wa-i* *t'alala=ho*
 yesterday that.M.NOM river-NOM.MOD.M clear=NPC.M.PRED
- hee'r-ø-i.*
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘That river was clear yesterday.’

When *hee'r-i* is preceded by the progressive form of a verb (V-PERSON-INF-MANNER exist; e.g., *V-ø-a-nni no* for the third-person masculine singular; see (4.182)),

³² The verb form *hee'r-i* can be used with the adjectives *danča* ‘good’ and *buša* ‘bad’ preceded by a -*ro*(‘if’)-clause to express the speaker’s positive or negative attitude toward an event or state in the past or in the present, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) *t'a* *t'eená* *gan-ø-i-ro* *danča=ho*
 now rain(ACC) hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-if good=NPC.M.PRED
- hee'r-ø-i.*
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘I wish it were raining now.’ (*lit.*, ‘It would be good if <IMPERS.3SG.M> hit rain now.’)
- (ii) *aiyaan-ú* *baiččo* *mar-oo-mm-o-ro* *buša=ho*
 festival-GEN.M place go-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-if bad=NPC.M.PRED
- hee'r-ø-i.*
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘It would have been bad if I (M) had gone to the festival.’ (I am glad that I did not go there.)

the construction expresses the ongoing process of a state-change at a point in time in the past.

- (4.188) hamaššo bero la'-u-mm-o-wote godo
 snake(ACC) yesterday see-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-when cave
- e'-ø-a-nni no hee'r-ø-i.
 enter-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘When I (M) saw the snake yesterday, it was in the process of entering the cave.’

A verb in the imperfect can precede *hee'r-i* in the main clause of the conditional construction involving an unrealizable or counterfactual condition where the verb in the conditional clause is in the present perfect (section 3.2.2.6).

- (4.189) duressa ikk-oo-mm-o-ro lowo miné
 rich become-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-if big house(ACC)
- hi-d-ee-mm-o hee'r-ø-i.
 buy-MID-IMPRF.1-1SG-M live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘If I (M) were rich, I would buy a big house.’ (but I am not rich, and would not be able to buy a big house.)
- (4.190) sagalé it-u-mm-o-kki-nni da-oo-mm-o-ro
 food(ACC) eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-NEG-MANNER come-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-if
- daafur-ee-mm-o hee'r-ø-i.
 get.tired-IMPRF.1-1SG-M live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘If I (M) had come without having food, I would have gotten tired.’ (but I had food, and I did not get tired.)

4.2.2.3.2 Pronominal Subject Suffix (before the Connective Suffix or the Infinitive Suffix)

The subject person suffix always occurs before the connective suffix *-e*, as discussed in the next section. It also appears before the infinitive suffix *-a* when this suffix is followed by the suffix *-nni* or the conjunctive clitic *=nna*.

		V-PERS-CNN	V-PERS-INF-nni	V-PERS-INF=nna
1SG, 3SG.M	-∅	V-∅-e	V-∅-a-nni	V-∅-a=nna
2SG, 3SG.F/3PL	-t	V-t-e	V-t-a-nni	V-t-a=nna
1PL	-n	V-n-e	V-n-a-nni	V-n-a=nna
2PL	-tin	V-tin-e	V-tin-a-nni	V-tin-a=nna

Table 4.11: Subject Person Suffix (before -CNN or -INF-MANNER)

Examples of the connective construction, the infinitive-instrumental construction, and the infinitive-conjunctive construction are shown in (4.191a), (4.191b), and (4.192), respectively.

- (4.191) č'eičo min-í-se-ra
 bird(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS-ALL
- | | | | | |
|---|-----|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| { | (a) | bub-be | } | ha-d-u. |
| | | fly-3SG.F-CNN | | go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F |
| | (b) | bub-b-a-nni | | |
| | | fly-3SG.F-INF-MANNER | | |
- (a) ‘The bird flew to her nest.’ (*lit.*, ‘The bird flew and went to her nest.’)
- (b) ‘The bird flew to her nest.’ (*lit.*, ‘The bird went to the nest, flying.’)

- (4.192) hinč'ilallo hiikk'-an-t-a=nna
 mirror(NOM.F) break-PASS-3SG.F-INF=and
- isi la'-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM see-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘As the mirror got broken, he saw it.’

4.2.2.3.3 Connective suffix

As mentioned above, the connective suffix *-e* is preceded by the person suffix. The event component expressed by a verb marked with this suffix temporally precedes the event component expressed by the main verb (Chapter 6 section 6.2.2). The subject of the connective verb and the main verb has to be the same.³³

- (4.193) harriššo gan-t-e
 sun(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-CNN
- hogir-s-i-t-u-'e.
 become.thirsty-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-1SG

‘The sun hit me, and I got thirsty.’ (*lit.*, ‘... and made me thirsty.’)

Typically, the connective form of a verb occurs once in a sentence, but as shown in (4.194), it is possible to connect several verbs with the connective suffix to express a sequence of events.

³³ Compare (4.193) with (i), where the conjunctive clitic *=nna* requires the subject of the subordinate clause (*harriššo* ‘sun’) and that of the main clause to be different (the first-person singular).

- (i) harriššo gan-t-e=nna-'e hog-i-d-u-mm-o.
 sun(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-CNN=and-1SG become.thirsty-EP-MID-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘Because the sun hit me, I (M) got thirsty.’

- (4.194) waá buiččó-te t'orš-i-t-e
 water(ACC) spring-GEN.F(from) pour-EP-3SG.F-CNN
- baye-d'e min-í-ra
 carry.on.back-3SG.F-CNN house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL
- mass-i-t-e k'oončo-ho t'orš-i-t-e
 take-EP-3SG.F-CNN calabash.container-LOC.M pour-EP-3SG.F-CNN
- manč-í-se-ra u-i-t-u.
 person-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS-DAT.MOD give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She poured water from the spring, carried on her back, took it home, poured it in a calabash container, and gave it to her husband.’

When the verb with the connective suffix expresses a manner of motion, and the main verb is a translational motion verb, the construction does not express any temporal sequence, as in (4.195).

- (4.195) isi tulličč-ú aan-í-nni
 3SG.M.NOM hill-GEN.M top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
- dod-ø-e dirr-ø-i.
 run-3SG.M-CNN descend-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘He ran down from the top of the hill.’

4.2.2.3.4 Infinitive suffix

The infinitive suffix is *-a*. The use of the term ‘infinitive’ is controversial (e.g., Dixon ms), especially because it is often appropriate to regard it as a nominalization. However, the present study still uses ‘infinitive’ — as mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.2.3), the suffix discussed in this section behaves very differently from the nominalizing suffixes (section 4.2.1.1.1).

A verb form with this suffix can form an argument NP.

- (4.196) tumá mur-a
 onion(ACC) cut-INF(NOM.F)
- hindad-i-s-s-u-nke.
 shed.tears-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-1PL
- ‘Cutting an onion made us shed tears.’
- (4.197) laše gobba-a-nni godo’l-a
 Lashe(NOM) outside-LV-LOC play-INF(ACC)
- bat’-ø-anno.
 like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- ‘Lashe likes playing outside.’

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.1.2.3), the subject of the infinitive form of a verb can be expressed by a noun phrase in the genitive or by the possessive pronominal suffix.

- (4.198) { (a) ha'r-a-nke
go-INF(NOM.F)-1PL.POSS } di=danča=te.
(b) ha'r-a-nsa
go-INF(NOM.F)-3PL.POSS } NEG=good=NPC.F.PRED
- (a) 'It is not good that we left/are leaving.' (*lit.*, 'Our leaving is not good.')
- (b) 'It is not good that they left/are leaving.' (*lit.*, 'Their leaving is not good.')

When a verb with the infinitive suffix forms an argument NP, the person suffix mentioned earlier is not used (though the possessive pronominal suffix may occur after the infinitive suffix, as in (4.198)).

However, when the infinitive form of a verb is not an argument and is followed by the suffix *-nni*, the infinitive suffix must be preceded by the person suffix. This construction conveys “by doing X, Y”, as in (4.199), or “while doing X, Y”, as in (4.200) (X: infinitive verb, Y: verb in the main clause).³⁴

- (4.199) saanté-te albá=na badě
coin-GEN.F face(ACC)=and back(ACC)
- lell-i-š-š-a-nni kasaará
become.visible-EP-CAUS-3PL-INF-INST gamble(ACC)
- godo'l-i-t-a-nni no.
play-EP-3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
- 'They are playing a gamble by showing the face and back of the coin.'

³⁴ The progressive verb form “V-PERSON-MANNER exist” is constituted of this structure (Chapter 3 section 3.1.2.3).

(4.200) sagalé it-t-a-nni waá
 food(ACC) eat-3SG.F-INF-while water(ACC)

ag-g-u.
 drink-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She/They drank water, while eating food.’

The infinitive verb form followed by the suffix *-nni* can modify a noun to express ‘... for doing ...’ or ‘... to do ...’, as in (4.201).

(4.201) a-n-g-a-nni waá abb-i’-n-u-mmo.
 drink-1PL-drink-INF-for water(ACC) bring-EP-MID-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL
 ‘We brought ourselves drinking water.’

Also, when the infinitive form of a verb is not an argument and is followed by the conjunctive clitic *=nna*, the infinitive suffix has to be preceded by the person suffix.

(4.202) laše ninke do-n-d-a=nna
 Lashe(NOM) 1PL.NOM run-1PL-run-INF=and

la’-ø-i(-nke).
 see-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M(-1PL)

‘Lashe saw us while we were running.’³⁵

There are verb forms accompanied by a combination of the infinitive suffix and a person suffix that are used only before the suffix *-ra*. As shown in Table 4.12, their third-person forms (regardless of number and gender) and second-person plural forms are

³⁵ The person suffix and the clitic *=nna* do not have to occur in this sentence. The sentence *laše ninke dod-a la’-ø-i(-nke)*. [Lashe(NOM) 1PL.NOM run-INF see-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M(-1PL)] ‘Lashe saw us run.’ can be used when Lashe’s seeing us did not last long.

exactly the same as the infinitive forms of these persons/numbers. However, the second-person singular forms are the same as the imperfect aspect forms of this person/number (2SG.M: *-a-tt-o*, 2SG.F: *-a-tt-a*). Moreover, the first-person forms are only slightly different from the corresponding imperfect forms, and can be replaced by them.

1SG.M	-a-mm-o (or -ee-mm-o)	-INF-1SG-M (or -IMPRF.1-1SG-M)
1SG.F	-a-mm-a (or -ee-mm-a)	-INF-1SG-F (or -IMPRF.1-1SG-F)
2SG.M	-a-tt-o	-INF-2SG-M (= IMPRF)
2SG.F	-a-tt-a	-INF-2SG-F (= IMPRF)
3SG.M	-ø-a	-3SG.M-INF (= INF)
3SG.F/3PL	-t-a	-3SG.F/3PL-INF (= INF)
1PL	-n-a-mmo (or -n-ee-mmo)	-1PL-INF-1PL (-1PL-INF-1SG-M) (or -1PL-IMPRF.1-1PL)
2PL	-tin-a	-2PL-INF (= INF)

Table 4.12: Infinitive Suffix Accompanied by the Person Suffix when Followed by *-ra*

There are various situations where a verb with this suffix complex followed by the suffix *-ra* is used. First, it can be in a complement clause with verbs like in (4.203). These verbs take an object which serves as the subject of the infinitive, and convey that one person causes another person to perform an action.

- (4.203) kul- ‘to tell sb to do ...’
 giddeess- ‘to force sb to do ...’
 huučč’- ‘to persuade/beg sb to do ...’
 haǰaǰ- ‘to order sb to do ...’
 waǰǰ-i-s- [fear-EP-CAUS-] ‘to frighten sb into doing ...’
 goow-i-s- [become.foolish-EP-CAUS-] ‘to fool sb into doing ...’
 t’a’m- ‘to ask sb to do ...’
 seeǰǰ- ‘to advise sb to do ...’
 awaawur- ‘to cajole sb into doing ...’
 gubbis- ‘to bribe sb to do ...’
 faǰǰ- ‘to allow sb to do ...’

Examples of this construction are shown in (4.204) and (4.205).

- (4.204) dangur-i (ané/ané-ra/ani)
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M (1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON/1SG.NOM)

ha’r-a-mm-o-ra/ha’r-ee-mm-o-ra
 go-INF-1SG-M-DAT/go-IMPRF.1-1SG-M-DAT

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| { | (a) | kul-ø-ino-’e.
tell-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG |
| { | (b) | giddeess-ø-ino-’e.
force-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG |
| { | (c) | huučč’-ø-ino-’e.
persuade-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG |
| { | (d) | haǰaǰ-ø-ino-’e.
order-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG |

- (a) ‘Dangura told me (M) to go.’
 (b) ‘Dangura forced me (M) to go.’
 (c) ‘Dangura persuaded me (M) to go.’
 (d) ‘Dangura ordered me (M) to go.’

- (4.205) isi it-t-a-ra faǰǰ-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM eat-3SG.F-INF-DAT allow-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He allowed her to eat.’

There are also other verbs like in (4.206) that can take a verb with the infinitive and person suffixes followed by the suffix *-ra*. Unlike the previous type of verb, these verbs require the subject of the infinitive to be the same as their subjects.

- (4.206) ka' - 'to attempt to do ...'
 t'aar- 'to swear to do ...'
 k'aale e' - [word enter-] 'to promise to do ...'
 has-i-d- [look.for-EP-MID] 'to want to do ...'
 yor- 'to want to do ...'
 hett' - 'to wish to do ...'
 bat' - 'to want to do ...'
 laalat- 'to long to do ...'
 šal- 'to dislike to do ...'
 dand- 'can do ..., to be able to do ...' (permission or ability)
 šarram- 'to struggle to do ...' (*lit.*, 'to wrestle')

Examples of this construction are shown in (4.207)-(4.209).

- (4.207) ise ros-ú mine ha-d-a-ra
 3SG.F.NOM education-GEN.M house go-3SG.F-INF-DAT
- hasi-d-anno.
 want-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- 'She wants to go to school.'
- (4.208) waalčó fan-a-tt-o-ra dand-a-tt-o ?
 door(ACC) open-INF-2SG-M-DAT can-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
 'Can you (SG.M) open the door?'

(4.209) lat'o dangur-í-ra uddanó
 Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP clothes(ACC)

haišš-i-t-a-si-ra k'aale e-'-u.
 wash-EP-3SG.F-INF-3SG.M-DAT word enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat'o promised Dangura to wash clothes.’

Second, there are various constructions in which a verb with the infinitive and person suffixes is followed by *-ra*.

• *-ra-ti* ‘be about to do ...’

(4.210) ninke { go-n-t'-a-mmo-ra=ti.
 1PL.NOM { sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DAT=NPC.PRED.OTHER
 { go-n-t'-ee-mmo-ra=ti.
 { sleep-1PL-sleep-IMPRF.1-1PL-DAT=NPC.PRED.OTHER } }

‘We are about to sleep.’

• -ra (y-PERS-CNN) ‘in order to do ...’

(4.211) ninke soodo
 1PL.NOM morning

gu-n-t-e
 do.things.early.in.morning-1PL-do.things.early.in.morning-CNN

{	ka'-n-a-mmo-ra become.active-1PL-INF-1PL-DAT	}	(y-i-n-e)
{	ka'-n-ee-mmo-ra become.active-1PL-IMPRF.1-1PL-DAT	}	say-EP-1PL-CNN

yanna-te go-n-t'-u-mm-o.
 time-LOC.F sleep-1PL-sleep-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘We went to sleep early in order to wake up early.’

• -ra y-PERS-INF-nni ‘when ... was about to do ...’

(4.212) ninke min-í-ra
 1PL.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD.M

{	e'-n-a-mmo-ra enter-1PL-INF-1PL-DAT	}	y-i-n-a-nni
{	e'-n-ee-mmo-ra enter-1PL-IMPRF.1-1PL-DAT	}	say-EP-1PL-INF-MANNER

bartoré č'abiš-i-'-n-u-mmo.
 torch(ACC) torch-EP-MID-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL

‘When we were about to enter the house, we lit the torch.’

• -ra-albaanni ‘before ...’

(4.213)	sagalé food(ACC)	{	i-n-t-a-mmo-ra-albaanni eat-1PL-eat-INF-1PL-DAT-before i-n-t-ee-mmo-ra-albaanni eat-1PL-eat-IMPRF.1-1PL-DAT-before	}
	lat’o Lat’o(NOM.F)	magano God	huučč’-i-t-u-nke. pray-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-1PL	

‘Before we ate food, Lat’o prayed to God for us.’

4.2.2.3.5 Mood suffixes**4.2.2.3.5.1 Imperative Suffixes**

The second-person imperative suffixes have different forms, depending on whether the addressee is singular or plural and whether the imperative is affirmative or negative. The second-person plural imperative suffix is formed by repeating the stem-final consonant and adding *e* to it.

	affirmative	negative
to 2SG	-i	-tooti
to 2PL	-Ce	-tinoonte

Table 4.13: Imperative Suffixes

(4.214)	sagalé food(ACC) (to a singular addressee)	it-i. eat-IMP.2SG	
---------	--	----------------------	--

‘Eat the food.’

- (4.215) sagalé it-te.
 food(ACC) eat-IMP.2PL
 (to plural addressees) ‘Eat the food.’
- (4.216) sagalé it-tooti.
 food(ACC) eat-NEG.IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Do not eat the food.’
- (4.217) sagalé it-tinoonte.
 food(ACC) eat-NEG.IMP.2PL
 (to plural addressees) ‘Do not eat the food.’

There is one verb that has irregular imperative forms: *da-* ‘come’ 2SG: *amo*, 2PL: *amme* (but its negative imperative forms are regular; NEG.IMP.2SG: *da-gg-ooti*, NEG.IMP.2PL: *da-gg-inoonte*).

The suffix for the first-person plural imperative (‘let’s ...’) is basically *-no*, though it can take different forms depending on the phonological environment of the stem.

- (4.218) *-no* (when metathesis is applied: *-n-C-o*): stem ending in a single obstruent
- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ha’-no (had- ‘to go’) | a-n-g-o (ag- ‘to drink’) |
| i-n-t-o (it- ‘to eat’) | he-n-d-o (hed- ‘to assume’) |

-i-no: stem ending in a single vowel or consonant, a geminate, or a consonant cluster

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| u-ø-ino (u- ‘to give’) | y-ø-ino (y- ‘to say’) |
| ofoll-ø-ino (ofoll- ‘to sit’) | kubb-ø-ino (kubb- ‘to jump’) |
| godo’l-ø-ino (godo’l- ‘to play’) | t’a’m-ø-ino (t’a’m- ‘to ask’) |
| sirb-ø-ino (sirb- ‘to sing’) | ass-ø-ino (ass- ‘to do’) |
| mass-ø-ino (mass- ‘to take’) | |

-Co: stem ending in a single sonorant

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| mar-ro (nar- ‘to go’) | tum-mo (tum- ‘to mix honey with water’) |
| fan-no (fan- ‘to open’) | gal-l-oo (gal- ‘to spend all night’) |

The negative form of the first-person plural imperative is created either with the negative suffix *-nke*, as in (4.219a), or with the negative proclitic *di=*, as in (4.219b) (the former is a little more frequent than the latter).

- (4.219) a. *ha'*-no-nke. [go-IMP.1PL-NEG] ‘Let’s not go.’
a-n-g-o-nke [drink-IMP.1PL-drink-IMP.1PL-NEG] ‘Let’s not drink.’
ofoll-ino-nke [sit-IMP.1PL-NEG] ‘Let’s not sit.’
fan-no-nke [open-IMP.1PL-NEG] ‘Let’s not open (sth).’
- b. *di=ha'*-no. [NEG=go-IMP.1PL] ‘Let’s not go.’
di=a-n-g-o [NEG=drink-IMP.1PL-drink-IMP.1PL] ‘Let’s not drink.’
di=ofoll-ino [NEG=sit-IMP.1PL] ‘Let’s not sit.’
di=fan-no [NEG=open-IMP.1PL] ‘Let’s not open (sth).’

4.2.2.3.5.2 Optative Suffix

The optative suffix is used to express the speaker’s wishes. As shown in Table 4.14, the subject is limited to the first person singular and the third person.

		il-	‘to have a child’
1SG	-o	il-o	‘I wish I will have a child.’
3SG.M	-o	il-o	‘I wish he will have a child!’
3SG.F/3PL	-to	il-to	‘I wish she/they will have a child!’

Table 4.14: Optative Suffix

Very often, *magano* ‘God’ is used as the subject of a verb with the optative suffix.

- (4.220) huučč'anó-'ya wodan-í-si-nni
 advice(ACC)-1SG.POSS heart-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.POSS-ABL
- ad-ø-anno-gede magan-u
 take-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-so.that God-NOM.M
- kaa'l-o-'e !
 help-OPT.3SG.M-1SG
- 'May God help me so that he would take my advice seriously!' (*lit.*, '... so that he would take my advice with his heart.')

- (4.221) manná airr-i-s-ø-anno
 people(ACC) become.heavy-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- mančoo=ti=nna isó magan-u
 person=NPC.PRED.MOD=and 3SG.M.ACC God-NOM.M
- airr-i-s-o-si !
 become.heavy-EP-CAUS-OPT.3SG.M-3SG.M
- 'Because he is a person who respects people, may God respect him!'

This suffix is also used in idiomatic expressions such as in (4.222)-(4.228).

- (4.222) A: magan-u oo-he !
 God-NOM.M give.OPT.3SG.M-2SG
- B: ledo oo-nke !
 togetherness give.OPT.3SG.M-1PL
- A: 'May God give (sth to) you (SG).' (used to express thanks)
 B: 'May God give (sth to) us.'
- (4.223) sinn-i-kki bati'r-o !
 branches-NOM.MOD.M-2SG become.massive-OPT.3SG.M
 'May you have many relatives (esp. children)!'
 (*lit.*, 'May your branches become massive!')

forms have the same forms as the possessive pronominal suffix on the noun (section 4.2.2.1.4).

1SG	-’e	1PL	-nke
2SG	-he	2PL	-’ne
3SG.M	-si	3PL	-nsa
3SG.F	-se		

Table 4.16: (Pronominal) Object Suffix on the Verb

The (pronominal) object suffix on the verb indicates a human participant, which is typically a primary object, as in (4.234) (the direct object of a transitive verb) and (4.235) (the indirect object of a ditransitive verb).³⁶ The use of this suffix is optional as long as the referent of the affected entity is mentioned elsewhere in the clause (e.g., *bule damboowa hank’af-f-u.* for (4.234), *bule damboow-i-ra hinč’ilallo hir-t-u.* for (4.235)).

(4.234)	bule	damboowá	hank’af-f-u-si.
	Bule(NOM.F)	Damboowa(ACC)	hug-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M
	‘Bule hugged Damboowa.		

³⁶ The object suffix cannot be used for a common noun whose referent is plural, as in (i).

(i)			$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{giir-}\emptyset\text{-ino.} \\ \text{hate-3SG.M-P.PRF.3} \\ \text{*giir-}\emptyset\text{-ino-nsa.} \\ \text{hate-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3PL} \\ \text{*giir-}\emptyset\text{-ino-si.} \\ \text{hate-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M} \end{array} \right\}$
	isi	ollá-si	
	3SG.M.NOM	neighbors(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS	

‘He got to hate/hates his neighbors.’

(4.235) bule damboow-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

hinč'ilalló hir-t-u-si.
 mirror(ACC) buy-S.PRF-3SG.M

'Bule bought a mirror for Damboowa.

More details about the use of this suffix are discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.1.1.2).

4.2.2.3.7 Negative Suffixes

Unlike the negative proclitic *di=* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.4), which occurs at the beginning of a constituent in the focus position and is used to negate various types of constituents, the negative suffix *-kki* is always attached to the verb of a subordinate clause. Conversely, any subordinate clause has to be negated with this suffix.

The negative suffix *-kki* is used to negate the verb of a relative clause, as in (4.236) and (4.237). It immediately follows the verb and precedes the head of the relative clause.

(4.236) hiito č'oomm-i-t-anno-kki sagalé
 how become.tasty-EP-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-NEG food(ACC)

k'itt'eess-a-tt-a ?
 prepare-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-F

'How come you (SG.F) prepare such bad food (*lit.*, How do you prepare food that does not become tasty)?'

- (4.237) roduwa-si ikk-i-t-ino-kki=hu
 siblings-3SG.M.POSS become-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-NEG=NPC.M.NOM
- hiikkui're=ti ?
 which.ones=NPC.PRED.PRON
- ‘Which ones are not his siblings?’

The suffix *-kki* is also used to negate the verb in a complement clause, as in (4.238) and (4.239). It occurs between the verb stem and the complementizer.

- (4.238) miné-se hir-t-anno-kki=ta
 house(ACC)-3SG.F.POSS sell-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-NEG=NPC.F.CMPL
- kul-t-u-nke.
 tell-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-1PL
- ‘She told us that she would not sell her house.’
- (4.239) isi wot'é u-ø-anno-se-kki=ha
 3SG.M.NOM money(ACC) give-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-3SG.F-NEG=NPC.M.CMPL
- law-ø-e=nna-se huluullan-t-u.
 appear-3SG.M-CNN=and-3SG.F fear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘It appeared to her that he would not give her money, and she feared.’

The negative suffix *-kki* also negates the verb in an adverbial clause, as in (4.240)-(4.244). This suffix is followed by the noun-phrase clitic =*wa* ‘place’ in (4.240), the suffix *-ro* ‘if’ in (4.241), the suffix *-gede* ‘so that’ in (4.242), the suffix *-wote* ‘when’ in (4.243), and the suffix *-daafira/-hura* ‘because’ in (4.244).

There are two idiomatic expressions in which a verb with *-kki* may be followed by a nominal suffix (V-PERSON-INF-*-kki-ra* and V-S.PRF-*-kki-nni*). First, when *-kki* negates a verb with a combination of the person suffix and the infinitive suffix that is followed by the dative suffix *-ra* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.4), the suffix occurs immediately before *-ra*, as in (4.247).

- (4.247) dag-g-a-kki-ra t'aar-t-u.
 come-3SG.F-INF-NEG-DAT swear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She swore not to come.'

Second, the suffix *-kki* can occur right before the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni*. The verb is always in the simple perfect before *-kki-nni*, and the negative suffix *-kki* seems to nominalize the verb. An adverbial of this structure may be used with a verb of prevention as in (4.248), or may express manner as in (4.249).

- (4.248) ub-b-u-kki-nni
 fall-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-NEG-ABL

 gat-i-s-u-mm-o-se.
 become.saved-EP-CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F
 'I (M) rescued her from falling.'

- (4.249) barkó bark'i'r-ø-i-kki-nni
pillow(ACC) pillow.on-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-NEG-MANNER
- got'-ø-i.
sleep-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He slept without using a pillow.'³⁷

There is another negative suffix, *-nke*, which only attaches to a verb in the first-person plural imperative or the optative (section 4.2.2.3.5).

- (4.250) i-n-t-o-nke
eat-IMP.2PL-eat-IMP.2PL-NEG
'Let's not eat.'
- (4.251) magan-u farad-o-nke.
God-NOM.M judge-OPT.3SG.M-NEG
'Let the God not judge in a bad way!' (*lit.*, 'Let the God not judge!')

4.2.2.3.8 Subordinating Suffixes

There are several suffixes that can attach to a verb at the end of a subordinate clause. All of them except *-ro* 'if' and *-hura* 'because' can be preceded by parts of speech other than verbs to form adverbials.

³⁷ The affirmative version of such an adverbial uses the infinitive in the construction "V-PERSON-INF-MANNER", rather than the simple perfect aspect (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4, sections 4.2.2.1.3.6 and 4.2.2.3.4).

- (i) barkó bark'i'r-ø-a-nni got'-ø-i.
pillow(ACC) pillow.on-3SG.M-INF-MANNER sleep-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
'He slept by using a pillow.'

• -ro ‘if’

This suffix attaches to the verb at the end of a conditional clause. There are two types of conditional constructions. In one, where the condition is realizable, the verb in the conditional clause is in the simple perfect and that in the main clause is in the imperfect, as in (4.252).

- (4.252) sagalé it-u-mm-o-kki-nni
 food(ACC) eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-NEG-MANNER
- da-u-mm-o-ro daafur-ee-mm-o.
 come-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-1SG-M-if become.tired-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘If I (M) come without having food, I will get tired.’

In the other type, in which the condition is unrealizable or counterfactual, the verb in the conditional clause is in the present perfect and the verb in the main clause is in the imperfect followed by *heer-ø-i* [live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M], as in (4.253) and (4.254).

- (4.253) sagalé it-u-mm-o-kki-nni
 food(ACC) eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-NEG-MANNER
- da-oo-mm-o-ro daafur-ee-mm-o
 come-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-if become.tired-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
- heer’r-ø-i.
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘If I (M) had come without having food, I would have got tired.’ (but I had food, and I did not get tired)

- (4.254) k'aakk'o ikk-oo-tt-o-ro godo'l-i-n-a-nni
 child become-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M-if play-EP-1PL-INF-for
- re hir-ee-mm-o-he
 things(ACC) buy-IMPRF.1-1SG-M-2SG
- hee'r-ø-i.
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'If you (SG.M) were a child, I (M) would buy you something to play with.'

This subordinating suffix also occurs in indirect questions like (4.255), as well as the construction "V-ASPECT-*ro=nnā* V-ASPECT-*kki-ro*" mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2.3).

- (4.255) hiikka ha'r-ø-ino-ro af-oo-tt-o ?
 where go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-if get.to.know-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M
 'Do you (SG.M) know where he went?'

It is also used in a construction for 'wish', where a verb in the present perfect followed by this suffix is used with direct speech. An example is in (4.256).

- (4.256) "nugusa ikk-oo-mm-o-ro" y-ø-e
 king become-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-if say-3SG.M-CNN
- hett'-ø-i.
 wish-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He wishes he were a king.' (*lit.*, 'He wishes, saying, "If I (M) were a king".')

• -daafira/-hura ‘because’

These subordinating suffixes occur right after a verb in the imperfect, the present perfect, the progressive, or the continuous aspect. In (4.257), the verb before *-daafira/-hura* is in the imperfect.

- (4.257) t'eena gan-∅-anno-wote min-i-'ya
rain hit-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-when house-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS
- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|------|
| { | t'iss-∅-anno-daafira | } | wolé |
| | cause.sickness-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-because | | |
| | t'iss-anno-hura | | |
| | cause.sickness-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-because | | |
- miné has-i-'r-∅-a-nni no-o-mm-o.
house(ACC) look.for-EP-MID-1SG-INF-MANNER exist-P.PRF.1-1-M

‘Because my house leaks when it rains, I (M) am looking for another house.’ (*lit.*, ‘Because my house gets sick, ...’)

These suffixes cannot follow the predicating noun-phrase clitics. In place of them, the verb *ikk-* ‘to become’ is used, as in (4.258) and (4.259).

- (4.258) *bule* *min-i-se* *šiima*
 Bule(NOM.F) house-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F small

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ikk-}\emptyset\text{-ino-daa}fira \\ \text{become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-because} \\ \text{ikk-}\emptyset\text{-ino-hura} \\ \text{become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-because} \end{array} \right\}$$

č'aač'ab-b-u.
 complain-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Because her house is small, Bule complained.’
 (**šiima te-daa}fira/*šiima te-hura*)

- (4.259) A: *hakkó* *ričč-i-ra*
 that.M.GEN thing-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

maé-ra *yaad-oo-tt-o ?*
 what.GEN-DAT.PRON worry-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M

B:
$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ikk-}\emptyset\text{-ino-daa}fira. \\ \text{become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-because} \\ \text{ikk-}\emptyset\text{-ino-hura.} \\ \text{become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-because} \end{array} \right\}$$

mat'aafa-'ya
 book-1SG.POSS

A: ‘Why are you (SG.M) worried about that thing?’
 B: ‘Because of my book (*lit.*, Because it is my book).’
 (**mat'aafa-'ya=ti-hura.*)

Unlike *-hura*, which can follow only a verb (e.g., **konní-hura*, **ma-í-hura*, **ae-hura*), *-daafira* can occur immediately after a pronoun in the genitive (e.g., *hakkó-daa}fira* [that.M.GEN-because] ‘because of that’, *ma-í-daa}fira* [what-GEN.PRON.M-because] ‘why’, *aé-daa}fira* [who.GEN-because] ‘because of whom’), though neither of them can follow a noun (e.g., **mat'aaf-í-'ya-daa}fira* [book-GEN.MOD.M-1SG.POSS-because]), as in (4.260).

- (4.260) adó ag-a keeraančimma-te danča=te.
 milk(ACC) drink-INF health-DAT.F good=NPC.F.PRED
- konní-daafera adó ag-a
 this.M.GEN-because mile(ACC) drink-INF(NOM.F)
- hasis-s-anno-'ne.
 become.necessary-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-2PL
- 'It is good for health to drink milk. Because of this, you (PL) have to
 drink milk.'

• -gede 'so that'

This suffix can occupy the final position of a purpose clause. The verb preceding *-gede* in the purpose clause is in the imperfect aspect, as in (4.261) and (4.262).

- (4.261) soodo ka'-ø-anno-gede
 early.in.morning become.active-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-so.that
- laše yanna-te got'-ø-i.
 Lashe(NOM) time-LOC.F sleep-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'Lashe went to sleep early in order to wake up early in the morning.' (*lit.*,
 'Lashe went to sleep on time in order to become active early in the
 morning.')
- (4.262) farašš-u ful-ø-anno-kki-gede hutt'a
 horse-NOM.M exit-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-NEG-so.that fence
- hutt'-u-mm-o.
 create.fence-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- 'I (M) made a fence so that the horse would not go out.'

There are verbs that take the *-gede*-clause as a complement. Such verbs include those in (4.263); they concern the realization or prevention of an event.

- | | | |
|---------|--|---------------------------------------|
| (4.263) | fāj- ‘to permit/allow sb to do ... ’ | gubbis- ‘to bribe sb into doing ... ’ |
| | ta’m- ‘to ask/request sb to do ... ’ | hool- ‘to prevent sb from doing ... ’ |
| | huučč’- ‘to pray/beg sb to do ... ’ | gatis- ‘to rescue sb from doing ... ’ |
| | seej- ‘to advise sb to do ... ’ | k’oropp’- ‘to avoid doing ... ’ |
| | kul- ‘to tell/order sb to do ... ’ | t’aar- ‘to swear to do ... ’ |
| | giddes- ‘to oblige/force sb to do ... ’ | hasi’r- ‘to want sb to do ... ’ |
| | hajaj- ‘to order sb to do ... ’ | hett’- ‘to wish sb to do ... ’ |
| | awawur- ‘to cajole sb into doing ... ’ | maasi’r- ‘to bless that sth be ... ’ |
| | waaǰj-išiš- [become.fearful-DBL.CAUS] ‘to frighten sb into doing ... ’ | |

The verb immediately preceding *-gede* in a complement clause is always in the imperfect aspect, as in (4.264) and (4.265).

- | | | | |
|---------|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (4.264) | oosó-’ya | danča heeššo | hee-ǰ-anno-gede |
| | children(ACC)-1SG | good life | live-3PL-IMPRF.3-so.that |
| | seej-i-’r-u-mm-o-nsa. | | |
| | advise-EP-MID-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3PL | | |
| | ‘I (M) advised my children to live a good life.’ | | |
| (4.265) | ag-ø-anno-kki-gede | hool-u-mm-o-si. | |
| | drink-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-NEG-so.that | prevent-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.M | |
| | ‘I (M) prevented him from drinking.’ | | |

There are other verbs that take the *-gede*-clause as a complement which can express an event that may be realized but also an event that has already happened (section 3.2.2.5).

Such verbs are, for example, those in (4.266), which overlap with those that take the complementizer noun-phrase clitic listed in (3.365) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1).

(4.266)	af- ‘to know that ... ’	hab- ‘to forget that ... ’
	kul- ‘to tell that ... ’	haak’-i’r- ‘to dream that ... ’
	odeess- ‘to announce that ... ’	gatis- ‘to rescue sb from doing ... ’
	kiil- ‘to prophesy that ... ’	hool- ‘to prevent sb from doing ... ’
	masaal- ‘to prophesy that ... ’	la’- ‘to check that ... ’
	amman- ‘to believe that ... ’	mačč’išš- ‘to hear that ... ’
	admit that ... ’	hed- ‘to think that ... ’
	kaad- ‘to deny that ... ’	law-is- [appear-CAUS] ‘to pretend
	k’att’ar- ‘to complain that ... ’	that ... ’
	k’aag- ‘to remember that ... ’	t’a’m- ‘to ask whether ... ’

The verb in the *-gede*-clause does not necessarily have to be in the imperfect aspect but can be in the present perfect, the simple perfect, or the progressive, as in (4.267) and (4.268).

(4.267)	lat’o	waalčó	č’uf-f-ino-gede
	Lat’o(NOM.F)	door(ACC)	close-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-CMPL
	hab-b-u.		
	forget-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F		
	‘Lat’o forgot closing the door.’		

- (4.268) bule k'aakk'-i-'ya
 Bule(NOM.F) baby-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS

k'arr-i-s-ø-ino-se-gede
 trouble-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.F-CMPL

k'att'a-d-i-t-u.
 complain-MID-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bule complained that my baby boy annoyed her.'

There is also a construction for causation where *ass-* 'to do' is the main verb and the *-gede*-clause preceding it expresses the result of the causation, as in (4.269). The verb preceding *-gede* is in the imperfect aspect.

- (4.269) garsamo lašé tulló-te aana
 Garsamo(NOM) Lashe(ACC) mountain-GEN.F top

 maat'-am-ø-anno-gede ass-ø-i.
 hide-PASS-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-so.that do-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Garsamo made Lashe hide in the mountain.'

The suffix *-gede* can also be preceded by NPs in the genitive to express 'like ...' (e.g., *wa-î-gede* [water-GEN.MOD.M-like] 'like water', *magan-ú-gede* [God-GEN.M-like] 'like God', *hamašš-ú-gede* [snake-NOM.M-like] 'like a snake', *dangur-î-gede* [Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-like] 'like Dangura', *saadá-te-gede* [cows-GEN.F-like] 'like cows'), as in (4.270) and (4.271).

- (4.270) isi isé k'aakk'ó-te-gede
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.ACC baby-GEN.F-like

ass-ø-i-se.
 treat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F

'He treated her as a baby girl.'

- (4.271) isi k'aakk'-ú-gede ikk-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM baby-GEN.M-like behave-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He acted like a baby boy.'

A *gede*-phrase can be a predicate, as in (4.272).

- (4.272) ani rod-í-'ya-gede=ti.
 1SG.NOM brother-GEN.M-1SG.POSS-like=NPC.PRED.OTHER
 'I am like my brother.'

A *gede*-phrase can modify a noun, as in (4.273).

- (4.273) até-gede mančo šiim-ú
 2SG.GEN-like person(NOM.F) small-GEN.M
- ričč-í-nni di=giir-an-t-anno.
 thing-GEN.MOD.M-with NEG=make.sb.angry-PASS-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

'A person like you (SG.F) does not get angry over a minor thing.'

As in (4.274), a *gede*-phrase may be optionally followed by the connective form of *ikk-* 'to behave, become' when it expresses the manner of the action indicated by the main verb.

- (4.274) rod-i-'ya ané-gede
 sibling-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS 1SG.GEN-like
- ikk-ø-e k'aaf-ø-anno.
 behave-3SG.M-CNN walk-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- 'My brother walks like me.'

The suffix *-gede* can also follow adjectives to express manner, as in (4.275).

- (4.275) danča-gede [good-like] 'well'
 buša-gede [bad-like] 'badly'
 lowo-gede [large-like] 'greatly'
 faayya-gede [beautiful-like] 'wonderfully'
 t'u'ma-gede [beautiful-like] 'beautifully'

Examples are shown in (4.276)-(4.278). The adverbials formed with *-gede* are optionally followed by the connective form of *ass-* 'to do', *ikk-* 'to behave, become', or *y-* 'to say'.³⁸

- (4.276) buše danča-gede (ass-i-t-e)
 Bushe(NOM.F) good-like (do-EP-3SG.F-CNN)
- sirb-i-t-u.
 sing-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'Bushe sang a song well.'

³⁸ Some verbs are compatible with any of the three verbs (e.g., *sirb-* 'to sing'), but some are compatible only with *ass-* and *y-* (e.g., *daak-* 'to swim'), only with *ikk-* and *y-* (e.g., *lopp'* 'to grow up'), only with *ass-* (e.g., *ra'-i-s-* [become.cooked-EP-CAUS-] 'to cook', *amal-am-* [advise-PASS], *it-* 'to eat'), or only with *ikk-* (e.g., *re-* 'to die'). Although it is beyond the scope of the present study, there seem to be the following tendencies of the uses of the connective forms of the three verbs: *ass-* concerns the performance of an action or the skill in performing the action, whereas *ikk-* and *y-* involve the manner of a state-change or an action.

(4.277) buša-gede (ikk-ø-e) re-ø-i.
 bad-like (become-3SG.M-CNN) die-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He died in a bad manner.’

(4.278) lowo-gede (ass-i-t-e) wodan-î-kki-nni
 much-like (do-EP-2SG-CNN) heart-GEN.MOD.M-2SG-INST

amal-am-i.
 advise-PASS-IMP.2SG

‘Try your best to think it over with your heart.’

• -wote ‘when’

This suffix follows a verb in the imperfect, the simple perfect, or the present perfect. Examples are shown in (4.279) and (4.280). (It is often pronounced as *-woite* or *-woyete*.)

(4.279) faršó ag-ø-anno-wote dimb-ø-anno.
 farsho(ACC) drink-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-when get.drunk-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 ‘When he drinks *farsho* [local beer], he gets drunk.’

(4.280) hinč’ilallo { hiikk’-an-t-u-wote
 mirror(NOM.F) { break-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-when
 { hiikk’-an-t-ino-wote
 { break-PASS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-when

isi la’-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM see-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘He saw the mirror get broken.’

There are idiomatic adverbial expressions where *-wote* is preceded by an adjective or adverbial, as in (4.281).

- (4.281) wo'ma-nka-wote [all-EMPH-time] 'all the time'
 duuč'a-wote [all-time] 'always'
 duuča-nka-wote [all-EMPH-time] 'frequently, almost always'
 rah-ø-e-rah-ø-e-wote [hurry-3SG.M-CNN-hurry-3SG.M-CNN-time]
 'often (in the case of 3SG.M)'
 hakko wote [that.M.GEN time] 'then'
 šiima wote [small time] 'for a short time'

• -lana 'though'

This suffix follows a verb in the imperfect or present perfect aspect. It attaches to the end of a clause to contrast what is stated in the next clause to what has been stated before that, as in (4.282)-(4.284).

- (4.282) kuni k'aakk'ull-i mimmito
 this.M.NOM children-NOM.MOD.M each.other
- law-ø-anno-lana di=roduuwa=ho.
 appear-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-though NEG=brother.PL=NPC.M.PRED
- 'These children look alike, but they are not brothers.'
- (4.283) halaalé č'oi'r-ø-ino-ha law-ø-ino
 truth(ACC) tell-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-CMPL appear-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- ikk-ø-ino-lana halaalé
 become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-though truth(ACC)
- di=č'oi'r-ø-ino.
 NEG=tell-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- 'Although he pretended to tell the truth, he did not.'

are portmanteau morphemes (sections 4.2.2.1.1 and 4.2.2.1.2). For example, the pair of suffixes, *-(aal)eessa* (M)/*-(aal)eette* (F), which contrast in gender and express the singularity of the noun, also derive nouns (or adjectives) from verbs. Another example is the nominalizing suffix *-aančə*, which also indicates singularity, but cannot be segmented into the nominalizing suffix and the singular suffix. Second, even when a suffix that can occupy this position expresses one of the categories, it cannot occur with a suffix that expresses any of the other notions from the same ordering category.

The nominalizing suffixes and the abstracting suffixes each occur before any of the types of case suffixes. In (4.286), the nominalizing suffix *-ille* of *su'n-ill-i* precedes the nominative suffix *-i* on it, and in (4.287), the abstracting suffix *-imma* of *keeraanč-imma-te* precedes the dative suffix *-te* on it.

(4.286) bun-ú su'n-ill-i
 coffee-GEN.M smell-NML-NOM.MOD.M

buš-ø-i.
 become.bad-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The smell of the coffee is/became bad.’

(4.287) adó ag-a keeraanč-imma-te
 milk(ACC) drink-INF(NOM.F) health-ABST-DAT.F

danča=te.
 good=NPC.F.PRED

‘Drinking milk is good for health.’

The number suffix precedes the case suffix (Greenberg 1963: 95. Universal 39). In (4.288), the plural suffix *-ulle* precedes the nominative case suffix *-u*, and in (4.289), the singular suffix *-čó* precedes the genitive case suffix *-i* and the dative case suffix *-ra*.

- (4.288) hand-ull-u low-idda=ho.
 ox-PL-NOM.M large-PL=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘The oxen are large.’
- (4.289) damboow-í wosin-č-í-ra
 Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M guest-SG-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD
- me’iččó gor-u-mm-o.
 goat(ACC) slaughter-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) slaughtered a goat for Damboowa’s guest (M).’

The number suffix also precedes the possessive pronominal suffix. In (4.290), the plural suffix *-ulle* precedes the first-person singular possessive pronominal suffix *-’ya*, and in (4.291), the singular suffix *-čó* precedes the third-person singular masculine possessive pronominal suffix *-si*.

- (4.290) hand-ullé-’ya duu-šš-u-mm-o.
 ox-PL(ACC)-1SG.POSS become.full-CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) fed my oxen.’
- (4.291) wosin-č-í-si-ra me’iččó
 guest-SG-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-DAT.MOD goat(ACC)
- gor-u-mm-o.
 slaughter-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) slaughtered a goat for his guest (M).’

(4.296) *airr-ad-d-u* *kin-n-i*
 become.heavy-ADJVZ-PL-NOM.M stone-PL-NOM.MOD.M

hinč'ilalló *hiikk'-ø-ino*.
 mirror(ACC) break-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'Heavy stones broke the mirror.'

In (4.294), gender is listed between the adjectivizing suffix and the number suffix, because its ordering relation with them is indeterminate. Some of the adjectivizing suffixes also show a gender contrast. On the other hand, no two separate suffixes can occur simultaneously on an adjective as an adjectivizing suffix and a gender suffix. Therefore, the order of the adjectivizing suffix and the gender suffix cannot be determined. Also, those suffixes on adjectives that express gender can also indicate singularity at the same time, and there are no cases where gender and number are marked separately with two suffixes on an adjective. Thus, the internal order of the categories for number and gender in adjectival morphology is also indeterminate.

As in (4.297) and (4.298), the case suffix replaces the final vowel of the number or gender suffix (see also *airr-ad-d-u* in (4.296)). In *dur-eeyy-u* in (4.297), the nominative suffix *-u* replaces the final vowel of the plural suffix *-eeyye*. In *dur-eess-u* in (4.298), the genitive suffix *-u* replaces the final vowel of the singular/masculine suffix *-eessa*.

stand alone (e.g., **arg-*, **hud-*, **kaal-*).³⁹ It is indistinguishable from the verbalizing suffix (sections 4.2.1.3.1 and 4.2.1.3.3), and both are listed together as MID1/VBLZ in (4.299) (They are both glossed as [-MID] in the examples below). On the other hand, a verb form with the latter type of middle suffix (middle 2) (e.g., *haišš-i-d-* MID of ‘to wash’, *huuč’-i-d-* MID of ‘to pray’, *hu-’-n-* MID of ‘to destroy’) usually has an active counterpart, which is a form without this suffix (an active form) (e.g., *haišš-* ‘to wash’, *huuč’-* ‘to pray’, *hun-* ‘to destroy’), though the two verb forms may or may not have a semantic difference. As shown below, the two types of middle suffixes can co-occur in a single word.

Like the middle 1 suffix and the verbalizing suffix, the passive suffix and the reciprocal suffix, have the same form *-am* (*-an* before a dental) and occupy the same position in (4.299). The causative suffix *-s* and the double-causative suffix *-si(i)s* also occurs in the same position in (4.299). In addition, the middle 2 suffix is also listed together with these suffixes, because the former may either precede or follow the latter.

Patterns of the occurrences of two types of derivational suffixes are shown in Table 4.17; the ordering of the suffixes is that of row suffix followed by column suffix. The derivational suffixes normally exhibit (i)-(vi), with the exceptions of (A) and (B).

³⁹ Nevertheless, some of them may be followed by the causative suffix (e.g., *arg-i-s-* [*arg-EP-CAUS*] ‘to lend’, *hud-i-s-* [*hud-EP-CAUS*] ‘(with the IMPERS.3SG.M subject) to cause to become hungry’, *mad-i-s-* [*mad-EP-CAUS*] ‘to wound’).

	MID1/VBLZ	PASS/RCP	CAUS/DBL.CAUS	MID2
MID1/VBLZ	/	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
PASS/RCP	*	See footnote ⁴⁰	(iv)	(v)
CAUS/DBL.CAUS	*	(A)	/	(vi)
MID2	*	(B)	(vii)	/

Table 4.17: Combinations of Derivational Verb Suffixes

Examples of the combinations of suffixes are shown below. The middle 1/verbalizing suffix, which is the closest to the root and is required by the root that it

⁴⁰ The passive suffix and the reciprocal suffix have the identical form of *-am* (*-an* before a dental). There are a few verb forms like (i) that contain *-am-am*.

- (i) (a) haw-am-am- 'to forget about each other' or 'to be forgotten' (hab- 'to forget')
 (b) bat'-am-am- 'to like each other' or 'to be liked' (bat'- 'to like')
 (c) bič'-am-am- 'to scar each other' or 'to be scarred' (bič'- 'to scar')

The *-am-am* sequence does not seem to be made up of the passive suffix and the reciprocal suffix. The meaning of each of these forms is either passive or reciprocal, but not both. The repeated form in (ia) and (ib) have the same meanings as the singly-suffixed forms (*haw-am-* and *bat'-am-*, respectively). For *bič'*- 'to scar' in (ic), having only one occurrence of *-am* is ungrammatical (**bič'-am-*).

- (ii) lat'o=nna bule haw-am-an-t-u.
 Lat'o(NOM.F)=and Bule(NOM.F) forget-PASS/RCP-PASS/RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
 'Lat'o and Bule forgot about each other.' or 'Lat'o and Bule were forgotten by sb.'

- (iii) dangur-i=nna bule mimmitó
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M=and Bule(NOM.F) each.other(ACC)

bat'-am-an-t-u.
 like-PASS/RCP-PASS/RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

'Dangura and Bule like each other.'

- (iv) dangur-i=nna damboow-i mimmitó
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M=and Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M each.other(ACC)

bič'-am-an-t-u.
 scar-PASS/RCP-PASS/RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

'Dangura and Damboowa scarred each other.'

affixes to, is glossed as [-MID] (the meaning of the middle-marked verb is used as a gloss for the root), whereas the middle 2 suffix is also glossed as -MID.

(i) Middle 1/Verbalizing — Passive/Reciprocal

(i-1) Middle 1/Verbalizing – Passive

Some of those verbs that always contain the middle 1/verbalizing suffix are transitive, and can be passivized.

- (4.300) dii-’r-am- [kidnap.for.marriage[-MID]-PASS-] ‘to be kidnapped for marriage’
 kaa-’-l-am- [help[-MID]-help-PASS-] ‘to be helped’
 ga-’-m-am- [bite[-MID]-bite-PASS-] ‘to be bitten’
 he-’-m-am- [backbite[-MID]-backbite-PASS-] ‘to be backbitten’
 oso-’-l-am- [laugh[-MID]-laugh-PASS-] ‘to be laughed at’

- (4.301) dangur-i angá wošičč-ú-nni
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M hand(OBL) dog-GEN.M-INST

ga-’-m-an-t-u.
 bite[-MID]-bite-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Dangura’s hand was bitten by the male dog.’ (*lit.*, ‘Dangura was bitten with respect to the hand by the male dog.’)

- (4.302) insa bušá re loos-s-e
 3PL.NOM bad(ACC) things(ACC) work-3PL-CNN

oso-’-l-an-t-u.
 laugh[-MID]-laugh-PASS-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

‘They did a bad thing, and were laughed at.’

(i-2) Middle 1/Verbalizing – Reciprocal

Those transitive verbs with the middle 1/verbalizing suffix that can take an animate object can be compatible with the reciprocal suffix.

- (4.303) kaa-’-l-am- [help[-MID]-help-RCP-] ‘to help each other’
 fit-t’-am- [comb[-MID]-RCP-] ‘to comb each other’s hair’
 t’a-’-m-am- [visit[-MID]-visit-RCP-] ‘to visit each other’
 a-d-am- [take[-MID]-take-RCP-] ‘to marry each other’
 ga-’-m-am- [bite[-MID]-bite-RCP-] ‘to bite each other’
 oso-’-l-am- [laugh[-MID]-laugh-RCP-] ‘to laugh at each other’

- (4.304) insa mimmitó
 3PL.NOM each.other(ACC)
- oso-’-l-an-t-u.
 laugh[-MID]-laugh-RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
- ‘They laughed at each other.’

- (4.305) laše=nna bule
 Lashe(NOM)=and Bule(NOM)
- t’a-’-m-an-t-u.
 visit[-MID]-visit-RCP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
- ‘Lashe and Bule visited each other.’

(ii) Middle 1/Verbalizing — Causative/Double-Causative

(ii-1) Middle 1/Verbalizing — Causative

Some verbs with the middle 1/verbalizing suffix can be causativized. The caused event can be either transitive or intransitive.

- (4.306) ha-'r-i-s- [go[-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to make sb go'
 su-'n-i-s- [smell[-MID]-smell-EP-CAUS-] 'to smell sth'
 goe-'r-i-s- [become.thirsty[-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to make sb feel thirsty'
 k'o-d-i-s- [fasten[-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to fasten (a clothing item) on sb'
 haggii-d-i-s- [happiness[-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to make sb happy'
 hamašš-i-d-i-s- [snake[-EP-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to make sb jealous'
 gulup-p'-i-s- [knee[-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to make sb kneel down'
 lik'-i-'r-i-s- [borrow[-EP-MID]-EP-CAUS-] 'to lend (sth that cannot be returned as it is)'
 udd-i-d-i-s- [put.on[-MID]-EP-DBL.CAUS-] 'to put (a clothing item) on sb'

- (4.307) šiiimá mat'iné buna-ho
 a.little(ACC) salt(ACC) coffee-DAT.M
 lik'-i-'r-i-s-i-'e.
 borrow[-EP-MID]-EP-CAUS-IMP.2SG-1SG

'Lend me a small amount of salt for coffee.'

- (4.308) dangur-í k'aak'o hun-t-e=nna
 Dangura-GEN.PROP.M baby(NOM.F) misbehave-3SG.F-CNN=and
 gulup-p'-i-s-ø-i.
 knee[-MID]-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Because Dangura's baby girl misbehaved, he made her kneel down.'

(ii-2) Middle 1/Verbalizing — Double-Causative

Some verbs with the middle 1/verbalizing suffix can occur with the double-causative suffix often to express a less direct causation than with the causative suffix. Some of them are compatible with the double-causative suffix, but not with the causative suffix (e.g., *a-d-i-s-, *so-'r-i-s-, *ka-'l-i-s-).

- (4.309) su-’n-i-sis- [smell[-MID]-smell-EP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to have sb smell sth’
 a-ǰ-i-siis- [take[-MID]-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to have sb take sth/have sth taken’
 so-’r-i-sis- [make.a.mistake[-MID]-EP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make sb make a
 mistake’
 ka-’l-i-sis- [help[-MID]-help-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make sb help’
 goe-’r-i-sis- [become.thirsty[-MID]-EP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make sb feel
 thirsty’ (the same as goe-’r-i-s-)
 bai-’r-i-sis- [help[-MID]-EP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to help sb carry sth on his/her
 back’

- (4.310) lat’o bušé-ra waá
 Lat’o(NOM) Bushe(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP water(ACC)

 bae-’r-i-sis-s-u-se.
 carry.on.back[-MID]-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.F

 ‘Lat’o put water on Bushe’s back to carry.’

- (4.311) isi wot’é-’ya
 3SG.M.NOM money(ACC)-1SG.POSS

 aǰ-i-siis-ø-i.
 take[-MID]-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

 ‘He had my money taken.’

(iii) Middle 1/Verbalizing — Middle 2

Some verbs with the middle 1/verbalizing suffix can be followed by the middle 2 suffix.
 Many such verb forms have no difference in meaning from forms with only the middle
 1/verbalizing suffix.

- (4.312) t'imb-i-'-l-i-d- [close[-EP-MID]-close-EP-MID-] 'to close one's eyes'
 (the same as t'imbi'l-)
 duk-k'-i-d- [carry.on.shoulder[-MID]-EP-MID-] 'to put sth on one's
 shoulder to carry it (the same as dukk'-)' (4.313)
 gongo-'-m-i-d- [roll[-MID]-roll-EP-MID-] 'to roll' (the same as
 gongo-'-m-)
 haggii-d-i-d- [happiness-VBLZ-EP-MID] 'to become happy' (the same as
 haggii-d-)
 ga-'-m-i-d- [bite[-MID]-bite-EP-MID-] 'to clench (one's teeth), chew sth
 for some purpose (e.g., to eat it)'
 č'u-'-m-i-d- [grab[-MID]-grab-EP-MID-] 'to clench (one's hand), grab
 sth for some purpose'

- (4.313) waá kaes-ø-e
 water(ACC) lift-3SG.M-CNN
- dukk'-i-'r-ø-i.
 put.on.shoulder[-EP-MID]-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He lifted the water and put it on his shoulder.'

- (4.314) ise haggii-d-i-d-d-u.
 3SG.F.NOM become.happy[-MID]-EP-MID-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She is/became happy.'

(iv) Passive/Reciprocal – Causative/Double-Causative

(iv-1) Passive – Causative

The passive suffix can be immediately followed by the causative suffix to express the causation of a state-change.

- (4.315) it-an-s- [eat-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb sink’
 giir-an-s- [burn-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb angry’
 usur-an-s- [fasten-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb/sth fastened’
 k’alt’-an-s- [choke-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb choke’
 it-an-s- [eat-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb sink (in water)’
 diw-an-s- [cause.sickness-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb sick’
 giir-an-s- [burn-PASS-CAUS-] ‘to make sb angry’

- (4.316) damboow-i dangurá
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M Dangura(ACC)

giir-an-s-Ø-i.
 burn-PASS-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Damboowa made Dangura angry.’

- (4.317) mooraanó usur-an-s-a
 thieves(ACC) fasten-PASS-CAUS-INF(NOM.F)

hasis-s-anno.
 become.necessary-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

‘It is important to have thieves fastened.’

(iv-2) Passive – Double-Causative

This suffix sequence usually expresses a more indirect causation of a state-change than

(iv-1).

- (4.318) maat’-am-i-sis- [hide-PASS-EP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to help sb hide’
 seej̃-an-sis- [advise-PASS-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to have sb advise oneself’
 sut-an-sis- [hang-PASS-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to have sb hang sth’
 usur-an-sis- [fasten-PASS-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make sb/sth fastened’ (the
 same as usur-an-s-)
 diw-an-sis- [cause.sickness-PASS-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to take care of sb who is
 sick’
 moor-an-sis- [steal-PASS-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to help sb steal sth’

- (4.319) uddanó sut-an-sis-i.
 clothes(ACC) hang-PASS-DBL.CAUS-IMP.2SG
 ‘Have someone hang your clothes.’
- (4.320) miné-’ya
 house(ACC)-1SG.POSS
- moor-an-siis-ø-ino=hu
 rob-PASS-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
- olla-’ya=ti.
 neighbor-1SG.POSS=NPC.PRED.HUTI
- ‘The one who helped someone rob my house is my neighbor.’

(iv-3) Reciprocal – Causative

This combination of suffixes expresses the causation of a reciprocal event.

- (4.321) sunk’-an-s- [kiss-RCP-CAUS-] ‘to make (people) kiss each other’
 hasaaw-an-s- [talk-RCP-CAUS-] ‘to make (people) talk to each other’
 gan-an-s- [hit-RCP-CAUS-] ‘to make (people) hit each other’
 giw-an-s- [quarrel-RCP-CAUS-] ‘to make (people) quarrel with each other’
- (4.322) garsamo lašé=nna boč’á mimmito
 Garsamo(NOM) Lashe(ACC)=and Boch’a(ACC) each.other
- | | | | |
|---|-----|---|---|
| { | (a) | hasaaw-an-s-ø-i.
talk-RCP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M | } |
| | (b) | gan-an-s-ø-i.
hit-RCP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M | |
- (a) ‘Garsamo made Lashe and Boch’a talk to each other.’
 (b) ‘Garsamo made Lashe and Boch’a hit each other.’

(iv-4) Reciprocal – Double-Causative

This sequence of suffixes is often used for an indirect causation of a reciprocal event.

Some forms can be used interchangeably without any difference in meaning with their

reciprocal-causative versions. There are also verbs whose reciprocal–double-causative forms are possible but whose reciprocal-causative forms are impossible (e.g., **t'aad-an-s-*, **hank'af-an-s-i*).

- (4.323) *t'on-an-sis-* [insult-RCP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make (people) insult each other’
hank'af-an-sis- [hug-RCP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make (people) hug each other’
t'aad-an-sis- [meet-RCP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make (people) meet each other’
giw-an-sis- [quarrel-RCP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make (people) quarrel with each other’ (the same as *giw-an-s-*)
gan-an-sis- [hit-RCP-DBL.CAUS-] ‘to make (people) hit each other’ (the same as *gan-an-s-*)

- (4.324) *garsamo* *lašé=nna* *bulé* (mimmito)
 Garsamo(NOM) Lashe(ACC)=and Bule(ACC) (each.other)

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|---|
| { | (a) | <i>hank'af-an-sis-ø-i.</i> | } |
| | | <i>hug-RCP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M</i> | |
| | (b) | <i>t'on-an-sis-ø-i.</i> | |
| | | <i>insult-RCP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M</i> | |

- (a) ‘Garsamo made Lashe and Bule hug each other.’
 (b) ‘Garsamo made Lashe and Bule insult each other.’

(v) Passive/Reciprocal — Middle 2

(v-1) Passive – Middle 2

This suffix combination is used to express the subject’s adversative experience of the event. If the verbs in (4.326) and (4.327) did not contain the middle 2 suffix, the sentences would be simply passive and would not convey any adversative meaning.

- (4.329) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mimmitó} \\ \text{each.other(ACC)} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{sunk'-am-i-d-u.} \\ \text{kiss-RCP-EP-MID-3PL-S.PRF.3PL} \\ \text{(b) } \text{hank'af-am-i-d-u.} \\ \text{hug-RCP-EP-MID-3PL-S.PRF.3PL} \end{array} \right\}$
- (a) ‘They kissed each other (with strong affection).’
 (b) ‘They hugged each other (with strong affection).’

(vi) Causative/Double-Causative — Middle 2

(vi-1) Causative – Middle 2

When directly preceded by the causative suffix, the middle 2 suffix indicates that the action was performed with the purpose of realizing a subsequent event or as one of the subject’s social responsibilities. The action may be directed to one of the subject’s body parts.

- (4.330) daah-i-s-i-d- [grind-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-] ‘to have sth ground for oneself’
 ra'-i-s-i-d- [become.cooked-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-] ‘to cook sth as one of
 one’s responsibility’
 gat-i-s-i-d- [become.saved-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-] ‘to save sb as one of
 one’s responsibility’
 araar-s-i-d- [compromise-CAUS-EP-MID-] ‘to reconcile (people) as one
 of one’s responsibility’
 mool-s-i-d- [become.dry-CAUS-EP-MID-] ‘to dry one’s body part’

- (4.331) k'aakk'ó-si t'agičč-ú mine
 baby(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS medicine-GEN.M house
- rah-ø-e mass-ø-e
 hurry-3SG.M-CNN take-3SG.M-CNN
- gat-i-s-i-'r-ø-i.
 become.saved-EP-CAUS-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He took his child to the pharmacy quickly, and saved him/her.'
- (4.332) lat'o foot'-ú-nni danančó-se
 Lat'o(NOM.F) towel-GEN.M-INST hair(ACC)-3SG.F
- mool-s-i-d-u.
 become.dry-CAUS-EP-MID-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'Lat'o dried her hair with a towel.'

(vi-2) Double-Causative – Middle 2

The middle 2 suffix can follow the double-causative suffix to express actions performed by someone other than the subject to the benefit of the subject.

- (4.333) abb-i-sis-i-d- [bring-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-] 'to have sb bring sth for oneself'
 ra'-i-sis-i-d- [become.cooked-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-] 'to have sb cook for oneself'
 daah-i-sis-i-d- [grind-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-] 'to have sb grind sth for oneself'
 haišš-i-sis-i-d- [wash-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-] 'to have sb wash sth for oneself'
 seekk-i-sis-i-d- [make.right-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-] 'to have sb trim (one's hair) for oneself'
 fukk-i-sis-i-d- [thatch-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-] 'to have (one's house) covered with savanah grass for oneself'

(4.334) badalá daah-i-sis-i-'r-i.
 corn(ACC) grind-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-IMP.2SG
 'Have someone grind the corn for yourself.'

(4.335) ané sagalé
 1SG.ACC food(ACC)

 ra'-i-sis-i-'r-ø-i.
 become.cooked-EP-DBL.CAUS-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He had me cook for himself.'

(v) Middle 2 — Causative/Double-Causative

The middle 2 suffix and the causative/double-causative suffixes can occur in sequence. This sequence is used for an action performed on the causee's body part, and the verb is usually a clothing verb. The causative version and the double-causative version differ in the directness of the causation: the causative is more direct than the double-causative. (Note that the verbs used in (4.336)-(4.338), *buur-* and *wor-*, can be used by themselves as active voice verbs that mean 'to smear butter' and 'to put', respectively.)

(4.336) buu-d-i-s- [smear.butter-MID-EP-CAUS-]/buu-d-i-sis- [smear.butter-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-] 'to make sb smear butter on oneself'
 wo-d-i-s- [put-MID-EP-CAUS-]/wo-d-i-sis- [put-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-]
 'to make sb put on sth'

(4.337) k'aakk'ó-se-ra buuró
 child(GEN.F)-3SG.F.POSS-DAT.MOD butter(ACC)

{ buu-d-i-s-s-u.
 smear.butter-MID-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 buu-d-i-sis-s-u.
 smear.butter-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F }

'She made her daughter annoint her hair with butter.'

(4.338) beettó-'ya saaté
 child(ACC)-1SG.POSS watch(ACC)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{wo-d'i-s-u-mm-o.} \\ \text{put-MID-EP-CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M} \\ \text{wo-d'i-sis-u-mm-o.} \\ \text{put-MID-EP-DBL.CAUS-S.PRF.1-1SG-M} \end{array} \right\}$$

‘I (M) made him put on his watch.’

There are two exceptions to the order in (4.299), as shown in (A) and (B) in Table 4.17.

One is the sequence of causative-passive. There are two verbs that follow this pattern: *k'arr-i-s-am-* [problem-EP-CAUS-PASS] ‘to confuse’, *mad-i-s-am-* [wound-EP-CAUS-PASS] ‘to become wounded by sb’. However, the roots of the verbs that allows this sequence (**k'arr-*, **mad-*) cannot be used by themselves as verbs, though if the roots are followed by *-a* they can be used as nouns (*k'arra* ‘problem’, *mada* ‘wound (noun)’).⁴¹ Examples of the use of the above verb forms are shown in (4.339) and (4.340).

⁴¹ These roots can be used with the causative suffix, as in (i) and (ii).

(i) bule dangurá k'arr-i-s-s-u.
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) problem-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘Bule made Dangura get into trouble.’

(ii) boč'-i lašé mad-i-s-ø-i.
 Boch'a-NOM.PROP.M Lashe(ACC) wound-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Boch'a wounded Lashe.’

- (4.339) y-oo-tt-o r-i
 say-P.PRF.2SG-2SG-M things-NOM.MOD.M
- k'arr-i-s-am-ø-ino-'e.
 be.in.trouble-EP-CAUS-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG
- 'I got confused with what you (SG.M) said.'

- (4.340) laše mad-i-s-am-ø-i.
 Lashe(NOM) wound-EP-CAUS-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'Lashe got wounded by someone.'

The other exception is the sequence of causative-reciprocal, which appears in only one verb form: *heew-i-s-am-* [brag-EP-CAUS-RCP-] 'to compete'. It has a meaning slightly different both from the verb root (*heeb-* 'to brag') and from the causative form (*heew-i-s-* 'to compare'). An example is shown in (4.341).

- (4.341) rod-î-se ledo
 sibling-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.POSS COM
- heew-i-s-an-t-u.
 brag-EP-CAUS-RCP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'She competed with her brother.'

As shown in (4.342), there are also cases where three of the derivational suffixes co-occur. In any these cases, the first suffix is middle 1, without which the verb root cannot occur by itself.

Setting aside the object suffix, which always comes later than any other inflectional verb suffix, there are five cases where more than one inflectional verb suffix discernably occurs at the same time and their order can be investigated. The ordering relationships of the inflectional verb suffixes in these cases are summarized in Table 4.18.

- 1) VERB.STEM – person/number – connective
- 2) VERB.STEM – person/number – infinitive – *-nni*
- 3) 1SG, 2SG: VERB.STEM – infinitive – person/number – gender – *-ra*
 3SG, 2PL: VERB.STEM – person/number – infinitive – *-ra*
 1PL: VERB.STEM – person/number – infinitive – person/number – *-ra*
- 4) 1SG, 2SG: VERB.STEM – aspect – person/number – gender
 3SG, 2PL: VERB.STEM – person/number – aspect
 1PL: VERB.STEM – person/number – aspect – person/number
- 5) VERB.STEM – person/number – optative

Table 4.18: Occurrence of More than One Inflectional Verb Suffixes

First, the suffix for the person/number of the subject appears immediately before the connective suffix *-e* (sections 4.2.2.3.2 and 4.2.2.3.3, Table 4.11): 1SG, 3SG.M: *V-∅-e*, 2SG, 3SG.F/3PL: *V-t-e*, 1PL: *V-n-e*, 2PL: *V-tin-e* (*-∅* for 1SG and 3SG.M is assumed here to show contrast with other persons/numbers in the same position). An example is shown in (4.346).

- (4.346) hatté sagalé-nni it-t-e lat’o
 that.F.GEN food(GEN.F)-INST eat-3SG.F-CNN Lat’o(NOM.F)

duub-b-u.
 become.full-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat’o ate that food, and she became full.’

Second, the suffix for the person/number of the subject occurs right before the infinitive suffix *-a*, immediately preceding the instrumental suffix *-nni*, or the conjunctive clitic *=nna* (sections 4.2.2.3.2 and 4.2.2.3.4, Table 4.11): 1SG, 3SG.M: *V-∅-a-nni/=nna*, 2SG, 3SG.F/3PL: *V-t-a-nni/=nna*, 1PL: *V-n-a-nni/=nna*, 2PL: *V-tin-a-nni/=nna* (*-∅* for 1SG and 3SG.M is assumed also to show contrast here with other persons/numbers in the same position). This is illustrated in (4.347) and (4.348).

- (4.347) ati teččo it-t-a-nni
 2SG.NOM today eat-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

hos-a-tt-o ?
 spend.all.day-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M

‘Are you (SG.M) going to spend all day eating today?’

- (4.348) bule sagalé it-t-a=nna lat’o
 Bule(NOM.F) food(ACC) eat-3SG.F-INF=and Lat’o(NOM.F)

waá ag-g-u.
 water(ACC) drink-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘While Bule was eating food, Lat’o drank water.’

Third, the suffix for the person/number of the subject and the infinitive suffix *-a* co-occur before the dative marker *-ra* (section 4.2.2.3.4). This verb-suffix complex can

contrast with *-t* in *-t-a* for 3SG.F/3PL). The first-person plural form is *-n-a-mmo*, in which the infinitive suffix is between the two components of the first-person plural suffix *-n -mmo*, which is a discontinuous morpheme. (This form could also be analyzed as a sequence of the first-person plural suffix *-n*, the infinitive suffix *-a*, and the first-person singular masculine suffix *-mmo*.)

Fourth, the suffix for the person/number of the subject occurs with the aspectual suffix (following Teferra (2000: 80-81), the suffix complex that carries information about the person/number of the subject and aspect is analyzed into components rather than being treated as a portmanteau morpheme that simultaneously expresses the above information). As already shown in Table 4.6, they follow the same pattern as the suffix for the person/number of the subject and the infinitive suffix when they occur before the dative suffix *-ra*. When the subject is the first-person or second-person singular, the aspect suffix immediately precedes the suffix for the person/number of the subject, which is followed by the gender suffix (M: *-o*, F: *-a*). Thus, the order is -ASPECT-PERSON-GENDER. When the subject is the third-person singular or second-person plural, the suffix for the person/number of the subject comes right before the infinitive suffix: -PERSON-ASPECT (*-∅* for 3SG.M is assumed to show contrast with *-t* for 3SG.F/3PL, which precedes any of the aspect suffixes). The first-person plural suffix is a disjunctive morpheme made up of two components *-n -mmo*, between which the aspect suffix falls. These are illustrated in Table 4.19 with the simple perfect forms of *wi'l-* ‘to cry’.

1SG.M	ani	wi'l-u-mm-o	cry-EP-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
1SG.F	ani	wi'l-u-mm-a	cry-EP-S.PRF.1-1SG-F
2SG.M	ati	wi'l-i-tt-o	cry-EP-S.PRF.2-2SG-M
2SG.F	ati	wi'l-i-tt-a	cry-EP-S.PRF.2-2SG-F
3SG.M	isi	wi'l-∅-i	cry-EP-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
3SG.F	ise	wi'l-i-t-u	cry-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
1PL	ninke	wi'l-i-n-u-mmo	cry-EP-1PL-S.PRF.1-1PL (or cry-EP-1PL-S.PRF.1-1SG-M)
2PL	ki'ne	wi'l-i-tin-i	cry-EP-2PL-S.PRF.2
3PL	insa	wi'l-i-t-u	cry-EP-3PL-S.PRF.3PL

Table 4.19: Simple Perfect Forms of *wi'l-* 'to cry'

Note that unlike the infinitive suffix, which has the invariant form *-a*, all of the aspectual suffixes have different forms depending on the person and number of the subject, as shown in (4.351).

(4.351)	IMPRF	1: -ee,	2SG: -a,	3: -anno,	2PL: -anni
	S.PRF	1/3SG.F/3PL: -u,	2SG/3SG.M/2PL: -i		
	P.PRF	1/2SG: -oo,	3: -ino,	2PL: -oonni	

Thus, the individual forms of the aspect suffixes do not exclusively convey aspectual information, but also carry information about the number and person of the subject.

Finally, the person/number of the subject (1SG, 3SG.M: $-\emptyset$, 3SG.F/3PL: *-t*, 1PL: *-n*) is indicated before the optative mood suffix *-o* (Table 4.14) ($-\emptyset$ for 3SG.M is assumed

to show contrast with *-t* for 3SG.F/3PL and *-n* for 1PL, which precedes the optative suffixes).⁴²

The order of the person/number–aspect suffixes for the third-person singular and the second-person plural and the order of the person/number–optative suffixes seem to be counterexamples to Bybee’s (1985: 34-35) findings about the very common crosslinguistic patterns of positioning of verb inflections. Bybee looked into the positions of verb inflections for aspect, tense, mood, and person (usually, person and number) in relation to the verb stem in a sample of 50 genetically and geographically diverse languages chosen by Perkins (1980), and found the following tendency: verb stem – aspect – tense – mood – person/number (in the case of suffixing languages). Bybee examined the ordering relationship of each pair of inflections: (a) aspect – tense, (b) aspect – mood, (c) aspect – person, (d) tense – mood, (e) tense – person, and (f) mood – person. The relations relevant to Sidaama are (c) aspect – person and (f) mood – person, because this language lacks tense. Furthermore, aspect and mood markers do not co-occur. According to Bybee, aspect markers occur closer to the verb stem than person markers in 12 out of 21 languages that have both categories with only one counterexample (Navaho). However, the aspect and person markers in Sidaama show the opposite order when the subject is the third-person singular or second-person plural, though Sidaama exhibits the predicted pattern when the subject is the first-person or second-person singular. Bybee also found that mood markers occur closer to the verb stem than person markers in 13 out of 26 languages that have both categories (with five

⁴² The suffix for the other mood category, the imperative suffix, is fused with the person/number information and the suffix that indicates the two categories is difficult to separate into distinct markers.

languages with the opposite order). Sidaama does not follow this pattern, either: the person suffix occurs closer to the verb stem than the optative suffix.

Chapter 5 Syntax

This chapter examines Sidaama syntax. Section 5.1 discusses grammatical relations and section 5.2 word order. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 describe two families of constructions in this language, external possessor constructions (section 5.3) (Kawachi 2006a, 2007b) and relative clause constructions (section 5.4).

5.1 Grammatical Relations

Sidaama is a nominative-accusative language, which uses subject and object, rather than ergative and absolutive. The core grammatical relations relevant to Sidaama are subject, direct object, and indirect object. For ditransitive verbs (*u-* ‘to give’, *hir-* ‘to buy (for someone), sell’, *kul-* ‘to tell’, *argis-* ‘to lend’, *leell-i-š-* [appear-EP-CAUS] ‘to show’), Sidaama makes a distinction between direct objects and indirect objects.

Following Van Valin (2001), who makes a distinction between the coding properties (verb agreement, case marking, the position of an argument in the clause) and behavioral properties of grammatical relations (the types of constructions where constituents in each of the grammatical relations characteristically occur), this section looks into these two types of properties of grammatical relations in Sidaama.

5.1.1 Coding Properties of the Grammatical Relations

Sidaama has two ways of coding grammatical relations, case marking on heads of NPs and agreement of adjectives or demonstratives with the case of their head nouns (section 5.1.1.1), and the use of subject and object suffixes on verbs (section 5.1.1.2).

5.1.1.1 Case Marking

As mentioned earlier, Sidaama is a nominative-accusative language. Subjects are in the nominative case, direct objects are in the accusative case, and indirect objects are in the dative case. The following discussion shows how the grammatical relations are coded by case marking on the heads of NPs (nouns or pronouns) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.1, Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3) and adnominal constituents (attributive adjectives or adnominal demonstratives) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.5, Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.2.1).

Nouns can be marked with case affixes, according to the patterns summarized in Table 5.1 (see also Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3).

NOM	unmarked	/e/- or /o/-ending masculine proper nouns, feminine common and proper nouns
	suffix <i>-u</i>	unmodified masculine common nouns
	suffix <i>-i</i>	modified masculine common nouns, /a/-ending masculine proper nouns
ACC	suprafix	high pitch on the final vowel segment
DAT	suffix <i>-te</i>	unmodified feminine common nouns
	suffix <i>-ho</i>	unmodified masculine common nouns
	suffix <i>-ra</i>	modified masculine and feminine common nouns (genitive stems), masculine and feminine proper nouns (genitive stems)

Table 5.1: Nominative, Accusative, and Dative Case Marking on Nouns

Note the following: (i) *-u* and *-i* replace the final vowel of the basic stem of a noun; (ii) *-te* and *-ho* attach to the basic stem of a noun; (iii) *-ra* attaches to the genitive stem of a noun.

Oblique arguments are either marked with case suffixes (specifically, the locative, allative, or ablative-instrumental suffix; Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.6) or a suprafix (high pitch on the final vowel segment). The latter type of oblique NP is headed by one of the locational nouns (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3) or by the noun-phrase clitic =*wa* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.2), or is used in one type of external possessor construction, the oblique possessum external possessor construction (section 5.3).¹

¹ The oblique with the suprafix could be grouped with the accusative under a single case called the “absolute” case (as is often done in the literature on Highland East Cushitic languages; e.g., Hudson 1976), because the head noun of an oblique NP and that of an accusative NP are marked with high pitch on the final vowel segment. However, the present study distinguishes the two, because unlike accusative NPs, morphologically unmarked oblique NPs are always constituents not required by the valency of the verb.

An example with masculine nouns in the nominative, accusative, and dative cases is shown in (5.1), where *hanaat'ičča*, *wot'é*, and *hakimičča* are in the nominative, accusative, and dative, and the subject, direct object, and indirect object, respectively.

- (5.1) hanaat'ičč-u wot'é hakimičča-ho
 carpenter-NOM.M money(ACC) doctor.M-DAT.M

u-ø-i.
 give-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'The carpenter (M) gave money to the doctor (M).'
 (pitch accent pattern: hanaat'ičč-u wot'é hakimičča-ho u-í.)

As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.1.3), the allomorphs of the genitive suffix for masculine nouns are the same as those of the nominative case suffix for masculine nouns, *-u* and *-i*, and the two allomorphs of the genitive case suffix and those of the nominative case suffix occur in exactly the same set of conditions (Table 5.1; Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in Chapter 4). The locative suffix on both feminine and masculine nouns also has the same forms as the dative case suffix, *-te*, *-ho*, and *-ra*, and these forms also occur in almost the same set of environments (Table 5.1; Table 4.3 in Chapter 4) (the only difference is that masculine and feminine proper nouns take *-te* and *-ho*, respectively, as the locative case suffix, while both take *-ra* as the dative case suffix). Furthermore, the genitive suffix on unmodified feminine common nouns has the same form as the dative suffix on unmodified feminine common nouns, *-te*. Therefore, the grammatical relations can be indicated by case marking, but the case and grammatical relation of an NP sometimes cannot be precisely identified by the forms of the head noun alone.

When the head of an NP is a pronoun, the same relationship applies: subjects are in the nominative case, direct objects are in the accusative case, and indirect objects are in the dative case. Independent personal pronouns take the forms in Table 5.2 depending on their case (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.1). Although many of their nominative and accusative forms look identical, they differ in their pitch accent patterns — high pitch falls on the penultimate vowel segments of the nominative forms, and on the final vowels of the accusative forms. The dative forms of the personal pronouns are formed by adding the dative suffix *-ra* to the genitive forms.

	NOM	ACC	DAT (GEN- <i>ra</i>)
1SG	áni	ané	ané- <i>ra</i>
2SG	áti	até	até- <i>ra</i>
3SG.F	íse	isé	isé- <i>ra</i>
3SG.M	ísi	isó	isí- <i>ra</i>
1PL	nínke	ninké	ninké- <i>ra</i>
2PL	kí'ne	ki'né	ki'né- <i>ra</i>
3PL	ínsa	insá	insá- <i>ra</i>

Table 5.2: Nominative, Accusative, and Dative Case Forms of the Personal Pronouns

Two sets of demonstrative pronouns (and their reduplicated forms) have the forms in Table 5.3. Like modified masculine common nouns and /a/-ending masculine proper nouns, their nominative forms end in the nominative case suffix *-i* (Tables 3.5 and 3.7 in Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.4). Their accusative forms are marked with the suprafixed, which occurs as high pitch on their final vowel segments.

	Basic Dem. Pronoun		Derived Dem. Pronoun with <i>-iččo</i>	
	NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
(a) ‘here’	kaw-i	kawá	kawičč-i	kawiččo
(b) ‘there’	hakk-i	hakká	hakkičč-i	hakkiččo
(c) ‘over there’	ka’-i	ka’á	ka’ičč-i	ka’iččo
(a’) redup. of (a)	kaw-i kaw-i	kawa kawá	kawičč-i kawičč-i	kawiččo kawiččo
(b’) redup. of (b)	hakk-i hakk-i	hakka hakká	hakkičč-i hakkičč-i	hakkiččo hakkiččo
(c’) redup. of (c)	ka’-i ka’-i	ka’a ka’á	ka’ičč-i ka’ičč-i	ka’iččo ka’iččo

Table 5.3: Two Sets of Demonstrative Pronouns

Another set of demonstrative pronouns, which are derived from adnominal demonstratives, also has distinct nominative and accusative forms (e.g., NOM: *tini*, ACC: *teé/tenné* ‘this one (F)’, NOM: *kuni*, ACC: *koé/konné* ‘this one (M)’; see Table 3.15 in Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.5).

Attributive adjectives and adnominal demonstratives are also case-marked. In NPs whose heads are modified by these adnominal constituents, the grammatical relations are indicated by the cases on the adnominal constituents as well as the head nouns. An adjective that modifies the masculine head noun of the subject NP agrees in case with that noun, and takes the nominative case suffix *-u*. An adjective that modifies an accusative noun also agrees in case with the head noun, and both the noun and the adjective will have the accusative suprafixed, which is realized as high pitch on the final vowel segment. An adjective that modifies a genitive noun also agrees in case with the head noun, and is in the genitive case; thus, when a genitive noun is followed by the dative case suffix *-ra*, an adjective that modifies it is also in the genitive. This also applies to adnominal demonstratives, which can take different forms depending on the case of the head noun (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.5). See (5.2), where the cases of the

adjectives *seeda*, *šiima*, and *danča* agree with those of the nouns that they modify, *hanaat'ičča*, *wot'e*, and *hakimičča*, respectively, and the cases of the adnominal demonstratives for 'that' and 'this' agree with those of the nouns that they modify, *hanaat'ičča* and *hakimičča*, respectively.

(5.2)	hakku	seed-u	hanaat'ičč-i	šiimá
	that.M.NOM	tall-NOM.M	carpenter-NOM.MOD.M	little(ACC)
	wot'é	konní	danč-ú	
	money(ACC)	this.M.GEN	good-GEN.M	
	hakimičč-í-ra		u-ø-i.	
	doctor.M-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD.M		give-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M	

'That tall carpenter (M) gave a small amount of money to this good doctor (M).'

Like adjectives, adnominal demonstratives agree in case with their head nouns. However, unlike adjectives, which use a case suffix only on masculine head nouns, adnominal demonstratives have distinct case forms for both masculine and feminine head nouns (see Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.5).

5.1.1.2 Subject and Object Suffixes on the Verb

- Pronominal subject suffix on the main verb

Grammatical relations can also be coded by verb suffixes (Chapter 3 sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.3.1, Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3 and 4.2.2.2.1). First, the person/number of the subject is indicated with a pronominal suffix on the main verb (1SG: *-mm*, 2SG: -

tt, 3SG.F/3PL: *-t*, 3SG.M: *-ø*, 1PL: *-n -mmo*, 2PL: *-tin*), and the first- or second-person subject requires a gender agreement verb suffix (F: *-a*, M: *-o*) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1). For example, the third-person singular feminine subject is indicated with the suffix *-t* on the verb in (5.3), and the first-person singular subject is expressed with the suffix *-mm* on the verb in (5.4), where the masculine gender is additionally indicated with the suffix *-o*.

(5.3)	bule Bule(NOM.F)	{	(a) lašé Lashe(ACC)	}
			(b) isó 3SG.M.ACC	

t'a'm-i-t-ino(-si).
 visit-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

- (a) 'Bule visited Lashe.'
 (b) 'Bule visited him.'

(5.4)	laše Lashe(NOM)	{	(a) mančo-te person-DAT.F	}	hinč'ilalló mirror(ACC)
			(b) isé-ra 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON		

o-o-mm-o(-se).
 give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M(-3SG.F)

- (a) 'I (M) gave the mirror to the woman.'
 (b) 'I (M) gave the mirror to her.'

• Pronominal subject suffix for the impersonal third-person singular masculine subject

There is one construction in Sidaama where the subject is marked on the verb, but is not indicated anywhere else. The causativized forms of some intransitive verbs for

emotions and physical sensations use an impersonal third-person singular masculine subject coded only with the pronominal subject suffix.² Examples are shown in (5.5) and (5.6).

- (5.5) bulé dimb-i-s-ø-ino(-se).
 Bule(ACC) become.drunk-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(-3SG.F)
 ‘Bule is/has gotten drunk.’ (*lit.*, ‘<IMPERS.3SG.M> caused Bule to get drunk.’)
- (5.6) waaǰj-i-s-ø-i-he ?
 become.afraid-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-2SG
 ‘Have you become/Are you afraid?’ (*lit.*, ‘Did <IMPERS.3SG.M> cause you to become afraid?’)

Causativized verbs that are used in this construction include those in (5.7) (although the glosses may contain ‘become’, these verb forms may express states when they are in the simple or present perfect aspect, as in (5.5) and (5.6)).

- (5.7) č’ee’m-i-s- [become.bored-EP-CAUS]
 daafur-s- [become.tired-CAUS]
 dee’-i-s- [have.diarrhea-EP-CAUS]
 dimb-i-s- [become.drunk-EP-CAUS]
 gaabb-i-s- [become.regretful-EP-CAUS]
 giir-i-s- [become.angry-EP-CAUS]
 hama’šid-i-s- [become.jealous-EP-CAUS]
 hur-s- [become.cured-CAUS]

² If the third-person singular masculine subject were expressed with a noun or an independent personal pronoun, the construction would have the causative interpretation, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) manč-u bulé dimb-i-s-ø-ino(-se).
 person-NOM.M Bule(ACC) become.drunk-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(-3SG.F)
 ‘The man caused Bule to get drunk.’
- (ii) isi waaǰj-i-s-ø-i-he ?
 3SG.M.NOM become.afraid-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-2SG
 ‘Did he cause you to become afraid?’

mug-i-s- [become.sleepy-EP-CAUS]
 iibb-i-s- [feel.hot-EP-CAUS]
 iibbabb-i-s- [have.a.fever-EP-CAUS]
 hank'-i-s- [become.angry-EP-CAUS]
 k'iid-i-s- [become.cold-EP-CAUS]
 mad-i-s- [become.wounded-EP-CAUS]
 maalal-i-s- [become.surprised-EP-CAUS]
 marar-s- [become.sympathetic/sad/disappointed/concerned-CAUS]
 mas-i-s- [become.shocked/concerned-EP-CAUS]
 mug-is- [become.sleepy-EP-CAUS]
 saal-i-s- [become.shy-EP-CAUS]
 šool-š- [become.ashamed-CAUS]
 hank'-i-s- [become.angry-EP-CAUS]

There are also a few non-causative transitive verbs that use a dummy third-person singular masculine subject, indicated only with the pronominal subject suffix on the verb (Chapter 3 section 3.1.2), as in (5.8) and (5.9).

(5.8) *diw-ø-ino-he* ?
 cause.sickness-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-2SG
 ‘Are you sick?’ (*lit.*, ‘Did <IMPERS.3SG.M> cause sickness to you?’)

(5.9)

{	(a)	<i>isí-ra</i>	<i>angá</i>
		3SG.M.GEN.DAT.PRON	arm(ACC)
}	(b)	<i>isó</i>	<i>angá</i>
		3SG.M.ACC	arm(OBL)

t'iss-ø-ino-si.
 cause.pain-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M

- (a) ‘He has a pain in the arm.’ (*lit.*, ‘Something has caused pain to his arm for him.’)
 (b) ‘He has a pain in the arm.’ (*lit.*, ‘Something has caused pain to him with respect to the arm.’)

referent is human (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.6). The referent of this suffix cannot be inanimate. For example, in (5.12), if the third-person feminine pronominal object suffix *-se* occurred on the verb, as in (5.12'), it would not be able to refer to the feminine direct object noun *sagale* 'food', though it could be interpreted as referring to an animate entity.

(5.12) ani hatté sagalé it-u-mm-o.
 1SG.NOM that.F.ACC food(ACC) eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) ate that food.'

(5.12') ani hatté sagalé it-u-mm-o-se.
 1SG.NOM that.F.ACC food(ACC) eat-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F
 'I (M) ate that food for her/because of her.'

This suffix is optional when its referent is expressed with an NP or in some other way elsewhere, as in (5.3) and (5.4) (repeated below as (5.13) and (5.14), respectively), but has to be used when its referent is not indicated anywhere else, as in (5.15) and (5.16).

(5.13) { (a) lašé }
 { Lashe(ACC) }
 bule (b) isó }
 Bule(NOM.F) { 3SG.M.ACC }

t'a'm-i-t-ino(-si).
 visit-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

- (a) 'Bule visited Lashe.'
 (b) 'Bule visited him.'

- (5.14)

laše Lashe(NOM)	{	(a) mančo-te person-DAT.F	}	hinč'ilalló
		(b) isé-ra 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON		mirror(ACC)

o-o-mm-o(-se).
give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M(-3SG.F)

- (a) 'I (M) gave the mirror to the woman.'
(b) 'I (M) gave the mirror to her.'

- (5.15) bule t'a'm-i-t-ino-si.
Bule(NOM.F) visit-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M
'Bule visited him.'

- (5.16) laše hinč'ilalló o-o-mm-o-se.
Lashe(NOM) mirror(ACC) give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F
'I (M) gave the mirror to her.'

Because a human participant in an event described with a ditransitive verb is much more likely to be its indirect object than its direct object, the pronominal object suffix usually indicates a primary object. However, its referent does not necessarily have to be a primary object. First, when the referents of the two objects of a ditransitive verb are both humans, either of them can be indicated with the pronominal object suffix. For example, in (5.17) and (5.18), either the use of the pronominal object suffix for a third-person singular masculine entity *-si* for the indirect object NP (Dangura), as in (5.17a) and (5.18a), or that of the pronominal object suffix for a third-person singular feminine entity *-se*, as in (5.17b) and (5.18b), is grammatical.

(5.18) damboow-i bulé dangur-í-ra
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP Bule(ACC) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a)} \quad \text{u-}\emptyset\text{-ino-si.} \\ \text{give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M} \\ \text{(b)} \quad \text{u-}\emptyset\text{-ino-se.} \\ \text{give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.F} \end{array} \right\}$

‘Damboowa (MASC) let Dangura (MASC) marry Bule (FEM).’ (*lit.*, ‘Damboowa (MASC) gave Bule (FEM) to Dangura (MASC).’)

Second, the pronominal object suffix can indicate the referent of an NP expressed in an adjunct, specifically a dative-marked beneficiary or a person because of whom an action is performed, as in (5.19) and (5.20).⁴

(5.19) (a) bule dangur-í-ra (y-i-t-e)
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP (say-EP-3SG.F-CNN)

 dikko mar-t-u(-si).
 market go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F(-3SG.M)

‘Bule went to the market for Dangura.’ (with *y-i-t-e*: ‘because of Dangura’ rather than ‘for the benefit of Dangura’)

⁴ The object suffix cannot be used for other types of non-argument NPs, as in (i) and (ii).

(i) laše damboow-í-nni uddanó
 Lashe(NOM.M) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-INST clothes(ACC)

 haišš-i-siis-ø-i(*-si).
 wash-EP-DBL.CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M(-3SG.M)

‘Lashe had clothes washed by Damboowa.’

(ii) ise isí=wa ha-d-ino(*-si).
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)
 ‘She went to him.’

Thus, the pronominal object suffix could be analyzed as a zero applicative, which treats a beneficiary as a grammatical object.

- (b) bule dikko mar-t-u-si.
 Bule(NOM.F) market go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M
 ‘Bule went to the market for him.’
- (5.20) isi miné min-ø-i-nsa.
 3SG.M.NOM house(ACC) build-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3PL
 ‘He built a house for them.’

Thus, it appears that the pronominal object suffix is not devoted to grammatical objects, but rather it is used for human beings (preferably, but not necessarily, those affected by the event described by the clause). However, when there are two non-subject NPs, an argument NP and a non-argument NP, whose referents are both human and both affected by the event, the pronominal object suffix on the verb can only indicate the argument NP.

- (5.21) bule lašé-ra y-i-t-e bušé
 Bule(NOM.F) Lashe(GEN)-DAT.PROP say-EP-3SG.F-CNN Bushe(ACC)
- $$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gan-t-u-se.} \\ \text{hit-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.F} \\ \text{*gan-t-u-si.} \\ \text{hit-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M} \end{array} \right\}$$
- ‘Bule hit Bushe (FEM) for the sake of Lashe (MASC).’

Therefore, the use of the pronominal object suffix is sensitive to the argumenthood of the NP as well as the humanness of its referent.

5.1.2 Behavioral Properties of the Grammatical Relations

The behavioral properties of subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects concern the kinds of constructions where they each characteristically occur. There are

constructions relevant to subjects and direct objects in Sidaama, which are listed in (5.22).

(5.22) Subject (5.1.2.1):

- Imperative construction (5.1.2.1.1)
- Subject-control constructions (5.1.2.1.2)
- Connective, manner/concomitance, and temporal inclusion constructions (5.1.2.1.3)
- Cleft construction (The subject cannot be clefted) (5.1.2.1.4)

Direct object (5.1.2.2):

- Passive construction (5.1.2.2.1)
- Direct-object-control construction (5.1.2.2.2)

When a relative clause is formed by means of gapping, at least arguments can be relativized, whether the head of the relative clause is an NP headed by a common noun or the noun-phrase clitic. However, non-arguments can also be relativized in certain conditions. The grammatical relations of relativizable NPs are discussed later in section 5.4.

5.1.2.1 Constructions for the Subject

5.1.2.1.1 Imperative Construction

In the imperative construction, the subject of the verb is the addressee (or addressees), though the second-person pronoun subject does not appear anywhere in the construction. Examples are shown in (5.23) and (5.24).

(5.23) hakk-î-ra mar-i.
 there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL go-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Go there.’

(5.24) hakk-î-ra mar-re.
 there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL go-IMP.2PL
 (to plural addressees) ‘Go there.’

In these examples, if there were a clause with a finite verb subordinate to the main verb in the imperative, and that subordinate clause were of a type that requires its subject to be the same as that of the main verb, the subject of the subordinate clause would agree in person/number with that of the main clause (section 5.1.1.2.).⁵ For example, if a verb with the connective suffix precedes the main verb in the imperative, the person suffix preceding the connective suffix agrees in person/number with the person/number of the imperative suffix on the main verb, as in (5.25) and (5.26).

(5.25) hig-g-e hakk-î-ra mar-i.
 return-2SG-CNN there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL go-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Go there again.’ (*lit.*, ‘Return and go there.’)

(5.26) hig-gin-e hakk-î-ra mar-re.
 return-2PL-CNN there-GEN.PRON.M-ALL go-IMP.2PL
 (to plural addressees) ‘Go there again.’ (*lit.*, ‘Return and go there.’)

This provides evidence that the subject of the verb in the imperative construction is the addressee (or addressees).

In fact, however, the imperative construction cannot serve as a good test for subjecthood. It is rather a test for actorhood. In Sidaama, only in a limited context can a

⁵ See Chapter 3 sections 3.1.2.3 and 3.1.4, Chapter 4 sections 4.2.2.1.3 and 4.2.2.3.7, and section 5.1.1.2 for other constructions where the subject is indicated with the subject suffix on the subordinate verb.

passive sentence be imperative. As in (5.27)-(5.29), the passive action that can be in the imperative is normally controllable by the addressee(s). The passive imperative form of a verb cannot be used when the passive action cannot be controlled by the addressee(s), as in (5.30) and (5.31).

- (5.27) *mito-riččó* *ass-a-tt-o-ra* *alba-a-nni*
 one-thing(ACC) do-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M-DAT face-LV-LOC
- wodan-í-kki-nni* *amaal-am-i.*
 heart-GEN.MOD.M-2SG.POSS-INST advise-PASS-IMP.2SG

(to a singular addressee) ‘Before you (SG.M) do something, advise yourself with your heart.’ (*lit.*, ‘... , be advised with your heart.’)

- (5.28) *ahaah-í-kki=wa* *mar-t-e*
 grandfather-GEN.MOD.M-2SG.POSS=place go-2SG-CNN
- maas-am-i*
 bless-PASS-IMP.2SG

(to a singular addressee) ‘Go get blessing from your grandfather.’ (*lit.*, ‘Go to the place of your grandfather and be blessed.’)

- (5.29) *bulé-nni* *sunk’-am-i.*
 Bule(GEN.F)-INST kiss-PASS-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Be kissed by Bule.’

- (5.30) **š-am-i.*
 kill-PASS-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) *to mean*, ‘Be killed.’

- (5.31) **moor-am-i.*
 rob-PASS-IMP.2SG
 (to a singular addressee) *to mean*, ‘Be robbed.’

5.1.2.1.2 Subject-Control Constructions

Sidaama has two control constructions where the subject of a non-finite VP complement is the subject of the matrix clause. In one of the constructions, the infinitive form of a verb is the direct object of the matrix clause and its subject is also the subject of the matrix clause, as in (5.32) and (5.33).

(5.32) *bule* *waasá* *it-a*
 Bule(NOM.F) *waasa*(ACC) *eat-INF*(ACC)

has-i-d-u.
 look.for-EP-MID-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule wants to eat wasa.’

(5.33) *ninke* *waalčo* *č’uf-á* *ha-n-b-u-mmo.*
 1PL.NOM door(ACC) close-INF(ACC) forget-1PL-forget-S.PRF.1-1PL
 ‘We forgot to close the door.’

In addition to these verbs, subject-control verbs include other desiderative verbs and negative-desiderative verbs like (5.34a) and other types of verbs such as (5.34b).

- | | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| (5.34) a. | <i>yor-</i> ‘to want to do’
<i>hett’-</i> ‘to wish to do’
<i>bat’-</i> ‘to like to do’ | <i>laalat-</i> ‘to long to do’
<i>gib-</i> ‘to dislike to do, refuse to do’
<i>šal-</i> ‘to dislike to do’ |
| b. | <i>bag-</i> ‘to become tired of’
<i>egenn-</i> ‘to know how to do’
<i>k’aag-</i> ‘to remember to do’
<i>hoog-</i> ‘to be unable to do’
<i>mal-</i> ‘to plan to do’ | <i>af-</i> ‘to know how to do’
<i>ros-</i> ‘to learn to do, get used to doing’
<i>dand-</i> ‘to be able to do’
<i>agur-</i> ‘to stop doing, avoid doing’
<i>waaǰj-</i> ‘to fear, be too afraid to do’ |

In the other subject-control construction, the main verb takes the infinitive form of a verb followed by *-te-nni* [-GEN.F-ABL], which may be simplified to *-te* [-GEN.F], or can optionally be omitted entirely with the result that only the infinitive form of the verb remains. The subject of the verb in the infinitive in this construction has to be the same as that of the finite verb. In (5.35), the subject of *it-* has to be the same as that of *gaĵaaĵĵ-*.

(5.35)	{	it-a-te-nni eat-INF-GEN.F-ABL	}
sagalé food(ACC)	{	it-a-te eat-INF-GEN.F	}
	{	it-a eat-INF	}

gaĵaaĵĵ-i-'r-ø-i.

make.an.excuse.for.not.doing-EP-MID-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He made an excuse for not eating food.'

Verbs in the main clause that take a verb followed by *-te-nni* or its simplified forms involve the non-occurrence of an action: e.g., *gat-* 'not to do', *k'orob-* 'to restrain oneself from doing', *makkid-* 'to refuse to do'.

5.1.2.1.3 Connective, Manner/Concomitance, and Temporal Inclusion Constructions

As discussed in Chapter 4 (sections 4.2.2.3.2-4.2.2.3.4) (also Chapter 6 section 6.2.2), in the connective construction (V1-PERS-CNN V2) and the manner/concomitance

construction (V1-PERS-INF-MANNER V2), the subjects of the main verb and the subordinate verb(s) have to be the same, as in (5.36a) and (5.36b).

- (5.36)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|-----------------|
| isi
3SG.M.NOM | { | (a) dod- \emptyset -e
run-3SG.M-CNN | } | dikko
market |
| | | (b) dod- \emptyset -a-nni
run-3SG.M-INF-MANNER | | |
- mar- \emptyset -ino.
go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

- (a) ‘He ran to the market.’ (*lit.*, ‘He ran and went to the market.’)
 (b) ‘He ran to the market.’ (*lit.*, ‘He went to the market, running.’)

The temporal inclusion construction, which has the same structure as the manner/concomitance construction, also requires the subjects of the two verbs to be the same. An example is given in (5.37).

- (5.37) lat’o dibbé gan-t-a-nni
 Lat’o(NOM.F) drum(ACC) beat-3SG.F-INF-while
- sirb-i-t-u.
 sing.and.dance-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat’o sang and danced while beating drums.’

On the other hand, the infinitive-conjunctive construction, where the conjunctive enclitic =*nna* connects two clauses, requires the subjects of the conjoined clauses to be different, as in (5.38).

- (5.38) dangur-i dibbé gan-ø-a=na
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M drum(ACC) beat-3SG.M-INF=and
- lat'o sirb-i-t-u.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) sing.and.dance-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Lat'o sang and danced while Dangura was beating drums.

5.1.2.1.4 Cleft Construction (a construction that excludes the subject)

There is one construction that excludes the subject and allows the direct object, the indirect object, and non-arguments. It is the cleft construction “RC=*hu* ...=*ti*”, whose subject is the nominative singular masculine noun-phrase clitic, =*hu* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1), modified by a relative clause, and whose predicate is a focused NP or adverbial ending in the predicating noun-phrase clitic =*ti*. Note that the head of the relative clause in this construction is =*hu* regardless of the gender of the head noun of the clefted NP or the noun (if there is one) in the clefted adverbial. Examples are shown in (5.39)-(5.46). As in (5.39)-(5.42), the constituent extracted from the relative clause in this construction may be the direct or indirect object of the relative clause. The (a) examples use feminine nouns and the (b) examples use masculine nouns. In (5.39)-(5.41), the clefted NP is the direct object of the relative clause. In (5.42), the clefted NP is the indirect object of the relative clause.

(5.41) bule lat'ó-ra u-i-t-ino=hu
 Bule(NOM.F) Lat'o(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

{ (a) hinč'ilallo=ti.
 mirror=NPC.PRED.HUTI }
 { (b) wot'e=ti.
 money=NPC.PRED.HUTI }

- (a) 'It is a mirror that Bule gave to Lat'o.'
 (b) 'It is money that Bule gave to Lat'o.'

(5.42) bule hinč'ilalló u-i-t-ino=hu
 Bule(NOM.F) mirror(ACC) give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

{ (a) lat'o-ra=ti.
 Lat'o(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP=NPC.PRED.HUTI }
 { (b) damboow-i-ra=ti.
 Damboowa-GEN.PROP-DAT.PROP=NPC.PRED.HUTI }

- (a) 'It is to Lat'o that Bule gave the mirror.'
 (b) 'It is to Damboowa that Bule gave the mirror.'

The clefted constituent that immediately precedes =*ti* in this construction can also bear a non-argument relation in the first part of this construction. In (5.43)-(5.46), the subject NP headed by =*hu* is not an argument of the relative clause but an adverbial for a goal in (5.43), an accompaniment in (5.44a), a benefactive in (5.44b), a means or manner in (5.44c), (5.45), and (5.46), an instrument in (5.47), a reason in (5.48), and a purpose in (5.49).

(5.43) ise mar-t-ino=hu
 3SG.F.NOM go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

ros-ú min-í-ra=ti.
 learning-GEN.M house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL=NPC.PRED.HUTI

‘It is to school that she went.’

(5.44) lat’o dikko ha-č-ino=hu
 Lat’o(NOM.F) market go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

{	(a)	dangur-í Dangura-GEN.PROP.M	ledoo=ti. COM=NPC.PRED.HUTI	}
	(b)	dangur-í-ra=ti. Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP=NPC.PRED.HUTI		
	(c)	dod-d-a-nni=ti. run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER=NPC.PRED.HUTI		

(a) ‘It is with Dangura that Lat’o went to the market.’

(b) ‘It is for Dangura that Lat’o went to the market.’

(also, *dangur-i-ra y-i-t-e-ti* [Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP say-EP-3SG.F-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI] ‘It is for the sake of Dangura that Lat’o went to the market.’)

(c) ‘It is by running that Lat’o went to the market.’

(5.45) bule daak-k-anno=hu
 Bule swim-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.NOM

{	danča-gede=ti. good-like=NPC.PRED.HUTI	}
	danča-gede ass-i-t-e=ti. good-like do-EP-3SG.F-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI/	
	danča-gede y-i-t-e-ti. good-like say-EP-3SG.F-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI	
	danča-gede ikk-i-t-e=ti. good-like behave-EP-3SG.F-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI	

‘The way that she swims is good.’ (*lit.*, ‘It is in a good way that swims.’)

- (5.46) laše ledo min-í-ra
 Lashe(GEN) COM house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL
- da-n-g-oo-mm-o=hu faradó
 come-1PL-come-P.PRF.1-1PL=NPC.M.NOM horses(ACC)
- gulu-n-f-e=ti.
 ride-1PL-ride-CNN=NPC.PRED.HUTI
- ‘It was by riding a horse that I (M) came home with Lashe.’
- (5.47) dangur-i hatté hakk’iččó
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M that.F.ACC tree(ACC)
- mur-ø-ino=hu tenné
 cut-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM this.F.GEN
- meesané-nni=ti.
 ax(GEN.F)-INST=NPC.PRED.HUTI
 ‘It is with this ax that Dangura cut that tree.’
- (5.48) min-í-si-ra keešš-ø-e
 house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL become.late-3SG.M-CNN
- iill-ø-ino=hu beett-i-si
 arrive-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
- t’iss-am-ø-ino-daafira=ti.
 cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-because=NPC.PRED.HUTI
- ‘It is because his son was sick that he arrived home late.’
- (5.49) beettó-si-ra wot’é
 child(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-DAT.MOD.M money(ACC)
- u-ø-ino=hu č’aammá
 give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM shoes(ACC)
- hid-d-i-t-a-ra=ti.
 buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DAT=NPC.PRED.HUTI
- ‘It is in order to buy shoes that he gave money to his daughter.’

However, as shown in (5.50), the clefted constituent immediately followed by *=ti* in this construction cannot be the subject of the relative clause.⁸

- (5.50) *lat'ó gan-t-ino=hu bule=ti.
 Lat'o(ACC) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM Bule=NPC.PRED.PROP
to mean, 'The one who hit Lat'o is Bule.' (High pitch is on *o* of *lat'ó*.)⁹

5.1.2.2 Constructions for the Direct Object

5.1.2.2.1 Passive Construction

In the passive construction in Sidaama (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3.3), only the NP that would be a direct object in its active voice counterpart can be its subject, and the indirect object in the active voice is not permitted to be the subject in the passive voice.

For example, the direct object of the active construction (5.51) (*wot'e* 'money') can be

⁸ When the subject NP whose head is *=hu* has a masculine singular referent, it can be the subject of the relative clause that it heads, even when the sentence is identical in structure to the "RC=*hu* ...=*ti*" construction. For example, (i) and (ii) appear to be used in the form of the "RC=*hu* ...=*ti*" construction, but are not. The NP headed by the clitic *=hu* has a masculine singular referent, and has to be the subject or direct object of the relative clause.

- (i) lat'ó gan-ø-ino=hu dangura=ti.
 Lat'o(ACC) hit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM Dangura=NPC.PRED.PROP
 'The one (M) who hit Lat'o is Dangura.' (High pitch is on *o* of *lat'ó*.)
- (ii) lát'o gan-t-ino=hu dangura=ti.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM Dangura=NPC.PRED.PROP
 'The one (M) who Lat'o hit is Dangura.' (High pitch is on *a* of *lát'o*.)

⁹ (5.50) would be grammatical if *=hu* were replaced by the feminine noun-phrase clitic *=ti* to form a perfectly grammatical sentence, as in (i). However, the sentence is not an instance of the cleft construction; the first *=ti* is the nominative form of the noun-phrase clitic (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1, section 5.4.2.1), which is the head of the relative clause (see also footnote 6).

- (i) lat'ó gan-t-ino=ti bule=ti.
 Lat'o(ACC) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM Bule=NPC.PRED.PROP
 'The one (F) who hit Lat'o is Bule.'

the subject of the passive construction, as in (5.52), but the indirect object of (5.51) (*damboowa* ‘Damboowa’) cannot, as in (5.53).

(5.51) *dangur-i* *wot'é* *damboow-í-ra*
 Dangura-NOM.M money(ACC) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

u-ø-i.
 give-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Dangura gave the money to Damboowa.’

(5.52) *wot'-u* *damboow-í-ra*
 money-NOM.M Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

u-an-t-u.
 give-PASS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The money was given to Damboowa.’¹⁰

(5.53) **damboow-i* *wot'e u-am-ø-i.*
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M money give-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

5.1.2.2.2 Direct-Object-Control Construction

Sidaama has a control construction where the subject of a non-finite verb complement is the direct object of the finite verb.

¹⁰ Note that Sidaama typically does not express a human agent in the passive construction; thus, *dangur-í-nni* [Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-INST] ‘by Dangura’ is usually not used here (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3.3).

- (5.54)
- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|---|
| bule | dangurá | } |
| Bule(NOM.F) | Dangura(ACC) | |
| kasas-am-a-te-nni | | |
| accuse-PASS-INF-GEN.F-ABL | | |
| kasas-am-a-te | | } |
| accuse-PASS-INF-GEN.F | | |
| kasas-am-a | | |
| accuse-PASS-INF | | |

gat-i-s-s-u-si.

become.saved-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M

‘Bule saved Dangura from being accused.’

- (5.55)
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|---|
| beettó-kki | agó | } |
| child(ACC)-2SG.POSS | drinks(ACC) | |
| ag-a-te-nni | | |
| drink-INF-GEN.F-ABL | | |
| ag-a-te | | } |
| drink-INF-GEN.F | | |
| ag-a | | |
| drink-INF | | |

hool-i.

prevent-IMP.2SG

‘Prevent your (SG) child from drinking alcoholic drinks.’

In (5.54) and (5.55), the non-finite verb form is the infinitive form followed by *-te-nni* [-GEN.F-ABL] (*kasas-am-a-te-nni*, *ag-a-te-nni*), or *-te* [-GEN.F] as its abbreviated form (*kasas-am-a-te*, *ag-a-te*), or more simply just the infinitive form (*kasas-am-a*, *ag-a*).

This looks similar to one of the subject-control constructions shown in (5.35), but unlike in that construction, the subject of the infinitive form of the verb has to be the same as the direct object, rather than the subject, of the finite verb.

5.2 Word Order

5.2.1 SOV Word Order

When the arguments of a transitive verb are expressed with independent words (rather than being indicated only on the pronominal suffixes on the verb), the word order is predominantly SOV. OSV order is possible, but is used only when the subject is in focus.¹¹ For example, (5.56) and (5.57) are the same with respect to who loves whom, but (5.56) uses a word order that is neutral as to information structure, whereas (5.57) places focus on *lat'o* '[Lat'o (NOM.F)]'.

(5.56) *lat'o* *dangurá* *bat-t'-anno.*
 Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 'Lat'o loves Dangura.' (pitch accent: *lát'o dangurá bat-t'-annó.*)

(5.57) *dangurá* *lat'o* *bat-t'-anno.*
 Dangura(ACC) Lat'o(NOM.F) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 'Lat'o loves Dangura.' (pitch accent: *dangurá lát'o bat-t'-annó.*)
 (It is no one but Lat'o who loves Dangura.)

5.2.2 Structure of Noun Phrases

In Sidaama, an adnominal constituent precedes the head noun that it modifies. An attributive adjective comes before the head noun, as in (5.58).

¹¹ In Sidaama, a constituent in the preverbal position is generally focused. As discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2.4), when the negative proclitic *di=* attaches to a preverbal constituent, the constituent is contrasted with other elements in a paradigmatic relation with it, as in (i).

(i) *dangurá* *di=lat'o* *bat-t'-anno.*
 Dangura(ACC) NEG=Lat'o(NOM.F) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 'It is not Lat'o (but someone else) who loves Dangura.'

• Demonstrative — numeral — adjective — head noun

When more than one modifier occurs in an NP to modify the head noun, elements of the NP follow the order in (5.62).¹²

(5.62) (DEM) (QP) (AP) (GEN) N

No other order within the NP is possible. An example is shown in (5.63).

(5.63) *bule* *hatté* *lamé* *dančá*
 Bule(NOM.F) *that.F.ACC* *two(ACC)* *good(ACC)*

{	(a) <i>manč-ú</i>	}	<i>uddanó</i>
	<i>person-GEN.M</i>		
{	(b) <i>dangur-í</i>	}	<i>clothes(ACC)</i>
	<i>Dangura-GEN.PROP.M</i>		

daar-t-u.
 tear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) ‘Bule tore those two pieces of good clothes of the man.’
 (b) ‘Bule tore those two pieces of good clothes of Dangura.’

Also, when only some of the modifiers occur, they have to follow (5.62), as in (5.64).

¹² Different types of adjectives modifying the same noun in an NP occupy different positions in that NP. For their ordering relations, see Chapter 3 (section 3.1.3.1).

- (5.64) (a)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-----------|---|------|--------------------|
| bule | hatté | dančá | { | (a1) | manč-ú |
| Bule(NOM.F) | that.F.ACC | good(ACC) | | (a2) | dangur-í |
| | | | | | Dangura-GEN.PROP.M |
-
- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| uddanó | daar-t-u. |
| clothes(ACC) | tear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F |
- (a1) ‘Bule tore those good clothes of the man.’
(a2) ‘Bule tore those good clothes of Dangura.’
- (b)
- | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|---|------|--------------------|
| bule | hatté | { | (b1) | manč-ú |
| Bule(NOM.F) | that.F.ACC | | (b2) | dangur-í |
| | | | | Dangura-GEN.PROP.M |
-
- | | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| uddanó | daar-t-u. |
| clothes(ACC) | tear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F |
- (b1) ‘Bule tore those clothes of the man.’
(b2) ‘Bule tore those clothes of Dangura.’
- (c)
- | | | | |
|-------------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| bule | lamé | dančá | uddanó |
| Bule(NOM.F) | two(ACC) | good(ACC) | clothes(ACC) |
-
- | |
|------------------------|
| daar-t-u. |
| tear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F |
- ‘Bule tore two pieces of good clothes.’

(5.62) shows that a genitive noun immediately precedes the head noun. When another adnominal comes right before the genitive noun–head noun sequence, the case of the genitive noun (and that of the adnominal demonstrative, numeral, or adjective), which has different forms depending on whether the genitive noun is Modified or Unmodified, reveals whether the adnominal modifies the genitive noun or the noun that that genitive noun modifies; thus, no ambiguity occurs. Examples are shown in (5.65) and (5.66)

- (5.65) (a) bule dančá manč-ú
 Bule(NOM.F) good(ACC) person-GEN.M
- uddanó daar-t-u.
 clothes(ACC) tear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bule tore the man’s good clothes.’
- (b) bule danč-ú manč-í
 Bule(NOM.F) good-GEN.M person-GEN.MOD.M
- uddanó daar-t-u.
 clothes(ACC) tear-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bule tore the good man’s clothes.’
- (5.66) (a) seéda beettó-te ródo dag-g-ino.
 tall(NOM.F) child-GEN.F sibling(NOM.F) come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
- ‘The woman’s tall sister came.’
- (b) seedá beettó rodo
 tall(GEN.F) child(GEN.MOD.F) sibling(NOM.F)
- dag-g-ino.
 come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
- ‘The sister of the tall woman came.’

There is one case where the genitive noun can come at the beginning of any other adnominal, and thus the order in (5.62) does not apply. As in (5.67) and (5.68), when the genitive noun is followed by the definite suffix and the noun-phrase clitic that agrees in case and gender with the head noun, that genitive noun can precede any other adnominal constituent.

(5.67) wošičč-ú-nni=ti wajjido lekka
 dog-GEN.M-DEF=NPC.F.NOM white(NOM.F) leg(NOM.F)

hara'madda=te.
 short.PL=NPC.F.PRED

‘The male dog’s white legs are short.’

(5.68) ani wošičč-ú-nni=ta wajjidó lekká
 1SG.NOM dog-GEN.M-DEF=NPC.F.ACC white(ACC) leg(ACC)

la'-u-mm-o.
 see-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) saw the male dog’s white legs.’

• Relative clause — head noun

The head of a relative clause, which is either a common noun as in (5.69) or the noun-phrase clitic as in (5.70) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1), is external to the relative clause and follows it (section 5.4). In (5.69) and (5.70), the relative clauses are in square brackets, and their heads are in italics.

(5.69) ise [lubbó-'ya gat-i-s-ø-ino]
 3SG.F.NOM life(ACC)-1SG.POSS become.saved-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

beetto=ti.
 child=NPC.PRED.MOD

‘She is the child who saved my life.’

(5.70) [lubbó-'ya gat-i-s-ø-ino]=*ti*
 life(ACC)-1SG.POSS become.saved-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM

beetto=*te*.
 child=NPC.F.PRED

‘The one (F) who saved my life is a child.’

• Relative clause — other adnominal(s) — head noun

When the head of an NP is modified by a relative clause and by another adnominal constituent, the order is relative clause — other adnominal(s) — head noun. Examples are shown in (5.71)-(5.73). When there is only one adnominal between the relative clause and the head noun, as in (5.71) and (5.72), the noun-phrase clitic that agrees in case and gender with the head noun optionally occurs at the end of the relative clause. On the other hand, when there is more than one adnominal between the relative clause and the head noun, as in (5.73), the noun-phrase clitic that agrees in case and gender with the head noun has to occur at the end of the relative clause.

(5.71) ani [bule la'-'-ino(=*ta/ha*)]
 1SG.NOM Bule(NOM.F) see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(=NPC.M.ACC)

seedá beettó af-oo-mm-o.
 tall(ACC) child(ACC) get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) know the tall child who Bule saw.’

with =*ta*: ‘I (M) know the tall girl who Bule saw.’

with =*ha*: ‘I (M) know the tall boy who Bule saw.’

- (5.74) [isi seekk-ø-ino=hu] isé
 3SG.M.NOM repair-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN
- t'arap'ees-i hiikk'-am-ø-ino.
 table-NOM.MOD.M break-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- ‘Her table that he repaired got broken.’

When a relative clause immediately precedes the genitive noun–head noun sequence, the case of the genitive noun, which has different forms depending on whether it is Modified or Unmodified, can usually show whether the relative clause modifies the genitive noun or the noun that that genitive noun modifies.

- (5.75) [la'-oo-mm-o(=hu)] manč-ú
 see-P.PRF.1-1SG-M(=NPC.M.NOM) person-GEN.M
- wošičč-i dut-ø-a-mni no.
 dog-NOM.MOD bark-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘The man’s dog (M) that I (M) saw is barking.’

-
- (i)
- | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|---|
| ani
1SG.NOM | [bule
Bule(NOM.F)] | { | usur-t-ino]
fasten-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
usur-t-ino=ha]
fasten-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
usur-t-ino=hu-ra]
fasten-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-DAT | } |
| isi
3SG.M.GEN | hand-í-ra
ox-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD | | haissó
grass(ACC) | |
- o-o-mm-o.
give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) gave grass to his ox that Bule fastened.’

the comparative construction that is used most commonly when the predicate is an adjective or a state-change verb; the adverb *roore* ‘exceedingly’ or *ale-nni* ‘exceedingly’ (*lit.*, ‘aboveness-LOC’) (or simply *ale*) can occur optionally between the comparative adjunct and the predicate for the quality. For an action verb predicate, the causative form of the verb *roor-* ‘to exceed’, rather than the adverb *roore*, which is used as a subordinate verb with the connective suffix, occurs between the comparative adjunct and the predicate, as in (5.79).

- (5.78) *bule* *dangur-î-nni* (*roore/ale-nni/ale*)
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL (exceedingly)

{ *seeda=ho.*
 tall=NPC.M.PRED
 seed-d-anno.
 become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3 }

‘Bule is taller than Dangura.’

- (5.79) *bule* *dangur-î-nni* *roor-s-i-t-e*
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL exceed-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-CNN

{ (a) *dod-d-anno.*
 run-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 (b) *dod-d-ino.*
 run-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 }

- (a) ‘Bule runs better than Dangura.’
 (b) ‘Bule ran better than Dangura.’

• Manner adverb — verb

Sidaama has only one lexical manner verb: *sununni* ‘slowly’ (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4). It precedes the verb it modifies, as in (5.80), like all other types of adverbials

(other non-lexical manner adverbials and both lexical and non-lexical non-manner adverbials).

(5.80) sununni (y-ø-e) k'aaf-ø-a-nni
slowly (say-3SG.M-CNN) take.steps-3SG.M-INF-MANNER

no.
exist.P.PERF.3

'He is taking steps slowly.'

• Verb — tense/aspect auxiliary verb

There are two verbs that serve as aspect auxiliary verbs: the existential verb (*lit.*, 'to come to exist, come to be located') (*no* for a third-person subject) and the verb for 'to live' *heed-* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1). The existential verb is always in one of its present perfect forms, and does not have any other aspect forms; it cannot occur with the infinitive suffix or the connective suffix. It can follow a content verb to constitute the present-progressive form of the verb with the infinitive form of that verb followed by the manner/concomitance suffix *-nni*, as in (5.81), or the present continuous verb form with the connective form of another verb, as in (5.82).

(5.81) insa got-t'-a-nni no.
3PL.NOM sleep-3PL-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3
'They are in the process of going to sleep.'

(5.82) insa got-t'-e no.
3PL.NOM sleep-3PL-CNN exist.P.PRF.3
'They have been sleeping.'

Instead of the literal meaning of ‘to live’, *heed-* can express an action or state in the past that does not hold anymore at the time of utterance, as in (5.83) and (5.84). When used this way, *heed-* is always in the third-person singular simple perfect (*hee’r-ø-i* [live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M]), regardless of the person and number of the subject; it follows a verb in the present perfect or in the imperfect, whose suffix has information on the person and number of the subject.

- (5.83) ani bero hudi’r-oo-mm-o
 1SG.NOM yesterday become.hungry-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

 hee’r-ø-i.
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘I (M) got hungry yesterday.’ (I am not hungry anymore now.)

- (5.84) ani tulló-te aana hee’r-ee-mm-a
 1SG.NOM mountain-GEN.F top live-IMPRF.1-1SG-F

 hee’r-ø-i.
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘I (F) used to live in the mountain.’ (I do not live in the mountain anymore now.)

Thus, when used these ways, the two aspect auxiliary verbs both follow the main verbs.

• Complement clause — complementizer

Sidaama forms a complement clause (an object-complement clause) with either the noun-phrase clitic =*ta* (F)/=*ha* (M) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1) or the complementizer suffix *-gede* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8), as in (5.85).

- (5.85) *laše* *ga'a*
 Lashe(NOM.M) tomorrow
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------|
| { | <i>da-∅-anno=ta</i>
<i>come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.CMPL</i> | } | <i>kul-∅-ino-'e.</i> |
| { | <i>da-∅-anno-gede</i>
<i>come-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=CMPL</i> | } | <i>tell-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-1SG</i> |
- ‘Lashe told me that he would come tomorrow.’

• Interrogative words in the predicate or pre-predicate position

Sidaama interrogative words (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.7), which can be pronouns, adnominals, or adverbs, are sensitive to information structure, and occur most commonly either in the predicate position or in the immediately pre-predicate position, though they could also be analyzed as remaining in situ.

Generally, a constituent in the predicate position followed by the predicate form of the noun-phrase clitic (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1) provides new information. For example, in (5.86) and (5.87), *dangura* and *hakko mančo* (or only *hakko*, depending on the context) convey new information, respectively.

- (5.86) hakku manč-i dangura=ti.
 that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M Dangura=NPC.PRED.PROP
 ‘That man is Dangura.’
- (5.87) dangur-i hakko mančo=ti.
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M that.M person=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘Dangura is that man.’

Also, as discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2.4), generally in Sidaama, an immediately pre-predicate constituent is in focus. For example, (5.88) and (5.89), which both use the existential/locational verb and consist of the same words with different arrangements, are usually interpreted differently as shown in their glosses; (5.88) places prominence on the location, whereas (5.89) on the located object.

- (5.88) aduriččo t’arap’ees-ú woro no.
 cat(NOM.F) table-GEN.M bottom exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘The cat is under the table.’
- (5.89) t’arap’ees-ú woro aduriččo no.
 table-GEN.M bottom cat(NOM.F) exist.P.PRF.3
 ‘There is a cat under the table.’

Because interrogative words concern unknown or new information, they tend to occur either in the predicate position or in the immediately pre-predicate position.

(5.90) and (5.91) are examples where the word for ‘who’ is a predicate.

- (5.90) kuni beett-i ae=ho ?
 this.M.NOM child-NOM.MOD.M who.GEN=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘Whose is this boy?’ (*lit.*, ‘This boy is whose?’)

- (5.91) kawa dag-g-ino=ti ae=ti ?
 here come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM who=NPC.PRED.Q
 ‘Who is the one (F) who came here?’ (*lit.*, ‘The one (F) who came here is who?’)

In (5.90) and (5.91), the interrogative word could be regarded as staying in situ, because it can be replaced by a non-interrogative NP in their declarative counterparts. Compare (5.90) and (5.91) with (5.90’) and (5.91’), respectively.

- (5.90’) kuni beett-i dangur-i=ho.
 this.M.NOM child-NOM.MOD.M Dangura-GEN.PROP.M=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘This boy is Dangura’s.’

- (5.91’) kawa dag-g-ino=ti buše=ti.
 here come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM Bushe=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘The one (F) who came here is Bushe.’

When an interrogative word is not a predicate, the interrogative word or the interrogative phrase is most likely to occur right before the predicate, regardless of its grammatical relation, though it can occur in any position. Examples are shown in (5.92)-(5.97). The interrogative word or the interrogative phrase is a subject (5.92), the possessor of a subject in (5.93), a direct object in (5.94), the possessor of a direct object in (5.95), an indirect object in (5.96), and an oblique in (5.97).¹⁴

¹⁴ (5.92) is an example of the dative external possessor construction, and (5.97) is an example of the oblique possessum external possessor construction (section 5.3; Kawachi 2006a, 2007b).

- (5.92) lat'ó-ra gura-a-nni ai
 Lat'o(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP left-LV-LOC.LOC who.NOM
- no ?
 exist.P.PRF.3
- 'Who is on the left of Lat'o?' (*lit.*, 'To Lat'o, who came to exist on the left?')
- (5.93) bulé aé rod-i
 Bule(ACC) who.GEN sibling-NOM.MOD.M
- gan-ø-i ?
 hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'Whose brother hit Bule?'
- (5.94) bero laše ma
 yesterday Lashe(NOM.F) what.ACC
- ass-ø-i ?
 do-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'What did Lashe do yesterday?' (*lit.*, 'Lashe did what yesterday?')
- (5.95) wošičč-u aé sagalé it-ø-i ?
 dog-NOM.M who.GEN food(ACC) eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'Whose food did the male dog eat?' (*lit.*, 'The male dog ate whose food?')
- (5.96) bule hinč'ilalló aé-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) mirror(ACC) who.GEN-DAT.PRON.M
- u-i-t-u ?
 give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'Who did Bule give the mirror to?' (*lit.*, 'Bule gave mirror to whom?')
- (5.97) hakkó manč-í mariččo lowo=ho ?
 that.M.GEN person.GEN.MOD.M what(OBL) big=NP.C.M.PRED
 'With respect to what is that man big?' (*lit.*, 'That man is big with respect to what?')

In each of these examples as well, the interrogative word could be analyzed as occurring in situ — a non-interrogative constituent can substitute for it in the same position of their declarative counterparts. Compare (5.92), (5.93), (5.95), (5.96), and (5.97) to (5.92'), (5.93'), (5.95'), (5.96'), and (5.97'), respectively.

(5.92') lat'ó-ra gura-a-nni
 Lat'o(GEN.F)-DAT.PROP left-LV-LOC.LOC

rod-i-'ya no.
 sibling-NOM.MOD.M-1SG.POSS exist.P.PRF.3

'My brother is on the left of Lat'o?' (*lit.*, 'To Lat'o, my brother came to exist on the left?')

(5.93') bulé dangur-í rod-i
 Bule(ACC) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M sibling-NOM.MOD.M

gan-ø-i ?
 hit-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Dangura's brother hit Bule.'

(5.95') wošičč-u dangur-í sagalé
 dog-NOM.M Dangura-GEN.PROP.M food(ACC)

it-ø-i.
 eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'The male dog ate Dangura's food.'

(5.96') bule hinč'ilalló ané-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) mirror(ACC) 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON.M

u-i-t-u.
 give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bule give the mirror to me.'

constituent is in focus. (5.100') has an unmarked order, and (5.101') is an instance of the connective construction (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.3, section 5.1.2.1.3), where the subordinate verb usually occurs immediately before the main verb. Thus, in (5.100) and (5.101), the position of the interrogative word can be regarded as either pre-predicate or in situ.

(5.98') bule sagalé bero hašša it-t-ino.
 Bule(NOM.F) food(ACC) yesterday night eat-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'Bule ate food last night.'

(5.99') dangur-i hatté hakk'iččo
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M that.F.ACC tree(ACC)

meesané-te-nni mur-ø-i.
 ax-GEN.F-INST cut-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Dangura cut that tree with an ax.'

(5.100') bule dangur-í-nni seeda=te.
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL tall=NPC.F.PRED
 'Bule is taller than Dangura.'

(5.101') k'aakk'-u min-í-ra bod-ø-e
 baby-NOM.M house-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD crawl-3SG.M-CNN

e'-ø-i.
 enter-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'The baby boy entered the house, crawling'

There is one exception to the preferred occurrence of an interrogative word in the predicate or pre-predicate position. In one type of external possessor construction, the oblique external possessor construction (section 5.3; Kawachi 2006a), where the possessor NP comes before the possessum NP, if the possessor NP is expressed with one

of the interrogative pronouns, the possessor-possessum order is likely to be maintained. For example, the order in (5.102a) is preferred over that in (5.102b).

- (5.102) (a) ai mačč’á lowo=ho ?
 who.NOM ear(OBL) large=NPC.M.PRED
- (b) mačč’á ai lowo=ho ?
 ear(OBL) who.NOM large=NPC.M.PRED

‘Whose ears are large?’ (*lit.*, ‘Who is large with respect to ears?’)

5.3 External Possessor Constructions

Sidaama has two types of external possessor constructions (EPCs). Examples are shown in (5.103a) and (5.103b). In one type exemplified by (5.103a), the possessum noun is in the oblique case; the possessor, which is in the nominative case in this example, is not in the same NP as the possessum. In the other type illustrated in (5.103b), the possessor is in the dative case, and likewise does not form a constituent with the possessum.

- (5.103) (a) hakku manč-i hat’ó
 that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M nape(OBL)
- daafur-t-u.
 become.tired-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The back of that man’s neck got tired.’ (*lit.*, ‘That man got tired with respect to the back of the neck.’)

- (b) *hakkó* *manč-í-ra* *hat'o*
 that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD nape(NOM.F)

daafur-t-u.
 become.tired-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The back of that man’s neck got tired.’ (*lit.*, ‘The back of the neck got tired to that man.’)

In contrast, possession is internally expressed within an NP in (5.103c). In this example, the possessor NP *hakkó manč-í* [that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M], which is in the genitive case, modifies the possessum noun *hat'o* [nape(NOM.F)] within the NP *hakkó manč-i hat'o*.

- (5.103) (c) *hakkó* *manč-í* *hat'o*
 that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M nape(NOM.F)

daafur-t-u.
 become.tired-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The back of that man’s neck got tired.’

As shown in (5.103a) and (5.103b), in EPCs, the possessor is expressed in a constituent external to the possessum NP (e.g., Chappell and McGregor 1996, Payne and Barshi 1999). Typically, the possessor is an extra participant, which is not required by the valency of the verb but is still expressed as a core argument. Crosslinguistically the most common construction types of EPCs are double accusatives (e.g., Bally 1996[1926]), applicatives (e.g., Blake 1984), possessum noun incorporations (e.g., Mithun 1996), and dative possessor constructions (e.g., Bally 1996[1926], König and

Haspelmath 1998, Haspelmath 1999, Kawachi 2007b). An example of each construction is shown below.

double accusatives:

e.g., Homeric Greek (Odyssey XiX: 356 cited in Bally 1996[1926]: 37)

(5.104) he se podas nipsei.
 Def:NOM:sg 2:ACC:sg feet:ACC:pl wash:Fut:3SG
 ‘She will wash your feet.’

applicatives:

e.g., Pitta-Pitta (Australian) (Blake 1984: 449)

(5.105) katyu-nha nga-thu watyama-la-kayapiri-nha.
 clothes-ACC I-ERG wash-GOAL-PAST father-ACC
 ‘I washed father the clothes.’¹⁵

possessum noun incorporations:

e.g., Mohawk (Iroquoian) (Mithun 1996: 643)

(5.106) wa-hi-kuhs-ohare-ʔ.
 PAST-1SG:AGT/3SG.M:PAT-face-wash-PUNCTUAL
 ‘I washed his face.’ (*lit.*, ‘I facewashed him.’)

dative possessor constructions:

e.g., German (König and Haspelmath 1998: 526, Haspelmath 1999: 109)

(5.107) *Die Mutter wusch dem Kind die Haare.*
 the mother washed the.DAT child the.ACC hair
 ‘The mother washed the child’s hair.’

Body-part locative constructions with the possessum NP “demoted” to part of a PP (e.g., English: *pinch him in the belly*) are sometimes also included among EPCs (e.g., Fox 1981).

¹⁵ This is the literal gloss provided by Blake in order to contrast it with another example where the father is expressed as a beneficiary.

German (Heine 1997: 164)

(5.108) Der Hund hat Paula ins Bein gebissen.
 the dog has Paula in.the leg bitten
 ‘The dog bit Paula in the leg.’

An EPC is used not to express possession directly (for example, with a predicate of possession or of location, or by means of morphological marking on the possessor or possessum noun), but two of the participating entities in the EPC are understood to be in a possessive relation. On the other hand, in internal possessor constructions (IPCs), the possessor is expressed internally to the NP whose head is the possessum (i.e., the possessor NP is a dependent of the possessum) and possession is commonly specified, for example, by the genitive case of the possessor or by a possessive affix on the possessum noun.

In some languages, possessive relations within NPs (IPCs) are marked differently depending on whether the possession is alienable (“roughly, ownership, socially and economically conferred”) or inalienable (“inborn, inherent, not conferred by purchase”) (Nichols 1988: 568) (inalienability distinction, henceforth). Haiman (1985) proposes a universal hierarchy of inalienability (kinsmen or body parts > artifacts), on which different languages set their own cutoff points. Nichols (1986, 1988) also claims that lexically marked, inalienably possessed nouns form a closed set, in accordance with an implicational hierarchy similar to the one that Haiman proposes (kin terms and/or body parts > part-whole and/or spatial relations > culturally basic possessed items). It has often been assumed that EPCs have a preference for inalienable over alienable possession and that EPCs can show contrast to their IPC counterparts with regard to inalienability, which fits into a universal hierarchy (similar to the ones that Haiman and Nichols propose

for the inalienability distinction within NPs) (e.g., Chappell and McGregor 1996, Payne and Barshi 1999). For example, Payne and Barshi (1999) propose the following hierarchy for the types of possessum nouns used in EPCs on which EPCs in different languages have different cutoff points: body part > part-whole > other inalienable > alienable+proximate > distal+non-possessable. However, there is no reason to be able to take it for granted that inalienability as a criterion for lexical classification of nouns applies to the difference between EPCs and their IPC counterparts (Mithun 1996, 2001, Kawachi 2006). In Sidaama, the EPCs and the IPC are not necessarily in contrast with each other (though they may be presented below as if they were). Possession is specified within the IPC by means of possessive marking, but in the case of the EPCs, possession is inferred from the construction. They use very different mechanisms.

The rest of the present section on EPCs is organized as follows. Section 5.3.1 is an overview of the two types of Sidaama EPCs. It first provides evidence for the treatment of these constructions as EPCs (section 5.3.1.1), and gives examples of their different construction patterns (section 5.3.1.2). It then discusses differences between the two types of EPCs (section 5.3.1.3), and describes their characteristics (5.3.1.4). Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3 focus on the Oblique EPC and the Dative EPC, respectively, and describe their characteristics by comparing them with other types of constructions.

5.3.1 Overview of the Two Types of External Possessor Constructions

5.3.1.1 Why they are External Possessor Constructions

As mentioned above, Sidaama has two types of EPCs, an oblique possessum EPC (Oblique EPC) and a dative possessor EPC (Dative EPC).¹⁶ In the Oblique EPC, the possessum NP, which could be translated literally as ‘with respect to the possessum’, is an oblique marked with a suprafixed consisting of high pitch on the final vowel segment, and the possessor NP assumes the syntactic role that the possessum NP in the IPC counterpart would fill. On the other hand, the Dative EPC, marks the possessor with the dative, and the possessum NP is in the same syntactic status as in the IPC counterpart. The patterns of grammatical relations in the two types of EPCs are discussed in section 5.3.1.2.

An example of the Oblique EPC is given in (5.109a) and an example of the Dative EPC in (5.109b). Their IPC counterpart is shown in (5.109c).

¹⁶ The existence of the Dative EPC in Sidaama is at odds with König and Haspelmath’s (1998 and Haspelmath 1999) hypothesis that it is an areal property of Europe found nowhere else in the world. See Kawachi (2007b) for details.

- (5.109) (a) beett-u wosinčo lekká
 child-NOM.M guest(ACC) foot(OBL)

haišš-ø-ino(-si).
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘The boy washed the guest’s feet.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the guest with respect to the feet.’)

with the suffix *-si*: ‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the guest (M) with respect to the feet.’)

- (b) beett-u wosinčo-ho lekká
 child-NOM.M guest-DAT.M foot(ACC)

haišš-ø-ino(-si).
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the feet to the guest (M).’)

- (c) beett-u wosinč-ú lekká
 child-NOM.M guest-GEN.M foot(ACC)

haišš-ø-ino(*-si).
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’

In the IPC, the possessor NP and the possessum NP form a single constituent. For example, in (5.109c), *wosinč-ú lekka* forms an NP. On the other hand, both in the Oblique EPC and the Dative EPC, the possessor NP and the possessum NP are separate constituents. First, unlike the IPC, where the possessor NP and the possessum NP are pronounced with a single intonational contour and without any pause between them, in either type of EPC, the two NPs belong to different intonation contours, and a pause usually occurs between them. Second, as indicated in in (5.109), the Oblique EPC and the Dative EPC can use the pronominal object suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.6, section

5.1.1.2) that refers to an animate possessor. The pronominal object suffix is used usually for a primary object or a beneficiary, and cannot be used for the possessor of the IPC, as in (5.109c). This shows that, in (5.109a) and (5.109b), *wosinčo* ‘guest’ is a dependent of the verb and is not a dependent of the possessum *lekká* ‘foot’. Third, unlike the IPC, which prohibits an adverbial from intervening between the possessor NP and the possessum NP, as shown in (5.109a’) and (5.109b’), both the Dative EPC and the Oblique EPC allow the occurrence of an adverbial in this position.

(5.109’) (a) beett-u wosinčo bero lekká
 child-NOM.M guest(ACC) yesterday foot(OBL)

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘The boy washed the guest’s feet yesterday.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the guest with respect to the feet yesterday.’)

(b) beett-u wosinčo-ho bero lekká
 child-NOM.M guest-DAT.M yesterday foot(ACC)

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet yesterday.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the feet to the guest (M) yesterday.’)

(c) *beett-u wosinč-ú bero lekká
 child-NOM.M guest-GEN.M yesterday foot(ACC)

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

to mean, ‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet yesterday.’

Moreover, unlike in the IPC, in the Dative EPC and the Oblique EPC, the order of the constituents other than the verb is relatively flexible, though the possessor NP normally has to precede the possessum NP. Thus, the agent NP cannot occur between the possessor NP and the possessum NP in the IPC example (5.109c''), whereas it can in the Dative EPC example (5.109b'') and the Oblique EPC example (5.109a'').

- (5.109'') (a) *wosinčó beett-u lekká haišš-ø-ino.*
 guest(ACC) child-NOM.M foot(OBL) wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'The boy washed the guest's feet.' (*lit.*, 'The boy washed the guest with respect to the feet.')
- (b) *wosinčo-ho beett-u lekká haišš-ø-ino.*
 guest-DAT.M child-NOM.M foot(ACC) wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'The boy washed the guest's (M) feet.' (*lit.*, 'The boy washed the feet to the guest (M).')
- (c) **wosinč-ú beett-u lekká haišš-ø-ino.*
 guest-GEN.M child-NOM.M foot(ACC) wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
to mean, 'The boy washed the guest's (M) feet.'¹⁷

Finally, in the Dative EPC, the possessum noun can be marked with the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to an animate possessor, even when the possessor NP occurs elsewhere, as in (5.109b''). In the Oblique EPC, the use of the possessive pronominal suffix in addition to the expression of an animate possessor with a full noun or pronoun is sometimes judged as redundant, though it is not ungrammatical, as in (5.109a''). On the other hand, in the IPC, the possessum noun can never be marked with the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to an animate possessor when the possessor NP is already expressed with a full noun or pronoun in the genitive case, as in (5.109c''). The head of

¹⁷ If (5.109'')c) were pronounced as *wosinč-u beett-ú lekká haišš-ø-ino* [guest-NOM.M child-GEN.M foot(ACC) wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3], the sentence would mean 'The male guest washed the boy's feet.'

an NP cannot be modified by a genitive noun or pronoun and accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix at the same time.

(5.109'') (a) beett-u wosinčó lekká-si
 child-NOM.M guest(ACC) foot(OBL)-3SG.M.POSS

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the guest (M) with respect to the feet.’)

(b) beett-u wosinčo-ho lekká-si
 child-NOM.M guest-DAT.M foot(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the feet to the guest (M).’)

(c) *beett-u wosinč-ú lekká-si
 child-NOM.M guest-GEN.M foot(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS

haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

to mean, ‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’

For these reasons, the possessor NP is external to the possessum NP in both the Oblique EPC and the Dative EPC. This applies not only to the two types of EPCs with a transitive verb predicate like (5.109)-(5.109''), but also to the two types of EPCs with other types of predicates (an intransitive verb and an adjective).

5.3.1.2 Examples of the Two Types of External Possessor Constructions with Three Predicate Types

Both the Oblique EPC and the Dative EPC can use one of the three kinds of predicates, a transitive verb, an intransitive verb, or an adjective as their predicate. When they use these kinds of predicates, the two types of EPCs and their IPC counterparts exhibit the following grammatical relation patterns, depending on the type of the predicate (there is another pattern of the Dative EPC, which is discussed later in section in 5.3.3). When the predicate is a transitive verb, the direct object is the possessor in the Oblique EPC, and is the possessum in the Dative EPC. When the predicate is an intransitive verb or an adjective, the subject is the possessor in the Oblique EPC, and is the possessum in the Dative EPC. In the IPC counterparts of the two types of EPCs, when the predicate is a transitive verb, the possessum is the direct object, as in the Dative EPC, and when the predicate is an intransitive verb or an adjective, the possessum is the subject, as in the Oblique EPC.

Examples of the Oblique EPC, the Dative EPC, and their IPC counterpart are presented below in (5.111)-(5.133). They are organized according to the type of possessive relation shown in (5.110).

- (5.110)(i) possessor: animate entity, possessum: body part
 (ii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: kinsmen
 (iii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: artifact/belongings
 (iv) possessor: inanimate entity, possessum: part

Examples of each possessive relation type are divided into three predicate types, a transitive verb (e.g., *mur-* ‘to cut’), an intransitive verb (e.g., *t’ur-* ‘to become dirty’), and

an adjective (e.g., *seeda* ‘long, tall’), each expressed by (a) the Oblique EPC, (b) the Dative EPC, and (c) the IPC. After examples of the three types of constructions, other possessor-possessum combinations are listed (for the possessor labeled as ‘(someone)’, any type of NP that refers to a person can be used). Though it is possible to mark possession with the possessive pronominal suffix or the pronominal object on the verb in the two types of EPCs, as mentioned earlier, the following examples do not contain any of these suffixes in (5.111)-(5.133).

Note that the Dative EPC usually conveys a beneficial or adversative experience of the possessor from the speaker’s point of view, rather than simply expressing the possessive relationship between the two entities, though it is not reflected in the English glosses of the Dative EPC examples. Note also that when the possessum noun is an optionally possessed noun in the Dative EPC, as in (5.123b), (5.125b), and (5.127b), the sentence also has a non-EPC interpretation, specifically a benefactive interpretation or a *judicantis* interpretation (König and Haspelmath 1998; Haspelmath 1999; e.g., English: ‘This suitcase is too heavy for her.’). These points are discussed later.

(i) possessor: animate entity, possessum: body part

(5.111), (5.113), (5.115) show cases where the possessor is an animate entity and the possessum is one of her/his/its body parts. (5.111a)-(5.111c) use a transitive verb predicate, (5.113a)-(5.113c’) an intransitive verb predicate, and (5.115a)-(5.115c’) an adjective predicate. Regardless of the type of predicate, either type of EPC can be used. Note that when the possessor in the IPC is a pronominal, it may be expressed with the possessive pronominal suffix, as in (5.113c) and (5.115c), or with the genitive pronoun,

as in (5.113c') and (5.115c'). This applies to other types of possessor-possessum combinations as well.

(5.111) Predicate: transitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

ise hakkó mančó k'ubbiččó
3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) finger(OBL)

mur-t-u.
cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut that man's finger.' (*lit.*, 'She cut that man with respect to the finger.')

(b) Dative EPC

ise hakkó manč-í-ra
3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

k'ubbiččó mur-t-u.
finger(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut that man's finger.' (*lit.*, 'She cut the finger to that man.')

(c) IPC

ise hakkó manč-í k'ubbiččó
3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M finger(ACC)

mur-t-u.
cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut that man's finger.'

(5.112)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	fitt'- 'to comb'	(someone)	danančo 'hair'
	hangaar- 'to scratch'	(someone)	bađe 'back'
	f- 'to wipe'	(someone)	alba 'face'
	sunk'- 'to kiss'	(someone)	bakk'alla 'cheek'
	kad- 'to step on'	(someone)	lekka 'foot'
	kilkiliččo ass- 'to tickle'	(someone)	lekka 'foot'
	ga'm- 'to bite'	(someone)	anga 'arm, hand'
	laat'- 'to lick'	(someone)	anga 'arm, hand'
	la'- 'to examine'	(someone)	ille 'eye'
	usur- 'to fasten'	faraššo 'horse'	goowa 'neck'
	mur- 'to cut'	hamaššo 'snake'	farro 'tail'

(5.113) Predicate: intransitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

isi k'ubbiččo t'ur-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM finger(OBL) become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'His fingers became/are dirty.' (*lit.*, 'He became dirty with respect to the
 finger.')

(b) Dative EPC

isí-ra k'ubbičč-u
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON finger-NOM.M

t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'His fingers became/are dirty.' (*lit.*, 'The finger became dirty to him.')

(c) IPC

k'ubbičč-i-si t'ur-ø-i.
 finger-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'His fingers became/are dirty.'

(c') IPC

isí k'ubbičč-i t'ur-ø-i.
 3SG.M.GEN finger-NOM.MOD.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'His fingers became/are dirty.'

(5.114)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	šam- ‘to become wet’	(someone)	danaančo ‘hair’
	mool- ‘to become dry’	(someone)	hunkee ‘sweat’
	madid- ‘to become wounded’	(someone)	lekka ‘leg’
	woiyaab- ‘to get better’	(someone)	mada ‘wound’
	t’issam- ‘to become painful’	(someone)	lekka ‘leg’

(5.115) Predicate: adjective

(a) Oblique EPC

isi	lekká	seeda=ho.
3SG.M.NOM	leg(OBL)	long=NPC.M.PRED
‘His legs are long.’ (<i>lit.</i> , ‘He is long/tall with respect to the legs.’)		

(b) Dative EPC

isí-ra	lekka	seeda=te.
3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON	leg(NOM.F)	long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
‘His legs are long.’ (<i>lit.</i> , ‘The legs are long to him.’)		

(c) IPC

lekka-si	seeda=te.
leg(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS	long=NPC.F.PRED
‘His legs are long.’	

(c’) IPC

isí	lekka	seeda=te.
3SG.M.GEN	leg(NOM.F)	long=NPC.F.PRED
‘His legs are long.’		

(5.116)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	lowo ‘large’	(someone)	umo ‘head’
	biifado ‘beautiful’	(someone)	danančo ‘hair’
	moola ‘dry’	(someone)	afo ‘mouth’
	duume ‘red’	(someone)	ille ‘eye’
	kaaǰjado ‘strong’	hando ‘ox’	buuda ‘horn’
	seeda ‘long’	hilleessa ‘rabbit’	mač’a ‘ear’

(ii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: kinsmen

(5.117), (5.119), and (5.121) are examples where the possessor is an animate entity and the possessum is his/her kinsmen. The Dative EPC can be used for this type of possession, as in (5.117b), (5.119b), and (5.121b), but the Oblique EPC cannot, as in (5.117a), (5.119a), and (5.121a), whichever type of predicate is used.

(5.117) Predicate: transitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

*ise hakkó mančó anná
3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) father(OBL)

mur-t-u.
cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

to mean, ‘She cut that man’s father.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut that man with respect to the father.’)

(b) Dative EPC

ise hakkó manč-í-ra
3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

anná mur-t-u.
father(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that man’s father.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the father to that man.’)

(c) IPC

ise hakkó manč-í anná
3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M father(ACC)

mur-t-u.
cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that man’s father.’

(5.118)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	haišš- ‘to wash’	(someone)	k’aakk’o ‘baby’
	giir- ‘to burn’	(someone)	anna ‘father’
	t’agis- ‘to treat with medicine’	(someone)	amma ‘mother’
	š- ‘to kill’	(someone)	rodo ‘sibling’

(5.119) Predicate: intransitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

*isi rodó t’ur-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM sibling(OBL) become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
to mean, ‘His sibling became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘He became dirty with respect to the sibling.’)

(b) Dative EPC

isí-ra rod-u
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON sibling-NOM.M

t’ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘His brother became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The brother became dirty to him.’)

(c) IPC

rod-i-si t’ur-ø-i.
 sibling-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘His brother became/is dirty.’

(c’) IPC

isí rod-i t’ur-ø-i.
 3SG.M.GEN sibling-NOM.MOD.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘His brother became/is dirty.’

(5.120)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	ba’- ‘to become missing’	(someone)	rodo ‘sibling’
	re- ‘to die’	(someone)	rodo ‘sibling’
	gan- am- [hit-PASS-] ‘to become hit’	(someone)	rodo ‘sibling’
	hagiid- ‘to become happy’	(someone)	rodo ‘sibling’
	woiyaab- ‘to get better’	(someone)	ama ‘mother’

(5.121) Predicate: adjective

(a) Oblique EPC

*isi amá seeda=ho.
 3SG.M.NOM mother(OBL) long=NPC.M.PRED
to mean, 'His mother is tall.' (*lit.*, 'He is tall with respect to the mother.')

(b) Dative EPC

isí-ra ama
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON mother(NOM.F)

seeda=te.
 long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED

'His mother is tall.' (*lit.*, 'The mother is tall to him.')

(c) IPC

ama-si seeda=te.
 mother(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS long=NPC.F.PRED
 'His mother is tall.'

(c') IPC

isí ama seeda=te.
 3SG.M.GEN mother(NOM.F) long=NPC.F.PRED
 'His mother is tall.'

(5.122)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	haraančo 'short'	(someone)	anna 'father'
	t'uraančo 'dirty'	(someone)	k'aakk'o 'baby'
	šiima 'small'	(someone)	beetto 'child'

(iii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: artifact/belongings

In (5.123), (5.125), and (5.127), the possessor is an animate entity and the possessum is his/her artifact/belongings. As in (ii) (possessor: animate entity, possessum: kinsmen), the Dative EPC can be used for this type of possession, but the Oblique EPC cannot, irrespective of the type of predicate.

(5.123) Predicate: transitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

*ise hakkó mančó t'arap'eesá
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) table(OBL)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

to mean, 'She cut that man's table.' (*lit.*, 'She cut that man with respect to the table.')

(b) Dative EPC

ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

t'arap'eesá mur-t-u.
 table(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut that man's table.' (*lit.*, 'She cut the table to that man.')

(also, benefactive interpretation: 'She cut the table for that man.')

(c) IPC

ise hakkó manč-í t'arap'eesá
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M table(ACC)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut that man's table.'

(5.124)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	giir- 'to burn'	(someone)	t'arap'eessa 'table'
	hiikk'- 'to break'	(someone)	hinč'ilallo 'mirror'
	dun- 'to spill'	(someone)	buna 'coffee'
	fušš- 'to take off'	(someone)	uddano 'clothes'
	hun- 'to lose'	(someone)	wot'e 'money'

(5.125) Predicate: intransitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

*isi t'arap'eesá t'ur-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM table(OBL) become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
to mean, 'His table became/is dirty.' (*lit.*, 'He became dirty with respect to
 the table.')

(b) Dative EPC

isí-ra t'arap'ees-u
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON table-NOM.M

t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'His table became/is dirty.' (*lit.*, 'The table became dirty to him.')

(also, judicantis interpretation: 'The table became/is dirty for him.')

(c) IPC

t'arap'ees-i-si t'ur-ø-i.
 table-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'His table became/is dirty.'

(c') IPC

isí t'arap'ees-i t'ur-ø-i.
 3SG.M.GEN table-NOM.MOD.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'His table became/is dirty.'

(5.126)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	mool- 'to become dry'	(someone)	uddano 'clothes'
	biif- 'to become beautiful'	(someone)	daraaro 'flower'
	re- 'to die'	(someone)	saa 'cow'
	ba'- 'to become missing'	(someone)	wošiččo 'dog'
	hiikk'- am- [break-PASS-] 'to become broken'	(someone)	midaano 'clay pot'
	ub- 'to fall'	č'e'iččo 'bird'	mine 'nest' (<i>lit.</i> , house)

(5.127) Predicate: adjective

(a) Oblique EPC

*isi dibbé seeda=ho.
 3SG.M.NOM drum(OBL) long=NPC.M.PRED
to mean, 'His drum is tall.' (*lit.*, 'He is long/tall with respect to the drum.')

(b) Dative EPC

isí-ra dibbe seeda=te.
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON drum(NOM.F) long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
 'His drum is tall.' (*lit.*, 'The drum is tall to him.')

(also, judicantis interpretation: 'The drum is tall for him.')

(c) IPC

dibbe-si seeda=te.
 drum(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS long=NPC.F.PRED
 'His drum is tall.'

(c') IPC

isí dibbe seeda=te.
 3SG.M.GEN drum(NOM.F) long=NPC.F.PRED
 'His drum is tall.'

(5.128)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	duume 'red'	(someone)	uddano 'clothes'
	haaro 'new'	(someone)	mine 'house'
	lowo 'large'	(someone)	t'arap'eessa 'table'

(iv) possessor: inanimate entity, possessum: part

Examples in (iv) show cases where the possessor is an inanimate entity and the possessum is its part. As in (i) (possessor: animate entity, possessum: body part), either type of EPC can be used with any type of predicate for this possessive relationship.

(5.129) Predicate: transitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

ise hakkó t'arap'eesá lekká
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC table(ACC) leg(OBL)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut the leg of that table.' (*lit.*, 'She cut that table with respect to the leg.')

(b) Dative EPC

ise hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

lekká mur-t-u.
 leg(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut the leg of that table.' (*lit.*, 'She cut the leg to that table.')

(c) IPC

ise hakkó t'arap'ees-í lekká
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M leg(ACC)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She cut the leg of that table.'

(5.130)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	giir- 'to burn'	hakk'iččo 'tree'	sina 'branch'
	mur- 'to cut'	hakk'iččo 'tree'	aliido 'upper part'
	hiikk'- 'to break'	t'arap'eessa 'table'	lekka 'leg'
	seekk- 'to repair'	t'arap'eessa 'table'	lekka 'leg'
	gan- 'to hit'	midaano 'clay pot'	afo 'neck' (<i>lit.</i> , mouth')
	šanš- 'to cause to be wet'	t'arap'eessa 'table'	woriido 'bottom part'

(5.131) Predicate: intransitive verb

(a) Oblique EPC

hakku t'arap'ees-i aaná
 that.M.NOM table-NOM.MOD.M top(OBL)

t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘That table became dirty with respect to the top.’)

(b) Dative EPC

hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra aan-u
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD top-NOM.M

t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The top became dirty to that table.’)

(c) IPC

hakkó t'arap'ees-í aan-i
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M top-NOM.MOD.M

t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’

(5.132)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	biif- ‘to become beautiful’	hakk’iččo ‘tree’	daraaro ‘flower’
	k’akk’as- ‘to become thorny’	hakk’iččo ‘tree’	sina ‘branch’
	giir- am- [burn-PASS-] ‘to become burned’	hakk’iččo ‘tree’	sina ‘branch’
	ta’- ‘to become torn apart’	č’ufana ‘bamboo gate’	amadisisaančo ‘connecting rope’
	duu’m- ‘to become red’	hoga ‘leaf’	aliido ‘upper part’
	hiikk’- am- [break-PASS-] ‘to become broken’	mine ‘house’	heelliččo ‘pillar’
	šolol-am- [peel-PASS-] ‘to become peeled’	hakk’iččo ‘tree’	aana ‘top, surface’

(5.133) Predicate: adjective

(a) Oblique EPC

hakku t’arap’ees-i lekká seeda=ho.
 that.M.NOM table-NOM.MOD.M leg(OBL) long=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘The legs of that table are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘That table is long with respect to the leg.’)

(b) Dative EPC

hakkó t’arap’ees-í-ra lekka
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg(NOM.F)

seeda=te.
 long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED

‘The legs of that table are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘The legs are long to that table.’)

(c) IPC

hakkó t’arap’ees-í lekka seeda=te.
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M leg(NOM.F) long=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘The legs of that table are long.’

(5.134)	<i>predicate</i>	<i>possessor</i>	<i>possessum</i>
	duume ‘red’	mine ‘house’	waalčo ‘door’
	seeda ‘long’	midaano ‘clay pot’	k’aasa ‘handle’
	hiikk’ančo ‘broken’	mine ‘house’	heelliččo ‘pillar’

5.3.1.3 Characteristics of the Two Types of External Possessor Constructions

The use of each type of EPC is independent of whether the predicate is a transitive verb, an intransitive verb, or an adjective. It hinges largely on the relationship between the possessor and the possessum, though it also depends on several other factors. The relationship between the two entities in the above EPC examples is summarized in Table 5.4 (The checked combinations are grammatical and the asterisked ones are ungrammatical). The Oblique EPC usually requires the possessor and the possessum to be in a part-whole relationship, whereas the Dative EPC does not seem to impose any constraint on the relationship between the two entities. Details of the expressible possessive relationships are discussed later in sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
possessor:	animate	animate	animate	inanimate
possessum:	body part	kinsmen	artifact/belongings	part
Oblique EPC	√	*	*	√
Dative EPC	√	√	√	√

Table 5.4: Possessive Relationships between the Two Entities that Can Participate in the Events/States Described by the Two Types of EPCs

The two types of Sidaama EPCs show characteristics such as the following. First, in either type, when the predicate is a verb, it usually expresses a state-change, and when the predicate is an adjective, it is stative. However, even when the predicate concerns a state-change, neither of the EPCs tends to be used if the possessor is not affected by the event. For example, in (5.135), which contains the transitive verb *bat'* - 'to come to like', the state-change occurs in the referent of the subject NP, not in the possessor, and the possessor may not even be aware of the state-change.

- (5.135) (a) *ise hakkó mančó illé
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) eye(OBL)

bat-t'-anno.
 come.to.love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

to mean, 'She loves that man's eyes.' (*lit.*, 'She comes to love that man with respect to the eyes.')

- (b) *ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

illé bat-t'-anno.
 eye(ACC) come.to.love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

to mean, 'She loves that man's eyes.' (*lit.*, 'She comes to love the eyes to that man.')

- (c) ise hakkó manč-í illé
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M eye(ACC)

bat-t'-anno.
 come.to.love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

'She loves that man's eyes.' (*lit.*, 'She comes to love that man's eyes.')

However, even when the possessum could be interpreted to go through a state-change, neither type of EPC is likely to be formed with verb predicates involving consumption and removal, which express a loss of the possessum of the possessor due to an external force, as in (5.136) and (5.137), where the ox's tongue and the tree's flower are removed by the agent(s), respectively.

- (5.136) (a) *insa handó arrawó it-t-u.
 3PL.NOM ox(ACC) tongue(OBL) eat-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
to mean, ‘They ate the tongue of the ox.’ (*lit.*, ‘They ate the ox with respect to the tongue.’)
- (b) *insa hando-ho arrawó it-t-u.
 3PL.NOM ox-DAT.M tongue(ACC) eat-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
to mean, ‘They ate the tongue of the ox.’ (*lit.*, ‘They ate the tongue to the ox.’)
- (c) insa hand-ú arrawó it-t-u.
 3PL.NOM ox-GEN.M tongue(ACC) eat-3PL-S.PRF.3PL
 ‘They ate the tongue of the ox.’
- (5.137) (a) *isi hakk’iččó daraaró ad-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM tree(ACC) flower(OBL) take-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
to mean, ‘He took the flowers of the tree (M).’ (*lit.*, ‘He took the tree with respect to the flower.’)
- (b) *isi hakk’iččo-ho daraaró ad-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM tree-DAT.M flower(ACC) take-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
to mean, ‘He took the flowers of the tree (M).’ (*lit.*, ‘He took the flower to the tree.’)
- (c) isi hakk’ičč-ú daraaró ad-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM tree-GEN.M flower(ACC) take-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He took the flowers of the tree (M).’

Nevertheless, the Dative EPC can be used in such a case as long as the speaker interprets the event as beneficial or adversative to the possessor, as in (5.138b).

- (5.138) (a) *hakimitte daafursá hinkó
 doctor(NOM.F) Daafursa(ACC) tooth(OBL)
- fušš-i-t-u.
 take.out-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- to mean*, ‘The doctor (F) took out Daafursa’s tooth.’ (*lit.*, ‘The doctor (F) took out Daafursa with respect to the tooth.’)

- (b) hakimitte daafurs-*í*-ra
 doctor(NOM.F) Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

hinkó fušš-i-t-u.
 tooth(ACC) take.out-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The doctor (F) took out Daafursa’s tooth.’ (*lit.*, ‘The doctor (F) took out the tooth to Daafursa.’)

- (c) hakimitte daafurs-*í* hinkó
 doctor(NOM.F) Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M tooth(ACC)

fušš-i-t-u.
 take.out-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The doctor (F) took out Daafursa’s tooth.’

A second property is that the possessum NP in an IPC counterpart of either type of EPC is normally the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb or adjective; it can never be a transitive subject. This is related to the first property; a transitive subject is not affected by the event or state. Examples are shown in (5.139) and (5.140), where only the use of the IPC for the subjects of the transitive verbs (*gan-* ‘to hit’, *kis-* ‘to touch’) as in (5.139c) and (5.140c) is possible. (The ungrammaticality of (5.139a) (and also (5.141a) and (5.142a) below) cannot be attributed to the grammatical relation of the possessum NP alone, but is also due to the relation between the referents of the two NPs.)

- (5.142) (a) *ise hakkó mančó beettó wot'é
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) child(OBL) money(ACC)

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

- (b) *ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

beetto-ra wot'é u-i-t-ino.
 child-DAT.MOD money(ACC) give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

- (c) ise hakkó manč-í
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M

beett-í-ra wot'é
 child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD money(ACC)

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She gave money to that man’s daughter.’

Fourth, although the possessor in the EPCs can be either animate or inanimate, animate possessors are relatively privileged in some respects. Possessors in general are more likely to be animate than inanimate if ownership is the prototype of possession; because possessors that are capable of owning something are animate, animate possessors can possess entities of a broader variety of types than inanimate possessors. In the Sidaama EPCs, animate possessors can be used in a wider range of construction subtypes than inanimate possessors. There are constructions that can be used with animate possessors, but not with inanimate possessors. For example, constructions with the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun are only possible with animate possessors. An example is shown in (5.109b'') (repeated below as (5.143)), where the

possessive pronominal suffix *-si* that refers to the animate possessor is used on the possessum noun *lekka* ‘foot’ even though the possessor is already expressed with the dative NP.

(5.143) beett-u wosinčo-ho lekká-si
 child-NOM.M guest-DAT.M foot(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS

 haišš-ø-ino.
 wash-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

 ‘The boy washed the guest’s (M) feet.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy washed the feet to the guest (M).’)

Also, as discussed shortly, constructions with the pronominal object suffix on the verb that refers to a possessor, including those where the possessor is indicated not by a full NP but only by this suffix, are limited to animate possessors.

Nevertheless, unlike EPCs in other languages, which tend to restrict possessor NPs to certain types (typically, animate ones; sometimes, pronouns, especially the first-person pronoun), neither type of Sidaama EPC imposes any restriction on the type of possessor NP.

Fifth, as seen above, both have IPC counterparts which can always replace them and are, in most cases, interchangeable with them, although there are often some semantic and/or pragmatic differences among the different construction types, as mentioned earlier and discussed later.

Sixth, when the possessor in either type of EPC whose predicate is a verb is animate, the possessor may be indicated with the pronominal object suffix on the verb. This may occur in the Oblique EPC when the predicate is a transitive verb, as in (5.144a),

and in the Dative EPC when the predicate is a transitive verb, as in (5.144b), or an intransitive verb, as in (5.145). In these three examples, the pronominal object suffix *-si*, which occurs at the end of the sentence, refers to the possessor, ‘that man’ or ‘him’.

- (5.144) (a) ise hakkó mančó k’ubbiččó
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) finger(OBL)
- mur-t-u-si.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M
- ‘She cut that man’s finger.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut that man with respect to the finger.’)

- (b) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD
- k’ubbiččó mur-t-u-si.
 finger(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M
- ‘She cut that man’s finger.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the finger to that man.’)

- (5.145) isí-ra k’ubbičč-u
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON finger-NOM.M
- t’ur-ø-i-si.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M
- ‘His fingers became/are dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The finger became dirty to him.’)

In these examples, the possessor is already expressed with a full noun or an independent pronoun, and the use of the pronominal object suffix on the verb is optional.¹⁸

A human possessor is often indicated only by the pronominal object suffix on the verb, as in (5.146)-(5.150).

¹⁸ Like the use of the possessive pronominal suffix on the PM noun in the oblique EPC, which is discussed shortly, the expression of the possessor in this type of EPC with the pronominal object suffix can be very emphatic or somewhat redundant when an independent pronoun is also used to express the possessor.

- (5.146) k'ubbičč-u t'ur-ø-i-si.
 finger-NOM.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M
 'His finger became/are dirty.' (*lit.*, 'The finger became dirty to him.')
- (5.147) rod-u t'ur-ø-i-si.
 sibling-NOM.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M
 'His brother became/is dirty.' (*lit.*, 'The brother became dirty to him.')
- (5.148) t'arap'ees-u t'ur-ø-i-si.
 table-NOM.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M
 'His table became/is dirty.' (*lit.*, 'The table became dirty to him.')
- (5.149) ise t'arap'eesá mur-t-u-si.
 3SG.F.NOM.M table(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She cut his table.' (*lit.*, 'She cut the table to him.')
- (5.150) ise k'ubbiččó mur-t-u-si.
 3SG.F.NOM finger(OBL) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She cut his finger.' (*lit.*, 'She cut him with respect to the finger.')

(5.146)-(5.148) are instances of the Dative EPC, because an intransitive verb is used, and the possessor is indicated on the pronominal object suffix. In any of these three examples, *isí-ra* '[3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON]' could be mentioned in addition to or instead of the third-person singular masculine pronominal object suffix. (5.149) is also a Dative EPC, because the animate possessor and his/her artifact possessum cannot occur in the Oblique EPC. This sentence could be treated as an omission of *isí-ra* '[3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON]' from *ise isí-ra t'arap'eesá mur-t-u(-si)*. (5.150) may look ambiguous between the two constructions, but is an instance of the Oblique EPC, rather than the Dative EPC. When the main verb of a sentence where the possessor is indicated by the pronominal object suffix is a transitive verb, and the possessum is a body part of

an animate possessor, the construction is an Oblique EPC.¹⁹ Thus, (5.150) could be regarded as an omission of *iso* ‘[3SG.M.ACC]’ from *ise isó k’ubbiččo mur-t-u(-si)*.

As shown in Table 5.5, there are two factors that determine in which sentence such a construction is used. One is the transitivity of the main verb, and the other is the relationship between the possessor and the possessum, specifically, whether or not the possessum is part of the possessor. N/A in Table 5.5 indicates that the Oblique EPC cannot be used for the possessor-possessum combinations, irrespective of the use of the pronominal object suffix.

(A) Predicate: transitive verb

possessor:	animate	animate	animate
possessum:	body part	kinsmen	artifact/belongings
Oblique EPC	√	N/A	N/A
Dative EPC	*	√	√

(B) Predicate: intransitive verb

possessor:	animate	animate	animate
possessum:	body part	kinsmen	artifact/belongings
Oblique EPC	*	N/A	N/A
Dative EPC	√	√	√

Table 5.5: Possessive Relationships between the Two Entities
in the Use of the Pronominal Object Suffix on the Verb
as the Only Indication of an Animate Possessor in the Two Types of EPCs

Another property of the two types of EPC is that the possessum NP usually consists of a single common noun, and can minimally be modified by an adjective or numeral or accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to the possessor.

¹⁹ Nevertheless, this analysis is based solely on my consultant’s intuition, rather than any grammatical evidence. The oblique case has the same form as the accusative case, and there is no evidence that a construction like (5.150) is not the Dative EPC; in other words, there is no evidence that *k’ubbiččo* ‘finger’ is not in the accusative case.

Examples of the two types of EPC where the possessum noun is modified by an adjective or numeral are shown in (5.151)-(5.154).

- (5.151)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---|-----|------------|---|
| ise | isó | { | (a) | lamé | } |
| 3SG.F.NOM | 3SG.M.ACC | | (b) | šiiimá | |
| | | | | two(ACC) | |
| | | | | small(ACC) | |
- k'ubbiččó mur-t-u.
finger(OBL) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (a) 'She cut his two fingers.' (*lit.*, 'She cut him with respect to the two fingers.')
- (b) 'She cut his pinkie.' (*lit.*, 'She cut him with respect to the pinkie.')
- (5.152)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|---|-----|------------|---|
| ise | isí-ra | { | (a) | lamé | } |
| 3SG.F.NOM | 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON | | (b) | šiiimá | |
| | | | | two(ACC) | |
| | | | | small(ACC) | |
- k'ubbiččó mur-t-u.
finger(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (a) 'She cut his two fingers.' (*lit.*, 'She cut the two fingers to him.')
- (b) 'She cut his pinkie.' (*lit.*, 'She cut the pinkie to him.')
- (5.153)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----|------------|---|-----------|
| ise | { | (a) | lamé | } | k'ubbiččó |
| 3SG.F.NOM | | (b) | šiiimá | | |
| | | | two(ACC) | | |
| | | | small(ACC) | | |
- t'ur-t-u.
become.dirty-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (a) 'Her two fingers became/are dirty.' (*lit.*, 'She became dirty with respect to the two fingers.')
- (b) 'Her small fingers became/are dirty.' (*lit.*, 'She became dirty with respect to the small fingers.')

- (5.154)
- | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-----|------------------------|---|
| isí-ra
3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON | { | (a) | lam-u
two-NOM.M | } |
| | | (b) | šiiim-u
small-NOM.M | |
- k’ubbičč-i t’ur-ø-i.
finger-NOM.MOD.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- (a) ‘Her two fingers became/are dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The two fingers became dirty to her.’)
- (b) ‘Her small fingers became/are dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The small fingers became dirty to her.’)

Note that in neither type of EPC can the possessum noun be modified by an adnominal demonstrative, a proper noun, or a genitive pronoun or the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to a possessor other than the external possessor. This point is discussed again later in section 5.3.3.

Finally, the following tendency seems to exist. In the Oblique EPC, the possessum is contrasted with other possessa, whereas in the Dative EPC, the possessor is contrasted with other possessors. For example, (5.115a) (repeated as (5.155a)) may be used to contrast her legs with other body parts, and (5.115b) (repeated as (5.155b)) may be used to contrast her with other people.

- (5.155) (a) isi lekká seeda=ho.
3SG.M.NOM leg(OBL) long=NPC.M.PRED
‘His legs are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘He is long/tall with respect to the legs.’)
- (b) isí-ra lekka seeda=te.
3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON leg(NOM.F) long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
‘His legs are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘The legs are long to him.’)

However, as long as other conditions are satisfied, the Oblique EPC and the Dative EPC are interchangeable, and there do not seem to be cases where only one of them can be used and the other one cannot due to information structure. This issue requires further investigation.

There is one property of the Dative EPC, which needs to be mentioned here (it is not clear as to whether or not this is peculiar to Sidaama). Unlike in the Oblique EPC and the IPC, in the Dative EPC, the speaker's belief or judgment about the event or state is additionally expressed. For example, in (5.156), the speaker believes that Bule's losing Dangura's book should be to his detriment. On the other hand, in the IPC example (5.156'), the speaker reports the event without expressing such a belief.

(5.156) bule dangur-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP

 mat'aafá hun-t-ino.
 book(ACC) lose-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

 ‘Bule lost Dangura's book.’ (*lit.*, ‘Bule lost the book to Dangura.’)

(5.156') bule dangur-í
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M

 mat'aafá hun-t-ino.
 book(ACC) lose-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

 ‘Bule lost Dangura's book.’

This point is returned to and is discussed in detail in section 5.3.3.

So far, characteristics of the two types of EPC have been described. The next two sections examine these constructions in more detail by comparing them with other

constructions, specifically, by comparing the Oblique EPC with body locative constructions in other languages, and by comparing the Dative EPC with two types of dative construction in Sidaama.

5.3.2 The Oblique Possessum External Possessor Construction and Body Locative Constructions in Other Languages

In all the above examples, the Oblique EPC has the possessum and the possessor in a strict part-whole relationship and may look very much like body-part locative constructions in other languages.²⁰ However, it differs from body-part locative constructions in other languages, in which, when a physical part of an entity is affected by an event, the entity as a whole is also necessarily affected by the same event (e.g., Fox 1981: 326) (thus, for example, in English, because *tickle him in the armpit* necessarily means *tickle him*, the same scene may be expressed with either of these). To be sure, there are many examples of the Sidaama oblique possessum EPC where the above

²⁰ Sidaama appears to have this type of construction, where the possessum is followed by one of the locational nouns, but actually it is the Oblique EPC, where the locational noun is in the oblique case. Examples are in (i) and (ii).

- (i) bule dangurá alb-ú aaná
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) face-GEN.M top(OBL)

sunk'-i-t-u.
 kiss-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bule kissed Dangura on the face.' (*lit.*, 'Bule kissed Dangura with respect to the top of the face.')

- (ii) dangur-i lekká-te aaná
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M leg-GEN.F top(OBL)

madi'r-ø-i.
 become.wounded-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Dangura is wounded in the upper part of the leg.' (*lit.*, 'Dangura became wounded with respect to the top of the leg.')

scenario seems to apply. For example, (5.158) and (5.160), where possessum nouns are dropped from the Oblique EPC sentences (5.111a) (repeated as (5.157)) and (5.131a) (repeated as (5.159)), respectively, may be used instead to describe the same scenes.

- (5.157) ise hakkó mančó k'ubbiččó
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) finger(OBL)
- mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut that man’s finger.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut that man with respect to the finger.’)
- (5.158) ise hakkó mančó mur-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.ACC person(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut that man.’
- (5.159) hakku t'arap'ees-i aaná
 that.M.NOM table-NOM.MOD.M top(OBL)
- t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘That table became dirty with respect to the top.’)
- (5.160) hakku t'arap'ees-i t'ur-ø-i.
 that.M.NOM table-NOM.MOD.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘That table became/is dirty.’

However, this is not always so. There are cases where an effect on the possessum as a physical part of the possessor cannot be expressed as an effect on the whole possessor, as in the following pairs of examples. The possessum NPs in the Oblique EPC examples (5.161), (5.163), and (5.165) cannot be removed, as in (5.162), (5.164), and (5.166), respectively, to describe the same events or states. (5.162) and (5.164) are

ungrammatical, and (5.166) is grammatical but has a completely different meaning from (5.165).

- (5.161) ise isó danančó seekk-i-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC hair(OBL) trim-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She trimmed his hair.’ (*lit.*, ‘She trimmed him with respect to hair.’)
- (5.162) *ise isó seekk-i-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC trim-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
lit., ‘She trimmed him.’
- (5.163) isi bisó mool-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM body(OBL) become.dry-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘His body became/is dry.’ (*lit.*, ‘He became dry with respect to the body.’)
- (5.164) *isi mool-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM become.dry-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
lit., ‘He became dry.’
- (5.165) isi lekká šakk’-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM leg(OBL) become.soft-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘His leg became/is weak.’ (*lit.*, ‘He became soft with respect to the leg.’)
- (5.166) isi šakk’-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM become.soft-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘His way of thinking became/is soft.’ (*lit.*, ‘He became soft.’)
 (This is an idiomatic expression, and cannot be used for its literal meaning.)

Also, when the predicate is an adjective, the alternation sometimes does not work. For example, (5.115a) (repeated below as (5.167)) cannot be replaced by (5.115a’’) (repeated as (5.168)) to describe the same state. ‘His legs are long’ does not necessarily mean ‘He is tall’. (5.169) cannot be replaced by (5.170), either. ‘Your (SG.F) hair is beautiful’ does not always mean ‘You (SG.F) are beautiful’; in fact, (5.169) usually suggests that

the person is beautiful as far as her hair is concerned, but is not beautiful in any other respect.

(5.167) isi lekká seeda=ho.
 3SG.M.NOM leg(OBL) long.or.tall=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘His legs are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘He is long/tall with respect to the legs.’)

(5.168) isi seeda=ho.
 3SG.M.NOM long.or.tall=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘He is tall.’

(5.169) ati danančó t’u’ma=te.
 2SG.NOM hair(OBL) beautiful=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘You (SG.F) are beautiful with respect to hair.’

(5.170) ati t’u’ma=te.
 2SG.NOM beautiful=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘You (SG.F) are beautiful.’

Hence, the Sidaama Oblique EPC is not, at least primarily, based on the idea that an effect on the possessum as a physical part of its possessor automatically leads to an effect on the possessor.

Moreover, in addition to nouns that refer to physical parts of the possessor, abstract nouns can also be used as possessum nouns in the Oblique EPC, like those in (5.171).

(5.171)	dana ‘color, beauty’	mikita/kaaǰjimma ‘strength’
	keeraančimma ‘health’	t’isso ‘sickness’
	mugano ‘sleepiness’	su’nille ‘smell’
	lowimma/lowille ‘size’	seedille/hoǰja ‘height, length’
	hala’limma ‘width’	ikkito ‘personality’
	kiiro ‘number’	egenno ‘knowledge’
	lopp’o ‘growth’	gowwimma/gowwinaate ‘foolishness’
	waaga ‘price’	ǰiro/waaǰja ‘wealth’
	su’ma ‘name’	k’aale ‘voice’
	heeššo ‘life’	dadillo ‘worry’
	hagiirre ‘happiness’	hank’o ‘anger’
	waaǰja ‘fear’	

Oblique EPC examples where such abstract nouns are used as possessum nouns are shown in (5.172)-(5.191). There are cases where the possessum NP can be dropped from the Oblique EPC to refer to the same event. (5.172) may be replaced by (5.173), and (5.174) by (5.175) to express approximately the same meaning.

(5.172)	gedimma	isé	daná
	old.age(NOM.F)	3SG.F.ACC	beauty(OBL)

hun-t-u.
destroy-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Her old age destroyed her beauty.’ (*lit.*, ‘Her old age destroyed her with respect to beauty.’)

(5.173)	gedimma	isé	hun-t-u.
	old.age(NOM.F)	3SG.F.ACC	destroy-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
	‘Her old age destroyed her.’		

- (5.174)
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|---|-----|------------------|---|
| k'arr-u | isó | { | (a) | heeššo | } |
| problem-NOM.M | 3SG.M.ACC | | (b) | ikkitó | |
| | | | | personality(OBL) | |

soorr-ø-i.
change-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'The problem changed his life.' (*lit.*, 'The problem changed him with respect to life.')
- (b) 'The problem changed his personality.' (*lit.*, 'The problem changed him with respect to personality.')

- (5.175) k'arr-u isó soorr-ø-i.
problem-NOM.M 3SG.M.ACC change-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
'The problem changed him.'

There are also cases where the above type of omission is possible with only one particular possessum noun (or a synonym of it), but not with others. The non-EPC examples (5.177) and (5.179) may be idiomatically used in place of (5.176a) and (5.178a), but not (5.176b) and (5.178b)-(5.178d), respectively.

- (5.176)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----|------------|---|--------------|--------------|
| ise | { | (a) | jiró | } | naggi | naggi |
| 3SG.F.NOM | | (b) | k'aalé | | <i>naggi</i> | <i>naggi</i> |
| | | | voice(OBL) | | | |

y-i-t-u.
say-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Her wealth became larger.' (*lit.*, 'She became larger with respect to wealth.')
- (b) 'Her voice became louder.' (*lit.*, 'She became larger with respect to voice.')

- (5.177) ise naggi naggi y-i-t-u.
3SG.F.NOM *naggi naggi* say-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
'Her wealth got larger and larger.' (*lit.*, 'She became larger.')

- (5.178)
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | (a) aiddé
family(OBL)
(b) ĵiró
wealth(OBL)
(c) hagiirré
happiness(OBL)
(d) gowwimmá
foolishness(OBL) | } |
|------------------|---|---|---|

bati-d-u.

become.immense-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) ‘She family became/is very large.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became immense with respect to the family.’)
- (b) ‘She became/is very wealthy.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became immense with respect to wealth.’)
- (c) ‘She became/is very happy.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became immense with respect to happiness.’)
- (d) ‘She became/is very foolish.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became immense with respect to foolishness.’)

- (5.179) ise bati-d-u.
3SG.F.NOM become.immense-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
‘Her family became large.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became immense.’)

However, the removal of the possessum NP from an Oblique EPC sentence yields a very different meaning to the extent that it cannot be used to describe the event that is expressed by the Oblique EPC. As their glosses indicate, (5.181), (5.183), (5.185), and (5.187) would not be able to describe the same events expressed by (5.180), (5.182), (5.184), and (5.186), respectively.

- (5.180) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{su'má} \\ \text{isi} \\ \text{3SG.M.NOM} \\ \text{(b) } \text{mikitá} \\ \text{strength(OBL)} \end{array} \right\}$
- ba'-ø-i.
disappear-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- (a) 'He got/is defamed.' (*lit.*, 'He disappeared with respect to the name.')
- (b) 'He lost his strength.' (*lit.*, 'He disappeared with respect to strength.')
- (5.181) isi ba'-ø-i.
3SG.M.NOM disappear-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
'He disappeared.'
- (5.182) isi lopp'ó rahado=ho.
3SG.M.NOM growth(OBL) fast=NPC.M.PRED
'His growth is fast.' (*lit.*, 'He is fast with respect to growth.')
- (5.183) isi rahado=ho.
3SG.M.NOM fast=NPC.M.PRED
'He is fast.'
- (5.184) t'arap'ees-u waagá lowo=ho.
table-NOM.M price(OBL) large=NPC.M.PRED
'The price of the table is high.' (*lit.*, 'The table is large with respect to the price.')
- (5.185) t'arap'ees-u lowo=ho.
table-NOM.M large=NPC.M.PRED
'The table is large.'
- (5.186) bun-u su'nillé buš-ø-i.
coffee-NOM.M smell(OBL) become.bad-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
'The smell of the coffee became/is bad.' (*lit.*, 'The coffee became bad with respect to smell.')
- (5.187) bun-u buš-ø-i.
coffee-NOM.M become.bad-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
'The coffee became/is bad.'

In some cases, if the possessum noun were removed from the Oblique EPC, the sentence would be ungrammatical. If the Oblique EPC sentences in (5.188) and (5.190) did not contain the possessum NP, they would be ungrammatical, as in (5.189) and (5.191), respectively.

- (5.188)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|-----|--------|----------------|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | (a) | hank’ó | anger(OBL) | } |
| | | (b) | waaǰǰá | fear(OBL) | |
| | | (c) | egennó | knowledge(OBL) | |

lett’-i-t-u.

become.larger-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) ‘Her anger increased.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became larger with respect to anger.’)
 (b) ‘Her fear increased.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became larger with respect to fear.’)
 (c) ‘Her knowledge increased.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became larger with respect to knowledge.’)

- (5.189) *ise lett’-i-t-u.
3SG.F.NOM become.larger-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (5.190) gananšo isó dadilló
fighting(NOM.F) 3SG.M.ACC worry(OBL)

batis-s-u.

increase-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘The fighting increased his worry.’ (*lit.*, ‘The fighting increased him with respect to worry.’)

- (5.191) *gananšo isó batis-s-u.
fighting(NOM.F) 3SG.M.ACC increase-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

Therefore, the Oblique EPC is somewhat different from body locative constructions in other languages. The Sidaama Oblique EPC seems to be used when the referent of the oblique NP is conceptually dependent on the possessor, namely when the oblique NP's referent cannot exist or occur without the possessor; thus, the oblique NP may refer to a physical part or a property of the possessor. This type of EPC prohibits kinship terms from being used as the oblique NP. Although kinship terms may require the mention of possessors linguistically, their referents are entities physically independent of the possessors.

5.3.3 The Dative Possessor External Possessor Construction and the Benefactive and Judicantis Constructions

As discussed earlier in section 5.3.1.3, in the Dative EPC, regardless of the kind of predicate, basically any kind of entity, whether alienably or inalienably possessed and whether optionally or inherently possessed, can be the possessum. This section compares the Dative EPCs with two other types of dative construction, the benefactive construction and the judicantis construction (König and Haspelmath 1998; Haspelmath 1999; e.g., English: 'That is too difficult for me.'). (5.192) and (5.193) are examples of the benefactive construction, and (5.194) is an example of the judicantis construction.

- (5.192) geerč-u hakkó
 elderly.person-NOM.M that.M.GEN
- k'ark'ar-í-ra loos-ø-ino.
 village-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD work-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- 'The elderly man worked for the benefit of that village.'

- (5.193) ise isí-ra hatté hakk'iččó
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON that.F.ACC tree(ACC)
- mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut that tree for the benefit of him.’²¹
- (5.194) bulé rodo damboow-í-ra
 Bule(GEN.F) sibling(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP
- biif-f-ino.
 become.beautiful-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
- ‘Bule’s sister became/is beautiful in Damboowa’s judgment.’

It is shown below that in Sidaama, the Dative EPC is similar in structure to the benefactive construction and the judicantis construction, but differs semantically from these constructions in the manifestation of the subject’s belief or judgment. What looks like the benefactive or judicantis construction is the Dative EPC when some conditions are met and the possessive relation between two entities can be inferred.

Hereafter, the referent of the dative NP is called a “dative entity”, and the directly affected entity undergoing a state-change or the entity whose state is described is called a “patient/theme entity”. In the benefactive and judicantis constructions as well as the Dative EPC, a patient/theme entity is expressed as the direct object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb or an adjectival predicate. In the following discussion,

²¹ In (5.193), the tree is not interpreted as his. Note that in an IPC sentence, the possessum noun can be Modified by an adnominal demonstrative and the possessive pronominal suffix, as in (i).

(i) ise hatté hakk'iččó-si mur-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM that.F.ACC tree(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She cut that tree of his.’

(5.196) hatté hakk'iččó isí-ra ise
 that.F.ACC tree(ACC) 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON 3SG.F.NOM

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that tree for the benefit of him.’

(5.197) ise hatté hakk'iččó isí-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.F.ACC tree(ACC) 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that tree for the benefit of him.’

In the benefactive construction, the subject normally performs the action with intentionality, and the subject NP usually refers to an agent.²² What is expressed in this construction is the agent’s intended performance of the action with a belief that the action is beneficial to the dative entity. For example, (5.193) (repeated below as (5.198)) means that the agent (‘she’) performs the action of cutting that tree in the belief that the action would be beneficial to him.

²² Though not common, the subject of the intransitive benefactive construction may be a patient/theme entity rather than an agent, as in (i).

(i) daafurs-i gobbá-si-ra re-ø-ino.
 Daafursa-NOM.PROP.M country(GEN.F)-3SG.F.POSS-DAT.MOD die-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘Daafursa died for the benefit of his country.’

This sentence may be said even when Daafursa’s death is not caused by his intention. The relation of this type of sentence with the Dative EPC with an intransitive verb, which is not dealt with here, needs further investigation.

(5.198) ise isí-ra hatté hakk'iččo
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON that.F.ACC tree(ACC)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that tree for the benefit of him.’

This belief is the agent’s, and the event is described from the agent’s viewpoint, though the judgment about whether or not the action is really beneficial to the dative entity is ultimately made by the dative entity. As in the English translation of (5.198), it is neutral as to whether the dative entity wants the agent to perform the action. Thus, in (5.198), how he feels about her cutting that tree is irrelevant, and can be said even when the dative entity did not want her to cut that tree, as shown in (5.199).²³

(5.199) isi hatté hakk'iččo mur-a-se
 3SG.M.NOM that.F.ACC tree(ACC) cut-INF-3SG.F.POSS

di=hasi'r-ø-ino.
 NEG=want-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

ise kainni gib-b-e
 3SG.F.NOM however disregard-3SG.F-CNN

isí-ra hakk'iččo
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON tree(ACC)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘He did not want her to cut that tree. However, she disregarded it, and cut the tree for the benefit of him.’

²³ Note that the second sentence in (5.199) is used not as the Dative EPC but as the benefactive construction (‘She cut the tree for him.’), because *hakk'iččo* refers to *hatte hakk'iččo* ‘that tree’ in the first sentence.

This is independent of the grammatical person of the dative entity. When the dative person is the first person in the benefactive construction, as in (5.200), the agent's performance of the action with his/her belief about the benefit of the dative entity (the speaker) is independent of how the dative entity (the speaker) feels about the action.

- (5.200) bule ané-ra lašé
 Bule(NOM.F) 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON Lashe(ACC)
- giir-t-u.
 burn-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bule burned Lashe for the benefit of me.’

Similarly to (5.193), a sentence like (5.200) can be used even when the dative entity did not want the agent to perform the action, as shown in (5.201).

- (5.201) ani bulé lašé giir-a-se
 1SG.NOM Bule(ACC) Lashe(ACC) burn-INF-3SG.F.POSS
- di=hasi’r-oo-mm-o.
 NEG=want-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ise kainni gib-b-e
 3SG.F.NOM however disregard-3SG.F-CNN
- ané-ra isó
 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON 3SG.M(ACC)
- giir-t-u.
 burn-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘I (M) did not want Bule to burn Lashe. However, she disregarded it, and burned him for the benefit of me.’

Notice that in (5.193) and (5.200), no possessive relation is inferred between the dative entity and the patient/theme entity.

The other type of dative construction, the *judicantis* construction (König and Haspelmath 1998; Haspelmath 1999), whose predicate is an intransitive verb or an adjective, expresses a state-change or a state in the judgment of the dative entity, which is usually animate. It takes the forms in (5.202), where the order of the subject NP and the dative NP can be reversed.

- (5.202) a. Subj(patient/theme)-NOM dative entity-DAT intrans.V
 b. Subj(patient/theme)-NOM dative entity-DAT Adj

In (5.203), the patient/theme entity's ('Damboowa') state-change or resultative state is depicted in the dative entity's ('her') judgment. Similarly, in (5.204), the patient/theme entity's ('his father's') state is described in the dative entity's ('she') judgment. In neither example is a possessive relation inferred between the dative entity and the patient/theme entity.

- (5.203) *isé-ra* *damboow-i*
 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M

 t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

 'Damboowa became/is dirty for her.' (Damboowa became/is dirty in her judgment.)

- (5.204) isé-ra ann-i-si
 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON father-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
- seeda=ho.
 tall=NPC.M.PRED

‘His father is tall for her.’ (His father is tall in her judgment.)

As mentioned above, the order of constituents other than the verb in the judicantis construction is flexible, as in the benefactive construction. (5.203’) and (5.204’), whose word order is different from (5.203) and (5.204), are grammatical.

- (5.203’) damboow-i isé-ra
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON
- t’ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Damboowa became/is dirty for her.’ (Damboowa became/is dirty in her judgment.)

- (5.204’) ann-i-si isé-ra
 father-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON
- seeda=ho.
 tall=NPC.M.PRED

‘His father is tall for her.’ (His father is tall in her judgment.)

Thus, the benefactive construction with a transitive verb and the judicantis construction can each be identical in structure with the Dative EPC with a transitive verb predicate or with an intransitive verb or adjective predicate, respectively, as shown in (5.205). As discussed above, the order of the constituents other than the predicate in the

- (5.207) isé-ra damboow-i
 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M
- t'ur-ø-i-se.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F
- ‘Damboowa became/is dirty for her.’ (Damboowa became/is dirty in her judgment.)

Second, as in the Dative EPC, the dative entity in the benefactive and judicantis constructions may be indicated only by the pronominal object suffix, instead of being expressed by a full NP, as in (5.208) and (5.209).

- (5.208) ise hatté hakk'iččó mur-t-u-si.
 3SG.F.NOM that.F.ACC tree(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-3SG.M
 ‘She cut that tree for the benefit of him.’

- (5.209) damboow-i t'ur-ø-i-se.
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F
 ‘Damboowa became/is dirty for her.’ (Damboowa became/is dirty in her judgment.)

An instance of one of the Sidaama dative constructions is interpreted as an instance of the Dative EPC when two conditions are met. First, the patient/theme entity usually has to be expressed with a common noun, preferably one that is not modified by a dependent (or one that is Modified by an adjective, a numeral, or the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to the dative possessor, at most), unlike the dative entity, which can be expressed with any type of nominal. On the other hand, in the benefactive and judicantis dative constructions, the patient/theme NP as well as the dative NP can be expressed with any type of nominal. For example, in (5.193) (repeated as (5.210)), (5.203) (repeated as (5.211)), and (5.204) (repeated as (5.212)), the patient/theme entity

cannot be interpreted as a possessum of the dative entity because it is expressed with an NP whose head is modified by an adnominal demonstrative in (5.210), a proper noun in (5.211), and a noun possessed by a person who is not the dative entity in (5.212), respectively.

(5.210) ise isí-ra hatté hakk'iččó
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON that.F.ACC tree(ACC)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that tree for the benefit of him.’

(5.211) isé-ra damboow-i
 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M

t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Damboowa became/is dirty for her.’ (Damboowa became/is dirty in her judgment.)

(5.212) isé-ra ann-i-si
 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON father-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS

seeda=ho.
 tall=NPC.M.PRED

‘His father is tall for her.’ (His father is tall in her judgment.)

A second condition concerns the subject’s belief or judgment. In order for a clause with the form of a dative construction to be interpreted as the Dative EPC, the speaker has to believe that the dative entity is affected by the event either beneficially or adversely. Thus, the Dative EPC takes the speaker’s, rather than the subject’s or the dative entity’s, perspective.

A possessive relation is always inferred when the patient/theme entity is expressed by an inherently or obligatorily, as opposed to an optionally, possessed noun, which usually cannot stand alone, as in (5.111b), (5.117b), (5.129b), (5.113b), (5.119b), (5.131b), (5.115b), (5.121b), and (5.133b) (repeated below as (5.213)-(5.221), respectively). Even when the patient/theme entity is expressed with an optionally possessed noun, as long as the above conditions are met, a possessive relation between the two entities can be inferred.

- (5.213) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD
- k’ubbiččó mur-t-u.
 finger(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut that man’s finger.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the finger to that man.’)

- (5.214) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD
- anná mur-t-u.
 father(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut that man’s father.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the father to that man.’)

- (5.215) hakkó t’arap’ees-í-ra lekká
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg(ACC)
- mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut the leg of that table.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the leg to that table.’)

- (5.216) *isí-ra* *k'ubbičč-u*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON finger-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His fingers became/are dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The finger became dirty to him.’)
- (5.217) *isí-ra* *rod-u*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON sibling-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His brother became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The brother became dirty to him.’)
- (5.218) *hakkó* *t'arap'ees-í-ra* *aan-u*
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD top-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The top became dirty to that table.’)
- (5.219) *isí-ra* *lekka* *seeda=te.*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON leg(NOM.F) long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘His legs are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘The legs are long to him.’)
- (5.220) *isí-ra* *ama*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON mother(NOM.F)
- seeda=te.*
 long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
- ‘His mother is tall.’ (*lit.*, ‘The mother is tall to him.’)

(5.221) hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra lekka
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg(NOM.F)

seeda=te.
 long.or.tall=NP.C.F.PRED

‘The legs of that table are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘The legs are long to that table.’)

However, there are two respects in which optionally possessed nouns can differ from inherently possessed nouns when used as the head of an NP that refers to the patient/theme entity in a construction that looks like the Dative EPC and the benefactive or judicantis construction. First, a sentence with an inherently possessed noun as the head of a patient/theme NP that looks like an instance of the Dative EPC could also have a non-EPC (benefactive or judicantis) interpretation.²⁴ For example, (5.123b) (repeated below as (5.222)), which takes the form of a transitive EPC, could be interpreted as a benefactive sentence that means ‘She cut the table for him’ (She believed that her cutting the table would be beneficial to him). In this case, the subject’s rather than the speaker’s belief is expressed.

(5.222) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

t'arap'eesá mur-t-u.
 table(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that man’s table.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the table to that man.’)
 (also, benefactive interpretation: ‘She cut the table for that man.’)

²⁴ Whenever a possessive interpretation can be inferred, an EPC interpretation seems to be preferred to a non-EPC interpretation.

Also, (5.125b) and (5.127b) (repeated below as (5.223) and (5.224), respectively), which have the structure of intransitive dative EPCs, might be taken to be judicantis construction sentences that mean ‘The table became/is dirty for her (from her perspective)’ and ‘The table is long for her (from her perspective)’, respectively.

- (5.223) isí-ra t’arap’ees-u
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON table-NOM.M
- t’ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The table became dirty to him.’)
 (also, judicantis interpretation: ‘The table became/is dirty for him.’)
- (5.224) isí-ra dibbe seeda=te.
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON drum(NOM.F) long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
 ‘His drum is tall.’ (*lit.*, ‘The drum is tall to him.’)
 (also, judicantis interpretation: ‘The drum is tall for him.’)

A second property of a sentence with an inherently possessed noun as the head of a patient/theme NP is that even when the sentence is interpreted as a Dative EPC, the possessive relation may be less prototypical. For example, in (5.222), (5.223), and (5.224) above, the table or drum may not necessarily be owned by her, but instead may be a table or drum that she is in charge of. Analogously, in (5.225), the boy may be her own, or perhaps it is a boy who she is supposed to look after.

- (5.225) isí-ra beett-u
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON child-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His boy became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy became dirty to him.’)

Therefore, the difference between inherently and optionally possessed nouns seems to contribute to the likelihood of a sentence in the form of the Dative EPC being interpreted as a benefactive or judicantis sentence.

The Sidaama Dative EPC with a transitive verb as a predicate implicitly indicates the speaker’s belief. For example, in (5.111b) and (5.117b) (repeated below as (5.226) and (5.227), respectively), the speaker believes that the possessor was adversely affected by the event, in which its possessum entity was directly affected. In (5.123b) and (5.129b) (repeated below as (5.228) and (5.229), respectively), the beneficial or adversative interpretation is possible depending on the context. In any of the examples in (5.226)-(5.229), the agent’s performance of the action is independent of his/her intention.

- (5.226) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD
- k'ubbiččó mur-t-u.
 finger(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She cut that man’s finger.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the finger to that man.’)

(5.227) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

anná mur-t-u.
 father(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that man’s father.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the father to that man.’)

(5.228) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

t’arap’eesá mur-t-u.
 table(ACC) cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut that man’s table.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the table to that man.’)
 (also, benefactive interpretation: ‘She cut the table for that man.’)

(5.229) hakkó t’arap’ees-í-ra lekká
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg(ACC)

mur-t-u.
 cut-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She cut the leg of that table.’ (*lit.*, ‘She cut the leg to that table.’)

If the verb *mur-t-u* in (5.226)-(5.229) were replaced by *haišš-i-t-u* [wash-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F], the sentences would be likely to express the speaker’s belief that the possessor benefited from the event.

The Sidaama Dative EPC that uses an intransitive verb or adjective as its predicate also implicitly involves the speaker’s belief that the state-change or state should be beneficial or adversative to the possessor. Thus, any of the examples (5.113a), (5.119a), (5.125a), and (5.131a) (repeated here as (5.230)-(5.233), respectively) normally indicates the speaker’s belief that the possessor was adversely affected by the event, in which the possessum entity was directly affected. If the verb *t’ur-ø-i* in these sentences

were replaced by a verb for an event that can be considered to be good in a particular situation, for example, *biif-ø-i* [become.attractive-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M], they would convey that the speaker believes that the possessor was beneficially affected by the event.

- (5.230) *isí-ra* *k'ubbičč-u*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON finger-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His fingers became/are dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The finger became dirty to him.’)
- (5.231) *isí-ra* *rod-u*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON sibling-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His brother became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The brother became dirty to him.’)
- (5.232) *isí-ra* *t'arap'ees-u*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON table-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘His table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The table became dirty to him.’)
 (also, judicantis interpretation: ‘The table became/is dirty for him.’)
- (5.233) *hakkó* *t'arap'ees-í-ra* *aan-u*
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD top-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.*
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The top became dirty to that table.’)

Sentences like (5.115b), (5.121b), (5.127b), and (5.133b) (repeated below as (5.234)-(5.237)), which use an adjectival predicate, are also indicative of the speaker's belief that the state is beneficial or adversative to the possessor. (5.235) is normally beneficial to the possessor, and (5.234), (5.236), and (5.237) can be beneficial or adversative to the possessor depending on the context.

(5.234) *isí-ra* *lekka* *seeda=te.*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON leg(NOM.F) long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED
 'His legs are long.' (*lit.*, 'The legs are long to him.')

(5.235) *isí-ra* *ama*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON mother(NOM.F)

seeda=te.
 long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED

'His mother is tall.' (*lit.*, 'The mother is tall to him.')

(5.236) *isí-ra* *dibbe*
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON drum(NOM.F)

seeda=te.
 long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED

'His drum is tall.' (*lit.*, 'The drum is tall to him.')

(also, judicantis interpretation: 'The drum is tall for him.')

(5.237) *hakkó* *t'arap'ees-í-ra* *lekka*
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg(NOM.F)

seeda=te.
 long.or.tall=NPC.F.PRED

'The legs of that table are long.' (*lit.*, 'The legs are long to that table.')

There is one case where the subject's, rather than the dative entity's, judgment is expressed in the judicantis construction. In the judicantis construction where the dative

entity is inanimate, the dative entity's judgment is not present. An inanimate entity normally does not make a judgment. For example, what is described in the judicantis example in (5.238) is the speaker's judgment rather than the chair's judgment. A chair cannot make a judgment about the tallness of a table.

- (5.238) hakkó barč'um-í-ra kuni
 that.M.GEN stool-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD this.M.NOM
- t'arap'eess-i seeda=ho.
 table-NOM.MOD.M tall=NP.C.M.PRED
- 'This table is tall for that chair.'

Nevertheless, a Dative EPC where the dative entity (the possessor) is inanimate not only reports the state-change or state as the speaker perceives it, but also conveys the speaker's belief that the state-change or state is beneficial or adversative to (the existence or function of) the dative entity. For example, in (5.131b) (repeated here as (5.239)), the speaker usually believes that the table is adversely affected by the dirtiness of its top. (5.133b) (repeated here as (5.240)) also involves the speaker's association of the length of the legs of that table with a beneficial or adversative effect on the existence or function of the table as a piece of furniture (or more generally as an entity).

- (5.239) hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra aan-u
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD top-NOM.M
- t'ur-ø-i.
 become.dirty-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The top of that table became/is dirty.’ (*lit.*, ‘The top became dirty to that table.’)
- (5.240) hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra lekka
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD leg(NOM.F)
- seeda=te.
 long=NP.C.F.PRED
- ‘The legs of that table are long.’ (*lit.*, ‘The legs are long to that table.’)

Therefore, even when the dative entity is inanimate, the speaker’s belief about the benefit or detriment of the dative entity is additionally expressed in the Dative EPC, unlike in the *judicantis* construction.

• Locative possessum/dative possessor EPC

There is another type of Dative EPC where the possessor NP is marked with the dative case and the possessum NP with the locative case suffix. Examples are shown in (5.241)-(5.244), each followed by their IPC counterparts in (5.241’)-(5.244’) (note that there is no Oblique EPC counterpart).

(5.241) kinč-u isí-ra anga-te
 stone-NOM.M 3SG.M.GEN-DAT arm-LOC.F

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his arm.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the arm to him.’)

(5.241’) kinč-u angá-si-ra
 stone-NOM.M arm(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-LOC.MOD

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his arm.’

(5.242) kinč-u isí-ra k’aakk’o-te
 stone-NOM 3SG.M.GEN-DAT baby-LOC.F

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his baby girl.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the baby girl to him.’)

(5.242’) kinč-u k’aakk’ó-si-ra
 stone-NOM.M baby(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-LOC.MOD

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his baby girl.’

(5.243) kinč-u isī-ra saa-te
 stone-NOM.M 3SG.M.GEN-DAT cow-LOC.F

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his cow.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell to him on the cow.’)

(5.243') kinč-u saá-si-ra
 stone-NOM.M cow(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-LOC.MOD

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his cow.’

(5.244) kinč-u hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra
 stone-NOM.M that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD.M

lekka-te uw-ø-i.
 leg-LOC.F fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on the leg of that table.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the leg to that table.’)

(5.244') kinč-u hakkó t'arap'ees-í
 stone-NOM.M that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M

lekka-ra uw-ø-i.
 leg-LOC.MOD fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on the leg of that table.’

As in the types of Dative EPC that have been discussed above, the possessor-possessum relation can be of one of the four types in (5.110) (repeated below as (5.245)), (5.245i)-(5.245iv), which are exemplified by (5.241)-(5.244), respectively.

- (5.245) (i) possessor: animate entity, possessum: body part
 (ii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: kinsmen
 (iii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: artifact/belongings
 (iv) possessor: inanimate entity, possessum: part

The possessor NP and the possessum NP are separate constituents for the reasons given for the Dative EPC in general in section 5.3.1.1. First, the two NPs are pronounced in two different intonation contours, and a pause usually occurs between them. Second,

an animate possessor can be indicated by the pronominal object suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.6, section 5.1.1.2), as in (5.241'')-(5.243''). It is only the pronominal object suffix that expresses the possessor when a full dative NP is not used.

(5.241'') kinč-u (isí-ra) anga-te
stone-NOM.M (3SG.M.GEN-DAT) arm-LOC.F

uw-∅-i-si.
fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his arm.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the arm to him.’)

(5.242'') kinč-u (isí-ra) k'aakk'o-te
stone-NOM.M (3SG.M.GEN-DAT) baby-LOC.F

uw-∅-i-si.
fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his baby girl.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the baby girl to him.’)

(5.243'') kinč-u (isí-ra) saa-te
stone-NOM.M (3SG.M.GEN-DAT) cow-LOC.F

uw-∅-i-si.
fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his cow.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the cow to him.’)

Third, a constituent can occur between the possessor NP and the possessum NP. Thus, as in (5.241''')-(5.244'''), the subject NP can occur between the two NPs.

(5.241''') isí-ra kinč-u anga-te
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT stone-NOM.M arm-LOC.F

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his arm.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the arm to him.’)

(5.242''') isí-ra kinč-u k'aakk'o-te
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT stone-NOM.M baby-LOC.F

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his baby girl.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the baby girl to him.’)

(5.243''') isí-ra kinč-u saa-te
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT stone-NOM.M cow-LOC.F

uw-ø-i.
 fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his cow.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the cow to him.’)

(5.244''') hakkó t'arap'ees-í-ra kinč-u
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD stone-NOM.M

aana-ho uw-ø-i.
 top-LOC.M fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on the top of that table.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on the top to that table.’)

Finally, the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to an animate possessor can occur additionally on the possessum noun.

- (5.241''') kinč-u isí-ra
 stone-NOM.M 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.MOD
 angá-si-ra uw-ø-i.
 arm(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-LOC.MOD fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his arm.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on his arm to him.’)

- (5.242''') kinč-u isí-ra
 stone-NOM.M 3SG.M.GEN-DAT
 k'aakk'ó-si-ra uw-ø-i.
 baby(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-LOC.MOD fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his baby girl.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on his baby girl to him.’)

- (5.243''') kinč-u isí-ra
 stone-NOM.M 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON
 saá-si-ra uw-ø-i.
 cow(GEN.F)-3SG.M.POSS-LOC.MOD fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘A stone fell on his cow.’ (*lit.*, ‘A stone fell on his cow to him.’)

None of these characteristics of the Dative EPC are found in the IPC, for example, (5.241'), (5.242'), (5.243'), and (5.244').

The verb used in this construction can be the existential/locational verb (*no* for a third-person subject; ‘to come to exist, come to be located’), as in (5.246), whose IPC version is in (5.246').

- (5.246) teenničč-u isé-ra bakk'alla-ho no.
 fly-NOM.M 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON cheek-LOC.M exist.P.PRF.3

‘There is a fly on her cheek.’ (*lit.*, A fly came to exist on the cheek to her.’)

(5.246') teenničč-u bakk' all-í-se-ra
fly-NOM.M cheek-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS-LOC.MOD

no.
exist.P.PRF.3

'There is a fly on her cheek.'

The locative NP (the possessum NP) in this Dative EPC may be an adjunct; in other words, the location expressed may be a locale (a location of an event), as in (5.247). Its IPC counterpart is in (5.247').

(5.247) wošičč-u damboow-í-ra
dog-NOM.M Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.MOD

nafara-ho dod-ø-a-nni no
compound-LOC.M run-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

'A dog is running in Damboowa's compound.' (*lit.*, 'A dog is running to Damboowa in the compound.')

(5.247') wošičč-u damboow-í
dog-NOM.M Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M

nafar-í-ra dod-ø-a-nni
compound-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD run-3SG.M-INF-MANNER

no.
exist.P.PRF.3

'A dog is running in Damboowa's compound.'

The possessum NP in this construction can be one of the locational nouns, as in (5.248) and (5.249), which can be replaced by their IPC versions in (5.248') and (5.249'), respectively.

- (5.250)(i) possessor: animate entity, possessum: body part
- | <i>predicate</i> | <i>possessor</i> | <i>possessum</i> |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| uurr'- 'to stand' | (someone) | k'ote 'shoulder' |
| e'- 'to enter' | (someone) | sano 'nose' |
| ofoll- 'to sit' | (someone) | giwooda 'lap' |
| č'il- 'to excrete' | (someone) | umo 'head' |
| no (3rd pers.) 'to exist' | (someone) | afo 'mouth' |
- (ii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: kinsmen
- | <i>predicate</i> | <i>possessor</i> | <i>possessum</i> |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| ofoll- 'to sit' | (someone) | kaakk'o 'baby' |
- (iii) possessor: animate entity, possessum: artifact/belongings
- | <i>predicate</i> | <i>possessor</i> | <i>possessum</i> |
|------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| e'- 'to enter' | (someone) | sagale 'food' |
| ofoll- 'to sit' | (someone) | t'arap'eessa 'table' |
- (iv) possessor: inanimate entity, possessum: part
- | <i>predicate</i> | <i>possessor</i> | <i>possessum</i> |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| heedf- 'to live' | k'ark'ara 'village' | k'ačč'e 'edge' |
| iill- 'to arrive' | k'ark'ara 'village' | mereero 'center' |
| gadf- 'to lie' | daallasa 'bed' | aana 'top' |
| rarra'- 'to hang' | boono 'cliff' | k'ačč'e 'edge' |
| tu'-am- 'to get stuck' | midaano 'clay pot' | afo 'neck' |
| [seal-PASS-] | | |
| mar- 'to go' | mine 'house' | aliido 'upper part' |
| no (3rd pers.) 'to exist' | mine 'house' | giddo 'inside' |

In addition to the difference regarding the grammatical relation of the possessum NP, the Dative EPC with a locative possessum NP seems to differ from the three types of Dative EPC discussed earlier in one respect. This construction expresses the speaker's belief that the event should be beneficial or adversative to the possessor only when the possessor is animate; when the possessor is inanimate, the affectedness on the possessor is irrelevant. However, why this is so remains to be investigated further.

possessum NP. Unlike the Dative EPC discussed so far, however, the affectedness of the possessor is not relevant, even when the possessor is animate. The first type does not seem to have been attested in other languages. The second type is one type of construction for predicate possession (Dryer to appear), where an existential verb is the predicate, and where the possessor is in the dative case and the possessum is the subject. It is found in European languages (e.g., Russian) (Haspelmath 1999) and Semitic languages (e.g., Amharic).

The first type of such construction, which was exemplified by (5.251), has the structure in (5.253), where the possessum is the predicate.

(5.253) Subj-NOM possessor-DAT possessum=te/ho.

Most of the properties of the EPC that were used in section 5.3.1.1 to show that the possessor NP and the possessum NP are separate constituents apply to this construction as well, though the pronominal object suffix that refers to an animate possessor cannot be used in this construction because it ends in the predicative noun-phrase clitic, rather than a verb. First, the two NPs are pronounced with different intonation contours. Second, another constituent can occur between them. For example, an adverb like *t'a* ‘now’ can be inserted between the subject NP and the dative NP (e.g., *ise t'a hakko manč-i-ra darawo=te*. ‘She is a friend of that man now.’). Third, the order of the possessor NP and the possessum NP can be reversed, e.g., (5.254’) instead of (5.251) (repeated below as (5.254)).

(5.254) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

darawo=te.
 friend=NPC.F.PRED

‘She is a friend of that man.’ (*lit.*, ‘She is a friend to that man.’)

(5.254’) hakkó manč-í-ra ise
 that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD 3SG.F.NOM

darawo=te.
 friend=NPC.F.PRED

‘She is a friend of that man.’ (*lit.*, ‘She is a friend to that man.’)

Fourth, the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to an animate possessor can occur on the possessum noun, as in (5.254’).

(5.254’’) ise hakkó manč-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD

darawo-si=ti.
 friend-3SG.M.POSS=NPC.PRED.MOD

‘She is a friend of that man.’ (*lit.*, ‘She is a friend to that man.’)

There is another piece of evidence that the two NPs in this construction form separate constituents. The predicating noun-phrase clitic that attaches to the possessum noun in the predicate is =te (F)/=ho (M) when the possessum noun is Unmodified, as in (5.254), whereas the predicating noun-phrase clitic is =ti when it is Modified by the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to an animate possessor, as in (5.254’). This shows that the possessor/dative NP (*hakkó manč-í-ra* [that.M.GEN person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD])

and the possessum/predicate NP (*darawo* ‘friend’) belong to different constituents in the construction in (5.254). In the IPC example (5.251a’), the predicate NP (*darawo* ‘friend’) is modified by the genitive NP (*hakku manč-i* [that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M]) in the same NP, and takes =*ti*, the form of the predicating noun-phrase clitic used with Modified common nouns.

Additional examples of this construction are in (5.255)-(5.258), which are each followed by their IPC versions in (5.255’)-(5.258’).

- (5.255) *isi* *ané-ra* *rodo=ho.*
 3SG.M.NOM 1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON sibling=NPC.M.PRED
 ‘That man is my brother.’ (*lit.*, ‘That man is a brother to me.’)
- (5.255’) *isi* *rodo-’ya=ti.*
 3SG.M.NOM sibling-1SG.POSS=NPC.PRED.MOD
 ‘That man is my brother.’
- (5.256) *waas-u* *sidaam-ú*
waasa-NOM.M *Sidaama-GEN.M*
- mann-í-ra* *sagale=te.*
 people-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD food=NPC.F.PRED
- ‘*Waasa* is the Sidaama people’s food.’ (*lit.*, ‘*Waasa* is food to the Sidaama people.’)
- (5.256’) *waas-u* *sidaam-ú* *mann-í*
waasa-NOM.M *Sidaama-GEN.M* *people-GEN.MOD.M*
- sagale=ti.*
 food=NPC.PRED.MOD
- ‘*Waasa* is the Sidaama people’s food.’

- (5.257) wond-i k'ark'ara-ho su'maa=ho.
 Wondo-NOM.PROP.M village-DAT.M name=NPC.M.PRED
 'Wondo is a village's name.' (*lit.*, 'Wondo is a name to a village.')
- (5.257') wond-i k'ark'ar-ú su'maa=ti.
 Wondo-NOM.PROP.M village-GEN.M name=NPC.PRED.MOD
 'Wondo is a village's name.'
- (5.258) hakku mine-ho waalčo=ho.
 that.M.NOM house-DAT.M door=NPC.M.PRED
 'That is a door of the house.' (*lit.*, 'That is a door to the house.')
- (5.258') hakku min-ú waalčo=ti.
 that.M.NOM house-GEN.M door=NPC.PRED.MOD
 'That is a door of the house.'

In this construction, it is clear that the referent of the dative NP and that of the predicate NP are in a possessive relationship. However, the referent of the dative NP (the possessor) is not affected by the event or state, and the speaker's judgment does not seem to be expressed. In fact, there are cases where the possessor's judgment seems to be expressed; when the subject NP contains an adnominal demonstrative or consists of a demonstrative pronoun, and the possessor is animate, the construction often means that the subject entity is of the type indicated by the predicate noun in the possessor's judgment, as in (5.259) and (5.260), which can be used cynically to mean that the object may not look like a house or food to other people.²⁵

²⁵ Sentences like (5.259) and (5.260) are also used when it is difficult for the addressee to identify the referent of the subject NP.

accompanied by the pronominal object suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.6, section 5.1.1.2) that refers to an animate possessor. Third, another constituent can intervene between the two NPs. For example, an adverbial such as *t'a* ‘now’ can occur between the dative NP and the subject NP (e.g., *damboow-i-ra t'a bun-u no*. ‘Damboowa has coffee now.’). Fourth, though the order of dative NP–subject NP is usually used, it can sometimes be inverted. Fifth, the possessum noun may be accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to an animate possessor. However, this construction conveys the availability of the possessum to the possessor in addition to the possessive relationship, and its meaning is close to that of the IPC counterpart (discussed shortly).

- (5.262a'')
- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| damboow- <i>i</i> -ra | |
| Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP | |
|
 | |
| min- <i>i</i> -si | no(-si). |
| house-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS | exist.P.PERF.3(-3SG.M) |
|
 | |
| ‘Damboowa’s house (still) exists.’ (<i>lit.</i> , ‘To Damboowa, his house exists.’)
(It is still available to him.) | |

Finally, like the Dative EPC with an intransitive verb, this construction uses the suffix form *-u* rather than *-i* for the nominative suffix on a subject noun ending in /a/ or /o/ that is Unmodified by any adnominal constituent, as in (5.262); if the dative NP were a dependent of the subject NP, a subject noun ending in /a/ or /o/ would take *-i*.

The final point is relevant to the fact that the structure of this construction, which is shown in (5.261) (repeated below as (5.264)), is identical with that of a variant of the Dative EPC with an intransitive verb predicate, which has the structure shown in (5.265).

In fact, as discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.3.1), the existential verb is an intransitive state-change verb, like most of those intransitive verbs that can be used in the construction (5.265).

(5.264) possessor-DAT possessum-NOM no.

(5.265) possessor-DAT possessum-NOM V.

However, there are some differences between the predicative possessor construction and the Dative EPC with an intransitive verb. First, in the predicative possessor construction, the state of existence is not judged by the speaker to be beneficial or adversative to the possessor, even when the possessor is animate. Second, unlike the Dative EPC, which is interchangeable with its IPC counterpart in most cases, not every instance of this construction has an IPC counterpart. Its IPC counterpart would literally mean ‘X’s Y exists’, but because ‘X’s Y’ already presupposes X’s possession of Y, this construction is not informative for expressing possession. Thus, it is only possible when the existence of X’s Y is not presupposed, especially when the availability of the possessum to the possessor is at issue. The examples in (5.266) are IPC counterparts of (5.262). (5.266a) may be used when the speaker finds Damboowa’s house, which he/she thought he has sold, or when the speaker informs the addressee that Damboowa’s house is available to someone (perhaps, the addressee) who is looking for a house to stay in. (5.266b) may be used when the speaker finds Damboowa’s coffee plantation intact after a devastating storm, or when the speaker tells the addressee, who ran out of coffee, that he/she can drink Damboowa’s coffee.

- (5.268) damboow-í-ra bun-u
 Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M-DAT.PROP coffee-NOM.M
- t'arap'ees-ú aana no.
 table-GEN.M top exist.P.PERF.3

'Damboowa's coffee is on the table.' (*lit.*, 'To Damboowa, the coffee is on the table.')

(Damboowa can drink his coffee on the table.)

5.4 Relative Clauses

The present section discusses relative clauses (RCs) in Sidaama. It first describes their structures briefly in section 5.4, and then addresses the question of what types of elements can be relativized in this language in sections 5.4.2-5.4.4.

5.4.1 Overview of the Structures of Relative Clauses

Sidaama RCs use either an NP headed by a common noun or the noun-phrase clitic as their head. All RCs are externally headed and prenominal, that is, the head is outside and follows the relative clause, as in most other verb-final languages. Examples are given in (5.269) and (5.270). In these examples and the RC examples hereafter, the RC is in square brackets, its head is in italics, and the pronominal retained in the RC is underlined. In the present section, each of the RC examples is followed by an example (with a prime) of a simple clause consisting of a common noun used as the head of the RC and (part of) the RC.

- (5.269) [bule Ø { (a) bat-t'-anno] *manč-i*
 Bule(NOM.F) { (b) bat-t'-anno]=*hu*
 love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3 person-NOM.MOD.M
 love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.NOM }

da-ø-i.
 come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'The man who Bule loves came.'
 (b) 'The one (M) who Bule loves came.'

- (5.269') [bule mančó bat-t'-anno.
 Bule(NOM.F) person(ACC) love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
 'Bule loves the person.'

- (5.270) [bule min-í-si-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL

- { (a) mar-t-ino] *manč-i*
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person-NOM.MOD.M }
 { (b) mar-t-ino]=*hu*
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM }

da-ø-i.
 come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'The man whose house Bule went to came.' (*lit.*, 'The man Bule went to his house came.')
- (b) 'The one (M) whose house Bule went to came.' (*lit.*, 'The one (M) Bule went to his house came.')

- (5.270') bule manč-ú min-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) person-GEN.M house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

mar-t-ino.
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'Bule went to the man's house.'

The head of the RC is the common noun *manč-i* [person-NOM.MOD.M] in (5.269a) and (5.270a), and is the noun-phrase clitic (NPC) =*hu* in (5.269b) and (5.270b). In (5.269),

the RC head is the object of the verb of the RC *bat-t'-anno* [love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3], and in (5.270), the RC head is the possessor of the head of the goal NP in the RC *mine* ‘house’. Thus, in (5.269), the direct object is relativized, and in (5.270), the possessor is relativized. The relativized NP is not present in the RC in (5.269) and is represented as a gap \emptyset in the position in the RC where the relativized NP would occur if it were not an RC but a complete sentence, whereas it is retained as the third-person singular masculine possessive pronominal suffix *-si* on the goal noun *mine* ‘house’ in the RC in (5.270). In both sets of examples, the head of the RC is the subject of the verb of the matrix clause *da- \emptyset -i* [come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M].

There are two variable parameters shown in (5.271) that can affect the types of relativizable elements in Sidaama, and the present study investigates RCs in this language in terms of these parameters.²⁶

²⁶ Sidaama RCs are restrictive in most cases. As in (i), an RC whose common-noun head NP has a dependent other than the RC usually has only a restrictive interpretation.

- (i) *isi* *seekk- \emptyset -ino* *danča* *midaano*
 3SG.M.NOM repair-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 good clay.pot(NOM.F)

hiikk'-an-t-ino.
 break-PASS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘The good clay pot that he repaired got broken.’ (The good clay pot out of many that he repaired got broken.)

However, there are a small number of cases like (ii) where such an RC has either a restrictive or non-restrictive interpretation, though it is not clear when such ambiguity emerges.

- (5.271) a. Head of the RC: whether the head of the RC is an NP headed by a common noun (CMNP) or the noun-phrase clitic (NPC)
- b. RC formation strategy: whether/how to express the relativized NP, specifically whether the RC is formed by means of the gapping strategy or the pronominal retention strategy

(5.271a) concerns whether the head of an RC is an NP with a common noun head (CMNP) or the noun-phrase clitic (NPC) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.1). For example, the head of the RC in (5.269a) and (5.270a) is the common noun *manč-i* [person-NOM.MOD.M], and that in (5.269b) and (5.270b) is the NPC =*hu*.

The NPC when used as the head of an RC takes the forms in Table 5.6, depending on its grammatical relation in the matrix clause (MC, henceforth) and the gender and number of its referent. Its genitive case forms can be followed by a suffix, as shown in this table. The use of the NPC as the head of an RC for an inanimate referent is normally anaphoric, and is restricted to cases where its referent is obvious from the context (otherwise, the common noun *riččo* ‘thing’ (PL: *re*) is used). Note that as mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2.1), the plural form of the NPC has the same form as the common

(ii)	buše	hiikk'-an-t-ino	midaanó-se
	Bushe(NOM.F)	break-PASS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	clay.pot(ACC)-3SG.F.POSS

seekk-i-s-i-t-u
repair-EP-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bushe had someone repair her broken clay pot.’ (She had more than one clay pot, and one of them was broken, or she had a clay pot that was broken.)

The verb in the RC in Sidaama is in its finite form — it is always in the imperfect, the present perfect, the progressive, or the continuous aspect (Chapter 3 sections 3.1.1.2 and 3.2.2.1). According to Keenan (1985: 160), this is unusual for prenominal RCs, which use non-finite verb forms (often, called “participles”) in most languages with prenominal RCs.

noun for ‘things’, *re*, and this form is used as the NPC only when the referent of the NP is animate (when the referent of the NP is inanimate, *re* is used as a common noun); also, it is only the non-plural forms of the NPC that can occur in predicate position. As seen later, an RC whose head is the NPC can relativize a slightly narrower range of types of elements than an RC whose head is a CMNP.

		non-PL		PL
		F	M	
ACC (DO)		=ta	=ha	=re (animate only)
NOM (SUBJ)		=ti	=hu	=ri (animate only)
GEN		=te	=hu	=ri (animate only)
GEN-suffix				
e.g.	=NPC-DAT	=te-ra	=hu-ra	=ri-ra
	=NPC-ABL	=te-nni	=hu-nni	=ri-nni
PRED		=te	=ho	

Table 5.6: Noun-Phrase Clitic as the Head of a Relative Clause²⁷

With respect to parameter (5.271b), Sidaama RCs are formed in one of two ways, by gapping (section 5.4.2) or pronoun retention (section 5.4.3) (or more broadly,

²⁷ If the head of the RC in the predicate position of the MC is a CMNP, it is followed by the predicating form of the NPC =*ti* (which is not the head of the RC and is not listed in Table 5.6). See (5.279a), (5.284a), (5.289a), (5.297a), and (5.299a) for examples.

The plural form of the NPC cannot occur in the predicate as its head. When the subject is plural, the plural NPC is followed by =*ti*, as in (ib).

- (i) lat'o=nna damboow-i [dangur-i mat'aafā
 Lat'o(NOM.F)=and Damboowa-NOM.PM Dangura-NOM.PM book(ACC)
- { (a) u-ø-ino] manna=ti.
 give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 people=NPC.PRED.MOD
 (b) u-ø-ino]=re=ti.
 give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL=NPC.PRED.MOD }
- (a) 'Lat'o and Damboowa are the people to whom Dangura gave the book.'
 (b) 'Lat'o and Damboowa are the ones to whom Dangura gave the book.'

(5.273) [bule min-í-si-ra
Bule(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL

{	(a)	mar-t-ino]	manč-i	}
		go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	person-NOM.MOD.M	
	(b)	mar-t-ino]=hu		
		go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM		

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘The man whose house Bule went to came.’ (*lit.*, ‘The man Bule went to his house came.’)
 (b) ‘The one (M) whose house Bule went to came.’ (*lit.*, ‘The one (M) Bule went to his house came.’)

(5.273’) bule manč-ú min-í-ra
Bule(NOM.F) person-GEN.M house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

mar-t-ino.
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘Bule went to the man’s house.’

The issue of what types of constituents can be relativized was first taken up by Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979, Comrie and Keenan 1979), who proposed the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy shown in (5.274).

(5.274) subject > direct object > indirect object > major oblique case NP > genitive (possessor) NP > object of comparison

They mean by “major oblique case NP” “NPs that express arguments of the main predicate, as *the chest* in *John put the money in the chest* rather than ones having a more adverbial function like *Chicago* in *John lives in Chicago* or *that day* in *John left on that day*” (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 66).

Investigating about fifty languages (not including any Cushitic language), Keenan and Comrie found the following principles of relativization. First, any language can relativize at least subject NPs. Second, the types of NPs that are relativizable in any language occupy a contiguous portion of the hierarchy. Third, a type of NP on the left of the hierarchy is more relativizable by the primary RC-forming strategy, namely the RC formation strategy by which subjects can be relativized, than the one on the right; any language sets a cut-off point on the hierarchy, and can relativize those types of NPs higher than the cut-off point with the primary RC-forming strategy. Keenan and Comrie also found that a language often has more than one strategy of RC formation, and RCs formed by different strategies differ as to what they can relativize (for example, conversely to the primary RC-forming strategy, a non-primary, pronoun retention strategy tends to be able to relativize elements lower on the hierarchy).

The following discussion about what can be relativized in Sidaama RCs is divided into sections 5.4.2 and 5.4.3 in terms of the RC formation strategies in (5.271b), gapping and pronominal retention. The use of a CMNP and that of the NPC as the head of an RC indicated in (5.271a) are discussed in parallel in each of the sections.

5.4.2 Relativization by Gapping

This section deals with RC formation by means of gapping. This strategy, which is used to relativize subject NPs, is the primary RC formation strategy in Sidaama (unlike the other strategy, pronominal retention, which cannot relativize subjects). The discussion of relativization by gapping in this section is composed of two parts, according

to the types of elements whose relativizability is tested: the relativization of core and oblique arguments (section 5.4.2.1) and that of genitive NPs (section 5.4.2.2).

5.4.2.1 Relativization of Core and Oblique Arguments by Gapping

This section examines RC formation by means of gapping of core and oblique arguments. The possible grammatical relations of the CMNP heads and the NPC heads of RCs formed by gapping are presented in Table 5.7 (the checked combinations are grammatical and the asterisked ones are ungrammatical). When RCs are formed by gapping with CMNP heads, core arguments and inanimate oblique arguments can be relativized. On the other hand, RCs formed by gapping with the NPC head can relativize core arguments of the verbs of the RCs, but may or may not be able to relativize their inanimate oblique arguments. For animate oblique arguments, this strategy is normally not used, but the pronominal retention strategy (the retention of a genitive pronoun) is used (section 5.4.3.3).

		CMNP head	NPC head
SUBJ of RC		√	√
DO of RC		√	√
IO of RC		√	√
OBL of RC	inanimate	√	√ or *
	animate	* (or √)	* (or √)

Table 5.7: Grammatical Relation of the Common Noun NP Head and the Noun-phrase Clitic Head of a Relative Clause

In the RC examples shown below, the (a) examples use a CMNP and the (b) examples use the NPC as the head of the RC. Note that in those examples below with the NPC that are treated as grammatical, the referent of the NP has to be understood by the

conversation participants. The NPC is more compatible with animate than inanimate referents. Thus, when it is possible to interpret the referent of the NP as animate, an inanimate interpretation is very unlikely. Even when an inanimate interpretation of the referent of the NP containing an RC is possible, the use of a CMNP is usually preferred over that of the NPC.

• Examples of the relativization of core arguments by gapping

(5.275)-(5.289) are examples where core arguments of the RCs are relativized by gapping. The grammatical relation of the relativized NP in the RC is a subject in (5.275)-(5.279). Regardless of the type of RC head ((a): CMNP. (b): NPC), and regardless of the grammatical relation of the RC head in the MC (the subject in (5.275), the direct object in (5.276), the indirect object in (5.277), the oblique in (5.278), the predicate in (5.279)), the subject NP of the RC be relativized.

head: SUBJ of RC, SUBJ of MC

(5.275) (a)

[lat'ó af-ø-ino]
Lat'o(ACC) get.to.know-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

{
 beett-i
 child-NOM.MOD.M
 meent-i
 women-NOM.MOD.M
}

kaw-í-ra da-ø-ino.
here-GEN.PRON.M-ALL come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘The boy/The women who knows/know Lat’o came here.’

- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{af-}\emptyset\text{-ino]=}hu \\ \text{get.to.know-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM} \\ \text{af-}\emptyset\text{-ino]=}ri \\ \text{get.to.know-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.NOM} \end{array} \right\}$
- [lat'ó
Lat'o(ACC)

kaw-í-ra da-ø-ino.
here-GEN.PRON.M-ALL come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'The one (M)/The ones who knows/know Lat'o came here.'

- (5.275') beett-u lat'ó af-ø-ino.
child-NOM.M Lat'o(ACC) get.to.know-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
'The boy knows Lat'o.' (*lit.*, 'The boy got to know Lat'o.')

head: SUBJ of RC, DO of MC

- (5.276) $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{(a)} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{hiikk}'\text{-am-}\emptyset\text{-ino] } t'arap'eessá \\ \text{break-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3} & \text{table(ACC)} \end{array} \right. \\ \text{(b)} & \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{hiikk}'\text{-am-}\emptyset\text{-ino]=}ha \\ \text{break-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$

seekk-u-mm-o.
repair-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

- (a) 'I (M) repaired the table that got broken.'
(b) 'I (M) repaired the one (M) that got broken.'

- (5.276') t'arap'eess-u hiikk'-am-ø-ino.
table-NOM.M break-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
'The table got broken.'

head: SUBJ of RC, IO of MC

(5.277) (a) lat'o mat'aafá [bulé
 Lat'o(NOM.F) book(ACC) Bule(ACC)

bat'-ø-anno] come.to.like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3	{	<i>manč-î-ra</i> person-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD.M <i>mann-î-ra</i> people-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD.M	}
--	---	--	---

u-i-t-u.
 give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Lat'o gave a book to the man/the people who likes/like Bule.'

(b) lat'o mat'aafá [bulé
 Lat'o(NOM.F) book(ACC) Bule(ACC)

{	bat'-ø-anno]= <i>hu-ra</i> come.to.like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-DAT.MOD.M bat'-ø-anno]= <i>ri-ra</i> come.to.like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN-DAT.MOD.M	}
---	---	---

u-i-t-u.
 give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Lat'o gave a book to the one (M)/the ones who likes/like Bule.'

(5.277') manč-u lat'ó bat'-ø-anno.
 person-NOM.M Lat'o(ACC) like-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
 'The man likes Lat'o.' (*lit.*, 'The man comes to like Lat'o.')

head: SUBJ of RC, OBL of MC

(5.278) (a) bule [lekká daafur-ø-ino]
 Bule(NOM.F) leg(OBL) get.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

{	<i>manč-î</i> person-GEN.MOD.M <i>mann-î</i> people-GEN.MOD.M	}	ledo hasab-b-u. COM talk.to-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
---	--	---	--

‘Bule talked to the man/the people whose legs got tired.’ (*lit.*, ‘Bule talked to the man/the people who got tired with respect to the legs.’)

(b)	bule [lekká Bule(NOM.F) leg(OBL)	{	daafur-ø-ino]= <i>hu</i> get.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.GEN daafur-ø-ino]= <i>ri</i> get.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN	}
-----	-------------------------------------	---	---	---

ledo hasab-b-u.
 COM talk.to-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule talked to the one (M)/the ones whose legs got tired.’ (*lit.*, ‘Bule talked to the one (M)/the ones who got tired with respect to the legs.’)

(5.278’) manč-u lekká daafur-ø-ino.
 person-NOM.M leg(OBL) get.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘The man’s legs got tired.’ (*lit.*, ‘The man got tired with respect to the legs.’)

head: SUBJ of RC, PRED of MC

(5.279) lat’o [dangurá
 Lat’o(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)

{	(a) sunk’-i-t-ino] kiss-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	mančo=ti. person=NPC.PRED.MOD	}
{	(b) sunk’-i-t-ino]= <i>te</i> . kiss-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED		}

(a) ‘Lat’o is the woman who kissed Dangura.’
 (b) ‘Lat’o is the one (F) who kissed Dangura.’

- (b) lat'o mat'aafā [bule
 Lat'o(NOM.F) book(ACC) Bule(NOM.F)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bat-t'-anno]=hu-ra} \\ \text{come.to.love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-DAT.MOD.M} \\ \text{bat-t'-anno]=ri-ra} \\ \text{come.to.love-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN-DAT.MOD.M} \end{array} \right\}$

u-i-t-u.

give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat’o gave a book to the one (M)/the ones who Bule loves.’

- (5.282') bule mančó bat-t'-anno.
 Bule(NOM.F) person(ACC) like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 ‘Bule loves the person.’ (*lit.*, ‘Bule comes to love the person.’)

head: DO of RC, OBL of MC

- (5.283)(a) dangur-i [bule egen-t-ino]
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F) get.to.know-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{manč-î-nni} \\ \text{person-GEN.MOD.M-ABL} \\ \text{mann-î-nni} \\ \text{people-GEN.MOD.M-ABL} \end{array} \right\} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{seeda=ho.} \\ \text{tall=NPC.M.PRED} \end{array}$

‘Dangura is taller than the man/the people who Bule knows.’

- (b) dangur-i [bule
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{egen-t-ino]=hu-nni} \\ \text{get.to.know-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-ABL} \\ \text{egen-t-ino]=ri-nni} \\ \text{get.to.know-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN-ABL} \end{array} \right\}$

seeda=ho.

tall=NPC.M.PRED

‘Dangura is taller than the one (M)/the ones who Bule knows.’

head: IO of RC, SUBJ of MC

(5.285) [bule sagalé
Bule(NOM.F) food(ACC)

{	(a)	u-i-t-ino]	<i>manč-i</i>	}
		give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	person-NOM.MOD.M	
	(b)	u-i-t-ino]= <i>hu</i>		
		give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM		

seeda=ho.

tall=NPC.M.PRED

- (a) ‘The man to whom Bule gave food is tall.’
 (b) ‘The one (M) to whom Bule gave food is tall.’

(5.285’) bule sagalé mančo-ho
 Bule(NOM.F) food(ACC) person-DAT.M

u-i-t-ino.

give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘Bule gave the food to the man.’

head: IO of RC, DO of MC

(5.286)(a) damboow-i [bule mat’aafá
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F) book(ACC)

u-i-t-ino]	{	<i>mančo</i>	}	la’-ø-ino.
give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3		person(ACC)		see-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
		<i>manná</i>		
		people(ACC)		

‘Damboowa saw the person/the people who Bule gave the book to.’

(b) damboow-i [bule mat'aafá
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F) book(ACC)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{u-i-t-ino]=}ta \\ \text{give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.ACC} \\ \text{u-i-t-ino]=}re \\ \text{give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.ACC} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{la'-}\emptyset\text{-ino.} \\ \text{see-3SG.M-P.PRF.3} \end{array}$$

‘Damboowa saw the one (F)/the ones who Bule gave the book to.’

(5.286’)

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{bule} \quad \text{mat'aafá} \\ \text{Bule(NOM.F) book(ACC)} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mančo-ho} \\ \text{person-DAT.M} \\ \text{mančo-te} \\ \text{person-DAT.F} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{u-i-t-ino.} \\ \text{give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3} \end{array}$$

‘Bule gave the book to the man/woman.’

head: IO of RC, IO of MC

(5.287)(a) damboow-i mat'aafá [dangur-i
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M book(ACC) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

wot'é u-∅-ino]
 money(ACC) give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mančo-ra} \\ \text{person(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD.M} \\ \text{mann-î-ra} \\ \text{people-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{argis-}\emptyset\text{-i.} \\ \text{lend-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M} \end{array}$$

‘Damboowa lent a book to the woman/the people to whom Dangura gave money.’

(b) damboow-i mat'aafá [dangur-i
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M book(ACC) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

wot'é money(ACC) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{u-}\emptyset\text{-ino]=te-ra} \\ \text{give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.GEN-DAT.NPC} \\ \text{u-}\emptyset\text{-ino]=ri-ra} \\ \text{give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN-DAT.NPC} \end{array} \right\}$

argis- \emptyset -i.
 lend-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Damboowa lent a book to the one (F)/the ones to whom who Dangura gave money.'

(5.287') dangur-i wot'é mančo-te
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M money(ACC) person-DAT.F

u- \emptyset -ino.
 give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'Dangura gave the money to the woman.'

head: IO of RC, OBL of MC

(5.288)(a) [bule wot'é u-i-t-ino]
 Bule(NOM.F) money(ACC) give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{man}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\text{=wa} \\ \text{person-GEN.MOD.M=place} \\ \text{mann}\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\text{=wa} \\ \text{people-GEN.MOD.M=place} \end{array} \right\}$ mar-u-mm-o.
 go-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) went to the man/the people who Bule gave money to.'

(b) [bule wot'é
 Bule(NOM.F) money(ACC)

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{u-i-t-ino]=hu=wa} \\ \text{give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.GEN=place} \\ \text{u-i-t-ino]=ri=wa} \\ \text{give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN=place} \end{array} \right\}$ mar-u-mm-o.
 go-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) went to the one (M)/the ones who Bule gave money to.'

(5.288') bule wot'é mančo-ho u-i-t-ino.
 Bule(NOM.F) money(ACC) person-DAT.M give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'Bule gave the money to the man.'

head: IO of RC, PRED of MC

(5.289) lat'o [dangur-i mat'aafá
 Lat'o(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M book(ACC)

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) } \text{u-}\emptyset\text{-ino] } \text{mančo=ti.} \\ \text{give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person=NPC.PRED.MOD} \\ \text{(b) } \text{u-}\emptyset\text{-ino]=te.} \\ \text{give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (a) 'Lat'o is the person to whom Dangura gave the book.'
 (b) 'Lat'o is the one (F) to whom Dangura gave the book.'

(5.289') dangur-i mat'aafá $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mančo-ho} \\ \text{person-DAT.M} \\ \text{mančo-te} \\ \text{person-DAT.F} \end{array} \right\}$
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M book(ACC)

u-∅-ino.
 give-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'Bule gave the book to the man/woman.'

• Examples of the relativization of oblique arguments by gapping

(5.290)-(5.297) are examples where the inanimate oblique argument of an RC is relativized by means of gapping. (5.290)-(5.293) are examples where a CMNP can be used as the head of such an RC, but the NPC cannot.

head: OBL of RC, SUBJ of MC

(5.290)	[ise 3SG.F.NOM	{	(a) ofol-t-ino] <i>barč'um-i</i> sit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 stool-NOM.MOD.M	}
			(b) ?ofol-t-ino]= <i>hu</i> sit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM	

hiikk'-am-ø-i.
break-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) 'The stool on which she sat broke.'
(b) *to mean*, 'The one (M) on which she sat broke.'

(5.290')	ise 3SG.F.NOM	barč'uma-ho stool-LOC.M	ofol-t-ino. sit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
	'She sat on the stool.'		

head: OBL of RC, IO of MC

(5.291)	[ise 3SG.F.NOM	{	(a) hee-d-anno] <i>k'ark'ar-i-ra</i> live-3SG.F-IMPRF.3 village-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD	}
			(b) *hee-d-anno]= <i>hu-ra</i> live-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-DAT	

saadá o-o-mm-o.
cattle(ACC) give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

- (a) 'I (M) gave cattle to the village where she lives.'
(b) *to mean*, 'I (M) gave cattle to the one (M) where she lives.'

(5.291')	ise 3SG.F.NOM	k'ark'ara-ho village-LOC.M	hee-d-anno. live-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
	'She lives in the village.'		

On the other hand, there are several cases where either a CMNP or the NPC can be used as the head of an RC where an inanimate oblique argument is relativized by means of gapping. Examples are shown in (5.294)-(5.297). Note that as mentioned at the beginning of section 5.4.1, generally, the use of the NPC for an inanimate referent is possible only when its referent is clear from context.

head: OBL of RC, SUBJ of MC

- (5.294)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|-----|----------------------|--|-------------------------------------|---|
| [ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | (a) | e'-'-ino] | | <i>min-i</i> | } |
| | | (b) | e'-'-ino]= <i>hu</i> | | enter-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 house-NOM.MOD.M | |
| | | | | | enter-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM | |

uw-ø-i.

fall-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

(a) 'The house into which she entered collapsed.'

(b) 'The one (M) into which she entered collapsed.'

- (5.294')
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| ise | | min-í-ra | | e'-'-ino. |
| 3SG.F.NOM | | house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL | | enter-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 |
| 'She entered the house.' | | | | |

head: OBL of RC, DO of MC

- (5.295)
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| ise | [isi | dunčankawote |
| 3SG.F.NOM | 3SG.M.NOM | always |

- | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---|
| { | (a) | ha'r-ø-anno] | <i>farš-ú</i> | | <i>miné</i> | } |
| | | (b) | ha'r-ø-anno]= <i>ha</i> | | [local.beer]-GEN.M house(ACC) | |
| | | | | | go-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.M.ACC | |

bat-t'-anno.

come.to.like-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

(a) 'She likes the bar where he always goes.'

(b) 'She likes the one (M) where he always goes.'

(5.295') isi dunčankawote *farš-ú*
 3SG.M.NOM always [local.beer]-GEN.M

min-í-ra ha'r-ø-anno.
 house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL go-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

'He always goes to the bar.'

OBL of RC, OBL of MC

(5.296) ise [isi
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.NOM

{	(a)	kubb-ø-ino]	<i>hakk'iččo=wa</i>	}
		jump-3SG.M-P.PRF.3	tree(GEN.F)=place	
	(b)	kubb-ø-ino]= <i>te=wa</i>		
		jump-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.GEN=place		

ha-č-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'She went to the tree from which he jumped.'
 (b) 'She went to the one (F) from which he jumped.'

(5.296') isi hakk'iččo-te=wi-nni
 3SG.M.NOM tree=GEN.F=place.GEN-ABL

kubb-ø-ino.
 jump-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'He jumped from the tree.' (*lit.*, 'He jumped from the place of the tree.')

head: OBL of RC, PRED of MC

(5.297) tini meesane [dangur-i hakk'iččo
 this.F.NOM ax(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M tree(ACC)

{	(a)	mur-ø-ino]	<i>siwiila=ti.</i>	}
		cut-3SG.M-P.PRF.3	instrument=NPC.PRED.MOD	
	(b)	mur-ø-ino]= <i>te.</i>		
		cut-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED		

- (a) 'This ax is the instrument with which Dangura cut the tree.'
 (b) 'This ax is the one (F) with which Dangura cut the tree.'

(5.297')	dangur-i Dangura-NOM.PROP.M	hakk'iččó tree(ACC)
	siwiil-ú-nni instrument-GEN.M-INST	mur-ø-ino. cut-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘Dangura cut the tree with the instrument.’

It is not clear exactly under what conditions inanimate oblique arguments can be relativized with the NPC head, and this needs to be further investigated using more data.

Animate oblique arguments are normally accompanied by a case suffix or the noun-phrase clitic =*wa*, and in order to relativize them, the pronoun retention strategy (section 5.4.3.3), where a genitive pronoun retained in the RC is followed by a suffix or clitic, rather than the gapping strategy, is used. Nevertheless, there are a few examples where gapping can be used to relativize an animate oblique argument. They are limited to cases where the verb in the RC uses the reciprocal suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3.4). Examples are given in (5.298) and (5.299).

head: OBL of RC, SUBJ of MC

(5.298)	[bule Bule(NOM.F)]	<table border="0"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td>(a)</td> <td>giw-an-t-ino]</td> <td><i>beett-i</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3</td> <td>child-NOM.MOD.M</td> </tr> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td>(b)</td> <td>giw-an-t-ino]=<i>hu</i></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	}	(a)	giw-an-t-ino]	<i>beett-i</i>		dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	child-NOM.MOD.M	}	(b)	giw-an-t-ino]= <i>hu</i>			dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM	
}	(a)	giw-an-t-ino]		<i>beett-i</i>												
		dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	child-NOM.MOD.M													
}	(b)	giw-an-t-ino]= <i>hu</i>														
		dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM														

kaaǰǰa=ho.
strong=NPC.M.PRED

- (a) ‘The boy with whom Bule fought is strong.’
- (b) ‘The one (M) with whom Bule fought is strong.’

- (5.298')
- | | | | |
|---------------------|---|--|---|
| bule
Bule(NOM.F) | { | (a) beett-ú-nni
child-GEN.M-INST
(b) beett-ú ledo
child-GEN.M COM
(c) beett-ú-nni ledo
child-GEN.M-INST COM
(d) beettó
child(OBL) | } |
|---------------------|---|--|---|

giw-an-t-ino.
dislike-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

- (a)-(c) 'Bule fought with the boy.'
 (d) 'Bule fought with the child.'

head: OBL of RC, PRED of MC

- (5.299) dangur-i [bule
Dangura-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F)]

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| { | (a) hasaw-an-t-ino] mančo=ti.
talk.to-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person=NPC.F.PRED.MOD
(b) hasaw-an-t-ino]=ho.
talk.to-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED | } |
|---|---|---|

- (a) 'Dangura is the person with whom Bule talked.'
 (b) 'Dangura is the one (M) with whom Bule talked.'

- (5.299')
- | | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|---|
| [bule
Bule(NOM.F) | { | (a) manč-ú-nni
person-GEN.M-INST
(b) manč-ú ledo
person-GEN.M COM
(c) manč-ú-nni ledo
person-GEN.M-INST COM
(d) mančo
person(OBL) | } |
|----------------------|---|--|---|

hasaw-an-t-ino.
talk.to-RCP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

- (a)-(c) 'Bule talked with the man.'
 (d) 'Bule talked with the person.'

So far, it has been shown that when the head of the RC formed by gapping is a CMNP, not only core arguments but inanimate oblique arguments can be relativized; on the other hand, when the head of the RC formed by gapping is the NPC, core arguments can be relativized in most cases, but inanimate oblique arguments may or may not be able to be relativized. The use of gapping for the relativization of an animate oblique argument is only rarely found.

5.4.2.2 Relativization of Animate Genitive NPs by Gapping

According to Keenan (1985: 154), the relativization of genitive nouns by means of gapping is crosslinguistically unusual. In Sidaama, however, the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun, which could be retained within an RC, may be omitted; as a result, a gap appears in the position for the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun. Examples are shown in (5.300) and (5.301), which include pronominal retention versions (containing *rodo-se* and *mat'aafa-si*, respectively) as well as gapping versions (containing *rodo* and *mat'aafa*, respectively). In (5.300), where the possessum is the subject of the RC, the third-person feminine possessive pronominal suffix *-se* on the possessum noun *rodo* 'sibling' can be retained, but does not have to occur. Also in (5.301), where the possessum is the direct object of the RC, the third-person masculine possessive pronominal suffix *-si* may or may not accompany the possessum noun *mat'aafa* 'book'.

head: GEN possessor of RC, PRED of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

- (5.300) (a)
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| | | [rodo- <u>se</u> |
| lat'o | (y-a) | sibling(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS |
| Lat'o(NOM.F) | (say-INF) | [rodo |
| | | sibling(NOM.F) |
| | | |
| dangurá | gan-t-ino] | <i>mančo=ti.</i> |
| Dangura(ACC) | hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 | person=NPC.PRED.MOD |
- ‘Lat'o is the person whose sister hit Dangura.’

- (b)
- | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | { [rodo- <u>se</u> |
| lat'o | (y-a) | sibling(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS |
| Lat'o(NOM.F) | (say-INF) | [rodo |
| | | sibling(NOM.F) |
| | | |
| dangurá | gan-t-ino]= <i>te.</i> | |
| Dangura(ACC) | hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED | |
- ‘Lat'o is the one (F) whose sister hit Dangura.’

- (5.300')
- | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------|
| | | |
| lat'ó | rodo | dangurá |
| Lat'o(GEN.F) | sibling(NOM.F) | Dangura(ACC) |
| | | |
| gan-t-ino. | | |
| hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 | | |
- ‘Lat'o's sister hit Dangura.’

head: GEN possessor of RC, IO of MC, possessum: DO of RC

- (5.301) (a)
- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | { mat'aafá- <u>si</u> |
| [dangur-i | | book(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS |
| Dangura-NOM.PROP.M | | mat'aafá |
| | | book(ACC) |
| | | |
| hun-ø-ino] | <i>beett-i-ra</i> | |
| lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 | child-GEN.MOD.M-DAT.MOD | |
| | | |
| bule | wot'é | u-i-t-u. |
| Bule(NOM.F) | money(ACC) | give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F |
- ‘Bule gave money to the boy whose book Dangura lost.’

(b) [dangur-i
Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

{	mat'aafá-si book(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS mat'aafá book(ACC)	}
---	--	---

hun-ø-ino]=*hu-ra*
lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-DAT

bule wot'é u-i-t-u.
Bule(NOM.F) money(ACC) give-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bule gave money to the one (M) whose book Dangura lost.'

(5.301') dangur-i beett-ú mat'aafá
Dangura-NOM.PROP.M child-GEN.M book(ACC)

hun-ø-ino.
lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'Dangura lost the child's book.'

The relativization of animate possessor NPs by gapping as a consequence of the omission of the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun, rather than its retention, is only possible when the possessum NP is the subject or direct object of an RC, rather than its indirect object or non-argument, and when the possessive relation between the possessor and the possessum can be inferred easily.

Further examples are shown in (5.302) and (5.303), which include pronominal retention versions (containing *mat'aaf-i-si* and *darbat-i-si*, respectively) as well as gapping versions (containing *mat'aaf-u* and *darbat-u*, respectively).²⁸ In all of these

²⁸ As discussed in section 5.4.3, when the possessum NP is the subject or direct object of an RC, a Dative EPC with the pronominal object suffix on the verb may be used in the RC. An example is shown in (i). (In this sentence, it is possible to use the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun; *mat'aaf-u* can be replaced by *mat'aaf-i-si* [book-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M].)

examples, the possessum NP is the subject of the RC. The head of the RC is the subject of the MC in (5.302) and the direct object of the MC in (5.303).

head: GEN possessor of RC, SUBJ of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

(5.302) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-i-si} \\ \text{book-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS} \\ [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-u} \\ \text{book-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$

moor-am- \emptyset -ino] *manč-i*
steal-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person-NOM.MOD.M

da- \emptyset -i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The man whose book got stolen came.’

(b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-i-si} \\ \text{book-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS} \\ [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-u} \\ \text{book-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$

moor-am- \emptyset -ino]=*hu* da- \emptyset -i.
steal-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The one (M) whose book got stolen came.’

(i) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[mat}'\text{aaf-u} \\ \text{book-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) moor-am-}\emptyset\text{-ino-si]} \quad \text{manč-i} \\ \text{steal-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M} \quad \text{person-NOM.MOD.M} \\ \text{(b) moor-am-}\emptyset\text{-ino-si]=hu} \\ \text{steal-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M=NPC.M.NOM} \end{array} \right\}$

da- \emptyset -i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

(a) ‘The man whose book got stolen came.’
(b) ‘The one (M) whose book got stolen came.’

However, my consultant regards the gapping version of (5.302), the one with *mat'aaf-u*, as the omission of the possessive pronominal suffix *-si* from *mat'aaf-i-si* in (5.302), rather than that of the pronominal object suffix *-si* from the verb *moor-am- \emptyset -ino-si* in (i).

- (5.302') manč-ú mat'aaf-i moor-am-ø-ino.
 person-GEN.M book-NOM.MOD.M steal-PASS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'The man's book got stolen.'

head: GEN possessor of RC, DO of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

- (5.303) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{darbat-i-si}] \\ [\text{heavy.clothes}]\text{-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS} \\ [\text{darbat-u}] \\ [\text{heavy.clothes}]\text{-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{daallasá} \\ \text{bed(ACC)} \end{array}$

t'ur-s-ø-ino] mančó
 become.dirty-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person(ACC)

min-ú-nni šorr-oo-mm-o.
 house-GEN.M-ABL chase.away-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) chased away from the house the man whose *darbata* [heavy clothes] made the bed dirty.'

- (b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{darbat-i-si}] \\ [\text{heavy.clothes}]\text{-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS} \\ [\text{darbat-u}] \\ [\text{heavy.clothes}]\text{-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{daallasá} \\ \text{bed(ACC)} \end{array}$

t'ur-s-ø-ino]=*ha*
 become.dirty-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC

min-ú-nni šorr-oo-mm-o.
 house-GEN.M-ABL chase.away-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) chased away from the house the one (M) whose *darbata* [heavy clothes] made the bed dirty.'

- (5.303') manč-ú darbat-i daallasá
 person-GEN.M [heavy.clothes]-NOM.MOD.M bed(ACC)

t'ur-s-ø-ino.
 become.dirty-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'The man's *darbata* [heavy clothes] made the bed dirty.'

Although further investigation remains, the inferrability of a possessive relation between two entities seems to be attributable to context as well as the lexical property of the possessum noun (e.g., whether the possessum noun is an inherently possessed or inalienably possessed noun). There are cases where the same possessum noun allows the relativization of its (genitive) possessor NP by the gapping strategy and cases where it does not, depending on the verb of the RC. For example, both in (5.304) and (5.305), where the possessor NP is relativised, the possessum is *saa* ‘cow’; the use of the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun is optional in (5.304) (‘The cow disappeared’), but is obligatory in (5.305) (‘The cow is eating grass’).

head: GEN possessor of RC, IO of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

(5.304) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{saa-se} \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{ba}'\text{'-ino]} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{saa} \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{disappear-3SG.F-P.PRF.3}$

beettó-ra *sagalé* *o-o-mm-o*
 child(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD food(ACC) give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) gave food to the girl whose cow disappeared.’

(b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{saa-se} \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS} \end{array} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{saa} \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)} \end{array} \right\}$

ba}'\text{'-ino]}=te-ra
 disappear-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NP.C.F.GEN-DAT.MOD

sagalé *o-o-mm-o*
 food(ACC) give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) gave food to the one (F) whose cow disappeared.’

(5.304') beettó-te saa ba'-'-ino.
 child-GEN.F cow(NOM.F) disappear-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'The girl's cow disappeared.'

head: GEN possessor of RC, IO of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

(5.305) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{saa-se} \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS} \\ [*saa \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)}] \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{haissó} \\ \text{grass(ACC)} \end{array}$

it-t-a-nni no] beettó-ra
 eat-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3 child(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD

sagalé o-o-mm-o
 food(ACC) give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) gave food to the girl whose cow is eating grass.'

(b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{saa-se} \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS} \\ [*saa \\ \text{cow(NOM.F)}] \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{haissó} \\ \text{grass(ACC)} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{it-t-a-nni} \\ \text{eat-3SG.F-INF-MANNER} \end{array}$

no]=te-ra sagalé o-o-mm-o.
 exist.P.PRF.3=NP.C.F-DAT.MOD food(ACC) give-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) gave food to the one (F) whose cow is eating grass.'

(5.305') beettó-te saa haissó it-t-a-nni
 child-GEN.F cow(NOM.F) grass(ACC) eat-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

no.
 exist.P.PRF.3

'The girl's cow is eating grass.'

Furthermore, there seem to be a few other factors that can make it less preferable to omit the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun in an RC. First, the gapping strategy is avoided when the head of the RC is the direct object rather than when

it is its subject. In (5.306)-(5.308), it is better to retain the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun than to omit it; the use of gapping is still acceptable in (5.306), but is not acceptable in (5.307) and (5.308).

head: GEN possessor of RC, SUBJ of MC, possessum: DO of RC

(5.306) (a) [bule
Bule(NOM.F) { amá
mother(ACC)
amá-si
mother(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS }

la'-'-ino] *manč-i*
see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person-NOM.MOD.M

da-ø-i.
come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The man whose mother Bule saw came.’

(b) [bule
Bule(NOM.F) { amá
mother(ACC)
amá-si
mother(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS }

la'-'-ino]=*hu* da-ø-i.
see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The one (M) whose mother Bule saw came.’

(5.306') bule manč-u amá la'-'-ino.
Bule(NOM.F) person-NOM.M mother(ACC) see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
‘Bule saw the man’s mother.’

head: GEN possessor of RC, SUBJ of MC, possessum: DO of RC

- (5.307) (a)

[dangur-i Dangura-NOM.PROP.M	{	mat'aafá- <u>si</u> book(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS ?mat'aafá book(ACC)	}
---------------------------------	---	---	---

hun-∅-ino] *beett-i* da-∅-i.
lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 child-NOM.MOD.M come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘The boy whose book Dangura lost came.’

- (b)

[dangur-i Dangura-NOM.PROP.M	{	mat'aafá- <u>si</u> book(ACC)-3SG.M.POSS ?mat'aafá book(ACC)	}
---------------------------------	---	---	---

hun-∅-ino]=*hu* da-∅-i.
lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘The one (M) whose book Dangura lost came.’

- (5.307') dangur-i beett-ú mat'aafá
Dangura-NOM.PROP.M child-GEN.M book(ACC)

hun-∅-ino.
lose-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
‘Dangura lost the boy’s book.’

head: GEN possessor of RC, OBL of MC, possessum: DO of RC

- (5.308) (a)

[lat'o Lat'o(NOM.F)	{	t'arap'eesá- <u>se</u> table(ACC)-3SG.F.POSS ?t'arap'eesá table(ACC)	}
------------------------	---	---	---

hiikk'-i-t-ino] *mančó* ledo
break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(GEN.F) COM

hasaw-oo-mm-o.
speak.to-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
‘I (M) talked to the person (F) whose table Lat'o broke.’

head: GEN possessor of RC, SUBJ of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

(5.309)(a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-i-si} \\ \text{book-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS} \\ [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-u} \\ \text{book-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$

ba'-ø-ino] *hakimičč-i* busule=ho.
 disappear-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 doctor-NOM.MOD.M smart=NPC.M.PRED

'The doctor whose book disappeared is smart.'

(b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-i-si} \\ \text{book-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS} \\ [\text{mat}'\text{aaf-u} \\ \text{book-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$

ba'-ø-ino]=*hu* busule=ho.
 disappear-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM smart=NPC.M.PRED

'The one (M) whose book disappeared is smart.'

(5.309') *hakimičč-ú* *mat'aaf-i* *ba'-ø-ino*.
 doctor-GEN.M book-NOM.MOD.M disappear-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'The doctor's book disappeared.'

head: GEN possessor of RC, PRED of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

(5.310) (a) *lat'o* (y-a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{j}]\text{aal-i-se} \\ \text{friend-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS} \\ [\text{j}]\text{aal-u} \\ \text{friend-NOM.M} \end{array} \right\}$
 Lat'o(NOM.F) (say-INF)

da-ø-ino] *manč'o=ti*.
 come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 person=NPC.MOD

'Lat'o is the woman whose friend came.'

(b)	lat'o	(y-a)	}	[jaal-i-se
	Lat'o(NOM.F)	(say-INF)		friend-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS
				[jaal-u
				friend-NOM.M

da-ø-ino]=te.
 come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.PRED

'Lat'o is the one (F) whose friend came.'

(5.310')	mančó-te	jaal-i	da-ø-ino.
	woman-GEN.F	friend-NOM.MOD.M	come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
	'The woman's friend came.'		

Even though the gapping strategy for the relativization of an animate possessor requires the possessive relation between the possessor and the possessum to be inferrable, it cannot be used when the possessum is a body part of the possessor (even if the possessum NP is the subject or direct object of an RC). In such a case, the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun is retained within the RC. For example, in (5.311), the possessive pronominal suffix *-si* cannot be dropped from *lekka-si* [leg(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS].

head: GEN possessor of RC, DO of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

(5.311) (a)	}	[lekka-si
bule		leg(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS
Bule(NOM.F)		*lekka
		leg(NOM.F)

daafur-t-ino] mančó kaa'l-i-t-u.
 become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(ACC) help-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bule helped the man whose legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'Bule helped the man his legs got tired.')

head: DAT possessor of RC, DO of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC (Dative EPC)

(5.312) bule [lekka
 Bule(NOM.F) leg(NOM.F)

{	(a)	daafur-t-ino-si]		<i>mančo</i>	}
		become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M		person(ACC)	
	(b)	daafur-t-ino-si]= <i>ha</i>			
		become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M=NPC.M.ACC			

kaa'l-i-t-u.

help-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

(a) 'Bule helped the man whose legs got tired.

(b) 'Bule helped the one (M) whose legs got tired.

(5.312') mančo-ho lekka daafur-t-ino-si.
 person-DAT.M leg(NOM.F) become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M
 'The man's legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'The legs got tired to the man.')

(5.312'') is the RC in (5.312), which stands by itself as a complete sentence. In this sentence, the possessor is indicated only with the pronominal object suffix on the verb. It would look like (5.312''') if the possessor were expressed by a full dative NP.

(5.312'') lekka daafur-t-ino-si.
 leg(NOM.F) become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M
 'His legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'The legs got tired to him.')

(5.312''') isí-ra lekka
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON leg(NOM.F)

daafur-t-ino(-si).

become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

'His legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'The legs got tired to him.')

Alternatively, the possessor NP can be relativized as the subject or direct object of an RC as an instance of the Oblique EPC (the oblique possessum external possessor

construction) (section 5.3), where the possessive pronominal suffix may be retained or omitted. An example is shown in (5.313), where the possessor NP is relativized and the possessum *lekka* is in the oblique.³⁰ Note that (5.313) is a relativization of a subject NP, not that of a genitive NP.

head: SUBJ OF RC, DO of MC, possessum: OBL of RC (Oblique EPC)

(5.313) *bule* [*lekká*
 Bule(NOM.F) *leg*(OBL)

{	(a)	<i>daafur-ø-ino]</i>	<i>mančó</i>	}
		become.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3	person(ACC)	
	(b)	<i>daafur-ø-ino]=ha</i>		
		become.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC		

kaa'l-i-t-u.
 help-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Bule helped the man whose legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'Bule helped the man who got tired with respect to the legs.')
- (b) 'Bule helped the one (M) whose legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'Bule helped the one (M) who got tired with respect to the legs.')

(5.313'') *manč-u* *lekká* *daafur-ø-ino.*
 person-NOM.M leg(OBL) become.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'The man's legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'The man got tired with respect to the legs.')

The RC in (5.313) is a clause that can stand alone as a complete sentence, as shown in (5.313'').

³⁰ In (5.313), (5.313'), and (5.313''), the possessive pronominal suffix *-si* can optionally occur on the possessum noun *lekka*. When the possessive pronominal suffix is used in (5.313), the subject NP is gapped and the possessor is retained on the possessum noun at the same time.

On the other hand, in (5.313''), where the possessor is expressed with a full NP, the use of possessive pronominal suffix is somewhat redundant, though it is not ungrammatical.

- (5.313') lekká daafur-ø-ino.
 leg(OBL) become.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'His legs got tired.' (*lit.*, He got tired with respect to the legs.)

The possessor in (5.313') can also be expressed as a full subject NP, as in (5.313'').

- (5.313'') isi lekká daafur-ø-ino.
 3SG.M.NOM leg(OBL) become.tired-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'His legs got tired.' (*lit.*, He got tired with respect to the legs.)

An inanimate possessor cannot be relativized as a genitive NP. However, the use of the Oblique EPC enables the relativization of an inanimate possessor NP as the subject or direct object of the Oblique EPC. Examples are shown in (5.314) and (5.315).³¹ In (5.314), the subject NP is gapped in the RC, and in (5.315), the direct object NP is gapped in the RC.

³¹ As mentioned earlier, the use of the noun-phrase clitic for an inanimate entity as in (5.314b) and (5.315b) is acceptable only when the conversation participants mutually know the referent.

- (5.315') bule t'arap'eessá lekká hiikk'-i-t-ino.
 Bule(NOM.F) table(ACC) leg(OBL) break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'Bule broke the leg of the table.' (*lit.*, 'Bule broke the table with respect to the leg.')

Compare (5.314) and (5.315) with (5.314') and (5.315'), where a subject NP and a direct object NP that refer to the possessors are added to the RCs to form complete sentences, respectively.

5.4.3 Relativization by Pronominal Retention

Sidaama has three types of pronominal retention strategies for RC formation. One of them is the retention of the possessive pronominal suffix within an RC (section 5.4.3.1), which was already discussed in the previous section. Another one is the retention of the pronominal object suffix on the verb of an RC (section 5.4.3.2), which was also mentioned in the previous section. A third type of pronominal retention is the retention of the genitive pronoun in the RC (section 5.4.3.3). An example of each type is shown below, where the retained pronominal is underlined. (5.316) is an example of the retention of the possessive pronominal suffix, (5.317) is an example of the retention of the pronominal object suffix on the verb, and (5.318) is an example of the retention of the genitive pronoun.

head: possessor of RC, PRED of MC, possessum: OBL of RC

(5.316) lat'o (y-a) [dangur-i
 Lat'o(NOM.F) (say-INF) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

badě-se-ra/*bade-ho
 back(GEN.MOD.M)-3SG.F.POSS-LOC.MOD/back-LOC.M

{	(a)	got'-ø-e	no]	<i>mančo=ti.</i>	}
		sleep-3SG.M-CNN	exist.3.P.PERF	person=NPC.F.PRED.MOD	
	(b)	got'-ø-e	no]= <i>te.</i>		
		sleep-3SG.M-CNN	exist.3.P.PERF=NPC.F.PRED		

(a) 'Lat'o is the woman whose back Dangura has been sleeping on.'

(b) 'Lat'o is the one (F) whose back Dangura has been sleeping on.'

(5.316') dangur-i mančo-te bade-ra
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M person-LOC.F back-LOC.MOD

got'-ø-e no.
 sleep-3SG.M-CNN exist.3.P.PERF

'Dangura has been sleeping on the woman's back.'

head: DO of RC, SUBJ of MC, possessum: DO of RC

(5.317) [lat'o { (a) gan-t-ino-nsa] *ooso*
 Lat'o(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3PL children(NOM.F)
 { (b) gan-t-ino-nsa]=*ri*
 hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3PL=NPC.F.NOM=NPC.PL.NOM

kaw-í-ra dag-g-u.
 here-GEN.PRON.M-ALL come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

(a) 'The children who Lat'o hit came here.'

(b) 'The ones who Lat'o hit came here.'

(5.317') lat'o oosó gan-t-ino-nsa.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) children(ACC) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3PL
 'Lat'o hit the children.'

head: OBL of RC, DO of MC

(5.318) [bule isi=wi-nni
Bule(NOM.F) 3SG.M.GEN=place.GEN-ABL

{	(a)	dag-g-ino]	<i>mančó</i>	}
			come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(ACC)	
	(b)	dag-g-ino]= <i>ha</i>		
			come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC	

hasaw-oo-mm-o.

talk.to-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

(a) ‘I (M) talked to the man from whom Bule came’ (*lit.*, ‘I talked to the man Bule came from the place of him.’)

(b) ‘I (M) talked to the one (M) from whom Bule came.’ (*lit.*, ‘I talked to the one (M) Bule came from the place of him.’)

(5.318’) bule manč-u=wi-nni dag-g-ino.
Bule(NOM.F) person-GEN.M=place.GEN-ABL come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
‘Bule came from the man.’

Note that as is the case with an RC formed by pronominal retention, the RC in each of the above examples can be a complete sentence by itself, as shown in (5.316’), (5.317’), and (5.318’).

(5.316’) dangur-i badě-se-ra
Dangura-NOM.PROP.M back(GEN.MOD.M)-3SG.F.POSS.LOC.MOD

got’-ø-e no.
sleep-3SG.M-CNN exist.3.P.PERF

‘Dangura has been sleeping on her back.’

(5.317’) lat’o gan-t-ino-nsa.
Lat’o(NOM.F) hit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
‘Lat’o hit them.’

(5.318')	bule	isi=wi-nni	dag-g-ino.
	Bule(NOM.F)	3SG.M.GEN=place.GEN-ABL	come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
	'Bule came from him.'		

According to Keenan (1985: 148-149), the formation of prenominal RCs by means of the pronoun retention strategy is crosslinguistically rare (with the exception of Mandarin). Sidaama seems to be unusual in this respect.³³ The three types of pronominal retention strategies are discussed below. Note that because the personal pronouns and the pronominal suffixes are limited to animate NPs, any of the three types of pronominal retention strategies is used only to relativize animate NPs.

5.4.3.1 Retention of the Possessive Pronominal Suffix on the Possesum Noun

When a genitive NP (a non-EPC possessor NP) is relativized, the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to the possessor can be retained on the possessum noun in the RC. Section 5.4.2 showed that the possessive pronominal suffix can be omitted from the possessum noun in an RC where the possessum NP is the subject or direct object when the possessive relation between the possessor and the possessum can easily be inferred. An example is shown in (5.319), where the possessive pronominal suffix *-si* referring to the relativized possessor NP is optionally used on the noun *rodo* 'sibling', which is the subject of the RC (see the previous section for more examples of such a case).

³³ Keenan and Comrie (1977) exclude pronouns as instances of verb agreement from their discussion of pronoun retention; they define verb agreement pronouns as those whose presence is required by the presence of a full NP. Neither the possessive pronominal suffix nor the pronominal object suffix in Sidaama are instances of verb agreement. Keenan and Comrie do not discuss such suffixes, but could include them.

head: GEN possessor of RC, OBL of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC

- (5.319) (a)
- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | [rodo- <u>si</u>
sibling(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS
[rodo
sibling(NOM.F)] | } |
| dag-g-ino]
come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 | manč- <u>î</u> -nni
person-GEN.MOD.M-ABL | wot'é
money(ACC) | |
| lik'i-d-u.
borrow-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F | | | |
| ‘She borrowed money from the man whose sister came.’ | | | |

- (b)
- | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---|---|
| ise
3SG.F.NOM | { | [rodo- <u>si</u>
sibling(NOM.F)-3SG.M.POSS
[rodo
sibling(NOM.F)] | } |
| dag-g-ino]= <i>hu</i> -nni
come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.GEN-ABL | wot'é
money(ACC) | | |
| lik'i-d-u.
money(ACC) borrow-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F | | | |
| ‘She borrowed money from the one (M) whose sister came.’ | | | |

- (5.319') manč-ú rodo dag-g-ino.
 person-GEN.M sibling(NOM.F) come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 ‘The woman’s sister came.’

Unlike when the possessum NP is a subject or direct object in the RC, the possessive pronominal suffix that refers to the relativized possessor has to be retained on the possessum noun in the RC when the possessum NP is an indirect object or oblique argument of the verb of the RC. Examples are given in (5.320)-(5.323).

head: GEN possessor of RC, DO of MC, possessum: OBL of RC

(5.321) (a) [ise 3SG.F.NOM { min-í-si-nni house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ABL *min-í-nni house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL }]

ful-t-ino] mančó af-oo-mm-o.
 exit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(ACC) get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) know the person whose house she exited from.’ (*lit.*, ‘I got to know the man she exited from his house.’)

(b) [ise 3SG.F.NOM { min-í-si-nni house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ABL *min-í-nni house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL }]

ful-t-ino]=ha af-oo-mm-o.
 exit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) know the one (M) whose house she exited from.’ (*lit.*, ‘I got to know the one (M) she exited from his house.’)

(5.321’) ise manč-ú min-í-nni
 3SG.F.NOM person-GEN.M house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

ful-t-ino.
 exit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She exited from the man’s house.’

head: GEN possessor of RC, OBL of MC, possessum: OBL of RC

(5.322) (a)

[bule Bule(NOM.F)	{	mine- <u>nsa</u> house-3PL.POSS *mine house	}
----------------------	---	--	---

mar-t-ino]	<i>mann-í=wa</i>	dangurá
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3	people-GEN.MOD.M=place	Dangura(ACC)

mass-ee-mm-o.
take-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) will take Dangura to the people whose house Bule went to.’ (*lit.*, ‘I will take Dangura to the people Bule went to their house.’)

(b)

[bule Bule(NOM.F)	{	mine- <u>nsa</u> house-3PL.POSS *mine house	}
----------------------	---	--	---

mar-t-ino]= <i>ri=wa</i>	dangurá
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.PL.GEN=place	Dangura(ACC)

mass-ee-mm-o.
take-IMPRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) will take Dangura to the ones whose house Bule went to.’ (*lit.*, ‘I will take Dangura to the ones Bule went to their house.’)

(5.322’)

bule	mann-ú	min-í-ra
Bule(NOM.F)	people-GEN.M	house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

mar-t-ino.
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘Bule went to the people’s house.’

head: GEN possessor of RC, PRED of MC, possessum: OBL of RC

(5.323) (a) lat'o [dangur-i dikko
 Lat'o(NOM.F) dangura-NOM.MOD.M market

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ledo-se} \\ \text{COM-3SG.F.POSS} \\ *ledo \\ \text{COM} \end{array} \right\} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{mar-}\emptyset\text{-ino} \\ \text{go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3} \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} \text{mančo=ti.} \\ \text{person=NPC.F.PRED} \end{array}$$

'Lat'o is the woman with whom Dangura went to the market.' (*lit.*, 'Lat'o is the woman Dangura went to the market with her.')

(b) lat'o [dangur-i dikko
 Lat'o(NOM.F) dangura-NOM.MOD.M market

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ledo-se} \\ \text{COM-3SG.F.POSS} \\ *ledo \\ \text{COM} \end{array} \right\} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{mar-}\emptyset\text{-ino} \\ \text{go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3} \end{array} \right] = \begin{array}{l} \text{te.} \\ \text{NPC.F.PRED} \end{array}$$

'Lat'o is the one (F) with whom Dangura went to the market.' (*lit.*, 'Lat'o is the one (F) Dangura went to the market with her.')

(5.323') dangur-i dikko mančo-te ledo
 dangura-NOM.MOD.M market person-GEN.F COM

mar- \emptyset -ino.
 go-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'Dangura went to the market with the woman.'

Note that the genitive pronoun cannot be used instead of the possessive pronominal suffix in this construction. For example, in (5.320), *isí beettó-ra* [3SG.M.GEN child(GEN.F)-DAT.MOD] cannot be substituted for *beettó-si-ra*.

5.4.3.2 Retention of the Pronominal Object Suffix on the Verb

Sidaama has another type of construction that can be regarded as relativization by pronominal retention. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.3.6) and section 5.1.1.2, Sidaama has a pronominal object suffix on the verb that typically expresses a primary object whose referent is animate but can also express a dative-marked benefactive or adversely affected human participant.³⁴ When the head of an RC is its direct object or indirect object, this suffix can optionally attach to the verb in the RC to indicate the head, as in (5.324) and (5.325).³⁵ In these examples, the RC formation strategy is gapping (section 5.4.2.1) when the pronominal object suffix does not appear on the verb of the RC.

³⁴ As mentioned before, Keenan and Comrie (1977) exclude pronouns involving verb agreement from their discussion of pronoun retention. The pronominal object suffix in Sidaama is not a verb agreement suffix, because it is not required by the presence of a full NP by their criteria; it is optional when a full NP that expresses the same referent exists.

Although it gives information about the subject, the pronominal subject suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.2) on the verb of an RC cannot be regarded as an RC formation strategy of pronominal retention, because it is obligatory in any finite verb. This is a clear example of what is treated as a verb agreement affix by Keenan and Comrie (1977).

³⁵ Nevertheless, as discussed in section 5.4.2.1, when an NP relativized with the NPC head is the indirect object of the verb of the RC and the subject of the MC, and has the same gender as the subject of the RC, as in (i), the object suffix is required (or otherwise, a CMNP has to be used).

- (i)
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| lat'o | wot'é | { | u-i-t-ino-se=ti |
| Lat'o(NOM.F) | money(ACC) | | give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.F=NPC.F.NOM |
| | | | *u-i-t-ino=ti |
| | | | give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM |
| | | | } |
- hatte mančo=ti.
that.F person=NPC.F.PRED

'The one (F) to whom Lat'o gave money is that woman.'

head: DO of RC, SUBJ of MC

- (5.324)

[bule Bule(NOM.F)]	{	(a) la'-'-ino(- <u>si</u>)	<i>manč-i</i>
		see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)	person-NOM.MOD.M
		(b) la'-'-ino(- <u>si</u>)= <i>hu</i>	
		see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)=NPC.M.NOM	

seeda=ho.

tall=NPC.M.PRED

- (a) 'The man who Bule saw is tall.'
 (b) 'The one (M) who Bule saw is tall.'

- (5.324')

bule	mančó	la'-'-ino(-si).
Bule(NOM.F)	person(ACC)	see-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)

'Bule saw the person.'
 with *-si*: 'Bule saw the man.'

head: IO of RC, DO of MC

- (5.325)

damboow-i	[bule	hinč'ilalló
Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M	Bule(NOM.F)	mirror(ACC)

{	(a) u-i-t-ino(- <u>si</u>)	<i>mančó</i>
	give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)	person(ACC)
	(b) u-i-t-ino(- <u>si</u>)= <i>ha</i>	
	give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)=NPC.M.ACC	

gan-ø-ino.

hit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

- (a) 'Damboowa hit the person who Bule gave the mirror to.'
 with *-si*: 'Damboowa hit the man who Bule gave the mirror to.'
 (b) 'Damboowa hit the one (M) who Bule gave the mirror to.'

- (5.325')

bule	hinč'ilalló	mančo-ho
Bule(NOM.F)	mirror(ACC)	person-DAT.M

u-i-t-ino(-si).

give-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M).

'Bule gave the mirror to the man.'

When the head of an RC is a benefactive of the RC, the pronominal object suffix is usually retained on the verb of the RC, as in (5.326). The omission of the suffix makes such a sentence less acceptable.

head: ADJUNCT of RC, OBL(GEN) of MC

(5.326) [lat'o dikko
Lat'o(NOM.F) market

{	(a)	ha-d-ino-si]	<i>manč-î</i>	}	ledo COM
		go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M	person-GEN.MOD.M		
{	(b)	ha-d-ino-si]= <i>hu</i>		}	
		go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M=NPC.M.GEN			

hasaw-oo-mm-o.
talk.with-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

- (a) 'I (M) talked with the man for whom Lat'o went to the market.'
 (b) 'I (M) talked with the one (M) for whom Lat'o went to the market.'

(5.326') lat'o dikko mančo-ho
Lat'o(NOM.F) market person-DAT.M

ha-d-ino-si.
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M

'Lat'o went to the market with the man.'

The pronominal object suffix is also obligatorily used on the verb of an RC to relativize a possessor NP when the RC is an instance of the Dative EPC. Examples are given in (5.312) (repeated here as (5.327)) and (5.328).

head: DAT possessor of RC, DO of MC, possessum: SUBJ of RC (Dative EPC)

(5.327) bule [lekka
 Bule(NOM.F) leg(NOM.F)

{	(a)	daafur-t-ino-si]		<i>mančo</i>	}
		become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M		person(ACC)	
	(b)	daafur-t-ino-si]= <i>ha</i>			
		become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M=NPC.M.ACC			

kaa'l-i-t-u.
 help-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

- (a) 'Bule helped the man whose leg got tired.
 (b) 'Bule helped the one (M) whose leg got tired.

(5.327') mančo-ho lekka daafur-t-ino-si.
 person-DAT.M leg(NOM.F) become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M
 'The man's legs got tired.' (*lit.*, 'The legs got tired to the man.')

head: DAT possessor of RC, PRED of MC, possessum: DO of RC (Dative EPC)

(5.328) dangur-i [bule t'arap'eesá
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M Bule(NOM.F) table(ACC)

{	(a)	hiikk'-i-t-ino-si]		<i>mančo=ti.</i>	}
		break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M		person=NPC.MOD.PRED	
	(b)	hiikk'-i-t-ino-si]= <i>ho.</i>			
		break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M=NPC.M.PRED			

- (a) 'Dangura is the man whose table Bule broke.'
 (b) 'Dangura is the one (M) whose table Bule broke.'

(5.328') bule t'arap'eesá mančo-ho
 Bule(NOM.F) table(ACC) person-DAT.M

hiikk'-i-t-ino-si.
 break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3-3SG.M

'Bule broke the man's table.' (*lit.*, 'Bule broke the table to the man.')

As in any RC formed by means of pronominal retention, the RCs in the square brackets in (5.327) and (5.328) can stand as complete sentences. They are Dative EPC sentences,

and would look like (5.327') and (5.328'), respectively, if the possessor were expressed as a full dative NP rather than only with the pronominal object suffix on the verb.

- (5.327') isí-ra lekka
 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.MOD leg(NOM.F)
- daafur-t-ino(-si).
 become.tired-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)
- 'His legs became tired.' (*lit.*, 'For him, the legs became tired.')
- (5.328') bule isí-ra t'arap'eesá
 Bule(NOM.F) 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.MOD table(ACC)
- hiikk'-i-t-ino(-si).
 break-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3(-3SG.M)
- 'Bule broke his table.' (*lit.*, 'For him, Bule broke the table.')

Note that the pronominal object suffix on the verb of the RC does not always refer to the head of the RC. When the head of an RC is its subject, and the pronominal object suffix is used on the verb of the RC, it refers not to the subject, but to a constituent in the RC (usually, a primary object), or its referent may not be mentioned anywhere in the sentence. For example, in (5.329), the pronominal object suffix *-se* refers to the direct object of the verb of the RC, *lat'o*, if it is mentioned, and refers to a third-person singular feminine person who does not appear anywhere else in the sentence if *lat'o* is not mentioned.

(5.329) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{[(lat'ó)} \\ \text{(Lat'o(ACC))} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{(a) la'-}\emptyset\text{-ino-}\underline{\text{se}}] & \text{manč-i} \\ \text{see-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.F} & \text{person-NOM.MOD.M} \\ \text{(b) la'-}\emptyset\text{-ino-}\underline{\text{se}}]=\text{hu} & \\ \text{see-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.F=NPC.M.NOM} & \end{array} \right\}$

kaw-í-ra da-∅-ino.
 here-GEN.PRON-ALL come-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

(a) ‘The man who saw her (Lat'o) came here.’
 (b) ‘The one (M) who saw her (Lat'o) came here.’

(5.329') manč-u (lat'ó) la'-∅-ino-se.
 person-NOM.M (Lat'o(ACC)) see-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.F.
 ‘The man saw her (Lat'o).’

5.4.3.3 Retention of the Genitive Pronoun

This strategy has to be used to relativize an NP whose genitive form is accompanied by an oblique suffix (or by the enclitic =*wa* ‘place’ and an oblique suffix) to constitute an oblique argument or (part of) an adjunct of an RC. Examples are shown in (5.330)-(5.332).

head: part of ADJUNCT of RC, SUBJ of MC

(5.330) [bule iśi-ra y-i-t-e
Bule(NOM.F) 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON say-EP-3SG.F-CNN

{ (a) dag-g-ino] *manč-i*
come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person-NOM.MOD.M }
{ (b) dag-g-ino]=*hu*
come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM }

re-ø-i.
die-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (a) ‘The man because of whom Bule came died.’ (*lit.*, ‘The man Bule came because of him died.’)
(b) ‘The one (M) because of whom Bule came died.’ (*lit.*, ‘The one (M) Bule came because of him died.’)

(5.330’) bule mančo-ho y-i-t-e
Bule(NOM.F) person-DAT.M say-EP-3SG.F-CNN

dag-g-ino.
come-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘Bule came because of the man.’

head: OBL of RC, DO of MC

(5.331)(a) [bule { iśi-ra } mat’aafá
Bule(NOM.F) { 3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON } book(ACC)
{ iśi=wi-nni }
{ 3SG.M.GEN=place.GEN-ABL }

hir-t-ino] *mančo* af-oo-mm-o.
buy-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(ACC) get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) know the man for/from whom Bule bought the book.’

(b) [bule
Bule(NOM.F) { $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{isí-ra} \\ \text{3SG.M.GEN-DAT.PRON} \\ \text{isi=wi-nni} \\ \text{3SG.M.GEN=place.GEN-ABL} \end{array} \right\}$ mat'aafá
book(ACC)

(hir-t-ino]=*ha* af-oo-mm-o.
buy-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) know the one (M) for/from whom Bule bought the book.'

(5.331') bule { $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mančo-ho} \\ \text{person-DAT.M} \\ \text{manč-u=wi-nni} \\ \text{person-GEN.M=place.GEN-ABL} \end{array} \right\}$

mat'aafá hir-t-ino.
book(ACC) buy-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'Bule bought the book for/from the man.'

head: part of OBL of RC, possessor of DO of MC

(5.332) [bule isí wid-í-ra
Bule(NOM.F) 3SG.M.GEN direction-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

{ (a) mar-t-ino] manč-í
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person-GEN.MOD.M }
{ (b) mar-t-ino]=*hu*
go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3]=NPC.M.GEN }

su'má af-oo-mm-o.
name(ACC) get.to.know-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

(a) 'I (M) know the name of the man toward whom Bule went.'
(b) 'I (M) know the name of the one (M) toward whom Bule went.'

(5.333) **[lat'o* *isé-ra* *wot'é*
 Lat'o(NOM.F) 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON money(ACC)

{ (a) *u-i-t-ino]* *mančo*
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(ACC) }
 { (b) *u-i-t-ino]=ti*
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM } }

seeda=te.
 tall=NPC.F.PRED

(a) *to mean*, 'The woman to whom Lat'o gave money is tall.'
 (b) *to mean*, 'The one (F) to whom Lat'o gave money is tall.'

head: IO of RC, SUBJ of MC

(5.334) [*lat'o* *wot'é*
 Lat'o(NOM.F) money(ACC)

{ (a) *u-i-t-ino]* *mančo*
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3 person(ACC) }
 { (b) *u-i-t-ino]=ti*
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM } }

seeda=te.
 tall=NPC.F.PRED

(a) 'The woman to whom Lat'o gave money is tall.'
 (b) 'The one (F) to whom Lat'o gave money is tall.'

(5.334') *lat'o* *mančo-te* *wot'é*
 Lat'o(NOM.F) person-DAT.F money(ACC)

u-i-t-ino.
 give-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'Lat'o gave money to the woman.'

5.4.4 Summary of Relativizable NPs

The RC formation patterns in Sidaama are summarized in Table 5.8.

	Gapping		Pronominal retention both CMNP and NPC (animate only)
	CMNP	NPC	
Core argument	√	√ (except when NPC head is IO of RC and subject of MC and has the same gender as subject of RC)	retention of pron. obj. suffix for (usu. primary) object
Oblique argument (inanimate)	√	* or √	*
Oblique argument (animate)	* (or √)	* (or √)	retention of genitive pronoun
Genitive noun (animate) possessum: SUBJ or DO	* or √ (OK only when possession is easily inferrable, but possessum is not part of possessor)	* or √	retention of poss. pron. suffix on possessum
Genitive noun (animate) possessum: IO or OBL	*	*	retention of poss. pron. suffix on possessum
Object of comparison	* (or √)	* (or √)	*
Adjunct	*	*	retention of genitive pronoun

Table 5.8: Relative Clause Formation Patterns and Relativizable NPs

There are two types of heads of RCs: a CMNP and the NPC. In general, the NPC has a preference for an animate interpretation of the referent of the NP, and can be used only when the type of the referent of the RC is clear to the conversation participants. There are two strategies for RC formation: gapping and pronominal retention. Because the gapping strategy is used to relativize subjects, whereas the pronominal retention strategy cannot, the former is the primary RC formation strategy in Sidaama.

When an RC is formed by gapping with a CMNP head, core arguments and inanimate oblique arguments can be relativized. When an RC is formed by gapping with the NPC head, core arguments can be relativized in most cases, whereas inanimate

oblique arguments are usually not relativizable, with a few exceptions. The relativization of animate oblique arguments by gapping is very uncommon.

Sidaama RCs can also use gapping to relativize genitive NPs, which are animate, when the possessum noun is the subject or direct object of the RC and a possessive relation can easily be inferred.

Sidaama can use the other relativization strategy, the pronominal retention strategy, to relativize NPs whose referents are animate. There are three types of pronominals that can be retained: the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun within an RC, the pronominal object suffix on the verb of an RC, or the genitive pronoun. The retention of the possessive pronominal suffix on the possessum noun in an RC is optional when the possessum noun is the subject or direct object of the RC, but is obligatory when the possessum noun is the indirect object or oblique argument of the RC. The pronominal object suffix on the verb of an RC can be retained to relativize the direct or indirect object, and has to be retained to relativize the possessor NP of a Dative EPC RC. Genitive pronouns are relativized by retention when they are parts of oblique arguments or adjuncts in the RC.

By and large, the Sidaama relativization patterns seem to support Keenan and Comrie's hypothesis, according to which gapping and pronominal retention relativize elements in different portions of the hierarchy; the gapping strategy tends to be used for elements higher on the NP accessibility hierarchy, whereas the pronominal retention strategy is likely to relativize elements lower on the hierarchy (also, Keenan 1985: 154), though the three types of pronominal retention relativize different ranges of elements, and

the pronominal object suffix can be used to relativize elements that are relatively high on the hierarchy.

However, there seems to be one counterexample in Sidaama to the hierarchy. Though not common, it is possible to relativize objects of comparison by gapping. Examples are shown in (5.335) and (5.336).

- (5.335) [lat'o seed-d-anno]
 Lat'o(NOM.F) become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- manč-í ledo hasaw-oo-mm-o.*
 person-GEN.MOD.M COM talk.to-P.PRF.1-1SG-M
- 'I (M) talked to the person (M) who Lat'o is taller than.'

- (5.335') lat'o
 Lat'o(NOM.F) { (a) manč-ú-nni
 person-GEN.M-ABL }
 (b) mančó
 person(OBL) }
- seed-d-anno.
 become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- (a) 'Lat'o is taller than the man.'
 (b) 'Lat'o is taller than the person.'

- (5.336) buše [dangur-i
 Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M
- hara'm-ø-anno]=te.*
 become.short-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NP.C.F.PRED
- 'Bushe is the one (F) who Dangura is shorter than.'

- (5.336') dangur-i
Dangura-NOM.PROP.M
- | | | | |
|---|-----|----------------------------------|---|
| { | (a) | mančó-te-nni
person-GEN.F-ABL | } |
| | (b) | mančó
person(OBL) | |

hara'm-ø-anno.
become.short-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

- (a) 'Dangura is shorter than the woman.'
(b) 'Dangura is shorter than the person.'

In one comparative construction, the ablative suffix *-nni* is used to mark the object of comparison (the standard of comparison) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.6), and either an adjective (e.g., *seeda* 'tall') or a state-change verb (e.g., *seed-* 'to become tall') is used for the quality to be compared, as in (5.337a). However, when a verb is used for the quality to be compared, the ablative suffix may or may not be used as in (5.337b).

- (5.337) (a) bule daafurs-í-nni
Bule(NOM.F) Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-ABL
- seeda=te.
tall=NP.F.PRED
- (b) bule { daafurs-í-nni
Bule(NOM.F) { Daafursa-GEN.PROP.M-ABL
 daafursá
 Daafursa(OBL) }

seed-d-anno.
become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

'Bule is taller than Daafursa.'

When such a comparison is expressed in an RC, the subject of the comparative constructions, rather than the object of comparison, is usually relativized by gapping, as in (5.338) and (5.339).

- (5.338) [lat'ó-nni hara'm-ø-anno]
 Lat'o(GEN.F)-ABL become.short-3SG.G-IMPRF.3
- manč-í ledo hasaw-oo-mm-o.*
 person-GEN.MOD.M COM talk.to-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

'I (M) talked to the man who is shorter than Lat'o.'

- (5.338') *manč-u lat'ó-nni*
 person-NOM.M Lat'o(GEN.F)-ABL

hara'm-ø-anno.
 become.short-3SG.G-IMPRF.3

'The man is shorter than Lat'o.'

- (5.339) *buše [dangur-í-nni*
 Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL

seed-d-anno]=te.
 become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED

'Bushe is the one (F) who is taller than Dangura.'

- (5.339') *mančo dangur-í-nni*
 person(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL

seed-d-anno.
 become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED

'The woman is taller than Dangura.'

However, it seems to be possible to relativize an object of comparison with only a limited number of verbs (*seed-* 'to become tall', *hara'm-* 'to become short', *roor-* 'to exceed',

aǰ- ‘to become inferior to’). In order to do this, the gapping strategy is used with a verb rather than an adjective expressing the quality of comparison, as in (5.335) and (5.336) (repeated below as (5.340) and (5.341), respectively).³⁷

(5.340) [lat’o seed-d-anno]
 Lat’o(NOM.F) become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

manč-í ledo hasaw-oo-mm-o.
 person-GEN.MOD.M COM talk.to-P.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) talked to the person (M) who Lat’o is taller than.’

(5.340’) lat’o mančo seed-d-anno.
 Lat’o(NOM.F) person(OBL) become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
 ‘Lat’o is taller than the person.’ (*lit.*, Lat’o becomes taller than the person.)

(5.341) buše [dangur-i
 Bushe(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M

hara’ m-ø-anno]=te.
 become.short-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED

‘Bushe is the one (F) who Dangura is shorter than.’

³⁷ The pronominal retention strategy cannot be used to relativize an object of comparison, as in (i).

(i) *lat’o [dangur-i isé-nni
 Lat’o(NOM.F) Dangura-NOM.PROP.M 3SG.F.GEN-ABL

{ hara’ m-ø-anno] mančo=ti.
 become.short-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 person=NPC.MOD.PRED }
 { hara’ m-ø-anno]=te.
 become.short-3SG.M-IMPRF.3=NPC.F.PRED }

to mean, ‘Lat’o is the one (F) who Dangura is shorter than.’

(5.341') dangur-i mančó
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M person(OBL)

hara'm-ø-anno.
 become.short-3SG.M-IMPRF.3

'Dangura is shorter than the person.'

This construction could be regarded as a counterexample to the Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, though the verbs that can be used in this way are very much restricted.

Chapter 6: Semantics

This chapter examines the semantic structure of Sidaama in terms of how it expresses different types of events, using Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000b) typological framework of event integration. Section 6.1 reviews Talmy's findings on the typological patterns of event integration in language. Section 6.2 describes the event integration patterns in Sidaama.

6.1 Review of Talmy's Typology of Event Integration

According to Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000b), the cognitive process of event integration is the conceptual integration or conflation of an event as unitary that, more analytically, would be conceptualized as complex. In language, this process emerges as the expression of an event in a single clause that, more analytically, would be expressed by means of a more complex syntactic structure (Talmy 2000b: 215-216).

Two pairs of single-clause and two-clause examples are shown in (6.1) and (6.2), which concern motion and state-change, respectively.

- (6.1) a. The ball went down the hill, rolling in the process/the while.
 b. The ball rolled down the hill. (Talmy 2000b: 30)
- (6.2) a. The candle went out because something blew on it.
 b. The candle blew out. (Talmy 2000b: 217)

In (6.1a), the ball's going down the hill and the ball's rolling are expressed in two different clauses; the relation between the two is determined by the so-called "present participle" construction. In (6.1b), almost the same content as (6.1a) is expressed as a unitary event in a single clause, where the verb *rolled* expresses the Manner of motion and the prepositional phrase the path of motion as well as the ground object. In (6.2a), the candle's going out is expressed in a separate clause from something blowing on the candle, and the relation between the two is indicated by the construction with the conjunction *because*, which connects the two clauses. (6.2b), on the other hand, treats approximately the same content as unitary, and expresses it with a single clause, where the verb expresses the Cause of the state-change event and the satellite the final state resulting from the state-change.

Like other researchers, Talmy notes structural similarities between motion events and state-change events, but from a rather different perspective. Talmy (1991, 2000b) uses the term "macro-event" to refer to an event like (6.1) and (6.2), namely "a complex event that can be conceptually integrated into a unitary event expressible in some languages by a single clause" (Talmy 2000b: 220). Although languages can differ as to what can be conceptualized as single events and expressed in a single clause, there is a class of events that tend to be recurrently conceptualized as macro-events and expressed in single clauses across languages.

In both types of events, motion and state-change, the macro-event is made up of a framing event (a main event), a co-event (a subordinate event), and the supporting relation. In (6.1), the framing event is the ball's motion of going down the hill, the co-event is the ball's rolling, and the supporting relation is a Manner of motion in which the

ball changes its location. In (6.2), the framing event is the candle's state-change of going out, the co-event is something blowing on the candle, and the supporting relation is a causal relation in which something blowing on the candle causes it to go out.

The framing event, which is the main event of a macro-event, constitutes the schematic core of the macro-event, and has a framing function relative to the macro-event. It “provides for the whole macro-event the overarching conceptual framework or reference frame within which the other included activities are conceived of as taking place”, and represents “the upshot – relative to the whole macro-event” in the sense that “it is the framing event that is asserted in a positive declarative sentence, that is denied under negation, that is demanded in an imperative, and that is asked about in an interrogative”; moreover, it determines the overall temporal and spatial frameworks, the argument structure, and the syntactic complement structure (Talmy 2000b: 219).

The framing event consists of the following four components: (i) a figural entity, (ii) a ground entity, (iii) an activation process, and (iv) an association function. The figural entity is an entity that has an unknown particular value to be determined and to which attention is directed. The ground entity is a reference-point entity with respect to which the figural entity is characterized. The activation process, which has two values, transition and fixity, determines the dynamism of the event. In the case of a motion event, the two values are motion and locatedness (stationariness), and in the case of a state-change event, they are a change in a property of an entity and a stasis in the property. The association function, which relates a figural entity to a ground entity, constitutes the core schema of the framing event (sometimes together with the ground). For example, in (6.1b) (repeated below as (6.3) with *the hill* in parentheses), the figural

entity is the ball, the ground entity is the hill, the activation process is transition, specifically motion, and the association function is the path along which the ball moves. In (6.2b) (repeated below as (6.4)), the figural entity is the candle, the ground entity is the candle's property of being extinguished, the activation process is transition, specifically change, and the association function is entry into a new state.

Motion

(6.3) The ball rolled down (the hill). (adapted from Talmy 2000b: 30)

State-change

(6.4) The candle blew out. (Talmy 2000b: 217)

The co-event, which tends to be less abstract than the framing event, is an event of circumstance in relation to the macro-event, and can show various types of support relations to the framing event, specifically, Manner, Cause, Precursion, Enablement, Concomitance, or Subsequence, among others (Talmy 2000b: 42-49, 220). Manner and Cause, which are already discussed for (6.3) and (6.4), are the most prototypical co-event types. English examples of Precursion, Enablement, Concomitance, and Subsequence are shown in (6.5)-(6.8), each of which involves a Motion event. Compare these sentences with (6.5')-(6.8'), respectively, which express no co-events, but can be used to describe the same events depicted by (6.5)-(6.8).

Precursion

(6.5) Glass splintered onto the carpet. (Talmy 2000b: 42)

Compare:

(6.5') Glass moved onto the carpet.

Enablement

(6.6) Could you reach/grab that bottle down off the shelf? (Talmy 2000b: 42)

Compare:

(6.6') Could you move that bottle down off the shelf?

Concomitance

(6.7) She wore a green dress to the party. (Talmy 2000b: 46)

Compare:

(6.7') She went to the party.

Subsequence

(6.8) I'll look in at the stew cooking on the stove. (Talmy 2000b: 47)

Compare:

(6.8') I'll go in (to the kitchen).

The Precursion relation is a non-causal relation in which the co-event occurs before the framing event, but the occurrence of the framing event is independent of that of the co-event. In (6.5), the co-event, the splintering of the glass, precedes the framing event (6.5'), but did not cause it; the glass could have moved onto the carpet without splintering. In the Enablement relation, which is also a non-causal relation, the co-event precedes and enables the framing event. In (6.6), the co-event of reaching to/grabbing the bottle precedes and enables the framing event in (6.6'), though the former does not cause the latter. Concomitance consists of an activity that the figure performs in addition to the one in the framing event, and is a relation in which the co-event occurs at the same time as, but independently of, the framing event. Concomitance is similar to Manner and is sometimes hardly distinguishable from it, but the difference is that the co-event of Concomitance does not contribute to the occurrence of the framing event. In (6.7), her wearing a green dress can occur regardless of the occurrence of the framing event in

(6.7'). In the Subsequence relation, the co-event occurs immediately after the framing event, and is a purpose or consequence of it. In (6.8), the co-event of my looking at the stew cooking on the stove occurs after the framing event shown in (6.8') as its purpose.

Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000b, etc.) investigated event integration patterns across languages, and found that languages fall into one of two typological types depending on how components of the macro-event are syntactically expressed, particularly, (i) whether the core schema of the framing event is expressed in the verb (the framing verb) or in the satellite (the framing satellite) (e.g., 'down' in (6.3) when *the hill* is not expressed), which is "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root" (Talmy 2000b: 102, 222), and (ii) whether the co-event appears in the satellite or adjunct, or in the verb.¹ Those languages that usually express the core schema of the framing event in a verb and the co-event with a satellite or adjunct are called "verb-framed languages" ("V-languages", henceforth), whereas those languages that characteristically express the core schema of the framing event in the satellite (sometimes, a satellite plus an adposition, or an adposition alone) and the co-event with a verb are called "satellite-framed languages" ("S-languages", henceforth). V-languages include: Romance languages, Semitic languages, Korean, Japanese, Tamil, Polynesian languages, Bantu, some branches of Mayan, Nez Perce, and Caddo. On the other hand, S-languages include: most Indo-European languages minus the Romance languages, Finno-Ugric languages, Chinese,

¹ See Talmy (2000b: 278-286) for his explanation of why the framing satellite expresses the framing event in S-languages.

Ojibwa, and Warlpiri.² The differences between the two types of languages are summarized in Table 6.1.

	V-language	S-language
framing event		
core schema = association function (+ ground)	verb	satellite (and/or adposition)
activation process (transition vs. fixity)	verb	verb
co-event	satellite or adjunct	verb

Table 6.1: Syntactic Realizations of the Components of the Macro-event
Characteristically Found in V-languages and S-languages

Note that in both types of languages, the activation process is normally coded in the verb; one important difference between the two types of languages is that the verb used for the activation process also expresses the core schema in V-languages and a co-event in S-languages as their unique properties. Note also that Table 6.1 only shows characteristically different patterns of expressing the components of the macro-event between the two types of languages. For example, core schematic components can also be expressed with adpositions in a V-language, and with verbs in an S-language.

Motion and state-change examples of Spanish, a V-language, are shown in (6.9) and (6.10).³ In the motion event example (6.9), the path as well as the fact of motion are expressed in the main verb (*entró* ‘entered’), and the co-event of Manner appears in the

² Certain Amerindian languages such as Atsugewi and Navaho, where the satellite expresses the path and the ground at once, and the verb expresses the figure, are also classified into this type (Talmy 1985, 2000b: 225).

³ My thanks go to Rodrigo Romero and Valeria Belloro for checking and making comments on some of these Spanish examples.

gerundive (*rodando* ‘rolling’). In the state-change example (6.10), the changed property as well as the change in the property are indicated by the main verb (*apagué* ‘I extinguished’) and the Cause of the state-change is expressed by the gerundive (*soplándola* ‘blowing’) or the prepositional phrase (*de un soplo* ‘with a blow’).

Motion (Spanish)

(6.9) La pelota entró rodando.
 the ball entered rolling
 ‘The ball rolled in.’ (*lit.*, ‘The ball entered, rolling.’)

State-change (Spanish)

(6.10) (a) *Apagué* la vela soplándola.
 I.extinguished the candle blowing
 (b) *Apagué* la vela de un soplo.
 I.extinguished the candle with a blow

‘I blew out the candle.’ (*lit.*, ‘I extinguished the candle [by] blowing-on it/with a blow.’)

(adapted from Talmy 2000b: 243)

Motion and state-change examples of English, which predominantly shows the characteristics of an S-language, are presented in (6.3) (repeated below as (6.11)) and (6.4) (repeated below as (6.12)), respectively. In the motion event example (6.11), the core schema, which consists of the path and the ground object, is expressed in the satellite *down* (or the prepositional phrase *down the hill*), and the co-event of the motion, the Manner of motion, is lexicalized in the verb *rolled*. In the state-change example (6.12), the core schema of the state-change macro-event, the changed property, is expressed by the satellite *out*, and the Cause of the state-change as a co-event appears in the verb.

Motion

(6.11) The ball rolled *down* (*the hill*). (adapted from Talmy 2000b: 30)

State-change

(6.12) The candle blew *out*. (Talmy 2000b: 217)

Talmy (1991, 2000b) found that this structural parallelism is found not only between motion and state-change, but also between these and three other event categories, realization, temporal contouring (aspect), and action correlating, and that the two types of languages consistently show the two different patterns of expressing the components of macro-events across all these event categories. Realization, which could be analyzed as a special type of state-change, concerns the fulfillment of a goal that the agent intends to achieve, or the confirmation of the fulfillment of the goal that is only implicated. Temporal contouring is aspect conceptualized as a macro-event. Action correlating is a type of event in which an action of one participant shows a correlation with that of another. The correlation can be concert, accompaniment, imitation, surpassment, or demonstration. All three of these event types as well as state-change are structured for conceptualization in language analogously to motion (see Talmy 2000b for details).

Also, when expressing the three types of events, realization, temporal contouring, and action correlating, V-languages use verbs for core schemas and adverbials for co-events, whereas S-languages use satellites or adpositional phrases for core schemas and verbs for co-events. The V-language patterns of expressing realization, temporal

(6.19) motion: path

(6.9): the path that moves into the location where the ball is surrounded by something

(6.11): the path that moves down the hill

state-change: changed property

(6.10) and (6.12): the state of the candle being extinguished

realization: fulfillment or confirmation

(6.13): the fulfillment of my intention

(6.16): the fulfillment of the police's intention

temporal contouring: aspect

(6.14) and (6.17): continuation

action correlating: correlation

(6.15): my accompaniment to him

(6.18): her accompaniment to another person

Talmy's typology has been tested and elaborated on by examining how different languages fit into or deviate from one of these two patterns, especially in the domain of motion (e.g., Aske 1989, Wienold 1995, Slobin 1996, 2000, Im 2001, Brown 2003, Zlatave and Yangklang 2003, Bohnemeyer et al. in press.). However, there seem to be no studies that have looked at any Cushitic languages under this framework. Section 6.2 employs this framework, and describes the event integration patterns in Sidaama with respect to the five event categories.

6.2 Event Integration Patterns in Sidaama

This section examines how Sidaama expresses the five types of events, motion (section 6.2.3), state-change (section 6.2.4), realization (section 6.2.5), temporal contouring (section 6.2.6), and action correlating (section 6.2.7). Before going into the details of Sidaama expression patterns of these types of events, a summary is given in

section 6.2.1, and multiple-verb constructions that are used across different types of events are described in section 6.2.2.

6.2.1 Overview of Sidaama Expression Patterns of the Five Types of Events

As far as motion, state-change, and realization are concerned, Sidaama is clearly a V-language. For motion, Sidaama seems to nearly consistently use the V-language pattern, where the core schema of the framing event is expressed by the main verb and the co-event is expressed by an adverbial or a non-main verb. There are two V1-V2 constructions that can be used for motion macro-events: the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction with the connective suffix, shown in (6.20a) (V1-PERS-CNN V2) (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4, Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.3), and the manner/concomitance V1-V2 construction with the suffix *-nni*, shown in (6.20b) (V1-PERS-INF-MANNER V2) (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4, Chapter 4 sections 4.2.2.1.3.6 and 4.2.2.3.4), which are discussed in detail in the next section. In both constructions in (6.20), the path is expressed by V2, the main verb (*e'* - 'to enter'), and the Manner of motion by V1 (*gongo'm*- 'to roll'). Note that as in (6.20a), the temporal sequence construction, which is usually used to indicate the temporal sequence of the event components of V1 and V2, does not express any temporal sequence, when V1 expresses the manner of the event component expressed by the main verb.

- (6.20) (a) kaase min-í giddo-ra
 ball(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M inside-LOC.MOD
- gongo'm-i-t-e e'-'-ino.
 roll-EP-3SG.F-CNN enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3
- ‘The ball rolled into the house.’ (*lit.*, ‘The ball rolled and entered the house.’)
- (b) kaase min-í giddo-ra
 ball(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M inside-LOC.MOD
- gongo'm-i-t-a-nni e'-'-ino.
 roll-EP-3SG.F-INF-INST enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3
- ‘The ball rolled into the house.’ (*lit.*, ‘The ball entered the house, rolling.’)⁴

When these two V1-V2 constructions are used for a motion event where the co-event concerns Manner, as in (6.20), they can usually be used interchangeably (with only a subtle difference in meaning; details are discussed later).

Also, in expressions of state-changes, Sidaama again exhibits the V-language pattern. A common pattern is the use of the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction with the connective suffix on V1, one of the multi-verb constructions that can be used for motion macro-events; the event component expressed by V1 precedes that expressed by V2, and the former causes the latter. In (6.21), the core schema of the state-change, the changed property, is expressed by V2 (*t'o-* ‘to go out, become extinguished’) and the Cause of the state-change by V1 (*t'ab-* ‘to burn’).

⁴ Another interpretation of (6.20b) is discussed shortly.

- (6.21) šaam-u t'aw-ø-e ba'-ø-i.
 candle-NOM.M burn-3SG.M-CNN disappear-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'The candle burned out.' (*lit.*, 'The candle burned and disappeared.')

There are cases where the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction shows a contrast with the extended causation V1-V2 construction with the infinitive and instrumental suffixes on V1 with respect to the type of causation expressed (the extended causation construction has the same form as the manner/concomitance V1-V2 construction in (6.20b)). An example pair is shown in (6.22). In both examples, the Cause of the state-change appears in V1 (*huunč'* - 'to squeeze'), and the changed property is expressed by V2 (*mool-s-* 'to dry'). The temporal sequence construction example (6.22a) treats the action of squeezing clothes as bounded; only after it is completed does drying the clothes occur. On the other hand, the instrumental construction in (6.22b) is used when the action is iterated and V1 expresses an unbounded multiplex of bounded actions; during the iteration of the action of squeezing the clothes, drying them occurs.

- (6.22) (a) uddanó huunč'-ø-e
 clothes(ACC) squeeze-3SG.M-CNN

 mool-s-ø-i.
 become.dry-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

 'He squeezed the clothes (usually, one time), and then dried them.'

- (b) uddanó huunč’-ø-a-nni
clothes(ACC) squeeze-3SG.M-INF-INST

mool-s-ø-i.
become.dry-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He dried the clothes by squeezing them (multiple times at certain intervals).’

Another pattern of expressing a state-change, which is occasionally found, is the use of a verb for the changed property and that of an adjunct for the co-event. For example, in (6.23), the changed property is expressed by the verb (*t’o-* ‘to go out, become extinguished’), and the Cause of the state-change appears in the adjunct (*bubbe-te-nni* [wind-GEN.F-INST] ‘by the wind’).

- (6.23) šaam-u bubbé-te-nni t’o-ø-i.
candle-NOM.M wind-GEN.F-INST go.out-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
‘The candle blew out.’ (*lit.*, ‘The candle went out by the wind.’)

Also, for realization, V2 of the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction with the connective suffix is usually used to express the fulfillment of a goal that the agent intends to attain, or the confirmation of the fulfillment of the lexically implicated goal. For example, in (6.24), the action of hunting, which does not imply the fulfillment of the goal, appears as V1 (*ugaat’-* ‘to hunt’), and the fulfillment of his intention to catch the thief is expressed in the main verb (*amad-* ‘to catch’).

- (6.24) isi hakkó moorančo ugaat'-ø-e
 3SG.M.NOM that.M.ACC thief(ACC) hunt-3SG.M-CNN
- amad-ø-ino.
 catch-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘He hunted that thief (M) down.’ (*lit.*, ‘He hunted for and caught that thief (M).’)

For the other two event types, temporal contouring and action correlating, Sidaama may use a verb or other types of constituents such as an adverbial for the core schema of the framing event, depending on the subtype.

Aspectual categories such as completion/termination, initiation, and continuation are often expressed by verb predicates or the main verbs of constructions, but other aspectual notions like repetition and frequency are usually expressed adverbially (e.g., the reduplication of the connective form of the verb *hig-* ‘to return’ to express ‘repeatedly’, *aana aana-ho* [top top-LOC.M] ‘one after another’, the reduplication of the connective form of the verb *sa’-* ‘to pass’ to express ‘sometimes’).

For the core schemas of framing events involving one subtype of action correlating, that of demonstration, Sidaama uses a verb (e.g., *leelliš-* ‘to demonstrate’), but for other subtypes of this event category such as accompaniment and imitation, it employs an adverbial, or V1, rather than V2, of one of the V1-V2 constructions, as in (6.25).

(6.25) ise isó ikk-i-t-e
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.ACC become-EP-3SG.F-CNN

sirb-i-t-u.
 sing.and.dance-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She sang and danced in the imitation of him.’ (*lit.*, ‘She became him and sang.’)

Thus, Sidaama seems to follow the V-language pattern very closely in motion, state-change, and realization, but only to some extent in temporal contouring and to a limited extent in action correlating.

6.2.2 Multi-Verb Constructions: the Temporal Sequence V1-V2 Construction and the Manner/Concomitance, Extended Causation, and Temporal Inclusion V1-V2 Constructions

As mentioned in section 6.1, a macro-event is defined in terms of the expressibility of a complex event with a single clause. In order to investigate the event integration patterns in V-languages, it is often necessary to examine the morphosyntactic properties of their multi-verb constructions and to verify the single-clause-hood of the constructions. The present section looks at the Sidaama multi-verb constructions to determine the range of constructions to deal with in sections 6.2.3-6.2.7.

Three multi-verb constructions in Sidaama were discussed in the previous section: (i) the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction with the connective suffix *-e* (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4, Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.3), (ii) the manner/concomitance V1-V2 construction with the suffix *-nni*, and (iii) the extended causation V1-V2 construction with the suffix *-nni* (Chapter 3 section 3.1.4, Chapter 4 sections 4.2.2.1.3.6 and 4.2.2.3.4)

(the last two constructions have the same structure).⁵ A motion example pair, which is similar to (6.20), is shown in (6.26). (6.26a) is an example of the temporal sequence

⁵ The present study deals with cases where the multi-verb constructions contain two verbs. However, it is possible to connect more than two verbs with the connective suffix, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) ise dikko mar-t-e matiné hi-d-i-t-e
 3SG.F.NOM market go-3SG.F-CNN salt(ACC) buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-CNN

dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She went to the market, bought salt, and came.’

- (ii) waa daah-ø-e tais-ø-e wid-í-ra
 river swim-3SG.M-CNN cross-3SG.M-CNN other.side-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

ha’r-ø-i.
 go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He swam across the river, and went to the other side.’

It is also possible to use more than one verb with the infinitive suffix and the suffix *-nni* in a single sentence, as in (iii).

- (iii) ise god-ú giddo-ra daak-k-a-nni
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ALL swim-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

e’-’-a-nni hint’issi ass-i-t-u.
 enter-3SG.F-INF-while *hint’issi* do-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘As she swam into the cave, she sneezed.’

Also, the temporal sequence construction and one of the constructions with the infinitive suffix and the suffix *-nni* can coexist in a single sentence, as in (ii’) and (iii’).

- (ii’) waa daah-ø-a-nni tais-ø-e
 river swim-3SG.M-INF-MANNER cross-3SG.M-CNN

wid-í-ra ha’r-ø-i.
 other.side-GEN.MOD.M-ALL go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He swam across the river, and went to the other side.’

construction and (6.26b) (-*nni*: MANNER) is an example of the manner/concomitance construction. In either example, V1 indicates the manner of the translational motion expressed by V2.

(6.26) (a) ise dod-d-e min-í-nni
 3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-CNN house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

ful-t-ino.
 exit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She ran out of the house.’ (*lit.*, ‘She ran and exited the house.’)

(b) ise dod-d-a-nni min-í-nni
 3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

ful-t-ino.
 exit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She ran out of the house.’ (*lit.*, ‘She exited the house, running.’)

An example of the extended causation construction was presented in (6.22b), which is repeated here as (6.27). This construction also uses the suffix -*nni*, which is the instrumental suffix, unlike in the other two constructions with -*nni*. The state-change expressed by V2 is caused by the extended duration of the event component described by V1.

(iii') ise god-ú giddo-ra daak-k-e
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ALL swim-3SG.F-CNN

e'-'-a-nni hint'issi ass-i-t-u.
 enter-3SG.F-INF-while *hint'issi* do-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘As she swam into the cave, she sneezed.’

(6.27) uddanó huunč’-ø-a-nni
 clothes(ACC) squeeze-3SG.M-INF-INST

mool-s-ø-i.
 dry-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He dried the clothes by squeezing them (multiple times at certain intervals).’

There is another construction with the suffix *-nni* that has the same structure as the manner/concomitance and extended causation V1-V2 constructions. It is what may be called the temporal inclusion V1-V2 construction, which expresses the temporal inclusion of the second event component in the first event component, in other words, the occurrence of the second event component during the occurrence of the first event component. An example is shown in (6.28); the event component expressed by the main verb (‘lighting a light’) takes place during the occurrence of the event component expressed by the other verb with the infinitive suffix and the suffix *-nni* (‘singing’).

(6.28) sirb-ø-a-nni č’aabiččó č’aabiš-i-’r-ø-ino.
 sing-3SG.M-INF-while light(ACC) light-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘While singing, he lit a light.’

A sentence can sometimes be interpreted either as an instance of the manner/concomitance construction or as that of the temporal inclusion construction. In fact, (6.20b) in the previous section, which is repeated below as (6.29), is such a sentence.

constructions require the subjects of the two verbs to be the same (thus, the person suffix on V1, when it occurs, has to agree with the subject pronominal suffix on V2, which is not indicated in (6.30)).⁷

- (6.30) (a) temporal sequence V1-V2 construction: V1-PERS-CNN V2.
 (b) manner/concomitance, extended causation,
 and temporal inclusion V1-V2 constructions: V1-PERS-INF-*nni* V2.

In the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction in (6.30a), V1 takes its connective form, consisting of the verb root followed by the person suffix and the connective suffix. On the other hand, the manner/concomitance, extended causation, and temporal inclusion V1-V2 constructions shown in (6.30b) use a combination of the person suffix, the infinitive suffix, and the suffix *-nni* on V1.⁸ In either type of construction, a constituent (an argument NP and/or an adjunct) can occur between the two verbs (for example, the subject NP can intervene between them). The temporal sequence construction is found in all five event types, the manner/concomitance construction in the three event types of motion, state-change, and temporal contouring, and the extended causation construction in the motion and state-change event types (the temporal inclusion construction, which contains two clauses, is excluded from the description of macro-events, as discussed shortly).

These constructions are discussed again later in sections 6.2.4 and 6.2.6.

⁷ The conjunctive enclitic *=nna* combines clauses that have different subjects (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.3).

⁸ The suffix *-nni* on V1 is glossed as ‘MANNER’, ‘INST’, and ‘while’, in the manner/concomitance, extended causation, and temporal inclusion V1-V2 constructions, respectively. This accords with my consultant’s intuition that the suffix is used for the different senses in the three constructions.

The property of the syntactic integration of the non-main verb into the main verb (in other words, whether the two verbs constitute a single clause or two different clauses) is crucial to the description of the event structure expressed by a multiple-verb construction in a V-language (Talmy 2000b). According to Talmy (2000b: 224), a V-language like Spanish has two constructions that differ in the degree of the integration of the co-event into the framing event, as shown in (6.31), where (6.31b) shows more integration than (6.31a). Talmy observes that in (6.31a), the gerundive verb *flotando* forms an adverbial subordinate clause, a clause independent of the main clause, whereas in (6.31b), the gerundive verb *flotando* is more integrated into the main verb.

(6.31) (a) La botella salió de la cueva flotando.
 the bottle exited from the cave floating
 ‘The bottle exited from the cave, floating.’

(b) La botella salió flotando de la cueva.
 the bottle exited floating from the cave
 ‘The bottle exited floating from the cave.’

Talmy (2000b: 224)

As shown in (6.32), the manner/concomitance and extended causation constructions on one hand, and the temporal inclusion construction on the other, which have the same structure, show a clear difference in the syntactic integration of V1 into V2. The manner/concomitance and extended causation constructions each contain a single clause, whereas the temporal inclusion construction is made up of two clauses. Thus, the latter construction, which is not used for macro-events defined in terms of single-clause-hood, is excluded from the discussion in sections 6.2.3-6.2.7.

(6.32) *integrated into a single clause**two clauses*

- manner/concomitance V1-V2 construction
- extended causation V1-V2 construction

- temporal inclusion V1-V2 construction

On the other hand, the temporal sequence construction seems to show more integration when V1 is used for Manner, and less integration when V1 is used for other types of co-events. However, the difference is not as clear as the difference between the manner/concomitance and extended causation constructions and the temporal inclusion construction.

The negation test, which is often employed in the literature (e.g., Noonan 1985, Kelly and Melinger eds. 2001: 86-97, Bohnemeyer et al. in press) to examine clausehood, seems to be able to serve as a reliable diagnostic test for distinguishing the manner/concomitance and extended causation constructions from the temporal inclusion construction in Sidaama. The negation test determines whether two verbs in a multi-verb construction constitute a single clause or two clauses on the basis of the scope of negation, specifically, whether or not the negation of the main verb has scope over the occurrence of both of the event components that the two verbs express.

The negation of V2 in the manner/concomitance construction has scope over both the manner/concomitance and the event component expressed by V2. An example of a manner/concomitance construction whose V2 is negated is shown in (6.33) (this is normally not interpreted as the temporal inclusion construction); the negation of V2 results in negating both of the event components.

- (6.33) ise dod-d-a-nni min-í-nni
 3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

di=ful-t-ino.

NEG=exit-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She did not run out of the house.’ (She neither ran nor exited the house.)
(lit., ‘She did not exit the house, running.’)

When the negation test is applied, the extended causation construction basically works the same way as the manner/concomitance construction. The negation of V2 of the extended causation construction results in the negation of both of the event components, as in (6.34).

- (6.34) uddanó huunč’-ø-a-nni
 clothes(ACC) squeeze-3SG.M-INF-INST

di=mool-s-ø-i.

NEG=dry-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He neither squeezed the clothes nor dried them.’ *(lit., ‘He did not dry the clothes by squeezing them.’)*

On the other hand, in the case of the temporal inclusion construction, the negation of V2 leads to the negation of only the second event component, as shown in (6.35) (this sentence can be interpreted as an instance of neither the manner/concomitance construction nor the extended causation construction).

(6.35) sirb-ø-a-nni č'aabiččo
 sing-3SG.M-INF-while light(ACC)

di=č'aabiš-i-'r-ø-ino.
 NEG=light-EP-MID-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

‘While singing, he did not light a light.’

The negation test reveals the ambiguity of a sentence like (6.29) (repeated below as (6.36)), which could be taken as an instance of the manner/concomitance construction or the temporal inclusion construction. The main verb of (6.29) (*e'* - ‘to enter’) is negated in (6.37). When (6.37) is interpreted as an instance of the manner/concomitance construction, as in (6.37-1), the occurrences of the event components expressed by the two verbs are both negated. On the other hand, when (6.37) is interpreted as an instance of the temporal inclusion construction, as in (6.37-2), only the occurrence of the event component expressed by V2 is negated.

(6.36) kaase min-í giddo-ra
 ball(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M inside-LOC.MOD

gongo'm-i-t-a-nni e'-'-ino.
 roll-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER/while enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3

- 1) ‘The ball rolled into the house.’ (*lit.*, ‘The ball entered the house, rolling.’)
- 2) ‘While ball was rolling, it entered the house.’

(6.37) kaase min-í giddo-ra
 ball(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M inside-LOC.MOD

gongo'm-i-t-a-nni di=e'-'-ino.
 roll-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER/while NEG=enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3

- 1) 'The ball did not roll into the house.' (*lit.*, 'The ball did not enter the house, rolling.')⁹
 (The ball neither rolled nor entered the house.)
- 2) 'While the ball was rolling, it did not enter the house.'

The negation test does not seem to be a reliable test for the clause-hood of the verbs in the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction with the connective suffix *-e*. In most cases, the negation of V2 has scope over both of the event components, as in (6.38-1)-(6.44-1). Nevertheless, a difference usually emerges in an alternative interpretation depending on whether or not the V1 of this construction is a Manner verb. When V1 expresses a Manner of the translational motion of the V2 in this construction, the negation of V2 can often also be interpreted as resulting in the negation of only the Manner, as shown in (6.38-2) and (6.39-2).¹⁰ On the other hand, when the V1 of the

⁹ However, another possible interpretation of (6.37) is the negation of the first event component: 'The ball entered the house not in the manner of rolling (but in some other manner)'.

¹⁰ (6.38) and (6.39) as used for (6.38-2) and (6.39-2) are approximately the same as (i) and (ii) below, respectively, which use the simple perfect form of V1 and the negative suffix before the suffix *-nni* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.6).

(i) ise god-ú giddo-ra daak-k-u-kki-nni
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ALL swim-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F-NEG-MANNER

ha-d-ino.
 go-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'She went into the cave without swimming.'

(6.39) kinč-u tulló-te aan-í-nni
 rock-NOM.M mountain-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

gongo'm-ø-e di=dirr-ø-ino.
 roll-3SG.M-CNN NEG=descend-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

(*lit.*, 'The rock rolled and did not descend from the top of the mountain.')

- 1) 'The rock did not roll down from the top of the mountain.'
 (The rock neither rolled nor descended from the top of the mountain.)
- 2) 'The rock descended from the top of the mountain, not in the manner of rolling.'

(6.40) bun-u huf-ø-e di=ba'-ø-ino.
 coffee-NOM.M boil-3SG.M-CNN NEG=disappear-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

- 1) 'The coffee did not boiled away.'
 (The coffee neither boiled nor disappeared.)
- 2) 'The coffee boiled, but has not disappeared.'

(6.41) ise uddanó huunč'-ø-e
 3SG.F.NOM clothes(ACC) squeeze-3SG.M-CNN

di=mool-s-ø-ino.
 NEG=become.dry-CAUS-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

- 1) 'She neither squeezed nor dried the clothes.'
- 2) 'She squeezed the clothes, but has not dried them.'

(6.42) dangur-i damboowá hank'-ø-e
 Dangura-NOM.PROP.M Damboowa(OBL) get.angry-3SG.M-CNN

di=gan-ø-ino-si.
 NEG=hit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-3SG.M

- 1) 'Dangura neither got angry with Damboowa nor hit him (Damboowa).'
- 2) 'Dangura got angry with Damboowa, but did not hit him (Damboowa).'

(6.43) ise sagalé it-t-e waá
 3SG.F.NOM food(ACC) eat-3SG.F-CNN water(ACC)

di=ag-g-ino.
 NEG=drink-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

- 1) 'She neither ate food nor drank water.'
- 2) 'She ate food, but did not drink water.'

(6.44) waá daah-ø-e t'awo-ho di=dod-ø-ino.
 water(OBL) swim-3SG.M-CNN field-LOC.M NEG=run-3SG.M-S.PERF.3

- 1) 'He neither swam in the river nor ran on the field.'
- 2) 'He swam in the river, but did not run on the field.'

However, it is not clear how the difference of the alternative interpretations due to the scope of negation is related to the single-clause-hood of the construction. Furthermore, there are cases where the above generalization does not work. For example, there are cases like (6.45) where the negation of V2 in a temporal sequence construction using a manner verb as V1 can have a scope over both verbs, or otherwise over V2, rather than over V1.

(6.45) kaase gongo'm-i-t-e di=e'-'-ino.
 ball(NOM.F) roll-EP-3SG.F-CNN NEG=enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3

- (*lit.*, 'The ball rolled and did not enter.')
- 1) 'The ball neither rolled nor entered.'
 - 2) 'The ball rolled, but did not enter.'

There are also cases like (6.46) where the negation of V2 in a temporal sequence construction using a non-manner verb as V1 can have scope over both verbs, or otherwise over V1, rather than over V2.

(6.46) waalčo č’uf-ø-e di=ofoll-ø-ino.
 door(ACC) close-3SG.M-CNN NEG=sit-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

(*lit.*, ‘He closed the door, and did not sit.’)

1) ‘He neither closed the door nor sat.’

2) ‘He did not close the door, and sat.’

Thus, the question of in what cases the verbs in the temporal sequence construction constitute a single clause cannot be answered here, though whether or not Sidaama shows the V-language pattern depends partly on what types of constructions it uses for events. The descriptions in 6.2.3-6.2.7 mainly focused on where more schematic and less schematic event components are morphosyntactically expressed. Nevertheless, the following two types of uses of the temporal sequence construction are excluded from the discussion, because the event components do not seem to be packaged densely enough to be treated as macro-events. One type is a case where the two verbs can be modified by different temporal adverbials, as in (6.47) and (6.48).¹²

(6.47) bero waá daah-ø-e teččo t’awo-ho
 yesterday river(OBL) swim-3SG.M-CNN today field-LOC.M
 dod-ø-ino.
 run-3SG.M-S.PRF.3

‘He swam in the river yesterday, and ran on the field today.’

¹² See Bohnemeyer et al. (to appear) for their discussion on the “macro-event property”, which does not necessarily correspond to Talmy’s characterization of a macro-event.

(6.48) t'a tenné burtukané haad-ø-e
 now this.F.ACC orange(ACC) take-3SG.M-CNN

ga'a rod-î-kki-ra mass-i-si.
 tomorrow brother-2SG-DAT.MOD carry-IMP.2SG-3SG.M

(to a singular addressee) 'Take this orange now, and carry it to your brother tomorrow.'

A second type is that where the path expressed by V1 terminates before the occurrence of the event component expressed by V2, and the event component of V2 is independent of the path of V1. As long as the event component of V1 temporally precedes that of V2, the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction allows a wide variety of V1-V2 combinations, including combinations such as Deictic Path verb – non-Deictic Path verb (e.g., *da-* 'to come' and *sa'* 'to pass') and Deictic Path verb – Deictic Path verb (e.g., *da-* 'to come' and *haad-* 'to leave'), which are exemplified by (6.49) and (6.50), respectively.¹³ In such cases, two Path verbs express two core schemas.

¹³ A combination of non-Deictic Path verb – Deictic Path verb (e.g., *dirr-* 'to descend' and *da-* 'to come') in the temporal sequence construction seems to express a single path, because the direction of the path whose endpoint remains unspecified by the non-Deictic Path verb is specified by the Deictic Path verb. Examples are shown in (i).

(i) ise hakk'iččó-te aan-î-nni dirr-i-t-e
 3SG.F.NOM tree-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL descend-EP-3SG.F-CNN

 dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She came down from the top of the tree.' (*lit.*, 'She descended from the top of the tree, and came.')

A combination of two non-Deictic Path verbs in the temporal sequence construction seems to be disallowed, with one exception (*tais-* 'to cross' and *sa'* 'to pass'). However, this combination looks like an idiomatic expression. In this combination, the V2, *sa'*, does not contribute to the meaning of the construction as a whole. For example, (ii) does not differ from (iii).

(6.51) ise god-ú giddo-nni gobba-ra ful-t-e
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ABL outside-ALL exit-3SG.F-CNN

dod-d-u.
 run-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She exited from the cave and ran.’

(6.52) da-ø-e waá daah-ø-i.
 come-3SG.M-CNN water swim-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He came, and swam the river.’

In such a case, the translational motion event expressed by V1 is completed before the action (the self-contained motion in (6.51) and (6.52)) expressed by V2 takes place. None of these cases are dealt with in the remaining sections.

6.2.3 Motion

In Talmy’s framework, a motion event, which is one type of framing event but probably a prototypical one, is capitalized as Motion; the entities participating in a Motion event, the figural entity and the ground entity, are called Figure and Ground (both capitalized), respectively. According to Talmy (2000b: 312), the Figure is “a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue” and the Ground is “a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure’s path, site, or orientation is characterized”. When the value of the activation process is transition, the Motion event is translational motion, and when it is fixity, the Motion event is stationariness. The association function, which relates a Figure to a Ground, is the path that the Figure follows in the case of translational motion or the site

that the Figure occupies in the case of stationariness. The path and the site are subsumed under the Path (in capitals). The Path constitutes the schematic core of the framing event of Motion (sometimes together with the Ground).

The type of motion that can be a framing event is translational motion, in which the Figure changes its relative location in space. On the other hand, what Talmy calls “self-contained motion” (rotation, oscillation, local wander, dilation, wiggle, or rest), in which the Figure moves but does not change its relative location in space, cannot constitute a framing event; this type of motion can only be expressed as a co-event, normally one that has the supporting relation of Manner to the framing event.

The discussion of Sidaama Motion event expression patterns in this section is organized as follows. Section 6.2.3.1 describes how Sidaama generally expresses Path components with different elements of a single clause. Section 6.2.3.2 looks into how this language uses the V1-V2 constructions to express motion events.

6.2.3.1 Expressions of Path Components

The core schema of a Motion event consists of the Path, and its main components are the Vector, the Conformation, and the Deictic (Talmy 2000a, 2000b). The Vector “comprises the basic types of arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figure schema can execute with respect to a Ground schema” (Talmy 2000b: 53) (e.g., AT, TO, FROM, VIA, etc.). The Conformation is a Path component that relates the fundamental Ground schema to “the geometric schema for the full Ground object” (Talmy 2000a: 246) (e.g., “TO a point which is of the inside of [an enclosure]” for English *in(to)*). The Deictic

- (b) bun-u hakkó gimbool-í
 coffee-NOM.M that.M.GEN bamboo.basket-GEN.MOD.M
- giddo no.
 inside exist.P.PRF.3
- ‘There is coffee in that bamboo basket.’ (*lit.*, ‘There is coffee at the inside of that bamboo basket.’)
- (6.54) (a) laše k’ark’ar-í-nke-ra
 Lashe(NOM.M) village-GEN.MOD.M-1PL.POSS-ALL
- da-ø-i.
 come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Lashe came to our village.’
- (b) laše k’ark’ar-í-nke
 Lashe(NOM.M) village-GEN.MOD.M-1PL.POSS
- mereer-í-ra da-ø-i.
 center-GEN.MOD.M-ALL come-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Lashe came to the center of our village.’
- (6.55) (a) buše hakk’iččó-te-nni
 Bushe(NOM.F) tree-GEN.F-ABL
- dirr-i-t-u.
 descend-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bushe descended from the tree.’
- (b) buše hakk’iččó-te aan-í-nni
 Bushe(NOM.F) tree-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
- dirr-i-t-u.
 descend-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bushe descended from the top of the tree.’

The three types of elements used for expressing Path components in Sidaama are described below in the order of case suffixes, followed by locational nouns, and then Path verbs. The case suffixes and the locational nouns, whose uses are not characteristic of a V-language, are discussed only briefly; see Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.1.3) and Chapter 3 (section 3.1.1.3) for further details, respectively.

6.2.3.1.1 Case Suffixes

Sidaama has case suffixes as shown in (6.56) that can each attach to nominals that refer to locations to express the Vector component of a Path (but note that no suffix is used for AT or TO expressions for some types of nominals, as seen shortly). When nominals other than the locational nouns or the demonstrative pronouns are used, the Path Conformation is often inferred from the geometric relation typically found between participating entities.

(6.56) AT	the locative suffix: <i>-ho</i> (for Unmodified masculine common nouns and masculine proper nouns) <i>-te</i> (for Unmodified feminine common nouns and feminine proper nouns) <i>-ra</i> (for Modified common nouns) the locative use of the ablative suffix: <i>-nni</i> (can be abbreviated to <i>-i</i>) (for the locational nouns and the demonstrative pronouns)
TO	the allative suffix: <i>-ra</i>
FROM	the ablative suffix: <i>-nni</i> (can be abbreviated to <i>-i</i>)

Table 6.2 shows AT, TO, and FROM expressions formed with different types of nominals that refer to locations.

	AT	TO	FROM
(a) Unmodified common noun	[basic stem]-ho/-te	[basic stem]	[GEN stem]-nni
(b) Modified common noun	[GEN stem]-ra	M: [GEN stem]-ra F: [basic stem]	[GEN stem]-nni
(c) Proper noun	[basic stem]-ho/-te	M: [GEN stem]-ra F: [basic stem]	[GEN stem]-nni
(d) Locational noun	[basic stem] and/or usually, emphatically or contrastively: [basic stem]-LV(-nni)	[basic stem]-ra and/or [GEN stem]-ra	[GEN stem]-nni
(e) Demonstrative pronoun	[basic stem]-nni or [basic stem]	[GEN stem]-ra	[GEN stem]-nni

Table 6.2: AT/TO/FROM Expressions for Different Types of Nominals
that Refer to Locations

(6.57) shows examples of the patterns of expressing AT, TO, and FROM with the different types of nominals that refer to locations as in Table 6.2.

(6.57) (a) Unmodified common nouns for locations

	AT	TO	FROM
‘cave’ (M)	godo-ho	godo	god-u-nni
‘field’ (M)	t’awo-ho	t’awo	t’aw-u-nni
‘mountain’ (F)	tullo-te	tullo	tullo-te-nni
‘market’ (F)	dikko-te	dikko	dikko-te-nni

(b) Modified common nouns for locations¹⁵

	AT	TO	FROM
'cave' (M)	hakko god-i-ra	hakko god-i-ra	hakko god-i-nni
'village' (M)	hakko k'ark'ar-i-ra	hakko k'ark'ar-i-ra	hakko k'ark'ar-i-nni
'table' (M)	hakko t'arap'es-i-ra	(DAT) ¹⁶	hakko t'arap'es-i-nni
'country' (F)	hatte gobba-ra	hatte gobba	hatte gobba-nni
'mountain' (F)	hatte tullo-ra	hatte tullo	hatte tullo-nni

¹⁵ There are a few masculine common nouns (e.g., *dubbo* 'forest', *buusa* 'bridge') whose Modified forms with *-ra* express locations but not the goal of a motion, unlike other masculine common nouns such as *godo* 'cave' and *k'ark'ara* 'village', whose Modified forms with *-ra* can express either a location or the goal of a motion. Examples of such nouns (*dubbo* 'forest', *buusa* 'bridge') are used in (i) and (ii).

- (i) ise hakkó
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN
- (a) dubb-î-ra/(b) buus-î-ra ha-d-u.
 forest-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD/bridge-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (a) 'She went along through that forest.'
 (b) 'She went along on that bridge.'
- (ii) ise hakko (a) dubbo/(b) buusa ha-d-u.
 3SG.F.NOM that.M forest/bridge go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- (a) 'She went to that forest.'
 (b) 'She went to that bridge.'

¹⁶ The dative suffix may sometimes appear to be able to occur with a motion verb to mark a goal nominal, but in such a case, the nominal is usually not a goal but a beneficiary; no goal of a motion is expressed. This occurs when the nominal is regarded as referring to an object rather than a location. (DAT) in (6.57b) (*hakko t'arap'es-i-ra* 'for that table') is such a case. Other examples are shown in (i) and (ii).

- (i) isi isé-ra ha'r-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He went to her.' (for the benefit of her; for the purpose of doing something for her; e.g., to help her)
- (ii) ise t'arap'eesa-ho ha-d-u.
 3SG.F.NOM table-DAT.M go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She went to the table.' (for the benefit of the table; for the purpose of doing something for the table; e.g., to repair it)

(c) Proper nouns for locations

	AT	TO	FROM
'Awaasa' (M)	awaasa-ho/awaasa	awaas-i-ra/awaasa	awaas-i-nni
'Wondo' (M)	wondo-ho/wondo	wond-i-ra/wondo	wond-i-nni
'Bansa' (M)	bansa-ho/bansa	bans-i-ra/bansa	bans-i-nni
'Irga' (F)	irga-te	irga	irga-te-nni
'Hula' (F)	hula-te	hula	hula-te-nni

(d) Locational nouns (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3)

	AT	TO	FROM
'inside'	giddo/giddo-o/ giddo-o-nni	giddo-ra/gidd-i-ra	gidd-i-nni/giddo-nni
'top'	aana/aana-a/ aana-a-nni	aan-i-ra	aan-i-nni
'betweenness, middle, center'	mereero/mereero-o/ mereero-o-nni	mereer-i-ra	mereer-i-nni

(e) Demonstrative pronouns (Chapter 3 section 3.2.1.4)

	AT	TO	FROM
'here'	kawa-nni/kawa-a	kaw-i-ra/kawa	kaw-i-nni
'there'	hakka-nni/hakka-a	hakk-i-ra/hakka	hakk-i-nni
'over there'	ka'a-nni/ka'a-a	ka'-i-ra/ka'a	ka'-i-nni
'this place'	kawiččo	kawičč-i-ra	kawičč-i-nni
'that place'	hakkiččo	hakkičč-i-ra	hakkičč-i-nni
'the place over there'	ka'iččo	ka'ičč-i-ra	ka'ičč-i-nni

There are three masculine nouns that behave in a somewhat different way from those in (6.57a) when they are Unmodified: *nafara* 'compound', *gate* 'backyard', and *mine* 'house'. (6.58) shows their Unmodified forms. Even though they are Unmodified, their genitive stems preceding the ablative or allative suffix end in the suffix form *-i*, the

form used for Modified masculine common nouns, rather than *-u*, the form used for Unmodified masculine common nouns.¹⁷

(6.58)		AT	TO	FROM
	‘compound’ (M)	nafara-ho/nafara-nni	nafar-i-ra/nafara-a	nafar-i-nni
	‘backyard’ (M)	gate-ho/gate-nni	gat-i-ra/gate-e	gat-i-nni
	‘house’ (M)	mine/mine-nni	min-i-ra/mine-e	min-i-nni

Clitic =wa ‘place’ (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.2)

When any of the above suffixes are used, the referent of the NP is treated as a location. When the referent of an NP is treated as an object rather than a location, and a vicinity of it is the location or the goal or source of a motion, the noun-phrase clitic =wa ‘place’, which inflects for case, is used to make it possible to treat the object like a location. As shown in Table 6.3, the AT and TO expressions are the same in form, and literally mean ‘the place of [Ground]’; the FROM expression literally means ‘from the place of [Ground]’. The expressions for AT and TO are NPs ending in =wa, which serve as bare-NP adverbials, and the FROM expression contains the genitive form of =wa, =wi.

¹⁷ These nouns seem to be treated as if they had dependents, presumably because they usually have definite referents and could be accompanied by a dependent, when used in these ways. Their indefiniteness is adnominally specified (e.g., *mitto nafara* [one(M) compound] or *ikk-ø-ino nafara* [become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 compound] ‘to a certain compound’), and in this case, they behave as Modified nouns.

	AT/TO	FROM
(a) Unmodified common noun	M: [GEN stem]-nni=wa F: [GEN stem]=wa or [GEN stem]-nni=wa	[GEN stem]=wi-nni
(b) Modified common noun	[GEN stem]=wa or [GEN stem]-nni=wa	[GEN stem]=wi-nni

Table 6.3: AT/TO/FROM Expressions for Common Nouns that Refer to Objects

Examples are shown in (6.59).

(6.59) (a) Unmodified common nouns for objects

	AT/TO	FROM
‘table’ (M)	t’arap’ees-u-nni=wa	t’arap’ees-u=wi-nni
‘rock’ (M)	kinč-u-nni=wa	kinč-u=wi-nni
‘tree’ (F)	hakk’iččo-te=wa hakk’iččo-nni=wa	hakk’iččo-te=wi-nni
‘mountain’ (F)	tullo-te=wa tullo-nni=wa	tullo-te=wi-nni

(b) Modified common nouns for objects¹⁸

	AT/TO	FROM
‘table’ (M)	hakko t’arap’ees-i=wa hakko t’arap’ees-u-nni=wa	hakko t’arap’ees-i=wi-nni hakko t’arap’ees-u=wi-nni
‘rock’ (M)	hakko kinč-i=wa hakko kinč-u-nni=wa	hakko kinč-i=wi-nni hakko kinč-u=wi-nni
‘tree’ (F)	hatte hakk’iččo=wa hatte hakk’iččo-nni=wa	hatte hakk’iččo=wi-nni
‘mountain’ (F)	hatte tullo=wa hatte tullo-nni=wa	hatte tullo=wi-nni

¹⁸ The genitive suffix for a Modified masculine common noun is *-i* rather than *-u* (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.1.3.2), but in this FROM expression, either can be used.

NPs with human referents including proper nouns and personal pronouns always require =*wa* when their referents are to be treated as locations, goals, or sources. Examples of persons' names are shown in (6.60).

(6.60)		AT/TO		FROM
	'Damboowa (M)'	damboow-i=wa		damboow-i=wi-nni
	'Lashe (M)'	laše=wa		laše=wi-nni
	'Bule (F)'	bule=wa		bule=wi-nni

Personal pronouns take the forms in (6.61).

(6.61)		AT/TO	FROM		AT/TO	FROM
	'[1SG]'	ane=wa	ane=wi-nni		'[1PL]'	ninke=wa ninke=wi-nni
	'[2SG]'	ate=wa	ate=wi-nni		'[2PL]'	ki'ne=wa ki'ne=wi-nni
	'[3SG.M]'	isi=wa	isi=wi-nni		'[3PL]'	insa=wa insa=wi-nni
	'[3SG.F]'	ise=wa	ise=wi-nni			

6.2.3.1.2 Locational Nouns

Sidaama has a set of locational nouns like (6.62) that can be used to express various Path Conformations (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3).

(6.62)	aana 'top'	duumba 'behindness'
	iima 'aboveness'	bade 'back'
	ale 'upperness'	gura 'left'
	woro 'lowerness, belowness'	k'iniite/k'ine 'right'
	mule 'nearness'	mereero 'betweenness, middle, center'
	hundaa 'near-and-under-ness'	alba 'beforeness, front'
	wido 'direction, (the other) side'	

As mentioned in the previous section, these nouns can be followed by the suffixes that express the Vectors of AT, TO, and FROM. See Chapter 3 (section 3.1.1.3) for the list of the combinations of the locational nouns and the suffixes.

6.2.3.1.3 Path Verbs

When a Motion event concerns locatedness rather than translational motion, and the Path is the site occupied by the Figure rather than the path followed by the Figure, components of the core schema of the framing event (the Path) are expressed by the suffix, the clitic, the locational noun, and the existential/locational verb ‘to come to exist, to come to be located’ (*no* for a third-person subject) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1). The existential/locational verb only expresses the zero Vector in addition to the fact of Motion (no motion), and its use may not serve as any property distinctive of V-languages.

On the other hand, when the Motion event concerns translational motion, components of the core schema of the framing event (the Path) are characteristically expressed by Path verbs in V-languages. As a V-language, Sidaama has a series of Path verbs, though they are not very large in number. They can be classified into two types in terms of agentivity. Non-agentive/self-agentive (or intransitive) Path verbs are shown in (6.63a) and agentive (or transitive) Path verbs in (6.63b). The last three verbs (*da-*, *had-*, *mar-*) in (6.63a) and the last four verbs (*abb-*, *mass-*, *ad-*, *haad-*) in (6.63b) are Deictic verbs that express Deictic path components in addition to Vector path components.

(6.63) (a) Non-agentive/self-agentive Path verbs

ful- ‘to exit; ascend’¹⁹

dirr- ‘to descend’

e’- ‘to enter’

sa’- ‘to pass (over, by, across)’

iill- ‘to arrive’

tais- ‘to cross’

hig- ‘to return’

šikk’i y- ‘to approach’

do- ‘to move around (traveling a path of a full circle)’ (‘to rotate’ in some contexts)

gangaab- ‘to move around (traveling a path of not necessarily a full circle), curve’

da- ‘to come’

had- ‘to leave, go’

mar- ‘to go (to a (usually, known) destination)’

(b) Agentive Path verbs

fušš- ‘to take out’ (causative of *ful-*)dirr-i-s- ‘to move down’ (causative of *dirr-*)ee-ss- ‘to put in’ (causative of *e’-*)sa-i-s- ‘to pass, cause to pass’ (causative of *sa’-*)

wor- ‘to put’

k’ol- ‘to turn, return’

šorr- ‘to chase away’

abb- ‘to bring’

mass- ‘to take (away)’

ad- ‘to take’

haad- ‘to take, carry away’

The first four agentive verbs in (6.63b) are derived from the first four non-agentive/self-agentive Path verbs in (6.63a) with the causative suffix *-s* (the epenthetic vowel *i* occurs

¹⁹ The verb *ful-* means ‘to cross’ in the idiomatic expression *buusa/waa ful-* ‘to cross a bridge/river’.

between a short vowel- or geminate-ending stem and the causative suffix), respectively:

ful-/fušš-, *dirr-/dirr-i-s-*, *e’-/ee-s-*, *sa’-/sa-i-s-*.²⁰

Sidaama Path verbs can also be classified differently, according to the Vector component of the path that they can express, as in (6.64).²¹

(6.64) (i) Path verbs that are compatible with TO/FROM

ful- ‘to exit, move out; ascend’	hig- ‘to return’
šikk’i y- ‘to approach’	da- ‘to come’
had- ‘to leave, go’	mar- ‘to go (to a (usually, known) destination)’
dirr- ‘to descend’	šorr- ‘to chase away’
fušš- ‘to take out’	abb- ‘to bring’
dirr-i-s- ‘to move down’	mass- ‘to take (away)’
ad- ‘to take’	haad- ‘to take, carry away’
k’ol- ‘to turn, return’	

(ii) Path verbs that are compatible with TO (but use AT expressions for the goal of a motion)

e’- ‘to enter’	ee-ss- ‘to put in’
wor- ‘to put’	surk- ‘to slide in’
iill- ‘to arrive’	

²⁰ Note that the glottal stop, which is included in non-agentive/self-agentive verbs, *e’-* and *sa’-*, does not occur in their agentive counterparts.

Note also that there are a few other pairs of verbs contrasting in agentivity.

(i)	non-agentive/self-agentive	agentive
(a)	do- ‘to move around; rotate’	do-i-s- ‘to surround’
(b)	ta’- ‘(of something made of soft material) to become torn apart’	ta-i-s- ‘to cross’
(c)	ka’- ‘to rise, get up’	ka-i-s- ‘to lift up’

However, unlike the non-agentive/self-agentive form of (ia), its agentive form is not a translational motion verb but a self-contained motion verb. On the other hand, unlike the agentive forms of (ib) and (ic), their non-agentive/self-agentive forms are self-contained motion verbs rather than translational motion verbs.

²¹ A fuller characterization of motion verbs in a particular language needs to test them for their patterns of occurrence with temporal expressions, for example, by means of Talmy’s Motion-aspect Formulas (Talmy 2000a: 215-216, 2000bL 53-56), but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

(iii) Other Path verbs

- sa'- 'to pass (over, by, across)' sa-i-s- 'to pass, cause to pass'
 tais- 'to cross and arrive'
 do- 'to move around (traveling a path of a full circle)' ('to rotate' in some contexts)
 gangaab- 'to move around (traveling a path of not necessarily a full circle), curve'²²

²² These two verbs, *do-* and *gangaab-*, are similar but differ not only in the completeness of the circle along which the Figure travels but also in other respects. First, both verbs can occupy the V2 position of either the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction or the manner/concomitance V1-V2 construction whose V1 is a Manner verb, as in (i) and (ii) (it is not clear why *gangaab-* cannot be used as V2 of the manner/concomitance construction whose V1 is a Manner verb in (ii)), but as an exception to the Manner-path pattern, only *gangaab-* can occupy the V1 position in either of the V1-V2 constructions as well, as shown in (iii).

- (i) ise t'awó dod-d-e/dod-d-a-nni
 3SG.F.NOM field(ACC) run-3SG.F-CNN/run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

do-i-t-u.
 move.around-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She ran around the field.'

- (ii) ise t'awó dod-d-e/?dod-d-a-nni
 3SG.F.NOM field(ACC) run-3SG.F-CNN/run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

gangaab-b-u.
 move.around-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She ran around the field.'

- (iii) ise t'awó
 3SG.F.NOM field(ACC)
- gangaab-b-e/gangaab-b-a-nni dod-d-u.
 move.around-3SG.F-CNN/move.around-3SG.F-INF-MANNER run-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She ran, moving around the (circle-shaped) field.'

Second, only *do-* can be used as a verb of rotation (which is a type of not translational but self-contained motion). This occurs when this verb is V1 in either of the V1-V2 constructions, as in (iv).

- (iv) (a) ise do-i-t-e dod-d-u.
 3SG.F.NOM move.around-EP-3SG.F-CNN run-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She rotated her body and ran.'

- (6.68) waá min-í-nni ad-i-t-u.
 water(ACC) house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL take-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘He took water from the house.’
- (6.69) hakkó t’arap’es-í aan-í-nni mat’aafá
 that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL book(ACC)
 haa’r-ø-i.
 take.away-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He carried a book away from the top of that table.’
- (6.70) laalle lat’ó min-í-si-nni
 Laalle(NOM.M) Lat’o(ACC) house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ABL
 šorr-ø-i.
 chase.away-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘Laalle chased Lat’o away from his house.’

Second, there are also a small number of Path verbs that use AT expressions rather than TO forms in Table 6.2 for the goal of motion. Such verbs are those in (6.64ii): *e’*- ‘to enter’, *ee-s-* ‘to put in’, *wor-* ‘to put’, *surk-* ‘to slide in’, and *iill-* ‘to arrive’.

- (6.71) (a) teenničč-u sagale-te e’-ø-i.
 fly-NOM.M food-LOC.F enter-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘A fly entered the food.’
- (b) teenničč-u beet-í-se sagale-ra
 fly-NOM.M child-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.F.POSS food-LOC.MOD
 e’-ø-i.
 enter-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘A fly entered her son’s food.’

(6.72) (a) ise godo-ho
 3SG.F.NOM cave-LOC.M
 e'-'-u/iill-i-t-u.
 enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/arrive-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She entered/arrived in the cave.'

(b) ise hakkó god-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN cave-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD
 e'-'-u/iill-i-t-u.
 enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/arrive-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She entered/arrived in that cave.'

(6.73) isi kinčó godo-ho wor-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM rock(ACC) cave-LOC.M put-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He put the rock in the cave.'

When the goal nominal is a Modified common noun, the suffix is *-ra*, which is one of the allomorphs of the locative suffix, and has the same form as the allative suffix, as in (6.71b) and (6.72b).

When the goal nominal is a proper noun, these verbs take TO expressions rather than AT expressions, as in (6.74).

(6.74) (a) ise wond-í-ra/wondo/*wondo-ho
 3SG.F.NOM Wondo-GEN.PROP.M-ALL/Wondo/Wondo-LOC.M
 iill-i-t-u.
 arrive-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She arrived in Wondo.'

- (b) ise irga/*irga-te iill-i-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM Irga/Irga-LOC.F arrive-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She arrived in Irga.’

Also, when the goal nominal is one of the locational nouns, the suffix that attaches to the locational noun is the allative suffix, and the locational noun does not take its AT form, as in (6.75) and (6.76).

- (6.75) bule č’uukkiččó damboow-í
 Bule(NOM.F) ring(ACC) Damboowa-GEN.PROP.M
- k’ubbičč-í aan-í-ra/aana wor-t-u.
 finger-GEN.MOD.M top-GEN.MOD.M-ALL/top put-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bule put the ring on Damboowa’s finger.’

- (6.76) lal-u min-í giddo-ra
 cattle-NOM.M house-GEN.MOD.M inside-ALL
- e’-ø-i.
 enter-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The cattle entered the house.’

Third, *sa’*- ‘to pass (over, by, across)’ and its causative form *sa-i-s-* [pass-EP-CAUS-] ‘to pass, cause to pass’ seem to be compatible with VIA and/or TO expressions. The ground nominal for *sa’*- via which the Figure moves can be in the locative case. Examples are given in (6.77) and (6.78).

(6.77) isi ané wido-o-nni/mule-e-nni
 3SG.M.NOM 1SG.GEN side-LV-LOC.LOC/nearness-LV-LOC.LOC

(isé=wa) sa'-ø-i.
 (3SG.F.GEN=place) pass-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He passed by me (to her).’ (*lit.*, ‘He passed at my side/near me (to the place of her).’)

(6.78) bii'ré t'arap'ees-ú aana gongo'm-i-š-ø-e
 pen(ACC) table-GEN.M top roll-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-CNN

bulé=wa sa-i-š-ø-i.
 Bule(GEN.F)=place pass-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He rolled a pen on the table and passed it to Bule.’

Very often, this verb occurs as the main verb of a V1-V2 construction to express a motion to the other side of a Ground object, as in (6.79) and (6.80).

(6.79) lat'o siiwó k'aaf-f-e
 Lat'o(NOM.F) rope(OBL) step.over-3SG.F-CNN

sa'-'-u.
 pass-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat'o walked over the rope, and went to the other side.’

(6.80) lat'o t'awó/doogó tais-s-e
 Lat'o(NOM.F) field/road(OBL) cross-3SG.F-CNN

sa'-'-u.
 pass-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lat'o crossed the field/road, and went to the other side.’

The verb *tais-* ‘to cross’ seems to express the Vector VIA. This verb is an intransitive verb, which takes a Ground nominal in the oblique case.

- (6.81) *farašš-u* *t’awó/k’ark’ará* *tais-ø-i*.
 horse-NOM.M field/village(OBL) cross-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘A horse crossed the field/village.’

Finally, the two verbs for ‘to move around’, *do-* (traveling a path of a full circle) and *gangaab-* (traveling a path of not necessarily a full circle), which both express a motion along a path that goes around a Ground object, are transitive verbs that seem to express ALENGTH/ALONG.²³ Examples are shown in (6.82) and (6.83).

- (6.82) (a) *ooso* *miné* *do-i-t-u*.
 children(NOM.F) house(ACC) move.around-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘The children moved around outside the house.’ (They moved around the house once or more than one time.)
- (b) *ooso* *miné* *gangaab-b-u*.
 children(NOM.F) house(ACC) move.around-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘The children took a curve along outside the house.’

²³ Unlike intransitive verbs like *sa’-* ‘to pass’, *tais-* ‘to cross’, *t’ook’-* ‘to run away’, and *gidd-* ‘to climb up’, which can never be passivized, *do-* and *gangaab-* can be passivized, as in (i), though this is not common.

- (i) *min-u*
 house-NOM.M
- do-am-ø-i/gangaaw-am-ø-i*.
 move.around-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M/move.around-PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The area around the house was moved around (by someone).’

- (6.83) (a) t'awó dod-d-e do-i-t-u.
 field(ACC) run-3SG.F-CNN move.around-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She ran around the field.' (*lit.*, 'She ran and moved around.') (She ran along a circle path on the field.)
- (b) t'awó dod-d-e gangaab-b-u.
 field(ACC) run-3SG.F-CNN move.around-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She ran around the field.' (*lit.*, 'She ran and moved around.') (She took a curve on the field.)

There are a few verbs that seem to express Manner as well as Path. Such verbs include *t'ook'*- 'to run away' and *gidd*- 'to climb up'. Examples are shown in (6.84) and (6.85).

- (6.84) (a) ooso wošičč-ú-nni t'ook-k'-u.
 children(NOM.F) dog-GEN.M-ABL run.away-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'Children ran away from the male dog.'
- (b) ooso wošiččó t'ook-k'-u.
 children(NOM.F) dog(OBL) run.away-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'Children ran away from the dog.'
- (6.85) (a) buše hakk'iččó-te/tulló-te
 Bushe(NOM.F) tree-GEN.F/mountain-GEN.F
- aan-í-ra gidd-i-t-u.
 top-GEN.MOD.M-ALL climb.up-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'Bushe climbed up the tree/mountain.' (*lit.*, 'Bushe climbed up to the top of the tree/mountain.')

- (b) buše hakk'iččó/tulló
 Bushe(NOM.F) tree(OBL)/mountain(OBL)

gidd-i-t-u.
 climb.up-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'Bushe climbed up the tree/mountain.'

The verb *surk-* 'to slide in' is a putting verb that expresses Manner as well as Path.²⁴ Examples are given in (6.86) and (6.87).

- (6.86) wot'é kilki'ličč-ú giddo surk-i-čf-u.
 money(ACC) armpit-GEN.M inside put.tightly-EP-MID/3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'She slid money into her armpit.'

²⁴ This verb appears to be similar to the Korean putting verb *kki-ta* (Choi and Bowerman 1991, Kawachi 2007a) (which is causativized as *kki-wu-ta* when the Ground object is not one of the Agent's body parts), and there are many situations where both can be used (e.g., 'putting a book between books', 'putting a pen in the armpit', 'putting a wooden nail into a preexisting hole of lumber'). However, they are different in several respects. First, unlike *kki-ta*, *surk-* is not a clothing verb, and cannot be used for, e.g., 'putting a ring on one's finger'. Second, unlike *kki-ta*, which allows the Figure to either surround or be surrounded by the Ground in the course of a motion event, *surk-* requires the Figure to be surrounded by the Ground at the end of a motion event; *surk-* cannot be used for, e.g., 'putting a ring on a pole'. Moreover, *surk-* restricts the Figure to an object that is small relative to the Ground. For example, when it is used for putting a book between two books, the placed book has to be small enough compared to the two books it will go between. Furthermore, in events expressed by either of the verbs, during the process of the motion, sliding friction occurs between the two objects at their side surfaces, but in the case of *kki-ta*, where the Figure and Ground are usually both solid objects, the Ground object resists the motion of the Figure caused by the Agent, whereas in the case of *surk-*, the Ground object does not have to resist the insertion of the Figure caused by the Agent; thus, *surk-* can be used for, e.g., 'putting cloth under a weese leaf mattress/under a book'. Finally, after the motion of *surk-*, the Figure is usually protected by or hidden inside the Ground. By contrast, *kki-ta* does not specify the final state of the Figure in relation to the Ground.

(6.87) usukriptó mat'aaf-ú mereero surk-ø-e
 pen(ACC) book-GEN.M between put.tightly-3SG.M-CNN

ee-ss-ø-i/wor-ø-i.

enter-CAUS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M/put-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He slid the pen between books.'²⁵

6.2.3.2 Expressions of Motion Events with Multi-Verb Constructions

The discussion so far has dealt with cases where a Motion event consisting only of a framing event is expressed with a single verb. The present section looks into cases where Motion events are expressed by multi-verb constructions (section 6.2.2). Sidaama seems to follow the prototypical V-language pattern of expressing Motion events to a large degree, though there are exceptions discussed later.

As is characteristic of V-languages, Sidaama often expresses co-events with V1 and Paths with the V2 in one of the V1-V2 constructions. A pair of examples is shown in (6.88). (6.88a) is an example of the temporal sequence construction with the connective suffix, and (6.88b) is an example of the manner/concomitance construction with the infinitive suffix and the suffix *-nni*. (There is almost no clear difference between (6.88a) and (6.88b), except that the manner of running is more emphasized in (6.88b) than in (6.88a).)

²⁵ As in (6.87), *surk-* can be followed by the Path verb *ee-ss-* 'to put in' or *wor-* 'to put' in the temporal sequence constructions, but the order of the two types of verbs cannot be reversed in this construction, as in (i).

(i) *usukriptó mat'aaf-ú mereero ee-ss-ø-e/wor-ø-e
 pen(ACC) book-GEN.M between enter-CAUS-3SG.M-CNN/put-3SG.M-CNN

surk-ø-i.

put.tightly-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

- (6.88) (a) mančo bero dikko dod-d-e
 person(NOM.F) yesterday market run-3SG.F-CNN
- mar-t-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘The woman ran to the market yesterday.’ (*lit.*, ‘The woman ran and went to the market yesterday.’)
- (b) mančo bero dikko
 person(NOM.F) yesterday market
- dod-d-a-nni mar-t-u.
 run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘The woman ran to the market yesterday.’ (*lit.*, ‘The woman went to the market yesterday, running.’)

However, the V1-V2 constructions cannot necessarily use every type of co-event as V1, but the use of each construction depends on the type of the co-event. The present section examines how different types of support relations of a co-event to a framing event of Motion appear as V1 of the V1-V2 constructions depicting Motion events, and shows the following: (i) for the types of support relations of a co-event that have to precede the framing event, Precursion and Enablement, only the temporal sequence construction can be used; on the other hand, for Subsequence, which has to occur after the framing event, none of the V1-V2 constructions can be used; (ii) for Cause, usually the temporal sequence construction is used, though the extended causation construction may be used when the causation can be interpreted as extended causation; (iii) for Concomitance, the manner/concomitance construction is usually used when the co-event of Concomitance expressed by V1 is normally an unbounded action, as is generally the case, but the temporal sequence construction can be used when V1 is a state-change verb; (iv) for

Manner, as mentioned above, either the temporal sequence or manner/concomitance construction can be used with almost no difference in meaning. Manner seems to have a special status in that it can often be expressed by the V1 of two V1-V2 constructions interchangeably.

Out of the several types of co-events, one of them, the co-event of Subsequence, which is preceded by the framing event, cannot use any of the V1-V2 constructions. For example, a subtype of Subsequence, Purpose, is expressed by ‘in order to do ...’ (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.4) or ‘so that’ (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.8), as in (6.89) and (6.90).

(6.89) *milli milli y-i-t-a-ra min-í-nni*
milli milli say-EP-3SG.F-INF-DAT house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She came out of the house in order to walk around.’

(6.90) *hakk'é dit'amar-t-anno-kki-gede*
 wood(ACC) become.loose-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-NEG-so.that

ass-ø-e usur-ø-i.
 do-3SG.M-CNN fasten-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He fastened the wood so that it does not get loose.’

Other types of co-events can use one or both of the temporal sequence constructions. They are discussed in the following order: (i) Precursion and Enablement, (ii) Cause, (iii) Concomitance, and (iv) Manner.

6.2.3.2.1 Precursion and Enablement

The co-events of Precursion and Enablement, which precede the framing event, are usually expressed by V1 of the temporal sequence construction. (6.91) is an example of Precursion, where the event component of putting Lashe in the house precedes that of locking the lock without any causal relation.

- (6.91) lašé min-ú giddo wor-ø-e
 Lashe(ACC) house-GEN.M inside put-3SG.M-CNN
 č’ufaná č’uf-u-mm-o.
 lock(ACC) lock-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘I (M) locked Lashe in the house.’ (*lit.*, ‘I (M) put Lashe in the house, and locked the lock.’)

However, there is a Precursion example such as (6.92a) where the verb that expresses the co-event of Precursion takes a goal nominal with the locative suffix. In fact, (6.92a) is more commonly used than (6.92b), which uses the temporal sequence construction.

- (6.92) (a) malaw-u midaanó-te giddo-ra
 honey-NOM.M clay.container-GEN.F inside-LOC.MOD
 č’ing-ø-i.
 drip-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The honey dripped into the clay container.’

- (b) malaw-u midaanó-te giddo-ra
 honey-NOM.M clay.container-GEN.F inside-LOC.MOD
- č'ing-ø-e e'-ø-i.
 drip-3SG.M-CNN enter-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The honey dripped into the clay container.’ (*lit.*, ‘The honey dripped and entered the clay container.’)

An Enablement example is given in (6.93). In this example, Lashe’s opening the door enables his entering.

- (6.93) laše waalčó fan-ø-e
 Lashe(NOM.M) door(ACC) open-3SG.M-CNN
- e'-ø-i.
 enter-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘Lashe opened the door, and entered.’

The co-event of undoing the previous action, which Talmy calls “reverse enablement”, also uses the temporal sequence construction. An example is shown in (6.94), where V1 expresses the undoing of the previously performed action of tying the cows to the partitioning lumber.

- (6.94) saadá gol-ú-nni tir-ø-e gobba
 cows(ACC) partition-GEN.M-ABL untie-3SG.M-CNN outside
- fušš-ø-i.
 take.out-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He untied the rope from the cows to the partitioning lumber of the animal section of the house, and took them outside.’

6.2.3.2.2 Cause

When one event component causes another, the former occurs before the latter. Because of this strict temporal order, the Cause of motion often appears in V1 of the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction. In (6.95), the event component of Lat’o throwing a stick causes that of her putting the stick in Lashe’s house; the former temporally precedes and causes the latter.

(6.95)	lat’o	lašé	min-í	giddo-ra
	Lat’o(NOM.F)	Lashe(GEN.M)	house-GEN.MOD.M	inside-ALL
	sikk’iččó	ol-t-e	ee-ss-i-t-u.	
	stick(ACC)	throw-3SG.F-CNN	enter-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F	

‘Lat’o threw a stick into Lashe’s house.’ (*lit.*, ‘Lat’o threw a stick to the inside of Lashe’s house, and put it in.’)²⁶

The Cause of motion can sometimes be expressed by V1 of the extended causation construction as well as that of the temporal sequence construction, with a difference in the interpretation of the type of the causation. This only occurs when the temporal sequence construction and the instrumental construction that use the same verbs for V1 and V2 differ in whether the causation is an onset or extended causation. A pair of examples is shown in (6.96).

²⁶ This example fits in with a context involving one of the Sidaama marriage customs called *addawana*, where a woman makes a proposal to a man by throwing a stick into his house (Chapter 1 section 1.1.2).

- (6.96) (a) ise burbuddiččó k'iniité
 3SG.F.NOM ball(ACC) right(GEN.F)
- lekká-se-nni gan-t-e t'awó
 foot(GEN.F)-3SG.F.POSS-INST hit-3SG.F-CNN field(ACC)
- tais-s-u.
 cross-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She kicked the ball across the field with her right foot.’ (*lit.*, ‘She kicked the ball with her right foot and made it cross the field.’) (onset causation: kicked and ...)
- (b) ise burbuddiččó k'iniité
 3SG.F.NOM ball(ACC) right(GEN.F)
- lekká-se-nni gan-t-a-nni t'awó
 foot(GEN.F)-3SG.F.POSS-INST hit-3SG.F-INF-INST field(ACC)
- tais-s-u.
 cross-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She kicked the ball across the field with her right foot.’ (*lit.*, ‘She made the ball cross the field, by kicking it with her right foot.’) (extended causation: kicking continues across the field)

The V1 in (6.96a) refers to his bounded action of kicking a ball once, and he does not kick the ball anymore as it moves across the field; the sentence expresses onset causation. The same verb used as the V1 of the instrumental construction in (6.96b) refers to the repetition of kicking a ball multiple times, and his kicking the ball continues as it moves across the field; thus, the sentence expresses extended causation.

6.2.3.2.3 Concomitance

The co-event of Concomitance is usually expressed in the manner/concomitance construction, where V1 expresses an unbounded action, which is more durational than the

event component of V2. (6.97) and (6.98), where the action expressed by V1 is unbounded, use the manner/concomitance construction for the concomitance meanings.²⁷

In (6.97), during his whistling, his leaving occurs. In (6.98), while she is hiccupping, her coming into the house takes place.

(6.97) isi fiikk'-ø-a-nni ané wido-o-nni
3SG.M.NOM whistle-3SG.M-INF-INST 1SG.GEN side-LV-LOC

sa'-ø-i.
pass-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He passed by me, whistling.'

(6.98) ise hekk'i y-i-t-a-nni min-ú
3SG.F.NOM hekk'i say-EP-3SG.F-INF-INST house-GEN.M

giddo-ra e'-'-u.
inside-ALL enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She came into the house, hiccupping.'

²⁷ (i) and (ii), which use the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction, could be used for an unusual situation where he whistled only once and where she hiccupped only once, respectively.

(i) (?)isi fiikk'-ø-e ané wido-o-nni
3SG.M.NOM whistle-3SG.M-CNN 1SG.GEN side-LV-LOC

sa'-ø-i.
pass-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'He whistled once, and passed by me.'

(ii) (?)ise hekk'i y-i-t-e min-ú giddo-ra
3SG.F.NOM hekk'i say-EP-3SG.F-CNN house-GEN.M inside-ALL

e'-'-u.
enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She hiccupped once, and came into the house.'

When a state-change verb is used as V1, the temporal sequence construction is used to express Concomitance. For example, in (6.99a), Bule's putting on a watch occurs before her going to school, though she wears the watch on the way as a result of her putting on the watch. The use of the manner/concomitance construction as in (6.99b) is ungrammatical.

- (6.99) (a) bule saaté wod-ǰ-i-t-e
 Bule(NOM.F) watch(ACC) put-MID-EP-3SG.F-CNN
- ros-ú mine ha-ǰ-u.
 education-GEN.M house go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘Bule put on a watch, and went to school.’
- (b) *bule saaté wod-ǰ-i-t-a-nni
 Bule(NOM.F) watch(ACC) put-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-INST
- ros-ú mine ha-ǰ-u.
 education-GEN.M house go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

A posture-change verb can be used as V1 of the temporal sequence construction where V2 is a Path verb, as shown in (6.100a)-(6.102a). A change of posture occurs before the schematic core of the motion, though the posture is maintained during the motion. As indicated in (6.100b)-(6.102b), the manner/concomitance construction is not used for a combination of a posture-change verb with a Path verb.

- (6.100) (a) isi šokk-ø-e ha'r-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM bend-3SG.M-CNN go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He went with his body leaning to one side.’

- (b) *isi šokk-ø-a-nni ha'r-ø-i.
3SG.M.NOM bend-3SG.M-INF-INST go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- (6.101) (a) isi gagasó fa'n-ø-e
3SG.M.NOM chest(ACC) open-3SG.M-CNN
- ha'r-ø-i.
 go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He went, throwing out his chest.'
- (b) *isi gagasó fa'n-ø-a-nni
3SG.M.NOM chest(ACC) open-3SG.M-INF-INST
- ha'r-ø-i.
 go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- (6.102) (a) isi umó du-ø-e
3SG.M.NOM head(ACC) direct.down-3SG.M-CNN
- ha'r-ø-i.
 go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He went, looking downward.'
- (b) *isi umó du-ø-a-nni
3SG.M.NOM head(ACC) direct.down-3SG.M-INF-INST
- ha'r-ø-i.
 go-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

6.2.3.2.4 Manner

6.2.3.2.4.1 Uses of Manner Verbs as the V1 of Multi-Verb Constructions

As in other V-languages, a Manner verb in Sidaama usually cannot be a main verb to be used with a TO or FROM expression, as shown in (6.103c) and (6.104c) (however, see section 6.2.3.2.2 for exceptions). In such a case, a Manner verb has to be

followed by a Path verb in the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction, as in (6.103a) and (6.104a), or in the manner/concomitance construction, as in (6.103b) and (6.104b).

- (6.103) (a) ise isí=wa
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place
- dink-i-t-e/lečč'i y-i-t-e
 limp-EP-3SG.F-CNN/lečč'i say-EP-3SG.F-CNN
- ha-d-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'She limped/walked tiredly and went to him.'
- (b) ise isí=wa
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place
- dink-i-t-a-nni/lečč'i y-i-t-a-nni
 limp-EP-INF-MANNER/lečč'i say-EP-INF-MANNER
- ha-d-u.
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'She went to him, limping/walking tiredly.'
- (c) ise isí=wa
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place
- *dink-i-t-u/*lečč'i y-i-t-u.
 limp-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/lečč'i say-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- to mean*, 'She limped/walked tiredly to him.'

- (6.104) (a) ise isí=wa
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place
- bodf-i-t-e/arrifat-t-e dag-g-u.
 crawl-EP-3SG.F-CNN/rush-3SG.F-CNN come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She crawled/rushed and came from that tree.’
- (b) ise isí=wa
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place
- bodf-i-t-a-nni/arrifat-t-a-nni
 crawl-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER/rush-3SG.F-INF-MANNER
- dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She came from that tree, crawling/rushing.’
- (c) ise isí=wa
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place
- *bodf-i-t-u/?arrifat-t-u.
 crawl-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/rush-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- to mean*, ‘She crawled/rushed from that tree.’

There is a class of Manner of motion verbs that can usually be used as V1 in either of the V1-V2 constructions where V2 is a Path verb with almost no difference. Such verbs include those in (6.105).

- (6.105) buub- ‘to fly’
 daak- ‘to swim’
 gongo’m- ‘to roll’
 rah- ‘to hurry’
 ariffat- ‘to rush’
 muddam- ‘to rush (due to a certain circumstance)’
 širri y- ‘to slide’
 sur- ‘to creep’
 bod- ‘to crawl’ (for a Figure object that usually does not crawl all through its life; e.g. person, baby)
 gušooš-am- [pull-PASS-] ‘to crawl’ (for a Figure object that usually crawls all through its life; e.g., snake, alligator)
 luutt’- ‘to creep’
 dod- ‘to run’
 kubb- ‘to jump’
 dink- ‘to limp’
 k’aaf- ‘to walk, take steps, step over’
 tirat- ‘to walk slowly’
 buraak’- ‘to run fast, walk happily’
 lečč’i y- ‘to walk tiredly’
 gaggab- ‘to stagger, lose balance’

Basically, these verbs are not verbs of translational motion by themselves, but rather verbs of self-contained motion, which are unbounded activity verbs, when used as main verbs, but express Manners of motion when used as V1 of one of the V1-V2 constructions whose main verb is a translational-motion verb.

When these verbs are used as V1 and a Path verb as V2, the temporal sequence and manner/concomitance constructions usually show almost no difference.²⁸ Examples

²⁸ However, there seems to be one exception. A clear difference between the two constructions appears when the Figure moves via a point/points on a line that is/are perpendicular to or is/are on the path that the Figure follows. In such a case, the manner/concomitance construction whose V1 is a Manner verb and V2 is a Path verb expresses the Figure’s motion across or over a multiplex of Ground objects, unlike the temporal sequence construction with the same pair of verbs, which expresses the Figure’s motion across or over a single Ground object. Examples are shown in (i) and (ii). In the temporal sequence construction

of the use of one of the verbs in (6.105) as V1 of the V1-V2 constructions are shown in (6.106) and (6.107). The temporal sequence construction example (6.106a) and the manner/concomitance construction example (6.106b), and the temporal sequence construction example (6.107a), and the manner/concomitance construction example (6.107b) each are not very different and can usually be used interchangeably; the only subtle difference is that the continuation of the Manner is usually more or less emphasized in the manner/concomitance V1-V2 construction as compared to in the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction.

examples (ia) and (iia), the Figure moves over a single Ground object, whereas in the manner/concomitance construction examples (ib) and (iib), the Figure moves continuously over multiple Ground objects.

- (i) (a) lat'o siiwó dod-d-e sa'-'-u.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) rope(ACC) run-3SG.F-CNN pass-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'Lat'o ran over the rope (that is located perpendicularly to the path) (a single rope).'
- (b) lat'o siiwó dod-d-a-nni
 Lat'o(NOM.F) rope(ACC) run-3SG.F-INF-MANNER
- sa'-'-u.
 pass-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'Lat'o ran over the ropes (that are located perpendicularly to the path) (continuously over multiple ropes).'
- (ii) (a) kinčó kubb-ø-e sa'-ø-i.
 stone(ACC) jump-3SG.M-CNN pass-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He jumped over the stone (a single stone).'
- (b) kinčó kubb-ø-a-nni sa'-ø-i.
 stone(ACC) jump-3SG.M-INF-MANNER pass-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He jumped over the stones (continuously over multiple stones).'

- (6.106) (a) ise dod-d-e
3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-CNN
- do-i-t-u.
move.in.a.circle-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She ran in a circle.’ (*lit.*, ‘She ran and moved in a circle.’)
- (b) ise dod-d-a-nni
3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-INF-INST
- do-i-t-u.
move.in.a.circle-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She ran in a circle.’ (*lit.*, ‘She moved in a circle, running.’)
- (6.107) (a) kinč-u tulló-te aan-í-nni
rock-NOM.M mountain-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
- gongo’m-ø-e dirr-ø-i.
roll-3SG.M-CNN descend-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The rock rolled down from the top of the mountain.’ (*lit.*, ‘The rock rolled and descended from the top of the mountain.’)
- (b) kinč-u tulló-te aan-í-nni
rock-NOM.M mountain-GEN.F top-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
- gongo’m-ø-a-nni dirr-ø-i.
roll-3SG.M-INF-INST descend-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The rock rolled down from the top of the mountain.’ (*lit.*, ‘The rock descended from the top of the mountain, rolling.’)

When one of the Manner verbs in (6.105), which is an unbounded action verb, is the V1 of the temporal sequence construction with the V2 being a Path verb as in (6.106a) and (6.107a), the event component (the co-event) expressed by the Manner verb is interpreted as continuing during the motion event like the manner/concomitance construction, rather

than terminated like when other types of unbounded action verbs are used as V1 in the temporal sequence construction.

The increased emphasis on the Manner in the manner/concomitance construction over the temporal sequence construction needs evidence. Though only suggestive, there is one difference between the two constructions that may indicate this. When the motion involves a boundary crossing and the Vector is TO, the Manner of motion has to continue throughout the motion event including the moment of boundary crossing when a Manner verb is used as V1 of the manner/concomitance construction whose V2 is a Path verb.²⁹ On the other hand, when a Manner verb is V1 of the temporal sequence construction with a Path verb as V2, it is normally neutral as to whether or not the Manner continued at the moment of boundary crossing. Examples are shown in (6.108) and (6.109). In (6.108b), her Manner of hurrying or staggering continues as she crosses the boundary between the inside and outside of the house, whereas in (6.108a), the continuation of the Manner at the boundary is not specified. Analogously, in (6.109b), she shows the Manner of swimming or sliding at the boundary between the inside and outside of the cave, but (6.109a) does not specify it. When the Manner does not continue at the boundary, (6.108b) and (6.109b) cannot be used, whereas (6.108a) and (6.109a) can be used whether or not the Manner occurs at the boundary.

²⁹ This difference does not seem to apply to the Vector FROM. Thus, if *min-i-ra* were replaced by *min-i-nni* [house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL] in (6.108), and *god-u giddo-ra* by *god-u giddo-nni/giddo-i-nni* [cave-GEN.M inside-ALL/inside-GEN.MOD.M-ALL] in (6.109), (6.108a) and (6.108b), and (6.109a) and (6.109b) would each have no clear difference as to the continuation of the Manner at the boundary.

(b) ise god-ú giddo-ra
 3SG.F.NOM cave-GEN.M inside-ALL

daak-k-a-nni/širri y-i-t-a-nni
 swim-3SG.F-INF-MANNER/širri say-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER

ha-d-u
 go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She swam/slid into the cave.’ (*lit.*, ‘She went into the cave, swimming/sliding.’)

6.2.3.2.4.2 Exceptional Uses of Manner Verbs

The use of one of the V1-V2 constructions with a Manner verb as V1 and a Path verb as V2 is always very much preferred.³⁰ In fact, it is obligatory in sentences like (6.108) (and also (6.103) and (6.104)). However, it is not always obligatory, as a Manner verb can be used as the main verb taking a goal or source complement in some cases.

When the goal or source nominal refers to a location rather than an object, there are a few cases where a Manner of motion verb can be the main verb. First, some Manner verbs can directly take TO expressions with a locational noun like *giddo* (e.g., *giddo-ra* ‘to the inside of the ground object’) without using a Path verb, as in (6.110) and (6.111). In addition to *kubb-* ‘to jump’, such verbs include: *daak-* ‘to swim’, *dod-* ‘to

³⁰ As shown in Table 6.2, the genitive stem of a Modified masculine common noun for a location followed by the suffix *-ra* can express either AT or TO. When a Path verb takes such a noun, it normally expresses TO, but not AT (see footnote 15 for an exception). When a Manner of motion verb is used as a main verb that takes one of these expressions, it expresses AT (locale) rather than TO, as in (i).

(i) ise hakkó god-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN cave-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD

daak-k-u.
 swim-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She swam inside that cave.’ (This cannot be interpreted as ‘She swam to/into that cave’.)

run’, *k’aaf-* ‘to walk, take steps, step over’, *buub-* ‘to fly’, *gongo’m-* ‘to roll’, and *širri y-* ‘to slide’.

(6.110) *isi* *wa-í* *giddo-ra*
 3SG.M.NOM river-GEN.MOD.M inside-ALL

kubb-ø-i.
 jump-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘He jumped into the river.’

(6.111) *kinč-u* *hakkó* *t’arap’ees-í*
 stone(NOM.M) that.M.GEN table-GEN.MOD.M

aan-í-ra *gongo’m-ø-i.*
 top-GEN.MOD.M-ALL roll-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The stone rolled onto that table.’

Another exception is that some Manner verbs can take TO expressions like *min-i-ra* ‘to the house’, as long as the Path is interpreted not to cross the boundary of the Ground object. Such Manner verbs are: *dod-* ‘to run’, *k’aaf-* ‘to walk, take steps, step over’, *kubb-* ‘to jump’, *buub-* ‘to fly’, *rah-* ‘to hurry’, *ariffat-* ‘to rush’, *tirat-* ‘to walk slowly’, *huutt’-* ‘to creep’, *buraak’-* ‘to run fast, walk happily’.

(6.112) *min-í-ra* *dod-ø-i.*
 house-GEN.MOD.M-ALL run-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He ran to the house.’ (or ‘He ran to the side of the house.’)
 (This does not entail his arrival inside the house.)

Analogously, *buub-* ‘to fly’ and *kubb-* ‘to jump’ can take FROM expressions, as in (6.113) and (6.114), especially when the Path does not cross the boundary of the Ground object.

- (6.113) č’eičo min-í-nni buub-b-u.
 bird(NOM.F) house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL fly-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘The bird flew from the house.’
 (for example, from the roof of the house, rather than out of the house)

- (6.114) ise hakkó god-í-nni
 3SG.F.NOM that.M.GEN cave-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

 kubb-i-t-u.
 jump-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

 ‘She jumped from that cave.’
 (from the entrance of the cave, rather than from its inside)

On the other hand, when the goal or source nominal refers to an object rather than a location, a large majority of Manner verbs can take TO expressions containing the noun-phrase clitic =*wa* that are used for object ground nominals (rather than location ground nominals) (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.2, section 6.2.3.1), as in (6.115).

- (6.115) (a) ise hatté hakk’iččó=*wa*
 3SG.F.NOM that.F.GEN tree(GEN.F)=place

 gaggab-b-u.
 stagger-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

 ‘She staggered to that tree.’

- (b) ise isí=wa gaggab-b-u.
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place stagger-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She staggered to him.’

There are only a few Manner verbs that cannot be used this way: *muddam-* ‘to rush’, *dink-* ‘to limp’, *lečč’i y-* ‘to walk tiredly’.

Some Manner verbs can also take FROM expressions with the noun-phrase clitic, as in (6.116).

- (6.116) (a) ise hatté hakk’iččo=wi-nni
 3SG.F.NOM that.F.GEN tree(GEN.F)=place.GEN-ABL

daak-k-u.
 swim-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She ran from that tree.’

- (b) ise isi=wi-nni
 3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=place.GEN-ABL

daak-k-u.
 swim-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She ran from him.’

Manner verbs that can be used like this include: *buub-* ‘to fly’, *daak-* ‘to swim’, *kubb-* ‘to jump’, *gongo ’m-* ‘to roll’, *širri y-* ‘to slide’, *gušooš-am-* [pull-PASS-] ‘to crawl’, *dod-* ‘to run’, *buraak’-* ‘to run fast, walk happily’, *k’aaf-* ‘to walk, take steps, step over’, *tirat-* ‘to walk slowly’, *gaggab-* ‘to stagger, lose balance’. Manner verbs that cannot be used in the construction in (6.116) are: *rah-* ‘to hurry’, *ariffat-* ‘to rush’, *muddam-* ‘to rush’, *bod-* ‘to crawl’, *luutt’-* ‘to creep’, *dink-* ‘to limp’, *lečč’i y-* ‘to walk tiredly’.

In the motion events expressed with a Manner verb and TO or FROM expressions with =*wa*, the Ground object is an object whose vicinity the Figure moved to or from, rather than an object in or from which direction the Figure moves. Sidaama has the locational noun *wido* ‘direction’, which can be followed by the allative suffix *-ra* to express ‘to the direction of, toward’ (*wid-i-ra*) or by the ablative suffix *-nni* to express ‘from the direction from’ (*wid-i-nni*). Manner verbs are usually compatible with either of these.

- (6.117) (a) ise hatté hakk’iččó wid-í-ra
3SG.F.NOM that.F.GEN tree(GEN.F) direction-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

k’aaf-f-u/dink-i-t-u.

take.steps-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/limp-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She took steps/limped in the direction of that tree.’

- (b) ise isí wid-í-ra
3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN direction-GEN.MOD.M-ALL

k’aaf-f-u/dink-i-t-u.

take.steps-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/limp-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She took steps/limped in his direction.’

- (6.118) (a) ise hatté hakk’iččó wid-í-nni
3SG.F.NOM that.F.GEN tree(GEN.F) direction-GEN.MOD.M-ABL

dod-d-u/daak-k-u.

run-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/swim-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She ran/swam from the direction of that tree.’

6.2.4 State-Change

State-change is another event type for which Sidaama seems to exhibit the V-language pattern.³¹

Sidaama has a large class of state-change verbs, especially those that concern feelings and posture changes (Chapter 3 section 3.1.2.2). These verbs lexicalize the notion of ‘entering into a state’. Their present-progressive forms characteristically express a gradual process of entering a state, rather than an ongoing action. Examples are shown in (6.122). (Path verbs also belong to this class of verbs, though are not listed here.)

(6.122)	č’e’em- ‘to become bored’ daafur- ‘to get tired’ damm- ‘to become numb’ good- ‘to become thirsty’ hur- ‘to become cured’ k’iid- ‘to become cold’ ĵaaw- ‘to lose weight’ du’m- ‘to gain weight’ č’aab- ‘to become bright’ tuns- ‘to become dark’ mool- ‘to become dry’ ra- ‘to become cooked’ šišš- ‘to become sour’ duree-’-m- ‘to become rich’ hasiss- ‘to become necessary’ ros- ‘to learn, get used to’ got’- ‘go to sleep’ egenn- ‘to get to know’ k’aag- ‘to recall, remember’	bag- ‘to become tired of’ dimb- ‘to get drunk’ hudid- ‘to become hungry’ damuu’m- ‘get a headache’ iibb- ‘to become hot’ madid- ‘to become wounded’ woiyab- ‘(about health) to get better’ hagiid- ‘to become happy’ maalal- ‘to become surprised’ waaĵj- ‘to become fearful’ mas- ‘to become shocked’ dadill- ‘to become worried’ šoll- ‘to become dishonored, ashamed’ hamaššid- ‘to become jealous’ errab- ‘to become embarrassed’ gaabb- ‘to become regretful’ saal- ‘to become shy’ marar- ‘to become sympathetic, sad, disappointed, concerned’
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³¹ Note that in the type of state-change dealt with here, the Figure is an object or situation and the Ground is a property (Talmy 2000b: 237-238).

uurr- ‘to stand up’	ofoll- ‘to sit down’
gulupp’- ‘to kneel down’	gad- ‘to lie down’

These state-change verbs and their causative forms, when accompanied by one of the perfect suffixes, express non-inherent, current states as conditions resulting from the state-changes (Kawachi 2006b). Examples are given in (6.123) and (6.124).

(6.123) bun-u huf- \emptyset -i/huf- \emptyset -ino.
 coffee-NOM.M boil-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M/boil-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 ‘The coffee boiled.’ (The coffee is boiling now.)

(6.124) ise buná
 3SG.F.NOM coffee(ACC)

huf-i-s-s-u/huf-i-s-s-ino.
 boil-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/boil-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

‘She boiled the coffee.’ (The coffee is boiling now.)

In (6.123) and (6.124), the verb root expresses the state-change of boiling, and with the simple perfect or present perfect suffix, the new state of being boiled is interpreted as lasting at the time of utterance. These perfect suffixes could be regarded as conveying the continuation of the new state. The non-maintenance of the new state can be expressed with a construction where the present perfect form of a verb is followed by the third-person singular masculine simple-perfect form of the verb *heed-* ‘lit., to live’, *hee’r- \emptyset -i* [live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M], as in (6.123’) and (6.124’).³²

³² The verb *heed-* can follow the imperfect form of a verb to express a habitual action in the past ‘used to do’ (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1), as in (i).

(i) isi šaaná it- \emptyset -anno hee’r- \emptyset -i.
 3SG.M.NOM cabbage(ACC) eat-3SG.M-IMPRF.3 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He used to eat cabbage.’

(6.123') (lame saate-ra alba-a-nni)
 (two hour-LOC.MOD front-LV-LOC)

bun-u huf-ø-ino hee'r-ø-i.
 coffee-NOM.M boil-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'The coffee boiled (two hours ago).' (The coffee is not boiling anymore.)

(6.124') (lame saate-ra alba-a-nni)
 (two hour-LOC.MOD front-LV-LOC)

ise buná huf-i-s-s-ino
 3SG.F.NOM coffee(ACC) boil-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

hee'r-ø-i.
 live-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'She boiled the coffee (two hours ago).' (The coffee is not boiling anymore.)

Therefore, in these cases, the aspectual suffixes and the verb *hee'r-ø-i* could be regarded as expressing a framing event of the maintenance and non-maintenance of the new state whose content is described by the preceding verb root.

When a change-of-state macro-event consisting of a framing event (a changed state) and a co-event (Cause, etc.) are expressed by separate constituents, there are two types of expressions, both of which seem to follow the V-language pattern. In one type, the framing event is expressed by the main verb, and the co-event by an oblique constituent, as in (6.125) and (6.126), where the main verbs *billall-* and *daak'-* describe the state-change of the paper becoming scattered and that of the butter melting, and the suffixed nouns *bubbe-te-nni* and *iibbill-u-nni* express the Causes of the state-changes, respectively.

- (6.125) wolakat-u bubbé-te-nni
 paper-NOM.M wind-GEN.F-INST

 billall-ø-i.
 become.scattered-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

 ‘The paper got scattered by the wind.’
- (6.126) buur-u iibbill-ú-nni daak’-ø-i.
 butter-NOM.M heat-GEN.M-INST melt-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘The butter melted because of the heat.’

The other type of expression uses the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction, where the framing event is expressed by V2, and the co-event by V1. As discussed before, this construction usually arranges event components in the order of occurrence; thus, the framing event, which concerns the final state, appears in V2. Examples are shown in (6.127) and (6.128).

- (6.127) waalčó t’iiw-ø-e č’uf-ø-i.
 door(ACC) push-3SG.M-CNN close-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘He pushed the door closed.’ (*lit.*, ‘He pushed the door, and closed it.’)

- (6.128) finiinčó
 small.clay.container(ACC)
- af-ø-i-kki-nni
 get.to.know-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-NEG-MANNER
- gan-ø-e kar-ø-i.
 hit-3SG.M-CNN drop-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘He accidentally hit the small clay container and dropped it.’³³

In (6.127a) and (6.128a), the change in the door or the clay container is described by V2 of the temporal sequence construction, and its Cause by V1.

The same temporal sequence construction can be used for state-change events where the framing event concerns change in state of existence, particularly the transition from an existent state to a nonexistent one. The verb used as V2 is *ba’*- ‘to disappear’ or *hun-* ‘to destroy’. In expressing this type of state-change event, V1 is a state-change verb such as those in (6.122); its referent is a specific instance of entry into a state, which is treated as bounded, though the new state continues till the final state-change expressed by V2, disappearance, occurs. This is a clear V-language pattern. Examples are given in (6.129) and (6.130).

- (6.129) bun-u huf-ø-e
 coffee-NOM.M boil-3SG.M-CNN
- ba’-ø-i.
 disappear-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘The coffee boiled away.’ (*lit.*, ‘The coffee boiled, and disappeared.’)

³³ *Af*-PERS-S.PRF-*kki-nni* is an idiomatic expression for ‘accidentally, unknowingly.’

- (6.130) beetto buuró daak'-i-s-s-e
 child(NOM.F) butter(ACC) melt-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-CNN
 hun-t-u.
 destroy-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'The girl melted the butter away.' (*lit.*, 'The girl caused the butter to melt,
 and destroyed it.')

The verb *ba'* - 'to disappear' can be used as V2 of this construction with a state-change V1 to indicate that the changed state is bad, rather than to express the physical disappearance of an entity. For example, in (6.131)-(6.133), *ba'* - is not used in its literal sense.

- (6.131) k'aakk'-u it-ø-i-kki-nni
 baby-NOM.M eat-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-NEG-MANNER
 got'-ø-e ba'-ø-i-'e.
 sleep-3SG.M-CNN disappear-3SG.M-S.PERF.3SG.M-1SG
 'The baby boy fell asleep without eating to my detriment.'
- (6.132) isi lekká šokk-ø-e
 3SG.M.NOM leg(OBL) become.bent-3SG.M-CNN
 ba'-ø-i.
 disappear-3SG.M-S.PERF.3SG.M
 'His leg got bent permanently; it was bad.' (*lit.*, 'He got bent with respect
 to legs, and disappeared.')

- (6.133) isé-ra hakku manč-i
 3SG.F.GEN-DAT.PRON that.M.NOM person-NOM.MOD.M
- re-ø-e ba'-ø-i.
 die-3SG.M-CNN disappear-3SG.M-S.PERF.3SG.M
- ‘That man died to her detriment.’ (*lit.*, ‘That man died to her, and disappeared.’)

Sidaama uses the temporal sequence construction with the existential/locational verb (‘to come to exist, to come to be located’; *no* for a third-person subject) as V2 for the continuous aspect form of a verb. As discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.2.3.1), the existential/locational verb in this language is a state-change verb. The continuous construction could be analyzed as a construction for a type of state-change event whose framing event is the existence of the subject entity; the continuation of a state of the subject entity is treated as composed of the entity’s entry into the state and its existence in that state. Examples are shown in (6.134) and (6.135).

- (6.134) bun-u huf-ø-e no.
 coffee-NOM.M boil-3SG.M-CNN exist.3
 ‘The coffee has been boiling.’
- (6.135) ise buná huf-i-s-s-e no.
 3SG.F.NOM coffee(ACC) boil-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-CNN exist.3
 ‘She has been boiling the coffee.’

6.2.5 Realization

Also, for the next event type, realization, Sidaama usually uses the main verb of the temporal sequence construction for the core schema.

Talmy (2000b: 261-263) discusses four verbal patterns involving realization events. Examples of the four patterns are shown in (6.136)-(6.139).

- (6.136) (a) I kicked the hubcap.
 (b) I kicked the hubcap *flat*.
- (6.137) (a) The police hunted the fugitive.
 (b) The police hunted the fugitive *down*.
- (6.138) (a) I washed the shirt.
 (b) I washed the shirt *clean*.
- (6.139) (a) I drowned him.
 (b) *I drowned him *dead*.

In the first pattern exemplified by (6.136b), the realization of the framing event (the hubcap's state-change of becoming flat) is beyond the scope of the intention of the agent expressed by the verb *kicked*, as in (6.136a). This is a type of state-change event where the co-event is in a support relation of Cause to the framing event. In the second type illustrated in (6.137), the agent's goal of realizing the event in (6.137b) (capturing the fugitive) is included in the event expressed only by the verb, as in (6.137a), but the use of the verb *hunted* alone in (6.137a) is neutral as to whether the goal has been attained. In the third pattern, which is shown in (6.138), the verb *washed* implies the fulfillment of the agent's goal of cleansing the shirt, as in (6.138a), but the fulfillment can be

confirmed, as in (6.138b). Finally, as in (6.139), the verb *drowned* asserts that the agent's goal of killing him has been attained, and no other element further confirms it.

The question here is how a language expresses the fulfillment of the goal that the agent intends to attain, or the confirmation of the fulfillment of the agent's goal that is only implicated, as in (6.137) and (6.138). In S-languages, it is characteristically done by the use of a satellite, whereas in V-languages, the main verb of a multi-verb construction is used. Sidaama basically follows the latter pattern. The ways that Sidaama expresses this event type are discussed below.

In (6.140), the predicate only implicates the agent's intention of killing him, but does not entail its fulfillment.³⁴

³⁴ The realization of a state-change also follows the same pattern as the fulfillment of the agent's goal. In (i), the predicate does not entail the confirmation of the result of his state-change of drowning.

- (i) isi wa-ɪ giddo it-am-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM river-GEN.MOD.M inside eat.PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He almost drowned in the river.' (*lit.*, 'He got eaten/drowned in the river.')

(i) can be followed by a sentence that indicates the non-confirmation of the result of the state-change, as in (ii).

- (ii) isi wa-ɪ giddo it-am-ø-i.
 3SG.M.NOM river-GEN.MOD.M inside eat.PASS-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

 isi kainni di=re-ø-ino.
 3SG.M.NOM however NEG=die-3SG.M-P.PRF.3

'He almost drowned in the river. However, he did not die.' (*lit.*, 'He got eaten in the river ...')

The result of the state-change can be confirmed by the use of V2 of the temporal sequence construction, where V1 expresses the state-change.

- (iii) wa-ɪ giddo it-am-ø-e re-ø-i.
 river-GEN.MOD.M inside eat.PASS-3SG.M-CNN die-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He drowned in the river.' (*lit.*, 'He got eaten in the river, and died.')

- (6.140) ani isó wa-í giddo
 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC river-GEN.MOD.M inside
- itis-u-mm-o.
 drown-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) tried drowning him.’ (*it-i-s-* [eat-EP-CAUS-] ‘to drown’)

This can be followed by a sentence that conveys the non-fulfillment of the agent’s intention, as in (6.140’).

- (6.140’) ani isó wa-í giddo
 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC river-GEN.MOD.M inside
- itis-u-mm-o.
 drown-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- isi kainni di=re-ø-ino.
 3SG.M.NOM however NEG=die-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- ‘I (M) tried drowning him. However, he did not die.’ (*lit.*, ‘I (M) drowned him ...’)

In order to show the fulfillment of the agent’s intention, which is not implied by a verb, this verb is usually used as V1 of the temporal sequence V1-V2 construction and is followed by another verb, V2, which expresses the framing event of fulfillment, as in (6.140’’).

- (6.140'') ani isó wa-í giddo
 1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ACC river-GEN.MOD.M inside
- itis-ø-e š-u-mm-o.
 drown-3SG.M-CNN kill-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
- ‘I (M) drowned him.’ (*lit.*, ‘I (M) drowned him in the river, and killed him.’)

Two more examples are given in (6.141) and (6.142). The verb *diir-* in (6.141) refers to the action of kidnapping a woman for the purpose of marrying her (Chapter 1 section 1.1.2), but the attainment of the goal is not implied. Its attainment can be expressed by the use of another verb such as *ad-* ‘to marry’. In (6.142), *hog-* refers to each process of converting *weese* plant into edible *waasa*, but the completion of the whole series of processes needs to be expressed by the verb *fušš-* (*lit.*, ‘take out’), which specifically refers to it.

- (6.141) laše bulé diir-ø-e
 Lashe(NOM.M) Bule(ACC) kidnap.for.marriage-3SG.M-CNN
- ad-ø-i.
 marry-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘Lashe kidnapped Bule for marriage, and got married to her.’

- (6.142) *insa* *weesé-te-nni* *waasá*
 3PL.NOM *weese.plant-GEN.F-ABL* *waasa(ACC)*
- hog-g-e*
 convert.*weese*.into.*waasa*-3SG.F-CNN
- fušš-i-t-u.*
 take.out-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘They went through the processes of converting *weese* plants into *waasa*, and completed them.’

There is a verb that expresses thoroughness or completeness: *seekk-* ‘do something properly, make something good’. This verb can be used as V2 of the temporal sequence construction to show that the result of the action of V1 is of a fine quality, as in (6.143) and (6.144).

- (6.143) *isi* *uddanó* *haišš-ø-e*
 3SG.M.NOM *clothes(ACC)* *wash-3SG.M-CNN*
- seekk-ø-i.*
 make.good-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘He washed the clothes clean.’ (*lit.*, ‘He washed the clothes, and made them good.’)
- (6.144) *ise* *č’aammá-se* *usur-r-e*
 3SG.F.NOM *shoes(ACC)-3SG.F.GEN* *fasten-3SG.F-CNN*
- seekk-i-t-u.*
 make.good-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She tied her shoes tightly.’ (*lit.*, ‘He tied her shoes, and made them good.’)

However, this verb can be used as V1 of the temporal sequence construction; this contradicts with the V-language pattern. In this usage, the connective form of *seekk-* serves like an adverbial for ‘well, properly’.

- (6.145) č’aamm-i-kki
 shoes-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.F.GEN
- t’id-am-∅-anno-kki-gede
 loosen-PASS-3SG.M-IMPRF.3-NEG-so.that
- seekk-i-t-e usur-i.
 make.good-EP-2SG-CNN fasten-IMP.2SG
- (to a singular addressee) ‘Fasten your shoes well so that they do not get loose.’

There is also an idiomatic expression with *ass-* ‘to do’ that shows a pattern opposite to the V-language pattern. It is *murč’i ass-*, whose connective form is used as V1 of the temporal sequence construction to express completeness. Examples are shown in (6.146)-(6.148).

- (6.146) isi uddanó murč’i ass-∅-e
 3SG.M.NOM clothes(ACC) *murč’i* do-3SG.M-CNN
- haišš-∅-i.
 wash-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- ‘He washed the clothes clean.’

- (6.147) isi murč'i ass-ø-e
 3SG.M.NOM *murč'i* do-3SG.M-CNN

giw-ø-i-se.
 come.to.hate-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F

'He hates her totally.'

- (6.148) wot'é-si murč'i ass-i-t-e
 money(ACC)-3SG.M-POSS *murč'i* do-3SG.F-CNN

gud-d-u.
 spend-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

'She used up his money.'

This expression cannot occupy the V2 position of the temporal sequence construction, as shown in (6.149).

- (6.149) *isi uddanó haišš-ø-e murč'i
 3SG.M.NOM clothes(ACC) wash-3SG.M-CNN *murč'i*

ass-ø-i.
 do-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

to mean, 'He washed the clothes clean.'

6.2.6 Temporal Contouring

In expressing the events of temporal contouring (aspect), which has a wide variety of subtypes, Sidaama shows the V-language pattern to some extent, but often deviates from the V-language pattern.

According to Talmy (2000b), the framing event of temporal contouring has one of the following two types of structures. First, in aspectual types such as "starting",

“stopping”, “continuing”, “remaining manifested”, “iterating”, “intensifying”, and “tapering off”, the figure is the degree of manifestation of an event, namely whether or not an event is manifested, and if manifested, how it is manifested, and the ground is a particular point in time or a period of time. For example, in the English example (6.17) *They talked on*, the figure is the full manifestation of the event, the ground is an unspecified period of time, the core schema is continuation, and the co-event is their talking.

On the other hand, in the aspectual type of “finishing”, the figure is an affected object and the ground is temporal contour. The core schema consists of the ground and the association function, the latter of which is the direction of the relation between the figure and the ground. For example, in the English sentence *I wrote the letter to completion*, where the figure, the letter, is affected in a way that it is agentively “moved” to completion with the co-event of me writing, and the core schema is made up of a positive direction of association (the Vector TO) and a terminative temporal contour.

Whichever of the structures the framing event may have, the support relation that the co-event has in relation to the framing event is “a constitutive relation, in effect “filling in” the conceptual region outlined by the temporal contour” (Talmy 2000b: 232).

Like other event types, temporal contouring is expressed differently in V-languages and S-languages. For the framing event of temporal contouring, V-languages characteristically use the main verb of a construction and S-languages a satellite (or an adpositional phrase), though S-languages may also have lexical verbs for temporal contouring (e.g., English: *begin, end, continue, repeat, finish*) (Talmy 2000b: 232).

In Sidaama, temporal contouring can be expressed in various ways, for example, with a verb suffix, a verb predicate, the main verb of one of the multi-verb constructions, a subordinate verb, an adverbial, or a construction. The ways that Sidaama expresses the core schemas of different types of aspect are summarized in (6.150).

(6.150) (i) completion/termination

- main verbs:
- V-PERS-CNN + *gud-* ‘to finish a bounded action’
 - V-PERS-CNN + *ka’-* ‘to finish a unbounded action’
 - V-INF + *agur-* ‘to stop doing’
 - V-PERS-CNN + *goof-* ‘to come to an end’ (often, after consumption)
- verb suffix:
- simple perfect suffix, present perfect suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1)

(ii) initiation

- main verb:
- V-INF + *ǰammar-* ‘(AMH) to start to do’
 - V-INF-PERS(-GENDER)-DAT/V-PERS-INF-DAT *ka’-* ‘be about to do’
- construction:
- V-DAT=NPC.PRED ‘be about to do’
 - V-INF-PERS(-GENDER)-DAT/V-PERS-INF-DAT *y-* ‘be about to do’ (*y-* ‘to say’)
- lexicalized verb:
- *t’int-* ‘to start to build a house/plait a basket’

(iii) continuation

- construction:
- V-PERS-CNN + *no* [exist.3] ‘have been doing’ (continuous aspect construction) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1)
 - V-PERS-INF-MANNER + *no* [exist.3] ‘be doing’ (present progressive aspect construction) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1)
- lexicalized verb:
- V-PERS-INF-INST + *hos-* ‘to spend all day doing’
 - V-PERS-INF-INST + *gal-* ‘to spend all night doing’
 - V-PERS-INF-INST + *keešš-* ‘to stay long, last’

(iv) habitual action

- verb suffix:
- imperfect suffix (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1)
- adverbial:
- various adverbials

(v) repetition

- adverbial or V1:
- *hig*-PERS-CNN ‘again’ (*hig*- ‘to return’)
 - *k’ol*-PERS-CNN ‘again’ (*k’ol*- ‘to return’)
 - *hig*-PERS-CNN *hig*-PERS-CNN ‘again and again’ (*hig*- ‘to return’)
 - *k’ol*-PERS-CNN *k’ol*-PERS-CNN ‘again and again’ (*k’ol*- ‘to return’)
 - *rak*-PERS-CNN *rak*-PERS-CNN ‘again and again’ (*rak*- ‘to hurry’)
 - *aana aana-ho* [top top-LOC.M] ‘one after another’
- reduplication
- various verbs

(vi) gradualness

- construction:
- V-PERS-INF-MANNER + *no* [exist.3] ‘be doing’ (present progressive aspect construction) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1)
- adverbial or V:1
- *sununni* (*sununni*) *y-/ass-/ikk*-PERS-CNN [slowly slowly say-/do-/become-PERS-CNN] ‘gradually’
 - *šiima šiima ass*-PERS-CNN [small small do-PERS-CNN] ‘gradually’
 - various adverbials

(vii) frequency

- adverbial or V1:
- *sa’*-PERS-CNN *sa’*-PERS-CNN ‘sometimes’ (*sa’*- ‘to pass’)
 - various adverbials

Each of these is described below.

(i) Completion/termination

There are three verbs that express the completion or termination of an action: *gud*- ‘to finish (a bounded action)’, *ka’*- ‘to finish (an unbounded action)’, and *agur*- ‘to stop doing’. The first two verbs, *gud*- and *ka’*-, occur as V2 of the temporal sequence

V1-V2 construction. They differ as to the boundedness of a terminated action expressed by the connective form of V1. Examples are shown in (6.151) and (6.152).

(6.151) (a) buná ag-ø-e gud-u-mm-o.
 coffee(ACC) drink-1SG-CNN finish-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) finished drinking the coffee.’

(b) buná ag-ø-e ka’-u-mm-o.
 coffee(ACC) drink-1SG-CNN finish-S.PRF.1-1SG-M
 ‘I (M) finished the activity of coffee drinking.’

(6.152) (a) ise (sase t’awo) do-d-e
 3SG.F.NOM (three field(OBL)) run-3SG.F-CNN

gud-d-u.
 finish-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She finished running (a specific distance) (across the three fields).’

(b) ise do-d-e ka’-’-u.
 3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-CNN finish-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She stopped the activity of running.’

The verb *agur-* ‘to stop doing’ is used for the (usually) permanent termination of an action. It takes the infinitive form of a verb.³⁵ Examples are given in (6.153) and (6.154).

(6.153) ise buus-a agur-t-u.
 3SG.F.NOM cough-INF stop-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 ‘She stopped coughing (for good).’

³⁵ When used in this sense, this verb does not take a nominal direct object (e.g., **aradiččo agur-ino* to mean, (6.154)).

- (6.154) aradiččó č'ork-a agur-ø-ino.
 chewing.tobacco(ACC) chew-INF stop-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He quit chewing chewing tobacco (for good).'

The negative form of this verb may be used to emphasize the subject NP's determined continuation of his/her action and refusal to terminate it, as in (6.155) and (6.156).

- (6.155) hasaw-a di=agur-ø-ino.
 talk-INF NEG=stop-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
 'He would not stop talking.' ('He kept on talking.')

- (6.156) lat'o sirb-a agur-t-anno-gede
 Lat'o(NOM.F) sing-INF terminate-3SG.F-IMPRF.3-so.that

kul-oo-mm-o-se=ha
 tell-P.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.F=NPC.M.CMPL

ikk-ø-ino-ro-no ise
 become-3SG.M-P.PRF.3-if-even 3SG.F.NOM

sirb-a di=agur-t-ino.
 sing-INF NEG=terminate-3SG.F-P.PRF.3

'Even though I (M) told Lat'o not to sing, she did not stop singing.'

The verb *goof-* 'to come to an end (often, after consumption)' can occur as V2 of the temporal sequence construction, as in (6.157), though it does not have to be, as in (6.158) and (6.159).

- (6.157) sagale it-an-t-e goof-f-u.
 food(NOM.F) eat-PASS-3SG.F-CNN finish-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'The food was eaten and finished.'

- (6.158) hakk'e giirá-te-nni goof-f-u.
 wood(NOM.F) fire-GEN.F-INST finish-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
 'The firewood burned out because of the fire.'
- (6.159) od-u goof-ø-i.
 story-NOM.M finish-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'The story came to an end.'

Sidaama has two perfect-aspect suffixes: the simple-perfect and the present-perfect suffixes (Teferra's (2000) terms). Both express the completion of an action. They are usually interchangeable with each other without any difference in meaning when used as main verbs, as in (6.160), but there are cases where only one of them can be used (see Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1 for details).

- (6.160) ise sagalé it-t-u/it-t-ino.
 3SG.F.NOM food(ACC) eat-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/eat-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
 'She ate food.'

(ii) Initiation

There are two verbs that express initiation. One is a verb borrowed from Amharic, *ǰammar-* 'to start to do'. This verb takes the infinitive form, as in (6.161).

- (6.161) k'aakk'-u la'-ø-e gedensa-a-nni
 baby-NOM.M see-3SG.M-CNN last-LV-LOC
- wi'l-a ǰammar-ø-i.
 cry-INF start-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'After the baby boy saw me, he started to cry.'

The other verb that can be used for the aspect type of initiation is *ka'*-, which is also used for completion or termination, as discussed earlier. Unlike when it is used for the completion/termination sense ('to finish (an unbounded action)'), it is not used in the temporal sequence construction, but follows a verb in the form of *V-a-PERS(-GENDER)-ra/V-PERS-a-ra* [V-INF-PERS(-GENDER)-DAT/V-PERS-INF-DAT] when used for the initiation sense. An example is shown in (6.162).

- (6.162) *wi'l-ø-a-ra* *ka'-ø-i.*
 cry-3SG.M-INF-DAT be.about.to-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 'He is about to cry.'

There are two other constructions for the aspect of initiation. Both also use the infinitive-dative form of a verb. One takes the form of *V-a-PERS(-GENDER)-ra-ti/V-PERS-a-ra-ti* [V-INF-PERS(-GENDER)-DAT=NPC.PRED/V-PERS-INF-DAT=NPC.PRED] to express 'be about to do'. An example is shown in (6.163).

- (6.163) *k'aakk'-u* *wi'l-a-ra=ti.*
 baby-NOM.M cry-INF-DAT=NPC.PRED
 'The baby boy is about to cry.'

The infinitive-dative form of a verb can be used in a subordinate clause to indicate the time that the event component expressed by the main clause occurs. When used this way, the infinitive-dative form of a verb is followed by the verb *y-* 'to say', which is followed by the infinitive suffix *-a* and takes the person suffix before or after it; this infinitive-person suffix complex is followed by the suffix *-nni* when the subject of the

subordinate clause and that of the main clause are the same, as in (6.164), and it is followed by the conjunctive clitic =*nna* ‘and’ (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.3) when the subject of the subordinate clause and that of the main clause are different, as in (6.165).

- (6.164) *ise* *min-í-nni*
 3SG.F.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL
- ful-t-a-ra* *y-i-t-a-nni* *hint’issi*
 exit-3SG.F-INF-DAT say-EP-3SG.F-INF-while *hint’issi*
- ass-i-t-u.*
 do-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘When she was about to exit the house, she sneezed.’
- (6.165) *ise* *min-í-nni* *ful-t-a-ra*
 3SG.F.NOM house-GEN.MOD.M-ABL exit-3SG.F-INF-DAT
- y-i-t-a=nna* *č’eiččo*
 say-EP-3SG.F-INF=and bird(NOM.F)
- min-í-ra* *e’-’-u.*
 house-GEN.MOD.M-LOC.MOD.M enter-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘When she was about to exit the house, a bird came in.’

However, this construction cannot be used in a main clause.

There is one verb that lexicalizes initiation: *t’int-* ‘to start to build a house/plait a basket’. This verb is used exclusively for one of the two actions, ‘building a house’ or ‘plaiting a basket’. It takes as its object either of the nouns, *mine* ‘house’ or *saffe* ‘savanna grass container’, but not any other noun or any verbs (e.g., **isi miné min-a*

- (6.168) ise t'a sase saate wo'ma gobba-nni
 3SG.F.NOM now three hour all outside-LOC
- uurr-ø-e no.
 stand-3SG.M-CNN exist.P.PRF.3

'He has been standing outside for the whole three hours.'

When an action verb is in the present progressive aspect (V-PERS-INF-INST exist) (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1), it expresses the continuation of the action at the time of utterance, as in (6.169).

- (6.169) lat'o sirb-i-t-a-nni no.
 Lat'o(NOM.F) sing-EP-3SG.F-INF-INST exist.P.PRF.3
 'Lat'o is singing now.'

There are three verbs that lexicalize continuation. *Hos-* 'to spend all day continuing to do something' is used for an action that continues all day, and *gal-* 'to spend all night continuing to do something' for an action that continues all night. Both verbs are used as the main verb of the construction with the suffix *-nni*, as in (6.170) and (6.171).

- (6.170) bero laše it-ø-a-nni
 yesterday Lashe(NOM.M) eat-3SG.M-INF-INST
- hos-ø-i.
 spend.all.day-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

'Lashe spent all day eating yesterday.'

- (6.171) lat'o hašša wo'ma sirb-i-t-a-nni
 Lat'o(NOM.F) night all sing-EP-3SG.F-INF-INST
- gal-t-u.
 spend.all.night-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- 'Lat'o kept singing all night.'

A third verb that expresses continuation, *keešš-* 'to stay long, last', expresses 'to stay in one place continuing to do something'. It is also used as the main verb of the construction with the suffix *-nni*. An example is shown in (6.172).

- (6.172) heeššo-si wo'ma isé agar-ø-a-nni
 life-3SG.M all 3SG.F.ACC wait-3SG.M-INF-INST
- keešš-ø-i.
 stay.long.in.one.place-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
- 'He spent all his life waiting for her.'

This verb can also be used to express 'to continue to exist, continue to stay in one place', as in (6.173).

- (6.173) tulló-te aana giira šiima yanna
 mountain-GEN.F top fire(NOM.F) small time
- keešš-i-t-ino.
 last-EP-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
- 'The fire in the mountain lasted for a short time.'

As mentioned earlier, a person's determined continuation of his/her action can be expressed with the negation of the verb for continuation *agur-* 'to give up, quit'. See (6.155) and (6.156) for examples.

(iv) Habitual Action

A verb in the imperfect aspect (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1) can express a habitual action, as in (6.174).

- (6.174) duuča wote ani adó ag-ee-mm-o.
 all time 1SG.NOM milk(ACC) drink-IMPRF.1-1SG-M
 'I (M) drink milk every day.'

A clause with a verb in the imperfect aspect can be ambiguous between the habitual interpretation, as in the above example, and the future interpretation (e.g., (*ga'*) *ani adó ag-ee-mm-o*. 'I (M) will drink milk (tomorrow).').

There are adverbials such as (6.175) that are used for habitual actions.

- (6.175) duuča wote 'all the time, every day'
 wo'ma-nka wote [all-EMPH time] 'always'
 wo'ma-nka yanna/duuča-nka yanna [all-EMPH time] 'always'
 barro barr-u-nni [day day-GEN.M-INST] 'every day'
 duunč'a(-nka) barra [all(-EMPH) day] 'every day'
 hašša hašša [evening evening] 'every evening'
 hašša hašš-u-nni [evening evening-GEN.M-INST] 'every evening'
 dir-u duučča [year-GEN.M all] 'every year'
 dir-u baala [total-GEN.M all] 'every year'

(v) Repetition

Repetition is expressed by the connective forms of the verbs for ‘to return’ or by the reduplication of some verbs. They occur as V1, rather than V2, of the temporal sequence construction, which is at odds with the V-language pattern. The connective forms of the verbs, *hig-* ‘to return’ and *k’ol-* ‘to return’, can be used to indicate a single repetition, as in (6.176).

(6.176) (a) { *hig-g-e*
 return-3SG.F-CNN
 k’ol-t-e
 return-3SG.F-CNN }

dag-g-u.
 come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She came again.’

(b) { *hig-g-e*
 return-3SG.F-CNN
 k’ol-t-e
 return-3SG.F-CNN }

buus-s-u.
 cough-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She coughed again.’

The reduplications of these connective forms express the continued repetition ‘again and again’, as in (6.177).

(6.177) (a) $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{hig-g-e} & \text{hig-g-e} \\ \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} & \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} \\ \text{k'ol-t-e} & \text{k'ol-t-e} \\ \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} & \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} \end{array} \right\}$

ise
3SG.F.NOM

dag-g-u.
come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She came again and again.’

(b) $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{hig-g-e} & \text{hig-g-e} \\ \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} & \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} \\ \text{k'ol-t-e} & \text{k'ol-t-e} \\ \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} & \text{return-3SG.F-CNN} \end{array} \right\}$

ise
3SG.F.NOM

buus-s-u.
cough-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She coughed again and again.’

The reduplication of the connective form of the verb *rak-* ‘to hurry’ can also mean ‘again and again’ with state-change verbs or punctual activity verbs (it also means ‘quickly’ with state-change verbs or non-punctual activity verbs). Examples are given in (6.178).

(6.178) (a) ise rak-k-e rak-k-e
3SG.F.NOM hurry-3SG.F-CNN hurry-3SG.F-CNN

ise
3SG.F.NOM

dag-g-u.
come-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She came again and again.’ (also, ‘She came very quickly.’)

(b) ise rak-k-e rak-k-e
 3SG.F.NOM hurry-3SG.F-CNN hurry-3SG.F-CNN

buus-s-u.
 cough-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘She coughed again and again.’

Repetition can also be expressed by the reduplication of some verbs (Chapter 4 section 4.1), as in (6.179).

(6.179)	šaf- ‘to shake’	šāššaf- ‘to shake repeatedly’
	k’aas- ‘to sting’	k’aakk’aas- ‘to sting repeatedly’
	bad- ‘to separate’	babbad- ‘to separate repeatedly’
	kubb- ‘to jump’	kukkubb- ‘to jump repeatedly’
	dol- ‘to cut (a tree)’	doddol- ‘to cut (a tree) repeatedly’
	fač’- ‘to split (a log) into pieces’	faffač’- ‘to split (a log) into small pieces’
	kis- ‘to touch’	kikkis- ‘to touch repeatedly’
	mur- ‘cut’	murmur- ‘cut repeatedly’
	gan- ‘to hit’	gangan- ‘to beat’
	kiif- ‘to sprinkle’	kifiif- ‘to sprinkle repeatedly’

(vi) Gradualness

Gradualness can be expressed in the present-progressive aspect construction or by an adverb.

The present progressive aspect construction (Chapter 4 section 4.2.2.3.1), which uses the existential/locational verb, expresses a gradual state-change at the time of utterance or at the reference time, if the preceding verb is a state-change verb. Examples are shown in (6.180) and (6.181).

(6.180) ani la'-u-mm-o-si-wote isi
 1SG.NOM see-S.PRF.1-1SG-M-3SG.M-time 3SG.M.NOM

 ofoll-ø-a-nni no.
 sit.down-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘When I (M) saw him, he was in the process of sitting down.’

(6.181) dimb-ø-a-nni no.
 get.drunk-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘He is in the process of getting drunk.’

There are two idiomatic verbal expressions that concern a gradual state-change. They occur as V1 of either the temporal sequence construction or the manner/concomitance construction. One is *sununni* (*sununni*) *y-/ass/ikk-* [slowly slowly say-/do-/become-] ‘gradually’, where the adverb *sununni* ‘slowly’ or its repeated form *sununni sununni* is followed by one of the verbs (*y-* and *ikk-* for non-agentive events and *ass-* for agentive events).³⁶ Examples are shown in (6.182) and (6.183).

(6.182) sununni sununni ikk-a-nni/y-aa-nni
 slowly slowly become-INF-MANNER/say-INF-MANNER

 tuns-ø-a-nni no.
 become.dark-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.3

‘It is getting dark little by little.’

³⁶ Compared to when used in the manner/concomitance construction, when these expressions are used in the temporal sequence construction, the gradual change may occur in an unnoticeable way. The form with *y-* ‘to say’ can express slowness rather than gradualness. Other than this, the difference between the form with *y-* and versus with *ikk-* is not clear.

(6.183) sununni ass-ø-e/ass-i-t-a-nni
 slowly do-3SG.M-CNN/do-EP-2SG-INF-MANNER

beettó-kki seēŋŋ-i.
 child(ACC)-2SG.POSS advise-IMP.2SG

(to a singular addressee) ‘Advise your child little by little.’

The other expression, *šiiima šiiima ass-* [small small do-] ‘gradually’, which concerns a gradual change in the amount of something, is also used as V1 of the temporal sequence construction or the manner/concomitance construction, as in (6.184).

(6.184) lik’i’r-ø-ino wot’é šiiima šiiima
 borrow-3SG.M-P.PRF.3 money(ACC) small small

ass-ø-e/ass-ø-a-nni
 do-3SG.M-CNN/do-3SG.M-INF-MANNER

k’ol-ø-a-nni no.
 return-3SG.M-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3

‘He is returning the money he borrowed little by little.’

There are three adverbial expressions that involve a gradual state-change: *yanna yanna-te-nni* [time time-GEN.F-ABL] ‘gradually’, *bero-nni teččo* [yesterday-ABL today] ‘gradually’, and *aana aana-ho* [top top-LOC.M]/*aana aana-nko* [top top-EMPH] ‘one after another’ (for a state-change of a group of objects), which are exemplified by (6.185)-(6.187).³⁷

³⁷ As seen shortly, the expression *yanna yanna-te-nni* has another meaning of ‘from time to time’. For example, (6.185) can mean ‘... , he is happy from time to time’.

- (6.185) oosó-si lopp'ó-nni yanna
 children(GEN.F) growth(GEN.F)-ABL time
- yanna-te-nni isi hagiid-ø-ino.
 time-GEN.F-INST 3SG.M.NOM become.happy-3SG.M-P.PRF.3
- ‘Because of the growth of his children, he has become happy gradually.’
- (6.186) bero-nni teččo heešo
 yesterday-ABL today life(NOM.F)
- daafur-s-i-t-a-nni no-si.
 become.tired-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-INF-MANNER exist.P.PRF.3-3SG.M
- ‘Life is making him tired gradually.’
- (6.187) saada aana aana-ho/aana-nko
 cows(NOM.F) top top-LOC.M/top-EMPH
- re-i-t-u.
 die-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘The cows died one after another.’

(vii) Frequency

Frequency is expressed by adverbials. The reduplicated connective form of the verb *sa'* - ‘to pass’ means ‘sometimes’. An example is given in (6.188).

- (6.188) ninke sa'-n-e sa'-n-e dikko
 1PL.NOM pass-1PL-CNN pass-1PL-CNN market
- ha'-n-ee-mmo.
 go-1PL-IMPRF.1-1PL
- ‘We sometimes go to the market.’

One of the gradualness expressions mentioned above, *yanna yanna-te-nni* [time time-GEN.F-ABL] ‘gradually’, can also be used to mean ‘from time to time’, as in (6.189).

- (6.189) dag-g-e ta'm-i-'e.
 come-2SG-CNN visit-IMP.2SG-1SG
 (to a singular addressee) ‘Come and visit me from time to time.’

There are lexical adverbs that can mean ‘never’ when used with a verb with the negation clitic or with the negative imperative suffix: *horonta*, *horonka*, *horñanka*, and *takkonta* (also, *horonta-nni* and *horonka-nni*). An example is shown in (6.190).

- (6.190) ise lamal-ú barr-í-nni mitte-ge
 3SG.F.NOM seven-GEN.M day-GEN.MOD.M-ABL one.F-time

 dikko ha-d'-anno.
 market go-3SG.F-IMPRF.3

 ‘She goes to market once a week.’

There are also other adverbial expressions that express frequencies, as in (6.191). The question in (6.191) can also be answered with any of the above forms (e.g., *sa'-ø-e* *sa'-ø-e* [pass-1SG-CNN pass-1SG-CNN] ‘sometimes’, or *horonta* ‘never’).

- (6.191) A: dikko me'e geešša ha'r-a-tt-o ?
 market how.many degree go-IMPRF.2SG-2SG-M
- B1: duuča-nka-wote.
 all-EMP-time
- B2: wo'ma-nka-wote.
 all-EMP-time
- B3: lamal-u barr-i-nni mitte-ege.
 seven-GEN.M day-GEN.MOD.M-LOC one.F-time
- A: 'How often do you (SG.M) go to the market?'
- B1: 'Frequently/almost always.'
- B2: 'Frequently/almost always.'
- B3: 'Once a week.'

6.2.7 Action Correlating

The event category of action correlating concerns what Talmy (2000b: 253) calls “coactivity”, where one Agent performs an activity in correlation with a same-category action performed by another entity, an Agency (either animate or inanimate). In a macro-event of action correlating, the co-event is in a constitutive support relation to the framing event; the figure is the Agent’s action and the ground is the Agency’s same or same-category action (or the Agency’s complementary action in the case of ‘demonstration’). There are five subtypes of action correlating: ‘concert’, ‘accompaniment’, ‘surpassment’, ‘imitation’, and ‘demonstration’. In the first four, the Agent and the Agency perform the same or same-category actions, whereas in ‘demonstration’, they perform different-category actions. English examples of concert, accompaniment, and surpassment are given in (6.192)-(6.194), and German examples of imitation and demonstration in (6.195)

and (6.196), where the framing event appears in a satellite (in italics) (Talmy 2000b: 257-261).

concert

(6.192) ‘I played the melody *together with* him.’

accompaniment

(6.193) ‘I played the melody *along with* him.’

surpassment

(6.194) ‘I *out*played him.’

imitation

German

(6.195) Ich habe ihm die Melodie *nach*gespielt.
 1SG have him the melody in.imitation.of.played
 ‘I played the melody in imitation of him.’

demonstration

German

(6.196) Ich habe ihm die Melodie *vorge*spielt.
 1SG have him the melody in.demonstration.to.played
 ‘I showed him how I/how to play the melody.’ (*lit.*, ‘I played the melody in demonstration to him.’)

Talmy (2000b: 257-261)

The different patterns of mapping in S-languages and V-languages emerge in this event category as well; S-languages express the framing event in the satellite, and V-languages express it in the main verb. Compare (6.193)-(6.196) with the Spanish examples in (6.197)-(6.200), where the action-correlating framing event is expressed by the verb (in italics).

accompaniment

Spanish

- (6.197) (a) Yo lo *acompañé* cuando tocamos la melodía.
 ‘I accompanied him when we played the melody’ (both he and I played).
 (b) Yo lo *acompañé* tocando la melodía.
 I accompanied him [by] playing the melody’ (only I played).

surpassment

Spanish

- (6.198) Yo le *gané* tocando la melodía.
 ‘I surpassed him playing the melody.’

imitation

Spanish

- (6.199) (a) Yo lo *seguía* cuando tocamos la melodía.
 ‘I followed him when we played the melody’ (both he and I played).
 (b) Yo lo *seguía* tocando la melodía.
 ‘I followed him [by] playing the melody’ (only I played).

demonstration

Spanish

- (6.200) Yo le *mostré* como toco/tocar la melodía.
 ‘I showed him how I/how to play the melody.’

Talmy (2000b: 258-261)

However, Sidaama shows the V-language pattern only to a limited degree. For the action-correlating subtype of concert, Sidaama does not seem to show the V-language property. To express the notion of concert, Sidaama often uses the comitative noun *ledo* (Chapter 3 section 3.1.1.3). In a construction with *ledo* like (6.201), the Agent is not a secondary participant, but the Agent and the Agency are both engaged in the joint activity, each making a contribution of equal importance to the whole.

- (6.201)
- | | | | | |
|-----------|---|----------------|------|---|
| ise | { | isí | ledo | } |
| 3SG.F.NOM | | 3SG.M.GEN | COM | |
| | | ledo-si | | |
| | | COM-3SG.M.POSS | | |
- sirb-i-t-u/dod-d-u.
sing-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/run-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘She sang/ran together with him.’

Sidaama has an adverbial expression for ‘together’: *mitte-e-nni* [one.F-LV-INST].

The subject of a construction with this expression is plural, as in (6.202) and (6.203).

- (6.202)
- | | | |
|---------|--------|---------------|
| insa | dikko | mitte-e-nni |
| 3PL.NOM | market | one.F-LV-INST |
- ha-d-u.
go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F
- ‘They went to the market together.’
- (6.203)
- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| mitte-e-nni | amme. |
| one.F-LV-INST | come.IMP.2PL |
- ‘(to plural addressees) Come together.’

There is also a construction where concert is expressed in V1 of the temporal sequence construction. The verb used as V1 is *ikk-* ‘to become’, and is followed by V2, a verb that expresses the co-event. An example is shown in (6.204).

(6.204) laše=*nna* *bule* *ikk-i-t-e*
 Lashe(NOM.M)=and Bule(NOM.F) become-EP-3PL-CNN

dikko *mar-t-u.*
 market go-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Lashe and Bule went together to the market.’

Sidaama does not seem to have an expression specifically used for accompaniment. When the Agent’s action is secondary or additional to the Agency’s action, the construction with *ledo* such as in (6.201) may be casually used, or a two-clause construction with the conjunctive clitic =*nna* (Chapter 3 section 3.2.2.3), where the Agency’s action serves as the ground, may be used as in (6.205) and (6.206).

(6.205) *isi* *dod-a=*nna** *ani=*no**
 3SG.M.NOM run-INF=while 1SG.NOM=also

dod-u-mm-o.
 run-S.PRF.1-1SG-M

‘While he ran, I (M) also ran.’

(6.206) *isi* *dibbé* *gan-a=*nna**
 3SG.M.NOM drums(ACC) hit-INF=while

ise *sirb-i-t-u.*
 3SG.F.NOM sing.and.dance-EP-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘While he played drums, she sang and danced.’

- (6.208) damboow-i daafursá
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M Daafursa(ACC)
- daah-ø-e/dod-ø-e k'olč-ø-anno.
 swim-3SG.M-CNN/run-3SG.M-CNN outdistance-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- ‘Damboowa swims/runs faster than Daafursa.’ (‘Damboowa outdistances
 Daafursa in swimming/running.’)³⁹

However, in contexts other than racing, the framing event of surpassment appears in an adverbial, as in (6.209).

- (6.209) bule lat'ó ale-e-nni/ale-e
 Bule(NOM.M) Lat'o(GEN.F) aboveness-LV-LOC/aboveness-LV
- (ass-i-t-e) sagalé k'iš-š-anno.
 (do-EP-3SG.F-CNN) food(ACC) cook-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘Bule cooks better than Lat'o.’

There is also a verb and its related forms that are used as adverbials. The verb *roor-* ‘to exceed’ is an intransitive verb that is used in comparisons, as in (6.210).

³⁹ The co-event can be expressed with a suffixed noun, as in (i).

- (i) damboow-i daafursá
 Damboowa-NOM.PROP.M Daafursa(ACC)
- daah-ú-nni/dod-ú-nni k'olč-ø-anno.
 swimming-GEN.M-at/running-GEN.M-at outdistance-3SG.M-IMPRF.3
- ‘Damboowa swims/runs faster than Daafursa.’ (*lit.*, ‘Damboowa outdistances Daafursa in
 swimming/running.’)

- (6.210) *konní* *min-í* *harak'e*
 this.M.GEN house-GEN.MOD.M [local.gin](NOM.F)
- hakkó* *min-í* *harak'é-nni*
 that.M.GEN house-GEN.MOD.M [local.gin](GEN.F)-ABL
- roor-t-anno.*
 become.better-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘The gin at this house is better than the one at that house.’

The causative form of this verb can be used as V1 of the temporal sequence construction when different entities' same-category actions, which occur as V2, are compared.⁴⁰

Examples are given in (6.211) and (6.212).

- (6.211) *bule* *lat'ó-nni*
 Bule(NOM.M) Lat'o(GEN.F)-ABL
- roor-s-i-t-e* *sagalé* *k'ış-ş-anno.*
 exceed-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-CNN food(ACC) cook-3SG.F-IMPRF.3
- ‘Bule cooks better than Lat'o.’

⁴⁰ The causative form of *roor-* ‘to exceed’ is usually used for comparing controllable actions. When uncontrollable actions or states are compared, the adverb *roore*, which is invariant in form, is used as in (i).

- (i) *bule* *dangur-í-nni* *roore*
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL exceedingly
- seed-d-anno/seeda=te.*
 become.tall-3SG.F-IMPRF.3/tall=NPC.F.PRED
- ‘Bule is taller than Dangura.’

- (6.212) bule dangur-í-nni
 Bule(NOM.M) Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-ABL
- roor-s-i-t-e dod-d-ino.
 exceed-CAUS-EP-3SG.F-CNN run-3SG.F-P.PRF.3
- ‘Bule ran better than Dangura.’

The framing event of imitation also appears in an adverbial. The verb *ikk-* ‘to become’ is used as V1 of the temporal sequence construction to literally mean ‘becomes X, and V2’.⁴¹ An example is shown in (6.213).

⁴¹ When the first part of the construction is used as a sentence, the sentence expresses one entity’s equality or similarity with another, which allows various interpretations, as in (i).

- (i) beett-u dangurá ikk-ø-i.
 child-NOM.M Dangura become-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M
 ‘The boy became/is equal/similar to Dangura.’ (with respect to e.g., height, behavior, appearance, wealth, etc.)

(6.213) beett-u dangura ikk-ø-e
 child-NOM.M Dangura become-3SG.M-CNN

 sirb-ø-i.
 sing.and.dance-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The boy sang and danced in the imitation of Dangura.’ (*lit.*, ‘The boy became Dangura and sang and danced.’)⁴²

For the framing event of demonstration, Sidaama has two verbs that can be used as predicates: *ros-i-s-* [learn-EP-CAUS-] ‘to teach, show (for the purpose of teaching)’ and *leell-i-š-* [become.visible-EP-CAUS-] ‘to show, demonstrate’. The verb for a co-event is accompanied by the suffix *-n*, which occurs only with these verbs, and expresses ‘how to do ...’.⁴³ Examples are given in (6.214) and (6.215).

⁴² There is the subject’s intention to be like Dangura in this sentence, unlike (i) and (ii).

(i) beett-u dangur-í-gede ass-ø-e
 child-NOM.M Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-like do-3SG.M-CNN

 sirb-ø-i.
 sing.and.dance-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The boy sang and danced like Dangura.’

(ii) beett-u sirba-ho dangura
 child-NOM.M singing.and.dancing-LOC.M Dangura

 ikk-ø-i.
 become-3SG.M-S.PRF.3SG.M

‘The boy sang and danced in as a good way as Dangura.’

⁴³ These two verbs can also take the infinitive form of a co-event verb, as in (i), but when this construction is used, the Agent does not necessarily perform the action.

(i) bule dangurá sirb-a
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC) sing.and.dance-INF

 ros-i-s-s-u/leell-i-š-š-u.
 learn-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F/appear-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule showed singing and dancing to Dangura.’

(6.214) bule dangurá/dangur-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)/Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT-PROP

sirb-i-n-a-nni ros-i-s-s-u.
 sing-EP-how.to-INF-INST learn-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule showed Dangura how to sing and dance.

(6.215) bule dangurá/dangur-í-ra
 Bule(NOM.F) Dangura(ACC)/Dangura-GEN.PROP.M-DAT-PROP

sirb-i-n-a-nni leell-i-š-š-u.
 sing-EP-how.to-INF-INST become.visible-EP-CAUS-3SG.F-S.PRF.3SG.F

‘Bule demonstrated Dangura how to sing and dance.’

6.3 Observations

As has been described so far, Sidaama clearly shows the V-language pattern in the event categories of motion, state-change, and realization, but not necessarily in the event categories of temporal contouring and action correlating. Although it is necessary to examine expression patterns in other languages, one could speculate that unlike motion, state-change, and realization, where most V-languages exhibit the consistent pattern, temporal contouring and action correlating may be unstable categories in which subtypes of V-languages can show different expression patterns. There seems to be a conceivable factor contributing to the unstableness of these two categories.⁴⁴

Compared to the framing events of motion, state-change, and realization, those of temporal contouring and action correlating seem to be very abstract, perhaps to the extent

⁴⁴ Temporal contouring has diverse subcategories, and it is likely that its subcategories are expressed differently from language to language.

that it is difficult to represent “the upshot – relative to the whole macro-event” (Talmy 2000b: 219). In the case of motion, state-change, and realization, the expression of the framing event, as in the English examples (6.216)-(6.218), by itself, can be a complete description of what has happened, even if no co-event is mentioned at all.

- (6.216) The ball went down.
 (6.217) The candle went out.
 (6.218) The police captured the fugitive.

On the other hand, in the case of temporal contouring and action correlating, the expression of the framing event alone cannot be an informative description of what has happened, as in the English examples (6.219)-(6.222).

- (6.219) She continued (to do something).
 (6.220) She finished (doing something).
 (6.221) She did (something) together/along with him.
 (6.222) She did (something) in the imitation of him.

Thus, a co-event needs to be mentioned to convey the upshot of the whole event. In other words, the existence of a co-event is required in these event categories. As an obligatory used constituent, a verb may be used for this purpose. If a verb is employed for the co-event, a non-verbal constituent can appear to express the framing event. An S-language can do this easily with a satellite. On the other hand, a V-language may have to express the framing event with an adverbial or V1 of a multi-verb construction, and deviate from the prototypical V-language pattern.

Nevertheless, this is mere speculation, and detailed research on other V-languages is awaited.

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